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OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Affecter Amphora: A Case Study in the History of Greek Vase Restoration

CAROL E. SNOW
The Walters Art Gallery

The Walters Art Gallery owns a black figure amphora by the Affecter Painter (fig. 1), which is forceful testimony to the artistic and technical excellence of Attic pottery between about 540 and 530 B.C.[1] The Affecter Painter has been extensively studied and is generally considered to be one of the most exceptional artists of his age. Not only has the painter been termed the "best-documented Attic black figure painter," but his work has been described as "excellent and faultless."[2]

From a conservator's perspective, the Affecter amphora has an importance beyond its technique and artistry; it yielded welcome insight into the history of Greek vase restoration. During a recent treatment in the Walters conservation laboratory, where the vase was cleaned, disassembled, and reassembled, we acquired valuable information on the vase's restoration history. The amphora's restorations exemplify the changing philosophies of repair and restoration of antiquities from the sixth century B.C. to the present day. Aspects of these changing philosophies are discussed below.

Let us begin with a description of the amphora's physical condition when it arrived in the laboratory for conservation in 1978. The conservation files had no record of any treatment having been performed on the vase since its acquisition in 1902. Close examination identified nearly 50 percent of the surface as overpaint, indicating that the amphora had been heavily restored, probably in the last half of the nineteenth century, before its purchase by Henry Walters. This observation was reinforced by examination of the amphora under ultraviolet light which showed much of the exquisite detail on the surface to be a restorer's oil paints and not the work of the Affecter Painter whose clay slips, when fired under oxidizing and reducing conditions, produced the typical red and black coloration.[3] Test cleaning revealed that much of the original surface and many significant details remained, but were obscured by restorations. For this reason it was necessary to clean the surface to identify which parts of the painting were original.

The surface was cleaned with solvents that safely and effectively removed the overpaint (fig. 2). During this stage of the treatment, we found out that the amphora had received retouching, or localized painting, after its reassembly and restoration. This subsequent retouching constituted a form of censorship motivated by a modesty quite foreign to the Greek mind. Compare the figures of the satyrs before and after this preliminary cleaning (figs. 1 and 2); the satyrs had originally been depicted as lustful followers of Dionysos. This kind of retouching was not uncommon in works of art bought by late Victorians and early Edwardians, collectors who regularly saw fig leaves applied to ancient sculpture.

Once the overpaint was removed, we were able to see how much of the amphora was intact and how much consisted of fills to replace missing sherds. Closer examination of the cleaned surface drew our attention to sherds of a slightly different appearance, both in color and texture. Through the use of a non-destructive analytical technique, x-ray fluorescence, our suspicions were confirmed: some of the fragments, including significant portions of the Dionysiac scenes, one of the handles, and the foot, were made of modern, fired ceramic sherds. The glaze compositions contained manganese and lead, elements that would not have

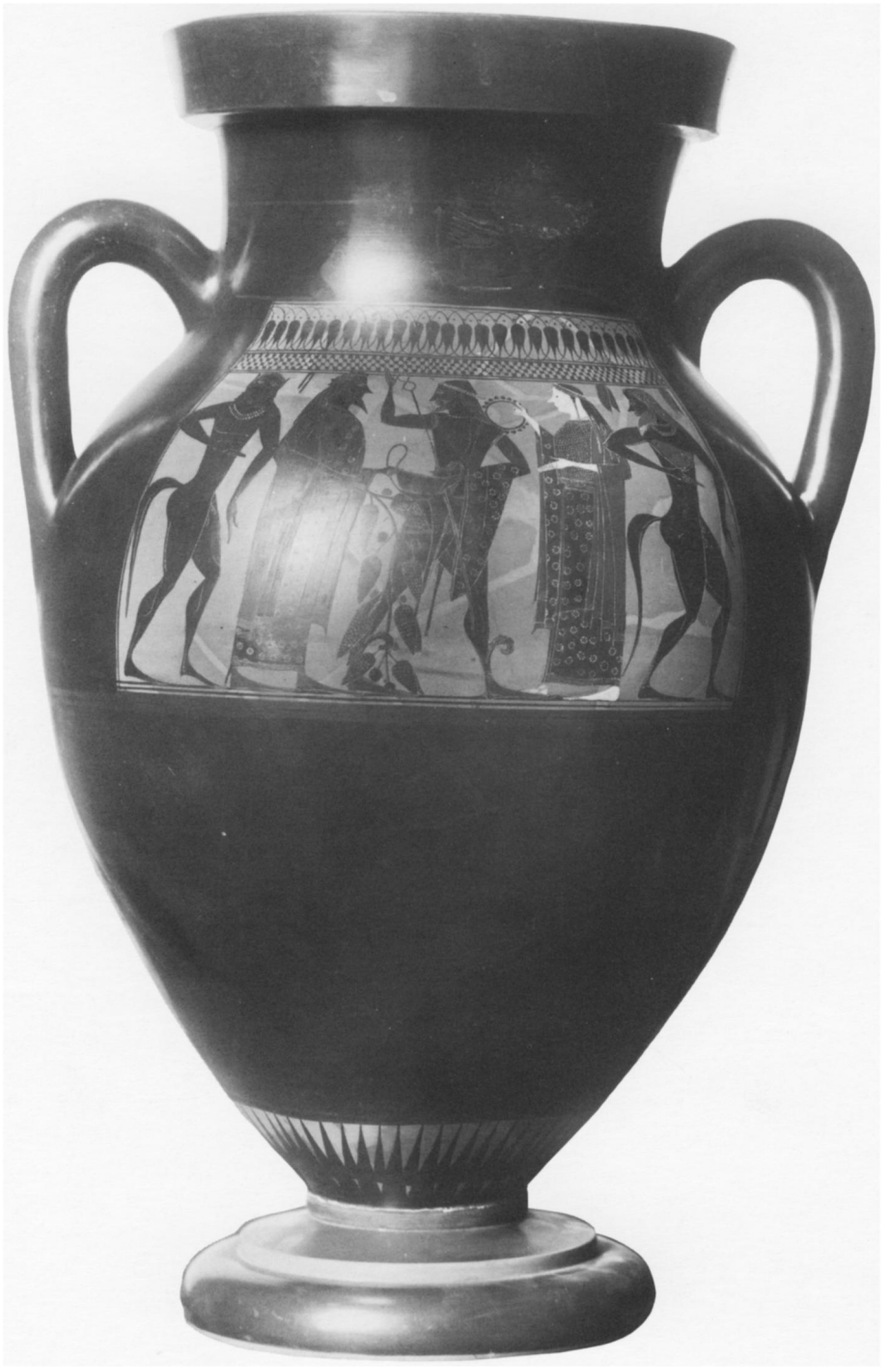


Fig. 1. *The Affecter Amphora,* Attic, 540–530 B.C., Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 48.11 (before treatment).

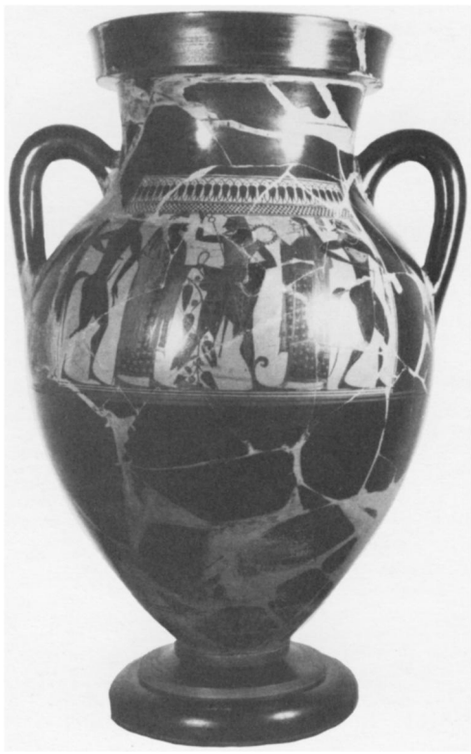


Fig. 2. Another view of Figure 1 (after preliminary cleaning).

been constituents of the original iron oxide slips used by Attic potters. These elements have in fact been detected in restorations and forgeries made by Antonio Scappini and Vincenzo Fiorini of Tarquinia who have been suggested as the two craftsmen responsible for the reconstruction and restoration of the Affecter amphora.[4]

Whoever restored the vase used materials and techniques typical of the late nineteenth century. The philosophy at that time was to restore Greek vases to such a pristine appearance that they looked whole. Many Greek vases were then appearing on the art market in response to the demands of the growing number of art collectors, among them American industrialists such as William and Henry Walters. From the buyer's point of view, the more complete an object was, the more desirable it was. Hence restorations of that period were very deceptive, disguising the damaged states of artifacts.

The customary procedure of nineteenth-century restorers can be described briefly. Shellac was used as an adhesive either as a solution with alcohol or in a liquid state made by heating a solid stick of shellac. It was applied to the edges of broken fragments, and once the fragments were joined together the shellac solidified. If the fragments were out of alignment a join could be reheated over an alcohol lamp to soften the shellac slightly and allow realignment. If the fragments were seriously misaligned, or if a sherd did not quite fit, the edges were filed down until the fit could be made. Replacement sherds were glazed and fired to fill in missing areas of the amphora. Minor losses and chips were filled with plaster. Such a restoration technique demands a high level of craftsmanship to obtain replacement parts whose glaze matches that of an original surface.

On the Affecter amphora, some of the original surface was covered with plaster to smooth over irregularities along the joins. To hide joins and losses, the surface was extensively painted, a process that covered much of the original surface. When the vase was restored in the late nineteenth century, the overpaint probably matched the original surface very closely, but with time the paint discolored and became obvious.

After consultation with the Curator of Greek and Roman Art, Dr. Diana Buitron, the decision was made to disassemble the amphora completely (fig. 3) so that the deceptive nineteenth-century repairs could be replaced with readily apparent plaster restorations. Disassembly would also permit the substitution of a plaster foot of the correct shape.

Once the amphora was disassembled (into approximately 150 pieces), we were able to closely examine the individual fragments. With the back sides accessible, the distinction between the modern ceramic sherds and the ancient parts of the vessel was even more obvious. The replacement pieces were not wheel-thrown as was the original vase, but were made from slabs of clay. On the reverse of the replacement pieces (figs. 4 and 5), the fabrication marks run in a direction different from the horizontal lines left on the original sherds by the ancient potter's wheel.

Ancient repairs on the side and near the foot of the vessel were uncovered after further cleaning of the disassembled fragments. A type of mechanical join was recognized in which two holes were drilled on opposite sides of a break. A channel was worked between the holes on the outside surface, into which a staple of copper or lead was fitted (figs. 6 and 7). Traces of these materials have been observed in repairs on many ancient objects.[5] The antiquity of the holes was substantiated by burial dirt sealed beneath the plaster; it was clear, therefore, that the holes were drilled before the amphora was buried. That the vase was repaired in antiquity is solid and provocative evidence that the piece was highly valued by its ancient owner.

Today it is considered important that both scholars and museum visitors be able to distinguish ancient from modern surfaces. At the same time, it is desirable that aesthetic qualities be presented to full advantage.[6]

One of the basic tenets of contemporary conservation practice is that any materials used in a treatment should be



Fig. 3. Another view of Figure 1 (disassembled).



Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 1, replacement fragment (obverse).

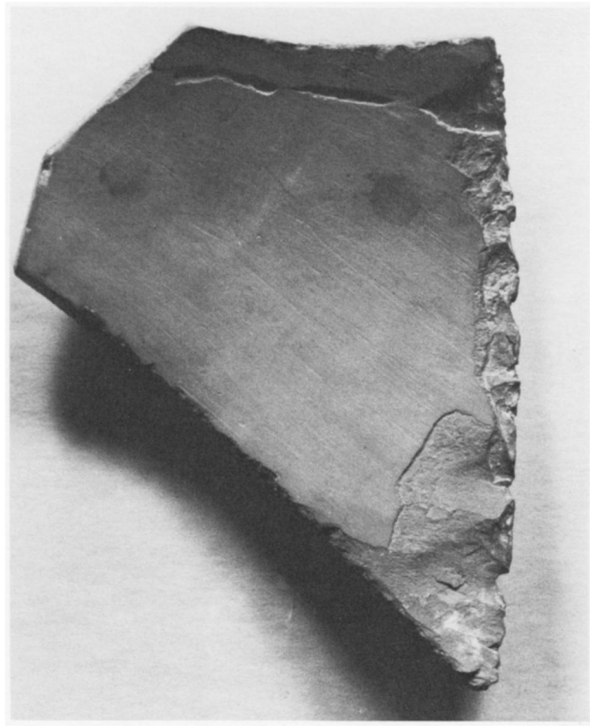


Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 1, replacement fragment (reverse).

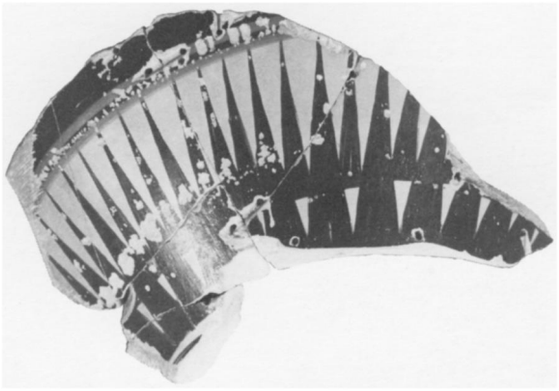


Fig. 6. Detail of Figure 1, fragments from the bottom of the amphora with holes from an ancient repair evident (obverse).

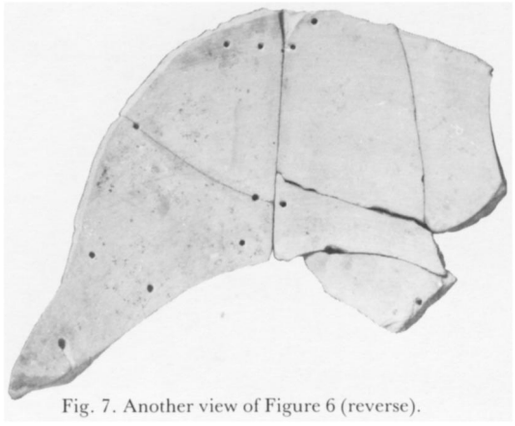


Fig. 7. Another view of Figure 6 (reverse).



Fig. 8. Another view of Figure 1 (reconstruction in progress).

reversible, an objective unknown to the nineteenth-century restorer. For the reconstruction of the Affecter amphora, an adhesive was chosen that is strong, relatively easy to use, and easily reversible. The amphora was carefully reconstructed to ensure that each fragment was well aligned. Losses were filled with plaster. The large fills were reinforced with a lattice constructed of strips of a strong and resilient synthetic material (fig. 8). A new handle and the new base, with an appropriate profile, were cast in plaster and attached to the amphora. Inpainting, or toning, of the losses was done with synthetic paints that are also easily reversible. The inpainting was confined to areas of loss, tinted to match the red and black of the ancient vase and of a matt surface, so that the inpainting can be easily distinguished from the original surface.

In summary, the conservation treatment of the Affecter vase involved examination and analysis, cleaning, disassembly, reconstruction, and restoration. During the treatment we learned that the amphora had been broken and repaired in antiquity. In the nineteenth or early twentieth century, the vase had been restored to a standard that is no longer acceptable, and the depictions of the satyrs adjusted to eliminate what were considered offensive elements. In its current condition (fig. 9), the vase, unadulterated and with minimal intervention on the conservator's part, presents the original work of the Affecter Painter.

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 48.11; H. 59.3 cm, D. of foot 20.8 cm; acquired in 1902 as part of the Massarenti Collection; published in: M. Massarenti, *Cat. Musée . . . Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), II, 48, no. 218; H. Mommsen, *Der Affecter* (Mainz, 1975), 88, no. 17.

2. D. von Bothmer, "The Affecter Amphora," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 38 (1980), 106, hereafter, von Bothmer, "The Affecter Amphora."

3. J. V. Noble, *The Techniques of Painted Attic Pottery* (New York, 1965), 31-33, hereafter, Noble, *The Techniques.*

4. von Bothmer, "The Affecter Amphora," 94; Scappini and Fiorini were active around 1878.

5. Noble, *The Techniques,* 94.

6. In monographs of *The Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* for example, the vases must be presented with all original surfaces revealed. The areas of restoration must be clearly visible in black-and-white photographs and should in no way be misleading.

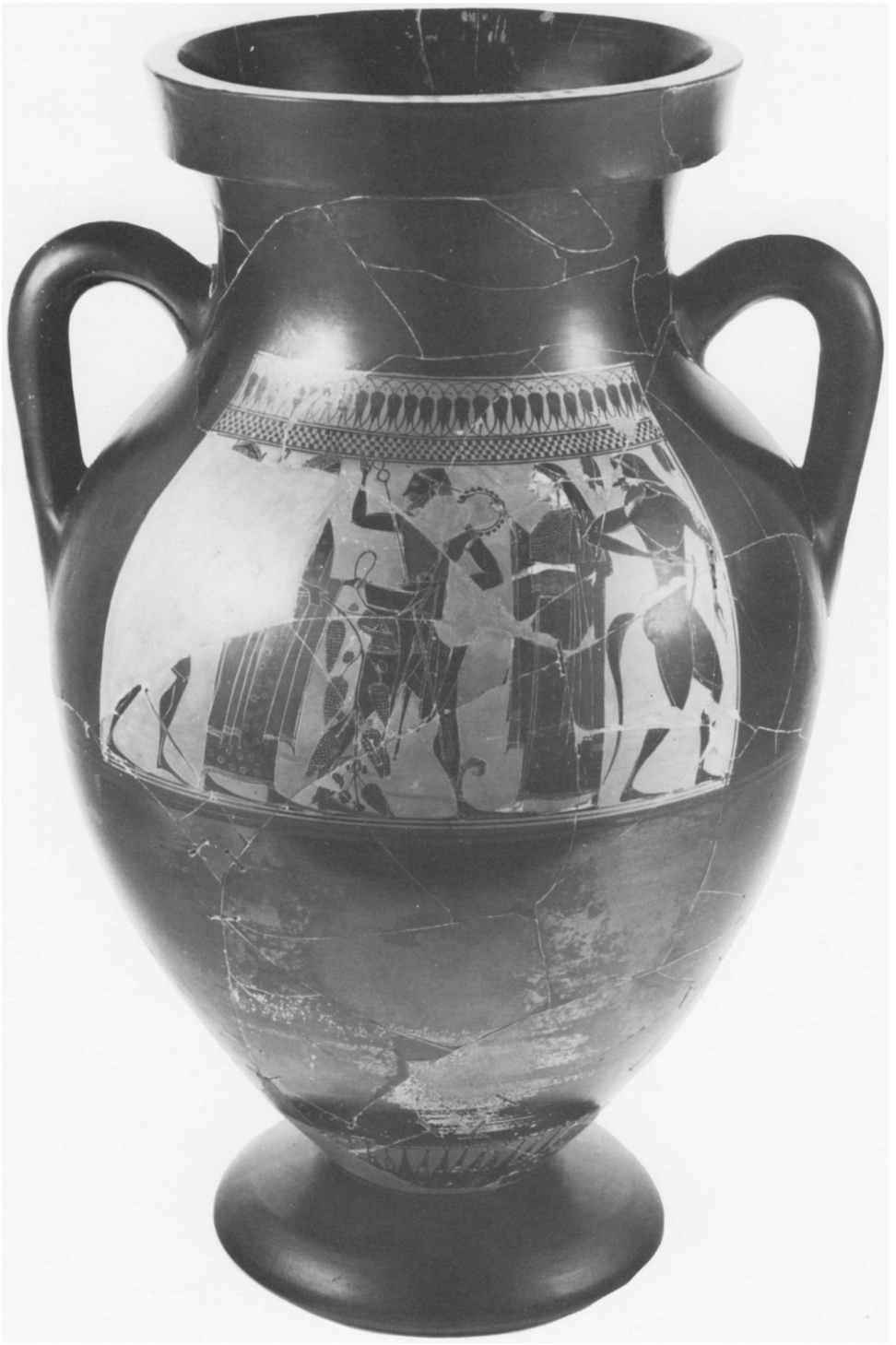


Fig. 9. *The Affecter Amphora* (present condition).

An Inscribed Byzantine Bronze Cross

JOHN NESBITT
Washington, D. C.

Crosses are among the most common objects in bronze to survive from the Middle Byzantine period. Inscribed crosses, however, are quite rare, and rarer still are those bearing multiple inscriptions, such as the present example (figs. 1, 2), recently acquired by the Walters Art Gallery.[1] Three inscriptions appear on the face of the cross: a columnar legend fills the field of the vertical bar, and two linear inscriptions stretch in parallel lines across the length of the horizontal bar. The second of these paired inscriptions has a certain epigraphic importance since it concludes with a phase which, I believe, has been hitherto unrecorded, at least among inscribed metal objects. It may well be that the columnar inscription ended in a phrase of some significance for Marial studies, but unfortunately the lower half of the vertical bar is missing and the inscription is incomplete.

The three inscriptions may be read as follows:

Vertical bar. Columnar inscription:
+CTA/RPOC/THCΠ/ANA/ΓHA/CΘE/
OTO. . . .
+Σταβρὸς τῆς παναγήας Θεοτό[κου].
"Cross of the All-Holy *Theotokos*. . . ."

Horizontal bar. Linear inscription (upper field):
$\overline{\text{KE}}$ BOHΘH TO COΔŎΛO CVNETO
K(ύρι)ε Βοήθη τῶ σῶ δούλο Ενvέτο.
"Lord, help Your servant Synetos."

Horizontal bar. Linear inscription (lower field):
+ $\overline{\text{ΘE}}$ ROHΘH TŎC AΔEΛΦŎC.
Θ(εοτόκ)ε Βοήθη τοὺς ἀδελφούς.
Theotokos, help the brothers,

On the reverse has been the pietistic slogan:
$\overline{\text{HC}}$-[$\overline{\text{XC}}$]-$\overline{\text{NH}}$-$\overline{\text{KA}}$.
Jesus Christ, Victory.

The Middle Byzantine date of this cross is at once betrayed by the shape of the *beta,* which appears as a Latin *R,* a development in epigraphic script that occured after A.D. 850. The lettering, however, more specifically suggests a tenth-century date, in that it may be compared with a bronze votive cross from Nauplia, now in the Corinth Museum, which has been assigned to the tenth century.[2] The Nauplian cross, like the Walters cross, has flaring arms terminating in globules. Its inscription refers to a certain presbyter named Gez(ei)anos. The Nauplian cross is complete and it is interesting to note that near the bottom of the vertical bar appears a drill hole for attachment of a tang or handle.[3] It may well be that the missing portion of the Walters cross had such a hole as well, for, from all appearances, the lower bar became severed from the main body while the cross was being pried loose at a point where there was a firm anchoring.

From the columnar inscription we learn that the Walters cross was dedicated to the All-Holy *Theotokos.* As regards the missing portion of this inscription, only three letters are required to complete the word *Theoto(kos),* hence it is obvious that at least four lines of inscription followed this phrase. It is possible that the inscription ended with a Marial epithet, such as "All-Holy *Theotokos Acheiropoietos*" ("not made by human hands"). Conversely, the inscription might have concluded with a place name, as in the expression "*Theotokos* of the Octagon" (a building complex in Constantinople).[4] In any event, it is sure that the donor of the cross was a certain Synetos, who, since no monastic or clerical title is indicated, was a layman. Synetos was devoted to a particular shrine of the Virgin, or perhaps a Marial cult that promoted reverence of a special icon of the Virgin. It is clear that this shrine or cult had a monastic

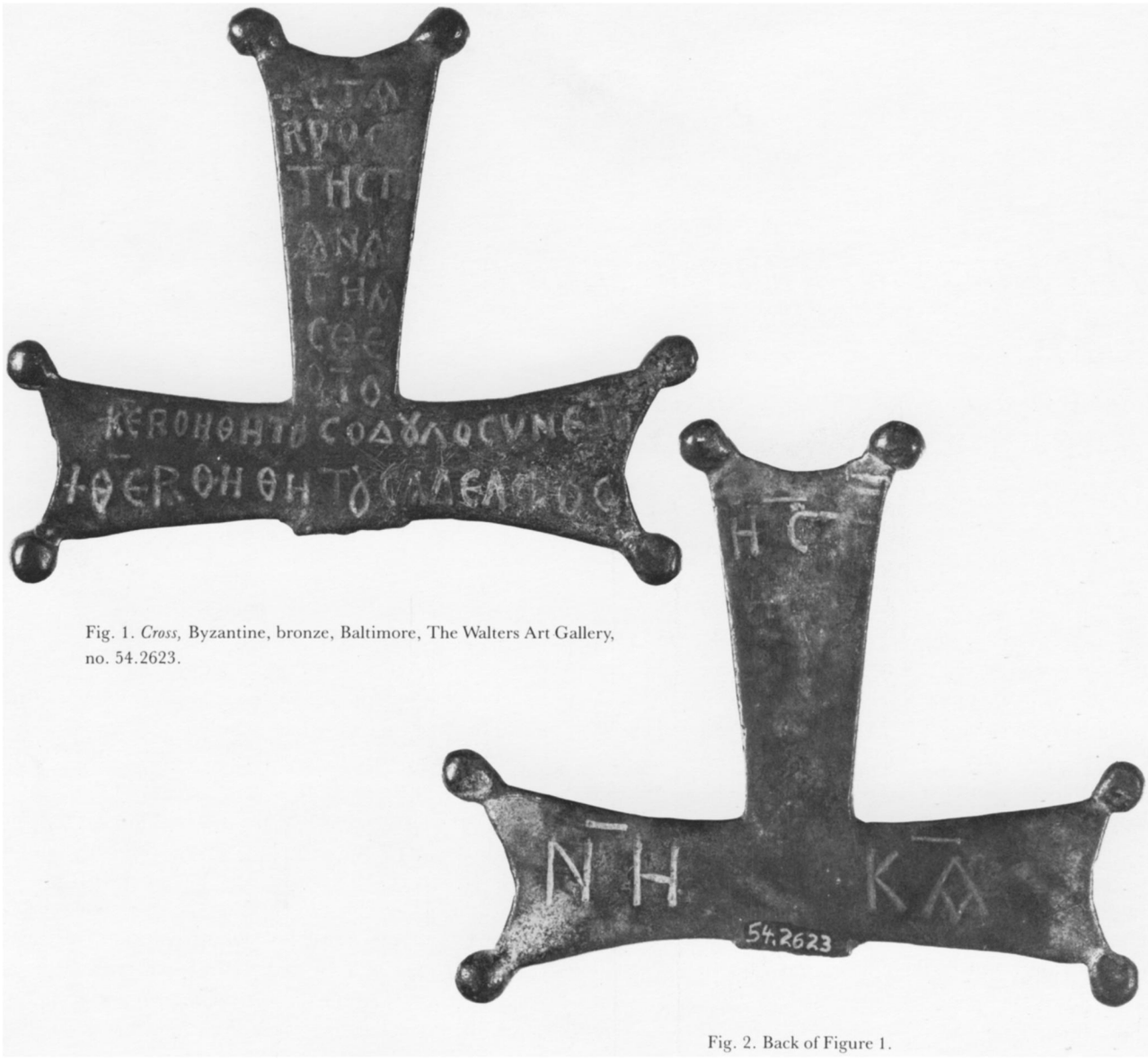


Fig. 1. *Cross,* Byzantine, bronze, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.2623.

Fig. 2. Back of Figure 1.

setting, as Synetos' invocation of the Lord's help is followed by the unusual inscription imploring the Virgin's help for "the brothers." This phrase, which is common in monastic literature, undoubtedly refers to monks.

The Walters cross joins a relatively small group of inscribed bronze crosses that help us to understand the manner in which Byzantine sanctuaries were decorated. "For the sake of a vow" the presbyter Nicetas Gazeianos had a bronze cross, like an *ex-voto,* affixed to a sanctuary wall. "For remembrance and the soul's repose" the family of a certain "Constantine, *chartularios* of the Imperial Arsenals," had a bronze cross similarly displayed. No doubt Synetos' cross was intended as an architectural adornment, but the purpose of his donation is somewhat different. The cross is not so much an *ex-voto* as a simple pietistic expression, honoring the Virgin and the monks who served her.

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 54.2623; (8.2 × 10.9 cm); the lower arm of the cross has been broken off. The piece is unpublished and has no known provenance.

2. *Byzantine Art: A European Art,* Zappeion Exhibition Hall, Athens, 1964, (Athens, 1964), no. 555 (exhibition catalogue).

3. The Nauplian cross, measuring 24 × 17 cm, is much larger than the Walters example. However, the Canellopoulos collection in Athens includes a bronze votive cross with two holes for attachment at top, which measures 6.5 × 6 cm. The Canellopoulos cross, which likely also dates from the tenth century, commemorates the passing of a certain "Constantine, *chartularios* of the Imperial Arsenals." See *Splendeur de Byzance,* Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1982 (Brussels, 1982), Br. 15 (exhibition catalogue).

4. Concerning the Marial terminology *Theotokos Acheiropoietos* and *Theotokos* of the Octagon, see V. Laurent, *Corpus des sceaux,* II (Paris, 1965), nos. 1137, 1168.

A Note on Coptic Sculpture[1]

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The University of California at Irvine

A general uncertainty clouds the study of the art of Christian Egypt. Materials from the Early Christian period were uncovered in both officially conducted excavations, and in unauthorized searches of Egyptian sites during the late nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth. Regrettably, archaeological evidence was destroyed in negligent official explorations, and unofficial finds lost their true provenances to more prestigious labels as they were dispersed.

Two pilaster capitals now at the Fogg Art Museum most likely belong to the category of unofficially discovered architectural sculpture (figs. 1 and 2). Originally a part of the Kevorkian collection, these capitals were said to come from Bawit and were dated to the fifth or sixth century.[2] As such, they were shown at two major exhibitions of Egyptian and Byzantine art, one at the Brooklyn Museum in 1941 and the other organized by The Walters Art Gallery and held at the Baltimore Museum of Art in 1947.[3] Since these capitals have not been studied in detail, neither their dates nor their provenances have been questioned. On the basis of information derived from their decorative elements, a more specific date for their execution may be proposed, and the questions of their provenances addressed.

These compound pilaster capitals, carved from characteristically porous and soft Egyptian limestone, are of similar size and decoration.[4] Typologically they are a fusion of debased Corinthian and two-zoned capitals. The acanthus leaves at the base—two full-faced on the anterior and two half-leaves on the posterior—serve as a lower zone,[5] on which are superimposed two crested birds, probably peacocks. The birds, placed against a foliate background, rest firmly on the projected tips of the acanthus leaves, facing each other across a monogram in the center. The classical abacus has here become a vine-covered ledge. Transition and union of the zones are effected by a chalice motif in the center of each capital. The chalice's straight foot separates the two full acanthus leaves, and the upright cup serves as a background for the monogram and a source for the vine.[6]

The decoration of the capitals, then, is composed of three major motifs: the acanthus leaves, the monograms, and the two birds facing each other across a vessel with a vine. The iconographic interpretations of this last motif—a variation on a well-known theme of Roman and Early Christian art common in all media—are beyond the scope of this study.[7] However, the two other components of the decoration, the monograms and the stylistic rendering of the acanthus leaves, are instructive for the dating and the provenance of the capitals respectively.

Carved monograms of personal names are a characteristic feature of Early Byzantine sculpture. The Fogg monograms (fig. 3) read as follows: IWANNOY and ANΘIMOY.[8] Unfortunately, the bearers of these names cannot yet be otherwise identified. The monograms are of a cruciform type, the chronology of which has been securely established.[9] We know that this monogram type was created for Empress Theodora around A.D. 534, because capitals with her name in this form decorate the ground-floor columns of the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, completed in that year.[10] Lead seals and silver stamps, among other materials, document that the cruciform monogram replaced the earlier box type by the end of the sixth century; seventh-century stamps are almost exclusively of the cruciform type.[11] However, the cruciform monograms themselves underwent certain changes. In early monograms, the transverse bar was either incorporated into the letters or attached to the sides of the letters, but by the end of the sixth century and in the early seventh, the letters were often suspended from the transverse bar (figs. 4 and 5).[12] The hanging *alpha, mu,* and *nu* thus place the Fogg monograms within this late phase and make it unlikely that the capitals date much before A.D. 600.[13]

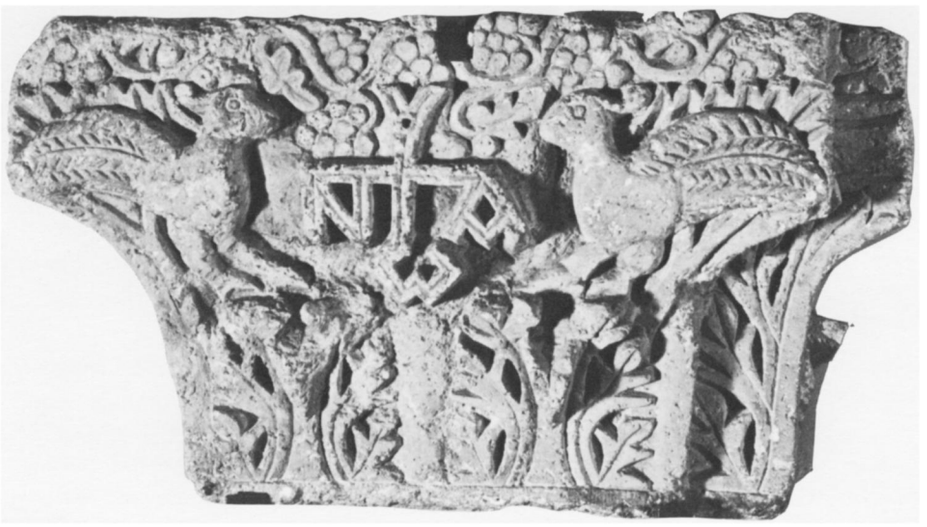


Fig. 1. *Monogram Capital,* c. A.D. 600, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, no. 1975.41.83, gift of The Hagop Kevorkian Collection in memory of Hagop Kevorkian (photo: courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University).

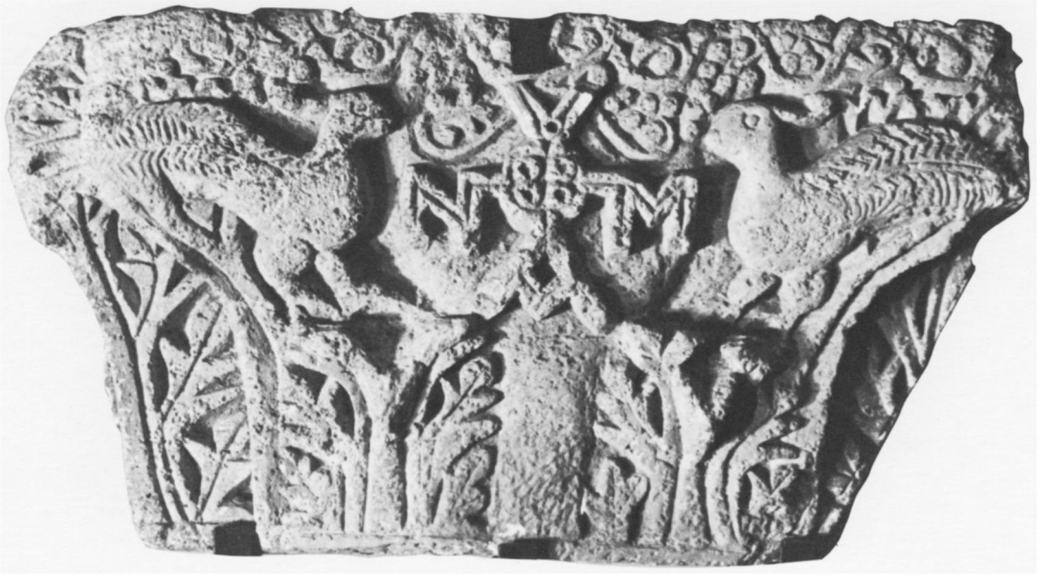


Fig. 2. *Monogram Capital,* c. A.D. 600, Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum, no. 1975.41.84, gift of The Hagop Kevorkian Collection in memory of Hagop Kevorkian (photo: courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University).

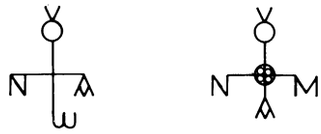


Fig. 3. Monograms of Figures 1 (left) and 2 (right).



Fig. 4. *Lead Seal of Peter the Illustrios,* A.D. 550–650, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 55.1.117 (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Collection).



Fig. 5. *Lead Seal of Sisinnios, Metropolitan,* 7th century, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 58.106.449 (photo: courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks Collection).

A very late sixth- or early seventh-century date for the Fogg capitals is not inconsistent with the form of the chalice motifs of the capitals, whose simple bulbous cups rise from straight feet. The popularity of this type of cup during the sixth and seventh centuries is confirmed by the number of similarly shaped silver chalices with control stamps dated to this period.[14]

Generically the Fogg capitals conform to the rest of Coptic sculpture. They are made of soft, fossiliferous limestone found and frequently used in Middle Egypt. Their decoration is a mixture of unique and ubiquitous elements. To my knowledge, they are the only known capitals, or even architectural fragments, with personal monograms from Egypt. Stylistically, their carving emphasizes the essential form of the motifs, whose considerable relief participates in the interplay of light and shade over the surface. The acanthus leaves in particular are distinctly rendered; their forms rise from the background in straight lines until they terminate in the sharp edges of the planar surfaces of the leaves. The leaves, full and half, have angular outlines; the articulation of the lobes is minimal, the number of their tips reduced. Inner definition of the leaves is limited to simple grooves or lines.

The decoration of the Fogg capitals also permits a more secure identification of their provenance. Although they were said to come from Bawit, no evidence confirms this,[15] and they are without parallel among Bawit sculpture.[16] Their overall decorative scheme and the stylistic rendering of individual components are equally different from other material of established provenance, such as Ahnâs,[17] Saqqara,[18] and Sohâg.[19] In fact, the only sculptures that offer any parallels, particularly in the characteristic type and style of the acanthus leaves, are the inadequately published architectural fragments from the provincial capital of Oxyrhynchus.[20] These fragments, randomly preserved, came from a variety of structures and periods, and thus far no attempt has been made to isolate the later sculpture, especially that of the sixth and seventh centuries.[21] Among the Oxyrhynchus material, there are large numbers of friezes[22] and capitals (figs. 6–8)[23] with acanthus leaves or other vegetal ornament which strongly resemble the stylization found on the Fogg capitals: an emphasis on flat surfaces, uncomplicated and undercarved outlines, and an inner articulation of the leaves limited to a simple line. The volume of this material enables one to observe a development of motifs from earlier, more naturalistic, to later stylized versions.[24] The form of the acanthus leaves of the Fogg capitals accords well with this later phase of the Oxyrhynchus sculpture. The plain vine scroll of the upper part of the capitals can also be seen to derive from earlier, more elaborate relatives, also known from the numerous Oxyrhynchus fragments (fig. 9).[25] The same can be said of the peacocks (fig. 10),[26] although other sites also offer comparisons for these simplified and stylized birds.[27]

However, even the Oxyrhynchus sculpture, as known today, does not furnish an exact parallel for the Fogg capitals. Nevertheless, since many components are related to the Oxyrhynchus fragments but not to material from other sites, I propose that the Fogg capitals be considered examples of a late phase of artistic activity in Oxyrhynchus,[28] the existence of which can be assumed from the historical situation of that city. Byzantine Oxyrhynchus was a prosperous provincial capital,[29] a bishopric, and an important religious center in Middle Egypt.[30] Among the excavated structures, numerous tombs, now only tentatively dated to the sixth century, are known to have been richly fitted with architectural sculpture.[31] I suggest that it is in monuments such as these that the origins of the Fogg capitals be sought.

Although further questions concerning the Fogg capitals need to be answered—most importantly the establishment of their place in the development of two-zoned and monogrammed capitals in general—this, like their iconographic study, is beyond the scope of this paper. Here I would like to propose, on the basis of evidence provided by their decoration, that these two important documents of architectural sculpture from Byzantine Egypt were made in Oxyrhynchus in the early seventh century.

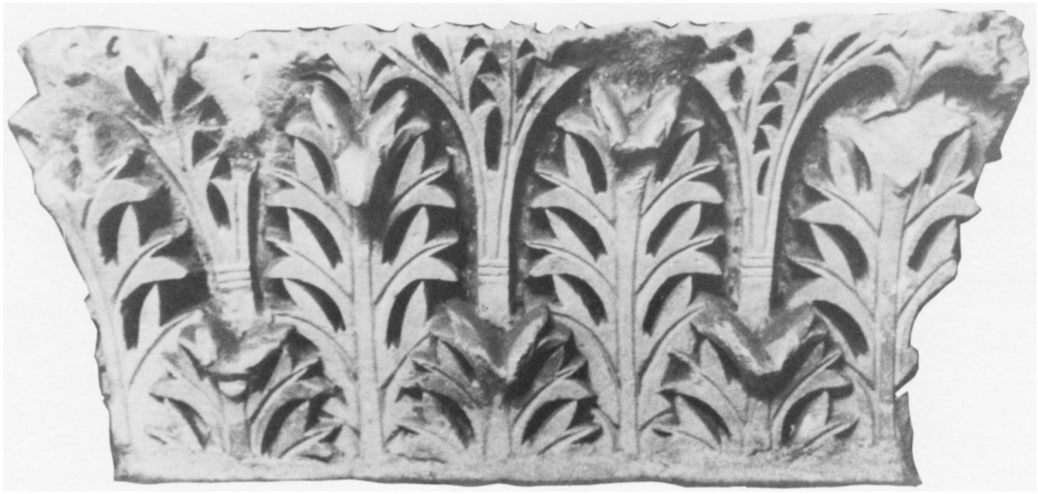


Fig. 6. *Capital from Oxyrhynchus,* Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, no. 22 984 (photo: courtesy of the Graeco-Roman Museum).



Fig. 7. *Capital from Oxyrhynchus,* Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, no. 23 412 (photo: courtesy of the Graeco-Roman Museum).



Fig. 8. *Capital from Oxyrhynchus,* Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, no. 23 460 (photo: courtesy of the Graeco-Roman Museum).



Fig. 9. *Arch Fragment from Oxyrhynchus,* Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, no. 23 504 (photo: courtesy of Josephine Harris).



Fig. 10. *Frieze from Oxyrhynchus,* Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, no. R-682 (photo: courtesy of Josephine Harris).

NOTES

1. This paper is dedicated to Professor Ernst Kitzinger; it was originally prepared as part of an unpublished collection of studies presented to Professor Kitzinger on the occasion of the symposium and exhibition organized to celebrate his retirement as A. Kingsley Porter University Professor, Harvard University, 17 March 1979.

2. Cambridge, Mass., The Fogg Art Museum, acc. nos. 1975.41.83 and 1975.41.84. The capitals are part of a large collection of Coptic sculpture, textiles, and metalwork given to the Fogg Art Museum in 1975 in memory of Hagop Kevorkian by the Hagop Kevorkian Fund.

3. *Pagan and Christian Egypt,* The Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1941), 25-26, nos. 49, 50, hereafter, Brooklyn, *Pagan; Early Christian and Byzantine Art,* The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland (Baltimore, 1947), 30, no. 44 (exhibition catalogues).

4. 1975.41.83: 45 × 82 × 21 cm; 1975.41.84: 46 × 83 × 18 cm. The capitals are in overall good condition. Slightly damaged in the past, they were restored before they were given to the Fogg Art Museum. Acc. no. 1975.41.83 (fig. 1) is missing the left posterior part; the surface was smoothed in restoration. Acc. no. 1975.41.84 (fig. 2) has a fill at the center of the base, and part of the right posterior acanthus leaf was sawn off at some point.

5. Acc. no. 1975.41.83 might have had the posterior half fully carved only on its right side.

6. I would like to thank Eunice Maguire for pointing out the relief cup to me and for many other helpful suggestions.

7. Among architectural sculptures two examples are especially close: the wall capital from St. Demetrius in Thessaloniki, which uses the same compositional scheme and iconographic elements except for the monograms (W. F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* [New York, 1961], pl. 214, hereafter, Volbach, *Early Christian*); and the capital from Stobi (E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 3 [1946], fig. 106).

8. I am grateful to John W. Nesbitt for the reading of the monograms and for sharing with me his knowledge of Byzantine monograms in general.

9. E. Weigand, "Zur Monogramschrift der Theotokos-(Koimesis) Kirche von Nicaea," *Byzantion,* 6 (1931), 412f.; E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, D.C., 1961), 16. For useful comments as to the possible motivation behind the use of personal monograms and their range, see A. Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage," XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, *Akten* I/2, *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 31/2 (1981), 762, 764-772.

10. The year 534 is given by the inscription on a capital of the western exedra (H. Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia,* [Berlin, 1967], pl. 75). For various phases of Theodora's monogram see Kähler, *Die Hagia Sophia,* pls. 73 and 78; E. M. Antoniades, *Ekphrasis tis Hagias Sophias* (Athens, 1907-09), II, figs. 292 and 467.

11. Above, note 9.

12. I am grateful to John Nesbitt for providing me with comparative monograms of Byzantine lead seals from the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, acc. nos. 55.1.117 and 58.106.449; see also G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), I, pts. 1 and 4, nos. 460 and 492b, pls. 58 and 59. No. 460 is dated to 550-650, no. 492b to the seventh century.

13. Similar dating based on the monogram type was independently proposed by E. Lucchesi-Palli, "Eine Gruppe koptischer Stelen und die Herkunft ihrer figürlichen Motive und Ornament," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* 24 (1981), 128, n. 117, hereafter, Lucchesi-Palli, "Eine Gruppe." I wish to thank Professor Kitzinger for pointing out this article to me.

14. E.g. the chalice of Symeonios, A.D. 527-565, found in Hama, Syria, and now in The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57.633, (M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* [Baltimore, 1986]), no. 1, hereafter, Mundell Mango, *Silver Treasure*). For other similar silver chalices see also E. C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern, 1973), 13-23. The decoration of Early Byzantine silver cups varies from a simple dedicatory inscription along the rim to a more elaborate program in repoussé or niello. With respect to the relationship between the chalice and the monogram on the Fogg capitals, it is unlikely that the capitals represent a monogrammed chalice similar to the chalice with a christogram from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Mundell Mango, *Silver Treasure,* no. 73). Rather, I propose to interpret the Fogg composition as a synthesis of favored available and current decorative and dedicatory elements. For an example of a monogram flanked by peacocks, see the chair of Maximianus in Ravenna (Volbach, *Early Christian,* pl. 226).

15. Random attribution of Coptic material is commonplace. During the accessioning of the Kevorkian collection for the Fogg Art Museum, only a single piece (acc. no. 1975.41.50) could be securely attributed to Bawit (Brooklyn, *Pagan,* no. 41), although the entire collection entered the museum under this tentative provenance. For a similar situation, see E. Lucchesi-Palli, "A Coptic Stele with the Female Bust in the British Museum," *Enchoria,* 8 (1978), (Sonderband), 101(147) and 104(150). I wish to thank Mme. Lucchesi-Palli for providing me with a copy of her article.

16. H.-G. Severin expressed similar reservations as to the Bawit attribution in Lucchesi-Palli, "Eine Gruppe," 128, n. 116. For the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, see J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît,* Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, XII, (2 vols), (Cairo, 1904–06); XXXIX (Cairo, 1916); E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouît,* Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire XIII, (Cairo, 1911); H. Torp, "The Carved Decoration of the North and South Churches at Bawit," *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühchristliche Skulptur* (Mainz am Rhein, 1971), II, 35–41; H.-G. Severin, "Zur süd Kirche von Bawit," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo,* 33 (1977), 113–124.

17. For the sculpture from Ahnâs, see J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst,* Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire (Vienna, 1904), 44–58, 72–74; U. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnâs* (Milan, 1923); E. Kitzinger, "Notes on Coptic Sculpture," *Archaeologia,* 87 (1938), 183–89, hereafter, Kitzinger, "Notes"; L. Török, "On the Chronology of the Ahnâs Sculpture," *Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum hungaricae,* 22 (1970), 163–82.

18. For the Saqqara sculpture, see J. F. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara,* vols. 2–4, (Cairo, 1908, 1909, 1912); Kitzinger, "Notes," 189–93; H.-G. Severin in P. Grossmann and H.-G. Severin, "Reinigungsarbeit im Jeremiaskloster bei Saqqara. Vierter vorlaüfiger Bericht," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo,* 38 (1982), 170–93.

19. For the sculpture from Sohâg, see U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohâg,* 2 vols., (Milan, 1926); P. Ackermann, *Le décor sculpté du Couvent Blanc* (Cairo, 1977).

20. Oxyrhynchus, modern el-Bahnasa, was excavated sporadically between 1896 and 1934, and is being excavated at present. A substantial part of the Oxyrhynchus fragments is at the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos,* London, 1925, hereafter, Petrie, *Tombs;* E. Breccia, *Le musée gréco-romain, la municipalité d'Alexandrie, 1925–1931* and *1932* (Bergamo, 1932 and 1933), hereafter, Breccia, *Le musée I* and Breccia, *Le musée II.* Information from the vast quantity of papyri recovered from this site attests to important building activities in the city including a great number of churches. This information is confirmed by the amount of architectural fragments. However, a comparative study of Oxyrhynchus material, and even its internal organization, is still lacking. For the history of Oxyrhynchus, see E. G. Turner, "Roman Oxyrhynchus," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* 38 (1952), 78–93; I.-F. Fikhman, *Oksirinkh, gorod papirusov* (Moscow, 1976), hereafter, Fikhman, *Oksirinkh.* The early group of the Oxyrhynchus sculptures was discussed by Kitzinger, "Notes," 195–201; see also A. Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology. The Art of the Christian Egyptians from the Late Antique to the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), esp. 137–142, hereafter, Badawy, *Coptic Art.*

21. As many as 800 fragments, now scattered in various museums and collections, can be identified as from Oxyrhynchus.

22. Petrie, *Tombs,* pl. XLV.6; Breccia, *Le musée I,* pl. XLVIII, no. 174; *idem, Le musée II,* pl. XXX, bottom right.

23. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, acc. no. 22984 (also in Breccia, *Le musée I,* pl. XLIV, 115); acc no. 23412 (unpublished); acc. no. 23460 (unpublished).

24. Breccia, *Le musée I,* pl. XLI, no. 148; *idem, Le musée II,* pl. XLIV (acc. no. 23550); Petrie *Tombs,* pl. XLV, 1.

25. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, acc. no. 23503, unpublished, shown here with the kind permission of Prof. Josephine Harris from her forthcoming catalogue of the Oxyrhynchus sculpture (no. 53); for other examples of the scroll see Breccia, *Le musée I,* pl. XLV, and *idem, Le musée II,* pl. XXXI, 94.

26. Alexandria, Graeco-Roman Museum, inv. no. R–682, Prof. Harris's catalogue, no. 137; Breccia, *Le musée II,* pl. XL, 104.

27. E.g. a capital, said to come from Saqqara and presently in the Coptic Museum, Cairo (inv. no. 8688; M. E. 7345) in J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture 300–1300* (London, 1963), 52, fig. 26; or a capital from Barce, in J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Christian Antiquities of the Cyrenaican Pentapolis," *Bulletin de le société d'archéologie copte,* 9 (1943), pl. 5.

28. The attribution to Oxyrhynchus is also supported by circumstantial evidence; it is from this site that the majority of fragments presently in the Fogg Art Museum comes, as I was able to demonstrate during the accessioning of the Kevorkian collection. Also, a great number of unpublished pieces in the Graeco-Roman Museum appear to be carved from similar soft and fossiliferous limestone.

29. Badawy, *Coptic Art,* 27; but especially Fikhman, *Oksirinkh, passim.*

30. *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* (ed. and trans., A.-J. Festugière, *Subsidia hagiographica,* 53 [1971]), V.

31. Petrie, *Tombs,* 16–18.

The Medieval Monastery as a Setting for the Production of Manuscripts

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Preface

In the summer of 1984 I received an invitation from The Walters Art Galley to deliver a lecture on the monastery as a setting for the production of manuscripts. It was to be part of a lecture series built around an exhibition of illuminated manuscripts owned by The Walters and arranged by Lilian Randall to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of that gallery as a public museum. The exhibition (21 November 1984–13 January 1985) culminated in the publication of an illustrated catalogue, *Illuminated Manuscripts, Masterpieces in Miniature: Highlights from the Collection of the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1984). As I discussed my assignment with Lilian Randall my thoughts turned, of course, immediately to the scriptorium delineated on the famous Plan of St. Gall, about which much remains to be said. Uncautiously I accepted the task on the strength of enthusiasm.

As I began to work, my prime objective was to assemble around the Scriptorium of the Plan of St. Gall whatever visual evidence I could find of the architecture of other distinctive medieval scriptoria. After about a month of work I had to face the realization that I could not point with any degree of certainty to a single surviving medieval scriptorium. I knew that a rich body of literary references to medieval scriptoria existed, much of which I had already discussed in a book on the Plan of St. Gall, published with Ernest Born in 1979.[1] But the further I searched for physically surviving structures, the deeper I sank into shifting sand, till I finally had to admit that my efforts were futile.

I had come across some structures in Ireland during the course of the last three years while conducting a study of early monastic architecture on Skellig Michael and other Atlantic offshore islands which were referred to as scriptoria by oral tradition, but Irish architecture of the highwater mark days of medieval book illumination, when the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells were written, was so different from anything in England and on the Continent that no trustworthy conclusions could be drawn from comparing it with any other architectural tradition.

When Ernest Born and I wrote *The Plan of St. Gall,* we were not aware of the unique position the Scriptorium drawn on this plan held in the history of scriptorial architecture of the Middle Ages. The total absence of any surviving example stirred in us the desire to re-analyze the Scriptorium of the Plan in the light of this new perspective and to render it in reconstruction drawings for our audience at The Walters Art Gallery and the general student of medieval architecture. Ernest Born, with his customary generosity, was willing to cooperate; the reconstructions in Figures 4 and 7–11 are the result of his efforts.

In view of the profound effect the Plan of St. Gall had on later monastic planning, we may assume with reasonable assurance that scriptoria of the type shown there formed an integral part of many later monastic churches.[2] The Plan thus may serve as a reliable substitute for the unbridgeable gap in archaeological evidence.

But other factors made our task more complex than

we originally envisaged. My views about the spiritual connection of the Plan of St. Gall with the two reform synods held in Aachen in 816 and 817 have been challenged during and since the publication of our book.[3] This called for an inclusion in this study of some remarks on the origins and the spiritual home of the plan in order to respond to these views. As I commenced to put into words what Ernest Born interpreted with persuasive graphic clarity, I became more fully aware that the particular area of the Plan of which the Scriptorium and Library form an integral part, i.e., the Transept and Presbytery of the Church, was more complex and more demanding of interpretation than any other. This forced us to include in this study a section describing the design principles of the Plan, to serve as an interpretive base.

The Scriptorium of the Plan of St. Gall

Origin and Conceptual Home of the Plan

The Plan of St. Gall is one of the principal treasures of the formerly monastic but now episcopal library of the City of Sankt Gallen in Switzerland. It is a copy made around 820 in the island-monastery of Reichenau of an original document whose genesis remains controversial. We have set forth in *The Plan of St. Gall* the reasons why we think that it was the copy of an architectural scheme worked out during two reform synods held by the leading bishops and abbots of the empire, in the palace of Emperor Louis the Pious at Aachen, in the years 816 and 817. In the face of a number of differing opinions, we continue to hold this view.

The goal of these two synods was the establishment of a universally binding rule to replace the mixed rules that had marked monastic life during the two proceding centuries. The arrangement of buildings on the Plan of St. Gall, in the same manner, aimed at establishing rules to guide the architectural layout of a monastery.

The Plan consists of five separate sheets of calfskin, sewn together to form a master sheet thirty-three-and-a-half inches wide and forty-four inches long. (pl. 1). Delineated on its recto are outlines of all the buildings that the inventors of the scheme considered indispensible for an exemplary Benedictine monastery. It is not the delineation of any existing monastic settlement. It is a master plan of ideal buildings and their topographic relation to one another. This is the great historical significance of the Plan.

From the style of its script, as well as other explanatory annotations, it can be inferred that the Plan was made in the abbey of Reichenau.[4] A dedicatory inscription written on the upper margin informs us that it was a copy (of some original about whose nature we are left in the dark) and that it was made for a man called Gozbert, of whom we know through other sources that he served as abbot of St. Gall from 816 to 836.[5] Since the author of the Plan addresses its receiver as "my sweetest son" (*dulcissime fili*), he must have been a man of higher rank than Gozbert. This would be in full agreement with the assumption that the Plan was made under the direction of Abbot Haito of Reichenau (806–823) who was also bishop of Basel (803–823) and in this capacity outranked Gozbert. Some decorative details of the Plan suggest that it originated in or around the Court School of Aachen.[6]

Our interpretation of the relationship of the Plan of St. Gall to the monastic reform movement was questioned in 1980 by Paul Meyvaert[7] and in 1983 by Edward A. Segal.[8] Meyvaert, on the basis of a new interpretation of the dedicatory inscription of the Plan, which I find hard to follow, concluded that the Plan was not a copy, but an original creation of Haito's and that no convincing evidence supported our contention that the Plan had any connection with the two synods of Aachen. Segal, for different reasons, arrived at the same conclusion. He was unfamiliar with Meyvaert's views and my response to the latter published in 1981.[9]

This is not the place to enter the thorny underbrush of argument generated by these discussions. I shall simply summarize briefly the reasons why I cannot subscribe to the views of my critics. First, they run counter to the interpretation of the dedicatory inscription of the Plan by two most distinguished German medievalists, Alphons Dopsch and Bernhard Bischoff, who both agree that the crucial term *exemplare,* by which the author of the Plan referred to his work, implies that it was a copy.[10] Second, they run counter to observations made by me concerning internal evidence that the Plan was made by the process of tracing.[11] Third, these views fail to explain the dimensional inconsistencies of the Plan. The men who designed the original scheme supplied the Church with a length of three hundred feet and placed the columns of the nave twenty feet apart. Yet two explanatory legends (one written along the longitudinal axis of the Church, the other in the interstices between the columns) modify the drawing. They state that the length of the Church should be only two hundred feet (*AB ORIENTE IN OCCIDENTEM LONGITUDO PEDUM CC*) and the columnar interstices twelve feet (*bis seno metire pedes interque columnas*). I am convinced, and have so expressed in earlier studies as well as in the *The Plan of St. Gall,* that the inconsistencies between the design of the Church and the inscriptions reflect a controversy about the desirable length of an exemplary monastery church that troubled the imperial court at Aachen during the very years the two reform synods were held in the emperor's palace.[12] The controversy originated in the abbey of Fulda, whose abbot, Ratger, in the wake of the

exuberance that seized the empire after Charlemagne's coronation at Rome (A.D. 800), had started to build a church almost as long as the great metropolitan church of Old St. Peter's. This was a colossal undertaking for a community of no more than 200 to 300 monks. (Old St. Peter's was 112 meters long; Fulda approximately 98.) Within the decade, Ratger's monks protested; in 812 they went so far as to send a delegation to Charlemagne, entreating him to put a halt to the construction of Ratger's "oversized and superfluous buildings" (*aedificia immensa atque superflua*) because this taxed the brothers beyond endurance, left no time for the *lectio divina,* and threatened to exhaust the monastery's economic resources.[13] The petition was denied, perhaps for understandable reasons: Hildebold, the emperor's chief advisor, at that very time was involved in constructing a church of almost the same dimensions.[14] Between 816 and 817—the crucial years during which we think the scheme for the original plan was developed—the dissenting monks of Fulda approached the court once more with their complaint. By now the climate had changed. Abbot Ratger was deposed in favor of Eigil, leader of the dissenters.

If the Plan of St. Gall were not a copy but an original worked out by Bishop Haito at Reichenau before his death in 823, how would one explain the conflict between the dimensions of the Church as rendered in the drawing with the corrective measurements given in its explanatory titles? Why would these directives not have been incorporated into the drawing from the very outset? The original scheme of the Plan was never changed to comply with this new climate of moderation that is acknowledged in its corrective textual annotations. To implement them in the drawing would have required radical revision in the layout of the Church itself, and even more critically, in the relation of the Church to the buildings around it. This could only have been accomplished by drafting an entirely new Plan.

In a fascinating study published in 1948, Otto Doppelfeld advanced the theory that the inconsistencies beween the drawing and the measurements given in the inscriptions of the Church can be easily resolved by assuming that the scribe who wrote the legends converted the figure 300 (in Latin: CCC) into 200 (CC) by inadvertently dropping one of the C's and that he committed a second error by confusing a d with an s and thus converting the crucial word *bis denos* ("twice ten") of the intercolumnar legends in the nave arcades into *bis senos* ("twice six").[15]

Doppelfeld's argument was ingenious and persuasive, but it was challenged in 1956 by Walter Boeckelmann with an interpretaion no less ingenious and no less persuasive. The incompatibility between the drawing and the explanatory title, Boeckelmann contended, was not the product of an erring scribe, but the reflection of a conflict that had arisen at the council of Aachen in 816 between the bold dimensional thinking that animated the leaders of the church under the reign of Charlemagne and the constrictive views of the reform party that grasped for control under Louis the Pious. The "old guard" plan had come under criticism by the reform party. The dimensions listed in the inscriptions were not meant to explain the drawing but to correct it. Since the proponents of the corrective measurements did not take it upon themselves to revise the drawing, "the disagreement was not solved in the Plan, and the conflict remained preserved."[16]

Faced with a choice between Doppelfeld's and Boeckelmann's conjecture Ernest Born and I decided in favor of the latter. We could not conceive that scribal errors of the kind envisaged by Doppelfeld would have gone uncorrected in a document of such importance produced by Abbot Haito of Reichenau under the supervision of the learned Reginbert of that monastery—as now is generally assumed but was not known at the time of Doppelfeld's writing.[17] We had reasons of our own, based on the analysis of other aspects of the Plan, to believe that there indeed existed a serious ideological split at the synods of Aachen between an old conservative group of churchmen and the leaders of the reform party.[18]

Unknown to Born and me when we wrote our book, and likewise unknown to Meyvaert and Segal, Norbert Strachura in 1978 and 1980 made the fascinating discovery that, contrary to what we had said, clear evidence of underdrawing existed in certain areas of the Plan.[19] He has furnished incontrovertible proof that under the western apse of the Church and its semicircular atrium the draftsman experimented, in underdrawings, with a number of different solutions which were not identical with the finally adopted version. The existence of such forms of experimentation, Strachura contends, is incompatible with the assumption that the Plan of St. Gall is a copy made by the process of tracing.

Strachura's physical observations are incontestable, and Ernest Born and I are grateful for having been corrected and enriched in our knowledge about the Plan in this matter—but we cannot with the best of intentions concur with Strachura's conclusions. The experimental underdrawings discovered by Strachura are confined to a surface area no more than 80 by 60 feet. This amounts to no more than one-sixteenth of the total surface area of the site upon which the Plan is drawn (400 by 640 feet).

Strachura did not find any similar accumulation of experimental underdrawings anywhere else on the Plan. He totally disregards the fact that in the fifteen remaining sixteenths of the total surface area of the Plan this scheme of buildings has no underdrawings where an infrastructure of guiding lines would have been a prime condition for the elaboration of an original scheme, e.g., in the overall alignment of its buildings lengthwise and crosswise throughout

the entire width and height of the Plan. We have demonstrated this fact in Figures 7 and 8 on pages 16 and 17 of *The Plan of St. Gall* and could do so even more effectively in drawing attention to the multitude of linear deflections in the alignment of single and double rows of buildings as they would easily occur in the process of tracing, but are incompatible with an original drawing. We are drawing special attention to the buildings shown on sheets 4 and 5 of the Plan (see pl. 1) and most significantly to the double row of buildings for the domestic livestock and their keepers shown on sheet 5 whose linear deflections surpass anything else on the Plan and could never have done so had their course been controlled by a linear grid of underdrawn coordinates as it would have to have been if the Plan of St. Gall had been an original creation.

But even more crucial than this is the total absence of any form of underdrawing in such buildings as the Dormitory and the Refectory (pls. 4 and 5), whose internal layout is so intricate that it could not possibly have been worked out without an elaborate grid of linear coordinates. Yet nowhere in any of these places could Strachura identify even the slightest trace of such coordinating linear grids. Their absence in all of these crucial buildings is fully understandable, if we assume—as we continue to do—that the Plan was made by the process of tracing from an original whose lines were thick and strong enough to be recognizable through sheets of parchment laid over the original and attached to the latter in the process of tracing.

The sporadic appearance of centerpoints or simple prickings, to which Strachura draws attention, and one short stretch of a straight line in the Bathhouse and Laundry (Strachura, 1980, fig. 4) is fully compatible with the process of tracing; and this holds true in a special sense for the semicircle which Strachura discovered under the eastern atrium of the Church because this circle cuts across two adjacent sheets of parchment and would therefore have helped to properly coordinate these sheets as they were attached to one another.

The experimental underdrawings beneath the western apse and atrium of the Church, however, we must admit remain a puzzle. Could they be explained by the conjecture that in this area of the Plan the original was damaged? Or could the maker of the copy have instructed his draftsman to seek a solution that would shorten the length of the Church in at least partial compliance with the corrective dimensions given in the inscription of the Plan? We may have to face the truth of ultimately not being able to solve every puzzle presented by the Plan of St. Gall.

