

The Journal of



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Volume XXXVII

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FIGURE 2
The Bronze Mercury of Zanobi Lastricati in the Walters Art Gallery (27.312). The inscription on the circular base reads: "Zanobi Lastricati and Ciano Campagni, Florentine friends, made this in order to learn."

The Courtyard of Palazzo Tornabuoni-Ridolfi and Zanobi Lastricati's Bronze Mercury

MARCO SPALLANZANI

In the course of research into the account books of Cardinal Ridolfi de' Medici in order to study the construction of the Medici tombs in Santa Maria sopra Minerva, other materials have come to light that relate to more modest commissions by the Cardinal's brother in Florence, Lorenzo di Piero Ridolfi.¹ These include the decorations for the courtyard of his Florentine palace, most notably the bronze statue of Mercury, which today is in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 2).

Records of work executed in the Palazzo Ridolfi, formerly Tornabuoni, are to be found primarily in the voluminous accounts of Lorenzo and in another manuscript of more modest dimensions, which belonged to his wife, Maria Ridolfi de' Medici née Strozzi, who, for a certain period of time, kept completely separate records from her husband. While Lorenzo kept a ledger, Maria kept an income-outgo journal, and they are set up in such a way that one can compare the extreme synthesis of the former with the more detailed analysis of the latter, integrating them perfectly. Unfortunately this double documentation is maintained for just the first years that interest us (1543-45), for the rest of Maria's books have been lost.²

The present investigation is, therefore, based mainly on Lorenzo's papers, but is supplemented from time to time by the more interesting details

that emerge from Maria's manuscript. The documents relating to the courtyard and to the bronze statue that was placed in it are given in an appendix. All of these documents go back to the years 1543 to 1551, the period when, as far as we can judge from the documents, the decoration of the courtyard began and ended.

Lorenzo Ridolfi bought the Via Tornabuoni palace from Leonetto Tornabuoni in November of 1542,³ as proven by the deed drawn up by the notary Niccolò Parenti.⁴ The sale price—4,700 gold florins—was very quickly subject to considerable increases, partly because of the normal supplementary fees that always accompanied real estate transactions, and partly because of the finance charges (10% a year) that had accrued on the vast sums of money borrowed to complete the purchase. In the end the total cost of the building reached the sum of 6,480 florins 5 liras 12 soldi—an increase of over 1,700 florins.⁵

³ State Archive, Florence, *Libri di Commercio*, N. 64, *Debtors and Creditors of Lorenzo di Piero di Niccolò Ridolfi*, Yellow Book marked C, c.235. There are useful references to this palace in L. Ginori Lisci, *I Palazzi di Firenze nella storia e nell'arte*, 2 vols., Florence, 1972, I: 223-30 (Palazzi Corsi, formerly Tornabuoni) which should also be referred to for further bibliography, and in V. Buoncristiani, "Palazzo Corsi a Firenze, Dalla consorte dei Tornabuoni alla Banca Commerciale Italiana", in *Notiziario, Periodico del Circolo per il Personale della Banca Commerciale Italiana*, N. 60, year XI, April-June, 1975, pp.17-25.

With regard to the dates, perhaps it is superfluous to remind the reader that the modern calendar is always followed in this article. In the transcribed documents the Florentine style of dating (with the year beginning 25 March) is used instead, but the corresponding modern dating is almost always given in parentheses.

⁴ AS, Florence, *Notarile antecosimiano*, notary Niccolò Parenti, P. 173, II, c.220.

⁵ AS, Florence, *Libri di Commercio*, N. 64, c. 235 and d (Lorenzo's manuscript from now on will be called simply N. 64, just as Maria's will be called N. 74). In citing archival documents we have chosen to indicate the pages by means of an "s" (for *sinistra* or left) or a "d" (for *destra* or right) every

¹ The manuscript from which we have taken the documentation presented here bears the number 65 in the large collection of *Books of Commerce* [*Libri di Commercio*] of the State Archive of Florence and is included among a vast group of manuscripts that belonged to the Ridolfi family and in particular to Cardinal Ridolfi de' Medici. On Lorenzo Ridolfi and his family see G. Carocci, *La famiglia Ridolfi di Piazza*, Florence, 1889.

² An income-outgo journal is preserved, as we shall see, for Lorenzo as well, and we shall take a few interesting items from it, but even this manuscript covers a very limited period.

Only a few months after the purchase, the new owner began projects for restructuring, restoring, and decorating the palace, using a specific division of labor in the process: payments are made to the Ingesuati monks for the glass windows; to manual laborers and stone masons (some of them well-known, and some not); and to Giuliano di Baccio d'Agnolo for part of the wood provided.⁶

The first expense that closely concerned the courtyard occurred on 24 April 1544. On this day payment of 30 gold florins was made to Francesco, called Bachiacca, who painted Cardinal Ridolfi's coat-of-arms above "the door which goes into the courtyard" (doc. 1). Actually it is not just one payment but, as Maria Ridolfi's documentation shows very clearly (see doc. 1), four payments, the first of which took place on 10 November 1543, and whose total, amounting to 30 florins, represents the total outlay with regard to Bachiacca. Particularly interesting is the last of these payments for the account book entry records that "the coat-of-arms . . . is in the courtyard, above the garden door" (see doc. 1).⁷ In the month of July of the same year a certain Zanobi, who executed many jobs for Lorenzo, including two portraits of family members,⁸ painted

the inscription "Jexu" at "the top of the stairs" (doc. 2a). In August an entry records a payment of 3 florins 6 lire 10 soldi, which had already been made to Bachiacca for having painted another coat-of-arms, again in the courtyard (doc. 2b). From Maria Ridolfi's manuscript we learn that this last payment, even though a more modest one, was made in two installments. The last payment specifies not only the total payment received by the artist, but also the cost of the two basic colors (the gold and the blue) necessary for the painting of the coat-of-arms (see doc. 2b). This payment seems rather strange since its small sum does not even come near the amount agreed upon for the preceding work executed by Bachiacca, which, as observed, went up to 30 gold florins, equivalent to 210 lire. Because of its characteristic brevity, Lorenzo Ridolfi's documentation does not offer specific explanations, but, as we shall soon see, these emerge instead from the analytical account book of his wife.

In October 1544, accounts were settled with a stonemason, called Giovanni, who made four shields in stone with the coat-of-arms of the family (doc. 2c). The wife's book specifies that the payment of the total sum of 30 florins was made in eleven different installments, from the 25th of June onward (see doc. 2c).

At the same time it records the purchase of the color (the blue) necessary for the decoration of the coats-of-arms (doc. 2d), the execution of which was then entrusted to a certain Tommaso, "painter" (doc. 2e), who in the months immediately preceding had also decorated some chests for the Ridolfi.⁹ Maria's account book continues to provide details: it records the numerous remittances made to Tommaso to liquidate the debt (see doc. 2e), and specifies that the amount of blue coloring purchased is to be used for three coats-of-arms, and not four (see doc. 2d). If, as we believe, there was a separate compensation provided for the coloring materials for the last work executed by Bachiacca (see doc. 2b), then it is natural to assume that Bachiacca painted one of the four coats-of-arms carved by Giovanni, while the remaining three were given to the painter Tommaso. The dates of the entries in Lorenzo's book seem at first glance to contradict this hypothesis, since Bachiacca is paid (doc. 2b) before the stonemason Giovanni had supplied the stones

time the accounts given in the manuscripts are set in opposing sections: the right page (which represents the credit side) is set opposite or faces the left page (which represents the debit side). All this occurs in manuscript N. 64, which is Lorenzo Ridolfi's book, *Debitors and Creditors*, but in the income-outgo journal (N. 74, Maria's) this particular detail cannot occur, obviously, because of the different nature of the manuscripts: in this case the classical symbols r(recto) and v(verso) are adopted.

⁶ N. 64, c. 31, 57, 140, 276.

⁷ As far as the Cardinal's coats-of-arms are concerned, they may correspond to those reproduced by A. Ciaconii, *Vitae et Res Gestae Pontificum Romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium*, 4 vols., Rome, 1677, 3: 408 (a blue shield with a pyramid of six golden hills and a red band running across the whole shield). It should be said, however, that at times the members of that family themselves used a coat-of-arms that was half Ridolfi and half Medici, from 1515, when they obtained permission for this from Pope Leo X. In reference to the coat-of-arms, cfr. also G. Carocci, op. cit., p. 25.

⁸ In particular Clarice, Maria's mother, and Contessina, Lorenzo's mother: N. 64, c. 30d, 46s; N. 74, c. 7r, 34v, 37r, 56r.

⁹ N. 64, c. 56d; N. 74, c. 85r, 86v, 87v, 88v, 89r.



FIGURE 1
The Michelozzo courtyard before the most recent restorations of the Corsi Salviati Palace, formerly Tornabuoni-Ridolfi, in Florence.

(doc. 2c), but the summary nature of the entries contained in the ledger does not allow for an exact dating of the facts. The income-outgo journal belonging to Maria reveals that the first payments to the stonecarver preceded the installments made to Bachiacca (notes to doc. 2b and 2c).

With these payments the earliest decorations carried out in the courtyard are completed: all of them took place in the same year, from April to November of 1544, and cost a total of 77 florins 44 lire 3 soldi 4 denari, that is, around 83 gold florins. Four artists provided their services to the whole project: among them, only one, Bachiacca, can be identified with any certainty. Many problems arise in identifying the others and even the

payments made for other works executed by them cannot resolve these problems. But this confusion does not eliminate the possibility that Zanobi could be the same Zanobi Brogini who executed some paintings for Lorenzo Ridolfi,¹⁰

¹⁰We should emphasize that the last name is given as a letter B cut off (followed by "ogini"), so it can be read indiscriminately as Brogini, Berogini, Borgini, etc. We should also remind the reader once and for all that for the various artists mentioned in the documents we have not considered it necessary every time to quote the more or less vague references to them in Vasari's *Vite*, in Thieme-Becker, or in Cellini's biography. They are obvious quotations, easily traceable by anyone, and their introduction would have made the notes unnecessarily long.



FIGURE 3
The square base in sandstone and red marble made by Giovanni della Camilla, stonecutter, from a design by Domenico di Baccio d'Agnolo, in 1551. The base is now in the garden of the Villa Corsi Salviati, in Sesto. The marble tortoises are a later substitution for the original bronze ones.

just as the stonecarver Giovanni, to whom Maria Ridolfi often refers in the diminutive Ghino, could also be the same Giovanni della Camilla who, as we shall see later, will take part in the completion of the base of the Mercury statue (doc. 9c). No less vague is the identity of Tommaso, who might perhaps be identified as the Tommaso di Stefano, who is mentioned by Vasari as one of the students of Lorenzo di Credi.¹¹

While the execution and payment of these works proceeded regularly without creating any particular problems, more serious difficulties arose in the remodeling of the entire palace. A number of letters written to Lorenzo Ridolfi by Donato Giannotti, the secretary to Cardinal Ridolfi, show that the Cardinal followed the work undertaken by his brother with great interest. In December 1544 he repeatedly asks for some "plans of the house,"¹² while in a letter of 13 January 1545, Giannotti writes: "And then your letter arrived with the designs of the house, which, to tell the truth, did not please him; what didn't please him was the courtyard that you want to make with those large pilasters. The Cardinal thinks they ruin that square space, unless you're considering making a square church there instead and putting altars between the pilasters. Similarly the right and left loggias in the upper part seem superfluous, if their only function is to lead into the third corridor in front, which is similar to them. And it would seem to him better to put one loggia below and one above so that they could be used for many purposes. But certainly those corridors are useless if they don't connect to other rooms or loggias. The Cardinal believes that the courtyard could be made beautiful, that is, with beautiful decorations on the sides; like statues and other things. He also thinks one could place beautiful espaliers of orange trees

¹¹ G. Vasari, *op. cit.*, 4: 270: and perhaps we should not overlook the fact that Vasari mentions the same Tommaso di Stefano (who died in 1564) for his skill in decorating "hangings".

¹² D. Giannotti, "Alcune lettere nuovamente trovate nell'Archivio Centrale di Stato", edited by G. Milanesi, in *Giornale Storico degli Archivi Toscani*, VII, 1863, pp. 155-173; 220-253; in particular the letter dated 9 Dec. 1544 (p. 171) and that of the 29th of the same month (p. 173), both of them from Vicenza.



FIGURE 4
The Parian marble statue of Mercury now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, which served as a model for Zanobi Lasciatelli's bronze Mercury.



FIGURE 5

One of the four bronze tortoises cast by Zanobi Lastricati in about 1549 to 1551 to support the stone base of his bronze Mercury. The tortoise is in a private collection in Florence.

there, which if you then put statues in niches would work out very well . . . Tell Petreio that he is a bastard, because in order to favor others, he hasn't let you see a drawing for the courtyard done by a certain Alessandro called il Giansini: and then we wonder why buildings are ruining the world! . . . Postscript. I have been with the Cardinal again and with M. Tommaso Ghinucci, *principe architectorum*; and to tell the truth, they don't like those pilasters that you're making in the courtyard in order to widen those upper galleries a little more. And S.S.R. ma's thought is that since you haven't yet started the work on it that you let it go, and make a loggia below and above; and make the lower one with pilasters and the upper one with columns. The lower loggia could either be painted or worked in stucco, and it could be decorated with statues and busts which the cardinal has and which he'll provide; and this is what he has told me to write to you. Above the upper loggia you could put an open grill instead of a roof which would serve many household purposes."¹³

In the next letter, dated 4 February 1545, Giannotti again goes on about the construction of the palace: "Mag.coM. Lorenzo. Since you say that you have consulted with many architects and especially with Tribolo, whom I myself know is resourceful and above board, I will begin to agree with your ideas because the things which I still see to be against your plan, seem to me also things which should be taken into consideration with these others. I don't know who Giansi is: I think he's a good person since he was recommended to me by Ghinuccio, who is the most dependable man I know. And you have done well to attract him by giving him work to do. The Cardinal's antiques are, without a doubt, meant to go to this house; but just when their installation will be carried out, I cannot tell yet. And I would urge you not to be in a great hurry, or at least not to show it, but we'll talk together about

¹³ D. Giannotti, op. cit., p. 221. Obviously the parts of the letters that don't have a specific interest have been omitted (and the omissions indicated by means of " . . . ").

this and other things if you come to see me, as you say you want to do."¹⁴

It is obvious that there were rather serious differences between Lorenzo and the Cardinal. The Cardinal reveals here, as well as elsewhere, some stubborn and well-defined tastes, which his great authority and wealth eventually transformed into commands. In fact, Lorenzo's documentation, even though incomplete, allows us to see how the desires of the Cardinal were on the whole respected.

In Lorenzo's papers there is no mention of Tribolo, while three entries of 1545 and 1546 (strangely enough not recorded in the ledger but in a collateral book also belonging to Lorenzo) record the payments made to the person of "Maestro Giovan Battista Tasso, architect" (doc. 3a, 3b, 3c). The reason for these payments, whose total amounts to 45 lire, that is, around 6 gold florins, is never specified, but it does not seem out of place to suggest this artist as the recipient since it was during those years that he worked on some of the most important Florentine palaces then in construction on the Via Tornabuoni. During the years 1545 and 1546 the projects proceed very slowly, however, and one cannot exclude the possibility that one of the reasons for this slow pace is to be found in the disagreements which occurred between the two brothers.

In September of 1546 a payment is made to two stonecutters, Bernardino Basso and Sandro for some "stones made for the courtyard" (doc. 4a, 4b), while in January of the following year Bernardino Basso is again paid for other stones, including twenty "round ones for the Seville oranges", that is for stones meant to contain Seville orange plants, very similar, then, to the orange trees envisioned by the Cardinal (doc. 4c). In 1547 costly construction was carried out in the garden for a sum that goes well above 2,000 florins: these are important and somewhat unusual projects, but it would be out of place to linger upon them in this context.¹⁵ Other rather insignificant "improvements and minor repairs" follow one upon another, up until September 1549

when the courtyard is again involved. On 3 September of that year a payment is made to Zanobi di Bernardo Lastricati, sculptor, who on the basis of a private contract made with Ridolfi, was commissioned to execute and finish a bronze statue of the god Mercury to be placed in the courtyard (docs. 5, 6). Actually this entry of 3 September 1549, does not constitute the first reference to the statue of Mercury, since in another of the letters sent from Giannotti to Lorenzo we read: "The chest containing the marble *putto* and the Mercury appeared safe and sound and the coachman was satisfied by the delivery."¹⁶ The first sculpture does not appear to have a comparable entry in Ridolfi's account books, but as for the second—the Mercury—it is not impossible that it was a model for Lastricati's final statue. Perhaps it was considered advisable to obtain the Cardinal's approval by sending him a model first.

At this point the account book assigns an account to Zanobi Lastricati and on the debit side records each of the payments. Following the agreements made, these amount to 6 florins monthly.¹⁷ The entries in the first months proceed with regularity, but evidently the casting of the statue must have taken longer than expected since extra payments, this time in the sum of 4 florins, took place up until June of 1551, which meant a total cost of 107 florins 1 lira (doc. 5).

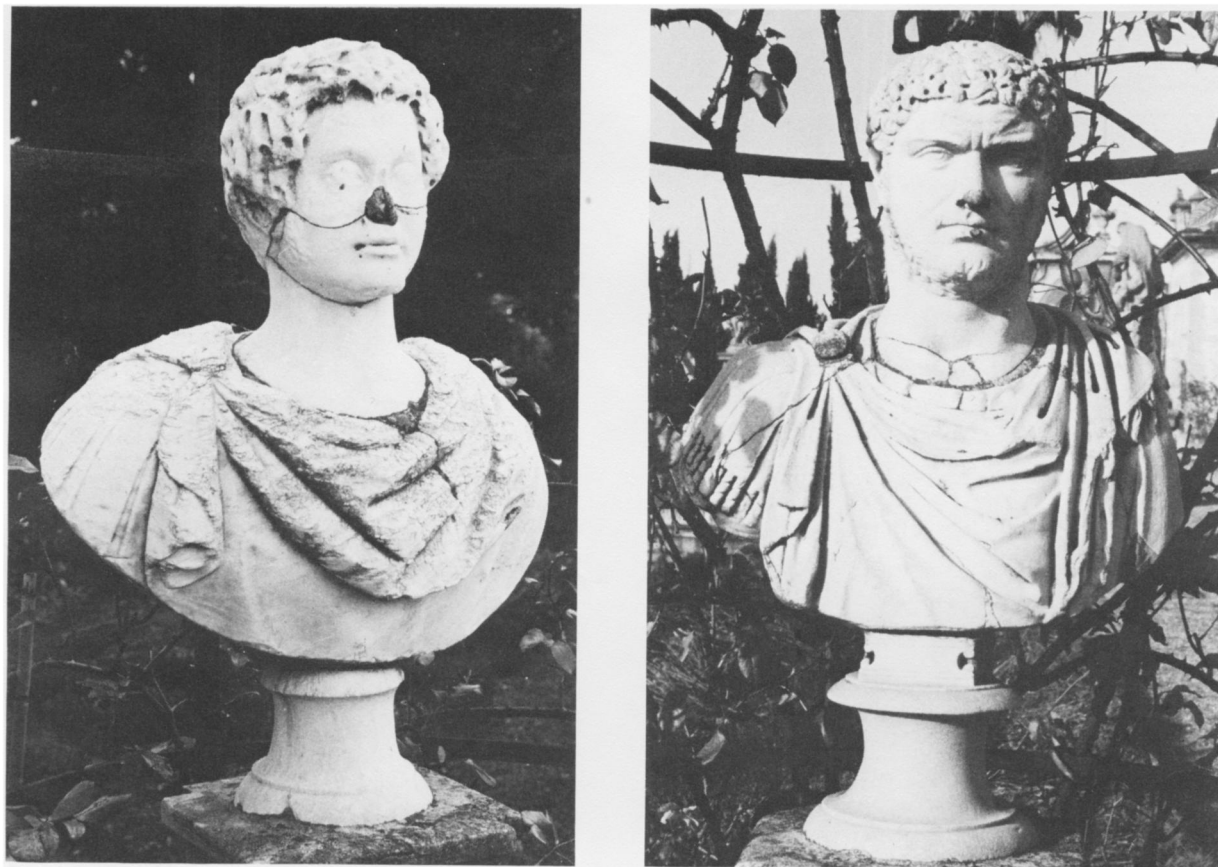
While these payments are being made, in January of 1551, and then again in June of the same year, the payment for the bronze necessary for the casting of the statue (doc. 7) was begun: it amounted to a total of 1,690 lbs furnished by Alessandro di Bernardo Lastricati, brother of the sculptor, at a price of 6 florins for every 100 lbs (doc. 8). This is finally registered as paid (doc. 9a). The accounts indicate not only the total quantity of metal furnished, which, as already mentioned, amounts to 1,690 lbs but also the

¹⁴ D. Giannotti, op. cit., p. 238, letter of 21 July 1549 from Bagnaia.

¹⁷ For the year to which these documents refer we cannot use Maria Ridolfi's bookkeeping anymore since her income-outgo journal ends, as we have already noted, in the years 1544-1545. Perhaps it is unnecessary to repeat that every entry compiled in Lorenzo's book (the only source, after all) can continue to represent a total of numerous transactions that had already happened but that are no longer possible to recover.

¹⁴ D. Giannotti, op. cit., pp. 222-23.

¹⁵ N. 64, c57d.



FIGURES 6 AND 7

Two marble heads of Renaissance busts. Probably two of the marble heads already in the Roman collection of Cardinal Ridolfi and intended for the courtyard of the Florentine palace of his brother. The busts were probably executed in Florence by the sculptor Giovanni in 1551. They are now in the Villa Corsi Salviati, in Sesto.

subtotals; these refer to the actual statue itself (1,230 lbs), to the base on which it stands (198 lbs), and even to the four tortoises (109 lbs) that were meant to support, as we shall see, "a stone base"; 154 lbs are also provided as margin for the inevitable loss which would occur during the course of the casting (docs. 8, 9a).

Once the debts to Zanobi Lastricati and his brother Alessandro are completely paid, the account book of Lorenzo Ridolfi proceeds, in June of 1551, to the closing of the accounts made out to the two artists, transferring the two totals to the debit side of the account entitled "improvements and repairs" (docs. 9a, 9b). At the same time two other projects are recorded: the first, for a total of 65 florins 2 lire, concerns a sum of

payments made to Giovanni della Camilla, stone-carver, who executed a stone base decorated in marble to support the statue (doc. 9c, fig. 3). The second, of 17 florins 10 soldi 8 denari in small coins, is made to unspecified workmen who provided the final arrangement of the various component parts of the work.

At this point the bookkeeper evidently believed that the recording of the finances concerning the Mercury was concluded since he followed the entry mentioned above with a marginal note in which he summarized the various costs registered (doc. 9e). In actual fact, the expenses pertinent to the statue were not over: there still remained one, for certain stuccos executed "around the base of the statue" amounting to barely 1 lira,

17 soldi (doc. 9f). But the account "improvements and repairs" does not contain all the expenditures for the preparation and placement of the Mercury: in March of 1551 a respected Florentine woodworker, Domenico di Baccio d'Agnolo, who had already executed important works such as beds, tables, and strong boxes for Lorenzo Ridolfi,¹⁸ was paid for a "letter holder", for "decoration done for two marble heads in half-relief", for a "painting which is a portrait of Pompeia Sabina", and for "a model of a base for the courtyard figure" (doc. 10). When dealing with these expenditures for objects and works of art that decorate the palace, the bookkeeper charged the total cost to the account entitled "*masserizie di chasa*" (household goods) although it would have been more correct to subtract first the five lire for the model and transfer it to the "improvements and repairs" account. However, this inaccuracy does not have any practical consequence whatsoever, either for the bookkeeping system or for Lorenzo Ridolfi himself, since the amount of the expenses put out for the palace decrease by a far from modest sum (the debit entry left out of the "improvements" account) and the decorating costs of the palace increase by the same amount in the "household" account (doc. 10).

To return to the statue, on 3 September 1549, Zanobi Lastricati pledged himself to execute the Mercury within a year (doc. 5). It was in this year, incidentally, (and not 1550), that the Roman marble statue, which was the exact model for Zanobi's bronze (fig. 4),¹⁹ must have arrived in Florence.

The casting of the statue left obvious traces in the written sources of the period, and it is Vasari, of course, who, without referring to its date, writes: "And the same person, that is, Zanobi Lastricati, as a good and able sculptor, has directed and still works himself on many projects

done in marble and metal casting, and these works have made him worthy to be in the Accademia in the company of the men mentioned above. And among his other works a bronze Mercury which stands in the courtyard of Messer Lorenzo Ridolfi's palace is much praised for being a figure which was carried out with all the care that is necessary."²⁰

With these few but precise words Vasari records the statue of Mercury. Milanese also devotes a note to this statue. Commenting upon a section concerning Agnolo, Franciabigio's brother, and Ciano, he says: "The actual name of Ciano, the perfumer, was Bastiano di Francesco d'Jacopo. He was a sculptor, and together with Zanobi Lastricati made a Mercury out of bronze for Lorenzo Ridolfi, who kept it in his palace on the via de' Tornabuoni. This statue, in the various sales of the same palace, passed into the hands of the Altemps (1571), then went to Cardinal Alessandro de' Medici, who assumed the papacy under the name of Leo XI, and finally to the Corsi Marquises (1607), who had it transported to their villa in Sesto where it stayed up until this year, when it was sold to a foreigner."²¹ The last lines, with the references to the changes in ownership that the palace as well as the statue underwent over the centuries constitute perhaps the most interesting part; the statement regarding Ciano, the perfumer, on the other hand, appears rather doubtful. According to this view, he would have actively cooperated in the execution of the work, as the inscription on the base of the statue seems to demonstrate (see fig. 2, caption), while in the documents presented here, he appears as a simple "mallevadore" (guarantor) (doc. 5).

The transfers of ownership of the palace deserve special attention inasmuch as it is precisely by following the passing of ownership that one can arrive at a convincing reconstruction of the whole sculpture. An inventory of the palace,

¹⁸ N. 64, c. 45s, 113s and d, 136d, 146d, 158s, 205s and d. This is not the place to list all the references that appear in Maria's book. On Domenico see the genealogical table of the Baglionis (Baccio d'Agnolo's family) already published by Milanese in Vasari's *Vite*, 5: 361.

¹⁹ For information concerning the Roman statue and the sources that testify to its presence in Florence in 1550, cfr. G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi, Le sculture*, 2 vols., Rome, 1958, part I, N. 27, pp. 50-51.

²⁰ G. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Club del Libro, Milan, 1966, 8: 64. In footnote L the references that recur in the *lives* of Pierino da Vinci and Michelangelo to Lastricati. For further information on this artist, see G. Palagi, *Di Zanobi Lastricati, scultore ed fonditore fiorentino del secolo XVI, Ricordi e Documenti*, Florence, 1871.

²¹ G. Vasari, *Le vite*, ed. Milanese, cit., V, Franciabigio's *Vita*, p. 199, note 2. The dates inserted in parentheses are taken from L. Ginori Lisci, op. cit., 1: 224.

compiled on January 27, 1729, on the occasion of the death of Giovanni Corsi, still records "a statue in bronze which represented Mercury, with its base of stone."²² In a later period, as we have already mentioned, the ensemble was transferred by wish of the Corsi family to the grandiose Villa Corsi Salviati in Sesto, and it remained in the villa's garden until 1879.²³ The sale of the statue and the circular bronze base dates back to that year, while the stone base and the four tortoises remained in the garden. Placed in the center of a small theater created in this century by Count Giulio Guicciardini Corsi Salviati, the stone base is still clearly visible today: square in form and decorated with red marbles (fig. 3), it rests on four marble tortoises, a recent substitution for the original bronze ones (fig. 5).²⁴

From an economic point of view, the statue by Lastricati and the base cost a total of 290 gold florins 13 lire 3 soldi 8 denari, which can be broken down thus:

raw material	101 florins	2.16—lb.
Lastricati's payment	107 florins	1.—lb.
model for base	—	5.—lb.
stone base	65 florins	2.—lb.
construction costs	17 florins	10.8—lb.
stucco costs	—	1.17 lb.
<hr/>		
TOTAL COST	290 florins	13.3.8 lb. ²⁵

²² G. Guicciardini Corsi Salviati, "La Villa Corsi a Sesto", in *Rivista d'Arte* XIX, 1937, p. 148, note 1. This same article has been published independently (Florence, 1937) with the addition of extensive illustrations and of unpublished archive material (among which an inventory of the furnishings of the villa in 1757).

²³ G. Guicciardini Corsi Salviati, op. cit., p. 148, note 1: the statue would have in this way emigrated abroad, only to return then again to Florence, this time to an antique dealer. In 1930 it was in Paris, in the possession of Arthur Sambon, from whom Henry Walters bought it.

²⁴ The whole weight of all the tortoises together (slightly altered by small restorations done over the centuries) is almost 10 kg. and therefore is heavier than the weight given in the documents. (27.25 lib. = 9.252 kg.).

²⁵ Expressed completely in florins, the total corresponds to 291 fl., 16 soldi, and 1 denaro. The exchange rate that exists between the lira and gold florins was at that point 7.3 lb. = 1 florin, as we can easily extract from the same documents presented here (for example, from doc. 9c).

After the payments made out to the various artists who executed the statue and base were concluded, Lorenzo's books record a few entries for the costs pertaining to the arrival in Florence of certain marble sculptures originating from Rome (doc. 11 a-d). The documents specify only "heads in relief sculpture" for which Giovanni, "sculptor," must prepare certain busts (doc. 11 b). It is not easy to establish the exact number of these pieces that would seem, at first, to be five (docs. 11c, 11d), but which increase to six only a few years later, when in June of 1556, 1 florin 1 lira 11 soldi are paid for the gate tax and various costs relative to another "marble head which came from Rome."²⁶ These statues were those from the cardinal, already cited in Giannotti's letter as destined for Lorenzo's palace. The search for these marbles is anything but easy, and the evidence so far is inconclusive.

