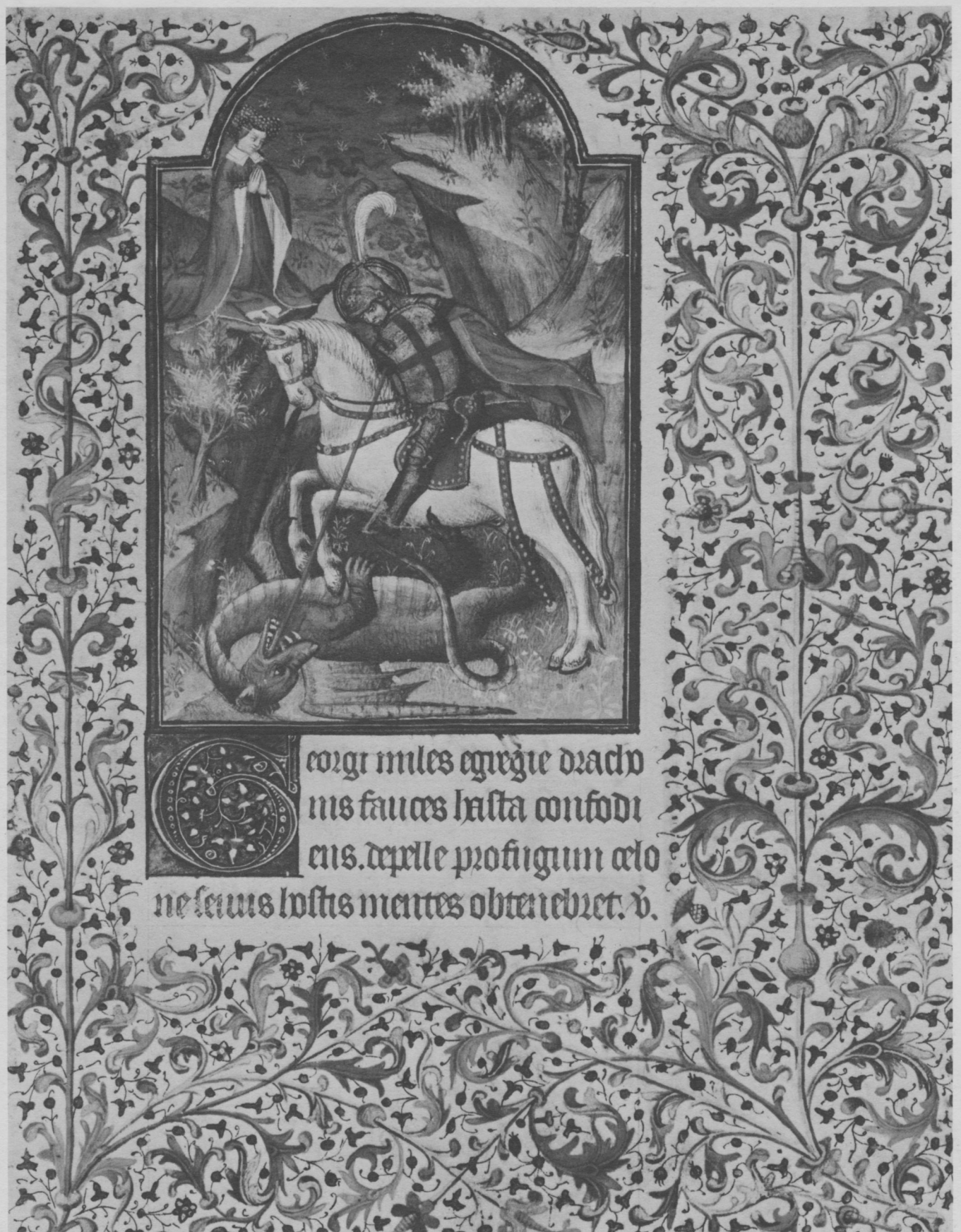

The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery

The Journal

of the

Walters Art Gallery

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On the cover: Miniature of St. George and the dragon from a French Book of Hours, about 1430. (The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS.W.287, f.144.)

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The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery is listed in *Art Index.*

Editor of the Journal: Carol Strohecker

Contents

The Bride of Savoy

Mary Ellen Sigmond

1. *Bride of Savoy*, Frank B. Mayer, 1890. Oil on canvas. 17⅞ × 15⅝ in. Signed on fence rail at lower right with monogram spelling MAYER/1890. Mayer's interest in depicting the lifestyles of people in removed places began during his period of instruction under Baltimore artist Alfred Jacob Miller. (The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 37.2515.)

The scene depicts an incident in the festivities accompanying a traditional wedding celebration in the French village of Arèches, Savoy, during the 1860s (fig. 1). The moment portrayed occurs shortly after the marriage ceremony has been performed. The participants have left the church and are assembled at the future home of the bride, who stands in the doorway with her new parents-in-law. She has just had a traditional white apron tied on over her dress and wears around her neck a chain with a cross at the end, the groom's customary gift to the bride.

On the steps at the left is the rest of the wedding party. With one foot on the uppermost step is the bridegroom, dressed in his best with his top hat in hand and a tinsel boutonnière in his lapel. Behind him stands the village *curé*, or parish priest, who has performed the ceremony. Next is the groomsman, also wearing the customary tinsel boutonnière and top hat. At the far left, holding a prayer book and carrying a large-brimmed straw hat over her arm, is the bridesmaid.

The mother-in-law, having first asked the bride if she will be sure to love all her new relations, is advising the young newly-wed to run her household so as never to be in need of the symbolic loaf of bread being given her. With knife poised, the bride stands ready to cut the loaf for distribution to the neediest persons in attendance: the crippled man, his wife, and their two children, who wait behind the fence at the right.[1]

The artist, Baltimore-born Frank B. Mayer (1827-1899), spent eight years, from late 1862 until almost the end of 1870, in France, mainly in Paris. For several months of each of the years 1866, 1867, and 1869, however, he sojourned in the remote village of Arèches, Savoy, high in the French alps within sight of Mont Blanc. Savoy had been a part of France only since 1860, and, retaining its old dialect, traditions, and modes of dress, was considered picturesque and medieval—even somewhat exotic. While in Arèches, Mayer lived with the family of a congenial innkeeper, Aimé Duc-Jacquet, and spent many hours sketching the members of the household and their numerous relations, as well as other village inhabitants. With great enthusiasm he detailed their distinctive clothing and noted their customs and everyday activities.

In his sketchbooks from these years, now part of the collection of Mayer drawings in the Baltimore Museum of Art,[2] are, drawn from life, most of the figures that were later incorporated into the *Bride of Savoy*. As frequently happened with Mayer's sketched ideas for paintings, however, the concept for this work was unrealized for a considerable interval. It was not until 1890, almost 20 years after returning from France, that the artist painted this work.

Mayer's letters and the jottings in his sketchbooks tell us something about the people who were the models for the figures portrayed. The bride is the innkeeper's daughter, Angelique (figs. 2-5). Young and attractive, she appears frequently in the drawings. Mayer describes her as "quite bewitching...pretty...and with natural and graceful manners" as he observed her "dressed in the peculiar head dress of the canton."[3] She and the artist carried on a mild flirtation and even half-considered marriage. They corresponded briefly after he departed. Mayer continued to use his drawings of her for a number of paintings after he returned from Europe.

5. Detail of fig. 4. Angelique's midsection showing the artist's interest in how she holds the knife.

2. Angelique Duc-Jacquet and her father Aimé. Sketchbook 84, 1866. This head of Angelique was used for the bride. Even the shadows remain similar. Although as the father-in-law Duc-Jacquet faces three-quarters front, the similarity in the proportions of the facial features, the downward gaze, and the benign expression on his face in the sketch parallel the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

3. Detail of fig. 2. Head of Angelique as the bride.

4. Angelique Duc-Jacquet. Sketchbook 84, 1866. Head and shoulders of Angelique posed as the bride. Enlarged mid-section shows her holding the knife. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

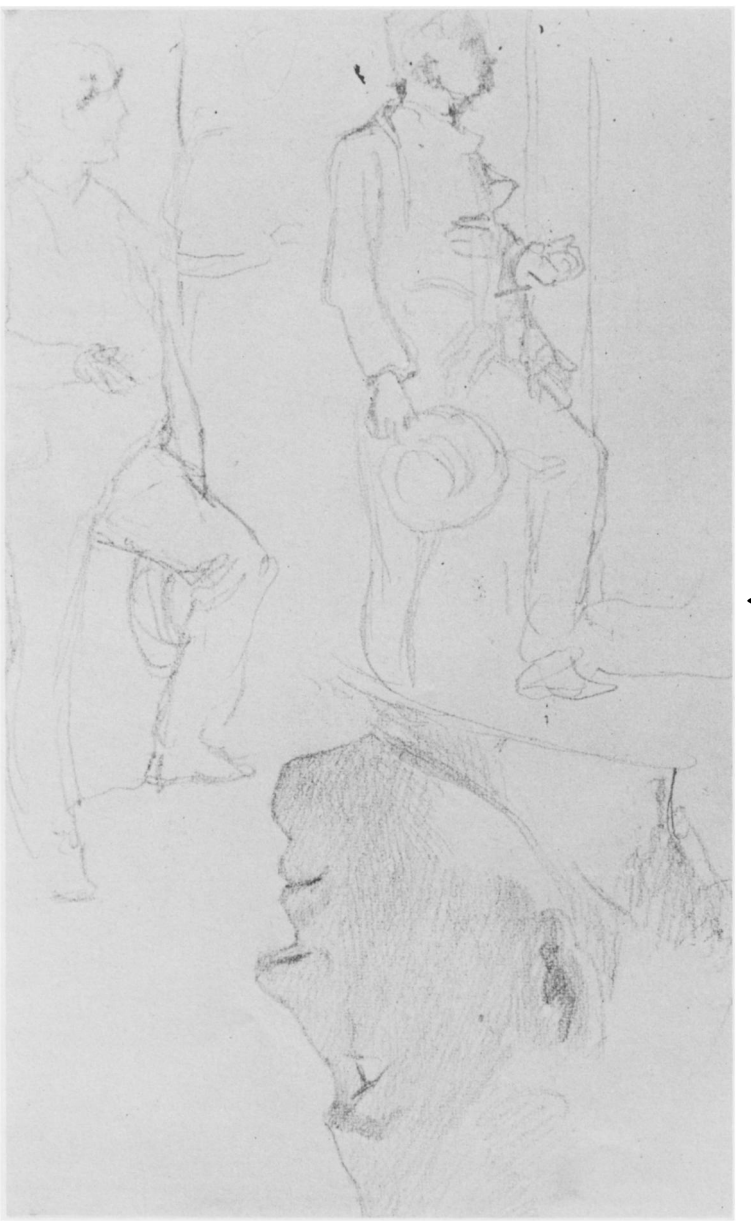
7. Detail of fig. 6. Mme. Marguerite Duc-Jacquet holding a loaf of bread.

The bride's father-in-law and mother-in-law are the innkeeper and his wife Marguerite (figs. 6-8). Both appear in the sketchbooks and in some of Mayer's other known paintings. The artist's correspondence with and about the family reveals a warm and friendly relationship.

6. Mme. Marguerite Duc-Jacquet holding a loaf of bread. Sketchbook 83, 1866. One of many sketches of Mme. Duc-Jacquet engaged in household activities. The idea was later adapted to the composition of the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

The groom, unidentified by name, is probably a local youth whose wedding Mayer observed in 1867, for there are several pages of quickly executed sketches showing the youth's head in profile and his full-length figure in the characteristic stance (figs. 9-11).

8. Marguerite Duc-Jacquet, the mother-in-law. Sketchbook 84, 1866. Of the many sketches of Mme. Duc-Jacquet, this one shows best the face that was adapted for the mother-in-law figure. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)



◀9. The groom. Sketchbook 85, 1867. One of several pages on which Mayer sketched the groom as he observed a wedding in Arèches, Savoy. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

10. The groom. Sketchbook 85, 1867. The stance is reversed in the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

◀11. Head of the groom. Sketchbook 85, 1867. Detail from one of the several pages on which profile heads of this young man appear, sketched at his wedding. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

12. The parish priest. Sketchbook 84, 1866. Monsieur Le Curé in a typical pose. The inset of the head shown in three-quarters view was reversed for the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

◀13. The parish priest. Sketchbook 85, 1867. Detail showing the priest's head in profile, probably sektched at the wedding in Arèches. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

◀14. Joseph Duc-Jacquet as the groomsman. Sketchbook 84, 1866. Portrait head of Angelique's brother Joseph, later adapted for the groomsman in the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

The parish priest, identified only as "Monsieur Le Curé," is also portrayed in several related sketches, some of them with slightly humorous overtones (figs. 12-13). The artist, though not religious himself, was on good terms with the village clergy, having earned their gratitude for a small work painted for their roadside oratory.

The groomsman is derived from a portrait sketch of Angelique's brother Joseph, a good-natured, obliging young man of whom Mayer was very fond (fig. 14).

The bridesmaid combines two drawings of Angelique, the first providing the full profile used in the painting, the second contributing the pose (figs. 15-17).

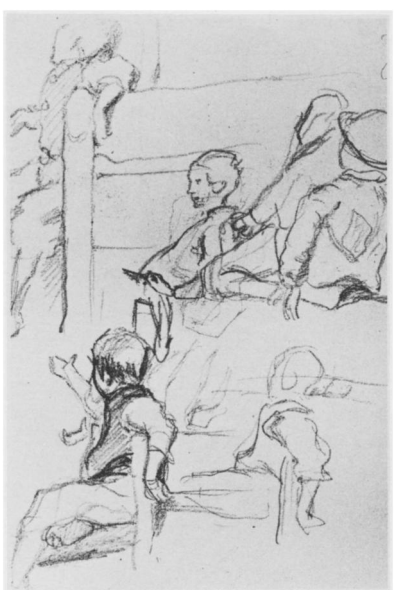
Sketches of the mother and the two children of the needy family occur on pages in close proximity to—and sometimes intermingled with—drawings of the groom, indicating the probability that all of these figures were observed and jotted down at the same wedding (figs. 18-23). The only person in the painting who does not appear in the sketchbooks is the bent and crippled father with his crutch, who was probably introduced at the time of composition to point out to the viewer the misfortune causing the family's need to seek charity.

15. Angelique. Sketchbook 83, 1866. One of many sketches made of Angelique performing household tasks, it supplies the profile of the bridesmaid in the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

16. Angelique as the bridesmaid. Sketchbook 85, 1867. The stance and costume of the bridesmaid in the painting. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

17. Detail of fig. 16. Angelique as the bridesmaid.

18. The mother of the needy family. Sketchbook 85, 1867. The tense, drawn face and tightly clasped hands are emphasized in this drawing of the mother, one of the group sketched at an actual wedding. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)



21. The little boy of the needy family. Sketchbook 85, 1867. One of several pages of sketches showing the boy waiting eagerly for the bread to be given to him. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

19. Detail of the mother's hands. Sketchbook 85, 1867. The artist's concern with the tightly clasped hands indicates the tension that the artist observed in the figure. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

20

20. The little girl of the needy family. Sketchbook 85, 1867. This sketch was translated to the painting with only minor changes. It is from one of the pages filled with sketches apparently made at a real wedding in Arèches. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

23. Preparatory sketches. Sketchbook 85, 1867. Mayer sometimes incorporated small details into his compositions from pages of hastily put down fragments of scenes he observed. Here, the boy's head, leg and foot, both hands, and his vest were selected from the melange. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

23

22. Detail of fig. 21. This sketch of the little boy is closest to the pose used in the painting.

The background, showing the entrance to the bride's future home, is based in part on sketches of a village house (fig. 24). Mayer describes the typical alpine dwelling as being "built in the style peculiar to this country...the lower stories very solid, of stone, the walls a couple of feet thick, and the whole covered by a projecting roof." [4] The segmental arch of the doorway in the painting is noted briefly as a memorandum at the edge of the page showing Angelique as the bridesmaid with the cartwheel hat.

That Mayer felt great affection for the people of Arèches is evident in his correspondence:

> The people here are truly good, religious, moral, and kind, and I have never met with more kindness than during my stay among these mountaineers....I have had the opportunity of seeing the interior life denied to most strangers—for indeed very few strangers ever visit this out-of-the-way place....I should be well contented to pass my days here away from the bother and bustle of more commercial lands.[6]

Thus, it seems, he created this painting with more than the usual amount of feeling for his subject, and perhaps with a lingering nostalgia as well, for this is the last of more than 23 works based on his Savoy sketches of old friends, an old love, and the one place in France where he felt at home.

24. Exterior of an alpine house. Savoy. Sketchbook 83, 1866. These sketches showing the deep overhang implied by the bracing of the roof complement the house in the painting and Mayer's verbal description of a typical dwelling in the area. (The Baltimore Museum of Art.)

Originally bought by George W. Abell (1842-1894) of Baltimore in 1890, the *Bride of Savoy* later passed into the hands of Glenn C. Wilhide of Frederick, from whom it was purchased in 1974 by the Walters Art Gallery. It is the artist's second version of this subject. The location of the first, painted about 1882, is unknown.[6]

Mayer's interest in depicting the customs and dress of people in Arèches is an oblique tribute to the influence of his early master, Alfred Jacob Miller, with whom he had studied as a youth of seventeen or eighteen. The two retained a close friendship as well as a continuing master-student relationship until Miller died in 1874. Under Miller's influence, Mayer went west to draw the Dakota Indians, who were gathered at Traverse des Sioux, Minnesota Territory, for a land cession treaty in 1851.[7] There he put down his observations of the indigenous people with much the same enthusiasm and in much the same detail that he later sketched the Savoy inhabitants.

Miller himself had visited the Alps during his student days in Europe in the early 1830s, and, after hearing of Mayer's sojourn in Savoy, wrote a letter to his erstwhile pupil reminiscing with evident enjoyment about his early adventures.[8] Mayer's study under Miller was followed in 1846-1847 by a few months of instruction at the night school of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts; in 1850 by five months of lessons from Ernst Fischer, a Dresden artist living in Baltimore; and later in Paris by work under Charles Gleyre and Gustave Brion—and all of this instruction left its mark. However, Mayer retained the protracted interest in the delineation of remote and picturesque peoples that began during his period of instruction under Miller.

Notes

1. For an account of marriage customs in Savoy, see Estella Canziani, *Costumes, Traditions and Songs of Savoy*, London, Chatto and Windus, 1911, 131-133.

2. The Mayer sketchbooks and drawings were given to the Baltimore Museum of Art in 1936 by Mrs. John Sylvester (Mary Benton Brewer Sylvester), who was Mayer's step-daughter.

3. Frank B. Mayer to his mother E. C. Mayer, 17 July 1866, Mayer Papers, Box 7, Envelope 1, Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Mayer's account book, 1862-1898, Baltimore Museum of Art.

7. For an account of this journey, see Mayer's published diary, Bertha L. Heilbron, ed., *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851*, St. Paul, The Minnesota Historical Society, 1932.

8. Alfred J. Miller to Frank B. Mayer, 12 October 1866, Mayer Papers, Box 8, Envelope 2, Library of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

An Illustrated 18th-Century Ottoman Hamse in the Walters Art Gallery

Günsel Renda

The art of illumination in the Ottoman Empire during the first half of the 18th century is well represented by thirty-nine miniatures in a copy of Atayi's *Hamse*, dated 1721 A.D., one of six Ottoman manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery (W. 666).[1]

Manuscript illustrations, a major Ottoman art form, were produced mainly for courtly patrons until the 19th century, developing distinctive characteristics as a result.[2] Although they belonged to the Islamic pictorial tradition, Ottoman miniatures differed from those executed in other Islamic lands, especially in their iconography. As the miniatures were designed chiefly to record events and exalt the royal figures, history and portraiture were the most prevalent subjects in Ottoman painting.

The 16th century, the era of greatest royal patronage, coincided with the periods of military and political expansion in the Ottoman Empire. Many of the historical accounts of these expeditions, military campaigns, and royal celebrations were illustrated. In narrating these themes, which were often contemporary events, the Ottoman artists were concerned with the accurate presentation of events in their proper settings.

The 16th century saw an output of illustrated histories of great artistic and documentary value that mirror the political and social history of the Empire. In the 17th century, however, there was a gradual decrease in the production of historical manuscripts. As this was a period of stagnation for the Ottoman Empire, these eulogizing works were replaced by literary ones. There was also a taste for genre scenes and costume studies, which were pasted into albums on separate folios. Also notable was a gradual shift from courtly patronage to private commissions, as well as a shift from the capital to provincial schools.

The first half of the 18th century saw a revival in the production of illustrated manuscripts, especially during the 1703-30 sultanate of Ahmet III, who with his vizier Ibrahim Paşa was a great patron of literature and the arts. Sultan Ahmet's court was pleasure-seeking, but intellectual. Works were commissioned from poets, musicians, and artists; new libraries, monuments, waterside palaces, and gardens in Istanbul were imbued with touches of the European rococco. The Ottoman sultans of the time were eager to establish political and economic relations with Europe. Ambassadors brought back new concepts that westernized the Ottoman courtly life and affected the tastes of the era, while a similar trend produced the wave of Turquerie in Europe. Before long, a new artistic milieu radiated from Istanbul to the rest of the Empire.

It is within this context that 18th-century Ottoman painting should be evaluated. While most miniatures executed in this period are album compilations of portraits, costume studies, flowers, and genre scenes, a distinctive group is formed by illustrations of select literary works. The most important work illustrated during this period was a *Surname*, written by Vehbi, one of the leading poets of the time. The work describes the circumcision celebrations of Ahmet III's sons in 1720. There are two illustrated copies in the Topkapi Saray Library, both reflecting the activities of the court ateliers of the time as recorded by the prolific painter, Levni.[3] Another work often copied and illustrated in the same period was Atayi's *Hamse*, the content of which is outlined through descriptions of the miniatures in the Appendix at the end of this article.

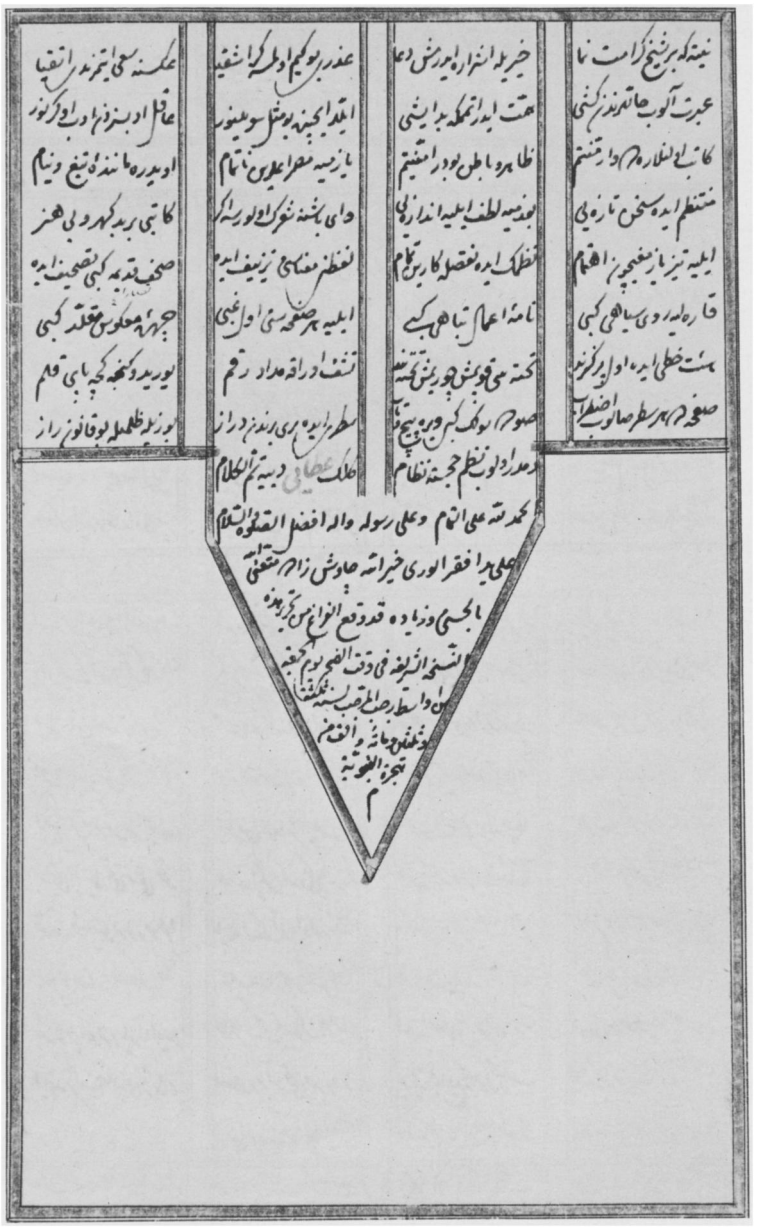
Of the five extant copies of Atayi's *Hamse* known,[4] the one at the Walters Art Gallery (W. 666) is a relatively small manuscript measuring 21 x 15.5 cm. Incomplete at the end, the rebound text consists of 151 folios, written in *nastalik* in four columns of 23 lines (10 x 17 cm). There are 38 miniatures, ranging in size from 9.7 x 3.7 cm to 16.8 x 11.7 cm.

Atayi and His Hamse

The author of W.666, Ataullah bin Yahya (1583–1635/6), was a 17th-century poet known as Nevizade Atayi because he was the son of Nevi, a renowned 16th-century poet and scholar. Atayi himself was well known during the periods of Osman II, 1612-22, and Murad IV, 1623-40.

Atayi wrote a continuation of Taşköprüzade's biographical, 16th-century *Şakayik-i Numaniye* (Red Poeny), a *Divan*, and a *Hamse* consisting of the following five *mesnevis*:[5] *Alemnüma* or *Sakiname* (The Cup-Bearer Book), *Nefhatü'l Ezhar* (The Breath of Flowers), *Sohbetü'l Ebkâr* (The Converse of Virgins), *Heft Han* (Seven

1. These two colophons record the dates of completion of the first and second books in the version of Atayi's *Hamse* at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W.666). Both were copied in 1721. (Left: f.21b, April 1721. Right: f.62b, May 1721.)