In continuing to stress the conceptual affinity of the Plan of St. Gall with the monastic reform movement culminating in the two reform synods held in the palace of Emperor Louis the Pious at Aachen in 816 and 817, I wish to make it clear that nowhere in the text of our book have I expressed the view that the Plan was formally adopted in either synod, and even less the idea that it forms an "apex" or "keystone" of the resolutions passed in these assemblies.[20] We must count with the possibility that it was submitted for discussion, even proposed for adoption, but it could not possibly have been endorsed in these meetings because the dimensions of the most important monastic structure of the Plan, its Church, were at the time these synods were held, anathema at the court of Louis the Pious.

It is, however, conceivable that Haito had a share in the conceptual, if not physical, creation of the original scheme. He at least had access to a copy of that original, perhaps even the original itself, since without one or the other he could not have produced the Reichenau copy. Like Hildebold of Cologne, Haito was of a generation of men who had reached the zenith of their careers under Charlemagne. He was accustomed to broader terms of political and ecclesiastical thought than those that prevailed during the reign of Louis the Pious, when the power of advice shifted to the protagonists of a new religious austerity spearheaded by such men as Benedict of Aniane, the emperor's friend and most potent advisor. That Haito was capable of disagreeing can be inferred from the tenor of disapproval with which he expressed himself on some of the resolutions taken at Aachen in his report to the monks of Murbach about the legislation adopted during the first synod (see above, and note 18).

In arguing these issues, however, let us not forget: we are moving in the realm of historical speculation, not on the firm ground of demonstrable truth.

Principles of Design

The Plan is drawn to a scale in which one foot equals one-sixteenth of an inch.[21] This corresponds roughly to the proportional scale of 1:200 (exactly 1:192)—a ratio that one would consider even today ideal for a plan of this kind, as it allows legibility of detail without obscuring primary features. The simplicity and clarity with which the Plan is drafted are the result of policy decisions in design that have no parallel in any other architectural drawing of the Middle Ages.

The first and most remarkable is an ingenious combination of design and explanatory textual annotations enabling the maker to confine himself in the drawing to matters which he considers to be of primary importance; second, an almost uncanny ability to omit in the drawing details which would have marred the clarity of the primary architectural message. The former principle finds expression in the avoidance of overloading the design by combining on the same plane features that belong to different levels, the latter in the omission of access stairs from the

ground floor to the upper levels of a building composed of several stories. Whether a building is composed of two stories or of only one is expressed not in the actual drawing, but by explanatory inscriptions. The only striking exception to this practice is the area that forms the subject of the present study—the Scriptorium and Library and those parts of the Church of which they form an integral part, the Presbytery and the Transept (pl. 2). To enable our readers to evaluate the merits or demerits of our interpretation of this the most difficult section of the Plan we must briefly discuss the principles that govern the design in other areas of the drawing.

Thirty-five of the forty-odd buildings composing the monastery are ground-floor structures. Four are double-storied. The Church, however, combines in its Transept and Presbytery no fewer than five different levels. Let us examine the ways in which the author of the Plan coped with this problem.

Single-story Structures

The plan of the House for Fowlkeepers is a typical and easily interpretable example of a ground-floor structure (pl. 3).[22] It consists of a rectangular center space, the "common living room" (*domus communis*), and two long rooms, the "dwelling for the keeper of the chickens" (*mansio pullorum custodis*), and the "dwelling for the keeper of the geese" (*item custodis aucarum*). As everywhere else on the Plan, walls are rendered in single-line projection, and inscriptions designate the function of this and similar houses (as well as furnishings, where furnishings are rendered). A typical example of this type of house is depicted in *A Farm in Sunlight* by Meindert Hobbema (pl. 3a).[23] Most of the guest and service buildings of the Plan of St. Gall are variants of this building type.

Double-storied Structures

Whether or not a building is a single- or double-storied structure cannot be extrapolated from the drawing alone, but is made clear by an explanatory title. The maker of the Plan confines himself to drawing either the lower or the upper of the two levels, and never (with the exception just cited) mixes or intercalates features of one with those of the other. The three most outstanding examples of this category of buildings are the Monk's Dormitory, Refectory, and Cellar (pls. 4, 5, and 6).[24]

An inscription reveals that the Dormitory (pl. 4) occupies the upper level of a structure accommodating, on the ground floor, the Monks' Warming Room (*subtus calefactoria domus, supra dormitorium*). By contrast, the Refectory (pl. 5) is on the ground floor and the Monks' Vestiary above it (*infra refectorium, supra vestiarium*). The Cellar (pl. 6) is a ground-floor delineation and is surmounted by the Monks' Larder and Storehouse (*infra cellarium, supra lardarium et aliorum necessariorum repositio*). All of this we are told by inscriptions.

In laying out these buildings, the maker of the Plan did not limit himself to the same level in all cases. He chose instead to draw whichever story required more attention to detail. He made a choice, and in so doing displayed a sense of discrimination that deserves the highest admiration.

Thus, faced with defining either the layout of the Dormitory or that of the Warming Room (pl. 4), he opted for the former. The Warming Room, whose layout could be settled in half a dozen different ways, posed no serious problems of architecture or internal furnishings, except that it had to be provided with a hypocaust, whose firing chamber (*caminus ad calefaciendum*) and smoke escape (*evaporatio fumi*) could be attached externally to the building. But the layout of the Dormitory was a matter of vital importance. Here the maker of the Plan had to insure not only that the beds were arranged so that all seventy-odd monks entitled to sleep in this room could actually be accommodated, but also that this be done so as not to violate the rules governing monastic morality in sleeping.[25] It was also a matter of prime importance to arrange the beds so as not to block access to the stairs descending to the Southern Transept of the Church, the Warming Room, or the Monks' Privy.

For similar reasons the designer of the Plan considered the layout of the Refectory (pl. 5) a matter of greater urgency than that of the Vestiary. The layout of the latter, like that of the Warming Room, called for no special architectural ingenuity. But it was imperative that the tables and benches of the Refectory accommodate not only the seventy-odd monks who slept in the Dormitory, but also those monks whose special duties required them to reside outside the claustral complex, as well as visiting monks.[26]

With the same judicious discrimination, when faced with a choice between laying out the Cellar or the Larder and Storehouse above it, the maker of the Plan committed himself to delineating details of the Cellar (pl. 6). The furnishings of the Larder could be most easily determined by the monk in charge of the monastery's food supplies, but the layout of the Cellar called for superior skills in architectural planning since its features were of prime importance for the welfare of the brothers and other men residing in the monastery. Whoever built this structure had to understand clearly how many and what size barrels were needed to provide every member of the community the daily ration of wine or beer permitted by St. Benedict.[27]

Plate 8 shows the layout of the Church and the claustral structures of the monastery without their inscriptions. This drawing exhibits with striking force the unbelievable

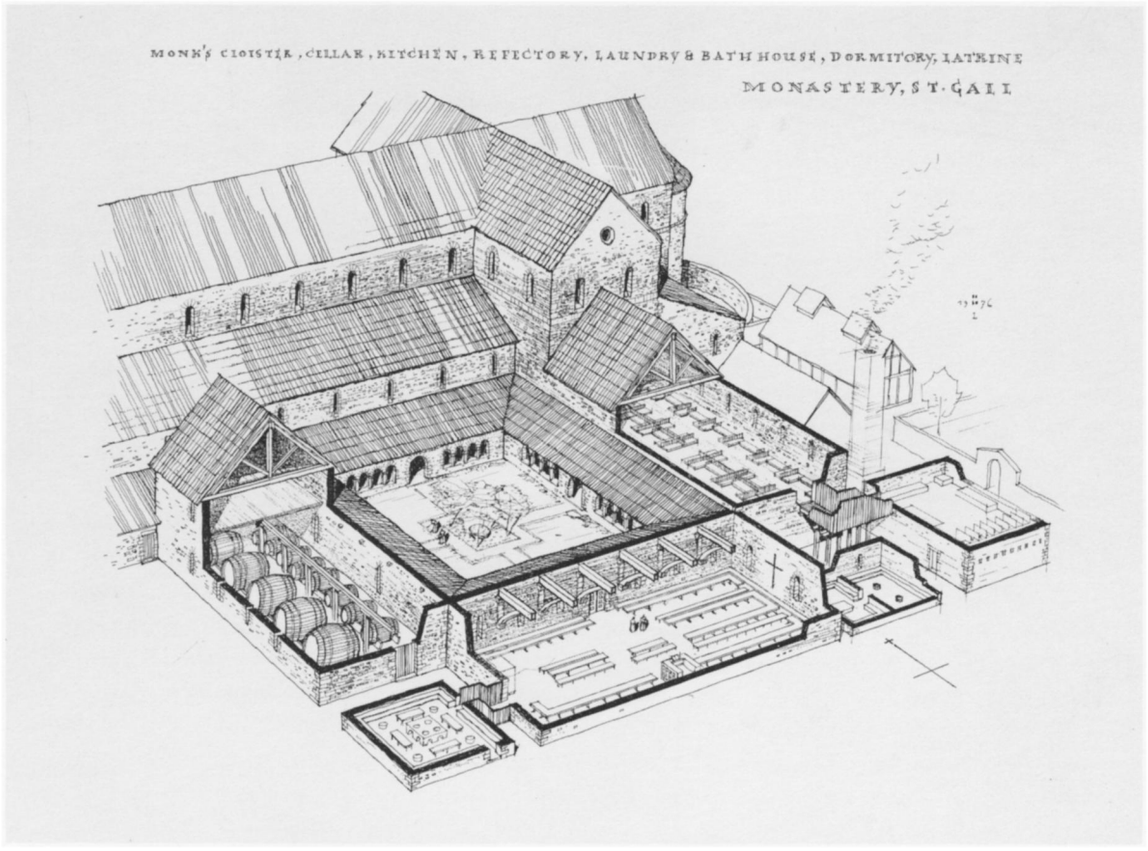


Fig. 1. *Monks' Cloister, Cellar, Kitchen, Refectory, Laundry & Bath House, Dormitory, and Latrine of St. Gall,* cutaway perspective.

simplicity and clarity of the design of these buildings that, in their aggregate, occupy nearly two-thirds of the total surface area of the Plan. The architect could not have maintained such simplicity and clarity had he not skillfully relegated to textual annotations whatever information could be transmitted in this form. It took another five hundred years of architectural design development until the invention of modern vanishing point perspective by another architectural genius, Filippo Brunelleschi, made it possible to render the layout of the structures of the Plan of St. Gall in visual terms as Ernest Born has done in his superb perspective (fig. 1). Yet all the information needed for such an interpretation was embodied in the Plan of St. Gall.

The second and equally important source of the Plan's legibility is its maker's resolve to exclude from the drawing details that would have tended to interfere with the clarity of his primary message. He felt he could leave their execution to the ingenuity of the experienced builder who would be involved in the actual construction. This policy decision is expressed primarily in the omission of stairs connecting lower and upper levels.

In rendering the Dormitory (pl. 4), as we have already mentioned, the maker was careful to arrange the beds to leave passages for exits to stairs. But he did not draw these stairs. The layout of the tables and benches in the Refectory (pl. 5) is so tight that there was no room for any internal stairs connecting the Refectory with the Vestiary above it. This internal connection was not necessary because these two facilities were not functionally interdependent. The Vestiary obviously had to be reached from stairs installed in the adjacent cloister wing, their placement and construction again being left to the judgment of the builder. The northeast corner of the Cellar (pl. 6) provided sufficient space for the delineation of an internal stair connecting the Cellar with the Larder above it, but, faithful to his principle not to obscure the clarity of his primary message, the maker did not include these stairs in his drawing.

These omissions are intentional, and account for the incomparable clarity and legibility of the Plan.

Scriptorium and Library

Scriptorium and Library are housed in an annex located in the corner between the Presbytery and the northern arm of the Transept of the Church (pl. 2). An inscription states that the Scriptorium occupies the ground floor, and the Library the story above it (*infra sedes scribentium, supra bibliotheca*). An annex of precisely the same dimensions and presumably the same design is located on the opposite side of the Church between the Presbytery and the southern arm of the Transept. Its inscription states that it accommodates "below the sacristy, and above the repository for the church vestments" (*subtus sacratorium, supra vestium ecclesiae repositio*). In both cases the author of the Plan drew the ground level. The liturgical importance of the Sacristy gave it precedence over the room in which church vestments were kept. Similarly, the use and furnishing of

the Scriptorium were more critical than that of the Library, which needed only cupboards (*amaria*) in which the books were shelved. Two splendid *amaria* are depicted in the mosaic of St. Lawrence in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, 424–450 (fig. 2) and the illumination of Prophet Ezra in the famous Codex Amiatinus, from the beginning of the eighth century (fig. 3). Such cupboards would traditionally be stationed all around the outer walls of the Library, and in various combinations throughout its inner space, their placement left to the judgment of the librarian. In the Scriptorium, however, the designer was concerned with the creation of a physical environment conducive to producing books. His layout meets this challenge superbly.

The Scriptorium is entered from the North Transept which is at the same floor level (pl. 2). Seven tables for the scribes are arranged along the north and east walls; seven windows positioned between these tables provide the scribes adequate light. In the center of the room is a large rectangular piece of furniture seven-and-a-half by ten feet. This is most logically interpreted as a table with shelving racks beneath it for storing books in process of being copied. Along the west and south walls of the room are wall-benches that provided seating for supervisors and a resting place for scribes. The writing desks measure three-and-three-quarter feet square. Thus, seven monks could work simultaneously on commodious tables under ideal light conditions (fig. 4).

The Plan does not indicate the stairs leading from the Scriptorium to the Library—again in complete accord with design procedures adopted in all comparable cases in the Plan. However, an inscription written in small letters across the north edge of the Presbytery and the adjacent arm of the corridor crypt informs us that the Library could be reached from the Presbytery through an "upper entrance" located "above the crypt" (*introitus in bibliothecam super criptam superius*). This leaves no doubt that the Library could be reached from the Presbytery by stairs resting on the vault of the north arm of the corridor crypt and, since this entrance is designated as "upper," that there must have been another entrance from a lower level—which could only have been the level of the Scriptorium.

Relation of Scriptorium to Presbytery, Transept, and Crypt

So far so good. But difficulties of an entirely new order come into play when we try to analyze the relationship of the Scriptorium to the Presbytery and to the crypt of the Church, because here the designer, departing from the procedures applied in all other areas of the Plan, displays in his drawing features that belong to no fewer than three different levels.

The annex in which the Scriptorium and the Library are installed is forty-by-forty feet, yet not all of this space is part of the scriptorium. An area roughly seven-and-a-half feet by thirty-two-and-a-half feet is taken up by the north arm of the corridor crypt, which on the Plan is designated "*involutio arcuum,*" literally "an infolding" or "gathering of arches." The designer finds this condition important enough also to elucidate it in visual terms by a sequence of *S*-shaped lines inscribed into the areas covered by these vaults. The narrowness and length of the three arms of this corridor suggest that he intended them to be roofed by barrel vaults. To establish the precise relationships of these functionally closely interconnected parts of the Church, we must familiarize ourselves with the layout of the Transept, its relation to the Presbytery, and the crypt of the Church.

In five buildings so far discussed the author of the Plan chose to omit from his drawing stairs between floors.[28] But to infer from these occurrences, as has been done by some of the earlier students of the Plan, that "stairs are totally omitted" would be incorrect.[29] Where stairs are vital to the religious services or are of an extraordinary construction they are delineated with the greatest care.[30] A glance at Plate 2 shows that the Presbytery lies on a higher level than the Transept. It is reached from the floor of the crossing (primary level) by two flights of stairs, each of seven steps (*septem gradus; similiter*). Between these two flights of stairs is a passage seven-and-a-half-feet wide labeled "access to the confessional" (*accesus ad confessionem*). This *confessio* is referred to a second time in a hexameter in the Presbytery which reads "ABOVE THE CRYPT THE HOLY STRUCTURES OF THE SAINTS SHALL SHINE" (*SANCTA SUPER CRIPTAM SANCTORUM STRUCTA NITEBUNT*), leaving no doubt that the Presbytery had beneath it a "crypt" which served as a "confessional." This crypt, as has already been pointed out, was surrounded by a circumambient corridor consisting of two longitudinal arms and a connecting east transverse arm. The longitudinal arms are entered from the North and South Transepts and there identified respectively as "entrance into or exit from the crypt" (In criptam Introitus vel exitus) and "Ingress or egress from the crypt" (In criptam Ingressus vel egressus). The transverse arm passes by the east end of the tomb of St. Gall.

The function of these two corridors is not explained in the Plan legends, but is made clear by the function of the areas from which they are entered. The inner crypt is entered from the crossing, an area reserved for the monks and specifically so designated by the title "choir for the singers" (chorus psallentium). The arms of the circumambient corridor crypt, by contrast, are made accessible from the aisles of the church by means of passageways crossing the transept arms and thus making it possible for laymen to approach the tomb of St. Gall without intruding into spaces reserved exclusively for the monks.

It should be pointed out that the combination of a circumambient corridor with a vaulted inner hall crypt is a

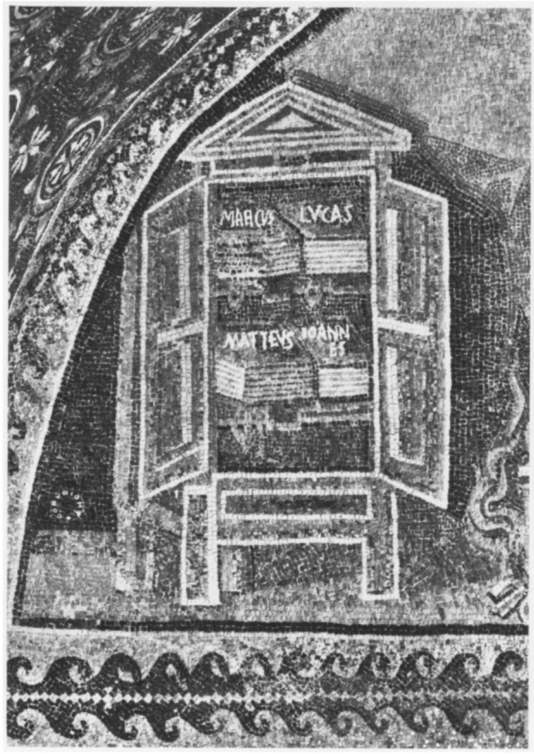


Fig. 2. *Book chest*, detail of mosaic of St. Lawrence, Ravenna, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, tympanum of south transept.

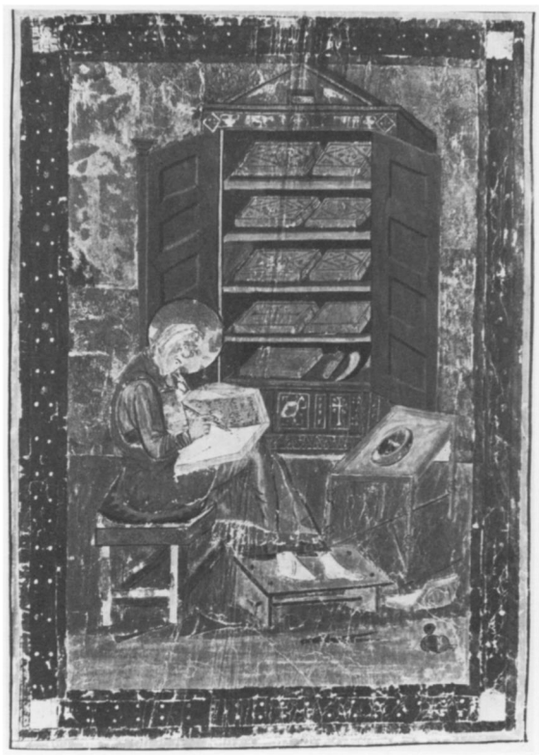


Fig. 3. *Ezra Writing*, miniature from the Codex Amiatinus, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS. Am. 1, fol. 5.

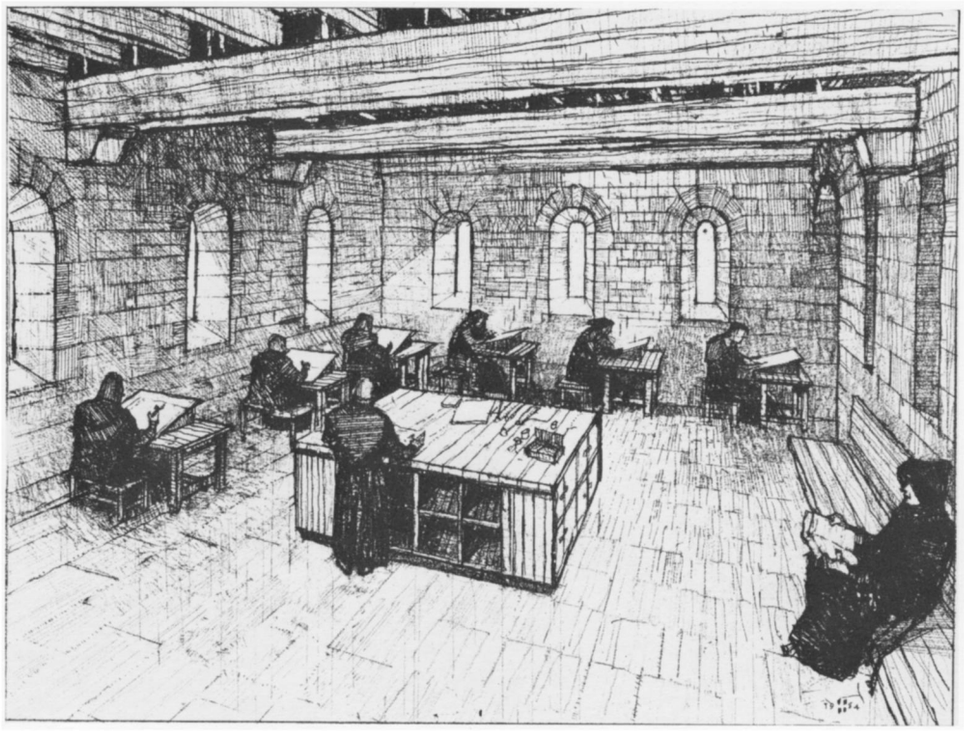


Fig. 4. *Interior of the Scriptorium of St. Gall Looking East,* rendering.

Carolingian innovation owing its origin to the need for an area of devotional seclusion that enabled monks to pray before the tomb of their patron saint without breaching their cloistered status by mingling with secular visitors. Separate hall and corridor crypts are well known around 800, both north and south of the Alps, but their combined form is new. The designer of the Plan may well have been the inventor of this scheme. After the Plan of St. Gall the combined crypt becomes a common feature of Carolingian architecture, as demonstrated by such churches as St. Philibert-de-Granlieu (847–859), St. Germain of Auxerre, consecrated in 859 (fig. 5) and Flavigny-sur-Ozerain (864–878).

The inner crypt of the Plan must have been covered by groin vaults. It could not otherwise have carried the weight of the superincumbent floor of the Presbytery, with its high altar and heavy loading from constant use during sacred services. Whatever the precise space of this inner crypt, it obviously could not have exceeded an area confined to the north and south by masonry of the Presbytery walls and to the west and east by walls separating this crypt from the crossing and from the transverse wall of the corridor crypt. To accommodate the full height of the groin vaults of this inner crypt, its floor must have been below the level of the transept floor, accessible by steps that the author—faithful to his principle of not burdening his design with unnecessary details—did not include in his drawing. The same holds true for the floor level of the corridor crypt whose vaults must have reached the same height as those of the inner crypt. This is why the space needed for their construction had to be borrowed from the Scriptorium and the Sacristy. The stairs leading from the Presbytery to the Library must have been supported by the vault of the north arm of the corridor crypt; a shorter flight of steps must have risen from the floor of the Scriptorium to the top of that vault. The maker of the Plan, fully aware of this need, left an unobstructed area roughly seven feet square in the southeast corner of the Scriptorium where a connecting stairway could be installed. Similar facilities must have existed in the Sacristy.

Ernest Born's drawing of the plan of the crypt in modern architectural design conventions (fig. 6) clarifies, for our modern eyes, the scheme in the Plan. So far we have identified in the designer's layout of the Transept and the Presbytery three different levels of elevation: the level of the crypt; the level of the Transept, Scriptorium, and Sacristy; and the level of the Presbytery, seven steps above the former. We must add to these the areas at the level of the second tread, clearly identifiable in the drawing (pl. 2), the platforms, mentioned above, on which four altars are erected: those of St. Benedict and St. Columban, in the crossing, of Sts. Philip and James (North Transept), and that of St. Andrew (South Transept). A fifth level, although

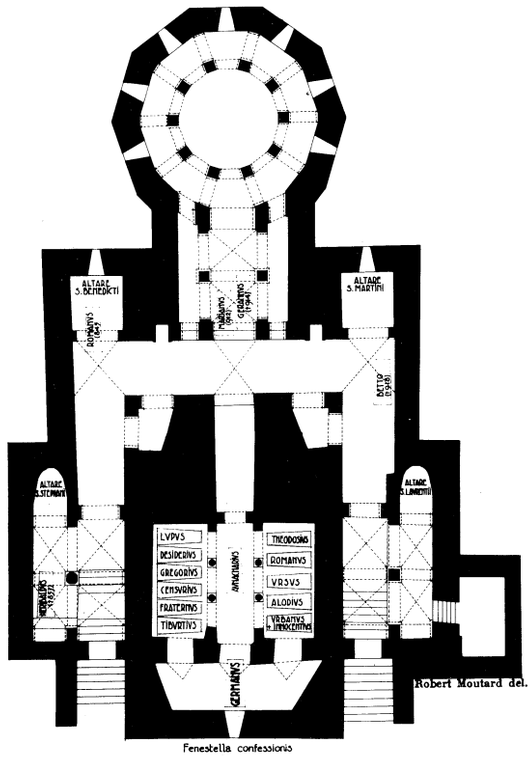


Fig. 5. *Plan of the Crypts of St. Germain of Auxerre,* Yonne, France, (after R. Moutard).

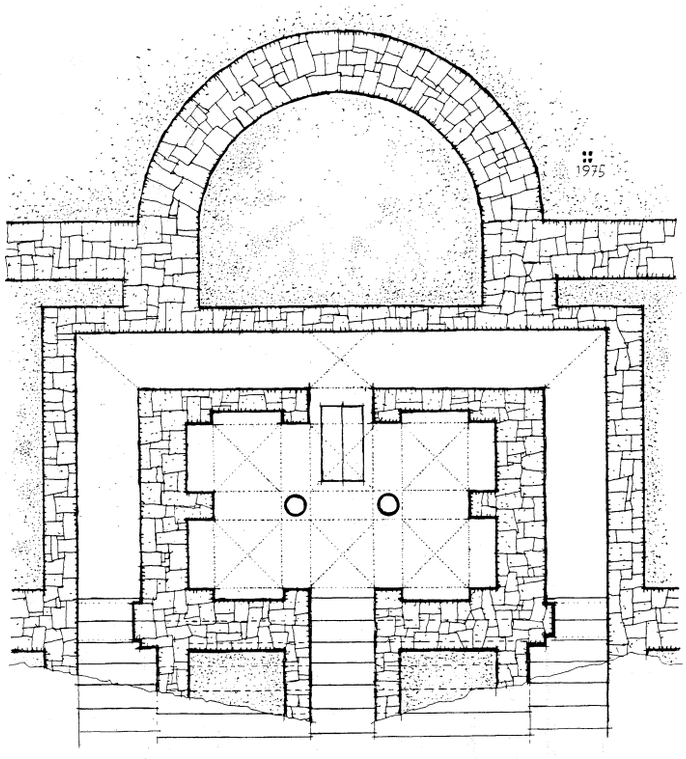


Fig. 6. *Plan of the Crypts of St. Gall,* reconstruction.

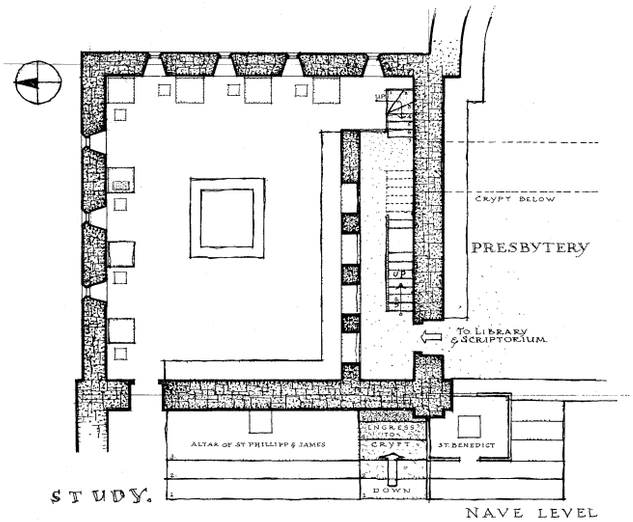


Fig. 7. *Plan of the Scriptorium and Library of St. Gall,* reconstruction.

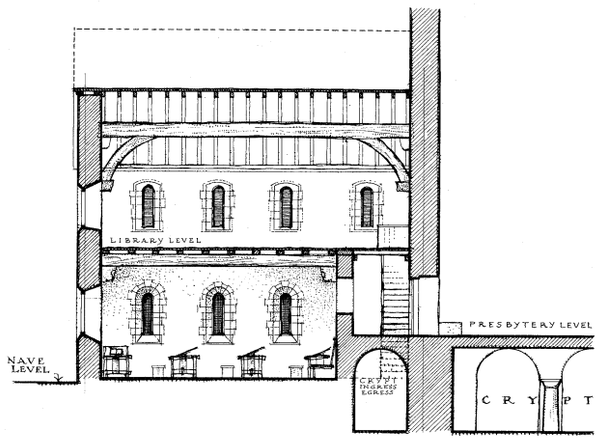


Fig. 8. *Section of the Scriptorium and Library of St. Gall Looking East,* reconstruction.

only revealed by inscriptions and not shown on the drawing, is that on which the Library is installed.

Thus, with a judicious combination of words and drawings the author of the Plan was able to clearly define a complex series of spatial relationships. Yet in examining the Presbytery, one observes with bafflement and a sense of even deeper admiration that in an even more radical departure from the principles displayed in all other areas of the Plan, its maker has drawn the east part of the corridor crypt on what, on first inspection, appears to be the level of the Presbytery (pl. 2). It seems to bisect the benches set against the presbytery walls and to separate the apse of the Church from the space surrounding the high altar. Why this departure from the rules that govern his design everywhere else in the Plan? The answer is simple. In drawing the transverse wall of the corridor as he did, the Plan's maker addressed himself to anyone involved in interpreting his design with a message that could be put into words as follows:

> *In this liturgically most crucial part of the Plan, I wish to make it unequivocably clear that the two longitudinal arms of the corridor crypt are connected in the east by a transverse arm giving laymen access to the tomb of St. Gall. I therefore take the unusual step of drawing it full length and imposing it on a level to which it does not belong. You would not be so foolish as to conclude that this transverse arm was meant to run across the Presbytery on that level, because the Transept layout shows in unmistakable terms and several inscriptions state that the Presbytery is on a higher level than the crypt. In addition, your knowledge of church architecture and liturgy tells you that the Presbytery, where all of the sacred services are celebrated, could not conceivably be bisected by the transverse arm of the corridor crypt.*

The wisdom of his departure in this area of the Plan from all its regular design conventions would be even more compelling if we could be certain that the designer of the Plan was actually the inventor of this type of crypt, which to the best of our knowlege, is not seen in Carolingian churches prior to St.-Philibert-de-Granlieu (second stage, 847–59).[31]

In its delineation on one surface by a simple linear projection of a monastic settlement of forty structures described so clearly that more than a thousand years later, this monastery could be constructed in its entirety in exactly the form in which it was conceived by its author, the Plan of St. Gall is a unique and wondrous achievement. To design such a settlement today would involve, minimally 200 to 240 separate drawings, since each of the forty buildings would require a groundplan, longitudinal section, transverse section, and two to four exterior elevations. This is the number of drawings Ernest Born had to provide in 1962 for the construction and display in the Council of Europe exhibition "Karl der Grosse" of a three-dimensional model of the monastery shown on the Plan. No better demonstration of the accomplishment of the Plan exists than the quantity of drawings that had to be made to validate the correctness of the perspective reconstruction of the Scriptorium shown in Figure 4. It involved five architectural drawings (figs. 7–11). Rather than explicating these in the text, we shall for the sake of readability describe the illustrations in their captions.

A puzzling and possibly inexplicable feature of the design of the scriptorium is that it shows no facility for heating. This is the more surprising as in his layout of the sacristy (an exact architectural counterpart of the scriptorium) the drafter of the Plan makes it a point to show that it is heatable by a corner fireplace. If the scriptorium was not heatable, it could not have been used for writing in the winter. The omission is startling. There would have been sufficient place for the installation of a fireplace in the southwestern corner of the scriptorium, if the benches that run along the west and south walls of the scriptorium had left that corner free. Was the failure of the maker of the Plan to show such a facility an oversight or an intentional omission? We are facing a mystery that may never be decoded.

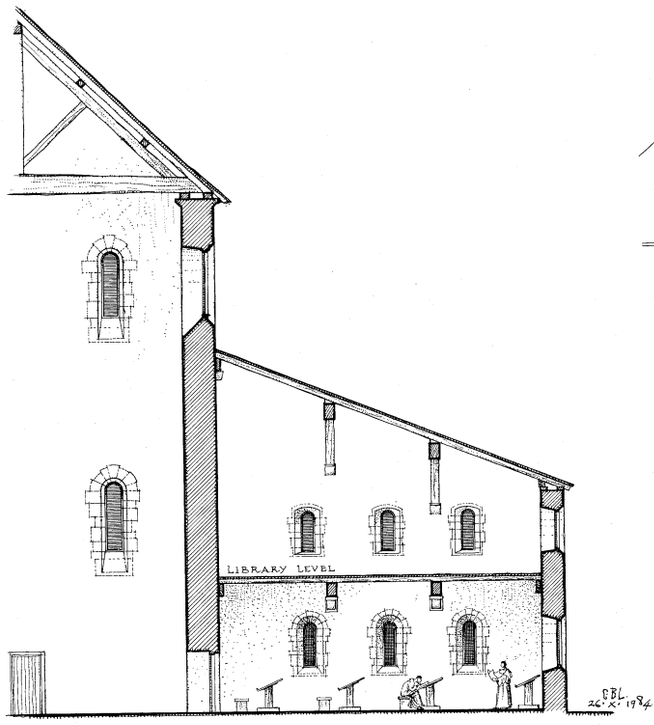


Fig. 9. *Section of the Scriptorium and Library of St. Gall Looking North,* reconstruction.

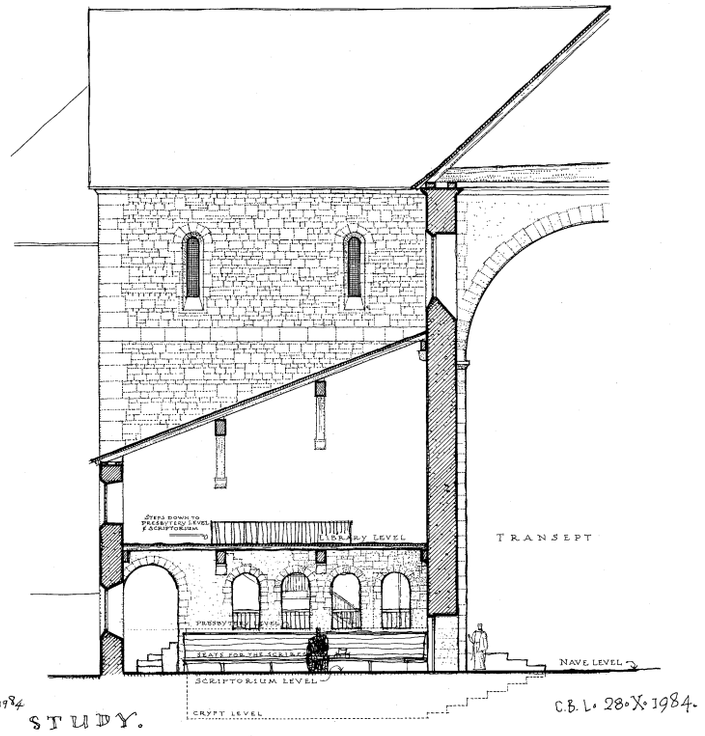


Fig. 10. *Section of the Scriptorium and Library of St. Gall Looking South,* reconstruction.

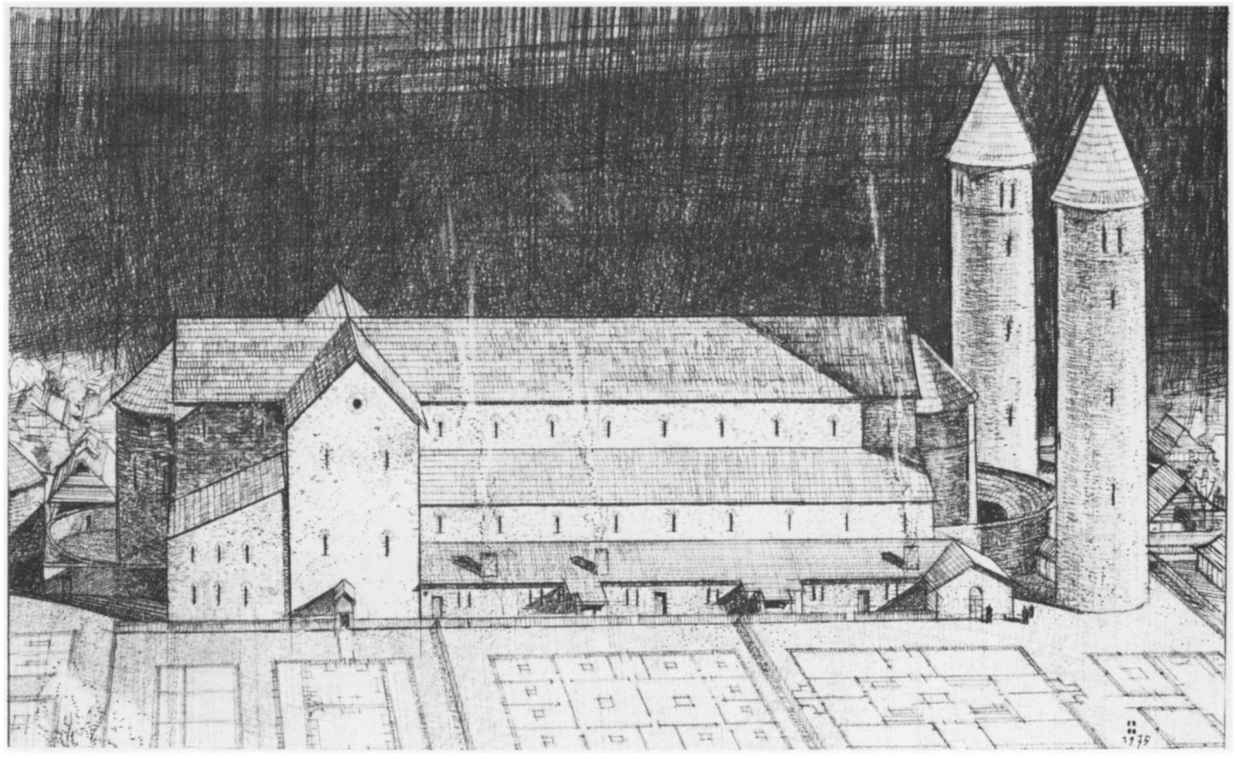
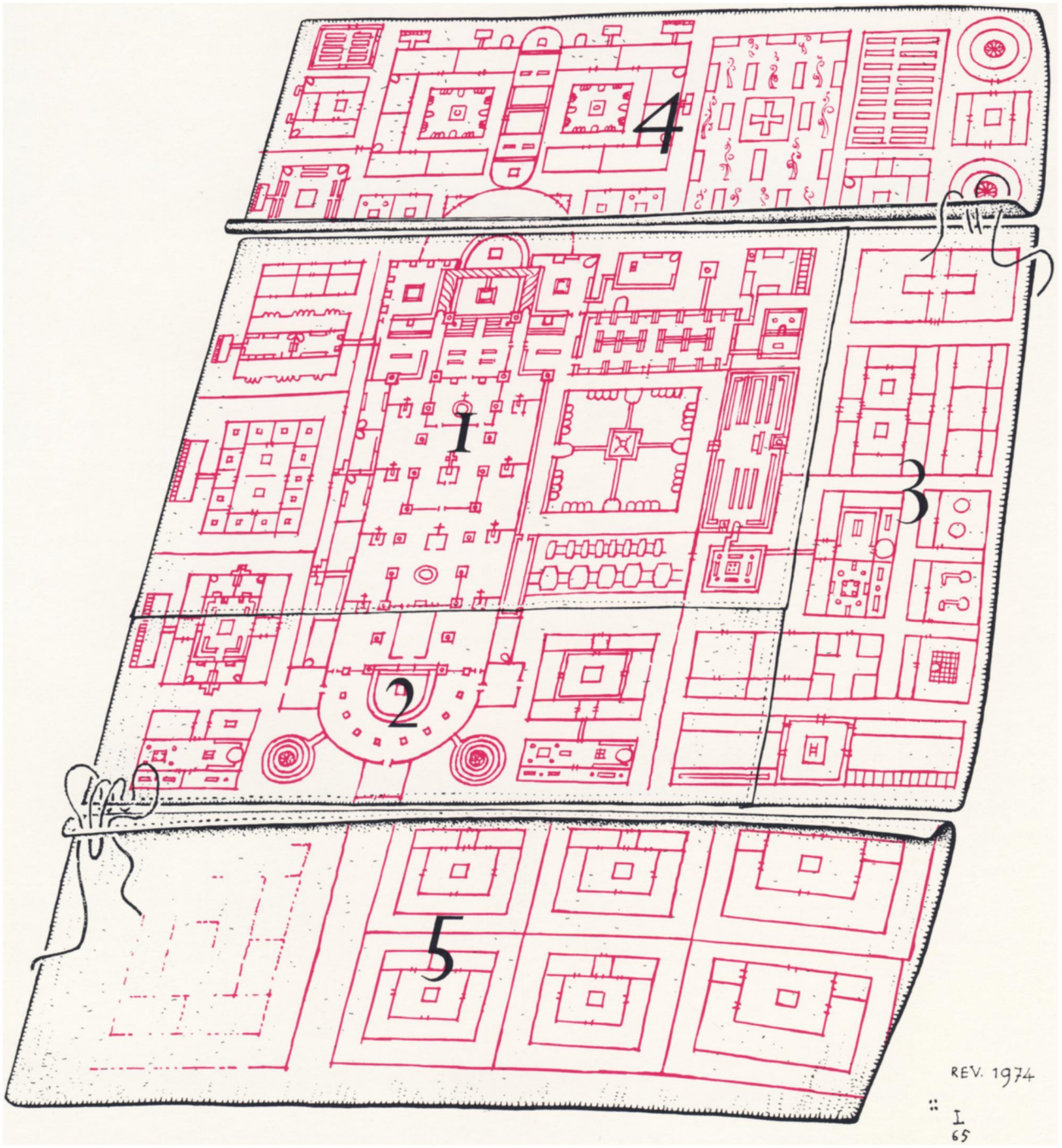


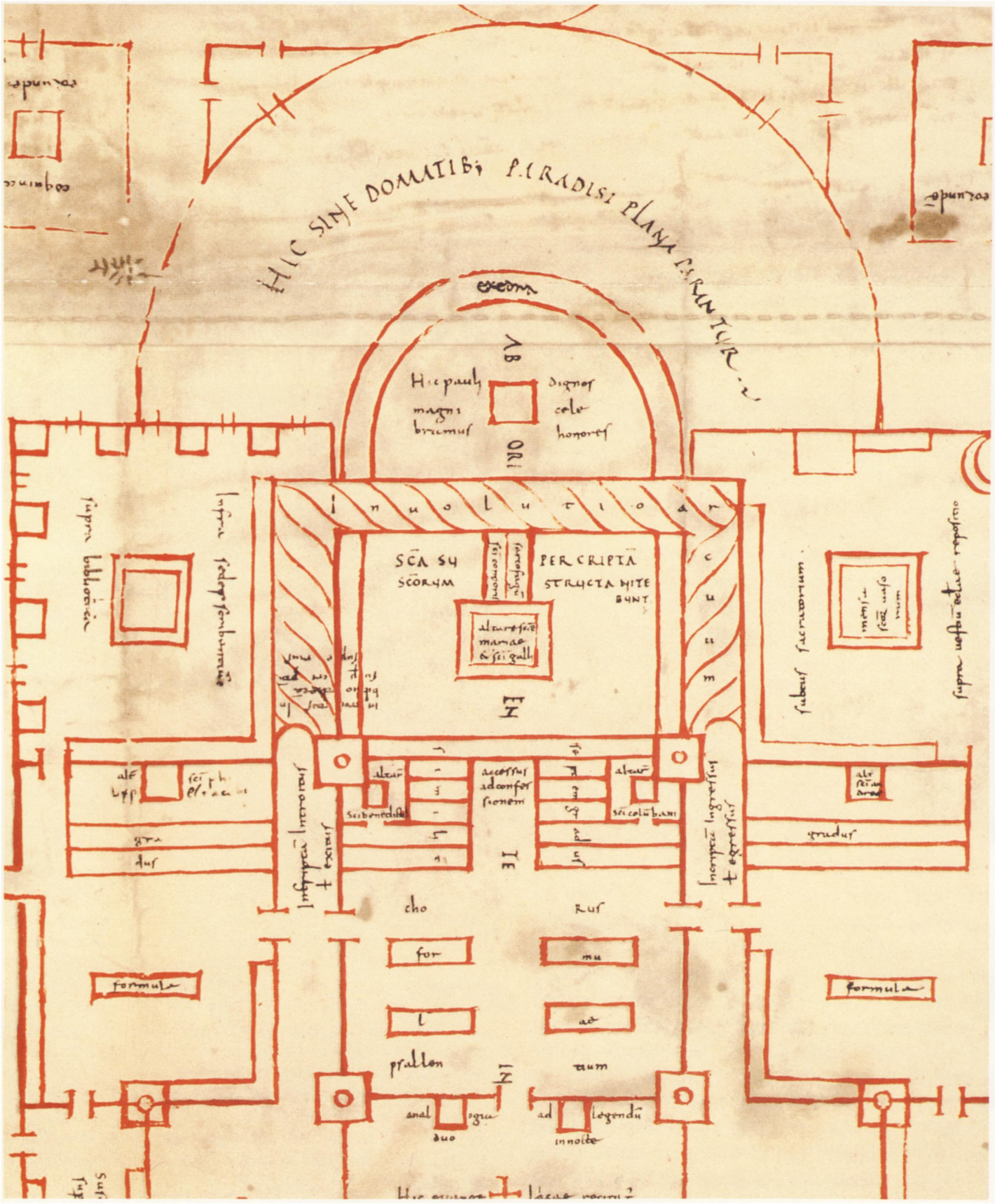
Fig. 11. *Exterior Elevation of the Church of St. Gall Looking South,* reconstruction.



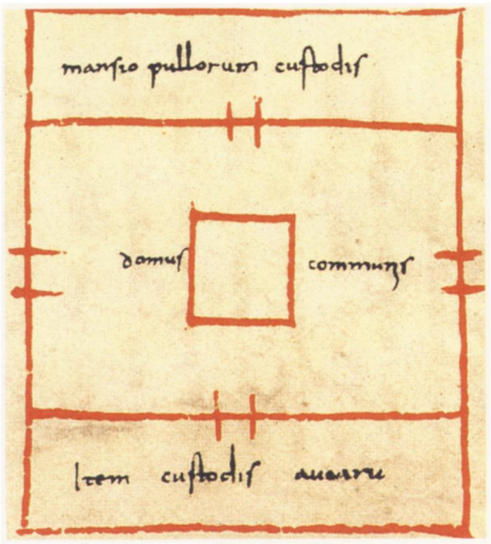
Pl. 1. *Rendering of the Plan of St. Gall.* Sheets 1, 2, and 3 were sewn together before the drawing was begun. Sheets 4 and 5 were traced separately and upon completion attached to sheet group 1, 2, 3.

All the color reproductions of the Plan of St. Gall were made from separations made available to The Walters Art Gallery without cost by the University of California Press. They originally appeared in W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1979). The editors of this journal wish to express their gratitude for this generous gift.

Unless otherwise noted, all drawings are by Ernest Born.



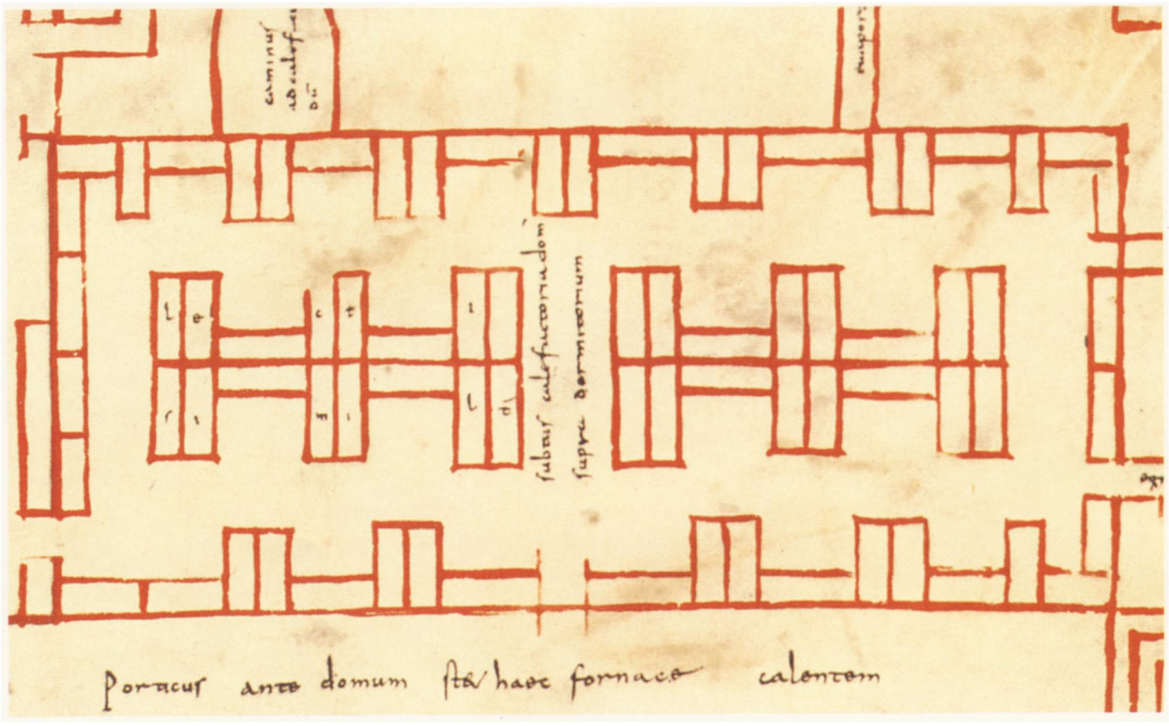
Pl. 2. *Plan of St. Gall*, detail of Transept, Presbytery, and Eastern Apse, St. Gall, Stifts-Bibliothek, MS. 1092.



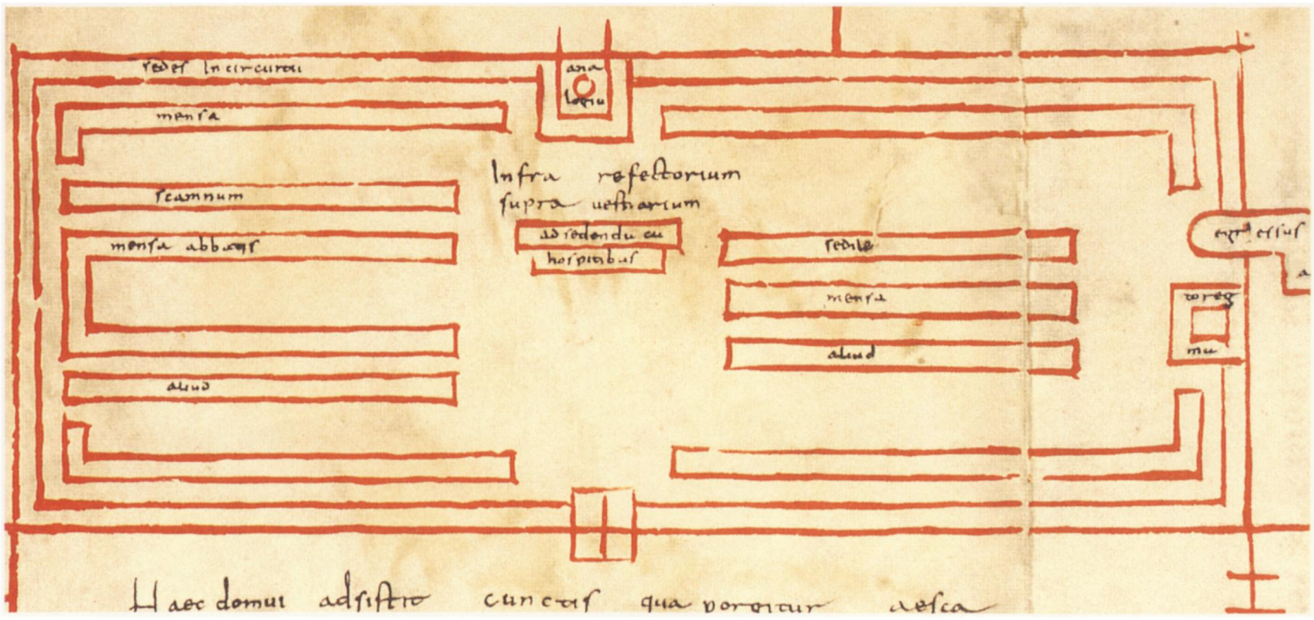
Pl. 3. *Plan of St. Gall*, detail of House of the Fowlkeepers.



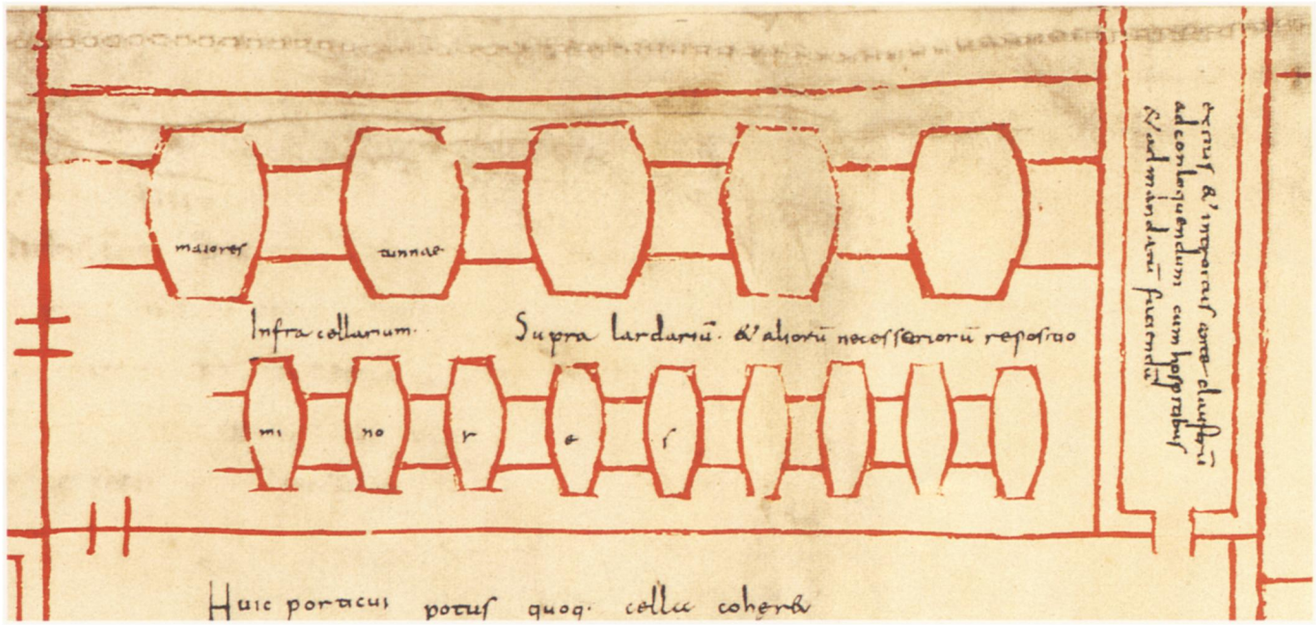
Pl. 3a. Meindert Hobbema, *A Farm in Sunlight*, detail, farmhouse, oil on canvas, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery of Art).



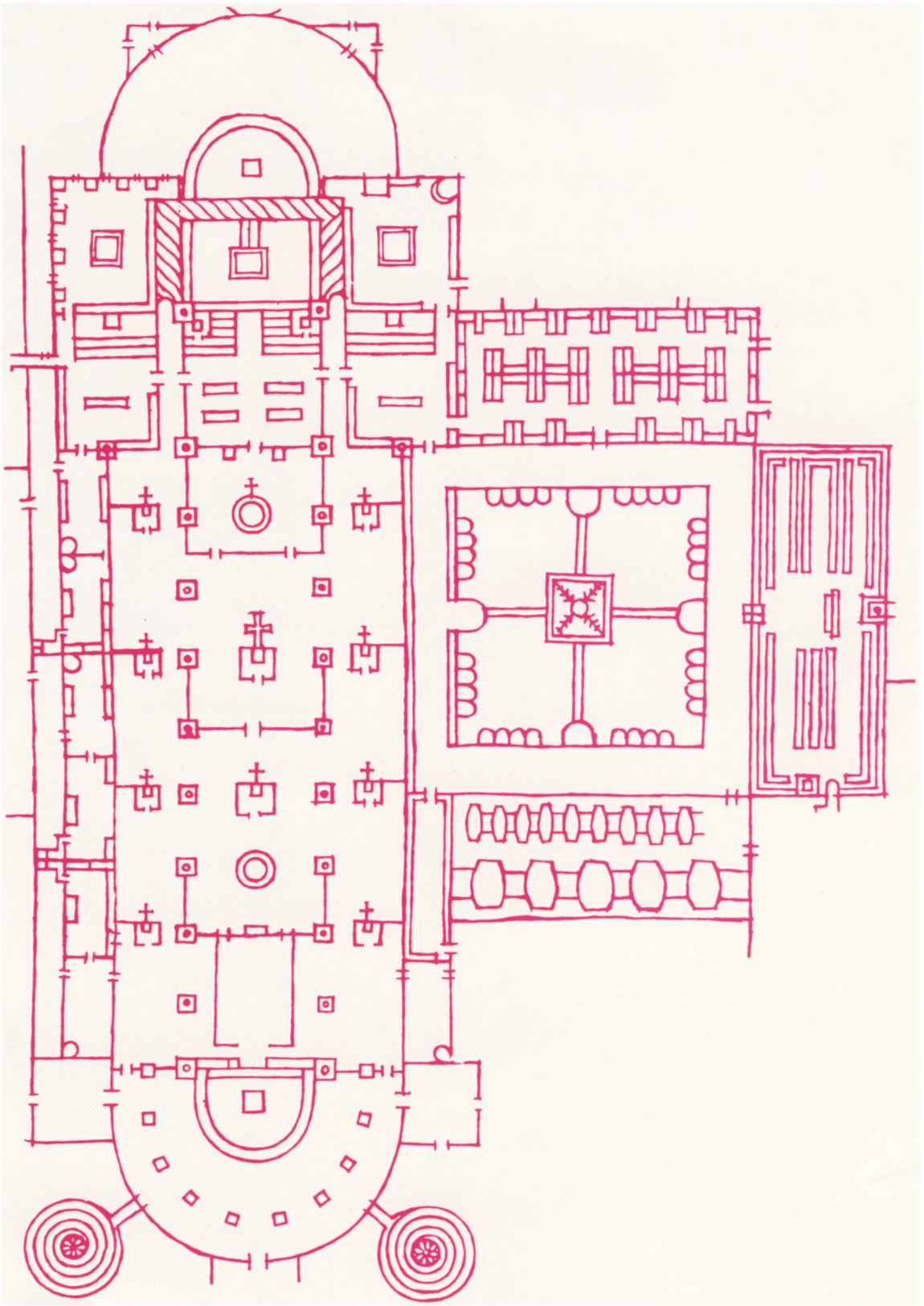
Pl. 4. *Plan of St. Gall*, detail of Monks' Dormitory and Warming Room.



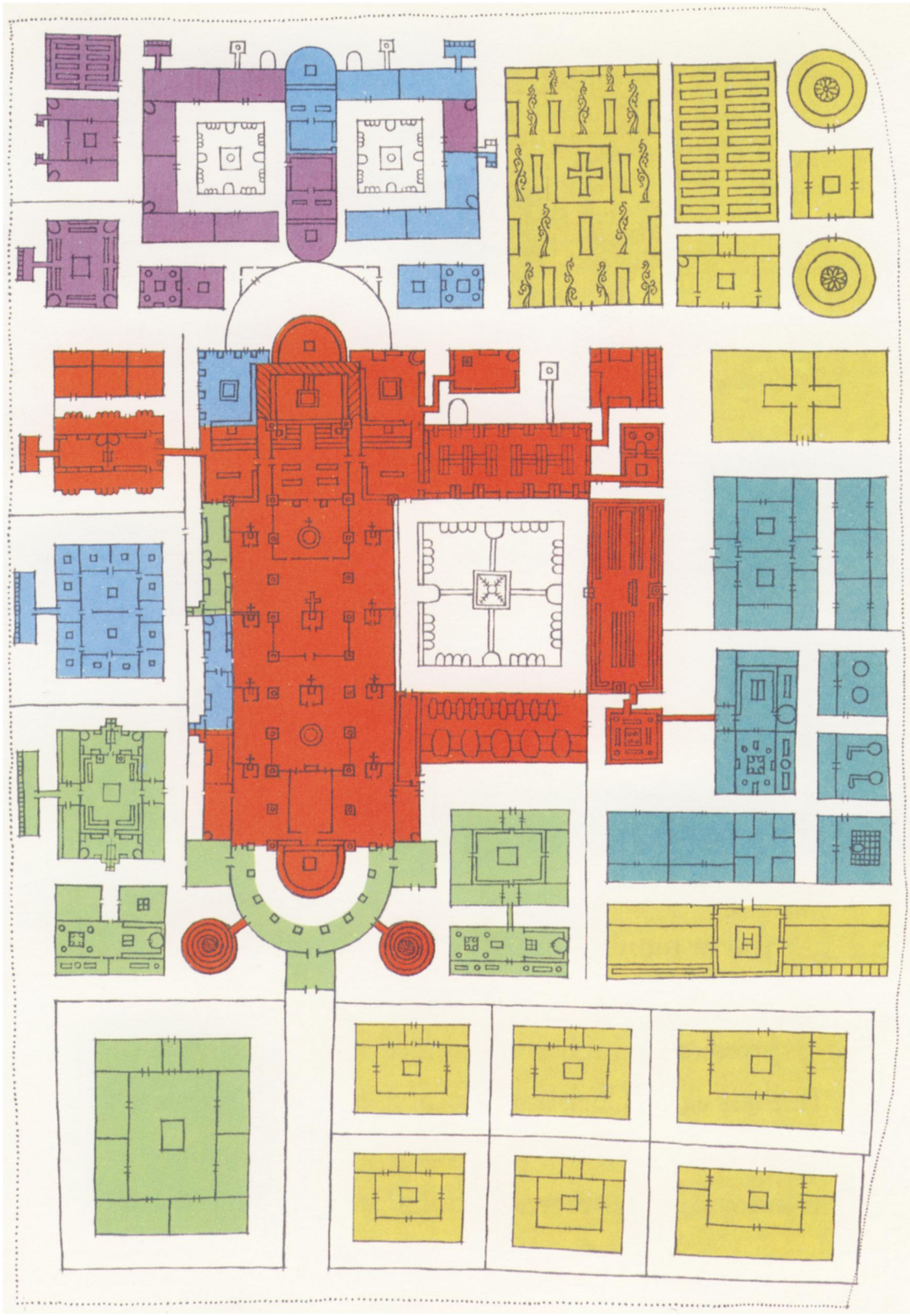
Pl. 5. *Plan of St. Gall*, detail of Refectory and Vestiary.



Pl. 6. *Plan of St. Gall*, detail of Cellar and Larder.



Pl. 7. *Plan of St. Gall*, detail of Church and Cloister.



Pl. 8. *Organizational Components of the Plan of St. Gall*, (by E. Born, in L. Price, *The Plan of St. Gall in Brief* [Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1982], 19, diagram III). **Red:** Church, Claustral Structures, and Abbot's House. **Light Blue:** Novitiate and Chapel, Scriptorium and Library, Outer School. **Purple:** Monks' Infirmary and Chapel, House for Bloodletting, House of the Physicians, Medicinal Herb Garden. **Green:** House for Pilgrims and Paupers, House for Distinguished Guests, House for Vassals Traveling with Visitors of Rank, Lodging for Visiting Monks. **Turquoise:** Collective Workshop, Mill, Mortar and Drying Kiln, Monks' Bake- and Brewhouse, House for Coopers and Wheelwrights, Granary for storing and threshing grain used for beer. **Beige:** East of Cloister: Orchard and Cemetery, Monks' Vegetable Garden, Gardeners' House, Fowlkeepers' House, Enclosures for Chicken and Geese, Great Granary. West of Cloister: House for Horse and Oxen, House for Dairy Cows and their Keepers, House for Foaling Mares and their Young, House for Goats and Goatherds, House for Swine and Swineherds, House for Sheep and Shepherds, House for Visiting Country Servants.

