The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery

Volume XXXVIII

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FRONTISPIECE
Abu'l Hasan, *Shah Jahan Enthroned,* Mughal, about 1628, The Walters Art Gallery (W. 668, fol. 45)

The Mughal Painter Abu'l Hasan and Some English Sources for his Style

MILO CLEVELAND BEACH

Jahangir, the "World Seizer," was thirty-six when he succeeded to the throne of his father, Akbar the Great, as Emperor of Mughal India, and amidst the vast wealth and estates which he inherited were extensive workshops of painters, and other artists and craftsmen. Soon after the Mughals had established power on the subcontinent in 1526, they became active patrons of the arts. The paintings they commissioned, which were primarily small scale book illustrations, quickly combined a naturally Iranian-oriented taste with a limited interest in indigenous Hindu styles, and an eventual responsiveness to the new European works that were being introduced by missionaries and traders. A radically new synthesis was produced, directed by the emperors' interest in the actual physical appearance of the natural world. By the late 1580s, the Mughal style was focused and truly independent of any of its constituent elements, and the result was a uniform style which—especially in the 1590s—stressed visual and narrative activity. Compositions were packed with figures, or with involved landscape settings, and historical events and portraits predominated; even poetic texts were presented as if they spoke of actual happenings.

These terms, however, apply to the imperial style—to works which Akbar himself commissioned. Before he became emperor, Jahangir (reigned 1605-27) was already an active patron and had painters in his personal employ, but his taste was distinctly different. He preferred quieter works with fewer figures and less action. In retrospect, we can see that his later interest in fine craftsmanship, control, individual character exploration, and personal inter-relationships—aspects present but of secondary importance in Akbari works—was already visible in these early years. A major manuscript of this period, a *Diwan* of Amir Hasan Dihlavi dated 1602,[1] is in the Walters Art Gallery, and we hope to publish it fully in a later article in this journal. The present study is devoted instead to a single painter, Abu'l Hasan, who was born and trained during Jahangir's years as a Prince, becoming the Emperor's most esteemed artist. His career, therefore, introduces us to the major developments of painting in Mughal India in the early 17th century.

Jahangir Receiving Sheikh Sa'di in Audience (figs. 1 and 2) is a superb example of both the mature Jahangir's interests and taste as a patron, and Abu'l Hasan's skills as an artist. It is a double page composition (for it would have extended across facing pages of a manuscript or album). The right half, showing the enthroned Emperor surrounded by princes and courtiers, is in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., while the left section, in the Walters Art Gallery, depicts holy men being ushered into the imperial presence.[2]

Most of the people shown here are members of Jahangir's immediate circle, and the establishment of their identities helps us to date the work. The dark skinned man at the upper left of the Freer page is Kunvar (or Prince) Karan Singh, the son and heir of Rana Amar Singh of Mewar, the most prestigious of Rajput (Hindu) nobles. His appearance at court early in 1615 was a result of the final submission—after several decades of conflict—of this important "native" adversary. The Emperor wrote of Karan in his memoirs, the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or *Jahangir-nama*, stating that the Prince was "exalted with the good fortune of prostrating himself and paying his respects." He continues that "as it was necessary to win the heart of Karan, who was of a wild nature and had never seen assemblies and had lived among the hills, I every day showed him some fresh favor, so that on the second day of his attendance a jeweled dagger, and on the next day a special Iraqi horse with jeweled saddle, were given to him."[3]

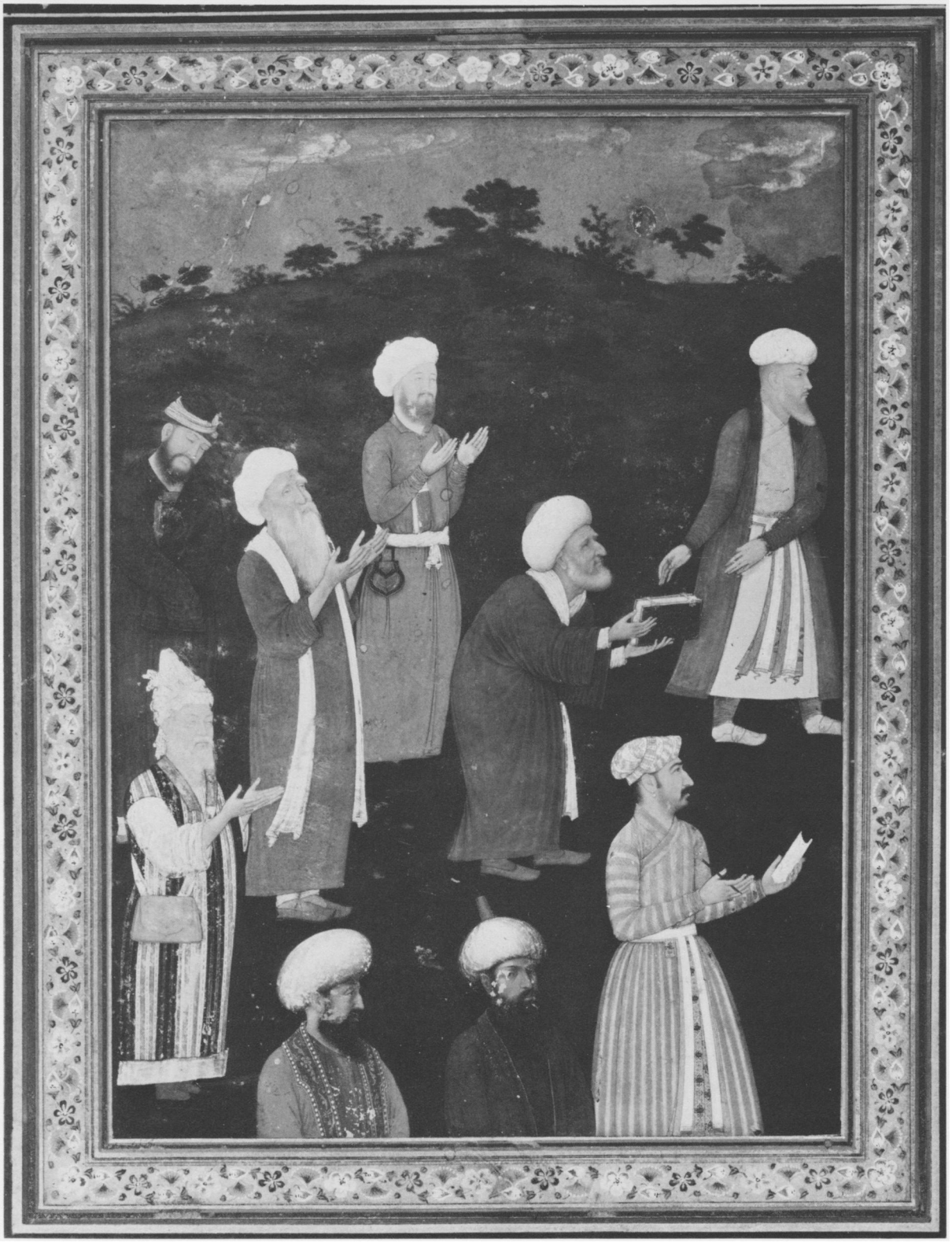


FIGURE 1
Abu'l Hasan, *Jahangir Receiving Sheikh Sa'di in Audience* (left half), Mughal, about 1615, The Walters Art Gallery (W. 668, fol. 37)

FIGURE 2
Abu'l Hasan, *Jahangir Receiving Sheikh Sa'di in Audience* (right half), Mughal, about 1615, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (46.28)

Rustam Mirza, at the bottom center of the same folio, was the nephew of the Safavid Shah of Iran, Tahmasp, and came to the court in 1001 A.H. = 1592-93 A.D. seeking asylum; to argue his case he handed over the important Iranian fortress at Qandahar, long covered by the Mughals. One of his daughters was eventually married to Sultan Parviz, Jahangir's son, while another espoused Shah Shuja, the second son of Shah Jahan (reigned 1627-58), Jahangir's son and successor. By such means did Rustam Mirza assure his own security.

Standing just behind this figure is Itimad-ad-daula, whose tomb at Agra is one of the greatest of Mughal monuments. He was an Iranian adventurer, who arrived in 1577 at the Mughal court—the great gathering place for men unwilling, or unable, to remain in Iran—and he, too, amassed immense power. In 1612 his daughter married the Emperor, and was soon given the title of Nur Jahan ("Light of the World"), eventually becoming the virtual ruler of the country when Jahangir's mental and physical strength declined.

Itimad-ad-daula himself was appointed Prime Minister. One son, Asaf Khan, shown here in a striped robe standing behind his father, became Kahn-e-khanan, or Commander-in-Chief of the Mughal armies; his daughter, in turn, married Shah Jahan. Known as Mumtaz Mahal, her death in 1631 occasioned the Taj Mahal, and Asaf Khan was thus the grandfather of the Emperor Aurangzeb (reigned 1658-1707). Another of Itimad-ad-daula's sons, Ibrahim Khan, stands to the left of Rustam Mirza.

Jahangir faces Sultan Parviz, while the somewhat younger Prince Khurram, the future Shah Jahan, is to the right. It would seem clear that the painter considered Parviz the more important of the brothers, and as he was elder this would initially seem appropriate. However, in this case, it indicates that the scene must be dated before the Nauroz (or New Year's) celebrations of 1616. These came in March, the beginning of the eleventh regnal year, and from this time—following his defeat of the Mewar Rana—Khurram rose rapidly in importance and favor, quickly outranking his elder sibling. Parviz is properly characterized here as docile, and lacking in alertness and shrewdness. The small child may be Jahangir's first grandson, Bulaqi.

This rather lengthy discussion of personalities reveals the tight inter-relationships that allied the major figures of authority in the Mughal empire. With the exception of the men placed in the four corners of the scene, the others—excluding the man to the right of Khurram—are all linked by blood or marriage. The exclusion is Mahabat Khan, who was responsible, at Jahangir's request, for blinding Prince Khusrau, the Emperor's rebellious eldest son.

At the upper left corner, the elderly figure is Murtaza Khan, the Governor of the Punjab; at the upper right, the Hindu is Anirai Singh-dalan, the Head Jailer, whose prison in Gwalior Fort had earlier "cured" the tyrannical behavior of Mirza Rustam; Dayanat Khan, at the lower right, served as Reviser of Petitions between 1613 and 1616, and a reference to this is given by the scroll he holds; the last figure, at the lower left, is unidentified. As distinct from the figures in the circle around Jahangir, these men seem almost to be guardians presiding over the four corners (or directions); and at the center of the quincunx, or mandala, is the Emperor.

All these men are identified by inscriptions, which have been read by the late Richard Ettinghausen, and he further notes a colophon stating that the work was painted by Abu'l Hasan at Ajmer[4]—and Jahangir was in fact in residence there between November 18, 1613, and November 10, 1616. Other elements seem to suggest an even more precise date for the scene. Karan Singh first came to the court early in 1615, just before the Nauroz celebrations in March, and left late in the year, returning briefly in March 1616. In that year, too, Murtaza Khan died. These facts, coupled with the eminence of the soon-to-be-ignored Parviz, gives a date of 1615 for the work.

To accept the date, however, assumes that this is a normal Mughal court scene, which it is not. At the upper right, there is a figure holding a mace, and he looks directly out at us. An inscription, read by Ettinghausen, states that this is the "Emperor of Rum [i.e. Constantinople] in ancient times"—a clearly anachronistic detail. It also seems historically false to place both Parviz and Khurram together at Ajmer. Parviz was installed at Burhanpur, in Berar (in modern day Madhya Pradesh), during 1609, and there he

established a lavish court. There is no known record that he visited Jahangir at Ajmer; in fact, when he petitioned the Emperor for an audience in 1616, he was refused. Sir Thomas Roe, the first English Ambassador to the Mughal court, records the event:

> *I visited the prince [Khurram]... I found him sadd, fearing the Cominge of Sultan Paruis [Parviz] to Court, beeing within 8 course and importuned to kisse his fathers hands, who had granted him, but by the power of Normall [Nur Mahal] was after diswaded and a Command sent that the Prince should take his Journy right to Bengal...*[5]

The left half (fig. 1) clarifies what the whole scene is about. The two men at the right are presiding over the arrival at court of several Muslim holy men. These officers are Khwaja Jahan, another of Jahangir's fathers-in-law, and (below) Mirza Sadiq. The latter figure was given the title of Sadiq Khan at the Nauroz darbar ("audience") in 1616, and being more prestigious, this name would have been used in the inscribed identification were the painting made after that time.

More importantly, however, we see here another obvious anachronism, for the central, elderly, stooped man who seems to be presenting Jahangir with a book is the 13th-century poet and mystic, Sa'di (according to the inscribed identification). And the left hand figure at the bottom is labeled as Beyazid Yildirim (or Beyazid the Thunderbolt), the Ottoman Sultan defeated at Ankara in 1404 by Jahangir's ancestor Timur (or Tamerlane). Beyazid, the Emperor of Rum, and Sa'di, one of the Emperor's favorite poets, are all referred to in Jahangir's memoirs. In 1609, for example, he writes of a painting that was just presented as a gift:

> *Muqarrab Khan sent a picture (with a report) that the belief... was this, that the picture was that of Timur. At the time when Yildirim Beyazid was taken prisoner by the victorious army, a Nazarene, who at that time was ruler of Constantinople, had sent an ambassador with gifts and presents in token of submission and service, and an artist who had been sent with the ambassador took his [Timur's] likeness and brought it away. If this story was true, no better gift could be presented to me.*[6]

It seems, therefore, that what we see is an imaginary court scene, presented as if it were historical reality—and it is the combination of the historical references with the inscription naming Ajmer that produces the date of 1615. This is not a new interpretation of the work; it has been well discussed already, and at greater length, by Ettinghausen.[7] The painting is the first of an important series which reveals Jahangir's mental, rather than merely physical, world, and these represent an important retreat from the literal naturalism of the early years of the reign.

The Emperor sits on his throne in European manner (unlike the Indian posture we see in figure 22, for example), and his feet are on a globe: a clearly allegorical comment on his dominance of the world. The symbolism is made even more explicit by the keyhole in the globe, and the key which hangs from Jahangir's belt. This kind of reference is new to Mughal India, and the work allows us to date its arrival.

A second, even more concentratedly allegorical scene by Abu'l Hasan is in the Freer Gallery. It is an innovative and truly majestic image of Jahangir with the Iranian Shah Abbas (fig. 3), in which the imperial Mughal seems to comfort the Shah with calm, avuncular affection—an emotion he could only imagine, for Shah Abbas was a powerful and worrisome political rival. As if this were not enough to make Mughal supremacy clear, the lion and lamb beneath the monarchs' feet make the point more emphatically. In addition, both men stand on a globe, and Jahangir is aureoled with a gold sun and a silver moon, which seem signs of his splendor.

The concept behind this work corresponds strongly and directly with familiar English formulas for imperial and allegorical portraits, a superb example being the Ditchley *Portrait of Elizabeth I* (fig. 4), attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Here, too, the sovereign stands on a globe, and she dispels storms and welcomes the calm weather. The work is accompanied by a sonnet in which the Queen is hailed as surpassing the brilliance of the sun, a direct verbal equivalent of Jahangir's aureole.[8]

This is not a fortuitous comparison, for we know from several sources that Jahangir actually

FIGURE 3
Abu'l Hasan, *Jahangir with Shah Abbas*, Mughal, about 1618, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (45.9)

FIGURE 4
Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, *Portrait of Elizabeth I*, English, about 1592, The National Portrait Gallery, London

FIGURE 6
Attributed to John de Critz, *Portrait of James I*, English, about 1605, courtesy of The Courtauld Institute of Art

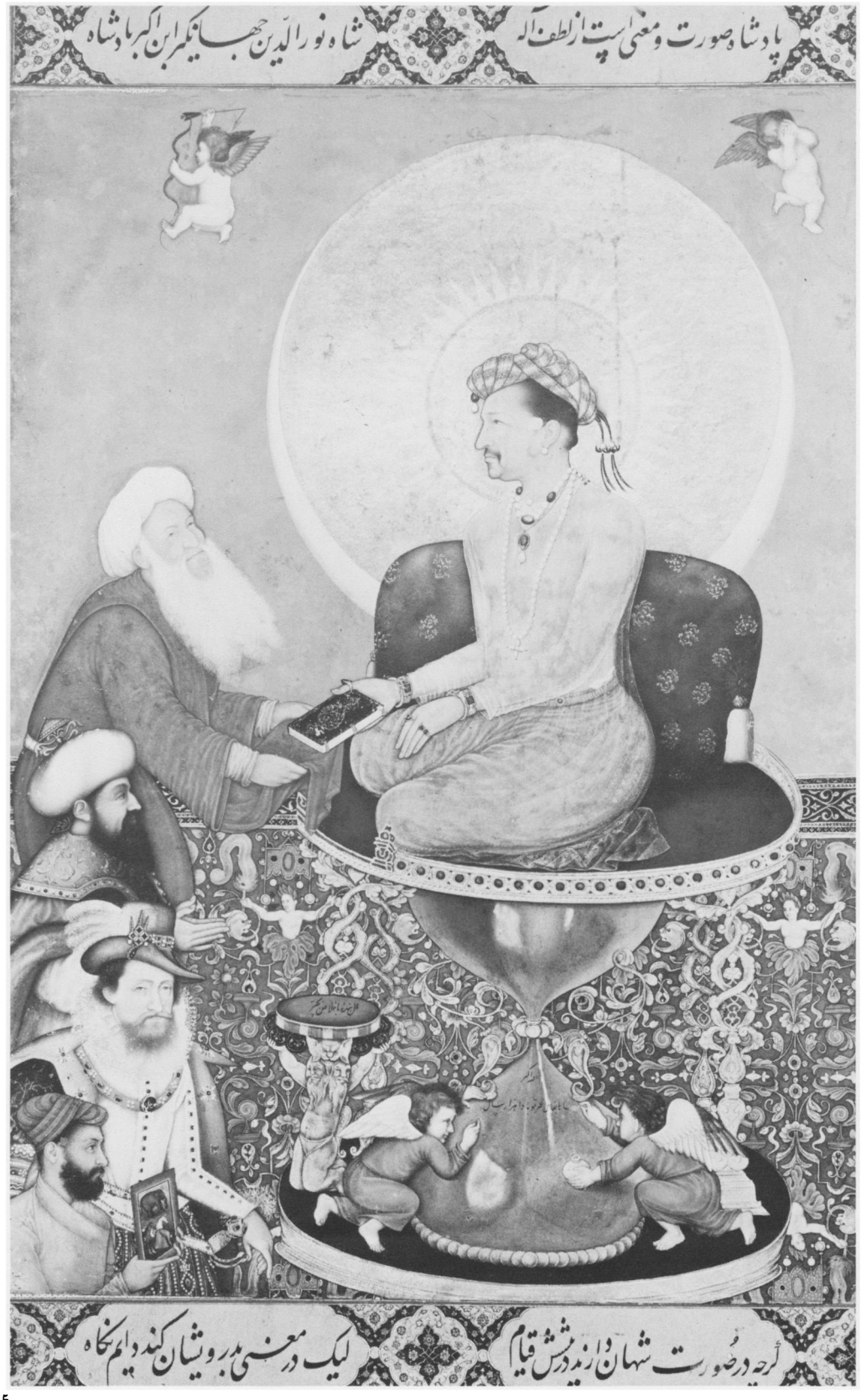


FIGURE 5
Bichitr, *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Sheikh to Kings*, Mughal, about 1615-20, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (42.15)

saw and became interested in English painting following the arrival at his court in 1615 of Sir Thomas Roe, who had been sent by James I to arrange trading concessions for the East India Company. One famous episode in Roe's often lively memoirs of these years relates Jahangir's interest in a portrait which Roe had brought with him:

> *Asaph chan [Asaf Khan] asked mee for my little Picture and presented it to the King. He tooke extreame Content, showeing it to euerie man neare him; at last sent for his Cheefe Paynter, demanding his opinion. The foole answered he could make as good. Whereat the king turned to mee, saying: my man sayth he can do the like and as well as this: what say yow? I replyed: I knew the Contrarie . . .*[9]

The result was that five copies, together with the original work, were shown to Roe, and he admits that "I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which; I confesse beyond all expectation . . ."[10] In any case, this is evidence that Jahangir's painters copied English pictures.

Roe further notes that English images were displayed at the Nauroz darbar in March, 1616. In the court area, he relates:

> *At the upper end were sett out pictures of the King of England, the Queene, my lady Elisabeth, the Countesse of Sommersett and Salisbury, and of a Cittizens wife of London; below them another of Sir Thomas Smyth, gouernor of the East India company . . .*[11]

He also gives the names of two English painters, Hughes, and Robert Hatfield, for whom Jahangir evidently sat for a portrait.[12]

While most of our information about English pictures in India comes from such literary sources, another allegorical portrait of Jahangir (fig. 5) in the Freer Gallery points to a very specific model, which the Emperor clearly knew. *Jahangir Preferring a Sufi Sheikh to Kings,* by Bichitr, contains a portrait of King James I among figures in attendance on the Mughal ruler.[13] The depiction is derived from a portrait such as the example attributed to John de Critz and reproduced in figure 6. De Critz was the King's Sargeant Painter, and thus responsible for making such official portraits as would have been presented to Jahangir by James I through Roe—a customary diplomatic practice of the time. In fact, we know from the passage quoted just above that Jahangir had such a portrait.

FIGURE 7
Abu'l Hasan, *An Infant Prince,* Mughal, about 1617, Anonymous Collection

Abu'l Hasan seems to have been in the vanguard of those artists affected by English paintings, and a small portrait of *An Infant Prince* (fig. 7) shows a further influence. Single studies of children had not hitherto been known in India. And that the child holds fruit in his lap simply confirms the work's inspiration, a painting such as (but not specifically) Isaac Oliver's *Portrait of a Young Girl Aged Four* (fig. 8), in the Victoria and Albert Museum,

FIGURE 8
Isaac Oliver, *Portrait of a Young Girl Aged Four*, English, dated 1590, courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Crown Copyright Reserved

FIGURE 9
Payag, *Jahangir in Darbar* (detail), from a *Shah Jahan-nama* manuscript, Mughal, about 1635-40, The Royal Library, Windsor Castle, Crown Copyright Reserved

London. Such miniature portraits in England were often meant to be worn, and this, too, became a fashion in India. A detail (fig. 9) from a page of an illustrated manuscript of the memoirs of Shah Jahan, the *Padshah-nama* or *Shah Jahan-nama* in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle, shows Jahangir wearing a small oval portrait on a chain around his neck. Many similar oval portraits of Mughal royal personages are now known.[14]

English portraiture, however, inspired more than simple changes of format or subject matter in Mughal painting. European works had, of course, been present and influential in Mughal India since the mid-16th century.[15] These, however, were largely prints, and from northern Europe: Antwerp and Germany. There is no evidence that paintings of high quality were known so early, and the few painters that traveled to India, usually to make icons for missionary use, were evidently of mediocre calibre. These English works, then, were the first European paintings of prime artistic quality that Jahangir and his painters would have seen, and in style they answered to the Emperor's already evident concern for meticulous craftsmanship, brilliantly colored surfaces, and intense observation. More importantly, later Mughal standards for imperial imagery seem based on English portraits. Studies of single features which stress their grandeur and the opulence of their surroundings replace—in the middle years of Jahangir's reign—earlier portraits showing the Emperor taking part in actual or implied historical events. Figure 2 is retrospective in this regard (although innovative in others), while figure 3 introduces this new interest in magnificence. The portraits become virtual icons.

We have strayed from a discussion of Abu'l Hasan specifically, to examine some effects on Mughal painting generally of a major, but little acknowledged, influence which can best be seen in that artist's work. It might now be useful to comment on some aspects of his personal style.

In the double-page *Jahangir Receiving Sheikh Sa'di in Audience* (figs. 1 and 2), the plain, dark background seen in both halves—and in *An Infant Prince* (fig. 7)—is especially distinctive. It allows no distraction to our interest in the personalities; in fact, it forces us to concentrate

FIGURE 10
Detail of Figure 1

FIGURE 11
Detail of Figure 1

on them. And areas which Abu'l Hasan could have made strongly decorative (such as the robes of the courtiers) are downplayed in these two works; even the overall compositions show indifference to brilliant surface pattern for its own sake (such as we see in figure 28, by Mansur).

The detail of the elderly Sa'di (fig. 10) shows the extent to which Abu'l Hasan used light and shadow to give us a sense of the physical appearance and bulk of the figures. Few other Mughal artists were interested in this technique to this degree, and the handling of the Turk (fig. 11) and his unidentified companion at the bottom of the Walters page (fig. 1) alert us to another source for Abu'l Hasan's style. The figures are clearly derived not from Turkish or Iranian portraits, or from life, but from such European studies of Muslims as the *Portrait of Sultan Muhammad II of Turkey* (fig. 12) by Gentile Bellini. While this is not the specific inspiration for Abu'l Hasan's figures, the resemblance is extraordinarily close. As well, the format, showing the monarch at a window and a richly patterned rug draped over the sill, enters the Mughal repertoire with a well-known painting of *Jahangir with a Portrait of Akbar*, by Abu'l Hasan, in the Musée Guimet, Paris.[16]

The double page composition, as we have noted, pretends to take place in 1615. The Freer *Jahangir's Dream of Shah Abbas' Visit* is later—the Emperor appears older, and the symbolism is more elaborate and sophisticated. As well, the painter's name is given as Abu'l Hasan, Nadir-al-Zaman, and the latter title (which means "Zenith of the World") seems to have been used on all works made after it was granted, probably in 1618.[17] Ettinghausen has reasonably suggested that it must have been executed before 1622, at which time Shah Abbas forcibly reclaimed Qandahar Fort and obliterated any ideas of his submissiveness. In style, its brilliance and overall surface richness distinguishes it from the group of works just discussed. This corresponds, however, to the newly introduced English ideas, as does the technique of modeling, which is more reticent than usual for Abu'l Hasan. It is conceivable that this is a reaction to acquaintance with works made for Elizabeth I, who abhorred shadows in paintings.[18] In any case, the total conception certainly suggests

FIGURE 12
Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of Sultan Muhammad II of Turkey*, Italian, about 1446, The National Gallery, London.

FIGURE 13
Abu'l Hasan, *St. John*, Mughal, dated 1600-01, The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

a longer acquaintance with English prototypes than is evident in figures 1 and 2.

We have only looked at a brief moment of Abu'l Hasan's career, and we should now try to set these two allegorical portraits into clearer perspective. The artist's earliest known work is a drawing made when he was twelve, for it is inscribed with the date 1009 A.H. = 1600-1601 and a statement by Abu'l Hasan that he was in his thirteenth year.[19] This is a copy of the figure of *St. John* (fig. 13) in the *Crucifixion* (fig. 14) from the *Small Engraved Passion* by Albrecht Dürer. While it is an understandably tentative and hesitant drawing in many ways, it is nonetheless highly accomplished as a copy—especially considering the artist's youth. Its existence is a statement of Abu'l Hasan's precocious interest in European works, and it shows his skill in modeling. In the print this is done by linear means, by the density of cross-hatching, but Abu'l Hasan has translated this into a more painterly wash technique (especially visible on the shoulder and chest).

The inscription further notes that the artist is the son of Aqa Riza, a well-known painter. A series of marginal drawings (fig. 15) by the elder man, made for an imperial Jahangiri album *(muraqqa)* and dated 1599-1600, show that Aqa Riza, too, was copying European works at the time of Abu'l Hasan's *St. John;* several motifs (such as the Madonna at the upper right) are derived from unidentified European prints. One figure from the margins (fig. 16), though not of western inspiration, nonetheless illustrates Aqa Riza's use of imported techniques of shading, for the drapery is defined by highlights and shadows. Aqa Riza's modeling, however, does not give us a sense of substance or texture, for it is placed in such a way that it emphasizes the lines that outline the forms, and thus increases our sense of the cloth as a flat pattern. Abu'l Hasan, only twelve, grasped better than his father the purpose of the technique, and further developed and controlled it throughout his career.

Aqa Riza had come to India from Iran by the time of Abu'l Hasan's birth, and he entered the employ of Jahangir before the Emperor's accession—this is information given in the passage of Jahangir's memoirs quoted below.

A mature and already trained artist at his arrival, he seems not to have been able to adapt his style to the demands for naturalistic depiction and virtually psychological portraiture that Jahangir made in the years after his enthronement. A *Portrait of a Courtier* (fig. 17), made probably a decade after his arrival in India, shows Aqa Riza still working within a very traditional Iranian scheme. Scenes of leisure moments—princes or courtiers playing musical instruments, sipping wine, or sniffing flowers, and inevitably playing with their shoes—had become stock subjects for Iranian artists, and an excellent Iranian example from the Walters Art Gallery is reproduced in figure 18. In these works, the major interest is not in character, or unique elements of personality or physiognomy, but in the beauty of line and color, or the spontaneity of execution. Aqa Riza differs from this formula by more intensely shading the face, although in this case there seems to be no increased sense of individualism. It is traditional painting made more up-to-date by incorporating fashionable new techniques, but that is all.[20] Even in his earliest work, Abu'l Hasan uses the modeling to affect the substance, and not merely the surface, of his forms.

In his memoirs, Jahangir mentions both painters in a passage enthusiastic about a work just presented to him by the younger artist:

> *On this day Abu'l Hasan, the painter, who has been honored with the title of Nadiru-z-zaman, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece to the Jahangir-nama, and brought it to me. As it is worthy of all praise, he received endless favors. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the* chefs d'oeuvre *of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal . . . His father, Aqa Riza . . . at the time when I was a Prince, joined my service. He (Abu'l Hasan) was a* khanazad *of my court. There is, however, no comparison between his work and that of his father (i.e., he is far better than his father). One cannot put them into the same category. My connection was based on my having reared him. From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nadira-i-zaman ("the wonder of the age").*[21]

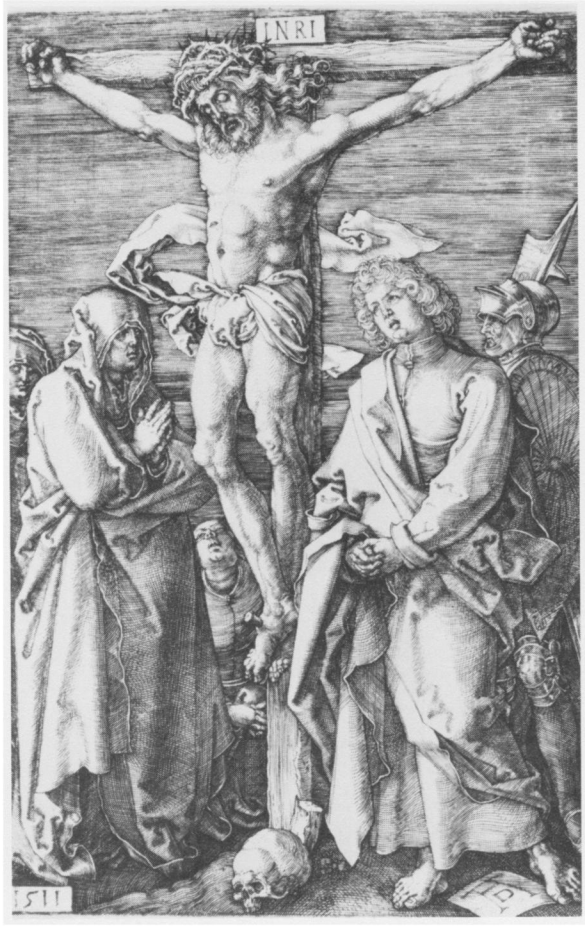


FIGURE 14
Albrecht Dürer, *Crucifixion*, from the *Small Engraved Passion*, German, dated 1511, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts (68.77)

FIGURE 15
Aqa Riza, marginal figures, from the *Muraqqa-e-Gulshan*, Mughal, dated 1599-1600, The Imperial Library, Tehran. (After Y. Godard, "Les Marges du Murakka Gulshan," *Athar-e-Iran* 2, fig. 1.)

FIGURE 16
Detail of Figure 15

The justness of this comparison is shown best in a manuscript of the *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, datable to between 1604 and 1610, in the British Library (Or. Add. 18579), for both men worked on the illustrations. If we compare similar compositions by the two, Abu'l Hasan's innovations become even clearer. The manuscript recounts the adventures of a Hindu king, Dabshalim, who dreamed one night of finding hidden treasure. When he searched in the imagined location, he indeed found chests of gold and jewels; but he also found directions to the retreat of a sage, Bidpai, whose instructions in kingly virtues were understood to be the real treasure. Dabshalim distributed the material wealth, and then searched for Bidpai, whom he found far up in a mountain cave. Bidpai recounts a series of moral tales, and these together with the dream and the search comprise the episodes of the story.

An illustration (fig. 19) by Aqa Riza shows the king discovering the jewels in a cave. There are chests, sacks, and plates of gold; trees on the mountains; and an attendant horse and groom. The composition, which is on a page less than ten inches in height including text and margins, is packed with visual and narrative activity. Abu'l Hasan, on the other hand, uses the simplest of compositions, with no extraneous element, when showing Dabshalim's encounter with Bidpai (fig. 20). His mountains are modeled and kaleidoscopically colored, so that an Iranian air of fantasy remains in the scene—but it is an early work, still strongly influenced by his father's style. His figures, however, especially the seated sage, are extraordinarily acutely observed, and the fabric informs us that there is an actual physical body beneath it. If we compare the bottom of the hems of the two prominently seated men in each work, we find that Aqa Riza delights in the flow of line and flat shapes on the surface, whereas Abu'l Hasan is concerned with the way cloth actually falls, and he is able to evoke its texture. We can note this detail further developed in *An Infant Prince* (fig. 7). As well, with slight touches of color on the ankles of the standing king in figure 20, Abu'l Hasan gives weight and substance to shapes that are simply silhouettes in Aqa Riza's work.

A portrait of *Prince Khurram* (the future Shah Jahan) (fig. 21), from the *Minto Album* pages

FIGURE 17
Aqa Riza, *Portrait of a Courtier*, Mughal, about 1595, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Francis Bartlett Donation of 1912 and Picture Fund) (14.609)

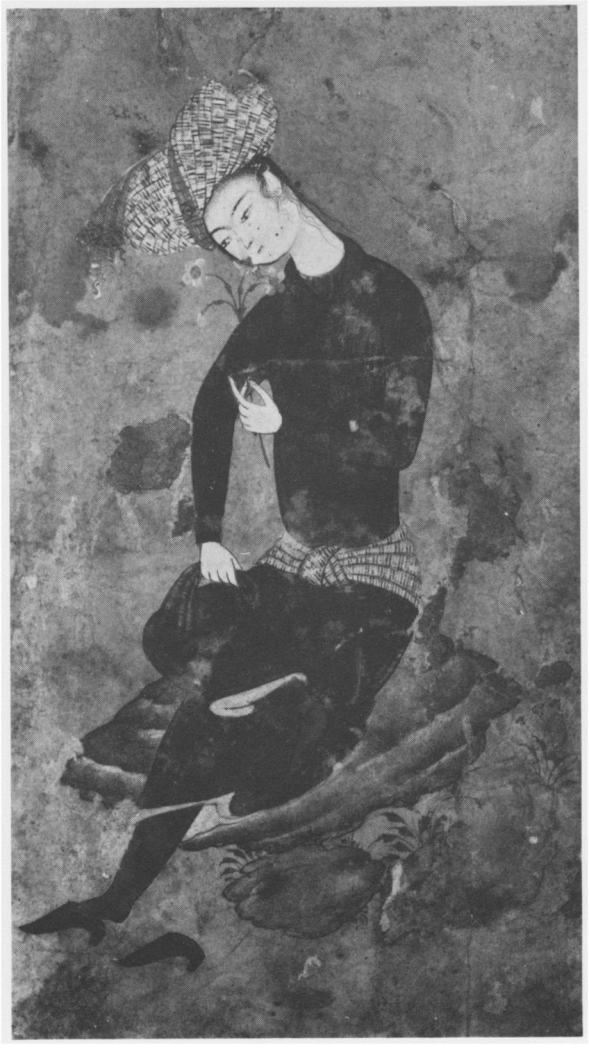


FIGURE 18
Anonymous, *A Young Man with a Flower*, Iranian, about 1600, The Walters Art Gallery (W.680)

FIGURE 19
Aqa Riza, *The Hoard,* from an *Anwar-i-Suhaili* manuscript, Mughal, dated 1604-10, The British Library (Or. 18579)

in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is inscribed by the Prince with the information that it is a "good portrait of me in my twenty-fifth year."[22] Since he was born in 1000 A.H. = 1591-92, the date must be 1024 A.H. = 1615-16, contemporary with the double-page *Jahangir Receiving Sheikh Sa'di* (figs. 1 and 2). These works, and the *Infant Prince* (fig. 7), are consistent in style. In each, the personality of the subjects is foremost, the colors are subdued, and the background is dark—never a mere flat plane of color, it presents a visual, if not specifically spatial, depth. And the same characteristics are found in what may be his last known work, the superb, tiny portrait in the Walters of *Shah Jahan Enthroned* (fig. 22). Here Abu'l Hasan seems to have absorbed what he learned from English painting. His interest in low valued, dark tonalities has returned, but is now applied to a majestic, technically faultless, and visually opulent image.

