THE JOURNAL OF

THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Terra-cotta Venus
Asia Minor, about first century B.C.
Gift of Charles William Lewis, Jr., 1946

VENUS IN THE ROMAN EAST

By DOROTHY KENT HILL

The Walters Art Gallery

In 48 B.C. on the night before Julius Caesar faced Pompey on the field of Pharsalus, he vowed that if successful in the coming encounter he would dedicate a temple to Venus, the supposed ancestress of the great soldier himself and of the long line that he was about to set upon a throne. Returning victorious from Pharsalus to Rome, Caesar fulfilled this vow by erecting a Temple of Venus Genetrix in his new forum, a non-commercial addition to the great Forum of Rome. Of course the temple housed a cult statue of the goddess; it was by Arkesilaos.[1] Neither temple nor statue remains (the visible ruins are from a rebuilding under Trajan), and a lengthy battle of wits has been waged over the appearance of the famous image. Scholars agree that it was a draped Venus. Two major contestants for the honor, both duplicated over and over, frequently on a small scale, are represented by two gifts to the Walters Art Gallery, here illustrated for the first time (figs. 1–3).

For many years the favorite claimant for the post of Venus Genetrix was the type of figure 1, a terracotta statuette.[2] A queenly woman stands relaxed with her weight resting more heavily on her left leg, wearing a thin garment (chiton) that perfectly reveals every curve of her body, arranging a cloak (himation) to cover herself. This cloak which spreads across her entire back is uplifted by her raised right hand and is wound around her left forearm, cascading down beside both of her legs. The thin undergarment was fastened by a circular brooch on each shoulder but garment and brooch have slipped down the left arm, partially exposing the left breast. The goddess, if such she is, has long curls reaching to her shoulders, wears earrings, and firmly grasps an apple in her lowered left hand.

With minor variations of coiffure and jewelry, this figure occurs frequently in marble, life size, as well as in bronze and terra cotta, usually miniature. No extant example is very old, in terms of Greece and Rome. The terra cottas begin just before the birth of Christ[3] and the marbles and bronzes perhaps even later. But the drapery style, with that transparent effect, had been achieved first in the fifth century B.C., being fully developed on the Parthenon pediments (about 439–432 B.C.). The appealing statue has been credited to a sculptor of that age; specifically, it has been given to Alkamenes, pupil of Pheidias, who created the celebrated 'Aphrodite in the Gardens'[4] which was later adapted by Arkesilaos as the Venus Genetrix for Caesar's forum. Correctly or otherwise, both titles will continue to be used for this type, a favorite in ancient as well as in modern times.[5] But the claims have been disputed, first and foremost by M. Bieber in 1933.[6] Her alternative candidate for Venus

[1] Dio Cassius, xliii, 22; Pliny, *Natural History*, vii, 126; ix, 116; xxxv, 156; xxxvii, 11; Appian, *Bellum Gallicum*, ii, 102.

[2] Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 48.1932. Gift of Charles William Lewis, Jr., 1946. Said to be from Asia Minor. Ht. 10⅜ in. (0.265 m.). Missing piece of base and another of drapery, as shown; single vent hole in back. White slip, no traces of color but extensive black deposit. Deeply impressed on back of base: MHNA. For the type in terra cotta see F. Winter in R. Kukele von Stradonitz, *Die antiken Terrakotten*, III, 2, *Typen*, 1903, p. 214; S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains*, II, *Myrina, Musée du Louvre*, 1963, pp. 15 f., pls. 12–14.

[3] Dorothy Burr, *Terra-cottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1934, p. 18.

[4] Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxvi, 16. A. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, 1895, p. 82.

[5] For the development of this type for portrait statues see G. M. A. Richter, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCV, 2, 1951, pp. 189 f., and figs. 36 ff. on pp. 202 f.

[6] M. Bieber (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Mitteilungen. Roemische Abteilung*, XLVIII, 1933, pp. 261–83) considers the type of figure 1 to be an eclectic work of the time of Augustus. A third type of draped Venus, known only from reliefs, was nominated for Venus Genetrix by C. Weickert in *Festschrift Paul Arndt*, 1925, pp. 52 f.

FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Venus with Trace of Child on Shoulder
Probably from Syria, Roman times

FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Venus (back of figure 2)
Gift of Robert Garrett, 1953

Genetrix is rather similar (compare fig. 2 with fig. 1): the same pose, the chiton identical on the shoulders and down to the waist and over the left leg, but the himation not ready waiting to be draped but already wrapped around the body, covering the right side and stretched to form a concealing triangle across the front, secured in position by the left arm.[7] And something was on the left shoulder.

It is easy to guess what the something was by looking at the back (fig. 3) and at the six examples which Dr. Bieber assembled, illustrating four, all having a child, mostly winged but in some cases so rough that one cannot be sure, seated on Venus' left shoulder or hoisting himself there from behind. Of the six, one was from Rome, one from Saloniki, two from Syria, one from Naples and one of unknown provenience. Five more can now be added to that list. Ours (figs. 2, 3) was given to the Walters Art Gallery by Robert Garrett in 1953.[8] Behind the left shoulder are the legs of a child who is raising himself to the shoulder by his hands. The goddess' right hand is broken away; probably it held, in addition to a corner of the himation, a folded floral wreath or diadem, such as appears on other examples.[9] A repaired break across the base of the neck invites a query as to whether the head belongs; if it does not, it comes from a statuette of this same type, since it not only has the requisite visage and hair arrangement but also a projection on its left side, obviously to meet the child's extended hand.

Further additions to Dr. Bieber's list are three marble statuettes in the National Museum in Damascus. Two are illustrated here (figs. 4, 5).[10] Another was in trade in the 1950's and its present whereabouts is unknown to me; mere traces of the child remain on the shoulder, but beside the goddess stands a second child, as is the case with statuettes previously known.[11]

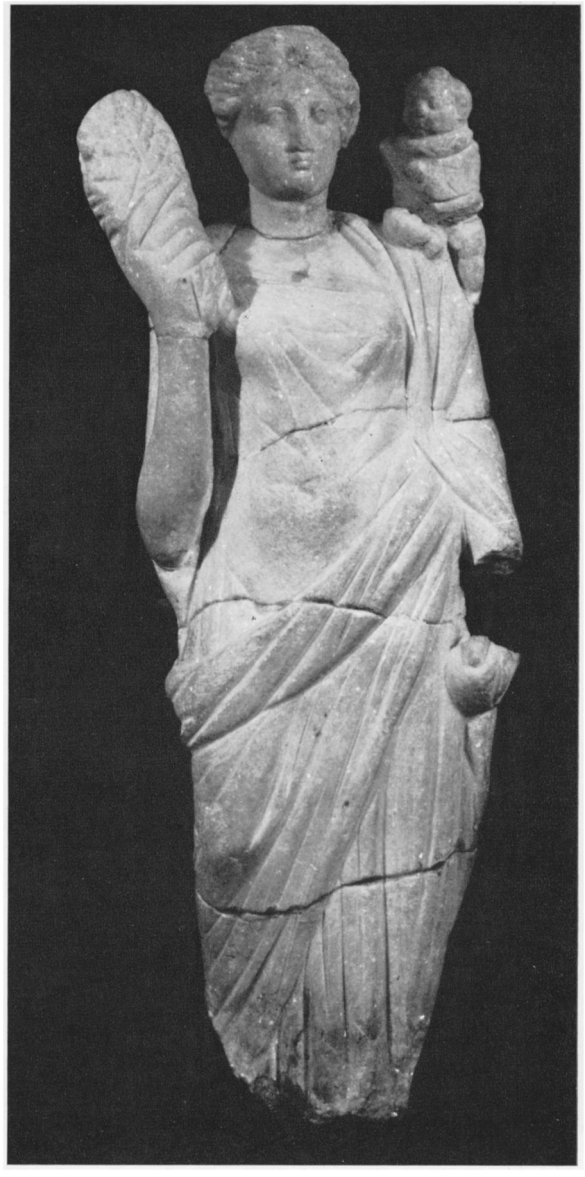


FIGURE 4 DAMASCUS, NATIONAL MUSEUM

Marble Venus with Draped Child, Floral Diadem and Apple

[7] The derivation is obviously from a work attributed to a fifth-century artist and exemplified in a famous copy called the 'Hera Borghese'. See P. Zancani Montuoro, *Bulletino Communale*, LXI, 1933, pp. 25–58.

[8] Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 23.212. Ht. 14¾ in. (0.37 m). Several marble fragments were attached with plaster but since they do not join they have been removed; among them are what purports to be the upper part of a winged child and a fragment of an arm of too great diameter.

[9] I doubt the interpretation of this attribute as a sandal with which to punish the infant. The crossed lines on the front do suggest sandal straps but also could be crudely rendered flowers. The medial line indicating that the object, is a strip folded in half is clear in figure 4 and also in Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 262, fig. 1.

[10] Figures 4, 5 through the kindness of M. Abu-l-Faraj Al-Ush. Nos. C. 5759 and C. 5029; published without illustration in his *Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, 1969, p. 85. C. 5759 from Homs. My recollection is of still another in the museum. Another published in *Guide de l'exposition des dernières découvertes classiques en Syrie*, 1969, p. 19, vitrine 21 and plate.

[11] C. Vermeule and D. von Bothmer, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LX, 1956, p. 335, pl. 105, fig. 7.

This amplified list suggests a plausible provenience for the Walters' acquisition (figs. 2, 3). Since Robert Garrett was a member of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria (frequently called the Princeton Expedition) in 1899 and 1900 it seems likely that he bought it in Syria at that time. This would be the sixth Syrian piece in a total of eleven. Clearly, this type of draped Venus was a Syrian favorite. But does this provenience mitigate against its having been the Venus Genetrix, the revered portrayal of the ancestress of the reigning house? At first thought one might so contend, arguing that the Julian favorite would hardly have been represented more frequently in Syria than anywhere else. But, in fact, all Venus types occur frequently in Syria, in bronze and in marble, continuing into Roman times a very ancient tradition of worshipping the mother goddess.[12]

Two of the known replicas that have come to light have the second child, not a winged one, identified as Iulus for Bieber's argument, standing beside the goddess. These two belong to the minority that have not Syrian provenience.[13] It seems just possible that the Venus Genetrix in Caesar's forum was of this statuary type and wore a chiton partially covered by a himation, and carried her son Cupid on her shoulder and led her mortal grandson, Iulus, by the hand. Then, Syrian sculptors took over the idea, omitting the mortal child who was not of the slightest interest to Syrians! But such a solution cannot now be proved and will never be proved unless more evidence is forthcoming.

A Syrian light also illuminates the small marble replica of a great Aphrodite-Venus statue, illustrated in figures 6–7. It has been known since 1905 or earlier and was acquired by Mr. Walters at an unknown date, perhaps shortly after 1905, which

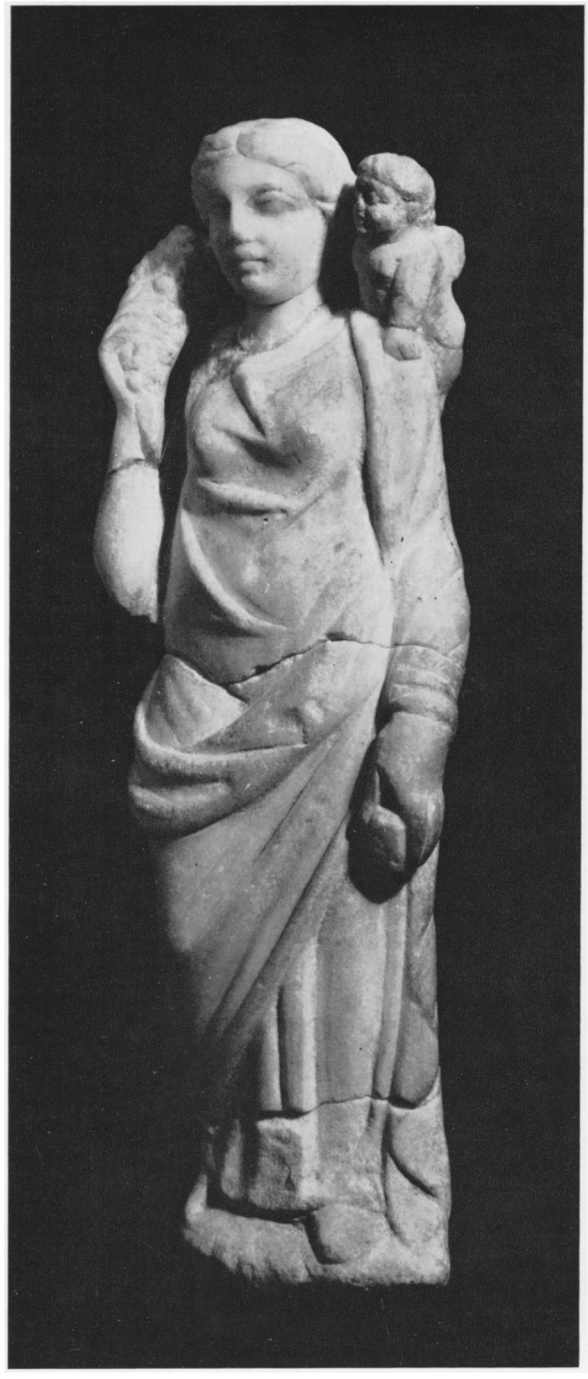


FIGURE 5 DAMASCUS, NATIONAL MUSEUM

Marble Venus with Winged Cupid, Diadem and Apple

[12] A. de Ridder, *Collection De Clercq*, III, *Les Bronzes*, p. 3. Proveniences in this book are chiefly Tortosa and Amrith. See also my note on a Syrian bronze Venus, *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1970, XXII, no. 6.

[13] Other explanations for the second child are, of course, possible. He could be another Eros, for multiple Erotes do occur. G. Elderkin thought that such was the case and that the Eros on the shoulder indicated that Aphrodite was recently victorious at the Judgment of Paris: *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLII, 1938, pp. 371 ff., with good illustrations of the four then known examples. For summary of the whole subject see R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Venus (Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 178), 1954, pp. 311 f.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Venus
Replica of Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles
Probably Syrian

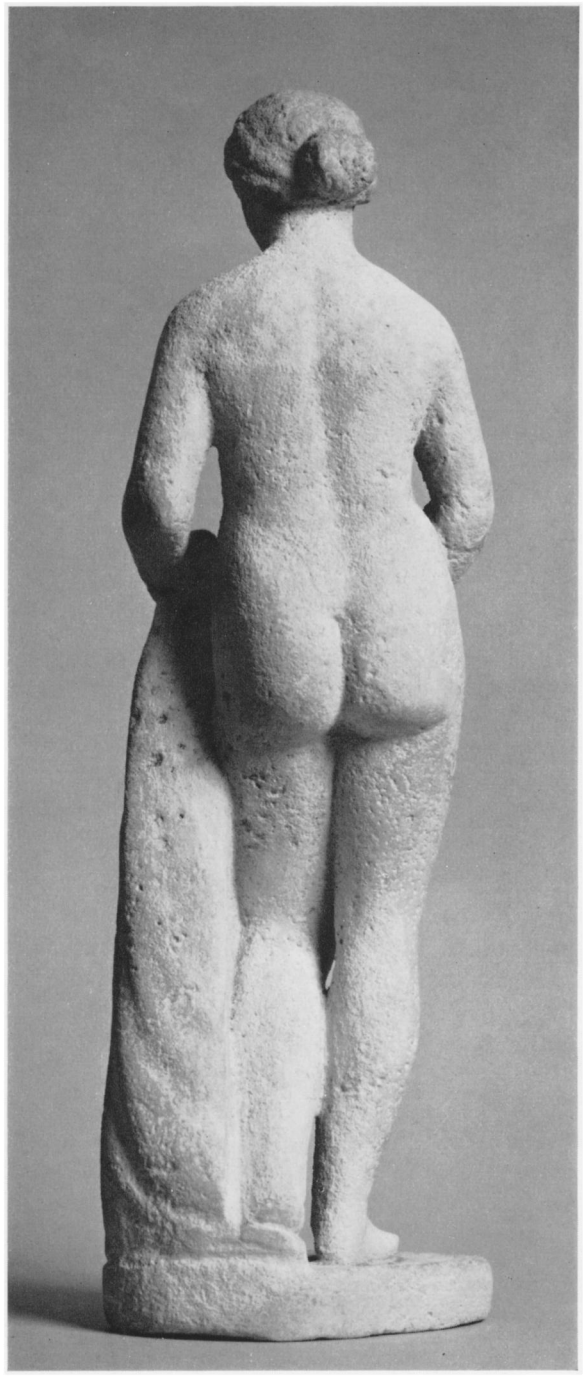


FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Marble Venus (back of figure 6)

would have been early in his career as a collector.[14] It has been displayed intermittently at the Walters Art Gallery and I confess that, prior to a trip to Syria, I had entertained doubts of its authenticity, despite the extravagant praise bestowed upon it at the time of its publication in 1905.[15] But a visit to the National Museum in Damascus[16] convinced me that there is nothing extraordinary about a perfectly preserved marble, only nine and one half inches tall, copying that masterpiece of all time, Praxiteles' Knidian Aphrodite, provided one can trace it to a Syrian origin, as indeed is the case here; its provenience was given as Sidon, which was in Syria in Roman times and also in 1905, after which time it was said to have been brought to Europe by a Mrs. Wood of Brooklyn. If only Mrs. Wood could now come forward!

Praxiteles carved the most famous of all statues of Aphrodite for the people of Knidos, on the rocky west coast of Asia Minor, just about 340 B.C. employing Phryne as model.[17] Unlike most of his great contemporaries, he chose marble for his medium, the marble that approximates the color of the human skin. The weak point in a marble statue comes at the ankles; Praxiteles provided a support in the form of a water jar, over which Aphrodite drapes her clothing, gripped in her left hand. The action, then, is preparation for the bath. The right leg bears the weight, the right hand delicately tries to conceal the goddess. The head turns just slightly to the right and tips forward. The hair is parted at center front, brushed back from the forehead on both sides, and is bound with a narrow band which disappears behind the bun of hair on the back of the head.

The Knidians installed their statue in a circular colonnade to be visible from all angles. At that time, sculpture demanding to be considered from all aspects was a recent achievement; however, the Greeks were in the coming centuries to develop along this line to such an extent as to make the Aphrodite seem to later Greeks and to ourselves markedly quadrangular. Centuries later the emperor Hadrian constructed a replica of the circular colonnade to house a replica of the statue in his villa at Tivoli near Rome.[18]

Praxiteles' masterpiece was the first statue, or the first great statue, to represent the goddess quite nude. It sparked a long line of slightly different types that inevitably reveal their parentage. The majority of them shift the weight to the left leg while retaining the interest at the left side; thereby, they lose some of the symmetry of the first creation. Beside these adaptations are real copies. The best are actual size, made from the original by the pointing process at which the Romans excelled. Others are eye copies, these being mostly smaller than the original. Relatively scarce are very small copies, such as ours.

The only noticeable variation from type in this case is the vase. Instead of the hydria, the traditional water jar with three handles set so that all three are apparent, we see a simple jar which allows its handles, if any, to be concealed by the drapery. But what a minor variation this is! To the Syrians who owned the statuette, including a possible Syrian lady who took it into her grave, this would be a perfect representation of the goddess as conceived by the greatest Greek sculptor.

[14] Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 23.98. H. 9½ in. (0.242m). A low-grade marble or limestone, white with yellowed surface, extensively pitted. For all the large replicas of the Knidian statue see C. Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, 1933, *passim*.

[15] A. Sambon, in *Le Musée*, II, 1905, pp. 79 ff., pl. III. Sambon's articles in this periodical frequently, though not invariably, dealt with objects offered for sale at the time. Also reproduced by S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, IV, p. 216, 7.

[16] *Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, p. 86. The Venus statuettes there mentioned include this type and identical material.

[17] Ancient references collected and translated by J. J. Pollitt, *The Art of Greece. 1400–31 B.C.*, 1965, pp. 128 ff. The date 340 B.C. is assigned by H. K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, 1938, p. 163.

[18] The Temple of Aphrodite was found at Knidos in 1969 by the expedition of Long Island University, directed by Iris Love. For the replica at Tivoli, excavated 1958, see S. Aurigemma, *Villa Adriana*, 1961, p. 44, pl. 2; K. Schefold, in *Antike Kunst*, VII, 1, 1964, pp. 56 ff., pl. 2.

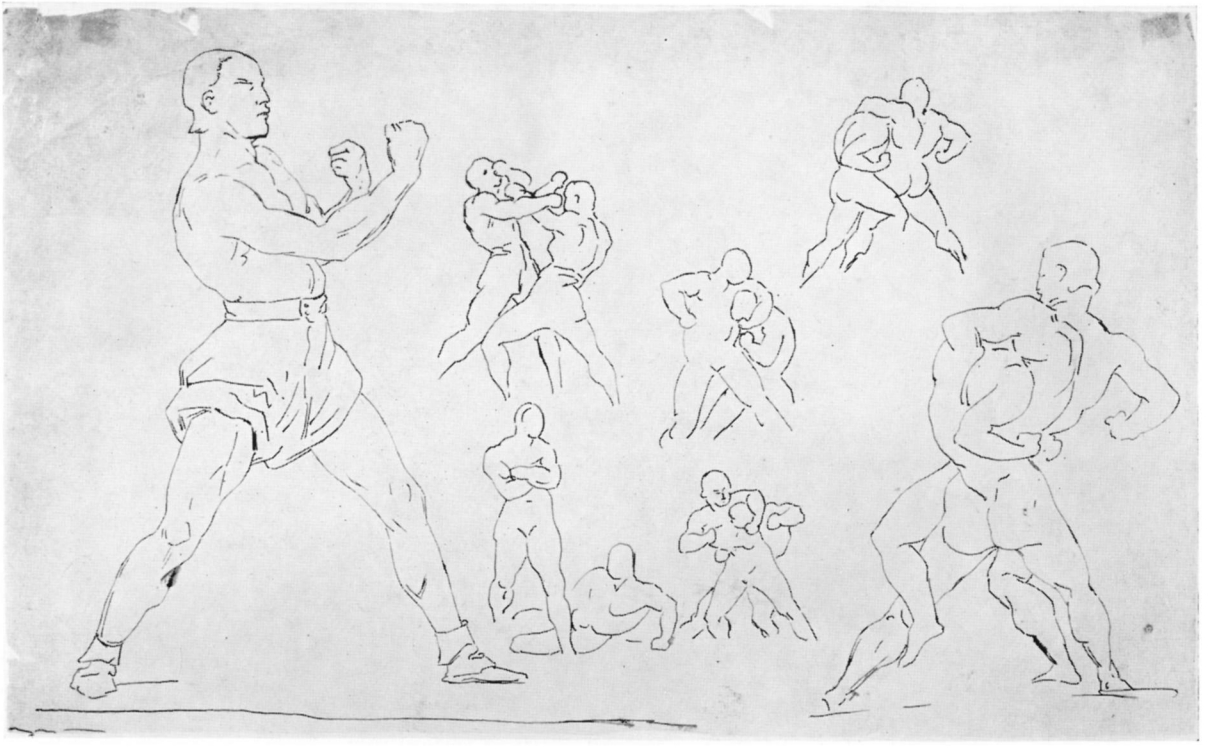


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTOINE-LOUIS BARYE
Boxers, after Géricault

BARYE'S USES OF SOME GÉRICAULT DRAWINGS*

By GLENN F. BENGE

Tyler School of Art, Temple University

Antoine-Louis Barye (1796–1875), the French romantic-realist sculptor, worked exclusively in Paris.[1] A contemporary and friend of Eugène Delacroix (1798–1863),[2] Barye was only five years younger than Theodore Géricault (1791–1824), whose drawings he so carefully studied.

Barye's sculpture was often of small size and dealt with animal rather than human protagonists—

* This essay is based upon research conducted for my Ph.D. dissertation entitled, *The Sculpture of Antoine-Louis Barye in the American Collections, with a Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols., accepted at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, in February 1969. I wish to thank the staff of the Walters Art Gallery for its help in this study, particularly Edward S. King, former Director, Richard H. Randall, Jr., Director, William R. Johnston, Assistant Director, Winifred Kennedy, Registrar, and Marvin C. Ross, former Curator. I am indebted to them for allowing me direct access to the Barye material during visits in 1964 and 1967, and for the use of the Gallery's superb photographs.

FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTOINE-LOUIS BARYE
Elk Attacked by Two Hounds

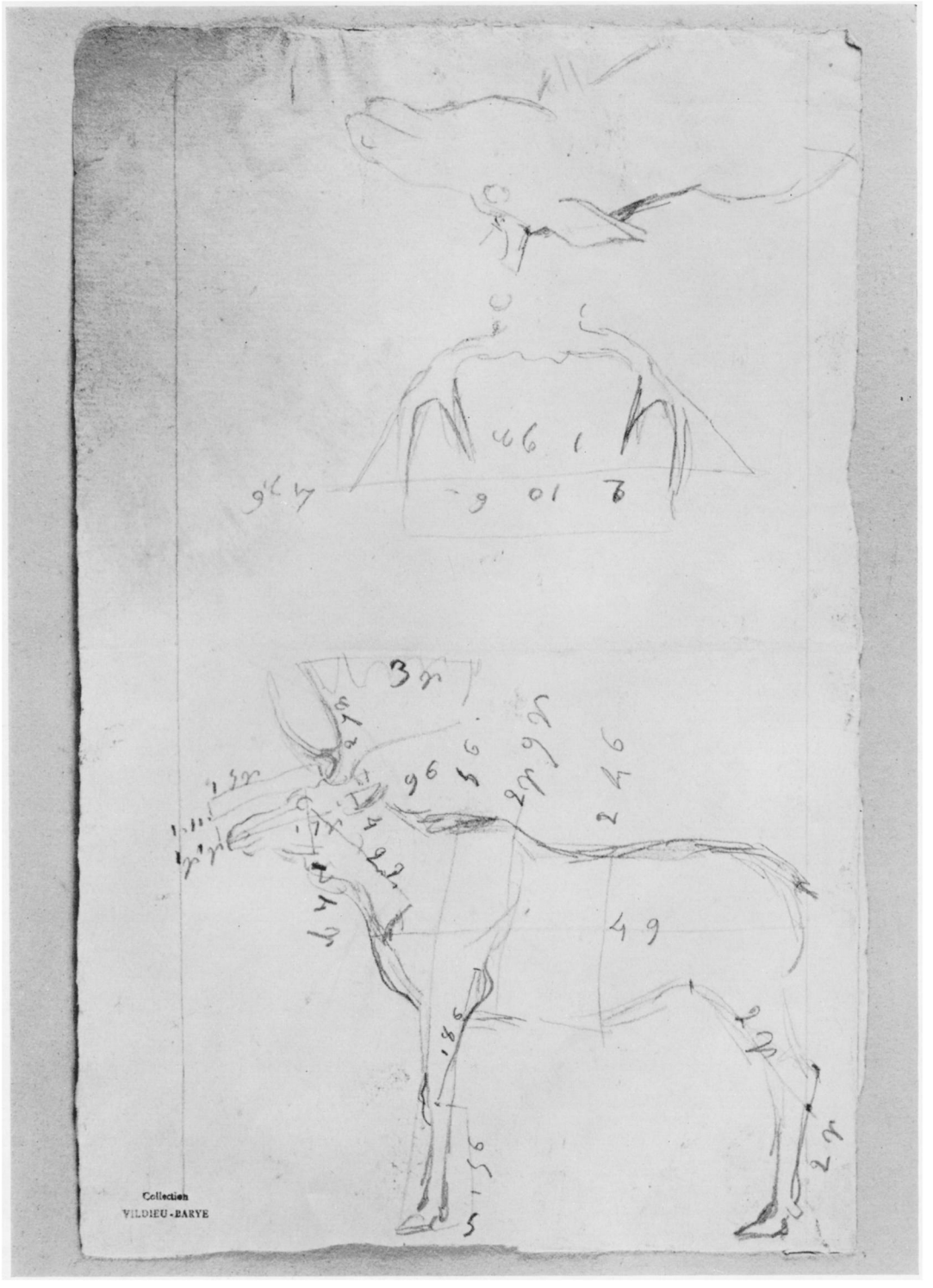


FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTOINE-LOUIS BARYE
Drawing of an Elk

FIGURE 4 NEUILLY, PRIVATE COLLECTION

EDME-PIERRE BALZAC
Tureen, 1757–1758 (detail)

a very romantic and intensely personal choice.[3] 'Elk Attacked by Two Hounds' (fig. 2),[4] shown in the Salon of 1833, illustrates the range and character of the sources of Barye's art: nature itself, the art of recent goldsmithery, and the animal sculpture of antiquity. As one of Barye's typical, measured drawings of an elk (fig. 3)[5] clearly indicates, the artist studied nature with the impassioned enthusiasm, and often with the technical methods of the zoologists of his day.[6] Barye's earliest artistic training was as a goldsmith, and this art offered general artistic prototypes for his small bronzes. Compare, for example, the Walters 'Elk Attacked by Two Hounds' with the decorative finial on a high rococo,

[1] The exceptions were occasional visits to the Château of Versailles and to the Barbizon forest. The chief biographical sources for Barye are: A. Alexandre, *Antoine-Louis Barye*, Paris, 1889; C. DeKay, *Barye, Life and Works*, New York, 1889; R. Ballu, *L'Œuvre de Barye*, Paris, 1890; S. Lami, 'Barye', *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française*, Paris, 1914, I, pp. 69–85; C. Saunier, *Barye*, Paris, 1925; C. O. Zieseniss, *Les Aquarelles de Barye*, Paris, 1956.

[2] Four letters written by Delacroix to Barye between 1828 and 1833, cited in R. Escholier, *Delacroix, peintre, graveur, écrivain*, Paris, 1926, I, pp. 247–8, confirm their artistic contact and their mutual enthusiasm for the dissection of a recently dead lion. Considerable internal artistic evidence strongly suggests a sustained and specific awareness of developments in each other's art, manifest in their simultaneous use of similar motifs and style, and in the case of Delacroix's late years, a return to shared motifs of the twenties. See G. F. Benge, *The Sculpture of Antoine-Louis Barye*, Ph.D. dissertation, I, pp. 196–209, and figs.

[3] Barye's choice of animal rather than human protagonists has continued to provoke the wrath of academic critics who maintain that such a choice is inherently inferior, and that Barye is therefore an inferior artist. For discussions of the earlier literature, see G. Hubert, 'Barye et la critique de son temps', *Revue des Arts*, VI, 1956, pp. 223–30, and G. Benge, *Sculpture*, I, pp. 24–42, especially pp. 27–9. Barye's animal protagonists are in fact a completely logical development within a larger context of romantic nature imagery. See G. F. Benge, *Sculpture*, I, pp. 72–119.

[4] The Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 27.147, H. 11¼ in. This proof is apparently unique in American collections, and was formerly in the George A. Lucas collection. It has the usual block letter, integrally cast signature, BARYE, which, however, has also been chased and retains a sharp burr. It is inscribed on the interior of the base, DAIM TERRASSE PAR 2 LEVRIERS d'ALGERIE. PIECE UNIQUE. MODÈLE LUCAS. Patina is a light brown, and surface detail is superb.

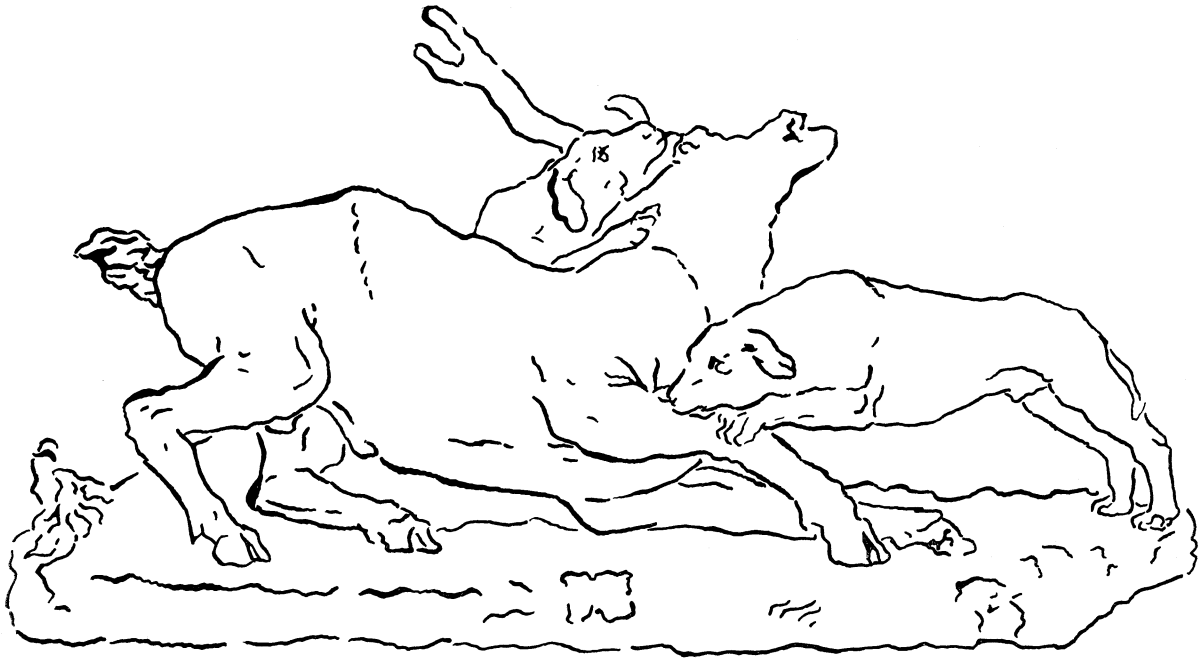


FIGURE 5 ROME, VATICAN COLLECTIONS

Stag Harried by Hounds
Greek, Hellenistic
(Based on rendering in Reinach, 'Repertoire de la statuaire, grecque et romaine', 1930, II, p. 754)

silver soup tureen (fig. 4), designed by Edme-Pierre Balzac, dated 1757–58, and certainly known to Barye in the collection of the Duc d'Orléans.[7] Barye maintained the verism, the narrative idea, and the small scale of the prototype. Yet significantly, he divorced the image from its role as a mere embellishment on a useful object, and elevated it to the qualitative and conceptual level of a free, major art form. Furthermore, both the royal goldsmiths and Barye worked with a full cognizance of antique prototypes,[8] such as the monumental Hellenistic group in the Vatican (fig. 5).

[5] The Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 37.2249, pencil drawing, about 9×6 in. Purchased in 1949 from Fabius Frères, Paris.

[6] Documentation of Barye's knowledge of recent scholarly, zoological studies of the Gavial crocodile of India is noted by G. H. Hamilton, 'The Origins of Barye's Tiger Hunt', *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936, pp. 250–3, easily the most revealing study of Barye's conceptual and technical methods in the whole of the earlier literature. However, Hamilton's severe final judgment of Barye's brilliant 'Tiger Hunt' (Walters Art Gallery, Inv. no. 27.176), as a merely 'absurd' table decoration, need dismay us no longer, in light of its clear 'origins'—as a lavish table decoration, in the tradition of French high rococo goldsmithery. For the suggestion of the goldsmith's art as a conceptual source for Barye, I am indebted to Professor Wallace Tomasini.

[7] I wish to thank Mme. Arturo Lopez-Willshaw for her very kind permission to publish a photograph of the tureen now in her collection at Neuilly, and M. Jean Digras, Cultural Attaché of the French Consulate General, for facilitating our communication. A color photograph of the tureen, together with a reference to its documentation in the Orléans collection appears in Jacques Helft, Jean Babelon, Yves Bottineau, and Olivier Lefuel, *French Master Goldsmiths and Silversmiths from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1966, pp. 166–7. During the thirties Barye executed major commissions for the two sons of the Duc d'Orléans, designs quite in the spirit of high rococo goldsmithery. In fact, Barye's famous *surtout de table* of nine sculptural groups was initially to have been cast in silver rather than bronze. See Benge, *Sculpture*, I, pp. 175–82, and figs.

[8] For a discussion of goldsmiths' use of antiquities also known to Barye, see Benge, *Sculpture*, I, pp. 180–1, and figs. For Barye's own use of antique sources, see *ibid.*, I, pp. 120–49, and figs.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTOINE-LOUIS BARYE

Horse Subjects and Boxers, after Géricault

FIGURE 7 ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT

Study after Officer of the Light Cavalry Charging
Chicago Album, detail of fol. 57

FIGURE 9 PARIS, LOUVRE

THEODORE GÉRICAULT

Officer of the Light Cavalry Charging, 1812 (detail)

FIGURE 8 (*left*) ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT

Horse's Head
Chicago Album, detail of fol. 47

FIGURE 10 ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT
Mounted Officer at the Halt
Chicago Album, detail of fol. 37vo

Once Barye's major sources in nature, goldsmithery, and antique art are clarified, it is possible to examine yet another source, the drawings of the painter Theodore Géricault. Like his friend Delacroix, Barye became fascinated with Géricault's drawings, and may have studied them at the posthumous sale of Géricault's studio effects in 1824, when some thirty-three of the painter's sketchbooks were sold.[9] Barye's leaf of drawings of horse subjects and boxers (fig. 6), now in the Walters Art Gallery,[10] clearly proves his close scrutiny of a variety of drawings in an album by Géricault, now in the Art Institute of Chicago, and published by Professor Lorenz Eitner in 1960.[11] While Barye's drawing motifs are unquestionably copied from the Géricault album, they also embody a distinct transformation of their sources, one that is typical of his personal artistic taste.

The inspiration for Barye's sketch at the upper left (fig. 6) was Géricault's drawing after his painting in the Louvre, 'Officer of the Light Cavalry Charging'. The drawing is found in the Chicago album on folio 57r (fig. 7).[12] The sculptor's chosen medium of pen and tracing paper might at first glance suggest that we actually have a tracing. Yet the many subtle differences of proportion between Barye's copy and the original indicate a free rather than mechanical copy. One notes in Barye's copy the smaller face and shorter torso of the officer, and the narrower breadth of the horse's body. Perhaps the most telling detail which persuades us that this drawing was Barye's actual model, rather than the related painting in the Louvre (fig. 9), is the careful delineation of the leopard's mask and pelt used as a saddle blanket. Barye's drawing conveys the essential features and hypnotic force of the mask and pelt with a fine economy of means, whereas Géricault's painted version minimizes the impact of this feline mask by closing its eyes, and by rendering it with an undramatic realism. Barye typically records the essential contours of the form, in a selective and rather tactile transformation of Géricault's fluid, Rubens-like prototype.

Barye's copy of a mounted officer at the halt, seen on the upper right of this leaf (fig. 6), is patterned upon a similar figure on folio 37 verso in the Géricault sketchbook (fig. 10). This work Barye copied with greater precision of proportion, but again only the major contours are set down, and the elaborate shading so lovingly developed by Géricault is ignored.

Barye's copy of another mounted officer holding

[9] L. Eitner, *Géricault. An Album of Drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago*, Chicago, 1960, p. 4, note 2.

[10] Inv. no. 37.2020; pen on tracing paper, about 13 × 14 in. Purchased from Fabius Frères, Paris, 1949.

[11] See note 9 above.

[12] This drawing was made roughly two years later than the painting in the Louvre, Eitner, *Géricault. An Album*, p. 41.

a second, unmounted horse beside him, seen at the lower right of the Walters leaf, derives from folio 36 verso (fig. 11). Barye's analytical contours are still more summary than in the preceding drawing, and where Géricault chooses not to depict anatomical data in favor of a painterly development of light and shade, Barye simply leaves empty space, as with the shoulders and forelegs of the horses. It is almost as though Barye were vigorously seeking to delineate an aspect of design that held little interest for Géricault.

The image of an elaborately bridled horse's head seen just above and to the left of this officer, is closely patterned upon a study on folio 47 recto (fig. 8). Barye again minimizes painterly tonal changes in favor of a more tactile, more purely descriptive approach. Even the exotic bridle is transcribed not as an ornate surface pattern but rather as a structural diagram. The eye of Barye's horse seems a lifeless button by comparison with

FIGURE 11 ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT
Mounted Officer Holding a Second Horse
Chicago Album, detail of fol. 36vo

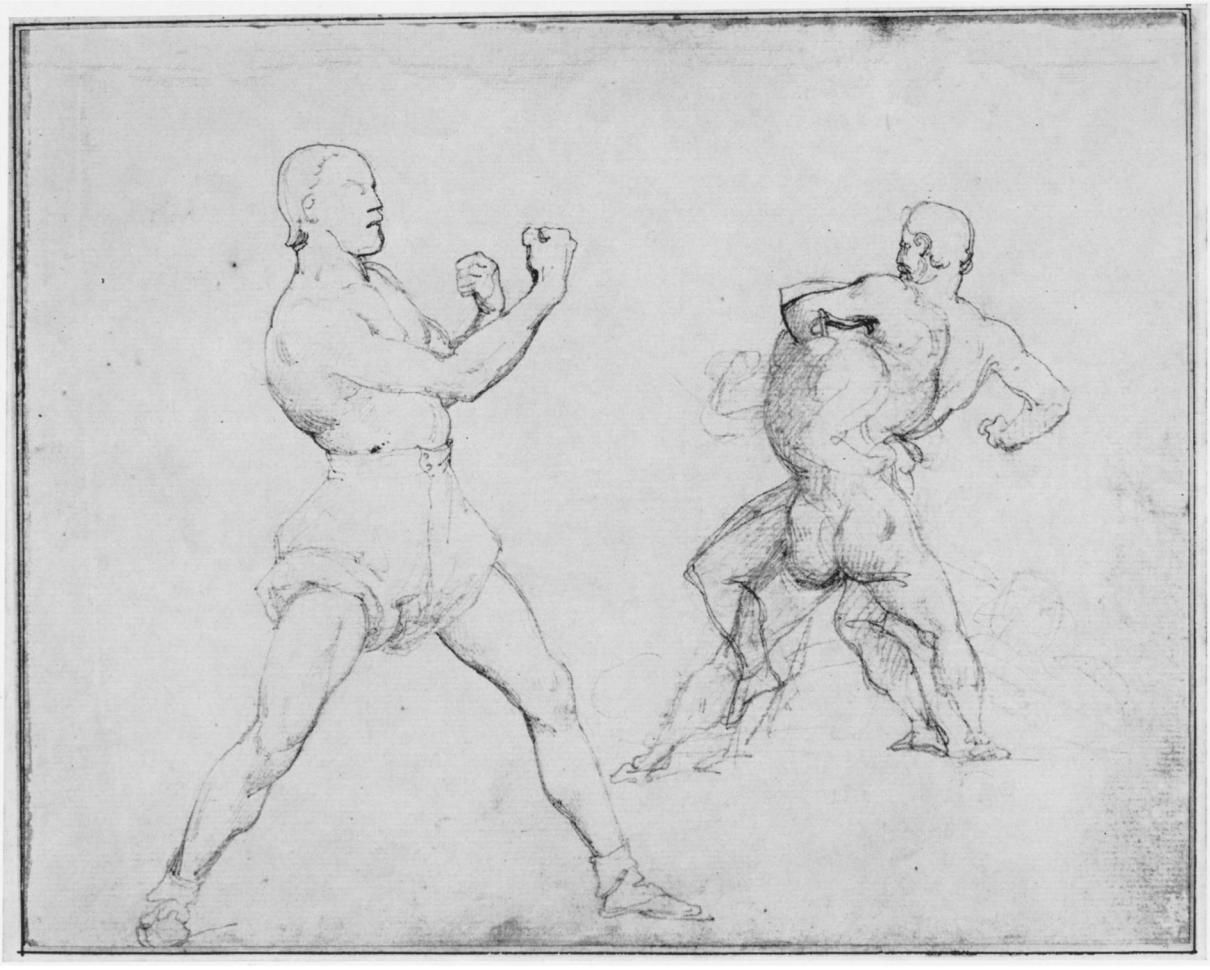


FIGURE 12

ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT
Boxers
Chicago Album, fol. 13

Géricault's elaborately humanized symbol of romantic frenzy. The note-taking detachment, the intellectualism of Barye's drawing, is quite apparent.

Barye's copy of the torso of a boxer facing to the right, his guard up, is based upon folio 12 recto in the Chicago album (fig. 13), rather than upon the related, mirror-image figure in Géricault's 1818 lithograph of two boxers. The economy Barye practiced is perhaps the most notable difference between the two drawings. Géricault for example redrew the major contours repeatedly, almost obsessively, as though he were not convinced of their accuracy. One notes a lapse of precision in Barye's copy, in the distorted narrowness of the head, although the peculiar shaggy haircut is well preserved. Comparison with Géricault's 1818 lithograph (fig. 15) reveals that Barye did not copy from its mirror-image pose. Furthermore, the boxer in the lithograph is placed with his shoulders more parallel to the surface plane, that is, with a frontality closer to that of antique sculpture. Numerous details, such as the deep indentation of the boxer's *lattissimus dorsi* muscle group, are not seen in the more summary forms of the drawing.

