the

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OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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The Twelve Gods Relief in The Walters Art Gallery

JANET SUSANNA ROSE SAUSER
Washington, D.C.

A marble slab with twelve standing figures carved in low relief (fig. 1), exhibited in The Walters Art Gallery,[1] is alleged to have been found in Taranto, South Italy.[2] Because of its peculiar juxtaposition of Archaic linear motifs with Classical naturalistic forms, the relief is difficult to interpret. The piece has been assigned to the late Archaic age,[3] as well as to the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., and to the late-Hellenistic or early-Roman periods.[4] At least one scholar has suggested that it is a modern forgery.[5] For reasons that will be discussed in this article, the Walters relief should be recognized as a product of a late Hellenistic neo-Attic workshop sculptor who adhered to the Archaic style more faithfully than did many of his contemporary fellow artists.

Description

The slab is unevenly broken along the entire bottom edge, removing the legs of the five figures on the viewer's far left and the three figures on the right. The four central figures are nearly intact. Two fine cracks are visible on the front near the bottom right, but they appear to be filled in. There are minor abrasions in several places on the surface of the relief.

A brownish encrustation covers nearly the entire front and sides of the relief, including the broken surfaces. The sides show the marks of a point. Direct examination of the back of the slab has not been possible; however, the back was described and illustrated by Schmidt.[6]

On the front of the slab, twelve figures are carved in very low relief. The figures move to their left, with their legs in profile and their torsos in three-quarter view or, in the case of figures 5, 9, 11, in frontal view. Their heads are turned to the companions behind them. This paratactic arrangement and the figures' flat-footed stances result in a static file rather than a moving procession.[7] Male and female alternate to form six pairs. From the head of the file, or from right to left, eight Olympian gods[8] are readily identifiable by their attributes: (*1*) Apollo, (*2*) Artemis, (*3*) Zeus, (*4*) Athena, (*5*) Poseidon, (*8*) Demeter, (*9*) Ares, and (*11*) Hermes. Harder to identify are (*6*) (Hera/Thetis/Amphitrite?), (*7*) (Dionysos/Hephaestos?), (*10*) (Aphrodite?), and (*12*) (Persephone/Hestia/Hera/Maja?).[9] In this article these last figures will be referred to as (*6*) Hera, (*7*) Hephaestos, (*10*) Aphrodite, and (*12*) Persephone. It would be as accurate to identify these twelve figures after the names of the Roman, consenting gods who correspond to the Greek Olympians.[10]

The figures are carved in such low relief that they lack any suggestion of plasticity. Probably a flat chisel was used to achieve this effect, but all traces of tool marks on the figures and background have been smoothed with an abrasive.

The heads of the twelve figures abut the projecting molding, which has been cut away to accommodate the carving of the tops of Hermes' pilos and Athena's head.[11] Some features of headdress and attributes are lightly incised on the molding and were probably painted so that they would be legible: Apollo's cithara; the eagle on the top of Zeus' scepter; Athena's helmet and spear butt; Hera's and Demeter's stephanes; Ares' helmet and spear butt.

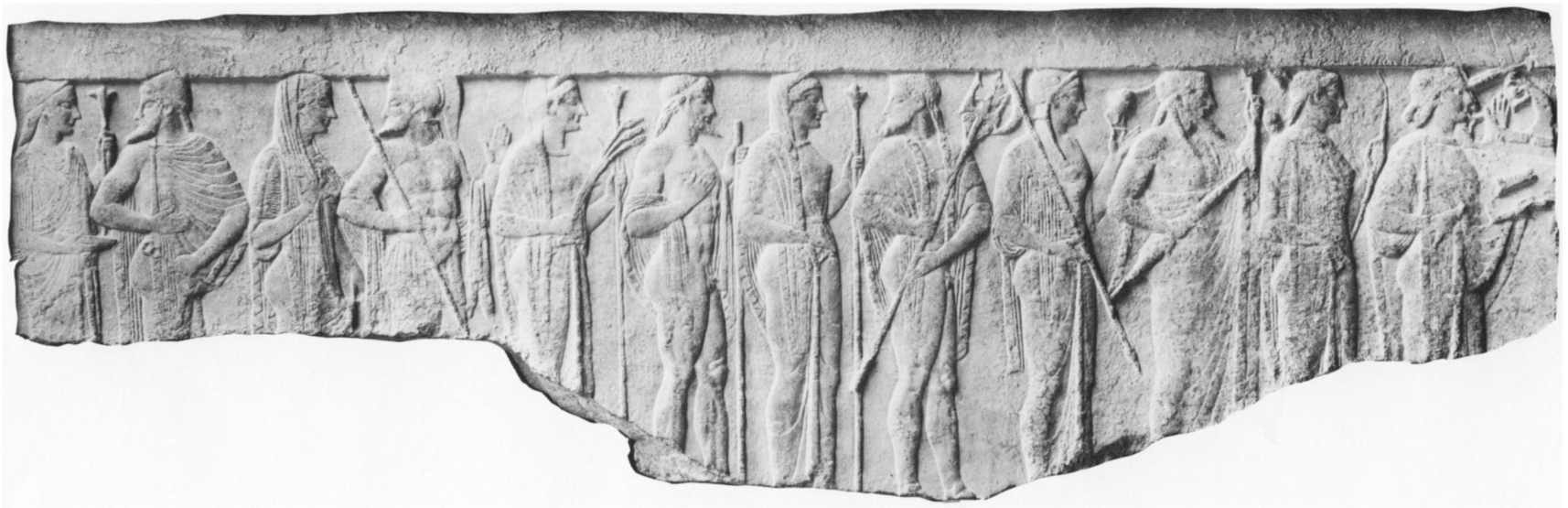

Fig. 1. *The Twelve Gods Relief,* marble, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 23.40.

Neo-Attic Reliefs[12]

It is immediately apparent that many figures on the relief are strikingly similar to those on neo-Attic archaizing reliefs and specifically to thirteen types compiled by F. Hauser (fig. 2)[13] from archaizing reliefs which, like the Walters piece, feature evenly spaced, paratactic figures wearing identifying apparel and holding specific attributes. On each work, figures are usually identical to one another in size and proportion, although from one relief to the next, even nearly identical types vary in size. The appearance of similar types on diverse reliefs has been attributed to the common use of sketchbooks containing popular figure types,[14] which allowed artisans from widely separated workshops to design and carve similar reliefs intended for private, decorative use.[15]

Most of the figures on archaizing reliefs are not faithful imitations of any specific prototype.[16] Indeed, Hauser's types 11–13 are essentially Hellenistic figures archaized only by what Havelock describes as "linear motifs and flourishes."[17] The other ten types are later, neo-Attic creations that adhere to a fully stylized and academic vocabulary of archaizing.[18] These latter figures exhibit so little resemblance to Archaic prototypes that we can only conclude that they were intended to be recognized by their ancient viewers as intentional derivations.

Archaizing Parallel

Despite its significant Archaic and early Classical features, which will be discussed below, the Walters relief can be confidently identified as the product of a neo-Attic workshop. The most dramatic confirmation of this attribution is a relief fragment in Athens (fig. 3),[19] which partially preserves two figures similar to the Hera and Poseidon of the Walters relief. Surviving are the complete head of Poseidon with a trident facing the fragmentary head of a female figure with scepter. The female wears a stephane and her hair is drawn up behind her head into a bun, following a style familiar on Hellenistic archaizing female figures. The position of the heads and the placement of the attributes is so similar to the figures of Hera and Poseidon on the Walters relief that both works were probably derived from sketchbooks.[20]

Typically archaizing are the identical contours of all twelve figures; indeed it is only the position of the arms that creates the impression of different torso positions: Hermes, Ares, and Poseidon appear frontal only because their left arms and shoulders have been carved to the sides of their bodies. The other nine figures do not have their left shoulders and upper arms visible because the artist wanted us to understand these figures in three-quarter view. Pattern manipulation like this is typical of neo-Attic archaiz-

Fig. 2. *Neo-Attic Relief Figure Types* (from F. Hauser, *Die Neu-attischen Reliefs* [Stuttgart, 1889], pl. 1).

Fig. 3. *Relief Fragment with Two Heads,* marble, Athens, the National Museum, no. 2358.

ing reliefs, and Hauser types 1–13, representing figures from diverse reliefs, have nearly identical body contours despite varying arm and hand positions.[21] Other archaizing parallels to the Walters relief can be cited, specifically in details of gesture, costume and a misunderstanding of Archaic drapery.

Gesture

Most of the hand and arm positions on the Walters relief are in harmony with those of the thirteen Hauser types. Ares, Persephone, Hephaestos, Hera, Athena, Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo hold their bent right arms next to their bodies, and their left arms, also bent, are upraised; parallels can be readily cited among Hauser types 1–4, 8, and 9.

There are six separate hand positions on the Walters relief of which four are also found among Hauser types 1–13. The right hand of Persephone, with the palm up, can be compared with the left hand of Poseidon, the right hand of Athena and the left hands of Hauser types 4, 10, and 1. Persephone's left hand, with fingers clenched around a staff and knuckles visible, is like the left hands of Hephaestos, Zeus, Artemis, Hauser types 7 and 9, and the right hands of Hauser types 5, 6, and 10. A clenched hand with the back of the hand visible to the viewer is found on the left hands of Hermes, Hauser type 2, and the right hands of Ares, Demeter, Poseidon, and Apollo. The affected index-finger-to-thumb position of both Aphrodite's hands is seen also on the right hands of Hera, Artemis, and Hauser type 8. The uplifted hand with finger extended and palm facing the viewer, seen on the left hands of Apollo, Athena, and Ares, also appears on figures of Apollo Citharoidos on other archaizing reliefs, such as the Yale Five Gods relief (fig 4).[22] On the Walters relief, the right hands of Hermes and Hephaestos are a reversal of the gesture.

Costume

Zeus wears a long himation, wrapped from the back, under the right arm and carried horizontally across the chest, with the ends brought over the left shoulder. This manner of draping the himation is familiar from Archaic male figures;[23] however, the tips of Zeus' himation swing away from the figure in back. These swinging tips, adapted from a late Archaic mannerism,[24] are so characteristic of neo-Attic reliefs that the motif is a distinguishing trait of the archaizing vocabulary. Indeed, Zeus' figure and drapery adhere to a common archaizing type, Hauser type 7 (see also Zeus figure on the Yale relief, fig 4).

A further archaizing element in the handling of Zeus' drapery is the rendering of the fabric as thin, light stuff with randomly curving folds. This naturalistic non-Archaic treatment is comparable to the drapery on the figure of Zeus on the neo-Attic Agora Tripod base (fig. 5b)[25] where folds radiate from the paryphe, or central pleat, across the left leg.

Demeter and Hera wear tight-fitting, belted sheath dresses. There is a slight kolpos at Demeter's waist, but Hera has no slack material around her belt. Capes cover the shoulders and upper arms of both goddesses, so the construction of the dress in that area is conjectural. No curved folds hang below the elbow to indicate sleeves. Although the dresses are similar, the carving is not. Hera's garment is crisp and detailed whereas Demeter's costume and body contours are scarcely defined. Demeter appears to be a spiritless imitation of Hera.

This type of belted dress is familiar from Hauser type 8.[26] However, the paryphe on Hauser's type follows the typically neo-Attic archaizing manner with dense folds spread out in wide, fanlike pleats. On the Walters relief the few pleats hang vertically. This difference can probably be attributed to the wider stances of typical archaizing figures, which create

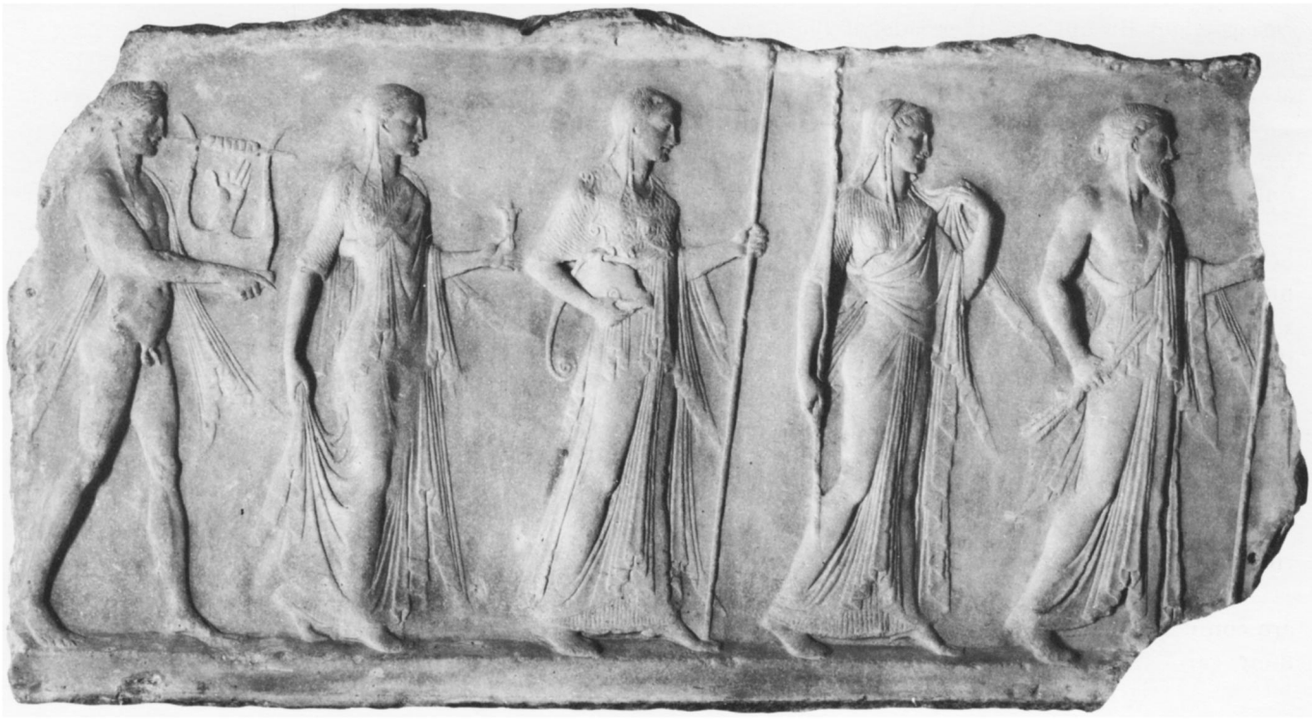

Fig. 4. *Five Gods Relief,* marble, New Haven, The Yale University Art Gallery, no. 1965.132.

more space for the paryphe folds than the more closed stances on the Walters piece.

The sheath dress has its origin in the Archaic period in the type of belted peplos worn by early-Archaic korai such as Nikandre, the Auxerre kore, and the Walters bronze statuette.[27] After the ensemble of diagonal himation and chiton became popular in the middle of the sixth century,[28] the early Archaic peplos survived only on representations of idols,[29] and indeed, the closest parallel to the sheath dress on the Walters relief is the peplos worn by palladia in depictions of late Archaic date.

One feature of Demeter's sheath dress found neither on early-Archaic peploi nor in late-Archaic depictions of palladia is the paryphe, which appears only on the chitons of Archaic korai.[30] On these figures, however, the broad flat central fold is flanked by symmetrical folds in stark contrast to the treatment of the detail on the Walters Demeter where the central pleat is rounded and randomly curving folds radiate from it in a manner comparable to the figure of Zeus on the neo-Attic archaizing Agora Tripod base (fig. 5b). Rendered in the manner of Demeter's paryphe are the folds in the skirt of Hera, which are actually bunched folds held in front of the body.

Another archaizing feature of many of the Walters figures is the linear zigzag border seen on the edges of Hermes' chlamys; in the himations of Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite, and Zeus; in the epiblemata; and in Hephaestos' shawl. Typically archaizing is the manner in which the zigzags are incised within a narrow border and are completely independent of the garment folds, whether stacked or curved.[31] Similarly archaizing is the blunt illogical treatment of the rear panel of Athena's himation and Poseidon's epiblema, which compares with the rendering of the chlamys of Hauser type 1.

Misunderstood Drapery

Other archaizing features of the Walters relief result from misunderstandings of the forms and uses of Archaic drapery. Apollo, for example, wears a chlamys over his chiton, whereas a wrapped or diagonal himation is conventional in Archaic depictions.[32] Yet the chlamys-chiton combination is also without parallel in archaizing relief sculpture—an anomaly that provides further testimony to the independence of the Walters artist. In reliefs of neo-Attic style, Apollo wears any of three types of costume. The first of these (Hauser type 2) is the swallow-tail shawl, worn draped around the back and over both elbows, usually seen when Apollo carries a bow and arrow or a cithara, as on the Yale Procession relief (fig. 4). The second type is exemplified by the Apollo Citharoidos, who usually wears a belted peplos under a long mantle with an overfold.[33] These garments are borrowed from a classical prototype, but the folds of the long mantle with

zigzag edges fly out to either side of the figure in archaizing fashion, and the folds of the peplos are not always distinct from the folds of the mantles, an indication that the garments were copied without comprehension.[34] A third type of archaizing Apollo wears only a wrapped himation, as in Hauser type 7.[35]

Another garment on the Walters relief that betrays confusion about its archaic prototype is Zeus' himation, which is draped illogically over his left arm so that the edge that would fall over the distant side of the arm is flush with the fabric falling on the side nearest the viewer. In addition, the outer, or distant, folds do not appear to fall from the uplifted arm, but rather merge with the staff Zeus holds in his left hand. Even the typical archaizing himation (see Hauser type 7) is draped more organically than this, with the staff clearly differentiated from himation folds.[36]

The veils worn by Demeter, Hera, and Aphrodite are confused and without known prototypes. Just as their garments are similar, so are Demeter's and Hera's veils; again, however, the detail and carving of the former is a degenerate version of the latter. These similarly dressed goddesses appear to wear long veils tucked into their mantles. The carver differentiated veil from cloak by incising a zigzag border around the entire edge of the mantle. Also tucked into the himation is the veil of the third goddess, Aphrodite. Here the sculptor has abruptly terminated the veil folds at a zigzag edge in the border of the himation.

Because no parallels can be cited for either of these two ways of draping the veil, it is tempting to see their origin in a misinterpretation of a mantle that is pulled up on top of the head,[37] or a short veil that ends at the shoulder.[38] On archaizing reliefs, pulled-up mantles usually resemble that on Hauser type 13: it is drawn up on top of the head and wrapped completely around the body, concealing arms and undergarments, with archaizing zigzag edges sweeping behind the figure. In contrast to the veiled figures on the Walters relief, the garment of Hauser type 13 is

Fig. 5a. *Herakles Figure from the Agora Tripod Base,* marble, Athens, American School of Classical Studies, Agora Excavations, no. S 370.

Fig. 5b. *Zeus Figure from the Agora Tripod Base.*

rendered with plastic folds, and the archaizing elements are merely decorative adjuncts to an otherwise Hellenistic figure.[39]

One female with a veil arrangement somewhat similar to Hera's and Demeter's appears on the archaizing Three Gods relief in Carlsberg (fig. 6).[40] Here the veil is organically rendered; however, the vertical edge descending in front of the shoulder is incised with a zigzag border. Two other neo-Attic archaizing reliefs illustrating short veils should be cited, but as with the archaizing examples just discussed, none offers a close parallel to the Walters relief.

On the Yale Procession relief (fig. 4), a female draped in what at first glance looks like a diagonal himation over a chiton, wears a veil that hangs from the very back of the skull and descends her nape. Presumably this veil falls down the back because no folds are visible in front of the shoulder.

On the second relief, the so-called Ara Albani,[41] which is a quadrangular marble base with a procession of eight gods, we find a female figure wearing a short veil and peplos with an archaizing overfold and edges that swing out into points. A veil hanging off the back of the head falls down behind and then swings out into an archaizing point at hip level.

Fig. 6. *Three Gods Relief,* marble, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 841.

Archaic/Early Classical Parallels

Despite its many indisputable archaizing features, the Walters Twelve Gods relief makes an unusual Archaic impression, largely because the stances, faces, hairstyles, and certain details of dress have close Archaic or early-Classical parallels.

Stance

All figures have the identical stance probably because the lower halves of the bodies were outlined onto the stone using a pattern that was traced repeatedly. The knees are unbent, the legs are close together; the left leg and foot are slightly advanced and the soles of the feet are flat on the ground. The treatment is quite different from that usually seen on archaizing reliefs where the legs are typically characterized by exaggerated curves and plastically rendered muscles at thigh and calf. Moreover, in archaizing works, the distant leg and foot are usually well ahead of the foreground leg and foot so that figures appear to be striding. Frequently they stand on tiptoe.[42]

By exaggerating the curved outlines of thigh and calf muscles, archaizing sculptors mimicked the linear patterns of Archaic reliefs. However, the style of their own age intervened, and so we find, in all Hauser types, legs that are plastically modeled and bulge with volume.[43] Because this is not true of the Walters relief, the static stance of these twelve deities more closely recalls the true linear style of Archaic relief sculpture.[44]

Faces

Like their lower bodies, the faces of the twelve figures are nearly identical and must have been traced from a single pattern. Only the addition of beards distinguishes male and female faces. All faces are in profile, but features are rendered as though viewed from different angles following a convention typical of the Archaic period.[45] All eyes are treated as frontal bulging ovals; on Hermes alone are ridges carved within the ovals to indicate eyelids (fig. 8).

The line of the forehead continues in a long sloping profile to the tip of the nose. Lips are carved as two, short, horizontal lines. A depression at the corners forms the "smile" characteristic of the Archaic period. The female faces and the beardless Apollo have small jutting chins. All of these features are consistent with faces on Archaic reliefs whose artists were unable or unwilling to render features as they appear in nature. By contrast, the faces on most neo-Attic archaizing reliefs are modeled naturalistically, as we see, for example, on the Torlonia Four Gods Procession relief (fig 7).[46] Again, the Walters relief carver chose to match more closely a truly Archaic style than his neo-Attic contemporaries.

Hairstyles

Hairstyles on the Walters relief have their origins in Archaic and early-Classical coiffures. Artemis and Persephone wear a fillet over locks that are rendered as wavy incised ridges radiating from the center of the skull into a loosely twisted mass that hangs down behind and is either elaborated with wavy grooves (on Artemis) or undifferentiated (Persephone).

These coiffures actually represent a combination of styles: the fillets and incised ridges over the skull are reminiscent of Archaic hairstyles;[47] the long, loosely twisted locks in back recall the early Classical period.[48] The hairstyles are clearly not Hellenistic nor typical of academic, neo-Attic archaizing fashion. Women on Hellenistic archaizing reliefs usually wear a contemporary style with the hair pulled back in a thick bun above the nape.[49] In veiled figures (Hauser type 13) the bun is still discernible because the fabric lies closely about the figures' heads.[50] In neo-Attic reliefs, on the other hand, the figures usually wear long corkscrewlike locks in front of the shoulder, with hair in back either looped at the nape or unbound in corkscrew curls. The two female figures on the Torlonia Procession relief (fig. 7) illustrate both these neo-Attic styles.

The three veiled Walters goddesses (Aphrodite, Hera, and Demeter) do not wear long locks. The visible portion of Aphrodite's hair (fig. 9) is treated differently in front and behind the fillet in the manner of Archaic korai. Above the hairline we find diagonal, wavy grooves, whereas on the crown of the head ridges radiate from the center of the skull. The hair over Hera's forehead is treated as a thick, wavy mass with volume, reminiscent of some early-Classical female figures with center parts.[51] Demeter's hairstyle mimics Hera's, but the poor quality of the carving discourages further comparison.

The absence of long locks in front of the shoulders of these goddesses points to a late-Archaic inspiration because most Archaic female figures have shoulder locks, with all exceptions to the arrangement dating from the late-Archaic period.[52] Corkscrew shoulder locks are such a hallmark of neo-Attic archaizing hairstyles that their absence on all the Walters goddesses except Athena must evince a conscious attempt to avoid the archaizing vocabulary.

The male figures with uncovered heads have long hair rendered as wavy ridges that radiate from the center of the skull. Only Zeus has locks in front of the shoulder with the rest of the hair in a mass descending his back, a hairstyle seen on some Archaic kouroi.[53] Apollo's hair is looped up behind, a fashion that began in the late-Archaic period.[54] In addition to the wavy ridges over Poseidon's skull, two rows of spiral curls frame his forehead, following a style of late-Archaic/early-Classical date.[55] Although most of Hermes' hair is covered by a pilos, his forehead is also framed by two rows of spiral curls and a mass of hair hangs down his nape. Ares also wears his hair long, and the two locks behind his nape are visible below his neck guard.

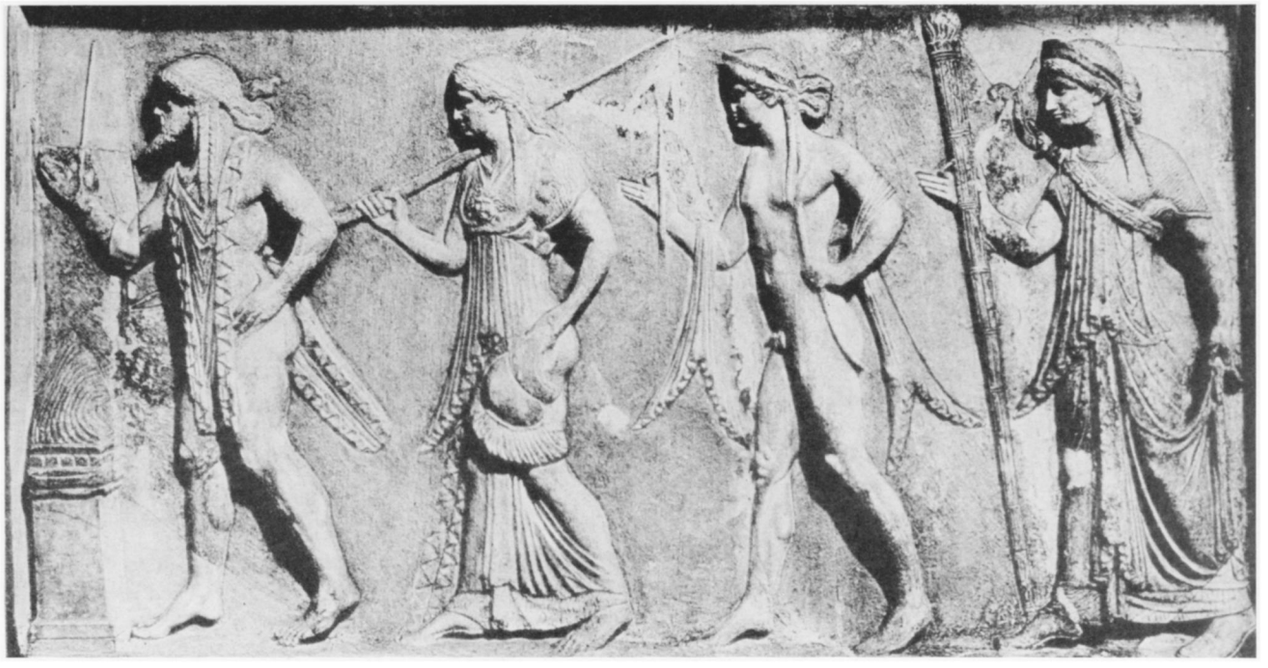

Fig. 7. *Four Gods Procession Relief,* marble, Rome, The Torlonia Collection, no. 988.

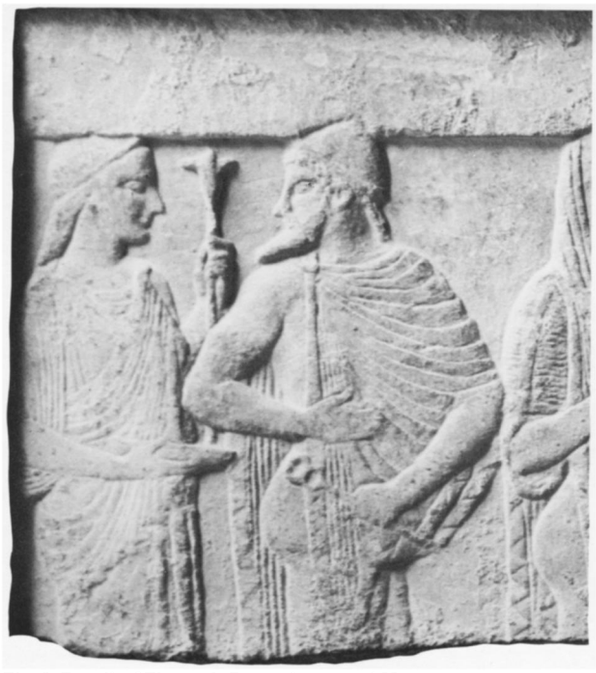

Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 1, Persephone and Hermes.

Fig. 9. Detail of Figure 1, Aphrodite and Ares.

With the exception of Apollo, all the gods are bearded. Bearded figures on Archaic reliefs rarely also have long hair, but long hair and beards are frequently found together in Archaic vase-painting.[56] From at least the mid-sixth century B.C., male hairstyles became progressively shorter, but long hair was retained for depictions of gods and heroes.[57] The long hair on the Walters gods may reflect this venerating motif. The similarity of the male hairstyles on the Walters relief to Archaic prototypes is all the more pronounced when one compares male figures on Hellenistic and neo-Attic (figs. 2, 7) archaizing reliefs who wear elaborate hairstyles looped at the neck with shoulder locks that are usually rendered as corkscrew curls. Zeus is frequently bearded, although Apollo is usually beardless.

Costume and Headdress

The drapery of archaizing figures usually adheres to a particular vocabulary—the result of deliberate adaptations of Archaic costumes and motifs. Such adaptation, whether in relief or on three-dimensional sculpture, usually includes features never found on garments carved on sculpture of Archaic date. On the Walters relief, the dress does not always conform to this archaizing vocabulary. Whereas some of the garments show a misunderstanding of Archaic costume, others are conventional Archaic garb accurately rendered in a linear Archaic manner.

Artemis, Athena, Aphrodite, Persephone, and Apollo wear the chiton, which is a conventional Archaic garment for both men and women, normally worn under a himation. On female figures from ca. 550 to 480 B.C., a short Ionic himation is draped diagonally from the right shoulder across the breast and under the left arm.[58] A similar arrangement is found on Artemis and Aphrodite and can be assumed for Athena whose aegis covers the diagonal border of the himation since the vertical folds below the aegis are consistent with those of a himation draped over the right shoulder.[59] Persephone's himation (fig. 8) is draped from the left shoulder across the chest and under the right arm, the reverse of most—but not all—Ionic depictions.[60]

The chiton sleeve visible on Artemis and Aphrodite (fig. 9) has horizontal crinkly ridges interrupted by a smooth vertical band similar to chiton sleeves on many Archaic korai.[61] We can assume therefore that the himation on these two goddesses is not buttoned down the right arm. Instead, the mantle is open along the arm and fastened at the shoulder only. The same arrangement appears to be true of Persephone, but since her draped shoulder is turned from the viewer, certainty is impossible. Because on Archaic figures the diagonal himation is usually fastened all the way down the arm that extends from the draped shoulder (the few exceptions are of late-Archaic date),[62] the himations of Artemis, Aphrodite, possibly Persephone, and probably Apollo follow a late-Archaic fashion. Such

may also be the case with Athena, on whose right arm buttons or pins hold the fabric edges such that gaps appear between the fastenings. Crinkly ridges grouped in sets radiate from the gaps, but do not uniformly cover the surface of the fabric. The treatment has parallels in Archaic art where it represents either the chiton sleeve or the folds of the himation.

The himations on the Walters relief and comparable late-Archaic examples may be predecessors of an early-Classical garment: the long mantle. Although it has an overfold, the long mantle looks very much like the diagonal himation of the Archaic period and is worn over a chiton.[63] The long mantle was also a popular garment on archaizing reliefs and appeared possibly as early as 340 B.C. on a frieze of dancing maidens from Samothrace.[64] The archaizing version adds a ruffle at the diagonal border and exaggerates the edges of the garment so that they swing out into points.[65]

Except for Persephone's, the Walters himations reflect Archaic rather than archaizing costume. This is especially apparent on Aphrodite (fig. 9), whose garment folds are crisply rendered. The folds of the chiton are treated as crinkly grooves at the breast and sleeve. From the upper edge of the himation, stacked, vertical folds descend to the zigzag edge of the lower hem. Although the vertical folds on the himation of Athena and Artemis lack crisp definition and are missing entirely the zigzag edges, their general form is Archaic rather than archaizing. The diagonal folds that radiate from Persephone's shoulder (fig. 8) are neither Archaic nor archaizing.

On neo-Attic archaizing reliefs, Ionic himations (Hauser types 3, 4) do not resemble the Archaic garment style as closely as those on the Walters relief. The engraved zigzag diagonal borders of these neo-Attic himations often resemble a thick roll of cloth (e.g., the first goddess from the right of the Torlonia Procession relief, fig. 7). Moreover, the lower edge of the garment usually terminates in a pointed tip that swings out in front of the figure.

The chiton is another garment that seldom looks convincingly Archaic on most neo-Attic archaizing reliefs. Normally, it is covered with wavy lines that start above the diagonal edge of the himation and continue into a short sleeve (Hauser type 3)[66] shaped something like the modern dolman sleeve, but which ends above the elbow in a smooth band (e.g., first goddess at the right on the Torlonia relief, fig. 7). Unlike the garment of Archaic figures and the Walters Aphrodite, neo-Attic chitons do not differentiate between the folds over the breast and the folds on the sleeves. The folds that on neo-Attic reliefs hang from the sleeve below the elbow are usually not seen on Archaic figures and are also absent on the Walters Persephone, Aphrodite, Athena, Artemis, and Apollo.

On the Walters relief, Hermes' chlamys is nearly identical to that worn by Apollo except that Apollo's cithera obscures the folds over his left arm. Archaic depictions of Hermes wearing only a chlamys are common.[67] Sixth-century vase paintings show the chlamys fastened between the clavicles; from the central clasp the two opening edges either hang down over the abdomen to form single points,[68] or are flung back separately over the deltoid muscles.[69]

In fifth-century depictions the chlamys is fastened near the top of the right deltoid. Curving folds radiate from this point over the left shoulder and arm. The chlamys on the Walters relief is draped in a manner consistent with the fifth-century style and compares closely with the chlamys worn by Hermes on the early fifth-century Prytaneion relief.[70]

On both the Prytaneion and Walters reliefs, the curving folds over the arm and shoulder are virtually the same. The left arm of the Walters Hermes, however, is not covered, and the treatment of the drapery around the elbow is awkward, exhibiting little understanding of how the edge of the garment should be rendered. The open edges of the chlamys bear no logical relationship with the rest of the garment. In contrast, the chlamys on the Prytaneion relief is an understandable costume, organically draped.

Almost no archaizing chlamyses resemble the early fifth-century type with the exception of a neo-Attic archaizing relief from Kertch.[71] Here, however, the lower edge of Hermes' chlamys terminates in points that swing out in opposite directions. More common among archaizing chalymses are two distinct types. In the first of these, found as early as 410 B.C.[72] and as late as the Augustan period,[73] the chlamys is draped over one shoulder and has zigzag edges. A more naturalistic version of this same type but without the zigzags is seen on the neo-Attic archaizing figure of Herakles on the Tripod base from the Athenian agora (fig. 5a). In the second popular type of archaizing chlamys (seen in Hauser type 1 and the first figure on the left on the Torlonia relief, fig. 7), the fabric falls into panels with zigzag edges that descend the front and back of the figure.[74] It is clear that the chlamys on the Walters relief follows Archaic rather than archaizing draping.

Poseidon, Demeter, and Hera wear himationlike capes that descend from the shoulder in front and back. Vertical grooves on the back recall the treatment of Archaic drapery, whereas the folds over the shouder, rendered by widely spaced grooves, have par-

allels in the early-Classical period.[75] Himationlike capes that compare closely with those on the Walters relief are seen on the late-Archaic Ilissos Kouros and the early-Classical Propylaia kore.[76]

By contrast, female archaizing figures with capes similar to those of Demeter and Hera are almost unknown. A single example can be cited, one of the ten figures on the well enclosure known as the Corinthian Puteal, which is recorded only in drawings made before its disappearance after 1827.[77] The Puteal figure's cape hangs down her back and over her shoulders and arms. The arrangement of folds suggests that the cape covered the figure's head, which presumably was broken away when the figure was drawn. The fabric is modeled with plastic folds and clings to the body, revealing the form of the wearer. By contrast, the sculptor of the Walters relief consciously avoided plastic modeling in favor of drapery resembling late-Archaic prototypes.

The swallow-tail shawls worn by Ares and Hephaestos are also most successfully compared with Archaic prototypes. Two Spartan hero reliefs[78] are the only examples from the Archaic period which represent the swallow-tail shawl, and on these examples, the tips hang vertically as they do on the Walters relief. Shawls encircling the back and drawn across the elbow are also seen on armored figures of fifth-century vase painting,[79] but in these depictions swallow-tails are not rendered. We do find a swallow-tail shawl worn by Poseidon/Ares on a tetradrachm of ca. 450 from Zancle,[80] and here the tails again hang vertically in the manner seen on the Walters Ares.