The works so far mentioned seem, at least to the author, absolutely consistent in style and outlook, and distinctive when compared to other contemporary artists' work.[23] The comparisons with Aqa Riza, for example, already give us a sense of Abu'l Hasan's personal style. As well, each work is evidently signed by Abu'l Hasan himself, and this is an unusual situation, for signatures on Mughal painters are relatively rare. Inscriptions, however, are frequent, but they are customarily made in the margins by court librarians or clerks, or occasionally the Emperor; we see an example of an inscription by Shah Jahan beneath his portrait in figure 21. Neither of these means of identification provide irrefutable proof of authorship, however, for duplicate copies of the same composition were often turned out as presentation items. Sometimes made contemporaneously, although not always by the same artist, they are also frequently much later in date; and in many such copies, original inscriptions were included.

Establishing a Mughal artist's *oeuvre,* then, while using various kinds of information, is ultimately based on personal decisions about style and quality, and it is only fair to differentiate what seem certain attributions from those less definite. What we have seen of Abu'l Hasan so far seems to represent the core of his work, the most reliable and consistent paintings. But there are other works which

FIGURE 20
Abu'l Hasan, *King Dabshalim and the Sage Bidpai*, from an *Anwar-i-Suhaili* manuscript, Mughal, dated 1604-10, The British Library (Or. 18579)

FIGURE 21
Abu'l Hasan, *Prince Khurram*, from the *Minto Album*, Mughal, about 1615-16, courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Crown Copyright Reserved

FIGURE 22
Abu'l Hasan, *Shah Jahan Enthroned*, Mughal, about 1628, The Walters Art Gallery (W. 668, fol. 45)

FIGURE 23
Abu'l Hasan, *Celebrations at the Accession of Jahangir* (detail), from a *Jahangir-nama* manuscript, Mughal, ca. 1610-18, The Academy of Sciences, Leningrad

introduce us to the kinds of problems that emerge whenever we discuss any particular artist.

For example, the left half of a double page composition showing the celebrations at Jahangir's coronation (a detail is shown in figure 23) bears an inscription naming Abu'l Hasan; seemingly a signature, it does not mention the title Nadir-al-zaman, suggesting that the title was indeed given after the presentation of the page to the Emperor. The work is presently in Leningrad, and must be the illustration referred to by Jahangir in the quoted passage from his memoirs above.

The year of the quote was 1618, and this dating for the work might receive further corroboration from the presence of an Englishman (not visible in the detail) at the lower right. He resembles known portraits of Sir Thomas Roe,[24] and it has been suggested by Robert Skelton that the balding European behind the red rail is Roe's cleric, Edward Terry. While Roe would not have been present at the coronation in 1605, his presence might have been included for purposes of symbolic homage. He was, after all, a visible member of the Mughal community when the work was being finished in 1618.

On the other hand, the painting seems different in important ways from other works of this middle period of Abu'l Hasan. There is no other painting that is so densely packed with figures and activity, and many details (the ends of sashes, for example) are drawn with a swift, sketchy line that is quite unlike the highly finished and controlled line in the compositionally simpler portraits. Also, the colors are of livelier hues and higher saturation than the majority of Abu'l Hasan's paintings, and there is little trace of his typically heavy shadowing and duskiness. This does not mean that the figures are not modeled, however, for their corporeality is one of the strongest effects of the work.

Another trait of the illustration is the sometimes violent shifts of scale (clear when comparing the heads of the men at the upper left of figure 23). And all of these characteristics together point to a date early in Jahangir's reign, when the influence of Akbari paintings is still strong—the color and activity is closest to works of the late 16th century. The perceptive understanding of gestures and personal

character, however, is distinctive of Abu'l Hasan. So, too, is the indifference to an overall design or pattern, an aspect to which other Mughal painters frequently subordinate their figures. Emphasis is not on patterns of fabrics or architectural decoration, but on people and their activities, and we are immediately swept into their space and world. This focus for Abu'l Hasan's interests is seen, too, when we compare one of his allegorical portraits with that of Bichitr (figs. 3 and 5), for the latter artist makes the entire scene so splendid that it diffuses our attention away from the human interactions.

The figural drawing and sense of modeling in *Celebrations at the Accession of Jahangir* (fig. 23) seem most closely related to an illustration (fig. 24) in a *Bustan* of Sa'di manuscript, formerly in the Rothschild Collection, which bears no inscription or attribution.[25] The treatment of the hands in both works is similar; they are full and rounded, and the artist draws in veining and wrinkles. We see this, too, in the figure of Sa'di from 1615 (fig. 10), and the three works show a further favorite detail. Hats and turbans frequently force ears to bend over.

The accession scene and the *Bustan* illustration further agree in color, and since the *Bustan* manuscript is dated 1605, this strengthens a suspicion that the *Celebrations* was executed over a considerable period of time—perhaps begun soon after the event depicted.

Figure 24 seems also closely related to the Abu'l Hasan *Anwar-i-Suhaili* page (fig. 20), as is especially evident in the fantastic, invented shapes for the mountains, and the organization of the composition with its neat fitting together of parts. This reflects allegiance to an Iranian heritage that is a proper element of the artist's style during these years. Both, however, depart from tradition by incorporating the experimental successes of the *St. John* (fig. 13). Abu'l Hasan's very strong concern for weight and mass, seen in both pages, eventually forces him to abandon the Iranian concentration on effective surfaces.

The *Celebrations at the Accession of Jahangir* is signed, and, at least by inference, dated. While it seems irrefutably by Abu'l Hasan, there is a problem as to its actual date. The *Bustan* page is dated, but not signed, and its relation to Abu'l Hasan is based purely on visual judgments.

FIGURE 24
Attributed here to Abu'l Hasan, page from a *Bustan* of Sa'di manuscript, Mughal, dated 1605, present location unknown

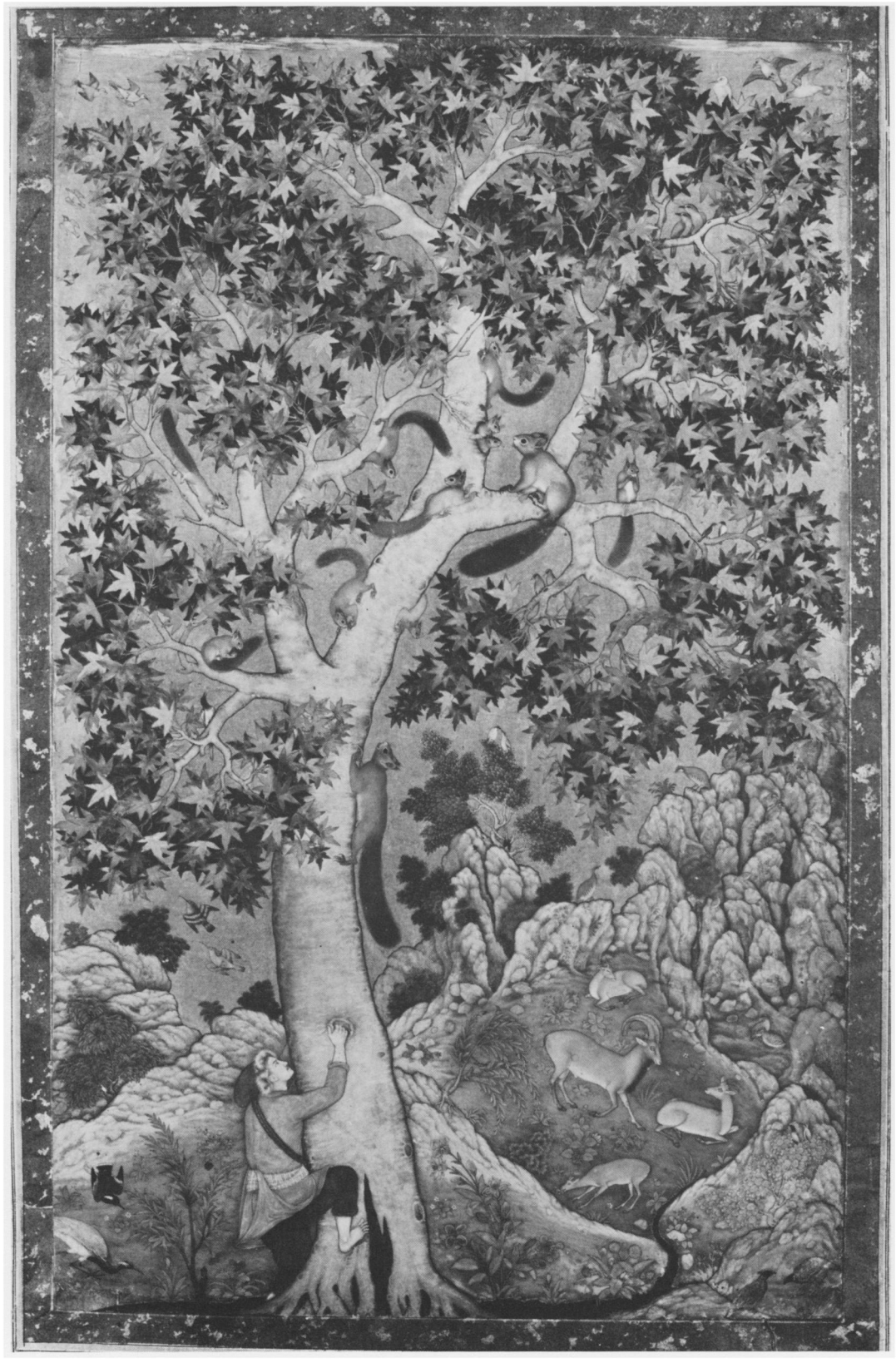


FIGURE 25
Possibly by Abu'l Hasan and Mansur, *Squirrel Tree*, Mughal, about 1615, India Office Library, London

A third work presents us with another problem. The *Squirrel Tree* (fig. 25), in the India Office Library, London, is neither signed nor dated, but holds a long-standing traditional attribution to Abu'l Hasan. As well, there is an inscription of later date on the reverse that says the work is by Nadir-al-zaman Nadir-al-asr.[26] The first title we know as belonging to Abu'l Hasan, while Nadir-al-asr was given to the animal painter Mansur. The form of the inscription is questionable, and its late date makes it almost meaningless—although we must wonder whether it was copied onto the back from an original, perhaps trimmed, marginal notation.

There is no other work attributed to Abu'l Hasan that is comparable to the *Squirrel Tree* in overall sense of design. A primary concern is for flat, decorative surface. The central tree and the background forms fit together as neatly as jigsaw puzzle pieces, and the landscape is composed of small compartments, each of which is filled with animals or plants carefully shaped to fit its particular space. The tree is set against flat gold, and potentially empty areas are filled in with flying birds, for example, or the tails of the squirrels. The highly developed and conscious sense of pattern exceeds even that of the 1605 *Bustan* (fig. 24) or the 1604-10 *Anwar-i-Suhaili* (fig. 20) pages, neither of which provides so many minute details to separately catch our interest, or such complex intermingling on the surface of foreground and background. There is no evidence in the later, seemingly unquestionable work by Abu'l Hasan, however, that these traits were anything other than inherited interests from which the artist actively dissociated himself at an early date. Yet one notable correspondance between the *Squirrel Tree* and Abu'l Hasan's work of 1615 and later does exist. Both the dark backgrounds (figs. 1, 2, 7 and 22) and the gold (figs. 3 and 25) create an indefinite space defined by light rather than a scientific space evoked through a rational placement of forms.

In many ways the *Squirrel Tree* is a perfect balance of the two opposing elements in early 17th-century Mughal painting: the love of pure pattern (to which figures and their placement are subordinate), and the desire for a true naturalism. Both forces are seen as well in *Two Peafowl* (fig. 28) by Mansur, the second painter

FIGURE 26
Detail of Figure 25

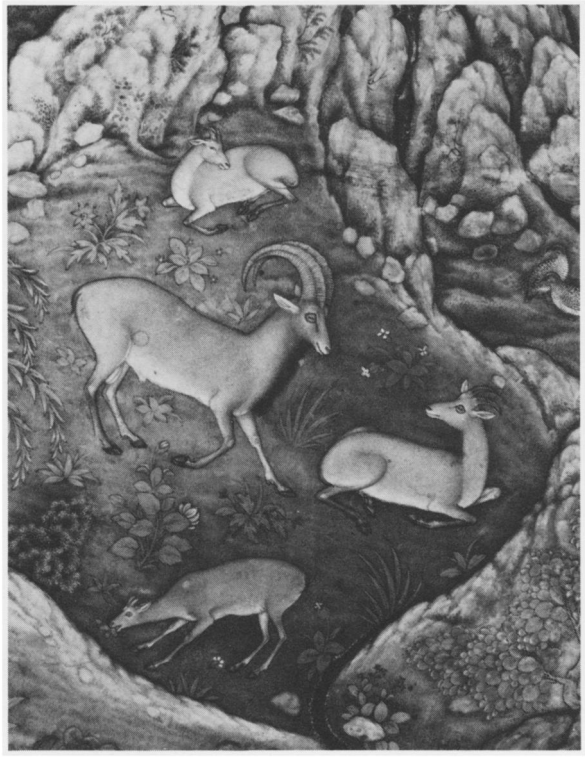


FIGURE 27
Detail of Figure 25

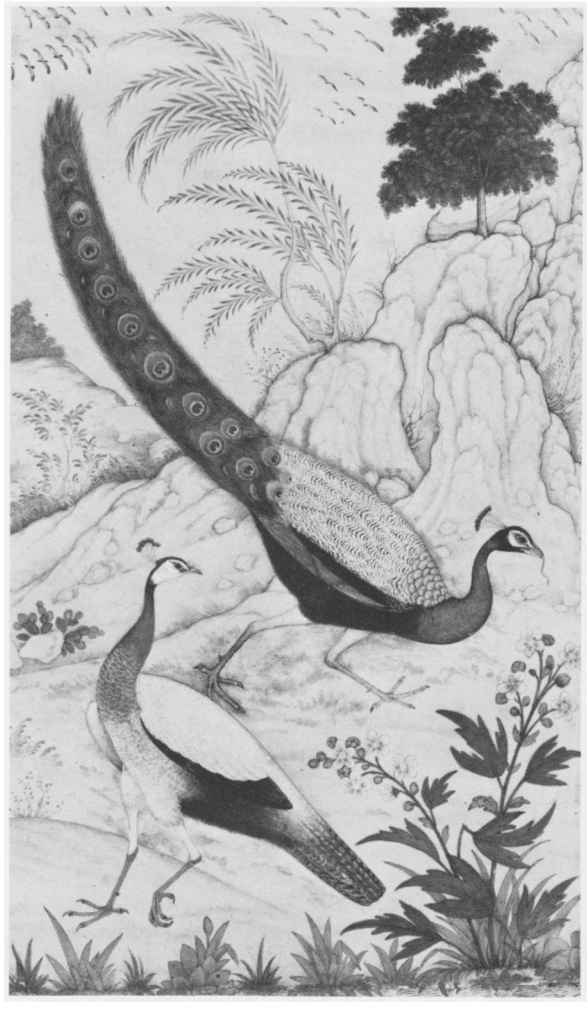


FIGURE 28
Attributed to Mansur, *Two Peafowl*, from an Album of Shah Jahan, Mughal, about 1620, Rothschild Collection

whose title is given in the *Squirrel Tree* inscription. While there are many differences, this work is similar to figure 25 in the way plants and vegetation are shaped to fill particular spaces and to provide contrasting types of movement and visual activity.

Mansur, however, is noted for making (sometimes pedantically) precise, slow, accurate drawings of plants and animals with line and thin pigment, usually set—as in *Peafowl*—against plain paper. The major part of the *Squirrel Tree*, however, is richly painted, but we do find a striking contrast between the treatment of the squirrels and that of the animals in the landscape. When viewed closely, the squirrels (fig. 26) are a most remarkable feat of observation and scientifically naturalistic painting. The artist has transformed line and paint into the substances they describe, and this is not a technique associated with Mansur. The animals below (fig. 27), however, are a different matter. They are stiff, slowly and carefully painted, and thinly colored. They are not presented with the same extraordinary sympathy, and they lack the animation and life which is so extraordinary in the squirrels.

The hunter about to climb the tree is completely in Abu'l Hasan's style. A highly sympathetic study of personality, with extreme sensitivity to textures (in the cap, for example, or the cloth of the robe), it is close to the *Anwar-i-Suhaili* page (fig. 20) and the scene of *Celebrations* (fig. 23) in the smoothness of the modeling. Mansur seldom painted human figures except in his earliest known works, and for good reason; he was not able to handle Jahangir's demands for character exploration. Instead he painted accurate depictions of curious animals—as we know from several references in Jahangir's memoirs—and worked as an illuminator, making abstract and floral margins and frontispieces.[27]

While it seems most satisfactory at present to accept the attribution of the work to both artists, for it betrays traits not easily explainable by either man working alone, we have no major and unquestionable animal studies by Abu'l Hasan with which to compare the squirrels.[28] The animals in *Jahangir with Shah Abbas* (fig. 3) are not such as to inspire confidence in Abu'l Hasan's skill as an animal painter, but then

these were intended as symbols and not as observed studies. The squirrels are painted with an intensity and sympathy found nowhere in Mansur's work, but in Abu'l Hasan's illustrations this perceptiveness is applied only to human beings. The authorship of the painting, therefore, remains a puzzle.[29]

A further unsigned work that closely corresponds to Abu'l Hasan's style comes from a *Gulistan* of Sa'di manuscript of about 1610 (fig. 29). Seven illustrations from this book —probably the greatest of Jahangir's poetical books—are in the Walters, detached from the text and mounted together on pages of an album. The dark background on the right, the combination of figures of Persian source (such as the standing figure in the center) with closely observed character studies, the keen interest in modeling (especially on the robe of the central seated man), and the refusal to emphasize even obvious patterns (in the horse saddle, for example, or the striped robe of the third man from the left, which is downplayed by the use of heavy shadow) are together trademarks of Abu'l Hasan in the years when his style was still young.

We have discussed two levels of work associated with Abu'l Hasan: those paintings which seem unassailably his; and works which, however strongly we may argue for their authorship, are still recognizably tentative attributions. In each case, we must proceed not only from the works themselves, but from their context. For example, the inscriptions on the *Anwar-i-Suhaili* manuscript seem contemporary to the work and reliable, for other known paintings by the men named there are in consistent styles. The inscriptions on the allegorical portraits cannot be trusted to the same degree, however, for there are later versions of such portraits that have inscriptions asserting their authorship by early painters. An example is *Jahangir Shooting the Head of Malik Ambar* (fig. 30), a particularly interesting composition showing the Emperor wishfully annihilating a major enemy. Two versions of the work exist, with virtually identical inscriptions. Figure 30 differs from its companion, however, in such details as the Emperor's robe, which here seems a flat cutout shape, lacking the subtle modeling of the other version. The angels here, too, are more swarthily modeled, and Jahangir's

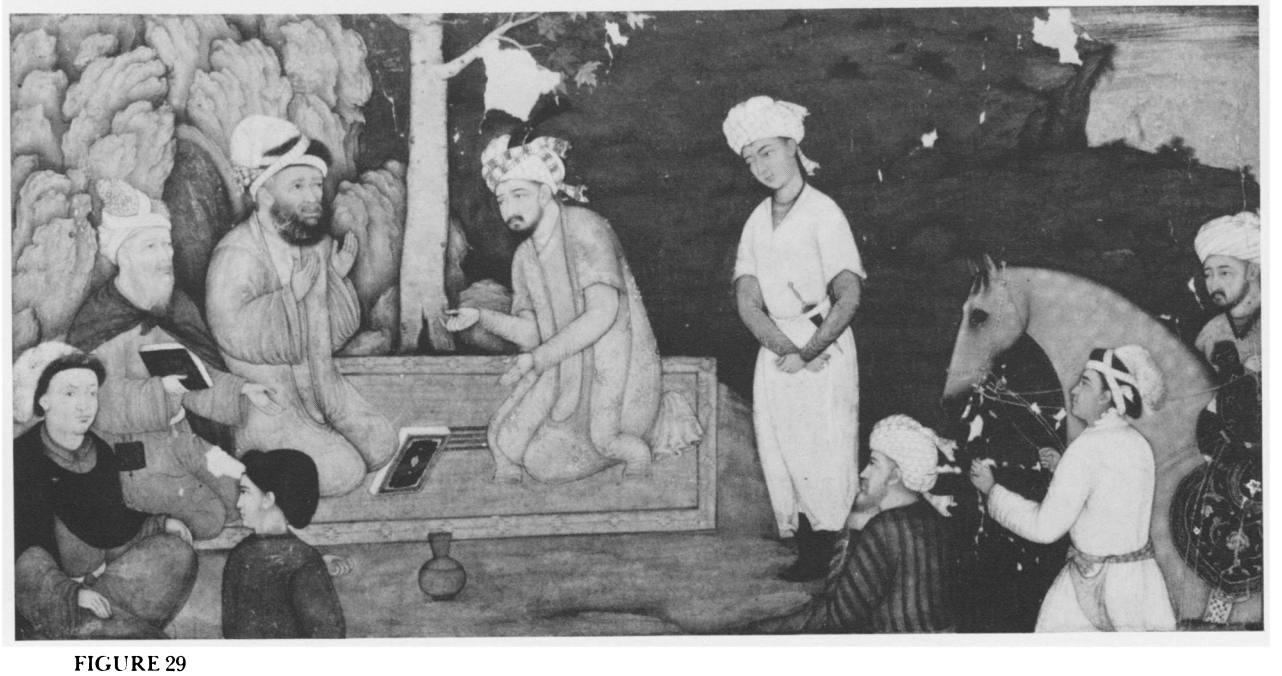


FIGURE 29
Possibly by Abu'l Hasan, from a *Gulistan* of Sa'di manuscript, Mughal, about 1610, The Walters Art Gallery (W.668, f.49)

FIGURE 30
After Abu'l Hasan, *Jahangir Shooting the Head of Malik Ambar*, from the *Kevorkian Album*, Mughal, probably a 19th-century copy of a work by Abu'l Hasan, courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (48.19B)

FIGURE 31
Attributed to Abu'l Hasan, page from the *Kevorkian Album*, Mughal, early 17th century with later repainting, The Walters Art Gallery (W.668, f. 400)

expression lacks the intensely felt concentration of the alternate composition (which is in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin).[30]

For these reasons, and because its color lacks the clarity of the Dublin picture, figure 30 seems to be later, probably 19th century. This is not surprising, considering its context. It was found in the *Kevorkian Album,* a compendium of paintings consisting largely of late copies of 17th-century imperial works, but including a few early illustrations as well.[31] Another, more modest, album page is in the Walters, and bears an inscription to Abu'l Hasan (fig. 31). The lower portion of the work has been completely repainted, presumably because of damage, but the upper half seems a possible early work by the artist.

The attribution of Mughal paintings to particular painters, then, is especially unscientific. We must question every inscription, and examine whatever we can learn of the context in which the work was found. Recognizing that attributions are ultimately accepted or rejected on visual—and therefore highly personal—grounds that too often tell us more about the historian and his date than about the artist, let me simply summarize one possible understanding of Abu'l Hasan's style.

He was a precocious artist. His father was a famous and highly lauded painter, working for a patron—the young Jahangir—who was intensely interested in the arts. As would be normal in India, Abu'l Hasan simply continued his father's profession, working first as an apprentice to the elder man. (Not all painters' sons became artists, but we know of many generation links.) In accord with the atmosphere of the time, he was an eclectic, learning from his father's Iranian background and orientation, but also from the European prints which were available around the Mughal court. As well, he was naturally concerned with the established direction of the Mughal style, which was towards involvement in and investigation of the natural world, unlike the Iranian and Hindu ideals which constantly saw the physical world as a metaphor for an absolute divine realm. Abu'l Hasan developed a sense for modeling, informality of composition, and virtually psychological portraiture from European works that he saw, for these were not Indian or Iranian characteristics.

His early works clearly combined these elements. The *Anwar-i-Suhaili* page (fig. 20), for example, places an extraordinarily naturalistic study (the elderly sage) within an artificial landscape that clearly only frames the two men. In other words, until about 1610, there is a similar tension between Iranian design and Mughal naturalism. By 1615, however, he has removed the artificial compositional element from his style, and this allows the figures as personalities to completely dominate the paintings. His sense for intricate, superbly executed detail continues, but it is used to stress elements of character or the substantiality of the figures, not to conflict with them. He then is introduced to English painting, the works brought by Sir Thomas Roe and perhaps other visiting Englishmen. These serve as inspiration by showing him other solutions for his wish to combine the intensity of color and love of details —a natural element of his Iranian heritage— with his already extraordinarily perceptive portraiture. The later allegorical portraits—such as *Jahangir with Shah Abbas* (fig. 3)—are, therefore, infinitely more brilliant in surface than *Jahangir Receiving Sheikh Sa'di in Audience* (figs. 1 and 2), but no less perceptive as character studies. His primary concern for human personality made him Jahangir's chief portraitist—just as Mansur was his major animal painter. He was not generally given commissions for large, active compositions, although there are exceptions. Once English painting was "worked through," Abu'l Hasan painted even more minute, technically immaculate works, carefully modeled and intense in color, such as the *Shah Jahan Enthroned* (fig. 22) in the Walters. His interest in allegory remains even in this last work, for the imperial throne shows symbolic scenes of a lion and a lamb. We do not know the date of his death, but no works can yet be reliably ascribed to him after about 1628.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The work is discussed, and seven pages reproduced, in M.C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul—Imperial Painting in India 1600-1660,* Williamstown, Mass., 1978, pp.33-39.

[2]Richard Ettinghausen has questioned whether these two pages actually belong together, and wrongly credits the Walters half to a follower of Abu'l Hasan. See: R. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice," in M. Meiss (ed.), *De Artibus Opuscula—Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, New York, 1961, p. 110.

[3]H. Beveridge (ed.), *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, New Delhi, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 277-78.

[4]Ettinghausen, op. cit., p. 112.

[5]W. Foster (ed.), *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, Liechtenstein, 1967, p. 267.

[6]Beveridge, op. cit., pp. 153-54.

[7]Ettinghausen, op. cit.

[8]Roy Strong, *The English Icon*, London, 1969, p. 269ff.

[9]Foster, op. cit., pp. 213-14.

[10]ibid., p. 225.

[11]ibid., p. 143.

[12]ibid., pp. 211 and 500.

[13]See: Ettinghausen, op. cit., for a discussion of a possible meaning of the figure.

[14]See: Beach, op. cit., nos. 32 and 64.

[15]These early influences are discussed in Beach, op., cit., pp. 155-57, where further references are given.

[16]This is reproduced in S.C. Welch, *The Art of Mughal India*, New York, 1963, no. 29.

[17]In 1618, Jahangir wrote in his memoirs that the title had been granted already, but does not say specifically when. The passage is quoted in the text of this article.

[18]Roy Strong, *The Elizabethan Image*, London, 1969, p. 45.

[19]Leigh Ashton (ed.), *The Arts of India and Pakistan*, London, 1950, no. 665.

[20]Aqa Riza is discussed further in Beach, op. cit., pp. 92-95.

[21]Beveridge, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 20.

[22]See: Beach, op. cit., p. 90.

[23]A complete list of known paintings by Abu'l Hasan, and specific comparisons to other painters, are given in Beach, op. cit., pp.86-92.

[24]See: Foster, op. cit., frontispiece.

[25]Ivan Stchoukine, "Un Bustan de Sa'di," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques* XI (1937), pp.68-74.

[26]I am grateful to Toby Falk for this information.

[27]Mansur is discussed further in Beach, op. cit., pp. 137-143.

[28]There are, however, several 19th-century paintings with inscriptions naming Abu'l Hasan, and these may be copies of now lost works. They are listed in Beach, op. cit., pp.91-92.

[29]I am grateful to Christopher Knight for discussions about this painting.

[30]Thomas W. Arnold and J. V. S. Wilkinson, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, London, 1936, vol. 3, pl. 62.

[31]See: Beach, op. cit., pp. 71-76.

Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph
A Mosan Enamel in the Walters Art Gallery

GRETEL CHAPMAN

FIGURE 1
Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, *champlevé* enamel plaque, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery (44.97)

The purpose of this investigation is to assemble the evidence—stylistic, iconographical, functional, and technical—to make possible a reconstruction of the original context of the Walters enamel plaque of Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (fig. 1). Such a study helps us gain a clearer understanding of the methods of production in Mosan goldsmiths' workshops in the 12th century, and facilitates the relative dating of Mosan enamels by the establishment of the iconographical sequence of a given theme.

I. Stylistic Affinities

The closest stylistic affinities with the Walters plaque are found in the Moses and the Brazen Serpent plaque in the Kofler-Truniger Collection (fig. 2).[1] The Walters plaque is sufficiently close to the latter, in both general style and in overall dimensions, to be considered as coming from the same object.[2] In addition, there are certain peculiarities found in both plaques which merit attention. First, there is a predilection for the use of decorative bands on belts or borders of garments, made by reserving the metal and giving it a chased pattern. The right arm of Moses (Kofler-Truniger) is particularly close in this respect to that of Jacob (Walters). Second, in both plaques the complex and unsystematic treatment of drapery, particularly in the subsidiary figures, used in conjunction with agitated poses, departs from the earlier Mosan enamel tradition of such a monument as the Stavelot Triptych. It is even difficult to ascertain, in the case of the subsidiary figures on the right of both plaques, the exact nature of the clothing worn.

FIGURE 2
Moses and the Brazen Serpent, *champlevé* enamel plaque, Luzern, The E. and M. Kofler-Truniger collection

The palette and techniques of modeling seem to be identical. The closest parallels to both plaques, in facial types, treatment of drapery, poses, and in the peculiarities just mentioned, are found in the roof enamels of the Heribertus Shrine. The decorative bands reserved in the metal, used on drapery borders, etc., are particularly prevalent on the enamels of the Petrus side. In addition, a peculiarity observable in the Walters plaque, that of placing the iris at the top of the eye, is also characteristic of the Heribertus Shrine enamels. The form of the throne on which Jacob is seated in the Walters plaque is roughly paralleled in the throne on which Otto III is seated in the scene of Heribertus receiving the regalia of the Archbishopric of Cologne (Petrus side, fig. 3). The foliage elements associated with the column in the Kofler-Truniger plaque are not dissimilar to those seen springing from the tree in the scene in which Heribertus orders the tree felled to serve as a cross in the abbey church (Paulus side, fig. 4).

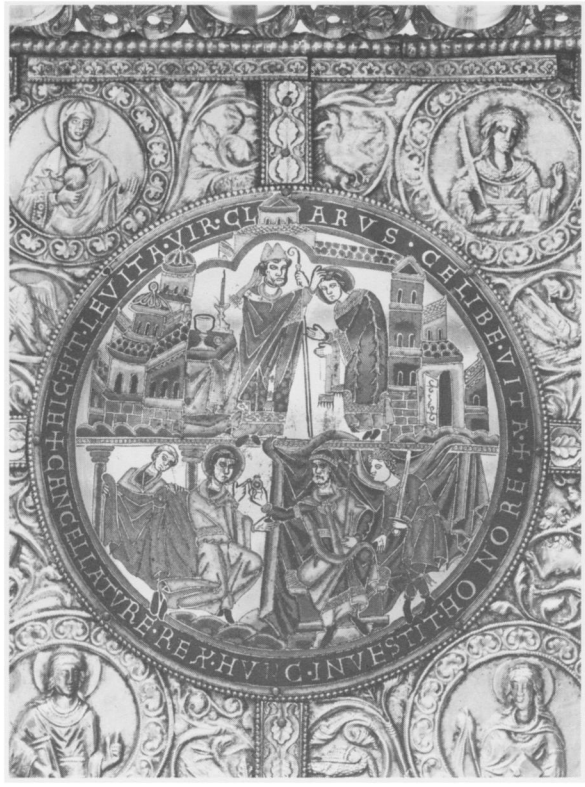


FIGURE 3
St. Heribertus Receiving the Regalia of the Archbishop of Cologne, detail of the Shrine of St. Heribertus, Deutz, St. Heribertus

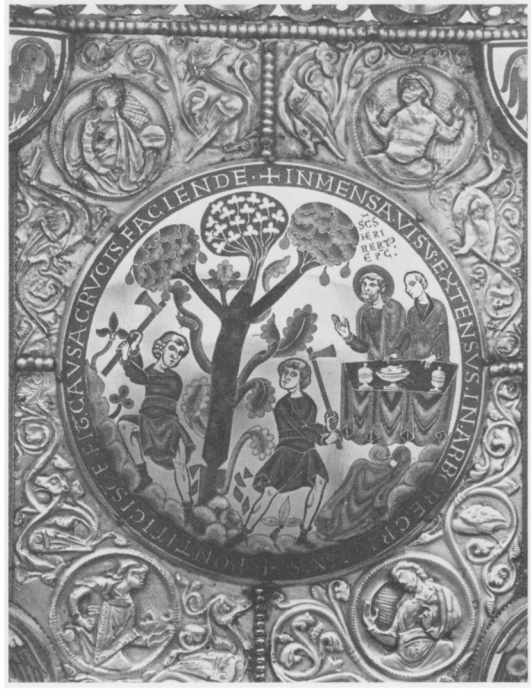


FIGURE 4
St. Heribertus Ordering the Tree Felled, detail of the Shrine of St. Heribertus, Deutz, St. Heribertus

In terms of the palette used in both plaques and the shrine, the same basic tones prevail: dark blue modeled to white, dark blue-green modeled to yellow-green to yellow. A dark red-violet does appear in small amounts (without modeling) on the Heribertus Shrine, but the predominant tonality is blue and green. This is radically different from the effect produced by enamels in the Stavelot Triptych and related monuments, which show a greater range of hue.

In no other Mosan enamels are the parallels so close.[3] The Heribertus Shrine in Deutz, near Cologne, is a work generally considered to have been executed by a Mosan artist (Petrus side) and a local Cologne artist (Paulus side) who was strongly influenced by the Mosan tradition. The parallels are close enough to raise the possibility that the artist of the Walters and Kofler-Truniger plaques was associated with the workshops active in Cologne. These parallels are stronger with the enamels of the Petrus side, which would seem to indicate that our artist also was Mosan. The implications of this interpretation concerning the date of these enamels will be considered later in this article.

