The Journal
of The Walters Art Gallery

THE JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS
ART GALLERY

VOLUME 40

Cover: Detail, the Evangelist St. Mark. Khatchatur of Khizan,
1455. MS.W.543, fol.98v. The Walters Art Gallery.
*See article pp.37–40.*

CONTENTS

A previously unpublished, under life-size head in The Walters Art Gallery is discussed here as a possible early portrait of Gaius (Caligula), created before he became Princeps (or "First Citizen") of the Roman state in 37 A.D. at the age of twenty-four. Comparisons are offered with other possible and established portraits of Gaius, and a stylistic analysis is presented.

A PRE-PRINCIPATE PORTRAIT OF GAIUS (CALIGULA)?

John Pollini
The Johns Hopkins University,
Maryland

Among the works Henry Walters acquired in 1902 with his purchase of the Massarenti Collection is a Roman portrait head of approximately one-half life-size (figs.1-5).[1] It has never previously been published or, to my knowledge, even noted in the scholarly literature. Though not of high artistic quality, this sculpture is of particular interest because, as we shall see, it may be a rare portrait of Gaius (Caligula) before he came to power at the age of twenty-
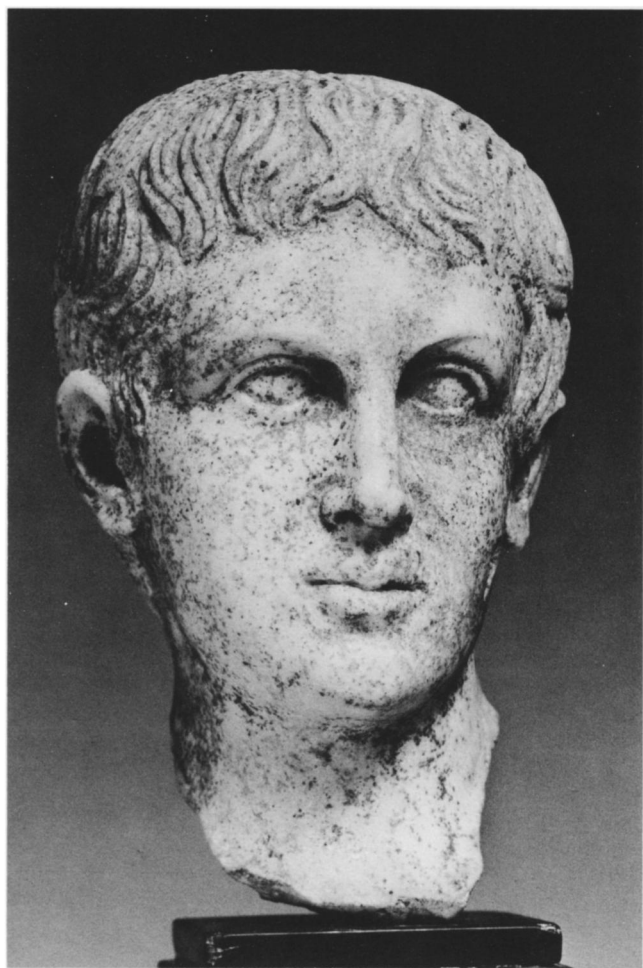
1. Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). The Walters Art Gallery.

four, in 37 A.D.[2]

The Walters head, the original provenance of which is unknown, is of fine to medium crystalline white marble. The sculpture is finished except behind the ears and at the back of the head: the area behind the ears has not been carved out fully, while the individual hair locks at the back of the head have been only summarily indicated. The piece is exceedingly well preserved, with only a small gouge in the left cheek, a minor abrasion on the left side of the nose, and breaks and slight chipping at the base of the neck. The diagonal cut at the left side of the neck appears to be intentional rather than the result of an accidental fracture. This cut, the slight turning out of the marble at the lower left edge of the neck, and the traces of a rounded edge on the lower right border of the neck indicate that the base of the neck had once been fashioned into a tenon for insertion into a separately carved statue body (now lost).[3] The diagonal cut on the left side of the neck suggests further that this statue body had been represented clothed in a toga or with a military cloak draped over a cuirass or a tunic, with folds of drapery arranged on the left shoulder against the cut in the neck. A slightly yellowish patina covers the entire head, and traces of ferric oxide mottle much of the surface. Dark brown, speckle-like accretions appear on the hair and face, especially in the tear ducts, nostrils, mouth, and ears. In the right eye, discoloration caused by the ferric oxide gives the false impression of a painted iris. There are in fact no remaining traces of paint in the eyes or elsewhere on the piece, though the Walters sculpture, like most ancient marble portraits, would originally have been painted.

The turn of the head to the left side (from the point of view of the sculpture), the somewhat larger size of the left ear (which is set farther back on the head), and the slightly greater width of the left half of the forehead indicate that the optimum view of the Walters portrait is achieved when the head is turned slightly and seen from the right side of the face, as in fig.1. Also providing evidence for the way in which the sculpture was originally intended to be displayed is the incompleteness of the carving behind the ears and at the back of the head (fig.5). As in a number of other Roman portraits, the lack of attention to the back indicates that the statue to which the Walters head belonged had been designed to be set against a wall or in a niche, where the back would not have been readily visible.

The short hairstyle with locks brushed to either side from about the middle of the forehead and the carving of the hair in a linear manner in relatively low relief suggest that the portrait was created in early imperial times. Also in accord with such a date is the classicizing treatment of the face, with its smooth and rounded volumes that have been somewhat softly modelled. In spite of a certain idealization of the facial features, the physiognomy is sufficiently distinct to suggest that the Walters portrait represents a member of the Julio-Claudian family, rather than some anonymous, private individual. Of the various Julio-Claudians possibly portrayed in the Walters head, the most likely candidate—at least on the basis of our present knowledge—is Gaius Julius Caesar Germanicus, better known today by his boyhood nickname Caligula (literally, "Little Boot").[4]

Gaius' Historical Reputation

Gaius—to use his proper name—was born on August 31, 12 A.D., to Augustus' granddaughter, Agrippina Maior, and Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius. In 37 A.D. Gaius succeeded Tiberius as Princeps ("First Citizen") of the Roman state. Our knowledge of the "real" Gaius is limited and much distorted by a generally hostile ancient literary tradition, replete with outrageous and unsubstantiated gossip, which has left us with the impression that he was a cruel and psychopathic monster.[5] Such an image has, of course, been perpetuated and even further distorted by popular modern writers and producers, who have shaped the general public's conception of Gaius. This rather one-sided view has, unfortunately, also been furthered by those scholars who would see in Gaius' surviving portraits the countenance of madness, even though it is hardly conceivable that a sculptor would have openly dared to represent the living Gaius as looking insane. As we shall see, Gaius in fact appears in his portraits as serious, at times even severe, a demeanor undoubtedly designed to add gravity to the features of one who had been thrust into a position of great importance at a relatively early age. A countenance of sternness (torvitas) had been adopted earlier for portraits of the young Augustus (Octavian)[6] and of his adopted son and destined successor, also named Gaius, who died in 4 A.D., at the age of twenty-three.[7]

Taking into consideration not only the biased nature of the ancient literary tradition but also epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence, modern historians have done much to rehabilitate the reputation of Gaius (Caligula). When all available information is weighed, the picture of Gaius that emerges is not that of an insane individual, but of an impetuous and tactless youth, unfit for the awesome power and responsibility of the Principate. When Gaius became Princeps at the age of twenty-four on March 18, 37 A.D., following the death of Tiberius, there was much hope for the son of the extremely popular Germanicus. It was not long, however, before relations with the Roman Senate deteriorated for a number of reasons
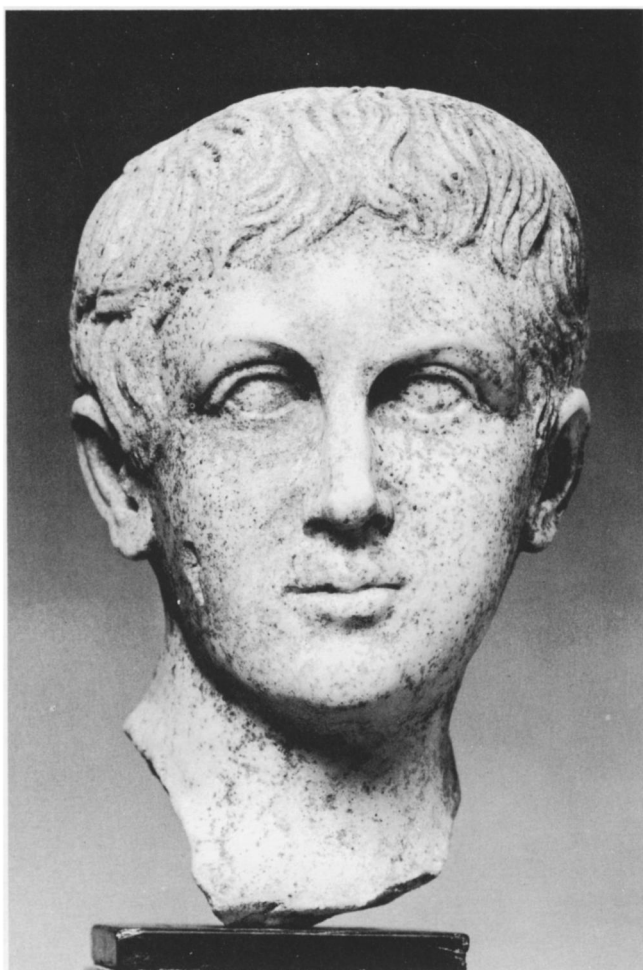
2. Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). The Walters Art Gallery.
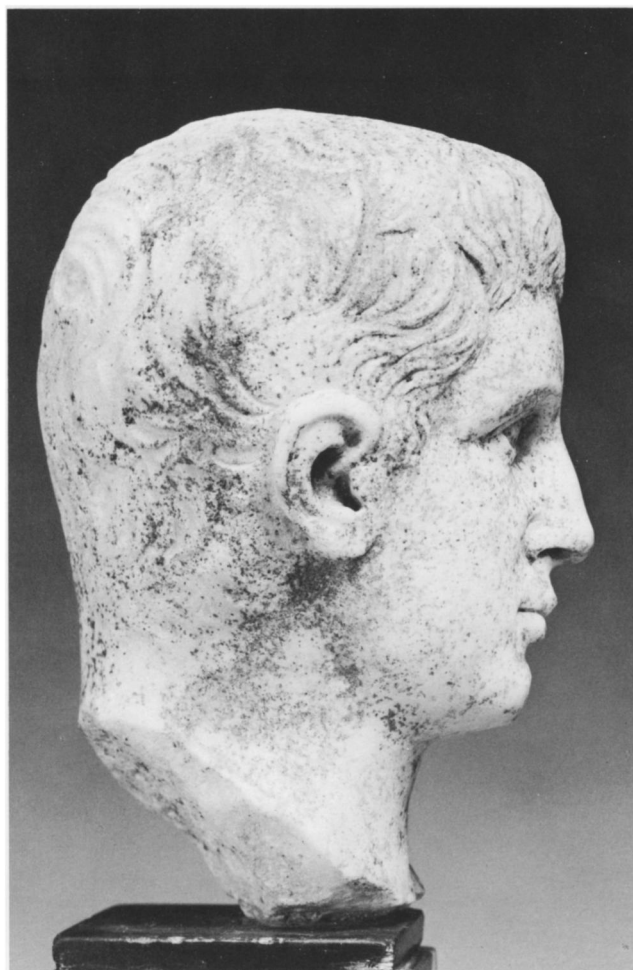
3. Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). The Walters Art Gallery.

which cannot be discussed here.[8] Some of the seemingly bizarre acts which Gaius either carried out or professed to be planning to carry out were no doubt calculated to insult and demean the Senate, many members of which he had good reason to hate. His actions exposed more clearly than ever before how servile and sycophantic the Senate had become and served to illuminate the dangers of concentrating virtually unlimited power in the hands of one individual. In addition to the Senate, Gaius eventually managed to alienate a number of his own soldiers, a part of the urban masses of Rome, and some of his own Praetorian Guard.[9] His assassination on January 24, 41 A.D.. was carried out by members of the Praetorian Guard with Senatorial collusion. After Gaius' death, his name was obliterated from some inscriptions,[10] and many of his portraits were destroyed, defaced, recut, or removed. The removal of Gaius' images, at least in Rome, had been authorized by his uncle and successor Claudius, who nevertheless did not permit the official damnation of Gaius' memory *(damnatio memoriae)* desired by the Senate.[11] And while Claudius annulled all of Gaius' acts, he would not allow the day of Gaius' death to be celebrated as a festival, even though that day also marked the beginning of Claudius' own Principate.[12]

Representations of Gaius

Notwithstanding Gaius' unpopularity in certain circles, some two dozen sculptural likenesses of him have survived and been identified through comparison with his numerous inscribed coin images and the descriptions supplied by ancient literary sources.[13] In comparing Gaius' portraits in various media with written accounts of his physical appearance, certain allowances must of course be made: on the one hand, extant images of him may be flattering to some degree, since in most cases they would have been based ultimately upon official portraits, presumably portraying him as he wished to be represented; on the other hand, hostile ancient literary sources may have exaggerated negative aspects of his appearance. The most complete written accounts of what Gaius looked like are provided by Seneca, who was a contemporary of Gaius and who suffered abuse at his hands, and by Suetonius, who drew upon many negative sources in writing his biography of Gaius in the second century A.D.[14] It may be deduced from these accounts that Gaius had a pale complexion, hollow temples, deeply set eyes, and a stern countenance. It is also reported that he was very tall, with a large frame, big feet, and thin neck and legs, and that his neck and body were hairy, while the hair of his head was thinning and completely gone on top.

Though there is a certain variety in representations of Gaius on coins of his Principate (e.g., figs.6-8),[15] as well as on gems (e.g., fig.9)[16] and in sculpture (e.g., figs.10-18),[17] he is generally portrayed as having deeply set eyes, hair growing low on the neck, and, as has been noted, a serious and sometimes even stern countenance. In his

4. Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). The Walters Art Gallery.

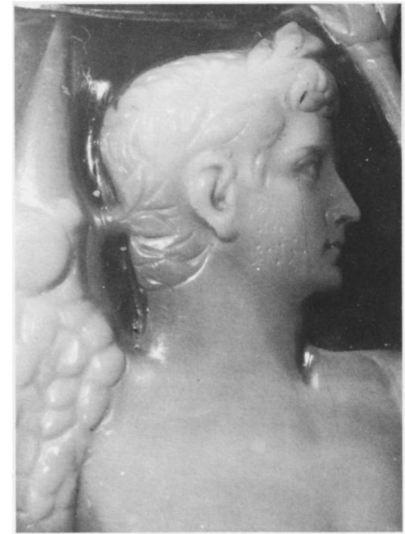*5. Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). The Walters Art Gallery.*

6. *Sestertius of Gaius (Caligula). British Museum, London. Photo courtesy R. A. Gardner, Liphook, Hampshire.*

7. *Aureus of Gaius (Caligula). British Museum, London. Photo courtesy R. A. Gardner, Liphook, Hampshire.*

8. *Aureus of Gaius (Caligula). British Museum, London. Photo courtesy R. A. Gardner, Liphook, Hampshire.*

9. *Detail, gem of Gaius (Caligula) and Roma. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.*

sculptural likenesses he also commonly has hollow temples, a feature which is not, of course, apparent in his profile on coins and gems. The degree of hollowness of the temples varies somewhat from portrait to portrait. In contrast to the descriptions provided by ancient writers, Gaius' image on coins and gems and in sculpture usually does not show him to have a thin neck, though it is generally rather long, and none of his extant images show him as bald. In most cases his hair is not at all sparse on top, with the only indication of premature hair loss being a high and receding hairline in images that either certainly or probably date from the period of his Principate, when he was between twenty-four and twenty-eight years of age. In Gaius' portraiture, moreover, the cranium is wide and the face triangular and/or elongated. The forehead is shown as either vertical or sloping forward somewhat, and there is often a slight horizontal depression extending across the middle. The eyebrows either follow the curve of the upper eyelids or, more commonly, appear to angle up from the inner to the outer corners of the eyes. The tip of the nose is usually bulbous, with the degree of bulbousness varying from one work to another. The mouth is generally small, with a protruding upper lip which at times emphasizes the otherwise slight recession of the lower lip. One or both lips are often represented as being rather thin, though they are also on occasion somewhat fleshy. In addition, the upper lip usually dips down over the lower lip at the mid-point. The chin is prominent, but not heavy. In many of Gaius' sculptural images the hair forks at or near the middle of the forehead and is brushed to either side of the fork. From either corner of the forehead, locks curl back toward the center, with a closed or nearly closed "pincer" almost always being formed by the locks over the right side of the forehead. This hair-

style was no doubt intended to recall that of his father Germanicus and of his adoptive grandfather Tiberius in certain of their portraits.[18]

The Walters Portrait

In facial features, the head in The Walters Art Gallery shows many points of comparison with established likenesses of Gaius. The face is triangular and somewhat elongated; the forehead is vertical; and the cranium is wide. The Walters head also has the concave temples, deeply set eyes, and broad forehead noted in ancient literary descriptions of Gaius. As is usually the case in his portraits, the eyebrows angle up from the inner to the outer corners of the eyes. In images of Gaius, this upward angling of the eyebrows is at least in part associated with his characteristically stern expression *(torvitas)*, which served to add a certain gravity to the young man's features. In the Walters head, as in a statue of Gaius in Gortyn, Crete (fig.10),[19] vertical frown lines over the bridge of the nose are not apparent, even though the brows give the impression of being somewhat contracted. Slightly overlapping the outer corners of the eyelids of the Walters head are pad-like folds of flesh, which are apparent also in the portrait of Gaius in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu (fig.11),[20] and in the Small Museum, Carthage (fig.12).[21] The nose of the Walters sculpture is almost straight, like that of Gaius on a gem in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (fig.9),[22] in a veiled head in the Herakleion National Museum (figs.13-14),[23] and in a portrait in the Worcester Art Museum (figs.15-16).[24] In its length, the nose of the Walters sculpture compares favorably with that of Gaius in several of his portraits, most notably the statue in Gortyn, the head in Herakleion, and a small bronze bust in the Schinz-Ruesch Collection

10. *Detail, statue of Gaius (Caligula). Phylakeion, Gortyn, Crete. Photo courtesy L. Fabbrini.*
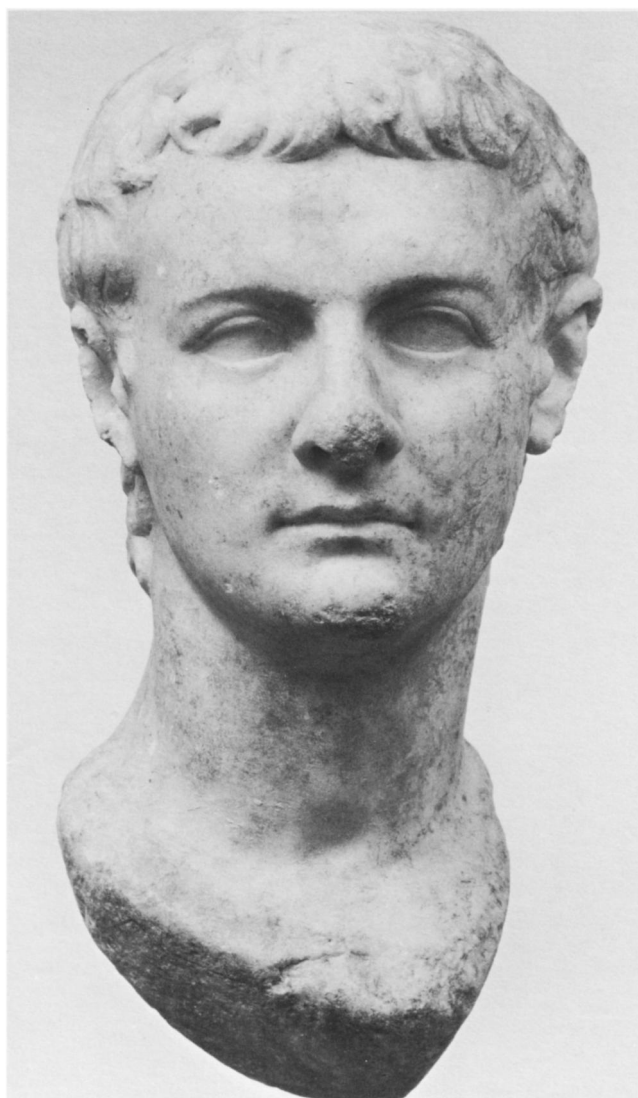
11. *Head of Gaius (Caligula). J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.*

in Zurich (figs.17-18).[25] However, the nose of the Walters head does not angle out to the same degree that it does in the majority of Gaius' portraits, and the tip of the nose is only very slightly bulbous. The mouth is characteristically small, with a protruding upper lip that dips down slightly over the lower at the mid-point. Atypical is the rather pronounced outward curl of the lower lip. Both lips are somewhat full, as in the portraits of Gaius in the Herakleion National Museum and the Worcester Art Museum. The Walters and Herakleion heads also compare closely in profile in the relationship of the upper and lower lips, as well as in the shape of the chin, which is, however, somewhat more prominent in the Herakleion sculpture. The back of the head of the Walters portrait is summarily treated and abnormally flat, precluding comparison in this regard with established likenesses of Gaius. The hairstyle is similar to that of Gaius in many of his surviving portraits in that the locks fork near the middle of the forehead and then curl back toward the center from the right and left sides of the forehead. However, the locks over the right eye of the Walters head do not form the nearly closed "pincer" that they commonly do in Gaius' portraiture. The hair at the back of the head

is of moderate length and curls toward the ears at the nape. Though this length of hair and pattern of curls at the nape are not without parallel in Gaius' portraiture (e.g., fig.7), his hair more commonly extends rather low on his neck and is brushed forward horizontally at the nape. The locks on the forehead of the Walters portrait extend almost halfway down the forehead, with the fringe of locks angling down slightly from the right to the left side of the head. The length of the locks on the forehead suggests that if this were indeed a likeness of Gaius, it would represent him at a younger age than do the portraits of his Principate which show him with a receding hairline.

It is clear, in any case, that images of Gaius were created before he came to power in 37 A.D. Attesting to the existence of such pre-Principate portraits are inscriptions from statue bases of Gaius found on the island of Calymna (c.18 A.D.?)[26] and in Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis (33-37 A.D.).[27] A likeness of Gaius created prior to 37 A.D. would also have served as a model for his image on the few coins of Tiberius' Principate that include a representation of Gaius. To my knowledge, Gaius' portrait appears on Tiberius' coinage only

on *aes* minted between 31 A.D. and 37 A.D. at Carthago Nova (Spain).[38] In most of these examples, the image is too crude and/or worn to be of any iconographical value. It is nevertheless possible to see in a few cases, most notably a recently published bronze coin in the British Museum (fig.19),[39] that Gaius' hair extends nearly halfway down the forehead, as in the Walters head. As far as can be determined from available published examples, the coins of Carthago Nova represent Gaius' hair as consistently shorter at the nape of the neck than is usually the case in numismatic images of him from his own Principate. In this respect also, the pre-Principate portraits of Gaius on the Carthago Nova coins compare favorably with the Walters head.

Possible Pre-Principate Portraits of Gaius

In sculpture in the round there has been to date no undisputed identification of a pre-Principate likeness of Gaius. The two works that seem most likely to be youthful images of Gaius, and which also resemble the Walters head, are a bust in the Museo Archeologico, La Spezia (figs.20-21), and a head in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (figs.22-23).[40] The La Spezia and Dresden portraits are so similar to one another in physiognomy and hairstyle that it is virtually certain that they represent the same individual. Features of these two sculptures which are typical of Gaius' portraiture—and which are evident also in the Walters head—are the broad forehead and the protrusion of the upper lip, which dips down slightly over the lower at the mid-point. The lips are rather full, like those of the Herakleion and Worcester portraits of Gaius (figs.13-14, 15-16), as well as the Walters sculpture. As in Gaius' established portraiture,
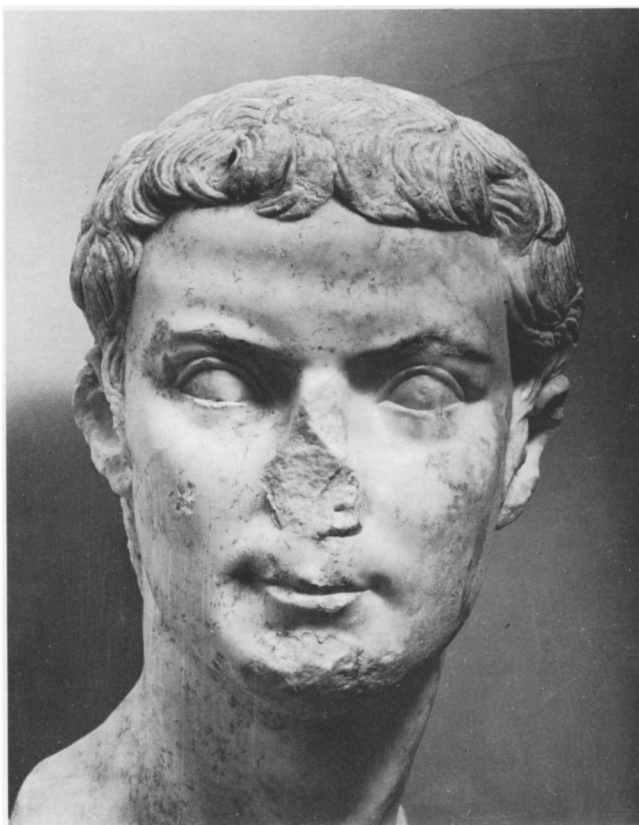
12. Head of Gaius (Caligula). Small Museum, Carthage. Photo courtesy DAI Rome.

the lower lip does not curl out to the same degree that it does in the Walters head. The bottom half of the nose of both the La Spezia and Dresden sculptures is broken off (and restored in the case of the Dresden head), but to the extent that the nose is preserved in each case, it is similar in size and shape to that of the Walters head and of Gaius in his accepted portraits. As in the majority of Gaius' established likenesses, the nose angles out from the face of the La Spezia and Dresden sculptures more than in the Walters head. The chin of both the La Spezia and Dresden portraits is relatively strong, with the chin of the Dresden head comparing particularly closely in shape and size with that of the Walters sculpture. In the La Spezia bust, fleshy folds are formed between the eyes and the outer corners of the eyebrows, as in the Getty Museum and Carthage portraits of Gaius (figs.11-12) and in the Walters head. The eyebrows of the La Spezia and Dresden sculptures follow the contours of the upper lids, rather than angling up from the inner to the outer corners of the eyes. In this respect, the La Spezia and Dresden sculptures resemble most closely the portraits of Gaius in the Getty Museum (fig.11) and the Herakleion Museum (figs.13-14), both of which have almost placid expressions, rather than the more serious or even severe look typical of Gaius' portraiture and evident also in the Walters head.

Of particular importance in attempting to determine the identity of the individual represented in the La Spezia and Dresden portraits is the angle of the forehead in profile. This feature constitutes one of the principal iconographical differences between Gaius and his father Germanicus, whom Gaius resembles. In Germanicus' portraiture, the forehead either is nearly vertical, as in a head in the Museo Arqueológico in Cadiz,[31] or slopes back, as in a portrait in Leptis Magna and in the majority of his other images.[32] In Gaius' likenesses, the forehead either is vertical or angles forward, as in the Zurich bust (figs.17-18). The forward slope of the forehead of the Dresden head serves to indicate, therefore, that the individual represented in both the Dresden and La Spezia portraits is more likely to be Gaius than Germanicus.

The La Spezia and Dresden sculptures, finally, share an affinity with the Walters head in hairstyle. In all three works the hair forks at the same point, between the inner corner of the right eye and the center of the forehead, and the locks over the left side of the forehead are arranged similarly. Over the right side of the forehead of the La Spezia and Dresden portraits, two principal locks at the right temple curl back toward the center, with a nearly closed "pincer" being formed by the locks over the right eye. In the Walters head, however, the locks do not create this pincer effect. The length of the hair at the nape of the neck of the Walters portrait is comparable to that of the Dresden head, while the manner in which the locks are brushed forward at the nape of the neck of the Walters sculpture is like that of the La Spezia bust. In both the La Spezia and Dresden portraits the hair extends even lower on the forehead than it does in the Walters head.

The slightly longer fringe of hair on the forehead and the more boyish features of the La Spezia and Dresden sculptures suggest that these two works represent an individual at a somewhat younger age than does the Walters head. The La Spezia bust would seem to represent a youth of about sixteen to seventeen years, and the Dresden head, one of perhaps eighteen to nineteen, while the young man of the Walters sculpture appears to be in his early twenties. If the La

Spezia, Dresden, and Walters portraits are indeed all likenesses of Gaius, they would therefore be pre-Principate images of him. The Walters sculpture might then be regarded either as a variant of the same portrait type as the La Spezia and Dresden sculptures or as a new portrait type of him, created between 31 A.D. and 33 A.D. to commemorate important events in his life during this period. The downfall of Gaius' two older brothers, who had come under suspicion of conspiracy along with their mother, had suddenly advanced Gaius to a position of prominence in his nineteenth year. In 31/32 A.D. he was summoned to Capri by Tiberius, received on the same day the *toga virilis* (the "manly toga"),[33] and shortly thereafter was also appointed to the religious office of *pontifex*.[34] In 33 A.D., Gaius was nominated to his first political position, the quaestorship, and was granted the right of holding office five years before the usual age.[35] Prior to becoming Princeps he also received local honors at Pompeii (in 34 A.D.)[36] and in Spain, at Carthago Nova[37] and Caesaraugusta.[38]

The Question of Style

Stylistically, the Walters head is acceptable as a creation of the third decade A.D. Though many portraits of this period are rendered in a classicizing style that is rather cold and hard, a number of others are softly modelled and plastically carved. These divergent tendencies are evident in the portraiture not only of the later Tiberian period, but also of Gaius' own Principate.[39] The Walters head reflects both tendencies, in that the volumes of the face are smooth and rounded, while the individualizing facial features themselves are somewhat softened. In the carving of the facial features, the Walters head approaches the portrait of Gaius in the Getty Museum (fig.11), a work which is, however, more sensitively treated and of significantly higher artistic quality. Like the vast majority of Gaius' images, the Getty Museum head was almost certainly created prior to his death in 41 A.D.[40] In the carving of the hair, the Walters sculpture finds a particularly close parallel in a portrait in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, representing Tiberius Gemellus at about the age of twelve.[41] Since Tiberius Gemellus was born in 19 A.D.,[42] the Copenhagen head may be dated to the later years of Tiberius' Principate, most likely to the early 30s A.D. The Walters and Copenhagen sculptures are alike in the rendering of the cap of hair in low relief, the carving of individual locks in a linear manner, and the

13. Head of Gaius (Caligula). National Museum, Herakleion. Photo courtesy Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.

14. Head of Gaius (Caligula). National Museum, Herakleion. Photo courtesy Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene.
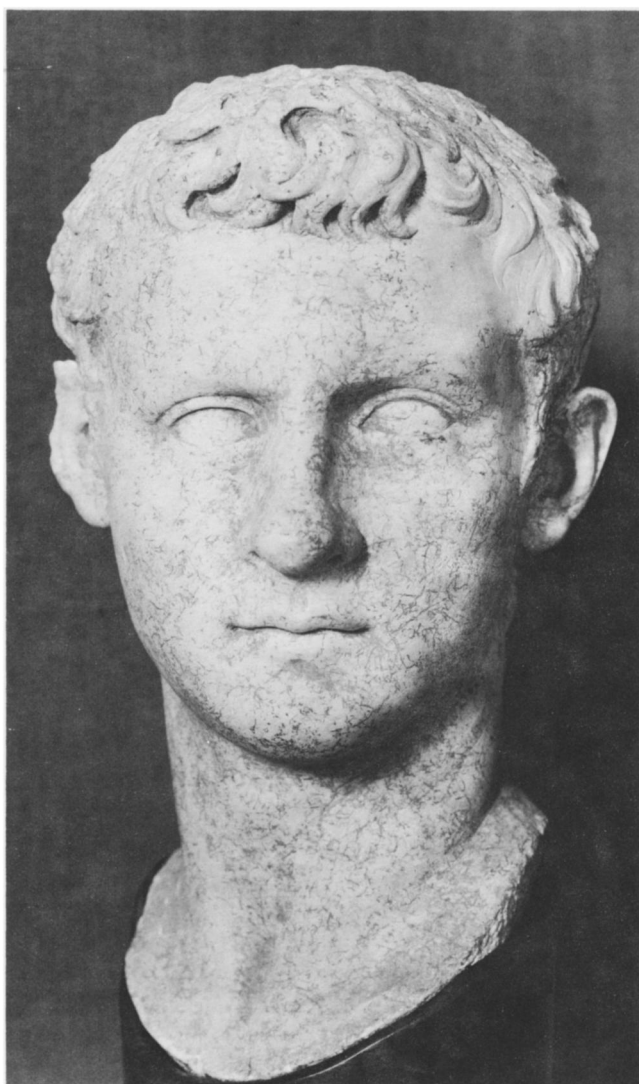
15. *Head of Gaius (Caligula). Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts.*

16. *Head of Gaius (Caligula). Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts.*

summary treatment of the locks at the sides of the head. Even in the carving of the facial features, the Copenhagen portrait does not stand far from the Walters sculpture. In fact, in the stylistic treatment of the facial features, the Walters head occupies an intermediate position between the portrait of Tiberius Gemellus in Copenhagen and the Getty Museum head of Gaius.

Identification—with Reservation

In summary, then, the Walters sculpture may be a portrait of Gaius at about the time he first came into prominence in the 30s A.D. If so, this work would be of great importance iconographically as one of the very few pre-Principate sculptural images of him. However, such an identification must be offered with reservation, since the resemblance of the Walters head to Gaius in his established portraiture is not sufficiently great to make the identification certain. The dissimilarities in physiognomy which have been noted in the Walters sculpture might, of course, be attributed in part to the sculptor's lack of skill as a portraitist. The slight difference in the hairstyle of the Walters portrait might be explained as representing a variation

of one of Gaius' iconographical hairdos or as reflecting the arrangement of hair locks of some hitherto unknown youthful portrait type of him. The possibility should also be left open that the Walters head represents a thusfar unidentified member of the Julio-Claudian family or even a private individual who resembled—or who was portrayed as resembling—Gaius. It is to be hoped that future research in the especially difficult area of Julio-Claudian portraiture, as well as future archaeological finds, may shed some light on the problems posed by the Walters head.

NOTES

1. ˙ Walters Art Gallery, inv. no.23.102. Total H. (excluding base) 14.5 cm; H. from chin to top of head 11.5 cm; W. 8.5 cm. The Walters head is published here for the first time with the kind permission of Diana Buitron, Curator of Greek and Roman Art. I would also like to thank Terry Weisser, head of the Department of Conservation and Technical Research, and her assistant, Carol Snow, for cleaning the head and removing the modern plaster that had been about the base of the neck. Thanks are likewise due the museum's staff photographer, Harry J. Connolly, Jr., for photographing the piece for the present publication.