Archaizing swallow-tail shawls with outward swinging tips are found on coins, vase painting, and reliefs from the second half of the fourth century and into the first century.[81] In neo-Attic works the curves of the swallow-tails are highly stylized and exaggerated, as on Hauser type 2 and the first male figure from the right on the Torlonia relief (fig. 7). Because the exaggerated, curving swallow-tail shawl is such a distinct feature of the archaizing vocabulary, the linear, vertical swallow-tail ends of the Walters Hephaestos and Ares, although not unique, can only be seen as highly unusual.

On an archaizing relief in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (fig. 6), the figure of Ares wears the swallow-tail shawl like his Walters counterpart, together with a muscle corslet and chitoniskos. Here the tails of the shawl curve nearly inward, are rendered with plasticity, and have a logical relationship to the vertical folds above them.

Hermes' pilos is a simple cap with a slight brim (fig. 8) of the type worn by the god on such works of Archaic date as the Hermes relief no. 622 in the Acropolis Museum, and the Hermes on the late-Archaic Prytaneion relief from Thasos.[82] In archaizing depictions, Hermes usually wears either a fillet (Hauser type 1) or a petasos (as on the Capitoline Puteal and the Kertch relief). The pilos on the Walters relief is therefore not typical for archaizing representations of that god.

Ares' unornamented Attic helmet (fig. 9) has a high curving crest that extends below the nape. There is a neck guard, but no cheek piece. The helmet has close parallels of early fifth-century date[83] and is quite distinct from the helmets on archaizing reliefs, which are rarely worn but treated rather as decorative adjuncts. Compare for example, three archaizing male figures with Corinthian helmets: a warrior on a Hellenistic relief from Rhodes, the Ares on the neo-Attic Capitoline Puteal and the Ares on the Carlsberg relief (fig. 6).[84] Only the Rhodian warrior actually wears his helmet, and it is pushed back so that his face is visible. The two neo-Attic Ares figures carry their helmets in their right hands by straps.

The Attic helmet worn by Athena is frequently seen in Archaic and Classical depictions of this goddess. The crest springs from a short stem attached to the crown and forms an S-curve, flaring out at the nape. There is a neck guard and ornamental rim, but no cheek piece. Nearly identical helmets are worn by Athena on the late-Archaic relief known as the Pig Sacrifice relief in the Acropolis Museum and by several figures of Athena in vase paintings from the Archaic and early-Classical periods.[85]

On archaizing reliefs Athena usually carries a Corinthian helmet in the manner of Hauser type 4, who grasps the helmet by the nose guard so that the crown hangs toward the ground. Crests on these helmets vary from one relief to another but share an overriding decorative quality: on the Acropolis Four Gods base[86] the helmet crest is long and curving; on the Torlonia Procession relief (fig. 7) it is short and consists of stiff, brushlike hairs; on the Capitoline Puteal it curls backwards into a sort of bull's-eye swirl. On the Yale Procession relief (fig. 4) Athena carries her helmet clasped to her side under her right forearm. Unquestionably, the Walters Athena resembles Archaic depictions of the helmeted goddess rather than archaizing comparanda.

Gesture

Hera, Artemis, and Aphrodite pluck their skirts between thumb and index finger. Aphrodite's gesture, especially, compares closely with that of maidens on

certain late-Archaic reliefs[87] who pull their skirts up and away from the body in front of the abdomen. This mannered rendering of a gesture implying motion is seen in Archaic sculpture in the round until ca. 520.[88] The gesture of plucking the skirt in front of the body was adapted by archaizing artists who usually carved the skirt as though it were pulled to the back of the figure (Hauser type 3).[89] The three goddesses on the Walters relief are the only known archaizing figures who hold their skirts in front of their bodies like their relief prototypes from the late-Archaic period.

Conclusion

The preceding stylistic analysis of the Walters Twelve Gods relief reveals a peculiar juxtaposition of traits derived from artistic styles separated by hundreds of years. The artisan who carved the Walters relief was trained in the techniques and vocabulary characteristic of neo-Attic archaizing relief sculpture, yet he deliberately suppressed features of both Hellenistic and academic archaizing styles and faithfully reproduced certain elements of Archaic style.

What motivated the carver of the Walters relief to deviate from the path taken by his contemporary artisans? There are two plausible explanations: the first is that he was commissioned to make a replacement piece for an effaced Archaic sculptural program.[90] The second possibility is that the artist wanted to make a convincing Archaic reproduction, either to be acknowledged and appreciated as such or to pass unrecognized as a triumph of deception.

In favor of the first possibility is evidence that early works were sometimes restored in the style of the original. Certain figures on the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, for example, were restored in the fourth and first centuries.[91] The replacement figures exhibit an understanding of the Severe style, although mixed with stylistic traits and techniques of the restorer's own time. Such eclecticism may be an inevitable result of attempting to work in an earlier style—the restorer is bound to combine techniques of his own period with the style he attempts to mimic. For those features he cannot see to copy he must substitute what he believes to be the style of the earlier period.

Stylistic anachronisms on the Walters relief may be the result of just such a restoration, with the restorer able to reconstruct from the damaged Archaic original such features as the heads and faces and certain garments. In this way the authentic Archaic aspects of the piece are explicable.

At the same time, however, trained as he was in the methods used in the neo-Attic workshops, the artist would have been unable to eliminate stylistic characteristics of his own era. The result would be an eclectic work where, for example, the confused drapery on Apollo and Hermes, veiled females and Zeus can be attributed to the artisan's misinterpretation of costumes he did not understand.[92]

The second possibility—that the Walters relief is an antique imitation, possibly a forgery—is credible for two reasons. First, there is evidence that neo-Attic artists were capable of convincingly copying Archaic works.[93] Therefore, an artist accustomed to copying Archaic works might use his talent to "create" a new Archaic piece.[94] It is possible that the inorganic drapery and poor carving on the Walters relief were devices for achieving a weathered and "antique" look on a piece that was newly carved. It is peculiar that other neo-Attic artists were able to render correctly in stone the figures they copied from their sketchbooks but that the artisan of the Walters relief was not. Did he muddle the drapery on the Zeus intentionally? In the same way, does the carving of the drapery on Demeter, Athena, and Artemis intentionally lack the crispness found on the garments of Hermes, Aphrodite, and Hera? It seems possible that these carving faults may have been devised to give the relief a weathered look.

In the event that the relief was carved as a replacement piece for a sculptural program created originally in the Archaic period, the purpose of the work was probably religious. Pre-Hellenistic sculpture with religious content was usually intended for a cult area and therefore had votive or heroic significance.[95] If the relief was created as an imitation it may have been intended for a Roman art collector and thus have been purely decorative. The lack of securing devices may argue for its use as a free-standing plaque,[96] whereas the length of the relief suggests to Harrison that it may have fitted an altar or sacred table.[97] The piece may also have been set on a post as a decoration in a Roman garden following attested practice.[98] The absence of dowel cuttings on the sides, top, and back[99] indicates that it was not affixed as an architectural frieze. Even so, if the work was designed and made for such a use it is possible that cuttings and fastenings were meant to be made at the intended display site. The piece may have never reached its intended spot, or if it did, it may have remained unmounted.

While puzzling aspects of the Walters Twelve Gods relief remain, it can be stated without hesitation that the relief is an ancient work of art. It was carved

by an artisan trained in the techniques of neo-Attic workshops, who employed stylistic features inspired by genuine Archaic prototypes. The suppression of the typical archaizing vocabulary sets the Walters relief apart from other archaizing reliefs, which only superficially resemble the Archaic style, and argues that the Walters relief was intended for a genuine enthusiast of the Archaic period who may or may not have been aware that the piece had been executed centuries later.

NOTES

1. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 23.40. The marble slab is 119.5 cm long with a maximum height of 38 cm. A flat molding 5.5 cm high and 6 cm thick runs along the top length of the slab. The figures project approximately .5 cm from a 5.5 cm thick background. Recent minor damage to the surface reveals white marble below the surface encrustation; weathering generally seems to have given the marble a reddish cast. In 1978 J. B. Ward-Perkins tentatively identified the marble as Pentelic (Walters Art Gallery files). All photos of the Twelve Gods relief are courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery.

2. Provenance: Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* (Munich, 1926), text to pl. 660 (E. Schmidt) 1 and note 1, "als Fundort wird Tarent angegeben," (hereafter, Schmidt, *BrBr*). Walters files record the acquisition of the relief with the words "Hirsch, received September 27, 1913." "Paris Kunsthandel" appears below the title of Schmidt's text, indicating that he had viewed the relief at the gallery of a Parisian dealer. It is interesting to speculate about the possible connection between the Walters relief and another sculpture that was in Paris at this time. Early in 1914, a Parisian dealer, Jakob Hirsch, at 363 Rue Saint-Honoré, acquired a statue from Taranto known as the Seated Goddess, now in the Staatliche Museum, Berlin. See S. Reinach, "Nouvelles archéologiques et correspondance," *Revue archéologique,* 2 (1916), 180.

3. O. Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter," *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* 6 (reprint, Leipzig, 1965), 791 (hereafter, Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter"), suggests it may reflect reliefs that decorated the Peisistratid twelve gods altar. M. Crosby, "The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens," *Hesperia,* Supplement 8 (1949), 96, favors the decoration of the parapet around the Peisistratid altar.

4. Schmidt suggested dates from 450 B.C. (*BrBr,* 10) to 460 B.C. (*Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* [Munich, 1922], 57 [hereafter, Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst*]). A mid-5th century date is also accepted by: H. Bulle, *Archisierende griechische Rundplastik* (Munich, 1918), 2, note 1; E. Pfhul, "Bemerkungen zur archaischen Kunst," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung,* 48 (1923), 136; O. Deubner, *Hellenistische Apollogestalten* (Athens, 1934), 69, no. 10; G. Lippold, *Handbuch der Archäologie,* 5th ed., 3 (Heidelberg, 1953), 126; A. Cook, *Zeus* 3 (Cambridge, 1940), 1055 (hereafter, Cook, *Zeus*); Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter," 790, 829; D. Willers, "Zu den Anfangen der archaistischen Plastik in Griechenland," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, athenische Abteilung. Supplement,* 4 (1975), 57; A. Delivorrias, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II, 1 (Zurich, 1984), 125; T. Kraus, *Hekate, Studien zu Wesen und Bild der Göttin Kleinasien und Griechenland* (Heidelberg, 1960), 115–6; D. Hill (interviewed by phone August 22, 1984). C. Picard (*Manuel d'archéologie grecque* III, 2 [Paris, 1948] 860, fig. 386; and *idem,* "Sur un 'Naiskos' inédit de Cybèle au Musée du Caire," *Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot,* 49 [1957], 52) believes the relief might be after Euphranor's painting of the twelve gods and therefore proposes a 4th-century date for the prototype of the Walters relief. V. Spinazolla (*Pompei: alla luce degli scavi nuovi di via del'Abbondanza: Anni 1910–1923* 1 [Rome, 1953], 18) mentions an archaizing relief from Taranto with the twelve gods, presumably the Walters piece, in his discussion of Pompeian twelve gods paintings as reflections of Hellenistic programs. A late-Hellenistic to early-Roman date is proposed by: C. M. Havelock "Archaistic Reliefs of the Hellenistic Period," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 68 (1964), 47 note 15 and 57 note 48 (hereafter, Havelock, "Archaistic"); C. R. Long, "The Twelve Gods in Greek and Roman Art" (doc. dissertation, Case Western, 1980), 43–45, 122–25 (hereafter, Long, "Dissertation"); *idem, The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome* (Leiden, 1987), 42–455 (hereafter, Long, *Twelve Gods*); W. Lambrinudakis, *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II, 1 (Zurich, 1984), 290.

5. F. Brommer, *Der Gott Vulkan auf provinzial römischen Reliefs* (Cologne, 1973), 52 (hereafter, Brommer, *Gott Vulkan*); *idem, Hephaistos: der Schmiedegott in der antiken Kunst* (Mainz, 1978), 247–48, no. 8.

6. Schmidt, *BrBr,* 1, fig. 1, notes that the top and upper back are smooth, as though polished. The angle where top meets back is rounded by wear. The back is free from encrustation. Reizler proposed that the slab may have been re-used, face down, as a step, (*BrBr,* notes 1, 2). This would account for the polished area, rounded edge, and lack of encrustation on the back. Schmidt reported that the lower portion of the back has been worked with a point and lacks the polish that appears above. Five clamp channels are cut into the left back, perpendicular to the bottom. Four of the channels are filled with lead. Apparently, these are remains of clamps used for ancient or modern repairs to join the extant slab to the now-missing fragment below it.

7. Although no feet remain, the stance of those figures that retain legs leads me to suppose all figures stood flat-footed. Poseidon's ankles are barely preserved, and their position supports this.

8. Long, "Dissertation," 1–27; *Cambridge Ancient History,* 3rd ed., 2 (Cambridge, 1975), 989–905.

9. For goddess 6 as Hera: Schmidt, *BrBr,* 2–3; Long, *Twelve Gods,* no. 58. Goddess 6 as Thetis: H. T. Bossert and W. Zschietzschmann, eds., *Hellas and Rome: The Civilization of Classical Antiquity* (New York, 1936), fig. 2/3; B. Meissner and D. Opitz, "Die Heimkehr des Krieger, ein nacharchaisches grieschisches Relief," *Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.* Klasse für Sprachen, Literatur und Kunst (1938), 144 note 2 (hereafter, Meissner and Opitz, "Heimkehr"). Goddess 6 as Amphitrite: Meissner and Opitz, "Heimkehr," 144, note 2. For figure 7 as Hephaestos: Schmidt, *BrBr,* 2–3; Brommer, *Gott Vulkan,* 50; Long, *Twelve Gods,* no. 58; Bossert and Zschietzschmann, *Hellas,* fig. 2/3. Figure 7 as Dionysos: Weinreich, "Zwölfgötter," 790–92, 829. For figure 12 as Hestia: Schmidt, *BrBr,* 2–3; Long, *Twelve Gods,* no. 58. Figure 12 as Hera: Bossert and Zschietzschmann, *Hellas,* fig. 2/3. Figure 12 as Maja: Meissner and Opitz, "Heimkehr," 122 note 2.

10. Long ("Dissertation," 45, 123–25) convincingly identifies the twelve figures on the Walters relief as the Di Consentes. See also *Cambridge Ancient History,* 3rd ed., 2 (Cambridge, 1975), 898–905; *Cambridge Ancient History,* 6th ed., 8 (New York, 1978), 453.

11. Comparanda exist for ancient molding cut away to accommodate figures. Entire heads of the Fleeing Maidens on a metope from the Heraion at Foce del Sol: see E. Langlotz and M. Hirmer, *Ancient Greek Sculpture of South Italy and Sicily* (New York, n.d.), fig. 30 (hereafter, Langlotz and Hirmer, *Ancient Sculpture*); G. M. A. Richter, *Korai:*

Greek Maidens (London, 1986), fig. 548 (hereafter, Richter, *Korai*); R. Lullies and M. Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture* (New York, 1957), fig. 73 (hereafter, Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture*); L. von Matt and U. Zanotti-Bianco, *Magna Graecia,* 2nd ed. (New York, 1967), figs. 40–41. Stephanes on the Xanthos Harpy Tomb Relief: see F. N. Pryce, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum I,* 1 (London, 1928), pl. 21; Richter, *Korai,* fig. 612.

12. Here I am making a distinction between neo-Attic and Hellenistic archaizing reliefs. The latter are characterized by naturalistic figures with modeled drapery, superficially archaized at the garment edges. Sometimes the figures are arranged in three-dimensional compositions. The differences between neo-Attic and Hellenistic archaizing have been thoroughly explored and explained, I believe accurately, by Havelock ("Archaistic," 43–58, esp. 56–58). See also, M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies: Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art* (New York, 1977), 182 (hereafter, Bieber, *Copies*); C. M. Havelock, *Hellenistic Art* (New York, 1981), 113, 116 (hereafter, Havelock, *Hellenistic*).

13. F. Hauser, *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* (Stuttgart, 1889) pl. 1 (hereafter, Hauser, *Reliefs*). The drawings of types 1–13 represent the repeated figures on archaizing reliefs known to Hauser, see Hauser, *Reliefs,* 7–8, no. 1, Sosibios amphora; 10–11 no. 3, Chiaramonti base; 34 no. 41, round base in the Capitoline Museum; 34 no. 42, plaque fragment in Berlin; 34 no. 43, Four Gods Procession in the Villa Albani (referred to here as the Torlonia relief); 34 no. 43a, Four Gods base from the Acropolis; 35 no. 44, Torlonia base; 35 no. 45, Senate Palace Athena figure; 38 no. 50, Louvre plaque; 38–39 no. 51, Wilton House round altar; 39–41 no. 55, Neapel amphora; 52 no. 69, Dresden tripod base; 53 no. 70, Hermitage priest figure; 60 no. 86, Capitoline Puteal; 62 no. 88, Hermitage Three Gods relief; 62 no. 90, Villa Albani Athena; 62 no. 91, Ara Albani. Since Hauser's publication other reliefs have come to light. For a more comprehensive list, see W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs* (Berlin, 1959), 44–59 (hereafter, Fuchs, *Vorbilder*).

14. M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1961), 183 (hereafter, Bieber, *Hellenistic*); *idem, Copies,* 175–76; Havelock, "Archaistic," 49; B. S. Ridgway, *Roman Copies of Greek Sculpture: the Problem of the Originals* (Ann Arbor, 1984), 7 and note 13 (hereafter, Ridgway, *Copies*).

15. B. S. Ridgway, "The Setting of Greek Sculpture," *Hesperia,* 40 (1971), 337–352 (hereafter, Ridgway, "Setting"); C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste; the Purpose and Setting of Graeco-Roman Art in Italy and the Greek Imperial East* (Ann Arbor, 1977), 1–12; G. M. A. Richter, *Three Critical Periods in Greek Sculpture* (Oxford, 1951), 50–53; Havelock, *Hellenistic,* 117; Bieber, *Copies,* 184–85; B. S. Ridgway, *Fifth Century Styles in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1981), 206, 214 (hereafter, Ridgway, *Fifth Century*); Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* 171–77.

16. Some neo-Attic classicizing reliefs have known Classical prototypes. See G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Italy* (Ann Arbor, 1955), 42 and notes 25, 27 (hereafter, Richter, *Ancient Italy);* Ridgway, *Fifth Century,* 165–68; Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* 6–20, 130–31; Bieber, *Hellenistic,* 183.

17. Havelock, *Hellenistic,* 116.

18. Havelock, "Archaistic," 43–58; and *idem, Hellenistic,* 196.

19. Athens, National Museum, no. 2358. See Svoronos, *Das Athener National Museum* (Athens, 1908), pl. 141 (hereafter, Svoronos, *National Museum*); R. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* (Leipzig, 1872) 51, no. 101, pl. 24. Photo courtesy of the National Museum, Athens.

20. The himation-clad male on Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 841 (see note 40) turns his head back to the veiled female behind him, creating another pair similar to those on the Walters relief. Perhaps such pairs were common in neo-Attic sketchbooks.

21. Havelock, "Archaistic," 48.

22. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Five Gods relief, acc. no. 1965.132. See C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Art in America* (Berkeley, 1981), no. 161 (ca. 50 B.C.); D. von Bothmer, "Notes on a New Edition of Michaelis: Ancient Marbles in Great Britain, Part Two," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 60 (1956), 322 (Augustan). Photo courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery.

23. For example, Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 633. See H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis* (New York, 1936), pl. 102 (hereafter, Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble*).

24. Boetian Rider Stele: see C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: Greek, Roman and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976), fig. 18 (hereafter, Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*); L. D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), 22–25, no. 54 (hereafter, Caskey, *Catalogue*); B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1977), fig. 54 (hereafter, Ridgway, *Archaic*). Maenad on the tondo of a kylix by the Brygos Painter: see E. Simon, *Die griechische Vasen* (Munich, 1976), pls. 36, 145 (hereafter, Simon, *Vasen*); P. E. Arias, *A History of 1000 Years of Greek Vase Painting* (New York, 1962), pl. 34 (hereafter, Arias, *Vase Painting*). Nike figure in Athens, Acropolis Museum no. 690: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pl. 120:1; M. Robertson, *A History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, 1975), fig. 56a; J. Boardman, *Greek Sculpture: The Archaic Period* (New York, 1978), fig. 167 (hereafter, Boardman, *Greek Sculpture*).

25. Athens, Agora Museum, Agora Tripod base, no. S 370. For dating see, Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst,* 30 (390–370 B.C.); T. L. Shear, "The Sculpture Found in 1933," *Hesperia,* 4 (1939), 387–93, figs. 15, 16 (neo-Attic); G. Becatti, "Lo Stile Arcaistico," *Critica d'Arte,* 6 (1941), 41 (neo-Attic of 2nd or 1st century) (hereafter, Becatti, "Archaistico"); Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* 46 (end of 2nd century); C. Mitchell "Stylistic Problems in Archaistic Reliefs," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* 61 (1953), 78–79, figs. 2, 3 (pre-Roman archaistic) (hereafter, Mitchell, "Stylistic"); Havelock, "Archaistic," 47, pl. 18:7–8 (late Hellenistic); E. Harrison, *Agora XI: Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture* (Princeton, 1965), 66–67, 70, 79–81, 83 (early neo-Attic, earlier than the Acropolis Four Gods base) (hereafter, Harrison, *Agora*).

26. Drawing of Hauser type 8 was apparently reproduced from one made by Baron Stackelberg in 1811 (see A. Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles in Great Britain," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* 6 [1885], 45–488 [hereafter, Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles"]). Type 8 represents both "Hebe" on the Corinthian Puteal (Hauser, *Reliefs,* 10) and a female figure (Aphrodite?) on the four-cornered base in the Chiaramonti Museum, Rome, no. 182 (Hauser, *Reliefs,* 10–11, no. 4).

27. Richter (*Korai,* 9) calls the early-Archaic tight-fitting belted dress similar to those of Demeter and Hera a "peplos" and cites it on Nikandre (no. 1, figs. 25–28), the Auxerre kore, (no. 18, figs. 76–79), and the Walters bronze goddess (no. 14, figs. 60–62). To avoid calling to mind the heavy Doric peplos with overfold that was popular in the Classical period, I have described this straight dress as a "sheath" following B. S. Ridgway, "The Peplos Kore, Akropolis 676," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery,* 36 (1977), 56–61 (hereafter, Ridgway, "Peplos Kore").

28. Richter, *Korai,* 9; Ridgway *Archaic,* 91.

29. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 679: see Ridgway, "Peplos Kore," 49–61, esp. 57–61 and note 25; *idem, Archaic,* 110. Palladion painted by Kleophrades on the Vivensio hydria: see Simon, *Vasen,* fig. 129; Arias, *Vase Painting,* fig. 125 bottom. Votive figure on Pig

Sacrifice relief, Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 581: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* 19, no. 1, pl. 126; Ridgway, *Archaic,* fig. 66; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 258.

30. Laurion Kore: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 441–44; Richter, *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pl. 6 (hereafter, Richter, *Catalogue*). Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 670: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 377–79; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 65:2, 66:1–3. Athena on metope 5, Athenian Treasury, Delphi: see Richter, *Korai,* fig. 327; *idem, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks,* 4th ed., (New Haven, 1970), fig. 439 (hereafter, Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*); Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1970), fig. 2 (hereafter, Ridgway, *Severe*). Athena on the west pediment, Aphaia Temple, Aegina: see Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 73; Ridgway, *Severe,* fig. 1; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 206.1

31. In contrast, Archaic zigzag borders are found as logical ends of vertical folds on paryphe and himations, as, for example, on the Pig Sacrifice relief, see note 29, and the Athena from the west pediment of the Aphaia Temple at Aegina, see note 30.

32. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 633: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pl. 102; Ridgway, *Severe,* figs. 49–50. Painted male figures: see Simon, *Vasen,* pls. 110 (kylix, Sosias Painter), 118–19 (stamnos, Smikros); Arias, *Vase Painting,* pl. 107 (stamnos, Smikros).

33. Bieber, *Copies,* 108–9, no. 28, figs. 489–91.

34. *Ibid.,* 109.

35. Apollo on a relief in the Cleveland Museum: see M. Bieber, "Roman Sculpture in the Cleveland Museum of Art," *Art in America,* 32 (1944), 66–68, fig. 1; *idem, Hellenistic,* 186, notes 110–11, fig. 804. Apollo on a relief in the Louvre: see M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace, *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* (Oxford, 1906), fig. 23 (hereafter, Tod and Wace, *Sparta*).

36. The organic draping of the himation over the left arm on Hauser type 7 and the correct rendering of the staff cannot be attributed to the 19th-century artist who made the line drawing since actual reliefs with type 7 are also rendered correctly. Apollo figures on reliefs in the Cleveland Museum and Louvre: see note 35. "Priest" figure on a plaque from Piraeus: see Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* pl. 28b. Zeus on the Capitoline Puteal: see H. S. Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Rome, 1969), 106–9 no. 31b. Zeus on the Yale Procession relief: see note 22.

37. When heads are draped it is usually with a mantle pulled up. Archaic korai: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 228, 257–58, 640–41; Ridgway, *Archaic,* fig. 21. Late-Archaic figure on the Prytaneion relief from Thasos: see Richter, *Korai,* fig. 613 note 31. Early-Classical three-sided relief in Boston: see Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone,* no. 30, pl. 30; Caskey, *Catalogue,* no. 17; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* figs. 191–92. Fifth-century Aspaisa: see Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (New York, 1974), fig. 126. Late-Classical stele: see Richter, *Catalogue,* pl. 64:79. Hellenistic statues: see Bieber, *Hellenistic,* figs. 513, 601, 378–79. Roman statues: see *idem, Copies,* figs. 16, 664–66.

38. The short veil is rare in Greek art and seems limited to two fifth-century types. Mourning Penelope: see W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1908), pl. 47:261; Richter, *Ancient Italy,* figs. 158–60; Ridgway, *Severe,* figs. 140, 104, 105; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* fig. 73; Ridgway, *Copies,* 8, pl. 17. Hestia Giustiniani: see Ridgway, *Severe,* fig. 103; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* fig. 271.

39. See note 50.

40. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Three Gods relief, no. 841: see *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* II, 2 (Zurich, 1984), fig. 341b. Photo courtesy of Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

41. Ara Albani, Quadrangular base. See Cook, *Zeus,* figs. 854–55; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains* III (Paris, 1912), 129, no. 1.

42. Although Hauser drew nearly all of his types 1–13 on tiptoe, it is a common but not requisite feature; cf. Athena (and all figures) on Acropolis Museum Four Gods base, no. 610 is flat-footed: see Harrison, *Agora,* pl. 64 a-d. Yet Hauser's type 4, which is like the Athena on the Acropolis base, is on tiptoe. On the other hand, the giant stride with exaggerated curves does seem to be mandatory. For an Augustan dating of Acropolis Museum no. 610, see Harrison, *Agora,* 60–61, 67, 82 note 93.

43. Mitchell, "Stylistic," 74–76.

44. Compare the stance of the Maidens on the Prytaneion relief from Thasos: see Richter, *Korai,* fig. 613. Standing female figures on the Harpy Tomb relief from Xanthos: see note 11. Standing figures on Archaic Attic grave steles: see G. M. A. Richter, *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica* (London, 1961), passim (hereafter, Richter, *Gravestones*). Statues in the round: see *idem, Korai,* passim; and *idem, Kouroi: Archaic Greek Youths* (New York, 1970), passim (hereafter, Richter, *Kouroi*). Painted figures: see Simon, *Vasen,* 75, 82.

45. G. M. A. Richter, *Perspective in Greek Art* (New York, n.d.), 14–15; *idem, Sculpture and Sculptors,* 81–84.

46. Rome, Torlonia Collection, the Four Gods Procession relief, no. 988 (also called Villa Albani Four Gods relief). For dating, see Harrison, *Agora,* 55, 67, 82–83, pl. 64e (ca. 70 B.C.); Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst,* 23–24, pl. 13; Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* 48–49 (Roman, late Republic); Mitchell, "Stylistic," 83, fig. 8 ("conclusion of archaistic style's formulation," therefore, Roman, late Republic). For similar reliefs, see Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* 48–49. Photo courtesy of the Amministrazione Torlonia.

47. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* 46–47; *idem, Korai,* 13.

48. Ridgway, *Severe,* 35. Lapith girl, west pediment, Temple of Zeus, Olympia: see B. Ashmole, *Olympia: The Sculptures of the Temple of Zeus* (London, 1967), fig. 81 (hereafter, Ashmole, *Olympia*). Statue of a goddess: see Richter, *Catalogue,* pl. 28:29. Figures on Locrian pinakes: see Langlotz and Hirmer, *Ancient Sculpture,* fig. 73; Q. Quagliate, "Rilievi votivi arcici in terracotta," *Ausonia,* 3 (1908), figs. 58–59. Painted figures: G. M. A. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New Haven, 1936), 74:71 (hydria, Nausikaa Painter) (hereafter, Richter, *Red-Figure*).

49. Visible on two female figures on the Louvre Dionysos and Seasons relief, no. 968. See Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst,* 26–27, pl. 18:1 (early 3rd century B.C.); Becatti, "Archaistico," 39, pl. 22:8 (3rd century B.C. Hellenistic); Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* 51–52 (ca. 160 B.C.); Havelock, *Hellenistic Art,* 196 no. 162 (ca. 200 B.C. "archaistic drapery details enliven forms which are fully Hellenistic in conception"); *idem,* "Archaistic," 55–57, pl. 22:18 (2nd century B.C. Hellenistic, example of the last phase of archaizing reliefs where "the archaizing draperies tend to be incidental adjuncts"); Harrison, *Agora,* 58–59 (late 4th to early 3rd century).

50. Figure of veiled season on the Freiburg fragment of a Hellenistic Dionysos and Seasons relief. See Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst,* pl. 18:2. For a reconstruction, see Havelock, "Archaistic," pl. 22:19 (mislabeled).

51. Athena on a metope from the Temple of Zeus, Olympia: see Ashmole, *Olympia,* fig. 188; F. Gerke, *Griechische Plastik in archaischer und klassischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1938), pls. 124, 126 (hereafter, Gerke,

Griechische Plastik). Athena from the west pediment of the Aphaia Temple, Aegina: see note 30.

52. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 683: see Ridgway, *Archaic,* 107, fig. 19; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pl. 59:2–3. Fleeing maidens on a metope from the Heraion at Foce del Sol: see note 11. Ludovisi Goddess: see Ridgway, *Archaic,* 121, fig. 157; Langlotz and Hirmer, *Ancient Sculpture,* 62–63.

53. Richter, *Kouroi,* figs. 76–86. On the relatively rare appearance of shoulder locks on Archaic male statues, see *idem, Sculpture and Sculptors,* 47.

54. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* 47; Ridgway, *Archaic,* 305.

55. Ridgway, *Archaic,* 107–8.

56. Relief of seated deity in Ince Blundell Hall: see B. Ashmole, *Catalogue of the Ancient Marbles at Ince Blundell Hall* (Oxford, 1929), fig. 259; P. Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* (Washington, D.C., 1973), fig. 53 (hereafter, Gardner, *Tombs*). Vase paintings: see Simon, *Vasen,* pl. 28:72 (amphora, Amasis Painter), figs. 92, 93 (kylix, Oltos).

57. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* 47; Ridgway, *Archaic,* 50.

58. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 674: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 75–78; Richter, *Korai,* figs. 411–14. Acropolis Museum, no. 675: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 49–50; Richter, *Korai,* 394–97. Painted figure on a kylix by Oltos: see Arias, *Vase Painting,* pls. 102 bottom, 103 top; Simon, *Vasen,* pl. 93.

59. This draping is typically Archaic. Athena, north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury, Delphi: see Lullies and Hirmer, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 51; Ridgway, *Archaic,* fig. 63; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 212.1 right. Headless Athena from Temple of Apollo, Eretria: see Boardman, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 205.3; Athena metope 5, Athenian Treasury, Delphi: see note 30. Athena, west pediment, Aphaia Temple, Aegina: see note 30. Athena on a kylix by Oltos: see Simon, *Vasen,* fig. 94 bottom; Arias, *Vase Painting,* fig. 102 top. Athena on a lekythos by the Brygos Painter: see Richter, *Red-Figure,* pl. 41.

60. Exceptions include: Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 672: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pl. 68; Richter, *Korai,* figs. 373–76. Acropolis Museum, no. 269 (casts of Lyons Kore which include the marble Acropolis fragment): see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 22–23. Lyons kore (Lyons Museum fragment): see Ridgway, *Archaic,* figs. 27–28; Richter, *Korai,* fig. 278. Karyatid, Siphnian Treasury, Delphi: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 318–20. See also, Richter, *Red-Figure,* pl. 19:17 bottom no. 41 (amphora, the Nikoxenos Painter), pl. 28 (lekythos, the Dutuit Painter); Simon, *Vasen,* pl. 160 top (kylix, Douris).

61. Athens, National Museum, no. 24: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 591–93. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 685: see *ibid.,* 573–76; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 72–74. Acropolis Museum, no. 682: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 662–65; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 40–43. Acropolis Museum, no. 680: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 391–92; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 54–55. Acropolis Museum, no. 681: see Richter, *Korai,* figs. 336–38; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* 51–53.

62. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 684 has the Ionic himation open along the arm which extends from the draped shoulder: see S. Meletzis and H. Papadakis, *Akropolis and Museum* (Chicago, 1967), figs. 69–71; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* 38 note 1 ("684 marks the first real recession of the archaic type"), pls. 79–80. Late-Archaic painting: see Arias, *Vase Painting,* fig. 110 detail (kylix krater, Euphronios); *ibid.,* figs. 122, 124 (amphora, Kleophrades); *ibid.,* pl. 34 (kylix tondo, the Brygos Painter). Maidens on metope from the Heraion at Foce del Sol: see note 11.

63. Harrison, *Agora,* 54–57; and Ridgway, *Archaic,* 304.

64. For dating of the Samothrace Frieze, see K. Lehmann, "Samothrace: 4th Preliminary Report," *Hesperia,* 20 (1951), 15–16, pls. 8–10 (last third of 4th century, based on architectural evidence); *idem,* "Samothrace: 5th Preliminary Report," *Hesperia,* 21 (1952), 24; Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst,* 39–40, pl. 17:1 (late 4th century on stylistic grounds). For further dating to late 4th century, see P. W. Lehmann, *Skopas in Samothrace* (Northampton, Mass., 1973), 10–13, figs., 10, 39, 41, 45; P. W. Lehmann and D. Spittle, *Samothrace: the Temenos* (Princeton, 1982), 172–262, figs. 147, 160, 195, 210; Ridgway, *Archaic,* 312. Havelock, "Archaistic," 50–1 and note 28, dates it to ca. 150 B.C. on style. The maidens' paratactic arrangement combined with their identical figures lead her to believe the frieze is neo-Attic. She uses the same criteria to date the Walters piece.

65. Ridgway, *Archaic,* 304.

66. For neo-Attic chiton/Ionic himation arrangement on male figures, see the Chalandri Dionysos type, Fuchs, *Vorbilder,* pls. 9a, b.

67. Simon, *Vasen,* fig. 94 bottom (kylix, Oltos), fig. 103 (krater, Euphronios), fig. 137 (amphora, Berlin Painter).

68. *Ibid.,* fig. 94 bottom (kylix, Oltos).

69. *Ibid.,* fig. 137 (amphora, Berlin Painter).

70. Gerke, *Griechische Plastik,* pl. 57; M. Ozenfant, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* 3 (Paris, 1938), 149, fig. C. The Prytaneion reliefs have been dated as early as 490 B.C. and as late as 450, see Ridgway, *Severe,* 106, appendix 17.

71. Harrison, *Agora,* 60 (Hellenistic); S. Reinach, "Bas Relief de Panticapee (Kertch) au Musée d'Odessa," *Monuments et mémoires. Fondation E. Piot,* 2 (1895), 57, pl. 7 (ca. 470 B.C.); E. D. van Buren, "Praxis," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome,* 3 (1919), 94, pl. 73:2 (ca. 430 B.C.). Based on Havelock's criteria ("Archaistic," 43–58), I consider the relief to be a product of a neo-Attic workshop.

72. A male figure on a red-figure oinochoe fragment. See Harrison, *Agora,* 59, pl. 63c.

73. Hermes Kriophoros on a marble throne in Athens, National Museum, no. 54. See Svoronos, *National Museum,* pl. 23, no. 54; Harrison, *Agora,* 60, 82 note 96.

74. Harrison, *Agora,* 60–61.

75. Ridgway, *Severe,* 8–9.

76. Ilissos Kouros, Athens, National Museum, no. 3687: see Ridgway, *Severe,* fig. 17; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 149. Athens, Acropolis Museum, Propylaia Kore, no. 688: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pl. 89: 1–4; Richter, *Korai,* 102–3, no. 184, figs. 587–90; Ridgway, *Severe,* 35, 42, fig. 46.

