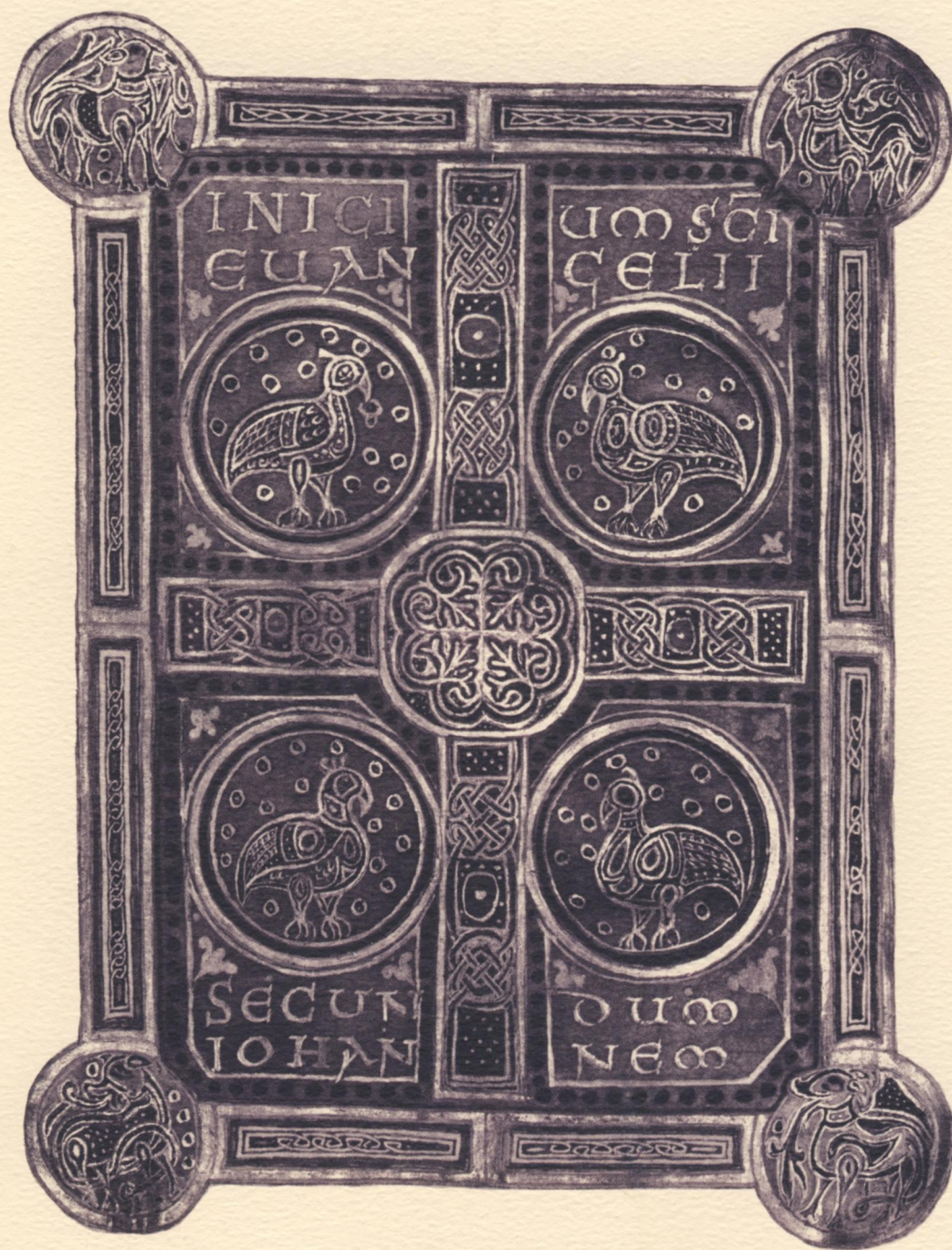


THE JOURNAL OF



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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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Editors of the Journal: Dorothy E. Miner and Ursula McCracken

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





FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

BERNINI WORKSHOP  
*The Risen Christ*

# A STATUETTE OF THE RISEN CHRIST

## DESIGNED BY GIAN LORENZO BERNINI

By MARK S. WEIL\*  
*Washington University*

A seventeenth-century statuette of the Risen Christ belonging to the Walters Art Gallery was formerly among the art objects in Mr. Henry Walters' office (figs. 1, 6). In 1904 the great fire which ravaged downtown Baltimore left the small bronze somewhat damaged. When Mr. Walters died in 1931, the statuette became the property of the executor of Mr. Walters' will, Mr. C. Morgan Marshall, who inherited the contents of the office. Mr. Marshall gave the statuette to the Walters Art Gallery in 1942.<sup>1</sup>

The Risen Christ is meant to be seen from below and, generally speaking, from a position in front of the statuette. Christ stands on a cloud, His weight resting on His advancing left foot, the right leg bent slightly at the knee. His youthful torso is turned toward the viewer. His head is turned to His right and slightly downward. The right hand is raised. His left hand extends out to the side and is closed in a loop meant to receive the cruciform staff often carried by Christ in representations of the Resurrection. Christ's body is partially covered by a fluttering drapery modelled into a series of irregularly spaced, broad and tight folds that obey no laws of gravity, but rather support and buoy up the figure. Viewed from the

rear or from the sides, the drapery ceases to serve its function as a visual support, but rather appears as an awkward column of bronze drapery that binds Christ to His cloud.

The Walters Art Gallery statuette has recently been identified as an exemplar of the gilt-bronze Christ that stands atop the ciborium designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and executed under his supervision for the Cappella del SS. Sacramento in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome during 1672-1674 (figs. 2, 3, 4).<sup>2</sup> The identification of the Baltimore exemplar of the Risen Christ explains many of its peculiarities. The ciborium, a gilt-bronze and lapis-lazuli version of Bramante's Tempietto, stands on the altar in front of a large painting of the Trinity by Pietro da Cortona.<sup>3</sup> The ciborium is flanked by two colossal gilt-bronze kneeling angels and is decorated with thirteen gilt-bronze statuettes: twelve representing Apostles around the circular entablature, and the statuette of the Risen Christ atop the dome. The altar with ciborium and angels is normally viewed from the front, that is from the position of the viewer as he enters the chapel and kneels to participate in the mass. The sculptural decoration, including the figure of Christ, was executed with this dominant

\* I would like to express my gratitude to Don Cipriano Cipriani who guided my research in the *Archivio della R. Fabbrica di S. Pietro*, and to Miss Jennifer Montagu who made useful suggestions regarding the content of this paper. Miss Montagu has recently published an article, "Two Small Bronzes from the Studio of Bernini," *Burlington Magazine*, CIX (1967), pp. 566-71, which deals with figures of Faith and Religion that are exemplars of figures decorating the ciborium of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento in Saint Peter's Basilica.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. no. 54.2281; H. 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches (440 mm.) to the

top of the raised hand. Information was secured from the files of the Walters Art Gallery.

<sup>2</sup> For discussions of the decoration of the altar of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento see: S. Fraschetti, *Il Bernini*, Milan, 1900, pp. 393-395; H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des G. L. Bernini*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 172-175; R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 2nd ed., London, 1966, pp. 260-263, cat. no. 78; and H. Hibbard, *Bernini*, Baltimore, Maryland, 1965, pp. 206-209.

<sup>3</sup> G. Briganti, *Pietro da Cortona*, Florence, 1962, pp. 187-190, cat. no. 35.

view in mind.

The Walters exemplar has been carefully examined by Mr. Peter Michaels, Associate Conservator of the Walters Art Gallery, who has kindly supplied the following information regarding condition and facture. The proper left side of the bronze was apparently subjected to intense heat during the 1904 fire. In this area the surface was completely oxidized. Remnants of copper oxide remain as black surface scale. Where the scale has fallen off, the surface of the bronze now appears quite red. The remainder of the figure above the ankles is mottled in colors varying from dark brown to gray and black. Several old repairs are visible, and a large crack runs horizontally across the chest and through most of the back of the figure. The feet and ankles seem to have been protected from the heat of the fire. The original rich brown patina has been preserved in this area.

The statuette was cast in one piece around a clay core that is visible through the crack in the chest and through a rather large hole behind the right leg. There is a small protuberance on the right shoulder and many smaller surface irregularities. Mr. Michaels has suggested that the crack across the chest and the back occurred in the casting process and then was filled or repaired. The 1904 fire would have melted or burned the filling and might have exaggerated the crack. It is likely, moreover, that many of the surface irregularities are the result of incomplete chasing rather than damage by fire. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the Walters exemplar is incomplete. Unlike the ciborium statuette, it lacks the marks of the stigmata, which should have been chiselled into the surface of the bronze; it does not carry the cruciform staff; and it was never gilded. It seems probable that the Walters statuette is a first, unsuccessful, attempt at casting the Risen Christ atop the ciborium.

## II

Now that we have connected the Walters bronze with a Bernini project and studied its condition, we may attempt to determine to what extent it and the statuettes on the ciborium are by Bernini. We know that the relationship between Bernini and

his assistants varied with different projects. Bernini would conceive a design, make sketches of it on paper and in clay, and then develop it into a final model or models, often with the aid of draftsmen and model-makers. The final monument might then be executed in a factory-like way with individual craftsmen and artists responsible for specific tasks. Bernini did very little of the physical labor in executing many large projects such as the decorative encasement and setting of the *Cathedra Petri*, the Tomb of Pope Alexander VII,<sup>4</sup> and the altar and ciborium of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento, all of which are in St. Peter's Basilica. There can be no doubt, however, that all of these monuments closely reflect Bernini's conception in total effect and in detail.

Rudolf Wittkower has employed a large number of drawings and terracotta *bozzetti* by Bernini's own hand to demonstrate the care with which the artist designed the decoration of the altar of the Sacrament Chapel.<sup>5</sup> Bernini's design passed through three main stages. He first planned an altar over which the tempietto-ciborium was to hover, mystically supported by four statues of candle-bearing angels, one placed at each corner of the altar. In the second project the tabernacle was to be placed directly on the altar with two or more adoring angels on each side of it. From the second stage Bernini evolved the scheme as it was executed.

Explicit records of payments to craftsmen for work on the angels and ciborium have been preserved in the *Archivio della R. Fabbrica di S. Pietro*.<sup>6</sup> These records may be used to demon-

<sup>4</sup> Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-237 and 259-260, cat. nos. 61 and 77; R. Battaglia, *La Cattedra berniniana di San Pietro*, Rome, 1943; and V. Golzio, *Documenti artistici sul Seicento nell'Archivio Chigi*, Rome, 1939, pp. 107-147.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the documents cited are to be found in the following volumes of the *Archivio della R. Fabbrica di S. Pietro: Primo piano, seria armadi*, vols. 312 and 373 (hereafter cited as vol. 312 and vol. 373); *Secondo piano, seria 4*, vols. 13, 14, 15 and 16 (hereafter cited as vol. 13, vol. 14, vol. 15 and vol. 16).



FIGURE 2

ROME, ST. PETER'S

*Altar and Ciborium  
Cappella del SS. Sacramento  
(photo Anderson)*



strate the high degree of specialization with which the Cappella del SS. Sacramento project was carried out. All of these payments were authorized by Bernini, thereby reflecting his careful supervision of the decoration of the altar. Bernini gave the architect Antonio Valeri (1648-1736)<sup>7</sup> the task of overseeing the manufacture of the wood and wax model from which the ciborium was to be cast. From November, 1672, to February and March, 1673, Valeri was paid *per fare li disegni in grande del S.<sup>o</sup> ciborio, acciò Li falegnami posino farlo di Legno*. The large drawings (*disegni*) referred to in this document were evidently patterns or working drawings similar in purpose to the blueprints made by architects today.<sup>8</sup> Judging from the large number of payments to *falegnami* (carpenters) and for material, the model was built between December, 1672, and April, 1673.<sup>9</sup>

Cavalier Girolamo Lucenti, one of the chief bronze-founders of the Vatican,<sup>10</sup> was paid for casting the ciborium, first in wax and then in bronze, between April, 1673, and December, 1674.<sup>11</sup> The cleaning and reworking (*rinettatura*) of the wax, and the chasing of the bronze casts of the parts of the ciborium were executed between April, 1673, and December, 1674, by Giovanni Perone, who was assisted and supervised in this work by Valeri.<sup>12</sup> The chased bronze pieces of the ciborium were turned over to Carlo Mattei who was paid for fire-gilding all of the metal parts of the altar decoration, including the sculpture, during the year 1674.<sup>13</sup>

The execution of the sculpture, the two colossal angels and the statuettes of Christ and the Apostles, may be examined more explicitly, for this work was accomplished in distinct stages by

<sup>7</sup> What little is known of the life and work of Valeri is reported in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXXIV, Leipzig, 1940, p. 68.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. 13, f. 55v; vol. 14, ff. 3 and 13. The last of these payments to Valeri is *p fare li modani e contramodani in grande p i falegnami*. . . . The word *modani* means "patterns" when used in this way.

<sup>9</sup> Vol. 13, ff. 66v and 67 (to Giuseppe Mazzuoli, *scultore*); vol. 14, ff. 4, 11, 12v, 20, 21 and 22.

<sup>10</sup> Girolamo Lucenti was one of the most interesting craftsmen of the Seicento. He was trained as a sculptor by Algardi (G. B. Passeri, *Die Künstlerbiographien*, ed. J. Hess, Leipzig and Vienna, 1934, and Thieme and Becker, *op. cit.*, XXIII, 1929, p. 436), but worked most of his life as a bronze-founder making cannon (L. Ozzola, "L'arte alla corte di Alessandro VII," *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, XXXI, 1908, pp. 74f). For Lucenti as a sculptor see: Brauer and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 157-160 (bronze statue of King Philip IV of Spain, Sta. Maria Maggiore); Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 186, 216, 248 and 259, cat. nos. 19-4a (a cast of a Bernini portrait of Pope Urban VIII), 47 (decoration of the nave of St. Peter's), 72 (statue of the angel carrying the Nails of Christ's Passion, Ponte S. Angelo) and 77 (cast of the figure of Death on the tomb of Pope Alexander VII); and Titi, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture e architetture esposte al pubblico in Roma*, Rome, 1763, pp. 250 (statue of Philip IV), 386 (four bronze portraits of popes, Sta. Maria in Monte Santo), 388 (portraits, *putti* and virtues on the Gastaldi tombs, Sta. Maria dei Miracoli), 427 (statue of an angel, Ponte S. Angelo). In addition, Lucenti worked as a die-engraver for the papal mint in Rome between 1668 and 1690 (E. Martinori, *Annali della Zecca di Roma*, Rome, fasc. 15, 1919, p. 102; fasc. 16, 1919, pp. 11, 26, 32 and 33), and was a captain and instructor in the use of weapons

in the papal artillery. Lucenti's military career is reflected by a broadsheet that he drew up as a manual of instructions in the use of cannon (Biblioteca Corsini, Ms. 34-K-13, f. 4). Pope Clement IX raised Lucenti to the rank of Cavalier in 1669, from which year he signed his name *Eques Lucenti*.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. 14, ff. 11v, 21v, 28, 32v, 41, 47v, 56, 65v, 72; vol. 15, ff. 4, 12, 17v, 18v, 29v, 30v, 45v, 73v. Vol. 312, f. 35 informs us that Lucenti received the bronze from which the ciborium and the statuettes of the Apostles and Christ were cast on April 13, 1673.

<sup>12</sup> Vol. 14, ff. 21, 21v, 28, 28v, 32v, 43, 47v, 57, 65v, 72; vol. 15, ff. 4, 4v, 17v, 18, 25, 30, 40, 46, 70, 73v; vol. 16, f. 18 (final payment, March 27, 1675).

<sup>13</sup> Vol. 15, ff. 4, 11, 17v, 24, 25, 30v, 40, 46, 55, 56, 60v, 70 and 73v; vol. 16, f. 34. There are payments for a great deal of minor work connected with the decoration of the ciborium and altar of the Sacrament Chapel. A few of these should be mentioned because they clarify the extent to which Bernini carried the division of labor in the execution of this project. The lapis-lazuli was purchased and then cut and inlaid into the bronze tabernacle by Adonio Capozio and Francesca di Monsù Geri between February 20 and December 14, 1674 (*Archivio Capitolo di S. Pietro*, arm. 44, vol. 92-93). On January 24, 1674, Giacomo Artusi was paid for casting the two bronze coats-of-arms of Pope Clement X that are placed on the fronts of the marble bases that support the two colossal angels. On May 9, 1674, Fulgenzio Morelli was paid for chasing the two coats-of-arms (vol. 15, ff. 4v and 30). Artusi received the bronze for the coats-of-arms on January 9, 1674, and sent the arms to the *fabbrica* on January 16 (vol. 312, f. 36). On December 5, 1674, Giuseppe Mazzuoli was paid for modeling the clay and for the *rinettatura* of the wax of the two small figures of Faith and Religion placed over the door of the tempietto-ciborium (vol. 15, f. 74).

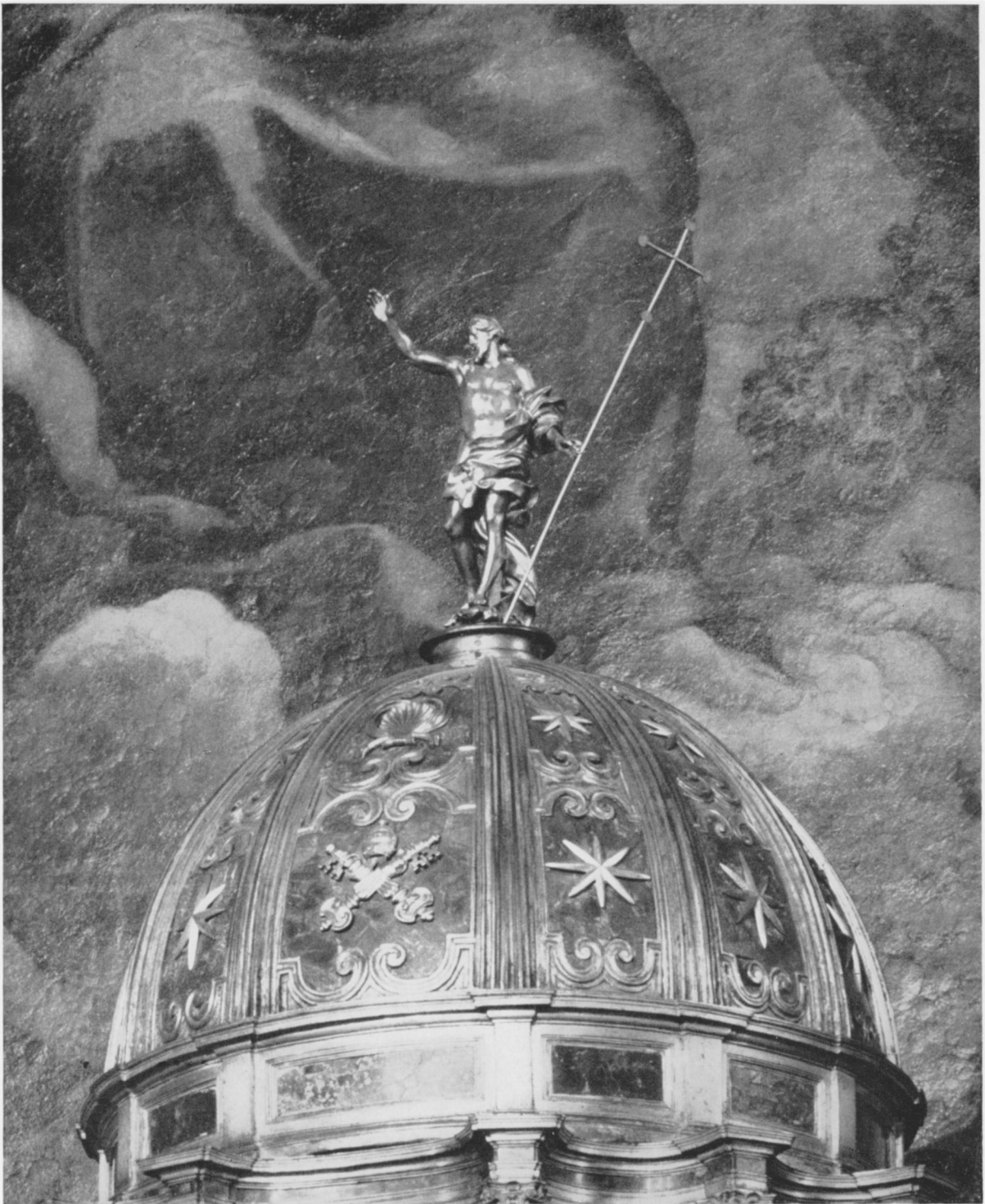


FIGURE 3

ROME, ST. PETER'S

**BERNINI WORKSHOP**

*Risen Christ atop the Ciborium; Cappella del SS. Sacramento*

a relatively small number of craftsmen and sculptors. Monsù Giovanni Rinaldi, a Frenchman who entered the circle of Bernini about 1670,<sup>14</sup> was paid for making two clay models of angels in February, March and April, 1673.<sup>15</sup> Belardino Danese, the second important bronze-founder of the Vatican, cast Rinaldi's models in wax. The wax casts must have been finished by July, 1673, for on August 4 of that year Rinaldi was paid for the *rinettatura* of the wax casts of the angels.<sup>16</sup> Between July, 1673, and January, 1674, Danese cast the angels in bronze<sup>17</sup> and turned them over to Carlo Mattei for chasing and gilding.<sup>18</sup> The angels were completed by December 5, 1674, on which date the supervisor of the Fabbrica di S. Pietro was paid for having had the two angels put in place in the chapel.<sup>19</sup>

The execution of the statuettes of Christ and the twelve Apostles was the last major part of the project to be undertaken. Between October, 1673, and May, 1674, Giovanni Rinaldi was paid for making clay models for the thirteen statuettes.<sup>20</sup> Rinaldi's models were given to Giuseppe Chiari (one of Girolamo Lucenti's assistants), who was paid for making plaster molds, clay cores, and wax casts of the statuettes in May and June, 1674.<sup>21</sup> As the wax casts were finished, they were returned to Rinaldi who, along with Lazzaro Morelli—another trusted assistant of Bernini—

and Giovanni Perone, cleaned and reworked the surface of the statuettes.<sup>22</sup> The Christ and Apostles were then cast in bronze in the foundry of Girolamo Lucenti.<sup>23</sup> The bronzes were chased by Francesco Panuolti who was paid for chasing the Christ in June, 1674, Francesco Mangiotti who was paid for chasing the St. Andrew in the same month and an unidentified Apostle in July, 1674, and Giovanni Perone who was paid for chasing ten Apostles in October of the same year.<sup>24</sup>

Bernini was paid 3,000 scudi in three payments of 1,000 scudi each in March and October, 1675, and March, 1676, for designing and supervising the execution of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento project.<sup>25</sup>

### III

The theme of placing a statue of the Risen Christ above a dome or tabernacle is found in connection with St. Peter's Basilica at least as early as 1620. In that year Martino Ferrabosco published a project for covering the high altar of the Basilica with a tabernacle composed of a central domed portion over the altar and two wings. A statue of the Risen Christ was to be placed over the lantern of the cupola of the tabernacle, that is, directly over the altar and hence over the tomb of St.

<sup>14</sup> As an assistant of Bernini, Rinaldi modelled the stucco angels and *putti* over the high altar of S. Andrea al Quirinale and the two stucco angels carrying the coat-of-arms of Pope Innocent X and the banderole with inscription over the entrance to the same church in 1670; he made small and large models for the tomb of Pope Alexander VII in 1672; and he seems to have executed the stucco angels carrying the frame of the altarpiece of the Cappella Fonseca in S. Lorenzo in Lucina. See Ugo Donati, *Artisti ticinesi a Roma*, Belinzona, 1942, pp. 500-503 and Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 239, 256 and 259, cat. nos. 62 (3), 75 and 77. Rinaldi should also be identified with the Jean Champagne who was made a pensioner of the King of France at the French Academy in Rome in 1679. See Thieme and Becker, *op. cit.*, VI, 1912, p. 352 and S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française sous le règne de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1906, pp. 83f. Lami cites additional bibliography.

<sup>15</sup> Vol. 13, f. 66v; vol. 14, ff. 3, 12 and 21.

<sup>16</sup> Vol. 14, f. 41.

<sup>17</sup> Belardino Danese received a first payment *a conto delli gettiti delli due Angeli* on April 26, 1673: vol. 14, f. 21v. This payment probably refers to wax casts (*gettiti*) because vol. 312, f. 36, informs us that Danese received the bronze in which the angels were cast on July 27, 1673, and sent the bronze angels to the *fabbrica* on January 22, 1674. For additional payments see vol. 14, ff. 28, 32v, 41, 47v, 56, 56v and 72.

<sup>18</sup> Vol. 15, ff. 4 (first payment, January 24), 24, 25, 30v, 40 and 46.

<sup>19</sup> Vol. 15, f. 72.

<sup>20</sup> Vol. 14, ff. 65v and 72; vol. 15, ff. 17v and 30.

<sup>21</sup> Vol. 15, ff. 31, 46v and 47.

<sup>22</sup> Payments for this work begin in November, 1673, and end in October, 1674. See note 20, and vol. 15, ff. 17 and 70.

<sup>23</sup> Domenico Artusi was paid two *a conto* payments for the casting of the statuettes in October and November, 1673. See vol. 14, ff. 66 and 72; and note 11.

<sup>24</sup> Vol. 15, ff. 46, 46v, 55 and 70.

<sup>25</sup> Vol. 373, pp. 35, 50 and 58.



FIGURE 4

**PIER LEONE BOMBELLI**

*Engraving: The Risen Christ, 1780*

*(After "Le statue de'dodici Apostoli esistente nella Basilica Lateranense . . ." Rome, n.d.)*



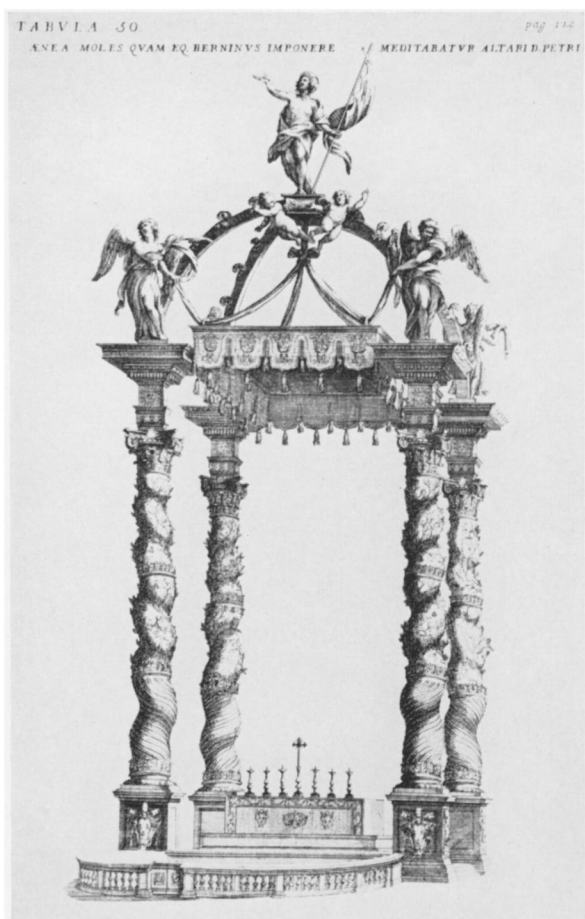


FIGURE 5

G. L. BERNINI

*Project for the Baldacchino in St. Peter's, 1626*

(After F. Bonanni, *Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam*. . . . Rome, 1715, pl. 50.)

Peter, chief of the Apostles and first pope.<sup>26</sup> The statuette would have been posed as the Christ of the Resurrection carrying His cruciform staff in His left hand and raising His right hand. The theme of Christ rising above the tomb of His earthly successor should be read as a counter-reformation theme of the primacy of St. Peter, the pope, and hence of the Catholic church as the only institution through which one can gain salvation. The rest of the sculptural decoration of Ferrabosco's projected tabernacle supports the counter-reformatory interpretation of the statuette of the Risen Christ. Statues of prophets and sibyls—the predictors of the coming of Christ and

of the church—were to be placed around the base of the dome; a pair of *putti* flanking the coat-of-arms of the pope were to be placed over the center of each wing; and two bas-reliefs were to be placed just below the coats-of-arms. The subjects of the reliefs, the Giving of the Keys to Peter and Christ's charge to Peter, "*Pasce oves meas*," were often used to emphasize the fact that there is only one true church. Ferrabosco planned to use copies of the twisted, early Christian columns from old St. Peter's as structural supports for the tabernacle, thus illustrating the traditional character of the Catholic church.<sup>27</sup>

The tabernacle was built in its present form between 1624 and 1633 by Bernini, who erected the huge bronze *Baldacchino* supported by colossal reproductions of the twisted columns and crowned by four volutes that join at the center to support an orb surmounted by a cross. Sculptural decoration is limited to four angels symbolically supporting the volutes and pairs of *putti* holding the papal tiara, the keys of St. Peter, and the sword and book of St. Paul.<sup>28</sup> In an early project (fig. 5) Bernini planned to place a figure of the Risen Christ similar to Ferrabosco's atop the *Baldacchino*, emphasizing the connection between Christ and St. Peter.<sup>29</sup>

Bernini's statuette of the Risen Christ atop the ciborium of the altar of the Cappella del SS. Sacramento is similar in meaning to the figure of Christ planned for the *Baldacchino*. Here also we have a statuette representing the Christ of the Resurrection. In this case the Resurrected Christ refers specifically to the Eucharist, the body and blood of

<sup>26</sup> Martino Ferrabosco, *Libro de l'architettura di San Pietro nel Vaticano finito col disegno di Michelangelo Bonarota et d'altri architetti*, Rome, 1620, pl. 27. F. Bonanni, *Numismata summorum pontificum templi Vaticani fabricam*. . . , Rome, 1715, pl. 51, reprints Ferrabosco's engraving and on pp. 113-132 discusses the history and iconography of the *Baldacchino*. See H. Kauffmann, "Berninis Tabernakel," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, VI (1955), pp. 222-242, for an important modern study of the same material.

<sup>27</sup> See E. Mâle, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1932, pp. 48-58, for a discussion of the use of art in the defense of the papacy.

<sup>28</sup> Brauer-Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-22; Wittkower, *op. cit.*, pp. 189f; and Hibbard, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-80.

<sup>29</sup> Bonanni, *op. cit.*, pl. 50.

• STATUETTE OF THE RISEN CHRIST •

Christ, kept inside the ciborium and hence to the gift of salvation through faith in the sacrifice of Christ by God, both as it happened on Calvary, and as it takes place in the performance of every mass.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> For an explanation of the Eucharist and mass as interpreted by the Council of Trent, see *Il sacrosanto Concilio di Trento, Venice*, 1818, session XIII, October 11, 1551, pp. 85-90, and session XXII, September 17, 1561, pp. 168-171.



FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

BERNINI WORKSHOP  
*The Risen Christ*



FIGURE 1

*Plaque of Ezechiel's Vision*

WALTERS ART GALLERY

# A MOSAN PLAQUE WITH EZECHIEL'S VISION OF THE SIGN THAU (TAU)\*

By PHILIPPE VERDIER

*Université de Montréal*

In 1949, the Walters Art Gallery acquired from the Brummer Collection a mid-twelfth-century plaque in *champlevé* enamel and of Mosan origin (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It is of interest as an addition to monuments illustrating the same iconography and because of the comment afforded by an unusual inscription: the *titulus* in Leonine verses running along its border.

An old man with a white beard, barefoot, wearing the headdress of a Jewish priest and a white robe, holds a horn filled with a red tincture in his left hand. With a quill which he has dipped in the horn, he is about to write the T (thau sign) on the forehead of a man at the left, whose body is concealed by a second person who already has received the mark on his forehead. The latter is dressed in a yellowish green cloak over a white tunic, and is shod. Between him and the priestly old man, we see an execution block. Crumpled at the base of it is the corpse of a man whose head has been severed by the blow of a sword held by an executioner at the right. The latter wears a helmet, a short military cloak and a garment with long sleeves. An inscription on the gilded background of the plaque, the engraved letters of which are filled with red enamel, leaves no doubt as to the identification of the scene. The character writing the sign thau on the foreheads of the two bystanders is designated as VIR VESTIT[us] LINEIS CUM AT[ra]MENTARIO: "a man clothed with linen with a writer's inkhorn." We read in the ninth chapter of Ezechiel, verses 2 to 4, that the God of Israel appeared in a vision<sup>2</sup> to this man and called to him: "Go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem:

and mark Thau upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and mourn for all the abominations that are committed in the midst thereof" (according to the translation of the Vulgate; in the King James version the thau-sign is rendered only as "mark"). The executioner is one of the six men to whom the Lord said in the hearing of the prophet: "Go ye after him through the city, and strike: . . . Utterly destroy old and young, maidens, children and women; but upon whomsoever you shall see Thau, kill him not . . ." (verses 5-6). Conforming to the text in Ezechiel, an inscription on the execution block reads: NON SIGNATI PEREV[n]T: "those who do not bear the mark (thau) die."

The colors of the *champlevé* enamel are yellow shaded into green, and white shaded into turquoise or lavender-blue. Most areas were reserved in the copper and simply engraved, the lines being shot with red enamel in the parts corresponding to the highlights and with blue enamel in the parts supposed to be in the shade. The plaque is surrounded with a *grénetis*—that is, a border of pseudo-granulation—and is pierced with a hole at each corner. A fifth hole was pierced later at the top for a kind of attachment completely different from the way in which the plaque was originally fixed, as we shall see.