The Educational Matrix

Administration of Schools, Library, and Scriptorium

Scriptorium and Library were the intellectual centers of the monastery of the Plan of St. Gall, part of an educational matrix that embodied the mandate of the monastery to further and preserve knowledge. Administration of the educational facilities of the Plan was guided by three officials. The monastery's novices were housed, fed, and educated by the Master of Novices (*Magister eorum*) in the Novitiate, a building that held a chapel, dormitory, refectory, supply room, infirmary, warming room, and an apartment for the Master. Presumably the novices' warming room doubled as their classroom since they lived and were educated separately from the monks. An Outer School existed for the purpose of training the secular clergy and the sons of nobles. The Master of the Outer School is not named specifically; his presence is inferred by the designation of his residence: *Mansio scolae.*[32] The Plan also does not give us the title of the official in charge of the Library and Scriptorium, but his title is known through hundreds of other sources: *bibliothecarius* or *armarius*. *Bibliothecarius* (librarian) is self-explanatory; *armarius* comes from *armarium,* the "wardrobe" or "cupboard" in which books were kept (see figs. 2 and 3). One infers from these pictures that books did not stand but lay on their sides. This is confirmed by the fact that their titles, in general, are entered lengthwise, not crosswise on the spines of books.

The *armarius* or *bibliothecarius* was in charge of the maintenance of several entirely separate collections of books: the main collection (kept in the central library), the liturgical collection (books used in divine services kept in the Sacristy), and several branch libraries, including a reference library of schoolbooks needed for the training of the novices (by necessity kept in the Novitiate), another needed for teaching in the Outer School (kept in that location), and a third used for the daily readings of the monks, the *lectio divina* (established as a primary monastic occupation by St. Benedict, for which each monk was allowed a total of some four hours per day). The *armarius* or *bibliothecarius* was also in charge of the scriptorium where the books were made.

Number and Qualification of the Scribes

The number of monks who worked in the Scriptorium must have varied greatly. The layout of the Scriptorium of the Plan allowed for seven monks to write simultaneously, if we assume that each desk was manned by one scribe. If the scribes worked in shifts, their number could have been considerably increased. A. Bruckner, on the basis of an actual count of the hands at work in individual manuscripts, has calculated that between 750 and 770, the monastery of St. Gall employed some twenty-five scribes for copying manuscripts, and around fifteen more for writing documents—a total of forty. Under Abbot Waldo and shortly after him (770–790), the number of scribes rose to about eighty; under Abbot Gozbert (816–836) there were about one hundred.[33]

Medieval sources referring to scribes distinguish among *antiquarii,* experienced writers whose skills were reserved for the making of liturgical books; *scriptores,* less trained but still reliable writers; *rubricatores,* specializing in the insertion of decorative letters rendered in different colors, usually in connection with opening words; *miniatores,* highly skilled scribes who embellished the manuscript with pictorial illuminations; and *correctores,* the proofreaders.[34] The latter were among the most experienced and most learned monks. The manuscripts of the Abbey of St. Gall as well as those of many other writing schools abound with marginal or interlinear annotations that attest to the care with which this work was done. At Reichenau this task was performed by Reginbert (d. 847), librarian under four successive abbots—the same Reginbert who may have supervised the writing of the inscriptions on the Plan of St. Gall. At St. Gall this work was done by such famous teachers as Ratpert, Notker, and Tutilo. Purity and correctness of the sacred texts were primary concerns of the period and of sufficient interest, even to the emperor, to be singled out as a matter of governmental importance in a capitulary issued in 789 or 805. This document stipulates that the copying of sacred texts such as the Gospels, the Psalter, and the Missal should only be entrusted to mature, experienced scribes (*et si opus est evangelium, psalterium et missale scribere, perfectae aetatis homines scribant cum omni diligentia*).[35]

Agony and Ecstasy

Work in the scriptorium was conducted in silence. During the hours assigned for that purpose, no monk could leave the scriptorium without permission of the abbot. Apart from the scribes, only the abbot, prior, subprior, and librarian had access to the scriptorium. The writing of sacred texts was held in high esteem, and was considered a more noble task than such physical labors as working in the fields. This is expressed in Alcuin's poem about scribes:

> To Copy books is better than to ditch the vines;
> The second serves the belly, but the first the mind.
> *(Fodere quam vites melius est scribere libros*
> *Ille suo ventri serviet, iste animae)*[38]

Yet the task of writing was no less arduous a physical task, as marginal annotations attest:

> Writing is excessive drudgery. It crooks your back, dims your sight, twists your stomach and your sides. Three fingers write, but the whole body labors.

(O quam gravis est scriptura: oculos gravat, renes frangit, simul et omnia membra contristat. Tria digita scribunt, totus corpus laborat)[39]

A monk of Wessobrunn expressed his woes in similar terms in an annotation that reads:

> The book which you now see was written in the outer seats [which can only refer to carrels set up in the cloister]. While I wrote I froze and what I could not write by the beams of the sun I finished by candlelight.
> *(Sedibus externis hic librum, quem modo cernis,*
> *Dum scripsit, friguit, ed quod cum lumine solis*
> *Scribere non potuit, perfecit lumine noctis).*[40]

This complaint is exceeded by a monk of Ramsey Abbey in Huntingdonshire, England, who recorded in a Latin couplet his discomfort in the hostile climate of an open cloister walk:

> As we sit here in tempest, in rain, snow and sun
> No writing nor reading in cloister is done.
> *(In vento minime pluvia nive sole sedere*
> *Possumus in claustro nec scribere neque studere).*[41]

An ecstatic exclamation in verse, transmitted in a charming marginal gloss of an Irish manuscript of an eighth- or ninth-century edition of Priscian in the Stiftsbibliothek of St. Gall (MS 904), reads:

> A hedge of trees surrounds me
> A blackbird's lay sings to me
> Above my lined booklet
> The trilling birds chant to me.
> In a grey mantle from the top of bushes
> the cuckoo sings
> Verily—may the Lord shield me!
> Well do I write under the greenwood.[42]

This is the Irish open air scriptorium of which more will be said later.

Posture of Medieval Scribes while Writing

From a representation of Prophet Ezra in a Hiberno-Saxon manuscript of the beginning of the eighth century, the famous Codex Amiatinus (fig. 3), based on an Italo-Christian prototype of the sixth century, students of medieval book illumination have inferred that in Early Christian times writers performed their work while holding books in their laps.[36] The book is held in the same manner in the representation of St. Matthew in the famous Lindisfarne Gospels, based on a Byzantinizing version of the same Italo-Christian model.[37] In later representations, such as the tenth-century ivory book cover from Metz (fig. 12) and numerous manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries, codices are shown supported by lecterns of varying degrees of stability.

The authors of the Plan of St. Gall, as we saw, provided for solid supports: tables three-and-three-quarters feet square. One of the primary reasons for this change was the growing popularity of large deluxe codices on which it was well nigh impossible to write or paint without some form of support to steady the hand.



Fig. 12. *Gregory the Great Writing*, ivory book cover, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: courtesy of Bildarchiv der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek).

The Communal Matrix

The foregoing review has disclosed the administrative complexity of a medieval scriptorium in the context of the educational mandates and services of a Benedictine monastery. How the work of the scribes fits into the communal and larger economic contexts of monastic life will now be examined briefly.

The handsome diagram (pl. 8) designed by Ernest Born repays close scrutiny. The colors of the areas not only reveal the relative amount of space allotted in the monastic compound to various functions (liturgical, educational, food preparation and supplies, livestock raising, reception of visitors, and so on), but also indicate the proximity of interdependent facilities (Brewery with Brewer's Granary, fowl pens with garden; Medicinal Herb Garden, Physicians' House, Infirmary, House for Bleeding; monastic living quarters with liturgical areas). It embodies proximity where proximity is needed, and mandates separation (monastic from lay facilities) where it is imperative to maintain the integrity of monastic life. All locations are intentional—consciously set forth by the maker of the Plan

and those who evolved this highest expression of Benedictine ideals.

Judging from the beds drawn on the Plan, the number of men this community held was between 260 and 280. Of these, 120 were monks. The remaining 150–170 were workmen and serfs who manufactured the monastery's tools and furniture and prepared raw materials for the monks' and their own clothing. Not indicated on the diagram is the presence of a considerably larger community who also supported the monastery—laymen who dwelt on isolated farmsteads or in villages located within the vast web of the monastery's agricultural estates.

At the time of Irminon, abbot of St.-Germain-des-Prés (ca. 800–826), the number of monks living within the enclosure was no more than 120. The total number of people who lived on the monastery's outlying estates was calculated by B.E.C. Guerard (who spent the better part of his life in studying this subject) as amounting to 40,000.[43] If we add to this the approximately 160 serfs and laymen who worked in the monastery itself and divide the total of 40,160 thus obtained, by the 120 monks of the monastery, we find that as far as the Abbey of St. Germain-des-Prés is concerned to sustain *one single monk* involved the support of 334 other men. To support the monks was not the sole and single purpose of their existence. In exchange for the services which they were bound to render for being allowed to live on monastic land, they obtained the privilege to sustain their own families on the produce of that same land, breed their own cattle, and raise their own crops. The monastery thus had the structure of a vast manorial estate differing from those of the secular lords of the period solely in that it had at the top of its industrial and agricultural pyramid an organization which stood not in the service of man, but in the service of God.

The writing and attendant illumination of manuscripts was a sophisticated art requiring education, much training, and long hours of practice. These could be provided to the monks only by a politically stable, wide-reaching social and economic structure that was anchored far beyond the bounds of monastic enceinte. Monks who had to survive from day to day by their own labor were unlikely to have evolved a high degree of scribal competence, let alone acquire and maintain the quality of scriptorium and library that actually existed at St. Gall. This dependency of monastic life upon the social and political institutions that it helped call into being was, in the broadest sense, based on an imperial stability. As those institutions crumbled, the monastic scriptorium proved among the most vulnerable components of monastic life. Fortunately, reverence for books and for the written word has preserved some of the finest accomplishments of devoted labor carried out in medieval scriptoria.

Other Medieval Scriptoria

Scriptoria Attested by Medieval Sources

We have already expressed the view that the general impact that the Plan of St. Gall exerted on late monastic planning suggests that scriptoria of the type drawn on this masterful scheme may have existed in many later churches. But we cannot point to any surviving examples. We have good literary sources attesting the existence of common writing rooms in such places as Tours, Fulda, St. Albans, and elsewhere. They do not, however, give any details about their layout, furnishings, or locations.[44]

However, we know on the basis of trustworthy literary sources, that later in the Middle Ages there emerged a variety of other architectural facilities for writing. In many monasteries one of the cloister wings performed this function. This is clearly attested in a narrative of Herimann, third abbot of Tournai, describing the scholarly activities at the time of Oda, its first abbot (1095–1106): "If you had gone into the cloister you might have seen a dozen young monks sitting on chairs in perfect silence, writing at tables carefully and skillfully constructed."[45]

Such concentration was scarcely possible in a cloister on cold or rainy days, as seen from the mournful lament of Ludwig of Wessobrunn. In the monastery shown on the Plan of St. Gall there is no evidence that the cloister wings were used for the purpose of writing. The wing that runs along the south aisle of the Church was used for the daily chapter meetings, according to the inscription. "Here let the pious group hold their wholesome deliberations" (*Hinc pia consilium petractet turba salubre*). For that reason the wing was broader than the others and was provided with two wall benches, one on the Church, the other on the Cloister side.

In many English monasteries one of the cloister walks was screened off with oiled paper, rush mats, or even glass, to protect the scribes from the elements. Internal wood partitions formed individual cells for writing, called carrels.[46] A magnificent example of such a range of carrels survives in the cathedral at Gloucester (fig. 13). The south wing of the cloister of this church is furnished along its entire length with a row of twenty identical stone carrels.[47] An illustration of one of these (fig. 14) shows the author, John Willis Clark, seated on a wooden seat and reading "as one of the monks of Gloucester might have done six centuries earlier."[48] Clark describes these carrels as four-feet wide, nineteen-inches deep and six-feet-nine-inches high, and compares their shape to that of a modern sentry-box "with the difference that one side was formed by a window admitting light from the cloister garth." He defines them as "devices to provide a certain amount of



Fig. 13. *Carrels in the South Wing of the Cloister, Gloucester Cathedral* (from J. Clark, *The Care of Books* [Cambridge, 1909], fig. 30).

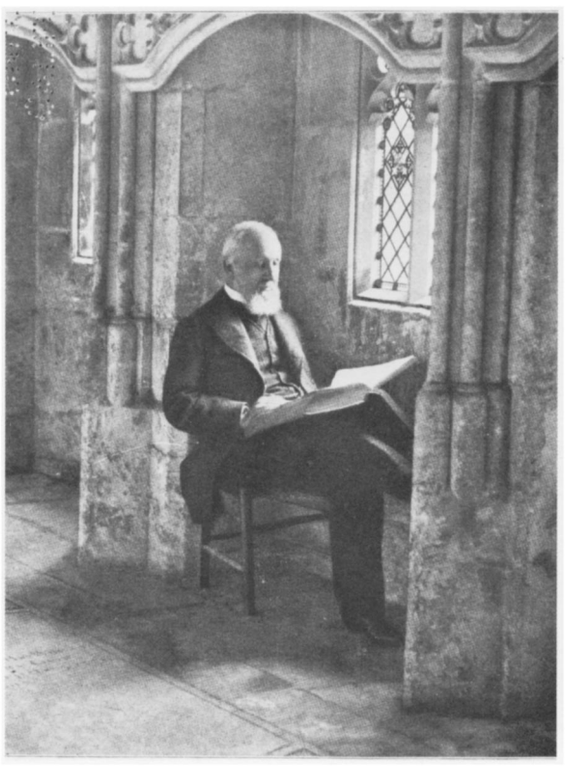


Fig. 14. *A Single Carrel in the South Wing of the Cloister, Gloucester Cathedral,* (Clark, *The Care of Books*, fig. 31).

privacy for literary and artistic work in houses where there was no scriptorium and writing room."

The earliest cloister carrels of this type, attested by reliable literary sources, existed in Winchester at the time of Abbot Ware (1258–1283). Others are recorded for Evesham between 1367 and 1379, for Abingdon between 1383 and 1384, and for Christ Church, Canterbury, between 1472 and 1492.[49] They are obviously late medieval substitutes for the traditional scriptoria and libraries installed in separate rooms.

An entirely new location for the traditional scriptorium and library seems to have become a favorite feature of English architecture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. At St. Alban's, Cockersand Abbey, and Birkenhead, de Roover maintains (but unfortunately without any reference to the original sources) that the scriptorium and the library were in a second story over the Chapter House—an architectural facility that did not exist when the Plan of St. Gall was drawn.[50] The chapter house as an integral and autonomous part of the east range of the cloister may have been an invention of the monks of Cluny who provided for such a structure in Cluny II, built between 942 and ca. 981. It became a standard feature of monastic planning in the eleventh and later centuries.

In many medieval monasteries, here illustrated as a group by Kirkstall Abbey (fig. 15), the chapter house holds the same position—ideal from a functional point of view—in the east cloister wing, close to the South Transept of the Church. The upper level offers a sufficient amount of comfortable, well-lit space for many scribes to work simultaneously. Unfortunately, no upper level survives among ruins of early monastic foundations.[51]

In addition to multiple spaces in a cloister, a *scriptoriolum* occasionally also provided space for a single scribe. It is to a little writing chamber of this type that Nicholas, the secretary of St. Bernard of Clairvaux referred when he wrote:

> But it must not be supposed that my little tenement is to be despised for it is a place to be desired and is pleasant to look upon and comfortable to retire to. It is filled with the most choice and divine books, at the delightful view of which I feel contempt for the vanity of the world. This place is assigned to me for reading and writing and composing, for meditation and praying and adoring the Lord of Might.[52]

These lines were written in the first half of the twelfth century at a time, as one would infer from their tone, when *scriptoriola* of this type were still a relative rarity and available only to the most distinguished members of the monastic hierarchy. Later they became more common, especially in those monastic houses that allowed the monks to sleep in individual rooms. Whether any of these houses produced great schools of book illumination is another question.

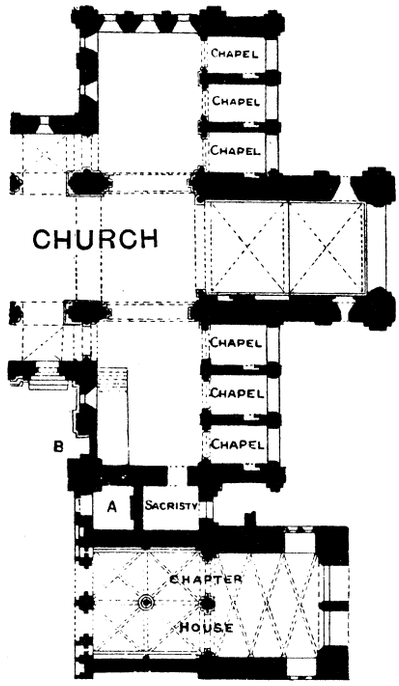


Fig. 15. *Plan of the Transept and Chapter House of Kirkstall Abbey,* Yorkshire, England (Clark, *The Care of Books*, fig. 22).

A Ray of Light from the Outer Edge of the Christian World?

What do we know about the layout of the scriptoria that produced such highwater marks of book illumination as the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells? The answer: virtually nothing.

Let us presume that the Book of Kells was written and illuminated shortly after 804, after the monks of Iona, harassed and decimated by the Vikings, fled their original home in the Inner Hebrides and reestablished themselves in Kells. Of the buildings they inhabited there, not one survives; in post-medieval times the monastery of Kells became compressed and crowded by the city that grew in its shadow.

The case of Durrow is even sadder. Of the monastery that produced this magnificent seventh-century Gospel book, all that remains is a graveyard no more than forty by sixty feet with some thirty or forty gravestones, a high cross probably from the tenth century, and an undistinguished chapel of the nineteenth-century.

If we wish to imagine what a seventh- or eighth- or ninth-century Irish monastic compound looked like, we have to study the ruins of the recently excavated monastery of Reask on Dingle Peninsula,[53] or leave the mainland altogether for better preserved examples on such Atlantic offshore islands as Skellig Michael or Inishmurray.[54] These islands were settled by monks between the sixth and eighth centuries, but were abandoned in the course of the thirteenth when, owing to a drop in world temperature, living conditions there became unbearable. These foundations were never encroached upon by encircling urban development.

Skellig Michael accommodates, on a ledge about 640 feet above the ocean, a monastery (fig. 16) comprised of five beehive huts and two oratories, all of dry masonry. The oratories were no more than ten or fifteen feet in length, furnished internally only with small altars. The monks lived in circular houses called *Clochan* (fig. 17). These houses, formed by corbelling each successive course of stone until the masonry closed at the apex, are dark and can be photographed only with the aid of artificial light. If the monks of the monastery ever engaged in manuscript production, they could have performed this task only under the open sky, in wind-sheltered spaces between their huts, and virtually never in the winter.

That some Irish monks did indeed write under the open sky is well attested by the charming marginal annotation in the eighth- or ninth-century Irish copy of Priscian quoted above.

Compared with the carefully nurtured scriptorium depicted in the Plan of St. Gall and embodied in many other similarly constituted monastic foundations, it is almost beyond any leap of the imagination to suppose that the few monks of the tiny monastic communities located on these Atlantic islands could have engaged in manuscript writing and illumination. Their isolation from the mainland and limited natural resources aside, living conditions were so harsh as to require the monks to commit much of their time to sheer survival.

Yet on High Island off the coast of Connemara some two miles west of Aughrus Point, a beehive hut is locally referred to as a scriptorium. My interest in this settlement was aroused by a brief description Michael Herity published in 1978 in a book of poetry by Richard Murphy.[55] I photographed this site from the air in 1982 (fig. 18) and had the pleasure of visiting the island, which is difficult of access, with Michael Herity in 1983 and 1984, on three separate occasions. Together we concluded that the nucleus of the settlement consisted of a rectangular oratory enclosed by a rectangular wall, from which a covered passageway leads to a circular beehive hut half-buried in the enclosure wall. This probably served as the abbot's or hermit's house (fig. 19). The building that local fishermen refer to as a scriptorium is another circular hut attached to the enclosure of the oratory to the east, but not accessible from it; its entrance is in the east. All buildings are deplorably delapidated. Of the "scriptorium," only the inner shell survives. It is so severely damaged that its original internal illumination can no longer be assessed with any certainty. Yet we

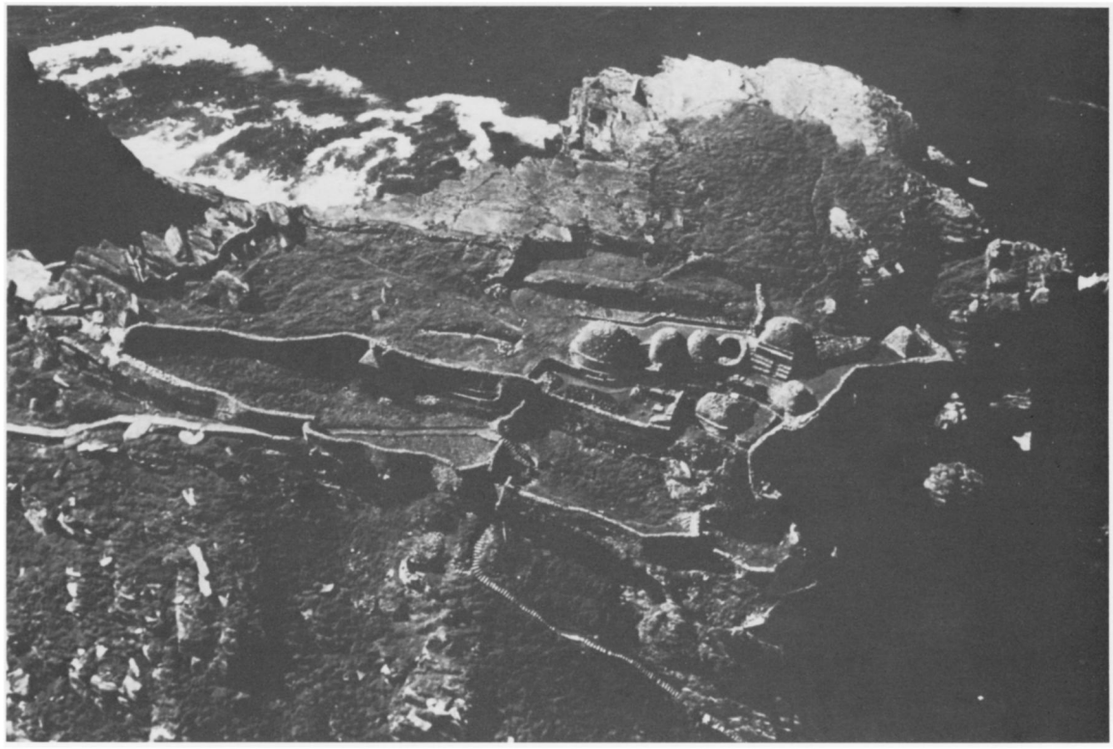


Fig. 16. *Monastery of Skellig Michael*, Ireland, County Kerry, aerial view (photo: W. Horn).



Fig. 17. *Monastery of Skellig Michael*, beehive hut (photo: W. Horn).

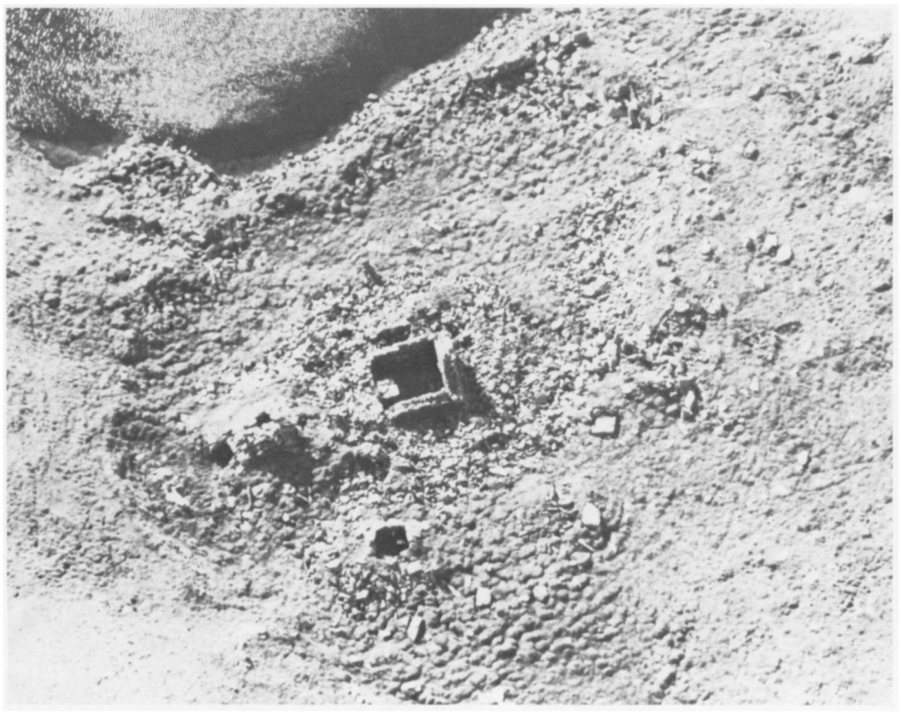


Fig. 18. *Ruins of the Early Irish Hermitage*, Ireland, County Galway, High Island, aerial view (photo: W. Horn).



Fig. 19. *Ruins of the Early Irish Hermitage*, "scriptorium" beehive hut (photo: W. Horn).

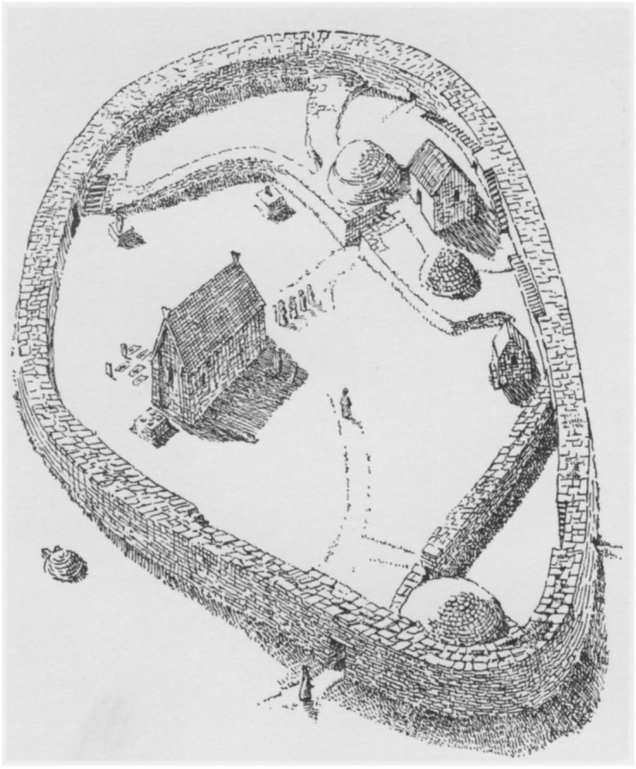


Fig. 20. *Early Irish Monastery*, Ireland, Inishmurray, County Sligo, reconstruction (from H. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings* [Dundalk, 1955], fig. 1).

must reckon with the possibility that the local oral tradition reflects an historical truth. The style of a decorated cross slab standing south of the oratory suggests to Michael Herity that the hermitage dates from around 700.

Of all the Irish beehive huts I have examined during the last eight years while studying monastic architecture on Ireland's offshore islands, I came across only one that I would consider suitable for writing. This building is in the monastery of Inishmurray, and is locally called "the schoolhouse." Inishmurray lies four-and-a-half miles west, off Streedagh Point in County Sligo.[56] Within the enclosure of this fort the monks erected a small rectangular oratory (*Teach Molaise*), and—at a later date—a larger church called the Men's Church (*Teampull-na-Bfear*) because no women were allowed worship or burial inside the cashel wall (fig. 20). Some five beehive huts also remain, of which only three are visible above the level of the ground. The schoolhouse is the largest and best preserved among these dwellings (fig. 21). It is circular inside and out, with an internal diameter ranging from twelve to thirteen feet, and doubtless owes its name to the masonry bench that starts at the righthand side of the entrance and ends on the opposite side near a window (fig. 22). The bench is ten feet long and two feet high and was probably a seat for students. The hut has an unusually large entrance, and light admitted by this opening and the window on the opposite side of the bench, while not overwhelmingly bright, could have been strong enough for scribal work.



Fig. 21. *Early Irish Monastery*, "the schoolhouse" beehive hut, exterior from north (photo: W. Horn).

However, let us not forget that with beehive huts we are dealing with a type of architecture that, in the total context of Irish house construction, occupies a very limited place. Their primary areas of diffusion are Ireland's Atlantic offshore islands and the adjacent coastlands. In these areas they were built in stone because timber was unavailable, or because these areas were susceptible to easy attack from the sea.

In the days when the Book of Durrow and the Book of Kells were written, most Early Irish structures, both monastic and secular, were built of timber. Of hundreds of thousands of houses built of wood, not a single specimen survives. Yet the type is well attested by numerous literary sources, and by traces of individual houses preserved in the ground. Beehive huts built in dry masonry, because of their construction limitations, are confined to relatively small dimensions, usually not exceeding a diameter of twelve to fifteen feet. Wood roundhouses could reach twice that because rafters could be supported internally by a free-standing inner frame of timber. In the *Great Body of Laws,* the famous *Senchus Mor,* much of which goes back to the year 438, house diameters allowed to the various ranks of Irish landholders are listed from the highest to the lowest rank: 30, 29, 27, 20 and 19 feet.[57] Light conditions in these lofty timber structures are highly superior to the semidarkness of their Atlantic stone counterparts. At the open-air Museum of Gragganowen near Quinn in County Clare, an entire cluster of such houses, some partly and others wholly of timber, has been reconstructed on the basis of sound historical evidence and conjecture. The large timber house (fig. 23) is full of light and could have accommodated the seats and lecterns of six or seven different scribes. Light filters in through the open door and narrow horizontal slits that may have existed in the wall beneath the eaves of the roof. Even the half-timber, half-masonry roundhouse in the reconstructed ring fort of Gragganowen could have accommodated a scribe or two stationed close to its entrance.



Fig. 22. *Early Irish Monastery*, "the schoolhouse" beehive hut, interior looking toward the entrance (photo: J. W. Marshall).

In contrast with all English and Continental scriptoria, which were of rectangular plan, Early Irish medieval book production was accomplished either under the open sky—the open-air scriptorium—or in circular buildings half or wholly of timber. Why the Early Irish decided to retain the roundhouse dwelling form when it had everywhere else been jettisoned millennia earlier is a question that reaches far beyond this study. But it is permissible to point out that curvilinearity pervades all of Irish art, and most intensely so its great illuminated manuscripts. Rectangularity, the privilege of God, gained a foothold in Early Irish architecture when St. Patrick felt the need to distinguish the House of God from the house of men.

The Irish Overcroft Scriptorium

To have accepted an invitation to write a paper on the medieval scriptorium and not to have identified or analyzed the structure of a single surviving example is, for an architectural historian of the Middle Ages, a devastating experience. I would have departed from this venture with a feeling of depression had I not had an unusual experience that bears directly—and I hope with more success—upon this subject.

In the first half of the twelfth century, the Irish invented a new church construction based partly on German and Norman models. With these influences it combines features that are intrinsically Irish. These churches are built in two stories: a barrel-vaulted groundfloor chapel where religious services are celebrated, and above the vault, a steeply vaulted overcroft, accessible from the chapel by an attached tower. The most remarkable of this type of Irish overcroft church appears to be Cormac's Chapel in Cashel, County Tipperary (figs. 24, 25), built between 1127 and 1134.[58] Two years ago in an entirely different context of study, I asked permission to examine the overcroft of that chapel. To my surprise I found it equipped with a fireplace in the west wall and two windows in the south and east walls (fig. 26). I asked our guide: "What was this space used for, and why a fireplace over the roof of the church?" He answered that it was used "as a scriptorium." I inquired, "What is your source for this claim?" He replied: "No source. Just local tradition." The



Fig. 23. *Reconstructed Early Irish Lake Village (Grannog)*, Ireland, County Clare, Gragganowen (photo: John Hinde Studios).

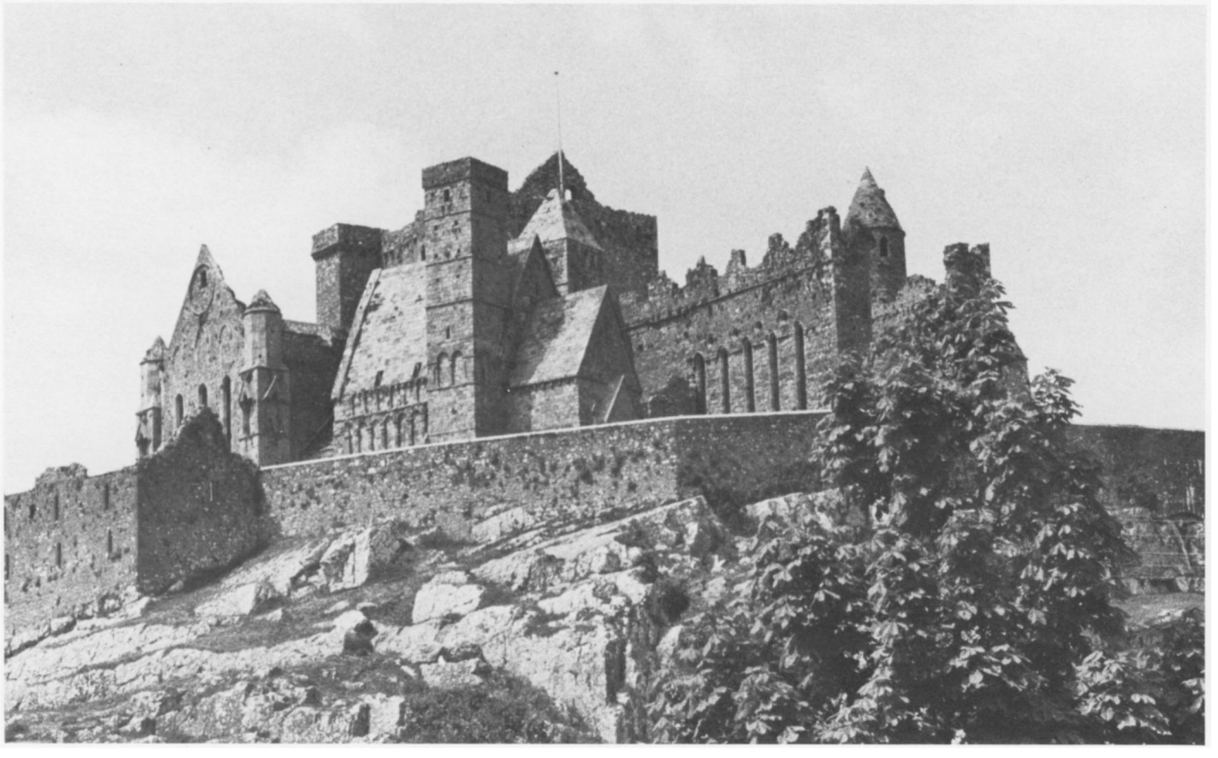


Fig. 24. *Cormac's Chapel, St. Patrick's Rock*, Ireland, County Tipperary, Cashel, exterior (photo: W. Horn).

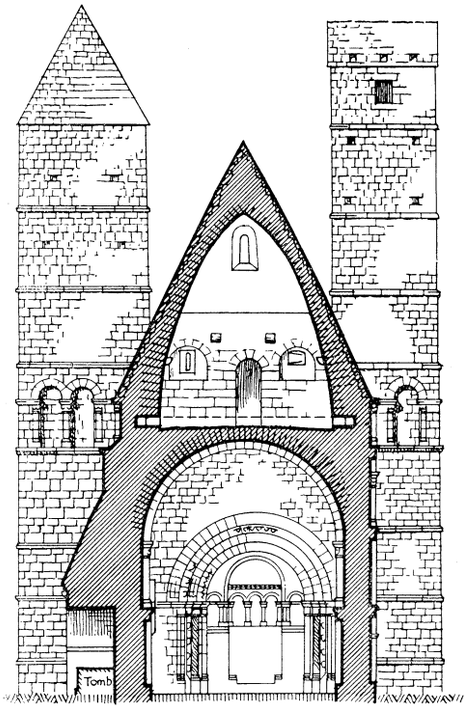


Fig. 25. *Cross Section of Cormac's Chapel* (from Leask, *St. Patrick's Rock* [Dublin, n.d.], fig. 13).

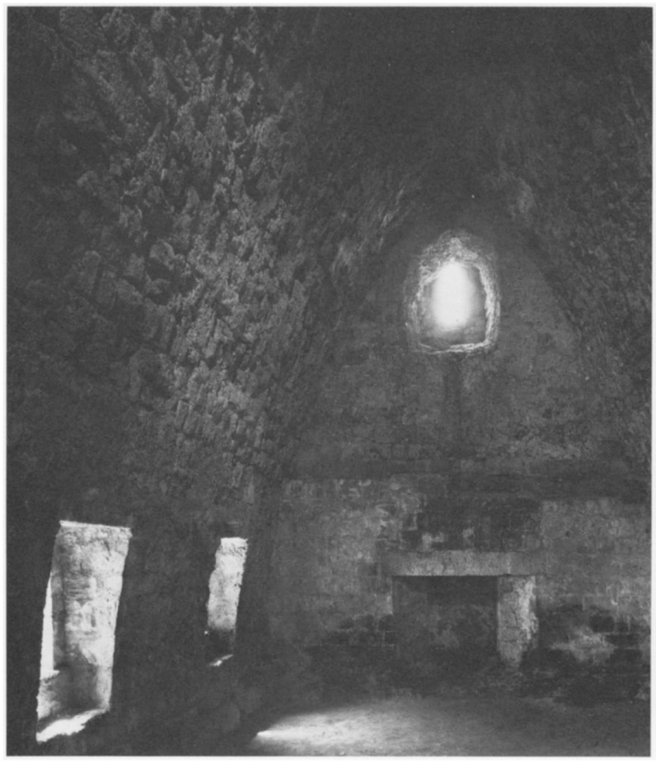


Fig. 26. *Overcroft of Cormac's Chapel,* interior (photo: P. Belzeaux, courtesy of Père Norbert Zodiaque).

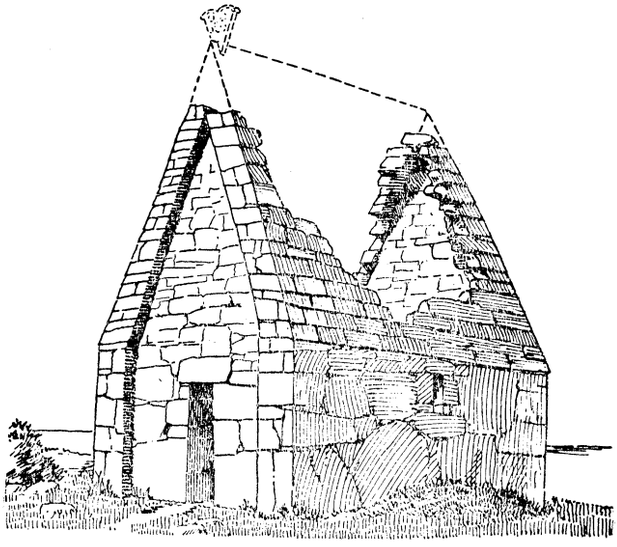


Fig. 27. *Early Irish Church*, Ireland, County Galway, St. Macdara's Island, reconstruction (from Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, fig. 9).

windows admitted enough light to make this assertion believable, and stone brackets on either of the two long walls, about seven feet above the floor, suggested the presence of a wooden floor on that level that might have supported a library. I might therefore have actually stood in a medieval scriptorium built 500 years after the Book of Durrow was written and some 350 years after the Plan of St. Gall was drawn.

Overcroft churches are an intrinsically Irish form of architectural and cultural expression that, to the best of my knowledge, have no parallel in England or on the Continent. In sanctuaries strongly influenced by German and Norman prototypes they retain the elegant curvilinear design of such Early Irish structures as the Church of Kilmalkedar, the Gallerus oratory, and the most beautiful of all Early Irish oratories, the Church of St. Macdara on St. Macdara's Island off the coast of Connemara in County Galway (fig. 27).[59] The curvilinear profile of these churches has its ultimate root in cruck timber churches of considerably smaller size and earlier date.[60] The overcroft scriptorium of Cormac's Chapel—as identified on the basis of local tradition—would be the Irish equivalent of the contemporaneous twelfth-century scriptoria and libraries reputedly installed in England over the ceiling of the chapter house. Cormac's Chapel is, however, far from being the earliest example of this type of building. Another Irish overcroft church of no lesser repute is the small yet fascinat-

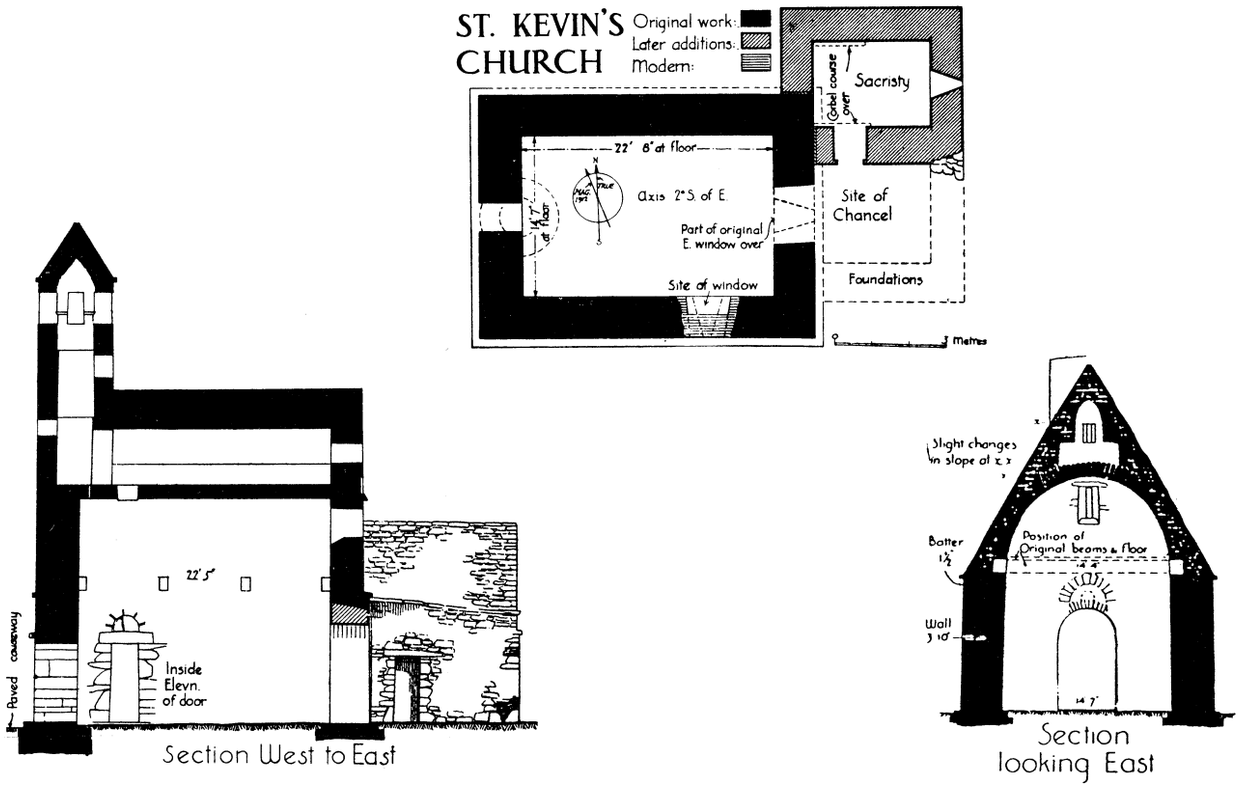


Fig. 28. *St. Kevin's Church*, Ireland, County Wicklow, Glendalough, Section Looking East; Section West to East; Plan (from Leask, *Glendalough* [Dublin, n.d.], 22, 24).

ing church of St. Kevin's at Glendalough, commonly referred to as St. Kevin's Kitchen, the original part of which (fig. 28) is dated by Leask to the ninth century.[61] The nave of this building, which measures internally no more than 22 feet and 8 inches by 14 feet and 7 inches, is covered by a barrel vault that rises to a height of 21 feet and carries on that level an overcroft of a height of roughly 7 feet. The aesthetically most perplexing feature of this church, however, is that in its original state the barrel vault that covered its nave was not visible to the people who worshipped in this church because at the very point where its curvature starts (12½ feet above the ground) the nave was covered by a wooden floor that made it impossible for anyone stationed on the ground floor to see how this space was covered on higher levels. Would we not, here too, have to count with the possibility that the entire upper half of the church might have been used as a scriptorium and a place for the safekeeping of books? A systematic study of the remaining half-dozen overcroft churches in Ireland may shed further light on this question whose elusive nature has been seen to be typical in the search for evidence on the appearance of medieval scriptoria.

NOTES

[Professor Horn's study was presented at The Walters as the 1984 Theodore L. Low Lecture. The Low Lectureship was endowed by a group of friends and colleagues to honor the Gallery's long-time Director of Education who retired in 1980.—Ed.]

1. W. Horn and E. Born, *The Plan of St. Gall,* 3 vols., (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1979) hereafter, Horn and Born, *Plan.*

2. See the chapter by C. Malone and W. Horn "The Plan of St. Gall and its Effect on Later Monastic Planning" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* II, 315–359.

3. See the references cited in notes 7, 8, 9, and 15.

4. As established in a brilliant paleographical analysis by B. Bischoff, "Die Entstehung des Klosterplanes in paläographischer Sicht," *Studien zum St. Galler Klosterplan,* J. Duft, ed. (S. Gall, 1962), 67–78.

5. For our analysis of the meaning of this inscription see the chapter "The Dedicatory Legend" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* 1, 9ff.

6. See the chapter "An Ornamental Detail Suggesting the Court School as the Conceptual Home of the Prototype Plan," in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 30–33.

7. P. Meyvaert, review of *The Plan of St. Gall, University Publishing,* 9 (Summer, 1980), 18f.

8. E. A. Segal, "The Plan of St. Gall and the Monastic Reform Councils of 816 and 817," *Cuyahoga Review,* 1 (1983), 57–71.

9. *University Publishing,* 10 (Winter, 1981), 21 and 35 (Horn responding to Meyvaert) and *ibid.,* 35 (Meyvaert responding to Horn's response).

10. A. Dopsch, "Das Capitulare de Villis, die Brevium Exempla und der Bauplan von St. Gallen," *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* 13 (1916), 41-70. Dopsch was the first to point out that "exemplata" must be translated in the sense of "to copy" and also the first to suggest that the prototype plan was a product of the monastic reform movement. For the Bischoff reference, see note 4.

11. See the chapter "Original or Copy? Some Technical Observations" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 15-19.

12. W. Horn and E. Born, "The Dimensional Inconsistencies of the Plan of St. Gall," *Art Bulletin,* 48 (1966), 285-308; see also our chapters "Length of the Church" and "The Church as Modified in its Explanatory Titles," Horn and Born, *Plan* I, 187-190 and 178-186. The first to explain the dimensional inconsistencies of the Plan as an expression of the thinking of church leaders between the time the original was conceived and the time the synods were held was W. Boeckelmann, "Der Widerspruch im St. Galler Klosterplan," *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* 16 (1956), 125-34, hereafter, Boeckelmann.

13. For a discussion of these events see the chapter "Length of the Church" quoted in the preceding note.

14. On the conceptual link between the Church of the Plan and the Carolingian cathedral of Cologne see Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 27-29; on the likelihood of Hildebold's involvement in the original scheme, *ibid.,* I, 29-30.

15. O. Doppelfeld, "Der alte Dom zu Köln und der Bauriss von St. Gallen," *Das Münster, Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst und Kunstwissenschaft,* 2 (1948), 1-12.

16. Boeckelmann, 125-34. In this summary of Doppelfeld's and Boeckelmann's views we are quoting almost word for word from our discussion of these matters in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 81-82.

17. On the similarity of the script of the supervising scribe of the Plan with that of Reginbert of Reichenau see p. 71 of the study by B. Bischoff cited in note 4.

18. On Bishop Haito's disagreement with some of the directives issued during the first synod at Aachen and his blunt refusal to implement them in his monastery of Murbach see Horn and Born, *Plan,* 1, 21-22.

19. N. Strachura, "Der Plan von St. Gallen—ein Original?" *Architectura,* 8 (1978), 184-86; and "Der Plan von St. Gallen: Der Westabschluss der Kirche und seine Varianten," *ibid.,* 10 (1980), 33-37. Segments of two of the dozen-odd semicircles discovered by Strachura under the western apse and atrium of the Church are visible with the naked eye. The rest is only perceptible in photographs taken under special light conditions.

20. I regret to have contributed to this misunderstanding by an unfortunate Latin caption under one of Born's graphic interpretations of the *Plan* (Horn and Born, Plan, II, 11, fig. 264X) that refers to this scheme as *IN SYNODIS AQUIGRANESIS AD 816-817 ELABORATUM.* We did not anticipate that this caption would be interpreted without reference to what we said about the incompatibility of the dimensions of the church as shown on the Plan with the views held by the leaders of the new reform party at the time the synods of Aachen were conducted. See note 12.

21. For a full analysis of the controversies surrounding the question of the scale of the Plan see the chapter "Scale Used in Designing the Plan," in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 87-97.

22. On the House of the Fowlkeeper see Horn and Born, *Plan,* II, 267-270.

23. On the prehistoric and medieval prototypes and parallels of this house type see Horn and Born, *Plan,* II, 23-138.

24. For full discussions of these buildings see Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 249-258 (Dormitory and Warming Room); 267-284 (Refectory and Vestiary); 292-310 (Cellar and Larder).

25. For more details on this see the chapter "Fears of the Vigilant Abbot" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 252-53.

26. For a detailed analysis of the seating capacity of the Monks' Refectory see Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 268.

27. See the chapters "The Measure of Wine and Beer Allowed to the Monks" and "Are the Barrels Drawn to Scale and Scaled to Need?" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 296-303, 303-305.

28. A sixth building in which this method is applied, the Abbot's House, may be bypassed in this context. It is fully discussed in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 321-324.

29. "Nirgends sind die Treppen verzeichnet," H. Reinhardt, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan* (St. Gallen, 1952), 23. The same idea is voiced by Leclercq in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* VI: 2, 1924, col. 92.

30. The only other instances are the two spiral stairs in the two free-standing towers flanking the western atrium of the Church. For more details see the chapter "Towers" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 129-131.

31. For a brief discussion of the crypts of these churches see Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 196-198. St.-Philibert-de-Granlieu was started in 819, but in its earliest form this church had only a central crypt; its circumambient corridor crypt was added in a second campaign between 847 and 859.

32. On the Novitiate see Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 319-323; for the Outer School and the Schoolmaster's Lodging, *ibid.,* 172-175.

33. A. T. Bruckner, "Schreibschulen der Diözöse Konstanz," St. Gallen, I-III, in *Scriptoria medii aevi Helvetica,* III (Geneva, 1939) *passim,* and the chapter "Numbers of Scribes and Collaboration" in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 151.

34. On the various types of scribes see F. E. de Roover, "The Scriptorium," in J. W. Thompson, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago, 1939), 594-612, hereafter, de Roover, "Scriptorium"; and Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 149-159.

35. *Admonitio generalis,* 23 March 789, chap. 72, ed. Boretius in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica,* Legum II, cap. I (Hannover, 1883), 60.

36. On the introduction of writing desks, their sporadic appearance in Early Christian times, their general acceptance in the age of Charlemagne and the occasional retention of earlier forms, see the interesting chapter "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" in B. M. Metzger, "Historical and Literary Studies, Pagan, Jewish, and Christian," *New Testament Tools and Studies,* 8 (1968), 123-37.

37. For a brief analysis of these sources see C. Nordenfalk, *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Painting* (New York, 1977), 24-25.

38. For the complete text of Alcuin's poem *On the Scribes* and a metrical translation by C. W. Jones, see Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 145.

39. From a manuscript of St. Aignan of Orleans. Trans. after E. A. Savage, *Old English Libraries* (Chicago, 1912), 81.

40. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter* 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1875), 287.

41. See J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 1909) 71, hereafter, Clark, *Books.* For further forms of expression in the same vein see de Roover, "Scriptorium," 606-607, and C. Plummer, "On the Colophons and Marginals of Irish Scribes," *Proceedings of the British Academy,* 12 (1926), 11ff.

42. *An Anthology of Irish Literature,* ed. with an intro. by D. H. Greene (New York, 1954), 10, after a translation by Kuno Meyer.

43. B. E. C. Guerard, *Explication du Capitulaire de Villis,* Latin and French trans. (Paris, 1853), and the chapter "The Monastery's Industrial and Agricultural Force of Labor," in Horn and Born, *Plan,* I, 341-345.

44. de Roover, "Scriptorium," 595.

45. *Ita ut si claustrum ingredereris videres plerumque XIII. Monachos juvenes in cathedris sedentes & super tabulas diligenter & artificiose compositias cum silentio scribentes.* "Narratio Restaurationis Abbatiae S. Martini Tornacensis Auctore Herimanno Abbate e jusdem Monasterii," in L. d'Achéry's *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1726), 2, 913.

46. A term corrupted from *quadril* through the Norman *carole* signifying enclosure. See de Roover, "Scriptorium," 595.

47. For the south cloister of Gloucester Cathedral, see Clark, *Book,* 89-91.

48. After Clark, *Book,* fig. 31, following p. 88.

49. Clark, *Book,* 86 and 91.

50. de Roover, "Scriptorium," 595.

51. For a plan of Cluny II see Horn and Born, *Plan,* II, 335, fig. 515. For English examples of the twelfth and thirteenth century, *ibid.,* fig. 516 (Bardney Abbey), fig. 517 (Thetford Priory), fig. 518 (Castle Acre Priory), fig. 519 (Kirkstall Abbey), and fig. 520 (Fountains Abbey).

52. T. D. Hardy, *Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland,* III A.D. 1200-A.D. 1327 (London, 1871), xxii.

53. For Reask see T. Fanning, "Excavation of an Early Christian Cemetery and Settlement at Reask, County Kerry," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* 81 (1981) section C, 71-161.

54. For Skellig Michael see Liam de Paor, "A Survey of Scelig Michil," *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland,* 84 (1854), 174-78 and F. Henry, "Early Monasteries, Beehive Huts and Drystone Houses in the Neighbourhood of Caherceveen and Waterville (County Kerry)," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 58 (1957), section C, no. 3, 113-129; and the attractive book by D. Lavelle, *Skellig, Island Outpost of Europe* (Dublin, 1976).

55. M. Herity, "The High Island Hermitage," *Richard Murphy: Poet of Two Traditions,* ed. M. Harmon (Dublin, 1978), 52-69.

56. For Inishmurray see W. F. Wakeman, "Inis Muiredaich, Now Inishmurray, and Its Antiquities," *Journal of the Royal Archaeological Association of Ireland,* 7 (4th series, 1885), no. 64, 175-331.

57. On *Senchus Mor* see W. Horn, "On the Origins of the Medieval Cloister," *Gesta,* 1 (1973), 25-27.

58. H. G. Leask, *St. Patrick's Rock, Historical Guide* (Dublin, n.d.).

59. For the Church of St. Macdara see Leask, *Irish Churches,* 29-33.

60. For the influence of timber construction on Irish building in stone, see Leask, *Irish Churches,* 43-47.

61. H. G. Leask, *Glendalough, County Wicklow, Official Historical and Descriptive Guide,* (Dublin, n.d.).

Post Scriptum

Not known to me when this article was written were a lengthy review of *The Plan of St. Gall,* published in 1985 by Warren Sanderson,[1] and the fascinating and long-awaited book by Konrad Hecht, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan,* published posthumously in 1983.[2] Both offer new and interesting theories about the origins of the Plan of St. Gall. I respond to them here with utmost brevity, confining myself to only those questions related directly to issues discussed in this paper.

Sanderson was familiar with Meyvaert's views about Bishop Haito's authorship of the Plan of St. Gall, but not with my response to Meyvaert, published in the subsequent year.[3] He adopts without the slightest hesitation Strachura's conclusion that the Plan was worked out "by trial and error," and therefore could not possibly have been made as a tracing from an earlier scheme.[4] In a twist of thought I find hard to follow, he continues nevertheless to believe in the existence of such a prototype plan. He rejects the idea that this archetype had anything to do with the reform synods of 816 and 817 because the magnificent dimensions of the Church drawn on the Plan, while wholly consonant with the monumentality of the architectural tradition that flourished under Charlemagne, were incompatible "with the countervailing trend toward smaller-scaled churches" propagated by the leaders of the reform party in the reign of Louis the Pious.[5] Sanderson concludes that the most likely date of the original plan, for that reason, was "the last years of the life of Charlemagne."[6] This assignation of the prototype plan to the emperor's last years is an interesting supposition which I adopt with happiness not as a substitute but as an alternative to the views expressed in this article and my earlier studies dealing with this subject.

There can be no doubt that the reform associated with Benedict of Aniane and sponsored by Louis the Pious rejected the architectural magnificence of Charlemagne's reign, but neither can it be overlooked that the great protagonists of this magnificence, such men as bishops Hildebold of Cologne and Haito of Basel, were still in very influential positions when the two councils of Aachen were held. Haito, who died in 823, had been one of Charlemagne's most trusted ecclesiastical advisors and was one of the most distinguished participants of the synods of Aachen. Hildebold became archbishop of Cologne in 794/95 and as *sacri palatii arcicapellanus* held one of the highest positions any man of the church could hold in the empire, a title which he was given as early as 791 and retained even under the reign of Louis the Pious until Hildebold's death in 819. Sanderson, like Meyvaert, underrates the spiritual and generational complexity prevailing at the time of the two reform synods—a complexity well attested by Bishop Haito's blunt refusal to implement in the monasteries under his own control certain directives issued at Aachen.[7]

Konrad Hecht's book, a product of a lifelong fascination with the Plan of St. Gall, is a trove of new and penetrating observations, and offers in its totality the most exhaustive review of the opinions of earlier students of the Plan. Some of Hecht's views were known to me through an article he published in 1965,[8] from which I learned with delight that we had both independently come to the same conclusions in our interpretation of the scale and construction methods used in the Plan; we also shared the view that the Plan was both an ideal scheme and an architectural

layout so accurately conceived as to lend itself to be transferred with the greatest ease, dimension for dimension, from the parchment to a building site.[9] In addition to many other important points of interpretation we hold in common the supposition that the Plan of St. Gall is the copy of an original worked out at an earlier period. But we are miles apart in our speculation about the time and place where this earlier plan was made.

In an analysis considerably more detailed than the one Born and I submitted in our book on the Plan of St. Gall,[10] Hecht demonstrates convincingly that the Plan implements a considerable number of the resolutions taken in the synods of Aachen—an observation with which we can hardly disagree.[11] But contrary to the conclusions that Born and I had drawn from this fact, Hecht rejects the idea of any connection of the original plan with the two synods of 816 and 817. Rather, he comes forth with an entirely new hypothesis that the prototype plan was produced in the monastery of Aniane in southern France, under the spiritual guidance of its illustrious abbot, Benedict, in the years immediately following the dedication, in 792, of the *basilica praegrandis* of this monastery.[12]

This view is based on what I am inclined to consider an untenable interpretation of the design and structural makeup of the guest and service buildings of the Plan of St. Gall. Hecht believes these buildings were desendants of the Gallo-Roman farmhouse widely diffused in the provincial Roman territories bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, and still in use in southern France, so Hecht maintains, in the early Middle Ages. The classical character of these buildings and their counterparts on the Plan of St. Gall, Hecht postulates, precludes that the original plan was fashioned in the north where this type of architecture did not exist, and therefore eliminates Aachen as the natural architectural environment for the creation of the prototype plan.

In rejecting the views of earlier scholars who tried to interpret the guest and service structures of the Plan of St. Gall in the light of classical building traditions, I have set forth the claim that, to the contrary, they were variants of a family of timbered houses widely diffused during prehistoric, protohistoric, and medieval times in countries predominantly settled by Germanic peoples. I expressed this view first in an article published in 1958;[13] it formed the basis of a reconstruction of these buildings in a model displayed at the Council of Europe exhibition *Karl der Grosse,* Aachen, 1965.[14] Hecht was familiar with these studies, but at the time of his writing, he was not aware that Ernest Born and I had dedicated an entire volume of our book on the Plan of St. Gall to a comprehensive historical substantiation of our thesis.

I deeply regret not ever having had the privilege of meeting Konrad Hecht. We have in common an almost lifelong preoccupation with problems raised by the Plan of St. Gall. Hecht's early death lost me a friend before such a friendship had a chance to form. Some of the questions which puzzled us may never be solved. As we are weighing the merits of conflicting interpretations, let us not forget that we are dealing with varying degrees of speculative plausibilities, not with unquestionable historical truths.

NOTES

1. W. Sanderson, "The Plan of St. Gall Reconsidered," *Speculum,* 60:3 (1985), 615-32, hereafter, Sanderson, "The Plan."

2. K. Hecht, *Der St. Galler Klosterplan,* pref. by M. Gosebruch and G. Hecht, (Sigmaringen, 1983), hereafter, Hecht, *Klosterplan.* Hecht died in 1980. His book became available in the United States in 1984, but did not make its way into my hands until after the present article was submitted to The Walters Art Gallery.

3. See above notes 7 and 9.

4. Sanderson, "The Plan," 618.

5. *Ibid.,* 620.

6. *Ibid.,* 621.

7. See my remarks on this issue in *The Plan,* I, 22-24; see also *University Publishing,* 10.

8. K. Hecht, "Der St. Galler Klosterplan—Schema oder Bauplan?" *Abhandlungen der Braunschweigischen wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft,* 17 (1965), 165-206.

9. W. Horn and E. Born, "The Dimensional Inconsistencies of the Plan of St. Gall," *Art Bulletin,* 48 (1966), 285-307; and, in greater detail, Horn and Born, *The Plan,* I, 77-113.

10. See the chapter "Specific Rulings of the Monastic Reform Movement Affecting Monastic Architecture," in Horn and Born, *The Plan,* I, 22-24.

11. See the chapter "Der Inhalt des Planes verglichen mit den Beschlussen der Synode," in Hecht, *Klosterplan,* 166-77.

12. See the chapter "Die Entstehungszeit des Klosterplanes" in Hecht, *Klosterplan,* 304-311.

13. W. Horn, "On the Origins of the Medieval Bay System," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 17 (1958), 2-3.

14. For a brief account of the reasoning that led to these reconstructions, see the catalogue for this exhibition, "Das Modell eines Karolingischen Idealklosters," in *Karl Der Grosse, Werk und Wirkung Zehnte Ausstellung unter den Auspizien des Europarates,* W. Braunfels, ed. (Aachen, 1965), 402-410 and figs. 124-125; reiterated in a slightly expanded version in the French edition of this catalogue—*Charlemagne, oeuvre, rayonnement et survivances,* 10e Exposition sous les auspices de Conseil de l'Europe, W. Braunfels, ed. (Aix-la-Chapelle, 1965), 391-400.

A Neglected Manuscript of Peter Lombard's Liber Sententiarum *and Parisian Illumination of the Late Twelfth Century*

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Peter Lombard's *Liber Sententiarum (Book of Sentences)* is the crowning achievement of centuries of scholarly endeavors to systematize the large body of Christian doctrine that had accumulated over the years and it represents an important step in the development of theological scholarship in the twelfth century. Its text is a product of the new dialectics taught in the schools of Paris renowned for their teaching of theology—at St. Victor and at Ste. Geneviève on the Mont on the left bank and at the cathedral school of Notre Dame on the Ile de la Cité, where canon law was also taught. The Walters Art Gallery recently acquired a very fine and early copy of Peter Lombard's *Liber Sententiarum.*[1] This study will attempt to place this new acquisition, stylistically and iconographically, within a body of related manuscripts and argue for Paris as the city where it was produced.