77. Michaelis, "Ancient Marbles," 45–48. The heads and parts of the neck and shoulders of the ten carved figures were effaced at the time the drawings were made, so caution is necessary.

78. Hero-relief from the theater at Sparta: see A. M. Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta, 1927," *The Annual of the British School in Athens,* 28 (1926–27), pl. 4. Sparta Museum, no. 505: see Tod and Wace, *Sparta,* fig. 10 (4th century); Gardner, *Tombs,* 82–84, fig. 30 (Archaic style); G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926), 10, note 3, fig. 14 (late-Archaic).

79. Arias, *Vase Painting,* fig. 144 top.

80. Date of issue of the Zancle coin is uncertain, but most scholars place it ca. 450 B.C. See C. M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins* (Berkeley, 1976), pl. 45, 774; J. Mertens, "La tetradrachme à legende Danklaion," *Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie,* 93 (1947), 19–33.

81. Vase painting: Harrison, *Agora,* 61 (believes the swallow-tail shawl was invented between 410 and 362 B.C.); Becatti, "Archaistico," pl. 11:3; *idem,* "Revisioni critiche anfore panatenaiche e stile archaistico," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti,* 17 (1941), figs. 2–6. Coins: Swallow-tail shawls appear on coins of Ptolemy I (323–283 B.C.), Demetrios Poliorcete (306–286 B.C.), Antigonos Gonatos (277–239 B.C.), Philip V (220–179 B.C.), and Menander (120 B.C.). Each of these is illustrated in A. B. Brett, "Athena Alkidemos of Pella," *Museum Notes,* 4 (1950), pls. 12:5–7, 12:14–9; L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques* (Liege, 1949), pl. 8:5, 7, 8–11. Reliefs: Hellenistic Dionysos and Seasons relief, see note 49.

82. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 622: see Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble,* pls. 8:2, 9:4. On the Prytaneion Hermes, see note 70.

83. Athens, National Museum, Marathon runner, no. 1959: see Svoronos, *National Museum,* no. 1959, fig. 24; Ridgway, *Archaic,* fig. 53; Boardman, *Greek Sculpture,* fig. 239. Cup by the Sosias Painter: see Arais, *Vase Painting,* fig. 118. Athena on a metope from Temple of Zeus, Olympia, Ashmole, *Olympia,* figs. 202–3, 206; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* fig. 336.

84. Rhodian relief of warriors, see *Cambridge Ancient History, Plates to Volume VII,* Part I (New York, 1984), fig. 44.

85. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 581 (see note 29) and Athena on a Classical oinochoe (Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors,* fig. 469) have no cheek piece. Athena on an amphora by the Andokides Painter, (Arias, *Vase Painting,* fig. 88) and Athena on an amphora by Psiax (*ibid.,* pl. 20) have a similar type, with cheek piece.

86. Athens, Acropolis Museum, Four Gods base, no. 610, see note 42.

87. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 581, see note 29. Athens, National Museum, no. 36: see Svoronos, *National Museum,* 87–88, pl. 21; Richter, *Gravestones,* fig. 174. Xanthos Harpy Tomb relief, see note 11.

88. Ridgway, *Archaic,* 308.

89. Harrison, *Agora,* 55, cites examples of the archaizing lifted skirt.

90. Prof. Kim J. Hartswick generously offered this suggestion.

91. Ashmole, *Olympia,* 21–22, figs. 62–65, 67–69, sculptures V, A, B, U; Ridgway, *Severe,* 18–19.

92. Bieber, *Copies,* 12, passim.

93. A relief found in the Athenian agora is apparently a copy, made in the Roman period, of an Archaic original: see Harrison, *Agora,* 77–79, esp. 79, no. 127, pl. 29; *idem,* "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, 1959," *Hesperia,* 29 (1960), 379–81, pl. 84c; M. Gjødessen, "Greek Bronzes: a Review Article," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 67 (1963), 346–47, pl. 79, figs. 50–51. The copyist may have added a type of chlamys sometimes found on archaizing works, but he consciously avoided hallmarks of the archaizing vocabulary by excluding zigzag edges and swallow-tails.

94. This would not be a unique example; see B. S. Ridgway, "The Bronze Apollo from Piombino in the Louvre," *Antike Plastik,* 7 (1967), 43–75.

95. Ridgway, "Setting," 337–42. Since the Walters relief has been removed from its original context it remains a mystery whether the work was sacred or secular.

96. Schmidt suggests its use as a votive plaque, but points out that the composition lacks an adorant, *BrBr,* 2. The latter observation was also made by Brommer, *Gott Vulkan,* 50.

97. E. B. Harrison, review of Willers, "Zu den Anfangen der archaistischen Plastik," *Gnomon,* 53 (1981), 498, suggests the relief's form and subject matter "might be appropriate for the transverse plaque of a support for a sacred table, analogous to the unsculptured example from the House of the Herm at Delos." On sacred tables, see J. Marcadé, "Les trouvailles de la maison dite de l'Hermès, à Délos," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique,* 77 (1953), 576–79, figs. 68, 69a, b.

98. W. F. Jashemski, *The Gardens of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (New Rochelle, 1979), 38–40, figs. 61–64.

99. Schmidt, *BrBr,* 2; Long, *Twelve Gods,* 42 suggested that the absence of these devices may be due to the relief's having been cut down, evidence of which she thought she detected on the left side, and noted that part of Hestia's (my Persephone) right arm is missing on that account. In fact, the relief has not been cut down and the right arm of the female figure on the far left side is complete. In the photograph on file in the Walters Art Gallery a shadow on the left creates this illusion.

A Julio-Claudian Torso in The Walters Art Gallery

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The most popular form of Roman honorific military portrait, and a primary vehicle for the dissemination of imperial propaganda, was the cuirassed statue, which depicts its subject dressed in the full parade costume of a triumphant general. Over six hundred examples attest to the popularity of this statue type, which portrayed emperors, victorious generals, local heroes, and male relations of the ruling house, and which was erected throughout the empire by members of the imperial family, the senate, municipalities, and corporations, as well as private individuals.[1] Of this important class of Roman imperial portrait dedication, only seven examples can be found in North American collections open to the public. One of these, a torso dated to the Julio-Claudian period, is in The Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1 and 2).[2]

Henry Walters acquired the piece in 1902 as part of the Massarenti Collection.[3] Prior to its acquisition, the torso had been restored as a cuirassed statue of Marcus Aurelius through the addition of modern limbs and an antique portrait (fig. 3).[4] In 1959 Cornelius Vermeule recognized the torso as an original work of the Julio-Claudian period and in 1961 the alien head and limbs were removed.[5] Still remaining on the torso, however, are a number of restorations which have been retained for aesthetic considerations. Specially prepared photographs (figs. 4 and 5) of the front and back of the ancient torso show how the work would appear without these restorations which include: a portion of the lappets, along with the drapery over the right hip, the entire right shoulder, much of the adjoining chest and back, and most of the leather straps over the left shoulder.[6]

An examination of these restored portions provides insight into nineteenth-century restoration practices. The limbs, now removed, were reconstructed with new marble and were fastened to the ancient torso by iron pins, which are still visible. New marble was also used to restore both the *paludamentum* folds and lappets still in place over the right hip, and a small broken section of drapery still visible over the left shoulder. The shoulders, however, were not completed with new marble, but with fragments of another statue or cuirassed bust of larger scale that was cut down to match the dimensions of the Julio-Claudian torso.[7] It is instructive to observe the manner in which the right shoulder was restored. Following nineteenth-century practice, the irregular surface of the ancient break was smoothed over to provide a clean join with the restored section. The leaf-shaped attachment bolt for the right shoulder strap and the underlying portion of the pectoral muscles were then carved back to match the musculature of the torso (fig. 6). The restorer omitted, however, to remove traces of a talismanic device, probably a Medusa head or Gorgoneion, which remains visible on the restored shoulder fragment along the line of the diagonal join (fig. 7). Further accentuating the lack of harmony between original and restored sections is the abrupt termination of the dark vein that rises diagonally over the original torso but does not continue across the break. It is difficult to determine the age of the restored fragments because, although the leaf-shaped shoulder strap attachment bolt shows close similarities to those found on cuirassed statues dated to the second and third centuries, it is also possible that the restorer repaired the damaged torso with fragments of a Renaissance bust.[8]

An examination of the torso's pose reveals a slight counterclockwise twist at the waist, an elevation of the left hip and a perceptible shift of the shoulders to the viewer's right. The figure apparently stood in a classical contrapposto stance with the figure's left leg engaged and right leg relaxed. The left arm hung

Fig. 1. *Cuirassed Torso,* (front), marble, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 23.80.

down at the body's left side and may have cradled a parazonium, symbol of imperial authority.[9] The original position of the right arm is harder to envision because the entire right shoulder is reconstructed with new marble, but if the right arm were lowered, as shown in the present restoration, the right hand probably held a patera, or offering bowl, to signify that the subject was offering a lustration upon the completion of a successful campaign. It is also possible that the figure raised his right arm in a gesture of adlocutio, or held up a spear or baton, in which case the subject would be addressing his troops.

The torso wears a short tunic (not visible), a quilted wool or leather jacket with protective leather straps which fall over the legs and upper arms, a classical-style cuirass embellished with two rows of long tongue-shaped lappets, and a paludamentum, or military cloak. Decorating the breastplate are pendant griffins with heads reversed. They stand with all four feet resting on the tendrils of an acanthus vine that emerges from an inverted palmette below the navel. On the chest appears a talismanic device bearing the face of a long-haired god with mustache and a full beard; pendant dolphins in the beard denote a sea

Fig. 2. Rear view of Figure 1.

god, perhaps Neptune or Oceanus (fig. 7). The lappets hanging below the lower edge of the cuirass are only partially visible over the torso's left and right hips and along a small portion of the left side of the back of the figure (fig. 8). An alternating sequence of rosettes and palmettes above long inverted palmettes decorate the hinged lappets of the upper row, while rosettes decorate the visible portions of the underlying lappets of the lower row. The paludamentum, worn over the cuirass, is fastened at the left shoulder by means of a fibula, now lost, then falls diagonally across the back to the right hip, and is brought forward across the front of the torso to fall over the figure's extended left arm, which is now lost.

The long tongue-shaped hinged lappets provide secure evidence for dating the Walters torso to the Julio-Claudian period because this lappet type appears only on cuirassed statues dated to the early or middle years of the first century A.D. The closest parallel to the floral decorated hinged lappets on the Walters torso can be found on a cuirassed statue in the Villa Albani, Rome, which dates no later than the last years of the reign of Augustus, and no earlier than the reign of Tiberius.[10]

Fig. 3. View of Figure 1 with alien head and limbs.

Similar floral patterns decorate lappets on a Tiberian cuirassed statue in the Museo Ostiense, Ostia,[11] and on a fragmentary cuirassed statue in East Berlin.[12] Hinged lappets can also be found on the so-called "Augustus" from Cherchel, dated by Klaus Stemmer to the Claudian period,[13] and tongue-shaped hinged lappets embellish the cuirassed figure identified by Georg Hafner as Claudius on a Julio-Claudian relief in the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna (fig. 9).[14]

Comparable lappets also appear on statues that are based on the cult figure from the Temple of Mars Ultor that was dedicated by Augustus in 2 B.C. A single row of short hinged lappets above two overlapping rows of long tongue-shaped hinged lappets are seen on the breastplate of the cuirassed statue of Marcus Holconius Rufus, dated A.D. 1–12, in the Museo Nazionale, Naples.[15] The Flavian age replica of the Augustan Mars Ultor, in the Museo Capitolino, Rome, exhibits an elaborate arrangement of a single row of short lappets over a double row of longer tongue-shaped hinged lappets (fig. 10).[16] A second replica of the Augustan Mars Ultor, in the Hermitage, Leningrad, can be assigned a late Augustan or Tiberian date because of the absence of rosettes on the breastplate; the cuirass exhibits an upper row of hinged and unhinged lappets of varying length over a single row of very long hinged lappets (fig. 11).[17] The presence of hinged lappets on the Walters torso indicates, therefore, a date during the late Augustan or Julio-Claudian period.

Further evidence for a Julio-Claudian date for the Walters torso lies in the appearance of pendant griffins with heads reversed on the breastplate. Sacred to the god Apollo and symbolizing the eternal character of the principate, winged griffins occur with great frequency as breastplate decorations on cuirassed portraits of Roman emperors and on statues of the god Mars. Klaus Stemmer has demonstrated that the particular motif of pendant griffins with heads reversed occurs only on statues dated to the age of the Julio-Claudian emperors and on imitations of these made during the late Flavian/early Trajanic periods.[18] On the breastplate of an early imperial cuirassed torso in

Fig. 4. Figure 1 with remaining restorations removed.

the Museo Campano, Capua, pendant griffins with heads reversed stand on a delicate foliate vine scroll above an inverted palmette (fig. 12).[19] Unique to the Baltimore and Capua breastplates is the absence of either a candelabrum or incense burner between the animals. Pendant griffins with heads reversed are also seen flanking a foliate candelabrum on a cuirassed torso in the Museo delle Marche, Ancona (fig. 13).[20] The work, dated to the early Claudian period, displays a more richly carved foliate vine than is seen on either the Baltimore or Capua examples. A further example decorates a Claudian torso in the Museo Archeologico, Palestrina; here the facing griffins with heads reversed flank a candelabrum and stand upon a foliate vine scroll.[21] Additional first-century examples of pendant griffins with heads reversed decorate the statue of Marcus Holconius Rufus in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, and the Mars Ultor statues in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (fig. 10), and in the Hermitage, Leningrad (fig. 11). The breastplate motif of pendant griffins with heads reversed can also be seen on several works which date, because of their lappet design, to the late Flavian/Trajanic periods. These include a Trajanic cuirassed statue in the Antiquarium Comunale, Centuripe,[22] a late Flavian/early Trajanic torso in the Museo Archeologico, Aquileia,[23] and a similarly dated torso fragment in the Museo Arqueológico, Seville.[24] The griffins on the Baltimore torso ensure a date during the Julio-Claudian period, but it is the technical execution of the foliate vine that indicates a more precise date for the piece. The presence of delicately rendered rosettes throughout the vine scroll suggests a date later than both the early imperial torso in the Museo Campano, Capua (fig. 12), and the Mars Ultor statue in the Hermitage (fig. 11). The rosettes on the Baltimore torso, however, are less plastically worked than those seen on the early Claudian torso in the Museo delle Marche, Ancona (fig. 13), and certainly far less exuberantly carved than the richly executed rosettes on the Flavian replica of the Augustan Mars Ultor in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (fig. 10). This evidence suggests that the Baltimore torso dates later than the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), but not later than the early years of the reign of Claudius. The Walters torso must, therefore, have been made either during the reign of Caligula (A.D. 37–41) or early in the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54).

The presence of the head of a sea god on the chest of the torso also helps to assure an iconographic association with either Caligula or Claudius. The use

Fig. 6. Detail of Figure 1, right shoulder strap.

Fig. 5. Figure 2 with remaining restorations removed.

Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 1, sea deity.

Fig. 8. Detail of Figure 1 showing lappet decoration on the rear.

of a marine deity as a talismanic device occurs, however, only rarely and can be found on only two other cuirassed statues; one is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, and the other is a fragmentary bronze statue in the Museo Arqueológico, Cadiz. The Paris statue is restored with a head of Trajan, but actually dates to the late Flavian period and probably celebrates one of Domitian's northern wars.[25] On the breastplate two bound captives sit at the base of a decorated trophy flanked by winged Victories carrying shields. The bearded sea god on the chest probably represents Rhenus, god of the Rhine, and personifies Domitian's military activities at the German frontier.[26] The statue in Cadiz, which dates to the second century, is a local find and certainly of local manufacture; perhaps part of a monument commanding a view of the sea, the marine deity on the breastplate probably alludes to Roman control over the Straits of Gibraltar.[27]

Other rare and unusual talismanic motifs include busts of Mars, Selene, Caelus, and Luna, as well as Helios driving a quadriga. The selection of one of these instead of the customary Medusa head or Gorgoneion must be intentional. An explanation must exist, therefore, to account for the presence of the sea god on the Walters torso. The motif surely alludes to mastery over the sea or to a naval or overseas victory and must commemorate some significant event that occurred either during the reign of Caligula or the early years of the reign of Claudius. Although an association with Roman successes in Britain during the reign of Claudius is not impossible, it is more likely that the work commemorates one of the nautical exploits of Caligula.

Through his many public actions Caligula showed a desire to master the sea and emulate, if not rival, the power of Neptune. Ancient authors preserve his reputation as the patron of extravagant naval engineering projects and as the builder of great ships. Pliny remarks on the noteworthy construction of a great ship used by Caligula to transport an obelisk from Egypt to Rome to decorate the entrance to the Temple of Augustus.[28] Suetonius tells of the splendid pleasure craft sailed by Caligula along the coast of Italy.[29] The great ships discovered by Italian archaeologists at Lake Nemi attest to the existence of such vessels.[30] Although work was never started, Caligula planned to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Corinth.[31] The most spectacular of Caligula's nautical exploits occurred, however, in A.D. 39 when he constructed a pontoon bridge more than three miles long across the gulf from Baiae to Puteoli.[32] He did this, reports Suetonius, in response to a comment made to Tiberius by Thrasyllus, the astrologer, that Caligula had no

Fig. 9. *Julio-Claudian Relief,* marble, Ravenna, Museo Nazionale.

more chance of becoming emperor than he had of crossing the Gulf of Baiae on horseback.[33] Before crossing the bridge, Caligula offered a sacrifice to Neptune.[34] Dio Cassius reports that he also posed as Neptune because he believed he rivaled the god through bridging so great an expanse of water.[35] On other occasions he wielded a trident, just as he took on the attributes of other deities to satisfy the pleasures of his whims.[36] Remarkably enough, Caligula couldn't swim.[37]

Much also has been made of the expedition to Britain planned by Caligula for the spring of A.D. 40. While still in Gaul he accepted the surrender of the British prince Adminius, his troops hailed him imperator and gave him the title Britannicus. His mission accomplished, Caligula abandoned his plans to cross the channel and ordered his soldiers instead to collect seashells to celebrate his victory over the sea.[38] Suetonius further reports that on one occasion Caligula even had a dream in which he purportedly conversed with the Mediterranean sea.[39] Caligula undoubtedly celebrated these accomplishments with artworks and portrait types. Dio relates that Caligula forbade the erection of statues in his honor at the beginning of his reign, but later manufactured them himself.[40] Dio also records that when it proved impossible to transport the Pheidian statue of Olympian Zeus to Rome to decorate the cella of the Temple of Jupiter, Caligula had a statue of the god made with his own features and erected in its place.[41] Certainly Caligula commissioned other statues showing him with the attributes of various gods. The cuirassed torso in The Walters Art Gallery, embellished with a talismanic sea god on its breastplate, dates to the time of Caligula's reign; evidence suggests, therefore, that the Walters torso represents a triumphant Caligula in the guise of Neptune and that it was commissioned, perhaps, to celebrate the emperor's triumphant procession across the Gulf of Baiae in A.D. 39.

Fig. 10. *Statue of Mars Ultor,* marble, Rome, Museo Capitolino.

Fig. 11. *Statue of Mars Ultor,* marble, Leningrad, Hermitage.

One last iconographic feature, the draping of the paludamentum about the hips, certainly the most striking characteristic of the Walters torso, recalls the disposition of the paludamentum on the Augustus of Prima Porta in the Vatican Museum (fig. 14).[42] Perhaps overfamiliarity with the Augustan portrait obscures the fact that of the more than six hundred known cuirassed statues, only six other first century examples, plus four others dated to the late Trajanic/early Hadrianic period, display the so-called "Prima Porta" drapery style. The two examples closest to the Walters torso are the cuirassed statue of Domitian in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum (fig. 15) and a cuirassed statue in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (fig. 16). The Vatican statue dates to the very beginning of Domitian's reign in 81 and its breastplate, which is decorated with a cupid riding a bull, Tellus, a triton, and a dolphin, celebrates Flavian suzerainty over land and sea.[43] The Madrid statue, restored with an alien portrait, dates to the early years of Domitian's reign and its breastplate, which depicts a Medusa head above a decorated trophy flanked by winged Victories carrying shields, probably celebrates his victory over the Chatti in 83.[44]

The Vatican, Madrid, and Baltimore statues actually show a variation on the "Prima Porta" drapery style with one end of the paludamentum fastened to the left shoulder by a fibula, whereas on the Prima Porta Augustus, the paludamentum wraps completely about the hips and both ends fall over the lowered left forearm. A cuirassed statue in the Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie, Auch (fig. 17), closely echoes the draping of the paludamentum on the Prima Porta Augustus.[45] The Auch statue is restored with a head of Trajan but dates to the reign of Domitian, and its breastplate, which depicts a bust of Selene above a decorated trophy flanked by two bound captives, also probably celebrates Domitian's victory over the Chatti. Yet another Domitianic cuirassed statue, in the Torlonia Collection, Rome, shows a similar drapery arrangement and has two small pendant griffins flanking a victory wreath below a Medusa head on the breastplate.[46] The

Fig. 12. *Cuirassed Torso,* marble, Capua, Museo Campano, no. 227.

Fig. 13. *Cuirassed Torso,* marble, Ancona, Museo delle Marche.

final first-century example, a fragmentary Flavian statue in the Museo Archeologico Provinciale "Sigismondo Castromediano," Lecce (fig. 18), has a paludamentum wrapped about the hips of a cuirassed torso, but with a long tunic instead of leather straps hanging below.[47] Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles ride sea dragons on the face of the cuirass and Helios driving a quadriga appears above. Of the examples in this group, only the Lecce statue shows nautical iconography on its breastplate, which suggests the celebration of an overseas victory, perhaps the early Flavian conquest of Judea or early Domitianic successes in Britain under Agricola.[48]

Post-Domitianic instances of the use of the Prima Porta are rare, with only four later works showing a paludamentum draped about the hips. Two of these, one in the Museo de Mallorca, Palma de Mallorca,[49] and the other in the Musée des Antiquites, Volubilis,[50] date to the late Trajanic/early Hadrianic period and both have the same breastplate composition depicting an Arimaspe fighting two griffins, an iconographic type which is associated with the posthumous celebration of the Parthian wars of the deified Trajan.[51] Two further early Hadrianic examples in the Museo Civico, Brindisi,[52] and in the Museum, Corinth,[53] probably also represent the deified Trajan and both statues show a trophy flanked by winged Victories on the breastplate.

Thus, in addition to the Walters torso, only seven other works imitate the draping of the paludamentum on the Augustus of Prima Porta. The two second-century examples are probably posthumous portraits of the deified Trajan. The remaining five date to the Flavian period, and, of these, four are certainly portraits of Domitian. The prevalence of the Prima Porta drapery style during the reign of Domitian is easy to explain. Occupying a position of significance before the Villa of Livia, with other versions perhaps displayed elsewhere, the so-called Augustus of Prima Porta must have been familiar to several generations of Romans. Although the exact date of the statue's manufacture continues to elude specialists, the breast-

plate celebrates an event well known to every student of Roman history. In 20 B.C., through peaceful negotiations, Augustus obtained the return of Roman standards captured by the Parthians at the Battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C. Augustus considered the return of the lost standards as one of his most important accomplishments. The one hundredth anniversary of this event occured in A.D. 81, the first year of Domitian's reign.

When Domitian became emperor in 81, he saw himself not only as the successor to his father and brother, but also as successor to Augustus. By selecting the Prima Porta statue as a prototype for several of the earliest official portraits of his reign, Domitian announced his intention to model his principate on the reign of Augustus, his most illustrious predecessor. The paludamentum about the hips implies, moreover, a state of apotheosis. Just as Augustus before him, and just as Vespasian and Titus, his immediate predecessors, Domitian hoped to become a god; Domitian, however, aspired to deification during his own lifetime. The presence of the Prima Porta drapery style on the Walters torso elicits a similar interpretation. Of the intervening rulers between Augustus and Domitian, only Caligula suffered excessively from the vain desire for deification while still alive. He often appeared in public as Jupiter, Neptune, Hercules, Bacchus, or Apollo, and at other times as Juno, Diana, and even as Venus.[54] He also set up a golden statue of himself in a shrine dedicated to his own divinity and instituted a priestly cult for the sacrifice of the most costly victims in his honor.[55] Caligula, however, publicly venerated the memory of Augustus. He completed the Temple of Augustus which Tiberius began but never finished.[56] He even took every opportunity he could to commend himself to the people by invoking the names of Augustus and Germanicus during the oration he delivered at the funeral of Tiberius.[57] For Caligula, the use of the Prima Porta drapery style bears the dual association of invoking both the mem-

Fig. 14. *Augustus of Prima Porta,* marble, Rome, Museo Vaticano.

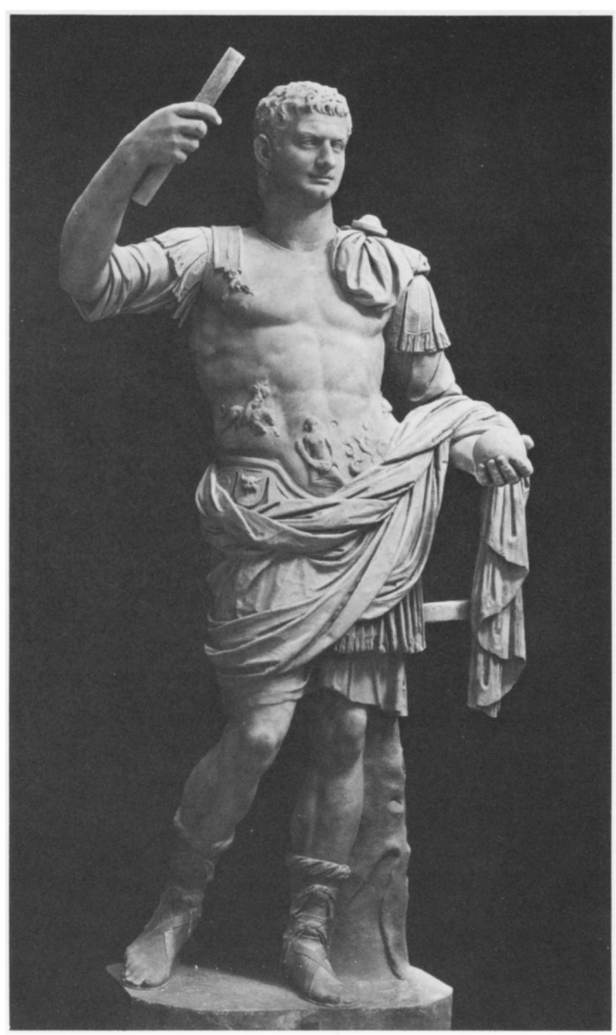

Fig. 15. *Statue of Domitian,* marble, Rome, Museo Vaticano, no. 2213.

ory of Augustus and the privilege to share in the first emperor's apotheosis.

While the long tongue-shaped hinged lappets, pendant facing griffins with heads reversed and delicately rendered foliate vine on the breastplate date the Walters torso to the middle years of the Julio-Claudian period, strictly iconographic criteria support an association with Caligula (A.D. 37–41), the third emperor of Rome. The sea deity on the breastplate identifies the torso as a representation of Caligula as Neptune, but wearing the costume of a triumphant general. The draping of the paludamentum about the hips in the manner of the Augustus of Prima Porta corresponds with Caligula's assumption of divine honors during his lifetime. Probably inspired by Caligula's triumphant procession on horseback across the Gulf of Baiae, the Walters torso must date around A.D. 39 or shortly thereafter.

Fig. 16. *Cuirassed Statue,* marble, Madrid, Prado, no. 168–E.

Fig. 17. *Cuirassed Statue,* marble, Auch, Musée d'Art et de'Archéologie, formerly Louvre 1154.

Fig. 18. *Cuirassed Statue,* marble, Lecce, Museo Archeologico Provinciale "Sigismondo Castromediano," no. 98.

NOTES

1. Fundamental to the study of Roman imperial cuirassed statues is the annotated catalogue of known works assembled by Cornelius C. Vermeule, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus,* 13 (1959), 1–82; and supplements in *Berytus,* 15 (1964), 95–109; 17 (1966), 95–110; 23 (1974), 3–26; and 26 (1978), 85–123 (hereafter, Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues"). Also fundamental is Klaus Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin, 1978) (hereafter, Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen*). See Stemmer, 168–180, for a list of 603 known works. See also Vermeule's concordance of his *Berytus* articles and Stemmer's list in the former's *Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues: Concordance of Greek and Roman Cuirassed Statues in Marble and Bronze* (Boston, 1980), (hereafter, Vermeule *Concordance*). For recent discussion on primary

source evidence related to the cuirassed statue as an honorific dedication see Götz Lahusen, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom: Literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse* (Rome, 1983) 51–53; and Thomas Pekary, *Das römische Herrscherbild, Abt. III, Bd. 5, Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1985), 97–100.

2. Inv. no. 23.80, marble, h. 35.25 in (89.5 cm). Bib.: E. van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du Musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni* (Rome, 1897), II, 143, no. 14 (hereafter, Esbroeck, *Catalogue*); Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 38, no. 39, pl. VI, fig. 20; D. K. Hill, "A Roman Emperor in Armor," *The Bulletin of The Walters Art Gallery,* 14, no. 2 (Nov. 1961), 1–2 (hereafter, Hill, "Roman Emperor"); Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 33, n. 96, 84, n. 241, 86, n. 250, 158, n. 684; Vermeule, *Concordance,* frontispiece (frontal view with restorations removed), 2, no. 39, 32, no. 19, 58, ill. 19 (frontal view showing the torso prior to the removal of the restored limbs and portrait of Marcus Aurelius). In addition to the Walters torso, the works found in North American collections open to the public include: Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 99.346 (torso, late Flavian, probably Domitian); Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum (now on display in the Sackler Museum), no. 1954.71 (statue of Trajan); Detroit, Institute of Arts, no. 72.273 (torso, Severan, perhaps Caracalla); Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, no. 71.AA.436 (torso, late Flavian); Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University, no. 84–2 (torso, late Flavian, probably Domitian); Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art, no. 83.74 (statue, Hadrianic).

3. Esbroeck, *ibid.*

4. Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 38, no. 39. According to Vermeule, "the statue, with different restorations, is probably identical with the 'Titus' of the Palazzo Rospigliosi (Mancini, p. 184, no. 39; Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom,* I, p. 380, no. 1343), which has not been located since ca. 1880 (when the Massarenti collection was being formed; see von Rohden, *Bonner Studien,* p. 15)."

5. Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 38, no. 39, pl. VI, fig. 20; and Hill, "Roman Emperor," 1. The head of Marcus Aurelius (inv. no. 23.215) is presently in storage.

6. I wish to thank Dr. Ellen D. Reeder, Curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Walters Art Gallery, for giving me permission to reproduce photographs of the Walters torso showing the appearance of the work with all remaining restorations removed. Many thanks also to David Darst, Dean Spencer, and Dennis Pompilius, Division of Instructional Materials Production, Central Michigan University, for their help in producing these photographs. (Figures 6–8 courtesy of the author.)

7. I wish to thank Dr. Ellen D. Reeder and Ms. Terry Drayman Weisser, Director of Conservation and Technical Research, for their assistance in studying the restorations to the Walters torso. Many thanks also to Dr. Cornelius Vermeule, Curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, for his advice on dealing with the restorations to the Walters torso. Dr. Vermeule notes that collections of ancient headless busts were readily accessible in Rome for use in restoring bustless heads for display in nineteenth-century collections. In the case of the Walters torso, which was probably found in Rome, the missing shoulders may have been restored with pieces of an ancient headless bust.

8. Similar leaf-shaped shoulder strap attachment bolts can be found on the cuirassed statue in Toledo, dated around A.D. 130; see The Toledo Museum of Art Monthly Calendar for Oct., 1983, 1 (frontal view photo of the statue). See also C. C. Vermeule, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Malibu, 1981), 311, no. 267, for an unrestored cuirassed bust of Hadrian, with a leaf-shaped shoulder strap attachment bolt in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art-Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, Kansas City, Missouri (Nelson Fund: inv. no. 31–96). For two third-century examples, see D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A Catalogue of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (New York, 1970), figs. 10 (bust of Gordion III '?') and 20 (recarved cuirassed statue of Maximus Thrax '?').

9. Compare the pose of the Walters torso with the cuirassed representation of Germanicus carrying an aquila, instead of a parazonium, on an undated dupondius minted in Rome by Caligula in honor of his father's triumph in A.D. 17 over the Germans; see H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum, Vol. I, Augustus to Vitellius* (London, 1983), 160–161, nos. 93–101, pl. 30, figs. 9–10.

10. Rome, Villa Albani 321, Sala del Bigliardo: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 7–8, I 1, pl. 1, fig. 1; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 70, no. 298. Vermeule dates Villa Albani 321 to the early third century, but the foliate vine and absence of figural decoration on the breastplate suggest an early first century date.

11. Ostia, Museo Ostiense: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 87, VII 22, pl. 61, fig. 2; and Vermeule, *Concordance,* 18, no. 334.

12. Berlin, Staatliche Museen 638/9, Magazine: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 83–84, VII 16, pl. 57, figs. 1–6; and Vermeule, *Concordance,* 14, no. 69. Staatliche Museen 638/9 is probably a Trajanic imitation of a Julio-Claudian prototype.

13. Cherchel, Museum: see Stemmer, Panzerstatuen, 10–12, I 5, pl. 2, figs. 1–2, and pl. 3, figs. 1–5; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 55, no. 179, pl. 15, fig. 11. See especially K. Fittschen, "Zur Panzerstatue in Cherchel," *Jahrbuch des deutsche archäologische Instituts,* 91 (1976), 175–210.

14. G. Hafner, "Zum Augustus-Relief in Ravenna," *Römische Mitteilungen des deutsches archaologisches Institut,* 62 (1955), 160–173. (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome.)

15. Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 6233: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 35, no. 17, pl. IV, fig. 13; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 18, n. 65, 140, n. 489, 148, n. 578.

16. Rome, Museo Capitolino, inv. no. 58: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 44, no. 78, pl. VII, fig. 24; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 140, n. 489. For complete bibliography see W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* ed. H. Speier, 4th ed. (Tubingen, 1963–1972), II, 46–48, no. 1198 (hereafter, Helbig, *Führer*). (Photo: Barbara Malter, Rome.)

17. Leningrad, Hermitage, inv. no. A61: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 44, no. 81; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 140, n. 489. Vermeule assigns a Flavian date to the Hermitage Mars Ultor statue. (Photo: Hermitage Museum, Leningrad.)

18. Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 153.

19. Capua, Museo Campano, inv. no. 227: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 32–33, III 3, pl. 17, fig. 3; and Vermeule, *Concordance,* 15, no. 103. (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome.)

20. Ancona, Museo delle Marche: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 32, III 2, pl. 17, fig. 2; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 37, no. 31. (Photo: German Archaeological Institute, Rome.)

21. Palestrina, Museo Archeologico 41, inv. 90: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 60, V 7, pl. 36, fig. 3; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 40–41, no. 53A.

22. Centuripe, Antiquarium Comunale: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 32, III 1, pl. 17, fig. 1; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1966, 54, no. 170A.

23. Aquileia, Museo Archeológico, inv. no. 55: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 64, V 15, pl. 40, fig. 2; and Vermeule, *Concordance,* 13, no. 25.

24. Seville, Museo Arqueologico: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 104, VIII 12, pl. 71, fig. 4; and Vermeule, *Concordance,* 20, no. 465.

25. Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 1150: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 14–15, I 9, pl. 6, figs. 1–2; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 46, no. 101.

26. A possible representation of Rhenus decorates a lappet on the back of the cuirassed torso of Domitian in The Art Museum, Princeton; see R. Gergel, "An Allegory of Imperial Victory on a Cuirassed Statue of Domitian," *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton,* 45, no. 1 (1986), 12, fig. 14 (hereafter, Gergel, "Allegory").

27. Cadiz, Museo Arqueológico: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 85–85, VII 20, pl. 59, figs. 3–4; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1966, 51, pl. X, figs. 6–7.

28. Pliny, Natural History XVI.20; XXXVI.70 and 74.

29. Suetonius, Caligula XXXVII.2.

30. For a general discussion on the Lake Nemi ships, see P. MacKendrick, *The Mute Stones Speak*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1983), 222–227.

31. Suetonius, Caligula XXI.

32. Suetonius, Caligula XIX.1. Dio Cassius LIX.17.1–19.

33. Suetonius, Caligula XIX.2.

34. Dio Cassius LIX.17.4.

35. Dio Cassius LIX.26.6.

36. Dio Cassius LIX.26.7.

37. Suetonius, Caligula LIV.2.

38. Suetonius, Caligula XLIV.2, XLVI; Dio Cassius LIX.21, LIX.25.1–5; and Tacitus, Agricola 13.

39. Suetonius, Caligula L.3.

40. Dio Cassius LIX.4.3.

41. Dio Cassius LIX.28.3–4; see also Suetonius LVII.1.

42. Rome, Museo Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo, inv. no. 2290. For a general discussion and bibliography on the Augustus of Prima Porta see Helbig, *Führer,* I, 314–319.