The *titulus*, or explanatory caption running along the framework, is inscribed in letters reserved in gilt copper and set off against a band of lapis blue enamel. It reads:

TAV CRVCIS EST SIGNVM/SED MAGNO  
NOMINE DIGNVM  
NAM PREMIT INTERITVM QVOD/CRV-  
CIS EST MERTVM

\* Footnotes will be found at the end of this article.





FIGURE 2

*Processional Cross*

BRUSSELS, MUSEE DU CINQUANTAIRE

"Tau (= thau) is the symbol of the cross and as such worthy of a great name.

"Since it conquers death, a virtue that belongs to the cross."

An analogous statement on the virtue of the cross, which is to conquer death, was expressed in a hymn of the twelfth century hailing the cross:

Per te salvatur Israel  
Ab hostis exterminio  
Praesignavit Ezechiel  
Sub tau te mysterio<sup>3</sup>

"Israel is saved by you, O Cross, from being destroyed by his foe. Ezechiel has prophetically designated you under the mystery of tau."

What is this mystery of the thau (tau) in the passage of Ezechiel?

In one of the poems of his *De Laudibus Crucis*, Rabanus Maurus (784-856 A.D.) visualized the number of years which elapsed between the creation of the world and the crucifixion of Christ (that is, 5231) as a cruciform "calligram," which divided the poetical text into four parts, and was made of four Greek letters: x, t, z, each four times repeated, and Γ appearing only at the center of the figure:

X  
T  
Z  
X T Z Γ Z T X  
Z  
T  
X

He explained the numerical equivalence of those four letters in Greek: four times X : 4000; four times T : 1200; four times Z : 28; Γ : 3. Then he explained how this accounted for particular mysteries attached to the cross: Γ (3) symbolizes Faith in the Trinity; Z (7) symbolizes Hope; T, our tau (300) stands for Charity; x (1000) for Eternal Bliss.<sup>4</sup> In his *De Laude et inventione sanctae crucis*, a treatise composed in the early twelfth century, Berengosus, abbot of St. Maximin at Trier, commenting upon the three hundred warriors of Gedeon and their three kinds of weapons (Judges, VII:

6-7, 16-22), interpreted three hundred (tau) as the product of 3 (the Trinity) by 100 (Charity).<sup>5</sup> In the Old Testament the number 300 reappears three times with a soteriological connotation: in the three hundred cubits measuring the length of the Ark (Genesis, VI: 15), in the three hundred (and eighteen) servants of Abraham (Genesis, XIV: 14) and in the three hundred warriors of Gedeon. In a letter written toward 130 A.D., Barnabas explained that the three hundred and eighteen servants in the house of Abraham, whom Abraham circumcised in obedience to the order of God (Genesis, XVII: 23-27) represent 300 plus 18, as in Greek 18 is written ιη, ι (= ἰωτα) for ten and η (ἥτα) for 8, the two first letters of Jesus: IH (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ), and that 300 (T) means the Cross.<sup>6</sup> St. Augustine repeated the same interpretation of 300 in his comment on the three hundred warriors whom Gedeon kept in his army because only they lapped the water by raising it to the mouth in their hands, rather than kneeling beside the stream (Judges, VII: 5-7): "The number connotes the sign of the Cross, on account of the Greek letter Tau used to write it."<sup>7</sup> Tertullian (ca. 155-ca. 222 A.D.) was even more explicit in his deciphering of the sign thau in the passage of Ezechiel: "This very letter, Tau in Greek, our (Latin) T, is a kind of Cross, that announced the cross destined to mark our foreheads in the true city of the Catholic Jerusalem."<sup>8</sup> "A kind of a cross," wrote Tertullian in another work, because the tau is shaped not like the *crux immissa* or *capitata* (the Latin or Greek cross with four extremities), but like the *crux commissa*, shaped like the Latin T. The T represents the correct although schematized form of the instrument of the Crucifixion with the Romans: a *stipes* (vertical stake) and a *patibulum* (the crossbar). Writing on a passage in the Book of Job (XXXI:35) obscurely alluding to the tau, Gregory the Great explained that tau, expressing 300, presents a likeness of the Cross, but that if an upper extremity (the one bearing the *titulus*) is added to it, the tau becomes the image of the Cross itself.<sup>9</sup>

A few decades after Tertullian, a Christian Jew called the attention of Origenes to the similarity of shape between the thau, twenty-second and

last letter of the Jewish alphabet,<sup>10</sup> in its antique written form, with the sign of the Cross as the Christians traced it on their foreheads before praying or before hearing the reading of a chapter of the Bible.<sup>11</sup> Other Jews, not converted to Christianity, whom Origenes quotes, had explained to him that thau, as the last letter of the alphabet, denoted fulfillment,<sup>12</sup> and that as the first letter of the Torah, it signified the perfect keeping of law. St. Jerome in his turn copied this passage of Origenes, when he wrote his *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, and repeated that in his days the Samaritans still wrote thau as ט.<sup>13</sup> The form + and x were used by the Jews, the Phoenicians and other nations occupying the territory covering Lebanon and Syria; the x form was used exclusively by the Jews in inscriptions as early as the period around 840-700 B.C.; on seals and gems of the ninth to fifth centuries B.C., and on their coinage from the time of the Machabees to the last insurrection against Rome.<sup>14</sup> The sign tau, inscribed + or x, appeared on a number of tombs and on inscriptions in Jewish *loculi*, as the seal of God—placed on those who, having dedicated themselves to Him while living, bear unto death a mark which promises salvation.<sup>15</sup> But in the catacombs of Callistus and of Petrus and Marcellinus in the *Campagna Romana*, the soteriological cross sign was in six of the funeral inscriptions engraved as the Greek letter tau: Τ.<sup>16</sup> One should also bear in mind that in the Roman army the names of the soldiers killed in action were followed in the lists of casualties by the Greek letter θ (θάνατος: death), while the sign T designated the survivors.<sup>17</sup> The tau, as a seal (or mark), was also a tattoo impressed on soldiers, so that St. John Chrysostomos could write: "as the seal is impressed on soldiers, so the Holy Ghost marks the believers."<sup>18</sup> The fortune of the sign tau, as a scheme of the cross and a symbol of redemption, is due to the fact that Christianity was born in Jewish circles that entertained a fresh hope in the coming of the Messiah and in the life to come, and that it was spread by hellenized Jews. The Zadokite or Damascus document, which bears out an eschatological interpretation of verses 10 to 13 of the ninth book of Ezechiel, seeing in it the expectation of a new covenant,

is attributed to the Qumran community. The meaning of thau as equivalent to the name of Yahweh was shifted to substitute for the name of God the Father.<sup>19</sup> The thau which in Ezechiel IX:4, the Lord orders the man clothed in linen to mark "upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and mourn," would have been visualized as the Greek letter tau (Τ). There is, however, a difficulty that prevents the oversimplification of the solution. In the Septuagint the passage is rendered only in the form: δὸς τὸ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τὰ μέτωπα (set a mark upon the foreheads). The word σημεῖον was accordingly translated as *mark* in the King James version. We have the testimony of St. Jerome that this was also the version of Aquila and of Symmachus. But Theodotian substituted *thau* for "mark" or "sign,"<sup>20</sup> and so did Origenes, followed by St. Jerome: *signa thau* is the version of the Vulgate. The Itala version of the Bible translated the passage: *scribe signum thau*.<sup>21</sup> On the other hand, there is no doubt that the early Christian writers considered the word *sign* as synonymous with cross—the cross being "the sign of the Son of man in heaven" (Matthew XXIV:30) announced by Isaias (V:26; LV:13; LXVI:18). For Cyprian (200-258) the sign set upon the foreheads in Ezechiel is the mark of salvation, the cross. Because "the sign of the Son of man in heaven" was envisioned in an eschatological perspective, it assumed its soteriological meaning.<sup>22</sup> In three instances St. Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150 — ca. 216) substituted the word *sign* (σημεῖον) for the *cross* (σταυρός). The most interesting one is the passage in which St. Clement explains that the tau letter, used to write 300 in Greek, is the type and symbol of the sign of the Lord—the cross.<sup>23</sup> So that we finally obtain a series of equivalences: sign = thau; sign = cross; tau = cross; thau = cross or tau. The last equation was warranted by the graphic shape of thau in funeral epigraphy and by the tradition preserved in the alphabet of the Samaritans. It became abbreviated in Latin as: *Signum crucis lignum crucis*. That the sign of the cross was the mark designating those whom God had elected for protection in their life and salvation in the after-life, is proved by a series of phylacteries or amulets in which the

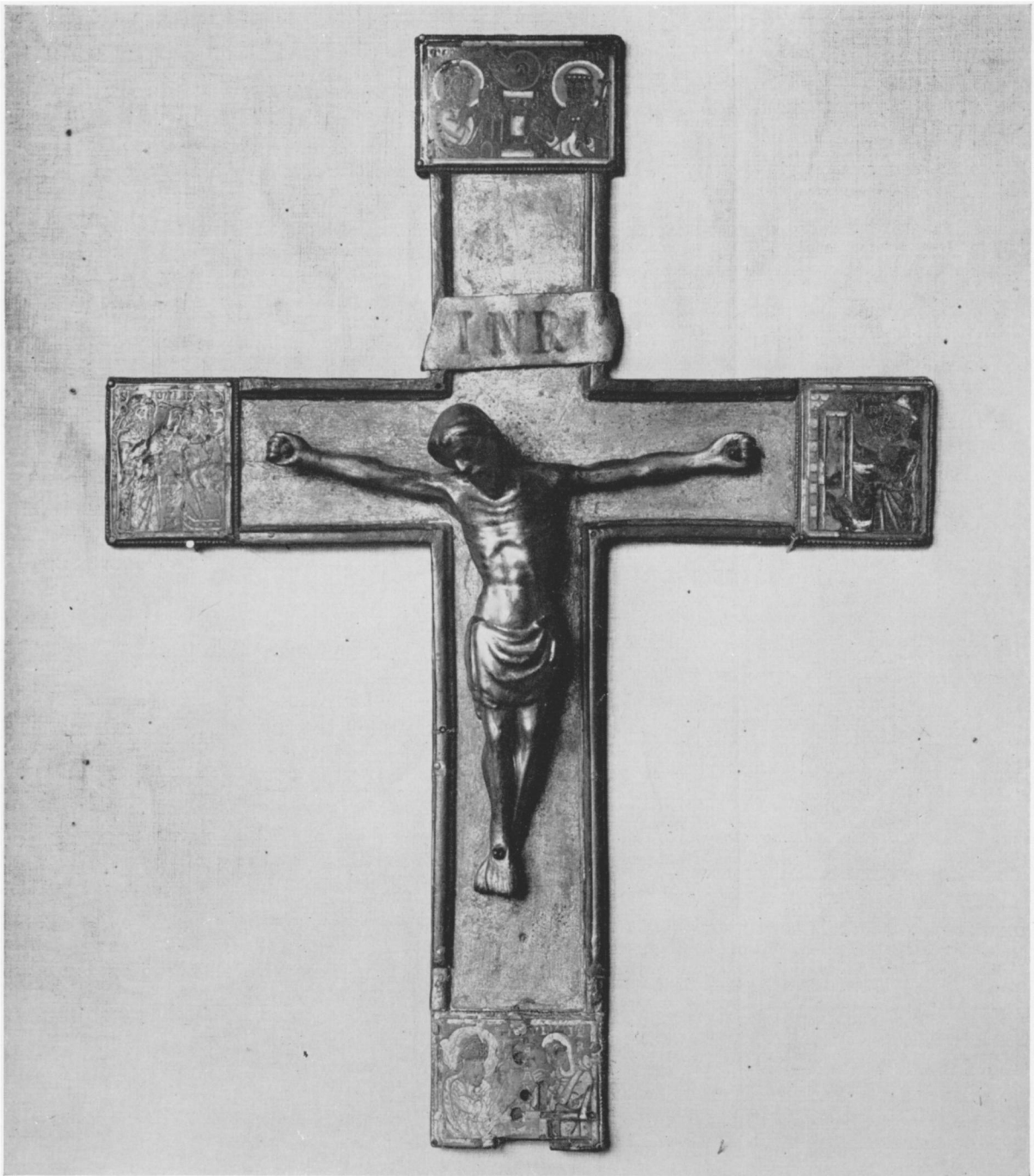


FIGURE 3

*Cross of Kemexhe*

LIEGE, MUSEE CURTIUS





FIGURE 4

PARIS, LOUVRE

*Plaque of Ezechiel's Vision*

cross is designated as the seal of God.<sup>24</sup> The tau adorns the hem of the garments of Christ, His martyrs and saints in the mosaics and frescoes of early Christian art. In the fresco of Chapel 45 of the Coptic monastery at Bawit, where the theme of the communion is related to the vision of Ezechiel, chapter 9, verse 8, the ten apostles represented beneath Christ in Majesty wear mantles and white tunics impressed with T, while St. Peter and St. Paul offer the bread and the chalice marked with the cross. They represent the hundred and forty-four thousand of all the tribes of the children of Israel having the sign of the living God (Apocalypse VII).<sup>25</sup>

\* \* \* \*

The vision of Ezechiel in chapter IX, or the marking of the sign thau (tau) by the man clad in linen with an ink-horn, appears in the following monuments of Mosan and German art:

1.) The processional cross in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels (fig. 2). At the top of this cross a middle-aged man, who is not dressed like a priest of Israel, although he is designated as "SIMILIS AARON" (like Aaron) inscribes the tau on the foreheads of the men "that sigh and mourn." At the opposite end of the shaft of the cross there is a plaque with MAC[t]ATIO AGNI: the slaughter of the paschal lamb, according to the rite prescribed in chapter XII of Exodus. One of the elders of Israel, following the command of Moses, sprinkles the gable of his house with the blood of the slaughtered lamb. He writes with the blood the sign tau. On the three other plaques of the cross are enamelled two other "types," one of the cross and one of the eucharistic sacrifice of Christ: Cain and Abel (Genesis, IV:3-4), and Moses and the brazen serpent (Numbers, XXI:9; cf. John, III:14).<sup>26</sup>



FIGURE 5

PARIS, LOUVRE

*Plaque with Tau of Exodus*



FIGURE 6

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

*Plaques of Brazen Serpent (left); Ezechiel's Vision (right)*

2.) The cross of Kemexhe, Musée Curtius, Liège (fig. 3).<sup>27</sup> On the proper right of the cross an old man, wearing a priestly turban and clad in a robe, inscribes the foreheads of two people with  $\tau$ . He is again named SIMILIS AARON. On the proper left, a middle-aged man, wearing the pointed cap given to the Jews in medieval times, traces the SIGNVM TAV above the lintel of a doorway. The slaughtered lamb lies between the posts and his blood fills a cup. The two other typological plaques at the top and the bottom of the shaft show, respectively, Moses and Aaron flanking the brazen serpent—Elias and the widow of Sarephta gathering two sticks (III Kings, XVII:10 or in the King James version, I Kings, XVII:10).

3.) Two rectangular plaques in the Louvre: one where the man in linen of Ezechiel's vision is designated as SIMILIS AARON (fig. 4) and the other where the besprinkling of the entrance of the house with the blood of the Passover is designated by the words HOC EST PHASE, while the man is inscribing  $\tau$  (fig. 5).<sup>28</sup>

4.) Two semi-circular *plaques* in the British Museum, on which the SIMILIS AARON, on the right, corresponds to the brazen serpent on the left (fig. 6). They were part of a reliquary—or phylactery—in the shape of a quatrefoil. The central part is missing. The two other semi-circular plaques represent John the Evangelist and the Sacrifice of Isaac, respectively.

5.) The same correspondence exists between



FIGURE 7 TROYES, CATHEDRAL TREASURE  
*Scenes according to Exodus and Ezekiel*

two (out of seventeen) semi-circular enamelled plaques preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral at Troyes, where the slaughtering of the lamb on the left is balanced by the marking of thau according to Ezekiel on the right (fig. 7).<sup>29</sup>

6.) On the foot of the Cross of Saint-Bertin,<sup>30</sup> the arrangement of the typological scenes referring to the cross is more complex (fig. 8). The subjects are more numerous and they are divided between a quadrangular pillar and its hemispherical base. To one of the four rectangular plaques on the pillar showing the vision of Ezekiel and inscribed SIGNATI—the people marked for salvation with the thau inscribed by the SIMILIS AARON (fig. 9)—corresponds one of the four quadrants of the base with the besprinkling of the house marked SIGNVM TAV with the blood of the Passover: MACTATIO AGNI—HOC EST PHAZE (fig. 11). The other symbolical references are: Isaac carrying the wood of the burnt offering of his own sacrifice (Genesis, XXII:6, fig. 10) and Moses striking the rock in the desert of Zin, “and there came forth water in great abundance” (Numbers, XX:11; fig. 12); Joshua and Caleb bearing on a

staff the cluster of grapes cut in the land of Canaan (Numbers, XIII:24, XIV:6; fig. 13) and the Brazen Serpent (fig. 15); the widow of Sarephta holding two crossed sticks (fig. 14); and Jacob blessing crosswise the two sons of Joseph, Ephraim and Manasses, setting Ephraim before the first-born, Manasses (Genesis, XLVIII; fig. 16).

7.) On a Rhenish-Cologne plaque in the Louvre (fig. 17)<sup>31</sup> an angel appears behind the man clothed in linen (Ezekiel, IX:3) and there are a group of SIGNATI, the body of a slain woman and the inscription:

+ . MORS DEVITATVR PER T  
DVM FRONTE NOTATVR . +

8.) A plaque, formerly in the collections of Debruge-Duménil and Labarte, was probably the top of a portable altar, stylistically related in the draughtsmanship and enamelling technique to the Cologne artist Fredericus, and in particular to his Gregorius portable altar in Siegburg.<sup>32</sup> Characteristic are the scrolls with their thorny and indented palmettes in enamel, the stiff but impressive figures reserved in the metal, having fan-like radiating draperies with serrated and angular patterns. The central part of the plaque shows three superposed scenes: the Crucifixion between the three Marys at the tomb and the Ascension. “Types” and characters from the Old Testament surround the frame. On the left side there are Noah’s Ark, the inscription of T according both to Exodus XII and to Ezekiel IX, and the Brazen Serpent; on the right are Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph, Moses striking the Rock, the Cluster of Grapes, and the Widow of Sarephta. Above are Abel, Melchisedech, Abraham with the Ram, and Isaac; below: Isaias, David, Solomon and Jeremias announcing the Passion of Christ. The inscription around the three central plaques reads:

Quod vetus exemit, novus Adam a morte redemit.  
Suscitat inde Deus, corruit unde reus.  
Vita redit, mors victa perit, homo surgere credit  
Summaque cum domino scandere regna suo.



FIGURE 8

*Foot of the Cross of Saint-Bertin*

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM



FIGURE 9 SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

*Ezechiel's Vision  
Detail of figure 8*



FIGURE 10 SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

*Isaac Carrying the Burnt Offering  
Detail of figure 8*





FIGURE 11

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

*Foot of the Cross of Saint-Bertin  
Besprinkling of the House with the Blood of Passover  
Detail of figure 8*



FIGURE 12

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

*Foot of the Cross of Saint-Bertin  
Moses Striking the Rock  
Detail of figure 8*



FIGURE 13

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

*The Cluster of Grapes  
Detail of figure 8*



FIGURE 14

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

*The Widow of Sarephta  
Detail of figure 8*



FIGURE 15

*The Brazen Serpent*  
Detail of figure 8

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM

It exalts the theme of the redemption. The tau scenes from Exodus and Ezechiel are inscribed; the former:

Sanguis in hoc poste populum testatur ab  
hoste.

and the second:

Mors devitatur per tau dum fronte notatur.

(compare no. 7 of this list). Remarkable and worth quoting in our context are two inscriptions, one which implies the mystery of baptism in the Ark of Noah:

Arca superflua. Dux sunt Christus, fons sacer  
et crux

and the other inferring with baptism the eucharist in Moses striking the Rock:

Fons silicis duri cruor est salvans crucifixi.

Two other inscriptions in Leonine verses had been engraved in the framework, their letters filled with white enamel. The outer one referred symbolically to the Ark of the Covenant, the Tables of the Law, the Manna and to Aaron's Rod; the inner one to the quaternity of the Evangelists and to the virtues of the Cross.

9.) One of four plaques, late Mosan or rather a Colognese work, preserved in the treasure of the Cathedral at Vienna.<sup>33</sup> These four plaques, shaped like irregular pentagons, originally be-

longed to a canopied portable altar (*ciborium itinerarium*), like the Carolingian one preserved intact in the Residenz at Munich. The figures are reserved against a blue background and exhibit an agitated draughtmanship and impetuous gestures. Only objects and details are enamelled with the usual shadings: white into blue or green, yellow into green; small quatrefoils in *cloisonné* technique are set in the *champlevé* enamel of the borders. The technique shows some similarities to Mosan practice, but seems to be mainly German, as is the style. In the iconographical presentation of the *sign tau* (fig. 18) are blended elements that belong directly to the besprinkling of the lintels in Exodus and indirectly to the

marking of the people to be saved in Ezechiel (the costume of the man writing with a quill, the youth, seen from the back, lifting up his hands in terror). Each type of the cross represented on the four plaques has a corresponding virtue. *Pietas*—because it is the antithesis of *Justitia*—goes with the *sign tau*, whereas the *titulus*: SCRIBERE QVI CVRAT TAV / VIR SACRA FIGVRAT: “The man engaged in writing tau, symbolizes the mysteries” [of the cross and of the sacraments deriving from the cross], alludes to the sacramental as well as the soteriological value of the sign of the cross. On the three other plaques, the sacrifice of Isaac corresponds to Justice, Jacob’s crossed blessing of the sons of



FIGURE 16

*Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph*  
Detail of figure 8

SAINT-OMER, MUSEUM





FIGURE 17

*Plaque of Ezekiel's Vision*

PARIS, LOUVRE

Joseph is balanced by Prudence, and Botrus (the carrying of the cluster of grapes) by Temperance.

10.) On the first (top) plaque of the twelfth series of similitudes on the altarpiece of Klosterneuburg executed by Nicholas of Verdun (1181), a bearded man, clad like the *similis Aaron* of the Kemexhe cross and the old man clothed in linen of the Walters plaque, writes the letter tau above the door of his house. The slaughtered lamb bleeds into a bowl. The Angel of the Wrath of the Lord topples over a column in the palace of Pharaoh and beheads his first-born (Exodus, XII:29). The inscription sets forth the prophylactic value of the sign tau:<sup>34</sup>

SANGVINE PLEBS POSTES MVNIT NE-  
CAT ANGELVS HOSTES

"The people of God protect the entrance [of the houses] with blood, the Angel of the Lord exterminates its enemies."

11.) An enamelled plaque with the vision of Ezekiel was, it has been hypothesized, set with many other types of the Passion on one side of the quadrangular foot of the gold cross which Abbot Suger commissioned for the entrance of the choir in the abbey church of Saint-Denis. As the Abbot recorded it, "barely within two years [1145-1147] were we able to have completed, through several goldsmiths from Lorraine [that





FIGURE 18

VIENNA, CATHEDRAL TREASURE

*Plaque of Ezekiel's Vision*



FIGURE 19 SAINT-DENIS, ABBEY CHURCH  
*Stained-glass panel of Ezechiel's Vision*

is, Lotharingian or Mosan]—at times five, at other times seven—the pedestal adorned with the Four Evangelists; and the pillar upon which the sacred image stands, enamelled with exquisite workmanship and [on it] the history of the Saviour, with the testimonies of the allegories from the Old Testament indicated, and the capital above looking up, with its images [two figures of the elements, Abyssus and the centurion Longinus], to the Death of the Lord.”<sup>35</sup> This hypothesis is founded partly on a comparison with the foot of the cross at St. Bertin—a reduced copy of the foot of the cross at Saint-Denis which was dismantled and destroyed before the French Revolution<sup>36</sup>—and on the surmise that a window of the Passion of Christ formed part of the typological program of stained-glass windows established by Suger for lighting the ambulatory, which had been dedicated

in 1144. A panel (a roundel) from the window devoted to the Crucifixion with an allegory (type) in the Old Testament has survived. It shows the man clothed in linen marking the foreheads of an old man, a middle-aged man and two young men with the *signum tau* (fig. 19).<sup>37</sup>

At the end of this list of monuments of goldsmiths' work we must add five other works of painting or stained glass which exhibit compositional schemes analogous to those found in Mosan enamels, or which may be associated with the great movement of art and of allegorizing theology that started in Liège and the monasteries of the diocese of Liège towards the beginning of the twelfth century:

12.) The fresco of the second half of the twelfth century in the Callixtus chapel of the Count of Hainaut at Mons. At the center of the composition, above a window, is the Dove of the Holy Ghost in a circular glory. The meeting of Elias and the widow of Sarepta is painted below on the proper right; on the proper left the man clothed in a linen robe with an embroidered hem marks with  $\tau$  the forehead of a man who steps from a doorway, clad in a short tunic and boots. The style is reminiscent of the illuminations painted in the scriptoria of Saint-Trond and Stavelot.<sup>38</sup>

13.) The Ezechiel cycle, in the lower church (St. Clement) at Schwarzhof— the most important art monument illustrating the Book of Ezechiel.<sup>39</sup> The dedication of that church and of the upper church, consecrated to the Virgin and to John the Evangelist, took place on April 24, 1151, in the presence of the Emperor Conrad, Arnold von Wied, Wibald, Abbot of Corvey and Stavelot, and Nicholas, Abbot of Siegburg. The altars were blessed by Albert, Bishop of Metz, assisted by Henry, Bishop of Liège, and by Bishop Otto of Freising. Arnold von Wied, the founder of Schwarzhof, had perhaps been a pupil of Robert de Saint Laurent (Rupert of Deutz) after 1117. From 1127 he was Prior of the Chapter of the Cathedral at Cologne and from 1138 Chancellor of Conrad III. On the severies of the groin vault to the north of the octagon are painted the apparition of Jehovah to Ezechiel, the calling of the six men with a weapon

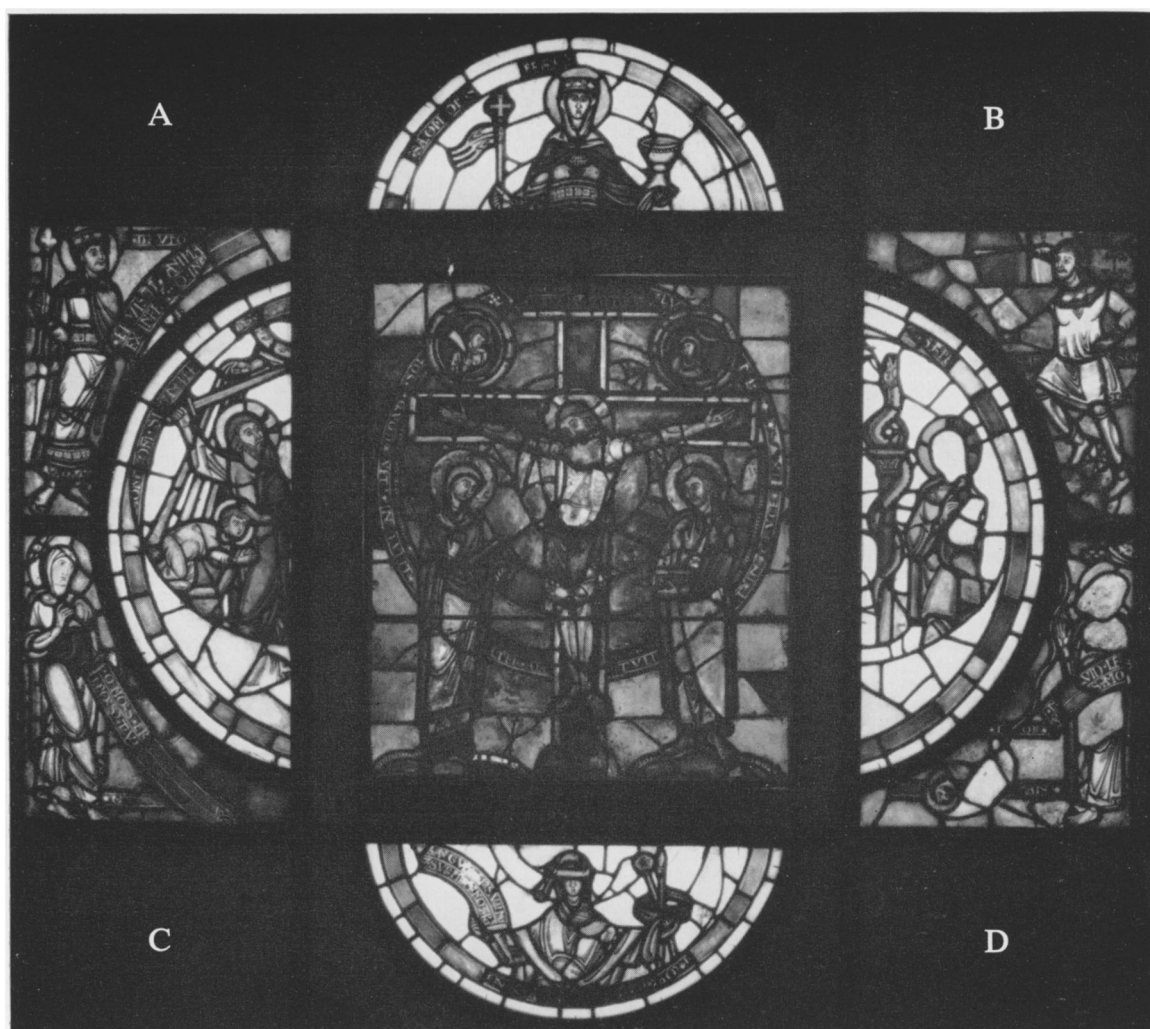


FIGURE 20

CHALONS-SUR-MARNE, CATHEDRAL

*Typological Window*

*(Not all elements had been replaced when this photo was taken. Missing are: A-Tau of Exodus; B-Thau of Ezechiel; C-Widow of Sarephta; D-Cluster of Grapes.)*

of slaughter in their hands, the marking of the elect and the slaughter of the culprits. Above these scenes and explaining their sense both typologically and anagogically, is painted the Crucifixion.

14.) The vision of the sign thau in Ezechiel was part of a typological cycle of frescoes painted around 1170 in the Anglo-Norman choir of the Cathedral of Peterborough. The frescoes perished,

but the scenes and the *tituli* were reproduced in the late thirteenth century in the Peterborough Psalter.<sup>40</sup>

15.) The mid-twelfth-century window of the Crucifixion in the Cathedral of Châlons-sur-Marne remains today the most complete typological monument in which the thau sign in Ezechiel received its full significance in the context of twelve stained-glass panels pertaining to the allegory of

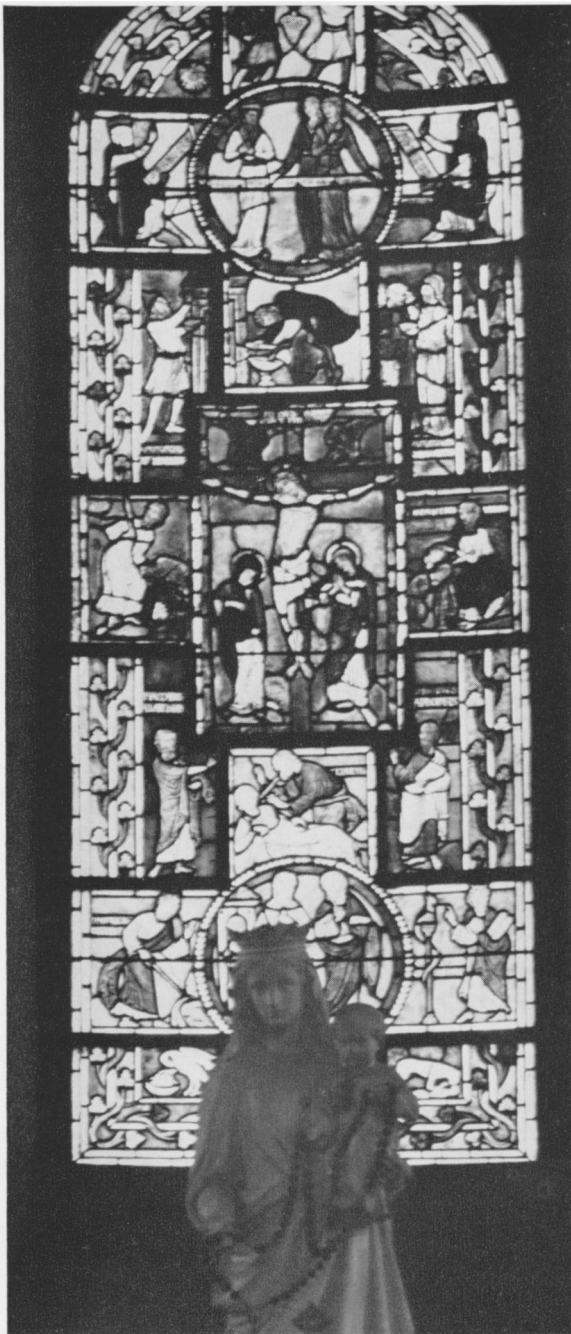


FIGURE 21 ORBAIS, CHURCH  
*Allegorical Window of Crucifixion*

the Cross, the new Covenant and the Redemption (fig. 20). These twelve typological panels are arranged radially, following a cruciform scheme, around the central square panel of the Crucifixion. They consist of six pairs: the Church and the Synagogue; the Sacrifice of Isaac and the Brazen Serpent; David (cf. Ps. LXXXV:13) and Samson carrying the gates of Gaza; Hosea (XIII:14) and Job (a prophecy of the capture of Leviathan, that is, of the victory of Christ over death); the sign tau in Exodus and Ezechiel; the Cluster of Grapes and the Widow of Sarephta. The Crucifixion window at Chalons-sur-Marne occupies a key position in our series because the arrangement of the panels is the same as the disposition of the enamels on the top of the portable altar from Stavelot—as L. Grodecki has demonstrated.<sup>41</sup> Certain subjects coincide in both works.