2. In consulting the files of The Walters Art Gallery concerning this sculpture, I learned that Dorothy Kent Hill, former Curator of Greek and Roman Art, had independently noted that this portrait might possibly represent Gaius (Caligula).

3. Though marble portraits with tenons are not usually of the relatively small size of the Walters head, there are nevertheless parallels in the early imperial period for under life-size portraits worked for insertion into statue bodies; see, e.g., two statues from Magnesia on the Maeander (c.25 B.C.) in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, inv. nos. 608, 609: J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture in Asia Minor* (London: 1966), pp.168-70, (#222, 223) pls.CXII.1-2, CXIII.1-2, CXXIV.3-4; as well as a Julio-Claudian female portrait found at Side (Side Museum, inv. no.161): ibid., p.191, (#262) pl.CXLII.5-6. For an example of an imperial portrait in marble comparable in size to the Walters head, see the head of Augustus in a private collection in Munich: P. Zanker, *Die Bildnisse des Augustus* (with K. Vierneisel et al.) (Munich: 1979), pp.10, 63 (#5.16).

4. The legionaries of his father's army gave the nickname "Caligula" to Gaius, who as a small boy would be dressed up as a soldier, boots and all: Suetonius, *Life of Gaius Caligula*, 9: Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.41; Seneca, *De Constantia Sapientis*, 18.4. In inscriptions and coin legends Gaius was understandably not called by this babyish nickname. Ancient literary accounts, moreover, commonly refer to him as Gaius, not Caligula. On the life and career of Gaius: M. Gelzer, s.v. "C. (Iulius) Caesar Germanicus," *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* X(1919):381-423 (#133); *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* (2nd ed.) IV(1952-1966):168-72 (#217); J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius (Caligula)* (Oxford: 1934); C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London: 1951), pp.102-25; and most recently C. J. Simpson, "The Cult of the Emperor Gaius," *Latomus* 40(1981):489-511. Cf. V. Massaro and I. Montgomery, "Gaius—Mad, Bad, Ill or All Three?" *Latomus* 37(1978):894-909, whose modern medical diagnosis of Gaius is hardly valid since it requires the acceptance of the veracity of a very biased ancient literary tradition. With regard to the errors and biases in the ancient literary sources concerning Gaius, see

further M. P. Charlesworth, "The Tradition about Caligula," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 4(1933):105-19.

5. Our principal ancient writers on the life of Gaius were either themselves personal enemies of him or drew heavily upon aristocratic sources hostile to his memory in writing their accounts. Contrast, however, the brief statement concerning Gaius made by the late first/early second century A.D. Greek biographer Plutarch: in his *Life of Antony* (87.4), Plutarch indicates that Gaius governed with distinction, but for a short time only, and was then put to death with his wife and child:

τὸν δὲ Γερμανικοῦ παίδων Γάϊος μὲν ἄρξας ἐπιφανῶς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἀνῃρέθη μετὰ τέκνου καὶ γυναικός.

6. For the "Actium" portrait type, representing Augustus (Octavian) with knitted brows: P. Zanker, *Studien zu den Augustus-Porträts* 1(*Abhandlungen Göttingen* 85), (Göttingen: 1973); U. Hausmann, "Zur Typologie und Ideologie des Augustusporträts," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.12.2(1981):535-50.

7. See, e.g., the following portraits of Gaius Caesar:

a. Head in the Museo Oliveriano, Pesaro, inv. no.3294: L. Fabbrini, "Di un ritratto inedito di giovinetto nei Musei Oliveriani di Pesaro," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* Ser.8.10(1955):469-88, figs.1-6; Zanker (see n.6), p.47, pl.36a.; Z. Kiss, *L'iconographie des princes julio-claudiens au temps d'Auguste et de Tibère* (Warsaw: 1976), p.43, figs.66-67.

b. Portrait in the Sala dei Busti, Musei Vaticani, inv. no.714: E. Simon, "Das neugefundene Bildnis des Gaius Caesar in Mainz," *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 58(1963):7, figs.11-12, 33-34; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassicher Altertümer in Rom* (4th ed.) I(1963):119 (#157), (H. v. Heintze); G. Hafner, "Der angeblich antike Marmorkopf aus Mainz," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 71(1964):179f, pls.42.4, 44.4, 45.4, 46.4, 47.2; Kiss (see n.7a), p.162f., figs.565-66; Hausmann (see n.6), p.526f.

17. *Bust of Gaius (Caligula). Schinz-Ruesch Collection, Zurich. Photo courtesy H. Jucker (K. Buri, Bern).*
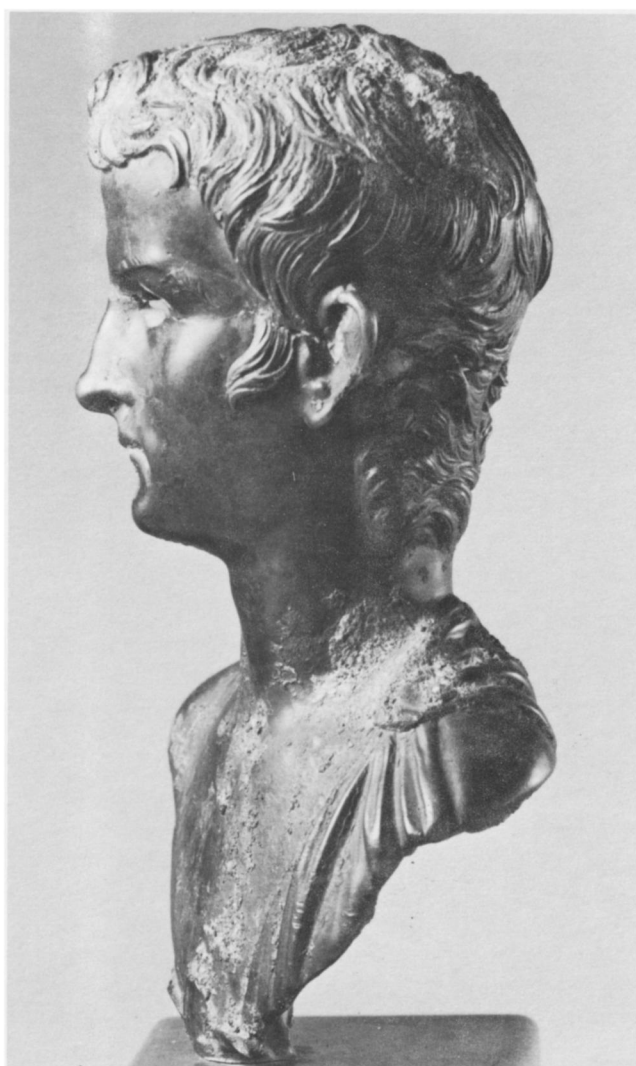
18. *Bust of Gaius (Caligula). Schinz-Ruesch Collection, Zurich. Photo courtesy H. Jucker (K. Buri, Bern).*

19. Tiberian as of Carthago Nova with portrait of Gaius (Caligula). British Museum, London. Photo courtesy R. A. Gardner, Liphook, Hampshire.

c. Youthful male on the altar from Vicus Sandaliarius, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, inv. no.972: G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi* I(Rome: 1958), pp.203-06 (#205) fig.198; L. Fabbrini, "Caligola: il ritratto dell'adolescenza e il ritratto della apoteosi," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 73-74 (1966-67):136, pl.41.1; Kiss (see n.7a), p.38, fig.36.

d. Bronze head (from the Via del Babuino) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome: C. Pietrangeli, "Su un ritratto bronzeo dei Musei Capitolini," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 72(1946-48):57-65, pls. I-II; Fabbrini, (see n.7c) 135f., pls.42.1, 43.1; Kiss (see n.7a), p.40, figs.46-47; Hausmann (see n.6), p.529f., figs.2-3.

On the iconography of Gaius Caesar, see further J. Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar* (forthcoming).

8. With regard to Gaius' relations with the Senate, see especially Gelzer (see n.4), pp.384-423; and Balsdon (see n.4).

9. It is evident, however, from Josephus' detailed account of events following the assassination of Gaius (*Antiquitates Judaicae* 19.1.15-20) that Gaius was by no means hated by one and all.

10. On the defacement of Gaius' inscriptions: Gelzer (see n.4), p.417; R. R. Rosborough, *An Epigraphic Commentary on Suetonius's Life of Gaius Caligula* (Pennsylvania: 1920), p.44.

11. Dio Cassius, 60.4.5-6.

12. Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 11.3.

13. On the iconography of Gaius: R. West, *Römische Porträt-Plastik* (Munich: 1933), pp.201-03; V. Poulsen, "Portraits of Caligula," *Acta Archaeologica* 29(1958):175-90; Fabbrini (see n.7c), pp.134-46; R. Brilliant, "An Early Imperial Portrait of Caligula," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam Pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae* 4(1969):13-17; H. Jucker, "Caligula," *Arts in Virginia* 13(1973):16-25; F. Johansen, "Portraetter af C. Iulius Caesar Germanicus kaldet Caligula," *Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* 37(1981):70-99; and forthcoming, the volume on the portraiture of Gaius by H. Jucker in the series *Das römische Herrscherbild*.

14. For Seneca's account: *De Constantia Sapientis*, 18.1; for that of Suetonius: *Life of Gaius Caligula*, 50. See also Tacitus, *Histories*, 15.72, who alludes in passing to Gaius' appearance.

15. Illustrated in figs.6-8 are three coins of 37-38 A.D. in the British Museum. Cf. the rather classicizing image of Gaius on the *sestertius* in fig.6 with the more "realistic" one on the two *aurei* in figs.7-8. Fig.6: H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum (British Museum Catalog)* I(London: 1923), p.152 (#37) pl.28.4; J. P. C. Kent, B. Overbeck, and U. Stylow, *Roman Coins* (New York: 1978), pl.48 (#167). Fig.7: *British Museum Catalog* I, p.146 (#2) pl.27.3; Kent et al., *Roman Coins*, pl.48 (#165). Fig.8: *British Museum Catalog* I, p.148 (#14) pl.27.11; Kent et al., *Roman Coins*, pl.48 (#166).

16. With regard to the gem represented in close-up in fig.9: see n.22.

17. For the portraits illustrated here: see nn.19-21, 23-25.

18. Cf., e.g., the portraits of Germanicus in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (inv. no.415), and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (inv. no.756), and the head of Tiberius in the Vatican's Museo Chiaramonti (inv. no.1642). On the portrait of Germanicus (from Privernum) in the Museo Capitolino: H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures*

of the Museo Capitolino (Oxford: 1912), p.188, pl.46; Helbig (see n.7b) II(1966):131f. (#1280), (H. v. Heintze); J. Fink, "Germanicus-Porträt," *Antike und Universalgeschichte, Festschrift Hans Erich Stier* (Munich: 1972), p.283, pl.7.2 (caption to be reversed with that of pl.7.1); Kiss (see n.7a) pp.122, 147, figs.451-52. For the head of Germanicus in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek: V. Poulsen, *Les portraits romains* I(Copenhagen: 1962), p.88 (#52), II, pl.LXXXVIII; Fink, "Germanicus-Porträt," p.283, pl.10.4; Kiss (see n.7a), pp.101-02, figs.328-29. On the head of Tiberius (from Veio) in the Museo Chiaramonti: W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* I(Berlin: 1903), p.572 (#399) pl.60; L. Polacco, *Il volto di Tiberio* (Rome: 1955), p.129f., pl. XXIV; Helbig (see n.7b) I(1963):265 (no.349), (H. v. Heintze); Kiss (see n.7a), p.123, n.195, figs.631-32.

19. Fabbrini (see n.7c), pp.140-44, pls.44, 45.1, 46.1, 47.1, 48.2; Jucker (see n.13), p.19f., fig.10; Kiss (see n.7a), p.151, figs.540-41; Johansen (see n.13), p.90, fig.9.

20. Inv. no.72.AA.155, from Asia Minor: Jucker (see n.13), p.20, fig.13; Zanker (see n.3), p.96 (#10.7); J. Inan and E. Rosenbaum, *Römische und Frühplastik aus der Türkei* (Mainz: 1979), p.69f. (#16) pls.13.3-4, 14.2-3; J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: 1981), pp.38f., 123 (#24); Johansen (see n.13), p.92, fig.14.

21. Found at Le Krib, the ancient city of Musti in Africa Proconsulare: Fabbrini (see n.7c), pp.144-46, pls.49-50; Jucker (see n.13), p.20; Johansen (see n.13), p.90, fig.10.

22. For the convincing identification of the seated male figure on this gem as Gaius, rather than Augustus: H. Kyrieleis, "Zu einem Kameo in Wien," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1970):492-98, figs.1, 3.

23. Inv. no.64, from the Agora of Gortyn, Crete: L. Mariani, "Some Roman Busts in the Museum of the Syllogos of Candia," *American Journal of Archaeology* 1(1897):266-68, fig.1, pl. XII.1; Fabbrini (see n.7c), p.141f., pls.45.2, 46.2, 47.2; C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1968), pp.195, 386; figs.109A, 124; Kiss (see n.7a), p.151, figs.542-43.

24. Inv. no.1914.23, reportedly found near Marino, Italy: Poulsen (see n.13), p.185f., figs.13-14; Jucker (see n.13), p.20; Kiss (see n.7a), p.142, figs.497-98.

25. H. Jucker, *Das Bildnis im Blätterkelch* (Lausanne: 1961), p.48f. (#31) pl.12; Johansen (see n.13), p.92, fig.15; H. Jucker, "Iulisch-Claudische Kaiser- und Prinzenporträts als 'Palimpseste,' " *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 96(1981):256, figs.29-31.

26. *Inscriptiones Graecae Ad Res Romanas Pertinentes* IV.1022.

27. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XII.1848-49. With regard to the Calymna and Vienna inscriptions, see also M. Stuart, "How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed throughout the Empire?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 43(1939):605.

28. A number of examples of the coins of Carthago Nova with pre-Principate portraits of Gaius are represented in A. Banti and L. Simonetti, *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum* XIII(Florence: 1977), pp.141-50 (dated without explanation more precisely to the year 34 A.D.). With regard to these coins, see also M. Grant, *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius (American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs 16)* (New York: 1950), pp.35, 101, pl. VI.3; A. Vives y Escudero, *La moneda hispanica* IV(Madrid: 1926), p.37 (#39-42) pl.CXXXII.3-6.

29. Banti and Simonetti (see n.28), p.145 (#7).

30. For the proposal that the La Spezia and Dresden portraits may represent the youthful Gaius (rather than his father Germanicus): H. Jucker, "Die Prinzen auf dem Augustus-Relief in Ravenna," *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offerts à Paul Collart* (Lausanne: 1976), p.249, n.64. On the bust (found in the theater at Luni) in the Museo Archeologico, La Spezia, inv. no.54, see further C. Pietrangeli, "Appunti su due ritratti giulio-claudi," *Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* 1935.II (1938):184f., pl.22.1; A. Frova, *Scavi di Luni* I(1973):49f., pl.14.1. For the Dresden head: L. Curtius, "Ikonographische Beiträge zum Porträt der Römischen Republik und der Julisch-Claudischen Familie XIV. Germanicus," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 1(1948):71, pl.22; Kiss (see n.7a), p.133, figs.379-80. Also suggested by Jucker as possible (though more dubious) early likenesses of Gaius are a head in the Museo Archeologico, Naples (inv. no.150226), and a badly damaged portrait from Mylasa in the Izmir Museum. For the Naples head: Fink (see n.18), pp.281-83, pls.2-3 (identified as Germanicus). For the portrait from Mylasa: Inan and Rosenbaum (see n.3), p.170 (#225) pl.CXXV.1-2 (identified as an unknown man of the Augustan period). The various portraits suggested by other scholars as pre-Principate likenesses of Gaius show him with a receding hairline and facial features which seem to me comparable in maturity to those of a twenty-four year old, the age at which Gaius became Princeps.

31. From Medina Sidonia: A. Garcia y Bellido, "Los retratos de Livia, Drusus Minor y Germanicus di Medina Sidonia.: *Mélanges André Piganiol* (Paris: 1966), pp.491-94, figs.5-6; Kiss (see n.7a), p.130, figs.627-28; H. Jucker, "Die Prinzen des Statuenzyklus aus Veleia," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 92(1977):223, figs.7-9.

32. For the Leptis Magna head: S. Aurigemma, "Sculture del Foro Vecchio di Leptis Magna raffiguranti la dea Roma e principi della casa dei giulio-claudio," *Africa

Italiana* 8(1940):56-59, figs.36-37; Kiss (see n.7a), p.112f., figs.373-74. See also the portraits of Germanicus cited in n.18.

33. Suetonius, *Life of Caligula*, 10.1.

34. Ibid., 12.1; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XII.1849.

35. Dio Cassius, 58.23.1; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* XII.1849.

36. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 6396-97; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* X.901-04.

37. See n.28.

38. H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain* I(Paris: 1880), p.199 (#103); Vives y Escudero (see n.28), p.82 (#54-56) pl.CLI.8-10.

39. With regard to the stylistic variety in the portraiture of Gaius, see also Jucker (see n.13), p.22f.

40. To my knowledge, there is no numismatic or epigraphic evidence for Gaius' being honored after his death. In the ancient literature, there is a passing reference in one source (Suetonius, *Life of Nero*, 30.1) to Nero's having envied and admired his uncle Gaius for his profligacy—a bit of gossip of questionable historical value, undoubtedly intended to blacken Nero's character by association with the much maligned Gaius. It is of course not to be ruled out that a posthumous portrait of Gaius might have been created for a private individual who had some personal affection for him.

41. Inv. no.1904. Poulsen (see n.18), p.85f. (#49) pls.LXXXIV-LXXXV. For other portraits of Tiberius Gemellus: Jucker (see n.31), pp.228-32.

42. Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.84.

20. *Bust of Gaius (Caligula)(?). Museo Archeologico, La Spezia.*
Photo courtesy DAI Rome.
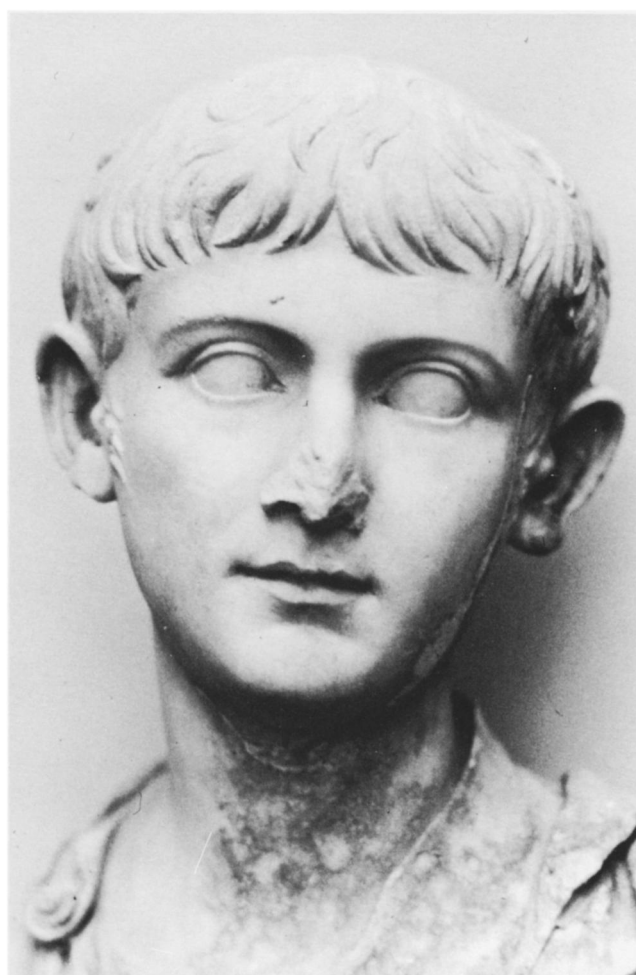
21. *Bust of Gaius (Caligula)(?). Museo Archeologico, La Spezia.*
Photo courtesy the author.
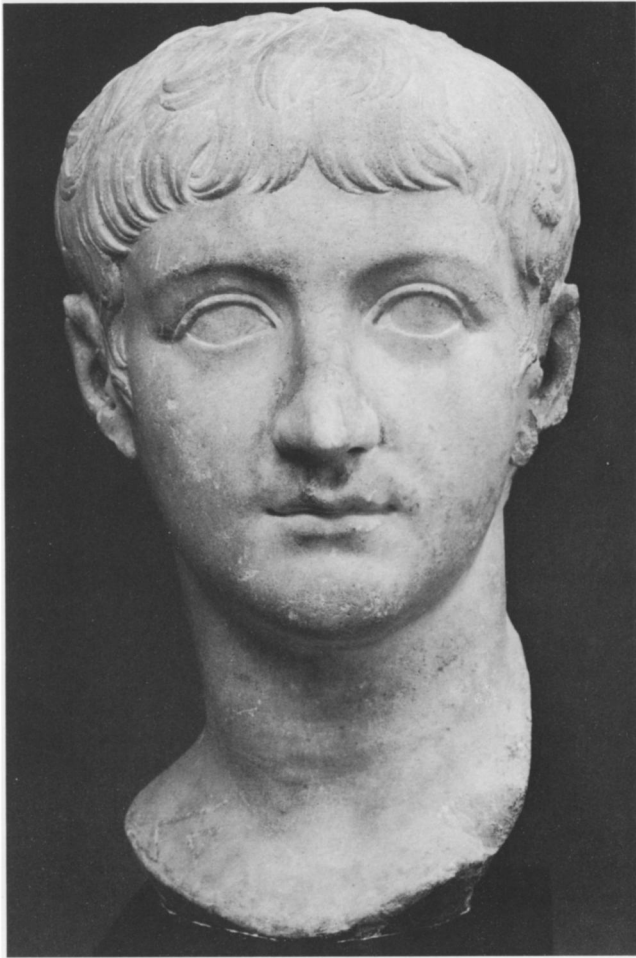
22. *Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.*

23. *Head of Gaius (Caligula) (?). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.*

ERRATA:

The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery
40 (Baltimore, 1982)

John Pollini, "A Pre-Principate Portrait of Gaius (Caligula)?," pp. 1-12:

The view of a possible portrait of Gaius (Caligula) in The Walters Art Gallery, shown as figure 2 on page 2, was printed incorrectly: the negative of the photograph was printed backwards. It should have appeared as it does here.
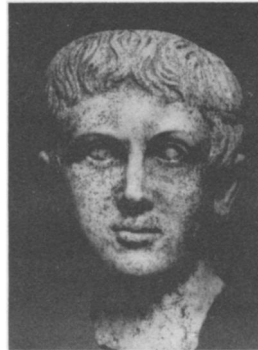
Rebecca W. Corrie, "The Conradin Bible: Since 'Since de Ricci,' " pp. 13-24:

The captions for figures 11 and 12 were reversed. The correct labeling of the illustrations is shown here:

Elimelech, Ruth. Cutting from the Conradin Bible, *by permission of Rainer Zietz, London. Photo by Gregory Kitchen.*

Adam, I Chronicles. Cutting from the Conradin Bible, *by permission of Michael Ward, New York.*

Penny Howell Jolly, "On the Meaning of the *Virgin Mary Reading,* Attributed to Antonello da Messina," pp. 25-36:

The caption for figure 4 (*Virgin and Child,* Attributed to Antonello da Messina. National Gallery, London.) should have included the following acknowledgement:

Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees, the National Gallery, London.

The Conradin Bible, long one of the treasures of The Walters Art Gallery, recently drew renewed attention from scholars when a large portion of its missing illustrations was sold at auction. Combined with a series of manuscripts recently attributed to the same atelier, these fragments not only increase our knowledge of the history of the manuscript, but also of atelier production practices in 13th-century Italy.

THE CONRADIN BIBLE: SINCE "SINCE DE RICCI"

Rebecca W. Corrie
Bates College, Maine

In the late spring of 1981 manuscript scholars on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean were electrified by the news that Sotheby's of London was about to auction thirty fragments of the long-lost portions of the *Conradin Bible*, one of the treasures of The Walters Art Gallery (MS.W.152).[1] It was hoped, of course, that all of the missing portions had emerged, for they included nearly half of the Old Testament and a small piece of the New Testament. Instead, on July 14, 1981, approximately half of the missing decoration went on sale. Nevertheless, the pieces are significant not only as works of art in their own right (figs.1-3), but for the light they shed on the dismantling of the manuscript and on the shop practices of the artists who created the spectacular Bible. This is the second group of fragments that has come to light since Henry Walters purchased the *Conradin Bible* in 1905. The first fragments, a group of five marginal illuminations, were introduced by Dorothy Miner in 1969 in her article, "Since de Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired Since 1934."[2] We can only hope that the rest of the manuscript's decoration will surface eventually.

Provenance of the Manuscript

The *Conradin Bible* has been known to scholars in its abbreviated form since the middle of the nineteenth century.[3] The codex was always admired for its energetic figures and ornamentation, and especially for its brilliant palette (fig.4). In the last thirty years, however, its reputation has been transformed, as it has become one of the most notorious problems in Italian medieval art. Generally

acknowledged to be an Italian work of the second half of the thirteenth century, the *Conradin Bible* has been attributed to Sicily, the Veneto, Rome, and the centers of the Byzantinizing style known as the *maniera greca*, Umbria and Tuscany.[4] A traditional attribution places its manufacture in Sicily and describes it as a gift made for the boy emperor, Conradin, grandson of Frederick II and last of the Hohenstaufen line, who was executed at Naples in 1268 at the age of sixteen. Conradin, safe in Bavaria, had been persuaded to undertake the fatal campaign to recapture Italy for the Holy Roman Empire, by followers of his uncle Manfred, King of Sicily (who died at the hands of the Angevin army in 1266).[5] If the tradition is accurate, the *Conradin Bible* might have been taken to the young emperor by one of the embassies that reached him in Germany or Northern Italy. In fact, for reasons outlined elsewhere,[6] I am inclined to accept the traditional provenance, particularly in the light of the 13th- and 14th-century usage of the term "Sicily" to include both Apulia and Sicily.[7] Wherever the manuscript was produced, though, the remarkable combination of Western and Byzantine styles testifies to the direct ties between Italy and the East during the century that followed the Fourth Crusade in 1204.[8]

The association with Conradin is based directly on the writings of the French scholar, Léopold Delisle, who described a mid-19th-century note with this attribution, written in the hand of the secretary

1. *David Playing his Psaltery, Psalm 1. Cutting from the* Conradin Bible, *by permission of Michael Ward, New York. Photo by Gregory Kitchen.*

2. *A Monk Playing Bells, Psalm 97. Cutting from the* Conradin Bible, *by permission of Michael Ward. Photo courtesy of Sotheby, Parke Bernet & Co.*

3. *Elkanah, I Kings. Cutting from the* Conradin Bible, *by permission of Rainer Zietz, London.*

4. *Solomon Enthroned, II Chronicles. The Conradin Bible, MS.W.152, fol.153v. The Walters Art Gallery.*

of Comte Bastard d'Estang, the earliest recorded owner of the manuscript.[9] According to Delisle, the now-lost note said that the manuscript had been made in Sicily and sent to Conradin in the North, shortly before his death in 1268. Whether this note reflected a lost colophon or an oral tradition passed on by earlier owners cannot be judged.

The note recorded by Delisle disappeared about 1900,[10] and in the last few decades art historians have discounted the tradition. The most common argument used to side-step the association with Conradin has been that it was a romantic notion based on Conradin's immense popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[11] On the other hand, recent research on the development of the *maniera greca* in Italy upholds a date in the decade after 1260, and the distinctive combination of contemporary French cusped borders, gold dots, and dragons; and Italian initial types suggests that the place of manufacture was Southern Italy, where French influence was intense.[12] Moreover, the provenances of several manuscripts recently identified with the style of the *Conradin Bible,* also point to South Italian manufacture. This evidence lends credence to Delisle's comments, as the 19th-century attribution is in keeping with the known criteria. Since none of the related manuscripts was identified until 1964, it is unlikely that 19th-century scholars could have "guessed" the origins of the *Conradin Bible* with such accuracy. Such a degree of accuracy is even less likely in view of the 19th-century predilection for dating Italian manuscripts a century too late.

Manuscripts Related to the Conradin Bible

Until the appearance of the fragments at Sotheby's last spring, the major excitement in the study of the *Conradin Bible* had been the formation of a group of manuscripts that can be attributed to the same atelier, or to followers of the leading master of the atelier, which produced the Bible. When Dorothy Miner wrote "Since de Ricci," two manuscripts had been connected with the Conradin Bible: the so-called *Bassetti Bible,* MS.2868 in the Biblioteca Comunale, Trento; and a series of leaves dispersed in museums and private collections in the United States and Europe, most likely taken from a single antiphonary.[13] Since then, new information has emerged regarding the *Bassetti Bible,* and several other manuscripts have been added to the *Conradin Bible* group.

In 1978, Angela Daneu-Lattanzi, who first recognized that the *Bassetti Bible* was related to the *Conradin Bible,* identified two later manuscripts by the master of the *Bassetti Bible* or a close follower of his.[14] These manuscripts are translations of an Arabic text made at Naples in 1282 for Charles of Anjou, which today are in Paris and the Vatican, and which are usually dated about 1282. The manuscripts resemble the *Bassetti Bible* in the treatment of their ornamentation, the fields that lie behind vegetation, the types of dragons, and the connected series of dots.[15] However, the entire conception of these manuscripts is much more precious, suggesting a distance of a few years between their execution and the production of the *Bassetti Bible.* As a result, the Naples manuscripts support the South Italian provenance of the *Conradin Bible,* and a date well before 1282 for the *Bassetti Bible* and the even earlier *Conradin Bible.*

In 1979, Hélène Toubert added three more Bibles to the published list of manuscripts in the *Conradin Bible* group.[16] One, MS.14 in the Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Paris, had been known to scholars for several years as a cousin of the *Conradin Bible.*[17] A second, MS.Canon.Bibl.Lat.59 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, had not been ascribed to the Conradin group before, probably because its decoration includes only one historiated initial.[18] Nevertheless, the iconography of this initial, the opening of Genesis, and the style of the foliate initials confirm Madame Toubert's attribution. The most significant aspect of the Bodleian Bible, however, is its provenance: a heraldic crest on folio ii indicates that the manuscript was in the possession of the Auria of Lucera, an important Apulian family who adhered to the cause of the Hohenstaufens and their Aragonese descendants.[19]

An important addition to the group of related manuscripts is a third Bible, MS.I.C.13, in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Palermo. Although Angela Daneu-Lattanzi originally associated it with another Bible traditionally connected with Conradin's predecessor, Manfred, the Palermo Bible fits much more comfortably within the Conradin group, for both its iconography and its style, as Madame Toubert points out. On the other hand, Madame Toubert acknowledged in her article only a passing resemblance between the Palermo Bible and Bibles in the Manfred group, which she attributed to shared South Italian origins.[20] Thus, in an effort to connect the master of the *Conradin Bible* with Rome, she loosened the connection between the Palermo Bible and the Manfred group.

In addition, the "Roman" examples that Madame Toubert chose for comparison with the *Conradin Bible* exhibit at best only a passing resemblance to the *Conradin Bible* style. These examples include a manuscript of established association with Verona, and a fresco fragment in the church of the Quattro Coronati, Rome.[21] In both cases, the drapery style is quite different from that of figures in the manuscripts of the Conradin group, and indeed, the drapery styles in the two works she cites are quite different from each other. Only the facial types are at all alike, and the resemblance may well depend on the similar poses, since in both cases her examples depict figures in donor positions.

Although Madame Toubert's decision to connect the Palermo and Baltimore Bibles is undoubtedly correct (indeed, the Palermo Bible could very well be an early work of the major master of the *Conradin Bible*), she has overlooked the most significant aspects of the Palermo Bible's iconography and ornamental detail, which establish the work as a link between the Conradin and Manfred groups. The Palermo Bible retains a series of motifs, such as paired birds and adorsed dogs, intertwined foliage scrolls, and nude figures climbing in foliage, which appear in all of the Manfred manuscripts but are lost in the rest of the Bibles associated with the *Conradin Bible.*[22] Finally, the script of the Palermo Bible is unlike that in any of the other Conradin group manuscripts. Instead, it takes the form of a sort of debased Beneventan style that characterizes the major Manfred manuscripts. And, it may be significant that a work which has always been associated with Manfred, the Vatican version of Frederick II's *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus,* was written in a script style close to that of the *Conradin Bible.*[23] This connection suggests that the manuscripts associated with the Bibles of Manfred and Conradin may form the continuous production of a single large atelier, and possibly that the Palermo Bible actually precedes the unfinished *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus.* I would speculate that the *Conradin Bible* might have been made for Manfred in the last years of his life.

5. *St. Francis Receives the Stigmata. Antiphonary, MS.222.32, fol.159v. Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester, England.*

This purpose would account for the intense Byzantine influence in the manuscript and the designer's access to Byzantine models, as Manfred's wife during the last decade of his life was the Byzantine princess, Helena of Epirus, and his foreign policy was, as a result, focused on the East.[24]

Two other manuscripts have been described in the recent literature on the *Conradin Bible.* The first is an antiphonary in the Museo Nazionale, Pisa, which was made for an Augustinian house and is unquestionably related to the *Conradin Bible.* The second antiphonary, in Volterra, was also made for Augustinian use and has been mentioned in the literature but never published in any detail.[25] The Augustinian connections of these manuscripts have led Antonio Caleca to speculate that all of the manuscripts associated with the *Conradin Bible* were produced in an Augustinian house at Pisa.[26] This suggestion is laid to rest, however, by yet another antiphonary, now in the Colchester and Essex Museum, England; which includes the feasts of St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua, and illustrates scenes such as St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata (figs.5 and 6).[27] The antiphonary was undoubtedly made for a Franciscan house, which suggests that the artists of the Conradin group must have worked in a secular atelier. Unfortunately, the Colchester manuscript has no provenance before the early twentieth century. Its importance to the history of the *Conradin Bible* lies elsewhere—in its decoration.