In an inventory of the villa Corsi in Sesto, compiled in 1757, almost twelve marble antique busts are mentioned, "nine with similar bases and three with serpentine bases."²⁷ Even today the part of the garden that faces the principle facade of the villa is decorated with antique heads placed on marble busts, some of which date from the Renaissance. The pieces reproduced in figures 6 and 7 only serve to illustrate two marbles that could be identified as the two heads that arrived from Rome in 1551, and for which the sculptor Giovanni prepared the marble busts. (doc. 11b).

The numerous archive documents, the contemporary literary sources, the other items of evidence already cited thus offer much useful infor-

²⁶ N. 64, c. 318s.

²⁷ G. Guicciardini Corsi Salviati, op. cit., p. 79 (of the monograph). Along with the marble pieces one must not forget the bronzes, and again Milanese, commenting on a letter of Vasari's, records that Ludovico, Jacopo del Duca's brother, "had cast in bronze, copies of some heads which had been excavated from antiquity which were meant to decorate the palace of the Ridolfi in Florence, formerly the palace of the Tornabuoni" (G. Nasari, op. cit., 8: 297, letter of 6 June 1551 to Lorenzo Ridolfi). We should also remember that in 1571 on the occasion of the sale of the building to Cardinal Altemps, the palace and the minor adjacent buildings were estimated at 16,000 florins while the Mercury and 9 other large statues were valued at 2,000 florins. (L. Ginori Lisci, op. cit., p. 231, note 5).

²⁸ C. Stegmann - H. Geymüller, *Die Architektur der renaissance in Toscana*, Munich, 1890-1906, II, fig. 3.

mation about the statue and its base, and also about the decorations brought to the courtyard; but the actual whereabouts of all these works remains uncertain. Even if one considers that the Michelozzo courtyard constitutes the best preserved part of the old Tornabuoni palace, there are nonetheless key elements missing for a convincing reconstruction of the whole. In the last century alone deplorable restorations have brought about the closing of a portico, a radical displacement of some doors, and the insertion into the courtyard itself of several coats-of-arms that were not previously there. Most interesting is an old photograph that offers a good view of much of the courtyard; entirely missing are the coats-of-arms that today can be seen in the covered corners just as there is no longer any trace of either the Ridolfi arms or of the decorations by Bachiacca (fig. 1). Above the central arch of the side opposite the entrance from Via Tornabuoni is the coat-of-arms of the Corsi family still in place today, while in the background partly covered by a column, can barely be seen a statue, which is more clearly visible in another old photograph, published by Stegmann-Geymuller.²⁸ The Mercury could have been placed either under the portico, or in the center of the courtyard, or even in the central archway with the Corsi coat-of-arms hung above it. Needless to say, one

could advance many other likely placements for the stone coat-of-arms that we have mentioned so often. An account entry of Lorenzo's specifies this as placed "above the arches of the courtyard" (doc. 2e), while in his wife's book a payment made out to Giovanni, the stonecarver, mentions that the "four coats-of-arms are for the four sides of the courtyard" (note to doc. 2c).

The evidence presented here is not very abundant but it is to be hoped that more may soon come to light now that the papers of the very rich Corsi Salviati Archive, deposited recently with the State Archives, are available to scholars.

I should like to express my thanks to those whose advice and suggestions have made this research possible: particularly Ulrich Middeldorf, Richard Goldthwaite and W. R. Rearick; the private owners of the works here published, who have helped in identifying them and who have authorized their reproduction; finally, Aldo Perini and Virgilio Buoncristiani of the staff of the Banca Commerciale Italiana, present owner of the Palazzo Tornabuoni Ridolfi.

Photo credits: Fig. 1 - Foto Brogi (N. 21296); Fig. 2 - Foto Meseo; Figs. 3, 5, 6, 7 - Private collections; Fig. 4 - Foto Brogi (N. 3196);

The following is a summary of the evidence relating to the execution of the statue and its base:

• statue of Mercury	work by Zanobi Lastricati (docs. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9b)	1,230 lbs.	h. 183.1 cm.
• circular bronze base	work by Zanobi Lastricati (docs. 8, 9a)	198 lbs.	h. 13.7 cm.
• square base of stone worked with red marble	work by Giovanni della Camilla, stonecarver (doc. 9c) on a design by Domenico de Baccio d'Agnolo (doc. 10)		h. 220.0 cm.
• four bronze tortoises	work by Zanobi Lastricati (docs. 8, 9a)	154 lbs.	h. 11.5 cm.
			428.3 cm.

THE JOURNAL OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

DOCUMENTO 1

MDXLIJ

Miglioramenti e achonccimi fatti alla nostra chasa ghrande da' Tornabuoni deono dare. . . .

E, a dì 24 d'aprile (1544), fiorini 30 d'oro di moneta pagati a Francesco, dipintore, detto el Bachiacha, per avere dipinto l'arme de' Reverendissimo Cardinale Ridolffi sopra l'usco che va nel chortile, per patto fatto d'accordo, a Giornale, c.18, in questo, 52, (30)

f.30 lb.—s.—

DOCUMENTO 2 (a-e)

MDXLIIIJ

Miglioramenti e achonccimi fatti alla nostra chasa ghrande da' Tornabuoni deono dare. . . .

a E, a dì 12 detto (luglio), lb.7 dati a Zanobi dipintore, per fattura e oro del nome di Jexu, di chapo di schala, a Giornale, c.22, in questo, 63, (31)

f. 1 lb.—s.—

b E, a dì 25 d'aghosto, lb.27 s.10, pagati a Francesco, dipintore, per oro e cholori e manifattura d'un'arme del Cardinale, fatta nel chortile, a Giornale, c.25, in questo, 63, (32)

f. 3 lb. 6 s.10

c E, a dì 12 d'ottobre, f.30 d'oro di moneta, pagati a Giovanni, scharppellino, per 4 schudi di pietra, dreanttovi l'arme nostre, messi nel chortile, a Giornale, c.27, in questo, c.69, (33)

f.30 lb.—s.—

d E, a dì 28 detto, lb.18 s.13.4, per denari 16 d'azzurro oltrammarino per l'arme del chortile, a Giornale, c.29, in questo, 69, (34)

f. 2 lb. 4 s.13.4

e E, a dì 28 di novembre, lb.80, pagati in più volte a Tomaxo, dipintore, in più volte, per dipintura de l'arme di pietra sono sopra gli archi del chortile, a Giornale, c.30, in questo, 73, (35)

f.11 lb. 3 s.—

DOCUMENTO 3 (a-c)

1545

Addì 5 di dicembre

a A spese di muraglia, lb.quindici a maestro Giovanbatista Tasso, architetto, portò el suo figliuolo, (36)

lb.15.—

Addì 9 detto (febbraio 1545-1546)

b Alla muraglia, lb. quindici a maestro Giovanbatista Tasso, architetto, in 2 scudi d'oro, portò lui, (37)

lb.15.—

Addì 6 detto (aprile 1546)

c Alla muraglia, lb.quindici, portò contanti maestro Giovanbatista Tasso, architetto, in 2 scudi d'oro. (38)

lb.15.—

DOCUMENTO 4 (a-c)

A dì 7 di settembre detto (1546)

- | | | |
|---|--|------------|
| a | Alla muraglia, a maestro Bernardino, per resto delle pietre fatte pel cortile: lb. cinque, portò per ogni resto saldo et d'accordo, et lb. settanta per bene andata oltre al pretio, portò contanti, | lb. 75.— |
| b | Alla muraglia, a Sandro, scarpellino, lb. trentasette s. 10, portò contanti, per resto delle pietre fatte per il cortile di Firenze, in scudi 5 d'oro, (39) | lb. 37. 10 |
-
- Addì 22 di gennaio 1546(-1547)
- | | | |
|---|---|----------|
| c | Alla muraglia, lb. quarantadua, pagati a maestro Bernardino Basso, scarpellino, per 20 tondi pe' melangoli del cortile et per 16 chiusini a più condotti e altre pietre fatte per casa, oltre al conto saldo della muraglia, portò contanti Piero, (40) | lb. 42.— |
|---|---|----------|

DOCUMENTO 5

MDXLVIIIJ

- Zanobi di Bernardo Lastrichai, schulttore, de' dare, a dì 3 di settenbre 1549, lb. 42 picc., portò contanti lui propio, a chontto della provixione se gli da per una statua d'un Mercurio di bronxo ci fa, la quale à preso a farcci in termine per da oggi' a un anno, e in tal tenppo siàno ubrighati di darlli ungni mes f. 6, e' quali sono per la pagha di questo mese, sì chome più a pieno per una schritta fatta fra noi apare, e in Giornale, c. 105, e in chaxo non finissi tal lavoro, Cano, profumiere, ci sta malevadore di ribozsarcci di tutto quello avessi auto, in questo, 160,
- E, a dì primo d'ottobre, f. 6 di moneta, portò contanti, a Giornale, c. 107, in questo, 160, f. 6 lb.—s.—
- E, a dì 31 detto, f. 6 di moneta, portò Cano, profumiere, a Giornale, c. 109, in questo, 160, f. 6 lb.—s.—
- E, a dì primo dicenbre, f. 6 d'oro di moneta, per lui a Cano detto, a Giornale, c. 110, in questo, 164, f. 6 lb.—s.—
- E, a dì 15 di gennaio (1549-1550), f. 6 d'oro di moneta, portò contanti Zanobi propio, a Giornale, c. 111, in questo, 164, f. 6 lb.—s.—
- E, a dì 22 di maggo (1550), f. 7 d'oro di moneta, portò contanti Zanobi propio, in dì 17 detto, a Giornale, c. 115, in questo, 170, f. 12 lb.—s.—
- E, a dì 28 di gungno, scudi 6 d'oro in oro, auti di contanti da messer Lorenzo, a Giornale, c. 117, insino a dì 26 del prexente, a Giornale, c. 117, messer Lorenzo, in questo, 163, f. 6 lb. 3 s.—
- E, a dì 9 di settenbre, scudi dieci d'oro in oro, di contanti, dal detto, a Giornale, c. 119, in questo, 163, f. 10 lb. 5 s.—
- E, a dì 9 d'ottobre, scudi 4 d'oro in oro, di contanti, da messer Lorenzo nostro, a Giornale, c. 125, in questo, 163, f. 4 lb. 2 s.—
- E, a dì 27 detto, scudi 6 d'oro in oro, di contanti, da messer Lorenzo nostro, a Giornale, c. 127, in questo, 163, f. 6 lb. 3 s.—
- E, de' dare, a dì 15 di novenbre, scudi 4 d'oro in oro, di contanti, da messer Lorenzo nostro, a Giornale, c. 128, chreditore detto messer Lorenzo, in questo, 163, f. 4 lb. 2 s.—
- E, a dì 5 dicenbre, scudi 4 d'oro in oro, di contanti, da messer Lorenzo, a Giornale, c. 129, in questo, 191, f. 4 lb. 2 s.—
- E, a dì 29 detto, f. 4 d'oro di moneta, mandatigli per Piero, franexe, c. 130, in questo, 184, f. 4 lb.—s.—

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E, a dì 16 di gennaio (1550-1551), f.4 d'oro di moneta, portò contanti el fattore di Ciano, profumiere, a Giornale, c.131, in questo, 193,	f. 4 lb.—s.—
E, a dì 14 di febraio, f.4 d'oro di moneta, portò contanti, a Giornale, c.133, in questo, 193,	f. 4 lb.—s.—
E, a dì 3 di marzo, f.4 d'oro di moneta, portò contanti, a Giornale, c.134, in questo, 193,	f. 4 lb.—s.—
E, a dì 14 detto, scudi 10 d'oro in oro, portò contanti Zanobi detto, a Giornale, c.136, in questo, 199,	f.10 lb. 5 s.—
E, a dì 4 di giungno (1551), f.2 d'oro di moneta, portò contanti lui propio, a Giornale, c.142, in questo, 209, (41)	f. 2 lb.—s.—
(Somma f.) 107.1.—	

DOCUMENTO 6

MDXLVIIIJ

Zanobi di Bernardo Lastrichai, di chontro, de' avere, a dì 13 di giungno 1551, scudi centto d'oro in oro, che tanti se lli fanno buoni per fattura d'una statua di bronzo d'un Mercurio, fattoci per nel chortile della chasa di nostra abitazione di Firenze nella via de' Tornabuoni, fatto secho d'acordo, a Giornale, c.143, posto miglioramenti e acconcimi di detta chasa debitori, in questo, 140, (42)	f.107 lb. 1 s.—
--	-----------------

DOCUMENTO 7

MDL

Lesandro di Bernardo Lastrichai de' dare, a dì 27 di gennaio 1550(-1551) scudi cinquantta d'oro in oro, portò contanti a buon chontto del bronxo e metallo dato per noi a Zanobi Lastrichai, schulttore, per la statua ci fa di Mercurio per el nostro chortile, a Giornale, c.131, in questo, 193,	f.53 lb.34 s.—
E, a dì 13 di giungno (1551), lb.334 s.16 picc., portò contanti Lesandro detto, per resto del broxo auto da llui per la statua, a Giornale, c.143, in questo, 209, (43)	f.47 lb. 5 s.16

DOCUMENTO 8

MDL

Lesandro di Bernardo Lastrichai, di chontro, de' avere, a dì 13 di giungno 1551, f. centtuno d'oro di moneta e lb.2 s.16 picc., per la valuta di lib.1690 di bronzo a f.6 di moneta centinaia, auto da llui per la statua del Mercurio fatto per el chortile della chasa di nostra abitazione di Firenzo è nella via de' Tornabuoni, che lib. 1230 pesò la statua e lib.198 la baxa dove è chonmesso e' pie' di detta statua e lib.109 per le 4 testugine rregghano la baxa di pietra, e lib.154 per e' 10 per 100 se li da di chalo, a Giornale, c.143, aconcimi di chasa, in questo, 140, (44)	f.101 lb. 2 s.16
--	------------------

DOCUMENTO 9 (a-f)

MDXLVIJ

Miglioramenti e aconcimi della chasa di nostra abitazione deono dare. . .	
a E, a dì 13 giungno (1551), f.101 d'oro di moneta e lb.2 s.16, per tanti fatti buoni a Lesandro di Bernardo Lastrichai, per la valuta di lib.1690 di bronzo a f.6 d'oro centinaia, auto da llui per una statua d'un Mercurio, fatta fare per nel chor- tile di detta chasa, che lib.1230 pesò la statua e lib.198 la baxa dove è chomesso e'pie' di detta statua e lib.109 per 4 testugine per sotto la baxa della pietra e lib.154 per e'10 per 100 se li da per chalo, chome tutto apare a Giornale, c.143, e in questo, 196,	f.101 lb. 2 s.16
b E, a dì detto, scudi 100 d'oro in oro, per tanti fatti buoni a Zanobi di Bernardo Lastrichai, schulttore, per fattura di detta statua, a Giornale, c.143, in questo, 161,	f.107 lb. 1 s.—

- c E, a dì detto, lb.457, pagati in più volte a Giovanni della Chamilla, scharpelino, per la baxa di pietra con marmi in mexo, chondotta a tutte sua spese, per la sopradetta statua del Mercurio, a Giornale, c.143, in questo, 209, f.65 lb. 2 s.—
- d E deono dare, a dì 18 di giungno, lb.119 s.10 d. 8 picc., per tanti spesi in fare murare la baxa del la statua del Mercurio di bronzo, messo nel chor tile di detta chasa, chome particulamente in Giornale apare, a c.143, in questo, 209, f.17 lb.—s.10.8
- e Chome per le 3 partite utime di chontro (f.) 273 (lb.) 5.16.-e per la sopraschritta, (f) 17 (lb.)-.10.8 la statua chostò: f. 290 lb.6 s.6.8 picc.
-
- f E, a dì 28 d'ottobre, lb.1 s.17 picc., per stu chi per intorno a pie' della statua di bronzo del chortile, a Giornale, c.149, in questo, 215, (45) f.—lb. 1 s.17.—

DOCUMENTO 10

MDL

Maserizie di chasa deono dare. . . .

E, a dì 28 di marzo (1551), lb.62 picc.a Domenico di Bacco d'Angniolo, lengniaiuolo, lb.3 per uno serbatoio da lettere e lb.5 per uno modello di una baxa per la ighura del chortile e lb.12 per 2 ornamenti fatti a 2 teste di marmo di mezzo rilievo e lb.42 per uno ornamentto fatto a un quadro ritrattovi Ponpeia Sabina, a Giornale, c.137, in questo, 199, (46)

f. 8 lb. 6 s.—

DOCUMENTO 11 (a-d)

MDL

Spese ochorentte deono dare. . . .

- a E, a dì 12 di marzo (1550-1551), scudi 1 s.5 d.6 d'oro in oro fatti buoni a Ruberto Ubaldini e comp. di Roma, per tanti spesi in far fare dua chasse per mandarvici certte teste di rilievo, a Giornale, c.136, in questo, 204, (47) f. 1 lb. 2 s.11.—
- b E, a dì 9 d'aprile (1551), lb.37 s.10 a Giovanni, schulttore, per marmo per e' busti di dua teste, fa fare el nostra magore messer Lorenzo, portò contanti, Giuliano Ghondi, a Giornale, c.138, in questo, 199, f. 5 lb. 2 s.10
- c E, a dì detto (24 aprile), lb.17 s.8.4, per ghabella di 2 teste di marmo venute da Roma, a Giornale, c.139, in questo, 199, f. 2 lb. 3 s. 8.4
- d E, a dì 30 detto (15 maggio), lb.13 s.6 per ghabella e a' fachini di doghana di 3 teste di mar mo venute da Roma, a Giornale, c.140, in questo, 199 (48), f. 1 lb. 6 s. 6.—

Josefa de Ayala — A Woman Painter of the Portuguese Baroque

EDWARD J. SULLIVAN

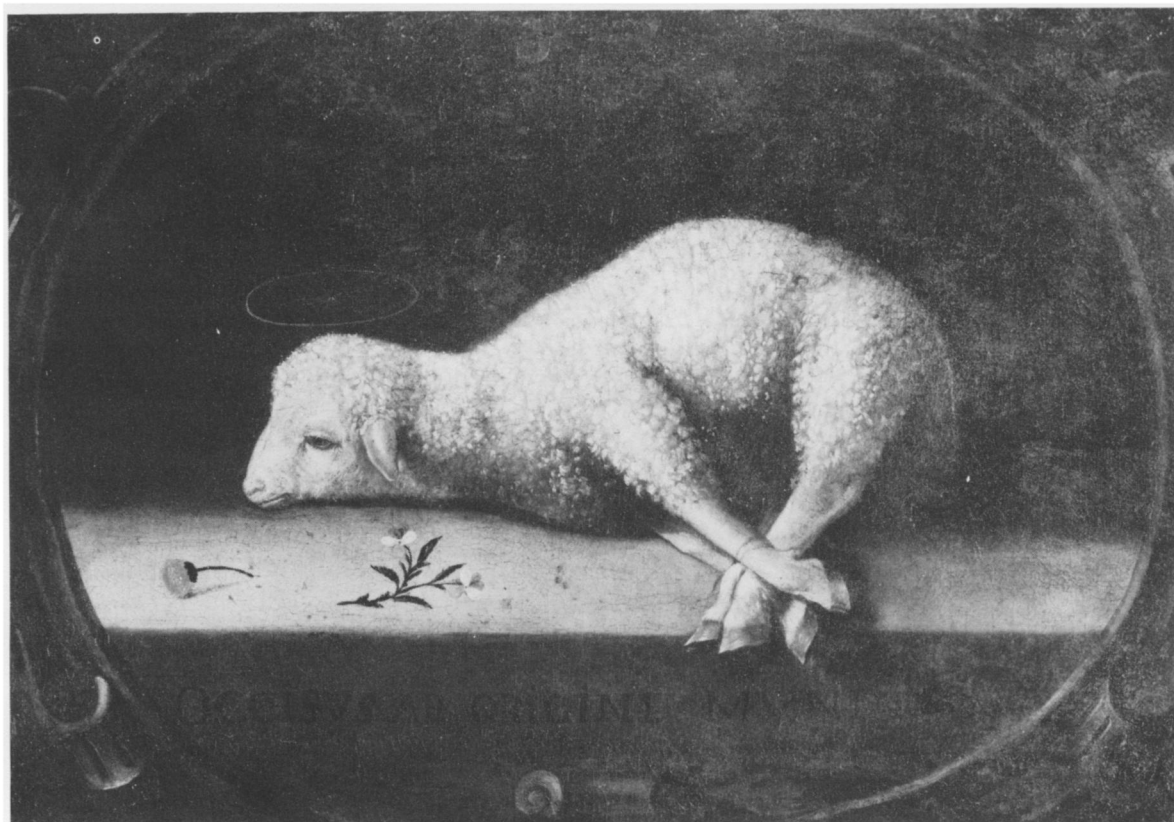


FIGURE 8

Josefa de Ayala, *The Pascal Lamb*, oil on canvas, 27 $\frac{1}{8}$ " \times 31". (37.1193). The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

The painting *The Pascal Lamb* in the Walters Art Gallery has hitherto received little critical attention. Yet this work has several interesting claims to fame, being one of the few paintings by this artist outside of Portugal and the only example of her work in America. Apart from her particular artistic qualities, Josefa herself has rarity value — a woman artist was an unusual phenomenon in Renaissance and Baroque times. The Walters Art Gallery is fortunate in possessing *The Pascal*

Lamb, for the painting demonstrates several important aspects of her work. Most obviously, its simple piety, expressed in an almost folkloric approach to the sacrificial symbol of the lamb, is indicative of the artistic personality of Josefa, whose career developed in curious isolation in a small walled village in central Portugal. This key work also links her art to that of one of the greatest masters of the Spanish Baroque, Francisco de Zurbarán. The place of *The Pascal Lamb*

in the oeuvre of Josefa de Ayala will become clear in this first study in English of her life and work.

Women artists in the Iberian Peninsula were something of a curiosity until relatively recent times. From the Middle Ages until the 18th century there were only two women recorded in art historical literature. One of them, the sculptor Luisa Roldán of Seville, was the daughter of Pedro Roldán, a colleague of Murillo and Valdes Leal. She worked both in her native city and at the court in Madrid. The other woman artist, Josefa de Ayala, was a painter whose work represents both an interesting hybrid of many styles and a highly personal expression of her talents.

The history of Portuguese Baroque painting is itself a little known subject. In contrast to the magnificence of Spain's "Golden Age," the 17th century in Portugal represents something of a hiatus between two periods of grandeur and has been harshly judged by critics as a "pool of pleasant mediocrity"¹ or, more severely, as a period of "frank decadence."²

To a limited extent, social reasons can explain the country's lackluster century. From 1580 to 1640 Portugal had been under Spanish domination, and the artistic as well as political attention shifted eastward. The court at Madrid and the rich commercial centers of Seville and Valencia were particularly attractive to Portuguese artists fleeing the unstable situation of their homeland.

Nonetheless there were a number of artists working in Portugal during the Baroque period, among whom Josefa de Ayala was one of the most interesting. Little studied outside of Portugal, her work is generally unknown.³ She is sometimes briefly mentioned in studies of 17th-century art, but then mainly as a painter of still lifes. Although she did excel in still life painting (mostly done toward the end of her life), this is

by no means the full extent of her art. She also painted portraits and religious, allegorical subjects, such as *The Pascal Lamb* in The Walters Art Gallery, and she was a skilled graphic artist judging from the few known prints by her hand.

Josefa herself was a product of the migration of Portuguese artists into Spain. She was born in Seville, the daughter of Balthasar Gomes Figueira, a native of Obidos in the central Portuguese province of Estremadura, and Catalina de Ayala y Cabrera, a Spanish subject. Although a painter by profession, Balthasar Gomes probably went to Spain as a draftee in the army of Philip III.⁴ He returned to Portugal, however, in the mid 1630s to aid the cause of liberation and there he remained, living with his family in Obidos until his death in 1675. The exact date of birth of his daughter is a disputed fact, but it most likely occurred around 1630.⁵ Nothing is known of the artist's early years in Seville. She probably left the city with her family at about the age of six because documents exist from as early as 1636 proving the return of her father to Obidos from Spain.⁶ This is also the year that Balthasar Gomes Figueira signed his only surviving painting, the so-called *Calvario* for the church in Peniche. Josefa lived for most of her life in Obidos or in the Quinta da Capeleira, a small villa just outside the walls of the town. In 1646 she is known to have been in Coimbra, where she signed and dated her first print, the bust of Saint Catherine. The signatures of her pictures as "Josepha Ayalla, Obidos,"

⁴ This as well as other facts concerning the life of Josefa de Ayala and her family are found in an anonymous manuscript of the mid 19th century: *Memorias históricas, e diferentes apontamentos, acerca das antiguidades d'Obidos . . . tiradas dos historiadores portugueses, e hespanhoes; e manuscritos originaes, dos archivos de que se faz menção nestes apontamentos*, published as an appendix to da Costa, *Uma aguafortista*, pp. 77-84.

⁵ José da Cunha Taborda, in *Regras da arte da pintura*, Lisbon, 1815 (reprint Coimbra, 1922), bases his belief on a statement by Damião Froes Perym (*Theatro heroico, abecedario histórico e catalogo das mulheres illustres en armas, letras, accções heroicas, e artes liberais*, Lisbon, 1734, I, pp. 493-95) that Josefa was "about fifty years of age" at the time of her death (1684) and therefore suggested 1634 as the year of her birth. This date was accepted by various authors into the 20th century (cf. da Costa, *Uma aguafortista*, p. 12). Luis Reis-Santos, *Josefa d'Obidos*, pp. 6 and 12 (note 7) argues more convincingly for a birthdate of 1630. Hernández Díaz, *Josefa de Ayala*, pp. 5-6, unconvincingly argues for the year 1626.

⁶ Reis-Santos, *Josefa d'Obidos*, p. 7.

¹ Robert C. Smith, *The Art of Portugal, 1500-1800*, New York, 1968, p. 195.

² Luis Reis-Santos, *Josefa d'Obidos*, Lisbon, c. 1955, p. 5.

³ The major studies of the art of Josefa de Ayala are by Luis Xavier da Costa, *Uma aguafortista do século XVII*, Coimbra, 1931; Reis-Santos, *op. cit.*; and José Hernández Díaz, *Josefa de Ayala, pintora ibérica del siglo XVII*, Seville, 1967. See also Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, *Exposição das pinturas de Josefa d'Obidos* (exhibition catalogue), Lisbon, 1949.



FIGURE 1
Josefa de Ayala, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, etching,
212 × 147 mm. Lisbon, private collection

"Josepha em Obidos," or simply "Obidos" attest to the fondness she must have felt for the town. Although there is little documentary evidence proving that the artist traveled outside Portugal, it has been thought that she may have returned to Seville around 1670,⁷ a likely suggestion judging from the change of style and subject matter that takes place in her art at that time. During her lifetime she was well known throughout the country. An 18th-century chronicle states that "Doña Josefa d'Ayala was famous inside and outside the kingdom for her paintings, which were unique in the age in which she flourished. . . . She practiced perfection in art to the applause of fame and praises for her honesty, living all her life in chaste celibacy. Josefa was visited by many

⁷ Paul Guinard, *Zurbarán et les peintres espagnols de la vie monastique*, Paris, 1960, p. 167, and Caturla, "Josefa y Zurbarán," p. 28.

women who frequented the hot springs known as Caldas da Rainha, near Obidos, to speak with her, to see her paint, or to have their portraits done by her. She was a person of distinction and painted for curiosity's sake. She was favored and sought after for the devotion and respect that she demonstrated in her art."⁸ This passage gives us some hint of the prestige and social rank of the painter. We are told by Damião Froes Perym that, although not of noble lineage herself, she was visited by Queen Maria Francisca and her daughter Isabel, who came to Obidos so that Josefa could paint the portrait of the princess.⁹ Two other points are raised by this description of the artist. Froes Perym states that Josefa painted "for curiosity's sake." Could this mean that she did not paint for financial reward? If so, her work may have been treated with greater appreciation and the artist herself accorded more respect for practising a noble occupation rather than a craft.¹⁰ Also from this passage we learn of the importance of portraiture in the art of Josefa de Ayala. Presently, very few portraits by her hand are known, and the attribution of these has been disputed.¹¹ Curiously, even in the 19th century, the portrait was still considered to be Josefa's "greatest genre" by the Portuguese critic Almeida Garrett.¹²

The earliest reference to Josefa de Ayala in the literature of art appears in Felix da Costa's *On the Antiquity of Painting*, first published in 1696.¹³ In his section dealing with the lives of Portuguese painters he states that she was "famous in the nearby regions. . . . (She) often portrayed things

⁸ Froes Perym, *Theatro heroico*, p. 493.

⁹ On the social position of the artist see also Adelaide Feliz, "Josefa em Obidos," *Livro do I Congresso das Actividades do Distrito de Leiria*, Lisbon, 1944, p. 59.

¹⁰ It may be noted that the first of many 17th-century treatises on the nobility of painting was written by a Portuguese and published in Lisbon: Felipe Nunes, *Arte da pintura, symmetria e perspectiva*, Lisbon, 1615.

For a discussion of the social position of the artist in 18th-century Spain and Portugal see Julián Gállego, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, Granada, 1976. See also George Kubler ed., Felix da Costa, *The Antiquity of the Art of Painting*, New Haven, 1967.

¹¹ Hernández Díaz, *Josefa de Ayala*, pp. 59-60.

¹² J. B. da Silva Leitão d'Almeida Garrett, *O retrato de Venus*, Coimbra, 1821, p. 153.