16.) The early thirteenth-century example of the allegorical stained-glass window of the Crucifixion in the apsidal chapel of the Church of Orbais, in Champagne, the layout of which is unusually complicated (fig. 21). It may be described thus: (A.) in the upper part, around a circular medallion showing the “daughters of Jerusalem” symbolically meeting Christ on His way to Calvary, are four panels radiating according to a cruciform scheme: the Cluster of Grapes, David with the prophecy on the Pelican (sacrifice of Christ), St. John with the prophecy on the eagle (victory of Christ) and the slaughter of the paschal lamb; (B.) in the lower part, flanking the Crucifixion, the sacrifice of Isaac and Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph. Between A and B are the episodes of the tau in Exodus (proper right) and in Ezechiel (proper left).<sup>42</sup>

\* \* \* \*

It will be observed that the sign thau is mentioned only in the vision described in the ninth chapter of Ezechiel, verse 4, according to the Vulgate: . . . *signa thau super frontes virorum gementium et dolentium* . . . That, on the other hand, the passage in chapter twelve of Exodus, which the commentators related to the vision of Ezechiel, does not mention Aaron nor any priest, but the *seniores filiorum Israel*, the “elders of

Israel," whom Moses ordered to dip a bunch of hyssop in the blood of the slain Passover lamb and besprinkle the lintel and the door posts of their houses. "Let none of you go out of the door of his house till morning. For the Lord will pass through striking the Egyptians; and when he shall see the blood upon the transom and on both the posts, he will pass over the door of the house, and not suffer the destroyer to come into your houses to hurt you" (verses 22-23). The passage points out the soteriological implication of the pass over (Passover or Phase).<sup>43</sup> On the typological Mosan reliquary-cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum, decorated with "types" of the Passion (fig. 23), the plaque on the proper right labels the besprinkler mentioned in Exodus XII as Aaron (fig. 22).<sup>44</sup> On the upper part of the frame of the reliquary of the True Cross in the treasure of the basilica of Notre Dame at Tongres, the sign tau is inscribed by Moses.<sup>45</sup> In the Mosan monuments, whoever is represented marking uses a quill, like the man in the vision of Ezechiel, instead of besprinkling with a bunch of hyssop, as the text of Exodus XII prescribes.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, in five monuments of Mosan enamel work illustrating the vision of Ezechiel, the man with an inkhorn, who inscribes the thau on the foreheads of those who will be saved by this mark, is labelled *Similis Aaron*. The assimilation is obvious. The monuments of Mosan art and those which reflect its influence observe the link between Exodus XII and Ezechiel IX which the commentators had established. They stress the correspondence even more strongly and obviously—an indication that typological works of art have to be considered in their own right as theological statements or as *schemata* in themselves,<sup>47</sup> since they convey a visual form to special patterns of symbolical thinking that are not strictly subservient to literary tradition. The tradition bringing together into a single context the besprinkling of the houses of Israel with the blood of the paschal lamb, in Exodus, and the marking of the elect with thau, in Ezechiel, remained, however, an unbroken one since Isidore of Seville and Bede.<sup>48</sup> Isidore of Seville anticipated Bede by writing "We read in Ezechiel the proof that the cross marks in ad-

vance the foreheads of those who are given in trusteeship to that sign for their salvation . . . The letter thau is indeed designed like a figure of the cross and it earmarks those who are designated to escape the destruction of this world. The type of the thau was anticipated in Egypt by the blood of the white and spotless lamb which allegorically marks the side posts of our body."<sup>49</sup> If on the Mosan enamels the two posts and the lintel of the houses of Israel in Egypt are besprinkled by Aaron, it is because Aaron is the high priest who figuratively announced the priesthood of Christ Whom God called to be the celebrant of His own redeeming sacrifice.<sup>50</sup> The man clothed in linen of Ezechiel's vision was designated by inscriptions as *Similis Aaron*, because he was considered as another figure of Christ. Rupert of Deutz interpreted that "one man," who in the vision of Ezechiel is sorted out from the six other men who each had "his weapon of destruction in his hand," as Christ, Who clothed Himself in the "linen" of human flesh to come to this world in order to save His elect and to write those who bear the sign of the cross in the Book of Life.<sup>51</sup> And last but not least, the tau, both marked on the houses of Israel and impressed on the foreheads of the elect, connotes primarily the sacrament of baptism,<sup>52</sup> in which the sign of the cross is marked on the Christians.<sup>53</sup>

\* \* \* \*

From what monument may the Walters plaque have come and what is its origin? A few hypotheses will be examined briefly. First: it could have come from a triptych or from a small reredos of the Passion, the structure of which would be similar to one in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels.<sup>54</sup> However we do not know, either directly or from a literary source, of any actual monument of this sort presenting also the "types" of the different episodes of the Passion of Christ. Their existence may only be inferred from the Klosterneuburg antependium. Then it is also possible that the Walters plaque could have been set either on the shaft of the cross, as is the case with the processional cross in the Musée du Cinquantenaire in Brussels, or on a supporting pillar



FIGURE 22 LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM  
*Plaque with Tau of Exodus*  
*Detail of figure 23*

of the type of the foot of the cross of Saint-Bertin. But the presence of a continuous *grénetis* border, emphasized by the inscription running along the four sides, suggests that the plaque was intended to be seen in a certain isolation. Its proportions correspond exactly with those of the vertical enamel plaques which, in actual instances, we still see nailed at the ends of the cross-bar of Mosan crucifixes. Its very layout precludes the possibility that the Walters plaque could have belonged to a portable altar or to the frame of a reliquary of the True Cross. The possibility cannot be discarded that it may have been inserted in the shaft of the foot of a cross, but again the safest inference is that originally it was attached to the proper left side of the cross-bar of a processional or reliquary cross.<sup>55</sup> Its companion piece on the proper right, among a range of other "types" of the cross, could very well have been

Aaron marking the tau sign on the houses of Israel.

The technique of the Walters plaque is definitely Mosan. But the unusual addition of a *titulus* suggests that it was executed by an obscure enameller who was not a great artist, in a Germanic *milieu*, probably in or around Cologne. The Mosan workshops were rather reluctant to incorporate *tituli* in their typological monuments.<sup>56</sup> The inscriptions they present are ordinarily those strictly necessary to identify the characters or they were in the guise of captions. *Tituli* couched in Leonine verses and constituting typological digests characterize, on the contrary, the more literary and allegorically-minded German approach to symbolical art through the twelfth century.<sup>57</sup> Abbot Suger also wrote *tituli* to explain the artistic program he commissioned in his abbey church at Saint-Denis, because, both as a writer and as a self-styled theologian, he was anxious to make his recondite concepts clearly grasped. But if we examine the enamels of the second half of the twelfth century, we find *tituli* on the monuments illustrating the vision of the sign thau in Ezechiel only where the draughtsmanship of the figures, particularities of the decoration and the technical handling of the *champlevé* enamel unmistakably indicate craftsmen trained in or conversant with the formulae of the ateliers of Cologne and Siegburg.

We will conclude this study by summarizing the mystical meaning of the sign thau (tau) so as to demonstrate the significance of its frequent use in the context of the enamelled crosses as well as in the stained-glass windows of the Crucifixion during the twelfth century. In the "type" it was the anticipation of the cross through which salvation was granted to the Hebrews in Egypt and to the elect of the vision of Ezechiel; and just so in the "mystery," it was the death of Christ on the cross, and His triumph through the cross, that warranted redemption to man. The promise of salvation contained in the sacrifice on the cross extends to the entire cosmos. The cross vindicated man in his totality and mankind in its entirety. The tau sign appears therefore as a figure of the cross in a double sense—a cosmic one and a moral one. It was most appropriate



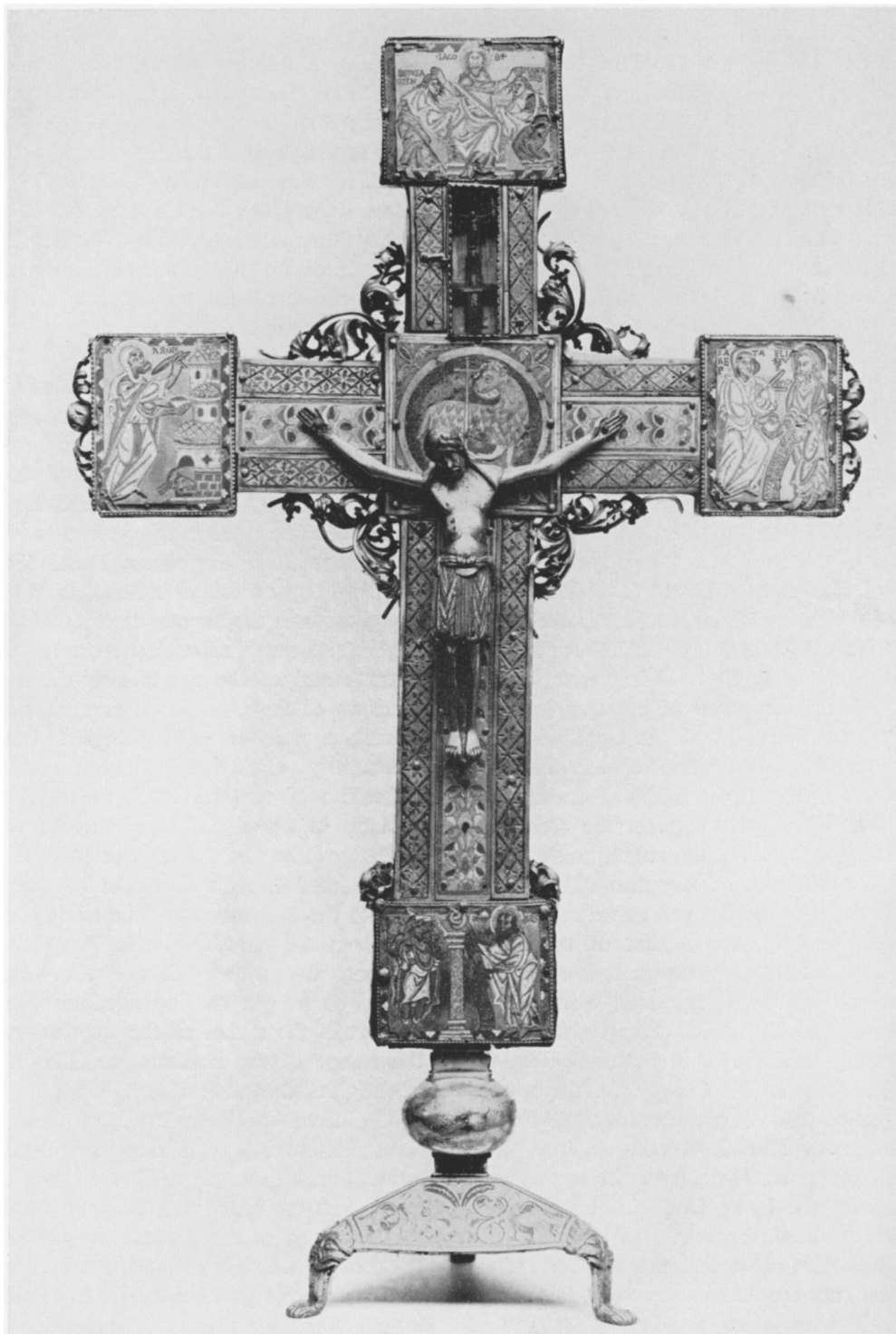


FIGURE 23

LONDON, VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM

*Typological Reliquary Cross*

to affix the images of the tau episodes on a cross, since the cross itself was considered as a scheme of the cosmos and as a symbol of the virtues in Christ, by which the economy of salvation is operated.<sup>58</sup> The tau was particularly associated with an exegesis of baptism, because to be baptized means to be baptized in the name of Christ, to be marked with the sign of His cross and to become crucified with Christ. The newly baptized, having been "planted in the death" of Christ, received the promise to be planted "in the likeness of the resurrection" (Romans, VI: 3-5; cf. I Corinthians, I: 13-18).<sup>59</sup> Consequently the tau is pregnant with eschatological meaning. Let us examine it briefly from that angle. Christ had warned: ". . . whosoever doth not carry his cross and come after me, cannot be my disciple" (Luke, XIV:27). Rupert of Deutz applied to the "men that sigh and mourn" of Ezechiel's vision, the admonition of Christ: ". . . Do penance, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand" (Matth. IV:17). The ink of the man clothed in linen is the blood which Christ will sanctify by His Passion and is the seal of the Holy Ghost.<sup>60</sup> Impressed on the foreheads by the sacrament of baptism,<sup>61</sup> as the sign of the cross marked with the blood of Christ and bringing the confirmation of the Spirit, it has the power to rescue the faithful from death.<sup>62</sup> "On the fearful day of Judgment the cross will be brought in the hands of the angels and exposed before all the mortals . . . everyone who will not exhibit the mark of this sign of salvation, will be ignored and cast by the verdict of the Judge like an alien among the condemned ones. But those who will be found impressed with that divine sign, because they took example after their Redeemer in suffering, will be made by the Judge participants in his Glory . . . the wicked who refused to carry their cross and to follow their redeemer will be dealt with as announced in Ezechiel."<sup>63</sup> In the Apocalypse the angel "having the sign of the living God . . . cried with a loud voice to the four angels, to whom it was given to hurt the earth and the sea . . . Hurt not the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we sign the servants of our God in their foreheads. And I heard the number of them that were signed, an hundred forty-four thousand were signed, of

every tribe of the children of Israel" (Apocalypse, VII:2-4). The bearers of the seal of God, number 144,000, a number which, like the letter tau with the Hebrews, symbolizes completeness (12 x 12 x 1000).<sup>64</sup>

In iconography, the sign tau according to Ezechiel was especially illustrated in monuments during the twelfth century. It represents perhaps the most mysterious as well as the deepest exponent of the revival and rendering of typology in the pre-scholastic movement of thought and art in that period. Associated with an exegesis and a theology which are commonly described as allegorizing, but which were essentially characterized by a visionary trend, the theme lost its importance in the more didactic thirteenth-century art. Already in the Lambeth Bible the episodes of the vision of Ezechiel in chapter nine are juxtaposed like a frieze in a narrative way, under two scenes illustrating verses 1 and 3 of chapter eight.<sup>65</sup> They no longer radiate as did the types of the cross in the former centralized schematization.<sup>66</sup> The compositional patterns of the Mosan enamels and of the twelfth-century stained-glass windows of the Crucifixion survive, however, in a certain number of typological windows, at Canterbury Cathedral,<sup>67</sup> and in the French cathedrals of the thirteenth century, more particularly in those of Bourges and Le Mans. In the latter examples the inscription in Exodus XII is associated either with Christ bearing the Cross or with the Resurrection. The traditional types—Abraham and Isaac, the tau in Exodus, the Brazen Serpent, the widow of Sarephtha—were again carved as images sharing a common symbolical context in the niches of the interior wall around the rosace of the northern portal of the facade of the Cathedral at Reims.<sup>68</sup>

The cross as the *sphragis* of God impressed on the foreheads will reappear in the Gothic international style: as a fillet bearing a jewelled cross and encircling the hair of the angels in the tapestries of the Apocalypse at Angers—the cartoons of which were designed by Jean Bondol of Bruges—and on the head of St. Michael weighing the souls in a manuscript of the *Cité de Dieu*, dated 1376 and dedicated to King Charles V (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 22, 912-

913, fol. 370),<sup>69</sup> on those of the angels collecting the blood of Christ crucified in the panel painting called the "Calvary of the Tanners" (Bruges Cathedral), and on that of the Archangel Gabriel and of the angels on the triptych reliquary of Notre Dame at Tongres, around 1400,<sup>70</sup> on that of the angel of the Annunciation on the panel in the museum at Laon, attributed to an artist close to the master of the Rohan Book of Hours,<sup>71</sup> of the angels supporting Christ lowered from the cross, in the museum at Troyes, and of the angel sustaining the right knee of Christ in the large circular Pietà in the Louvre, both works connected with the school of Champmol and Jean Malouel, as is the Madonna and Child with Angels in the Berlin Museum.<sup>72</sup> All these examples of the tau-cross—*sphragis* or seal—metamorphosed into jewelry, illustrate the tendency to materialize the spiritual, to render the *spiritualia*, in cryptical symbolism, *sub metaphoris corporalium*.<sup>73</sup> The τ is inscribed at the crossing of two red bars on the targe held by the knight in the center of the *Christi Milites*, the first panel on the proper right of the Adoration of the Lamb, the polyptych designed by Hubert van Eyck, in St. Bavon, Ghent. In the sixth plate of the Apocalypse of Albrecht Dürer—a work embodying and anticipating the revival of visionary art after the *détente* period in the late Gothic—four angels, during the mysterious lull between the opening of the sixth and the seventh seals, hold back the four winds of the earth, so that no wind might harm the earth or the sea or the trees, till the servants of God are marked on their foreheads—as in chapter nine of Ezechiel—and the angel, ascending "from the rising of the sun, having the sign of the living God" (Apocalypse, VII:2), bears on his shoulder the tau-cross.

Addendum to this article appears on p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> No. 44.616. 2 15/16 x 2 3/16 in. (.075 x .055). *The Notable Art Collection of the late Joseph Brummer*, Part II, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, May 11-13, 1949, no. 709, ill. It had been in the collection of Prince Chigi, Rome, and Dr. Ettore Sestieri. It was exhibited at the University of Notre Dame in 1960: *Art of the Romanesque* (no. 20 of the catalogue).

<sup>2</sup> In this vision of Ezechiel, the six men who will slaughter the guilty "came from the way of the upper gate, which looketh to the north." Cf. also Ezechiel I:4.

In Canaanite mythology the gods lived in the north (cf. *The Oxford Annotated Bible*, Oxford University Press, 1962, p. 1008). The north was also the abode of the gods in other religious traditions; cf. Servius: "sinistras autem partes septentrionales esse augurum disciplina . . . quoniam altiora et viciniora domicilio Jovis" (*In Verg. Aen.*, 2:693). Also Isaias XIV:13 and Psalm 47:3. The mid-twelfth-century fresco in the lower church at Schwarzheldorf, representing the apparition of Jehovah to Ezechiel in chapter 9, is symbolically located in the northern part. W. Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII Jahrhunderts*, Münster in Westf., 1912, II: *Der Zyklen von Schwarzheldorf*, pp. 265 f. and plate facing p. 270. At Schwarzheldorf the Ezechiel cycle illustrates the chapters of the Book of Ezechiel from I:4-5 to XLIII:1-4. The program follows a cruciform layout.

<sup>3</sup> *Analecta Hymnica* 43, Leipzig, 1903, p. 22. The soteriological interpretation equating tau (T) with the Cross (+) is very old. Among a great number of examples cf., for instance, the comment of St. Cyprian on Ezechiel IX:4: "quod in hoc signo crucis salus sit omnibus qui in fronte notantur," *Testimonia* II, 22: *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (abbreviated henceforth as C.S.E.L.), 3, p. 90.

<sup>4</sup> *Patrologia Latina*, CVII, figura XIV, cols. 203-204; Commentary (*Declaratio figurae*), cols. 205-206. Z is, in fact, the sixth letter of the Greek alphabet, but in Greek an obsolete letter was retained to write 6, so that Z came to signify 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Pat. Lat.* CLX, col. 1005. *Caritas* is also equated to a *mysterium crucis* in this passage. The mystical value of 100 is based on 10, the perfect number with the Greeks—multiplied by itself. Rupert of Deutz copied Berengosus almost *verbatim* in his exegesis of the same passage of Judges (cf. *Pat. Lat.*, CLXVII, col. 1038), an instance—among countless others such as *Pat. Lat.*, CVII, col. 729—of the copying of quotations from earlier literature as they were listed in monotonous sequences in the *catenae*, those literary *exempla* or literary pattern-books used in allegorizing theology, until St. Thomas of Aquinas, who applied in his *catena aurea* the tropological sense. At the basis of such mystical speculations on numbers lies the Pythagorean concept, according to which: "all that has been arranged by Nature with systematic method in the universe seems in the parts and in the whole to have been determined and ordered by the forethought and the mind of Him that created all things." Nicomachus of Gerasa, *Introductio Arithmetica*, 1, 6, edit. Hoche, Leipzig, 1866, p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Pères Apostoliques I-II. Doctrine des Apôtres. Epître de Barnabé*, ed. transl. H. Hemmer, G. Oger, H. Laurent, Paris, 1907, pp. 62-65. Cf. Michel Aubineau, "Les 318 serviteurs d'Abraham (Gen., XIV: 14) et le nombre des Pères au Concile de Nicée (325)," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, LXI (1966), pp. 1-43.

<sup>7</sup> *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum* XXXVII: *Pat. Lat.*, XXXIV, col. 804.

<sup>8</sup> *Adversus Marcionem*, III, 22, C.S.E.L., 47, p. 416 (*Pat. Lat.*, II, col. 353); cf. *Adversus Iudeos*, II: *Pat. Lat.*, II, col. 631; and the quotation from the hymn, *Rex Aeternae Domine* (mentioned in the rules of Caesarius and Aurelianus of Arles, ca. 500 A.D.):

Tu hostis antiqui vireper  
Crucem mortis conterens  
Qua nos signasti frontibus,  
Vexillum fronte ferimus.

W. Bulst, *Hymni latini antiquissimi LXXV—Psalmi III*, Heidelberg, 1933, p. 92.

<sup>9</sup> *Moralia in Job*, *Pat. Lat.*, LXXVI, col. 566. Cf. the

sermon of Pope Innocentius at the Lateran Council in 1215: "Sermo VI," *Pat. Lat.*, CCXVII, cols. 676-677.

<sup>10</sup> It is used to mark the last division in Psalm 118 (119), i.e., verses 169-176.

<sup>11</sup> *Selecta in Ezechielem*, IX, *Patrologia Graeca*, XIII, col. 800 (Lommatzsch, 14,209).

<sup>12</sup> Curiously enough the meaning of fulfillment symbolized by the Jewish thau was kept in Christian exegesis down into the Middle Ages: "Sicut totum corpus legis Christum sonabat, sic et istud elementum legis, Christi crucem praedicabat. Nec tantum praedicabat, sed et ipsa forma visibili legentium oculis ingerebat. Ingerebat, inquam, littera haec forma sua legentium oculis Christi crucem; praedicabat et nomine suo Christi in cruce passionem. Nam, quum thau lingua latina consummatio dicatur, nonne jam hoc nomine suo, Christi vocem ultimam in cruce sonabat, qua dixit: 'Consummatum est?' Nonne universa de Christo ante praedicta, per Christi crucem implenda et consummanda esse, hoc suo nomine testificata est?" Petrus Venerabilis, *Tractatus contra Petrobrusianos*, a text quoted by A. Martin and C. Cahier, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-1844, pp. 35-36; cf. *Pat. Lat.* CLXXXIX, col. 779.

<sup>13</sup> Lib. III, cap. IX: *Pat. Lat.* XXV, cols. 88, 89. Cf. Origenes, *op. cit.*, col. 801 and Pseudo-Hieronymus, *Pat. Lat.*, XXV, col. 792. Molanus, *De Historia S. S. Imaginum*, ed. Paquot, pp. 428 f. Molanus quoting Gesenius: *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt*, I, 51, 33, indicated the similarity between the Samaritan thau and the + found in the Phoenician alphabet and the Numidic inscriptions. (Cf. also the criticism raised by Scaliger and other linguists against the statement of St. Jerome in a note to the passage quoted above added by the editors of the *Patrologia Latina*.) In fact, in all of the Samaritan inscriptions discovered so far the tau is written X as in old Aramaean: J. F. Dölger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens," II, *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, II (1959), note 14.

<sup>14</sup> J. F. Dölger, *op. cit.*, p. 17. E. Sauser, "Tau," in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IX, Freiburg (1964), col. 1306. Table of concordance in W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, Penguin Books, 1949, p. 193.

<sup>15</sup> E. Dinkler, "Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, V (1962), pp. 93-99, list pp. 109-112; pl. 4, 5, b and c, 6, 7; cf. in the appendix the discussion of chapter VI, "Il sigillo della Croce," in E. Testa's *Il Simbolismo dei Giudeo-Christiani*, 1962. On the expression "seal of God" among the Greek-speaking Christians, cf. *The Testament of Solomon*, E. Dinkler, *op. cit.*, p. 99 and note 25.

<sup>16</sup> P. Thoby, *Le crucifix des origines au Concile de Trente*, Nantes, 1959, p. 13. Other symbolical variations of the tau-shaped *crux commissa* (T) and expressions of the secret cross (*crux dissimulata*) during the period of persecution were: the anchor, the axe (*ascia*, particularly at Lyons, at the time of St. Irenaeus), the ship's mast and its yard-arm (as already on a Dionysiac sarcophagus in the Walters Art Gallery), and the mystical bird with spread wings: Mgr. Wilpert, "La Croce sui monumenti delle catacombe," *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana*, 1902. It is a Chi (χ)—the first letter of the name of Christ in Greek—that is painted in blood-colored minium over the entrance to the catacomb of St. Callixtus: Mgr. Wilpert, *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*, 1904, pp. 495 f., fig. 46; J. F. Dölger in *Antike und Christentum*, V, 1936, pp. 248-254. The Greek letter iota and its apex, ι (ἰῶτα and κεφαλαί) was, like the tau, a visual sign of the cross and a symbol of the death of Christ foretold by the prophets; cf. the texts, for the most part written by the Greek fathers, gathered by H. Rahner, "Antenna Crucis, V,

Das mystische Tau," *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, LXXV (1953), pp. 384 f.; cf. p. 166. The interpretation of ι as the cross and the accomplishment of the law is based on Matthew V:18. On the other hand, in the magic square of the Christians, which can be read directly and in reverse and both horizontally and vertically:

S A T O R  
A R E P O  
T E N E T  
O P E R A  
R O T A S

the word TENET which begins and ends with a T (tau) is hidden as a *crux dissimulata*. Cf. J. Carcopino, *Etudes d'histoire chrétienne*, Paris, 1953, "Le christianisme secret du carré magique," pp. 11-91. The letters contained in the magical square may also be built into a cruciform *Pater Noster*, encompassed by the Apocalyptic letters A O: Alpha Omega:

A  
·  
P  
A  
T  
E  
R  
N  
O  
S  
T  
E  
R  
·  
O  
A . P A T E R N O S T E R . O

Cf. F. Grosser, "Ein neuer Vorschlag zur Deutung der Satorformel," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXIX, 1926, pp. 165-169. Cf. the comparison drawn by Irenaeus between the five letters of the *Pater* and the dimensions of the cross: *Adv. Haer.*, II, 24,4; cf. G. de Jerphanion in *Recherches de science religieuse*, XXV, 1935, p. 201. For a criticism of the hypothesis of Carcopino, see M. Guarducci in *Archeologia Classica*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 219-272.

I shall merely intimate here that the symbolism of the tau underlies the T-shaped cruciform plan of the great basilicas founded by Constantine in Rome (St. Peter's and the Lateran), Jerusalem (the Martyrium), Nicomedia, and later, the basilica of St. Paul on the Via Ostiensis; and that such a plan was often revived in Carolingian architecture (for instance in Fulda) as part of the *renovatio Romanorum imperii* (i.e. the Early Christian Roman Empire). Cf. the sermon of Zeno of Verona (d. 380 or 381) on the new temple: "Inestimabilia unius plenitudinis tria sunt illa membra . . . tau litterae prominens lignum"; *Tractatus XIV: De Spirituali Aedificatione Domus Dei*, *Pat. Lat.* XI, col. 358.

In Carolingian and post-Carolingian manuscript illumination, the T of the *Te igitur*—the words that open the canon of the Mass—was illuminated as the sign tau accompanied by typological scenes or figures alluding to the tau (cf. the illuminating, although late, commentary of Pope Innocentius III, *De Sacro Altaris Mysterio*, lib. III, cap. III, *Pat. Lat.*, CCXVII, col. 841). On folio 143v. of the Sacramentary of Gellone, the letter T of the *Te igitur* is the Crucifixion itself. Cf. folios 13v. and 14 of a sacramentary written in Worms before 912, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Isidore of Seville (570-635), *Etimologiae*, I, 24, 1: *Pat. Lat.*, LXXXII, col. 100. Cf. J. F. Dölger in *Antike und Christentum*, I (1929), p. 49; III (1932), p. 221; IXΘYC, 1, part 2 (1928), p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *Pat. Graec.*, LXI, col. 418.

<sup>19</sup> E. Dinkler, in *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, XLVIII (1951); J. Daniélou, *Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte et les origines du Christianisme*, Paris, 1957, p. 101 (cf. the English translation of this work, published by Mentor Omega, New York, 1962, p. 104); *Les symboles chrétiens primitifs*, Paris, 1961, pp. 146-149 and note 15; cf. E. Dinkler in *Neutestamentliche Studien für R. Bultmann*, Berlin, 1954, pp. 120-128. On a bronze in the Berlin museum, the magic square (cf. note 16) is surrounded with letters the numerical equivalence of which gives the formula: "Begotten Son of God": J. Orcibal in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1954, pp. 51-66; K. Hoffman in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, IX, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>20</sup> S. Eusebii: *Hieronymi Commentarium in Ezechiel-em*, Lib. III, cap. IX: *Pat. Lat.*, XXV, cols. 88, 89. Cf. *Hebraici Alphabeti Interpretatio* in *Pat. Lat.* XXIII, col. 1366.

<sup>21</sup> P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae*, II, Reims, 1743, p. 769. Cf. already Tertullian: "da signum tau in frontibus virorum."

<sup>22</sup> St. Cyprian, *Testimonia* II, 22, *C.S.E.L.* 3, p. 90. It is in the context of the *Parousia*, or second Advent of Christ, that the "Sign" became equated with the "Cross" as early as the second half of the second century: *Epistola Apostolorum*. C. Schmidt and I. Wejnberg, "Gespräche Jesu mit seinen Jüngern nach der Auferstehung," in *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, XLIII, Leipzig, 1919; cf. the Apocalypse of Elias and the Apocalypse of Peter, A. Grillmeier, *Der Logos am Kreuz*, Munich, 1956, p. 70.

<sup>23</sup> *Stromata* 6, 11, 2-5. Cf. *ibid.* 7, 79, 5 and *Quis dives salvetur* 8, 2. Cf. H. Rahner, *op. cit.* in *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, LXXV (1953), pp. 384 f., and E. Dinkler, "Kreuzzeichen und Kreuz," in *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, V (1962), pp. 106-7.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the bronze amulet at Dumbarton Oaks: M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, I, Washington, D. C., 1962, no. 60, p. 53, pl. XXXVIII, and the bibliography.

<sup>25</sup> A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, Paris, 1946, II, pp. 221-224, 232-233.

<sup>26</sup> S. Collon-Gevaert, J. Lejeune, J. Stiennon, *Art roman dans la vallée de la Meuse aux XI<sup>e</sup>, XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Bruxelles, 1965, no. 38, p. 222, color plate (with bibliography).

<sup>27</sup> J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, "Les émaux de la croix de Kemexhe," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, V (1935), pp. 305-309.

<sup>28</sup> J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue sommaire de l'orfèvrerie, de l'émaillerie et des gemmes du Moyen Age au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*: Musée National du Louvre, Paris [1914], p. 9, nos. 31-32 (description is incomplete).

<sup>29</sup> On the enamels in Troyes, see a short study of Mireille Jottrand in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXV (1965), pp. 257-264.

<sup>30</sup> *Art roman dans la vallée de la Meuse*, *op. cit.*, no. 30, p. 204, color plate, with bibliography to which should be added E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, Paris, 1947, pp. 152-155. As is well known, the foot of the cross of Saint-Bertin is a reduced copy of the big copper foot bearing sixty-eight enamelled plaques that supported the gold cross erected by Abbot Suger at the entrance of the choir of the abbey church at Saint-Denis (1145-1147). Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac, "Le chapiteau du pied de croix de Suger à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," in Pierre Francastel, *L'Art Mosan*, Paris, 1953, pp. 147-154; *idem*, "Les derniers jours du crucifix d'or de Suger," in *Mélanges Brière*, *Archives de l'art français*, XXII, 1950-1957, pp. 150-

158; R. B. Green, "Ex Ungue Leonem," in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, Zürich, 1960, pp. 157-169.

<sup>31</sup> G. Migeon, *Les Arts*, IX (1910), no. 97, p. 13, fig. 12. Marquet de Vasselot, *op. cit.* no. 39, pl. XI.

<sup>32</sup> O. von Falke and H. Frauenberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters . . .*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1904, p. 29, cf. pl. 27. The plaque was published by Didron, "Symbolique Chrétienne," *Annales Archéologiques*, VIII (Paris, 1848), pp. 1-16, pl. 1. From the dimensions of the plaque and the engraving, scaled to four-fifths of the original, it may be estimated that the plaque measured 11 9/16 x 8 3/8 inches (cf. J. Labarte, *Description des objets d'art qui composent la collection Debruge-Duménil*, Paris, 1847). On the enamels attributed to the workshop of Fredericus around 1170-1190, cf. *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, V, s.v. "Email," cols. 32-33, by E. Steingraber.