The Fragmentation of the *Conradin Bible*

The *Conradin Bible* opens with the book of Daniel and is fairly complete from there to the book of Revelations, although both Acts and James are missing. Following Revelations, the first pages of approximately half of the Old Testament portion between Genesis and Daniel appear in nearly correct order. All of the undecorated text pages of these books are missing. Each of the remaining first pages has the combination of an historiated initial (or, more rarely, a foliate text initial) and a marginal scene, accompanied by an appropriate number of prologue initials. This manuscript has been in this condition since 1892, when it was catalogued by Delisle for the Spitzer collection. And, since none of the missing decoration appears in the publications of the Comte Bastard d'Estang, we can probably assume that the manuscript was in an abbreviated form when he owned it.[28] Both the script of the current pagination and the book's red velvet cover suggest that the manuscript took this form during the nineteenth century.
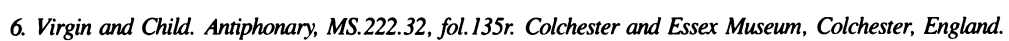
A different pagination, in a script style dating probably no later than 1800, reveals an earlier state of the manuscript and provides some insight into the mutilation of the Bible. When the *Conradin Bible* is reconstructed according to this earlier pagination, it takes on a peculiar form. The manuscript still begins with Daniel, but it ends with Lamentations, which follows Revelations; and the pages now collected at the end appear shuffled between Daniel and Lamentations. Thus, Esther falls between Hosea and Joel; III Esdras and Judith between Malachi and I Maccabees: Tobit in the text of II Maccabees: I Esdras and Nehemiah between Matthew and Mark: II Kings and II Chronicles between Luke and John; Joshua between I and II Corinthians; Deuteronomy between Colossians and I Thessalonians; Proverbs within the text of Hebrews; and Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Ezechiel, Leviticus, and Numbers following Hebrews, before
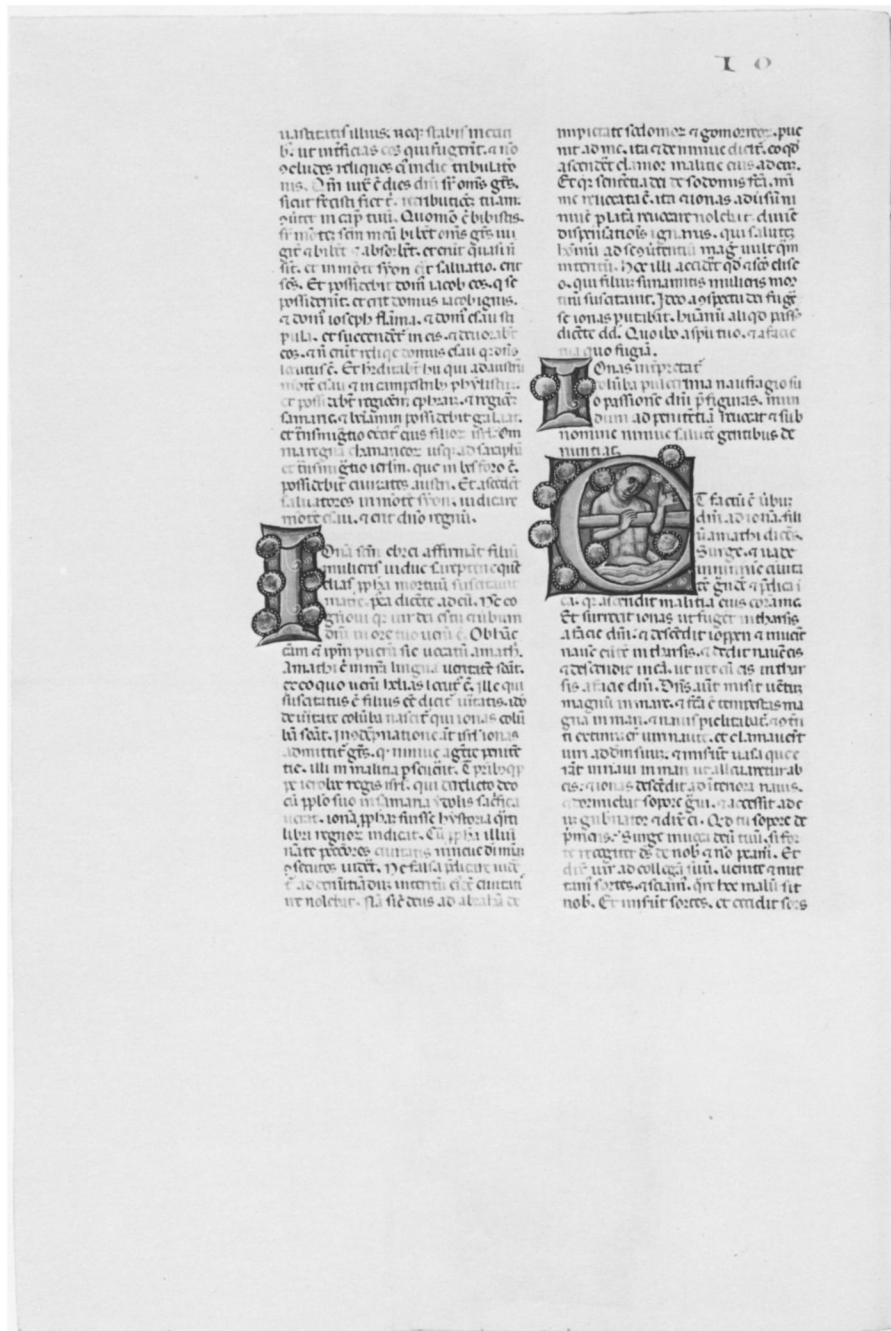
I Peter. Clearly, an attempt was made to hide the abbreviated condition of the *Conradin Bible* by disguising it as a Bible Lectionary. This assumption is borne out by the false incipit and explicit, which open Daniel and close Lamentations, and refer to the book as a *Biblica selecta.*

The reason for this sleight of hand is evident from the opening page of Jonah (fig.7), which has a prologue initial and a historiated text initial, but no marginal scene. In fact, the lower left corner, where the marginal scene should be, is a careful insertion that indicates an attempt to restore a mutilated page rather than discard the figure of Obadiah on the verso. This repair suggests that the restorer received the *Conradin Bible* after it had been in the hands of a collector with scissors, who had cut out a selection of the marginal illustrations, leaving behind the decorative motifs and text initials—a common practice in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[29] This scenario is borne out by the two distinct groups of fragments that have been recovered. In 1953, The Walters Art Gallery purchased five marginal scenes from the estate of the historian Grete Ring, while the Sotheby's fragments consist entirely of prologue initials, dragons, and historiated initials. This last assortment suggests that when the early restorer removed all of the damaged pages except Jonah, he set them aside. Sotheby's notes in their catalogue that there are notations on the versos of the fragments in French, and it is possible that the entire drama of the mutilation was carried out in France.[30] In any case, this two-tiered mutilation gives us hope that the remaining pieces of the manuscript may yet be recovered, since the damage was not the result of an accident, but was the intentional separation of manuscript and ornamentation.

The fragments now in the hands of Rainer Zietz of London, Michael Ward of New York, and two other collectors, include two dragons, five unidentified prologue initials, and the following pieces:[31]

> Historiated initial for Exodus—Jacob Pointing (fig.10);
> Historiated initial for Ruth—Elimelich (fig.11);
> Historiated initial for I Kings—Elkanah (fig.3);
> Historiated initial for IV Kings—Ahaziah Falling;[32]
> Historiated initial for I Chronicles—Adam (fig.12);[33]
> Prologue initial "L" from Esther;
> Historiated initial for Job—Job Suffering;
> Prologue initial "P" for Psalms;
> Historiated initial for Psalm 1—David Harping (fig.1);
> Historiated initial for Psalm 26—Man Points to His Eyes;
> Historiated initial for Psalm 38—Man Points to His Mouth;
> Historiated initial for Psalm 52—Fool;
> Historiated initial for Psalm 68—Drowning Man;
> Historiated initial for Psalm 80—Monk Playing Bells (fig.2);
> Historiated initial for Psalm 97—Monks at a Lectern;
> Prologue initial "T" probably for Proverbs;
> Historiated initial for Ecclesiastes—Ecclesiastes;
> Historiated initial for Song of Songs—Madonna and Child (fig.13);
> Historiated initial for Wisdom—Solomon;
> Prologue initial "H" for Jeremiah;

6. Virgin and Child. Antiphonary, MS.222.32, fol.135r. Colchester and Essex Museum, Colchester, England.

10. Jacob, Exodus. Cutting from the Conradin Bible, *by permission of Rainer Zietz, London. Photo courtesy of Sotheby, Parke Bernet & Co.*

11. Elimelech, Ruth. Cutting from the Conradin Bible, *by permission of Rainer Zietz, London. Photo by Gregory Kitchen.*

13. Virgin and Child, Song of Songs. Cutting from the Conradin Bible, *by permission of Rainer Zietz, London.*

7. Jonah. The Conradin Bible, MS.W.152, fol.17v. The Walters Art Gallery.

Historiated initial for Jeremiah—Jeremiah Looks to Heaven;
Historiated initial for Baruch—Baruch Writing;
Initial "A" for opening of Interpretation of Hebrew Names.

The pieces retrieved in 1953 from the collection of Grete Ring include the marginal decoration for I Kings, IV Kings, I Chronicles, Song of Songs, and a Pantocrator that could belong either to Psalm 1, to Psalm 109, which still lacks its historiated initial, or to Ecclesiastes.[34] Indeed, the two groups of fragments reconstruct several of the lost decorated pages, but it is impossible to make an exact estimate of the number of manuscript pieces still missing. For example, it is not clear whether each of the historiated initials from Psalms was accompanied by a marginal scene. The dragons must also be considered in the count, for there are a number of pages in the *Conradin Bible,* such as the opening page for Numbers, which
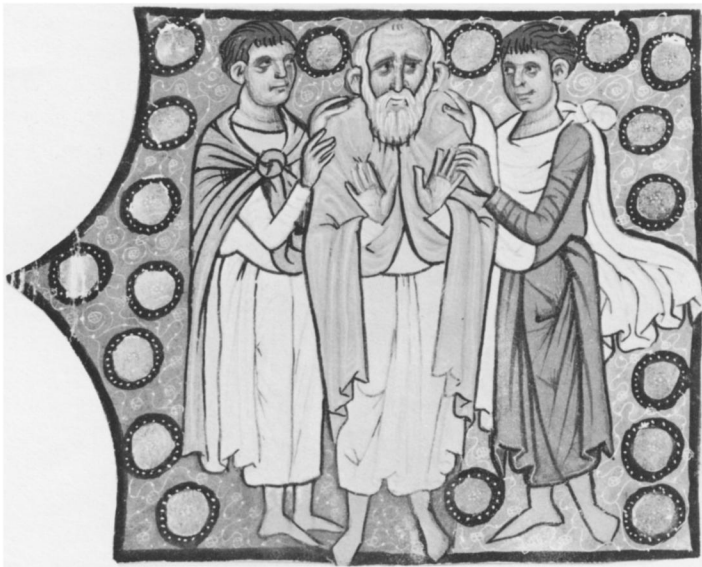
8. *Adam and his Descendants, I Chronicles. Cutting from the*
Conradin Bible, *MS. W.152e. The Walters Art Gallery.*

have no marginal scene (fig.15). However, both of the dragons in
the Sotheby's group probably had marginal figures attached to them.
The great dragon, for example, has a gold dot on its tail which
indicates that it was connected to a piece such as the fragment from
the Song of Songs (figs.14 and 9). The resulting page was probably
organized in a mirror image of II Chronicles (fig.4).

If we assume that both dragons had marginal figures attached to
them and that each historiated initial from Psalms also had one, we
can project that the following fragments may yet appear:

Prologue initials for Jerome;
Opening page of Genesis;
Margin of Exodus;
Prologue for Joshua;
Margin of Ruth;
Prologue for I Kings;
Margin and historiated initial of III Kings;
One or two prologues for I Chronicles;
Prologue for Judith;
Two prologue initials and the margin for Job;
Prologue initial for Psalms;
Historiated initial for Psalm 109;
Marginal groups for Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, and
97;
Prologue initial and marginal decoration for Eccle-
siastes;
Margin for Jeremiah;
Prologue initial and margin for Baruch;
Prologue initial for Daniel;
Margin for Jonah;
Three prologue initials, the margin, and one historiated
initial for James;
Three prologue initials, the margin, and one historiated
initial for Acts.

Iconographic and Stylistic Motifs

While the Sotheby fragments of the *Conradin Bible* clarify the
history of the codex, they also offer manuscript scholars information

9. *Christ and Ecclesia, Song of Songs.
Cutting from the* Conradin Bible,
MS. W.152d. The Walters Art Gallery.

12. *Adam, I
Chronicles.
Cutting from
the* Conradin
Bible, *by
permission of
Michael Ward,
New York.*

on the working methods of late medieval manuscript ateliers. In-
deed, the fragments confirm that all the manuscripts associated with
the *Conradin Bible* were made from the same repertoire of motifs—
that is, from the same pattern books. The leading master of the
Conradin Bible even used Byzantine manuscripts in this manner, for
he copied figures very closely, but out of context, without regard to
iconographical or liturgical setting.[35] And, while we cannot general-
ize from the practices of a single atelier, we should consider the
possibility that this method was common in the rest of Europe in the
thirteenth century, although some mass-producers of manuscripts in
Paris and Bologna may have used a single Bible as a model.[36]

Several of the fragments support this analysis, for their motifs
appear in other contexts, either within the *Conradin Bible* itself or
within the larger manuscript group. For example, the figure of Adam
from the historiated initial for I Chronicles is simply an abstraction
from the figure group for the marginal decoration of the same page
(figs.8 and 12). And, as Madame Toubert pointed out, the marginal
illustrations from I Chronicles in the *Conradin Bible* are virtually the
same as those in the initial of its "cousin," the Paris Bible.[37] In
addition, although the marginal scene in Exodus is still missing, it
was probably the source for the figure of Jacob in the historiated
initial from Exodus (fig.10), as an identical figure is in the histori-
ated initial from Exodus in the *Bassetti Bible.*[38]

This repetition of figures from the marginal groups as individual
figures in the historiated initials, involves the transfer of figures from
one context to another; for example, the semi-nude figure from the

initial for Job in the Sotheby sale reappears as Rehoboam receiving instruction from Solomon in the marginal decoration for Proverbs in the *Conradin Bible* (fig.16).[39] This approach suggests a book of motifs, and this working method becomes even more apparent when we note that the standing male figure of Elimelich, who opens Ruth in the *Conradin Bible*, is nearly identical to one who opens Esther in the Paris Bible (fig.11).[40]

Finally, a group of images, including the Madonna and Child from the Song of Songs in the *Conradin Bible*, connects all of the manuscripts in the Conradin group with a single series of working models. The images are six depictions of the Madonna and Child that appear in three of the manuscripts: the *Conradin Bible*, the Colchester Antiphonary, and the aforementioned antiphonary dispersed among private collections and museums. In the *Conradin Bible*, the images include one from the Song of Songs and another from the marginal portion of the Tree of Jesse, which opens the book of Matthew, (fig.13)[41]; in the Colchester Antiphonary are one from the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin and a second from the feast of the Birth of the Virgin (fig.6)[42]; and from the dispersed antiphonary are images of the Assumption and the Birth of the Virgin as well.[43]

It is the Colchester Antiphonary that knits all three works together. The image of the Virgin and Child for the feast of the Assumption shows the Child resting His hand on the hand of the Virgin. This motif appears on one of the separated antiphonary leaves, also for the feast of the Assumption. This gesture of the hand is unusual, rarely found in 13th-century Italian art, and probably Byzantine in origin.[44] The scenes of the Madonna and Child from the feast of the Birth of the Virgin are also unusual, as they show the Child seated with his foot inverted so that the sole can be seen, a motif repeated in the image from the historiated initial for the Song of Songs in the *Conradin Bible* (figs.6 and 13). This motif is also unusual in Italy, and is also Byzantine in origin. The repetition of the same motif in entirely different contexts suggests that the artists who produced the two manuscripts were working from the same repertory of models. The repetition also suggests that the artists had a certain degree of license in their choices of the images for illustrating the manuscripts. This factor, as well as geographic distance, may explain why the image of the Madonna and Child in the Song of Songs in the *Conradin Bible* differs from the usual North Italian choice. (In Padua, Bologna, and Florence there is a startling consistency in the use of a motif known in the Byzantine world as the *Eleousa*, in which the Child presses His cheek against the face of the Virgin.)[45] The remaining two images from the *Conradin Bible* and from the dispersed antiphonary leaves are also distinctly Byzantine in iconography and style.[46]

The two images of the Child with the inverted foot are clearly by different artists. Although the hand of the master of the *Conradin Bible* may appear elsewhere in the Colchester Antiphonary, it is not evident in this scene.[47] The sharing of models by two different artists working on different kinds of manuscripts raises a number of questions. Were all the works produced at about the same time, in the same city? If they were, they indicate a striking degree of variation within one atelier, for the antiphonaries exhibit none of the flamboyance in decoration that occurs in the *Conradin Bible*, and the decoration of the *Bassetti Bible* stands far apart from the other Bibles. It is also possible that the leading master of the *Conradin Bible* was an itinerant artist who carried his motif books or sheets with him, sharing them with the ateliers he gathered or joined in each new center. In this case, the antiphonaries might represent a later, calmer phase of his work. At this point, the question of the chronological intervals between the different manuscripts will have to remain unsettled.

However, the iconographic consistency within the group of manuscripts associated with the *Conradin Bible* is established by the addition of the Sotheby fragments to our knowledge of the Walters manuscript. We now know that the links among the works are not only stylistic, but are formed by the use of common motif books. We can lay to rest the doubts expressed by Dorothy Miner concerning the strength of the ties between the antiphonaries and the *Conradin Bible*.[48] However different their ornamental styles, all of the manuscripts, Bibles, and antiphonaries were created under the inspiration and guidance of the designer of the *Conradin Bible*.[49]

NOTES

1. This article is based on research towards a dissertation on the *Conradin Bible*, in progress for the Department of Fine Arts, Harvard University, under the direction of Ernst Kitzinger. I am especially indebted to Michael Ward and Rainer Zietz for providing me with photographs on short notice, and to Dr. Christopher de Hamel of Sotheby's in London, for providing photographs of the entire group of fragments. The pieces are fully described in Sotheby's catalogue of *Illuminated Miniatures and Single Leaves from the Ninth to the Sixteenth Century* (London: 14 July 1981), pp.10-12. At the request of the owners, the thirty fragments were sold in five lots. Two of these lots are now in the possession of Rainer Zietz of London; a third belongs to Michael Ward of New York.

2. *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 31-32 (1969):87-92.

3. Léopold V. Delisle, *Les collections de Bastard d'Estang à la Bibliothèque Nationale, catalogue analytique* (Paris: Nogent-le-Rotrou, 1885), pp.263 and 276.

4. The most recent attributions, to Pisa and Rome, can be found in Antonio Caleca, "Un codice pisano di fine duecento," in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica, Atti del I congresso di storia della miniatura italiana*, Cortona 26-28, May 1978 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1979), pp.207-21; and Hélène Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin: trois nouveaux manuscrits enluminés," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome*, 91 (1979):729-84.

5. Denis Mack Smith, *A History of Sicily, Medieval Sicily, 800-1713* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1968), pp.66-67.

6. Rebecca W. Corrie, "The *Conradin Bible:* East Meets West at Messina," in press in the proceedings of the Meeting of Two Worlds, a symposium on the Crusades held in Kalamazoo and Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 7-10, 1981.

7. This usage is particularly clear in the persistence of the phrase the "Sicilian School of Poets," for the Hohenstaufen court poets who spent most of their careers in Apulia. Ernst Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second, 1194-1250* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1957), p.324.

8. Otto Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), pp.205-36.

9. Auguste and Emile Molinier and Léopold Delisle, *La collection Spitzer* (Paris: Maison Quantin and Librairie Centrale, 1892), inv. no.5: 124-26, 141-43.

10. The absence of the note is first mentioned in a catalogue issued by the Munich dealer Jacques Rosenthal, *Cat.no.27: Illuminated Manuscripts and Illustrated Books with 97 Facsimiles* (Munich: Jacques Rosenthal, 1902), pp.6-7.

11. Caleca, "Un codice pisano," p.221. There is no doubt that Conradin was a popular figure during the Romantic period; see: Andreas Muller, *Das Konradin-Bild im Wandel der Zeit*, Geist und Werk der Zeiten, inv. no.34 (Bern: Herbert Lang; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1972).

12. One of the most striking examples of French influence is in the so-called *Manfred Bible*, Vat. Lat. 36. See: Adalbert, Graf zu Erbach Furstenau, *Die Manfred Bibel* (Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1910). On the date of the *maniera greca* see: Joanna Cannon, "Dating the Frescoes by the Maestro di S. Francesco at Assisi," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982):65-69.

13. Angela Daneu-Lattanzi, "Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica dell'Italia meridionale sveva," *La Bibliofilia* 66(1964):144-50. The *Bassetti Bible* was earlier pub-
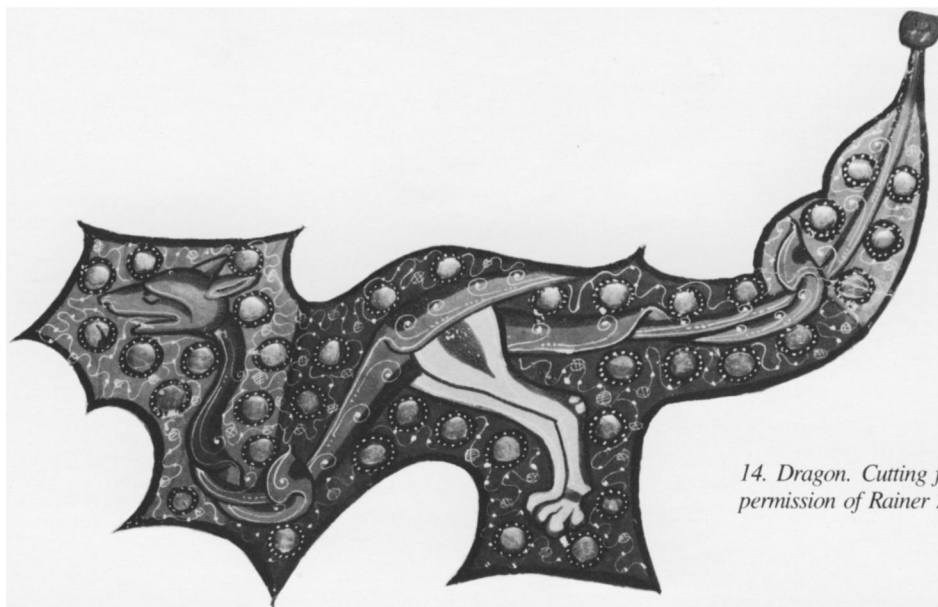
14. Dragon. Cutting from the Conradin Bible, *by permission of Rainer Zietz, London.*

lished in Adolfo Cetto, *La biblioteca comunale di Trento nel centenario della sua apertura*. Collana di monografie delle biblioteche d'Italia (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1956), 4:232, and in a long series of articles cited by Cetto, from the early twentieth century. The fragments were largely published in Ilaria Toesca, "Qualche foglio del maestro 'di Corradino'," *Paragone* 235(1969):68-72. The group is divided between private collections, the Cini Foundation in Venice, and the Musée Marmottan in Paris, which now has the leaves formerly in the Wildenstein collection.

14. Angela Daneu-Lattanzi, "Una 'Bella Copia' di Al-Hawi tradutto dall'arabo da Fraq Mayse per Carlo I d'Angio (MS.Vat.Lat.2398-2399)," *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas*, Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, inv. no.86 (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1978), pp.149-69.

15. Ibid., figs.19 and 20. Daneu-Lattanzi's comparison from the Trento Bible is not the most apt available in that codex; fol.474, depicting Judith and Holofernes, offers a nearly identical treatment of the vine and its background field.

16. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin."

17. Charles Kohler, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève* (Paris: Libraire Plon, 1893), 1:15-17. I would like to thank J. J. G. Alexander and Hanns Swarzenski for calling this manuscript to my attention.

18. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin," p.770. The manucript was first illustrated when it was included in Otto Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, Italian School*, vol. 2 (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1970), p.10.

19. Vincenzo Palizzolo Gravina, *Il blasone in Sicilia ossa raccolta araldica* (Palermo: Visconti and Huber, 1871-75), p.83.

20. Angela Daneu-Lattanzi, *Una bibbia prossima alla bibbia di Manfredi* (Palermo: 1957), and *I manoscritti ed incunaboli miniati della Sicilia, I: Biblioteca Nazionale, Ministero della Pubblica istruzione*, I Manoscritti miniati delle biblioteche italiane, vol. 2 (Rome: 1965), pp.49-55. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin," pp.743,776.

21. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin," figs.58 and 59. The manuscript seems to be the presentation copy of the *Liber Annayde* of Boniface of Verona, now MS.Lat.8114 (A.35) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See also: Elisabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforzas, Ducs de Milan au XV siècle* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1969), fig.52.

22. Daneu-Lattanzi, *Una bibbia*, figs.4 and 8 exhibit these motifs. The manuscripts associated with the *Manfred Bible* are illustrated in a number of sources: Daneu-Lattanzi, "Ancora sulla scuola"; and *Lineamenti di storia della miniatura in Sicilia* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1966); and more recently in Silvana Pettenati, "Un altra 'Bibbia di Manfredi'," *Prospettiva* 4(1976):7-15; and Hélène Toubert, "Trois nouvelles bibles du maître de la bible de Manfred et son atelier," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 89(1977):776-820.

23. Friedrich II, *De arte venandi cum avibus ms. pal. lat. 1071 Bibl. Vat. Kommentar von C. A. Willemsen*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, 31(Graz: 1969).

24. Manfred may have received Helena as a wife in order to stave off his attack on her father's kingdoms; see: Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571), vol I. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1976), pp.81-83.

25. Caleca, "Un codice pisano," p.208. Professor Caleca has recently added other works, including a wooden crucifix in Volterra, to the oeuvre of the master of the *Conradin Bible*, on the basis of the association with the Volterra antiphonary, which he accepts. First mentioned by Carlo Ragghianti, in *Arte in Italia*, 3:872-876, the association of the *Conradin Bible* with the antiphonary in the Museo Diocesano di Volterra is, in my opinion, untenable. The manuscript belongs unquestionably to Tuscany, c.1300, for its decoration is totally dominated by Bolognese influence and has no relation to the

largely French ornamentation of the *Conradin Bible*. The figures too, are different, vaguely Byzantinizing, but lacking the accurate imitation of the Walters Bible. For Caleca's comments see: *Monumenti dell'arte a Volterra*, Volterra, Palazzo Minucci Solani, Aug.-Sept. 1981, (Pisa: Pacini Editore, 1981), p.20. I would like to thank Professor Franco Lessi for his assistance on my recent visit to Volterra. There is no doubt that the manuscript, bearing a full colophon, dated 1299 in Volterra, and complete, is deserving of scholarly attention in its own right.

26. Caleca, "Un codice pisano," p.210.

27. See n.6 and figs.4 and 5. The author introduced MS.222.32 in 1981; the manuscript is published here for the first time. Cited in N. R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1969), 2:408. The notation does not identify it as a Conradin group manuscript. I would like to thank J. J. G. Alexander for bringing the manuscript to my attention.

28. Auguste, Comte de Bastard d'Estang, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits, classé dans un ordre chronlogique, pour servir à l'histoire des arts du dessin, depuis le IV siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la fin du XVF* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1832-1869), p.10.

29. A. N. L. Munby, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850* (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1972), pp.32, 158, 160.

30. Sotheby's *Illuminated Miniatures and Single Leaves*, p.10.

31. Ibid., pp.11-12.

32. Ibid., opposite p.11.

33. The general facial type is common in the Conradin Bible, fol.52v., e.g.

34. Miner, "Since de Ricci," figs.33-37.

35. Corrie, "East Meets West," figs.6 and 7, and figs.12 and 13, illustrate examples of copying from Byzantine manuscripts. For example, the model for the St. Paul who introduces the Epistle to the Hebrews, is apparently based on a figure of Luke taken from a Greek Gospel, Vatican Gr.756 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

36. For example, two manuscripts which share iconography and decoration close enough to suggest they were copied from the same model are in the New York Public Library; one, MS.M.19 and a second, Spencer 25. They were probably produced in Padua or Bologna in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

37. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin," figs.23 and 24. Madame Toubert correctly identifies the scene for the *Conradin Bible*, for the first time. Earlier it was called "An Apostle Taken to Prison" and assigned to the Book of Acts, p.750.

38. Trento, Biblioteca Comunale, MS.2868, f. 67.

39. Fol.160r.

40. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin," fig.53.

41. Dorothy Miner, "The Conradin Bible, A Masterpiece of Italian Illumination," *Apollo* 54(1966), fig.11, fol.52v., the Tree of Jesse.

42. Corrie, "East Meets West," fig.4.

43. Toesca, "Qualche Foglio," pl.6 and fig.56, respectively.

44. Both this motif and the one discussed below probably emerged in the Byzantine world in the late twelfth century, although the earliest fully crystallized versions of the hand motif are later. See: Thalia Gouma-Peterson, "Crete, Venice, the 'Madonneri' and a Creto-Venetian Icon in the Allen Art Museum," *Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin* 25.2 (1968), pp.57-60; figs.3 and 4, show the hand-holding motif and the turned-over foot in Cretan examples; and fig.2 illustrates the foot motif in an example of about 1200, from the Mount Sinai Collection.

15. *The Lord Speaks to Moses in the Wilderness, Numbers. The* Conradin Bible, *MS.W.152, fol.148r. The Walters Art Gallery.*

16. Rehoboam receiving instruction from Solomon, Proverbs. The Conradin Bible, *MS. W.152, fol. 148r. The Walters Art Gallery.*

45. The use of the *Eleousa* type occurs in several North Italian Bibles: Plut.5, Dex.I, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, fol.229r.; MS.Lat.18, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fol.210v.; MS.Vat.Lat.20, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, fol.202r.; MS. 1101, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, fol.280r.; and finally, the Abbey Bible, formerly in the collection of Major J. R. Abbey, as J.A.7345, fol.243f., see: J. J. G. Alexander and A. C. de la Mare, *The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J. R. Abbey* (London: 1969), pp.12-19.

46. Both conform to the Byzantine type known as the *Hodegetria* in its simplest form, in which the Child sits on the arm of the Virgin, who points in His direction. Gouma-Peterson, "Crete, Venice, the 'Madonneri'," pp.53-54.

47. The hand of the leading master of the *Conradin Bible* probably appears in the Colchester Antiphonary in the decoration for the feasts of John the Baptist and the Birth of the Virgin; Corrie, "East Meets West," figs.3 and 4. The Virgin and Child illustrated here is much cruder.

48. Miner, "Since de Ricci," p.87.

49. The conceptual unity of the *Conradin Bible* suggests that the manuscript was designed by a single master, who may have drawn in the basic figures of most of the manuscript and subsequently passed on the work of coloring to members of a shop. This suggestion is supported by a number of figures in which an under-drawing that differs from the painted surface can be seen. There is no doubt that there is variation in palette and drapery style throughout the manuscript. At least three hands can be seen. The first major break comes after II Chronicles, where a palette composed of lavender, blue, saffron, and red gives way to one of brilliant green and yellow. A similar change takes place in the Bodleian and Paris Bibles, suggesting that the distribution of the first third of the Old Testament to a single master was standard procedure in this atelier.

The Baltimore panel is commonly identified as being an image of Saint Rosalia; however, an exploration of that saint's cult demonstrates that this identification is extremely unlikely. Comparison with three closely related images of the Virgin Mary confirms the likelihood that Mary is the subject of the panel. Furthermore, it appears that one of these works—Jan van Eyck's Virgin Mary Reading—*was the source for the Baltimore Virgin. The chaplet of roses over Mary's head and the references to the Annunciation suggest that the Baltimore panel is a devotional image reflecting the newly popular cult of the rosary.*

ON THE MEANING OF THE *VIRGIN MARY READING*

ATTRIBUTED TO
ANTONELLO DA MESSINA

Penny Howell Jolly
Skidmore College, New York

The Walters Art Gallery owns a panel that has been variously titled *St. Rosalia*, the *Virgin Annunciate*, and the *Virgin Mary Reading* (fig.1).[1] It is a half-length image of a young female saint reading while two angels support a crown of jewels and flowers over her head. Some art historians, including Bottari, accept the attribution to Antonello da Messina himself, while others have reservations: Berenson and Davies prefer an attribution to a close follower of Antonello.[2] Whether the work was executed by the master himself or a follower, the style of the piece suggests a close association with Antonello's early career in Naples, so that proposed dates for the work generally range from the early 1450s to c.1460.[3]

This author proposes no new solution to these two problems of attribution and date. Stylistically, links are evident between this panel and Antonello's Sibiu *Crucifixion* (Bucarest, Museum) of c.1450-55, as well as his *St. Jerome in His Study* (London, National Gallery) of c.1457-60: one notes particularly the similarity of the slim hands and angular drapery folds of the two angels in the Baltimore panel, to those of Jerome and the figures below the cross in the two accepted works. Furthermore, the hands of the female saint in the Baltimore panel, painted on a larger scale than in the *Jerome* or *Crucifixion*, demonstrate an increased awareness of the three-dimensional structure of forms, which is so characteristic of Antonello's mature style—as first seen in the 1456 *Christ Blessing* (London, National Gallery). Features varying from Antonello's style, however, should be noted: the nose and mouth of the female saint are uncharacteristically curvilinear, lacking the sense of the "universal" so typical of Antonello's works. But it is with only slight qualification that this author accepts the attribution to Antonello and a date of about 1455-60.

The Legend of St. Rosalia

This author would like to confirm, however, that the subject of the painting is not St. Rosalia, but the Virgin Mary. The painting has commonly been referred to as *St. Rosalia* since Berenson's publication of the panel under that title in 1913, although he and some others since then have been careful to note that the subject may be the Virgin Mary.[4] The identification with Rosalia is based on the fact that the female Saint has hovering over her two angels who hold a crown festooned with fresh roses. This crown of roses, coupled with

the fact of Antonello's Sicilian background, led Berenson to suggest, and others to concur, that this is St. Rosalia of Palermo, the patroness of that city and of all of Sicily.[5]

However, the legend of Rosalia and the development of her cult make this identification extremely unlikely. Rosalia, the 12th-century Sicilian daughter of Count Sinibaldi, became a hermit at about the age of fourteen, in first one cave and then a second located on Monte Pellegrino, outside Palermo. There she lived in solitude and died alone in 1160. While it appears that churches were dedicated to her as early as 1237,[6] there are no known accounts of her life until Valerius Rossi's of c.1590, and her body was not even discovered until the time of the Palermitan plague of 1624. Because her ex-humed remains were credited with ending the plague, she became patroness of the city and all Sicily.[7] Thus, it is after 1624 that her cult attracted attention, and it expanded rapidly during the period of the Counter Reformation. The association with roses probably derived both from her name and her legend. It is said that she wove garlands of roses and other flowers that angels brought to her, and when her body was discovered, sheathed in a stalactite, she was holding a beaded rosary.[8]

Until the seventeenth century, representations of Rosalia are extremely rare, and, in fact, almost non-existent. It is particularly significant that Bresc-Bautier, in her comprehensive study of art produced in Palermo and Western Sicily between 1348 and 1460, cites not even one reference to Rosalia in documents describing lost works, nor any painting of the saint in extant altarpieces.[9] The very few pre-16th-century images that have been identified as Rosalia are from geographically varied locations and are (as far as this author knows) based solely on the presence of a garland of roses on the head or in the hand of an otherwise indistinguishable female saint.[10]

With regard to the Baltimore panel, there is no explanation in Rosalia's legend, although we know it only in the form it took after 1590, for the elegant attire of this ascetic hermit who forsook her worldly possessions, nor is there an explanation for her interest in reading. Furthermore, the pendant Greek cross with pearls on her left sleeve is a problem. The cross might seem to confirm the identification with Rosalia, for when her body was uncovered, she was found not only with a rosary, but also with a terracotta crucifix and a small silver Greek cross.[11] These attributes, however, were not

discovered until 1624, long after the Baltimore panel was painted. More significantly, we shall see that almost identical pendants appear in two mid-15th-century works closely associated stylistically with the Baltimore panel, but neither of which is an image of St. Rosalia.