The *Liber Sententiarum* established Peter Lombard as preeminent among theologians, not only in his lifetime, but for centuries to follow. Such fame notwithstanding, very little documentation concerning his life and career survives.[2] Peter was born in Novara in the province of Lombardy in northwest Italy around 1100. His early education was probably received at a local school and later most likely at Bologna where the famous canonist Gratianus was teaching. He chose to complete his theological studies at the prestigious schools in France. When he arrived there sometime before 1134, he was already quite mature, "vir venerabilis" as Bernard of Clairvaux described him, and he probably had already received minor orders.[3] After a short period of study at Reims, he is found in Paris (around 1134) knocking at the doors of the royal abbey of St. Victor, a letter of introduction in hand. Although of humble birth, Peter had connections in high places; none other than Bernard of Clairvaux recommended him to Abbot Gilduinus. The great abbey of St. Victor, known for its generous support of poor students, is probably where Peter spent his first year in Paris. While there he no doubt attended the lectures of Hugh of St. Victor, the director of its famous school, since the *Liber Sententiarum* indicates an intimate acquaintance with Hugh's writings, in particular the *De sacramentis christianae fidei.* Another important influence and likely teacher was Abelard, who had taught at the cathedral school of Notre Dame but was then at Ste. Geneviève on the Mont. Peter based his method for the *Sententiae* on the former's *Sic et non.* Very little, too, is known about Peter's professional life. He may have taught at St. Victor and, in any case, he maintained a close relationship with the Victorines. It is known that he taught at the cathedral school. Exactly when he began his career there is uncertain. Herbert Bosham was studying under him around 1150,[4] but it is likely that Master Peter was teaching there long before then, perhaps as early as 1140. Ignatius Brady has established a tentative chronology tracing his professional progress at the cathedral: canon about 1145, subdeacon

two years later, deacon about 1150, archdeacon some time between 1152 and 1156, and bishop of Paris in 1159. In 1154 Peter accompanied Theobald, bishop of Paris, to Rome. It is then that he must have acquired a copy of John of Damascus' *De fide orthodoxa,* recently translated into Latin by Burgundio of Pisa and the major source for the Greek Fathers cited in the *Sententiae.* Peter died in 1160—just one year after his election to the see of Paris and only two years after completing the final version of the *Liber Sententiarum.* He was buried in the collegiate church of St. Marcel. His tomb slab, designed as a niche sculpture depicting him as bishop, is inscribed with the epitaph "HIC IACET MAGISTER PETRUS LOMBARDUS PARISIENSIS EPISCOPUS QUI COMPOSUIT LIBRUM SENTENTIARUM, GLOSSAS PSALMORUM ET EPISTOLARUM CUIUS OBITUS DIES EST XIII KAL AUGUSTI."[5]

When the *Liber Sententiarum* was finally published in 1158, it became an instant best seller. Thenceforth Peter Lombard was closely identified with it as "Magister Sententiarum" despite the successes of his glosses on the Psalms (finished about 1148) and on the Pauline Epistles (finished after 1148).[6] These glosses became the standard texts in the sets of glossed biblical books produced in the second half of the twelfth century and circulated throughout the western world. The *Liber Sententiarum* achieved even greater popularity; its success was immediate and long lasting. Numerous commentaries soon appeared. The earliest known gloss was by one of Peter's students, Master Udo. In addition, abridged versions of Peter's work quickly became available; typical is the *Libri V Sententiarum* of Peter of Poitiers, a student of Peter Comestor who in turn had studied with Peter Lombard.[7]

The ideas dealt with in the *Liber Sententiarum* are rooted in the theological movement of the first half of the twelfth century and first formulated in the teachings and writings of Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), William of Champeaux (d. 1122), Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141), Abelard (d. 1142), St. Bernard (d. 1153), and Gilbert de la Porrée (d. 1154).[8] These early Parisian masters and Anselm of Laon were searching for a system that would enable them to synthesize the large body of Christian knowledge into textbook form for their students—efforts that were a logical extension of their teaching. Their compilations, frequently referred to as *Libri Sententiarum,* were the product of the French schools, especially those at Paris. The driving force there was provided by Hugh of St. Victor and Abelard—by the former's *De sacramentis* and the *Theologia* of the latter. The desire for a textbook that would synthesize "the whole range of doctrine embodying the two strands of 'auctoritas' and 'ratio' were in the air."[9] With the *Sententiae* Peter succeeded where others had fallen short.

The originality of the *Sententiae* rests not in its contents (it is basically a collection of traditional texts), but rather in its method of organizing a vast amount of material, rendering it easily accessible to scholars. Its novel organization, precision, and, above all, adaptability were central to its lasting influence and great popularity in the schools. They quickly adopted it as the basic textbook in theology and there it remained for nearly four centuries until it was finally replaced by the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas.[10] What Gratianus' *Concordia discordantium canonum* (more popularly known as the *Decretum Gratiani*)[11] was to canon law and Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*[12] was to biblical studies, Peter's *Liber Sententiarum* was to theology. All three became the basic texts for instruction in their respective fields.[13]

The work of codification in Peter's *Sententiae* parallels that in Gratianus' work, the latter being one of the major sources for the former. Peter's method owes a great deal to the canonists of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and most of all to Gratianus' *Decretum.* Peter also borrowed a considerable amount of theological material from him, ordered it, elaborated upon it, and occasionally corrected some of his conclusions.[14] The organization of Gratianus' *Decretum* left a lot to be desired. The canonical material was so unwieldy that Gratianus was apparently unable to maintain consistency. The collected material concerning the decisions of the church councils and papal decrees was so enormous and so disorganized and of such conflicting statements that for centuries canonists had sought to reconcile them by organizing supporting and opposing opinions under relevant theological or philosophical propositions. This idea was not new. The methodology appears in the work of Augustine and John of Damascus—both of whom provided source material for the Lombard's work. It was later taken over from the canonists by the theologians writing and teaching in France in the early twelfth century. Peter was provided other source material by the *Summa sententiarum* (attributed to Hugh of St. Victor), by Hugh's *De sacramentis,* and above all by Abelard's *Sic et non.* In the last work Abelard presents a list of problems concerning the interpretation of the Scriptures and the apparent contradictions in the works of the Fathers. These are arranged in a methodical order together with the appropriate opinions for and against. The solutions are left to the reader with the hope that he would arrive at them through the application of rational thought. Abelard conceived his work as a textbook for the study of theology, as an aid to the student. The *De sacramentis* and the *Sententiae* were similarly conceived. Peter took the method one step further, as did Gratianus before him but with less success, and attempted to resolve the conflicting opinion regarding Christian doctrine. He was fully conversant in the controversies of the period—the debates regard-

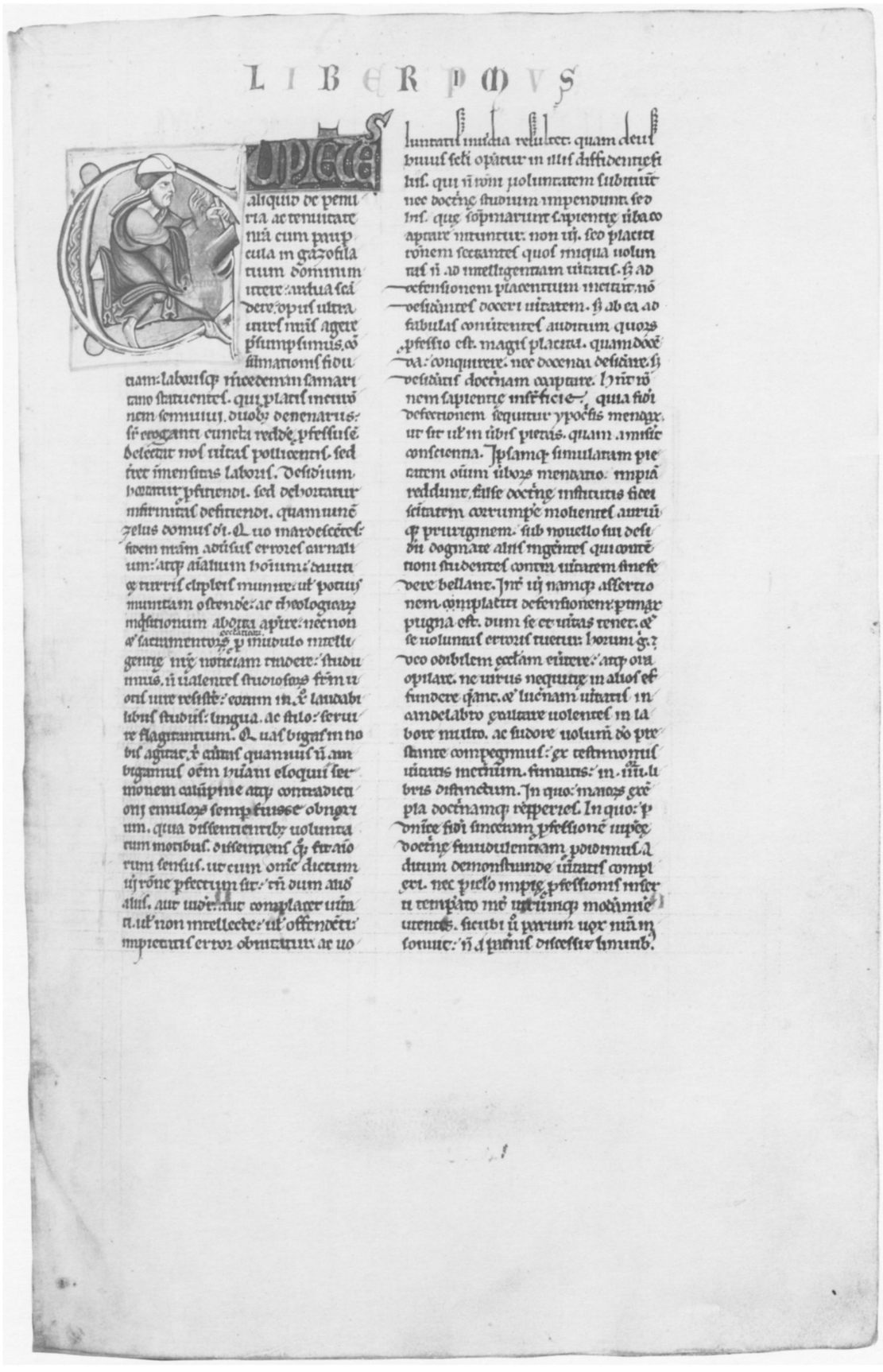


Fig. 1. *Portrait of Peter Lombard,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Prologue, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.809, fol. 1r (all photos courtesy of their respective libraries).

ing the nature of the three persons of the Trinity; the controversy over the Eucharist; and the old quarrel regarding "regnum" and "sacerdotium" that would come to a head in the next decade in the infamous conflict between the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket, and Henry II of England. On "hot" issues such as the latter, Peter tended to take a moderate stand.

Peter adopted the dialectical method, but not the arrangement of the *Sic et non*.[15] The *Liber Sententiarum* is divided into four books; each book is then divided into a number of topics called "distinctiones" followed in turn by a discussion of the stated problem.[16] These "distinctiones" are arranged in each book according to a scheme that closely parallels the early chapters of Genesis, an arrangement that undoubtedly shows the influence of Hugh of St. Victor. Thus Book I is concerned with God, the three persons of the Trinity, their attributes and qualities; Book II deals with the effects of God's causation, the angels, the six days of creation, the creation of man and woman, the human soul, the state of humanity before the Fall, the sin of our first parents, free will and grace; Book III treats the Incarnation, the nature of Christ, the consequences of the Incarnation, the Christian virtues (Faith, Hope, and Charity), and the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit and their existence in Christ; Book IV, following naturally from Book III, studies the Incarnation as the source of the Sacraments of the New Law. The seven Sacraments are then considered in detail, especially Holy Eucharist. This book concludes with problems associated with the Resurrection and the Last Judgment, including the Four Last Things—death, judgment, heaven, and hell. Another principle regulating the content of each book is also evident. This principle derives from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* where Christian doctrine is related to things ("res") or to signs ("signa"). Books I through III consider "res," Book IV "signa." Thus the Sacraments are "signa" of "res" as well as the vehicles of efficacious grace.[17] In the "distinctiones," Peter presents opposing authorities and then through reasoned discussion of both sides of the issue attempts a solution. First he formulates the problem clearly and concisely in each "distinctione" with a statement of the "sententiae." Next he breaks down the original problem into a series of subsidiary ones to which definite answers can be given. For the solution he relies on the authorities and on reasoned arguments. Sometimes, as in the case of a highly controversial issue, he avoids giving a solution and like Abelard simply states the conflicting opinions. After the presentation of opposing arguments, there follows a summing up and reconciliation in the solution.

The Walters' copy of the *Sententiae* conforms to the standard text (figs. 1–7). The book, written in a late Romanesque bookhand in dark brown ink, is apparently the work of a single scribe who uses abundant abbreviations. The letters are compact and relatively rounded with minimal linkage. They exhibit eccentricities associated with Parisian charterhands—the extension into the top margins and the flourishing of the ascenders of miniscule *b, d, l, s,* and *t* and the extension of the ascender of bent *d* into the side margins.[18] Trimming is so minimal that the pricking for the ruling is visible on nearly every folio and some of the notes for the rubricator are still preserved (fig. 5). Quire numbers in Roman numerals and catchwords appear in the bottom margins. Running titles indicating the major division of the text into four books are written across the upper margin of each opening. Various authorities are cited in the marginal columns (fig. 3). The most frequently cited by far is Augustine. This is understandable when one considers that his writings touch on almost every topic of Christian doctrine and practice, but it may also reflect Victorine influence because the writings of Augustine were especially revered in the house of the Augustinian canons. Other authors cited (either in the text or in the margins) are Hilary, Ambrose, Cassiodorus, John Chrysostom, Origen, Bede, John of Damascus, and, among Peter's contemporaries, Abelard, Hugh of St. Victor, and Gratianus. The layout and general appearance of the Walters' manuscript is characteristic of many of the glossed books produced at Paris throughout the second half of the twelfth century.

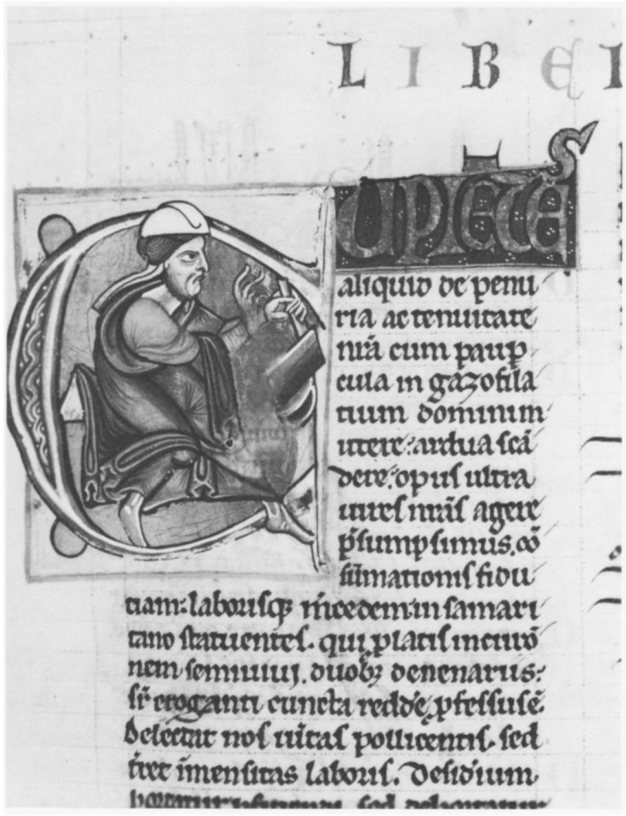


Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1.

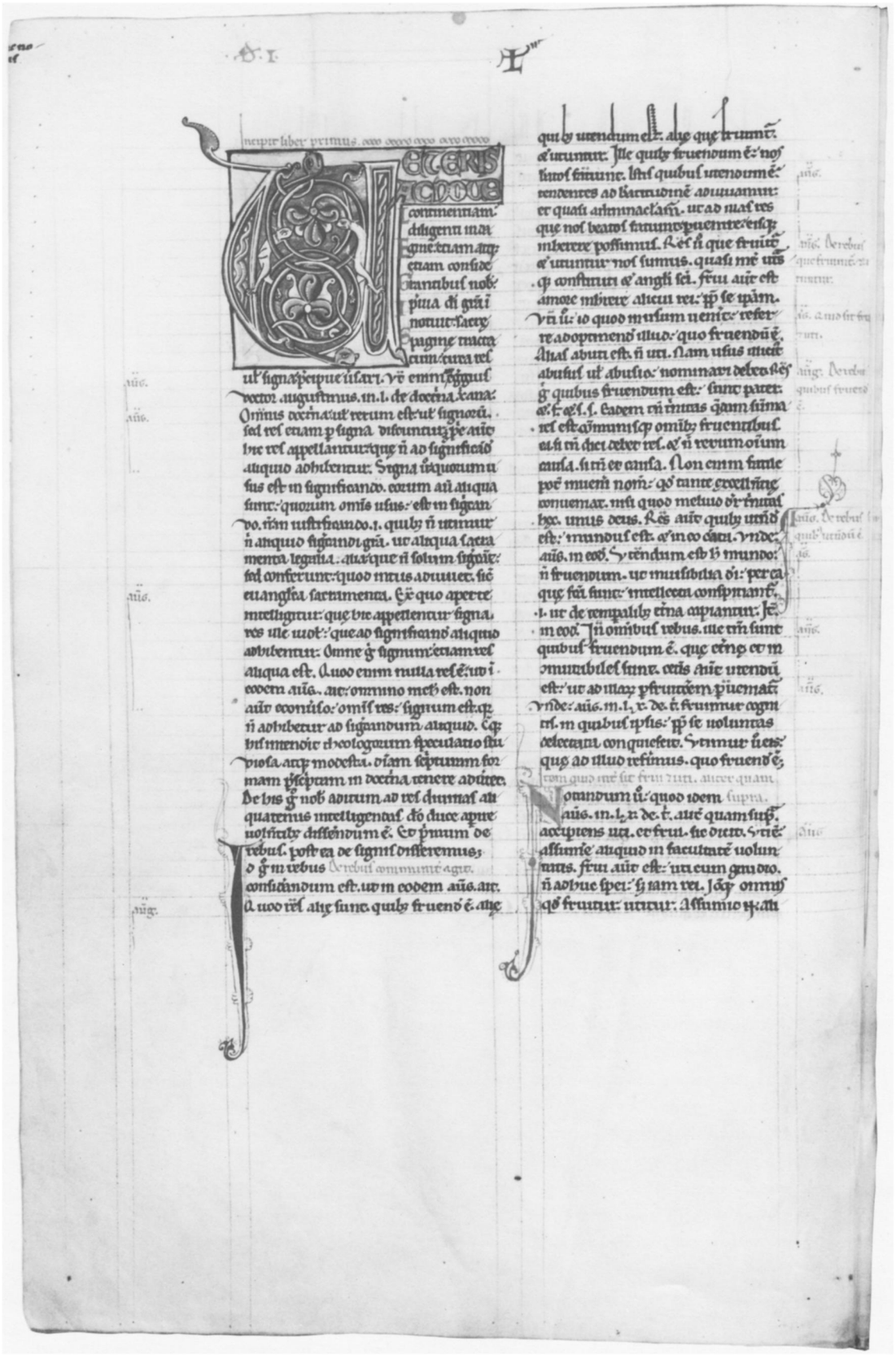


Fig. 3. *Inhabited* V *Initial,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Book I, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.809, fol. 3v.

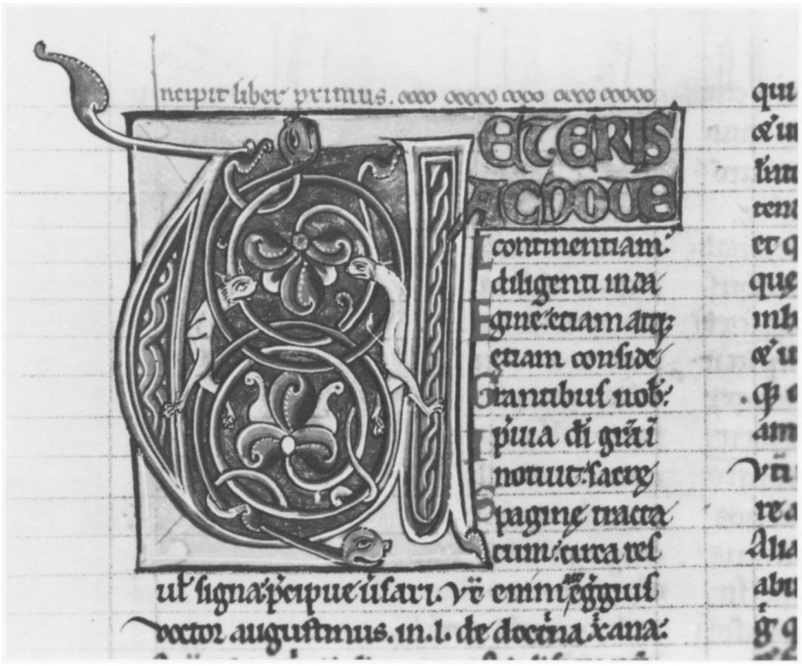


Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 3.

The Walters' *Sententiae* opens with the standard prologue, "Cupientes," introduced by an illuminated *C* accompanied by display letters (figs. 1 and 2). This prologue is followed by a table of contents, the "Incipiunt capitula," wherein the "capitula" and their respective subdivisions are listed under the various "distinctiones." Then begins the text proper of Book I, preceded by a rubricated incipit and introduced with an illuminated *V* and its display letters, ". . . eteris ac nove" (figs. 3 and 4). The "distinctiones" are enumerated in the margins with blue and vermilion Roman numerals (fig. 5). These enumerations are very incomplete and frequently incorrectly placed. At a later date there was an attempt to complete and correct them, but this was not completed. This suggests that the Walters' manuscript was written in Peter's original form with material ordered into "capitula" alone.[19] The addition of the numerals relating to the "distinctiones," a later attempt to update the manuscript, apparently proved too difficult and was eventually abandoned. Various passages are occasionally singled out with elaborate paragraph marks extending along the vertical margins with blue and vermilion flourishes. Except for the prologue, the arrangement of Book I is found in the other three books.

The decoration in the *Sententiae,* though not abundant, is of very high quality and judiciously placed so as to enhance the ordered parts of the text. Five large illuminated initials introduce the prologue and each of the four books: an historiated *C* (fol. 1) for the prologue (figs. 1 and 2); an inhabited *V* (fol. 3v) for Book I (figs. 3 and 4); a foliate *C* (fols. 70 and 125) for Books II and III respectively (figs. 5 and 6); and a foliate *S* (fol. 164) for Book IV (fig. 7). The degree of decoration selected for each of these initials subtly differentiates the start, middle, and end of the text. Thus it is that the prologue initial introducing the entire work receives the most significant decoration, a portrait of the author, and the four other sections receive initials of decreasing rank on the decorative scale: an inhabited initial for the first book of the text proper; foliate initials for both the second and third books; and for the final part, the fourth book, a foliate initial painted entirely in gold. Numerous pen initials in blue or vermilion with flourishes in the opposite color introduce rubricated "distinctiones" and "capitula." These initials are sized in hierarchical scale relative to the divisions of the text. Vermilion and blue in alternating sequence are also used for the book titles, the paragraph marks, and the versals. All contribute to a colorful embellishment of the well-ordered text. The visual effect mirrors this order with great clarity.

The illuminated initials have a stylistic consistency that indicates the hand of a single artist. The initials are enclosed in rectangular frames with smaller adjacent quadrangles for the display letters (figs. 2, 4, 5, and 7). The one

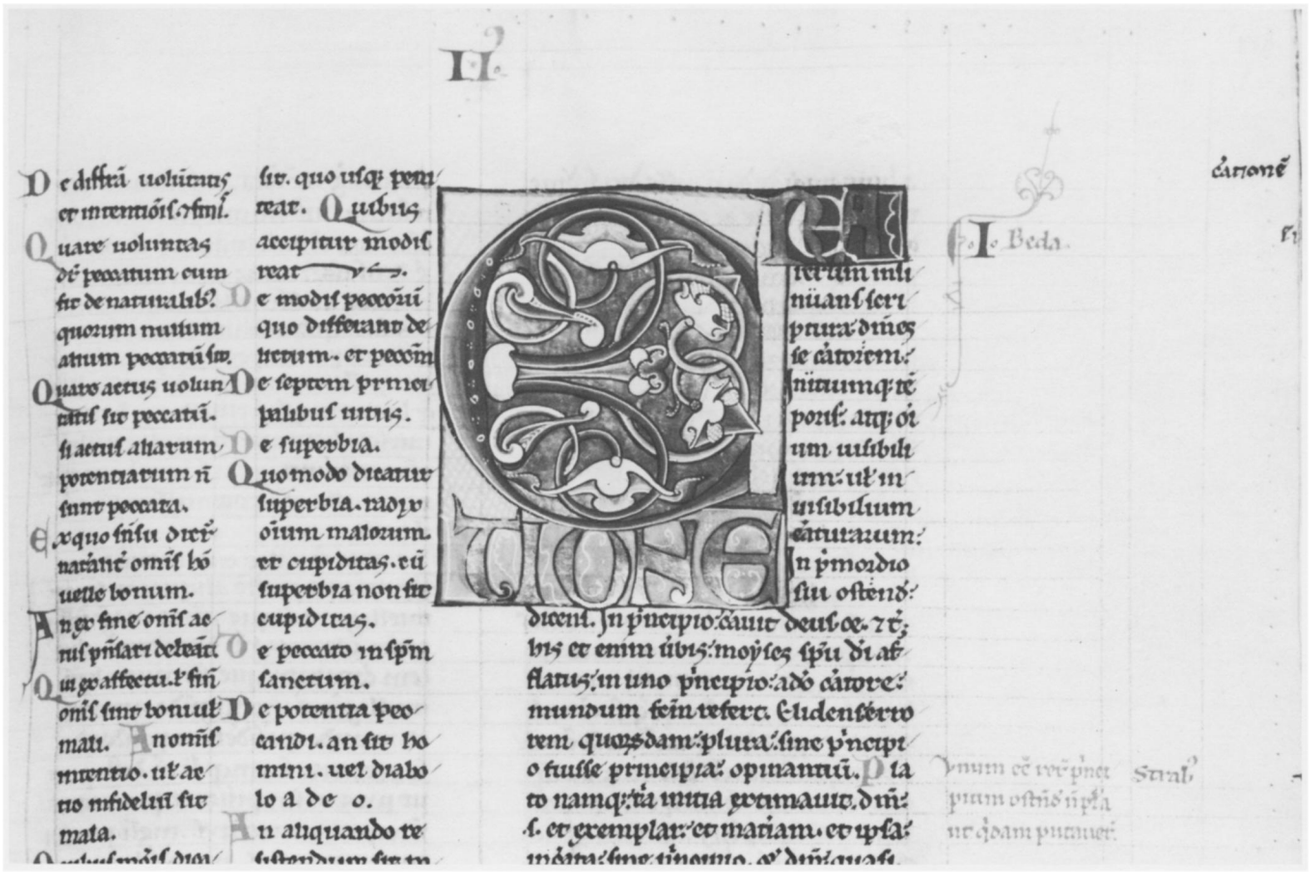


Fig. 5. *Foliate* C *Initial,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Book II, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.809, fol. 70r.

exception is Book III where the initial and the display letters are enclosed in a single frame (fig. 6). Burnished gold is used for the interior grounds of all the initials except the *S* of Book IV where it is painted rose. The prologue initial depicts Peter Lombard, author of the *Sententiae,* seated in profile in front of a writing table (fig. 2). In his left hand he holds a scraper; his right hand is raised with the first two fingers extended and the others curled. He is dressed in lay clothing, a robe and long-sleeved undergarment visible under a voluminous mantle reaching to his slippered feet. On his head he wears an unusual rounded miter with soft points and twin lappets falling onto his back. It appears to be a cross between the round miter and the miter with soft points, two of the four types found in the twelfth century.[20] The features of Peter are distinctly Latin with aquiline nose and large almond-shaped eyes under a deep brow. The short curly beard and parted mustache are characteristic features of the Lombard, appearing in numerous other portraits of him. Here, as in other portraits, these features represent a conscious attempt to portray the real Peter.[21]

At first glance the portrait appears to be a straightforward depiction of an "author as scribe." This was a very popular type in medieval books and is found with considerable frequency in other copies of the Lombard's *Sententiae* as well as in copies of his glosses on the Psalms and Epistles. An "author as scribe" portrait appears twice in a Victorine copy of Peter's glossed Epistles (fig. 8) along with a double author portrait of Peter Lombard and St. Paul (fig. 9).[22] Such portraits have a long history, deriving from the late Roman tradition that continued in the early Christian era when portraits of the evangelists portrayed as scribes prefaced the Gospels.[23] The tradition survived into the Carolingian period (one thinks of the portraits of the four evangelists from the Reims school) and down to the early twelfth century in portraits like that of scribe Eadwine in the *Canterbury Psalter.*[24] The iconography of author portraits was enriched in the twelfth century, stimulated, perhaps, by the popularity of the glossed Epistles and Psalms and books like the *Sententiae.*

In this enriched iconography from the second half of the twelfth century, four basic types of author portraits can be distinguished.[25]

The author as ordinary scribe. This type depicts the author seated at a desk with a book or a sheet of parchment frequently inscribed with his name or an excerpt from his text. He holds a pen in his right hand and often a scraper or an ink horn in the other (fig. 10).[26]

The author as inspired scribe. Here the image of the author as ordinary scribe is imbued with spiritual significance. He is shown at the moment of inspiration, his writing interrupted by the arrival of a white dove, the source of his inspiration, at his ear. The dove was the most common

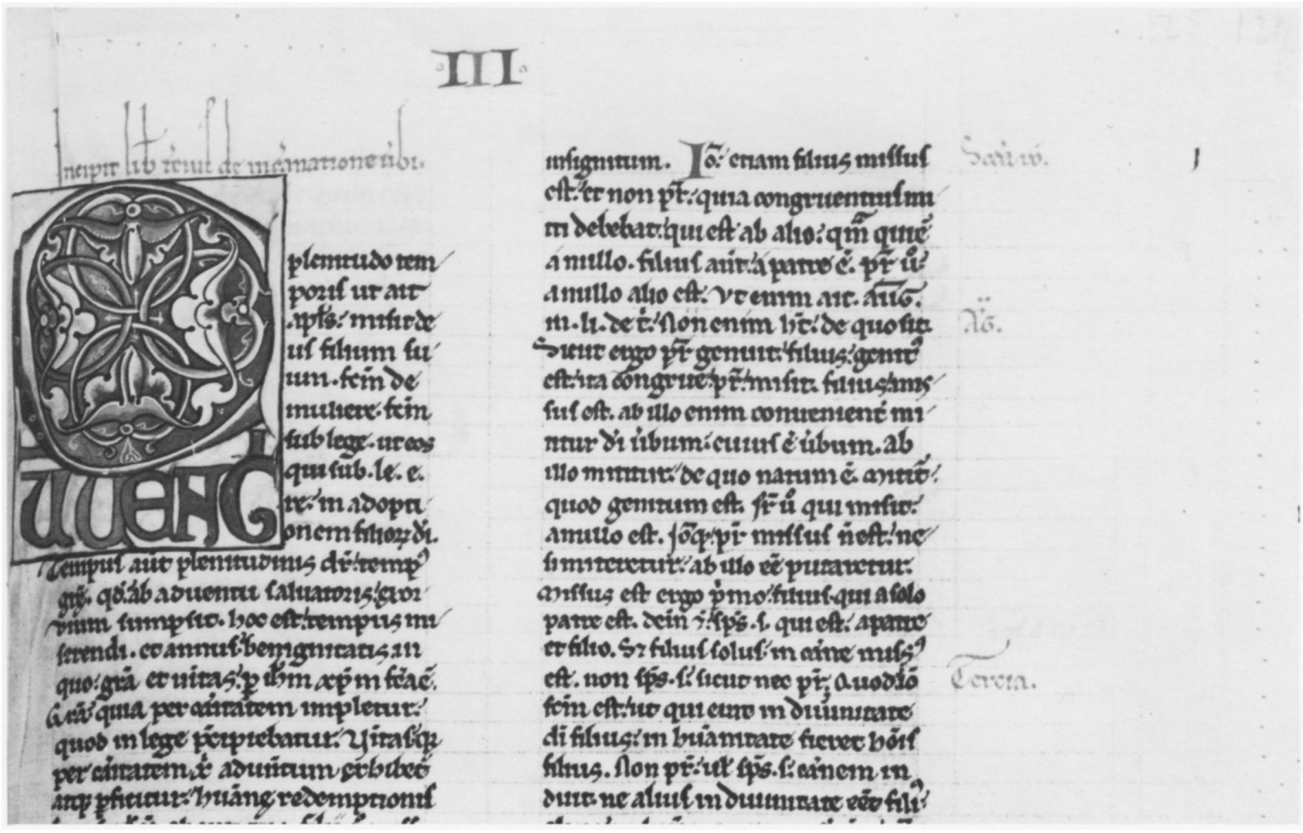


Fig. 6. *Foliate* C *Initial,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Book III, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.809, fol. 125r.

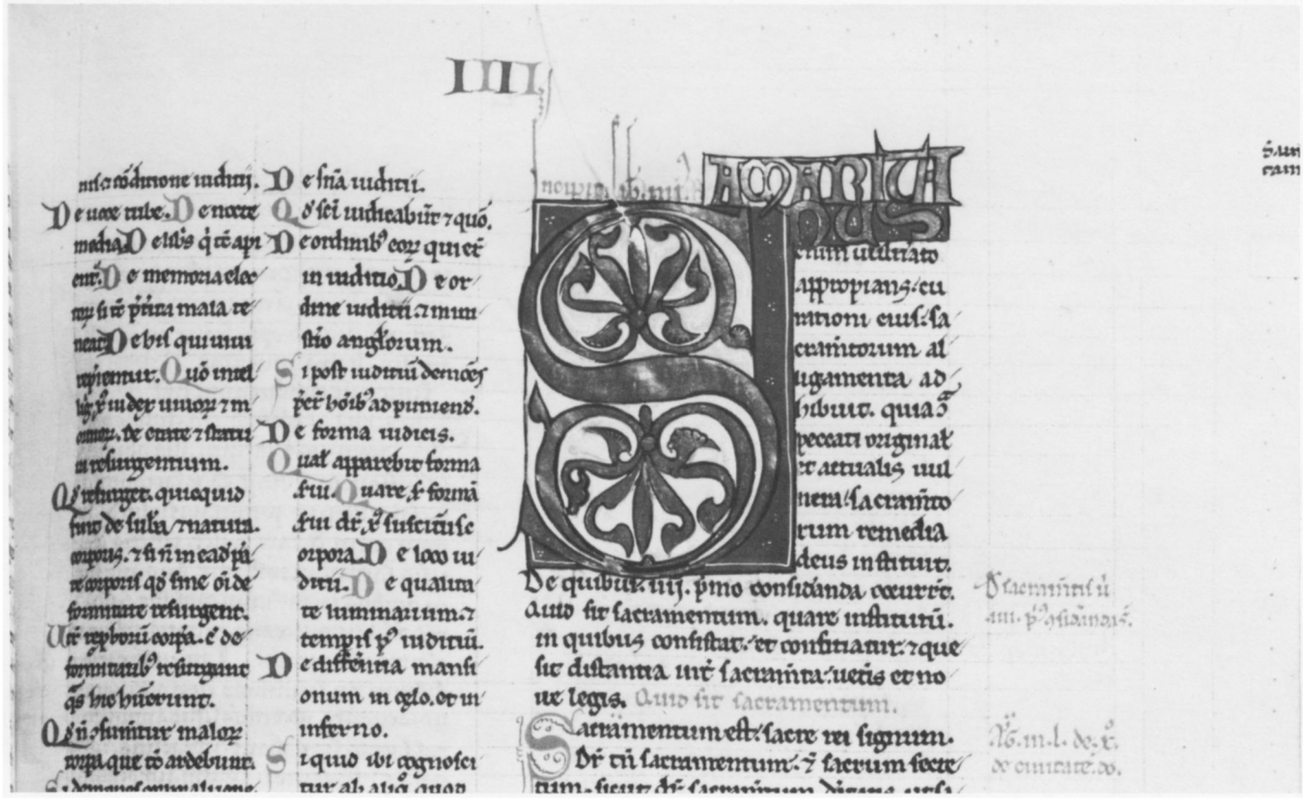


Fig. 7. *Foliate* S *Initial,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Book IV, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS.W.809, fol. 164r.

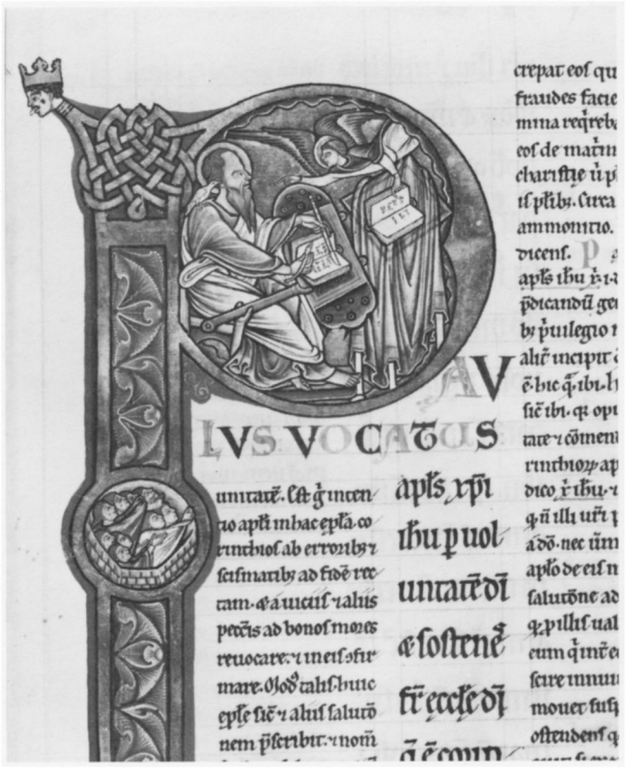


Fig. 8. *Paul as Inspired Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* I Corinthians, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 14266, fol. 95r.

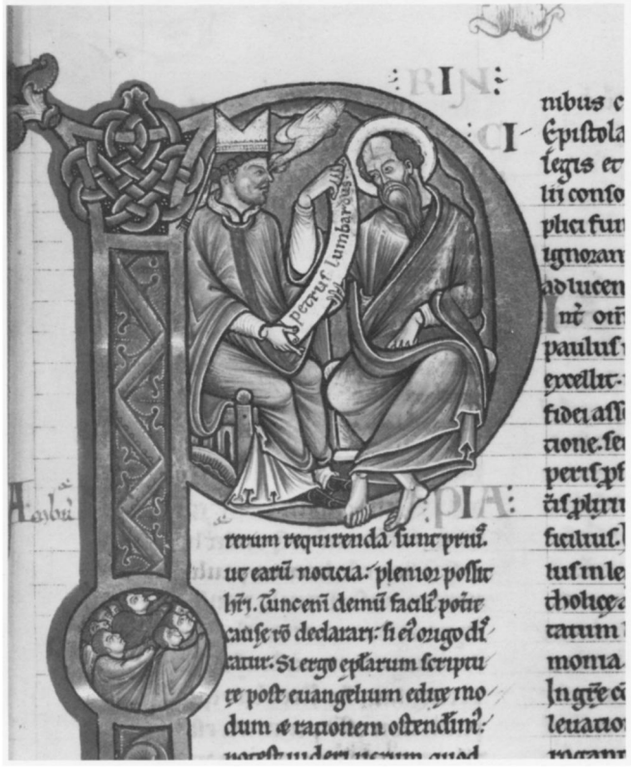


Fig. 9. *Double Portrait of Peter Lombard and Paul,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* Preface, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 14266, fol. 4r.

pictorial device used to represent divine inspiration and it was popularized by medieval portraits of St. Gregory the Great. A fine example is provided in a Victorine Gradual where St. Gregory is shown turning to acknowledge the dove at his right ear. His right hand holding a quill is also raised in a gesture that reinforces his awareness of the presence of the divine messenger; his left hand holds a scraper (fig. 11).[27]

The author as attesting figure. Here the author certifies his authorship of the book. He is shown alone, standing or seated, indentified by some attribute such as an inscribed scroll or a book, a particular type of dress, or, as in the case of St. Paul, by his physiognomy (fig. 12).[28]

The author as teacher. This type presents the author teaching or preaching to one or more disciples or a crowd; often he is shown alone speaking to an implied audience. He is standing or seated, his right hand raised usually with the index finger extended in a gesture of instructing or explicating. Sometimes a book is cradled in his left arm, other times it might be held in his hand or rest on a lectern (fig. 13).[29]

All four types occur in copies of the *Sententiae.* Some are straightforward, others are more subtle, and frequently there is a conflation of one or more types. In a Clairvaux manuscript Peter is presented as an ordinary scribe (fig. 14).[30] Only his dress, a bulky hooded cloak of the kind associated with the Augustinian canons of St. Victor and a hat with ear flaps, identify him as scholar. These details of clothing also make this portrait an attesting figure. The same is true in a manuscript of the *Sententiae* from the Cluniac priory of La Charité-sur-Loire where Peter is portrayed as scribe, but in full ecclesiastical dress (fig. 15).[31] Lest there be any doubt, the words *Petrus Lombardus Eps.* are inscribed on the opening of the exemplar which he is consulting. The miniature in the manuscript from St. Amand presents a straightforward representation of the author as attesting figure (fig. 12). A full-length Peter stands in three-quarter view dressed entirely in ecclesiastical garments, wearing a miter of the rounded type and holding a crozier in his right hand. His left hand and his gaze are directed towards his text. Another portrait also refers to Peter as bishop of Paris (fig. 16).[32] The master is pictured in lay garments wearing a miter. The white dove whispers in his ear. Having just completed his divinely inspired book, he passes it on to a disciple. This idea is visually expressed by showing Peter turning in his chair away from the dove and handing a furled scroll to his disciple. This portrait combines three types: the author as inspired scribe, the author as teacher, and the author as attesting figure.

The portrait of Peter Lombard in the Walters' manuscript is equally rich in iconography (fig. 2). It represents



Fig. 10. *Paul as Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* II Timothy, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 648, fol. 181v.



Fig. 11. *St. Gregory as Inspired Scribe, Gradual,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 14452, fol. 1r.

the author as ordinary scribe, but, unlike the traditional version, Peter holds no pen in his right hand. Instead it is raised above the writing table, the first two fingers extended and the last two curled with the thumb behind the palm. This gesture is sufficiently ambiguous as to suggest at the same time a moment of inspiration, explication, and authorization. Can a more precise meaning be determined? The portait of St. Gregory the Great in the contemporary Gradual made at St. Victor described above offers a clue (fig. 11). St. Gregory, depicted as an inspired scribe, cocks his head attentively to the dove at his ear while directing his gaze to the page in front of him. His right hand with its pen is lifted momentarily from the page. The position of the fingers is very close to that of Peter's in the Walters' manuscript. The gesture appears to be a response to the interruption of the dove of divine inspiration whose presence may be either actual or implicit. This idea is more emphatically expressed in another Victorine manuscript, the copy of the Lombard's gloss on the Epistles mentioned above (fig. 8). St. Paul is twice inspired: by the dove at his ear and the angel before him. He is depicted momentarily interrupted from his writing, plainly lifting his pen from the page and directing his gaze straight ahead at the angel. The gesture of Peter in the Walters' *Sententiae* occurs in four other contemporaneous manuscripts in conjunction with the cocked or turned head. In the Lombard's gloss on the

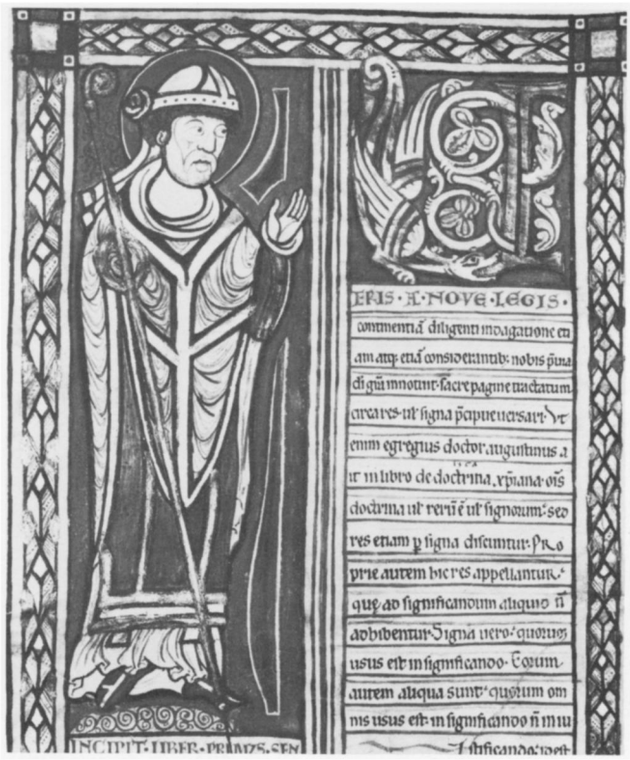


Fig. 12. *Peter Lombard as Bishop of Paris,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Incipit to Book I, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Publique, MS. 186, fol. 1r.



Fig. 13. *Paul Preaching/Teaching,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* I Thessalonians, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 661, fol. 180r.



Fig. 14. *Peter Lombard as Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Preface, Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 900, fol. 1r.

Psalms owned by Bosham, David is represented as an inspired scribe with his head cocked and his pen hand lifted momentarily from the page, the fingers arranged as in the Walters' manuscript (fig. 17).[33] There is no dove; it is implicit in the cocked head and the raised hand. The same case can be made for another Lombard manuscript, a gloss on the Epistles in the Admont Library (fig. 18).[34] Paul's head literally spins around, his gaze directed toward an implied presence and his pen hand raised high in the usual gestural response. In another copy of the same text St. Paul turns his head around and looks at the dove perched on his back (fig. 19). The position of his pen hand is less clear, but the fingers are composed in the usual manner. In yet another copy of this text, St. Paul is treated in much the same way as the David in the Bosham Psalm (fig. 20)

In the Walters' manuscript (fig. 2) Peter does not turn his head; instead, he looks intently ahead, his gaze directed above the writing surface. In this he is closer (the turned head notwithstanding) to the Admont Peter and the Victorine St. Paul (figs. 18, 8) whereas the heads of the Bosham David and the Victorinę St. Gregory (figs. 17, 11) are cocked and their eyes still directed toward the writing table. It seems plausible then that the Peter in the Walters' manuscript is listening intently to the voice of divine inspiration and that the gesture of the raised hand reinforces the notion of the author as divinely inspired and by virtue of this expresses the idea of the author writing under the high-



Fig. 15. *Peter Lombard as Bishop and Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Book II, London, British Library, MS. Yates Thompson 17, fol. 42v.



Fig. 16. *Peter Lombard as Bishop and Inspired Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Liber Sententiarum,* Book I, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS. 1402, fol. 8r.



Fig. 17. *David as Inspired Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Psalms,* Psalm 3, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS. B.5.4, fol. 6r.

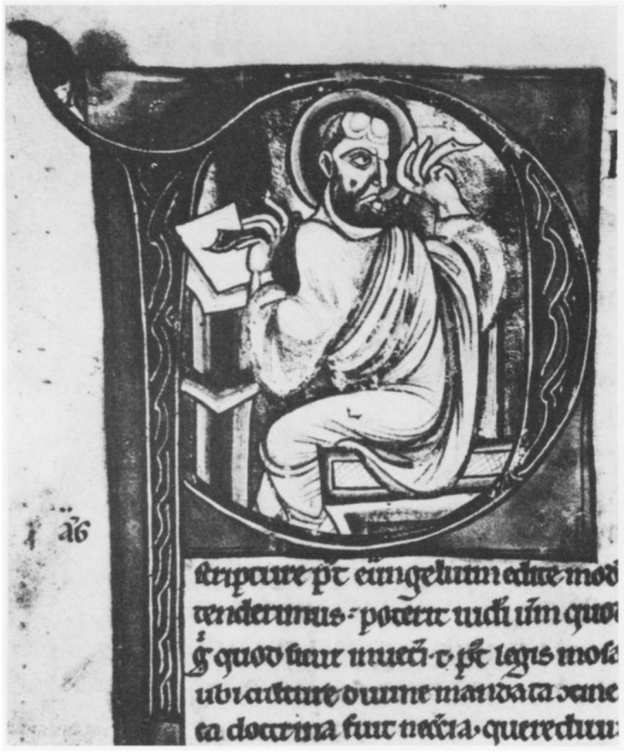


Fig. 18. *Paul as Inspired Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* Preface, Admont, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 53, fol. 1r.

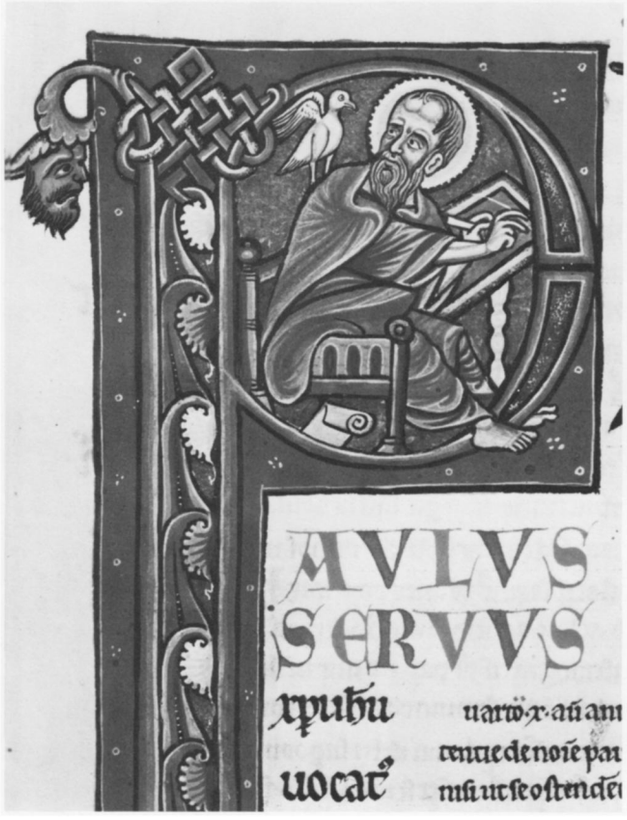


Fig. 19. *Paul as Inspired Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* Romans, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 648, fol. 2r.

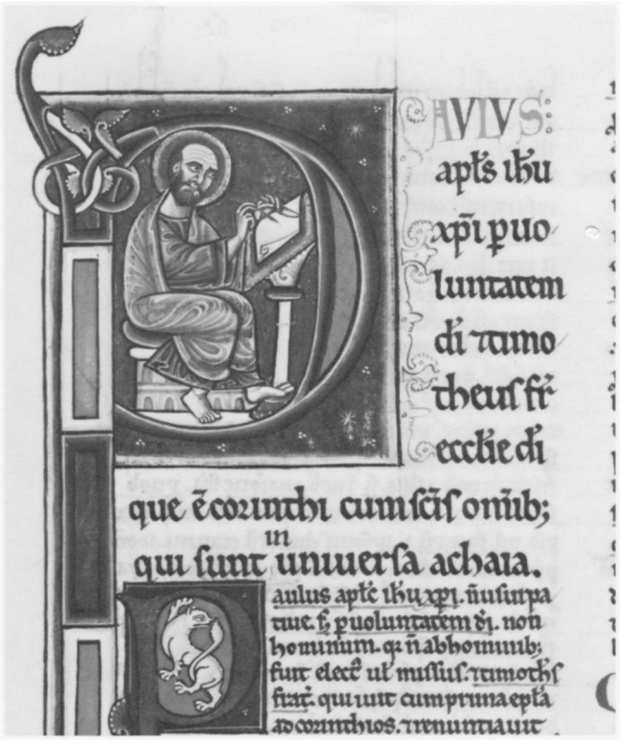


Fig. 20. *Paul as Inspired Scribe,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* II Corinthians, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 661, fol. 99r.

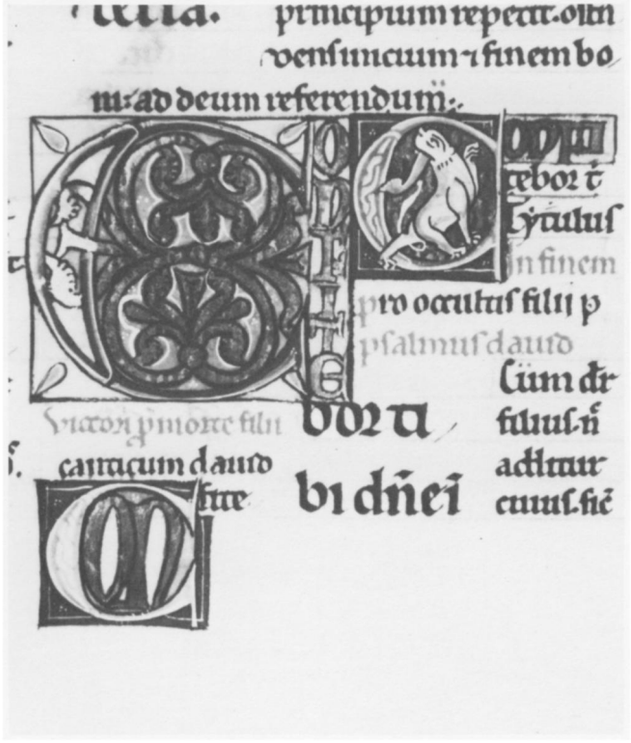


Fig. 21. *Foliate* C *Initial,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Psalms,* Psalm 9, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS. B.5.4, fol. 27v.

est authority. The miter worn by Peter, a reference to his high status in the church, gives further credibility to his authority in matters theological and the presentation of Peter as the "author as scribe" alludes to his scholarly activities. The portrait also serves to affirm the authorship of the *Sententiae.* One can hardly ask for a more appropriate image to preface Peter's book, referred to as "sacra pagina" in the Middle Ages, an appellation generally reserved for the Bible and an indication of the high esteem conferred on the work.

The survival of a large number of manuscripts belonging to an identifiable stylistic group datable between 1170 and 1180 and connected with the scholastic activities of the schools of Paris provides an invaluable guide for the dating and localizing of the Walters' copy of Peter's *Liber Sententiarum.* This is especially fortunate since the manuscript contains no internal evidence, other than style, of date or origin and no evidence of ownership earlier than the nineteenth century. The style of decoration in the Walters' manuscript is closely related to this group of which the key manuscript is a four-volume set of Peter Lombard's *Magna Glossatura.* These volumes are the recensions prepared by Herbert Bosham and given by him to Christ Church in Canterbury. Today the manuscripts are in the Trinity College Library in Cambridge and the Bodleian Library in Oxford: Trinity MS. B.5.4 (fig. 21) and Bodleian MS. Auct. E. inf. 6 for the *Commentary on the Psalms;* and Trinity Mss. B.5.6 and B.5.7 (figs. 22 and 23) for the *Commentary on the Epistles.*[35] A new edition had become necessary because, as Herbert states in his preface to the Epistles, Peter was constantly revising his glosses and died before he could put them into final form.[36] This edition was written sometime between 1170 and 1176 under the close supervision of Herbert himself and was dedicated to William, Archbishop of Sens and Herbert's patron from 1170 (the year of Becket's murder) until 1176 (the date of William's election to the see of Reims).[37]

It was Thomas Becket the archbishop of Canterbury who earlier had urged Herbert to prepare a finished edition of the Lombard's glosses. Herbert of Bosham (ca. 1120–1194) was a member of Becket's chancery staff where he served as secretary and consultant in theology to the archbishop. As resident expert in theology, it was Herbert who kept Thomas current on the teachings of the schools.[38] Although both had studied in the schools of Paris—Thomas in 1135/6–1138 when Abelard and Hugh of St. Victor were teaching there;[39] Herbert somewhat later, about 1150, for theological study with Peter Lombard and perhaps with Andrew of St. Victor—Herbert was the scholar with the reputation as "Master of the Holy Page."[40] He remained steadfastly loyal to Thomas and was his constant companion during the years of exile (1164–1170) in France, first at the Cistercian Abbey of Pontigny (1164–1166) and later at the Abbey of Sainte-Columbe in

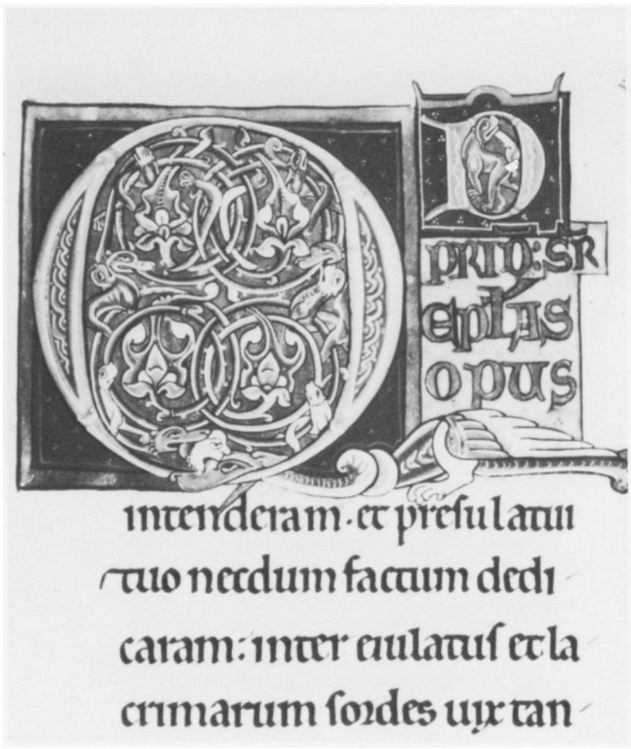


Fig. 22. *Inhabited* Q *Initial,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* Preface, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS. B.5.6, fol. 1r.



Fig. 23. *Marginal Figure,* Peter Lombard, *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles,* Cambridge, Trinity College Library, MS. B.5.6, fol. 80r.

Sens (1166–1170). In fact Herbert played a central role in the conflict between the archbishop of Canterbury and Henry II. It was he who persuaded Thomas to take a firm stand against Henry in the struggle over royal and ecclesiastical authority. Herbert paid dearly for his steadfastness: he was forced to spend most of his mature years in exile and was left nearly penniless after the assassination of Thomas. Pressed to seek a livelihood, Herbert sought and apparently received the patronage of William of Sens.

The editions prepared by Herbert of Bosham, deluxe books profusely decorated and frequently embellished with burnished gold, were the most up-to-date texts of the Lombard's glosses and they represent the earliest surviving books written out in the "alternate-line" system recently invented in the scriptoria of Paris.[41] This new system was a brilliant solution to the scribal problem of aligning the appropriate parts of the biblical text with that of the commentary. It involved enlarging the script of the biblical text and writing it on alternate lines of the rulings for the commentary, which continued to be written in a small and compact script. This allowed the scribe greater flexibility in laying out these very complicated books. The commentary could now be "custom-fitted" to the biblical text. The new system also permitted a more satisfactory integration of the decorative elements as an enhancement of the texts. Recently it has been convincingly argued that Herbert's editions of the Lombard's glosses were made in Paris.[42] This is further substantiated by the fact that Pontigny, previously thought to be their place of origin, had at the time no exemplars for these texts in its library.[43] The place to find the most up-to-date exemplars for scholastic texts was in the libraries of Paris and especially at St. Victor's and it makes sense that Herbert would have consulted exemplars in the Victorine library. Both he and Thomas had maintained friendly ties with the abbey, whose canons were sympathetic to Becket's cause in the conflict with Henry, and they had visited the foundation in 1169 and 1170.[44] Herbert returned again to Paris a few years after the assassination. During this time he continued to work on his Hebrew studies and it was then that he probably would have consulted Victorine texts in the abbey's library since his unusual approach to the Psalms in his gloss on the "Hebraica" (St. Jerome's translation of the Psalms) reflects the influence of Hugh and Andrew of St. Victor.[45] In any case, he is documented at Paris sometime between 1174 and 1178.[46] Thus Herbert is known to have been in Paris for the greater part of the time that he would have been supervising the work on the commentaries—1169, 1170, and from 1174 on for an unknown length of time, perhaps as late as 1178.

The publication of Herbert's deluxe edition, or books very much like it, greatly influenced the production of later copies of glossed biblical books, glossed decretals, and other scholastic books. This influence was not exclusive to school

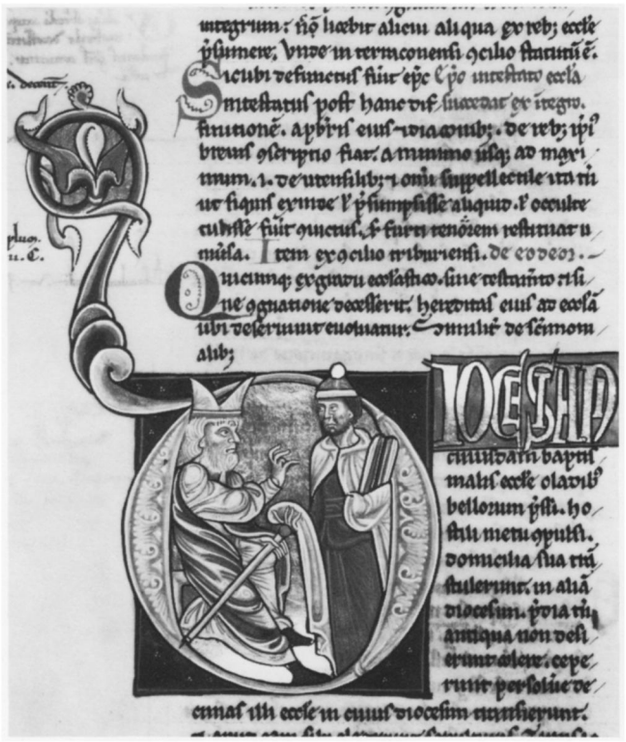


Fig. 24. *A Bishop Instructing a Parishioner in His Duties, Decretum Gratiani,* Part II, Causa XIII, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. Ludwig XIV.2, fol. 123v.

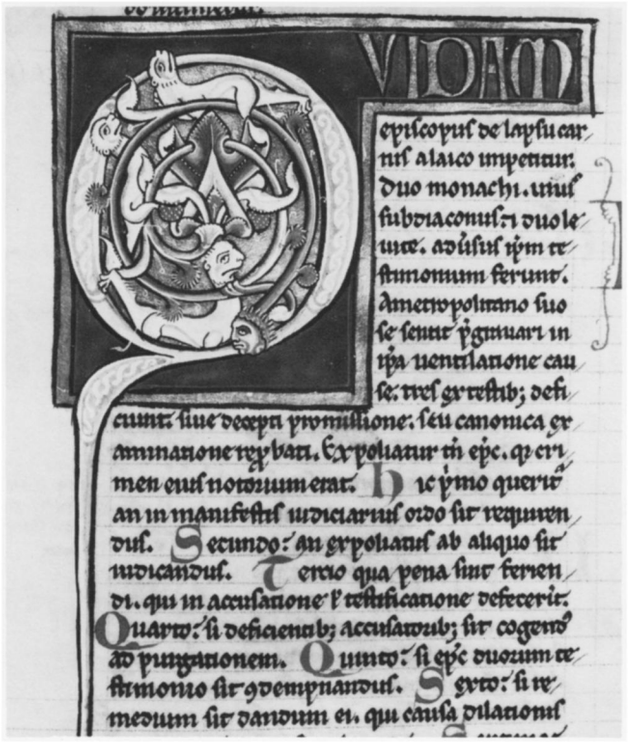


Fig. 25. *Inhabited* Q *Initial, Decretum Gratiani,* Part II, Causa II, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. Ludwig XIV.2, fol. 78r.

books because the style appears, though less extensively, in other types of manuscripts, even liturgical ones. These new Parisian books circulated so rapidly that by the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century the style is widely dispersed on both sides of the English Channel. It is found in places as far away as Durham and Hereford in books brought there, in many cases, by masters recently returned from their studies in Paris.[47]

Herbert's books, as deluxe editions, have a rather elaborate decorative program. It is typical, though unusually extensive, of the school books. There are no miniatures: the primary vehicle for decoration is the initial. Every kind of illuminated, painted, and penned initial is represented—historiated, zoömorphic, inhabited, and foliate. Hierarchical scale is observed with the largest and most elaborate initials reserved for the major divisions of the biblical text. One of the hallmarks of this very dynamic style is the multitude of small, acrobatic lions inhabiting a veritable jungle of spiraling foliate vines and elaborate blossoms (fig. 22). They share their habitat with writhing serpents and winged dragons sporting foliate tails and doglike heads with pointy ears. Occasionally these give place to muscled athletes supporting initials or combating beasts. Another distinctive feature is the lion with creased skin balancing on his hind legs. A variety of closely related figural styles appears in the historiated initials and in the very numerous marginal figures. The last depict several conversational couples, but most are single male figures, some dressed in large hooded black capes (fig. 23). They hold large unfurled scrolls inscribed variously with "Ego aliter, "Ego non aprobo," or "Hic michi caveas," and they carry pointers directed at certain passages where Herbert wished to caution the reader about a source or point out an opposing opinion. These unique figures, intended to portray scholars, are a striking visualization of the dialectical method developed in the Parisian schools. The drapery styles in these figures have three distinctive features: first, smooth broad areas over shoulders, thighs, and shins in patterns defined by ropelike folds of fabric (vestiges of the "damp-fold" style) and highlighted with white linear motifs, crosshatching, etc.; second, a series of radiating lines marking the gathering of fabric at the shoulders, elbows and hips, under the arms and behind the knees; and third, extraneous fabric gathered into long tubular folds indented with hairpin loops and tossed over arms, across knees, or down one side. Facial features are boldly defined and there is a strong element of Byzantinizing in the dark shading of the flesh, especially around the deeply set eyes. Grimacing expressions and pouting lips are common. The predominant colors are blue, vermilion, light green, rose, tan, white, and black in the paintings, and blue and vermilion for the titles, rubrics, pen initials, and versals.