Courses), and *Hilyetü'l Efkâr* (Ornament of Thoughts). In some *Hamse* copies, Atayi's *Divan* is substituted for the fifth *mesnevi*.[6]

The Walters *Hamse* is an example of this practice.[7] Its contents are as follows: the *Sakiname* (folios 1b–21b), which Atayi dedicated to Osman II in 1617, is stylistically inspired by the first part of Nizami's *Iskandarnama*, but the content is different. Atayi's text has lengthy prayers and poetic descriptions of Istanbul's various quarters. His *Nefhatü'l Ezhar* (folios 22b–62b) begins with eulogies of Sultan Murad IV, to whom the poet dedicated his work in 1624. This selection, based on Nizami's *Mahzan al Asrar*, consists of mystical tales and stories dealing with ethics. The third part, *Sohbetü'l Ebkâr* (folios 63b–106b), was dedicated to Sultan Murad IV in 1625 and contains tales and anecdotes, usually derived from early history. The *Heft Han*, written in 1626 (folios 107b–141a), opens with eulogies to the same sultan and narrates mystic love stories.[8] The incomplete text, which includes eulogies of Şeyhülislam Yahya Efendi, Osman II, and his vizier (folios 142b–151b), ends with a prose introduction to Atayi's *Divan*.[9]

The Walters *Hamse* has two colophons. The first, on folio 21b at the end of the *Sakiname*, records that this *mesnevi* was copied on Cemaziyulahir in 1133 (April 1721); the second, on folio 62b at the end of the *Nefhatü'l Ezhar*, includes both the date, Receb 1133 (May 1721), and the name of the calligrapher, Hayrullah Hayri Çavuşzade (fig. 1).

Besides Atayi's *Hamse* in the Walters Art Gallery, four other copies with miniatures have so far come to light. The *Hamse* in Istanbul was copied in 1691, but only one of its ten miniatures seems to date from that year, as the rest are illustrated folios possibly inserted in the mid-18th century (Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi in Istanbul, no. 1969).[10] A third example containing forty-three miniatures is dated 1728 (Topkapi Saray Library, R. 816).[11] A fourth copy, dated 1738/9, has thirty miniatures (British Library, Or. 13882).[12] The fifth, an undated 18th-century version with only eighteen miniatures, is probably contemporary with the manuscript in the Topkapi Library, except for four miniatures of a different style, possibly added later in the 18th century (Free Library of Philadelphia, T. 97).[13]

It is no coincidence that Atayi's *Hamse* was so frequently copied and illustrated in the early 18th century. The work is a forerunner of the literary movement espoused by such 18-century poets as Nedim

2. An attempted robbery is halted by the capture of the intruders, whose boat drifted back to shore as they tried to escape. The rendering of the figures is another example of the animated style employed by the main artist of W.666 (f.42b).

and Vehbi, who sought to establish a pure Turkish literature devoid of foreign, especially Persian, influences. Although Atayi was the last Turkish poet to base the form of his *mesnevis* on Persian prototypes, the content is replete with native elements. The poems have a local flavor and contain detailed descriptions of people and places. Popular proverbs, colloquial phrases, and at times vulgar language abound, so much so that Atayi was criticized for his daring approach, evident particularly in the sexual narratives. All his stories are permeated with humor, with details being exaggerated so as to ridicule the foibles of contemporary society.

Atayi's emphasis on Turkish culture links him to the 18th-century poets; Nedim himself, the head of poets at Ahmet III's court, praised Atayi as a *mesnevi* writer.[14] The fact that most of the extant copies of the *Hamse* were illustrated during this period shows that they were popular at the time, and the attention to detail indicates that the artists enjoyed illustrating these tales for their patrons' delight. The patrons, no doubt, belonged to the gradually westernized, pleasure-loving Ottoman society that enjoyed morals far less rigid than in the previous centuries. The Ottoman courtly society lived extravagantly, entertaining with tulip fêtes, pageants, festivals, and garden parties. Their love of pomp and luxury is reflected in depictions of beautifully dressed women in the costume albums of the time and in the illustrated copies of Atayi's *Hamse*.

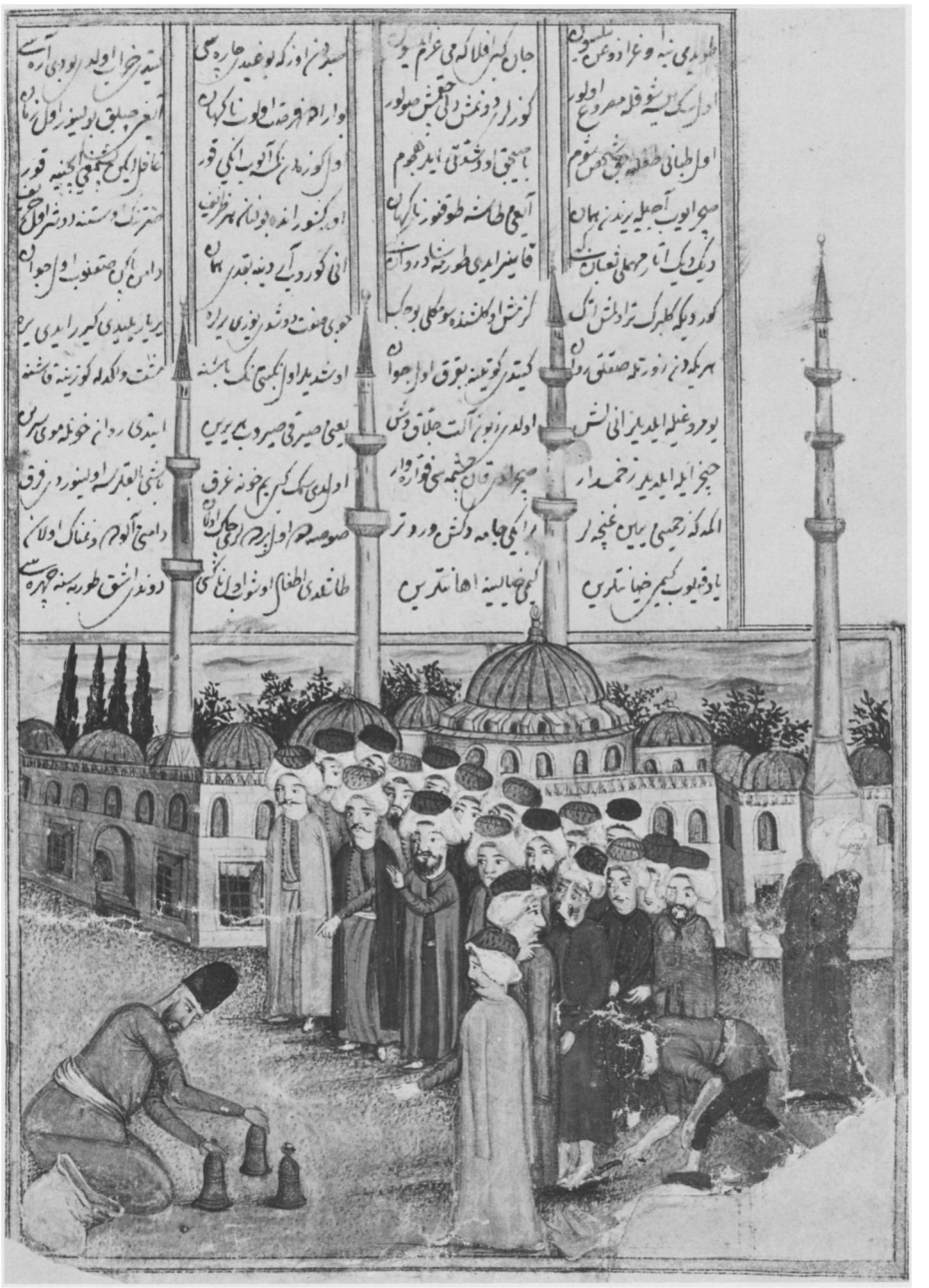
Remarks on the Miniatures in W. 666

The miniatures of Atayi's *Hamse* are interesting both iconographically and stylistically. The nature of the text differs from that of works illustrated in the 16th and 17th centuries, in which the major theme was

3. This dynamic composition departs from the more static renderings of earlier Ottoman works. The battle represented is between the Ottoman and Hungarian armies (W.666, f.27a).

historiography. The illustrations differ as well, for the artists had no prototypes and were therefore free to improvise. The Walters manuscript is a case in point: while the first three *mesnevis* are illustrated in other copies, the illustration of the fourth cycle, the *Heft Han*, is unique (see Appendix).

Stylistically, the miniatures are far removed from most 16th- and 17th-century Ottoman illustrations. The miniatures in W. 666 contain but a few figures, rendered with great animation. A typical example is the depiction of brigands who tried to rob the *tekke* of Şeyh Baba. The illustrative details enliven the story: the thieves' arms are tied, and Şeyh Baba's men carry the stolen carpets on their shoulders (fig. 2).



4. The stories of the *Hamse* come to life through the facial expressions of the figures. In this miniature (W.666, f.57b), the serious nature of the wrongdoer's offense is reflected in the faces of the onlookers. (The section showing a second punished figure, on the ground, is torn.)

The battle scenes are also treated differently from their 16th- or 17th-century counterparts, in which the more formal compositions defined the hierarchal organization of the Ottoman army. A scene in W.666 depicting the battle between the Ottomans and the Hungarians shows a group of Ottoman soldiers attacking from the right and the Hungarians on the left, symbolizing the Ottomans' imminent victory (fig. 3). A 16th-century battle scene would have displayed instead the grandeur of the Ottoman army and the progressivism of its military science.

Another characteristic feature of the miniatures is the exaggeration of gestures and facial expressions to enliven the narrative content. For instance, in the miniature showing a homosexual about to be publicly punished, the effect is heightened by the contempt expressed in the faces of the onlookers (fig. 4).

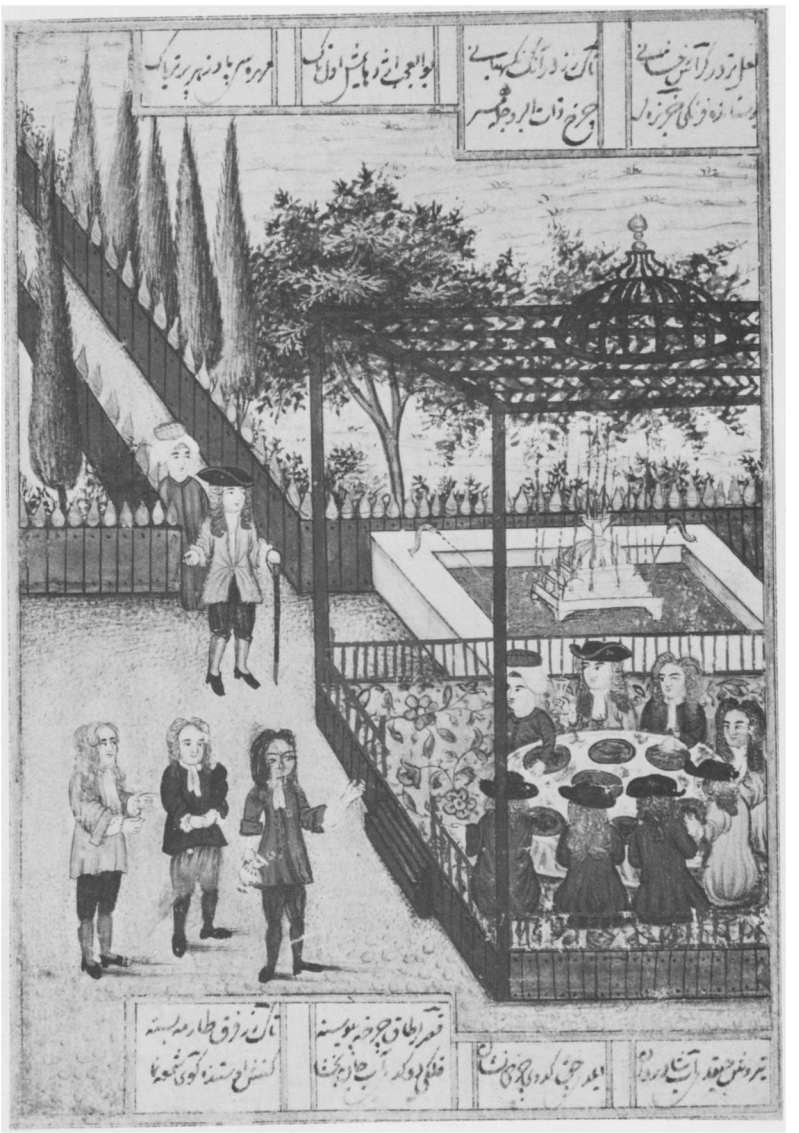
The artist is meticulous in rendering architectural details and backgrounds. In the background of the same miniature, for example, there is an attempt to show perspective in the rendering of the mosque and the courtyard beyond its walls (fig. 4). Precisely drawn side wings and double rows of windows in an emir's palace provide an interesting example of the domestic architecture of the period (fig. 5), and the consistent effort to achieve an illusion of depth is also apparent in a banquet scene set in the gardens of Tayyib's master (fig. 6). Cypresses placed along the garden path lead the viewer into the background, a device employed throughout the manuscript. A similar technique is the drawing of figures from the back to lead the viewer into the miniature, increasing the depth of the scene. In the rendering of the poet's presentation of his work to his master, the figures shown from the back lead the eye into a typical interior of an 18th-century Turkish house, with sitting areas around a fireplace and a vase of flowers accentuating the genre effect (fig. 7). The careful planning of interiors is further exemplified by the depiction of a mosque in the story of a foolish *imam* (fig. 8). The curved *mihrab* niche, the *mimbar* with its stairs, and the window opening out to a garden show that the painter was aware of western methods of showing perspective.

The artist's experimentation with perspective is evident in many outdoor scenes as well, such as the miniature showing Şeyh Gülşeni and his disciples at the harbor (fig. 9), in which the artist was able to create the spatial illusion of receding planes. Another example is the panorama of the Bosphorus, where foreshortened and profile views of the boats transform the strait into a wide expanse of water (fig. 10). This panoramic view is notable as one of the earliest examples of land- and seascapes, presaging the popularity of these themes in the Ottoman pictorial art of the later 18th and 19th centuries.[15] The special interest in seascapes on the part of the artist of W.666 is again exemplified in the scene of nobles meeting Tahir and Tayyib's ship (fig. 11).

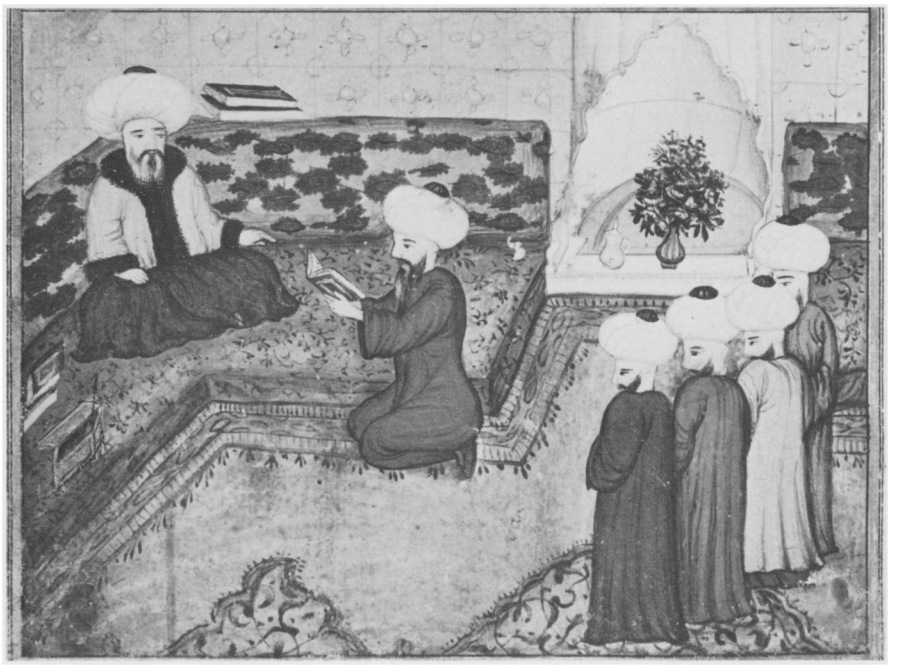
5. Architectural details are shown with great care, as in this example of an emir's palace. Here an unwelcome visitor is ejected from the palace by being thrown down the stairs (W.666, f.134a).

The style of one major artist dominates the miniatures of W.666, although some details may have been entrusted to assistants. Only one miniature is the work of another hand (fig. 12). The grouping of figures in a ladder-like arrangement and the lighter brush strokes distinguish this miniature from the others and reflect the style of painting found in some other manuscripts: the second copy of Vehbi's *Surname*, executed in the 1720s (Topkapi Saray Library A.3594), and two of Atayi's illustrated *Hamses*, one in the Topkapi Saray Library and the other in the Free Library of Philadelphia.

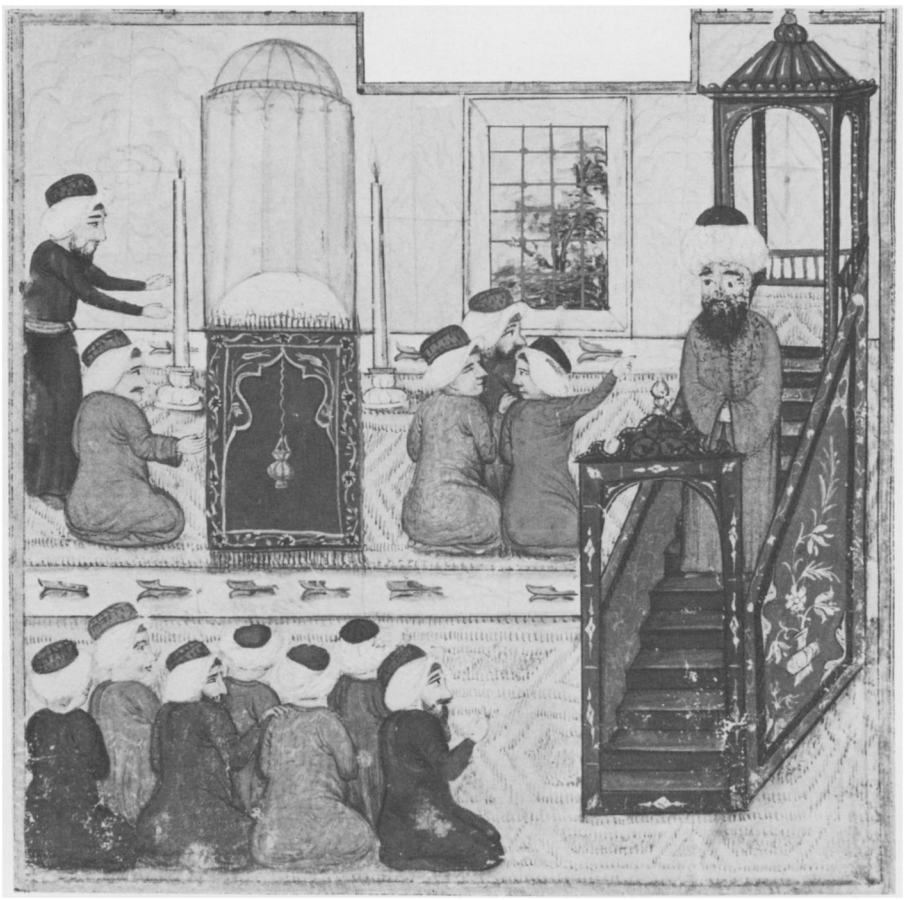
The chief artist of W.666 emerges as a talented draftsman and subtle colorist, sensitive in particular to the shadings of blue in the water and sky. His figures seem stereotyped at first, but reveal individualistic facial features when examined closely. The artist's success is especially evident in the compositions for which he used western methods of illustration to achieve the illusion of perspective. Evidence of European influence in this regard is apparent in his panoramic backgrounds, as well as in architectural details, which are drawn with great care. There is no doubt that the artist was responsive to the western influences on the developing artistic milieu of the first half of the 18th century.



6. The technique of using a line of trees, cypresses in this case, to create an illusion of depth is employed frequently as the artist experiments with perspective. This miniature illustrates the story of two Moslem friends (in turbans) who meet a pair of Christian nobles and remain with them as their slaves (W.666, f.138a).



7. In this miniature, Atayi is shown presenting some of his work to his master, whose gesture indicates approval. The vase of flowers, the fireplace, and the decorated furnishings supply a rare view of an 18th-century Turkish interior (W.666, f.33a).



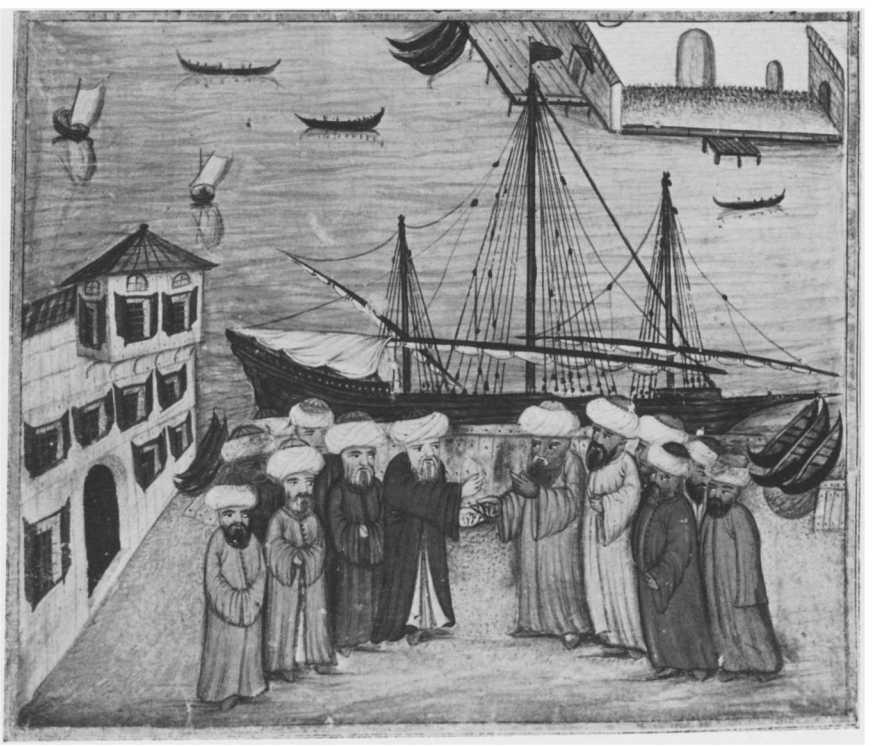
8. This scene from a mosque illustrates interior details and an attempt to achieve perspective that is reminiscent of 18th-century western techniques. The rendering of the *mimbar* establishes both the foreground and background, and focuses attention on the foolish *imam*, the subject of the congregation's laughter, who is unaware that he has rinsed his face with ink instead of rosewater (W.666, f.48a).

The illustrations in the other extant copies of Atayi's *Hamse* do not reveal any stylistic similarities to those of the Walters copy. The Topkapi and Philadelphia *Hamses* seem to be illustrated by the same artist, whereas the miniatures of the British Library copy and the inserted miniatures in the Türk Islam Eserleri Müzesi copy are later works that reflect the endeavors of different artists active in the mid-18th century. The only known work that can be attributed to the artist of W.666 is an undated separate leaf in the Free Library of Philadelphia (T.9), with illustrations on both sides. Especially in the miniature showing women seated under a tree (fig. 13), the experiment with perspective is reminiscent of the miniature showing Tayyib's banquet in the Walters manuscript (fig 6). The lady and her musicians are each dressed in a low-necked garment gathered at the waist by a buckled belt, a costume typical of the period of Ahmet III, and resemble closely the female figures illustrated in the Walters copy, especially on folios 55b and 91a (fig. 15).

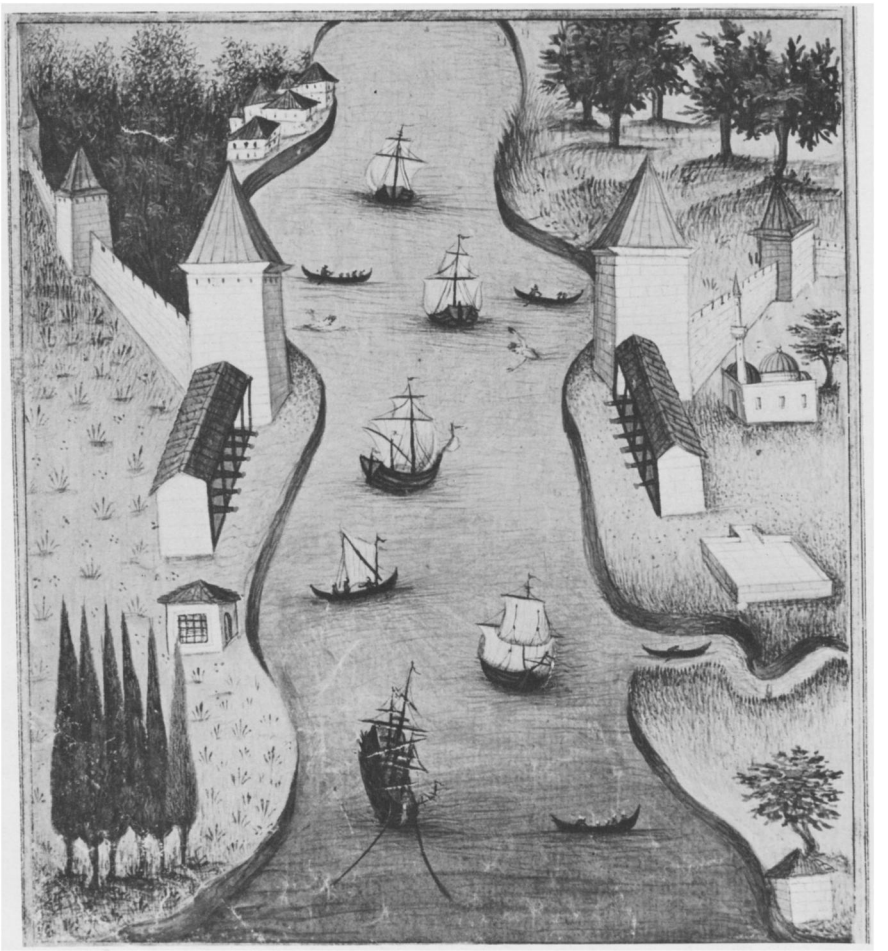
As the text of W.666 is incomplete, it is not possible to ascertain whether all the miniatures were executed in 1721, which is the copyist's date on the colophons at the end of the first two *mesnevis*. The manuscript could have been left unfinished and illustrated a while later, but since the illustration on f.59a (fig. 14) reflects the hand of an artist who executed several other miniatures in the 1720s, the rest of the illustrations in the manuscript cannot be much later in date. It should be correct to assume that the miniatures date from the 1720s and thus reflect painting of the period of Ahmet III.