A garland of roses is not by itself a sufficiently distinct attribute to confirm identification with a single saint. By the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, such chaplets are found on angels,[12] on virgin saints in Paradise,[13] on groups of the elect entering Paradise,[14] and on saints such as Catherine, Cecilia, and Rose of Viterbo.[15] Roses in general, not necessarily in garland form, are associated with another whole group of saints, including Dorothy and Elizabeth of Hungary.[16] Probably most commonly, however, individual roses, rose garlands, and rose gardens are all found in images of and texts on the Virgin Mary.

Works Related to the Baltimore Painting

While the rose garland cannot immediately identify the saint, there is other evidence which suggests that the Baltimore panel is an image of the Virgin Mary. There are three paintings that are intimately connected with this one, only two of which have been noted in earlier literature on the painting. Although each is different, all are unquestionably images of the Virgin Mary. They are the *Madonna Enthroned* from Antonello da Messina's San Gregorio Polyptych, signed and dated 1473 (figs.2 and 3); the Salting *Madonna and Child* attributed by some to Antonello (fig.4); and Jan van Eyck's *Virgin Reading* from the interior of the Ghent Altarpiece (fig.5).

In the San Gregorio Polyptych, we see Mary enthroned with the Christ Child on her lap. Like the Baltimore Virgin, she is bareheaded and two small angels hover over her head holding a jeweled, metal crown that has been festooned with fresh, red and white roses.[17] The Baltimore crown and the San Gregorio crown are virtually identical in form. In both, the cut roses are impractically balanced on the rim of the precious crown, their short-cut stems reaching down to its lower edge. This device is convincing spatially, for it helps to establish the circular quality of the crowns, and further suggests the miraculous, non-earthly nature of the event. Differences also exist, however, between the San Gregorio *Madonna and Child* and the Baltimore version: in the former, the angels additionally hold palms, and Mary is depicted as a full-length, enthroned figure with the Christ Child in her lap. Furthermore, she is not an isolated figure, but sits illusionistically within the same space as the standing Sts. Gregory and Benedict, below an *Annunciation*. Unfortunately, the upper central scene has been lost.[18]

The Salting *Madonna and Child* has long been recognized as a sister image to the Baltimore panel, and often the two panels are considered together when stylistic questions of date and authorship are raised.[19] Compositionally there are also some very close ties: both include a half-length figure placed before a solid dark background; two angels holding an elaborately jeweled crown; a Saint dressed in richly brocaded garments edged with jewels; and very similar pendant crosses with pearls or beads, which are attached to the area of the left sleeve of the Saint. There are also, however, several distinctions. Although this author does not presently have an explanation, it should be noted that the pendant in the Baltimore panel is a Greek cross, while that in the London panel is a Latin one. Furthermore, the London panel clearly depicts Mary with the

Christ Child, and her elaborate crown consists of precious stones and metal, but no fresh roses or flowers of any kind. Finally, the London work exhibits more ties to an apparently Spanish background: the Madonna and Child are both dark rather than light-haired as in the Baltimore painting, and Christ is dressed in heavy velvets and brocades, a convention associated with Spanish and Hispano-Sicilian art.

The third work that should be cited in connection with the Baltimore panel, but has not been, is Jan van Eyck's *Virgin Mary Reading* (fig.5). This author believes that Jan's painting is the most direct source for the Baltimore panel. Jan, too, shows a single female saint who is seated and reading a book. In a pose similar to that of the Baltimore saint, Jan's Virgin is dressed richly, her garments edged extensively with pearls and gemstones. Rays of light emanate from her head, as from the head of the Baltimore saint. Finally, Jan paints on Mary's head a jeweled crown, which is topped by fresh flowers and over which twelve stars hover. Distinctions, of course, also exist. Jan's Virgin Mary is a full-length figure who is but one element within an altarpiece: most immediately, she is enthroned alongside Christ and John the Baptist. The Baltimore saint has her crown suspended above her head by angels, and her hair is partly covered by a scarf that drapes low toward the back of her head. The Ghent Altarpiece crown rests directly on Mary's otherwise unadorned head and consists of three, more elaborate elements: the gold and jeweled base; the chaplet of fresh flowers, including not just roses but also lilies, lilies of the valley, and columbines; and the twelve stars.

The possibility that the Virgin from the Ghent Altarpiece is the source for the Baltimore figure seems even stronger upon close examination of the San Gregorio Polyptych. This author believes that it, too, was influenced by the Ghent Altarpiece. The San Gregorio *Virgin Enthroned* has the same unusual combination of precious crown and fresh roses, and Antonello has left uncovered the long, flowing hair of the Virgin in a way reminiscent of the Ghent Altarpiece (figs.5 and 6).[20] In the upper part of the Polyptych, Antonello has painted Gabriel with rainbow wings, in the Flemish manner, and has dressed him in an almost-white outer garment, like Gabriel in Jan's *Annunciation* (fig.6). Also in Antonello's Polyptych, Gabriel and Mary are located behind "parapets" that cut them off visually at waist-height. On Mary's rest three books that project forward, beyond the front edge of the ledge, casting shadows and helping to create the convincing architectural format which, as art historians have noted, unifies the whole altarpiece spatially and "explains" why only half of the two upper figures is seen.

Jan has created a similar *di sotto* view of the two figures of Zechariah and Micah on the exterior of the Ghent Altarpiece (fig.6). He, too, suggests the architectural nature of the ledges by extending books into the viewer's space, and by leaning Micah forward, so that he looks over the ledge in order to witness the Annunciation taking place below. These devices help to convince the viewer that the prophets' space is contiguous with that of the four adjacent panels comprising the *Annunciation*, as well as with the viewer's space. Antonello continues his interest in objects that protrude into the viewer's space in the lower panels: St. Gregory, to the viewer's left, extends his foot beyond the edge of the platform on which he stands, while St. Benedict projects both his foot and the lower part of his crosier. Although these figures are closer to the viewer's eye

1. *Attributed to Antonello da Messina*, Virgin Mary Reading. *The Walters Art Gallery.*
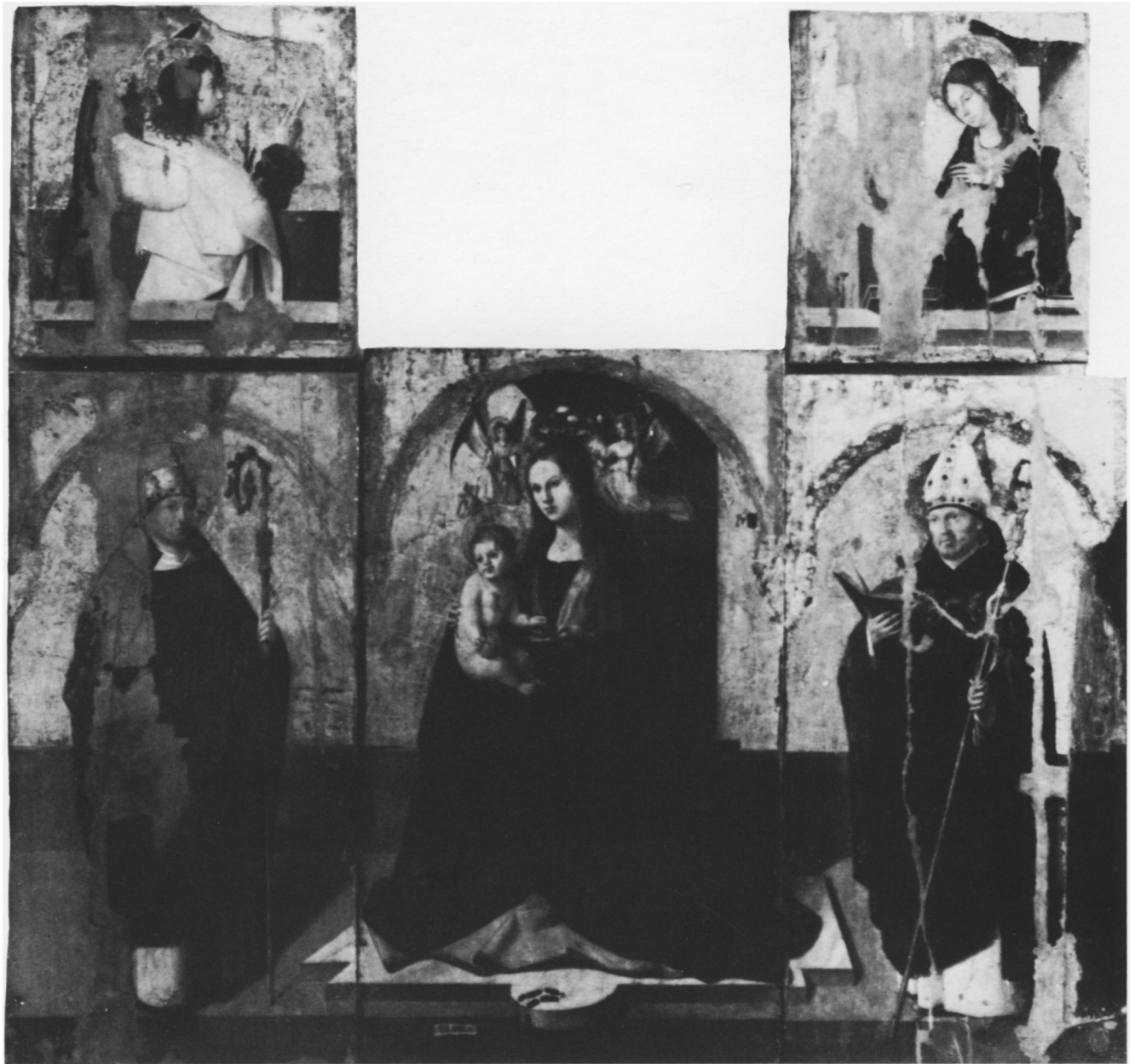
2. *Antonello da Messina, San Gregorio Polyptych. Museo Nazionale, Messina.*

3. Madonna Enthroned, *detail of fig.2.*

level, and therefore are not seen from the striking "worm's eye perspective" used by Jan for his *Adam*, the projecting feet of course are reminiscent of this most famous figure from the interior of the Ghent Altarpiece. Thus, in that work, Jan also experimented with the relationship between the viewer's space and that of the illusionistic world of the work of art.

Antonello, certainly with additional influence from Italian artists such as Piero della Francesca, has given us a spatially more sophisticated work in his Polyptych. Yet his debt to Jan van Eyck remains clear. Besides the specific points noted above, many details suggest Antonello's preoccupation with Eyckian realism: the shiny rosary beads that hang from the Virgin's raised platform; the luscious cherries and the luminescent quality of the coral and beads on Christ's neck; the brocades, jewels, and precious metals; the *cartellino* with legible writing on it; and the fold marks on the hanging canopy behind the Virgin Mary.

The relationship between Antonello's San Gregorio Polyptych and the Baltimore panel is not as clear. In one of the earliest publications on the Walters painting, Berenson noted its resemblance to the San Gregorio *Madonna* and suggested that the *Madonna* was a source for the Baltimore work.[21] Almost nothing has been published regarding this relationship since Berenson's observation, except that art historians after Berenson universally date the Baltimore work earlier than 1473, thus implicitly (if not explicitly) reversing this relationship.[22] It would also seem that Antonello acquired his knowledge of the Ghent Altarpiece while in Naples in the 1450s, and still felt the altarpiece to be influential in the early 1470s.[23] Returning to the question of the subject of the Baltimore panel, the evidence of the three related paintings of the Virgin—two of which have crowns of roses—combined with the lack of evidence regarding interest in Rosalia in Sicily in the mid-fifteenth century, indicate that the Baltimore panel is of Mary. However, the question of subject is still an enigma. Just what moment in the life of the Virgin is depicted?

The Baltimore Panel as an Image of Mary

The fact that the Virgin is reading and that no Christ Child is present has led to the suggestion that this is an image of the Virgin Annunciate.[24] Certainly Antonello da Messina and artists in his immediate circle were interested in that image as a subject for painting, witness the several *Virgin Annunciates* that are extant. The version in the Como Museum appears to have been produced in the Neapolitan milieu in mid-century,[25] and is a bust-length image of the Virgin wearing a plain dress and white wimple. She looks out at the viewer from a stark, gold background that carries decorative tooling and an elaborately punched halo. The panel is unusual, as no attribute of the Annunciation is present—no book, dove, lilies, nor angel Gabriel— yet the large inscription *ave maria gra plena,* written on a scroll along the lower edge of the painting, clearly implies that this is the Virgin Annunciate. The panel is similar to the Baltimore *Virgin* in its bust-length format and in the use of a solid (in this case gold) background. But the slight tilt of the head and the downcast eyes of the Baltimore Virgin, as well as the book, the rich clothing, angels, crown, and pendant cross, are all lacking. A closely related image is that of the *Virgin Reading* (sometimes called *St. Eulalia*) in the Forti Collection, Venice; but it, too, is problematical with regard to subject and cannot be used as evidence here.[26] Antonello later painted two undisputed *Virgin Annunciates* (Munich and Palermo), which

are similar to the Baltimore *Virgin,* but also contain dissimilarities. The paintings are isolated, half-length images of the Virgin dressed very simply, her head covered by her blue robe. In the Munich example only a thin gold edge of her halo is visible, and in the Palermo panel the halo seems to be absent altogether.[27] Furthermore, no pendant images of Gabriel exist, nor probably ever existed, yet there is no question regarding the occurrence of the Annunciation. Each Virgin looks out into a strong light coming in from the picture's right and reacts to the presence of the imagined angel Gabriel. In both, Mary gestures composedly with her hand and seems to accept the statement of the angel. The backgrounds are like those in the Baltimore panel—dark and blank—but the foregrounds of the two include a lectern and book(s). In both, pages of a book fly up, while in the Munich example, similar to the San Gregorio Annunciation, a book overhangs the ledge of the lectern. Thus a sense of action, of a narrative, is clearly established in these two works, which is quite absent from the Baltimore panel. Likewise, in the two remaining versions of the Annunciation done by Antonello (the San Gregorio Altarpiece [fig.2], and the one in Syracuse, Palazzo Bellomo—both of which include Gabriel and Mary), Mary reacts to the presence of the Angel Gabriel by gesturing with her hands and distinctly nodding her gold-haloed head. In the Syracuse *Annunciation,* Mary wears a red brocade dress covered by a plain blue robe, while in the San Gregorio *Annunciation* her rather plain red dress is visible under a blue robe with gold fleurs-de-lis.[28] In neither of these *Annunciations,* nor in either single image of the *Virgin Annunciate,* is Mary bejeweled as she is in the Baltimore panel.

There are, then, aspects of the Baltimore panel that associate it with *Virgin Annunciates* by Antonello and artists in his milieu, as well as several anomalies. In none of the other examples is Mary so elegantly dressed; in none does she actively read a book, holding it in her hands rather than leaving it on a *prie-dieu;* and in none are red and white roses present, nor do angels crown her with anything. An exploration of possible sources for these motifs produces the conclusion that the Baltimore panel is a non-narrative, devotional image of Mary, meant to inspire the viewer to attain a contemplative state.

The ideas underlying the meaning of the Baltimore panel may be provided by Hall and Uhr's recent discussion of the crown in Jan van Eyck's *Virgin Reading* from the Ghent Altarpiece.[29] They note that the crown is tripartite, and demonstrate that it represents the triple *aureola* awarded to Mary: she was recognized as a recipient of the *aureola* of the virgin (represented by the chaplet of fresh flowers), the *aureola* of the martyr (represented by the crown's gold and jeweled base), and the *aureola* of a Doctor of the Church (represented by the twelve stars). While Mary's virginity had long been recognized, only more recently had it been acknowledged that her *co-passio* qualified her as a martyr, and that her scholarship and wisdom qualified her as a Doctor of the Church. But did the painter of the Baltimore panel intend to express these qualities of Mary? Did he purposefully omit the stars of the *aureola* awarded to the Doctors? Or has he perhaps intended to express their significance through the book, long an attribute of the Church Fathers? Unfortunately, the absence of the stars here and in Antonello's San Gregorio *Madonna* minimizes the possibility of recognizing these three roles of the Virgin Mary as the basic symbolic significance of the panel. The Baltimore panel was, however, cut down at the top, so it is possible that such stars were eliminated.

4. *Attributed to Antonello da Messina*, Madonna and Child. *National Gallery, London.*

5. Jan van Eyck, Virgin Reading, *from the interior of the Ghent Altarpiece. St. Bavo's, Ghent. Photo courtesy of A.C.L.—Brussels.*

6. Jan van Eyck, Gabriel *and* Mary, Zechariah *and* Micah, *from the exterior of the Ghent Altarpiece. St. Bavo's, Ghent. Photo courtesy of* A.C.L.—*Brussels.*

The Baltimore Painting as a Rosary Image

The newly burgeoning cult of the rosary may provide a more likely conceit for the panel. Although the standard form of rosary prayer was not established until 1475, a growing number of images of Mary done in the preceding century attests to the significance and popularity of this relatively new aspect of her cult. While more recent tradition associates the origin of the rosary with St. Dominic and the Dominicans, in actuality it was a Carthusian, Adolf von Essen (c.1370-1439), who developed a form of prayer that he called the *"Rosarium."*[30] It is a form of meditation on the life of Christ, and makes use of Gabriel's greeting to the Virgin Annunciate, the *"Ave Maria."* However, the *"Rosarium"* was revised by Adolf's follower at the Trier Charterhouse, Dominic von Preussen (d.1460), who in 1409 composed fifty short sentences on the Life of Christ and Mary (the *Clausulae des Lebens Jesu*). Then, working between 1435 and 1445 for some Flemish Carthusians, he expanded these into 150 *clausulae,* the so-called Marian Psalter. It was this form of the rosary prayer, including meditations that not only praised Christ, but particularly glorified Mary, that quickly spread over Europe. The old tradition of using strung beads to count the recitation of the 150 Psalms was now adopted for the Marian Psalter. Prayers became metaphoric roses that ushered forth from the devotee's mouth, and circlets of beads and chaplets of roses became interchangeable images of the rosary.[31]

That the Baltimore panel is an early rosary image is suggested both by the references to the Annunciation, the moment when Mary receives the *"Ave"* from Gabriel, and by the presence of the traditional chaplet of red and white roses. This author suspects that Jan's own Ghent *Virgin Reading* relates to the cult of the rosary. Not only are we certain that Jan knew about the rosary—his *Madonna of the Fountain* of 1439 (Antwerp) is an early rosary image and may be the first extant work to combine the rose garden with the beads[32]—but the highly unusual, tripartite crown in the Ghent *Virgin Reading* is found specifically in later 15th-century rosary images. In both the Leipzig copy of the lost painting of the *Institution of the Rosary* by Geertgen tot Sint Jans, and in Geertgen's extant *Virgin Mary of the Sanctus* (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen), another rosary painting, Mary wears the same tripartite crown—of metal and jewels, flowers, and stars—found in the Ghent Altarpiece.[33]

Furthermore, by 1473 Antonello da Messina was familiar with both the cult of the rosary and Jan's crown: his own San Gregorio Altarpiece is one of the earliest altarpieces devoted to the rosary, and it, too, includes a bipartite crown similar to Jan's. In that altarpiece, Antonello combines the traditional chaplet of roses with other devices found in rosary images: the apotropaic necklace of coral worn by Christ, the circular rosary consisting of thirty-eight dark beads overhanging the foreground platform, and the scene of the Annunciation. The question of why Antonello turned to the cult of the rosary for this altarpiece has not been addressed, yet at least a simple answer exists. The altarpiece was commissioned for the Benedictine monastery of San Gregorio in Messina, and we know that, next to the Carthusians, the Benedictines were the most ardent promoters in Europe of this new form of meditation.[34]

The Baltimore panel of the Virgin Mary is probably a manifestation of this new cult of the rosary, and can be linked to that group of rosary images inspired by the Ghent Altarpiece *Virgin*. Like the Virgin Annunciate who receives the *"Ave Maria"* from Gabriel, Mary is reading. Possibly her text is the Psalter, the 150 Psalms that were the ultimate source for the form of the rosary prayers.[35] Mary is totally absorbed in her reading. Involved in the *lectio divina,* the act of reading as a form of contemplation,[36] she demonstrates for the viewer the state of contemplation that the recitation of the rosary was meant to inspire. She is elegantly dressed, for this is no isolated scene from her earthly life, but a timeless image of the celestial Mary. Ringbom has already recognized the *Andachtsbild* nature of the Baltimore panel,[37] although he did not note its connections to the newly popular cult of the rosary. This significance, of course, serves to further enhance the devotional nature of the panel. Like the hand-held rosary beads, the painting of the *Virgin Mary Reading* was to offer tangible assistance to the beholder in the pursuance of his private devotions.

NOTES

1. No.37.433, panel, 44.1 x 32.0 cm. See F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery,* vol.1 (Baltimore: 1976), p.296ff.

2. S. Bottari, in his "Il primo Antonello," *Critica d'Arte* 2(1937): fasc.9, 104, attributed the panel to Antonello's early career, and has continued to do so in his more recent writings. B. Berenson, in his most recent discussion of the painting (*Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Venetian School,* vol.1 [London: 1957], p.7), lists the panel as painted by a close follower of Antonello. M. Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools* National Gallery Catalogues, 2nd ed. (London: 1961), p.41, believes it is "most likely" by a pupil of Antonello's early period. For other opinions by art historians, see Zeri, *Italian Paintings,* p.296f. To his list should be added: M. Bernardi, *Antonello in Sicilia* (Turin: 1957), p.76, in which the panel (referred to as Rosalia) is placed in Antonello's earliest period, closest to Colantonio and his Neapolitan experiences. R. Causa, *Antonello.* I maestri del colore, 23(Milan: 1964), which attributes the work to Antonello and refers to it as *"Annunciata . . . (o Santa Rosalia)."*

3. Consult the references in n.2.

4. B. Berenson, "Une 'Madone' d'Antonello de Messine," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* s.4, 9(March 1913):203. The three titles commonly given to the painting since then are *St. Rosalia, Virgin Mary Reading,* and *Virgin Annunciate.* See Zeri, *Italian Paintings,* p.296f, and the additional references in n.2.

5. Particularly helpful accounts of Rosalia's legend and cult can be found in F. Mershman, "Rosalia, St.," *Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol.13 (New York: 1913), p.184; and in S. Baring-Gould, *The Lives of the Saints,* rev. ed. (Edinburgh: 1914), p.53ff.

6. Both Mershman, *Catholic Encyclopedia,* and Baring-Gould, *Lives of Saints,* state this, but offer no reference to any specific church, nor their source of information.

7. C. Sterling, in "Van Dyck's Paintings of St. Rosalie," *Burlington Magazine* 74(1939):53, states that Rosalia had been patroness of Palermo since the twelfth century, but this is contradicted by other authors; e.g., see M. R. P. McGuire, "Rosalia, St.," *New Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol.12 (Washington, D.C.: 1967), p.667.

8. Baring-Gould, *Lives of Saints,* p.55.

9. G. Bresc-Bautier, *Artistes, Patriciens et Confréries: Production et consommation de l'oeuvre d'art à Palerme et en Sicile occidentale (1348-1460)* (Rome: 1979).

10. See immediately below for the use of rose garlands as attributes for a wide variety of saints. The "Princeton Index of Christian Art before 1400" includes only two references to St. Rosalia of Palermo. One is the painting in the Pisa Museum attributed to Francesco Traini by E. Carli, *Il Museo di Pisa* (Pisa: 1974), p.71 and fig.89. To this author's knowledge, the identification is based solely on the presence of a chaplet of roses. The other is a carved standing saint which is a part of the altar in the Evangelische Kirche at Bankau in Oberschlesien. There the female saint holds a round chaplet of roses in her hand. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien,* vol.3 (Paris: 1955), p.1170, lists no examples prior to the seventeenth century. The examples cited by F. Tschochner, "Rosalia von Palermo," *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie,* vol.8 (Rome: 1976), p.288f., also date from the seventeenth century and later. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence: 1952), col.909, includes only one example of a painting of Rosalia, and it is listed as a tentative identification: Domenico Ghirlandaio's altarpiece in Pisa, Museo Civico. Kaftal suggests that it may be either Dorothea or Cecilia. In his other two volumes, he lists no examples of paintings of Rosalia: *Iconography of the Saints in Central and South Italian Schools of Painting* (Florence: 1965), and *Iconography of the Saints in the Painting of North East Italy* (Florence: 1978).

11. Baring-Gould, *Lives of Saints,* p.55ff.

12. E.g., in Fra Angelico's *Last Judgment* (Florence, Museo di San Marco), and in Piero della Francesca's *Baptism of Christ* (London, National Gallery) and his *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (Williamstown, Clark Art Institute).

13. E.g., in Jan van Eyck's Ghent Altarpiece *Adoration of the Lamb* and in the closely related miniature of "The Virgin Among Virgins," on fol.59r. of the *Turin-Milan Hours* (destroyed, sometimes attributed to the so-called "Hand G"), as well as its *bas-de-page*, "Virgin Saints Adoring the Lamb of God."

14. E.g., in Andrea Bonaiuti's *Way to Salvation* in the Spanish Chapel (Florence, Santa Maria Novella). The garland here and in the works listed in n.13 may function specifically as an *aureola* awarded for virginity. See the discussion of *aureola* in n.15 and in E. Hall and H. Uhr, "*Aureola* and *Fructus*: Distinctions of Beatitude in Scholastic Thought and the Meaning of Some Crowns in Early Flemish Painting," *Art Bulletin* 60(1978):264ff.

15. See M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance: botanical symbolism in Italian Painting* (Florence: 1977), p.344, as well as the entries on these saints found in the references listed in n.10. St. Cecilia wears the chaplet as a symbol of her virginal marriage to Christ. Jacopo da Voragine, in his *Golden Legend*, confirms this in his account of her legend. There Cecilia and her earthly spouse-to-be pledge a *mariage blanc*, and both receive garlands of roses and lilies from an angel who chides them, "Guard these crowns with spotless hearts and pure bodies, because I have brought them from God's Paradise to you, nor will they ever fade; and none can see them, save those who love chastity." (*The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, ed. G. Ryan and H. Ripperger (New York: 1941), p.691.) St. Catherine, another saint often depicted with a rose chaplet, probably wears the flowers as symbolic of her mystical marriage to Christ. Flower garlands were worn by brides in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. See E. Wilkins, *The Rose-Garden Game: the symbolic background to the European prayer-beads* (London: 1969), p.151ff.

16. Consult the hagiographical handbooks listed in n.10.

17. Wilkins, *Rose-Garden Game*, p.187, interprets these not as fresh flowers, but as enamelled metal ones.

18. The subject of this lost panel is unknown, but most likely it was a *Pietà*. This is based on the polyptych in the Church of S. Bartolomeo at Randazzo, sometimes attributed to Giovannello d'Italia, which was inspired by Antonello's San Gregorio Altarpiece. A second possibility is suggested by another closely related polyptych by Giovannello from the monastery of Santa Maria di Basico, today in Messina, the Museo Nazionale, which includes a *Transfiguration* between its two panels of the *Annunciation*. See G. Vigni and G. Carandente, *Antonello da Messina e la pittura del '400 in Sicilia* (Venice: 1953), p.23.

19. Many art historians consider the two to be by the same hand, or at least to be intimately connected, although opinions vary as to which was painted first. Consult Davies (n.1), p.41, for a summary of opinions and bibliography. Davies considers the London panel to be by a pupil of Antonello's early career, while others (including Longhi and Bottari) attribute it to Antonello himself. More recently, G. Vigni, in *All the Paintings of Messina* (New York: 1963), pp.8, 33, hesitates in his attribution of the work to Antonello, while Causa, *Antonello*, accepts it as a youthful work.

20. While Antonello generally covers Mary's head, this is not the case in both panels with Mary in his San Gregorio Polyptych (the *Madonna Enthroned* and the *Virgin Annunciate*), nor in his Syracuse *Annunciation*. Additionally, Mary's head is left at least half uncovered in the attributed Salting *Madonna* and in the Baltimore panel. This may be a reference to Mary's role as the Bride of Christ (see Wilkins, *Rose Garden Game*, p.158). Mary's role as the *Sponsa* is further suggested by the presence of carnations in the *Annunciation* and of the rose garland held over the enthroned Mary. Carnations are a flower associated with betrothal, and, as already stated in n.15, flower garlands are worn by brides. On carnations, consult F. Mercier, "La valeur symbolique de l'oeillet dans la peinture du moyen-âge," *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 71(1937):233ff.

21. B. Berenson, *Venetian Painting in America* (London: 1916), p.38, n.1. Berenson also notes there that the Baltimore panel may be of a Virgin Annunciate crowned with roses, but considers this "most unlikely."

22. See the references included in n.1.

23. It is quite conceivable that drawings of the Ghent Altarpiece existed in Naples by the mid-fifteenth century. King Alfonso V of Aragon, King of Naples, had long been interested in Flemish art, and gathered artworks and artists around him who could satisfy his taste in art. We know that when Alfonso was still in Spain in 1431, he sent Luis Dalmau to Bruges to study painting. Dalmau's *Madonna of the Councillors* of 1445 (Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña) shows clear influence of the Ghent Altarpiece. Jacomart Baço, who was "*pintor de cambra*" to Alfonso in Naples prior to 1451, painted in the Eyckian manner and used the oil technique. On Jacomart, see E. Tormo y Monzo, *Jacomart y el arte hispano-flamenco cuatrocentista* (Madrid: 1913). Furthermore, the ties between Colantonio, Antonello's teacher in Naples, and the Master of the Aix *Annunciation* have long been noted. This may be significant because the Aix *Annunciation* itself was influenced by the Ghent Altarpiece, and there is a possibility that the Aix Master was in Naples in the entourage of René of Anjou between 1438 and 1442. See M. Laclotte, "Rencontres franco-italiennes au milieu du XVᵉ siècle," *Acta Historiae Artium* 13(1967):33ff., regarding the Aix Master and a mid-15th-century Neapolitan triptych influenced by the Aix Triptych and/or by the Ghent Altarpiece. It is reported by Summonte in 1524 that Colantonio studied painting with René of Anjou himself. On the complex question of who was Colantonio's teacher in Naples and what works of art were present there, consult P. H. Jolly, *Jan van Eyck and St. Jerome: A Study of Eyckian Influence on Colantonio and Antonello da*

Messina in Quattrocento Naples (University of Pennsylvania, 1976; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1979), *passim*, but especially pp.81, 127f., 140, 162f., and n.369. In addition, see F. Bologna, *Napoli e le Rotte Mediterranee della pittura da Alfonso il magnanimo a Ferdinando il Cattolico* (Naples: 1977) and J. Wright, "Antonello da Messina—the origins of his style and technique," *Art History* 3(1980):41ff. It may well be that drawings of the Ghent Altarpiece were in Naples in the mid-fifteenth century, brought there by any one of several of the afore-mentioned artists. It does not seem likely that the Aix *Annunciation* itself was the source for Antonello's San Gregorio Polyptych and the Baltimore panel, for it does not include the unusual motif of the crown with fresh flowers. See also n.26 for another mid-15th-century Neapolitan panel influenced by the Ghent Altarpiece.

24. Berenson first suggested this. See n.21.

25. L. Castelfranchi Vegas, "I Rapporti Italia-Fiandra," *Paragone* 17(1966):45; and F. Bologna, "Il Polittico di San Severino Apostolo del Norico," *Paragone* 8(1955):12 discuss the Como work.

26. While I have as yet been unable to see the panel in the Forti Collection, my examination of photographic reproductions leads me to believe that the work is by Colantonio. Note in particular the widely-spaced thumb and forefinger of the Saint's left hand. This is comparable to the hand types found in Colantonio's *St. Jerome in His Study* and his *St. Francis Giving the Rule* (both in the Capodimonte Museum, Naples). The Saint may be Eulalia, whose attribute is a crown with lilies, but in light of this article, an identification with the Virgin Mary seems more likely. That crown, too, seems to derive from Jan van Eyck's crown painted on the *Virgin Mary Reading* in the Ghent Altarpiece, and again suggests that knowledge of Jan's altarpiece was in Naples. This Saint also has a jeweled pendant on her left sleeve.

27. A copy of the Palermo version exists in the Accademia, Venice, which does include a thin gold line for a halo; but the original in Palermo has no halo at this time.

28. The presence of the gold fleurs-de-lis on Mary's garment has as yet been unnoticed in print. It is possible that these are heraldic emblems relating to the Cirino family, who commissioned the work, but I have been unable to confirm this possibility.

29. See n.14.

30. On the history of the rosary cult in the fifteenth century, see K. J. Klinkhammer, "Die Entstehung des Rosenkranzes und seine ursprüngliche Geistigkeit," *500 Jahre Rosenkranz* (Cologne: 1975), p.30ff., and the briefer account in G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* 4:2, "Rosenkranzmadonna," p.200ff.

31. For more information regarding the traditional number of beads, their relation to roses, to the Joys and Sorrows of the Virgin Mary, etc., consult H. Thurston, "Rosary," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 13(1913):184ff.; and J. R. Volz, "Beads," *The Catholic Encyclopedia* 2(1913):361f. Schiller illustrates an interesting rosary image, an Upper Rhenish panel of about 1445 (in Strassburg, illustrated as her fig.556 in vol.4, pt.2), which she calls *Maria als Tempeljungfrau im Gebet*. There, in an obvious reference to the Virgin Mary at the Annunciation, Mary kneels in prayer before a book as groups of prayerful angels observe her. Roses litter the floor—these represent Mary's prayers—and a chaplet of roses hangs above the altar. The allusions here to the Annunciation and to the Virgin rapt in prayer, as well as the inclusion of a chaplet of roses, are very similar to those in the Baltimore panel, although the setting is clearly earthly in the Strassburg work.

32. Wilkins, *Rose-Garden Game*, p.224.

33. The works by Geertgen are illustrated in M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, ed. G. Lemmens and H. Norden (Leyden: 1969), p.5, pls.13 and 120.