43. Rome, Museo Vaticano, Braccio Nuovo 129, inv. no. 2213; see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 48, no. 114, pl. IX, fig. 30. For a general discussion and bibliography see Helbig, *Führer,* I, 350, no. 459. G. Daltrop, (*Die Flavier* [Berlin, 1966], 33–34, dates the portrait between A.D. 76 and 83/84 on the basis of comparisons with coin types, but demonstrates a preference for a date during the reign of Titus. A comparison with Domitian's numismatic portraits does not, however, discount a date to 81 or 82; and there is a great probability that the Braccio Nuovo statue represents one of the first, if not the very first, of the official portraits of Domitian's reign. For a complete bibliography of early sources on the Braccio Nuovo Domitian see Daltrop, 107.

44. Madrid, Prado, inv. no. 168-E: for bibliography, see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 47, no. 109. On the identification of breastplate compositions celebrating Domitian's Chatti campaign see Gergel, "Allegory," 15, n. 13.

45. Auch, Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie (formerly Louvre 1154): see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 46, no. 100.

46. Rome, Collection Torlonia: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 48, no. 115.

47. Lecce, Museo Archeologico Provinciale "Sigismondo Castromediano," inv. no. 45988: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 46, no. 98.

48. The presence of sea creatures on the Roman base of the Menorah depicted in the "Spoils from Jerusalem" panel on the Arch of Titus establishes a context for associating nautical iconography with the celebration of the early Flavian conquest of Judea. The Lecce statue belongs to a group of cuirassed portraits showing Nereids riding sea beasts on their breastplates. The most important of these is a cuirassed statue with a portrait of Titus from the Metroon at Olympia (Olympia, Museum, inv. no. 144: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 33–34, III 5, pl. 18, fig. 1; and Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 45, no. 86, pl. VIII, fig. 26). The Olympia Titus is the only example in this group to display a "classical" style cuirass embellished with two rows of short overlapping lappets over a single row of long leather straps. Practically the same breastplate composition decorates a statue in Paris with a "Hellenistic" style cuirass embellished with two overlapping rows of short and long leather straps instead of lappets (Paris: Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 3384: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 45, no. 90). A close replica of the Louvre statue is in Durres, Albania (see G. Koch, *Albanien: Kulturdenkmäler eines unbekannten Landes aus 2200 Jahren. Photoausstellung* [Marburg, 1985], 17, fig. 17). A related example is in Bologna (Bologna, Museo Civico: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 46, no. 96). Other examples can be found in Athens (National Museum, inv. no. 1644: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 46, no. 95); Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 2582: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 51, no. 147); Dresden (Albertinum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 218: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 45, no. 87; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 78, VII 6, pl. 51, fig. 5. The Dresden example has two rows of long hinged lappets.); Driffield (Lowther Castle '?': see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 45, no. 91); and Munich (Residenz: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 46, no. 97). Nautical iconography also decorates a bronze equestrian cuirassed torso of Domitian, preserved with a head of Nerva, from the excavations at Miseno (see F. Zevi, "Equestrian Statue of Nerva from Miseno," *The Horses of San Marco* [New York, 1979], 45–47, fig. 62). The Miseno bronze probably dates to the very beginning of Domitian's reign and the nautical iconography that decorates the cuirass probably celebrates the early Domitianic successes of Agricola in Britain.

49. Palma de Mallorca, Museo de Mallorca (from Pollentia): see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 54, no. 174.

50. Volubilis, Musée des Antiquités: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 54, no. 175.

51. An Arimaspe fighting griffins also decorates breastplates on statues in Cambridge, Mass. (Sackler Art Museum, inv. no. 1954.71: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 53, no. 168, pl. XIII, fig. 42; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 58–59, V 4, pl. 36, fig. 3); Centuripe (Antiquarium Comunale: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1966, 54, no. 170A; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 32, III 1, pl. 17, fig. 1); Mentana (Coll. Zeri: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 53, no. 170; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 12–13, I 6, pl. 4, fig. 1); Orange (Musée Municipal Orange: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 53, no. 169; and Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 59–60, V 5, pl. 36, fig.1); Rome (Villa Torlonia-Albani, no. 82: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 56, no. 194); Sabratha (Museum of Antiquities: see Stemmer, *Panzerstatuen,* 19–20, I 20, pl. 10, fig. 2; and Vermeule, *Concordance,* 20), and once Rome (Garimberti Coll.: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 53, no. 171). These represent a type that first appears during the later years of the reign of Trajan and continues into the early years of the reign of Hadrian.

52. Brindisi, Museo Civico: see Vermeule, "Curiassed Statues," 1959, 35, no. 19. Vermeule and others assign an Augustan date to the Brindisi statue, but I prefer a date during the early Hadrianic period. The thin roll of drapery across the front of the body is closer in style to the second century example from Corinth than to either of those from Mallorca or Volubilis or to those dated to the first century.

53. Corinth, Museum, inv. no. S 1081: see Vermeule, "Cuirassed Statues," 1959, 57, no. 197, pl. XVII, fig. 49.

54. Dio Cassius LIX.26.5–6.

55. Suetonius, Caligula XXII.3.

56. Suetonius, Caligula XVI.3.

57. Dio Cassius LIX.3.7–8.

Early Christian and Byzantine Rings in the Zucker Family Collection

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In June 1985 The Walters Art Gallery was fortunate to receive on extended loan 143 rings and pendants from the Zucker Family Collection, New York. Of unusually high aesthetic and historic interest, these objects range in date from dynastic Egypt to the twentieth century. Among them are fifteen Early Christian and Byzantine rings which are distinguished at once by their fine quality and by the fact that they provide a substantially complete overview of major ring types in use in Eastern Christianity from the third to the fifteenth century. In a sense, they constitute a significant collection in their own right, and for that reason are here published together, for the first time.

No article of personal adornment was more prevalent in Byzantine society nor more important to the conduct of an individual's private and public business than was a signet ring.[1] The emperor wore an official ring as a symbol of power and as an implement for the authentication of certain communications and documents, and the same was true for a wide range of civil and ecclesiastical officials. As for the average citizen, signets in their locking capacity were essential for the maintenance of personal security, whereas signets in their authenticating capacity were required by law for the validation of wills and testaments.[2] Beyond this, rings functioned in a purely social context as jewelry—as a natural and traditional mode of self-adornment.

Neutral Bezel Devices

From the early years of the third century, if not before, Christians of the eastern Mediterranean had begun to adopt neutral, pagan signet motifs for their own symbolic purposes.[3] Clement of Alexandria, probably writing at Caesarea in Cappadocia, has this advice for pious Christians:

> Let our seals be either a dove, or a fish, or a ship scudding before the wind, or a musical lyre, which Polycrates used, or a ship's anchor, which Seleucus got engraved as a device; and if there be one fishing, he will remember the apostle, and the children drawn out of the water. For we are not to delineate the faces of idols, we who are prohibited to cleave to them; nor a sword, nor a bow, following as we do, peace; nor drinking cups, being temperate.[4]

The two earliest rings in the Zucker series (figs. 1, 2)[5] probably date from the era of Clement, in that both continue traditional Roman hoop and bezel designs,[6] and both show appropriate neutral subjects. The fish on one (fig. 1) evokes the *ICHTHYS* acrostic for Christ, and the anchor on the other (fig. 2) calls to mind the cross, and the hope of the faithful (Heb., 6.18–19):

> . . . we may have the strongest comfort, who have fled for refuge to hold fast the hope set before us: Which we have as an anchor of the soul, sure and firm. . . .

Both motifs commonly appear on ring bezels of the Early Christian period.[7]

Like all but one ring in the Zucker series, these two are gold, and they are distinguished from most of the others by their small hoop size. In theory, this need not signify that they were worn by women or children, since in Roman times it was common for men and women alike to wear rings on all joints of the hand.

Two admonitions in the same Clement of Alexandria passage, however, suggest that rings this small would have been inappropriate for a Christian male of his era. Like many in the early church, Clement was opposed in principle to Christians wearing precious metal jewelry, but he acknowledged the practical necessity that women wear gold rings in their capacity as housekeepers " . . . for sealing [i.e., locking] things which are worth keeping safe in the house." Yet at the same time he implicitly denied very small rings in any metal to men:

> But men are not to wear the ring on the joint; for this is feminine; but to place it on the little finger at its root . . . and [thus] the signet will not very easily fall off, being guarded by the large knot of the joint.[8]

Salvation Bezel Devices

During the fourth century—and principally in the Latin West—Christians developed a more overtly religious repertoire of scenes, motifs, and inscriptions for their rings in response to the legitimation and growing dominance of their faith. As though created to document this phenomenon, one large, simply designed man's ring in the Zucker series (fig. 3)[9] bears on its bezel the word *FIDEM* and on its hoop the name *CONSTANTINO*, the sense of which may be "(May I pledge my) faith to (Emperor) Constantine," which suggests that it may have been a government official's ring.[10] Similarly responsive to Constantine and the recent triumph of the new religion are the many surviving rings like that in Figure 4[11] which bear one or another variant of the Chrismon. Here the famous Christian standard supposedly first adopted by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge takes on a design remarkably close to the Golgotha Cross; it and its simple bezel thus stand in marked contrast to the relatively complex hoop with its rows of soldered pellets.

Explicitly Christian themes of salvation gradually replaced Clement's neutral subjects on rings with figures or scenes on their bezels. Like the images customarily found in Christian catacombs, most of these ring devices relate Old or New Testament stories symbolic of Christian deliverance, such as Jonah and the whale, and Daniel in the lion's den.[12] Indeed, protection and deliverance are the themes of the finest of the Zucker Early Christian rings (fig. 5),[13] which combines on its thick bezel superb intaglio quotations from two popular salvation compositions of the period: above is a bird with an olive branch in its beak, and below is a lamb. The latter evokes the Agnus Dei and the Good Shepherd—the Lord and his protection—and the former recalls the bird that returned to the Ark with the olive branch confirming that Noah and his family would be delivered from the flood (Gen. 8.10–11).[14] The addition of this otherwise inconspicuous piece of vegetation has thus transformed Clement's multivalent bird into an explicitly biblical, ultimately narrative iconographic element with very specific religious meaning for the ring's wearer.

Most Early Christian and Byzantine rings were seal rings, a function usually betrayed by retrograde inscriptions and/or deeply carved devices.[15] The two animals on this bezel are distinguished at once by the depth of the intaglio, and by the skill with which they were executed. Their high technical quality is paralleled by the sophisticated design of the hoop—with its nine discs and twenty soldered pellets—and by the ring's very weight (16.52 gr), which is roughly equal to that of three and one-half gold *solidi*. Certainly this was a ring of distinction in its own time, and it ranks today as one of the finest specimens of its type to have survived from the Early Christian period.

Closely related in design and quality, if not in specific iconography, are two gold rings in the British Museum (figs. 6, 7).[16] As with the Zucker ring, the hoop of each is formed of discs set off by pellets, but with these, the discs number seven and they bear their own intaglio compositions. One ring (fig. 6) shows Christ enthroned on its bezel and standing Apostles on its hoop, and the other (fig. 7) bears juxtaposed profile portraits on its bezel and frontal portraits on its hoop. The former was said to have been acquired in Smyrna, and since it shows Christ raising his left hand in blessing, it was clearly designed to function in reverse as a signet. The latter, on the other hand, belongs to a well-known category of Early Christian marriage ring, with facing portraits of husband and wife, which is firmly dateable from the later fourth to early fifth century.[17] Again, because the wife is misplaced in the position of honor at the left, this ring, too, must have been made specifically for sealing. That it and the two other rings should be assigned to the Eastern Empire is all but confirmed by a closely related marriage ring in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 8), that shows portraits virtually identical to those of the British Museum ring accompanied by a retrograde Greek inscription.[18] As a group, these four rings bear witness to the highest levels of craftsmanship and luxury then available among Christian signet rings.

Marriage Rings

To judge from the scores of surviving examples,

Figure 6. *Ring, Christ and the Apostles,* gold, London, British Museum, no. AF 288.

Figure 7. *Ring, Wedding Couple,* gold, London, British Museum, no. AF 304.

Figure 8. *Ring, Wedding Couple,* gold, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 58.37.

marriage rings were both popular and lavish in early Byzantium; indeed, many fine gold specimens of fourth- to seventh-century date are preserved in such major collections as Dumbarton Oaks and the British Museum.[19] Iconographically, their bezel devices generally take one of four basic forms, three of which are represented by excellent examples in the Zucker Collection (figs. 9–11), and the fourth is attested by the related British Museum and Dumbarton Oaks rings just discussed (figs. 7, 8).

The earliest and simplest Christian marriage rings, dating from the fourth and fifth centuries, follow the religiously neutral Roman scheme by showing, as Figures 7 and 8, husband and wife facing one another, *en buste.* (On some examples, a small cross appears above and between the portraits.) Later, from the sixth to seventh century, a Christianized variant of this type appears wherein the profiles are replaced by frontal bust portraits with a large cross prominently displayed between them.[20] The Zucker ring illustrated in Figure 9 represents a simple version of this.[21] Others typically bear good wishes for the bride and groom such as "Harmony," "Grace of God," and "Health."

Quite distinct from the first two compositional formulae, though apparently contemporary with the later type, are two iconographic schemes that show actual events from the marriage ceremony, though in a Christianized and symbolic fashion, in that the rite is performed by Christ. In one case, the couple is brought together for the *dextrarum iunctio,* with Christ acting as symbolic *pronumba,*[22] and in the other, Christ (or Christ with the Virgin) takes the role of the priest and places wedding crowns on their heads.[23] The former iconography is represented by the Zucker ring illustrated in Figure 10,[24] whose bezel shows Christ standing at the center with the groom approaching from the left and the bride from the right; in the exergue below is the word *EVXI* (vow).[25] On the other hand, the latter, crowning formula is represented by the highly schematic scene on the bezel of the Zucker ring illustrated in Figure 11.[26] Here again Christ stands frontally at the center flanked by bride and groom, but instead of drawing the couple forward to join right hands, his hands are raised over their heads as if to crown them. Flanking Christ, in vertical columns, is the word *OMONVA* (Harmony), and around the octagonal hoop is an invocation on behalf of the couple: *"Theotoke,* help George and Plakela."[27]

Invocations beginning *"Theotoke,* help . . . " or "Lord, help . . . " are common on objects of the minor arts (and lead sealings) throughout the Byzantine period, and for the most part evoke only a fairly banal level of everyday piety. Yet here, and on marriage rings

Figure 5. *Ring, Lamb and Dove,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.051.

Figure 1. *Ring, Fish,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.062.

Figure 2. *Ring, Anchor,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.052.

Figure 3. *Ring, Acclamation,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.050.

Figure 4. *Ring, Chrismon,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.049.

Figure 9. *Ring, Wedding Couple,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.06.

Figure 10. *Ring, Wedding Couple,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 1985.048.

Figure 11. *Ring, Wedding Couple,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.053.

Figure 12. *Ring, Monogram,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.060.

Figure 13. *Ring, Monogram,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.059.

Figure 15. *Ring,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.058.

Figure 16. *Ring,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.057.

Figure 17. *Ring, Invocation,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.054.

Figure 19. *Ring, Virgin* Hodegetria, bronze, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.056.

Figure 21. *Ring, St. Demetrios,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Zucker Family Collection, no. TL 10.1985.055.

generally, there is good reason to believe the formula was intended to be more specific. Consider, first, the very shape of the hoop: an octagon. Among surviving Early Byzantine rings, eight-sided hoops are consistently associated with apotropaic bezel devices;[28] and indeed, they were specifically prescribed by Alexander of Tralles for the treatment of colic:

> Take an iron ring and make its hoop eight-sided, and write thus on the octagon: "Flee, flee, O bile, the lark is pursuing you."[29]

Second, there is the fact that octagonal marriage rings very much like this one, with crowning iconography on the bezel, bear a thematically related, clearly apotropaic excerpt from Psalm 5.12 on their hoops: "Thou hast crowned us with a shield of favor."[30] And third, there are the words, already noted, which are shared by so many Early Byzantine marriage rings: "Harmony," "Grace of God," "Health." In a sense, these constitute the "shield of favor" invoked from God through the crowning. And obviously, "Harmony" would be a benefit applicable to husband and wife specifically as a couple.[31] But so also might be "Health," insofar as marital health, in a sense both literal and metaphoric, would be essential to the ultimate goal of Christian marriage—namely, successful childbearing.[32] Indeed, in the text of the Byzantine marriage ceremony there are, in addition to many invocations of "Harmony" and "Grace," numerous prayers directed toward childbearing, such as "Bless us, O Lord our God, as You blessed Zacharias and Elisabeth."[33]

The eight-sided hoop, the passage from Psalm 5, and words like "Harmony" and "Health" together reflect a level of intentionality for Early Byzantine marriage rings which was significantly above that of mere banal piety or simple ceremony. And this in turn suggests that when George and Plakela invoked the help of the *Theotokos* for themselves (and their marriage), they did so with a specific marital goal, most likely that of successful childbirth.

Monogram Rings

With the growth of the Byzantine capital, both the neutral and the salvation repertoires of signet themes gradually began to disappear, for the most part replaced by a new, distinctively post-classical sealing device: the personal monogram (figs. 12: "Theodore"; 13: "John").[34] Often the letters of the owner's name are incised backwards, and are either arranged around a large central letter, such as a *mu*, to form a block, or else are arranged on the arms of a cross (as in figs. 12, 13). As with the majority of other Byzantine

Figure 14. *Seal, Virgin* Hodegetria, *and Monogram,* lead, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 55.1.253.

sealing devices, the genitive case ending is usually employed.[35] Many, like the two Zucker examples, are incised into a simple disc soldered to a wire hoop. Their seal impression would therefore be quite close in appearance to the monogram lead sealings (fig. 14)[36] which were then becoming extremely popular in Byzantium. The inscriptional sense of each was the same: "[Seal] of Theodore."

In Byzantium, the sixth century marked a basic shift from monograms constructed around a block letter (block monograms) to those formed around a cross (cross monograms); the latter are first dateable in Justinianic column capitals of the 530s.[37] This adds special significance to the fact that the majority of block-monogram ring seals are gemstone intaglios, whereas the majority of cross-monogram ring seals are, like the present examples, metal intaglios.[38] Indeed, this seems to mark the culmination of a trend begun centuries earlier. In Book 33 of his *Natural History,* Pliny the Elder notes the growing but still novel practice among Romans of sealing not with incised gems but with the metal of the ring itself:

> . . . many people do not allow any gems in a signet-ring, and seal with the gold itself; this was a fashion invented when Claudius Caesar was Emperor.[39]

To judge from surviving monogram rings, the shift in medium seems to have been all but fully accomplished by the end of the sixth century.[40] By then, the incised metal signet ring had become as common among and distinctive to the Byzantines as had gem signets formerly been to the Romans. Yet, its ancestry is unmistakable, especially in rings like that in our Figure 10, where a metal bezel has been set as if it were a stone.

Because Early Byzantine monogram signet rings were both popular and simple, it might be supposed that they were more or less mass produced. And indeed, the Zucker Collection includes important new evidence to corroborate this assumption. First, the back of the bezel of the ring illustrated in our Figure 13 shows two expertly incised Greek letters, a *pi* and an *epsilon,* which together would likely have formed the horizontal arms of a cross monogram. *PETROU* ("of Peter") would be a probable choice, but the absence of any trace of the last four letters suggests

that this intaglio was abandoned and the bezel simply flipped over and "John" incised instead. Second, there are two superb, uninscribed gold rings in the Zucker series (figs. 15, 16)[41] which by their design clearly belong with the monogram signet group exemplified by Figures 12 and 13. But because their bezels make no sense without sealing devices, one must assume that these were pre-fabricated rings awaiting their final personalization. An as yet unpublished private silver hoard of sixth-century date includes among its two dozen or so rings, coins, belt fittings, *et cetera,* both unattached blank ring bezels, and seemingly complete rings whose bezels bear no device.[42]

Invocational Rings

The final shift from incised stone to incised metal was but one of several areas wherein Byzantine rings were, as a group, fundamentally different from those worn by the Romans. Another lies in the fact that Byzantine bezel devices are heavily weighted toward inscriptions, in contrast to Rome's marked preference for figurative devices.[43] These usually take either one of two forms: monograms, which have already been discussed, or invocations (fig. 17).[44]

A Byzantine invocational signet ring usually bears on its bezel a short prayer calling upon the help of the deity (or a saint) for a specific individual: for example, "Lord, help John." Occasionally, however, as with the Zucker ring in Figure 17 ("Christ, help the wearer"),[45] a prayer is offered for a generic owner, which further corroborates the view that Byzantine rings were mass produced.[46] Invocational rings for the most part date to the Middle and Late Byzantine periods—in contrast to monogram rings, which are usually Early Byzantine in date—and most show relatively large bezel surfaces to accommodate the much greater number of letters (fig. 18).[47] The Zucker invocational ring, with its raised hexagonal sealing surface supported by tiny hands, its incised trefoils, and its heavily corrupted Greek, is one of relatively few known specimens that attest to the last phases of Byzantine ring production, when traditional designs and formulae were being thoroughly transformed under the impact of Western practice.[48] As a group, they bear witness to the accelerating erosion of traditional Byzantine forms on the level of everyday material culture.

Iconic Rings

Byzantium's third major contribution to the development of the finger ring was at once more subtle and yet perhaps more significant than the shift from stone to metal and from figures to words. For the Romans, ring signets functioned primarily as tools for making seals and as objects of aesthetic enjoyment; indeed, gem carvers were highly esteemed and well paid, and there was a fashion for gem collecting.[49] For the Byzantines, of course, the sealing function of signet rings necessarily continued, but the aesthetic and antiquarian interests of the implement seem to have receded markedly. What developed in their place was an unprecedented concern for the spiritual (and/or magical) power of rings, for their ability to invoke supernatural help or to ward off evil. Again, Pliny the Elder anticipates the transformation when he observes that: "Now, indeed, men also are beginning to wear on their fingers Harpocrates and figures of Egyptian deities."[50]

Figure 18. *Ring, Invocation,* gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1053.

The desire to invoke supernatural power is evident in Byzantine rings of all periods and designs. At one extreme are examples that portray Greco-Egyptian medico-magical creatures, like the Chnoubis, or the Judeo-Christian master of magic and power, King Soloman,[51] and at the other are simple invocational rings like that in Figure 18. Somewhere in between fall octagonal marriage rings, like that in Figure 11, as well as an entire category of Byzantine sealing implements for which there was no Roman antecedent, either for their decoration or for their function: the iconic ring.[52]

In essence, Byzantine craftsmen simply transferred to ring bezels icon types that had been developed and popularized in other media. The Virgin and Child was an especially popular subject throughout the Byzantine period, and was one of the first iconic images to commonly appear on ring bezels, from as

Figure 20. *Ring, Virgin* Hodegetria, gold, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 58.37.

Figure 22. *Pendant Reliquary, St. Demetrios,* gold and enamel, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 53.20.

early as the sixth to seventh century. A bronze ring of approximately that date in the Zucker Family Collection (fig. 19)[53] shows the familiar *Hodegetria* type, where the Christ Child is presented on the Virgin's left arm. It is remarkably similar to a contemporary gold ring in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 20),[54] and both, in turn, are closely paralleled among lead sealings of the period (fig. 14),[55] which are also their closest functional relatives.

Also very popular throughout the history of the Empire were rings with incised icons of famous military saints, and among the finest specimens to survive is one in the Zucker series with a frontal bust portrait of a beardless military saint with lance and sword (fig. 21).[56] Although the shallow inscription is substantially worn away, the figure corresponds so closely to that on the famous St. Demetrios pendant reliquary at Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 22)[57] as to leave no doubt to his identity. Both certainly derive from an iconic type developed and popularized in more formidable media, especially panel painting.

That Byzantine icons should be as popular in the form of incised ring bezels as in the form of painted panels is fully consistent with what the Byzantine mind conceived the icon to be, namely, something without substance for which such criteria as size, technical quality, or even iconic verisimilitude carried little or no meaning.[58] Indeed, Theodore the Studite used the metaphor of a signet ring to help explain the essential insubstantiality of icons:

> Or take the example of a signet ring engraved with the imperial image, and let it be impressed upon wax, pitch and clay. The impression is one and the same in the several materials which, however, are different with respect to each other; yet it would not have remained identical unless it were entirely unconnected with the materials. . . . The same applies to the likeness of Christ, irrespective of the material upon which it is represented. . . .[59]

Thus by this definition, a wax sealing made with the Zucker ring in Figure 19 was no less a *Hodegetria* icon than was the original, preserved in the Hodegon Monastery, and all three, painted panel, seal ring, and seal impression, partook in a shared sacred power for which the Romans had no antecedent.[60] And it was this sacred power, whether conveyed through images or words (or even the ring's octagonal shape) that more than anything else gave Byzantine rings their distinctive character.

NOTES

1. A comprehensive, fully documented survey of Byzantine finger rings will appear as chapter two of my forthcoming catalogue of more than seven hundred Byzantine objects of the minor arts in the Menil Collection, Houston (hereafter, Vikan, *Menil).* For the half dozen Early Christian and Byzantine rings in The Walters' permanent collection, see *Jewelry, Ancient to Modern* (New York, 1979), nos. 425–430; and M. Ross, "Two Byzantine Nielloed Rings," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), 169–71 (hereafter, Ross, "Rings").

2. On the distinction, see G. Vikan and J. Nesbitt, *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, Weighing,* Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, 2 (Washington, D.C., 1980), 10–11 (hereafter, Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security).* In its locking capacity, a signet functioned as a complement to a key, as one might place a wax or clay sealing on the hasp of a jewelry box. In its authenticating capacity, a signet functioned as a complement to a signature.

3. See T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christliche Kunst, I," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* 1 (1958), 21–23.

4. *The Ante-Nicene Fathers,* II (reprint: Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971), 285 *(Paed.,* 3.11).

5. Figure 1 (3rd c): TL 10.1985.062 (gold; excellent condition). The polygonal hoop is flat in section with a 1.6–1.8 cm diameter; the attached bezel measures .5 x .6 cm. Figure 2 (3rd c): TL 10.1985.052 (gold; excellent condition). The circular hoop is round in section with a 1.5–1.6 cm diameter; the bezel measures 1.0 x .6 cm. Color photography of Figures 1–3, 5, 9, 11–13, 16, 17, 19, 21 by Peter Schaaf; Figures 4, 10, 15 by Susan Tobin.

6. See F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1907), xliii, xlv (hereafter, Marshall, *Catalogue).*

7. See, for example, R. Garrucci, *Storia della arte cristiana* (Prato, 1880), VI, pl. 477 (hereafter, Garrucci, *Storia);* O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography of the British Museum* (London, 1901), pl. II (hereafter, Dalton, *Catalogue);*

and F. J. Dölger, *ICHTHYS, V: Die Fisch-Denkmäler in der frühchristlichen Plastik, Malerei, und Kleinkunst* (Münster, 1932–39), 237, 246, 250–252, 293–298. The two motifs (fish and anchor) are often combined.

8. See note 4, above.

9. Figure 3 (4th c): TL 10.1985.050 (gold; excellent condition). Formerly in the Guilhou Collection. The circular hoop is flat in section with a 2.0–2.2 cm diameter; the bezel measures 1.0 x 1.4 cm. Like the rings in Figures 1 and 2, this one perpetuates a Roman design. See Marshall, *Catalogue,* x1vii.

10. I owe this reading to John Nesbitt and John Callahan. A number of such rings survive; see, for example, Marshall, *Catalogue,* no. 649.

11. Figure 4 (4th–5th c): TL 10.1985.049 (gold; hoop broken at back [one of 18 pellets lost]). The circular hoop, which is flat in section, is composed of eight rectangular sections set off by pairs of pellets. The broken and compressed hoop is 1.5–1.7 cm in diameter; the bezel measures 1.0 x .7 cm. For Chrismon rings (some combined with anchors and/or fish) see, for example, H. Leclercq, "Anneaux," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie,* I, pt. 2 (Paris, 1907), figs. 687–689, 695–699, 712, 716, 727, 750 (hereafter, Leclercq, "Anneaux").

12. See T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst, IV," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* 4 (1961), 128–145 (hereafter, Klauser, "Studien, IV").

13. Figure 5 (4th–5th c): TL 10.1985.051 (gold; excellent condition [one of 20 pellets lost]). The circular hoop, which is flat in section, is composed of nine discs set off by pairs of pellets. The hoop is 1.9–2.1 cm in diameter; the bezel, which takes the form of a truncated cone (.4 cm thick), is 1.2 cm in diameter.

14. See Garrucci, *Storia,* pl. 478, no. 10. For other parallels, see his pls. 477, 478; Dalton *Catalogue,* pls. I, II; and Klauser, "Studien, IV," 141, 142. Most often the bird appears without the Ark, in combination with another motif or symbol (e.g., a fish).

15. Vikan and Nesbitt, *Security,* 17.

16. Dalton, *Catalogue,* nos. 190, 207. See also *Spätantike und frühes Christentum,* Liebieghaus Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, 1983–84 (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), no. 257 (exhibition catalogue). Figures 6 and 7 are reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

17. See M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Volume II: Jewelry, Enamels and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C., 1965), no. 50 (hereafter, Ross, *Catalogue).*

18. Ross, *Catalogue,* no. 50. Figure 8 is reproduced courtesy of the Byzantine Collection, neg. 47.241.24A, (c) 1967 Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington D.C. 20007.

19. See Ross, *Catalogue, passim;* and Dalton *Catalogue, passim.* According to the text of the Byzantine marriage ceremony (as attested in manuscripts from the mid- to the post-Byzantine period), the bride received a silver ring and the groom a gold ring. See P. N. Trempelas, "He akolouthia ton mnestron kai tou gamou," *Theologia,* 18 (1940) (hereafter, Trempelas, "Akolouthia").

20. For some examples, see Dalton, *Catalogue,* no. 133; Ross, *Catalogue,* nos. 4, 67, 68; A. Banck, *Byzantine Art in Collections of the USSR* (Leningrad/Moscow, [1966]), no. 102 (as links in a necklace) (hereafter, Banck, *USSR);* and J.-M. Spieser, "Collection Paul Canellopoulos (II)," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique,* 96 (1972), no. 11 (hereafter, Spieser, "Canellopoulos").

21. Figure 9 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.061 (gold; excellent condition). The polygonal hoop is semicircular in section with a 1.6–1.8 cm diameter; the attached round bezel (with raised device) is .9 cm in diameter.

22. See, for example, Ross, *Catalogue,* nos. 64–66; and E. H. Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 14 (1960), 3–42.

23. See, for example, Ross, *Catalogue,* no. 69; and P. A. Drossoyianni, "A Pair of Byzantine Crowns," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress, Akten II/3, Jahrbuch der österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft,* 32/3 (1982), 531, 532.

24. Figure 10 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.048 (gold; excellent condition [hoop slightly deformed]). The circular hoop, which is semicircular in section, terminates in a pair of fishlike heads between which is set a small disc. From this disc rise six curving, talonlike wires with terminating pellets which enclose and support the oval bezel. The hoop is 1.9–2.0 cm in diameter; the bezel measures 1.4 x 1.2 cm.

25. Although appropriate to a wedding ring, and common on inscribed Byzantine metalwork of the period, "vow" is, to my knowledge, otherwise unattested on contemporary rings.

26. Figure 11 (6th–7th c.): TL 10.1985.053 (gold; excellent condition). The octagonal hoop is rectangular in section with a 1.7–1.9 cm diameter; the attached round bezel is 1.2 cm in diameter. The unusual, "sketchy" technique of this intaglio is most clearly revealed in the head of Christ, which is formed of a large halo with a superimposed cross flanked by eye dots.

27. *Theotoke Boethe Georgi(ou) (kai) Plakelas.*

28. See G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 38 (1984), 76–86 (hereafter, Vikan, "Magic").

29. *Alexander von Tralles,* T. Puschmann, ed. and trans., 2 vols. (Vienna, 1878–79), II, 377 (VIII, 2, *On Colic).*

30. For example, Banck, *USSR,* no. 106c. See also Vikan, "Magic," 83.

31. Thus, this word appears almost exclusively on objects related to marriage.

32. For an elaboration of this thesis, see Vikan, "Magic," 83.

33. See Trempelas, "Akolouthia," 149.

34. Figure 12 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.060 (gold; excellent condition). The circular hoop is round in section, with a 2.0 cm diameter; the bezel is 1.3 cm in diameter. Figure 13 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.59 (gold; excellent condition). The circular hoop is round in section, with a 1.8–2.0 cm diameter; the bezel is 1.0 cm in diameter (and unusually thick, at .3 cm).

35. See N. Oikonomidès, *Byzantine Lead Seals,* Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, 7 (Washington, D.C., 1985), 20.

36. G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Basel, 1972), no. 1228 (7th c). Figure 14 is reproduced courtesy of the Byzantine Collection, acc. no. 55.1.253, (c) 1967 Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 20007.

37. E. Weigand, "Zur Monogramschrift der Theotokos (Koimesis) Kirche von Nicaea," *Byzantion,* 6 (1931), 412 f.

38. See Vikan, *Menil,* nos. RS1–RS9; R1–R8.

39. *Pliny, Natural History,* H. Rackham, trans., The Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass./London, 1952), IX; 21 *(N.H.* 33.23) (hereafter, *Pliny,* 1952).

40. For a pair of cross-monogram gold signet rings dateable on archaeological grounds to the first half of the seventh century, see J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaria,* Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-

historische Klasse, Abhandlungen, neue Folge, Heft 91 (Munich, 1984), pl. 32.

41. Figure 15 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.058 (gold; excellent condition). The circular hoop is round in section with a 1.8–2.0 cm diameter; the attached bezel is 1.2 cm in diameter. Figure 16 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.57 (gold; excellent condition). The circular hoop is round in section with a 1.6–1.7 cm diameter; the attached bezel measures 1.6 x 1.7 cm.

42. Also included is an incised quatrefoil ring very much like the Zucker ring illustrated in Figure 16. The Zucker ring, by its small size, was likely made for a woman, and the hoard's silver ring bears a woman's name. This hoard, which was recently acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, will be published by Paul Denis.

43. See G. M. A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems, Greek, Etruscan and Roman* (Rome, 1956) (hereafter, Richter, *Catalogue).*

44. Figure 17 (13th–15th c): TL 10.1985.054 (gold; excellent condition). The circular hoop is flat in section with a 1.8 cm diameter; the hollow, hexagonal bezel measures 1.3 x 1.5 cm.

45. *Ch(rist)e Boethe ton phobontrito*(?). The heavily corrupted inscription reads in a continuous loop.

46. As is well documented by the Menil Collection, such anonymous invocations appear frequently on rings, pectoral crosses, belt fittings, and fibulae—especially those in bronze.

47. Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.1053 (9th–10th c). The bezel is inscribed: "Lord, help Thy servant Michael, imperial *mandator* (messenger)." See Ross, "Rings," 170.

48. Others include: *Collection B. Khanenko: antiquités de la région du Dniepre et des côtes de la Mer Noire* (Kiev, 1907), V, pl. 23; Dalton, *Catalogue,* no. 171; Ross, *Catalogue,* nos. 105,131; Spieser, "Canellopoulos," nos. 21–23; and *Collection Hélène Stathatos, 2: les objets byzantins et post-byzantin* (n.l., n.d.), pl. IV (esp. nos. 29, 30).

49. See, for example, Richter, *Catalogue,* xxix-xxxi.

50. *Pliny,* 1952, 33 *(N.H.,* 33.41).

51. See Vikan, "Magic," 77–80.

52. The distinction here is between images of deities who could convey magic (e.g., Harpocrates), and those who were subject to iconic veneration (e.g., the Virgin *Hodegetria).* See M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites, Part i: Discussion,* British Archaeological Reports 8(i) (Oxford, 1974), 27, 28.

53. Figure 19 (6th–7th c): TL 10.1985.056 (bronze; somewhat worn). The deformed circular hoop is slightly oval in section, with a 1.9–2.1 cm diameter; the raised, cone-shaped bezel is 1.4 cm in diameter.

54. Ross, *Catalogue,* no. 179,0. Figure 20 is reproduced courtesy of the Byzantine Collection, neg. no. 64.25.35A, (c) 1967 Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 20007. A closely related bronze ring inscribed "Holy Mary," excavated at Beisan, is preserved in the University of Pennsylvania Art Museum (no. 31.50.251).

55. See note 36, above.

56. Figure 21 (11th–12th c): TL 10.1985.055 (gold; slightly worn). The circular hoop is flat in section with a 2.0–2.4 cm diameter; the very thin bezel is 1.8 cm in diameter.

57. Ross, *Catalogue,* no. 160. Figure 22 is reproduced courtesy of the Byzantine Collection, acc. no. 53.20, (c) 1967 Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, D.C. 20007. Traces of an *omicron* (upper left) and *tau* (upper right) on the Zucker ring bezel match corresponding letters on the pendant.