II. Iconography

The theme of Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (Genesis XLVIII: 8-20) has a long history going back to the Early Christian period, but it has not been a particularly common subject at any period.[4] According to exegetical writings of the Church Fathers, this theme can be said to have had two basic meanings, other than purely narrative. The first meaning is as a symbol of the substitution of the New Covenant or Christianity (the younger son, Ephraim) for the Old Covenant or Judaism (the older son, Manasses). The second meaning is as a visual symbol of the cross, expressed by the crossed arms of Jacob.

This theme, understood in its symbolic significance as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion, is best expressed in the 12th century Mosan versions. Here the scene is abstracted from the narrative and juxtaposed to a number of other scenes from the Old Testament, which also serve as prefigurations of events in the New Testament.

Typological concordances were not fully systematized until the late 12th century, but the basic concepts were worked out visually during the course of the 12th century in the Mosan area, where the themes of the Eucharist and the Crucifixion as antitypes were emphasized. This seems to coincide with a tremendous expansion of activity in goldsmith work in the same region, with a flowering of neo-Augustinian metaphysics in the works of Rupert of St. Laurent and the Victorines, and with an explosion of imported relics of fragments of the True Cross, probably due to the intensified contact with the Near East during the Crusades. Accompanying all these phenomena is the development of the Romanesque style, which, with its emphasis on the two-dimensional surface and on the concomitant compartmentalization of that surface into coordinated units, makes possible a translation of elaborate theological systems into visual forms. Mosan enamels of the 12th century have an important role to play in this development.

There are a few precursors of the typological concordance system prior to the 12th century, mostly in isolated motifs rather than in whole cycles. An exception may have been the frescoes planned for the cathedral of Mainz. Preserved are *tituli* as written by Ekkehard IV, at the request of Archbishop Aribo of Mainz (+1031).[5] This was apparently a vast cycle of over four hundred biblical scenes, in which the Old Testament serves as witness for the New Testament. The *titulus* for the scene of Jacob Blessing is as follows:

> *"Prescius in dextram Jacob versando sinistram/Portendit magnum quandoque crucis fore signum" (v. 235-236).*

The 12th-century versions of the scene of Jacob Blessing are apparently limited to the Meuse region, or to works clearly under Mosan influence.[6] These works all appear in the context of a cycle of typological scenes referring to the Crucifixion and/or the Eucharist, and may be subdivided into three basic types, briefly summarized as Jacob reclining on his bed, Jacob seated frontally on his bed, and Jacob enthroned.

The first type is best exemplified by the Wittert folio, a 12th-century Mosan illuminated folio (figs. 5-6). Here Jacob Blessing (fig. 6) is represented in a fashion which seems to blend two earlier traditions. He reclines on a bed with

FIGURE 5
Sacrifice of Isaac, Wittert folio, recto, Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613

FIGURE 6
Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph; Jacob Blessing His Twelve Sons, Wittert folio, verso, Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613

his feet to the left, as in the Byzantine Octateuch of the 12th century (fig. 7),[7] but his grandsons are placed to either side of him, as in the Vienna Genesis (fig. 8),[8] rather than standing together at the right end of the bed. Joseph appears to the left, with three other sons of Jacob. It is significant that he is also crowned and nimbed, as in the Octateuchs (where he appears, however, to the right side). In addition, he holds a sceptre, a motif for which a visual tradition has not yet been discovered. The kneeling posture of the grandsons also seems to be without precedent in the earlier tradition.

The Wittert folio was identified by Usener[9] as a fragment of the same MS as Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6 (figs. 11, 13, 28b, 29e).[10] While this thesis is questionable due to differences in iconographical program and format, these fragments are clearly stylistically related. Wescher had attributed to the same hand both the Berlin MS and the Victoria and Albert folio (figs. 9-10).[11] Collon-Gevaert then identified all three fragments as by the same artist.[12] Questions concerning the date, provenance, and original context and function of these illuminated fragments remain unresolved. I shall be examining some of the evidence for their possible use as modelbooks throughout this article.

Elisabeth Klemm, in her study of the iconography of the Berlin MS,[13] was unable to find an Early Christian model for the scene of Jacob Blessing from the Wittert folio, although she had found such models for the other scenes

FIGURE 7
Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, Octateuch, Rome, Vatican Library, MS gr. 746, fol. 135

FIGURE 8
The Vienna Genesis, Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Theol. gr. 31, fol. 23

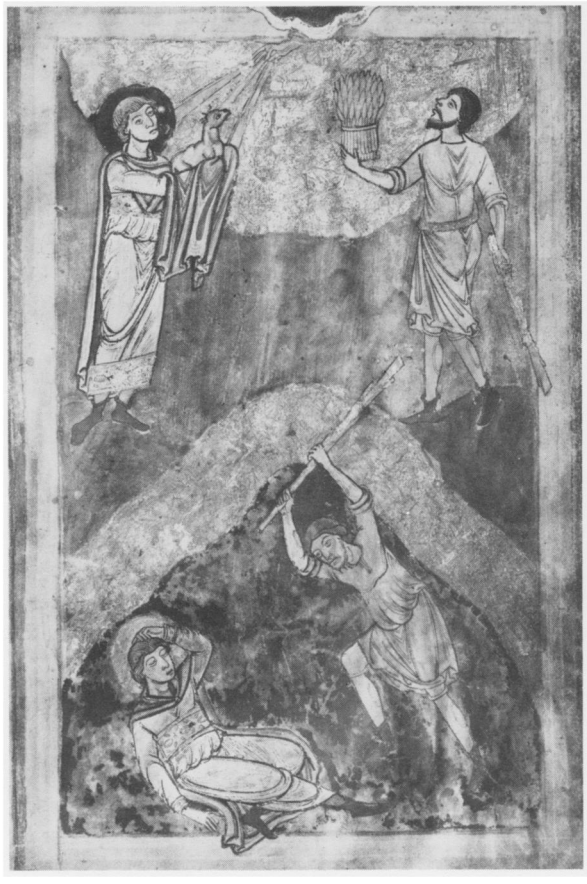


FIGURE 9
Sacrifices of Abel and Cain; Cain Slaying Abel, The Victoria and Albert folio, London, The Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 413, recto. Crown copyright reserved

FIGURE 10
Abraham and Melchisedech; Capture of Lot, Victoria and Albert folio, London, The Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 413, verso. Crown copyright reserved

FIGURE 11
Abraham and Melchisedech, Berlin MS, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6, fol. 2, upper register

FIGURE 12
The Typological Phylactery (reconstructed), *champlevé* enamel plaques from a phylactery: a. Trier, Domschatz (Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph); b. London, The British Museum (Moses and the Brazen Serpent); c. London, The British Museum (The Vision of Ezechiel); d. London, The British Museum (The Sacrifice of Isaac)

in the three MS fragments. She proposes that the scene is made up of separate motifs taken from parts of the Berlin MS. While this may be the case insofar as a particular posture is concerned, the question arises as to whether earlier models were available. The important motifs seem to have had an earlier source, though the particular combination seen here, and some details, are perhaps original with the artist of the Wittert folio.

This folio is crucial to our understanding of the Mosan development of this theme. In all later versions, Joseph is eliminated. The fact that he appears here, *with crown and nimbus*, as seen in the Octateuchs, would seem to indicate some contact with that tradition. This possibility needs further exploration.

The context of this scene in the Wittert folio is related to the Mosan tradition of typological concordances. The recto of the folio depicts, as continuous narrative, Isaac and Abraham climbing the mountain (Gen. XXII: 3-6), and the Sacrifice of Isaac (Gen. XXII: 9-13) (fig. 5); the verso, in addition to Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (Gen. XLVIII), shows Jacob Blessing His Twelve Sons below (Gen. XLIX) (fig. 6). While the individual episodes on each page are consecutive, there is hiatus between the events on the recto and those on the verso, a hiatus which includes the histories of Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph.

A similar hiatus occurs between recto and verso of the Victoria and Albert folio (recto: Sacrifices of Abel and Cain above, Gen. IV: 3-4; Cain Slaying Abel below, Gen. IV: 8, fig. 9; verso: Abraham and Melchisedech above, Gen. XIV: 18-20; The Capture of Lot below, Gen. XIV: 12, fig. 10). In between would come the stories of Noah, the exile of Abraham into Egypt, the separation of Abraham and Lot. Because three Genesis scenes lacking in the Victoria and Albert folio are found in the Berlin MS,[14] and because the scene of Abraham and Melchisedech is found in both MSS (figs. 10-11), it is clear that the Victoria and Albert and Wittert folios were not originally part of the Berlin MS, but rather were excerpts from the Genesis narrative, chosen for their typological significance.

The enamel which relates most closely to the Wittert folio is the semi-circular plaque in the Trier Domschatz (fig. 12a).[15] Some adaptations are made in this version, which apparently can be explained as necessitated by the use of a semi-circular format: Joseph and his brothers are eliminated, Ephraim is cut off at the knees, and Jacob's legs more nearly approach the horizontal. The figures are brought closer together; the whole is more compact and more nearly fills the field. In fact, several motifs have been added which eliminate the open spaces on either side of Jacob's head: a curtain, suspended from the arc of the frame and looped above the back of Manasses, and a rectangular shape above the head of Ephraim, which seems to be held by Jacob. Inscriptions giving the name of the persons in the scene fill the remaining space.

The curtain motif appears elsewhere in Mosan enamels, especially in the Stavelot Triptych and in the British Museum and three related crosses, discussed later in this article (see n. 17). The rectangular shape above Ephraim's head is harder to explain. The most likely explanation would seem to be the introduction here of a scroll, such as appears in the lower scene on the Wittert folio verso: Jacob Blessing his Sons (fig. 6). As has been suggested by Elisabeth Klemm,[16] the unusual presence there of two scrolls would seem to be due to the adaptation of the figure of Jacob from the scene of Isaac Blessing Jacob on folio four of the Berlin MS (fig. 13).

FIGURE 13
Isaac Blessing Jacob; Esau Complaining about the Lost Blessing, Berlin MS, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6, fol. 4

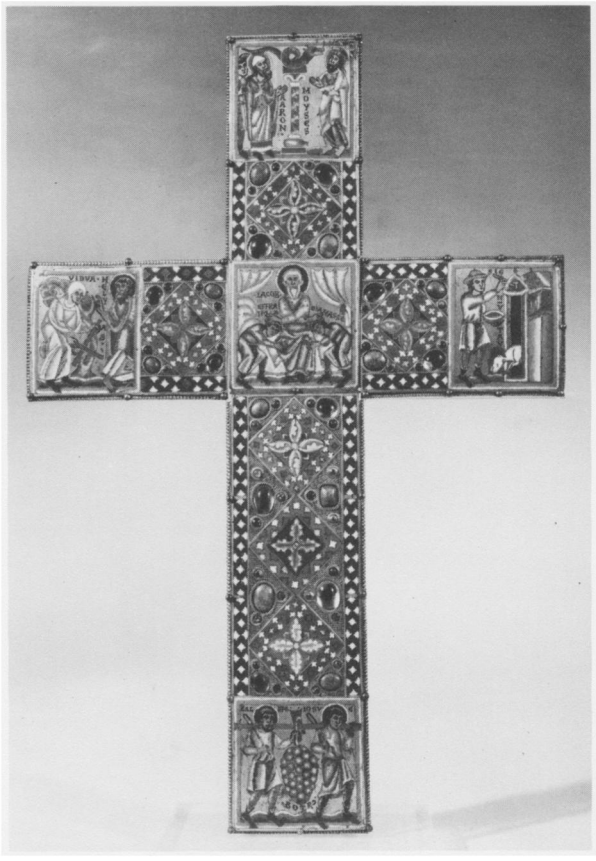


FIGURE 14
The British Museum Cross, *champlevé* enamel plaques from a cross, London, The British Museum

FIGURE 14a
Detail

Unfortunately, the enamel is missing from the Trier plaque, as it might have provided some evidence for the resolution of this question.

It is noteworthy that the billowing drapery to the right of Jacob in the Wittert folio, which indicates a pillow (as in the Dream of Constantine medallion of the Stavelot Triptych), acts as a kind of halo, in order to emphasize the fact that Ephraim is the favored grandson. This shape also appears in the Trier enamel, where it is somewhat difficult to understand in its rather abbreviated form.

Jacob's blindness is rendered in a literal fashion in the Trier enamel by representing the eyes closed. This is not true of the Wittert folio, but it *is* true of the Isaac in the Berlin MS scene of Isaac Blessing Jacob, just mentioned.

It seems likely that the enamelist of the Trier plaque was familiar with both the Wittert folio and the Berlin MS. It would otherwise be difficult to explain the appearance of motifs from both MSS, although it is possible that there may have been an intermediate source, now lost, which combined elements from both.

The second type of Jacob Blessing scene, Jacob seated frontally on his bed, is represented in the British Museum Cross (fig. 14),[17] where this scene occupies the center of the cross. In contrast to the Trier plaque, Jacob is represented seated frontally on the bed, as in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, (fig. 15)[18] but we note the presence of curtains, this time on either side of Jacob's head. The pillow has been transposed from right to left side, where it no longer acts as a halo but billows up behind the boy's back and is no longer comprehensible as a pillow. Furthermore, EFFRAIM and MANASSE are also reversed, so that contrary to the biblical text, Jacob blesses his older grandson, Manasses, with his right hand. The grandsons are not in a kneeling position, both knees together, as in the Trier enamel, but in a bending, striding posture, with the far leg forward. This posture also departs from the earlier visual tradition for this type, and may be an innovation of the artist.

It would seem likely that the artist of the British Museum Cross was aware of several different models, one from the Ashburnham Pentateuch tradition, in which Jacob is seated frontally on his bed with the grandsons standing to either side, and the other related to the Trier

enamel, in which the motif of the curtain is supplied. The pillow motif would also seem to have survived from the Wittert/Trier examples as it does not appear in the pre-Mosan visual tradition of this theme.

The addition of another curtain to the right may be due to the concern for strict frontality and bilateral symmetry evidenced in this enamel, placed as it is in the center of the cross. The same concern may be behind the choice of the seated frontal Jacob of the Ashburnham Pentateuch tradition rather than the reclining Jacob of the Wittert folio.

The fact that the artist has mistakenly transposed the two grandsons may be due to reliance on a model lacking inscriptions, perhaps a MS illumination similar in this respect to the Wittert folio.

In the Crossfoot of St. Omer, the second type of Jacob Blessing also appears (fig. 16).[19] In this

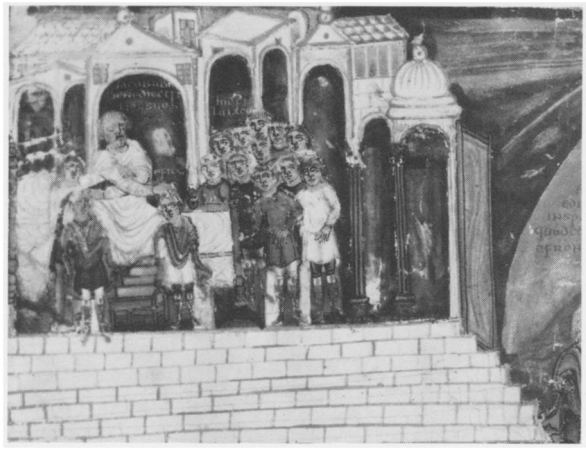


FIGURE 15
The Ashburnham Pentateuch, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 50 (detail)

FIGURE 16
Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, detail of the Crossfoot of St. Omer, St. Omer, Musée Hôtel de Sandelin

FIGURE 17
Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, *champlevé* enamel plaque from a reliquary cross, London, The Victoria and Albert Museum. Crown copyright reserved

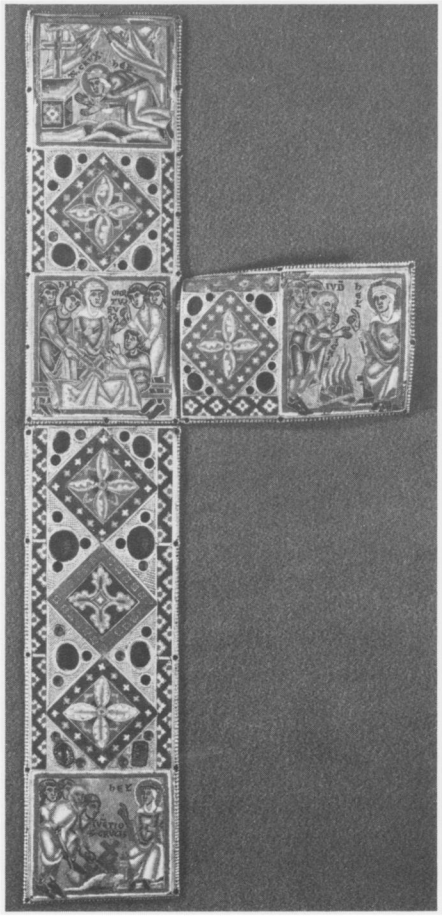


FIGURE 18
The Berlin Cross, *champlevé* enamel plaques from a cross, Berlin-Köpenick, Kunstgewerbemuseum

version, made to fit a convex semi-circular segment of the hemispherical foot, the bed is apparent behind the figures, but the curtains are absent, and the inscriptions are correct, so that Jacob blesses Ephraim with his right hand. A pillow-like form still rises in a curious fashion behind the head of Ephraim, as in the Trier enamel, and the boys are depicted *kneeling* rather than bending and striding forward, as on the Wittert folio and Trier enamel. Again, there seems to be reference here to the earlier Mosan tradition, because just those elements which are innovations in the Mosan region (the pillow, the kneeling grandsons) reappear here. This enamel, in other words, cannot be explained by reference alone to the pre-Mosan tradition, but includes elements found only in Mosan examples of a different type of the same theme. It would therefore seem likely that the examples studied so far can be arranged in the chronological order in which they have been discussed here, regardless of the fact that several different pre-Mosan models must have been available.

The last type to be discussed is that of the enthroned Jacob. Two examples belong to this type: the Walters plaque and an enamel on the Victoria and Albert Reliquary Cross (fig. 17).

The Walters plaque (fig. 1) resembles the British Museum Cross (fig. 14) in the seated posture of Jacob (although he is seated on a throne rather than a bed), and the bending, striding posture of the grandsons (although they cross their legs in an agitated dance-like step which departs from all the earlier traditions). In contrast to the British Museum Cross, the curtains, bed, and pillow are absent, and the grandsons are correctly labeled. The enthroned type of Jacob goes back to the Vienna Genesis (fig. 8) and also appears in a Byzantine ivory of the 12th century,[20] but both Joseph and Asenath are present in these versions, and the grandsons are both much smaller in scale, and stand upright and frontally.

The parallels with the British Museum Cross, and the contrasts with the pre-Mosan tradition, would again seem to indicate some acquaintance with both. This would of course have chronological implications for our plaque, a suggestion which is corroborated by its stylistic affinities with the Heribertus Shrine.

The Jacob Blessing scene on the Victoria and Albert Reliquary Cross (fig. 17) is something of an anomaly. While Jacob and his throne are similar to the same motifs on the Walters plaque, and the dancing posture of the grandson on the left (wrongly labeled BENGAMIN) also relates to the Manasses of the Walters enamel, the grandson on the right (wrongly labeled MANASES) more closely resembles his counterpart on the British Museum Cross. This would again seem to imply acquaintance with two different types in the Mosan tradition of this theme.

Furthermore, no parallel in the earlier Jacob Blessing tradition can be found for the bowls held in the covered hands of the two boys. Is it possible that the source for this unprecedented motif lies in a conflation with the scene of Isaac Blessing Jacob, as on folio four of the Berlin MS (fig. 13), where the bowl containing Isaac's meal is an important motif? This hypothesis is strengthened by the previous use of this scene in the Berlin MS as a model for the motif of closed eyes (Trier enamel), and the position of the hands of Isaac (Wittert folio, scene of Jacob Blessing his Sons).

It would seem that the artist of the Victoria and Albert scene was even less familiar with the biblical tradition than was the Master of the British Museum Cross, since he not only transposes the grandsons, but labels one of them as Jacob's youngest son!

The British Museum Cross is closely related to the Berlin Cross (fig. 18). In Appendix III the iconographical types are summarized and arranged in chronological order, together with stylistically related monuments.

III. Relations of Enamels to Model Books

These observations concerning the relationship between MSS and enamels can be corroborated by consideration of several other themes. On the recto of the Wittert folio (fig. 5) is represented the Sacrifice of Isaac, with Abraham and Isaac climbing the mountain center left (Isaac bearing the wood on his shoulder), and the two servants with the ass below. If we now compare the Sacrifice of Isaac scene from the reconstructed typological phylactery (lower lobe, fig. 12d), we find very close parallels. The main differences are again due to adaptation of the MS drawing, with its greater freedom and more open handling of space, to a different format. Abraham is cut off at mid-thigh, his left hand, which grasps Isaac's hair, is tucked in close to his body, and the ram is reduced to a head facing left, fitted into the space left between the angel and Abraham. Once again, the figures are closer together and more compact, and inscriptions fill the remaining spaces.

A further, very instructive parallel can now be drawn between these two versions and that on the Evangelists' Cross (fig. 19; see n. 17). Here the format is a horizontal rectangle which provides greater latitude. Abraham is seen full-figure, the bundle of wood is introduced at the base of the altar, and the artist has considerably expanded the rather summary bush in which the ram is caught, to a little tree. The ram rises up on his hind legs, as in the Wittert folio, but he here faces right, in opposition to both Wittert folio and British Museum plaque. Most surprising of all, the angel flying down from the corner to grasp the sword is transposed to the *right* corner, perhaps due to the expansion of the bush on the left side. Abraham, however, has not been adjusted accordingly. He still looks over his shoulder into what is now empty space, filled only by the inscription naming him. There is no parallel to my knowledge for this arrangement. It seems clear that this enamel must have been based on an earlier model, *not* the semi-circular enamel in Trier but a fuller version, such as the Wittert folio.

Three further parallels are worth noting in this context. The Victoria and Albert folio depicts on the verso the scene of Abraham and Melchisedech above, and the capture of Lot below (fig. 10). The enamelist of the Evangelists' Cross (fig. 20) has added a curtain as spacefiller above the altar in the scene of Abraham and Melchisedech. He has also eliminated Abraham's spear and reduced his army to two men in civilian garb. Most significantly, he has transposed Abraham's hands, so that he grasps the bread (host) with his *right*, requiring him to reach diagonally across to Melchisedech's right hand. Empty space is filled with naming inscriptions. And finally, the artist gives Melchisedech a halo, a motif not present in the Victoria and Albert folio. This motif is, however,

FIGURE 19
Sacrifice of Isaac, *champlevé* enamel plaque from the Evangelists' Cross, Paris, Musée du Louvre

FIGURE 20
Abraham and Melchisedech, *champlevé* enamel plaque from the Evangelists' Cross, Paris, Musée du Louvre

present in the rendition of this same theme on folio 2 of the Berlin MS (fig. 11), otherwise very close to the Victoria and Albert folio version, with the important exception of Abraham's helmet. Once again, it seems likely that the enamelist of the Evangelists' Cross was familiar with both the Wittert folio and the Berlin MS.

The Abel and Cain scene on the Evangelists' Cross (fig. 21) is also closely related to the same scene on the recto of the Victoria and Albert folio (fig. 9), but as we can see from the confusion of the pose of Cain on the enamel version, it may have been based on the drawing, while misinterpreting or transforming the design. On the folio, Cain is seen from behind, holding the sheaf of wheat in his left hand and a club in his right. His left leg is drawn back and his head appears in profile. On the enamel, his feet are clearly seen facing towards us, and he holds the sheaf of wheat in what *should* be his right hand. However, the enamelist has here copied the drawing closely in this regard, so that a left hand seen from behind is depicted despite the fact that Cain is now facing us. It is clear that the drawing could not have been based on the enamel.[21]

One further theme must be explored in this connection. The Vision of Ezechiel,[22] which appears on the right lobe of the Typological Phylactery (fig. 12c), shares some significant details with the version seen on the Angels' Cross (see n. 17). The man in white linen, marking the foreheads of the elect with the sign of the tau, wears in both cases a priestly turban, knotted at the back of the head, though his position is reversed. In the Louvre plaque of the same theme (fig. 22),[23] the marker is very close in posture to that on the Angels' Cross and also wears the priestly turban. The depiction on the Cross of Kemexhe looks as if it could be a reduced version of the Louvre plaque (fig. 24).[24] In both the British Museum semi-circular plaque and the Louvre plaque the marker has two ink horns, one on his belt and one in his left hand, though only one is depicted on the Angels' Cross.

The implications of these parallels would seem to be the following: the Berlin MS, the Wittert folio and the Victoria and Albert folio, the Typological Phylactery, the group of four enameled crosses (now reconstructed as two), the Louvre plaques, and the Cross of Kemexhe

FIGURE 21
Offerings of Cain and Abel, *champlevé* enamel plaque, from the Evangelists' Cross, Cologne, Schnütgen Museum

FIGURE 22
Vision of Ezechiel, *champlevé* enamel plaque, Paris, Musée du Louvre

FIGURE 23
The Tau of Exodus, *champlevé* enamel plaque, Paris, Musée du Louvre

are all closely related. It is interesting that clearly earlier versions of four of the scenes studied can be found on the folios (Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, Sacrifice of Isaac, Abraham and Melchisedech, Sacrifices of Cain and Abel). In several cases, both the Berlin MS and one of the folios must have been utilized as models (Trier enamel; Evangelists' Cross). In one case both a MS drawing and several other enamels may have been used (Victoria and Albert Reliquary Cross: Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph). And in several cases, the artist must have been aware of several earlier examples of different Mosan types, as well as the pre-Mosan traditions (British Museum Cross: Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph; Crossfoot of St. Omer; Walters plaque). This would seem to suggest that these folios were actually used as modelbooks by a goldsmith's workshop. With the exception of the Louvre plaques and the Cross of Kemexhe, all these monuments are very close in style, and may have been executed in the same workshop at about the same time.

IV. The Stavelot Portable Altar

As further corroboration for the thesis presented here, i.e., the probable use of the Berlin MS, the Wittert folio, and the Victoria and Albert folio as models for a goldsmith's workshop, we should look at the relationships between these folios and the Stavelot Portable Altar.[25]

Rather than the scene of the Sacrifice of Isaac proper, such as we have seen on the enamels already studied, the secondary scene of Isaac and Abraham climbing the mountain, as seen on the center left of the Wittert folio (fig. 25a), is focal. On the top plaque of the Stavelot Portable Altar, in the upper left spandrel of the central quatrefoil, is found a reduced version of this scene (fig. 25b). Due to the irregular shape of the field, several adaptations are made: the heads arrive at the same level, close to the horizontal upper border; Abraham, while carrying the same attributes (torch and sword), is cut off at the waist; Isaac's legs seem to be based on those of Abraham in the Sacrifice scene above, rather than on those of Isaac in the scene being considered, doubtless because they better fit the curved edge of the field. It would be difficult to assume that the MS illumination was an

expanded version of the enamel; much more intelligible is the reduction of the MS illumination to suit a different, more restricted format.[26]

In the lower left spandrel of the quatrefoil is found a half-figure of Melchisedech with crown and halo (fig. 26a), holding the host in his right, the chalice in his left, both hands being covered by part of his cloak. An altar stands before him. While this scene is somewhat reminiscent of the Melchisedech in the Abraham and Melchisedech scene on the verso of the Victoria and Albert folio (fig. 10), with Melchisedech in reverse position, it is even closer to the same figure in the Berlin MS, folio two (fig. 11), especially in the system of drapery folds on the arm. In addition, Melchisedech's crown is close to that seen in the Berlin MS, while the Victoria and Albert folio crown in contrast has three foliate *termini*.

I have already mentioned that Melchisedech does not have a halo on the Victoria and Albert folio, while he is provided with one in the Berlin MS, as he is on the Stavelot Portable Altar. It seems likely, therefore, that the enamelist was aware at least of the Berlin MS.

Abel appears as a half-figure in the lower right spandrel bearing his lamb as offering (fig. 26b). An altar also stands before him. On the recto of the Victoria and Albert folio, a very similar Abel is represented (fig. 9). Once again, the enamel can be understood as a reduced (and in this case, also a reversed) version of the MS illumination. The addition of the altar is understandable, not only as a space-filler, but also in order to balance the altar of Melchisedech seen on the opposite spandrel.

In the scene of the martyrdom of James on the side of the Stavelot Portable Altar (fig. 27) we see the saint reclining in a pose that suggests a sleeping position, while his executioner energetically raises a club above his head. Almost identical postures are assumed by the figures of Cain and Abel on the recto of the Victoria and Albert folio (fig. 9). The only essential difference lies in the position of James' left arm resting on his left leg, while Abel places his left arm on his head.

A standard repertoire of motifs would seem to have been used in this group of enamels. To mention only two: the standing figure issuing

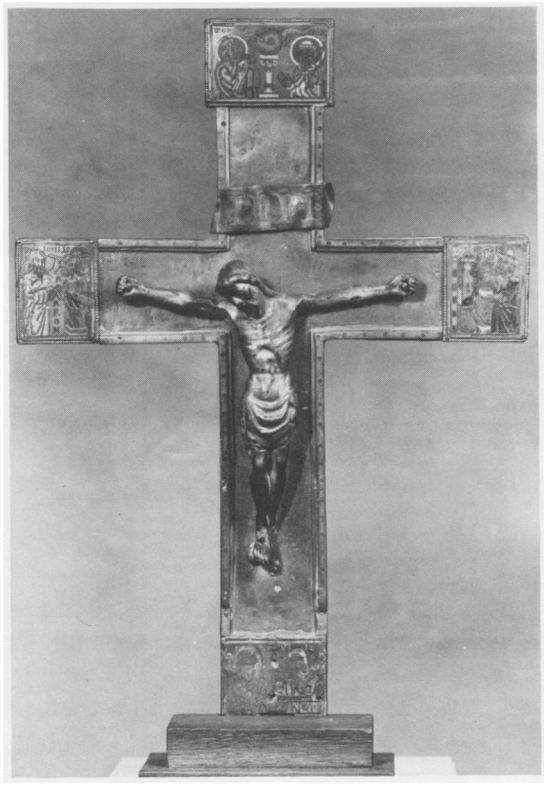


FIGURE 24
The Cross of Kemexhe, Liège, Musée Curtius

FIGURE 25a
Isaac Bearing the Wood, Wittert folio, recto, detail, Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613

FIGURE 25b
Isaac Bearing the Wood, detail of the upper surface of the Stavelot Portable Altar, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

FIGURE 26b
Abel, detail from the upper surface of the Stavelot Portable Altar, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

FIGURE 26a
Melchisedech, detail of the upper surface of the Stavelot Portable Altar, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

FIGURE 27
Martyrdom of James, detail from long side of the Stavelot Portable Altar, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

a command, and the praying figure, are frequently seen in various different iconographical contexts, wherever a posture of that general type is needed.

The standing figure issuing a command is seen in the Joseph at the left of the scene of Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph (Wittert folio verso, fig. 6). A comparable figure is seen in the Nero of the Crucifixion of Peter scene (Stavelot Portable Altar, left side, fig. 28a). As a minor variation, Nero brings the scepter held in his left hand across his body, so that it appears on his right side. While this gesture is not true of the Joseph figure on the Wittert folio, it *is* true of the angel flying down to succour Hagar in the Wilderness (Berlin MS, folio 2^{v}, fig. 28b). The gesture is unusual enough to be signficant.

The "praying figure" actually appears in a number of different contexts. We see it in the kneeling sons of Joseph in the Blessing scene (Wittert folio verso, fig. 29a), in the kneeling Isaac on the altar of sacrifice (Wittert folio recto, fig. 29b),[27] in several of the martyred apostles on the Stavelot Portable Altar (James, Matthew, Thomas, Simon, Judas, see fig. 29c). It appears as well in the scene of Heraclius slaying Chostroes (Angels' Cross, fig. 29d), while the figure of Heraclius himself is paralleled by the foremost soldier in the Massacre of the Innocents (Berlin MS, folio 8, fig. 29e). The praying figure appears as the flying angels in the Dutuit Collection Triptych (fig. 29f)[28] at the top of each wing. On the Berlin Cross (fig. 29g), the figure of Helen praying in the top enamel is of the same type.[29]

Hence, the same motif could be used in a great variety of contexts, and even tilted in space so that in one instance it is a kneeling figure, in another a falling figure, in another a flying figure, etc. This workshop procedure of using a standard repertory of poses for various contexts clearly presupposes the use of a modelbook. Since the Wittert and Victoria and Albert folios do not clarify all the details in the enamel versions, details which *are* found in the Berlin MS, the possibility arises that the latter also served as a modelbook for a goldsmith's workshop. (In a further article, codicological evidence will be presented to corroborate this hypothesis. In that article, the hypothesis that

FIGURE 28a
Nero, detail from long side of the Stavelot Portable Altar, Brussels, Musees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

FIGURE 28b
Angel, detail from Hagar in the Wilderness, fol. 2^{v}, Berlin MS, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6

FIGURE 29a
Ephraim, detail from Joseph Blessing the Sons of Joseph, Wittert folio, verso, Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Universitè, MS 2613

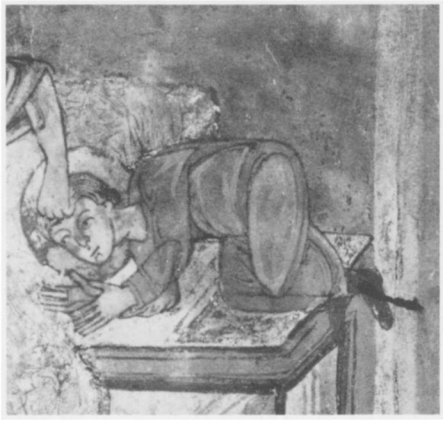


FIGURE 29b
Isaac, detail from Sacrifice of Isaac, Wittert folio, recto, Liège, Université de Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613

FIGURE 29c
James, detail from long side of the Stavelot Portable Altar, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

FIGURE 29d
Heraclius Slaying Chosroes, *champlevé* enamel plaque from the Angels' Cross, Nantes, Musée Dobrée

FIGURE 29e
Soldier, detail from the Massacre of the Innocents, Berlin MS, fol. 8, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6

FIGURE 29f
Angel, detail from Dutuit Collection Triptych, Paris, Petit Palais

FIGURE 29g
Helen Praying, detail from the Berlin Cross, Berlin-Köpenick, Kunstgewerbemuseum

FIGURE 30
Champlevé enamel plaques from a cross: Widow of Sarepta, Moses and the Brazen Serpent, Tau of Exodus, Isaac Bearing the Wood, Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst

the three MS fragments were originally uncolored pen drawings will be proposed.)

The discussion concerning the Stavelot Portable Altar and its relationship to the MSS has several important implications. It gives us some valuable information about the procedures used in the workshop in terms of the creative use and adaption of the models. But it is also significant in that it may point to the use of the same modelbook by at least two different goldsmiths' workshops. It is generally agreed[30] that the Stavelot Portable Altar is by a different workshop than the Stavelot Triptych and all the enamels which can be associated with the Stavelot Triptych workshop: principal among these are the British Museum, Berlin, Evangelists', and Angels' Crosses; the Typological Phylactery; and the Crossfoot of St. Omer. Characteristic of this workshop is the predilection for gold grounds; for inscriptions, frequently written vertically, on the gold ground; for figures whose draperies are in *champlevé* enamel, but whose flesh parts are reserved, with contours filled in with blue or red enamel. The contour lines are relatively heavy, especially for heads and hands set against the gold ground, while hands set off against the enamel drapery are not outlined in color.