34. See Klinkhammer, "Die Entstehung de Rosenkranzes," p.40f., regarding the Benedictines' special (and early) interest in the rosary. We know that the altarpiece was commissioned in 1473 by a member of the Cirino family, the "religious and honest sister, Frabia Cirino, of the Benedictine order, humble abbess of Santa Maria, monastery for nuns, outside the walls of the city of Messina."

"*religiosa et honesta soror frabia chirinu, ordinis sancti benedicti, humilis abbatissa monasterij sancte marie monialium extra menia civitatis messane.*"

The document is published in G. La Corte Cailler, "Antonello da Messina, Studi e Ricerche," *Archivio Storico Messinese* 4(1903):372. The question of Antonello's supposed trip to Northern Europe also arises, for it was in the Netherlands and Germany that the cult of the rosary developed.

35. There is a long tradition that associates Mary with the reading of the Psalter. For example, Jerome's description of the youthful yet wise Mary is quoted in the popular 13th-century Franciscan text, the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, in which Jerome states that she is "the best read in the verses of David." See I. Ragusa and R. Green, eds., *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (Princeton: 1961), p.13. In addition, the *Evangelium of the Pseudo Matthew*, a text popular in the late Middle Ages, also confirms Mary's wisdom and specifically cites her knowledge of the Psalter: "No one could be found who was better instructed than she in wisdom and in the law of God, who was more skilled in singing the songs of David" (as quoted in Schiller, 1:42.) Schiller also mentions there a Carolingian poem by Otfried, which describes Mary reading the Psalter when Gabriel arrives at the Annunciation. Because the Psalms are the ultimate source for rosary prayers, rosary images are particularly likely to include the Psalter. Wilkins, *Rose-Garden Game*, p.174, notes that in the Frankfurt *Garden of Paradise* of c.1420, Christ plays the Psaltery (David's harp), and Wilkins proposes that the book Mary is reading is the Psalter.

36. On the *lectio divina*, consult E. Hall, "More about the Detroit Van Eyck: The Astrolabe, the Congress of Arras and Cardinal Albergati," *Art Quarterly* 34(1971):191f.

37. S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative* (Abo: 1965), p.65, n.54, calls the Baltimore panel an *Annunziata* and discusses it in a section dealing with the *Andachtsbild*.

*The illuminated gospel MS. W.543 reworks the iconographic and
stylistic traditions of Armenian art in a rather original way. A
pigment analysis of the miniatures tends to show that the artist,
Khatchatur of Khizan, was original in his palette as well, using
traditional pigments in a novel way and adding new ones such as
realgar, organic beige, and smalt.*

THE PALETTE OF KHATCHATUR OF KHIZAN

Diane Cabelli
Brookhaven National Laboratory,
New York

Thomas F. Mathews
Institute of Fine Arts,
New York University

The Aims of Pigment Analysis

For the art historian, the chemical analysis of pigments serves
two main purposes. It can confirm or deny the alleged attribution or
dating of a painting, on the basis of comparison with the known
painting practices of the artist or period. But the analysis of pigments
can have a broader, and perhaps more profound, importance to the
historian as a tool for understanding more about the artistic process
itself. Although art historians are accustomed to rely primarily on
style for describing the interrelationships of artists and schools, the
task can also be approached from the point of view of the artist's
materials. It has been demonstrated, for example, that Tintoretto's
reputation as an innovative colorist has a very real foundation in the
way he employed his pigments.[1] Not only did Tintoretto use the
widest range of pigments available in Venice at that time—four
different blues, for example—he also used them in mixtures and
layers quite unparalleled in the work of his contemporaries. Through
the chemist's analysis of pigment samples, we can imagine ourselves
in the artist's studio, watching him prepare his paints.

The present project in medieval Armenian pigments has had as
its object the definition of schools and styles of painting in terms of
the pigments employed. Begun in 1979 at the Conservation Center
of the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, the project has
included twenty-three manuscripts in collections in the United States
and Israel.[2] Armenian material seemed a promising starting point for
the study, not just because of the artistic interest of the paintings
themselves, but because of the relatively large percentage of Arme-
nian manuscripts that have colophons indicating the place and date
of origin. (In medieval Armenia, in fact, even individual, named
artists can be followed, in contrast to the general picture of anonym-
ity among artists of Byzantium or the medieval West.) An earlier
report on the project found differences in pigments and their usage
between two workshops involved in a single manuscript.[3] In other
instances, however, the palette of a single artist may reveal some-
thing of his individuality as a painter.

Armenian Painting Traditions

A work by the priest-painter Khatchatur of Khizan in The Wal-
ters Art Gallery, MS.W.543 (dated 1455) is of special interest.[4] The
fact that Armenian painting had a late flowering in the region of
Lake Van is in itself a surprise, for this was a period of vast social
upheaval in Asia Minor. The integration of Asia Minor into the
Mongol Ilkhanid empire at the start of the fourteenth century did
indeed open up new trade routes to the East that ran through the
Lake Van region,[5] but the Mongol administration was ineffective in
preventing the rise of defiant Turcoman principalities. The Turcoman
tribe of the Ak-Koyunlu (the "White Sheep") established some mea-
sure of security for the Armenian communities around Lake Van; in
this setting Armenian painting not only continued to develop, but
took a remarkable new turn.

Sirarpie Der Nersessian has analyzed the innovations of Arme-
nian iconography of the Khizan School—the expansion of the set of
preface scenes that precede the text of the Gospel, the special fasci-
nation with the rewards of the just and the punishment of sinners,
and the introduction of numerous details from everyday life.[6] In the
Marriage Feast at Cana (fol.7), Khatchatur incorporates details of
dress and custom from contemporary Armenian wedding celebra-
tions (fig.1). The painting also represents a fairly radical stylistic
break with the Hellenizing of earlier phases of Armenian painting.
Space-creating devices are abandoned in favor of flat surfaces, which
Khatchatur fills with Islamic tiles or luxuriant fields of Chinese-
derived peony and palmette. Figures are long and elegant, draped in
closely pleated folds, with round oriental faces—their eyes and
brows drawn out in fine extending lines (fig.2). Beyond style, how-
ever, we can define the originality of Khatchatur also in terms of his
palette.

Khatchatur's work must be analyzed against the wider back-
ground of Armenian painting traditions. One of the most important
results of the present project is a definition of the palette of the most
important phase in Armenian painting, that of the Cilician Kingdom
of Armenia. In this small Mediterranean state of the twelfth through
the fourteenth centuries, Armenian painting went through a Byzan-
tinizing development of extraordinary brilliance, which had a norma-
tive effect on almost all subsequent Armenian painting. We have
sampled and analyzed pigments from three important manuscripts of
the scriptorium of Hromkla in Cilicia:

> 1. Freer Gallery of Art, MS.44.17, Four Gospels, il-
> lustrated by Yohanes, dated 1253.[7]

1. *Detail, Marriage Feast at Cana, showing the groom and revellers. MS.W.543, fol. 7v. The Walters Art Gallery.*

2. Freer Gallery of Art, MS.32.18, Four Gospels, attributed on stylistic grounds to T'oros Roslin and dated c.1260.[8]

3. The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.539, Four Gospels, illustrated by T'oros Roslin and his workshop in 1262.[9]

All three of these manuscripts exhibit the same range of available pigments and the same combinations of pigments in mixtures (see Table of Pigments Identified, column 1).

From the Van region, in addition to the manuscript of Khatchatur under discussion, we have analyzed pigments from another Walters manuscript produced twenty years later, and from a third manuscript a century later in the Jerusalem collection:

1. The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.543, Four Gospels, illustrated by Khatchatur at Khizan, dated 1455.

2. The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.540, Four Gospels, from the Van region, painter unknown, dated 1475.[10]

3. Armenian Patriarchate of St. James, Jerusalem, MS.135, Gandzaran (Treasury of Hymns), illustrated by Martyros Khizantsi, at Khlath, dated 1575.[11]

In general, a striking continuity emerges between the painting tradition of the Cilician Kingdom and the later traditions of the Van region. Though the Van manuscripts show less interest in the subtleties of mixed colors and prefer large areas of unmodulated hue, the overall coloristic effects are very similar to the earlier tradition. Given this continuity, the independence of Khatchatur is remarkable. To even the casual observer, the glistening washes of deep, transparent purple and the solid fields of vibrant orange in Khatchatur's miniatures appear quite out of the ordinary (see cover).

Experimental Procedure

The technique of the present study involves removing from the manuscripts microscopically-small pigment particles (5-50 μm). Particles this small are virtually invisible to the naked eye, and in the

majority of cases it has been possible to take the samples not from the miniatures themselves, but from smudges that in time had transferred from the miniatures to the facing pages.[12] Particles have been removed from the miniatures themselves only in areas where damage had already occurred. Analysis has followed established methods of polarized light microscopy,[13] wet chemical tests,[14] and x-ray powder diffraction.[15] Two limitations of the latter technique should be noted, the first of which is inherent in the size of the sample. While inorganic crystalline compounds are quite amenable to identification in microscopically small particles, the more complex organic compounds are more difficult to pinpoint without sizeable quantities of pigment. The second limitation arises from the condition of the manuscript under study. In MS.W.543, the most common blue in the miniatures was in a state of such perfect preservation thoughout the manuscript that it was impossible to remove particles without some damage to the miniatures. Therefore our identification of this blue as ultramarine has been based on observation under a binocular microscope without removing a sample.[16]

Results of Analysis

The range of Khatchatur's pigments is impressive. To begin with the most common, the red was found to be vermilion (red mercuric sulphide, HgS), a pigment which was available naturally and synthetically throughout the Middle Ages.[17] This is probably the only truly ubiquitous Armenian pigment, occurring in every manuscript studied in our project. In the Khatchatur manuscript it yields a color of middle value and intense chroma (measured on the Munsell scale as 7.5R 5/12). Almost as common in Armenian painting is a magenta that is widely used in the canon tables and headpieces of Khatchatur's manuscript. The magenta was found to be an organic lake pigment. The infrared spectrum of the pigment resembles most closely that of madder lake, the most common red lake pigment of the Middle Ages. In Armenian practice this magenta is frequently used in monochrome,[18] but Khatchatur enlivens his monochrome with passages of light green, blue, and yellow.

A true green pigment seems to have been unknown in the Cilician tradition; we have not yet encountered malachite or verdigris, for example. Generally, Armenian painters mixed their green from a mineral yellow, orpiment, and blue; the blue may be ultramarine or an organic blue (Khatchatur uses the latter). The result is an olive green (measured on the Munsell scale as 5 GY 6/4), duller than the greens of Western manuscripts. With respect to these colors it is evident that Khatchatur is following time-honored Armenian painting traditions.

At the same time, there is evidence that Khatchatur experimented in the range and use of pigments. Armenian manuscript painters, like their Byzantine counterparts, employed a finely ground gold for haloes and large areas of background. Khatchatur used silver in one miniature (in the haloes of the Annunciation, fol.5) and no gold. The gold is replaced by a high-keyed yellow used for solid backgrounds, haloes (see cover), and important details like the ram in the Sacrifice of Abraham (fol.4), and Christ's boots in the Resurrection (fol.11). Analysis has shown this yellow to be very pure orpiment of high quality. The purity of Khatchatur's color heightens the effect of its stark simplicity (on the Munsell scale it is a true yellow, 5 Y 9/8).[19]

2. Detail, Women at the Tomb, showing the three Marys. MS. W.543, fol.10v. The Walters Art Gallery.

The natural partner of orpiment is an orange pigment, realgar, a mineral generally found in the same deposits as orpiment, with only a slightly different elemental composition (As_2S_2, as opposed to As_2S_3 in orpiment). Curiously enough, realgar is rare in Armenian manuscript illumination. The traditional method of achieving orange consisted of mixing vermilion with orpiment (and/or yellow lake) and shading the resultant hue with white lead until the desired tonality was achieved. Skin tones were often prepared in this fashion. In Khatchatur we encountered realgar for the first time in the manuscripts we have studied. This pigment is the most significant addition to the traditional Cilician palette; it occurs again a century later in another Van region manuscript, Jerusalem 135. Realgar is a strident color of intense chroma (measured 10 R 6/12 on the Munsell scale); and Khatchatur uses it in the boldest possible fashion in large areas of background, as in the Ascension (fol.11v.) and Pentecost (fol.12), or in details, such as the book in which Mark writes (see cover). The extravagant use of so rich a color is an entirely new development in Armenian painting, which has its counterpart in the strong, simple geometry of Khatchatur's compositions.

In other places in Khatchatur's work, we find the artist struggling to achieve special effects with his materials. An important example is found in the portraits of the Evangelists (fols.22v., 98v., 151v., 235v.), in which the artist has used a glistening, transparent purple—either as unadorned solid ground or as field for floral decoration (note the use of the color on the back of Mark's chair in the cover illustration). This pigment has been identified as an organic purple, which we found much earlier in an Armenian manuscript of the eleventh century (Freer Gallery of Art, MS.33.5, 47.2-4).[20] In the Freer manuscript, where the palette is limited to three colors, the purple is used sparingly in an uneven, blotchy solution as a substitute for blue, which was apparently unavailable to the artist. Khatchatur, on the other hand, exploited the color for its own proper effect as a

rich and vibrant pigment (on the Munsell scale 5 P 4/8). Obviously, if Khatchatur was interested simply in the hue, he could have mixed the traditonal Armenian purple of ultramarine and vermilion. That he chose instead the unusual organic purple indicates a special interest in the transparent, shimmering quality of the pigment.

In two other places we have found evidence of an unusual expansion of the artist's traditional palette. In the flower decoration above the portrait of St. John (fol.235v.), an unparalleled organic beige has been identified. Again, Khatchatur seems interested in the transparency possible in organic pigments in preference to the flatter effects possible in mixing the same hue from available mineral pigments. Finally, in the canon tables, a blue has been identified that has not been previously noted in manuscript illumination. This is not the traditional, almost universal Armenian blue, which is ultramarine; nor is it azurite, which we have encountered in 14th-century Armenian manuscripts from the eastern provinces.[21] Rather it is smalt, a finely ground, cobalt-containing glass that produces a pale, transparent blue.[22] Smalt is rare, and its find in Khatchatur is one of the three earliest known instances of its use, tending to confirm the belief that it originated in Asia rather than Europe. A century after Khatchatur, it is one of the four blues that Tintoretto employed.[23]

Khatchatur as Innovator

Insofar as we can measure his work against the conservative trends of medieval painting in Armenia, the priest Khatchatur seems to have been quite as innovative in his use of pigments as he was in his mastery of design. The painting techniques of the Cilician Kingdom were largely accepted as canonical by the later artists of the Van region. But while Khatchatur seems to have understood the tradition, he also understood a good deal more. He saw ways of using traditional pigments for new effects, and somehow he was familiar with pigments that were quite outside of the tradition. However, whether these innovations should be ascribed to the genius of the individual artist, in what would amount to a Renaissance understanding of his craft, remains unknown.

The scientific study of medieval painting materials is still in its infancy. Until we can define the range of techniques used in the surrounding Islamic principalities, as well as the options available in late Byzantine painting, the true measure of Khatchatur's innovations will remain an open question.

NOTES

1. Joyce Plesters, "Preliminary Observations on the Technique and Materials of Tintoretto," *Conservation of Paintings and the Graphic Arts, Lisbon Congress, 1972* (London: 1972), pp.153-160.

2. For their generous help in this study, the authors would like to thank Dr. Lilian Randall, Curator of Manuscripts, The Walters Art Gallery; Dr. Esin Atil, Curator of Near Eastern Art, the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and His Eminence Archbishop Norayr Bogharian, Librarian, the St. T'oros Manuscript Library, the Armenian Patriarchate of St. James, Jerusalem. Research for this paper was supported by grants from the National Museum Act, the New York University Research Challenge Fund, and the American Friends of the Israel Museum. Laboratory work was carried out at the Conservation Center of the Institute of Fine Arts; the assistance of the directors and staff of the center is deeply appreciated.

3. Mary Virginia Orna and Thomas F. Mathews, "Pigment Analysis of the Glajor Gospel Book of U.C.L.A.," *Studies in Conservation* 26(1981):57-72.

4. For the art historical discussion of the manuscript, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: 1973), pp.31-44.

5. H. A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade*, trans. Nina G. Garsoian (Lisbon: 1965), pp.187-202.

6. On the Khizan school and on painting in the region of Lake Van in general, see Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts* 1(Dublin: 1958), pp.xxxiii-xxxix.

7. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Oriental Studies, no.6 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, 1963), pp.18-25.

8. Ibid., pp.26-54.

9. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: The Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1973), pp.10-30.

10. Ibid., pp.45-51.

11. Norayr Bogharian, *Grand catalogue des manuscrits du monastère de St. Jacques*, 1(Jerusalem: 1966), pp.372-403; Bezalel Narkiss and Michael Stone, *Armenian Art Treasures of Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: 1979), pp.93, 153-54.

12. For a more complete description of the procedures and techniques involved see Orna and Mathews, "Pigment Analysis," pp.59-62.

13. W. C. McCrone, *Polarized Light Microscopy* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1978); W. C. McCrone and J. G. Dielly, *The Particle Atlas*, 2nd ed., 6 vols. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1974-78).

14. Joyce Plesters, "Cross-sections and Chemical Analysis of Paint Samples," *Studies in Conservation* 2(1956):110-57.

15. B. D. Cullity, *Elements of X-Ray Diffraction*, 2nd ed. (Reading, Massachusetts: 1978).

16. Joyce Plesters, "Ultramarine Blue, Natural and Artificial," *Studies in Conservation* 11(1966):62-91.

17. R. J. Gettens, R. L. Fuller, and W. T. Chase, "Vermilion and Cinnabar," *Studies in Conservation* 17(1972):45-69.

18. For an especially fine example see Vienna, Mechitarist MS.278, Heide and Helmut Buschhausen, *Die Illuminierten Armenischen Handschriften der Mechitharisten-Congregation in Wien* (Vienna: 1976), pp.45-52, figs.70-88.

19. The manuscript is such a de luxe production in every other respect, it is unlikely that gold was omitted as a result of economic considerations.

20. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer*, pp.1-6.

21. This material will appear in a separate study now in preparation.

22. B. Mühlethaler and J. Thissen, "Smalt," *Studies in Conservation* 14 (1969):47-61.

23. See n.3. Smalt has been identified early on Eastern wall paintings, as well as on a Byzantine wall painting of c.1325-1453: Rutherford J. Gettens and George L. Stout, "A Monument of Byzantine Wall Painting—The Method of Construction," *Studies in Conservation* 3(1958):113.

TABLE OF PIGMENTS IDENTIFIED

Pigment or Pigment Mixture	Cilician Manuscripts Freer Gallery of Art 44.17; Freer Gallery of Art 32.18; Walters Art Gallery 539. (1253-1262)	Van Region Manuscripts		
		Walters Art Gallery 543. (1455)	Walters Art Gallery 540. (1475)	Jerusalem 135. (1575)
Blue:				
Ultramarine	×	×[a]	×	×
Smalt		×		
Yellow:				
Orpiment		×		×
Orpiment and Organic Yellow	×		×	
Organic Beige		×		
Red:				
Vermilion	×	×	×	×
Green:				
Orpiment and Organic Blue	×	×	×	×
Organic Yellow and Ultramarine	×			
Orange:				
Vermilion, Orpiment, and Organic Yellow	×		×	
Realgar		×		×
Purple:				
Vermilion, Ultramarine, and Organic Red	×			
Organic Purple		×		
Vermilion, Organic Blue, and Organic Red	×	×	×	×
Magenta:				
Red Lake (probably Madder)	×	×	×	×
White:				
White Lead	×	×	×	×
Metal:				
Gold	×		×	×
Silver		×	×	

[a]Visually identified without sampling.

The Walters stained-glass portrait of Louis XII of France is closely akin to other portraits of the King and to figures on his tomb in Saint-Denis. It is certainly conceivable that Jean Perréal provided the design for the glass and for the tomb and its double priants and transis figures.

JEAN PERRÉAL AND PORTRAITS OF LOUIS XII

Barbara Hochstetler Meyer
Mary Washington College,
Virginia

Artistic portraits of Louis XII—both contemporary and posthumous—exist in a variety of forms and media, including medals of gold, silver, and bronze; manuscript illumination; panel painting; a wax medallion; drawing; engraving; sculpture; and even a crystal cameo.[1] An addition to this list should be a portrait on a stained glass fragment in The Walters Art Gallery: the sitter has already been tentatively identified as Louis, and the artist as Jean Perréal (fig. 1).[2] After culling from the many portraits of the king those few that can be readily dated and seem to portray him with a degree of physiological consistency, I have concluded that the Walters figure is indeed Louis XII. And, while no known documentation indicates that the versatility of Perréal extended to stained glass, a hypothesis that he provided the design for the Walters portrait is quite tenable—notwithstanding the fact that there are no extant, signed paintings in which his hand can unquestionably be documented, and thus there is no touchstone for his style.[3] In this paper I hope to verify the identity of the stained glass figure and offer support for an additional attribution to Jean Perréal.

A Profile of Louis XII

Brief physical descriptions, as well as interpretations of the character and habits of Louis XII of France[4] can be found in *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*. Dating from January 1496 to the 30th of September 1533, the diaries are Sanuto's fascinating compilation of tidbits gleaned from secret and official state documents, letters, dispatches, and gossip from Venetian ambassadors and merchants to the Council of Ten.[5] Reports by the ambassadors Zorzo, Michiel, and Loredan, whose mission at the French court just after Louis became king was "to negotiate the alliance for a joint conquest of Milan," contained the following observations:

> Also the king is 38 years old, he is handsome, graceful, human, he is very daring, he receives those who want to see him, he wants to be called sire; he eats his meals alone, he is wise, he is always with the queen, he wants any disbursing of money to be authorized by him and he wants soldiers to be paid directly and not through his four generals . . . the king is polite in his manner; and the queen is homely and pregnant [or fat] . . . also, the king was wise and prudent, he knew how to simulate and dissimulate, what he wants he

> wants . . . the king's person is handsome and graceful, he has a large face and large nose. . .[6]

The negotiations with Venice contributed to Louis' subsequent problems in Italy, at least according to Niccolò Machiavelli. The Florentine second chancellor endured three missions to the French court—the first, from July 1500 to January 1501; the second, from January to March 1504; and the last, from July to October 1509.[7] In his letters, Machiavelli related in detail his meetings with the king and other officials (even recounting the efforts of the court to escape the epidemic of whooping cough to which he and Louis still both succumbed), but the letters do not include a physical description of the king. In *Il Principe*, however, Machiavelli pointed out—from his own vantage point—what he felt were mistakes in military and political actions and alliances in Italy, noting that Louis

> did the opposite of those things which must be done to keep possession of a different state.[8]

Yet if Louis did not possess an instinct for political maneuvering, he did have a strong sense of his moral duty as king. While one can lament the fact that Baldassar Castiglione—who witnessed Louis' entry into Milan in 1499 and later was sent on a personal mission to him in 1507[9]—did not leave an intimate verbal picture of Louis' features, he did relate and is probably the contemporary source for a statement attributed to the king:

> And King Louis, who is today king of France, being told not long after becoming king, that then was the time to punish his enemies who had so grievously offended him when he was the Duke of Orleans, replied that it was not seemly for the king of France to avenge the wrongs done to a Duke of Orleans.[10]

Obviously, Louis' Italian contemporaries saw him in a far different light than his own chroniclers, such as Jean d'Auton and particularly, Robert III de la Marck, Maréchal de Florange, who had for the King deep esteem and loyalty, as evidenced by his tribute after Louis' death:

> . . . for he was a kind prince, for he did many things in his time . . . and I assure you that the king and the queen, his wife, honorably performed their duty, for one cannot forget or detract from the honor of such a prince.[11]

4. Portrait of Louis XII, parchment. Géographie de Ptolémée, *MS.Lat.4804, fol.1v. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*

Portraits of Louis XII

Several medals commemorate official entries of Louis XII into cities of his realm. Two gold medals in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, are of particular interest.

The earliest, dated 1499, was created by the sculptors Nicholas Leclerc and Jean de Saint-Priest, and the goldsmith Jean Lepère, for Louis' entry into Lyon on the 10th of July 1500 (fig.2).[12] While Jean Perréal was involved in preparations for this event in his native city, no documentation supports the oft-stated assertion that he designed the portrait on the medal.[13] The bust of Louis is in profile against a field of fleurs-de-lis. He wears a popular head-dress known as a *mortier* (the cap of a president of a court of justice), here seen with an inset crown. On his chest is the Collar of the Order of St. Michel, an Order initiated by Louis XI at Amboise on the 1st of August 1469.[14] Louis' second wife, Anne de Bretagne, is on the reverse.

The other medal, for the royal entry into Tours on the 24th of November 1501, was designed by the sculptor Michel Colombe, and cast by Jehan Chapillon (fig.3).[15] Louis is again shown in profile, wearing a *mortier* decorated with a medallion. His pleated robe is adorned only with the knot of the Cordelière at his throat. The knot, a symbol of St. Francis, was adopted by Anne to represent an Order she founded in honor of the saint and for women of the court who were especially virtuous.[16] It became a decorative motif associated with the royal couple, and surely Louis wears it in respect for his wife. On the reverse is one of Louis' heraldic emblems—a hedgehog surmounted by a crown.

The two medals reveal portraits that differ somewhat but offer, in miniature, the king's recognizable features at the beginning of his reign, when he was thirty-six years of age. His straight hair falls almost to his shoulders; his neck is thick and muscular; his nose is long and curved, dipping slightly downward; his eyes are heavily lidded, as if partially closed; there are pronounced creases at the sides of his nostrils and corners of his lips; and he has a double chin. On the Lyon medal, the area around the eye is puffy; the chin tends to fade into a fleshy throat; and the face lacks the definition of the underlying bone. The facial structure is more evident on the Tours medal.

A painted portrait of the same period (figs.4 and 5) appears in the *Géographie de Ptolémée*, MS.Lat.4804, fol.1v., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. This manuscript, translated into Latin by Jacopo Angeli, was illuminated in 1485 by Jean de Kriekenborch for Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse.[17] At the end of the century it came into the possession of Louis XII, who had the figure on the frontispiece altered to represent himself. His figure is in three-quarter view as he kneels before a *prie-dieu* covered with blue damask and strewn with gold fleurs-de-lis, on which rests his red *mortier*. He wears armor and a richly-brocaded blue and gold sleeveless base coat, decorated overall with a continuous cord and double entwined knot pattern and gold stars, also the Collar of the Order of Saint Michel. Louis' slightly idealized face displays a resolute, square jaw and jutting chin with the hint of a smile; his brown hair is shorter than on the two medals; and without the *mortier*, straight-cut bangs are visible across his forehead. The long, thin, curved nose; heavy neck; half-closed eyes; and double chin are characteristics of Louis' physiognomy, as seen on the Tours medal in particular. Behind him

stand two counselors; the one nearest Louis is certainly Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, the king's closest friend and advisor.[18] The background of wide, vertical, red-and-yellow stripes is dominated by large L's in gold, topped with gold crowns. Obviously, the additions and repainting—which are evident when the parchment folio is held up to the light—were accomplished by an artist in the entourage of the king, who responded to his patron's desires and possessed the skill to make changes without damaging the fragile material. Sterling's attribution of the alterations to Jean Perréal seems reasonable.[19]

One other painted portrait should be considered. A small panel in the royal collection at Windsor—widely attributed to Jean Perréal—bears the face of a somber man whose features reflect those of Louis XII as seen in some other portraits (fig.6).[20] Supposedly, the painting was brought to London by the French ambassador, the Sieur de Marigny (accompanied by Jean Perréal) in early 1514, after the death on January 9th of Anne de Bretagne, for Louis was to marry Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's eighteen-year-old sister. After a proxy ceremony in London on the 13th of August, Mary was escorted to France and became Louis' wife, in fact, on the 9th of October 1514.[21]

Although the sitter's features are reproduced with the stark clarity associated with northern art, the oil painting—even after cleaning—reveals a strong sense of chiaroscuro, alien to Franco-Flemish portraits of the period. This stylistic point is used to support the Perréal attribution, an allusion to his knowledge of Milanese art and acquaintanceship with Leonardo.[22] The figure wears a *mortier* with a medallion; has heavily lidded eyes; long hair; curved nose; double chin; and the Collar of the Order of Saint Michel. Dissimilarities are the elongated shape of the face; the narrow upper lip; the close set of the eyes; and the oddly contrived, triangular bridge of the nose accentuating a frown—characteristics appearing in several simplified manuscript portraits of Louis XII, but vying with the portraits already discussed and two others yet to be considered.[23]

Based on the prevalent tradition of exchanging portraits prior to engagement, it seems fair to assume that a likeness of Louis was taken to London, one perhaps by Perréal, who apparently also painted a portrait of Mary Tudor, which is now lost. Inventories dating to 1542 and 1547 of pictures in the collections of Henry VIII and Edward VI list two portraits of "Lewis the French king";[24] but without a verifiable touchstone for his style, attribution of this particular portrait to Jean Perréal can only be conjectural, especially as there are two similar paintings—either copies of the Windsor portrait, or of an original from which all three were taken.[25] The Windsor painting is the best qualitatively and bears more of a physical resemblance to Louis than the other two. No doubt a portrait existed that showed Louis at the age of fifty-two—bereaved, ill, and only months away from his own death on the 1st of January 1515.

There is yet another source for portraits of Louis XII, the tomb of Louis and Anne de Bretagne in Saint-Denis (fig.7). Here the royal couple are portrayed with a verism, poignancy, and sensitivity to nature rarely equalled in the north of Europe during the sixteenth century.

The tomb—apparently commissioned by François Ier and executed by the Juste atelier—is a free-standing, architectonic monument composed of two main structural parts: a stepped, rectangular

5. *Detail, Portrait of Louis XII, parchment.*
Géographie de Ptolémée, MS.Lat.4804, fol.1v.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

1. *Portrait of Louis XII, stained glass.*
The Walters Art Gallery.

8. Priant *of Louis XII from Saint-Denis tomb, marble. Photo courtesy Arch.Phot/S.P.A.D.E.M.*

9. Transi *head of Louis XII from Saint-Denis tomb, marble (here shown vertically). Photo courtesy Arch.Phot/S.P.A.D.E.M.*

2. Portrait of Louis XII, gold medal, entry into Lyon on the 10th of July 1500. Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

3. Portrait of Louis XII, gold medal, entry into Tours on the 24th of November 1501. Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

base, and a canopy indebted to the triumphal arch form, embellished with a plethora of classical foliate, figural, and military motifs in fine relief. On the tomb are twenty figures of varying sizes: the cardinal virtues, the apostles, and double *priants* and *transis*.[26] Around the base are reliefs with battle scenes and a triumphal entry from Louis' Italian campaigns.[27] The tomb brings to mind the image of a gigantic float—like ones used during the Renaissance for official entries and theatrical stagings—momentarily stopped in the north aisle of Saint-Denis, adjacent to the porte des Valois.[28] Its overall design and a *patron* were certainly in existence when Antoine Juste visited Carrara in August 1516, with the measurements for individual blocks of marble that he was ordering.[29] Work progressed in Juste's atelier at Amboise, according to an eyewitness account, until his death some time before the 20th of November 1518.[30] His brothers, Jean and André, and his son, Juste de Juste, completed the monument in Tours and by early 1531, it had been erected in the abbey church.[31]

On the flat top of the tomb, the *priants* of Louis and Anne kneel before *prie-dieu*. Louis' head is bare (no crown is present); his royal *dignitas* is proclaimed by his robes, for the fine Carrara marble is delicately incised and inlaid with touches of black stone to emulate ermine (fig.8). His pensive face, with sagging skin and muscles, and swollen areas under the eyes, betrays the continuing illness which led to his death.[32] The long, curved nose; half-closed eyes; double chin; and familiar hair style recall the same features in other portraits.

The heads of the *transis* are shocking. Louis' features are still recognizable, especially his nose, but now his hair is plastered in wet strands against his forehead and pillow, a reminder of an end to life which Florange tells us was most agonizing.[33] His skin is taut over an emaciated neck and prominent cheekbones; his eyes have sunken into his skull; in other words, the face is literally a death mask (fig.9).

Models for the tomb portraits could have been conceived only by someone who intimately knew Louis and Anne in life and saw them both in death. I believe they were from the hand of Jean Perréal, who served the couple for almost twenty years and was, therefore, a natural choice for the sad task of making their death masks and portrait funeral effigies.[34]

When describing Anne's funeral, in emotional and explicit detail, Pièrre Choque, her *heraut d'armes et roy d'armes*, noted:

> Upon which cloth of gold was a portrait made close to life after the visage of the said lady, which was the work of Jehan de Paris, painter and valet of the chamber of the king, our sire, and the dead queen, who was frequently occupied in all of their affairs.[35]

Perréal was also deeply involved in the many decorative details of Louis' elaborate royal funeral ceremony. One of the mentions of him in the expenses related to the obesquies notes that he was paid:

> . . . the sum of 40 livres tournois for having made in great haste, working day and night, because he was hurried greatly to complete the work, the visage of the said dead king after life, and a wig matching his own [hair].[36]

Thus, contemporary documents provide substantiation for Perréal's association with both funerals and lend credence to the attribution of the tomb portraits to him.

The Walters Portrait

A comparison of the Walters stained glass portrait (fig.1) with the Lyon and Tours medals, the Ptolemy figure, and particularly the tomb *priant*, leaves little doubt that—differences in scale and material aside—the sitter is Louis XII. He is seen from the waist up in a three-quarter view. His hands are joined in prayer before a *prie-dieu*, on which rests an opened book. There are none of the usually overt

6. *Portrait of Louis XII, oil on panel. Collection of H. M. the
Queen, Windsor Palace. Copyright reserved.*

signs of royalty—no fleurs-de-lis, no crown, and neither of Louis'
heraldic devices, a hedgehog or a hive of bees. The features identify
the personage: square jaw, double chin, curved nose, thick neck,
half-opened eyes, straight hair and bangs, and prominently displayed
at his throat, the knot of the Cordelière. His royalty is acknowledged
solely, as on the *priant*, by the ermine trim of his robe.

If executed during Louis' lifetime, the glass could be dated as
early as 1499—but no later than 1504, as the face is not that of a
man who, from 1504 on, was intermittently very ill, once to the
point of death.[37] The Windsor portrait—be it contemporary original
or copy—and the *priant* both portray a prematurely aged, sick man.
Of course, the glass could be dated much later were it executed
posthumously after a drawing taken from life, or from a composite
of other portraits.

One must always allow for changes that occur during the trans-
lation of a *patron*, or preparatory drawing, into a final medium with
its own intrinsic limitations. There are differences in style and ability
among artists, and problems are created especially when one designs
and another executes. Thus some discrepancies can be noted in all of
the aforementioned portraits. There is the notable presence of an
Adam's apple on the Tours medal and the *transi*, but nowhere else.