FIGURE 13 ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT

Boxer Facing to the Right
Chicago Album, detail of fol. 12

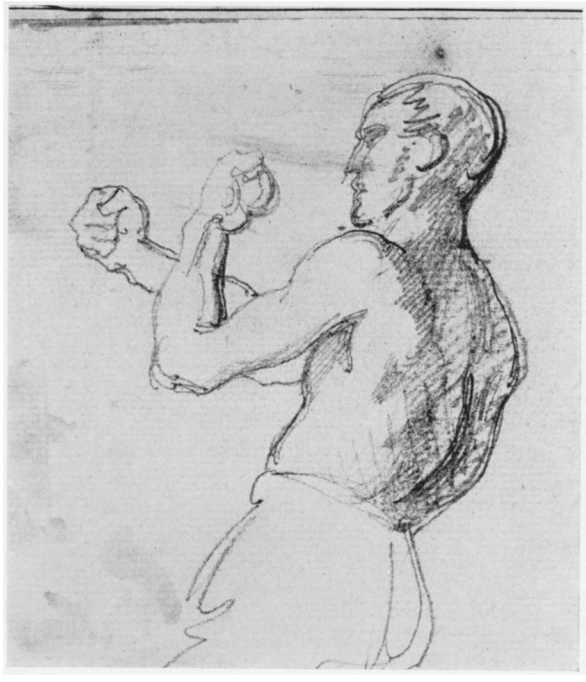


FIGURE 14 ART INSTITUTE OF CHICAGO

THEODORE GÉRICAULT

Boxer Facing to the Left
Chicago Album, detail of fol. 10

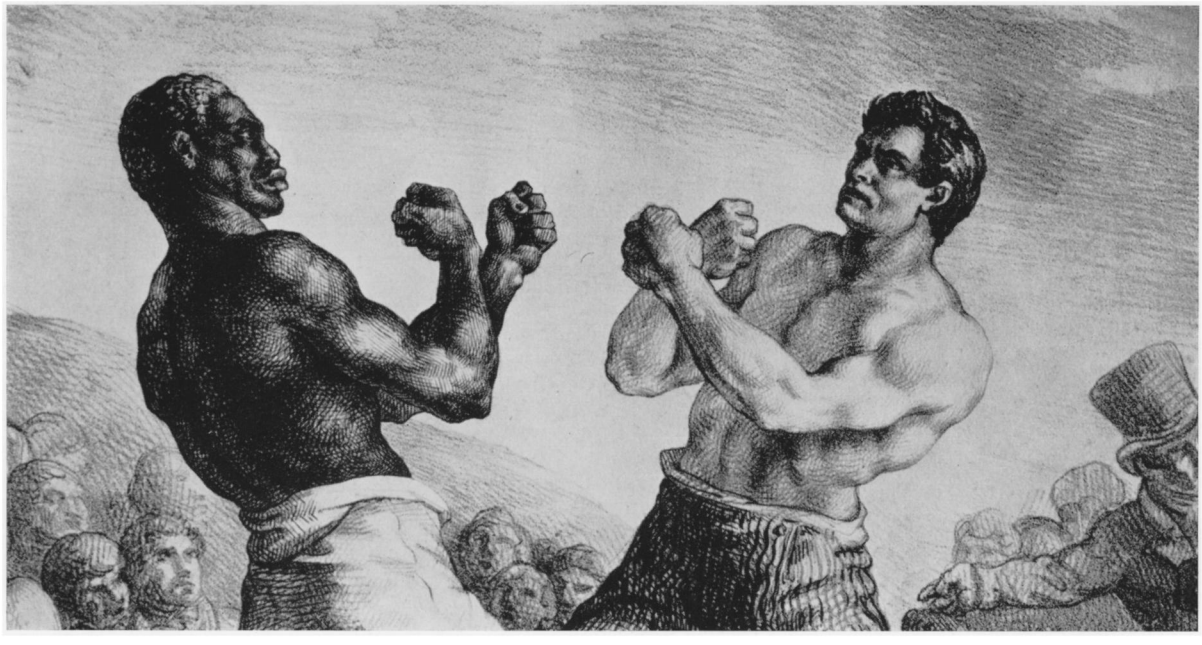


FIGURE 15 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THEODORE GÉRICAULT

Lithograph: Two Boxers, 1818 (detail)

FIGURE 16 PARIS, LOUVRE

Apollo Piombino
Graeco-Roman

Neither was Barye's copy of the second boxer facing to the left based upon the lithograph. It does not reproduce the mirror image, nor stress the Negroid facial features that seem so prominent an aspect of the lithograph but are quite undeveloped in Géricault's preliminary drawing on folio 10 recto (fig. 14), the actual source of Barye's image. With a very few swinging contour lines Barye captures the essential proportions, volumes, and gesture. Again, the intricate modeling of the back musculature is ignored.

A second leaf of boxer drawings by Barye (fig. 1)[13] not only furnishes further proof of his careful study of Géricault, but even contains visual ideas Barye will utilize in his bronze mythological group, entitled 'Theseus Combatting the Minotaur' (fig. 17).[14] Barye's copies of the two largest boxer motifs at the extreme left and right of this leaf, are based upon the Chicago album folio 13 recto (fig. 12). The tall, eyeless boxer at the left is an unmistakable copy. The back view of two grappling boxers at the right is also immediately identified as a copy, by the peculiar intertwining of the figures. Memories of antique combats of 'Herakles and Anteus' come to mind, as does their famous renaissance counterpart by Antonio Pollaiuolo.[15] Géricault's drawing conveys a sense of hesitancy, and an analytical interest in clarifying the complex relationship between two moving figures. Barye's copy of the Géricault group is more assured in its structural logic, and its abrupt contours create an assertive rhythm. It is precisely this Géricault boxer group that Barye chose to refine further in his bronze of 'Theseus Combatting the Minotaur' of about 1840 (fig. 17).

The widely braced legs of Géricault's losing boxer—the man held in a headlock—are adapted to Barye's victorious hero of Athens, in keeping with an established neo-classical convention of stance,

[13] Inv. no. 37.2060; pen on tracing paper, about 8 · 14 in. Purchased from Fabius Frères, Paris, 1949.

[14] Inv. no. 27.64; H. 17¾ in. Signed, BARYE. Yellow bronze with green varnish patina, mounted on a red marble base. Further proofs of this design are found in the Baltimore Museum of Art; the Brooklyn Museum of Art; the Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Yale University Art Museum, New Haven, Conn.; the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. See Benge, *Sculpture*, I, pp. 350–7, 547–9, and figs.

[15] Florence, Bargello. Illustrated in F. Russoli, *Scultura Italiana, il Rinascimento*, Milan, 1967, figs. 68, 69 and in numerous other sources.

FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ANTOINE-LOUIS BARYE

Theseus Combatting the Minotaur

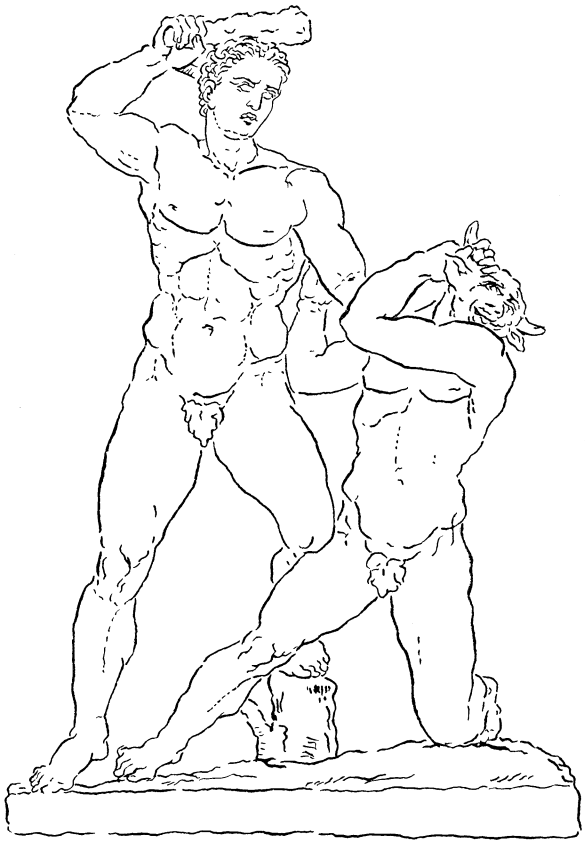


FIGURE 18 ROME, VILLA ALBANI

Theseus and the Minotaur
Greek, Hellenistic
(From Reinach, 'Statuaire', I, p. 484)

well known in the art of Flaxman and David.[16] The further of Géricault's boxers is simply turned toward Theseus and has been transformed into the Minotaur, face to face with his conquerer. The unlikely boulders that prop the Minotaur's bent right knee expediently fill the gap in Géricault's design. And the Minotaur's left leg hooks around the leg of Theseus just as is true of the boxer group. Implicit in the motif of the arm of Theseus drawn back before plunging home the sword, is the poised fist of Géricault's boxer about to land a blow. Barye retained the basic X pattern of long lines seen in the Géricault, but, with a didactic, moral intent, imparted to Theseus a stoical and quite 'Davidian' rigidity. By contrast, the monstrous Minotaur has a serpentine fluidity of gesture and a deliberately exaggerated condition of imbalance. Righteousness vanquishes the bestial, to use an appropriately academic reading.

Toward 1840 Barye began to draw more upon academically acceptable sources in art rather than nature. In fact, a distinct sense of artifice and of the histrionic pervades the bronze, despite the evident correctness of anatomy. Here Barye deliberately seeks the unreal, in radical contrast with his earlier predilection for a close scrutiny of the minutiae of nature. One important influence in his move away from realism was the small ancient bronze, in an archaic Greek style, called the 'Apollo Piombino' (fig. 16). This particular small bronze was added to the Louvre collection in 1834, and was thus an exciting recent acquisition, immediately accessible to Barye in Paris. The stylized hair of the Apollo is evidently the source of that on Barye's Theseus.[17] Barye adopted the braid-like form of the hair, but nonetheless omitted the tiny finial at its tip, as well as the beehive-like concentric ridges. The generalized, somewhat bald modeling of the Apollo, and its archaic rigidity, are also clearly related to the fixed, heroic stance—even woodenness—of Barye's Theseus.

[16] Barye's inherent sensitivity to forms miniature in scale suggests that he may have known this conventional stance from certain small bronzes of the victorious Herakles, as in the 'Herakles and Anteus' by Antico (ca. 1460–1528), now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; that by Francesco da Sant' Agata, sixteenth century, in Washington, D.C., National Gallery; and that by Stefano Maderno (1576–1636), in Dresden, Skulpturensammlung (all three illustrated in Hans R. Weihrauch, *Europäische Bronze-statuetten* 15–18. *Jahrhundert*, Braunschweig, 1967, figs. 136, 149, 299). A stark rigidity of stance was an alternative to the *figura serpentinata* for some sixteenth-century Italian sculptors. Two monumental works with this quality of style, probably known to Barye are Bandinelli's 'Herakles and Cacus', 1535, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, and Jacopo Sansovino's 'Neptune', Venice, Doge's Palace; illustrated in John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture, Text*, 1963, pls. 64, 113. The heroic men in Jacques-Louis David's 'Oath of the Horatii', 1784–85, surely known to Barye, assume the neoclassical variation of the stance, a widely used convention in this period. Even English versions of the posture were known to Barye in the art of John Flaxman. Barye's drawings after Flaxman's illustrations to Dante's *Divine Comedy* (see Benge, *Sculpture*, pp. 169–70, and fig. 398), record a regularized, neo-classical stylization of heroic musculature which served as a foil to Barye's verism, and influenced his Theseus group.

[17] For this observation I am indebted to Professor Robert L. Alexander.

It remains to be pointed out that Barye's composition is thus quite different from the traditional antique treatment of the subject. A major free-standing example of Hellenistic (or Roman?) date, in the Villa Albani at Rome (fig. 18), is typical of surviving antique versions. The wide separation of the two figures is, however, distinctly unlike Barye's closely entwined protagonists.[18] The governing compositional idea of the antique work is that of a one-sided relief, with the principal planes of both protagonists almost parallel and contained in the same shallow envelope of space. Both figures face the viewer rather than one another. Barye's composition is more closely compacted, and is not intended to be considered a neo-classical variation upon specific antique examples of this combat theme. It is a more thoroughly personal, and thus romantic, invention. There is even a fundamental distinction between Barye's group and the antique groups of the combat of 'Herakles and Anteus'—which initially seem a close analogy. As a free-standing example (fig. 19) formerly in the Smith Barry collection in England shows, Herakles and Anteus normally do not face one another in their combat, as do Barye's Theseus and the Minotaur. In fact, even Géricault's original drawing of the grappling boxers actually preserves this very antique convention of two protagonists turned in the same direction. Barye's major alteration of both the Géricault image and its antique prototypes was his preference for a face-to-face combat. Probably, Barye's choice represents the influence of a Roman relief of 'Herakles and Anteus', known to him in the Caylus collection of antiquities,[19] or of Antonio Pollaiuolo's well-known renaissance small bronze.

Thus the range of Barye's artistic sources for his Theseus group encompassed antique and renaissance sculpture, as well as drawings by a leading painter of his own romantic era. No doubt the intimacy of Géricault's drawings, their 'secret survival of the rococo',[20] and their energetic liveliness, captivated the sculptor who preferred to work on an intimate, almost goldsmith's scale, Antoine-Louis Barye.

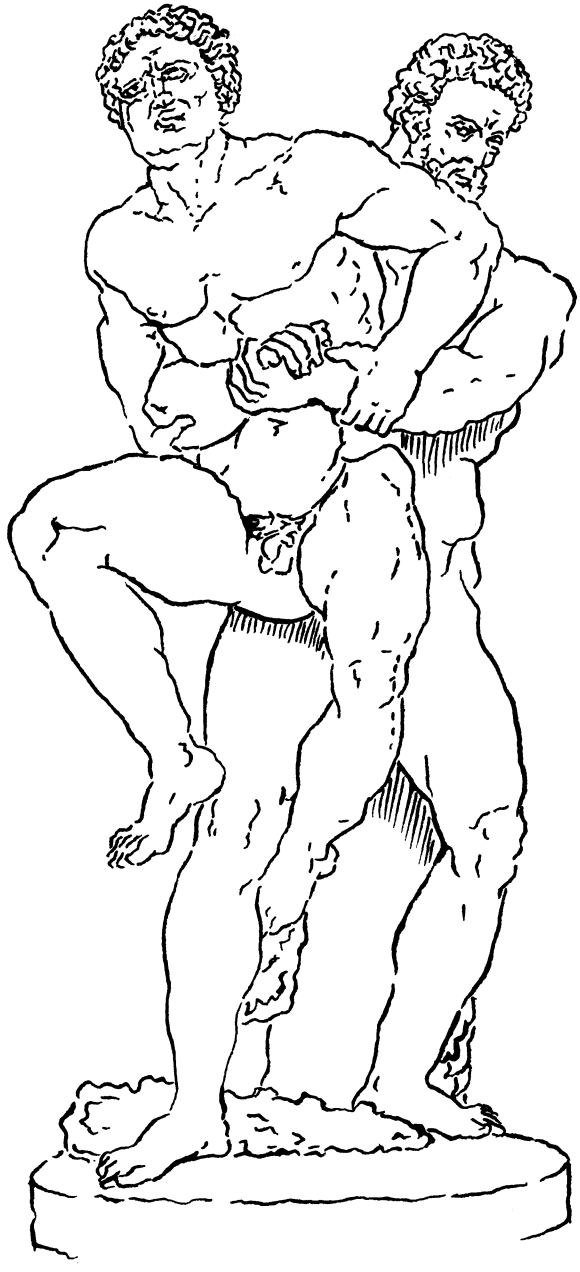


FIGURE 19 FORMERLY SMITH BARRY COLLECTION

Herakles and Anteus
Roman
(From Reinach, 'Statuaire', I, p. 477)

[18] A wide separation of the protagonists—a seated Theseus with the prostrate Minotaur at his feet—appears in the eminent Antonio Canova's version of the theme, dated 1781–82, possibly known to Barye through Quatremère de Quincy, *Canova et ses ouvrages*, Paris, 1834.

[19] Anne Claude Philippe, Comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités, égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines, et gauloises*, Paris, 1752–67, IV, pl. XCII; V.

[20] Eitner, *Géricault. An Album.* p. 15.

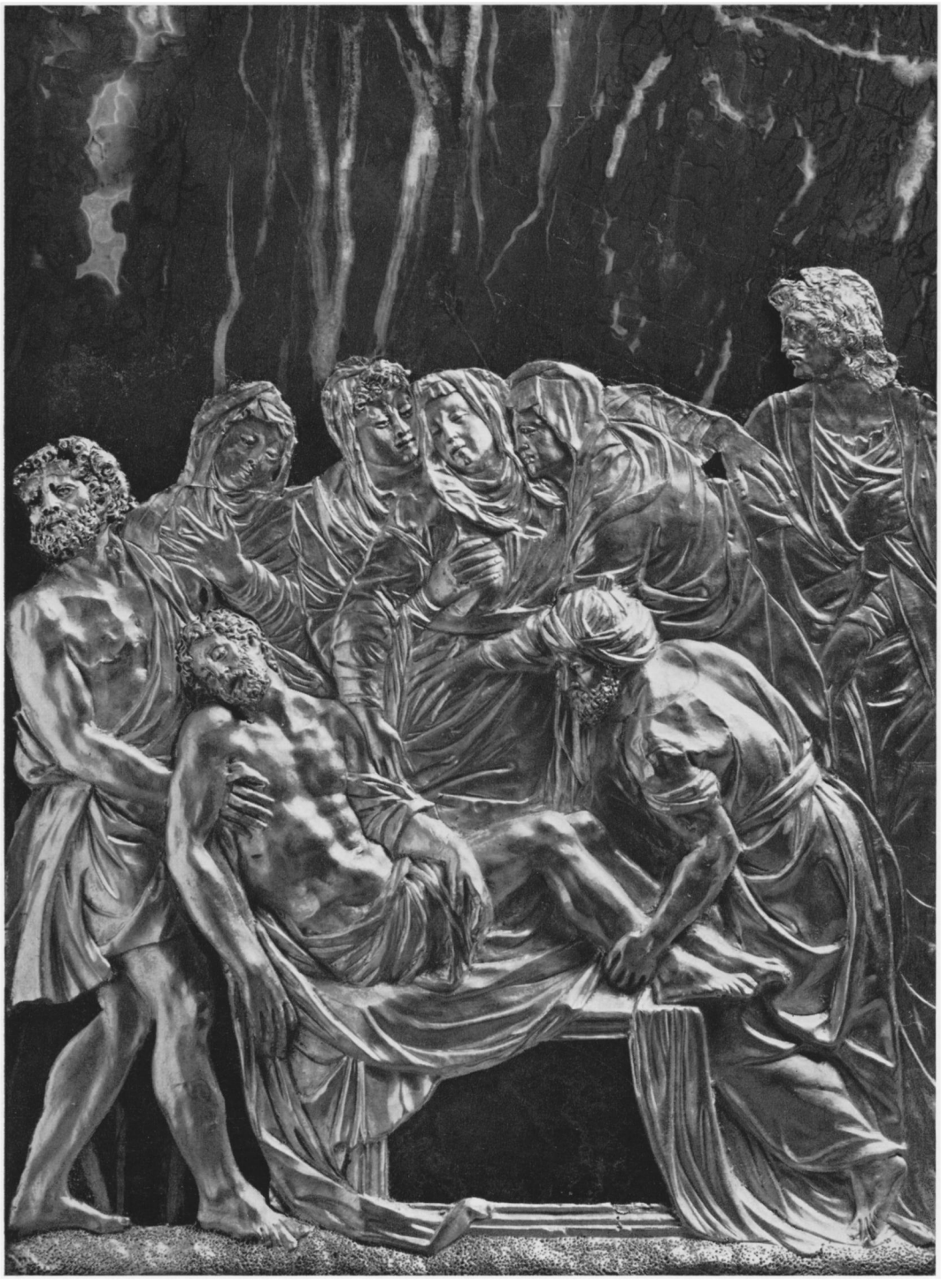


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Entombment (after Guglielmo della Porta)

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY GOLD RELIEF

By ANN GABHART
The Walters Art Gallery

The extensive production of works in finely wrought precious metal and stone which took place in Italy during the sixteenth century is well known, both from the surviving objects and documentary sources. In Florence, apart from Cellini's renowned creations, there come to mind the collaborations of Bilivert and the architect Buontalenti, who, as court artists under the patronage of the Medici, fashioned objects of such astonishing elegance as the famous lapis-lazuli vase now in the Museo degli Argenti. In Rome, the Farnese commissioned works by the best goldsmiths of the day. Manno Sbarri, the maker of the Farnese Casket, and Antonio Gentili, who presumably executed the silver-gilt cross and candlesticks in St. Peter's, seem to have frequently been entrusted with work for the leading ecclesiastical family in Rome. Recently some precious documentary discoveries have been made enabling us to link certain objects with the goldsmiths who fashioned them[1] and some welcome attributions have been suggested on the basis of style.[2] But even though we have the names of many of the hundreds of goldsmiths who were employed throughout Italy during the later sixteenth century,[3] most of the objects which survive remain anonymous, or are at best associated with the master who invented the design or made the original model. Such designs were highly prized, and often copied and re-used by many craftsmen. One such object in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1), a beautiful relief of the 'Entombment', is based upon the invention of one of the leading sculptors of the time. It was executed considerably later than the original design, but it can be suggested that the craftsman who made it is responsible for other works done in a similar style and technique.

The 'Entombment' is a gold *repoussé* relief set upon a ground of red agate, veined with opaque black and transparent grey, which serves as the background for the figures.[4] The striking combination of yellow gold and red stone is enriched by the moss agate sarcophagus, which itself projects perceptibly from the ground and thus increases the depth of the relief. As in the conventional tableau of the Entombment, the body of Christ is here shown over the winding sheet and sarcophagus, His shoulders held by Joseph of Arimathea and His feet by Nicodemus. Behind, the Virgin is supported by two holy women, while Mary Magdalene looks down toward Christ's feet, presumably in remembrance of her task of washing the feet of her Savior. At right, in profile, is St. John.

This impressive relief is an object of monumental proportion but modest size. The composition reflects the grand rhythms of art in Rome after Michelangelo, while its execution in precious

[1] Detlef Heikamp, 'Zur Geschichte der Uffizien-Tribuna und der Kunstschränke in Florenz und Deutschland', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVI, 1963, pp. 193–268; and Cristina Piacenti, *Il Museo degli Argenti*, Milan, 1968, especially no. 234.

[2] Werner Gramberg, 'Guglielmo della Porta, Coppe Fiammingo und Antonio Gentili da Faenza', *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen 5*, 1960, pp. 31–52; and Yvonne Hackenbroch, 'Jacopo Bilivert and the Rospigliosi Cup', *The Connoisseur*, November, 1969, pp. 175–81.

[3] See Costantino Bulgari, *Argentieri, Gemmari e Orafi d'Italia*, 3 vols., Rome [1958]; and Weiner Piroska, 'Un elenco di orafici romani del XVI secolo', *Acta Historiae Artium*, XI, 1965, pp. 265–73.

[4] Inv. no. 57.564. Plaque: 26.8×18.2 cm. Relief: 18.5×17 cm. Ex-Sambon collection. The relief is mounted by a resin adhesive upon a thin slab of slate which projects along part of the right edge and at the bottom. The red agate appears to extend only a short distance under the relief. The agate and slate are then backed by a larger piece of slate the same size as the whole. The relief seems to have been dropped at one time, resulting in damage to the heads of the two women at the left, and Joseph of Arimathea, and in the loss of a small section of agate in the area of Joseph's waist. The rather clumsy repairs are made with a thick red varnish.

FIGURE 2 LONDON, CIECHANOWIECKI COLLECTION

Entombment (after Guglielmo della Porta)

materials suggests a more rarified and less heroic taste. It is the most opulent version of a composition which exists in many plaquettes of various materials.[5] Two versions are reproduced here, one in gilt bronze (London, Andrew S. Ciechanowiecki collection, 16×12.6 cm) which includes an architectural background (fig. 2) and one in silver (Florence, Ulrich Middeldorf collection, 8.5× 6.7 cm) which consists of only the figures without a ground (fig. 3). For all the variations in materials and quality, the plaquettes exist primarily in two sizes, of which the Walters version is an example of the larger.[6]

Although the model for these plaquettes is not known, it has been almost universally agreed that the composition is based on the invention of Guglielmo della Porta. The association with Porta was first made in connection with the Walters version when it formed part of the Sambon collection.[7] In the catalogue of that collection the anonymous author attributes the relief to Porta and points out a comparison with an uncited drawing in Kassel. The drawing cannot be traced,[8] but in other drawings by Guglielmo della Porta the beginnings of this composition can be found. Two books of drawings now in Düsseldorf constitute a precious record from which it has been possible to reconstruct in good part his lost and unfinished projects.[9] In the series depicting the 'Descent from the Cross', studies for an altar for St. Peter's which was never made,[10] one can see the kind of composition on which this relief depends. These drawings are dated by Gramberg between 1555 and 1556.[11] A slightly later drawing of the same subject[12] which is reproduced here (fig. 4) is even closer to the Walters relief.

Turning to three-dimensional realizations of Guglielmo's inventions, either by his hand or under his supervision, one finds many pieces similar to the

FIGURE 3 FLORENCE, MIDDELDORF COLLECTION

Entombment (after Guglielmo della Porta)

gold 'Entombment'. One such work is the wax relief of the 'Crucifixion' in the Borghese Gallery in Rome[13] (fig. 5). The Walters relief is a shadowy reflection of the group which includes the swooning Virgin in the lower left of the wax relief. The design of the drapery is similar, even though the rope-like folds project much more in the high relief of the Roman work. In the Walters 'Entombment' the relief is lower and the drapery is conceived much more as a planar pattern.

[5] To those mentioned by Jacques Fischer (*Sculpture in Miniature: The Andrew S. Ciechanowiecki Collection of Gilt and Gold Medals and Plaquettes*, Houston Museum of Fine Arts, 1969–70, no. 437) can be added the following examples kindly communicated to me by Ulrich Middeldorf for whose customary generosity and advice I am very grateful: Florence, Lapiccirella (see *Antichità Viva*, V, no. 4, 1966, p. 63); Brussels, Jean Ohse (see Catalogue, *VI Foire des Antiquaires*, Brussels, 1961, ill.); Parapart Collection, 730; formerly New York, Paul Drey Gallery; Cambridge, Massachusetts, collection of Sydney Freedberg.

[6] See Fischer, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

[7] *Exposition de Sculpture. . . . organisée par M. Arthur Sambon*, Paris, 1928, no. 149, pl. XLIII.

[8] Dr. Lisa Oehler of the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, has kindly informed me that no such drawing is currently found in the collection.

[9] Werner Gramberg, *Die Düsseldorfer Skizzenbucher des Guglielmo della Porta*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1964.

[10] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 60; and Vasari-Milanesi VIII, p. 549.

[11] Gramberg, *Düsseldorfer Skizzenbucher*, vol. I, p. 61.

[12] Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, Skizzenheft II, p. 57, Inv. no. FP 6419. See Gramberg, *Düsseldorfer Skizzenbucher*, vol. I, cat. no. 96, p. 66.

[13] See Ulrich Middeldorf, 'Two Wax Reliefs by Guglielmo della Porta', *Art Bulletin*, XVII, 1935, pp. 90–7.

FIGURE 4 DÜSSELDORF, KUNSTMUSEUM

GUGLIELMO DELLA PORTA
Lamentation

While the design of the Walters relief can be considered to be based on the invention of Guglielmo della Porta, it is not possible to regard it as an autograph work. This is evident from a comparison with the relief of the 'Deposition' (fig. 6; Milan, Museo d'Arte Antica, 50×35 cm), presumably the only marble sculpture which he made after the sketches of 1555–56 developing the theme for the altar of St. Peter's.[14] In spite of the similarity in concept, this work with its swirling draperies and rich, minutely worked relief could hardly be by the same hand as the more static gold relief. In contrast, the latter appears far less imaginative in the working of the surfaces as is particularly evident, for example,

[14] Bronze versions of this relief exist in Ann Arbor (ex-Morgan collection. Soon to be published by Egon Verheyen in *The University of Michigan Museum of Art Bulletin*), and Berlin-Dahlem (ex-Figdor collection. See Gramberg *Düsseldorfer Skizzenbucher*, vol. I, p. 61). For a *carta pesta* version see Leo Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer der Renaissance* 1921, p. 637, and a wood version in *The Connoisseur*, CXXXVIII, September 1956, p. 76.

FIGURE 5

GUGLIELMO DELLA PORTA (*attributed to*)
Crucifixion

ROME, BORGHESE GALLERY

FIGURE 6 MILAN, MUSEO D'ARTE ANTICA

GUGLIELMO DELLA PORTA

Deposition from the Cross

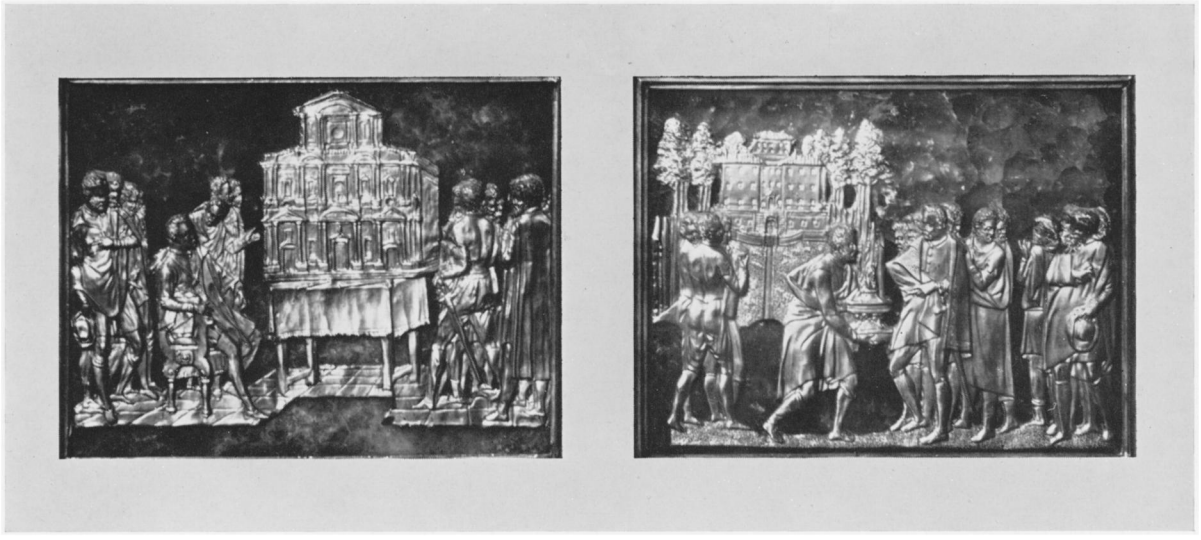


FIGURE 7 FLORENCE, MUSEO DEGLI ARGENTI

Acts of Francesco I (after Giovanni Bologna)

in the weakly articulated hands.

The 'Entombment' is nonetheless a handsome object, its static nature being less a matter of its quality than of its date. Even though the composition derives from the middle of the sixteenth century, the flat, academic rendering and cold opulence of the gold against the colored *pietra dura* bespeaks the court taste of the last quarter of the century, which preferred the use of precious and intractible materials combined in exotic, difficult, and often perverse ways. It is in fact very similar in taste and technique to the series of gold reliefs designed by Giambologna to be set into the Tempietto of Francesco I de' Medici. Two of them are reproduced here (fig. 7). Thanks to the discovery of documents by Detlef Heikamp,[15] we know that the reliefs, which depict scenes from the life of Francesco, were executed after Giambologna's wax *modelli* by the goldsmiths Antonio Susini and Cesare Targone in 1585.

These gold reliefs, some mounted on green jasper and some on amethyst, formed part of the decoration of the large ebony cabinet, or Tempietto, which was also set with an abundance of gold, precious, and semi-precious stones. This elaborate piece of furniture was designed by Buontalenti and placed in the center of the Tribuna of the Uffizi. Celebrated as a marvel while it existed (the last mention of it appears in 1769)[16] it held the most valued jewels and other small precious objects of the Medici collections. As Heikamp observes in his important article, the gold reliefs from this cabinet have considerable historical significance as they are the only record we have of the priority which Francesco himself gave to his acts of office. These decorations in miniature on the Prince's jewel cabinet thus assume the role formerly played by the great fresco cycles of the previous decades.

These dated reliefs, along with others which have been related to them stylistically,[17] further suggest the possibility that the 'Entombment' was produced near the same time. Another series, however, can be

[15] Heikamp, *op. cit.*, docs. 12 and 14, p. 247; doc. 32, p. 249.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 216.
[17] Two similar relief groups, holy figures in silver, unmounted and without background, are in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (Inv. Nr. 1959, 59–60). See the *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen 5*, 1960, pp. 175–6, ill.

FIGURE 8 BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

Battle of the Giants (after Guglielmo della Porta)

FIGURE 9 BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

Band of Satyrs (after Guglielmo della Porta)

FIGURE 10 BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

Dance of the Nymphs (after Guglielmo della Porta)

singled out as having even closer similarities to the Walters relief. Six works from this series are found in Berlin (figs. 8–10),[18] and one at the Metropolitan Museum in New York (fig. 11).[19] They too are executed in gold *repoussé*, placed upon a ground of lapis lazuli, and set with carnelians in the cartouches which accent the corners. The technique of the punching and details, such as the execution of the hair and cursory treatment of anatomical forms, find parallels in the Walters 'Entombment' and suggest that the same craftsman is responsible for all these works. The Berlin and New York reliefs are based on the series of bronze plaquettes representing scenes from Ovid, designed by Guglielmo della Porta and dated by Gramberg after 1585.[20] The terra-cotta models for these works were executed by one of Porta's chief assistants, Jacob Cobaert, called Coppé Fiammingo.[21]

A complete set of sixteen bronze reliefs, eight of which are oval and eight octagonal, is found in Vienna.[22] Of the gold reliefs which are based on them, only seven of the oval ones are known, missing the 'Hunt of the Calydonian Boar'. No gold versions of the octagonal plaquettes are recorded.

Unfortunately the author of this group of gold reliefs cannot be documented, even though those in the Ovid series have received the attention of several scholars. Those in Berlin were given by Bange to

[18] Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, Inv. no. 2909–2914. See E. F. Bange, *Die italienischen Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barok*, Pt. II, *Reliefs und Plaketten*, 1922, cat. nos. 8–13.

[19] Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1912, Inv. no. 12.135.5.

[20] *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen 5*, p. 47.

[21] Identified by Gramberg (*Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen 5*, pp. 42–3, ill. figs. 12–13, note 28) with two terra-cotta models in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[22] Leo Planiscig, *Die Estensische Kunstsammlung*, vol. I, 1919, pls. 19–26, cat. no. 395–410.

Benvenuto Cellini.[23] In 1939 John Goldsmith Phillips put forth a much more plausible attribution. He suggested that the author of the series, including the 'Banquet of the Gods' in the Metropolitan Museum, might be Antonio Gentili da Faenza.[24] His suggestion was accepted and enlarged upon by Gramberg.[25] Gentili, at one time a friend of Guglielmo della Porta[26] and one of the leading goldsmiths in Rome, still remains elusive in spite of the number of works attributed to him.[27] Phillips made his ingenious suggestion on the basis of the testimony in a famous trial taking place in 1609 in which Gentili was a primary defendant.[28] It seems that Guglielmo della Porta, who died in 1577, left a number of drawings, and models in wax and plaster to his third son, Teodoro, under the protection of Bastiano Torrigiani. In 1585 the Officio del Piombo was broken into and the contents stolen. In 1609 Teodoro instituted hearings regarding the theft of his inheritance. The main objects recorded as being stolen were the clay models for the Ovid series, a Descent from the Cross, and a tondo showing the gods with Jove in the middle. Copies of the latter two were found in Gentili's studio at the time of the trial. He claims to have received them from Fidias, the second son of Guglielmo.[29]

The interrogations in this trial reveal a fascinating picture of the workshop practices in Rome in the late sixteenth century and demonstrate how much the livelihood of these artisans depended upon their use of the designs of the more inventive masters. There is not, however, sufficient evidence in the record of the trial to suggest that Gentili is the author of the gold Ovid series. The clay models were stolen from the Officio del Piombo, but Gentili is never accused of having possessed them or produced any casts of them. The fate of another of the stolen models, however, can serve to show the near impossibility of securely attributing any given version to a particular craftsman. This is the 'Descent from the Cross', a copy of which was found in Gentili's possession. The clay model of this now lost work was by all testimony executed by Coppé Fiammingo, under the direct supervision and on the

FIGURE 11 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Banquet of the Gods (after Guglielmo della Porta)

design of Guglielmo himself.[30] Antonio Gentili testifies to having received from Fidias 'about 25 years ago' (i.e., 1584) black waxes of the 'Descent from the Cross' for which he paid nothing. He then had a form made from it under conditions of strictest secrecy (a good indication that he knew the model had been stolen). From this form he made three casts—two in wax and one in silver. Of the wax casts made by Gentili, one was bought by Jacomo Franczese, from which yet another form or *cavo di gesso* was made by Bastiano Marchini. Marchini in turn testifies to having made three wax impressions which he sold.

From this testimony alone we see the original clay model quickly multiplying into seven casts. Such proliferation of one model made it available to numbers of craftsmen. One hesitates then to attribute any of the works under discussion to Gentili or any other goldsmith on the basis of the trial records. The best that can be done is to associate those works which are similar enough stylistically to indicate their common authorship. One such group seems to be the Ovid series and the Walters 'Entombment'.

There are some indications as to the uses these gold reliefs may have served. We know that the Giambologna reliefs in gold were insets for the decoration of an important piece of furniture. The same purpose is suggested by the gold reliefs of the Ovid series, with their richly ornamented frames and precious materials. There is evidence, in fact, that Guglielmo himself had something of the kind in mind when he began the designs for the series. Referring to them several times in his letters, he mentions, for instance, in 1575 the '*sedici storie (greche) morali di argento et oro per adornamenti di tavole*'.[31]

The Walters relief, which was enframed in some manner, because of its religious subject matter most probably formed part of a private devotional object such as a small portable altar. If so, it would have taken a form similar, for example, to the painted altarpiece in a frame set with semi-precious materials, which was made by Jacopo Ligozzi, dated 1608, and is now at Oberlin.[32]

With growing scholarly interest in Italian art of the late sixteenth century, particularly the decorative arts, new documentary discoveries may reveal the name of this goldsmith who translates the designs of Guglielmo della Porta, and most probably other masters, into gold and semi-precious stone.

[23] Bange, *op. cit.* Two very different variants in silver of 'The Fall of the Giants' and 'Perseus and Phineas' exist in the Vatican. Eugène Plon (*Benvenuto Cellini*, Paris, 1883, p. 278) attributes them to Cellini.

[24] John Goldsmith Phillips, 'Guglielmo della Porta – His Ovid Plaquettes', *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XXXIV, 1939, pp. 148–51.

[25] *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen 5*, pp. 45–9.

[26] A. Bertolotti, 'Guglielmo della Porta, Scultore Milanese', *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, Anno II, Fasc. 3, Milan, 1875, p. 17 (later reprinted in A. Bertolotti, *Artisti Lombardi a Roma*, 1881).

[27] It seems, in fact, that the only work incontestably his is the gold bust for an antique head of an emperor in the Museo degli Argenti (Piacenti, *op. cit.*, cat. no. 234, and p. 14). The binding of the *Hours of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese*, M. 69 in the Morgan Library (Meta Harrsen, *Italian Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1953, no. 102) is attributed to him in an inventory of 1653. The silver-gilt cross and candlesticks in St. Peter's, Rome, were presumably commissioned of Gentili in 1578 by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, but this has been questioned by Wolfgang Lotz (*Art Bulletin*, XXXIII, 1951, pp. 260–2).

[28] Bertolotti, *op. cit.*

[29] Fidias was the bastard son of Guglielmo, and when the legitimate son, Teodoro, was born, he was disinherited. It seems that it was Fidias who broke into the Officio del Piombo and stole the models. See Gramberg, *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 5, p. 35.

[30] Neither the model nor the composition is known today. The Walters relief and other versions cannot be linked with it, even though the subject is very loosely referred to during the trial as a '*Descendente di Croce*' and a '*Pietà*'. The men testifying unfailingly refer to it as measuring about three *palmi*, which is 67.0266 cm (see A. Martini, *Manuale di Metrologia*, Turin, 1883, p. 596) while even the larger of the versions of the 'Entombment' measure only 25 cm.

[31] Gramberg, *Düsseldorfer Skizzenbucher*, vol. I, p. 108, no. 200.

[32] See *Florentine Art from American Collections*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1969, no. 2, ill.

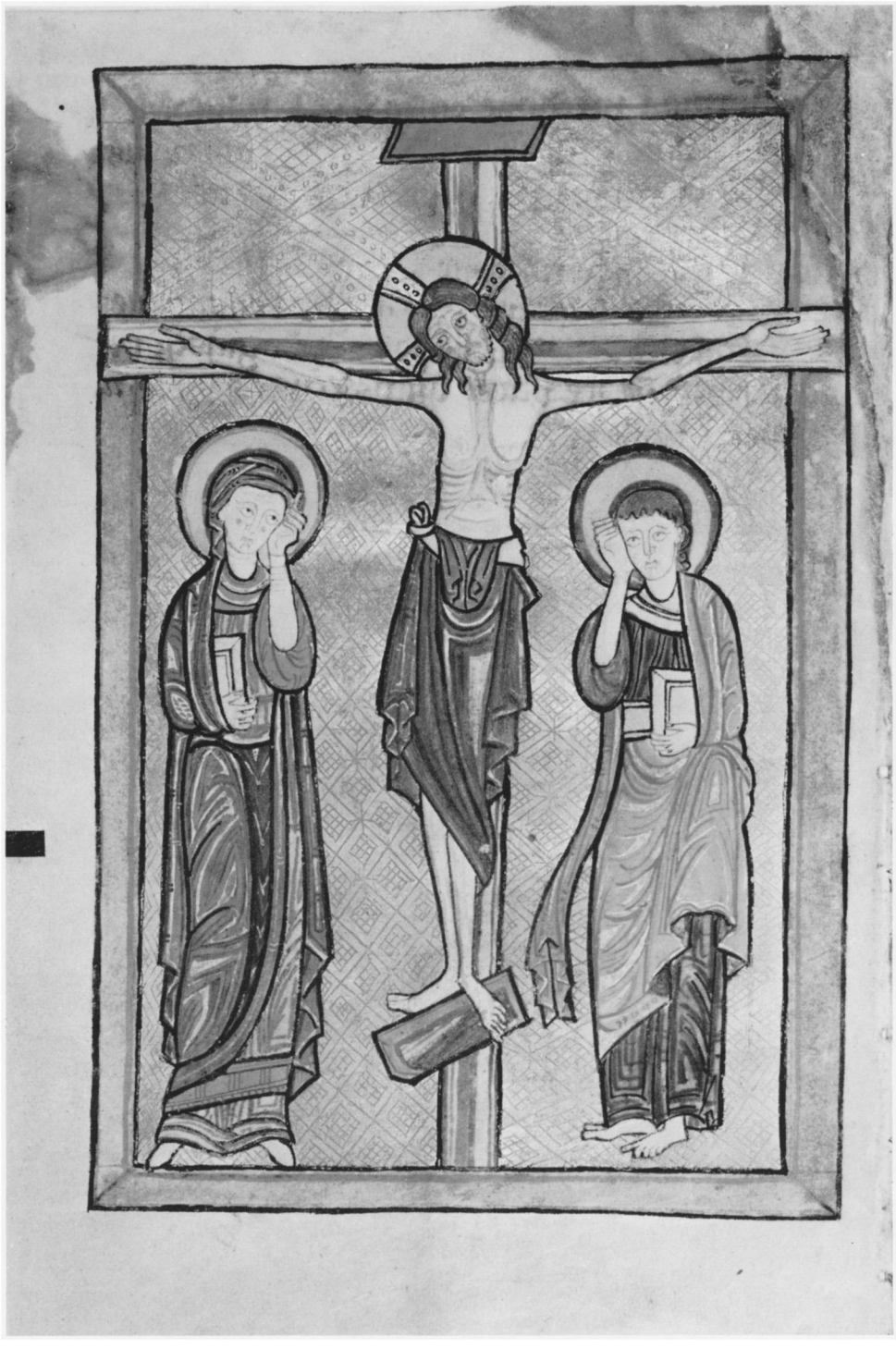


FIGURE 1 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Crucifixion
Sacramentary for Reims (*Ms. W. 28, fol. 6vo*)

SINCE DE RICCI – WESTERN ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS ACQUIRED SINCE 1934

A REPORT IN TWO PARTS: PART II

By DOROTHY MINER
The Walters Art Gallery

In the previous issue of the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* we reported on the manuscripts from the eastern Mediterranean region and central Europe dating from the tenth through the sixteenth century which were acquired for the collections since the publication in 1935 of Volume I of the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, by S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson. Included in that presentation were manuscripts from Lesser Armenia (Cilicia), Greece, Coptic Egypt, Germany, and Austria.