There is no doubt that the miniatures of W.666 are among the earliest representations of Atayi's tales. It would be difficult to determine with certainty, however, that they served as models for the other extant illustrated copies, as there may have been earlier illustrated *Hamses* unknown to us. The significance of the Walters *Hamse* lies in the fact that it is the only copy in which Atayi's fourth *mesnevi* is illustrated, and therefore its miniatures are iconographically unique.

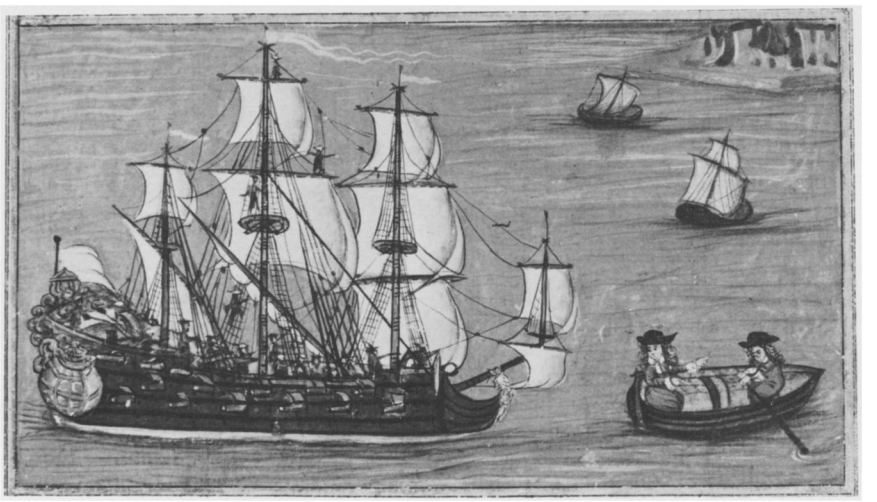
The artist responsible for the miniatures in W.666 seems to be fully representative of the experimenting tendencies of Ottoman pictorial art in the first half of the 18th-century. He presents a characteristic emphasis on perspective and on the westernized technique of applying increasingly heavier layers of paint in order to achieve a variety of color gradations. From the implementation of such new methods emerged vivid and



9. Another experiment with perspective is evident in this scene of Şeyh Gülşenî and his disciples at the Harbor (W.666, f.41a).



10. This bird's eye view of the Bosphorus is one of the earliest examples of the land- and seascapes that became popular in the Ottoman pictorial art of the later 18th and 19th centuries (W.666, f.10a).



11. Another early example of a seascape, this miniature shows the same precision in the rendering of the ship's details as is evident in the portrayals of backgrounds and architecture in other miniatures (W.666, f.139b).

colorful representations of Atayi's tales, reflecting the beginnings of trends in Ottoman painting during the period of Ahmet III.

Notes

1. The author is grateful to staff members at the Walters Art Gallery for cooperating with her study of the illustrated Ottoman manuscripts in the collection, a summary catalogue of which she is preparing for publication. In this article, modern Turkish orthography has been used for Turkish words. The author acknowledges Lilian M. C. Randall and Carol Strohecker of the Walters Art Gallery for their extensive editing of the article.

2. More information on Ottoman Turkish miniature painting and its development through the centuries can be obtained in several publications in Western languages made in the last two decades: M. S. Ipşiroğlu and S. Eyüboğlu, *Turkey: Ancient Miniatures* (New York, 1961); Meredith Owens, G. M., *Turkish Miniatures* (London, 1963); E. Esin, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (London, 1965, 2nd ed.); R. Ettinghausen, *Turkish Miniatures from the 13th to the 18th Century* (Milano, 1965); S. K. Yetkin, *L'ancienne peinture turque* (Paris, 1970); I. Stchoukine, *La peinture turque d'après les manuscrits illustrés* (I, Paris, 1968; II, Paris, 1971); N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish Miniature Painting* (Istanbul, 1974); M. And, *Turkish Miniature Painting: The Ottoman Period* (Ankara, 1979, rev. ed.); E. Akurgal, ed., *The Art and Architecture of Turkey* (Fribourg, 1980, 222-48); and E. Atil, ed., *Turkish Art* (Washington, 1980, 139-238).

3. The copy of the *Surname* dedicated to Ahmet III (Topkapi Saray Library A.3593) has 137 miniatures painted by Levni. A second copy of the same work (Topkapi Saray Library A. 3594), probably prepared for presentation to Vizier Ibrahim Paşa, has 140 miniatures painted by another artist, which differ in style from Levni's miniatures. Illustrations from both *Surnames* can be found in any one of the surveys on Turkish miniature painting listed in Note 2.

4. The extant copies are listed according to location in the Appendix, which describes each illustration in the Walters *Hamse*.

5. For more information on Atayi and his works see "Nevizade Atayi," *Islam An Siklopedisi* (8:226-8); E. G. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry* (London, 1904, 232-7); Mehmet Süreyya, *Sicill-i Osmanî* (Istanbul, 1311, III, 475); and A. S. Levent, *Türk Edebiyati Tarihi* (Ankara, 1973, 60-6, 76-7).

6. There are several unillustrated copies of Atayi's *Hamse* dating from the 17th and 18th centuries dispersed in various libraries in Turkey and in other countries. A. S. Levent has discovered 36 *Hamse*'s in the libraries of Istanbul alone. (See A. S. Levent, op. cit., 109.) Very few of these manuscripts have the five complete *mesnevis*; therefore, it was not until 1948, when A. S. Levent made a detailed study of all of Atayi's *mesnevis*, that the title and contents of the fifth one was established as *Hilyetü'l Efkâr*. (See A. S. Levent, Atayi'nin *Hilyetü'l Efkâr'i* (Ankara, 1948, passim).)

7. The author is indebted to Dr. Gönül Alpay Tekin for her scholarly comments on the text in Atayi's *Hamse* in the Walters Art Gallery.

8. *Shobetü'l Ebkâr* was inspired by Jami's *Tuhfat al Ahrar*, and the *Heft Han* is based in style on Nizami's *Haft Paikar*. (A. S. Levent, op. cit., 21.)

9. An unillustrated copy of Atayi's *Hamse* in the Topkapi Saray Library (H.809) has the complete Divan placed at the end of the *mesnevis*. (F. E. Karatay, *Topkapi Sarayindaki Türkçe Yazmalar Kataloğu* (Istanbul 1961, II: 2389).) Folios 142b and 151b in W.666 are identical to folios 239b and 248b in the Topkapi *Hamse*. I am grateful to Dr. Filiz Çağman, the curator of manuscripts at the Topkapi Saray Library, for making the comparison in the texts.

10. K. Çiğ, "Turk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesindeki Minyatürlü Kitaplarin Kataloğu," *Sarkiyat Mecmuasi* (III, 1969, 9:59). Only one of the miniatures (folio 12b) seems to date from the year the manuscript was copied. The rest of the illustrated folios have no text, but flower designs on the reverses show that the miniatures may have been inserted at a later date. For more detailed information see G. Renda, *Batililaşma Döneminde Türk Resim Sanati, 1700–1850* Ankara; 1977; 31, 43,202) (in Turkish with a summary and list of plates in English).

11. This manuscript and its miniatures are fully discussed in G. Renda, "18. Yüzyil Osmanli Minyatüründe Yeni Konular: Topkapi Sarayindaki *Hamse-i Atayi*'nin Minyatürleri," *Bedrettin Cömert'e Armağan* (Ankara: Hacettepe Ünversitesi Yayinlari, 1980, 481-96).

12. The manuscript was acquired by the British Library in 1978. See *Sotheby's Catalogue*, "Fine Oriental Miniatures, Manuscripts and Qajar Paintings," date of sale Tuesday, April 4, 1978, no. 130. A list of its miniatures is given in N. Titley, *Miniatures from Turkish Manuscripts: A Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings in the British Library and the British Museum* (London, 1981, no.14).

13. M. A. Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1937, no.97). Miniatures on folios 57b, 196a, 199b, and 206a were done by a different artist, possibly around the mid-18th century. The rest of the miniatures, on folios 22b, 54b, 63b, 98b, 132b-133a, 144b, 166b-167a, 169b, 175a, 178b, 180b, 182b, 187a and 202b, are similar in style to those of the *Hamse* in the Topkapi Saray Library, dating from 1728.

14. For Nedim's verses praising Atayi, see E. J. W. Gibb, op. cit., 236-7.

15. Ottoman painting of the 18th and 19th centuries has been a subject of study among Turkish scholars during the past few years. For information on miniature painting in these centuries and the emergence of wall paintings of landscapes, see G. Renda, *Batililaşma Döneminoe Türk Resim Sanati, 1700–1850* (Ankara, 1977, passim) and G. Renda, "Wall Paintings in Turkish Houses," *Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art* (Budapest, 1979, 711-35). For the art of wall painting in Anatolia, see R. Arik, *Batililaşma Dönemi Anadolu Tasvir Sanati* (Ankara, 1976, passim).

12. This miniature must have been painted by a different artist from that of the other miniatures in W.666. The musicians are arranged differently from any other group of figures in the manuscript, and the brushstroke is lighter than that of the other illustrations (f.59a).

13. The artist of W.666 also drew this miniature of a woman seated under a tree while her attendants play music. (Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis Oriental Miniatures T.9, 25.7 × 11.8 cm).

14. The use of perspective, the details of the garden, and the women's costumes are all similarities between these miniatures from the Baltimore *Hamse* (W..666) and the one shown in fig. 13. (Top: f.55b. Bottom: f.91a.)

Appendix

This appendix lists the miniatures in W.666 in their order of appearance in each *mesnevi*. When the same scene is represented in another of the extant *Hamses*, the location of the other copy is indicated by one of these abbreviations:

- **T** Topkapi Saray Library (R.816)
- **I** Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi, Istanbul (1969)
- **B** British Library (Or.13882)
- **P** Free Library of Philadelphia (T.97)

Sakiname or **Alemnüma** (Folios 1b-2b)

Folio 5a
8.7 × 12.4 cm

The Ottoman fleet, led by Hüseyin Pasa, is shown setting out from the Black Sea for the campaign against the Polish.

Folio 6a
10 × 12.4 cm
T, I, B, P

The Ottoman army is shown fighting against the Polish.

Folio 10a
11.6 × 13 cm
T, I, B

The miniature presents a view of the Bosphorus with the castle of Anadolu Hisar on the Asian shore and the castle of Rumeli Hisar on the European shore. Sailboats and rowboats glide down the Bosphorus while two swimmers are shown crossing it.

Nefhatü'l Ezhar (Folios 22b-62b)

Folio 27a
11.2 × 12.2 cm
B

The battle between the Ottoman and Hungarian armies is depicted, the latter approaching defeat.

Folio 28a
9.9 × 12.3 cm
B

Sultan Murad IV (1648-87) is shown enthroned, receiving the homage of the imperial, administrative, and military personnel.

Folio 33a
9.3 × 12 cm

Atayi, the poet, presents some chapters of his *Hamse* to his master, who approves them.

Folio 35b
7.5 × 12.2 cm

The sad story of the Moslem youth who fell in love with a Christian beauty is reflected in this miniature. Unable to unite with his love, the youth died of grief. His friends took the news to the young girl, who converted to Islam before her death in hopes of uniting with him in Heaven. A messenger friend is shown at her deathbed, where the girl is attended by her maid.

Folio 37a
8.5 × 12 cm
T

The miniature shows Şeyh Nizameddin saving the life of Hüsrev-i Hindî, just as the latter is about to be slain by a man named Nizamî.

Folio 41a
10.5 × 12 cm
T, I, B

Şeyh Gülşenî, the founder of the Gülşenî sect in Asia Minor, sets out with his disciples on a three-masted ship.

Folio 42b
9.6 × 12 cm
T, B, P

One chapter of the *Hamse* tells how a group of brigands robbed Şeyh Baba's *tekke* (dervish lodge) and sailed away with the stolen goods. They were miraculously blown into a current that sent them back to shore, where Şeyh Baba's men are shown capturing them.

Folio 44a
9.7 × 11.7 cm
T, B, P

Atayi, the poet, is shown talking to a learned man who was drawn into the tavern by two notorious men.

Folio 46b
8.5 × 12.1 cm
T, B, P

The story of Hatem-i Tayî, a man known for his generosity, is illustrated in this miniature. Hatem's fame was so widespread that the shah of Yemen, also a generous man, gave away all his treasure in an attempt to surpass Hatem's reputation. Failing this goal, he decided to have Hatem killed. The assassin searched for Hatem among the Arabs and, on the way, met a man who offered him hospitality for three days. Eventually he discovered that the host was Hatem himself, who was willing to sacrifice his life so the assassin could fulfill his mission. Overwhelmed by Hatem's kindness and wisdom, the would-be assassin refrained from killing him and instead became Hatem's disciple. At the upper right in the miniature are Hatem (sitting) and the assassin (standing and conversing). In the foreground are Arab horsemen.

Folio 48a
12 × 12.1 cm
T, B, P

A foolish man, not at all worthy of becoming an *imam* (prayer-leader), is shown acting as one anyway and addressing the congregation from a *mimbar* (prayer niche) in a mosque. The people mock him because he mistook ink for rosewater and blackened his face.

Folio 51b
7.8 × 11.8 cm
T, I, B, P

A mother complains to the *müftü* (juriconsult) that her son-in-law was unable to consummate his marriage to her daughter, and the *müftü* gives sexual advice. The daughter stands in the background, with her back to the reader.

Folio 55b
11.5 × 11.8 cm
T, I, B, P

A wife discovers that while she was entertaining, her husband was making love to a servant. The miniature shows the act of love interrupted by the sudden appearance of a ram that butts the lovers into the room of surprised guests.

Folio 56a
9.8 × 11.9
T, I, B, P

Following a night of entertainment among friends, a man discovers that a member of the group seduced a young boy while everyone else was asleep. He is shown finding the homosexual lovers with the aid of a candle that he had kept in an envelope.

Folio 57b
8.8 × 12 cm
T, B, P

A pederast made advances to a young boy while they watched a juggler perform in a crowded square. The miniature depicts the public punishment that ensued. In the background is a mosque that could represent the Suleymaniye Mosque in Istanbul. (The section showing the punished figure on the ground is torn.)

Folio 59a
8.9 × 9.6 cm
T, I, B, P

A sodomite is caught and disgraced before a crowd. His misdeed is announced by drums and *zurna* (a Turkish wind instrument).

Folio 60a
9 × 11.8 cm
T

A thief is bitten by a snake while trying to steal the purse of a man dining with friends.

Sohbetü'l Ebkâr (Folios 63b-106a)

Folio 67a
8.5 × 12.2 cm

Musicians entertain Sultan Murad IV.

Folio 69b
8 × 11.9 cm
B, T

A messenger tells the Byzantine king that Sultan Melikşah of the Seljuqs agreed to sign a treaty with him.

Folio 73a
8.8 × 12 cm
T, P

Plato sat in a cave and received his followers, who brought self-portraits from which the philosopher interpreted their characters. The miniature shows Plato examining an ugly portrait, and the man himself explaining that his wisdom transcends his unattractive appearance.

Folio 77a
8.7 × 12 cm
T

The miniature shows the meeting of the armies of Iskander (on the left) and the Emperor of China (on the right).

Folio 82b
7.8 × 12 cm

During Timur's invasion of India, a soldier encountered two lovers whom he decided to kill. Each grieved for the other, though, and asked to be killed so that the other might live. Appreciating their loyalty, the soldier spared both of them. The lovers are shown sitting with their arms tied.

Folio 84a
9 × 12.3 cm

A man met Mansur and told him that after his pilgrimage to the Holy Ka'ba in Mecca he had miraculously travelled to Nishapur in three days. Mansur seemed impressed and offered him work. The miniature shows one day's courtly entertainment, during which a juggler removes the traveler's turban and discovers that the man is bald. When the embarrassed man exclaimed that his virtue was gone, according to the story, Mansur said, "Do not worry—your virtue was gone when you lied to me about coming all the way from Mecca in three days."

Folio 88b
9.6 × 12.1 cm
B, P

The miniature shows an innocent youth entertained with food and drinks by a group of sodomites, who assaulted him after the meal.

Folio 91a
10.5 × 11.8 cm
T, I, B, P

A libertine exposes himself through a hole in a fence. The women on the other side punish him by tying him with a string.

Folio 97b
9 × 12 cm
T

The miniature shows Caleph Memun riding with his men and meeting an Arab who offers him fruit.

Heft Han (Folios 112b-141b)

Folio 113b
8.8 × 9.8 cm

A man of learning fell in love but kept his feelings to himself, gradually becoming ill with desperation. His worried friends are shown trying to cure him by telling him love stories. (The section with the figure of the poet has been destroyed and repaired.)

Folio 118b
8.7 × 12 cm

A Chinese ruler named Hurşid was struck by the beauty of his vizier's young son, Behzad. One day as the boy was swimming, his plotting father conjured a whirlpool that endangered both Behzad and Hurşid, who fell in after the boy. However, both were saved by the will of God. The miniature shows Hurşid watching while Behzad swims in the pool. (The miniature is partly torn.)

Folio 123a
11.4 × 12.1 cm

While hunting one day, Sultan Mahmud met a herdsman named Ayaz, who offered him hospitality in his cottage. In the miniature, Mahmud (on horseback) is shown talking to Ayaz (in the background).

Folio 124b
above: 4 × 9.8 cm

When Ayaz refused to work for him, Sultan Mahmud decided to go home; but, unable to forget Ayaz, he turned back. On the way, he was attacked by a lion, but was able to slay the beast with a single blow, as the miniature shows.

below: 3.8 × 9.8 cm

Strengthened by his success, Sultan Mahmud next kills a dragon with a single arrow.

Folio 127a
8.5 × 12 cm

A shoemaker in Baghdad was known as gossiper. In this miniature, he informs the shah of the time that an aged tutor has fallen in love with the shah's son, by hanging a painting of the two lovers on a tree within the shah's view. The shah is shown recognizing the faces in the realistic portrait. Later, he punished his son and the tutor.

Folio 130a
7.7 × 12 cm

A man from Rayy, named Abdullah, was struck by the beauty of a youth walking next to the shah. Hoping to see him again, Abdullah stealthily approached the shah's palace. The youth is shown at the window of the palace, returning his love with words and gestures.

Folio 134a
8.1 × 11.8 cm

A young man named Mahzun fell in love with the emir's son. Suffering from this hopeless love, he grew ill and was taken to a physician, who recognized his desperation and offered to take him to the emir's palace each time he went. During the visit shown in the miniature, one of the courtiers discovers Mahzun and throws him down the stairs.

Folio 137a
4.9 × 11.9 cm

The *Hamse* relates the story of Tahir and Tayyib, two sons of wealthy parents, who spent all the money they inherited. Penniless and friendless except for each other, they set out in a boat for Egypt to join the Gülşenî sect. A storm sank their boat, but after floating on a raft, they were saved by a Christian ship. The rescue is shown in this miniature.

Folio 138a
10.4 × 16.5 cm

Two nobles on the ship took Tayyib and Tahir as slaves. Tayyib worked in his master's gardens and gradually fell in love with him. During a banquet, his master invited him to the table and offered him wine. Tayyib is shown in the miniature wearing a turban among the guests in European attire. Tahir and his noble master are shown walking through the fence to join the group.

Folio 139b
6.8 × 11.8 cm

The local governor heard that the Christian nobles and the Moslem youths had become lovers. He imprisoned them, but when he died, all were freed. Their reunion at sea is shown as the ship carrying Tayyib and Tahir meets the rowboat of the two Christian nobles.

ERRATA:
The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery
39 (Baltimore: 1981)

Gunsel Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century *Hamse* in The Walters Art Gallery," pp. 15-32:

In the author's absence, two errors occurred in the production of the article: the heading on page 22a of the *Hamse* is shown instead of the colophon on page 22b, with the date April 1721; and an entire miniature is shown as fig. 12, instead of the detail including only the right side of the illustration, as was intended.

Diana Scarisbrick, "Henry Walters and the Marlborough Gems," pp. 49-58:

The date given in the opening paragraph for the sale of the Marlborough Gems, by auction at Christie's, is incorrect and should read June 26, 1899.

A Genealogical Table of the Mughal Family

Ellen S. Smart

The genealogical table of the Mughal family on the following pages is offered as an elaboration of the type of family tree found in Beach[1] or Gascoigne,[2] but ought not be considered complete. The table was begun during the course of research on Babar and his grandson Akbar, growing to the present form over several years. It undoubtedly will continue to grow, for the available information on Mughal familial relationships is copious.

The material here is gleaned from six books: *The Bāburnāma in English*[3] the *Humāyūn-nāma*,[4] *The Akbarnāma*,[5] *The Ā'īn-i Akbarī*,[6] *The Tūzuk-i Jāhāngīrī*,[7] and the *History of Shah Jahan of Dilhi*.[8] The amount of reference to family and familial relationships in the Mughal histories is an indication of how important blood lines were. For example, whenever Babar introduces a new character of status in his memoirs, there follows a suitably lengthy description (sometimes as long as 11 pages) of the man's ancestors, wives and children. Abu'l Fazl's list in the *Ā'īn-i Akbarī* of the grandees of Akbar's and Jahangir's courts includes information about families as well as the major achievements and, as often as not, the disgraces of each person. The table by no means includes all of the relationships mentioned in these works, but a considerable amount of knowledge about the Mughal family can be learned from the table in its present state. Al Badauni[9] would provide more information, and a continuation of the table through the later generations of the Mughals would surely be as informative as the earlier section.

The visual representation of the relationships and generations of a complicated dynasty makes the material somewhat more accessible. The table begins at the top with ancestors shown above descendants, the vertical line connecting offspring with parents. Marriages are represented by an equals sign (=) where the names of man and wife are written together.

One of the problems not completely resolved is that of graphically representing the many wives and children of one man. A three-dimensional model would be helpful, but of course is impossible here. When a man had more than one wife, the information is not always available as to which children were born of which mothers. But even when the information is known, incorporating it into the chart would have added yet another level of complication. This information is, however, pertinent since status was often defined by offspring.

In order to interpret the art of any time a thorough knowledge of the period is essential. Most of the fine art of the Mughal period was produced at the command of the Mughal court, including not just the various emperors, but their wives, their offspring, and the nobility as well. That there were patrons other than the emperors is a fact often overlooked and rarely emphasized. However, a visual representation of the family shows that the royal family and much of the nobility were closely interrelated, to the point that they were all of one extended family. Given the social structure of the time it is not surprising to find this system of marriage at the Mughal court, but the discovery should be kept in mind when thinking about the question of patronage of the arts.

Aside from the Mughal buildings that stand today on the Indian subcontinent most extant Mughal art is in the form of manuscripts, illustrations made for manuscripts, and portraits. The people in the paintings are the emperors, wives, children, and retainers. The Walters collection includes items that span the dynasty—particularly manuscripts and paintings, but also precious objects, textiles, and armor. The cameo portraits shown on the family tree are from paintings in the Walters Art Gallery.

The type of family tree in Gascoigne or Beach effectively shows the reader the descent through the male line of the Mughal dynasty. Although Beach adds the mothers of the emperors, neither author makes any other reference to women, who were not only from important families or often married into them, but were often powerful figures in their own rights.

One of the more interesting customs that the genealogical table makes apparent is that of marriages between cousins. From Babar's generation to that of Dara Shikoh cousins were married to each other. Babar married at least three of his cousins. Of course the amount of inbreeding is not so great as a westerner might assume at first, since men took more than one wife. Thus, the children of two brothers were not necessarily as closely related as they would be where a man marries only one woman.

The table also makes apparent the policy of marrying into or taking wives from a very few families.