The eyes on the Windsor portrait are grey; on the Ptolemy figure,
they are blue; and on the Walters glass, brown. The fingers are
relatively thin and pointed on the Walters and Ptolemy figures, with
rings present on the right hand of the latter. There are no rings on the
right hand of the *priant*, whose fingers are thickly jointed, almost
gnarled.[38] Evident throughout, however, is a general consistency in
the shape of the face and other features—nose, eyes, chin, wrinkles,
hairstyle, and (in all but the *priant*) the knot of the Cordelière or the
Collar of the Order of St. Michel.

The Walters stained glass portrait measures 31½ by 22 inches
and is in nigh perfect condition. No repairs of the old or additions of
new glass are evident. The colors are rich: yellow, pale and deep
blue, verdant green, red, brown, and purple. The quality of the
workmanship is technically exceptional. It was acquired by the mu-
seum prior to 1931, and nothing is known of its provenance. Since
there is no name, title, or identifying attribute, one can assume either
that the glass is a fragment of a larger work, or that it belonged to
someone who needed no explanation of the sitter's identity. Possible
owners could have been: 1) Louis himself; were the glass from the
Château de Blois, home of the dukes of Orléans and a favorite
residence of Louis and Anne; from the Hôtel de Tournelles in Paris,
where Louis died; or from any of the numerous sites where the king
held court—Nevers, Nantes, Amboise, Lyon, Bourges, or Vin-
cennes, to mention a few; 2) Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, perhaps
embellishing the chapel of his splendid Château de Gaillon, which
was north of Paris and destroyed during the Revolution; or 3) Flori-
mond Robertet, Louis' royal treasurer and commissioner of Leonar-
do's lost *Madonna of the Yarnwinder* for his Château de Bury, which
was near Blois and also leveled during the Revolution.

Jean Perréal as Court Painter

Were something known of the ownership of the Walters portrait
during the sixteenth century—were there even a hint of the work in
extant documents—attribution to a specific individual would be far
easier. Many artists were associated with the court of Louis and
Anne. The best known today are Jean Perréal, Jean Bourdichon,
Michel Colombe, and Guido Mazzoni. While both Perréal and
Bourdichon were *valet de chambre du roy*, the latter seems to have
been primarily an illuminator of manuscripts, working for Anne de
Bretagne. Perréal, who was named *"peintre du roi"* in an act dated
the 1st of October 1498, was close to Louis, as evidenced by his
frequent trips to Italy with the king—in 1499, 1502, and 1509.[39]
Some of his letters to Marguerite d'Autriche, dated between 1509
and 1512, were written from Blois.

Louis summed up his appreciation of Perréal's talents in a letter
to Guillaume, baron de Montmorency, dated the 18th of April 1507,
from Italy (Perréal had remained in France):

> And when Fenyn has written the song and your fea-
> tures painted by Jean de Paris, send them to me to
> show to the ladies for there is nothing that can equal
> them.[40]

Few French artists of any period have evoked a greater aura of
mystery than "Jehan Perréal de Paris." While many of his own
letters are extant, and while there are works attributed to him with
apparent logic—particularly his identification with the Master of

Charles VIII—there are no signed, authenticated, or documented paintings that can be given to him unequivocally; with the sole exception of a manuscript illumination associated with a text in which his name is ingeniously integrated.[41] The Perréal attributions—which are mostly portraits—rely on coincidence, intuition, and speculation, tinged with the inevitable process of elimination allowing one to arrive at the most probable artist at any one time or place.

And yet, I wish to support another attribution to Jean Perréal,[42] to which others have alluded. It, too, is based in part on coincidence, intuition, and speculation—but also on documentation and circumstantial evidence of a convincing nature. Not only are the *priant* and *transi* portraits of Louis and Anne from Perréal's models, but the design of their tomb should also be credited to him. Perréal served Louis' heir in the same capacity as his late patron until Perréal himself died in 1530.[43] Thus he was an available and viable choice for the first artistic commission of François Ier's reign, especially as the artist was already known as a designer of royal tombs.

In 1501, Anne de Bretagne chose Perréal to design and Michel Colombe to execute the tomb of her parents, François II de Bretagne and Marguerite de Foix. Completed in 1507, the monument is now in Nantes Cathedral (fig.10).[44] It consists of a wide sarcophagus that provides a platform for the *gisants* who lie in robes of state, hands crossed over their breasts in prayer. Three angels partially kneel and adjust pillows beneath the *gisants'* heads, while their feet are guarded by a lion and greyhound. The *tumba* has two levels of sculptural decoration: the area near the base is covered with rondels containing female *pleurants;* the major portion has six niches on each long side with statuettes of the apostles; the niches beneath the *gisants'* feet contain their patron saints, and those under their heads, figures of St. Louis and Charlemagne. The cardinal virtues are also present, but in a manner never before seen in tomb sculpture. The integral female figures—slightly smaller than life—stand with their backs barely affixed to the corners of the tomb, facing outward at right angles to the sides of the structure. Prior to this, virtue figures on tombs had either a definite or an assumed functional role, as well as a symbolic one. They were associated with or acted as supports, postures which restricted them to an architectural function by closing and unifying the design. The Nantes virtues move out of the architectural environment and planar containment of the tomb, confronting the viewer on his own eye level and penetrating into his own space. They seem to act as guardians, keeping the viewer at a distance by intervening between the real world and the realm of death.

In 1509, Marguerite d'Autriche commissioned Perréal to design a church at Brou, near Bourg-en-Bresse, dedicated to St. Nicholas of Tolentino, for use as a royal necropolis. He was also to create the models for three tombs: one for her late husband, Philibert de Savoie; one for his mother, Marguerite de Bourbon; and the third for herself.[45] On Perréal's recommendation, the tombs were to be sculpted by the Colombe atelier, despite the advanced age of the master.[46] Michel Colombe sent the painted, terracotta *patron* of Philibert's tomb to Marguerite for her approval; unfortunately, the documents relating this transaction do not allow an exact reconstruction of its configuration beyond the fact that there was some sort of enframement, a *gisant,* and ten small virtue figures.[47] Michel Colombe was already at work on the alabaster virtues and portions of

the structure, which was to be erected by his nephews, when Marguerite suddenly changed her mind. She withdrew the commission in October 1512 and turned the church and the tombs over to Flemish artists.[48] One can only ask why. The complex interplay of strong personalities as revealed in the series of letters between the principals can provide only part of the answer. The essential element, I believe, was intrinsic to the ideas and personality of Marguerite herself. The three tombs, still at Brou, suggest that her motives could have had a political basis. Two of the tombs are free-standing with double effigies; one is a single-effigy *enfeu.* Philibert's tomb, though, might correspond to Perréal's basic design, as it was the first to be worked on, portions had been completed, and payment made. Outsized *putti* accompany the *gisant* on top while virtues, most of them probably by Colombe, stand in niches set into the heavy cage through which the splendid, nude *transi* can hardly be seen. The massive architectural enframement of Marguerite's tomb dwarfs her evocative *gisant* and *transi* figures. These flamboyant, Flemish Gothic tombs reiterate formats seen centuries earlier. They are replete with excessive ornamentation, which is northern in conception, eschewing the use of classical relief motifs seen on the Nantes tomb. What seems unjust is the fact that Marguerite had given her approval to the model of Philibert's tomb. To reject it and the others after work had begun must indicate a cause that cannot be fully discerned solely from a reading of the extant documentation.

After Anne de Bretagne died at Blois in 1514, Louis had a crypt made for her at the right side of the great altar in Saint-Denis, apparently attendant upon the erection of a tomb.[49] While there are two contemporary mentions of such a monument, there are no known documents to indicate who designed or executed it.

The earliest reference is in the epilogue of the *Récit des Funérailles d'Anne de Bretagne* by Pierre Choque:

> Thursday, the first day of June, the year 1514, I was at Saint-Denis in France, with my companions, before the tomb and representation of my sovereign lady.[50]

In his *Mémoires,* written between 1524 and 1526, Florange described the death of Anne and then noted:

> And King Louis, her husband, had made a tomb of white marble, the most beautiful ever made, with an epitaph below . . .[51]

Choque's original description is curious. The word *"tumbe"* could certainly refer to a monument, but had there been a figure, the term *"ymage"* would have been more correct than *"représentation,"* which would seem to allude either to the portrait of Anne by Perréal just after her death, or to the funeral effigy. I do believe that a tomb was made, and that the *priant* of Anne now on the joint tomb was originally on the earlier one.[52] However, when Louis died one year later, François Ier, his second cousin and the husband of Louis and Anne's eldest daughter, Claude, decided on a monumental double tomb.[53]

To whom could he turn for the design and execution? Michel Colombe was dead, and there is no evidence to suggest that, with regard to tomb sculpture, he did more than execute the ideas of others. His nephew, Guillaume Regnault, who worked with him on the Nantes and Brou tombs, was seemingly trapped in the late Gothic tradition, as evidenced by the remains of the tomb of Etienne

Poncher and his wife, Roberte Legendre, executed in collaboration with Guillaume Chaleveau.[54] The dryly conceived, uninspired *gisants* do not in any way approach the craftsmanship, the intricacy, and the fluidity of the Saint-Denis figures. Guido Mazzoni, to whom tradition has assigned the tomb of Charles VIII, saw his plans for the tomb of England's Henry VII (d. 1509) proceed as far as obtaining estimates for the work, according to his *patron*. However, Henry VIII rejected the design and turned to Pietro Torrigiano, who created the monument now in the Chapel of Henry VII at Westminster.[55] Mazzoni returned to Paris, where he had formerly lived, probably by 1512. In 1516 he went home to Modena, where he died on the 12th of September 1518.[56] While he could have influenced a major iconographic feature of the tomb of Louis and Anne, I doubt that he designed it.[57] Perréal becomes the obvious choice, especially considering the complexity of the tomb and the integration of French and Italian traditions, evidenced earlier on the Nantes tomb.

The Tomb for Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne

The composition of the tomb for Louis and Anne (fig.7) is based on theoretical and formal considerations: the former being the legal, philosophical, dynastic, political, and religious influences that dictated the iconography; and the latter entailing the physical makeup of the monument—that is, the style and structural arrangement of the components.

The theoretical conception is indebted to the legal-philosophical theory of "the king's two bodies," which postulates a differentiation between the king's body politic and his mortal body.[58] This differentiation is basic to all double-effigy tombs, in which the deceased is shown as in life—with status and transitory achievements attained—and in death, stripped of rank and importance. The dynastic and political overtones are more subtle. A Valois descendant of Charles V, married to Claude de France, François Ier had doubly secured his right to the throne. As king he was continually driven by a self-imposed sense of destiny, motivated by competition with Charles-Quint of Austria and the attendant wars that both fueled and frustrated his desires. The imperial tone of his policies and his need to sustain a close rapport with Italy were based on his ambition to become Holy Roman Emperor, so he wished to emphasize Louis XII's Milanese blood and inheritance. Since these political aims probably influenced the creation of a royal tomb with strong antique and Italianate characteristics, the religious elements were accordingly muted. The apostles are the only purely religious figures, although the virtues do have some religious significance as they personify qualities promulgated by Church doctrine as desirable in the character of any Christian king. There are crosses among the enframement relief motifs, but no exposition of the suffering, death, or resurrection of Christ, and no figures of the Virgin and Child.

The formal composition is bound inextricably with the iconography. Together they define three realms, three states of being: the allegorical, personified by the cardinal virtues; the spiritual, symbolized by the apostles; and the human, represented by the figures of Louis and Anne. These three realms have been present on other tomb monuments. This is seemingly the first time, however, that they have been distinguished not only by their inherent symbolic meanings, but by a formal placement that creates spatial depth predicated on both physical and psychological distances.

Much has been written about the ambiguity of form and space in early 16th-century Italian painting. Unity of figure scale was often disregarded. Large forms were placed tightly against the frontal plane in sharp juxtaposition with smaller ones, creating a tension unacceptable in terms of Albertian pictorial logic, as well as a difficulty in reading space and recession in the customary Quattrocento way, giving rise to the term "Mannerism." Yet most discussions of Mannerist art center on painting, for reasons that should be apparent. Application of the term to architecture is often contrived. Individual works of sculpture could only emulate the tendencies of the painter's style by replacing *contraposto* in the human figure with physical torsion. No large, composite sculptural monument of the period displays the exposition of conflict between figure size and spatial depth as seen in painting, except the tomb of Louis and Anne—never recognized for what it depicted beyond the obvious, never acclaimed for a manipulation of forms and structure that combined to produce, in effect, a three-dimensional pictorial field. This monument was, without doubt, the product of a remarkably fertile and imaginative mind.

Upon encountering the tomb, one is immediately brought into visual contact with the first, or allegorical, realm—the cardinal virtues, precariously perched at a slant on the outermost corners of the base. As in the Nantes tomb, they project into the sphere of the viewer at eye level. Although closest to him physically of all the tomb figures, they are the farthest removed from reality, being but personifications of ideals, deriving their essence from the "world of the abstract" despite their human forms, which are $1^1/4$ times life-size. A psychological rapport with them must be based on an understanding of the abstractions they represent and of the assumed possession of prudence, temperance, justice, and fortitude by the king and queen whose tomb they decorate.

The second realm, that of the spiritual, is conveyed by the apostles seated on the next shelf, or layer, of the structure. Each figure is separated from the others—but in a unique manner. Traditionally, apostle figures (fully carved or in relief) stood at the base of a sarcophagus or *enfeu* tomb, or were scattered across the surface of a monument, each contained within (usually) and framed by the curving back of a shallow, scooped-out niche. In this tomb, however, the figures are framed by open areas around, behind, and above them, silhouetted by the shadowy depth of indefinite space penetrating the open arcades of the canopy. When viewed at an oblique angle by any corner of the tomb, they appear to be at an unmeasurable distance from—yet in overlapping proximity to—the virtues. Most of the half life-sized figures are absorbed introspectively, but a few make penetrating eye contact with the viewer, thereby bridging the chasm between object and spectator. Psychologically, they occupy a space and time of their own and act as semi-human, semi-spiritual intermediaries—having once been mortal and now sanctified—between the allegorical and human realms. The virtues exist as abstract ideals embodied in human form, the apostles as humans endowed with suprahuman qualities. To the viewer, their reality is one of historical and religious acceptance, of an existence in a time not his own, but one with which he can identify on a comprehensible level.

The third realm of being, the human, is placed on the central core of the tomb—farthest removed physically from the viewer al-
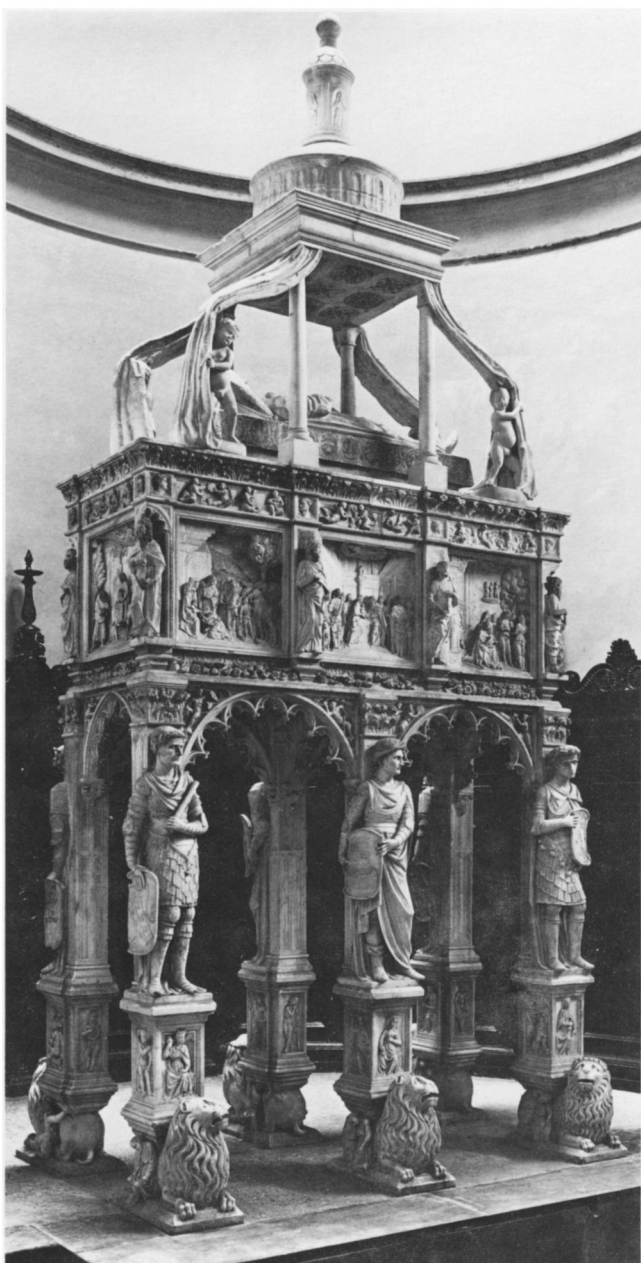
12. General view of tomb of Giovanni Borromeo, marble. Capella
della Villa Borromeo, Isolabella. Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, c.1480.
Photo courtesy Alinari/Editorial Photocolor Archives.
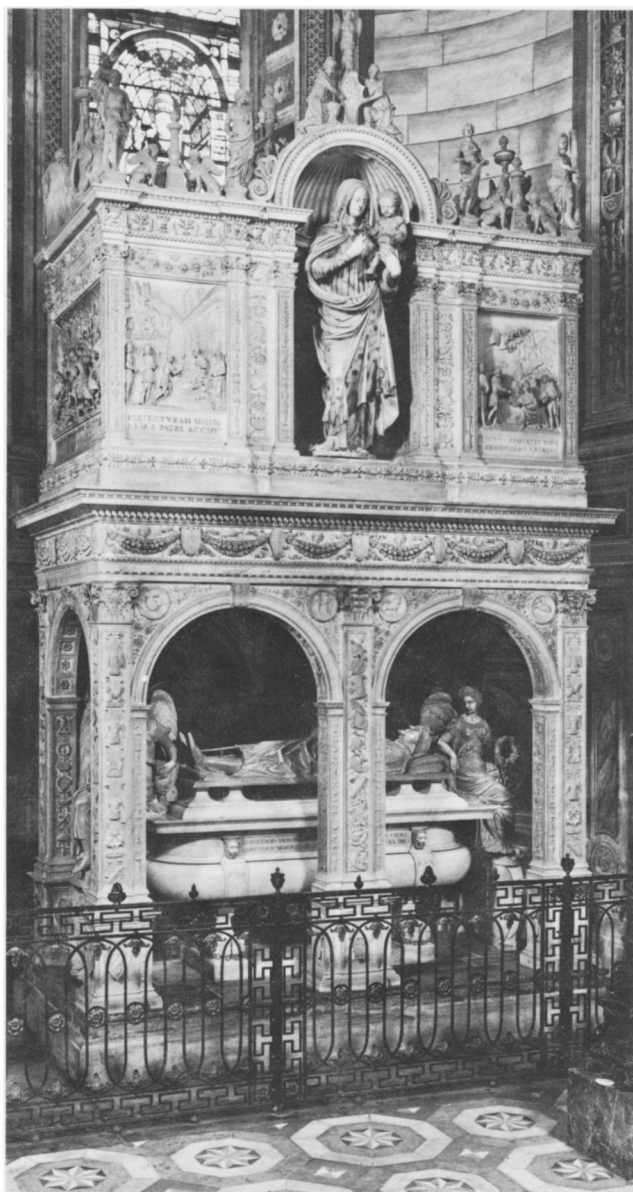
11. General view of tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, marble.
Certosa, Pavia. Gian Cristoforo Romano, 1494. Photo courtesy
Alinari/Editorial Photocolor Archives.

though closest to him psychologically. The life-sized *priants* kneel at the apex of the monument as if still alive. One must stand back to see them fully; they overlap when viewed close-up, due to the height of the tomb, the ensuing sharp line of vision, and the placement of the *prie-dieu*. The *transis* are even harder to apprehend, for the long marble corpses are encased within the arcade. When moving around the tomb, one can see only a segment of the bodies—hair flowing over a pillow; light reflecting off a shoulder; hands grotesquely arched over sutured abdomens; the soles of four bare feet. The horror of death is veiled; the forms exist in a darkened world of unreality bordering on the blackness of the crypt beneath the tomb. Shown as they looked after embalmment and before their coffins were closed, they are here as they were then, in a nether-space between two dimensions—the transitory hesitation of flesh remaining from this world, spirit already fled to the next.

The designer of the tomb thus contrasted the two sets of human figures: the *priants* are unconfined on the open top, in affirmation of their past existence in a historically definable time; the *transis* are, by necessity of the finality of death, contained within a compressed and limited space, beyond measurable time. When this juxtaposition is seen elsewhere in tomb sculpture, it depends on the contrast of a *gisant* with a *transi*—one asleep in death, the other in death's decay.[59] Apparently, a *priant*, the emulation of an action from life, was never before associated with either reclining figure. This is the one innovation that could have been suggested by Guido Mazzoni's unrealized tomb for Henry VII.[60]

The faces on each group of figures vary, depending on the proximity to and participation in the essence of human reality. The virtues are either vacantly staring or provocatively smiling, relying, as do the solemn apostles, on traditional stylizations. The human figures bear the features they once had in life and in death. Each group represents separate physical and psychical realms of being, co-existing on the tomb in different depth layers, overlapping but not impinging upon one another within the totality of the monument. The mental progression from one time and space to a second and then a third is predicated on the placement of each set of figures and their physical closeness or distance from the viewer.

Thus, Jean Perréal expanded what he had begun at Nantes, here on a vastly enlarged scale. The virtues again confront the viewer, facing outward at an oblique angle away from the tomb, although by being seated, they do not preclude encroachment. The apostles are less accessible, while the double effigies are beyond reach. The dependence on Italian Renaissance classicism, seen at Nantes and certainly elsewhere in France from the middle of the fifteenth century on, is continued at Saint-Denis. But now, perhaps for the first time, through the composition of the tomb's components, the tension and unorthodoxy of Mannerism are introduced—prior to Fontaine-bleau.

The immediate source for the structural format of the tomb of Louis and Anne is the monument erected in the Certosa of Pavia to Louis' great-grandfather, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, who died on the 3rd of September 1402 (fig.11).[61] His tomb, the work of several sculptors, was essentially conceived by Gian Cristoforo Romano, who worked at the Certosa on various projects between 1492 and 1497; it bears his signature and the date 1494.[62] It is a large, marble monument sculpted on all four sides and composed of two distinct and separately delineated stories. The lower storey is an arcade with

two round-headed arches on the broad sides and a single arch on the narrow ends, all standing on a low, unified base. A classical entabla-ture with a projecting cornice supports the solid second storey which has a deep central niche containing a statue of the Virgin and Child and rectangular, vertically oriented plaques in high relief depicting events from the life of the deceased.[63] Along the edge on top are small figures of angels with the Visconti arms, the cardinal virtues, winged sphinx, and candlelabra. The tomb also has finely sculpted, decorative reliefs covering the pilasters, spandrels, and entablature with classical foliate and Roman military motifs. The sarcophagus, with a *gisant* on top, can be seen through the open arches. (The two seated figures of Fame and Victory were added in 1569 and are thus not part of the original ensemble.)[64]

The developmental progression of prototypes for the Certosa tomb begins with the Arca di S. Pietro Martire by Giovanni di Balduccio, in S. Eustorgio, Milan, dated 1339.[65] The four columns on each long side of this free-standing monument have virtue figures in front of them and support the rectangular sarcophagus whose pedimented roof, in turn, is topped with statues and a small shrine containing a seated Virgin and Child.

Two monuments can be considered intermediary links between the Milan Arca and the Certosa tomb. The earliest is the Arca di S. Agostino in S. Pietro in Ciel d'Oro, Pavia, inscribed 1362 but probably completed later.[66] Virtue figures, apostles, saints, and prophets—all in miniature—stand on every available portion of the structure. The important feature, however, is the fact that while the *gisant* of the saint is enclosed within the heavy canopy, it is partially visible through the rounded openings of an arcade.

The other influence could have been the tomb of Giovanni Borromeo (c.1480), by Giovanni Antonio Amadeo, in the Capella della Villa Borromeo on Isolabella (Lago Maggiore) (fig.12). Ama-deo utilized elements of the Arca di S. Pietro Martire, such as piers (instead of columns) with full figures in front, although he decreased the number from four to three. However, while repeating the rectan-gular, horizontally positioned shape of the Arca's sarcophagus, he created instead a second storey decorated with historiated reliefs, which provides a base for the sarcophagus and its *gisant*, under a baldacchino. Another major change was the use of a round-headed arch between the piers.

On the Visconti tomb, Romano eliminated the large, semi-caryatid figures and the topmost canopy with its sarcophagus, but he retained the basic structure of the Borromeo tomb—an arcade sup-porting a solid second storey with historiated reliefs.

The enframement of the tomb of Louis and Anne is an adapta-tion of the lower storey of the Visconti tomb. Louis XII visited the Certosa of Pavia on the 5th of October 1499, just prior to his entry into Milan during his first Italian campaign.[67] Since Jean Perréal was with him in Italy, he might well have accompanied the king on an obligatory visit to the tomb of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, to whom Louis owed his claim to the Duchy of Milan. Even more vital to the tomb's conception is the fact that François Iᵉʳ was at the Certosa in October 1515; he had lunch in front of the main portal and then visited the church afterwards.[68] François went to Italy not long after Louis' death, hoping to recoup losses sustained during the last years of Louis' reign. He wished above all to keep alive the Visconti link, which he had assumed through his wife, Claude. He probably wanted the elements that most impressed him in the Visconti tomb
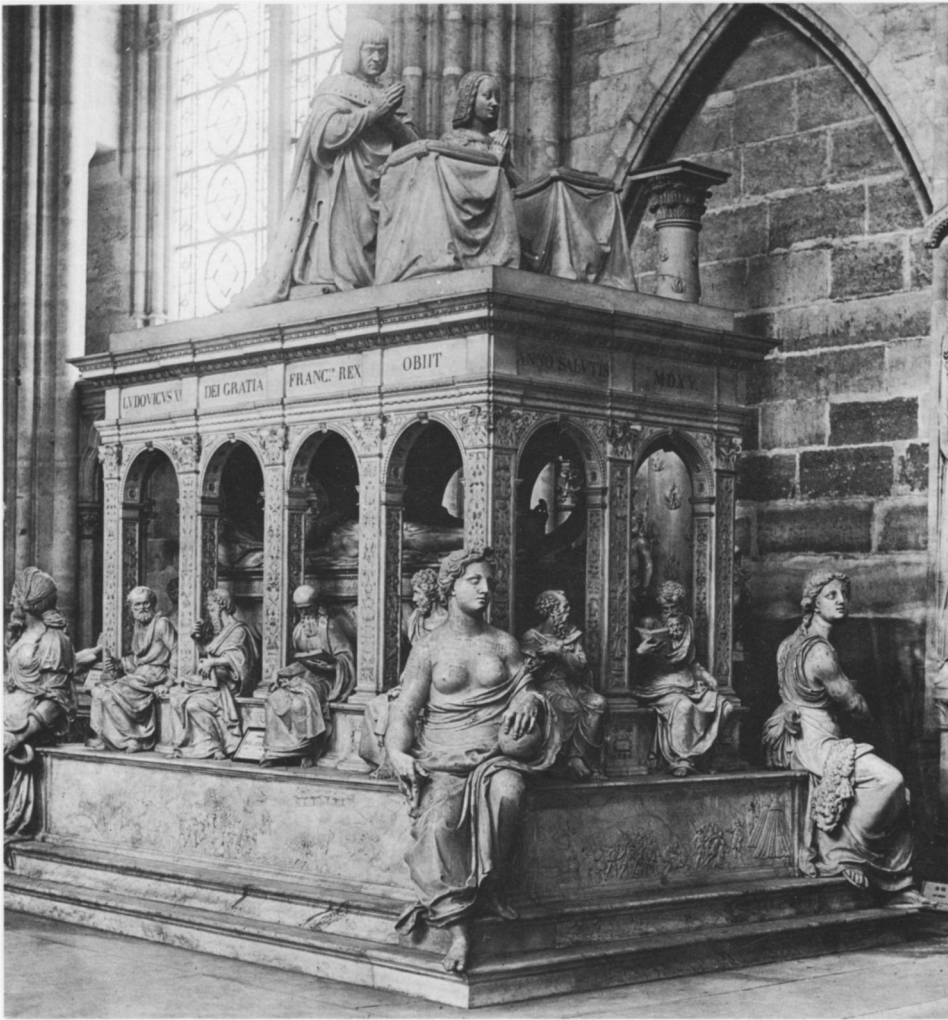
7. General view of the tomb of Louis
XII and Anne de Bretagne, marble.
North aisle, Saint-Denis. Atelier of
Antoine and Jean Juste, 1516-31.
Photo courtesy Arch.Phot/S.P.A.D.E.M.
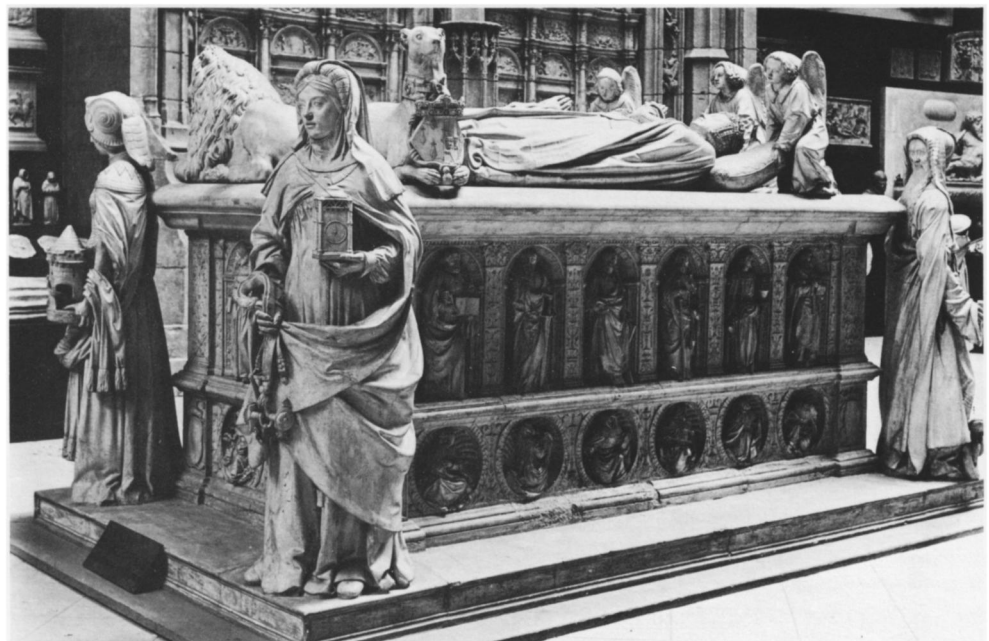
10. General view of tomb of François II de Bretagne and Marguerite de Foix, marble. Nantes Cathedral,
1501-07. Jean Perréal, designer; Michel Colombe, sculptor. Photo courtesy Arch.Phot/S.P.A.D.E.M.

repeated on the monument for Louis and Anne—a structure resembling a triumphal arch, covered with classical motifs and expanded historiated reliefs with figures in Roman dress enacting the Italian battles and triumphal entry of Louis XII.

Once the tomb was designed, a sculptor had to be chosen. Extant documents concern the ordering of marble by Antoine Juste, two eyewitness accounts of the work in progress, a contract and payment related to shipping components from Tours to Saint-Denis, and three payments for the tomb and the crypt Jean Juste constructed beneath it.[69] A commissioning document has yet to be found; none of the extant documents specifically mention a *patron*.

The choice of Antoine Juste was a logical one. Born in 1479 in the village of San Martino-à-Mensola, about three kilometers from Florence, he probably served his apprenticeship in the workshop of his father, who was a sculptor.[70] When he came to France in the first decade of the sixteenth century, he brought his family and two brothers with him—or sent for them shortly afterward—as indicated by their joint naturalization document of 1513:

> M. Anthoine Juste, florentine, master sculptor, who has made many beautiful works at Blois for the king and for the Countess of Angoulême, has settled at Amboise, where he has brought his wife, Elisabeth, and Juste de Juste, their son, Jean and André, his brothers who also work in the art of sculpture.[71]

Antoine Juste might have been in France at Bourges as early as 1505. A "Mᵒ Anthoine Florentin" is named twice in a document relative to the casting of a gold medal for Louis XII's official entry into the city.[72] Jean Perréal is mentioned in the same document as having provided *"plusieurs patrons"* for the ceremony.[73] Antoine was at the Château de Gaillon for one year, from October 1508 to October 1509, which is the same time Guido Mazzoni was there. Antoine's documented works from Gaillon were extensive, but only two full figures and a fragment have survived.[74] A brief notation of 1510 indicates payment for a wax deer he made for Louis XII; it once stood on a garden terrace at Blois.[75]

Despite his French naturalization and residency, Antoine Juste maintained a house in Carrara. Domenico da Settignano mentioned having stayed at Carrara in the house of ". . . Antoine Juste, florentine sculptor, in the service of the king of France" in 1508, 1514, and 1516.[76] He could have known Leonardo in Milan, and certainly at Amboise during the last few years of both their lives. He might have met Perréal in Milan, worked with him in Bourges, and later at Blois. The award of the coveted commission for the tomb of Louis and Anne to the Juste atelier could thus have been based, in part, on the fact that Antoine had worked for Louis, for Georges d'Amboise, and for Louise de Savoie (Comtesse d'Angoulême, mother of François Iᵉʳ); but it should be remembered that Jean Perréal suggested Michel Colombe to Marguerite d'Autriche for the Brou tombs. So, too, might he have recommended Antoine Juste.

In the final analysis, the Ptolemy and Walters figures and the tomb *priant* offer three portraits of Louis XII that share explicit facial similarities, despite the different media. The first shows Louis just after becoming king; the second, perhaps four years later (if contemporary), displays a touch of grey in the hair; the last has the face of a man on the verge of death. None revert to the stylization noted in other portraits of Louis, which tend to repeat the characteristics of the Windsor painting—a long, thin face and marked frown. There-

fore, I believe that these three portraits, as well as the design of the tomb of Louis and Anne, harken back to one individual: Jean Perréal.

NOTES

1. See Appendix for a list of portraits of Louis XII.

2. Charles Sterling, "Une Peinture Certaine de Perréal Enfin Retrouvée," *L'Oeil*, no.103 (July 1962), pp.2-15, 64-65, p.10 and fig.13.

3. The Perréal literature is vast. Recent articles, used because of their scholarship, are: Sterling, "Une Peinture Certaine"; Grete Ring, "An Attempt to Reconstruct Perréal," *Burlington Magazine* 92(1950):255-61; Jacques Dupont, "A Portrait of Louis XII Attributed to Jean Perreal," *Burlington Magazine* 89(1947):47.

