



THE JOURNAL OF  
THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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## *In Memoriam: DOROTHY MINER*

### *Keeper of Manuscripts and Rare Books, 1934-1973*

One of the original curators of the Walters Art Gallery, Dorothy Miner delighted in the richness of the collections and in seeing objects gradually yield their secrets to questioning scholars. She loved the manuscripts in her care, and she elicited from each its own story: of its structure, binding, text, calligraphy, decoration, and illumination. Even the texture of the vellum or its crackle as she turned the pages could offer clues as to the volume's past history. Objects came alive in her hands, and the joy of discovery she shared generously.

In 1938 Miss Miner established the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* to make the collections of the Gallery more widely known and for some thirty years she gave it her devoted attention. She possessed the qualities of a great editor: a love and respect for language and books, and a sensitive and appreciative understanding of people—both writers and readers. Characteristically her suggestions to authors reflected a perceptive reading of the manuscript, bringing to bear her own knowledge of the subject and concern for clarity and accuracy. To the maturing student or seasoned scholar, Miss Miner offered help, encouragement, and challenging criticism.

As an editor, perhaps one of Dorothy Miner's greatest contributions was the *Liber amicorum* that she compiled in honor of her beloved mentor at the Pierpont Morgan Library, Belle da Costa Greene. As a writer, her own exuberance and sparkle is perhaps no more evident than in her foreword to *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), or the fascinating study that she prepared on William T. Walters as a Victorian connoisseur and bookman. As a scholar and detective, her article on the use of model books and the Giant Bible of Mainz or the two-part essay unravelling the mysteries of the manuscripts which came to the Gallery by gift or by purchase during her tenure captivate specialist and layman alike.\*

Dorothy Miner was called to the Walters Art Gallery while she was at work with Miss Greene on the Morgan Library exhibition of illuminated manuscripts held at the New York Public Library in 1934. In the following years at the Gallery she organized many important exhibitions of illuminated manuscripts, bookbindings and calligraphy which received international acclaim. The catalogues remain among the most authoritative in their fields. Miss Miner was the author of *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (1949), *The History of Bookbinding 525-1950* (1957) and co-author of *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (1947), *The World Encompassed* (1952), *The International Style, the Arts in Europe around 1400* (1962), and *2000 Years of Calligraphy* (1965). Setting aside her own projects, she edited various Gallery collection catalogues, among them George Steindorff's *Egyptian Sculpture*, Philippe Verdier's *Painted Enamels of the Renaissance*, and Sirarpie Der Nersessian's *Armenian Manuscripts*. A complete bibliography is included in the Festschrift volume, *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, published by the Trustees in 1974.

Yet to list Dorothy Miner's publications, her exhibitions, the many organizations to which she gave her attention, her fellowships or honorary degrees is merely to silhouette a full and fascinating personality. Those who shared even a few minutes with D.M. know of much, much more—of her wit, wisdom, kindness, loyalty and ebullient goodwill.

\* "The Publishing Ventures of a Victorian Connoisseur—A Sidelight on W. T. Walters," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 57, 1963, pp. 271-311; *The Giant Bible of Mainz, 500th Anniversary*, Washington, Library of Congress, 1952; "Since De Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired Since 1934. A Report in Two Parts," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 29/30, pp. 69-103 and vol. 31/32, pp. 41-117.



*Beatus vir*: Opening of Psalm 1, from a Psalter, French, 13th century (W. 45, fol. 16)

*Following is the eulogy delivered by Richard H. Randall, Jr., Director of the Walters Art Gallery, at the memorial service for Dorothy Miner at the Cathedral Church of the Incarnation on May 17, 1973.*

*Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum*—Happy is he who follows the path of righteousness. These are the opening words of the Book of Psalms, and appropriate ones for a scholar of books, like Dorothy Miner. For hers was indeed a chosen path, and right, and one on which she strode all her life, never wavering and not allowing herself to be tempted, as Robert Frost was, by paths that diverged in the woods.

The *Beatus vir* pages of illuminated manuscripts are the great opening leaves of the Psalter, usually among the most glorious in a medieval book. On these and their decoration alone, a scholar could expend a life time, but Dorothy was not a person to undertake one task at a time. She would take on as many as were demanded, and she continually did this all her life. She is one of the few scholars that I have known well, who never mentioned that she had a deadline, and who could always spend five minutes to explain to a visiting scholar or to a child who dropped by the library, the answer to a problem.

Dorothy came to Baltimore and to the Walters Art Gallery in 1934 as one of the first generation of five curators who were set to the awesome task of sorting and cataloguing the 20,000 items in the collection of Henry Walters, who had left his museum to the City in 1931. The group had to fend for themselves, and divide up the material into their respective fields, and then see that it was properly catalogued and put into order, a task that took four years.

Dorothy emerged from these early years as curator of manuscripts, curator of rare books and bindings, curator of Islamic and Near Eastern art, librarian, and shortly, editor of publications. It is a job description which one could not fill in 1973. At each of the jobs, she was a per-

fectionist—one only has to look at the quality of the Walters Art Gallery *Journal* compared to other publications of 1938 to realize the standards that she set for the Gallery. Her great exhibitions—manuscripts, bindings, maps, and calligraphy—similarly lit a path for others to follow.

But the real Dorothy was quietly in the library, working behind a pile of papers. She would emerge to help a visiting scholar, to check with the printer, to give a lecture on the history of books, and then return to her beloved work on the collection. She never stopped. In the thirty-nine years, she worked often seven days a week, and most nights, and claimed that she could only think clearly about certain issues in the quiet of her home.

But when the voice that penetrated the library was a small one, an unsure one, or a young one, Dorothy was at her greatest. She lavished endless time on students, but it was not just time. It was a pair of sparkling eyes, full of enthusiasm. It was to some of those visitors as though a shower of knowledge fell on them all at once. Or a shower of excitement. Having never heard of an illuminated manuscript, they would go off wondering how they could have missed so important a facet of life.

When working in the library, one discovered the sense of humor behind the grey-blue eyes. Dorothy propped open the manuscripts with bean bags, because they were gentler and more malleable than blocks. But each bean bag had an animal shape and a name. George and Snoopy were two of them, and the greatest scholars in the world learned to call them by name. George was a dragon.

When life went badly, which it did occasionally—like the two bond issue defeats for the Walters Art Gallery—Dorothy would purse her lips and pronounce that “Life is full of prunes.” More often, her expressions were joyful, and the one that so well described the continual process of discovery at the Gallery was “Every day is Christmas at the Walters Art Gallery.”

Admiration for Dorothy in her lifetime knew no bounds. It stretched across the seas to England, France, Belgium, and Scandinavia. Anyone who had worked in her library and had the privilege of having her stand at his elbow—pointing out the special features of a book, absorbing the comments of the visitor, or remarking what some previous scholar had seen in a manuscript—was always to remember her and her helpfulness. It is not a common feature among scholars to completely share one’s knowledge. As a result, Dorothy had an army of admirers, twenty of whom were inspired to gather a group of articles dedicated to her into a *Festschrift*. This was to be presented to her on her sixty-ninth birthday in November. She had, fortunately, the privilege of seeing and reading this book honoring her in typescript while she was in the hospital.

The opening page was a dedication to her in Latin, written by the calligrapher Fritz Eberhardt, in the manner of the parade script of her favorite Antiphonary of Beaupré, the great manuscript she had acquired for the Walters Art Gallery from the Hearst collection. This page opened with an illuminated initial “L,” filled with the symbol of her patron saint, Dorothy, a basket of flowers and apples.

These are fitting symbols for our Dorothy as well. For we not only have the many flowers of her knowledge, which have been strewn so casually yet thoughtfully among us, but we have the apples, the fruits of her orchard, which has been so magnificently tended throughout four decades. This fruit will bear other fruit, and these flowers other flowers, and her garden will thrive. *Beatus vir, beata domina.*





FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista from Praeneste, Italic, third century B.C.*

# TWO BRONZE CISTAE FROM PRAENESTE

By DOROTHY KENT HILL  
*The Walters Art Gallery*

NO TOWN HAS a richer and more varied artistic history than Palestrina, formerly Praeneste, located in the Sabine Hills, the range that springs up to the southeast of the flat Campagna around Rome.<sup>1</sup> As early as the seventh century B.C. its inhabitants were wealthy enough to import objects of gold, silver, amber, ivory and bronze from Etruria or from overseas and, extravagantly, to inter these marvels as grave goods. By the fifth century Praeneste's Latin-speaking folk included skilled bronze workers producing pictorially decorated mirrors and wood-and-bronze toilet boxes, the latter destined to develop into an astounding ware: cylindrical bronze toilet boxes, called *cistae praenestinae* by archaeologists, having elaborate engraved scenes on covers and sides and heavy cast attachments.

During the first century B.C. the dictator Sulla destroyed Praeneste, then rebuilt it as a huge sanctuary in honor of Fortuna, Lady Luck, covering the entire hillside. Great colonnaded courts were piled high, one above another, each layer accessible from below by stairs and ramps of easy gradation for pedestrians. At the foot of the sanctuary was the Forum, terminated at both ends by buildings with fine mosaic floors. High above was a

hemicycle of steps, suggesting theatrical usage, supporting a semicircular colonnade, and highest of all a tiny round temple to the goddess. It was a triumph of Roman architecture that has miraculously survived until our time because, only slightly ruined, the sanctuary was encased in medieval and modern Palestrina with ramps, staircases and courts serving as passages and streets and buildings of a town which acquired numerous churches and a twelfth-century cathedral. During the Renaissance, the Colonna and the Barberini families took the topmost structure with its fronting colonnade and converted it to a baronial palace with frescoes on Classical, Biblical and historical themes. More famous even than the Barberini was the composer, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, born 1526, whose name has made the town a Mecca for musicians. Palladio, greatest architect of the post-Renaissance, was one of many to draw a restored plan of the ancient sanctuary, always discernible to sharp eyes.

Systematic excavation began in the eighteenth century and continued throughout the nineteenth. Outside the city, tomb excavation went on most furiously in the 1860's, 1870's and 1880's, accompanied by restricted excavation of the sanctuary. Valiant efforts were made at publication which, nevertheless, never kept up with the discoveries. Terrific bomb-

<sup>1</sup> Artistic works of all periods are well presented by P. Romanelli, *Palestrina*, Naples, 1967.



FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista (fig. 1). Tracing of scene on body: Battle*

ing during World War II wrecked the town to such an extent that it was decided to demolish most houses in the upper part and clear the Roman sanctuary for display. Today the Barberini Palace is a local museum, but the majority of Praenestine archaeological treasures are in the Villa Giulia, Rome, or in museums around the world. The Walters Art Gallery boasts no less than five of the *cistae praenestinae*, thanks to Henry Walters' purchase in 1902 of the entire collection of Don Marcello Massarenti who had housed it in Rome in the now destroyed Accoramboni Palace. Two of them are presented here.

The Praenestine cistae rank among history's most extraordinary works of art, combining fine drawing with bad taste, misuse of subject matter and careless, assembly-line construction. And their technical nature positively tempts restorers to do their worst! The body was a cylinder of sheet bronze on which elaborate scenes were engraved with a sharp point; then three feet of heavy cast bronze, each

topped by a vertical plaque with a relief, were so attached that the plaque concealed and interrupted the drawing. High up in the picture eight holes were invariably punched through the wall for attaching rings with circular mounts and chains or thongs were fastened to the rings; if not all chains and thongs now visible are original, the presence of such was invariable and they concealed the drawing with a maze of ugly conflicting loops. The covers also were hammered and engraved. The cover handle bridged the center, often covering part of the engraving. These cover handles were sculptural groups, well modelled but

<sup>2</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.133. Total height, 19¾ in. (.40 m.); height of body 9½ in. (.242 m.); diameter at mouth, 8¾ in. (.216 m.). A scrap of thong attached to one ring seems to prove that the chains are not in their original positions, though chains and rings seem ancient and some rings are in original positions. The tracing, fig. 2, is by Gretchen Nolley. I am grateful to technicians of the Walters laboratory for cleaning and repairing the two cistae, most of all to Miss Mary Lou White.

with bizarre subjects, such as a satyr courting a maenad or two soldiers supporting the bleeding corpse of a comrade whose horizontal body becomes the grip. At dead center a small movable ring was for tying together the thongs or chains raised from the body of the cista (missing from our examples).

The first cista chosen for publication here (fig. 1) is almost unknown.<sup>2</sup> At the time of its discovery it passed through the hands of a restorer who was neither better nor worse than most of his contemporaries, but original in his methods: he covered the exterior with green paint, the color of corroded bronze, and into the paint he engraved the entire scene, copying the extant parts and adding the missing portions to his own taste. Such restoration, similar to the nineteenth-century vase restorer's, fortunately reduced to a minimum modern engraving into the fabric itself. From recent cleaning there emerged a surface green patinated over a reddish accretion, with engraved lines fainter than usual and with some blank areas denuded by the ravages of time or of restoration. The scene once included a chariot with charioteer; the restorer completed it and the only photograph ever taken featured this part of the scene; the chariot, most of which was false, has now disappeared in the cleaning and all publications using those photographs are therefore misleading.<sup>3</sup>

Figure 2 gives the whole scene unrestored.

<sup>2</sup> Edouard van Esbroeck and U. and M. P., *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture, et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni II*, Rome, 1897, pp. 27 f., nos. 145-147 (no descriptions or illustrations); Walters Art Gallery, *Handbook of the Collection*, 1936, p. 38; R. Shoolman and C. Slatkin, *The Enjoyment of Art in America*, 1942, p. 51, pl. 48; Detroit Institute of Arts, *Exhibition of Small Bronzes of the Ancient World*, 1947, no. 51 (no illustration); D. K. Hill, *American Journal of Archaeology* 76, 1972, p. 211 (no illustration).

The engraving is continuous; in the present rendering it is interrupted in the most damaged area. At the left are the incomplete hind quarters of three rearing horses, the nearest displaying the belt of his harness and raising his tail. At the other end of our divided picture are what remains of the fore parts—two heads and six legs with hooves, suggesting the horses of a quadriga. Returning to the extreme left of our illustration, note the drapery high up, divided like two waving banners; presumably the cloth winds around the charioteer's neck like a scarf, but it may belong to two occupants or to a flying figure crowning the driver. None of the chariot, no wheel or recognizable part, is preserved behind or under the horses, though in the former area there are some lines difficult to interpret.

To the right of the chariot a horse rears in the opposite direction, the start of his tail just visible above the nearest chariot horse (fig. 3). Standing, partly concealed by this rearing horse, is someone wearing a Thracian helmet with raised cheekpieces and a spiked crest like a griffin's, a chlamys that billows in the wind and a tunic; one might interpret this person, alone in the whole scene, as a woman. Below the horse's belly is drapery, perhaps the bottom of the tunic, and still lower are two pairs of vertical lines, each pair connected by cross lines; are these the legs and socks of the standing figure? Stretching right arm forward across the horse's back, this warrior spears the shoulder of an enemy on the ground who is dropping his sword from his relaxed right hand. He wears a baldric with scabbard and drapery stretches over his left shoulder and across his left leg. Between him and the quadriga lies what may be a Thracian helmet. His head is largely concealed, perhaps turned back behind the rump of the horse beside him; possibly, too, his left arm braces his sinking form—barely perceptible beside the drapery swinging



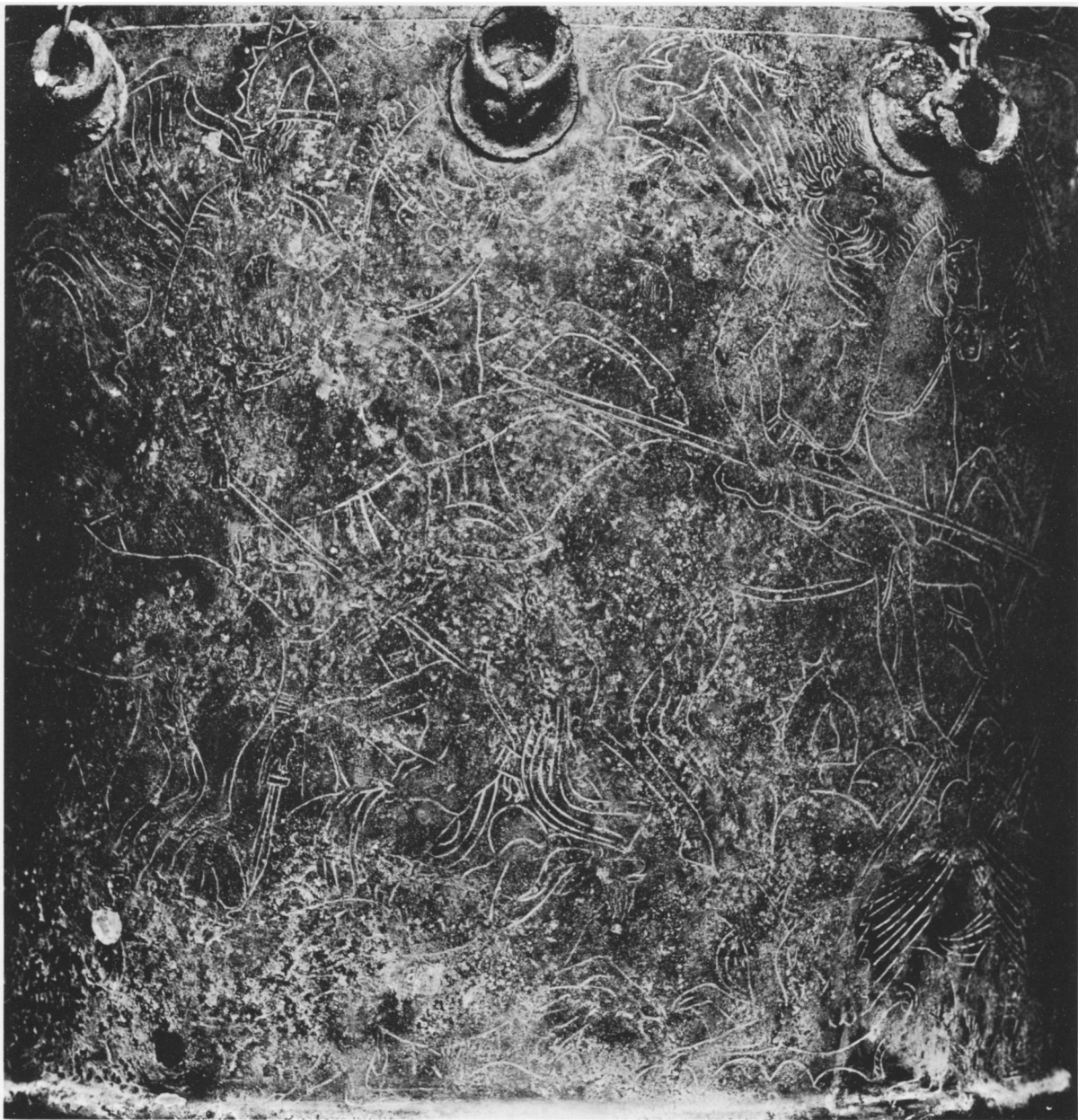


FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista (fig. 1, feet removed): Battle*

from his left shoulder to the ground.

Next to the right is a horse bearing a rider, chlamys billowing behind him, wearing a cuirass, a tunic and greaves and aiming a spear (figs. 2, 3). His hair is wind blown and under his horse on a pile of rocks is his Thracian

helmet, just fallen from his head. Before the horse a spear stands unsteadily, its point thrust into the ground. The rider's intended victim is some distance from him (fig. 4), already forced to a sitting position with the point of a broken spear clean through his outstretched

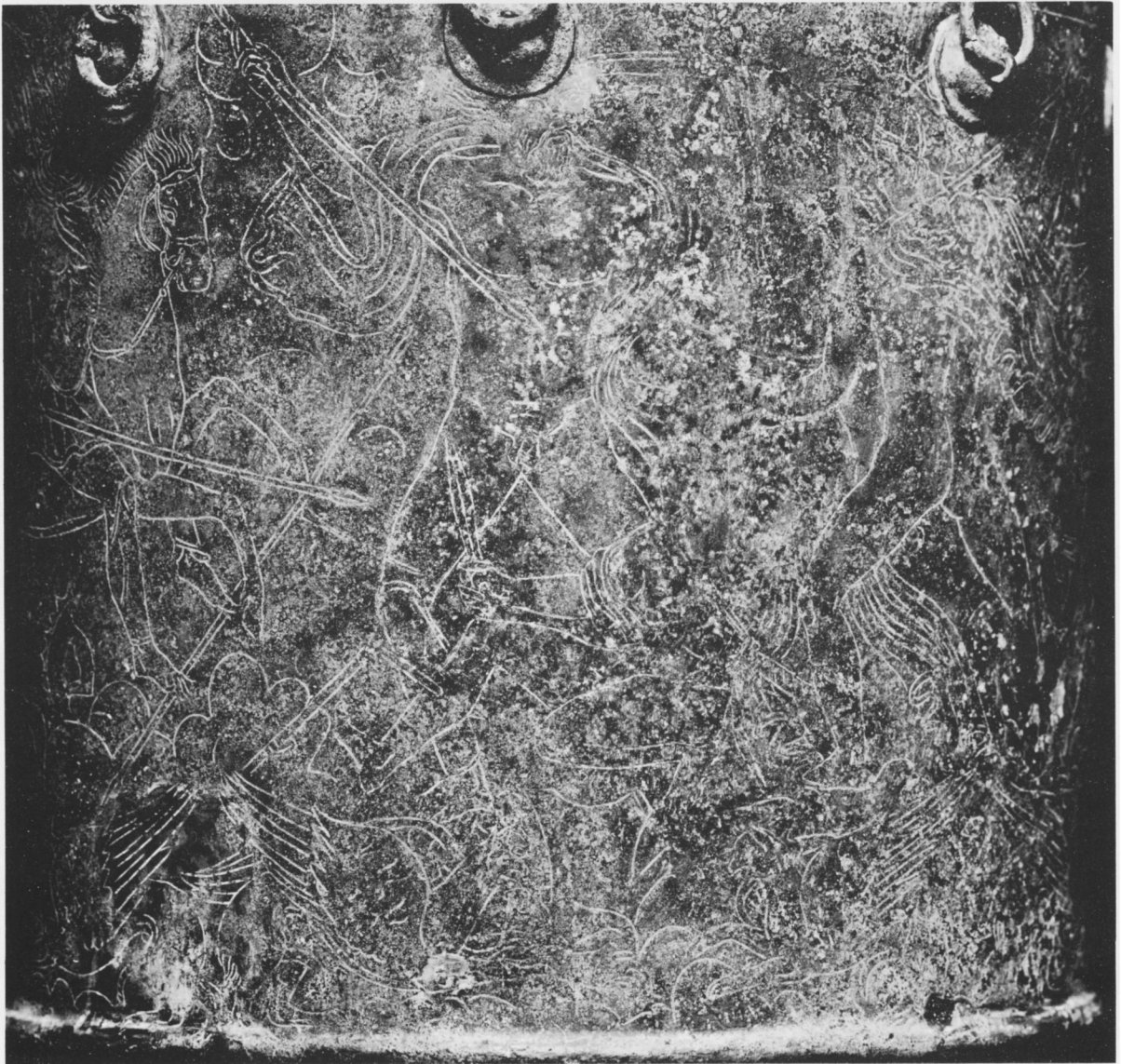


FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista (fig. 1, feet removed): Single Combat*

right leg; he is still fighting and grips his sword, point up. He wears a baldric and scabbard and a long, flowing piece of drapery. His left arm, muffled in drapery, rises aloft while his head is concealed or obliterated. Just above this seated warrior and not involving him, a single combat rages, one great bearded fellow standing with spread legs facing the spectator and brandishing a spear; a detached spear head

has pierced his right thigh (fig. 4). Opposing him is a younger man seen in back view, wearing a Thracian helmet and a chlamys and brandishing a spear. For the moment the pair seems evenly matched. The bearded warrior holds his shield, inner face toward us, at shoulder height; his left hand is not preserved, but the arm passes through the cross strap on the inner face of the shield which was intended

to appear to be round. The upper edge of the shield touches the bearer's head and his opponent's nose, and its lower rim reaches the opponent near elbow height. The area where these three—two fighting erect and one on the ground (fig. 4)—approach each other is damaged and no reconstruction is altogether convincing; we must imagine three left hands, two additional shields, and one head (but allowance might be made for some of these members being concealed, one behind another). Separated from this group only by a Thracian helmet fallen top down, is a second single combat. The youth at the left wears greaves and a long drape and carries a round shield, slightly foreshortened, exposing its inner face with holds for arm and hand; he spears his bearded opponent in the abdomen, doubly wounding him, since he already has a broken spear piercing his right thigh; he has dropped his sword and is falling forward on his right knee. Above him is a shield with outer face exposed; his left hand and arm have disappeared; he wears only a scabbard on a baldric and a very long drape.

We have now arrived at the head of the quadriga with which we started our description (fig. 2). The action takes place between rounded rocks and clouds looking curiously like the rocks in reverse. Finally, at the head of the horses is a six-pointed compass-drawn star within a double circle. Such a star, singly or in conjunction with one or more crescent moons,<sup>4</sup> appears occasionally on vases, more frequently on engraved metalware. It identifies the Dioskouroi as the stars of the morning, or chariots of the sun or of deities, or events in which celestial deities participate; sometimes it is quite meaningless.

Excluding the charioteer and possibly a passenger, there are eight contestants, four victorious and four defeated. By ancient custom, the losers belong to one army, the victors

to the other, for the possibility of temporary or partial victory was never admitted by artists. The victors are: the standing figure with a horse, the rider wearing cuirass over tunic and greaves, and the two youths, one wearing chlamys and helmet, the other a long drape and helmet and greaves. Of the defeated, the two on the ground (whose heads are missing) reveal very little; the others are bearded and without helmets, wearing long flowing pieces of drapery and in one case, greaves. There is nothing about these costumes to distinguish the armies, nor about the weapons, swords and spears on both sides. The only real distinction is the beards! Just possibly the beard is a symbol of barbarity, and restricted to the losing side. (The lack of helmet might mean the same thing—but in fairness we must admit that the helmets fallen to the ground might belong to these men.)

Certain rather similar cista scenes figure the battle of gods and giants. The best known is in Munich, formerly Loeb collection.<sup>5</sup> The star is about waist level on the four deities, Hephaistos (?), Poseidon, Dionysos and Athena, who attack three giants, one fighting with rocks, one wounded and prone, one with fish-tail legs. Quite similar to it, but lacking the star, is a cista found more recently with Herakles, Athena, a goddess, and Poseidon battling four opponents: one erect, two prone and one with fish-tail legs.<sup>6</sup> Related, but not so closely, is a scene of Herakles and Athena

<sup>4</sup> E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, 1840–, pls. CCXII, CCLV, CCCXLVII; Klügmann, Körte, *ibid.*, vol. V, pl. 119; *American Journal of Archaeology* 47, 1943, p. 220, fig. 2.

<sup>5</sup> J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, 1913, pp. 82 f., pls. 40–43; *American Journal of Archaeology* 16, 1911, pp. 465 ff.; Sale catalogue Sarti coll., Rome, 1906, no. 99, pl. 10; F. Vian, *Répertoire des gigantomachies figurées dans l'art grec et romain*, 1951, p. 97, no. 458, pl. LVI.

fighting giants, one with fish-tail legs, on a cista in the Fitzwilliam Museum, where the scene includes at least two curiously formed stars;<sup>7</sup> another cista in Copenhagen pictures a battle scene, many warriors and Athena.<sup>8</sup>

Our scene, artistically related to the gigantomachy, but without any figure characterized as deity or giant, might be a representation of the assault of the Gauls on civilization when they broke into the sanctuary of Delphi in Greece in 279 B.C.—as with equal frightfulness they had broken into Italy a century earlier. Etruscan relief sarcophagi show battles in which the Gauls carry sacred vessels out of the sanctuary, as well as others in which the action is less clear.<sup>9</sup> There are known instances in which the traditional war between the gods and the giants became symbolical of the recent war between civilized men and barbarian Gauls.<sup>10</sup> It remains impossible to definitely ascribe a subject to our cista, but the conflict of the Gauls is a possible interpretation.

The border below the scene is a ubiquitous subject in Praenestine art: griffins facing one another across a stump, or attacking goats and boars, with or without the assistance of huge felines.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, the upper border

<sup>6</sup> Villa Giulia, no. 42223. G. Battaglia, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1933, pp. 191 ff. and Vian, *Répertoire*, pl. LVI and *Roma Medio Repubblicana*, Rome, Antiquarium Comunale, 1973, pp. 276 ff., no. 421, pls. LXXXV–LXXXVIII.

<sup>7</sup> Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, no. G. R. 6. 1925. *Apollo*, Feb. 1966, p. 117, and *Annual Report*, 1965, pl. II.

<sup>8</sup> Guide to the National Museum, *Greece, Italy and the Roman Empire*, 1968, p. 100, no. 27, pl. opp. p. 92. For gigantomachy elsewhere in Etruria see Del Chiaro, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1970, pp. 346 ff.

<sup>9</sup> E. Brunn, G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche* III, 1916, pls. CXIII–CXXIII; also, not characterized, pls. CXXIV–CXXVII.

<sup>10</sup> F. Vian, *La guerre des géants. Le mythe avant l'époque hellénistique* (*Etudes et commentaires* XI), 1952, p. 42.



FIGURE 5 WALTERS ART GALLERY  
Cover of Cista (fig. 1, handle removed)

is a rare pattern, a chain of palmettes lying on their sides and pointing in opposing directions, encased between double volutes. I do not know an exact parallel of this border, but there are related patterns.<sup>12</sup> The relief design on the three feet which were cast and attached over the drawing is a common one (fig. 1): a kneeling winged child resting his head against his left hand in a gesture of grief and with his right grasping a lighted torch which, illogically, slants down with the flame at its lower end. This figure has been provisionally identified as Thanatos, death.<sup>13</sup> The cover, which does not necessarily belong, but which certainly fits perfectly, is engraved with a woman's

<sup>11</sup> Our tracing, fig. 2, is from photographs taken while the feet were detached for cleaning and therefore the animal frieze is not interrupted.

<sup>12</sup> Cista, British Museum no. 744. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan*, 1899, pp. 131 f.; cista, Palestrina no. 105, Romanelli, *op. cit.*, pl. XLIX; mirror, Villa Giulia, Giglioli, *op. cit.*, pl. CCCIV.





FIGURE 6

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista from Praeneste, Italic, fourth century B.C.*

head, a sphinx, and an animal battle in which a griffin and a lion attack a deer (fig. 5); it has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> The cover handle consists of two athletes standing each with one hand on hip, the other hands raised so that one can grasp his opponent's wrist. It will be presented more fully at a later time.

It is not possible to date this cista exactly since neither absolute nor relative chronology is yet established.<sup>15</sup> Certainly it is not one of the earlier examples of Praenestine ware and belongs somewhere within the boundaries of the third century B.C.

Somewhat better known than the other, but still not duly famous is a cista featuring the Perseus legend and a thiasos (fig. 6). Acquired by Mr. Walters from the same source in Rome in 1902, it had already been published by Bencker in the *Römische Mitteilungen* with a drawing which has remained until today the sole basis for discussion.<sup>16</sup> The cista drawing was complete, but Bencker noted that to judge from discoloration and the weak character of the lines, certain areas were restored: the right leg and foot of Perseus and his right hand with the weapon; the right hand and foot of Medusa; and the lower part of the first of three dancing maenads. These observations were correct, but recently after cleaning there appeared under a layer of green gesso sizable parts of the original drawing deliberately con-

cealed for the sake of minimizing a few holes and some unevenness of the battered surface. The scene is now virtually complete though the drawing is faint, especially in the areas formerly covered. These places and certain minor inaccuracies in Bencker's drawing will be noted in the description.

The scene takes place in a flowery landscape (fig. 7). Eight figures move to the spectator's right toward a single youth, probably Hermes, who faces left; behind him is a tree with a bird on one branch (replaced by a low plant in Bencker's drawing) which divides the scene and suggests as locale the garden of the Hesperides, though it may be a meaningless space filler. Hermes wears laced shoes (I suspect some re-engraving here) and has a staff in his left hand and a garment folded over his left arm and extends his right hand with first finger pointing toward the oncoming throng. Before Hermes' head is a bird clutching the

<sup>15</sup> See Battaglia on the gigantomachy cista, note 6; P. Orlandini, *Studi etruschi* 21, 1951, p. 145; J. D. Beazley, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* LXIX, 1949, p. 2; G. A. Mansuelli, *Studi etruschi* 21, 1951, pp. 401 ff.; L. B. Warren, *American Journal of Archaeology* 68, 1964, pp. 355 ff.; T. Dohrn, *Die ficorinische Ciste* (*Monumenta artis romanae* XI), 1972, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.136. Total height, 20 $\frac{5}{8}$  in. (.525 m.); height of body, 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. (.373 m.); diameter at mouth 11 in. (.28 m.). The tracing, fig. 7, is by John Spurbeck. M. Bencker, *Römische Mitteilungen* 7, 1892, pp. 223-227, figs. on pp. 224-225; E. van Esbroeck, *op. cit.*, p. 26, no. 143; D. K. Hill, *American Journal of Archaeology* 57, 1953, p. 108; K. Schauenburg, *Perseus in der Kunst des Altertums*, Bonn, 1960, p. 45, note 315; A. Merlin, *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* II, 1932, p. 601, note 4; Roscher, *Lexikon der Mythologie* III, 2, col. 1749 (Hannig); F. Hannig, *De Pegaso* (*Breslauer phil. Abhandlungen* VIII, 1902, heft 4, 1) p. 18; *Masterpieces of Etruscan Art*, Worcester Art Museum, 1967, p. 86, no. 77; *Acme* XXVIII, 1975, pp. 223 ff., fig. 1.

<sup>13</sup> A. Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, 1918, pp. 429 f., nos. 13137, 13138; also p. 432, no. 13136. The same on Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.134, on one in Karlsruhe, one in Geneva, one at the Morgan Library, New York, one at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, another at the Louvre, no. 638 and doubtless many others.

<sup>14</sup> D. K. Hill, *Hommages à Marcel Renard* (*Collection Latomus* 103), 1969, pp. 297 ff., pl. CXIX, figs. 3, 4.



FIGURE 7

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista (fig. 6). Tracing of scene on body: Thiasos, Death of Medusa*

center of a very long string, probably a fillet, but conceivably a snake whose smallest part touches the severed Medusa head while the other end is bulbous like a snake's head.