58. See C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire: 312–1453,* Sources and Documents in the History of Art Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 149.

59. *Ibid.,* 174 *(Epist. ad Platonem).*

60. For a further discussion of this question, see G. Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium," *Studies in the History of Art* (forthcoming).

Manuscript Production and Evidence for Localizing and Dating Fifteenth-Century Books of Hours: Walters Ms. 239[1]

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The illustrations to this article follow it.

In manuscript studies the question is frequently asked: "How can one localize and date a manuscript when there is no documentary evidence?" Recognizing internal evidence that will suggest when and where a manuscript was produced is one of the most difficult problems the specialist encounters. Even more formidable is the task of interpreting such evidence, due to our limited knowlege of workshop practices.[2] As a way of proceeding through these difficulties, this study will point out some features of Walters 239[3] that contribute internal evidence helpful in localization and dating, while giving insights into the fascinating divisions of labor involved in producing fifteenth-century manuscripts.

Marks

Distinctive identifying marks imprinted on the borders have been discovered on several manuscripts, and Walters 239 is one of these.[4] While sometimes drawn with ink, these marks are most often stamped in different colors with what appears to be a woodcut stick about four millimeters in diameter. The marks in Walters 239 are placed in the inside margin in a greenish-brown ink (figs. 1–12). Some are quite faint, apparently because the printing stick was inadequately inked; two miniatures, the Massacre of the Innocents and the Armorial Scene, were stamped more than once when the mark did not print effectively (figs. 1, 7).[5] Although marks usually appear in the inner margin close to the upper or lower corners of the miniatures, they have also been found in the upper and lower margins.[6] The majority of marked miniatures are inserted leaves, but in a few cases, notably the manuscript under discussion and the *Streeter Book of Hours* at Bryn Mawr,[7] the marks also appear on integral miniatures (figs. 2–4).

Who used these marks, and why, is still conjectural: the artist to identify his work, the border decorator for the same reason? Or do the marks signify a workshop instead of an individual, or a locality rather than a business? Perhaps the marks in Walters 239 can give us insights into these questions.

Marks alone are insufficient evidence for localizing manuscripts. Rather than facilitating the solution, they introduce new complexities. At present, we know that in 1426 laws in Bruges required painters and miniaturists to register a mark that they used to identify their miniatures:

> . . . every person who shall want to make images for books or rolls within the city of Bruges shall have therefore a sign, and will sign his pictures with it, and will bring this sign to the dean of the painters and saddlemakers before he will be allowed to work, and will pay forty Paris shillings one time to the dean for the guild of the forementioned profession.[8]

Guilds in other manuscript-producing centers, such as Ghent, Paris, Amiens, or Utrecht may have demanded that their members sign their work with marks, but neither documents nor manuscripts have been found to confirm this.

Another factor must be considered in using marked miniatures as evidence to localize manuscripts. Bruges law specified that single-leaf, inserted miniatures had to be signed.[9] This regulation was designed to control a lively commerce in loose miniatures. In a dispute between the Bruges painters' guild and the Bruges book producers in 1426, the painters' guild testified that the manuscript producers and sellers:

> . . . repeatedly buy images made in Utrecht and places outside the city of Bruges, images that they sell in the city, both with and without books, and which they peddle to one another; by which the profession of the foresaid painters, and especially those members who concern themselves with making images in books and rolls, are greatly hurt, and because of this have little or nothing to do.[10]

The extent of this trade is further suggested by a lawsuit brought in 1447 against Maurice de Hac and other Bruges book producers; the defendants testified that instead of importing loose miniatures, Bruges illuminators exported each day quantities of single-leaf miniatures they had made to other centers such as Ypres and Ghent. Importing and exporting loose miniature leaves also occurred, with some variation, in other centers, such as Ghent, where it was decreed in 1463 that loose miniatures were not to be brought in except at fairs.[11] On April 22, 1464, Gerard van Crombrugghe, a seller of images, was sentenced for breaking this ordinance.[12]

The implications of this trade for localizing manuscripts are clear: the miniatures may have originated in one center and the rest of the manuscript in another. The fact that some of the Walters marks are on integral leaves provides uncommon evidence that, in this case, miniatures and manuscript apparently originated in the same place. Nonetheless, possibilities such as those mentioned above make it necessary to be circumspect with questions of localization.

Various kinds of evidence in addition to miniature style are therefore needed to confirm a place of origin suggested by the appearance of marks. The marks in Walters 239 may be those required by law in Bruges, but we cannot be certain without documentary evidence, or even be reasonably sure without supporting evidence from other features of the manuscript.

Coat of Arms

A coat of arms and a series of monograms in the Walters Hours supply important evidence for the date and intended owner of the manuscript. The initials *A* and *M* appear on two folios, first with a coat of arms, *de sables à trois maillets d'argent,* and the second time in the background of St. Anthony (figs. 1, 4). The arms include a silver border which indicates that it belongs to a younger son, a cadet of the family.[13]

For the *A* and *M* as well as the coat of arms there is evidence, although not conclusive, suggesting an identification. The arms appear to be those of a member of the family of Mametz, one of the branches of the Mailly family that held lands in the region of Amiens and Corbie.[14]

Research into the genealogy of the Mailly family reveals another possible clue to the owner of this Book of Hours. In 1432, Jean de Mailly, *seigneur d'Auvilliers,* married Jeanne de Waissières, *dame de Mammez près d'Encre et de Mailly,* a place slightly northeast of Amiens in the direction of Arras.[15] From this union were born six children, Jean, Antoine, Philippe, Jeanne, Jacqueline, and Margarite. The eldest son was of course destined to be the future *seigneur d'Auvilliers et de Mammez.*

The approximate birthdates of the male children can be deduced from the birthdate of the first son. On January 17, 1462, Jean de Mailly released his eldest son, Jean, who was twenty-four at the time, from his obligation to become the head of the family. Jean became an ecclesiastic and later died in Rome. Since he was twenty-four in 1462, he was born about 1438, approximately six years after his parents' marriage. His birthdate establishes the *terminus post quem* for the birth of his two younger brothers, Antoine and Philippe.

A few arguments may be advanced to identify Antoine, the second son, as the original owner of Walters 239. Special emphasis is given to St. Anthony, Antoine's name saint, and the *A* and *M* initials in the background of the St. Anthony could refer to Antoine de Mailly (fig. 4).[16] In addition, the arms of a cadet of the de Mailly family and the *A* and *M* initials that appear again on folio 7v (fig. 1) could also refer to Antoine since he was not considered the direct heir until 1462, when his older brother Jean gave up the right to succeed his father as the *seigneur d'Auvillier et de Mammez* by taking the vows of celibacy. If this identification is correct, it provides dates for the production of the manuscript between ca. 1440 and 1462, with the most plausible dates between ca. 1450 and 1462, when Antoine was a young man.[17]

Liturgical Evidence

The litany and calendar of the Walters manuscript add another perspective to this tentative conclusion. Although a few special saints from the area of Amiens and Arras are included, for example, "Walricii, epi" on April 1, the date of his translation to Amiens, the calendar and litany of the manuscript are generally focused on saints venerated in Flanders, especially those from Ghent and Bruges.[18] Saints such as Gertrude, Bavo, Amand, Eligius, and Walburgis are found in the litany and calendar; Livinus, Donatianus (archepi), and Nicasius are included in the calendar. These and other saints in the calendar point to the region of Ghent and Bruges.[19] Consequently, this liturgical evidence raises questions about the identification of Antoine de Mailly as the first owner because his family, the Mametz branch of the Mailly family, had its holdings, according to my present research, in the region of Amiens and Corbie, not Flanders. Thus, the liturgical evidence causes us to be circumspect about the identity of the original owner. If this owner can be identified with more certainty, or if it is discovered that Antoine had ties with Flanders that would warrant a calendar slanted towards Ghent and Bruges, the possibilities presented by the liturgical evidence may contribute even more to our understanding of the manuscript.[20] In any case, indications of the owner and liturgical use often reflect where a manuscript was to be used rather than where it was produced. We shall therefore have to draw upon other types of evidence to gain a better idea of this manuscript's origin. Research on different aspects of the manuscript—its miniatures, ruling, script, penwork, initials, and borders—can furnish information about the place of production.

Artist: Style and Sources

The illustrator of the Walters Book of Hours was an expressive artist employing a fully developed style.[21] He may be classified as being related to, but not a member of, the so-called Gold Scrolls style; his art recalls that ubiquitous, protean style practiced in the southern Netherlands and northeastern France ca. 1410–1460.[22] However, the style of the Walters illuminator cannot be identified with any of the Gold Scrolls manuscripts known to me. Indeed, no other example of his work has been identified.

Imitations of previous works of art supply information about the sources and artistic relationships the Walters miniaturist shared with other painters. Some of these relationships in turn help us characterize the environment in which he worked.

Three, possibly four, of the sources of the Walters manuscript come from models used by the Limbourgs, most likely transmitted through patterns or drawings, or via manuscripts by Limbourg followers (see also the following article by E. M. Gifford). The ties to the Limbourgs are so close in form and color that, if the designs were transmitted through drawings, they were faithful copies. The Nativity (fig. 6) derives from a model used in the *Très Riches Heures*[23] and in the *Seilern Hours* (fig. 18). The relationship is evident in the proportions, facial types, hands, and elaborate decorative drapery folds, with the landscape among other elements revealing the especially close ties of the Walters Nativity to the model used in the *Seilern Hours*.

The Walters Last Judgment (fig. 11) is also based upon the model in the *Très Riches Heures*[24] and in the *Seilern Hours* (fig. 19). Close parallels are found in the figures, facial types, and drapery of the Seilern miniature.

The Annunciation to the Shepherds (fig. 17) also appears to come from a source related to the Limbourgs. This relationship is not obvious at first, but once identified provides an insight into the working procedure of fifteenth-century manuscript painters.[25] The Walters Annunciation to the Shepherds corresponds exactly to a portion of the landscape depicted in the Nativity of the Seilern Hours (fig. 18), which includes, in the upper right corner, a scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds. From the standpoint of working procedure the Walters artist expanded the background scene to form his Annunciation to the Shepherds. Why did he not simply adopt the full-size miniature of this scene that was illustrated in the *Seilern Hours* and other Limbourg manuscripts?[26] Perhaps the Walters artist did not have a manuscript such as the *Seilern Hours* in front of him. If he had, he could have easily used the Annunciation to the Shepherds in that manuscript as his direct model. Instead, he apparently had one or two sketches taken from the miniatures of the *Seilern Hours* or related models. One of these sketches was the Nativity that included a secondary scene of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the background.[27]

The Limbourg models are so closely imitated in the Walters Books of Hours that one might be tempted to attribute these miniatures to a second artist rather than the artist whose work recalls the Gold Scrolls style. Certainly, the fluid drapery folds, the elegant figure types, the clearly recognizable Limbourg facial types, and the landscapes strongly echo the style

of the source. More startling, perhaps, is the modeling of the color, where the strong, simple divisions found in most of the other miniatures of the manuscript are here executed in delicate, pale colors, evenly and fully infused by light. Indeed, the palette itself almost seems to change. Yet one can still see the distinctive greens and reds of the rest of the miniatures used here. Close examination of the paint surface and the techniques used to design and model the faces, for example, of the angels in the Last Judgment, suggests that the Walters artist was responsible for these Limbourg-style miniatures, but that he was extremely responsive to the models he had before him (see also the following article by E. M. Gifford). This change in modeling and color is so strong that it suggests he had a painted source, or a drawing with color notes, rather than an uncolored drawing.

Another miniature, the female figure delicately holding between thumb and finger the chain attached to the helmet and coat of arms (fig. 1), appears to come from a Limbourg model, although the exact source may not be identified. In this miniature the color and modeling are not transformed. Yet, the exaggerated proportions of the attenuated figure, the thin body, unusually expressive, delicate gesture of the right hand, distinctive facial profile, hair style, and full, flowing garment point to a Limbourg model such as the profile female figure identically extending her right hand, only palm up, in the April miniature of the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 37).[28] Considered together, the Last Judgment, Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, and the armorial miniature show the Walters painter used Limbourg models. The closest relationships exist between miniatures of Walters 239 and those of the *Seilern Hours,* which was finished by a Netherlandish artist of the Gold Scrolls group.

Other miniatures, such as the Coronation of the Virgin and Funeral Service, also rely on earlier models. The form of the drapery folds in the Coronation (fig. 10) reflects styles popular in the first twenty years of the fifteenth century. The small mourner on the right in the Vigil of the Dead (fig. 12) also recalls the figure and facial type of a model from the early fifteenth century, particularly from the Boucicaut circle. The helmet worn by Herod's soldier in the Massacre of the Innocents (fig. 7) reflects even slightly earlier fashions in armor. Clearly, the Walters artist took many of his models from the early fifteenth century.

Alongside these references to earlier manuscripts, figures and compositions of Walters 239 are shared with more contemporary manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts also contain miniatures with marks, and others share stylistic and codicological characteristics that relate them to the manuscripts containing marked miniatures. The Crucifixion (fig. 5), for example, contains landscape motifs found in the miniatures of a Book of Hours made in the southern Netherlands for export to England, (Wigan) Upholland College 106 (fig. 20).[29] This manuscript is illustrated with miniatures, marked with a *B,* in the style associated with the Master of Otto van Moerdrecht, and other unmarked miniatures closer to the Gold Scrolls style. The unmarked Upholland artist incorporated the distinctive looping semicircles that form a crevice in front of the cross found in the Walters manuscript. The spare composition in both miniatures retains the figures of Mary and John standing on either side, with Christ's body leaning to the left. The landscape motif also appears in a Book of Hours in Paris, BN lat. 3110 (fig. 36), with a concentration of Flemish saints, especially from Ghent and Bruges, in the calendar.[30]

Some other models contemporary with those used in the Walters manuscript are found in miniatures painted by an artist who illustrated part of a Book of Hours sold by Sotheby's in 1982.[31] Miniatures by this painter have a stamp of a rampant lion in the inner margin (figs. 21–24). Closest to Walters 239, in terms of composition, is the representation of the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 8, 23). The Madonna holding the Christ Child is seated, with a cushion as support, on a diagonally placed bed that is covered by a red bedcover. The two youngest Magi stand in conversation alongside the bed and the eldest Magus offers his gift while kneeling near the foot of the bed. The setting incongruously mixes the square floor pattern with a mountainous landscape. In addition, in the Walters' composition, Joseph is placed along the near side of the bed.[32] In the Presentation in the Temple of the Sotheby's manuscript, the pattern of the floor and the placement of the altar on a diagonal, as found in the Walters miniature, also occur (figs. 9, 24). Models such as these suggest that the Rampant Lion artist and the Walters illuminator had some kind of artistic relationship.

The connection of the Sotheby's Book of Hours to that in the Walters might be even more tangible than these iconographic and artistic motifs suggest. The position of Joseph arranging the hay in the sarcophagus-like manger in the Nativity of the Sotheby's manuscript (fig. 21) may be related to the figure holding Christ's legs in the Entombment of the *Bible historiale* painted by the Limbourgs, and the Entombment painted by a skillful Limbourg follower in the *Seilern Hours* (fig. 34).[33] A close parallel to the Sotheby's figure appears in reverse in the Adoration of the

Magi in the 1424 *Thomasaltar* of Master Francke.[34] Joseph, who sits on a stool, leans towards a rectangular chest in which he will place the gifts of the Magi. Juxtaposing the Limbourg Entombment figure with Master Francke's Joseph offers an example of Bela Martens' observation that Master Francke was deeply influenced by early fifteenth-century Parisian illumination.[35] In this case, the Master Francke painting also reflects the lost Limbourg model that was used in the Sotheby's Hours.

The Massacre of the Innocents in the Sotheby's miniature shares with the Walters version the rather uncommon iconography of showing only one impaled baby and no mothers (figs. 7, 22). The former has been retouched, but the composition remains clear. As in the Walters miniature, the soldier who executes Herod's order moves across the miniature from the left, and Herod is placed in a covered throne on the right. The distinctive floors are also similar.

Nearer, perhaps, to the Walters composition is an historiated initial containing the same subject in another Book of Hours in the Walters (Ms. 173), a beautifully prepared Gold Scrolls production (figs. 7, 25).[36] The bleeding child is precariously balanced on the sword which pierces his stomach. The soldier, with bended knee, approaches the crowned figure of Herod, who also holds a sword. The two miniatures are thus related through this rather unusual iconography. The historiated initial, however, incorporates a more coordinated kneeling figure (with left and right leg fully bent), whereas this idea has been transformed in Walters 239 into a figure that somewhat awkwardly has his left leg fully bent and the right partially extended. This is another example of creative variations between two painters using a similar model. Adjustments such as this can give us insight into the working process of the Walters 239 artist.

The illustrator closest in style to the Walters Book of Hours is the Rampant Lion artist of the Sotheby's manuscript. Stylistic features of this artist that recall the art of the Walters illuminator include a propensity to scatter delicately painted flowers and plants across the surface of the landscape foreground; the use in the background of pointed and rounded hillocks struck by light from the left and shaded with striated lines on the right; the painting of skies in a fluid, horizontally placed wash ranging from white on the horizon to a deep blue; and a preference for composing major motifs along diagonals. Compare, for example, the Adoration of the Magi and the Nativity in the Sotheby's manuscript to the Walters Adoration of the Magi, Nativity, and St. Anthony (figs. 23, 21, 8, 6, 4). The preference for diagonally organized compositions also appears in the illustrations of the Presentation in the Temple, along with a floor pattern of interlocking lines and squares (figs. 9, 24).

Stylistic relationships such as these suggest that the artists were either influenced by a common source, or that they were aware of each other's art. The fact that stamps appear on miniatures by the Rampant Lion artist may also relate the activity of the two artists, since stamps also appear in the Walters manuscript. The Rampant Lion folios are inserted in a manuscript where this artist supplied approximately half of the miniatures. The others were painted by an artist whose work falls within the best examples of the so-called Gold Scrolls style, and whose miniatures bear a brown stamp of a fleur-de-lis. Five manuscripts that can be associated with the Fleur-de-lis artist have been identified.[37] Four of these contain a calendar or litany including Flemish, and more particularly, Bruges saints.[38] The works are uniformly prepared with care and, significantly, some have historiated initials to indicate that the manuscripts were created in the same environment as the miniatures.[39] Walters 239 has another link, through the penwork initials, to the Fleur-de-lis manuscripts that will be discussed later. Associations such as these between the Walters artist and the Rampant Lion artist and between the Rampant Lion artist and the Fleur-de-lis artist broaden our understanding of the artistic milieu in which the Walters illuminator worked.

These comparisons suggest that the Walters artist may have had a working relationship with artists who provided individual miniatures for the art market. Presently, the closest relationship is with the style and motifs of the Rampant Lion artist. Until additional manuscripts illustrated by the Walters painter can be identified, stylistic elements such as the preference for diagonal placement of furnishings, altars, and beds, unusual iconographic treatment, such as the Massacre of the Innocents, and shared motifs and patterns, such as the floor pattern and the landscape in the Crucifixion, provide evidence suggesting the Walters manuscript should be placed in the artistic environment that produced manuscripts such as the Sotheby's and the Upholland Books of Hours.

In terms of localization, the evidence found in the related manuscripts shows that they were usually made either for Flanders (the area of Ghent and Bruges) or for the English market.[40] Further investigation of the manuscripts made for England reveals that they contain such things as penwork and, in Upholland 106, a west Flemish text that tie them to manuscripts produced for the region of west Flanders and Bruges. Consequently, the evidence from manuscripts

produced for England and those to be used in the area of Ghent and Bruges points to west Flanders, with Bruges as the most likely place of origin. The elements shared with them by the Walters manuscript should be considered in this light. Although not conclusive, these show that Bruges should be considered as a likely place of origin for Walters 239 on the basis of similar use of artistic models, iconographic motifs, artists' marks, and style.

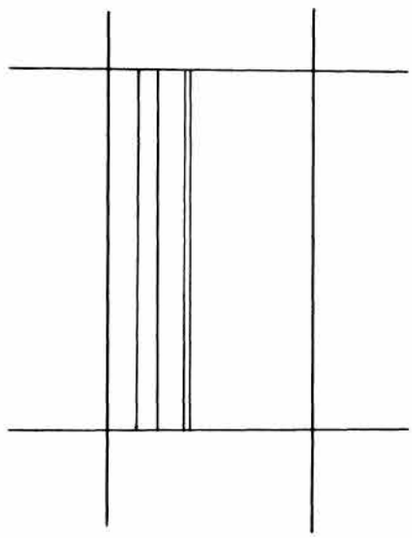
Codicological Elements: Rulings, Penwork, Borders[41]

Book production techniques are an important means of bringing related manuscripts together. They also provide evidence indicating the origin of a manuscript. By comparing the process of manufacture in Walters 239 with that of other manuscripts, particularly Books of Hours, we can place the Walters Book of Hours more precisely in its artistic milieu.

Ruling

The calendar and text folios contain other information besides calendar entries that helps localize production. Of particular interest is the ruling of the folios (fig. 13). The Walters calendar is ruled so that all the entries for one month appear on one side; this distinguishes it formally from calendars which have monthly entries over both sides of the folio. The pattern of horizontal and vertical divisions further differentiates the calendar type of the manuscript. Thus, the number of manuscripts with calendars that can be related to the type used in Walters 239 is limited.

The page ruler followed this pattern:



Noteworthy in this pattern is the double rule which separates the column containing the Nones and Ides of the Roman calendar from the saints' names. In addition, the *KL* initial occupies the upper two rules of the calendar. The ruling of the text folios follows a rather common pattern in which the outermost horizontal and vertical rules extend across the margins to define the text area. Four manuscripts have been found that contain similar patterns for ruling the calendar and text.[42] In each, the pattern, which includes the double vertical rule as well as the placement of the calendar initial, is the same, although the measurements and, in one case, the technique of ruling the folio differ.[43] With the exception of the Hours in Brussels (Ms. IV 288), the manuscripts with ruling patterns similar to Walters 239 also have inserted miniatures.[44] The Brussels manuscript becomes especially significant because the likelihood that its integral miniatures were painted in the place of production is greater. Thus, the fact that this manuscript was produced with a Bruges calendar and litany is noteworthy. Miniatures by the Brussels artist are closely related to another manuscript (Walters 282) with integral miniatures that was also produced for the Bruges market (fig. 35).[45] This artist's work appears again in a manuscript with marks that was apparently produced in Bruges for export to England.[46]

None of the manuscripts sharing ruling patterns with Walters 239 has a colophon or other documentary evidence that discloses the place of production. Besides the ruling, a common factor linking the manuscripts is that they were designed with saints and devotions for west Flanders, especially Bruges. Most likely, they were produced for the Bruges market.

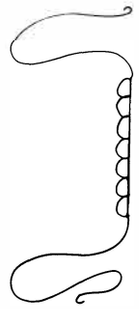
Penwork

The penwork in Walters 239 gives us an insight into the techniques used to produce initials as well as manuscripts. No other work by this same penworker has been found, but it is still possible to identify his penwork formulae in other manuscripts. To do this it is useful to separate style from pattern—style being the idiosyncracies, the individualized expressions of executing the penwork, and pattern being the decorative formulae, the skeletal structures or patterns followed by the artisan.

Penwork is repetitive, and decorative patterns inevitably recur as artisans repeat decorative formulae that reflect their training and their mental or physical habits. In many cases, artisans reuse similar patterns or formulae, but give them identifiable, individual-

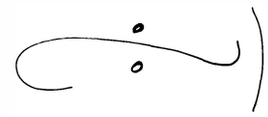
ized expression according to each one's ability and personality. Often, the accretions of personal style transform the work, making it difficult to recognize similarities in the patterns. For example, some artisans display tight, controlled draftsmanship, and others use more flowing or more angular lines, adding, perhaps, dots here, circles there. For this reason, it is necessary to put individual expressions of style momentarily to the side in order to concentrate on the decorative patterns or formulae; otherwise, the repeated elements can easily pass unnoticed due to stylistic differences. Transformations of style notwithstanding, when artisans use similar patterns, it suggests the possibility of contact: common models, shared training, or some other kind of artisanal influence.

It is essential to look at many initials in the same manuscript to gain an idea of the range of formulae to be found. When the penwork formulae of the Walters Hours are studied, it is possible to define patterns that frequently reappear. In this manuscript the body of the initial is often surrounded and filled with a simple spiral or series of straight parallel lines (fig. 14). Strings of semicircles with a line linking them provide the outer edges. Extending into the text area from the upper and lower inside corner is an elongated horizontal hooked *s* which is repeatedly linked to semicircles of the outer edges by means of a slightly hooked, backward-facing apostrophe:



Although the decoration of the initial body can be distinctive, the most easily recognized patterns are found in the parts that extend into the margins. The Walters artisan reverts to a formula in which a line loops into the margin from the upper and lower corners of the semicircle string along the margin. Both lines flow into the margin and double back, one towards the top, the other towards the bottom before doubling back:

Many lines end with a small circle; others, usually on the upper side, give the impression of ending in a figure eight. Another characteristic formula used by the Walters penworker is composed of two circles, a short curving apostrophe, and a horizontal reversed *s*:



In some initials it even appears as a face with a schematized nose, eyes, and mouth. These are some of the decorative formulae which the Walters penworker learned and used. Upon studying his execution of these patterns, it is possible to see that the lines of the looping extensions do not curve in a smoothly flowing arc, but are often transformed by his style into tight curves and rather angular forms.

Three Books of Hours have been identified that use similar formulae for penwork, Ms. 179 in Douai, Ms. 133 D. 14 in The Hague, and Hart 21035 in Blackburn.[47] Stylistically, the Douai and Hague penworker is not the same as the one in the Walters manuscript—the Walters penwork (fig. 14) is more angular, the Douai and Hague penwork (figs. 26, 27) more flowing and rounded—but the repetition of decorative formulae suggests a relationship between the artisans, possibly a professional relationship or one of training. Penwork in the Douai and Hague Hours reverts to such formulae as the schematized face of two circles, curved apostrophe, and reversed horizontal *s*; the looping extensions that double back and sometimes end in a small circle; and the horizontal elongated hooked *s* that extends into the text and is often linked to the semicircle strings by one or two backward apostrophes. Confirmation of this comparison is found in the similarity of the line-fillings used in conjunction with the penwork initials. Both belong to the same decorative tradition.[48]

Closest in penwork patterns and style is the Blackburn manuscript (figs. 28, 31). Initials in this manuscript incorporate elements such as the schematized face and the reversed horizontal *s*, but additionally, include extensions recalling a figure eight in the flourish on the top left corner as well as the more angular expression of the formulae found in Walters 239. Similar penwork appears in a Cambridge manuscript, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1055–1975, fol. 17v.

The Walters penwork highlights the way artisans, including miniaturists, were trained. Closely adhering to specific modes, the training accentuated pattern or

formula as a conveyor of decoration. Various elements of the pattern were mastered through close imitation and repetition, to the point where they could be automatically or spontaneously reproduced. Variety was introduced through individual expressions of style.

Borders

Borders can also be analyzed according to decorative formulae and style. The borders of the Walters manuscript are divided into two groups: those for miniature folios, and those for calendar and text folios. The borders embellishing the miniature folios can be associated with borders in the Paris Hours cited earlier (Ms. N. A. lat. 3110), and the Madrid *Hours of Juana Enríquez* (Biblioteca de Palacio; Barcelona and Catalonia calendar).[49]

The border decorator of the miniature folios in the Walters Hours used easily recognizable forms. For example, he tended to place in the inner margin, along the frame of the miniature, three circles or half circles as decoration, or perhaps as a means of identification. Similar to a small triangle composed in three circles, this motif usually appears four times on each miniature folio (fig. 15).[50] This border decorator also included small rectangular units in gold at varying intervals along the main tendrils of the borders. The angular corners of these small blocks are carefully marked. Another characteristic element is the three-part vine leaf (sometimes called an ivy spike) in gold. Frequently stubby and short with rounded ends, these motifs often have a limp drooping shape in the two lower leaves. Short, spikelike extensions are included either at the end of the three leaves or at the intersection of the leaves.

Borders in N. A. lat. 3110, for example those flanking the Flight into Egypt (fig. 29A), contain these motifs: the pyramidal groups of three circles along the baguette of the inner margin, the rectangular shaped, gold units on the main tendrils, and the rounded, slightly sagging three-part vine leaves. Other motifs, such as the long elegant flower in the inner margin of N. A. lat. 3110, find their counterparts in the miniature borders of Walters 239, on, for example, the St. Anthony folio (fig. 4).

In the *Hours of Juana Enríquez,* the borders are of an uncommon variety and richness, and it appears that a number of border decorators were active. Looking beyond the luxuriant decor of the borders flanking the miniature of the Preparation of the Body of Christ, it is possible to find comparable material to Walters 239 among the motifs serving as decorative filler—less plastic, less spectacular, but nonetheless important contributors to an impression of richness. Six pyramidal groups of circles appear along the edge of the frame in the inner margin, and limp, rounded three-part leaves with short spikes at the intersections are buried among the acanthus and floral sprays (fig. 29B). Although these motifs agree with those of Walters 239, the drawing seems less firm in the Enríquez miniature.

Another border decorator worked in Walters 239, supplying the borders for the calendar and text folios (figs. 13, 14, 16, 32). Characteristic of this border decorator are gold three-part vine or ivy leaves and leaves that appear to be composed of two intersecting crescents; the upper extension is crisply defined with sharp spikelike forms and with short pen-drawn extensions from the lobes of the leaf or penline arabesques from the shaft of this leaf (fig. 16). In addition, there appear blue and magenta, triangular three- or four-petaled flowers. These have white infilling of a circle in the center and triangles towards the pointed edges. Gold circles are placed along the edges to give the impression of three or four petals.

Similar motifs are found in the borders of Sotheby's lot 82, and in manuscripts associated with the Fleur-de-lis artist (figs. 32, 33, 23). Seven manuscripts are presently known in this group.[51] Although some of these may not be attributable stylistically to the same border decorator, they belong to that tradition of training or practice. Whatever the case, the secondary decoration of Walters 239 can be associated with a number of manuscripts that contain devotions especially valued in Ghent and Bruges.

The calendar and text borders of Walters 239 can also be studied from the point of view of the underlying pattern or skeletal structure supporting the other decorative elements. Most of the calendar and text borders are placed in the upper and lower margins with a bar staff and some decoration in the left margin connecting them (figs. 13, 14). These borders appear whenever a two-line initial is used as part of the textual and decorative hierarchy. Usually a row of seven pinwheel-like decorative elements appears in the outer margin. The skeletal framework or pattern of the tendrils relates Walters 239 to manuscripts that also use it in their presentation of the borders and textual hierarchy. The tendrils spring from either end of the connecting bar, gracefully arching into the margin, and, extending its length, they double back in a tight loop at the end of the border space, appearing somewhat like a horizontally-placed, elegant, attenuated *S.* This is a fairly simple formula providing a

framework for decorating a border. It is used by a group of border decorators whose stylistic characteristics alter its appearance.[52] Nonetheless, the basic structure or formula is consistent, and is used in at least seven manuscripts that can be loosely associated with the Gold Scrolls style or with manuscripts that contain marked miniatures.[53] One of these manuscripts, Brussels 18270, is a prayerbook that is usually associated with an early expression of the Gold Scrolls style. Its west Flemish text and calendar with saints venerated especially in Bruges give an idea of its market, as well as its possible place of production.[54] Another manuscript, Ste. Geneviève Ms. 1274, is a Gold Scrolls style Book of Hours with accents of Ghent and Bruges saints in the litany and calendar (fig. 30).[55] A slight variation on this border type is to be found in Hart 21035, a manuscript produced in the southern Netherlands for the English market (fig. 31).

The miniatures in N. A. lat. 3110 and the *Hours of Juana Enríquez* in which borders similar to those of Walters 239 appear, were painted by an artist whose work has been identified in six manuscripts.[56] One of the characteristics of this artist is a preference for imprinting many figures with a strongly marked U-shaped scowl between the eyebrows and along the upper part of the bridge of the nose:

Of six manuscripts presently associated with this artist three have Flanders or southern Netherlands calendars with a number of Ghent and Bruges saints, one is for Sarum use and the other, the *Hours of Juana Enríquez,* was prepared for devotions of the Spanish queen. Especially interesting in this group is a manuscript recently on the Paris art market, a Book of Hours offered by Jean Viardot. In the Viardot Book of Hours is a reddish mark on the miniature folios which, although not identical, closely resembles the greenish-brown mark on the miniature folios of Walters 239. The artist who illustrated the Viardot Book of Hours is not, however, the same as the Walters 239 artist. Stylistically they are related, but not enough that they could be the same artist. Yet, an association of some kind might exist—common training, shared workshop, or some other form of contact.

These comparisons suggest that the border decorator of Walters 239 worked in N. A. lat. 3110, and possibly in the *Hours of Juana Enríquez.* Indeed, even some of the painted figures in borders of N. A. lat 3110 are quite close to the style of the Walters artist (fig. 29). The question of what role this border decorator played in the manuscript arises. One often assumes that the miniature painter also painted the borders for the miniatures he or she supplied. The borders of Walters 239, N. A. lat. 3110, and the *Hours of Juana Enríquez* allow us to explore that assumption.

Since N. A. lat. 3110 and the *Hours of Juana Enríquez* contain miniatures by the same artist and borders apparently by the same border decorator, it could be asserted that the miniatures and the borders were painted by only one artist. In both manuscripts, however, one finds other miniatures by this artist surrounded by other styles of borders. Moreover, the other three manuscripts associated with this artist have borders by yet other border decorators—for example, Liège Ms. Wittert 17 or Cambridge Ms. 1055–1975 (fig. 69).[57] These manuscripts call into question the assumption that the illustrator supplied the borders. It would appear more reasonable to assume that many illustrators painted their own borders, but also that many border decorators worked alongside the miniaturists in their own right, frequently collaborating with the same illustrators, but as well with others, depending on the sophistication and complexity of the book-producing center in which they worked.

Conclusions

There cannot be, of course, a categorical answer to the question of which method works best in discovering and interpreting evidence. Since any attempt to localize and date manuscripts depends on the evidence supplied, usually a combination of approaches is most effective. At the very least, a method must be flexible enough to account for the variety of evidence in manuscripts.

In this study I attempted to find the place of Walters 239 within the network of relationships involved in producing a manuscript. The marks it contains are insufficient evidence for localization since there is no documentation linking these marks to a specific place. Even though we know that marks such as these were used in Bruges, other centers may have also required them. Moreover, the presence of marks must be considered within the context of book trading procedures. The trade in loose miniatures clearly implies that manuscripts may have originated in one place and miniatures in another. Since marks are usually found on single-leaf folios, prudence and circumspection are required in interpreting their evidence. In this respect, Walters 239 is special: it contains inserted leaves with marks, and it contains integral text and miniatures with marks. So there is less likelihood that

the manuscript and the miniatures originated in different centers.

Armorial evidence in Walters 239 supplies some important information. The arms appear to belong to a cadet of a branch of the Mailly family which had its holdings in the area of Amiens and Corbie. Although many of the letters in the Walters 239 miniatures are unexplained, the *A* and *M* in the background of the armorial and the St. Anthony miniature may be those of Antoine de Mailly, *seigneur d'Auvilliers et de Mammez,* who was born after 1439 and who was the second son, and the cadet of his family until 1462, when his older brother Jean was released at the age of twenty-four from succeeding his father.

The liturgical content of Walters 239 may point to the area of Amiens with devotions to saints such as Walrici, but it especially features saints honored in Flanders, particularly in Ghent and Bruges. The reason for this is not known, but it appears to weaken the case for Antoine de Mailly as the original owner.

The visual sources used for the miniatures show an awareness of early fifteenth-century French models close to the Limbourgs. As well, they draw upon a number of motifs that are found in manuscripts such as Sotheby's lot 82, N. A. lat. 3110, and Walters 173, which have contents intended for use in Flanders and the area of Ghent and Bruges. Other related manuscripts, such as Upholland Ms. 106, which contains some text written in a west Flemish dialect, were prepared in the southern Netherlands for export to England.

Research on Walters 239 has not given us a definitive answer to the question of localization, but we do have a better idea of its origin. By isolating the characteristics of Walters 239 and then comparing them to other manuscripts of the same period, I have tried to understand the book-producing matrix that created the Walters Hours. The results of this research show that a number of manuscripts are related to Walters 239 in several different ways. It appears from the rich variety of associations Walters 239 shares with other manuscripts that it came from a sophisticated, highly developed book-producing center, one in which a number of craftsmen were available to perform each of the skilled tasks.

What accounts for the variety of relationships shared by these manuscripts is the shifting nature of collaboration among the artisans involved in their production. Among this group of artisans, the various tasks appear to have been freely, even loosely, parcelled out. While some associations are fairly consistent, others are infrequent. The availability of artisans when the manuscripts were subcontracted at various stages of production accounts partly for this randomness. But other factors undoubtedly influenced the selection of artisans who collaborated on any one manuscript.