<sup>33</sup> V. Griessmaier, "Six Enamels at St. Stephen's, Vienna," *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII (1933), pp. 108 f.; H. Swarzenski, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, University of Chicago Press [1954], no. 185, figs. 418-419. Heide Lenzen and Helmut Buschhausen, "Ein neues Reichs-portatile des 12 Jahrhunderts," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XX (XXIV), 1965, pp. 21-73.

<sup>34</sup> In each series of the Klosterneuburg altar two "types," one *ante legem* (before the Law given to Moses) and one *sub lege* (under the Old Dispensation) bracket the "antitype"—or corresponding mystery in the life and Passion of Christ. But in the twelfth series, the vision of Ezechiel is located above the Harrowing of Hell and Samson rending the lion (Judges, XIV:6) below the latter: F. Röhrig, *Der Verduner Altar*, Klosterneuburg, 1955, pp. 79-81, figs. 35-37. On a lintel in the monastery of Bebenhausen an inscription recalled in analogous terms the protecting power of the sign tau: *Tau super has postes/signatum terreat hostes*. In the sixth series of the Klosterneuburg altar the antitype of Christ's entrance into Jerusalem was bracketed between a type *ante legem* above: Moses travelling to Egypt to rescue the people of God; and below by a type *sub lege*: the sacrifice of the paschal lamb—by exception, represented there without the marking of the sign tau above the house: Röhrig, *op. cit.*, figs. 17-19.

<sup>35</sup> E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Treasures*, Princeton, 1946, translation, pp. 57, 59 (the Latin text, pp. 56, 58). I surmise that some antitypes of the pillar of the cross at Saint-Denis were close to the "chief mysteries of the Passion and the Resurrection of the Saviour" that adorned the reredos of the main altar in the abbey church at Stavelot under Abbot Wibald: R. R. P. P. Martène et Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictins de la congrégation de Saint-Maur*, Paris, 1724, II, p. 152.

<sup>36</sup> Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac, "Le chapiteau du pied de croix de Suger à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," in *L'Art Mosan*, ed. P. Francastel, Paris, 1953, pp. 147-54; *idem*, "Les derniers jours du crucifix d'or de Suger," in *Mélanges Brière*, *Archives de l'art français*, XXII, 1950-1957, pp. 150-158.

<sup>37</sup> The panel is now set in a nineteenth-century stained-glass window in the first chapel of the south ambulatory, which was erroneously designed to evoke the "vision of Ezechiel." (L. Grodecki in *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, Zürich, 1960, pp. 176, 177, n. 58, 59, p. 185, n. 94.) It is the most remarkable specimen of Saint-Denis stained glass that exists (L. Grodecki in *Art de France*, I [1941], p. 41, color plate facing p. 38). W. Voegelé called attention to the already gothic style of the Saint-Denis panel in "Das Westportal der Kathedrale von Senlis und der plastische Stil . . ." [1906], an article reprinted in *Bildhauer*

*des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1958, cf. pp. 58-59. Its perfection misled Wilhelm Neuss to date it toward the end of the twelfth century: *Das Buch Ezechiel* . . . , Münster im Westf., 1912, p. 260. The typological window of the Crucifixion at Saint-Denis may be reconstituted, like the relatively well-preserved window of Moses and the "anagogical" window of the "unveiling" of the Law, as made of five isolated medallions, placed one above the other in a vertical row. They must have illustrated a series of concepts or symbols selected from the Old Testament, and they would not have exhibited the parallel scheme used in Mosan art, for instance on the portable altar of Stavelot in Brussels, to frame the "types" of the Crucifixion within the scenes of the Passion of Christ. The purely conceptual character of the symbolical windows at Saint-Denis contrasts with the more strictly typological character of the foot of the cross—a Mosan work set up in the choir of the abbey church at Saint-Denis. This opposition was set forth with great acumen by L. Grodecki in his article in *Art de France*, I (1941), pp. 19-46: "Les vitraux allégoriques de Saint-Denis." However, it would be wrong to suppose that the typological programs at Saint-Denis and in contemporary Mosan art were using types and antitypes as systematically as we see later in the work of Nicholas of Verdun and in the stained-glass windows of the thirteenth century, as well as in the enamelled ciboria supposed to be English. Symbolism in mid-twelfth-century art was expressed in the condensed language of the Old Testament.

For a detailed explanation of these various types of the cross, see the index of the allegories pertaining to the cross in the Indices of the *Patrologia Latina*, II, cols. 141-143 (the list is far from exhaustive), and E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux en France du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 160 f. and *L'Art religieux en France du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 7<sup>e</sup> edit., Paris, 1948, pp. 142 f.

It should be emphasized that when Jacob is represented blessing the sons of Joseph with his arms crossed, his gesture has a double meaning. First of all, his extended arms form an image of the cross (that is why on the verso of the Wittert leaf in the library of the university at Liège, the blessing of Jacob corresponds to Isaac bearing the wood, symbol of the cross). Secondly, the blessing is given crosswise, that is, the right hand of the patriarch is crossed over the left in order to bless Ephraim, his younger son, placed on his left, whereas Manasses, the first born, although having his proper place on the right of Jacob, is blessed with his left hand. This reversal or crossing of the hands of Jacob means that the Crucifixion of Christ will put into effect the superseding of Synagogue by the Church. This explains why, at the top of the stained-glass window of the New Covenant in the Cathedral of Bourges, above the Bearing of the Cross, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection with their accompaniment of typological figures, the blessing of the sons of Joseph by Jacob occupies the summit as the symbolical key to the composition; see Martin and Cahier, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-44, pl. I, and Mâle, *XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4. Compare the location of the scene on the typological Mosan reliquary-cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 23). The Mosan plaque illustrating the same theme in the Walters Art Gallery (44.97, published by Marvin C. Ross in *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, VIII, 1938, pp. 193-195) occupied the same location at the top of a processional or reliquary cross. On the Mosan cross in the British Museum, the importance of the blessing of Jacob was emphasized by its having been assigned the center of the cross.

Moses striking the rock in the desert and the sub-

sequent gushing of the water was interpreted as a type of the stabbing of Christ—*Christus qui est petra*—with the lance on Golgotha, and as an allegory of baptism.

<sup>38</sup> *Ann. Arch. Mons*, XI (1873), pl. 7 facing p. 346; P. Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, Düsseldorf, 1916, p. 290, fig. and cf. p. 766; *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XIX (1950), pl. opp. p. 71.

<sup>39</sup> See note 2.

<sup>40</sup> In the Peterborough Psalter, Brussels, Royal Library, Mss. 9961-62, are incorporated 109 typological illustrations (69 Old Testament "types" and 39 New Testament "antitypes"). These were designed (with many instances of confusion in correspondance of "type" and "antitype") after the frescoes once in the choir of the Cathedral of Peterborough, which were laid out under the rule of the Benedictine Abbot Guillaume de Wateville by the sacristan Samson, who also composed the explanatory distichs. The first fourteen distichs and a selection of ten out of the last sixteen were copied in 1686 by Gunton and Symon Patrick, Dean of the Chapter. These correspond exactly to the *tituli* which we read today in the Peterborough Psalter. It was Montague Rhodes James who established the identity of these inscriptions and the apparent relationship of the Psalter scenes to the frescoes, in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, IX, pp. 178-194, and in his monograph for the Roxburghe Club, *A Peterborough Psalter and Bestiary*, 1921. Complete descriptions of the Peterborough Psalter have been published by J. van der Gheyn, *Le Psautier de Peterborough*, Haarlem, n.d., and by C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, I, Paris, 1937, pp. 114-121, pls. XXIII-XXVI. Fifty of the compositions of the Peterborough choir frescoes were also copied in Ms. Arundel XXX at the College of Arms, Cambridge, and forty-eight subjects together with the inscriptions were copied in the stained glass of Canterbury Cathedral at the end of the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth.

In the Peterborough Psalter the "types" of the Crucifixion begin on the recto of folio 56. On folio 56 verso the full-page miniature is divided into four parts showing: 1) Cain killing Abel and the marking of the lintels with the blood of the paschal lamb; 2) the Crucifixion; 3) Eliseus receiving the son of the Sunamite; 4) Ezechiel writing the *thau* (here shaped as a cross) on the foreheads of three kneeling Just Men, while an angel kills those who are not marked. In the latter scene the angel has been transferred from the massacre of the first-born of Egypt mentioned in Exodus XII. On the monastic character of the Peterborough Psalter as different from the mundane style of the English manuscripts inspired by the French court, see G. Vitzthum, *Die Pariserminiaturmalerei von der Zeit des Hl. Ludwig bis zum Philippe von Valois*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 73 ff.

<sup>41</sup> L. Grodecki, "Le restauration des vitraux du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle provenant de la cathédrale de Châlons-sur-Marne," *Mémoires de la Société . . . du département de la Marne*, 2<sup>e</sup> serie, XXVIII, 1953-1954, pp. 323-346. I would suggest only a slight correction to the reconstitution of the window. At the top, corresponding to the panel of the *thau* sign in Ezechiel—the location of which is certain—should be put back the now mutilated panel of the sign *tau* in Exodus. At the bottom, corresponding to the panel of the widow of Sarepta—the location of which is also certain—should be put back the fragmentary panel representing the Cluster of Grapes.

On the striking similarity, both in composition and iconography, between the Crucifixion window at Châlons-sur-Marne and the portable altar of Stavelot, see L. Grodecki in *L'Art Mosan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-170.



Cf. on the Stavelot portable altar, *Art Roman dans la vallée de la Meuse*, op. cit., nos. 31-32, pp. 206-208. The six scenes of the Passion of Christ on the Stavelot altar are to be read from the bottom to the top, and also the types of the Crucifixion in the spandrels of the central quatrefoil; and they reproduce a layout of panels usual in stained-glass windows. In the central quatrefoil *Ecclesia* is at the top because she is related to Christ crucified above her, and *Sinagoga* at the bottom because she is related to Pilate and the Jews underneath. The portable altar of Stavelot seems to have fused the axial scheme followed in the typological stained-glass windows of Champagne, and the centripetal scheme—four lobes set around a square or rectangle—current in Mosan reredoses and chasses.

<sup>42</sup> The window is tentatively dated in the second decade of the thirteenth century. The church—which, incidentally, looks like a maquette of the chevet of the Cathedral of Reims as planned ca. 1211 by the first architect of the cathedral, Jean d'Orbais or Adam?—(with a triplet of windows in the clerestory and the blending of their mullions with the divisions of the triforium, as in early English gothic architecture and in Champagne)—was begun in the ninth decade of the twelfth century: Dom du Bout, *Histoire de l'Abbaye d'Orbais*, Paris and Reims, 1890, pp. 151-161; L. Grodecki, *Vitraux de France* (catalogue of the exhibition held at the Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris in 1953, pp. 52-53, note 14, pl. 9); Musée des Arts Decoratifs, *Le vitrail français*, Paris, 1958, pp. 117-118, fig. 94, p. 125.

<sup>43</sup> *Est enim Phase, id est transitus Domini*, wrote Rupert of Deutz (Robert from St. Laurent of Liège), who did not, however, emphasize the literal meaning of *passing over*, that is leaving unsmitten, the houses of Israel, but rather the mystical *transitus* of Christ, the Paschal Lamb, Who was to pass over to His Father after His sacrifice, *De Trinitate et operibus ejus libri XLII*, in *Exodus*, lib. II, cap. XIV, *Pat. Lat.* CXLVII cols. 620-621.

<sup>44</sup> S. Collon-Gevaert, et al., *Art roman dans la vallée de la Meuse . . .*, Brussels, 1965, no. 37, p. 220, pl. in color; bibliography. The other types are: at the top of the cross, Jacob blessing the children of Joseph (with Benjamin wrongly substituted for Ephraim); on its proper left, Elias and the widow of Sarephta; at the bottom, the Brazen Serpent. A plaque from a cross originally in the abbey of St. Florian (now in the Museum of Decorative Arts, Vienna) and the copper-gilt foot of the flabellum (Scheibenkreuz) in Kremsmünster also show the sign tau according to Exodus. On the latter the inscription around the Aaron roundel reads: TAV QVE POSTEM NOTAT EST CRVX QVE FVGAT HOST[em]. Cf. W. Buchowiecki in *Romanische Kunst in Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1962, p. 102; G. Swarzenski in *Staedeljahrbuch*, VII-VIII, 1932, p. 348, fig. 294 a, and p. 351, note 200, where an English origin or connection is suggested. The three medallions (Aaron, Brazen Serpent, Samson) are indeed to be compared in style and in the paleography of the inscriptions, with the enamelled English casket showing figures of the liberal arts, in the Victoria and Albert Museum (cf. G. Swarzenski, *ibid.* p. 362, note 229).

<sup>45</sup> Collon-Gevaert, op. cit., no. 49, p. 248, pl. in color.

<sup>46</sup> The hyssop was interpreted as a plant symbolizing the humility of Christ obedient unto death and conquering *Superbia*. "*Hyssopus . . . herba humilis est, nasciturque in petrosis locis et deponit humorem pulmonis . . . significat fidem et humilitatem passionis Christi per quam superbiae tumor deponitur*": Rupert of Deutz, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, cols. 623-624. Cf. Psalm L (LI), 7. On the quill, cf. the comment of Pope

Innocentius III, note 52.

<sup>47</sup> Taking the term "scheme" in the sense in which it was used by Harry Bober in an article which is fundamental for the proper understanding of the intellectual process in medieval imagery: "In Principio—Creation before Time," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, op. cit., pp. 13-28.

<sup>48</sup> Bede, *In Pentateuchum Commentarii, Exodus*: "*super utrumque postem sanguis agni datur. Et nos corde et corpore signamur signo crucis Christi, et decimus 'Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui'* [Psalm IV:7]," *Pat. Lat.*, XCI, col. 305.

<sup>49</sup> S. Isidori *Hispalensis Episcopi De Fide catholica contra Iudaeos Liber II*, ch. XXVI, a very important text more completely given by Martin and Cahier, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Bourges*, Paris, 1841-44, p. 37, note 2. The blood allegorically marking the side posts of our body is related by Isidorus to verse 7 of Psalm IV: *Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui*—an association taken over by Bede, cf. note 48.

<sup>50</sup> This exegesis is based on St. Paul, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, V:4-5.

<sup>51</sup> Op. cit., in *Ezech.*, lib. I cap. XXXI, cols. 1457-58; cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Speculum Ecclesiae, De Inventione S. Crucis*, *Pat. Lat.*, CLXXII, col. 945. The linen, ritually a clean fabric, was worn by the priests (Leviticus, VI:10) and by the angels (Daniel, X:5). (The modern interpretation of the man with an inkhorn, clothed in linen is that he functioned as the scribe of the Lord, on the model of Nabu in the Babylonian Pantheon: *The Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, 1965, p. 1008, note.) Cf. the comments of Pope Innocentius III on the linen as a priestly fabric and on the quill as the hand of God writing through the Holy Ghost: *Pat. Lat.*, CCXXVII, col. 676. On a plaque of Mosan enamel in Schloss Harburg, Christ Himself holds a phylactery inscribed: SIGNA TAV; cf. H. Lenzen and H. Buschhausen in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XX (XXIV), 1965, note 82.

<sup>52</sup> On the seal (in Greek *sphragis*) of baptism, cf. Jean Daniélou, *Bible et Liturgie*, Paris, 1958, s.v., and particularly the quotation of Gregory of Nyssa (*Pat. Graec.*, XXXVI, col. 40); St. Augustine (numerous references gathered by Martin and Cahier, op. cit. p. 37, note 3); and compare Rupert of Deutz, op. cit., in *Exod.*, lib. II, cap. IX, col. 617. Cap. XVI, col. 623, and in *Ezech.*, lib. I, cap. XXXII, col. 1459.

One of the rules of a Coptic monastic community stipulated "Let us possess the seal of baptism when we begin to pray; let us impress the sign of the cross on our foreheads as we received it on the day of our baptism and as it is written in Ezechiel"; cf. *Mémoires de l'Institut du Caire*, IV, p. 249.

<sup>53</sup> In the remarkable commentary on Exodus XII:22 by Honorius Augustodunensis (op. cit., *Domenica in psalmis*, cols. 919 f.), the besprinkling of the houses of Israel is understood as having been applied four times and according to a cruciform scheme: "*Cujus [Agni] sanguine ostia domorum in modum crucis signarent, dum eum in limine, in superliminari, in utroque poste ponerent . . . cujus sanguine fores quadripartitae signantur, dum in fide passionis Christi corpora nostra in modum crucis baptisate consecrantur*." Taken verbatim, the besprinkling of the houses described in Exodus, XII:22, does not design a + but a T. The blood is applied on both jambs and on the lintel, while the slaughtered lamb bleeds on the threshold. On the Mosan enamels Aaron inscribes the tau in the *superliminari*. A hymn quoted by H. Rahner, op. cit., in *Zeitschrift für Katholisches Theologie*, LXXV (1953), pp. 384 f., applies the virtue of tau to cruciform man, whose model is Christ—the perfect *Homo quadratus* crucified:

Est quoque tau vivifico  
Insignitus signaculo  
Prodens per hoc quod propius  
Sit Crucifixi servulus.

<sup>54</sup> Jean Squilbeck, "Les émaux mosans d'un autel portatif à la lumière de l'iconographie de la Passion," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1965, pp. 97-112.

<sup>55</sup> Given the dimensions of the plaque, the height of the cross to which it belonged may be estimated as about 50 cms. (20 inches).

<sup>56</sup> However, the representation of the sacrifice of Abraham on the romanesque relief in the church of Leernes is commented upon by a typological *titulus*:

Res miranda satis  
Fit Filius hostia Patris

as it is also on the illumination in the Averbode Gospels:

Qui per eum pignus  
Est pro gentibus Agnus.

See Jean Squilbeck, "Le sacrifice d'Abraham dans l'art mosan," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 1965, pp. 79-95, cf. fig. 1, fig. 4; and also on the same illumination of the Averbode Gospels, the explanation of the Brazen Serpent:

Vivificans Christi  
forme crux congruit isti.

Compare the *tituli* under the Crucifixion and the Harrowing of Hell painted in the Cathedral of Mainz at the time of Bishop Aribio in the first half of the eleventh century, and probably accompanying the typological representation of the Brazen Serpent, the tau and Isaac:

In cruce congressus Christo Satan atque repressus  
Se stupet invito portas patuisse cocito.  
Si tibi serpentis noceant ictus ferientis,  
Aspice serpentem, cito te facit ille valentem.  
Hac specie postes titulat cruor et fugat hostes.  
Hac puer ille datus trahit ad se cuncta rogatus.

*Liber benedictionum Ekkehardi IV*, edit. J. Egli, *Mitteilungen z. vaterländischen Geschichte*, St. Gall, 1909, p. 365.

The case of Nicholas of Verdun is, of course, a totally different one from the problem alluded to here, just because the Klosterneuburg antependium is more Germanic than Mosan.

I cannot discuss here the origin of three enamelled ciboria, with types and antitypes and bearing inscriptions close to those accompanying paintings formerly in the choir of Worcester Priory, which as good a judge as H. P. Mitchell considered English; cf. Charles Oman, "Influences mosanes dans les émaux anglais," in P. Francastel, *L'Art Mosan*, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

<sup>57</sup> The first recorded *tituli* contrasting scenes of the Old and New Testament in a systematic program are those composed by Rusticus Helpidius, *vir stirpe nobilis et exquaestor*, who had been the physician of Theodoric, King of the Goths. His *tituli* for the Passion scenes incorporated in a series of eight typological frescoes, or mosaics, were:

Joseph a fratribus venditur  
Christus a Juda venditur.  
Abraham filium ad immolandum ducit  
Christus ducitur crucifigendus.

The first interpretation here, giving Joseph as a type of Christ, is implied in the ivory carvings of the chair of

Maximianus in Ravenna, and the second comparison, of Abraham's son on the way to his sacrifice, with the Way to Calvary, was not unknown to the carvers of early Christian sarcophagi—but these monuments do not bear explanatory inscriptions. On Rusticus Helpidius, see *Pat. Lat.*, LXII, cols. 543-546, and J. van Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters*, p. 34; E. Steinmann, *Die Tituli und die Kirchliche Wandmalerei im Abendlande vom V bis zum XI Jahrhundert*, I, Leipzig, 1892, pp. 55-57.

In the program devised by Paulinus of Nola for the decoration of the double church dedicated to St. Felix, the New Testament scenes were painted in the old basilica and the Old Testament scenes in the new one: *In veteri novitas atque in novitate vetustas* (*Carmen Natale X*, verse 175). Unfortunately, we have only the verses describing the paintings in the new church and eight of their *tituli*, and no description of the subjects in the old church, so that we do not know how the correspondence between the two cycles was worked out.

Bede wrote that Benedict Biscop brought back from his fifth journey to Rome, *imagines* (models) which he used in adorning the church of the monastery at Jarrow with a concordance between certain types of the Passion in the Old Testament and the Passion itself (Isaac bearing the wood of the burnt sacrifice and Christ bearing the cross, the Brazen Serpent and the Crucifixion); cf. *Vita sanctorum abbatum*, chap. 9.

The early Christian symbolical approach to the Old Testament, represented by the exegesis of the school of Alexandria, St. Ambrosius and St. Augustine, was renewed during the Carolingian Renaissance and its traditional exempla codified (for instance, Rabanus Maurus' *Collectio veteris et novi testamenti*). Carolingian culture transmitted it to Ottonian art (cf. M. Laurent, "Godefroid de Claire et la croix de Suger à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis," *Revue archéologique*, XIX, 1924, pp. 79 ff.).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. E. Simmons Greenhill, "The Child in the Tree. A Study of the Cosmological Tree in Christian Tradition," *Traditio*, X, 1954, pp. 323-371; G. B. Ladner, "St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine on the Symbolism of the Cross," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, Princeton, 1955, pp. 88-95; P. Verdier, "Un monument inédit de l'art mosan du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le crucifixion symbolique de Walters Art Gallery," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXX, 1961, pp. 115-175; A. C. Esmeijer, "La macchina dell'universo," *Album discipulorum Prof. Dr. J. G. van Gelder*, Utrecht, 1963, pp. 5-15.

<sup>59</sup> Commenting upon the anagogical tau in Exodus XII—the type that corresponds to the mystical thau in Ezechiel—Robert de Saint-Laurent wrote: "notandum quia prius oportet domum signari sanguine Agni, et tunc demum carnes ipsius in illa manducari . . . prius oportet quemque baptizari in morte Agni, id est Christi, prius, inquam, complantatum fieri similitudini mortis ejus ut sit et Resurrectionis, atque ita consecrata domo, tunc demum intus mensae vivificae participari": *De Trinitate*, *Pat. Lat.*, CXLVII, *In Exode*, lib. II, cap. IX.

<sup>60</sup> May it not be the tau which appears in a glory, together with the hand symbolizing the Father, in the Mosan Pentecost plaque at the Cloisters in New York? "For John indeed baptized with water, but you shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost" (Acts, I: 5). See: *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, June 1966, p. 305, fig. 4, p. 307, fig. 6. The tau-cross is proffered by the hand of God above the head of Christ in the Ottonian illumination of the Transfiguration in the so-called Evangelary of Otto III, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 4453, fol. 113.

<sup>61</sup> The baptismal *sphragis* appears as a small cross in a luminous roundel at the top of the mosaic, a trinitarian chrismon, in the eastern apse of the Baptistry of Albenga: E. Dinkler, *Die Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe*, Cologne and Opladen, 1964, pp. 60-61, fig. 23.

<sup>62</sup> In the novel of G. Cesbron, *Il est plus tard que tu ne penses*, Paris-Ottawa, 1958, Jeanne, whom her husband killed with an overdose of morphine to suppress the torture of cancer, knowing that she is about to die without the sacrament, drags her hand up her body, at the cost of a terrible effort, and crosses herself on the forehead to be saved.

In another novel, *Sous le Soleil de Satan*, by Georges Bernanos, the saintly priest, Donissan, traces the cross twice on the heart of Mouchette, marking the unfortunate girl for salvation, although after their meeting she will commit suicide.

<sup>63</sup> St. Peter Damian, *Sermo 49, Pat. Lat.*, CXLIV, col. 775. I have summed up in the text quotations of the Greek Fathers condensed after J. Daniélou; s.v. "*Sphragis*" in *Bible et Liturgie*, Paris, 1958.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *Oxford Bible, op. cit.*, p. 1497 and the commentary of Beatus: "Aperuit quae sit imitatio notae in fronte, dum Deum et hominem Christum dicit scriptum in frontibus ecclesiae," Beatus VI, in: *Beati in Apocalypsim libri duodecim*, ed. H. S. Sanders, 1930, and the illumination in the Apocalypse from Saint-Sever in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fol. 119, ed. E. A. van Moë, Paris, 1942, pl. 10.

<sup>65</sup> Fol. 258. The man clothed with linen is strangely dressed in a shroud that does not entirely conceal his nudity. The illustration of the episode in chapter nine of Ezekiel is divided into four continuous scenes occupying the lower register of the full-page miniature. On the left, the man clothed with linen is addressed by the hand of God, while five men in short tunics unsheathe their swords. On the right, the thau is inscribed on the foreheads of three men seated on the hillock, while further to the right the executioners slay the unrighteous with their swords. E. Millar, "Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Lambeth Palace à Londres," in: *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, Paris, 1924, p. 26, no. 22, pl. VII; cf. also plate 5 in color, in C. R. Dodwell, *The Great Lambeth Bible*, London, 1959.

<sup>66</sup> It will be observed that in the *Bible Moralisée* the "types"—"figures" of events in the life of Christ and "shadows" of the sacraments of the Church—are no longer fused with the mysteries they announced, but that both "types" and "antitypes" are dryly juxtaposed in parallel series with a new emphasis on the moral, and no longer the mystical, content. It is also only from the fourteenth century on that it became usual to represent the sacraments no longer as allegories in the Old Testament or as established by Christ, but as liturgical enactments. Due to this transformation both in theology and iconography, an essential source of typological art was dried up: i.e., the anticipation of the mysteries of the sacraments in the figures of the Old Dispensation. In the late Middle Ages the perspective of the reconciliation of the two branches of mankind, the church of the circumcision and the church of the Nations, divided by the Cross, a major theme of symbolism became lost to sight. For instance, in the tapestry of the Seven Sacraments, which Pasquier Grenier and Marguerite de Lannoy presented to Saint-Quentin at Tournai around 1475, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, the blessing of the children of Joseph by Jacob is presented as an anticipation of the sacraments of Confirmation and Holy Orders.

<sup>67</sup> The stained-glass panels of the typological east

window in the chevet chapel of Canterbury Cathedral called the Corona (because it enshrined a relic of the skull or scalp of Thomas à Becket) show *tituli* or verses explanatory of their symbolical content. This window, which dates in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, is designed like the window of the Redemption—or New Alliance—in the ambulatory of the Cathedral at Bourges, as a vertical sequence of quatrefoils starting from the bottom. These pertain to Christ's Death, Resurrection, and Glorification in Majesty. Among the types of the Crucifixion are the Passover in Exodus, with the inscription:

LABE CARENS NATVS: ET AGNVS VT  
INMACVLATVS:  
PECCATVM FACT' PECCATORVM PIE TACTVS

explaining why one sees the lamb struck at the throat by the knife of a Hebrew ([Christ] born pure from taint and as a spotless lamb assumed the sin of sinners and was smitten in piety). Also there is the Cluster of Grapes—or Grapes of Eschol—a "type" both of the wine of the Eucharist and of the superseding of the Old Testament by the new one:

BOTRVN RESPICERE NEGAT HIC: SITIT ISTE  
VIDERE:  
ISRAEL IGNORAT CHRISTVM: GENTILIS  
ADORAT.

(This one [the messenger who walks ahead] refuses to look back at the cluster; the other [who walks behind] thirsts to see it. Israel ignores Christ. The Gentile adores Him): B. Rackham, *The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral*, London, 1949, pp. 73-75, pls. 29 b, 28 b. Cf. window IX of the theological series in the choir aisles, pp. 51 f.

<sup>68</sup> Hans Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims*, Paris, 1963, p. 174.

<sup>69</sup> Marguerite Roques, *Les apports néerlandais dans le peinture du Sud-Est de la France*, Paris, 1962, p. 61.

<sup>70</sup> *Art mosan et arts anciens du pays de Liège*, Liège, 1951, pl. LXIX. The cross above the forehead of Gabriel in the Annunciation is seen also in the brush drawing in the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., the ultimate origin of which (Bohemian, Franco-Flemish or Viennese?) is still *sub judice*.

<sup>71</sup> Grete Ring, *A Century of French Painting*, London, 1949, no. 89 of the catalogue, p. 204, pl. 42.

The Virgin Theotokos, on the mosaic of the Adoration of the Magi in the nave of San Apollinare Nuovo, Ravenna, shows the cross marked on her forehead as well as on her maphorion—which seems to me a proof that the mosaic was executed as a part of the comprehensive program of iconographical renewal that was established for the reconciliation to Orthodoxy, after 556, of that previously Arian church; cf. Agnellus, *Codex Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, edit. A. Testi-Rasponi, Bologna, 1924, p. 216. However, against the view advanced here, see C. R. Morey, *Early Christian Art*, Princeton, 1942, p. 164. On the arch of triumph in Santa Maria Maggiore, post 432 and the Council of Ephesus, the Child of the Virgin Theotokos has His head adorned with a diadem bearing a cross. On the Visitation relief in San Martino, Cividale, a Langobard sculpture of the mid-eighth century, the Virgin also wears the sign of the cross on her forehead. (A. Haseloff, *Die vorromanische Plastik in Italien*, Leipzig, 1930, pl. XLV).

<sup>72</sup> Millard Meiss and Colin Eisler, "A New French Primitive," *Burlington Magazine*, CII, 1960, pp. 233-235.

<sup>73</sup> E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, pp. 131 ff.

figures depend upon a well-known drawing by Botticelli in the Uffizi, as has been pointed out by Fern Rusk Shapley;<sup>9</sup> but the town in the far distance and, beyond it, the mountains are exactly the same as in the Walters tondo, and only the substantial abrasions that have been inflicted on the Raleigh picture prevent the most minute details from revealing their exact identity. It would

be interesting to check whether Botticelli also followed this same practice in his own works, repeating certain details twice or more, but this research would exceed the limits of a brief note, dedicated only to a dismembered altarpiece.

<sup>9</sup> F. R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools, XIII-XV Century*, 1966, pp. 122 f.

# ADDENDUM—to “Ezechiel’s Vision of the Sign Thau” by Philippe Verdier (pp. 17-47)

Two typological plaques in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, seem to reinforce the thesis that the Ezechiel plaque discussed in this article, although executed in the technique of a Mosan enameller, comes from a Rhenish milieu, the region of Cologne. They were given to the Metropolitan Museum by J. P. Morgan in 1917 (17.190.438,9).<sup>1</sup> No. 17.190.438 represents the marking of the tau on the pediment of a building resembling the *Westwerk* of an Ottonian-romanesque Rhenish church. This building, which bears on its roof-top the cross as the antetype of the inscribed tau, evokes the *Westwerk* of S. Pantaleon in Cologne.<sup>2</sup> Here marking with tau may have the connotation of a church’s dedication and of the inscription of the apocalyptic tau on the portal of its west front, which is the side of the setting sun and of the Last Judgment. The doors of the *Westwerk*—indicated as bronze doors by lion masks—are closed. The Lamb has been slaughtered. The blood fills the cup held by the man who marks. The style and technique are un-

doubtedly Rhenish and point towards a rather late dating (early thirteenth century). This plaque measures 2¾ inches high and 2½ inches wide. Its companion piece, a plaque representing Moses and the Brazen Serpent measures 2½ inches high and 2¾ inches wide. Probably both came from a cross: the tau plaque, on account of the ratio of its height to its width, must have come from the bottom of the cross (it is marked with the location letter C on its back),<sup>3</sup> the Moses plaque from the left arm. Although the dimensions are similar, the plaques differ from each other in style and in the frame. The *grenétis* of 17.190.439 presents more serrated indentations, and the inside framework is made of two gilt-copper bands flanking a square band of greenish-blue enamel. Such characteristics are not exhibited by plaque 17.190.438. The inference is that the cross to which four typological plaques were originally attached was repaired or completed at a later date by the addition or restoration of the tau plaque at the lower end.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peraté, *Catalogue Hoentschel, Collection des Emaux*, 1911, nos. 12-13, pl. V; *Arts of the Middle Ages*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1940, no. 248, pl. XXIX (17.190.439). Miss Vera K. Ostioia, Associate Curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum, has discovered that in 1869 the two plaques were in the collection of Prince Karl von Preussen in the so-called Klosterhof, that is Glienicke Castle near Potsdam. Cf. E. Aus’m Weerth, “Der Reliquien—und Ornamentenschatz der Abteikirche zu Aablo” in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XLVI, 1869, pp. 144 ff., ill. pp. 152-4.

<sup>2</sup> As on the plaque representing Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, attributed to Nicholas of Verdun, in the Art Institute of Chicago: H. Schnitzler, “Nikolaus von Verdun und der Albinusschrein” in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, pp. 56-80, fig. 79.

<sup>3</sup> A plaque of St. Matthew in the Metropolitan Mu-

seum (25.120.449) is marked A on the back to indicate its intended location at the center top of an enamelled book-cover decorated with at least two sets of quarter-nities (one placed in the angles, the other at the middle of each side of the framework).