A very close stylistic relationship exists between Herbert's books and the Walters' *Sententiae.* Because the Wal-

ters' manuscript has no gloss, the new alternate-line system was not applicable. However, the ruling system is basically that of the Bosham books, but simplified. The folio is ruled horizontally in forty-three lines (forty-four in the Preface) for the text plus two rulings for the title. Only the rulings for the latter and the double rulings at the top, middle, and bottom of the text columns extend to the prickings. The vertical rulings, which also extend to the prickings, are in two wide center columns for the text flanked by one or more margin columns (fig. 3). The widths of text and margin columns could be varied and the text columns could be further subdivided from folio to folio as the need arose (fig. 5). This accommodated both a relatively simple text like the *Sententiae* or a complicated text like Herbert's triple Psalter, which would have been a scribal nightmare before the invention of the alternate-line system.

The stylistic relationships between the Walters' manuscript and those belonging to Herbert are much closer in the decorative details than in the layout. Details such as the framing of initials in rectangles with smaller adjacent rectangles for the gold display letters, blossoms with extended leaves and triangular projections, spiraling foliate vines inhabited by acrobatic lions, little colored disks, diaper patterns, triple dots, and curlicue and leaf flourishes on colored grounds are found in all the manuscripts (figs. 1–6, 17, 21, 22). The artist of the *Sententiae* is no mere copyist. He borrows from the decorative vocabulary in books like Herbert's and rearranges the motifs into different shapes and places them in simpler, more formal arrangements where the foliate vines are no longer simply spiraling vines. This is nowhere more evident than in the two foliate *C* initials introducing Books II and III (figs. 5 and 6). These are less complicated and simpler in design than the *Q* in the preface of Bosham's Epistles (fig. 22). The foliate blossoms in the *C* initials are spindly interpretations of the fleshier ones in the *Q* of the Psalms and the merging of the extended leaves of the blossoms at the corners in the *C* for Book III (fig. 6) are anticipated in decoration to be found elsewhere in the Psalms. The decoration in the Walters' manuscript is more subdued and more neatly ordered in contrast to the dense decoration and dynamic style of the Bosham books.

Closer parallels exist between the gold foliate *S* for Book IV and the *C* in the Psalms where the gold palmettes fill the interior of the letters in a very similar fashion (figs. 7 and 21). This type of decoration features prominently in the Bosham manuscripts. The same is true for the type of decoration in the *Q* of the Epistles where little acrobatic lions inhabit the spirals of serpentine vines (fig. 22). Similar decoration, somewhat simplified, is found in the *V* for Book I (fig. 3). The lions in the Walters' initial are more spindly, but the plump heads of the serpents are nearly identical to those of the lions in the Epistle initial. The blossoms, too, are different in the *V*, but similar trilobate blossoms are found elsewhere in the Bosham initials. Also, the framing and the design of these initials are nearly the same as those in the Walters' manuscript. The familiar framing device of a large rectangle with an adjacent frame for the gold display letters, and the panel inserts filled with leaf chains are found with great frequency in the Bosham manuscripts and, for that matter, in many of the scholastic books of the second half of the twelfth century. The panel filled with leaf chains also appears in the *C* containing the portrait of Peter Lombard in Book I (fig. 2). The figural style of this portrait is similar to that of the marginal figures in the Bosham books like the "Ego aliter" scholar in the Epistles (fig. 23). The same drapery forms are used in both figures—smooth areas defined by ropelike folds with white linear highlights, radiating folds at the joints and tubular folds with hairpin loops. The facial features, although differing in details and more refined in the Peter portrait, are boldly defined and similarly shaded in both figures. And they both exhibit a dancelike quality in their postures.

Another manuscript stylistically very close to the Walters' *Sententiae* is the Ludwig *Decretum Gratiani* (Ludwig MS XIV.2, now in the J. P. Getty Museum in Malibu; figs. 24–27).[48] It is another manuscript in the stylistic group associated with the Bosham manuscripts. In fact it is so like these books and some of those made in France for Thomas Becket sometime between 1164 and 1170 (probably under Bosham's supervision) that some scholars have suggested Becket's ownership.[49] Most certainly it was not part of his collection because its date, 1175–1180, is too late.[50]

The Ludwig *Decretum,* like the Bosham manuscripts, is a deluxe edition. It contains a large cycle of historiated initials with iconographic themes closely related to the subjects discussed in the thirty-six "causae" listed under the various "distinctiones." In addition, the manuscript has a large illuminated and historiated conjoint *I/N* introducing the preface and an inhabited illuminated *H* for the beginning of Part I and two large miniatures of the Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity. The figure style and draperies in the "causae" initials exhibit the same features as those in the Bosham books and the Walters' *Sententiae.* A rather striking comparison exists between the *D* for Causa XIII (fig. 24) and the portrait of Peter (fig. 2) especially with regard to the general pose and the gesture. The gracefulness of the right hands and their positions are almost identical (the gesture of the bishop's hand in the *Decretum* is clearly one of instruction and the positioning of the fingers is slightly different). The layouts of these two initials are very similar: rectangular initial frames with small adjacent frames for gold display letters, and the use of the same triple-dot pattern against a color ground. There are also



Fig. 26. *Inhabited* I *Initial, Decretum Gratiani,* Preface to Part I, Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. Ludwig XIV.2, fol. 1r.



Fig. 27. *The Tree of Affinity, Decretum Gratiani,* Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS. Ludwig XIV.2, fol. 228r.

strong parallels among the ornamental initials of the two manuscripts. Compare the *V* for Book I in the Walters' manuscript (fig. 3) with the *Q* for Causa II in the *Decretum* (fig. 25). Here again are the acrobatic lions dancing among foliate spirals, the blossoms with bent leaves, and the standard framing.

The stylistic connections are even closer between the *Decretum* and Herbert's books. It is this that makes certain the origin of the Ludwig manuscript in a Parisian scriptorium.[51] Preface initials in the *Decretum* and Herbert's two glosses establish striking connections. These are the *I/N* of the *Decretum* (fig. 26), the *I* for the second preface in the Psalms on folio 4v, and the *P* of the Epistles.[52] The compositions of the long stems in these initials are very similar. They consist of a series of historiated medallions alternating with spirals of foliate vines inhabited by tiny acrobatic lions, writhing serpents, and elaborate blossoms composed of leaf forms.

The stylistic circle made up of the Bosham books and the Ludwig manuscript widens to include a *Decretum Gratiani* at Siena, the *Bible of Saint-André-au-Bois* at Boulogne, and two of Becket's books, a gloss on the Minor Prophets at Cambridge, and a glossed *Pentateuch* at Oxford, both written and signed by the scribe Roger.[53] These last two books bring us full circle to Paris. They are close in style to a Parisian manuscript given to Guarinus, abbot of St. Vic-

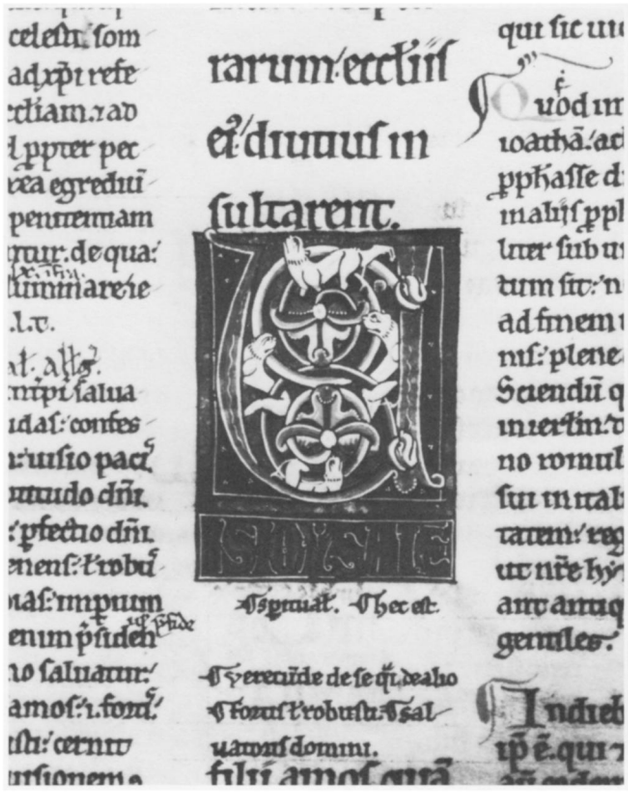


Fig. 28. *Inhabited* U *Initial, A Commentary on Isaiah,* Chapter 1:1, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. lat. 11954, fol. 3r.



Fig. 29. *Inhabited* V *Initial, A Commentary on Isaiah,* Chapter 1:1, Durham, The Cathedral Library, MS. A.III.17, fol. 4v.

tor (1177–1192), by the cleric Nicolas who retired to the royal abbey. It is a deluxe edition of Peter Lombard's gloss on the Psalms, and contains numerous illuminated ornamental and inhabited initials in the style associated with the Parisian group of Bosham's.[54] Large decorated pen initials in Guarinus' manuscript connect it with two Parisian manuscripts at Hereford Cathedral, a glossed *Ezekiel and Daniel* and a Latin translation of Dionysius the Areopagite's *Celestial Hierarchy* together with Hugh of St. Victor's *Speculum ecclesiae.*[55] These are decorated entirely with large pen initials identical to those in the Guarinus manuscript and probably by the same artist. These two Hereford books are part of a group of ten manuscripts that survive from a larger collection of glossed books given to the cathedral by Ralph Foliot, archdeacon from 1179–1199. His ex-libris appears in several of his books including the Ezekiel. The other manuscript retains its original stamped leather binding made in a Parisian bindery that flourished from 1180–1250. Little is known about the life of Ralph Foliot; he is mentioned in English documents dating from 1177 to 1197.[56] It is not known if he ever studied at Paris. In any case, his books are Parisian and date from the 1170s. Guarinus' *Psalms* are also associated with the Admont Peter Lombard gloss on the Epistles mentioned earlier (fig. 18). The artist who painted the *P* with the portrait of St. Paul is the same who painted the miniature of the Tree of Affinity in the Ludwig *Decretum* (fig. 27). The face of Paul is very close to Eve's in the miniature. They have the same profile with beaked nose, indented brow, square jaw, and down-turned lips. The drapery styles are also similar in their thick ropelike folds and hairpin loops swirling around the body.

Two other manuscripts deserve mention because they belong to this large group of manuscripts produced at Paris in the second half of the twelfth century and are stylistically very close to the Walters' *Sententiae.* The first is a gloss on *Isaiah* given to Saint-Germain-des-Prés by Peter of Poitiers (fig. 28), master in theology and chancellor of Paris (1193–1205).[57] An ex-libris of the early thirteenth century identifies him as owner and donor. The book dates to around 1180 on the basis of style, a date well before the death of its owner in 1205. It contains a single illuminated *V* initial at the beginning and several large blue and vemilion pen initials with elaborate flourishes. The second manuscript is another glossed *Isaiah* (fig. 29), one of eight books surviving from the collection of thirty-eight books given to Durham Cathedral library by Master Robert Edington.[58] A great deal is known about the origin of Master Robert's books; a list of the books in his collection survives today in one of his manuscipts which states that they were stored at St. Victor.[59] Almost half of these were glossed books of the Bible including Peter Lombard's glosses on the Psalms and Epis-

tles, and among the others was a copy of the *Sententiae.* Robert's books represent the most up-to-date books from the schools of Paris. It seems certain that he had studied at Paris as he identified himself as "Magister" in several English charters dating form 1191 to 1208; he was probably in Paris in the 1180s because his list mentions Helduinus as chancellor of Paris in the late twelfth century.[60] The decoration is minimal: two inhabited initials illuminated with flat gold, an *N* (fol. 3) and a *V* (fol. 4v) and numerous blue and vermilion pen initials. The *V* initials from both copies of *Isaiah* are so close in style to the "veteris" initial in the Walters' *Sententiae* that it seems fair to conclude that these manuscripts were all produced in the same center (figs. 3, 28, and 29). Add to this the fact that these were all laid out according to the new Parisian system. (The two exceptions are the *Bible from Saint-André-au-Bois* and the *Sententiae* for the obvious reason that they have no glosses.) All this suggests a group of artists working in close proximity in some large center and sharing a common decorative vocabulary.

Having established the stylistic connections between the Bosham-Ludwig group and the Walters' *Sententiae,* it seems safe to conclude the latter was written and decorated in Paris, a product of a scriptorium that had close ties with the schools and datable to the 1170s and probably as late as 1180.[61] Certain stylisic qualities argue for the later date—the softening of the shading patterns on the face of Peter Lombard; the transitional stage of the drapery patterns away from the hardness of the "damp-fold" patterns of mid-century and closer to the more fluid, body-defining drape of the turn of the century; and the tendency to elongate and formalize decorative motifs. The Walters' manuscript and its relatives bear witness to the fact that their decorative style, broadly defined as "Channel Style" and at one time referred to as "Pontigny," is in fact a Parisian style that quickly acquired international status. These manuscripts also help to set the record straight that twelfth century Paris was no "provincial outpost" as far as manuscript production is concerned. Indeed, it was developing a system of production and marketing methods that set the stage for the great flowering to come. The Walters' *Sententiae,* with regard to both its decoration and its text, is clearly representative of the kind of book that figured prominently in the development of the Parisian book trade in the late twelfth century.

NOTES

1. Inv. no. MS.W. 809; Peter Lombardus, *Sententiarum libri quatuor* (Book of Sentences), France, Paris, ca. 1170–80. Vellum, 219 leaves, 9⅞ × 14⅛ inches (24 × 36 cm); justification: 8½ × 9 inches (21.5 × 23 cm). The typical folio is ruled with lead in two wide center columns (6.5 cm) and in three narrow columns, one for the inner margin (2.5 cm) and two for the outer margins (2.5 cm and 1.3 cm). The horizontal rulings of forty-three lines (forty-four for the Preface) extend across all the columns.

Collation: I-XXVII[8], XXVIII[4] (lacking last leaf) 216 + 3 = 219 fols.; quire numbers and catchwords present. It lacks only the last folio that would have contained the rest of "distinctione" 50 (*capitulum* 6:2 and all of *capitulum* 7:1-2) and the "Explicit liber quartus." Except for this loss and minor damage to the historiated initial for "Cupientes" on fol. 1 of the Preface, the manuscript has suffered little damage.

Decoration: One historiated and four foliate initials in tempera and gold. The predominant colors are pale orange, rose, and blue for the frames; shaded blue, occasionally with light green, for the bodies of the initials; white or vermilion for the diapered patterns, triple dots, and linear leaf motifs on the colored ground of the frames and interiors; orange, blue, rose, and light tan for the vines and blossoms; rose, orange, vermilion, blue, and white for the garments of Peter Lombard; reddish brown for Peter's hair and tan with vermilion, green, and white for his flesh. All outlines are black.

Binding: Modern vellum.

Provenance: Sir Thomas Phillipps, MS. 22241 (his sale, London, Sotheby's, 6 June 1898, lot 107); Michael Thomkinson; bought from him by Dyson Perrins in 1911 (his bookplate in upper margin of top pastedown and "Perrins 100" stamped on bottom pastedown); Perrins sale, London, Sotheby's, 1 December 1959, lot. 54, pl. 3); bought by Quaritch and sold to a private English collector; sold by him to Quaritch about 1982; bought by the Walters from Quaritch in 1985.

Bibliography: A. N. L. Munby, *The Phillipps Manuscripts. Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum in Bibliotheca D. Thomae Phillipps, BT. Impressum Typis Medio-Montanis 1837–1871* (London, 1968), 413–14; R. S. Wieck, "New Acquisitions," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin,* 39:2 (1986), n.p. illus.; C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston, 1986), 110, pl. 106; L. M. C. Randall, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in The Walters Art Gallery,* I, no. 7 (forthcoming).

2. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae,* 3 vols., I. Brady, ed. (Rome, 1971–81). Brady presents the literature and the details of Peter Lombard's life and career in the *Prolegomena,* 1, 8*–45*, hereafter, Brady, *Prolegomena.*

3. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina,* vol. 187, (Paris, 1879), Epist. CDX, 619, Bernard's letter of introduction to Gilduinus, Abbot of St. Victor.

4. I. Brady, "Peter Manducator and the Oral Teachings of Peter Lombard," *Antoniam,* 41 (1966), 480–85, hereafter, Brady, "Peter Manducator". The names of a few other students are known: Master Adam Waley, John of Cornwall, Master Maurice de Sully (successor to Peter as bishop of Paris and administrator during the construction of the early Gothic Cathedral of Notre Dame), and probably Peter Comestor.

5. J. Boussard, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris de la fin du siège de 885–886 à la mort de Philippe Auguste* (Paris, 1976), 203, fig. 64. A more accurate transcription of the inscription is found in Brady, *Prolegomena,* 43*.

6. Brady, *Prolegomena,* 1, 56*–58*, 82*–88*, 128*–129*. The dating of Peter Lombard's works is problematical. In the *Prolegomena* Brady has established the following dates: the Psalms begun about 1134, finished around 1148, and published 1158–59; the Epistles begun shortly after 1148, completed about 1159, and published soon after; the *Sententiae* completed 1155–58. He thinks there were two editions of the latter and that the final edition of 1158 contained numerous corrections of the first. This dating represents a refinement of his earlier dating (Psalms 1138, Epistles 1142, and the *Sententiae* about 1158) which was fairly close to the dates given by D. van den Eynde (Psalms 1135–37, Epistles 1139–41, the *Sententiae* 1154–57) in "Essai chronologique sur l'oeuvre de Pierre Lombard," *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara, 1957), 45–63.

7. Brady, "Peter Manducator," 480–83.

8. J. de Ghellinck *Le Mouvement théologique du XIIe siècle* (Paris, 1948), 9, hereafter, de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique.*

9. D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962), 179.

10. Although Aquinas wrote his *Summa* in the second half of the thirteenth century (1265–73), three centuries passed before it replaced the Lombard's *Liber Sententiarum* in the schools.

11. Gratianus, a monk and contemporary patriot of Peter Lombard, had taught at Bologna. His *Decretum,* written about 1140, was widely disseminated in the second half of the twelfth century. Peter Lombard must have owned a copy of Gratianus's text because it is stated that he gave a copy of it to the cathedral library along with his own copy of the *Liber Sententiarum* and some other glossed books (*Cartulaire de l'église de Notre Dame de Paris,* M. Guérard ed., [Paris, 1850], IV, 60.)

12. Brady, "Peter Manducator," 483–84, no. 1. Peter Comestor, dean at Troyes from 1147 and lector at Paris after 1160, was Chancellor of Paris ca. 1168–78. In the obituary of St. Loup at Troyes (an abbey of Augustinian canons) he is mentioned as "canonicus Sancti Lupi" and in that of St. Victor as "noster canonicus." He retired to St. Victor and was later buried there. The *Historia Scholastica* was probably written sometime between 1169 and 1173 because it was dedicated to William, Archbishop of Sens, 1169–1176, and mentioned by a medieval chronicler in 1173. See S. R. Daly, "Peter Comestor: Master of Histories," *Speculum,* 32 (1957), 67.

13. M.-D. Chenu, O. P., *Nature, Man and Society in the Twelfth Century,* ed. and trans. by J. Taylor and J. K. Little (Chicago, 1968), 278–79. These three masters were so closely allied in the eyes of their contemporaries that legend had them brothers, see de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique,* 285.

14. G. Le Bras, "Pierre Lombard, prince du droit canon," *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara, 1957), 247.

15. S. J. Curtis, "Peter Lombard, a Pioneer in Educational Method," *Miscellanea Lombardiana* (Novara, 1957), 267, hereafter, Curtis, "Peter Lombard." Dialectical discussion and attachment to traditional texts are two recurring factors in the work of Peter Lombard. See de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique,* 114.

16. See Curtis, "Peter Lombard," 265–73, for a fuller discussion of the arrangement and method of the *Liber Sententiarum.*

17. Curtis, "Peter Lombard," 267.

18. F. Gasparri has established that some of the scribes who worked for the Parisian houses also worked for the Royal Chancellery. See "Manuscript monastique ou registre de chancellerie? A propos d'un recueil epistolaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor," *Journal des Savants,* (1976), 131–40, and "Un copiste lettré de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris au XIIe siècle," *Scriptorium,* 30 (1977), 232–37.

19. Brady, *Prolegomena,* 144* and de Ghellinck, *Le mouvement théologique,* 224. According to Brady, the organization of related groups of "capitula" under "distinctiones" was the work of Master Alexander of Hales sometime between 1223 and 1227.

20. *Glossarium Artis, Paramente und liturgische Bucher,* (Tubingen, 1973), I, 31. This does not include the fourth type with sharp points worn front to back that is found in numerous manuscripts of the late twelfth century and became standard in the thirteenth.

21. Other portraits of Peter Lombard with these features are found in the Victorine *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles* (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 14266, fol. 4r; fig. 9 in this article); in two other copies of the same text from Clairvaux (Troyes, Bib. Mun., MS. 900, fol. 1r [fig. 14 in this article] and MS. 48, fol. 1r); and in a copy of Peter Lombard's Commentary on the Psalms from Canterbury (London, Brit. Lib. MS. Add. 54229, fol. 3r). All date from the second half of the twelfth century. See L. M. Ayres, "A Miniature from Jumièges and Trends in Manuscript Illumination around 1200," *Intuition und Kunstwissenschaft: Festschrift für Hans Swarzenski* (Berlin, 1973), 122–129, fig. 13, hereafter, Ayres, "A Miniature from Jumièges"; L. Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Troyes, 1935), 61–62, 80–81, pl. VIII, fig. 25, hereafter Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits;* and D. H. Turner, "The Eric Millar Bequest to the Department of Manuscripts: I. The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts," *The British Museum Quarterly,* 33 (1968–69), 18–19, pl. VI, respectively.

22. Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 14266, fols. 4r, 95r, and 158v, figs. 8 and 9 in this article; Ayres, "A Miniature from Jumièges," 125, figs. 13–15.

23. The evangelist portrait of the sixth century inserted into the Xanten Gospels (Brussels, Bib. Roy., MS. 18.723) is reproduced in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, *Le livre illustré en occident* (Brussels, 1977), pl. 11.

24. Cambridge, Trinity Coll. Lib., MS. R.17.1, fol. 283v. M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge,* II, (Cambridge, 1900), 402–410, hereafter, James, *The Western Manuscripts;* and C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190,* A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, III, (London, 1975), 97, fig. 187.

25. L. Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1982), 51–55. The first three categories are borrowed from Eleen, but they are applied to different illustrations.

26. This type is found in two copies of the Lombard's gloss on the Epistles (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 661, fols. 99r [fig. 20 in this article], and 190r; MS. lat. 14266, fol. 158v). Ayres, "A Miniature from Jumièges," 125, fig. 15.

27. The "author as inspired scribe" also appears in two copies of the Lombard's Epistles. The first is Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 648, fol. 2r (fig. 19 in this article) where the dove is perched on the shoulder of Paul who, writing utensils in hand, turns in his seat to acknowledge its presence. The second is Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 14266, fol. 95r (fig. 8 of this article) where Paul is again shown seated at a desk writing a letter. There is a dove behind his ear and an angel confronts him with its left hand pointing to an exemplar inscribed "Angelus ad Paulum" and its right arm outstretched toward Paul, leaving little doubt as to who is the recipient of the divine message.

28. See Cologne, Schnütgen-Museum, *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler Romanik* (Cologne, 1985), I, cat. no. B50, illus. Peter is again identified as bishop of Paris in the Victorine Epistles (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 14266, fol. 4r [fig. 9 in this article]). Here Peter (author of the commentary) and Paul (author of the text) are shown seated together facing one another and holding the ends of an unfurled scroll inscribed "Petrus Lumbardus." Paul, in lay dress, is identified by his unique physiognomy—high forehead with receding hairline, pronounced cheek bones, long beard and mustache. On fol. 6 of the same manuscript another version of the "author as attesting figure" presents Paul enthroned on an architectural bench in a frontal position. His unique facial features render him immediately recognizable. He holds two attributes—a quill in his right hand and a book in his left.

29. Another version of this type is found in the Victorine Epistles (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 14266, fol. 94). Paul, surrounded by a seated crowd, stands in the center of a *C* initial facing the reader. His right hand is raised in a gesture of instruction with the index finger extended; his left arm cradles a book. Within the context of the Epistles this could also be considered a preaching scene. The line between preaching and teach-

ing is very fine; in the Middle Ages the former was considered an extension of the latter. The Parisian masters, including Peter Lombard, wrote sermons and preached. This was especially true of the Victorines who both preached and taught. A portrait of the "author as teacher" frequently appears in works by Parisian masters. In a copy of his *De archa Noe* (Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS. laud. misc. 409, fol. 3v), Master Hugh of St. Victor is clearly portrayed as a teacher. Seated in a throne-like chair, he lectures from an open book to three clerics seated at his feet. Hierarchical scale is observed with the students much smaller than their master. All are tonsured and dressed in the black cloaks and white robes of the Augustinian canons. The urban setting of the Victorine school is indicated by the cityscape above them. See O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 1973), III, 27, no. 255; W. Cahn, "St. Albans and the Channel Style in England," *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York, 1975), III, 228, fig. 81; and N. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts 1190-1215,* A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, (Oxford, 1982), IV, 51-52, fig. 14. A simplified version is included in a copy of Master Hugh's *Didascalicon,* a study guide for his school at St. Victor (Leiden, Univ. Lib., MS. Vulcanianus 46, fol. 130r) made at Fulda around 1176. A tonsured "Magister Hugo" is seated before a lectern reading from an open book inscribed with the first sentence from his text: "Omnium expetendorum prima est sapientia in qua perfecta forma consistit." Hugh of St. Victor, *The Didascalicon, A Medieval Guide to the Arts,* trans. by J. Taylor, (New York, 1961), frontispiece. In a copy of his gloss on the Epistles from Clairvaux (Troyes, Bib. Mun., MS. 48, fol. 1r) Master Peter Lombard is likewise depicted as a tonsured cleric, seated and lecturing from an open book inscribed "Petrus." Morel-Payen, *Les plus beaux manuscrits,* pl. VIII, fig. 25.

30. The manuscript has a colophon on folio 225v with the name of the scribe, "Michael Hiberniensis," and the date 1158. This date refers either to the exemplar as J. Porcher suggested in his unpublished notes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, *Boîtes Porcher,* no. 52, or to the completion date of the original *Liber Sententiarum* as Brady suggests in the *Prolegomena,* 125*.

31. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Second Series of Fifty Manuscripts in the Collection of Henry Yates Thompson* (Cambridge, 1902), 130-31; H. Y. Thompson, *Illustrations of One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of H. Y. Thompson* (Cambridge, 1918), VI, pl. V; and S. de Ricci, "Les manuscrits de la collection de Henry Yates Thompson," *Bulletin de la société française des reproductions des manuscrits à peintures,* X (1926), 59.

32. F. Wickhoff, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich* (Leipzig, 1927), vol. 8, pt. 3, 30, fig. 36. This scene could also be interpreted as a representation of Peter about to begin his writing under the guidance of divine inspiration in which case the young man to his left would be seen as an assistant bringing parchment to the master. The idea of the "author as teacher" would not then be expressed.

33. James, *The Western Manuscripts,* 188-94.

34. P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Stiermark* (Leipzig, 1911), vol. 4, pt. 1, 147, pl. XXI (1).

35. James, *The Western Manuscripts,* I, 188-201, for manuscripts B.5.4, B.5.6 and B.5.7; Pächt and Alexander, *Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* 22, for MS. Auct. E. infr. 6.

36. The text of the preface for the Psalms was transcribed by H. Glunz, *The Vulgate in England* (Cambridge, 1933), 342-46. See also Brady, *Prolegomena,* 52*-53* and B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict* (Oxford, 1973), 82-83, hereafter, Smalley, *The Becket Conflict.*

37. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict,* 82; Brady, *Prolegomena,* 52; C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination 1066-1200* (Cambridge, 1954), 104. Dodwell was the first to recognize a French origin for these manuscripts. He established the dates 1170-73 for the Psalms and 1173-77 for the Epistles. The basis for his dating is the reference to Becket as martyr in the Psalms and the use of "sanctus" in the Epistles; Becket was murdered in 1170 and canonized in 1173.

38. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict,* 61.

39. D. Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1971), 7, hereafter, Knowles, *Thomas Becket.*

40. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict,* 61.

41. C. de Hamel made the important discovery that the "alternate-line" system with its display script was devised by the Parisian masters who published Peter Lombard's glosses on the Psalms and the Epistles in the 1160s. See his dissertation for New College, *The Production and Circulation of Glossed Books of the Bible in the Twelfth and Early Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1978), 89-101, hereafter, de Hamel, *The Production.* (De Hamel's dissertation, in a somewhat reduced form, has been published as *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* [Woodbridge, England and Dover, N.H., 1984].)

42. de Hamel, *The Production,* 195-196.

43. *Ibid.,* 169, and C. H. Talbot, "Notes on the Library of Pontigny," *Analecta Sacra Ordinis Cisterciensis,* X, (1954), 106-168.

44. de Hamel, *The Production,* 193, citing R. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de St.-Victor de Paris* (Paris, 1904), I, 225-26. Bonnard states that Becket and his party went to Paris just four months before his assassination on 29 December 1170 to thank Louis VII for his hospitality during their years of exile. They apparently stayed at the abbey of St. Victor where Becket said Mass and preached to the Victorines in a chapel later dedicated to him. The abbey kept as relics some articles of clothing used by Becket during his visit.

45. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict,* 71-72, 83-84.

46. *Ibid.,* 71, and *idem, The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1970), 186-189.

47. R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Durham, 1939), 78-81,hereafter, Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts,* and A. T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Hereford, 1927), 44-45.

48. A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig* (Cologne, 1985), IV, 41-48, 43, and 47 color illus., figs. 1-10.

49. R. Schilling, "The Decretum Gratiani Formerly in the C. W. Dyson Perrins Collection," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association,* 26 (1963), 27, 29, hereafter, Schilling, "Decretum Gratiani."

50. *Ibid.,* 28. Schilling states that this manuscript must have still been in production sometime after 1178 since the commentary of Cardinalis Gratianus (no relation to the author of the *Decretum*) is one of three glosses written in the hand of the original scribe. Gratianus received the title and office of cardinal in 1178. There is no documentation of ownership earlier than the sixteenth century when the manuscript is recorded in northern France. Although there is no mention of a *Decretum Gratiani* in Eastery's list of the Becket and Bosham manuscripts given to Christ Church, Canterbury, it is not unreasonable to think that Bosham might have owned a copy and taken it with him when he retired to the Cistercian Abbey at Ourscamp near Arras in the early 1190s. Bosham and Becket were both interested in canon law; they had studied with the canonist Lombard Piacenza, a member of Becket's staff in exile at Pontigny (Knowles, *Thomas Becket,* 57). In addition the letters of Herbert Bosham indicate that he was well acquainted with the *Decretum Gratiani* because he cited it frequently in pleading the case of Becket. See W. Cahn, "A Twelfth-Century Decretum Fragment from Pontigny," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* 62 (1975), 56, hereafter, Cahn, "Decretum Fragment."

51. Cahn ("Decretum Fragment," 53), Schilling ("The Decretum Gratiani," 29), and C. Nordenfalk (Review of A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani,* 3 vols., [Rome, 1975], in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 43 [1980], 328) agree that Paris was an important center for the production and dissemination of the *Decretum* manuscripts. In the case of the Ludwig *Decretum,* Schilling favors Sens as the place of origin while admitting that it could as well be Paris. Nordenfalk thinks that there are good reasons for assuming that the Decretum manuscripts of the last few decades of the twelfth century were painted by secular artists in Paris and that their workshops satisfied the market for some fifty years. Paris certainly fits the criteria of a center capable of producing glossed canonical books. Not only was it a great urban center with an important ecclesiastical see, but it was also a university town where canon law was taught under the auspices of the school at Notre Dame and its scriptoria were already producing glossed school books.

52. Schilling, "Decretum Gratiani," 38, pl. XXIV, 2.

53. Siena, Bib. Com. degli Intronati, MS. G.V.23 (ca. 1175–80); see A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani* (Rome, 1975), II, figs. 9, 10, 12.
Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bib. Mun., MS. 2 (ca. 1175–1200); see A. Boutemy, "La Bible de St-André-au-Bois," *Scriptorum,* 5 (1951), 222–237, pls. 17–25, and W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982), 268, cat. no. 56, illus.
Cambridge, Trinity Coll. Lib., MS. B.3.11 (1164–1170); see James, *The Western Manuscripts,* I, 111–112, and Schilling, "Decretum Gratiani," 36, 38, pl. XXV, 4.
Oxford, Bodleian Lib., MS. Auct. E. inf. 7 (1164–1170); see Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,* III, 22.

54. Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. lat. 11565 (ca. 1170); see R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), fig. 14.

55. Hereford, Cath., Lib., MS. O.IV.7 and MS. O.VI.3 (ca. 1170–80); A. T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library,* 44–45, 62–63; and G. D. Hobson, "Further Notes on Romanesque Bindings," *The Library,* 15 (1934), 196. Although Bannister does not list MS. O.VI.3 with Ralph's group, I have included it because its layout and decoration are nearly identical.

56. Z. N. Brooke and C. N. L. Brooke, "Hereford Cathedral Dignitaries in the Twelfth Century," *The Cambridge Historical Journal,* 8 (1944), 15.

57. L. V. Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* (Paris, 1868), 31.

58. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts,* 80, pl. 48.

59. Durham, Cath. Lib., MS. A.III.16, top fly leaf. See Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts,* 78, for the inscription.

60. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts,* 79.

61. In Paris, both St.-Germain-des-Prés and St. Victor had large scriptoria that were active throughout the twelfth century. Notre Dame also produced manuscripts, but, like most cathedral schools, its facilities were limited. Other major scriptoria in the city were Ste. Geneviève, St. Maur des Fossés, and St. Martin du Champ. St. Victor appears a strong candidate. In addition to a large and active scriptorium where professional scribes (and perhaps professional artists) were employed from the 1120s on, it had a prestigious school whose teachers were esteemed scholars and authored some of the most sought-after works, and it had a library well known for its fine exemplars. It was a very rich and powerful institution with strong royal connections and an incredible international network. The fact that so many of the glossed books known to be Parisian are in one way or another associated with the Victorines suggests that they played a key role in the production and dissemination of school books, in particular, glossed books of the Bible. A likely situation in Paris from the mid-twelfth century on is that scribes and artists were working throughout the city and coming together in ever-changing, smaller groups in the various scriptoria. Gasparri has already identified scribes working for the Royal Chancellery and various Parisian houses (see note 26). As the demand for books increased throughout the century, artists and scribes probably began gradually to establish workshops. The outlines of this secular development emerge more clearly early in the next century as Branner and François Avril have demonstrated. See *Manuscript Painting in Paris* and "A quand remontent les premiers ateliers d'enlumineurs laïcs à Paris?" *Les Dossiers de l'archéologie,* 16 (1976), 36–44, respectively. The movement of artists and scribes to Paris from northern centers and elsewhere must certainly have begun much earlier, in the twelfth century, because the increasing availability of work, stimulated by the schools, would have attracted them.

State Inkwells in Islamic Iran

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The role assigned to objects in Islamic societies and, more specifically, the symbolism associated with their function have yet to be seriously investigated. The "state inkwell," in Persian *dāvat-e dowlat,* which was one of the prominent insignia of royal power and ministerial office, is one of the oldest symbols in public life, probably predating the advent of Islam in Iran. Yet, its existence has not been recognized until now.

State inkwells are recorded in many sources, Arabic and Persian. Manuscript painting of the early fourteenth century and figurative scenes on metalwork demonstrate the solemnity that surrounded the appearance of the state inkwell at court. A few surviving objects, of which The Walters Art Gallery preserves two remarkable specimens, testify to the reality of the institution.

One ambiguity is not easily resolved. Texts mention both royal and ministerial inkwells. Indeed, among the recorded pieces, a few are decorated with scenes dealing with specific royal themes—which have not attracted comment so far. On the other hand, one carries an inscription that leaves no doubt as to the ministerial status of its patron, a grand vizier identified by name and title, who is known from early sources in Arabic and Persian. Finally, others are inscribed with verses and invocations and decorated with themes that establish the dominant status of their owner without making it clear whether he was a ruler—king, sultan, amir—or a vizier. So far sources have not yielded any information that would make it possible to distinguish between the two types. The situation may have varied in place and time. The existence of vizierial inkwells is fully established in the later periods. Reviewing the main sources, however, one receives the impression that in many, perhaps most cases, the same inkwells would have been used as "state inkwells" by king and minister alike, if only because the grand vizier was the sultan's arm, conveying his will in the form of royal edicts [*farmān*] penned by him or by the *dīvān,* the secretarial administration under his authority. A glance at some of the early texts is therefore in order before considering the objects.

The Evidence of Poetry and History

Perhaps the most telling indication concerning the antiquity of the institution lies in the coincidence between the information to be gathered from the tenth-century Persian epic composed by Ferdowsī, the *Shāh-Nāme,* based on Pahlavi sources, and early chronicles such as the *Tārīkh-e Beyhaqī,* compiled in the late eleventh century.[1] Its author, Beyhaqī, exercised secretarial function to the Ghaznevid sultans whose rule held sway in eastern Iran, including much of present-day Afghanistan.

Both sources show that the inkwell was requested whenever royal decisions connected with major events had to be taken. At a crucial moment for Iran when Khosrow Parvīz, known in Western history as Chosroes II, endeavors to sign peace with "the Caesar of Rome" (the Byzantine emperor) an "inkwell-and-pencase" is brought to him:

دوات و قلم خواست وچینی حر یر
بفرمود تا پیش او شد دبیر
یکی نامه بنوشت برپهلوی
بر آئین شاهان خط خسروی

He requested an inkwell-and-pencase, and Turkistan silk
He bade the Secretary come forward
He wrote a letter in Pahlavī
In the Royal Script according to the protocol of the Shahs[2]

We are not in a position to identify the "Royal Script." But the passage suggests that a set protocol was observed when kingly edicts were issued or letters written. This assumption finds some support in another account. As the rebel marshall Bahrām Chobīne is about to mount the

imperial throne, he orders an "inkwell-and-pencase" [*davāt o qalam*] to be placed in front of the imperial secretary [*dabīr*]:

چو آواز دارندهٔ پاس خاست — قلم خواست بهرام وقرطاس خواست
بیامد دبیری خردمند و راد — دوات و قلم پیش دانا نهاد
بدو گفت عهدی ز ایرانیان — بباید نبشتن برین پرنیان
که بهرام شاه ست و پیروز بخت — سزاوار تاجست و زیبای تخت

When the call of the commander of the guard rose
Bahrām requested a pen, and paper
A secretary came forth, a wise man of noble birth
He [Bahrām] had the inkwell-and-pencase
placed in front of the scholar

Telling him that a pact offered by the Iranians
Must be written on this silk
[Saying] that Bahrām is the Shāh, and Victorious
Worthy of the crown and an ornament to the throne[3]

The theme of victory, as will be seen, recurs on several state inkwells of the Islamic period in pictorial form in early times and through literary quotations at a later stage.

The use of the inkwell as an instrument of ministerial office was taken over from Sasanian Iran by the Islamic caliphate as were all Iranian regalia and insignia of power. Neẓām ol-Molk, the grand vizier of Malekshāh, tells an enlightening anecdote in his *Political Treatise [Siyāsat-Nāme].* Recounting the supposed arrival of Ja'far ibn Barmak at the court of Caliph Sulaymān (in actual fact, it was Barmak, father of Ja'far who came to the court of 'Abd al-Malik, father of Caliph Sulaymān), Neẓām ol-Molk describes the caliph welcoming Ja'far after a difficult start:

هم در ساعت خلعت وزارت پوشانید و دوات درپیش او نهاد تا چند توقیع درپیش او بکرد

He forthwith had him [Jaᶜfar b. Barmak] don the ministerial robe and placed an inkwell in front of him. [Jaᶜfar] executed a few paraphs in front of him.[4]

By the late eleventh century the usage remained unchanged. Beyhaqī, the historian of the Ghaznevid sultans, makes several references to it. His accounts sometimes read like terse prose abridgements of Ferdowsī's verses; in describing an important occasion, Beyhaqī notes:

امیر فرمود تا دوات آوردند

The prince ordered that an inkwell [*davāt*] be brought[5]

A few pages further, the historian concludes:

دوات آوردند . بخط عالی به توقیع بیاراست

They brought an inkwell. He adorned it [the paper] with his royal paraph [*towqīᶜ*] in a beautiful script[6]

The concept of the inkwell as an instrument of government was deeply entrenched by the turn of the twelfth century. Adīb Ṣāber Termeẕī, the Khorasan poet who wrote in the first half of the twelfth century, formulates it in three distichs full of puns. He calls it, literally, "the instrument of government," in Persian *ālat-e dowlat,* and stresses that its significance is "taken from the pen [*qalam*]" (meter *moteqāreb*):

دوات ای پسر آلت دولت است — بدو دولت تندرا رام کن
چو خواهی که دولت کنی از دوات — الف را به پیوند تا لام کن
دوات از قلم نامداری گرفت — قلم گیر و نام از قلم وام کن

The inkwell [*davāt*], son, is the instrument of government
With it tame a government gone wild
good fortune

When you want to govern out of your inkwell
to coin (the word) *dowlat* out of *davāt*
Extend the *alef* as far as the *lām* by means of a ligature
The inkwell took its fame from the pen
was named after
Take your pen and borrow its fame from the pen[7]

The first hemistich in the last line refers to the name *davāt-e qalam,* literally "the inkwell of the pen," which had already become an alternative denomination to *davāt o qalam,* "inkwell-and-pen(case)."

Passing references in Persian literature suggest that the formal devolution of the inkwell by the Sultan to his vizier was seen as a supreme mark of distinction. These lines written in the twelfth century by ᶜAbd ol-Vāṣeᶜ Jabalī in a panegyric to the vizier Naṣīr ad-Dīn ᶜAbd os-Ṣamad echo the jealousy that such a privilege would arouse in the political class (meter: *mojtaṩṩ*):

از آنگهی که دوات و قلم نهاد بحق
ز بهر طغرا پیش تو خسرو اعظم
مخالف از حسد و غیرت تو دور از تو
سیاه دل چو دواتست و زرد رخ چو قلم

From the moment the exalted King set in front of you
The inkwell-and-pencase for writing the *ṭughrā* by right
Your opponents became black hearted like the inkwell and yellow faced like the pen
Out of jealousy and envy, however far away from you[8]

In the early fourteenth century, the famous lexicographer Moḥammad b. Hendūshāh Nakhjavānī, who had been a minister, wrote a handbook on government and administration titled *Dastūr al-Kātib fī Taᶜyīn al-Marātib, The Secretary/Scribe's Rule in Determining [Public] Positions.* Listing the insignia of office handed over to the grand vizier, he



Fig. 1. *Tahamuras* from the *Jāmeʿ ot-Tavārīkh*, Iran, perhaps Tabriz, early 14th century, Edinburgh, University Library MS. OR 20, fol. 2v (photo: courtesy of Edinburgh University Library).

mentions the "tenure of the executive decree" [*Suyūrghāl-e ḥokm-e yarligh*], the "special investiture robes" [*tashrīf-e khāṣṣ*], the "gold inkwell-and-pencase" [*davāt-e ṭalā*], the "studded belt" [*kamar-e moraṣṣaʿ*], and other lesser items.[9] The studded belt is part of the royal or princely costume and the gold inkwell would have been yet another royal item by virtue of its material, gold, the royal metal and color *par excellence.* This would seem to indicate that at that time, at least, the ministerial inkwell-and-pencase did not differ from the imperial inkwell-and-pencase, the latter being delegated to him.

Hence the note of surprise expressed by yet another minister turned historian, the famous Eskandar Bēg Monshī, when reporting a deviation from established usage in the early seventeenth century in favor of a lower ranking minister, the Mostowfī al-Mamālek or Chancellor of the Exchequer—in modern British terms:

آقا شاه علی دولت آبادی اصفهانی به رتبهٔ ارتقاء یافت . دوات قلم طلاء مرصّع که تا آن غایت رسم نبود که بمستوفیان داده شود باو داده شد

> Āqā Shāh ʿAlī Dowlatābādī Esfahānī rose to an exalted position. The studded gold inkwell-and-pencase [*davāt-e qalam-e ṭalā-e moraṣṣaʿ*] which it had not been customary until then to hand over to the Chancellors, was handed over to him[10]

The historian further notes that on the chancellor's death in 1006/1597-98, his brother, Mīrza ʿAlī, was appointed to replace him "and the aforesaid studded inkwell-and-pencase was assigned to him [*be -ū ekhteṣāṣ yāft*]." The transmission of the symbol of power from one minister to another might account for the absence of personal dedicatory inscriptions on those pieces that qualify, as we will see, as probable "state inkwells." The only exception on record concerns an unusual character who claimed royal descent and attempted to mount the throne when all other authority collapsed during the Mongol invasion.

The fact that the "state inkwell" could be indiscriminately used by king and minister might be yet another reason for the absence of nominal identification, even of any anonymous titulature on all Iranian inkwells except one to be discussed below. Most significant in this respect is the institution of the *Davātkhāne,* the "House of Inkwells" where all state inkwells were preserved as early as Ghaznevid times: no distinction appears to have been drawn between royal or ministerial inkwells.[11] The *Amīr Davātdār* or "Master of the Inkwells" was, again, in charge of all state inkwells regardless of their user's identity.[12]

Book painting would seem to bear out the anonymous character of even imperial inkwell-and-pencases in the Iranian world. A manuscript of Rashīd ad-Dīn's *Compendium of Histories* (or *World History*) completed in the early fourteenth century, perhaps in the royal atelier in Tabriz, includes an illustration (fig. 1) of a court scene involving the use of the imperial inkwell-and-pencase.[13] The episode takes place in the presence of Ṭahmuraṯ, one of the kings of ancient Iran according to Iranian tradition. The vizier is seated on a stool at left, that is, to the right of the enthroned ruler who is shown facing the viewer. At right, the Mīr-e Selāh or "Master of the Armories" holds an arrow pointed downwards and a bow under his arm in the attitude of deferential waiting that becomes his rank.[14] Kneeling respectfully by the vizier's side, a young Turkish prince (*amīr*) with plaited hair falling down his shoulders in the fashion of free-born Turks holds up an open inkwell-and-pencase, which identifies him as the *Amīr-e Davātdār.* No design other than an abstract scrolling motif appears on what is clearly an imperial inkwell-and-pencase. This design is repeated on the side of the imperial throne.

A second miniature in the manuscript depicts an inkwell-and-pencase in a similar context, that of an enthroned ruler holding court, as shown by the heavy crown suspended by chains over the throne.[15] Here, too,

the pattern on the inkwell-and-pencase, traced on the inner face of the lid, is matched on imperial furnishings, this time on the brocaded bands stitched across the drapery of the canopy overhanging the throne. It would therefore seem that inkwell-and-pencases for imperial use were made *en suite* with other regalia. It is perhaps significant that the third inkwell-and-pencase depicted in the context of a scene at court, but one that was not a state occasion, was left undecorated.[16] The scene shows five men of letters, two of them scribbling, engaged in a debate which is perhaps some literary contest or disputation (*monāẓere*). They are not high-ranking dignitaries, and the inner face of the inkwell-and-pencase, which is shown open as in the previous miniature, is merely outlined without any decoration.

The Evidence of the Objects: the Tower-shaped Inkwells

Having gone this far, one might wonder what hope is left of ever identifying "state inkwells," including those used at court. Positive identification is possible in some instances. A set of objects made *en suite* for a vizier, including an inkwell-and-pencase fully inscribed to his name, has survived. This set provides the physical evidence for the existence both of state inkwells and, no less important, sets of objects made *en suite* and signed by the same master. Some three centuries later, another master signed three inkwell-and-pencases, all carrying inscriptions that explicitly call them "state inkwells" and refer to the royal paraphs signed from their ink (see note 49). Again their close resemblance to one another suggests that they might have been executed, not *en suite* like the previous pieces, but as a single commission emanating from the court.

Other inkwells decorated with royal themes known from royal panegyrics, and occasionally inscribed with Arabic lines that echo these themes, may be characterized as "state inkwells" with a reasonable measure of probability.

Three basic types remained in constant use through the ages: the inkwell designed as a miniature monument; the elongated box with the inkwell compartment at one end isolated from the long compartment for reed pens by a partition; and, the portable version of the inkwell-and-pencase, its long slender body broadening slightly up to the arched extremity reserved for the minute inkwell compartment.

The clue to the fundamental symbolism of the inkwell is given by the first, or architectural, type, which is invariably shaped as a domed monument. The earliest documented specimen is a luster-painted inkwell in the form of an Eastern type of Christian shrine with square plan and four apses in the middle of each side; large botonné crosses painted in luster formally identify the structure as Christian.[17] The missing lid would have been the dome fitted into the central circular opening on the flat top. The object came to light in Neyshābūr, the westernmost metropolis of Khorasan and is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Khorasan is the large province of eastern Iran now divided between Iran and Afghanistan, with its northern parts lying in the Soviet Republics of Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.) The lack of any stratigraphy or proper archaeological data makes any precise dating hazardous.[18] The New York piece must be broadly considered to belong to the Samanid age (ca. 819–1004).

Next come some tenth- to eleventh-century inkwells acquired on the Kabul art market. Two are in typical Khorasan style and may therefore be assumed to have come to light in the eastern portions of Khorasan now in Afghanistan, possibly the districts of Herat and Maymana. One of these, published by the author in an article dealing with the Khorasani sources of Hindustani metalwork, anticipates the shape of fourteenth-century caskets such as the rare example preserved in The Walters Art Gallery.[19] Another was illustrated in a 1985 auction catalogue as "a Persian bronze inkwell [*davāt*], twelfth-century" (fig. 2).[20] A geometrical device formed of stalks with curving extremities prolonging the sides of a square illustrates the idea of rotation in reference to the theme of "the rotating dome." This standard image in the Persian literary repertory signifies the rotating celestial sphere.[21]



Fig. 2. *Inkwell-and-Pencase,* Iran, Khorasan, Cast Bronze with Engraved Decoration, 10th or 11th century, Formerly, Tehran, Haj Farman Collection (all photos courtesy of the author except where noted).

The cosmic theme associated with an inkwell echoes the theme of the divine decree that rules the world. It is written on celestial tablets by the archangels dipping their pens in the ink of eternity, a concept echoed in this opening verse of the "Sūra of the Pen" (Kor. LXVIII, I):

ن و القلم و ما یسطرون

N—By the pen [*qalam*] and by what they trace on ruled lines

If intended for a judge [*qāḍī*] or a teacher [*mu ᶜallim*] the evocation of the cosmos easily fits with the hyperbolic eulogies celebrating the judge whose edicts hold sway throughout the world, or the teacher whose wisdom enlightens it.[22] At the same time, the cosmic symbolism of the inkwell is well suited to the state inkwell, royal or ministerial. Very explicit references to the royal or ministerial inkwell as a symbol of the world are indeed found in Persian literature. Kamāl Eṣfahānī, the famous poet active in the first third of the thirteenth century, composed this "fragment," in Persian *qaṭᶜe,* or short poem for a special occasion (meter: *Hazaj*):

ایا صدري که آمد چرخ نیلی یکی از بندگان چاپلوست
رسید اینك بشادی نوبت آنك بدرّد شفق چرخ آوای کوست
بسی روزست تاچرخ از شب و روز همی سازد دو یت آبنوست
وزارت ، چشم بر ره ، دست بر دست همی دارد امید دست بوست

O Excellency of whom the Blue Dome has become
One of the servants, full of flattery
Now has merrily come the celebration when
the sound of your cymbals pierces the ceiling
of the celestial vault
Many days will go by until the vault of heaven makes
From [the succession of] day and night your ebony inkwell
The Vizierial function, its eyes cast down, its hands crossed
Waits in hope of kissing your hand[23]

A new vizier—unnamed—is about to be appointed, hence the image of the vizirate [*vezarāt*] as a person in the traditional Eastern attitude of deferential waiting, hoping to kiss his hand. Loud celebrations [*nowbat*] with cymbal playing are going on but it will be a long time before the vizier's inkwell is completed: we find an echo to the length of time required in the dating formula of an inkwell made for a vizier "in the months of the year 607" (see below).

The ebony inkwell mentioned in the poem by Kamāl Eṣfahānī was probably inlaid with ivory, a combination suggested by the image of "day and night," that is, lightness and blackness, from which the inkwell is made.[24] Above all, the image indicates that the object is seen as symbolizing the succession of day and night, in other words, the rotation of the celestial sphere.



Fig. 3. *State Inkwell*, Iran, Khorasan, Bronze Inlaid with Silver and Copper, early 13th century, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.514.



Fig. 4. Detail of Figure 3, top view of lid showing the three Arab distichs.



Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 3, signature of "*Muḥammad b. Abū Sahl the Herat Painter/designer.*"



Fig. 6. Detail of Figure 3, underside with a brief *duʿā* in Kufic script.

It is precisely this theme which is expressed on a remarkable inkwell of architectural shape in The Walters Art Gallery (figs. 3–6). The object has been known to scholars since Richard Ettinghausen first mentioned it briefly in 1943 as "one of several pieces made by craftsmen whose names indicate that they hailed from Herat."[25] Actually the signature written in silver-inlaid Kufic lettering on the low flaring sides of the lid proves nothing of the kind *per se,* but the style of decoration and the wording of a long *duᶜā* or invocation calling God's graces on the owner are indeed consistent with those of the Khorāsān school.

The model is the most commonly seen in Khorasan in the second half of the twelfth century and the opening years of the thirteenth. The deep well with flat base and walls tapering slightly is cut off by a flat ribbed rim. It is topped by a lid (fig. 4) edged by a matching rib, with low flaring sides, a flat shoulder and a cusped dome with six shaped lotus petals. The lid is thus shown to be the "blue lotus dome," in Persian *gonbad-e nīlūfarī,* another standard metaphor referring to the sky. On a narrow raised strip running around the base, a zigzag line is a stylization of the sun, signifying that the dome of heaven is filled with sunlight.

Three Arabic distichs, written on the shoulder (fig. 4) in a silver-inlaid cursive script, wish the unnamed owner "might and triumph," "might and access to eternity" as long as "sun and moon rise" and "as long as morn and night succeed each other," thus linking the themes of might and victory with that of the cosmos:

دام لك العزّ والظفر ما طلع الشمس والقمر
دام لك العزّ والبقاء ما خلف الصبح والمساء
لصاحبه السعادة والسلامة وطول العمر ما ناحت حمامة

May might and triumph be ever yours
As long as sun and moon rise
May might and access to eternity be ever yours
As long as morn and night succeed each other
To its holder, felicity and spiritual integrity
And long life as long as the dove coos

These wishes could be equally suitable for a ruler and a vizier. The former seems more likely and, indeed, the poem beginning "To its owner, felicity . . ." is invariably associated with royal titulatures on fourteenth-century metalwork from Fārs.[26] However, it would be unwise, in the present state of our knowledge, to characterize it as "royal" rather than "vizierial," all the more as the distinction may have been limited. But a "state inkwell" it undoubtedly is.

Like many state inkwells the Baltimore example is signed. The signature on the side of the lid (fig. 5) is in Arabic, not Persian, as seems to have been the case for pieces used on formal occasions:

عمل محمد بن ابي سهل الهروي

The work of Muḥammad b. Abū Sahl al Harawī

The signature follows an invocation or *duᶜā,* which calls for God's graces:

بالیمن والبرکة والدولة / و السرور و السلامة و البر

With bliss, divine grace, good fortune [*dawla*]/joy, spiritual integrity, piety

Halfway down the body, a second invocation in the same silver-inlaid Kufic lettering is an expanded variant of the first one (fig. 3):

بالیمن و البرکة و الدولة و ال / سعادة و السلامة و العافیة و التا / مة و النعمة و الکرامة لصاحبه

With bliss, divine grace, good fortune, felicity, spiritual integrity, spiritual immunity, plenitude, divine favor, God's gift to its owner

On the inner face of the lid (fig. 6), a third invocation offers yet another variant with the first three wishes appearing in the same order as in the previous two:

بالیمن و / البرکة / و الدولة / و السر / ور و الت / امة و ال /

With bliss/divine grace/good fortune/
esoteric knowledge and / R.
j/oy ple/nitude A-L

The wishes expressed in these prayers [*du^{c}ā*] are no different from those that might occur on other metal vessels from Khorāsān at that time.[27] They convey notions linked with Islamic teaching that are unrelated to social position and political power.

While sets of inscriptions that include poems celebrating glory and triumph under the dome of heaven identify the inkwells that carry them as "state inkwells," the miniatures in the manuscript of Rashīd ad-Dīn's *Compendium of Histories* suggest that some state inkwells had no inscription at all. Can these now be recognized? There is no hope of ever going beyond pure supposition with regard to inkwells decorated with formal ornament. On the other hand, the figurative scenes found on some inkwells find their only satisfactory explanation in such a destination.

A case of obvious royal symbolism is provided by an inkwell of the early thirteenth century in the Nuhad es-Said collection (fig. 7).[28] On the rim of the lid, seated revelers are seen goblet in hand. They illustrate "feasting," in Persian *bazm,* which included wine drinking and music playing. On the sides of the well, confronted horsemen engaged in single combat are charging, spear in hand or raising a sword with one hand while holding a round shield in the other. These illustrate "fighting," in Persian *razm.* Together "feasting and fighting," *bazm o razm*—the words are often linked in that rhyming phrase—are associated in countless distichs. They are the royal pastimes *par excellence.* Excelling in them is the distinctive mark of kings in epic literature, starting with the *Shāh-Nāme.* In singing the praise of his future son whose horoscope they have just established, the Zoroastrian priests [*mobad*] tell Manūchehr, king of Iran:

برزم و بزمش نباشد همال



Fig. 7. *State Inkwell,* Iran, Khorasan, Quaternary Alloy Inlaid with Silver, early 13th century, The Nuhad Es-Said Collection (photo: courtesy of the Nuhad Es-Said Collection).



Fig. 7b. Detail of Figure 7, lid.

Be razm-o *be* bazm-esh *nabāshad hamāl*
In fighting and feasting he shall have no match[29]

The two horsemen in each of the three fighting scenes flank a roundel enclosing a second royal image. This is a cross-legged figure seated on a throne or *takht*—etymologically "[raised] platform"—facing the viewer with both arms extended to clutch its poles on either side. The poles are topped by the snarling heads of dragons which are a symbol of impetuous courage often associated with kings in Persian literature.[30]

The other images tie in with the theme of royal supremacy through their cosmic symbolism. The winged quadrupeds in the upper and lower friezes represent the "wonderful created beings" (*ʿAjā ʿib al-makhlūqāt*), to use the generic title given to cosmological treatises dealing with the remarkable aspects of the world of living creatures.[31] Such animals often appear in a context illustrating the king as the hunter whose hunting field is the world, a traditional literary evocation. The seated revelers engraved and inlaid with silver on the eight lobes of the domed lid (fig. 7b) illustrate "the feast of heaven," in Persian *bazm-e falak,* sung in panegyrics to rulers when celebrating them as kings of the world. Indeed, it is the opening theme of a panegyric written by Kamāl Eṣfahānī in praise of an unnamed ruler and his royal inkwell (meter: *ramal*):

ای بیاد خلق تو در بزم چرخ زهره نوشیده فراوان جامها
ساعد کلك تو از چاه دوات می بر آرد آرزو را کامها
نوك ناوك می شود از سهم تو دشمنان را موی بر اندامها
مملکت را می دهد هر ساعتی جنبش کلکت زنو آرامها

O you in whose people's memory, in the feast of heaven,
Venus quaffed many a cup.
The shaft of your pen, out of the well of the inkwell,
Brings forth things desired for [the fulfillment of] one's wishes.
To your enemies, the hair on their limbs
Becomes [like] the heads of javelins, so fearful you are.
To the realm are given every moment,
Shrines by the running of your pen.[32]

Kamāl Eṣfahānī's royal panegyric associates the two key themes that are illustrated on the Nuhad es-Said inkwell: "the feast of heaven" on the lid, and the king's (victorious) combats on the sides of the well. The reference made by the poet to the pen that "gives shrines to the realm" with its allusion to the royal edict establishing religious foundations, makes it clear that the inkwell is a "state inkwell" used by a king. The Nuhad es-Said piece was almost certainly one of those state inkwells for royal use. Even the smallest emblems on it are related to this royal destination. The three roundels on the lid (fig. 7b), which enclose the image of a bird pouncing on its prey, symbolize royal power coming down from heaven. Aṣīr Akhsīkaṯī, the great panegyrist of the last Seljuk rulers of Iran, wrote



Fig. 8. *Fragment of a Lid of a State Inkwell*, Iran, Khorasan, Quarternary Alloy (?) Inlaid with Silver, early 13th century, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.515.

about the time the Nuhad es-Said inkwell would have been made (meter: *możāreʿ*):

شهباز همت توچو طعمه طلب کند
از کردگاه شیر سپهرش مُسته باد

As the royal hawk [Aquila] of your ambition seeks its prey
Out of sown fields, may the heavenly lion [Leo] be its feed[33]

A close analysis of the iconography of some other inkwells of the period shows them to have been similarly intended as state inkwells for royal use. Among these, the lid of an inkwell from Khorāsān, also of the early thirteenth century, is of great interest although fragmentary. Only the lower part of the lid, now in The Walters Art Gallery, is preserved (fig. 8).[34] The missing dome was circled at the base by a string of silver-inlaid beads. On the underside (fig. 9), which would have been visible only when the inkwell was opened, a disc is engraved with a single large silver-inlaid figure. A horseman turns back to strike down a winged monster, an early version of the dragon. Several kings overcome such monsters in the *Shāh-Nāme.* The analogy of later inkwells (fig. 23) suggests that Bahrām Gūr may have been meant here. Whichever king of ancient Iran was intended, this is a traditional royal eulogy conveyed in visual terms: the ruler is often celebrated as "the Bahrām Gūr of our time," or "the second Alexander."[35]

The royal image on the underside of the lid (fig. 9) is enclosed within a lotus chalice which echoes the theme of the "blue lotus dome" and reminds the viewer that the king is the king of the world, "the ruler of celestial heights," to use a metaphor found in early poetry. This phrase occurs, for example, in a panegyric alternately in Arabic and Persian by the great poet from Shīrvān, Mojīr Beylaqānī, where it is similarly linked with comparisons of the king to the kings of ancient Iran:

يا مالك المعالي يا كاشف المعاني
أصبحتَ في الغواني بدراً بِلاَ سرارِ
... ...
در ملکت فر یدون می خواه بهمن آسا
کز بهمن و فر یدون در ملك یادگاری

O ruler of celestial heights o discloser of [esoteric] meanings,
You have risen among the beautiful ones like a moon that knows no night.
In the kingdom of Farīdūn, like Bahman request wine,
For of Bahman and Farīdūn you are the memorial in this kingdom of the world.[36]

The design of the silver-inlaid figure is not of the highest quality, but that by no means rules out the royal destination of the inkwell: the pettiest rulers in the remotest corners of Iran would still be celebrated as kings of the world.

A third inkwell from Khorasan decorated with "fighting and feasting" [*razm o bazm*] scenes was recently sold at auction (figs. 10–13). Also datable to the early thirteenth century, it is almost certainly a royal or princely inkwell. It illustrates the type when its decoration had reached its highest degree of complexity in Iran.[37] Only the well survives, stripped of most of its original silver inlay over which the finer detail was incised. In the upper border, a *duᶜā* is worded in typical Khorasan fashion. The splitting of words is also characteristic:[38]

العز و الاقبال و الد / ولة و النعمة و العا [فيـ] / ـة
و البقاء دائم لصاحبه

Might, favorable destiny, g/ood fortune, divine favor spir/itual immunity, access to eternity lastingly to its owner

The inscription presents a rare feature. Standing figures prolong the letters, some of the long stalks serving as their legs, and animal heads terminate some of the shorter letters, exactly as on the footed bowl in The Cleveland Museum of Art.[39] The first panel (fig. 10) illustrates feasting. Following the Middle Eastern reading order from right to left, the panel depicts: a woman plucking the harp, and a reveller, goblet in hand; two characters holding stoles while holding up some object; and a cupbearer clutching a decanter in one hand and a goblet in the other. The second panel (fig. 11) depicts the return from the hunt. One man turns his back on a seated hare, two others flank a huge duck, two other men clasp each other by the shoulder, watched by a big bird. The third panel (fig. 12) shows two men fighting with swords raised and shields held up in the center. Drinking goes on right and left; here, again, a cupbearer is seen clutching a decanter. Serving as links between the panels are couples of addorsed drinkers over each attachment plate of the hinged clasps which are now missing: the cupbearer faces one of them.



Fig. 9. Detail of Figure 8, underside showing a horseman, probably Bahrām Gūr, slaying a dragon.

Below these three panels of "inhabited script" is a continuous frieze of horsemen which can nevertheless be seen as three distinct panels. In the first, on the viewer's right (fig. 10), a horseman rushes on, throwing his lasso [*kamand*]; the next horseman charges with sword and shield raised, ready to strike a dragon with knotted tail at which a third horseman releases his arrow. Ahead of the latter, a horseman gallops on, spear in hand, as if to transfix the long-tailed animal—perhaps a small onager—which the preceding horseman in the next panel (fig. 11) is about to strike down. Ahead of him, a horseman threatens with his spear a dragon raised on its knotted tail against which the next horseman, brandishing a sword and a shield, tries to defend himself. In the third panel, again as seen on the viewer's right (fig. 12), yet another horseman with sword and shield rushes at a dragon standing on its knotted tail at which the next horseman aims his shot. The last horseman turns back to seize a leaping onagerlike creature by the neck.