In this second and final portion of the report we will describe in a summary way the additions of manuscripts of the same period from France, Flanders, and Italy,[1] grouped by regions and in approximately their chronological order.

First we may record an acquisition which is actually a sequel to one of Henry Walters' own purchases. Around 1910 Mr. Walters acquired in Paris from the dealer Léon Gruel a fragmentary Sacramentary of the twelfth century (fig. 1).[2] The modern velvet binding enclosed only seventy-three leaves, which revealed considerable damage to the upper left corner of each leaf, although carefully repaired and reinforced.

When the distinguished German scholar, Professor Adolph Goldschmidt, together with a Baltimore medievalist, the late Charles Niver, visited the Walters Art Gallery in 1927 during the lifetime of Henry Walters, this Sacramentary was one of the first things that attracted their interest, because of its liturgical characteristics. In order to facilitate its investigation, Mr. Walters in 1930 authorized the temporary deposit of the manuscript in the Fogg Museum of Harvard University. The outcome of this was a most meticulous study by Dr. Niver.[3] His analysis of the text showed that the Sacramentary was for the use of Reims. The imperfect condition of the manuscript made it difficult to pronounce at once as to which of the several ecclesiastical establishments of Reims—the Cathedral and various monasteries—would have been the original destination of the codex. However, by virtue of the keen observation and very ingenious reasoning for which Dr. Niver was noted, he was able to demonstrate with certainty that the Sacramentary was made for the use of the Cathedral itself.

Other scholars in subsequent years became attracted to the manuscript because of its exceptional liturgical interest, notably Dom Anselm Strittmatter of St. Anselm's Abbey in Washington, D.C. The latter discovered that the fragment had the most unusual feature of including the hymn of the *Exultet*, normally peculiar to the Holy Saturday service,[4] in the ritual for Pentecost.[5] Another scholar, Dr. Percy Schramm, noted that the manu-

[1] As in the previous article, material later than the sixteenth century is not included.

[2] Ms. W. 28. Sacramentary for Reims, in Latin. North France, twelfth century. 73 vellum leaves, $8\frac{15}{16} \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ in. (0.227 × 0.141). S. De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1935–40, I, p. 775, no. 113; II, p. 2290. Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Baltimore, 1949, no. 22, pl. XIV.

[3] Charles Niver, 'A Twelfth-Century Sacramentary in the Walters Collection', *Speculum*, X, 1935, pp. 333–7, and illustrations.

[4] The service for Holy Saturday was among the missing texts in the codex as purchased by Mr. Walters, but it is included among the fragments since retrieved.

[5] Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B., 'The Pentecost Exultet of Reims and Besançon', *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene* (ed. D. Miner), Princeton, 1954, pp. 384–400.

script contained in abbreviated form an early 'West-Frankish' coronation formula.[6]

What was unknown to Dr. Niver at the time of his study—as indeed to Mr. Walters also—was the immediate history of the codex. The little volume had been acquired by Léon Gruel in 1909 at the Paris sale of manuscripts from the Château de Troussures.[7] In the sale catalogue it was erroneously described as a Pontifical, but correctly attributed to the use of Reims. The damaged condition of the leaves was duly mentioned, and the fact that the codex was imperfect at beginning and end. However, the book was then in a half-calf binding and comprised a total of 130 leaves. Evidently Mr. Gruel, anxious to prepare the book for the taste of a collector of illuminations, discarded fifty-seven of the most badly damaged leaves before repairing and trimming the rest and replacing the shabby binding with a more attractive velvet one. Not being a student of texts, the dealer rearranged the leaves so as to bring the two miniatures and other important illumination toward the front of the rebound codex.

Also unknown to Dr. Niver when he first investigated the manuscript was the fact that the great French scholar, Henri Omont, had demonstrated that our Sacramentary had at some date left Reims and that at least as early as around 1400 it belonged to the Cathedral of Beauvais, where it remained until the French Revolution. Omont became interested in the manuscripts of the Troussures collection in connection with a study he was making of the ancient chapter library of the Cathedral of Beauvais. The Château de Troussures was not far from Beauvais. Louis Le Caron at the beginning of the nineteenth century had assembled at the château a number of manuscripts formerly in the Beauvais chapter library that had been dislodged by the disorders of the French Revolution. Fourteen of these, including our Reims Sacramentary, he lent to the *Exposition Retrospective de Beauvais* in 1869. So M. Omont, in following up the location of the Beauvais manuscripts after the 1909 Troussures auction, learned from Léon Gruel that Henry Walters had acquired the Reims Sacramentary, and reported this in the study he published in 1916.[8]

In this study, moreover, M. Omont published earlier catalogues of the Beauvais Cathedral library, in three of which our manuscript can be identified. The oldest of these is a list drawn up early in the fifteenth century, between 1404 and 1417, when a new chapter library was being built. Under number 111 of this inventory, the codex was described as a *Benedictiones Episcopales* for the whole year because of the exceptional introduction of a benediction for each mass. In accordance with a good fifteenth-century library practice, the manuscript is identified among others of the same general textual type by the citation of the first words appearing on the second leaf and those at the top of the next to the last leaf.[9] This detail permits us to recognize the volume in the next inventory of books, drawn up in 1464, when the same *incipits* are specified. There the contents of the book, described as being written in a handsome ancient script on fine vellum, are analyzed more exactly as comprising all the prayers of the mass, both for the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*, and with a benediction for each mass. At that time the Sacramentary was in a binding of stamped leather.[10]

The chapter library at Beauvais, according to the sources cited by Omont, was well maintained and carefully supervised throughout the fifteenth century. By the second half of the sixteenth century, however, the administration was very careless. Borrowed books were not returned; other codices were sold. Learned visitors complained about the disorder and poor condition of the ancient manuscripts. Doubtless this disregard for the medieval texts went hand in hand with the growing importance and usefulness of the printed books belonging to the chapter.

A more sympathetic supervision of the old

[6] P. E. Schramm in *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, XVI, 1939, p. 282 (with some errors).

[7] *Manuscrits du VIIe au XVe siècle provenant de la bibliothèque du Château de Troussures—Première Partie* . . . [Hôtel Drouot], Paris, July 9, 1909, lot 14 and 2 pls.

[8] Henri Omont, 'Recherches sur la bibliothèque de l'église cathédrale de Beauvais', *Mémoires de l'Institute Nationale de France, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XL, 1916, pp. 1–93. The author, in listing the Walters manuscript on p. 80, simply takes his citation from the entry in the Troussures auction catalogue, describing it as a 'Pontificale' and as having 130 leaves. The mistaken title is one that goes back to the eighteenth-century inventory of the Cathedral library.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 40.

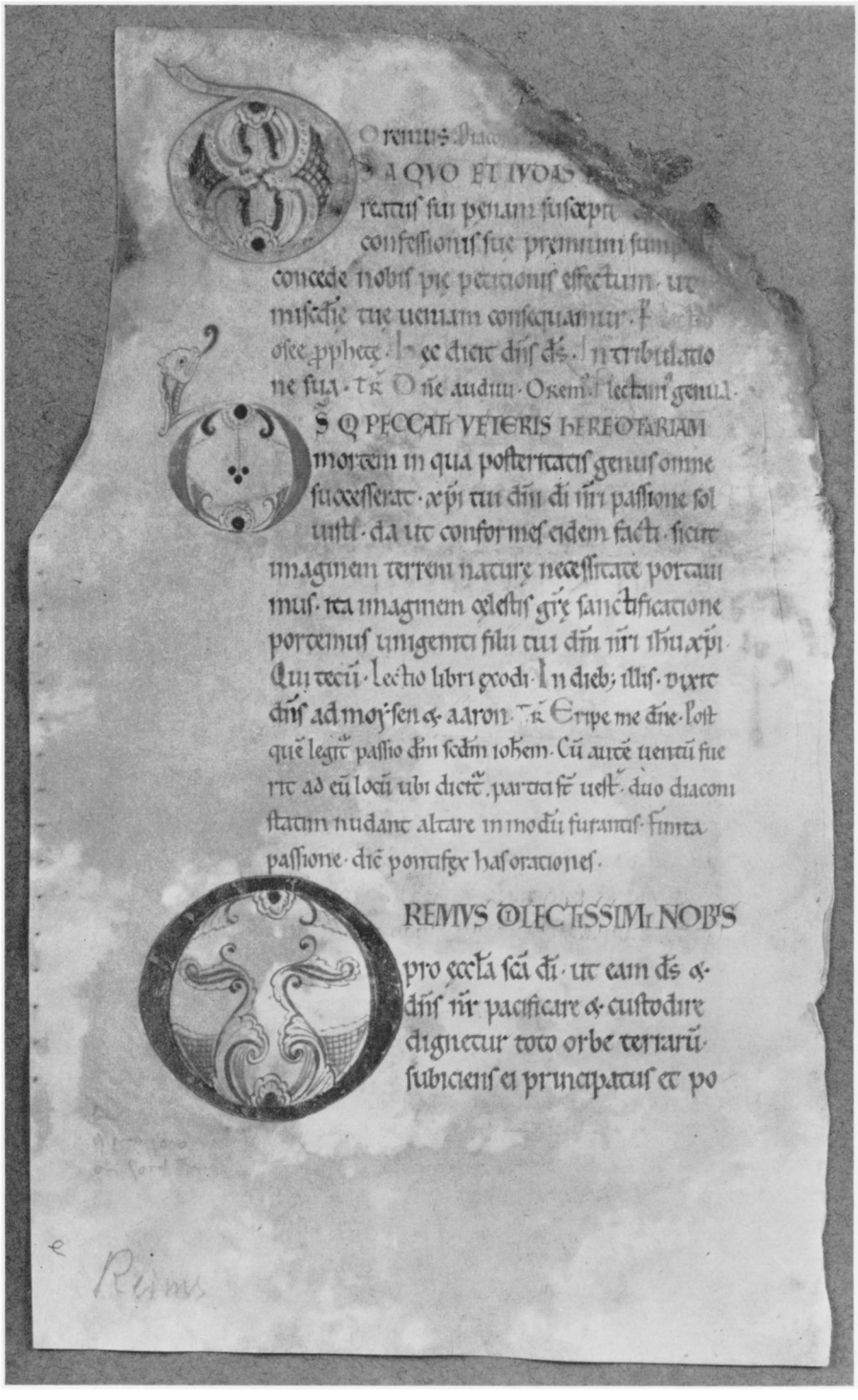


FIGURE 2 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Service for Good Friday
Fragment of Sacramentary for Reims (*Ms. W. 28 add.*)

manuscripts came briefly in the second half of the seventeenth century, when a couple of antiquarian librarians among the canons drew up inventories, put things in order and made the ancient codices available to the great historians of the time who came to pore over them. But things fell off again, and by 1723 a Benedictine visitor, Dom Vernenac, reported that the library was in a damp and dark place—a condition which certainly explains the kind of damage suffered by our manuscript.

By 1750 the canons had a final inventory of the library drawn up. In this we can recognize our volume, called a Pontifical of around the eleventh century for the use of the Church of Reims, and described as 'a manuscript on vellum without a binding and lacking both the beginning and end, in very bad condition, having suffered greatly from humidity and negligence'.[11]

So that is the last record of our little manuscript before it appeared in the Troussures auction and was sold to the dealer Gruel.

Realizing from the description in the Troussures sale catalogue that in 1909 the book, incomplete though it was, still retained nearly twice as many leaves as the rebound codex bought by Mr. Walters, we made repeated efforts to trace the fifty-seven missing fragments. The more the exceptional character of the text of this Sacramentary was brought to light by the various liturgical scholars who worked upon it, the more urgent it seemed to try to retrieve every scrap of the rest of the volume that we could.

On a visit to Paris in 1947, Mr. Douglas Gordon of Baltimore, knowing of our concern, visited Gruel's establishment in the rue Saint-Honoré to inquire about the missing leaves. Monsieur Gruel quite readily admitted that he had discarded a number '*qui n'étaient pas beaux*', but said that he no longer had any of them. So it appeared that our pursuit had come to a dead end.

Rumors of the quest, however, circulated in the Paris bookselling world. Three years later, during the summer of 1950, another Paris dealer, F. Roux-Devillas, wrote to inform us that his predecessor in business, Eggimann, had once acquired the rejected fragments of our Sacramentary from Gruel and sold them to a private collector. Having learned of our desire to locate the missing folios, M. Roux-Devillas had hunted up the present owner of thirty-seven of the leaves, who was willing to sell them. The negotiations were quickly concluded and by early September the precious fragments were in Baltimore. Pitifully crumpled, corroded by rot and rodents as they were, the thirty-seven scraps showed that they had been the object of careful study by a dedicated scholar. Bits of paper were affixed to the margins here and there, inscribed with identifications of the various feasts. Furthermore, clinging to these pages was a shabby eighteenth-century French binding—a cheap affair of cardboard sides with spine of coarsely tooled calf. This is obviously the binding described in the Troussures catalogue as '*demi-rel. basane*'. Dating as it does to the eighteenth century, it must have been supplied at Beauvais after the 1750 inventory called attention to the shameful condition of the unbound manuscript. An inscription on the flyleaf calls the book: '*Pontificale (ad usum Remensis ecclesiae). M. s. du XIe siècle ou environ . . .*', which is exactly the description given in the 1750 inventory.

Hardly had the scraps been accessioned when another message from Roux-Devillas announced that his client had turned up eight more leaves of the manuscript. Through the generosity of the President of the Board of Trustees, the late Philip B. Perlman, these were immediately acquired—leaving only twelve more leaves to be found in order to restore the full complement of the volume as owned by the Comte de Troussures.[12]

What we now have is a sheaf of leaves which can be arranged, with some gaps, in the order of service from the end of the Christmas day celebration to Easter week, through all the observances of Holy Saturday, and ending with the ritual of the priest's preparation to celebrate mass (figs. 2, 3). One or two leaves are still lacking before the text as acquired by Mr. Walters resumes the sequence of the *Temporale* or Proper of Time, beginning just before the Preface to the Canon of the Mass and extending through the twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost (the next-to-last Sunday in November), which is the end of the liturgical year. This is followed by the *Sanctorale*, or Proper of Saints, beginning with the

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

[12] Actually what was recovered numbered forty-six rather than forty-five fragments, counting a half-page in a slightly later hand. So possibly only eleven leaves are still missing from the book as it existed just prior to the French Revolution.

feast of St. Sylvester on December 31st, and breaking off abruptly with the feast of St. Afra (August 5th). This means that nearly half of the *Sanctorale* is missing from the end of the codex. The volume originally would have begun with the first Sunday in Advent (late November). Now that we have the additional forty-five or forty-six leaves, less than a month of the *Temporale* is missing at the front of the Sacramentary.

What happened to those introductory pages containing the ritual from Advent to Christmas, when the book lay neglected and unbound in some humid spot, is only too vividly witnessed by the piteous condition of the first leaves in the series regained in 1950. The entire top and upper corners, as well as the upper half of both margins, are rotted away, crumpled and darkly stained. As one proceeds through the series, an increasingly large proportion of the surface of the page survives intact—the erect, narrow script in light brown ink, punctuated by captions and even entire passages inscribed in red, the wide left margins embellished with handsome ornamental initials of varying size in red, blue, green, purple, and sometimes gold. Although the codex is not of large format, the design and proportions of the page are of the formality and dignity befitting a special book. In order to obliterate as much as possible of the evidence of decay, Gruel, in preparing the seventy-three leaves selected by him, trimmed away all disfigured edges and corners, skillfully filling the losses with new vellum. The trimming of the edges reduced the width of the refurbished pages by a quarter of an inch or even more, when compared to the newly retrieved leaves, where the outer edges of some pages still preserve the prickings to guide the rulings for the script. These prove to be exceptional in plan. The untrimmed outer edges show *two* vertical rows of pricking, staggered in spacing—so that one row was to serve as guide to the base of the lettering and the other guided the height of the risers. The actual ruling is invisible except in a very few places, where one can detect a most delicately placed line of lead. Apparently the construction lines were erased after use—a most unusual practice, and one which indicates once again that we have to do with a book of very special quality.

The liturgical individuality which first attracted attention to the portion of the Sacramentary acquired by Mr. Walters continues to distinguish the fragments now retrieved. Most notable are the very extensive rubrics which give detailed directions for the actions and movements of the archbishop. Many of the rites of Easter week take on the character of liturgical drama. The seven leaves setting forth the ritual for Maundy Thursday are so richly rubricated that the red instructions far outshine the brief passages of liturgical recitation. The culmination of this comes with the ancient ceremony of the washing of the feet of a group of indigent old men.[13] The present-day survival of this ritual specifies that there be twelve paupers, since the washing of their feet by the bishop commemorates the washing of the feet of the twelve apostles by Christ just before the Last Supper. In this Reims ceremony, the number of poor men to receive this Biblical hospitality is given as forty. The archbishop greets them and gives each a penny (*denarius*), some bread, and a measure of wine. When they emerge from the refectory after partaking of this refreshment, the archbishop, aided by the deacon, proceeds to wash the feet of the elders, while the latter all sing a hymn.[14]

When the two batches of leaves were received and sorted, it was at first hoped that they could be bound in proper place in a volume containing the other seventy-three leaves of the manuscript. However, the greatly damaged condition, as well as the fact that the major portion of the manuscript had not only been repaired at the corners and edges, but severely trimmed by Gruel, meant that the newly acquired fragments would no longer fit well into a common binding. Since their importance is documentary and liturgical, it was decided that they would best serve scholarship by being enclosed in proper order in a portfolio-case, after basic straightening of the surface. At the same time, the critical analysis of the correct sequence of all the surviving parts of this important Sacramentary, made with the expert help of Dom Strittmatter, gave us the occasion to rearrange the seventy-three leaves acquired by Henry

[13] Folios 28 verso to 30 of the additional leaves.

[14] Other aspects of the newly acquired leaves and their history were set forth by this writer in three issues of the *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, III, nos. 2, 3, 1950; no. 6, 1951. Complete bibliography is cited in W. Bond and C. U. Faye, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, New York, 1962, p. 198, nos. 565–6.

Walters and rebind them.[15]

The only miniatures in the Sacramentary are the two that Gruel included among the leaves he bound up for Mr. Walters: a *Majestas Domini* and a Crucifixion (fig. 1). The most elaborate initial illumination was included therein also: the initials for the Preface to the Canon of the Mass and the T introducing the Canon of the Mass itself. There is, however, throughout all of the leaves, including those recovered in 1950, a wealth of striking ornamental initials of more moderate size, many of which include polychrome penwork ornament and occasional lion-head terminals.

Dr. Niver, in his 1935 study of the Walters Sacramentary, was unable to find among manuscripts known to have been illuminated in Reims during the twelfth century any really close comparisons, so far as artistic characteristics were concerned. He found some resemblances in manuscripts from Saint-Amand (near Valenciennes) and from Saint-Vaast, Arras. Other scholars have proposed relationship to the production of other north French ateliers, such as Marchiennes or Anchin. However, the late Jean Porcher once pointed out in conversation that we know nothing about Reims illumination of the first half of the twelfth century. So, until a fairly precise date can be agreed upon, we may be following a false trail in attempts to pinpoint the place of execution. On the basis of the script, Dr. Niver—again very tentatively—proposed a date in the second half of the twelfth century, probably the third quarter. However, if one compares the script with the dated manuscripts illustrated on the plates of Delisle's *Cabinet des manuscrits*,[16] it is clear that the question can still bear investigation.

There are, in fact, despite the study already accorded the Walters Sacramentary, many questions yet to be answered: the more precise date and place of execution; the other liturgical peculiarities of the text, including the *benedictiones episcopales*; whether this obviously fine and special volume was prepared for a specific coronation;[17] how and when the manuscript went from Reims to Beauvais.

If one should propose that the volume was prepared for a specific coronation, only two come into possible consideration. The first would be that of Louis VII 'the Young', who was anointed at Reims by Pope Innocent II in 1131 at the age of ten as an associate of his father, but who actually became king in 1137, the same year that he married Eleanor of Aquitaine. Louis reigned until 1180, but in 1179 he in turn took his son, Philippe Auguste, as associate and had him consecrated at Reims on November 1st. The actual coronation of both monarchs was not at Reims, but at Bourges and Saint-Denis respectively. But the entire question as to whether the volume was prepared for a particular consecration awaits study. In passing, one may point to something which may, on further investigation, answer not only the question of date but the question as to how and when the manuscript was transferred to Beauvais.

One of the most distinguished owners of manuscripts bound in romanesque ornamented leather bindings was Prince Henry (ca. 1122–75), a younger son of Louis VI of France and brother of Louis VII.[18] He entered the church as a boy and, by the time of his father's death in 1137, the youth was abbot of seven monasteries. He later (1146) became a monk at Clairvaux under St. Bernard. In 1149 he was made bishop of Beauvais and in 1162 archbishop of Reims. He gave several books to Clairvaux, three of which still preserve their twelfth-century stamped leather bindings. One may speculate whether, after Henry became archbishop of Reims, he made a gift to his former chapter at Beauvais of a Sacramentary that set forth the ritual of his new see. We may recall that the Beauvais inventory of 1464 mentioned that the volume was '*couvert de cuir empraint*'. This special notice of the

[15] The work was done by James MacDonald Co. of New York, from November 1950 to February 1951.

[16] Leopold Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Imperiale* . . ., Paris, 1868–81, atlas, pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII: dated examples of the first half and middle of the twelfth century.

[17] The coronation formula, as Dom Strittmatter once remarked, is placed in the regular matter of the mass, not at the end among special additional rituals.

[18] G. D. Hobson, *English Binding before 1500*, Cambridge, 1929, pp. 7–12. The author places the Prince Henry bindings in the second half (i.e., third quarter) of the twelfth century, and considers that they were executed in northern France—an opinion which he revised in 1934 in his 'Further Notes on Romanesque Bindings', *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, n.s., XV, 1934, pp. 161–211, esp. pp. 166–73. He there concludes that the bindings were executed at Paris for Prince Henry, and that those covering glossed Biblical texts, etc., such as used in the Paris schools, would date perhaps as early as 1135.

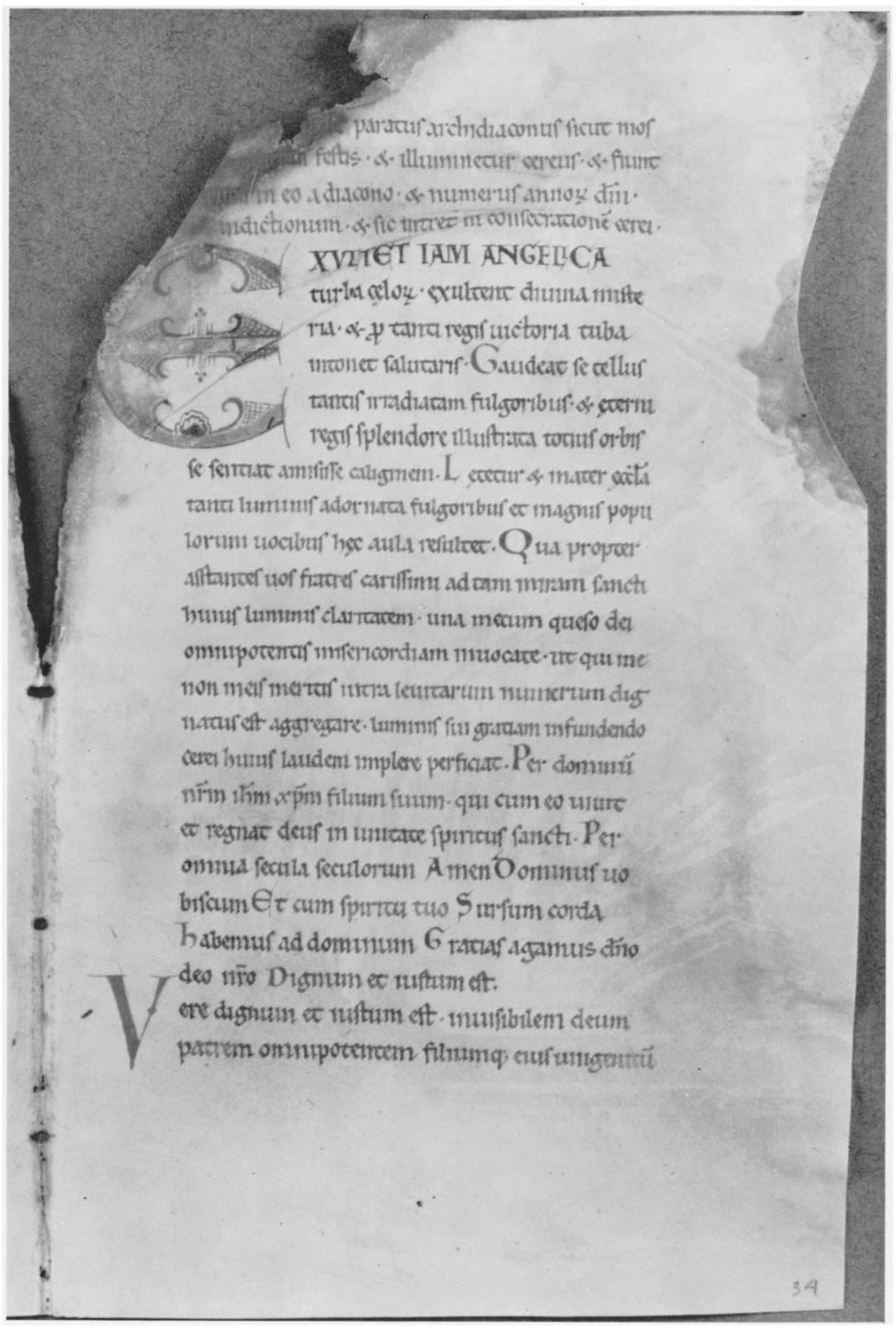


FIGURE 3 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Exultet Hymn for Holy Saturday
Fragment of Sacramentary for Reims (*Ms. W. 28 add.*)

binding might perhaps be due to an archaic character—possibly it was one of the bindings favored by Prince Henry, stunningly impressed with pictorial and ornamental stamps from finely engraved tools.[19] In 1464 this binding in the style of two centuries earlier would have been just as much an object of curiosity as the '*belle lettre ancien*' and '*belle estoffe*' of the contents. It may well have been the eventual disintegration of the romanesque binding that exposed the pages of the Sacramentary to decay. The newly acquired leaves, despite their corrosion, preserve the inner fold of several bifolia. By collating these with the shoddy eighteenth-century binding which covered the remains of the Sacramentary when acquired by Gruel, one can determine which of the sewing holes correspond to that covering. Only one other set of holes seems to exist in the fold—small and far apart, as in romanesque work. This circumstance is not, of course, conclusive, but it also does not detract from the hypothesis that through the fifteenth century, at least, the Sacramentary was in just such an ornamented leather binding as found favor with Prince Henry even before he became archbishop of Reims in 1162.

The next book to be described is a more recent addition to our manuscript collection. This is a large volume containing the *Decretum* of Gratian, which was acquired in London in December, 1968, at the first of the auctions of the Western manuscripts of the late Sir A. Chester Beatty.[20]

The *Decretum* is a handbook of canon law compiled between 1140 and 1150 by Gratian, a Camaldulensian monk of SS. Nabor and Felice in Bologna, where he taught canon law at the university. It is a systematic assemblage of the many previous collections of canon law, arranged conveniently by subject and embodied in a treatise on the field, which superseded all earlier compilations. When the edicts on a particular topic proved to be in conflict, Gratian set them all down and attempted to reconcile them—the original title of his work being, in fact, *Concordantia discordantium canonum:* 'Concordance of Discordant Canons'. The compilation immediately became the chief manual both for university teaching of church law and for practical use. Since in the Middle Ages church law regulated many areas of secular affairs, the *Decretum* had considerable importance in the life of the times. Even before the end of the twelfth century, a body of learned commentary had grown up around the *Decretum* and soon became a standard apparatus associated with the text in all copies of the treatise.

Our manuscript appears to be a relatively early example of the work, since it was originally written without any glosses at all. But a number of early readers have neatly inserted here and there in the margins and between the lines of the text brief glosses and comments. By virtue of script and decoration, the volume appears to be of the late twelfth century, possibly as early as 1180 or so. The scattered glosses are in hands of various dates, most being attributable to the thirteenth century. Another indication of the early stage of development represented by our manuscript is the fact that in Part III of the work, dealing with the consecration of churches and the celebration of mass, the last seven and one half leaves copied out by the original scribe exhibit a text which differs greatly from the usual one. A number of spaces in the script, sometimes running to several lines, have been left blank, as if the copyist could not decipher his model. This causes one to speculate whether he was, in fact, working from the author's autograph manuscript. In any case, the variation was noted at an early date, for the standard form of this part of the text has been copied out in a thirteenth-century hand on three leaves of a quaternion inserted at the end of the volume.[21] It is interesting to note that this thirteenth-century corrector did not cancel or otherwise mutilate the unusual text supplied by the original scribe, but simply indicated by a marginal note

[19] Hobson, *English Binding* . . ., pls. 12–15.

[20] *The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts: Part I. Catalogue of Thirty-seven Illuminated Manuscripts of the 9th to the 16th century. The Property of the late Sir A. Chester Beatty Sold by Order of the Executors* . . ., Sotheby & Co., London, December 3, 1968, lot 11, pl. 16.

Now Ms. W. 777. Gratian, *Decretum*, in Latin. South France (?), late twelfth century, 308 vellum leaves, $14\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$ in (0.360 × 0.247). In small early gothic script, brown ink; double columns, 48 to 50 lines, ruled in lead. Signatures of gatherings in roman numerals. 2 large miniatures and 39 illuminated initials. French eighteenth-century binding of green morocco gilt, over paste-board. Eric G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty—A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts* . . ., Oxford University Press, privately printed, 1927–1930, II, no. 46, pp. 7–12, pls. CVI–CVIII.

[21] The fourth leaf of this quaternion has been cancelled.

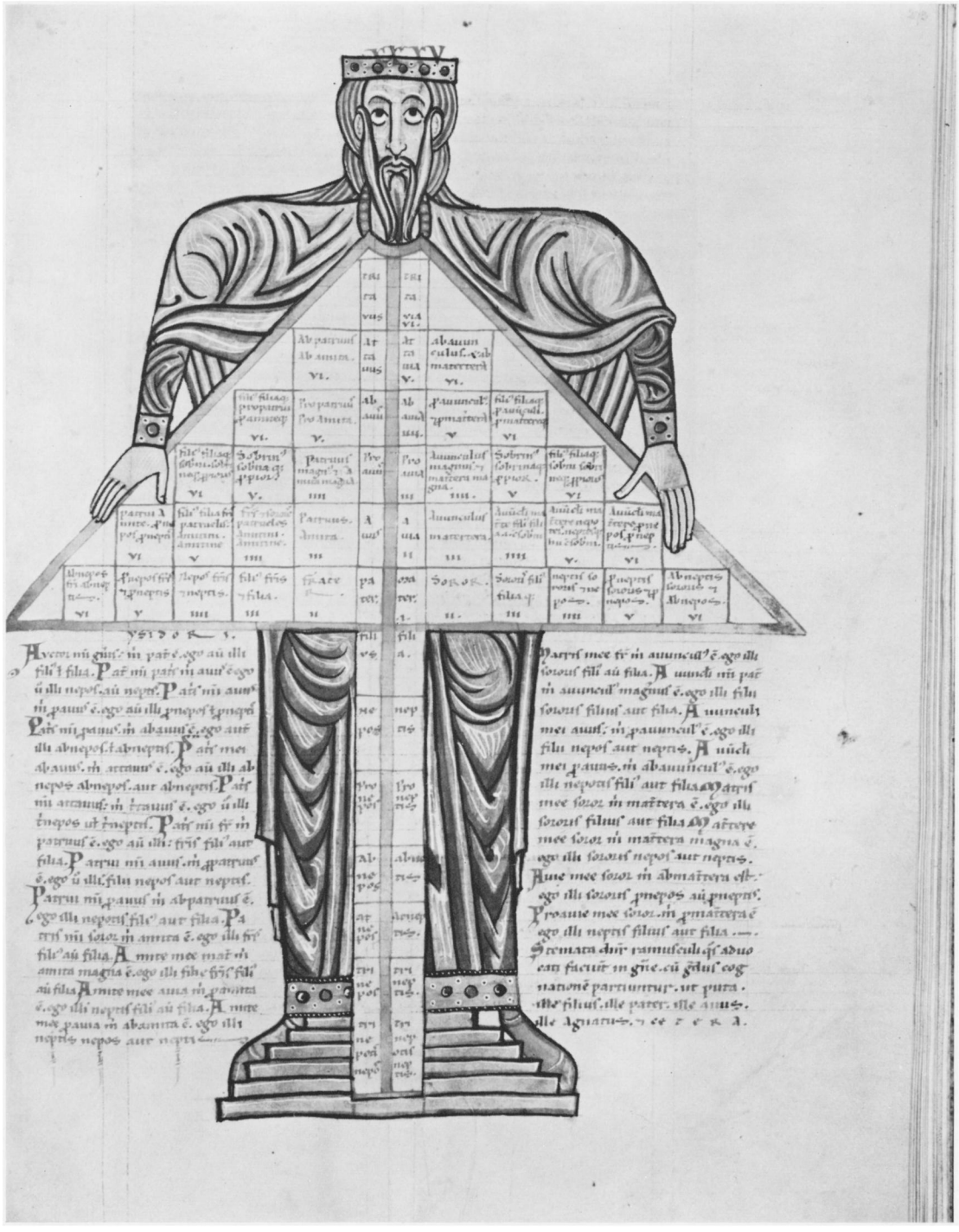


FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Tree of Consanguinity
'Decretum' of Gratian (Ms. W. 777, fol. 273)

FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Tree of Affinity
'Decretum' of Gratian (Ms. W. 777, fol. 305vo)

and a signal that the other version would be found at the end of the volume.

Artistically the manuscript is of notable interest. The decoration of the volume presents two distinct styles. As in nearly all early exemplars of the *Decretum*, the most impressive illustrations are those of the Tree of Consanguinity and the Tree of Affinity (figs. 4, 5). The former is a diagram of the degrees of relationship within a family (father, mother, son, daughter, grandson, granddaughter and descendants, sister, brother, and their offspring, grandparents and their ancestors, uncles, aunts, cousins). This schema, occurring on folio 273, is enlivened by being represented as held by the monumental figure of Adam, the first man—here represented in crown and regal robes (fig. 4). The second Tree, that of Affinity, on folio 305 verso, sets forth the degrees of relationship between the families of man and wife (fig. 5). This design shows the man holding the schema of his wife's relatives, while she grasps ropes which support the connections of her husband. Further removed degrees of relationship —the second *genus* and the third *genus*—are grasped by disconnected hands.

The pictorial presentation of these two 'Trees'—full-page in scale—is striking and monumental. Colors are bright but harmonious: rich reds and luminous blues, set off by accents of minium and ochre and strong black outlines. The locks of hair or the stylized folds of the garments are picked out with patterned highlights of white, as are the sallow faces. The long hair and beard of Adam are blue, that of the man and wife brown. A semi-oriental taste for richness in the jewelled headdress of the wife, the red-tiled background under the arch that frames the couple, and the polychrome masonry of the crenelated architecture caused Dr. Eric Millar to suggest a southern origin—either 'Spain, or at least some part of Southern France where Spanish influence could be found . . .'[22]

This impression is fortified by the aspect of the thirty-nine illuminated initials. Except for the handsome letter H at the beginning of Part I (fol. 2vo) which in style and color accords with the two large miniatures just discussed, the decorated initials are in a completely different style.[23] Instead of the robust romanesque monumentality of the Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity, the personages, animals and foliage which inhabit the letters introducing each of the thirty-six *Causae* or 'cases' and a few other openings display a charmingly primitive aspect—flat in design, light and naïve in outline. The figures are without volume, and the expressions of the faces amusingly glum. The color again suggests the taste of southern regions: red and green and ochre, a heavy blue, orange and minium are the chief tinctures, with considerable use of shell gold. It is the color, in fact, that gives the effect of vitality, since poses and gestures are listless and the delineation without strength. But it would be erroneous to describe these naïve designs as crude. Nothing is careless—the curves and circles of letter shapes or of foliage are precisely executed, the disposition of the color is instinctively effective, contrasting systems of dots enliven many areas. It is a vision which draws upon the heritage of Visigothic or Lombard art of four or five centuries earlier. One initial introducing *Causa* XXV, which begins '*Sancta Romana ecclesia* . . .', shows the foliage-formed S within an architectural frame having a marked Hispano-moresque character with its lozenge-shaped crenelations and hot coloring of orange, red, green and blue, set off by gold (fig. 6). The intention was, no doubt, to allude to the Holy Roman Church as an edifice.

This brings us to the question of the degree to which the historiated initials can be considered as illustrations to the adjacent text. Dr. Rosy Schilling, in her very perceptive article upon the fine series of historiated initials in a late twelfth-century Gratian formerly in the Dyson Perrins collection, referred to

[22] Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[23] Not infrequently in the early examples of the *Decretum* the historiated initials are by a different hand from the Consanguinity and Affinity pages—or often the initials have not been executed, either entirely or in part, as if the intention had been to have this part of the decoration inserted at the final destination of the manuscript. See Rosy Schilling, 'The *Decretum Gratiani* formerly in the C. W. Dyson Perrins Collection', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd series, XXVI, 1963, p. 36; also cf. M. R. James, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, 1912, no. 135. Plate LXXXV shows the McClean manuscript (tentatively attributed to Italy by James) to be rather similar in initial style to the Walters *Decretum*, although all are purely decorative, with only animal and foliate ornament. Seventeen of the intended initials have not been executed. I am grateful to Miss Phyllis Giles, Librarian of the Fitzwilliam Museum, for this information.

FIGURE 6 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Initial S
'Decretum' of Gratian (Ms. W. 777, fol. 212vo)

our manuscript as having no true illustrations, but 'initials with one or two figures, mainly busts.'[24] A glance at the accompanying reproductions will show that this statement is not entirely accurate. Mrs. Schilling, unable to have the Chester Beatty manuscript in her hands before preparing her article, was dependent upon published reproductions.

In her survey of this material, Mrs. Schilling distinguishes between types developed in northern France and in Italy in the historiated initials of the *Causae*, concluding that relatively few Italian manuscripts—or those of 'Italian type'—provide illustrations, while the north, i.e. France, 'coined its own types with little or no influence from the south'.[25] The northern examples, such as the former Dyson Perrins Gratian, developed scenes with an increasing interest in appropriate detail—a characteristic which was, certainly, further elaborated throughout the thirteenth century.[26] She finds that the 'Italian' manuscripts, insofar as they provide illustrations at all, tend to confine the pictures to busts or half-length figures.

An analysis of the new Walters *Decretum* suggests that it does, in fact, have some illustrations to the *Causae*—not highly developed in detail, to be sure—but simple and elemental allusions to the subject of the connected *Causa*. In our manuscript not only the text represents the *Decretum* development at an early stage, but the historiated initials as well.

Of the thirty-eight initials executed in this 'primitive' style, four are purely ornamental, one presents a design of animal and foliage, one employs an architectural motif (*Causa* XXV, as mentioned above), while the remaining thirty-two involve human figures. Of these only six present half-figures or busts.[27] The twenty-six other initials show either one or two personages, standing, seated, kneeling, recumbent, or disputing. Some of these are tall, some stunted, but nearly all by their vestments, sex, age, or attributes allude to the general subject of the respective 'case'. It is quite true that details are sparse, and there is a good deal of repetition of seated bishops or standing ones, of grizzled clerics with cowled cloak. Such historiations go no further than presenting the *dramatis personae* of the respective *Causae*—but one still must see in them the germ of an urge to illustrate. In other instances the illustrative function has been carried several

[24] Schilling, *op. cit.*, p. 34 and table on p. 30, no. 6. Although in this table grouped under 'Italian illuminations', Mrs. Schilling seems to mean by this term the origin of the *type* of the illustrations, not their style nor necessarily the place of execution. In fact, she appears to agree with Dr. Millar's suggestion of Spain or southern France as the probable region of execution of this former Chester Beatty *Decretum*, which is now our manuscript, *ibid.*, p. 33, note 1.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 33 f.

[26] Dr. A. Melnikas has in preparation a corpus of the illustrations to the *Decretum*; see *Studia Gratiana*, XII (*Collectanea Stephan Kuttner*, II), 1967, pp. 327–8.

[27] *Causa* X (fol. 121), XI (fol. 124), XII (fol. 133vo), XIII (fol. 143vo), XIV (fol. 148), XVI (fol. 155).

steps further. *Causa* VII concerns the case of a bishop who was gravely ill for a long time and requested a substitute to perform his duties, to which the pope agreed. When he recovered, he found that the substitute had been officially installed in his place. The base of the initial L consists of the supine form of the ailing bishop, wrapped in blankets and resting on a low bed. Over him towers the 'substitute' in episcopal vestments, his swarthy face contrasting with the pale countenance of the invalid (fig. 7). From the point of view of illustration, this certainly is not a 'scene'—such as we find in a thirteenth-century example (fig. 8), but it presents with the strictest economy the essence of the situation.

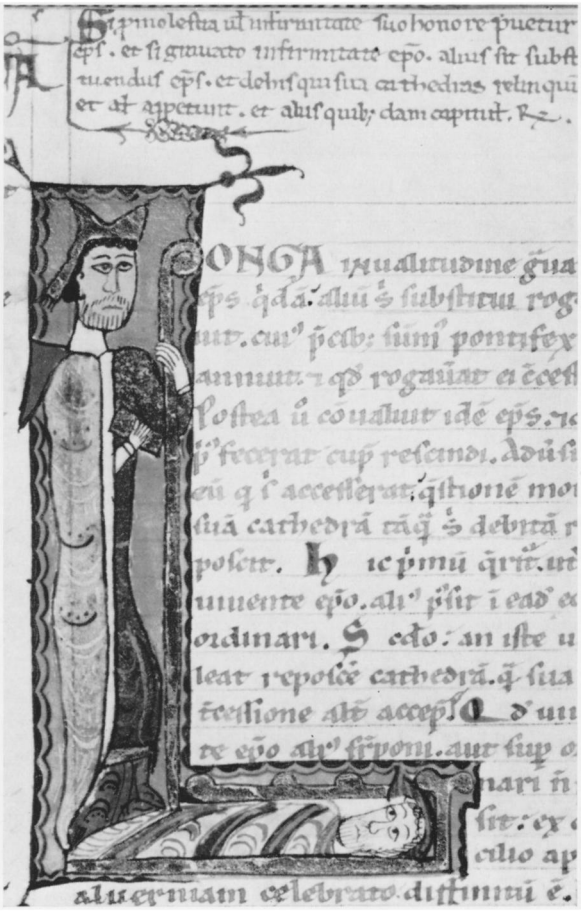


FIGURE 7 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Ailing Bishop and Successor: Initial L
'Decretum' of Gratian (Ms. W. 777, fol. 111)

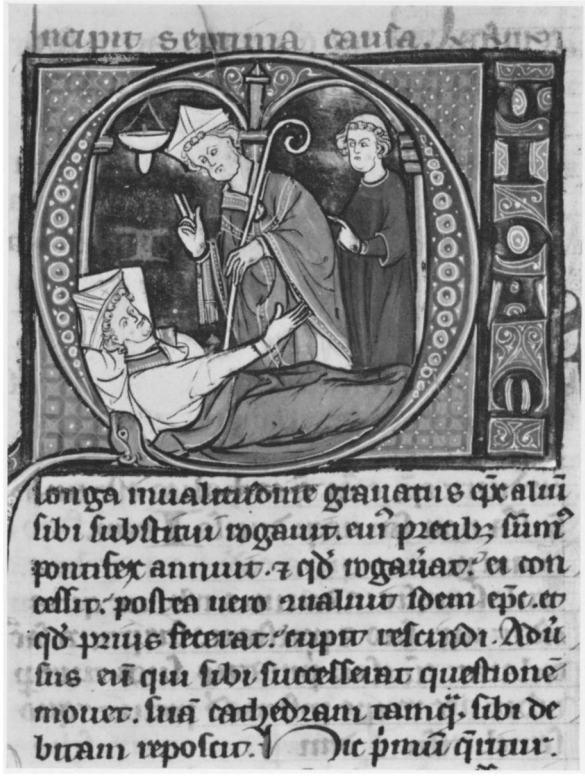


FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Ailing Bishop and Successor: Initial Q
'Decretum' of Gratian (Ms. W. 133, fol. 137)

In even more elemental form is the historiation for *Causa* XXXIV, concerning a man held in captivity for a long time. His wife, having heard that he died, marries another. The prisoner, finally having regained his freedom, returns home seeking his wife, to find that she is happily married—the old Enoch Arden situation. The artist of the initial has simply represented the woe-begone captive lying on the ground in chains. For *Causa* VI, concerning two fornicators who accuse a very religious bishop of simony, we see simply the bishop and one of the accusers engaged in an exchange of charge and countercharge. The case (*Causa* XXVI) of the priest who refused to give up the practice of astrology at the order of his bishop, being therefore excommunicated, is represented by a seated bishop admonishing the reprobate, a tonsured cleric who kneels in supplication. The man and wife, who parted because she would not follow him when he

FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Disputing Man and Wife: Initial V
'Decretum' of Gratian (Ms. W. 777, fol. 227vo)

was converted to Christianity, are shown in the full vigor of disagreement at the beginning of *Causa* XXVIII (fig. 9).