<sup>4</sup> The exhibition of medieval art from American private collections held at the Cloisters in the autumn of 1968 revealed a tau plaque (according to Exodus) in the collection of Georges Seligman. This plaque is curiously surrounded by a continuous sequence of cusps, that recall the decoration of the marble altar tables of the French Pyrenees and of Catalonia, and also the main altar dedicated at Cluny in 1095. The cusps or lobes may have a sacramental character (as on certain panels of the Life of the Virgin and the Infancy of Christ in the stained-glass widow of around 1150 in the façade of the cathedral of Chartres).



FIGURE 1

Formerly ROME, SPIRIDON COLLECTION

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*The Last Supper*

## STUDIES ON ITALIAN PAINTINGS: II

By FEDERICO ZERI  
*Rome*

### PANELS OF THE PASSION OF CHRIST BY ANTONIO DELLA CORNA\*

About ten years ago, during a conversation with Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà, the discussion turned to a problem in the history of quattrocento Italian painting on which she was working. Now, after the death of that great scholar (who was a close friend of mine), I am happy to note here the results of her research, giving her full credit. Mrs. Sandberg Vavalà had prepared an essay on the problem which was to have been published in the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*. Although the essay had been ready since 1939, it was not printed, due to the outbreak of World War II and for other reasons.

Two companion panel pictures formerly in the Spiridon Collection in Rome, and then sold at auction in 1928,<sup>1</sup> stand at the beginning of the inquiry. The first represents the Last Supper (fig. 1), and in this one cannot fail to note two

unusual elements. Although the style of the figures clearly alludes to a moment which is after the middle of the fifteenth century, they are painted against a gold background which is incised with an ornamental motif inspired by textile designs, an archaizing continuation of fourteenth-century taste. The other point to observe is that Judas, seated in the foreground, is represented with a black halo, according to a rare iconography which usually is characteristic of work before the era in question.<sup>2</sup>

The second former Spiridon panel does not have a gold background, since the scene occurs at night, as required in the narrative of the Betrayal of Judas which is represented (fig. 2). Here also the unfaithful Apostle has a black halo, the archaic tradition of which contrasts strongly with the elements of the composition and the

\* Translated from the Italian by Mary Lou White.

<sup>1</sup> Spiridon Collection, Rome; sale, Frederick Müller & Cie., Amsterdam, June 19, 1928, lots 25 (Betrayal) and 26 (Last Supper), as "School of Andrea Mantegna."

From the Collection of Counts Gallotti at Sant'Alessio, near Pavia.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Buckheit, Judas Iskariot: *Legende, Geschichte, Deutung*, 1954, *passim*.



figure-types. In fact, here everything points to a close derivation from the figure-types of Andrea Mantegna. If in the Last Supper the Mantegnesque element is diluted, noticeable especially in secondary details (such as the decoration of the marble benches), in the Betrayal every person and every particular follows very closely the classical world of the great Paduan painter. The soldiers wear an accurate type of Roman armor (even if at times the painter has enriched it with quattrocento devices). Against the starry sky, the torch, the banner, the pikes and halberds are raised as in the most famous Roman reliefs, or as in the celebrated Triumphs of Caesar by Mantegna at Hampton Court. And at the far right, the shield of the warrior is decorated with the representation of a battle which, if it does not come directly from the marbles of the Arch of Constantine, derives from an analogous example or from a sketchbook of studies by a quattrocento artist who studied the ruins of the classical world.

The same narrative arrangement is observed in a third panel formerly on the art markets of Florence and Milan, which Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà connected with the two former Spiridon panels (fig. 3). We have here the scene of Christ before Annas, in which, with syntactic fusion of clearly classical flavor (which recalls the continuous narrative of sarcophagi and Imperial Roman reliefs), there is introduced at the extreme left the episode of the Denial of Peter.<sup>3</sup> It is unnecessary to indicate the many and evident reasons for which this third panel is considered part of the same series as the former Spiridon panels. Not only the subject and the sizes correspond, but also the traditional elements and the style of the painting are absolutely the same as we have already seen. On the throne of Annas the ornamentation duplicates almost exactly that on the benches of the Last Supper. The haloes and the physiognomical types are identical (it

suffices to notice the way in which St. Peter is represented). The pole-arms also occur here against a gold background, dividing the scene in a manner similar to that in the Betrayal. At first glance, the only detail which seems to be discordant consists of the incised tooling of the background, which though executed in the same technique as in the Last Supper, uses a different ornamental motif. But other elements of the series show that in the scenes with a gold background the tooling is nearly always different. Conforming in this respect is the panel in the Walters Art Gallery,<sup>4</sup> usually called Christ before Pilate, but which instead should be identified as the episode of the high priest Caiaphas rending his garments as he accuses the Saviour of blasphemy (fig. 4). Again Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà was the first to link this panel to the series in question. Here also the Mantegnesque element is very conspicuous. But what deserves to be noted is the curious combination of *rétardataire* elements and more up-to-date details. The late gothic motif of the incised gold background does not blend with the classicism of the figures, and the ambitious perspective is too much for the actual capacity of the painter and his very superficial knowledge of rational perspective. As in the panel of Christ before Annas, the throne and the pavement are drawn and constructed with great uncertainty and many errors, while the figures do not relate to the surroundings, but instead of standing on the pavement, hover above it.

The last two panels examined lead one to think that the series was very extensive, and included other scenes. The format and the dimensions of the single panels seem to point not to a predella, but rather to a large altarpiece devoted on the interior to the cycle of the Passion of Christ. Moreover, I recently chanced to recognize another piece from the series, although it has been reduced to a small fragment. In 1963 I saw at a

<sup>3</sup> By 1959, the panel was for sale in Milan (Dr. Sasso); previously (around 1937) it was on the art market of Florence. Its size is 37 x 34 cm.

<sup>4</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.481. The panel, 15 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 13 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. (39.1 x 33.3 cm.), has been inlaid in an auxiliary

wood support and therefore does not retain its original dimensions and thickness. Ex coll.: Henry Cernuschi, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, May 25-26, 1900, lot 25, as "Unknown"); Trotti Galleries, Paris (1900-1913); acquired by Henry Walters, Baltimore, in 1913.



FIGURE 2

*Formerly ROME, SPIRIDON COLLECTION*

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*The Betrayal*



FIGURE 3

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*Christ before Annas*

ITALY, ART MARKET



FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*Christ before Caiaphas*

Parisian antiquarian's a Pilate Washing his Hands (fig. 5), which evidently was cut from a larger composition. In the only two figures which survive one can recognize the same hand that executed the better preserved scenes, and in the background the gold is incised with a textile motif which here also follows a different design.<sup>5</sup>

Who is the author of this curious series? We have seen numerous indications that he belonged to the followers of Andrea Mantegna. And in addition, the motif of the arms of the Roman soldiers which stand out against the background—a motif which is repeated in three scenes—makes one think that we are dealing with a painter to whom the series of the Triumphs of Caesar was not unknown, and who thus knew the late Mantuan period of the master. Nevertheless, the ostensible contradictions implicit in his manner of narration, where the reflections of Mantegna exist side by side with formal motifs of much older origin, indicate that he could not have belonged to the circle of painters who were formed exclusively by contact with Mantegna's style. Before coming to Mantua his style had already been nurtured in other and diverse pictorial regions.

If Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà offered a solution to this problem which today seems unacceptable, it was still the correct one thirty years ago. The attribution of the series to Gerolamo da Cremona, which she proposed, was in fact very well justified, considering that it was based on a comparison with the large polyptych in the church of Sant' Andrea in Asola, near Mantua (fig. 6), a work which without doubt belongs to the same personality who was responsible for the scenes of the Passion of Christ. Despite the great difference in size between the large altarpiece and the small tempera panels, they present an identical appearance in the typology, the stylistic formula and in the graphic characterizations.<sup>6</sup> Today the polyptych is no longer considered to be by Gerolamo da Cremona, although this opinion had seemed definitive for a long time.<sup>7</sup> More recent research has proved that we are dealing with the production of a little-known artist, Antonio della Corna. This has been confirmed by the cleaning of the large altarpiece.<sup>8</sup> In other



FIGURE 5

PARIS, ART MARKET

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*Pilate Washes his Hands*  
(fragment)

words, Signora Sandberg Vavalà had accurately identified a major work of the author of the Story of the Passion and the connection which she established remains valid, to such an extent that the change in authorship of the polyptych makes it necessary for the whole group to follow. It remains, however, to see whether the attribution of our series of little panels to Antonio della Corna is confirmed by the indisputable works of his which are known at this time. To me it seems that the proof in this direction is completely positive; however, it poses the problem of a date for this new addition to his *oeuvre*.

<sup>5</sup> Panel, 16.5 x 15.7 cm.

<sup>6</sup> The most striking similarities are to be found in the main panel of the lower row, and in the various compartments of the predella.

<sup>7</sup> G. Fogolari in *Dedalo*, V, 1924-1925, pp. 70 ff. The attribution to Gerolamo da Cremona was never accepted by Bernard Berenson, to whom we owe the most convincing reconstruction of the personality of the great artist. Strangely enough, the Asola polyptych has been given to Gentile Bellini by Roberto Longhi, in *Vita artistica*, II, 1927, p. 134, and in his *Viatico per cinque secoli di pittura veneziana*, Florence, 1946, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> F. Voltini in *Paragone*, IX, 1958, no. 97, pp. 9 ff.





FIGURE 6

ASOLA, SANT'ANDREA

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*Polyptych*



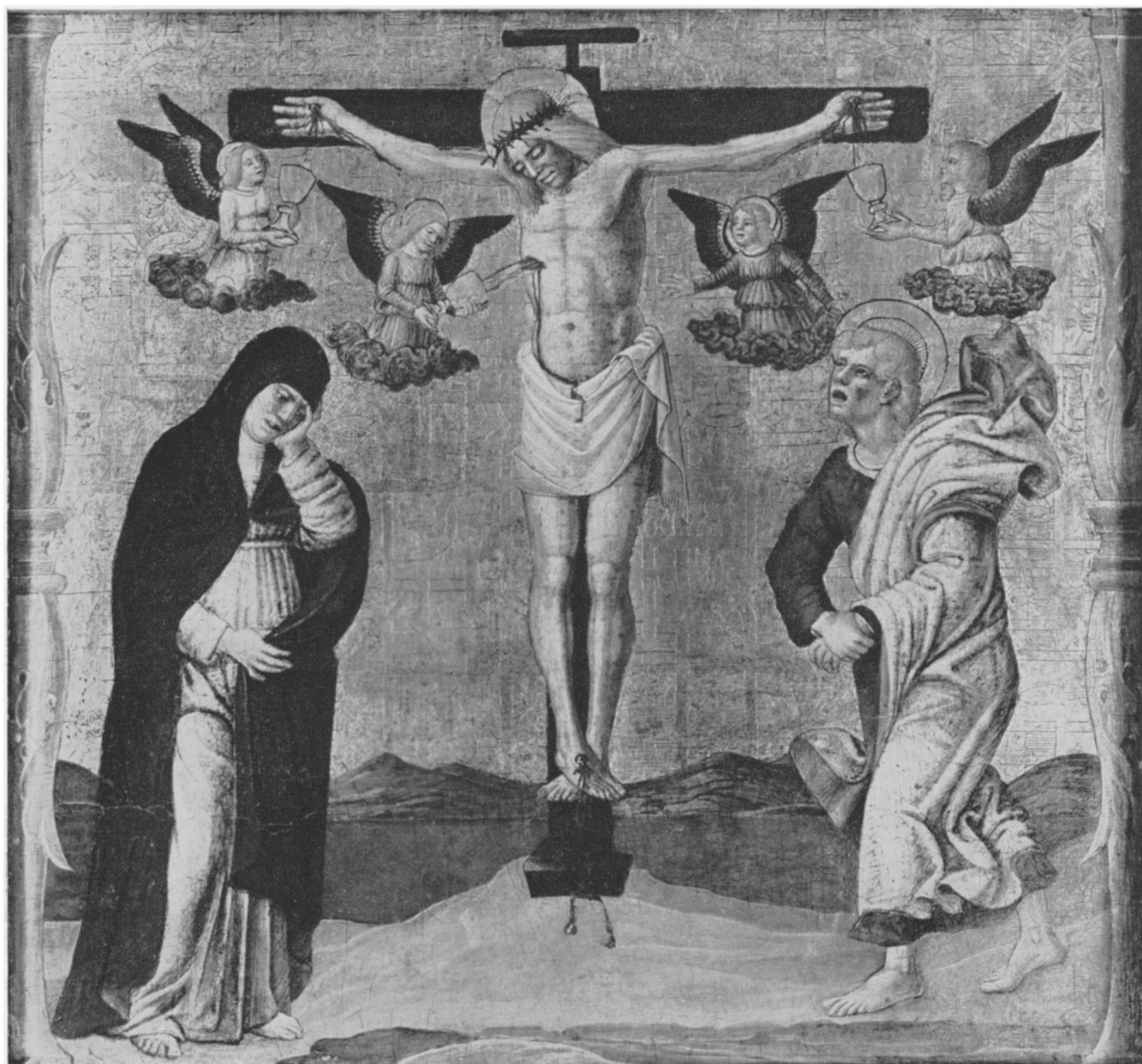


FIGURE 7

PRINCETON, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*The Crucifixion*

We do not know the dates of the birth and death of Antonio della Corna, but we do have two signed and dated panels. One, St. Julian Slaying his Parents in the Schwarzenberg collection in Vienna, is dated 1478. The other, a triptych with the Nativity and Saints in the Bagatti Valsecchi collection in Milan, is dated 1494. In addition, it is very probable that the altarpiece in Asola, along with the frescoes in the same church of Sant'Andrea, may be dated around 1490.<sup>9</sup> All the works which have been referred to thus far, as well as three paintings catalogued as his in the Museo Civico of Cremona, may be placed between these two definite dates, i.e. between 1478 and 1494. Two of those in Cremona are frescoes (Tobias and the Archangel and the Madonna Adoring the Child) and one (the Nativity) is on panel.<sup>10</sup> By comparison with the whole group, the small panels of the Story of the Passion show that they were painted around the time of the polyptych of Asola, that is, about 1490. This date also comes to mind because the derivations from Andrea Mantegna hint at a knowledge of the *Camera degli Sposi* (finished in 1474) and of the Triumphs of Caesar (some of which had already been finished in 1486). It is useful to recall that Antonio della Corna himself has been suggested as the probable assistant of Mantegna for the monochrome parts of the vaults of the celebrated *Camera*.<sup>11</sup>

The examination of the small panels published here makes one think, nevertheless, that the first chapter of Antonio della Corna's activity unfolded in an atmosphere different from that of the Mantegnesque. The gold background with incised designs shows a link with an earlier phase of Lombard painting, while the execution of some of the details (such as the ornaments on the benches and thrones, the shield of the soldier in

the Betrayal of Judas, and the armor) is carried out with such subtle minuteness as to suggest that the artist was not entirely ignorant of the technique of miniature painting, whether he himself practiced the art or whether he only had a chance to know and study the work of a practitioner in that special field. It is well to remember at this point that erroneous attributions may be divided into two categories: those attributions which depend on the inability of the person proposing them, who plays with names as at blind-man's-buff; and those which, even though superseded by the progress of new studies and knowledge, still contain a certain particle of truth, thanks to the force of reasoning which was originally based on the knowledge of the moment. The attribution to Gerolamo da Cremona of the Asola polyptych belongs to this second class, and the exchange of authorship between Antonio della Corna and the great painter and miniaturist of Cremona proves that the beginning of the activity of the first should be realized within the influence of the second. It is not inconsequential that both were natives of the same city. In the polyptych of Asola, which nevertheless is already a work of Antonio's mature period, the reflection of Gerolamo is evident, whether in the color range or in typological details, especially in the principal panel of the Madonna of Misericordia. But there exists another panel which illustrates the scope of the problem very well. We refer to the Crucifixion in the museum of Princeton University (fig. 7). Evelyn Sandberg Vavalà not only rightly attributed it to the same hand as the Story of the Passion, but she was also inclined to recognize it as the central element of the series.<sup>12</sup> Her hypothesis seems to be confirmed by the background, where the gold again is incised with a motif analogous to those of the other

<sup>9</sup> G. Paccagnini, *Catalogo della Mostra di Andrea Mantegna*, Mantua, 1961, pp. 132 f., no. 92.

<sup>10</sup> A. Puerari, *La Pinacoteca di Cremona*, 1951, pp. 54 ff. I do not know the frescoes attributed to Antonio della Corna by R. Longhi and M. Gregori, there mentioned; on the other hand, it is impossible for me to admit that he is the author of the frescoed ceiling in the Victoria and Albert Museum, as suggested by F. Bologna in *Burlington Magazine*, XCVI, 1954, pp. 166 ff. These frescoes seem to belong to quite a different chap-

ter of Cremonese painting.

<sup>11</sup> See G. Paccagnini, *op. cit.*, Mantua, 1961, p. 131.

<sup>12</sup> Princeton, University Museum, no. 57-22. Panel, 42.8 x 45 cm. Provenance: Anonymous sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 23, 1927, no. 2, as "Niccolò Alunno"; Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Princeton; long on loan to the Art Museum, Princeton University; presented by Mrs. Mather in 1957. We are grateful to Miss Frances Jones, Chief Curator of the University Museum, for permission to publish this piece.

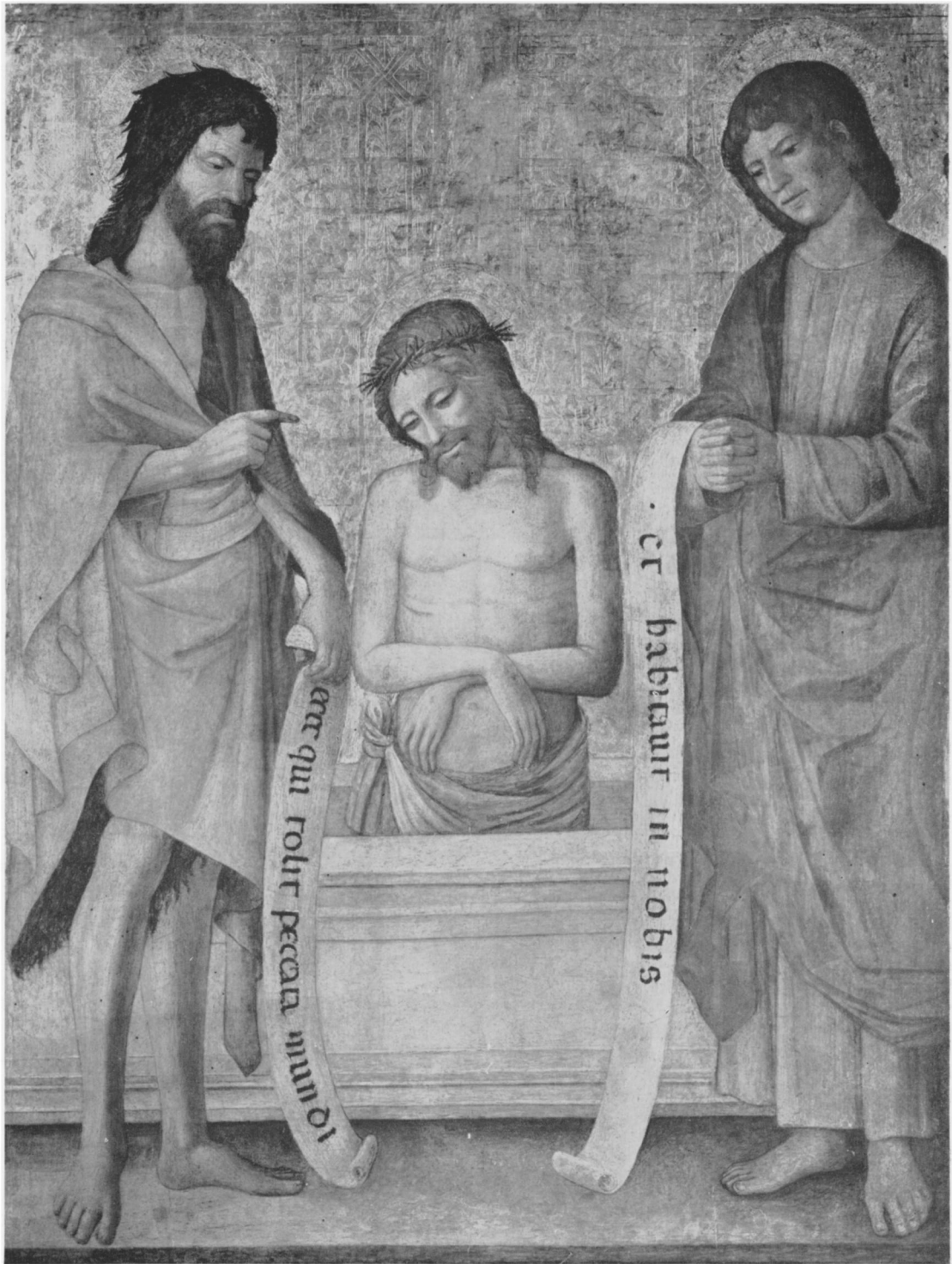


FIGURE 8

PARIS, ART MARKET

ANTONIO DELLA CORNA  
*The Man of Sorrows between St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist*

panels. For my part, I leave the question unsettled, noting, however, that the dimensions and the halo types seem to suggest the central panel of another complex, very likely a predella. What is important to notice is that the Mantegnesque element is practically nil, while the derivations from Gerolamo da Cremona are exceedingly strong. I do not know of another example in all of quattrocento Italian painting so closely derived from Gerolamo da Cremona (not even the first works of Liberale da Verona) as are the figures of St. John and of the Virgin in this panel, with such an abundance of references that I will not describe them here. Instead, one may notice how in the figure of Christ, Antonio della Corna indicates a knowledge of another and different source, that is, the painting of Vincenzo Foppa and his soft chiaroscuro. For the rest, Foppesque elements appear in another work which I add to the brief catalogue of Antonio della Corna

and which without a doubt belongs to the same period as the Story of the Passion, that is to a time around 1490. It is a curious representation of the Man of Sorrows between St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist.<sup>13</sup> Each carries a scroll, the former with *Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, the other with *et habitavit in nobis*, which refer to the first chapter of the Gospel of John (fig. 8). Here also the background is ornamented in a manner similar to the series we have seen. But the severity of the theme is interpreted with accents which do not recall Mantegna, but allude instead to Foppa. Thus is defined with exactness the cultural *milieu* in which this little-known personality of Antonio della Corna moved, included in which were Gerolamo da Cremona, Vincenzo Foppa and Andre Mantegna.

<sup>13</sup> The panel, measuring 75 x 57 cm., was for sale in Paris by 1967 (Heim-Gairac).

## A BOTTICELLESQUE FRAGMENT IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

A panel in the Walters Art Gallery with the figure of St. John the Baptist shown in over half-length (fig. 9) has hitherto received little attention.<sup>1</sup> Although it is dependent upon a celebrated masterpiece by Sandro Botticelli, it is a rather damaged fragment evidently cut out from a much larger painting and has therefore been overlooked in the extensive literature on that great Florentine painter. The only mention of it is to be found in Raimond van Marle's *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, where the correspondence between this St. John the Baptist and the one appearing in Botticelli's San Barnaba altarpiece (fig. 10), now in the Uffizi, is rightly observed.<sup>2</sup> Careful cleaning of the Walters painting has revealed that in spite of many damages it retains much of its quality, which, of course, does not correspond to the very high standard of Botticelli's own works, but is that of a good and careful product of his workshop, very likely executed

under his direct supervision and certainly based upon his cartoons. From elements in the background of the Walters fragment we are able to deduce the appearance of the larger work from which the saint was cut, apparently an altarpiece that followed a type of composition very common in Florentine painting in the mid to late Quattrocento. The saint stands against a high wall enriched with polychrome marbles, whose brilliant colors contrast with the pale blue sky seen above the upper cornice. This clearly suggests that the complete painting was an altarpiece showing two saints both standing against a wall and symmetrically flanking a central figure, which, as the pres-

<sup>1</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.427. The panel, 24 15/16 x 15 1/2 in. (63.4 x 39.4 cm.), has been cut off at the top, bottom and left side. The right edge is original, but has been trimmed and reinforced near the top. The panel was acquired in 1902 with the Massarenti Collection.

<sup>2</sup> R. van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, XII, 1931, p. 266, note 1.



FIGURE 9

WALTERS ART GALLERY

**BOTTICELLI WORKSHOP**  
*St. John the Baptist*



FIGURE 10

FLORENCE, UFFIZI GALLERY

SANDRO BOTTICELLI  
*San Barnaba Altarpiece*

ence of John the Baptist on the right indicates, must have been the Madonna holding the Child.

Investigation among the fragmentary paintings of Botticelli's shop shows that the left-hand figure from the same altarpiece is surely the St. James the Greater in the Colonna Gallery in Rome (fig. 11). In this the style, technique and condition correspond perfectly to those of the Walters panel. What is more revealing is that both the type of the halo and the mouldings of the upper cornice

of the wall are absolutely identical—not to mention the colors of the architectural elements, including that of the alabaster slab behind the Baptist's right arm which occurs again in a small detail just at the left of St. James's right arm.<sup>3</sup>

Once admitted that the Colonna St. James belongs to the same altarpiece as the Walters John the Baptist, it is interesting to observe that it, too,

<sup>3</sup> Colonna Gallery, no. 218. Panel, 44.3 x 34.7 cm.





FIGURE 11

ROME, COLONNA GALLERY

**BOTTICELLI WORKSHOP**  
*St. James the Greater*

is based, and very obviously, upon a prototype by Botticelli, although not from the same painting as the Walters fragment. In fact, the St. James appears to be a very close adaptation from Botticelli's Madonna between the two Sts. John in the Berlin Museum. To be exact, it follows the upper part of the figure of the Baptist in that famous altarpiece, changing only the iconographical attributes.<sup>4</sup> It is also to be noticed that the Colonna painting was not cut off from the composition so as to make an exact companion to the Walters

picture; the dimensions of the two fragments as well as the surviving portions of the two figures are quite different, which suggests that the division of the altarpiece was not due to wanton destruction, but rather was caused by the poor state of the lower area, very likely damaged by dampness. The body of the St. James was evidently less well preserved than that of the Baptist,

<sup>4</sup> R. Salvini, *Tutta la Pittura di Botticelli*, 1958, vol. II, pl. 20.



FIGURE 12

MALTA, LA VALLETTA MUSEUM

**BOTTICELLI WORKSHOP**  
*Madonna and Child*



FIGURE 13

WALTERS ART GALLERY

**BOTTICELLI WORKSHOP**  
*Madonna and Child with the Young St. John*

and, in order to give it some compositional balance, it was also necessary to include along the right edge part of a protruding architectural element, formed by a pilaster with a capital supporting the cornice, and near the upper right-hand corner, the beginning of the semi-circular entablature of a niche. Thus, we know not only that the

center of the altarpiece pictured the Virgin (as suggested by the presence of the Baptist), but also that in the central portion the wall in the background was interrupted by a more elaborate setting in which the main group of figures was placed.

After these remarks, we need no great effort to conclude that the central fragment of our altar-



FIGURE 14

RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA MUSEUM OF ART

BOTTICELLI WORKSHOP  
*Nativity*

piece is to be identified with the Madonna and Child in the National Museum at La Valletta on the island of Malta (fig. 12). Apart from the precise identity of style, colors, ornamental details and so forth, a final proof of the identification lies in the fact that the left side of the niche is partly missing and its left pilaster no longer exists, just

as one could have foretold from the Colonna St. James, in which part of an identical capital appears.<sup>5</sup> As for the composition of the panel at La

<sup>5</sup> La Valletta, National Museum. Panel, 64.7 x 45.5 cm. In order to give some balance to the painting, a new piece of wood has been added on the left, and another, bearing the inscription "Mater Admirabilis," at the bottom, extending the size to 71.4 x 55.5 cm.

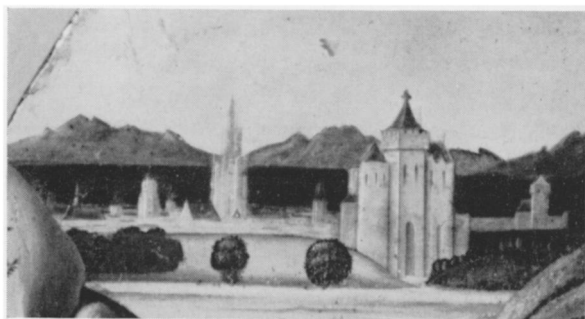


FIGURE 15

WALTERS ART GALLERY

DISTANT TOWN  
*Detail of figure 13*

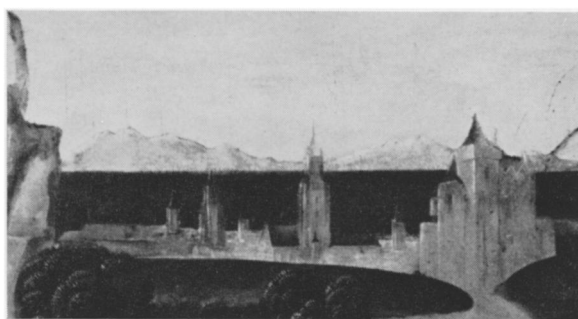


FIGURE 16

RALEIGH N. C. MUSEUM OF ART

DISTANT TOWN  
*Detail of figure 14*

Valletta, the figures of the Madonna and Child repeat without any basic changes the same group in Botticelli's San Barnaba altarpiece, that is, the very same source on which the Walters Baptist is based. I stress the derivation of the figures of our reconstructed altarpiece because (and this is the most interesting point of the entire matter) the combination of two different sources provides evidence for solving one of the basic problems of Botticelli's chronology—the dating of the San Barnaba altarpiece. This great masterpiece has been variously placed in the painter's career, some scholars suggesting a date shortly after 1480, others inclining towards a later moment, around 1487. Our reconstruction proves that the former dating has to be discarded, since the Colonna St. James derives from a prototype that is fully recorded and dated. We know, in fact, that the Berlin panel was executed in 1485, and thus the San Barnaba altarpiece must have been painted after that year. Personally, I feel inclined to accept for the latter a date shortly after 1485, as was once suggested by Mesnil. This would seem to be confirmed by comparison with the established later phases of Botticelli's development.<sup>6</sup>

Our reconstruction shows once again the extensive use of the great master's cartoons and drawings to produce workshop replicas, either faithful to the original prototypes or varied in different degrees by combining details taken from two or more of the artist's celebrated paintings. This is not news, since Botticelli's studio productions showing just this method are, by far, the most

plentiful of the entire late fifteenth century, and their number seems to be endless. Contrary to the habit of some other Florentine artists of the late Quattrocento, Botticelli's drawings used to be preserved and adapted for a sort of mass production. What is more interesting is that in doing so Botticelli's pupils and assistants employed not only his figurative drawings, but also those related to minor details such as landscapes. A good example of this also belongs to the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 13). It is a tondo depicting the Virgin nursing the Child in an open landscape with the figure of the young Baptist nearby.<sup>7</sup> Its quality is that of Botticelli's studio and in this case, too, the main group of the composition appears in another studio painting, a tondo in the Galleria Sabauda at Turin, in which an angel has been added on the left, while the background is entirely different.<sup>8</sup> However, the most interesting detail of the Walters picture is that which we reproduce (fig. 15), the view on the left, where a distant town is imagined with an utterly Flemish-like spirit, apparently *à la* Memling. This same view occurs again in another tondo of the Nativity that has been given by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation to the North Carolina Museum of Art at Raleigh (figs. 14, 16). In this panel (which, although more refined than the Walters tondo, is also typical of Botticelli's shop), the three main

<sup>6</sup> See R. Salvini, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 45 f.

<sup>7</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.422. Panel, tondo, diam. 36¾ in. (93.5 cm.); acquired in 1902 with the Massarenti Collection.

<sup>8</sup> C. Gamba, *Botticelli*, 1936, pl. 198.

figures depend upon a well-known drawing by Botticelli in the Uffizi, as has been pointed out by Fern Rusk Shapley;<sup>9</sup> but the town in the far distance and, beyond it, the mountains are exactly the same as in the Walters tondo, and only the substantial abrasions that have been inflicted on the Raleigh picture prevent the most minute details from revealing their exact identity. It would

be interesting to check whether Botticelli also followed this same practice in his own works, repeating certain details twice or more, but this research would exceed the limits of a brief note, dedicated only to a dismembered altarpiece.

<sup>9</sup> F. R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, Italian Schools, XIII-XV Century*, 1966, pp. 122 f.