Next to the left comes Perseus, moving with long stride and gazing straight forward, avoiding seeing what he carries (figs. 6, 7, 8). He wears a winged petasos and winged shoes and

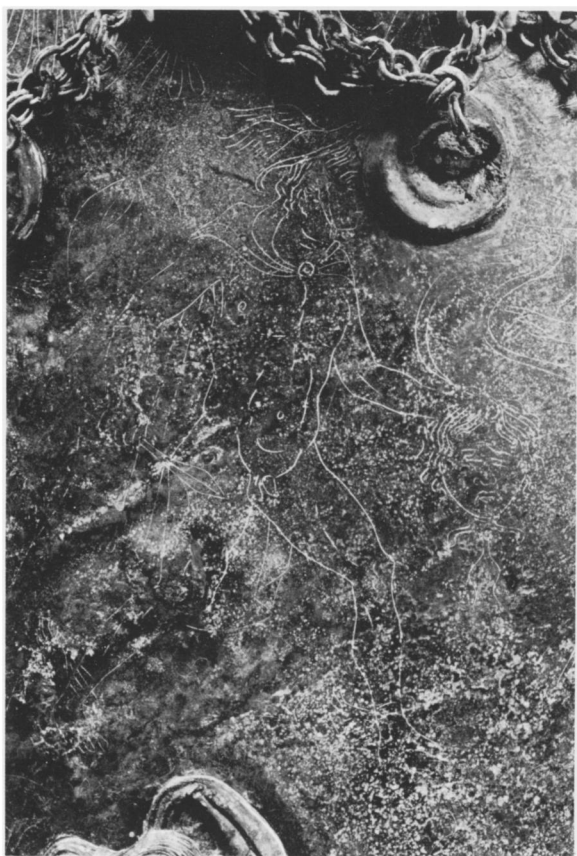


FIGURE 8 WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Cista (fig. 6): Perseus with Medusa's Head*



FIGURE 9 WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Cista (fig. 6): Birth of Pegasus*

his chlamys, buttoned before his throat, falls down his back as low as his knees. Beneath his feet sweeps a plant, now damaged and faint. His right hand clutches his weapon, a short sword from the normal blade of which a curved blade branches downward. He holds the Medusa head in his left hand. It is drawn in front view and does not look ugly; the eyes are closed, the corners of the mouth turn down and the hair is prettily waved. Under Medusa's chin is a bow knot, representing the tied snakes which so frequently appear below her chin on masks. Separated from Perseus by a flower on a vertical stalk moves a winged woman wearing an over-girt peplos and holding a staff in her left hand (omitted by Bencker) and extending her empty right hand. This right hand is so crude and so obviously re-engraved that we have omitted it from our drawing. The face is concealed by a disc attachment. In her speed her apotypygm swirls and billows. Her right shoe, like the shoes of all the women who follow, consists of a thick sole, a cross-strap and an ankle strap. To the left beyond another flower on a vertical stem is the key figure, Medusa, collapsed on the ground, supporting herself momentarily on her braced right hand and doubling her right foot under (fig. 9). Her left hand is stretched forward, useless and inactive—or in a gesture begging

for pity! She wears a peplos. From the stump of Medusa's neck spring the head and neck of Pegasus. And beside her neck are three loops indicating hair; the neck is covered with short strokes, perhaps gore. Three snakes or two snakes and the tail of another, emerge from the cut neck beside Pegasus—illogically but not surprisingly, for snakes appear on Gorgons on any part of the head or neck and sometimes even grow from behind the shoulders.

The Perseus myth is a common subject on cistae and mirrors of Praeneste and on Etruscan wares generally.<sup>17</sup> To avoid seeing Medusa's head, Perseus usually looks back over his shoulder, but it is permissible for him to gaze forward and upward as he does here and on a famous Etruscan scarab once figured by Winckelmann.<sup>18</sup> The birth of Pegasus, with or without the birth of Chrysaor accompanying, from the severed neck is figured on various vases and at least one Etruscan scarab.<sup>19</sup> A winged woman accompanying wingless Medusa is known elsewhere in Italic art and has been interpreted either as Nike or as a Gorgon sister in changed form.<sup>20</sup> The double weapon, sword plus sickle, is known in later Greek and Etruscan art.<sup>21</sup> There is no cause for surprise at the popularity of this myth since, as Furtwängler pointed out, there was a cult of Perseus at Ardea.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Also, recently discovered acroteria, J. Borchardt, *Die Bauskulptur von Limyra*, Berlin, 1976.

<sup>18</sup> Berlin, Antikenabteilung no. F G 201. E. Zwierleien-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen* II, Munich, 1969, pp. 107 f., no. 240 (references), pl. 52 and fig. 7 (Winckelmann).

<sup>19</sup> *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 29, 1914, p. 183, figs. 4–6; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* I, 1900, pl. XX, no. 37; Schauenburg notes the similarity to our cista, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36 f.

<sup>21</sup> J. M. Woodward, *Perseus in Greek Art and Legend*, 1937, p. 82, figs. 28, 30, 31.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, p. 283.

<sup>23</sup> Two other cistae: Field Museum of Natural History, formerly Sarti, G. Matthies, *Die praenestischen Spiegel*, 1912, p. 24, fig. 16; Villa Giulia no. 51199, P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, 1927, p. 588, pl. 281, fig. 680 and *Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica, Monumenti*, X, pls. XLV, XLVI. Also, relief on foot of cista, G. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte etrusca*, 1935, pl. CCXXV, 3 and set of three feet, K. A. Neugebauer, *Scritti in onore di Bartolemeo Nogara*, 1937, pp. 325 ff., pl. XLV. To the long list of Etruscan mirrors with Perseus add Baltimore Museum of Art, *Record*, 3:1, 1972, p. 27.



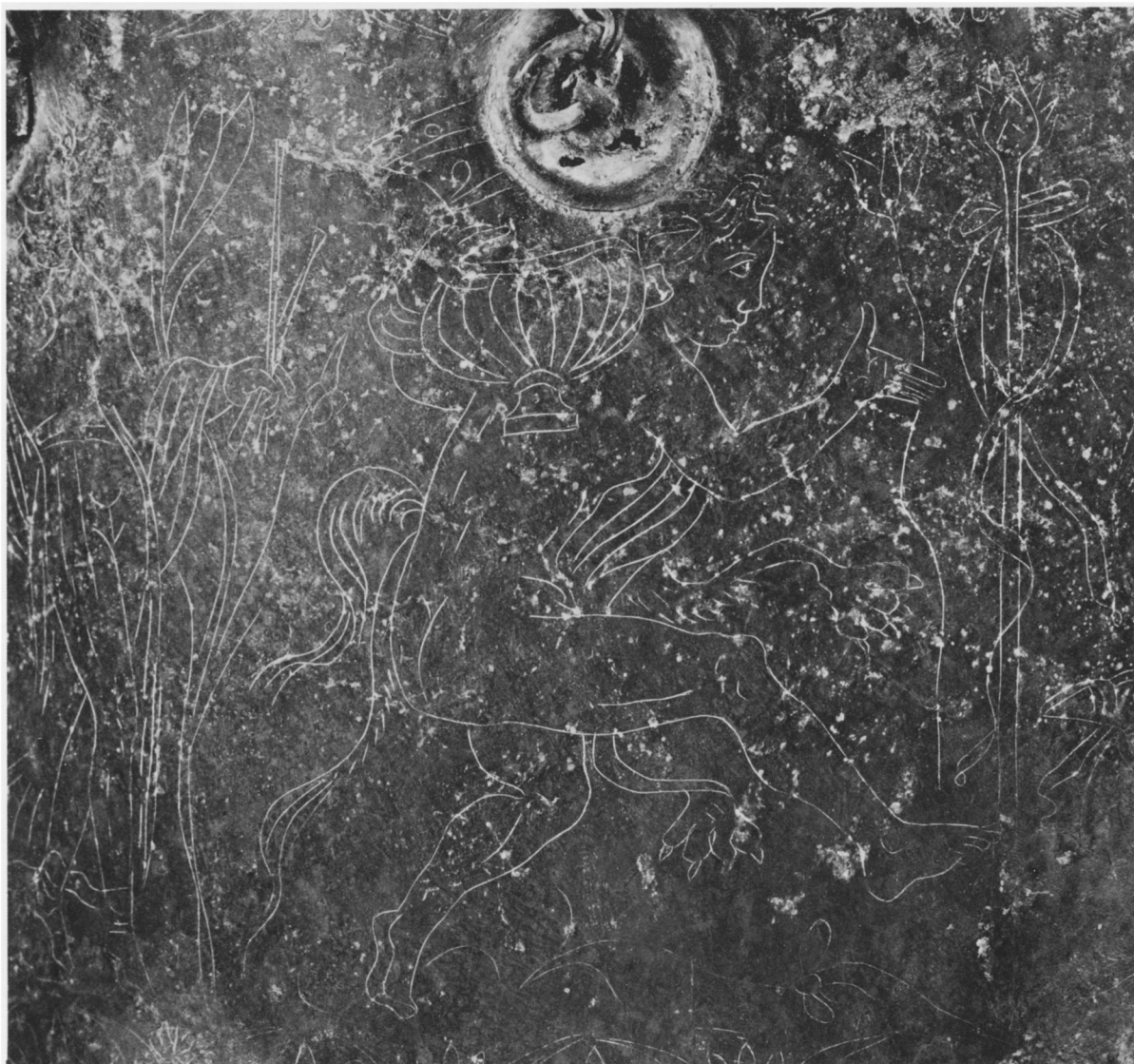


FIGURE 10

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Cista (fig. 6): Young Satyr in Thiasos*

The second part of the scene is a thiasos or dance in honor of Dionysos.<sup>23</sup> One maenad crowds hard on the dying Medusa, with her beribboned thyrsos erect in her left hand, balancing on her right toes with her left foot swung back and up. Her face disappears behind one of the discs. Her arms are muffled in the drapery (not so in Bencker's drawing) and only her hands show, her right raised, grip-

ping two little bells or clappers. The mantle resembles the costumes of Medusa and the winged woman in the other scene only in its borders of short hatching lines. Her pursuant is a very young satyr with pointed ears; he carries a huge crater on his left shoulder, supporting it with his left hand (fig. 10). His only garment is an animal's skin which is partly concealed, emerging before and behind him as

two animal feet and two torn ends (not a satyr's tail). He treads upon a plant, bending it to the earth. Before him are a plant and a thyrsos, upright in the ground; behind him, a tall plant. The next maenad wears a long, belted tunic which exposes her right breast (Bencker has her nude); a mantle crosses her back and is carried forward over each arm. Her left hand holds pipes, her raised right is empty (position different from Bencker's). Under her feet is a ground line, or, possibly a damaged plant. We observe the turn of her head backward; her features are concealed by a disc, except the mouth. Following her comes an extraordinary fellow, a short fat silene with stippled body, long hair and a beard. He wears a garland of pointed buds, or perhaps, leaves. His clothing consists of a loin cloth tied in front, a possible indication that he is a stage silene.<sup>24</sup> His shoes are overturned above the laces and scalloped at the edge. His right hand holds a thyrsos erect behind him while his left hand comes forward. This left is not clearly drawn, but I do not agree with Bencker that he is grasping the maenad's mantle to pull it off her; the grasp is not apparent and she would still be completely clothed without the mantle! Behind the old silene are some plants and then the third and last maenad, a dancer like the first except that her voluminous garment has slipped from her shoulders to hip height. She alone of all the women has a face unconcealed; her hair is knotted on top of her head and she wears earrings and has a bracelet on her right wrist. In each hand is a pair of clappers that end in little knobs or bells; the right is raised, the left lowered so that with the lifted right foot and the turn of the head there develops a twist of the body. Behind, the tree reappears, with a bird on a branch. This marks the end of this act and the beginning of the Perseus story.

Above and below, the scene has as border a



FIGURE 11 WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Foot of Cista (fig. 6): Cassandra?*

conventional double palmette-and-lotus chain (fig. 6). There are not, despite Bencker, lines dividing the scene from these borders. Three heavy cast bronze feet support the body of

<sup>24</sup> For a stage silene in marble see M. Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen in Altertum*, 1920, p. 100, no. 38, fig. 103. The same type in small bronze, Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.108, D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture*, 1949, p. 42, no. 84, pl. 20, and H. B. Walters, *Select Bronzes in the British Museum*, 1915, pl. XXX. I am tempted to suggest, though I cannot affirm, that this cista and some others may reflect theatrical scenes. Could there have been a play about Perseus with the Bacchic group as chorus? Another cista, Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.135, much damaged, represents the marriage of Dionysos and a thiasos; could this also be a play? I once discussed this scene which seems to include a figure wearing a comic mask, along with other masks from Etruria and Praeneste: *AJA* 45, 1941, p. 93. On representations of satyr plays see F. Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, 25–29; Schauenburg, *op. cit.*, pp. 98 f.; E. Curtius, *Herakles, der Satyr und Dreifussräuber* (12. *Winckelmannsprogramm*, Berlin, 1852).



FIGURE 12      WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Cover of Cista (fig. 6)*

the cista and interrupt the lower border. Each consists of a foot with four claws resting on an Ionic base and topped by an Ionic volute, and a vertical plaque on which appears in relief a woman facing right falling upon her knees and raising her hands above her head to support her drapery (fig. 11). Her head is frontal with the hair combed straight across the forehead and she wears a bulla such as became common after the Gallic invasion at the beginning of the fourth century. The drapery is stretched in a formal, almost stylized, pattern at the bottom. This pose is frequently given to a person about to be slaughtered: Cassandra<sup>25</sup> and Polyxena after the fall of Troy, or conceivably Medusa herself.

The cover fits well, but bears no relation to the cista in subject or style. Within an elaborate acanthus border interrupted by a woman's head, a soldier fights a lion and a lion-griffin while another soldier stands in an attitude for fighting (fig. 12). It has been studied else-

where.<sup>26</sup> The cover handle (fig. 6) is formed by two nude men each on a tiny round base, carrying, with head to the spectator's right, the body of a fallen comrade wounded in his left ribs and right leg.

It is as difficult to date this cista as the preceding one, though it is earlier. Not only the greater size, which is characteristic of early cistae, but the style of the drawing place it in the fourth century B.C. One must wait for further study, which can come only after the full publication of cistae which is projected by the Istituto di Etruscologia e Antichità Italiche, Rome, to answer many questions about this fascinating and enigmatic ware.

<sup>25</sup> For example, E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. CD.

<sup>26</sup> *Hommages à Marcel Renard (Collection Latomus 103)*, 1969, pp. 298 f., pl. CXX, figs. 5, 6.

# THE CASE FOR THE BAURAT SCHILLER CROWNS

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ALTHOUGH ACCEPTED by most authorities<sup>1</sup> the two gold crowns formerly in the Baurat Schiller collection and now in the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1-4),<sup>2</sup> were dismissed by Giovanni Becatti<sup>3</sup> as forgeries, "Falsificazione moderna in stile fenicio del VII sec. a.C." It would be a pity to allow such a cloud to pass over these major pieces of ancient Near Eastern goldwork without looking into the source of doubts and examining the case for their authenticity in substance if not their present format. By Becatti's own admission they are Phoenician in style. But if they are forgeries, why does he include them in his book? If they are *copies* of a known style, why does he not explain?

The only previous adverse judgment on them (and Becatti's source) is contained in an article by Carlo Albizzati<sup>4</sup> where it is claimed that the crowns, and certain other pieces of

ancient jewellery not connected with them, are the work of an Umbrian forger. Unless Albizzati had in his possession information which he refrained from disclosing in print, it must be admitted that his case on paper is not convincing. We are, of course, quite familiar today with rather curt claims by experts that various antiquities are forgeries; presentation of proof is rare. Naturally we see many reasons of tactic and diplomacy why the fraud of the living manufacturers of better-class forgeries cannot be exposed. But Albizzati's Umbrian forger was long dead and it is difficult to construe Albizzati's words as those of cautious reticence. Rather, his statements "mi sembrano opere d'un abile falsario" and "Riconoscere il falso mi fu agevole" sound more like the words of one seeking confirmation of a suspicion than of one possessed of definite information. As he admits, he had not handled the crowns.

<sup>1</sup> A. Pijoan, *Summa Artis*, II, 1931, p. 411 figs. 594, 595; G. Hanfmann, *Altetruskische Plastik* I, 1936, p. 23 note 46; P. Demargne, *La Crète dédalique*, 1947, pl. VII; H. Bossert, *Alt-Syrien*, 1951, no. 774; R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories etc.*, 1958, p. 105 (implicitly); D. Ohly, *Griechische Goldbleche*, 1953, pp. 107 f., pl. 31; E. Akurgal, *Orient und Okzident*, 1966, p. 156, fig. 42; R. Hampe, *Kretische Löwenschale des siebten Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, 1969, p. 35, pl. 16, 1.

<sup>2</sup> 57.968-969; R. Zahn, *Sammlung Baurat Schiller*, Kunsthau Rudolf Lepke (cat. 2008), Berlin, March 1929, nos. 106 A, B, pls. 39, 40. The catalogue entries are rather short. See also R. Zahn "Two Phoenician Gold Crowns," *The Burlington Magazine*, 54, March

1929, pp. 139-140, and *Illustrated London News*, March 16, 1929, p. 457. The larger crown B is 51 cm. in circumference and each plaque is 11.5 cm. by 6.5 cm.; crown A is 49.5 cm. in circumference, each plaque 11.5 by 7.5 cm. I am grateful to Miss Winifred Kennedy and Mrs. T. Y. Canby, Jr. of the Walters Art Gallery for useful information on the crowns and for a new set of photographs. I was able to examine the pieces themselves during a visit to Baltimore in 1970.

<sup>3</sup> G. Becatti, *Oreficerie antiche*, 1955, p. 63, pp. 171-2, no. 217.

<sup>4</sup> C. Albizzati, "Nuove e vecchie trovate dei fabbricanti d'antichità," *Historia*, 3, 1929, pp. 665 ff.

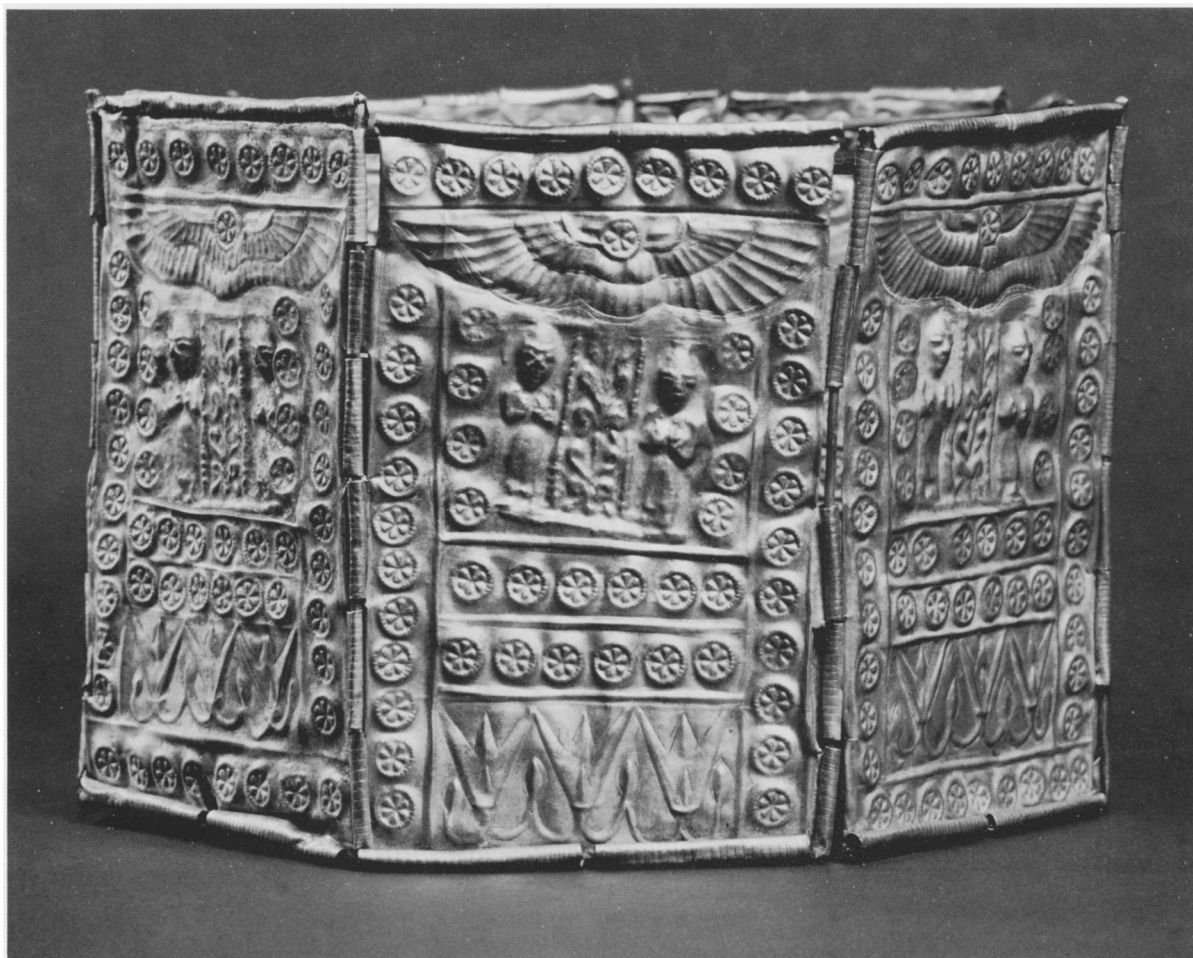


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Crown A, Syro-Phoenician*

He had indeed some ground for regarding the silver strip in early Etruscan style as the work of a forger,<sup>5</sup> but he does not state his reasons for attributing the crowns to this same goldsmith, and the formal problem of their origins is not the same. Although not expressly quoted by the author, the motif on the Etruscan silver strip has a source; it appears as a slavish copy of the design embossed on a bronze strip from Tomb LXVI at Civitella, S. Paolo in Etruria published by Paribeni.<sup>6</sup> It is a unique theme and, furthermore, applied to an object (the small silver strip) foreign to the Etruscan

archeological repertoire. Technically, the crowns and the Etruscan band have nothing in common, and Albizzati's claim that tubular hinging like that of the crowns had been copied from the Etruscan jewellers' techniques is not necessarily correct. There are two bracelets said to be Etruscan which have hinges of this pattern. One is a three-piece of most unusual style, illustrated by E. Coche de la Ferté.<sup>7</sup> The other one is illustrated in a poor drawing by J. Martha<sup>8</sup> and is a creation by Campana, made out of a number of Etruscan *a baule* earrings.<sup>9</sup> Neither is typical of Etruscan jewel-



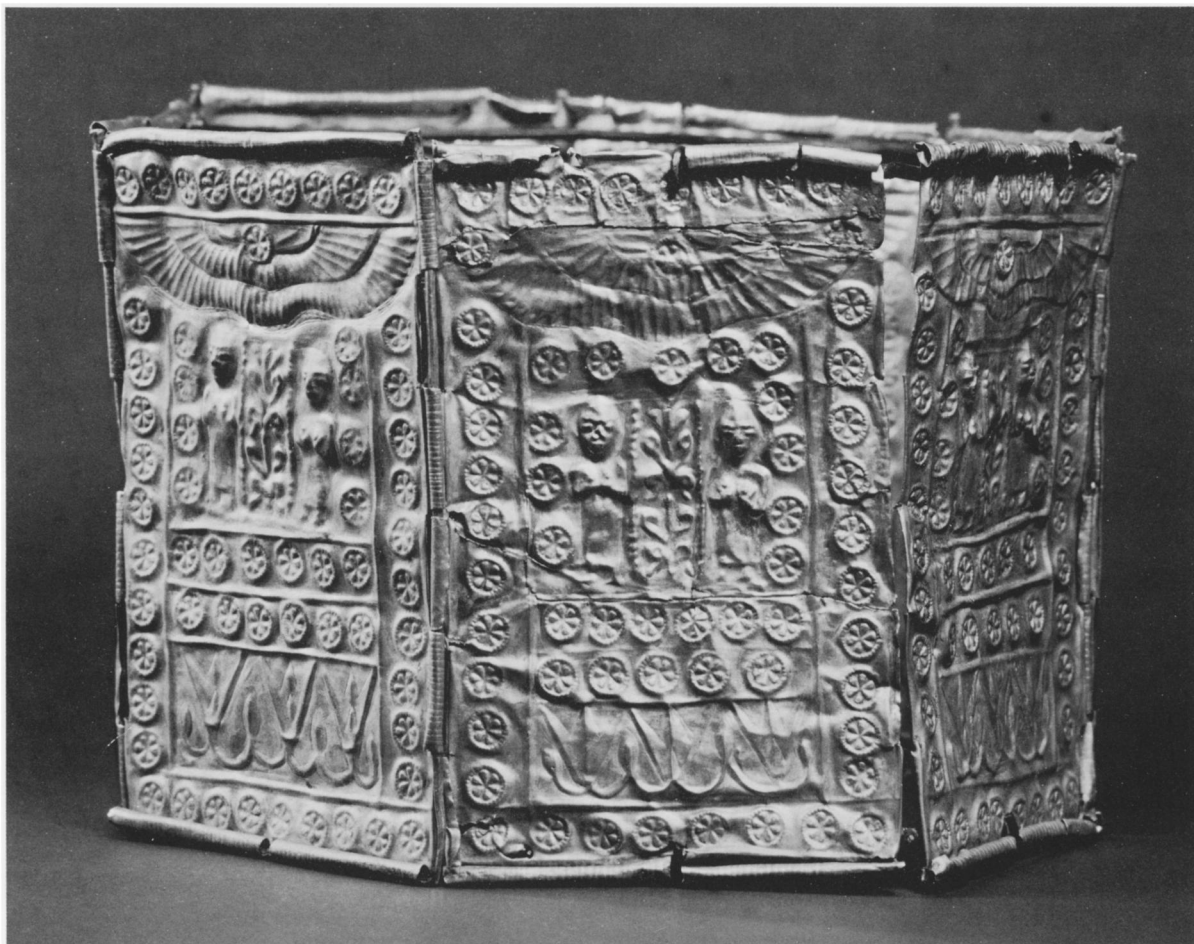


FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Crown A, Syro-Phoenician*

lery, and neither is mentioned by Albizzati.

We look in vain to works quoted by Albizzati<sup>10</sup> for sources of the designs on the crowns. He was more familiar with Italian archeology than with that of the Near East. Moreover, he cuts the timing rather fine when he states in the same article that the “crowns” first appeared in Rome on the antiquities market a quarter of a century ago—in about 1903 if we are to count back from the date of his article. He might well be correct in the statement about the fact that they first appeared on the Rome market and that they later “migrated”

to Paris. But it is curious that he does not state that at this period they were not “crowns” but separated plaques, for Zahn makes it clear that they came into the Schiller collection separated and that it was he himself who mounted them as crowns. However, he left the possibility open that they formed a threaded breast-plate or collar in view of the fact that two plaques of crown A (fig. 2, second and third plaques) did not have interlocking rolled edges. Quite likely this is due to accident of survival. Notches in the extant vertical edges of these two plaques are remarkably consistent



FIGURE 3

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Crown B, Syro-Phoenician*

with the positions of the quadrilles on the others. Zahn's suggestion that they formed a collar, with the two plaques in question forming the end-pieces, depends on the assumption, not only that hinges were never present, but also that they had been restored to their original contiguous position. Such a collar would have been awkward. As crowns of the size and flexibility to fit on the coiffures of young maidens, they make sense.

Crown A is beaten over two rectangular dies for the hierodule and lotus-and-bud panel. A third is used for the winged-disc and a separate small die for each of the rosette circles.

The photographs show the considerable irregularities. Plaques of figs. 1, 2 show the use of roughly engraved lines for positioning the die of the winged-disc. Outlines of the lotus-and-bud panels are also picked out with engraved lines. The reworking on crown B with the chisel is abundantly evident: the faces, crowns, abdomens and feet of the women are quite carefully worked as well as many parts of the goats in the upper panels (figs. 3-4).

In their present reconstruction the crowns are held together with circlets of modern gold wire lightly attached behind the plaques. There is no information about the survival of



FIGURE 4

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Crown B, Syro-Phoenician*

encircling wires passing through the upper and lower tubes, though the stability of the crowns would demand it.

None of the sources quoted by Albizzati from which the forger took his inspiration bears anything like a close similarity to forms on the crowns. Furthermore, it seems strange that an Umbrian goldsmith who knew his way about French and German archeological literature should need the help of a professor to place the ankh symbol (referred to as a "cifratio" by Albizzati) in the hands of the naked hierodules on crown B (fig. 4). "Quest' ultima trovata deve riferirsi molto probabil-

mente a un collaboratore *dotto*: forse costui ricordava il particolare d'una stele votiva di Sulci al Museo di Cagliari. Forse' anche l'idea fu presa dagli orecchini in forma di *ankh*, tanto comuni nei sepolcreti di Cartagine e della Sardegna"<sup>11</sup>—a statement which clearly shows that he did not know the many Near Eastern parallels.

There is, apart from these considerations, one further telling point. Whether mounted as crowns or breastplate, the plaques were intended to be hinged vertically at the sides where the plaques are folded in front, with sections omitted where the rolls of the next

piece may be inserted. Zahn makes it clear that he had mounted the pieces as crowns and that he obtained this idea from considering their general similarity to crown-plaques of Roman date. From his description of the vertical wires, "hooked at the bottom," it seems certain that at least some of the wirework was extant and came to the Baurat Schiller collection with the plaques. In the files of the Walters Art Gallery there is a photograph showing three plaques of crown B before mounting, together with some rosettes and other jewellery (fig 5). At the top of the picture can be seen some stretches of wire with hooked ends and with some pieces of square, ribbed sheets, corresponding to the flanges of the crown, still attached to them. They are like the hinging wires which Zahn describes, their ends hooked and thinned. Furthermore the cutting of the flanges of the plaques themselves clearly shows that regularly cut quadrilles were intended, except on the top and bottom where wide slits have been cut. The photograph is important as the only evidence for the problem with which Zahn was faced. At the same time we can appreciate the amount of repair and restoration which has gone into the make-up of the crowns. The plaque center left of figure 5 is the left-hand plaque of figure 4 before restoration. It is strange that Albizzati nowhere mentions res-

toration, either by the "forger" or dealer.

We know from other pieces, which will be discussed below, that the rolled tubes on the edges of gold plaques from Cyprus were intended to take wires: there is no conceivable point in vertical wires unless to form hinges, and examination of the crowns themselves shows clearly that the interposed short rolls are carefully cut at top and bottom and were therefore originally intended for vertical wire hinging. This system of hinging is a rather clumsy one; until 1921 when the Aliseda treasure was discovered in Spain,<sup>12</sup> only a few minor examples of it were known. Examples discovered subsequently have shown that it is a prominent feature of Phoenician work in the first millennium. The forger's choice of it was certainly an inspired one. Of course, it may be claimed that a clever forger is not one but two jumps ahead of archeological discovery: the only point I wish to make here is that Albizzati's arguments prove nothing. There is, moreover, a slight absurdity in his statement about the figures on crown A: "La variante del grembialino fu introdotta forse per evitare il problema di modellazione che imbarazzava l'esecutore."<sup>13</sup> It is remarkable that the forger, capable of executing the voluptuous figures on crown B, should have to hide his lack of skill under the aprons of crown A.

The arguments for the genuineness of the

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, fig. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 357, fig. 15.

<sup>7</sup> E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les Bijoux antiques*, 1956, pp. 77, pl. XXIX, 3. Heron de Villefosse, *Memoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 40, 1880, p. 27 is the only other publication of this piece, which is somewhat comparable (though not in hinges) to bracelet 2395 of the Munich Antiquarium: P. Ducati, *Storia dell'arte etrusca*, 1927, pl. 55, fig. 165, 11. De Villefosse published the Louvre bracelet as Roman.

<sup>8</sup> *L'Art étrusque*, 1889, fig. 386.

<sup>9</sup> I thank E. Coche de la Ferté for this information. There are apparently two such fabrications in the Louvre, no. 987.

<sup>10</sup> F. Poulsen, *Der Orient und frühgriechische Kunst*, 1912; A. S. Murray et al., *Excavations in Cyprus*, 1900; and the Punic tombstones from Sulcis in Sardinia published in G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, III, 1881.

<sup>11</sup> Albizzati, p. 667.

<sup>12</sup> J. R. Mélida, *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excurciones*, 29, Madrid, 1921, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Albizzati, p. 666 n.

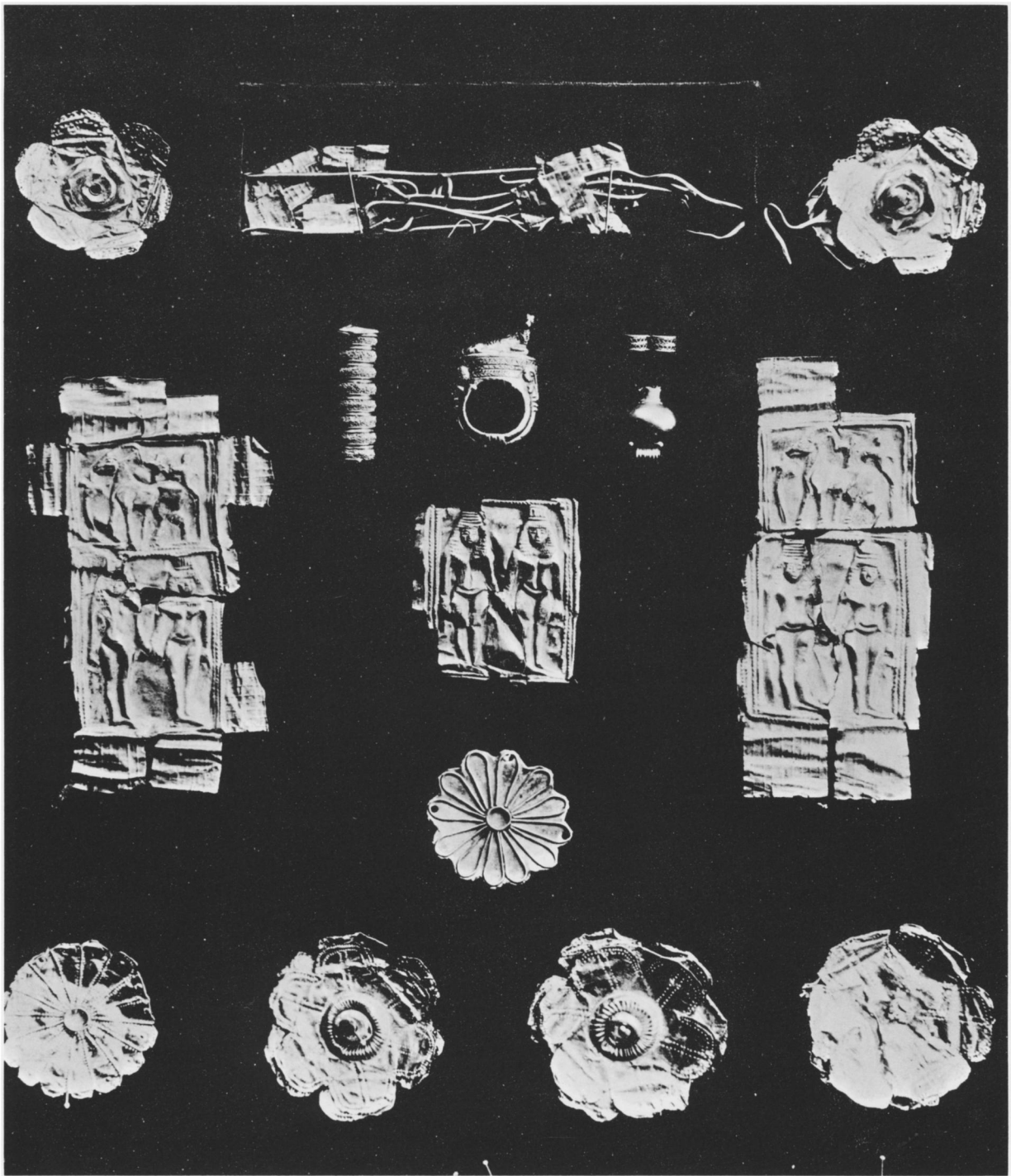


FIGURE 5

*Photograph in the archives of the Walters Art Gallery showing three plaques of crown B before mounting, together with rosettes and other gold jewellery*



pieces are substantial. Even though the present reconstruction as crowns might not be correct, there is abundant evidence that crowns of hinged plaques were worn in Cyprus, Canaan and Syria from the late second millennium B.C. onwards. The earliest is that shown on the eleventh-century B.C. Canaanite ivory which shows a Canaanite queen ministering to her enthroned husband.<sup>14</sup> She wears the flounced and panelled garments of Canaanite royalty and a jointed crown upon her head. A more elaborate crown is worn by the "Kubaba" figure on one of the orthostats from Carchemish:<sup>15</sup> there are dozens on examples in the Nimrud ivories of women, especially naked hierodules, wearing such crowns and a group of naked goddess statuettes from XXV Dynasty Egypt. It has been suggested that sectional crowns worn by these unusual Egyptian Late Kingdom models of voluptuous females are borrowed from a Phoenician cult.<sup>16</sup> Their only other adornments besides the crowns, the sections of which are sometimes filled with ivory or paste, are daisy pendants suspended from a cord around the neck. "Daisy medallions" are certainly a notable part of Canaanite jewellery as early as the thirteenth century at Gaza, Lachish and elsewhere,<sup>17</sup> and as late as the fourth century B.C. at Phoenician Cádiz.<sup>18</sup> Although the crowns worn by these figures are not exactly like those worn by the ivory figures from Nimrud,

they appear to be built up on the same principle and in any case are very unlike any other style of contemporary Egyptian headdress. Tall cylindrical crowns were worn occasionally by women in XVIII Dynasty Egyptian art and have been discussed by C. Desroches-Noblecourt.<sup>19</sup> These paintings do not permit any conclusion about their structure, but a detail from the gilded shrine of Tutankhamen's tomb shows princess Ankhesenamun wearing a low crown which certainly appears to be made up of jointed plaques.<sup>20</sup> It is likely that some, if not all, of these crowns represent gold plaques held in position by a stiff wire framework. It is, incidentally, interesting to note that the crowns worn by the Egyptian naked hierodules and the Carchemish goddess have their plaques topped by roundels or rosettes.