4. Charles V of France had two sons: the Valois line continued through the elder son, Charles VI, to Charles VII, Louis XI, and Charles VIII, who left no heirs, as the three sons given him by Anne de Bretagne died in infancy. Charles V's younger son was Louis, Duc d'Orléans, who also had two sons: Charles d'Orléans (father of Louis·XII) and Jean, Comte d'Angoulême (grandfather of François Iᵉʳ). Louis XII thus became king when Charles VIII died prematurely at Amboise, in April 1498. His first marriage to Jeanne de France (sister of Charles VIII) was annulled by the Borgia pope, freeing him to marry the widowed Anne de Bretagne. Louis' claim to the Duchy of Milan, mentioned in this paper, was based on the third will of his great-grandfather, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan. (Gian Galeazzo Visconti was the father of Valentine Visconti, who married Louis, Duc d'Orléans, in 1387.) The will confirmed that if Visconti's sons should die without leaving any male heirs, the Duchy would go to Valentine's son. See John S. C. Bridge, *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI* (Oxford:1929), in 4 vols. The detailed story of the Visconti inheritance is in 3:39-43.

5. Marino Sanuto was a Venetian senator who was present at meetings of the Council of Ten and allowed to examine secret documents as well as to take notes. His *oeuvre*, consisting of fifty-eight volumes in folio, was once in the Imperial Library in Vienna. Through the Treaty of 1866, it was transferred to the Marciana Library in Venice. Publication began in the late years of the nineteenth century. *The Diaries of Marino Sanuto—A Prospectus* (Venice: 1902), p.6.

6. *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto*, ed. G. Berchet, vol.2 (Venezia: 1879), cols. 749, 751. I am very grateful to Professor Clavio Ascari, Mary Washington College, who translated these passages in the Venetian dialect:

"Item, el re è di anni 38, bello, gracioso, human, va a caza a gran pericoli, dà sempre audientia a chi la vol, si chiama sire; manza solo a taola, è savio, sta sempre con la raina, vol che li danari siano dati per sua poliza, et vol sia pagate le zente d'arme e non dar li danari a li generali qualli sono 4 . . . et è quella fa il re sia polito di li habiti; è la raina è bruta et era graveda . . . Item, el re era savio e prudente, sapea ben simular è disimular, vol quello el vuol . . . La persona dil re è bello et gratioso, volto e naso largo . . ."

7. Roberto Ridolfi, *The Life of Niccolò Machiavelli*, trans. Cecil Grayson (Chicago:1965). Machiavelli was designated as second chancellor on 28 May 1498, p.15f. His missions to France are described on pp.33f., 77f., and 114f.

8. Niccolò Machiavelli, *Il Principe*, ed. Manfredo Vanni (Milano:1946), p.22; see also pp.23-25:

"[Louis] ha fatto el contrario de quelle cosi che si debbono fare per tenere uno stato disforme."

9. Baldassar Castiglione, *Le Lettere, 1497—Marzo 1521*, ed. Arnoldo Mondadori, in *Tutte Le Opere di Baldassar Castiglione*, ed. Guido La Rocca, 1(1978). The entry into Pavia and into Milan on the 6th of October 1499 is described in a letter dated the 8th of October 1499, written in Milan to Jacomo Boschetto (pp.4-7). He described his mission to Louis in a letter to Aloisia Castiglione, written in Urbino on the 13th of April 1507 (pp.111-12).

10. Baldassar Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, ed. Carlo Cordie (Milano: n.d.), p.168:

"E'l re Luigi, che oggi è re di Francia, essendogli, poco dapoi che fu creato re, detto che allor era il tempo di castigar i suoi nemici che lo aveano tanto offeso mentre era duca d'Orliens, repose che non toccava al re di Francia vendicar l'ingiurie fatte al duca d'Orliens."

11. Robert III de la Marck, *Mémoires du Maréchal de Florance, dit le jeune Adventureux*, ed. Robert Goubaux and P. André Lemoisne (Paris:1813), 1:163-64:

". . . car c'estoit ung gentile prince, car s'y avoit il faict beaucoup choses en son tamps . . . et vous asseure que le Roy et la Royne, sa femme, firent honnestement leur debvoir, car il n'y fut riens oublyé ne espargnié à l'honneur d'ung telle prince."

12. The following catalogue has the most up-to-date information on the medals: *Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps*, exhibition at the Musée Dobrée, Nantes (April-June 1961), p.47.

13. Perréal's documented activities for other phases of the royal entry have led to the assumption that he designed the portrait. A concise biography of "Jehan Perréal de Paris" can be found in Ring, "An Attempt to Reconstruct Perréal," p.256. Most of the known documents, particularly his letters, were published by F. Rolle, *Archives de*

l'Art Français, ser.2, vol.1, ed. Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris:1861, reprinted in 1967), pp.15-142. He was born between 1455 and 1460, and from 1496 until his death in 1530 (see n.42) he served the French royal court and that of Marguerite d'Autriche.

14. Bernard de Montfaucon, Les Monuments de la Monarchie Française, vol. 3 (Paris:1731), pp.305-06. The collar was made of gold with a medallion bearing the image of St. Michel, worn normally over a long cloak of blue damask decorated with shells of gold, and ermine trim.

15. Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps, p.48.

16. Denise Jalabert, Musée National des Monuments Français: La Sculpture Française 4(Paris:1958), p.8.

17. Charles Maumené and Louis d'Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois de France," Archives de L'Art Français, Nouvelle période, 15(1928):98-99.

18. Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen (1460-1510), exerted a powerful influence on Louis, as can be noted in Machiavelli's correspondence. See Bridge, A History of France, 2:27-31.

19. Sterling, "Une Peinture Certaine," pp.6-7.

20. Ring, "An Attempt to Reconstruct Perréal," p.258, Dupont, "A Portrait of Louis XII."

21. A detailed journal of the period between the death of Anne de Bretagne and that of Louis himself, with the intervening events of the proxy marriage, the elaborate and expensive actual marriage ceremony, and the coronation of Mary at Saint-Denis, is in Florange, Mémoires, pp.148-64.

22. The relationship is based on the well-known passage dated before 1500, in which Leonardo reminds himself to ". . . get from Jean de Paris the method of painting in tempera and the way of making white salt and how to make tinted paper; sheets of paper folded up; and his box of colors; learn to work flesh colors in tempera, learn to dissolve gum lac, linseed . . . white. . . ."

". . . piglia da Gian di Paris il modo de colorire a secco, el modo del sale bianco è del fare le carte impastate; folie in molti doppi; è la sua cassetta de' colori; impar la tempera delle carnagiono, impara a disoluere la lacca gommata, lin del seme, de . . . è . . . dele . . . bianche. . . . "

Jean Paul Richter, The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci, vol. 2 (London:1883), 241-42: Perréal could first have met Leonardo in Milan, after the entry of Louis on the 6th of October 1499, as the latter did not leave the city until the 14th of December. When Perréal was back in Milan in 1502, Leonardo was with Cesare Borgia in the Romagna and perhaps in Rome. Their paths could have crossed again in 1509, when both are documented as being in Milan. For the Leonardo chronology see Kenneth Clark, The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci at Windsor, 1:ix-xi. The question of attribution rests, however, on why this particular portrait would display an Italianate style when few, if any, of the others attributed to Perréal do.

23. I refer in particular to portraits of Louis in MS.Fr.225, fol.165; MS.Fr.702, fol.1; and MS.Fr.225, fol.Av. (See list of portraits in Appendix.)

24. Three Inventories of Pictures in the Collections of Henry VIII and Edward VI, ed. W. A. Shaw (London:1937), p.38. The original manuscripts are in the Public Records Office, London, E315/160 (1542) and the British Library, MS. Harleian.1419 (1547).

25. Dupont, "A Portrait of Louis XII," plates IA and IIA. (See Appendix.)

26. See n.59.

27. The long north relief shows the army of Louis forcing passage through the Alps near Genoa in April 1507. The short west relief is either the triumphal entry of Louis into Milan on the 6th of October 1499, or his entry into Genoa on the 29th of April 1507. The long south relief supposedly shows the battle of Agnadello on the 14th of May 1509, and the short east relief depicts the capture and surrender to Louis of the Venetian general, Alviano, after the battle of Agnadello.

28. Allegorical personifications of the virtues were present on floats used in Louis' entry into Paris after his coronation at Reims on the 2nd of July 1498. On the first float were Noblesse and Humilité; on the second, Richesse and Libérale; on the third, Puissance and Fidelité. (Theodore Godefroy, Le Cérémonial François (Paris:1649), pp.240-42. Personifications also appeared in Louis' triumphal entry into Milan in May 1507 (Godefroy, Le Cérémonial, p.721): "After [this] was a large triumphal cart drawn by horses in which the four cardinal virtues were seated on chairs; that is to say, Justice and Prudence in the front of the cart; and Fortitude and Temperance at the rear."

"Apres estoit vn grand curre triomphal à chevaux, dedans lequel estoient assises en chaires les quatre Vertus Cardinales; c'est à scauoir, Iustice & Prudence, au deuant de celuy chariot; & Fortitude & Temperance, au derriere. "

29. Archivio di Stato di Massa, Notaio Leonardo Lombardelli, seniore, carta 279, vol. for the years 1514-16: "Bartholomeus Iohannis Pauli de Ianua agrees to give from now until the next feast day of the nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ to the Future master Antonio who is a wise man, known as Iusti from Florence, sculptor of his majesty the king of France all and each one of the marbles described in a certain sheet signed in his own hand by the said master Antonio according to forms and measures contained on the said sheet. . ."

"Bartholomeus Iohannis Pauli de Ianua se obligavit dare hinc ad festum nativitatis domini nostri Iesus Christi proxime futuri provido viro magistro Antonio olim Iusti florentino sculptori Maiestatis regis Francie, omnia et singula marmora contenta in quodam medio folio subscripto manu propria dicti magistri Antonii, modis et mensuris contentis in dicto medio folio. . ."

30. In a letter written from Tours on the 13th of August 1516, Grossino, agent in France for the Marchese of Mantua, noted: ". . . At Amboise I saw the sepulchre which is being made for the king Louis, a beautiful thing, all of white marble, containing many large figures and beautifully decorated, it is being made by florentine masters, they told me in two years it will [still] not be completed, it will be taken to Paris, costing about 26 thousand francs. . . ."

". . . Son stato a veder in Ambossa la sepultura che si fa per il Re Aloiso, che una belissima cosa tuta di marmoro bianche, molte figure grande li vanno (ci stanno?) è belly adornamenti. Sono m.ri fiorentiny che fano me dichono in duy any, non la fenirano finita, la porterano a Paris, costa piu de 26 milla franchy . . . ."

—Archivio di Stato di Mantova, Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 633. Barbara Hochstetler, "New Documents Relative to the Date of Death of Antoine Juste and the Tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne in Saint-Denis," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, ser. 6, 79(April 1972):251-52.

31. Gabriello Pachagli wrote to Michelangelo from Paris on the 30th of January 1520 and mentioned in passing, "I went to see the sepulchre of the dead king that is being made at Tours, there are many figures."

"Io andai a vedere la sepoltura del re passato, che si fa a Turs: sono molte figure. "

—Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Archivio B, Lettera 13; Aurelio Gotti, Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti, vol. 2 (Firenze:1875), p.58. The last document related to the tomb was written at Marly, on the 23rd of November 1531. François Ier authorized payment of 400 escus to Jean Juste for having assembled and accompanied the components of the tomb to Saint-Denis, and an extra 60 escus for constructing the crypt beneath the monument. (Léon de Laborde, Les Comptes des Bâtiments du Roi (1528-1571), vol. 2 (Paris:1880), pp.204-05.)

32. See n.36.

33. Florange, Mémoires, pp.162-63. "At his death, the king had many expressions on his face; although he had attempted to resist death, he died the first day of the year, and [that day] there was the most horrible weather that had ever been seen; I swear by my faith that it was tragic, his death, and he had not been healthy; . . ."

"Et fist le Roy a sa mort tous plains de mines; touttes fois, quand il se fut bien deffendu contra la mort, il morut par ung jour de l'an, et fit alhors le plus horrible temps que jamais on veit; vous jurant ma foy que ce fut dommaige de sa mort et qu'il n'estoit sain; . . . "

34. A renewed interest in death masks was evident in Renaissance Italy and described in detail in Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, The Craftsman's Handbook (Il Libro della Arte), trans. Daniel V. Thompson, Jr. (New York:1933), pp.124-27. In France the custom is mentioned by Claude Guichard, Funerailles et diverses maineres d'enseuelir des Romains, Grecs & autres nations, tant anciennes que moderne (Lyon:1581), p.539. He states that "Immediately after the death of a king or queen their portrait was made in wax, so that the [funeral] effigy could appear life-like."

"Soudain après le trespas du Roy ou Roine, est pris leur portraict en cire appliques sur la face, pour sur iceluy dresser l'effigie après le vif. "

This was done when Charles VIII died. See Godefroy, Le Cérémonial, p.37. The use of a portrait funeral effigy for the increasingly elaborate royal funerals was necessary due to the inability to embalm the corpse so as to be able to expose the body for days on end. See Ralph Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva:1960), pp.79-104.

35. Pierre Choque, de Bretaigne, Récit des Funérailles d'Anne de Bretagne, ed. Lucien Merlet and Max de Gombert (Paris:1858), p.72:

"Sur lequel drap d'or estoit une faincte et remembrance faicte près du vif après la face de la dicte dame, où avoit besongné Jehan de Paris, painctre et varlet de chambre du roy nostre sire et de la feue foyne; lequel ouvra moult en tous ses affaires. "

Louis ordered that many copies be made of this manuscript, which dates to the year after Anne's death. One is in the Petit Palais, Collection Dutuit, MS.Fr.664, accompanied by MS.Fr.665, Trespas de l'Hermyne regrettée, a rich source of illuminations of scenes from Anne's funeral. The most complete extant copy is MS.Fr.9709, Bibliothèque Nationale, used by Merlet and Gombert; and a third is in the Archives Nationale, MS.Fr.913.

36. Jules-Jacques Guiffrey, "Jean Perréal et François Clouet, Obsèques de Louis XII, de François Ier, et de Henri II," Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français, ser.2, (Paris:1879), p.26:

". . . la somme de 40 l.t. pour avoir par lui faict à grant dilgence, de jour et de nuyt, à cause que l'on hastoit fort l'oeuvre, le visiage dudit feu Roy après du vif et une perrucque selon la sienne. . . . "

37. Bridge, A History of France, 3:242, notes that ". . . he had been seriously ill on two occasions during the year 1504. In February 1505 he was again indisposed and on the advice of the doctors, who recommended change of air, went with his wife and daughter to spend Easter at Blois. He seemed to rally in his native air . . . Before April was over, however, the King was ill again and more dangerously than on any previous occasion. Exhausted by continual fever and severe sweating, he could neither eat nor sleep, and his weakness grew till he made a will . . . ."

There were various physical problems in Louis' ancestry. His grandfather, Louis d'Orléans, had married a first cousin, Valentine Visconti, whose mother was Isabelle de France. From the Valois side, Louis might have gotten his predisposition to gout, for Charles V died of both heart trouble and gout. From the Viscontis, there was congeni-

tal arthritis as well as cerebral congestion, plus a seeming pathological instability which often led to madness; one thing Louis did not possess. For a fascinating discussion of these assumed inherited tendencies or illnesses see Auguste Brachet, *Pathologie Mentale des Rois de France: Louis XI et ses Ascendants* (Paris: 1903), pp.cxxxvii, clv, 41, 42, 581.

Louis' physical condition seems to have been well known, for on the 19th of January 1515, Charles-Quint of Austria wrote one of his first acts after his emancipation on the 5th of January that year, instructions to ambassadors he was sending to the new French king, noting that ". . . the late king was an old man, feeble and sickly. . . ."

". . . le feu roy estoit homme anchien, debile et maladieux. . . ."

—A. J. G. LeGlay, *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France— Négociations Diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche*, vol. 2 (Paris:1845), pp.2-3. On p.163, Florange also noted that " . . . for a long time he had been very ill, especially from gout. And five or six years previously he thought [he might] died from it. . . ."

". . . car de long temps il estoit fort maladif, especiallement des gouttes. Et avoit desjà cinq ou six ans (before his actual death) qu'il en avoit pensé mourir. . . ."

38. The tips of the *priant's* fingers are restorations; the rest of the figure is original as best can be determined.

39. Paul Mantz, "Tableau attribué à Jehan Perréal," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, période 2, 31(1885):322.

40. René de Maulde-la-Clavière, "Jean Perréal et Pierre Fenin, à propos d'une lettre de Louis XII," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français*, ser.3, vol.2 (Paris:1886), pp.1-9.

". . . Et quant la chancon sera faicte par Fenyn et vos visaiges pourtrai[tz] par Jehan de Paris, ferez bien de les m'envoyer pour monstrer aux dames de par deca, car il n'en y a point de pareilz."

41. Sterling, "Une Peinture Certaine."

42. In the third of a series of three articles, Maulde-la-Clavière very eloquently described the tomb and his belief that Jean Perréal assisted the Justes in its design. René de Maulde-la-Clavière, "Jean Perréal dit Jean de Paris, Sa Vie et Son Oeuvre," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, période 3, 15(1896):367-81, 379-80. More recently, Pierre Pradel suggested Perréal as the source of the design for the tomb in his brief discussion of the monument in *Michel Colombe, Le Dernier Imagier Gothique* (Paris:1964), pp.85-86.

43. The assumed date of Perréal's death has varied, but seemingly through the discovery of two documents, Roy has determined that "Perréal died in June or July 1530 not at Lyon, as has been believed by his biographers, but in all likelihood at Paris, because from the beginning of his last illness, he was directing the repairs of the château de Melun. . ." Maurice Roy, *Artistes et Monuments de la Renaissance en France*, pt.2 (Paris:1934), pp.434-35.

"(Perréal) mourut en juin ou juillet 1530, non pas à Lyon, ainsi que l'ont supposé ses biographes, mais vraisemblablement à Paris, puisque dès le début de sa dernière maladie, il dirigeait les réparations du château de Melun . . ."

44. Paul Vitry, *Michel Colombe et la Sculpture Français de Son Temps* (Paris:1901), pp.382-410; Pradel, *Michel Colombe*, pp.44-53. The tomb was originally erected in the church of the Carmelites in Nantes, but when the church was sold and then demolished in 1791, the tomb was dismantled by the architect, Mathurin Crucy, and hidden in the crypt beneath Nantes Cathedral; in 1817 it was reassembled and placed in the north transept of the cathedral, where it stands today (Vitry, *Michel Colombe*, pp.357-58).

45. Marguerite d'Autriche was the daughter of Emperor Maximilian I and Marie de Bourgogne, the heir of Philippe le Hardi. She was born in 1480 and died in 1530. The most important sources for the complex study of the church and tombs at Brou are: A. J. G. LeGlay, *Analectes Historiques de Documents Inédits* (Paris:1838), pp.10-19; Jean-Gabriel Lemoine, *Autour du Tombeau de Philibert le Beau a Brou* (Antwerp: 1941); C. J. Dufaÿ, *L'Eglise de Brou et Ses Tombeaux* (Lyon:1867); Vitry, *Michel Colombe*, pp.366-73; Max Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche, Duchesse de Savoie* (Lille:1927), pp.143-85.

46. An amusing comment was made by Perréal in a letter written at Tours on the 11th of November 1511 to Marguerite: "The said Colombe is very old and weighty, that is to say about 80 years and is gouty and ailing because of his past work."
—Dufaÿ, *L'Eglise de Brou*, p.140.

"Ledit Colombe est fort ancien et pesant: c'est assavoir environ de IIII^{xx} ans, et est goutteux et maladif, à cause des travaulz passez."

47. Perréal's letter of the 30th of March 1511, written from Blois. Dufaÿ, *L'Eglise de Brou*, pp.133-38.

48. Bruchet, *Marguerite d'Autriche*, p.162f. Conrad Meit eventually completed the three tombs in August 1531. The church was consecrated on the 22nd of March 1532.

49. The crypt was called the "Caveau des Cérémonies" and served as a temporary resting place for the body of a king or queen, pending completion of their tomb. Jules Formige, *L'Abbaye Royale de Saint-Denis, Recherches Nouvelles* (Paris:1960), p.153. One of the five' illuminations in the *Tréspas de l'Hermyne regrettée*, MS.Fr.665, fol.35v., Collection Dutuit, Petit Palais, Paris, shows the open crypt in the floor of Saint-Denis, containing the coffin of the queen with clergy and her retainers enacting the final part of the funeral ceremony.

50. Choque, *Récit des Funérailles*, p.113:

"Le jeudi, premier jour de juing l'an mil cinq cens quatorze, moy estant à Sainct-Denys en France, avec mes compaigons d'office, sur la tumbe et représentation de ma souveraine dame."

—(Choque is using the dating of the period, thus he states that Anne died on the 9th of January 1513.)

51. Florange, *Mémoires*, p.149:

"Et fit faire le roy Loys, son mary, ungne tombe de marbre blancque, la plus belle que fit oncques faict ou a ungne epistre dessus . . ."

52. I examined the *priants* at close range on top of the tomb. Anne's *priant* is the most completely finished piece of sculpture on the monument. Not only are exterior surfaces highly polished and meticulously carved, but so are the inner folds of the robe. This is not the case on Louis' *priant*, in which areas on the figure and the hidden portions of the folds are still rough. Even the virtues and apostles, which are closer to the viewer, are not as richly finished. Thus Anne's tomb could have followed a format already established by the tombs of Louis XI and Charles VIII, a *priant* on top of a *tumba* with epitaphs engraved below. For illustrations of these kings' tombs see Barbara Meyer, "The First Tomb of Henry VII of England," *The Art Bulletin* 58(September 1976):358-66, figs.2, 6.

53. The father of François was Charles d'Angoulême, Louis' first cousin. His mother was Louise de Savoie. When Louis was seriously ill in 1505, he made his will on the 31st of May; it directed that Claude was to marry François d'Angoulême. Louis gave her the entire Orléans inheritance, including Blois, Asti, Genoa, and Milan. (Bridge, *A History of France*, 3:242.) On Ascension Day, Thursday, the 21st of May 1506, François and Claude were betrothed and on the following day the marriage contract was signed. He was twelve years old; she was 7¹/₂.

54. Louis de Grandmaison, *Les Auteurs du Tombeau des Poncher, Guillaume Regnault et Guillaume Chaleveau* (Tours:1897). The remains of the monument are now in the Louvre.

55. Meyer, "The First Tomb of Henry VII," p.359, fig.1.

56. Arturo Pettorelli, *Guido Mazzoni da Modena* (Torino:1925), p.22. He returned to Modena on the 19th of June 1516. His tomb is in the church of the Carmine.

57. Meyer, "The First Tomb of Henry VII," p.365. See also Pierre Leseur, "Sur le Séjour de Guido Mazzoni en France," *Bulletin de la Societé de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (Paris:1939), pp.163-94.

58. See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies, A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton:1957), pp.383-450; Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony*, pp.177-92.

59. The word *gisant* possibly derives from the French verb *gesir*, meaning "to lie." The *gisant* was a clothed figure placed on top of a sarcophagus, usually with hands joined in prayer. The features, often of portrait likeness, were tranquil and composed, for the figure was either in the sleep of death or open-eyed, showing no visible reference to death's actuality. The *transi* was also a recumbent form, but it entered fully the realm of death. Decay and mortification of the flesh often altered the partially nude, sometimes enshrouded form from a lifelike state to that which it would assume in the grave. The French verb *transir* means "to chill," "to benumb;" however, derivation from the Latin *transitio*, "a passing over," "a going across," seems more applicable to these tomb figures.

60. Meyer, "The First Tomb of Henry VII," pp.365-66.

61. Mario Salmi, *The Certosa of Pavia*, trans. Lily E. Marshall (Milan:1926), p.x. Gian Galeazzo Visconti founded the Certosa as a monastery for twenty-four friars of the Carthusian Order, and he laid the first stone on the 27th of August 1396.

62. Rossano Bossaglia, "Sculpture," *La Certosa di Pavia*, ed. Cesare Angelini (Milano:1968), p.59.

63. Salmi, *The Certosa*, text opposite pl.34. Bossaglia, "Sculpture," pls.279-84.

64. Salmi, *The Certosa*, text opposite pl.34. These figures were designed by Galeazzo Alessio and executed by Ferdinando da Novate.

65. John White, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1250-1400* (Baltimore:1966), pp.311-12.

66. White, *Art and Architecture*, p.393, pl.187.

67. Léon-Gabriel Pelissier, *Documents sur les relations de Louis XII de Ludovic Sforza et du Marquis de Mantoue de 1498 à 1500*, vol.2 (Paris:1894), p.231.

68. Charles Terrasse, *François Ier, Le Roi & Le Règne* (Paris:1945), p.99.

69. Grossino account, see Hochstetler, "New Documents," pp.251-52; ordering of marble, see pp.251-52 for a portion of the document (the entire document has not been published); Michelangelo letter from Pachagli, Gotti, *Vita di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, p.58; payment: December 1518, MS.Fr. KK 289, fol.268v., Archives Nationales, Paris, unpublished; 11th of May 1530, Eugène Giraudet, "Nouveaux Documents sur Jehan Juste et Michel Colombe," *Bulletin Monumental* (Paris:1877), pp.66-67; 18th of January 1531, Giraudet, "Nouveaux Documents," pp.66-67; 17th of May 1531, Léon de Laborde, *Les Comptes*, p.200; 23rd of November 1531, Léon de Laborde, *Les Comptes*, pp.204-05.

70. Anatole de Montaiglon, "La Famille des Juste en France," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser.2, 14(1876):363.

71. This notation, probably a late 17th-century copy of the original, is presently in the *Récueil Général des Legitimations & Batardises tirées du Trésor des Chartres du Roy,* MS.Fr.33047, fol.561-62, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris:

"*Me Anthoine de Juste florentin, Me Imagier qui a fait plusieurs beaux ouvrages a blois pour le Roy et pour la Comtesse d'Angoulesme qu'il est retirée a Amboise ou il a fair venir Elisabeth sa fême, et Juste de Juste leur fils, Jean et André ses frères, travaillans pareillement en l'art de Imagerie.*"

72. A. C., "Une Médaille de Louis XII par Anthoine Juste," *Chronique des Arts et de la Curosité,* no.12 (19 March 1892):pp.101-02. The inscription can be found in Louis de Raynal, *Histoire de Berry* (Bourges: 1844-47), p.243. None of the medals are known to be extant.

73. A. C., "Une Médaille":

"*Item baillé pour plusieurs patrons que Jehan de Paris et Nicolas (Poison) ont fait, montant à, 4 l. 1s. 10d.*"

74. Achille Deville, *Comptes de Dépenses de la Construction du Château de Gaillon* (Paris:1850), pp.343, 358, 419, 420, 435, 436. Antoine seems to have made: a large greyhound; the head of a stag or deer; a portrait of Georges d'Amboise and a child; a bas-relief of the history of the battle of Genoa; and images of the chapel, which are apparently identifiable with the two extant, life-sized terracotta figures of apostles now in the village church at Gaillon (the head of a third figure is in the Louvre).

75. Léon de Laborde, *Glossaire Français du Moyen Age* (Paris:1872), p.215. He received 42 livres for "a deer of wax . . . embellished and painted with the necessary colors."

"*une bische de cire . . . estoffée et peinte de couleurs nécessaires.*"

76. Carlo Frediani, *Ragionamento storico di Carlo Frediani—su le diverse gite fatte a Carrara da Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Massa:1837), p.84:

". . . *M^o Antonio Q. Giusto scultore fiorentino al servizio del re di Francia.*"

APPENDIX: PORTRAITS OF LOUIS XII

Medals

1. Medal, silver, for Louis' 1498 entry into Paris; Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; *Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps,* catalogue of exhibition at Musée Dobrée, Nantes (April to June 1961), no.86; Jacques Dupont, "A Portrait of Louis XII Attributed to Jean Perréal," *Burlington Magazine* 89(1947):239, pls.IIB and C.

2. Medal, gold, for Louis' entry into Lyon on the 10th of July 1500; Nicolas Leclerc and Jean de Saint-Priest, sculptors; Jean Lepère, goldsmith; Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; *Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps,* no.88, pl.35.

3. Medal, gold, for Louis' entry into Tours on the 24th of November 1501; Michel Colombe, sculptor; cast by Jehan Chapillon; Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; *Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps,* no.89, pl.33.

4. Medal, bronze, Italian, before 1513; Kress Collection (formerly the Gustave Dreyfus Collection), no.A1044-306, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; G. F. Hill and Graham Pollard, *Renaissance Medals from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art* (Phaidon:1967), pp.57-58.

5. Medal, bronze, Italian, before 1513; replica of #4 above; Morgenroth Collection, Museum of the University of California at Santa Barbara, no.14; Ulrich Middeldorf and Oswald Goetz, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Sigmund Morgenroth Collection* (Chicago:1944), p.16.

6. Medal, bronze, seemingly a copy of the Tours medal (#3 above); Kress Collection, no.A1045-307; Hill and Pollard, *Renaissance Medals,* p.58.

7. Medal, bronze, replica of #6 above; Brera Collection, the Castello, Milan.

Manuscripts

8. Illumination, Louis XII kneeling in prayer surrounded by saints, from a Book of Hours, c.1498; formerly in the library of Lord Taunton, sold in London in 1920; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; C. R. Beard, "A Crystal Cameo Portrait of Louis XII," *The Connoisseur* 46(December 1935):330, fig.1.; Charles Maumené and Louis Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois de France," *Archives de l'Art Français, Nouvelle période,* 15(1928):104.

9. Illumination, Louis XII kneeling before a *prieu-dieu; Géographie de Ptolémée,* MS. Lat.4804, fol.1v., late fifteenth century; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," pp.98-99.

10. Illumination, Louis XII receiving homage and a book from the author; *Remèdes de l'une et l'autre fortune,* a translation of Petrarch by Jean Daudin, 1503; MS.Fr.225, fol.Av, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," p.106.

11. Illumination, Louis XII, Anne de Bretagne, and members of their court in the countryside being received by an enthroned figure of Good Fortune; MS.Fr.225, fol.165 (as in #10 above); Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," pp.106-07.

12. Illumination, Homage and presentation of a book by the author to an enthroned Louis XII; *Le Voyage du Jeune Cyrus* (the *Cyropédie* trans. Claude de Seyssel); MS.Fr.702, fol.1, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," p.108.

13. Illumination, equestrian figure of Louis in armor leaving his *pavillon; Chroniques,* Enguerrand de Monstrelet, c.1510, MS.Fr.20360, fol.1v., Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," pp.107-08.

14. Illumination, enthroned Louis XII, *Chroniques,* Enguerrand de Monstrelet, c.1510; MS.Fr.20361, fol.1; Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," p.108.

Paintings

15. Panel, oil, "Sacre de David et Sacre de Louis XII," scene in the cathedral of Reims, School of Amiens, end of the fifteenth century; Musée de Cluny, no.1682; Maumené and Harcourt, "Iconographie des Rois," pp.103-04.

16. Paper, paint type unknown, Louis XII being presented by his patron saint, Saint Louis, c.1500; RF 1699, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre, Paris; *Anne de Bretagne et Son Temps,* no.77; Charles Sterling and Hélène Adhemar, *La Peinture au Musée du Louvre: Ecole Française XIVe, XVe et XVIe Siècles* (Paris:1965), p.34 and pl.233.

17. Panel, oil, Portrait of Louis XII; attributed to Jean Perréal, 1514, Collection of H. M. the Queen, Windsor Castle; Dupont, "A Portrait of Louis XII"; Ring, "An Attempt to Reconstruct Perréal," p.258.

18. Panel, paint type unknown, Portrait of Louis XII; copy of Windsor painting or an original from which both were taken; whereabouts unknown: Dupont, "Portrait of Louis XII," p.237, fig.IA.

19. Panel, paint type unknown, Portrait of Louis XII; copy of Windsor painting or an original from which both were taken; formerly Lippmann Collection, Berlin; Dupont, "Portrait of Louis XII," p.237, fig.IIA.

Sculpture

20. Equestrian statue, bronze; Guido Mazzoni, c.1498, destroyed on the 20th of August 1792; originally set into niche over entry gate of the Château de Blois; present stone statue is copy; Beard, "Crystal Cameo Portrait," pp.330-31, fig.IV.

21. Torso statue, marble, Lorenzo Mugiano, 1508; executed in Milan and displayed in a niche at the Château de Gaillon; Deville, p.cxxvi; the head and hands were destroyed during the Revolution; the present alabaster head, copied from tomb *priant,* and hands, were restored by Lenoir; Alexandre Lenoir, *Musée des Monumens Français* (Paris:1802), p.176; Louvre, Paris.

22. *Priant,* marble; Jean Juste, 1516-31; tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne; Abbey Church, Saint-Denis.

23. *Transi,* marble; Jean Juste, 1516-31; tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne; Abbey Church, Saint-Denis.

24. West relief, marble, triumphal entry of Louis XII; Juste atelier, 1516-31; tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne; Abbey Church, Saint-Denis.

25. East relief, marble, surrender of Venetian general to Louis XII; Juste atelier, 1516-31; tomb of Louis XII and Anne de Bretagne; Abbey Church, Saint-Denis.

Cameo

26. Cameo, crystal, northern Italian, late fifteenth century; Beard, "Crystal Cameo Portrait," pp.329-32, fig.1.

Stained Glass

27. Fragment, stained glass, French(?); attr. to Jean Perréal; The Walters Art Gallery.

Drawing

28. Pencil drawing, paper, three heads, one of which could be a sketch portrait of Louis XII; Ring,"Attempt to Reconstruct Perréal," p.259 and fig.16; *Comptes de l'Entrée de la Reine Anne de Bretagne,* 1499, attr. to Jean Perréal; Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, Montpellier.

Engraving

29. Engraving, published in de Mézeray's *Histoire de France,* 1646; related to crystal cameo portrait; Beard, "A Crystal Cameo Portrait," p.331, fig.III.

Wax

30. Medallion, painted wax; Musée de Cluny, Paris.

During the Renaissance period, the diamond ring was valued as a talisman powerful enough to drive away demons and poisons, or to make its owner chaste, invincible, and faithful unto death. For this reason it was adopted by royalty for weddings and coronations, and many used it as an emblem of sovereignty.

FOREVER ADAMANT: A RENAISSANCE DIAMOND RING

Diana Scarisbrick
London, England

Ring Design and Settings

The splendor of jewelry created as an expression of princely authority is embodied in a 16th-century diamond ring in The Walters Art Gallery.[1] The gold circle with adamantine gem, symbolizing the virtues of fidelity and fortitude, was adopted as an emblem by kings and queens and used by jewelers as a symbol of their art (fig.1).[2] In Renaissance iconography, the diamond (usually a solitaire) is depicted in the distinctive pointed form of the upper half of the natural octahedral crystal.

The Walters ring is not a solitaire, for the bezel is set with four diamonds, each with low facets rising gently from a triangular base rimmed in gold collets with claws (fig.2). The volutes at the shoulders stand out in relief and have traces of polychrome enamel, and the hoop is set with a continuous band of table-cut diamonds. Spiral twists decorate the back of the bezel, and the inside of the hoop is enamelled with white arabesque ribbonwork on a black ground, admirably complementing the rich exterior (fig.3).