In the Stavelot Portable Altar, in contrast, the grounds are made up of fields of contrasting enamel color, either by means of an inset rectangular field, or by bands of color bounded by wavy lines. The flesh part of the figures is reserved and outlined in color, but in many cases their draperies are also reserved and outlined. The effect is to give greater emphasis to the color patterns of the two-dimensional surface: to create a much richer coloristic effect. We know that both workshops were active for Stavelot, presumably at about the same time. What more natural than that they would have contact with each other and with the same models?

It seems unlikely, even given our fragmentary state of knowledge about workshop practices in the 12th century, that two workshops producing such different styles, yet working for the same patron, could have been permanently attached to that same site. We know that Wibald of Stavelot was a great patron of goldsmithswork, as witness not only the resplendent objects known to have been commissioned by him, but also the famous letter of 1148 to a goldsmith "G," whom he chastises for tardiness in completing a commissioned work.[31] It seems reasonable to assume that as a great patron, he summoned to his monastery the most renowned goldsmiths of his time, several workshops simultaneously, to carry out the needs of the monastery for liturgical objects rich in material, high in quality, and erudite in theological program. Once the needs of the monastery were fulfilled, the goldsmiths traveled on to the next commission, carrying with them their essential tools, and their modelbooks.

Alternatively, both workshops may have had a permanent location somewhere else in the Meuse region, and were given commissions by Wibald without ever traveling to Stavelot to execute the objects requested. The fact that Wibald found it necessary to address a letter to his goldsmith "G" would seem to corroborate this thesis.

If there were a permanent workshop, however, it was not likely to be in a monastery, and even less so in a cathedral. More likely the goldsmiths were by this period laymen. Renier de Huy was called "aurifaber" and a citizen of Huy, and served as a witness for a contract in 1125. Godefroid de Huy retired at the end of his life to a monastery, Neufmoutier, but there is no evidence that he was anything other than a lay brother.

The implications of this thesis, of course, are rather unsettling concerning our current notions about localization. A mobile workshop refuses to be localized for very long. The workshop or workshops which produced the St. Heribertus Shrine may not have been permanently located at Cologne. In fact, given the Mosan character of the enamels of the Petrus side, it seems more likely that this workshop came from the Mosan area, and may well have returned thence. It is therefore not particularly useful to localize the Walters plaque at Cologne; but it is helpful in terms of recreating its artistic milieu to suggest that it comes from the same workshop. Where else this workshop may have been active is a question which needs further exploration.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Nigel Morgan, "The Iconography of Twelfth Century Mosan Enamels," *Rhein und Maas 2: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, Cologne, 1973, p. 265, where he postulates that these two plaques may have come from the same object. Morgan (p. 273, n. 55) also relates both plaques to a Tau of Exodus plaque in the Hermitage, Leningrad, presently incorporated into a phylactery. He suggests that all three plaques, approximately the same size, may have come from the same cross. The present quatrefoil phylactery in Leningrad is of dubious antiquity, and some technical and stylistic peculiarities in the Tau of Exodus plaque raise questions about its relationship to our plaques as well. Such questions cannot, however, be resolved without a first-hand examination. Even if its authenticity were indisputable, its shape would militate against its inclusion in the same object as the Walters/Kofler-Truniger plaques, as can be seen in the reconstruction described in Appendix II. For the Hermitage plaque, see E. A. Lapkovskaya, *Applied Art in the Middle Ages in the Collection of the State Hermitage*, Moskow, 1971, plate 6, and Jacqueline LaFontaine-Dosogne, "Oeuvres d'art mosan au musée de l'Ermitage à Leningrad," *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLIV, 1975, pp. 94-96.

[2]Philippe Verdier, *Revue belge*, XLIV, 1975, p. 33, rejects the Kofler-Truniger plaque as part of the same cross as the Walters plaque on the basis of its crowded composition and on the differences in epigraphy (the Kofler-Truniger plaque lacks the uncial E, the *quadrata* M, and the M shaped like an inverted *omega*). However, on the St. Heribertus Shrine, to which both plaques are stylistically related, both the *quadrata* and uncial forms of both M and E appear within the same inscription. I admit that I have not yet found a parallel for the unusual form of M resembling an inverted *omega*. As for the composition, we find on the Victoria and Albert Reliquary Cross (fig. 17) the same contrast between the relatively crowded compositions of the other plaques, and the more spacious handling of the Jacob Blessing scene.

[3]I have purposely not considered the Cleveland Crucifixion enamel (Cleveland Museum of Art Inv. No. 52.117) in this investigation, despite some apparent similarities in use of motifs and postures, since there are, to my mind, some stylistic and technical difficulties with this enamel. In brief, they are as follows: several tones are used which I have not found elsewhere in Mosan enamelwork (two slightly different tones of blue-green, appearing for example in John's halo and in the modeling of the clouds); I have been unable to find a parallel to the text of the titulus, which reads IHC NA/ZAREN (lacking the customary *REX IUDEORUM*); the abbreviations for *SANCTA* and *SANCTUS* seem unorthodox (SA, SC); the striations representing ribs, while faintly reminiscent of those on the cross in the Walters Art Gallery (Inv. No. 44.98), are not consonant with the linear conventions of the Mosan system of depicting the nude body; I have found no parallel in Mosan enamels for the foliage elements to either side of the cross, for the half-figure angels holding up the arms of the cross, or for the unlabelled four heads appearing above the cross; the hatching design on the garment borders is not engraved, but seems to be merely gold applied to the surface. This enamel is published by Philippe Verdier, *Revue belge*, XLIV, 1975, pp. 41-42.

[4]The major iconographical reference sources are given in Appendix I.

[5]Published in Julius von Schlosser, *Quellenbuch zur Kunstgeschichte des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1896, pp. 158-81. See Ursula Graepler-Diehl, "Eine Zeichnung des 11. Jahrhunderts im Codex Sangallensis 342," *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag am 19. August 1965*, Marburg an der Lahn, 1967, pp. 167-80.

[6]To the list given by Verdier, *Revue belge,*, XLIV, 1975, pp. 32-33, I would add the Trier plaque (see pp. 41-42 and fig. 12a).

[7]Université de Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, MS 2613, 231 x 163 mm, verso. Upper scene: Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph; lower scene: Jacob Blessing His Twelve Sons. See Joseph Brassine and Marcel Laurent, "Etude critique de deux miniatures de la Collection Wittert," *Bulletin de la société d'art et d'histoire du diocèse de Liège*, XX, 1913, pp. 1-19, plates I-II. Octateuch, Rome, Vatican Library, MS gr. 746, fol. 135. For the Octateuchs, see Dirk C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leyden, 1909.

[8]Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Theol. gr. 31, fifth/sixth centuries, fol. 23. See Hans Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis*, Vienna, 1931, plate 45.

[9]Karl Hermann Usener, "Reiner von Huy und seine künstlerische Nachfolge," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, 1933, n. 1.

[10]Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78.A.6, 249 x 156 mm, 10 fols. See Hanns Swarzenski, *Mosaner Psalter-Fragment*, Codices Selecti, L, Graz, 1974.

[11]P. Wescher, "Eine Miniaturenhandschrift des XII. Jahrhunderts aus der Maasgegend," *Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, p. 92. The Victoria and Albert folio: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, MS 413, 225 x 156 mm.

[12]Suzanne Collon-Gevaert, "Quelques miniatures mosanes du XII^{e} siècle," *Revue belge*, II, 1933, pp. 344-345.

[13]Elisabeth Klemm, *Ein romanischer Miniaturenzyklus aus dem Maasgebiet*, Vienna, 1973, pp. 77-78.

[14]Folio 1: God's Command to Abraham to Leave His Country, above (Gen. XII: 1); Abraham's Departure, below (Gen. XII: 4); folio 1^{v}: Abraham

Defeats the Four Kings (Gen. XIV: 14-16).

[15]Inv. No. 39, D. 112mm. Most of the enamel has been lost. The Trier enamel can be related to three other semi-circular plaques from the Franks Collection in the British Museum (fig. 12a-d) representing Moses and the Brazen Serpent (1888.11-10.3), the Vision of Ezechiel (1888.11-10.4), and the Sacrifice of Isaac (1888.11-10.6), all 112mm in diameter. All four doubtless came from the same phylactery in quatrefoil shape, of which the central enamel is missing. The style and iconography are closely related to the British Museum and three related typological crosses discussed in n. 17.

The reconstructed phylactery would have had overall dimensions of ca 224 x 224mm, and probably a central plaque approximately 112 x 112mm. The central plaque may have been a Christ in Majesty, on the order of the Harburg plaques, though somewhat larger (see n. 17). On the other hand, it is more likely to have represented a Crucifixion, on the order of the Metropolitan Museum plaque (though somewhat larger). See Inv. No. 17.190.431; William H. Forsyth, "Around Godefroid de Claire," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, June 1966, pp. 304-315. A comparable program with central Crucifixion scene is the stained-glass window of Châlons-sur-Marne, probably based itself on Mosan models. See Louis Grodecki, "A propos des vitraux de Châlons-sur-Marne. Deux points d'iconographie mosane," *l'Art Mosan*, ed., Pierre Francastel, Paris, 1953, pp. 161-170.

The phylactery doubtless contained a fragment of the True Cross, and its verso was probably decorated with engraved or *vernis brun* floral decoration by analogy with the Tournai Phylactery. A similar *vernis brun* decoration also appears on the verso of the Wade Phylactery. For the Tournai Phylactery, see D. A. Van Bastelaer, "Etude sur un reliquaire-phylactère du XII^{e} siècle," *Annales de l'academie royale d'archéologie de Belgique*, XXXVI, 1880, pp. 32-52. For the Wade Phylactery, see William M. Millikin, "A reliquary of *champlevé* enamel from the valley of the Meuse. The J. H. Wade Collection," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XIV, 1927, pp. 51-54.

[16]Klemm, p. 78.

[17]Inv. No. 1856.7-18.1, H. 372 x W. 257 mm. See Marie-Madeleine Gauthier, *Emaux du moyen-âge occidentale*, Fribourg, 1972, No. 86, p. 128. The cross is here given the wrong inventory number and confused with the Berlin Cross; the plaque with the Tau of Exodus is mistakenly identified with an enamel plaque of the same subject also in the British Museum (Inv. No. 1856.12-17.1, Franks Collection).

The British Museum Cross has been related to the Berlin Cross (fig. 18) in style, iconography, size, and format. (Berlin-Köpenick, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Inv. Nr. 1973, 187-189, H. 372 x W.257 mm.) See Stuttgart, Württembergisches Landesmuseums, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, Stuttgart, 1977, I, No. 551; II, figs. 350-351, where the two crosses are described as recto and verso of the same cross.

Two typological enameled crosses have been recently reconstructed as recto and verso of a single cross by analogy with the British Museum and Berlin Crosses. See Stuttgart, *Die Zeit der Staufer*, I, No. 550; II, figs 343-349.

[18]Paris, B. N. MS nouv. acq. lat. 2334, fol. 50, sixth/seventh centuries. See O. Von Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch*, London, 1883.

[19]St. Omer, Musée Hotel de Sandelin, H. 315mm. Peter Lasko, *Ars Sacra 800-1200*, Baltimore, 1972, p. 299, n. 53; plate 207.

[20]London, British Museum, ivory panel from a casket, twelfth century, 88 x 184mm. See O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities*, London, 1901, No. 302a. Other panels from the same casket are in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, Inv. Nr. 568-569, 75 x 205mm; 75 x 210mm.

[21]Klemm, p. 74, n. 165, has already pointed out that Cain on the Cologne enamel is basically seen from the front, but that several motifs are carried over from the back view of the Victoria and Albert folio, such as the bundle of grain which is illogically overlapped by Cain's shoulder, and the way in which his right hand grasps the club.

[22]For a discussion of this theme as it appears on Mosan monuments, see Philippe Verdier, *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIX-XXX, 1966/67, pp. 17-48.

[23]Vision of Ezechiel and Tau of Exodus: H. 115 x W. 83mm; ORF 31-32. See J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue sommaire de l'orfevrerie, de l'émaillerie, et de gemmes*, Paris, 1914, Nos. 31-32, plate X.

[24]Cross of Kemexhe: Liège, Musée Curtius, No. I 39.606, H. 415 x W. 303mm. See Joseph de Borchgrave d'Altena, "Les émaux de la croix de Kemexhe," *Revue belge*, X, 1935, pp. 305-309, and Jacques Brassine, "La croix de Kemexhe," *Chronique archéologique du pays de Liège*, XXX, 1930, pp. 32-41. Brassine proposes a date of fourteenth century for the *corpus*.

The scene on the right arm end of the Cross of Kemexhe also looks like a reduced version of the other Louvre plaque with the Tau of Exodus (fig. 23). Is it possible that the remaining two scenes also corresponded in like manner, so that the reconstructed Louvre Cross would have shown Moses and the Brazen Serpent at the top (the Cross of Kemexhe plaque is a reduced version of this scene on the Evangelists' Cross) and the Widow of Sarepta at the bottom?

[25]Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Inv. No. 1590. See *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, Cologne, 1972, No. G13: "Stavelot, ca 1150-60." The altar was acquired from the last monks of Stavelot by David-Fischbach of Louvain, along with most of the remaining objects from the abbey, and sold to the Musées Royaux in 1863.

[26]Brassine, "Etude critique," p. 14, conjectures that

the miniature was based on the enamel, and perhaps executed in the same atelier.

[27]Mentioned as well by Klemm, p. 77.

[28]Paris, Petit Palais, Inv. No. 1294. See Gauthier, No. 85.

[29]Two further examples of parallels between the Berlin MS and Mosan enamels have been adduced by Elisabeth Klemm. One is the falling figure of Hagar (Berlin MS, fol. 2^{V}A), compared to Paul (Martyrdom of Paul, Stavelot Portable Altar, long side), p. 35. It might be added here that the posture of Paul's executioner closely resembles Abraham sacrificing Isaac on the Wittert folio recto. Klemm also points out a parallel between the posture of the baptized figure closest to John (Berlin MS, fol. 9^{V}B), and Naaman on the British Museum enamel of the Healing of Naaman (p. 63).

[30]See the basic article on the Stavelot Portable Altar Master by Otto von Falke, "Der Meister des Tragaltars von Stavelot," *Pantheon*, X, 1972, pp. 279-83.

[31]See *Rhein-Maas*, 1972, Nos. G10-10a, G11, V10. Other monuments since destroyed are mentioned in earlier accounts, such as that of Edmond Martène and U. Durand, *Voyage littéraire de deux religieux bénédictines de la congrégation de St. Maur*, Paris, 1724, pp. 151-152 (an antependium depicting Pentecost, a retable with scenes of the Passion and Resurrection, a gold cross brought from Constantinople, and a silver shrine for St. Poppo).

APPENDIX I: THE WALTERS PLAQUE OF JACOB BLESSING

Mosan *Champlevé* Enamel Plaque, fig. 1
Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, No. 44.97
70 x 97mm.

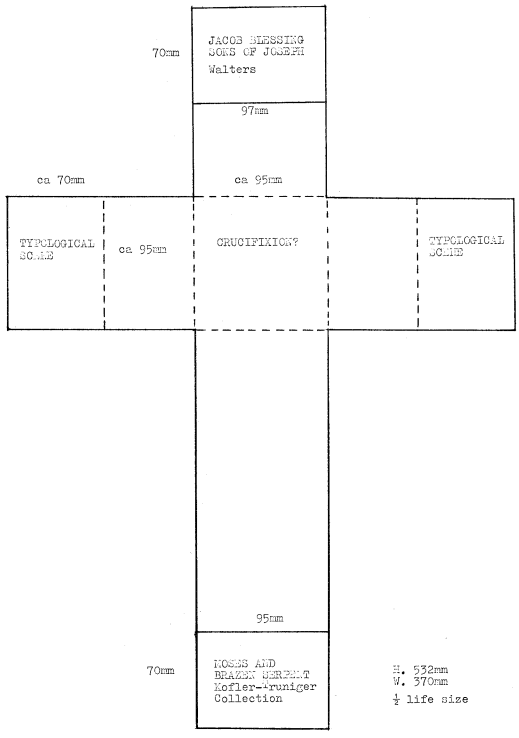
Pearled border on all four sides; holes for attachments at corners, three of which are broken; four additional holes drilled at a later time within the enameled frame. Inscriptions naming the figures: IA/COB; MANASSES (left); EFFRAIM (right). Flesh parts reserved in metal, contour lines inlaid in dark blue enamel. Ground: gilt copper. Draperies modeled in value from dark blue, to medium blue, to light blue, to white; modeled in hue from dark blue-green, to yellow-green, to yellow. Border of Jacob's sleeve reserved in metal, lightly patterned with cross-hatched lines.

Bibliography

1. Marvin C. Ross, "A Mosan Enamel in the Walters Art Gallery," *Revue belge*, VIII, 1938, pp. 193-195, plate p. 194.

2. Wolfgang Stechow, "Jacob Blessing the Sons of Joseph, from Early Christian Times to Rembrandt," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXXIII, 1943, pp. 193-208, fig. 3.

3. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, II, *Iconographie de la Bible, pars I, Ancient Testament*, Paris, 1956, p. 170.



4.Philippe Verdier, "A Mosan Plaque with Ezechiel's Vision of the Sign Thau (Tau)," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, XXIX-XXX, 1966/67, p. 44, n. 37.

5. C. M. Kauffman, "Jacob," *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 1970, II, p. 380.

6. Nigel Morgan, "The Iconography of Twelfth Century Mosan Enamels," *Rhein und Maas 2: Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, Cologne, 1973, pp. 265, 273, n. 55.

7. Philippe Verdier, "Emaux mosans et rhéno-mosans dans les collections des Etats-Unis," *Revue belge*, XLIV, 1975, pp. 32-34.

APPENDIX II: RECONSTRUCTION OF THE WALTERS/KOFLER-TRUNIGER CROSS

Kofler-Truniger Plaque, fig. 2
Moses and the Brazen Serpent
Mosan *Champlevé* Enamel Plaque
Lucerne, E. and M. Kofler-Truniger Collection
70 x 95mm.

Bibliography: Hermann Schnitzler, Peter Bloch, and Charles Patton, *Email, Goldschmiede- und Metallarbeiten europäisches Mittelalter: Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern*, II, Stuttgart, 1965, No. E. 14, plate 10, p. 16.

There is no close parallel to the reconstructed form of this cross. If the reconstruction is correct and our cross resembles the British Museum Cross in proportions and basic format, its shape would be

that of a simple rectilinear Latin cross in which the proportions of height to width are approximately 1.5:1. On this basis, the entire cross would measure approximately 530 x 370mm. There would be two further enamel plaques at the ends of the cross arm, vertical rectangles in shape, roughly comparable to the Louvre plaques of the Vision of Ezechiel and the Tau of Exodus (figs. 22-23).[23] These latter plaques are too large to belong to the Walters/Kofler-Truniger Cross, but are appropriate in format, consonant in iconography, and similar in the use of a continuous beaded edge.

The Victoria and Albert enameled reliquary cross (fig. 17; Inv. No. 7234-1860, H. 665 x 415mm; see Suzanne Collon-Gevaert, *Art roman dans la vallée de la Meuse aux XI*^{e}*, XII*^{e}*,et XIII*^{e} *siècles*, 5th ed., Brussels, 1969, plate 37) is similar in the iconography, shape, size, and placement of the terminal enamels, as well as in the beaded edge on all four sides of each plaque. However, the rest of the cross is made up of disparate elements, some from Hildesheim, and we cannot be certain of the original order of the plaques, nor of the overall form of the cross.

The Cross of Kemexhe (fig. 24) also has the same basic arrangement of enamel plaques with comparable typological program and continuous beading. Here, however, the *corpus* and probably the cross to which it and the enamels are attached, is of the late medieval/early Renaissance period, so that the original form is not certain.

There are also in Vienna four Mosan *champlevé* enamel plaques with typological scenes, similar in format and use of continuous beading, which play well have come from a comparable cross (fig. 30; Vienna, Oesterreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Inv. No. EM 400, from St. Florian. See Morgan, *Rhein-Maas 2*, 1973, p. 273, n. 46).

The Walters/Kofler-Truniger Cross can be distinguished from the British Museum and Berlin Crosses in that its enamel plaques have beaded edges on all four sides. On the latter crosses, each plaque constitutes an arm of the cross, with figured scene and decorative panel together on one plaque, and the beading is continuous on all four sides only on the plaque forming the upper arm. (Part of the original beading has been broken off the upper plaque of the British Museum Cross.) This suggests that unlike the latter two crosses, our cross did not have a continuous enamel surface throughout, but a combination of enameled plaques at the ends, with engraved foliage designs, inset stones, embossed designs, cavities, etc., on the arms. An example of a Mosan cross of this type can be seen in the Processional Cross, No. 2293, in Brussels (H. 420 x 385mm; see Collon-Gevaert, *Art Roman*, 1969, No. 38).

The Walters/Kofler-Truniger Cross may also have been used as a processional cross due to its large scale. Its iconography would suggest that it housed a relic of the True Cross, by analogy with the British Museum, Berlin, and two typological Crosses (figs. 14, 18; n. 17).

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APPENDIX III: CHRONOLOGY OF THE THEME

TYPE I: J. reclining	TYPE II: J. Seated on Bed	TYPE III: J. Enthroned	Presence of Joseph	Grandsons to one side	Grandsons to either side	Grandsons Kneeling	Grandsons standing	Grandsons striding, bending	Grandsons transposed	Jacob's eyes closed	Presence of curtain	Presence of pillow	Grandsons bear bowls	Related Monuments
EARLY CHRISTIAN Dura Europas, Synagogue 245-256 A.D.			✓	✓			✓							
Via Latina Catacombs Rome, IVc A.D.				✓			✓							
		Vienna Genesis, Vienna ONB, MS Theol gr 31, fol. 23, V-VIc.	✓		✓		✓			✓				
	Ashburnham Pentateuch Paris, BN MS nouv acq lat 2334, fol. 50, VI/VIIc.		✓		✓		✓							
ROMANESQUE AND BYZANTINE Octateuch, Rome, Vat MS gr 746, fol. 135			✓	✓			✓							
Wittert folio, Univ. de Liège, Bibl. MS 2613			✓		✓	✓						✓		Berlin MS, Kupferstichkabinett MS 78. A.6
Trier Enamel, Trier, Domschatz					✓					✓	✓	✓		Stavelot Portable Altar
	Cross, London, British Museum				✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		Berlin, Evangelists' and Angels' Crosses Kemexhe Cross, Louvre Plaques
	Crossfoot of St. Omer, St. Omer, Musée				✓	✓						✓		
		Walters Plaque 44.97 Baltimore, W.A.G.			✓			✓						Heribertus Shrine, St. Heribertus, Deutz
		Victoria and Albert Reliquary Cross, London, V. & A.			✓			✓	✓				✓	

A Parisian Ivory Carver

RICHARD H. RANDALL, JR.

A series of summer seminars on the collections of Gothic ivories in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Walters Art Gallery have made it possible to assess these great collections, as well as those of the Victoria and Albert Museum, the Wallace Collection, and the Cluny Museum, and to examine closely the interrelationships between the various examples. It is a field, like many others, where the photograph, which has been the standard means of comparison, proves to be ill adapted for serious study. The scale and the subtleties of the works themselves, as well as their polychromy and technical details, make it possible on direct examination to make comparisons and relationships that have often been elusive. The result of the sessions will bring forth much new material in the form of articles on individual pieces, as well as providing the basis for new catalogues of the ivory collections of the Walters, the Metropolitan Museum, the British Museum, and the Louvre.

One of the immediate results of the survey was that the scholars involved became marriage brokers for the missing halves of various ivory diptychs. One of the diptychs thus reconstituted concerns an interesting ivory relief in the Walters Art Gallery often noted for its unusual iconography[1] (fig. 1). It depicts the usual theme of the standing Virgin with the Christ Child flanked by angels and being crowned by a descending angel, but it varies from the majority of French Gothic ivories in having on the outer edges of the scene two saints, Catherine on the left and St. Clare on the right. The figures are seen beneath a wide pointed arch, carved with crockets and terminating in a fleurs-de-lys, within which is a flattened trefoil arch. In the upper corners of the plaque are two quatrefoils, each containing a raised, pointed boss. The plaque is relatively large in scale, measuring .134 x .105, and made of elephant ivory, now of a slightly brownish color, but with some traces of polychromy.

The matching leaf of the diptych is in the Wallace Collection (S 249)[2] (fig. 2), and has the usual matching scene, that of the Crucifixion of Christ. A balance has been created with the Walters half of the diptych by increasing the usual participants from the mourning Mary and John on either side to five figures. On the left of the cross are seen the Three Marys, two of whom support the fainting Virgin, and on the right the mourning figure of John with his hand pressed against his cheek is accompanied by a pointing Jew holding a scroll of prophecy. The architecture is identical and the dimensions and location of the three missing hinges correspond perfectly.

The treatment of the figures in the Walters half of the diptych sets it apart from many of the contemporary plaques with similar subject matter. In the first place the five figures are arranged in a slightly radiating group, with the tall, erect Virgin as the central focus. The angels and two saints progressively lean backwards and outwards toward the frame of the composition, so that the figure of St. Catherine appears as if leaning on the frame itself. The movement is emphasized by the sweep of the angels' wings, which are carved flat against the background, but so arranged that the upper edge of the wing descends from the head of the Virgin toward the edge of the frame. A portion of the wing of the left-hand angel is lacking, as can be seen in the illustration.

As nearly identical arrangement can be found in a second diptych in the Louvre, the well-known example from the Mège Collection[3] (fig. 3) with the more conventional scenes of the Virgin and Child between angels and the Crucifixion with Mary and John. In this diptych all four of the subsidiary figures lean backward against the frames, and the wings of the angels are treated in the same manner to emphasize the backward movement. The arrangement gives

within the small area of the ivory, greater space and importance to the central figure.

The second unusual feature of the Walters plaque is the treatment of the face of the Virgin, who is rendered with a long serious countenance with a long Roman nose. There is a hint of the musculature of the jaw, as the Virgin looks down at the smiling Christ child, who is offering her an apple. The scene is closely repeated in the Louvre diptych, even somewhat more successfully. The Virgin with her similar long nose is in full profile and gazes tragically into the face of the smiling Child.

While the carver of the two diptychs shows an easy versatility in altering the drapery and minor details of the figures, all of the main features are repeated, for instance, the posture of the Christ Child with one foot kicking back into the air, his angle of glance, and the way he holds the apple. The angels who crown the Virgin are identically placed, and the standing angels hold their candlesticks in precisely the same manner. The treatment of fingers and toes, which is generalized in strong, quick strokes, is comparable in both works, and there is considerable similarity in the masterful facial types. The architecture is the same in basic emphasis, though all of the minor details differ. The Louvre diptych has its major arch set against a triangular pediment, carved with crockets, and the colonnettes on the sides of the scene have been removed and replaced with corbels.

In the Crucifixion scenes of the two pieces, the figures of Christ vary only slightly, with the details of the drapery handled differently. The angels above the cross, holding sun and moon, are virtually identical, and each cross was painted with gilt nimbus not behind the head of Christ, as is normal, but on the intersection of the arms of the cross.

The drapery varies between the two works, that of the Louvre diptych being more classically the "apron" style of the 1340-1350 period, following both the stone sculpture and works like the silver gilt Madonna made for Jeanne d'Evreux in 1339, now in the Louvre. As there are more figures, there is more variety in the Walters diptych, and while the apron style of drapery is seen in the figure of St. Catherine and in the mourning John, the more conventional falling folds of the first half of the 14th century are used for the other characters.

It is conventional in the study of the vast majority of anonymous ivories of the 14th century to speak of "groups" or "workshops" rather than masters. The case of the Masters of "Berlin" and "Kremsmunster" are considered exceptions, though certainly a major body of work can be attributed to the latter hand. It seems, however, that in the pair of diptychs in the Walters/Wallace and the Louvre that another master can now be identified. Like the "Master of Kremsmunster," our new master has created a rather personal style in his radiating compositions, in his long-faced Virgin, his suave handling of the figures, and in the powerful treatment of the architecture. It may in the future be possible to learn more through other ivories of the traits of the Master of the Mège Diptych, for thus I think our master should be called, in honor of his fine and complete work in the Louvre. However, the example of the Kremsmunster Master makes one hesitate how far to depend on the similarities of all details, since his workshop shows the use of a great variety of architectural detail.

Looking at two examples of the work of the Master of Kremsmunster one sees that the Master created a special series of characters and effects, which are distinctly personal. One is the special way in which he treats St. John with high forehead and unusually curly hair, hand thrust against cheek in a gesture of despair, and with a downward glance (figs. 4 and 5). His Christ figure has a muscular torso, a rather Gothic baroque German posture, and is crowned with a cruciform halo carved on the cross. These features are quite distinct and appear in many compositions where other details vary, but are the mark of an inventive master.

It is worth noting both the technical differences of the Louvre example from the Walters/Wallace one, as well as a startling technical similarity, which helps to confirm the attribution to the Mège Master. Small differences have been pointed out in the architecture, and another is the use of a crown finial, instead of a fleur-de-lys at the point of the arch. The spacing of the quatrefoils with bosses is slightly varied, and these forms, which must have been invented to catch light, thus

FIGURE 1
Virgin in Glory with Saints and Angels, left leaf of ivory diptych, French, 14th century, The Walters Art Gallery (71.248)

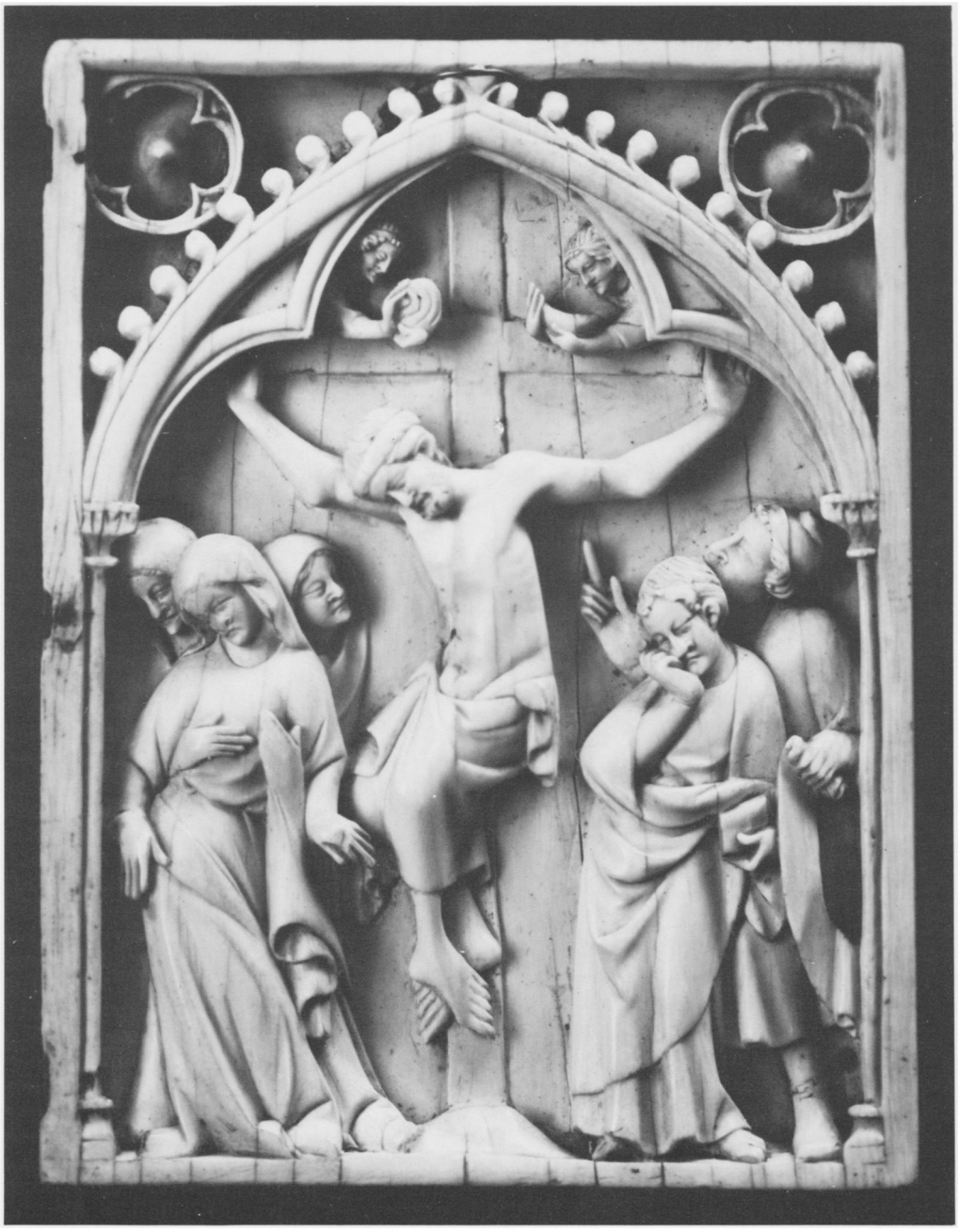


FIGURE 2
Crucifixion with mourning figures, right leaf of ivory diptych, French, 14th century, The Wallace Collection (S.249)

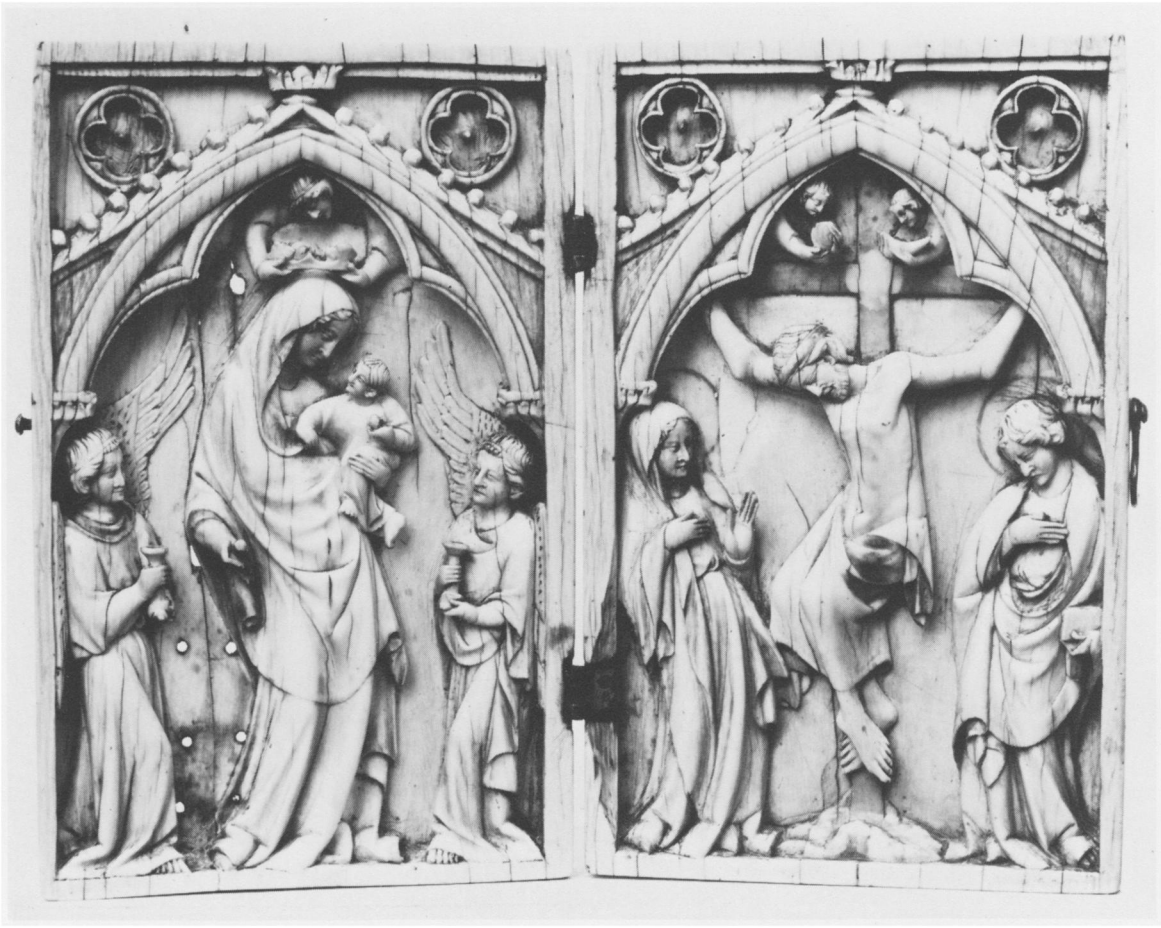


FIGURE 3
The Virgin and Child and Crucifixion, ivory diptych, French, 14th century, Mège Collection, The Louvre (OA.9960)

giving the sense of light passing through a quatrefoil, appear as a major feature of both architecture and metalwork shrines of the period. This type of variety is to be expected. It is more difficult to explain that the Mège diptych has a recessed border at the top, while the border of the Walters is treated as a diagonal plane. It may be that the diagonal was not totally satisfactory and that the other was substituted as a handsomer solution. There is also the matter of the two versus the three hinges, which is difficult to explain due to the smaller size of the Walters/Wallace diptych.