The technique of tubular hinging appears earliest in an Egyptian bracelet of the XVIII Dynasty dated to the reign of Amosis.<sup>21</sup> Other examples<sup>22</sup> date to the reigns of Ramses II and Seti II. In the Late Bronze Age it was adopted by the jewellers of Gaza,<sup>23</sup> but thereafter is restricted to work belonging to the Phoenician sphere of influence—Poli-tis-Chrysokhou,<sup>24</sup> Aliseda,<sup>25</sup> Sanlúcar<sup>26</sup> and the bracelets from Tharros.<sup>27</sup> It is therefore theoretically possible on grounds of this technique that the crowns belong to the later part of the second millennium B.C. or to Phoenician work of the early part of the first millennium. Two of the gold

<sup>14</sup> G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, 1939, pl. 4, 2a, 2b.

<sup>15</sup> L. Woolley and R. D. Barnett, *Carchemish*, III, 1952, pl. B39a.

<sup>16</sup> E. Riefstahl, "Doll, Queen or Goddess?," *Brooklyn Museum Journal*, 1943-44, pp. 7-23. For an Egyptian statuette of this type dedicated at the temple of Hera at Samos see H. Walter and K. Vierneisel, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 84, 1959, pp. 36-7.

<sup>17</sup> E.g. O. Tuffnell, *Lachish IV*, 1958, pl. 25 no. 24.

<sup>18</sup> *Memorias de los Museos Aqueológicos Provinciales*, 4, 1943, p. 57, pl. 10; A. B. Freijeiro, *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 30, 1957, pp. 198 f., no. 10, figs. 8, 9. An oriental comparison is no. 1 of the Melvin Gutman Collection, *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, 18, 1961, nos. 2 and 3.

<sup>19</sup> C. Desroches-Noblecourt, in *Ugaritica* III, 1956, pp. 191-204.

<sup>20</sup> *Idem*, *Tutankhamun*, 1964, pl. XXVIII.

pieces from Gaza<sup>28</sup> apparently belong together as part of a hinged bracelet or diadem. Terracotta models from Cyprus, especially those of hierodules from the Precinct of Ashtart at Idalion published by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in *Kypros die Bibel und Homer*, 1893, show that elaborate crowns were part of the official cultic dress for priestesses of the goddess. Two of Ohnefalsch-Richter's fragments are particularly relevant here<sup>29</sup> as they show fragments of model crowns in terracotta decorated with figures of nude hierodules pressing their breasts—the theme of crown A. These surely would have been a more obvious source for the work of the supposed forger than any quoted by Albizzati.

A connection between the crowns and gold plaques found in Cyprus is an obvious one. One of them, in Berlin, comes from Amathus;<sup>30</sup> it shows in its upper register (in *repoussé*, supplemented with incised details) two marching women bare above the waist, but wearing below a long pleated skirt folded over in the middle. On their heads they wear tall crowns and in their hands carry blooms.

The lower part of the plaque shows a chariot holding two men who appear to sit in a high compartment. The body of the horse is covered with a coat of mail reminiscent of that worn by the chariot-horse on the Enkomi game box<sup>31</sup> and obviously copies some similar source. The high up-curved draught-pole of the chariot is however a feature found in Syro-Hittite chariots on contemporary monuments at Senjirli, where both the same eight-spoke wheel and high chariot body as depicted on the Amathus plaque were in use.<sup>32</sup> In fact, details of style indicate that this plaque owes something to a Syro-Hittite hand; the attempt at a realistic gallop posture for the horse (back legs static, front legs raised), the arm postures of the women, their elongated eyes joined to their upper noses with a continuous line, and the locks of hair falling down behind the head are all details paralleled in Syro-Hittite carvings. The presence of the crescent-disc motif points to Phoenician work.

Very similar to the Berlin piece are plaques from Cyprus with this same design in the British Museum (from Cyprus) and in the

<sup>21</sup> E. Vernier, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée de Caire*, 1909, no. 52069.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 52576, 52577.

<sup>23</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV*, pl. XIV, 33 and pl. XIV, 37.

<sup>24</sup> F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery in the British Museum*, 1911, no. 1576.

<sup>25</sup> Mérida, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

<sup>26</sup> C. B. de Torrecillas, "El Tesoro del Cortijo de Evora," *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 32, 1959, pp. 50–57, especially lower fig. 1.

<sup>27</sup> *Catal. Musée Lavignerie*, I, pl. XXXII, no. 5; Poinssot and Lantier, *CRAL*, 1926, p. 6; J. Becatti, *Orficerie antiche*, pl. XLII, no. 227; F. H. Marshall, *op. cit.* no. 1542; V. Crespi, *Catalogo della Raccolta etc. Raimondo Chessa*, 1868, pl. D.

<sup>28</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII center right and left.

<sup>29</sup> *Kypros die Bibel und Homer*, 1893, pl. XXXVIII, 3 and 5.

<sup>30</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 10.

<sup>31</sup> A. S. Murray et al., *Excavations in Cyprus*, 1900, pl. I.

<sup>32</sup> F. Studniczka, "Der Rennwagen im syrisch-phönikischen Gebiet," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 32, 1907, pp. 160–1.

<sup>33</sup> The two charioteer plaques in the British Museum are 1485, 1486 of Marshall's catalogue. The Goluchów plaque is in W. Froehner, *Collections du Château de Goluchów. L'Orfèvrerie*, 1897, no. 22, pl. VII, 29. There is a further chariot plaque referred to by J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899, p. 34, said to be from Amathus ("Laniti Collection"). The Berlin plaque has recently been republished by A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, I, Berlin, 1970, pl. 11, 4.

<sup>34</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis at Salamis I*, 1967, pl. LXI, 67/2.



FIGURE 6

*Cypriot gold plaque, after  
Marshall, Jewellery, British Museum, no. 1485*

Goluchów collection.<sup>33</sup> The drawing in the British Museum, no. 1485 (fig. 6), is clearer than the published drawings of that in Berlin. On the former it is evident that the figures in the chariot wear broad belts (probably interpreted on the Berlin piece as the high box of the chariot). One of the figures in the chariot carries a whip and the upturned end of the chariot draught-pole is more clearly seen. But the near identity of these chariot plaques suggests that they might have come from the same "crown," a crown of a type worn by the women depicted on the pieces themselves.

Among a number of folded gold sheets found deposited in Salamis Tomb 31, two are decorated with a chariot which seems very similar to that on the Amathus chariot plaques.<sup>34</sup> One of these is shaped as a mouth cover, but has been cut down from a larger rectangular plaque and has clear remains of a ribbed border at both ends. Apparently the original was a plaque with edging very much like the plaques of Baurat Schiller crown B.

The chariot and horse are in fact slightly more elaborately drawn than on the Amathus plaques, but the chariot style is the same, with a high swung draught-pole protruding above the heads of the horses. The length of the horses' heads is noteworthy and compares with drawing of the Bichrome V style in Cyprus. The structure of the chariot pole compares with that on late Hittite reliefs from Malatya and Syro-Hittite sites and is a local variant of Assyrian chariot structure.<sup>35</sup> Closely similar to these are two plaques with identical chariot scenes from a tomb at Palaepaphos dated to the Cypro-Archaic I period.<sup>36</sup> With them were

<sup>33</sup> Studniczka, *loc. cit.*

<sup>34</sup> V. Karageorghis, "Nouvelles tombes de guerriers à Palaepaphos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XCI, 1907, p. 202 ff, p. 235 fig. 22.

<sup>35</sup> W. Froehner, *op. cit.*, p. 11, nos. 19-21, pl. VII, no. 28.

<sup>36</sup> Froehner, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, 26-32 and *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1891, p. 126, fig. 15; also Greifenhagen *op. cit.*, pl. 11, 3, this latter very similar to one of the British Museum plaques, on which the female figure stands between two lotuses. On Greifenhagen's pl. 11 no. 2 the naked goddess wears a "Blattkrone." According to Myres, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, p. 34, two further plaques were in the Louvre and South Kensington Museums. The range of gold plaques from Cyprus shows that they had a long currency: the earliest are from a Cypro-Geometric I grave at Lapithos, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, I, p. 226 ff, pl. LI, 14-18 (H. Bossert, *Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, I, p. 283; Bossert, *Alt-Syrien*, 302) on which a nude figure stands upon a flower. The crude, naked figures on other plaques held their arms upwards, a position probably derived from the Ashtart plaques of the Late Bronze Age which survived into the ninth century B.C. at Senjirli (F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, V, 1943, pl. 47d). There are further pieces of this type from Lapithos Tomb 403 (SCE, I, pl. XLIV) and several Amathus tombs (SCE, II, T.8, pl. XIV, 142—Cypro-Archaic I; T.10, pl. XVII, 55—Cypro-Geometric III, and T.25, pl. XXIX, 1—Cypro-Geometric II). They also occur in tomb 403 at Lapithos (*ibid.*, I, pl. XLIII, 40, 92) together with plaques embossed with "Ashtart" heads—Cypro-Geometric III.

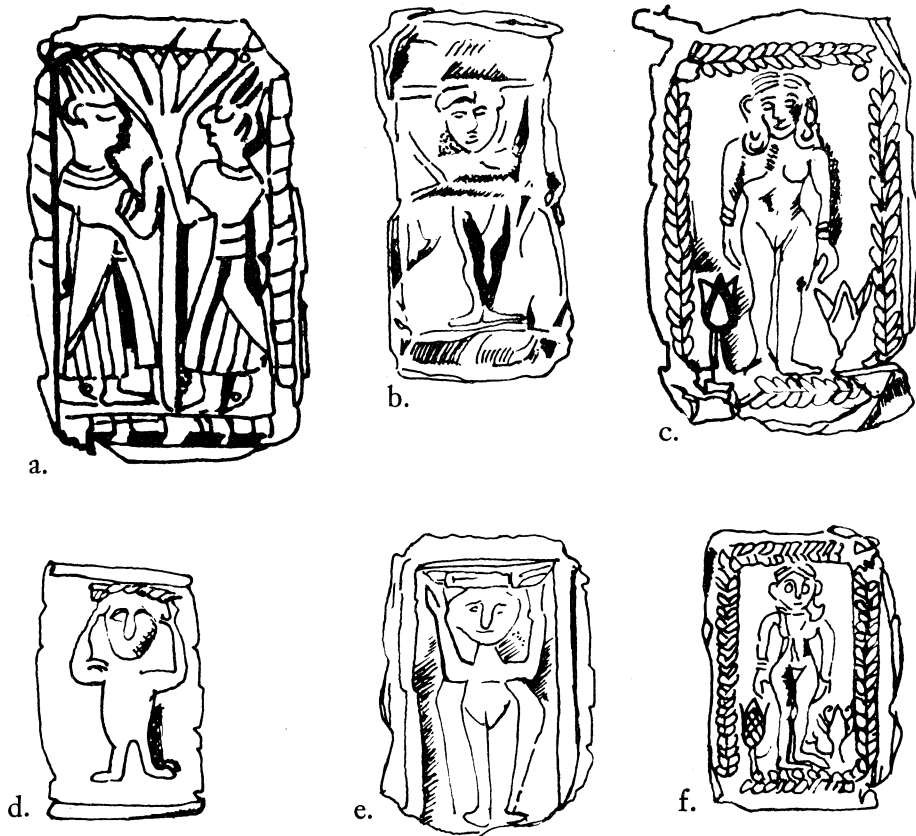


FIGURE 7

*Cypriot gold plaques*

a-e) after Froehner, *Coll. Goluchów*, nos. 28, 27, 30, 32, 26.

f) after Furtwängler, *Arch. Anz.*, 1891, p. 126.

found two other gold rectangles, one with stamped rosettes. All four have a raised herringbone pattern border, again no doubt copying the "plaited wire" edging of crown B.

The suggestion that plaques of the Amathus type made up a set is borne out by the occurrence of three identical plaques in the Goluchów collection<sup>37</sup> which show two men in Phoenician dress of pleated skirt with back flap standing below a sacred tree (fig. 7a). They wear conical headdresses with vertical raised pleats of a type found on an ivory at

Nimrud. The plaques have quadrille borders which might be part of the hinging.

British Museum plaques (nos. 1487 and 1488) each with a nude goddess are probably slightly later in date and perhaps eighth century. Similar pieces are in the Goluchów collection and in Berlin (fig. 7 a-f), while others have been found in Iron Age tombs in Cyprus excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.<sup>38</sup> These belong to a series embossed with similar crude naked female figures, Ashtart types either pressing the milk from their

breasts, or with the arms placed limply by their sides, or stretching their arms upwards to grasp headdress or hair.

An unpublished gold plaque (3.1 x 1.9 cm.) of this same form was seen on the Beirut art market a few years ago. I am grateful to the Institut Français d'Archeologie for permission to publish a photograph of it from its archives (fig. 8). It is difficult to interpret the stamped design on it: the archaic "Hathor" figure is perhaps to be understood as sitting astride the lion placed below her. The combination of fertility goddess and lion is well known in ancient Near Eastern art, but there is no precise parallel in these to this form of association. But with its theme we must now associate the design on another plaque from Cyprus published as an acquisition of the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.<sup>39</sup> On it a female figure wearing a full skirt, but naked from the waist upwards, stands on the backs of two small lions. The plaque has rolled edges and two pomegranate pendants hang from the lower border. Both these examples are without archeological context, but it is perhaps worth noting that the face and hair style of the Nicosia plaque are purely Cypriot, while the Hathor of the Beirut plaque would better fit the style of the Late Bronze Age and is particularly close to a gold Hathor plaque found in a late Philistine grave at Deir el-Balah near Gaza.<sup>40</sup>

There is undoubtedly an open question as to whether the larger of these plaques belong



FIGURE 8  
Gold plaque formerly on the art market, Beirut

to crowns or to breast ornaments: very possibly the larger sets belong to crowns, the smaller to collars of plaques, as Berta Segall suggested.<sup>41</sup> It must be pointed out, however, that tempting though it is to draw an analogy to certain archaic Greek breast ornaments made up of plaques,<sup>42</sup> scores of models of Cypriot priestesses wear no such ornaments amongst their carefully represented jewellery; the evidence extends only to crowns. I see no reason therefore why the smaller plaques like those embossed with naked figures cannot also have belonged to crowns. Threaded onto two rigid wire circlets they would keep in position

<sup>39</sup> V. Karageorghis, *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, XCVIII, 1974 p. 823 fig. 3. The piece is said to come from Paphos. The goddess wears a flounced skirt of a style which is more a Bronze Age (whether Mycenaean or Near Eastern) type of dress than Cypriot Iron Age.

<sup>40</sup> T. Dothan, "Anthropoid Clay Coffins from a Late Bronze Age Cemetery near Deir el-Balah," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 23, 1973, pp. 130 ff, pl. 45B.

<sup>41</sup> *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 9, 1946, pp. 97-107. A bracelet or diadem of rectangular plaques rolled at top and bottom occurs among Palestinian Late Bronze Age jewellery, *BASOR*, 37, 1930, p. 6. Another possibility is that single plaques with drop-pers belonged to forehead ornaments of Phoenician type discussed by R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories*, 1957 p. 148.

<sup>42</sup> Segall, *loc. cit.*



round the head or across the forehead. Many of these smaller plaques have been pierced on the corners. These holes are more likely to be for backing the plaques than for threading them. The larger plaques of soft gold would, however, need a more elaborate framework to keep them rigid, and thus it is the larger plaques which show the consistent evidence for rolled hinging on the sides. It is difficult to see the purpose of the flange-hinging on all sides if these plaques were intended to be a breast ornament.

As already mentioned, the plaques were mounted as crowns by Zahn who states in his articles of 1929 in the *Illustrated London News* and *The Burlington Magazine* that "Both were first regarded as girdles, . . . I have preferred their arrangement as a head-dress . . . I was led to this conclusion by two gilt-bronze plaques of the period in the Roman Empire in the Berlin Antiquarium." There is good reason to believe that the side rolls of the plaques had already in antiquity been cut to take the vertical wires and that this was not the work of Zahn. Certainly in Albizzati's mind this hinging was an ancient feature, though forged. Neither he nor Zahn appears to have known that tubular hinging is char-

acteristic of Phoenician goldwork. The only large piece known at that time was the belt and headband of the Aliseda treasure, discovered in Spain in 1921 and published in 1928. Neither Albizzati nor Zahn refers to it. It is extremely unlikely that in 1929 either Lepke (the dealer) or Zahn or a forger was able to invent a system of hinging so absolutely characteristic of the cultural milieu to which the crowns belong by style unless there was already an indication of it (for Zahn) in the cutting of the plaques themselves, or (for the forger) a pattern to follow. If, as Albizzati claims, the forger worked early in this century, then it is difficult to see where he found a pattern, unless it was in the jointed diadem from Poli-tis-Chrysokhou in the British Museum which had been featured in Ohnefalsch-Richter's book.<sup>43</sup>

Ohnefalsch-Richter<sup>44</sup> also published a gold plaque in the Berlin Antiquarium (MJ 7932), 9 cm high and 6.5 cm wide: the border is rolled round a bronze wire and on the sides alternate sections are cut out. The embossed design is interesting though crude. A warrior drives a high-box chariot in which stands the figure (statue ?) of a naked hierodule who holds her breasts. In the background is a balustre window with two small faces looking out, reminiscent of the Aphrodite *parakypousa* theme and again connected with cultic fertility. An account of its discovery at Curium is given by Furtwängler,<sup>45</sup> not, of course, at first hand, but with sufficient detail to establish that it was from a tomb in the Cypro-Achaic period. He also states that the rim of the gold plaque was rolled round a bronze wire, a feature independently noticed by Sir John Myres in plaques from Amathus.<sup>46</sup> Furtwängler also claims a fairly exact "replica" of this plaque sold in 1886 by the Hoffmann collection: "Fragment d'un diadème funéraire en or estampé, représentant deux quadrupèdes (à

<sup>43</sup> F. H. Marshall, *op. cit.*, 1576; Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, *op. cit.*, pl. XXV, 3. The pieces of this "diadem" were acquired by the British Museum in 1887. The information given at the sale, *Catalogue des objets antiques trouvés à Arsinoé de Chypre*, Hôtel Drouot, 1887, p. 30 lists golden collars of plaques embossed with "Medusa heads" and oudjat eyes as coming from the same excavation. They all apparently belong to a Greco-Phoenician workshop. The huntsman figure on the plaque of the diadem is paralleled by a Phoenician gem from Tharros.

<sup>44</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, *op. cit.*, pl. CXCIX, 3.

<sup>45</sup> Furtwängler, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, I, 1886, p. 132.

<sup>46</sup> *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899, p. 34.

droite), dont l'un est placé au-dessus de l'autre et en sens inverse. Chaque animal porte sur son dos une figurine nue et debout, sans doute quelque divinité asiatique. Bordure cordelée-style primitif. Trouve en Chypre. H. 47 millim. L. 69 millim."<sup>47</sup>

Theoretically, therefore, it is quite possible that a forger, guided by some archeological expertise, combined aspects of the Curium plaque in Berlin and the Poli-tis-Chrysokhou diadem mentioned above to make a pair of jointed breastplates or crowns. But at the same time it seems unlikely that he invented new motifs fitting so well within the spirit of Syro-Phoenician art, and beyond belief that he could have conceived of lining the panels of crown B with a herringbone design, so obviously related to the bordering of two plaques from Senjirli, which were not published until 1925 and which he would see no reason to connect with either the Poli-tis-Chrysokhou piece or the Curium-Berlin gold plaque. Also this theoretical fellow managed an astute piece of authenticity by turning sideways the feet of the frontally facing hierodules on crown B. Surely the forger would have been careful to present the feet in forward view unless he was following a specific model. Such inconsistent use of the side-view of the feet is found on the gold pendant plaques from Ras Shamra, embossed with voluptuous naked figures of Ashtart, published in 1932.<sup>48</sup> There are two examples from the Minet-el-Beida tombs at Ras Shamra which show the nude female deity in full and in a style very close to the figure on a bronze object in the Louvre known to come from Syria. In all three figures the feet are shown in profile. Previous to the publication of these plaques this stance was known only in certain of the Egyptian XIX Dynasty stelae of the goddess Qodsu standing on the back of a lion. It is generally agreed that here the iconography of the nude goddess is taken directly from a

Syrian or Canaanite source more or less in the tradition of the Ras Shamra pendants.<sup>49</sup>

But we cannot accept that the figures on crown B were copies from one of these Qodsu representations, for they never wear anything but the Hathoric Egyptian perruque, nor do they carry the *ankh* symbol. In fact, in both shape and stance the hierodules on crown B are closer to Late Bronze Age models from Syria than to anything of Iron Age date.

The naked breast-pressing hierodule is generally common in Syro-Palestinian art of the Late Bronze and early Iron Ages. In Cyprus they are much rarer, confined to the Cypro-Archaic I period—and follow a local style adorned with large earrings and elaborate necklaces.<sup>50</sup> Typical also are an example from the temenos at Idalion<sup>51</sup> and an unpublished example from the American University Museum, Beirut. Since the figures on crown B lack these ornaments, it seems unlikely that the hierodules here and on the smaller individual plaques belong originally to the sphere of Cypro-Archaic art. The narrow-waisted and wide-hipped bodies point rather to Late Bronze Age canons of female beauty inspired by the taste of New Kingdom Egypt. Yet the archeological context of the plaques shows unequivocally that they are to be dated to the first third of the first millennium B.C. Their style, however, is so inconsistent with that of

<sup>47</sup> Froehner, *Collection Hoffmann*, 1886, no. 194.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Schaeffer, *Syria*, 13, 1932, pl. IX. Good photographs are to be seen in Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, "Deux déesses syro-phéniciennes etc.," *Syria*, 35, 1958, pl. II e, d, where also the bronze object is published, pl. I, a-b.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Moscow Museum stela, J. Leibovitch, "Kent et Qadech," *Syria*, 38, 1961, pp. 23–33, pl. II, 2.

<sup>50</sup> They are discussed by A. M. Bisi, "Una nuova figurina dell'Astarte siriana rinvenuta a Cipro," *Annali dell'Istituto orientale di Napoli*, 31 (NS XXI) 1971, pp. 105–10.

<sup>51</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, *op. cit.*, pl. L, 4.

the female beauties of the Cypro-Archaic period, in both sculpture and terracotta, that one must assume that they continue that archaic fashion of the Late Bronze Age seen in the gold ornaments from Ugarit. Certainly the female figure of plaque f of figure 7 is idealized quite differently from terracotta nudes of Cypro-Archaic times and from those of the Phoenician ivories from Nimrud and elsewhere. A gold ornament of ninth-century date excavated at Senjirli by von Luschan shows that jewellery of Ugaritic tradition survived into the Iron Age there. It has no specific connections with Cyprus. Nor does the fact that there are *pairs* of hierodules on the crowns point specifically to Cyprus, though indeed pairs do occur there on carved stone boxes<sup>52</sup> and on a terracotta hanging ornament of the Cypro-Archaic I period.<sup>53</sup> The motif is spread wider, though scarce. Important for us is the pair of gold ornaments from Middle Bronze Age Byblos, each in the form of twin naked Hathor figures.<sup>54</sup> Another source is a late Babylonian terracotta in Brussels discussed by L. Speelers,<sup>55</sup> on which twin hierodules, naked except for their jewellery and a high *polos*, press their breasts (fig. 11 c). Note their horizontally striated crowns. Becatti<sup>56</sup> was

concerned that the maidens on crown B held hands: this is indeed unusual, but the style of the light hand-clasp with the palms open is that of Tell el-Amarna art: compare the statue group published by Sir Flinders Petrie,<sup>57</sup> in which Ichnaton grasps the hand of his queen.

Thus Albizzati's claim that the hierodules of crown B are derived from those of the Amathus sarcophagus, a Cypro-Phoenician work of the Persian period, ignores the fact that the ideal of female beauty on crown B is essentially that of the Syro-Canaanite Bronze Age. In contrast, the sarcophagus hierodules are influenced directly by Cypro-Phoenician Iron Age ideals and copy Cypro-Archaic model nudes and, like them, have their feet to the front.

Another authenticating point is the occurrence of the cervid and lilies in the upper panels of crown B. Cervids were obviously used as offerings in the Ashtart cult in the first millennium B.C. and are to be seen in the hands of the votive statues from Idalion.<sup>58</sup> Apparently the association of young goats and deer with the cult of Aphrodite, as documented by B. A. van Proosdij,<sup>59</sup> stems from a Near Eastern source. But already in the second millennium on the gold plaques from Ras Shamra mentioned above, the naked Ashtart figures hold aloft lilies or cervids. These are precisely the attributes we find in the panels of crown B. The animals more clearly resemble young West Asiatic moufflons than any type of cervid found in Egyptian art. The bodies, as noted by Ohly, have a heaviness typical of Syro-Phoenician ivories. The "lilies" are also significant stylistically. The flowers on thick, stiff stems consist of two outward and downward folding petals, between which stand two stiff petals side-by-side. They are irises, stylized according to depictions known in Minoan art,<sup>60</sup> and discussed with ample botanic identifications by Ernst Biesalski.<sup>61</sup> They

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. CXCIX, 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXXVIII, 6.

<sup>54</sup> P. Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, 1929, pl. XCIV, 707.

<sup>55</sup> L. Speelers "Terres cuites babyloniennes," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, July-Dec. 1947, pp. 62 ff.

<sup>56</sup> Becatti, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>57</sup> *Tell-el-Amarna*, 1894, pl. I, 1.

<sup>58</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, pl. CCXIV, 3, 4.

<sup>59</sup> B. A. van Proosdij, "Aphrodite met den Bok," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*, 8, 1942, pp. 621 ff.

<sup>60</sup> Sir A. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, pl. XI; IV, p. 323, fig. 263.

are not the floristic fantasies of first millennium B.C. Phoenician art. They are conventionally but not fantastically depicted; they are Aegean and West Asiatic blooms in the tradition of XVIII Dynasty art.

If in this there is no specific link, a number of other details point suggestively to Syrian glyptic of the late second millennium B.C. The winged-disc with central rosette instead of the plain Egyptian sun-disc is found on North Syrian seals of the Mitanni period;<sup>62</sup> more specifically the form of the wing-support itself, which on crown A forms a continuous panache of feathers without distinct tail, supporting the disc like a cushion, follows the form found only on North Syrian seals. A good parallel to the winged-discs on crown A is to be seen on a seal from Atchana.<sup>63</sup>

Also to be taken into account is the design of the sacred tree which, as is normal in ancient Near Eastern art, stands beneath the heavenly disc. It is a slender plant on crown A, with two small oblique branches at the top of the central stem contained within two upward-curling hooked branches. Further down the slender stem, pairs of down-curling hooks are placed above up-curved stems. Very similar plants are shown by G. Contenau<sup>64</sup> and Woolley's Alalakh seal no. 109.<sup>65</sup>

Add to these the not infrequent use of bands of rosettes on Syrian cylinders as well as on Nuzu ware, the frequent placing of the *ankh*

symbol in the hands of figures on the seals, then an at least plausible connection of the Baurat Schiller crowns with Syrian art emerges. We are left with an indelible impression that certainly crown A echoes Syrian style of the second millennium. The panel of lilies and buds is quite plausibly derived from its popularity in the Tell el-Amarna period.

A further jewel acquired by the Walters Art Gallery from the Baurat Schiller collection and said by Zahn<sup>66</sup> to have been found with the crowns is the massive electrum, cast and chased finger-ring 1.5/16 inches in diameter (fig. 9). Again a forgery says Albizzati, "Dalla stessa fucina credo uscito l'anello"—but he seemed at a loss for a source from which this magnificent and unusual ring might have been copied, and claimed simply that he had never seen an authentic ring like it.<sup>67</sup> He was also unaware that it was made of electrum. It is presented in the *Illustrated London News* as a "Mycenaean" ring, without any suggestion of filling the gap between the eighth-century date of the crowns and the Late Bronze Age date of the ring.

Except for the plastic animal on the bezel, the ring is of a shape commonly found in Egyptian finger-rings of the XVIII Dynasty. They are also found in Cyprus and Syria in Late Bronze Age contexts and referred to as

<sup>61</sup> E. Biesalski, "Urblumen der Menschheit," *Antike und Abendland*, 11, 1962, pp. 91-2.

<sup>62</sup> G. Contenau, *La Glyptique Syro-Hittite*, 1922, nos. 152, 158, 300.

<sup>63</sup> L. Woolley, *Alalakh*, 1955, pl. LXVI, no. 120. There is an excellent example on a cylinder from Cyprus itself, of Mitannian style, discussed by B. Buchanan in J. du Plat Taylor, *Myrtou-Pigadhes*, 1957, p. 92, pl. 5, no. 64.

<sup>64</sup> Contenau, *op. cit.*, no. 291.

<sup>65</sup> Woolley, *op. cit.*, pl. LXV.

<sup>66</sup> Walters Art Gallery, 57.970. R. Zahn, *Sammlung Baurat Schiller*, *op. cit.*, cat. 106C, p. 52, pl. 46C, also *ILN*, March 16, 1929, fig. 6.

<sup>67</sup> The only suggestion Albizzati made was a reference to Cypriot rings in A. S. Murray, *op. cit.*, though there is none with a plastic animal: "Per l'anello la verifica è ancora più spiccia: sfido chi si sia a indicarmene uno autentico di quella forma. . . . copiato dalla pubblicazione del *British Museum Excavations in Cyprus*, uscita nel 1900."



FIGURE 9      WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Electrum finger-ring, Egyptian or Syro-Cypriot*

“dome rings.” The shape of the bezel is very probably derived from the Egyptian cartouche. Details of many examples from Cyprus are given in J. Boardman’s paper “Cypriot Finger Rings.”<sup>68</sup> It is not possible to show that finger-rings of this massive cast were current in Egypt before the XVIII Dynasty or that here and in the rest of the Levant they

lasted after the XIXth. Examples from Egypt date to Amenophis III<sup>69</sup> and Nefertiti.<sup>70</sup> There are other examples, all of XVIII Dynasty date.<sup>71</sup> From Cyprus the earliest dated examples are those of electrum with the cartouche of Amenophis IV found at Enkomi.<sup>72</sup> The popularity of the “cartouche” ring in Cyprus is further shown by two silver examples engraved with hieroglyphs from a child’s tomb of the Late Cypriot II period.<sup>73</sup> However, a contemporary gold ring<sup>74</sup> is engraved with a crouching sphinx in a style imitative of Egyptian work. There is other evidence to suggest that the Levantine goldsmiths of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. adopted the massive ring from Egypt and applied their own decorative devices. Among the many moulds for rings of this type found by Petrie at Tell el-Amarna there is a group with running goats and fern branches engraved on the bezel.<sup>75</sup> A version of this design is found on a massive ring from Ras Shamra<sup>76</sup> (fig. 11 a center) and on another from an unknown tomb at Enkomi (fig. 11 d).<sup>77</sup>

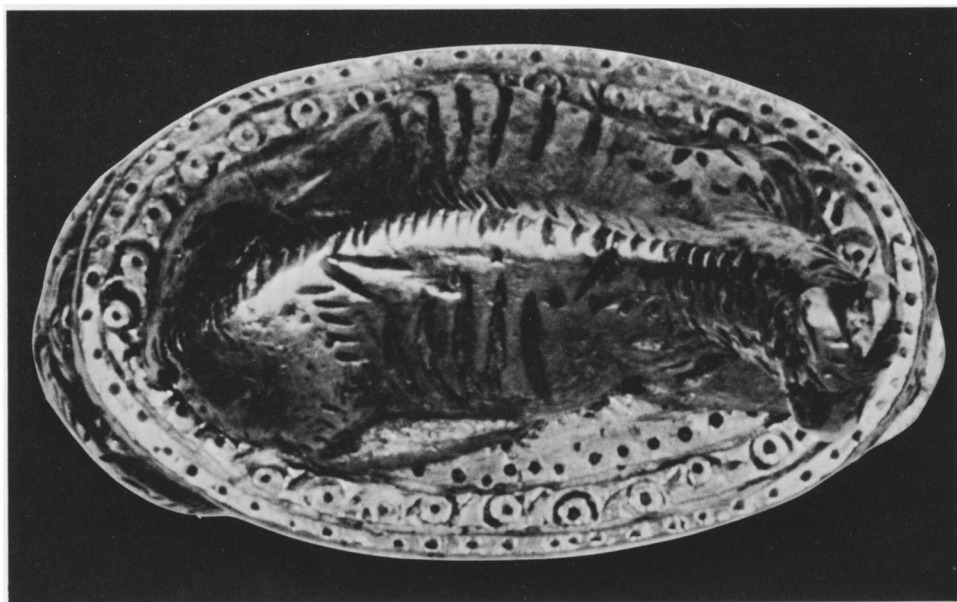


FIGURE 10      WALTERS ART GALLERY  
*Electrum finger-ring (enlarged detail)*



Fern-frog and goat together with frogs (?) decorate the bezel of the massive ring also from Enkomi (fig. 11 e).<sup>78</sup> Another massive ring from Egypt, illustrated by Petrie<sup>79</sup> is engraved with two bulls facing a central trough. There are fern-like branches over their backs. The bulls are reminiscent of that on a ring from Tomb 18 at Enkomi<sup>80</sup> and the fern-like fronds resemble those on the silver ring from Lapithos (fig. 11 f),<sup>81</sup> and on Amarna ring bezels.<sup>82</sup> A ring with double bezel from Enkomi,<sup>83</sup> is decorated with a design of leaping heifers, fronds and palms taken from Tell el-Amarna style. An example of the Cypriot group in commerce (fig. 11 b),<sup>84</sup> though crude work, has a hatched treatment which resembles in a general way that of the goat on the Baurat Schiller ring.

There is a consistent feature of the animal design on the Cypriot and Ras Shamra rings—the three or more deeply-engraved parallel ribs. Another point of comparison is the deep linear border of the bezel which is invariably present in both Egyptian and Cypriot rings. The outside of the hoop of the Walters ring (fig. 9) has raised mouldings terminating on each side of the bezel with stylized lotuses with

drooping fronds. The long side of the bezel is decorated with chevrons-and-dot, semi-circles and herringbones. On the flat bezel, which has a deeply-engraved line and a false, running spiral around the circumference, sits what appears to be a goat, well-modelled with a long neck folded with flesh and with heavily-marked ribs. The horns are small, erect and tightly curled. These points, together with the Egyptian design of the palmettes on the Baurat Schiller ring, suggest that it is either an Egyptian product of the Tell el-Amarna period or belongs to a contemporary Syrian or Cypriot workshop. We may reasonably suppose that the rings with animal motifs found in Cyprus were made there. One has a frankly Mycenaean lion.<sup>85</sup> A ring in the British Museum from Tomb 93 of Murray's excavations at Enkomi<sup>86</sup> is engraved with two goats facing a tree with two birds above them, comparable to the cylinder seal from Sinda inscribed with signs of the Cypriot syllabary and discussed by V. E. G. Kenna.<sup>87</sup> The bezels and profiles of two further rings from Ras Shamra are of interest here: one has a standing, skirted sphinx of non-Egyptian type together with a palm tree, the other with a two-winged sphinx.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>68</sup> *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 65, 1970, pp. 5-7.