¹³ Kubler-da Costa, *The Antiquity of Painting*.

in their natural state with much order and propriety. . . ."¹⁴ Unfortunately Da Costa gives no clues which might help to untangle one of the greatest mysteries concerning her art — that of her early training and the sources of her personal and, at times, idiosyncratic style. Various suggestions have been offered to explain how the artist, living in a provincial town in Estremadura, could arrive at the mastery of the media in which she worked. Logically it is thought that her father was her first teacher. Yet to assess the impact of her father's art is extremely difficult since only one work by his hand is known, and that in poor condition. A second influence, also frequently cited, seems equally tenuous. The Sevillian painter, Bernabé de Ayala, a follower of Zurbarán, is thought by some to have been Josefa's uncle on her mother's side, and to have made a strong impact on her artistic style.¹⁵ The tradition that links the two artists² is founded on shaky ground. Indeed it seems as if their common family name is the only thing they undisputedly share. The art of Bernabé de Ayala is little known. Martin Soria found one signed and dated work by him, the *Virgin of the Kings* of 1662 (Lima, National Board of Historic Monuments). It is a stiff rendition of a votive image in the Seville Cathedral and does not resemble the art of Josefa de Ayala in any way. In 1950, Antonio Gómez Castillo attributed to Bernabé a series of paintings of sibyls.¹⁶ One of these paintings representing *The Sibyl Abisag* is now in the Musée Goya in Castres, France. Curiously enough it does bear a marked resemblance to the art of Josefa in the treatment of cloth stuffs, in its coloring, still life elements, and especially in the drawing of the face. The high forehead, arched eyebrows, long thin nose, and small mouth are characteristic of both male and female figures as painted by Josefa. Caution must be



FIGURE 2
Josefa de Ayala, *Insignia of the University of Coimbra*, etching, 240 × 190 mm. Coimbra, University

taken, however, for we know far too little of the life and work of Bernabé de Ayala to postulate either a secure attribution for the Castres painting or, above all, a relationship between Bernabé and Josefa. We must also remember that Josefa probably left Seville for Obidos in her sixth year, hardly time for her to have assimilated the characteristics of any artist.

Another puzzle in the mystery of the artist's formation is presented by her earliest known work, an etching of a bust length *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (fig. 1). This work measures 0.131 × 0.96 m. and is one of only three known prints done by Josefa. On the lower margin (not reproduced) appears the inscription: "S. Catarina. Josepha f. Ayala, em Coimbra, 1646." It is a skillful work which shows the youthful saint dressed in richly jeweled robes. She has the high forehead, long eyebrows and wide eyes that are typical of Josefa's figures. Around her neck is a double strand necklace of jewels and there is a string of pearls on her crowned head. She holds the

¹⁴ Kubler-da Costa, *The Antiquity of Painting*, p. 467.

¹⁵ See Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, "Zurbarán y los Ayala," *Goya*, pp. 64-65, Jan.-Apr. 1965, pp. 218-23. Little is known of Bernabé's biography. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico* . . . , Madrid, 1800, I, p. 85, states that he studied with Zurbarán, worked for a while in Madrid and in 1660 helped found the drawing academy in Seville of which Murillo and Herrera the Younger were co-presidents.

¹⁶ Antonio Gómez Castillo, *Estudio sobre Bernabé de Ayala*, Seville, 1950. See also Gaya Nuño, "Zurbarán y los Ayala," pp. 218-20.



FIGURE 3
Josefa de Ayala, *Virgin and Child*, oil on copper, 163
× 126 mm. Lisbon, Museu de Arte Antiga

martyr's palm branch and sword. St. Catherine's traditional attribute, the broken spiked wheel, is seen at lower left. Shadows, especially those at the lower left corner and beneath the folds of the saint's garments, are formed by thin cross-hatched lines, while in the upper area of the print parallel lines are used to suggest the swag of drapery which sets off the figure. The most technically accomplished area is the drapery where the brocade and jewels have been carefully etched. The face of the saint, half in cross-hatched shadow and half in stippled light, shows the youth, candor, and beauty of the martyr.

It is difficult to explain how the artist could have arrived at such technical competence in the engraving technique at such an early age. If we accept the date c. 1630 as the year of her birth, Josefa would have been only sixteen when she executed this print. As the inscription tells us, she did this work in Coimbra. Was she appren-

ticed to a printmaker in that university town? Were there other, less accomplished works done by her earlier and now lost? These are questions which must remain unanswered at least for the present.

The figure of St. Catherine was a favorite one for the artist. One of her major accomplishments, the altar piece for the church of Santa Maria in Obidos, is dedicated to the Virgin Martyr. There are, in addition, two smaller works on copper in Lisbon and Porto portraying the saint's Mystic Marriage.

In the same year the artist engraved another figure of a saint, an oval bust of St. Joseph. This composition was repeated in 1657. Both examples are signed and dated. The first, like the St. Catherine, was executed in Coimbra.

Far more ambitious a work is an engraving done in 1653 in which a seated, crowned woman holds a scepter and a large open book with the words *Per me reges regnant et legum conditores justa decernunt* inscribed on the pages (fig. 2). The owl of wisdom is at her side and large swags of drapery are seen behind the figure. This fairly large print (240 × 190 mm.) is signed and dated "Josepha d'Ayalla f. Obidos 1653."¹⁷ It is the insignia of the University of Coimbra and was included in a 1654 edition of the *Estatutos* of that institution.¹⁸ Here the artist shows herself to have developed even further in the art of etching. The folds of the voluminous skirt and drapery are skillfully created by cross-hatched shadows and

¹⁷ J. da Costa Lima, "Josefa de Obidos," *Broteria*, 44, fasc. 5, November, 1949, pp. 443-47, discusses this print and reproduces the 1657 version. Da Costa Lima (p. 444) concludes that it must have come from the title page of a lost dissertation. Its dimensions are 0.75 × 0.88. See also Ernesto Soares, *Historia da gravura artistica em Portugal*, I, Lisbon, 1940, pp. 58-59.

¹⁸ The authorship of the title page of the *Estatutos da Universidade de Coimbra* has been disputed. It represents a large arch with various allegorical figures in side niches and the figure of Wisdom (the same image as in the large single figure print of Josefa) at the top (reproduced in Hernández Díaz, *Josefa de Ayala*, p. 8). The print is unsigned but was considered to be by Josefa herself by Antonio da Costa, *A mulher em Portugal*, Lisbon, 1892, p. 199, and Alfonso Rodrigues Pereira, "Josepha d'Obidos," *O Jornal da Mulher*, II, Lisbon, March 5, 1911, p. 158. Da Costa convincingly rejects this work (*Uma aguafortista*, pp. 15-16), stating that it has little relationship to her style as seen in the full page Insignia. Hernández Díaz (*Josefa de Ayala*, pp. 31-32), however, accepts it as autograph.

patches of white. The hesitant stippled effect of the brighter areas of the skin in the earlier St. Catherine print is now gone in favor of a smooth and evenly lit face, neck, and upper chest. Details such as the embroidery on the dress or the crown and scepter are precisely defined. This technical advancement is puzzling since its source is unknown. Unfortunately there are no other remaining prints by the hand of Josefa.

Both the facial type and pose of the woman in this print were re-used in a painting now in the Museu de Arte Antiga, Lisbon. This sensitive rendition of the Virgin and Child (fig. 3) is signed and dated 1657. Here the figures face the opposite direction from that of the woman in the print and, appropriately, it is now the Christ Child who holds the scepter while the Virgin conceals the globe from him beneath her right sleeve. The Virgin is crowned and, like the engraved allegorical figure, has a luxuriant *chevelure* with curls cascading down the side of her head. Her robes are richly encrusted with jewels meticulously painted. The gems and pearls sparkle with light against the Virgin's pink and blue robe. There is a soft orange glow over the entire surface of the picture, which is contrasted to the milky white flesh tone of the Christ Child and his mother, whose cheeks and lips are lightly rouged. This pastel quality of color is generally typical of Josefa's painting during the earlier years of her career. After about 1670, when she concentrates more on still life painting, colors are stronger and there is less of a *sfumato* atmosphere than in the earlier figure compositions. Throughout her career we see little use of half tones — local colors are contrasted one against another. In this *Virgin and Child* both figures have long eyebrows and lashes and small mouths, which give a precious, doll-like quality to the figure of the Child who is dressed in the silk and lace robes of countless popular devotional images of the Iberian peninsula. It is precisely this "folkloric" aspect of her art that has been criticized as "naive" or "provincial." Yet in this and other such religious images Josefa de Ayala creates a distinct figure type which cannot be mistaken for that of any other artist. I would prefer to recognize her individuality, her personal religious sensibility in these devotional pictures rather than naiveté. It is in the form of gentle saints and elegant Virgins in



FIGURE 4
Josefa de Ayala, *Nativity*, oil on canvas, 1500 × 1640 mm. Lisbon, Museu de Arte Antiga



FIGURE 5
Josefa de Ayala, *Penitent Magdalen*, oil on copper, 234 × 185 mm. Coimbra, Museu Machado de Castro



FIGURE 6
Josefa de Ayala, *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, oil on copper, 280 × 355 mm. Porto, Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis

richly colored silks and satins that Josefa manifests her heightened pietistic fervor, the "devotion and respect" for which she had been so praised.

It is possible that northern painting and prints played an important role in the development of Josefa's art. The Lisbon *Nativity* of 1669 (fig. 4) is based on a print after a painting by Abraham Bloemaert and, in its artificial lighting, the links to Dutch caravaggism are also traceable.

Another work by Josefa also has a strong tenebrist quality. The small painting on copper of the *Penitent Magdalen* in the Lisbon museum (fig. 5) can be dated in the 1650s. Here the saint is seen in three-quarter length standing inside a cabin

with rough wooden beams. There is a gloomy atmosphere of sorrow and introspection. A small oil lamp hung by a cord from a rafter is the only source of illumination. The tiny flame highlights the tear-stained face of the Magdalen and subtly defines the penitential still life on the table consisting of a crucifix, scourge, book, skull, and ointment jar. This small masterpiece is almost certainly due to northern inspiration. The artificial light effects and the sensitive use of shadow recall similar works by the Utrecht school of caravaggist painters.

Another small masterpiece on copper from the artist's early period is the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine*, which exists in two versions in the Mu-

seu Nacional de Soares dos Reis in Porto (fig. 6) and the Lisbon museum.¹⁹ Here the saint, in very elaborate clothing, kneels before the Christ Child, who is held by the Virgin on her lap, with St. Elizabeth in attendance. Accompanying them in the background are St. Joseph and two angels, also elegantly dressed. There is a certain theatricality to this scene. It is framed by curtains on either side, and all the characters strike studied poses as if placed on a stage at the edge of which still life elements are set as props. The angels in their fine clothes and delicate stances bear a curious resemblance to certain contemporary South American paintings of angels which have been linked to European prints of ballet entertainments.²⁰ Similar prints may have reached Obidos and inspired Josefa to paint this charmingly intimate scene.

The reputation of Josefa de Ayala does not rest on these small works alone. In 1661 she executed all the paintings for the *retablo* dedicated to St. Catherine in the church of Santa Maria at Obidos. In this two-storied, columned altarpiece are set five paintings. In the lower level are the two largest ones (flanking a central statue of the saint). To the left there is the *St. Catherine Disputing with the Philosophers* and to the right the *Crowning of St. Catherine*. The central painting in the upper story is a *Mystic Marriage* flanked by smaller half-length representations of the *Penitent Magdalen* and *The Inspiration of St. Theresa of Avila*.

This altarpiece is unique both in its theme and in the types of figures employed. I know of no other large altarpiece dedicated to the life of St. Catherine and other female saints. The *retablo* with inset paintings was of course very common in Iberian Baroque art but Josefa here deals with

novel subject matter. The scenes illustrated in the lower story are episodes of the life of the martyr not commonly illustrated in 17th-century art.

The persons represented in the other paintings in this *retablo*, are figures that the artist had depicted in other works. We have seen how Josefa's sensitive treatment of the Magdalen in the Lisbon picture is a testament to her skill in the use of artificial illumination. Saint Theresa, the subject of the other small painting at the upper right section of the *retablo*, also concerned the artist in a series of five paintings done in 1672 for the Unshod Carmelites of Cascais.²¹ These pictures are now in the Church of the Assumption in that same town along with two others by Josefa. The paintings include several episodes in the life of the saint other than that of her famous vision of the angel with the flaming sword.

Unlike other representations of St. Theresa by Baroque artists, these paintings by Josefa do not have as their main focus the purely mystical experiences undergone by the saint. Instead the artist greatly humanizes the scenes with sympathetic, almost playful angels and approachable, gentle figures of Christ, the Virgin, and St. Joseph. Each of the episodes takes place in a compressed space with the figures close to the picture plane, producing a sense of intimacy that enhances the humanity of the individuals portrayed.

The figural compositions of Josefa de Ayala consist of groups of two or three persons often depicted in half length. It seems as though the artist felt far more at ease with small intimate scenes. Nonetheless she did paint a few canvases with larger groups, such as the *Vision of St. Bernard* in the Museu Machado de Castro in Coimbra (fig. 7). In this picture the Virgin sits on a throne with the Christ Child. Two *putti* spread her mantle to envelope the saints below. Saint Bernard kneels at the left receiving the Virgin's

¹⁹ The Lisbon version (Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Reis-Santos, *Josefa d'Obidos*, pl. 12) is signed and dated 1647, whereas the Porto version is only signed "Josepha d'Ayalla." The Lisbon version is less theatrical than the Porto picture — the curtain is gone from the upper right and is replaced by a window and window seat. Otherwise there are only minor differences between the two. Hernández Díaz (*Josefa de Ayala*, p. 30) believes the Porto version to be a preliminary study for the Lisbon painting. I do not agree, as each is approximately the same size and has the same degree of detail and finish.

²⁰ Pál Keleman, *Peruvian Colonial Painting*, New York, 1971, p. 42.

²¹ The St. Theresa paintings belong to a series of seven canvases dated 1672-73. The other two represent the *Holy Family* and the *Christ, Savior of the World* a figure of the Infant Christ holding a banner with instruments of the Passion surrounded by a wreath of flowers. An eighth painting now in the church at Cascais along with the series represents the *Mass of St. Gregory* and although attributed to Josefa is too crudely painted to be by her hand. For a discussion of the series see Hernández Díaz, *Josefa de Ayala*, pp. 20, 43-46.



FIGURE 7
Josefa de Ayala, *Vision of St. Bernard*, oil on canvas,
1125 × 780 mm. Coimbra, Museu Machado de Castro

milk, while to the right kneels St. Gertrude holding a lily for which the Christ Child playfully reaches. The rest of the figures are rather weakly modeled, and their faces display bland expressions. This composition is reminiscent of Zurbarán's *Virgin of the Carthusians* (Seville, Museo de Bellas Artes) in that the spread robe of the Virgin covers the monastic figures below. Martin Soria has shown that this composition is ultimately derived from Flemish prints,²² although it is difficult to tell whether the inspiration for this composition came from the northern or the Spanish source.

²² Martin Soria, "Some Flemish Sources of Baroque Painting in Spain," *The Art Bulletin*, 30, 1948, pp. 249-59; 31, 1949, pp. 74-75.

In the painting of the human figure there is no real stylistic development in Josefa's art. Similar figures are portrayed over and over again with little variation. Generally they are dressed in voluminous robes which obscure their anatomy. The artist no doubt had little or no experience in drawing from the live model and thus compensated for her lack of knowledge of the nude body by constructing a rich framework of exquisitely embroidered clothing for her figures to wear. Yet in a few of the pictures we do detect some differences in the treatment of the human form and its clothing. The *Pentecost* (c. 1670), also in the Coimbra museum, displays figures whose features are more individualized than those in earlier paintings. In comparison with the group of saints in the *Vision of St. Bernard*, the heads of those in the *Pentecost* are treated with more precision and greater definition of features. More significant is the greater interest in planarity and outlining in the drapery. The robes of the two male saints closest to the picture plane at left and right are crisper and fall with a greater sense of weight than those of figures in earlier works. A similar care and precision in the folds of drapery is seen in the art of Zurbarán and his followers. It has been noted before that Josefa may have made a visit to the city of her birth in the later years of her career (most likely around 1670) and since the distance between Obidos and Seville is a moderate one this trip is by no means impossible. Yet we do not have to presuppose a return to Spain in order for Josefa to have assimilated some of the techniques of Zurbarán. By this relatively late date (Zurbarán had died in 1664) many works of this master must have reached Portugal. The famous Apostle series in the Museum in Lisbon is an example of the type of Zurbarán's work to which Josefa could have had access in her own country.

The Walters Art Gallery *Pascal Lamb* (fig. 8) is a pivotal work in the later development of the art of Josefa de Ayala. This picture proves beyond a doubt that the artist had first hand knowledge of the painting of Zurbarán, whose own version of the theme is in the Fine Arts Gallery of San Diego (fig. 9). In both works, the Pascal Lamb, the embodiment of Christ's atonement for the sins of humanity, lies on a shelf with bound feet. Above the head is a halo. Josefa has embellished

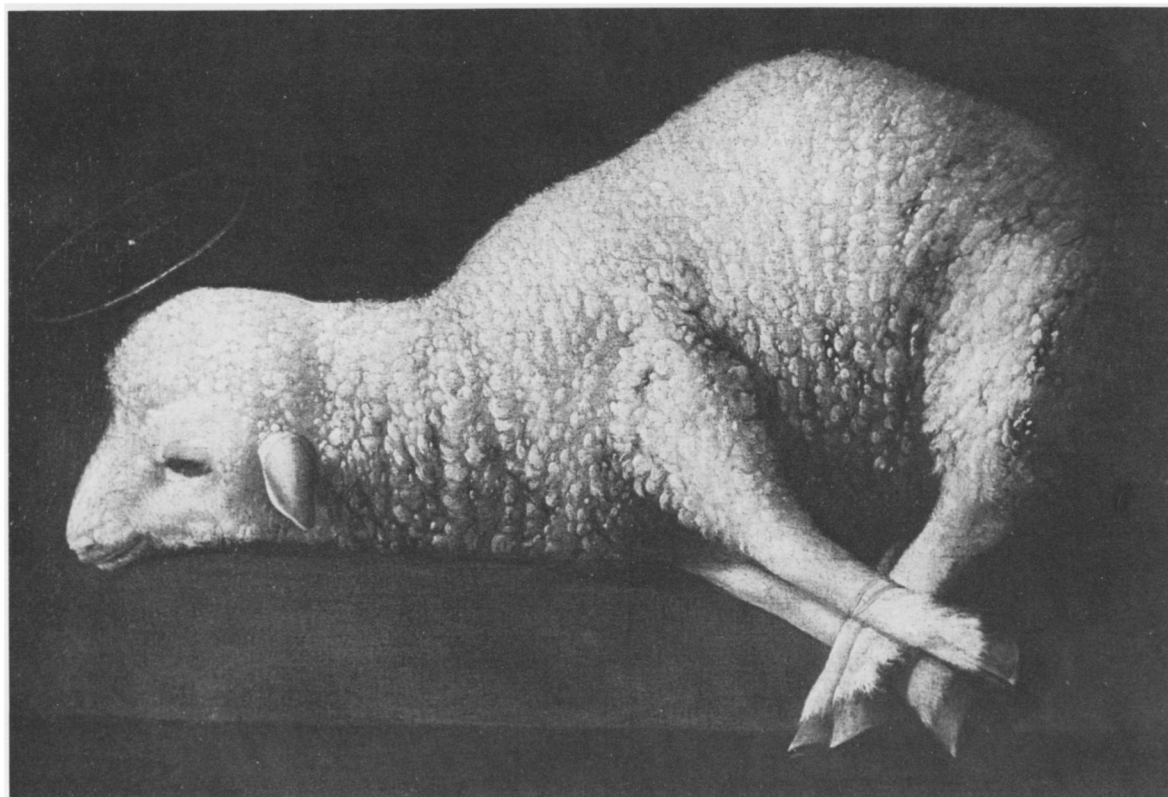


FIGURE 9
Francisco de Zurbarán, *The Lamb of God*, oil on canvas, 35 × 52 mm. San Diego, The Fine Arts Gallery

the scene by placing a few flowers and petals on the shelf, on which there appears the inscription *OCCISVS AB ORIGINE MVNDI*. She has also surrounded the figure of the lamb with a frame.

Zurbarán had extracted his Lamb from a larger figural composition, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Grenoble), in which the bound animal appears at the lower right. Later, he removed the animal from all narrative contexts and painted, in the San Diego picture, an abstract, iconic image. It is particularly noteworthy that Josefa, an artist who has been criticized for being fussily over-detailed, was attracted to one of the Spanish painter's most abstract scenes. She copied it with relatively few additions, and thus we can establish that, because it is so close to the Zurbarán, the Walters picture is the earliest of two other versions. A second *Pascal Lamb* theme, the *Still Life with Lamb*, is found in the Regional Museum in Evora (fig. 10). Here, many different fruits and flowers now adorn the

painted frame, at the top of which is an elaborately carved *putto* head. There are also more petals scattered on the shelf on which the lamb reposes. A comparison of this version with the Walters picture is very significant. On first succumbing to the impact of Zurbarán's art, Josefa created, in the Baltimore version, what is perhaps her most simplified composition. Later, what might be characterized as an innate decorative tendency took over once again in the fanciful additions to the Evora version.

The compositional and stylistic proximity of the Walters Art Gallery *Pascal Lamb* to the Zurbarán picture brings up some fundamental but seemingly unanswerable questions. Did the Portuguese artist see the Zurbarán on a possible return journey to Seville? Had the Spanish painting (or a version or copy by a follower of Zurbarán) found its way to Portugal by the 1670s?

The *Christ Child as a Pilgrim*, in a private col-

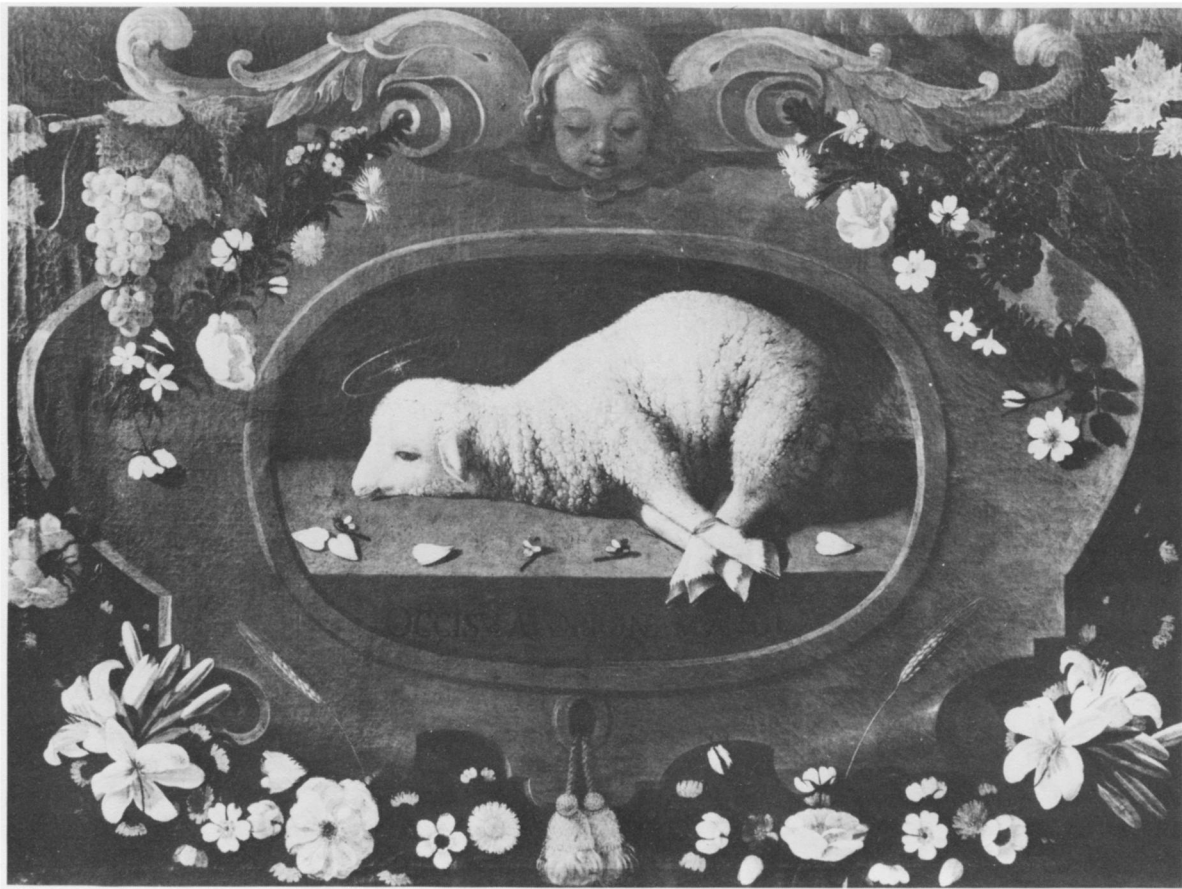


FIGURE 10
Josefa de Ayala, *Still Life with Lamb*, oil on canvas, 880 × 1175 mm. Evora, Museu Regional

lection in Lisbon (fig. 11), while not directly based on a specific Zurbarán composition, may well have been inspired by such a picture as the *Christ Child Walking in a Landscape* in Moscow (Pushkin Museum) painted by Zurbarán about 1629. The Child in Josefa's version is richly dressed with a delicately embroidered cape, adorned not with flowers or other decorative elements but with symbols of the Passion of Christ. He wears a cross around his neck and at the right side of his dress, below the waist, appears Veronica's veil with the image of the mature Christ's face, as it will appear at the time of his Passion. Even the Child's staff prefigures the coming sorrow. It is a pointed spear at the bottom, of the type that will be used to lance the side of the Savior as he hangs on the cross.

The so-called *Holy Face* in the Miseracordia

Church in Peniche (fig. 12) is one of the most effective of still life paintings by Josefa. All decorative elements are eliminated, and the pathos of the face of Christ in sorrow is the only focal point. Again, a strong relationship between this picture and a Zurbarán composition may be perceived. This work, while referring back to a tradition of representing the veil of Veronica which began in the Middle Ages, strongly resembles a painting of the *Holy Face* by Zurbarán in the Walker Art Center, Milwaukee (c. 1638-40). Both works share a strict frontality of the head as well as the gable-like fold of drapery over the face of Christ, which emphasizes the symmetry and gives greater power to the iconic image. While not dated, this picture, like the other still life paintings discussed here, may be placed in the 1670s. Before this time there are few refer-



FIGURE 11
Josefa de Ayala, *The Christ Child as a Pilgrim*, oil on canvas, 1060 × 810 mm. Lisbon, private collection

ences to the art of Zurbarán. It would seem that while zurbaranesque works may have been in Portugal for Josefa to study at an earlier date, such a sudden shift in style and subject matter toward that of the Spanish master may possibly indicate a return to Seville at the beginning of the decade of the seventies.

The art of Zurbarán is not the only influence on the still life paintings of Josefa de Ayala. In a series of five paintings representing months of the year (presumably there were originally twelve) what appears to be a strong Dutch inspiration is observed. The *Month of March* (fig. 13) (Alenquer, private collection) features a display of cod, trout, crabs, shrimp, oysters, and sardines laid out in a symmetrical configuration on a shelf beyond which there is a distant view of a walled city and a beach with men emptying their fishing nets. This "cityscape" has a strong northern flavor to it. At the bottom of the picture is the inscription *Marco sou pobre de frutas, mas não*

falta Bacalhao. Mariscos e carapao pexe fresco nania trutas. The attribution of this work to Josefa is traditional, although at the lower right corner of the painting there is an inscription in what looks like the artist's hand which reads "Obidos, 1668." The style, particularly in the still life elements, is so similar to that of Josefa as to make the attribution virtually certain. Unlike many other still life pictures by Josefa, there are no delicate flowers, plants, or elaborate crockery. This painting appears to be an interesting amalgamation of cityscape, seascape and still life. Such a composition is not known in Portuguese art of the 17th century, and it most likely derived from northern sources — Dutch paintings in Portugal.