Tim

Jahangir Mirza Umar Shaikh Mirza Mi

Sultan

6 other sons Sultan Ahmad Mirza=Ha
=Qu
=M

Sultan Begam

Shamsuddin Muhammad
Atgah Khan
=Jiji Anaga

Bairam Khan=d. of Jamal Khan
=Salima Sultan Begam

Mirza Nuruddin Muhammad= Gulrukh Begam Fakhrun N

Timur

aikh Mirza | Miran Shah Mirza=Mihr Nush | Shah Rukh Mirza

Sultan Muhammad Mirza
7 other sons | Baisunghar Mirza

Sultan Abu Said Mirza

mad Mirza=Habiba Sultan Begam
=Qutiq Begam
=Mihr Nigar Begam | Sultan Muhammad Mirza | Sultan Mahmud Mirza
=Sultan Nigar Khanum | Umar Shaikh Mirza

Suleiman Mirza
=Haram Begam | Zainab Sultan Begam
=Babar

an Begam | Masuma Sultan Begam
=Babar | Ayisha Sultan Begam
=Babar

Chingis Khan

Chaghatai

11 generations

Wais Khan | Ali

Isan Bugha Khan | Yunas Khan = Isan
= Shah

=Qutliq Nigar Khanum
=Fatima Sultan
=Umid
=Agacha Sultan
=Makhdum Sultan Begam
=Ulus Agha

Sultan Mahmud Kh
(Khanika Khan)

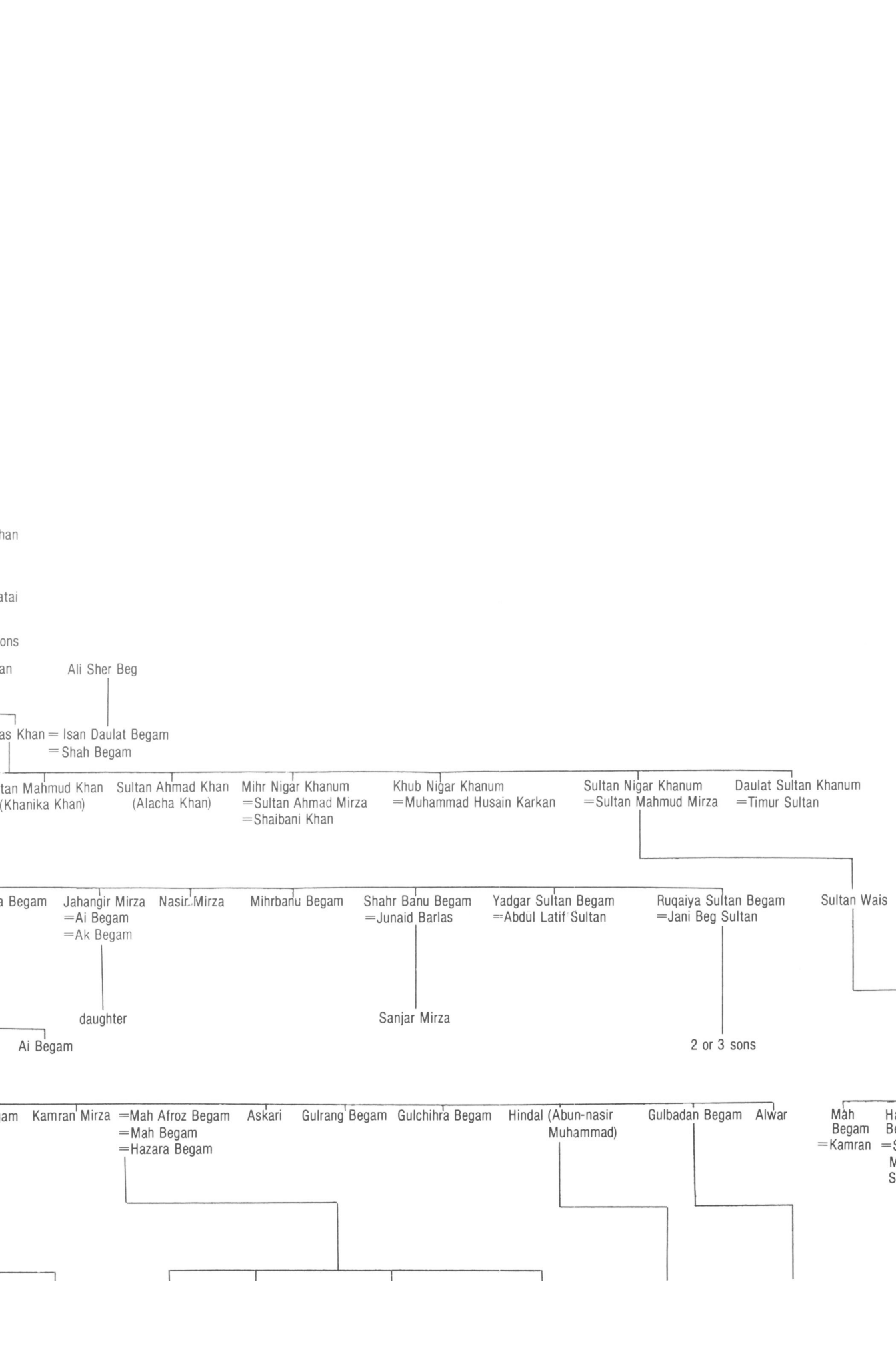
Babar =Ayisha Sultan Begam
=Zainab Sultan Begam
=Maham Begam
=Masuma Sultan Begam
=Gulrukh Begam
=Dildar Begam
=Bibi Mubarika Yusufzai
=Gulnar Aghacha
=Nargul Agacha
=Salha Sultan Begam
=Queen Celeste

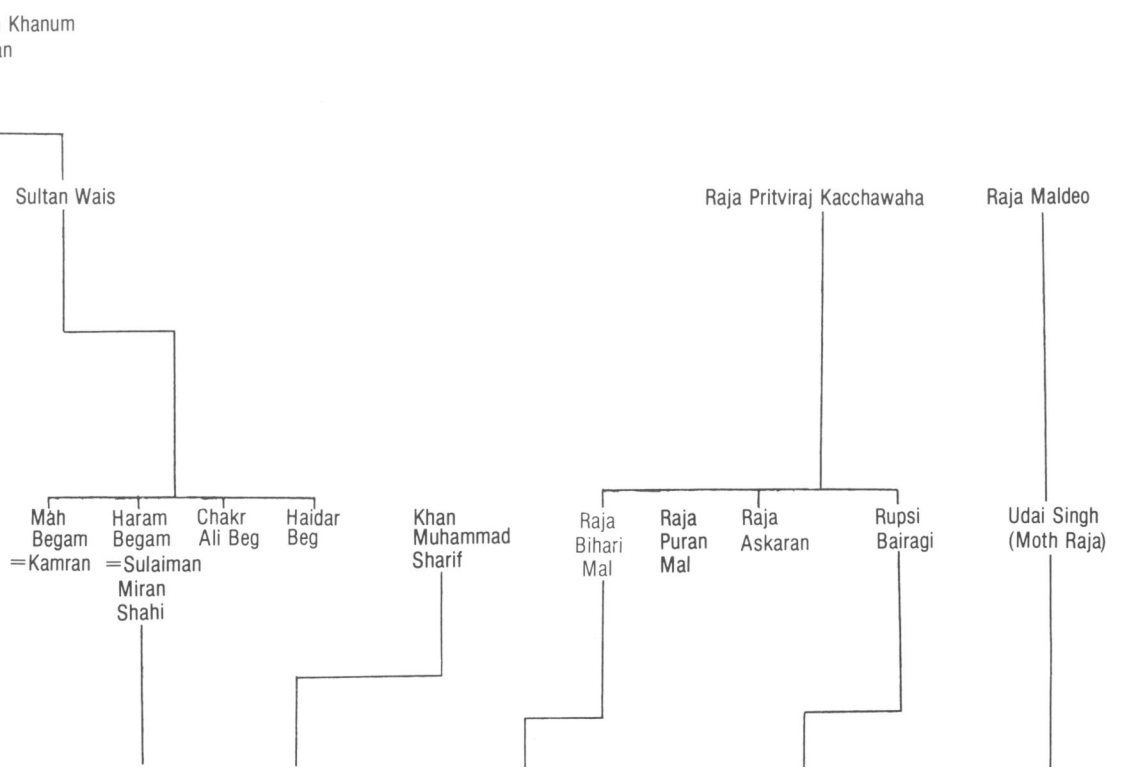
Shaibani Khan=Khanzada Begam
Sayyid Hada=
Mahdi Muhammad Khwaja=

Jaha
=Ai
=Al

Khurram Shah Sultan | 3 other daughters | Ai Begam

am | Fakhrun Nisa Begam | Barbud | Mihrjan | Isandaulat Begam | Faruq | **Humayun** =Bega Begam (later Haji Begam)
= Hamida Banu Begam (Maryam Makani)
= Gunwar Bibi
= Mah Chuchak Begam
= Maywa-jan | Masuma | Shahrukh | Ahmad | Gulizar Begam | Kamran M


han
atai
ons
an
Ali Sher Beg
as Khan = Isan Daulat Begam
= Shah Begam
tan Mahmud Khan
(Khanika Khan)
Sultan Ahmad Khan
(Alacha Khan)
Mihr Nigar Khanum
=Sultan Ahmad Mirza
=Shaibani Khan
Khub Nigar Khanum
=Muhammad Husain Karkan
Sultan Nigar Khanum
=Sultan Mahmud Mirza
Daulat Sultan Khanum
=Timur Sultan
a Begam
Jahangir Mirza
=Ai Begam
=Ak Begam
Nasir Mirza
Mihrbanu Begam
Shahr Banu Begam
=Junaid Barlas
Yadgar Sultan Begam
=Abdul Latif Sultan
Ruqaiya Sultan Begam
=Jani Beg Sultan
Sultan Wais
daughter
Sanjar Mirza
Ai Begam
2 or 3 sons
am
Kamran Mirza
=Mah Afroz Begam
=Mah Begam
=Hazara Begam
Askari
Gulrang Begam
Gulchihra Begam
Hindal (Abun-nasir
Muhammad)
Gulbadan Begam
Alwar
Mah
Begam
=Kamran


Khanum
an
Sultan Wais
Raja Pritviraj Kacchawaha
Raja Maldeo
Mah Begam =Kamran
Haram Begam =Sulaiman
Chakr Ali Beg
Haidar Beg
Khan Muhammad Sharif
Raja Bihari Mal
Raja Puran Mal
Raja Askaran
Rupsi Bairagi
Udai Singh (Moth Raja)
Miran Shahi

Mirza Aziz Koka

Mah Banu = Abdur Rahim Khanikhanan

Salima Sultan Begam=**Akbar**

Al Aman

Sultan Ruqayyah Begam,=
d. of Hindal

Bibi Daulat Shad=

Jodhbai, d. of Raja Man Singh=

Maryam Zamani, d. of Raja Bihari Mal=
widow of Abdul Wais=

daughter =Khusrau

Mirza Shamsa

8 other sons

daughter =Murad

Mirza Amrullah

Mirza Irij Shahnawaz Khan

Mirza Darab Darab Khan

Mirza Rahman Dad

Jan Begam =Daniyal

Hasan

Husa

Mirza Khan

Lashkarshikan Khan

daughter =Shah Jahan

Baisunghar

Hosha

Hoshmand
=Dawar Ba

= Gunwar Bibi
= Mah Chuchak Begam
= Maywa-jan

ar Al Aman Afifa Mirza Muhammad Hakim Bakhtunisa Begam =Shah Abul Maali =Khwaja Hasan Najibun Nisa Begam Bakhshi Banu Begam =Ibrahim Mirza Sultan =Mirza Sharafuddin Husain Sultan Ibrahim

Hasan Husain Daniyal =Jan Begam, d. of Abdur Rahim Aram Banu Begam Murad= d. of Mirza Aziz Koka Shukhrun Nisa Begam **Salim (Jahangir)** =Shah Begam, d. of Raja Bhagwandas =d. of Raja Ray Ray Singh of Bikane =Jagat Gosaini, d. of Raja Uday Sing =d. of Khwaja Hasan, uncle of Zain =d. of Raja Kesudas Rathor =d. of Ali Ray =d. of Jagat Singh, son of Raja Man =Mihru Nisa Khanum, widow of Sher Afghan =Nur Jahan =2 others

unghar Hoshang Tahmuras =Sultan Bahar Banu Begam 4 daughters daughter =Parwiz Khusrau=d. of Mirza Aziz Koka Sultanu Nisa Begam Parwiz=d. of =sister of Ra

Hoshmand Banu Begam =Dawar Bakhsh Dawar Bakhsh =Hoshmand Banu Begam Baland Akhtar Garshasp Rastiyar Keshwar Mirza Durandish daughter=Dara Shikoh S

Sultan Ibrahim

Gulrukh Begam | Habiba Begam | (Ibrahim) | Mirza Abul Qasim | Ayisha Sultan Begam | Sultan Ruqaiyah Begam =Akbar | Maywa-jan =Humayum | Ibrahim Mi =Bakhsh

ain

Shahzada Khanum

das
Singh of Bikaner
Raja Uday Singh of Udaipur
uncle of Zain Khan Koka
Rathor

on of Raja Man Singh

Jahangir =Mihru Nisa Khanum | =Sher Afghan | Muhammad Sharif | 3 others

Mirza Abdul Has
Asaf Khan

Parwiz=d. of Murad
=sister of Raja Gaj Singh

Sultan Bahar Banu Begam
=Tahmuras, son of Daniyal

Khurram (Shah Jahan)
=d. of Shahnawaz Khan
=Mumtaz Mahal

Jahandar

Shahriyar= Mihrun Nisa Begam

Arzani Begam

Mumtaz Mahal
=Shah Jahan

Dara Shikoh | Shah Shuja | **Aurangzeb** | Murad Bakhsh | Jahanara Begam | Roshanara Begam | Gauhanara Begam | Parbat Banu Begam

Miran
Shahi

an Ibrahim Miran Shahi Mirza Ghayas Beg
m =Bakhshibanu Itmadud Daula

Maryam Zamani Jagannath Raja Bhagwandas Salhadi Jaimal=daughter Jagat Gosaini,
=Akbar m. of Khurram
=Salim (Jahangir)

Mirza Abdul Hasan Shah Begam, m. of Khusrau Raja Man Singh (Mirza Raja) Madhu Singh Udai Singh
Asaf Khan =Salim (Jahangir) =sister of Lachmi Narain (Kuch Behar)

ntaz Mahal Muhammad Ali Tahib Bahmanyar 3 others Jagat Singh Bhav Singh Himmat Singh Jodhbai Chatr Sal
hah Jahan

daughter=Jahangir Bhim Singh Anand Singh Ugar Sen

In the early generations, spouses were chosen from the families of Yunus Khan or Abu Said Mirza, Babar's maternal and paternal grandparents. Then the Mughals intermarried with the families of Bairam Khan, Mirza Ghayas Beg (Itmad ud Daula), and Shamsud din Mirza Atgah Khan, families that produced trusted advisors in successive generations. Beginning with Akbar's generation, wives were chosen from the Hindu kingdoms that acquiesed to Akbar's expanding empire: Amber, Mewar, Bikaner, and Rathor. Both Jahangir and Shah Jahan had Hindu mothers, a fact often submerged by the current emphasis that the Mughals were Muslims.

In the original draft of this Mughal family tree, lines were drawn connecting the people who were married. These marriage lines crossed from one side of the table to the other, through names and descent lines, producing a chart that looked much like a road map. The chart is less confusing without them, although the marriage lines provided an instant visual representation of the amount of intermarriage in the Mughal family. It is possible to appreciate this phenomenon by seeking the names repeated throughout the chart in different marriage situations.

1. Babar, founder of the Mughal Empire in India, came from Transoxiana and settled in Agra in 1526. (W.668, f.33.)

2. Timur, known in the West as Tamerlane, sacked Delhi in 1398 and inspired Babar to invade India. (Manuscript on loan from the John Work Garrett Library of The Johns Hopkins University to the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, TL.6.1950, f.83.)

3. Akbar was a contemporary of Elizabeth I and reigned from 1556-1605. (W.711.)

4. Jahangir, shown here as a prince, was a great patron of the arts. (W.650, f.41.)

5. Shah Jahan had the Taj Mahal built for his beloved wife Mumtaz, who died giving birth to his fourteenth child. (W.668, f.45.)

6. Shahriyar, Jahangir's oldest son, married his step-mother's daughter by her first marriage. (W.697.)

7. Daniyal, Akbar's son, died after drinking wine from a gun barrel in 1598. (W.668, f.28.)

8. Madhu Singh was a confidant of Jahangir. (W.668, f.29.)

9. Murad and his wife, the daughter of Mirza Aziz Koka, have been identified from a painting of them in the Freer Collection. (W.668, f.40.)

Notes

1. Milo Cleveland Beach, *The Grand Mogul. Imperial Painting in India 1600-1660*, Williamstown, 1978, p. 188.

2. Bamber & Christina Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1971.

3. Annette Susannah Beveridge, trans., *The Barbur-nama in English*, Second Edition, Luzac & Co., London, 1969.

4. Annette Susannah Beveridge, trans., *Humayun-nama*, Second Edition, Niaz Ahmad, Lahore, 1974.

5. Henry Beveridge, trans., *The Akbar-nama of Abu-l Faẓl*, Second Edition, Rare Books, Delhi, 1972.

6. H. Blochmann, trans., *The A'in-i Akbari of Abu'l Faẓl 'Allami*, Second Edition, Naresh C. Jain, New Delhi, 1965.

7. A Rogers, trans., *The Tuzuk-i Jahangiri, or Memoirs of Jahangir*, Second Edition, Munshiram Manohalal, Delhi, 1968.

8. B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dihli*, Allahabad, 1962.

9. George S. S. Ranking, trans., *Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh by 'Abul-l Qadir ibn-i-Muluk Shah known as Al-Badaoni*, Delhi, 1973.

No, No, Nausicaa

John Boardman

In Volume 38 of *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*,[1] Professor Brommer publishes a black-figure kothon at the Gallery (48.198), apparently Attic of about the mid-sixth century or earlier. Part of its decoration presents two warriors fighting three centaurs. The rest has a man accosting a woman, with six other women showing agitation and running away. The man takes the woman by the hand, and Brommer sees in them the earliest representation of Odysseus with Nausicaa.

I find the following difficulties: Although a hand-clasp between Odysseus and Nausicaa is not altogether inconceivable, the man on the kothon is running forward with one leg raised high, a pose that should not be associated with a handshake, either on the beach of Phaeacia or anywhere since. Brommer admits in a note that the man may be taking both her hands—"it is unclear what he is grasping with his left hand"—but it *is* clear that he grasps the woman's right wrist, when we realize that although she is looking towards the man, her body is turned away from him. This explains the awkward position of her other arm. Close attention to her hem-line also shows which way her body is facing: her foot seems visible, and the forward swing of her skirt, away from the man, is apparent. Odysseus never manhandles Nausicaa, so this is a perfectly normal attack by Peleus on Thetis, from behind, matched with the grasping of her left hand on the "Melian" vase at Kavalla.[2] No Nausicaa.

Notes

1. Frank Brommer, "Theseus and Nausicaa," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, Volume 38 (1980), pp. 109-112.

2. D. Lazaridis, VIII. *Congrès International d'Archéologie Classique*, (Paris, 1965), pl.53.2.

Jan Van Eyck and the St. George Ivories

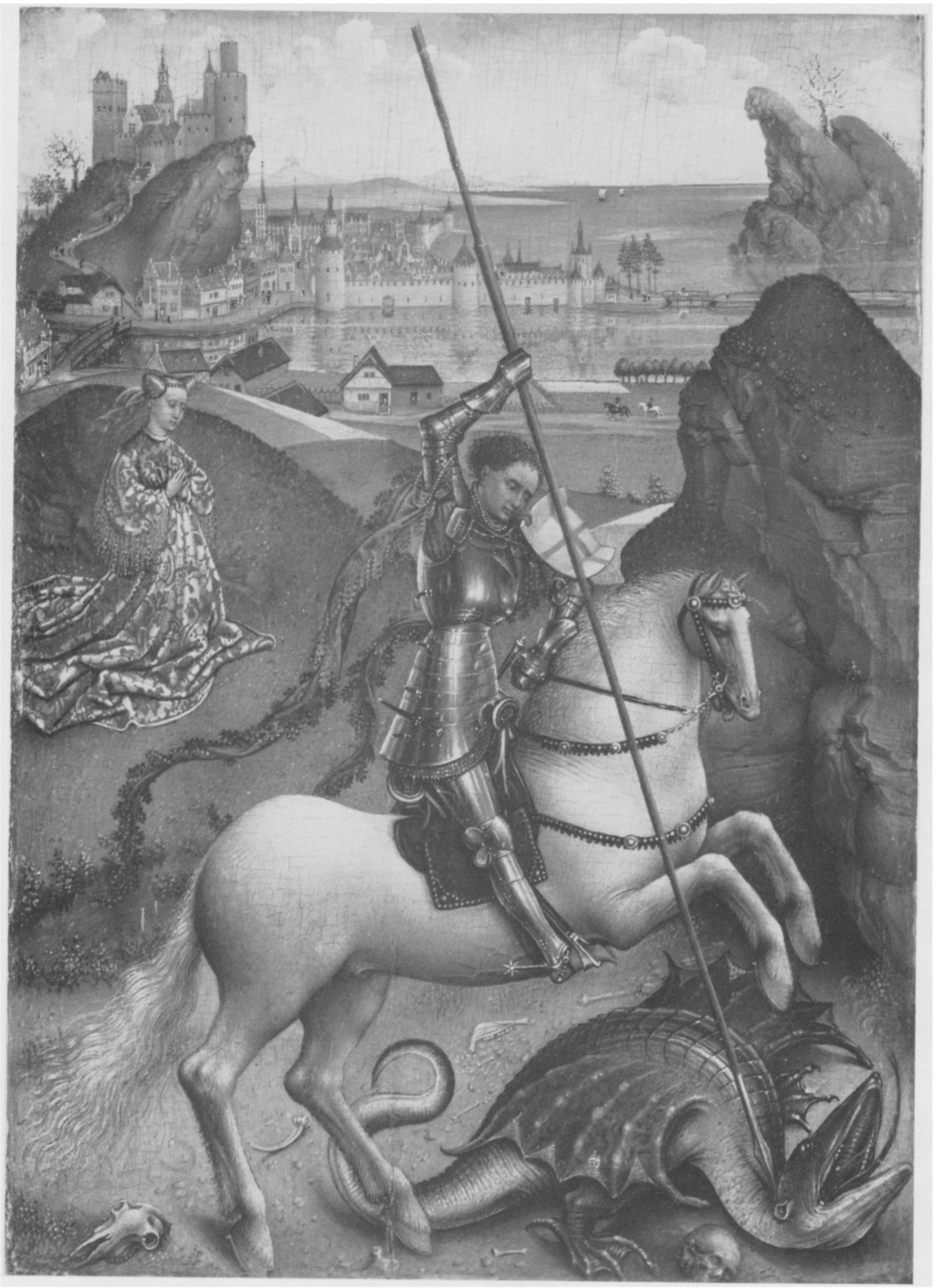
Richard H. Randall, Jr.

Scenes of the lives of saints are relatively rare in northern gothic ivories. St. George, however, appears in a number of examples, in the scene that most captured the medieval imagination: his combat with the dragon. In two 14th-century ivories, the saint takes his place alone or with a series of saints beneath arches, where he is shown on horseback wearing a great helm and attacking a dragon with a lance. One example appears on the lid of a box, and the other on a reversible ivory plaque.[1] The two representations relate closely to the tournament scenes on ivory boxes of 1340-50, the majority of which are attributed to Paris.[2] They typically show the knights in chain mail, with surcoats and great helms. One Italian example shows Saint George in a somewhat stylized pose, spearing the dragon without benefit of armor or helmet.[3]

Probably dating in the second half of the 14th century are three ivories that broaden the story of Saint George by adding the princess who was to be sacrificed to the dragon. In a rare miniscule ivory in the round, the princess stands at the side while the saint, armed in mail, steel cap, and surcoat, conquers the dragon.[4] Two reliefs on diptychs present an alternative version of the story, in which the dragon is captured and led to town bound with the girdle of the princess.[5]

Quite different in concept are the two 15th-century examples of the saint's combat, which are far more pictorial. St. George is seen in a landscape, on a prancing charger, wearing full plate-armor, while the praying princess kneels in the background. The larger of these ivories is the left wing of a diptych in the Princeton University Art Museum. The diptych has been convincingly attributed to the North Netherlands, most likely Utrecht, on the basis of its architectural enframement and the types of the Virgin saints in its right wing (fig. 1).[6]

1. Ivory diptych with St. George (left wing) and the Virgin and Child between Saints John the Baptist and Christopher. The ivory has been attributed to North Netherlands and related to works from Utrecht of the mid-15th century. (The Art Museum, Princeton University.)



2. St. George and the Dragon, oil on panel, attributed to Roger van der Weyden, 1432-1435. The painting is generally accepted as a version of the lost panel of the same subject by Jan van Eyck. (National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1966.)

The St. George panel reflects the northern interest in details of costume and landscape so evident in the painting of the first half of the 15th century. The kneeling princess is shown in a flowing gown and cape, wearing a "bourrelet" on her head.[7] St. George is accoutered in a complete armor of polished plate, with a globose breastplate and a long, spreading fauld of six plates from waist to hip, complete leg and arm armor, rowel spurs, and an indented shield bearing the cross of St. George. The dragon is shown with a scaly body and bat-like wings, and the setting is a landscape of a rocky and grassy hillock surmounted by two small, stylized trees.

The composition relates directly to the panel painting of the same subject in the National Gallery of Art, Washington. The panel is now attributed to Roger van der Weyden, while generally being accepted as a version of the lost St. George painting by Jan van Eyck (fig. 2).[8] At a slightly larger scale than the ivory, the painting shows the same basic composition, to which are added more elaborate and appropriate details of the armor, the knight's sword and dagger, the horse harness, and the costume of the kneeling princess. While a fine cityscape has been added in the background, the helmet-bearing angel has been omitted in the painting. Another copy of the lost van Eyck, that of the Majorcan painter Pedro Nisart,[9] repeats the basic features of horse and rider, and while other minor details are changed, the helmetless knight spearing the dragon with his right hand is the focus of the action.

During the second half of the 14th century and the first half of the 15th, a new military concept of the heavily armored knight emerged. Plate armor was perfected in northern Italy, Germany, and Flanders, and the fighting method changed markedly from that of the mail-clad knight of the early 14th century. The major effect of the fully armored rider was the shock impact from the combined weight of a large horse and a man in heavy armor. The shock was delivered by the blow from the point of the lance.[10]

In order to insure the knight of the most powerful impact, a number of small details relating to the lance and its use changed rapidly. A ring, called variously a grate, grapper, or burr, was added to the butt end of the lance to help transfer the shock of impact from the rider's wrist to his breastplate. This development was followed quickly by the introduction of a lance rest, which protruded from the right side of the knight's breastplate. The lance, when in the couched position, would bear directly on the lance-rest, and the grate would thus have a firm point of contact with it. The shock was then spread over the whole breastplate. At the same time, the shield went through a number of parallel transformations, the final one being a notch in the upper right corner of the knightly shield that supported the heavy, lowered lance until the final moment of combat.

The Saint George figures in the Roger panel and in the ivory are thus properly depicted as heavily armored and bearing the notched shield, but neither is using the lance in the appropriate manner. The lance in combat position would usually have been placed diagonally across the horse, passing from beneath the right arm to the point of support on the notched shield, which was sustained by a strap (guige) around the rider's neck and controlled by his left arm. The normal fighting technique, then, was to have the lance on the left side of the horse's head, with the rider approaching so as to pass the enemy on the left. There is, therefore, a curious conflict in the ivory and the van Eyck copy between the realism of the armor and other details, and the incorrect depiction of the fighting technique required by the very armor that St. George is wearing.

Examination of works of art depicting the heavy knight in combat from the late 14th and first half of the 15th century reveals very few works of art with accurate representations of the couched lance. The finest representations are perhaps the Uccello paintings of the Rout of San Romano in the Uffizi and the National Gallery, London;[11] the Vittorio Carpaccio *St. George* in the Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice; and a number of representations on the Warwick Roll.[12] Miniature painters often followed a precedent set by the Boucicaut Master in the *Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut*, in which the fully armored and helmeted knight incorrectly couches his lance on the right side of the horse.[13] There is a possible artistic explanation for this incorrect usage of the lance, which can be imagined easily in examining any one of the dozens of French, Flemish, and Dutch miniatures of St. George. If the figure is riding toward the right from the left side of the painting, and the correct military posture is represented; the dragon would have to be on the far side of the horse, and the lance would disappear behind the horse. The artistic difficulty of portraying this scene is apparent. The more usual, incorrect usage allows the lance and dragon to be seen on the viewer's side of the horse and thus seems to prevail for reasons of artistic clarity in many miniatures and panel paintings.[14]

Among those paintings showing the correct military practice is an interesting miniature in a Book of Hours in the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 3). This and other miniatures in the volume have often been shown to have been influenced by the Boucicaut Master. The artist of the Walters miniature, however, was concerned with the proper positioning of the lance, and simply solved the problem by showing St. George riding from right to left. This depiction allowed him to correct the Boucicaut model by showing the lance properly couched under the right arm, and passing across the horse, past the notched shield, down the left side of the horse, and into the dragon's mouth. A second instance of correct usage in a miniature is to be seen in the *Duarte Hours* in the National Archives, Lisbon, where again the knight moves from right to left.[15]

Surprisingly, there seem to be no miniatures that follow exactly the usage shown by Jan van Eyck. The lost painting of van Eyck was bought for Alfonso V of Aragon, in Valencia in 1444, and according to documents was shipped from Valencia to Naples in the same year.[16] The painting must date between van Eyck's visit to Catalonia in 1427, when he first met Alfonso, and the artist's death in 1441, a period in which similar armors can be documented in English brasses and other datable works of art.[17] Whether the painting was carried out in Flanders or in Spain is not clear, as van Eyck's ambassadorial and artistic activities in Spain are not well understood. The Spanish copy by Pedro Nisart was completed between 1468 and 1470 for the Chapel of the Confraternity of St. George, in the Church of San Antonio of Padua in Palma, Majorca. No direct copies or variants are known in the North to suggest the influence of van Eyck's interesting concept, other than the ivories and the Washington panel.