<sup>69</sup> Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs in the British Museum*, 1913, no. 2660; Newberry, *Scarabs*, 1906, p. 104.

<sup>70</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 4, 1917, p. 44; no. 8, p. 45, no. 10.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 35, 1949, pp. 139-234.

<sup>72</sup> H. R. Hall, *op. cit.*, 1913, no. 2678; Murray et al., *Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. VI, 741, pp. 18, 39.

<sup>73</sup> C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Enkomi-Alasia*, 1952, p. 132, pl. XXV, 5.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129, pl. XXV, 2.

<sup>75</sup> Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XVI, nos. 187-194.

<sup>76</sup> *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 20, 1963, p. 207, fig. 20.

<sup>77</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 77, 1957, Arch. Reports, p. 25, pl. IIIc.

<sup>78</sup> Cyprus Museum 1956/V-23/1.

<sup>79</sup> Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 1927, pl. XIII, 118.

<sup>80</sup> *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, I, pl. LXXXVIII, 2; Cyprus Museum J31. Another ring, Cyprus Museum 1960, XI, 2, 1 published *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Archaeological Reports* 1961-2, p. 35, figs. 6 a, b, is in poor condition. The bezel has drilled marks and the outline of a seated figure.

<sup>81</sup> Ohnefalsch-Richter, *KBH*, *op. cit.*, pl. CI, 6 and Boardman, *BSA*, *loc. cit.* pl. 2, XVIII.

<sup>82</sup> Petrie, *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XVI, no. 194.

<sup>83</sup> F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of Finger Rings in the British Museum*, 1907, pl. 1, 8.

<sup>84</sup> *Ars Antiqua*, 3, 1961, no. 122.

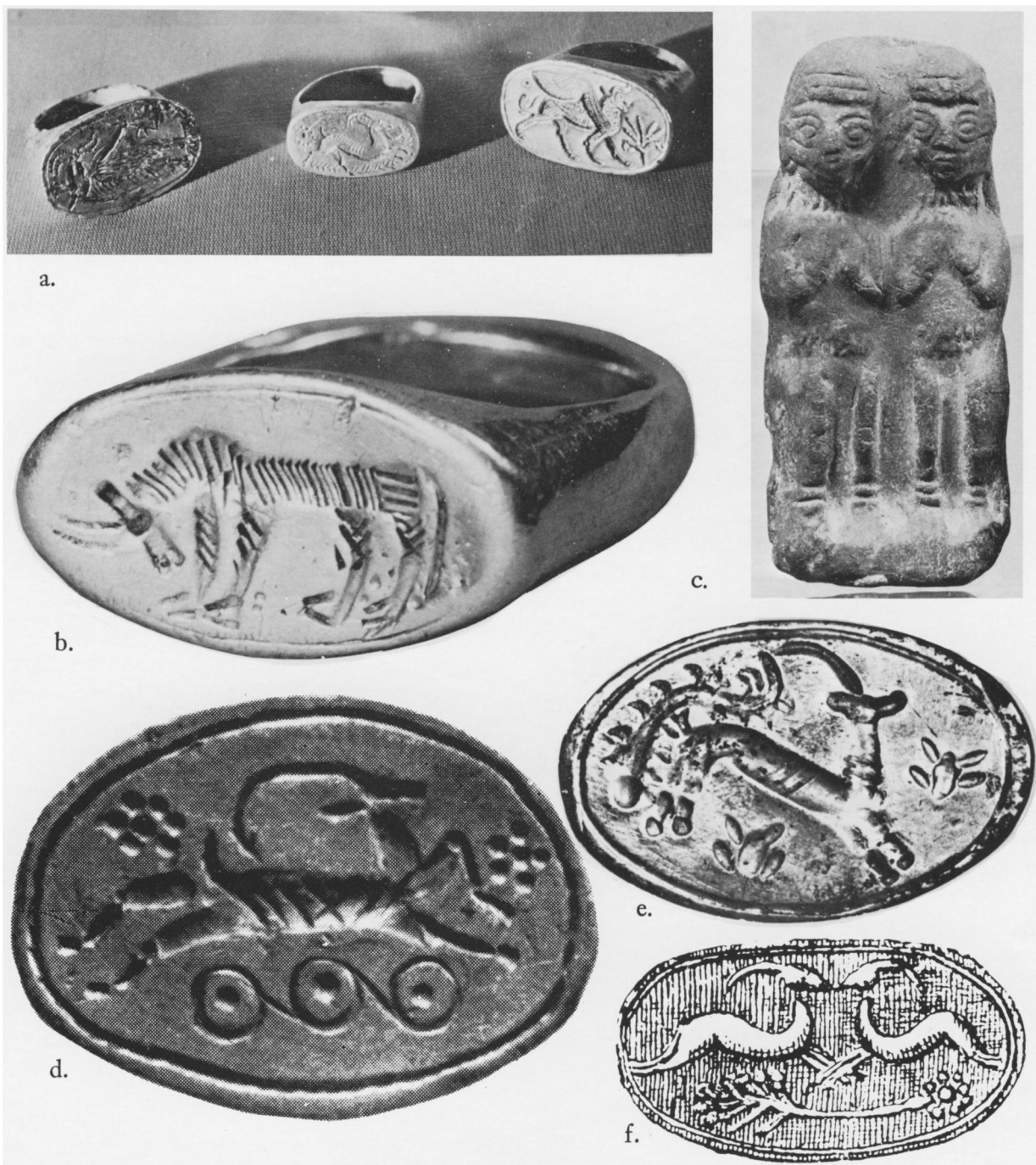


FIGURE 11

- a) Gold finger rings from Ras Shamra (courtesy C. F. A. Schaeffer).
- b) Cypriot gold finger ring on the art market, *Ars Antiqua*.
- c) Babylonian terracotta figure, *Musées Royaux, Brussels*.
- d) Gold finger ring from Enkomi, after JHS, 1957.
- e) Gold finger ring, *Cyprus Museum*, 1956/V-23/1
- f) Design on a gold finger ring from Lapithos, after Ohnefalsch-Richter.

A jeweller's hoard from Ras Shamra<sup>89</sup> includes a silver or electrum ring engraved with a running goat. Similarly other rings from Ras Shamra suggest local workmanship: the Tawart figure on the ring (figure 11 a, left) is certainly not true to Egyptian pattern. The horned lion on the ring (fig. 11 a, right) is the same beast as that on Woolley's Alalakh seal no. 120.<sup>90</sup> Significant also amongst these minute comparisons is that of the false spiral on the bezel border of the Baurat Schiller ring and the fragment in the Cyprus Museum ring (fig. 11 d). This design is quite common on Syrian seals of the period.<sup>91</sup> The date of a massive gold ring engraved with a lion and bull from El-Jib (Gibeon)<sup>92</sup> is more doubtful. It is said to have been found in the Iron Age working quarter, but the design of the animals does not connect it with any known Iron Age style. Both the shape and the dotted circle used as a filling ornament connect it with the Late Bronze Age group under discussion.

Finger-rings of this massive shape adorned with plastic animals on the bezel are known from Egypt. The most outstanding example is a ring of Ramses II in the Louvre<sup>93</sup> which has two model standing horses. The hoop ends in two miniature palmettes set off from their stem by three thick transverse ribs, the origin clearly of the transverse ribs below the lilies of the Baurat Schiller ring. Others in frit and

faience and with hawks, frogs and other animals are illustrated by H. Wallace.<sup>94</sup> Most of the examples appear to have lotus terminals on the hoop. Related is a ring with a plastic couchant lion on the bezel and lotus-like terminals on the hoop.<sup>95</sup> The plastic form of the goat recalls that of a small group of crouching animals in Amarna modelling. The best examples are a crouching heifer and a goat on a vase in Boston,<sup>96</sup> but there are plenty of examples of metal weights in the shape of crouching animals from Ras Shamra and elsewhere.<sup>97</sup>

It is therefore strongly indicated that the Baurat Schiller ring in the Walters Art Gallery is a Levantine ring made after a general Egyptian pattern in the thirteenth century B.C. We have also seen that technically and artistically the gold crowns have as many leanings to a late second millennium B.C. date as they have to the first. Two conclusions therefore are inescapable: either the "find" appeared on the art market as a "mixed bag" of falsified Near Eastern jewellery of various dates, ingeniously fabricated in a pastiche of known Syro-Canaanite motifs and prophetically including some not yet known in archeological publication; or else the find was a genuine one of the late second millennium. True, the authenticity of the pieces has to be based on rather indirect and peripheral considerations, since nothing

<sup>85</sup> *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, I, pls. LXXXVIII, 2; CXLV, 22, 23.

<sup>86</sup> Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. I, 7.

<sup>87</sup> V. E. G. Kenna, *Syria*, 44, 1967, pp. 111-7.

<sup>88</sup> *Syria*, 13, 1932, pls. IX, 2 and XI.

<sup>89</sup> Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, III, fig. 31, p. 44; *Syria*, 16, 1935, fig. 6, pp. 144-45.

<sup>90</sup> Woolley, *op. cit.*, pl. LXVI.

<sup>91</sup> E. Porada, *Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections*, I, 1948, nos. 1028, 1030.

<sup>92</sup> *ILN*, Sept. 24, 1960, p. 518, fig. 2.

<sup>93</sup> G. Maspero, *L'Archéologie égyptienne*, p. 314, fig. 298; C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 1971, fig. 144.

<sup>94</sup> H. Wallace, *Egyptian Ceramic Art, The Wallace Macgregor Collection*, 1898, fig. 3. For rings of Tutankamen with complicated model figures see Aldred, *op. cit.*, fig. 91.

<sup>95</sup> A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq: Les bijoux*, 1911, no. 2141. For a more precise parallel to the lotus terminals compare the ring in Petrie's *Tell-el-Amarna*, pl. XVI, no. 222.

is known about the goldwork of Syria during the periods to which we may assign them. Albizzati's unnamed Umbrian forger may well have been both an archeologist and a prophet, a clever forger two jumps ahead of his leads—though Albizzati takes him for a fool; and such he must have been if, as according to Albizzati, he made such a blatant forgery of the Etruscan silver strip. Such a complicated man is more difficult to accept than the goldsmiths of ancient Syria.

It is said that the other pieces of jewellery illustrated in figure 5 were found with the plaques and the ring. If this is so, then we are provided with a further pointer to a date in the Late Bronze Age. Gold foil "anemones" are plentiful amongst Canaanite jewellery of the fourteenth-thirteenth centuries B.C.<sup>98</sup> Their centers have a short tube inserted around which the foil is rolled in a circular swelling. A rosette from a Late Bronze Age treasure at Beth Shean discovered in 1926<sup>99</sup> has the petals punched with dots in a design identical to that on the larger rosettes on the Walters Art Gallery photograph. Here they appear to be

double poppies placed back-to-back, one with a bent pin extruding from the florets. It is indeed very possible that these flowers were inserted by their pins in the slits in the rolls on top of the crown in the arrangement which we see on the metal statues and on the crowns worn by ladies in the wall-paintings of New Kingdom Egypt.

It appears that two of the double anemones in this assemblage were in the collection of Friedrich L. von Gans before 1921, together with the crown plaques.<sup>100</sup> Two of them passed into the collection of Eduard Gans and were sold in 1928. They are described by R. Jaeger<sup>101</sup> as consisting of a larger and smaller rosette (diam. 6.7 and 6.5 cm.) jointed back to back by a transverse tube. Neither author connects them with the crowns, though Zahn is inclined to date them to the Bronze Age. As for the other pieces in the photograph, the bulbous object on the left of the finger-ring resembles nothing more than the beaded top of a toggle-pin.<sup>102</sup> Again the minute granulation and filigree work of the "pin" itself and of the pieces to the right of it are more typical of late second millennium work than of the first. Three rings of filigree wire from Byblos<sup>103</sup> provide a close analogy to the miniature double ring at the right of the finger-ring. There are thus certain indications as to the homogeneity of the "find," all pointing to the Syro-Canaanite region in the thirteenth century B.C. rather than to Phoenician art as we know it in the first millennium. Certainly the majority of related rolled-edged plaques from Cyprus are much later, though their tradition goes back there to at least Cypro-Geometric I.<sup>104</sup> There is therefore much to suggest that there persisted in the Cypriot Iron Age a Phoenician or Late Canaanite goldwork tradition and that the Baurat Schiller plaques are either the Late Bronze Age prototypes or the later continuations of Late Canaanite style.

<sup>96</sup> E. B. Terrace, *Bulletin, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 62, no. 328, 1964, pp. 48–51.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. *Syria*, 16, 1935, pl. XXXIII, 5.

<sup>98</sup> E.g. R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, III, pl. XXXI, 19 and the flowers with bunched dot outlines, E. J. H. Mackay et al., *The City of Shepherd Kings—Ancient Gaza*, V, pl. VI and frontispiece.

<sup>99</sup> *ILN*, Oct. 30, 1926, p. 829.

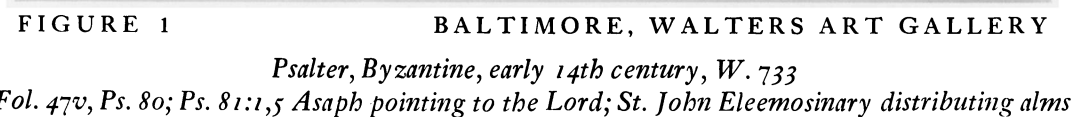
<sup>100</sup> They were illustrated by R. Zahn, *Die Galerie Bachstitz II*, [1921], no. 73.

<sup>101</sup> *Die Sammlung Eduard Gans*, Auktionsleitung Paul Cassirer and Hans Helbing, Berlin, 1928, no. 7.

<sup>102</sup> Compare G. Loud ed., *Megiddo II*, 1948, pl. 223, no. 65.

<sup>103</sup> P. Montet, *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII, nos. 413–415.

<sup>104</sup> See note 38, above. Lapithos tomb 417 from which the earliest dated pieces come is noteworthy also as the earliest Cypro-Geometric I tomb with imports from mainland Phoenicia.



BALTIMORE, WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Psalter, Byzantine, early 14th century, W. 733*

*Fol. 47v, Ps. 80; Ps. 81:1,5 Asaph pointing to the Lord; St. John Eleemosinary distributing alms*

# THE MARGINAL PSALTER IN THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

## A RECONSIDERATION

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A LITTLE MORE than twenty years ago, Dorothy Miner described the excitement generated among students of Byzantine art by the appearance, at auction in 1946, of an unrecorded Byzantine Psalter with marginal illustrations.<sup>1</sup> In turn, the article in which she presented this manuscript—acquired by the Walters Art Gallery and now bearing the shelfmark W. 733—aroused a great deal of interest. Her views as to its nature, date and affiliations have since met with general acceptance.<sup>2</sup>

In most lucid fashion, Miss Miner demon-

strated the connections between this Psalter and two other marginally-illustrated books that had long been known, the Theodore Psalter in London (British Library, Add. 19.352), firmly dated to the year 1066,<sup>3</sup> and the Barberini Psalter (Vat. Barb. gr. 372), the date of which has been widely discussed.<sup>4</sup> Being only a large fragment, the Walters codex contains fewer miniatures than either of these more celebrated Psalters. Of the approximately 155 vignettes that survive out of an estimated 315,<sup>5</sup> she published about one-fifth: the first purpose of this study, then, is

<sup>1</sup> D. E. Miner, "The 'Monastic' Psalter of the Walters Art Gallery," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann, Princeton, 1955, pp. 232–253, hereafter cited as Miner, "Psalter."

<sup>2</sup> The literature on W.733 is cited in the entry on this manuscript by Stephen Gardner in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan, Princeton, 1973, no. 29, hereafter cited as *Princeton Cat.* To the bibliography cited there must be added A.N.L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library up to the Year 1840*, Cambridge, 1954, pp. 56, 166, and K. Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja psaltir' s illjustratsijami na poljah," *Vizantija, južnye Slavjane i drevnjaja Rus', zapadnaja Evropa* (Fest-

schrift V. N. Lazarev), Moscow, 1973, pp. 118 note 42, 119, 120, 123, 124, 127, 129.

<sup>3</sup> Since Miss Miner wrote, the most important contribution in regard to this manuscript has been the study and full publication of its miniatures by S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Age. II. Londres, Add. 19.352*, Paris, 1970, hereafter cited as Der Nersessian, *L'illustration*, II. See also the necessary emendations proposed in a review of this work by R. Stichel to appear in *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 12, 1976, Heft 2. The most recent extended discussion of Add. 19.352 is to be found in V.D. Lichačeva, *Iskusstvo knigi Konstantinopol' XI vek*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 72–4, 114–116 and *passim*.



to make available a rather larger proportion of its illustrations. On the basis of those that Miss Miner published and of others, described but denied reproduction for lack of space (a constraint which similarly faces the present author), she suggested that "in general the Theodore Psalter has more points of contact with the Baltimore codex, but from time to time it is the Barberini manuscript which bears a more specific relation."<sup>6</sup> Finally, and convincingly, she pointed to the manuscript to which W.733 has the greatest affinity: a Cyrillic Psalter made in Kiev in the year 1397 and now in Leningrad.<sup>7</sup> So close is the relationship,

she argued, that the Baltimore and Russian manuscripts derive from a common model, a Byzantine Psalter of about the middle of the eleventh century.

Yet far from being close in date, these two books were in her opinion separated by nearly three hundred years. Depending upon the date of ca. 1092 proposed for the Barberini Psalter by DeWald,<sup>8</sup> and on stylistic relations both to this manuscript and to the Theodore Psalter, she concluded that "the Walters Psalter must have been executed not far from the year 1100."<sup>9</sup> The Baltimore codex was thus made some fifty years after the creation of its

<sup>4</sup> The literature on Vat.Barb. gr. 372 to the year 1969 is cited by P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City, 1970, p. 147. To this must be added Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja Psaltir," *passim*, and the observations of Spatharakis noted immediately below. Most scholars have accepted the date of ca. 1092 proposed by E. T. DeWald, "The Comnenian Portraits in the Barberini Psalter," *Hesperia*, 13, 1944, pp. 76–86. A new identification of the imperial portraits in the Psalter led M. Bonicatti, "Per l'origine del salterio barberiano greco 372 e la cronologia del tetraevangelo Urbinate greco 2," *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 2, 1960, pp. 41–61, to suggest a date of 1122. An unspecific twelfth-century date is assigned by I. Ševčenko, "The Anti-Iconoclastic Poem in the Pantocrator Psalter," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 15, 1965, pp. 49 note 18 and 50. Most recently, and again primarily on the basis of its portraits, I. Spatharakis, "Three Portraits of the Early Comnenian Period," *Simiolus* 7, 1974, pp. 6–7, has proposed that the Psalter was made in 1060. The date of Vat.Barb. gr. 372 is unlikely to be determined before a thorough study is made of its miniatures and the extent to which they are overpainted, a fact apparently noticed first by Miner, "Psalter," p. 235, and then by V. N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, Turin, 1967, p. 191. Since the Barberini Psalter remains largely unpublished, for ease of reference the present writer has followed Miss Miner's course of citing the folio numbers given in the Princeton Index of Christian Art even though these do not agree with the foliation of the manuscript.

<sup>5</sup> On the difficulty inherent in such calculations, see Miner, "Psalter," pp. 223 and note 11, 244 note

38. For a physical description of the manuscript, *ibid.*, pp. 233–36. Theodore, the largest of the marginal Psalters (19.8 x 23.1 cm), contains 435 miniatures on 208 folios (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, p. 11). Miss Miner's estimate of the original number of vignettes in W.733 (16.5 x 21.8 cm.) is supported by the fact that Barberini (17.0 x 21.0 cm.) has approximately the same number on 273 folios.

<sup>6</sup> Miner, "Psalter," p. 237.

<sup>7</sup> Public Library, cod. 1252 F VI. Notable additions to the literature on this Psalter cited by Miner, p. 242 note 34, are A. N. Svirin, *Iskusstvo knigi drevnej Rus'*, Moscow, 1964, pp. 91–3, figs. on pp. 218–22; N. N. Rozov, "Drevnerusskij miniatjurist za čteniem psaltiri," *Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury* 22, 1966, pp. 65–82, figs. 1–3; and Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja Psaltir," pp. 114, 115, 119, 120, 123, 127. See now V.D. Lichačeva, "Minijatjury Kievskoj psaltiri i ih vizantijskie istočniki," *Kniga i grafika*, Moscow, 1972, pp. 38–47, and *eadem*, *Iskusstvo knigi*, pp. 92, 94, 96, 98–101, 114 and figures on pp. 98, 99.

<sup>8</sup> Note 4, above.

<sup>9</sup> Miner, "Psalter," p. 236. Opinions concerning the date of W.733 have remained fairly consistent, if slightly earlier, than Miner proposed. *Princeton Cat.*: "it should be dated in the second half, and perhaps even in the last quarter, of the eleventh century." Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja Psaltir," p. 118: "end of the 11th century." Recently Lichačeva, *Iskusstvo knigi*, p. 114, has assigned it to the beginning of the twelfth century. The manuscript was offered in the sale catalogue (Sotheby and Co., London, July 1, 1946, *Bibliotheca Phlippica* . . . , no. 2) as of the tenth century.



FIGURE 2  
*Fol. 30v, Ps. 68:35-36*  
*Two men praying beside a city of Judaea*



FIGURE 3  
*Fol. 4v, Ps. 32*  
*SS. Abibas, Gourias and Samonas*

model.<sup>10</sup>

It is hardly surprising that the later fate of W.733 is better known than its origins. Miss Miner traced the history of its possession back to an Italian whom she presumed to have been a schoolboy since he scribbled on many of its pages and at one point wrote his name and the date "11 Agosti 1724."<sup>11</sup> On internal evidence

we are able to take this history back one stage, but not much further. On fol. 96r, a replacement leaf written in black ink for Ps. 118:63-70, yet a third hand recorded in the right margin in brown ink the date, ρχπα (= 1681).<sup>12</sup> In the bas-de-page, he noted more precisely 4 May 1681 and recorded his name as Theodore, οἰκονόμος πόλεως μάνης. Our manuscript therefore

<sup>10</sup> The suggested interval between model and copy immediately suggests a problem. Two manuscripts presumably made in swift succession from the same prototype are known in the case of the Vatican and Paris copies of the Homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (Vat.gr. 1162, B.N. gr. 1208); and manuscripts copied some three hundred years after the creation of the model are exemplified by the relationship between the Paris Psalter (B.N. gr. 139) and Jerusalem, cod. Taphou 51, Sinai cod. 38 and the Palatina Psalter (Vat. Palat. gr. 381, on which see below, note 51). But I know of only one richly illustrated Byzantine manuscript that may have been a copy of a book made a generation earlier: H. Buchthal, "The Exaltation of David," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37, 1974, pp.

330-33, has proposed that Paris gr. 139 was copied about 975 from a Psalter prepared for the fourteenth birthday of the future Romanus II in 952.

<sup>11</sup> The supposed owner's name as recorded on fol. 76v is given as Theodosio Cacuri Dattene. The obviously Greek origin of the first two names has not been remarked upon. A misprint in *Princeton Cat.* places this signature on fol. 176v.

<sup>12</sup> It will be noted that this date is expressed as *anno Domini* rather than according to the Byzantine system of computation from the creation of the world. Miner, "Psalter," p. 234, says of the replacement leaves that they are written "in a fifteenth-century hand on vellum leaves carefully ruled to correspond to the rest of the book."



FIGURE 4

Fol. 32r, Ps. 71–72 David turns from the Lord at the end of his prayer; David points to the hand of God.

left Greek soil—presumably the Mani—some time between 1681 and 1724.

The writer of the main body of our Psalter did not think to provide such useful self-identification, at least not within the 102 leaves preserving the text from Ps. 28:5 to 120:7 that survive. We are thus faced with a first major difficulty in dating the manuscript: the so-called “liturgical” script which retains a striking consistency whether used in the eleventh or twelfth centuries or in later manuscripts that imitate, often with great success, the older forms.<sup>13</sup> The ductus of Middle Byz-

antine liturgical manuscripts is indeed the immediate impression made by the neat brown minuscule. Yet, however conscientiously a later writer may copy an earlier script he will, when working at speed, revert on occasion to

<sup>13</sup> Robert S. Nelson of New York University was the first to suggest to me that W.733 might have been written in the fourteenth century. I must here acknowledge the generosity of Professor Nikos Oikonomides who, as always, was willing both to discuss the manuscript with me and to countenance such a date. Above all, I am grateful to Professor Linos Politis to whom I owe my thanks for most of the observations made in this paragraph.



FIGURE 5  
Fol. 51r, Ps. 84:11 *The Visitation*

the ductus of his own day. We would thus expect to find both “archaic” and modern letter forms in such an imitation. This is precisely what happened as the scribe approached the end of Ps. 80 (fig. 1). On line 11 the scribe has written the first words of verse 16, ‘Οι ἐχθροὶ Κ(υρίου) ἐψεύσαντο αὐτῷ making the Ψ in the serpentine manner of the Palaeologan and later periods. Yet three lines below this, in the opening words of verse 17, καὶ ἐψώμισε αὐτούς, he uses a Ψ of the simple cross type found in Theodore’s Psalter of 1066.<sup>14</sup> Again at the start

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Der Nersessian, *L’Illustration*, II, figs. 178, 185 and *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> The same is true of the inscriptions attached to some of the miniatures. Professor Weitzmann had already pointed out to Miss Miner (“Psalter,” p. 251, note 42) that the cursive alpha used in the misidentification of a miniature of Daniel’s vision as Jacob’s Dream on fol. 29r (*ibid.*, fig. 17) is later than the eleventh-twelfth-century form. Such an alpha is found in the number of the psalm of fol. 47v (our fig. 1): πα = 81.

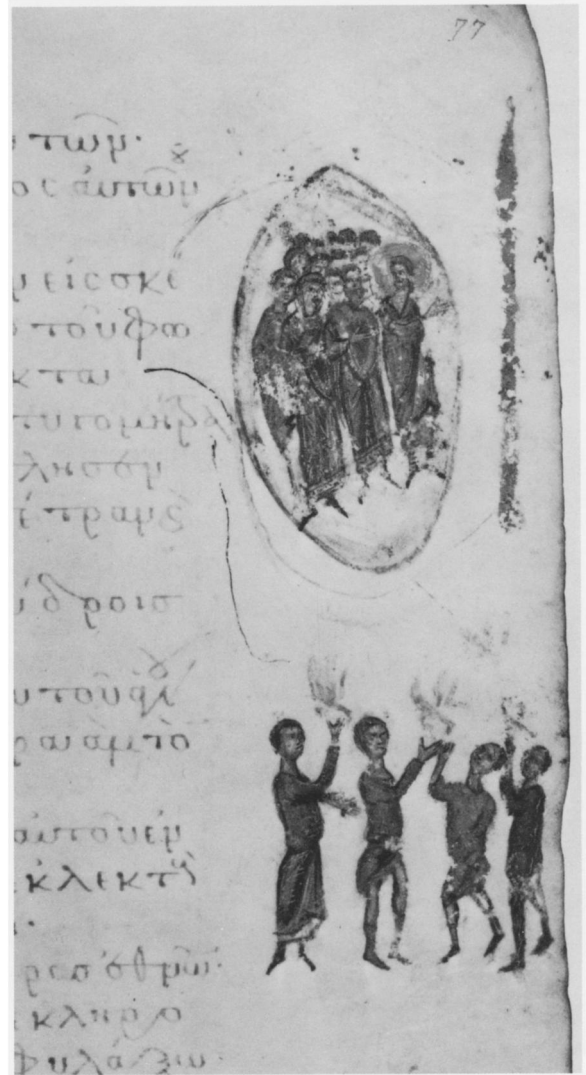


FIGURE 6  
Fol. 77r, Ps. 104:40-41 *The Cloud and the Pillar of Fire; the Catching of Quails*

of verse 16, for ἐχθροὶ, he employs an “archaic,” cigar-shaped θ (line 11) while a little above this the same word (in the phrase ἄν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, line 7) has the “modern” rounded θ. The initial letter of the title of Ps. 81, Ψαλμὸς τῷ Ἀσάφ, similarly employs the Palaeologan form, but we cannot be sure that the titles and the psalm numbers in the left margin are in the same hand.<sup>15</sup> The evidence of the large initials is



FIGURE 7  
Fol. 58v, Ps. 89:1  
*David praying on a mountainside*



FIGURE 8  
Fol. 52r, Ps. 85:10  
*The nations congregate to praise the Lord*

less helpful since such forms are conserved in manuscripts from the eleventh through the fourteenth centuries.<sup>16</sup> But in recently published facsimiles of dated manuscript pages in the Vatican and elsewhere one can find good parallels for the general form of the script of W.733.<sup>17</sup> These are all of the first half of the fourteenth century.

Given their deliberately ornamental quality, it might be expected that the form of the initials to each psalm would vary more than

that of the Psalter text proper. This is evident if we compare the O at the start of Ps. 81 (fig. 1) with the same initial to the apostrophe to God that opens Ps. 69 (fig. 2). The mournful face within this letter cannot be said with certainty to be a recent addition, but some initials are clearly later retouched: the 'A (γαλλιᾶσθε) at the head of Ps. 32 is overdrawn in black ink (fig. 3). That this was done while the Psalter was still in Greek hands is suggested by the emendation at the beginning of Ps. 72 (fig. 4) where the original minium capital O has been overwritten in the modern form 'Ω(ς αγαθός). Yet this title of this psalm (line 9) and in the line above the traditional

<sup>16</sup> Miss Miner ("Psalter," p. 235) chose to interpret the use of minium red in the titles and initials of W.733 as evidence that the manuscript was less luxurious a production than Theodore or Barberini which here employ gold. Titles and initials in minium are, however, normal in fourteenth-century manuscripts of this type, as witnessed by the examples cited in note 17. Moreover, in one instance (fol. 58v, fig. 7), the painted mountain covers a portion of the initial K, the "interlaced" form of which is representative of many of the initials in W.733. These therefore must have been made before the miniatures.

<sup>17</sup> A. Turyn, *Dated Greek Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy*, Urbana, 1972, pls. 124 (1321/2), 126 (1323), 142 (1330). For comparable initials, *ibid.*, pls. 118, 215. Cf. *idem*, *Codices graeci vaticani scripti antiorumque notis instructi*, Vatican City, 1964, pls. 70, 72, 73, 74.



FIGURE 9  
Fol. 18v, Ps. 43:2  
*Four Just Men praying*



FIGURE 10  
Fol. 27r, Ps. 61:2,5 *St. Matthew; Judas among  
the Pharisees and Priests*

codicil at the end of Ps. 71 ("The hymns of David, the son of Jesse, are ended") are written in a different ink. Until the study of post-Byzantine palaeography is more advanced, we cannot propose even a relative chronology for these emendations.

More importantly and more confidently, the relationship between the original text and the original illustrations can be adjudicated. On fol. 51r the tall structure to the left of the picture covers a small portion of the word *συνήτησαν* (line 18) and possibly the last superscript letter of *χρηστότητα* on the last line of the page (fig. 5).

It follows that the miniatures were painted after the text and must be either contemporary with or later than the script. As noted below, some of the miniatures have been overdrawn in black ink, but the image of the Visitation on this page has not been restored. Black, too, is the color of the indicator lines used to connect a vignette to a specific if sometimes physically remote portion of the text (figs. 2, 10, etc.). This is a cruder connecting device than the lemmata—reference marks beside a particular verse indicating that an illustration is to be attached there—characteristic of Middle Byzan-



tine Psalters. Miss Miner noted that W.733 uses both devices as against the Kievan Psalter where only indicator lines are used.<sup>18</sup> But it must also be observed that lemmata are found far less frequently in the Baltimore codex than in the Theodore Psalter. In W.733 the system of reference is customarily a single linear connection; occasionally, a wealth of such lines was considered necessary for the appropriate attachment (fig. 6).

There can be no doubt, however, that the impression conveyed by both scribe and painter is of a manuscript of the type and period of the Theodore and Barberini Psalters. Both the static ranks of similarly posed saints drawn rigorously *en face* (fig. 3), and the active motions of figures engaged in lively interpretations of the text (fig. 6) find their counterparts in the Psalter of 1066.<sup>19</sup> Nor is this figural style confined to the rendering of the human body as a whole. The legs drawn without ankles and the long narrow feet, sometimes given a pronounced arch (fig. 9), rehearse anatomical details common in illum-

inations of the second half of the eleventh century.<sup>20</sup> The quick, almost impressionistic rendering of animals and birds—as in the quail caught by the Israelites (fig. 6)—and the conventional forms imposed on cities and buildings (figs. 2, 13) correspond to types found in much better-known manuscripts of this period.<sup>21</sup> These elements make up the basic tenor of our book and have been well-described by Miss Miner and her successors.<sup>22</sup>

There are, however, other aspects of its style that have no precedents in the marginal illustration of Middle Byzantine Psalters. The three saints beside the *incipit* of Ps. 32 (fig. 3) have changed more than their iconography in the interval since the corresponding image in Theodore.<sup>23</sup> Their long feet project much further from beneath their tunics and share no common ground-line: the London Psalter's suggestion of massive immobility, even within a miniature compass, is entirely missing in the Walters group. That this is no freak deviation is proved by the unstable pose of those who receive alms from St. John Eleemosinary in

<sup>18</sup> Miner, "Psalter," p. 234, who was dependent upon a nineteenth-century lithograph facsimile of the Russian Psalter, seems to have been unaware that in contrast to the black lines in W.733 such indicators in the Leningrad manuscript are red. For representative examples, see the color reproductions in Svirin, *Iskusstvo knigi*, pp. 219–20. The largely unpublished Greco-Latin "Hamilton" Psalter, Berlin, Staatl. Museen, Kupferstichkab. cod. 78 A9 (on which see P. Wescher, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniaturen-Handschriften und Einzelblätter des Kupferstichkabinetts* . . . , Leipzig, 1931, pp. 25 ff.) uses neither lemmata nor indicator lines.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, figs. 60, 68.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. compare the legs and ankles of the archangels flanking the Virgin in the now missing Psalter from the Abteilung für Christliche Archäologie of Berlin University, cod. 3807, fol. 1v (G. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter with Byzantine Miniatures," *Art Bulletin*, 15, 1933, pp. 311–26, fig. 7).

<sup>21</sup> For birds and animals, cf. Theodore, fols. 138v, 142r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, figs. 223, 228); for city types, cf. Florence, Laur. 6. 36, fols. 36v (Capernaum), 41r (Jericho): T. Velmans, *Le Tetraévangile de la Laurentienne*, Paris, 1971, figs. 80, 89.

<sup>22</sup> Miner, "Psalter," pp. 235–36; *Princeton Cat.*, p. 121.

<sup>23</sup> Fol. 35v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 60) has three saints identified by inscription as Basil, John Chrysostom and Gregory Nazianzenus. In contrast to our figures who, by analogy with the Russian Psalter of 1397 (fol. 41v), can be identified as SS. Abibas, Gourias and Samonas, these are all bearded and wear episcopal garb.