If the onager is correctly identified, its recurring association with the dragon suggests that Bahrām Gūr's feats are intended. Certainly there is little doubt that whichever character is meant, the scenes illustrate the heroic feats of the kings of ancient Iran. On the underside (fig. 13) a lotus chalice, standing for the "blue lotus dome," frames a round of three panels of animals, lions, gazelles, and, perhaps, onagers: the world is the king's hunting field. In the middle is the typical Khorasan motif of three hares turning clockwise, their ears interconnecting and overlapping.



Fig. 10. *Fragmentary State Inkwell*, Iran, Khorasan, Quaternary Alloy Formerly Inlaid with Silver, early 13th century, sold at Sotheby's, April 1986.



Fig. 11. Another view of Figure 10.



Fig. 12. Another view of Figure 10.



Fig. 13. Another view of Figure 10.



Fig. 14. *State Inkwell*, Western Iran, late 13th/early 14th century, sold at Sotheby's, April 1985.



Fig. 15. Another view of Figure 14.

By the later thirteenth century, the celebration of royal triumph on inkwells tended to associate the image with the literary expression of the idea. Such is the case on an extraordinary object (figs. 14–16) which appeared on the market in 1985.[40] The piece, tiny yet monumental in aspect, is in the form of a tomb tower. It calls to mind the proportions of the early fourteenth-century mausoleum in Iṣfahān known as the Emāmzāde Jaᶜfar and of the mausoleum built by Solṭān Oljāytū at Basṭām.[41] The cylinder attached to the tower now misses its lid. It served as a pencase.

The celestial symbolism of the object is discreetly reflected in the decoration. On the shoulder, six-petal blossoms inlaid with gold separate three calligraphic panels. On the sides of the lid, similar blossoms break up the figurative friezes into three cartouches. These offer a faithful rendition of "the yellow flower of heaven," in Persian *gol-e zard-e falak,* a metaphor designating the sun.[42] Multiple suns, arranged in staggered rows as are the sun flowers on the inkwell lid, are a mystical theme in Persian Sufism. Therefore the presence of the sun flowers on the lid introduces a special nuance into the celestial symbolism of the object.

Below "the dome of heaven," represented by the bulb of the lid, a round of running animals illustrates the "wonderful created beings," in other words, life in this world. The animals are shown in a single band, following one another in two groups of three, and one of two, over the



Fig. 16. Another view of Figure 14.

large fighting scene below. They appear precisely as they do over the *Shāh-Nāme* scenes which are depicted on moulded revetment tiles in the Mongol palace at Takht-e Soleymān.[43] Animals likewise appear over the *Shāh-Nāme* scenes engraved on the flat base of a Mongol period bronze basin [*lagan*] datable circa 1300–1310.[44] The "wonderful created beings" signify on the inkwell, as they do on the basin and in the palace at Takht-e Soleymān, that the world is the stage set for the royal feats depicted below. These are illustrated on the inkwell by a single large scene with three participants.

The composition is clearly the work of a highly skilled painter-designer or *naqqāsh.* The elongated format when unrolled, the proportion given to the monumental figures filling the space from the lower to the upper frame, the abstract scrolling ground, even the two birds flying over the fighters find close parallels in the only surviving Persian manuscript of the thirteenth century in which a full cycle of miniatures and the text of the romance to which they relate, *Varqe and Golshāh,* are preserved.[45] As in many Varqe and Golshāh scenes supposedly related to definite episodes, the scene on the inkwell yields no obvious clues that would permit the identification of a well-known literary episode: a warrior in full gallop pursues (fig. 14), spear in hand, a second horseman who turns back to strike him with his raised sword (fig. 15), as a third horseman prepares to shoot his bolt at him (fig. 16).

This is an archetypal war scene in which the characters are shown in the costume of princely fighters. They all wear the gold headdress [*zarrīn kolāh*] of kings and princes. Their horses have gold trappings as do those of heroes in Persian epics.[46] In short, this inkwell made in western Iran in the late thirteenth century, illustrates the western Iranian version of the "state inkwell," and may be seen as a pendant of later date to the eastern Iranian version in the Nuhad es-Said collection (fig. 7).

In contrast to the latter, the western Iranian inkwell carries two lines in Arabic that strongly suggest it was a state inkwell. The inscription, calligraphed on the shoulder in the cursive script known as *naskhī,* is inlaid with gold, the royal color. The first hemistich has been misunderstood by Sotheby's anonymous translator and the second hemistich has not been read:[47]

اذ فتحت دواة العزّ و النعم
فاجعل [مـ] دادك من جود و من كرم

When you open the inkwell of might and favors—
Make your ink from liberality and generosity.

These lines are probably quoted from a panegyric: tracing them to their source should eventually help restore the exact version (the second line does not scan). The first hemistich calls the piece "the inkwell of might and favors," the fundamental royal or vizierial perogatives. Linked with the royal iconography, these lines make it highly probable that the inkwell was intended for a ruler's use. The double meaning of the Arabic *fataḥa,* "to open" and "to conquer," transforms the hypothesis into quasi-certainty. The first line can alternatively be understood to mean: "when you conquer the inkwell of might and favors—then make . . ." which can only be meant of a ruler seizing power.

A posteriori confirmation of this double reading is provided by three remarkable inkwell-and-pencases all signed by the same designer, Mīrak Hoseyn-e Yazdī.[48] The object reproduced here is one of two preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. One, now in Athens, retains the double barreled pencase originally welded horizontally to the tower-shaped inkwell. Like the late thirteenth-century royal inkwell discussed above (figs. 10–13), all three offer a small-size version of a domed tower. The type is well known from early Safavid book painting, and these are indeed datable within the reign of Shāh Isma ᶜīl (1502–1524).

The multiple suns represented as six-petal flowers on the inkwell sold in 1985 are stylized here as tiny six-petal blossoms within a polylobed rosette, in Persian, *shamse.* The solar symbolism of the *shamse* is implied by its derivation from the Arabic *shams,* "sun." Grammatically, *shamsa*—as pronounced in Arabic—can be seen as a unit of the indeterminate quantity *shams,* "sun," literally, "a sun." Above all, the symbolism of the rosette/*shamsa* is established by countless verses.[49] The most explicit reference opens a panegyric to the Injuid prince Jalāl ad-Dīn Masᶜūd Shāh by Khʷājū Kermānī in the fourteenth century (meter: *ramal*):

شمسهٔ زرکار محرابت خور گیتی فروز

The gilt *shamse* of your *meḥrāb* is the sun that illuminates the world[50]

On the inkwell in the Victoria and Albert Museum dated to the sixteenth century, the rosettes are repeated twelve times in reference to the zodiacal theme—the sun is seen in each of the twelve skies corresponding to the twelve signs. Cloud bands hint at the symbolism of the inkwell as the dome of heaven (clouds are associated with the springtime sky in Persian literature). The decoration thus still faintly reflects, in almost pictogramic form, the celestial and therefore cosmic symbolism of the object inherent in its shape. But what the inkwell-and-pencase has lost in visual explicitness is made up for by the texts, as is usual at that period.

Four separate poetic texts are calligraphed in admirable *Naqstaᶜlīq* script. On the lid, two Persian distichs identify the object as a "state inkwell" (*davāt-e dowlat*) used for writing "royal paraphs" (*towqīᶜ-e solṭānī*) (meter: *hazaj*):

بگشای سر دوات دولت پیش تو سر قلم نهاده
دشمن چو دوات آن سیه دل تا کار جهان شود گشاده

Undo the top of the state inkwell
Having laid in front of you the tip of your pen
And the enemy blackhearted as the inkwell
That the affairs of the world may be resolved

Like *fataḥa* in the Arabic poem above, its Persian equivalent *goshādan* is used with its multiple meanings, in the Persian poem, "to open" in the first hemistich, "to conquer, to defeat" in the third hemistich, and "to resolve, to unravel" in the fourth line (the latter meaning does not exist in Arabic for *fataḥa*). The theme of cosmic supremacy is discreetly but unmistakably introduced in the line about unraveling "the affairs of the world." The theme of royal victory is struck up here as it is in Ferdowsī's line quoted at the beginning, on The Walters Art Gallery inkwell (figs. 3–6) and on the western Iranian inkwell of the thirteenth century (figs. 14–16).

Halfway down the body (fig. 17), a single Persian line is broken up into two panels which make sense if considered separately, the first one reading *saᶜādat qarīn bād,* "may he be endowed with felicity," and the second one *dowlat rafīq,* "the companion of the state." Together, they read as a hemistich (*meṣraᶜ*) on the meter *moteqāreb:*

سعادت قر ین باد / دولت رفیق

May the companion of the state be endowed with felicity

This is a slightly modified form of the original version which can be read on an unpublished bowl from Khorāsān probably executed around 1600:

سعادت قر ین باد و دولت رفیق

May he be endowed with felicity and a companion of good fortune

The omission of the word *va* ("and") in the line as it stands on the inkwell, changes the meaning: although *dowlat* means both "good fortune" and "state government," the latter meaning is spontaneously understood, because "good fortune" (*dowlat*) would be too close to "felicity" (*saᶜādat*) to make good poetical sense. The "companion of the state" endowed with "felicity" can only be a king. This is indeed borne out by the third Persian poem at the bottom in the meter *ramal:*

تا قلم توقیع سلطانی نو یسد ز ین دوات
از سیاهی دم بدم بیرون دهد آب حیات

As long as the pen writes royal paraphs out of this inkwell-and-pencase
May it constantly yield Water of Life out of its blackness/ink

The second line refers to the Water of Life which Eskandar, guided by the prophet Khezr, found in the Land of Darkness towards the end of his quest through the world.



Fig. 17. *State Inkwell*, designed by Mirak Hoseyn Qazdi, one of three probably commissioned by Shah Isma' il, London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

The esoteric character of the allegory, apparent in Ferdowsī's *Shāh-Nāme,* is more marked still in Neẓāmī's *Sharaf Nāme-ye Eskandarī.*[51] There, the existence of the Water of Life is disclosed to Eskandar by "an old master." The verses on the inkwell actually echo the words attributed to the master by Neẓāmī:

هیدون ز بان بر شگفتی گشاد چو دیگر بزرگان زمین بوسه داد
که از هر سواد آن سیاهی بهست که آبی درو زندگانی دهست

He forthwith made a stupendous disclosure
As the grandees again kissed the earth
Saying, "this blackness is better than any black earth
For the Water in it is life-giving"

Neẓāmī's verses play on the multiple interpretations of *savād,* an Arabic loan word which etymologically means blackness, hence *savād,* a territory covered with fertile "black earth" such as the Sawād area of present-day Iraq. *Savād* may also be understood as "page blackened with writing" and, by extension, "literacy." *Siyāhī,* a Persian noun, literally means "blackness," hence "black ink."

The two lines on the inkwell through their indirect but unmistakable allusion to Eskandar's quest through the world discreetly introduce the theme of world kingship; Eskandar, a stylization of the historical Alexander the Great, is the archetypal world conqueror in the Persian tradition. The two lines also refer to the king's right to life

and death over his subjects: they express the wish that every royal paraph written from its black ink may bring life. Last but not least, the parable, as a symbol of initiation into the secret of the chosen few that gives access to eternal life, ties in with the concept of *saᶜādat,* "felicity," as understood in Safavid ideology, expressed in the line above. Together, they identify the unnamed ruler as the master of initiation. Indeed, the Shiite prayer (in Arabic) to ᶜAlī, the *Nādi ᶜAlī,* "Call unto ᶜAlī," written in the upper calligraphic band on the sides emphasizes the religious intention underlying the selection of the texts. These could not be better suited to an inkwell made for a Safavid shah.

The same texts are repeated on the three inkwells signed by Mīrak Ḥoseyn-e Yazdī. They appear precisely in the same order, and are written in the same hand. The decorative patterns on all three objects retain the same essential features, such as the large polylobed rosettes, the calligraphic cartouches or the tiny sun rosettes. Similar in size and technique, the three inkwells must have been commissioned together. The close similarity of some of the motifs to those on the hilt of a dagger dated 502/1496–47 and on a bowl presented to a ruler of Māzanderān who died in 1510 points to an early date in the reign of Shāh Ismaᶜīl (1502–24).[52] Some important occasion must have prompted a royal commission of at least three "state inkwells" (there may have been more, now missing); perhaps they were ordered at the time of Shāh Ismaᶜīl's accession to the throne in 1502.

The Evidence of the Objects: the Box-shaped Inkwells

Two other types of inkwell-and-pencase likewise served as vehicles for symbols conveying the idea of universal kingship through image and/or text. One is the elongated box, often with rounded extremities, incorporating one, two, or three small inkwells set into a narrow compartment at right, with a long penbox taking up the rest of the available space at left. The other type was a portable model designed to hang from the belt. A narrow, long container, the pen-box, widens slightly, and has low sides that rise very slightly, from the narrow tip to the top end. This is terminated by an arched extremity, often of trilobate design, in which the inkwell is lodged, isolated from the penbox by a partition.

The miniatures in the manuscript of Rashīd ad-Dīn's *Compendium of Histories* show that the elongated box was the one used in the presence of the emperor holding court. Independent confirmation is provided by two figurative scenes on a basin which was probably made in the Mamluk sultanate in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century (fig. 18).[53] D. S. Rice, who published the basin, referring



Fig. 18. *Baptistère de Saint-Louis,* detail of a roundel with a ruler flanked by the *amīr dawādār* carrying a state inkwell and the *amīr silāh* holding a sword by the tip of the blade, Paris, Louvre (photo from Rice [Paris, 1953]).

to it by its nineteenth-century name, "Le Baptistère de Saint Louis," dealt with the purely descriptive aspects and the historical context. He did not consider the symbolism which is borrowed from the Iranian world.

The basin visually celebrates the ruler, whoever may have been meant, as the king of the universe. In the long panels on the sides, standing figures form a procession. Warriors holding up their arms and leading prisoners alternate with hunters bringing back game.[54] In the four roundels isolating the panels, the ruler performs feats that could be those of Bahrām Gūr.[55] In one he spears a dragon; in the next, he kills a lion; and in the third roundel, he appears with his Iranian-style bull-headed mace resting on his shoulder. In the fourth roundel, the ruler draws his bow at some invisible prey, presumably a wild ass, at which his cheetah leaps.

On the lip of the basin, horsemen engaged in fighting alternate with mounted hunters pursuing game, thus illustrating the action of which the conclusion appears on the sides.[56] Two roundels filled with formal patterns and two roundels enclosing figural scenes alternately separate the long panels. The figurative scenes both show the king enthroned, goblet in hand (fig. 18). He is flanked on one side by the *Amīr Silāḥ* submissively holding up his sword by the tip of the blade and, on the other side, by the *Amīr Dawādār* holding up an inkwell. Two lions seated on their hind legs below the throne are the lions that were chained



Fig. 19. *State inkwell-and-pencase*, top view with the dedication inscribed to the name of the Vizier Majd al-Mulk Sharaf ad-Dīn, by Shādhī in 607/1210–1211, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art (figures 19 and 20a photos: courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Acc. no. 36.7).



Fig. 20a. Side view of Figure 19, with the signature of the painter/designer Shādhī.

to the throne according to an ancient Iranian tradition recorded in the *Shāh-Nāme.* Lightly incised on the inkwell-and-pencase is the word *dawāt.* This is the only object so identified in the two scenes: the calligraphic friezes on the back of the throne and on the rim of the royal goblet carry only the artist's signing formula "made by Ibn az-Zayn." The identification of the inkwell-and-pencase by inscription further emphasizes the importance of the object as an instrument of public office.

One such state inkwell, inscribed to the name of a "Vizier of Khorasan," has come down to us and is now in the Freer Gallery of Art. The piece has been known since 1936 when Ernst Herzfeld described it (figs. 19–20).[57] The lid carries the name of a vizier introduced by a string of eulogies and titles written in cursive lettering. The minister, Majd al- Mulk Sharaf ad-Dīn al Muẓaffar, is mentioned briefly by the Syrian geographer Yāqūt who spent many years in Marv in central Khorasan. In his geographical dictionary, the *Muᶜjam al-Buldān,* Yāqūt notes in the entry dealing with a Marv a series of libraries including one set up by "Majd al-Mulk . . . one of the viziers of modern times" (*wa khizāna li Majd al-Mulk aḥad al-wuzarā'al muta'akhkhirīn*).[58] *"Majd al-Mulk"* ("Glory of the kingdom") is a eulogistic name frequently given to viziers that would hardly identify by itself the historic character designated on the inkwell. Fortunately he is fully named, as Herzfeld found out, by ᶜAṭā Malek Joveynī, the famous minister and historian, in the *Tārīkh-e Jahāngoshā,* "The History of the World Conqueror": "Majd ol-Molk Sharaf ad-Dīn Moẓaffar was removed from the ministerial government by Sultan Moḥammad because of a crime that his uncle had confessed to."[59] The ruler mentioned here is ᶜAlā ad-Dīn Muhammad Khʷārazmshāh who ruled over the large province of Khorasan and eventually made a bid to control the whole of Iran before being crushed by the advancing Mongol armies.[60]

Joveynī's account, our main source on the period, says little about the vizier's career except for his attempts to rally several Khorasan towns against the Mongol invaders while the sultan had retreated to the Indian borderlands. The date of the vizier's appointment is not recorded anywhere. But it is established by the inkwell-and-pencase which is dated 607/25 June 1210–14 June 1211: this is a "state inkwell" and state inkwells were executed on the occasion of the vizier's investiture.

The inscriptions were transcribed by Herzfeld with some minor mistakes and one omission.[61] The first and longest consists of an invocation or *doᶜā'* calling God's favors on "its owner," as it says, whose names and titles are supplied separately in a cursive calligraphic band on the lid so as to be instantly apparent to the viewer holding it up or looking down at it (fig. 19).

> Might, favorable destiny, good fortune, spiritual integrity, spiritual immunity, contentment, prophetic intercession, victory and victoriousness, vision of God, thankfulness and gratitude, divine favor, spiritual endurance, tranquillity, compassion, vision of God, fullness (of God's bounty), piety, constancy, divine requital, access to external life shall lastingly belong to its owner. . . .
>
> . . . His most glorious Excellency, great, knowledgeable, equitable, supported [by heaven], triumphant, victorious Majd al-Mulk [Glory of the Kingdom] Sharaf ad-*Dawla wa'd*-Dīn [honor of the state and of religion], succor of Islam and of Muslims, the one elected by Kings and by Sultans, Light of the (religious) community, resplendence of the Islamic nation, model to the mighty and to his

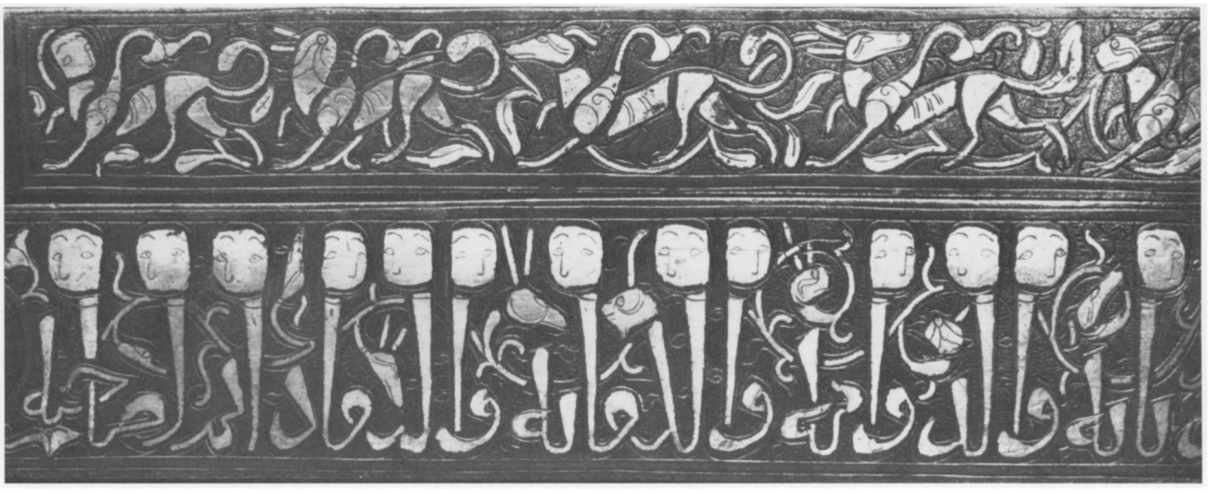


Fig. 20b. Side view of Figure 19, with invocation.

peers, pillar of the firmament, lord of the Viziers, King of deputies, the one endowed with felicities, Minister of Iran, Excellency and ordainer of Khorāsān, al Muẓaffar son of his late Excellency Majd al-Mulk, may God increase his prestige.

Brief as it is, the dedicatory inscription to Sharaf ad-Dīn al Muẓaffar is a major historical document. It shows that the kings known as the Kh^{w}ārazmshāh, literally "the Shāhs of Kh^{w}ārazm," saw themselves as the kings of Khorasan: the vizier is called "the Excellency [prime minister] of Khorāsān." He is also described as "the minister of Iran," demonstrating that the attempts to control the whole of Iran made by the sultan in the following years conformed to a deliberate policy. Finally, the vizier was the son of the previous vizier who carried the same eulogistic name, Majd al-Mulk, pointing to a vizierial dynasty of which there are other cases in the history of Iran. The solemnity of the occasion for which the piece was executed is stressed by the signing and dating of the piece consigned in a superb calligraphic band between the two clasps on the back side of the lid:

عمل شاذى النقّاش / في شهور سنة سبع وستمايه

Made by Shādhī the painter-designer / In the months of the year six hundred and seven

The inscription is in the angular script of the so-called Kufic type which is used at that period in monumental dating inscriptions. It is inserted between the two bands of winged quadrupeds, the "wonderful created beings" which signify the world. On the lid, the scrolling design with animal heads is a stylization of the Talking Tree encountered by Eskandar in the ultimate stages of his quest for the source of life. The motif conjures up the theme of Alexander with its twin connotations of universal rule and search for esoteric knowledge: it may thus be seen as a pictogramic rendition of the theme dealt with more explicitly in the Persian verses on the early sixteenth-century inkwell-and-pencase in London discussed above (fig. 17). The esoteric motif is echoed by the bird heads terminating some of the letters in the signing and dating formulae: the language of the birds understood by the King Prophet Sulaymān (Solomon) according to the Koran is an allegory for esoteric discourse. More specifically, the hoopoe head terminating the final *yā* in the artist's name Shādhī suggests possible Sufi undertones: the hoopoe is the initiator of the birds in *Sheykh,* Farīd od-Din ᶜAṭṭār's famous allegory "The Stations of the Birds," better known as "The Discourse of the Birds."[62] The Freer inkwell-and-pencase was made *en suite* with a portable inkwell-and-pencase designed by the same artist (figs. 21–22).[63] It is signed on the lid in a band which lies horizontally when the lid is in place. The inscription is in the same Kufic script found on the "state inkwell" in the Freer Gallery. The signature is in Persian, not Arabic, possibly because the object was intended for personal use: *ᶜamal-e Shādhī naqqāsh* "made by Shādhī, the painter-designer." Below is the same Talking Tree that appears on the lid of the Freer inkwell. On the sides is an invocation or *duᶜā'* written in the same highly characteristic cursive script, with human faces terminating most shafts. The first four wishes are given in the same order. The uncommon word, *ziyāda,* "perception of God," which is seen on the Freer inkwell, also occurs on the portable piece.[64] In short, all the indications are that the "state inkwell" and the portable inkwell were conceived and executed at the same time.

So was a third object.[65] This is a container again decorated with the Talking Tree motif on its flat top and signed by Shādhī in a cartouche across the flat top. Here the signature is given in full:

عمل شاذي النقاش الهروي



Fig. 21. *Portable Inkwell-and-Pencase* designed *en suite* with figure 19, detail of signature and talking tree.

Made by Shādhī the Herat painter-designer

If the object was used for holding a scented unguent, and was a *ghāliyedān,* as seems probable, its function is not related to writing. But neither is the throne in the miniature discussed above (fig. 1) which is decorated with the same pattern as the inkwell lying on the ground only a few steps away.

The miniature and the three silver-inlaid bronzes designed by Shādhī indicate that sets of objects including state inkwells were commissioned by sultans and viziers on their assumption of power. Those commissions were entrusted to a single workshop, presumably the royal atelier, and were decorated with matching patterns. The prominence given to Shādhī's signature on all three pieces is remarkable, and implies that the powerful of the day held this signature in very high regard.

On the inkwell in the Freer Gallery (figs. 19–20), the theme of world domination is expressed both in the eulogistic titles in the dedicatory inscription and in the Talking Tree pattern. On the portable inkwell (figs. 21–22) the theme is suggested by the unusual wording of the brief *duʿā'* on the side opposite to the one carrying the signature. This reads, in Arabic, *bi'l yumn wa' d-daw* [*la*], "with bliss and good fortune." The usual formula of the period is *bi'l yumn wa'l baraka,* "with bliss and divine grace." *Dawla* has been chosen because its alternative meaning allows a punning allusion to "state/government." Such discreetness is probably explained by the fact that the vizier did not enjoy the same degree of authority as a sultan.

In contrast to the vizierial inkwells, the theme of world domination is given considerable emphasis on royal inkwells, whether portable or not. Of these, two remarkable examples have come down to us, one formerly preserved in the Marquet de Vasselot collection and the other now in The Walters Art Gallery.

Of the two, the Marquet de Vasselot specimen (fig. 23)

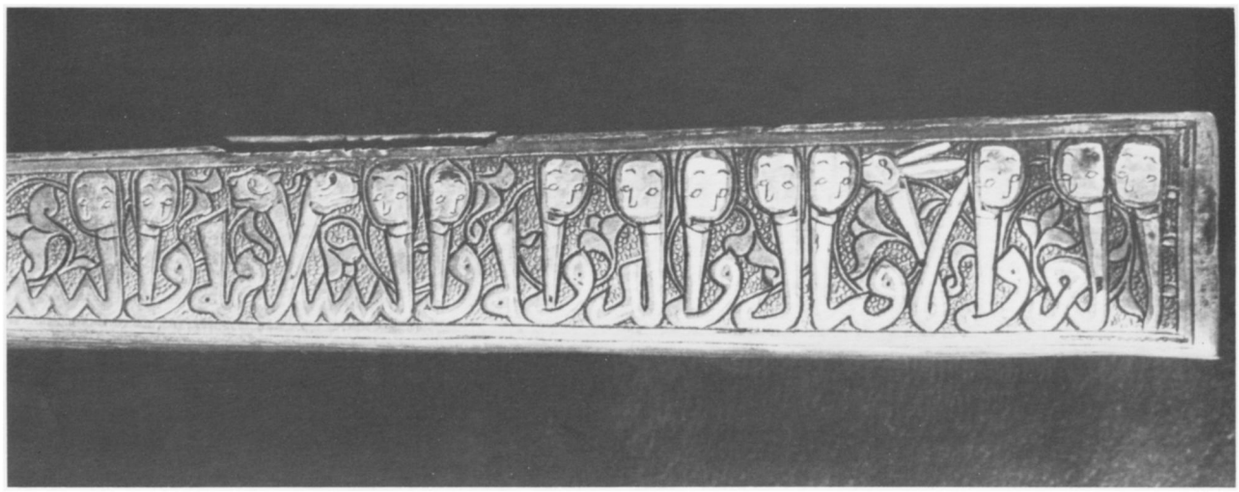


Fig. 22a. Detail of figure 21, the invocation on the side.



Fig. 22b. Detail of figure 21.

is the more complete and allows us to reconstruct the original appearance of the Walters example.[66] Datable to the early thirteenth century on the basis of epigraphy and ornament, it is the earliest royal portable inkwell-and-pencase in existence.

Constructed in ths same way as Shādhī's piece, it retains the hinging trapezoidal plate that covers the inkwell compartment at the top. The only piece missing is the circular lid to the inkwell itself, of which the location in the hinging plate is now indicated by the circular opening. The division between the inkwell compartment and the long pencase that prolongs it is emphasized by the projecting hinge. Just under the hinging, at the top of the pencase cover, a panel encloses the artist's signature. The inscription is difficult to make out from the photograph printed in the Survey of Persian Art but seems to read:

عمل يوسف بن يعقوب لا

Made by Yūsuf b. Yaᶜqūb L-A

On the reverse side two cartouches, one at the top, the other two-thirds of the way down, enclose this brief *duᶜā': al ᶜizz ad-dā' im,* "lasting might," and in the bottom cartouche, *al baraka,* "divine grace." These inscriptions yield no evidence identifying the patron's status. Fortunately, the figurative scenes offer some assistance.

The first clue appears on the hinging plate covering the inkwell compartment. Under the circular opening, a miniature scene represents a king enthroned, goblet in hand. At left, the master of the hunt (*Mīr-e Shekār*) holds his bow in his left hand and an arrow pointed down in his right. At right, the master of the armories (*Mīr-e Selāh*) deferentially raises a sword by the tip of the blade. A large moon crescent dangling from the quillons can be identified by comparison with miniature painting.[67] Beneath is a horizontal strip which signifies the platform of the throne: the two confronted animals represent the lions chained to the

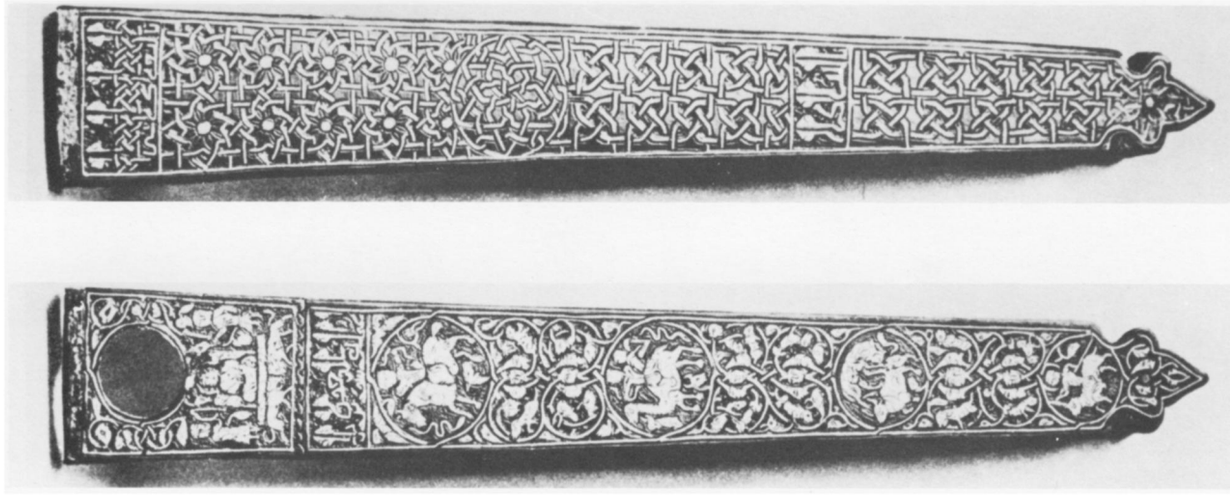


Fig. 23. *Portable Inkwell-and-Pencase* by Yusuf b. Yaᶜ qūb, formerly Marquet de Vasselot Collection.



Fig. 24. *Portable Inkwell-and-Pencase,* Western Iran, Brass Inlaid with Silver and Gold, late 13th century, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.509.



Figs. 25a-c. Details of Figure 24 showing a royal hunt running under the arch of heaven represented by the trilobate arch, and two parakeets.

throne.[68] Here is the archetypal image of the king of the world holding court.

Below the signature cartouche, four roundels celebrate the king's feats. At the top he is shown as a mounted hunter loosing his arrow at an invisible prey. An onager's head rising at the bottom of the cartouche from the tip of a palmette signifies that he is hunting onagers. This is Bahrām Gūr, "Bahrām Gūr of the Onager," the archetypal royal hunter in Persian literature. In the roundel below, Bahrām Gūr and his beautiful Byzantine lover, Āzāde, who is plucking a harp, are seen riding a camel. Bahrām Gūr is about to shoot at a gazelle which is simply represented by a bust in the manner of a late Sasanian seal effigy.[69] The second gazelle mentioned in Ferdowsī and Neẓāmī's account is also depicted, in the form of a gazelle head rising from the bottom of the cartouche. In the third roundel is the age-old royal emblem of the lion downing a bull, seen from the Achaemenid period in the sixth century B.C. to the end of Qajar times in the early twentieth century.[70] In the fourth and last roundel a warrior with spear in hand, rides an animal of uncertain ilk. Its interpretation must be deferred for the present: if a goat, the animal could be a zodiac sign (perhaps Capricorn?) or a constellation.

All the scenes on the theme of Bahrām Gūr celebrate the king as the "Bahrām Gūr of our time." This eulogistic title is often expressed in panegyrics to rulers who claimed



Fig. 25c.

descent from the Sasanian dynasty through their supposed ancestor Bahrām Gūr. By the late twelfth century, such claims were made by the Shirvānshāhs, the kings of Shirvān (present-day northen Āẕarbāyjān occupied by Russia in 1828). The poet Khāqānī writes, for example, in praise of Abo'l Moẓaffar Akhsatān (meter: *moteqāreb*):

سر آل بهرام کز بهر تیغش سر تیغ بهرام افسان نماید

Head of the House of Bahrām who, regarding his sword,
Makes the tip of the legendary Bahrām's sword to appear[71]

The style of the portable royal inkwell-and-pencase from the Marquet de Vasselot collection is unusual. The object is the product of a school otherwise unknown to us which may have been located in northwestern Iran, perhaps in Shirvān or Āẕarbāyjān.

The Walters Art Gallery object, probably executed at the turn of the fourteenth century, could hardly form a greater contrast (figs. 24–28).[72] Yet its decorative program bears a fundamental analogy to that of the previous example as well as to those of Shādhī's portable pencase-and-inkwells. The similarity indicates a set tradition in Iran for the imagery and calligraphy of royal inkwells irrespective of regional styles. The shape remains essentially the same, the only difference lying in the trilobate extremity (fig. 24). The hinged trapezoidal lid that once covered the inkwell compartment has been replaced by a device in late nineteenth-early twentieth-century style which should be ignored. In front of a running hunter, a horseman in full gallop is about to loose his arrow at a leaping feline (fig. 25a and 25b). Another hunter galloping ahead brings down his curving sword, looking back as he does. The shooting horseman wears the same gold-inlaid cap, in Persian *zarrīn kolāh,* as the horseman on the tower-shaped inkwell in Figures 14–15. The cap identifies him as a court personage. The second scene shows a mounted horseman wearing a wide-brimmed Mongol cap who is hunting gazelles. As he bends forward over the neck of his steed his right hand reaches for an arrow in his quiver while his left holds a bow pointed downward in preparation for action.

Both scenes illustrate archetypal royal hunts. The first one is the heroic hunt. The king is portrayed as defeating the king of animals. *Shīrawzhan,* "felling lions," and *shīrgīr* "overpowering lions" are royal epithets in the *Shāh-Nāme:* "I am he who fells lions and distributes crowns," Rostam boasts to the grandees after killing Tūs in single combat.[73] The symbolism is rooted in the pre-Islamic past of Iran: a number of Sasanian silver dishes represent various kings hunting lions.[74] The second hunt, involving gazelles, is the pleasure hunt and is also a common theme familiar from Sasanian times on.[75] The association of the two hunting scenes suggests a royal connection.

The theme of the arch of heaven (fig. 25 C), illustrated at the end of the panel, strengthens the assumption. In the Persian repertory the arch of heaven is a metaphorical designation of the celestial sphere, i.e., the world.[76] The royal hunt runs into it, or rather under it, signifying that the world is the hunting field of the king, another standard literary cliché. The two parakeets on either side of the arch introduce a distinctly esoteric note. In Sufi symbolism, the parrot, of which the parakeet is a small, long-tailed subspecies, are birds of penetrating intellect apt at initiating: "I am the Kheżer of birds," the parrot declares in ᶜAṭṭār's allegory "The Discourse of Birds" in reference to Kheżer, Alexander's initiator and guide to the fountain of life.[77] The talking parrot is in particular the symbol of the Sufi's sweet-tongued utterances. In the twelfth century, Shomālī Dehestānī writes (meter: *możāreᶜ*):

طوطی ز بان گشاده چو صوفی بوقت حال
تا بر فکند باغ چو ابدال طیلسان

The parrot releasing his speech like a Sufi in a spiritual state
Until the garden throws back, like the Abdāl, it shanging sleeves[78]

Perched on the dome of the world, the two parakeets visually convey an idea expressed in poetry. It occurs in a panegyric to a vizier by the fourteenth-century Sufi poet Khʷājū Kermānī (meter: *możāreᶜ*):

بگاه مدح تو طوطی طبع من
بسا شکر که بصحن جهان فرو ریزد

When singing your praise, the parrot of my nature, every moment,
Pours out much sweetness over the arena of the world[79]

The Sufi symbol gives a special connotation to the text inscribed on the sides of the portable inkwell while firmly establishing its identification as a state inkwell.

The calligraphy on the underside is in knotted and floriated Kufic script. It is clearly from a master's hand (figs. 26–27). Stylistically, the script calls for comparison with some fourteenth-century monumental inscriptions in Khorasan and ᶜErāq, the large province including Rey near present-day Tehran and Isfahan. Close parallels are offered by a wood door in the shrine at Torbat-e Shaykh-e Jām and a frieze carved in stucco in the Masjed-e Jāmeᶜ in Isfahan.[80]

The two lines in Arabic spell out maxims in the manner of the Mirror of Princes genre. The lack of diacritical signs which characterizes all such inscriptions leaves doubt concerning some words. The letters *alif-nūn* (A/I-N), for example, may be read as *in,* "if," or *inna,* "verily." The group W-Ḍ-ᶜ-Y/T can be read as a verbal form (*waḍaᶜtahu*), or a noun (*waḍᶜatuhu* or *waḍᶜiyat*) and so on. While uncertainty will remain concerning the exact rendering as long as



Fig. 26. Another view of Figure 24, side with Arabic maxim in knotted and floriated Kufic script.

the quotation is not traced to its source, there is little doubt about its broader meaning. I tentatively submit (fig. 26):

دولتك عال لا مال إنْ وضعية لها تام الناس من كلّ موضع

> Your government shall rise without declining if it has for its basis the largest number of people from every place.

ما هي الا مدّة يستمدّ وفد قاصد الارزاق من كلّ مجمع

> It is nothing but a measure of ink to which a crowd in search of subsistence from every tray helps itself (fig. 27)

The direct reference to "government," *dawla,* leaves no doubt that this is a statesman's personal inkwell-and-pencase. The word is used here with the same meaning as in the set formula which introduces dedicatory inscriptions: *fī ayyām al-dawla as-sulṭān,* "in the days of the government, of the sultan. . . ."[81] Coupled with the theme of the royal hunt, the reference to "government" makes it highly probable that the object was intended for an imperial patron.

The maxims with their rasping irony aimed at human greed and the vanity of power, and their implicit advocacy of detachment and asceticism, reflect the strong Sufi influence on ruling circles at that time. A similar invitation to remember the limitations of worldly glory is expressed, for example, on the luster-painted tile revetment in the palace restored at Takht-e Soleymān by the Mongol emperor Abaqā Khān (1265–1281); among the verses from the *Shāh-Nāme* calligraphed on the tiles are those in which the Hindu ascetics remind Alexander that all men are born naked, i.e., equal and destitute.[82]

Similar Sufi influence may be reflected on the underside of the inkwell in a brief *duᶜā'* splendidly calligraphed in foliated Kufic (fig. 28). It seems to read *al-ᶜizz/al birr wa'l k-m,* "might/piety/k-m." The first wish is traced in such a way that if one considers the upper stroke alone, ignoring both the stroke underneath and the inverted triangle in the middle part of the lettering, the reading is: *ᶜizz,* "might." If one takes into account the lower stroke only, the reading is: *birr,* "piety." The second group of letters is probably a compound word coined in the manner described in "The Rubies of Sciences" [*Yavāqīt al-ᶜOlūm*], a twelfth-century encyclopaedia.[83] *Kāf* (K) is short for *karam* and *mīm* (M) for *niᶜam.* The group *kāf-mīm* could alternatively be seen as an abbreviated spelling of *karam.* Either way, the inscription alludes to the portable inkwell-and-pencase as "the inkwell of might and generosity," thereby recalling the small inkwell in Figures 14–16 which is inscribed with Arabic verses carrying the same meaning. In both instances, the word betrays Sufi influence; *Karam* is a key ethical notion of Sufism. In his *Biographies of the Friends of God [Taẕkerat al-Awliyā'],* ᶜAṭṭār submits the following definition given by one of the towering figures of early Sufism, Abū Ḥafs-e Soghdī:

کَرَم : انداختن دنیا است برای کسی که به آن محتاج است و روی آوردن به فدای تعالی به سبب احتیاجی که تو را است به حق

> *Karam:* to renounce the world for someone who needs it and to turn to God the Exalted on account of the need that you have for God.[84]

Vāᶜeż Kāshefī writes in his classic treatise, the *Fotovvat Nāme-ye Soltānī,* that *karam* is one of three fundamental principles (*aṣl*) of the (Sufi) Way, (*ṭarīqat*).[85]

The portable inkwell-and-pencase in The Walters Art Gallery (figs. 24–28) and the tower-shaped inkwell-and-pencase sold at Sotheby's in 1985 (figs. 14–16) are related. The connection which is suggested by the faint Sufi imprint on both is more readily apparent in the figurative panels. The monumental composition is set off against the same scrolling ground. The rendering of haloes framing faces as a circle inlaid with silver is identical: see the running man in Figure 25a, the horseman in Figure 25b and the horsemen in Figure 15. The detailed handling of the horses is very similar: compare, for example, the first horse from the left in Figure 24 and the horse head in Figure 15. The connection is borne out by the formal ornament on the underside of the tower-shaped inkwell (fig. 29) and that on the underside of the portable inkwell in Baltimore (fig. 28). The rosette enclosing interconnecting half palmettes in Figure 29 is superimposed over the same geometrical repeat pattern in the same way as in Figure 28. The same six-petal flowers, or sun rosettes, simply circled by one fillet appear on both.

Finally, gold inlay is used in the same way on both objects to emphasize details of a princely character. On the Baltimore piece, the running man at far left (fig. 25a) wears



Fig. 27. Another view of Figure 24, opposite side with second Arabic maxim.



Fig. 28. Another view of Figure 24, underside.

a tunic fastened by a gold-inlaid belt. Similar gold belts are worn by the warriors on the London tower-shaped piece (figs. 15–16). The horseman drawing his bow on the Baltimore piece (fig. 25a) wears a gold-inlaid headdress or *kolāh* resembling closely those of the horsemen on the London inkwell. The hunter turning back to strike the leaping lion on the Baltimore portable inkwell (fig. 25b) wears a gold turban like the third horseman on the London object.

The gap in time and space, if any, must have been a narrow one. Both objects may be ascribed to western Iran, probably to the imperial atelier of the first Muslim Mongol Īlkhāns. This attribution would locate the workshop in Tabriz in Āẕarbāyjān, the northwestern province of Iran. Mere circumstantial evidence, however, cannot be held as proof. The question of regional provenance must be left open until further comparative material comes to light.

Designed by equally accomplished painter-designers [*naqqāsh*], the tower-shaped inkwell-and-pencase sold at auction, and the Baltimore example (figs. 24–28) bear witness to the existence of a royal style of painting that is known to us only through engraved and inlaid scenes on metal objects. The aesthetics of this style show no sign of Chinese influence for the only indication of any Far Eastern connection in the Walters inkwell is confined to the Mongol wide-brimmed hat (fig. 24). In other words it concerns costume, not art itself. There is no Chinese element at all on the tower-shaped inkwell of Figures 14, 15, and 16. Indeed, the figural style of the two inkwells heralds the later school of Fars which is likewise devoid of Far Eastern influence: there is not a great deal of difference between the horseman fighting on the tower-shaped inkwell (figs. 14–16) and the hunters and fighters on the bowl in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyon, dated 748/August 1347.[86] The existence in the North West of a style untouched by Far Eastern influence around the turn of the fourteenth century suggests that trends in Iranian imperial ateliers, where the art of the book was cultivated and where metal objects were undoubtedly designed, were of greater complexity than has been hitherto assumed. At the same time, the perfection of the calligraphy on the Walters inkwell indicates that within the same ateliers there was an intimate link between figurative image [*taṣvīr*], formal design [*taẕhīb*], and writing [*ketābat*]. This suggests that the state of affairs that is well-documented for the fifteenth century prevailed as early as the beginning of the fourteenth.



Fig. 29. Another view of Figure 14, underside.

The continuity of the literary and visual themes from late twelfth-century Khorasan inkwells to western Iranian examples produced under the ĪlKhāns emphasizes the permanence of the symbolism attached to the state inkwell. The wish of might and victory expressed in Arabic verses on the Baltimore domed inkwell by Maḥmūd b. Abū Sahl (figs. 3–6) is echoed in the phrase "the inkwell of might" inscribed in gold lettering on the inkwell sold in London (figs. 14–16, 29). The royal hunt theme illustrated on early Khorasan inkwells (figs. 7, 7b) recurs on the portable Baltimore inkwell-and-pencase (figs. 24–28) just as the fighting [*razm*] scenes on Khorasan inkwells reappear on the tower-shaped inkwell sold in London. All these themes celebrate kings, princes, and their grand viziers as masters of the sword and pen. The image of the pen is physically present in the object or is at least made implicit by its function, and the image of the sword is supplied in literary and visual form.

While the paucity of evidence discourages unqualified assertions, one receives the distinct impression that images served as talking symbols. These images prevailed in the earlier period, although the Baltimore inkwell proves that purely literary images, to the exclusion of any figurative scenes, occasionally served the purpose. By the early Safavid period, however, the reverse situation prevailed in the expression of symbolism: figurative scenes gave way to texts on inkwells as on other types of metalwork. On the three inkwell-and-pencases commissioned by Shāh Ismaʿīl, the notion of the state inkwell is conveyed in words, and the theme of victory over the enemy is directly expressed in Persian verses, but visual symbols other than those relating to the celestial dome are lacking.

It is much to be regretted that not one gold inkwell-and-pencase such as those mentioned by Ebn Hendūshāh in the early fourteenth century or by Eskandar Bēg Monshī in the early seventeenth century has come to us. We may never know what the most formal instruments of government handed over to kings or even grand viziers on their accessions to power looked like. We can, however, recognize as "state inkwells" employed in daily government business the silver-inlaid objects made of bronze and quaternary alloys which celebrate by word and image the ruler's power or, more precisely, his government.

NOTES

A Note on the transcription.

The transcription used, purely for convenience, in this essay is that adopted in the author's *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World* (see note 21 below). It is aimed at historians who in their majority will not be acquainted with the peculiar and unpronouncable transliteration system used in Orientalist linguistics.

1. J. Mohl, *Le Livre des rois* (Persian text and French translation, often unreliable. References are to the Persian text only) (Paris, 1836–78), 7 vols., hereafter, *Shāh-Nāme,* Paris. On the date of the *Shāh-Nāme,* see E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia* (Cambridge, reprint 1977), II, 133. Beyhaqī, *Tārīkh-e Beyhaqī,* ed. Adīb Pishāvarī, (Tehran, 1305–7/1887–9), hereafter, *Tārīkh-e Beyhaqī.*

2. *Shāh-Nāme,* Paris, VII, 120, 1. 1392–1393. Writing on silk is often mentioned in early literature. *Chīn* in the *Shāh-Nāme* and early Persian literature refers to Turkistan, not China as I have indicated previously. See my forthcoming " The Turks of Chīn."

3. *Shāh-Nāme,* Paris, VII, 78, 1. 899–901.

4. C. Schefer ed., *Siasset Namèh* (Persian text) (Paris, 1891), 153; reprint with footnotes M. Qazvīnī, ed. M. Modarresī, *Siyāsat-Nāme* (Tehran, 2537sh./1978), 196.

5. *Tārīkh-e Beyhaqī,* 374.

6. *Ibid.,* 377. *Khaṭṭ-e ʿālī,* literally "sublime script," could refer to a style of court script: compare Ferdowsī's *Khaṭṭ-e Khosrowī,* "royal script."

7. *Adīb* Ṣāber Termeẕī, *Dīvān,* ed. A. Qavīm, (Tehran 1331/1952), 306. The piece was considered a classic as is demonstrated by its inclusion in the famous biographical dictionary and anthology compiled by Moḥammad ʿOwfī in the early 13th century, the *Lobāb ol-Albāb,* ed. E.G. Browne (London-Leide, 1903) 2 volumes, II, 124.

8. ʿAbd ol-Vāṣeʿ Jabalī, *Dīvān,* ed. *Z.* Ṣafā (Tehran, 1339/1906), 273. The *ṭughrā* is the royal signature formally calligraphed. G. Doerfer, *Turkische und mongolische Elemente im neupersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 3 volumes, II, 342, quotes the eleventh-century lexicographer Maḥmūd Kāshgarī's remark, "I do not know its etymology," and concludes by tentatively suggesting that *ṭughrā* could be a loanword from some non-Turkish culture as seems, indeed, highly probable.

9. Moḥammad b. Hendūshāh Nakhjavānī, *Dastūr al-Kātib fī Taʿyīn al-Marātib,* ed. A. ʿAlīughlī ʿAlīzāde (Moscow, 1976), II, 76.

10. Eskandar Bēg Torkamān (known in literature as Monshī) *Tārīkh-e ʿĀlamārā-ye ʿAbbāsī,* ed. I. Afshar (Tehran, 1350/1971), II, 1092.

11. On the *Davātkhāne,* see A. A. Dehkhodā, *Loghatnāme* (Tehran, 1926–78), fascicle *dash-del,* number 181, 297–298 hereafter, *Loghatnāme.*

12. On the *Davātdār,* see *Ibid.*

13. D. T. Rice and B. Gray, *The Illustrations to the "World History" of Rashid al-Din* (Edinburgh, 1976), 46, pl. 4; hereafter, D. T. Rice and B. Gray.

14. The most common symbol of the office held by the Master of the Armories is the bow. This is established as early as the mid-twelfth century by this line by Mojīr Beylaqānī: "You know that the sky is your Mīr-e Selāḥ because in its hand—The moon is at times like a shield and at others like a bow," *Dīvān-e Mojīr ad-Dīn Beylaqānī,* ed. M. Ābādī (Tabriz, 1358/1979), 96.

15. D. T. Rice and B. Gray, 170, pl. 66.

16. *Ibid.,* 70, pl. 16.

17. C. K. Wilkinson, "The Glazed Pottery of Nishapur and Samarkand," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* 20 (1961), 105, fig. 6. Note the unique pointed arch ground plan of the four apses of which no actual monumental instance survives. See also: "Christian Remains from Nishapur," in O. Aslanapa and R. Nauman, eds., *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens* (Istanbul, 1969), 80, fig. 1.

18. See "Description of the Excavations," in C. K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur* (New York, 1973), XXVIII-XL.

19. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Islamic Metalwork as a Source on Cultural History," *Arts of the Islamic World,* 1, (Winter, 1982/83), 43, fig. 12.

20. Cast bronze; height 10.9 cm; diameter of underside, excluding projections, 7.8 cm. Reproduced in Sotheby's *Works of Art, Carpets, Textiles,* 16 April 1985 (sale catalogue), hereafter, Sotheby's, 16 April 1985. This inkwell was photographed by the author in 1978; it was then in the possession of Ḥāj Farmān of Tehran who had bought it from the Herat trade.

21. On celestial metaphors and their visual rendition in metalwork, see A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Conceptual Art in Iranian Painting and Metalwork," *Akten des VII. Internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie* (Berlin, 1979), 392-400; *idem,* "The Aesthetics of Islam," *Treasures of Islam* (Geneva, 1985), especially 23-24.

22. The early thirteenth-century inkwell from Khorasan is fully published in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork from the Iranian World,* (London, 1982), 104, hereafter, Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork.*

23. Kāmāl Eṣfahānī, *Dīvān-e khallāq ol-ma*^{c}*ānī Abo' l Faẓl Kamāl ad-Dīn Esma*^{c}*il Eṣfahānī,* ed. H. Baḥr ol-^{c}Olūmī (Tehran, 1348/1969), 587-88, hereafter, Kāmāl Eṣfahānī. The editor works out Kamāl's probable birth date to ca. 568/1172-73. The poet was killed during the massive holocaust perpetrated by the Mongol invaders in 633 (preface xc-xci).

24. This could well be an inkwell-and-pencase of the elongated box type illustrated further. The same symbols appear on both types.

25. Inv. no. 54.514; height 10.2 cm.; diameter at base 7.9 cm. R. Ettinghausen, "The Bobrinski 'Kettle,' Patron and Style of an Islamic Bronze," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* (1943), 196, 199, fig. 4. The inkwell was mentioned again by Ettinghausen in "Sasanian and Islamic Metal-work in Baltimore," *Apollo,* 84 (1966), 466, and reproduced 468, fig. 9, with a caption stating that it was "made" by Muhammad ibn Abi Sahl of Herat. Such signatures actually refer to designers, not bronze-makers.

26. It occurs on the candlestick no. 40 preserved in the Mūze-ye Pārs at Shīrāz; on the Louvre domed casket AM 3355 with chamfered sides of the same type as The Walters Art Gallery's; on the Louvre candlestick AM 7880-115. Full inscriptions on three items published in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Nouvelles remarques sur l'école du Fars," *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais,* (1971, 3), 387-91, hereafter, "Nouvelles remarques." Further examples, all royal albeit anonymous, in *idem, Islamic Metalwork,* 154-55, note 50 (Fars bowl, private collection, London); 156, note 67 giving complete transcription of the Konya bowl cover dedicated to the Muzaffarid prince Shāh Solṭān (these form a given name or *shohrat*). The verse also appears, without any other inscription, on a Fars bowl decorated with typical royal themes—the king enthroned, flanked by two attendants. He is drinking wine or talking.

27. Numerous examples of *du*^{c}*ās* on Khorasan metalwork will be found in Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork,* chapter II: The Later Khorasan School.

28. J. W. Allan, *Islamic Metalwork: The Nuhad es-Said Collection* (London, 1982), 36-39. The British scholar offers a very personal interpretation of the symbols. It is not based on Persian literature which provides the key with its array of metaphors.

29. *Shāh-Nāme,* Paris, I, 328, 1. 1409.

30. On the use of the metaphor in poetry, historical chronicles and monumental art, see A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le *Shāh-Nāme,* la gnose soufie et le pouvoir mongol, *Journal Asiatique,* 272 (1984, 3-4), 301, hereafter *"Le Shāh-Nāme,"* (note the verse "For that king is, in war, like a male dragon), and 324-25.

31. The most famous work published under that title is by Muḥammad Zakariyā al-Qazwīnī originally composed in Arabic and translated into Persian at an early date. On an anonymous variant in the Paris National Library, see H. Massé, *Le Livre des merveilles du monde,* (Paris, 1944), especially 11-12.

32. Kamāl Eṣfahānī, 585.

33. Aṣīr Akhsīkaṯī, *Dīvān-e Aṣir ad-Dīn Akhsīkaṯī,* ed. R. Homāyūn Farrokh (Tehran, 1337/1958), 93. Another image is that of the royal hawk pouncing on the celestial sheep, *ibid.,* 94.

34. Walters Art Gallery inv. no. 54.515, published in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Les Bronzes du Khorassan-V," *Studia Iranica* 6 (Paris, 1977), 189-191. Reproduced pl. Vb, VI. I suggested in 1977 that the horseman might be Bahrām Gūr. The kind of "dragon" slain by him comes closest to the mythical beast described in the *Shāh-Nāme* VI 42 ("He saw a dragon like a male lion-Its head covered by hair rising as high as him-Its chest with two breasts like those of women"). To this argument, I would now add that two gazelle heads rising from stalks in the manner of "animated scrollwork" appear at left, over the horse's raised frontleg, and under its belly. They are probably pictogramic allusions to Bahrām Gūr's feat in the hunting field when accompanied by the beautiful Āzāde.

35. For example, see Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Shāh-Nāme," 294-95.

36. Mojīr Bilaqānī, *Dīvān-e Mojīr ad-Dīn Bilaqānī/Beylaqānī,* ed. Dr. M. Ābādi, (Tabriz, 1358/1979), 350.

37. First reproduced in Sotheby's, 16 April 1986, *Islamic Works of Art, Carpets and Textiles* (London, 1986), 25, nr. 68.

38. For an example of *al-dawla* broken up as *al-d/awla* see the Herat buckler in the Kabul Museum described in Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork,* 82, note 54.

39. D. S. Rice, *The Wade Cup in the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Paris, 1955), 74, fig. 20 (line drawing) and pls. I, II.

40. Sotheby's, 16 April 1985, lot 105. Heigh 5.9 cm; it was acquired in Iran by the owner from whom the vendor in turn bought it. I owe this information to Stephen Wolff of Sotheby's who does not mention the fact in his caption.

41. D. N. Wilber, *The Architecture of Islamic Iran,* (Princeton, 1955), respectively pl. 44, cat. no. 68, and pl. 39, cat. no. 28.

42. Īnjū Shīrāzī, *Farhang-e Jahāngīrī,* ed. R. ^{c}Afīfī, (Mashad, 1351/1972; Tehran, 1353/1975), III, 499, where the phrase is entered as a standard metaphor [*kenāye*] for the sun.

43. E. and R. Naumann, *Takht-i Suleiman* (Munich, 1976), pl. 8A (exhibition catalogue).

44. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork,* 202-207. The long frieze of animals described on page 204 appears at the bottom of the sides inserted between the riverside landscapes on the flat bottom and the five panels of royal scenes illustrating "the return from the hunt."

45. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Roman de Varqe et Golšāh," *Arts Asiatiques,* 22 (1970) hereafter, "Le Roman de Varqe," compare pls. 16, 22, and 36.

46. e. g. *Shāh-Nāme,* Paris, I, 178. However, gold is specifically the color of kings and princes. On Zāl's return Manūchehr gives him presents which include a gold crown [*tāj-e zar*] and a gold belt [*zarrīn kamar*]: I, 234, I, 284. When Key Kā'ūs thinks Siyāvush is ready to be made the heir apparent, he gives him the country of Kāvarshan (Māvarā an-nahr) after having ordered a gold throne, a gold necklace, and a gold belt and having formally granted him his investiture: II, 206.

47. He misread, not without excuse, *midādaka* as *zādaka* which led him to translate "When you open the inkpot, may glory and grace increase for you. . . ." The first line should thus be transcribed (using the transliteration accepted by linguists): *Iḍ fataḥta (-fataḥat) dawāta 'l-*^{c}*izzi wa'l-ni*^{c} *am—Fa ij*^{c}*al midādaka min jūdin wa min karam.*

48. Two (Victoria and Albert Museum 2-1883 and 454-1888) are published and illustrated in Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork,* 283-85. The complete specimen in the Benaki Museum, Athens, was reproduced in A. U. Pope, ed., *A Survey of Persian Art,* (Tokyo, 1964-65), 12 volumes, XII, pl. 1387 A. The inscriptions were left unread at the time as usual in the *Survey.* Those visible in the plate are indentical in layout and content with those on the London inkwells. On the dome is the Persian poem reproduced here, on the "drum," part of the Nādi ^{c}Alī (*tajīd-hu* ^{c}*awnan laka fī'l-nawā'ib*). At the bottom, the end of one hemistich and the beginning of another: *z'īn davāt—Az siyāhī dam. . . .*

49. See the author's forthcoming *Literary Symbols and Their Visual Translation in Iranian Culture.*

50. Kh^{w}ājū Kermānī, *Dīvān-e Kāmel-e Kh^{w}ājū-ye Kermānī,* ed. M. Afshār (Tehran, n.d.), 91.

51. *Shāh-Nāme,* Paris, V, 214-26. Neẓāmī, *Sharaf-Nāme-ye Eskandarī,* ed. V. Dastgherdī (Tehran, n.d.), 493.

52. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Four Pieces of Islamic Metalwork: Some Notes on a Previously Unknown School," *AARP,* 10 (London, December, 1976), 24-30.

53. D. S. Rice, *Le Baptistère de Saint-Louis* (Paris, 1953), pls. 27A and B, hereafter, Rice, *Baptistère.*

54. Rice, *Baptistère,* pls. VI, VII.

55. Rice, *Baptistère,* respectively pls. XXIV and XXV, XXVI and XXVII.

56. Rice, *Baptistère,* pl. XXVIII.

57. E. Herzfeld, "A Bronze Pencase," *Ars Islamica* 3 (1936), 35-43. Inscriptions fully published in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani,' "Les Bronzes du Khorâssân—VII Sāẕī de Herat, ornemaniste," *Studia Iranica* 8, (1979, 2), 230-231, hereafter, "Les Bronzes du Khorâssân—VII."

58. Yāqūt, *Mu^{c}jam al-Buldān,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, (Leipzig, 1866-70), 4, 509.

59. ^{c}Atā Malek Joveynī, *Tārīkh-e Jahāngoshā,* ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad, (Leyden-London, 1912-37, 3 volumes) 1, 119. The editor has opted for the version "Mujir al-Mulk" but notes that three manuscripts have it as Majd al-Mulk, a reading borne out by the inscription on the inkwell-and-pencase.

60. Good summary of his reign by C. E. Bosworth, *The Cambridge History of Iran,* V (Cambridge, 1968), 192-95.

61. See note 57. *Ta^{c}yīd* does not appear in the transcription of the *du^{c}ā,* nor does *riyōḍa,* "spiritual endurance" in its translation.

62. ^{c}Aṭṭār, *Manṭeq ot-Ṭayr ya Maqāmāt ot-Ṭoyūr,* ed. Ṣ. Gowharīn, (Tehran, 2536 sh./1977), 35, begins: "Hail to thee o hoopoe that has become the Guide - That has become the Messenger of Truth/Reality to every riverside." Hereafter, ^{c}Aṭṭār, *Manṭeq ot-Ṭayr.*

63. "Les Bronzes du Khorâssân-VII," pl. III, figs. 2 and 3, pl. IV, fig. 4, pl. V, fig. 8, 225-26, 231, 232. First published in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Les Bronzes du Khorâssân—I," *Studia Iranica,* 3 (1974, 1), fig. 9, pl. XI. I came across the object in Herat, when it was still in the private foundation set up according to Islamic law by its owner, the remarkable ^{c}Aṭā Moḥammad Naqshbandī, then mayor of Herat, to whom I owe the great privilege of having photographed and published the piece in 1974 and 1979.

64. Other instances in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Islamic Metalwork,* 81, note 48 (cover of inkwell); 117C (ewer); 126, no. 55 (bowl).

65. "Les Bronzes du Khorâssân-VII," fig. 5, pl. 1v.

66. *A Survey of Persian Art,* pl. 1317C and D.

67. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le Roman de Varqe,* pl. 10, left and 63 top right; O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History* (Chicago/London, 1980), 85, no. 14; 113, no. 28. These seem to have been metallic crescents to which royal stoles were attached. I hope to discuss the purpose of this elsewhere.

68. This tradition of having lions chained to the royal throne accounts for the hitherto unexplained motif of the two seated lions depicted addorsed below the royal throne in miniature painting down to at least the fourteenth century.

69. Such seal style representations occur on metalwork from Ṭabarestān in northern Iran, done in the Sasanian tradition, probably after the fall of the empire in A.D. 652. See for example the shallow bowl exhibited in America in 1964: [R. Ettinghausen], *7000 Years of Iranian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1965), 156, pl. 500.

70. The best known examples for the Achaemenid period are the basreliefs from Persepolis: R. Ghirshman, *Pers: Proto-Iraniens, Mèdes, Achéménides* (Paris, 1963), 160-165, fold-out showing royal staircase.

71. Khāqanī, *Dīvān,* ed. Ẕ. Sajjādī (Tehran, 1318/1939), 130.

72. Illustrated in the *Survey,* XII, pl. 1333B. Brass inlaid with silver and gold. L. 24.3 cm., Maximum w. 3.6 cm.

73. *Shāh-Nāme,* II, 116, l. 525.

74. See latterly P. O. Harper, *The Royal Hunter* (New York, 1978), 39, fig. 6 (Hormid II), 59, fig. 17B and *idem, Silver Vessels of the Sasanian Period* (New York, 1985), I, 215, pl. 14 discussed p. 60 (Cleveland plate showing Hormizd), 37, pl. 37 (Hermitage, unidentified king), hereafter, Harper, *Silver Vessels.* Other plates which in this writer's opinion are later than the Sasanian period are equally relevant in showing that the royal imagery continued after the fall of the dynasty in areas (e.g., the plate from the Alexander Burnes collection, known from an engraving and a drawing, p. 212; The British Museum, 226, pl. 25 which I date in the late seventh to eighth century A.D.; the Samarqand plate, 231, pl. 30.

75. Harper, *Silver Vessels,* I, 219, pl. 18.

76. The arch of heaven, referring to heaven perceived as a dome, is a standard motif in literature, e.g., Mojīr Beylaqānī, *Dīvān,* 161: "The clamour of trumpets has carried its lament beyond the arch of heaven." (Third line up from the bottom.)

77. ^{c}Aṭṭār, *Manṭeq ol-Ṭayr,* 45, line 807.