When we find different combinations of artisans working in manuscripts we must look beyond the immediate impressions of style and concentrate on the underlying structure—the patterns or formulae that were used. These decorative formulae had currency in given centers. By expanding the base of manuscripts consulted and then charting the network of collaboration it is possible to develop an idea of what books were produced in a given region, and how they were produced. The information gained by such research can then be applied to the particular manuscript(s) being studied.

Codicological features such as rulings, initials, and borders reveal that Walters 239 shares many features with several manuscripts in decorative formulae and stylistic expression. These manuscripts fall roughly into two groups, those made for use in Flanders and the area around Ghent and Bruges, and those made in the southern Netherlands for export to England. Ghent cannot be excluded as a possible place of origin, but the repeated emphasis given Donatian and Basilii in the calendars, as well as the west Flemish dialect that appears in Brussels Ms. 18270 and Upholland 106, make it reasonably clear that the region surrounding Bruges was the place where most of these manuscripts were to be used.

Considering that Bruges had a very active manuscript producing community, it is possible that these manuscripts were made in Bruges for the surrounding area. Although one cannot say definitively they were made in Bruges, it would be unusual indeed if such a thriving manuscript center with protective guild laws did not supply much of its own local market.

Questions of localization and production methods are posed either directly, as in this study, or indirectly, as the assumed background of other inquiry, such as iconographical interpretation. For this reason, discoveries that indicate where, when, and how manuscripts were produced are vital. In the absence of documents, as is usually the case, one can draw on the internal evidence of the manuscripts to establish the context of book production which created them.

NOTES

1. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. 239. I am grateful to Lilian Randall, Research Curator of Manuscripts at The Walters, and Roger Wieck, Associate Curator of Manuscripts, for their help in studying the manuscript. Ann Korteweg, Bert Cardon, Maurits Smeyers, Nicolas Rogers, Rowan Watson, and James Marrow have contributed many ideas during my research. I am also indebted to E. Melanie Gifford for her insights, and to Susan Jenson, Nina Gwatkin, Kathleen Knudsen, Renée Kidd, Diana Withee, Sandra Smith, and Heather Seneff, participants in my seminar on the Gold Scrolls group, for their observations.

All photographs of Ms. 239 (figs. 1–17, 32, 35) were supplied through the courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery, as were figs. 25, 32, and 35. Photographs of the *Seilern Hours* (figs. 19, 20, 34) are courtesy of the Warburg Institute, those of Fitzwilliam Ms. 1055–1975 (figs. 69, 70) courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge, those of Paris Ms. N. A. lat. 3110 (figs. 37, 29) courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, and that of The Hague, Ms. 133 D. 14 (fig. 27), courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek.

2. Workshop means here one or more artisans.

3. Book of Hours (Rome use); parchment (16.8 x 12.5 cm); text area 9.2 x 6.1 cm; 17 lines of script. Calendar 10.5 x 6.2 cm; 34 lines of script. Ruled in red: A + 1–131 + B. Latin text written in *littera textualis;* 13 miniatures (originally 16); 3 historiated initials. Contents: Calendar; Suffrages (St. Margaret, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony); Hours of the Cross; Mass of the BMV; Gospel Lessons; Hours of the BMV; Office of the BMV Advent; Penitential Psalms and Litany; Office of the Dead.

4. For discussion of this question, see J. D. Farquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age: Bruges Manuscript Illuminators and their Signs," *Viator,* 11 (1980), 371–83 (hereafter, Farquhar, "Identity"); M. Smeyers, *La Miniature,* Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental, fasc. 8, (Turnhout, 1974), 83–4; and *Mise à jour du fascicule no. 8* (Turnhout, 1985), 15. A monograph is being prepared on this group of manuscripts. Twenty-seven manuscripts and detached leaves signed with fourteen different marks have been found.

5. Another manuscript where a mark (a gothic *B*) was applied twice is a Book of Hours, Wigan (England), Upholland College, Ms. 106.

6. See Farquhar, "Identity," figs. 4–9.

7. Bryn Mawr, Bryn Mawr College Library, *Ruth Cheney Streeter Book of Hours* (ca. 1425–1450).

8. W. J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi,* 4 (1872–3), 243 (hereafter, Weale, "Documents").

> . . . zo zal elc persoon die beilden omme boucken of omme rollen zal willen maken binnen der voorseide stede Brugghe, een teeken hebben, ende daer mede zine beilden teekenen, ende dat teeken overbringhen, eer hii zal moghen wercken, den deken van den beildemaeckers ende zadelaers voorseit, ende den zelven deken ter ghildewaert van den voorseiden ambochte eene waerfgheven viertich scellinghen Parisien. (Weale's transcription)

Marianne Meijer, Paul Meijer, and William Fletcher generously helped with the translation.

9. Farquhar, "Identity," 373–5.

10. Weale, "Documents," 240; Farquhar, "Identity," 372–3.

> coopen ghetydelike beildekins ghemaect tUtrecht ende tanderen plaetsen buten der stede van Brugghe die zii binnen vercoopen, beede met boucken ende zonder boucken, ende die vercutsen deen ieghen den anderen, bii den welcken tambocht van den vooseiden beildemaeckers, ende zonderlinghe de ghesellen die hem gheneeren metten beildekins in boucken ende rollen te makene, grootelicke ghequest zyn, ende lettel of niet als van dien hebben te doene.

11. See Nicolas Rogers' dissertation on deposit in the Cambridge University Library about manuscripts produced in the Low Countries for England. He cites (on page 288, notes 139, 140) E. de Brussher. The reference is Edmond de Bussher, "Peinture murale à l'huile du XVe siècle à Gand, Recherches sur les peintres gantois des XIVe et XVe siècles," *Messager des sciences historiques ou archives des arts et de la bibliothèque,* (1859), 209.

12. *Ibid.*

13. In addition to *A* and *M,* the initial *P* appears in the background of the Coronation of the Virgin, on the altar cover in the Presentation in the Temple, and on the robe of a standing magus in the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 10, 9, 8). The linked initials *P* and *B* are found in the background of the St. Sebastian and the Vigil of the Dead (figs. 2, 12). The letters *L* and *A* appear, respectively, on the left and right in the background of the Crucifixion, in the background of the Massacre of the Innocents, and hanging from decorative branches attached to a two-line initial of prayers to St. Margaret, St. Sebastian, and St. Anthony on folios 8v, 10v, 11v. (figs. 5, 7). On folio 11v a linked *A* and *L* also appears in the body of the two-line initial. Plausible explanations have not been found for the *P,* the intertwined *P* and *B,* and the *L* and *A*. That the *L* and *A,* or *la,* appearing as it does with three scenes of suffering and martrydom, may be a visual/verbal cue of sympathetic response for the reader, is contradicted by the order of the linked initials, *A* first, *L* second, in the two-line initial of folio 11v. See note 17 for further speculation about the significance of these initials.

14. For his work on identifying the arms and for very generous assistance, I am grateful to Michel Pastoureau of the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris. See Popoff, *Artois et Picardie,* Marches des armes, tome I: [preface by Pastoureau] (Paris, 1981), 179, nr. 145; 340, nr. 312; 380, nr. 199.

15. P. Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de las maison royale de France, et pairs, grands officiers de la couronne, de la maison du roy et des anciens barons du royaume...,* 3ème édition continué par M. du Fourny, VIII (Paris, 1733), 650 (hereafter, Anselme, *Histoire*).

16. According to notes in the Walters files, Erwin Panofsky in 1935 suggested the *A* and *M* stand for the "Ave Maria" said by the Antonine monks. This is possible, but an identification of Antoine de Mailly as the owner suggests that the initials could stand for him. By coincidence, the initials *A* and *M* also appear in *d'Auvilliers et Mammez.*

17. Although Antoine married Marie de Dompierre in 1467 and had a son named Philippe who succeeded him in 1495, it does not seem likely that the *M* and *P* initials refer to Antoine's wife Marie or his son Philippe. The cadet arms preclude production after 1462 and the paint of the arms does not appear to be retouched, although there may have been some alterations around the head and the raised hand of the female figure. The initials *P* in the Adoration of the Magi and the Coronation of the Virgin may refer to Philippe, Antoine's younger brother who was the Seigneur de Catheu before he sold it to someone in the Burgundian service, Antoine de Crevcoeur (Anselme, *Histoire,* VIII, 650). The emphasis given St. Margaret with a miniature and historiated initial may refer to Antoine's sister Margarite, who became a nun when she was twenty-four at the Abbey of Longchamp on July 28, 1468 (figs. 8, 10, 2). She died in 1535 at the age of ninety. The significance of the linked *A* and *L,* as well as the *P* and *B* in the St. Sebastian and the Vigil of the Dead, however, is not clear. It should also be asked why references with initials or patron saints are not made to the other brothers and sisters. Moreover, why is another saint besides Anthony and Margaret given special, yet unexplained, prominence? St. Sebastian appears in a miniature and a historiated initial (fig. 3).

18. It should be pointed out that Walricii appears on April 1 in many manuscripts that have west Flanders calendars. Throughout I have primarily relied on H. Grotefend, *Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit,* 2 vols., 2nd printing of the 1891 Hannover ed., (Aalen, 1984), for local cults of saints.

19. The following saints are described by Leroquais as a Bruges calendar in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 1357: Amandi in red (2/6), Basilii in red (6/14), Eligii epi in red (6/25), Remigii and Bavonis in red (10/1), Donatiani epi in red (10/14), Eligii epi in red (12/1), Nicaisii epi in red (12/14). V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale,* I (Paris, 1927), 165 (hereafter, Leroquais, *Les livres*). In describing a Bruges calendar in Ms. lat. 1188, he adds, among others, to this list: Gertrudis (3/17), Walburgis (8/4), Lamberti (9/17), divisio apostolorum (7/15), Augustinii (2/28). All of these saints, except Basilii, appear in the calendar of Walters 239. I have used Leroquais' description of the calendars in Mss. lat. 1357 and lat. 1188 as examples of Bruges calendars. See also R. A. Parmentier, "Een brugsch missaal uit het derde kwart van de 15e eeuw," *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire d'art,* 13 (1943), 193–213, for a much more complete, but perhaps less representative, Bruges calendar. Much more work needs to be done to differentiate a Bruges calendar from regional ones of Bruges, Ghent (as well as the area between these two centers), Flanders, and the Diocese of Tournai. John Plummer's research into this question should be extremely valuable. See his essay, "Use and Beyond Use," in R. S. Wieck, with essays by L. R. Poos, V. Reinburg, and J. Plummer, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life,* (Baltimore/New York, 1988) (exhibition catalogue).

20. Another piece of information might be considered here. Although Amiens was under Burgundian control between ratification of the Treaty of Arras in 1435, and 1463 (see A. de Colonne, *Histoire de la ville d'Amiens,* I [Amiens, 1899]), it appears that Antoine's father was in the service of the French king as *conseiller* and *chambellan du roi.* He was paid for a trip to Baille he made for the king in 1458. See Anselme, *Histoire,* VIII, 650.

21. In this study I have assumed that the variations in style and technique, including the Crucifixion and the miniatures based on Limbourg models, are not sufficient to separate the miniatures into works by different artists. See the accompanying article by Walters conservator E. Melanie Gifford, who studied the painting techniques in Walters Hours. She makes some very significant observations and gives a more precise idea of the artist who painted Walters 239.

22. In my research I have studied over one hundred and fifteen manuscripts which can be or have been associated with the so-called Master of the Gold Scrolls. These manuscripts are by identifiably different artists even though they share many things, such as models and style, in varying degrees. Of the four dated manuscripts collected under this name, the earliest is 1432, the latest 1448. See F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Amsterdam, 1987 [originally published, 1925]), 25–26; (hereafter, Winkler, *Buchmalerei),* and G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), 27–31, (hereafter, Dogaer, *Flemish).* Also see the critical appraisal of this style in B. Cardon, R. Lievens, and M. Smeyers, *Typologische Taferelen uit het Leven van Jezus: A Manuscript from the Gold Scrolls Group (Bruges, ca. 1440) in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Ms. Morgan 649. An Edition of the Text, a Reproduction of the Manuscript and a Study of the Miniatures,* Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts from the Low Countries, 1, (Louvain, 1985), 119–66 (esp. 155–66).

23. See M. Meiss, with S. O. D. Smith and E. Beatson, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries,* 2 vols. (New York, 1974), fig. 569 (hereafter, Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs). Ibid.,* I, 239, 330. O. Pächt, *The Master of Mary of Burgundy* (London, 1946), 53, n. 20; R. Schilling, "A Book of Hours from the Limbourg Atelier," *The Burlington Magazine,* 80/81 (1942), 194–197; J. D. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-century Manuscript Illuminator* (Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., 1976), 47–50, 176, 181 (herefter, Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation).*

24. See Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs,* fig. 555.

25. The landscape generally corresponds to the background of the upper right quarter of the Limbourgs' Nativity in the *Belles Heures* (fig 44). This miniature is missing some prominent features found in the Walters' representation of the shepherds, notably the figures and the stream.

26. For the example in the *Belles Heures,* see Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs,* fig. 626.

27. We cannot be certain that this composite sketch actually was used, however, since Limbourg models with these compositions as separate subjects may have existed and could have been used by the Walters illuminator. If two separate models existed, the Seilern miniature would represent a conflation of the two models.

28. Visually related in gesture and profile pose to these works is the copy of the portrait of Jean the Fearless in the Louvre (E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting,* [Cambridge, Mass., 1953], fig. 94 [hereafter, Panofsky, *Netherlandish*]). The profile maiden in Uccello's St. George, in the National Gallery, London, usually placed after ca. 1455, provides an interesting comparison to the armorial figure in Walters 239. See J. Pope Hennessy, *Paolo Uccello, Complete Edition* (London, 1969), 154, pl.78. Renée Kidd brought this comparison to my attention.

29. See footnote 39 below.

30. The calendar of Ms. N. A. lat. 3110 includes the elevation of Macharius (5/9; a major Ghent feast), Servacii ep. (5/13), Livini ep & m (11/12), Amandi in red (2/6), Basilii in red (6/14), Elegii in red (6/25), Walburgis (8/4), Transl. Sancti Donatiani (8/30), Remegii & Bavonis in red (10/1), Donatiani epi remensis (10/14), Elegii in red (12/1), Nicaisii in red (12/14). See note 19 above for Bruges calendar. For a description, see J. Porcher, *Manuscrits à peintures offerts à la Bibliothèque nationale par le comte Guy du Boisrouvray* (Paris, 1961), 73–6; and Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation,* 62–64, 109

31. Sotheby's *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures,* London, June 22, 1982, lot 82 (sale catalogue) (sold to Alan G. Thomas, and is presently in a collection in Germany). As noted by Sotheby's catalogue, a simplified coat of arms of the Burgundian house appears in the two-line initial of folio 3r. In addition, Burgundian arms appear in an initial on folio 80v, and French royal arms of fleur-de-lis appear in the two line initial of folio 25v. This Book of Hours was written for the use of Rome. The calendar is fragmentary: March, April, September, October, November, and December still exist. Saints are from the southern Netherlands and northeastern France: Remi in red (10/1), Denis in red (10/9), Donas (10/14), Eloy (12/1), Nicaise in red (12/14). The litany includes Gildarde, Medarde, Dyonisi, Erasme, Francise, Antoin, Ludovice, and Clara.

32. Elements of this composition have a long history, beginning in Byzantine and Armenian manuscripts, continuing through the Italian trecento, and into fifteenth century French and Flemish art.

33. For an illustration of the Entombment in the *Bible historiale,* see Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs,* fig. 337. For the *Seilern Hours,* see Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs,* fig. 632.

34. Susan Jensen discovered this relationship. For an illustration see Panofsky, *Netherlandish,* fig. 29.

35. See. B. Martens, *Meister Francke* (Hamburg, 1929), *passim.*

36. The artist of this manuscript appears to be related to the artist of a Psalter in Aschaffenburg, Hofbibliothek, Ms. 3. The calendar of Walters 173 is probably that of the Diocese of Tournai: Piat & Remi in red appear (10/1), Donas in black (10/14). Other saints included Amant (2/6), Walri (4/1), Basile (6/14), Eloy in red (6/25), Lambert (9/16 not 9/17), Denis in red (10/9) Eloy in red (12/1), Nicaise in red (12/14). Genovesa appears in the litany and a special prayer to St. Avoie, which originally had a miniature facing it, is included in the text on folio 75r. This may suggest Paris.

37. Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 179 (Book of Hours); Louvain, Universiteits Bibliotheek, Ms. A-3 (Book of Hours); The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 D 14 (Book of Hours); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. 211 (Book of Hours); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 10538 (Book of Hours); and, possibly, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 25 (Psalter).

38. In Douai Ms. 179: Vast (2/6) (Arras), Basile (6/14), Eloy in red (6/25), Division des aples (7/15), Lambert, (9/17), Remi in red (10/1), Donas (10/14), Eloy in red (12/1), Nicaise in red (12/14). In Walters 211: amandi epi in red (2/6), Augustini epi (2/28), Walricy epi (4/1), Basily epi in red (6/14), Eligii episcopi in red (6/25), Divisio apli (7/15), Walburgis virgis in red (8/4), Egidi abbis in red (9/1), Lamberti (9/17), Remigi & bavonis in red (10/1), Dionisy mris in red (10/1), Donaciani epi in red (10/14), Livini (11/11), Eligii epi conf in red (12/1), Nicaisy epi in red (12/14). Lamberte, Amand, Bavo, Eligi, Amelberga, Gertrudis, and Walburgis appear in the Litany. In The Hague Ms. 133 D. 14: Amant & Vast (2/6), Augustin (2/28), Walri (4/1), Basile (6/14), Vulgane (6/20), Eloy in red (6/25), le division des aples (7/15), Lambert (9/17), Remi (10/1), Denis (10/9), Donas (10/14), Hubert & Vulgane (11/2), Eloy in red (12/1), Nicaisy in red (12/14). A. S. Korteweg and C. A. Chavannes-Mazel, *Schatten van de Koninklijke Bibliotheek; acht eeuwen verluchte Handschriften,* The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum 1980–81, (The Hague, 1980), 109 (exhibition catalogue), write that the calendar comes from another place than the main part, and note that Vulgane (Arras) appears on the June 20 and November 3. In the calendar of Louvain Ms. A-3: Amandi epi (2/6), Augustini epi (2/28), Ghertrudis v. (3/17), Walricii epi (4/1), Basilii episcopi (6/14), Eligii episcopi & conf (6/25), Lamberti epi (9/17), Remigii & Bavonis (10/1), Donatiane archepi (10/14), Livini epi(11/15), Eligii epi and conf (12/1), Nicaisii epi (12/14). Lamberte is in the litany. In the calendar of the Hague Ms. 76 F 25: Firmin (1/14) and (9/25), Auban (3/1) (6/22), Walri (4/1), Basille (6/14), Eloy in red (6/25), Ernoul (7/18), Walburge (8/4), Menge (8/19), Omer (9/9), Lamberte (9/17) Remi & Piat in red (10/1), Denis & Gillain in red (10/9), Venant in red (10/11), Donas (10/14), Eustas (11/3), Winnoc (11/6), Lievin (11/12), Nicaisy in red (12/14). In the litany: Nichasy, Quintine, Fabiane, Remigi, Germane, Genovesa. This suggests northeastern France, Cambrai, Amiens, (Ernoul, Eustas, and Winnoc indicate Tournai and Cambrai; Firmin, Amiens) rather than Flanders, although Basily, Eloy, Walburgis, Donatian, and Nicaisy appear in the calendar. Ms. lat. 10538 also has ties with the Low Countries; it is a Boucicaut style manuscript finished for the Burgundian house.

39. For example, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 D 14.

40. The penwork in Upholland 106 links it to these manuscripts: Book of Hours, *I* mark, sold Sotheby's 23 June 1987, lot 121 (now Berkeley Heights, N.J., Lawrence Schoenberg collection); Liverpool, Merseyside Museum, Ms. Mayer 12009 (Book of Hours; on deposit in the University Library); Berkeley Heights, N.J., Lawrence Schoenberg collection (Book of Hours; *B* mark); Swaffham, Norwich, Parish Church, Ms. 1 (Book of Hours); New York, Union Theological Seminary (Book of Hours); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. IV 288 (Book of Hours). See Nicolas Rogers' thesis on deposit at the University Library, Cambridge, dealing with early fifteenth-century manuscripts made in the Low Countries for export to England. Also see the article of E. Colledge, "South Netherlandish Books of Hours made for England," *Scriptorium,* 22 (1978), 55–7.

41. Script and painted initials have not been included because adequate comparisons have not been identified. A formal script such as that of Walters 239 presents difficult questions as to whether different hands can be identified and compared to other works. I have not felt sufficiently confident with the results of my research to include it here. The script in Walters 239 shares some traits with script found in Cambridge, University Library, Ms. Dd. 15. 25, and Liverpool, Merseyside Museum, Ms. Mayer 12009 (on deposit in the University Library), two Books of Hours produced in the southern Netherlands for export to England. Perhaps there is some association to be made with these manuscripts. Painted initials in Walters 239 have a good possibility of being useful when more convincing comparisons than presently known are found. In Walters 239 as in many manuscripts there seems to be a direct correlation between the painter of the border and the painter of the large initials; such a correlation appears to exist with regard to both border styles found in Walters 239.

42. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon liturg. 91 (Book of Hours; Flanders calendar, with Bruges saints); Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, Ms. 246 (Flanders calendar with Bruges saints); Philadelphia, Free Library, Ms. Lewis 99 (Flanders calendar with Bruges saints); Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. IV 288 (Book of Hours; Flanders calendar and litany). In the calendar of Canon. liturg. 91: Amandi et Vedasti in red (2/6), Augustini epi (2/28), Ghertrudis virginis (3/17), S. Basilii in red ((6/14) (Other than S. Vitalis [4/28], Basily is the only saint designated by "*S.*" for saint; similar entries are found in Walters 282.) Eligii epi in red (6/25), Lamberti epi (9/17), Firmani (9/25), Bavonis & Remigii in red (10/1), Dionysii epi in red (10/9), Donatiani epi in red (10/14), Eligii episcopi in red (12/1), Nichasii epi in red (12/14) (Nicaisii, Amande and Lupe are in the litany). In the calendar of Walters 246: Amandi & Vedasti in red (2/6), Basilii epi in red (6/14), Eligii episcopi in red (6/25), Divisio apostolor (7/15), Egidii abbis in red (9/1), Lamberti epi (9/17), Remigii & bavonis in red (10/1), Dyonisii epi in red (10/9), Donaciani epi in red (10/14), Eligii episcopi in red (12/1), Nicaisii epi in red (12/14). In the litany: Amante, Donate, Eligi, Amelberga. In the calendar of Ms IV 288: Gertrude (3/17), (Viti and Modesti [6/14], not Basilii), Eligii epi in red (6/25), Remigii bavonis (10/1), Dyonisii epi (10/9), Donatiani epi in red (10/14), Eligii epi in red (12/1), Nicaisii epi in red (12/14). In the Litany: Donatiane, Audomare (not in calendar) Eligii, Egidii, Ghertrudis.

43. Brussels, Ms. IV 288 was ruled with a stylus rather than red ink.

44. Canon liturg. 91 also has stamped miniature folios.

45. The penwork in Ms. IV 288 is also important because it appears in a number of manuscripts, mostly Sarum use, which contain miniatures with marks. These manuscripts were apparently made in the area of Bruges for the English market. Similarly, a manuscript in the Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Ms. 10 E. 2 (southern Netherlands calendar closer to Malines), has penwork by the penworker in another manuscript, Walters 282, that is closely related to the work of the Ms. IV 288 artist. In the calendar of Walters 282: Amandi & Vedastis in red (2/6), S. Basilii in red (6/14) (Other than Vitalis (4/28), Basili is the only saint to have "*S.*" for saint placed before his entry; this characteristic also appears in the calendar of Canon liturg. 91.), Eligii epi in red (6/25), Bavonis & Remigii in red (10/1), Donatiani epi in red (10/14), Eligii epi in red (12/1), Nicaisii epi in red (12/14) (Amande, Nicaisii, and Gereon are

in the Litany [folio 88].) The saints listed above for the calendar repeat those described by Leroquais as a Bruges calendar in Ms. Lat. 1357. See Leroquais, *Les Livres,* I, 165, and note 19 above.

46. Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. Leber 135 (Book of Hours; Sarum use).

47. The saints in Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 179 (Book of Hours; Flanders calendar) and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliothek Ms.133 D 14, (Book of Hours; Flanders calendar with Bruges saints [?]) are listed in note 37, above. The manuscript in Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart 21035 (Book of Hours; English calendar) is a Gold Scrolls style manuscript produced in the southern Netherlands for export to England. Among ties it has with other Gold Scrolls manuscripts, one of its border decorators also worked in manuscripts such as Canon Liturg. 91 (see note 42), which has a Flemish calendar with Bruges saints.

48. Line fillings are less subject to variation and are therefore less suggestive of localization. Nonetheless, they can be important. Line fillings appear to have been done by the decorator of the one-line initials. They tend to be consistent and agree with the style of the penwork decorator. When they do not, one should consider the possibility that the penwork is by a different artisan.

49. See note 30 above for Bruges and Ghent saints found in N. A. lat. 3110. For saints in the *Hours of Juana Enríquez,* see Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation,* 106. For the date of the manuscript, which must be between 1447–1468, see *ibid.,* 129; and for its localization, *ibid.,* 131–32.

50. This motif appears on all miniature folios except for the Presentation in the Temple, folio 67v.

51. Saints appearing in Douai Ms. 179, The Hague Ms. 133 D 14, Sotheby's lot 82, Walters Ms. 211, and Louvain Ms. A-3 are listed in note 37, above. Leber 135 has a calendar with English saints.

52. The pattern is not restricted to this group, but it is used as an integral part of book production in it.

53. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 18270 (Prayerbook; fol. 17, 21, 50, 64, 79, 89). Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 1274 (Book of Hours; Flanders calendar and litany; fol. 73); Berkeley Heights, N.J., Lawrence J. Schoenberg collection (Book of Hours; English calendar *B* mark; fol. with the *O intemerata* prayer); Swaffham, England, Parish Church, Ms. 1 (Book of Hours; English calendar; fol. with Trinity miniature): Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart 21035 (Book of Hours; English Calendar; calendar folios); (See figs. 13, 14, 30, 31.)

54. In Ms. 18270: Amat and Vedast in red (2/6) (also Dorethea appears on 2/6 in black), Basily in red (6/13 not 6/14), Eligy in red (6/25), Donaes in red (10/14) (Kalixus pape in black also appears), Eligy in red (12/1), Nicaisy in red (12/14). See J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique,* I (Brussels, 1901), 559–61. C. Gaspar and F. Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique,* Deuxieme partie (Paris, 1945), 6–8, query whether the calendar is Benedictine order. Dogaer, *Flemish,* 27.

55. In Ste. Geneviève 1274, Pharahilde, Livine, Amande, and Tecla appear in the litany. Amant (2/6), Walri (4/1), Basile (6/14), Eloy (6/25), Division des aples (7/15), Lamberte (9/17), Remi & Piat in red (10/1), Denis in red (10/9), Donas (10/14), Eloy in red (12/1), Nicaise in red (12/14) appear in the calendar.

56. Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms. Wittert 17 (Book of Hours; Flanders calendar with Bruges saints); Formerly, Paris art market (offered by Jean Viardot; Book of Hours; Flanders calendar); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1055–1975 (Book of Hours; English calendar); Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 444 (Book of Hours; southern Netherlands calendar); N.A. lat. 3110; *Hours of Juana Enríquez.*

57. For Wittert 17, see the St. Barbara illustrated in Winkler, *Buchmalerei,* 5.

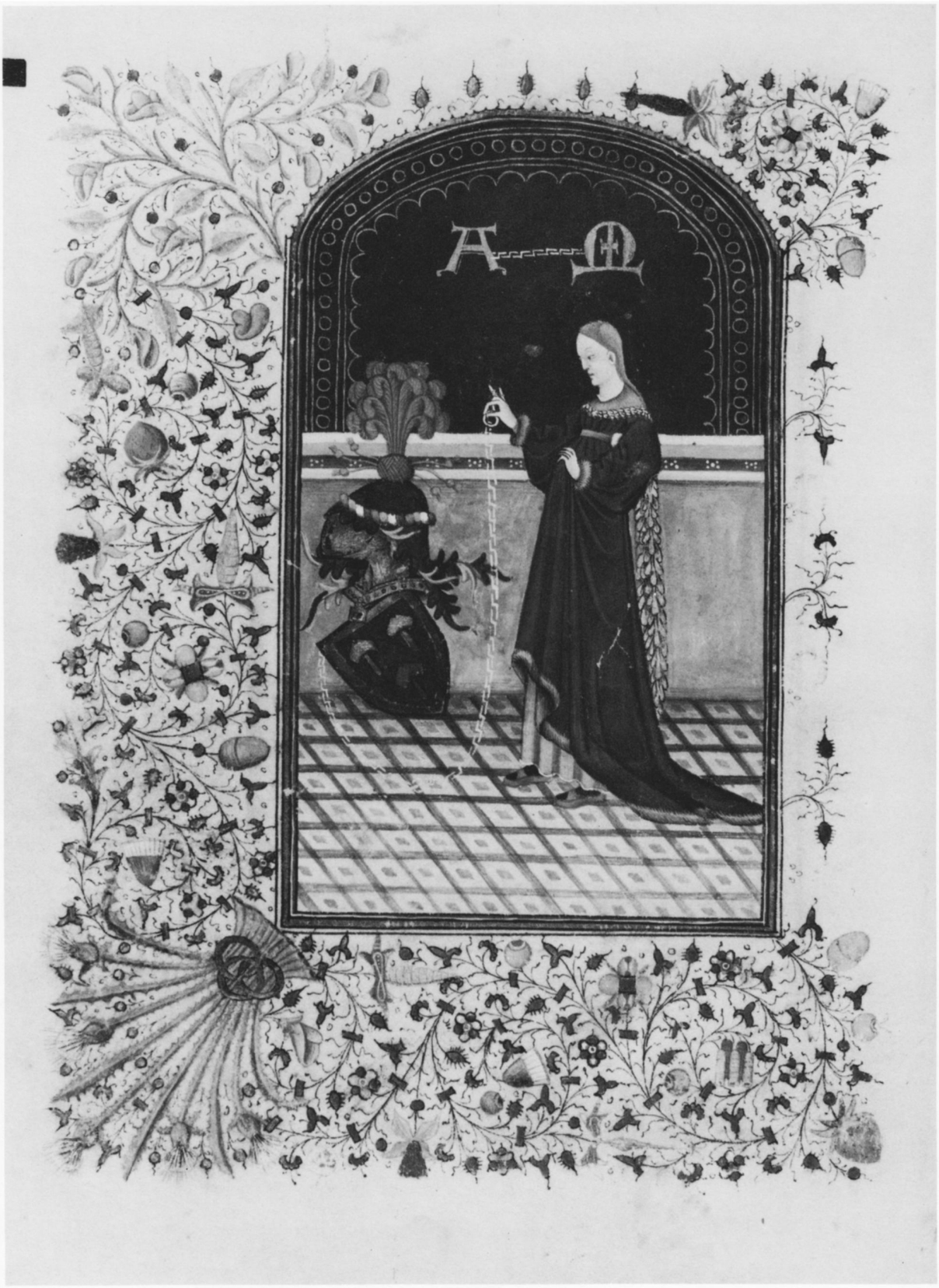


Fig. 1. *Heraldic Page, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 7v.

Fig. 2. *St. Margaret, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 8.

Fig. 3. *St. Sebastian, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 9v.

Fig. 4. *St. Anthony, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 11.

Fig. 5. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 13v.

Fig. 6. *Nativity, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 49v.

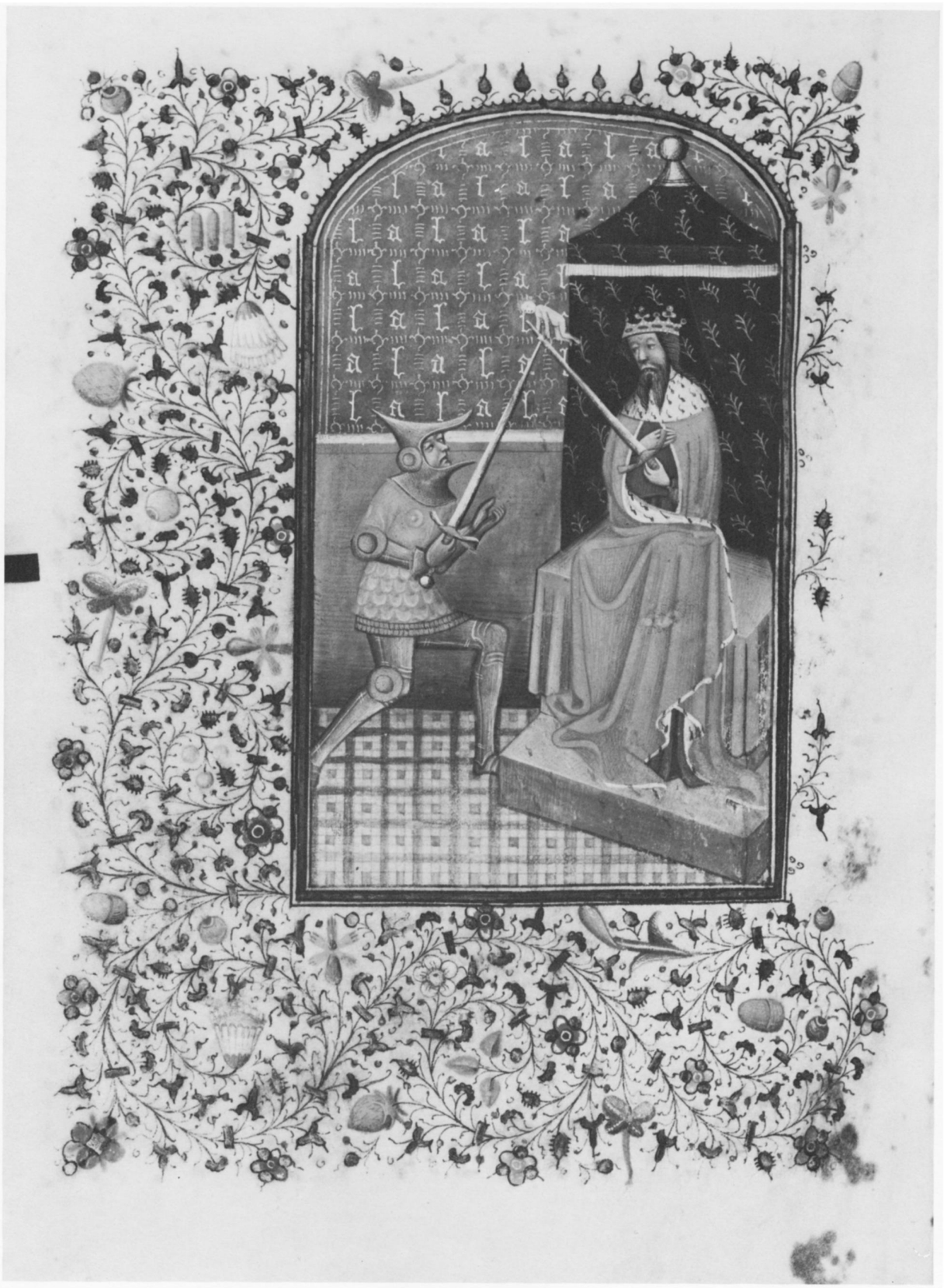


Fig. 7. *Massacre of the Innocents, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 59v.