To close this introductory discussion of the art of Josefa de Ayala we may look at one example of the type of painting on which her reputation mainly rests today. The *Still Life* in the Library-Museum Braancamp Freire, Santarém (signed and dated "Josepha em Obidos 1676") (fig. 14) is one of many such works in which a table is richly laden with elaborate crockery, silver and gold spoons, knives and plates, and an impressive assortment of cakes and fruit. Interspersed with these objects in the usually crowded compositions are delicate flowers and ornate pins. All is painted with a tremendous concern for exactitude and detail. The colors are rich reds and pinks contrasted with pastel blues and oranges. There has been much discussion of the exact source of these still lifes. Many critics have pointed to Juan Van Der Hamen's paintings as the direct inspiration for this aspect of Josefa's art. Others suggest that Zurbarán himself, Pedro de Campobín, or Juan Labrador were the artists to whom Josefa looked for the source of her still life compositions. While undoubtedly linked to the complex history of Spanish still life painting (and probably having an equally strong affinity with Dutch and Flemish still life), the fruit and flower pieces of Josefa de Ayala are set apart by a very personal development in which concern for the specific types of candies, cakes, or berries complemented by a decorative display of ribbons, fancy jars, and bowls is of greatest importance. As in her development as a religious painter, Josefa assimilated various outside influences to create a distinctly personal manner. Often in her still lifes there is less of a concern with placement of the objects

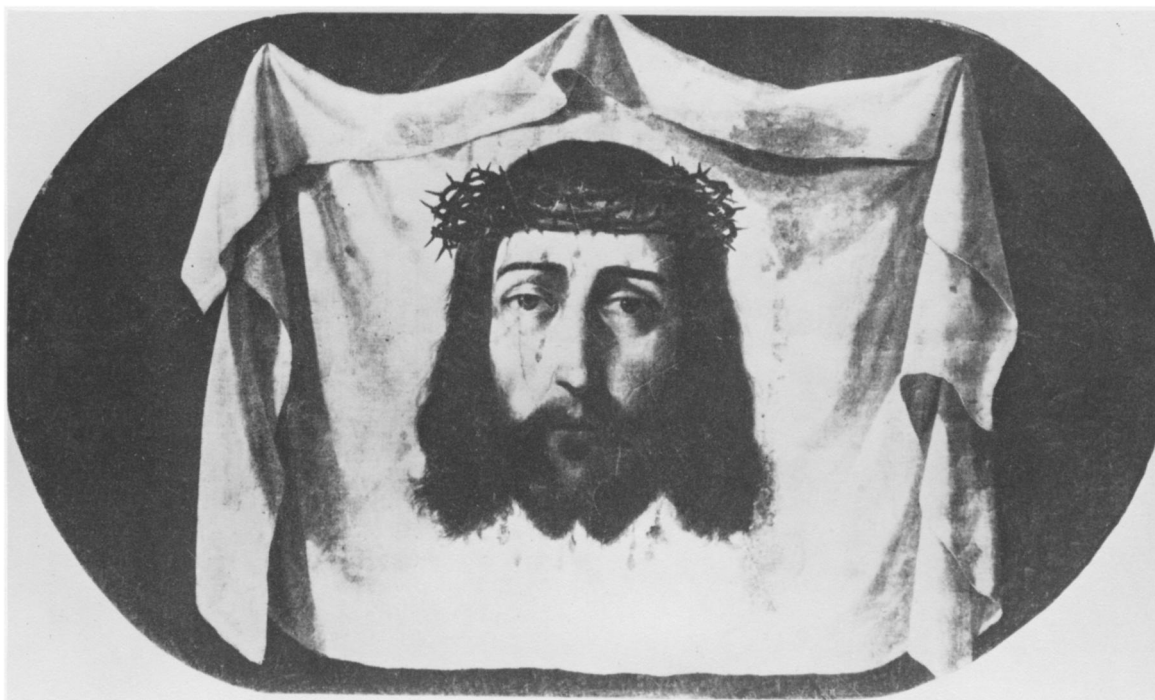


FIGURE 12
Josefa de Ayala, *Holy Face*, oil on canvas, 450 × 740 mm. Peniche, Church of the Misericordia

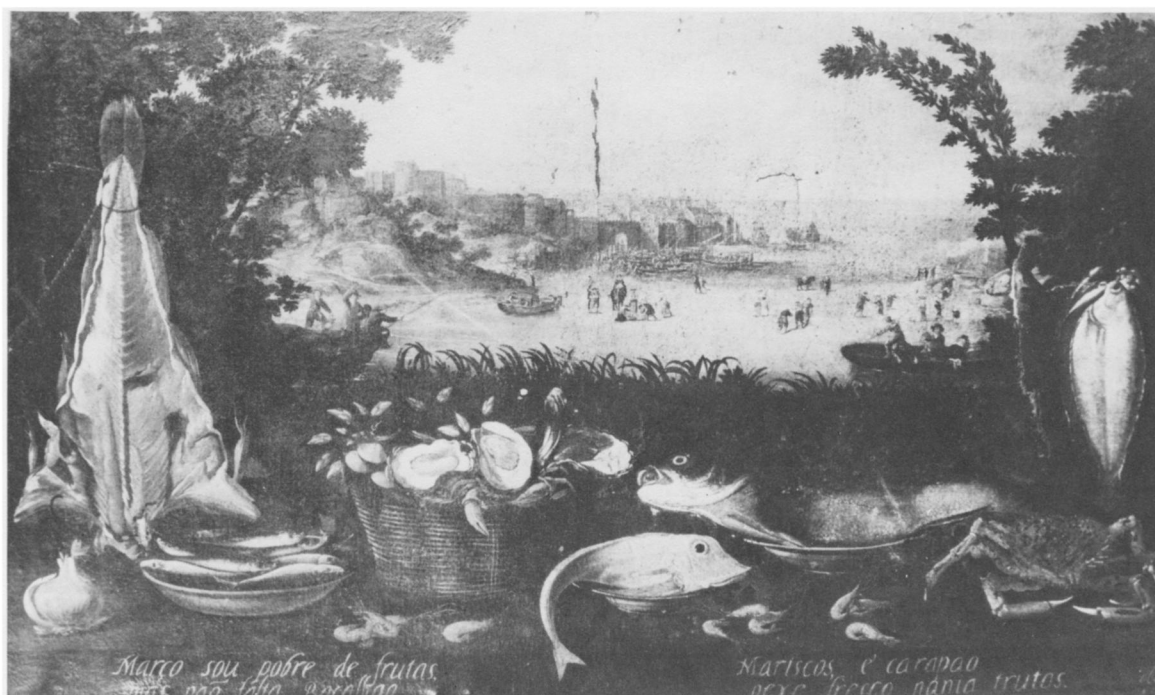


FIGURE 13
Josefa de Ayala, *Month of March*, oil on canvas, 1065 × 1680 mm. Alenquer, private collection



FIGURE 14
Josefa de Ayala, *Still Life*, oil on canvas, 840 × 1605 mm. Santarém, Library-Museum Braancamp Freire

which, as we have seen, are sometimes crowded in a narrow space. Yet her pictures of candies and baked goods form only one facet of her interest in this genre. If we consider such pictures as the *Holy Face* or the *Still Life with Lamb* we realize the surprisingly varied types of still life in her repertory.

We know few specific details of the last years of Josefa's life. In 1673 an orphan niece, Josefa Maria, came to live with her, joined by another niece in 1680. On the thirteenth of June, 1684, she wrote her will "seated on her bed in sound mind and intellect."²³ She died on the twenty-second of July, 1684, in the presence of her nieces and her mother (who, as we are told by contemporary documents, could sign neither her daughter's will nor testament, not knowing how to write). The artist had written that she wished to be buried in the church of St. Peter in Obidos,

where she was interred beneath the altar wearing the habit of St. Francis.²⁴

The art of Josefa de Ayala stands as a curious phenomenon in the 17th century. It is a hybrid art. Yet in its successful combination of Hispanic and Northern elements the artist created works of singular beauty. The paintings of Josefa evoke pious devotion, religious fervor, or an appreciation of the simple riches of kitchen and garden. There is nothing pretentious in her intimate art of small proportions. She succeeded in creating a personal, unmistakable manner of composition and coloring that resulted in the perfect medium for her depictions of the small pleasures of this world and the gentle happiness of the next.

²³ Reis-Santos, *Josefa d'Obidos*, p. 7.

²⁴ Portions of the artist's will are published by Reis-Santos, *Josefa d'Obidos*, p. 13.



FIGURE 1
Portrait of Giuseppe Passeri by Luigi Garzi. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Giuseppe Passeri's *The Cleansing of the Temple* and A Group of Preparatory Drawings in Düsseldorf

EDGAR PETERS BOWRON AND DIETER GRAF

When Henry Walters purchased in Rome in 1902 a large number of antiquities and Old Master paintings from Don Marcello Massarenti, he acquired an ensemble of Italian paintings that became unique among American collections. Of the approximately 475 Italian paintings in the Walters collections, the great majority of which came from the Massarenti collection, the works produced in Rome in the 18th century are particularly notable for their quality and interest. Indeed, the Walters selection of Roman Settecento paintings—including works by Gaspar Vanvitelli, Ignazio Stern, Jan Frans van Bloemen, Michele Rocca, Agostino Masucci, Placido Costanzi, Gian Paolo Panini, Stefano Pozzi, Pompeo Batoni, Anton Raphael Mengs, Domenico Corvi, and Cristoforo Unterberger—has been recognized as the finest representation of the period and school in the United States.¹

Among these paintings, a recently acquired work by the Roman-born Giuseppe Passeri (1654-1714), nephew of the painter and historian Giovanni Battista Passeri, merits closer attention.² Passeri, whose portrait has been preserved for us in a masterly drawing by Luigi Garzi in

Stockholm (fig. 1),³ was trained in the studio of Carlo Maratti—the most important painter in Rome at the end of the 17th century and, at the end of his life, the most celebrated artist in Europe. Said to have been one of Maratti's favorite pupils, Passeri diligently followed his master's injunction to copy the works of Raphael, Michelangelo, Correggio, Annibale, Domenichino, Guido, Lanfranco, Cortona, and Poussin.⁴ Despite his obvious familiarity with the traditional formulas of Roman painting, Passeri's art was nevertheless dominated by Maratti's influence. Thus, he is usually designated as one of the last of the *Maratteschi*, the extensive group of Maratti's pupils prominent in Rome from 1680 until well into the 1720s.

Although Passeri's paintings are now familiar only to specialists, he was a prominent artistic personality in early Settecento Rome. According to his biographer, Lione Pascoli, works by the artist were commissioned for numerous Roman churches including S. Caterina da Siena a Magnanapoli, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, S. Tomaso in Parione, S. Francesca Romana, S. Maria d' Aracoeli, S. Nicola dei Lorenesi, S. Eusebio, S.

1. Anthony M. Clark, "Three Roman Eighteenth-century Portraits," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. XXVII-XXVIII, 1964-65, p. 49. For these paintings see Federico Zeri, *Italian Paintings in The Walters Art Gallery*, Baltimore, 1976, vol. II, pp. 500-42.

2. The principal sources for the study of Passeri's life and artistic career are Lione Pascoli, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti moderni*, Rome, 1730, I, pp. 217-23; Hermann Voss, *Die Malerei des Barock in Rom*, Berlin, 1924, p. 607; Ellis Waterhouse, *Roman Baroque Painting*, London, 1976, pp. 101-3; Dieter Graf, *Master Drawings of the Roman Baroque from the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf*, London, 1973, pp. 113-22. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Inv. 3035/1863, black and white chalks on light blue paper, 410 × 255 mm.

3. The drawing was identified by Anthony M. Clark as one of the likenesses supplied by Garzi for Nicola Pio's collection of portraits and self-portraits of the leading contemporary painters in Rome ("The Portraits of Artists Drawn for Nicola

Pio," *Master Drawings*, V 1967, p. 16, no. 94). For a portrait of Passeri by Pierleone Ghezzi in the Accademia di San Luca, see Stefano Susinno, "I Ritratti degli Accademici," *L'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca*, Rome, 1974, p. 231, n. 21, fig. 14.

4. Pascoli, *Vite*, I, pp. 217, 220. Among the drawings and oil sketches by Giuseppe Passeri in the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum there are a large number of copies after works by these painters. These will be discussed in the catalog of Passeri drawings that Dieter Graf is presently preparing.

Jonathan R. Richardson, *An Account of the Statues . . . in Italy*, London, 1722, p. 159, recorded a full-size copy of Poussin's *Death of Germanicus*, then in the possession of the author's father; a reduced copy of Lanfranco's *The Israelites gathering Manna* in the Chapel of the Sacrament, San Paolo fuori le mura, by Passeri was recently on the London art market, (sale, Sotheby & Co. 6 Dec. 1972, no. 69).



FIGURE 2
The Cleansing of the Temple by Giuseppe Passeri. The Walters Art Gallery. (37.2512)

Sebastiano, S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, Spirito Santo dei Napoletani, S. Maria in Campitelli, S. Francesco a Ripa, S. Maria in Vallicella.⁵ He served Pope Clement XI as *pittore della Camera apostolica*⁶ and supplied the pontiff with a tapestry cartoon depicting *The Charge to St. Peter*.⁷ Exercising his talents in other arts, Passeri is thought to have designed the facade of the Roman church of S. Barbara alla Regola⁸ as well as to have furnished drawings for engravings. One such drawing of the Immaculate Conception, similar to his painted altarpiece in S. Tomaso in Parione, was engraved as the frontispiece of the *Office of the Virgin* published by the Eredi Corbelli in 1706.⁹

Moreover, in conjunction with these official, public successes, Passeri received many private commissions for frescoed ceiling decorations, the majority of which are lost or unknown today; Pascoli cited prominent commissions for the following: Casa Trulli at S. Andrea della Valle; Casa Patrizz; Casa Muti at Santi Apostoli; Casino Vidman; Villa Corsini outside the Porta S. Pancrazio; Villa Torri; and the Casino of Cardinal Ottoboni at S. Pietro in Montorio.¹⁰ The third category of Passeri's production, his easel paintings and portraits, is equally little known today. Pascoli's list of the artist's patrons, however, includes such leading Roman families as the Pallavicini, Marescotti, Mellini, and Albani. He produced paintings for a wide clientele of Romans and *forestieri* and also traveled from the city of Rome to work in Spoleto, Viterbo, and Perugia.

Although Giuseppe Passeri has long been recognized as one of the most original of Maratti's followers,¹¹ there is no authoritative study of his work and career. In fact, Passeri is more familiar as a draughtsman than as a painter, and despite the number of his paintings extant in Roman churches, in public and private collections his easel paintings are encountered less frequently than his drawings. In the recent major exhibitions devoted to art in Rome in the 18th century, Passeri has been represented either by drawings or oil sketches or not at all.¹²

The purpose of this note is to make better known the only major painting by Passeri in an American public collection, *The Cleansing of the Temple* (fig. 2), and to examine its connection with a group of the artist's unpublished preparatory drawings in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf. First recorded in the Lanz collection in Mannheim, the painting was then sold in 1928 in Berlin, where Hermann Voss identified it as a work by Passeri. The picture passed into the collection of Hugo Kafka, later a resident of Baltimore, and then to Mr. and Mrs. Egon Kafka, who in 1974 generously donated it to the Walters Art Gallery.¹³

Except when represented within the cycle of the Passion, the subject of the painting, also referred to as Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple, is uncommon before the end of the 15th century. In the 16th century it was frequently represented by Renaissance painters, most notably by El Greco, whose several versions

5. Waterhouse, *Roman Baroque Painting*, pp. 101-3, has published a list of Passeri's extant works in Roman churches.

6. Pascoli, *Vite*, II, p. 207.

7. For the commission of the tapestry cartoons to Passeri, Giuseppe Chiari, Pietro de Pietri, and Andrea Procaccini, see Agostino Taja, *Descrizione del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, Rome, 1750, pp. 65, 66, 339. The tapestries, which were installed in the Sistine Chapel on feast days, were donated later in the century by Pope Benedict XIV to the Cathedral of S. Pietro in Bologna.

8. Walther Buchowiecki, *Handbuch der Kirchen Roms*, Vienna, 1970, I, p. 434.

9. *Officio della B. Vergine Maria . . .*, Rome, 1706, p. 13. For a drawing in the Gabinetto delle Disegni, Uffizi, probably furnished for an engraving, see Antonio Munoz, "La scultura Barocca a Roma, V. Le tombe papali," *Rassegna d'Arte Antica e Moderna*, vol. V, 1918, p. 100.

10. Pascoli, *Vite*, I, p. 220.

11. Ellis K. Waterhouse, *Baroque Painting in Rome*, London, 1937, p. 84.

12. For example, in the exhibition *Il Settecento a Roma* in 1959, there was not a single painting by the artist from the Roman private or public collections (Accademia di San Luca, Galleria Nazionale, etc.). Of the two paintings from Dijon selected for the exhibition to represent Passeri's work, the first (no. 435) is in fact by Luigi Garzi. See also the recent article by Serena Romano, "Contributi a Giuseppe Passeri," *Istoria dell'Arte*, No. 6, 1977, pp. 159-165.

13. Inv. 37.2512. Oil on canvas, 38 13/16 × 52 3/16. See Edgar Peters Bowron, "Passeri Painting: A new Acquisition," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, XVII, 7, 1975; Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery*, II, p. 458, no. 332.

14. Rudolph Wittkower, "El Greco's language of gestures," *Art News*, LVI, 1957, p. 54. For the iconography of the Cleansing of the Temple, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien*, Paris, 1957, II, pp. 401-403; Gertrud Schiller, *Ikono-graphic der christlichen Kunst*, Gutersloh, 1968, II, p. 33.



FIGURE 3
A preliminary sketch by Giuseppe Passeri for *The Cleansing of the Temple*. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

of the theme may have symbolized the attempt of the Church to purge itself of the Protestant heresy during the Counter-Reformation.¹⁴ Extremely popular with Baroque painters for the inherent possibilities of representing dramatic action, the Cleansing of the Temple was painted by such late Baroque painters as Luca Giordano, Francesco Solimena, Domenico Gabbiani, Gian Paolo Panini, and Charles Natoire.¹⁵ Although each of the Synoptic Gospels describes the event in the context of Jesus' Jerusalem Ministry, the most vivid description appears in John (2:13-17): "Just before the Jewish Passover Jesus went up to Jerusalem, and in the Temple he found people sitting at their counters there. Making a whip out

of some cord, he drove them all out of the Temple, cattle and sheep as well, scattered the money changers' coins, knocked their tables over, and said to the pigeon sellers, 'Take all this out of here and stop turning my Father's house into a market.' "

In the Walters painting Passeri, by disposing the principal figures in three general groups along a stage closed by the architecture of the temple, beyond which the eye passes to the right to a more distant arcade, has created a composition of immense decorative sophistication. At the center of the drama, Jesus lashes out with a whip, directing his wrath upon an elderly trader who raises his mantle to deflect the blows. The other participants express a variety of responses to Christ's fury, although none so dramatically as the running youth in the right foreground. In

15. Andor Pigler, *Barockthemen*. Budapest, 1974, I, pp. 332-36.



FIGURE 4
Final design (*modello*) by Giuseppe Passeri for *The Cleansing of the Temple*.
The Royal Library, Windsor Castle.

conformity with the teachings and practices of his master, Passeri has synthesized figural types and rhetorical devices from both classical and baroque sources within his artistic heritage in Rome. Thus, the youth fleeing Christ is drawn directly from the analogous figure in the foreground of Pietro da Cortona's *Victory of Alexander over Darius* in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The figure of Christ himself (except for the position of his right arm) corresponds to the well-known figure of Apollo in Maratti's painting of *Apollo and Daphne* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Brussels. The porter lifting the lamb in the lower right corner of the paintings is a motif adapted from Maratti's *Visitation* in S. Maria della Pace, Rome.

Other quotations from Maratti abound; for example, the young girl in the very center of the composition clutching the pigeons to her breast repeats in reverse the child in Maratti's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in S. Isidoro Agricola. The woman carrying the basket on her head is a motif that assumes the familiarity of a signature in the paintings of Maratti and his principal followers.

Despite his close association with Maratti throughout his career, Passeri's style is in many ways a translation of his master's late Baroque classicism into the emerging Rococo idiom of the early 18th century. Adjusting his painting to a smaller scale of design, he avoids the dramatic chiaroscuro effects of the previous century in



FIGURE 5
Studies for two young boys by Giuseppe Passeri.
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.



FIGURE 6
Studies for a running youth by Giuseppe Passeri.
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

favor of a greater airiness and lightness. Instead of the saturated and luminous colors characteristic of the late Baroque, his color scheme is composed of harmonies based on pale, tinted hues of salmon pink, cerulean blue, and lemon yellow, with occasional passages of russet for warmth and emphasis. Painting quickly and thinly on a dark reddish ground, Passeri hints at the emerging Rococo in his loose, impressionistic handling, which by its very lack of finish imparts a lively animation to his pictorial surfaces.¹⁶

16. Voss, *Malerei des Barock*, p. 607, cited many years ago the salient features of Passeri's style ("Passeri ist unter Marattis Schülern wohl der am wenigsten nach der Seite der monumentalen Repräsentation tendierende. Seine Bilder und Fresken haben etwas leicht Beschwingtes, das sie in dekorativer Hinsicht auszeichnet, ohne dass sie sonst durch Originalität der Anschauung oder der Gestaltung besonders auffielen. Koloristisch gehören sie zu den besten der ganzen

This painterly brushwork, by which the forms are sometimes indicated by the merest touches of paint, provides a clue to the date of the picture. The lighting, the style, the figures, the pictorial handling—all these reveal analogies to an excellent example of Passeri's mature work, *The Baptism of Saints Processus and Martinianus* (today Urbino, San Francesco). Intended for one of the lateral positions in the baptismal chapel in Saint Peter's, flanking Maratti's *Baptism of Christ*, this work was executed between July 1709 and July 1711 on the basis of designs supplied by Maratti himself.¹⁷ The evidence of style clearly indicates

Schule in dieser Zeit; die Art des Vortrages hat manchmal etwas Lockeres, ja fast Zittriges, das sich von der durchschnittlichen Glätte der Marattesken stark unterscheidet.").

17. Frank DiFederico, "Documentation for the Paintings and Mosaics of the Baptismal Chapel in Saint Peter's," *Art Bulletin*, Vol. L, 1968, p. 195.



FIGURE 7
Studies for a running youth by Giuseppe Passeri.
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

that *The Cleansing of the Temple* must be dated around 1709 to 1712; the basic difference between Passeri's early and late manners is revealed by the comparison of the present picture with the *Incredulity of St. Thomas*, Rome, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, painted between 1675 and 1686.¹⁸ In the paintings before 1700, Passeri relied more on vigorous line, emphatic silhouette, painstaking modeling, strong color, and robust form. In his earlier works Passeri remained within the Baroque tenebrist style, posing strongly lit figures against a dark background. *The Cleansing of the Temple*, on the other hand, is much more even in tone and is suffused by the soft atmosphere evident in the later stages of the painter's development.

18. Waterhouse, *Roman Baroque Painting*, fig. 61.

Connected with *The Cleansing of the Temple* are a number of preparatory drawings that demonstrate Passeri's highly individual draughtsmanship and suggest something of working procedure. These are found among the Italian Baroque drawings and oil sketches acquired by Lambert Krahe (1712-90), the Düsseldorf painter who lived for more than twenty years in Rome. This collection of Passeri drawings, the largest and most comprehensive in existence, contains a variety of examples of the painter's activity as a draughtsman. The drawings vary from preliminary compositional sketches to studies of figures and drapery to final designs, or *modelli*.¹⁹

Lambert Krahe's collection included detailed figure studies for *The Cleansing of the Temple* as well as a preliminary sketch for the painting (fig. 3).²⁰ The final design for the painting is in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (fig. 4).²¹ As the Düsseldorf sheet indicates, Passeri first sketched the principal groups of figures with rapid strokes of red chalk. At the same time he established the depth of pictorial space with cursory indications of the architectural setting. Next, using the same sheet, Passeri began to define the attitudes and movements of the figures with pen and ink. Wielding his pen as freely as if it were chalk, Passeri reworked the earlier design, concentrating on the arrangement of the figures within the pictorial stage setting. The architecture itself is lacking in specific characterization at this

19. In general, the *modello* corresponds exactly to the finished painting because the artist would have had to present it to the patron by whom it was commissioned. Minor alterations in the design could be undertaken during the execution of the work without consulting the patron. If there were significant differences, however, between the *modello*, which was frequently prepared in oil on canvas, and the finished work, one can usually trace these variations to the patron's dictates.

20. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 2307. Red chalk, pen and brown ink on beige paper, 195 × 172 mm. The connection between the drawing and the painting presently in Baltimore was recognized by Hermann Voss (inscription on mount). Lit.: Illa Budde, *Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der Staatlichen Kunstakademie Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1930, no. 408, pl. 61; Bowron, *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, Vol. 27, No. 7, 1975, fig. 2.

21. Windsor Castle, Inv. No. 4502. Pen and brown wash, heightened with white and grey gouache over red chalk, 273 × 382 mm. Lit.: Anthony Blunt and H. L. Cooke, *The Roman Drawings of the XVII and XVIII Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, London, 1960, p. 73, fig. 55, no. 566; Bowron, *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, vol. 27, no. 7, 1975, fig. 3.

stage; moreover, the relationship of the architectural setting to the broad ascending staircase at the right cannot yet be envisaged.

The *modello* at Windsor (fig. 4) reveals that the artist was not content with this design. In the latter drawing, Passeri placed the temple facade diagonally across the pictorial space. This device enabled him to introduce the group of women hurrying up the steps into the interior of the temple. Countering the movements of the youth driven by Christ across the picture plane to the right, the motion of these frightened women creates dynamic effects which surpass those in the earlier design. In the background, the temple precinct is closed off on the right by arcades. These arcades and the drapery looped around the column to the left give the pictorial setting a contradictory appearance of simultaneous interior and exterior space. Thus, although it is clear that the women in the middle ground are hurrying into the temple, the group of money changers also appears within a contained interior space.

The drawing at Windsor is undoubtedly the *modello* because it corresponds, with only a few alterations, to *The Cleansing of the Temple* in the Walters Art Gallery. The technique employed in the drawing also indicates that it is the artist's final design. Passeri executed the design in a highly typical manner: he overlaid the preliminary red chalk drawing with ink; over this he applied several layers of brown and grey wash with strong grey and white highlights. Passeri used this extremely painstaking technique when his drawings for a composition had reached a final stage. The result of this elaborate procedure is the distinctive painterly appearance of Passeri's final compositional designs: the figures and architecture not only take on substance and relief but also acquire, because of the successive layers of chalk, wash, and white heightening, very rich coloristic effects. Pictorial means such as these were usually employed by other contemporary artists only for designs for copper engravings, drawings that had to be very exact in order to serve as a model for the engraver.

For Passeri, as for many other Roman painters in the 17th and 18th centuries, chalk studies of individual figures were an important step in the preparatory sequence between the initial compositional sketches and the final pictorial design.



FIGURE 8
Figure studies by Giuseppe Passeri. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

Single studies for each of the figures in the Walters painting have not yet been found, but the following sheets demonstrate the working method of the artist. The sketches in figure 5 refer to the two young boys at the left behind the money changers in the Windsor drawing.²² Passeri has drawn these figures from a model; the boy who has climbed onto the base of the column is shown full length, the other only to the waist. In the final painting Passeri eliminated the second of these figures in favor of greater clarity of design. If one compares these studies with the Windsor sheet and the painting itself, one notes that the boy in the *modello*, as in the study for the full-length figure, is dressed in a long-sleeved shirt. During the execution of the painting, how-

22. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 7967 recto. Red chalk, heightened with white, on blue-green paper, 419 × 266 mm.



FIGURE 9
Studies for the figure of Christ by Giuseppe Passeri.
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

ever, the painter decided to show the boy with the right shoulder bare. Therefore, immediately before painting this figure, he drew the torso of the boy once again, this time with the shoulder bared. These observations suggest Passeri's concern with even the smallest details in his preparatory drawings for a composition, an attitude he developed from the influence of his teacher, Carlo Maratti. At the same time, however, the studies in figure 5 demonstrate Passeri's economy of draughtsmanship because he sketched only those parts of a figure that were necessary to execute the final painting.

A number of studies have been preserved of the young man who flees Christ with outstretched arms. The studies on the sheet in figure 6 include several rapidly and powerfully drawn sketches of the torso and arms of this figure. These sketches have been drawn over an earlier



FIGURE 10
Study for the legs of Christ by Giuseppe Passeri.
Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

chalk notation for the head and bust of the young girl holding a pair of doves and kneeling immediately to the right of Christ.²³ Another study of the running youth, which corresponds closely to the figure in the Walters picture, is shown in the drawing reproduced next (fig. 7).²⁴ An additional attempt to define the youth's attitude is recorded on the sheet shown in figure 8.²⁵

23. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 13299 verso. Red chalk, heightened with white, on light green paper, 414 × 256 mm.

24. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 13122 and FP 13829 verso. Red chalk, heightened with white, on light brown paper, 284 × 428 mm. The sheet has been cut in half and remounted as a single sheet.

25. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 9585 verso. Red chalk, partly heightened with white, on blue-green paper, 416 × 281 mm. The study of legs and drapery of a figure walking to the left, over which Passeri drew the study of the young man, can possibly be connected with the woman in the middle ground ascending the staircase holding a basket.



FIGURE 11
Study for young men by Giuseppe Passeri. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

Studies made from a model to establish the form of Christ, the principal figure in the painting, appear on the bottom half of the sheet reproduced in figure 9.²⁶ The leg studies in figure 10 were also quite possibly drawn to define Christ's attitude in the painting.²⁷ A study for the figure of the young man crouching on the ground to the left of Christ, who was not apparent in the *modello* at Windsor, is found on the right side of another sheet at Düsseldorf (fig. 11).²⁸ The second study on this sheet contains a male figure looking over his left shoulder. He corresponds to one of the

money changers standing around the table at the extreme left edge of the painting.

In the case of the two uplifted heads shown in figures 12 and 13,²⁹ it is not certain whether Passeri actually drew them as studies for the heads of those men seen above and below the outstretched arms of Christ because similar heads are found in numerous paintings by the artist. Evidently he used such studies repeatedly for identical figures in his paintings and relied on them as models for this painting as well. The red chalk sketch of a woman in figure 14 was almost certainly made for another composition because she was depicted in a sitting position, holding a pair of scissors in her right hand.³⁰ Nonetheless,

26. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 12533 and FP 13532 verso. Red chalk, heightened with white, on blue-green paper, 422 × 271 mm. The sheet, cut into two pieces, has been remounted as one.

27. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 12120 and FP 13429 verso. Red chalk, heightened with white, on blue-green paper, 428 × 282 mm. The sheet, cut into two pieces, has been remounted as one.

28. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 12439 and FP 12523 recto. Red chalk, heightened with white, on light green paper, 224 × 373 mm.

29. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 9828, red chalk, 144 × 125 mm. (upper corners trimmed) and Inv. No. FP 9829, red chalk, 154 × 139 mm. (upper corners trimmed).

30. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 13289 recto. Red chalk, heightened with white, on blue-green paper, 278 × 427 mm.



FIGURE 12
Study of a male head by Giuseppe Passeri. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.



FIGURE 13
Study of a male head by Giuseppe Passeri. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.



FIGURE 14
Studies of a woman holding a pair of scissors. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

her attitude closely approximates that of one of the women in the middle ground of the painting who ascends the steps of the temple, pausing to look behind her as she proceeds. For the execution of the Walters paintings Passeri has obviously employed studies originally undertaken in conjunction with another work.

This becomes clear in the case of another sheet of studies (fig. 15).³¹ Here the legs sketched in the upper left corner can undoubtedly be connected with the figure of the man carrying a sheep in the right foreground of the painting. The studies of the model and drapery on the lower half of the sheet can with equal certainty be related to the woman in the painting climbing the steps to the temple carrying a basket of doves. A further study of this beautiful and impressive figure is found on the same sheet with a study of a reading woman (fig. 16),³² which in turn belongs to a different composition.

Sheets of red chalk studies drawn from life such as these at Düsseldorf represent only one stage in the painter's preparatory work. Elaborately finished *modelli* (Fig. 4), which were avidly sought by collectors in the 17th and 18th centuries, and preliminary compositional sketches (fig. 3) provided additional guidance and served different purposes in the creative process. The careful chalk drawing from the model, however, possessed the greatest value for subsequent workshop use, serving as a repository of images that could be used over and over to create similar figures in other compositions. The purely utilitarian character of these drawings explains why studies for different paintings are found on the same sheet. On certain occasions Passeri clearly worked on the drafting of several paintings simultaneously; at other times he utilized sheets that had been only partially filled with sketches. Apart from intrinsic aesthetic appeal, these studies for *The Cleansing of the Temple* provide a valuable glimpse of the working methods of a Roman painter in the early 18th century.