These examples are enough to suggest that a desire to illustrate, although at an incipient stage, does in fact exist in the manuscript.

The problems of determining the exact place of origin of our *Decretum* are complex, and the solution must await further comparative study. We know that in the thirteenth century the manuscript belonged to the monastery of Sainte-Marie de Cîteaux, the mother-house of the Cistercian order, for in three places[28] appears the large, carefully inscribed *ex-libris* of the monastery: *Liber Cistercii.* Furthermore, a note on folio 269 verso records that Abbot Boneface of Cîteaux (who ruled from 1244 to 1257) lent the manuscript to his nephew, Benedict, a canon of Ivrea in Piedmont in northern Italy. It is possible that some of the glosses were inserted during the sojourn of the codex in this region, for Eric Millar detected an Italian flavor to most of them.[29]

The manuscript could not, however, be a product of the scriptorium at Cîteaux. Neither the illumination nor the writing resembles the chaste, monumental aspect of the folio volumes produced at Cîteaux during the second half of the twelfth century, after the Cistercian statutes completed in 1152 prohibited painting and precious metals in church arts. Nor does the vellum resemble the white, opaque, suede-like vellum of Cîteaux books. The leaves of our book are of polished skin, yellow on the hair side, scraped quite thin so that there is a tendency to curl, and, although carefully prepared, revealing on some of the leaves the roots of the dark fur of the animal. It is the kind of vellum we find in Italian or Spanish manuscripts—which again accords with the characteristics of the illumination. Whether executed in Spain or in southern France or in Italy remains to be decided.

A large number of the twelfth and thirteenth-century examples of the *Decretum* prove to have connections with Cistercian houses, for the Cistercians had a particular interest in the work, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux was a personal friend of Gratian. The emphasis placed by the *Decretum*, particularly in Part I, *Distinctiones*, upon the division of civil and ecclesiastical authority gave impetus to the influence of the work, especially in France during the second half of the twelfth century—not only on administrative philosophy but on iconography as well.[30]

The subsequent history of our manuscript is a blank for about five hundred years. Eric Millar was unable to identify it in the catalogue of Cîteaux manuscripts drawn up in 1480.[31] He suggested that possibly it never was returned after the loan to Ivrea—but I think that this can be shown to be unlikely. Our next record of this codex is in 1825 when it appeared in one of the sales of the library of Count de MacCarthy-Reagh of Toulouse.[32] It was

[28] On the lower margins of folios 1, 165, 308.
[29] Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[30] For a summary of this aspect of the influence of the *Decretum* see the interesting article by Walter Cahn, 'The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXII, 1969, pp. 55–72 and especially pp. 67–71.
[31] Millar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[32] MacCarthy sale, London, Evans, May 27, 1825, lot 865, bought by the dealer, Thorpe. MacCarthy (1744–1811) formed an extensive library of manuscripts and early printed books of which there were several sales in Paris and London from 1779 onward.

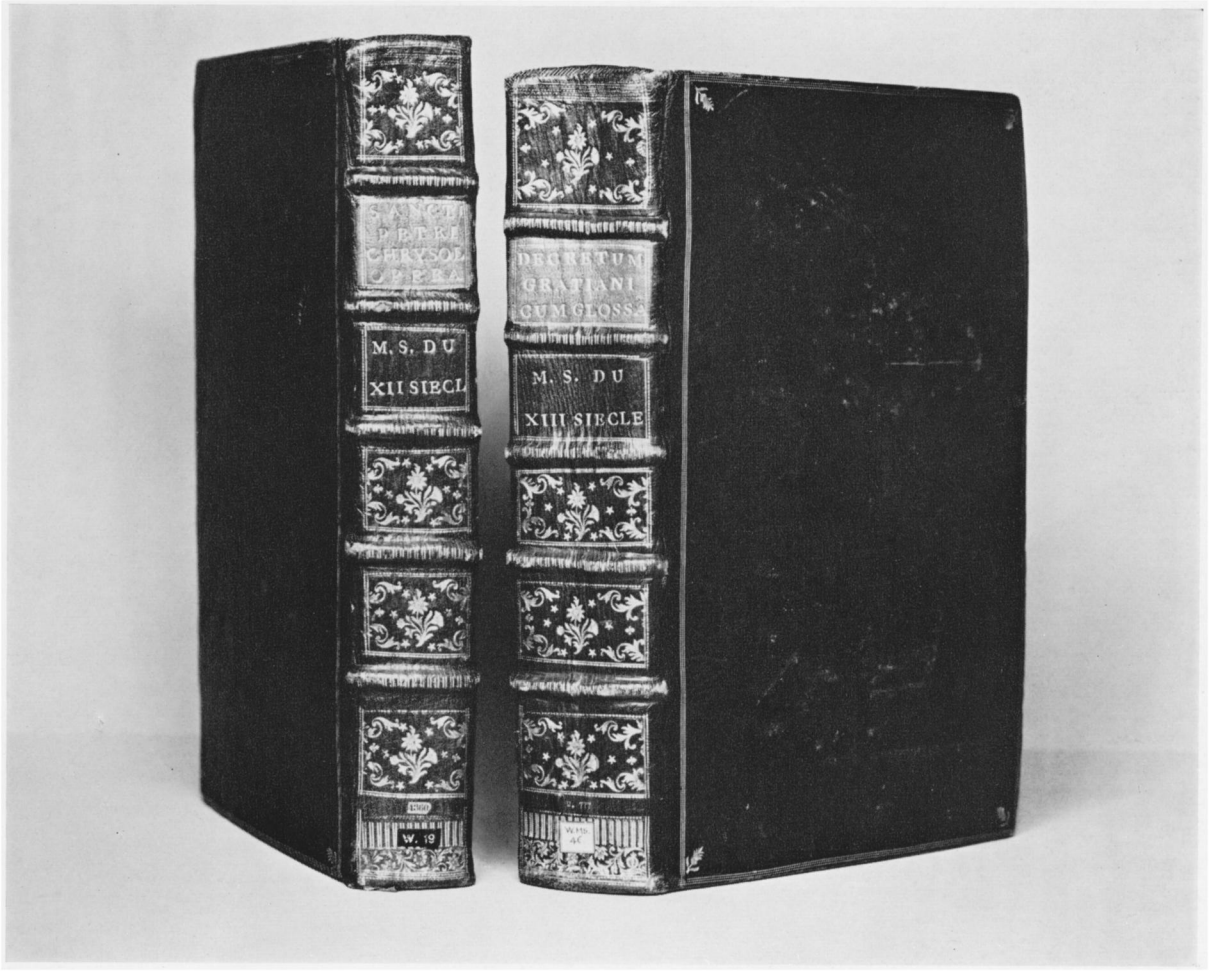


FIGURE 10 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Eighteenth-century Green Morocco Bindings
(On Mss. W. 19 and W. 777)

proposed by Dr. Millar that the handsome eighteenth-century gold-tooled green morocco binding—which he attributed to Derôme—was furnished when the book was in the MacCarthy library, but we shall discuss this later. In 1825, or soon afterward, the manuscript entered the enormous collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Middle Hill, in Worcestershire,[33] where it was numbered Ms. 1036. In that collection it remained for a century, until on November 11, 1925, Mrs. A. Chester Beatty paid a visit to the library, then housed at Cheltenham, and selected eight fine manuscripts, including this one, as a surprise for her husband at the following Christmas.[34]

When the manuscript reached the Walters Art Gallery after the Chester Beatty auction in December, 1968, it was immediately noticed that the rich

[33] For a brief summary of the nature and history of the manuscript collections of Sir Thomas Phillipps, see Part I of this survey, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIX–XXX, 1966–67, p. 75.

[34] A. N. L. Munby, *Phillipps Studies*, V, Cambridge, 1960, p. 74.

eighteenth-century green morocco binding with its citron label and gold-tooled spine was the twin of one already upon our shelves (fig. 10). This is the binding upon our Ms. W. 19, a collection of one hundred and seventy-five of the sermons of St. Petrus Chrysologus, a fifth-century bishop of Ravenna.[35] This folio manuscript also belonged to Cîteaux, as shown by the inscription on folio one in large lettering: *Liber Sce Marie Cistercii.* Furthermore, it was actually copied out at that monastery in the twelfth century, for at the end of the text the original rubricator has set below his *explicit* the words: *Liber Sancte Marie Cistercii.* The volume is, in fact, a characteristic example of the work of the Cîteaux scriptorium in the second half of the twelfth century: large and bold in script, embellished by initials of varying size ornamented with foliage or simply with curvaceous designs. These are in green and blue or red, or more subtle shades of mauve or greenish ochre. But they live up to the restrictions placed upon manuscript illumination by the Cistercian statutes completed in 1152, for no more than a single color is used in any one initial.

The bindings on the *Decretum* and W. 19 are alike in every respect—in leather, tools, details of the pattern, headbands, gilding of the edges, the thick but rather soft pasteboard of the covers and the rosy mottled paste-paper of the lining. It certainly is not the kind of a binding provided by a monastery. However, in W. 19, on the verso of the free endpaper is pencilled the inscription of the Revolutionary authorities: *Le 20 prairial l'an 3* (June 8, 1795) under the letters *moo.* No such inscription now appears in the Gratian, although there are traces of various erasures, so it may have existed. In any case, the bindings demonstrate that both the Gratian and the Chrysologus were together shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, but they suggest that both manuscripts had somehow left Cîteaux and entered private ownership by that time. It would have been, then, their aristocratic owner whose property was seized by the Revolutionary tribunal.

An interesting confirmation of this hypothesis has been produced by Dr. A. J. Dunston of the University of Sydney in Australia.[36] In tracing an important Romulus and Pliny manuscript that had been seen at Saint-Bénigne, Dijon, by a seventeenth-century scholar, he noted that a section of that

FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Decorated Initial P (enlarged)
Haymo, 'On the Pauline Epistles' (Ms. W. 778, fol. 17vo)

manuscript, identified by him as being Burney Manuscript 59 in the British Museum, has a binding very similar to that on Ms. W. 19. Furthermore, another manuscript in the British Museum also coming from Saint-Bénigne de Dijon, Egerton 3055, is in a very similar binding except that the covers are enriched with a dentelle border, instead of a triple fillet of gold lines. The Egerton manuscript, however, like W. 19, also shows the pencilled inscription of the Revolutionary tribunal under the letters *pio* at the upper right-hand corner of the verso of the paper flyleaf: *Le 30 prairial l'an 3* (June 18, 1795). Furthermore, on this same leaf are the words: *Rue de Condé No. 4.* Dr. Dunston states that there was a commercial street of this name in Dijon until the

[35] De Ricci and Wilson, *op. cit.*, I, p. 823, no. 396. Around 1830 it was sold by De Bure to Sir Thomas Phillipps, who, in describing it under no. 4360 of his catalogue, stated that it came from the MacCarthy library. It has not been possible to trace it in the various MacCarthy sale catalogues. It was sold at an auction of Phillipps manuscripts in London, Sotheby's, June 15–18, 1908, lot 606, to the dealer Leighton. The exact date of its acquisition by Henry Walters is not known.

[36] A. J. Dunston, 'The Romulus-Pliny from St. Bénigne's Abbey at Dijon Recovered in Manuscripts Burney 59 and Hamilton 517', *Scriptorium*, VII, 1953, pp. 210–18.

time of the Revolution.

Cîteaux is only about thirteen miles from Dijon—so the possibility of certain manuscripts straying from local monasteries into the hands of a Dijon bibliophile is a likely one. The Egerton manuscript, as well as W. 19 and the *Decretum*—and probably the Burney manuscript as well—all passed through the hands of Count de MacCarthy-Reagh and Sir Thomas Phillipps. However, the eighteenth-century green morocco bindings appear to be too early to have been executed for MacCarthy. We may, therefore, have to do with a group of books acquired by him from a single source.

Only slightly over a year ago another Cistercian manuscript was added to our collection, again from one of the Chester Beatty sales.[37] It is the second part of a commentary upon the Epistles of St. Paul, composed by a certain Haymo, now generally believed to be not the ninth-century bishop of Halberstadt, but a contemporary namesake who was a monk at Saint-Germain of Auxerre and died around 855.

This codex does not come from Cîteaux, but from Pontigny, one of the daughter houses founded from there as the result of the energy of St. Bernard. Pontigny, established in 1114 not far from Auxerre, was the haven sought by Thomas à Becket and his friend, Herbert of Bosham, during the first two years of exile after his quarrel with Henry II of England. They stayed there from 1164 until 1166. But when Henry threatened to abolish all Cistercian houses in England if Pontigny continued to shelter Thomas, the two exiles moved to Ste-Colombe-lès-Sens, a Benedictine monastery under the protection of the French king, Louis VII.

The new manuscript dates fifty or sixty years after the period when Pontigny was the sanctuary of St. Thomas à Becket and his companion. In fact, by the time it was executed in the first half of the thirteenth century even the thunder of St. Bernard's rhetoric had receded into the distance somewhat. The Cistercian statutes completed in 1152 prohibited ornament not only in architecture but in illumination: initials were to be of one color only and not decorated (*depictae*). As we have seen, the Walters Petrus Chrysologus from Cîteaux conforms to these restrictions.

The artist of the Haymo, however, no longer felt bound by such limitations. It is true that no gold is used in the ten large initials which introduce the epistles.[38] However, on opening the volume the first glimpse of the initials produces something of the pleasurable shock created by stained-glass windows of the twelfth and early thirteenth century. Saturated reds and blues, artfully set off by elements of green and ochre sparked with white, excite the senses. The mainstay of most of the letters is a strong, tensely coiling vine, budding or even bursting into leaf to expend its energy. But these same vines—St. Bernard notwithstanding—also become transmuted into fox-headed dragons with alertly pricked ears (fig. 11), or into lion-masks with criss-crossed eyes (fig. 13), or into jolly creatures resembling refined brontosauri (figs. 11, 12). We can hear St. Bernard's ghost roar in denunciation, as he did in his famous letter to Abbot Guillaume de Saint-Thierry,[39] '. . . to what purpose are these ridiculous monsters, this deformed beauty and beautiful deformity?' One initial, in fact, seems to be in deliberate and direct defiance of the testy saint: 'Here several bodies grow under one head, there several heads on one body' (fig. 12). However, I do not think that we need suspect the illuminator of being intentionally mischievous. Obviously, by the thirteenth century this part of the statutes was less vigorously enforced or was even overlooked at Pontigny, which had a large and active scriptorium. In some other Cistercian houses, such as Royaumont[40] in the diocese of

[37] *The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts: Part II. Catalogue of Thirty-eight Manuscripts of the 8th to the 17th Century—The Property of the late Sir A. Chester Beatty Sold by Order of the Executors* . . ., Sotheby & Co., London, June 24, 1969, lot 47, pl. 14.

Now Ms. W. 778. Haymo, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, Part II: Ephesians to Hebrews, in Latin. France, early thirteenth century. 120 vellum leaves. $13\frac{7}{8} \times 10$ in. (0.352×0.253). In gothic hand by two scribes, black ink; double columns, 37 or 38 lines, ruled in lead. Trace of signature-numbering in arabic numerals, beginning with 2 (fol. 7), nearly completely cut away. 10 illuminated initials. Twentieth-century binding by Rivière of brown crushed morocco, blind tooled. Eric Millar, *op. cit.*, I, no. 36, pp. 119–20, pl. LXXXVII.

[38] Excepting for an initial M on folio 72vo, the Epistles begin with P, all of which the artist has designed with considerable variety.

[39] *Apologia ad Guillelmum Sancti Theoderici Abbatem*, chap. XII, Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, I, 915–16.

[40] Cf. Ms. W. 65: De Ricci, *op. cit.*, I, p. 822, no. 394.

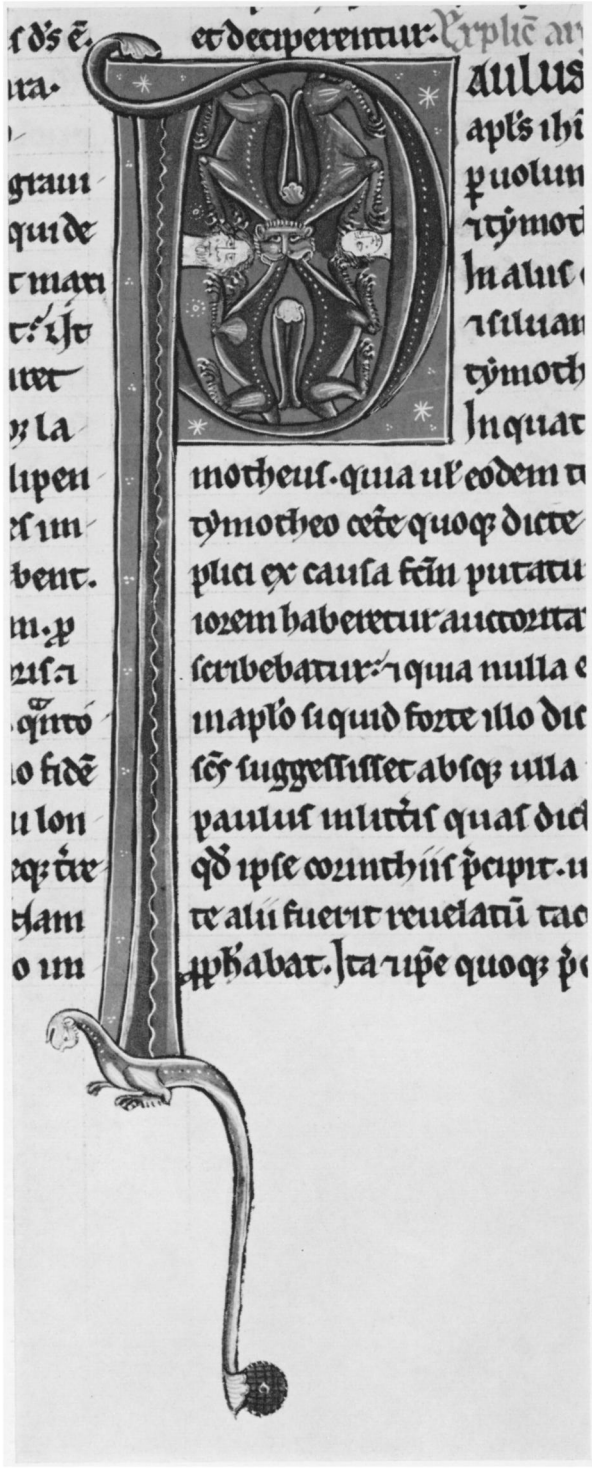


FIGURE 12 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Decorated Initial P

Haymo, 'On the Pauline Epistles' (Ms. W.778, fol. 25vo)

Beauvais or Himmerod near Trier,[41] a relative, if not complete, austerity was still maintained at this time. So in our manuscript we need only recognize the nature of the medieval artist and his incomparable imagination coming to the surface after uncongenial eclipse.

The volume is characteristic of those prepared at Pontigny during the thirteenth century.[42] The lines of regularly penned black letters are marshalled upon a carefully selected opaque white vellum with suede surface, skillfully ruled so as to provide tidily organized areas for any marginal notes which might later be desired. Nothing of this kind has been inserted here, and except for the loss of the first gathering and some disfiguring erasures of a rubricated title at the top of folio one, the volume is almost as fresh in condition as when it left the atelier. The margins, spacious though they are today, were originally somewhat wider, as one can tell from the near obliteration of the signature-markings.[43]

At the end of the text a contemporary inscription, presumably in the hand of the monastery librarian, gives the *ex-libris: Liber Scē Marie Pontiñ;*.

It is clear that the work, together with its first volume, remained at Pontigny for several centuries, and probably until the Revolution. A scrawl on the last vellum flyleaf, which appears to have been the pastedown of the original lower cover, gives. in a sixteenth-century hand, the name of 'Friar Hugo de la Place', living at Pontigny, who also has copied

[41] Cf. Ms. W. 71: *ibid.*, p. 820, no. 385. The late Jean Porcher has interesting comments concerning the short-lived observance of Bernard's strictures, and of those set out in article 82 of the Cistercian statutes, in the catalogue of the exhibition at the Musée de Dijon, *Saint Bernard et l'art des Cisterciens*, 1953, pp. 19–21. See also the pages on this subject in Oursel, *La miniature du XII^e siècle à l'abbaye de Cîteaux . . .*, Dijon, 1926, pp. 49–51.

[42] The library at Pontigny comprised 326 manuscripts in 1778, when the last abbot, Jean Depaquy, compiled its catalogue. Only a third of these can now be recognized, of which fifty or so are in the Bibliothèque Municipale at Auxerre, where they were eventually transferred after the French Revolution. Smaller groups are in the Ecole de Médicine at Montpellier and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (C. H. Talbot, 'Notes on the Library of Pontigny', *Analecta sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, X, 1954, pp. 106–68). At least eight manuscripts from Pontigny are in the United States.

[43] When the manuscript was in the possession of Sir Thomas Phillipps it was in a vellum binding, which would not have been the original covering. The present morocco binding by Rivière seems to have been supplied by Quaritch before it passed into the possession of Sir A. Chester Beatty. In any case, a succession of rebindings inevitably resulted in some trimming of the edges.

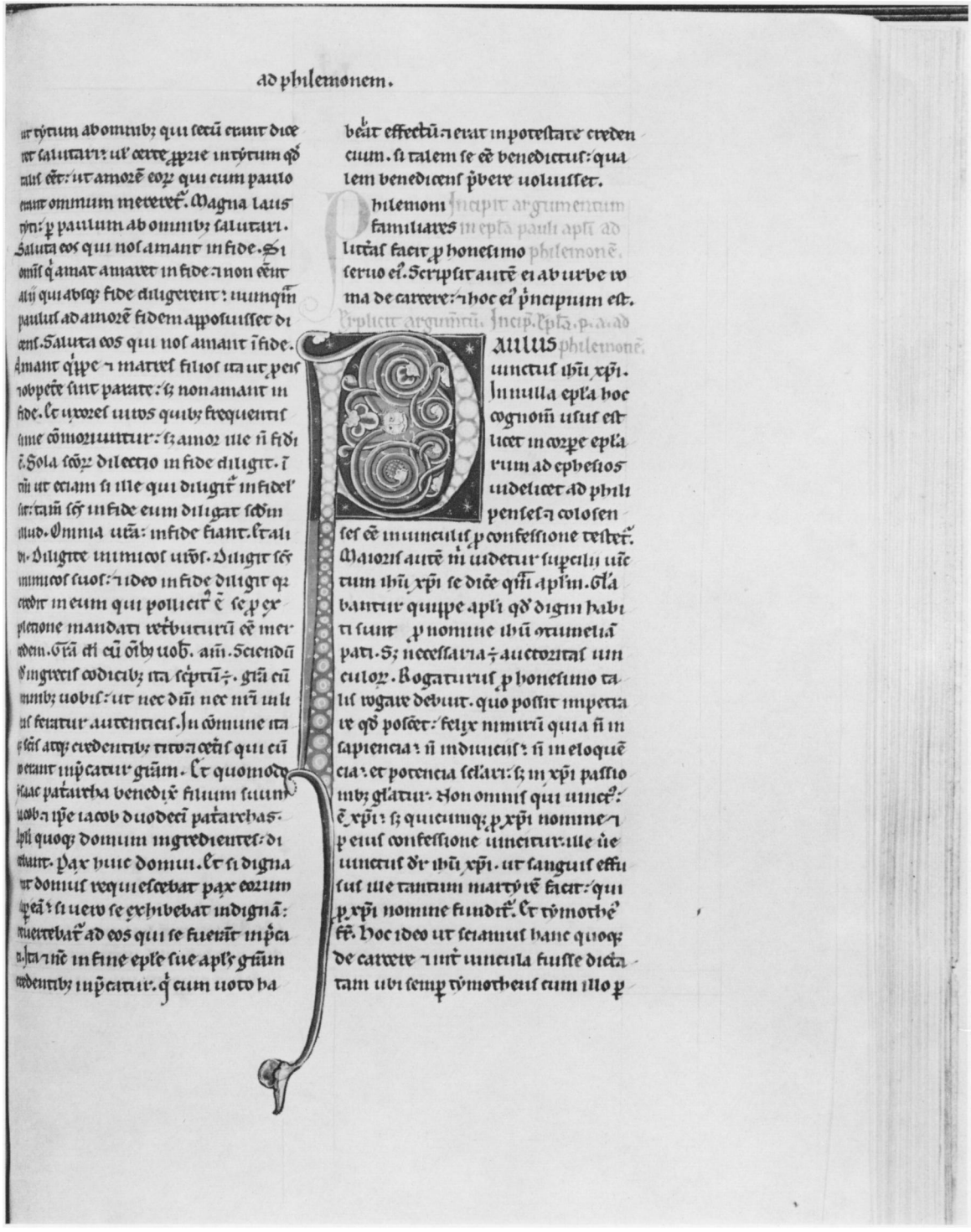


FIGURE 13 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Haymo, 'Commentary on the Pauline Epistles' (Ms. W. 778, fol. 69)

out the Pontigny *ex-libris* on the previous page. On the last leaf of the text, below the *ex-libris* are other scribbles by a Maturin de Larchem, '*sufregant de un cardinal*', living at Villeneuve. It has been suggested that the latter may have been a native of Larchant near Nemours, christened after the local saint, Mathurin, and in the service of a cardinal archbishop of Sens at Villeneuve-l'Archevêque—all places not far from Auxerre.[44]

After the dislocations due to the French Revolution, when the Pontigny manuscripts were moved first to Sens and then to Auxerre, a number of volumes seems to have escaped from the authorities. Early in the nineteenth century a group of them was in the possession of Abbé Joseph Felix Allard of Paris (1795–1831), who sold them to Sir Thomas Phillipps around 1828.[45] In the Phillipps collection this codex was numbered Ms. 3734. It was disposed of in one of the early Phillipps sales,[46] and was acquired by Lawrence Hodson of Compton Hall, Wolverhampton.[47] Sir A. Chester Beatty acquired it from Quaritch in 1912.

A closely related volume, also coming from Pontigny via Abbé Allard, Sir Thomas Phillipps, and the Chester Beatty collection, is in the library of Philip Hofer of Cambridge, Massachusetts.[48] The writing, although similar to ours in character, does not seem to be by the same scribe, but the decorated initials appear to be the work of the illuminator of our Haymo. This again is a work of theological commentary, as were so many of the Pontigny manuscripts. Our next task will be to examine as many of these manuscripts as possible, in order to group those that are most closely related artistically to the Walters codex.

The Walters Gallery has an exceptionally rich array of thirteenth-century Latin Bibles, New Testaments, and Gospel books—nearly two dozen in all. To these has been added a fine large copy of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark with abundant glosses, which has been placed on indefinite deposit by the Peabody Institute Library.[49] This codex had entered the possession of the old Library Company of Baltimore around 1850, which was eventually absorbed by the Peabody Library. The manuscript, in sadly dishevelled condition, had for some reason never been accessioned. In 1953, the Librarian of the Peabody, the late Lloyd Brown, decided that the Walters Art Gallery would be able to provide the special care needed in this case and arranged for it to be transferred to us.

Only one cover of the binding survives, and that has been made frail by the work of termites. The lower cover and leather spine have disappeared completely, exposing the remains of the bands, and allowing the gatherings to separate. Miraculously, except for a slight discoloration of the first page of the text, the leaves of the book are practically pristine. The vellum is carefully selected, opaque, white and of suede surface. The margins are wide and in many instances retain the outer prickings for the rulings, as well as those on the inner margin—suggesting that the only trimming was for the original binding.

The script is handsome and regularly spaced, with the various glosses well disposed without confusion. A few later notes have been added, but only on the first gathering or so and on the flyleaf. The glosses include that of St. Jerome, but still await detailed study. The only other glossed Bible manuscript of this general period in the collection of the Gallery is a Gospels, written at Oxford around 1200.[50]

Although the illumination is limited, it is of high quality, the colors and the raised, burnished gold very well preserved (fig. 14). The style suggests the

[44] Sotheby catalogue of June 24, 1969, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[45] A. N. L. Munby, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 152.

[46] Sotheby's, London, April 27, 1903, lot 859.

[47] Sold at his sale, Sotheby's, December 3, 1906, lot 189.

[48] Ms. Typ. 200H: Rabanus Maurus, *In Expositionem Iheremie*—one of a series of commentaries by Rabanus Maurus from Pontigny which was sold by Abbé Allard to Phillipps. Millar, *op. cit.*, I, no. 35, pp. 117–18, pl. LXXXV; De Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1696–7, no. 20; Harvard College Library, *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts: an Exhibition . . .*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, no. 20, pl. 20.

[49] Now Ms. W. 753. *Evangelia S. Matthei et S. Marci, glossata*, in Latin. North France, first half of thirteenth century. 202 vellum leaves, $13\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{3}{8}$ in. (0.350×0.240). Gatherings of 10 leaves with catchwords. Single column of Biblical text in large script in up to 23 lines of varying length; interlinear glosses and 2 or 3 columns of commentary in smaller script, up to 45 lines; black ink; ruled in lead. Initials in red and blue with penwork. Running headings in red and blue. Two illuminated and 2 historiated initials. Remains of early gothic binding of stamped calf over wood boards, perhaps the original one. Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, no. 569. The manuscript appears to be one of a two-volume set of the Gospels.

[50] Ms. W. 15: De Ricci, *op. cit.*, I, p. 768, no. 68.

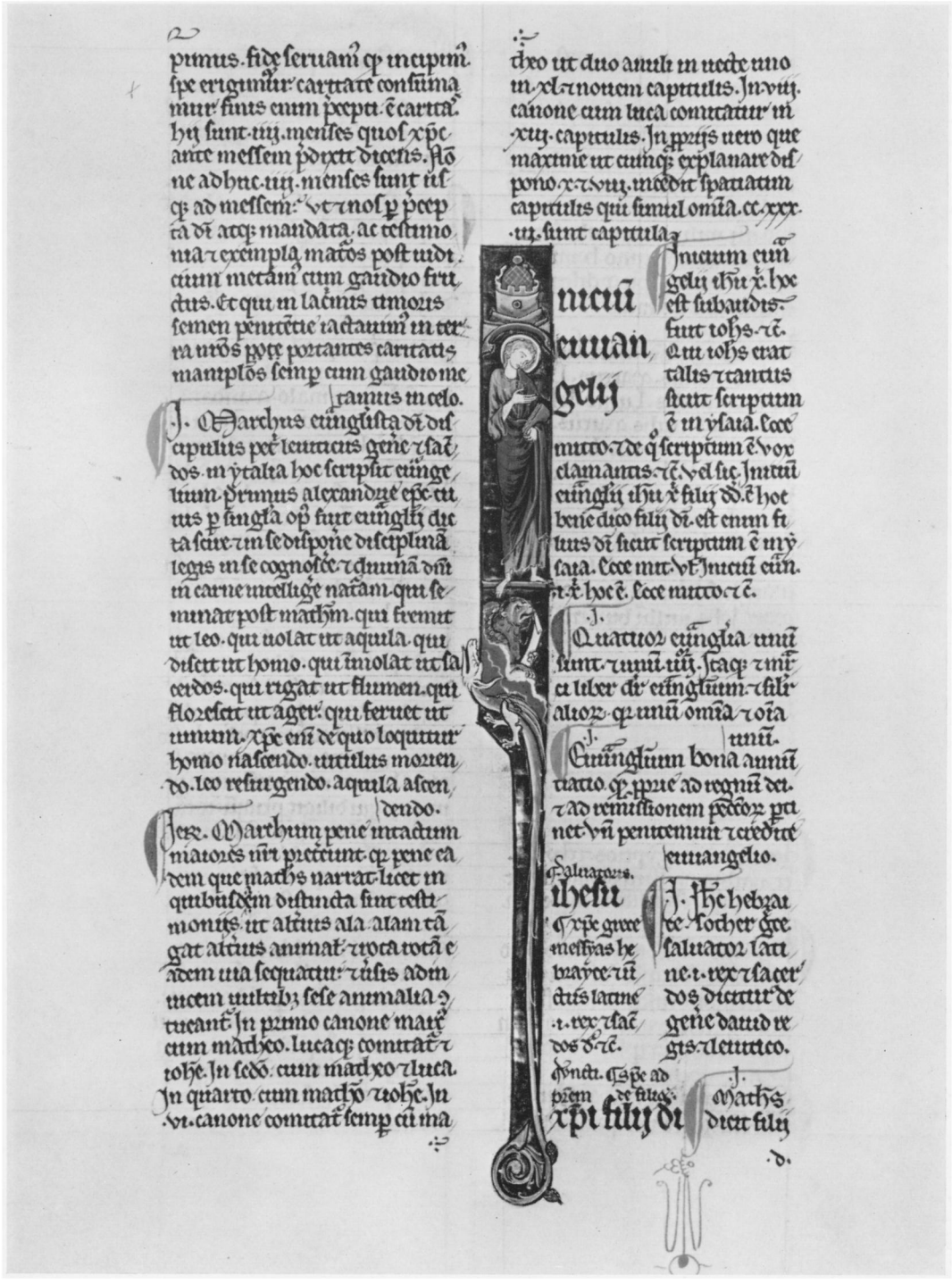


FIGURE 14 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Beginning of the Gospel of St. Mark
Gospels of Matthew and Mark (Ms. W. 753, fol. 127vo)
Deposited by the Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore

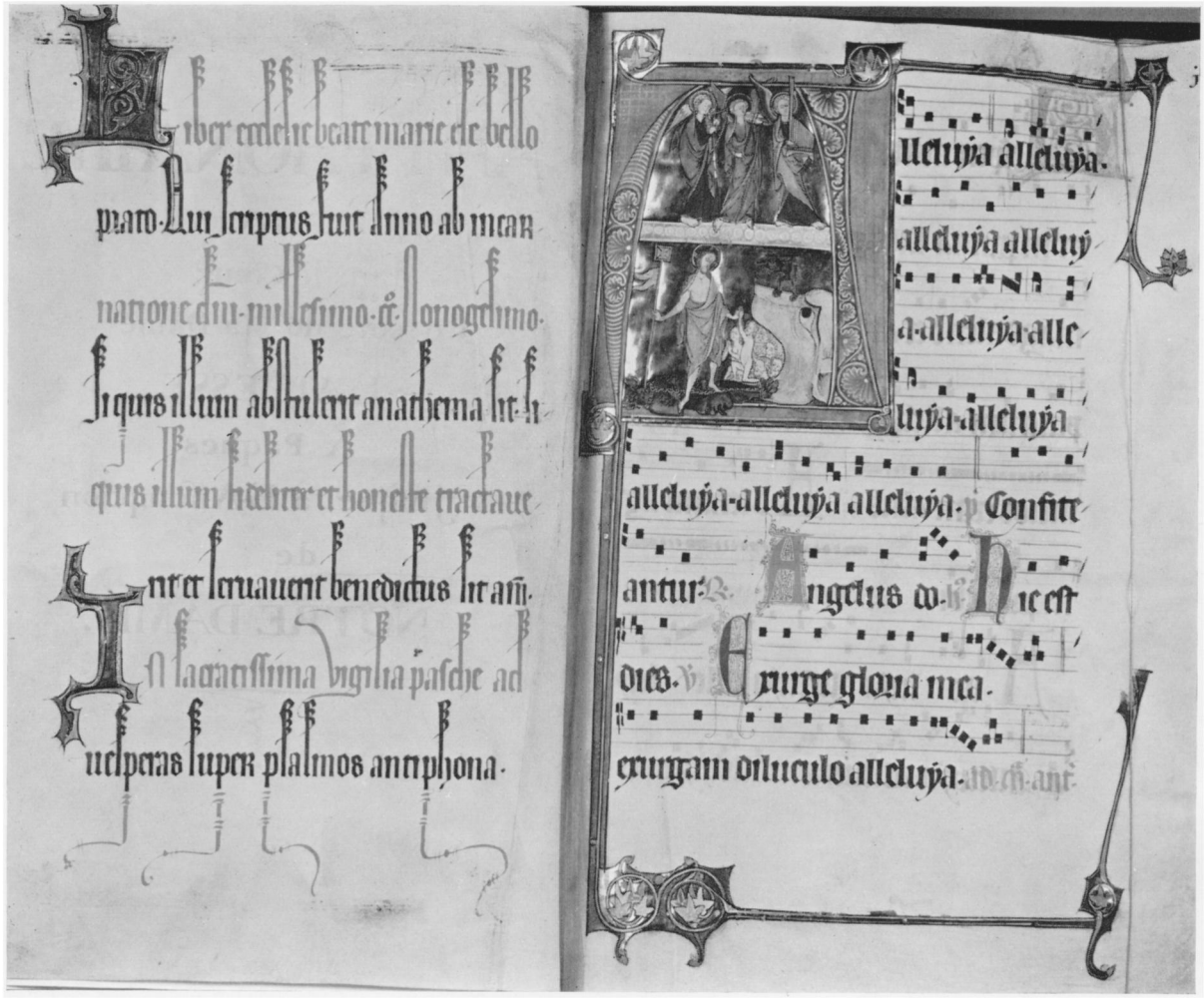


FIGURE 15 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Beaupré Inscription and Music for Easter Eve
Beaupré Antiphonary (Ms. W. 759, fols. 1vo–2)
Gift of the Hearst Foundation, 1957

north of France and a dating around 1230 or 1240.

The dilapidated remains of the cover are not without interest. The decoration is effected by rows of square stamps, each about $\frac{5}{8} \times \frac{1}{2}$ inch in measurement. Despite the surface damage, many display a sharp impression and we can decipher a lion *passant*, a sprig of three prickly leaves and acorns, a running bird with tufted head, long beak and flapping wings and a skinny double-headed eagle displayed. Each tool is repeated exclusively throughout the length of a vertical row. The cover could well be of the fourteenth century at the latest, but the character of the bands and condition of the gatherings suggest that this was the first covering and may possibly be of thirteenth-century date.

The most distinguished manuscript received by gift since the bequest of Henry Walters is a famous and very splendid one. This is a series of four large volumes (actually three volumes and a supplemental one), known as the 'Antiphonary of Beaupré',

which was presented to the Gallery by the Hearst Foundation in 1957.[51]

This set of choir books is so well known and has been so fully described in the catalogues of former owners that it is necessary to give here only a summary of its points of interest. It is exceptionally well documented, containing as it does information as to its precise date, the religious foundation for which it was made, the names of the donors who commissioned its execution, and the name of the monk who wrote at least one of its volumes. At the beginning of volume I a preliminary leaf, facing the music for vespers on Easter eve, displays an inscription ornately lettered in alternate lines of red and blue (fig. 15):

Liber ecclesie beate marie de bello prato. Qui scriptus fuit anno ab incarnatione dn̄i millesimo CC⁰ Nonogesimo. Si quis illum abstulerit anathema sit. Si quis illum fideliter et honeste tractaverit et servaverit benedictus sit. a m̄.

('The book of the Church of St. Mary of Beaupré. Which was written in the year of the incarnation of the Lord, one thousand two hundred and ninety. If anyone steals it, anathema be on him. If anyone devoutly and honorably handles and uses it, blessed be he. Amen.')

A perusal of the illuminations reveals numerous representations of an abbess, of nuns and a few monks in Cistercian habits, and the special commemoration of the feast of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. So we have to do once again with a manuscript of Cistercian origin. It was a former owner of this set of volumes, the late Henry Yates Thompson of London, who succeeded in identifying the convent for which the Antiphonary was commissioned. He discovered that in the thirteenth century there were six Cistercian establishments named Beaupré ('beautiful meadow'), of which three were for nuns. The clue to determining the precise Beaupré for which our Antiphonary was executed is furnished by the portrait of the donor, a kneeling lady seen in the margin of folio 3, at the beginning of the service for Easter (fig. 16). She kneels in the shelter of a little gothic structure decorated with cusps and pinnacles, and we see by her costume that she is not a nun, but a mature lady of rank. An inscription lettered in red above her head reads: *Domicella de viana.* As the late Sydney Cockerell stated in the catalogue of the Yates Thompson manuscripts,[52] the title of the kneeling donor pointed to the Beaupré near Grammont in Belgium, founded in 1228—a convent which through the thirteenth century enjoyed the especial patronage of the lords of Viane, whose domains were nearby. Archives preserved at Brussels and Ghent contain many entries linking the family of Viane with Beaupré. On the basis of these records, Mr. Thompson came to the conclusion that the *Domicella de viane* represented in the Antiphonary was Marie de Bornaing, the wife of a Gérard de Viane, who are both recorded as making gifts in 1277 and 1293. Although Cockerell considered the identification a firm one, a question may arise in connection with the title, *domicella.* Throughout the Middle Ages, from the year 1000, at least, this was the title given unmarried girls and young ladies of rank, as distinct from the *domina* for married women.[53] It is, in fact, the source of the French *demoiselle.* So one may wonder whether we are justified in connecting the figure with Marie, the wife of Gérard de Viane. Lower in the margin of the

[51] Ms. W. 759–762. Antiphonary in Latin for the whole year; Cistercian use. Western Flanders (Cambron?), A.D. 1290. In four volumes: I, 223 vellum leaves, 19⅜ × 13⅝ in. (0.490 × 0.345); II, 258 vellum leaves, 19⅜ × 12⅞ in. (0.490 × 0.325); III, 270 vellum leaves, 16¾ × 12⅜ in. (0.425 × 0.313); IV, 62 vellum leaves, 19⅜ × 13⅜ in. (0.490 × 0.345). Gatherings of varying composition, with some catchwords visible (for detailed analysis, see H. Yates Thompson catalogue, below). 8 long lines of black script in large *textus prescissus*, divided by square musical notation on red four-line staff. Ruled in lead. Rubricated captions. Numerous initials of various sizes in red, blue, or gold with contrasting penwork. 49 large historiated initials on burnished gold ground, with branching half-borders and drolleries (many erased). Early twentieth-century bindings in half morocco and red velvet (vol. IV in cloth).

Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Illustrated Catalogue: Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 1908, nos. 61–62, pl. 54; Henry Yates Thompson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Manuscripts . . .*, Cambridge, 1907, no. LXXXIII, pp. 55–74 (notice by Sydney Cockerell); *idem*, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts*, London, 1916, VI, pp. 4–8, pls. XII–XXIII; Eric Millar, *op. cit.*, II, no. 63, pp. 88–103, pls. CXXXIII–CXXXIX; De Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1688, no. 4; R. S. Loomis and L. H. Loomis, *Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art*, New York, 1938, p. 92, note 2; D. Miner, 'The Antiphonary of Beaupré', *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, IX, no. 8, 1957, pp. 3–5, illus.; Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, nos. 574–7; Walters Art Gallery, *Two Thousand Years of Calligraphy*, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 45–7, no. 27, illus.

[52] *Op. cit.*, pp. 59–60.