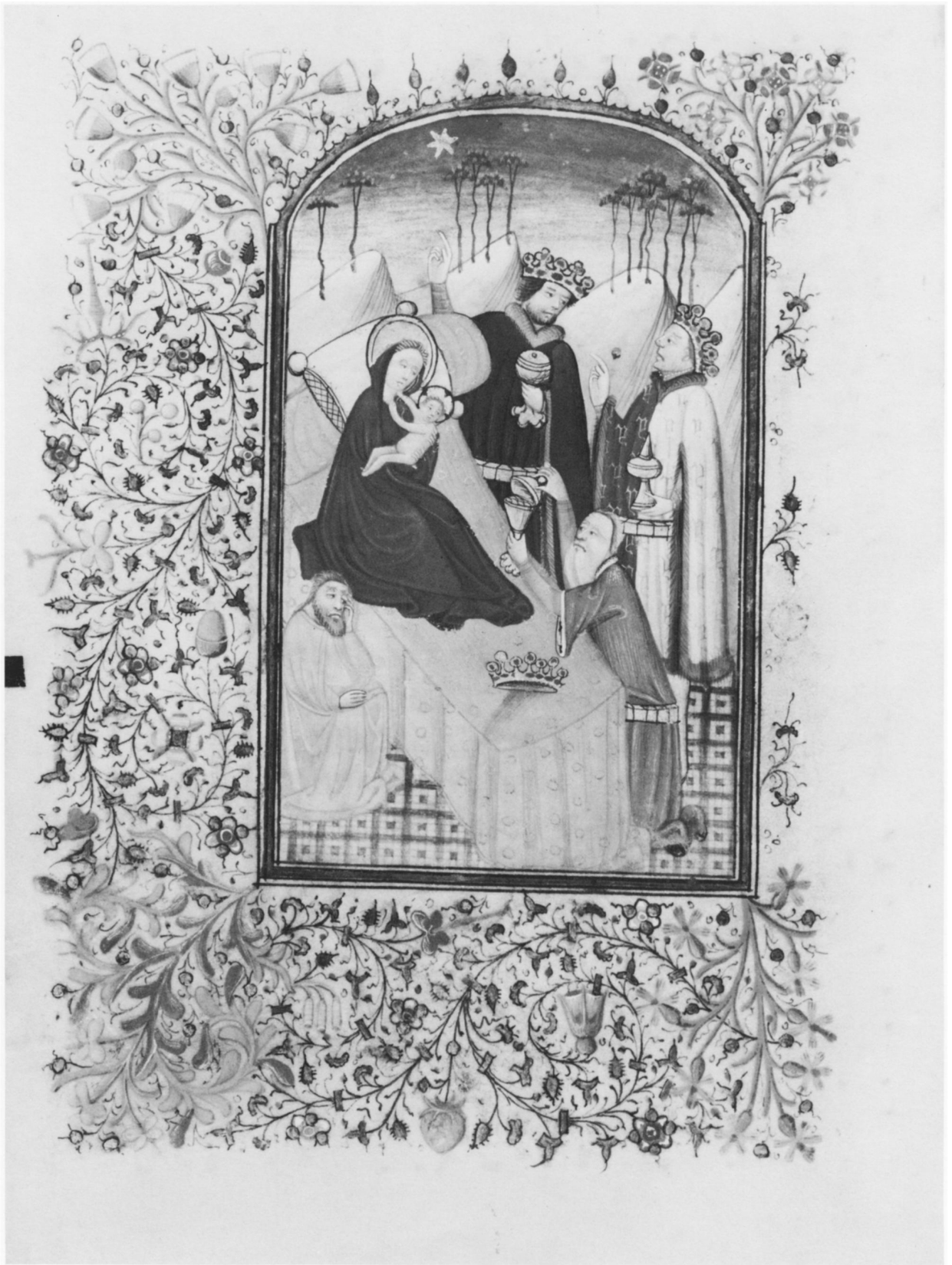


Fig. 8. *Adoration of the Magi, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 63v.

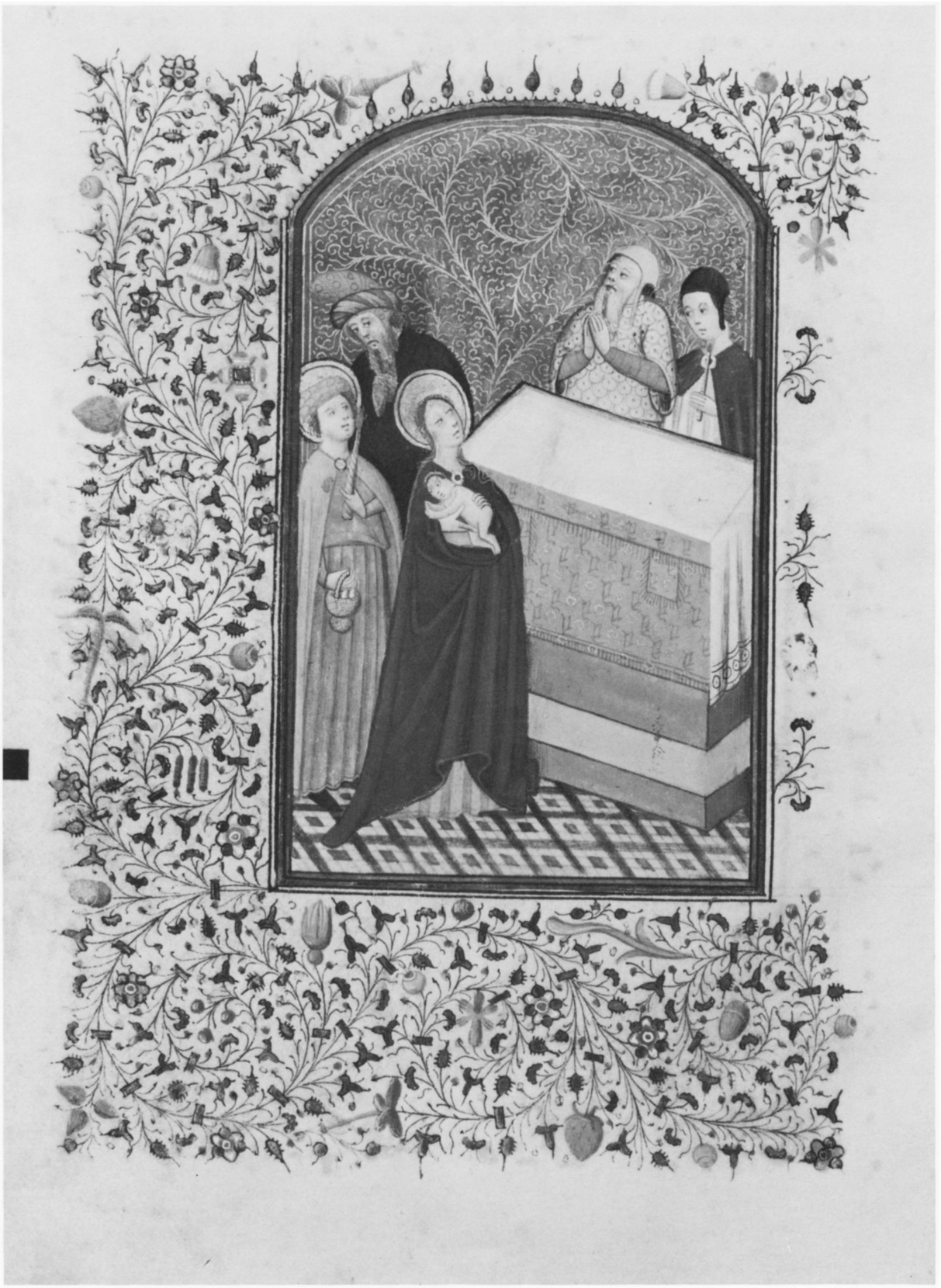


Fig. 9. *Presentation in the Temple, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 67v.

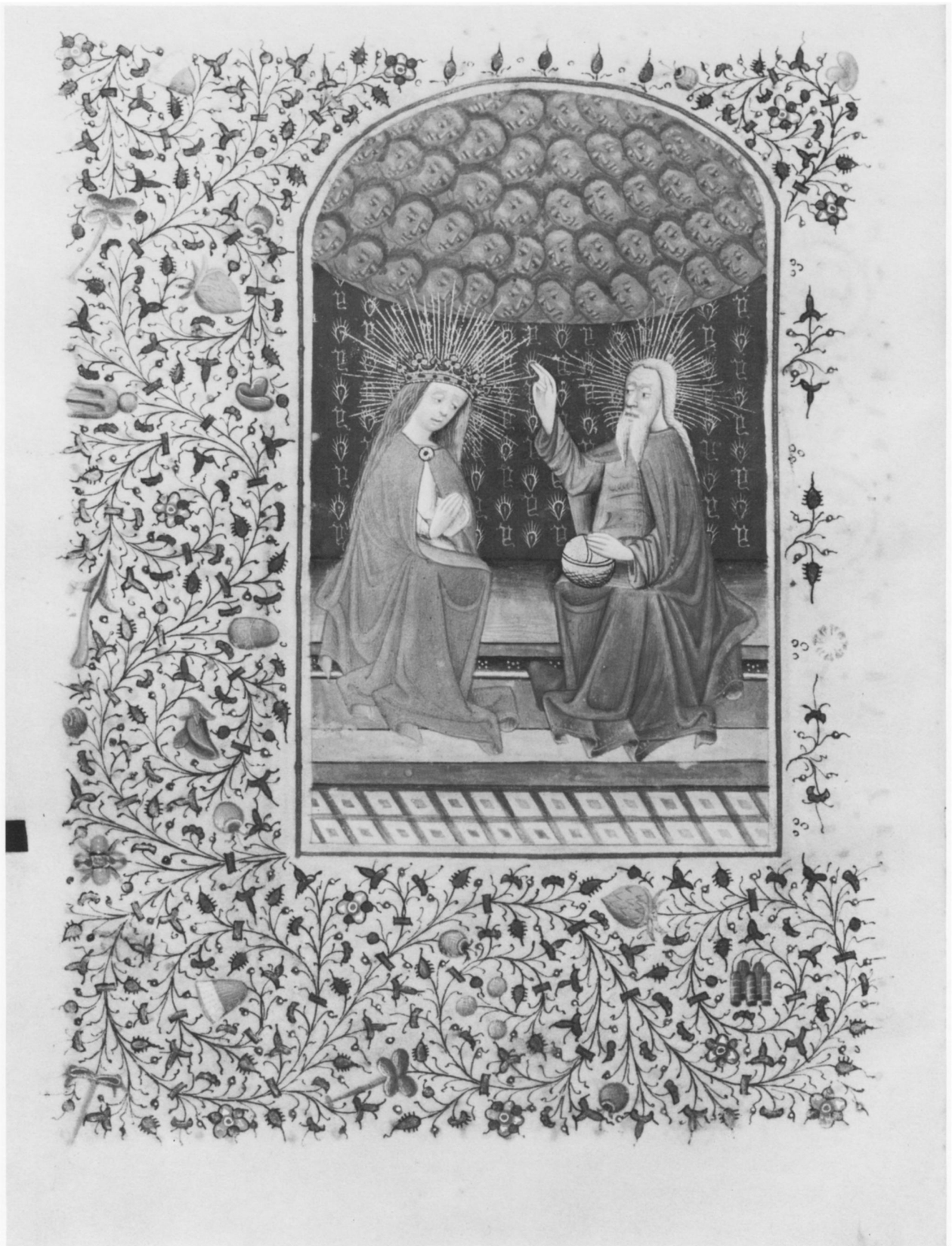


Fig. 10. *Coronation of the Virgin, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 78v.

Fig. 11. *Last Judgment, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 85v.

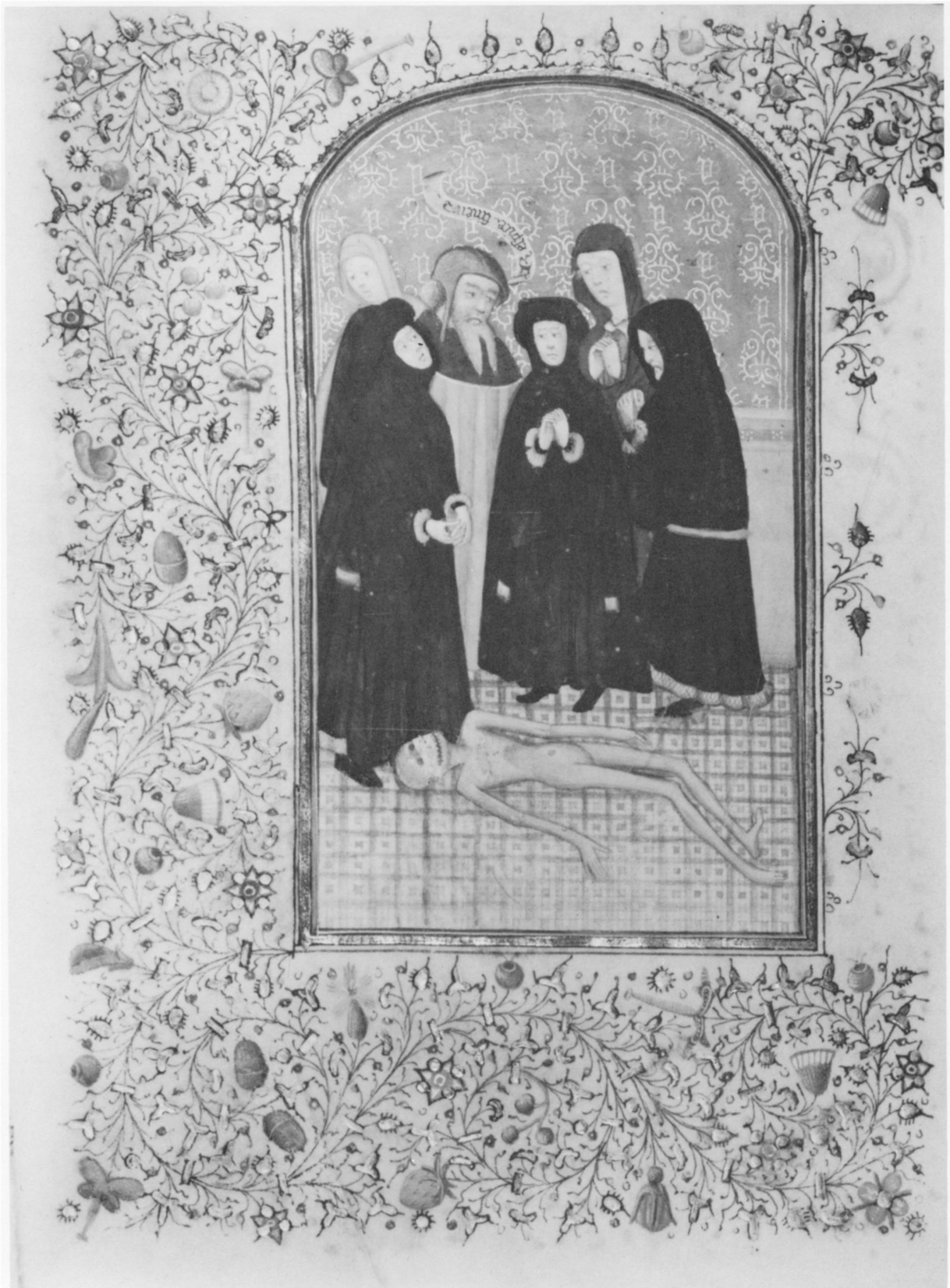


Fig. 12. *Vigil, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 101v.

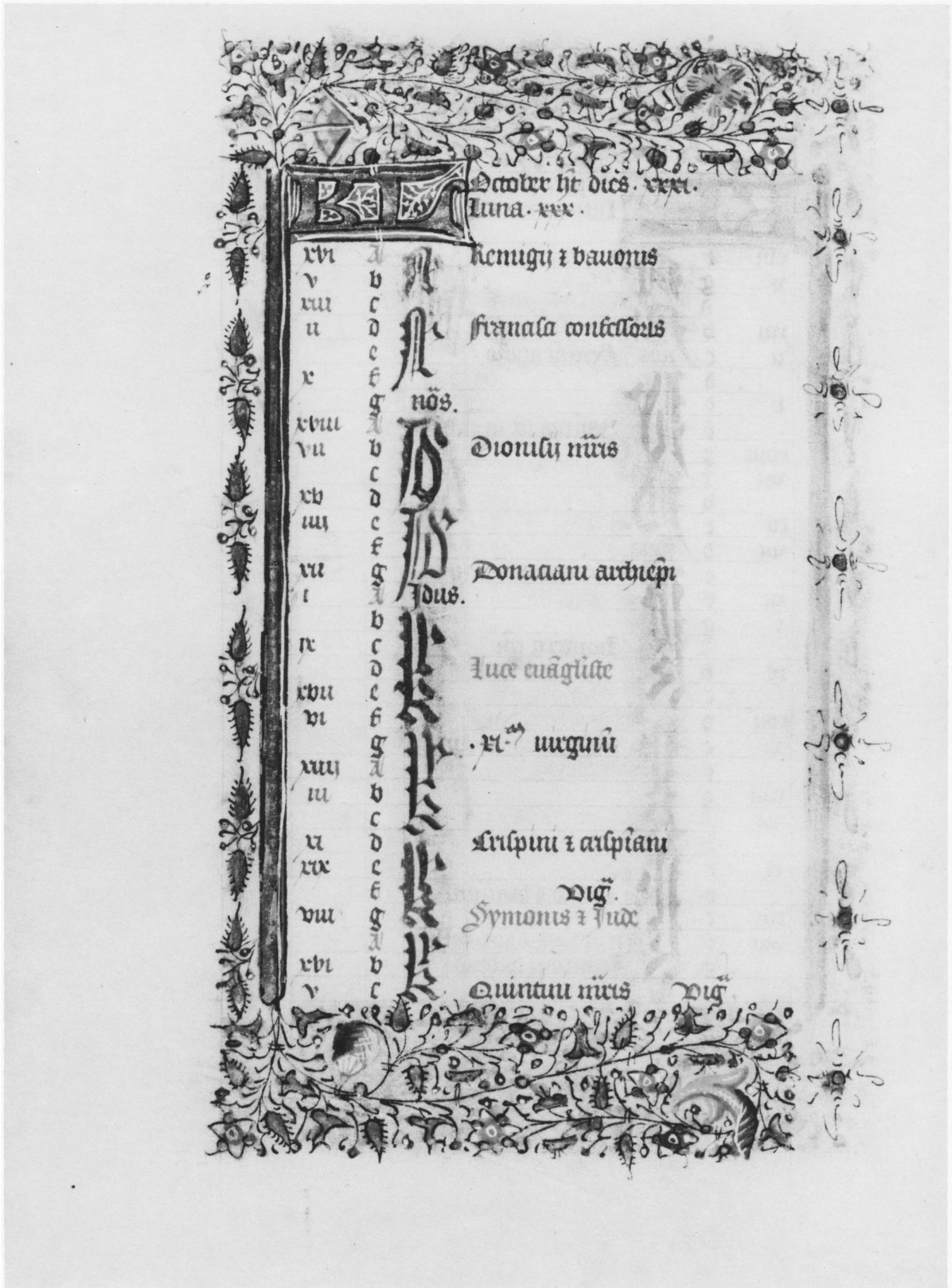


Fig. 13. *October, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.239, fol. 5v.

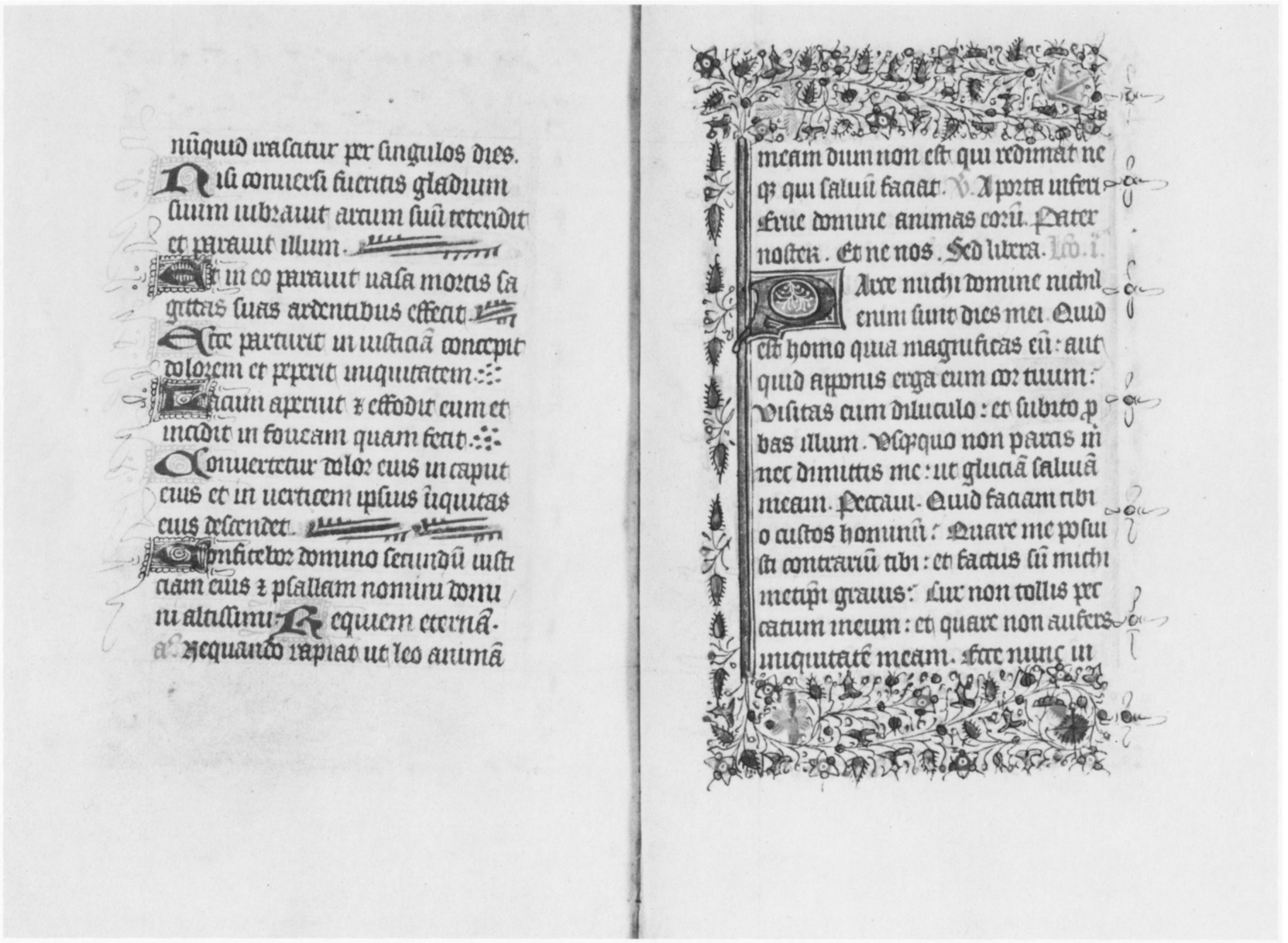


Fig. 14. *Text Borders and Penwork Initials, Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.239, fols. 110v–111.

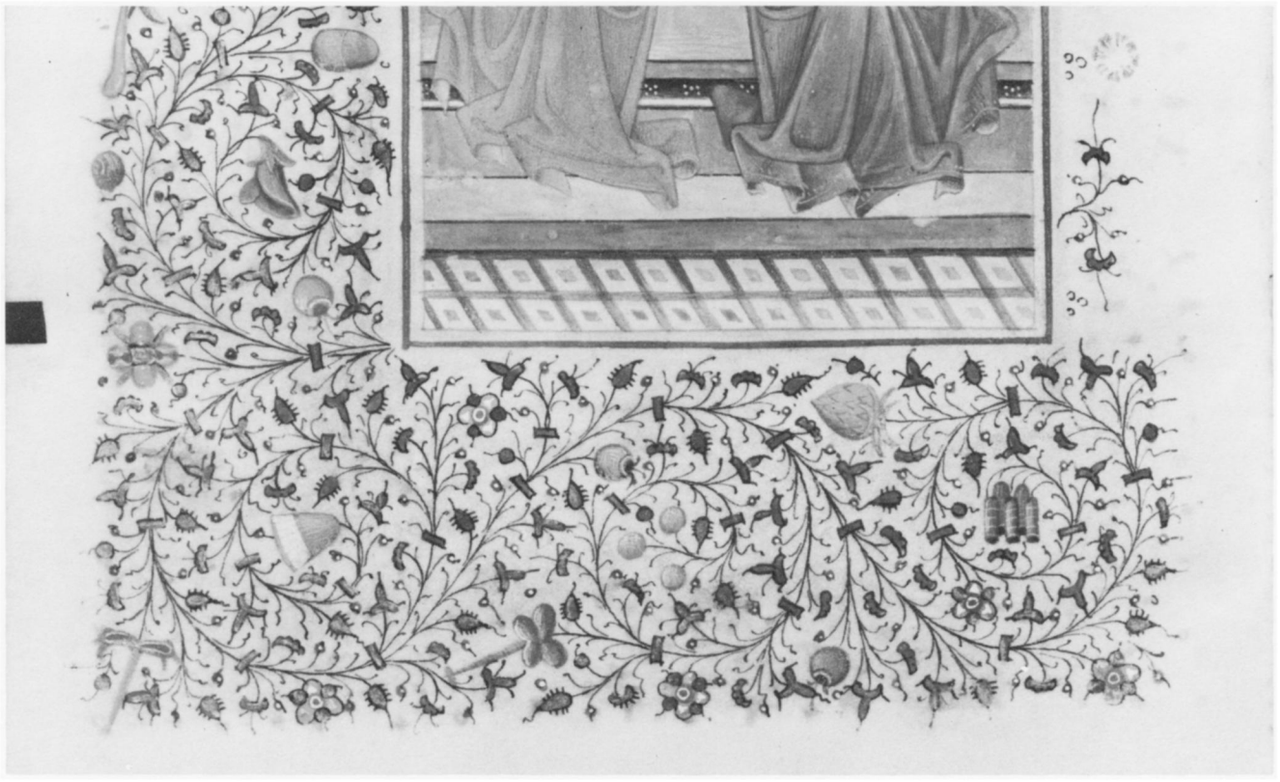


Fig. 15. *Border (detail), Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.239, fol. 78v.

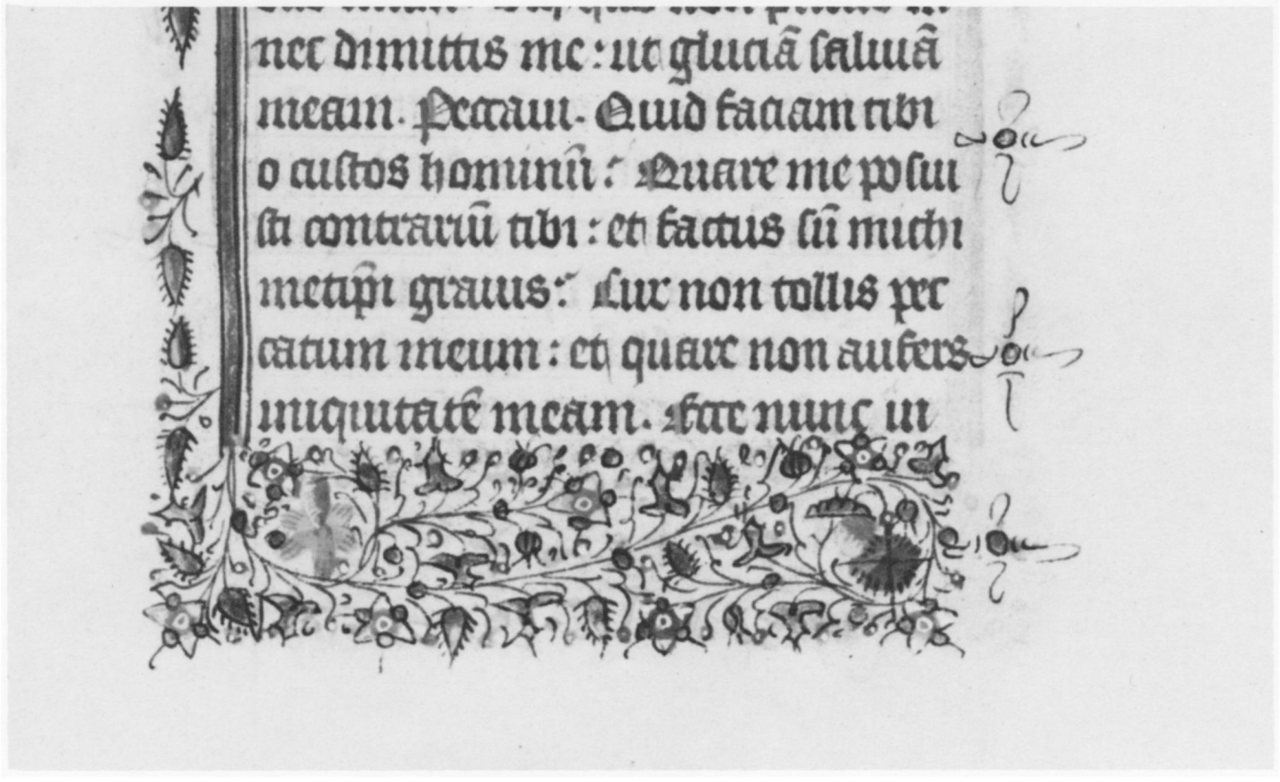


Fig. 16. *Border (detail), Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.239, fol. 111.

Fig. 17. *Annunciation to the Shepherds, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.239, fol. 54v.

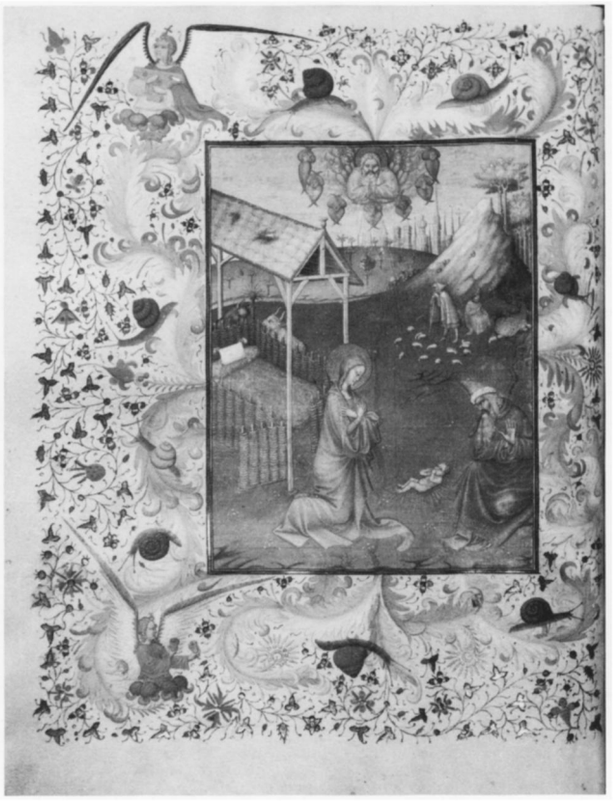


Fig. 18. *Nativity, Seilern Hours,* (Formerly collection of Count Antoine Seilern).

Fig. 19. *Last Judgment, Seilern Hours,* (Formerly collection of Count Antoine Seilern).

Fig. 20. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Wigan, Upholland College, Ms. 106, fol. 46v.

Fig. 21. *Nativity, Book of Hours,* Sotheby's 1982, Lot 82 (sold to Alan G. Thomas, present location unknown), fol. 46v.

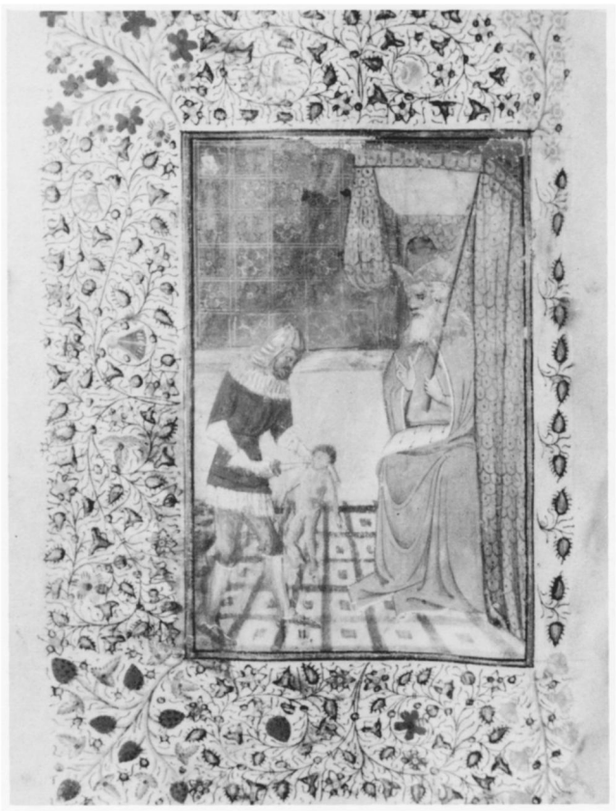


Fig. 22. *Massacre of the Innocents, Book of Hours,* Sotheby's 1982, Lot 82, fol. 66v.

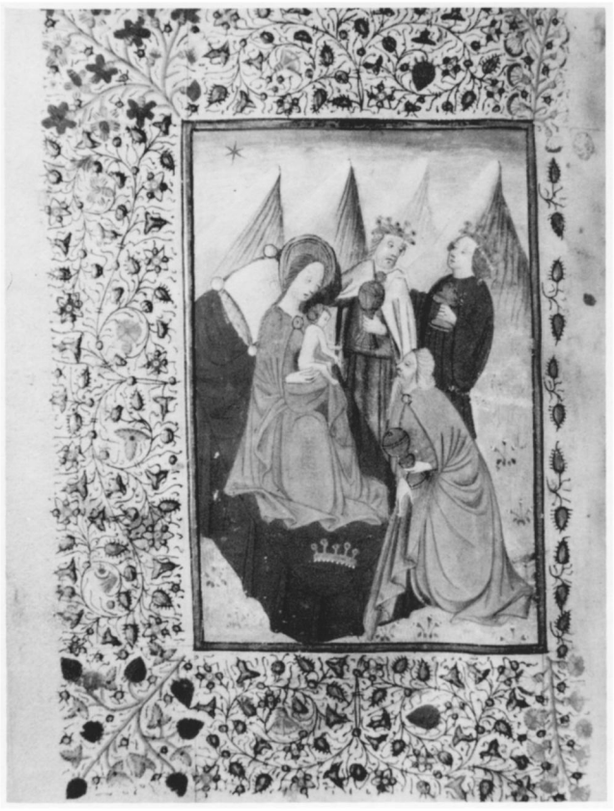


Fig. 23. *Adoration of the Magi, Book of Hours,* Sotheby's 1982, Lot 82, fol. 56v.

Fig. 24. *Presentation in the Temple, Book of Hours,* Sotheby's 1982, Lot 82, fol. 61v.

Fig. 25. *Massacre of the Innocents (detail), Book of Hours* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.173, fol. 59.

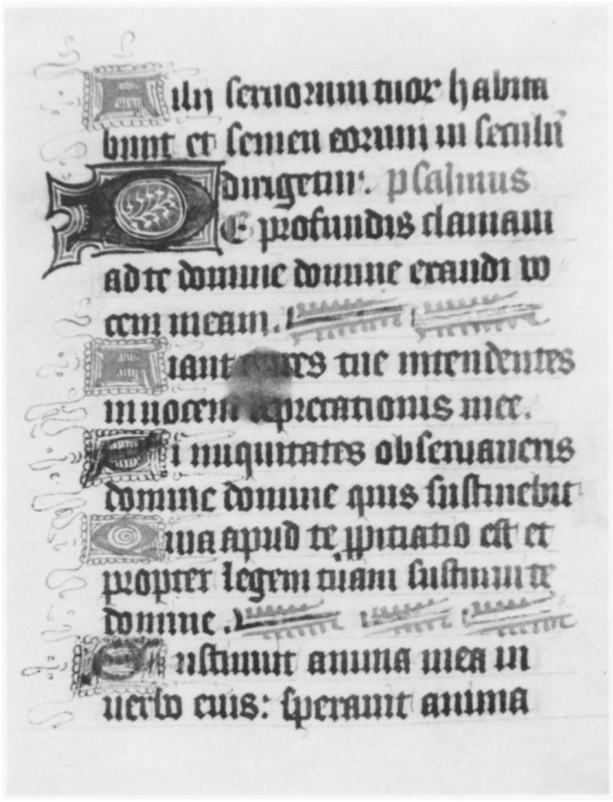


Fig. 26. *Text Folio, Book of Hours,* Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 179, fol. 119.

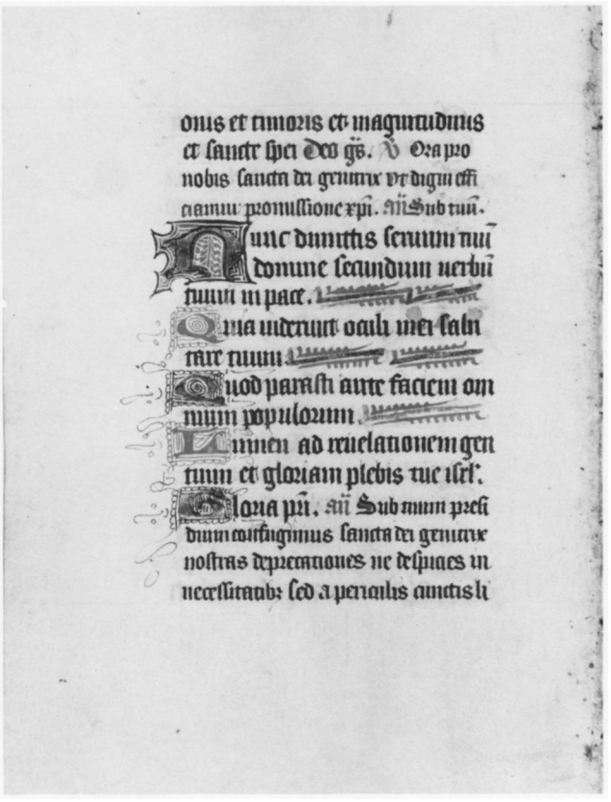


Fig. 27. *Text Folio, Book of Hours,* The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 133 D.14, fol. 62v.