Jan van Eyck was clearly familiar with contemporary armor and had observed it carefully, as can be shown from an examination of the *Ghent Altarpiece*. The first three Warriors of Christ in the lower register of the altar are helmetless, but wear full armor.[18] The details are carefully studied, and each knight wears a slightly different mode of armor. The first has a boxed breastplate with an overskirt hiding the lower portions of the body armor. The middle figure, which is a St. George, has a fluted breastplate and fully exposed lower plates or fauld, very similar to the *St. George and the Dragon* painting. The third knight has a globose breastplate, but the other details cannot be seen. Each of the three carries a lance and an indented shield, though each shield is of a remarkably different shape. The lance of the first knight can be seen in its entirety and shows a grate on the butt of the lance. None of the figures has a lance rest.

Van Eyck painted another St. George in the *Van der Paele Madonna*, in which the armor, instead of showing the latest mode as in the Warriors of Christ, is partially contemporary and partially romanticized.[19] The breastplate is formed of two plates, the richly-ornamented lower one overlapping the upper. Below the fauld is a dependent skirt formed of individual lappets, probably of leather with metal ornamentation, and this ancient technique is repeated in the upper arm defenses. The helmet and pauldrons, or shoulder defenses, are ornamented like cockleshells. Jan van Eyck uses a nearly identical armor for St. Michael, who acts as a patron saint in the left wing of the Dresden altar.[20] Both figures wear a chain emanating from the right side of the breastplate, which is attached to the sword at the left, an old-fashioned feature in armor of the late 14th century.

The contrast of these two romanticized armors with those of the warriors may be explained by returning to the careful iconographic and historical concepts of the *Ghent Altarpiece*, where a carved figure of St. Michael in combat appears on the base of the music desk.[21] This figure stands in sharp contrast to the warriors directly below, and the purpose of the image, as in the carved prophets holding scrolls on the same desk, was to invoke historical times. For here again one sees the saint wearing a skirt and arm defense of leather lappets, forming a rather romanticized Roman lorica. The helmet is embossed with half-circles, and while not as elaborate as those of the patron saints George in Bruges and Michael in Dresden, it has little to do with contemporary helmets of the 1430-40 era.

As has been pointed out often, van Eyck contrasted the reality of his painted figures of the contemporary world with details that were shown in his paintings as being carved in wood or stone. Such details often include references to the past or the Old Testament; van Eyck thus places them in a world apart. The Romanizing details of the patrons St. George and St. Michael, in the same way, seem to be an indication that the saints are to be seen as figures costumed as part of Roman history, perhaps in the very era in which they had been martyred.

Van Eyck's concept of contrasting the world of artistic reality with the world of the past was shared by other contemporary artists. The silversmith, Gerard Loyet, for instance, used as his model the St. George figure from the *Van der Paele Madonna* when he created the reliquary of Charles the Bold between 1466 and

3. Miniature of St. George and the dragon from a French Book of Hours with miniatures by a follower of the Boucicaut Master, about 1430. (The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MS.W. 287, f.144.)

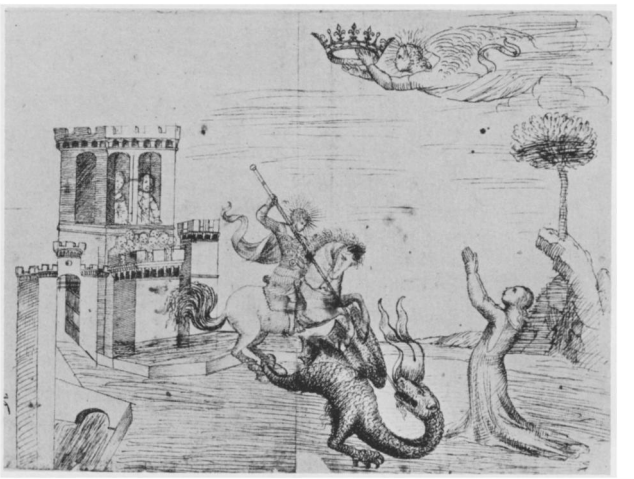
1467. This marvel of goldsmiths' work in the Treasury of St. Paul, Liege, shows Charles in a fine contemporary gothic harness, while the standing patron saint, using the very same gesture as that of the van der Paele St. George, doffs his simple *chapel-de-fer,* or kettle hat, and wears a slightly exaggerated suit of neo-antique armor.[22]

With this seemingly dual attitude toward the use of armor in Jan van Eyck's paintings, one must return to the contemplation of the armor in the lost panel of *St. George and the Dragon*, as represented in the Washington painting. The armor of the warrior himself is readily recognizable as a fine, complete suit of plate of the period 1430-40, and is similar in general style to that worn by the St. George of the *Ghent Altar*. The two curious points are the concept of a heavy cavalryman attacking without his helmet, and his one-handed use of the lance, rather than a proper charge with a couched lance.

Disregarding for a moment the armor worn by St. George in the panel, the pose of the rider can be traced back to the ancient world. It is the attack position of a lightly armed warrior in the hunt or war, on a charging horse, giving a stroke with a javelin or spear with his raised right arm. This classic hunter-warrior-victor position can be found in sculpture, coins, textiles, and other works of art from the Hellenistic period forward, in both the Greek world and in the Near East. Models for the posture are to be found on dozens of Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine monuments, and the subject was copied endlessly in the ivories, sculpture, and paintings of later periods. Van Eyck could have encountered this type of horseman on coins;[23] on Roman sarcophagi, like the example in Reims known to have been in the Church of St. Nicaise in the 15th century;[24] or on the tombstones of Roman cavalrymen in Cologne.[25] Similar figures could be seen on Byzantine ivories, such as those in the museums of Darmstadt and Mainz,[26] and in the 11th-century tympanum of St. Ursin at Bourges.[27] Some scholars have suggested an Italian journey for van Eyck, in which case he could have seen any of the dozen hunt sarcophagi in Rome, or the boar-hunting figure on the Arch of Constantine.

The hunter-warrior-victor iconography was adopted early for the images of St. George and St. Theodore. Byzantine icons, particularly those of St. George, used this rider position from at least as early as the 11th century. As the imagery of St. George was brought to Europe by crusaders in the 12th century, it became widely known to European artists, as the leaf from a pattern book of the late 12th century in the Augustiner-museum, Freiburg, indicates. The Freiburg drawing is of two military saints on horseback and reflects an icon of a type found at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai.[28] The St. George on horseback is also found on Byzantine medals and glass pastes, which, like icons, were easily transportable to the West.[29] One such silver medal was excavated in Strasbourg.[30]

If indeed van Eyck made an Italian journey, he would have encountered many works showing St. George in the guise of a Roman cavalryman, such as the relief on the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, of about 1280.[31] A painting of the subject was to be found in France, a large fresco at Avignon painted by Simone Martini in 1328 for the Church of Notre Dame des Doms.[32] The fresco is lost, but is known from a 17th-century drawing and shows St. George accoutered in the lorica of the light Roman cavalry (fig. 4).

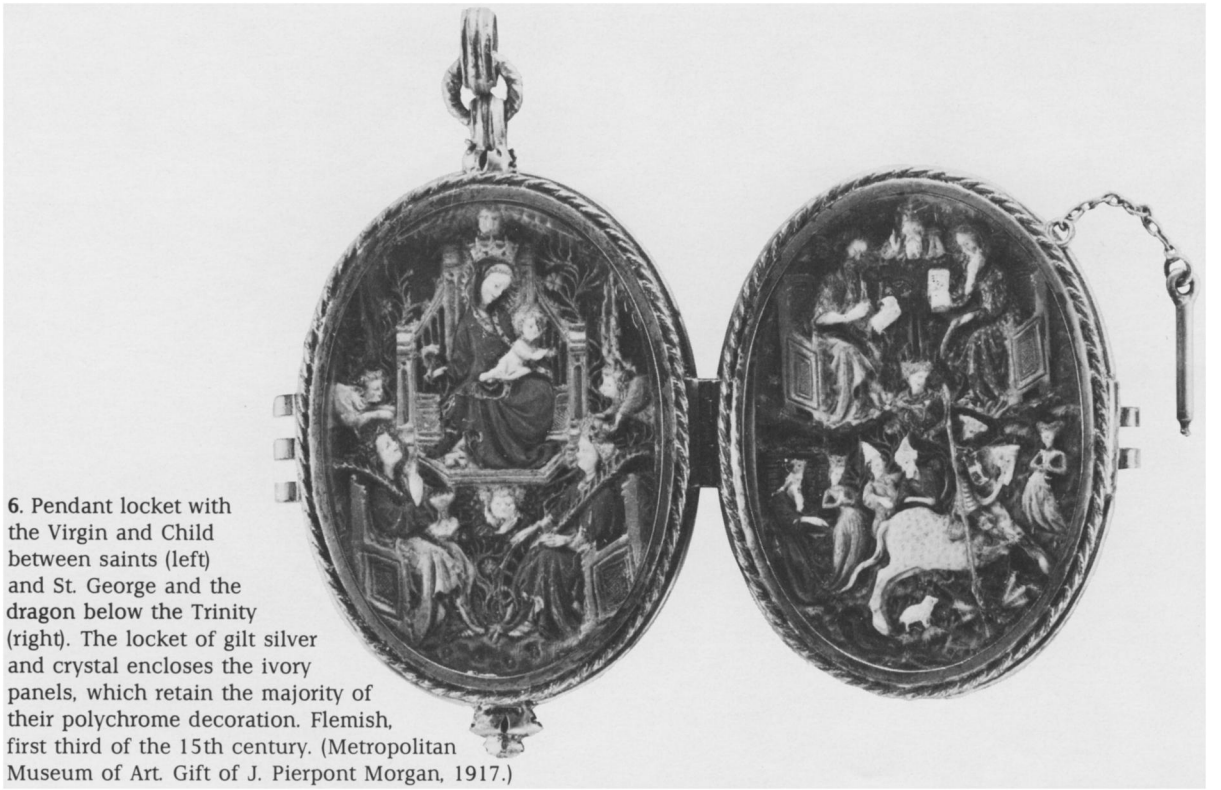


4. A 17th-century drawing after the lost fresco, painted by Simone Martini in 1328 in Notre Dame des Doms, Avignon. (Vatican Library, Barb. Dat. 4426, f.36.)

However, the most likely contact for van Eyck with the helmetless, lightly-armed warrior on horseback was Spain. Not only was St. George an excessively popular saint in Spain, but the van Eyck panel could have been painted in Spain. It is conceivable that it was commissioned while the artist was in Barcelona in 1427, where van Eyck could not have failed to see numerous representations of the mounted St. George.

Among others, two versions of St. George are known by the late 14th-century painter, Francesco Comes, one of which, in the Gardner Museum, Boston, shows the helmetless saint with a notched shield, striking the dragon with a javelin thrust (fig. 5).[33] The fine panel by Bernardo Martorell, now in the Art

5. St. George and the Dragon, oil on panel, one of several paintings of the subject by the Spanish painter Francisco Comes, late 14th century. (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.)



6. Pendant locket with the Virgin and Child between saints (left) and St. George and the dragon below the Trinity (right). The locket of gilt silver and crystal encloses the ivory panels, which retain the majority of their polychrome decoration. Flemish, first third of the 15th century. (Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.)

Institute, Chicago, depicts a fully armored and helmeted saint, striking a similar one-handed blow.[34] En route from Barcelona to Portugal in 1428, van Eyck could have encountered innumerable other examples, including many in different postures and often using the sword rather than the lance.[35]

Jan van Eyck met the painter Luis Dalmau on his diplomatic journey to Spain and Portugal, and Dalmau later travelled to the Low Countries to work with the northern artist.[36] The multiplicity of contacts with Spain, Spanish monarchs, and artists suggests that the most probable source of the hunter-warrior iconography for van Eyck was Spain.

The Spanish paintings and Byzantine icons—from which the Spanish works ultimately derived—show, with few exceptions, a lightly armored St. George with a spear. He is usually helmetless, though there are exceptions, and in some instances he wears an elaborate hat. Van Eyck has clothed his saint in the latest and finest armor, and by so doing, created a military anomaly in the second or third decade of the 15th century.

The painter must have wished to present the standard, classical iconography of the hunter-warrior, which had also become a traditional one for St. George in Spain; and at the same time create a painting filled with the Flemish realism, which at the time had so captivated the 15th-century mind. The panel is calculated to exhibit all of the possibilities of the Flemish style. There are the reflective surfaces of water and armor, the rich brocade of the princess's gown, and the tiny details of the town and its inhabitants. The details of the armor are carefully studied and would have found high favor with either a Flemish or Spanish patron. This use of modern detail combined with earlier, subtly disguised iconography accords with van Eyck's conception in his van der Paele St. George and the St. Michael of the Dresden triptych, as well as with the carved St. Michael in the *Ghent Altar*.

The reflection of the St. George iconography in the Princeton ivory and a second ivory in the Metropolitan Museum combine with the painted version of van Eyck's lost painting in Washington to suggest that the painting was known in the North. The Metropolitan ivory, which may be of Flemish rather than Dutch origin, shows a very similar image of St. George, including the angel bearing the helmet, but is far more elaborate than the Utrecht example (fig. 6).[37] St. George wears a modish

hat, and near him are the princess, her parents, and other figures. In the sky above the saint are seen God the Father and two enthroned Saints John derived from the concept of the central figures of the *Ghent Altar*. The reverse of the Metropolitan pendant is even more apparently Eyckian, with the Virgin in an elaborately pierced Gothic throne between the seated St. Catherine and St. John in a slightly altered version of the major figures of van Eyck's lost *Fountain of Life*, painted about 1435.[38]

While there is a striking similarity between the Princeton St. George and the saint's figure on the Metropolitan pendant, there is a divergence in the two approaches to the subject and to the techniques of the ivories. The Princeton diptych leaf relates closely to a number of ivory works which are framed by ogival arches with brickwork and tracery above. The backgrounds of the panels are carefully crosshatched as was common in etching and metalwork at the time. The most important object of the group is the large ivory seated Madonna in a shrine in the Hospital Communal, Bruges.[39] The ivory panels of the folding shrine show precisely the same architectural features. A large group of paxes and a few other works, cited by Robert Koch, repeat the arch and crosshatching, as well as showing a very similar image of the Virgin and Child.[40] The datings cited for the Bruges ivory by Koechlin and the Princeton St. George by Koch are both simply "late 15th century." An additional bit of evidence is a Dutch drawing of a retable of the Annunciation in the Louvre, now associated with the carved wooden Virgin of the Annunciation in the Archbishopric Museum, Utrecht. This can be dated close to 1470.[41] The architectural enframement of that retable is treated with late gothic tracery showing a crosshatched background, very similar to those of the Princeton ivory and the Bruges shrine.

The Metropolitan ivory, on the other hand, belongs to a distinctly different group, occasionally called Parisian, but generally accepted as Flemish in origin.[42] The background is treated as an overall pattern of merging grass, trees, and clouds on which the curiously combined subjects float. The miniature quality of the sculpture, only 3⅛ inches high, is enhanced by a rich polychromy, which has survived very well on the encased panels. There is a quality of late International Style about this pendant, and a number of pieces in a similar technique have been dated as early as 1400-1425. The Eyckian character of the Metropolitan pendant would indicate a date not earlier than the mid-1430s.

The dating of the ivories can be inferred in part from the general influence of Jan van Eyck's paintings. The Washington St. George panel, now given to Roger van der Weyden, is dated about 1432-35. The Pedro Nisart copy of the van Eyck is datable 1468-70, while the reliquary figure of Charles the Bold was made in 1466-67. The sculpture from the Utrecht region, which accords with the figures on the right-hand leaf of the St. George diptych, all date from 1450-70, when the armor of the Saint's figure and the costume of the princess would still have been in fashion. By the same token, the influence of Jan van Eyck begins to wane in the 1470s and '80s, as the new images created by Roger van der Weyden exerted their powerful influence both in Flanders and in Spain.

Therefore, a date between 1441 and 1470 seems to accord with the history of van Eyck's influence and with the style of the Princeton ivory. The Metropolitan ivory is equally strongly influenced by Eyckian art, but may date closer to the creating of the *Ghent Altar* (1431), or a little earlier than its Dutch counterpart, perhaps 1435-40.

The fact that Jan van Eyck used a Byzantine model, or a Spanish one derived from Byzantine sources, explains the incongruous use of a lance blow with the right arm at the time when the fully armored, heavy knight had just arrived at a highly developed military technique. Van Eyck was not only interested in the new reality possible in paint, but also in the acceptable and understandable historical accuracy of his image. The ivories, while not reflecting originality in concept, indicate that the ivory ateliers of Flanders and the Netherlands were aware of the creations of the major artists of the day, as had been those of Paris in the 13th century, when the images of the trumeau of Notre Dame and other figures were disseminated in small adaptations in ivory.[43]

Notes

1. Louvre, lid of a box, Raymond Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques francais*, Paris (Picard) 1924, no. 1310; Staatliche Museen, Berlin, reversible plaque, Wilhelm Vöge, *Die Elfenbeinbildwerke*, Berlin (Spemann) 1900, II, pl. 31, no. 84.

2. Typical of the boxes with jousting scenes are those in the Walters Art Gallery, Krakow Cathedral Treasure, and the Kestner Museum, Hannover; Koechlin, op. cit., nos. 1281, 1285, and 1289 respectively. Similar scenes appear on mirror backs of the same date, such as the example in the Collection of Martin Le Roy, Koechlin, op. cit., 1038.

3. Vöge, op. cit., II, pl. 34, no. 126.

4. *Carvings in Ivory*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London 1923, pl. XXVIII, no. 92, p. 12.

5. Hermann Schnitzler, Fritz Volbach, & Peter Block, *Skulpturen*, Sammlung E. und M. Kofler-Truniger, Luzern (Räber) 1964, S. 92, p. 28; Burrell Collection, Glasgow, diptych, William Wells, *Scottish Art Review*, XI, 1, 1967.

6. Robert Koch, "An Ivory Diptych from the Waning Middle Ages," *Record of the Art Museum*, Princeton University, XVII, 2, 1958, pp. 55-64.

7. Joan Evans, *Dress in Medieval France*, Oxford, 1952, p. 50.

8. National Gallery of Art, no. 2310, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1966. I am indebted to John Hand for the most recent scholarship on the panel.

9. Chandler R. Post, *A History of Spanish Paintings*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1930, Vol. VII, pp. 615 ff. and also Edwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1953, fig. 272.

10. Francois Buttin, "La lance et l'arret de cuirasse," *Archaeologia*, 99 1965, pp. 77-178.
The article was brought to my attention by Claude Blair, who has been most helpful with other details of the present article as well.

11. John Pope-Hennessey, *Paolo Uccello*, London (Phaidon), 1980, pls. 45 and 55.

12. Sir Guy F. Laking, *A Record of European Armor*, London (Bell), 1920, Carpaccio, Vol. III, fig. 991; Warwick Scroll, Vol. I, fig. 254, Vol. II, figs. 364 and 421.

13. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, The Boucicaut Master*, London (Phaidon) 1968, fig. 10.

14. St. George with the lance couched on the right side of the horse may be seen in such panel paintings as: Anonymous, French, Toledo Museum of Art, *European Paintings, Toledo Museum of Art*, Toledo 1976, no. 179, p. 60; Upper Rhenish Master, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, Vol. 7, no. 76, p. 38; Friedrich Herlin, Stadmuseum Nördlingen, Claude Blair, *European Armor*, London (Batsford) 1958, frontispiece.

15. Panofsky, op. cit., fig. 194.

16. Cesar Peman y Penmartin, *Juan van Eyck y España*, Cadiz 1969, pp. 37-38.

17. Claude Blair, op. cit., fig. 37, Sir John Leventhorp, 1433; Laking, op. cit., fig. 195, Michael de la Pole, 1415; fig. 198, Lord Bardolf (?), c. 1430.

18. Ludwig Baldass, *Jan Van Eyck*, London (Phaidon) 1952, fig. 44.

19. Ibid., figs. 120 and 125.

20. Ibid., fig. 106.

21. Ibid., figs. 72 and 77.

22. Comte J. de Borchgrave d'Altena, *Oeuvres des nos imagiers romans et gothiques, sculpteurs, ivoiriers, orfevres, fondeurs;* 1025-1550, Bruxelles (Dupriez) 1944, pl. LIX and unnumbered text page.

23. For instance, the denarius of P. Crepusius (82 B.C.) or the sestertius of Commodus (180 A.D.).

24. Bernard Andreae, "Die Sarkopage mit Darstellungen aus den Menschenleben," Part II, *Die Romischen Jagdsarkophage*, Berlin (Mann) 1980, no. 75.

25. Fritz Fremersdorf, *Die Denkmäler des Römischen Köln*, Köln (Reykers), 1963, Vol. II, plates 25 and 87.

26. Adolph Goldschmidt, and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jarhunders*, Berlin (Cassirer) 1930, no. 125a, pl. LXXVI, (Darmstadt Landesmuseum, datable 9th-10th century); and 119a, pl. LXVII (Mainz, Altertumermuseum, datable 12th century).

27. Arthur Gardner, *Sculpture in France*, Cambridge (Harvard) 1931, pl. XXXIV B.

28. Kurt Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 20*, Washington, 1966, fig. 62, the Freiburg drawing is called Upper Rhine, end of the 12th century. The iconography exists in three icons at Mt. Sinai, figs. 63, 64, and 65 of the same period. The latter two are, interestingly enough, painted by French artists. See also, Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West*, New York (NYU) 1970, fig. 36.

29. For glass pastes of St. Theodore in the hunter-warrior position, Marvin Ross, *Catalogue of Byzantine and East Mediterranean Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, Washington 1962, I. nos. 106 and 107 of the 12th century; and for a silver pendant of the "Holy Rider," no. 12.

30. Wilhelm Reusch, *Früchristliche Zeugnisse*, Trier 1965, fig. 130.

31. Robert Salvini, *Medieval Sculpture*, Greenwich (N.Y. Graphic Society) 1969, fig. 251.

32. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, London (Phaidon) 1967, II, fig. 401.

33. Eric Young, "Notes on the Spanish Paintings in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum," *Fenway Court*, 1979, pp. 24-25, figs. 1 and 3. The second painting is in the Sociedad Arqueológica, Palma.

34. *Paintings in the Art Institute of Chicago*, Chicago 1961, p. 296, ill. p. 95., now dated about 1438.

35. A number of versions are shown by Marti de Riquer, *L'Armés del Cavaller*, Barcelona 1968, figs. 165, 166, 198, 200, 201, 202, 208. The two-handed stroke with the lance from horseback seen in miniatures and in the *Altarpiece of St. George* from Valencia may have been adopted from a Saint George on foot, cf. C. Michael Kauffman, "The Altarpiece of St. George from Valencia," *Victoria and Albert Museum Yearbook*, 2, 1970, pp. 65-96.

36. Peman y Penmartin, op. cit., pp. 50-52.

37. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.877, J. Pierpont Morgan Collection. The detail of the angel with the helmet is found in Byzantine works like a door panel (*Warrior Saints*, New Grecian Gallery, London, Dec. 1972-Feb. 1973, no. 1, Georgian, 15th century), and seems to have been current in Europe as early as the 14th century as seen in the ivory panel in the Louvre, *supra* 1.

38. Josua Bruyn, "A Puzzling Picture at Oberlin, The Fountain of Life," *The Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, XVI, 1, (1958): pp. 5-18. The van Eyck original is now dated about 1435.

39. Koechlin, op. cit., no. 946.

40. Koch, op. cit., fig. 4 (Detroit); Koechlin, op. cit. no. 897.

41. G. Lemmens en G. de Werd, "Een onbekend fragment van Adriaen van Wesels Maria-altaar van de Onze-Lieve-Vrouwe-Broederschap ?," *Antiek*, VI, 3, October 1971, p. 177, fig. 10.

42. Jörg Rasmusseum, "Untersuchungen zum Halleschen Heiltum des Kardinals Albrecht von Brandenburg," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, XXVIII, 1977, p. 129, note 409, which summarizes the opinions on the major examples of this group, concluding that they are Franco-Flemish. Robert Didier, "Cologne et la sculpture de la second moitié du XIVe siècle," *Bulletin Monumental*, 138, 2, 1980, p. 201 argues for the Parisian origin of the group but presents no convincing evidence.

43. Max Seidel, "Die Elfenbeinmadonna in Domschatz zu Pisa," *Mitteilungen des Kunst. Inst. in Florence*, XVI, 1, 1972, pp. 1-50.

Henry Walters and the Marlborough Gems

Diana Scarisbrick

The Marlborough Gems, the most important collection of engraved gems ever formed in England, were auctioned by Christie's on June 26, 1889, in 739 lots, for a total of £34.827. The celebrated cameo, *Marriage of Cupid and Pysche*, signed by the engraver Tryphon, sold for £2000,[1] and a huge double portrait of an emperor and empress in the character of Jupiter Ammon and Isis was bought by the British Museum for £3000.[2]

Among those at the sale was Nevil Story Maskelyne (1823-1911), Keeper of Mineralogy at the British Museum and Professor of Mineralogy at the University of Oxford. His scientific knowledge was combined with a love of classical literature, and in 1870 he published *The Marlborough Gems*, which was adapted for the sale catalogue. He was indignant that the auctioneers had removed all unfavorable references to quality, condition and authenticity from his text. For example, he catalogued gem No.28 as:

> An intaglio on an inferior sard which has lost its polish, representing a bust of Neptune to the left. It is a fine, probably late Greek work.

However, the sale room version had been edited to:

> An intaglio on a sard representing the bust of Neptune to the left. It is a fine Greek work.