[53] D. du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, III, Niort and London, 1884, p. 162: 1. *Domicellae.*

FIGURE 16 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Music for Easter Sunday
Beaupré Antiphonary (*Ms. W. 759, fol. 3vo*)

same page is represented another kneeling figure, apparently a younger woman, who is labelled *Domicella clementia*. In the obituary of Beaupré preserved at the Royal Library in Brussels, there is a reference to the death on April 25 (no year given) of William de Viana and *domicella Clemencia filia eius*. Possibly, then, we have to do here with another branch of the Viane family, and the ladies represented may be older and younger unmarried daughters. On the other hand, the term *domicella* was used also in the sense of a 'handmaiden'—a 'very distinguished servant'—as of the church.[54] So perhaps this usage could be applied to the pious wife of Gérard de Viane. This question as to the interpretation of the title is mentioned only to remind us that the identification proposed by Mr. Thompson cannot yet be considered proven, even though it seems probable. In any case, the connection with the family of Viane suffices to settle for us the particular Cistercian convent of Beaupré for which our manuscript was made.

We have reason to conclude, however, that the manuscript was not made at Beaupré itself. There is no record of an atelier of scribes and illuminators among the nuns at Beaupré. Furthermore, at the beginning of volume III, a gothic canopy in the lower margin of folio 1 shelters a Cistercian monk bent over a writing-desk. On his scroll are the words *Ego Johannes scripsi hunc librum* (fig. 17). If the scribes and illuminators of our Antiphonary were Cistercian monks, we have only to look about fifteen miles south of Beaupré to its mother-house, Cambron—a monastery with a celebrated and active scriptorium. The general aspect of our volumes, especially the style of the red and blue ornamental initials, is exactly what is associated with documented Cambron manuscripts of the late thirteenth century. Sydney Cockerell, in proposing Cambron as the place of production of the Beaupré Antiphonary, compared the style of the historiated initials to those in a splendid volume of Gratian's *Decretum*, which had once belonged to William Morris, and subsequently to Lawrence Hodson.[55] He considered that the style of the two manuscripts was so close that both were 'certainly executed at the same time and place'. That example of the *Decretum* is in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery, having been acquired long ago by Henry Walters, perhaps just after the Hodson sale in 1906 (fig. 8).[56]

The forty-nine historiated initials of the Antiphonary show this late thirteenth-century Flemish style of illumination at its very best. They are large—some achieving nine inches in height. Each encloses an illustration appropriate to the feast-day whose musical service it introduces. The narrative is set forth with clarity and charm; the coloring of soft rose, grey, blue, green, brown, sparked by minium, stands out upon the grounds of raised and burnished gold. From the initials sprout vines which partially enclose the page, the branches sometimes terminating in heads or fantastic half-figures. Originally, the illuminated borders at the top and bottom of the main pages supported drolleries, but most of these have been scraped away—doubtless because some puritanical abbess of the seventeenth century found them too irreverent or merely too frivolous. Fortunately a few, judged to be less obnoxious, were spared. The scene of the death of

FIGURE 17 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Brother John, the Scribe
Beaupré Antiphonary (Ms. W. 761, fol. 1)

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 161: *Domicella*. The equivalent term, *Domicellus*, existed for noblemen.
[55] Yates Thompson catalogue, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[56] Ms. W. 133: De Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 825, no. 407 (not accurately described).

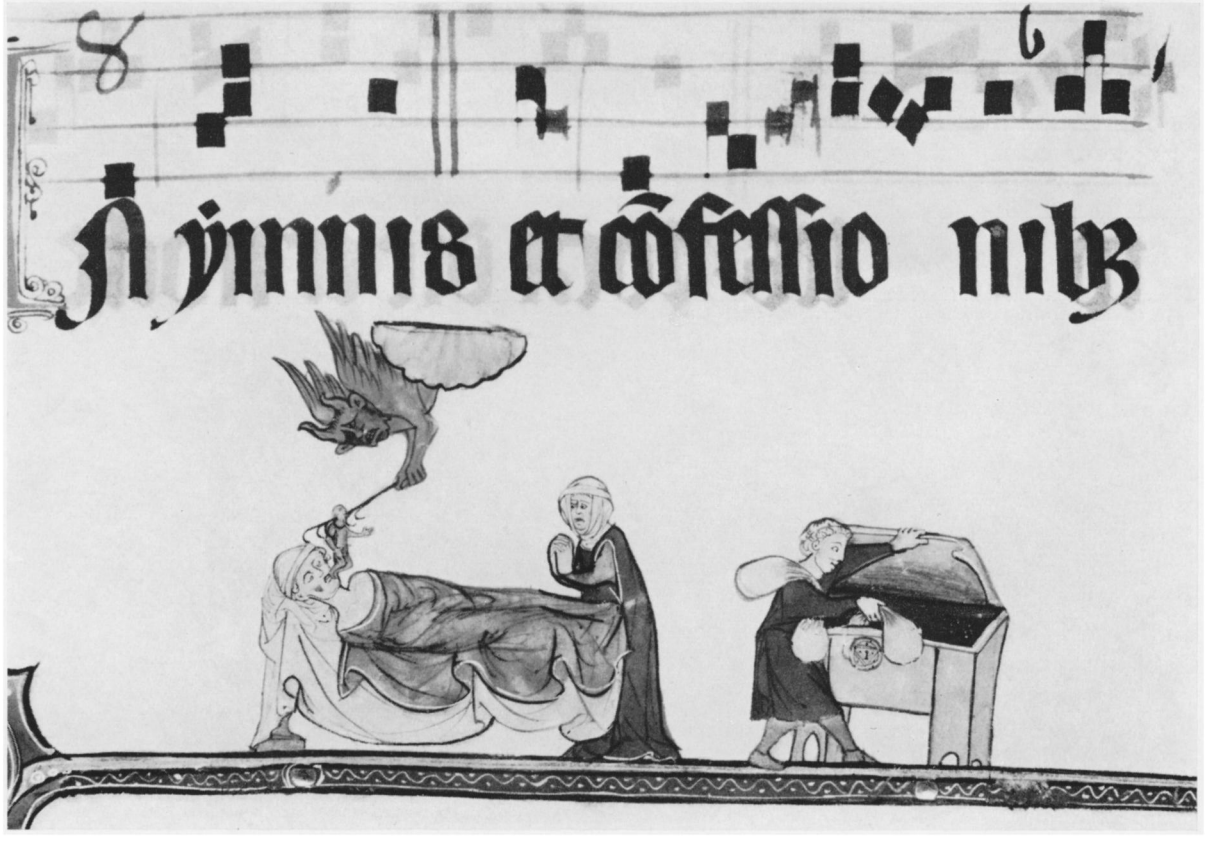
Dives, the rich man, is on folio 90 of volume I. The devil snatches his soul and his wife wrings her hands in grief, while a servant makes off with the money-bags from the strongbox (fig. 18). Another in the same volume (fol. 108) shows us a glimpse of medieval market life: a fishmonger at his stall offering a choice of fish to a townswoman, while her barefoot son holds out a basin to receive the one selected (fig. 19). The lively character of these and others causes one to regret all the more the loss of the majority of these delightful comments on daily life. Some of the subjects, at least, can be reconstructed by examination under ultra-violet light.

In view of our earlier discussion of the austerity imposed upon the decoration of Cistercian books, one may well be astonished at the richness of the volumes commissioned by the Lady of Viane for Beaupré. We have, it seems, a further development of the eventual relaxation of the rules that we noted at an earlier stage in the manuscript from Pontigny. Moreover, it has been suggested by some scholars that works undertaken as a commission for secular patrons were permitted greater richness and elaboration than purely monastic enterprises.

There is abundant evidence that the Antiphonary served the convent for a good five centuries, until the dissolution of the religious houses at the time of the French Revolution. The changing customs of the community are witnessed by the numerous erasures and re-writing of words and notes in parts of the thirteenth-century text. As new feasts and observances were established, the services for these were written out and the leaves inserted in the appropriate places—or, in some cases, assembled in

FIGURE 18 WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Death of Dives
Beaupré Antiphonary (Ms. W. 759, fol. 90)



a supplementary volume to which reference could be made. These additions range in date from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century; some may even be as late as the eighteenth.

Large Antiphonaries such as this did not begin to appear until towards the end of the thirteenth century, when the development and elaboration of antiphonal church music made it necessary to place the words and notes of the hymns before the eyes of the singers, rather than relying entirely on the leadership of the choir master. In order to achieve the antiphonal effect, the singers were grouped around lecterns placed one on each side of the choir. The words and musical notation had to be large and clear, so as to be read from a certain distance in the dim light of the church. The monumental format of the Antiphonary, which was to increase in subsequent centuries, was the result. Our set belongs to the early period of this development. Most of the huge Antiphonaries that survive today are of later date and of Italian or Spanish origin—or, less frequently, central European. Large choir books from northern Europe or from England, especially of the gothic period, are almost unknown. So our thirteenth-century Flemish Antiphonary can be considered very nearly unique.

In order to conduct the antiphonal singing as described above, two sets of choir books were required, each set containing the music for the whole year. Our Antiphonary begins with the music for Vespers on Holy Saturday and ends with that for Good Friday, so it covers the entire year. However, it seems that we have volumes from both of the sets, for at the beginning of the books are flyleaves inscribed in large roman lettering, probably of the seventeenth century: '*I – Antiphonaire pour servir dans le Coeur du Coté de Ma-Dame l'Abbesse à Pâques jusque à l'Assumption de Notre-Dame; II – Antiphonaire pour Servir dans le Choeur du Coté de la Dame Prieure, Depuis la Fête de l'Assumption de Nôtre-Dame jusqu'a Noël; III – Antiphonaire pour Servir dans le Choeur du Coté de Ma-Dame l'Abbesse depuis le Noël jusqu'à Pâques*'. So we have two volumes used on the side where sat the Lady Abbess and one from the side of the Lady Prioress.

The history of the manuscript following the suppression of Beaupré at the end of the eighteenth century is unknown for about sixty years. Shortly after the middle of the nineteenth century we find

FIGURE 19 WALTERS ART GALLERY

A Fishmonger
Beaupré Antiphonary (Ms. W. 759, fol. 108)

our volumes in the hands of John Ruskin. Probably they were still in the heavy wood and leather covers that are usually found on old choir books, because Ruskin at once set himself to dismember them, as he records in his diary of December 30, 1853, and January 1 and 3, 1854. He removed a number of the leaves of music, and even some of the historiated pages, and bound up the rest in thinner volumes. The separated leaves, according to his custom, he distributed to friends and presented to schools. The location of some of these is known: the leaf with the miniature of St. Catherine of Alexandria before Maxentius was given by Ruskin to his drawing school at Oxford. Two fine historiated initials were in Belgium as early as 1902 and are now in the Royal Library in Brussels, Ms. 3634. These represent the birth of John the Baptist, once part of volume I, and the story of St. John and Salome from volume II.[57] The Royal Library also acquired a few years ago an unhistoriated leaf which appeared at a

[57] C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, I, Paris, 1937, pp. 234–5, no. 97, pl. XLVIII.

recent Sotheby auction. C. L. Ricketts of Chicago acquired in 1922 seven of the musical leaves.[58] In 1872 a Mr. A. Pickert of Nuremberg presented two initials to the Victoria and Albert Museum: the Betrayal and the initial introducing the commemoration of several martyrs.[59] Since the latter is already represented by a nearly identical initial in volume II of our Antiphonary, we may suspect that this and probably the Betrayal initial come from the lost group of Beaupré volumes. The story about these, according to Sydney Cockerell, who refers to a note by Ruskin which he had seen,[60] is that the other three volumes from the Beaupré choir were destroyed in a fire at Sotheby's. A Sotheby catalogue of February 19, 1863, describes under lot 742 such a group, volumes I and III being for the prioress' side of the choir and volume II for that of the abbess. From this, we learn, moreover, that volume I of the prioress' set was dated 1289—a year earlier than our volume I.[61] The Victoria and Albert Museum initials show signs of charring.

Ruskin's cousin and heir, Mrs. Arthur Severn, sold his three volumes to Mr. Henry Yates Thompson of London. This was done in two instalments, volumes I and III being acquired in 1902 and the second volume in 1904. Mr. Thompson reassembled and rebound the material as received from the Ruskin estate into the present three volumes, with a fourth volume of later additions to the service forming a supplement to volume I. At Part III of the Henry Yates Thompson sales in London, June 22, 1921, the Beaupré Antiphonary was lot 67. It was acquired at that time for A. Chester Beatty, who kept it for eleven years. In 1932 and 1933 there were two sales of the Western manuscripts from the Chester Beatty collection. A very large proportion of the important manuscripts offered at these two auctions was 'bought in'—but the Beaupré Antiphonary was one of the number that actually changed hands.[62] It was acquired for the late William Randolph Hearst. Although several manuscripts were among the works of art from the latter's collection offered for sale in New York in 1941, the Antiphonary was not among them. It remained in the vault of the fabulous Hearst castle at San Simeon, California, until the Hearst Foundation graciously presented it to the Walters Art Gallery in 1957.

An entirely different kind of a manuscript is an official church document in the form of an Indulgence granted at Avignon on February 26, 1331, which was acquired for the collection in 1950 (fig. 20).[63]

The granting of Indulgence—or remission of penance—was a device resorted to by the church with increasing frequency during the Middle Ages as a motivating force for religious effort on the part of the laity. The first full Indulgence was issued by Pope Urban II for all those who would participate in the First Crusade. Thereafter it was used to stimulate pilgrimages, church-building, benefices, crusades, and many other activities. The furnishing and execution of Indulgences became in time virtually a commercial transaction, and the ultimate abuse of the system caused it to fall into disrepute—as we gather from the ridicule to be found in Chaucer, *Piers Plowman*, and other vernacular writings.

Our Indulgence grants forty days remission of penance to all those who, after sincerely repenting and confessing, shall give or bequeath gold, vestments, treasure or building materials to help in the construction and furnishing of the Church of Notre-Dame de Fargues at Albi in southern France. Remission likewise is granted to all who shall make a pilgrimage to that church on certain specified feast-days.

[58] De Ricci, *op. cit.*, I, p. 629, no. 79. Most of the Ricketts collection was acquired in 1961 by the Library of the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Ind.: Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

[59] Victoria and Albert Museum, *Catalogue of Miniatures, Leaves, and Cuttings from Manuscripts*, London, 1923, pp. 10–11, pl. IV, nos. 7939–40. While this article was in press we were informed by M. François Avril of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, of two unrecognized Beaupré initials: one, St. Andrew Crucified, belongs to the Germanischesmuseum, Nuremberg; the other, the Entombment and Coronation of the Virgin, is in the treasury of Bordeaux Cathedral (see P. M. Auzas, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, XXXIV, p. 85, fig. 8). Both must be relics of the burnt volume II.

[60] Yates Thompson catalogue, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[61] See De Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1688, no. 4. The volumes were bought by an anonymous person. They may have been returned for resale, and destroyed in the Sotheby fire of June 29, 1865.

[62] The Chester Beatty Sale, part I, Sotheby's, London, June 7, 1932, lot 15, illus.

[63] Ms. W. 742. Indulgence, in Latin. France (Avignon), 1331. 1 parchment sheet, 24 × 31 in. (0.615 × 0.795). 23 long lines, ruled in lead. 1 historiated and 11 illuminated initials. Maggs Bros., catalogue 542, London [1935], no. 66, illus.; E. P. Goldschmidt, catalogue 88, London [1949], no. 18, illus.; Dorothy Miner, 'A Medieval Indulgence', *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, II, 8, 1950, pp. 1–2; Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 198, no. 564.

FIGURE 20 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Papal Indulgence (*Ms. W. 742*)

FIGURE 21 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Papal Indulgence (detail of Ms. W. 742)

The Indulgence was issued in the fifteenth year of the pontificate of Pope John XXII—however, as in all similar instances, it was granted not by the Pope himself, but by a council of a dozen bishops assembled at Avignon, whose titles show that they represented far-flung sees, such as Serbia, Gallipoli, Corsica, Sardinia, Worms, etc. It seems that this Indulgence was awarded on the plea of Beraldus de Fargues, Bishop of Albi (1314–33), and his 'assent' is recorded in handsome red calligraphy near the foot of the document, to which has been added in 1335 the corroboration of his successor, Petrus de Via.

The document consists of a large sheet of heavy parchment, folded twice horizontally and twice vertically. At the foot, a narrow 'hem' about one inch in depth is folded upward to give firm placement for the cords of the seals of the twelve assenting bishops. Four of the cords survive, but only one seal remains. It shows the half-figure of a bishop with mitre and crozier, blessing, but the inscription is no longer legible. The text of the Indulgence itself

is in a splendid gothic chancery hand, the letters tall and narrow with some flourishes to the elongated risers.

A feature peculiar to the Indulgences issued at Avignon, during the long 'exile' of the popes there from 1305 to 1367, is the elaborate decorative treatment accorded the documents. The first line of the text, invariably worded *Universis Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae*, was set forth in a display script of great size, with enlarged initials occupied by historiation or ornament. The Roman Indulgences had no such decoration. The majority of the fourteenth-century Avignon Indulgences known are decorated and historiated in a linear style, colored with flat tints of yellow, minium, green, grey-violet. There tends to be much repetition in the themes used for the historiation of the introductory U and sometimes for the upper or side margins: the face of Christ, busts or standing figures of saints, the Virgin and Child standing or seated in frontal pose. The characteristics are those of a folk art, but standardized for this specific production. Illustrations of a number of such Indulgences executed for religious houses in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria are reproduced in a valuable article by Dr. Otto Homburger and Dr. Christoph von Steiger.[64]

In contrast to this group, our Indulgence is unique in showing a style closely related to the main stream of French gothic manuscript illumination (fig. 21). The large, gracefully shaped U, six inches high, is set against a square ground of raised and burnished gold (now somewhat damaged). The bowl and upright of the letter are of blue, picked out in a white pattern and leafy vines sprout to right and left at the top. Within the letter is enthroned the Virgin Mary, depicted as an elegant gothic queen with crown and veil, dressed in ochre robe and blue mantle, the Child, in a long red tunic, standing on her lap. He holds a book in one hand and with His right blesses a crowd of diminutive worshippers assembled to the right: a cardinal, a monk, several bishops. Haloes of Mary and Christ are of burnished gold. The execution is linear only in part, as it includes modeling of draperies and faces in light and shade. The background is a network of blue squares diapered in red with tiny white circles as central points. The other initials of the introductory line of the text are of foliate ornament in red and blue on gold and with sprouting elements, and in the main text six initials of smaller format are of blue and red on gold and enclose drolleries. The red line recording the 'assent' of Bishop Beraldus begins with an initial in gold and colors displaying the half-figure of a bishop, and it sprouts into the margin to accommodate a bird.

No other Indulgence so far recorded is as elaborate and rich as this, nor as painterly in technique. Whether this is because its destination was a French house, we cannot say. A certain amount of modeling and a softer, more ornamental design occur in two Indulgences for Swiss monasteries—that of 1333 for St. Gall and one of 1332 for SS. Felix and Regula[65]—but these are both relatively weak in style and the gothic elegance of our example is not approached.

The most distinguished late gothic French manuscript acquired during the period under review is an impressive large folio codex of St. Augustine's *City of God*.[66] This is a sumptuous copy of the French translation and commentary on this work which was prepared by Raoul de Presles between 1371 and 1375 at the order of King Charles V of France. The King's intention was to make this—one of the most influential texts of the Middle Ages—available to a wider circle of readers who might not have the scholar's command of Latin. This French version enjoyed a considerable vogue in court circles. During the period from 1376 to around 1415—which corresponded to the era of artistic patronage of Charles V and his brothers—illustrated copies *de grande luxe* were in demand for the libraries of the aristocratic bibliophiles. Of about forty-five illus-

[64] O. Homburger and C. von Steiger, 'Zwei illuminierte Avignoneser Ablassbriefe in Bern', *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, XVII, 1957, pp. 134–58. In addition to those referred to therein, one may mention three Avignon Indulgences in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York: M. 697 (for Sta. Maria juxta Pontem Lapideum at Bevagna, July 18, 1343); M. 753 (for Sant' Agostino at Città di Castello, June 18, 1340); and M. 762 (for Sta. Maria in Castro Puristalli at Ligognano, March 28, 1331)—all Italian churches. See De Ricci, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1484, 1496, 1498. Mr. Philip Hofer of Cambridge, Mass., possesses an Indulgence in favor of the abbey of Mondsee in Austria, dated May 6, 1336. See *ibid.*, p. 1699, Ms. Typ. 237H, and Harvard College Library, *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, p. 17, no. 39 and pl. 21. All four of these have the same character as those illustrated by Homburger and von Steiger.

[65] Homburger and von Steiger, *op. cit.*, pls. 44, 45.

trated exemplars known, over half were executed during this period, and the foremost ateliers of the time were involved in their production.

Our copy comes from the studio of an artist who was one of the most influential and productive personalities of the first two decades of the fifteenth century. He is generally referred to as the Boucicaut Master, because of a remarkable Book of Hours which he executed for Jean Le Meingre *dit* Boucicaut, Marshal of France, which is now one of the treasures of the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris.[67]

The Boucicaut Master was first brought into focus by the researches of the French scholar, Paul Durrieu, in a series of studies beginning in 1906.[68] Durrieu was quick to point out the possibility that he might be identical with a painter from Bruges, Jacques Coene, who is known from the records to have been active in Paris early in the fifteenth century, and to have been among the northern painters called to Milan in 1399 in connection with the work on the great cathedral there. Durrieu defined the personal stylistic qualities of the master, noted that he seemed the center of a large atelier, and compiled a list of illuminated manuscripts which he attributed to him or to his associates.

It was the late Erwin Panofsky in 1953 who hailed the Boucicaut Master as the 'most brilliant genius of pre-Eyckian painting' and analyzed the innovations which he introduced into Parisian painting at the turn of the century and which prepared the way for the consummate achievements of the Master of Flémalle and the van Eycks.[69] The most recent contribution to the field is the volume by Professor Millard Meiss—the first monograph to be devoted to the painter and the result of many years of research and contemplation.[70] Professor Meiss analyzes the artistic trends evident in the work of the illuminator, re-examines questions of dating, takes up once more the early, but not widely accepted, identification with Jacques Coene—which he is inclined to support—and compiles afresh a list of manuscripts, in which he is at pains to distinguish as clearly as possible between the creations of the master himself and the production of associates and followers.

In this closely focussed examination our *Cité de Dieu* comes out with distinction. The greater proportion of manuscripts illuminated by the atelier were, of course, Books of Hours. Of religious books of other kinds, Professor Meiss ranks our *Cité de Dieu* as 'by far the most impressive', and sees the hand of the Boucicaut Master himself in the best miniatures of the codex.[71] He inclines to place it late in the development of the master—around 1415–20.

The Comte de Laborde in 1909 first described our manuscript in his pioneer work on *Les manuscrits de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*,[72] and to him also goes the credit for recognizing at once the style of the Boucicaut Master in its miniatures. He discovered the manuscript on a visit to the collection

[66] Ms. W. 770. Acquired 1960. St. Augustine, *La Cité de Dieu*, XI–XXII, translated into French by Raoul de Presles. France (Paris), ca. 1415, 272 vellum leaves, 17×12½ in. (0.433×0.315). In gothic *lettre de forme*, black ink and rubricated captions; double columns of 53 lines, ruled with pen in red. In gatherings of 8 leaves, except for the first gathering, in which the first and third leaves have been excised, and the last, which consists of 4 leaves only. Catchwords; signature-indications by alphabet, which appear to date from the early eighteenth century when the present binding was supplied. 11 miniatures of column width. Large illuminated initials and ivy-vine half-borders at beginning of each Book. Smaller illuminated initials with ivy sprays at each chapter. Bound ca. 1700 in olive sheepskin over thick pasteboards, two clasps missing.

Comte A. de Laborde, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu de Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1909, vol. II, pp. 323–7, vol. III, pl. XXVIII; Paul Durrieu, 'Les Heures du Maréchal de Boucicaut du Musée Jacquemart-André', *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXIV, 1914, p. 29; Quaritch, catalogue 767, London, 1957, no. 1, illus.: Walters Art Gallery, *The International Style—The Arts in Europe around 1400*, Baltimore, 1962, pp. 57–9, no. 54, pl. XLVIII; Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: the Boucicaut Master*, London, 1968, pp. 41–2, 76–7, figs. 334–42, incl. one in color.

[67] Ms. 2. The problem of the dating of this manuscript has been endlessly debated, it being placed variously from 1398, when the Marshal returned home from a period of Turkish captivity, to 1415, when he was again taken prisoner by the English at Agincourt. The most recent discussion of the problem is that by Professor Millard Meiss in his monograph on the artist, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–11, where he attributes the manuscript to the years between 1405 and 1408, while the Marshal was Governor of Genoa.

[68] The chief discussions of the Boucicaut Master from Durrieu's pen are to be found in: *Arts anciens de Flandre*, II [1906?], pp. 5–22; *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, XIX, 1906, pp. 401–15, XX, pp. 21–35; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LIV, 1912, pp. 85–96; *Revue de l'art chrétien*, LXIII, 1913, pp. 73–81, 145–64, 300–14, LXIV, 1914, pp. 28–35.

[69] Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, I, especially pp. 53–61.

[70] M. Meiss, *op. cit.*

[71] *Ibid.*, pp. 41–2, 76–7.

[72] De Laborde, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 323–7, III, pl. XXVIII.

FIGURE 22

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE BOUCICAUT MASTER

Fall of the Rebel Angels, Augustine, 'City of God' (Ms. W. 770, fol. 16vo)

of Sir Thomas Phillipps then at Cheltenham[73]—that inexhaustible collection from which a score of our treasures has come. Then, as now, only volume II was to be seen, containing the last twelve books of St. Augustine's work. Sir Thomas had acquired it from the dealer De Bure in Paris, around 1830. However, in 1746, when the manuscript had appeared in the auction of the library of the Abbé d'Orléans de Rothelin, both volumes were still together.[74] One can only hope that volume I exists and will someday reappear.

As in the case of most illustrated manuscripts of the *Cité de Dieu*, the miniatures are placed at the beginning of each book. However, only eleven are to be found in our volume, for some greedy vandal has cut out the first leaf of Book XI—a loss which had occurred before the Comte de Laborde made his description. This leaf, which was formerly between the present folios 1 and 2, doubtless carried a large miniature covering half or three-quarters of the upper part of the page—as is usually found at the beginning of each volume of the illustrated Augustines. It may have depicted Christ enthroned and surrounded by the four evangelists—the usual subject in the 'Second Family' of the illustrations to the text, as drawn up by de Laborde. However, that author hesitated to classify our book in this category because nearly half of the miniatures deviate from the themes normal to this group. The beautiful Fall of the Rebel Angels, for instance (fig. 22), is a normal subject for Book XII in Family I and Family III of the manuscripts—but not in the Second Family—and the same is true of the Temptation at Book XIII. Book XV is usually illustrated by the Flood in Family II, instead of which we have Cain and Abel (fig. 25), the usual scene in the other two groups of manuscripts. To make up for this, Book XVI combines allusion to the story of Noah with the usual scene for Family II at this point: Abraham and the Three Angels—an exceptional arrangement (fig. 24). There are other deviations, but these examples are enough to show that the illustrator was not following a particular model that might have been used recurringly in his studio. It is worth pointing out that—so far as surviving manuscripts go—this is the only example of Augustine's work to issue from the atelier of the Boucicaut Master.[75] Aside from Books of Hours, the atelier specialized in illustrating French translations of classical historical texts, such as Livy, as well as in chronicles and in French versions of Boccaccio.

We have spoken of the Boucicaut Master as an innovator. This reveals itself only in historical perspective—in careful consideration of what went before and what developed after. The grace of form and mannerism, usual in French painting at the end of the fourteenth century and into the early years of the fifteenth, he transformed into a certain robustness—which might have been due to his Flemish origin. But his figures are characterized by simplification of outline and modeling so as to stress volume—perhaps a trick he learned in Italy. Poses and gestures are deliberate and dignified. They express the story with directness and economy—but never do they betray agitation or emotional convulsion. Even scenes of violence such as the murder of Abel by Cain (fig. 25) or the torment of the damned in Hell (fig. 23) are depicted with a matter-of-fact deliberateness which betrays no personal implication—they register as a universal statement. It is in keeping with this attitude of the uninvolved observer that the personages are types, the faces selected from a few variants—young women, young men, old men, beardless or bearded,

[73] Ms. 4417.

[74] *Catalogue des livres de feu M. l'abbé d'Orléans de Rothelin*, Paris, Gabriel Martin, 1746, no. 456. In attempting to trace the manuscript back still further to its original owner, the Comte de Laborde (*op. cit.*, p. 324), suggested that the armorials shown on two shields in the Fall of the Rebel Angels (argent a cross gules) resembled those of the Baudricourt family. However, such a shield is quite usual in representations of St. Michael defeating the devil—it appears in the Boucicaut Hours itself—and this cannot be taken for historical heraldry.

[75] In this connection it can be noted that rapid sketches to indicate the subject of each scene were originally drawn in the lower margins. Most of these have been very carefully scraped away after the scenes had been executed—as was intended. Thin, slightly roughened areas of the vellum in the lower margins at the appropriate pages are perceptible. In the case of one subject, the Last Judgment on folio 203, a little sketch in palest sepia outlines indicating the main elements of the composition may still be discerned. On folio 87, where we see the exceptional scene combining the stories of Noah and Abraham, a tiny detail of the sketch has escaped the knife of the eradicator. Such sketches are found in other books from the atelier, such as chronicles or histories that require extensive and non-standard illustration.

FIGURE 23

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE BOUCICAUT MASTER

The Damned in Hell, Augustine, 'City of God' (Ms. W. 770, fol. 227vo)

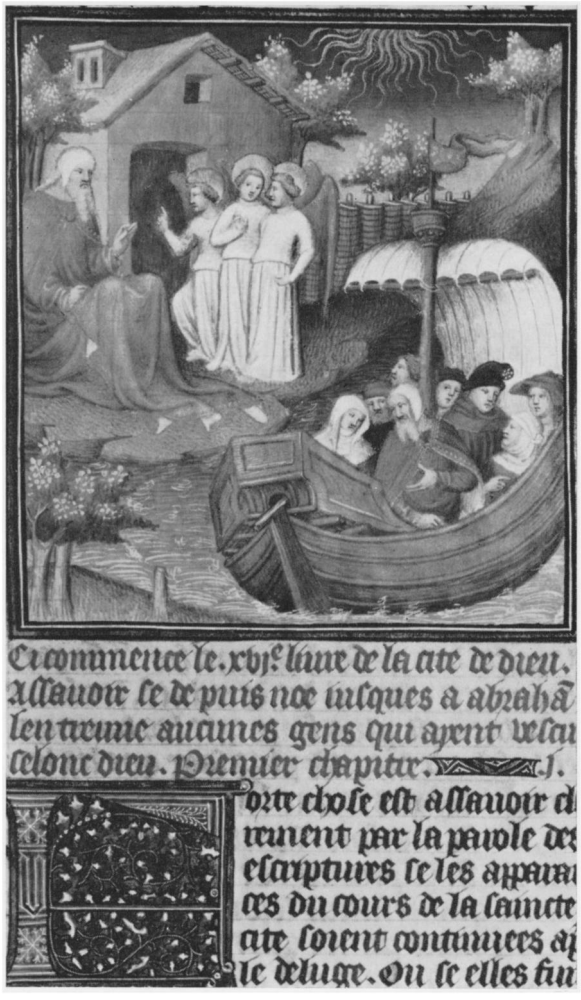


FIGURE 24 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BOUCICAUT MASTER

Abraham and Noah
Augustine, 'City of God' (Ms. W. 770, fol. 87)

apostles, sages. In two or three extraordinary works for special patrons he has attempted portraits[76] and these by their unexpected individuality throw into prominence the generality of all the other actors.

What then, entitles this artist to be acclaimed as 'the most brilliant genius of pre-Eyckian painting'? If the Boucicaut Master preferred to generalize about persons and actions, it was because his eyes were focussed upon space and light—indoors and out. In the rendering of these he was indeed a pioneer. He noted the way light fell over the forms of architectural vaults and pinnacles and how indoor light muted colors while outdoor light intensified them. He observed the way light fell on trees and on grass, and how the sky was paler at the horizon than at the zenith, and that distant forms outdoors seemed not only smaller, but dimmer in color and clarity. He studied ways to make the picture-plane recede on the flat page, inventing new devices or improving old ones, which were to become standard for a half century. He made clever use of the arch or architectural elements in the front plane which intercept the scene, so that one assumes a large space of which only part is visible—or he used a diagonal perspective, likewise suggestive of a vast interior room which has been intercepted. His landscapes recede with the help of foreground rocks and trees or stumps, and of overlapping crags and hillsides to establish the stages of distance. These perspective devices he may well have learned or at least improved upon during his exposure to Italian achievements. However, perhaps the most important element for the painterly effect of his pictures was not learned in Italy. This is his concern with light and his treatment of 'aerial perspective'. Here he was well ahead of the Italians, for those in the north have more opportunity to observe the effect of the quality of light on color and the palpable thickness of the air which transforms distant prospects. It was in these matters especially that his vision invested his scenes with a fresh realism, which made them seem so 'modern' in comparison with their predecessors.

As Durrieu noticed, the Boucicaut Master had a certain technique which was related to his sensitiveness to light—he liked to work up his surfaces with innumerable tiny brushstrokes, which resulted in a shimmering quality. It was this manipulation of the surface technique which especially set the Boucicaut Master apart from his associates and followers, for he had a very large atelier. For the purposes of organized production, the relative sameness of his types and even compositions served well, since they could be easily adapted by persons of varying degrees of competence. It was in this way that his

[76] As in the Hours for the Maréchal de Boucicaut, the *Dialogues* of Pierre Salmon for Charles VI at Geneva (Bibl. publique et universitaire, Ms. fr. 166, fol. 4), the Paris *Livre des merveilles* for Jean sans Peur, Bibl. Nat. fr. 2810, fol. 226.

devices and inventions had a tremendous effect—providing a treasure of ideas for his more gifted colleagues (such as the Bedford Master) and enlarging the scope of the humbler followers.

What seldom could be reproduced completely were two things. We have already mentioned one—the shimmer of air and texture achieved by his brushwork. The other is his color. The Boucicaut Master used, of course, as did his colleagues, the range of pigments usually prepared in the medieval atelier: azure and gold, minium, copper extracts, earth colors, vegetable colors, and minerals.

But when one opens a volume such as our *Cité de Dieu*, the luminosity of the color causes one to catch one's breath. In the Fall of the Rebel Angels (fig. 22), or the Last Judgment or the Crowned Virgin seated in Heaven beside Christ an incomparable richness of a deep and yet luminous azure is enhanced by the most adroit placement of notes of minium, of fluttering white garments, of touches of green, or the contrasts of an area in neutral grey with glories in gold. In the landscape scenes, such as that showing Cain and Abel, or the Noah and Abraham painting (figs. 24, 25) the eye is refreshed

FIGURE 25 WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE BOUCICAUT MASTER

Cain and Abel
Augustine, 'City of God' (Ms. W. 770, fol. 60)

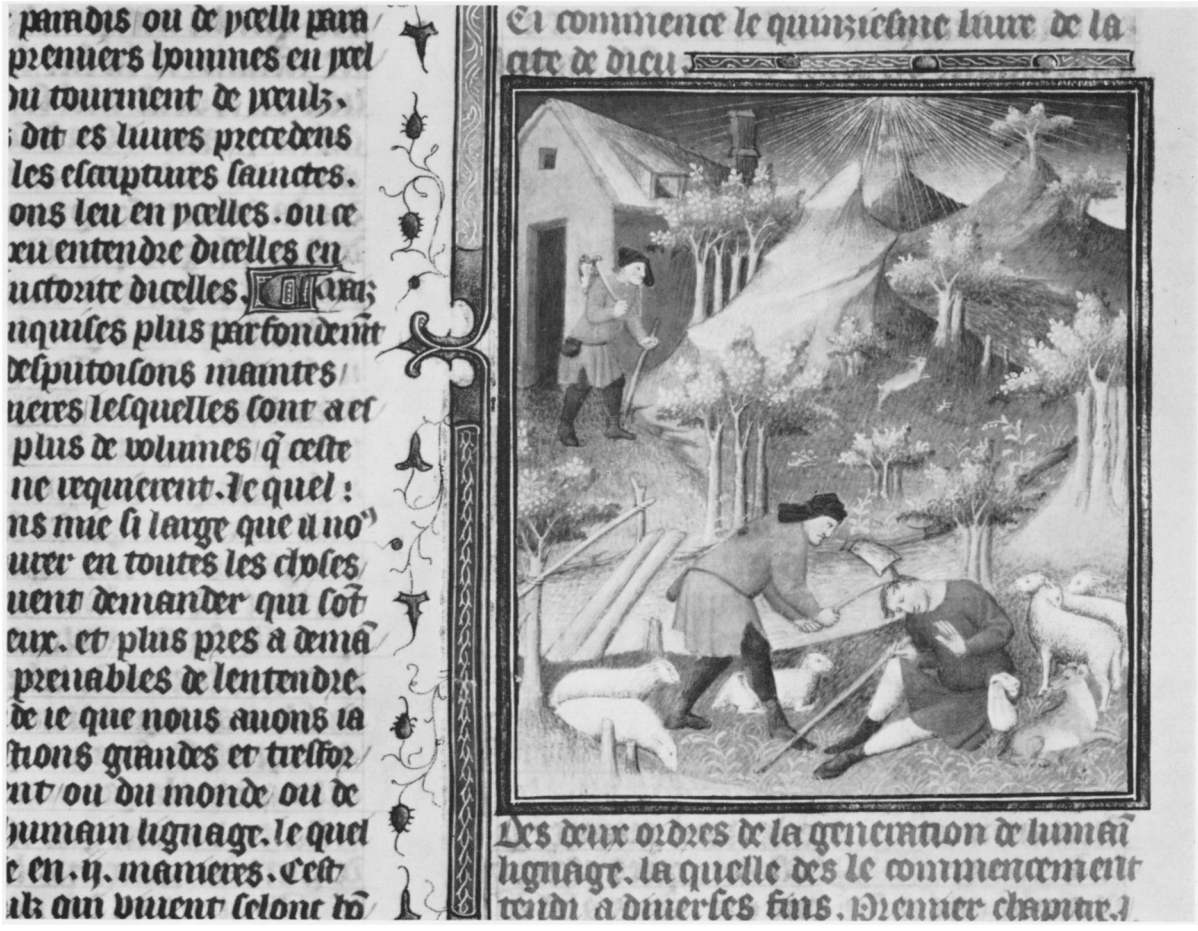


FIGURE 26 WALTERS ART GALLERY

BOUCICAUT MASTER

Varro Lecturing
Augustine, 'City of God' (Ms. W. 770, fol. 179vo)

by the green verdure and cooled by the grey-blue water, all of which become more soothing because they are thrown into contrast with garments of rose. And again in the indoor views, the thoughtful concentration of David as he composes the Psalms or the seriousness of Varro lecturing to the philosophers (fig. 26) is felt in the muted coloring so well observed by the painter. The grey recesses of the architecture, the greenish flesh-tints, violet and rose garments are rendered even more subdued by the adroit touches of minium and copper green.[77]

It is in these things that the greatness of the artist is revealed. As is universally the case, the innovator could teach his tricks and devices to his followers, but the quality of his vision remained his own.

A personality of a very different kind is responsible for the next manuscript to be discussed—a painter who conceived everything in terms of emotional expression and whose vision was directed not to distant prospects but to inner feeling (figs. 27, 28). This is the so-called Rohan Master, an artist who takes his name from an extraordinary Book of Hours, which by the mid-fifteenth century belonged to a member of the family of Rohan, who inserted his arms.[78] The developed style of the Rohan Master stands out amidst the refined illuminations of the most prominent of his Paris contemporaries.[79] In contrast to their concentration on polish and elegance, or their affectionate evocation of humble folk and familiar scenes, he startles us with the intensity and moodiness of his presentation. Where they seek the verisimilitude of architectural depth and aerial perspective, he piles up his buildings and landscapes as fantasies. The illusion of space holds no fascination for him. His figures are often exaggerated in scale—but they possess no bulk. In his great works he obtains richness by multiplication of details, and his coloring is often delicate, but there is no joy. His predilection is for anguish and the macabre. He clearly was not a Frenchman, and yet he first appears in Paris in the early years of the fifteenth century as a collaborator of our friend the Boucicaut Master and of another artist from distant parts who was to become known as 'the Bedford Master'. These three artists—of quite different temperaments—seem to have participated especially in the illumination of *de luxe* copies of secular texts, in which the illustrative program was so extensive that it had to be parcelled out to various workers. The Rohan Master's share in these was always subordinate.

[77] It is worth recalling that in Paris in 1398, Jacques Coene is recorded as having dictated recipes for colors, which he said he had used throughout his career as a painter, to Johannes Alcherius who was collecting technical information. See Meiss, *op. cit.*, p. 60 and notes 3, 4.

[78] Paris, Bibl. nat., Ms. lat. 9471.

[79] The most important literature on the Rohan Master and his atelier includes: Adelheid Heimann, in *Städel-Jahrbuch*, Frankfurt-am-Main, VII–VIII, 1932, pp. 1–61; E. Panofsky, in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter* (ed. W. Koehler), Cambridge, Mass., 1939, II, pp. 479–99; J. Porcher, 'Two Models for the "Heures de Rohan"', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, VIII, 1945, pp. 1 ff.; E. Panofsky, 'The de Buz Book of Hours', *Harvard Library Bulletin*, III, 1948–49, pp. 163–82; J. Porcher, *The Rohan Book of Hours*, London, 1959.

FIGURE 27 WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE ROHAN MASTER (*atelier*)
Flight into Egypt
Book of Hours (*Ms. W. 741, fol. 54*)

FIGURE 28

WALTERS ART GALLERY

THE ROHAN MASTER (*atelier*)
Vigils of the Dead
Book of Hours (*Ms. W. 741, fol. 102*)

According to the researches of the late Jean Porcher, the flowering of the eccentric genius of the Rohan Master was made possible by the advent of a sympathetic patron to release him from such hack work and supply him with congenial projects. This patron, he believed, was Yolande of Aragon, who, with her husband, Louis II, king of Sicily and duke of Anjou, was living in Paris around 1414. Porcher speculated that the painter, like his patron, may have been Spanish. First in Paris and then later in Anjou, the master worked upon a series of extraordinary works commissioned by Yolande for her daughter and sons—including the so-called Rohan Hours itself. For the latter he drew his themes heavily from a luxurious manuscript already by 1417 in Yolande's possession, the *Belles Heures* illuminated around 1410 by the Limbourg Brothers for the duc de Berry. In his subsequent works features from the Limbourgs continue to appear, as well as some from his earlier collaborators, the Bedford Master and the Boucicaut Master—all vastly transformed by his peculiar vision. He soon surrounded himself with helpers and followers and set up a regular atelier on which he placed his personal mark. This atelier turned out largely Books of Hours of varying degrees of quality—many, it appears, for the use of Troyes. Since that town is not particularly close to Anjou, we are left to speculate whether these Troyes *Horae* were ordered from the atelier by a bookseller active there.

Our own manuscript belongs to this group.[80] It is not a book of outstanding elegance of vellum or script, and the quality of its miniatures varies—but the best of them project the vigorous expressionism of the Rohan Master's conception. Here we have none of the enlarged scale which was employed so effectively for the works commissioned by Yolande.[81] But the intense, upturned faces of shepherds and Magi and David are a hallmark of his designs, as are the corkscrew crags and the gold flecks of clouds across the airless skies. Some scenes in our manuscript repeat treatments executed more prodigiously in the Rohan Hours or his other masterpieces. One may cite the Flight into Egypt and the Miracle of the Cornfield (fig. 27) which reduces and simplifies the miniature of that subject painted in the Rohan Hours—where the soldiers accosting the farmers occupy the foreground, while the Holy Family escapes in the distance (even though shown on a larger scale than the nearer figures). The sultry colors are the same. The direction of the action has been reversed.

A memorable picture is the illustration to the Vigils of the Dead—where a grim, emaciated corpse lies stretched on a blanket between a graveyard cross and a coffin (fig. 28). The mood of pathos is heightened by the loneliness of the situation. There are no attendants. The body lies on a knoll surrounded by pine woods and a succession of mountains. Only a distant chapel and even more distant fortifications speak of human existence. But from the heavens come rays of light which touch the dead man. This scene and several of the others occur in another Book of Hours from the atelier, British Museum, Harley 2934, which, it has been suggested, may be due to the same hand.

The next two manuscripts to be recorded represent memorial gifts to the collection from private individuals.