<sup>24</sup> Identification again based on the Russian Psalter (fol. 114v). An alms-giving bishop in the Psalter Athos, Vatopedi 760, fol. 79v (unpublished) is also identified by inscription as St. John Eleemosinary.

illustration of Ps. 81:4-5 (fig. 1).<sup>24</sup> The first student of W.733 pointed to this sort of instability and explained it on grounds of the limited amount of space available.<sup>25</sup> But in this vignette there is no such constraint; rather ample space exists to the left of the charitable bishop. So, too, on fol. 59r an old man leans on a stick at a perilous angle that exceeds not only the inclination of the equivalent figure in the Psalter of 1066,<sup>26</sup> but even the most dramatic interpretation of his advancing years as described by the text (Ps. 89:10). His pose is not to be explained by pressure of space for he has exclusive occupancy of the margin.

The figure of Asaph in the zone above the needy exhibits two other stylistic peculiarities of W.733 (fig. 1). While, as already observed, earlier Psalters of this type sometimes exhibit remarkably vivacious poses and gestures, in none are the hands as enlarged as they are here (and in the larger of the paupers below). Asaph's gesture is made with his left hand so that more than the diminutive size of the bust of Christ is responsible for the notion that the patriarch motions awkwardly and "backwards" towards the Lord. This ungainly attitude is carried a stage further in that of David who, at the close of Ps. 71, gestures towards the heavenly figure even while he turns away to indicate (as the text prescribes) that his prayer is ended (fig. 4, above). The result of this combination of attitudes is a right foot that is double-jointed to the point that the psalmist seems to be pigeon-toed. Finally, both figures of David on this page, as well as the

bust of the Lord and innumerable others throughout our Psalter,<sup>27</sup> wear amorphous and undefined haloes which contrast strongly with the regular, circumscribed nimbi common to Theodore and Barberini.

The large, shapeless and cross-less halo of Christ contributes markedly to the impression of the Lord's imbalance in a vignette illustrating the adoration of the nations (Ps. 85:9), and a similarly formless and dull-gold nimbus is inappropriately shared by two of the assembled worshipers (fig. 8).<sup>28</sup> The four other members of this congregation are characterized by curly hair and thickset, slanting eyebrows set within heads that are swiftly modelled and defined by heavy contours. In contrast, the gallery of ethnic types in the corresponding miniatures in the Barberini and Theodore Psalters is suggested by exotic head-dresses rather than by their facial features.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, the painters of these books almost studiously avoided drawing the faces of the nations in profile, while the painter of W.733 evidently felt no such necessity.

The difference between these highly expressive faces and the more usual "hellenistic" type<sup>30</sup> is keenly suggested by a comparison of the heads of the Pharisees who flank Judas with that of St. Matthew in the upper zone of

<sup>25</sup> Miner, "Psalter," pp. 241, 249.

<sup>26</sup> Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 199.

<sup>27</sup> While the uncircumscribed nimbus predominates numerically, a halo bounded by a circle occurs at irregular intervals throughout the manuscript (fig. 9: the upper pair of Just Men; fig. 23: the king on his sickbed, etc.).

<sup>28</sup> None of the "nations" in Theodore, fol. 114v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 189) is nimbed. Overlapping haloes or the sharing of a single disc by two figures are rare in Byzantine painting with the exception of images of the Visitation (cf. fig. 5) where the physical proximity of the protagonists is justified iconographically.

<sup>29</sup> Barberini, fol. 141v; for Theodore, see note 28, above. The profile views avoided in these miniatures are similarly lacking in the Russian Psalter (fol. 119r). The compulsion to avoid profile views is also not felt by our painter in rendering the personified sun and moon on fol. 57v. Such heads are normally drawn frontally. This miniature, illustrating Ps. 88:37, is lacking in both Barberini and Theodore.

fol. 27r (fig. 10).<sup>31</sup> The apostle's round head, level gaze, and stable body standing in contrapposto upon broad, differentiated feet could hardly offer a greater contrast to the group below enlivened by the flying tail of Judas' himation and the active, "involved" faces<sup>32</sup> and gestures of the Jews poised in debate upon long, narrow feet. Another sort of intercourse is involved in a miniature, without parallel in Psalters of the eleventh century, on the facing page. This shows a scene of almsgiving as a sort of countervailing illustration to the words beside which they are set: "there is none that does good, there is not even one" (Ps. 52:4, fig. 11). A gray-bearded figure in a short tunic extends an offering to a younger man, apparently a cripple since he walks with the aid of a stick. The act of charity is set below a highly unusual vignette of the Lord flying almost



FIGURE 11

Fol. 26v, Ps. 52:4

*The Lord witnesses an act of charity*

<sup>30</sup> This distinction is not intended to imply anything about the "origins" of such physical types. With the superfluous hypothesis of an Alexandrian-Syrian tradition underlying the figure style of all the marginal Psalters, proposed by M. Bonicatti, "Per l'origine del salterio" (note 4), pp. 52-3, and *idem*, "In margine ai problemi della cultura figurativa di Alessandria nella tarda antichità," *Commentari*, 1959, pp. 75-98, compare the more careful formulation of K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, revised ed., Princeton, 1970, p. 192, who sees the style of Theodore and Barberini as having "its roots in Constantinople."

<sup>31</sup> The central figure in this group is identified by a faint inscription here and in the Russian Psalter (fol. 81v). This illustration, attached by an indicator line to Ps. 61:5 ("They took counsel only to set at naught mine honor"), is lacking in Theodore and Barberini. The mutilated heads of the two figures to the right of the group preclude specific identification. For the iconography of the Pharisees and Sadducees, see Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja Psaltir," p. 118. In Theodore the saint in the upper zone is identified as Patrikios: Matthew is indicated in the corresponding miniature in the Kievan Psalter. The same designation is given to a saint offering alms to two men in a miniature in the Kievan manuscript corresponding to W.733, fol. 10r (Ps. 36:26). The saint in our Psalter, however, cannot be Matthew since he is clad as a bishop.

horizontally<sup>33</sup> within an arc of heaven. The scene is simple yet highly expressive: the arc of their extended arms echoes that above and is strengthened by the exchange between the donor's grave demeanor and the intense glance

<sup>32</sup> The apparent smile upon the face of the Pharisee to the left may be due to a vivid interpretation of the scene on the part of our painter or his model. There is, however, a notable resemblance to the broad "smiles" worn by the apostles as they attend the Dormition of the Virgin in Palaeologan art.

<sup>33</sup> The Lord's flying posture, with bare feet raised above the level of His body, recalls that of angels in early Christian art as on a child's sarcophagus in Istanbul (W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, New York, 1961, no. 75).

of the recipient whose face is so quickly drawn that it verges on caricature.

It is this sort of intensity, no less powerful for being on a minuscule scale and often summarily indicated, that differentiates the Walters manuscript from the Psalters to which it is most often compared. This is exemplified in a second miniature depicting Judas and, in this case, his suicide (fig. 12). Where in Theodore and Barberini the betrayer hangs, without apparent suffering, frontally at the end of a rope held by a demon above the tree,<sup>34</sup> in the Baltimore miniature his head falls in profile, his long neck clearly broken. This vignette eliminates not only the diabolical presence but also the figure of Matthias who, in the other Psalters, waits, as it were, in the wings, to replace Judas among the disciples. These additional elements are due to the commentary of Hesychius and Theodoret,<sup>35</sup> although the very act of representing Judas in apposition to Ps. 102:6 (where he is not mentioned) shows that the illustration in our Psalter reverts ultimately to the same early Christian exegesis.

Miniatures in Walters which have no counterpart in the Psalters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries exhibit this same sort of expressive energy. Absent even in the Russian Psalter of 1397—which, as Miss Miner showed, generally matches our manuscript miniature for miniature—is a vignette that painstakingly illustrates Ps. 80:6-7: “He made it to be a testimony in Joseph . . . He removed the bur-



FIGURE 12  
Fol. 82v, Ps. 108:6 Judas hangs himself

den from his back; his hands slaved with the basket” (fig. 13). The youthful Joseph, his long legs bent under the burden that he carries, smiles serenely in contrast to an impassive Potiphar and his grimacing wife. The distinction between their clothing—Joseph’s tunic is a dull blue while both the Egyptians are in white—further differentiates the Israelite from his masters.

Even where the traditional comparanda display the same iconography, the Baltimore manuscript tends to surpass them in vivid interpretation. While God’s instructions concerning sacrifices set out in Ps. 49 are illustrated in most of the ninth-century Psalters with Abraham’s offering to the three angels at

<sup>34</sup> Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 185r; Add. 19.352, fol. 150r (Der Nersessian, *L’Illustration*, II, fig. 240). In the Russian Psalter (fol. 157v), too, Judas’ head falls to one side; between him and the tree is a demon.

<sup>35</sup> Migne, *P.G.* 27, cols. 455–57, 1137–39; 80, cols. 1755–58. The figure who appears to stand below the tree (his head and right hand apparent in fig. 12) is an offprint from the miniature on the facing recto (fol. 83r, Miner, “Psalter,” fig. 6).



FIGURE 13  
Fol. 47r, Ps. 80:6-7  
*Joseph laboring before Potiphar and his wife*

Mamre, Theodore and Barberini share with the Walters Psalter his readiness to sacrifice his son (fig. 14). In both the angel of the Lord is "imprisoned" within an arc; in Walters, the untrammelled divine messenger gestures towards Abraham's urgent, upturned face. The miniature in the Theodore Psalter<sup>36</sup> is compositionally much like ours but, in its severely rubbed state, no comparison can be made with the raking eyebrows and drawn mouth of the patriarch. In Barberini,<sup>37</sup> Abraham has a firm hold upon his son's hair, while in Walters Isaac looks as if he is about to escape. In one characteristic respect our miniature differs from the other Psalters: the scapegoat, tied to a tree, stands upon an oblique ground, a position that makes the animal's witness to the event less awkward than in Vat. Barb. gr. 372 where the goat's head is turned up at ninety degrees to its level, horizontal axis.

One might be willing to read in this oddity an act of sympathy on the part of our painter,



FIGURE 14  
Fol. 24r, Ps. 49:6-15 *Abraham's Sacrifice*

were sloping figures set on non-existent or inclined groundlines not part of his stylistic vocabulary. There is no reason to assume that such idiosyncrasies were inherited from his model. On fol. 88v the frontal figures of Moses and Aaron sway with no common foundation to keep their bodies parallel to each other. While Moses leans alarmingly towards his brother, the Kievan Psalter has them on separate, facing pages<sup>38</sup> without this distinctive

<sup>36</sup> Fol. 140v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 225).

<sup>37</sup> Fol. 172v.



FIGURE 15  
Fol. 39v, Ps. 77:16  
*Moses striking water from the rock*

instability. All of the marginal Psalters illustrate Ps. 77:16 with Moses striking the rock, but not even the Russian manuscript shows the drinking Israelites swaying while they quench their thirst as in the Baltimore codex (fig. 15). In one extraordinary vignette a praying David, his arms advanced and legs drawn up under him in a manner befitting a figure prostrate upon the ground, hovers obliquely

<sup>38</sup> Fols. 162v, 163r. The emphasis placed on Aaron as spiritual leader in Theodore and Barberini noted by Der Nersessian, *ibid.*, p. 14, is preserved in the miniatures in Walters depicting the Israelites led by Moses and Aaron and the Crossing of the Red Sea (fols. 37v, 42r). Our codex must thus be added to her citation of these Psalters which, in contrast to other representations, lay stress on the role of the high priest.



FIGURE 16  
Fol. 63v, Ps. 94:7 *David worshipping the Lord*



FIGURE 17  
Fol. 36r, Ps. 75:7 *Rider asleep on a horse*

in the air beneath an icon of Christ (fig. 16). Here the mountainside that makes credible the similar, diminutive image to an earlier psalm (fig. 7) is entirely lacking.

But such dislocations do not always work to a miniature's disadvantage. The oblique angle at which the scapegoat is drawn—and overdrawn (fig. 14)—is echoed in the lively horse bearing one of the slumbering riders





FIGURE 18

*Fol. 72r, Ps. 103:6-7 Mountains and a river*

alluded to in Ps. 75:7 (fig. 17). The leaf has been mutilated, but the excised portion is unlikely to have contained the second horsemen required by the text; in the Theodore Psalter, the figure of the first horseman overlaps that of his companion.<sup>39</sup> What remains shows the soldier fallen forward over the neck of his mount, his lance slipping from his grasp, while the horse canters forward open-mouthed and

<sup>39</sup> Fol. 98r (*ibid.*, fig. 160). The verse is not illustrated in Vat. Barb. gr. 372.

<sup>40</sup> Fol. 101v (*ibid.*, fig. 165). The corresponding miniature in Vat. Barb. gr. 372 is on fol. 127v.



FIGURE 19

*Fol. 72v, Ps. 103:10 Valleys with running springs*

wide awake. The resulting picture contrasts strongly with the vignette in Theodore which, while textually more accurate, offers a much more wooden representation of both men and beasts.

So, too, the leaning beneficiaries of Moses' water miracle contribute to an image in which all is in motion (fig. 15). Despite a curiously curved right foot, the Israelite leader's vigorous stride and gesture—as well as the intent, purposeful and diverse faces of all actors in the scene—are improvements upon the unimaginative version of the prodigy in the Psalter of 1066. Moses' rock, while seemingly a reduced version of Mount Sinai, offers a more interesting, craggy formation than the rounded hillock beside which the Israelites slake their thirst in Theodore and Barberini.<sup>40</sup>

The quickly drawn, impressionistic terrain that is the setting of this miracle is developed later in the Psalter in two of what is, in Byzantine manuscript illumination, the fairly small class of landscapes without figures.<sup>41</sup> Dorothy Miner commented briefly on depictions of the countryside in the Walters manuscript, comparing them favorably with those in the London and Vatican Psalter.<sup>42</sup> To her its images of "the earth on its sure foundation" and its mountains, valleys and streams (Ps. 103:5, 10) "seemed to echo the tradition of even earlier (*sc.* than mid-eleventh century) manuscripts."<sup>43</sup> While indeed the landscapes on fols. 72r and 72v (figs. 18, 19)<sup>44</sup> are more delightful than the stereotyped *paysages* of Theodore,<sup>45</sup>

it must be pointed out that this opportunity to suggest the pristine world, created by God but not yet peopled by him, was ignored by the painters of the other marginal Psalters. The rivers in these images are of conventional type,<sup>46</sup> but nowhere in Theodore or Barberini are there to be found landscapes like these—admittedly unimpressive in black-and-white reproduction—where the dark green foliage of the trees waves over a rich variety of golds and reddish-browns on the hillsides. The second of these two gouaches anticipates watercolor technique of the late eighteenth century; the first has lightly sketched flowers and shrubs of a form entirely different from that which one finds in the botanical repertoire of such manuscripts as the Menologion of Basil II and the Theodore Psalter.

This lightness of touch is in opposition to the sheer, apparently arbitrary sides of the cliffs that frame these miniatures. Both landscape and buildings (as in the Visitation, fig. 5) are truncated in this fashion in the Walters codex, more abruptly so than in Theodore or Barberini.<sup>47</sup> The impression of a "quotation," rudely taken from a more ample context (a broader margin or a strip illustration) is reinforced by the fact that the same treatment is applied to the valley at the base of the mountain (fig. 19). The resulting unnaturally regular swathe is found equally in other miniatures.

<sup>41</sup> Compare the miniature inset into a headpiece in the late-eleventh—early twelfth-century Menologion, Athos, Esphigmenou cod. 14, fol. 385r (S. M. Pelekanides, P. C. Christou, Ch. Tsioumis and S. N. Kadas, *Treasures of Mount Athos*, II, Athens, 1975, fig. 334).

<sup>42</sup> "Psalter," p. 238.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 235.

<sup>44</sup> It will be noted that the spur of the mountain at the right covers the initial 'Α(ναμέσων) at line 8. For the chronological priority of text over pictures, see note 16, above.

<sup>45</sup> On the relative banality of these landscapes, see Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, p. 14.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Add. 19.352, fols. 99v, 104r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, figs. 162, 170); Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fols. 124v, 154v.

<sup>47</sup> For Theodore, cf. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, figs. 6, 51, 63 and *passim*; in Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fols. 7v, 9v, 51r and *passim*.



FIGURE 20

Fol. 21r, Ps. 44:8  
David trampling upon his enemies

On fol. 70v, an old man, gesturing towards an eagle in a tree that symbolizes his renewed youth (Ps. 102:5), stands on just such a patch of ground scarcely wide enough to accommodate both him and the tree. That this abbreviation was already present in the painter's model is suggested by the fact that it recurs in the Russian Psalter.<sup>48</sup>

One detail of this landscape merits further scrutiny. The most prominent tree on fol. 72r (fig. 18) is forked at its base while that on the verso grows from a root which creeps a short distance along the ground. Such tree types are alien to the eleventh-century Psalters and only seldom found in manuscripts of the twelfth century. The double- or triple-forked base is, however, normal in our codex, although trees of very different species rise from them.<sup>49</sup> Trees with cleft roots of this sort are common in early Christian sculpture and mosaic,<sup>50</sup> but rare in Byzantine manuscript illumination before the later thirteenth century.<sup>51</sup>

We are not entitled to recognize as Palaeologan a motif with so diffuse a past as the forked root. Throughout our Psalter so skillful is the copying that it is often only in terms of a slight formal modification that we can observe practices that demand identification as later than the turn of the eleventh-twelfth century. The problems inherent in this sort of pictorial detection are much the same as those posed by the script discussed above. The stylistic idiosyncrasies just presented do not, of themselves, prove anything about the date of the Walters manuscript. Each is clearly within the bounds of peculiarity that must be allowed to a distinctive artistic personality. But there are others which, unless I am much mistaken, must be related to novelties of the Palaeologan period.

<sup>48</sup> Fol. 141v. The miniature is unknown in any of the other marginal Psalters. Cf. the more regular trunks of trees in Theodore (*ibid.*, figs. 101, 162 [and color frontispiece], 185) where the base is often simply aligned with the ground. Twelfth-century examples of the forked base of the Walters type: Athos, Panteleimon cod. 2, fols. 210r, 221r (Pelekanides *et al.*, *Treasures*, II [note 41, above], figs. 285, 286).

<sup>49</sup> E.g. the long-needed pine (?) beside which St. Peter weeps on fol. 14r (Miner, "Psalter," pp. 237, 247-48), the "vine out of Egypt" on fol. 45v, and the diverse trees among which St. Paul of Thebes sits (*ibid.*, p. 248 and fig. 15).

<sup>50</sup> Thus on the Ascension of Elijah on the wooden door of S. Sabina, Rome (Volbach, *Early Christian Art* [note 33, above], fig. 104), and commonly in the apse mosaic of Sant' Apollinare in Classe (*ibid.*, fig. 173).

<sup>51</sup> The divided trunk with jutting roots occurs, for example, in the "invented" miniature of Vat. Pal. gr. 381, fol. 172r (H. Belting, "Zum Palatina-Psalter des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 21, 1972, pp. 17-38, fig. 3). The solitary example in Theodore is attached to the Deuteronomy Ode, fol. 194v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 306). A distinction may be made between this forked root and the divided trunk found, for instance, on a tree in the Baptism mosaic at Hosios Loukas (O. Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, London, 1955, fig. 12a).

One such occurs on a figure treading upon a pair of men that is set beside the sixth and seventh verses of Ps. 44 (fig. 20). In the Kievan Psalter a similar figure is identified as David and attached to verse 8: "Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: therefore, God, thy God has anointed thee with the oil of gladness beyond thy fellows."<sup>52</sup> The figure is therefore David trampling upon the heads of his enemies as found in a similar vignette in Theodore.<sup>53</sup> His head is mutilated, but fortunately the major portion of his military costume is undamaged and unrestored. In contrast to the London miniature where he is dressed in the loros and other imperial vestments, beneath his chlamys David here wears a short fighting-skirt, the further hem of which hangs lower than does the front. We thus look up into his skirt from a viewpoint unknown in the earlier Psalters. This peculiarity is, however, frequent in Palaeologan painting where it is applied to a variety of standing figures. In the mosaics of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul, four ancestors of Christ, Issachar, Joseph, Azariah and Daniel, are all drawn from this point of view,<sup>54</sup> as are St. Theodore Stratilates and another, unidentified military saint in the wall-paintings of the attached parekklesion.<sup>55</sup> Our David is differentiated again from his counterpart in the Psalter of 1066 in that in

his right hand he holds a sword by a long loop or belt. Such loops are likewise found at the Kariye in military figures shown both individually and in narrative scenes.<sup>56</sup>

In another miniature (fol. 20v) David prays beside a ciborium that displays a characteristic form uncommon in the interval between the early eleventh century and the last period of Byzantine painting. The ciborium stands beside the last verses of Ps. 43, "For our soul has been brought down to the dust; our belly has cleaved to the earth." The psalmist's deferential bow hardly corresponds to the prostration suggested by the text,<sup>57</sup> but the peculiarity of the scene resides not so much in his position as in the way in which the ciborium is drawn. In contrast to the flat, two-dimensional rendering of this structure in the Theodore and Barberini Psalters,<sup>58</sup> the painter here has clearly tried to suggest the volumetric quality of the vault. Such an attempt is even more obvious in the miniature showing two men praying beside a city of Judaea (fig. 2). Although the ciborium's four supports rest on a common ground-line at the rear of the altar, the capitals of the two central columns are set lower so that the vaults which spring from them are read as enclosed within the enveloping structure. The result is a modestly successful essay at three-dimensional rendering, recalling in

<sup>52</sup> Fol. 61v.

<sup>53</sup> Fol. 18v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 32). The group is lacking in the ninth-century manuscripts as it is in the Barberini and Hamilton Psalters and in the Serbian Psalter in Munich (V. Jagić and J. Strzygowski, *Die Miniaturen des serbischen Psalters der königl. Hof und Staatsbibliothek in München*, Vienna, 1906).

<sup>54</sup> P. Underwood, *The Karyie Djami*, New York, 1966, II, pls. 60, 62, 79, 80.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pls. 255, 264.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, III, pls. 494 (St. Theodore Tyro) and

160-61 (officer of the guard attending the Enrollment for Taxation).

<sup>57</sup> For the frequent discrepancy between texts requiring prostration and the illustration of such passages, see A. Cutler, *Transfigurations. Studies in the Dynamics of Byzantine Iconography*, University Park, 1976, pp. 60-61, 110.

<sup>58</sup> This verse is not illustrated in either of these Psalters, but two-dimensional ciboria are evident in Vat.Barb.gr. 372 at fols. 14v, 16v, 108v and *passim* and in Add. 19.352 at fols. 10r, 86v and 152r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, figs. 18, 140, 244).

this respect more recent ciboria as in Athos, Dionysiou 65, a Psalter the Easter Tables of which begin in 1313.<sup>59</sup>

A final example of this sort of illusionistic rendering of details is to be found in the vehicle in which Jacob and his family journey towards Egypt (fig. 21). Their destination is itself rendered as an obliquely receding structure, drawn in reasonably consistent perspective, as against the abbreviated and visually inconsistent basilical building in the corresponding miniature in Theodore. A yet greater difference is the form of the ox-carts in these illustrations. In Barberini, the further wheel is barely suggested by overlapping, while only a single wheel is visible in the (much abraded) miniature in Theodore.<sup>60</sup> The Walters painter,

on the other hand, advances the further wheel so as to suggest not only the vehicle's progress but the fact that it occupies an area of space, the depth of which is the span between the two wheels. Again, it is in early fourteenth-century art that, for the first time since the Macedonian "Renaissance," one finds a concern with the problems of rendering objects of lesser importance in persuasive simulations of real space.<sup>61</sup> Yet, as is well-known, this rational approach was not systematically applied to all parts of a picture. Thus our painter's attempt at realism is aborted by the fact that he endows only one member of the ox-team with legs. Furthermore, both animals are given eyebrows.<sup>62</sup>

In the case of this miniature, the scene occu-

<sup>59</sup> Fol. 12r (S. M. Pelekanides *et al.* [cf. note 41], *Treasures*, I, Athens, 1973, fig. 122). The external profile of the dome here is that of an ogee arch as against the pyramidal form found in the Walters manuscript. For another example in our codex, see Miner, "Psalter," fig. 1. It is possible that this viewpoint was already present in the model employed. The interior vaults of ciboria are rendered in this way in the Menologion of Basil II, usually dated between 979 and 989, but more probably a work of

the first years of the eleventh century (*Il Menologio di Basilio II* [cod. Vat.gr. 1613], Turin, 1907, p. 198 and *passim*).

<sup>60</sup> Fol. 141r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 226). In a Vat.Barb.gr. 372, fol. 173r, the procession advances towards an enthroned ruler.

<sup>61</sup> Cf., for example, Elijah's chariot at St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessaloniki, painted ca. 1310–20 (A. Xyngopoulos, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του Αγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης*, Athens, 1964, fig. 132).



FIGURE 21

Fol. 76r, Ps. 104:24 Jacob comes to Egypt in an ox-cart

pies more space in Walters—the entire base-page, as in the Barberini Psalter—than it does in Theodore. This, however, is exceptional for generally the more expansive treatment is to be found in the older manuscript. Both Theodore and Barberini tend to illustrate more verses of a given psalm than does our Psalter; where they possess illuminations in common, the treatment in W.733 is usually more laconic. Moreover, a different and often simpler interpretation of the verse is represented. This is exemplified in the first leaf preserved in W.733. Where the London and Vatican manuscripts illustrate Ps. 29:4, “Lord, thou hast brought up my soul from Hades, thou hast delivered me from among them that go down to the pit” with the Raising of Lazarus,<sup>62</sup> the Baltimore page has an angel pulling David from the bosom of Hades (fig. 22). While the oblique axis of our miniature reflects the diagonal shaft up which the soul of Lazarus rises from Hades in the Theodore Psalter, the Walters version is more clearly based upon the traditional composition of the

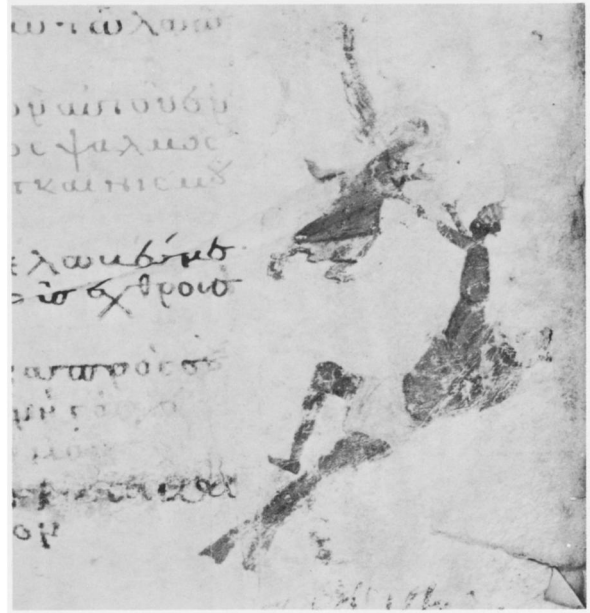


FIGURE 22

Fol. 1r, Ps. 29:4

*David delivered from Hades by an angel*

Anastasis in which Christ draws Adam from Limbo. The miniature in W.733 has no counterpart to the aedicula beside Christ which, in Theodore and Barberini, illustrates the site of the resurrection. Thus in our manuscript (as in the Russian Psalter) one vignette does the service of two and originates in a literal rather than a typological interpretation.

Both this economy and an emphasis upon David at the expense of other figures normally found in Psalter illustration are in evidence in the simple miniature attached to the *incipit* of Ps. 89 (fig. 7). All other marginal Psalters save for the Russian manuscript<sup>64</sup> show Moses at this point; in Theodore the patriarch stands on the slopes of a tree-girt mountain praying to Christ enthroned at its summit. Despite the title of the psalm, “A Prayer of Moses, the man of God,” the crown and beard of the kneeling figure in our miniature clearly identify David. So, too, in the Kievan Psalter, despite an indicator line from the miniature to the title line,

<sup>62</sup> Cattle are frequently given eyebrows in manuscripts after the late twelfth century. Thus a bull in New York Public Library, Spencer Coll. Gr. MS 1, fol. 395r, and an ox in the Vatican Job, gr. 1231, fol. 133v (A. Cutler, “The Spencer Psalter: a Thirteenth Century Byzantine Manuscript in the New York Public Library,” *Cahiers archéologiques*, 23, 1974, pp. 129–50, figs. 126, 127).

<sup>63</sup> Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 44r (G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV<sup>e</sup>, XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles . . .*, Paris, 1916, fig. 204), Add. 19352, fol. 31v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 53). Cf. Miner, “Psalter,” p. 239.

<sup>64</sup> Fol. 126r. The substitution of David for saints and other figures in Walters, the Kievan Psalter and presumably therefore in their common model, recalls the late twelfth-century Benaki Psalter in Athens (on which see A. Cutler and A. W. Carr, “The Psalter Benaki 34.3. An Unpublished Illuminated Manuscript from the Family 2400,” *Revue des études byzantines*, 34, 1976, pp. 5–55) where this process is even further developed.





FIGURE 23

*Fol. 89v, Ps. 115:4  
A sick king drinks the cup of salvation*

the psalmist rather than Moses is represented. Where there was no sacred figure to commute, that of David is sometimes inserted: the roosting pelican of Ps. 101:7 ("I have become like a pelican in the wilderness"), alone in Theodore save for the other birds that swarm about its nest on a Corinthian column,<sup>65</sup> is set in the Baltimore Psalter upon a tree towards which David points.

On occasion, however, where the Psalter of 1066 contains a scene containing David, our

manuscript draws on a different tradition. At Ps. 115:4 the psalmist declares "I will take the cup of salvation and call upon the name of the Lord," a verse illustrated in Theodore by an image of David, drinking at a sigma-shaped table with three companions while saluting Christ in an arc above.<sup>66</sup> In contrast, Walters has an unidentified king,<sup>67</sup> reclining on a bed before a palace and raising the cup to his lips while blessed by the hand of God (fig. 23). The subject here is reminiscent of the illustration depicting Hezekiah sick and healed in the Paris Psalter.<sup>68</sup> He is accompanied by a servant as Isaiah attends the king in the Ode miniature in Paris but, beyond the compositional similarity, there is no reason to suppose a relationship between our marginal illustration and the full-page picture in the aristocratic Psalter.

Miss Miner's perception that the W.733 is often more closely related to Add. 19.352 than to the Barberini Psalter is supported by another miniature for which, as in the Cup of Salvation, there is no corresponding image in Barberini. But, just as the Walters representation

<sup>65</sup> Fol. 134r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 216). The corresponding miniature in Vat.Barb.gr. 372, fol. 164v, has a much smaller bird (intended as the owl or sparrow of verse 8?). On fol. 170r, a heron nests on a column in a composition similar to that in Theodore, fol. 134r. Der Nersessian, *ibid.*, p. 90, note 8, has called attention to two instances of translation of the same iconography from one psalm in Theodore to another in Walters.

<sup>66</sup> Fol. 156r (*ibid.*, fig. 252). The verse is not represented in Barberini, Hamilton or any of the Psalters of the ninth and tenth centuries.

<sup>67</sup> In the very similar miniature in the Russian Psalter (fol. 164r) the king is inscribed Joas (?). Below this vignette, in a position corresponding to the lost portion of the Walters page, a servant stands beside a samovar.

<sup>68</sup> Paris gr. 139, fol. 446v (H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, London, 1938, fig. 14).

<sup>69</sup> Fol. 95v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 155).



FIGURE 24

*Fol. 33v, Ps. 73:6-7**Nebuchadnezzar orders destruction of a sanctuary*

of the ailing king is only thematically related to the drinking David of Theodore, so its illustration to Ps. 73: 6-7 bears only a superficial relationship to that in the London Psalter. It is tempting to relate the seated king, obviously giving orders to an officer while two others attack a circular structure, already ablaze (fig. 24), to the miniature illustrating these verses in Theodore: the burning of the 20,000 Martyrs of Nicomedia in a church, urged on by the emperor Maximian on horseback below.<sup>69</sup> But the circular structure is obviously not a

<sup>70</sup> At IV Reg. 25:9-10 (=II Kings 25:9-10) Naburzardan, the captain of the guard, approaches Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon. The officer proceeds to burn "the house of the Lord, and the king's house and all the houses of Jerusalem." The forces of the Chaldeans, under Nabuzardan, pull down the wall of Jerusalem, a devastation the first stages of which are shown at the right of our miniature.

<sup>71</sup> Vat.cod.slav. II, fol. 139r: Constantine V orders the destruction of a church (I. Dujčev, *The Miniatures of the Chronicle of Manasse*, Sofia, 1963, fig. 48. Cf. fol. 67v, fig. 22). The Manasses Chronicle was executed in 1344-45 for the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander.

church and the connection between the monarch on his faldstool and the neighboring devastation is more intimate than in the London manuscript. Often the inscription in the Kievan Psalter provides the only clue to the precise determination of the scene. On fol. 100v the Cyrillic inscription identifies an almost identical vignette as Nebuchadnezzar's destruction of the house of the Lord. Since our miniature is a literal and detailed account of the destruction described in the Book of Kings,<sup>70</sup> it might be that this miniature has its source in an illustrated manuscript of this text. Unfortunately the one surviving example (Vat. gr. 333) only scantily illustrates the last book of Kings and contains no such scene. The composition, however, is of a generally familiar type best represented in the mid-fourteenth-century Chronicle of Manasses.<sup>71</sup>

In another instance, a source in a known, densely illustrated Biblical manuscript can be ruled out on grounds of iconographical disparity. The miniatures attached by indicator lines to Ps. 104:39 ("He spread out a cloud for a covering to them, and fire to give them light by night," fig. 6) might be thought to depend on the illustration of Exodus 13:21 in an Octateuch manuscript. The Octateuchs, however, do not have the cloud and, like Theodore and Barberini, show the pillar of fire as a Classical column from which leaps a bright red flame.<sup>72</sup> In contrast, the cloud in Walters is an icy blue, almond-shaped bubble within which the Israelites float and the "pillar" a uniformly brown shaft, without base, capital or flame. These differences suggest that the vignette was invented specifically for

<sup>72</sup> Thus the Istanbul Octateuch, Topkapu cod. 8, fol. 195v (F. Uspenskij, *L'Octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*, Sofia, 1907, pl. XXII, 120). Cf. Vat.Barb.gr. 372, fol. 174v and Add. 19.352, fol. 142r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 228).

the text of our Psalter or its model, rather than borrowed from an Octateuch illustration. Certainly the wealth of imagery at this point was confusing to the painter or to some later user of the Psalter since, as observed above, an almost desperate attempt is made to relate the details of the picture to the appropriate portions of the text by means of linear connections.

Whatever the origins of this miniature, at least one Old Testament vignette in the Baltimore Psalter can be traced back to late antiquity. As against Barberini, Theodore and, in this case, even the Kievan Psalter, which show David turned in profile towards Samuel at the moment of his Anointment,<sup>73</sup> the unction in our manuscript presents the young shepherd *en face*, anointed by the prophet seen from the front with only his head turned slightly towards the youth (fig. 25). Again in contrast to the Middle Byzantine Psalters, in which the anointing vessel is a large horn, in Walters it is a small and relatively indistinct object. The frontal David, with his arms pressed close to his chest and the palms of his hands held together, is close to the type represented in the Psalter Sinai cod. 48,<sup>74</sup> and even closer to the oldest known version of the scene—in the Dura Synagogue<sup>75</sup>—than the Sinai miniature which, as Weitzmann has shown, reflects the third-century type.