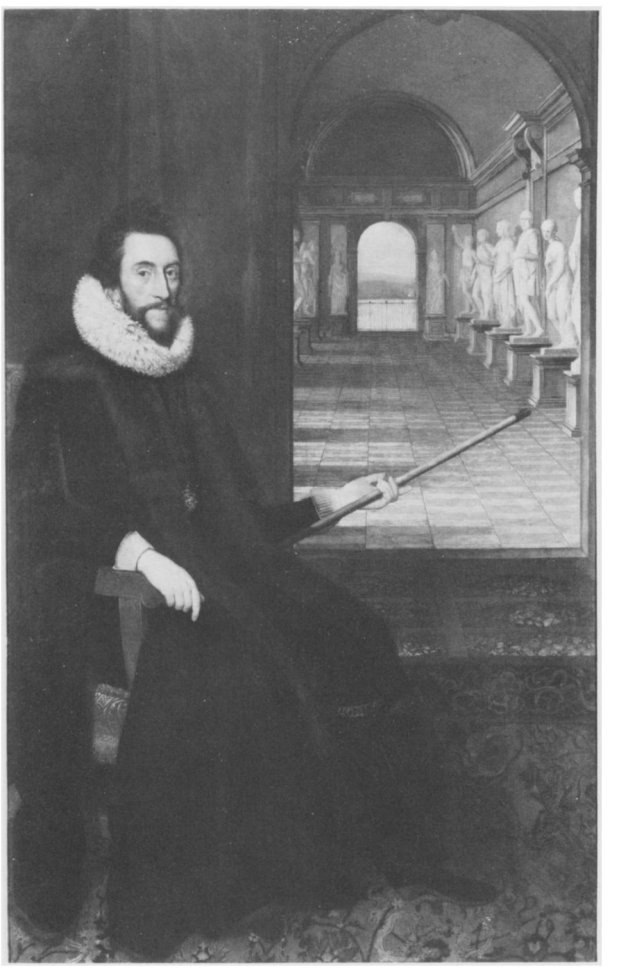
This intaglio is in the Walters Art Gallery and is one of the 108 Marlborough Gems bought by Henry Walters.[3] After the sale, Professor Story Maskelyne sent Mr. Walters a copy of the 1870 catalogue. In acknowledging its receipt in a letter from Baltimore dated August 26, 1901, Henry Walters explains:

> I was much disappointed at not being present in person at the sale of the gems so sent a representative to whom I gave limits upon certain gems which limits had been fixed after consultation with Mr. Read of the British Museum. These were upon some of the more important objects and were all too low. My representative was a quasi-expert in gems and I told him to buy all the smaller ones which he considered fine and which sold at a reasonable figure. He secured for me 107.[4]

A list was enclosed of these lots bought by Dikran Kelekian, most of them at prices well below £10 each, the most expensive being a sapphire intaglio portrait of Caracalla for which he paid £45.

In 1927, Joseph Brummer offered Mr. Walters another Marlborough gem, a garnet intaglio of an athelete rubbing himself with oil, signed GNAIOS. This gem was the subject of an article by Dorothy Kent Hill, who traced its history and identified it as the gem Horace Walpole said he could not live without.[5]

Although none of the other gems are quite as rich in historical associations as this one, together they represent all the sources which formed the Marlborough Gems and belong equally to the history of gem



1. Portrait of Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, by Daniel Mytens, ca. 1618. Lord Arundel is shown pointing out his sculpture gallery, part of an extensive art collection. He formed the Arundel cabinet, which was to become the nucleus of the Marlborough gem collection. (Collection of the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle. Photo by Courtauld Institute of Art.)

collecting in England. The nucleus of the Marlborough Collection was the Arundel cabinet, acquired by marriage in 1762 and dating from the time of Thomas Howard, the 2nd Earl of Arundel (1585-1646). Lord Arundel transformed his London house with works of art into another Medici Palace and was painted there by Daniel Mytens in 1618, pointing out his sculpture gallery with the baton of the hereditary Earl Marshal of England (fig. 1). Lord Arundel also commissioned his portrait from Rubens, the greatest artist of the time and a connoisseur of antiquities who in 1626 had sold marbles and gems to George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628).[6]

It has also been established that the Tryphon cameo in the Arundel Collection of the *Marriage of Cupid and Pysche* belonged to Rubens, who declared that he loved gems beyond all other relics of antiquity.[7] His correspondence with the French scholar Nicolas Claude Fabri de Pieresc, with whom he planned to publish an illustrated gem book, throws light on 17th-century collecting. The great ancestral collections in Italy could be visited—in Mantua, for example, Rubens had had the thrill of holding the double portrait of Alexander the Great and Olympias in his hands, and in Rome he could buy and exchange with other cognoscenti, among them Lelio Pasqualino, a canon of S. M. Maggiore. Determined "to transplant old Greece into England," [8] stimulated by the example of Rubens and rivalry with Buckingham, it was inevitable that Lord Arundel should have collected gems as well as other works of art. According to John Evelyn in a letter to Samuel Pepys dated August 12, 1689, one source was the cabinet of Daniel Nys, a dealer and agent for the Gonzagas of Mantua:

> That great lover of antiquity Thomas Earl of Arundel had a very rich cabinet of medals as well as other intaglias belonging to the cabinet he purchased of Daniel Nice at the cost of £10.000.

This purchase is confirmed by a letter written on August 4, 1637, by Lord Maltravers, son of Lord Arundel, to the Reverend William Petty, the family representative then in Venice:

> I am glad Signor Neece's jewelles and the 40 drawings prove so well.

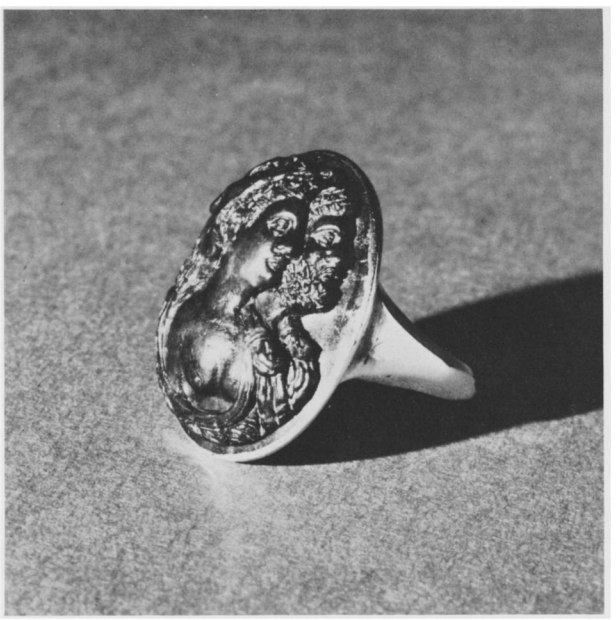
Besides these references to the purchase of gems—many of them in jewelled settings from Nys—there is also a tradition that others came from the Dactyliotheca Gorlaei in Antwerp, including a group bought by James I for Prince Henry.[10] Although there were gem collections in the Low Countries and in France, particularly in the south near Aix,[11] Italy was the principal source of supply.

One of the Arundel gems in the Walters Art Gallery is a lapis lazuli cameo of a man and a woman in the character of Hercules and Omphale (fig. 2).This gem corresponds to the description of a gem in the collection of Fulvio Orsini (1520-1600), librarian to Cardinal Odoardo Farnese. He owned 400 gems, which he listed giving price and provenance,[12] and No.208 is described:

> Lapis lazaro con testa d'Hercole e Deianara da Bernadino.

Although in the 16th century lapis was often used for gem engraving, No.208 is the only recorded example of a double portrait with this iconography and in this material.[13]

Other Orsini gems have been identified in the Hermitage, and the aquamarine intaglio of Hercules signed GNAIOS is now in the British Museum.[14] Fulvio Orsini lived in the centre of the Roman antiquities market and frequented the goldsmiths in the Via del Pellegrino, especially Cesare Targone, as well as dealing directly with the peasants selling produce in Campo di Fiore.[15] Stephano Alli, agent for the Medici, described



2. Lapis lazuli cameo of Hercules and Omphale. The cameo is one of the Arundel gems in the Walters collection. Although lapis was a commonly used material for gem engraving in the 16th century, "No. 208," as it was labelled, is the only recorded example of a double portrait with this iconography in lapis. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 42.1057.)

how the "frugatori" waited there all day with hopes that something good would turn up, as finds made in the fields and vineyards were brought in for sale with the fruit and vegetables.[16] Sometimes Orsini bought privately, and mentions transactions with a Jew, a soldier, a woman, and the artist Niccolo Fiammenghi. He also acquired whole collections from the Bishop of Spoleto, from Signor Giovanni Martini San Mercale, and from the sister of Horatio de Marii. Another rallying point for collectors was the shop of Biagio Stephanoni, where antiquities from the family lands on Monte Pincio were sold. Orsini also bought from engravers, and he names Cesare and Domenico de'Camei, and Ludovico and Domenico Conciapietre. Besides original work, these craftsmen copied ancient gems, and in consequence, owners were worried about forgeries. In a letter from Rome dated January 7, 1575, Cardinal Ferdinando de'Medici said that the owner of a cameo offered to the Medici family through their agent would neither send it on approval nor allow an impression to be taken in wax.[17] Rubens was so suspicious of forgers that permission to view his gems was given only to those who swore not to take impressions.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that so many of the Arundel gems date from the 16th century. They tell us about the taste of the Renaissance patron, many of whom would have echoed the words of Montaigne:

> I was familiar with the affairs of Rome long before I knew those of my own house. I knew the Capital and its position before I knew the Louvre, and the Tiber before the Seine. I have meditated more on the conditions and fortunes of Lucullus Metullus and Scipio than I have about our own men.[18]

This passion for Roman history was expressed in a demand for gem portraits of the rulers and heroes of ancient Rome, patriots such as Marcus Regulus Atilius,[19] Gaius Marius, seven times Consul,[20] the Emperor Nero,[21] and Domitian.[22] An agate of Ariadne comforted by Bacchus after Theseus deserted her illustrates a favourite theme from classical literature—the loves of the gods for mortals.[23]

> Love conquers all

is the subject of a topaz intaglio of Vulcan forging arms for Aneas, watched by Cupid and a winged Venus.[24] Archbishop Parker gave Queen Elizabeth an agate intaglio with this device,[25] and it was also repeated in plaquettes.[26]

Two Arundel gems now in the Walters Art Gallery demonstrate the close relationship between gem engraving and the other arts during the Renaissance: there is an engraving of Diomedes escaping with the Palladion,[27] and this motif was adopted by Donatello for a relief in the courtyard of the Medici Palace.[28] Another intaglio, of Hercules resting from his labors,[29] is a copy of a gem formerly in the collection of Fulvio Orsini of the same subject, with a Greek inscription that translates as:

> Work is the source of all true happiness.[30]

Annibale Carracci must have seen this gem while engaged on the fresco decorations of the Farnese Palace when Orsini was librarian there, for he used this composition in the ceiling of the Camerino.[31]

However uncertain the circumstances of the acquisition of the Arundel cabinet, its subsequent history is clear, although gifts may have been made from it.[32] Lord Arundel died in Padua in 1646, and the cabinet went to his widow Aletheia in Amsterdam.[33] It descended to their grandson Henry, 6th Duke of Norfolk. He died in 1684, leaving the cabinet to his widow by a second marriage. Needing money for her children, she sold the gems to Henry, Earl of Peterborough (1624-97), whose daughter Mary was married to her stepson Henry, 7th Duke of Norfolk. On September 28, 1685, Elias Ashmole recorded in his diary for that day:

> Lord Peterborough showed me his rare collection of gems and ancient rings.

By this date he could have meant the Arundel gems.[34] Lord Peterborough took out a mortgage on the cabinet and left it to his wife with the rest of his estate. In turn it descended to their daughter Mary, who, despite her divorce from the Duke of Norfolk in 1700, became the legal owner of the Arundel gems. She bequeathed them to her husband, Sir John Germain (1650-1718), a soldier of fortune described by John Evelyn as "a gamester of mean extraction who had gotten much by gaming." Sir John Germain paid off the mortgage and interest. On his death, his widow Lady Betty (1680-1769), daughter of the 2nd Earl of Berkeley, inherited the cabinet with the Drayton estate and kept it at her London house in St. James's Square (fig. 3). The 130 cameos and 133 intaglios were separated and arranged in five drawers. There was a Latin list identifying each gem by subject and grading them into one of three classes of quality. A copy of this list is in the library of the Society of Antiquaries.[35] In 1731 George Vertue saw it at the house of the antiquary Smart Lethieullier at Aldersbrooke in Essex.[36] Vertue also states that Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676-1753), who

was Master of the Mint, a friend of Jonathan Swift, and co-author of the "Guide to the Treasures of Wilton House," had written the catalogue of the Arundel gems.[37] He was satirized by Alexander Pope as the antiquary Annius in the *Dunciad*, IV, verse 347:

> But Annius, crafty seer, with ebon wand,
> And well dissembled emerald on his hand
> False as his gems and cancered as his coins.

An English version of this catalogue was drawn up in 1731, prefaced with the account of the history of the cabinet since the death of Lord Arundel in 1646.[38] The same three grades of quality are used—fine, very fine, and "extream" fine, and sometimes the entries are no more than a translation of the Latin text. An intaglio in the Walters collection is described:

3. Portrait of Lady Betty Germain by C. Phillips. Lady Betty inherited the Arundel cabinet in 1718. Under her ownership, the cabinet was catalogued for the first time. The cameos and intaglios were listed in Latin by subject, and graded according to three classes of quality: "fine," "very fine," and "extream fine." (Collection of Lord Sackville, Knole. Photo by Courtauld Institute of Art.)

> Equus marinu virum tridente armatum et mulierum viro incumbentem dorso vehens Marcum Antonium et Cleopatrum referrevidetur, in corniola bella.

The English version reads:

> A seahorse bearing on his back a man with a trident and a woman reclined against him, perhaps intended for Antony and Cleopatra (fig. 4).

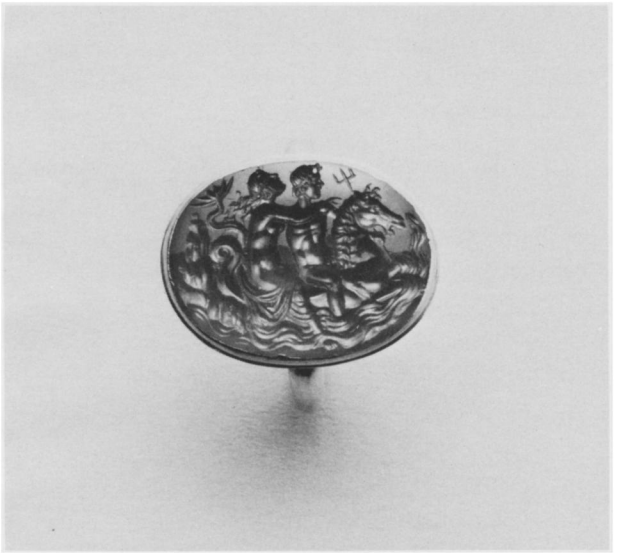
More often, the English entries are much longer and full of personal prejudice and scepticism mixed with snippets of antiquarian learning drawn from Plutarch and the Greek dramatists.[39] Sir Andrew Fountaine's style is exemplified in the description of the portrait of Gaius Marius:

> Extream fine. Cornelian. He was the first of the Romans who had been seven times consul. He lived about fifty years before Christ. Plutarch wrote his life. In the Roman commonwealth it was necessary for great men to have an abundance of dependents. These usually wore their patron's heads on their rings, it was their manner of declaring their party.[40]

Some of his entries provide the pretext for allusions to the venality of women "and the tricks of spiritual charlatans";[41] for example, his account of the Canopus intaglio with the Greek inscription PHILIPOU:[42]

> Very fine onyx. Canopus was an Egyptian god. Ruffinus tells this story of him. The Chaldeans worshipped the fire and had challenged the gods of all the world for its mastery. Upon several tryals the Fire had consumed all the other Gods. Canopus' priest hearing thereof contrived this stragem. He made a pitcher full of holes stopped with wax, this he filled with water and setting Canopus' head upon it dressed it up like the God. When the tryal came the Chaldeans sett (fire) their God to consume it but the wax being melted the water gushed forth and put out the fire. Upon which all present cryed out Victory and fell to adoring Canopus. Behold the antiquity of Preiscraft! The inscription signifies that this Gemm belonged to Philip possibly the same who was king of Macedon father to Alexander the Great and it might have been brought into Italy by Pompey the Great in Mithridates . . . and from thence hither by ye Earl of Arundell.

In the 19th century this manuscript belonged to the bibliophile Sir Thomas Phillips, who had it printed in 1840. In 1911 it was sold at Sothebys, and it is now in the British Library. In 1755 the British Museum refused to buy the Arundel Cabinet for £10.000 from Lady Betty.[43] When her great-niece Lady Diana Beauclerk (fig. 5) married Lord Charles Spencer in 1762, she gave the cabinet to the young couple as a wedding present, which they then ceded to the head of the family, George Spencer, the 4th Duke of Marlborough (1738-1817).



4. In the English version of the Latin catalogue of the Arundel cabinet, this intaglio is described as "a seahorse bearing on his back a man with a trident and a woman reclined against him, perhaps intended for Antony and Cleopatra." (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 42.1201.)

5. Portrait of Lady Charles Spencer by J. E. Liotard. Lady Diana Beauclerk married Lord Charles Spencer in 1762. They received the Arundel cabinet as a wedding gift from Lady Betty and ceded it to the head of the Spencer family, who was the 4th Duke of Marlborough and an enthusiastic gem collector. (Christie's photo by A. C. Cooper Ltd.)

The Duke of Marlborough was the most determined and extravagant of the aristocratic English collectors, whose enthusiasm for gems was rivalled only by Catherine II of Russia. In the early years of the 18th century, intellectuals such as Dr. Woodward and successful physicians such as Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead bought gems as part of encyclopedic collections representing every aspect of human development. The subjects and materials of gems were discussed at meetings of the Society of Antiquaries. Then the lead was taken by the great landed milords, notably the 2nd Duke of Devonshire and Viscount Morpeth, heir to the Earl of Carlisle. A consequence of this aristocratic involvement was the foundation of the Society of Dilettanti in 1734.

A founder member of this club for the scholarly and convivial was William Ponsonby, Viscount Duncannon and later the 2nd Earl of Bessborough (1704-1793). He was elected to the Accademia del Disegno in Florence and travelled in search of antiquities in the company of the painter J. E. Liotard. On his return home in 1739 he was painted in Turkish dress, the badge of travel in the eastern Mediterranean (fig. 6). He then settled down to a political career and married Lady Caroline Cavendish, granddaughter of the collector of the Devonshire Gems. Lord Bessborough kept his collection of sculpture and other antiquities at his house in Roehampton, and had his smaller gems set in elegant rococo rings. He later bought the Chesterfield cabinet and some of the Medina gems when they were auctioned in 1761. All were catalogued by the German engraver Lorenz Natter (1705-1763), who planned the publication of a Museum Britannicum of all the English gem cabinets.[44] Natter also engraved the portraits of Lord and Lady Bessborough.[45]

Henry Walters bought 13 Bessborough gems, including the GNAIOS intaglio. This was acquired from one of the most controversial characters in the 18th century art world, Philip von Stosch (1691-1757). A man of exquisite taste but dubious morals, self-taught, and with excellent contacts, he was employed by the British government to spy on the Jacobite court in Rome.[46] Those involved in the sale of antiquities in those days—the irrepressible Stosch, with the raven sacred to Apollo perched on the back of his chair (fig. 7), the shabby clerical antiquaries; the pedlars with pockets stuffed with coins and gems; and gullible English clients—were caricatured by P. L. Ghezzi.[47] In 1724 Stosch published *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae*, illustrated by B. Picart, with engravings of gems from the most eminent

European cabinets, all of them signed. Stosch was the first to grasp the significance of these inscriptions. From then on, those gems which bore the names of the artists of antiquity were considered the *ne plus ultra* of gem collecting. The 2nd Duke of Devonshire paid Stosch more than £1000 for a fragment of a gem signed APPOLLONIDES, who was mentioned by Pliny. This purchase was the signal for forgers to exploit a lucrative market. Old stones were recut and given signatures, and forgeries abounded.[48]

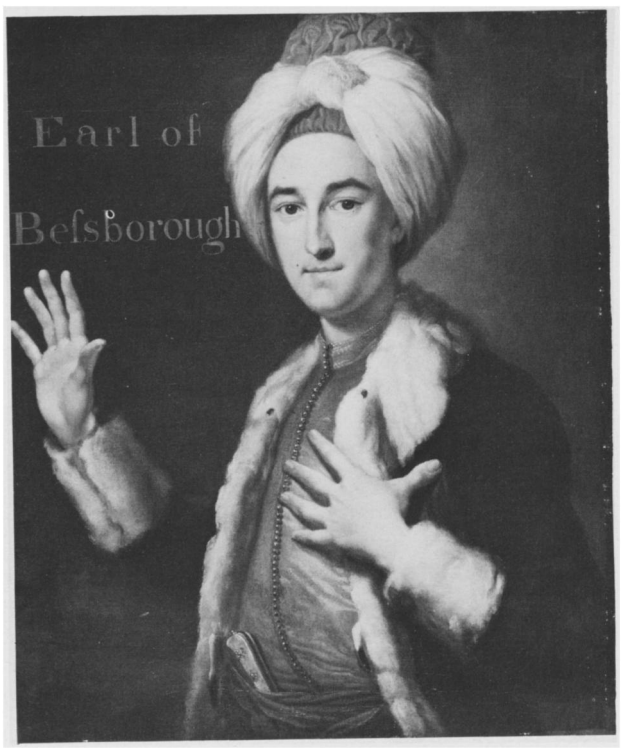
While the authenticity of the GNAIOS gem is not in dispute—Stosch had sold this gem very reasonably to Lord Bessborough in exchange for a promise to speed up pension arrears—other gems in the Walters collection are certainly fakes. There is, for example, an amethyst intaglio with an inscription in Greek reading EUTYCHES, SON OF DIOSCOURIDES (fig. 8). It is a copy of a rock crystal intaglio now in Berlin, which the antiquary Cyriaco d'Ancona saw off the coast of Crete in 1445, in the ship's cabin of the Venetian admiral Giovanni Delfino.[49] Stosch published the gem in *Gemmae Antiquae Caelatae* when it belonged to the "antiquaressa" Connestabile Colonna, née Salviati, the friend of Stosch's patron Cardinal Albani. It then disappeared until 1892, when Professor Adolf Furtwangler bought it for the Berlin Museum.[50] In his Bessborough Catalogue, Lorenz Natter not only states that the Walters gem is ancient:

> tout connoisseur conviendra l'antiquité de cette pierre,

but suggests that it is the piece published by Stosch:

> peut etre c'est la meme que M. de Stosch a publié.

Natter's contemporaries considered him a most accomplished forger, and indeed he admitted making copies of ancient gems complete with Greek signatures in his *Traité de la Méthode Antique de Graver en Pierres*



6. Portrait of Lord Bessborough by George Knapton. After travelling with the painter J. E. Liotard in search of antiquities, Lord Bessborough posed for this portrait in Turkish garb, the badge of travel in the Eastern Mediterranean. He later bought the Chesterfield cabinet and some of the Medina gems. (Collection of the Society of Dilettanti, London. Photo by Courtauld Institute of Art.)

7. Drawing of Phillip von Stosch by P. L. Ghezzi. Stosch is caricatured with the raven sacred to Apollo perched on the back of his chair. Stosch was the first to grasp the importance of artists' signatures on gems of antiquity. The high prices subsequently paid for signed pieces encouraged forgers. (Vatican Library.)

Fines, though never specifying which. There are, therefore, grounds for suspecting that he was responsible for the Walters gem, perhaps in partnership with Stosch.[51]

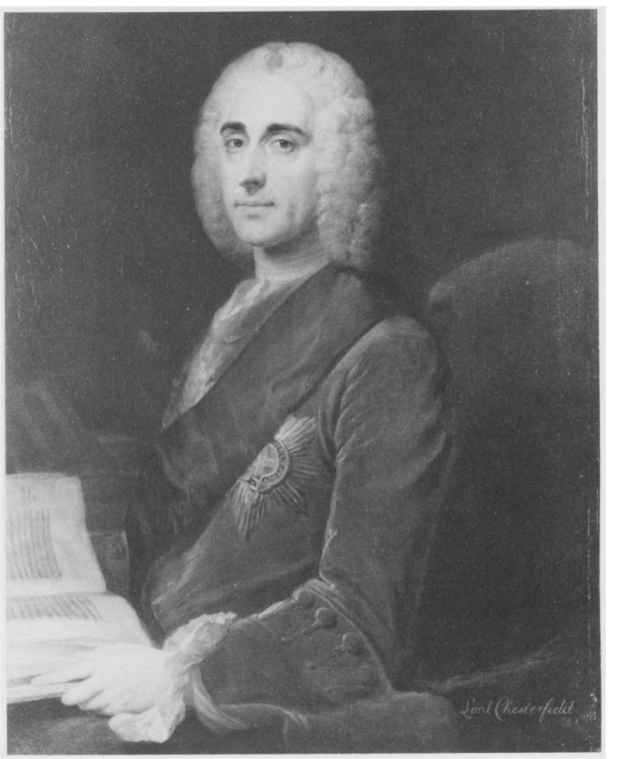
The Bessborough Collection included some good examples of Renaissance engraving: a large nicolo head of Julius Caesar, catalogued by Natter as ancient—"la gravure est de son siecle"[52]—and a cameo of a Janus head, the reverse with an intaglio medley of conjugated masks.[53] In discussing this type of double gem, George Vertue suggested that they were designed for both ornamental and practical use, the intaglio serving as a seal. He was describing a portrait of Henry VIII, then in the possession of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.[54] Other gems with similar double images of Tudor royalty are at Chatsworth and Windsor.[55]

The Bessborough collection was augmented by 45 choice gems from Phillip Dormer Stanhope, the 4th Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773) (fig. 9). This cultivated gentleman modelled himself on the theory put forth by the Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713)—that taste in conduct, and the arts, were twin aspects of the same aristocratic ideal. The Earl of Chesterfield was a distinguished man of letters and a connoisseur.[56] However, as far as gems were concerned, he wrote advising his son against wasting his time with such trinkets, and also music:

> no piping and fiddling I beseech you, no days lost poring upon almost imperceptible intaglios and cameos—do not become a virtuoso of small wares ....beyond certain bounds the man of taste ends and the frivolous virtuoso begins.[57]

He seems to have exempted himself from this advice, though, and the 14 Chesterfield gems in the Walters Art Gallery are characteristic of his exquisite taste. Among the ancient gems is an outstanding sapphire intaglio portrait of Caracalla,[58] and a garnet intaglio double portrait of Socrates and Plato face-to-face.[59] A 16th-century small sapphire portrait intaglio of Cicero (fig. 10) recalls another letter from Lord Chesterfield to his son in which the father recommends mastery of

8. This amethyst intaglio is an 18th-century copy of an ancient rock crystal intaglio now in Berlin. The forger copied the Greek signature incompletely—it reads simply, "Eutyches, son of Dioscourides." The original translates as "Eutyches, son of Dioscourides of Aigeai made it." (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 42.1028.)