FIGURE 15
Studies for the legs of a man carrying a sheep and for a woman carrying a basket by Giuseppe Passeri. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

Figure 1 reproduced courtesy of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.

Figures 3-16 reproduced courtesy of the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

Figure 4 reproduced by Gracious Permission of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II.

31. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 12517. Red chalk, heightened with white, on gray-green paper, 428 × 282 mm.

32. Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Inv. No. FP 2624. Red chalk, 191 × 259 mm. The drawings on this sheet may be

copies by Passeri of motifs by other artists which he adopted for use in his own compositions. This may also be true for the studies of heads in figs. 12 and 13.



FIGURE 16
Studies of two women by Giuseppe Passeri. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

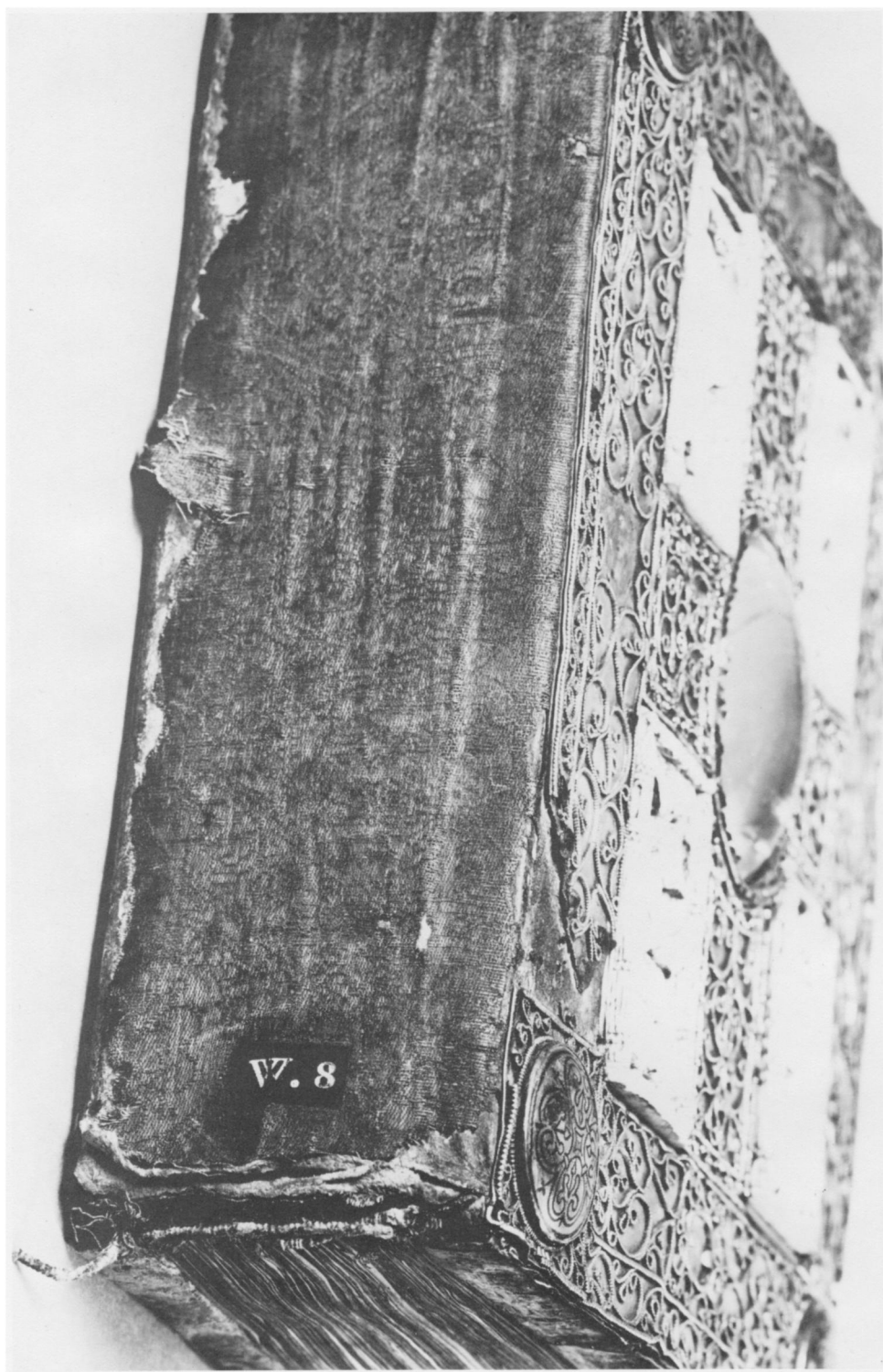


FIGURE 1
The Mondsee Gospel Lectionary in the Walters Art Gallery (Ms. W. 8)

The Silk over the Spine of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary

ANNA MUTHESIUS

The Mondsee Gospel Lectionary in the Walters Art Gallery has long been renowned for its beautiful binding. A feature of this binding is the silk sheathing the spine, which in itself has a fascinating history. I first studied the binding and the silk with the late Dorothy Miner; together we worked out how the binder had tackled the various stages of his task. More recently, with the help of another colleague, rare bindings conservator Guy Petherbridge, I have examined over sixty medieval silk bindings but none of them has a silk-sheathed spine comparable to that of the Lectionary. The feature which distinguishes the Lectionary spine from others sheathed with silk is the alum-tawed spine liner. This acts to prevent the silk from rubbing against the double thongs underneath, to which the gatherings are sewn. A description of the binding is supplied in Appendix B by Christopher Clarkson, Conservator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery. My task will be to examine the origin, weave, and design of the silk itself.

As far as I am aware, silks on bindings are mentioned only rarely in Byzantine and Western sources in the 9th century. I know of only two references to silk bindings and these seem to be the earliest mention of the use of silks by book binders. In 838 A.D. a silk-sheathed binding, described by Florus of Lyon, was presented to the king by Bishop Amalarius. And the *Vita S. Ignati* of Nicetas Paphlago, written in the first half of the 10th century, reports that in 867 A.D. Photius was in possession of a manuscript in two volumes with a binding of gold, silver, and silken cloth.¹

¹ E. Sabbe, "L'importation des tissus orientaux en Europe occidentale," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 14: 3, 1935, p. 817, note 3; Nicetas Paphlago, *Vita S. Ignati*, 1, col. 450 ff. quoted by C. Mango in "The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453," *Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series*, Jansons ed., New Jersey, 1972, p. 191.

Western bindings, with silks either placed over the boards, lining them, or sheathing the spine, are extant in many museums, libraries, and church treasuries, and some similar silk bindings are in Mount Athos and other Greek monasteries and libraries. A comprehensive survey of silk bindings does not exist at this stage and for this reason it is particularly important to record individual bindings, such as that of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary (fig. 1). The silk of the spine is a significant addition to the group of monochrome, compound twill silks mentioned in the work of Falke and Kendrick early this century, but only dealt with in technical detail in the last twenty years by Sigrid Müller-Christensen.² Appendix A offers a list of the most important silks of the group, a considerable number of which are considered Byzantine by these authors. Some of these silks will be compared to the silk of the Walters sample.

The Mondsee Gospel Lectionary contains the Gospel lessons arranged in order for use during the entire year. Enriched with five large initials in gold and silver, it was described by Dorothy Miner in the exhibition catalogue, *Two Thousand Years of Calligraphy*,³ as a "sumptuous service book." The manuscript and its binding are of interest from many points of view; the fact that the text and the greater part of the binding, including the silk spine, are contemporary is perhaps one of the chief points of interest. The codex has traditionally been associated with the Benedictine

² O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, Berlin, 1913, vol. 2; W. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Early Medieval Woven Fabrics*, London, 1925; S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab des Papstes Clemens II im Dom zu Bamberg*, Munich, 1960.

³ Dorothy Miner, Victor Carlson, P. W. Filby, *Two Thousand Years of Calligraphy*, Baltimore, 1965, p. 32, no. 16. The covers are described and dated by Frauke Steenbock, *Der Kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965, no. 87, pp. 181-83, pls. 119, 120.



FIGURE 2
Upper cover with silver and ivory plaques of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary

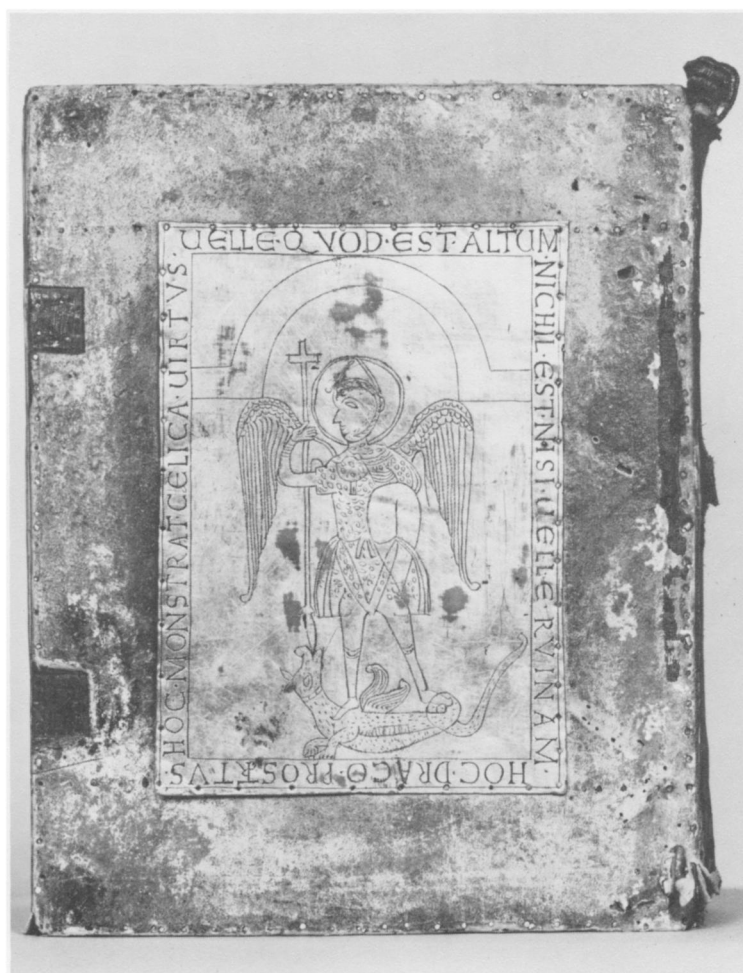


FIGURE 3
Engraved lower cover of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary, showing St. Michael and the dragon.

abbey of Ss. Peter and Michael at Mondsee in Austria, although there is no documentary evidence to support this. In the 19th century the codex was in a German archducal collection. It was acquired by Henry Walters from Jacques Rosenthal of Munich around 1926.

On the upper thick oak board of the Lectionary is a cover with silver plaques enriched with filigree and with four ivory plaques representing the Evangelists and their symbols (fig. 2), of which St. Luke is a 19th-century replacement. The four silver plaques between the ivories are gilded and form the arms of a cross, at the center of which is a large cabochon rock crystal covering a painting of the crucifixion on gold leaf. Around this is the inscription *MORS XPI MORS MORTIS ERAT TUUS INFERE MORSUS*. The cor-

ners of the board are covered with four nielloed roundels. Gems, that once decorated the border, are now missing. On the lower board (fig. 3) is an engraved plaque depicting St. Michael and the dragon, which must originally have had a metal-work border, judging by the nail holes visible around it on the wood.

The manuscript is thought to be a product of the Regensburg school, dating to the second third of the 11th century. Bernard Bischoff has tentatively identified the chief hand in the Lectionary with Othlon, who was in the scriptorium of St. Emmeram at Regensburg between 1032 and about 1055, and who lists two Gospel Lectionaries amongst the manuscripts which he copied.⁴ The manuscript and the silk used over the spine are close in date. The silk is comparable

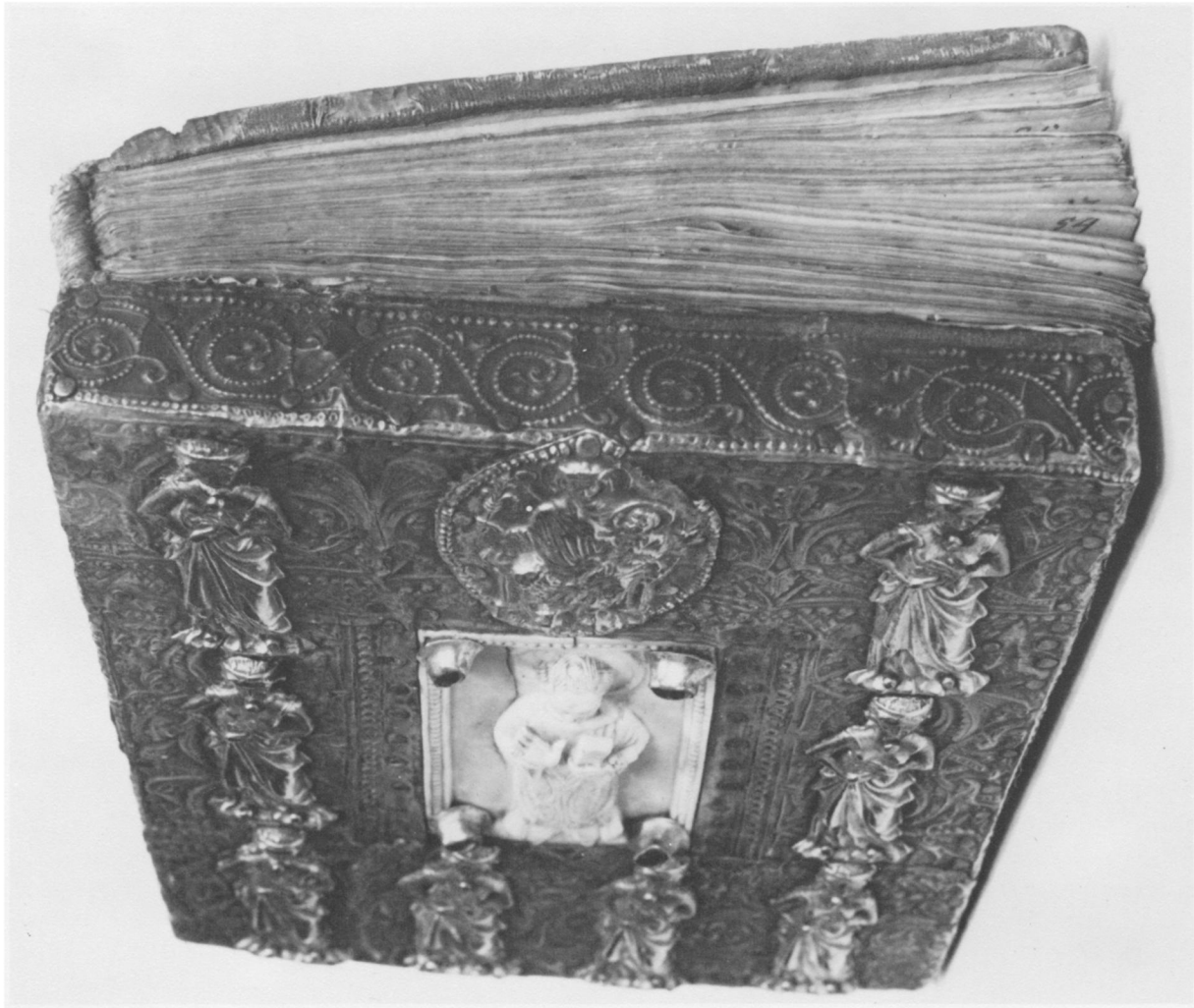


FIGURE 4
Life of St. Stephen from Weihenstephan, now in the Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek

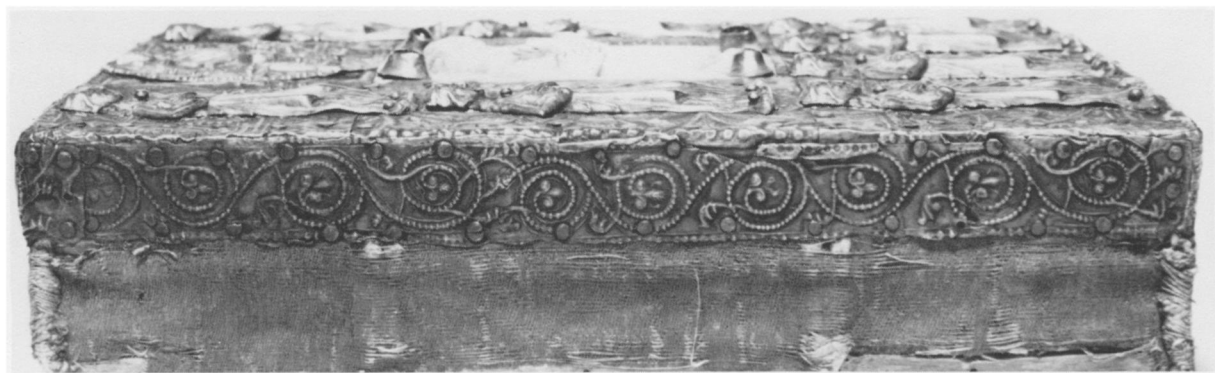


FIGURE 5
View of spine of the *Life of St. Stephen* showing thicker upper cover which was hollowed out to produce cavities for relics

to a considerable number of examples that reached the West by the mid-11th century and which appear to have been produced in Byzantine and in Islamic centers in the 10th to 11th centuries. Such silks were in use largely on the upper Rhine, in Franconia, and in Bavaria, and there is evidence to suggest that several of them were presented as gifts by the Emperor Henry II, who reigned from 1002 to 1024.

Only two examples of spines sheathed with the same type of silk as that on the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary are known to the author. These belong to a Life of St. Stephen from Weihestephan near Freising (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 21585 Cim. 156) and to the Codex Aureus of Echternach (Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum ms. K.G. 1138). While both have been published, their methods of binding have not been closely studied.

The Weihestephan manuscript is of the 12th-13th century. The metalwork cover of the upper board belongs around 1200, whilst the *repoussé* figures date into the 14th century (figs. 4, 5).⁵ The central ivory is of the 11th century. Both boards are covered with a single piece of red silk. This extends over the spine and can be seen beneath a damaged section of the metalwork upper cover. While the boards of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary are of equal thickness, the upper board on the Weihestephan binding is much thicker, at 5 cm., than the lower board. It has

been hollowed out on the inside beneath the *repoussé* figures of the cover to produce a series of cavities for relics. On a Western binding it is possible to replace the boards without resewing, although they do have a structural connection with the sewing, so that it is difficult to determine whether this thicker board is original or, in fact, a 14th-century replacement. The channels are carved in the boards at an angle rather than horizontally. Possibly the binder thought in this way to secure the stout bands more firmly.

In the case of the Nürnberg Gospels the binding itself can be considered contemporary with the text block apart from the earlier re-used metalwork cover of the upper board (fig. 6). Metz has dated the manuscript between 1053 and 1056.⁶ A variety of silks are used on the binding, some early and others clearly part of a late restoration; the medieval silk spine, for example, was backed with a modern silk at an unknown date. The areas of wear across the original silk spine indicate that it has worn from rubbing against the raised bands. Evidently there was no sheepskin pad to protect the silk, which is a yellow olive-green in color (fig. 7). A red silk is beneath the metalwork covering the edges of the lower board and this red silk also seems to be of a later date. As on the Mondsee Lectionary, leather was stretched over the boards and horizontal channels were carved into the boards to accommodate the stout bands. Traces of red silk with some threads of black and gold may be seen beneath the leather over the spine, which can be examined because both boards are detached. It is not clear, however, from what part of the binding these silk remains came.

Neither the Weihestephan nor the Nürnberg binding has semicircular tongues comparable to the extant tongue of the Mondsee binding. Leather tongues, some silk lined, do survive on leather bindings of the Romanesque period and several from Bury St. Edmunds have been

⁴ D. Miner, *Calligraphy*, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁵ I am indebted to S. Müller-Christensen of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, for drawing my attention to the Weihestephan manuscript. The manuscript is published in the *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Wiesbaden, 1969, vol. 4, part 4. Here a 12th-13th-century date is given for the manuscript. Müller-Christensen has pointed out that the silk covering the spine of the Weihestephan manuscript is the same as that over the inside seams of the shoulders of the chasuble of St. Ulrich (d. 973). It is mentioned in her publication, *Liturgische Gewänder mit dem Namen des hl. Ulrich*, in *Augusta 955-1955*, 1955, p. 58. See also by the same author, *Sakrale Gewänder des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1955, p. 15, no. 10. The chasuble is in the Maximilian museum, Augsburg. (See *Suevia Sacra, Frühe Kunst in Schwaben*, Augsburg, 1973, no. 211). I wish to thank Peter Lasko for his help in dating the different parts of the cover.

⁶ The Codex Aureus of Echternach is published by Peter Metz in *Das Goldene Evangelienbuch von Echternach im Germanischen Nationalmuseum zu Nürnberg*, Munich, 1956. The spine is only mentioned very briefly on p. 111 in note 100.



FIGURE 6
Metalwork cover of the *Codex Aureus of Echternach*, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.

published by the late Graham Pollard.⁷ In the case of the Bury manuscripts it is probable that the tongues were used for lifting the bindings out of a storage closet, but the Mondsee Gospels,

⁷ G. Pollard, "The Construction of English 12th-Century Bindings," in *The Library, Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, London, 5th series, 17: 1, 1962, pp. 1-22. Pollard mentions 15 Bury St. Edmunds manuscripts which have silk-lined tongues, but does not give their locations. The present author examined seven such Bury manuscripts with their bindings at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

- 1-3. Jesus College D66 - purple silk.
62 - worn silk with blue and white stitching around edge.
65 - scrap of blue and yellow silk lining upper tongue. Yellow and pink stitching around the edges.
4-5. Laud. lat. 19 - tongues cut off, but traces of green and red silk lining.

6-7. Bodley

- 567 - upper tongue has scrap of red silk lining.
582 - both tongues with traces of red and blue silk lining.
737 - both tongues lined with silk depicting inverted heart motifs; green and red, and blue and red on yellow.

An eighth Bury binding was examined at the British Library (Egerton 3776). The upper tongue is lined with a purple silk, which is worn and seamed. The lower tongue has spindly, curving, yellow tendrils on a brilliant, sky-blue ground. Purple-red inverted petals appear in pairs to the right. The layers of the tongue are secured together in a similar way to those of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary with a complex buttonhole stitch. Dorothy Miner brought to my notice a number of 12th-century manuscripts with tongues at each end of the spine, many of which are English. Some bindings are reproduced in a sales catalogue, *The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts*, part 1, Sotheby's London, December 3, 1968, lots 6 and 7, pl. 8. Lot 6 was acquired by the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also, "Some Anglo-Saxon Bookbindings," by Graham Pollard, published in *The Book Collector*, Vol. 24, 1, 1975, pp. 130-59.

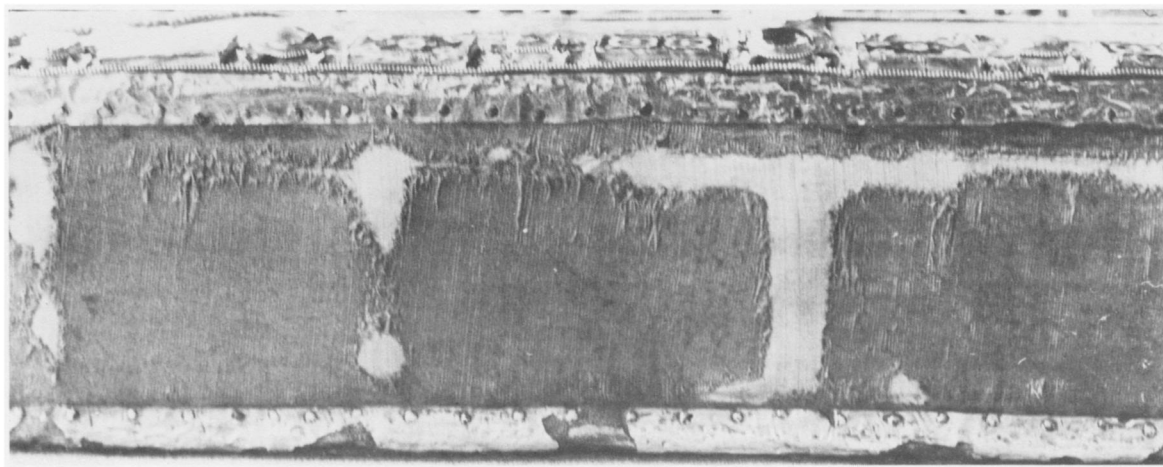


FIGURE 7
Spine of the *Codex Aureus*, showing signs of rubbing

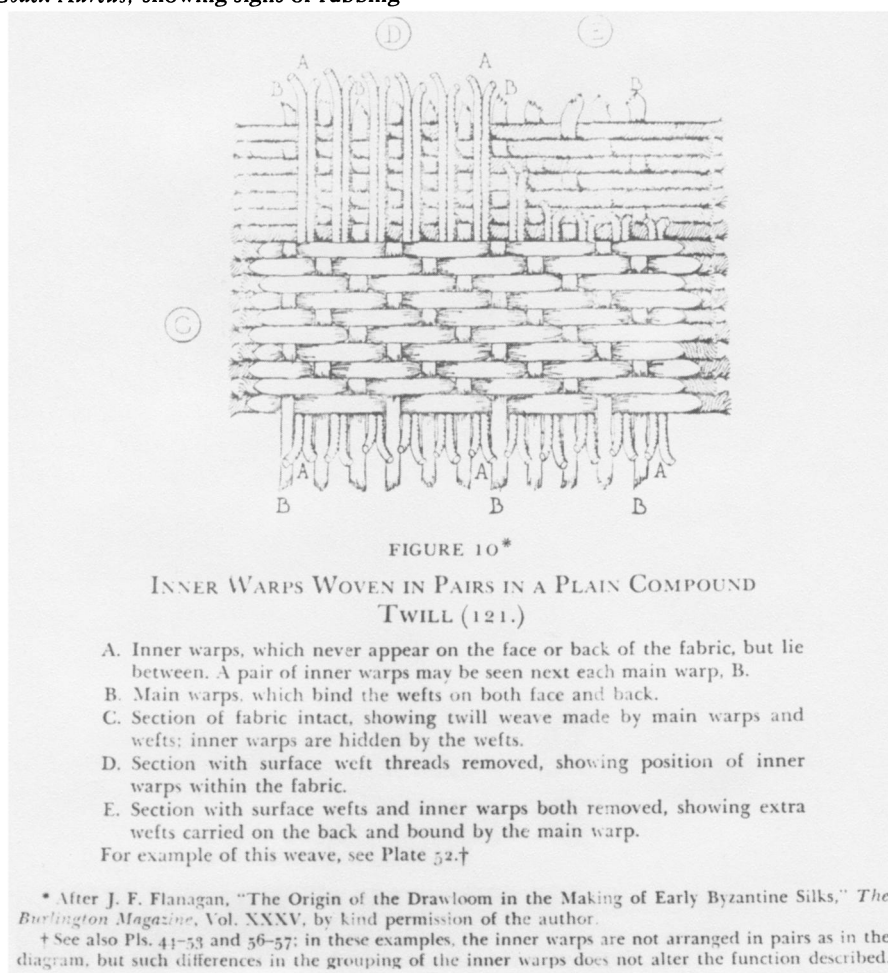


FIGURE 8
Diagram showing structure of a compound twill from N. Reath and E. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and Their Technique from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Centuries*

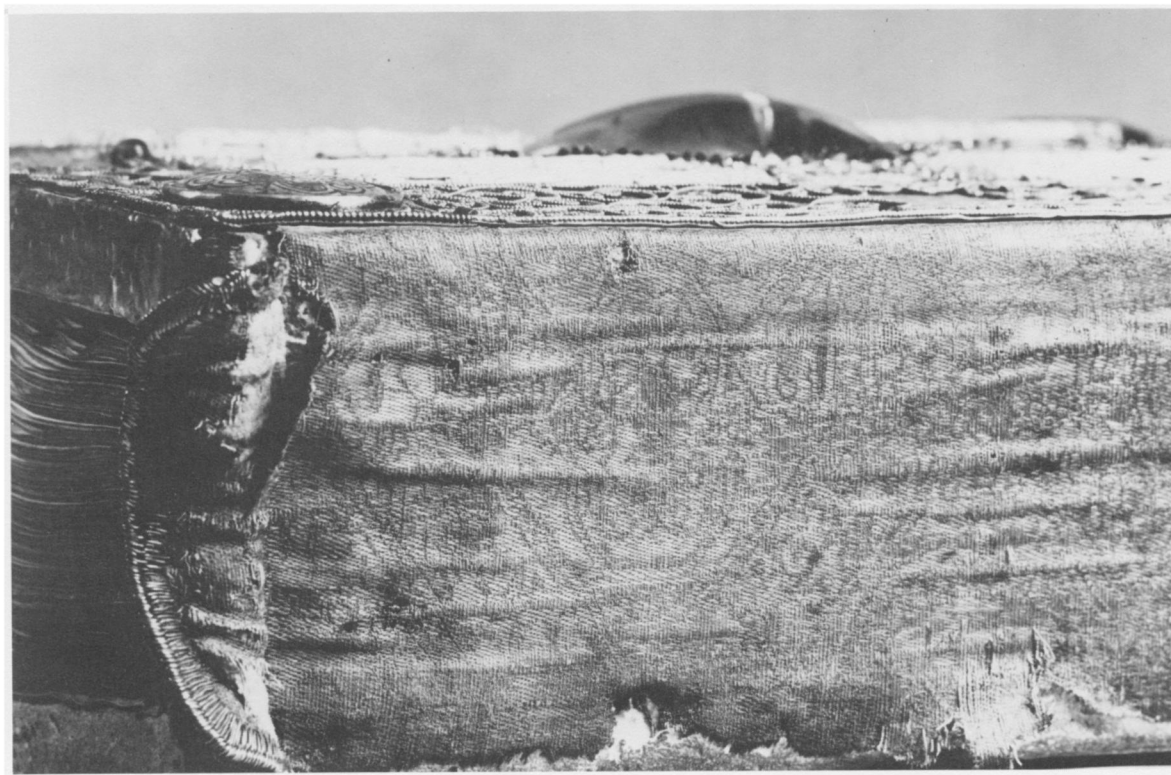


FIGURE 9
Spine of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary, showing the design in the weave of the silk

with their precious metalwork and ivory covers, are hardly likely to have been stored in this manner. The Mondsee Gospels originally had tongues at either end of the spine and they seem to have served a decorative rather than a utilitarian purpose.⁸

The Mondsee, Weihestephan, and Nürnberg silks used on the spines of the bindings belong to a group of monochrome silks. These silks are weft-faced compound twills with their designs produced by a change in weave rather than by color contrasts. The structure of a compound twill is illustrated by Reath and Sachs (fig. 8).⁹ The main warps are paired, but they appear nei-

ther on the obverse nor on the reverse of the weave. On the Mondsee silk the main warps are undyed and twisted to the right, probably to give them extra strength. The binding warps, which as their name suggests bind down the weft, are undyed, single, and twisted to the right. The weft is untwisted and is a deep blue-green in color. The main warps are undyed, indicating that the textile was not dyed after weaving.