However, one factor that is an apparent mistake in both works indicates an identical approach to the ivory used for the diptychs. In both cases the master carved them too deeply and did not allow enough depth of ivory background for the strength necessary for survival. As noted, a portion of the background of the Walters plaque above the Virgin's shoulder and including a portion of the left-hand angel's wing is broken away. An examination of the break shows it is an old one, already appearing in the Aynard Collection photograph published by Koechlin, and that the background is only 1 mm. thick at the point of break. As ivory in aging tends to dry out and crack, the master did not allow enough thickness for sufficient strength.

Similarly, the Mège diptych is broken and cracked in both panels, but more severely in the panel of the Virgin and Child. Nearly in the same place, the panel has a deep crack running from the Virgin's feet to above her shoulder, where it is stopped by the heavier mass of the architecture. This was considered to be dangerous at an earlier time and was reinforced with another piece which was attached by rivets, the holes for six of which appear to the left of the Virgin in addition to a loss of the thin background beside her right hand.

This type of error in judgment is not often noted in surviving ivories, and indicates a desire to get the maximum depth and plasticity from the available material. One knows from other observations of ivory workshop practices that the material was treated as a very valuable one, and figures were carved as large as possible and using every available fragment of the material. This has been demonstrated for a group of seated Virgins with a standing Christ Child, whose crowns were made of the fragment of ivory that had to be carved away between the figures.[4]

There are a dozen ivories with the same type of strong architectural format and the pointed bosses behind quatrefoils in other collections. All of these seem to be of about the same date, 1340-1350, though clearly from different shops. A strong contrast of interpretation by another artist may be seen, for instance, in a second diptych in the Louvre (K. 536) (fig. 6)[5] with the iconography identical to the Mège diptych but with a totally different approach to each of the details of the work. Similarly related in date and iconography but of differing personal character are the Crucifixion with five figures in Lyon[6] and the Virgin and Child between angels in the collection of Leopold Goldschmidt.[7]

All of these examples seem to be Parisian work of the second quarter of the 14th century, generally dated about 1340 to 1350. The dating is based, as noted earlier, both on the apron style of drapery, and the strong architectural forms.

All of the pieces in the group under discussion have French histories. The Walters plaque came from the collection of Edouard Aynard in Lyons, and the matching Wallace Collection piece was bought in Paris in 1865 from the dealer Flandrin. The Mège diptych comes from the collection of Charles Mège of Paris, and was bequeathed to the Louvre. There seems no reason to suppose that the work is of any other origin than that of Paris itself in the early Valois period.

The Walters plaque has often been noted for the inclusion of two saints in the scene. While a few further examples of ivories with saints and donors have been discovered since Koechlin published, they are still rare. Three examples exist with St. Clare, and it can be presumed that they were made for individual nuns or for a house of the order of the Holy Clares, or Clarisses. Many Parisian manuscripts of the period attest to the growing importance of the Franciscan order in the 14th century, and it is not surprising that a few ivories were ordered with the representations of St. Francis and St. Clare.

In the Walters example she is paired with St. Catherine, the saint of learning. In Italian painting, the two saints are sometimes paired to

FIGURE 4
Crucifixion, leaf of an ivory diptych by the Master of Kremsmunster, French, 14th century, The Louvre (OA.7276)

FIGURE 5
Crucifixion, leaf of an ivory diptych by the Master of Kremsmunster, French, 14th century, The Walters Art Gallery (71.156 detail)

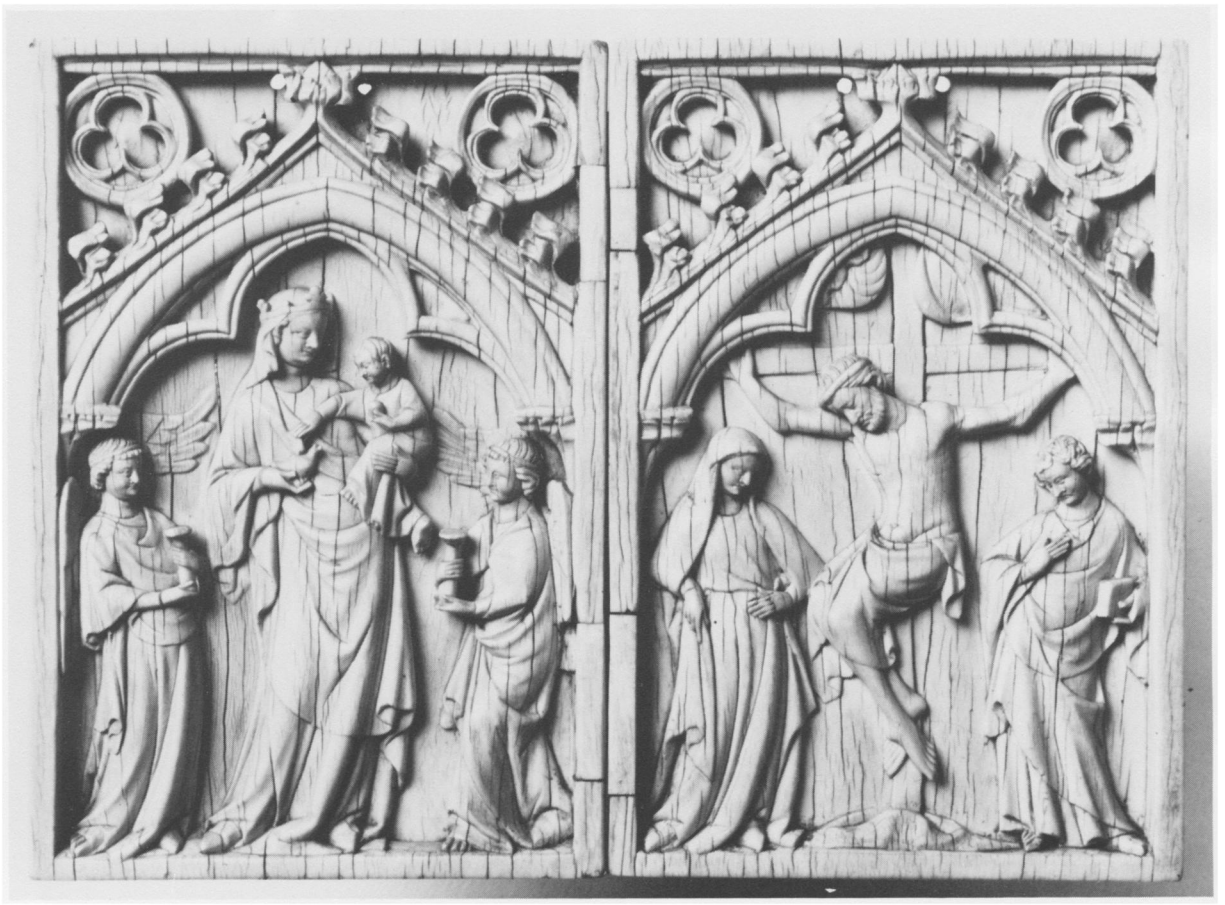


FIGURE 6
Virgin and Child and Crucifixion, ivory diptych, French, 14th century, The Louvre (OA.2601)

represent Wisdom and Piety. However, in the Parisian context a century after her canonization, St. Clare can be interpreted as representing the order of the Holy Clares, and is combined with Catherine either because of the interest of the specific house in Catherine as a patron, or because the nun who ordered the diptych had Catherine for her patroness.

The other representations of St. Clare occur in two triptychs in Copenhagen, each of which shows St. Clare in the left wing and St. Francis in the right.[8] The ivories are also of the middle of the century but are unrelated in workmanship. They may even be of northern origin, but express the same rising interest in the Franciscan order in the mid-14th century.

There is a third ivory that may with some cogency be attributed to the Mège Master. This is also in the Louvre and relates closely in architectural format[9] (fig. 7). It has the large arch with an inner trefoil arch and an outer tympanum carved with crockets. The roof finial is a fleur-de-lys, and the two pointed bosses within quatrefoils are present. The subject is the Coronation of the Virgin, but in this case with the seated figures of the Virgin and God the Father on a bench with two angels above. The positioning of the angels, the summary treatment of the hands and feet all appear similar to the Mège Master. The figures are perhaps a bit more conventional, though the face of God the Father is long and strong.

FIGURE 7
The Coronation of the Virgin, center of an ivory triptych, French, 14th century, The Louvre (OA.2598)

It differs from the other works in being the center of a triptych, and in having the background painted in a different way. The figures have circular ring haloes and the background was treated with dots of gilding, now missing but with their bole surviving. Again, it is difficult to know how far it is possible to go in looking for similarities in French ivory workshops, as a new painter could have been hired at any moment, or the local taste could have changed, or the patron might have had his own specific ideas. But the Coronation is important to include here, since, if it is indeed another work of the Mège Master, then it shows some of the variety within his shop or indeed within the work of the master himself.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Walters, no. 71.248; H. .134 x .105; ex. coll. Edouard Aynard, Lyon, cat. no. 177; Raymond Koechlin in A. Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, II, p. 484; idem, *Les ivoires gothiques francaises*, no. 400.

[2]Wallace coll., no. S 249; H. .134 x .103; *Cat. of Sculpture*, 1906, no. 440, ex. coll. Nieuwerkerke, purchased of Flandrin, Paris, 1865.

[3]Musée du Louvre, no. OA 9960, H. .133 x .090; R. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 537; Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Age*, fig. 235.

[4]R. H. Randall, Jr., "A Monumental Ivory," *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy Miner* (Baltimore, 1973), p. 294.

[5]Louvre, no. OA 2601; Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 536.

[6]Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 435.

[7]Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 414.

[8]Koechlin, *op. cit.*, nos. 584, 585.

[9]Louvre, no. OA 2598.

Two Books of Hours for Jean Lallemant Le Jeune

MYRA DICKMAN ORTH

Jean Lallemant le jeune (d. 1548), mayor of Bourges in 1510, was a distinguished art patron of highly individual taste. With other members of his family, notably his older brother, Jean l'aîné (d. 1533), he represented artistic and humanist interests in tune with the aspirations of the early Renaissance in France. Like uncounted proud families before them, the Lallemants injected their heraldry and emblems into both architectural and manuscript commissions in often enigmatic ways. Two manuscript Books of Hours illuminated for Jean le jeune demonstrate this use of highly individualistic symbolism within a traditional format. I propose describing these two remarkable manuscripts in some detail, establishing their evident similarities and themes, and setting them within the larger French manuscript tradition.[1] Their emblematic miniatures will be considered in the context of the known events of Jean's life and the decoration of the family Hôtel in Bourges.

The Book of Hours for the Use of Bourges is MS No. 11 of the Rosenwald Collection (Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.)[2] (figs. 1, 3, 5). The Book of Hours for the Use of Rome is MS W. 446 in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland[3] (figs. 2, 4, 6, 7). Neither manuscript has been adequately studied in the numerous articles on Lallemant patronage simply because neither is in France. By coincidence they are located not far from one another in the United States—such are the imponderables in the history of collecting. One of two later manuscripts for Jean le jeune treated here in the epilogue is also in the Walters (W. 451). The latest in date is in the Royal Library in The Hague (Hs.74 G.48).

The Rosenwald Hours was studied in a promotional pamphlet by E. P. Goldschmidt in 1928, introducing a number of tenacious misconceptions into its history, which is one reason why we must not only document, but revise the history of these manuscripts.[4] Fortunately, the history of Lallemant patronage surrounding these Hours is relatively well-studied. Paul Chenu, following the trail laid by Gauchery earlier in the century, published a number of pieces on Lallemant patronage. These form the essential basis of any study of Lallemant family manuscripts.[5] Important new studies of the Lallemant family, and particularly the Hôtel built for them in the early years of the 16th century, have provided indispensable and precise indications of date and family identity which allow a more accurate discussion of the manuscripts. It is from the articles by Jean-Yves Ribault and Jean Jenny that I have taken the general historical background for this study.[6]

The interpretation of the miniatures in the Hours raises a number of problems. No matter what approach is taken it seems evident that the enigmatic symbolism of the miniatures is highly personal and is linked to the campaign of decoration of the Hôtel itself. That is, the impetus to ornament the new family dwelling was the force behind the commissioning of the manuscripts. Much has been made of the ceiling carvings in the *cabinet* in the Hôtel Lallemant, done for Jean l'aîné and finished around 1510. More interesting than the frequently proposed alchemical interpretation of the individual ceiling *caissons* is the possibility, raised by Ribault, of the intervention of a fine Italian hand in the execution of the sculpture itself.[7] This ceiling decoration is relevant to the Hours in emblematic intent, harmonizing with the spirit of the Renaissance evidently very much alive in Bourges. The *cabinet* may also have been the intended repository of the Hours, along with other family treasures and works of art which proclaimed a taste for recondite symbolism and a sophisticated visual vocabulary uncommon in their time. A broad interpretation of the miniatures in the context of Lallemant heraldry

and personal symbolism seems logical even if it can solve only some of the riddles posed by these highly unusual works of art.

The Books of Hours

The traditional French Book of Hours, printed or manuscript, contains a cycle of illustration which, by the 16th century, was little varied.[8] Calendars were often illuminated with traditional seasonal scenes; the Gospel extracts usually contained small miniatures of the Evangelists; each main subdivision of the Hours of the Virgin (Matins, Lauds, etc.) was preceded by a large illumination. The Penitential Psalms and Office of the Dead, as well as the Suffrages of the Saints, were also headed by large illuminations. The prayers after this were usually decorated with small illuminations. The Walters and Rosenwald Hours for Jean le jeune follow the expected arrangement of prayers, but the decoration of the two manuscripts is highly innovative.[9] The patron of a manuscript was sometimes included as a donor in the illuminations[10]—following the custom in panel painting—but it was wholly unusual to do away with the religious subjects altogether as the Rosenwald book does, or to relegate them to near invisibility as the Walters manuscript does (figs. 3, 4). In the Lallemant books the patron, Jean le jeune, only appears by implication, but that implication dominates the decoration. The symbolism is, as we shall see, profoundly religious, but it is far removed from conventional piety or conventional manuscript illumination.

Both of these Hours manuscripts follow the fashion of the day in being small in size. They are of a sophisticated elegance which breaks with the long tradition of illumination in Bourges—one remembers that Bourges had been the home of a considerable school of manuscript illuminators led by Jean Colombe.[11] Even in studying later French manuscripts[12] contemporary with the Rosenwald and Lallemant Hours, one often feels that the undeniably luxuriant, finely wrought and beautifully painted examples are nevertheless a little backward-looking, a little nostalgic. Not so the Lallemant books. Devotional hieroglyphs devised of recombinations of the known and traditional, their miniatures challenge and often defy us to understand all of their implications.

Familiar ground is touched upon in the use of heraldry which allows us to trace unquestionably these manuscripts to the ownership of Jean le jeune. The heraldic Lallemant Lion, surely one of the busiest in manuscript history, is given a full page after the calendar in Rosenwald MS 11 (fig. 5). Although realistically represented, sitting up and wearing a scowl which gives us to understand he is indeed overworked, he is not lion colored, but bright red. Between his back paws he displays the arms of Jean le jeune. In his mouth he holds a feathered helmet[13] and over his head he grips the bright blue sealed book, an essential element in the Hours miniatures. In fact, most of the basic symbolism of the books is stated here: the puzzling background letters, the sealed book with its motto DELIAR PRIUS, and the strict heraldic color scheme of red, white, blue, black, and gold. The heraldic lion does not appear in Walters 446 but its undeniably close resemblance to the Rosenwald book leaves no doubt as to its original owner. The Lallemant Lion reappears in similar form in the two later Jean le jeune manuscripts discussed in the epilogue.

Two emblems, the hair shirt and the closed book, dominate the decoration of both the Walters and Rosenwald manuscripts. As the appended list of the illuminations shows, the emblems appear in strict alternation and head the same sections (with minor exceptions) in both books. In the Rosenwald Hours the book closed with seven seals appears alone, always inscribed DELIAR PRIUS (figs. 1, 5). In the Walters codex, the same inscribed sealed book is carried by a blue seraph (figs. 2, 6).[14] Alone or carried by the seraph, the sealed book is set against a flat background split vertically in half, black on the left, diagonally striped in red and white on the right. In the Rosenwald example, the split background is decorated with gold capital letters, in the Walters example, with knots. The second emblem, the hair shirt, is seen through a hole ripped jaggedly in a black, letter-strewn curtain depicted as though hung loosely from above (figs. 3, 4, 7). The diagonal red and white stripes of the curtain lining show

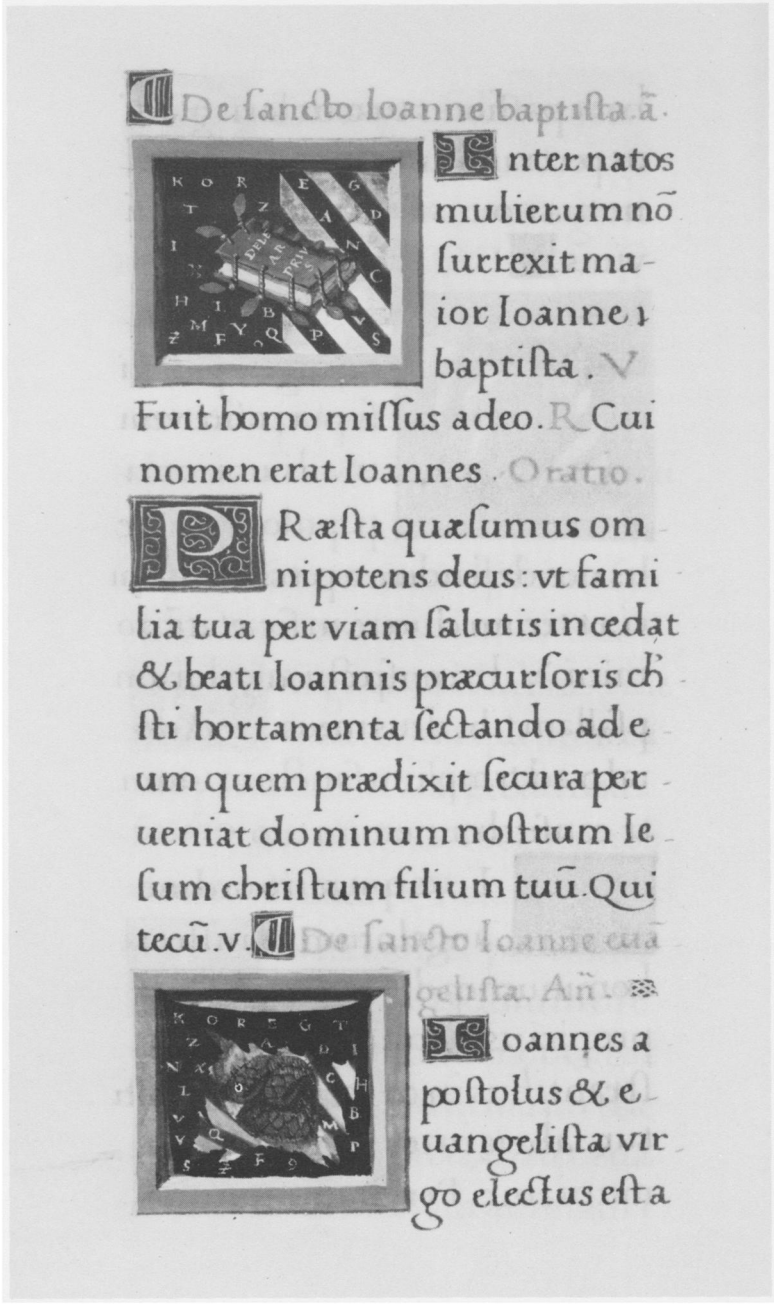


FIGURE 1
Miniatures of a sealed book and a hair shirt from a Book of Hours for the Use of Bourges, MS 11, f. 124v, Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

at the turned-up outside corners and on the irregular strips which curl back around the torn centre. It is as though we were now on the other side of the striped curtain which served as a part of the backdrop for the blue seraph and the sealed book.

The difference between the Rosenwald and Walters Lallemant Hours is one of elaboration. The smaller Rosenwald manuscript condenses the emblems into squares no larger than those usually allotted a historiated initial. The Walters example, no less soberly conceived and carefully arranged, alternately displays the sealed book and hair shirt in fourteen miniatures which occupy either a full page (fig. 4) or three-quarters of a page (fig 6), following the conventional arrangement of Hours miniatures. The small square miniatures, six in all, decorate the Gospel extracts in the beginning and added sections at the end. In addition to elaborating the presentation of Lallemant symbolism, the Walters manuscript includes the traditional religious subjects within the large miniatures where they shine over the heads of the seraphs and glimmer out through the hole which also reveals the hair shirt (figs. 2, 4).

It cannot be coincidence that in both manuscripts the emblems divide almost exactly into groups of ten, just as the three rows of *caissons* on the ceiling of the *cabinet* do. The emphasis on the decan[15] in Lallemant iconography can be traced directly to the *confrérie* to which both brothers belonged and to which the elder brother seems to have had a particularly close attachment.[16] The *Ordre de la Table Ronde* had as its symbol the *chapelet de cinq dizaines* which is likewise depicted on the carved ceiling. Like the more familiar Rosary, the beads were divided into groups of ten. The Walters manuscript has ten miniatures with sealed books and ten with hair shirts; the Rosenwald has twenty small miniatures with hair shirts and twenty with sealed books and, in addition, one miniature with the Lion holding the book.

Lallemant Symbolism: The Two Saints John

Having described the artistic features of the books, one arrives at the question of their symbolism in reference to Jean le jeune. The search for an explanation of this symbolism consonant with the pious intentions of the Book of Hours leads me to put forth the hypothesis that the two major emblems of hair shirt and sealed book refer to Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist.[17] The name John—Jean in French—was common not only to the two brothers who lived together in the Hôtel Lallemant, but relates also to Jeanne, the name of their wives, and their sister. The 16th-century poet, Clément Marot, called the family roll for us in the epitaph once engraved[18] on a funerary plaque in the family chapel re-established by Jean le jeune in the Bourges church of St. Bonnet. This same chapel today displays a conglomerate collection of stained glass assembled in part by Jean le jeune, and in part added about mid-century.[19] In a tall lancet on the far left stands John the Evangelist with the poisoned chalice (his conventional attribute) accompanied by six kneeling men, identified with three generations of Jean Lallemants plus two other brothers of Jean le jeune. Directly below them and St. John are the arms of Jean le jeune. The window establishes the fact that John the Evangelist was associated with Jean le jeune during his lifetime. The same window reveals in the tracery above a number of red and blue seraphim and cherubim similar to those in the Walters manuscript. The symbolism of John the Baptist may have been peculiar to Jean le jeune, while the Evangelist was obviously shared by the whole family. John the Baptist receives further emphasis in the two later manuscripts for Jean le jeune where the penitential elements in the Baptist's story elaborate Jean's real life tribulations.

The symbols of the two Saints John appear in the Walters and Rosenwald miniatures in unexpected form: the sealed book and the hair shirt.[20] The hair shirt is a conventional and often-encountered symbol of penitence which in the case of the Lallemant manuscripts stands specifically for John the Baptist in the wilderness exhorting his disciples to penitence and preaching the coming of the Savior. Devotional practices emphasized penance and suffering as a way of reaching illumination. Personal penitence involved following Christ's Passion and Sufferings (the *Imitatio Christi*) or the sufferings of a suitable saint to aspire to

FIGURE 2
Seraph with a sealed book and Crucifixion from a Book of Hours for the Use of Rome, W446, f. 9v, The Walters Art Gallery

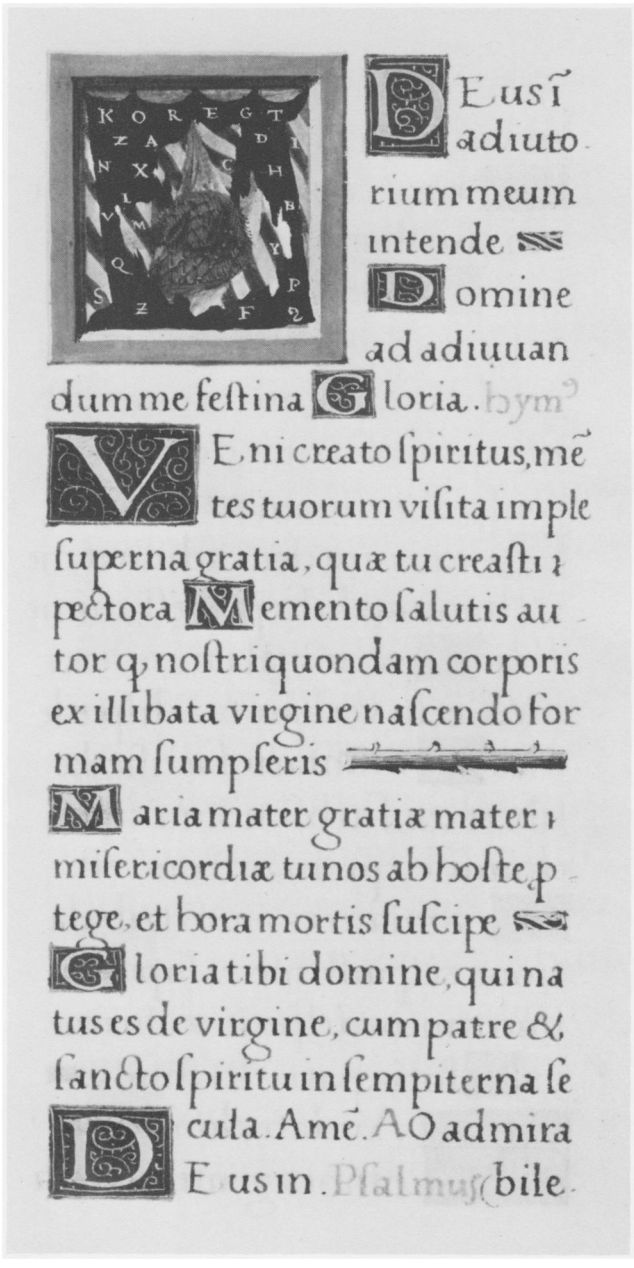


FIGURE 3
Hair shirt and lettered curtain, Rosenwald MS 11, f. 49

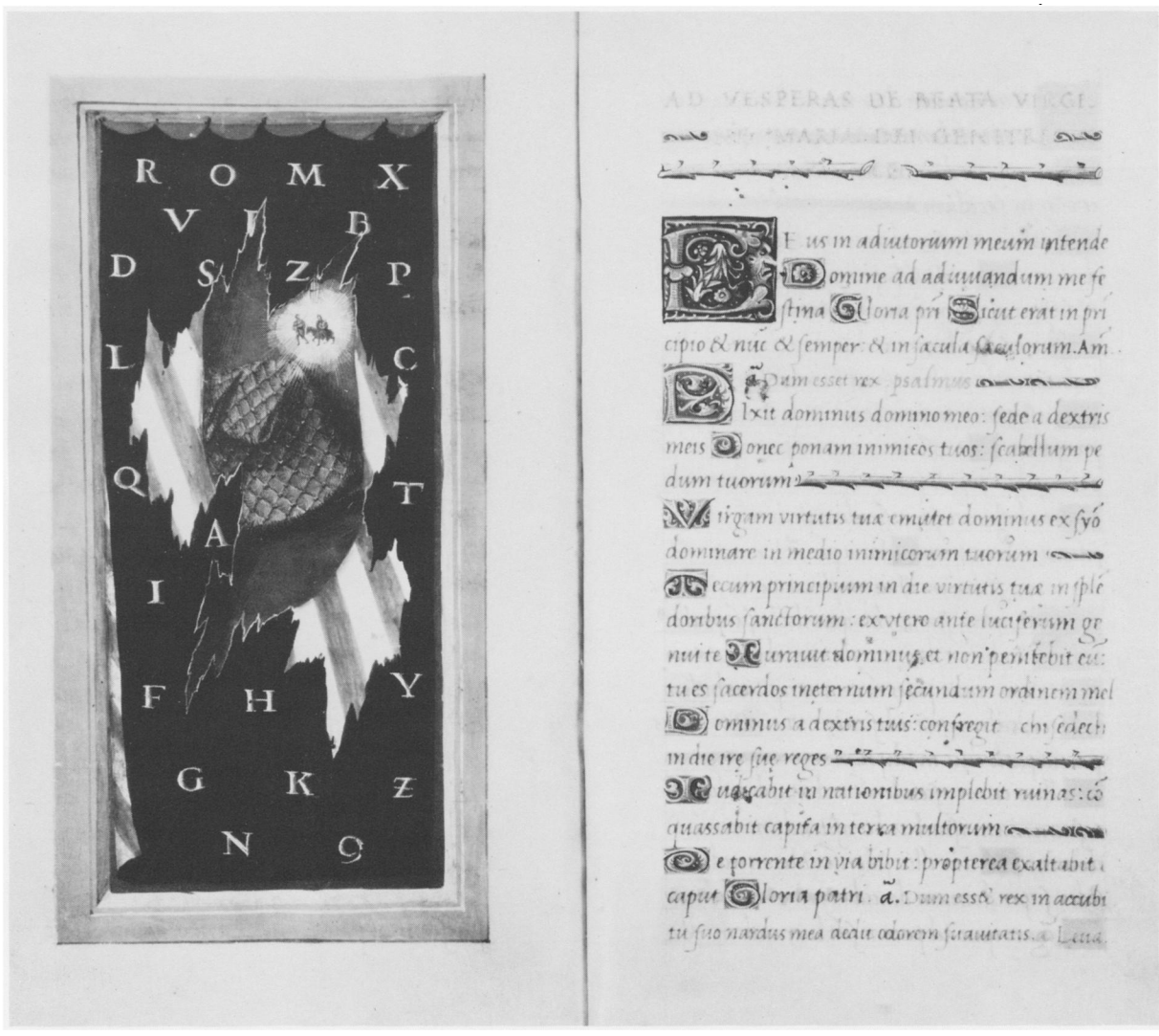
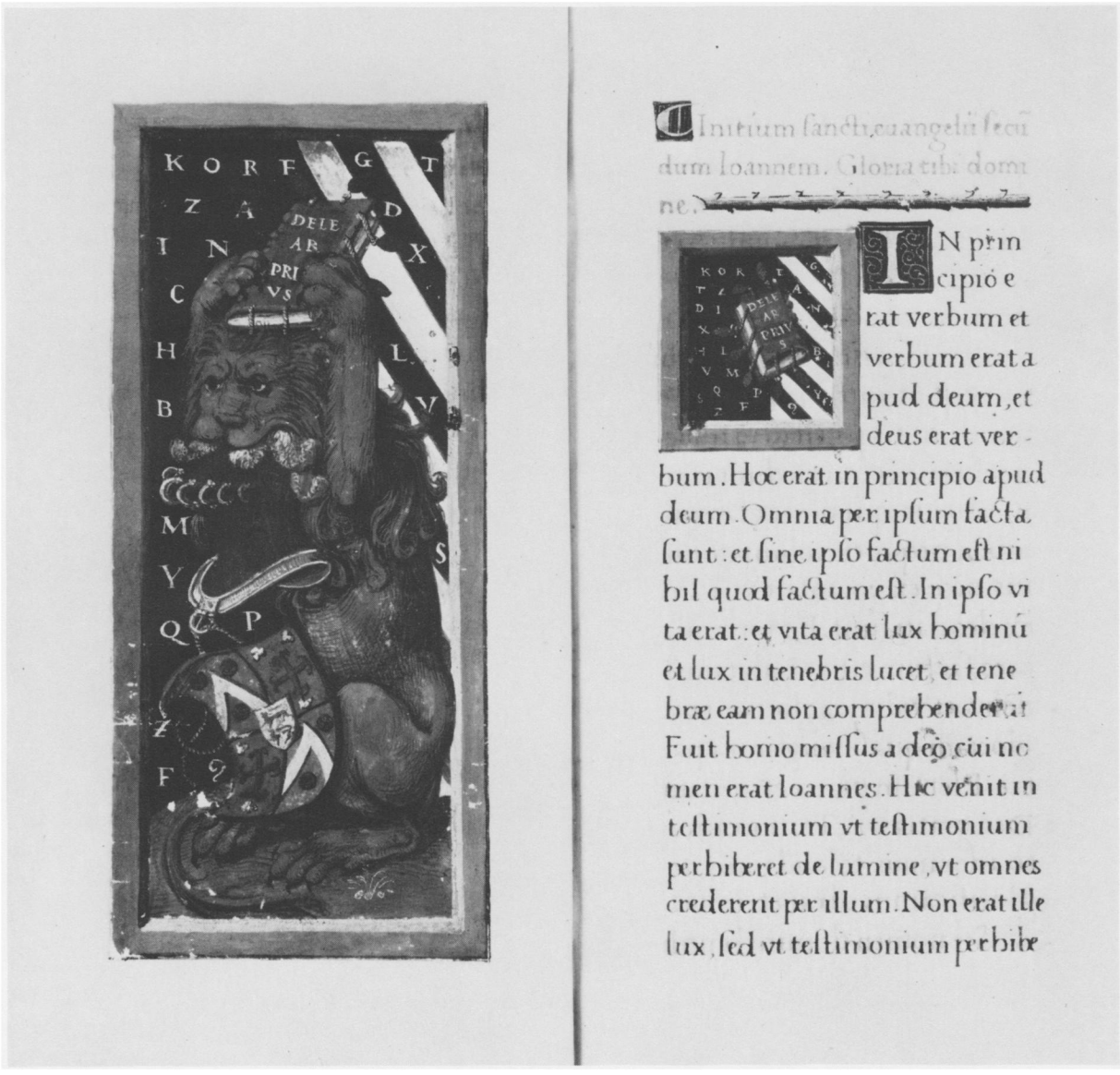


FIGURE 4
Hair shirt and lettered curtain with Flight into Egypt and facing text page. W446, ff. 37v, 38



In initium ſancti euangelii ſecũ
dum Ioannem. Gloria tibi domi
ne.