9. Portrait of the 4th Earl of Chesterfield by William Hoare. The Earl of Bessborough acquired 45 choice gems from the Chesterfield collection. Although the Earl of Chesterfield advised his son against wasting time on such frivolities as music and gem collecting, he formed a small collection of his own. The 14 Chesterfield gems exemplify his distinguished taste. (National Portrait Gallery, London.)

10. This sapphire intaglio shows a portrait of Cicero. It belonged to the 4th Earl of Chesterfield, who had a marble bust of Cicero in the library of his Blackheath home and advised his son to value eloquence above all other accomplishments. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 42.1011.)

11. The 4th Duke of Marlborough praised the head of Sabina on this yellow sard intaglio: ". . . stupendo veramente e bellisimo," he wrote in his catalogue. The gem was bought from Edward Burch, an engraver contemporary of the Duke's, who modelled it after an ancient portrait. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 42.1060.)

eloquence above all other accomplishments.[60] A marble bust of Cicero presided over the Chesterfield library at his house in Blackheath. Two other Roman heads, one a topaz intaglio portrait of Elagabulus,[61] and the other an amethyst intaglio of Nerva, are in fine enamelled gold ring settings. The engraving of the latter is particularly commended by Natter.[62]

Lord Bessborough bid successfully for 46 lots at the London auction held by Langford at Covent Garden on February 10, 1761. The auction dispersed the collection of Medina, a rich Jewish merchant from Livorno, which was the port of the Duchy of Tuscany and an international business center with a flourishing Academy. The Medina gems had been listed and published in Italian in 1742;[63] they comprised 100 cameos and 125 intaglios. The sale catalogue is an abridged version in English of this Italian text. Among the seven Medina gems at theWalters is an onyx cameo head of Apollo, a heavily archaizing gem that may have been bought as ancient,[64] and an intaglio of a scene from the Trojan War by Natter after a paste in the Stosch collection.[65] In his catalogue of Stosch's gems, the historian J. J. Wincklemann dismissed Natter's interpretation of this subject—it shows Apollo intervening to save Aeneas from Diomedes[66]—and Natter did not forgive him. In the Bessborough catalogue he alludes to "antiquaires subalternes" and "génies si dangereux" who had great pretensions about historical learning but knew nothing of techniques.

The Duke of Marlborough bought the Bessborough Collection some time after his acquisition of the Arundel cabinet in 1762. Once he had set his heart on a gem, money was no object to this virtuoso. The French scholar P.J. Mariette referred to this passion in a letter to the Theatine Father Paciaudi:

> Les Anglais qui quand une fois ils se sont mis en tete d'avoir quelque objet qui leur plait y prodiguent de l'argent.[67]

As a young man, the Duke had astonished the cognoscenti by paying the Venetian collector A.M. Zanetti £480 for four gems alone,[68] and it was prices like this that must have persuaded Lord Bessborough, Sir Edward Dering, and others to part with their treasures. Important gems for the Duke of Marlborough to examine were sent on approval from abroad, among them the double portrait of an emperor and empress as Jupiter Ammon and Isis from Portugal. In Rome, the gem engraver Nathaniel Marchant acted as the Duke's agent, and the dealers James Byres and Thomas Jenkins supplied him as well as the London and Paris trade. Sometimes gems were left to him as legacies by friends and relations, such as the Duke of Leeds and the Duchess of Bedford.

The Duke of Marlborough's love of gems was supported by knowledge of classical literature. In the manuscript catalogue listing his collection of 376 gems in 7 cases shortly after the acquisition of the Arundel cabinet, the Duke of Marlborough distinguishes between them by marking his own individual purchases with the letter B.[69] He describes the subject and material of each gem in Latin and relates the iconography to literature, appending the appropriate quotation in Greek or Latin.[70] His comments in Italian are unreservedly enthusiastic:

> cameo bello senza dubbio; intaglio assai bello; molto bello; cameo bellisimo veramente; cameo bellisimo lavoro Greco senza dubbio; incredibile.

Half the gems in the Marlborough Collection were personal purchases of the 4th Duke, and of these, 49 are now in the Walters Art Gallery. Among the ancient gems is a portrait of the Triumvir Lepidus,[71] but most are later in date. They include two good copies of famous gems, one of the intaglio in Naples of Jupiter chastising the giants, the other of a triumphal car encircled by the signs of the Zodiac.[72] He was proud of a ring bought in Paris with the figure of Perseus in gold applied to an iron bezel using a technique employed by Renaissance goldsmiths—he commented, "bellisimo et curios-

12. The group portrait of the 4th Duke of Marlborough with his family was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1778. The Duke holds a cameo of the Emperor Augustus, while Lord Blandford, the Duke's heir, stands beside him clasping one of the red morocco cases containing the collection. (Blenheim, Oxfordshire.)

sisimo."[73] Gems bought from the contemporary engravers Edward Burch (1730-1814) and Nathaniel Marchant (1739-1816) are highly praised—a head of Sabina by Burch is listed:

> B Caput Sabinae Hadriani Uxoris beryllo bello intaglio stupendo veramente e bellisimo (fig. 11).[74]

It was pride and joy in his gems which prompted the decision to pose for Sir Joshua Reynolds in the character of collector. In the great family group painted in 1778 and now hanging in the Red Drawing Room at Blenheim, the Duke wears his Garter robes and is surrounded by his Duchess and six of their children, (fig. 12). He holds a cameo portrait of the Emperor Augustus,[75] while his heir Lord Blandford stands beside him clasping one of the red morocco cases containing the collection. Splendidly housed in the palace built in honour of the military triumphs of his ancestor, the Duke must have compared himself to the rulers of Imperial Rome, and the possession of gems must have made the parallel seem even closer. It is significant that the frontispiece to the first volume of *The Marlborough Gems*, published in a limited edition of 100 in 1780, was engraved by Bartolozzi to represent the consecration of his gems to the Temple of his mythical ancestress Venus Genetrix by Julius Caesar. With his knowledge of Roman history the Duke of Marlborough would have been familiar with this scene as described by Pliny, and the Reynolds portrait depicting him as the successor to this Roman tradition represents the high point of English gem collecting. His descendants did not add to the collection, and in 1875 it was sold *in toto* to Mr. David Bromilow. His daughter, Mrs. Jary, consigned it for auction in 1899, and although Henry Walters did not obtain the more important items, the 108 lots now in the Walters Art Gallery constitute the largest single group in institutional or private ownership.

Notes

1. M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Kunstler in spatrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966), Plate 28, No. 1. Now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

2. H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum* (London 1926), No. 3619.

3. Walters Art Gallery 42.1199.

4. Unpublished letter in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

5. D. K. Hill, "From Venuti and Wincklemann to Walters," *Apollo* (1975): 100-03.

6. H. Van der Meulen-Schregardus *Petrus Paulus Rubens Antiquarius* dissertation submitted to the University of Utrecht, 1975, p. 19.

7. Ibid. Note 22, p. 84.

8. H. Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman*, (London 1634) p. 107.

9. British Library Add.Ms.15970, fol 65.

10. C. W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings* (London 1872), p. 464. For an account of the Arundel, Buckingham and Royal gem cabinets as well as information about the Gorleaus collection see J. Kagan, "On the History of Seventeenth Century Glyptics in England," *Western European Art in the Seventeenth Century, Publications and Research* (Leningrad 1981) pp. 177-197.

11. E. Bonnaffe, *Dictionnaire des Amateurs Français au XVII Siècle* (Paris 1884, reprint Amsterdam 1966).

12. P. de Nolhac, "Les Collections d'Antiquites de Fulvio Orsini," *Melanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire, Ecole Francaise de Rome*, IV, 1884, pp. 139-231.

13. E. Babelon, *Catalogue des Camees Antiques et Modernes de la Bibliotheque Nationale* (Paris 1897), No. 953, onyx double-portrait of a man and a woman, she as Omphale, he as Hercules, identified as Alphonso II d'Este and his first wife, Lucrezia de'Medici.

14. H. B. Walters, op. cit. No. 1892.

15. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma e Notizie intorno le Collezione romane di antichita*, Vol. II (Rome 1903), p. 173.

16. M. McCrory, "An Antique Cameo of Francesco I de'Medici," *Le Arti del Principato Mediceo* (Florence 1980), Document VI, p. 315.

17. Ibid. Document IV.

18. Montaigne, *Essais*, Livre Troisieme, Chapitre IX, De la Vanite, p.1117, Bibliotheque de la Pleiade, (Paris 1960).

19. Walters Art Gallery 42.1158.

20. Walters Art Gallery 42.1183. J. J. Wincklemann, *Description des Pierres Gravées du feu Baron de Stosch* (Florence 1760, Reprint Baden Baden 1970) p. 436 no. 178, describes a glass copy of this gem.

21. Walters Art Gallery 42.1041.

22. Walters Art Gallery 42.1040.

23. Walters Art Gallery 42.1176.

24. Walters Art Gallery 42.1129.

25. A. Way, Notice of a Jewelled Ornament Presented to Queen Elizabeth by Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, *Archaeological Journal* (XIX: 146). This is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

26. J. Pope Hennessy, *The Italian Plaquette*, Herz Lecture, Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. I, (London 1964) p. 64.

27. Walters Art Gallery 42.1184.

28. N. Dacos, *Il Tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico: Le Gemme* (Florence 1973), pl. 83.

29. Walters Art Gallery 42.1089.

30. P. J. Mariette, *Traite des Pierres Gravees* (Paris 1750), Vol.I, p.35.

31. J. R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (Princeton 1965), pl. 11, The Camerino Farnese.

32. J. Tradescant, *Museaum Tradescantianum* (London 1656), p. 36 "several heads cut on agates" and lists Lord Maltravers as one of the benefactors of his museum, p. 179.

33. Letter from John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys, August 12, 1689.

34. *Memoirs of the Life of that Learned Antiquary Elias Ashmole* (London 1717), p. 75.

35. Society of Antiquaries, Smart Lethieullier MS.43 dated 1727.

36. George Vertue, "Note Book V," *Twenty-Sixth Volume of the Walpole Society* (Oxford 1938), pp. 90-91.

37. Elwin and Courthorpe, *Alexander Pope*, Vol. III, pp. 171-2 for references to Fountaine as a virtuoso. Also Christie's sale catalogue July 6, 1894.

38. British Library Add.MS.38166.

39. The rock crystal intaglio of Helios, Walters Art Gallery 42.1157 is compared with the seal of Amphytrion—the sun rising in a four horse chariot in the comedy by Plautus.

40. Walters Art Gallery 42.1183.

41. See the account of the cornelian intaglio of Atalanta, Arundel Theca E No.22 which he concludes with the comment "a pretty moral!"

42. Waltes Art Gallery 42.1159.

43. N. Story Maskelyne, *The Marlborough Gems*, privately printed 1870, Introduction, p. viii.

44. A. Peredolskaya, "A Manuscript by L. Natter in the Hermitage," *Sosbsch. Gosud. Ermitazha* XXI/1961, p. 30.

45. E. Nau, *Lorenz Natter*, (Biberach 1966) figs. 79 and 88. The portrait of Lady Bessborough is in the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, British Museum.

46. L. Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth Century Rome* (London 1961).

47. Vatican library, Codex Ottoboni Lat. 3116. (See fig. 7.)

48. For instance, Walters Art Gallery 42.1026, intaglio signed CHROMIOS. A. Giulianelli, *Memorie degli Intagliatori Moderni* (Livorno 1753) p.158.

49. B. Ashmole, *Cyriaco d'Ancona*, Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. XLV (Oxford 1957).

50. E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen*, Band II (Munich 1969), No. 456.

51. J. Tassie and R. Raspe, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Gems* (London 1790), p. xxxvi.

52. Walters Art Gallery 42.1083.

53. Walters Art Gallery 42.1009.

54. George Vertue, "The Vertue Notebooks, IV," *Twenty-Fourth Volume of The Walpole Society*, Oxford 1936, p. 84.

55. *Holbein and the Court of Henry VIII*, Exhibition at the Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace, 1978, No. 95.

56. J. Lees-Milne, *The Earls of Creation* (London 1962), p. 15.

57. Letter dated September 27, 1749.

58. Walters Art Gallery 42.1061.

59. Walters Art Gallery 42.1182.

60. Letter dated November 24, 1749.

61. Walters Art Gallery 42.1073.

62. Walters Art Gallery 42.1038 "dans un amethyste tres bien travaille."

63. *Catalogo del Prezioso Museo di Pietre intagliate e Cammei Appresso Le Signore de Medina in Livorno* (Livorno 1742).

64. Walters Art Gallery 42.1027.

65. Walters Art Gallery 42.1059.

66. J. J. Wincklemann, op. cit., pp. 363-365.

67. *Correspondance Inedite du Comte de Caylus avec le P. Paciaudi Theatin* (ed. Charles Nisard), Paris 1877, p.359, letter dated March 24, 1768. For further information about the purchase of gems and casts in 18th-century Italy, see G. Femmel and G. Heres, *Die Gemmen aus Goethes Sammlung* (Leipzig 1977) reviewed by G. Seidmann, *Burlington Magazine*, June 1981, who quotes Goethe on the prices charged by gem dealers, which only Russians and English could afford: "Oh, to have been born the son of an Englishman!"

68. D. Scarisbrick, "A. M. Zanetti and the Althorp Leopard," *Apollo* (1979); 425-7.

69. Unpublished manuscript in the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum Oxford.

70. Walters Art Gallery 42.1233. Aesculapius et Hygieia stantes in corniola. Intaglio Hunc modo serpentum baculum qui necibus ambit Perspice. Ovid Met.

71. M. L. Vollenweider, *Die Portratgemmen der romischen Republik* (Mainz 1974) Taf. 143/6. Walters Art Gallery 42.1133.

72. Walters Art Gallery 42.1058 (Jupiter); Walters Art Gallery 42.1107 (Zodiacal).

73. Walters Art Gallery 42.1220.

74. A head called "Marcellus" by N. Marchant is Walters Art Gallery 42.1137.

75. Now in the Romisch Germanisches Museum, Cologne. The pose of the two youngest sisters derives from an ancient gem according to C. R. Leslie, *The Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, Vol. II (London 1865) p. 198.

Acknowledgements: Michael Vickers of the Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum for generously making manuscript material connected with the Marlborough gems available to me, and Oleg Neverov of the Hermitage for sending documents concerning Natter's Museum Britannicum.

ERRATA:
The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery
39 (Baltimore: 1981)

Gunsel Renda, "An Illustrated 18th-Century *Hamse* in The Walters Art Gallery," pp. 15-32:

In the author's absence, two errors occurred in the production of the article: the heading on page 22a of the *Hamse* is shown instead of the colophon on page 22b, with the date April 1721; and an entire miniature is shown as fig. 12, instead of the detail including only the right side of the illustration, as was intended.

Diana Scarisbrick, "Henry Walters and the Marlborough Gems," pp. 49-58:

The date given in the opening paragraph for the sale of the Marlborough Gems, by auction at Christie's, is incorrect and should read June 26, 1899.

A Decorated Vulgate Set from 12th-Century Rochester, England

Mary P. Richards

Walters Art Gallery MS.W.18, a 12th-century New Testament, is rightly admired for the decorated initials that mark the opening of each book. Bearing motifs such as the human-profile terminal, flowers, fruit, and griffins, these initials are thought to have been influenced by patterns in Byzantine silks donated by Archbishop Lanfranc and others to Canterbury (figs. 1, 2).[1] Though it reflects general trends in illumination at Christ Church, Canterbury, and at Rochester, where the Canterbury styles of script and illumination were adopted, MS.W.18 has a remarkably close affinity in decorative style with a portion of an Old Testament, British Library MS. Royal I C.VII (Joshua, Judges, Ruth, I-IV Kings) (figs. 3, 4).

The Walters New Testament is written in the script of Christ Church, Canterbury, but the style of illumination indicates execution at Rochester.[2] MS.Royal I C.VII, on the other hand, is a production solely of Rochester.[3] Since both manuscripts were completed ca. 1140, they could easily have shared an illuminator at Rochester. The larger question, however, is whether the two manuscripts were meant to be companions in a five-volume Vulgate set.

Each manuscript has had a distinct history. Henry Walters purchased the New Testament, now MS.W.18, in Paris from Léon Gruel. On the other hand, MS.Royal I C.VII has been in the Royal Library since the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. It bears the old Royal press-mark number 507, which corresponds to the matching entry in the catalogue of 1542. The association between the two manuscripts was first made in an exhibition catalogue for the Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance:*

> (MS.W.18) appears to be part of a large Bible, doubtless always bound in two or more volumes, another section of which (Joshua, Judges, Ruth and Kings) is now in the British Museum, MS.Royal I C.VII. The latter is attributed to the scriptorium of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was in the Royal Library as early as 1542.[4]

Before then the two volumes had been described separately in American and British catalogues, but had never been linked.[5] The relationship stated in the exhibition catalogue is not defended by evidence and gives the impression that the two manuscripts were associated on the basis of presumed common origin at Canterbury. Subsequently, in his volume on 12th-century English art, T. S. R. Boase noted the similarity in the decorative styles of the two volumes and proposed that they might be part of the multi-volume bible described in the catalogue of Rochester Cathedral library made in 1202.[6] There the matter has remained, despite the work of Dodwell, Ker, and others, until now. What follows will be an intensive survey of the external and internal evidence bearing on the question, and an attempt to define precisely the relationship that may exist between the manuscripts.

The two medieval catalogues of the Rochester Cathedral library made ca. 1130 and in 1202 contain references to volumes that may correspond with the Walters and Royal manuscripts.[7] The references in the first catalogue are more problematic, but they help at least to shed light on the history of our manuscripts. On f.230r of the *Textus Roffensis*, the medieval cartulary of Rochester containing the 1130 catalogue of its books, occurs a series of notations added to the original list:

> Novum testamentum in uno volumine.

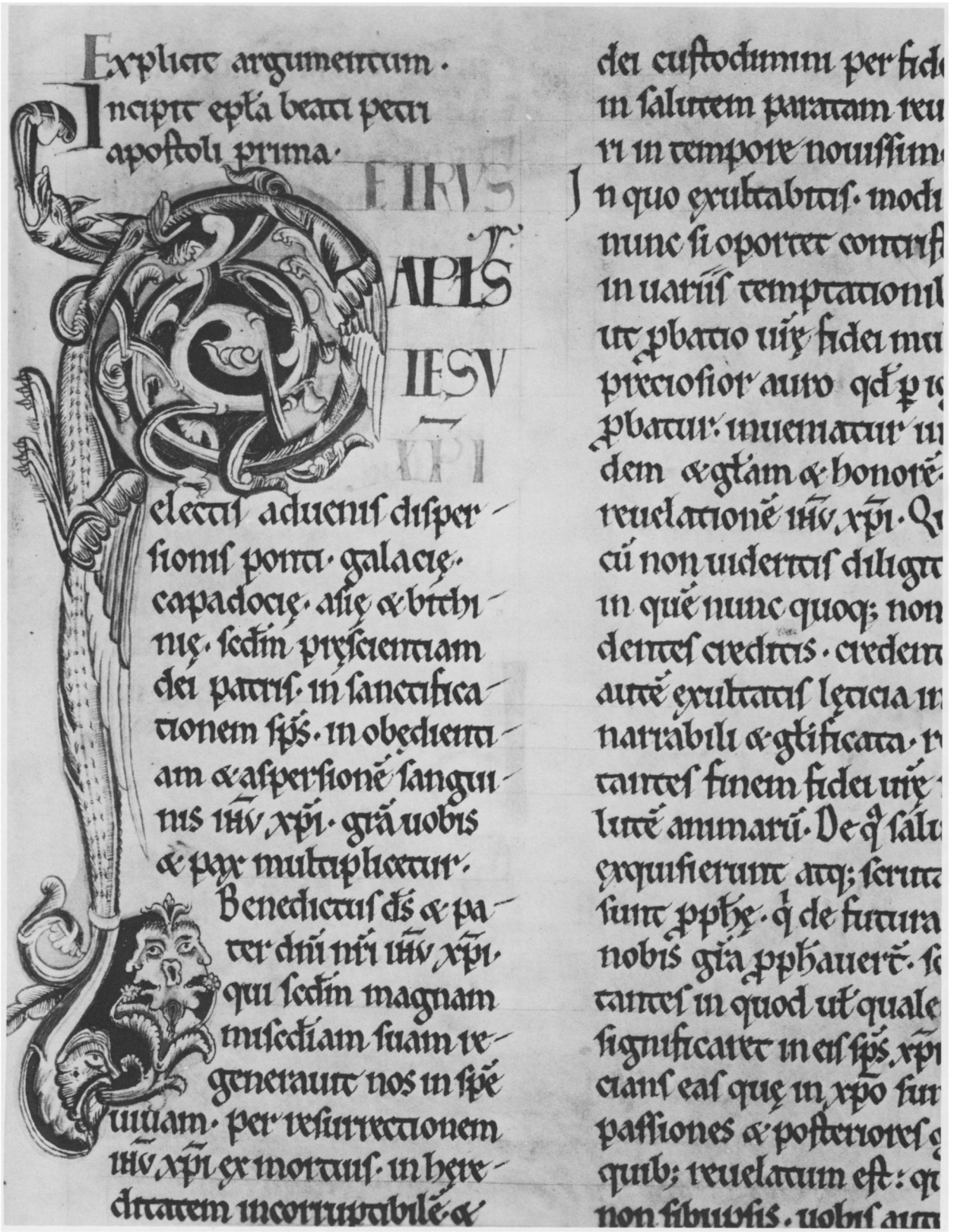
Then follow two unrelated entries and a third reading:

> Quinque libri moysi et iosuae et iudicum in uno volumine.

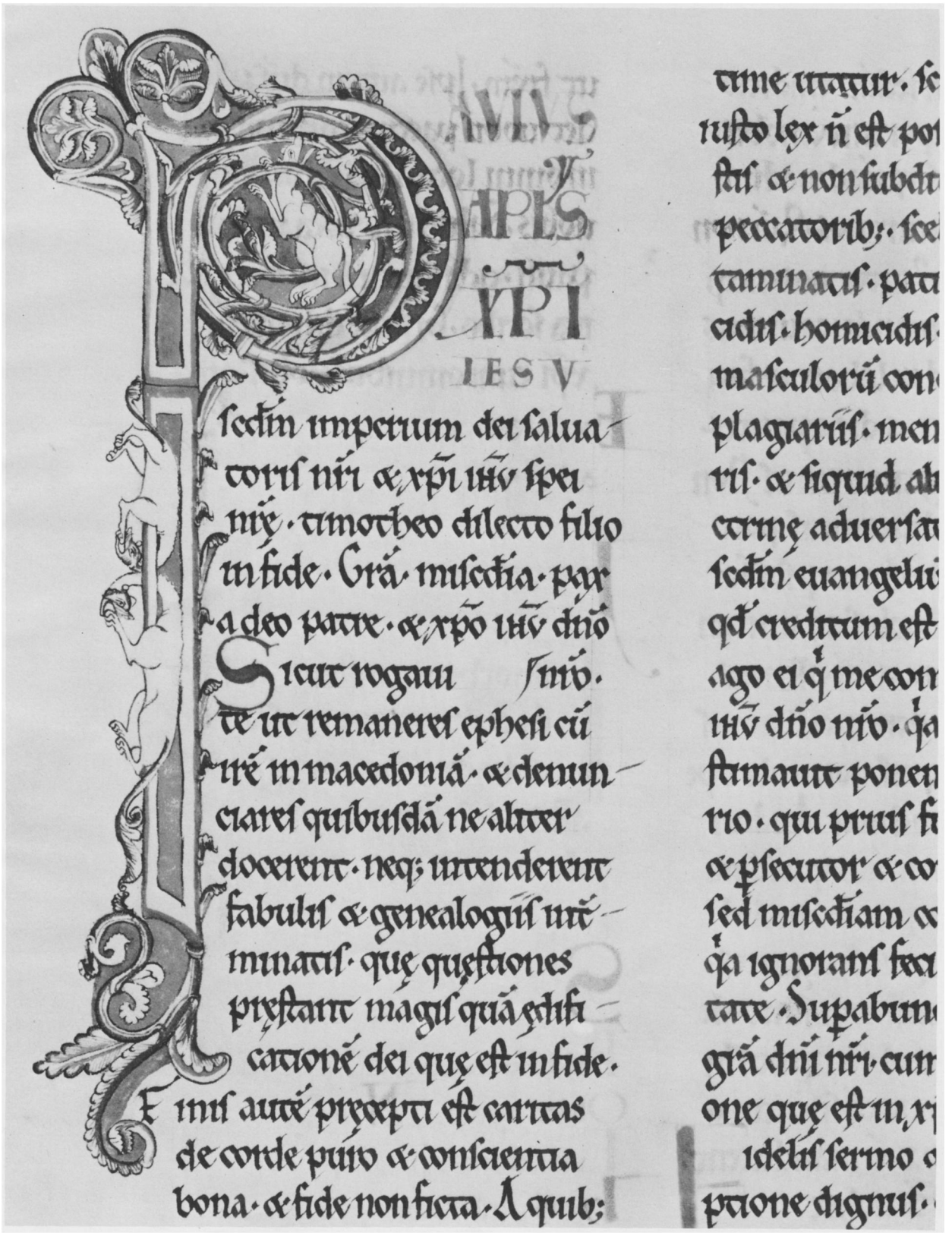
There are a number of such additions on blank spaces throughout the catalogue, reflecting an effort to keep it up-to-date. MS.W.18 comes to mind because it is the only 12th-century New Testament extant from Rochester. Since just one New Testament is mentioned in the catalogue, and since, as well, the Cathedral library remained intact until the Dissolution and suffered relatively few losses thereafter, there is a strong possibility that the Walters manuscript is the one mentioned.[8]

An obvious discrepancy exists, however, between the catalogue description of the Old Testament volume quoted above and the contents of MS.Royal I C.VII. Indeed, the Royal manuscript may not be related to the item listed there. But a few observations can be made concerning the entry and its possible referent. The 1130 cataloguer is not fully accurate in his descriptions, as is demonstrated by the entry for the Gundulf Bible, the two-volume great bible from the late 11th century

1. This decorative initial marks the opening of one of the books of a 12th-century New Testament at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. The initials in the manuscript display motifs such as the human-profile terminal, flowers, fruit, and griffins. (MS.W.18, f.146r.)



2. The initials in the Walters Bible are thought to have been influenced by patterns in Byzantine silks that were given to people at Canterbury. (MS.W.18, f.213v.)