# ADDENDUM—to “Ezechiel’s Vision of the Sign Thau” by Philippe Verdier (pp. 17-47)

Two typological plaques in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, seem to reinforce the thesis that the Ezechiel plaque discussed in this article, although executed in the technique of a Mosan enameller, comes from a Rhenish milieu, the region of Cologne. They were given to the Metropolitan Museum by J. P. Morgan in 1917 (17.190.438,9).<sup>1</sup> No. 17.190.438 represents the marking of the tau on the pediment of a building resembling the *Westwerk* of an Ottonian-romanesque Rhenish church. This building, which bears on its roof-top the cross as the antetype of the inscribed tau, evokes the *Westwerk* of S. Pantaleon in Cologne.<sup>2</sup> Here marking with tau may have the connotation of a church’s dedication and of the inscription of the apocalyptic tau on the portal of its west front, which is the side of the setting sun and of the Last Judgment. The doors of the *Westwerk*—indicated as bronze doors by lion masks—are closed. The Lamb has been slaughtered. The blood fills the cup held by the man who marks. The style and technique are un-

doubtedly Rhenish and point towards a rather late dating (early thirteenth century). This plaque measures 2¾ inches high and 2½ inches wide. Its companion piece, a plaque representing Moses and the Brazen Serpent measures 2½ inches high and 2¾ inches wide. Probably both came from a cross: the tau plaque, on account of the ratio of its height to its width, must have come from the bottom of the cross (it is marked with the location letter C on its back),<sup>3</sup> the Moses plaque from the left arm. Although the dimensions are similar, the plaques differ from each other in style and in the frame. The *grenétis* of 17.190.439 presents more serrated indentations, and the inside framework is made of two gilt-copper bands flanking a square band of greenish-blue enamel. Such characteristics are not exhibited by plaque 17.190.438. The inference is that the cross to which four typological plaques were originally attached was repaired or completed at a later date by the addition or restoration of the tau plaque at the lower end.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peraté, *Catalogue Hoentschel, Collection des Emaux*, 1911, nos. 12-13, pl. V; *Arts of the Middle Ages*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1940, no. 248, pl. XXIX (17.190.439). Miss Vera K. Ostioia, Associate Curator of Medieval Art at the Metropolitan Museum, has discovered that in 1869 the two plaques were in the collection of Prince Karl von Preussen in the so-called Klosterhof, that is Glienicke Castle near Potsdam. Cf. E. Aus’m Weerth, “Der Reliquien—und Ornamentenschatz der Abteikirche zu Aablo” in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, XLVI, 1869, pp. 144 ff., ill. pp. 152-4.

<sup>2</sup> As on the plaque representing Archbishop Bruno of Cologne, attributed to Nicholas of Verdun, in the Art Institute of Chicago: H. Schnitzler, “Nikolaus von Verdun und der Albinusschrein” in *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, XI, 1939, pp. 56-80, fig. 79.

<sup>3</sup> A plaque of St. Matthew in the Metropolitan Mu-

seum (25.120.449) is marked A on the back to indicate its intended location at the center top of an enamelled book-cover decorated with at least two sets of quarter-nities (one placed in the angles, the other at the middle of each side of the framework).

<sup>4</sup> The exhibition of medieval art from American private collections held at the Cloisters in the autumn of 1968 revealed a tau plaque (according to Exodus) in the collection of Georges Seligman. This plaque is curiously surrounded by a continuous sequence of cusps, that recall the decoration of the marble altar tables of the French Pyrenees and of Catalonia, and also the main altar dedicated at Cluny in 1095. The cusps or lobes may have a sacramental character (as on certain panels of the Life of the Virgin and the Infancy of Christ in the stained-glass widow of around 1150 in the façade of the cathedral of Chartres).



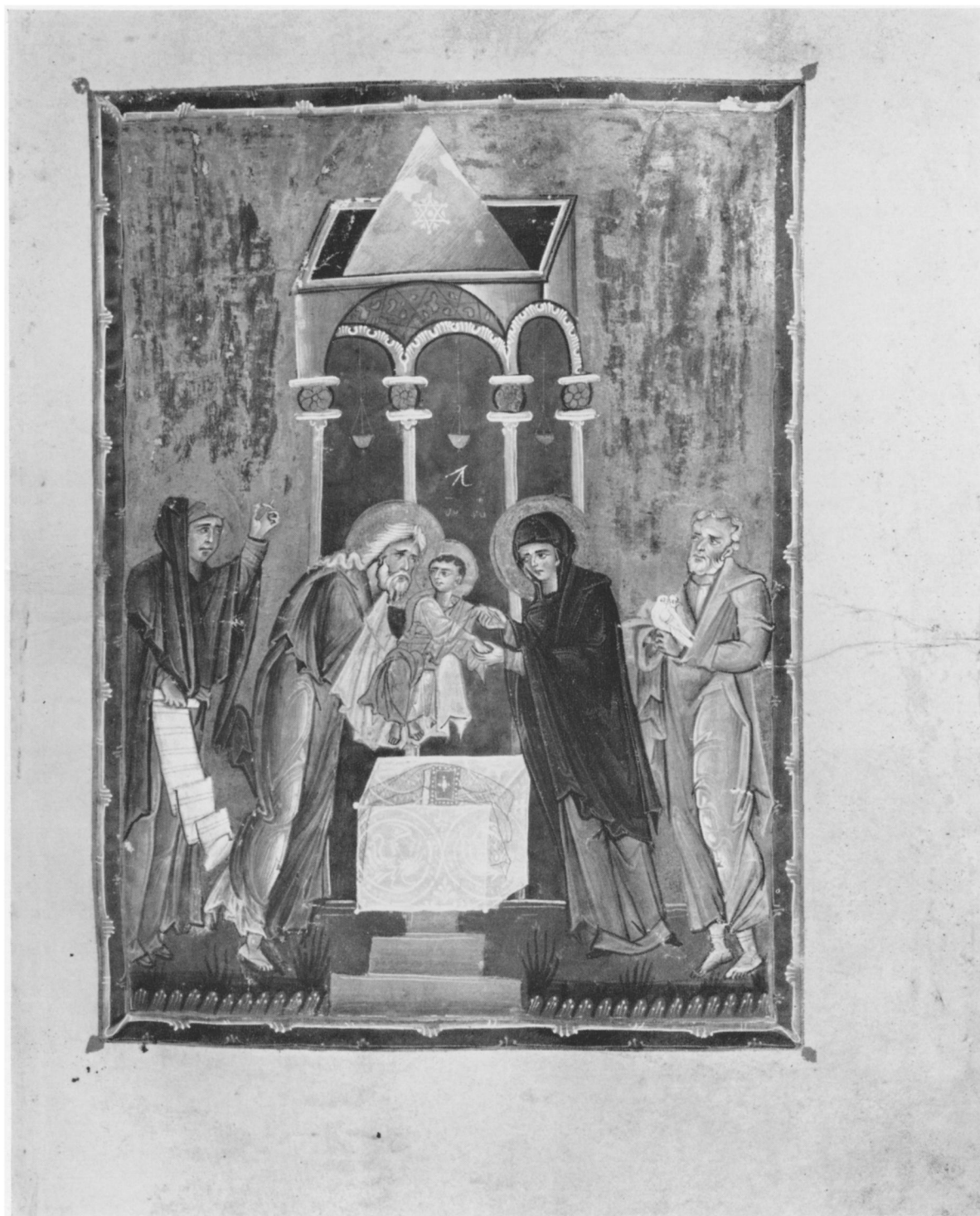


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

**T'OROS ROSLIN**  
*The Presentation in the Temple*  
(Ms. W. 539, fol. 211. *Gospels in Armenian*, 1262 A.D.)

# SINCE DE RICCI—WESTERN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS ACQUIRED SINCE 1934

## A REPORT IN TWO PARTS: PART 1

By DOROTHY MINER  
*The Walters Art Gallery*

When the writer first arrived at the Walters Art Gallery in 1934, at the time it was originally opened as a public museum, one of her first tasks was to read galley-proofs of the descriptions of the Walters manuscripts that had been prepared for the first volume of the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, which was then in press.<sup>1</sup> This survey had been begun in 1929 by the late Seymour De Ricci, a distinguished French bibliographer, with the assistance of Dr. W. J. Wilson, then of the Library of Congress. It was an undertaking of staggering proportions, and one which for the first time revealed something of the manuscript resources that had been developed in the United States. Mr. De Ricci came to Baltimore to list the manuscripts here in 1930 or 1931, shortly before the death of Henry Walters. He and Dr. Wilson also made additional visits with the permission of the executors and then of the Trustees during the period when the Gallery was closed—from the date of Henry Walters' death in November, 1931, until its reorganization in 1934—thus having to carry on this survey at a time when no arrangement or even complete assemblage of the manuscripts had been com-

menced. It was hardly surprising, therefore, that even at the initial stages of organizing the manuscript collection, I was able to find a good eighty manuscripts, here and there in the Gallery and in the old Walters house, which had not been seen by the hard-pressed team of census-takers, but which were discovered in time to be included in the volume.

The *Census* concerned itself only with western manuscripts through the sixteenth century or so, and excluded papyri and Asiatic manuscripts. The total of Walters codices described in the *Census* numbered 557. The 166 Islamic and other Oriental manuscripts in the collection, as well as several items for various reasons not recorded by De Ricci in 1935, brought the grand total of the manuscripts bequeathed by Mr. Walters to 728.

For many years after the opening of the Gallery as a public institution, no funds whatever were available for additions to the collection. When eventually some provision could be made for occasional purchases, the allotment was very small indeed. However, since this period of "token" accession funds coincided with the precipitous drop in the art market during World War II and the immediately following years, there were, happily, a few opportunities which could be grasped. The gradual, but still very

<sup>1</sup> New York, 1935. The work eventually comprised a second volume, 1937, and an Index volume, 1940.

modest, increase in accession funds during the past dozen years did make possible at first a few bold strokes, but the spiralling escalation of the art market—especially for illuminated manuscripts, beginning with the sales of the Dyson Perrins collection in London in 1958-60—has rapidly outdistanced us. Inevitably, we have been forced to concentrate on accessions in other fields for which the writer is responsible—early printed books, early bindings, Islamic art—areas in which something can still be achieved with the funds at our disposal.

Despite this unpromising history, it has seemed not without interest, nor even without satisfaction, to summarize what has in fact been possible under the circumstances, "since De Ricci."

As of 1967, the illuminated manuscripts in the collection numbered 776 items. Of the forty-eight manuscripts thus added during the post-*Census* years, eighteen are Islamic, Far Eastern, or otherwise inappropriate to the field under discussion, leaving a total of thirty for us to survey here and in Part Two of this report.

An estimate of the ways in which the manuscript collection has been enriched between 1934 and 1967 may be obtained by grouping the accessions in general cultural areas, rather than by describing them in the order of their arrival. We may begin with a small group representing aspects of the culture of the eastern Mediterranean.

The first manuscript to be discussed is one of the most important—if not *the* most important—that we can add to De Ricci's original listing (Figs. 1-3). It is a large volume containing the

Four Gospels in Armenian, which, as a matter of fact, was actually purchased by Mr. Henry Walters in Paris in 1929, from the late antiquarian, Dikran G. Kelekian. The manuscript was not found among the collections in the Gallery building at Mr. Walters' death in November, 1931. Alerted to its absence by Mr. Kelekian, the Trustees applied to Mrs. Walters, who eventually discovered the volume in the house in New York and generously authorized its delivery to the Walters Art Gallery in March, 1935.<sup>2</sup>

The codex thus restored to the collection is a prize indeed. It is a massive volume of over 400 vellum leaves, inscribed in the upright Armenian uncial known as *erkat'agir*.<sup>3</sup> In addition to exceptionally rich illumination in gold and colors throughout, the manuscript presents a series of more than eighty illustrations, fourteen of which are of full-page size. It is a splendid example of the Armenian book-illumination which developed during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in the region of Cilicia in Asia Minor, where the Armenian princes who had been forced out of Greater Armenia in the late eleventh century set up a kingdom more or less under the aegis of Byzantium. The book-illuminators who worked in the cities and the monasteries of Cilicia developed a style which was a fascinating fusion of Byzantine and Armenian art—adopting the rich gold and azure ornament of the former, as well as the figure-types, much of the iconography and many decorative motifs, but transforming these with the inventiveness, humor and lively narrative sense of the Armenians.

<sup>2</sup> Under the terms of Henry Walters' will, the bequest to the City of Baltimore consisted of the Gallery building and his house on Mount Vernon Place, together with their contents. Thus, objects in his collection that—either by accident or intention—were elsewhere in November, 1931, did not form part of the bequest.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. W. 539. Gospels in Armenian. 413 vellum leaves, 11¼ x 8¾ in. Binding of leather over wood boards, with metal attachments dated 1643 A. D. The manuscript has been cited in Armenian publications of the 19th and early 20th century and by many subsequent authors. Among these may be mentioned: S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des XII<sup>e</sup>, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mékhitaristes de Venise*, Paris, 1936-37, pp. 95, 165;

H. Buchthal and O. Kurz, *A Hand List of Illuminated Oriental Christian Manuscripts*, London, 1942, no. 351; Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, 1947, p. 148, no. 750, pl. CVII; S. Der Nersessian, "Western Iconographic Themes in Armenian Manuscripts," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Ser. 6, XXVI (1944), pp. 71-94; *idem* in *New Testament Studies*, ed. by M. M. Parvis and A. P. Wikgren, Chicago, 1950, pp. 142f., 149, pl. V; *idem*, *The Chester Beatty Library—Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts*, Dublin, 1958, pp. xxvii, notes 3-5; xxxiv, n. 2; xlii, n. 5; xliii, 5, n. 2; 29, n. 2; 115, n. 3; 124, n. 1; *idem*, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington, 1963, pp. 33, n. 88; 34, n. 89; 35; 40; 41; 42; 45; 49, n. 120; 70, n. 171, n. 172; 94-98; figs. 319, 322, 341, 342, 344-346.



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

# T'OROS ROSLIN

*The Miracle of the Gadarene Swine (Ms. W. 539, fol. 41 vo.)*

Like most Armenian manuscripts, ours is furnished with detailed colophons which inform us, among other things, that the codex was copied and illuminated in 1262 A.D. at the patriarchal see of Hromkla by T'oros Roslin. This artist was the most renowned of all thirteenth-century Armenian illuminators. Although various manuscripts have been, with greater or lesser probability, attributed to T'oros Roslin, only six others besides our own are signed by him: five in the Armenian Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, and one in the Armenian Patriarchate at Istanbul.<sup>4</sup>

The Walters codex is by far the most richly illuminated and illustrated of this group.

A survey of the miniatures in our Gospel book will reveal several different hands among the illuminators, indicating that T'oros Roslin was the head of a considerable atelier of painters. Among Armenian illustrators, Roslin was the foremost exponent of a new trend to expand upon the various episodes of the Gospel narrative, presenting not only the traditional scenes of events celebrated by the great feasts of the eastern liturgy, but a wealth of lesser scenes and allu-

sions.<sup>5</sup> Characteristic of these scenes is their liveliness and the immediacy with which they illustrate the text, being placed precisely adjacent to the passage or words concerned. Sometimes only a single figure or animal is inserted in the margin to visualize a phrase—sometimes a few figures are vignettted against the vellum, or in other instances an elaborate scene may occupy a quarter or a half of a page, or more.

The Walters manuscript is a famous one and was known to Armenian scholars during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when it was preserved in the library of the Church of the Holy Cross at Sebastia in Asia Minor. As this manuscript will be discussed and illustrated in full detail by Professor Sirarpie Der Nersessian in the *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, which is now being prepared for press, we will forbear from giving here the particulars of its history, the interests of its decoration and its relationship to other manuscripts of the period.

By far our most important purchase in the area of eastern Mediterranean manuscripts was a Greek Psalter written around the year 1100, which is embellished with about 155 little illustrations vignettted in the margins (figs. 4, 5). This is a member of a very small group of Greek Psalters with the illustrations confined to the margins, only seven others of this type having survived. Our manuscript was a totally unknown and unrecorded member of the group when it came up at auction in London during the summer of 1946, in the sale of a portion of the vast collection of manuscripts accumulated by the late Sir Thomas

<sup>4</sup> S. Der Nersessian, *Chester Beatty Library*, pp. 28, n. 4; 29, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> S. Der Nersessian, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire*, Cambridge, Mass., 1945, pp. 124f.

<sup>6</sup> Sotheby and Co., *Bibliotheca Phillippica, Catalogue of a Further Portion of the Renowned Library Formed by the Late Sir Thomas Phillipps* . . . , London, July 1, 1946, lot 2, pl. II. Now Ms. W. 733, Psalter in Greek. 102 vellum leaves, 8½ x 6½ in. Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, 1947, p. 137, no. 698, pl. XCIV; W. H. Bond and C. U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1962, p. 197, no. 560; see also article cited below in note 8.

<sup>7</sup> Especially the late Professors C. R. Morey and A. M. Friend, Jr., and our good friend Professor Kurt Weitzmann, all of Princeton University.

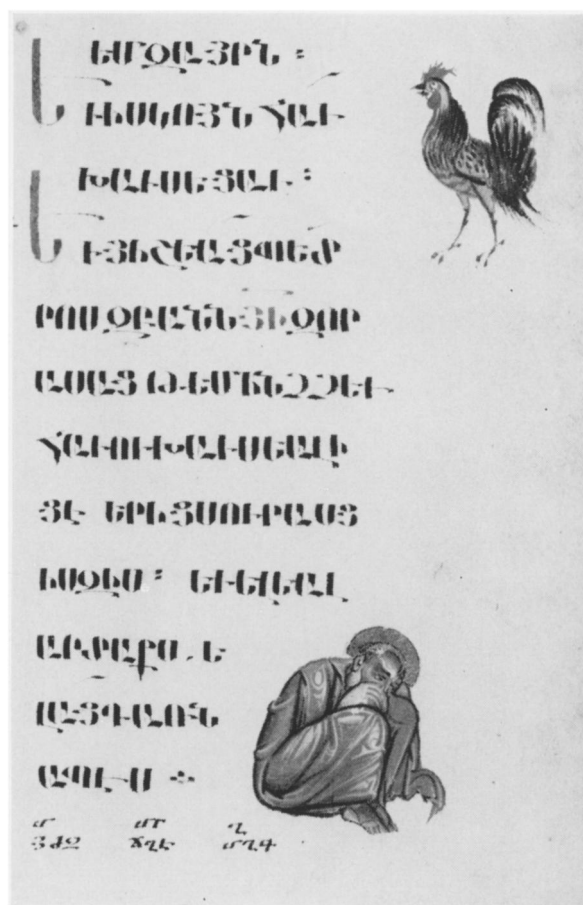


FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

### T'OROS ROSLIN

*The Cock Crows; Peter Weeps (Ms. W. 539, fol. 119)*

Phillipps.<sup>6</sup> Its sudden appearance created something of a sensation among the small group of scholars concerned with the iconography of the Septuagint, and since this group was particularly strong in the United States at that time,<sup>7</sup> the capture of the prize for an American collection was a matter for special rejoicing. The success of the Gallery in acquiring the manuscript had, in this instance, an important element of luck. The sale was held so soon after the termination of World War II that neither public nor private collectors in the field were very active. The codex, as in the case of all Psalters of this group, showed signs of hard use and even mutilation—and so would have exerted little attraction for a collector concerned



FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*God Feeds the Israelites in the Wilderness*  
 (Ms. W. 733, fol. 40. Psalter in Greek)





FIGURE 5

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Plagues of Egypt*  
 (Ms. W. 733, fol. 41vo. Psalter in Greek)

only with "handsome" volumes.

The present writer has written elsewhere in some detail about this manuscript and its various interests<sup>8</sup>—so it is necessary here only to point out a few of the charms of the little Psalter.

It is well known that the Greek Psalters with marginal illustrations had a didactic rather than a ceremonial mission—for which reason they have sometimes been termed "monastic" Psalters. The little scenes and sprightly figures are placed as close as possible to the particular passage to which they refer, and sometimes are even linked directly to the word or phrase by a lightly drawn line or indicator, so as to clarify the relationship. The illustrations are of four different types: those representing events from the Old Testament alluded to in the Psalms, such as episodes of Exodus or of the story of David; New Testament incidents which were supposed to be prefigured in the verses; scenes derived from the Menologion or lives of the saints, in allusion to the liturgical reading of specific Psalms on certain feast days. The fourth and most captivating type of illustration is the literal one—in which the vivid figures of speech characteristic of the Psalms are given precise representation. "Be not as the horse and the mule, which have no understanding . . ." of Psalm 31:9 is illustrated by a small horse and mule in the adjacent margin. For the passage, "They set their mouth against heaven; and their tongue has gone through upon the earth" (Psalm 72:9), we see two men standing together, their elongated red tongues extending to the ground!

The figures are tiny, executed in the browns, clear reds and blues, highlighted with gold, characteristic of the late eleventh century, and they are expressive and vivacious in style.

It seems likely that our book was illuminated

in one of the ateliers of Constantinople, using as its model a slightly earlier manuscript. It is interesting to discover that this lost prototype may well have been taken to Russia, for in 1397 it was closely copied in the illustrations of a Psalter in the Russian language written in Kiev. The Russian example is now preserved in the Public Library of Leningrad.<sup>9</sup> Since the latter is virtually complete, it is of importance in helping to reconstruct parts of the Walters Psalter which are missing or mutilated. The imperfect condition of our manuscript is due to the hard use always accorded these little volumes with the didactic marginal illustrations—a fact which unquestionably accounts for their present rarity. As early as the fifteenth century some leaves were already missing, for two folios were replaced at that epoch, as their handwriting reveals. By the first decades of the eighteenth century the book had migrated to Italy, and was turned over to an Italian school-boy for his Greek lessons. Like many an indolent student, he doodled over some of the margins, scrawling Greek words, sums in arithmetic, caricatures, and in one place his name: "Theodosio Cacuri Dattene," and the date: "11 Agosti 1724." Later in the same century the volume fell into the hands of an aristocratic English collector, Frederick North, fifth Earl of Guilford, who had it bound in vellum for his library at Corfu, before eventually transferring it to England. Sir Thomas Phillipps bought it from the London bookdealer, Payne, shortly before 1840, and placed it in his library at Middle Hill in Worcestershire, where it remained until 1863, when he moved his collection to Thirlestaine House, Cheltenham. Sir Thomas died in 1872, and the gradual dispersal of his vast collection of manuscripts—some estimates place the number of items at 60,000—began as early as 1883 under the direction of the heirs. Over the years, both through private sale and through a series of auctions, numerous treasures changed hands<sup>10</sup>—a process which is still going forward under the supervision of the present owners, Lionel and Philip Robinson, who acquired the residue of the Phillipps library in 1945-46.

It is a matter for regret that, despite the pioneering interest of Henry Walters in the decorative arts of the Copts—ivory carvings, metal-

<sup>8</sup> D. Miner, "The 'Monastic' Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery" in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. by K. Weitzmann, Princeton, 1955, pp. 232-253 and 23 illus.

<sup>9</sup> Codex 1252 F VI. For bibliography see D. Miner, *op. cit.*, p. 242. A new facsimile of this important manuscript is now in preparation in Russia.

<sup>10</sup> See A. L. N. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, 5 vols., Cambridge, 1951-1960. Well over 800 Phillipps manuscripts have made their way to the United States, including 16 in the Walters Art Gallery as of 1967.



FIGURE 6

*Fragment of Exodus in Coptic*  
(Ms. W. 739, fols. 1vo, 2)

WALTERS ART GALLERY

work, textiles—he did not acquire Coptic manuscripts. The one exception is a brief letter written in the Sahidic dialect on papyrus in the seventh or eighth century, which has no artistic interest except for the cursive script.<sup>11</sup> However, in the absence of more spectacular examples, it was a surprising stroke of luck to discover amidst the medieval sculptures, enamels and metalwork in the sales of the late Joseph Brummer, a fragment from a Coptic manuscript of some interest.<sup>12</sup> It consists of a vellum *bifolium*, the Sahidic text inscribed in a very handsome uncial of the eighth century (fig. 6). The initials introducing each verse are emphasized by small foliate flourishes tinted in red and yellow, and the more complex marginal ornaments consist of vine rinceaux. According to a great Coptic scholar, the late Reverend Theodore C. Petersen,<sup>13</sup> the leaves carry the text of Exodus, chapters XXI: 16-35, and XXIII: 5-21. This would indicate that our double leaf was next to the central *bifolium* of a gathering, as the missing intervening text would just fill another double leaf enclosed within it. Calculations based on the old page-numbering in Coptic suggested to Father Petersen that the fragment came from a volume containing the books of Genesis and Exodus. Portions of a very fragmentary and torn Coptic codex of Genesis and Exodus were once in the library of the University of Louvain—but were destroyed in the disastrous fire of

May 17, 1940. The texts of Exodus included in our fragment are known in only one other extant Coptic manuscript, also fragmentary, which is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.<sup>14</sup>

A subsequent development of Christian book-arts in Egypt is represented by the first Ethiopic manuscript to enter the collection.<sup>15</sup> This is not an illustrated book, but it is to be hoped that we shall one day be able to acquire examples of the strikingly bold and decorative work of the Ethiopic book-illustrators. Our manuscript was purchased because it is an outstanding example of the long survival in Africa of very early book techniques. So conservative are Ethiopic manuscripts that it is notoriously difficult to date them. It seems likely that our codex may be as late as the nineteenth century. It is a collection of Christian theological texts in the Amharic dialect, carrying the title “A Book of Philosophy,” written upon fairly well-prepared leather sheets in a hand which is unusually fine and regular for an Ethiopic book of this period.<sup>16</sup> The ink is black and the liberal use of red for captions, numerals, abbreviation marks and decorative punctuation presents a decidedly handsome effect.

What gives the volume its interest for our collection is the retention of very ancient characteristics in format, materials and binding. Its nearly square shape and triple columns of writing preserve the proportions of the very earliest codices, dating from the third and fourth centuries of our era. The rulings for the lines and margins of the script are made by the indentations of a pointed instrument, giving grooves on the recto of each leaf and ridges on the verso to guide the writing. Marginal prickings determine the spacing of the rulings.<sup>17</sup> This is an early method of laying out a volume that was already being superseded in western manuscripts by the twelfth century.

The binding of the codex also preserves in its technique and design qualities that go back to the earliest Coptic books that have come down to us. The square boards of wood are rounded at the corners and edges, and are covered with a brown leather decorated in blind with fillets and small tools. The central field features a Latin cross composed of rulings, punches and small tools, and framed by a succession of borders set one outside

<sup>11</sup> Ms. W. 518. Papyrus sheet, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 12 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. Letter in Sahidic, 7th century. De Ricci, *Census*, I, p. 761, nos. 20-23.

<sup>12</sup> Ms. W. 739. Fragment of Exodus in Sahidic. 2 conjoined vellum folios, 12 $\frac{7}{8}$  x 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  in. Parke-Bernet Galleries, *The . . . Art Collection Belonging to the Estate of . . . Joseph Brummer . . .*, New York, May 23, 1949, lot 97.

<sup>13</sup> Information contributed in a written description.

<sup>14</sup> Published by G. Maspero, “Fragments de la version thébaine de l’Ancien Testament” in *Memoires publiés par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, VI, fasc. 1, Paris (1892), pp. 37-38, 40.

<sup>15</sup> Ms. W. 768. Treatise in Ethiopic. 42 leather leaves, 12 x 11 $\frac{1}{4}$  in. Acquired 1960.

<sup>16</sup> I am indebted to Monsignor Patrick Skehan of the Catholic University of America, Washington, for information about this manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> Folios 32 to 39 were originally ruled for two wide text columns only, and then, before being used, were readapted to the three-column ruling of the rest of the volume.

the other and becoming slightly wider as the edge of the boards is approached. The tools which fill each border differ in design from those in the others. Inside the covers, wide turn-ins of the leather extend over all but a small central rectangle of the board. Head and tail bands are formed of plaited thongs, which are turned in as if to provide a book-mark. Cords that appear to be hemp sew the gatherings, which consist of varying numbers of leaves.

The whole volume is an eloquent witness to the changeless techniques of the African craftsman.

\* \* \* \* \*

Turning to manuscripts from western Europe, we may describe first the examples produced in Germany and the Germanic regions.

The earliest of these is of particular importance, since it is the only pre-romanesque illuminated manuscript that we have been able to add to those acquired by Henry Walters.<sup>18</sup> This is a fragment of a Gospel book of the tenth century which first became known when it was described and reproduced by the late Eric G. Millar in his catalogue of the western manuscripts in the library of A. Chester Beatty.<sup>19</sup>

The fragment consists of two pairs of conjoined leaves from a luxurious codex. These are, however, the highly ornamental "parade pages" which initiated the Gospels of St. Luke and of St. John (figs. 8-11). As was the custom with deluxe early medieval liturgical books, the opening words of the text in each case are treated with elaborate monogrammatic play: *Quoniam quidem* . . . for St. Luke and *In principio* . . . for St. John. The golden letters, standing against grounds of rich purple, are embellished with panels of interlace and budding vine-forms enclosed by frames of variegated design which expand into projecting roundels or squares at the corners. One is struck by the fact that the customary "portraits," of the appropriate Evangelists, which form the frontispieces in most medieval Gospel books, are here replaced by purely ornamental pages, carrying the title of the Gospel interspersed among ornaments of foliate or animal character. The bands of burnished gold outlined with white

or *minium* embrace areas of copper-green, cream-yellow, blue, blue-grey, and accents of red—recalling the effect of *cloisonné* enamels. The character of the designs fortifies this impression: the variations on dwarfed tree-forms in the corner squares of the St. Luke pages, or the highly stylized quails or turkeys within circles and the piquant quadrupeds in the corner roundels on the St. John pages are the forms of the goldsmith-enameller. The central dividing ornament of the St. John frontispiece appears like an altar-cross of enamel, gems and filigree. On the verso of the second leaf of each *bifolium* the text introduced by the great initials is continued in large golden capitals on panels of purple framed with ornament.

So successful are the designs in their combination of richness and decorative pattern that one is not immediately conscious of the eclecticism of the work and the extraordinary range of sources upon which the artist has drawn. The layout of the frames with their emphasis on corner expansion harks back to English work of the eighth century, while the composition of the initial pages, the shapes of the letters, the use of intermittent panels of interlace in shafts and frames all derive from the illumination of the so-called Franco-Saxon school that flourished in northern France in the mid-ninth century. The stylized birds and the palmette ornaments are motifs from the sumptuary arts of Byzantium and the Near East, but the charming little quadrupeds (deer?, lions?) come from the arts of the migratory tribes of the seventh century or so. A Langobard *cloisonné* enamel pendant now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (fig. 7), represents exactly the kind of an object which served as a model for these.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ms. W. 751. 4 illuminated folios, 12¼ x 9½ in. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, pp. 198 f. no. 567.

<sup>19</sup> *The Library of A. Chester Beatty—A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts*, by Eric George Millar, F.S.A., Assistant Keeper in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. Privately printed at the Oxford University Press, 1930, vol. I, ms. 10, pp. 48-49, pls. XXVI, XXVII.

<sup>20</sup> Found at Risano in Dalmatia and presented by Sir Arthur Evans to the Ashmolean Museum; see A. Evans in *Archaeologia*, XLVIII (1884), pp. 49-52, and Marc Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst* . . . , Frankfurt-am-Main, 1922, vol. III, p. 29, figs. 49, 50, with his correction of the date proposed by Evans.

When in 1927 Eric Millar published the fragment in the Chester Beatty catalogue, he attributed it to the Franco-Saxon school and dated it to the late ninth century, upon the suggestion of the French scholar, Amédée Boinet—although the latter took note of the fact that there were non-Franco-Saxon elements in the decoration and that some of the motifs recalled metalwork.<sup>21</sup>

Very shortly thereafter several eminent German scholars pointed out the relationship of the fragment to the group of luxurious manuscripts executed in the Weser Valley in the old Duchy of Saxony during the tenth century—the very first examples of Ottonian illumination.<sup>22</sup> The earliest members of this particular group, in addition to our fragment, consist of the magnificent Wernigerode Gospels from Quedlinburg, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York,<sup>23</sup> and a less elaborate Gospel book from Klus near Gandersheim, now in Wolfenbüttel.<sup>24</sup> The artistic relationships within this group are very close indeed, although the Quedlinburg manuscript derives its decorative motifs essentially from sumptuous Byzantine textiles rather than from metalwork—a source also obvious in Saxon manuscripts to be dated later in the century. Scholars have dated our early group around 950, and have proposed that these codices—and the subsequent ones developing from this style—may have been executed in the atelier of the abbey of Corvey on the Weser River—a house founded in 822 by Benedictines from Corbie near Amiens in northern France. The original attribution to Corvey was a hypothetical one, but has recently been vindicated on liturgical and paleographical grounds in a most convincing manner. The evi-

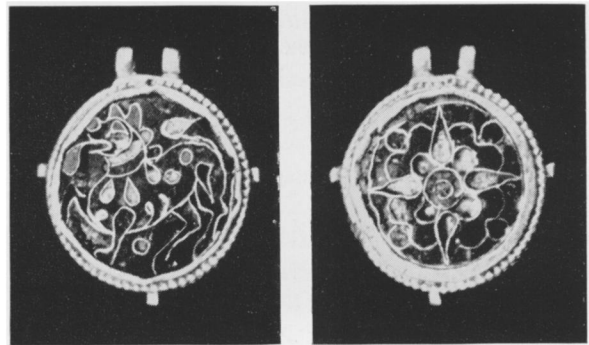


FIGURE 7

OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

*Langobard Enamelled Pendant (after Rosenberg)*

dence was first summarized by Florentine Mutherich in a brilliant paper presented to the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art in New York in 1961.<sup>25</sup> More recently, the catalogue of the great exhibition of art from the Weser region, held in the old castle of Corvey during the summer of 1966, has presented fuller details pointing conclusively to Corvey connections of the group.<sup>26</sup> These include the observation made by the distinguished paleographical scholar, Dr. Bernhard Bischoff, that the script of the Gospel from Klus now in Wolfenbüttel resembles that of the transcript of a document of Otto I, dated 946, addressed to Gunstan of Corvey, which is preserved in a manuscript of Corvey origin, now in Münster. Furthermore, the Klus Gospel book contains in its capitulary pericopes for the feasts of the patrons of Corvey, Saints Vitus and Justinus, and for the dedication of the basilica of St. Stephan—the saint to whom Corvey Abbey Church was dedicated in 844.

<sup>21</sup> E. Millar, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 48.