78. Quoted by Badr Jājarmī in his anthology composed in 741/1341, *Mo'nes ol-Aḥrār fi Daqāyeq ol-Ash^{c}ār,* ed. ^{c}*Allāme* M. Qazvīnī, (Tehran 1337/1958-1350/1971), 2 volumes, II, 504. On Shomālī Dehestānī's dates, see A. Khayāmpūr, *Farhang-e Sokhanvarān,* (Tabriz, 1340/1961), 304B.

79. Kh^{w}ājū Kermānī, *Dīvān-e Kāmel,* 35. The vizier is Rukn ad-Dīn^{c}Umīd ul-Mulk.

80. The door is to be published by the writer Masjed-e Jāme^{c}, *A Survey of Persian Art,* IX, pl. 532A.

81. As on the Herat brass—quaternary alloy?— water tank or *mirjal:* A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Un Bassin iranien de l'an 1375," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 73, nr. 1200 (1969), 7 (text) and 8, fig. 3 (plate).

82. Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Shāh Nāme," 284, note 28.

83. *Yavāqīt ol^{c}olūm,* ed. M. T. Dāneshpazhūh (Tehran, 1345/1966), 69: compare the analogy of *Taṣawwuf*—each letter glossed as an abbreviation for one word, a type of abbreviation of which the encyclopaedist disapproves—Kushājim, a name, in which *kāf* (K) is short for *kātib, shā* for *shā^{c}ir,* and *-jim* for *munajjim.* There is an entire body of literature in Persian and Arabic on abbreviations, acronyms, and compound words made from sections of nouns, never mentioned by Western art historians, which cannot be considered within the limits of a footnote.

84. *Sheykh* Farīd ad-Dīn ^{c}Aṭṭār Neyshābūrī *Taẕkerat al-Awliyā',* ed. M. Este ^{c}lāmī, (Tehran, 1346/1967), 298.

85. Vā^{c}eẓ Kāshefī, *Fotovvat-Nāme-ye Soltānī,* ed. M. J. Maḥjūb, (Tehran, 1350/1971), 30.

86. The bowl inv. no. E 542-22 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lyon, France, was mentioned in a list of dated pieces in the *Survey,* 6,2552, with the inaccurate location "Palais des Arts" (The Museum is in a building called Palais des Beaux-Arts). It was first published and reproduced in A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "Bassins iraniens du XIVème siècle au Musée des Beaux-Arts," *Bulletin des Musées et Monuments Lyonnais,* 4 (1969, 2), 189-95, and discussed in *idem,* "Nouvelles remarques," 382.

Leonardo and the Second Florentine Republic[1]

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When Leonardo da Vinci returned to Florence in 1500 after an absence of eighteen years in Milan, he was forty-eight years old and at the height of his powers and his reputation.[2] Whether or not he had already written the celebrated passage now enshrined in the first book of the *Trattato della Pittura,* in which he declares the painter to be "lord and god" to create whatever he wishes—not only limitless landscapes of mountains, valleys and sea, but the fantasies of the human mind and "whatever exists in the universe"[3]—this was surely what he thought. Indeed, by the beginning of the sixteenth century the artist—painter, sculptor, architect—had, in the minds of Central Italians, long outgrown the status of craftsman. The Florentine pharmacist Luca Landucci, whose diary will be quoted often in the following pages, lists among the "notable and valiant" men of the middle and later fifteenth century Saint Antonine, Cosimo de' Medici, and immediately afterward eight sculptors and painters, beginning with Donatello and ending with Antonio del Pollaiuolo.[4] In the chronicle of Giovanni Santi (d. 1494), Raphael's father, painting is described as a "high art and mystery," and a gift from heaven's gates; Perugino, in fact, is called "divine."[5]

With only Botticelli and Filippino left of the leading Florentine masters of the Quattrocento, the stage was set for the new ideas of Leonardo. But there is abundant evidence to suggest that his immediate and overwhelming influence on art and artists had as much to do with the political situation in which the Florentine state found itself, and with the value of his inventions as symbols of republican ideals and of divine protection in the period of travail and danger threatening Florentine liberty, as with their artistic novelty.

By common consent, the *Madonna and Saint Anne* by Leonardo (fig. 1) is not only one of the greatest but one of the most influential pictures of the whole Italian Renaissance, yet there is little agreement as to where and when it was painted, its exact relationship to the cartoon now in the National Galley, London (fig. 2), and even as to how many other cartoons, now lost, Leonardo may have done on the same subject.[6] There are just two specific early references. In one, the oft-cited letter of April 1501, the Carmelite monk Fra Pietro da Novellara writes to his patroness Isabella d'Este, Marchioness of Mantua, that he has seen a cartoon:

> . . . depicting a Christ Child about one year old who, almost slipping from his mother's arms, grasps a lamb and seems to hug it. The mother, half rising from the lap of Saint Anne, takes the Child as though to separate him from the lamb, which signifies the Passion. Saint Anne, also appearing to rise from the sitting position, seems to wish to keep her daughter from separating the Child and the lamb, and perhaps is intended to represent the Church, which does not wish the Passion of Christ to be impeded. And these figures are life-sized, but they are in a small cartoon, because they are all seated, or bending over, and one is placed in front of another, moving toward the left, and this study is not yet finished. . . .[7]

Clearly this detailed account cannot describe the London cartoon, in which there is no lamb but rather the infant Baptist whom the Christ Child blesses, as he does in the *Madonna of the Rocks.* Wasserman has proposed that the London cartoon was made during Leonardo's last months in Milan, in 1499-1500, for Louis XII of France, as a gift to his wife, Anne of Brittany, honoring her patron saint.[8] But to make matters more confusing, Vasari describes what has been considered still a third composition, corresponding at all points to that of the painting in the Louvre, until we arrive at a "Saint John, small child, who went toying with a little sheep, not without a grin from Saint Anne who, overflowing with joy, saw her earthly progeny become



Fig. 1. Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna and St. Anne*, c. 1508, Oil on Canvas, Paris, Louvre (photo: Cliché Musées Nationaux).

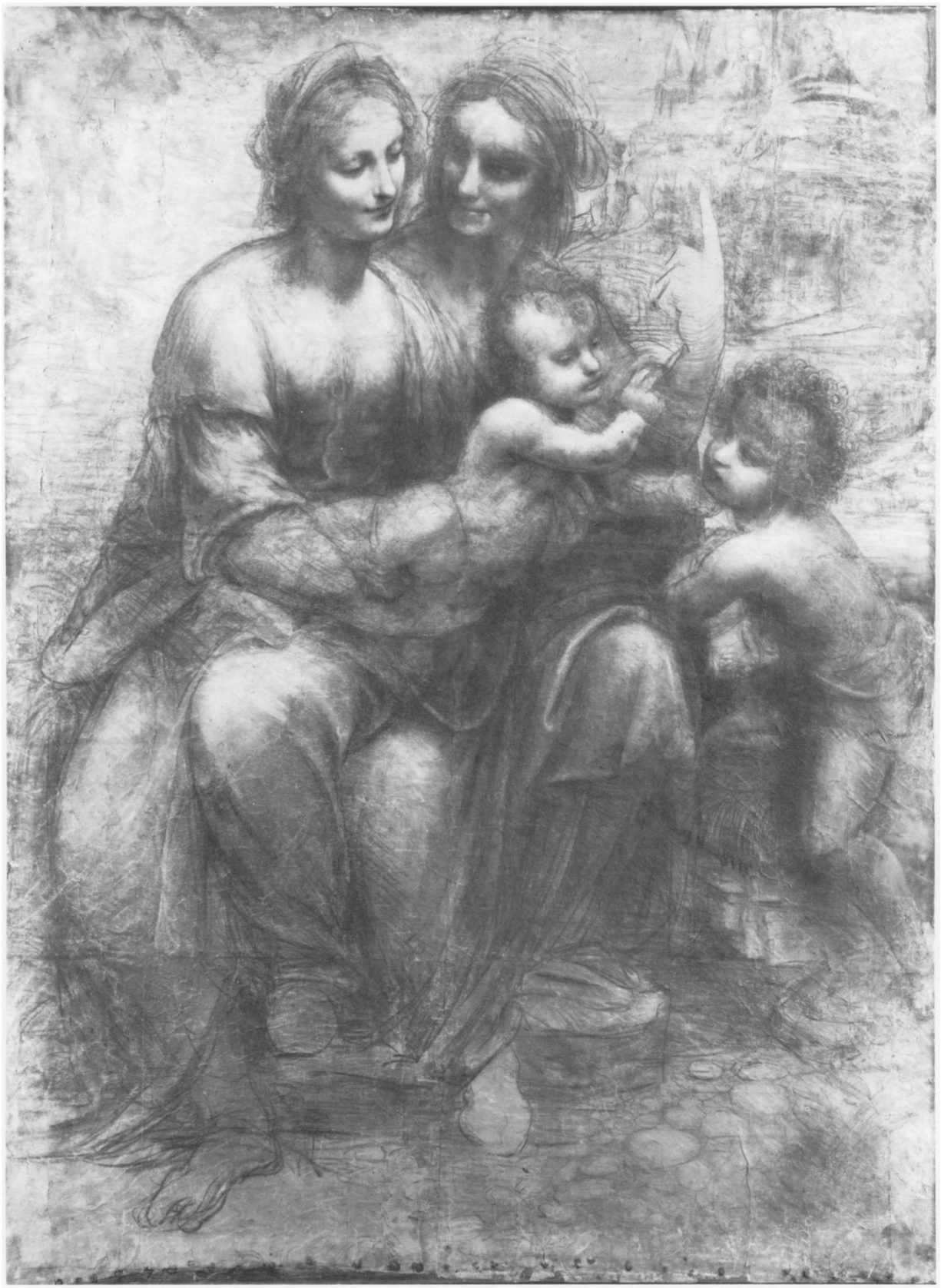


Fig. 2. Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna and St. Anne*, c. 1508?, Charcoal Heightened with White on Brown Paper, London, National Gallery (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London).

celestial."[9] Vasari did not take notes, and his memory often plays him false,[10] but reading a little further we discover that he had never seen the cartoon, which he says Leonardo took with him to France, nor did he know that Leonardo had ever painted the actual picture. Significantly enough, neither Fra Pietro nor Vasari mentions any landscape background, or even that the scene takes place outdoors.

Vasari's account of the events in Florence may nonetheless be derived from traditions current at the Servite monastery, and even from memories of brothers still alive who recalled the actual circumstances. From this account we can gain greater insight into the purpose and meaning of the Louvre composition, if not of the painting in its present state, for we read that when he came to Florence in 1500 Leonardo "found that the Servite brothers had commissioned Filippino [Lippi] to paint the panel for the high altar of the Annunziata, for which Leonardo said that he would gladly have done such a thing. When Filippino heard this, like the nice person he was, he stepped down, and the brothers, in order that Leonardo should paint it, kept him in the house, assuming his expenses and those of his whole staff, and thus he kept them in negotiation for a long time and never began anything. Finally, he made a cartoon in which are a Madonna and a Saint Anne with a Christ, which not only made all the artists marvel, but when it was finished, for two days men and women, young and old, continued to come to see it, as one goes to a solemn festival, to see the wonder of Leonardo."[11]

On the basis of this passage, which is generally consistent with Novellara's letter—although it does not necessarily record the events of April—I believe that the lost cartoon for the Louvre painting was originally intended for the high altar of the Santissima Annunziata,[12] a position of the greatest prominence, in a church designed by Alberti, built by Michelozzo, and adorned with paintings by the leading artists of the mid- and late Quattrocento.[13] The position of the high altar, in connection with the earliest rotunda of the Renaissance,[14] would go far to explain the monumentality of the picture, characterized by Wasserman as "a formal and abstract icon,"[15] as compared with the intimacy and spontaneity of the much smaller London cartoon. Such a placing would justify the conical shape of the figural composition. Indeed, other factors beside the grace and charm of the figures, on which Vasari expatiates without knowledge, well may have engaged the admiration of both artists and public. The *Madonna and Saint Anne* was the first true High Renaissance composition to be seen in Florence, absolutely revolutionary for its time. In its compactness and density the painting constitutes a clean break from the London cartoon.

For what constitutes a classic composition in the High Renaissance is that the total configuration be a *product* of



Fig. 3. Antonio (and Piero?) del Pollaiuolo, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, 1475, Panel, London, National Gallery (photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London).

the interaction of its component figures at a moment of motion, as distinguished from the typical spatial alignment of Quattrocento compositions all the way from Masaccio to Botticelli, which are merely the *sum* of their juxtaposed parts. Instead of such a static arrangement Leonardo here has invented a dynamic interweaving. The special magic of the composition resides, therefore, not in the harmonious Quattrocento arrangement of shapes in a timeless continuum, but in the seizing of a single second chosen from passing time, and the declaration that that second is eternal, thus identifying form—the cone, the pyramid, the spiral—with energy, and suspending the moment of action forever.[16] No wonder the cartoon was such a revelation to the *artefici* of Florence.

We might find the same principle prophesied in a pioneer work, the enormous *Saint Sebastian* painted a quarter of a century earlier by Antonio del Pollaiuolo for the Pucci chapel in the same church of the Santissima Annunziata (fig. 3). As noted in my *History of Italian Renaissance Art,* "Antonio's pyramid is the product of the figures and their movements: Saint Sebastian tied to his tree and the six archers who fill him with arrows and bolts. The minute the last arrow is discharged and the bowmen leave, the pyramid will dissolve."[17] All commentators have found the picture a bit stiff and tentative, however, perhaps because the figures act to produce the pyramid, but do not interact.

Leonardo, a brilliant young artist in Florence at the time of the painting, may well have had something to do with this compositional principle of suspended interaction,



Fig. 4. Leonardo da Vinci, *Arno Valley Landscape*, 1473, Pen and Ink, Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe (photo: Wasserman, *Leonardo da Vinci*, [1972], fig. 86).

never again repeated in Antonio's work. The view, with Florence and the Pratomagno in the background, is that from the Monte Albano to the west, perhaps from Carmignano, a few miles from Vinci. The Arno, whose activities Leonardo studied off and on for most of his life and which he studied systematically in what is now known as the Codex Hammer, courses through the picture at the upper right, now running smoothly, now flowing over a dam, now breaking into rapids on a shoal, but never merely reflecting as in the obedient aqueous mirrors painted by Piero della Francesca in the same decade of the 1470s.[18] One is reminded of Leonardo's earliest securely dated drawing, the Uffizi landscape of 1473 (fig. 4), showing the same Arno Valley, seen not from Monte Albano but from the rim of the gorge called the Gonfolino (mentioned in the Codex Hammer), no dam this time, but first flowing, then breaking into rapids. And the dam, of course, Leonardo studied minutely all his life. He must have observed its effects often, at Porta San Niccolò or, more likely, at Ognissanti, where the river was diverted to provide motive power for the looms of the weavers.[19]

The principle of the dynamic composition that creates geometric harmony from the moment of action, had been earlier exploited by Leonardo in both the *Adoration of the Magi* and the *Last Supper,* but here, for the first time, it is the interaction that creates form, and the figures in the *Madonna and Saint Anne* are intertwined to an astonishing degree, intellectually acceptable on account of the beauty of the device, but triumphantly unreal and artificial. How then do we accept it? Perhaps because this kind of rhythmic interaction symbolized to Leonardo the deepest and most intense aspects of reality at every level, from the tiniest plant through the animal world and the human body to the functioning of the earth and all its forces of light, atmosphere, and water, eventually rising to the principles on which the entire universe moves. In the Codex Hammer the motion of the waters of the earth is compared to the circulation of the blood. Although, as Pedretti has demonstrated, siphonic action was eventually renounced in favor of a more plausible explanation, the principle of circulation, and its consequent analogy between humanity and the cosmos is always retained in Leonardo's thought.[20]

In a thrilling page Freedberg assembled and interpreted an array of passages in which Leonardo clearly states the significance of his conception of energy for the nature of the work of art. A few relevant lines are: "Where natural vitality is lacking, create an artificial one" (Cod. Alt. 147r). "The action of the body or its cause, energy, originates in the movement of the spirit . . ." and then inspires the physical form, "running down through the limbs of conscious animals, it expands their muscles . . ." (Cod. Arundel 151r and v). This inspiration is pervasive in the creation of form: in an untranslatable phrase it is "tutta in tutto, e tutta per tutto."[21] This harmony, since it encloses vital forms, must live in itself as music lives, in movement.[22]

But regardless of the excitement of the artists, were such recondite principles accessible to the ordinary *popolino* who, according to the tradition preserved by Vasari, thronged the room at the Servi as if they were participating in a solemn festival? Writing from a different era, when the Republic was long dead, Vasari may have preferred to put a professional interpretation on the popular enthusiasm. Rather than Leonardo's doubtless heretical pantheism, it is more likely that this entrancing depiction of traditional and protective Christian figures was what drew them. There were compelling reasons for solemnity. In April 1501 Cesare Borgia, son of Pope Alexander VI and the Duke of Valentinois (for which reason he was known as Valentino) had captured Faenza and was threatening Florentine territory. By May 2nd he had arrived at Firenzuola, whose terrified inhabitants were fleeing to Florence. By the 12th he had arrived in the Mugello. On the 13th, Valentino's forces entered Carmignano (a neighbor of Vinci), and raided Sesto and Peretola, today the site of Florence's airport. The innumerable atrocities committed by Valentino's forces against peasants and townspeople are graphically recorded by Luca Landucci.[23] One of Valentino's soldiers tried to enter Florence at the Porta di Faenza, but was killed by the guards. On the 15th of May, 1501, Florentine ambassadors concluded a shameful agreement with Valentino, turning over the mining city of Piombino to him, and promising him a ransom of thirty-six thousand florins (some millions of today's dollars) if he would go away, which he eventually did. Ever since the tyrant Walter de Brienne, known as the Duke of Athens, had been overthrown on 26 July 1343, on the feast of Saint Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin had been considered a special protectress of the city.[24] The solemnity of the crowds may well have been less a testament to Leonardo's genius than an invocation to this mighty guardian against the menace of a new and pitiless master.

With this in mind, let us consider some of the direct reflections of the *Madonna and Saint Anne* that crowd the mirror of Florentine art for the next seventeen years or more. A cursory glance has disclosed thirty-three of them in varying permutations and combinations of sacred figures; they usually include John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence, with or without the lamb, by Andrea del Brescianino, Piero di Cosimo, Fra Bartolommeo, Andrea del Sarto, Franciabigio, Domenico Puligo, Raffaello Santi, and Michelangelo Buonarroti.[25] A determined search would doubtless turn up dozens more. The indirect repercussions of Leonardo's ideas, in works on other devotional subjects, can be characterized only as endemic. Two factors should be borne in mind: first, considering the enormous disparity in eminence, influence, style, and talent of the artists concerned, any iconographic dependence on Leonardo's invention should probably be credited to the



Fig. 5. Andrea Brescianino, *St. Anne*, destroyed, formerly, Berlin, Museums (photo: courtesy Harry Abrams).



Fig. 6. Unknown Florentine, Sketch after Leonardo's cartoon of the *Madonna and St. Anne* of 1501, Leadpoint on Prepared Ivory Paper, Venice, Private Collection (photo: courtesy of C. Pedretti).

desires and affiliations of the private patrons who commissioned and paid for all these works, almost all of which were intended as domestic devotional images. Second, not even the most slavish of these Tuscan derivative works includes Leonardo's Dolomitic landscape background, which so enthralls present-day viewers. From this we can deduce that he had not painted it yet—hardly surprising considering that in Florence he had no direct visual access to the actual mountain ranges, and would have had to work entirely from drawings he might have brought with him. This possibility is all but precluded by the freshness and delicacy of the painting, redolent with the fragrance of direct experience of nature. He must have painted at least the background in Milan, between 1508 and 1513 (unless we are willing to suppose that he transported a wooden panel five-and-a-half feet high into the mountain fastnesses of Cadore). It should be noted that in most of the Milanese replicas or imitations of the *Madonna and Saint Anne* the Dolomites do appear.

The artists of Florence must have been able to study the cartoon at their ease in something more than the two days during which Vasari says it was visible to the public. How far had Leonardo carried the work when he left Florence for good in 1508, presumably taking the cartoon with him? The Tuscan reflections can shed some light on the problem. The closest of these is the painting by Andrea del Brescianino, formerly in Berlin and now destroyed (fig. 5), which, as Suida pointed out in 1929, is also closer to the description of Fra Pietro's letter than is the Louvre painting. In the Brescianino, Saint Anne is visibly restraining the Virgin with her right hand and the figures are all turned to the left, neither of which is the case in the Paris work. Moreover, the Brescianino corresponds figure for figure, pose for pose, and almost line for line to a thus-far unattributable drawing published by Pedretti (fig. 6).[26] The presence of an enclosing arch in both, completed by a niche in the Brescianino, makes clear that this was the composition for the ancona of the Servi, a conclusion reinforced by the presence of an inscription on the verso in a Cinquecento hand, which reads *Leonardo alla Nuntiata.* What can be deduced from the expression of the Saint Anne in both the Bresianino and the Geneva drawing suggests also the mood of a "solemn festival" as described by Vasari. Raphael's *Madonna and Child with the Lamb,* dated 1507, repeats the main elements in the composition of the cartoon as here reconstructed with remarkable fidelity, except for the substitution of Saint Joseph for Saint Anne, indicating that the cartoon itself must have still been visible to artists in Florence as late as that year. The carved and gilded ancona in the shape of a triumphal arch, designed by Leonardo and executed by Baccio d'Agnolo to contain paintings, the commission for which was newly reawarded to Filippino, has been beautifully reconstructed by



Fig. 7. Raphael, *Madonna of the Meadow*, 1505, Oil on Canvas, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum).

Pedretti. It stood at the entrance to the rotunda, which served as the monks' choir, and this is probably the spot for which Leonardo had drawn his cartoon from the original ancona of half that size, whose existence I have proposed.

On his return from the Romagna in 1503, then, Leonardo must either have painted at least the figural composition of the Louvre *Saint Anne,* or have made still a third cartoon for it, in either case reversing the composition and changing totally the action and expression of Saint Anne, to the "grin" described by Vasari and still visible in that work. The composition, either in the final painting or in the cartoon—if indeed one was needed by this juncture—was certainly known to Raphael, who repeated in the *Madonna of the Meadow* the conical grouping and also the characteristic and highly original extended right foot of the Virgin (fig. 7), so placed by Leonardo as to originate the motion of the group from the very ground, and also to brace the complex and tense pose of the Virgin. Conveniently for us, again, Raphael dated his picture in 1505.

Michelangelo's Oxford drawing, probably datable in 1501—the very year that the young sculptor returned from Rome, and no later than his departure in 1505—is another very early reflection of the original composition for the ancona, like Brescianino without a landscape (fig. 8); the figures are rearranged a bit, the lamb eliminated, and the Child is characteristically pressed to Mary's breast.[27] Granacci's *Holy Family with Saint John* (fig. 9), undated and without Saint Anne, is more typical in that it centers the conical group in an ample and gentle landscape.

By now the two Leonardo compositions seem almost to have fused in the consciousness of painters, as they do in Raphael's also undated *Canigiani Madonna.* Michelangelo's *Doni* and *Taddei Madonnas,* undated but surely not more than a few years after the exhibition of the cartoon, owe their individual debts to Leonardo's idea. In both, as in most of the reflections after Brescianino, we see a landscape background. I have suggested elsewhere,[28] in the case of the *Taddei Madonna* whose landscape setting was merely roughed in, there was a specific connection with the now-discontinued custom of Rogations, the blessing of the land, a ceremony that (until Vatican II) could take place on the fifth Sunday after Easter or on the Vigil of the Ascension, three days apart, or on the Feast of Saint Mark, April 25, if Easter did not fall on that date. The procession bearing the Eucharist, which was consistently identified in Renaissance imagery with the Infant as well as the adult, sacrificed Christ,[29] stopped at outdoor tabernacles or other designated spots, to chant the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. The Collect for Mass on that day read, "Stand before us we pray, omnipotent God, that in our affliction we may trust in thy mercy; against every adversary we defend ourselves through thy protection."[30]

No prayer, no ceremony, no icon, could have been better calculated to assuage the sufferings and fortify the hopes of the Florentine people, so recently ravaged by the horrors of Valentino and his ally, Vitellozzo Vitelli. The deluge of pictures deriving from Leonardo's *Madonna and Saint Anne,* now set in the land, bears witness to the depth of such supplication. Even more numerous is the succession of images of the Virgin and Child alone, no longer sitting before a landscape background as in the Quattrocento, but placed in the landscape, always peaceful and fruitful, as petitioned in the Rogation prayers. How late Leonardo's conical formation lasted may be attested by examples such as Franciabigio's *Holy Family* in Vienna, of about 1517–18 (fig. 10),[31] or Andrea del Sarto's *Saint Agnes* of 1529–30 (fig. 11), long after the reasons for the existence of this composition and the sources of its symbolic meaning had passed into history.

Apolitical as he was areligious (at least in an orthodox Christian sense), Leonardo seems to have felt no compunction at having left Florence in August 1502 to work for seven months as engineering advisor to the diabolical Valentino, making maps, designing fortifications, and devising lethal improvements on existing weapons. What irony could be greater, considering the political and religious meanings that probably inspired the original commission of the *Madonna and Saint Anne* and, at the very least, were read into it by Florentine public and patrons alike? When the artist returned to Florence, in March 1503, the Florentines, perhaps seeing the writing on the wall, seem not to have held Leonardo's collaboration with their perse-



Fig. 8. Michelangelo, *Madonna and St. Anne*, 1501–02, Pen and Ink, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum (photo: courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum).



Fig. 9. Francesco Granacci, *Holy Family with St. John*, Oil on Canvas, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland (photo: courtesy of the National Gallery of Ireland).



Fig. 10. Franciabigio, *Holy Family*, 1517-18?, Oil on Canvas, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum).



Fig. 11. Andrea del Sarto, *St. Agnes*, Oil on Panel, Pisa, Cathedral (photo: Alinari).

cutor against him. At any rate, the death in August of Pope Alexander VI wiped out Valentino's power base, and by October at the latest, Leonardo had, at the invitation of the Florentine government itself, embarked on the greatest and most disastrous pictorial commission of his life.

Essentially a medieval burgher-state, Florence could not compete with the increasingly unified and menacing absolute monarchies that had arisen in western Europe. Once Charles VIII had entered the city unopposed in 1494 and Piero de' Medici had fled, it was evident to all that, despite proud words, Florence was the ball in a deadly game of four-handed tennis played out by France, Spain, the empire, and the papacy. The essential seaport of Pisa, annexed in 1409, revolted at once against Florentine overlordhip, and the most arduous efforts could not regain it. Savonarola's Grand Council, based on the Venetian model and composed of three thousand elite citizens, all blessed with the requisite ancestral history in government, could not act with any degree of decision, not only on account of their forbidding numbers, but even more because they were hampered at every point by the bewildering complexity of the *collegi* (under the *Gonfaloniere*) whose overlapping and conflicting authority changed every two months. In June 1502 Arezzo and Montepulciano seceded, and it was clear that Pistoia was about to do so. After more than two hundred years of existence, the Florentine Republic was coming apart at the seams. In this emergency, a former *gonfaloniere,* Piero Soderini, was dispatched to Arezzo. With the aid of troops granted by Louis XII of France, a traditional ally of the Florentines, the revolt was quickly put down and Arezzo and Montepulciano were brought to heel. But the medieval machinery, made more rather than less cumbersome by the Grand Council, was obviously in need of drastic overhauling.

At this juncture the Council thought again of the stability of the Venetian state—rather than of its oligarchical rigidity—and dreamed of an equivalent for the doge, a *gonfaloniere* for life. After brief debate, since the alternatives were few and weak, they voted for a lifetime appointment, carefully hedged against the continuing spector of tyranny. The new head of the Republic should be at least fifty years of age (a limit that in the Renaissance generally assured a brief tenure); he could hold no other office; his sons and brothers could not be appointed to the three major *collegi;* he could not continue in private business; in case of wrongdoing he could be deposed and punished, even by death, on a two-thirds vote of all the *collegi*—and still the Signoria would continue to rotate every two months as always. He would live as the Signoria did in the Palazzo Vecchio, but with his wife and family, including servants, at the expense of the Republic, and would receive a salary of one hundred florins a month (at least ten thousand of today's dollars). On September 22nd three candidates were proposed,

including Piero Soderini, who was still absent in Arezzo. The first vote was inconclusive; in the runoff Soderini received a clear majority, so that his unanimous election on the third ballot was a formality.[32]

Landucci was jubilant; Piero "had gone to Milan to fetch French troops and had brought them here like a good and valiant man. How well he discharged this dignity and how well he presided over the Great Council! Truly it was a work of God."[33] Similar phrases conclude the letter, in which, on the day after the voting, the Dieci communicated the news of the election to Soderini in Arezzo. The letter is worth reading in detail because of its specific bearing on subsequent artistic commissions of sovereign importance to the Florentine High Renaissance:

> We thank the most high God and the glorious holy Mother, whose intercessions have been no less propitious for us in this than in other times, in every kind of adversity which this Republic has had. Nor have our prayers and supplications been less acceptable than was requested, nor our faith in her clemency. Let us rejoice for all this with all the protectors of this city, with all this people and with you yourself, that our fatherland not lack for this good, and for those felicities which it hopes will follow by means of your achievements.[34]

Soderini is not everyone's hero, but we may have been influenced by Machiavelli's far from unprejudiced epitaph, popularized by Schevill,[35] and written many years after the events, under wholly changed conditions, for which Machiavelli himself cannot entirely escape responsibility. Better to read Cerretani's vivid word portrait, as quoted by Gino Capponi: "Rich and childless, with a house not full of many men nor copious with many relatives. He was fifty years old, of medium stature, broad face, yellow color, big head, hair black and sparse; grave, eloquent, ingenious, of little spirit and not very strong understanding, and not much learning; vain, frugal, religious, compassionate, and without vices." (fig. 12)[36] Capponi himself points out that Soderini, for all his distrust of conflicting experts and his tendency to side always with the majority, pleased the populace, who were glad to find a firm hand in control. At the time he assumed office taxes were high and the finances in total disarray; with his usual diligence and parsimony he reduced taxes, put the administration in order, and restored public credit. We can heighten the picture by noting Pasquale Villari's verdict that "the great artistic events which followed in the first decade of the century . . ." were owing largely to the initiative of Gonfaloniere Soderini, whose government "gave a great impulse to the arts after they had been neglected under Piero de' Medici and during the time of Savonarola."[37] We might even recall that in 1508, when Soderini was riding high, Francesco Guicciardini compared him to Pericles and Fabius Maximus.[38] Soderini was not as exciting a patron as Julius II, perhaps, but he was still an impressive one. Clearly what he favored and followed were standards of dignified and self-contained behavior, modest dress, calculated and reasonable actions, unshakable patriotism, and solid bourgeois morality. We will see how he imposed these standards on Florentine art and society, and how both the ideals and the limitations of the Florentine High Renaissance correspond to the preferences of what we are entitled to call the Second Republic, dominated by the contradictions of Piero Soderini's character, at once courageous, conventional, imaginative, industrious, and pigheaded, and so long as he seemed to succeed, immensely popular with the *popolino*.

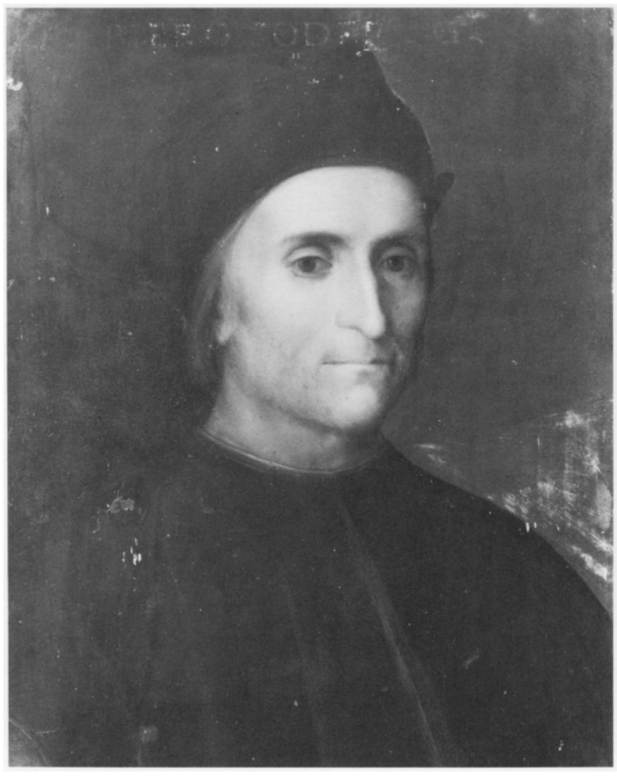


Fig. 12. *Portrait of Pietro Soderini*, possibly by Lorenzo Lotto, before end of October, 1512, Location Unknown (photo: courtesy of C. Pedretti).

Pedretti has drawn special attention to the brilliant article by Keele on the genesis of the *Mona Lisa* (fig. 13), praising as "inspired" Keele's rich and detailed interpretation of the lakes, streams, mists, and mountains in the background of the *Mona Lisa* in terms of Leonardo's parallel investigations of womanhood and procreation in all its phases, and the artist's overriding doctrine of the harmony of human life with the very principles of the cosmos.[39] Nevertheless two questions arise:

If, as Pedretti claims, "without the Codex Hammer the Mona Lisa would not exist," how are we to account for the discrepancy in dates, since, by common consent, the *Mona Lisa* was painted in Florence between 1503 and 1507, and the Codex Hammer is dated by Pedretti himself between 1508 and 1509, and its compilation about 1510, while Leonardo was in Milan?[40] This contradiction may be



Fig. 13. Leonardo da Vinci, *Mona Lisa*, c. 1503–07, Oil on Panel, Paris, Louvre (photo: Cliché Musées Nationaux).

resolved by the same hypothesis advanced earlier in this study for the *Madonna and Saint Anne.* Only the terrain of the middle ground, with its winding road, rocky promontories, and arched bridge resembles anything to be found even in the most mountainous areas of Tuscany, and specifically, again, the Gonfolino. The peaks of the Apuan Alps, so well known to Michelangelo because they enclose the great marble quarries of Carrara, do not display these fantastic, fingerlike shapes. Surely these mountains too are Dolomites recognizable to anyone familiar with the landscape around Belluno and Cortina d'Ampezzo, and, as in the case of the *Madonna and Saint Anne,* the crags probably were painted in by Leonardo after he took the picture with him to Milan. Again, as in the case of the *Madonna and Saint Anne,* Milanese imitations of the *Mona Lisa* generally include the Dolomitic background.

Second, to Dr. Keele, who is a physician, the pose of the sitter, including the placement of her hands and other elements such as their puffiness and the absence of rings, clearly indicate pregnancy.[41] If this is indeed the case, the relationship to the symbolism of the background is compelling, and Keele is eloquent in his analysis of Leonardo's numerous studies of human generation. But there are objections. The beautiful marble *Bust of a Woman* by Verrocchio in the Bargello also displays two ringless hands, and Leonardo habitually drew women's hands without rings. As a layman, of course, I am unqualified to dispute Dr. Keele on the visible manifestations of pregnancy. But I must observe that a pregnancy lasting from 1503 to 1507 would be something of a record. Mona Lisa may well have been pregnant and delivered repeatedly during the years between 1503 and 1507, but would not the sharp changes in her appearance every few months or even every few weeks have provided a challenge to the painter? How a pregnant Florentine lady of the first decade of the Cinquecento really looked may be seen in a famous example by Raphael in the Pitti Gallery. Moreover, two of the Milanese reflections of the *Mona Lisa* totally nude before the same Dolomitic landscape with its mists and watercourses, suggest interest in something quite independent of eventual pregnancy on the part of both patron and sitter as Brown and Oberhuber have demonstrated.[42] Keele's evidence for the symbolism of Leonardo's paintings, and its special role in any attempt to understand Leonardo's art and doctrine, is too impressive to require the intervention of any transitory state, such as pregnancy.

In his unsurpassed study of classic art, Wölfflin characterized the pose of the Mona Lisa as "rigid and vertical," and he cited the famous remark of Lucrezia Tornabuoni de' Medici, scouting for a wife for her son Lorenzo, that the Roman women did not hold themselves upright as did the Florentines.[43] Ghirlandaio's *Portrait of Giovanna degli Albizzi nei Tornabuoni,* a relative by marriage of Lucrezia, was painted a mere two decades earlier than the *Mona Lisa;* here one notices less the similar vertical carriage of the Florentine female than the total contrast of taste and fashion. Hair and dress are elaborate. Wealth is displayed in the form of jewels on one side, piety in the form of a prayerbook and rosary on the other. Mona Lisa, on the other hand, wife of a prosperous Florentine citizen,[44] dresses with sobriety and moderation, in materials whose essential quality is revealed only in the artful artlessness of their crinkled folds. A bit more ostentatious is the unlovely Maddalena Strozzi nei Doni in Raphael's famous portrait, important also as the probable cause for the commission of the *Doni Madonna*—a masterpiece of cool linear, volumetric, and coloristic harmony, and a keen observation of the subject's prosperous vacuity. Although heavy with brocades and damasks, there are no sashes and no braids. In spite of the derivation from the Mona Lisa, Dr. Keele does not find Maddalena even a little bit pregnant. Yet Ugo Procacci once informed me, after careful archivistic research, that Maddalena had produced during the first few years of the Cinquecento, and in the quickest biologically possible succession, four sons, all named Giovanni Battista and all dead soon after birth.[45]

Maddalena's portrait is a striking example of classic interaction with that of her husband Agnolo and also a recognized instance of the young Raphael's rapid absorption and personal transformation of Leonardo's principle of the harmonization of energies and masses.[46] We need only compare the Doni portraits to the static masterpieces

of Piero della Francesca painted for Urbino some thirty years before to see what a change Leonardo's ideas had wrought. But the couple also typify precisely the ideal comportment of the Second Republic—balanced, sober, restrained, unostentatious, and very rich—less the princely *sprezzatura* extolled by Castiglione than a kind of classless decency and normality. This should be little cause for surprise because as Gino Capponi states, the upheavals of the 1490s had produced a sharp change in Florentine social structure. After the Ordinances of Justice many a disenfranchised noble went middle class to regain citizenship. Now the current seems reversed resulting in the gentrification of the bourgeois. In Gino Capponi's opinion, Guelph and Ghibelline meant little any more.[47] Agnolo Doni the wool merchant, and Maddalena Strozzi, both burghers, relax like hereditary nobles enjoying their broad estates.

A further ironic aspect of a life marked by incessant contradictions is that Leonardo's portrait invention could establish artistic symbols of normality, although his sexual preferences were anything but acceptable, and he flaunted his short, gaudy French fashions before Florentine citizens solemnly dressed in the traditional long *luco* and hatted with the *cappuccio.* Yet, any visitor to the newly rehung first painting gallery of the Accademia in Florence cannot but notice the result of Leonardo's influence fused with Soderini's taste and principles in a true common style, the first since Giotto imposed his special mode of vision on all of central Italy two hundred years before. In contrast, so acute are the idiosycracies of individual styles in a Quattrocento gallery that a beginner can tell a Botticelli from a Ghirlandaio, a Perugino from a Pollaiuolo as far as he can see them. Not in the first decade of the new century: the pictures are so alike that only a specialist can distinguish a Fra Bartolommeo from an Albertinelli, a Granacci from a Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio. The same broad, smooth flow of forces and masses, integrated, calm, orderly, and balanced dominate all. Even the supposedly incorrigible Piero di Cosimo adjusts himself to the new requirements with surprising docility. A clear demonstration of the force of this common style may be seen in several impressive pictures whose attributions have bounced back and forth among these painters during the last few decades.[48] Two celebrated versions of the Vision of St. Bernard illustrate the immediacy and sharpness of the transformation from the 1480s to the 1500s. These are Filippino's neurotic and haunted altarpiece from Le Campora, and Fra Bartolommeo's serene and harmonious composition which this work now replaces at the Badia, painted as little at fifteen years apart.[49] The fantasy, sprightliness, and sparkle of the late Quattrocento have given way to a lack of individualism, a certain uniformity, and at times even dullness in these masters of the Second Republic.

From an observation point at the eye of the Florentine storm, his pharmacy diagonally across from the unfinished Palazzo Strozzi, Luca Landucci chortled over the passage on 29 December 1502, of "certain godly laws against the unmentionable vice and against swearing."[50] Even before this triumph of bourgeois morality, the first eminent victim of the normality of the new regime was fifty-seven-year-old Sandro Botticelli, who on 11 November 1502, the very day of Soderini's inauguration as supreme magistrate, was denounced anonymously for sodomy with one of his assistants. Although we have no knowledge of the outcome of the case, I note that no painting by Botticelli has ever been dated after this moment, and that Vasari records how in his later years Sandro walked with two canes. Could he have suffered a stroke in consequence of this crisis? Leonardo, equally vulnerable, and the target of a similar attack many years before, apparently watched his step. How serious such a charge could be may be seen from Landucci's diary of 17 March 1503, in which the pharmacist records the proclamation by the Otto di Pratica "that anyone who had been guilty of a certain villainy, and there were several, should lose their heads if they did not appear . . . God forgive me for recording it because it is the unmentionable vice."[51] As Summers quotes, in 1525–32 Paolo Giovio deplored "the incredible scandals of Michelangelo's private life."[52] Yet the straightlaced Soderini chose both Leonardo and Michelangelo for the greatest artistic commission of his tenure, the paintings of the Sala del Gran Consiglio.

The story of the hearings in 1504 to determine the proper destination of Michelangelo's *David,* deemed too beautiful to be lost on a buttress of the Cathedral, was carefully reexamined and reinterpreted by the unforgettable Charles Seymour.[53] Brought down to eye level, the statue became by the mere fact of its transposition the first true colossus of the Renaissance and a symbol of the embattled Second Republic. When the Florentine artists were asked their opinions during the hearings, Leonardo proposed setting the *David* under the central arch of the Loggia dei Lanzi. There was in fact no recorded attempt to find out where Michelangelo himself wanted his statue placed.[54] Landucci describes the painful, four-day progress of May 14–18 of the "gigante" through the streets from the Duomo to the Piazza della Signoria, and tells of its eventual establishment on the *ringhiera* on July 8th. But no commentator has accounted for the two-month lapse before it was finally uncovered. Paola Barocchi has come to the rescue in the fourth volume of the *Carteggio di Michelangelo.* In a triumphant example of Second Republic prudery, not only the genitals but what Vasari called the "divine flanks" of the *David* could not be exposed to innocent Florentine eyes until they had been provided with a girdle. A brass wire sustaining twenty-eight copper leaves was paid for on October 31st, according to a document published by De Nicola in 1917 and subsequently ignored.[55] According to a passage from Pietro Aretino's famous denunciation of the indecencies in the Last Judgment, which everyone quotes

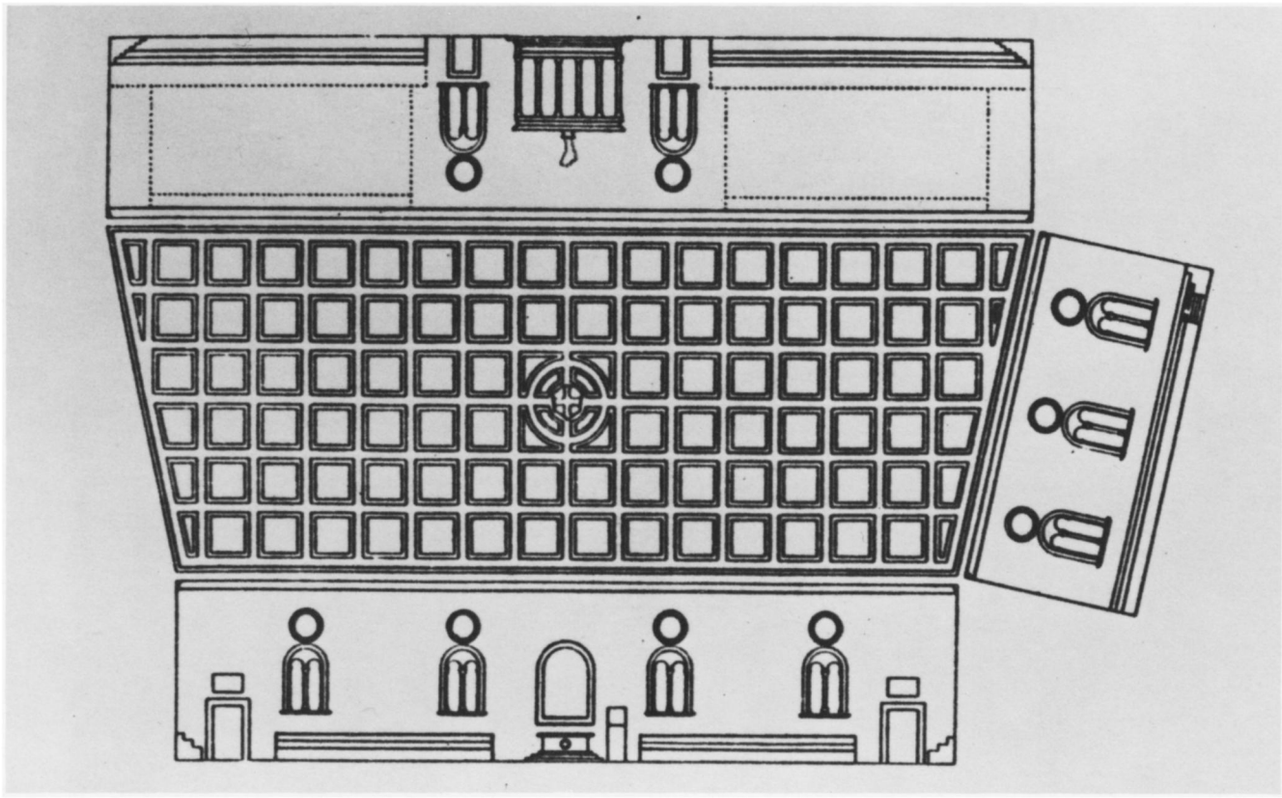


Fig. 14. Reconstruction of the Sala del Gran Consiglio, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence (photo: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 7 [1944], fig. 33).

and no one reads, this girdle was still in place as late as 1545.[56]

The Second Republic had not only to be established but defended. The infamous *condottiere* system had totally broken down, so Niccolò Machiavelli, secretary of the Republic, emerged on the scene with his famous militia. Landucci describes their first colorful muster of 400 recruits in the Piazza on 15 February 1506 in front of the newly attired David.[57] Inside the Palace, meanwhile, an ambitious project, apparently the brainchild of Soderini, had been unfolding for months. The Grand Council was housed in an addition hastily built by Simone del Pollaiuolo, called il Cronaca, which was fitted out with rich woodwork; benches running all round were interrupted by an altar on the west side (*cappella* in Florentine parlance), and a dais on the east for the Signoria, including now the Gonfaloniere for life (fig. 14). The chamber was totally dismantled and transformed in 1557 under Grand Duke Cosimo I. My description of the lost original project abides by the reconstruction Wilde worked out forty years ago.[58]

On the altar was to stand a huge panel by Filippino Lippi. He died before he could do more than design the frame, which was carried out by Giuliano da Sangallo, but the specific iconography was to be retained in an altarpiece commissioned later from Fra Bartolommeo.[59] On the east wall were to be placed two gigantic murals by the two leading masters of Florence. On the north side of the dais was to be the *Battle of Cascina* by Michelangelo; on the south side the *Battle of Anghiari* by Leonardo. Over the dais was to stand a statue of the Saviour by Andrea Sansovino, since Piero de' Medici was expelled from Florence on 9 November 1494, the feast of San Salvatore. Spare and simple in keeping with the ideals of the Second Republic, the project would have relied for its effect upon the power of the works of art it contained. The historical backgrounds of the two battle scenes, Cascina in the fourteenth century and Anghiari in the fifteenth, have been thoroughly explored and do not need to be repeated here.[60] But for an understanding of the total program it is important to consider the contemporary topical symbolism of the two murals in keeping with that of Sansovino's never-executed statue and, as we will see, with that of the altarpiece.

In spite of repeated attempts, we cannot securely reconstruct the total composition of either mural but the central figural groups of both are known from copies. For the *Battle of Cascina* we have, based on the evidence of Michelangelo's own numerous surviving drawings, a reliable copy attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo (fig. 15). For that of the *Anghiari* I still prefer the dazzling reevocation by Peter Paul Rubens (fig. 16) who worked only on the basis of a woodcut but succeeded across more than a century at recapturing the intensity of Leonardo's release and harmonization of energies. We must first ask why just these two battles, out of all the Florentine battles, were chosen. Geog-

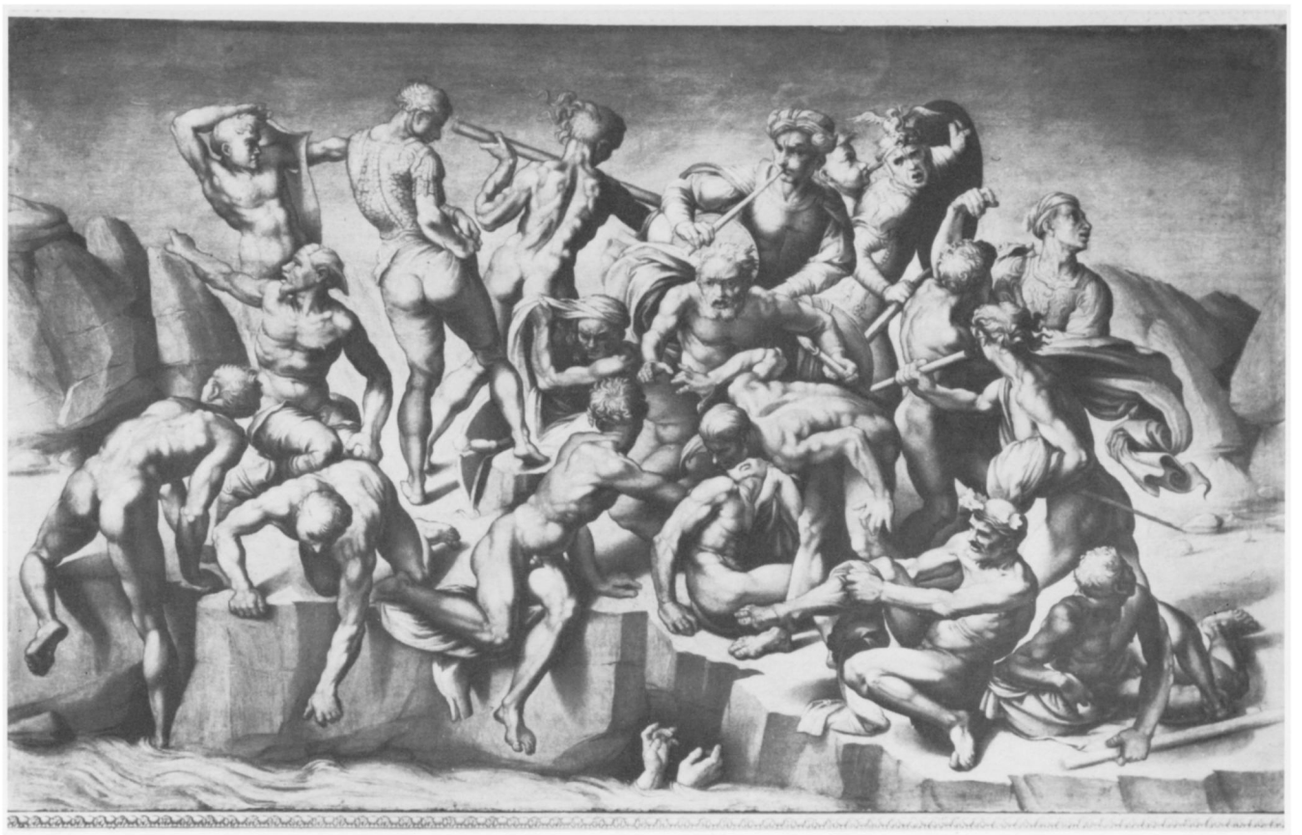


Fig. 15. Attributed to Aristotile da Sangallo, copy of the central portion of the *Battle of Cascina*, Holkham Hall, collection of the Earl of Leicester (photo: courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art).



Fig. 16. Peter Paul Rubens, copy of the central section of the *Battle of Anghiari*, 1503–06, Pen, Ink, and Chalk, Paris, Louvre (photo: Cliché Musées Nationaux).



Fig. 17. Fra Bartolommeo, *Madonna and Child with St. Anne, the Trinity, and Saints*, 1510, Florence, Museo di S. Marco (photo: Anderson).

raphy is an element too often neglected. The battle depicted by Michelangelo actually occurred near Cascina, a small town situated on the south bank of the Arno at the border of Pisan territory.[61] Schevill located Anghiari in the Casentino, the mountainous upper third of the Arno Valley.[62] It is in fact in the Tiber Valley across the river from Sansepolcro at the edge of the alluvial plain where the battle was fought. (Gould was certain that the background consisted of glittering crags, since the battle was fought high in the Apennines.)[63]

What, then, do these two battles have in common? First, both depict Florentine victories over rebels in territories which the Florentines had either recently lost and regained, or were trying to. For Anghiari is not far from Arezzo, over which Soderini himself had just achieved a victory by the simple expedient of arriving on the spot with 200 French lancers brought down in haste from Milan. The presence of an additional 200 troops convinced the rebelling Borgo Sansepolcro and its neighbor Anghiari to return to the fold.[64] Cascina lay in the territory of Pisa, which the Florentines had been trying desparately to subdue since 1494.[65]

Second, both murals concern streams, the two major rivers of Tuscany, the Arno and the Tiber. On the former depended the lifeline of Florentine trade with the outer world, which Soderini in his speech of 22 December 1510, was especially proud of having restored to full prosperity.[66] The latter represented the only route to the papal states, which were a major source of Florentine banking power and the foundation of the Guelph party, which did not run through alien territory. Military triumphs in the Valdarno and Valditevere, therefore, symbolized not only the political but also the economic security of the Florentine Republic. Interestingly, in 1504 when Leonardo's cartoon for the *Battle of Anghiari* was already under way, he was given the unsuccessful task of diverting the course of the Arno to starve out Pisa. Parenthetically, Arezzo lies to the south of Florence, the direction of the battle mural, and Pisa, although to the west, is on the observer's left as he contemplates the lefthand mural of the *Battle of Cascina*.

The full story of Fra Bartolommeo's monumental altarpiece, which is nearly four-and-a-half-meters high, (fig. 17) has yet to be told. It was started only in 1510 and remains in the state of monochrome underpainting. In fact, not all of the saints can be identified positively.[67] But, in general the meaning of the picture corresponds to that which I have proposed for the lost cartoon of Leonardo's *Madonna and St. Anne* at the Servi, and to the phrases in which the Signoria announced his election to Piero Soderini. A conical composition of intertwined figures culminating in St. Anne, clearly derived from Leonardo, is set in a painted niche consistent with the rotunda of the Annunziata. In a foreshortened circle at the top appears the the Holy Trinity, "Most High God" of the letter, and at the exact center, reading in any direction, "the glorious holy Mother, whose intercessions have been propitious . . . in every kind of adversity."[68] Beginning with St. Anne, if we follow Vasari's account, stand or kneel the protectors of Florence and these too are supplicated in the letter. Wilde identified St. Victor, on whose feast day the battle of Cascina was fought. He stands on the side of Pisa, the observer's right, and directly across from the mural representing the battle.

The infant St. John the Baptist kneels on the Virgin's right in his proper position as patron of the city. Kneeling on her left is probably St. Reparata, looking toward the Cathedral of Florence which at one time was dedicated to her. Below her kneels a bishop, probably Zenobius, once enthroned at that cathedral.

On the other side, the kneeling saint carrying a book may be St. Barnabas who cured the sick by placing the holograph manuscript of the Gospel of St. Matthew on their bodies.[69] The last standing saint to the left may be San Giovanni Gualberto, founder of Vallombrosa, on whose side he stands. The kneeling monk next to the Baptist is probably St. Antonine of Florence who held him in special

veneration, although he had not yet been canonized, and in his *Summa* had objected strenuously to the representation of the tricephalous Trinity as monstrous and heretical.[70] Perhaps he was inserted through the devotion of Fra Bartolommeo himself who was a monk at Antonine's own monastery of S. Marco. The remaining four are beyond me.

On 4 October 1503, the Signoria ordered the key of the Hall of the Grand Council to be turned over to Leonardo. On the eighteenth Leonardo took the expedient of rejoining the painter's guild. He seems to have consumed a lot of time with drawings, for he was not paid for the preparatory work in the hall until 28 February 1504, and his contract not signed until May 4th. Then came the unhappy bout with the Arno and on October 22nd the paper for the cartoon was paid for. Exactly when Michelangelo received his commission is not known, but the paper was purchased only nine days later than that for Leonardo.[71] Both men worked on their cartoons simultaneously. On 28 February 1505, Michelangelo was paid in advance for painting, but in March left for Rome to work on the Tomb of Julius II, leaving Soderini high and dry. Leonardo began painting alone, on June 6th. He considered the work cursed from the start, and we all know the sad results.[72] On 12 May 1506, Leonardo was released from all obligations to the Signoria. By that time Michelangelo, after his quarrel with the Pope, was back in Florence, and judging from Soderini's letter, actually painting again. He left for Bologna in November to work on the ill-fated bronze colossus, never to take up the fresco again. So Soderini and the Signoria were left sitting between the ruins of two unfinished works; one abandoned as a technical failure, the other because the artist was otherwise engaged.

We can still share in imagination Soderini's shattered dream. The central section of the *Battle of Anghiari,* the combat around the standard (the Milanese standard as Peter Meller reminds me, but still a standard), is a specific reference to the challenge launched by the Second Republic whose leader was Gonfaloniere (standard bearer) for life. However the individual whirlpools of fighting horse- and footmen might have been disposed in their surge across the plain, the work climaxes in that central group, the culmination of Leonardo's principles of figural entwinement through the coursing of energy. The moment of action is frozen forever in a huge pinwheel shape strongly reminiscent of the artist's own studies of the destructive movement of masses of water in the final Deluge which haunted his fantasy and which he expressed with terrifying force in his drawings and notes. Despite the catastrophic fate of the actual mural, Leonardo's revolutionary conception of the *Battle of Anghiari* had an influence on future battle scenes easily as great as that of the *Madonna and Saint Anne* on hieratic images. Never again would battle scenes be composed according to the static principles of Uccello or Piero

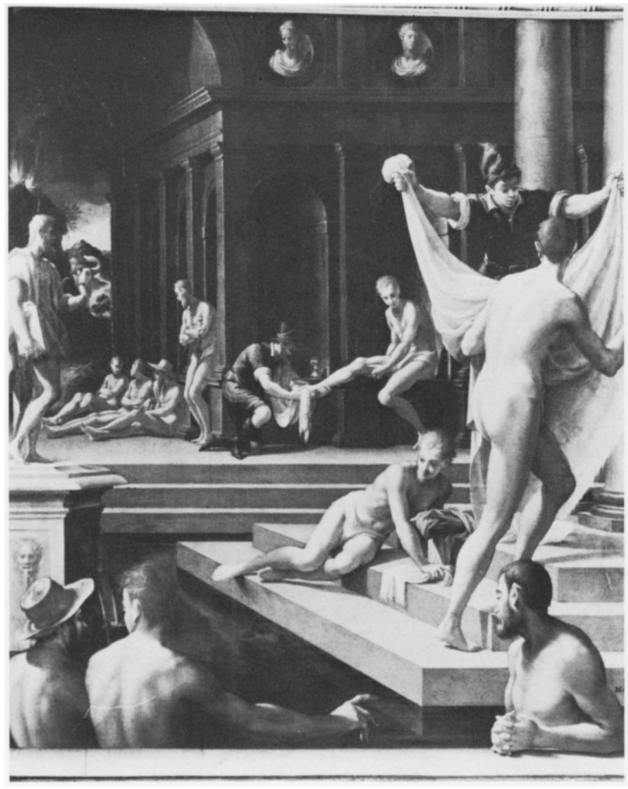


Fig. 18. Girolamo Macchietti, *Baths at Pozzuoli*, 1572, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo of Francesco I (photo: Soprintendenza).



Fig. 19. Franciabigio, *Portrait of a Man*, Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari).

della Francesca. Leonardo's design generated dynamic battle compositions all the way from Raphael to Delacroix.

Although the basic principle of Michelangelo's central composition—and again, the views out to the sides cannot be reconstructed securely—notoriously derives from his own adolescent *Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs.* It is not uninfluenced by Leonardo's pinwheel in its knotting of figures at the center. The action poses of nude men emerging from water may have derived from another situation conceivably less palatable to the pious Soderini. On 13 November 1506 Landucci records that at S. Michele Berteldi (the present S. Gaetano) "it began to be said that an image of Our Lady, which is over the door, had miraculously closed its eyes; the one opposite the door of the Stufa [baths]. It seems as if she did not wish to see the sins committed there. Before a day had passed, numbers of candles were lighted, and great veneration paid to it, so that a wall was built in front of it like a church, and if it had not been unfitting for women to go to this place near the Stufa, many women would have gone there; and in spite of this, many waxen images were brought to it, and many votive offerings."[73] Could Michelangelo, whose private life was supposedly so scandalous, have used these very baths to observe the movement of nude male bodies in and out of water and pulling on clothes?[74] Pietro Aretino very well may have known exactly what he was saying when he accused Michelangelo of painting in the *Last Judgment* explicit actions appropriate to a "*bagno delitioso.*"[75] And in Girolamo Macchietti's painting of the baths of Pozzuoli for the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici (fig. 18), we doubtless have a bowdlerized version of the general view of nude male bodies in action and repose to be obtained in the interior of a Renaissance bath.

Florence finally reconquered Pisa in 1509 but the triumph was short-lived. Soderini and his rotating Signorie, torn between conflicting demands, made the fatal error of permitting Louis XII of France to hold the schismatic council at Pisa, thereby incurring the wrath of Julius II.[76] Once the French were prevented from exploiting their Pyrrhic victory at Ravenna, and retired in confusion across the Alps, the fate of the Second Republic was sealed in the victors' conference at Mantua in which it was resolved to reinstate the Medici. Then followed the arrival of the Spanish troops, the monstrous sack of Prato, and the grim apparition of the ambassadors in the Palazzo Vecchio with their demand for Soderini's resignation. He has been ridiculed for complying, but considering the overwhelming forces gathered outside, the stories of the fate of the Pratese people and the inadequacy of Machiavelli's militia, what choice did he have? Perhaps wisely, he distrusted the safe-conduct offered by Julius II and instead went secretly to Ancona, where he took ship for Ragusa.[77] Immediately, the beautiful woodwork of the Sala del Gran Consiglio was broken up to provide rooms for the occupying soldiers.

In art as in politics the triumph of Rome spelled the defeat of Florence. Michelangelo and Raphael had been in the papal city for years creating under Julius II works of a magnitude and energy only imagined but never achieved by the Second Republic. The brilliant study by Weill-Garris to the contrary notwithstanding, there is no reliable indication that the artists paid Leonardo much attention when he reached Rome in 1513.[78] As for any influence of his underpainting for the *Adoration of the Magi,* we do not even know where it was. Nor do we know whether the three paintings he eventually took to France, the *Madonna and Saint Anne,* the *Mona Lisa,* and the *Bacchus,* were with him at the Belvedere or stayed in Milan. One wonders what were his thoughts in contemplating the paintings of the Sistine and the Stanze which owed so much to his conceptions of form as a product of energy. In 1517, at sixty-five, he accepted the invitation of Francis I to go to France, where in the house at Cloux he had the enviable duty of doing nothing at all. But in the Florence he left behind, his ideas were still current though transposed into a minor key. Under renewed Medici rule, the confident humanity of the Second Republic was replaced by a lack of belief in anything very much, and the noble self-possession of the High Renaissance was supplanted by a brooding neurosis which corrodes all the portraits of the period (fig. 19). The stage was set for the so-called Mannerist crisis and the harmonies of the *Madonna and Saint Anne* are seen only



Fig. 20. Pontormo, *Pucci Madonna,* 1518, Florence, San Michele Visdomini (photo: Alinari).

in a glass darkly in the clashing shapes and irreverent poses of Rosso and the darkness and dissonances of Pontormo (fig. 20).

Appendix

In three recent studies (see Pedretti, *La Madonna dei Fusi* [Florence, 1982]), Carlo Pedretti has demonstrated conclusively that Leonardo did indeed design a very large carved and gilded *ancona* for the rotunda of the Annunziata in the shape of a triumphal arch, and that it was executed from his drawings by Baccio d'Agnolo. After Leonardo's departure from Florence in 1502 the Servites renewed their contract with Filippino, who worked on his *Descent from the Cross* until his death in 1504, when it was completed by Perugino, who painted an *Assumption* for the other side of the ancona as well as six smaller paintings. The majestic ancona was placed, not as one would have expected, at the center of the rotunda, but at its entrance, acting at once as altarpiece and choir screen. The central panels were removed for a tabernacle of the Sacrament in Vasari's day, and relocated elsewhere in the church. The entire structure was dismantled in 1655, and the six smaller pictures dispersed.