In September, 1960, Mr. Philippe Verdier, then Curator of Medieval and Subsequent Decorative Arts, presented to the Gallery a little Book of Hours in memory of the late Philip B. Perlman.[82] This manuscript he in turn had some years earlier

[80] Ms. W. 741. Acquired 1949. Book of Hours for Troyes use. In Latin and French. France, ca. 1425. 169 vellum leaves, $7 \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ in. (0.180×0.130), for the most part in gatherings of 8 leaves (12 for the calendar), but with several leaves missing, including 2 or 3 miniatures. 15 lines of script per page in *lettre de forme*; ruled in red. Illuminated ivy-vine borders throughout. Many illuminated initials, with most of those under the miniatures displaying grotesque dragons or birds brushed in gold on blue in a *camaieu* effect. 10 miniatures. French polished calf binding, gilt with a diapered *semée* of fleurs-de-lys and dated 1627. Provenance: Eustache Jouault, 1673; Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1948, lot 219, Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, no. 98; Rosy Schilling in *Connoisseur*, CXXX, January 1953, p. 221, note; M. Meiss, *Boucicaut Master*, *op. cit.*, p. 32, fig. 159.

[81] And also in the fine Book of Hours belonging to Harvard University, Ms. Richardson 42: E. Panofsky, *Harvard Library Bulletin*, *loc. cit.*; Walters Art Gallery, *The International Style*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–2, no. 58, with other literature, pl. LXI.

[82] Ms. W. 774. Hours of the Cross, Hours and Offices of the Virgin for the use of Rome, etc.; in Latin. French Flanders, about 1460–70. 198 vellum leaves, $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$ in. (0.100× 0.72). 14 lines of *gotica rotunda*, ruled in red. 4 miniatures in foliate borders inserted on separate leaves, 13 large initials on gold and borders. Original binding of calf over boards, upper cover lost.

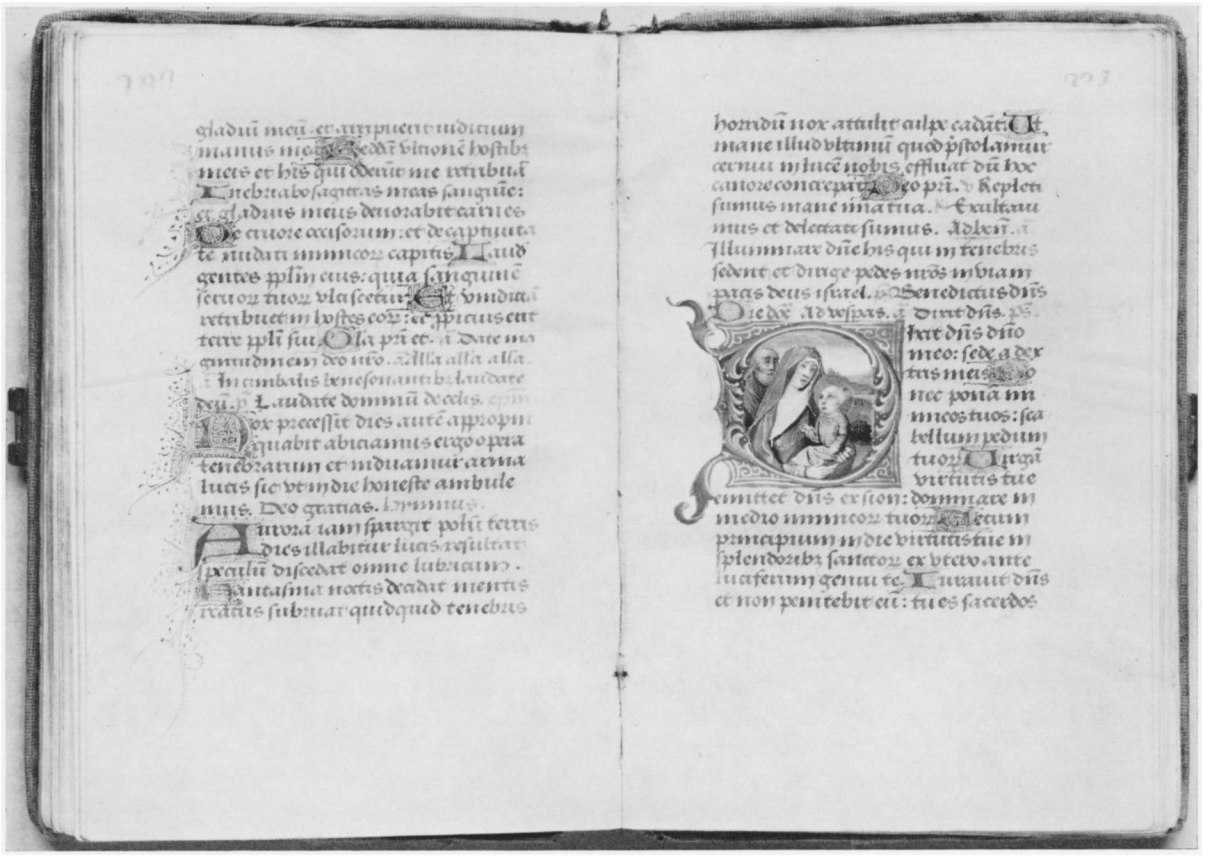


FIGURE 29 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Flight into Egypt
Psalter (Ms. W. 766, fols. 222vo–223)
Gift of Mrs. Bancroft Hill, 1959

received from a friend in memory of their teacher, the great French art historian, Henri Focillon (d. 1943). It is not a book distinguished for beauty and condition. It is in fact a shop production of the kind turned out in the fifteenth century to meet the needs of modest folk, who could not afford *de luxe* devotional books—and it has seen abundant use. Part of the original calf-covered binding still clings to the book, but the upper cover of thin wood has been lost, an accident which has exposed the first page of the calendar to partial destruction. A few other pages here and there have become detached, but for the rest the rather fine vellum leaves show the smudging due to endless thumbing, and the four full-page miniatures and many of the larger initials and borders have suffered from rubbing.

Our little volume had a long life of usefulness. Entries by seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth-century owners reveal that for several centuries it was in Italy—perhaps in Padua, when special prayers and notes were inscribed.

The book uses the liturgy of the Church of Rome, but its calendar and the characteristics of its decoration and illustration show it to be a product of northern France or more likely French Flanders around 1460 or so. The script is a regular and rather fine one, with surprisingly open proportions for this region. The pen-flourished initials are quite delicate and the large initials at the main divisions of the text display their foliate ornament of red and blue against grounds of gold, well laid on over gesso and highly burnished. The miniatures, difficult to

analyze because of damage, seem less accomplished than the rest of the decoration, but derive from the widespread shop-style inaugurated by the followers of William Vrelandt.

In 1959 Mrs. Bancroft Hill of Baltimore presented to the Gallery in memory of her husband a small liturgical Psalter which he had long enjoyed.[83] It is a fairly delicate little book executed in Paris around 1490 and still preserved in its original binding of pasteboard covered with rose velvet, now much worn. The script is an accomplished regular small bastarde, and most of the initials are embellished in complex, free-hand penwork, alternately red and blue, of the lacy character which is a hallmark of the Paris scriptoria. Eight historiated initials at the main divisions of the Psalter are painted in a style associated with the followers of Jean Colombe of Tours. The initials function as window-frames on the flat page, through which one sees the softly modeled figures, relatively large in scale and intercepted at the waist, and beyond them green landscape and distant blue hills—castle-topped—and sky (fig. 29). The little Psalter is not a great example of the French renaissance style, but it represents the charming effect so easily achieved by these very competent ateliers, at a period when printed books were already looming as a threat to the Paris illuminators.

* * * * *

The next manuscript to be described is a very unprepossessing one at first glance. It is written on rough parchment leaves, uneven in size and thickness and with many flaws that have been repaired by sewing. The illustrations are simple outline drawings, touched with red, and also rather rough (figs. 30, 31, 32). But this is, nevertheless, a member of a far rarer category than that represented by the glittering *Horae* and service books. It is a twelfth-century copy of an astronomical work attributed to Hyginus.[84] Thus it evokes something of the interest of the Middle Ages in classical mythology and science.

The author was assumed to be Gaius Julius Hyginus, referred to by Suetonius as a very learned Roman of the first century A.D. Although born a slave in Spain, he became, as freedman of Augustus, the keeper of the Palatine Library, and a friend of Ovid. Other early writers refer to various historical, agricultural, theological, and critical books of his—all of which have perished. The Middle Ages has transmitted to us two works to which the name of Hyginus has been attached. One is a book of fables, and the other is the text represented by our manuscript: *Poeticon Astronomicon Libri IV*. This deals with various cosmographical topics: the earth and the spheres, the mythological legends connected with the constellations and also the planets, the arrangement of the stars in the constellations, the circles of the celestial sphere and the movements of the planets, of the sun and moon, and their appearance. The unpolished character of the Latin prose has caused modern critics to doubt that the author of the *Astronomica* was indeed the learned Hyginus of whom Suetonius wrote, but that he must be either an entirely different and somewhat later writer, or one who may have abridged an Augustan composition.

In any case, the text was in circulation in western Europe—as were various other classical works on astronomy and on astrological calculation—by the ninth century. A number of the Carolingian examples of these other works were accompanied by illustrations of the mythological personifications of the constellations which, in many cases, faithfully imitated the painted classical originals, not only in details, but in style. No illustrated Carolingian

[83] Ms. W. 766. Psalter with liturgical additions; in Latin. Paris, about 1490. 154 vellum leaves, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{5}{8}$ in. (0.134 × 0.92). 24 lines of bastarde script, ruled in red. Gatherings of 8 leaves; minute atelier catchwords and signatures. 8 historiated and one illuminated initial. Original binding of pasteboard covered with rose velvet. Edges gilt.

[84] Ms. W. 734. Acquired 1947. Hyginus, *Astronomica*. Italy(?), late twelfth century. 22 vellum leaves, approximately $6\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ in. (0.168 × 0.120). In early gothic minuscule, black ink, generally 24 long lines per page, very lightly ruled in lead, pricked margins, gatherings of varying composition. 40 drawings. Red initials, executed only in part. Guide letters in inner margin. Binding: modern red velvet lined with leaves from an Italian twelfth-century manuscript of a commentary on St. Augustine.

E. P. Goldschmidt, catalogue 44, London [1937], no. 12, illus.; *idem*, catalogue 82, London [1947], no. 1, illus.; A. W. Byvanck, 'De platen in de Aratea van Hugo de Groot', *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandsche Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 12, no. 2, 1949, pp. 230–1, no. 117; Fritz Saxl, *Lectures* (ed. G. Bing), London, Warburg Institute, 1957, I, pp. 103, 108, II, pls. 58b, 60d; Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 197, no. 561; Patrick McGurk, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages, IV . . . in Italian Libraries (other than Rome)*, London, Warburg Institute, 1966, p. XXIII, and note 35.

FIGURE 30 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Hercules and Other Constellations
Hyginus, 'Astronomica' (Ms. W. 734, fols. 5vo–6)

example of Hyginus has survived to our day. Although it is always possible that this is due to loss by chance, scholars now tend to believe that this particular text was not illustrated until the eleventh century, when the Carolingian paintings in other classical astronomical works were drawn upon to embellish the Hyginus. What appears to be the earliest illustrated Hyginus is a manuscript in which both text and pictures were executed by one of the fascinating personalities of the Middle Ages, Adémar de Chabannes.[85] Adémar, born in A.D. 988, was a monk at Saint-Martial of Limoges and subsequently at Saint-Cybard of Angoulême, both in south-western France.[86] He appears to have been an energetic and versatile scholar, studying, copying out texts and also illustrations, perhaps to fill the gaps in the library of Saint-Martial, to which he finally presented his books. Although a few of the illustrations attributed to him can rank as illuminations, the most interesting are the assemblages of rough sketches which he apparently copied out rapidly as working notations to serve toward the illustration of texts copied at the same time. The most famous of these is a collection preserved at the

[85] Byvanck, *op. cit.*, p. 190; McGurk, *op. cit.*, p. XXII.

[86] The most recent discussion of Adémar and his illustrations is: Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, 'Les dessins d'Adémar de Chabannes', *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, n.s., 3, 1967, pp. 163–224. The earlier literature is cited there.

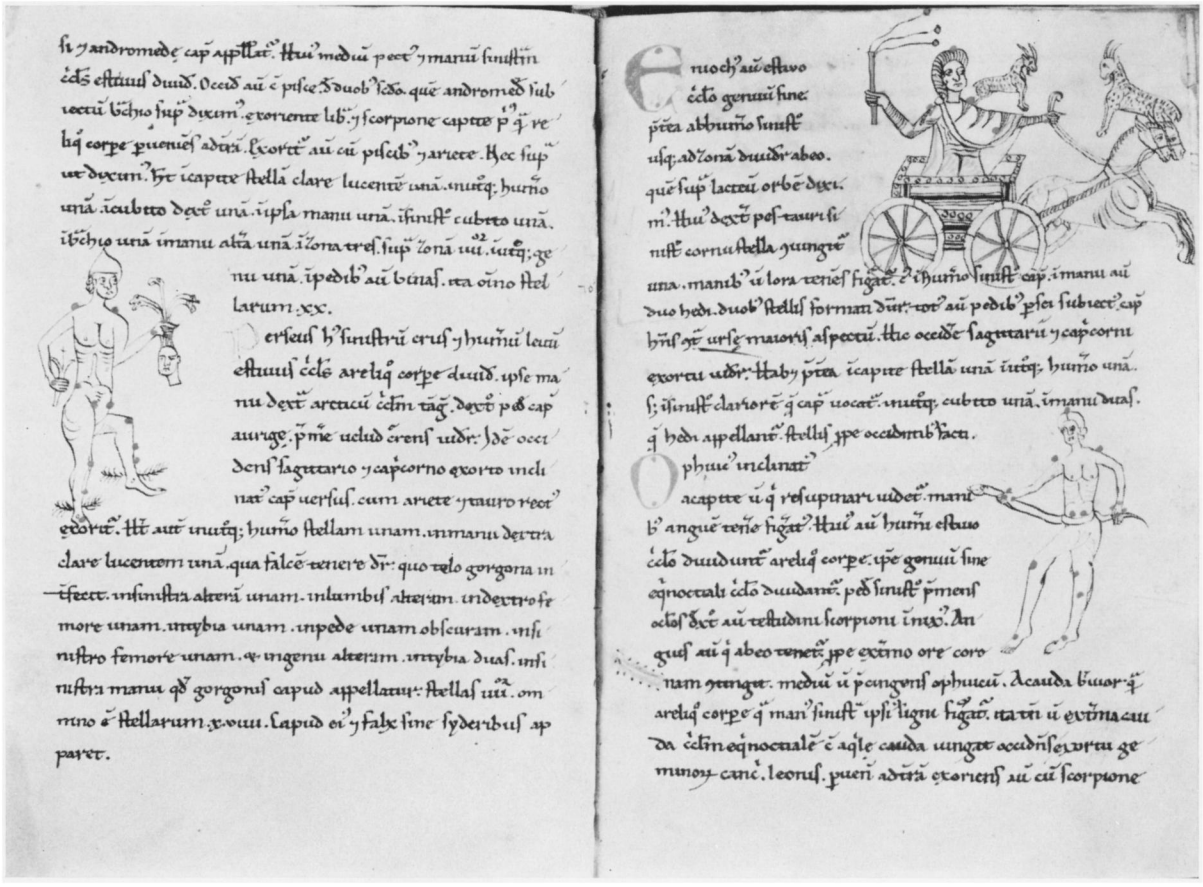


FIGURE 31 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Auriga and Other Constellations
Hyginus, 'Astronomica' (Ms. W. 734, fols. 7vo–8)

University of Leiden,[87] which includes materials relating to the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, the Fables of Romulus, New Testament subjects, ornamental motifs, as well as the *Astronomica* of Hyginus. The latter is by far the most carefully executed of the assemblage, suggesting that in this case the author had access to the model or models without undue pressure of time. It is a matter of debate whether Adémar had before him an illustrated Hyginus, or whether he did in fact turn to other illustrated astronomical works and adapt their pictures to the requirements of the Hyginus text. In any case, the style of his drawings suggests that his pictorial model was a Carolingian one.[88] Since Adémar left Angoulême in 1028 for a journey to Jerusalem, where he died in 1034, one may date the Leiden manuscript around 1025. These illustrations, however, differ from those of most of the twelve surviving Hyginus manuscripts dating from between 1025 and 1225 in that the Adémar illustrations are to Book III of the text. According to Dr. McGurk,[89] all but two of the manuscripts of this medieval group illustrate Book II, in which the emphasis is on mythology, whereas the renaissance

[87] University Library, cod. Voss. Lat. Oct. 15.

[88] The problem of the source of Adémar's illustrations, first raised by Byvanck, *loc. cit.*, has lately been discussed anew by R. W. Scheller, *A Survey of Medieval Model Books*, Haarlem, 1963, pp. 57–61, and D. Gaborit-Chopin, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–91.

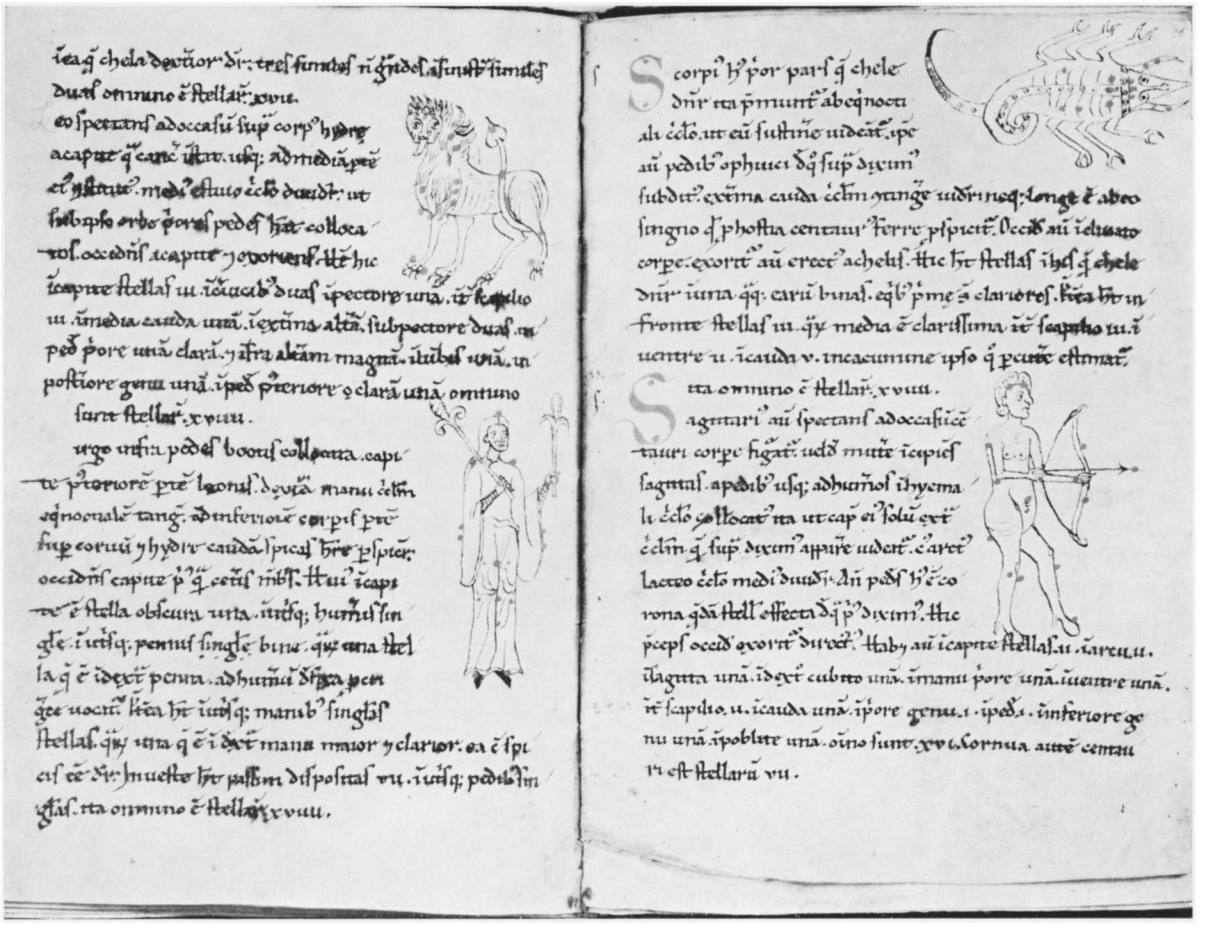


FIGURE 32 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Sagittarius and Other Constellations
Hyginus, 'Astronomica' (Ms. W. 734, fols. 10vo–11)

manuscripts—which reflect a renewed popularity of Hyginus—place the illustrations in Book III, which catalogues the positions of the stars in each constellation. If a systematic examination of the eleventh and twelfth-century manuscripts should substantiate this, we then can point to our little manuscript as an unrecorded member of the select medieval group in which the illustrations are to Book III. However, our constellations do not repeat in every instance the exact types used by Adémar. The Hercules figure (fig. 30) does not include the tree and serpent of the Hesperides as in the Leiden manuscript, and Eridanus is a full river-god figure, not truncated as in the eleventh-century version. Sagittarius in our manuscript is represented as a satyr (fig. 32) rather than a centaur as seen in Adémar and in many of the renaissance manuscripts—but the satyr form appears to be characteristic of many of the medieval examples of the period which includes our manuscript. Only by extensive comparisons shall we be able to determine its exact relationship to the rest of the medieval Hyginus codices. The satyr Sagittarius, Auriga shown as driving a chariot (fig. 31) and the donkeys representing two stars in the constellation of Cancer called *asselli*, as here, go back to a very small group

[89] McGurk, *op. cit.*, p. XXII.

of ninth-century astronomical manuscripts[90] which employ this iconography. It is interesting that in our Hyginus the *asselli* are not included in the representation of Cancer on folio 10, but are drawn separately on folio 20 amid some additions to Book IV. Their aspect, however, is very close to what we see on folio 56vo in the manuscript at Madrid (Bibl. Nacional, cod. 3307), dating between 820 and 828.[91] The text of our manuscript, very stringent in its abbreviations, appears to have some divergence from the Hyginus editions printed at the end of the fifteenth century, as for instance the illustrated edition printed in Venice by Ratdolt in 1482.

Our illustrations, although provincial and simple in style, still are not without charm. The stars are indicated as red dots and occasionally, as in the Auriga or the Ara, red strokes are used to enliven other areas. The provincial drawings manage to preserve some reminiscence of the Carolingian style of their distant ancestor. However, a few details, such as the sickle-shaped weapon of Hercules (fig. 30), instead of the club of classical and Carolingian representations, suggest that our book may have felt the influence of the Arabic restatements reaching Europe through Spain and southern Italy in the twelfth century.[92] This suggests that we should perhaps date the manuscript around 1200 or even a few years later.

Not only the dating but the location of a provincial manuscript is often very difficult. We find ourselves still puzzled as to the exact region which produced our book. Vellum and script suggest Italy, but Spain or southern France are possible provenances also. For the time being, however, we have rather arbitrarily seized upon the possibility of Italian origin to describe this at the head of the group of Italian manuscripts that have joined the collection 'since De Ricci'.

FIGURE 33 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Elcana with His Wives, Hannah and Peninnah
Miniature from Conradin Bible (Ms. W. 752a)

At the beginning of this article we recounted the story of the important but fragmentary twelfth-century Sacramentary for Reims of which we succeeded in tracing down and acquiring a considerable proportion of the leaves that had been detached sixty years ago. A somewhat similar tale can be told concerning one of the most outstanding of our Italian illuminated manuscripts. This is the so-called Bible of Conradin, a thirteenth-century codex which formed the subject of an article in the special issue of *Apollo* dedicated to the Walters Art Gallery.[93] This large Bible, which appears to be absolutely unique in style and in design,[94] preserves

[90] Wilhelm Neuss, 'Eine karolingische Kopie antiker Sternzeichenbilder im Codex 3307 der Biblioteca Nacional zu Madrid', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, VIII, 1941, pp. 113–40. The other ninth-century manuscripts of this group, besides that in Madrid, are: Berlin, Ms. Phillippicus 1832, Rome, Vatican, Latin 645, and Monza, Bibl. Capit. cod. F.9.176 (added to the group of the Carolingian astronomical compilation of A.D. 810 by Wilhelm Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, III, Berlin, 1960, p. 121; see McGurk, *op. cit.*, pp. XIII and XXIII).

[91] Koehler, *op. cit.*, pp. 119–20 and pl. 55.

[92] For discussions of the effects of the oriental transmission see Saxl, *op. cit.*, pp. 73 ff. and especially Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, 'Classical Mythology in Medieval Art', *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, 1933, pp. 237–44.

[93] D. Miner, 'The Conradin Bible: a Masterpiece of Italian Illumination', *Apollo*, LXXXIV, no. 58, 1966, pp. 471–5, with 11 illus.

[94] Since the publication of the article in *Apollo*, Signora Ilaria Toesca has written about some detached leaves of choir books which she attributes to the 'Maestro "di Corradino" ', *Paragone*, no. 235 (*Arte*), XX, 1969, pp. 68–72, figs. 54–60. The general style of these is related to that to be seen in our Bible, especially in the blending of Byzantine and romanesque. However, the extraordinary dynamic quality of design and execution which distinguishes the Conradin Bible is not to be found in these musical leaves. A leaf belonging to one of these choir books, unknown to Signora Toesca, is in the City Art Museum of Saint Louis, Missouri.

FIGURE 34 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Elijah Gives His Mantle to Elisha
Miniature from Conradin Bible (Ms. W. 752b)

a series of some fifty-two miniatures of monumental character, as well as fifty-one historiated initials. However, even a cursory examination will reveal that the book as it now exists is incomplete and out of order. The Bible originally was bound in two volumes, it seems. The text of our codex opens with the Book of Daniel and proceeds, with some small gaps, through the beginning of the Apocalypse. Assembled after that are the first pages, only, of eighteen of the books of the Old Testament. Some earlier owner, it appears, had simply saved a number of the illustrated pages from what had been volume I, and discarded the text pages.

A richly illuminated Italian Bible of this period would normally have about eighty-two illustrations —either in the form of miniatures or historiated initials—one placed at the beginning of each book, but with eight at the main divisions of the Psalter. What survives in our manuscript consists of the illustrations to fifty-eight books—fifty-two large marginal miniatures, and six historiated initials of varying sizes. In addition to this are the forty-five other historiated initials which add auxiliary illustration to the main miniatures. Thus, one can calculate that perhaps twenty-four of the illustrations were lacking at the time that the present nineteenth

century velvet binding was installed.

To review briefly the history of the manuscript, which has been set out more fully in the article cited above, one may recall that this luxurious codex was by tradition associated with the last of the Hohenstaufens, the unfortunate Conradin, King of Sicily, who was executed by the Guelfs at Naples in 1268, when he was only sixteen years of age. According to legend, the Bible was sent to him in Italy from Sicily in 1267 or 1268. The source of this legend has never been ascertained, but the style and the possible date of the Bible do not disprove it. The story was, it appears, handed on by the comte Auguste de Bastard d'Estang (1792–1883) who owned the manuscript in the first half of the nineteenth century and reproduced two of its miniatures in color lithography.[95] A note in the handwriting of one of the count's secretaries, once placed at the beginning of the volume, recorded the tradition and, furthermore, described the Bible as preserving one hundred and twenty miniatures. If this was an accurate count (the language of the note is somewhat confused), the book contained more illustrations when the count owned it than we have now, for even if we add the historiated initials to the independent miniatures now in our manuscript we reach a total of only 103.[96]

The manuscript subsequently was owned by the Paris collector Frédéric Spitzer (1817–90), and in his collection catalogue was described in careful detail by the distinguished scholar, Léopold Delisle,[97] who included the transcription of the de Bastard note in his account. That note has now disappeared. In any case, the description of the Bible given by Delisle corresponds in every respect to the manuscript as we have it now. Unfortunately, he does not mention the binding, so we cannot be sure of the date of this.

FIGURE 35 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Christ and His Bride, the Church
Miniature from Conradin Bible (Ms. W. 752d)

At the sale of the Spitzer collection in 1893,[98] the manuscript was bought by Charles Stein, who died a few years later. By 1902 it belonged to the Munich antiquarian, Jacques Rosenthal, who included it in his catalogue 27 of that year. It was from Rosenthal's relative, Leo Olschki of Florence, that Henry Walters acquired the Bible in 1905, rather early in the development of his interest in western illuminated manuscripts.

An analysis of the surviving portions of the Bible

[95] Comte Auguste de Bastard d'Estang, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits classés dans l'ordre chronologique pour servir à l'histoire du dessin depuis le IVe s. jusqu'à la fin du XVIe s.* This ambitious work—never brought to completion—consists of fascicules of eight plates each issued over a period of years beginning in 1835. The relatively rare surviving sets differ greatly from each other. Only certain ones preserve the color reproductions of St. Mark and his symbol (fol. 66vo) and St. John and his symbol (folio 90) from the Conradin Bible.

[96] De Ricci, *op. cit.*, p. 764, no. 44, in describing our book, appears to have repeated the de Bastard count (although by typographical error making it 128) and this erroneous numbering was perpetuated by myself in the catalogue of our 1949 exhibition, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, *op. cit.*, no. 36.

[97] A. and E. Molinier, and L. Delisle, *La collection Spitzer*, V, Paris, 1892, pp. 124–6 and 141–3, no. 28, pl. V (in color).

[98] Paris, 1893, lot 3030.

FIGURE 36 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Christ in Majesty
Miniature from Conradin Bible (Ms. W. 752c)

reveals that the missing miniatures would be illustrations to the following texts: (1) The Prologue of St. Jerome; (2) Genesis; (3) Exodus; (4) Ruth; (5–7) I, III, IV Kings; (8) I Chronicles; (9) Job; (10–17) Psalms; (18) Ecclesiastes; (19) Song of Songs; (20) Wisdom of Solomon; (21) Jeremiah; (22) Baruch; (23) Acts; (24) James.

It will be noted that all but two of these missing subjects concern the Old Testament. One is reminded that, as the manuscript now stands, eighteen of the books of the Old Testament preceding Daniel are represented only by single miniatured leaves, which have been extracted from their text and gathered together at the end of the volume. This predilection of an early owner to save only the illustrated pages of the original volume one gave me hope, many years ago, that possibly other illuminated pages of this volume might come to light from various sources.

This is exactly what has happened, if only in a very limited way, thus far. In 1953, the late Dr. Alfred Scharf of London wrote me that he was acting as executor of the estate of Dr. Grete Ring, the distinguished scholar of Flemish and early French painting, who had died in London. Among her effects were five cut-out miniatures which Dr. Scharf recognized as being related to our Conradin Bible (figs. 33–37, shown here slightly reduced). He wondered whether the Walters Art Gallery would be interested in acquiring these from the estate. Needless to say, we leapt at the chance! And they did indeed prove to be from the Bible.

The identification of the scenes in these miniatures, and their original location in the Bible (except for the obvious one, Elijah and his chariot), presented some problems. The miniatures had been cut out along the strangely recurving outlines which characterize the decoration of the Conradin Bible. The format of the Bible is such that most of the miniatures are located either in the outer or the lower margins of the page, which are exceptionally wide. This means that no text will be found on the back of any that have been clipped out, as in the case of our five. However, the compilation of a list of what illustrations are now missing from the volume reduced the choices, so that identification could be made with certainty. The subjects thus supplied are as follows:

1. Elcana with his two wives, Hannah and Peninnah, and two of the latter's children—the illustration of I Kings (I Samuel in the King James version), referring to chapter I, verses 1–8 (fig. 33). This evidently had occupied the lower part of an outer margin, being formerly connected with the text page by a ligature rising above Elcana's head—doubtless one of those astonishing dragons that meander over the margins of so many pages of the Bible.

2. Elijah taken up into heaven in a fiery chariot and handing his mantle to Elisha, illustrating IV Kings (or II Kings of the King James version), chapter II, verses 11–14 (fig. 34). This miniature obviously was placed at the right-hand corner of the lower margin of a recto page.

3. Christ in Majesty (fig. 36) which must have marked the beginning of Psalm 110 (109 in the King James). In northern manuscripts this iconography is relatively rare, the customary subject for this position being the Trinity, but Christ in Majesty is normally used in thirteenth-century Italian manuscripts of the Psalter. The miniature comes from the left margin of a verso page.

4. Christ and His Bride, the Church, the illustration to the Song of Solomon (fig. 35), cut from the right margin of a recto page.

5. An apostle (Paul?) taken into custody, illustrating the Acts (fig. 37), from a lower margin.

Of these one may judge that numbers 3 and 4 are by the foremost artist of the Conradin Bible—the extraordinary painter responsible for such miniatures as Tobias and the Angel (folio 156vo), the Vision of Ezechiel (folio 164), or the Martyrdom of Isaiah (folio 162vo), among many others. He is characterized by a strong, impressionistic modeling of flesh tints over a green under-layer, alertness of expression, a remarkable gamut of colors favoring dull rose modeled with highlights of bright red and outlined in black, olive green highlighted in a light

FIGURE 37 WALTERS ART GALLERY

An Apostle Taken into Custody
Miniature from Conradin Bible (Ms. W. 752e)

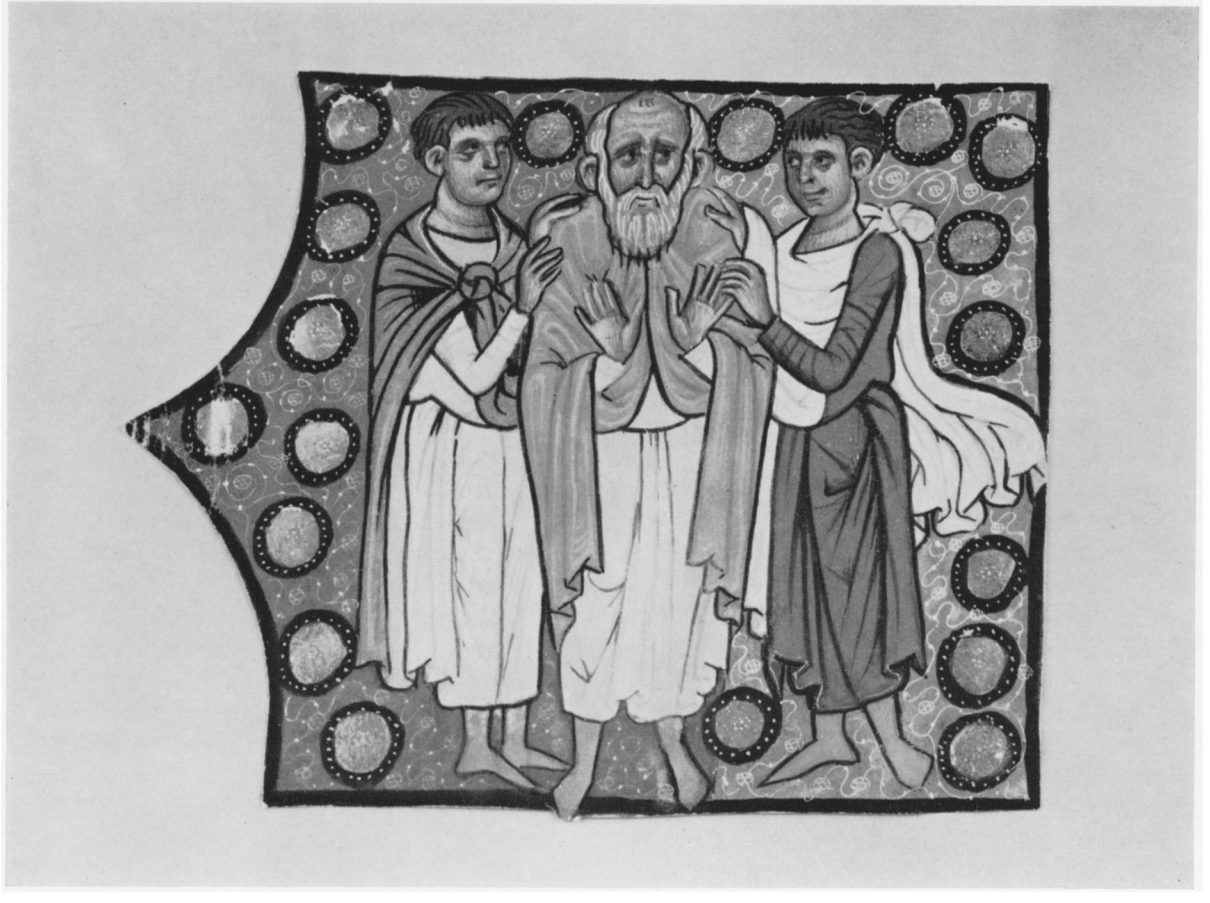


FIGURE 38 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ZANOBI STROZZI
The Annunciation; Nativity
Book of Hours (Ms. W. 767, fols. 14vo–15)

blue-green and shaded with dark red, a dull lavender shaded in maroon, all of these being thrown into contrast by the shock of areas of strong yellow shaded with bright red.

Numbers 2, 5, and perhaps number 1, are due to a less gifted follower who replaces alertness of expression with anxiety, and is instinctively flatter in his handling of drapery and movement. He is the painter of the illustrations to Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Matthew, etc., in the codex. His use of color is quite different—but still very appealing. His dull rose receives highlights of grey-pink, and he likes to contrast a soft grey-lavender with areas of bright but luscious red, modeled very lightly with pink. He also makes use of the so-called 'mosaic gold' or 'false gold' favored by Italian illuminators, but which appears hardly at all in the work of the chief artist.

The acquisition of the five miniatures just discussed means that at present only nineteen illustrations are still missing from the original illumination of the Bible, if indeed all eight divisions of the Psalms were marked by miniatures. We can only hope that these will one day come to light!

Strength has been added to our representation of Italian renaissance illumination by the acquisition

of two manuscripts with which we shall conclude this account. The earlier of the pair is a small Book of Hours acquired in 1959, which was illuminated by Zanobi Strozzi, an artist who has been described as 'the most important Florentine miniature painter of the early Renaissance'.[99] He was exceptional among artists of the period in that he came from a wealthy and aristocratic background. His father was Benedetto di Caroccio degli Strozzi, a member of the powerful Florentine banking family. Zanobi, born in Florence on November 17, 1412, was left an orphan at an early age. We know that by 1427 he was living with an older married brother at Brozzi near Florence. But shortly after this he went to live on a family property at Palaiuola in the parish of the Badia of Fiesole. It was probably at this juncture that he entered the studio of a Fiesole painter and illuminator, Battista di Biago Sanguigni (1393–1451). This was a unique arrangement for the time, as Zanobi came to Sanguigni not as an apprentice, but as a pupil paying his teacher for instruction. Signora Mirella D'Ancona has published records indicating that he provided Sanguigni and his brother with a residence and annual allotments of wheat and wine for their lifetime.[100] Zanobi lived with Sanguigni until 1438, when he separated his dwelling at the time of his marriage to a lady from another branch of the Strozzi family. During this period Sanguigni had been engaged in illuminating the choir books of Sta. Caterina at San Gaggio, a convent which Zanobi's younger sister entered as a nun in 1432.[101] The work on these books was never brought to completion, for some reason. In the case of a volume now in the collection of Prince Tommaso Corsini in Florence, enough of the historiated initials have been completed to have enabled Signora D'Ancona to distinguish two styles—one that of the principal painter, Sanguigni, and another which she took to be that of his pupil, Zanobi Strozzi.[102] Her connoisseurship was brilliantly vindicated when Dr. Werner Cohn was able to inform her that a document of payment to Zanobi did actually exist in the Florence Archives, and that it specified the precise initial of the 'Marriage of St. Catherine' on which she had based her opinion.[103] However, although Sanguigni was paid for his work in 1432, payment to Strozzi was not made until November 1447. This may have been due to a later return to the task on the part of Zanobi, but it is more likely that his remuneration was considered less urgent, in view of his wealth.

It was, no doubt, due to his independent means and elevated social position that Zanobi Strozzi never enrolled as a member of the painters' guild, for in those days painters still held the status of artisans. In this situation, as Signora D'Ancona indicates, Zanobi was not entitled to receive direct commissions for his work. He circumvented the problem by associating himself with a guild member who had the right to negotiate a contract.

The definitely documented works by Zanobi are all manuscript illuminations, essentially those he executed for the Cathedral of Florence and a great series of at least eleven choir books for the Dominican monastery of San Marco, Florence. The documents for this activity, some of which were published as long ago as 1908 by Paolo D'Ancona,[104] have been the object of intensive researches by Signora Mirella D'Ancona, who has greatly expanded the list, restudied and reinterpreted them with admirable critical objectivity.[105] The records begin in 1445 when Zanobi, then thirty-three, was paid for some miniatures in two Psalters for the Cathedral of Florence, which are still in the museum

[99] Mirella Levi D'Ancona, *Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo—documenti per la storia della miniatura*, Florence, 1962, p. 261.

The most important literature on Zanobi Strozzi is as follows: G. Milanesi in G. Vasari, *Vite de'piu eccelenti Pittori Scultori ed Architettori*, Florence, Sansoni, 1906, pp. 520, 521, 528, note 1; Paolo D'Ancona, 'Un ignoto collaboratore di Beato Angelico (Zanobi Strozzi)', *L'Arte*, X, 1908, pp. 81–95; *idem*, *La miniatura fiorentina*, Florence, 1914, I, pp. 53–7, pls. 62–5, II, pp. 345–56, nos. 757–76 and pp. 402–9, nos. 803–5; Raymond van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, X, The Hague, 1928, pp. 162–86; L. Collobi Ragghianti, 'Zanobi Strozzi pittore', *Critica d'Arte*, March, 1950, pp. 458, 468, note 12 and *ibid.*, May 1950, p. 17; Mirella Levi D'Ancona, 'Zanobi Strozzi Reconsidered', *Bibliofilia*, 1959, LXI, pp. 1–38; *idem*, *Miniatura e miniatori*, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–8, pls. 39, 40; *idem*, 'La pala del 1436 di Zanobi Strozzi', *Rivista d'Arte*, ser. 3, X, 1960, pp. 103–6.

[100] Mirella L. D'Ancona, *Miniatura e miniatori*, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–9, 263.

[101] Paolo Toesca, in *Rassegna d'Arte*, XVII, pt. I, 1917, pp. 126–8, figs. 9–11.

[102] M. L. D'Ancona, 'Zanobi Strozzi . . .', *op. cit.*, p. 24, fig. 4.

[103] *Ibid.*, note 1.

[104] P. D'Ancona in *L'Arte*, *op. cit.*, pp. 94–5.

[105] M. L. D'Ancona, 'Zanobi Strozzi', *op. cit.*, and *idem*. *Miniatura e miniatori*, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–8.