IN prin
cipio e
rat verbum et
verbum erat a
pud deum, et
deus erat ver-
bum. Hoc erat in principio apud
deum. Omnia per ipſum facta
ſunt: et ſine ipſo factum eſt ni
hil quod factum eſt. In ipſo vi
ta erat: et vita erat lux hominũ
et lux in tenebris lucet, et tene
bræ eam non comprehenderũt.
Fuit homo miſſus a deo, cui no
men erat Ioannes. Hic venit in
teſtimonium vt teſtimonium
perhiberet de lumine, vt omnes
crederent per illum. Non erat ille
lux, ſed vt teſtimonium perhibe

FIGURE 5
Heraldic lion with Lallemant arms and emblems, sealed book and lettered curtain on facing page, Rosenwald MS 11, ff. 14v, 15

FIGURE 6
Seraph with sealed book and Presentation, W446, f. 35v

knowledge of the Divine, an intuitive, felt knowledge, not a reasoned one. The assumption of the trials and tribulations of penitent saints (Jerome and the Magdalene were especially popular in France) was urged as the path to virtue, encouraged by the teachings of the French Franciscan order. Devotion to this order by no means died with Anne de Bretagne in 1514. The cut knot, appearing in the Walters miniatures in association with the striped curtain, and again in the Hague Hours, is likewise a symbol of penitence, and specifically of the Franciscan order. The family of King François I made liberal use of the Franciscan *cordelière* in tapestry decoration and in books.[21] Anne de Bretagne's daughter Claude (d. 1524) was the first wife of François I, but devotion to the Franciscan order was not merely borrowed from her. Louise de Savoie (d. 1531), mother of the king, also was closely connected to the Franciscans from the time that St. François de Paule predicted to her the birth of François who, he further prophesied, would be the first king of France of that name. Louise paid for François de Paule's canonization in 1519, and retained two Franciscan advisors.[22] An example of the use of the cut knot as an emblem of Louise de Savoie's devotion to the Franciscan order can be seen in the borders of a Book of Hours printed by Simon du Bois for Geofroy Tory in 1527. The *cordelière* is twined into the knot of Savoie in another border block with Louise's arms. This same printed Hours includes in its borders the heraldry of the king's sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême and her new husband, Henri de Navarre. She had been Duchesse de Berry from 1517. The knowledge of the popularity of Franciscan symbolism in royal circles and its use by Jean le jeune would derive from his contact with the court early in the 1520's, a point to be elaborated in the discussion of Jean le jeune and Geofroy Tory. Finally, by following the path of penitence emphasized in French devotions at this time the suppliant reached illumination, symbolized by the visionary bursts in which the traditional Hours illustrations are contained (figs. 2, 4, 6, 7).

The closed book (with the seven seals) is the Apocalyptic book described by St. John the Evangelist in *Revelations,* chapters four and five. While the hair shirt miniatures refer to St. John the Baptist in an unusual manner, the miniatures with the sealed book refer to St. John the Evangelist in an even more unconventional and esoteric fashion. As St. John relates, only the Lamb of God was worthy to open the seals of the Book and to set in action the events of visionary destruction which followed. In a conflation of images certainly not beyond the sophistication of these manuscripts, the seraph with the book recalls the medieval image of St. John the Baptist holding the *Agnus Dei.* The Apocalyptic Book remained closed to man. He would never live to open it. Any closed book can be a symbol of hidden knowledge. This specific book guarded secrets man could never have access to through his actions. In that sense, it refers to another side of penitence, intellectual penitence, the helplessness of man to attain to Divine Knowledge through anything but faith; vanity leads man to think that through his intellect he might reach higher realms. The impossibility of arriving at Divine Knowledge in life is stated in the motto: DELIAR PRIUS (I will perish first). Still within the context of the Apocalypse text suggested by the sealed book, the blue seraph might be interpreted as one of the four six-winged beasts which surround the Throne, although they are described as "full of eyes within" (*Rev.* IV: 6-9). The Book is at the right of Him who sat on the throne, and the function of the beasts (St. John's being the Eagle) was to praise God without ceasing. The Walters seraph might stand for the "strong Angel" who proclaimed in a loud voice "Who is worthy to open the Book and to loose the seals thereof?" (*Rev.* V: 2-3). Whichever actor in the Apocalyptic drama inspired the Lallemant program, the message is the same: the impossibility for man to delve into the hidden secrets of the Book.

The Lettered Backgrounds

The allusion to hidden secrets makes more tantalizing the combinations of letters repeated in the manuscript decoration of both books. The letter-strewn backgrounds (figs. 1, 3, 4, 5, 7) form an insistent and persistent enigma with the series of ciphers composing some kind of hidden message. Each of the forty-one miniatures in the Rosenwald book contains gold capital letters arranged in varying, but clearly not random, combinations (fol. 83 reads ABCD as

though to put us off the track). Most read from left to right across the top line: KOREGT. Many terminate at the lower right with Z or a crossed Z, and a cipher that resembles a 9. In the Walters manuscript the dominant, but not invariable, heading for the large miniatures with the hair shirt is ROMX with combinations of letters and ciphers similar to the Rosenwald completing the bottom line. Two of the small Walters miniatures (fols. 7v. and 8v.) use the same letter arrangement as the Rosenwald group, only varied on the last line. There is clearly a code in the codex. Unlike Goldschmidt, I do not think these combinations are an artist's signature, particularly not, as he suggests, of Geofroy Tory, basing his hypothesis on the "GT" of KOREGT (fig. 5). Nor do I think the use of the letters merely reflects the interest in the Roman letter expressed in Tory's treatise, *Champ fleury* (Paris, 1529). Among other suggestions that have been made about these letters is that they refer to alchemical secrets, specifically, formulae.[23] One might also search the letter combinations for an anagram, or locate a significant text for which they would stand (as in the anagrams of Rabanus Maurus[24]). Perhaps the letters, along with the majuscule alphabet on the opening page of the Rosenwald Calendar, have a special significance.[25] As yet, the sense remains elusive. Combinations of letters to be deciphered in terms of family names or family mottoes—and the Lallemants had a bigger selection of mottoes than of names—often appear as decoration on heraldic tapestries and in manuscripts. Backgrounds strewn with monograms, inscribed hems, lettered canopies, and framed initials entwined with personal emblems are well-known motifs in the 15th and early 16th centuries. In a heraldic-emblematic context, the hangings from Commarin, for the Dinteville family, are a good example, almost exactly contemporary with the Lallemant manuscripts.[26] From this decorative tradition which combined letters and family heraldry, the Rosenwald and Walters miniatures seem to have come.

Setting

On the very slender basis of an insufficient number of documented facts, I should like to speculate on how the two manuscripts could have fitted into the decoration of the Lallemant Hôtel. Chenu cited archival evidence of heraldic tapestries still in family possession in the Hôtel in 1571.[27] There were fifteen pieces large and small which decorated the principal bedroom. They were sewn with the "armoysies du seigneur de Marmaignes avec lectres de chiffres." In addition, there were eleven pieces of tapestry of Flanders, in all sizes, "faictez aux carreaux rouges et blanc avec arbres." These were then in "la chambre basse" and served as bed hangings. When we remember that the Lallemant manuscripts deploy the letters against a black curtain, the temptation to identify this curtain with a tapestry is very strong. Even the colors of the diagonally striped side—red and white—harmonize with the squares in the Flemish tapestries. Books of Hours were generally kept in two sorts of places, in a niche with *prie-dieu* in the bedroom itself or, according to a description cited by Chenu, in the *cabinet* with a collection of precious objects.[28] A manuscript Book of Hours was a pure luxury item, a self-sufficient precious object which testified more to the refined taste of the patron than to his pious intentions. The exact content of the Lallemant collections is not clear, except for the manuscripts. If the Lallemants were able to emulate their Italian-oriented peers,[29] the French *studiolo* in the Hôtel must have housed a few antiquities (or pseudo-antiquities), precious stones, books—printed as well as painted—and armor. The heraldic, non-representational nature of the two manuscripts for Jean le jeune may have been intended to harmonize with the tapestry decoration, part of which may have hung in the *cabinet*. Although the inventory does not cite hangings in this room, the division of the walls by pilasters marking the midpoint of the decoration strongly suggests that tapestries were planned for.[30] The room is long, narrow and not particularly high, making it less than ideal for the large-figured narrative tapestries of that period but suitable for heraldry and emblems. Whether the manuscripts were originally destined for *cabinet* or the principal bedroom is however less important than realizing how well they harmonized with the heraldic/emblematic decor of the Hôtel itself.

A final note on one other element found in decoration connected with the Lallemant family

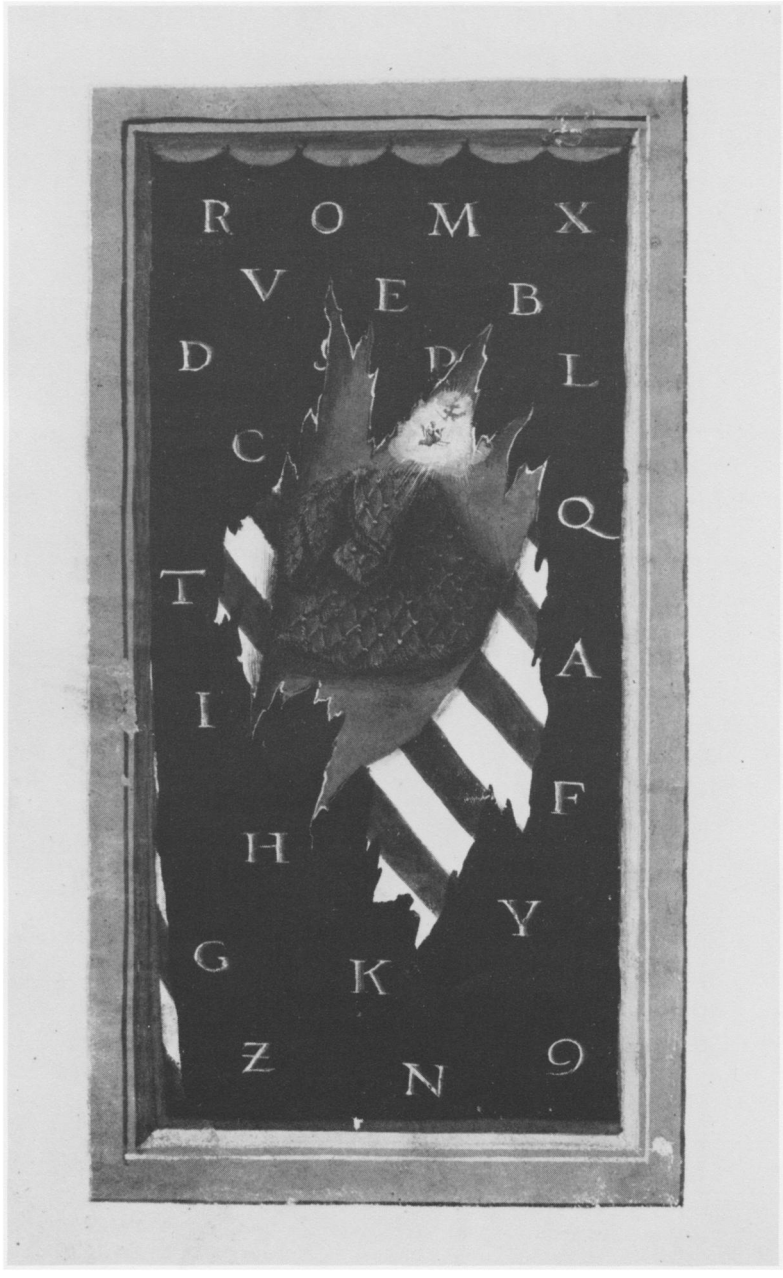


FIGURE 7
Hair shirt, lettered curtain and penitent David, W. 446, f. 52v

should be made. The single skulls so accurately drawn in the lower margins of the otherwise undecorated pages of the Office of the Dead in the Walters manuscript (fig. 8) recall similar mortuary decoration in other Lallemant manuscripts described by Chenu and Gauchery, notably the later Hague Hours where eleven skulls decorate the pages of the Office of the Dead. A particularly wicked skull adorns the centre of one of the pilasters in the *cabinet* of the Hôtel. Such skeletal symbolism was especially popular in France at the end of the Middle Ages and is not unusual as an element in manuscript illumination.[31]

Dating

The dating of the Walters and Rosenwald books needs to be discussed. Since Goldschmidt it has been wrongly assumed that the Rosenwald book dates 1506 on the strength of the appearance of that date on the first page of the calendar with an explanation of the "Golden Capital Letters." These are not the Dominical letters as Goldschmidt asserts, nor are they the common nineteen "Golden Numbers" often included in calendars. The letters are used, however, just as the Golden Numbers, to find the phases of the moon. Nineteen are listed, A through T (there being no J).[32] 1506 is used as the first example of the system. In the Rosenwald text it equals the letter S. 1507 is T. At 1508 one begins again, continuing, to quote the text "on through T." The second T mentioned is 1526, perhaps unnecessarily late for the Rosenwald manuscript, but more credible than 1506. While too early stylistically, 1506 is an important, memorable date in Lallemant family history and the history of Bourges. It heads the Hours calendar in the Rosenwald manuscript to commemorate the royal entry into Bourges of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in 1506. The carving of royal arms and insignia on a chimney-piece in a room near the *cabinet* in the Hotel Lallemant refers to the same event.[33] Directly before 1506, Jean le jeune gained his first important royal appointment, investing the date with added personal significance and affirming his increasingly active part in the royal administration.[34]

The date 1506 for the Rosenwald manuscript makes no sense in the context of French manuscript history. Works such as the Rosenwald and Walters Hours simply do not exist in 1506. The two books are so close that dating them twenty years apart, as is often done, is equally illogical. Such manuscripts do appear in France from the latter part of the second decade of the 16th century, and in considerable numbers. The humanist book hands provide us with the surest points of comparison. The Rosenwald text is written in a sturdy roman hand, and the Walters in a flowing italic (figs. 4, 5). The earliest dateable manuscript which can be compared to the Rosenwald Hours is the Hours of Claude de France (formerly H. P. Kraus) described by Charles Sterling and dated by him to 1516.[35] The Claude de France Hours is even smaller than the Rosenwald manuscript, but the text pages have the same number of spaces to a line (twenty-seven or twenty-eight) and the same number of lines to a page (twenty-one). An Hours also for the Use of Bourges and also in the Rosenwald Collection (MS 10) is dated 1524.[36] The text pages are similar in the spacing of lines and in the formation of the letters (fig. 10), although the manuscript page is considerably larger. In the group of manuscripts to which the later Rosenwald Hours (MS 10) belongs, the variety of roman book hands is considerable. Most of them are more spidery and delicate in effect, while the formation of the letters remains the same. The illumination of the Claude de France Hours has been compared by Janet Backhouse, in her review of Sterling's book, to an Hours in the British Library (Add. 35315) which she sees as intermediary between the Claude books and the 1520's Hours. This particular Book of Hours is written in an italic much like that in the Walters Lallemant Hours.[37] A similar italic is found in an *Epistles* in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 9), itself comparable in its figural decoration to Rosenwald MS 10 and another Hours of about the same date in the Walters collection (W. 449).[38] In other words, the interrelationships among these manuscripts which are dateable from 1516 to about 1530 are complex and include within their circle the Lallemant books. In a general way, the Lallemant manuscripts belong with this group from a point of view of overall quality and sophistication; specifically, they are related

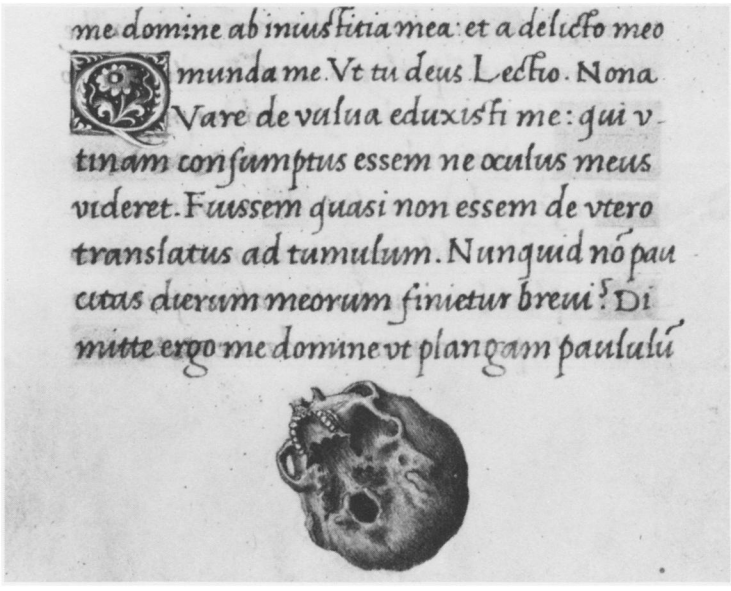

me domine ab iniustitia mea: et a delicto meo
munda me. Vt tu deus Lectio. Nona
Vare de vulua eduxisti me: qui v-
tinam consumptus essem ne oculus meus
videret. Fuissem quasi non essem de vtero
translatus ad tumulum. Nunquid nó pau
citas dierum meorum finietur breui? Di
mitte ergo me domine vt plangam paululú

FIGURE 8
Skull, W446, f. 75


INCIPIT EPISTOLA CANONICA
BEATI IACOBI APO
STOLI
CAPITVLVM PRIMVM.
IACOBVS DEI ET
Domini nostri Iesu Chri
sti seruus, duodecim
tribubus quæ sunt in
dispersione. Salutem. Omne gaudi
um existimate fratres mei cum in te
tationes varias incideritis, scientes
q. probatio fidei vestræ patientiam o
peratur. Patientia autem opus perfe
ctum habeat: vt sitis perfecti & inte
gri in nullo deficientes. Si quis autem ve
strum indigat sapientia, postulet a deo
qui dat omnibus affluenter & non im
properat, & dabitur ei. Postulet autē
in fide, nihil hesitans. Qui enim hesi
tat similis est fluctui maris, qui a ven
to mouetur & circúfertur. Non ergo e
stimet homo ille q. accipiat aliquid a

FIGURE 9
St. James and facing text page from *Epistles*, MS L 1721-1921, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Crown copyright reserved

LARGIRE nobis clementissime pater quod sicut beata Maria Magdalena dominum nostrum Iesum christum super omnia diligendo suorum obtinuit veniam peccaminum: ita nobis apud tuam misericordiam sempiternam impetret beatitudinem. Per eundem. do.

De sancta Caterina. Antiphona.

VIrgo sancta Caterina Græciæ gemma: vrbe Alexãdrina: Costi Regis erat filia. V Diffusa est gratia in labiis tuis. R Propterea benedixit te deus. ĩæt.

DEus qui dedisti legem; oratio. Moisi in summitate montis sinay, et in eodem loco corpus beatæ Caterinæ virginis & martyris tuæ per sanctos

FIGURE 10
Saints Mary Magdalene and Catherine, from a Book of Hours for the Use of Bourges, MS 10, f. 110v, Rosenwald Collection, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

by similar book hands and page arrangements. Whether they should be associated with the earlier workshop which Sterling identified with the Hours and Prayer Book of Claude de France, or with the later, perhaps not unrelated, workshop which turned out the most splendid manuscripts of the 1520's must remain an open question. Because of the association of Jean le jeune with royal patronage in the 1520's which is discussed in the following section, and because the Hague Hours painted for Jean le jeune follows a style established by the 1520's Hours workshop, a dating in the 1520's for both the Rosenwald and Lallemant Hours seems the more probable.

Geofroy Tory and Lallemant patronage

With the growth of publishing in 16th-century France, the printed book became recognized as an all-important tool of communication, basic to the spread of intellectual and spiritual knowledge. Jean Lallemant le jeune was keenly aware of this and, with his friend and fellow native of Bourges, Philibert Babou (d. 1557), promoted the career of the young scholar from Bourges, Geofroy Tory, possibly financing his *wanderjahr* in Italy (ca. 1505) and the years in Paris through 1512. Evidence of this patronage is contained in the numerous dedications to Babou and Lallemant in the Latin editions prepared by Tory for the Parisian scholarly press through 1512. When Tory reappeared in the Parisian publishing scene in 1523, his first book, a collection of Epitaphs in memory of his daughter, was dedicated to Babou.[39]

This relationship between Tory and his Bourges patrons had beneficial reciprocal effects relevant to the Lallemant manuscripts and their historical position. Lallemant and Babou were not only linked by an interest in humanism, but also by positions in the royal financial administration under both Louis XII and François I. At the end of 1505, Lallemant was promoted from *argentier du roi* to *receveur général de Languedoc, Lyonnais, Forestz, et Beaujolais,* a post he held until he was accused of fraud and imprisoned in 1535-1537.[40] Babou succeeded Lallemant in the post of *argentier* at least by 1510 when he married Marie de la Bourdaisière, coyly referred to as a "royal favorite."[41] In 1522 Babou was at court as *sécrétaire et contrôleur de finances* to the Queen Mother, Louise de Savoie.[42] He became *trésorier de l'Epargne et surintendant des finances* for François I, becoming *contrôleur* by 1534. He was disgraced in the same scandal that temporarily banished Jean le jeune. While Jean kept his principal residence at Bourges, indications are that he was no stranger at court. On a later copy of Louise's account for a decorative project carried out during the early 1520's we find Lallemant's confirmatory signature, dated 1546, indicating a familiarity with Louise's affairs at the time when Babou was in charge.[43] It is precisely in the 1520's that the royal library at Blois, newly placed under the direction of Guillaume Budé, attracted Parisian humanists into the royal circle. Tory himself, newly launched, with royal approbation, as a publisher of woodcut-decorated Books of Hours, was working in the Blois library in late 1525 or early 1526 gathering material for *Champ fleury* and studying the manuscript collection.[44] It is highly likely that it was Babou who brought Tory to royal attention to obtain his two exceptional privileges of 1525 and 1526.[45] Reciprocally, Tory can have been the person responsible for introducing Lallemant to the 1520s Hours workshop (probably Paris-based) which not only produced Books of Hours, but just at this time (1525-1527) was working on royal commissions of a different sort.[46]

As a working hypothesis we would ascribe the Rosenwald and Walters Lallemant Hours to the 1520's Hours Workshop with which Lallemant would have become acquainted by connections at court maintained both through his royal appointments and through his friendship with Philibert Babou. Their protégé from Bourges, Geofroy Tory, continued to be helped by them. Such regional solidarity was common and Tory, in his turn, intervened in the manuscript commission, though not as scribe and miniaturist. The 1520's Hours Workshop was the only one working in a style which had assimilated the Franco-Flemish tradition into the new Italian small-style decorative aesthetic. The decoration of the Walters and Rosenwald Lallemant Hours is without unified precedent and has no followers, even among Jean's own subsequent commissions.

FIGURE 11
Prisoner in the tower and Crucifixion from a Book of Hours, W451, f. 76v. The Walters Art Gallery

The two Lallemant Hours are important new elements to be considered within the history of the family's patronage in Bourges. Like aspects of the Hôtel decoration, they testify to a grasp of new artistic currents which transcends mere formal imitation. These two Books of Hours still defy wholly credible analysis, departing as they do from the traditional and expected, but it is just this unique quality which binds them so inextricably to other family commissions. The hypotheses of attribution and symbolism are advanced as much to provoke discussion as to provide answers. It is the first word, not the last. The intellectual spirit of the Renaissance and the assertive personal pride of Jean le jeune as patron inspired the emblematic creativity which illuminates these manuscripts. Through them, Jean placed himself in the long line of royal financial officers anxious to demonstrate their enlightened patronage. Fortunately, some of the pleasure and profit derived from their efforts persist to this day.

EPILOGUE

Two Later Books of Hours for Jean Lallemant Le Jeune

These will be discussed briefly since they shed additional light on the iconography of the Walters and Rosenwald books. Both continue, in less esoteric fashion, the acutely personalized tone of the early works, and both exploit the penitential aspect of the John the Baptist symbolism for reasons which could not have been foreseen in the earlier manuscripts. Both later manuscripts are dateable by an important, if unfortunate event in the life of Jean le jeune. In 1535 he was accused of fraud, relieved of his government post, ordered to pay a huge fine, and imprisoned until, in 1537, all was forgiven.[47] The Book of Hours in the Walters Collection (W. 451) can be dated during his imprisonment. The Hours for the Use of Bourges in The Hague (Royal Library Hs. 74 G. 38) dates after his liberation. By this time his wife, sister-in-law, and brother had died, inspiring some humbling verses which are found with a series of family notes, possibly in Jean le jeune's own hand, in the flyleaf of W. 451. Added in another hand is the death date of Jean le jeune, 1548.[48]

The miniatures in W. 451 which concern us here have been added to a rather undistinguished and probably earlier Hours. Heading the calendar is another busy heraldic lion, different in execution but identical in attributes to the Rosenwald mascot. Seven full-page miniatures, virtually identical to one another (fig. 11), show a white-bearded man waving a banderole out of a barred window half-way up a round stone tower which is topped with the Lallemant heraldic helmet. The tower, the helmet, and the banderole all bear mottoes and verses repeated in each miniature and obviously relevant to Jean's imprisonment:

Probatio/Patientia/Tribulatio
Hic Latet Invisum Spes.
Nudus Veni-Dubius vixi-Anxius Morior
Niscio quo vado-Insentium-Miserere mei.

Bright bursts in the sky in each miniature reveal the traditional religious subjects in the same way they are depicted in the earlier Walters Lallemant Hours. That these tower scenes are emblematic in the same sense as the earlier miniatures is made more evident by both the helmet and the

locks below the tower, giving it the appearance of the elaborate lid to a box. The locks recall the combination of locks and chains and a book in Tory's *Pot Cassé* trade-mark. Tory explains that in his emblem, the three locks and chains, representing the three Fates, close the book of life and that the locks would only be opened by letters from his mottoes.[49] While Tory's printer's mark does not explain Lallemant symbolism, there are frequent points of convergence which demonstrate a similar turn of mind. Last but most important is the prisoner himself, waving his melancholy message from his barred window. He is the patron saint of prisoners, St. John the Baptist, incarcerated by Herod in a round tower. Already invoked by Jean le jeune in the earlier Rosenwald and Walters Hours as a symbol of penitence, John the Baptist, now for more specific reasons, represents the imprisoned Jean le jeune.

The Book of Hours in the Hague was published by Gauchery in 1910.[50] The Lallemant Lion appears once more; below each major miniature is the cut knot which already appeared in the Walters Hours W. 446. In the foreground of each large miniature is a variously-posed bearded figure clad in a hair shirt, with the Lallemant sealed book, inscribed with DELIAR PRIUS, and a Crucifix. Behind him, in the middle distance, are the holy scenes. This bearded figure is St. John the Baptist in the wilderness where he went to preach the Christian message. Here he represents the penitence of Jean le jeune and his pious devotion. There are considerable similarities between the style of this manuscript (which I have only studied in reproduction) and the models followed by the 1520's Hours Workshop whose influence can be traced through the middle of the century.

During the lifetime of Jean l'aîné, Jean le jeune seems to have used the double St. John symbolism, as in the Rosenwald and Walters Hours. The two later Hours, dateable after the elder brother's death in 1533, concentrate on penitence and John the Baptist, retaining the Book of Hours as a means of its expression.

FOOTNOTES

Frequently cited sources are listed at the end of the notes.

[1]The study of these manuscripts began with research on Geofroy Tory for my master's thesis, "Geofroy Tory: The Illustrations and Decorations in his Printed Books of Hours," New York, Institute of Fine Arts, 1964. The Lallemant Hours were included as a postscript to my Ph.D., "Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illumination 1515-1531: Godefroy le Batave and the 1520's Hours Workshop," New York, Institute of Fine Arts, 1976. I am very much indebted to Colin Eisler who supervised my studies. During the past year (1979) I have had the opportunity to see the Lallemant manuscripts again through the kindness both of the Alverthorpe Gallery (Rosenwald Collection) and of the Walters Art Gallery, particularly of the curator of manuscripts, Lilian Randall. Since the death of Mr. Rosenwald in the summer of 1979, his collection has been moved to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C. I must thank Mr. J. M. Jenn, Directeur des Services d'Archives du Cher for reading an early version of this paper and particularly Mr. Jenny, President de la Société d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry, for his gracious encouragement during a recent visit to Bourges.

[2]*The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. A Catalog of the Gifts of Lessing J. Rosenwald to the Library of Congress, 1943 to 1975*, Washington, D.C., 1977. MS 11. Hours for the Use of Bourges. 134 x 70 mm; 22 lines, 148 ff., roman book hand, red morocco binding (London, Charles Lewis 1825). 1 full page miniature, 40 small miniatures. *Bibliography:* De Ricci, *Census*, I, 665; Chenu (1946, 1952); E. P. Goldschmidt (1928). *Provenance:* Henri Pontus de Thyard, Cardinal de Bissy (1715) and Bishop of Toul (according to Goldschmidt this cleric was a book collector who knew Louis XIV). The book had to come to him from Pierre Fournier de Mataincourt (Vosges) 1565-1640. (This information is on the flyleaf.) Lord Vernon sale (Payne and Foss, 1838); Robert, then George Holford Collections sold by Sotheby 7 December 1927, No. 393. To Goldschmidt (from Rosenwald Catalogue cited above). See also informative entry in Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books*, No. 219.

[3]Walters, *Illuminated Books*, 1949, No. 220. Hours for the Use of Rome (see fol. 16 v.). 150 x 90 mm, 25 lines, 96 ff., italic book hand, yellow morocco binding (Simier). 14 large miniatures, 6 small miniatures. *Bibliography:* De Ricci, *Census*, I, p. 341; Chenu (1954), p. 72; MS note by De Ricci in the Bibliotheque Nationale copy of Goldschmidt (1928), p. 7, refers to this Walters manuscript. *Provenance:* Sotheby 27 July 1909, No. 94. (De Ricci also notes Cochran Catalogue 1937, p. 12, No. 46.)

[4]E. P. Goldschmidt (1928). The specific points I would take issue with are: the miniatures do not show a coat of chain mail in flames, but a hair shirt against a gold background; the opening calendar page refers

not to the Dominical Letter but the *Lettre Lunaire;* the "other" manuscript with lion to which he refers is Walters 451; I do not see the G T in the vignettes as Tory's signature nor do I propose Tory as scribe and illuminator; finally, the manuscript does not date from 1506. These arguments are developed in this essay. There is a French translation of Goldschmidt's pamphlet, handwritten, in Leroquais, *Oeuvres diverses* (B.N. Fr. N.A. 13084). It was sent to Leroquais from P. Chenu 7 April 1935 with a note (fol. 229) concerning the author: "j'ignore la valeur comme critique d'art et (qui) n'est peut-être qu'un marchand." I am indebted to Francois Avril for showing me this interesting collection of notes which includes a long section on the Lallemant ceiling sent from Chenu to Leroquais (fols. 211 ff.).

[5]Gauchery (1910) published the Hague Hours (Royal Library Hs. 74 G.48) along with an informative essay on Jean le jeune. Chenu (1941, republished 1946) studied important documentation on the Hôtel and the family; Chenu's two articles of 1951-1952 studied the family's manuscript patronage, including that of Jean le jeune (pp.71 ff.). Two mss. not mentioned in my own essay are an Hours for the Use of Bourges, Philadelphia Public Library Lewis 87, which I have never seen, and a *Roman de la Rose* (De Ricci 811), whereabouts unknown. Chenu mistakenly lists W. 446 as Use of Bourges. Chenu also lists a fragment of an Hours for Jean l'aîné in the Walters, W. 459; cf. below note 31 for another fragment of the same Hours. Chenu's other essay published in 1946 concerned a manuscript of the *Consolation de Boèce* (B.N. Lat. 6643) and Lallemant manuscript patronage, including further information on W. 459. "Essai de reconstitution d'un manuscrit aux armes des Lallemant de Bourges au XV[e] siècle et sur ses rapports avec un manuscrit de la Consolation de Boèce," *Monuments Piot,* 1946, pp. 103-122. The other articles referred to above by Chenu and Gauchery are listed in full in the bibliography of frequently cited sources.

[6]Ribault (1973) is basic to the further study of the Hôtel Lallemant. His short note on family history (1972) is likewise helpful. I am indebted to Mr. Ribault for his helpful information which eased a visit to Bourges in 1975. Jenny (1973) established the date of the royal entry of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne.

[7]Ribault (1973), p. 78. It is an important point that Italian carvers, notably the Justi, may have worked in Bourges and directly for the Lallemants. In the *cabinet,* the pilasters on the long walls and the small niche on the right are very similar to a damaged Renaissance doorway on the east side of the south porch of the Cathedral. Can there be a connection? On the iconography of the cabinet *ceiling* which Chenu (1946) was the first to associate with manuscript illumination (specifically the manuscripts of Jean l'aîné) and discuss in the context of the Lallemants in general, the more recent and detailed work, that of G. de Tervarent, "De la méthode iconologique," *Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Beaux Arts. Mémoires,* XII, 4 (1961), pt. III, pp. 5-48, can only be used in a fragmentary way since, incredibly, he publishes reversed photographs of the ceiling and thus his chart, too, is reversed. Any hope of finding an overall theme or program is dashed, although the interpretations he offers are interesting. The first, extreme, position on the alchemical interpretation was taken in Fulcanelli, *Le Mystère des Cathédrales,* Paris 1926, pp. 135-152. Also J. van Lannep, *Art et Alchimie,* Brussels, 1966, pp. 191-192.

[8]The basic source for manuscript Hours is V. Leroquais, *Les Livres d'Heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* Paris, 1927, I, p.xxiii. Also useful although it treats only printed books is: Harvard College Library, Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts. I. French Sixteenth Century Books,* comp. R. Mortimer, Cambridge, Mass., 1964, II, pp. 363-366.

[9]See Appendix.

[10]One thinks first of the Maréchal de Boucicault and MS 2 of the Musée Jacquemart-André—see M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicault Master,* London, 1968. His heraldry does not quite engulf the holy images. A more contemporary manuscript example of the donor kneeling quite prominently alongside the holy scene is in a *Livre de prières* (B.N. N.A. Lat. 83), where Marguerite d'Angoulême appears in each miniature. This dates ca. 1523.

[11]See C. Schaefer, "Oeuvres du début de la carrière de l'enlumineur Jean Colombe," *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry,* 35 (déc 1973), pp.45-57.

[12]Those by the 1520's Hours Workshop: Chapter V in my dissertation cited above, note 1 (1976). Cf. below notes 36-38. My article on Geofroy Tory and Manuscript Illumination, which includes a number of these manuscripts, is due to appear in the *Revue de l'Art* in 1980.

[13]Lions were often chosen as bearers of heraldry but they more often wore the helmets. From the library of the Dukes of Milan the royal library at Blois then possessed what are now B.N. Lat. MSS 4685 and 4586, works which recall deeds of the Sforza. In them, a primitively designed lion in profile sits holding a stick on which are suspended two buckets. He is helmeted and the motto ICH HOF/HIC HOF accompanies him. See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale,* Paris, 1868, I, p. 136.

Jean le jeune's heraldry, cited from Chenu (1946), p. 32: écartelé au premier de gueules au chevron d'or accompagné de trois roses d'argent, au second écartelé d'azur à la croix ancrée d'argent entre trois mottes ou monjoyes d'or, et après, d'or à 2 leopards de gueules passant l'un sur l'autre.

[14]Normally seraphim are red, and cherubim are blue. Only occasionally do the latter have six wings. See *Enciclopedia Cattolica,* Rome, XI, p. 375 and III, p. 1412. Their possible meaning is discussed in my text, and their presence, both red and blue, in the St. Bonnet windows is noted below, note 19.