Unlike most Renaissance ornament, the arabesque is not classical in origin. It is derived instead from the Saracenic metalwork, bookbinding, textiles, and pottery imported into Europe via Venice and Spain; and was interpreted as a plant, either stylized with a foliated stem or geometricized into ribbons. Both types were published by Francesco Pellegrini in *La Fleur de la Science de Portraicture* (Paris: 1530); from this date ribbonwork entered the vocabulary of European design.[3] The pictorial inventory of Duchess Anna of Bavaria's jewels, painted by Hans Mielich in 1552-55, includes a number of pendants embellished with ribbonwork at the back, sometimes with black ribbons on a white ground.[4] By 1545, ribbonwork was used on the front of pendants as well;[5] and on the bracelet commemorating the 1546 marriage of Anna with Albrecht of Bavaria, ribbonwork was applied to the shields of the settings.[6] The painting of the back of this bracelet by Hans Mielich illustrates the superlative quality of the enamelling, which has much of the vivacity of the oriental arabesque (fig.4). Each plaque is framed by volutes. The Walters ring, like this bracelet, could have originated in about 1546, in one of the great jewelry centers of south Germany, Augsburg or Nuremberg.

Diamond jewelry of this standard resulted from progress in the cutting, setting, and marketing of precious stones initiated by the Franco-Burgundian court in the late Middle Ages. The desire for magnificence in clothing and jewelry stimulated developments in diamond technology, revealing the brilliance of this stone esteemed above all others for its hardness.

The first step beyond the point cut, which results in the four-

sided double pyramid, came with the invention of the table cut, characterized by the removal of the points of the octahedron above and below. A further development is marked by Jean le Bon's will of 1364, which lists triangular diamonds,[7] described in this and later 14th-century inventories as shield-shaped, *en façon d'ecusson*. In the fifteenth century, triangular diamonds appear in the paintings of the Master of Flémalle[8] and of Jan van Eyck, who put them in the headband of one of the singing angels in the Ghent Altarpiece. Two others were set in the feather of Charles the Bold, recorded in a parchment miniature now in the Historical Museum of Basle.[9] Surviving examples include a brooch in the British Museum[10] and a famous jewel in Vienna, representing a pair of lovers in a garden.[11]

Whereas the surfaces of these triangular gems are flat, by the mid-sixteenth century diamonds of this shape do not seem to have been used without faceting. In two important rings of that date, a central point-cut stone is encircled by triangular diamonds with surface faceting, and there are table-cut stones at the shoulders. One of these rings is in the Grünes Gewölbe of Dresden,[12] and the other is in a private collection. The latter is inscribed inside the hoop in Roman capitals with the name and title *ISAB[ELLA] R[EGINA] U[NGARIAE]*; and outside with the letters *SFV* for the motto of the

1. Emblem of the jewelers (Orafi) of Orvieto, Italy, as painted on the processional banner of the guilds, 1602.[2] Museo del Duomo, Orvieto. Photo courtesy John Scarisbrick.
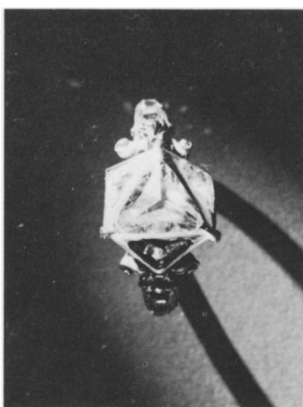
2. *The bezel of the Walters ring seen from above, showing the cut of the triangular diamonds set in plain gold collets with claws.*
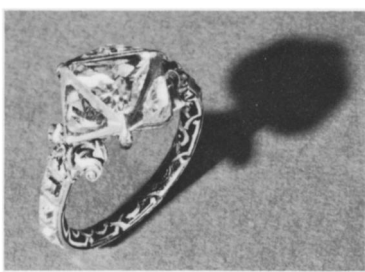
3. *The hoop of the Walters ring, studded with table diamonds on the exterior and enamelled with ribbonwork arabesques inside.*

Zapolya family, *SIC FATA VOLUNT* ("as the fates will").[13] As the owner, Isabella of Poland, did not become Queen of Hungary until her marriage to John Zapolya in 1539, the ring probably dates from then—certainly from no later than 1559, when she died (fig.5).

The setting and cutting of the diamonds in the Walters ring can also be associated with another ring, likewise set exclusively with triangular stones. This one was in the collection of Ernest Guilhou. The catalogue illustrates a dome-shaped bezel set with twelve triangular diamonds, with others at the blue-and-white scrolled shoulders.[14] There were precedents for this multiple arrangement, some dating to Antiquity. A late Roman gold ring in the British Museum (fig.6) has a high bezel set with two octahedra, one of better quality than the other.[15] More ambitious groupings date from the late 15th-century court of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy. His daughter, Mary, married the Archduke Maximilian of Austria in 1477,[16] and tradition associates this event with a ring set with table-cut diamonds forming the Gothic letter *M* (fig.7). Surviving 16th-century examples of these diamond initial rings include one with an *E* enclosing miniatures of Queen Elizabeth and her mother, Anne Boleyn.[17]

Another motif set in diamonds for rings was the lily, symbol of the Virgin.[18] Sometimes a joke seems intended, as in the "hedgehog" ring in Vienna (fig.8), which has a domed bezel liberally studded with tiny point-cut diamonds.[19] For sheer magnificence,

there was the wedding ring of Albrecht of Bavaria (fig.9), set with a diamond rosette composed of sixteen lozenge-cut stones radiating outwards from a golden center.[20] This motif, as well as the lily and monogram motifs, were used in pendants together with crosslets, the initials of the Holy Name *(IHS)*, and figures of St. Michael brandishing his sword.[21] Herbert Tillander has suggested that these triumphs of precise cutting and setting were created to meet the demand for diamond jewelry at a time when there were not sufficient large crystals available.[22] The Walters ring would seem to have been designed under these circumstances, as indicated by the four diamonds clustered together like a rocky beacon, radiating light and fire.[23]

## Mystical Interpretations of Diamonds and Rings

Diamond rings, however faceted and designed, had a significance beyond their appeal as personal ornaments. Pliny described the properties of the diamond as encompassing a force that defied nature's two most powerful substances, iron and fire, and which could be defeated only when softened by goats' blood. His description had scarcely been challenged by post-classical scholarship during the Middle Ages when a Christian interpretation became accepted.[24] According to the anonymous author of *Physiologus*, who cited the
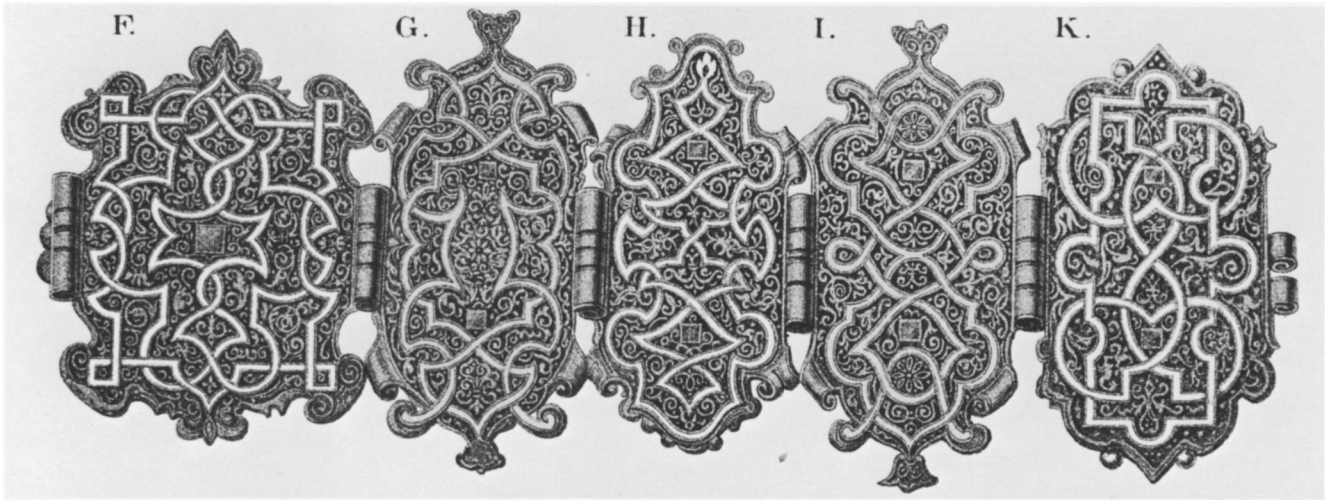
4. *The back of the bracelet made to commemorate the marriage of Anna of Hapsburg to Albrecht of Bavaria in 1546, showing ribbonwork ornament. After the painting by Hans Mielich in J. H. von Hefner Alteneck,* Deutsche Goldschmiede-Werke des Sechzehnten Jahrhunderts *(Frankfurt: 1890), pl.10.*

5. Ring of Isabella Zapolya combining point-cut with triangular diamonds in the bezel. Mid-sixteenth century, private collection.
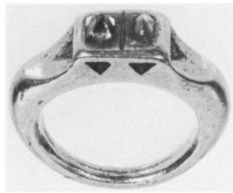
6. Gold ring set with two octahedra. Roman, second century A.D. British Museum, London.

7. Bezel of ring of Mary of Burgundy with Gothic letter M composed of table-cut diamonds. Franco-Burgundian, late fifteenth century. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
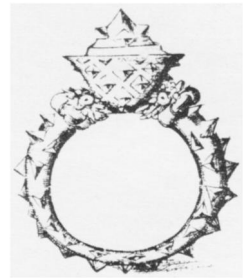
8. Design for a ring with point-cut diamonds studding the bezel and hoop. From Le Livre d'Aneaux d'Orfevrerie par Pierre Woeiriot, 1561.

prophet Amos and the Epistles, the diamond represented God Himself.[25] Another point of view was espoused by Piero Valeriano in *Hieroglyphicorum* (1575), dedicated to Cosimo de'Medici. He suggested that the diamond represented the stony heart of sinners, which only the sacrificial blood of Christ could soften.[26]

The search for spiritual equivalents for the properties of the diamond did little to shake belief in its magical powers. Pliny's text was repeated by Camillus Leonardus in the *Speculum Lapidum*, dedicated to Cesare Borgia and published in 1502. He declared that the

> diamond withstands poison, tho'ever so deadly, is a defense against the arts of sorcery, disperses vain fears, enables the quelling of quarrels and contentions, is a help to lunatics and such as are possessed of the devil: being bound to the left arm it gives victory over enemies, it times wild beasts, it helps those who are troubled with phantasms and the nightmare and makes him that wears it bold and daring in his transactions.[27]

The Russian Tsar, Ivan the Terrible, was a firm believer in this traditional gem lore. Towards the end of his life in 1584 he invited the English ambassador, Sir Jerome Horsey, to see the Russian treasury, which the Tsar himself visited daily. Sir Jerome watched while the ailing Tsar handled his heterogeneous collection of precious gems, magnets, and unicorn horn, lecturing his audience about their supposed powers. About the diamond he said:

> this diamond is the oriens richest and most precious of all other. I never affected it; yt restreyns furie and

luxurie and abstinacie and chasticie. The least parcel of it in powder will poysen a horse given to drink, much more a man.

Exhausted at the end of this session, the invalid called for his attendants to carry him away and concluded:

> All these are God's wonderfull guifts secreats in natur and yet revells to man's use and contemplation as friends to grace and vertue and enemies to vice.[28]

Confidence in the diamond as an antidote to poison—*venena vincit* according to Pliny, and echoed by Camillus Leonardus and other lapidaries—continued throughout the sixteenth century, and in 1658 when Thomas Nichols published *A Lapidary or the History of Precious Stones*, he reiterated that the diamond "could frustrate all the maligne contagious power of poysons."[29] And, when David Rizzio was murdered in 1562, Mary Stuart reminded Lord Ruthven of a diamond ring that Rizzio had given her:

> Remember ye not that ye said it had a virtue to keep me from poisoning?[30]

When linked to the symbolism of the ring, the invincible powers ascribed to the diamond made it the emblem of harmony in marriage. This was interpreted in the pageantry devised for the marriage of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla d'Aragona at Pesaro in 1475, and is recorded in a series of miniatures.[31] One of the guests (Jacopo Filippo Foresti) compared the succession of allegorical personifications, the beautiful music, and the fountains of wine and marvelous banquets to the legendary feasts of King Xerxes. Hymen, the presiding divinity, is represented as a handsome youth crowned with roses
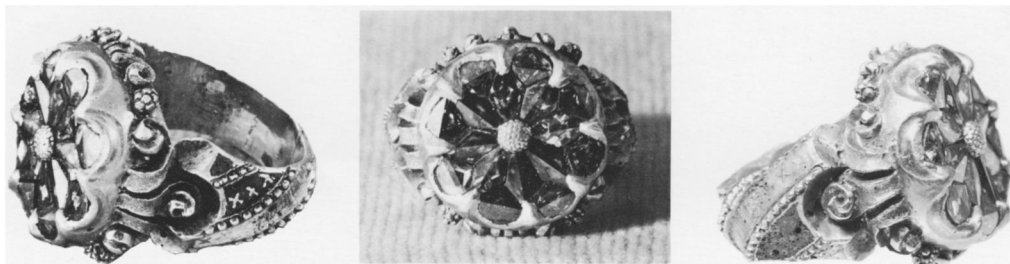
9. Gold wedding ring of Albrecht of Bavaria, set with diamonds in a rosette pattern. German, mid-sixteenth century, Bayerische Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Munich.

and wearing a tunic painted with diamond rings and tongues of fire. In his hand he holds a flaming torch, and he stands beside a plinth in which two other torches are linked by a diamond ring (fig.10). This image is explained in the verse he recited:

> Due face in uno annello de ardente focho
> Doi volunta, doi cor, doi fochi insegna
> Che siam congiunti in vincul de diamante.[32]

The same theme is represented in the verses pronounced by the personification of the Muse Erato, who holds a lyre encircled by a ring of gold set with a diamond (fig.11):

> Io sum Erato musa che è qui cincta
> Mia lyra duno annello per chio tengo
> La marital concordia ad uno voler vinta.[33]

Other references to marriage symbolism can be found in the emblem books. When Marguerite d'Angoulême, sister of François I. married Henri II of Navarre in 1527, she used a diamond ring for her personal badge. It was illustrated by Jacopo Typotius, who explained that the round ring signified eternity, while the diamond bezel represented glory: the emblem thus symbolized a king and queen bound together in everlasting love. Furthermore, he twin cornucopiae uniting at the bezel symbolized the prosperity ensuing from royal wedded happiness (fig.12).[34]

With such associations, diamond rings became an essential feature of the weddings of kings and queens, and even of their children. At Greenwich in 1518, the infant Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII, was married by proxy to the baby Dauphin of France; and Cardinal Wolsey, officiating, placed a diamond ring on her finger.[35] When as a grown woman she wed Philip II in 1554, her choice of a plain gold ring was considered unusual. At Holyrood on July 27, 1565, three rings were used at the marriage of Mary Stuart and

10. Hymen, the divinity presiding over the marriage of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla d'Aragona, with the ring symbolic of marital harmony. Italian, fifteenth century. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 899, fol. 56v.

Henry Darnley. The most important of them was enamelled red and set with a diamond.[36] The idea was expressed by George Wither in his *Collection of Emblems* (1635):

> Upon the ring of blest eternitie
> And this is that impenitrable stone.[37]

By 1648, however, Thomas Fuller in *The Holy State,* mentioned a dissenting point of view:

> Some hold it unhappy to be married with a diamond ring perchance (if there be so much reason in their folly) because the diamond hinders the roundness of the ring ending the infiniteness thereof and seems to presage some termination in their love which ought ever to endure and so it will when it is founded in religion.[38]

Such doubts were rare in the sixteenth century, and the diamond reigned supreme as the emblem of faithfulness in love. It was in this spirit that the Duke of Norfolk sent Mary Stuart a token of a diamond ring, which she acknowledged in a letter:

> I took the diamond from my Lord Boyd and shall keep it unscene about my neck until I give it agayne to the owner of it and me both.[39]

She kept her promise and wore the ring after Norfolk's execution in 1572 until just before her own death in 1587, when she sent it as a memento to a faithful friend, Castelnau de la Mauvissiere. These sentiments are mirrored in the plays of Shakespeare. In *Cymbeline,* the plot turns when Imogen gives a diamond ring to her beloved Posthumus, and their reunion at the end of the story is brought about by its restitution.

In the sixteeth century lapidaries recommended the diamond as a chastity test, which was reiterated by Thomas Nicols:

> If the diamond be put on the head of a woman without her knowledge it will make her in her sleep if she be

I o fum Erato mufa che ho qui cincta
Mia Lyra duno anello per chio tengo
Lamarital concordia ad uno uoler uinta
Cum quefto Lieto augurio auoi neuengo
Del uoftro amore fempre arda lafentilla
Et quefti cibi che per me foftengo
A chi Conftantio honora & la Camilla

11. *The Muse Erato, her lyre encircled by a diamond ring, from the miniatures illustrating the marriage at Pesaro of Costanzo Sforza and Camilla d'Aragona. Italian, fifteenth century. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Urb. Lat. 899, fol. 59r.*

12. The impresa *of Marguerite d'Angoulême, wife of Henri II of Navarre. From Jacopo Typotius,* Symbola Divina et Humana.

faithful to her husband to cast herself in his embraces, but if she be an adulteress to turn away.[40]

He goes on to say that the main use of the diamond was

in the way of Symboles and emblems for by it is figured innocence, constancie and fortitude.[41]

The diamond appears as the emblem of chastity in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, where the invincible purity of Una, personification of truth and true religion, is compared to a "rocke of diamond stedfast evermore."[42]

For some, the diamond epitomized the ideals with which they hoped to be associated. The first to make a diamond the subject of his personal badge was Cosimo de'Medici (1389-1464), *Pater Patriae* ("Father of his Country"), in the form of three interlaced rings with foliate shoulders. His son Piero (1416-69) adopted a variant of this device, a solitaire grasped in the claw of a falcon, accompanied by the motto *SEMPER* ("always"). In the *Dialogo dell'Imprese* (1559), Paolo Giovio illustrates both emblems and comments on their symbolism; but although he compared Piero's victory over the treacherous Luca Pitti to the diamond's supremacy over fire and iron,[43] he could not explain the significance of the three interlaced rings.[44] Piero's son, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-92), used the motto *SEMPER* but dispensed with the falcon and placed in the hoop of the single-stone ring three feathers, colored red, white, and green—representative, according to Giovio, of Faith, Hope, and Charity.[45]

The successors of Lorenzo the Magnificent continued to display these devices heraldically on the floors, ceilings, textiles, and other works of art in their palaces and churches in Florence and Rome.[46] His grandson Lorenzo, Duke of Urbino (1492-1519), also used the *impresa* with ring and feathers, which was interpreted much later by Jacopo Typotius. He explained that the three feathers represented the principal qualities of the diamond: its beauty, its resistance, and its

courage in fighting nightmares, ghosts, insomnia, and demons. Thus the badge proclaimed Duke Lorenzo's intention of imitating the diamond by striving for the fortitude to withstand adversity, for the beauty of a clear conscience, and for the courage to govern himself and those subject to him.[47]

Typotius also analyzed the device of the three interlaced rings which Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany (1519-74), adopted with the motto *SUPERABO* ("I shall overcome") (fig.13):

As the diamond surpasses in fortitude, endurance and valor all other gem stones, so Cosimo, Grand Duke of Tuscany, wished to show with his three rings set with diamonds that he was determined to excel all other princes in fortitude, endurance and valor. The idea is certainly worthy of so great a prince: fortitude in the first place becomes so great a man; its gifts are excellent, including indifference to death and pain, for once a man despises death he is free from care and worry and is equipped to bear pain, knowing that the greatest sufferings come to an end with death and that the small have many remissions. Endurance is the remedy for pain; with it you may bear what cannot be avoided. It is in the nature of courage that whoever has it becomes great and renowned. Furthermore, the rings set with diamonds are intertwined to show that these virtues are conjoined so that they may not be separated. Indeed the fortitude of the diamond, by which it can wear down all stones and gems, and the endurance by which it resists fire and iron, and the dignity by which it surpasses all other gems in valor are well known to all. Thus this obscure *Hierographia* may be correctly explained to all.[48]

Typotius also explained the symbolism of the *impresa* with the falcon and solitaire, which he associated with Pietro de'Medici (1554-1604), son of Cosimo I (fig.14).[49]
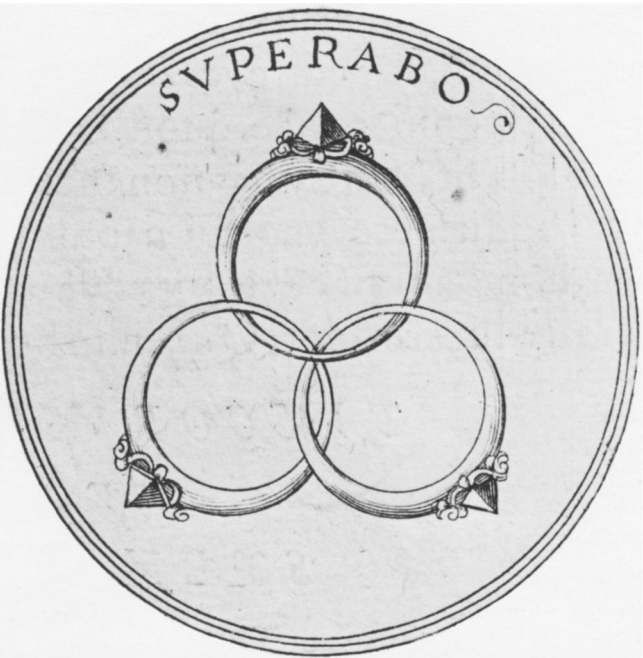
13. The impresa *of Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with three interlaced diamond solitaires. From Jacopo Typotius,* Symbola Divina et Humana.

14. *The* impresa *of Pietro de'Medici, son of Cosimo I, with a falcon grasping the emblematic solitaire. From Jacopo Typotius,* Symbola Divina et Humana.

The emblematic ring was not confined to the Medici. Borso d'Este, Duke of Modena and Ferrara, used it in his *impresa* with the motto *NEC IGNE NEC FERRO* ("neither by fire nor the sword"), signifying his pursuit of constancy, the chief virtue of princes.[50] Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary (1458-90), used as his device a sparkling diamond ring with the motto *DURAT ET LUCET* ("enduring and shining"), which referred to his escape from prison and subsequent ambition to rule with brilliance (fig.15).[51] Henri II of France declared his undisputed sovereignty in a badge incorporating a crowned dolphin carrying a globe and encircled by a solitaire.[52] The *impresa* of Count Palatine (John Casimir, Duke of Bavaria) was a ring terminating with clasped hands at the base of the hoop, and enclosing a coat of arms with laurel and a palm branch (fig.16). According to Typotius, this emblem illustrated the Count's hopes for the successful future of his family in war and peace. His motto, *CONSTANTER ET SINCERE* ("firmly and honestly"), alluded to the virtue of constancy, which distinguished the prince from the multitude (the common mass of people being more diligent in the pursuit of evil than sincere in their adherence to good).[53]

In 16th-century history are various examples of diamond rings as attributes of monarchical glory. Henri IV of France was consecrated king with a diamond ring, which he later gave to his mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées.[54] Encounters between rulers were marked by the exchange of gifts, and diamond rings figured prominently on such occasions. In 1535, after the Battle of Tunis, the Emperor Charles V sent a token of goodwill to Pope Paul III—a diamond ring bought in Venice. The Duchess of Tuscany offered Philip II a beautiful ring, which Benvenuto Cellini had designed for her;[55] and the heart-shaped diamond set in a gold ring which Mary Stuart sent to the Queen of England, was the subject of a poem by George Buchanan.[56] While subjects who hoped to please royalty sometimes offered diamond rings, there was no greater symbol of approval than such a gift from the sovereign himself. In March 1542, when Henry VIII became

convinced of his cousin's innocence (Viscount Lisle), he sent Sir Thomas Wriothesly to release him from prison, with

> a ring with a diamond for a token from him to tell him to be of good cheer.[57]

In *Macbeth*, Shakespeare uses the diamond to symbolize royal generosity, and in reporting Duncan's arrival, Banquo tells Macbeth about the

> diamond he greets your wife withal
> By the name of most kind hostess.[58]

Shakespeare also throws light on contemporary attitudes about the settings worthy of this most precious of all stones. In *Henry VI*, the Earl of Suffolk parts from Margaret of Anjou and says to her father,

> set this diamond safe
> In gold palaces as it becomes[59]

In this literary context, the diamond ring in The Walters Art Gallery can be seen for what it really is—a miniature palace created to house the talisman symbolic of the highest aspirations of the Renaissance.

NOTES

1. Anne Garside, ed., *Jewelry, Ancient to Modern* (Baltimore: The Trustees of The Walters Art Gallery, 1979), no.570.

2. On the processional banner of the guilds in Orvieto, Italy, the goldsmiths are represented by a solitaire. This banner is preserved in the Museum of the Duomo, and is dated 1602.

3. Peter Ward Jackson, "Some Mainstreams and Tributaries in European Ornament, 1500-1700," pt.2, "The Arabesque," *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, vol.3, no.3 (1967):90-103.

4. Fritz Falk, *Edelsteinschliff und Fassungsformen im späten Mittelalter* (1975), pp.59-61.

5. Ibid., p.61, fig.35.
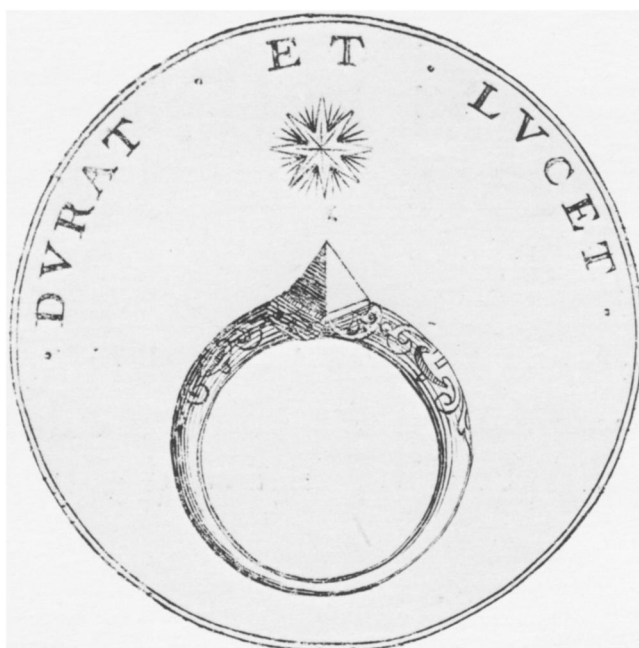
15. *The* impresa *of Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, demonstrating his determination to rule with glory. From Jacopo Typotius,* Symbola Divina et Humana.
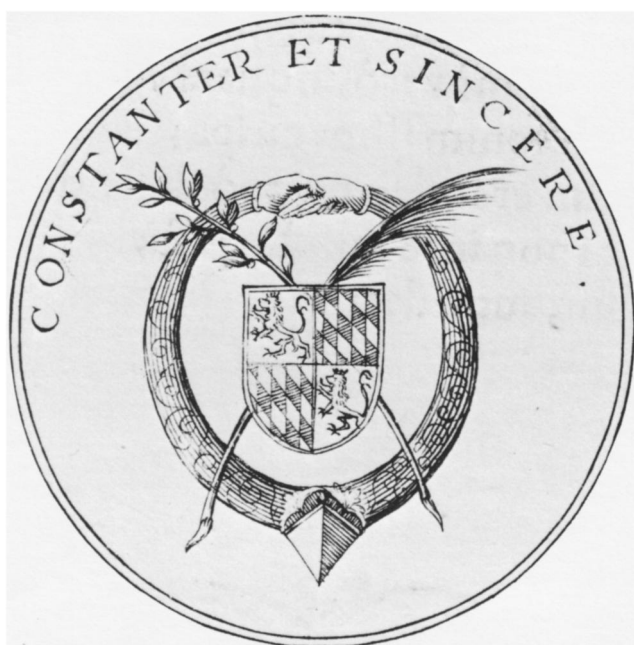
16. The impresa *of Count Palatine (John Casimir) illustrating his hopes for the success of his family in war and peace. From Jacopo Typotius,* Symbola Divina et Humana.

6. Ibid., p.58, fig.30.

7. Ibid., p.18.

8. Ibid., fig.4.

9. Ibid., fig.6.

10. H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery* (1908, reprinted 1973), pl.XX, fig.10.

11. Joan Evans, *A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870* (1973), frontispiece.

12. Herbert Tillander, "A Different Point cut Diamond," *Journal of Gemmology* 12, no.7 (1971).

13. Anna Somers Cocks, ed., *Princely Magnificence* (1981), no.16.

14. Sotheby's, *The Superb Collection of Rings Formed by the Late Monsieur E. Guilhou of Paris* (9 November 1937), no.758.

15. F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman* (1907, reprinted 1968), no.790.

16. Leo Planiscig and Ernst Kris, *Katalog der Sammlungen für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe* (1935), p.9.

17. Somers Cocks, *Magnificence*, no.37.

18. Alvar Gonzales Palacios, ed., *Objects for a Wunderkammer* (London: P and D Colnaghi and Co., 1981), no.5.

19. Somers Cocks, *Magnificence*, no.51.

20. Falk, *Edelsteinschliff*, fig.56 and p.91.

21. Ibid., pp.84-145, for a full discussion of these jewels.

22. Ibid., p.91.

23. Rings set with triangular diamonds are listed in the 1527 inventory of Henry VIII, quoted by H. Clifford Smith, *Jewellery*, p.263; and in the 1587 Inventory of the Jewels of Queen Elizabeth, British Library Royal Mss.App.68, fol.23r., no.360: "Item a ringe of golde enamelled red with a greate diamond cutt made with diverse triangles"; no.364: "a ringe with a triangle diamond"; no.365: "a ringe of golde with a diamonde without foyle cutt with divers triangles and garnished with sparkes of diamonds called a sepulchre."

24. *Natural History,* bk. XXXVII, 15:55-61.

25. Michael Curley, trans., *Physiologus* (1979), pp.62-64.

26. Ionnis Pierii Valeriani, *Hieroglyphica* (1632), Lib.XLI, Cap.XXVI, "Inexpugnabilis," p.520.

27. Abby Hansen, *Sermons in Stones, 'The Symbolism of Gems in English Renaissance Literature* (Doctoral Thesis submitted to the Department of English and American Language and Literature, Harvard University, 1977). Appendix B, annotated and chronological handlist of lapidaries from the beginning to the late seventeenth century, gives the most comprehensive account of these sources.

28. Joan Evans, *Magical Gems of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (1922, reprinted 1976), p.171, quotes this episode from the *Travels* of Sir Jerome Horsey.

29. Thomas Nicols, *A Lapidary or the History of Precious Stones* (1658), p.51. He states that the stone was efficacious if worn in a ring or close to the heart.

30. Joseph Robertson, *Inventaires de la Royne Descosse* (1863), p.xii, n.1.

31. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod.Urb.Lat.899.

32. "Two flaming torches in a ring signify that the diamond chain unites two wills, two hearts, two fires."

33. "I am the Muse Erato and I encircled my lyre with a ring, because married harmony is achieved through the union of two wills in one."

34. Jacopo Typotius, *Symbola Divina et Humana Pontificum Imperatorum Regum* I(1601):133, fig.VIII, and p.135 *Hierographia Simplex.*

35. Charles Oman, *British Rings* (1974):36.

36. Robertson, *Inventaires*, p.112.

37. George Wither, *A Collection of Emblems Ancient and Modern* (1635), ed. Rosemary Freeman and Charles S. Hensley, bk.III (1975):171.

38. Thomas Fuller, *The Holy State*, 3(1648):208.

39. Prince Alexandre Labonoff, ed., *Lettres de Marie Stuart* 3(1844):5.

40. Nicols, *A Lapidary,* p.51.

41. Ibid., p.52.

42. *The Faerie Queene,* bk. I, canto VI, stanza 4. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (1958, reprinted 1968):90, n.28 refers to a mirror framed with an emblematic ring in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and says that this designates the owner of the mirror as both amiable and adamant, *VENUS SEMPER INVICTA* ("Venus ever unconquered").

43. Paolo Giovio, *Dialogo dell'Imprese* (1559):42.

44. Ibid., p.41.

45. Ibid.

46. Marilyn Perry, "Candor Illaesus, the Impresa of Clement VII and other Medici devices in the Vatican Stanze," *Burlington Magazine* 119(1977):676-86.

47. Jacopo Typotius, *Symbola Divina* 3(1603):72, no.4 and p.74.

48. Ibid., p.37, no.4 and see pp.38-39 for the original Latin text.

49. Ibid., p.173, no.5 and p.175.

50. Typotius, *Symbola Divina* 3:44, fig.5 and p.46 *NEC IGNE NEC FERRO.*

51. Ibid., 1:122, fig.3 and p.123 *Hierographia Simplex.*

52. Ibid., p.85, fig.1 and p.229 *Hierographia Duplex.*

53. Ibid., 2:128, fig.1 and 129 *Hierographia XIX.*

54. E. de Freville, "Notice Historique sur l'Inventaire des Biens Meubles de Gabrielle d'Estrées," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes III* (1841-42), p.155: "Another ring set with a table-cut diamond, which the aforementioned Lady of Sourdis has said was the one used by the King to wed the kingdom."

"Un autre diamant en table que ladite Dame de Sourdis a dict celuy duquel le Roy a espouze le royaulme."

55. Benvenuto Cellini, *Autobiography* (trans. George Bull, 1956, reprinted 1964), p.334. The *Trattati* published in 1568 describe contemporary methods of diamond cutting, foiling and setting.

56. Georgii Buchanani, *Opera Omnia,* Tomus Secundus (Louvain: 1725), p.348, poem 11: "The diamond carved into the shape of a heart set in a ring which Mary, Queen of Scots, gave to Queen Elizabeth in 1564."

"Adamas in cordis effigiem Sculptos, annuloque insertus quen Maria Scotorum Regina ad Elizabetham Anglorum Reginam misit anno MD LXIV."

57. Muriel St. Claire Byrne, ed., *The Lisle Letters* 6(1981):183-84.

58. Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* act II, scene I, vv.15-16. Hansen, *Sermons in Stones,* p.178, quotes Mandeville's *Travels* when referring to Lady MacBeth's diamond: "the diamond should be given freely without coveting and without buying and then it is of greater virtue . . . Nonetheless it befalleth often time that the good diamond loseth its virtue by sin and incontinence of him that beareth it and then it is needful to make him recover his virtue again or else it is of little value. . . ."

59. Shakespeare, *Henry VI,* pt. I, act V, scene III, vv.168-69.