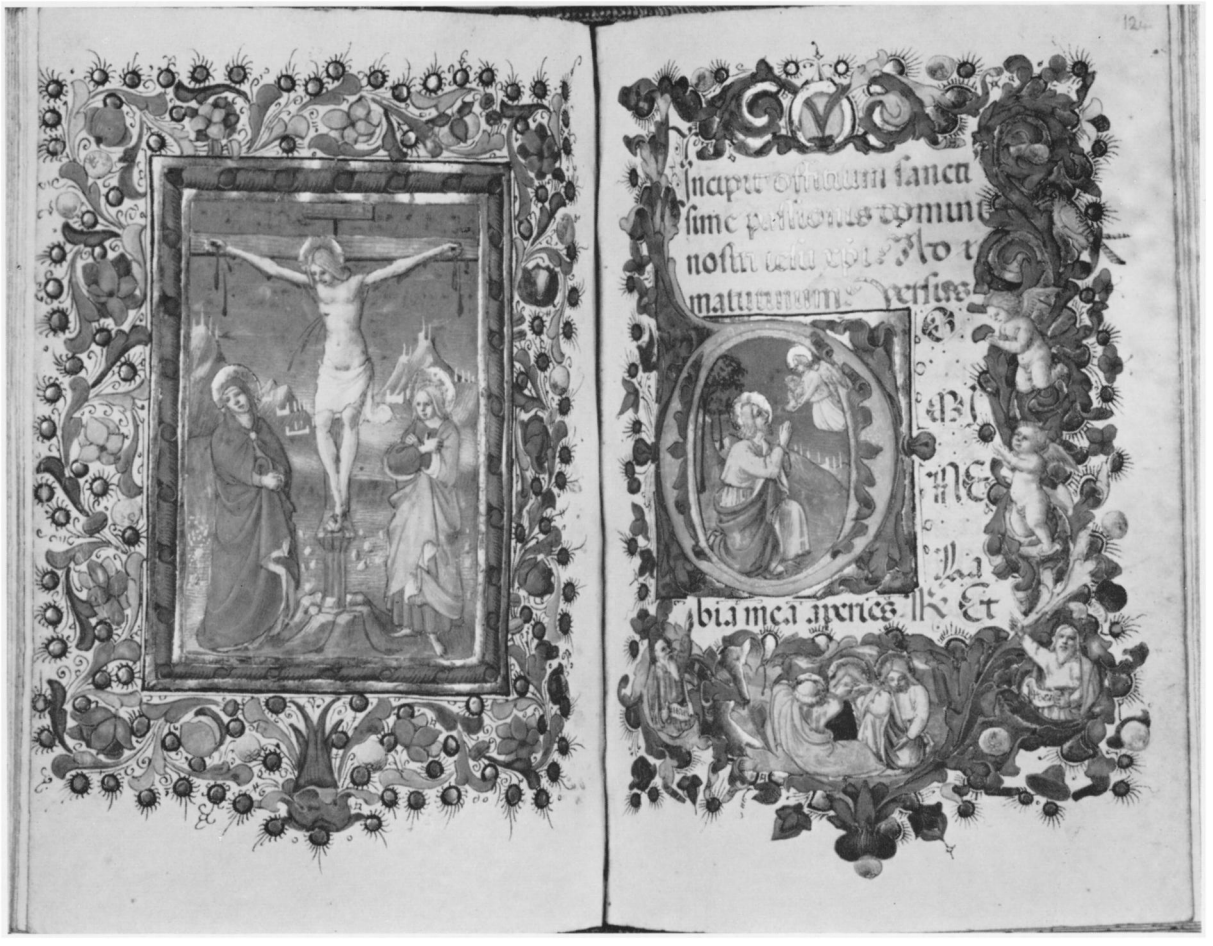


FIGURE 39 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ZANOBI STROZZI
The Crucifixion; Mount of Olives
Book of Hours (Ms. W. 767, fols. 123vo–124)

of the Opera del Duomo. The border decorations were executed by Filippo di Matteo Torelli (1409–68), who possibly had been a fellow pupil of Sanguigni at Fiesole for a while.[106]

In 1446 Zanobi moved his family to Florence and rented a house. He plunged into a very productive life, if we can judge by the documents of his achievements as an illuminator. From 1446 to 1453 he received payments for historiated initials in the series of large choir books for San Marco—five Antiphonaries and six Graduals. Again his friend Torelli executed the decorative illuminations and acted, it seems, as a go-between in the transactions. The records of payment specify pretty clearly just what initials were historiated by Zanobi in each case, and Signora D'Ancona has added to her triumphs by finding records of the dates of payment to the stationer Vespasiano da Bisticci for binding the successive volumes, showing that the Antiphonaries were completed first, and then the Graduals. These enabled her to identify with certainty each miniature by Zanobi mentioned in the documents.[107]

Other commissions for church books followed over the years, ending with two large Antiphonaries for the Cathedral of Florence on which Zanobi was

FIGURE 40 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ZANOBI STROZZI
Pietà; St. Helena
Book of Hours (Ms. W. 767, fols. 162vo–163)

at work at the time of his death in 1468.

Giorgio Vasari, writing in 1550, attributed this illumination of the two Cathedral choir books to Fra Angelico,[108] and the same historian, moreover, listed Zanobi Strozzi among the pupils of Fra Angelico.

A glance at the little paintings definitely known as Zanobi's will explain the recurring assumption—from Vasari's time on—that he was associated with Fra Angelico. The lucid, glowing but delicate coloring, the youthful aspect even of older personages, the landscapes of grey hills topped with turreted towns, the cypresses and fruit trees, even many of his compositions, speak of the influence of the great Dominican painter. The fact that Zanobi was learning his art at Fiesole during the very years when Angelico was there, painting altarpieces and frescoes for his own monastery of San Domenico and other convents, seems like more than a coincidence when viewed in connection with Strozzi's eventual style. And that the latter's move to Florence and work on the San Marco choir books occurred while Angelico and his followers were busy with the series

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 55.
[107] *Idem*, 'Zanobi Strozzi', *op. cit.*, pp. 10 ff.
[108] Vasari (Milanesi), *op. cit.*, p. 522.

of frescoes in the same monastery, as well as numerous altarpieces, renders it virtually impossible to believe that there was no contact. Ever since Paolo D'Ancona first called attention to the personality of Zanobi Strozzi in 1908,[109] scholars have been concerned with assigning him the authorship of many of the works of Angelico's school. Some years ago, Raymond van Marle, and more recently the British specialist, John Pope-Hennessy, have gone so far as to attribute to Zanobi the execution of panels dating from Fiesole days—and even his collaboration in panels painted partly by Angelico.[110]

Perhaps some day the search through the endless documents in the archives of Florence and of the monasteries will bring to light one that will attest to the accuracy of hitherto subjective judgments. So far, however, no record has turned up that connects Zanobi with Fra Angelico. We do know, however, that Sanguigni was in touch with him in 1417, for he acted as sponsor to Fra Angelico on his entry to the Compagnia di S. Niccolò al Carmine.[111]

If Zanobi's hand is, in fact, to be recognized in as many works as proposed by van Marle, Pope-Hennessy and others, then he was surely—at least in panel painting—among the closest collaborators and imitators of the great Dominican monk. That Strozzi did indeed execute panel paintings is attested by a record of payment to him in 1436 for an altarpiece for the hospital of Sta. Maria Nuova—but the painting to which it refers has not been identified to general agreement.[112]

Signora D'Ancona, however, in her great service of assembling the documents concerning Zanobi's activities as an illuminator, which enable us to form a clear idea of his style, warns against considering our artist only as an imitator of Angelico, and reminds us that the painters surrounding Angelico must have been legion, if we are to account for the prodigious output of the monk.[113]

Our example of Zanobi Strozzi's illumination is a fine little Book of Hours which we acquired at the London auction of the second part of the collection of the late C. W. Dyson Perrins (figs. 38–42).[114] The main decoration shows Strozzi's style at the period when, in Signora D'Ancona's judgment, he illuminated his loveliest miniatures—between 1446 and 1448. There are five double-page openings consisting of a full-page picture with floral border, opposite a historiated initial which is related in subject to its historiated border. There are also seven other historiated initials at the chief divisions of the Office of the Virgin. Since I have discussed these scenes in a very general article in the *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, we may merely review the subjects here and add a few points.

The Annunciation (fig. 38) at the opening of the Office of the Virgin is very close to another miniature attributed by Signora D'Ancona to Strozzi, in a Book of Hours now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence, Ms. 457. Both of these miniatures depend ultimately upon the Annunciation altarpiece which Fra Angelico executed for San Domenico at Cortona soon after 1430, and which Mr. Pope-Hennessy describes as his 'first indubitable masterpiece'.[115] A noteworthy feature of that was the device of placing the scene in a beautiful arcaded

[109] P. D'Ancona, in *L'Arte*, *op. cit.*

[110] R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; John Pope-Hennessy, *Fra Angelico*, London, 1952, pp. 12, 13, 168, 172, 173, 195, 199–200, 203–4, etc.

[111] Werner Cohn, 'Il Beato Angelico e Battista di Biagio Sanguigni, Nuovi documenti', *Rivista d'Arte: Annuario 1955*, XXX, Florence, 1956, pp. 210–11.

[112] M. L. D'Ancona, 'Zanobi Strozzi', *op. cit.*, p. 26 and note 2; *idem*, *Miniatura e miniatori*, *op. cit.*, p. 261, and in *Rivista d'Arte*, *op. cit.*

[113] *Idem*, 'Zanobi Strozzi', *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[114] Ms. W. 767. Book of Hours for the use of Rome; in Latin. Florence, ca. 1448. 278 vellum leaves, $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ in. (0.134×0.94), for the most part in gatherings of 10 leaves, but with variation; catchwords. 12 lines of script per page in *gotica rotunda*; black ink with rubricated captions, and first several lines of each division in raised gold. 7 initials illuminated in gold and colors. Lesser initials in blue and gold, the larger of these with contrasting penwork along margin. Five full-page miniatures with floral borders, one painted on a bifolium, the others on single inserted leaves. Five *incipit* pages facing these, with historiated initials and historiated borders. 7 other historiated initials in the Office of the Virgin. Twentieth-century brown morocco binding, gilt, by Katherine Adams. Provenance: Adimari family, Florence; Rev. Walter Sneyd, sale, Sotheby's Dec. 16, 1903, lot 555; C. Fairfax Murray, London; acquired from him in 1906 by C. W. Dyson Perrins; his sale, part II, London, Sotheby's, Dec. 1, 1959, lot 80, illus.

Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, p. 124, no. 255, pl. 153; Lionello Venturi in *L'Arte*, 1908, p. 305; Paolo D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, Florence, 1914, II, p. 654, no. 1374 ('*scuola del Beato Angelico*'); Sir George Warner, *Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C. W. Dyson Perrins*, Oxford, 1920, I, pp. 167–9, no. 67, II, pl. LXIX, b; D. Miner, 'A New Renaissance Manuscript', *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1960, XII, no. 6, pp. 1, 3–4, illus.

[115] Pope-Hennessy, *op. cit.*, p. 6, pls. 8–15.

FIGURE 41 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ZANOBI STROZZI

David and Goliath; David the Psalmist
Book of Hours (Ms. W. 767, fols. 169vo–170)

loggia, seen at an angle, with only a narrow bit of green at the left, ending in a distant glimpse of the Expulsion of Adam and Eve. This conception evidently made an impression, since two slightly variant copies of the Cortona altarpiece exist, both of which have been attributed to Zanobi Strozzi.[116] Angelico himself returned to this composition later on, perhaps after his return from Rome in 1449, when he executed the lovely fresco in the upper corridor of San Marco. Here the emphasis on architectural perspective and rhythm has become even greater, doubtless due to his close association with the architect Michelozzo. The garden becomes a little more important and the scene of the Expulsion has been eliminated. Both the Riccardiana and the Walters miniatures have reduced the arcade to a mere arched canopy over the Virgin, thereby eliminating the rhythmical accents of the colonnade and the perspective emphasis. This brings the figures closer to the foreground of the picture—which is a tendency of Strozzi's. A loosely hanging cloth of honor behind the Virgin in both miniatures gives an opportunity for a contrasting color-note, but is a further departure from the austerity of the setting in

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 168, figs. V, VI.

FIGURE 42 WALTERS ART GALLERY

ZANOBI STROZZI
A Funeral; Death the Reaper
Book of Hours (Ms. W. 767, fols. 204vo–205)

Fra Aneligco's conception. In both, a wall topped with a shallow-potted plant divides the foreground from the landscape—but in the Walters example the lower wall is only a parapet, beyond which is a fruit tree and the barren tower-capped hills so beloved of Angelico. The pose of angel and Virgin in our manuscript is closer to Angelico's than in the Riccardiana version, but the greater intensity of the Virgin's upturned face and the rushing angel spell the difference between the spiritual serenity of the monk and the more worldly vision of Zanobi.

Opposite the Annunciation, the Office of the Virgin is introduced by an initial framing the Holy Family adoring the Christ Child—treated as in other works by Angelico and his school, but here substituting a rocky cave for the usual shed. The scene spills over into the border, which is crowded with rejoicing angels clad in long robes of pale blue or lavender or bright yellow. At the foot is a touch completely alien to Angelico: six nude little winged cherubs supporting the armorials of the Adimari family of Florence, who commissioned the manuscript.

The story continues in the historiated initials

which open the main divisions of the Office of the Virgin: the Flight into Egypt (Lauds), the Presentation in the Temple (Prime), the Adoration of the Magi (Tierce), Christ among the Doctors (Sext), the Death of the Virgin (Nones), the Assumption of the Virgin (Vespers), and the Coronation of the Virgin (Compline). These charming little scenes are somewhat more thinly painted than the full-page miniatures. All of the subjects, except the Death and Assumption of the Virgin, are among those painted by Angelico and his assistants on the doors of the silver-cupboard commissioned by Piero de' Medici in 1448 for the Church of SS. Annunziata—a task which was not concluded until after the monk's death. The compositions are much more crowded than those designed by Angelico, but, in general, the conceptions are not unrelated.

The Office of the Cross (fig. 39) is preceded by a full-page miniature of the Crucifixion between Mary and John, which is among the most effective in the book, just because of its simplicity and the starkness of the three figures against the barren landscape of distant hills and towns, unredeemed by any touch of green foliage. The type of the Christ goes back to one of the earliest of Angelico's frescoes—still to be seen in the Chapter House of San Domenico, Fiesole—but, as characteristic of Zanobi, the modeling of the body is far softer and more generalized. Virtually the same figure of the Crucified Christ appears in a Trinity by Zanobi in one of the San Marco choir books.[117] Opposite, the Agony in the Garden occupies the initial, while the sleeping apostles and the witnessing prophets inhabit the base of the frame. On the sides, cherubs again climb among the foliage, and at the top one discerns an emblem found in Medici manuscripts—a diamond ring.

The short Hours of the Cross is illustrated by the Pietà (fig. 40). Here the restraint evinced by the grieving mourners is worthy of Angelico himself, but the tendency to crowd the foreground, and the uncertain drawing of Christ's body betray characteristics of Strozzi. Helena, the mother of Constantine, occupies the historiated initial, and below in a little shed she and a group of attendants witness the miraculous revival of a dead person, which proved that the True Cross had been found.

Perhaps the loveliest miniature is that preceding the Penitential Psalms (fig. 41). David, represented as a yellow-haired boy in a short tunic, stands upon the armored body of Goliath. The serene innocence of the youth is in contrast to the grim evidence of his exploit: the gory head of the giant which he holds in his left hand, the sling-shot and blood-stained knife in his right. The simplicity of the composition and the larger scale bring out the peculiarities of Zanobi's style: round, smoothly modeled face, the upcast eyes in deep sockets, the rather uncertain quality of his drawing. From Angelico's repertory comes once more the barren, pebble-strewn landscape, marked by reeds, green cypresses, and distant hilltop towns. On the opposing page, the aged David rises from a cleft in the rocky ground, and the saints of repentance—Mary of Egypt, John the Baptist and Anthony—are seen in the lower frame. At the side two putti again hold the emblematic diamond ring.

For the Office of the Dead the frontispiece depicts a funeral (fig. 42). The very dry repetition of the straight folds of the hooded cloaks of the mourners occurs again in a documented miniature by Strozzi from the now-dismembered Missal for S. Pancrazio, which is dated 1457.[118] Opposite, a grim figure of Death the Reaper, trampling over bodies of popes, emperors, and soldiers, occupies the initial, while in the border two hermits hold aloft a crowned skull, and the foliage entwines itself around bones.

We can think of no more fitting way to close the description of our little manuscript than by quoting the estimate of Zanobi Strozzi expressed in the words of Signora D'Ancona: '. . . we must judge Strozzi's illuminations according to the purpose they served, as an integral part of the page. The glowing quality of his colors, the beauty of his landscapes and the wonderful way in which his illuminations blend with the decoration of the page, yet are set off by it like a jewel in a ring, make of Strozzi one of the finest Florentine illuminators of the early Renaissance.'[119]

A different aspect of the Italian Renaissance is represented by the final manuscript to be discussed. This is an elegant copy of Petrarch's *Trionfi* (figs.

[117] R. van Marle, *op. cit.*, p. 166, fig. 103.
[118] Now in the collection of Count Cini at Venice: M. D'Ancona, 'Zanobi Strozzi', *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 32, fig. 15.
[119] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

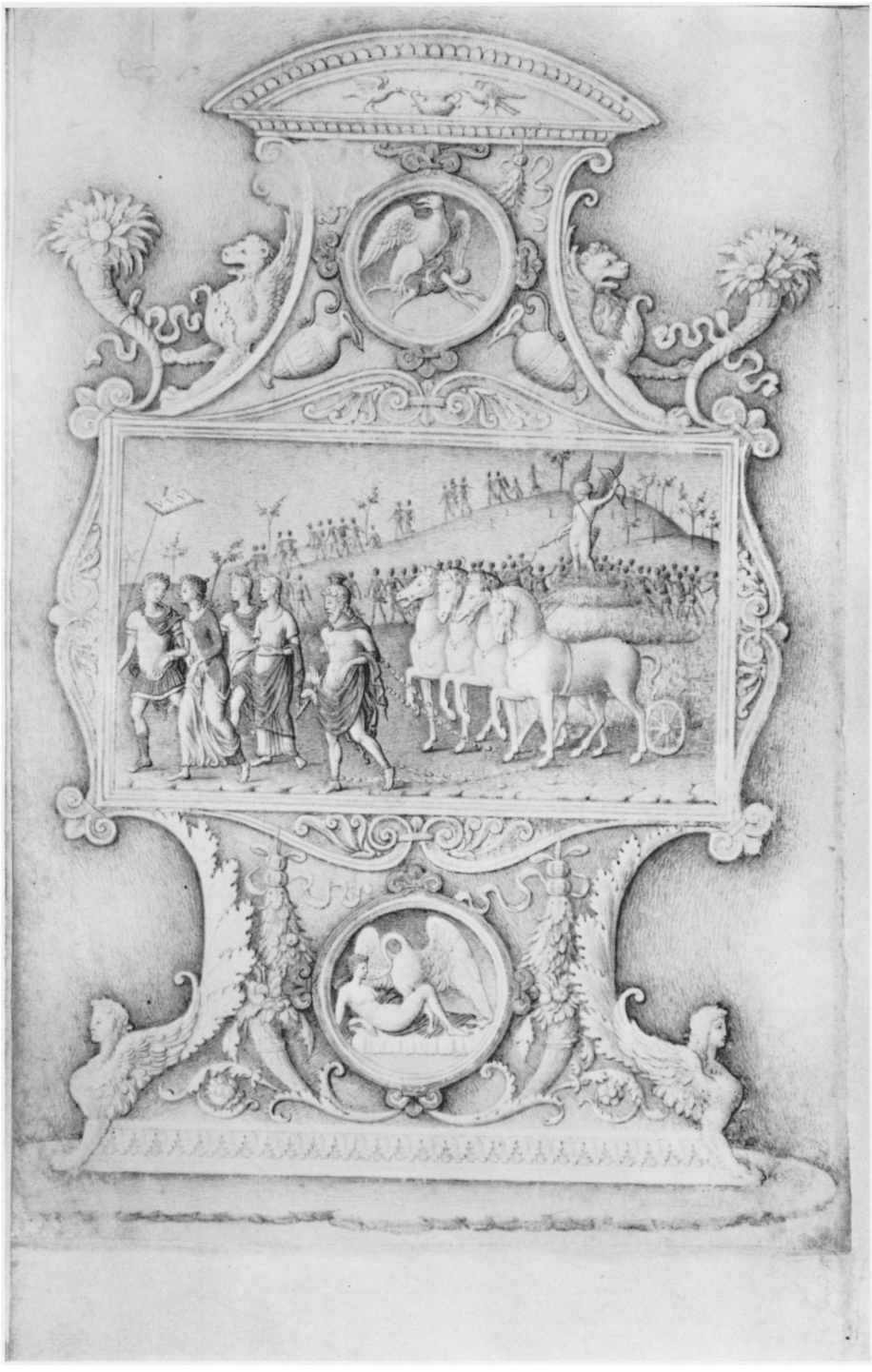


FIGURE 43 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE VATICAN HOMER

Triumph of Love
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 1vo)

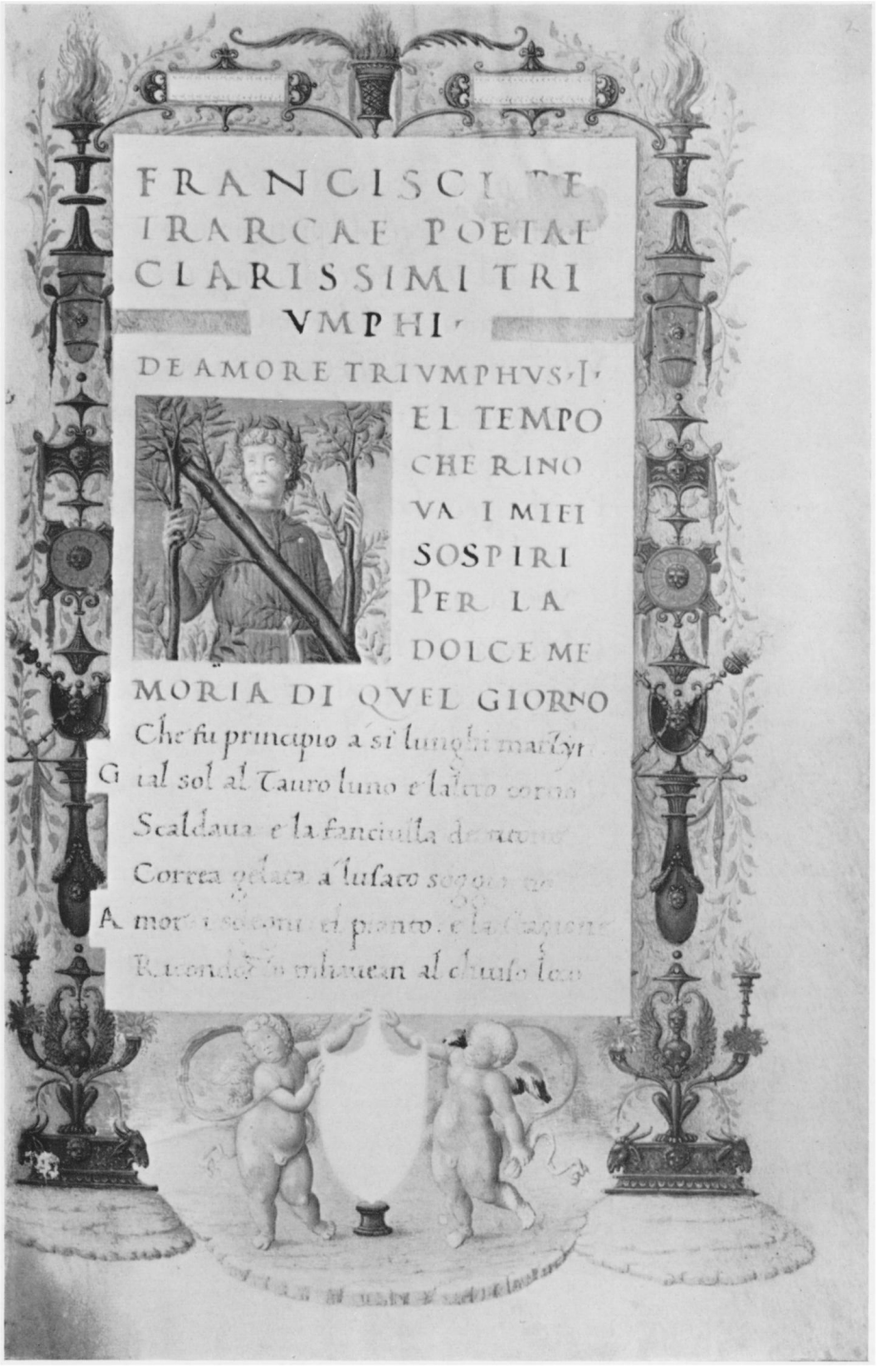


FIGURE 44 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE VATICAN HOMER

Triumph of Love: opening page
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 2)

43–57).[120] The great fourteenth-century poet is generally considered the inaugurator of the Renaissance in Italy, and certainly his learning and tremendous literary production brought him unrivalled honor in his own lifetime. Among compositions in his native tongue, one of the most popular was this allegorical poem of the six Triumphs (in analogy to the triumphal processions of the ancient Roman conquerors) of Love, Chastity, Death, Fame, Time and Eternity.

As the cultural movement of the Italian Renaissance developed and crystallized during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the contribution of Petrarch maintained its place of honor among the enthusiasms of the humanists—that group of literary elite who dedicated themselves not only to the learning of the ancients, but to all things classical in form or allusion.

Our manuscript of Petrarch's *Triumphs* is a gem of humanist taste. It addresses itself not only to the mind, but to the eye and the touch. Written upon white vellum that has been selected for its superb softness and uniformity of texture, the poem has been copied out by an esteemed scholar and calligrapher of the day, Bartolomeo Sanvito (1435–1518), a Paduan who resided in Rome and who may well have been a member of Pomponio Leto's Roman Academy.

Although Bartolomeo Sanvito seems to have been a person of some standing in his time, he dropped out of sight until, in 1947, curiosity about a group of manuscripts recognizable as due to a single calligrapher caused Dr. Augusto Campana and the late James Wardrop to seek his identity.[121] Wardrop was able to draw up a list of manuscripts, two of which bear Sanvito's full name and several of which are signed B.S. These carry dates ranging from 1474 to 1509 and include volumes destined for such distinguished owners as Giuliano de' Medici, Bernardo Bembo, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, and King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. To Mr. Wardrop's list many other examples have been added subsequently, especially through the researches of the present-day calligrapher, Alfred Fairbank.[122] Sanvito's script is considered fine and interesting, but not truly great—having, as Mr. Wardrop pointed out, the characteristics of an amateur rather than a professional.[123] He has several styles of lettering—a fine italic, a roman or *antica*, and excellently handled majuscules. The *antica* is what is found in our Petrarch, although in a somewhat swash version.[124] The group of manuscripts written in this particular style is relatively small. Sanvito's majuscules are of especial beauty as he sets them out for title-pages or captions, often in alternate lines of gold, blue, rose, purple, violet, and green. He was, after all, one of that group of Paduan humanists who learned from a study of the ancient Roman stone inscriptions. It has been discovered that, in a number of instances, Sanvito executed the captions for manuscripts written out by other scribes.[125]

The decoration of our Petrarch consists of six double pages, composed of a full-page frontispiece and a historiated border and historiated initial at the beginning of each Triumph. These prove to be

[120] Ms. W. 755. Acquired from H. Harvey Frost, London, through Maggs, 1955. Francesco Petrarch, *Trionfi*, in Italian. Italy (Rome and Florence), ca. 1477–80. 73 vellum leaves, $8\frac{3}{8} \times 5\frac{3}{8}$ in. (0.210×0.135). In roman lettering with swash tendencies, black ink; 18 long lines per page, ruled lightly with a knife. In quires of ten leaves, lettered A–F, plus a short quire of six leaves, the last cancelled and a bifolium of blank leaves at the end. 6 full-page miniatures on separate leaves inserted as frontispieces to the 6 Triumphs, facing 6 *incipit* pages each with historiated initial and historiated and decorated border. Bound around 1780–90 in Italian calf, gold tooled with neo-classic and late rococo motifs.

Sir George Holford, his sale, London, Sotheby's, July 29, 1929, lot 6, pls. II, III; Quaritch, *A Catalogue of Illuminated and Other Manuscripts*, London, 1931, pp. 98–9; [S. T. Cockerell], Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts*, *op. cit.*, no. 194, pl. 128; F. B. Adams, Jr., *Pierpont Morgan Library, The Eighth Report to the Fellows*, New York, 1958, pp. 19–20; Bond and Faye, *op. cit.*, p. 199, no. 571; James Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism*, Oxford, 1963, pp. 32, 51, pl. 35; William Wixom, in *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LI, 3, 1964, pp. 56–8, illus.; Berthold L. Ullman, 'Petrarch Manuscripts in the United States', *Censimento dei Codici Petracheschi*, I, ed. G. Billanovich, Padua, 1964, p. 446, no. 6; Philippe Verdier, 'Nielles de la renaissance italienne à Walters Art Gallery', *Arte in Europa . . . in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, 1966, p. 469, note 12 and figs. 303–4; J. J. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Collection of Major J. R. Abbey*, pp. 84–5; H. Clifford Maggs. *The Book Collector*, 19:3, 1970, p. 380.

[121] Wardrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–9.

[122] Alfred Fairbank in *Bulletin of the Society for Italic Handwriting*, no. 28, 1961, p. 12, illus.; *idem*, in *The Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting*, no. 37, 1963, pp. 14–19, illus.

[123] Wardrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 33–4.

[124] *Ibid.*, p. 32, when our manuscript was in the collection of Mr. H. Harvey Frost.

[125] *Ibid.*, p. 32; A. Fairbank, *The Journal of the Society for Italic Handwriting*, no. 42, 1965, pp. 6–12, illus. Mr. Fairbank found Sanvito capitals in a manuscript written by a certain Franciscus de Camuciis and dated 1463.

by two completely different artistic personalities—the illustrations for the first two poems, the Triumph of Love and the Triumph of Chastity being in a Paduan style, and the remaining four Triumphs being illustrated in a Florentine style. The text of the manuscript and the splendid majuscule captions are the unmistakable work of Bartolomeo Sanvito throughout, so, as we shall see, it appears likely that an interruption in the decoration was responsible for the two styles of the decoration. Each of the frontispieces is conceived in the form of a picture set into a fanciful architectural frame, often resembling a pax, all but two resting on a shelf of yellow-green rocky ground, and all set off against 'shredded' backgrounds of pale green or violet. The opposing page, which initiates the text of each poem, is framed with classical architectural motifs, or with candelabra, trophies, and ancient gems, and presents historiation in the initial and at the foot of the page. It seems evident that the artist who executed the first two openings also had laid out, at least, the rest of the decoration of the manuscript.

Let us examine the illuminations in turn. The word-pictures of Petrarch are carefully interpreted by the artists of the frontispieces and of the other historiation. On folio 1 verso we see a fanciful, almost mannerist, frame shaded in violet and ochre to represent carved acanthus and palmettes, cornucopiae, garlands, urns, winged lions, and sphinxes (fig. 43). The rectangular picture supported within portrays a rosy chariot drawn by four white horses, on which stands the little god of Love, blind-folded and with bow and arrow. Preceding the equipage walk the god's prisoners, laden with chains: Julius Caesar with his ensign VVV (for *Veni, vidi, vici*), hand in hand with Cleopatra, then *his* son, Augustus, and Livia, finally the pagan god, Jupiter. In the background, hordes of ghostly shapes refer to the victims of Cupid: '. . . round about were mortals beyond count; some of them were but captives, some were slain . . .'[126] Two of Jupiter's adventures are the subject of the roundels at top and base of the frame: the snatching of Ganymede and Leda with the swan. The figures are small in scale due to the complexity of the theme. The pale coloring, virtually a grisaille of ivory figures partly touched with gold against a stippled violet landscape and sky, conveys a dream-like quality.

The facing page, with the opening of the text of the Triumph of Love, shows a title and the first several lines of the poem rendered in capital letters alternately gold and a color—blue, rose, green, or purple. The historiated initial N (fig. 44) is perhaps the most beautiful in the book. The letter itself is formed of branches of green laurel highlighted with gold, and held by the laurel-crowned Petrarch. The poet is shown as a pensive youth, clad in a rose tunic which provides a lovely contrast for the green-gold branches. At the foot of the page, two stocky cherubs hold a blank shield. The characteristic pale yellow-green rocky ground forms a base for them and for the candelabra, trophies, and torches which mount up the margins.

The same painter is responsible for the illustrations to the Triumph of Chastity on folios 22 verso and 23 (figs. 45, 46). The fanciful frame of the frontispiece is executed in pale yellow-green with details in dull gold and bronze: pilasters, acanthus, sphinxes, rams' heads, eagles, cornucopiae, urns, a cherub-head (fig. 45). The main painting represents the poet's beloved Laura standing near the jasper column, mentioned in the text, and raising the shield of Medusa to ward off the arrows of Cupid, who flies toward her. Behind her stand four maidens of her court, three of whom carry slender spears flaunting green pennants charged with white ermine—an animal symbolic of chastity. All of the maidens are clad in white and crowned with roses and violets, as described by Petrarch.[127] They stand in a low-lying landscape, the gulf of Naples in front of them and, in the background, Sulpicias' temple and the 'sovereign city'.[128] The two little scenes set into the framework refer to two of the famous heroines mentioned by Petrarch: Dido stabbing herself on the flaming pyre and Judith receiving the severed head of Holofernes. On this page there is more range of color than in the case of the previous frontispiece—the water, landscape, distant town

[126] I use the translation of Ernest H. Wilkins, *The Triumphs of Petrarch*, Chicago, 1962, p. 6.

[127] Some of the details derive from the Triumph of Chastity and some from the Triumph of Death, see below. The order and composition of the various parts of the *Triumphs* were subject to much variation even during Petrarch's work on them: see E. H. Wilkins, 'Manuscripts of the *Canzoniere* and the Triumphs of Petrarch in American Libraries', *Modern Philology*, XLV, 1947, pp. 27–8.

[128] Wilkens, *Triumphs*, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

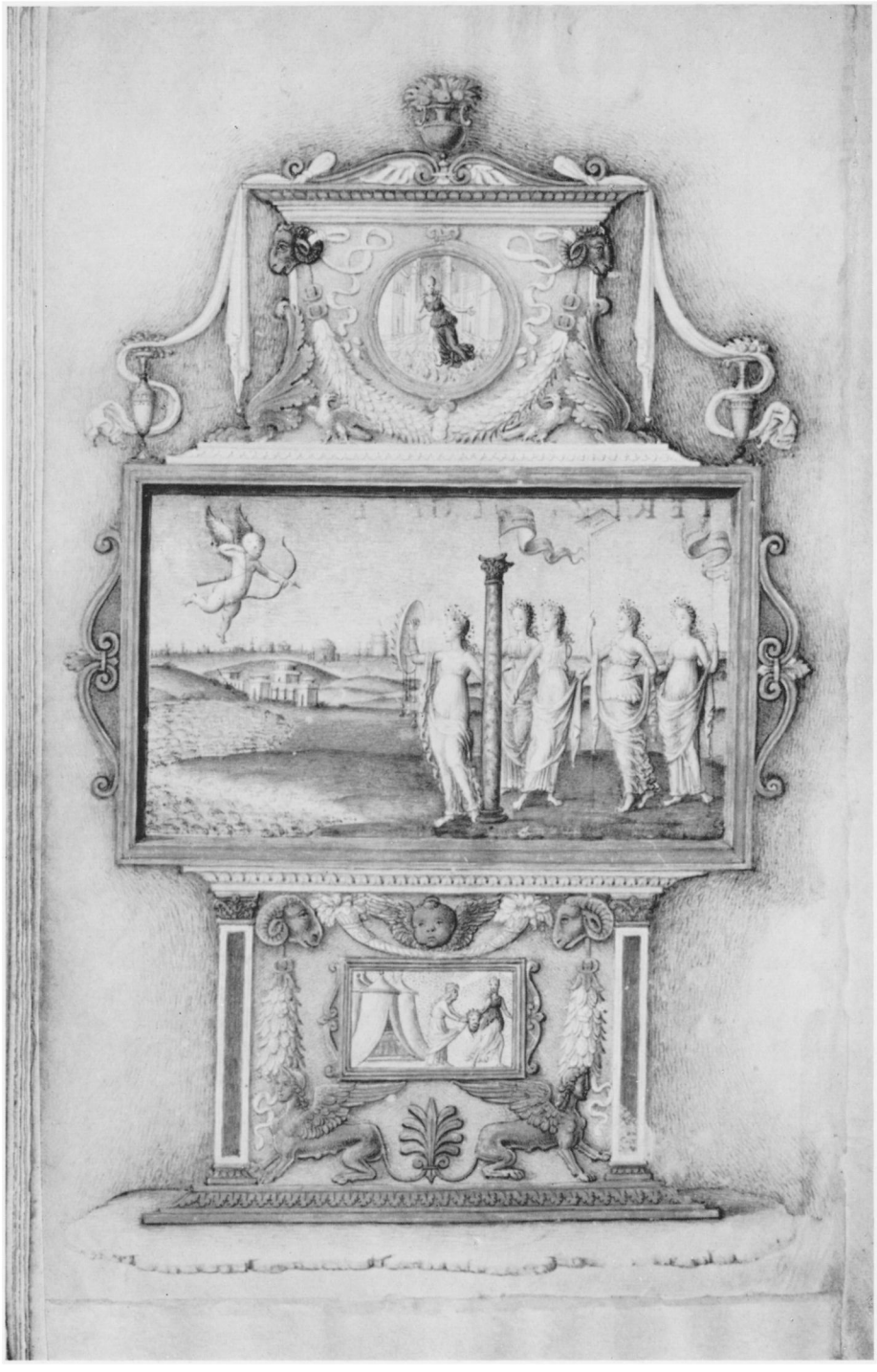


FIGURE 45 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE VATICAN HOMER

Triumph of Chastity
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 22vo)

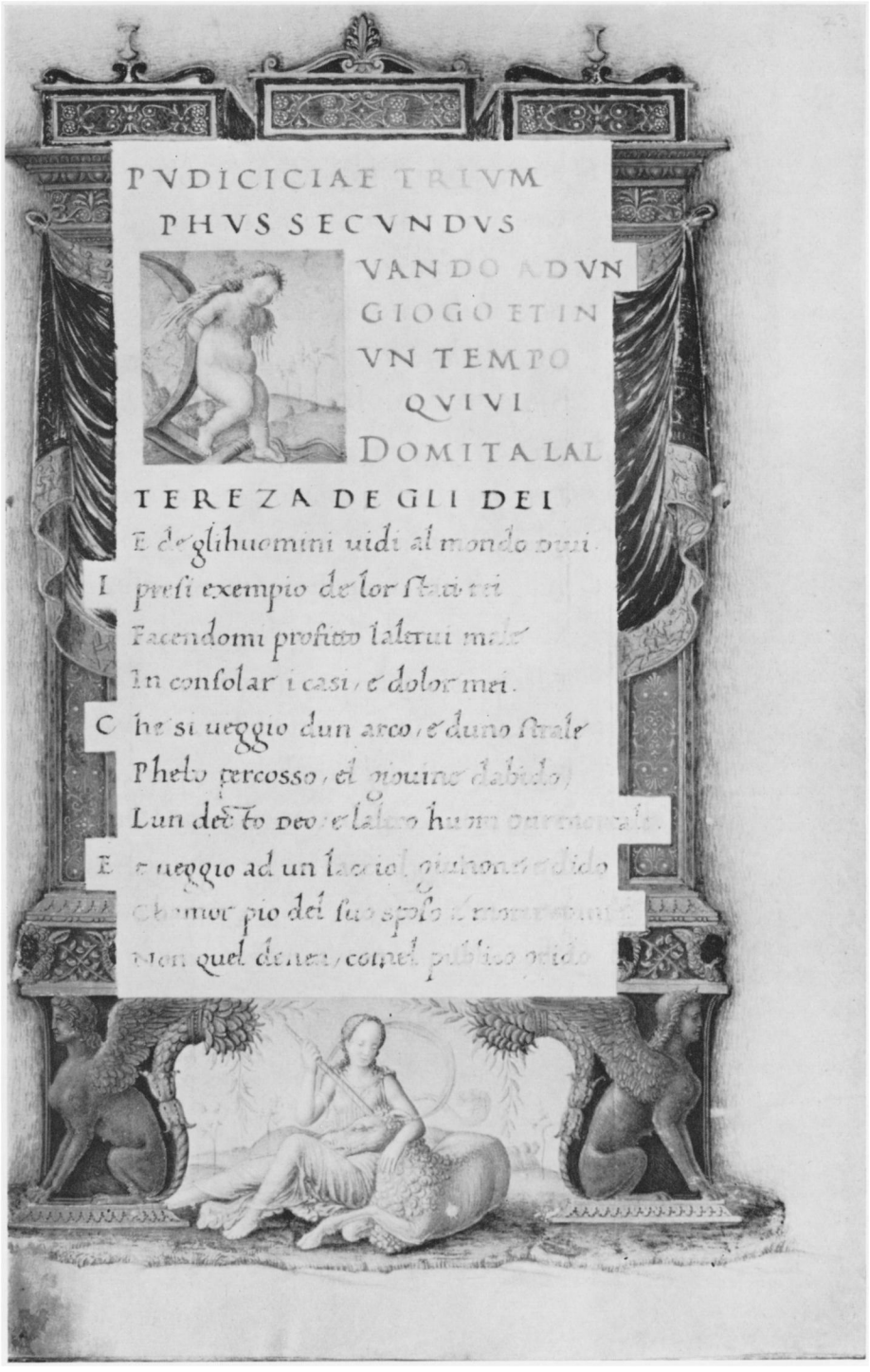


FIGURE 46 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MASTER OF THE VATICAN HOMER

Triumph of Chastity: opening page
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 23)

and sky all appropriately tinted, and an even richer variation of yellow-green and golden bronze for the frame—but the effect is still pale and dream-like.

On the opposing page, the Triumph of Chastity opens with lines of gold capitals alternating with lines of colored ones (fig. 46). The initial Q is seen only in half circle—but standing upright and independent in a field, sculptured as if in metal. To this is bound the chubby, defeated Cupid, blind-folded, his bow and quiver cast on the ground. The page of text seems to be set in front of an architectural structure hung with a curtain of green, the golden borders embroidered with the Rape of the Sabines. Below, two splendid sphinxes, also golden, support this structure. Between them opens a vista of sky and distant mountains. In the foreground a beautiful maiden, perhaps Laura, is seated on the ground, caressing a unicorn—the medieval symbol of chastity. It is an unforgettable, poetic painting of great tenderness.

A study of the characteristics of these illuminations reveals that we have to do here with an artist who decorated some of the finest of the codices in which Sanvito's script appears. Like the scribe, this artist is clearly Paduan in origin. His style shows him to have been influenced by Mantegna. This is to be recognized not only by his predilection for classical paraphernalia in the ornamental motifs, and his use of 'self-standing' sculpturesque letter-forms for the historiated initials,[129] but by his figure-types and poses. In the case of our manuscript, these Mantegnesque qualities can be appreciated best in the two *incipit* pages where the figures in initial and border are of sufficiently large scale (figs. 44, 46). The illuminator, however, aligns himself with those aspects of Mantegna's style which are pensive and poetic. His palette is pale and gentle. The strongly sculpturesque and tactile effects of Mantegna do not appear except in secondary ways, such as the precise rendering of locks of hair, or the pursuit of even the smallest folds in thin material of the maiden's dress (fig. 46).

Mr. Jonathan J. G. Alexander of the Bodleian Library has reviewed the still imperfectly explored problem of our illustrator and has drawn up a list of ten Sanvito manuscripts in which his work appears—as well as a briefer list of manuscripts of other scribes illuminated by this artist.[130] He has named him the 'Master of the Vatican Homer' because his miniatures and decorations appear in a splendid Homer written in Latin by Sanvito and in Greek by Johannes Rhosos for Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga in 1477.[131] The earliest dated manuscript connected with our artist is a delightfully illuminated *Commentarii in Juvenalem* by Domitius Calderinus, which is in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (Ms. Plut. 52.2). This was the dedication copy for Giuliano de' Medici and is dated 1474—which makes it also the earliest dated manuscript written entirely in Sanvito's hand.[132] All of these manuscripts were considered by James Wardrop to have been written by Sanvito in Rome, and, thus we can only assume that our illuminator came down from Padua with Sanvito. Just when this migration occurred we can only speculate, since a diary kept by Bartolomeo Sanvito during the later years of his life seems to have disappeared.[133] In connection with our artistic problem, it is not without interest that there is a record, dated October 17, 1466, of an agreement concerning a fresco in San Antonio in Padua, witnessed by Francesco Squarcione, the master of Mantegna, and Bartolomeo Sanvito.[134] So doubtless the move to Rome was subsequent to that date.

Efforts have been made to give a name to our artist: Bernardo Parenzano was proposed tentatively in 1954 by Mario Salmi,[135] and accepted by Millard Meiss,[136] while Dr. de Marinis suggested that he might be a certain Gasparo Romano.[137] But sure identification is still to be made. One may

[129] Millard Meiss, *Andrea Mantegna as Illuminator*, New York, 1957, pp. 52–67, and especially p. 64.

[130] J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *op. cit.*, pp. 107–9, note 2. To the list of the Sanvito manuscripts illuminated by the 'Master of the Vatican Homer', should be added a manuscript in the Biblioteca nationale, Madrid, Vit. 22–9, a Eusebius *Chronica*, executed for Maria Sforza, wife of Alfonso II of Naples: D. Bordona, *Manuscritos con Pinturas*, I, Madrid, 1933, no. 950, fig. 339. This manuscript is included in the table in Wardrop, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[131] Vatican Gr. Ms. 1626. *Ibid.*, p. 107; Wardrop, *op. cit.*, pl. 16.

[132] Illustrated in color in Mario Salmi, *La miniatura Italiana*, Milan, 1954, pl. LXX. For an earlier date in a manuscript for which Bartolomeo Sanvito wrote only the majuscule captions, see note 125.

[133] Wardrop, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–7.

[134] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[135] Salmi, *op. cit.*, pl. LXX, also *idem*, 'Aspetti della cultura figurativa di Padova e di Ferrara nella miniatura del primo Rinascimento', *Arte Veneta*, VIII, 1954, pp. 132–3, fig. 137.

[136] Meiss, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[137] T. de Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana dei Re d'Aragona*, I, Milan, 1952, pp. 156–7.

assume that his association with Sanvito was limited to the early part of that calligrapher's activity in Rome. The two manuscripts which actually carry dates are both in the 1470's, and in one of them, the splendid Homer for Cardinal Gonzaga, dated 1477, the illumination remains unfinished.