Was the cartoon really designed for the painting now in the Louvre? Wilhelm Suida (*Leonardo und sein Kreis,* [Munich, 1929], 131) pointed out that although Fra Pietro da Novellara described St. Anne in the cartoon as trying to restrain the Virgin, in the Louvre painting she makes no such attempt. Furthermore, although Fra Pietro tells us that in the cartoon the figures move to the left, in the painting they move to the right. Both these discrepancies between text and image are rectified in the now-destroyed painting by Andrea del Brescianino (fig. 5). As Clark puts it (K. Clark, *Leonardo da Vinci* [Cambridge, 1940], 110–11), "the figures are placed before each other to the left, and are noticeably large in relation to the size of the cartoon, and the St. Anne is attempting to hold back her daughter." Pedretti has also published a remarkable drawing (fig. 6), which corresponds so closely to the Brescianino, down to the restraining hand of St. Anne and the indication of an enclosing niche, as to corroborate Fra Pietro's description and to establish the basic elements of the lost cartoon. Its connection with the *ancona* is indicated by the inscription on the reverse, in a Cinquecento hand, *Leonardo alla Nuntiata.*

Pedretti believes that Fra Pietro's "cartone" was in reality a *modello,* since he refers to it as "piccolo" and the dimensions of the Filippino are 3.32 × 2.60 meters. Fra Pietro's phrase "al naturale" is generally taken to mean lifesize. A woman in the position of the St. Anne in the Geneva drawing would measure at least 1.30–1.40 meters in height, seated, and the whole cartoon, therefore, approximately 1.40–1.60, up to the crown of the arch, or just half the height of Filippino's panel. The possibilities appear to be three:

1. That the cartoon really was a *modello,* half the size of the intended picure. This is unexampled. *Modelli* are always a much smaller proportional fraction of the dimensions of the final work. Still worse, the figures in the final *ancona,* twice the size of the *modello,* would also be twice lifesize, and this is not only unexampled for a panel, but grotesque.

2. That the cartoon was never destined for the *ancona* at all but for some unknown purpose, and that the design for the *ancona* was a separate undertaking. This seems to me highly improbable.

3. That Leonardo's original idea was for a smaller *ancona* than actually built by Baccio d'Agnolo, and intended to enshrine a painting of the *Madonna and Saint Anne* based on the cartoon seen by Fra Pietro and described by Vasari, and that when he abandoned the project in 1502 the iconographic program was completely altered, and the design of the *ancona* simply doubled in size. The third proposal seems to me to fit the circumstances and the probabilities more closely, since the Louvre painting corresponds so nearly to the height probable for the cartoon.

The question has to be left open. But there were certainly two quite different compositions by Leonardo visible to artists in Florence, one corresponding to the lost cartoon, the other to the Louvre painting. The first was visible to Michelangelo about 1501, and well before 1505, and to Raphael as late as 1507. The second was available to Raphael in 1505. From the above summary I have deliberately omitted consideration of the complex and controversial questions surrounding the preserved preparatory sketches dealing with the subject of the Madonna and Child with Saint Anne as beyond the scope of this study.

NOTES

[Professor Hartt's study was presented at the 1983 Walters symposium, "The Codex in Context," organized in conjunction with the exhibition, "The Codex Hammer of Leonardo da Vinci." We thank the Armand Hammer Foundation for its generous sponsorship of the exhibition and symposium.—Ed.]

1. I wish to express my gratitude to the Armand Hammer Foundation for the opportunity to present this paper and for its publication, and to Robert P. Bergman, Director of The Walters Art Gallery, and to the staff of the Gallery, for many kindnesses before, during, and after the memorable symposium *The Codex in Context.* Special thanks are due to Martin Kemp and Paul Barolsky for valuable suggestions and to Katherine Wright Baumgartner for her assistance in the preparation of a number of these notes.

On 13 March 1985, long after this paper had been submitted for publication, I gave a talk based on it at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, California, to an invited audience including Carlo Pedretti, whose comments gave me great pleasure, and whom I wish to thank for two crucial suggestions, now embodied in notes 36 and 74 below, and for the photographs of the Geneva drawing (fig. 6), and the portrait of

Piero Soderini (fig. 12). Peter Meller, also present, differed with my interpretation of the reasons for the selection of the battle of Anghiari and the battle of Cascina for depiction in the Salone del Cinquecento, pointing out that these were indeed the two greatest victories the Republic had ever won. Professor Meller's knowledge of these historical events is great and my own slight, but in this instance I retain my point of view.

2. My ideas on the subject of the Second Florentine Republic and its importance for the understanding of the Florentine phase of the High Renaissance style, long in gestation, were first publicly presented in the form of extemporaneous remarks during my chairmanship of one session of the symposium *Raphael before Rome* at the National Gallery in Washington, in January 1983. More than thirty years ago I wrote: ". . . the reasons for stylistic change are to be sought in the realm of content and I am deeply persuaded that this is so." ("The Meaning of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel," *Festschrift für Georg Swarzenski* [Berlin and Chicago, 1951], 155.) In the strength of this conviction I have attempted to interpret in terms of social, political, and religious content the stylistic developments of the Early Renaissance in Florence in "Art and Freedom in Quattrocento Florence," *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1964), 114–131; republished in W. E. Kleinbauer (ed.) *Modern Perspectives in Western Art History* (New York, 1971), 293–311; the High Renaissance in Rome in "Lignum Vitae in Medio Paradisi, the Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling," *Art Bulletin,* 31 (1950), 115–145, 181–218; the Mannerist crisis in "Power and the Individual in Mannerist Art," *The Renaissance and Mannerism* (Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art) II (Princeton, 1963) 222–238; and the Baroque in *Love in Baroque Art* (Locust Valley, N.Y., 1964). The present paper fits chronologically beween the first and second of these studies.

3. For a facsimile of the manuscript version, by another hand, Rome, Vatican, Codex Urbinas 1270, see A. P. McMahon, *Treatise on Painting by Leonardo da Vinci* (Princeton, 1956), II, c. 6 recto, hereafter McMahon, *Treatise.* McMahon himself (*Treatise I,* 24) prefers to translate the correction in the manuscript, in which "lord and god" is substituted by "lord and their creator," but to my mind this very correction connotes a misunderstanding of Leonardo's conception of the artist and his vital connection with the principles inherent in all nature. Leonardo's words are not a mere figure of speech. Significantly enough, Vasari refers to him as *divinissimo artefice* (Vasari-Milanesi, IV, *passim;* hereafter Vasari).

4. *A Florentine Diary, from 1450 to 1516, by Luca Landucci Continued by an Anonymous Writer till 1542,* with notes by Jodoco del Badia, trans. A. D. Jervis (London, 1927; reprint New York, 1969) 2, hereafter, Landucci, *Diary;* the original Italian text is not accessible to me.

5. C. Gilbert, *Italian Art 1400–1500, Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1980), 99. Again the original Italian is not available to me. Like McMahon, Gilbert backed away from the full force of the Renaissance expression, rendering what obviously had to be *pittore divino,* to rhyme with Perugino, with the somewhat weaker "godlike painter."

6. For recent bibliography on the cartoons for the *Madonna and Saint Anne:* M. Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 359–360. See also B. H. Meyer, "Louis XII, Leonardo and the Burlington House Cartoon (six letters, 1507)," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 86 (1975), 105–109; P. Leighton, "Leonardo's Burlington House Cartoon," *Rutgers Art Review,* 2 (1981), 31–42; V. Budny, "The Sequence of Leonardo's Sketches for the Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist," *Art Bulletin,* 65 (1983), 34–50.

7. L. Heydenreich, "La Sainte Anne de Léonard de Vinci," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 10 (1933) 208, note 1.

8. J. Wasserman, *Leonardo da Vinci* (New York, 1975), 140, hereafter, Wasserman, *Leonardo.*

9. Vasari, 38.

10. There are innumerable examples. Here are two from personal experience: in describing the Palazzo del Te, Vasari conflated two frescoes in adjoining rooms, with grotesque results (see F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano* [New Haven, 1958], 124, n. 3) and in the case of the Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal refers to the four cardinal virtues as the four evangelists (II, 175).

11. Vasari, IV, 38–39.

12. In agreement, therefore, with the suggestion made long ago by Eugéne Müntz, *Leonardo da Vinci* (London, 1898), 123, although not with his identification of the Louvre painting as the actual altarpiece; see below.

13. For example, three frescoes by Castagno, *St. Julian, St. Jerome's Vision of the Trinity,* and the lost *Lazarus with Mary and Martha;* one by Baldovinetti (the *Nativity* in the atrium); and Pollaiuolo's Pucci altarpiece (see below, and fig. 3).

14. For a thorough, recent treatment of this crucial work, see B. L. Brown, "The Patronage and Building History of the Tribuna of SS. Annunziata in Florence: A Reappraisal in Light of New Documentation," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* 25 (1981), 59–146.

15. Wasserman, *Leonardo,* 150.

16. This identical principle is operative in the art of classical Greece, as can be clearly seen through a comparison of the static, contrived alignments of stiffly posed figures in both pedimental and metope compositions in the Temple of Zeus at Olympia with the dynamic and fugitive equipoise of action figures in each of the corresponding groups on the Parthenon.

17. F. Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1979), 319.

18. As for example in the Montefeltro portraits and the triumphs on their versos; see E. Battisti, *Piero della Francesca* I (Milan, 1971), pls. 182–185.

19. Although both dams appear in many early panoramic views of Florence, the earliest authoritative representations are those in the celebrated map by the Dominican monk Don Stefano Bonsignori of 1584; see G. Boffito and A. Mori, *Piante e vedute di Firenze* (Rome, 1926; reprint Rome, 1973).

20. C. Pedretti, *The Codex Leicester by Leonardo Da Vinci,* introduction to the catalogue of sale at Christie's, London, 12 December 1980, *passim,* hereafter, Pedretti, *Codex* Leicester.

21. S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Florence and Rome* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 9–10, hereafter, Freedberg, *Painting.*

22. Many other such passages appear throughout Leonardo's writings, as *Leonardisti,* of whom I am not one, are keenly aware. A magnificent array of definitions of Force, for example, has been assembled by Augusto Marinoni; see "Leonardo as a Writer," *Leonardo's Legacy, an International Symposium,* ed. C. D. O'Malley (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1969), 59. This remarkable study provides eloquent counterproof to any contention that Leonardo was not a great writer, despite obvious flaws, or was not interested in Latin, autodidact though he seems to have been.

23. Landucci, *Diary,* 178–84.

24. For a Trecento account of the event, see G. Villani, *Historie universali de' suoi tempi* (Venice, 1559), libro duodecimo, XVI, 238–239; ". . . così permise Iddio, che i Franchi cittadini con armata mano la racquistassono il dì di sua Madre Madonna Santa Anna d 26. di luglio 1343. per la tal grazia sordinò per lo comune, che la festa di Santa Anna si guardasse come Pasque sempre in Firenze, e se celebrasse solenne ufficio, e grande offerta per 10 comune, e per tutte le arti di Firenze." The words "solenne ufficio" are especially relevant to Vasari's description of the mood of the viewers.

25. In alphabetical order: Andrea del Brescianino, *Madonna and Saint Anne,* destroyed, formerly Berlin, Museums; Andrea del Sarto, *Marriage of St. Catherine,* Dresden, Gallery,—*Madonna and Child with Three Angels* (copy), Sussex, Coll. John Wyndham, on loan to Courtauld Institute, London,—*Charity,* Paris, Louvre,—*Madonna di Porta Pinti* (copy), formerly New York, Coll. W. R. Hearst,—*Madonna della Scala,* Madrid, Prado,—*Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist,* Rome, Borghese,—*St. Agnes,* Pisa, Cathedral; Fra Bartolommeo, *Holy Family,* London, Kenwood House,—*Holy Family,* London, National Gallery,—*Holy Family,* Rome, Galleria Nazionale,—*Holy Family,* Turin, Galleria Sabauda,—*Madonna and Child,* (formerly) New York, Coll. Holmes; Franciabigio, *Madonna del Pozzo,* Florence, Academy,—*Holy Family,* Florence, Academy,—*Holy Family,* Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Granacci, *Holy Family with St. John the Baptist,* Florence, Pitti; Michelangelo, *Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* (drawing), Oxford, Ashmolean;—*Madonna and Child with Saint Anne* (drawing), Paris, Louvre,—*Doni Madonna,* Florence, Uffizi,—*Taddei Madonna,* London, Burlington House; Piero di Cosimo, *Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist and Angel,* San Diego, Fine Arts Gallery,—*Madonna and Child with Angels,* Venice, Coll. Cini,—*Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist and Angels,* Sao Paolo, Museu de Arte,—*Madonna and Child with Angels* (formerly) Paris, private collection,—*Madonna and Child with St. John the Baptist, the Lamb, St. Margaret, and Angels,* Tulsa, Philbrook Art Center; Raphael, *Madonna and Child* (drawing), Paris, Louvre,—*Holy Family of Casa Canigiani,* Munich, Pinakothek, *Madonna of the Meadow,* Munich, Pinakothek,—*Madonna of the Goldfinch,* Florence, Uffizi,—*La Belle Jardinière,* Paris, Louvre,—*Esterhazy Madonna,* Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts. There are a number of other examples in the work of Raphael and his school in Rome, and of course several Lombard replicas or derivatives as well.

26. A. Vezzosi, *Leonardo dopo Milano: La Madonna dei Fusi (1501),* Vinci, Castello dei Conti Guidi, 16 May–30 September 1982 (exhibition catalogue), 52, fig. 31.

27. See my notes on the significance of this motive to Michelangelo, in F. Hartt, *Michelangelo Drawings* (New York, 1969), 65–66, and nos. 57, 58, and 59; see also my *Michelangelo Sculpture,* revised ed. (New York, 1976), 171–72.

28. *Ibid.,* 86.

29. Among the numerous examples one might cite the Child issuing from the chalice in Desiderio's tabernacle for San Lorenzo. According to J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (London, 1958), 303, the motive was imitated widely in painted stucco. A marble version by Francesco di Simone Ferrucci in S. Maria di Monteluce might be cited. See also O. Kurz, "A Group of Florentine Drawings for an Altar," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18, (1955), 35–53.

30. My translation from the *Missale Romanum.* The same Collect appears in pre-Tridentine Missals. I have chosen, because easily available, one printed at Lyon, 1544.

31. S. R. McKillop, *Franciabigio* (Berkeley, 1974), 158.

32. F. Guicciardini, *Storie fiorentine,* in *Opere* (Turin, 1970), I, 196, hereafter, Guicciardini, *Storie;* S. Ammirato, *Istorie fiorentine* (1641), II, 269, hereafter, Ammirato, *Istorie;* G. Capponi, *Storia della Repubblica di Firenze* (Florence, 1875), 280, hereafter, Capponi, *Storia.*

33. Landucci, *Diary,* 200.

34. Given *in extenso* in P. Villari, *Niccolò Machiavelli e i suoi tempi* (Florence, 1881), (hereafter, Villari, *Machiavelli*), 1, 569 (Florence, Archivio di Stato, Cl. X, dist. 3, n. 101, a c. 134) ". . . come è piaciuto a Dio (chè in vero sua opera la giudichiamo) è cascata la sorte sopra di te, di che noi più ci rallegriamo, quanto elli è stato più secondo el desiderio nostro conoscendo nelle qualità tue tutte quelle parti che in comune si possono immaginare in un homo che habbi a tenere tanto segno quanto è questo. Ringratiamone adunche lo altissimo Dio et la gloriosa sancta Madre, le intercessioni della quale non son stati ad noi manco propitie in questo, che si sieno stati per qualunque altro tempo, in qualunque altro accidente che habbia auto questa Repubblica. Nè e'nostri preghi et supplicationi sono stati meno accepti che si richiegha, et a la fede nostra, et alla clementia sua. Rallegriamocene per tanto con tutti e' protettori di questa città, con tutto questo popolo, et con esso teco, che la patria nostra non manchi di questo bene, et di quelle felicità che la spera con seguitare mediante le opere tue."

35. F. Schevill, *Medieval and Renaissance Florence* (New York/Evanston, 1963) II, 470, hereafter, Schevill, *Medieval.*

36. Capponi, *Storia,* 281, quoting "Cerretani, *Storie* manoscritte," without further indications: ". . . ricco e senza figlioli, di casa non piena di molti uomini nè copiosa di molti parenti. Aveva cinquant'anni, di mezza statura, viso largo e di color giallo, gran capo, capelli neri e radi; grave, eloquente, ingegnoso, di poco animo e di intendimento poco forte, e non di molte lettere; vano, parco, religioso, pietoso e senza vizi; aveva per donna la figlia del marchese Gabbriello Malaspini da Fosdinovo, bellissima benchè attempata, e savia con mode regi."

Carlo Pedretti brought to my attention the page in which Bernard Berenson (*Lorenzo Lotto* [London, 1956], 28–29, figs. 74, 77) discussed the probability that a portrait, formerly in the Doetsch Collection in London, attributed by Berenson to Lotto, the preparatory drawing in Chatsworth surely by Lotto, and three copies in Florence, represent Piero Soderini, on the basis of an old tradition and of its reproduction as a portrait of Soderini in the life by Piero Razzi, Padua, 1737. The probability becomes, as Professor Pedretti notes, a certainty in the case of the homeless picture (fig. 12) clearly labeled PIERO SODERINI G., illustrated here through Professor Pedretti's kindness. Berenson's hypothesis that the drawing was made from life while Soderini was awaiting a ship for Ragusa in Ancona in October 1512 is convincing. The gray hair alone indicates a date long after Cerretani's description. Soderini is depicted in his state of mind after the collapse of his regime, now sixty and facing exile. It is worth noting that the picture, whose authenticity can hardly be judged from the present photograph, is closer to the Chatsworth drawing than is the former London painting.

37. Villari, *Machiavelli,* 4.

38. Guicciardini, *Storie* I, 576.

39. K. D. Keele, "The Genesis of Mona Lisa," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* (1959), 135–158, hereafter, Keele, "Genesis". I owe the possibility of reading this article when I needed it to the kind intervention of the staff of the Education Department at The Walters Art Gallery.

40. Pedretti, *Codex Leicester,* 15. Obviously even a date a year or two earlier for the beginning of the notes comprising the Codex Hammer would still place the codex after rather than before the generally accepted dates for the portrait. The background is another story; see below.

41. Keele, "Genesis," 139.

42. D. Brown and K. Oberhuber, "'Monna Vanna' and 'Fornarina': Leonardo and Raphael in Rome," *Essays Presented to Myron Gilmore,* ed. S. Bertelli and G. Ramakus (Florence, 1979), 25–86.

43. H. Wölfflin, *Classic Art,* trans. by P. and L. Murray (London, 1952), 30.

44. Gaetano Milanesi, in Vasari, IV, 39, no. 4, tells us that Francesco di Bartolommeo di Zanobi del Giocondo was one of the twelve Buonomini in 1499, and a Priore in 1512. Vasari's detailed description, down to the red of Mona Lisa's lips, the beating of the pulse in the veins in her neck, and the gradation of the hairs in her eyebrows (Wölfflin says they were plucked; were they perhaps cleaned off?), seems pure invention since he never saw the original, but he accounts for the famous

smile by narrating how Leonardo provided musicians and jesters to keep the sitter happy.

45. Personal correspondence, 1946.

46. A thorough study of the couple themselves, by A. Checci, "Agnolo e Maddalena Doni committenti di Raffaello," will appear in the *Atti del Congresso Raffaellesco* (Urbino, 1986).

47. Capponi, *Storia,* II, 282.

48. For example, the *Portrait of a Woman* ("La Muta") in Urbino, generally considered by Raphael, now given to Bugiardini by Freedberg, *Painting,* II, fig. 73, or the *Girl with a Unicorn* in the Borghese, also once Raphael and the *Lady with a Rabbit* in New Haven, once Piero di Cosimo, now both attributed by Freedberg to Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio, Freedberg, *Painting,* II, figs. 81 and 82. All are plausible attributions.

49. Freedberg, *Painting,* I, 57, believed that both pictures were meant for the Badia.

51. *Ibid.,* 218.

52. D. Summers, *Michelangelo and the Language of Art* (Princeton, 1981), 461, n. 3.

53. C. Seymour, Jr., *Michelangelo's David, a Search for Identity* (Pittsburgh, 1967), hereafter, Seymour, *Michelangelo's David.*

54. Seymour, *Michelangelo's David,* 20: "Piero di Cosimo dipintore. Io confirmo el decto di Giuliano da S. Gallo, et più che sene achordi quello che là facto, che lui sa meglio come vuole stare." This I translate: "I confirm the remarks of Giuliano da Sangallo, and even more that he who made it should agree, as he knows best where it should stand." We are left in the air.

55. G. Poggi (posthumous) *Il carteggio di Michelangelo,* ed. P. Barocchi and R. Ristori (Florence, 1979), 216, n. 1, hereafter, Poggi, *Carteggio,* quoting with due astonishment from documents published by I. De Nicola, *Rassegna d'Arte* (1917), 157, n. 1; a *ghirlanda* (for the head?) and a *cigna* ". . . uno filo d'octone con ventocto foglie di rame." Oddly enough the girdle is not visible in the tiny representation of the *David* in the background of the portrait of a man in armor in the National Gallery, London, once given to Piero di Cosimo, and assigned by Longhi to Ortolano; see M. Bacci, *Piero di Cosimo* (Milan, 1966), 120, pl. 73.

56. Poggi, *Carteggio;* Aretino demands that Michelangelo emulate "la modestia fiorentina, la quale sotto alcune foglie auree sotterra quella [i.e., genitals] del suo bel colosso. . . ."

57. Landucci, *Diary,* 218; Soderini distributed to each recruit "a white waistcoat, a pair of stockings, half red and half white, a white cap, shoes, an iron breastplate, and lances and to some of them muskets." This peasant militia was to live at home, but be on call for emergencies. The 400 were only the initial nucleus, but interestingly enough, no city dwellers were ever included.

58. J. Wilde, "The Hall of the Great Council of Florence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 7 (1944), 65ff.

59. The most recent summary of the knowledge concerning this altarpiece is L. Borgo, *The Works of Mariotto Albertinelli* (New York, 1976), 394-402, hereafter Borgo, *Albertinelli.*

60. For the battle of Anghiari see M. Kemp, *Leonardo da Vinci,* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 234-247, and 360-361 for bibliography. See also H. T. Newton and J. R. Spencer, "On the Location of Leonardo's Battle of Anghiari," *Art Bulletin,* 64 (1982), 45-51. Newton and Spencer have produced very considerable evidence for a different location from that proposed by Wilde. If they are correct, then some of my conclusions are not. Unfortunately only the removal of one of Vasari's frescos painted on a layer of plaster above the location Newton and Spencer have proposed for the *Battle of Anghiari* can provide absolute proof (in addition to the possible recovery of the remains of Leonardo's painting), and that event is unlikely in the near future. In the meantime, the question must remain in limbo. The following studies have appeared on the *Battle of Cascina* since Dussler's bibliography of 1970; H. W. Grohn, "Michelangelos Darstellung der Schlacht von Cascina: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion," *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen,* XVII (1972), 23-42; H. Hibbard, *Michelangelo* (London, 1975), 74f; R. E. Kuhn, "Der Aufbruch zur Schlacht bei Cascina," in *Festschrift Wolfgang Braunfels,* F. Piel and J. Traeger eds. (Tübingen, 1977), 215-222; E. Pogány-Balás, "Remarques sur quelques gravures de Mantegna et sur le carton de bataille de Michelange," *Bulletin du musés hongrois des Beaux-Arts,* XXXVIII (1972), 57-67, 127-130; R. Salvini, "La Battaglia di Cascina. Saggio di critica delle varianti," *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore de Valerio Mariano* (Naples, 1971), 131-146.

61. Cascina is pronounced with the stress on the first syllable, le Cascine, a riverside park outside Florence with which this town is often confused, on the second.

62. Schevill, *Medieval,* II, 359.

63. C. Gould, "Leonardo's Great Battle-Piece: A Conjectural Reconstruction," *Art Bulletin,* 36 (1954), 128. In point of fact, Anghiari lies at the edge of a flat plain, 429 meters above sea level. There are no lofty, jagged mountains anywhere near Anghiari; the Monti Rognosi, 626 meters, are typical of the broad, rounded summits in that portion of southern Tuscany.

64. For the rebellion of Anghiari in 1502 and its prompt termination by Soderini, see Landucci, *Diary,* 196, and Ammirato, *Istoria,* III, 266.

65. Wasserman, *Leonardo,* 36, states that Pisa's "strongest support was coming from Milan." In reality, Milan was *hors de combat* and under the government of Louis XII of France, a treasured Florentine ally.

66. Villari, *Machiavelli,* 132; Soderini claimed that during the eight years of his *gonfalonierato* Florentine exports had amounted to 908,300 ducats, an astonishing figure for a city of about 60,000 souls.

67. See Borgo, *Albertinelli,* 394-402.

68. *Ibid.,* 14.

69. This is hazardous. G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting* (Florence, 1952), cols. 129-36, notes that Barnabas was a protector of Florence, in commemoration of the victory of the Florentines over the Sienese at Colle Val d'Elsa in 1269 and over the Aretines at Campaldino in 1289, and his relics are in the Florentine Duomo. But he is usually represented with a gray or white beard, holding an olive branch and often a scroll. Could my St. Zenobius really be Barnabas? In which case, where is St. Zenobius?

70. C. Gilbert, "The Archbishop on the Painters of Florence, 1450," *Art Bulletin,* 41 (1959), 76-77, was the first to draw attention to this passage in *Summa Theologica,* facsm. ed. (Graz, 1959), III, Tit. VII, cap. II, col. 321.

71. For these dates and relevant documentation see C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo* (Princeton, 1943), 209.

72. Kemp, *Leonardo,* 237-38.

73. See the superb analysis by Freedberg, *Painting,* 41.

74. Landucci, *Diary,* 222-223. Carlo Pedretti and Laurie J. Fusco have both brought to my attention the certainty that Leonardo used the Stufa for the selfsame purpose. I quote from Professor Pedretti's letter: ". . . a notebook compiled in Milan, from after 12 October 1508, i.e., Paris MS F. It is a memorandum on the verso of the front cover, thus facing the first page with that date: 'Va ogni sabato alla stufa e vederai delli nudi' (J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci* (London, 1939), 1421."

75. Del Badia, in Landucci, *Diary,* 1, calls this bath the Stufa degli Obizzi, eventually replaced or absorbed in the rebuilding of the Theatine convent in 1592. The note also refers to a comedy by Cecchi called *Lo Stufaiuolo,* which is supposed to present a graphic picture of what went

on there. From all I can determine, no printed copy exists (many of Cecchi's works were never printed, and if a manuscript survives it is not in any public Florentine library). Cecchi's manuscripts passed to the Archivio di Stato in Siena along with the legacy of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, but these papers have never been catalogued, and I have been unable to locate the comedy.

76. Poggi, *Carteggio,* IV, 216.

77. Soderini's resolve to remain faithful to his French alliance brought about an assassination plot against him for which, rightly or wrongly, he held Julius II personally responsible. His emotional speech of 29 December 1510 before the Gran Consiglio is reported, either from a manuscript or from notes in Ammirato, *Istoria,* 292. In regard to the moralism of the Soderini regime, it is noteworthy that, foreseeing the inevitable end, the prostitutes of Florence suddenly not only profitted from the dissolution of public authority by reappearing on the streets, but went so far as to threaten through their *aderenti* even the Otto di Balìa, who were terrified. See G. Cambi, *Istorie,* II, 253ff., *Delizie degli Eruditi Toscani* XXI, cited by Villari, *Machiavelli,* I, 133.

78. K. Weil Garris Posner, *Leonardo and Central Italian Art, 1515–50* (New York, 1974).

The Identity of Sofonisba Anguissola's Young Man

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The young man in the Sofonisba Anguissola portrait in The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1) might be most popularly known by the sobriquet *Medici Boy* of Joseph Cornell's box constructions, although his actual identity seems to have eluded scholarly enquiry.[1] But the existence of at least four other versions of the painting[2] would lead one to suspect that the subject was relatively well known in his time; the reasonable assumption is that the youth was of noble birth, an idea underscored by his general comportment and dress as well as by his sword. Whereas a less appealing image might comfortably remain "Portrait of a Young Man," the present work has elicited a variety of tentative identifications. The boy has indeed been thought of as a member of the Medici family, either Francesco or Pietro, both sons of Cosimo I, but the physiognomic disparities between the documented portraits of those figures and the Walters youth seem considerable.[3] Other proposals, all ultimately without substantiation, have included Victor Amadeus of Savoy, the artist's younger brother Asdrubale, her (evidently non-existent) son, a member of the Gaddi family of Florence, a prince of the Este family, or Philip Prospero, Prince of Asturias.[4]

Recent treatment of the picture by Sian Jones of The Walters Art Gallery's Department of Conservation and Technical Research has provided an important clue towards discovering the identity of the young noble. When the old lining of the picture was removed, an inscription became discernible on the reverse of the original canvas (fig. 2). When viewed with infra-red video reflectography the lettering acquired strength and definition and the inscription became legible, if not immediately comprehendible (fig. 3):

MAX.STA.MAR.SON.III
AET. AN. VIIII
1557

The lettering is typical of the mid-sixteenth century and there is no reason to doubt that the inscription was written on the painting at the time of completion, most likely by the artist herself; several of Sofonisba's paintings bear extended inscriptions, often in similar Roman capitals (fig. 4).[5] However, unlike those other inscriptions, that on the Walters portrait is quite cryptic. What can be immediately understood is the "1557" inscribed on the final line; there can be little doubt that it represents the year of execution of the painting—a date that reasonably accords with most scholars' placement of the picture at 1559–1560.[6] The middle line is comprehensible following established conventions of portrait inscriptions. "AET. AN. VIIII," an abbreviated form of "Aetatis Anni VIIII" indicates that the subject was nine years of age when the portrait was painted.

The first line of the inscription is where one would expect the subject to be named and identified by title. A roughly contemporary *Portrait of Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan* in The Walters Art Gallery (fig. 5)[7] demonstrates the usual form such a legend takes: the name latinized and abbreviated, followed by the title and domain. Our inscription is similarly conceived, but the extreme contractions used and the obscurity of the sitter have made the identification less than immediate, though recoverable. The third term, "MAR," in the place where one would expect the title, suggests that the young boy was a *marchese,* or marquis, of a territory beginning with the three letters of the fourth term, "SON." His family name would begin with "STA" and his given name (in Latin) with "MAX." The "III" following "SON" would be a Roman numeral three, indicating that Max . . . Sta . . . was the third *marchese* of Son. . . . There is one figure for whom these abbreviations prove sensible—Massimiliano II (in Latin, Maximillion) Stampa, who was in fact the third *marchese* of the north Italian city of Soncino.



Fig. 1. Sofonisba Anguissola, *Portrait of a Young Man,* Oil on Canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.101'6.

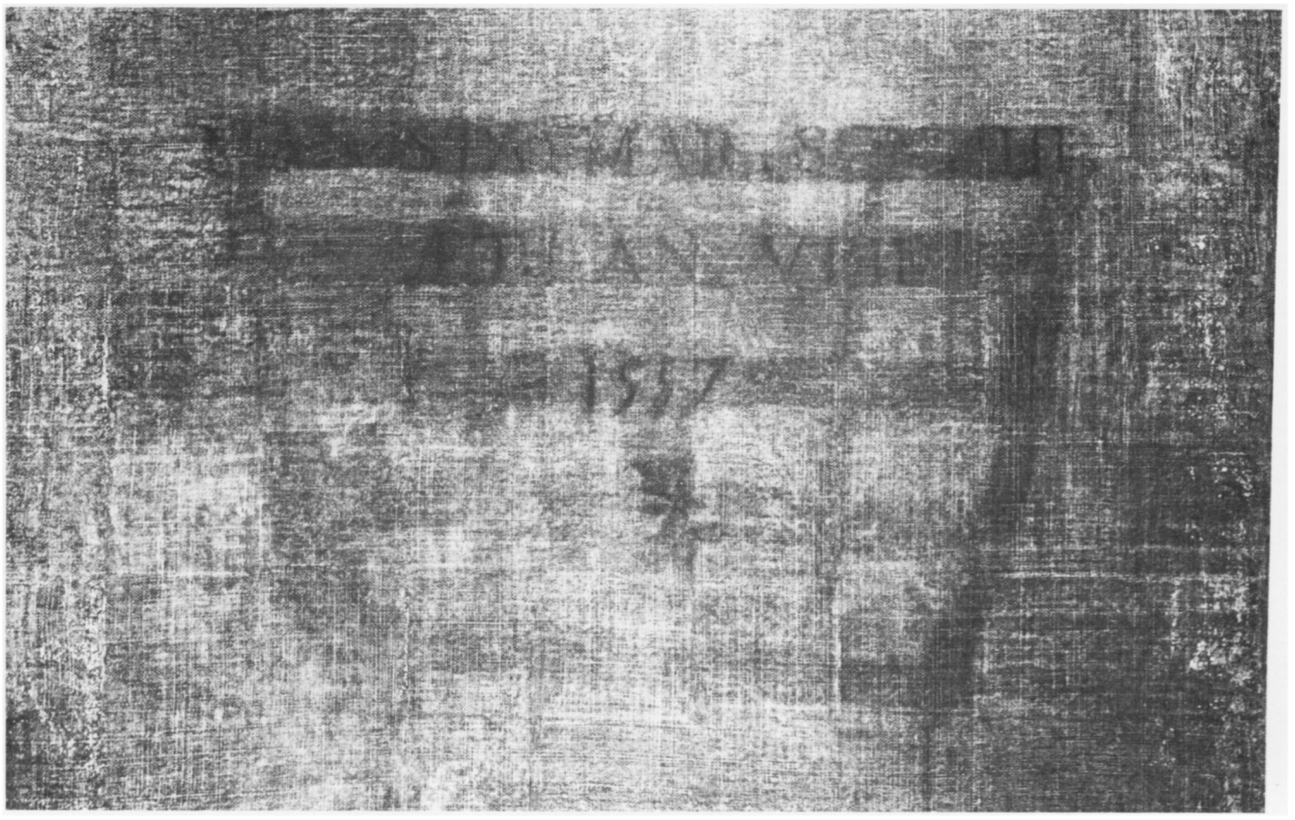


Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1, reverse.

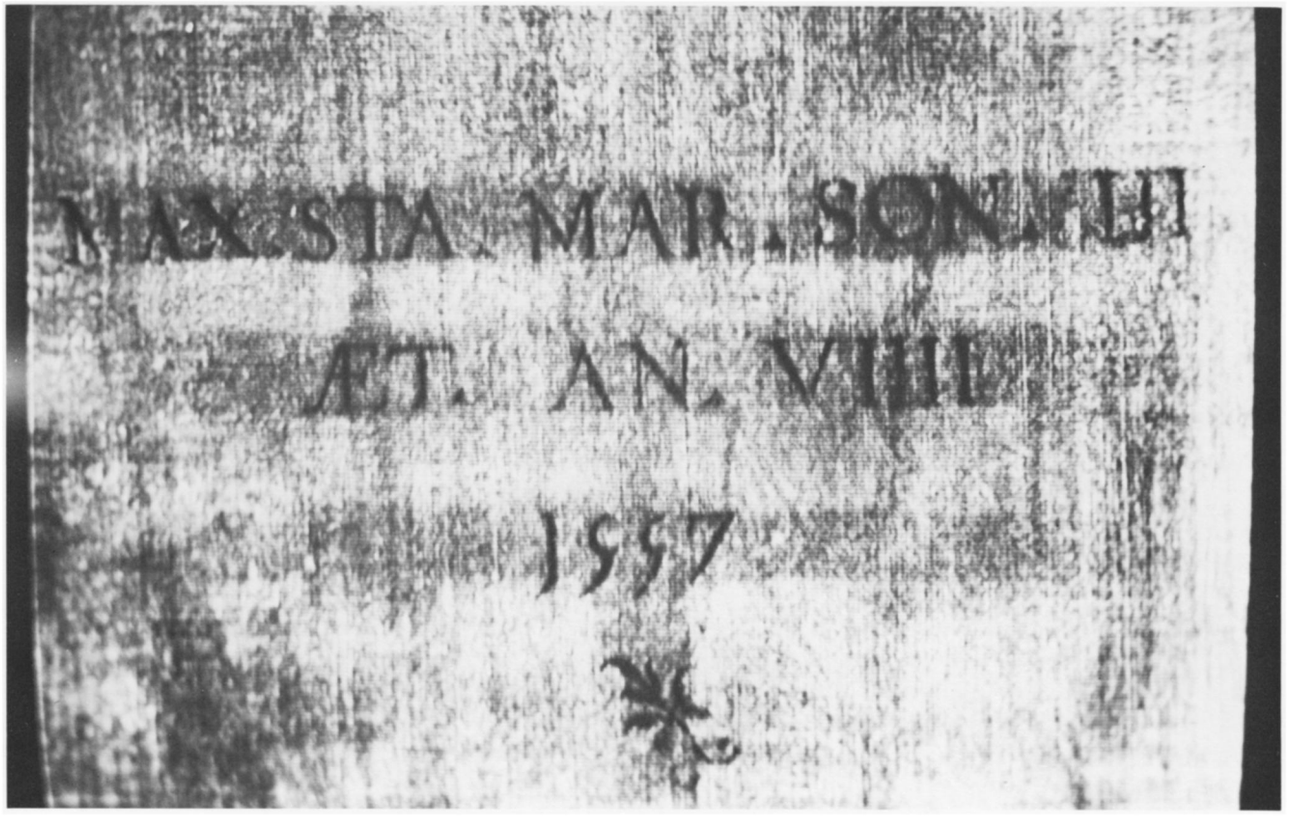


Fig. 3. Detail of Figure 1, infra-red reflectogram of reverse.



Fig. 4. Sofonisba Anguissola, *Self-Portrait,* Oil on Canvas, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



Fig. 5. School of Lombardy, *Portrait of Francesco II Sforza, Duke of Milan,* Oil on Canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.1102.

The Stampa were an old Milanese family who traced their origins to a French *condottiere* who came to Italy with Charlemagne.[8] Massimiliano I (1494–1552), the most prominent member of the family in the Cinquecento, was the governor of the fortresses of Milan at the time of the death of the Milanese duke Francesco II Sforza (fig. 5) in 1535. Stampa's voluntary capitulation to Charles V in that year earned him the favor of the emperor, as well as the enmity of the many compatriots who felt he had betrayed Milan. Among the rewards bestowed by Charles V on Stampa was, in 1536, the newly created title of *Marchese* of Soncino, a small but strategic town in the province of Cremona.

Massimiliano appears to have spent little time in his domain, preferring to maintain residence in the elegant towered palazzo he constucted in Milan.[9] Although the citizens of Soncino protested his (and his successors') feudal rule, the Stampa maintained control of the territory until the seventeenth century. With no son to succeed him Massimiliano ceded his rights as *marchese* to his brother Ermete (Hermes) in 1546.[10] Papal dispensation was necessary for this transfer, as Ermete was required to renounce the clerical vows he had taken.[11] He then married Isabella Rangoni of Modena and fathered a son, Massimiliano, named after his uncle. At Ermete's death in 1557 he was succeeded by Massimiliano, who thus became the third *marchese* of Soncino.

This is the Massimiliano who is the subject of our picture and by its date of 1557 it may now be supposed that the portrait was painted at about the time of his succession to the marquisate.[12] With this information a few of the details of the picture may be better understood. Many years ago de Tolnay suggested that the curled up sleeping dog was derived from Dürer's famous engraving *Melancolia I* (fig. 6).[13] As Panofsky noted, the dog was "traditionally associated with melancholy . . . because he, more than other animals, is subject to spells of dejection and even to madness, and because he looks the more woebegone the more intelligent he is."[14] This emblem of melancholy, supported by the melancholic expression of the face, may then appropriately allude to the recent death of Massimiliano's father, Ermete. Such an interpretation would be underscored by the heraldic arms of the Stampa, which features a dog, either sitting or standing, tied to a tree.[15] Similarly the tentatively held sword and gloves, the wonted appurtenances of an adult noble, perhaps refer to the boy's newly acquired title. They further suggest that the portrait may have been commissioned to celebrate Massimiliano's investiture as *marchese,* recorded as having taken place on 22 July 1557.[16]

The life of Massimiliano II Stampa "post Sofonisba" is of some interest. Raised by his widowed mother, who rather than the subject presumably commissioned the portrait, Massimiliano grew to be an able ruler, holding the

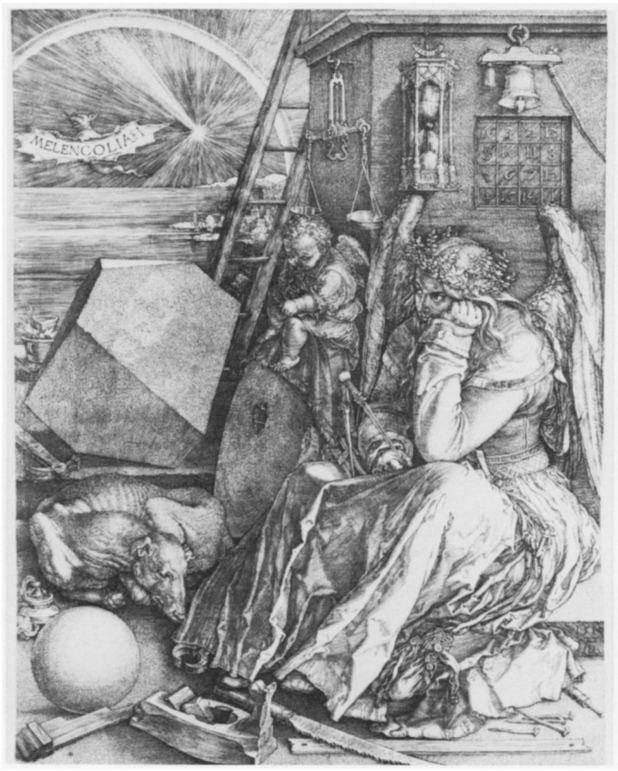


Fig. 6. Albrecht Dürer, *Melancolia I*, 1514, Engraving, Milwaukee, Marquette University, Patrick and Beatrice Haggerty Museum of Art.

titles of senator, Knight of St. James, Count of Montecastello and Rivolta, Baron of Trumello, and *Marchese* of Soncino with the special title of *Illustre* (illustrious). He married Marianna De Leyva, princess of Ascoli, and had ten children.[17] On his wife's death he turned from political to spiritual occupations and is recorded as having made pilgrimages to Santiago de Campostella and Jerusalem before deciding to take vows himself and become a monk. He ceded his titles and worldy rights and possessions to his children and entered the Capuchin order, taking the name of Fra Ambrogio da Soncino.

He asked the pope for missionary service and was sent to Africa to preach the Jubilee of 1600 to the inhabitants. He is recorded as having arrived in Algeria on the twentieth of January 1601; there for ten months he sought to convert the locals, while giving solace to enslaved Christians. Jailed but then released, fatigued by the intensity of his work, and ultimately overcome by its difficulties, Fra Ambrogio was suddenly paralyzed as he prepared to sail for Spain with the two hundred Christian slaves he had rescued in Mauretania. He died, it is said, in the arms of a heathen despot who had given him asylum and protection. In 1605 his son Ermete II had his bones brought back to Italy, first to Livorno, then to Genoa and Milan, before placing them in a tomb in the Church of S. Maria delle Grazie in Soncino.[18]

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 37.1016; oil on canvas; 136.8 × 71.5 cm. Provenance: Chantel, Lyons; Trotti, Paris; James Stillman, New York; by descent to C. C. Stillman, New York; his sale, A. A. A. Galleries, New York, 3 February 1927, lot 29 (purchased at the sale). On the painting see, above all, F. Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1976), II, 427-28, no. 298, hereafter, Zeri, *Italian Paintings;* C. de Tolnay, "Sofonisba Anguissola and Her Relations with Michelangelo," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 4 (1941), 115-118, hereafter, Tolnay, "Sofonisba." Several constructions by Cornell employ black-and-white photostats after a photograph of the Walters painting; these works are variously titled *Medici Boy* (1953, Fort Worth Art Museum, and undated, ex-Alan Stone Gallery, New York), *Medici Prince* (1952, two versions, each private collection, Chicago), and *Medici Slot Machine* (1942, private collection, New York); information from Lynda R. Hartigan, letter of 1976, in museum files; see K. McShine, ed., *Joseph Cornell* (New York, 1980), figs. 117, 119, 121.

2. T. Borenius, *Catalogue of the Paintings at Doughty House, Richmond . . . in the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook* (London, 1913), I, 195, no. 172, cites versions in the collections of Albert Hartshorne in London and A. L. Nicholson in England, in addition to a canvas in the Cook Collection (Richmond, Surrey). Tolnay, "Sofonisba," figs. 2-3, illustrates the Cook picture, as well as a version in the Musée St.-Denis in Reims which is there attributed to Moroni; see *Exposition des Trésors de Reims* (Paris, Musée de l'Orangerie, 1938) (exhibition catalogue), 37, no. 46, and P. Jamot, in *Bulletin des musées de France,* 24 (1914), 28, pl. xi.

3. The identification as Francesco I de' Medici (1541-1587) is rejected by K. Langedijk, *The Portraits of the Medici: 15th-18th Centuries* (Florence, 1983), II, 906, nos. 42-160. The association with Pietro di Cosimo I de' Medici (1554-1604) was suggested by the similarity of a miniature portrait of him (Florence, Gallerie; ill. in *ibid.*, 1351, nos. 100-103) to the subject of the Walters portrait; see *Art News,* 38:2 (1939), 6.

4. Tolnay, "Sofonisba," 116, first proposed as subject Asdrubale, who is portrayed in profile in Sofonisba's triple portrait of her father Amilcare, her sister Minerva, and her brother, now in the Nivaagaards Malerisamling at Nivaa (Denmark); see E. Sambo, in M. Gregori, ed. *I Campi e la cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento* (Milan, 1985), 175-76, no. 1.16.5, hereafter, Gregori, *I Campi.* The identification has recently been revived by E. Tufts, "Sofonisba Anguissola, Renaissance Woman," *Art News,* 71:6 (1972), 50ff. E. Kolb, in a letter of 1955. (Gallery archives), suggested that the boy was Sofonisba's child, on the basis of his similarity to a picture by Sofonisba in the Museum Tel Aviv there called a *Self-portrait with the Artist's Son.* There is, however, no record of the artist's having children; in fact, until the 1560s her signatures proudly include the epithet "virgo" (see fig. 4). The version of the portrait at Reims has passed under the name of Philip Prospero, and the Walters portrait was called an Este prince at the Stillman sale in 1927. I. Kühnel-Kunze, "Zur Bildniskunst der Sofonisba und Lucia Angisciola," *Pantheon,* 20 (1962), 92, believes the youth a member of the Gaddi family on the basis of his admitted resemblance to the boy in the triple portrait (Coll. Lord Methuen) attributed to either Sofonisba or her sister Lucia Anguissola. However, the children in that portrait, which comes from the Gaddi Gallery in Florence, are only traditionally thought to be members of the family (see *Italian Art and Britain,* [London, 1960], 53, no. 114 [exhibition catalogue]). H. Cook, "More Portraits by Sofonisba Anguissola," *Burlington Magazine,* 26 (1915), 228f., rejects the traditional identification of Victor Amadeus for the portrait in the Cook Collection.

5. For example, in the *Self-portrait with Her Two Sisters Playing Chess* (1555; Poznan, Muzeum Narodwe) and the miniature *Self-portrait* (fig.

4) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. On the signatures of the artist, see M. Haraszti-Takacs, "Nouvelle donées relative à la vie et à l'oeuvre de Sofonisba Anguissola," *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts,* 31 (1968), 53–67.

6. Zeri, *Italian Paintings,* 427, notes that the costume suggests a date in the early 1560s. A. M. Romanini, "Sofonisba Anguissola," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* (Rome, 1961), III, 322, considers the Walters portrait as part of a group of pictures to be dated ca. 1559.

7. Inv. no. 37.1102, oil on canvas, 101.7 × 77.1 cm. Zeri, *Italian Paintings,* II, 423–24, no. 295.

8. On the Stampa see, *inter alia,* Pompeo Litta, "Stampa di Milano, in his *Famiglie celebri italiane* (Milan, 1851), 132, hereafter, Litta, *Famiglie.*

9. On the Palazzo Stampa di Soncino (later Palazzo Casati), see G. C. Bascapi and C. Perogalli, eds., *Palazzi privati di Lombardia* (Milan, 1965), 207. no. 15.

10. P. Ceruti, *Biografia Soncinate* (Milan, 1834), 28, hereafter, Ceruti, *Biografia.*

11. Litta, *Famiglie,* pl. III.

12. The fullest account of Massimiliano's life is given in Ceruti, *Biografia,* 28f., which makes ample use of two earlier but briefer accounts: Filippo Argellati, *Biblioteca Scriptorum Mediolanesium* (Milan, 1745), II, 1, cols. 1434–36, hereafter, Argellati, *Biblioteca,* and Francesco Arisi, *Cremona Literata* (Parma, 1706), II, 331. The birth date of Massimiliano II remains unconfirmed. The inscription on the picture implies 1548 (aged nine in 1557), but the biographical sources do not give a birth year. Litta, *Famiglie,* pl. III, states that Massimiliano was born in 1546, but this appears to be based on the chronology found in Ceruti, *Biografia,* 19; there Massimiliano's birth is erroneously given the date of his father's acquisition of his title from Massimiliano I.

13. Tolnay, "Sofonisba," 115.

14. E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1955), 162. See G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane* (Geneva, 1958), col. 94.

15. I. B. Rietstap, *Armorial général,* 2nd ed. (Gouda, 1887), II, 822, and H. V. Rolland, *Planches de l'armorial général de J-B Rietstap* (The Hague, 1921), V, pl. ccxl. See also Litta, *Famiglie,* pl. I, who illustrates a coat-of-arms and a heraldic bas-relief containing a dog from the Palazzo Soncino in Milan. Litta states that the dog is an allegorical emblem borrowed from the arms of the Sforza.

16. Litta, *Famiglie,* pl. III.

17. Ceruti, *Biografia,* 28, states that he had five male children; Litta, *Famiglie,* pl. III, lists five males and five females.

18. Argellati, *Biblioteca,* col. 1436; transcribes the inscription on his tomb in Soncino: MAXIMILIANO STAMPAE II. MARCHIONI SONCINI / QVI MARIANNA A LEYVA ASCVLI PRINCIPIS FIL. / VXORE SVA SUMMA EXORNATA VIRTUTE / DEFVNCTA / DIVO FRANCISCO SE IN COELIBATVM MANCIPAVIT IN EIVSQVE FAMILIA CAPVCCINORUM / NOMEN DEDIT / QVI IN EO VITAE GENERE. / AFRICAE ORIS VT EVANGELIVM DISSEMINARET / CAPTIVOS REDIMERET / IVLIAE CAESAREAE OBIIT MDCI / HERMES STAMPA II MARCHIO SONCINI / PANENTIS OSSIBVS / IVSSV MAVRITANIAE REGIS SERVATIS / SVAQVE CVRA IN HOC A VITAE DITIONIS TEMPLVM DELATIS / HOC M. P. ANNO MDCX.

Hugues Merle's Hester et Perle *and Nathaniel Hawthorne's* The Scarlet Letter

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Among the paintings bequeathed by its founder to The Walters Art Gallery is the portrait of mother and child by Hugues Merle, exhibited as *The Scarlet Letter.*[1] The figures are familiar to any reader of American literature as the outcast Hester Prynne and her natural child, Pearl, central figures in Hawthorne's romance, written in 1849–50. The Merle painting is described in florid but appropriate detail in Robert B. Gruelle's report of the Walters collection:

> This beautiful picture was painted by Merle at the request of the owner, who sent him the novel. The incident chosen is where the heroine, Hester Prynne, has been conducted from the town jail to the pillory—which stood under the eaves of one of Boston's earliest churches—where she was doomed to exposure for a certain period. She is represented as sitting on the platform holding little Pearl fondly in her arms. The face of the woman is of a strong type of beauty, refined and sensitive. She sits facing you, with her eyes directed at some imaginary object. She seems to be looking back into the dim past, as if, combining its events with the present, she might see out into the yet unfathomed future. While she broods she unconsciously presses the child to her bosom, as if to shield it from some impending fate. A luxuriant wealth of black hair falls in abundant waves on either side of her head, framing it charmingly. The painting of the flesh of the child is of the tenderest sort. It is like certain flowers which are so delicate that to touch them would mar their beauty. Nestling in the security of the arms of her mother, the little one looks into the depths of her eyes as if trying to penetrate her inmost thoughts. Behind her and disappearing in the distance, are two men, who are pointing toward her, emphasizing the indignity of her position. The canvas is painted with attention to detail and the textures are carefully developed. The picture is solid, refined and beautiful, and the conception of the artist met with the hearty approval of Hawthorne, who said it fulfilled perfectly his ideal of the scene.[2]

Gruelle's description is mistaken in small ways; the painting can hardly be of Hester and Pearl seated on the pillory platform, for the novel emphasizes that the mother was forced to stand throughout her assigned period of ignominy on the scaffold, and the background is too barren to be mistaken even for Boston's grim seventeenth-century marketplace. Nevertheless, Gruelle's words accurately convey the mood of the picture, which is indeed reminiscent of the Madonna and Child tradition to which Hawthorne's narrative makes explicit reference. Of immediate interest is Gruelle's retelling of the legend that the novelist expressed his singular regard for Merle's achievement. The tradition, however, is difficult to reconcile with what is known of the painting's and Hawthorne's whereabouts in the following years. Hawthorne last passed through Paris in June of 1859, six months before the painting was commissioned, returned to America from England a year later, and died on 19 May 1864.[3] Thus if, as seems probable, the painting was not brought to Baltimore until after the Civil War when transatlantic shipment was again a prudent undertaking, Hawthorne could never have seen the work. Even if the painting had been brought over earlier and been accessible when the novelist made a brief trip to Washington and some of the nearby battle sites in the spring of 1862, there is no record of his having seen it or even of his having stopped in Baltimore.[4] Yet the tradition that Hawthorne admired Merle's painting could still have an historical basis on an alternate explanation.

Hugues Merle was born in Saint-Marcellin in the department of Isère in 1823 and moved to Paris as a young man. There he became a pupil of Léon Coignet at the Ecole-des-Beaux-Arts, and exhibited regularly at the Salon in 1847 and the years following.[5] By 1859 his reputation as a painter of portraits and biblical themes had made him popular with American collectors. As the punctiliously recorded entries in his diary tell, George Lucas was acting as William Walters' agent in November and December of that year when he sounded Merle on undertaking the Hawthorne painting.[6] On the last day of the year he brought the artist a copy of *The Scarlet Letter,* most likely the severely edited 1853 French translation by "Old Nick" (E. D. Forgues), that he had purchased earlier in the day.[7] Unfortunately, the Lucas diary for 1860 has been lost, but that for the following year resumes the story of the painting. On 9 March 1861 Lucas received a note from the artist requesting "an account of 2000 fs on Walters picture of the Scarlett [*sic*] Letter." Two days later Lucas recorded paying Merle 2002 francs and then on August 9th a further 1500 francs as "the last payment on Walter [*sic*] Hester & Perle."[8]

At about this time William Walters and his wife arrived in Paris where, following Mrs. Walters' death in 1862, the widowed collector would remain until nearly the end of the Civil War. Since May 1st the painting, which the official catalogue listed as "Hester et Perle. (*La Lettre rouge.* Hawthorne.)," had been among the five works by Merle being shown at the 1861 Salon in the Palais des Champs-Elysées, an exhibit for which Merle was awarded a second-class medal.[9] Most commentaries on the Salon seem to have ignored the painting commissioned by Walters; however, Théophile Gautier was impressed by one of the other works by Merle in that year's exhibition, a painting entitled *Une Mendiante,* which portrayed another victim of society in a similar moral atmosphere.

> Quel profond désespoir, quelles angoisses navrantes dans la tête de cette petite *Mendiante!* Le ciel est humide et gris; d'une main elle retient les haillons que découvrent sa poitrine déjà fanée par la misère; elle tend l'autre, mais d'un geste presque impérieux, car la faim fait taire toute pudeur; la douleur contracte cette jeune physionomie hâve et maigre. Une brume inhospitalière estompe les maisons et les perspectives des rues; personne ne sort de ce temps-là, et la pauvre fille risque de prolonger longtemps encore sa triste station.[10]

On the afternoon of 11 September 1861 Walters, his wife, and Lucas went to see the painting. Two months later, on November 6th, Lucas reports going with Mr. Walters to Merle's studio "to have signed his photographs of the Scarlet Letter."[11] By the end of the winter the painting had been transferred to the Walters' apartment at 12 rue de l'Oratoire, and on 2 March 1862, Lucas took two other American collectors, William Henry Huntington and Isaac Brooks, to view it.[12] On February fourth of the following year, Lucas asked Merle's advice on the painting's framing (more likely a reframing after its showing in the Salon) but Lucas does not seem to have acted on the new frame until he ordered one for 140 francs from the firm of Dutocq and Fernandez on 5 December 1863.[13]

Even as "Hester et Perle" was still being painted, the work had been reported upon in America. In a letter from Paris dated 1861, which Hawthorne may have read, the correspondent of *The Crayon* wrote of his pleasure on visiting Merle's studio:

> We were fortunate in finding him at home, putting the last fond finishing touches to his pictures for the coming exhibition. The subject of one is chosen from Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter." This picture, from the nature of its theme, its artistic success, and the fact that I went on purpose to see it, engaged my attention more than the others. It is so fine, so full of the remarkable story from which it is taken, that it seems as if Hawthorne's pen alone could do it justice. Really, I feel a hesitation in attempting it. I have no doubt, if ink and paper were capable of blushing, you would find this, in its small way, a scarlet letter also. *Allons!* The picture is not a representation of any particular incident in the story, but simply a portrayal of the heroine, Hester Prynne, and the elf child, "Little Pearl." The action of the figures is very simple and natural. The mother is seated facing the spectator, on a grassy slope by the sea shore. The baby Pearl, fast asleep, is folded in her arms. On the distant shore that forms the background of the picture, are seen "Chillingworth" and "Dimisdale [*sic*]," hurrying along, apparently in earnest conversation. Over all is a sullen grey autumnal sky—these are the materials of the work. The power of the picture is in the intensity and depth of feeling expressed in Hester's face, especially in the earnest, fate-seaching gaze of her deep lustrous eyes—eyes that seem to be the barred and grated windows of an imprisoned soul. The passions have burned the roses in her cheeks to ashes—dragged down the graceful sweeps of the arching brow, pinched out the fullness of lip—yet still she is beautiful. The child nestled in her arms seems to have absorbed the lost charms of the mother. We see but the outline of little Pearl's cheek, but such an outline! So subtle that though the face is turned from you, you know that baby is smiling in her sleep. The sweetest part of the cheek (where the dimples play among the roses), is close against the blazing embroidery of the "Scarlet Letter;" the baby hand is toying with the fatal insignia that burns like a brand into the heart it covers. In the working up of this part of the picture, the artist has shown how fully he has sympathized with the author. There may be one or two points of departure from the letter of the story, though not from the spirit of it. These I shall not mention, but let each one pick out flaws for himself. The tone of the



Fig. 1. Hugues Merle, *The Scarlet Letter*, 1861, Oil on Fabric, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.172.



Fig. 2. Hugues Merle, *La Mendiante*, Oil on Canvas, Paris, Musée d'Orsay, no. RF.554, (photo: Cliché Musées Nationaux).

> picture is in keeping with the subject—grey, sombre and sad. Though in a different scale, it is fully equal in purity of color to his much-admired picture of the "Good Sister," in the Belmont Collection.[14]

The above description, so different in its explanation of the artist's rendering from that of Gruelle quoted earlier, goes beyond evidence implicit in the painting itself (from which one cannot conclude the identity of the background figures nor that the murky landscape along which they walk is the seashore) and may well have been drawn from the visitor's conversation with the artist. The writer, identified in *The Crayon* simply as "G. H. B." was George H. Boughton, an English-American student of Edouard Frere who in later years would illustrate the Grolier Club edition of *The Scarlet Letter.* The date of the visit to Merle would seem to be fixed by the entry in Lucas' diary recording that he and Boughton visited Merle on 24 March 1861, five weeks before the opening of the 1861 Salon.[15]

A few months earlier Boughton had written in *The Crayon* that "Merle is very little cared for by Parisians; his pictures bring large prices for the English and American market."[16] However, the genuineness of Lucas' own regard for "Hester et Perle" is shown by his having engaged Merle to make him a copy of the painting. His diary entry for 23 March 1863 tells of his taking a "panel to Merle for my sketch of 'Lettre Rouge.'"[17] The copy seems to have been done during the months that year when the original was awaiting its reframing. On December 8th, Lucas went to Merle's studio to take the measurements "for [a] frame for my sketch of [The] Scarlet Letter," and the next day he ordered the frame from Dutocq and Fernandez.[18] Five weeks later, the entry for 16 January 1864, records his pleasant surprise: "At Merle's & received from him present of sketch of The Scarlet [L]etter."[19]

The fidelity of the quarter-size copy Merle painted for Lucas to the painting commissioned by Walters argues indirectly but strongly against Hawthorne's ever having seen the original he is reported to have praised. (There was, of course, no possibility of his ever having seen the replica, which remained in Paris until after Lucas' death in 1909.)[20] The very close similarity between the two works can only have resulted if Merle had the larger painting at hand as he worked on the copy. Thus, the original must have been in Paris until the end of 1863 or the beginning of 1864. Indeed, there is no reason to believe it did not remain in Paris until 1865 when, during the last days of February and the first days of March, Lucas supervised the crating and shipping to Baltimore of the purchases Walters had made in Europe.[21]

Even if Hawthorne never saw the Merle painting, the story of his having signally praised it may not be without historical foundation, for the legend as commonly related seems to imply more than is required or warranted. The source of the story is the description of the painting prepared under William Walters' supervision for the first catalogue of his collection in 1878: "'The Scarlet Letter,' is by Hugues Merle. Hawthorne, to whom Mr. Walters sent a photograph of this picture, regarded it as the best illustration of his story which had been produced."[22] The photograph to which the catalogue refers would seem to be that mentioned in Lucas' diary entry for 6 November 1861, which tells of his having visited Walters' Paris apartment and gone "with him to Merle's to have signed his photographs of the Scarlet Letter."[23] Twice later but at widely separated times—on 4 January 1864 and 19 May 1895—the diary refers to the existence of photographs of the Merle painting.[24] It would have been possible for a photograph of the painting to have been sent to Hawthorne from Paris during the war and Hawthorne's reply received in turn, but the dates and exact contents of any such exchange are unlikely ever to be known. The Walters correspondence was destroyed in the great Baltimore fire of 1904, and no record of any letters that passed between him and the author has been found by the editors of Hawthorne's letters.[25] Although uncertainties remain after the narrowing of the basis for Hawthorne's reported praise, the fascinating possibility of his having expressed his appreciation of the Merle painting as reported by the Walters catalogue remains open.

NOTES

1. Inv. no. 37.172; 1861; finely woven fabric; 100 x 81 cm.

2. R. B. Gruelle, *Notes: Critical & Biographical: Collection of W. T. Walters* (Indianapolis, 1895), 129-30.

3. A. Turner, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: A Biography* (New York, 1980), 344–49, hereafter, Turner; J. T. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times* (Boston, 1980), 515–30, hereafter, Mellow.

4. Turner, 364–70; Mellow, 548–55.

5. W. R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), 105–08, no. 112.

6. G. A. Lucas, *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Art Agent in Paris, 1857–1909,* transcribed and with an introduction by Lilian M. C. Randall (Princeton, 1979), II, 104–07 (hereafter, Lucas, *Diary*).

7. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 107.

8. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 111, 119.

9. *Explication des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, gravure, lithographie et architecture des artistes vivants, exposés au Palais des Champs-Elysées le 1er mai 1861* (Paris, 1861), 267.

10. T. Gautier, *Abécédaire du Salon de 1861* (Paris, 1861), 283. The *Mendiante,* which once belonged to the Musée Luxembourg, now forms part of the collection being assembled for the Musée d'Orsay.

11. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 121, 124.

12. *Ibid.,* II, 130.

13. *Ibid.,* II, 149, 166.

14. *The Crayon,* 8 (May, 1861), 118.

15. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 112.

16. *The Crayon,* 7 (October, 1860), 296. This Paris letter is also identified as being from "G. H. B."

17. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 152.

18. *Ibid,* II, 166–7.

19. *Ibid.,* II, 169. The copy is now in the possession of a Baltimore collector. Its close correspondence to the Walters painting may be gauged from the reproduction of Lucas' copy given as Figure 8 in Lilian Randall, "Paris for Sale: The Diary of George A. Lucas (1824–1909)," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin,* 31 (February, 1979), n.p.

20. L. M. C. Randall, "Introduction" and "Chronology" to Lucas, *Diary,* I, 31–32, 42.

21. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 173–75.

22. *W. T. Walters' Collection: A Descriptive Catalogue Prepared for "The Poor Association," by a Well Known Critic Connected with the Press, and Sold for Their Exclusive Benefit* (Baltimore, [1878]), 19.

23. Lucas, *Diary,* II, 124.

24. *Ibid.,* II, 169, 180.

25. For information concerning the Hawthorne correspondence, I am indebted to Professor Thomas Woodson of The Ohio State University, a general editor of *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne* and an editor (with James A. Rubino, L. Neal Smith, and Norman Holmes Pearson) of *The Letters, 1857–1864,* Volume XVIII of that edition.