The Anointment of David is specifically required by the text of Ps. 88:21, but the Visita-



FIGURE 25

Fol. 56r, Ps. 88:21 Anointment of David

tion (fig. 5), found in most of the Psalters, is clearly a form of commentary on the words "Mercy and Truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other" (Ps. 84:11). Only Athos, Pantocrator cod. 61<sup>76</sup> and the Walters and Russian Psalters show the simpler version of the scene: Mary and Elizabeth before an architectural background. The other marginal Psalters, such as Theodore,<sup>77</sup> have the embracing women and two youthful figures, identified by inscription as Christ and St. John the Baptist, on the roof of the structure. As has been shown, this personification of the virtues derives from the commentary of Theodoret who explains that Mercy (i.e. Christ) was borne by the Virgin, and Truth (i.e. John) was the fruit of Elizabeth.<sup>78</sup> It is Elizabeth, according to Theodoret, who kisses Mary, the bearer of Mercy. We

<sup>73</sup> Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 146v; Add. 19.352, fol. 118v (*ibid.*, fig. 196). The Anointment in the Russian Psalter is on fol. 123v.

<sup>74</sup> Weitzmann, "Sinajskaja Psaltir," p. 115 and fig. on p. 116. The Easter tables of this manuscript, where the Anointment illustrates the title of Ps. 26, begin in 1075. In the twelfth-century Psalter, Vat. gr. 1927, the Anointment—again with David's arms pressed to his chest—illustrates Ps. 151:5.

<sup>75</sup> C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue. The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VIII, part I*, New Haven, 1956, pl. LXVI.

<sup>76</sup> Dufrenne, *L'Illustration*, I, pl. 18. The corresponding miniature in the Russian Psalter is on fol. 118r.

<sup>77</sup> Fol. 113v (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, fig. 187). Cf. Khludov, fol. 85r, Vat. Barb. gr. 372, fol. 140v.

thus do not need the effaced legend, still faintly visible between the two roofs,<sup>79</sup> to identify the embracing figures of Peace and Righteousness. It is difficult to determine whether the simpler interpretation, exemplified in our Psalter, represents an earlier version of the scene before Theodore's exegesis was elaborated with the depiction of four figures, or whether the version in Walters and Pantorator 61 is a later simplification of a more complex miniature based directly on the commentary. Given the priority of Mercy and Truth (i.e. Christ and the Baptist, according to Theodore) in the text, it would appear that this second alternative is the more likely.

Since W.733 is a copy of an eleventh-century manuscript, we should not expect its iconography to recommend a late date as clearly as have aspects of its pictorial style and script. There are, nonetheless, several motifs that do not fit a Middle Byzantine context. For example, in the illustration to Ps. 35:10 and 85:17 David, crowned and wearing the imperial chlamys, prays before a cross bearing a bust-length image of Christ (fig. 26). This subject is normal in the marginal Psalters for the second of these two psalms.<sup>80</sup> But in no other Greek Psalter is the cross rendered as here with two transverse members and an oblique foot-bar below.<sup>81</sup> This is a type more



FIGURE 26

Fol. 8r, Ps. 35:10 David worships the cross

familiar in later Byzantine art whence it passed on to become almost a constant of Russian cross iconography.<sup>82</sup>

More specifically Palaeologan are the monsters that attend the vision in Ps. 103:25-27 of "creeping things innumerable, small animals and large" and of the dragon that God has made to play in the "great and wide sea" (fig. 27). The verses are not illustrated in the Middle Byzantine manuscripts, but similar beasts are present in the later Hamilton Psalter and

<sup>78</sup> P.G. 80 (note 35, above), col. 1552A. This connection was established by B. Brenk in his review of Dufrenne, *L'Illustration*, I, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 61, 1968, p. 360.

<sup>79</sup> The figure who appears to stand on the right roof (his lower portion visible in fig. 5) is, in fact, an offprint of the Poor Man before the Lord (Ps. 85:1) on the facing verso.

<sup>80</sup> The other marginal Psalters illustrate the "fountain of life" of Ps. 35:10 with the Woman of Samaria at the well. Evidently, in our miniature the *πηγή ζωῆς* is understood as the cross.

<sup>81</sup> Var.Barb.gr. 372, fols. 5v, 142v and Add. 19.352, fols. 3v, 115r, all show the same scene with a double-barred cross.

<sup>82</sup> A very early use of the oblique foot-bar is on one face (The Adoration of the Cross) of a double-sided icon in the Tretjakov Gallery in Moscow which V. N. Lazarev, *Novgorodskaja Ikonopis'*, Moscow, 1969, p. 11, pl. 9, believed to have been made at Novgorod at the end of the twelfth century. These oblique members recur on crosses on the backs of two icons dated to the early thirteenth century by C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall-Paintings," *Dunbarton Oaks Papers*, 20, 1966, pp. 162-63, 201-02, figs. 58, 59. The fact that the corresponding miniature in the Kievan Psalter of 1397, fol. 47v, also shows this *Fussbrett* could indicate that it was in the model of W.733 or that it represented contemporary Russian iconography.

the Kievan codex of 1397.<sup>83</sup> Beyond the indication that these creatures will be given their "food in due season," there is nothing in the text to suggest that this is an anticipation of the Last Judgment. Nor is this suggested by any Patristic commentary,<sup>84</sup> yet such a composition is evidently the origin of the monsters in our miniature. Both the feline and the marine creatures hold human bodies in their mouths as do the beasts of the sea giving up

their dead in the Judgment scenes in the narthexes at Sopoćani and Gračanica.<sup>85</sup> The triton riding a hippocamp in the vignette above resembles the same sort of being afloat on a conch shell, again holding an oar, in the early fourteenth-century mosaic of the Baptism at the Fethiye Camii in Constantinople.<sup>86</sup> Finally, it should be pointed out that W.733 contains none of the polemical subjects associated with the Iconoclastic Controversy familiar



FIGURE 27

*Fol. 73v, Ps. 103:25-27 Triton on a hippocamp; Leviathan and other beasts*

in the Psalters of the ninth century and still apparent in Theodore and Barberini.<sup>87</sup>

Thus even elements of the iconography of W.733 tend to reinforce the implications of palaeography and many aspects of its style. No single factor constitutes proof of a much later origin than the Psalters with which it has traditionally been associated, but the evidence considered above converges on an early fourteenth-century date for our manuscript. Such remoteness from an eleventh-century model would help account for the misunderstandings noted by Miss Miner.<sup>88</sup> It would place the Baltimore codex in a period when didactic, albeit secular, marginal illustration was still practiced in Byzantium.<sup>89</sup> Above all, it would relate the Psalter to a culture with a taste for copies of manuscripts made several centuries earlier—best exemplified in the Pala-

tina Psalter—whose painters were not above introducing new themes into the well-established, basic iconography of their exemplars.<sup>90</sup>

Our redating of the Baltimore Psalter in no way affects the relationship between it and the Kievan Psalter as defined by Miss Miner. No evidence has been adduced to indicate that the Russian manuscript depends on W.733. But the much briefer interval between the two books helps to explain the fact that so much of Walters' liveliness of form has survived in the Psalter of 1397, a fact that astonished Miss Miner.<sup>91</sup> Our findings suggest that if, as she believed, they derive from a common mid-eleventh-century prototype then this model was still available in a Greek-speaking land—and most probably in Constantinople—in the early years of the fourteenth century.

<sup>83</sup> Berlin, Kupferstichkab. col. 78 A9 (note 18, above), fol. 184v; Russian Psalter, fol. 144v.

<sup>84</sup> The representative exegesis of Eusebius on this passage (*P.G.* 23, cols. 1281–85) is entirely literal save for an allegorical interpretation of the ships of verse 27 which are understood as an image of the Church.

<sup>85</sup> G. Millet—A. Frolow, *La Peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie*, II, Paris, 1957, pl. 24, 1 (Sopocani). This detail of the Gračanica Judgment is to the best of my knowledge unpublished. The land-creatures in our miniature are more fantastic than those that occur in the late twelfth-century Judgment icon at Sinai (G. and M. Soteriou, *Εἰκόνας τῆς Μονῆς Σίνας* 2 vols., Athens, 1956–58, no. 151). The sea-creatures of the twelfth-century Psalter, Vat.gr. 1927, fol. 187r (E. T. DeWald, *Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, III, 1, Princeton, 1941, pl. XLIV), have no human prey in the mouths.

<sup>86</sup> O. Demus, "The Style of the Kariye Djami and its Place in the Development of Palaeologan Art" in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, ed. P. A. Underwood, Princeton, 1975, fig. 44. For the sea-serpents in the Baptism miniatures of W.733 (fol. 34r), and the Russian Psalter (fol. 101r), see Miner, "Psalter," pp. 241, 252, and fig. 22.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Add. 19.352, fols. 27v, 44v, 88r (Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration*, II, figs. 48, 76, 143); Vat.Barb. gr. 372, fol. 51v (Sevcenko, "Anti-Iconoclastic Ποιήν" [note 4, above], fig. 3). On the Iconodule

content of Theodore and Barberini, see *ibid.*, pp. 73–6. The Bristol Psalter (London, Add. 40731) of ca. 1000 is also lacking in polemical iconography. For a description and reproduction of its miniatures, see Dufrenne, *L'Illustration*, I, pp. 47–66, pls. 47–60.

<sup>88</sup> Such as the identification as Jacob's Dream of a vignette (fol. 29r) which in all other marginal Psalters is identified as the Vision of Daniel (Miner, "Psalter," pp. 250–51, fig. 17). Cf. note 15, above.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *Princeton Cat.*, no. 89 (Hesiod's *Works and Days* of 1312 [?]) and two other Palaeologan manuscripts of this text). H. Buchthal, "Early Fourteenth-Century Illuminations from Palermo," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20, 1966, pp. 105–18, proposed that marginally-illustrated manuscripts made in Constantinople in the early fourteenth century, incorporating models of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, served as stimuli to contemporary Sicilian illuminators. I. Spatharakis, "Portrait-Falsification in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts," *Resumés des Communications*, III. *Art et Archéologie, XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, Athens, 1976, unpaginated, has recently proposed that the portrait-page of the Barberini Psalter was amended in the fourteenth century for an unidentified Palaeologan emperor. It seems likely that the overpainting referred to in note 4, above, occurred at this time.

<sup>90</sup> Belting, "Palatina-Psalter," (note 51, above).

<sup>91</sup> "Psalter," p. 244.



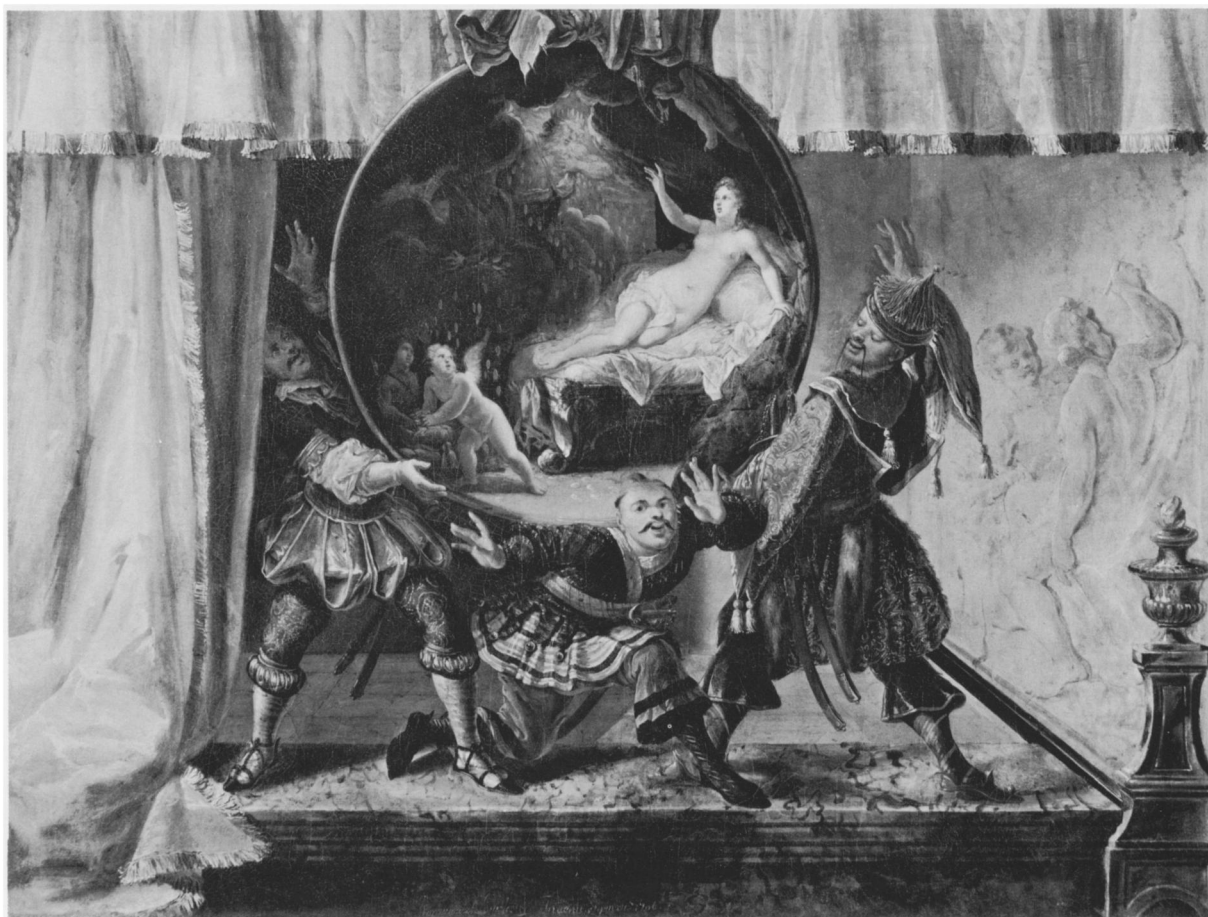


FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS  
*Chinoiserie Caprice*, dated 1700

# A CHINOISERIE BY JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS

MARTIN EIDELBERG

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ONE OF THE MOST recent acquisitions of the Walters Art Gallery is a curious painting by Jacques Vigouroux Duplessis (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> This work has an immediate appeal, due to both the richness of its coloring and the vivacity of its subject—a curious juxtaposition of classical mythology and chinoiserie. But the charm of this painting extends beyond such immediate reactions. Its value can be sought in a historical context as an interesting example of French decorative art at an important moment in the creation of the Rococo.

In one sense, the authorship and date of the painting pose little problem, for the work has a quite legible inscription at the bottom center: “Vigouroux Duplessis Invenit et pinxit 1700.” Although the form of this signature with its

statement of invention and execution is somewhat unusual for a painting (it is more expected on an engraving), still, it need not be suspect; not only are there seventeenth-century paintings signed in a similar manner,<sup>2</sup> but, more important, Duplessis himself used this formula on other works, as we shall see shortly.

Yet even with this signature, we are still at a loss when it comes to discussing the identity of the painter because so very little is known about him. His name does not appear in eighteenth-century texts and, at best, it appears only sporadically in modern lexicons.<sup>3</sup> The information which has been gathered about the oeuvre of Jacques Vigouroux Duplessis is so slight that it can be quickly recounted here. Save for this painting of 1700, our next earliest

<sup>1</sup> Inv. no. 37.2479; 34¼ x 46⅞ in. (87 x 117 cm.). The provenance of this painting can be traced back only as far as the Jules Strauss collection (sold Paris, Galerie Charpentier, May 27, 1949, no. 40). It recently appeared in a Paris sale, Hôtel Drouot, February 6, 1970 (without printed catalogue) and was purchased by the Pardo Gallery, Paris, from whom the Walters Art Gallery obtained it. In the preparation of this study I was greatly aided by Mr. William Johnston of the Walters Art Gallery and several Parisian colleagues, Madame Marianne Roland Michel and Messieurs Jean Cailleux, Jacques Helft, and Pierre Rosenberg. I am grateful to the Research Council of Rutgers University for its generous support.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Georges de la Tour used this form of signature: see Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, *Georges de la Tour*, 1972, nos. 23, 30, 31.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bellier de la Chavignerie and L. Auvray, *Dictionnaire générale des artistes de l'école française . . .*, Paris, 1882, I, p. 487; U. Thieme and F. Becker (eds.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler . . .*, Leipzig, 1914, X, p. 159; E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs*, Paris, 1950, III, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Dacier, H. Vuaflart and J. Hérold, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1921–1929, 4 vols., I, p. 7.



FIGURE 3 CHAALIS, MUSEUM  
JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS  
*The Siamese Ambassadors to France, after 1715*



FIGURE 2 CHAALIS, MUSEUM  
JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS  
*The Persian Ambassadors to France, after 1715*

reference to him has to do with his work in 1710 for the Paris Opera where he painted scenery.<sup>4</sup> The sets have long since been destroyed, but their appearance is recorded in engravings made by Desplaces and Scotin the Elder. Duplessis may have also been responsible for the vignettes engraved for three Lully operas which were printed between 1708 and 1710.<sup>5</sup> A newly published document establishes that in 1710 he and his wife, Marie Prévost, were living on the rue Fromenteau, Paris, and that he was an inspector and painter at the Royal Academy of Music.<sup>6</sup> In 1719 he is recorded as living at Beauvais and on June 22, 1721 he was appointed an instructor of design at the school which had been established there for the famous tapestry works.<sup>7</sup> As

part of his contract, our artist was obliged each year to provide six designs to be woven, and several of these can be identified: those of 1721 for a chancellery, those of 1722 for two sofas and six chairs, and those of 1723 for six tapestries representing the Island of Cythera. There are also references to two portières with Chinese figures, representations of the four seasons and garlands of flowers, and a set of six cartoons showing gypsies. Evidently Duplessis was well established at the factory since he served as a witness at the director's wedding.<sup>8</sup> But this was short-lived for the last we hear of Duplessis is in 1726 when, due to the laxity with which he fulfilled his obligations, he was replaced at the Beauvais works by the celebrated painter Oudry.

These facts about Duplessis may at first seem substantial but this is illusory. For example, we are not given such basic information as his birth or death dates. Nor are his works for the Opera and Beauvais sufficiently tangible for us to discuss his painted oeuvre with any certainty. Fortunately, several paintings by our artist have come to light and these help to enlarge our knowledge of his career and work. For example, there are two paintings in the Jacquemart-André Museum at Chaalis (figs. 2, 3).<sup>9</sup> The first shows the Siamese ambassadors sent to the French court in 1686 and the pendant shows the Persian ambassadors sent to France in 1715. The latter work is signed "J V<sup>x</sup> D Invenit et pinxit" but neither work is dated, although, perforce, they must postdate 1715. There is a large painting in the Glasgow Museum which is signed and dated "J. V.<sup>x</sup> Duplessis. invenit. et pinxit. 1719" and it depicts the interior of a notary's office (fig. 4).<sup>10</sup> Also, there is a painting in a French private collection which is strikingly similar to the one in Baltimore (fig. 5).<sup>11</sup> Finally, I would point out that there was once a pair of decorative screens in the possession of Jacques

Helft of Paris which were signed and dated "J.V. Duplessis Invenit et pinxit 1730" (fig. 6).<sup>12</sup>

With these additional works we can now draw certain important conclusions about the artist's career. First of all, the dated examples span the years between 1700 and 1730. If we follow tradition and allow a period of twenty years before the first dated work, we can presume that he was born circa 1680, although, given the evidently accomplished nature of his earliest known works perhaps his birth date should be advanced another five or ten years. On the other hand, the complete absence after 1730 of dated works or documents for an artist who had a certain prominence suggests that he was no longer alive.<sup>13</sup> These terminal dates are only approximate but, still, they are sufficient until more concrete evidence can be found.

Despite the seeming variety of the works which Duplessis produced, further analysis shows that all his commissions were essentially decorative in nature. His work for the Opera and for the Beauvais tapestry factory is certainly to be understood in such terms, but so

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*; also B. Populus, *Claude Gillot, catalogue de l'oeuvre gravé*, Paris, 1931, p. 248.

<sup>6</sup> France, Archives nationales, *Documents du minutier central concernant l'histoire de l'art, 1700-1750* (ed. M. Rambaud), 1964, I, p. 233. The document is for a loan of 2,000 livres which the artist borrowed.

<sup>7</sup> See J. Badin, *La manufacture de tapisseries de Beauvais depuis ses origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1909, pp. 14, 15, 18, 19, 57; also Vuaflart and Hérold, *Les graveurs de Watteau*, I, p. 7; D. Wildenstein, *Documents inédits sur les artistes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1966, p. 55; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Tapestries of Europe and Colonial Peru...* (ed. A. Cavallo), Boston, 1967, 2 vols., I, p. 171. For illustrations of three of the Cythera tapestries see the sale, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, Dec. 2-4, 1909, nos. 234-236.

<sup>8</sup> Wildenstein, *Documents inédits sur les artistes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, p. 159.

<sup>9</sup> Inv. nos. 344, 345, each 63 x 55 1/4 in. The paintings are dated by the museum as circa 1720 but this appears only hypothetical. I am indebted to Monsieur Paul Deschamps for his help.

<sup>10</sup> Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, *French School, Catalogue*, II, 1967, p. 116. The painting is 44 x 76 3/4 in. I am grateful to Ms. Anne Donald for her help.

<sup>11</sup> I know this work only from a small, poor photograph. It is not evident if the work is signed or dated, although at least the former seems likely.

<sup>12</sup> They were seized by the Germans in World War II and have not been seen since. Prior to Monsieur Helft's ownership they had been in the collection of Edmond de Rothschild (sold London, Sotheby and Co., April 19-22, 1937, no. 2).



FIGURE 4

GLASGOW, ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM

JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS  
*A Notary Public's Office, dated 1719*

should his paintings as well. The screens owned by Monsieur Helft (fig. 6) are, of course, decorative furniture. The two paintings in the Chaalis Museum (figs. 2, 3), as is evident by their shapes and perspectival illusionism, were meant to be placed over doors or windows as part of the decorative paneling of a room. Although the exact functions of the paintings in Baltimore and in the private

French collection (figs. 1, 5) remain to be discussed, still, it is generally agreed, and rightly so, that they are decorative in intent. Finally, I believe that the Glasgow painting (fig. 4) is not merely a genre scene; considering its large size (it is over six feet long) and unusual choice of subject, I would propose that it originally served as a signboard over a notary's office and, in this sense, it can be compared

<sup>13</sup> There is a landscape drawing which bears a signature "J. Duplessis 1770" and which has been associated with our artist: see New York, William H. Schab, *Master Drawings and Prints, 1550-1960*, 1970, p. 125, no. 126. However, the inscription is of a dubious nature. The figure of the marmoteer is disturbingly similar to the one in Watteau's famous painting which is now in the Hermitage, and a substantial portion of the landscape is an all too exact copy in reverse of a Boucher painting of circa 1742 which is also in the same Russian museum; for the latter see J. Q. Van Regteren Altena, "Het landschap bij Beauvais van François Boucher," *Bulletin van*

*het Rijksmuseum*, 7, 1959, pp. 27-31. The Schab drawing has since appeared for sale in Switzerland (Berne, Kornfeld and Klipstein, June 22, 1973, no. 89) with an attribution to the famed portraitist Joseph S. Duplessis but this only muddles the issue even further. Another drawing, almost identical but unsigned and attributed to Boucher, was sold from the Victor Koch collection (New York, Anderson Galleries, February 8, 1923, no. 5).

<sup>14</sup> For other signboards from this period see M. Eidelberg, *Watteau's Drawings: Their Use and Significance*, Princeton University, Ph.D. thesis, 1965, pp. 232-52.

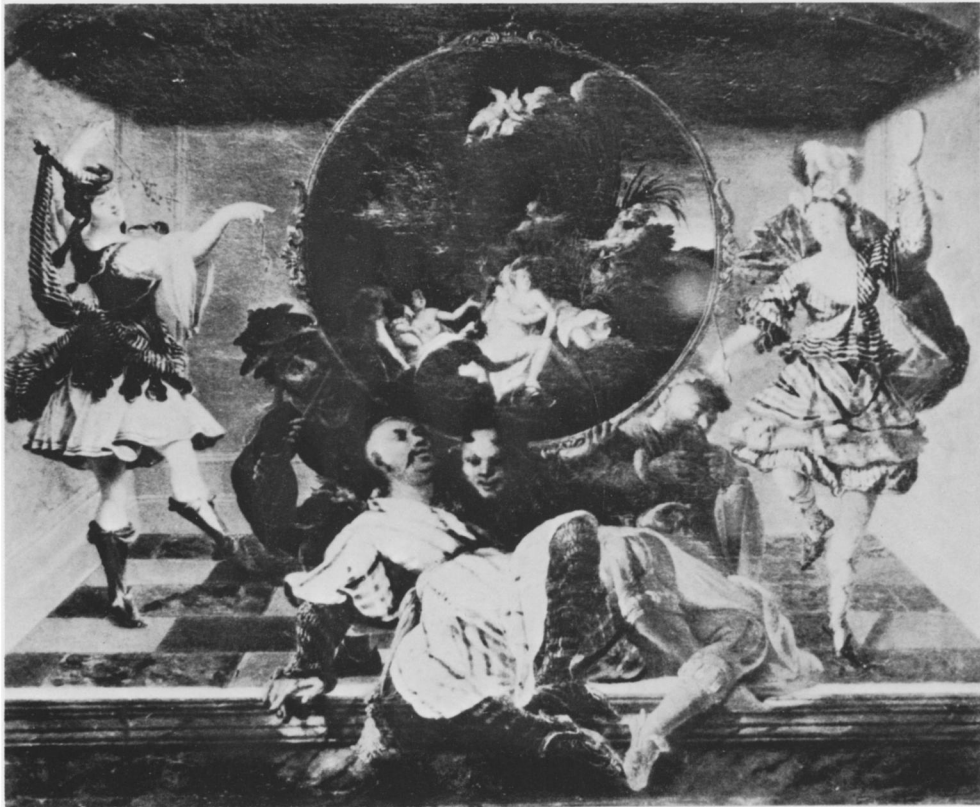


FIGURE 5

FRANCE, PRIVATE COLLECTION

JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS  
*Decorative Composition*

with the signboard Watteau was to paint the following year for Gersaint.<sup>14</sup>

The nature of Duplessis' specialization as a painter of decorative objects helps to explain why so few of his works have been preserved for, unlike easel paintings, "functional" decorative objects are more subject to wear and abandonment, as well as to the fickleness of changing taste. Moreover, even if additional works have survived (and it seems likely that they have), they are probably hidden among

the generally unstudied wealth of decorative objects which have managed to survive from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

We might stop at this point to consider exactly what function the painting in the Walters Art Gallery served. Earlier in this century it was proposed that it was a *modello* for a stage curtain and, to a degree, the idea has continued to the present time.<sup>15</sup> Given the fringed curtain at the left, as well as the artist's admittedly close association with the theater, this assumption is understandable but, nonetheless, it is not very satisfactory. For example, at the right side of the painting there is, unmistakably, an andiron. If this design were enlarged to the

<sup>14</sup> Vuaflart and Hérold, *Les graveurs de Watteau*, I, p. 7. See *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, s. 6, 81, 1973 (Feb.), p. 128, no. 451 and also Walters Art Gallery, *Bulletin*, 25:2, 1972, p. 1.



full scale required by a theater curtain, the effect of such a gigantic andiron would be grotesque. No part of the design, in fact, seems suited to the demands or scale of a theater curtain.

This same andiron, however, affords us a clue to the true function of this work, namely, that it served as a decorative screen to close off a fireplace. By extension, we would also propose that the comparable Duplessis painting in a private French collection (fig. 5) served a similar function. As Georges de Lastic Saint-Jal has shown in his interesting study, during the summer months when a fireplace was not used for heating the room, it was usually blocked off.<sup>16</sup> This was accomplished by various means including iron grates, wooden logs, curtains, and leather screens. By the middle of the seventeenth century it had become customary to block the fireplace with a painted screen. Quite often these painted screens illusionistically duplicated the opening which they covered but, at the same time, they offered additional visual attractions such as pots or flowers or animals. An extremely attractive one from the latter part of the eighteenth century by Le Riche, which graces the fireplace in the office of Jean Cailleux, shows us the hearth, a pair of andirons and, at center, a porcelain perfume burner whose smoke appears to rise up into the chimney flue (fig. 7).

It is surprising how closely the Baltimore painting fits within the tradition of such painted fireplace screens, not only in the duplication of the hearth with its tiled floor, marble border and sculpted sidewall, but also in the way that shadow obscures the background

area—an illusionistic device common to seventeenth and eighteenth-century fireplace screens. The fringed curtain which runs across the top of the work and is pulled back at the left is another *trompe l'oeil* element: it duplicates the type of cloth which, as we know from records, was often used to close the fireplace in the summer. There can be no doubt, then, as to the original function of the Baltimore painting.

The decorative scheme which Duplessis uses of the three Chinese men holding a central rondel suggests parallels with contemporary designs of Jean Berain (fig. 8) and Claude Audran where, similarly, a central and relatively formal medallion is flanked by active and often playful figures.<sup>17</sup> In the Baltimore painting there is perhaps a greater fusion of the two, and, while this more organic quality looks forward to eighteenth-century developments, we must be wary of overstressing the point since it may only be due to the exigencies of the limited surface available on a small fireplace screen; after all, Duplessis reverts to the more traditional separation of figures and medallion in the later and larger screens which were owned by Monsieur Helft (fig. 6). The parallels between the Walters Art Gallery painting and these other arabesques should prompt us to see the fireplace screen not merely as an independent work, but, instead, as part of the overall decoration of a room in which the arabesques of the wall panels, the screens, perhaps even the fabrics used to upholster the furniture, would all have followed a similar system. In fact, were it not for the thirty years that separate the painting in Baltimore from the screens that were in Monsieur

<sup>16</sup> "Les devants de cheminée," *Connaissance des arts*, 39, 1955 (May), pp. 26-31. See also P. Verlet, *The Eighteenth Century in France*, Rutland (Vt.), 1967, p. 92.

<sup>17</sup> R. A. Weigert, *Jean I Berain*, Paris, 1937, 2 vols., II, pp. 62-63, no. 59; for Audran, see Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, *Dessins du nationalmuseum de Stockholm*, 1950, no. 50, pl. X.

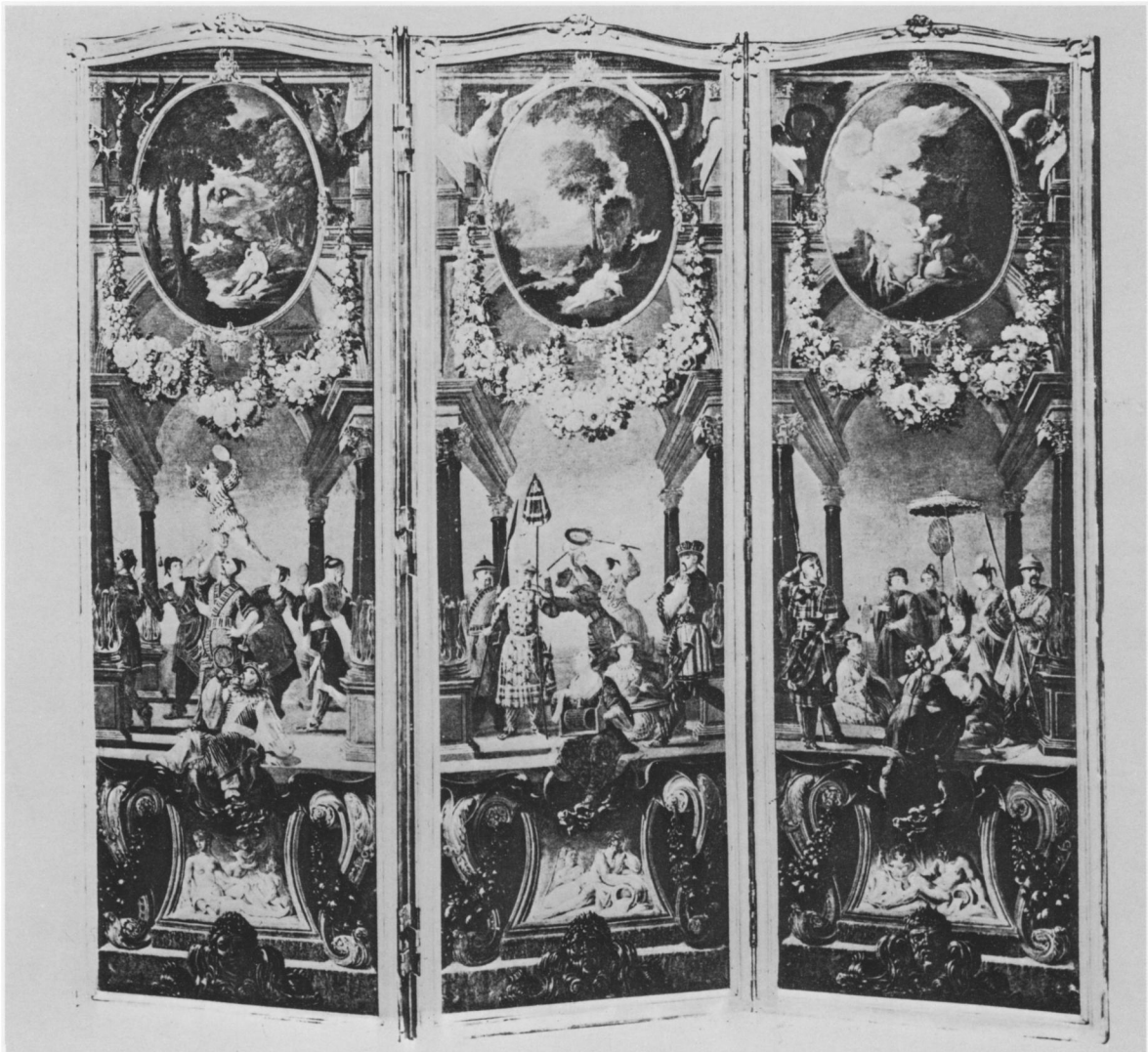


FIGURE 6

PARIS, FORMERLY JACQUES HELFT

JACQUES VIGOUROUX DUPLESSIS

*Tripartite Screen, dated 1730*

Helft's possession (fig. 6), and save for such small differences as the presence of the river gods in the latter works, one might be easily tempted to associate them together as part of a single commission. Even if we cannot make such an association, still, their juxtaposition affords us some measure of the harmonious qualities which an entire ensemble would have had.

Thus far we have emphasized the stylistic and functional aspects of the Baltimore painting, but its interest for us extends to iconographic matters as well. Curiously, the least revealing portion is the central medallion with its scene of Danae being "visited" by Jupiter in the form of a golden shower of coins. Its subject is typical of the erotic mythology which was so frequently used at the end of the seven-



FIGURE 7

PARIS, JEAN CAILLEUX

LE RICHE  
*Painted Fire Screen*

teenth century and was to become even more predominant in the Rococo. The elements of Duplessis' composition are all traditional; even the omission of the old, greedy servant and the inclusion of Jupiter above his golden shower, thus putting Danae and her lover in almost direct confrontation, have precedents in art of the period.<sup>18</sup> We might note that the triumph of *Rubensism* is registered not only in the warmth of color but also in the cheerful mood sustained in this moment of ravishment, as is made evident not only by the mischievous putti but also by the welcoming gesture of the

heroine.

Undoubtedly the most intriguing aspect of Duplessis' painting is the inclusion of the three men dressed in elaborate and fanciful Chinese costumes. As we shall see, Duplessis' work is one of the first securely dated examples of chinoiserie in French painting. While we are all familiar with the vogue in eighteenth-century France for things Chinese, we are generally less aware of its development in the preceding century. This is due to the fact that in contrast to the surfeit of rococo chinoiserie, almost nothing has survived from the earlier



FIGURE 8

NEW YORK, PUBLIC LIBRARY, PRINT DIVISION

JEAN BERAÏN

*Detail of an arabesque representing Winter*

period. That there was such a vogue in seventeenth-century France is beyond doubt and, in fact, Belevitch-Stankevitch has carefully chronicled its growth during the reign of Louis XIV.<sup>19</sup> The importation of porcelains, silks, lacquer ware and other precious goods was one of the most important stimuli for that age of conspicuous consumption. The Portuguese led the way but other European nations quickly followed suit. Unlike the English and

Dutch, whose East India trading companies were founded at the very beginning of the seventeenth century (1600 and 1602 respectively), it was not until 1660 that the French entered the field. In that year the unsuccessful Compagnie de la Chine was established by Cardinal Mazarin, himself one of the first major collectors of Chinese objects in France. The Compagnie des Indes Orientales was then founded some four years later under Col-

bert, and although this enterprise also did not initiate direct trade—at least not immediately—with China or Japan, Oriental wares brought back by other European countries continued to keep France well supplied.