<sup>22</sup> H. Swarzenski, "Die deutschen Miniaturen des frühen Mittelalters in amerikanischen Besitz" in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXIII (1929-30); A. Boeckler, *Abendländischen Miniaturen bis zum Ausgang der romanischen Zeit*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930, p. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Ms. M. 755. Meta Harrsen, *Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1955, pp. 12-14, no. 6, with further bibliography; Carl Nordenfalk, in: A. Grabar and C. Nordenfalk, *Early Medieval Painting*, Geneva, 1957, pp. 195-196; and the catalogue of the exhibition held at Corvey, *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum, 800-1600*, Münster in Westfalen, 1966, vol. II, pp. 476-77, no. 162, pls. 159, 160 and color-plate H.

<sup>24</sup> Ms. 84.3 Aug fol; O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der Herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Wolfenbüttel, 1884-1913, vol. II, 4, pp. 77f (no. 2868); A. Haseloff, in Doering-Voss, *Meisterwerke der Kunst aus Sachsen und Thüringen*, Magdeburg, 1906; Corvey exhibition, *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum*, vol. II, p. 479, no. 165, pl. 161.

<sup>25</sup> *Studies in Western Art—Acts of the 20th International Congress of the History of Art*, vol. I, Princeton, 1963, pp. 32-34.

<sup>26</sup> *Kunst und Kultur der Weserraum*, vol. II, pp. 476-479, nos. 162-165. The Walters fragment, W. 755, was displayed at the exhibition as no. 164; described in the catalogue on p. 478, pl. 162 and color-plate K.



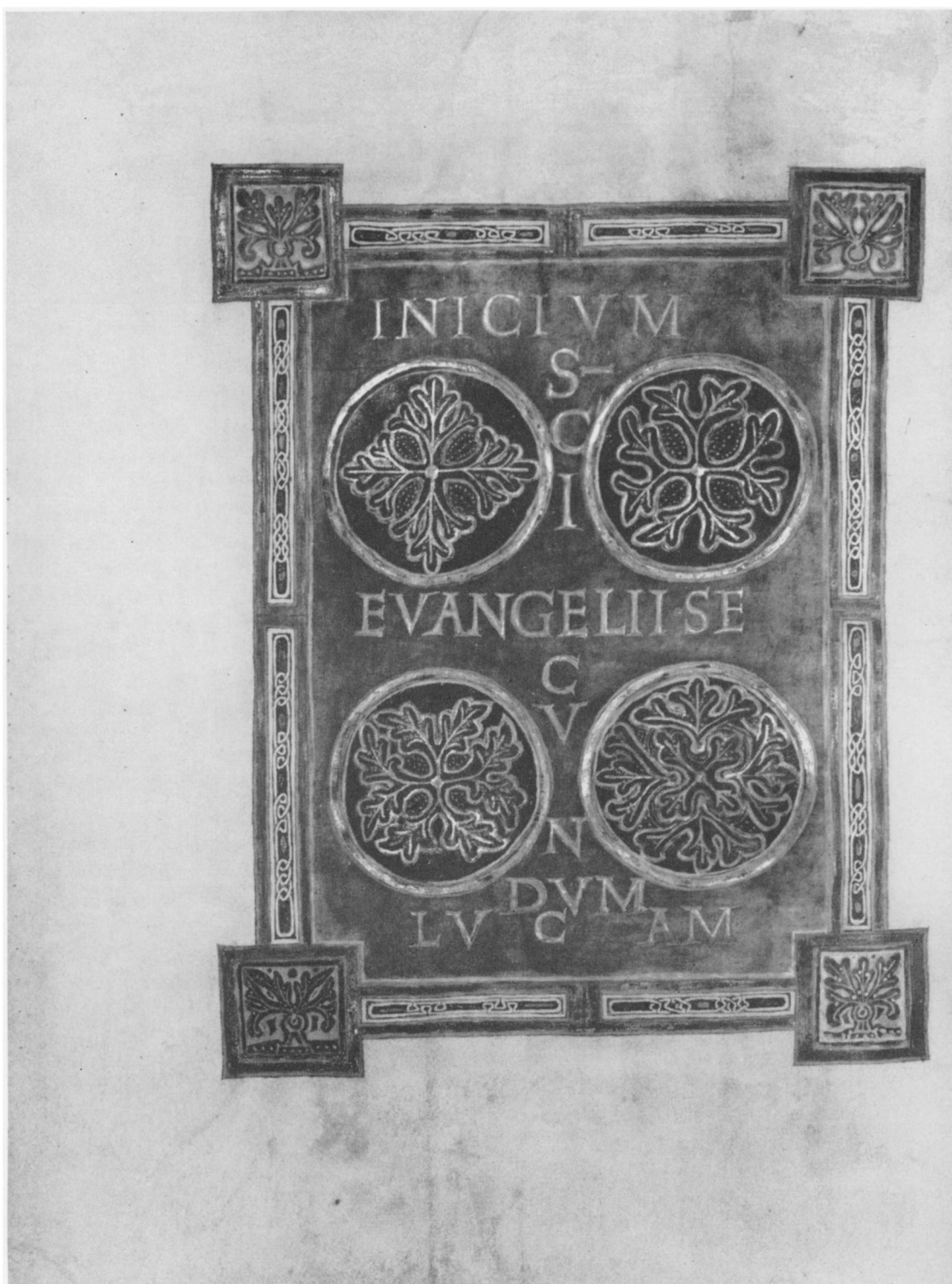


FIGURE 8

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Frontispiece to St. Luke*  
*(Ms. W. 751, fol. 93vo. Fragment from Corvey Gospels)*



FIGURE 9

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Beginning of St. Luke*  
(Ms. W. 751, fol. 94. Fragment from Corvey Gospels)

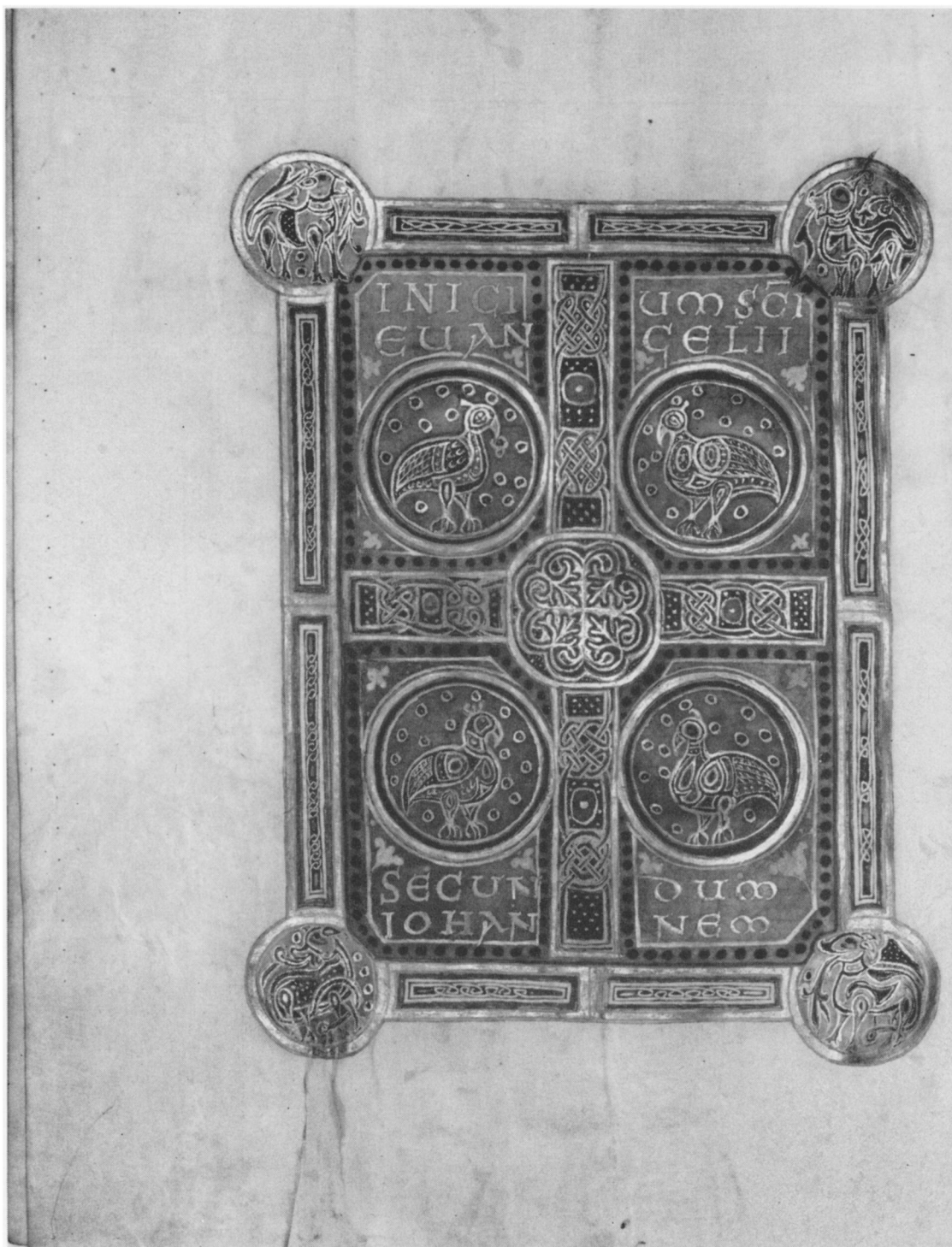


FIGURE 10

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Frontispiece to St. John*  
*(Ms. W. 751, fol. 137vo. Fragment from Corvey Gospels)*

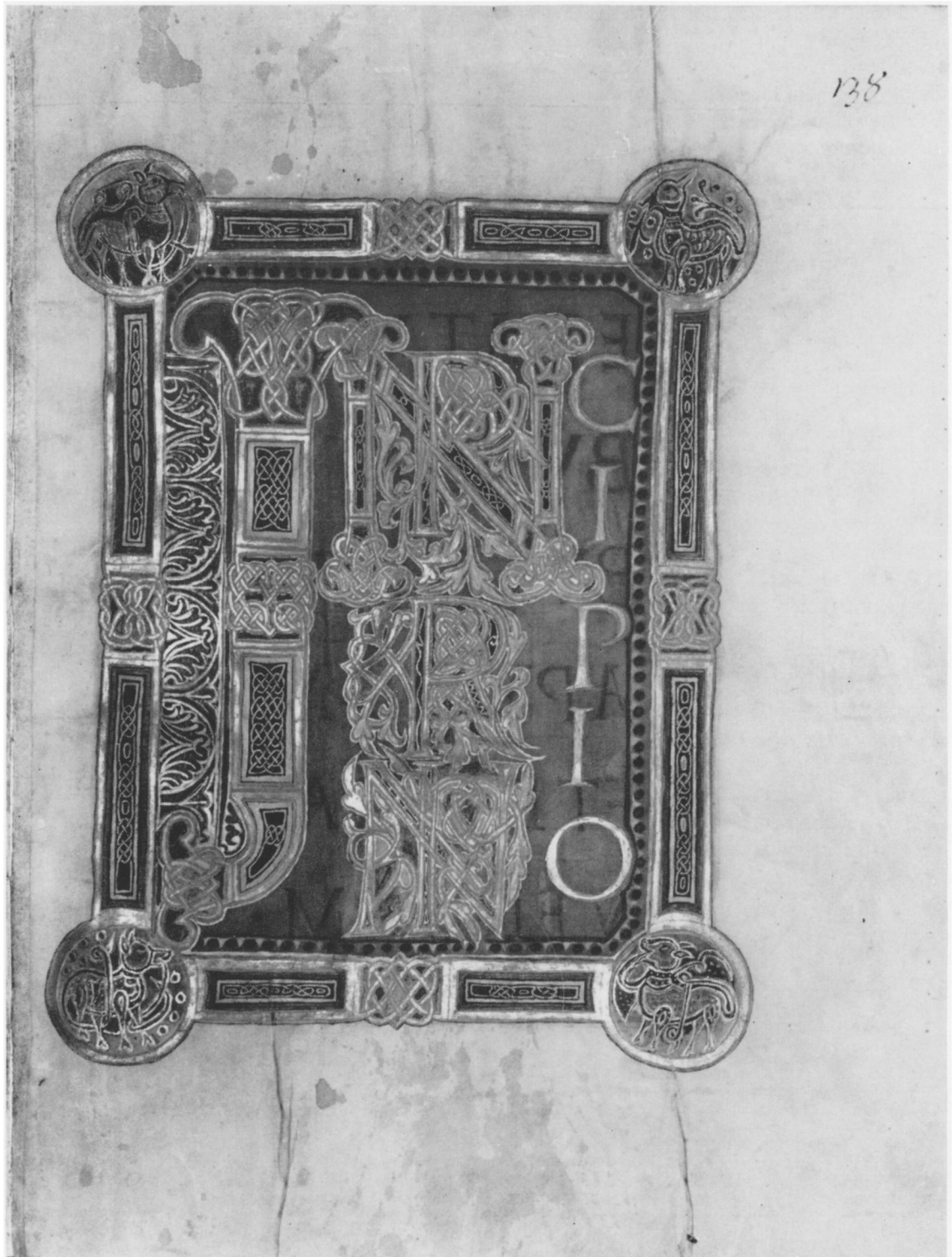


FIGURE 11

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Beginning of St. John*  
(Ms. W. 751, fol. 138. Fragment from Corvey Gospels)

When Eric Millar described our fragment in the catalogue of the Chester Beatty manuscripts, he noted that the two *bifolia* display a numbering in the upper right-hand corner of the recto of each leaf, which appears to be of seventeenth-century date or so: 93-94 for the St. Luke leaves, and 137-138 for the St. John pages. He suggested that the codex from which the leaves had been extracted might still exist—and the foliation would facilitate identification. In 1953, the late Professor Wilhelm Koehler of Harvard made this an actuality. He recognized in the Municipal Library at Reims a Gospel book of appropriate format and date, which had lost all of the decorated pages that had introduced the respective Gospels.<sup>27</sup> The folio numbering in the Reims codex is inscribed in the same style as on our fragment, and, furthermore, just where the beginning of Luke and John should have been, the gap in the numeration corresponds precisely with the numbers on our leaves! The first page of the text of St. Luke and that of St. John remaining in the Reims volume show “take-offs” from illuminated frames which mirror exactly the ornament surrounding the passages in golden capitals on the final versos of the two *bifolia*. So it is clear that Reims Ms. 10 is the Gospel book from which our leaves were extracted, together with the decorative *incipits* to Matthew and Mark, the present whereabouts of which are unknown.<sup>28</sup>

The recognition of the connection of Reims Ms. 10 with our decorative leaves further consolidates this early Corvey group, since Dr. Bischoff has stated that one of the scribes in that codex is met again in the Gospel book from Klus which has liturgical evidence for Corvey, while another hand in the Reims volume is to be found also in

the Quedlinburg Gospels in the Pierpont Morgan Library.<sup>29</sup>

The only illumination still preserved in Reims Ms. 10 consists of the Canon Tables, which display all the characteristics of our group, and are closely related to those in the Quedlinburg Gospels. Like the latter and several other Corvey manuscripts from the late ninth century onward, one may trace various elements of the decoration to the actual Franco-Saxon manuscript which seems to have served recurrently at Corvey as a prototype: a Gospel book of the last third of the ninth century, which now is in the library of the Cathedral of Prague.<sup>30</sup>

Reims Ms. 10 came to the Municipal Library from the Chapter Library of the Cathedral, where it carried the number A ord. 4, no. 51. The codex still retains the wooden core of its medieval covers, now stripped of the fittings of (probably) precious metals and gems which once encased them. The Chapter Library inventory of 1707 records the Gospel book in complete condition,<sup>31</sup> so one can assume that it was during the depredations of the French Revolution that the precious elements were stripped from the cover and the rich *incipit* pages of gold and purple extracted from the codex.

The history of our fragment since then is unknown until about 1855, when Sir Thomas Phillipps acquired the pair of *bifolia* from an unrecorded source. It remained in that vast collection until late 1920, when Mr. and Mrs. A. Chester Beatty, on a visit to Thirlestaine House on December 14th of that year, included it among twenty-six manuscripts which were their first Phillipps purchases.<sup>32</sup> It was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in October, 1952, from Mrs. Chester

<sup>27</sup> Ms. 10, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France—Départements*, vol. XXXVIII, Paris, 1904, pp. 15ff. See *Kunst und Kultur der Weserraum*, vol. II, pp. 477-78 for full description and further bibliography.

<sup>28</sup> It is curious that the text in the golden letters of the display pages overlaps in content the first part of the text of Luke and John preserved in the Reims manuscript. However, this proves to be the case, also, with the Quedlinburg Gospels in the Pierpont Morgan Library and in at least one other manuscript of the group. This merely indicates that the decorated pages were prepared by the illuminators separately in the atelier,

while the scribes were busy upon the main body of the text in minuscule.

<sup>29</sup> Mütterich, *op. cit.*, p. 33; *Kunst und Kultur der Weserraum*, vol. II, p. 477.

<sup>30</sup> Ms. Cim. 2. This north French Gospel book, after being at Corvey for a century, probably was brought to Bohemia by one of the bishops of Prague who originated in Corvey, such as Theodat (998-1017); *Kunst und Kultur der Weserraum*, vol. II, p. 472, no. 155.

<sup>31</sup> *Kunst und Kultur der Weserraum*, vol. II, pp. 477-78, no. 163.

<sup>32</sup> A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, V, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 71-72.





FIGURE 12

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Crucifixion*  
(Ms. W. 757. Fragment from a Tyrolese Missal)





FIGURE 13

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Canon of the Mass*  
(Ms. W. 757. Fragment from a Tyrolese Missal)

Beatty.<sup>33</sup>

Our next example forms a marked contrast to the sumptuous gold and purple pages which we have just discussed. It is a leaf cut from a small Missal, quite provincial in style, the vellum worn and tired from use, the edges cut and knotted to provide place-marks for this important page (figs. 12, 13).<sup>34</sup> The scene of the Crucifixion is drawn in outlines of brown and *minium* with areas of yellow ochre on the haloes and the cross. The latter is divided along the central axis of the upright and of the cross-arms, with one half of each area painted yellow and the other half dull pink, in alternating relation. The dull pink also occupies the field of Christ's halo between the yellow cross-rays. The drawing retains vestiges of much earlier traditions—the figures of the Virgin and St. John

are reminiscent of provincial Carolingian works, and Christ hangs upon the cross without slumping, His feet side by side and His eyes open. This way of representing the theme was universal up until well into the twelfth century, and was not fully superseded until the thirteenth.

The use of drawing in colored inks for book-illustration had a special development in Bavaria and Austria during the late romanesque period. The rendering of Christ's face—which is impressive—recalls works of the school of Salzburg in the twelfth century, but there is a strong possibility that His face and figure were at that era retouched and fortified with darker ink—probably as a result of wear from pious osculation. The general characteristics of the picture, the figure style, ornament, partitioned cross, and the living Christ, all

relate more closely to provincial works of the region of the Bavarian or Austrian Tyrol during the late eleventh century.<sup>35</sup> This early date is confirmed by the character of the script on the reverse of the leaf, which has not completely lost late Caroline qualities (fig. 13). It is more usual for the text of the Canon of the Mass to be written on the page opposite the Crucifixion picture rather than on the verso, as here—but instances do occur in Missals from this region.<sup>36</sup> The T of the *Te igitur* . . . on the verso of our leaf has the general character of south German and Austrian outline initials of this period, with the shafts marked by a solid core, bound by dotted bands, and sprouting foliate tendrils—albeit very crude ones in our example. Against the upright of the T is a standing man clad in a close-fitting shirt and short skirt who clasps the cross-bar. On many a Canon page such a figured initial would depict the Crucifixion, but such is not the case here.

A far richer liturgical manuscript is represented by a leaf detached from an Austrian antiphonary of the second half of the thirteenth century (fig. 14).<sup>37</sup> The sheet preserves the end of the service for St. Lawrence (August 10) and the beginning of the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin (August 15). The volume was an exceptionally colorful one. The gothic musical notation is inscribed upon a staff of lines which are alternately green and red. Although the main text and notation are in dark brown ink, the opening hymn on the Assumption of the Virgin is in letters or groups of letters alternately red and blue, and the notation here is red.

The hymn is introduced by a fine golden G within a silver frame, which encloses a scene of the Apostles clustered around the bier of the Virgin Mary. Above, in a mandorla, a beardless Christ holds the tiny soul of the Virgin—an iconography of Byzantine origin. The main colors are, for the garments, green, a thick gummy red, a dull purple with white highlights, all against a ground of blue enclosed by a green border. Silver and gold reappear in the haloes. The round faces with intense glancing eyes, red-dotted cheeks and strong black outlines relate the miniature to the style current in the Benedictine monastery of Seitenstetten in Lower Austria in the second half of the thirteenth century. A famous Missal from there, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library,<sup>38</sup> represents the high point of this style as it underwent a certain modification due to the influence of Paduan illuminators who migrated into Austria after the middle of the thirteenth century.

Presumably the antiphonary of which our folio was a part fell into disuse or disrepair some centuries ago—for by the early seventeenth century the leaf was used for the cover of an account book. We learn this from the large, flourished inscription written across the music on the verso: "Geldt Register Anno 1624 biss Anno 1625."

Two large leaves come from another dismantled choir book, pages of which exist in several American collections (figs. 15, 16).<sup>39</sup> Written by two different scribes in a handsome narrow *textus quadratus* beneath staves with square notation, these give, respectively, the beginning of the Feast of the Circumcision (January 1st) and of that of St. Peter (June 29th). The historiated

<sup>33</sup> Mr. F. B. Adams, Jr., Director of the Pierpont Morgan Library, was kind enough to help in the negotiations. A notice of the acquisition, to which the present account adds more recent discoveries, was published by the writer in *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, V, no. 3 (1952).

<sup>34</sup> Ms. W. 757. 1 vellum leaf, 8¾ x 5⅞ in. Acquired 1955. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, no. 573.

<sup>35</sup> Comparisons for various details may be found *passim* in the volumes of *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Oesterreich*, ed. F. Wickhoff, especially vol. I (Tirol) and vol. III (Kärnten), also in the volume cited in note 36 below.

<sup>36</sup> Cf., for instance, a late eleventh-century Missal executed for Bamberg by a south German scribe, now Cod. 1845, Vienna, Nationalbibliothek: Hermann Julius

Hermann, *Die romanischen Handschriften (Die illuminierten Handschriften . . . der Nationalbibliothek in Wien, II)*, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 26-32, and figs. 15, 17.

<sup>37</sup> Ms. W. 756. 1 vellum leaf, now cut down, 13 x 7¾ in. Acquired 1955. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, no. 572.

<sup>38</sup> Ms. M. 855. Meta Harrsen, *Central European Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1958, pp. 45-46, pls. 50, 89; E. Millar, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 17-26, no. 48, pls. CXIII-CXVII.

<sup>39</sup> Ms. W. 754 a, b. 2 vellum leaves, 19½ x 14¾ in. Acquired 1954. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, no. 570. Three leaves from the same antiphonary are in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. M. 870-1,-2,-3, and another leaf is in the collection of Prof. Philippe Verdier, University of Montreal.



FIGURE 14

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Death and Assumption of the Virgin*  
*(Ms. W. 756. Seitenstetten Antiphony Leaf)*



FIGURE 15

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Circumcision  
(Ms. W. 754 A. Leaf from Regensburg Choir Book)*



FIGURE 16

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Christ Gives the Key to Peter*  
(Ms. W. 754 B. Detail of Regensburg Leaf)

initials introducing these feasts show, on the former leaf the Circumcision of Christ, and on the second, Christ presenting the key to Peter. The leaves have been attributed to Regensburg, and, indeed, the stunted figures with their rather angular drapery and bland facial features, the characteristic shapes, patterns and peculiar half fish-tail terminals of the initial are very similar to comparable elements in the historiated initials of the great *Legendarium* of the Dominicans of the Abbey of Heiligen Kreuz in Regensburg—a codex which can be dated between 1271 and 1276

A.D.<sup>40</sup> The dating of the *Legendarium* is based upon the abundance of tiny “donor portraits” placed throughout the margins of the volume, whose adjacent names can be connected with records of the monastery. The urge to insert personal names near ornamental letters is reflected on one of the antiphonary leaves now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, where the name “Gerwich” is to be seen beneath a historiated initial—although without an accompanying “portrait.” Miss Harrsen has interpreted this as the name of the artist, about whom nothing else is known.<sup>41</sup>

In any case, the painter who historiated the Morgan leaves is the same one who executed ours.

Although the Gallery's collections are rich in gothic illumination from France, Flanders and the Netherlands, we originally had only a very sparse representation of central European manuscript painting of this period. During the years covered by this report we have, however, had the good fortune to develop this area somewhat.

The most impressive and interesting acquisition in this category is a large Missal illuminated in Bohemia in the early fifteenth century.<sup>42</sup> The Bohemian book-painters of the court school in Prague had developed a most beautiful style during the second half of the fourteenth century, which was to have considerable influence on the arts not only of central Europe, but in southern France, the Netherlands and England as well. It was characterized by great softness and sweetness of form and color, by flowing draperies and springing foliate borders, often by a precocious realism of birds, animals, flowers and of perspective effects. By the second decade of the fifteenth century, which corresponds to a turbulent period in Bohemian history, the forms tended to harden and become more routine, but in good examples the vitality survived, nevertheless.

Our Missal belongs to this stage of the development, and should be dated around 1410 to 1420. The vellum is strong and opaque with suede-like surface; the text, by more than one scribe, is written in large laterally compressed *textus quadratus* of an angular type which is characteristic of Bohemian book-hands of the period. The lettering is in two sizes, and the very dark brown or black ink makes a handsome contrast with the strong red of the rubrics and with the smaller initial letters of red or bright blue surrounded

by penwork of red, blue or rose. The only musical notation in our Missal is for the *Exultet*, the beautiful hymn which is sung by the deacon on Easter Saturday at the time of the blessing of the Paschal candle.

The illuminations consist of sixteen historiated initials, most of them relatively large in size, from which spring tensely coiling, stringy acanthus borders painted in tender shades of green, rose, blue and lavender, with buds of burnished gold. The one full-page miniature, which would have depicted the Crucifixion, is now missing opposite the Canon of the Mass. The text of the latter, beginning with the words *Te igitur*, is introduced by a fine initial T of green foliate pattern before which is represented Christ crowned with thorns (fig. 17). He sits clad in a full-flowing robe of white, His hands crossed meekly on His lap, while two executioners use flexible poles to force the crown onto Christ's head. They wear belted tunics, one of blue and the other of lavender, and their hose are variegated in color. Comparable events of the Passion sequence in the Canon initial are characteristic of Bohemian Missals, where instead of the subject of the Crowning, one may sometimes find the Agony in the Garden or the Man of Sorrows.<sup>43</sup>

Characteristic also are such features as the "cameo" renderings of figures in the shafts of some of the initial letters, modelled in darker and lighter shades of a single color—as in the case of the angels who attend the crowning of a Pope at the beginning of the Missal, worked into the rose tones of the letter A (fig. 18).<sup>44</sup>

A favorite iconography of Austrian and Bohemian gothic painters occurs in the scene of the Death of the Virgin on folio 215 verso. She is not shown reclining in bed, but succumbs as she

<sup>40</sup> Hanns Swarzenski, *Deutsche Buchmalerei des XIII. Jahrhunderts—Die Lateinischen illuminierten Handschriften . . .*, Berlin, 1936, vol. I, pp. 37f, vol. II, pls. 343-386.

<sup>41</sup> Meta Harrsen, *op. cit.*, p. 47, no. 33, pl. 51; Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, no. 570.

<sup>42</sup>Ms. W. 776. Missal for Rome use. 272 vellum folios, 15½ x 11½ in. Bound in contemporary wooden boards covered with deerskin and set with heavy brass corner bosses. Acquired 1967.

<sup>43</sup> See, for example: Alžběta Güntherova and Jan Mišianik, *Illuminierte Handschriften aus der Slowakei*, Prague, 1962, figs. 87, 97.

<sup>44</sup> An early example of this decorative treatment is the great masterpiece of Bohemian-Moravian illumination, the Gospels written by Johannes of Troppau in 1368 for Duke Albert III of Austria: Ernst Trenkler, *Das Evangelium des Johannes von Troppau*, Vienna, 1948, especially plates II, VI, VIII.



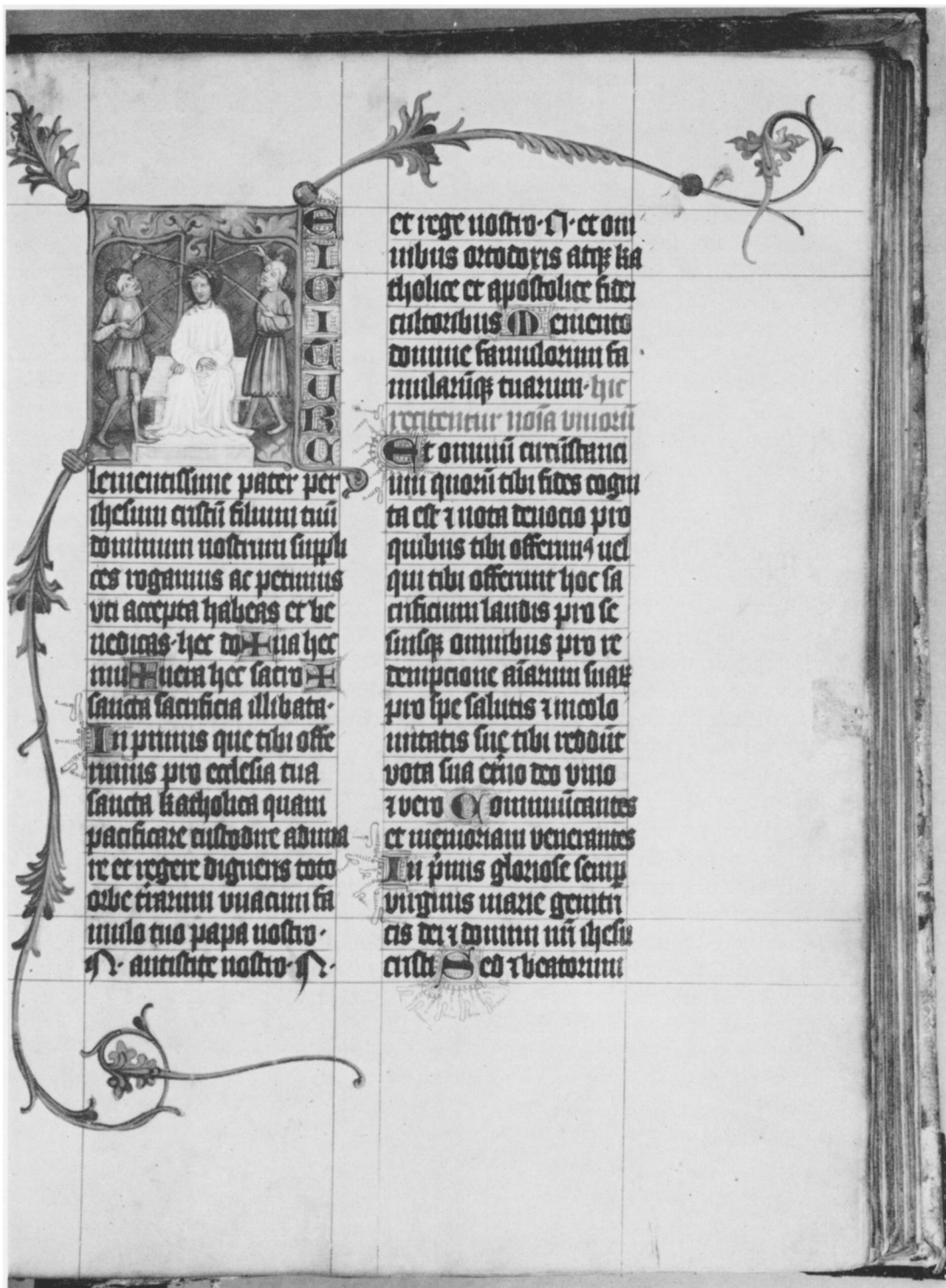


FIGURE 17

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Christ Crowned with Thorns (Ms. W. 756, fol. 126. Bohemian Missal)

kneels in prayer before a lectern, while the attending Apostles hastily reach to keep her from falling.<sup>45</sup>

The chief Bohemian atelier was the court school at Prague, which attained its apogee during the reigns of King (later Emperor) Charles IV (1346-1378) and his son, King Wenceslaus IV (1378-1419). The masterpieces from this atelier are extremely refined, using the most lush and precious pigments in their rich, imaginative decoration. Our Missal, despite its impressiveness, falls short of these royal works: the modelling and colors are less subtle, the luminous blues from lapis lazuli are lacking. We must attribute it to another of the centers active at the time. Liturgically, the manuscript has not yet given up its secrets, for it is of the use of Rome, although special offices for St. Ludmilla, a virgin martyr especially honored at Prague and Olmütz, occur on two dates: September 16, her martyrdom, and November 10, the translation of her relics. It is therefore a matter for puzzlement that the saint does not appear anywhere in the calendar, as would be expected in either of these two dioceses. The calendar, however is strongly flavored by Bohemian and Polish references—without, thus far, living up in its rubricated feasts to any one of the great centers. The style of the illumination resembles most closely that of a Missal now in the National Library, Vienna, Cod. 4812.<sup>46</sup> In the latter, the stage of development relative to the more luxurious court illumination of Prague is quite close to what we observe in our book. The style is strong, but a little hard, the handling of drapery, physiognomies and ornament is comparable, although only eight historiated initials and two ornamental ones embellish it. It is almost as large in format as our book.<sup>47</sup> Scholars have dated this Vienna manuscript around 1410 to

1420, and suggest that it may have been executed in Bratislava (German Pressburg; Hungarian Pozsony), an ancient town on the Danube, just near the meeting-point of the Czechoslovakian, Austrian and Hungarian borders. It has been compared stylistically to a Missal now in Budapest, which bears the shelf-mark of the Chapter Library of the Cathedral of Bratislava.<sup>48</sup> Only the opportunity to compare our volume more closely to those with sure Bratislava connections can enable us to make a firm decision as to its place of origin.