3. This initial is from an Old Testament dating to about 1140 and executed at Rochester, England, where the Canterbury styles of script and illumination were adopted. (MS.Royal I C.VII, f.120v, reproduced by permission of the British Library.)

associated with Gundulf, who was the second Norman bishop of Rochester—in that entry the order of the books is partly incorrect.[9] Apparently, the cataloguer's procedure was to look through the opening portion of a volume and then to make a description for the whole. We cannot be sure that the same cataloguer was responsible for the additions to the original list, but it is certainly possible that the Old Testament volume mentioned contained books beyond the Heptateuch, namely Ruth and I-IV Kings. The cataloguer of the additions expresses no awareness, for instance, that the seven books he mentions form a particular unit.

Leaving that problem for a moment, we find no such discrepancy in the descriptions of the 1202 catalogue, written on f.2 of British Library MS.Royal 5 B.XII, where a full five-part Vulgate is listed:

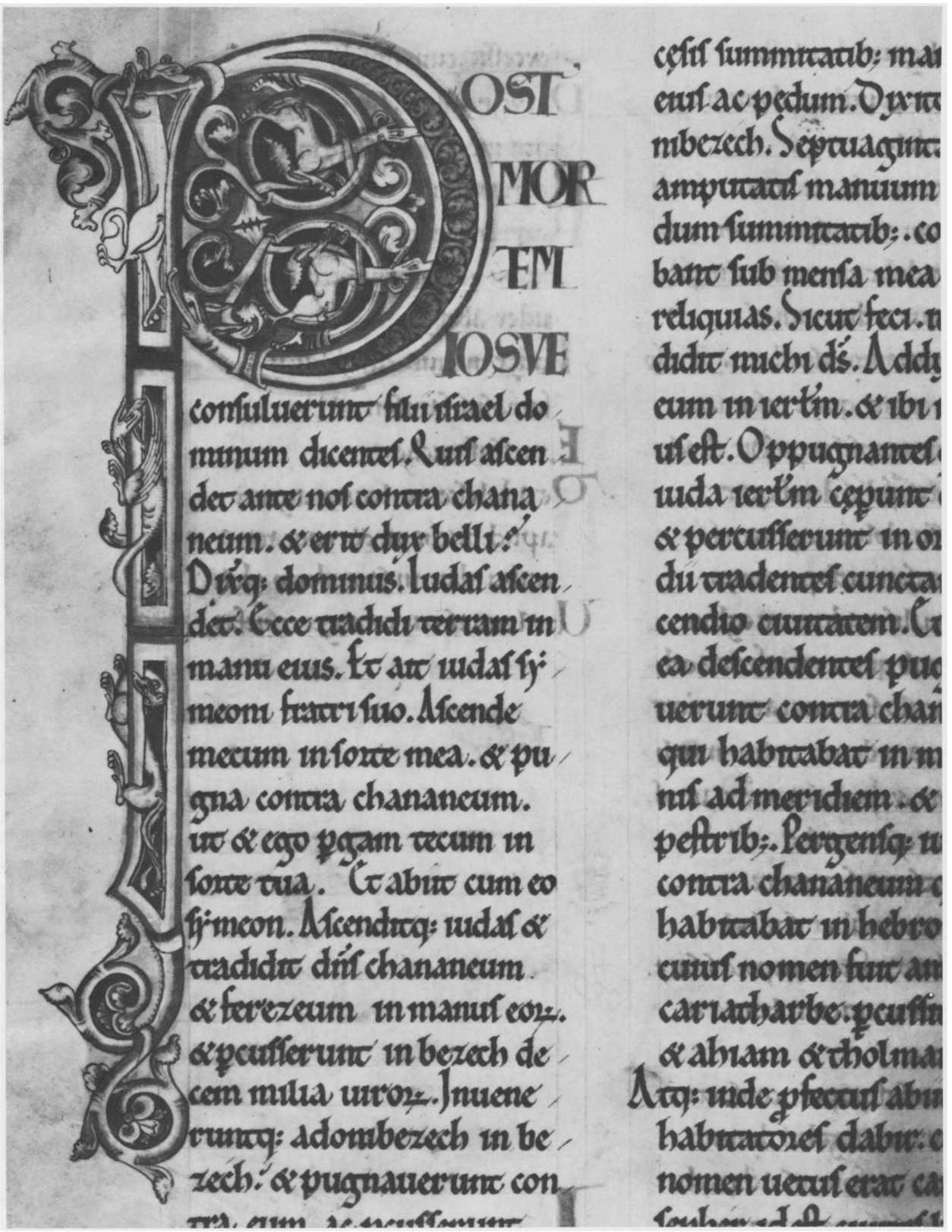
> Pentateuchus Moysis, in volumine novo. Item Iosue, Iudicium, Regum IIII. In alio novo. Tercia pars, incipiens a Salomone, cum multis aliis, in alio volumine novo. De est adhuc quarta pars Veteris Testamenti, hoc est XVI Prophete et Paralipomena. Item Novum Testamentum, in volumine novo.

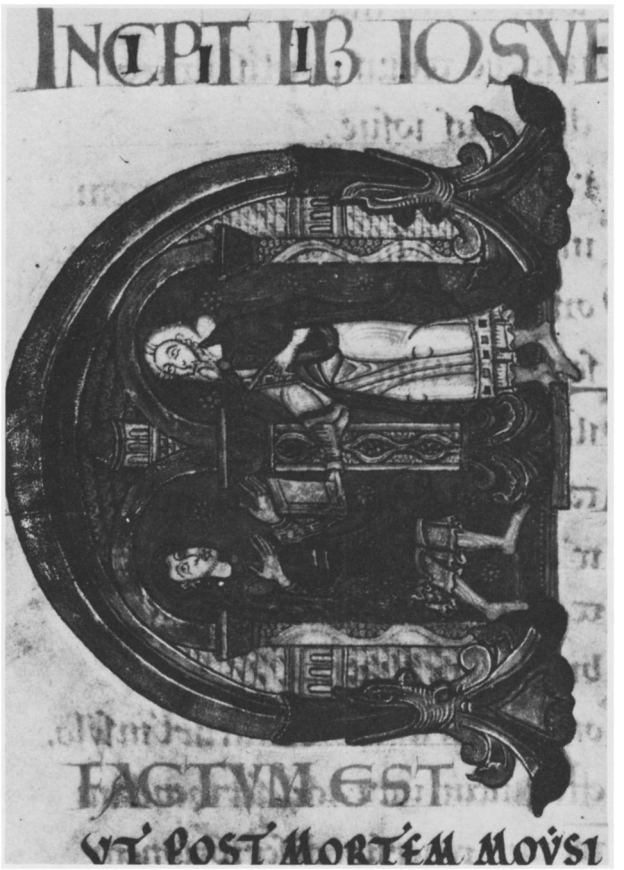
This list makes clear that a medieval set containing volumes like the Walters and Royal manuscripts did exist at the library in 1202, external evidence for a possible relationship between the two. The reference to the volumes as "new" is not a difficulty, for they appear at the earliest as additions to the 1130 catalogue indicated above. Few volumes disappear between the first and second catalogues of the Rochester library, yet the entry for a New Testament cited here is the only one in the 1202 catalogue. We can conclude, therefore, that one New Testament, by all indications the Walters manuscript, is described in both medieval catalogues and probably was part of a full Vulgate set. Gospels and Epistles could form independent volumes, but New Testaments ordinarily did not. Although Ruth is not mentioned in the description of the second part of the Old Testament in the 1202 catalogue, the entry probably refers to MS.Royal I C.VII, as the cataloguer does not aim at completeness, and that short book would be easy to miss when glancing through the volume. A reasonable conjecture is that the Old Testament volumes described in 1202 were incomplete at the time additions were made to the 1130 catalogue. When the full work was complete, the books were arranged into four volumes roughly equivalent in length, of which only one (Joshua-Kings) remains.

This chronology, which presupposes that the New Testament volume was the first to be produced, is supported by differences in script and illumination in the two extant manuscripts attributed to the set. As mentioned previously, the Walters manuscript is thought to have been copied by a Canterbury scribe but decorated by a Rochester artist. Scribes and illuminators were sent from Canterbury to work and to train others at Rochester, hence the collaboration. The Christ Church influence on the script is particularly noticeable in the use of hairlines and tall lower-case letters.[10] By contrast, the script of MS.Royal I C.VII resembles more closely the variant developed slightly later at Rochester, with strokes less angular and lower-case letters more compressed.[11] The *g* and *a* in the Royal manuscript are distinctly different from those in the Walters manuscript, more definitely Caroline in form. In these features especially, the hand resembles that of the second main Rochester scribe identified by Ker.[12]

Certain aspects of the decoration of the Royal manuscript are strikingly similar to those of MS.W.18. Compare, for example, Royal f.120v with Walters f.146r, where in both designs staring male profiles extrude foliage from open mouths, and winged beasts with dogs'

4. The style of illumination is remarkably similar in the Walters and Royal manuscripts and suggests that they may have been intended as companions in a Vulgate set. Other similarities provide even further evidence. (MS. Royal I C.VII, f.27v, reproduced by permission of the British Library.)





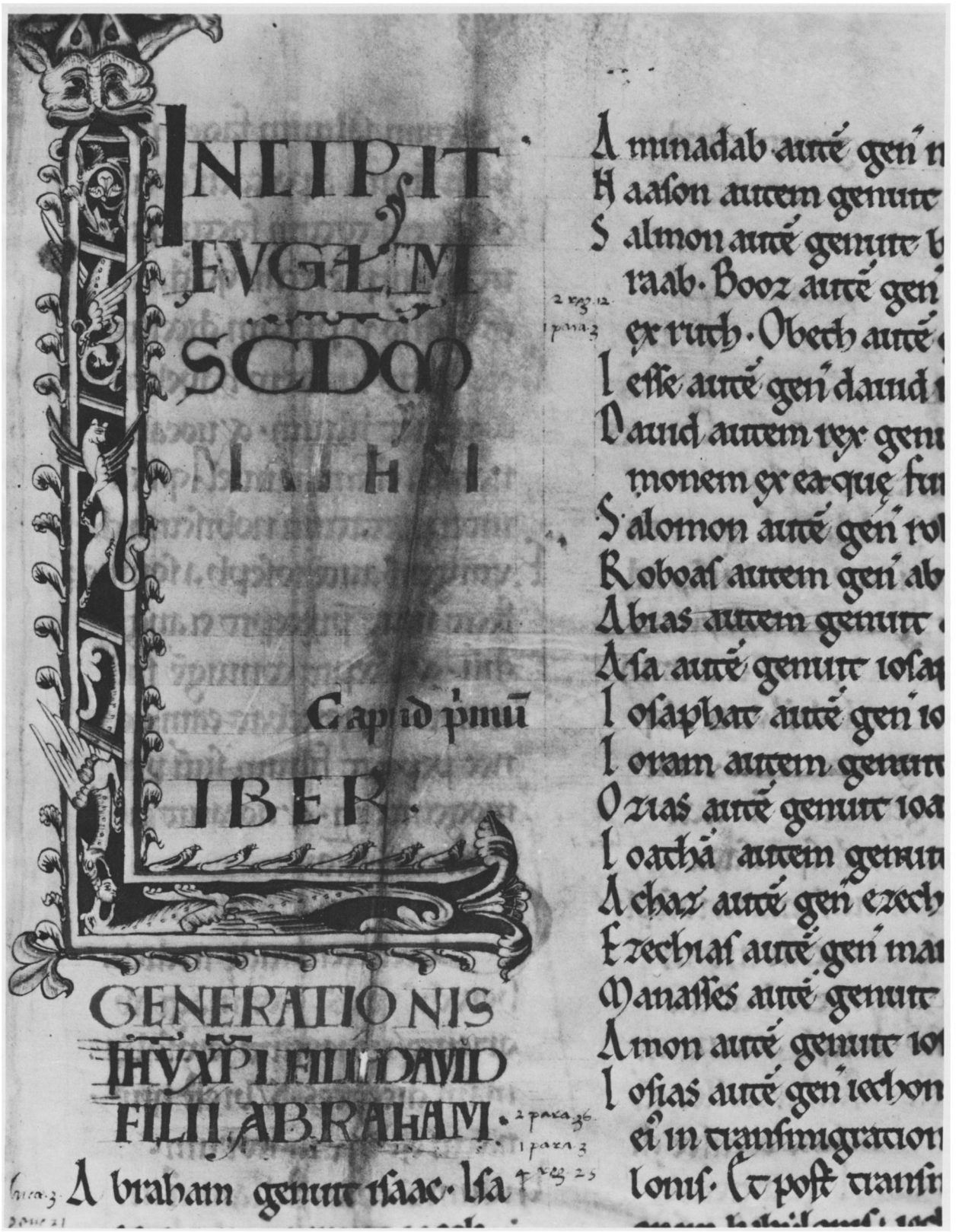
5. Moses giving the Book of Law to Joshua, a scene in one of the initials of MS.Royal I C.VII (f.2v), illustrates the manuscript's distinctive uses of the human figure and historical reference. (Reproduced by permission of the British Library.)

heads intertwine to form the bodies of capitals (figs. 1, 3). Similar treatment of beasts and foliage occurs in the loop of initial *P* in both manuscripts (figs. 2, 4). The style of the Royal manuscript is distinct, however, in its decorative use of the human figure and the inclusion of four historiated initials: Moses giving the Book of the Law to Joshua (2v) (fig. 5); Anna, Helcana, and Fenenna (57r);[13] David accompanied by two musicians (92r); and Elijah ascending in a chariot (154v).[14] One such initial may have been intended for the first page of MS.W.18 (fig. 6). A space approximately 5.5 x 6.0 cm was left blank in the capital *L*. (*Capud primus* has been entered there in a later hand.) This space is roughly the size of the miniatures in the Royal manuscript, the illustration of Elijah, for instance, measuring 5.5 x 8.0 cm. Because it seems to represent a refinement of the style in the Walters manuscript, the illumination of the Royal manuscript can be assigned a slightly later date. Thus the exclusively Rochester production, MS.Royal I C.VII, may have been planned to accompany the jointly-produced New Testament, MS.W.18, but was given a more ambitious decorative program in order to display the range of artistic skill available at Rochester.

The texts of the two manuscripts lend support to the theory of a close relationship between them. Both emerge from a medieval Vulgate tradition localized in southeast England, one of Northern French origin probably imported during the English monastic revival of the 10th century.[15] The earliest exemplars of this tradition are British Library MS.Royal I E.VII-VIII, late 10th-century, thought to be from Christ Church, Canterbury, and Huntington Library MS.HM62, the so-called Gundulf Bible, ca. 1075, from Rochester.[16] Although not identical to those in MS.Royal I E.VII-VIII, the text and prefatory materials of the Gundulf Bible are quite similar even in some extremely rare features, such as the incipit to the chapters of Numbers (*Numerantur ex precepto*) and a unique series of prefaces to Romans.[17]

A comparison of the Walters New Testament and the Old Testament books in MS.Royal I C.VII, with the two earlier Vulgates from the area, reveals a number of close similarities both in prefatory materials and in readings of particular verses. MS.W.18 is missing quire I, and along with it, whatever prefaces there were to the Gospels. These probably included the epistle of Jerome to Damasus (*Novum opus*); the prologue of Jerome (*Plures fuisse*); the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (*Ammonium quidem*); and the spurious addition to Jerome's epistle to Damasus (*Sciendem etiam*). The prefaces are found in that order in MS.Royal I E.VII-VIII and in the Gundulf Bible. Canon tables may have been included, although the evidence is uncertain. Neither of the older Vulgates from the area has the tables, but the 12th-century Dover Bible, an illustrated two-volume Vulgate thought to have been produced at Christ Church, Canterbury, includes them.[18] In MS.W.18 no prologues or chapters precede Mark, Luke, and John (the opening to Matthew being lost), but prefatory materials to the subsequent books are identical to those in MS.Royal I E.VIII and the Gundulf Bible, including the lengthy series appended to Romans.[19] The Walters manuscript has not been copied directly from either of the earlier Vulgates, but it shares a number of distinctive readings with each.[20] Of 227 examples checked, MS.W.18 had unique readings in 32 instances, varying from a difference in word order to the inclusion of a phrase not found in earlier texts. In 150 instances, the readings of all three texts agreed.[21]

6. It is possible that the space to the right of this initial *L* in the Walters bible was intended for rendering as an historiated initial similar to those in the Royal manuscript. The words *Capud primus* were entered in a later hand. (MS.W.18, f.l.)



The situation with regard to MS.Royal I C.VII, the portion of the Old Testament, is similar, though a bit more complicated. The text adopts the prefatory chapters to Joshua and Judges given in MS.Royal I E.VII, but includes those to I-II Kings found in the Gundulf Bible.[22] These are the only prefatory materials that differ in the two earlier Vulgates. Nowhere are prefatory materials assigned to Ruth. Joshua could be copied from MS.Royal I E.VII, but Judges, Ruth, and I-IV Kings are not, though they are closely related to it.[23] Of 178 readings from MS.Royal I C.VII, 12 are unique to that text and 122 occur in both earlier Vulgates.[24]

The point to be made is that the two 12th-century portions of the Vulgate are closely related in textual type as demonstrated by their remarkable affinity with the two earlier Vulgates from the area where they were produced. The relationship between MS.W.18 and MS.Royal I C.VII is reinforced by spelling conventions that set them apart from their predecessors. In both occurs a pronounced uncertainty about nasals, reflected particularly in the substitution of *n* for *m* in words such as *cumque*. There is also a tendency to use *c* for *t* before *i*, as in *obedencia*.

Their physical size and layout are similar as well. The leaves of MS.W.18 measure approximately 370 x 274 mm, and the written space is 274 x 200 mm. By comparison, the leaves of MS.Royal I C.VII measure 395 x 281 mm, and the written space is 280 x 196 mm. Both manuscripts have a double-column format with 30 and 31 lines per page respectively, though the space between columns in MS.W.18, about 20 mm, is more than twice that in Royal I C.VII, which is only 9 mm. Each has quires ruled in brown ink and in stylus.[25] The gatherings of MS.Royal I C.VII are quite regular—eight leaves numbered in Roman numerals with one or two dots on the last verso, 3.4 to 5.4 cm below the bottom rule. Quires I-XII and XXIX (*new numbering*) of MS.W.18 are arranged and marked identically. Quires XIII-XXVIII are numbered on the recto of the first leaf, an earlier practice found, for instance, in the Gundulf Bible. The space below the bottom rule of quires I-XXIX varies from 5.0 to 6.7 cm. Quires 30-33 are numbered in Arabic numerals on the recto of the first leaf. These numbers are a late addition in darker ink than the script.

Although final proof of relationship is impossible, the evidence indicates that the Walters and Royal manuscripts and lacking the ascetic tastes of the monktive motifs and, indeed, that they were intended to be companions in a full Vulgate set. If the chronology posited here is correct, MS.W.18, the New Testament, was produced first, followed by the Old Testament, a portion of which was MS.Royal I C.VII. The two manuscripts would have been part of the earliest decorated bible recorded at Rochester. The Gundulf Bible, the only other Vulgate listed in the catalogues, is an extremely plain and heavily corrected text. The new, decorated set was a ceremonial Vulgate reflecting the developing skills and resources of the Rochester see.

Interestingly enough, the decorated Vulgate must have been initiated during a troubled period for the monks at Rochester. After an era of growth and financial prosperity under bishops Gundulf (1077-1108), Ralph d'Escures (1108-1114), and Ernulf (1114-1124), the see was held by John I, a former Archdeacon of Canterbury.[26] Unlike his predecessors, John was not a monk, and he proceeded to try to separate the holdings of bishopric and priory to the disadvantage of the monks.[27] A disastrous fire to the house in 1137 gave John the opportunity to disperse many of the monks to other houses and to seize more of their properties. The question of ownership was not settled until 1144, when Pope Celestine decreed that Bishop Ascelin, appointed in 1142, should return them to the rightful owners, the monks. One can conclude that the events of ca.1125-45 had an unsettling effect on the production of manuscripts at Rochester Cathedral Priory. Indeed, the catalogue of the Cathedral library made ca.1130 in the *Textus Roffensis* may have been part of an accounting effort to record the monks' possessions in times of threats to the security of their properties.

What, then, was the impetus behind the production of an elaborate Vulgate during this uneasy time? Very likely, the ambitions of the despised Bishop John. Having come from a see noted for its richly decorated manuscripts and lacking the ascetic tastes of the monk-bishops, John must have noticed at once the absence of a ceremonial bible. Naturally he would have turned to the artists at Canterbury to provide assistance, if it were needed, to get the project underway. Subsequent interruptions in the production of this bible, made clear both by the medieval catalogue entries and the incorporation of new trends in illumination, reflect the circumstances of John's episcopacy outlined above. Indeed, the set may not have been completed during his tenure. Once finished, however, it remained the sole decorated bible recorded at Rochester for at least a century.[28] The volumes remaining, MS.W.18 and MS.Royal I C.VII,are splendid examples of the work produced at English monastic scriptoria during the stressful 12th century.

Notes

1. C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), pp. 76-77 and C. M. Kauffman, "The Bury Bible," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 29 (1966), 78-79. Dr. Lilian M. C. Randall, Curator of Manuscripts and Rare Books at the Walters Art Gallery, provided assistance crucial to this study. The author was funded by a travel grant from the Hodges Better English Fund at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

2. Dodwell, op. cit., p. 119. N. R. Ker assigns a Rochester provenance to MS.W.18 (listed as MS.W.57) in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed. (London: Offices of the Royal Historial Society, 1964), p. 160. Neither manuscript has an *ex libris*. Evidence of ownership of MS.W.18 may have been removed when a strip from the bottom of the last page was cut out.

3. Ibid., p. 77.

4. Dorothy Miner, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Baltimore: The Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1949), pp. 9-10.

5. Descriptions of MS.W.18 are found in S. De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1937), I, 766, and Walters Art Gallery, *2,000 Years of Calligraphy* (Baltimore, 1965; rpt. 1972), pp. 39-40. For MS.Royal I C.VII, see the *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), I, 14-15.

6. *English Art 1100-1216* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), 64-65.

7. The first catalogue is printed by R. P. Coates in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 6 (1864-65), 120-28. The additions mentioned here are found on p. 128. They can be seen in the fascimile of the *Textus Roffensis*, ed. P. H. Sawyer, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, XI (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1960). The 1202 catalogue is edited by W. B. Rye in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 3 (1861), 47-64. The items quoted are listed on p. 57.

8. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. xi.

9. Apocalypse is mistakenly recorded as the last book in Volume II; see Coates, p. 124. In fact, it precedes the Pauline Epistles, verifiably the original order because the prologues to the Epistles immediately follow the explicit to Apocalypse on f. 228r. The first catalogue lists two other volumes under the works of Jerome (f. 225v; Coates, p. 124) which could relate to the Vulgate set under discussion:

> Item quinque libros moysi in uno volumine novo.
> Jesum naue Judicum et Ruth in uno volumine novo.

10. N. R. Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 27.

11. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

12. Ibid., pl. 29b.

13. Kauffmann, pl. 29c.

14. *Catalogue of Royal MSS*, IV, pl. 9.

15. For the development of the textual type, see *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 104-5. See also D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 36-42.

16. *Catalogue of Royal MSS* I, 20-21; De Ricci, I, 48.

17. See Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate* (Paris, 1893; rpt. New York, n. d.), p. 344, for the chapters to Numbers.

18. M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), I, 8-14.

19. The series is as follows: argument, *Epistolae Pauli ad Romanos causa haec est;* list of Epistles through Laodicians, *Omnis textus vel numerus*; preface by Rabanus Maurus, *Primum quaeritur;* preface to Romans, *Romani qui ex iudeis*; argument, *Romani sunt in partibus Italiae*; "Versus Damasi episcopi urbis Romae," *Iamdudum Saulus procerum precepta secutus;* capitula, *De nativitate Christi secundum carnem.* MS.W.18 omits only the following table of contents that, incorrectly, excludes Laodicians.

20. Matthew 16:10 *et quattuor milia* (Royal I E.VIII); Mark 5:35 *ad archisynagogum* (Royal I E.VIII); 11:32 *timebant* (Royal I E.VIII); Luke 19:37 *descendentium* (Royal I E.VIII); Acts 13:2 separate michi (Gundulf Bible); I Peter 3:18 *mortificatos . . . vivificatos* (Gundulf Bible); Apocalypse 1:15 *auricalco* (Gundulf Bible); 2:2 *ease apostolos* (Royal I E.VIII).

21. There are readings cited by W. Köhler from Paris B.N.261, a text of the northern French type, which occur in all three of our manuscripts. See *Die Karolingschen Miniaturen*, v. 1, Die Schule von Tours, pt. 1 Die Ornamentik (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1930; rpt. 1953), 340ff. Matthew 16:9 *quinque panum et quinque milia;* 16:26 *mundum universum;* 17:7 *surgite et nolite*; 21:27 *dico vobis*; 23:13 *sinitis intrare*; 24:2 *dixit illis*; 24:13 *perseveraverit*
Luke 6:4 *cum ipso. licit*; 6:37 *dimittemini*; 6:46 *autem*

22. Joshua: *Promittit dominus iosue dicens sicut;* Judges: *Iudas eligitur dux belli*; I-II Kings: *Viginti et duas litteras.*

23. In 17 readings checked, MS.Royal I C.VII agreed in every instance with MS.Royal I E.VII. In three instances, the Gundulf Bible differed.

24. The following readings from I-II Kings checked with Berger, pp. 153ff., are noteworthy:
I Kings 17:5 *hamata*; 21:7 *Hic pascebat mulas Saul*
II Kings 12:7 *qui fecisti hanc rem*; 15:34 *patere me vivere*; 19:11 *ad regem ut reducat eum in domum eius, quia dixerat rex: haec dicetis ad populum*; 19:43 *apud regem et primogenitus ego sum*; 21:2 *iuraverunt eis ne perimerent illos*

25. MS.W.18 quires III-IV are ruled in stylus, the remainder in brown ink; Royal I C.VII quires I-III in brown ink, the remainder in stylus.

26. J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae* 1066-1300, II. Monastic Cathedrals, comp. D. E. Greenway (London: Athlone Press, 1971), 75-76. There is some disagreement over the question whether one or two bishops named John held Rochester in the period 1125-1142. The arguments in this study focus only on the episcopate of Le Neve's John I, recorded to have died 20 June 1137, and thus avoid the controversy.

27. Anne M. Oakley, "The Cathedral Priory of St. Andrew, Rochester," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 91 (1976 for 1975), 50.

28. The only other bible recorded in Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, is from the late 13th century, p. 164.