The silk was woven on a drawloom operated by two people. One sat at the loom and controlled the binding warp and the weft and the other operated a pattern-producing device called the "figure-harness," which controlled the main warps. The latter mechanism raises or lowers the main warps so that the weft, when passed across, appears either on the obverse or the reverse of the textile according to the requirements of the pattern. In twill weave the weft is bound down after every second or third set of warps and a characteristic "furrow" results from beginning each successive row one set of warps further in to

⁸ See also Berthe van Regemorter's article in *Scriptorium* (15, 1961, pp. 327 ff.), where she notes the use of silver thread to embroider the edges of the small leather tongues of mss. 6 and 13 at Albi, and in addition the general use of silks on bindings.

⁹ N. Reath and E. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and Their Technique from the Sixth to the Eighteenth Centuries*. New Haven, 1937, fig. 10 of part 4.

the right. The diagonal furrow on the Mondsee silk runs from left to right; it is less common for such a furrow to run in the opposite direction.

A good description of how patterns are produced on monochrome, compound twills is given by Sigrid Müller-Christensen, who describes them as "incised twills."¹⁰ Essentially, what happens is that the positions of the two sets of weft threads employed for the weave are altered, the first weft passing to the back of the weave and the second weft being brought to the surface so that a "furrow" results where the two wefts have exchanged positions. The furrows form the lines of the design; if the process is carried out between the same warps in successive rows a straight line appears but if a curved line is required, it is produced by repeating the process between varying warps in successive rows.

The details of the designs on all incised silks are rather difficult to distinguish immediately. Different parts of the design are highlighted according to the way in which the light falls on the silk. Birds, griffins, lions, and foliate motifs are usual on incised silks and there is one example of a bust in a medallion. Paired birds are found on the Weihenstephan silk and the Nürnberg silk has a foliate design, which is difficult to distinguish. It is possible to reconstruct at least in part the design on the Mondsee silk. Along the length of the spine (29 cm.) are two complete repeats with parts of another two on either side (fig. 9). The width of the spine is 8.5 cm., approximately the same as the height of the repeat.

The width of the Mondsee silk is employed along the length of the spine, and the design appears the correct way up when the manuscript is viewed from the side resting flat. Two diamond shapes with linking medallions on either side are visible along the length of the spine (fig. 10). The medallions, with a pearl border between paired outlines, constitute the clearest part of the design. In the center of each medallion is a rosette with four sets of heart-shaped petals, which are separated by narrow projections resembling a St. Andrew's cross. Similar medallions appear in part below and here act as primary motifs within the next row of diamonds. The wefts in the area of

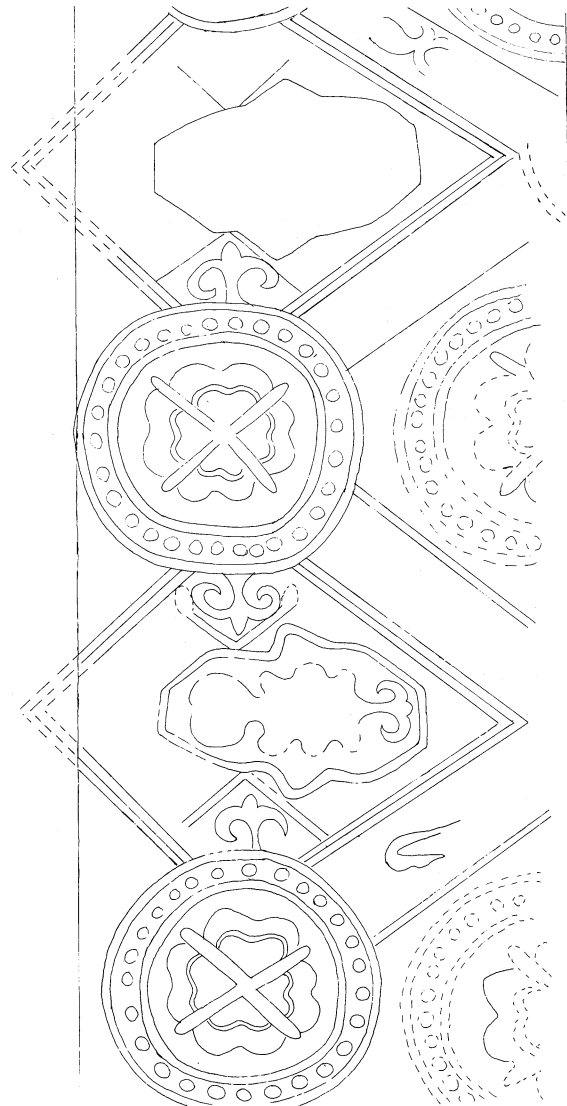


FIGURE 10
Diagram of design in the weave of the silk of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary

the diamond motifs are worn, and it is difficult to distinguish the design, but these diamonds appear to have wide borders enclosing some kind of running tendril ornament. Inside, set within a fluid form that has a double outline, are irregular foliate motifs, with left and right an arrow-like projection enclosing a tendril motif, the stems of which rest upon linking medallions.

It is unusual for incised silks to have linking motifs as large in scale as the Mondsee rosettes.

¹⁰ S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab*, op. cit., pp. 57 ff.

It is unusual, too, to have the design of the linking medallion repeated within the diamond pattern. A more detailed reconstruction of the design is desirable, but this is impossible with the naked eye. Despite this there are four incised twill silks that can be compared to the Mondsee silk, and a sketch of each is given (fig. 11).

a. Fragments from a chasuble found in the grave of a certain Adalbero, in the lower crypt of Basle Cathedral and now in the Historisches Museum, Basle.¹¹

b. A chasuble from St. Peter's, Salzburg, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.¹²

c. Fragments of silk divided in 1913 between the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin, and the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.¹³

d. A fragment of silk from the collection of Canon Bock, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (1242-1864).¹⁴

"Running" tendrils in the borders of diamond shapes are found on the Basle, Boston, and London silks. The infilling motifs of the Basle and Düsseldorf silks with rosette and St. Andrew's cross are very close to the linking medallions of the Mondsee silk. All four comparative silks incorporate some kind of arrow-like projection motif with tendril infilling, but the Basle motif is the closest to that on the Mondsee silk. Two different motifs are enclosed in alternate rows in the diamonds of the four silks and this is true also of the Mondsee silk, although here one of the two motifs, namely, the rosette, is used as a linking motif as well as part of the primary design.

The incised twill in Basle is in several fragments, which, if fitted together, would form part of a chasuble. One of the fragments has survived in particularly good condition (1907/1845). It measures about 19 x 21 cm. and is brownish-yellow in color, although other conserved fragments of the same silk indicate that the original

color was a strong golden yellow. Both warps and wefts are dyed (unlike those on the Mondsee silk) so that the Basle textile may have been dyed after weaving. A band of a plain twill weave can be seen on one of the larger fragments (52 x 16 cm.). The silk could have come from any one of three graves that were accidentally disturbed in Basle Cathedral during the course of work on the building. The three graves belong to an unspecified Bishop Adalbero, to Lutold I of Arburg (d. 1213), and to Henry II of Thun (d. 1238). Of these the most likely owner of the silk is Adalbero II (d. 1026), who dedicated Basle Cathedral in the presence of its founder, Henry II, in 1019.¹⁵

The incised silk chasuble in Boston is blue-black in color and the main warps are undyed, suggesting that the wefts were dyed before weaving. There is a woven purple inscription in Kufic script, which is partly hidden by the gold orphrey, and this has not been fully deciphered, in part because of the silk's fragile condition. Beckwith has suggested that the inscription reads, "Great is Allah." It has also been tentatively suggested that the words "Nasr al-Daula," which mean "Succour of the State," can be read.¹⁶ "Succour of the State" was one of the titles of the third ruler of the Marwanid dynasty, who held office between 1010/11 and 1061 and whose name appears in the woven inscription of an incised twill at St. Ambrogio, Milan. The Boston silk and that in Milan, which has a design of small interlocking forms, offer evidence that incised silks were woven in Islamic centers in the 11th century. The Boston chasuble belonged to a certain Heinrich, judging by the golden embroidered inscription in Latin along the hem. This reads: *Hanc vestem claram Petri patravit ad aram Heinrich peccator eius sit ut auxiliator* (Heinrich the sinner has prepared this noble garment for St. Peter's altar, that it may be his helper). It has been proposed that the inscription

¹¹ E. A. Stükelberg, "Die Bischofsgräber der hintern Krypta des Basler Munsters," in *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde*, 8, 1909, pp. 287 ff.

¹² G. Townsend, *Boston Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 33, Feb., 1935, p. 10.

¹³ O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte*, op. cit. 1921 edition, pl. 204.

¹⁴ The London silk is not published in detail. All four silks were examined by the author in 1972-73. The Basle and Boston silks are in a very delicate condition.

¹⁵ There were three bishops named Adalbero at Basle. The first bishop died several centuries earlier than the 10th-11th-century date of the silk, and the third Bishop Adalbero is unlikely to have been buried in it; he died at Arezzo in 1132.

¹⁶ This interpretation was offered by Dr. Bivar of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University. Dr. Bivar expressed reservations, because the weave of the silk is liable to distort the script of any Kufic inscription.

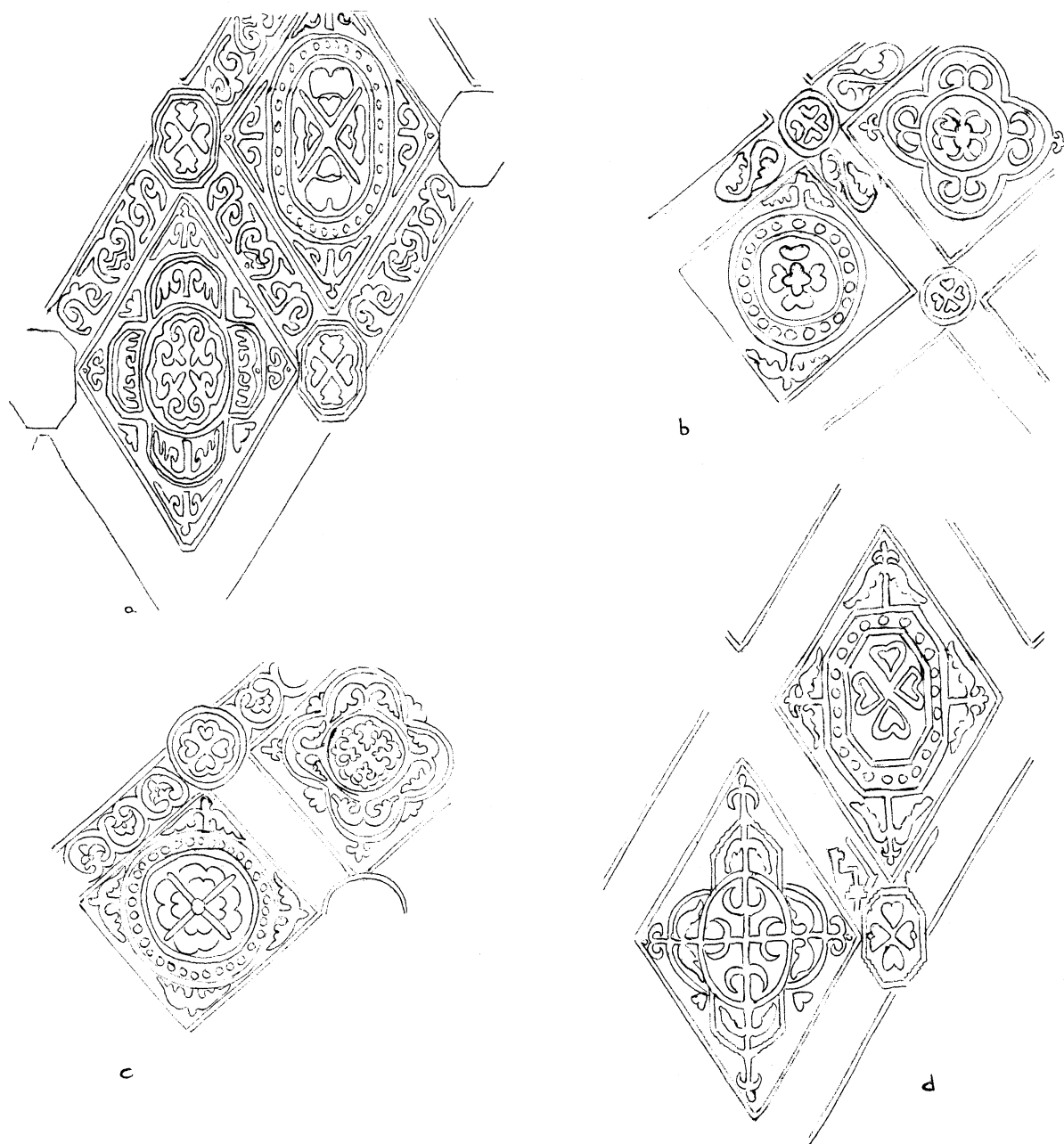


FIGURE 11
Diagram of four incised twill silk designs

refers to the abbot of that name at St. Peter's, Salzburg, between 1167 and 1188, and if this is correct, the silk was already between 100 and 150 years old at the time the Latin inscription was added.

The incised twill fragment in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf (13444), was donated in 1888 by Professor Kothhof of Paderborn. It is said to have served as the lining around the neck of a vestment that belonged to Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn (d. 1036), which has since disappeared.¹⁷ The fragment measures 31.5 x 13 cm. and has deep blue-violet wefts.

The London silk is in several fragments, which were acquired in 1864 after the death of Canon Bock, but there is no indication where he obtained them. The weft is yellow to olive-green in color, while the main warps are either completely undyed or a little greenish in tone. The silk is closest in color to that on the spine of the Nürnberg Codex Aureus. None of the silks so far mentioned is the deep blue-green color of the Mondsee silk. Taken as a whole, though, the silks illustrate the wide range of colors found on incised twills: red to blue-black and blue-violet, and golden yellow to yellowish olive-green.

Within the group of incised twill silks, several have some connection with Emperor Henry II, although the connection should not be overstressed since incised twills were found in the graves of several emperors and their consorts in Speyer Cathedral. Like other emperors, Henry was in a position to donate silks to favored foundations (particularly to the Bamberg and Basle cathedrals), and to ecclesiastics, whom he ap-

pointed. Envoys, usually bearing gifts, passed frequently between Byzantium and the West in this period; for example, Henry received Byzantine envoys in 1002. In 1083 silk diplomatic gifts are specifically mentioned in the care of Byzantine envoys.¹⁸ It seems quite probable that a considerable number of the Byzantine silks in medieval European treasuries reached the West as diplomatic gifts to different emperors, who subsequently donated them to various foundations. Henry's gifts to a number of centers are recorded in contemporary chronicles. At the dedication of Basle Cathedral under Bishop Adalbero in 1019, they included a chasuble of "samite inwoven with golden eagles."¹⁹ Four years earlier in 1015 on a visit to Cluny he presented gifts including a "golden Imperial garment".²⁰ To Monte Cassino in 1022 he offered precious textiles including "a chasuble with inwoven patterns and golden borders, a stole, a maniple, and a belt, all with gold ornament. A cope with inwoven ornaments and golden borders and also a tunic of the same fabric with golden ornaments as well as a handkerchief with inwoven patterns and gold ornaments." The "gold ornaments" are probably embroideries in golden thread.

In Bamberg Cathedral treasury are a number of incised twill silks with golden embroidery. One mantle has embroidered panels with seated rulers in Eastern costume (fig. 12) and embroidered alongside the panels is the name Henry. The mantle probably belonged to Henry II (1002-1024), who founded Bamberg Cathedral, although until quite recently it was thought to have belonged to Cunigunde, his wife. The association with Cunigunde stems from the fact that her portrait appears on a hood added to the

¹⁷ I wish to extend my thanks to Dr. Ricke of the museum, who provided this information.

¹⁸ W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt, 1958. "Die Legation des Kaisers Basileios II an Heinrich II," pp. 300-316. The Greek envoys in the West in 1083 were intent on gaining help against the Normans on behalf of their Emperor Alexius. O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Schriftquellen zur Kunstgeschichte des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, 1938, reprinted in New York, 1971, no. 2723, "Eodem tempore legati Grecorum venerunt, munera multa et magna in auro et argento vasisque ac sericis afferentes." Envoys from Byzantium came to the West frequently in connection with planned marriages; see F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, Munich and Berlin, 1924, 1925, 1932, nos. 325, 339, 443, 480, 536, 642, 784, 830, 989, 1003 for example, which date between 765 and 1074.

¹⁹ *Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series*, p. 118 of the volume entitled *Early Medieval Art, 300-1150*, by Caecilia Davis-Weyer, New Jersey, 1971. Here the dates of Bishop Adalbero of Basle are given as 999-1021.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 120. Note also that in 1023 rich parting gifts were presented by Henry to the Cathedral of Cambrai and to the church of St. Andrew. Gerhard of Cambrai (1012-1051) was a close contact of the emperor's. The chronicle of St. Andrew's, Cambrai, records under the year 1023 the acquisition of a relic of St. Andrew with a reliquary from Constantinople, together with two *pallia* for the Virgin and one purple-red *pallium*. The chronicle of 1133 is based on earlier records. Again, one wonders if Henry distributed gifts that he had earlier received from Constantinople.



FIGURE 12
Mantle with embroidered panels from Bamberg Cathedral Treasury



FIGURE 13 A AND B
Design motifs of 10th-11th-century silk chasubles

mantle by Jorg Spiess in 1448. The embroidered name of Henry was not revealed until the late 1950s, when the mantle was conserved. At this time it was also discovered that the original silk ground of the embroidery is an incised twill with a design related to that of the Mondsee silk and its sister silks described above. Pearl borders, foliate motifs, and interlocking geometrical forms are found in the designs of all these silks. It is unfortunate that not much of the original silk ground remains: the embroidery was remounted in the 16th century. Also remounted are the embroideries of Old and New Testament scenes on another mantle at Bamberg, but enough remains beneath the embroideries to determine that the ground was originally an incised twill silk. A third

embroidered mantle in Bamberg shows mounted falconers, and this has an interesting incised twill silk lining with a Kufic inscription that reads "The Kingdom is of God." The oldest inventory of Bamberg Cathedral treasury dates from 1127 and includes forty chasubles, of which fifteen were decorated with golden thread.

The incised twill silk ground of the mantle at Bamberg, with the embroidered name of Henry, is similar in design to the Mondsee silk with its foliate ornament in geometric compartments, but it is indeed almost identical to two silks in Mainz and in Munich. The silks were used to form chasubles, and these are by tradition said to have belonged to Archbishop Willigis of Mainz (975-1011). The possibility that Willigis actually

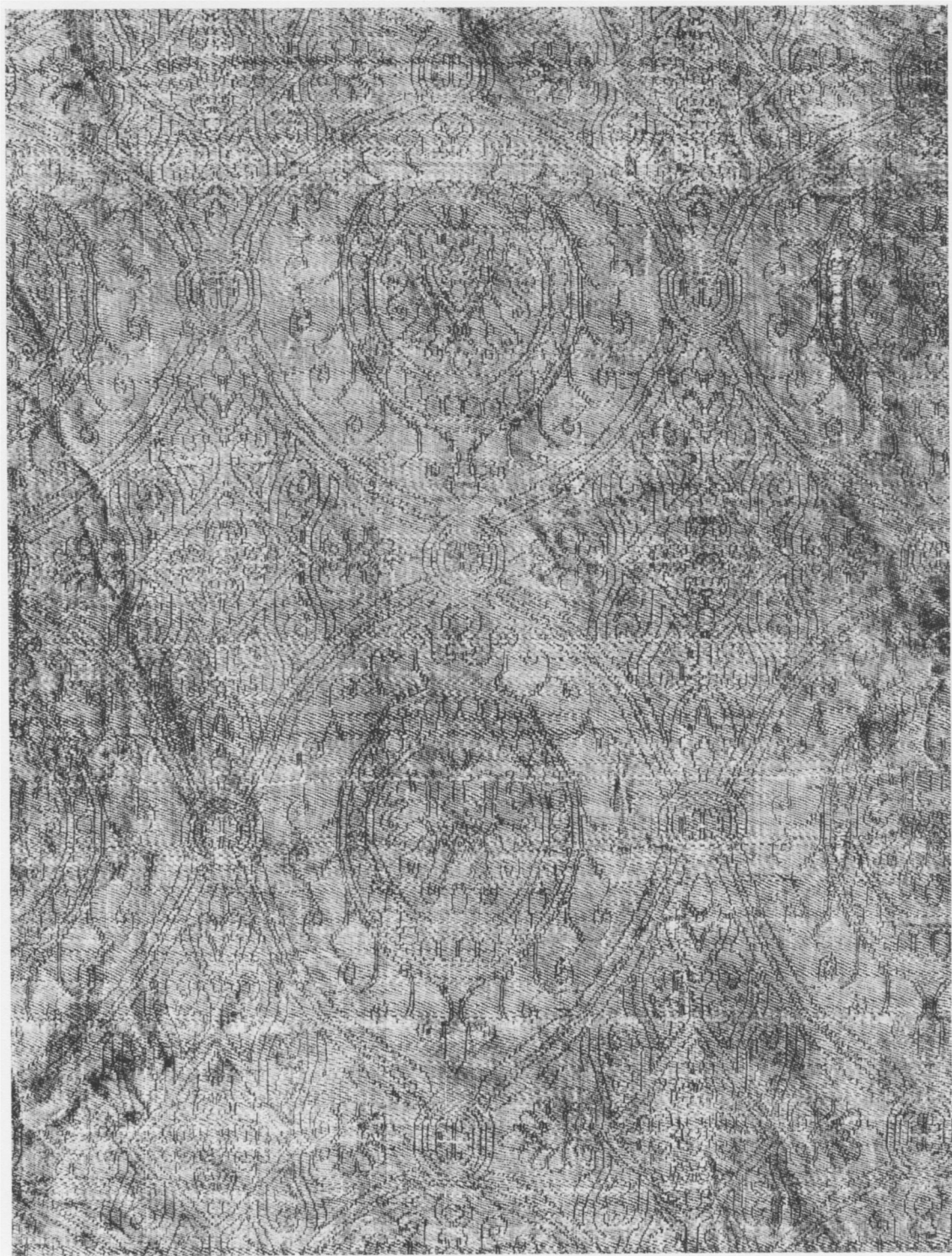


FIGURE 14
Silk chasuble with ogee design and foliate infilling motifs

wore the chasubles cannot be dismissed; one chasuble is still in the treasury of St. Stephen, Mainz (fig. 13a), and dates to the 10th-11th century. The second chasuble reached the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, from Aschaffenburg (fig. 13b) in the 1790s by way of Bishop Kolborn, "provicar" of Mainz.²¹ Willigis consecrated Henry II in 1002, and the silks may have been gifts from the emperor. Alternately, they could have been presented to Willigis by Otto II, who had appointed the archbishop: in this case it is tempting to think that the silks may have come from Byzantium via the Empress Theophanou.

There is some evidence to suggest that Henry II presented certain incised twill silk chasubles to bishops whom he appointed. The chasuble at Niederaltaich, which has an ogee design similar to that of the Mainz, Munich, and Bamberg silks, may have been a gift from Henry. The vestment appears to have belonged to Abbot Godehard and an inscription, apparently added posthumously, invokes eternal life for the abbot: *Salus capiti sit ut abbatibus Godehardi atque deus vitam ducat in aeternum*. Godehard was abbot of Neideraltaich before being elevated to the see of Hildesheim in 1022 by Henry II. It is possible that the emperor presented the chasuble to Godehard on his appointment and that the latter left it to his former abbey on his death in 1038.

As mentioned above, the Düsseldorf silk is said to have come from a vestment of Bishop Meinwerk of Paderborn. This bishop, appointed by Henry II, could have received gifts from the emperor on the occasion of his investiture in 1000 or at the time of the consecration of the Cathedral of Paderborn in 1015. Similarly, the Basle silk discussed earlier may have been a gift from Henry II to Adalbero II on the occasion of the dedication of Basle Cathedral in 1019.

Another incised twill chasuble that may have been presented by Henry II is today unfortunately not to be located. According to an em-

broidered inscription, the chasuble was offered to the church of the Virgin at Szekesfehervar by King Stephen of Hungary and by Queen Gisela in 1031. Gisela was the sister of Emperor Henry II. Eva Kovács has drawn attention to the similarity between embroidered figures of the chasuble and the metalwork standing Christ on the Basle antependium, presented to Basle Cathedral by Henry II.²²

From the examples discussed so far there is evidence to show that incised twill silks were arriving in the West in numbers by the 11th century; the fact that several of these silks were used to clothe the body of Pope Clement II (d. 1047) underlines the point. The pope had been bishop of Bamberg, and when he died his body was taken to Bamberg Cathedral for burial.²³ Incised silks were used for Clement's chasuble and pluvial, for the bands at the top of the buskins, and for a number of unattached ribbons. The golden-yellow chasuble employs an ogee design and foliate infilling motifs like those on the Willigis silks (fig. 14). On Clement's red pluvial, medallions with paired griffins and panthers are enclosed in alternate rows with paired birds used as linking motifs in the spandrels. The same design is seen on a chasuble from St. Peter's, Salzburg, now in the Abegg Stiftung, Riggisberg, and again the design, in a different weaving technique, is found on the buskins of Pope Clement II.²⁴ The incised silk band at the top of the buskins is blue-black with a rosette motif surrounded by a border of pearls.

Ascribing provenance to any silk is problematic, because there is not enough information about the types of silks woven in different weaving centers. The Milan and the Boston silks with their intelligible Kufic inscriptions, nevertheless indicate that incised twills were woven in Islamic centers. Evidence that such silks were also woven in Byzantine centers is offered by the incised twill of Bamberg, embroidered with

²¹ In the 17th century at least one silk chasuble was still at Mainz, and it is reported together with an alb and a stole at St. Stephen, Mainz. *Kirchenschmuck*, vol. 26, 1896, p. 11, note 7. The name of Willigis is not mentioned by the Jesuit, but there are no later chasubles of the saint at Mainz, and it can be inferred that he was talking of one of the incised silk chasubles.

²² Eva Kovács, "Casula Sancti Stephani Regis," in *Acta Historiae Artium*, Budapest, vol. V, fasc. 3-4, 1958, p. 191 ff.

²³ See note 2.

²⁴ M. Lemberg, B. Schmedding, "Abegg Stiftung Bern in Riggisberg II, Textilien," in *Schweizer Heimatbücher* 17 3/4, Bern, 1973, pl. 13.

seated Byzantine emperors. Müller-Christensen asks the question: Does the mantle represent a Byzantine work of art intended as a gift for the emperor or is it a Byzantine silk embroidered in the West?²⁵ It seems highly likely that the silk and the embroidery are Byzantine; the subject matter of the embroidery is most unusual in the West and differs from that of the other embroidered silks at Bamberg. It is known that silks did arrive in the West as diplomatic gifts and, as mentioned earlier, Henry II did receive Byzantine envoys during his reign. From the *Book of the Prefect*, a 10th-century document dealing with the non-Imperial guilds in Constantinople, it is clear that large scale, monochrome silks were reserved for Imperial manufacture.²⁶ This not only proves

that monochrome silks were woven in Constantinople at that date but it also serves to show that such silks are unlikely to have reached the West in any other manner than as diplomatic gifts.

In the light of the fact that incised twills seem to have been woven in both Byzantine and Islamic centers in the 10th-11th centuries it is unwise to state categorically that the silk sheathing the spine of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary is definitely Byzantine or Islamic: it could be either. It serves as an example of one of the types of silks that came to the West, and its use on a binding reflects a practice that had become widespread by this date.²⁷ It is fortunate that the binding has been well preserved and that its 11th-century character can still be appreciated today.

²⁵ S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, op. cit. no. 18, p. 17. M. Schuette and S. Müller-Christensen, *The Art of Embroidery*, London, 1964 (translation by D. King), Historical introduction, p. XVI, cat. no. 29/30, p. 299.

²⁶ J. Nicole, *Le livre du Prefet*, Geneva and Basel, 1894 (Variorum reprint, Switzerland, 1970), Chapter VIII, i, see pp. 162, 245 for the translation of the relevant passage by Freshfield (Cambridge, 1938). Cf. A. Boak, "Notes and Documents. The Book of the Prefect," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1, 1929, p. 597-618, esp. p. 609, "The silk weavers are forbidden to manufacture the prohibited cloaks, namely, large-sized outer cloaks of a single color." For the

dating of the *Book of the Prefect*, see A. Stöckle, "In welche Zeit fällt die Redaktion unseres Edikts?," *Klio*, 9, 1911, 142-3 and G. Ostrogorsky in a review of G. Zoras, "Le corporazioni bizantine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 33, 1933, p. 389-95, esp. 391 ff.

²⁷ I am indebted to those who made it possible for me to examine bindings with silks. In particular I would like to thank Dr. Bahns and Dr. Leonie von Wilckens at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, and Dr. Klaus Maurice, Keeper of Manuscripts in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich. Dr. Maurice provided the negatives for the photos of the Weihenstephan binding.