One strange circumstance concerning our codex is that it evidently was used only for the celebration of the Eucharist. The pages carrying the words of the Canon of the Mass show obvious signs of frequent handling, especially at the middle of the side margins, where the celebrant seems to have grasped the open book with both hands. For the rest (except for one folio damaged by moisture), the leaves are as clean and fresh and the paintings as unworn as the day the volume emerged from the illuminator's atelier. Little protective curtains of green silk were originally affixed over the miniatures to shield them from abrasion. These have been removed—sometimes rather carelessly. Otherwise, except for the excised Canon picture, the manuscript is in pristine condition.

Its history is unknown before the late nineteenth century, when it belonged to the well-known archeologist, Professor Ludwig Pollak (1868-1943). He presumably brought it with him from central Europe when he went to Rome to pursue his archeological researches. At the time of World War II he was deported, together with his family, to a concentration camp in Germany, where they died. The Missal was among the property inherited by his sister-in-law, the late

<sup>45</sup> In the case of this miniature and two others in the volume, the artist has omitted to frame his picture within the required initial letter, giving us instead a little painting set into the text. For this iconography in the Death of the Virgin, cf. the famous "Roudnice Altarpiece" painted around 1410 for the Church of the Virgin in Roudnice, and now in the National Gallery, Prague: A. Matějček and J. Pešina, *Czech Gothic Painting 1350-1450*, Prague, 1950, p. 66, nos. 208-12, pl. 173; also a

small panel of the same date in the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, *ibid.*, p. 65, no. 206, pl. 171.

<sup>46</sup> A. Güntherova and J. Mišianik, *op. cit.*, p. 25, no. 18, p. 43, pls. 85-90.

<sup>47</sup> 375 x 285 mm., compared to 393 x 292 mm. for Ms. W. 776.

<sup>48</sup> A. Güntherova and J. Mišianik, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, no. 19, p. 43, figs. 91-97.

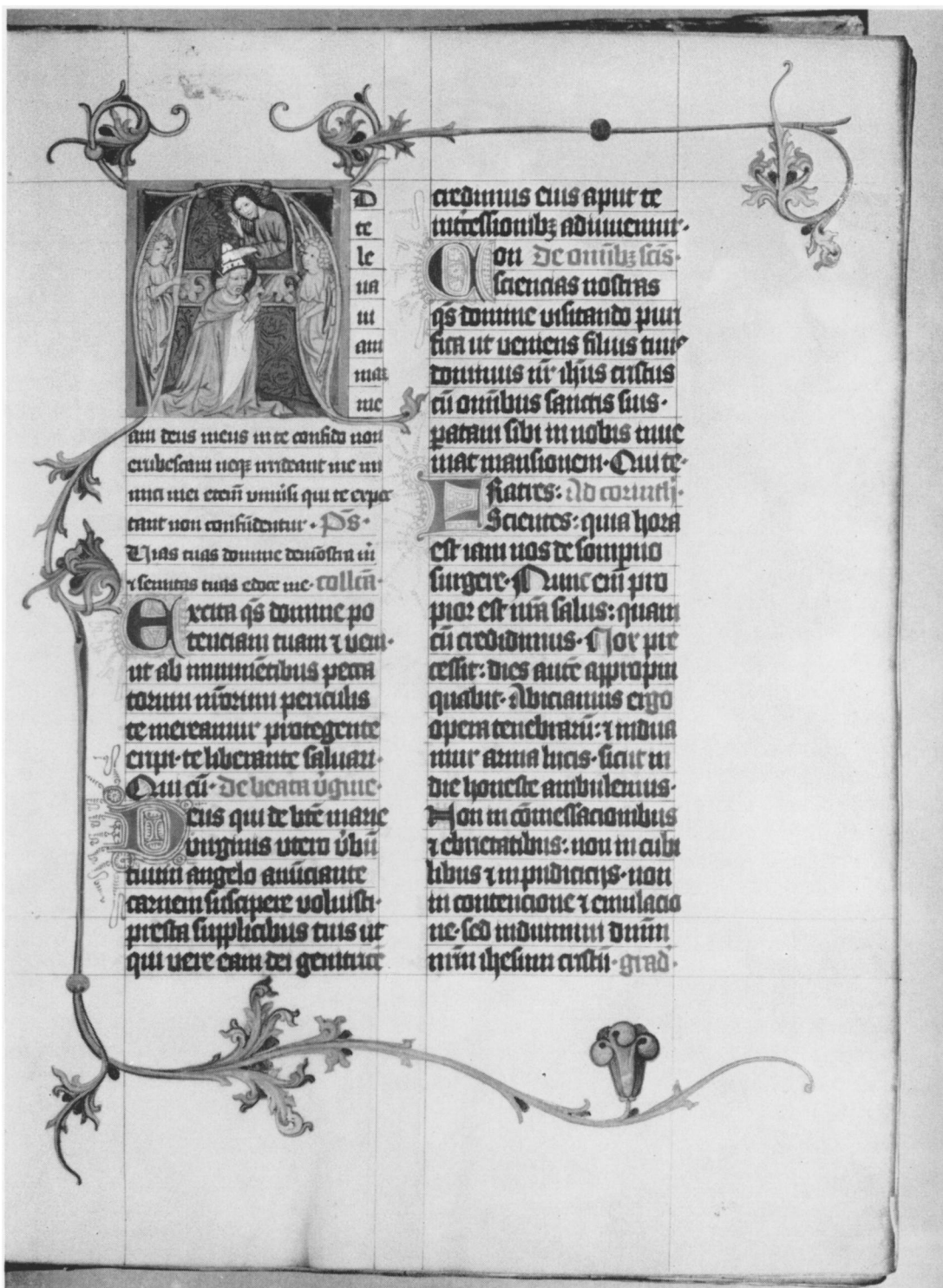


FIGURE 18

WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Crowning of a Pope (Ms. W. 776, fol. 8. Bohemian Missal)

Baroness Margaret Nicod, resident in Rome. After protracted negotiations, the manuscript was eventually acquired by the Walters Art Gallery in 1967 from her nephew and heir, Signor Luigi Povoleri of Rome.

A manuscript that can be related to the royal production, but dated somewhat later in the fifteenth century, is a small devotional book containing the Hours of the Virgin and the Hours of the Cross, together with many prayers, all written in German.<sup>49</sup>

It is a beautiful little volume transcribed in a preliminary form of *fraktur* which is really a kind of *bastarda* script. Each of the main divisions begins with a handsome initial in luminous blue, green or other hue, modelled with foliate surface patterns and sprouting long curling acanthus leaves into the margin. The fields are of highly burnished, raised gold, often tooled, and of dull rose covered with thin golden rinceaux. Three miniatures remain out of what was surely a larger number, as we can tell by the stubs visible at certain points within the book.<sup>50</sup> Remaining in our little book are three full-page paintings: the Virgin and Child, the Way to Calvary, and the Entombment (figs. 19-21). The Nailing of Christ to the Cross, which is one of the illustrations that had escaped from our volume, appeared on the market in Switzerland a decade ago and is now in the Cleveland Museum of Art. The miniatures are painted with the precious medieval pigments that shock and exhilarate the senses—and which defy reproduction even by the most sophisticated of modern processes. The gleam of rich gold-leaf, well laid on over gesso and burnished and tooled, the inimitable luminosity of the blue from lapis

lazuli, modelled with minute strokes of the brush which make it scintillate, the acid contrast of copper green, the sensuous tenderness of carmine rose—these and other hues proclaim the luxuriousness of the product. The style also is unmistakable: stocky figures with pensive round or square faces, moving quietly with solemnity and a subdued emotion that is somehow more moving than unrestrained expression, these bespeak the production of an anonymous artist who worked for the court at Vienna from around 1465 to 1480, who is given the pseudonym, the “Master of the Schoolbooks”—or the “Lehrbüchermeister.”

The “Master of the Schoolbooks” is so-named because of three books illuminated very royally, either at Vienna or Wiener-Neustadt, for the education of the young Prince Maximilian (1459-1519), the son of Frederick III, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and his consort Eleanor of Portugal, who was to be known to history as Emperor Maximilian I. These three books—a primer in German and Latin,<sup>51</sup> the Latin grammar of Donatus,<sup>52</sup> and a *Doctrinale Puerorum*, by Alexander de Villa Dei<sup>53</sup>—all seem to have been ordered by a certain Stephen Heuner, who perhaps served the young prince in some capacity, before eventually entering the Dominican monastery at Vienna. They all appear to date around 1465-66, when Maximilian, being six to seven years old, would be commencing his education. Their illumination consists of elegant marginal rinceaux of acanthus springing from initials, some of which are historiated and represent the little prince at his studies, among other subjects. The script is in one case *textus quadratus* and for the rest, a

<sup>49</sup> Ms. W. 764. *Tagzeiten unserer Lieben Frauen*. 200 vellum leaves, 6½ x 4½ in. Eighteenth-century binding of worn green silk over pasteboard covers. Jacques Rosenthal, Munich, catalogue 90 [1928], no. 196, illus.; Kurt Holter “Gotische Buchmalerei im südostdeutschen Raum,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, LVII (1940), p. 33, note 1; H. P. Kraus, New York, catalogue 88 [1957-58], no. 14, four illus. in color; Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 200, no. 578. Acquired 1959.

<sup>50</sup> There is a misbinding of the text of Prime of the Hours of the Virgin, which begins at the present folio 33, instead of immediately after the Calendar, and there is at least one hiatus in the text of the Hours of the Cross.

<sup>51</sup> Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2368; K. Holter and K. Oettinger, “Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque de Vienne—Les Manuscrits allemands,” in *Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures*, XXI (1938), pp. 121-123; F. Unterkircher, *Maximilian I*, catalogue of an exhibition, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, 1959, no. 13, and pl. 5.

<sup>52</sup> Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2617; Holter and Oettinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124; Unterkircher, *op. cit.*, no. 12.

<sup>53</sup> Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2289; Holter and Oettinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125, pl. XXXII a; Unterkircher, *op. cit.*, no. 11, pl. 4.

calligraphic gothic lettering approaching *fraktur*, and an approximation of humanistic *rotunda*.<sup>54</sup> There exists, however, a prayer-book only slightly larger than the Walters Hours which was illuminated by the same artist for Maximilian's mother, the Empress Eleanora.<sup>55</sup> This prayer-book has, in addition to the characteristic initial and marginal illumination, a series of full-page illustrations which are very close indeed to ours in style. In the foreground of each of the religious scenes kneel the Empress and the tiny prince. The illustration of the Coronation of the Virgin<sup>56</sup> may be compared in the handling of the figure, features and drapery to the frontispiece of our Book of Hours depicting the Virgin and Child (fig. 19). In both cases, the Virgin is shown according to the Apocalyptic vision of the Woman Clothed with the Sun (Revelation XII:1), a glory of rays surrounding her figure and at her feet the inverted moon crescent with the profile face of "the Man in the Moon"—a favorite rendering in German and Austrian depictions. In the *Horae* of Eleanora two little flying angels are about to place on the Virgin's head an elaborate crown, the pinnacles of which are studded with the twelve stars mentioned in Revelation. In our miniature a crown of exactly the same design is tooled onto the heavily burnished gold-leaf of her halo, and the stars are scattered without limit over the rose background. Here the Virgin stands above layers of fluted azure clouds suggesting the heavens, whereas in the Vienna book a pavement of crackled pattern has been supplied to accommodate the presence of the Empress and her son. The same crackle is to be seen on floor and walls in the representation of the Annunciation in Vienna,<sup>57</sup> and it characterizes the marble sepulchre in the Entombment in Baltimore (fig. 20). In both manuscripts the miniatures are surrounded by rectangular frames of heavy gold-leaf, highly burnished and tooled with designs. The tooled pattern of rosettes within circles occurring on the frames of our miniatures of the Virgin and the Way to Calvary (fig. 21) is to be seen also on the frame of the Vienna scene of the Annunciation, mentioned above. In style and details our little manuscript approaches so closely the Hours of the Empress Eleanora that one must believe

them very close in date. Eleanora died in 1467, so it is obvious that her prayer-book cannot be appreciably later than the series of schoolbooks in which the portrait of the young Maximilian also figures. The catalogue of the Vienna exhibition, *Maximilian I*, proposes a date of around 1464.<sup>58</sup>

Altogether, nine major manuscripts have thus far been assigned to the "Master of the Schoolbooks,"<sup>59</sup> dating from around 1464 to about 1480. The original owners of these include not only the Empress and Prince Maximilian, but Ulrich von Sonnenberg, Bishop of Gurk, and even the great royal bibliophile, Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. Our little book also must have been executed for a person of distinction. It is to be hoped and even expected that some of the other miniatures now separated from it will in time come to light—and perhaps one of these will carry armorials that will identify the original owner.

A completely different kind of illustrated devotional book grew up in the German regions during the early years of the fourteenth century, and multiplied greatly during the fifteenth. These were the books on the order of the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, which in rhymed verses give a resume of history, illustrated by events in the life of Christ coupled with their prefiguration in Old Testament episodes. In their characteristic form these were unpretentious works originally composed by the friars and used for monkish devotions or for popular instruction. Their widespread familiarity caused them to have great influence on iconography during the late gothic period, even in monumental arts such as

<sup>54</sup> Heinrich Fichtenau, *Die Lehrbücher Maximilians und die Anfang der Frakturschrift*, Hamburg, 1961, who proposes as the scribe of the schoolbooks Wolfgang Spitzweg, a calligrapher in the imperial chancery.

<sup>55</sup> Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1942; Holter and Oettinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-127, pl. XXXI b; Unterkircher, *op. cit.*, no. 10, pl. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Unterkircher, *op. cit.*, pl. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Folio 57 vo; Holter and Oettinger, *op. cit.*, pl. XXXI b.

<sup>58</sup> Unterkircher, *op. cit.*, no. 10.

<sup>59</sup> For a list, see H. P. Kraus, catalogue 88, p. 32, note 3.



FIGURE 19

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE SCHOOLBOOKS  
*The Virgin of the Apocalypse*  
(Ms. W. 764, fol. 13vo. Vienna Prayer-book)





FIGURE 20

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE SCHOOLBOOKS  
*The Entombment*  
(Ms. W. 764, fol. 76vo. Vienna Prayer-book)

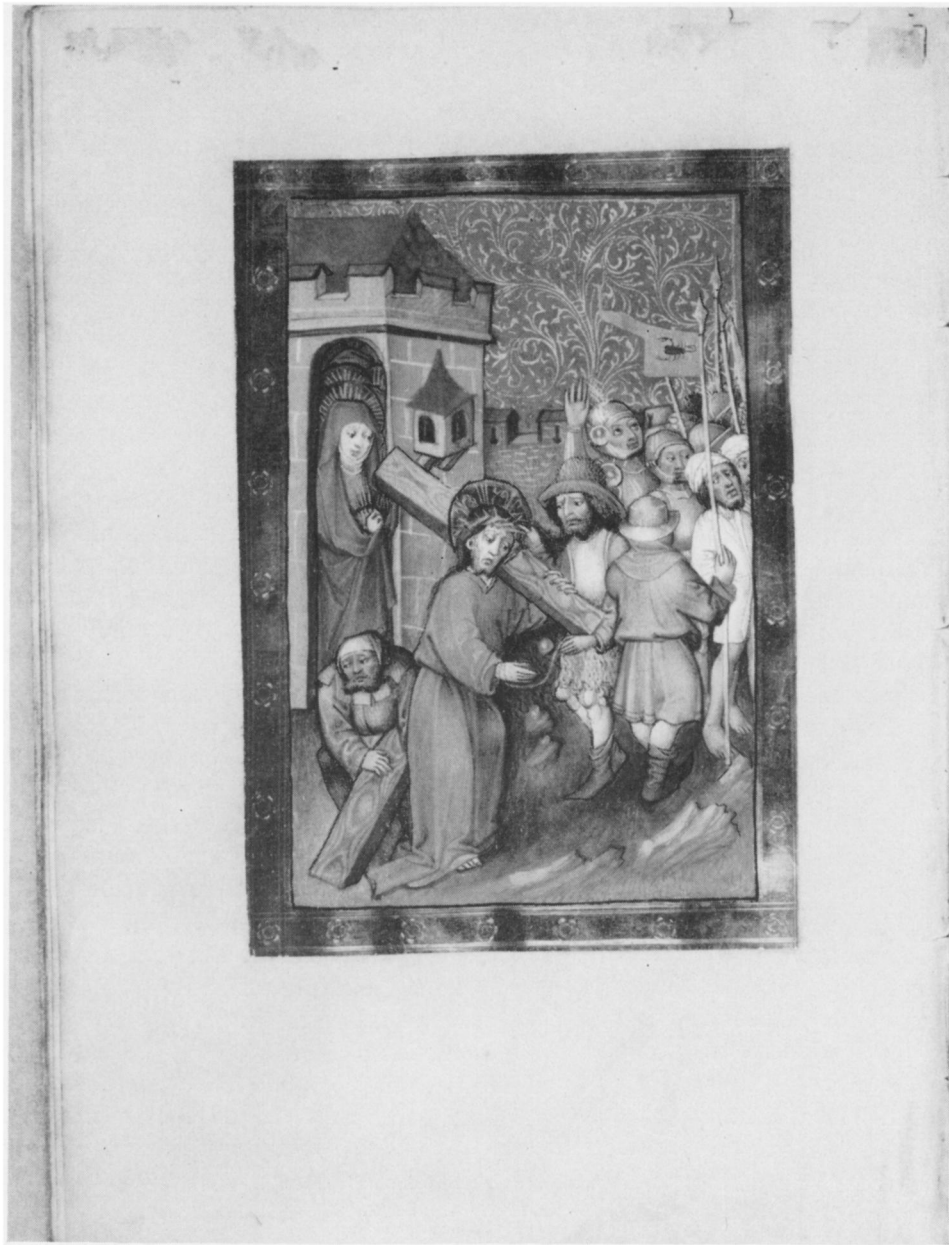


FIGURE 21

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE SCHOOLBOOKS  
*The Way to Calvary*  
(Ms. W. 764, fol. 66vo. Vienna Prayer-book)

cathedral sculptures and stained glass. In the second half of the fifteenth century they gained even greater circulation by xylographical reproduction in block-book form.

Although Henry Walters had collected a few very interesting examples of the woodcut *Biblia Pauperum* and *Ars Moriendi*, the only manuscript representation of this type of popular illustrated book acquired by him is a precious but badly mutilated vellum *bifolium* from a copy of the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.<sup>60</sup> This is datable to the end of the fourteenth century, and may be from the Rhineland.

In 1945 a single leaf from a fifteenth-century paper example of the *Speculum* was acquired from a well-known collector, the late Mr. Fred Werther, then resident in Baltimore.<sup>61</sup> The piece is to be dated around 1475 and is probably from southern Germany (fig. 22). It is a leaf from a manuscript of the *De Septem Stationibus Passionis Christi*—a text which, along with two others dealing with the Seven Sorrows and the Seven Joys of the Virgin respectively, is nearly always found appended to the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.<sup>62</sup> This text is by a different author than the *Speculum*, and doubtless is slightly later; however, it has been associated with copies of the latter at least since the middle of the fourteenth century. The *opusculum* on the "Stations of the Cross" is not typological like the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, but is built around the mystical nature of the number seven, as are the two poems on the Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin—a symbolism with a long history in the Middle Ages and earlier. The work arranges the events of the Passion according to the canonical hours of the prayer-books, beginning with Vespers,

rather than Matins. The first station at Vespers refers to the Washing of the Feet before the Last Supper, and the succeeding hours concentrate successively on the Betrayal, Jesus before Caiaphas, Jesus before Pilate, the Flagellation, up through the hour of Tierce. Our leaf has on the recto Sext with the Way to Calvary, and on the verso the seventh and final hour, Nones, with Christ dead on the cross. As in the case of the *Speculum* chapters, the rhymed text beneath each picture consists of twenty-five lines.<sup>63</sup>

The illustrations in our fragment are rough but fluent and lively—the outlines executed freely with the pen and the forms washed with thin watercolors: rose, pale blue, grey, green, bright red, ochre. The effect is exactly that found in colored woodcuts of the fifteenth century.

Another unpretentious book of the second half of the fifteenth century is a volume of sermons in German, which was acquired for the interest of its binding of *cuir ciselé* over wood boards.<sup>64</sup> It contains on a fly-leaf a reference to Bernhard von Gottesgnaden (or von Rohr), Archbishop of Salzburg from 1466 to 1481 (died 1487), and the binding is in fact of a type current in the Austrian Tyrol at this period.<sup>65</sup> More detailed discussion of this codex will be postponed until a review of the bookbindings added to the collection since 1934 can be compiled.

A small vellum scrap acquired merely as a dated example of early Renaissance German script also was purchased from Mr. Werther in Baltimore (figs. 23, 24).<sup>66</sup> Its date, 1516, and the flourished capital letters were considered reminiscent of the extraordinary calligraphic type-face used in the epic poem, *Theuerdank*, composed by Melchior Pfinzing under the personal direction of

<sup>60</sup> Ms. W. 149. Double vellum leaf, each 12½ x 8¾ in. 6 illustrations; chapter VI and chapter VII up to line 56 (cf. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, Leipzig, 1907, vol. I, pp. 14-17). The fragment had been used to cover an old bookbirding. Acquired from Franz Trau collection (sale, Vienna, October 27, 1905, lot 82, pl. IX). De Ricci, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 821, no. 390.

<sup>61</sup> Ms. W. 731. Single paper leaf, 11½ x 7½ in. (trimmed down). Two water-color drawings, each surmounting 25 lines of Latin verse. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 558.

<sup>62</sup> Lutz and Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. vii, 236-37.

<sup>63</sup> Lutz and Perdrizet, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 91.

<sup>64</sup> Ms. W. 740. *Sermones festuales* in German and Latin. 135 paper leaves, 8¼ x 5½ in. Acquired from the sale of the Joseph Brummer collection (Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, May 23, 1949, lot 166). Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 562.

<sup>65</sup> Walters Art Gallery, *The History of Bookbinding 525-1950 A.D.*, Baltimore, 1957, p. 72, no. 167.

<sup>66</sup> Ms. W. 732. Part of a leaf only, 5¾ x 4 3/16 in. Collection-stamp of Ed. Schultze (sale, Munich, February 7-15, 1901). Acquired 1945. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 559.

<sup>67</sup> John W. Bradley, *Dictionary of Miniaturists, Illuminators, Calligraphers and Copyists . . .*, London, 1887-89, pp. 401-03 and 418.



FIGURE 22

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*The Way to Calvary*

(Ms. W. 731, Leaf from *De Septem Stationibus Passionis Christi*)

the Emperor Maximilian and printed at Nuremberg in 1517 by Hans Schönsperger the Elder. Now, this is the only book which Schönsperger printed in Nuremberg. All the rest of the nearly four-score books which he set in type between 1482 and his death in 1519 came from his press in Augsburg. Our scrap, which consists of the end of a prayer to the crucified Christ, terminates with a tapering colophon in rather imperfect Latin, which may be translated: "Finished by brother Leonhard Wirstlin, priest and monk of the monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra in

Augsburg 1516."

Leonhard Wirstlin was better known as Leonhard Wagner (1454-1522), a native of Schabmenchingen, who entered the Augsburg monastery in 1472.<sup>67</sup> Although this was the same year in which a printing-press was inaugurated at Saints Ulrich and Afra, Leonhard became a calligrapher and eventually organized a most celebrated scriptorium. He achieved a tremendous reputation, and his appearance has been preserved for us by no less an artist than Hans Holbein the Elder, who left five portraits of the

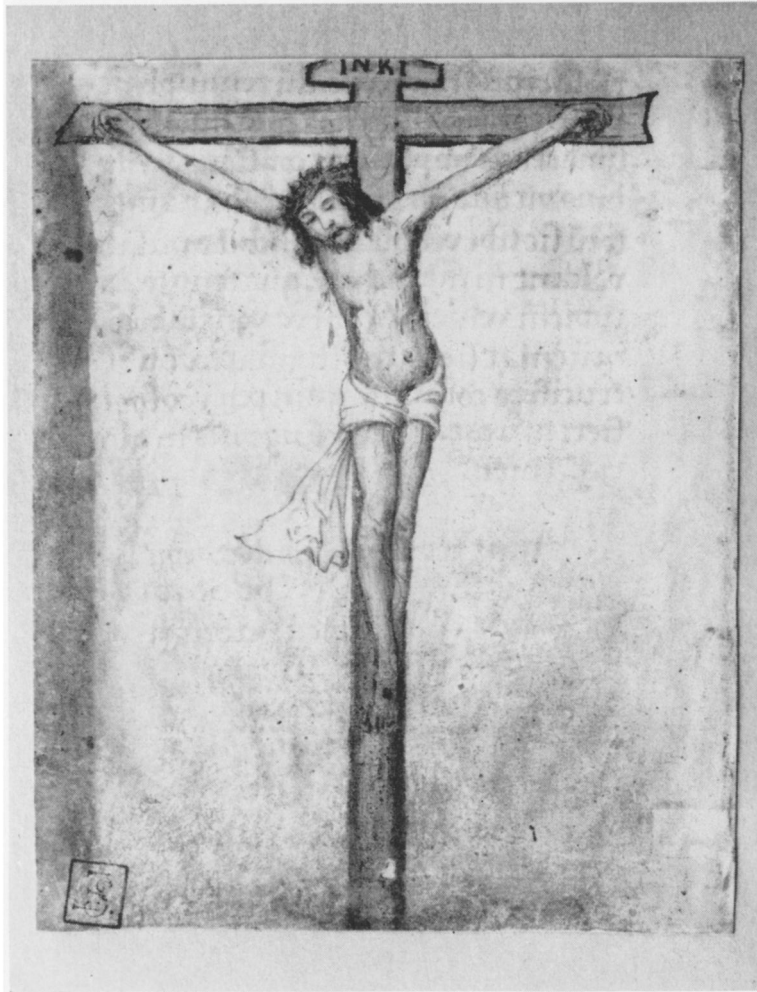


FIGURE 23

WALTERS ART GALLERY

SCHOOL OF HANS HOLBEIN THE ELDER  
*The Crucified Christ (Ms. W. 732)*

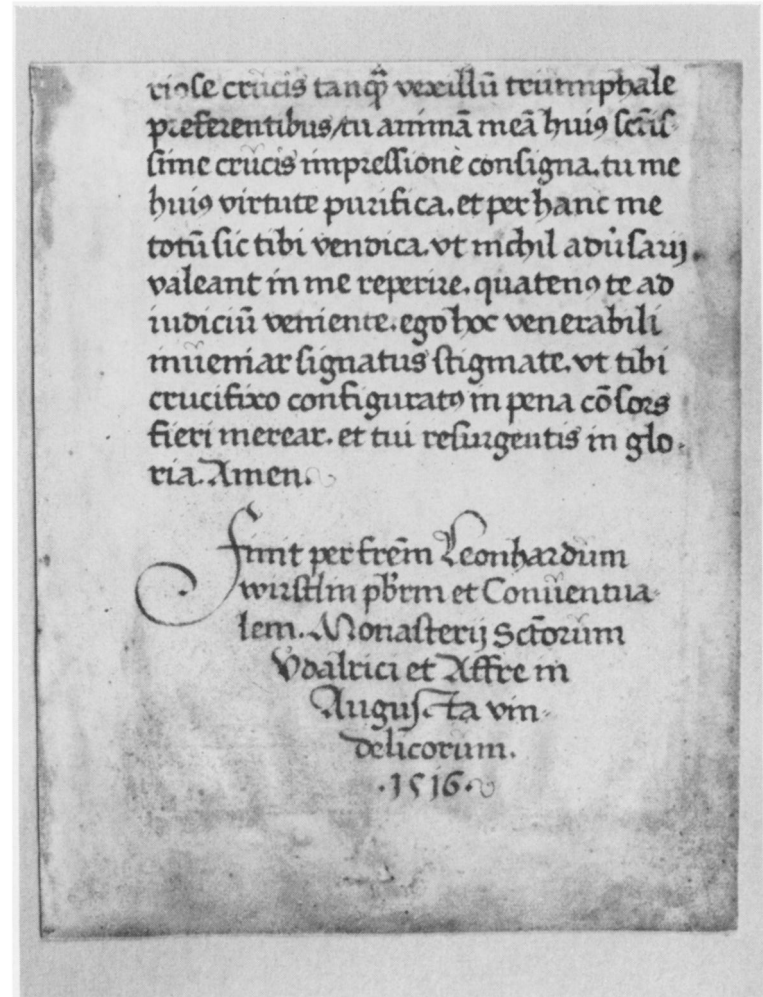


FIGURE 24

WALTERS ART GALLERY

LEONHARD WIRSTLIN  
*Text in "rotunda" (Ms. 732 verso)*

scribe, including one in which his features were incorporated into the representation of St. Ulrich in an altarpiece painted in 1512 for the Dominican convent at Augsburg, St. Katherine's.<sup>68</sup> The archives list numerous manuscripts by Leonhard's hand, one of the most extraordinary being a collection of script-styles from the eleventh century on, which he copied out from 1507 to 1512 as a calligraphic specimen-book, and presented to the Emperor Maximilian.<sup>69</sup> Our fragment is in fact written in the hand which Wirstlin in his compilation called "rotunda," describing it as "the most noble of all scripts."<sup>70</sup> A specimen much closer to the narrow *fraktur* of the *Theuerdank* type-face also occurs in Leonhard's specimen-book.

The printer of *Theuerdank*, Hans Schönsperger the Elder, would surely have known Leonhard Wagner, the renowned scribe of his own Augsburg, and more than one scholar has speculated whether the elegance of his flourished script may have lain behind the extraordinary calligraphic typography of the imperial epic printed in 1517, the colophon of which resembles in its tapering design our 1516 manuscript fragment.<sup>71</sup> However, the sixteenth-century writing-master of Nuremberg, Johann Neudörffer the Elder (1497-1563), handed down the tradition that the *Theuerdank* type was designed by Vinzenz Rockner, an imperial secretary.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> See Otto Paecht, *Vita Sancti Simperti, ein Handschrift für Maximilian I*, Berlin, Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1964; also Norbert Lieb and Alfred Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, Munich-Berlin, 1960, figs. 255, 265-67.

<sup>69</sup> This manuscript, now in the Bischofliche Ordinariatsbibliothek, Augsburg, has recently been published in a facsimile edition: C. Wehmer, *Leonhard Wagner, Proba Centum Scripturarum*, Leipzig and Frankfurt, Insel-Verlag, 1963, 2 vols.

<sup>70</sup> For an illustration of Leonhard's specimen "rotunda" see Paecht, *op. cit.*, fig. 2.

<sup>71</sup> Konrad E. Bauer, *Leonhard Wagner, der Schöpfer der Fraktur*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1936. For the pros and cons of this proposal, see H. Fichtenau, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 ff.

<sup>72</sup> For a summary of the current theories concerning the design of the *Theuerdank* type, see Elisabeth Geck in the *Kommentar* volume, pp. 23-27, accompanying the recent facsimile of *Kaiser Maximilians Theuerdank*, Stuttgart, 1968.

<sup>73</sup> Otto Paecht, *op. cit.*

<sup>74</sup> Lieb and Stange, *op. cit.*, especially figs. 360-72.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 42-56.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 112.

On the other side of our Augsburg scrap is a tinted drawing of the crucified Christ. We know the names of several artists and illuminators at Saints Ulrich and Afra who worked on the books copied out by Leonhard Wirstlin or Wagner, but I cannot help being struck by the resemblance of this modest drawing to the sketches and other works produced by Leonhard's friend, Hans Holbein the Elder, during his last Augsburg period. Holbein had been occupied at his native Augsburg from his earliest activity during the final decade of the fifteenth century, but interspersed with trips and commissions in Bavaria, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. In 1517, he left Augsburg for the last time to live in Ingelheim, where he died in 1524. He always had especially close relationships with the monastery of Saints Ulrich and Afra, beginning shortly after 1490 when, as a young artist, he was at work there on an altarpiece and stained-glass windows, and even illuminated a manuscript written out by our scribe, Leonhard Wagner.<sup>73</sup> His sketch-books are full of portraits of the monks and abbots of the monastery. In 1515 and 1516 he was painting a triptych dedicated to St. Sebastian for the nearby convent of St. Katherine, for which he had previously painted the main altarpiece, as mentioned above. By this period, his style had developed a softness not characteristic of his earlier work and his drawings show a modelling with pencil-strokes almost fur-like in its texture.<sup>74</sup> We may note these qualities in our little Crucifixion drawing. The concept of the facial type of Christ had been established by Holbein at the beginning of the century,<sup>75</sup> but the soft figure type of our illustration, with little stress on the details of musculature and bone structure, can be seen in the figure of St. Sebastian that Holbein was painting in 1516,<sup>76</sup> the very year of our manuscript fragment. However, it was the helpers and pupils in Holbein's workshop who repeated earlier conventions as well as current ones—and it seems likely that we have here an illustration by one of those associates.

(To be continued in Part II)



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