The illumination of our Petrarch was apparently interrupted also, since, although the general layout of the decoration of the book seems to have been accomplished by the Paduan artist, only the first two Triumphs have been carried out by him. The rest of the illumination, as we have mentioned, is in a Florentine style. So perhaps the 'Master of the Vatican Homer' died or became inactive in the late 1470's. Mr. Alexander has assembled a considerable group of Sanvito manuscripts decorated by an imitator or follower of our artist whom he calls the 'Sanvito Illuminator', who, he proposes, might possibly have been Bartolomeo Sanvito himself.[138] The seven dated manuscripts among these all are of the 1490's or even of the early sixteenth century.

When we turn to the third Triumph—that of Death—the design of the frontispiece and opening page resembles the previous ones, but figure style and coloring bespeak an entirely different artistic current. Where the Paduan expressed himself in soft pale colors, we have here the *chatoyance* of a Florentine palette: azure blue, ruby red, emerald green, rose and violet, and a greater dependence upon the richness of gold.

What appears to be an oval mirror is set in an embellishment of gilt-bronze acanthus and cornucopiae, contrasting with the pale green sprays of laurel and the warm flesh-tints of scrambling putti and the seductive half-figure of a sphinx below (fig. 47). Against a black ground are skulls, gruesomely bedecked with snakes or worms. In the 'mirror' the Triumph proceeds through a bleak, rocky vale beneath a leaden sky. A pair of bullocks draws the black-draped cart, festooned with white skulls and garlands, and topped by a bronze coffin on which stands a winged skeleton brandishing his scythe. Below the wheels are prostrate bodies of people, including a cardinal, a pope, a knight, whose rich garments provide the only notes of strong color. At the far right we see the old woman dressed in black who addresses Petrarch in the poem. He appears here, too, but old and sad, in contrast to his youthful representation in the historiated initial of the Triumph of Love.

The beginning of the poem is framed within a renaissance doorway of crisp gilt-bronze acanthus capitals, moldings, masks, and other ornament on red and blue panels (fig. 48). The faceted gold initial is filled with birds and skulls and a gloomy cherub on a swag, against a drab background. At the base, between two pedestals carved with classical reliefs, is depicted the death of Laura, as so vividly described by Petrarch, her maiden companions all gathered around. They are dressed in white or in delicate hues of lavender and green and rose. Beyond the death-bed is a view of trees and valleys and cone-shaped mountains in the blue distance—just such a view as one sees to this day from Petrarch's garden at Arquà where he spent the closing years of his life.

The next Triumph is that of Fame (fig. 49). A pax-shaped sculptured frame of lavender-shaded marble has occuli, one at the top with a galloping horseman, and one at the base with a seated Athena. The rectangular picture is rich in color. A square cart draped in blue and hung with gems approaches us directly. On a sphinx-supported throne sits Fame, a sword-bearing woman clad in full plate-armor, her long auburn hair flying free. This is an exceptional representation, since in most of the renaissance illustrations of this Triumph, Fame, seated or standing, wears a flowing dress, often blowing a trumpet.[139] Two amusingly chubby baby elephants draw the vehicle,[140] and beside it and behind it crowd the people of history listed by Petrarch. In the distance is Rome, which was home to so many of them.

The frame on the opposing page is less impressive than the previous ones—a dainty montage of urns and trophies and gems supported by cupids (fig. 50).

[138] J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 109.

[139] Prince d'Essling and Eugène Müntz, *Pétrarque, ... l'illustration de ses écrits*, Paris, 1902, illus. *passim*, pp. 134–224.

[140] William Heckscher, 'Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk', *Art Bulletin*, XXIX, 1947, pp. 155–82, who points out on p. 168, note 64, that there is not a single record of a living elephant in Italy between 1260 and 1510. On the character of the symbolism of elephants in the Italian Renaissance, and the ineptness of their representation, cf. Meiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–12.

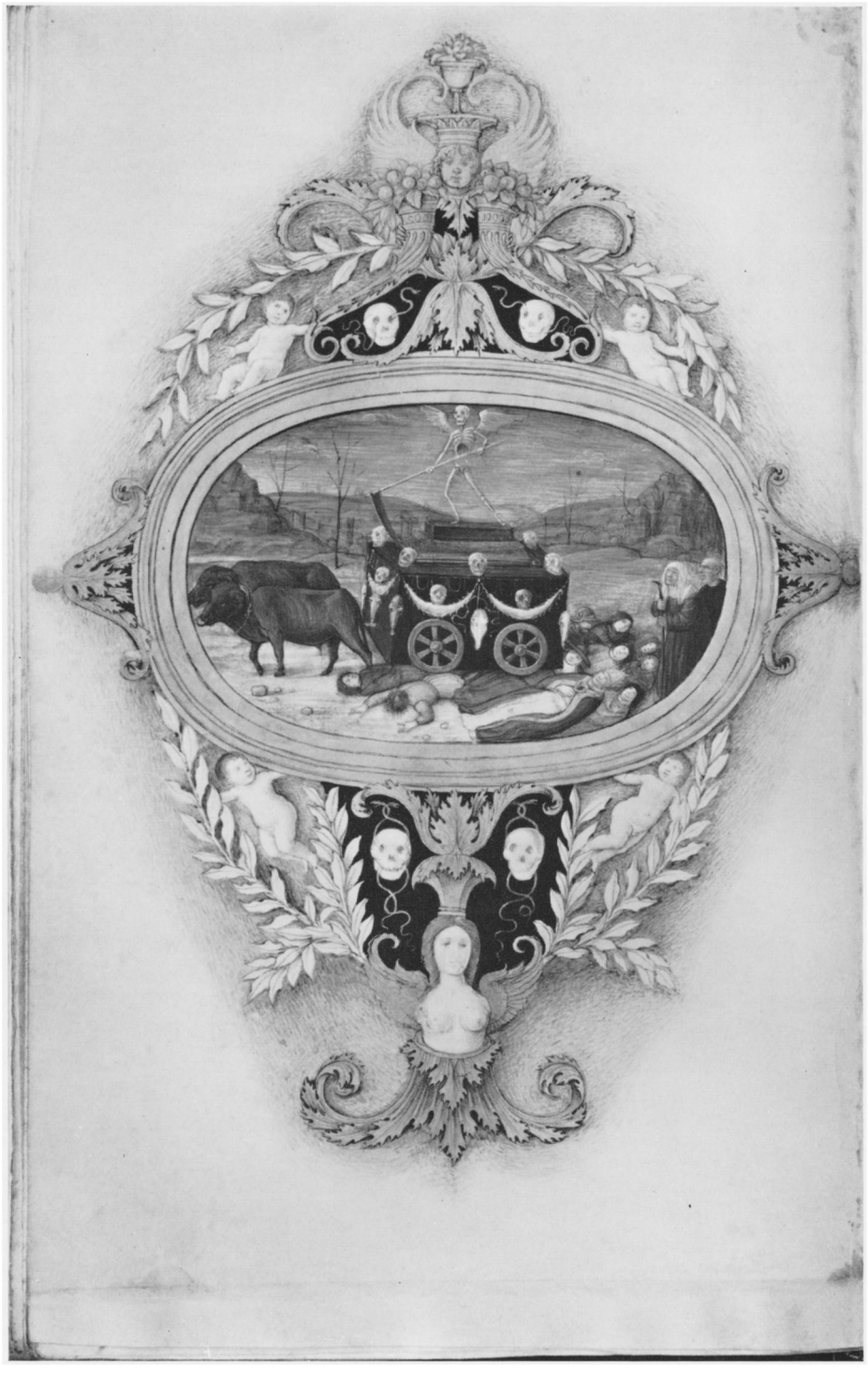


FIGURE 47 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MONTE DI GIOVANNI DI MINIATO

Triumph of Death
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 29vo)

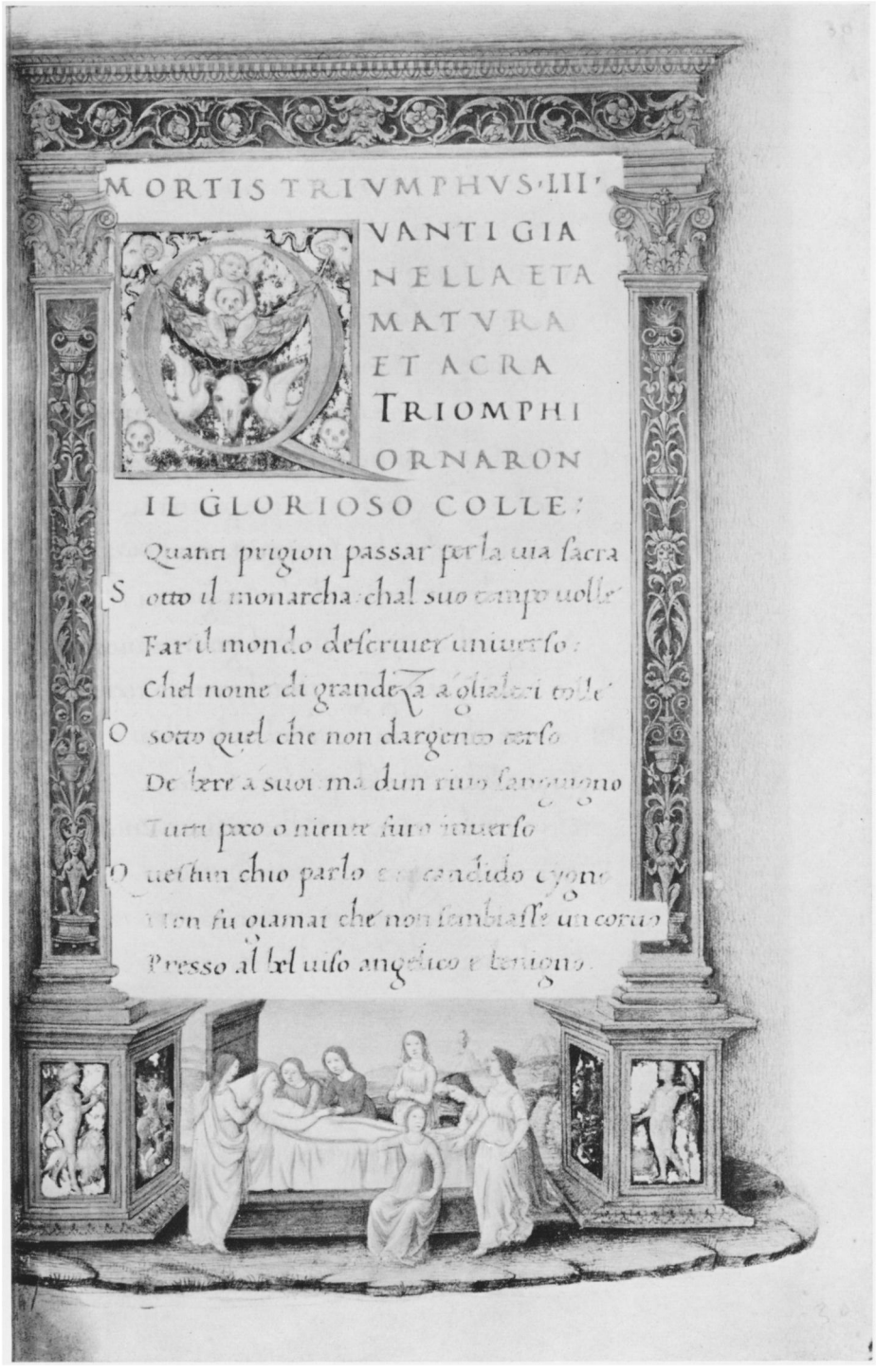


FIGURE 48 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MONTE DI GIOVANNI DI MINIATO

Triumph of Death: opening page
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 30)

In the initial are the profile busts of Athena and Hercules.

The loveliest miniature of the Florentine series is that illustrating the Triumph of Time (fig. 51). The rectangular scene is set in a lush and verdant valley, and the chariot, surrounded by people young and old, is drawn by two graceful stags—not rushing, as in most fifteenth-century representations—but walking at a nervous, tempered pace. An hour-glass, now partly obliterated[141] is at the front of the wagon, and, on top, the ancient bent and winged figure of Father Time, leaning on his canes. The procession has just passed through an arch of triumph at the right. Below, on the base, is a roundel with a young winged Time-figure holding an hour-glass, and blown by a wind-head beneath him. An occulus at the top shows us old Father Time, or Saturn, standing before the ruins of a city. The frame of the opposing page, again of urns and caryatids and trophies held by cupids, features also a clock-face at the top and a cameo of the triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne at the base (fig. 52). The initial N stands against a delightful rolling countryside, over which the sun rises—as described in the first lines of this poem. Joyful and luminous in color, appealing in detail, this pair of pages is a memorable one.

The sixth Triumph is that of Eternity—or of Divinity, as it is titled here. This is the one upon which Petrarch was at work during his last years when he had retired to Arquà in 1373. It reflects his final philosophy of life. The frontispiece (fig. 55) suggests an altarpiece—a great square panel upheld by carved cherubs, whereon is painted a hieratic vision of the Trinity in a golden glory, surrounded by cherubim and filmy clouds and resting upon the symbols of the four evangelists. The grandeur of the composition is equalled by the extraordinary beauty of the coloring: mostly azure, ranging from a saturated blue in the mantle of God to a lighter blue cameo rendering of cherubim and evangelist symbols, to the smoky blue of the encircling clouds, all set off against the flat gold of the central area. Poignancy is given this scheme by the luscious rose of God's tunic and the touches of red at Christ's wounds. Outside the golden frame, the ornament is cool in tint—mostly stippled in violet. The usual trophy frame on the opposing page (fig. 55) is executed in metallic green, purple, gold, blue, and rose against a shredded ground of pale blue. In the initial the bust of Christ with a crystal orb appears against a shaded carmine ground, below is the Transfiguration in a roundel.

These Florentine scenes, different in taste, in style and in color from the Paduan ones though they are, still rank as a most worthy fulfilment of what was, it seems, an unfinished project. In the case of these miniatures, we can—even with some confidence—name the artist. He is Monte di Giovanni di Miniato di Gherardo, the son of a Florentine sculptor, Nanni di Miniato, nicknamed 'del Fora'. Born in 1448, he lived a very active and productive life until around 1532 or 1533. In 1461, he, together with his older brother, Gherardo (1446–97), and his younger brother, Bartolomeo, established in Florence a stationer's and book-producing shop, which furnished vellum and other materials, provided illuminations and bindings. The younger brother handled the business affairs while the two older ones undertook the commissions. Aside from executing illuminations, Gherardo and Monte also were active as fresco and panel painters, and as mosaicists. In at least some undertakings they appear to have been in association with Botticelli and Ghirlandaio. The earlier writers have always held that the two brothers worked so closely together, up to the time of Gherardo's death in 1497, that it is impossible to separate their individual styles.

Recently, however, Signora Mirella L. D'Ancona, following the lead of some documents discovered in 1933 by Father Taucci,[142] and adding information from archives unearthed by herself, has been able to identify the individual style of each brother,[143] by tracing works recorded as executed by one or the other alone.

Guided by her analysis, I would judge that the brother responsible for the illumination of the last four Triumphs in our Petrarch is Monte. Mrs. D'Ancona reproduces two miniatures among those definitely recorded as by Monte. One is an Ascen-

[141] See the article by Terry Drayman immediately following this essay.

[142] P. R. Taucci, 'I corali miniati della SS. Annunziata di Firenze', *Studi storico sull'Ordine dei Servi di Maria*, I, May–August 1933, p. 154.

[143] Mirella L. D'Ancona, *Miniatura*, *op. cit.*, pp. 127–37, and 199–211, pls. 15, 30, 31. She also surveys the previous literature on the two brothers.

sion in the third volume of the Graduals illuminated for the Church of the SS. Annunziata, a miniature for which Monte was paid in 1473. In dignity and type this can be compared to God the Father of the Trinity in our Triumph of Eternity (fig. 55). The rolling countryside beyond the Ascension is handled exactly as in the sunrise initial of the Triumph of Time (fig. 52). A miniature executed in 1509–10 in a Missal of S. Giovanni (Vatican, Ms. Barb. Lat. 610), which she reproduces on plate 31, shows what appears to be a later version of Monte's style, when the sharper, more broken folds of his drapery reveal the influence of Dürer and Schongauer. However, the addiction to classical trophies, to occuli, and especially the round-faced, snub-nosed types of his angels, are to be found here as well as in our Petrarch. The style of Gherardo as shown on her plate 15, a documented miniature of the Crucifixion of St. Peter illuminated by the elder brother in 1477, seems to me not close to what we have in our manuscript. Moreover, Signora D'Ancona analyzes other aspects of Monte's art that apply perfectly to our illuminations: his superb gift for luminous color, his Ghirlandaiesque handling of portraits and landscapes, all of which, in Signora D'Ancona's judgment, renders Monte one of the major Florentine illuminators.[144]

Aside from the artistic calibre of our manuscript, there are several unusual features about the representations. In terms of the Petrarch iconography current in the fifteenth century, our little codex presents some exceptional if not unique versions. The unusual representation of an armored woman as Fame has already been mentioned. The conception of the Triumph of Chastity has no parallel, so far as I have been able to discover. The conventional picture would be of a chariot—carrying out the Roman Triumph analogy—drawn by unicorns, and occupied by a lady dressed in classical robes, carrying a palm of victory and sometimes a laurel branch. Cupid, bound as a captive, kneels or sits on the chariot, a train of maidens bear the ermine-charged banners, or sometimes Chastity herself carries the pennant.[145] In our case, the war of Laura and her maidens against the attack of Love, and the other features of the picture (fig. 45) present a most literal rendering of Petrarch's account, combining, however, details given in his poem of the Triumph of Chastity with others that are set forth at the beginning of his Triumph of Death—a poem which he wrote in later life. It is from this latter composition that were gleaned such attributes as the green banner of victory displaying an ermine, or the violets and roses decking the hair of the maidens. The ermine banner did, in fact, become a standard feature of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century illustrations—but not in the presentation of the battle against Love.

The beautiful *bas-de-page* of Laura caressing the unicorn (fig. 46) is, no doubt, a survival of the medieval drolleries, such as that in the Ormesby Psalter, an English manuscript of the first decades of the fourteenth century.[146] This subject referred to the legend in the bestiaries, which held that a unicorn could only be captured by huntsmen when it took refuge in the lap of a chaste maiden.

The death of Laura on folio 30 (fig. 48) is a unique illustration, again following closely the words of Petrarch's poem. The Triumph of Eternity conceived as an altarpiece also is exceptional—the usual rendering being a sort of processional image mounted on a cart and pulled by saints or by the evangelist symbols.

An interesting feature of some of the marginal decorations by Monte is the representation of classical cameos. It was Monsieur André Chastel who kindly pointed out to me that these portray ancient gems at that time in the collections of the Medici. The first of these is the roundel at the foot of folio 47, the opening of the Triumph of Fame (fig. 50). There we see represented as a cameo with a gilt ground the Punishment of Marsyas by Apollo for vaunting as superior his musical skill. In 1428 Cosimo de'Medici had an ancient gem of this subject which he prized so highly that he took it to the great sculptor, Ghiberti, to have a gold setting made. So impressed was Ghiberti by the ancient gem that years later he described it accurately from memory, although he did not understand the classical myth represented.[147] Ghiberti remembered

[144] *Ibid.*, pp. 202–3.

[145] Essling, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially chapters V and VI.

[146] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 366. For this subject in medieval illumination, see L. C. Randall, *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966, p. 221, and figs. 664–7.

[147] Ghiberti, *I commentarii, liv. II*, I, p. 47, and II, pp. 177–8: *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdikeiten* (ed. J. von Schlosser), Berlin, 1912.

FIGURE 49

WALTERS ART GALLERY

MONTE DI GIOVANNI DI MINIATO

Triumph of Fame
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 46vo)

FIGURE 50 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MONTE DI GIOVANNI DI MINIATO

Triumph of Fame: opening page
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 47)

it as a carnelian cameo, whereas an Apollo and Marsyas gem, which was in 1492 in the inventory of Lorenzo de'Medici and which bears the usual incised inscription, LAUR. MED., is an intaglio. The latter came with the Farnese collections to Naples.[148] In any case, in the fifteenth century it was one of the most famous antique gems in Florence. Renaissance copies and variations of it were made in bronze, and as cameos or intaglios in hard gemstones. It appeared, as in our Petrarch, in the decorations of Florentine illuminators—not only those by Monte and his brother, but by Attavante and others[149]—executed for great patrons, such as King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.[150]

The replica by Monte in the lower margin of our page remains remarkably close to the ancient example—to judge by the intaglio now in Naples. It is depicted, it is true, as a cameo, and the vertical oval of the original has here been altered to a circle. The detail of the skin of the flayed Marsyas flung over the rock, which appears in the ancient gems and in many renaissance replicas, has been omitted by our painter—probably in the interest of clarity. It need not be supposed that Monte had studied the gem itself. Casts or plaster impressions of such objects were in circulation among the artists of Florence. The reversal of the intaglio into a cameo would come about inevitably by this method.

A comparable antiquarian enthusiasm is evidenced by the oval cameo represented at the base of folio 60, the Triumph of Time (fig. 52). This depicts the Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne. Here again is reproduced an antique gem which belonged to Lorenzo de'Medici. The original, which also went to Naples with the Farnese collection, actually *is* a cameo, carved in onyx.[151] This gem was among the several in Lorenzo de'Medici's collection that were adapted in the sculptured relief medallions of the courtyard of the Medici Palace in the Via Larga, Florence. Vasari attributed these to Donatello, but modern scholarship has produced many reasons both stylistic and documentary to support the opinion that the medallions were added to Michelozzo's arcaded courtyard fairly late in the century. However, the most recent review of the situation again returns to the possibility that the medallions could have been carved by Donatello, around 1460.[152]

In examining the manuscript we can, perhaps, detect the procedure required to complete the unfinished decoration. Careful inspection shows us that the codex, like many Italian renaissance ones, was composed of quires of ten leaves each, or quinternions, except for the last gathering, comprising a ternion, the sixth and last leaf of which has been cut off, leaving only a stub. The text ends on folio 70 recto. A final bifolium of blank pages completes the manuscript. Within this structure the six full-page frontispieces have been inserted. These are in each case painted on the verso side of a leaf of slightly heavier vellum than that used for the body of the book. This is not an unusual practice, and the style and design of the inserted leaves accords with that of the opposite illuminated text pages. Remembering, however, that, when the manuscript was delivered to Monte in Florence,[153] the frontispieces had not yet been bound into the folded leaves of the text, we can begin to understand certain details that puzzle us on first inspection.

The evidence for the separate frontispiece leaves is as follows: the Triumph of Love (fig. 43) had been completely finished by the Paduan painter; his pale palette and somewhat impressionistic brushstroke is consistent throughout. The Triumph of Chastity had been completed also—but here I suspect that Monte introduced a few notes of stronger color to relate this page to the richer tones used by him when he finished the incomplete decoration of the opening text opposite. He put a 'shadow' of rich ruby red on two sides of the inside molding of the main picture, and he introduced, very subtly, red shadows in the

[148] A. Furtwängler, *Die antike Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1901, vol. I, pl. XLII, no. 28, vol. II, pp. 201–2, no. 28.

[149] For a summary of the enthusiasm of the Florentine artists in appropriating objects in the Medici collections as subject matter, and for a partial list of some of the illuminations displaying this trend, see André Chastel, *Art et humanisme à Florence au temps de Laurent le Magnifique*, Paris, 1961, p. 47.

[150] For accounts of this gem, its reputation and reproduction, see, in addition to the literature cited by Furtwängler, *loc. cit.*, Ernst Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneiderkunst in der italienischen Renaissance*, Vienna, 1929, I, pp. 24 ff., II, pl. 12, nos. 28–32; also André Chastel, *op. cit.*, pp. 48–51.

[151] Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, I, pl. LVII, 15; II, p. 261, no. 15; Kris, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 22, 152, no. 26/10; II, pl. 10, no. 26.

[152] For discussions of the date, authorship, and significance of the medallions, cf. E. Kris, *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.; André Chastel, *op. cit.*, pp. 45–54; Ursula Wester and Erika Simon, 'Die Reliefmedallions im Hofe des Palazzo Medici zu Florenz', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, VII, 1965, pp. 15–91. The last-named study supports an attribution to Donatello's shop.

[153] There is no documentary evidence that either Monte or Gherardo worked in Rome.

golden cherub-head, rams' heads and sphinxes of the base and pediment of the setting. He may have strengthened a few blue touches—in the acanthus, the pair of vases, and the filling of the bow-shaped side ornaments.

The Triumph of Death must have been sketched in, as to general shape, by the Paduan, but all of the finished execution is due to Monte. The Triumph of Fame had been sketched and partly executed before Monte received it. The lavender-shaded marble architectural enframement, including the two occuli, are in the Paduan style, as is the pale yellow shelf of rock at the base. Certain finishing touches were very subtly inserted by Monte and he executed the actual illustration himself.

In the case of the Triumph of Time, the drawing of the enframement had been completed and the coloring started by the Paduan, and the rocky shelf had been executed. Monte fortified the details of the sculpture, introducing much gold, crisply delineated. He painted the upper occulus and probably the lower one, and was responsible for the beautiful Triumph entirely.

In the case of the Triumph of Eternity, I believe that only the introductory outlines, and possibly some of the lavender-shaded sculpture of the frame had been carried out. The whole conception of the central scene, as well as of the cherub-siren figures at bottom and at top, seems completely characteristic of Monte.

It is evident that when the manuscript arrived at Florence, the decoration of the text pages also stood at various stages of completion. The first one, that of the Triumph of Love, is entirely Paduan. In the next instance, the lovely opening of the Triumph of Chastity, the historiated initial and the figure of Laura and the unicorn before a landscape had also been brought to completion by the original artist. Doubtless he had sketched in the frame, as well—but the richer coloring here, with its azure, carmine-red, and dark green, enhanced by gold and silver, show the intervention of the Florentine. It was to balance these hues that he felt obliged to touch up—ever so slightly—the frontispiece opposite, as we have mentioned. To pull the decoration together he also retouched the original pale yellow rocky slab on which the maiden sat—converting it into a grassy field with heavier strokes of dark green and brown.

Just such a ground, and of the same duller hue, is under the scene of Laura's death at the next Triumph. How far the outlines of this scene and of the border may have been sketched in, it is hard to say. Essentially the page is the work of Monte.

The frames of the opening verses of the next three Triumphs were, I feel, due entirely to Monte's hand. He designed as well as painted them. Everything about the ornament, the use of gems, including specific Medici examples, accords with other works for which he was responsible.

A final word about the condition of the manuscript. We have mentioned that each frontispiece was painted upon a separate, thicker, piece of vellum to be inserted into the structure of the book. Inspection will reveal that each one of these leaves has at some time been cut down both on the inside margin and at the bottom to a dimension of $7\frac{5}{8}$ by $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches. It appears that some owner, perhaps in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, removed the full-page illustrations, probably to enjoy as framed pictures. Luckily, the extracted miniatures did not have a fate different from the Petrarch text itself. When the manuscript received its present binding in Italy around 1780 or 1790, the owner of that time took the trouble to have the miniatures reinserted at the proper places, the short margins at side and bottom being skillfully filled with fresh vellum to correspond to the dimensions of the book. This restitution is acknowledged in the labelling on the spine of the binding. Between panels blocked in gold with neo-classic urns and late rococo flowers are three leather labels, two of red leather and one of dark green. The lettering on these is amputated by the narrowness of the area available, but the intention was as follows:

PETRAR[CHAE] TRIVMP[HI]//CODEX MSS.//
CUM TABVL[IS] CLODI[S]

The last phrase I take to mean 'with defective plates', *clodi* being from the adjective *clodus* (or, more usually, *claudus-a-um*) meaning 'crippled, lame, defective'. Such a notation on a binding is most exceptional and bespeaks the concern of the owner who restored the contents of the manuscript.

Another kind of restoration to pristine condition concerns the recent conversion of oxidized white lead highlights which had disfigured the illuminations and reversed the intention of the artists. This is discussed in the following article by Miss Terry Drayman.

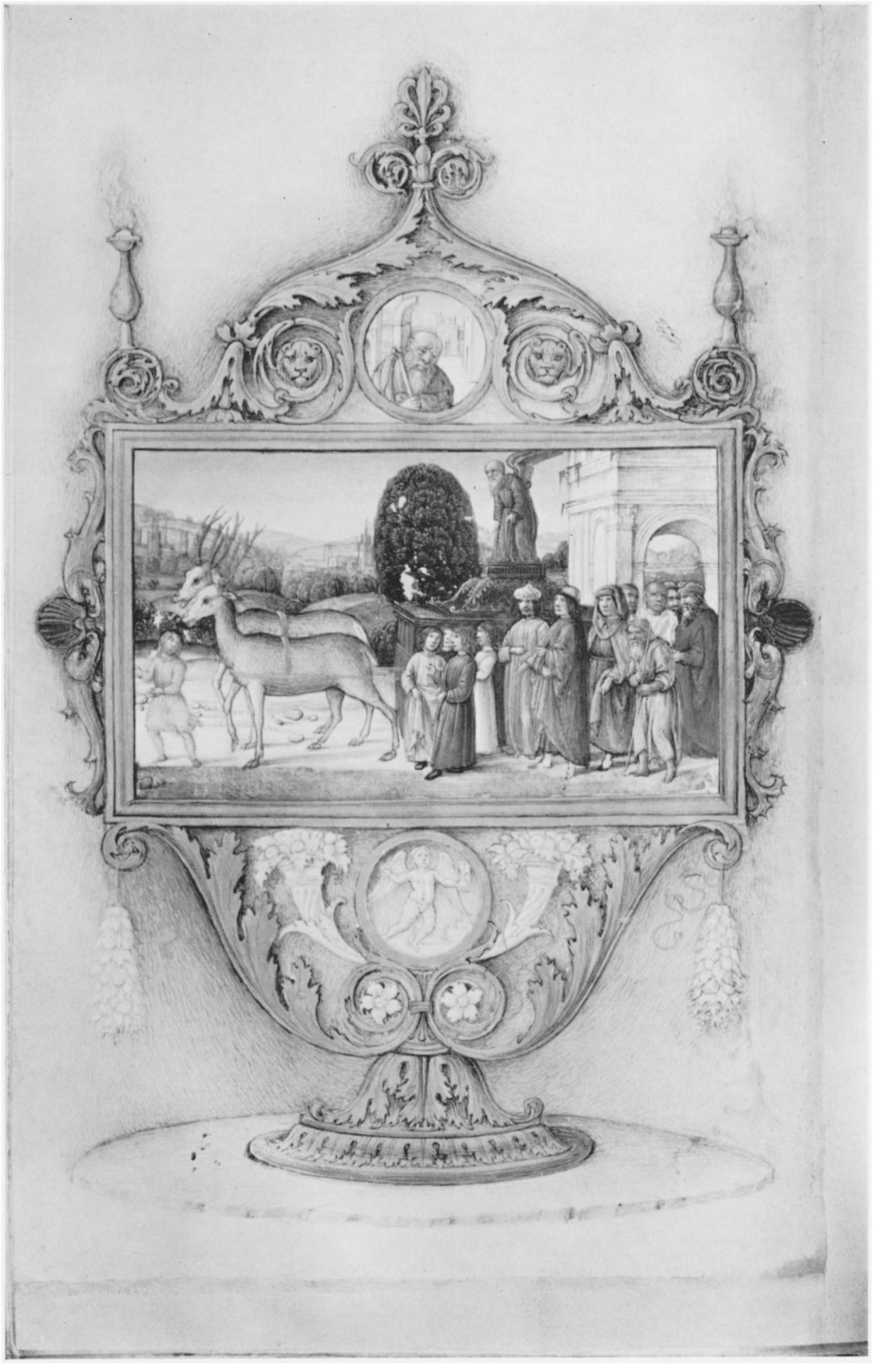


FIGURE 51 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MONTE DI GIOVANNI DI MINIATO

Triumph of Time
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 59vo)

FIGURE 52 WALTERS ART GALLERY

MONTE DI GIOVANNI DI MINIATO

Triumph of Time: opening page
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 60)

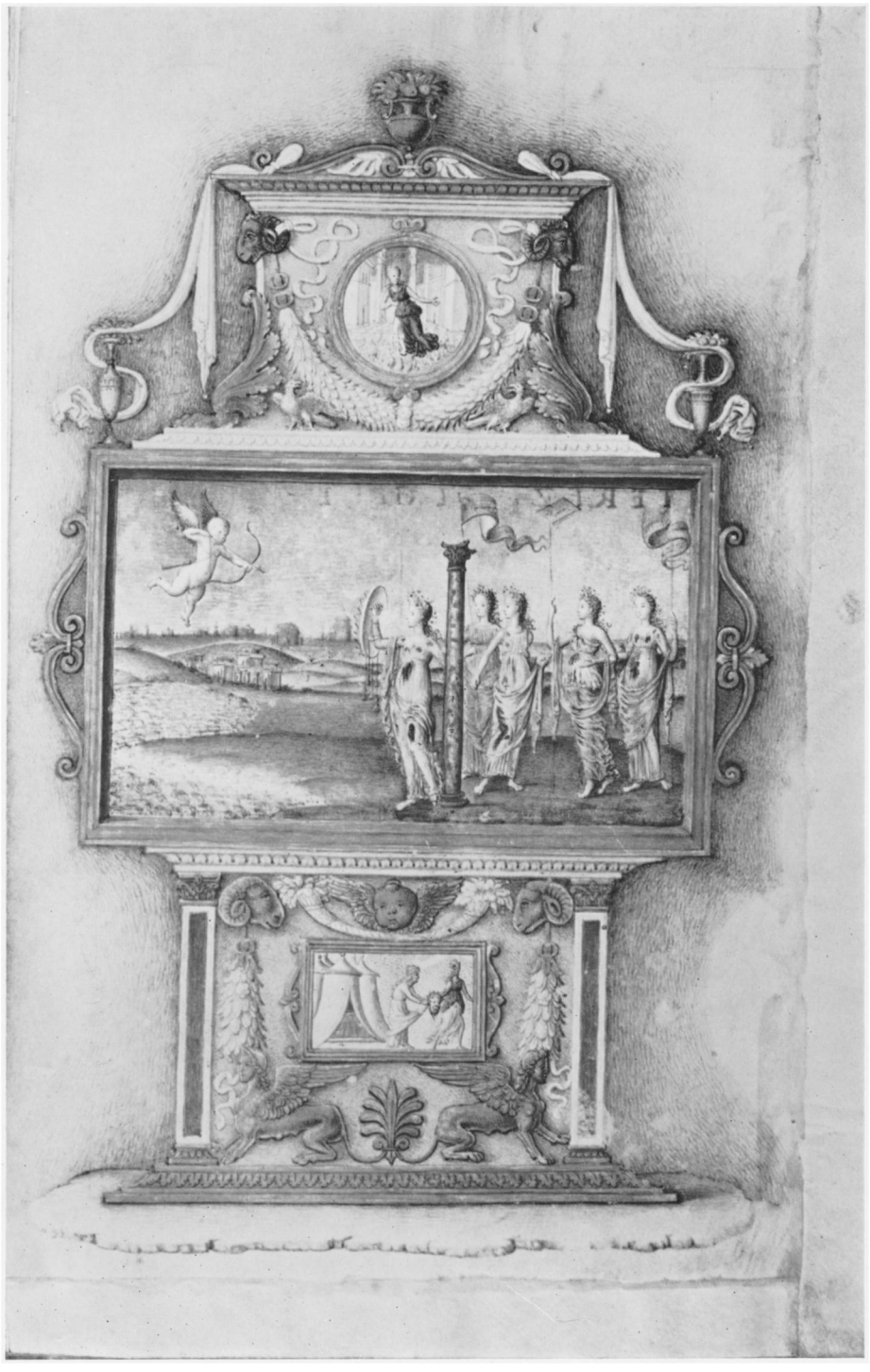


FIGURE 53 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Triumph of Chastity
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 22vo)
Showing white highlights reversed to black especially on the goddesses' garments. Condition in 1956

THE CONSERVATION OF A PETRARCH MANUSCRIPT

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The air pollution of modern cities, coupled with moisture, can cause noticeable damage to illuminated manuscripts. This is especially apparent when white lead pigment has been used with little binding medium, and no surface coating has been applied. A striking example of this phenomenon can be seen in the fifteenth-century Petrarch, *Trionfi* (Ms. W. 755), discussed in detail in the previous article. As can be seen in figure 53, the highlights and high values (those areas in which white lead was used) have become reversed and darkened, especially on the garments of the five goddesses. This was its condition when the manuscript was photographed in 1956.[1]

The blackish values, where high values were intended, occur when hydrogen sulfide (a gas found in the polluted air of the cities) combines with dampness to convert the white lead (a basic carbonate) to a lead sulfide. Thus, the change from white to black is a change in the lead salt from carbonate to sulfide. A remedy for this disfiguring change was suggested by Arthur Yow of the Morgan Library upon being consulted on a similar problem with another manuscript. The mechanics of this treatment are discussed in detail by George L. Stout in his book, *The Care of Pictures*.[2] The basis of this cure is to change the black lead sulfide to another compound—a sulfate—which is white. This change can be brought about by the application of hydrogen peroxide to the sulfide. Morton C. Bradley, Jr., in *The Treatment of Pictures*, offers a method for applying hydrogen peroxide to discolored white lead.[3] He suggests moistening the blackened area with the bleaching agent on cotton swabs or a brush being careful to cause no friction that might disturb or damage the paint surface. Since hydrogen peroxide evaporates slowly and might therefore disturb the paint, it must be mixed with either ethyl alcohol

[1] In fact, the manuscript had suffered reversal of the white highlights as early as 1908, when it was included in the exhibition of illuminated manuscripts organized by the Burlington Fine Arts Club (cf. *Illustrated Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1908, pl. 128).

[2] George L. Stout, *The Care of Pictures*, New York, 1948, p. 48.

[3] Morton C. Bradley, Jr., *The Treatment of Pictures*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950, p. 95.

FIGURE 54 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Triumph of Eternity
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fols. 65vo–66)
Condition in 1956

or ether, which evaporate much more rapidly.

The Petrarch *Trionfi* was treated using the hydrogen peroxide method in the following way:

A 1:1 mixture of 30% hydrogen peroxide (H_2O_2) and anhydrous ether was placed in a bottle with a tight-fitting top and stirred. The solution separated into two layers, the top layer containing mostly ether and enough H_2O_2 to carry out the bleaching process successfully. A brush with only a few hairs in it was dipped in the upper layer of the solution and applied without friction to the discolored areas under microscopic magnification. Each drop of the solution was allowed to dry thoroughly before another drop was applied. After using this method for two illuminations, the solution was changed to a 1:1 mixture of H_2O_2 and ethyl alcohol, since the ether was unpleasant to breathe. This second mixture was stirred but did not separate into layers. It was applied in the same manner as the first solution.

FIGURE 55

WALTERS ART GALLERY

Triumph of Eternity
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fols. 65vo–66)
Condition after treatment with H_2O_2 solution

The results of the application of H_2O_2 can be seen vividly in a comparison of figures 53 and 45, and 54 and 55. Figures 53 and 54 show the condition before treatment with H_2O_2, while figures 45 and 55 show the condition after treatment.

In the process of applying the H_2O_2 solution under microscopic magnification, cracks, flaking, and separation of the paint film from the vellum were discovered. This condition was probably caused by a combination of a lack of adhesion to the smooth surface of the vellum and the turning of the pages over the centuries. A comparison of figures 56 and 57 shows that this condition would eventually prove perilous to the illuminations. Figure 56 shows the hour-glass on the front of the chariot in perfect condition in 1956, while figure 57 shows its present condition. The flaking has obviously progressed resulting in the loss of the hour-glass and other losses in the tree. This comparison also shows the effect of the H_2O_2 treatment, especi-

FIGURE 56 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Triumph of Time (enlarged)
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 59vo)
Condition in 1956

ally in the background.

In order to save what remained of the illuminations, the paint had to be reattached to the vellum. The problems involved in such a process stem mainly from the effect on the appearance of the illumination created by the solution used to reattach the paint. Most solutions which could be used to reattach the paint would also leave a glossy surface and darken the colors. However, one solution, which was discussed by Harold J. Gowers in *Museums Journal*,[4] does not have the drawbacks mentioned above. That solution is soluble nylon. It does not leave a glossy surface nor produce any apparent change in color. In addition, it is easily reversible, i.e., it can be removed whenever desired. In Gowers' article, he recommends using a 2.5% alcoholic solution of soluble nylon to consolidate the friable surface of an illumination. However, in

[4] Harold J. Gowers, in *Museums Journal*, vol. LVIII, 1958–59, no. 12, March 1959, London, p. 280.

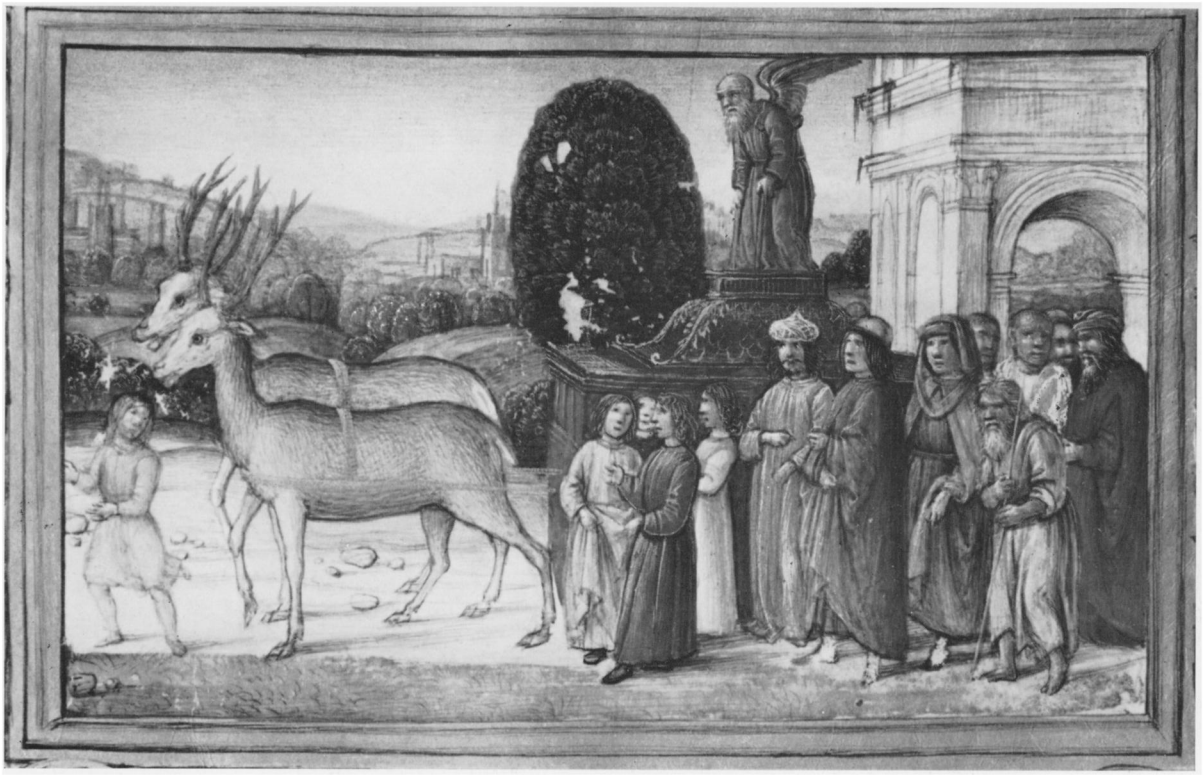

FIGURE 57 WALTERS ART GALLERY

Triumph of Time (enlarged)
Petrarch, 'Trionfi' (Ms. W. 755, fol. 59vo)
Present condition showing progression of flaking paint and effect of treatment with H_2O_2 solution

the case of the Petrarch manuscript, the paint in many areas was completely separated from the vellum and required a more concentrated solution to draw the paint film back to the vellum and to reattach it securely. The following method was used in applying the soluble nylon:

A solution of 5% soluble nylon (Calaton CB) in ethyl alcohol was heated in a hot water bath until it reached a very fluid state. This was applied under microscopic magnification on a one-haired brush into the cracks of the paint film and was allowed to flow under the paint flakes.

The result of this treatment is that the paint film is firmly reattached and the appearance of the paint surface is not perceptibly altered. Now the manuscript can be handled safely with reasonable care. Hopefully, it can be preserved in its present condition by periodic examination under the microscope to note and arrest any new flaking which might occur.

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