Appendix A — A Handlist of the Most Important Extant Incised Twill Silks, Also Known As Monochrome Compound Twills.

1. *Augsburg, Maximilian Museum and Church of St. Ulrich and Afra*

Chasubles of St. Ulrich (d. 973). The shoulder piece of the chasuble in the Maximilian museum is a red incised twill silk. S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, Munich, 1955, no. 9; *idem*, *Das Grab des Papstes Clemens II im Dom zu Bamberg*, 1960, p. 69; *idem*, *Liturgische Gewänder mit den Namen des Heilige Ulrich, Augusta 955-1955*, Munich, 1955.

2. *Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery*

Silk over the spine of Ms. W. 8, a Gospel Lec-tionary, written by scribes of Regensburg around the second third of the 11th century.

3. *Bamberg Cathedral Treasury* (housed in the Diocesan museum adjoining the Cathedral)

i. Choir mantle with embroidered emperor panels and with the name "Henry," embroidered alongside a panel. Originally on an incised twill silk ground and long called the Cunigunde cope on account of a later hood with an embroidered portrait of St. Cunigunde added by Jorg Spiess in 1448.

ii. Mantle with embroidered Old and New Tes-tament scenes, originally mounted on an incised twill silk ground.

iii. Mantle with embroidered falconers. Incised twillsilk lining, with Kufic inscription. The in-scription reads, "The Kingdom is of God." The inscription is in mirror image along the silk as well as the correct way round.

iv. Chasuble, pluvial, bands on top of the buskins and various ribbons from the grave of Pope Clement II (d. 1047) in Bamberg Cathe-dral. S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, nos. 18, 25, 24; *idem*, *Das Grab, op. cit.*, pp. 37-43, 57 ff.

4. *Basle, Historisches Museum*

Fragments of incised twill silk from the grave of a certain Adalbero in the lower crypt of Basle Cathedral. Perhaps the grave of Bishop Adalbero II (d. 1026). Inventory number on one of the fragments, 1907, 1845. E. A. Stückelberg, "Die Bischofsgräber der hintern Krypta des Basler Münsters," *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und*

Altertumskunde, 8, 1909, pp. 287 ff.

5. *Budapest, Church of the Virgin at Székesfehérvár*, later in the Hofburg at Vienna, and today untraceable.

Chasuble with an embroidered Latin inscription bearing the names of Stephen of Hungary (crowned in 1031) and Gisela, his queen, who was sister of the Emperor Henry II (d. 1024). The chasuble had an incised twillsilk ground, that was examined by S. Müller-Christensen, during the last war. The embroidered inscription states that the chasuble was presented to the church of the Virgin at Székesfehérvár, and the latter was consecrated in 1031. The silk was used as a cor-onation mantle in the 19th century and is called a mantle, rather than a chasuble, in the literature.

E. Kovács, *Casula Sancti Stephani Regis: Acta His-toriae Artium*, V, Budapest, 1958, p. 181.

6. *Berne, Riggisberg, Abegg Stiftung*

Chasuble from St. Peter's, Salzburg. Legendary association with St. Vitalis (c. 700). S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab, op. cit.* fig. 88.

7. *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts*

Chasuble from St. Peter's, Salzburg, with woven Kufic inscription. J. Beckwith has suggested that the inscription reads, "Great is Allah." See *By-zantine Tissues in XIV Congres International des Etudes Byzantines*, Bucarest, 6-12 Sept. 1971, p. 42. Members of the School of Oriental and Afri-can Studies of the University of London have suggested part of the inscription may be taken to read, "For Nasr al-Daula." The reading is tenta-tive, because of wear over part of the script. There is also the possibility of a number of spell-ing mistakes. "Nasr al-Daula" means "Succour of the State." The script is plainer than that of the Milan silk and is probably earlier. Other titles of the ruler were "al-Amir al Ajall, the most noble arur" and "izz al-Islam, glory of Islam." His pat-ronymic or Kunya was "Abu Nasr, Father of vic-tory." An added embroidered inscription in Latin names a certain Henry; this may refer to Abbot Henry (1167-1188). G. Townsend, *Boston Mu-seum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, vol. 33, Feb. 1935, p. 10.

8. *Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum*

A fragment (13 444) close in design to the silk sheathing the spine of the Mondsee Gospel Lec-

tionary. The fragment is also comparable to a silk in the Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (T.757-4014). O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, 1913, vol. 2, fig. 230. There was once a piece of the same textile in the Gewebesammlung, Berlin, but it has not been possible to ascertain whether it is still there. A fragment, possibly from a lost chasuble of Meinwerk of Paderborn, has to be considered as well. See 1966 Corvey catalogue, vol. 2, no. 118, *Kunst und Kultur im Weserraum*, Münster, 1967. The chasuble is said to have been discovered at the time of a recognition of the saint in 1367.

9. *Halberstadt, Cathedral Treasury*

Incised twill silk chasuble. The author has not seen this vestment. *Generalverwaltung der Museen Berlin, Ausstellung von Kirchengewändern*, 1911, no. 1. S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab, op. cit.*, p. 59, note 15.

10. *Hannover, Kestner Museum*

There are a number of silk fragments which are incised twill silks. From Lüneburg there is an incised fragment and an incised reliquary pouch (WM XXIa, 50m). Some fragments are incised in two shades of one color (3872, 3856). Ruth Gröwoldt, *Bildkataloge des Kestner-Museums, VII, Textilien I, Webereien und Stickereien des Mittelalters*, Hannover, 1964, nos. 7, 23, 24, 25, p. 23, pp. 31-32.

11. *Herrieden, Bavaria. Monastic Church*

A chasuble now destroyed. W. M. Schmid, "Eine Kasel des späten II Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift des Münchner Altertumsvereins*, 1914, p. 147. Article, unfortunately unavailable to the author.

12. *Krefeld Gewebesammlung*

Inv. no. 00139 with an incised design of the ogee compartment type. Inv. no. 00050 identical to no. 11357 in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf, and to a fragment at one time in Merseburg Cathedral. Ogees and medallions enclosing foliate motifs. The fragments can be compared to the chasuble in Xanten Cathedral treasury. *Alte Gewebe in Krefeld*, Krefeld, 1949, p. 25, no. 86, p. 26, no. 87 with bibliography.

13. *London, Victoria and Albert Museum*

The numbers here are taken from W. F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Early Medieval Woven Fabrics*, London, 1925. Three incised twill silks he cata-

logues are 1016, 1023, and 1024. The inventory numbers are 8564-1863; 8235-1863; and 8556-1863. The first fragment, 1016, is traditionally said to have formed part of a tunic of Henry II (d. 1024), but this is no longer extant. The tunic is thought to have been bordered by embroidered griffins, which are remounted on a tunic in the Diocesan Museum, Bamberg. 1023 is said to have formed part of a chasuble of Arnold of Trier (d. 1183), but it does not correspond to fragments at the Archiepiscopal Museum, Trier, also said to belong to a chasuble of Arnold of Trier. The graves at Trier were examined between 1846-1852, but no publication of the silks has been made in detail. 1024 is an incised twillsilk stole with no indication of where it came from. The ogees with foliate motifs are comparable to those on the chasubles of Willigis of Mainz. No. 1020 is similar to all three.

Inv. no. 1242-1864 is an incised twill silk with a diamond trellis design like that on the silk sheathing the spine of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary.

No. 1021 is from Halberstadt Cathedral and can be compared to a fragment in Merseburg Cathedral, to Krefeld Gewebesammlung 00050 and to Vienna T.728. F. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, pp. 42, 52; S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab, op. cit.*, pl. 76 and 77, p. 80, note 14.

14. *Mainz St. Stephen and Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*

Two chasubles of Willigis of Mainz (d. 1011), with ogee designs. The two are not quite identical. Otto von Falke, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 9. W. F. Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, 1969 translation, pl. 70.

15. *Merseburg Cathedral Treasury*

A fragment traditionally held to have come from the cloak of Otto I (d. 973). It has not been possible for the author to see the fragment. The design is like that of Krefeld Gewebesammlung 00050. There was once a fragment at the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin. The author has not been able to establish whether this is still extant. W. F. Kendrick, *op. cit.*, p. 41, note 2; S. Müller-Christensen, *Das Grab, op. cit.*, p. 80, note 4; J. Lessing, *Die Gewebesammlung des Königlichen Kunstgewerbe Museums*, Berlin, 1900-1913, vol. 4, fragment '78 458

16. *Milan, St. Ambrogio*

So-called "dalmatic of St. Ambrogio." There is a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (8560-1863), from the Bock collection, which came from this dalmatic. There is a Kufic inscription on both the dalmatic and the fragment, which allows the silk to be dated between 1010/11-1061, under the reign of Nasr al-Daula Abu Nasr Ahmad, third of the Marwanid rulers. A. de Capitani d'Arzago, *Antichi Tessuti della Basilica Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1951. A. R. Guest, *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, April 1906, p. 394; U. Monneret de Villard, "Una iscrizione mawanide . . .," in *Orient Moderno*, 20, no. 10.

17. *Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum*

A fragment said to have belonged to a tunic of Henry II (d. 1024). The embroidered griffin borders from the alleged tunic are remounted on a tunic in the Diocesan Museum, Bamberg. Comparable to the Victoria and Albert Museum fragment 8564-1863. S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, *op. cit.*, nos. 22, 23. See no. 21 also.

18. *Munich, Bayerisches Staatsbibliothek*

Manuscript Clm. 21585 cim. 156 from the abbey of Weihenstephan near Freising. The manuscript is a life of St. Stephen of the twelfth to thirteenth century. Both boards and the spine of the manuscript are covered with a red incised silk twill. The silk is the same as that used to line the shoulders of a chasuble of St. Ulrich in Augsburg. S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, *op. cit.*, no. 10, p. 15. *Buchkunst in bayerischen Handschriften des Mittelalters. Ausstellung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, Munich, 1930, no. 151.

19. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library*

There are incised monochrome rosettes on a silk otherwise multi-colored. The birds on the silk are in contrasting colors. The silk lines the upper board of the Lindau Gospels. It is stuck over a marbled endpaper indicating it was not necessarily part of the original binding. H. A. Elsberg, *Two Medieval Woven Silk Fabrics in the Binding of the Ninth Century Manuscript the "Four Gospels" in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York. See, pls. 1 and 2, of this article in *The Bulletin of the Needle and Bobbin Club*, 17: 1, 1933, pp. 3 ff.

20. *Niederaltaich, Bavaria. Abbey Church*

Incised twill silk chasuble of St. Gotthard (d.

1038). Gotthard was abbot at Niederaltaich from 996-1022. He then became Bishop of Hildesheim. S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, no. 12.

21. *Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum*

Silk sheathing the spine of the Codex Aureus (K.G. 1138). F. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1965, no. 42.

22. *Regensburg, St. Emmeram*

Incised silk used to line part of the chasuble of St. Wolfgang (d. 994). S. Müller-Christensen, *Sakrale Gewänder*, no. 16. W. F. Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, p. 145.

23. *Reims, St. Remi*

Pillow and shroud of St. Remi. The pillow has an embroidered inscription showing that it was made by the sister of Charles the Bald for a translation of the relics of St. Remi under Hincmar of Reims in 852. The date attached to this incised twill silk is so much earlier than the dates given to the remaining silks of the weave that the possibility remains of the inscription being purely commemorative. W. F. Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles*, no. 68; *Bulletin de Liaison du Centre International d'Etude des Textiles Anciens*, Lyon, 1955, p. 15, and Jan. 1962, pp. 38 ff.

24. *Sens Cathedral Treasury*

The design on the chasuble of St. Ebbo (d. 750) is only partially incised. The pairs of birds and the inner drawing of a tree form between them are incised. There was a translation of the saint in 976, and although the silk is generally considered to have belonged to the saint in the 8th century, it is not impossible, that it was placed about the relics of St. Ebbo in the 10th century. It is by no means certain that it dates to the eighth century and not to the tenth. *Revue de l'art chrétien*, vol. 61, 1911, p. 380.

25. *Speyer, Historisches Museum der Pfalz*

Several incised twill silks are found in the graves of a number of the emperors and of the bishops in the Cathedral of Speyer. Fragments of the hose of Henry III (d. 1056) are incised. The grave of a bishop, perhaps Reginbald (d. 1039), yielded fragments of an incised twill silk chasuble. In 1900 Lessing made a sketch of a silk from the grave; probably of the chasuble. The silk is

being restored in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich. A woven pseudo-Kufic inscription on a band was incorporated in a reconstruction of the fragments made around 1900. The fragments were made up into the form of a chasuble. In one grave were fragments of a mitre that is thought to have been incised. The end of a manipule from the same grave is incised. H. E. Kubach and W. Haas, eds., *Der Dom zu Speyer, Die Kunstdenkmäler von Rheinland-Pfalz*, 5, Munich, 1973. Two volumes.

The silks are treated by S. Müller-Christensen in the section "Die Gräber im Königschor, Textilien," 1, pp. 923 ff., which also includes an extensive bibliography. For the sketch by Lessing see vol. 1, p. 974. Photographs of the silks are in vol. 2.

26. *Vienna, Hofburg*

The coronation mantle of Roger of Sicily was embroidered in Palermo in 1134, as a Kufic inscription embroidered upon it states. The ground is an incised twill silk. H. Fillitz, *Die Schatzkammer in*

Wien, 1964, pl. 55.

Kendrick mentions that the silk cuffs and lower border of an imperial tunic in this collection are of a reddish-purple silk with an incised ogee design: W. F. Kendrick, *Early Medieval Woven Fabrics*, 1925, p. 41.

27. *Xanten, St. Victor*

Incised twill silk chasuble. It may have come from Brauweiler. The association with St. Bernhard of Clairvaux is probably purely legendary. There was a fragment in the Kunstgewerbe Museum, Berlin, 85, 965. Otto von Falke, *op. cit.*, vol. 2 of 1913 edition, p. 9.

(Kendrick wrongly terms two further silks incised or monochrome twills. The silk of the chasuble of St. Bernward (d. 1022) at Hildesheim Cathedral treasury is a tabby, twill lampas, and there is no incised twill silk from the Heribert shrine at Cologne-Deutz. The bird silk from the shrine at Deutz is a polychrome, paired main warp, compound twill.)

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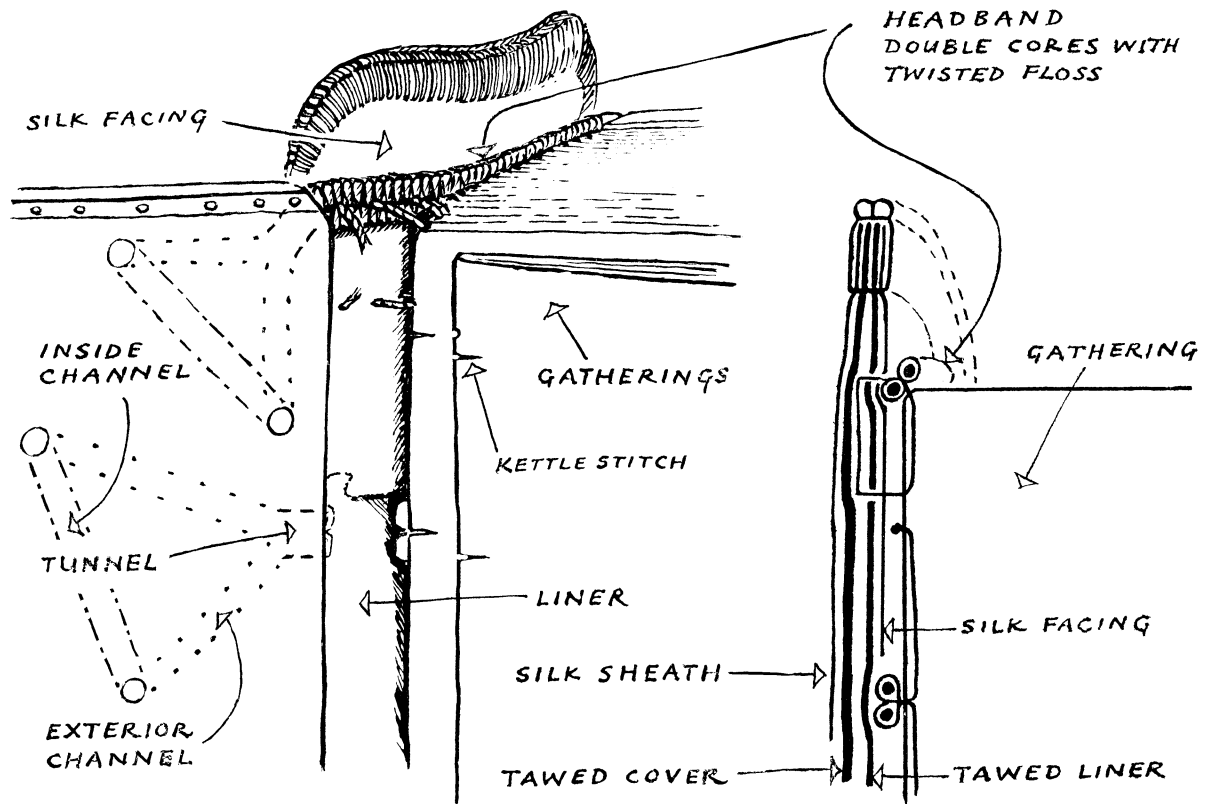


DIAGRAM FOR APPENDIX B

Appendix B — A Note on the Construction of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary by Christopher Clarkson, Conservator of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the Walters Art Gallery.

Silks were certainly widely used for decorative purposes in the binding construction of this period. In the case of the Mondsee Gospel Lectionary it is possible to see a great part of how the binding was constructed because the thongs attaching the upper boards have all broken at this joint, thus allowing the board to be slightly turned back, exposing the text-block spine treatment as shown in the accompanying diagram.

The gatherings were sewn with heavy thread to double thongs (alum-tawed slit straps) in one of the herringbone stitch forms. The oak boards next appear to have been laced on in typical late 11th century fashion, the double thongs passing through tunnels, which start on the spine edge of the board and emerge onto the exterior face. These tunnels fork apart in channels and then pass through the thickness of the board. The thongs are then twisted together to anchor them and laid within a linking channel cut into the inner face of the board (this has been confirmed by X-rays taken of the lower board). A soft alum-tawed spine liner, the thickness of the text-block plus boards and longer than the spine, was nailed to the board edges; this is typical of 12th-century work, whatever the covering material. Blue-grey silk, added at either end of the spine between the

text-block and the liner, formed the decorative 'facing' of the extending tabs (sometimes called tongues). The endbands were worked around cores of double thongs similar in weight to the main sewing supports, which were also laced into the boards in similar manner. There is no preliminary thread sewing of endbands but they were surprisingly enough worked directly in red twisted floss, which holds the cores, text-block gatherings, silk tab-facing, and liner firmly together. The volume was then covered with a soft alum-tawed skin. Unusually, the portion of the cover which extends into the head-tab is a separate piece which is neatly joined by sewing before covering (the tail-tab has been cut off by later librarians). Perhaps the part of turn-in usually left intact to form the tab was accidentally cut off when the spine corners were being shaped. The silk sheathing the spine was cut wider to allow the edges to be pasted down to the board sides; these in turn would be covered by the silver plates. The tabs were then trimmed to form a curve extending a maximum of two centimeters from the text-block.

It remained to secure together the four layers of the tabs consisting of silk facing, spine liner, alum-tawed cover, and silk sheathing and to anil the metalwork covers into place. The layers of the tab were secured by a 'perimeter' sewing worked around the edge in a complex type of buttonhole stitch with silver wire.

The Walters Persephone Sarcophagus

GUNTRAM KOCH

The rich collection of sarcophagi in the Walters Art Gallery, the most important such collection in the United States, was enhanced in 1965 by the acquisition of a Persephone Sarcophagus (fig. 1).¹ The quality of this piece may be less splendid than that of the pieces found at Porta Salaria,² but it has many interesting features. Once in the collection of a well-known, 18th-century Roman sculptor, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, it depicts a myth, which, although new to the Walters Collection, is a very common subject for many Roman sarcophagi. Thus this Persephone Sarcophagus is very typical of sarcophagi of its period—the early 3rd century A.D.

The sculptor Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who lived from about 1716 to 1799, was a skillful and talented artist, whose fame rested not so much on his own original compositions as on his restorations of classical sculptures. As an art dealer, he made a practice of buying ancient sculptures, restoring them, adding missing parts where necessary, and then selling them.³ Long-established precedents existed for such activities: to quote only a few examples, Michelangelo planned to add the right arm to a sculpture of the Laokoon; Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini finished antique

pieces; and Bertel Thorwaldsen added the missing parts to the pediment sculptures of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina,⁴ Cavaceppi was acquainted with Johann Joachim Winkelmann, and planned to make a journey with him to Austria and Germany in 1768. Winkelmann changed his mind, however, and so Cavaceppi traveled alone. Among the places he visited was Wörlitz in Anhalt-Dessau, where several works, either executed or finished by him, can still be seen today in the castle.⁵

The front of the Persephone Sarcophagus in Baltimore was one of the many antique pieces which Cavaceppi collected and also published in 1768-1772 in a monumental, three-volume work with engravings.⁶ He did not sell this piece but set it into the wall over the door of his house, the Casa Cavaceppi, at the Via del Babuino 155 in Rome. By doing so he was following a widespread fashion of decorating villas, palaces, and houses with ancient reliefs, especially ones from sarcophagi. The Villa Medici, the Palazzo Mattei, or the Casino Pallavicini of the Palazzo Rospiigiosi in Rome all had such reliefs incorporated

¹ The Persephone Sarcophagus, accession number 23.219, H. 0.43m, L. 1.72m without the lateral pilasters, L. 2.04m with lateral pilasters. W. 62.5cm, is published with a drawing in C. Robert's *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* III 3, Berlin, 1919, reprinted Rome, 1969, p. 484, no. 405, plate 128 (cited here as Robert followed by the number of the sarcophagus). See also the short article in *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery* Vol. 18 No. 4, January, 1966.

² K. Lehmann-Hartleben/E.C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1942.

³ U. Thieme/F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der Bildenden Künste* VI, Leipzig, 1912, p. 209. The Dionysiac sarcophagus once in the Lansdowne Collection should be considered a forgery. See F. Matz, *Die dionysischen Sarkophage, Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* IV, Berlin, 1968-74, Supplement 210, pp. 38, 39.

⁴ There is no comprehensive work on the history of the restorations of ancient sculptures. See M. Cagian de Azevedo, *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche*, Rome, 1948. For the Laöcoon see Helbig, *Guide to the City of Rome*, 4th ed., Vol. 1, Tübingen, 1963, pp. 162-166, no. 219 (W. Fuchs). For B. Thorwaldsen see L.O. Larsson, "Thorwaldsens Restaurierung der Aegina-Skulpturen im Lichte zeitgenössischer Kunstkritik und Antikenauffassung," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 38, 1969, p. 23 onwards; and C. Grunwald on Bertel Thorwaldsen, *Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums*, Cologne, 1977, Catalogue p. 243 onwards, research papers 305 onwards.

⁵ E. Paul, "Eine Skulpturensammlung des Klassizismus," *Wörlitzer Antiken*, Wörlitz, 1965, p. 3 onwards.

⁶ *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassorilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, scultore Romano* I, Rome, 1768; II (with some changes in the title), 1769; III, 1772. The Persephone sarcophagus is engraved in Vol. III, plate 38,2 with the note 'presso di me.'

into them.⁷ The sculptor Antonio Canova even set antiques into the walls of his house, the Studio Canova, where they can still be seen. A sketch was made of the Persephone Sarcophagus in the Casa Cavaceppi as late as 1893; its further fate was not known until recently. In 1965 it was photographed as part of a number of pieces to be sold on the art market in Rome and in the same year it was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery. Among Roman Imperial sarcophagi representing scenes from Greek mythology, samples showing the story of Persephone are very numerous; about one hundred pieces are recorded in all. These works were either made in Rome or copied after Roman works in the western provinces of the Empire, in southern Italy or Spain. No Persephone sarcophagus has so far been found in the Greek east.⁸ According to Greek mythology, Persephone, the daughter of Demeter, the goddess of the earth and fertility, was abducted by Hades, the god of the underworld, who made her his wife. The grief-stricken mother searched until she found her beloved daughter and managed to win back Persephone for two thirds of the year; the remaining third Persephone had to spend with Hades in the underworld.⁹

Only the front panel of the Persephone Sarcophagus was preserved intact; the pilasters on the corners, the short ends, the bottom, and the back panel of the sarcophagus are all later additions. The original front panel shows three scenes from the story. Although these are three separate incidents, unconnected in time and place, the three scenes run into one another. In the middle of the panel, just slightly to the left, Hades, who as king of the underworld is carrying a scepter, surprises the kneeling Persephone (fig. 2). To attract the girl he has caused a marvellous flower to

⁷ For example M. Cagianò de Azevedo, "Le antichità di Villa Medici," *Studi Miscellanei* 20, Rome, 1951. *Sculture di Palazzo Mettei*, Seminario di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte Greca e Romana dell'Università di Roma, Rome, 1972.

⁸ The Persephone sarcophagi are collected and published with drawings by C. Robert (see footnote 1 above). A new edition by the author with illustrations taken from photographs is in preparation. Most of the Persephone sarcophagi are local Roman works; a few may be executed in southern Italy or Sicily (Robert 374, 387, 391, 406); and there is one in Spain (Robert 389). We do not know why the Greeks did not make use of the myth.

⁹ For the myth see *Lexikon der Alten Welt*, Zurich, 1965, p. 708 onwards; *Lexikon der Antike* 1, Stuttgart, 1964, p. 1459 onwards, Vol. IV, 1972, p. 647 onwards (all with rich bibliography).



FIGURE 1
The Persephone Sarcophagus, about 210 to 220 A.D., once in the possession of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and now in the Walters Art Gallery. (23.219)

grow. According to the story, Persephone was picking flowers in a meadow when surprised by Hades and in this scene she is shown with her right hand on a vessel full of flowers, which represents a basket. Close to Hades stands the god Hermes who wears a cap with wings and carries the herald's rod. He appears to be helping Hades. Beside Persephone another young girl, presumably one of her playmates, is kneeling; she also has a basket of flowers. Above her, close under the upper border, is a bearded man with outstretched arms from which his garment hangs down. One can only find one parallel for this figure on other Persephone sarcophagi; the Persephone sarcophagus in San Felix, Gerona, carries a similar personage.¹⁰ On the sarcophagus in Gerona the figure has wings, which led C. Robert to suggest that this man might be 'Caelus,' a personification of the sky; his flowing garment symbolizes rain and clouds.¹¹ As so far there have been no new finds to offer supporting evidence for this interpretation, the question remains open.

The scene of Hades surprising Persephone includes another female figure, who is hurrying to the right. Wearing a short chiton, a billowing cloak, and boots, she represents Artemis, the goddess of the hunt. Her right hand is raised in a gesture of fright; the remaining part of it is under the upper border. In her left hand she formerly held a bow as the two thick adjoining pieces of the background to the right indicate.

The scene on the right-hand side of the panel, which fills nearly half the frieze, represents the carrying off of Persephone by Hades, thus both the principal actors in the story are shown a second time. Hades, still carrying a scepter, has swept the girl up into his chariot, which is pulled by four horses. The goddess Athena, who can be identified by her helmet, tries in vain to hold Persephone back. A small Eros, standing to the left of Athena, appears to be trying to hinder her efforts to hold onto the girl, for he sides with the lover Hades. The overturned flower basket is a

reminder of the peaceful gathering of flowers in the meadow, which has been so rudely interrupted. The four horses drawing the chariot are guided by Hermes (his left forearm is a modern restoration) and are accompanied by two flying Erotes carrying nuptial torches. Below the horses lies a bearded man, probably a local deity, perhaps Oceanus, god of the sea; he has raised his right arm. On the right of Oceanus stands a dog with three heads. This is Cerberus, the guardian of the underworld, who points to the journey's destination, the Kingdom of Hades.

On the left side of the panel yet another scene from the story is represented. Demeter is shown searching for her daughter after her abduction. The goddess is standing on a chariot drawn by two horses. In her left hand she holds a torch, with her right hand she points forward. A small draped figure with wings holds the reins and from a series of parallels with other Persephone sarcophagi one can almost certainly claim this figure as a female being.¹² Although it is not possible to identify her, C. Robert has suggested that she personifies 'Trepidatio,' symbolizing the restless haste of the searching mother, but one cannot be absolutely sure of this interpretation.¹³ Above the horses appears another girl; shown in front view with her head turned to Demeter, she holds a veil which blows out behind her.¹⁴ Such an interpretation is possible due to this figure being found on similar sarcophagi. We cannot, however, be sure of what this figure represents. C. Robert has called her 'Caligo,' a thick atmosphere, fog, or darkness, through which Demeter has to pass in search for her daughter.¹⁵ There is no parallel for such a personification, however, and also no evidence for the name. Below the horses we see a female figure with the horn of plenty in her left hand. This is presumably Tellus, the Roman goddess of the earth.

The short ends with the pilasters on the front corners (fig. 3) originally did not belong to the piece but were added in modern times. They are

¹⁰ Robert 405¹. A. Garcia y Bellido, *Esculturas Romanas de Espana y Portugal*, Madrid, 1949, p. 220 onwards, plate no. 251, pp. 181-183.

¹¹ Robert 485.

¹² Robert 378, 379, 382-384, 389, 390, 393, 397, 399.

¹³ Robert 452.

¹⁴ Robert 362, 363, 372-374, 376, 378, 394, 397, 399, 406, 409.

¹⁵ Robert 452.



FIGURE 2
Detail of the Walters Persephone Sarcophagus. Hades surprises Persephone as she is picking flowers in a meadow.