[15]On the decan, see C. Butler, *Number Symbolism,*

London, 1970, p. 10 (sic). I have found instances in royal devotional manuscripts in the second decade of the sixteenth century of the seemingly purposeful use of groups of ten pages in a pious context (B.N. Fr. 2088; 1890).

[16]See B. Jarry, "Les statuts de la Table Ronde de Bourges," *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire du Berry*, 29 (juin 1972), pp. 18-33; p. 29. On the *Chapelet* cf. Chenu (1946), p. 32.

[17]L. Réau, *L'Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, Paris, 1955, III, pt. 1, 713. St. John the Baptist is in t. II, pt. 1, pp. 431 ff. These two Sts. John were often paired in the late middle ages despite the very real difference in their roles within the context of the Christian story. See note 38. St. John the Evangelist was also patron Saint of the book trade.

[18]Cf. Gauchery (1910) pp.360-362. He cites from description in L. Thaumassière, *Histoire du Berry*, Bourges, 1934, t. IV, p. 411; cf. Ribault (1973) p. 75, n. 11. Marot's verse written in 1543 was published in his *Oeuvres Diverses*, CX, p. 137. Jehan Lallemant et Marie Petit/ Deux autres Jehans en mariage acquirent/ Qui en commun en ung logis vesquirent/ Et ces deux Jehans deux Jehanes espousèrent/ Qui dix enfans sur la terre posèrent/ Jehanne Gaillard espousa Jehan laisnt/ Une autre Jehanne eut l'autre Jehan puysne/ Laquelle avoit le surnom de Champanges .... On other family data see Gauchery (1910), p. 354. Also, see below, note 48.

[19]See Gauchery (1910), p. 340. For documentation on Jean le jeune and the rebuilding of St. Bonnet see Ribault (1973), p. 77, n. 18. I must thank one of my students, Bill Schallenberg, for photographing this chapel in less than ideal circumstances, and Mr. Jenny for sending me the authoritative information published in the essay by M. de Laugardière, "Les vitraux de Saint-Bonnet de Bourges," *Bulletin Monumental*, 1932, 2. On the Lallemant windows, see pp. 249 ff. The church was damaged in a fire of 1487 and with it the former Lallemant chapel which Jean le jeune re-established in the present church, putting up the old windows in new tracery. The three generations of Lallemants in the John the Evangelist window would be (p. 253): the brother of the earliest Guillaume Lallemant, Jean; his son, Jean, and his four sons: Jean l'aîné, Jean le jeune, Guillaume, and Etienne. The essay does not make clear that the arms directly beneath this group are those of Jean le jeune. The arms below these, in strapwork frames, must have been added, as is indicated, about 1550. The cherubim and seraphim above, probably assembled at the same time as the tall donor lancets, may not originally have come from the earlier chapel.

[20]There has been considerable discussion as to whether the garment is a hair shirt or a *cotte de mail*. The large miniatures in the Walters Hours make it obvious that it is in fact a hair shirt. See a Magdalene similarly clothed in a pen-drawn frontispiece to *Traité de Pénitence* (B.N. Fr. 1890) of about 1518. Gauchery (1910) interpreted the garment on the figure in the Hague Hours as a hair shirt and cited a Lallemant medal with the same object, p. 334. Chenu (1946), p. 32, insisted that the garment on the medal and in the Rosenwald Hours was, as Goldschmidt also thought, a *cotte de mail* which in its turn referred to the armor Chenu postulated as part of the contents of the *cabinet* referred to as the "Salle des armures" in the 1571 inventory he cited in the 1946 article, pp. 13-20.

[21]For the use of the *cordelière* in a particularly interesting tapestry (ca 1512-1514), for François I and his mother, see A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "Les Tapisseries de François d'Angoulême," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1973, pp. 19-31. The tapestry is now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, and illustrated in the exhibition catalogue, Paris, Grand Palais, *Chefs d'oeuvres de la tapisserie*, 1973-1974, No. 47, pp. 128-131. The *cordelière* is used with the emblems of Louise de Savoie in the Tory printed Hours cited in my text and also in his other publications of the 1520's. The manuscript Hours of the 1520's workshop make generous use of the *cordelière* as a text framing device. They are also used in connection, quite properly, with Claude de France in the manuscripts studied by Charles Sterling. See below, notes 35-37.

[22]The question of penitence and the Franciscans is taken up in my dissertation (1976) cited above, note 1, both in Chapters II and IV. The ex-tutor to the king, François Du Moulin, was an influential advisor to the Queen Mother as was his colleague, Jean Thenaud. On François de Paule the most accessible reference is E. Panofsky, "The Iconography of the Gallery of François I at Fontainebleau," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, LII (1958), pp. 113-192; pp. 122-123.

[23]This was suggested to me at an early stage of my study by Professor Charles Sterling (in 1962). He was referring specifically to the hanging letters in the miniature of the Alchemist and Dame Nature which he discussed in his article, "Une peinture certaine de Perréal enfin retrouvée." *L'Oeil*, 103 (July-August 1963), pp. 2-15. Cf. Van Lannep, *Art et Alchimie*, Brussels, 1966, pp. 254-255. This remains a strong hypothetical possibility, but I am not willing to accept the presence of the letters in the miniature simply as a "reference to" alchemy. What they signify should be traceable at least through contemporary sources which so far have not come to my attention.

[24]The illustrations of this well-known medieval text included figures silhouetted against a letter-sprinkled background, but the letters referred to a text. Rabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, was published in Pforzheim in 1503 with woodcuts and thus widely available. In its original form it has been published in facsimile from the Vienna manuscript (National-bibliothek Vind. 652), edited by K. Holter, Graz, 1972.

[25]See below, note 32. However the end letters of the alphabet (V, X, Y, Z) are not part of the "Golden Capital Letter" sequence while they appear often on the letterstrewn curtain. Walters 451, for Jean le jeune, includes an unexplained roman majuscule alphabet

with all the letters at the head of a section entitled "Heures abregées." See below, note 48.

[26]Paris, Grand Palais, *Chefs d'oeuvres de la tapisserie,* 1973-1974, Nos. 48-49, dating ca. 1515-1522 for Commarin, the Dinteville château in Burgundy.

[27]Chenu (1946), pp.13-20.

[28]Chenu (1946), pp. 30-31. He cites G. Corrozet's *Blasons Domestiques,* Paris, 1539—a kind of emblematic *House and Garden*—which includes Hours in the poetic inventory. But the Corrozet *cabinet* is a ladies' treasure chamber, not at all a "Salle des armures," which is what the 1571 Lallemant inventory called the Lallemant *cabinet* and upon which Chenu insists. The association of Hours, *prie-dieu,* and bedroom is made in innumerable Flemish and French Annunciations in a domestic setting.

[29]A new study of the possible contents of this room would do well to consider the tradition of Italian *studioli.* Among French patrons anxious to emulate the Italian Renaissance in the first decade of the sixteenth century was the royal treasurer, Florimond Robertet (d. 1522), whose collections are of great interest. How and where all the objects were kept is not, however, clear. His Hôtel in Blois is contemporary with that of the Lallemants. See P. Lelièvre, "Mécènes et Collectionneurs du XVI[e] siècle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français,* 1971, pp. 1-11, and G. Souchal, "Une tapisserie de la famille Robertet," *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Hans Swarzenski,* Berlin, 1973, pp. 363-366. The Dinteville family (note 26 above) are also of great interest. The scope of the Amboise patronage at Gaillon went far beyond Lallemant patronage. In general, for humanists who were often also art patrons, see E. Rice, Jr., "The Patrons of French Humanism, 1490-1520," *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron,* Florence, 1971, pp. 689-702.

[30]The pilasters protrude from the wall and "support" a line of rosette-decorated *caissons* which run parallel to the wall. The moldings which frame the figured *caissons* begin above the termination of the capital of the pilasters and define a higher ceiling plane. The pilaster arrangement defines four rectangles, two to each wall, neatly framed, but utterly blank except for the peculiarly decorated "credence" on the right wall toward the window.

[31]Gauchery (1910), p. 331 for the Hague Hours. Chenu (1952), p. 71, notes an early sixteenth century Hours fragment of which W.459 constitutes another part. This fragment, Brit. Lib. Add. 39641, for Jean l'âiné, has six miniatures each including skulls and skeletons and the motto "Timor mortis conturbat me." The visual tradition is multi-faceted. See title page of J. Clichtove, *De Doctrina Moriendi,* Paris, Simon de Colines, 1520, for the persistence of the "miroirs de la mort" or a skull in a mirror, discussed in O. Pächt, "Réné d'Anjou Studien, I," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlugen in Wein,* LXIX (1973), pp. 85-126. There is also the Petrarchian Triumph of Death theme which informs French book art, and the popular *Ars Moriendi.* Logically enough, reminders of impending death were common in the printed and painted Hours in the section of the Office of the Dead.

[32]On the Dominical Letter, the *lettre lunaire,* and the *lettre annale* see *Enciclopedia Cattolica,* VII, p. 1210. The two latter systems, according to the entry consulted, fell into disuse in the eleventh century but seem to be what the Rosenwald page refers to. The Dominical letter goes from A to G and is used to find the days on which Sunday falls (if Sunday falls on the fourth of January, the Dominical letter for the year is D). On this and the golden number, used to calculate the phases of the moon, and hence find the date of Easter, also see A. Giry, *Manuel de Diplomatique,* Paris, 1894, p. 134 and 148. 1506 had D as Dominical letter, and 6 was the golden number. Easter was 12 April.

The text of the first page of the Rosenwald Calendar Table is as follows: Modus inveniendi coniunctionem lunae in calendario sequenti: Primo quaere litteram auream maiusculam in calendario quae currit millo millesimo de quo tu quaeris renovationem Lunae. quae littera sic invenitur. Anno domini 1506 currit littera S. 1507 T. et hic numerus litteratum finitur: ed ideo 1508. incipit interum. A. 1509. B et sic in quolibet anno accipiendo litteram unam usqz.ad. T. tali modo. A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. Si vis scire renovationem Lunae quae fit omni mense. quaere litteram quae currit illo mense quo scire cupis renovationem Lunae. et ubi illa littera cadit diem, horam, et minutum.

[33]The date of the royal entry from Jenny (1973). In that article it is interesting to note that in March, 1506 (n.s.) Jean le jeune was in Blois (p. 62). The carving of the *Cheminée,* the *cabinet,* and a number of doorways is dated between 1505/6 and 1513 in Ribault (1973), p. 77.

[34]Documentation cited in Ribault, (1973), p. 79. Also see Gauchery (1910), p. 354.

[35]C. Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, a Newly Defined Miniaturist,* New York, 1975. See figure 1 (fol . 18v. of the Hours). Page is 83 x 55 mm. The Master of Claude as defined by Sterling is the artist of the Prayer Book. The book-hand I refer to appears only in the Hours pages.

[36]See Rosenwald catalogue cited above, note 2: entry 14. The date appears on fol. 79v. See also Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books,* No. 221. Hours for the Use of Bourges, 113 ff, 230 x 145 mm., 16 large and 26 small miniatures. This manuscript belongs to the 1520's Hours Workshop, see above note 12.

[37]I am indebted to Miss Backhouse for invaluable help in my manuscript studies. Her review of Sterling appears in the *Burlington Magazine,* CXVIII (July 1976), pp. 524-526. The manuscript Add. 35315 is 156 x 90 mm, with 117 ff. There is considerable emphasis on Franciscan saints in the calendar, and the *cordelière* is used for decoration. Text pages are reproduced in *The Fleuron,* 2 (1924), facing p. 57 (fols. 13 and 87v.). A miniature of Job and facing text

(fols. 66v. and 67) are reproduced in E. Millar, *Souvenir de l'Exposition de manuscrits français ... Grenville Library (British Museum)*, Paris (Société français de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures), 1933: plate 62.

[38]The Victoria and Albert Museum *Epistles* (L. 1721-1921) were kindly pointed out to me, along with a number of other vital manuscripts, by the late Dorothy Miner. The *Epistles*, written both in italic and roman hand, are 110 x 65 mm, 195 ff. with 6 miniatures. On W. 449 (170 x 95 mm., 170 ff, 15 large and 12 calendar miniatures, Easter calendar begins 1524), see Walters, *Illuminated Books*, No. 222. An armorial frontispiece shows the two Saints John flanking St. Bertrand. John the Baptist is shown in a hair shirt.

[39]The only published biography of Tory is the badly outdated A. Bernard, *Geofroy Tory*, 2nd ed., Paris, 1865. Many biographical facts can be gleaned from Tory's own *Champ fleury*, including his trip to Bologna (fol. 49v.). Details abound of his early years in Paris, when he taught at the University.

The text of the dedications can be found in Bernard, *Tory*. To Babou: Pomponius Mela, *De totius orbis descriptione*, Paris, J. Petit, 1508; Berosus Babilonicus, *De his quae praecesserunt inundationem terrarum*, Paris, Marnef, 1510; Antonius Augustus, *Itinerarium prouinciarum omnium*, Paris, Estienne, 1512. To both Babou and Lallemant: V. Probus, *De interpretandis Romanorum literis opusculum*, Paris, Marnef, 1510; L. Alberti, *Libri de re aedificatoria decem*, Paris, Remboldt and Hornken, 1512. For Jean Lallemant's brother-in-law: Quintilianus, *Oratoriae institutionis liber primus*, Lyon, 1510. Full bibliography of Tory's editions in the facsimile edition of *Champ fleury*, ed. J. Jolliffe, London, 1970 (French Renaissance Classics, ed. M. Screech).

[40]Ribault (1973), p. 79, and Gauchery (1910), p. 354. See below note 47.

[41]*Dictionnaire de Biographie française*, IV (1948), p. 1033. Their son, Jean, married the daughter of Florimond Robertet (see above note 29). Their daughter was the mother of Gabrielle d'Estrées.

[42]Accounts are in Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève MS 848, published by A. Lefranc and J. Boulenger, *Les Comptes de Louise de Savoie et de Marguerite d'Angoulême*, Paris, 1905, p. 13.

[43]Added on the upper right-hand corner of Arch. Nat. KK 90 (a copy of a "compte particulière de Maistre Guillaume des années 1520 and 1521"): "Présenté et affermé au bureau La Reyne le xvii may VCXLVI. Lallemant." The addition was not noted when the document itself was published by Guiffrey, *Nouvelles Archives de l'art français*, 1879. I am grateful to Mr. J. Guignard for helping me read the original of this document. According to Gauchery (1910), p. 319, Lallemant was *contrôleur des finances* for the king in 1545 and is noted by L. de Laborde, *Les Comptes des batiments du roi*, Paris, 1877-1880, p. 329, for payments to Benvenuto Cellini in 1545, 1546, and 1547.

[44]Tory tells of his presence at Blois studying the royal manuscripts in *Champ fleury*, fol. 4. He was helped by Réné Macé whose post as chronicler of the king began with the death of Guillaume Crétin in November 1525. Tory's work on *Champ fleury* was finished for its privilege of September 1526. The court did not return to Blois until March 1526 when François I was released by Charles V from his Madrid captivity.

[45]Both printed *in extenso* in his Hours. The privilege of 1524 appears in the Hours printed by Simon de Colines in 1525. It speaks of "reports" about Tory but not until 1526 does the text of the privileges imply that the king "knew" him. The reports would have come through Babou and led to Tory's coming himself to court (see note above) to petition for the later privilege of 1526 which appears in *Champ fleury* and subsequent Hours.

[46]Notably *Les Gestes de Blanche de Castille* (B.N. Fr. 5715) being researched in the Blois archives in late 1525 by its author, Etienne le Blanc. Also, see my note in press for the *Burlington Magazine* about an illuminated peace treaty sent to Henry VIII in August, 1527.

[47]Gauchery (1910), p. 319; Ribault (1973), p. 79. L. Lalanne, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, Paris, 1854, pp. 455-456 for 12 May 1535. Gauchery cites the arrest as B.N. Fr. 3876.

[48]W. 451, 168 ff. (plus 10 ff. paper) 180 x 120 mm., Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated books*, No. 224. De Ricci, *Census*, No. 335. The tower miniatures have been inserted. The family notes are on fol. 1v., the Lion is on fol. 3v. (or 2v., depending which foliation is followed). Added *Heures abrégées* are on paper in a *bâtarde* consistent with the rest of the manuscript. They are headed with an unexplained full alphabet in roman, and, added below, also in roman, a short verse; "Qui n'a ne peult. et qui ne peult n'a forse/Entre povoir et non y'a grand torse." This obviously also refers to Jean's imprisonment.

[49]*Champ fleury*, fol. 43. Tory died in 1533.

[50]Gauchery (1910), with each miniature illustrated. It is also mentioned by E.-A. Van Moë, "Manuscrits à peintures aux armes des Lallemant de Bourges," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 100 (janvier-juin, 1939) pp. 238-240. The Hours are for the Use of Bourges, 152 ff, 158 x 95 mm., 13 miniatures. Listed (as well as Walters MS 451) by Chenu (1952), p. 72.

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APPENDIX

List of Miniatures in Rosenwald MS 11 and Walters MS 446

Remarks: For the Walters miniatures: ¾ refers to miniatures occupying three-quarters of a page; full means full-page. For the subject "book" in the Walters is understood a six-winged blue seraph holding the book (except for the small miniature on fol. 8); fols. 92 v. and 94 have tiny seraphs holding the book.

The Walters manuscript has 6 small miniatures, 6 full-page miniatures, and 8 three-quarter page miniatures, with 10 hair shirts and 10 books.

The Rosenwald manuscript has 40 small miniatures and 1 full-page miniature (the heraldic lion), with 20 hair shirts and 21 books (counting the lion as a book).

folio	*Rosenwald* (Use of Bourges)			*folio*	*Walters* (Use of Rome)
1-14	not illustrated	*Calendar*		1-6 v.	not illustrated
14 v.	Lion				
15	book	*Gospel Extracts*	(John)		
16	hair shirt		(Luke)	7 v.	hair shirt
17	book		(Matthew)	8	book
18	hair shirt		(Mark)	8 v.	hair shirt
19	book	*Passion According to St. John*		9 v.	book. Crucifixion (full)
26 v.	hair shirt	*Office of the Virgin*	Matins	15 v.	hair shirt. Virgin in Glory (full)
39	book		Lauds	24	book. Annunciation (¾)
47 v.	hair shirt	*Short Hours of the Cross*		48	hair shirt. Cross (¾)
48	book	*Short Hours of the Holy Spirit*		50	book. Dove (¾)
49	hair shirt		Prime	29 v.	hair shirt. Adoration (full)
52	book		Terce	32	book. Annunciation to Shepherds (¾)
56	hair shirt		Sext	34	hair shirt. Adoration of the Magi (¾)
58 v.	book		None	35 v.	book. Presentation (¾)
61	hair shirt		Vespers	37 v.	hair shirt. Flight into Egypt (full)
65 v.	book		Compline	41	book. Assumption of Virgin (¾)
69 v.	hair shirt	*Seven Penitential Psalms*		52 v.	hair shirt. David (full)
83	book	*Office of the Dead*		62 v.	book. Last Judgment (full)
89 v.	hair shirt		Matins	66	skulls on bottom of folios 63, 66, 68, 68 v., 71, 71 v., 74 v., 75.
117	book	*Suffrages of the Saints*		81 v.	hair shirt. Pentecost (¾)
					(Saints not illustrated. They are listed here in sequence)
118 v.	hair shirt (Holy Face)				
119 v.	book (Obsecro Te)				
124	hair shirt (St. Michael)			84	St. Michael
124 v.	book (St. John the Baptist)			84 v.	St. John the Baptist
	hair shirt (St. John the Evangelist)				St. John the Evangelist
				85	Sts. Peter, Paul
125 v.	book (St. Stephen)				St. James
126	hair shirt (St. Laurence)				St. Andrew
	book (St. Christopher)			85 v.	Pluribus Apostolus
127	hair shirt (St. Sebastian)				St. Stephen
128 v.	book (St. Claude)			86	St. Christopher
129 v.	hair shirt (St. Fiacre)			86 v.	St. Laurence
	book (St. Roch)				St. Sebastian
130	hair shirt (St. Anne)			87	St. Dionysius
130 v.	hair shirt (St. Mary Magdalene)				St. Anthony
131	book (St. Catherine)			87 v.	St. Nicholas
131 v.	hair shirt (St. Barbara)				St. Martin
132	book (St. Apollonia)			88	Sts. Cosmus and Damian
133	hair shirt (St. Genevieve)				St. Anne
137 v.	book (St. Martin)			88 v.	St. Mary Magdalene
					St. Catherine
					St. Margaret
				89	St. Barbara
				89 v.	St. Apollonia
138	hair shirt	*Stabat Mater*			
146		*Psalmas contra inimicos*		92 v.	book
		Septem Versus St. Bernardi		93	hair shirt
140 v.	book	*Office of Sacraments*		94	book

The Affecter Amphora

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

The Attic black-figured vases that have been attributed to a mannerist called by Beazley[1] "the Affecter" form a remarkably close-knit group. Over a hundred and twenty vases have been recognized as the work of this artist who may well have been both potter and painter. Most of his vases are amphorae: of the more or less complete ones thirty-two are neck-amphorae of a standard ovoid form, and seventeen are neck-amphorae of special types, variously sub-divided. Twenty-four are panel-amphorae in which the neck is not offset: fourteen belong to the type called "B" that has an angular mouth, round handles, and an echinus foot; ten are of a variant type called "C" which differs from "B" in that the lip is not angular but rolled, like a torus. Other shapes attributed to the Affecter comprise hydriai, lekythoi, cups, and a skyphos. We also have six lids that may once have sat on amphorae or pyxides.

The "complete" amphorae (*i.e.*, those that have their mouth and foot) show an astonishing spread in size, their height ranging from 31.8[2] to 54.0 cm.,[3] with the largest span between 38 and 43 cm. A panel amphora B in the Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1 and 2) has long been counted as the biggest (height 61.5 cm.), but its measurement was unreliable, since the foot was modern and of the wrong shape (copied from amphorae of type A, the profile in two degrees). It also sported an uncanonical fillet between the base of the vase and the foot. In addition to the modern, wrong foot and fillet, one handle and large parts of the body were also recognized as modern restorations, and therefore in November 1977, the vase was taken apart. The restored areas, which included a fair portion of the mouth and substantial parts of the figure scenes, were not of plaster but of terracotta and were glazed, rather than covered with oil paint, in a technique resembling that used on modern copies (and forgeries) made by Antonio Scappini and Vincenzo Fioroni of Tarquinia. Scappini was also a restorer: in 1878, together with Antonio Ciatti, he put together the amphora by Phintias that had been found in hundreds of fragments.[4] It is not entirely unreasonable to suspect that the Walters amphora passed through the hands of Scappini and his friends, especially in the light of a spectrographic analysis of the modern fragments that has revealed manganese and lead, coloring agents frequently encountered in works by Scappini and Fioroni.[5]

The new reconstruction of the amphora by the Affecter was not an easy one (figs. 3 and 4). Exclusive of splinters, there were about 150 fragments that had to be reassembled. Some pieces had already been mended in antiquity, probably in Etruria: cleaning revealed the drill-holes and connecting furrows so typical of Etruscan bronze repairs. While laborious gluing of the many fragments was time-consuming and tedious, the reconstruction of the body posed no serious problems. The real difficulty was the designing of a new foot. Though its general shape was known from twelve complete amphorae B by the Affecter, none of the twelve approached the Walters amphora in height, thus excluding a simple copying. Moreover, the biggest existing complete amphora, one in Orvieto,[6] was less help than could be expected, since it is dated late in the oeuvre of the Affecter, whereas the one to be restored counts among his earlier works. A mathematical attempt was therefore undertaken to establish series of ratios. Beginning with an existing ratio on the Walters amphora, that of diameter of mouth to diameter of body, 1:1.3479, it was hoped that this ratio would lead us to an amphora that showed the same relationship of these two measurements and would then reveal to us the proper height and diameter of the foot to be restored. But numerous calculations of this ratio on the other amphorae B revealed that there was

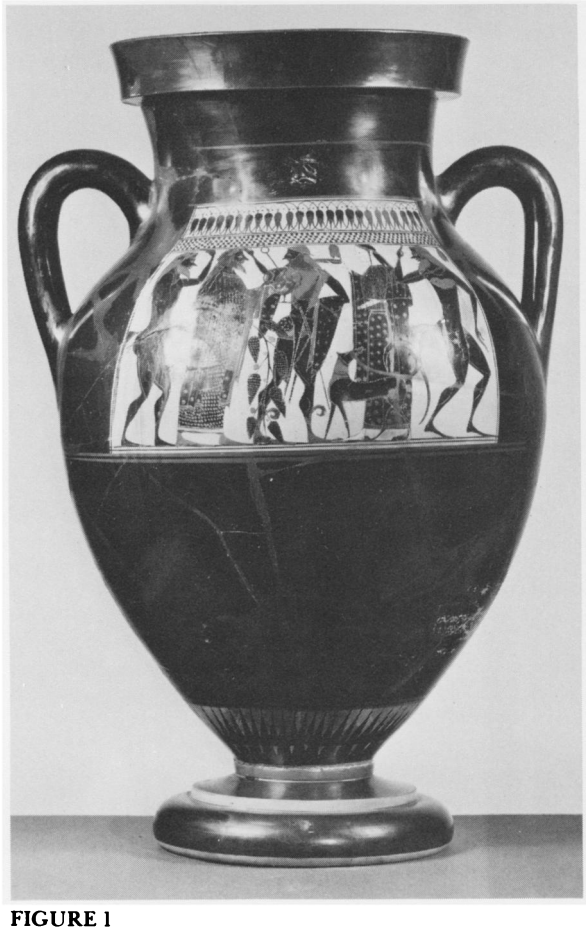

FIGURE 1
Panel amphora in the Walters Art Gallery (48.11) before restoration, side A

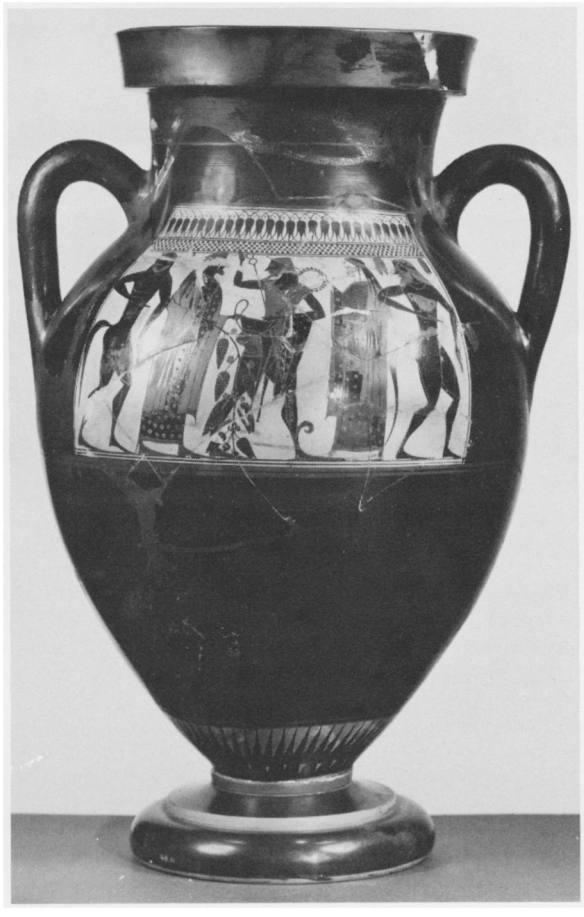

FIGURE 2
Same as Figure I, side B

not a single one with the ratio quite so low as on the Baltimore amphora. The one vase closest to ours in this respect, an amphora in Bologna,[7] had to be ignored, since in scale, ornamentation and figure style it was not sufficiently comparable to serve as a model. Many other ratios were developed, such as diameter to height of vase, diameter of foot to diameter of vase, height of mouth to total height, to name but a few, but when all the figures had been tabulated, it was seen that no distinctive, consistent pattern could be developed. In the end a compromise had to be struck, and the proposed profile was submitted to Heide Mommsen for her comments and final modification. With its new foot the amphora now measures 59.3 cm. in height, and its foot has a diameter of 20.8 cm. The present state is certainly more correct than the previous one and should be reasonably correct, give or take a few millimeters, but absolute certainty can only be obtained if and when the original foot turns up.[8]

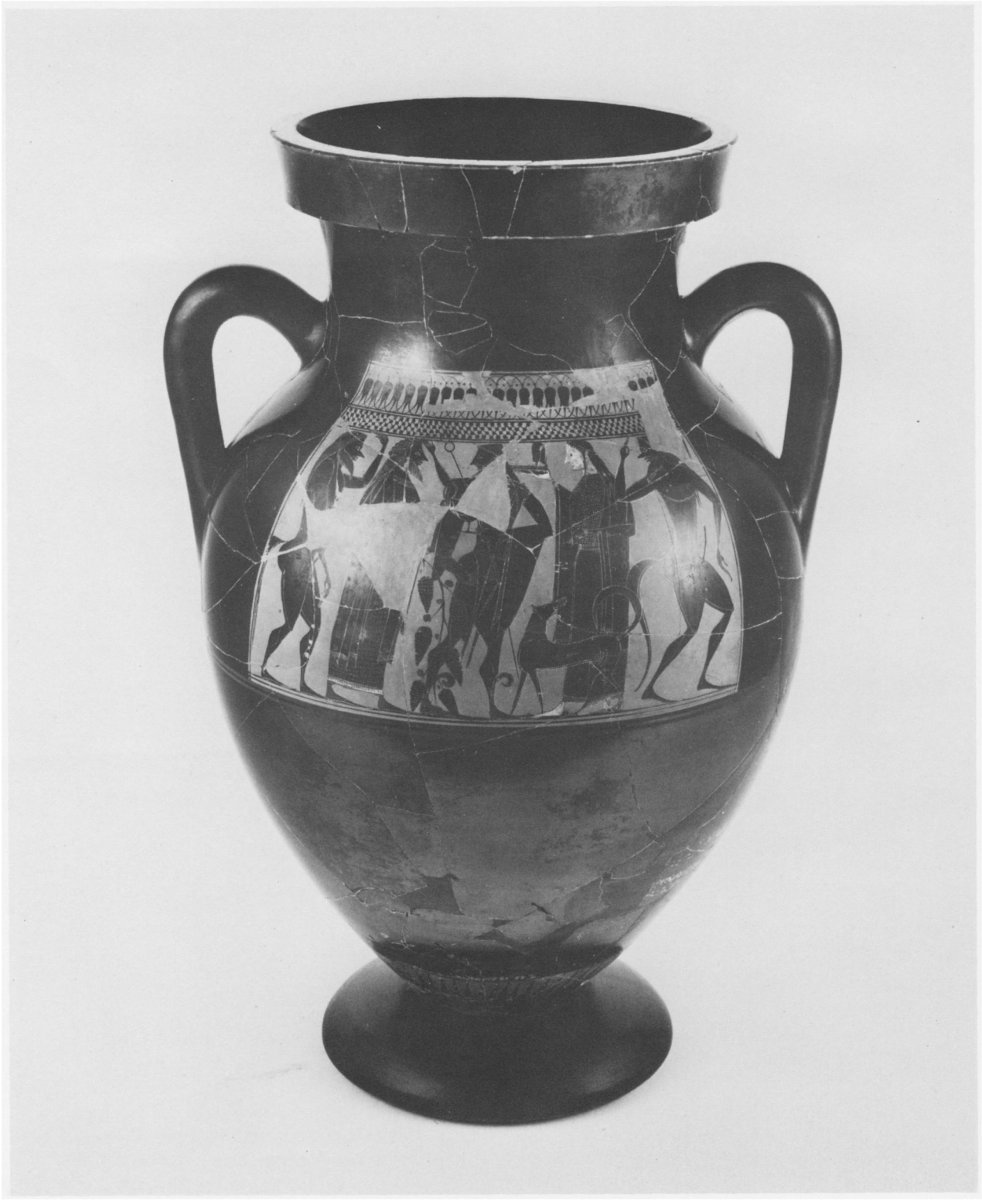

FIGURE 3
View of the whole amphora after restoration, with the new foot attached, side A

FIGURE 4
Same as Figure 3, side B

From these technical and ceramic considerations it is now time to turn to the painted pictures (figs. 5 and 6). As often on amphorae by the Affecter the subject of the obverse is repeated on the reverse. The same five persons appear on each panel. Hermes, in the center, strides to right looking back. His right arm is raised in a gesture of greeting; in his left hand he holds a caduceus that is almost as long as a spear. He wears a short chiton, a belted nebris, a chlamys, and a petasos, as well as boots. This figure separates Dionysos and a woman (Ariadne?) who face each other. Dionysos wears an ivy wreath in his hair and is clad in a chiton and a himation. In his right hand he holds a grapevine; in his left a kantharos; Ariadne (?), a fillet in her hair, wears a peplos and a himation. On one side she raises a phiale in her right hand; on the other she holds a wreath. Her left arm is bent at the elbow, with the forearm and the extended hand held horizontally. On both panels two satyrs flank the central group. Here the painter has allowed himself some variation. The left-hand satyr on one panel turns his face to the spectator (most of his body, alas, is missing) and the two right-hand satyrs differ from one another in the gesture of their right arms. Lastly there is a superb dog with a splendid sickle-shaped curled tail. He appears only once, moving toward Hermes to whom he belongs, but looking with real canine feeling at the satyr on the right. Though exceedingly similar, the panels are clearly not identical, and one of them should be the obverse. Surely the panel with the dog is more interesting, and closer scrutiny also reveals that the figures are better placed. The grapes do not obscure, as they do on the other side, the right leg and buttocks of Hermes; the curving tails of dog and satyr intersect most calligraphically, the chlamys of Hermes hangs over both arms and not like a waiter's napkin only over the left, and the fingers of the raised hands of both satyrs are more articulated with thumb and pinkie forming a circle.

All the figures look as if we have seen them many times before, and they do, indeed, recur singly and in groups on other vases by the Affecter. But the resemblance also extends to other vases, outside the oeuvre of the Affecter. A five-figure composition is the favorite with panel amphorae by the Amasis Painter, occurring on seventeen panel amphorae, far outnumbering other schemes of three, four, or six figures. There is much that the Affecter took from the Amasis Painter, and the central figure of Hermes on the two Walters panels can be matched perfectly on two amphorae by the Amasis Painter, one in Berlin (fig. 7)[9] that also has the dog looking at the flanking figure on the right, and one in the Ludwig Collection (fig. 8)[10] that has a Hermes even closer to the one on the obverse of the Baltimore vase.