The mania for *Le Lachinage*, as it was called, was particularly strong at the Court as we are reminded by the Trianon de Porcelaine, the blue and white “Chinese” pavilion which Louis XIV built in the early 1670s for Madame de Montespan. Various accounts of travel in the East were published in these decades, many with large cycles of illustrations, and they enjoyed wide circulation. The arrival of several Chinese and Siamese visitors helped pique the public’s curiosity even further. The arrival of official ambassadors from Siam in 1686 (the scene recorded in Duplessis’ painting—fig. 2) created an immediate public sensation, and the luxurious presents they brought vastly enriched Louis XIV’s collection. The French royal inventories at this time are filled with references to Chinese furniture, Chinese fabrics, and Chinese embroideries. Also, we must not forget that French craftsmen were responding to the vogue of *Lachinage*, not only by imitating Oriental wares in terms of motifs

and color schemes but also by attempting to duplicate Eastern materials such as lacquer and porcelain. *A la Chine* and *façon de la Chine* became standards of fashion.

If anything, the last decade of the seventeenth century saw an increased interest in the Far East. The Compagnie des Indes Orientales had never accomplished its intended goal of establishing commerce with China or Japan, but this was remedied in 1697 when a Parisian businessman named sieur Jourdon de Groué proposed to the company that he would equip a boat for trade with China. An agreement was reached at the beginning of the following year and a ship, named the *Amphitrite*, was sent. After a successful voyage and trading, it returned with great celebration two and a half years later. The sale of its exotic cargo at Nantes in October 1700 marks an important milestone in the establishment of direct relations between the two countries.

Meanwhile, the French fascination for things Chinese manifested itself in the world of art and the theater. It was probably at this time, for example, that the royal manufactory at Beauvais wove a magnificent set of tapestries showing scenes of Oriental life;<sup>20</sup> the first set

<sup>18</sup> E.g., the drawing by Charles LeBrun (J. Guifrey and P. Marcel, *Inventaire générale des dessins du Musée du Louvre*. . . , VIII, no. 6028) and the paintings by Louis Boullogne (*Les Arts*, 1905, July, p. 16) and Charles de la Fosse (M. Stiffmann, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, s. 6, 64, 1964, p. 99, no. 8a).

<sup>19</sup> H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV*, Paris, 1910.

<sup>20</sup> These tapestries are known nowadays as the “*Première tenture chinoise*” to distinguish them from the Boucher chinoiserie woven at Beauvais some decades later. The *Première tenture* was designed by Guy Louis I Vernansal, Belin de Fontenay, Baptiste Monnoyer (or Jean Baptiste Martin) and, presumably, a fourth unidentified artist. The date of the original set (subsequent sets continued to be woven into the 1720s) is undocumented. Badin (*La manufacture . . . de Beauvais*, p. 15) has proposed

that the first set was created between 1711–1722 under the direction of the Filleul Brothers, but it seems quite probable that they were created earlier under the directorship of Philippe Behagle, which would mean before 1711. An undated memorandum by Behagle which Badin (p. 13), unfortunately without evidence, would date prior to 1690, speaks of “autre dessin de *Chinoise* fait par quatre illustre peintre” and it seems likely that this is a reference to the *Première tenture chinoise* as has been suggested elsewhere (see Beauvais, Hôtel de Ville, *Trois siècles de tapisseries de Beauvais, 1664–1964*, 1964, p. 13, and Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, *Tapestries*. . . , I, pp. 170–76). My student, Natalie Borisovets, has discovered that because these tapestries are related to certain controversies which developed from the Jesuits’ acceptance of Confucianism, the series can probably be dated to the late 1690s.

was purchased by the Duc de Maine, Louis XIV's illegitimate son, and subsequent sets went to other notable members of the court. At about the same time chinoiserie motifs began to appear in the grotesques of Berain.<sup>21</sup> The Chinese vogue even invaded the *com-media dell'arte*, so that in 1692 Regnard and Dufresny's comedy *Les chinois* featured a scene in which Harlequin came out of a Chinese cabinet dressed as a Chinese doctor, and Mezetin appeared as a magot.<sup>22</sup> Chinese characters also appeared in Regnard's *Le carnaval de Venise* of 1699, as is vividly recorded in Robert Bonnart's engraving of the fanciful costume of one of the characters (fig. 9).

Chinese costumes for masques had been in fashion for some time; the dauphin had already dressed as a Chinese grand seigneur in 1685,<sup>23</sup> but the vogue intensified by the end of the century. For example, in 1699 the Duchesse de Bourgogne, the charming wife of Louis XIV's grandson, anxious to appear properly costumed at a ball given by the Duchesse de Pontchartrain, summoned her confessor, Père Le Comte, for advice on exactly what the Chi-



FIGURE 9

ROBERT BONNART  
*A Chinese Actor Dancing in  
Le Carnaval de Venise, after 1699*

<sup>21</sup> S. F. Kimball, *The Creation of the Rococo*, Philadelphia, 1943, p. 106, writes that 1699 is the earliest *secure* date for the appearance of chinoiserie motifs in Berain's oeuvre, but this does not preclude the possibility that they appeared earlier in the decade.

<sup>22</sup> T. Ting, *Les descriptions de la Chine par les français, 1650-1750*, Paris, 1928, pp. 68-70.

<sup>23</sup> Weigert, *Berain*, I, p. 81.

<sup>24</sup> Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France*, p. 171. Père Le Comte was the author of *Nouveaux memoires sur l'état présent de la Chine*, Paris, 1697-98. There is an engraving by Mariette after a design by Berain of a Chinese costume supposedly worn by the Duc de Bourgogne: see Weigert, *Berain*, II, p. 189, no. 250.

<sup>25</sup> Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France*, pp. 171-72.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 172-73.

nese wore since he was one of the best informed Jesuits on Eastern matters.<sup>24</sup> On January 7, 1700, at Marly, the king presented a ballet, *Le roy de la Chine*, with costumes designed by Jean Berain, and it was such a great success that it was repeated the following week.<sup>25</sup> A month later, on February 12, 1700, Monsieur, the king's brother, offered a dance in honor of the previously mentioned Duchesse de Bourgogne and this was followed by a colation in a room "ornée à la chinoise," replete with appropriately costumed entertainers.<sup>26</sup>

Duplessis' painting, executed in the very same year as these fashionable royal fêtes and the same year as the heralded return of the



*Amphitrite* can be seen as symbolizing the intense fascination for the Orient which reigned in France at just this moment. In fact, the vision of China which is presented in Duplessis' painting has as much to do with the French theater as it does with the East. While certain aspects of the costumes are accurate, as in the depiction of the pointed round hat, the wide trousers and drooping moustaches, other elements are less so. Particularly noticeable are the lappets ending in bells on the costume of the central figure, and the combination of short overskirt and knee breeches on the man at the left.<sup>27</sup> These elements, of course, stem from the French theater as can be seen in the Berain grotesque and in the Bonnard engraving of the Chinese actor from *Le carnaval de Venise* (figs. 8, 9).

Of course, Duplessis could have found more accurate sources for the appearance of the Chinese; certainly he could have consulted the books and engravings which were already in wide circulation and which, in fact, he used on other occasions.<sup>28</sup> His combining of Chinese costumes with French theatrical motifs was not the result of ignorance about the correct appearance of the Chinese so much as it was an intentional and understood convention of the time. It is just this combination of Chinese and theatrical ideas which appears in some of Berain's designs<sup>29</sup> and in Duplessis' other fireplace screen (fig. 5), although in these instances the two genres are more clearly dif-



FIGURE 10 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN  
*Embroidered Chair Back, after 1699*  
*Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1954*

ferentiated.

It is tempting to link Berain's and Duplessis' penchant for theatrical costumes with their work for the stage and, while this is undoubtedly a major factor, it may not be the only one. There are still other examples of chinoiserie from this same period which show a similar convention. In particular, I am thinking of two unpublished sets of embroidered chair

<sup>27</sup> Because of these elements, one of the figures was erroneously described as wearing "renaissance dress" in a preliminary report on the painting: Walters Art Gallery, *Bulletin*, 25:2, 1972, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> Duplessis' painting of the Siamese ambassadors (fig. 2) is evidently based on engraved portraits; cf. Belevitch-Stankevitich, *Le goût chinois en France*, pp. 211-28 and fig. 1.

<sup>29</sup> E.g., the "Chinese" grotesque, illus. Badin, *La manufacture . . . de Beauvais*, op. p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Illustrated here is inv. no. 54.7.18 a and b (chair back and seat respectively 33 x 25 in. and 27 x 27 in.). The second set is inv. no. 54.7.19 a and b. I am obliged to Miss Jean Mailey and her staff for their help.

seats and backs which are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (figs. 10, 11).<sup>30</sup> They have been dated to the early eighteenth century and have been associated with Saint Cyr, Madame de Maintenon's beloved institution, on account of their having been executed in *gros* and *petit point*. Their curious combination of Oriental patterns, monsters, birds and costumed figures has aroused interest but has not been sufficiently studied. Closer analysis shows that while the patterns on the seat are based on Oriental prototypes—perhaps imported fabrics<sup>31</sup>—the figures are really of characters from the French theater. For example, the male Chinese dancer on the piece we illustrate (fig. 10) is taken directly from the Bonnard engraving of the 1699 production of *Le carnaval de Venise* which we previously discussed (fig. 9). Not only does this give us a *terminus post quem* for the embroideries, but it once again points up how closely allied chinoiserie and the theater were.

In the same vein, we might also consider how frequently early eighteenth-century chinoiseries feature Oriental musicians and performers which is, after all, not surprising since they are but an exotic variant on the basic rococo theme of entertainment. For example, Chinese entertainers appear on Duplessis' screens of 1730 (fig. 6) and on the lacquer panels from a harpsichord which are all too freely attributed to Watteau.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Chi-



FIGURE 11 NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN  
Embroidered Chair Seat, after 1699  
Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1954

nese musicians are featured in a splendid set of embroidered hangings from the early eighteenth century and in a closely related set of embroidered panels for chairs.<sup>33</sup> Finally, we might note that they appear in several of the arabesque centers which Watteau painted at the château de la Muette,<sup>34</sup> and from then on they are standard stock in trade for Boucher and eighteenth-century France.

Duplessis enjoys an interesting position in the transition between Berain, who is often credited with introducing chinoiseries in his

<sup>31</sup> For a contemporary English copy of an Oriental fabric with a pattern of scattered flowers, birds, etc., see A. F. Kendrick, "An English Coverlet of 1694," *The Connoisseur*, 82, 1928, pp. 94-99.

<sup>32</sup> H. Adhémar, *Watteau, sa vie—son oeuvre*, Paris, 1950, no. 21b; J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau, peintures réapparues, inconnues ou négligées . . .*, Paris, 1959, no. 108.

<sup>33</sup> The bed hangings are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; see Y. Hackenbroch, *English and Other Needlework, Tapestries and Textiles in the Irwin Untermyer Collection*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1960, p. 59, figs. 187-88). For the chair panels see B. Skinner, *Scone Palace: The Home of the Earls of Mansfield*, Derby, 1966, 8-10.

<sup>34</sup> Dacier and Vuaflart, *Les graveurs de Watteau*, III, nos. 233, 246, 257, 259.

grotesques, and Watteau, whose chinoiserie at la Muette are the first major cycle for which we have pictorial evidence. We have already noted that there are certain elements in Duplessis' oeuvre that suggest parallels with Berain, but his association with Watteau opens another intriguing avenue of speculation. According to Watteau's biographer, Jean de Jullienne, the young artist left his native Valenciennes for Paris in the company of an artist who had been summoned to the Paris Opera.<sup>35</sup> Hérold and Vuaflart proposed that this unnamed artist may have been Duplessis, but since there is no firm evidence to prove or disprove this theory, it remains merely intriguing speculation. On the other hand, it seems that the two artists travelled within the same circle of artists in Paris and thus could well have known each other. For example, both Duplessis and Watteau's teacher, Gillot, furnished decors for the Paris Opera in 1710 and, later, were associated together in designing tapestries for the Beauvais factory.<sup>36</sup> Also, these artists are among those cited as fre-

quenting the Cabaret de la chasse together with a great many of the Franco-Flemish artists with whom Watteau was associated, most notably Wleughels, Antoine Dieu and Spoede.<sup>37</sup> Exactly what influence Duplessis might have exerted on the young Watteau is, of course, not yet clear but history offers us many cases in which a minor master proved to be of great importance in forming the taste of a young, major artist.

The marvel of Duplessis' painting in the Walters Art Gallery is that it accomplishes so many things: it introduces us to a new artist and his oeuvre; it reflects an important transitional moment between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which is rich in historical associations; it suggests something of the decorative arts at this time and the ephemeral world of the theater; not least of all, it enriches our understanding of the evolution of chinoiserie. In short, Duplessis' painting is very much like an Oriental puzzle box: unquestionably attractive on the surface, its charm is augmented by the surprising complexities within.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup> *Loc. cit.*; also Populus, *Gillot*, pp. 58-63.

<sup>37</sup> Populus, *Gillot*, pp. 20-21. Unfortunately, the author does not cite the source for his information about the Cabaret de la Chasse. Duplessis may well have had commissions in Flanders. Vuaflart and Hérold (*Les graveurs de Watteau*, I, pp. 6-7) theorize that before arriving in Valenciennes he worked in Brussels at the Théâtre de la Monnaie. Also, A. Siret (*Dictionnaire historique et raisonné des peintres de toutes les écoles*. . . , Berlin, 1924 [1st ed. 1848], I, p. 297) speaks of a document from 1771 [sic] which mentions a Duplessis, a French painter of history who was received in 1717 in the Guild of Saint Luke in Brussels, and Siret suggests that he may have been responsible for painting a portrait of Duke John of Brabant (done in 1708?). Siret's vagueness of reference is troubling, however. Bénézit (*Dictionnaire critique*. . . , III, p. 417) does not associate the docu-

ment mentioned by Siret with our artist, but presumes that it refers to another with the same last name.

<sup>38</sup> Since this article was submitted (in April 1974) the Walters Art Gallery painting was included in the exhibition *The Age of Louis XV: French Painting 1715-1774*, (ed. Pierre Rosenberg), Toledo, 1975, no. 115, pl. I. Monsieur Rosenberg believes that the relief at the right represents the Invention of Painting, but whereas in such scenes a woman traces the cast shadow of her lover's profile face, in Duplessis' painting, the "sitter's" face is not in an appropriate profile position, an insufficient shadow is cast, and the hand with the writing implement is at too far a remove from where a shadow would fall. Rather than seeing this scene as the Invention of Painting, I believe it may be a scene of lovers inscribing their names on a tree (?) as is often represented in scenes of Angelica and Medoro.

## Notes on the Collection

# CONCERNING THE WALTERS COLLECTION OF NETSUKÉ

By RAYMOND BUSHELL

Tokyo

DURING A VISIT to the United States some years ago, I had the opportunity to examine briefly the *netsuke* collection of the Walters Art Gallery. The whole collection comprises more than five hundred pieces; only a few examples are presented here to call attention to the collection for the first time in published form. William Thompson Walters (1821-94) and his son Henry (1848-1931), the founders of the Gallery, expressed their great admiration for the arts of the Far East in a small book entitled *Oriental Collection of W. T. Walters*, which they published in 1884. Their enthusiasm for *netsuke* is made evident in the Japanese carvings section which begins with a quotation from G. M. Audsley's *Notes on Japanese Art* of 1774: "Of all the carved work of the Japanese, the most wonderful and interesting are the ivories called Netsuke."<sup>1</sup>

The word *netsuke* has no English equivalent. *Netsuke* is a toggle and part of an ensemble which is worn with the traditional Japanese *kimono*; the simple garment is wrapped around the body like a loose cloak and secured with a belt or sash (*obi*). The *netsuke* hangs outwardly over the upper edge of the sash while other objects, such as a purse, are attached by a cord and hang below the sash. The *sagemono* (hanging object) may be a box for seals, philtres and medicines (*inrō*), a purse (*kimchaku*), a tobacco pouch (*tonk-*

*otsu*), a key (*kagi*), a seal (*hanko*), a writing set (*yatate*), a gourd for scent or sake (*hyotan*), or some other handy article. The third object of the ensemble is the bead (*ojime*) through which the cord attaching the *netsuke* and the *inrō* passes. When the cords are tightened by moving the *ojime* toward the *inrō*, the compartments of the *inrō* are prevented from coming apart; when loosened by moving the bead toward the *netsuke*, the compartments of the *inrō* may be separated easily. *Ojime* are found in a wide range of materials, and sometimes stand on their own merits as collector's items.

Like most art forms and cultural traits found in Japan, the origin of the *netsuke* is easily traced to China. In north China, Mongolia and Tibet the native dress consisted of a loose

<sup>1</sup> Besides the some 350 separate *netsuke* in the Walters collection, there are 123 attached to *inro* and 45 to tobacco pouches. The examples with *inro* have been published, briefly described and their makers' name given when present in *Japanese Lacquers in the Walters Art Gallery*, by Martha Boyer, Baltimore, 1970. As Miss Boyer points out (p. 9), the Walters lacquers were acquired principally at the International Expositions held at Paris (1867 and 1878), Philadelphia (1876), St. Louis (1904), and San Francisco (1915). The *Oriental Collection*, which was published by William and Henry Walters in 1884, indicates (p.v) that they had been collecting Oriental objects of art for "more than twenty years."

cloak without pockets secured with a belt from which pouches and necessary articles were suspended. In Japan, *netsuke* became popular as an art form in the Tokugawa (1603–1867), Meiji (1868–1912) and Taisho (1912–25) periods. Early paintings of warriors and hunters carrying flint and tinder bags (*hiuchi-bukuro*), pilgrims carrying gourds, and courtiers carrying *inrō* reveal that *netsuke* were in use in earlier periods also. The prototype might have been a gourd, a shell, a burl, a bamboo root, a stone or any natural article that served well as a toggle or counterweight.

Great impetus to the development of the *netsuke* from a prototype to an art form came with the introduction of tobacco at the end of the sixteenth century by the Portuguese and Dutch. The smoking habit spread rapidly and with it the necessity of carrying a tobacco pouch. The ubiquitous tobacco pouch and *netsuke* occupied a status among merchants, artisans and city dwellers which was analogous to that of the sword among the samurai. Exclusive shops for the sale of elegant pouches and *netsuke* thrived in all principal cities. The *netsuke* ensemble became an article of fashion and vanity as well as of necessity; it had become the status symbol par excellence.

During the three centuries when the *netsuke* was an important item of dress, thousands of carvers produced hundreds of thousands of these toggles. Fine artists devoted their lives to the production of *netsuke* exclusively, and other craftsmen—metalworkers, ceramists, lacquerers and mask carvers—responded to the enormous demand for *netsuke* by modifying, altering and miniaturizing their main productions. The demand for *netsuke* declined principally because of the gradual adoption in the Meiji period of Western-style clothes with pockets for men and purses for women. Also the smoking of cigarettes gradually replaced the Japanese pipe, pouch and therefore, the

*netsuke*.

The carving of *netsuke*, as much as the *ukiyo*e print, is an art form peculiarly characteristic of the Japanese. It developed during the period of self-imposed national isolation and was free of foreign influence. It was intended to please Japanese taste and as such reveals the basic nature of the people, their interests and amusements. We see them as highly artistic people capable of appreciating grace and elegance, earthy humor, subtle symbolism and clever abstraction, meticulous attention to detail, parody and burlesque, monumental conception and bold design. An examination of a fine collection, such as that of the Walters Art Gallery, imparts a good deal of knowledge about the Tokugawa and Meiji Japanese, concerning dress, manners, and customs.

The scope of the art is indicated by the various types of *netsuke*. The principal type is that which is carved in the round (*katabori*): full-bodied images of persons and objects, fauna and flora. The Walters collection is particularly rich in these miniature sculptures. *Netsuke* with recessed or interior carving (*anabori*) make a special class of three-dimensional carving and many of them are minuscule marvels of technical ingenuity, patience and perfection. *Manju*, a flat, round bun usually filled with sweet bean paste, has given its name to all *netsuke* of a similar shape, whether uncarved or carved in relief (figs. 7, 8, 10). The relief design may be high, low, cameo, sunken (*intaglio*), inlaid, etched, or a combination of these techniques. A type closely related to the *manju* is the *ryusa*, so-called after a man named Ryusa, who is reputed to have innovated the technique of perforating or piercing the *manju* in order to reduce its weight and bulk. Like the *manju*, the *ryusa* is fashioned from a single block of material or is comprised of two equal, fitted sections (fig. 3). One type of metal *netsuke*, the

*kagamibuta*, literally mirror lid, so-called because of its resemblance to the ancient bronze mirrors of China and Japan, is composed of a hollow bowl of ivory, bone, wood, horn, or other material into which is fitted a decorated metal lid. Lids were made by swordsmiths and makers of sword furnishings who applied to these small objects the techniques of etching, inlaying, overlaying and chasing in gold, silver, brass, *shibuichi* (silver bronze) and *shakudo* (gold bronze) for which they were renowned (fig. 5).

A popular class of *netsuke* may be called the souvenir *netsuke*. During the Tokugawa period (1603–1867) the Japanese were required by law to confine their love of travel within the boundaries of Japan. Some of the main sightseeing attractions were the great

wooden temples of the ancient capital of Nara and the unspoiled rural area of Hida Takayama near Gifu with its wealth of “farmer’s art.” In the area of Dejima at Nagasaki the Japanese traveler might catch a glimpse of the frightening huge-nosed, red-haired, green-eyed barbarians from Holland who, along with Portuguese and Chinese, were permitted to trade there. Each of these areas had its own special souvenir *netsuke* which made convenient gifts (*omiyage*) for family and friends at home (fig. 3).

The following signed examples in the Walters collection can only hint of the wealth of subjects and materials, styles and carving techniques. It will, however, introduce a collection whose diversity and multiplicity are relatively unknown.

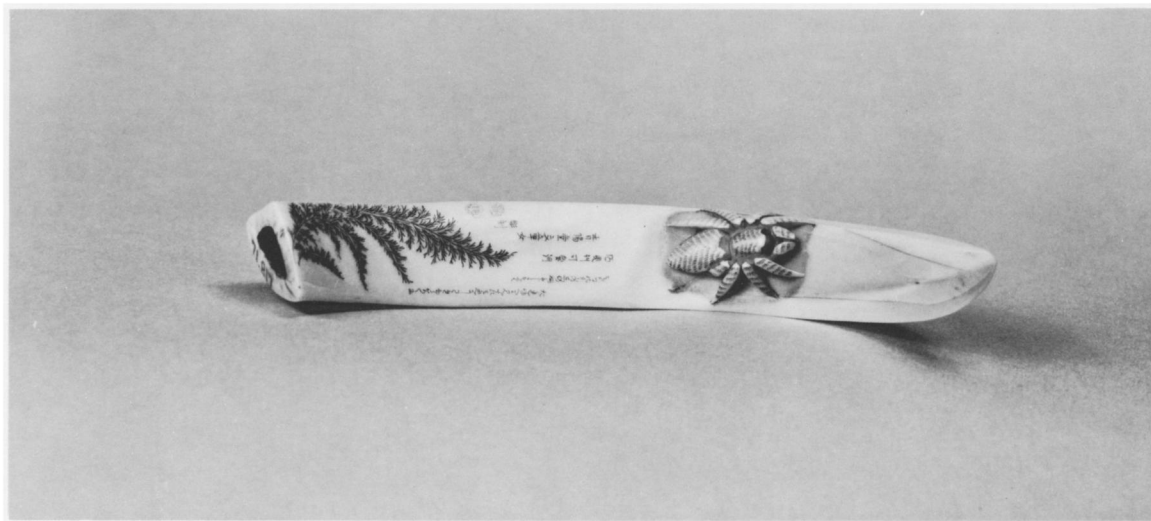


Figure 1 Spider

This wild boar tusk shows a spider in high relief, and a poem and fern delicately incised and etched in black. In the lore of Japan many allusions are found to spiders, both benign and malignant; here it is simply used to represent nature. The artist is the distinguished woman carver, Bunshojo (1764–1838), daughter of

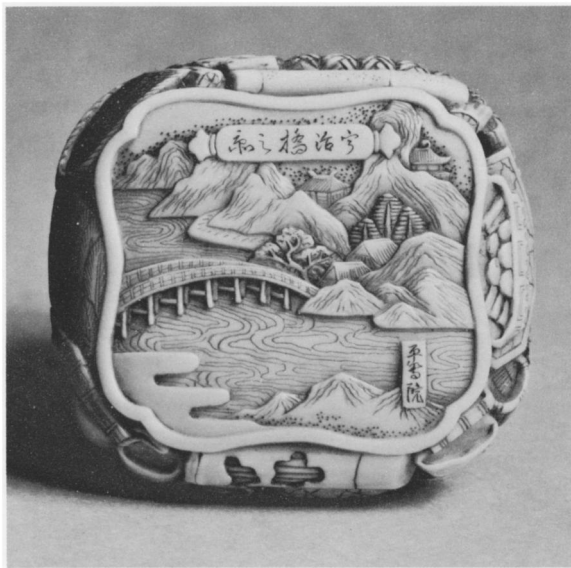
Tomiharu of the Iwami School (see Anne Hull Grundy, “Netsuke Carvers of the Iwami School,” in *Ars Orientalis*, 4, 1961). The inscription reads: Iwami shu Kawai gawa Seiyodo Bunshojo chokoku, “carved in the country of Iwami at the Kawai River by Bunshojo of the Seiyodo studio.” W. 3⅞ in. 71.817





*Figure 2 Incense Burner*

This model of an incense burner is in the shape of a mythical animal. The head forms a spout, the tail the handle. The sides are carved in open-work with scroll foliage. Burning incense is an important custom in the Orient. In ancient times a game was played by the aristocracy in which guests attempted to identify various incenses from their aromas and in so doing reveal the players' sophistication and culture. This incense burner, in the shape of a Chinese bronze, is made of stag antler with inset metal sides. H. 1 11/16 in. Signed: Minkoku (late 19th—early 20th century). 71.870



*Figure 3 Bridge over the Uji River near Kyoto*

The upper inscription reads, "the Vista of the Bridge on the Uji River." The second inscription is "Byodoin," the name of the temple in the Uji district which is renowned for its Phoenix Hall. On the reverse are carved articles associated with tea for which the Uji district is also famous. Ivory; W. 1 1/8 in. Signed: Gyokuhosai, the additional character *sai* is considered a modest conceit with the suggestion of studio or atelier, (second half of the 19th century). 71.825



*Figure 4 Yojo's Revenge*

Painted with gold swirls and red, blue and green flowers, this colorful wooden piece alludes to one of the most valued virtues of feudal Japan, the loyalty of a vassal. The faithful retainer, Yojo, dedicated his life to avenging the murder of his master by a prince. Twice he attempted and failed to kill the prince. Twice he was caught and pardoned by the prince in recognition of his loyalty to his dead master. Yojo faced a dilemma. He could not repay the prince's magnanimity with further attempts on his life, nor could he abandon his obligation to avenge his master's death. Taking the prince's cloak he repeatedly thrust his sword into it to appease his lust for vengeance. He then took his own life by *harakiri*. H. 1 5/16 in. Signed: Shūkō (first half of the 19th century). 61.253

Figure 5 *Benkei and the Bell of Miidera*

Benkei, a man of huge stature and Herculean strength, is a legendary figure of medieval Japan. One of his feats of strength was to steal the enormous bronze bell of Miidera Temple and carry it to his favored temple on Mt. Hiei, only to find that the resonant tone of the bell had vanished. When struck, its muffled sound seemed to say, "Return me to Miidera." In frustration, Benkei kicked the bell down the mountainside. The lid is of gold bronze alloy (*shakudo*), with inlays of copper, gold and silver bronze alloy (*shibuichi*), in an ivory bowl. D. 1 ¾ in. Signed: Kikugawa. 57.1368



Figure 6 *Crab (Kani)*

The allusion is to the Heike or Taira clan which was defeated and decimated in the sea battle of Dannoura in the twelfth century. The souls of the perished Heike warriors are believed to reside in the crabs of the area, which are therefore known as *Heike-gani*. With imagination, one may see the warriors' faces in the crabs' irregular shells. Since the standard of the Heike was red, the allusion is heightened in this *netsuke* by the carver's use of hornbill ivory with its brilliant red exterior, seen on the outer shell of the crab, and creamy-yellow interior, seen on the underside. W. 1 ⅜ in. Signed: Jugyoku (born 1815). 71.851

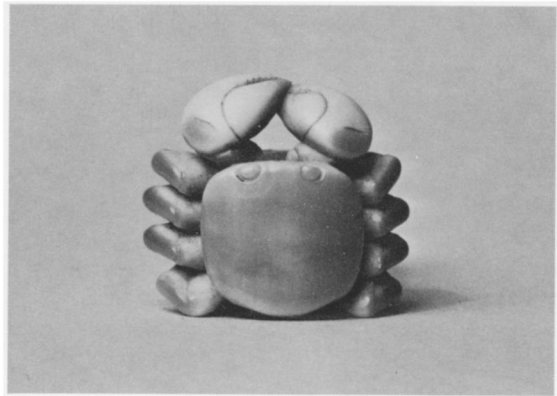


Figure 7 *Minamoto no Yoshitsune*

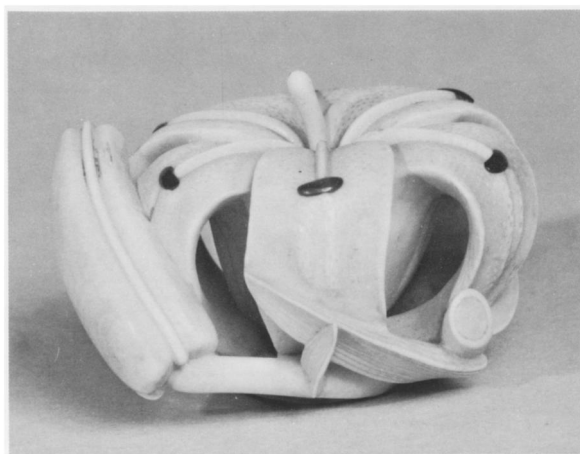
One of Japan's great heroes is Yoshitsune, a great lover, musician and swordsman. One afternoon he was playing the flute on Gojo Bridge in Kyoto when Benkei came upon him. The latter, a warrior-priest of huge size and ferocious mien, subsisted by stealing swords. When Yoshitsune refused to give up his sword to Benkei, a duel ensued in which Yoshitsune triumphed. His strength exhausted, Benkei acknowledged defeat and became Yoshitsune's faithful retainer. Wood, face and hand inlaid in ivory, gatepost in stag antler; W. 1 ⅜ in. Signed: Ryuraku (18th century). 61.234





*Figure 8 Tenaga in a Landscape*

The Tenaga (Longarms) and Shinaga (Longlegs) were two tribes living on opposite sides of a river in legendary China. They fished co-operatively: Longlegs carried on his back Longarms who seized the fish which they then shared. In this ivory *manju* Tenaga is shown eating a fish in a landscape rendered in various colored stones. The wine bottle to his right is of red lacquer (*tsuishu*). Dia. 1 9/16 in. Signed: Ryumin (second half of the 19th century) 71.985



*Figure 9 White Lily*

This stylized flower with open-work petals and stem, carved to fit comfortably in the palm of the hand, refers to an old romantic tale set in Echizen Province (modern Fukui Prefecture). In the days of the first Tokugawa, Ieyasu (1542–1616), an extraordinarily beautiful young woman, Osayo, rejected the attentions of the local young men and gave her heart to a poor, young artist who had come from afar to paint local scenes. Whenever her parents were absent, Osayo arranged a rendezvous with her lover by placing at her window a white lily which shone even on dark, moonless nights. However, when her jealous suitors discovered this arrangement they killed the artist in anger. Since that day, the wild white lily of Echizen has been known by the name of *osayo*. Ivory; W. 2 in. Signed: Homin and *kakihan* (first half of the 19th century). 71.805

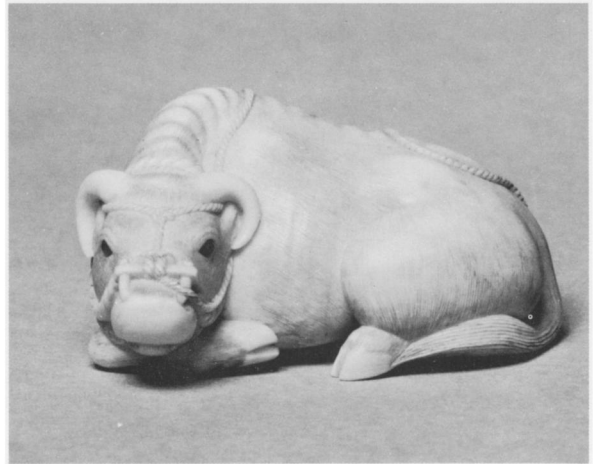


*Figure 10 Kan no Koso Battling a Dragon*

Kan no Koso, the founder of the Han Dynasty of China in 206 B.C., is shown in one of his most famous exploits, despatching a dragon. This lively and well-balanced composition is finely carved in sunk relief on the front with details etched in black; the name of Kan no Koso is inscribed on the reverse. Ivory; D. 2 in. Signed Shunkosai (1826–92). 71.947

*Figure 11 Reclining Cow*

This ivory *netsuke* shows fine attention to detail. Its hairwork has a silky quality having been incised with a fine knife tip, in firm steady lines, then lightly polished. The eyes are inlaid with amber. Such mastery of animal figures is characteristic of the great carver Kaigyokusai (1813-1892). His signature includes his seal Masatsugu, indicating that it was done late in his career, his golden period. The cow is one of the twelve animals of the Oriental zodiac. L. 1 ¾ in. 71.961



*Figure 12 Puppies*

Engelbert Kaempfer, in the service of the Dutch, recorded many beliefs and customs current when he visited Japan at the end of the seventeenth century. He noted in particular the great number of dogs in every neighborhood. The explanation seems to be that the emperor, in accordance with Buddhist belief, blamed his lack of a male heir on cruelties he had practiced in previous incarnations. Since he was born in the Year of the Dog, he was especially concerned about dogs and issued many edicts for their protection and welfare. They had to be well fed, could not be punished (unless just cause was presented before a judge), must be attended by official veterinarians and on their death must be buried ceremoniously on mountain tops. Besides recalling the eccentricities of a monarch, this beautifully carved piece illustrates a subject favored by many carvers. Ivory, the eyes inlaid; H. 1 in. Signed: Shunkosai (1826-92). 71.1005



*Figure 13 Anchin and Kiyohime*

Anchin, a dedicated young priest, spurned the love of a young woman named Kiyohime, yet her ardor became more impetuous with each gentle rebuff. At last Anchin was forced to take refuge under the huge bronze bell of the Dojoji Temple. His scorn turned Kiyohime to fury, her face becoming that of a demon and her body a serpent, whereupon she coiled herself around the temple bell and, through force of her wrath, burned Anchin to death. The tragedy is the subject of a Noh play entitled *Dojoji*. Wood; H. 1 ⅜ in. Signed: Tadatoshi (active principally 1781-1800). 61.236