FIGURE 3
One of the short ends of the Walters Persephone Sarcophagus.

not mentioned in the older literature and are not found in the engraving by Cavaceppi. They do not seem to be modern works but may belong to an ancient sarcophagus, perhaps to a strigil sarcophagus.¹⁶ On the left pilaster to the right one can see another technique in the cuts of the chisel; the strigil decoration and the profiles surrounding the strigils are cut away to the depth of the background of the Persephone sarcophagus. There are the same kind of cuts on the right pilaster; here the left forearm and herald's rod of Hermes are worked out of the existing mass of marble. The strigil sarcophagus may have been a simple one and perhaps that is why it was destroyed. Crossed shields occur as a decoration comparatively frequently on the short sides of Roman sarcophagi, especially on pieces of a more modest quality.¹⁷ As many of the simple strigil sarcophagi are not yet published, it is not at present possible to show similar ornaments on the shields. There exists, however, in Wilton House in Great Britain,¹⁸ a strigil-sarcophagus which depicts Meleager and Atalanta on its main panel and the Dioscuri on its side panels and this also has crossed shields on its short ends. These shields are a different shape, certainly, but they have a similar motif scratched in. Similar types of decoration, but not so rich, are to be found on many other short sides. This makes it certain that the short ends of the Walters Persephone sarcophagus are indeed ancient.

The first Persephone Sarcophagus in the long series of the genre is to be found in Venice.¹⁹ It can be dated to the time of Hadrian. The scene of the abduction is inserted into the bow of a garland supported by Erotes. In late Hadrianic or

early Antonine times an accompanying frieze was designed for such sarcophagi. One can see one sample intact (although the heads and some other parts were restored in modern times) in Florence (fig. 4).²⁰ This sarcophagus dates from the mid-Antonine period and shows on the right the abduction scene using comparatively few figures, thus making it easy to identify them. On the left are Athena, Aphrodite, and a companion of Persephone. On the far left is Demeter searching for her daughter in a chariot drawn by snakes. The frieze is bordered with female figures, who represent goddesses of the seasons. There are a large number of sarcophagi and fragments of sarcophagi of this type. Most of them belong to the mid-Antonine period but some earlier ones are evidence that the composition was already created for the sarcophagi in late Hadrianic or early Antonine times.²¹ One cannot prove that there were yet older patterns for the whole composition, although some of the figures and groups go back to earlier works. The important point is that the artist of Roman Imperial times created a new composition especially for the sarcophagus.²²

In late Antonine times, from about 180 to 190 A.D., the figures on the sarcophagus are usually closely crowded together. New scenes, personifications, and local deities, who are often difficult to name, are inserted into the original composition. They are so crowded that it is difficult to identify the figures. In style the figures are elongated, of widely differing heights, and vehemently agitated. Hair, beard, and clothes have deep grooves from the running drill. There is a sharp contrast between high and low, light and shade. G. Rodenwaldt²³ was the first to recognize these peculiarities and called this phenomenon of

¹⁶ There is a group of modest strigil sarcophagi (as far as I know all unpublished), which have a *tabula* in the middle and half columns or pilasters at the corners; the short ends of the Persephone sarcophagus may come from such a simple piece. A somewhat more precious sarcophagus is, for example, the Meleager sarcophagus in Saint Peter's in Rome, which has a scene with figures on the middle and lateral pilasters. See G. Koch, *Die mythologischen Sarkophage*, Meleager, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs XII* 6, Berlin, 1975, no. 146, plate 120c, 121. There are crossed shields on the short ends but it is not possible to photograph them.

¹⁷ For example Matz, see footnote 3 above, Supplement 120, 2, plate 305, 2, and 3. Koch, op. cit., plate 119 e and f.

¹⁸ Koch, op. cit., plate 119 e and f.

¹⁹ Robert, 358. J.M.C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, Cambridge, 1934, plate 46, 1.

²⁰ Robert, p. 372. H. Sichtermann/G. Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf römischen Sarkophagen*, Bilderhefte des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom, 5 and 6; Tübingen, 1975, p. 57 no. 60, plate 147, 2 and 3; 148, 2; 149; 150; 151, 1.

²¹ Robert, 362, and an unpublished fragment in Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia; see a forthcoming article by the author in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, vol. 2, 1979.

²² Some of the older representations are to be found in Robert p. 353 onwards.

²³ G. Rodenwaldt, "Über den Stilwandel in der antoninischen Kunst," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1935, phil.-hist. Klasse No. 3.



FIGURE 4.
A Persephone Sarcophagus, about 160 to 170 A.D., in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

Antonine times *Stilwandel* (change of style). This stylistic period saw the creation of several magnificent sarcophagi, but only a few of them depict the Persephone story and they are for the most part in a poor state of preservation. Pieces of sarcophagi that do show the Persephone story include a fragment in the Archeological Museum in Florence,²⁴ a front panel very much restored in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome,²⁵ and (possibly) a very badly damaged sarcophagus in the Campo Santo in Pisa.²⁶ They all show the same arrangement of the figures as the sarcophagus in Baltimore, but the figures are more agitated, of more widely differing heights, and the lines of the clothes are broken up. It should also be mentioned that the famous sarcophagus depicting the Triumph of Dionysos in the Walters Art Gallery dates from late Antonine times.²⁷

In the first quarter of the third century, sarcophagi caskets, as shown by numerous examples, are particularly long and narrow. The Per-

sephone sarcophagus in Baltimore belongs to this period. The figures are packed close and cut in extraordinary detail; they are elongated and have small heads. Clothes and hair, however, are no longer so strongly worked as on the sarcophagi of late Antonine times but are more rigid in style. Why the figures are depicted in such agitated attitudes is often hard to explain. We do not know why Demeter and the figure to her right turn their heads to the left, why Hermes turns back, or why Tellus and the local male deity raise their arms. With reference to the execution of clothes and heads, one can compare them with the Adonis sarcophagus in the Vatican,²⁸ which can be dated from the portrait heads of the two figures in the middle scene to about 220 A.D. The same stylistic peculiarities can be clearly seen in the left part (fig. 6), which has the sitting Aphrodite, and the standing Adonis and his companion. The sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum in Rome,²⁹ which is dated on the basis of the por-

²⁴ Robert, 402.

²⁵ Robert, 397.

²⁶ Robert, 409.

²⁷ Lehamann-Hartleben/Olsen, see footnote 2, figs. 7-8.

²⁸ Sichtermann/Koch, see footnote 20, p. 20, plates 7, 10, 2, pp. 12-15.

²⁹ Robert, 392. Sichtermann/Koch, see footnote 20, p. 57, no. 61, plate 148, 1; 151, 2 and 3; 152-154.



FIGURE 5
A Persephone Sarcophagus, about 230 to 240 A.D., in the Capitoline Museum in Rome.

trait head of Persephone to about 230 to 240 A.D. (fig. 5), leads one step further. The drill has been used much more on this piece, especially on the faces, eyes, noses, mouths, and hair. From the time of the Emperor Gallienus (253-268 A.D.) until the present only one fragment of a Persephone sarcophagus is known,³⁰ but this cannot be compared with the piece in Baltimore. And the only sarcophagus of later—Tetrarchic—times, which is to be found in Ascalon in former Palestine,³¹ shows another type and style.

By following the iconographic development, we are able to date the Persephone sarcophagus in Baltimore to the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Up to the present time no one has dis-

covered other pieces from the same workshop; research on workshops is only in its infancy.³² Sarcophagi with portraits that enable them to be dated at least approximately, such as the Adonis sarcophagus in the Vatican or the Persephone sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum (there are many others), make it possible to date the Persephone sarcophagus in Baltimore to about 210 to 220 A.D. The same period, the beginning of the first quarter of the third century, also saw the execution of the Dionysos and Ariadne sarcophagus in the Walters Art Gallery.³³ This one, however, is of quite superior quality and is a masterpiece of its time. The Persephone Sarcophagus by comparison is a simple, much more modest work, typical of the average production of the period.

As we have already seen, Persephone sarcophagi were very popular in Roman Imperial

³⁰ Romo, San Cosimato. Sichterman/Koch, p. 58, no. 62, plate 155.

³¹ M. Avi-Yonah, "Recently Discovered Sarcophagi from Ashkelon," *Atiqot*, English Series II, Jerusalem, 1976, p. 72 onwards, plate 16. See also the forthcoming article by the author in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1979, vol. 2.

³² For example, Matz, see footnote 3, p. 519 onwards.

³³ Lehamann-Hartleben/Olsen, see footnote 2, figs. 9, 10.



FIGURE 6
The left part of an Adonis sarcophagus, about 220 A.D., in the Museo Gregoriano Profano in the Vatican, showing Aphrodite and Adonis.

times from about 140 to 300 A.D. Of the sarcophagi depicting mythological subjects, the Persephone story was only equaled in popularity by the story of Meleager and Atalanta, or the battle between the Greeks and the Amazons, so far as we can establish now. Just why the Persephone story was so often selected for sarcophagi is hard to answer, as there is little in classical literature to guide us and no one has yet attempted an extensive study of the question. One can only surmise several obvious important reasons: The Persephone sarcophagi, after all, clearly show someone being carried away into the underworld, the kingdom of the dead. It was easy, therefore, to identify the deceased person with Persephone, especially if the deceased were a woman, as she could then be imagined as the bride of Hades. Such an interpretation enabled the bereaved to dwell upon the beauty of the deceased woman, whom Hades had chosen for his wife, and on the love between them. This interpretation seems to emerge quite strongly from the sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (fig. 5). Here

the woman has a portrait head; she offers no resistance but is led away in triumph. The Baltimore sarcophagus, however, does not emphasize this interpretation. The popularity of the Persephone theme for sarcophagi was perhaps due to the message of hope and comfort it offered to the bereaved since Persephone was allowed to come back to earth after her time in the underworld.

³⁴ See, for example, F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains*, Paris, 1942, p. 95 onwards and *passim*; see index p. 528 s.v. Proserpina. W. Peek, *Griechische Grabgedichte, Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt*, vol. 7, Berlin, 1960, index p. 371 s.v. Hades; p. 373 s.v. Persephone. B. Andreae, "Studien zur römischen Grabkunst," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*, 9, *Ergänzungsheft*, Heidelberg, 1963, p. 45 onwards and *passim*; see index p. 176 s.v. Proserpina. H. Brandenburg, "Meerwesensarkophage und Clipeusmotiv," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 82, 1967, p. 221. with note 82.

Photo credits: Figures 1-3 courtesy of the Walters Art Gallery; figures 4-6 courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Rome.



FIGURES 1 AND 2
Restored cast of the Peplos Kore in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, England. The restorations do not affect the dress.

The Peplos Kore and Its Dress

R. M. COOK

In a recent article in this *Journal* Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway interpreted the Peplos Kore (Athens, Akr. 679) as a representation of an old-fashioned xoanon of an armed goddess, perhaps from a group of several figures.¹ Her arguments can be briefly summarized as follows:

(1) The dress is commonly misunderstood, since what is taken for the overfold of a peplos is meant to be some kind of cape, which probably indicates superhuman status. (2) In any case this dress is old-fashioned, and in the 5th century, xoana, when they appear in sculptural groups, are represented in old-fashioned dress. (3) The size of the statue is unusual and suggests a xoanon. So, too, do (4) its block-like shape and (5) the suppression, in whole or part, of the feet. (6) That the hands once held attributes can be assumed by the hole bored through the right hand; the same assumption can reasonably be made for the left hand also, and these attributes might have identified a deity. I would like to offer a different interpretation since I do not consider any of the above arguments either sound or significant.

In reply to the first assumption, I would point out that, with a normal overfolded peplos, pinned on the shoulders, the overfold on one side is open and on the other side passes under the arm, so that if the fit is tight the arms must be bare: but if the material is full enough and the upper arm hangs close to the body as does the right arm of the Peplos Kore then, particularly on the open side of the peplos, the back part of the overfold can fall more or less vertically from a pin at the

front of the shoulder, so as to cover the front of the upper arm. The arrangement of the material over the left arm of the Peplos Kore shows that it has enough fullness (figs. 1 and 2). Though Ridgway considers this explanation, she rejects it for the Peplos Kore because of "the stretching of the cloth from torso to arm in the front," where any meeting of back and front parts of the overfold would be. But for the art of its time this is a pedantic objection. The opposite phenomenon of stretched cloth clinging in defiance of nature to indentations of the body over the buttocks and legs was a regular feature of contemporary Attic korai of 'Ionic' type. Admittedly there is no interruption of the pattern or system of folds at the bottom of the overfold, but that may be put down to artistic convenience: there is no such interruption on the skirt either, though according to common belief the peplos should be open down one side.² What seems to me a decisive argument in favor of the Peplos Kore having an overfolded peplos is the pair of holes drilled one on each shoulder in positions that would be quite proper for pins securing a peplos, but not for any other normal purpose. The cape suggested by Ridgway, which would—unusually—be open at

¹ Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, "The Peplos Kore, Akropolis 679," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 49-61. Cf. also her *Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, pp. 91-92 and 110. The citations of Ridgway below are to her article in the *Journal*.

² Incidentally, I suspect that the conventional explanation of the peplos (and also of the chiton) is rather naive. For instance, Ridgway (pp. 50-51) assumes a rectangular piece of material of standard size or at least not particularly related to the height and breadth of the wearer; but given the natural variety in human dimensions, this would have ludicrous results for very tall or very short women and for very broad or very narrow ones too, nor in a fashionable society would it be happy for those much less divergent from the peplos-weaver's norm. If, though, the size of the material was determined by the wearer's measurements, then either pieces must have been woven in a range of sizes or specially for individuals (as would be likely enough with home weaving) or else the material must often have been cut and some border patterns either embroidered or woven on separate strips to be stitched on.

one side,³ does not reasonably need a pin on the other side, and her alternative suggestion that the holes were for supports for a pendant is also hard to parallel: it has the awkward consequence of the chain of the pendant passing over, and not under, the carefully arranged tresses of hair, and since there is no hole to secure it, the pendant itself is left hanging free. Furthermore, if the sculptor had intended a cape, one might expect him to have designed it less like an overfold, perhaps even giving it a contrasting color, as he did with the chiton worn under the peplos:⁴ Ridgway offers the excuse that he may not have been acquainted with capes except on some old statue, but surely they were always in use by peasants and in any case it is a garment the principle of which is singularly easy to understand.

In response to the second assumption about the old-fashioned nature of the dress, one should remember that reliefs and vase paintings of the 5th century B.C. occasionally had subjects which required the representation of cult statues which were given old-fashioned poses and dress, either to show their venerable antiquity or to distinguish them from living figures;⁵ something similar might be expected in the 6th century, too. On the other hand, the pose of the Peplos Kore is not noticeably old-fashioned for a statue of around 530 B.C. and I doubt if its dress is decisively so either. The chiton as the principal garment for women had become normal in the sculpture of the East Greek region and the Cyclades by the second quarter of the 6th century and this 'Ionic' type established itself at Athens around 550 B.C. and in other parts of European Greece and the West hardly, if any, later.⁶ This is as far as sculpture is concerned (including fi-

gurines). Attic vase painting, however, keeps the peplos for women (though not for men) till the 520s, so that artists in Athens at the time of the Peplos Kore were familiar with artistic representations of the peplos. Furthermore, the 'Ionic' kore type is exotic in other ways in European Greece, since with its emphasis on decorative complexity and feminine prettification it goes counter to the increasing severity evident in contemporary male statues and ultimately triumphant in the Early Classical style;⁷ so the Peplos Kore, the sculptor of which was obviously both accomplished and subtle,⁸ can as properly be considered a progressive experiment as an old-fashioned exercise. In any case, even if the intention was old-fashioned, the responsibility is as likely to have been the client's as the sculptor's. It remains true, of course, that among the statues of this time female figures wearing the peplos are very rare; yet in relief there are three of them on the north and east friezes of the Siphnian Treasury, which are progressive Attic or near-Attic works of about 525 B.C., and here the peplos does not distinguish its wearers in character or function from the other eight goddesses who are without it.

Ridgway claims that the height of the Peplos Kore, 1.17 m. without the plinth, is peculiar, "well beyond that of a mere statuette, yet considerably smaller than nature or than other Akropolis dedications of its time." This seems unjustified, if one examines korai from Athens listed in G. M. A. Richter's *Korai* and dated between 535 and 500 B.C. There (with rough allowance, where necessary, for missing parts) the height of no. 112 was about 1.15 m., of no. 114 about 1.00 m., of no. 117 about 1.20 m., of no. 118, 1.01

³ The parallels she gives (n. 23) do not look at all close, to judge by published illustrations. S. Marinatos (*Kleidung, Haar- und Barttracht*, A48) seems to postulate a cape fastened on the shoulders, but without good reason, as A. M. Snodgrass observes (*Gnomon* xli (1969), p. 392).

⁴ As Ridgway says (pp. 59-60), it is not important that the patterns bordering the overfold or cape are repeated at the bottom of the skirt. I think, though, that she is wrong in asserting that the chiton sleeve had the same pattern, even if that is what W. Lermann meant (*Altgr. Pl.*, p. 56).

⁶ On the Attic R.F. cup by the Foundry painter, Berlin F. 2294 (FR, pl., 135), the poses of the statues are, necessarily, contemporary, but context and in one instance incompleteness make it clear that these are statues.

⁷ A bronze mirror in Manchester (T.B.L. Webster, *Ant. J.* xvi (1936), 147, pl. 26) is perhaps relevant. It used to be thought Corinthian of about 530 B.C., but (so J. Koukoulou kindly tells me) may be Italian or North-Western Greek. Here the female figure of the handle is of 'Ionic' type, but the bronze-worker has not fully understood his model: in particular, the lower edge of the himation runs diagonally up from the right hip at the front, but from the left hip at the back.

⁸ Ridgway (p. 50) implies that fashionable Athenian women discarded the peplos at the same time as the korai of Attic sculpture. I should put more trust in vase-painting, since it was not so subject to exotic influences, was an easier medium for experiment, and covers more situations.

⁸ See Ridgway, pp. 49-50.

m., and of no. 119 about 1.25 m., and there are three smaller specimens, nos. 120, 123 and 115, which are perhaps still too big to be called statuettes. I do not understand either why such a size should be considered "appropriate" to a xoanon.⁹

That the body of the Peplos Kore is 'blocklike' has often been remarked, but this is a more or less inevitable effect in a standing Archaic statue wearing a peplos, as can be seen from the rather later bronze figurine that Ridgway gives as an illustration. Indeed, the effect persists to some degree in the Early Classical style, as in the *Hestia Giustiniani* and even in the *Hippodamia* (?) of the east pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. Besides, the sculptor of the Peplos Kore has made a number of adjustments, noted by Ridgway, to mitigate the tendencies to rigid rectangularity, which were inherent in the pose and dress.¹⁰

At the front the lowest part of the Peplos Kore is missing, but (as Ridgway concedes) it is reasonable to suppose that this part included the front of the feet, protruding below the skirt of the chiton. That the back of the feet are not carved out can be explained by the position, recessed between the skirt and the plinth; though the recessing is neither very low—about 2.2 cm.—nor deep, it is enough to make fine carving troublesome and visibility poor, especially if the plinth was set some way above or below eye level. Apart from this, in the representations of xoana cited by Ridgway, the feet are fully carved where they are preserved or not covered by the skirt.

The left forearm of the Peplos Kore is lost, but evidently it was stretched forward; and though it is not evident which way the hand was turned, it

may be expected that there was something in it. The right forearm is preserved and a hole is bored through its closed hand to hold a metal object; the hole (I take Ridgway's measurements) is 6 mm. in diameter and slopes up to the front at an angle of 9°. From this slope she argues that the object held is more likely to have been something 'stick-like' than a wreath or fillet. I do not see why.

The slope of the hole is determined by the position of the hand, and this is mainly determined by the slightly forward slope of the forearm, which itself is justified as a device to avoid rigidity and is paralleled on contemporary Attic kouroi. Nor is it extraordinary for a downstretched arm to hold a wreath at a slight angle¹¹ or, for that matter, other objects, such as a flower or spray¹² or a small jug.¹³ As for Ridgway's proposed spear, its long and low projection forward would be very awkward, especially if the statue was intended to be seen from in front, and she would do better to prefer her second choice of an arrow. And if her theory of the cape is accepted, it is remarkable that an armed goddess has the left arm free but the right encumbered.

Lastly, there are more general objections to envisaging the Peplos Kore as a representation of a xoanon or already ancient statue. If it stood by itself, the modernized details would have made identifying it difficult and the accessories Ridgway suggests are not so peculiar that this difficulty would have been dispelled, unless perhaps a spear at the trail was very abnormal: besides, it is hard to think why an independent representation of a xoanon might have been wanted. If, on the other hand, it was part of a group, there is the problem of what that group was: usually in such compositions the xoanon either has the function of providing sanctuary, with a fugitive clasping it, or it is shown, as the Palladion, being carried off, but the Peplos Kore stood quite free of contact with other figures.

⁹ Perhaps Ridgway is judging by the relative sizes of statues and living figures on the monuments to which she refers in her n. 25; but since presumably the statues stood on bases and were upright, it was inevitable according to the artistic conventions for filling the fields in which they appear that the statues should be smaller than the living figures in those fields. This does not, of course, apply to the Palladion, which had to be small enough for a man to carry easily.

¹⁰ The sparsity of folds is not significant, nor does Ridgway use it as an argument. Folds on a peplos tend to be broad and till Early Classical sculptors took to cutting them deep were usually few. Nor are folds much deployed on the Phrasikleia kore from Merenda (E. Mastrokostas, *AAA* v (1972), 298-324), though it seems to wear a chiton and must be near in date to the Peplos kore.

¹¹ e.g. in vase painting the Amasis painter (S. Karouzou, *Amasis Painter*, pl. 13); Clazomenian B. F. (CVA B.M. viii, pl. 592.3-4). So too, it seems, in sculpture the earlier Attic kore, Akr. 593 (Richter, *Korai*, fig. 149).

¹² e.g. in vase painting the Amasis painter (Karouzou, *op.cit.*, pl. 5).

¹³ So the earlier 'Hawk Priestess' ivory from Ephesus (Richter, *Korai*, fig. 261).

About Pendants and Birds

DOROTHY KENT HILL

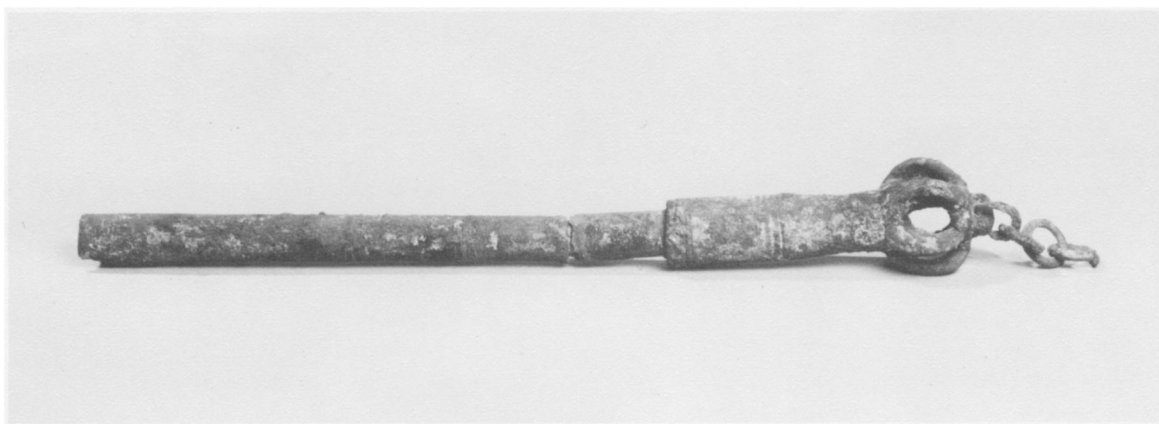


FIGURE 1

An Etruscan bronze pendant, 7th. century B.C., in the Walters Art Gallery. (54.1911)

A recurrent surprise in archaeological research is the sudden bursting of a ray of light upon some long misunderstood or enigmatic item, making it immediately recognizable at last as a useful artifact of manifest function. A frequent cause for such a discovery is the appearance through excavation or publication of something similar, that is more complete and better documented. A case in point is a curious Etruscan bronze in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1); the needed supplementary item is in the Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine in Lyon, France.

The Walters Etruscan bronze arrived in Baltimore following Mr. Walters' purchase in 1902 of the Massarenti Collection of Rome.¹ It consists of a long, open-ended tube of thin, hammered bronze, attached at the other end to a thicker tube of heavy cast bronze, which merges with an openwork ball, called in archaeological terminol-

ogy a bird cage (though there is no thought that the ancients ever kept birds in cages of this shape). Attached to the bird cage is a chain for suspending the object. Years ago I catalogued it provisionally as a container for very small objects such as writing or surgical implements, but this identification cannot stand, for the tube is just too small.

Always available but never recognized as a clue was an object excavated in the already famous Tomb of the Prince (Tomba del Duce) at Vetulonia in Etruria dating from the 7th century B.C. Unfortunately this was broken off at half height and there resulted many theories which might have been avoided if its original greater length had been realized: it was called the crest of a helmet and the handle of a dagger among other things.²

The bronze in Lyon was first published by Stephanie Boucher in 1970.³ Found at Clermont-Ferrand in Auvergne, it passed through private hands but must originally have come from Italy. It differs from the Walters object only in

¹ Walters Art Gallery 54.1911. E. Van Esbrouck and U. and M. P., *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni*, Rome, 1897, II, p. 12, no. 27. Length, .33 m.



FIGURE 2

A Greek bronze bird, 7th. century B.C., in the Walters Art Gallery. (54.2400)



FIGURE 3.
A Greek cock, 6th. century B.C., in the Walters Art Gallery. (54.881)

being more complete. Instead of a thin, broken tube with damaged end, it is neatly fitted to a long ivory rod. At the other end perches a small bird with a perforated tail, through which passes one of three links in a chain. It was catalogued as part of a *flabellum*, or fan — with an interrogation point.

Finally, Mme. Boucher pointed out still another piece, this in the Naples Museum. Complete with bird and of full length, it is almost identical with that in Lyon, although lacking the ivory wand.⁴ This brought the list of these bronze items to four; they all derive from 7th-century Italy, and are all alike except that two have birds at the top, and two have not.

The combination of bird and cage leads our researches toward the world of Greece and the Balkans in the Geometric and following ages. In southern and central Greece, at Tegea, Sparta, Olympia, Delphi and elsewhere, and farther north in Thessaly and Macedonia, one finds this motive of the bird and the openwork ball. Indeed, it is one of the commonest motives of the whole art of bronze working, which suddenly burst forth in Greek lands during the 8th century B.C., never to die throughout Classical antiquity.⁵ There is a variety of motives in this bronzework: one can find birds and cages, both separately and together. Some have stands in place of long rods, and some have discs that look like little fans under the birds. There are also motives incorporating men and animals — the list is long. No Greek example has as long a rod as the Etruscan which we are considering, but in one case a

fairly long, hollow rod is interrupted twice by openwork cages⁶ and in another the bird sits on a hollow decorated staff so long that Béquignon considered it a stylized tree. Belonging to the group, though lacking many of the features, is a hollow-cast bird in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 2)⁸ and perhaps a somewhat later cock with a ring and hole for suspension; instead of legs, this is perched on a bar of indeterminate length (fig. 3).⁹

The purpose of the Greek pendants, both those with birds and those without, and of the various other types, has been debated over the years. Concerning those found in graves, Amandry must be right in supposing that they were ornaments worn on the person in life and in death.¹⁰ However, for the many larger ones this does not seem plausible; one agrees with Bouzek that these were gifts in sanctuaries.¹¹ Dugas noted that the pendants of Tegea were dedicated in the sanctuary of Athena Alea, which was without architectural structure, and that they were all suspended.¹² Suspended from trees, or from substitute trees? In the past it has occurred to me that certain bird pendants, all relatively large and late, which were pierced with round holes through the bodies as for axles, may have had spinning paddles of wood to simulate whirring wings.¹³ Nobody has ventured a guess about the four long pendants from Etruria with their ivory rods terminating in little bronze tips. Dare one suggest that they were suspended in the wind and rattled one against the other?

² O. Montelius, *La civilisation primitive en Italie*, II, pl. 185, 3; I. Falchi, *Vetulonia*, 1891, pl. IX, 10, p. 122 (crest of helmet); G. Caporeale, *La tomba del Duce* (Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici, *Monumenti Etruschi - Vetulonia*, I) 1967, pl. V, d, p. 50, 19 (dagger handle); A. Talocchini, *Studi Etruschi* XVI, 1942, p. 64.

³ S. Boucher, *Bronzes grecs, hellénistiques, étrusques des musées de Lyon* (Travaux édités sous les auspices de la ville de Lyon, II) 1970, p. 109, no. 105; also *Récherches sur les bronzes figurés de Gaule pré-romaine et romaine*, 1976, p. 14.

⁴ P. Gusman, *Pompèi*, Paris, 1899, p. 302; t. Simmonds and Jourdain, London, 1900, p. 266 (called a distaff).

⁵ J. Bouzek, *Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes*, Prague, 1974 and 'Die griechisch-geometrischen Bronzenvögel,' *Eirene*, VI, 1967, pp. 115-139; P. Amandry, *Collection H. Stathatos* I, 1953, p. 64 (advocates a Hallstatt origin); C. Rolley, *The Bronzes* (*Monumenta graeca et romana*, fasc. 1), 1967, p. 92 and *Fouilles de Delphes* V, 1969, pp. 88-92; D.M. Robinson, *Olynthus* X, 1941, pp. 116 f. (full bibliography up to that date).

⁶ From Olympia. Furtwängler, *Olympia* IV, pl. 23, no. 414. Height .603 m.; Bouzek, *Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes*, p. 64, fig. 19, 9, p. 72, K4. I cannot help noticing that this, the following note, and many other birds are on tubes into which a rod could be inserted. But never is there proof that this happened!

⁷ Y. Bequignon, *Récherches archéologiques à Phères de Thessalie*, 1937, pp. 68 f., no. 10, pl. XIX.

⁸ Walters Art Gallery 54.2400. Height, .061 m. Published, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 60, 1956, pp. 36 f., pl. 28, figs. 2, 3.

⁹ Walters Art Gallery 54.881. Formerly Lambros Coll. Published, Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery*, 1949, no. 274.

¹⁰ Amandry, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Bouzek, *Graeco-Macedonian Bronzes*, p. 62.

¹² *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 45, 1921, pp. 341-2, 348-9.

¹³ Review, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81, 1977, p. 120.

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