There are not many vases by the Affecter that show Dionysos in the same grouping. One in Boston (figs. 9 and 10)[11] comes closest to the Baltimore composition in the panel of its reverse, but there are differences. Dionysos holds the horn, rather than the kantharos, Hermes carries a spear rather than a caduceus and extends his greeting with the left hand, rather than the right. Ariadne's right hand is lowered and is empty. The obverse of the Boston amphora shows Hermes with a caduceus, but in the place of Ariadne there is a bearded man clad in a himation holding a spear. The flanking satyrs are of the same breed on both vases—observe the red faces of the three frontal satyrs on the left (one on the Baltimore reverse, two on the Boston amphora), and the remarkably similar silhouette of the right-hand satyr on the reverses of the two vases. The grapes on both amphorae look as if they had been harvested in the same vineyard at the same time. Two joining fragments of yet another panel, now divided between Milan and Innsbruck,[12] should also come from such a composition: first a frontal satyr with a red forehead and exceptionally long red hair, then Dionysos to right holding a grapevine and a kantharos, and lastly the raised right arm of a bearded figure clad in a chlamys that moves to right and looks round. He probably held nothing in the other hand, like the third figure on the reverse of London B 150.[13] One should have expected two more figures behind the "Hermes"—Ariadne and another satyr—but the Milan-Innsbruck fragments belong to a phase in the Affecter's work when he is content with four figures in the panels and when single satyrs become more common: look at the comical satyr on the right of the obverse in Vienna[14] or, not connected with the main

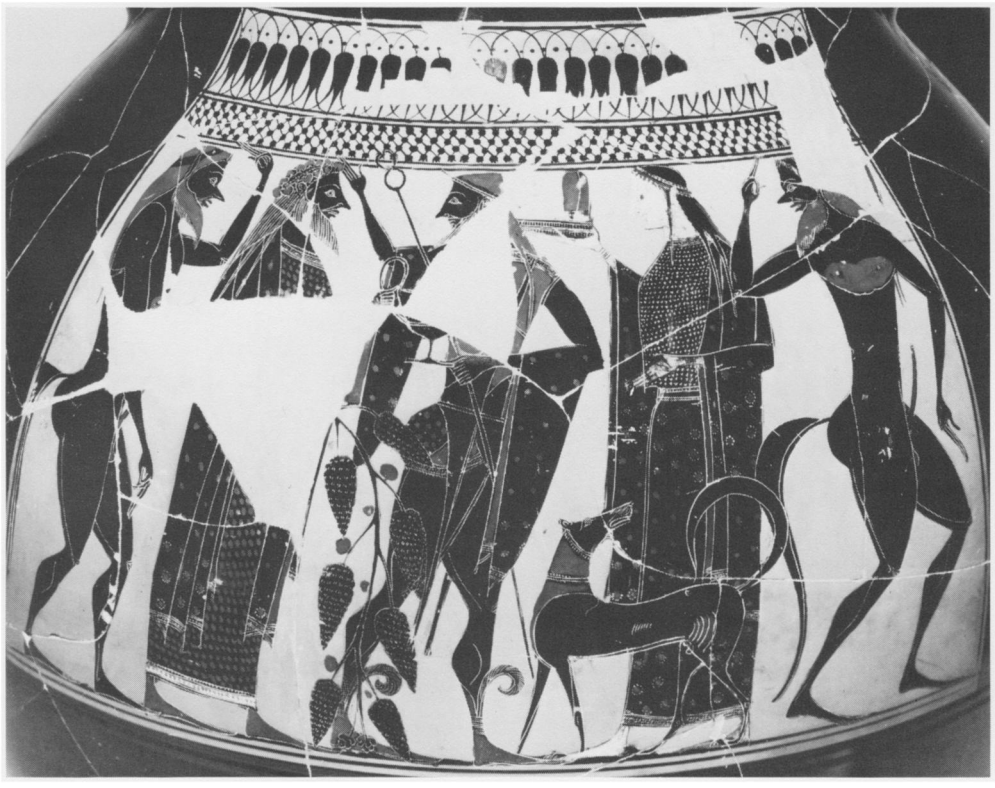

FIGURE 5
Detail showing the panel on side A

FIGURE 6
Detail showing the panel on side B

subject, the single satyrs on the neck-amphora in Florence[15] and in Boulogne-sur-Seine.[16] In the four-figure Dionysiac compositions, a panel-amphora in Orvieto[17] retains the flanking satyrs, Dionysos and Ariadne. Again, as on the Walters amphora, the subject is repeated on the other side, and again, as on the Boston amphora,[18] some of the satyrs are shown for comical effect with their faces in front view. In other four-figure compositions, such as the combat scenes on an amphora in Copenhagen,[19] the flanking figures are unarmed men—quite out of place in combat scenes. What is interesting in such scenes is that the gesture of pinkie and thumb forming a circle is still employed.

Mrs. Mommsen claims that two joining Dionysiac fragments from Naucratis, now divided between London and Bonn, [20] are by the Affecter, whereas Beazley[21] put the London fragment "near the Affecter." Dionysos and Ariadne are shown side by side: the god holds a kantharos and a grapevine, his consort a horn. In front of the pair, moving right and presumably looking round, is a male figure in short chiton and nebris. Of his attribute—either a caduceus or a spear—only the long shaft is preserved, not the head. The Bonn fragment, not known to Beazley, gives half the middle of the central figure and adds part of a figure on the right: a hand holding a spear or scepter and a himation with diagonal folds. The stacked figures of Dionysos and Ariadne would, and this Heide Mommsen is the first to recognize, constitute a unique device in the entire oeuvre of the Affecter, who most assiduously avoids an overlap of figures, but in addition there are other considerations that rule out an attribution to the Affecter himself. The right hand of Dionysos holding the grapevine is shown with all the fingers indicated. While such fingers are shown in the clenched right fists of Hermes holding a spear or caduceus, Dionysos' knuckles of the right fist holding a grapevine are normally not indicated on the vases securely attributed to the Affecter. Different, too, are the bunches of grapes which lack incisions for individual grapes.

Other Dionysiac panels by the Affecter are less close. On his earliest amphora, Tarquinia 625,[22] Dionysos, already established in the position second from left and displaying his kantharos and grapevine, is in rather odd company. He faces Poseidon who holds a spear and a fish. Behind Poseidon a man with spear wearing a chlamys draped over his arms moves to right and looks around. The trio in the center is flanked on the left by a man in chiton and himation holding a spear, and on the right by a naked man clutching a small cloth in his left hand. A dead fox is suspended somehow on the left; the naked man is accompanied by a dog, and a lizard climbs in the space between Poseidon and the man with a chlamys.

On other Dionysiac vases such as the panel-amphorae London B 149,[23] Rhodes 10770,[24] and New York 18.145.15,[25] or the neck-amphorae Wurzburg 176[26] and Orvieto 1014,[27] the only connecting element is the figure of Dionysos, with kantharos and grapevine, facing right: his company is either nondescript or, as on the New York amphora, [28] preoccupied with other matters. The single satyr on London B 149[29] looks more out of place than his colleague on the Vienna amphora.[30] Late in the career of the Affecter even the traditional figure of Dionysos undergoes changes: on the New York amphora[31] he had already switched hands, now holding the grapevine in his left and the kantharos in his right, but he kept his long chiton and himation. On four late neck-amphorae, however, one in Oxford,[32] one in Munich,[33] one in London,[34] and one in Würzburg,[35] Dionysos no longer holds the grapevine, but only the kantharos, and he wears a short gown that only reaches to his knees. On the last of these (Würzburg 175), moreover, he has the winged boots of Hermes. If any of his former companions are left, they are shunted to the handles or turn their backs. The frontal satyr on the Oxford neck-amphora shows off in front of a little man under the handle B/A; Hermes has become the principal figure on the reverse. Male couples, already introduced into Dionysiac scenes on the panel amphora in New York,[36] now continue their amorous pursuits unconcerned about the presence of divinities, and the woman facing Hermes on the reverse defies identification. On the Munich neck-amphora[37] an ambitious sacrificial procession presents a coherent scene on the reverse and under the handle B/A, but there is no obvious connection with the Dionysiac obverse that shows Dionysos to right, followed by two draped men, addressing

FIGURE 7
Amphora in Berlin (1688) by the Amasis Painter

FIGURE 8
Amphora in Cassel in the Ludwig collection by the Amasis Painter

himself to a man in a chlamys while behind the latter two male couples are shown in the familiar courting pose. On these two neck-amphorae Dionysos is accompanied by a goat: on the next, in London,[38] his familiar is a deer. Save for the animal the Dionysiac obverse is the same as on the Munich vase, but the reverse has, in odd juxtapositions, a girl with a very large oinochoe, a fully armed hoplite, a young unarmed rider with a void horse and a seated king. If the Affecter had given the jug held by the girl lateral handles, turning the oinochoe into a hydria, one could think of Polyxena and Troilos taking leave of Priam but that interpretation is rather farfetched. The last neck-amphora of this group, Würzburg 175, shares with the previous one the deer, but behind the man facing Dionysos is a woman moving and looking to right, and the court scene of the two men has turned into a pursuit ludicrously set below the handle A/B.

Still of the realm of Dionysos, though without the god himself, is the return of Hephaistos on a very late neck-amphora in the Basle market.[39] As often with the Affecter his mythology is only dimly remembered or else completely transformed. The central group of Hephaistos on the mule with a little satyr half-squatting below its belly is welcomed by three gesticulating men who bear no resemblance to the Olympians that one would expect. The picture on the other side seen from a distance evokes the traditional procession of Hermes and the three goddesses on their way to be judged by Paris, but only the first of the figures following Hermes is a woman, the others (four, including a small person under the handle) are male.

This rapid survey of Dionysos and his followers on the vases by the Affecter reveals that the painter was content to draw single figures and shunned new or original compositions. A certain affinity with the Amasis Painter can be detected throughout his work, an affinity that goes so far as straight borrowing, but we look in vain for any attempt on the part of the Affecter to try his hand at pictures in which the figures are not merely juxtaposed. Satyrs cry out for maenads, but the latter we only encounter under or near the handles, either *behind* Dionysos as on a neck-amphora in Orvieto[40] or as vignettes, totally divorced from the main scenes, on neck-amphorae in Orvieto[41] and Florence,[42] never in plain view of Dionysos. Even the men that are so often put next to Dionysos lack the compositional commitment of their Amasean model: they do not wait on him as the youths on the Amasis Painter's two amphorae in Munich[43] or Geneva,[44] nor do they show the joyous welcome demonstrated by the youths on an amphora in a Swiss private collection,[45] the Ludwig amphora,[46] and an amphora in the Louvre.[47] And what about Hermes? Beazley[48] speaks of Hermes as leading Dionysos, either to a goddess (as on the Baltimore and Boston amphorae), or to Zeus (obverse of the Boston amphora), but this is by no means certain. Such leadership can be accepted for a panel by the Amasis Painter in the Louvre[49] or the two figures of Hermes leading Apollo.[50] There one has the feeling that both Hermes and Apollo are indeed walking. On the Walters panels, however, both Dionysos and the woman facing him look as if they were standing still, with movement limited to Hermes and, perhaps, the satyrs. In fact we must ask ourselves whether the central figure of Hermes is of any significance in these Baltimore panels or the ones in Boston described above, or whether he has not been simply interpolated as an omnipresent stock figure, also known from thirty other vases that do not show Dionysos. If, indeed, Hermes is not an original member of the cast, but a free addition, his role diminishes, and we are not compelled to give him a part not called for by the script. It therefore no longer is necessary to speak of him as *leading* Dionysos to a god or a goddess: Dionysos and the figure facing him have already met; the "goddess" should, therefore, be Ariadne, and the "god" Ikarios.[51]

There remains the question of the ornament which is not standard. Most panel-amphorae of the period use above the panel either a plain band of lotuses or a combination of palmettes and lotuses. The latter is arranged either like a chain or like a festoon. The Affecter definitely favors the band of lotuses, all but once[52] in the hanging position, sometimes without, but more commonly with dots or short strokes in the interstices. On his amphora in Baltimore he has, however, added a quadruple[53] net pattern below the lotuses. This added pattern lowers the height

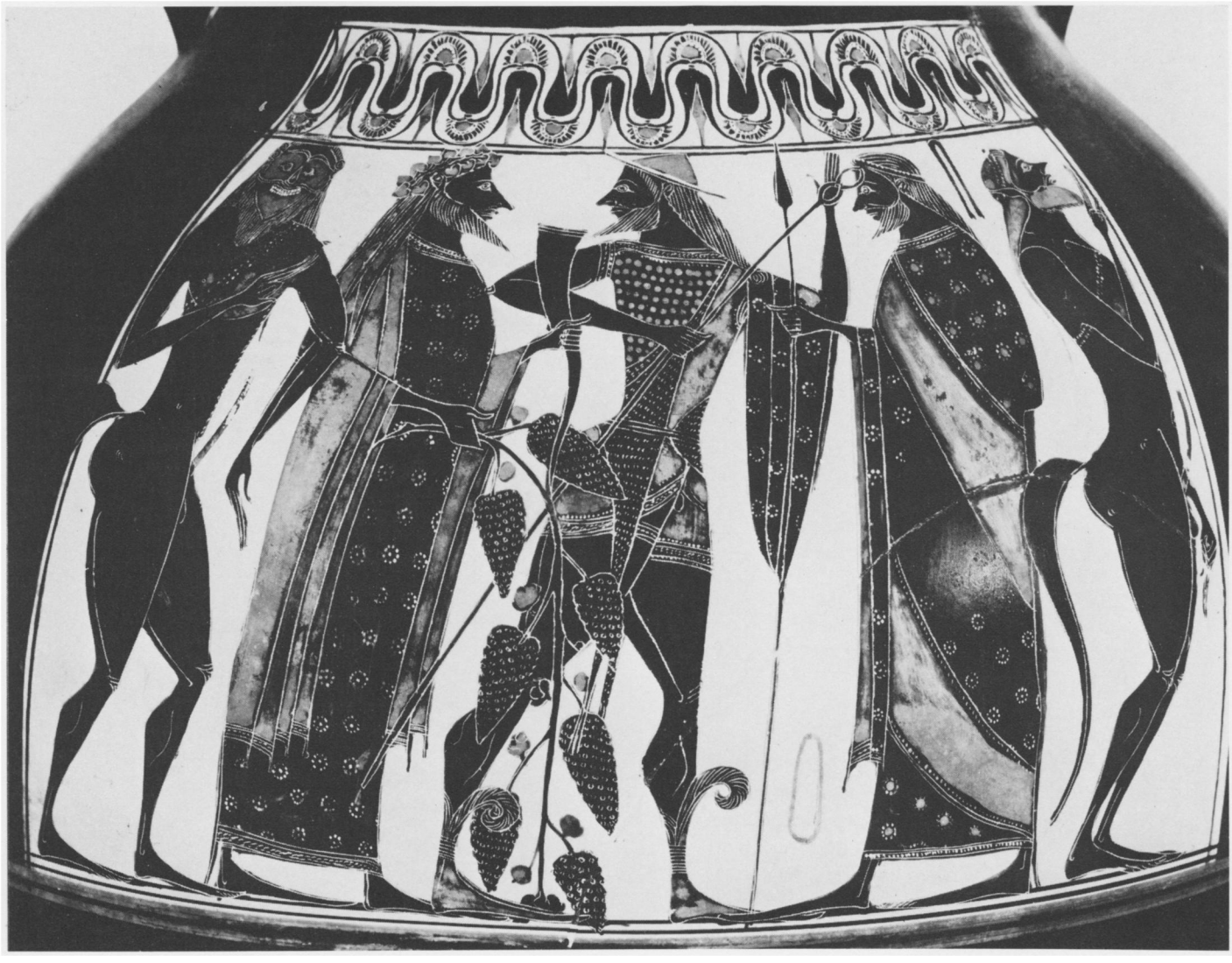

FIGURE 9
Amphora in Boston (01.8053) by the Affecter, side A

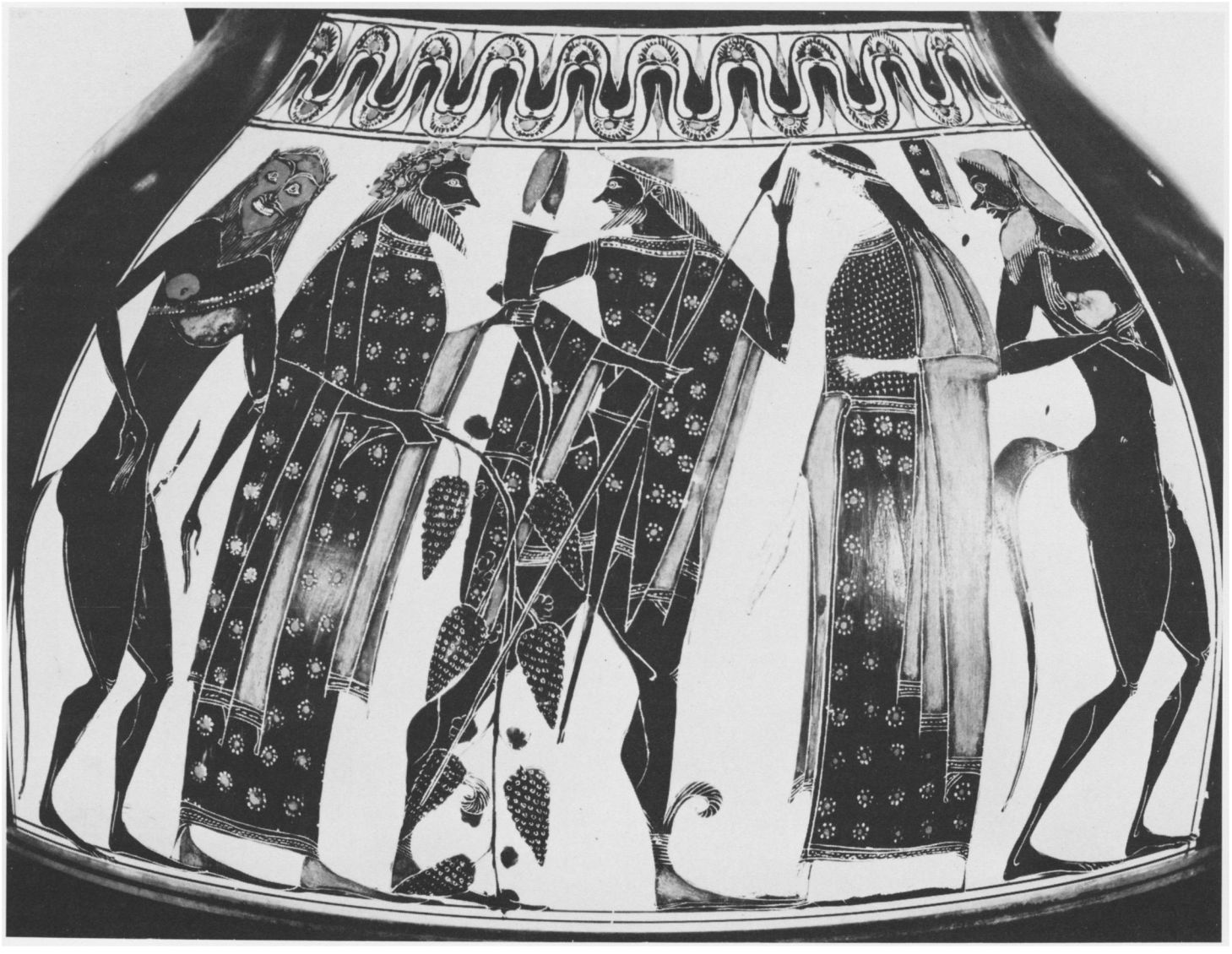

FIGURE 10
Same as Figure 9, side B

of the figures in the panels, and thus brings them down to a more familiar scale, even though the amphora as such is so much taller. Net patterns on amphorae are not very common in Attic black-figure[54] and the combination of net pattern and lotus is unique.

The subject matter of the Baltimore amphora by the Affecter confirms, as has been demonstrated above, the artist's dependence on the Amasis Painter. Mrs. Mommsen has gone to some length to stress the difference in *shape* between certain vases by the Amasis Painter and others by the Affecter.[55] Her monograph, however, fails to exploit fully certain *compositional* similarities between the two painters that, in my opinion, are of chronological significance.[56] Even if the Affecter avoided being narrative in his pictures, he could not in an art dominated by human figures exclude compositions that were popular with the Etruscan clientele. Thus he even goes into complicated mythological scenes like the Amazonomachy on a hydria in Omaha,[57] Achilles brought to Chiron,[58] and Herakles with the hydra.[59] He is also fully familiar with Theseus and the Minotaur, and his arming scenes as well as his combats have their roots in mythology. At an age and a time which almost made a fetish of labelling gods and heroes by inscriptions, he spurns the literary fashion and identifies by name only Hermes, whom anybody could easily have recognized. And when he applies the good wishes for a symposiast on an amphora one senses that he tries to make fun of convention. The "well-dressed gentlemen, some with beard, others with clean face" of whom Beazley speaks[60] mark him as a dandy. His selectivity both of form and content establish the Affecter as a maverick, but the sheer number of his works that have survived—about the same as those by the Amasis Painter and many more than those by Exekias or Lydos—reveals that he did not suffer from lack of recognition or commercial success. Besides, both the potting and the technique of painting are excellent and faultless. If he did not establish a school, he had at least one colleague and confrère, the Painter of Elbows Out, and more than a generation after he stopped painting, mannerism, of which he had been the first exponent, flourished again in Attica in the days of the Pan Painter.

It is therefore of some importance to see exhibited without misleading restorations his biggest vase and to be at long last able to put this major work of his into its proper context.

FOOTNOTES

[1]*Attic Black-figure: a Sketch* (1928), pp. 37-38; *idem, Attic Black-figure Vase-painters* (1956), pp. 239-248, 690-691, 715 (hereafter *ABV*); *Paralipomena* (1971), pp. 110-112, 524. A recent two-volume monograph by Heide Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Mayence, 1975) has made the Affecter the best documented Attic black-figure vase-painter. Mrs. Mommsen discusses, analyses, and illustrates virtually every aspect of his work. In the notes that follow I have used her (new) numbers and given the references to her plates.

[2]No. 52, pls. 7, 62, 139.

[3]No. 95, pls. 12, 103-104.

[4]First reported by W. Helbig in *Bollettino dell'Instituto Archeologico* 1879, pp. 85-88; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*[2] (1963), p. 23, no. 2 (hereafter *ARV*[2]).

[5]Cf. D. von Bothmer and Joseph V. Noble, *An Inquiry into the Forgery of the Etruscan Terracotta Warriors in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (*MMA Papers* No. 11, 1961), p. 28. The Walters vase was first mentioned in the catalogue of the Massarenti collection *(Catalogue du Musée de Peinture, Sculpture et Archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* [Rome, 1879], vol. 1, p. 48, no. 218). Oddly enough the height there given is 67 cm., instead of 61.5 cm.

[6]No. 95, pls. 12, 103-104.

[7]No. 3, pls. 1 and 17.

[8]As happened to Louvre G 103 (Beazley *ARV*[2] p. 14, no. 2) in May, 1979.

[9]J. D. Beazley, *ABV* p. 150, no. 9.

[10]J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena,* p. 65.

[11]No. 15, pls. 2, 24, and 138.

[12]Nos. 60 and 60a, pl. 70.

[13]No. 62, pls. 8 and 71.

[14]No. 32, pls. 3 and 38.

[15]No. 98, pls. 108-109.

[16]No. 99, pls. 13, 110-111.

[17]No. 95, pls. 12, 103-104.

[18]No. 15, pls. 2, 24, and 138.

[19]No. 100, pls. 12 and 112.

[20]Nos. 16-16a, pl. 20.

[21]*ABV* p. 248, no. 1.

[22]No. 1, pls. 1 and 15.

[23]No. 59, pls. 8 and 69.

[24]No. 70, pl. 75.

[25]No. 71, pls. 8 and 76.

[26]No. 87, pls. 11, 94-95, and 137.

[27]No. 92, pls. 11, 100-101.

[28]No. 71, pls. 8 and 76.

[29]No. 59, pls. 8 and 69.

[30]No. 32, pls. 3 and 38.

[31]No. 71, pl. 76.
[32]No. 103, pls. 13 and 115.
[33]No. 106, pls. 14, 118-119.
[34]No. 107, pls. 14, 120-121, 137, and 139.
[35]No. 109, pls. 14, 123-124.
[36]No. 71, pl. 76.
[37]No. 106.
[38]No. 107, pl. 121.
[39]No. 110, pls. 14 and 125.
[40]No. 92, pls. 100-101.
[41]Nos. 96-97, pls. 106-107.
[42]No. 98, pls. 108-109.
[43]Inv. 8763 (*Paralipomena* p. 65) and 1383 (*ABV* p. 150, no. 7).
[44]*ABV* p. 150, no. 8; *CVA* Geneva 2 (forthcoming).
[45]*Paralipomena* p. 65.
[46]*Paralipomena* p. 65.
[47]F 25. *ABV* p. 150, no. 4; *Paralipomena* p. 62.
[48]*ABV* pp.245-246, nos. 69 and 72.
[49]*ABV* p. 150, no. 4.
[50]Berlin 1688 (*ABV* p. 150, no. 9 and *Paralipomena* p. 63) and Aachen, Ludwig (*Paralipomena* p. 65).
[51]As Beazley has already called such figures facing Dionysos, without Hermes (e.g. *ABV* pp. 242 ff., nos. 34, 37, 44, 45, 46, 89, and *Paralipomena* p. 111, no. 68 bis).
[52]The exception is Ny Carlsberg 2692, Mommsen no. 100, pls. 12 and 112.
[53]Called by Beazley *ABV* p. 245 a "triple net" and by H. Mommsen *(op. cit.,* p. 71) a checkerboard pattern.
[54]Cf. the double nets above the panels of such later amphorae B as Walters 48.13 and Würzburg 261 (E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen . . . Wurzburg* [1932], pl. 72). A good parallel for the lowering of the figure height through the addition of a second ornamental band is furnished by a panel-amphora in a Swiss private collection that Beazley attributed to the Painter of Vatican 342 (*Paralipomena* p. 187) while Mrs. Mommsen gives it to the BMN Painter *(op. cit.,* p. 50, pl. 140).
[55]*Op. cit.,* p. 80.
[56]It must be remembered that a vase-painter borrowing a motive or a formula from a colleague must have done so before the work of the other left the country; hence the similarities between the Amasis Painter and the Affecter are evidence for a synchronism that Mrs. Mommsen does not accept *(op. cit.,* p. 81).
[57]No. 89, pl. 97.
[58]No. 53, pl. 63.
[59]No. 99, pls. 13, 110-111.
[60]*Attic Black-figure: a Sketch,* p. 23.

Odysseus and Nausicaa on an Attic black figure vase, 6th century B.C. The Walters Art Gallery 48.198

Theseus and Nausicaa

FRANK BROMMER

The hero and heroine of the title certainly never met during their lives, but both are apparently represented on an Attic vase in the Walters Art Gallery (see illustrations).

It is an Attic black-figured vase of a peculiar shape, several varieties of which exist. The foot can be long or short and can be set off from the body with or without a plastic ring. The vessel can also have three feet in tripod arrangement, as well as a various number of handles. The shape exists with and without the lid and the groove necessary for it. The out-turned rim always leads vertically into the interior of the vase. Vases of this shape were also made outside Attica, in Boeotia, Crete and Corinth.

We know numerous examples of this shape and its variants, and it is also not rare as a miniature vase.[1] Its name and use in antiquity is still disputed. No less than five different ancient names have been proposed: *Exaleiptron*[2], *Cothon, Kylichnis, Plemochoe* and *Smematotheke.*

Although used by Beazley even in his last publications, the name of *Cothon*[3] is surely wrong. According to the ancient descriptions *Cothon* refers to a drinking cup. For this use our vessel is not practical. Nor can the name *Kylichnis*[4] be correct, because this name signified a cup, a pyxis or a mixing vessel for medicine. The *Plemochoe*[5] was a vessel known to have been used on the last day of the Eleusinian mysteries. Few examples, if any, of our shape have been found at Eleusis so we have no proof for this supposition. The shape with the rim sloping deeply inwards functions to prevent spilling of liquids. In vase paintings the shape is usually represented in female scenes and on tombs. It is therefore logical to suppose a use for ointments.

The most probable name for this shape is, therefore, *Exaleiptron,* as proposed by J. Scheibler, or *Smematotheke* with related names *Smematodokis, Smematodochos,* and *Smematophoreion.*

Among Attic vases of this shape, black-figured examples are not frequent. The one in Baltimore is one of the earliest, and must have been painted before or around the middle of the sixth century B.C. The subject is a battle between three centaurs with branches or a stone, and two helmeted warriors, armed with shield and lance. It is, therefore, not the battle with the centaurs that took place immediately after the marriage of Peirithoos in the hall and which was carried out only with auxiliary weapons like vessels and candelabra, but rather the later fight with real arms in the open air.[6] Women, who would naturally belong to the battle in the hall since the quarrel arose because of them, are missing. Thus, the picture is typologically similar to the centaur fight on the krater by Klitias in Florence, which is also chronologically close.[7] There one of the heroes is inscribed with the name Theseus. Although names are missing, it will not be wrong to recognize Theseus and Peirithoos on the vessel in Baltimore as well.

If one sees the vase in its glass case only from one side, one could suppose that the theme of the centaur fight was represented all around. Any number of heroes or centaurs could be added until the picture was filled. Surprisingly, this is not the case. The woman behind the left centaur cannot belong to this fight, because women did not participate at the open air battle. She is also not fleeing from the monster, but runs, on the contrary, towards him. Therefore, beginning with her, a second subject must fill the other half of the surface; a formal separation between the two subjects does not exist. On the other half of the vase are a bearded, naked man and seven women, five of them running excitedly to the right, gesturing fearfully. Only the two women standing next to the man still hesitate and have not yet started fleeing. With a wide step the man hurries towards the woman and grasps her hand.[8] For this subject one might first suggest the battle between Peleus and Thetis[9], also popular in archaic times. The

Nausicaa's companions.

Theseus and Peirithoos.

Theseus and Peirithoos

fleeing girls might then be the Nereids, the sisters of Thetis. Against this interpretation is the fact that the man is bearded, but this would not be a serious problem because Peleus, the father of Achilles, is occasionally represented with beard. That the beasts, into which Thetis can change herself, are missing is also not decisive, because they are not always represented. A more telling argument against this interpretation is the fact that Peleus is usually represented clothed, and that even when the fight with Thetis is not yet going on, a persecution is represented, but apparently never a peaceful handshake, as on the vase in Baltimore.

So it seems that here no other interpretation is possible but the meeting of Odysseus and Nausicaa, already indicated in the title. In the sixth book of the Odyssey, Homer describes how Athena suggested to the dreaming Nausicaa that she wash her clothes in the river outside the town. When this was done, the servant girls played ball with Nausicaa. While they played, the ball fell into the river and the girls cried aloud. Odysseus, shipwrecked and stranded on the island of the Phaeakans, awoke, covered his nakedness with a branch and went toward the girls. While the other girls ran away terrified, Nausicaa remained, encouraged by Athena, and listened to the speech of the hero. This moment seems to be represented here, although the branch is missing and Homer does not speak of handshaking. Such minor deviations from the Homeric text are quite common with vase painters. In later pictures Odysseus often wears a pilos on his head, by which he can frequently be recognized, but this does not always occur, and especially not in the early pictures. In this scene it would be wholly out of place for the shipwrecked hero. The missing pilos in this picture is therefore no argument against the interpretation as Odysseus.

Curiously enough, this well-known myth, dealt with by Alkman in a poem, by Sophokles in a drama, and by Polygnotos in a painting, has been represented only rarely in vase painting and elsewhere.[10] In addition to the Baltimore vase this subject is known only on two or possibly three Attic red-figured vases: a neck-amphora in Munich, a pyxis in Boston, and probably a Kantharos in the British Museum.

On the famous chest of Kypselos was represented, among other subjects, a chariot with two women, according to Pausanias (V, 19, 9) who reports that they are thought to be Nausicaa and a friend driving the chariot with the linen to be washed. But Odysseus was not represented on the chest of Kypselos. In modern days this interpretation has been doubted several times. But the reasoning, "The relatively rare archaic illustrations of the Odyssey do not represent the legend of the Phaeakan myth,"[11] is today out of date. Archaic illustrations of the Odyssey are no longer so very rare, and with the vase in Baltimore, the story of Nausicaa is also documented for archaic times.

The vase is, therefore not only generally remarkable because of a figural and so early decoration which is not frequent on this shape, but it is also important because it represents two different myths brought together here without any relationship to one another, but just as they occurred to the vase painter. The pictures on the two sides of other vase shapes, cups, amphoras, etc., often do not have a connection with one another.

If the interpretation is correct, the Baltimore vase offers not only a welcome addition to the few representations of Nausicaa known until now, but it is also more than a century older than any other representation and thereby predates the Sophoklean drama and the Polygnotan wall painting, hitherto believed to be the earliest pictorial echos of the Homeric story. It is also one of the earliest pictures of Odysseus in general.

Futhermore, the statement of Pausanias that the Nausicaa story appeared on the chest of Kypselos is seen in a new light. A representation of this myth already in the sixth century B.C. is in no way any more surprising if one thinks of other pictures of Odysseus of the same time in other connections. On the contrary, it is astonishing that such a representation becomes known only now.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Sir John D. Beazley, *Attic Black-figure Vase-painters,* Oxford, 1956, p. 657 (13 examples). I thank D. Buitron cordially for the photos and information as well as for the permission to publish vase no. 48.198.

[2]Gisela M. A. Richter and Marjorie J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases,* New York, 1935, p. 22. The authors do not yet mention this name. For the name see: I. Scheibler, "Exaleiptra," *Jdl,* 79, 1964, pp. 72-108, especially p. 90 for the various shapes; and Scheibler, "Kothon—Exaleiptron," *AA,* 1968, pp. 389-397. Helga Gericke, *Gefässdarstellungen auf griechischen Vasen,* Berlin, 1970, p. 82, agrees with the use of the name Exaleiptron.

[3]E. Kirsten, "Kothon in Sparta und Karthago," *Charites. Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft,* Bonn, 1957, p. 111; and Joseph Veach Noble, *The techniques of painted Attic Pottery,* New York, 1956, p. 26, still uses the erroneous name Plemochoe or Kothon for the shape of our vessel. See also Paolino Mingazzini, "Qual'era la forma del vaso chiamato dai Greci Kothon?" *AA,* 1967, pp. 344-361; and with reference to that vase, Oscar Broneer, "Excavations at Isthmia," *Hesperia,* 28, 1959, p. 335, no. 9, pl. 70, i; A. Seeberg, "Musical Drinking Cups," *JHS,* 92, 1972, p. 184; and Brian Sparkes, "Illustrating Aristophanes," *JHS,* 95, 1975, pp. 128-9, pl. 13b (against the use of the name Kothon for the shape of our vessel).

[4]Marjorie J. Milne, "Kylichnis," *AJA,* 43, 1939, pp. 247-54; J. Tréheux, "Pisgis" *Revue archéologique,* 38, 1951, pp. 1-11; Wesley E. Thompson, "The Silver Cups in the Parthenon," *AJA,* 69, 1965, p. 230; H. L. Lazzarini, "Nomi dei vasi greci," *Archeologia Classica,* 25/6, 1973-4, p. 354.

[5]For this name see Richter and Milne (note 2 above). However, opposing this is R. Lullies, "Plemochoe," *Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopedie,* and W. Hahland, "Neue Denkmäler des attischen Heroen— und Totenkultes," *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker,* Berlin, Akademie Press, 1954, p. 188, who considered Plemochoe to be pouring vessels.

[6]For both battles of the centaurs, in the hall and in the open air, see John P. Barron, "New Light on Old Walls: Murals of the Theseion," *JHS,* 92, 1972, p. 25.

[7]Adolf Furtwängler and Karl Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei,* Munich, 1904-32, pl. 1, and Beazley, *ABV,* p. 76, no. 1.

[8]Perhaps even both hands. It is unclear what he is grasping with his left hand.

[9]About 180 Attic, black-figured representations of this theme are known: Frank Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechische Heldensage,* 3rd edition, Marburg, 1973, pp. 321-9; X. Krieger, *Peleus und Thetis in der Vasenmalerei,* Munich dissertation, 1975.

[10]Brommer, *Vasenlisten*[3], p. 433; Brommer, *Denkmälerlisten zur griechischen Heldensage,* 3rd volume, Marburg, 1976, p. 279.

[11]W. von Massow, "Die Kypseloslade," *AM,* 41, 1916, p. 99.