*Figure 14 Noh Mask*

This is an exquisite miniature of a mask used by actors performing in the Japanese drama, Noh. Different stylized facial expressions were adopted and used on various masks so that spectators could recognize the mood and meaning being conveyed. However, the mask is so masterfully carved that the expression changes with the tilt of the actor's head. In this way the actor "plays" the mask to express changing feelings. Wood; H. 1 15/16 in. Signed Shūsai (early 19th century). 61.251

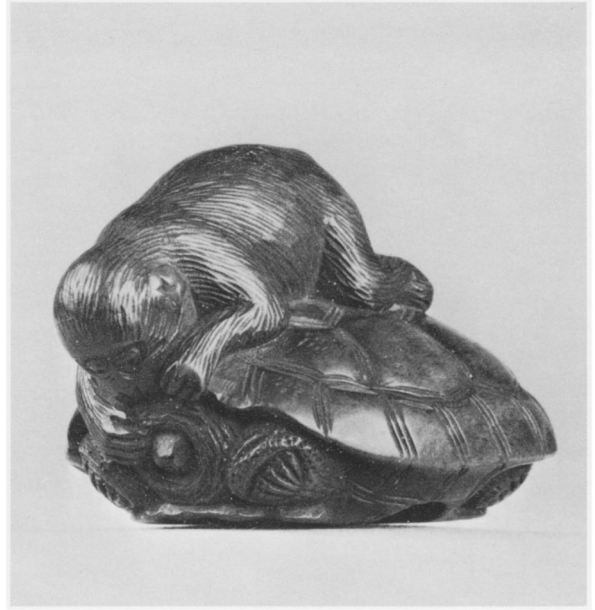


*Figure 15 Shoki and Oni*

This fine wood carving shows the giant demon-queller Shoki grasping an *oni*, a small demon usually portrayed with either three or four fingers. Shoki is easily recognized by his huge stature, luxuriant beard, distinctive headgear and martial mien. While often pictured seeking out and destroying *oni*, Shoki is frequently thwarted in his pursuit. In this humorous scene the undernourished *oni* tries to break Shoki's hold by biting his hand, but the demon-queller's angry scowl reveals that this time he will prevail. H. 2 1/4 in. Signed: Ikkōsai (1806-76) 61.246

*Figure 16 Monkey and Turtle*

A popular Japanese fable for children concerns a turtle who lures a monkey into riding on his back to the bottom of the sea, promising to offer him there an abundance of fruit. With the monkey then in his power, the turtle reveals his true motive—to secure the monkey's liver to save his dying wife. Gleeefully he mocks the gullible monkey. The latter, however, announces that monkeys have many livers, too heavy to carry in their bodies and therefore they are hung on trees. He promises the turtle one of his livers if they return to shore. There with one bound the monkey leaps to the safety of a tree and ridicules the disappointed turtle. Wood; H. 1 1/16 in. Signed: Yasutada (18th century). 61.243



*Figure 17 Horse Emerging from a Gourd*

This piece of smooth whaletooth of graceful contours pictures Chokaro's magic horse cracking through the gourd in which he was kept. Chokaro was a great Taoist *senmin* of ancient China; when he needed to travel, he poured a little water on the gourd and his horse emerged, growing immediately into a full-sized mount. After the journey, Chokaro folded up the animal until it was small enough to fit back into the gourd. L. 2 1/4 in. Signed: Tomotada (active before 1781). 71.957

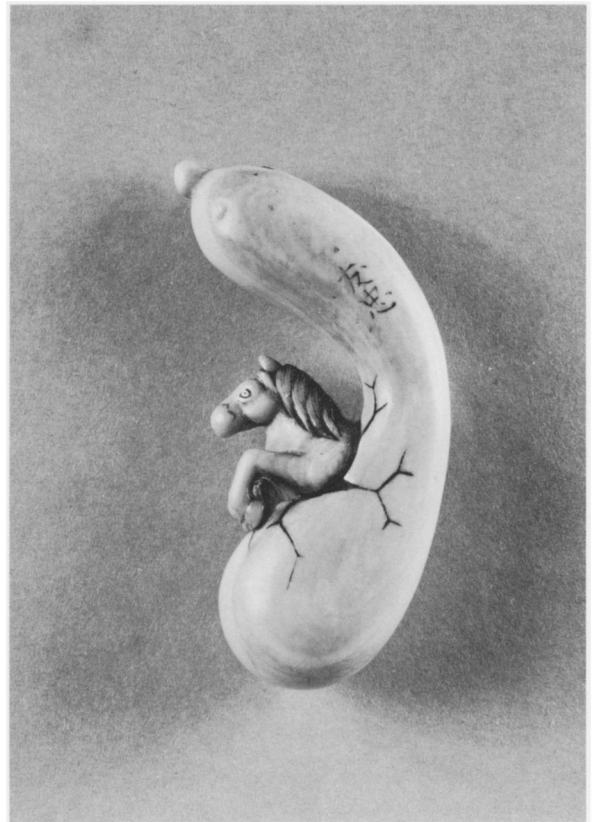






FIGURE 1

PARIS, ART MARKET

ANDREA DI BARTOLO  
*Betrayal and Arrest of Christ*

# THE FINAL ADDITION TO A PREDELLA BY ANDREA DI BARTOLO

By FEDERICO ZERI

*Mentana, Italy*

THE RECONSTRUCTION of a predella panel by Andrea di Bartolo begun in this journal by Professor S. Lane Faison (1941)<sup>1</sup> and carried further by Gertrude Coor (1956 and 1961)<sup>2</sup> can now be completed with the addition of the one remaining unidentified piece in the series. This panel, showing the Betrayal and Arrest of Christ (fig. 1), was located at the extreme left of the five-part predella. The other parts, as Faison and Coor correctly showed, comprise the Way to Calvary (Lugano, Thyssen collection), the Crucifixion (New York, the Metropolitan Museum), the Lamentation (Stockholm, National Museum), and the Resurrection (the Walters Art Gallery).

The Arrest panel was shown to me some time ago by a Paris art dealer; although it had no attribution, it was clearly by Andrea di Bartolo. The subject is precisely that which Gertrude Coor had suggested as the most likely for this missing piece, after comparing the series with two other analogous predellas by Andrea in the Duomo in Tuscania and in the Ruffini collection in Rome. In fact, in these two examples the composition of the Betrayal

and Arrest is very close to our version, which is, however, larger and more elaborate.

The dimensions of the Paris Arrest panel (51 x 46 cm.) approximate those of the other panels in the series. The ornamental tooling of the borders and haloes are identical, and as in the other works the gold background has been partly hidden behind light-grey rocky hills. The state of preservation is also very close; the Paris panel has a horizontal crack running at about mid-height, as do the panels in Lugano,

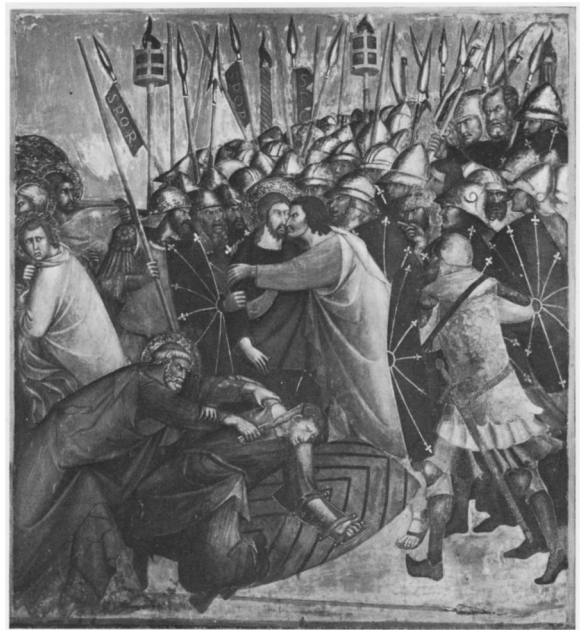


FIGURE 2 SAN GIMIGNANO  
BARNABÀ DA SIENA  
*Betrayal and Arrest of Christ*

<sup>1</sup> S. Lane Faison, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 4, 1941, pp. 97-103.

<sup>2</sup> Gertrude Coor, *ibid.*, 19-20, 1956-57, pp. 19-21, 97; *idem, ibid.*, 24, 1961, pp. 54-60. See also F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, I, 1976, pp. 50f.

New York, Stockholm and Baltimore. The expansion of the wood must thus have occurred when the altarpiece was still intact.

As for internal evidence and style, the dating in the early period of Andrea's career proposed by Gertrude Coor should be accepted without reservation. In the Arrest scene, as in the other panels, the influence of the artist's father and teacher, Bartolo di Fredi, is evident, not only in the figure types, but also in the execution. Conversely, the influence of Taddeo di Bartolo, which may be seen in Andrea's mature works, is absent.

Of special interest is the source of the composition itself. Undoubtedly Andrea drew his inspiration from the fresco of Barna da Siena in the Collegiata di San Gimignano (fig. 2).

The derivation (and this is true also for the version of the same scene in Tuscania) is practically a direct borrowing, although without the extraordinary spiritual tension of the prototype. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that Andrea substituted for the dark and uniform background of the model a setting of hills and trees. In all probability this change may be due to his knowledge of the fresco attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti or follower in the Lower Church of Assisi, where the subject is presented before a town set in a landscape. However, it is likely that Andrea adopted this solution more for the sake of narrative unity with the contiguous scenes, all of which have similar backgrounds, than for stylistic reasons alone.

## THE FIRST BAROMETER

### A REDISCOVERY IN FLEMISH PAINTINGS

By HENRI MICHEL

*International Academy of the History of Sciences*

MANY PAINTINGS of the early seventeenth century bear witness to the contemporary interest in "scientific instruments." In this category are the devices used by astronomers, geographers, surveyors and pilots—mechanisms which helped bring about the discovery of new worlds during the previous century. The makers of such instruments received the favor of kings, and the objects themselves proved worthy of their royal owners; astrolabes, globes, and clocks became splendid works of art, whose possession is now the pride of specialized museums.

Mathematical instruments were developed particularly in the Low Countries; the most active centers of research in this field were in Antwerp and Louvain under Emperor Charles V and King Philip II. In these and other Flemish towns the worlds of nature, science and art were brought together in the cabinets of curiosities where exotic flora and fauna were exhibited with scientific instruments, paintings, sculpture, musical instruments and objects fashioned by the goldsmith or gem cutter. Owners of such collections were as proud of their spheres and sundials as of their collection

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FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER AND FRANS FRANCKEN II

*The Archdukes Albert and Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet*

of paintings and wanted to have both immortalized in pictures of their galleries. This gave rise in the early seventeenth century to the demand for the *Cabinets d'amateurs*, paintings which documented the treasures in the collector's possession. A few artists specialized in this specifically Flemish genre of painting,

notably Frans Francken II, Jan ("Velvet") Brueghel the Elder, Willem van Haecht, Henri Staben, and Cornelis de Baellieur.<sup>1</sup> Their pictures of collector's galleries were often works of collaboration in which each of the artists—and this might have been two or perhaps more—would paint certain parts according to his bent and practice. Thus it has been determined that in the case of the Walters Art Gallery painting (fig. 1), Jan Brueghel the Elder painted the little monkeys, the dogs, the fruit and flowers, and Frans Francken II the rest of the picture showing the "Archdukes" Albert and Isabella.<sup>2</sup> Within the large exhibition gal-

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of Flemish "painted encyclopedias" of the seventeenth century, cf. the monograph by Mme. S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1957.

<sup>2</sup> The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 37.2010; panel; 37 x 41 in. (940 x 123.4 cm.); cf. Speth-Holterhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 71, fig. 12.

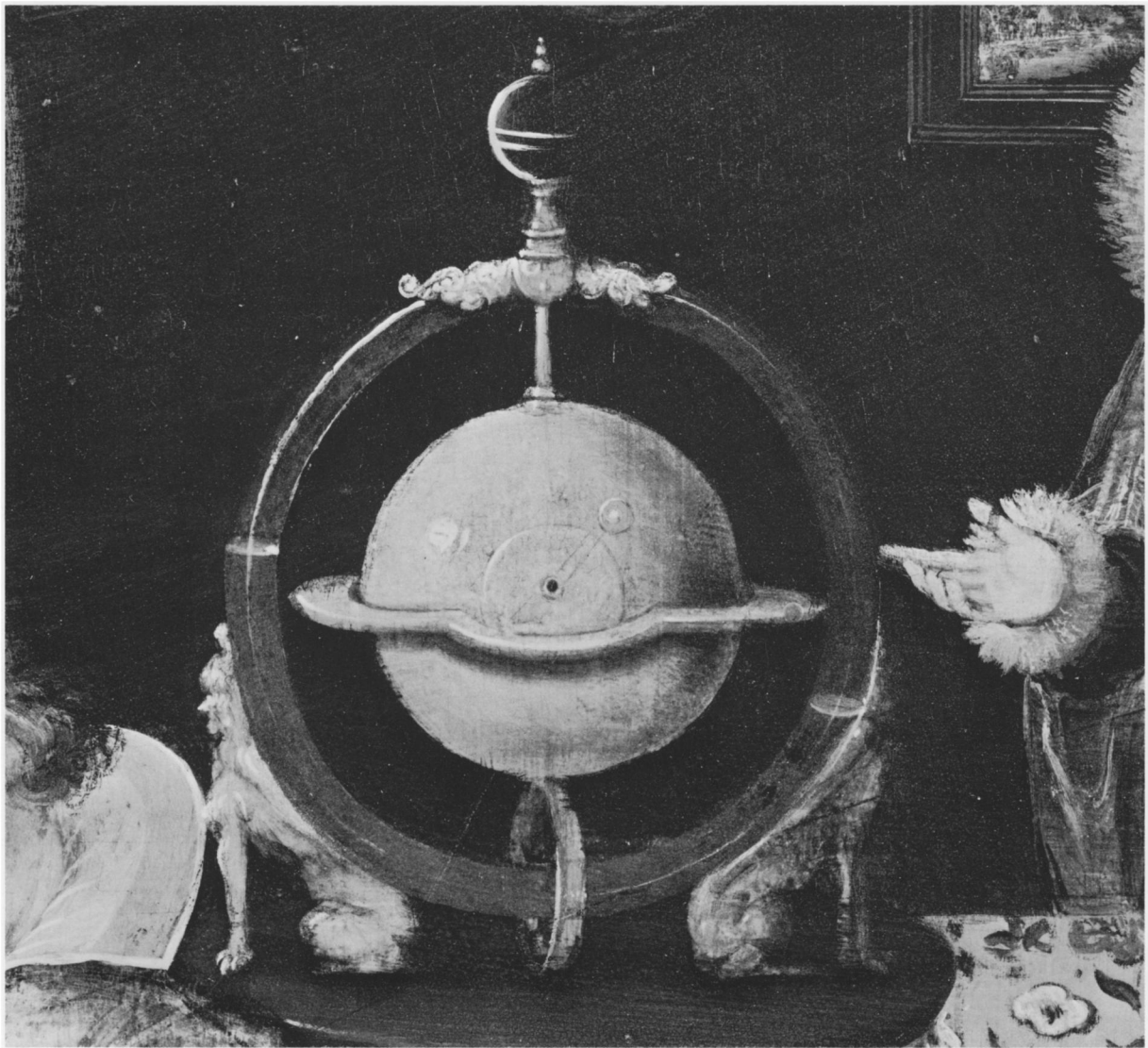


FIGURE 2

WALTERS ART GALLERY

*Detail of figure 1 showing Drebbel's "perpetuum mobile"*

lery (which is remarkably similar in all such paintings of collector's cabinets), the proud owner is often pictured with his family; or, as in the Gallery's painting, prominent personages, such as Albert and Isabella, appear in an allegorical role as patrons of the arts and sciences.

Scientific instruments are rendered with the same precision as animals, plant forms, and other exotica. A specialist can not only im-

mediately identify a given object, but can even recognize its maker and make a shrewd guess as to its date. Thus, instruments which until now were known only in technical literature or which have been forgotten and perhaps even their very existence doubted, suddenly reappear in these documentary paintings like lost pearls.

This is the case for a kind of sphere which has thus far escaped serious attention and



which has been considered, when mentioned at all, as a particular form of terrestrial globe (fig. 2). The reader will be surprised to learn that the object is, in fact, the earliest ancestor of the barometer, invented some thirty-nine years before Evangelista Torricelli's discovery of the principle of the barometer in 1643—and the ancestor of the atmospheric clockwork, over three hundred years before the Atmos clock!<sup>3</sup>

This early barometer was the invention of Cornelis Drebbel, a Dutchman from Alkmaar (1572-1633), who attained some repute at the beginning of the seventeenth century by working on numerous problems concerning water supply, chimneys with a better draught, chemistry, etc. He claims to have made "clocks with a continual motion, self-regulating and automatic"; another "instrument permitting the reading of letters at a distance of seven miles"; musical instruments "playing themselves by the rays of the sun," etc.<sup>4</sup> He seems to have been primarily an experimenter but not a true scientist, and he was considered by some of his contemporaries to be "an ass and a charlatan."

Drebbel's globe, which he apparently first conceived about 1604,<sup>5</sup> he called a "perpetuum mobile," a perpetual motion device since something was moving within it without apparent cause. The instrument has been thoroughly described in a rare little book *Dialogue Philosophicall*, written in 1612 by Drebbel's friend Thomas Tymme.<sup>6</sup> Although this book is illustrated with a very clear drawing (fig. 3), and although the French physician de Peiresc writes that at least eighteen such perpetual motion machines were made (of which some were presented to King James I of England and Emperor Rudolph II), not a single sample of Drebbel's globe exists in our collections today. Since the instrument appears in several Flemish paintings of the seventeenth century,



FIGURE 3 LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM  
"Perpetuum mobile" of Cornelis Drebbel  
from Tymme's "Dialogue Philosophicall," 1612

it is clear that at least one collector in Antwerp owned the curious device.<sup>7</sup>

The drawing of 1612 shows the instrument with a terrestrial globe (marked A) mounted on a vertical axis; above is a smaller globe rep-

<sup>3</sup> The name Atmos is a trademark for a modern clock, manufactured in Geneva, by Jaeger-Lecoultrre, whose spring is constantly wound by the differentiations in the atmospheric pressure in a self-contained reservoir.

<sup>4</sup> Drebbel's letter of 1613 to King James, quoted in L. E. Harris, *The Two Netherlanders*, Humphrey Bradley and Cornelis Drebbel, 1961, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> H. Michel, in *Physis*, 3, 1961, p. 211; and *idem*, *Physis*, 13:3, 1971, pp. 289-294.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, pp. 152 ff.

resenting the moon (B). Both spheres rotate, but Drebbel keeps secret the nature of the motor. Suffice it to say that he would have us understand that "the motion is perpetual, without the meanes of Steele, Springs and Weights."<sup>8</sup> Drebbel does not say how the machine works, but since the other half of the instrument is based on a barometric phenomenon, one may infer that both globes moved on the same principle: the displacement of water under varying atmospheric pressure.

Let us now examine the most interesting part of the "Perpetuum mobile." It is a large tubular ring, made of glass, and half-filled with water (C). This tube is open at one of its extremities and closed at the other end. The level of the water is thus dependent on the difference of barometric pressure in the open and closed parts of the tube, and this is clearly visible in figure 2, where the level of the liquid differs in the two branches. Of course, the temperature of the air in the closed branch may have had a predominant effect on its pressure, and thus on the level of the water. Drebbel was aware of this phenomenon, but, without explaining it, goes so far as to suggest that the displacement of the water had something to do with the tides! One might note that the tube itself is not graduated, which suggests that the device was looked upon as something of a curiosity rather than a purely scientific instrument.<sup>9</sup>

It appears that the device is a thermoscope as well as a baroscope. In any event, it anticipates Galileo's and Torricelli's works on the subject. The machine was actually built, and was not an inventor's dream. Although its existence is demonstrated by several paintings, it is curious that science museums have been completely unaware of it or of the fact that such important discoveries are to be found in an art gallery. Yet scientific study of the iconography of these and similar works can be

very fruitful. Study of some miniatures in medieval manuscripts has already brought to this author unexpected information about telescopes and the history of clocks, and clearly paintings and engravings may also enrich our documentation on these and other such instruments.

<sup>7</sup> During the seventeenth century the States General of the Netherlands granted no fewer than thirty-five patents for some form of perpetual motion device—to quacks and visionaries as well as serious inventors. See Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

The following paintings of *cabinets d'amateurs* showing the Drebbel barometer are published by Mme. Speth-Holterhoff, *op. cit.* The illustration numbers below refer to that volume.

Frans Francken II, Madrid, Prado *fig. 11*;

Frans Francken II, Brussels, Gaston Kleefeld collection, *fig. 21*;

Frans Francken II, Vienna, Harrach coll. *fig. 25*;

Willem van Haecht, *The Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, 1628, formerly in the S. van Bergh collection, New York, sold at Sotheby's, June 25, 1969 (cf. J. S. Held, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 50, 1957, p. 62, *fig. 5*), *fig. 32*;

Willem van Haecht, formerly Hardcastle collection, Hawkhurst, Kent, *fig. 39*;

Henri Staben, Brussels, Musées Royaux (there is a replica in the collection of Prince de Ligne, Beloeil, *fig. 42*);

Cornelis de Baellieur, Florence, Pitti Palace, *fig. 49*.

In addition, an allegorical picture of the Sense of Hearing by Jan Brueghel II and Jan van Kessel I, formerly in the Quiñones de Leon collection, depicts Drebbel's *motus perpetuus* very clearly among the numerous musical instruments (see Charpentier, Paris, sale, December 2, 1955, no. 1). This instrument is identical with that in the Walters picture.

<sup>8</sup> Tymme's *Dialogue*, cited in Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>9</sup> The accounts of the Town Council of Bruges mention in 1621 the purchase of an instrument called a "perpetuus motus" which would foretell the change of the weather, either for better or worse. This is certainly the Drebbel baroscope. It is interesting to note that in 1643 Torricelli considered that his barometer registered only the variations of the "weight of the air," and that Otto Guericke is said to have been the first, in 1660, to associate these changes with the prediction of a storm. The Bruges accounts would, however, indicate that here again Drebbel anticipated later discoveries by forty years.

# DELACROIX, THE CHOC DES CAVALIERS ARABES AND THE GALERIE DES BEAUX-ARTS\*

By PAUL JOANNIDES

London

EUGÈNE DELACROIX'S JOURNEY to Morocco in 1832 provided an immensely fertile store of themes and images which he used and re-used for the rest of his life. Among the incidents he witnessed which made a strong pictorial impression was a collision, on the occasion of a *Courses de poudre*, between two Arab horsemen. In 1833 or 1834, after his return to France, he painted the scene; it was rejected at the Salon of 1834 and is now in a French private collection. A repetition of the subject in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1) was for some years believed to be merely a copy of the 1833/34 painting, but in 1961 it was reinstated in Delacroix's oeuvre by Professor Lee Johnson who showed it to be an autograph version dating from the early 1840s.<sup>1</sup>

It now appears that the Walters painting was exhibited for a time in 1844 and some consideration of the context in which it was shown provides a sidelight on Delacroix's activities in an otherwise fairly obscure period and illumines also an ambitious if unsuccessful enterprise of the contemporary Parisian art

trade.

From early 1843 to mid-1845 the Galerie des Beaux-Arts, 20 and 22 Boulevard de la Bonne-Nouvelle, Paris, acted as an artists' market place and exhibition hall. For a small fee, which varied according to the size of the work,<sup>2</sup> a new picture or an old one which had failed to sell, together with a sprinkling of Old Masters, could be hung for three months, and the Galerie took only 10% commission on pictures sold from its walls. Books and prints were on sale, among the latter Delacroix's Hamlet series; a library was also provided for patrons.

From June 1843 to the middle of 1845, a magazine, the *Bulletin de l'ami des arts*, edited by A. de la Fizelière, was issued to publicize the Galerie. It contained articles of general artistic interest, novellas, a lithograph in each number, almost always of a picture on display in the Galerie, and usually a "promenade" by the editor describing pictures currently on view. The *Bulletin de l'ami des arts* forms three volumes in all. The first runs from June

\* This article was written in 1972.

<sup>1</sup> See L. Johnson, "Delacroix's 'Rencontre de Cavaliers Maures'," *Burlington Magazine*, 103, October 1961, pp. 417-23; *idem*, *Eugène Delacroix*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto and the National Gallery of Canada, 1963, no. 11; and *idem*, *Delacroix*, catalogue of an exhibition in Edinburgh and London, 1964, no. 31. I am most grateful to Professor Johnson for his advice and encouragement.

<sup>2</sup> At the end of 1843 the fees were 3 francs a trimester for pictures measuring between 2 and 4 meters round and 4 francs 50 for those above 4 meters. For large pictures fees were negotiable. All measurements included the frame. As Delacroix's letter of September 5, 1844 shows (see below), the prices must have risen during 1844.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of a double-issue in November 1843.

<sup>4</sup> Nearly 650 items by the end of the year.

1843 to the end of the year; numbers were issued fortnightly,<sup>3</sup> on the 10th and 25th of the month, and to each was added a supplement listing pictures in the Galerie. The first supplement contains nearly 450 numbers, and the following ones show that pictures continued to arrive in large quantities.<sup>4</sup> The second volume runs from January to June 1844. The magazine appeared three times a month, on the 10th, 20th and 30th, but towards the end of this period it clearly encountered difficulties and was forced to appear in compound issues. The third volume runs from Autumn 1844 to mid-1845, the numbers being issued monthly, but with increasing signs of distress, mispagination, compound numbers and mass-borrowings from other magazines and newspapers under the guise of an objective survey of critical opinion on the Salon of 1845. The *Bulletin* finally disappeared without trace into the *Journal des artistes*. Both "promenades" and supplements appear less frequently in Volumes 2 and 3. The flow of pictures into the Galerie seems gradually to have decreased in volume though it never stopped completely.

On the cover of the November 1843 issue Delacroix appears as a member of the editorial board concerned with the Beaux-Arts, together

with Louis Boulanger, among others.<sup>5</sup> However, a catalogue of the pictures in the Galerie, published in December 1843 which in some places corrects the supplements of the *Bulletin*, also includes details of the house magazine. Delacroix's name is no longer mentioned, but is replaced by that of his friend Paul Huet.

Delacroix's presence on the board for at least some of 1843 may explain why lithographs of pictures by two of his pupils, Léger Cherelle and Louis de Planet were issued in the magazine.<sup>6</sup> Both were working with him at the time on the pendentives for the Palais Bourbon library and it may well have been Delacroix's influence which caused the *Bulletin* to boost his assistants in this way.

Delacroix himself exhibited four paintings at the Galerie. The first was *Le Tasse dans la maison des fous*, no. 487 in the supplement to the issue of September 10, 1843 with the dimensions: height 50 cm., length 48 cm. The identity of this with the painting dated 1839 refused at the Salon of that year, and now in the Reinhart Collection at Winterthur is confirmed by the catalogue issued at the end of December which contains a selection of small woodcut illustrations, among them one of Delacroix's pictures.<sup>7</sup> The catalogue also gives

<sup>5</sup> The editorial board for literature included Hugo and Nodier. The latter's novella *Franciscus Columna* was published in the *Bulletin* on August 25 and September 10, 1843.

<sup>6</sup> Léger Cherelle's *Martyre de Sainte Irène*, lithographed by Bour appeared on July 25, Louis de Planet's *La Captivité de Babylone*, lithographed by Mouilleron on September 10. The former was not on exhibition, but the latter had been in the Galerie for some time: # 71. See Louis de Planet, edited by A. Joubin "Souvenirs de travaux de peinture avec Monsieur Eugène Delacroix," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1928, pp. 265-473, particularly pp. 420, 432, 440. Mouilleron's lithograph is reproduced facing p. 420. A letter from Delacroix to Planet enclosing a copy of the lithograph is published, *ibid.*, pp. 468-9, and reprinted

in *La Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix*, A. Joubin, ed., 5 vols., Paris, 1935-8, II, pp. 150-1.

<sup>7</sup> See Lee Johnson, "Eugène Delacroix et les Salons," *La Revue du Louvre*, 1966, nos. 4/5, pp. 217-230, p. 227 n. 5. It was this painting which was bought by Delacroix's friend, Hippolyte Gaultron, not no. 88 in A. Robaut's *L'oeuvre complet d'Eugène Delacroix*, Paris, 1885, as suggested by A. Joubin, *Correspondance générale*, II, p. 191 n. 3. It can hardly be coincidence that a superb lithograph of this picture by Mouilleron was published in May 1843 in another magazine *Les Beaux-Arts* with which Delacroix also had connections; see *Correspondance générale*, II, pp. 136-7, 146-7, 171-3. Delacroix published a short article on Puget's *Andromède* in *Les Beaux-Arts* in 1844.

<sup>8</sup> Louis de Planet, *Souvenirs*, *op. cit.*, p. 442.



FIGURE 1

WALTERS ART GALLERY

EUGÈNE DELACROIX  
*Collision of Arab Horsemen*

its price, 400 francs. In November, Delacroix, according to de Planet "regrettait presque de l'y avoir mis,"<sup>8</sup> but the *Bulletin de l'ami des arts* of January 20, 1844 (page 42) announced in its "promenade" that the Tasso had been "vendu tout recemment."

The "promenade" goes on to discuss Delacroix's *Marino Faliero*, now in the Wallace Collection, and *Le Massacre de l'évêque de*

*Liège*. While the former seems to have been on display in the Galerie at that date and remained there for most of 1844, the latter probably did not arrive till later. On April 10 (page 283) "Le Massacre de l'évêque de Liège, sujet tiré de Quentin Durward de Walter Scott" is mentioned among the paintings "arrivés depuis quelques jours." The picture is not referred to again and it is not known

whether it was sold or whether Delacroix withdrew it.<sup>9</sup>

The other work mentioned on April 10 is the painting in the Walters Art Gallery: "Un choc de Cavaliers Arabes . . . bien curieux à étudier par la nature des recherches auxquelles l'artiste s'est appliqué dans l'exécution de ce tableau, terminé tout récemment," which conveniently dates the painting to 1843-44. In the first number of Volume 3, probably issued at the end of September 1844 (page 45), there is a longer description of the *Choc de Cavaliers Arabes* and the *Marino Faliero*.

M. Delacroix . . . demande aux masses d'une composition souvent colossale, les effets de sa peinture.

Chez lui l'imagination, la fièvre . . . entraînent la main qui trace et lui font graver en caractères de feu l'expression palpitante d'un sentiment profonde et spontané.

M. Delacroix écrit sa pensée sur la toile; son tableau, c'est une page tracée d'une main ferme, accentuée . . . avec une science énergique, sans ratures et tout d'une haleine; mais son écriture ne ressemble pas à cette *anglaise* bien propre . . . que les professeurs enseignent. Elle n'est pas encore lisible à tout le monde, elle exige un peu de science et de bonne volonté. De là vient que le public qui n'est pas très savant en fait d'art et qui ne montre pas toujours une bonne volonté exemplaire, n'a pas encore accepté cet art vigoureux et élevé auquel nous devons le *Marino Faliero* et le *Choc de Cavaliers Arabes* exposés en ce moment dans les Galeries des Beaux-Arts.

Nous avons déjà . . . attribué à ce chef d'oeuvre de M. Delacroix [i.e. *Marino Faliero*] un part immense dans le développement actuel de l'art dramatique et des dispositions scéniques de la tragédie moderne. Le *Choc de Cavaliers Arabes* appartient à une époque plus rapprochée de nous que le *Marino Faliero*; ces deux tableaux ne peuvent pas être comparés, leur importance relative respective n'est pas la même. Cependant le *Choc* mérite une vive attention par les riches et brillantes qualités de son exécution. Il y a dans cette toile une science de couleur, une finesse et aussi une énergie qui rappellent le souvenir de

ces vigoureuses chasses aux lions et aux tigres qui ont achevé la réputation de Rubens.

L'esprit est saisi à la vue de ce combat où les chevaux heurtent les chevaux, où les cavaliers entremêlés attaquent sans penser à se défendre. Quelle triste et ennuyeux bataille cela aurait été si M. Delacroix, au lieu de brûler la toile sous les coups de sa brosse intrépide, avait froidement tiré des lignes compassées! Mais non, il y a partout la fureur de la vie, un entraînement irrésistible; la chaire palpite, le sang jaillit et le tableau captive. Voilà, l'effet d'un sentiment vrai, quand il est traduit avec franchise.

La Fizelière's account is revealing in its appeal for "science" and "bonne volonté." Delacroix was always to remain an artist for the pictorially and poetically educated; he was never widely popular. The passage still seems a reasonable appreciation of his art, and is written with patent enthusiasm. The interpretation of this scene of an accidental collision as a battle is particularly interesting. The energy of Delacroix's painting, his sense of movement, the expressive distortion of his

<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, there is no information about this picture in any of the supplements, but it was probably Robaut 195 with the dimensions 27 cm. x 39 cm. which was lithographed by Mouilleron in *Les Beaux-Arts* in June 1844, an appropriate moment if the picture were on sale at the time. Delacroix's letter of May 18, 1844, *Correspondance générale*, V, pp. 174-5, undoubtedly refers to the forthcoming publication of this lithograph. For an account of the versions of this subject see M. Toupet: "L'Assassinat de l'évêque de Liège par Eugène Delacroix," *La Revue du Louvre*, 1963, no. 2, pp. 83-94. According to the catalogue of the Villot sale, February 11, 1865, the version lithographed by Mouilleron was a later variant of the Louvre picture, painted on paper, which Delacroix gave to his friend Diaz. A version of the *Evêque de Liège* owned by Diaz was exhibited at the Boulevard des Italiens in 1860 with the dimensions 27 cm. x 38 cm; this may have been the same as the picture displayed in the Galerie des Beaux-Arts in 1844 and that shown at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1885, no. 199, dimensions 26 cm. x 42 cm. owned by John Saulnier, but final proof is lacking.

drawing, all create an atmosphere of violence which makes the error understandable.

But by this time Delacroix was becoming disenchanted with the administration of the Galerie. On September 5, 1844, he wrote to his friend Gaultron asking him to look in "chez ce bazar Bonne-Nouvelle, où vous avez acheté le petit *Tasse* et où j'ai fait la sottise de laisser trop longtemps mon *Marino Faliero* et un tableau d'*Arabes*. Je voudrais les retirer et cela avant de recommencer un nouveau mois (car on paye au mois). Ces gens sont des espèces de coquins—passez-moi l'expression—qui, j'en ai la certitude ont demandé un prix supérieur à celui que j'avais fixé, d'où résulte qu'ils avaient la chance ou de garder pour eux la différence, ou d'avoir plus longtemps, dans leur exposition, les dits tableaux; mais ce n'est que pour se mettre en garde et examiner de près leurs exigences."<sup>10</sup>

However, the *Bulletin's* puff for Delacroix may have caused some interest among pro-

spective purchasers, since on November 7, 1844 Delacroix wrote to La Fizelière asking him to tell Techner, the proprietor of the Galerie, that he wanted 1200 francs for the *Choc*, but that if the sale did not materialize, to return the pictures to him.<sup>11</sup> Apparently the prospective sale fell through, for on November 20 Delacroix appears finally to have severed his connections with the Galerie when he wrote a curt note to Techner: "M. Delacroix a l'honneur de saluer M. Teshener [*sic*] et le prie de vouloir bien lui renvoyer le plus tôt possible les deux tableaux de *Marino Faliero* et des *Arabes* . . . Il le prie bien de ne pas mettre de retard dans cet envoi."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Correspondance générale*, II, pp. 191-2.

<sup>11</sup> *Correspondance générale*, V, pp. 176-7. The 1200 francs certainly refers to the *Choc* since Delacroix would have wanted a great deal more for the *Marino Faliero*.

<sup>12</sup> *Correspondance générale*, V, p. 177.