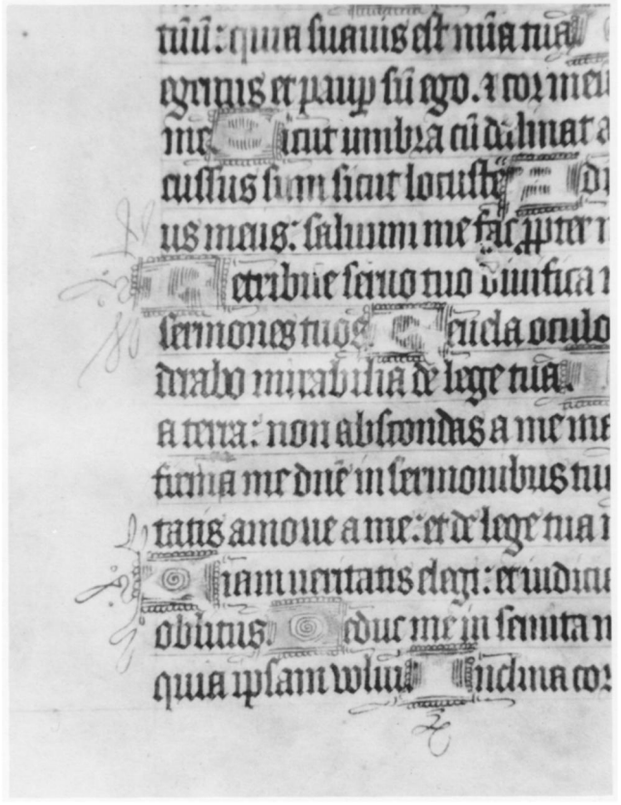


Fig. 28. *Text Folio (detail), Book of Hours,* Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart 21035, fol. 105v.

Fig. 29A. *Flight into Egypt, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. N. A. lat. 3110, fol. 60.

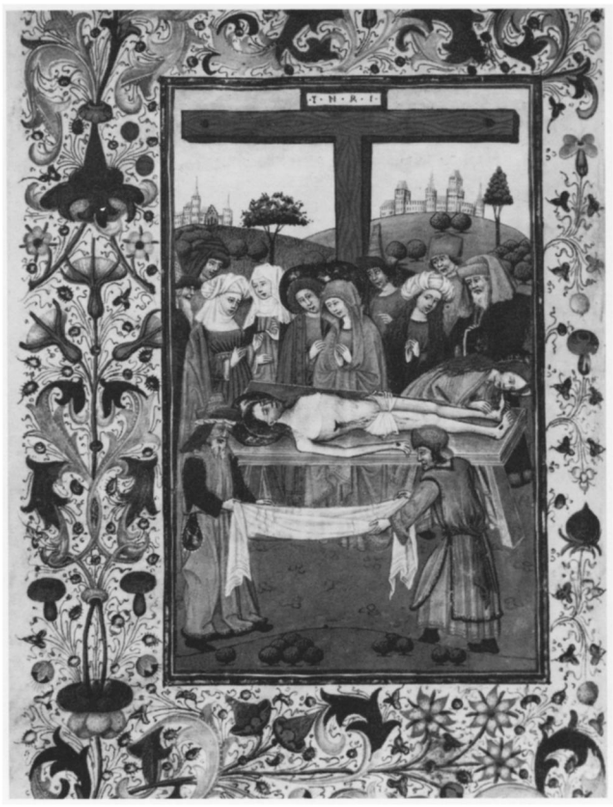


Fig. 29B. *Preparation of the Body of Christ, Hours of Juana Enríquez,* Madrid, Biblioteca de Palacio, fol. 171v.

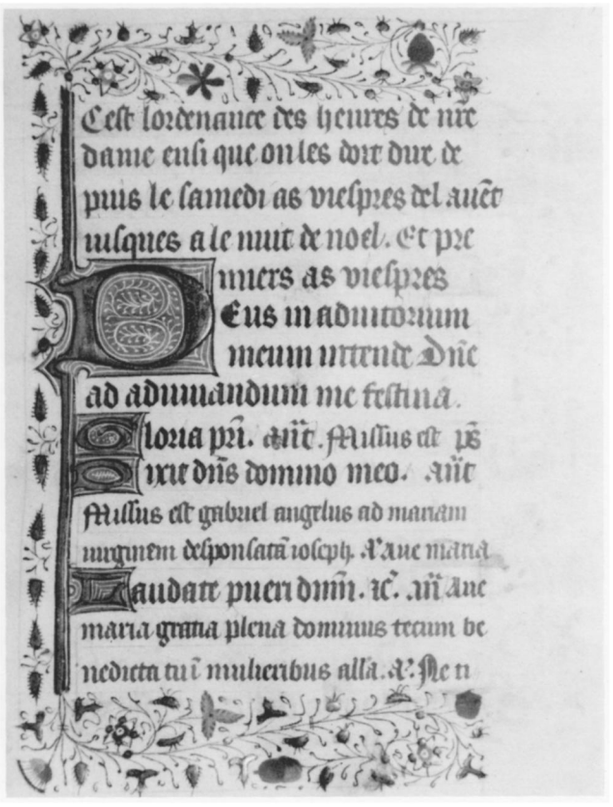


Fig. 30. *Hours of the Virgin for Advent, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274, fol. 73.

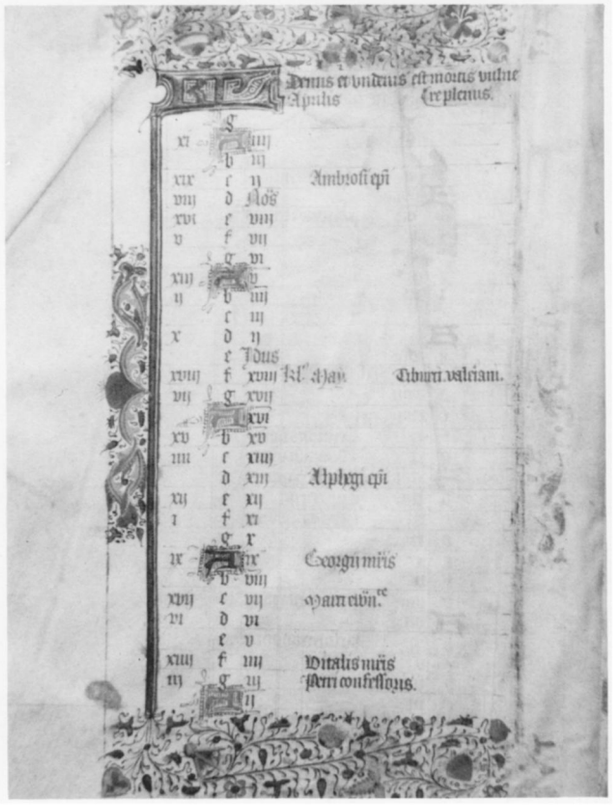


Fig. 31. *April, Book of Hours,* Blackburn, Blackburn Museum and Art Gallery, Hart 21035, fol. 3v.

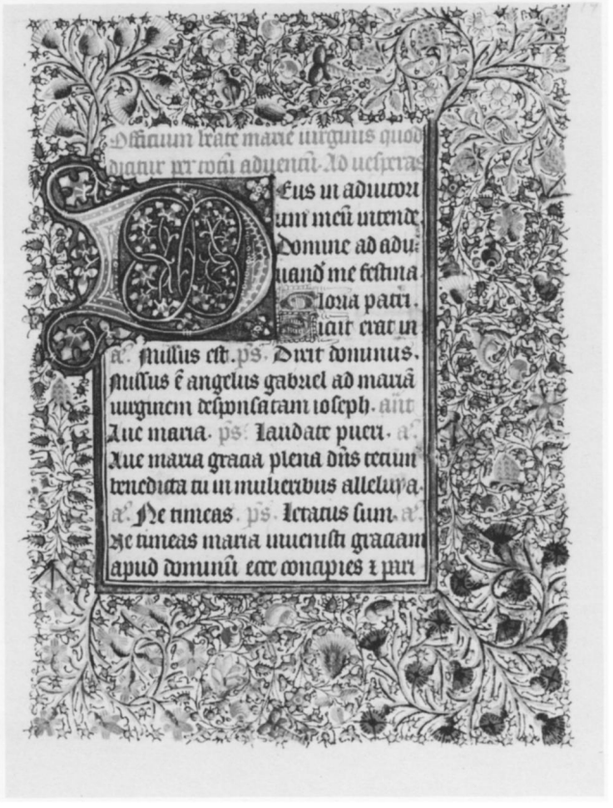


Fig. 32. *Text Borders, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.239, fol. 79.

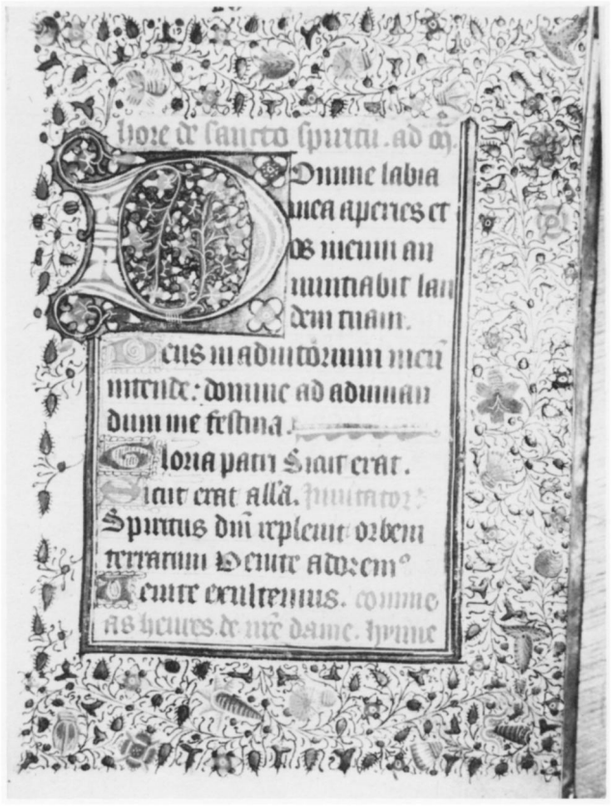


Fig. 33. *Text Borders, Book of Hours,* Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 179, fol. 19.

Fig. 34. *Entombment, Seilern Hours* (Formerly collection of Count Antoine Seilern).

Fig. 35. *Annunciation to the Shepherds, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, MS. W.282, fol. 59.

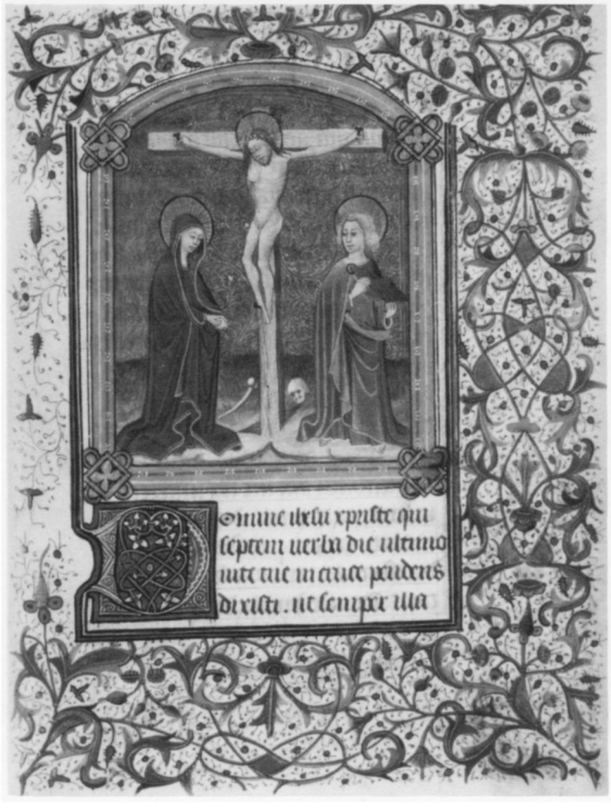


Fig. 36. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. N. A. lat. 3110, fol. 78.

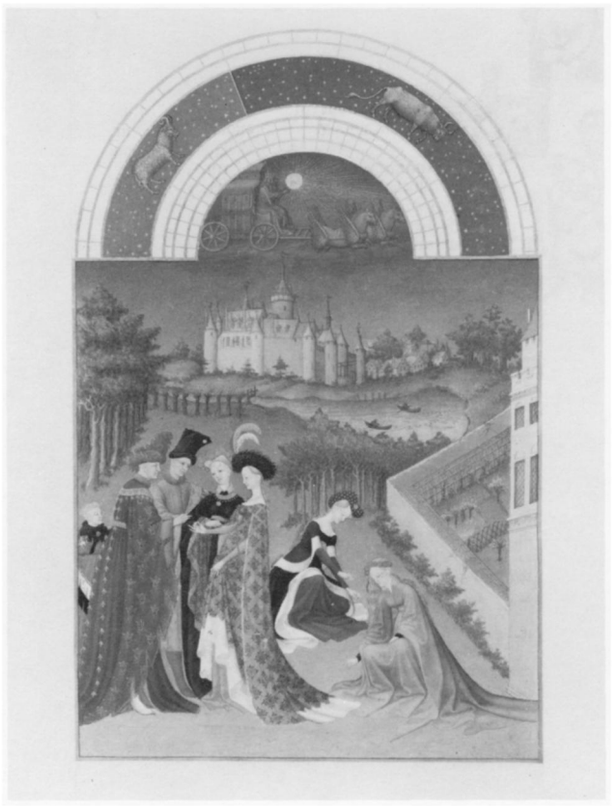


Fig. 37. *April, Très Riches Heures,* Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65, fol. 4v.

Fig. 38. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 56, fol. 20.

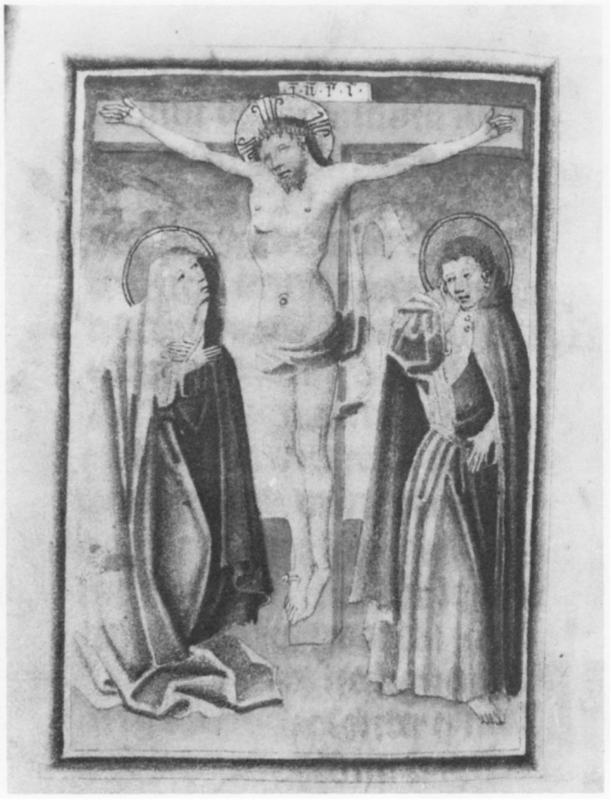


Fig. 39. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 32, fol. 95v.

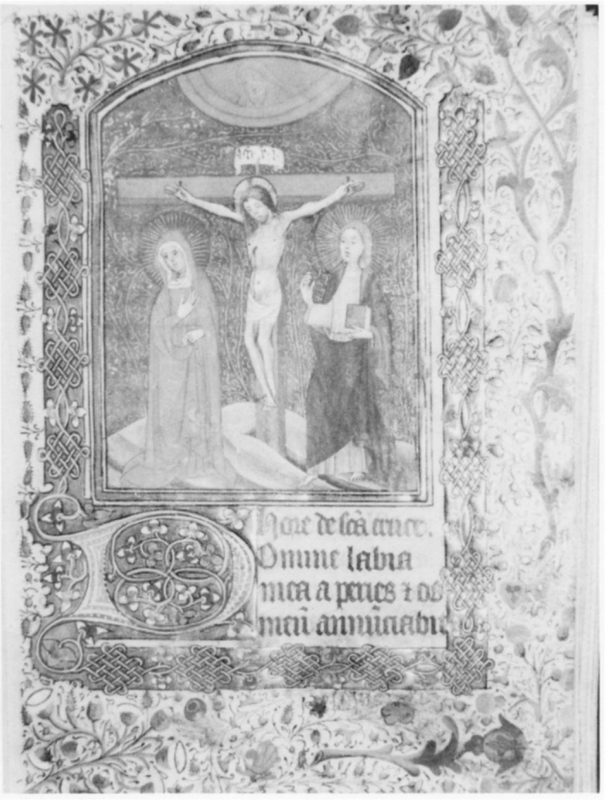


Fig. 40. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274.

Fig. 41. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.173, fol. 56

Fig. 42. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 31, fol. 76.

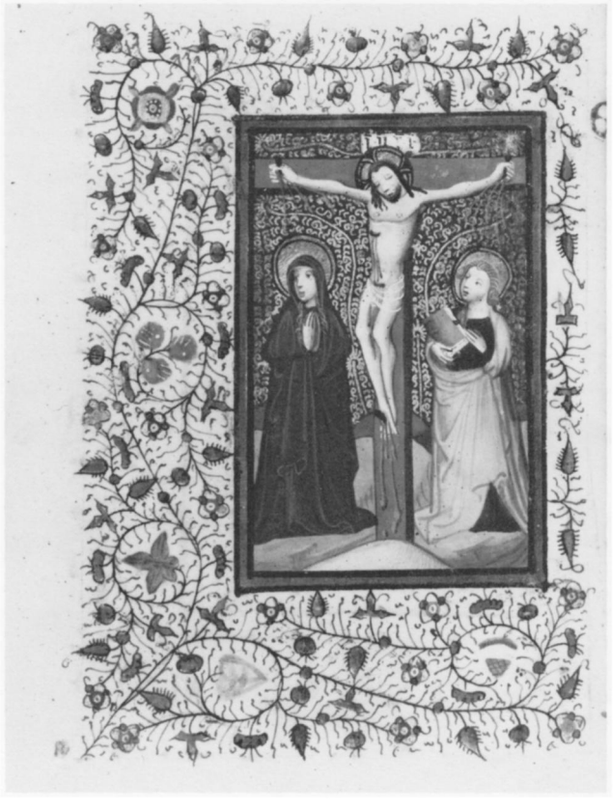


Fig. 43. *Crucifixion, Book of Hours,* Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon Liturg. 17, fol. 57v.

Fig. 44. *Nativity, Belles Heures,* New York, The Cloisters, fol. 48v.

Fig. 45. *Nativity, Book of Hours,* London, British Library, Ms. Egerton 1070, fol. 24v.

Fig. 46. *Adoration of the Magi, Book of Hours,* Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2, fol. 83v.

Fig. 47. *Adoration of the Magi, Book of Hours,* Liège, Bibliothèque Générale de l'Université, Ms. Wittert 17.

Fig. 48. *Adoration of the Magi, Book of Hours,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 32, fol. 45.

Fig. 49. *Presentation in the Temple, Book of Hours,* Rennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 31, fol. 65.

Fig. 50. *Circumcision, Book of Hours,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 32, fol. 54v.

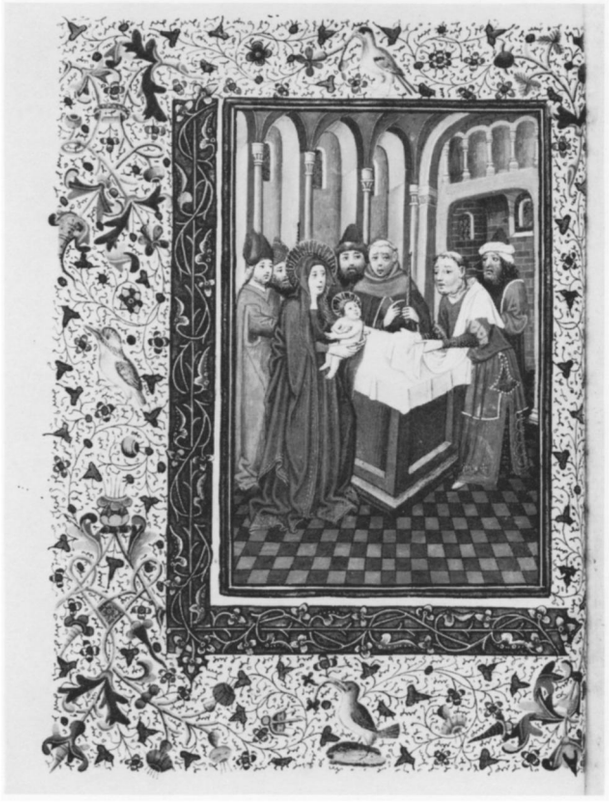


Fig. 51. *Presentation in the Temple, Book of Hours,* Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9798, fol. 75v.

Fig. 52. *St. Sebastian, Book of Hours,* Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 179, fol. 9v.

Fig. 53. *St. Anthony, Book of Hours,* Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 179, fol. 11v.

Fig. 54. *St. Sebastian, Book of Hours,* Bruges, Museum van de Potterie, Ms. O.P.5.1., fol. 9v.

Fig. 55. *St. Anthony, Book of Hours,* Liège, Bibliothèque Générale de l'Université, Wittert 17.

Fig. 56. *St. Anthony, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.165, fol. 116v.

Fig. 57. *Massacre of the Innocents, Book of Hours,* Liège, Bibliothèque Générale de l'Université, Wittert 17.

Fig. 58. *Massacre of the Innocents, Book of Hours,* Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 50.

Fig. 59. *Judgment of Solomon, Bible Historiale,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 20090, fol. 290.

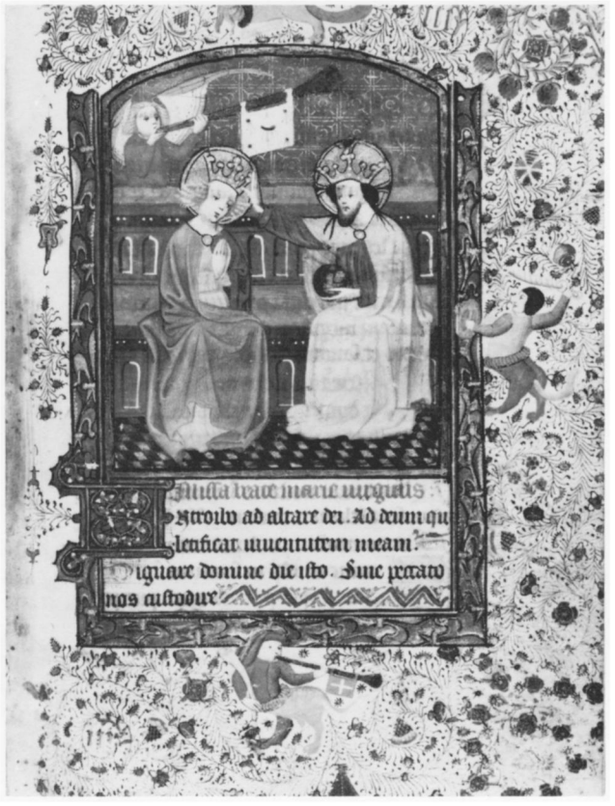


Fig. 60. *Coronation of the Virgin, Book of Hours,* Chicago, Newberry Library, Ms. 56.

Fig. 61. *The Three Dead, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 13262, fol. 121.

Fig. 62. *Deposition and Lamentation, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1278, fol. 45.

Fig. 63. *Corpse and Mourners, Book of Hours,* Princeton, University Library, Ms. Garrett 48, fol. 61.

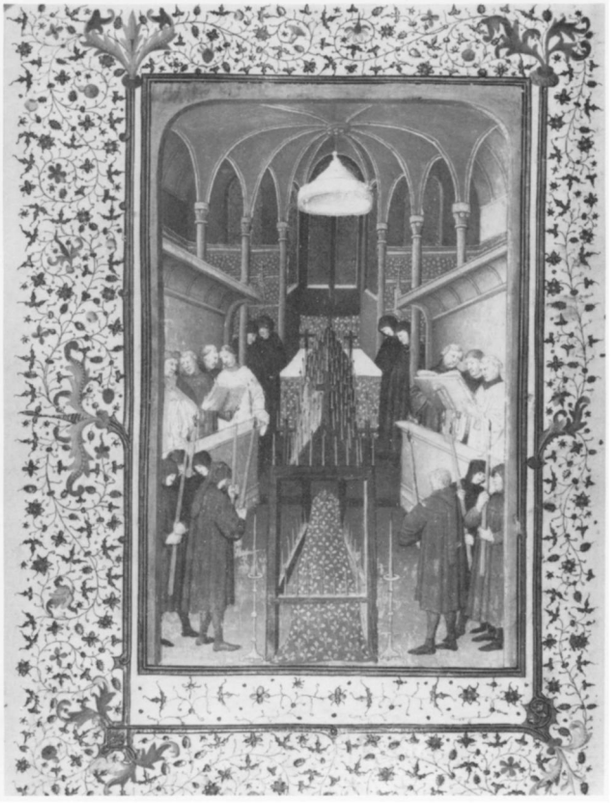


Fig. 64. *Mass for the Dead, Book of Hours,* Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Ms. 2, fol. 142v.

Fig. 65. *Mass for the Dead, Book of Hours,* Berkeley Heights, N.J., Lawrence Schoenberg Collection, fol. 115v.

Fig. 66. *Mass for the Dead, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274.

Fig. 67. *Annunciation, Book of Hours,* Wigan, Upholland College, Ms. 106, fol. 12v.

Fig. 68. *Rest on the Flight into Egypt, Book of Hours,* Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274.

Fig. 69. *Mass for the Dead, Book of Hours,* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1055–1975, fol. 72.

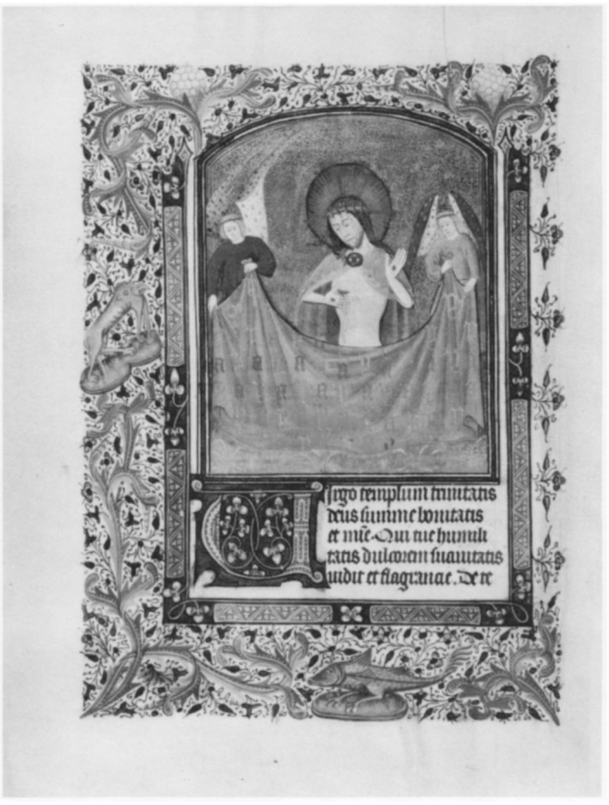


Fig. 70. *The Man of Sorrows, Book of Hours,* Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Ms. 1055–1975, fol. 46v.

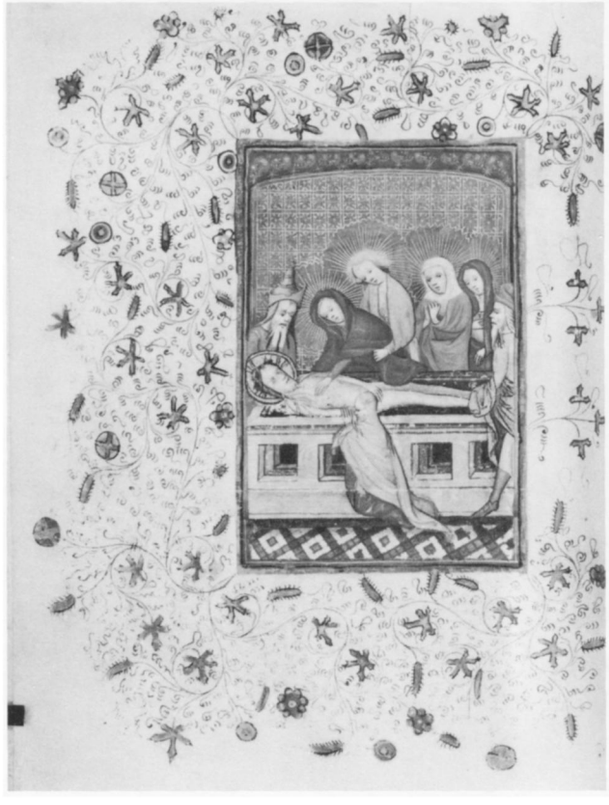


Fig. 71. *Entombment, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.170, fol. 59v.

Fig. 72. *Adoration of the Magi, Book of Hours,* Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.170, fol. 73v.

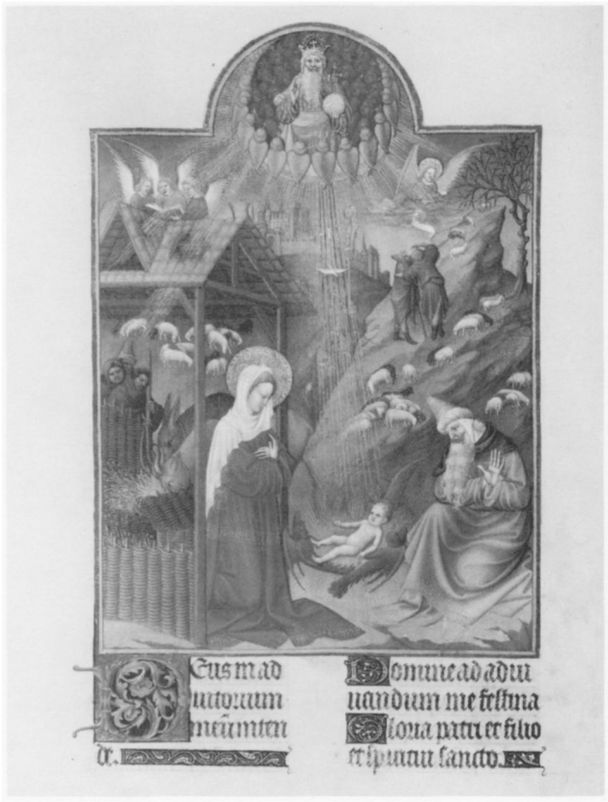


Fig. 73. *Nativity, Très Riches Heures,* Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65, fol. 44v.

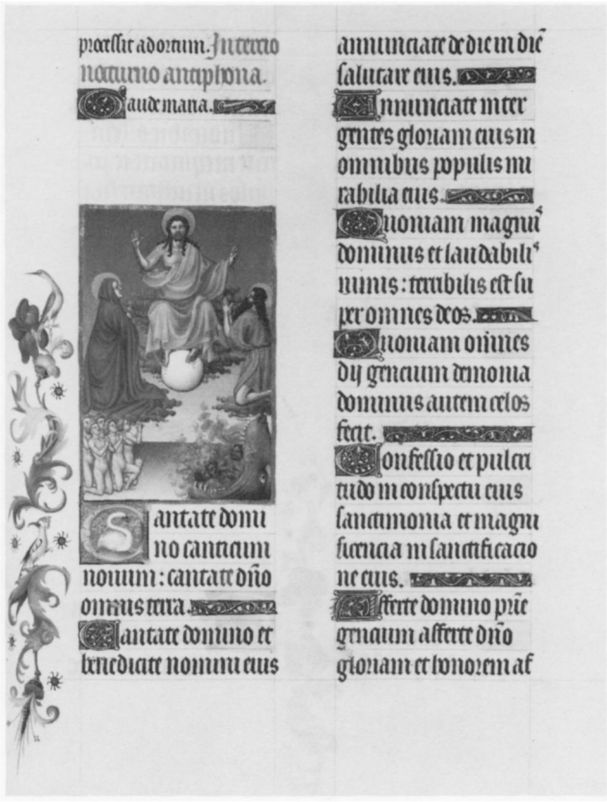


Fig. 74. *Last Judgment, Très Riches Heures,* Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65, fol. 34.

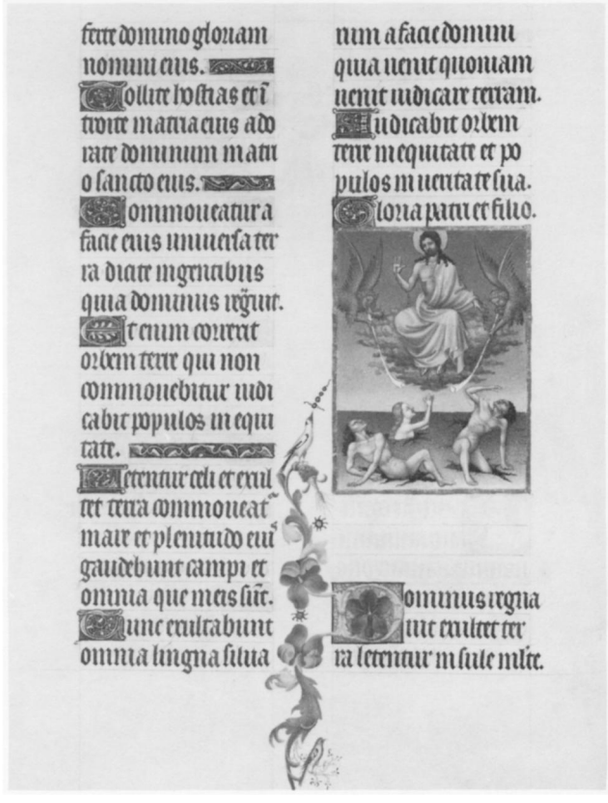


Fig. 75. *Last Judgment, Très Riches Heures,* Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 65, fol. 34v.

Fig. 76. *Last Judgment, Book of Hours,* London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 32, fol. 108v.

Pattern and Style in a Flemish Book of Hours: Walters Ms. 239

E. MELANIE GIFFORD
The Walters Art Gallery

The illustrations to this article precede it.

In the previous article J. D. Farquhar presented evidence localizing and dating Walters 239. This fifteenth-century Flemish Book of Hours is related to the so-called "Gold Scrolls" group of manuscripts,[1] but its miniatures have an unusual character. These paintings use a striking palette that juxtaposes the dark blues and oranges typical of manuscripts of this period with combinations of cool pinks and greens, and light unsaturated blues. Both naturalistic and abstract backgrounds are used. There is one example of the ubiquitous "Gold Scrolls" type of background, where a tracery of fine gold lines grows up behind the scene, but more often the backgrounds include patterns like decorated tiles or abstract combinations of various initials.

These miniatures, however, show variations in handling and a marked variety of compositional and iconographic sources. These variations raise interesting issues on the extent to which the models a manuscript painter used may have influenced all aspects of the finished illumination, shaping the painting's style as well as the content.[2]

A thistle-shaped mark appears in the margin of every illustrated page in Walters 239 (e.g. fig. 2, inner margin). The round mark with serrated edges is stamped with what appears to be a transparent brown material, unlike either the opaque paint used in the miniatures, or the ink used in the text. Except in the gathering following the calendar, all the stamped miniature pages are hooked or tipped into the manuscript, rather than being integral elements of the gatherings. Most illuminated pages have no text and so are blank on the unilluminated side of the folio. All this suggests that these pages were made independently of the text.

In the gathering that immediately follows the calendar three (stamped) folios have illuminations representing a saint: Margaret, Sebastian, and Anthony (figs. 2–4). Below the miniature on each of these folios begins a prayer to the saint with a small section of text, indicated by an historiated initial, which continues on the reverse. These images, then, are more intimately associated with the text. Moreover, the text, with its prayers to certain saints, is more specialized in character than the rest of the volume. This gathering probably was also made independently of the text pages of the standard Book of Hours, and was incorporated to adapt it to the use of a specific owner.

Documents published by W. J. Weale in 1865,[3] and discussed by Farquhar above, indicate that in fifteenth-century Bruges, single leaf miniatures were sold as well as complete manuscripts. But these unbound folios, which would be combined with text pages from another source, had to be marked with a sign that the painter registered with the painters' guild. The implication is that each sign is a trademark, unique to one illuminator. This interpretation of the regulations the documents recorded may not be accurate, however; it is possible that the marks refer to the work of the border painter, and not the miniaturist. They also could have served to register the production of a workshop, or an even looser association of artists,

rather than a single painter.

Walters 239 gives an opportunity to test these possibilities. If the marks referred to the miniaturist, all the miniatures in Walters 239 would be by the same hand, since the same stamp appears on each. However, since the style of the miniatures varies considerably, this assumption cannot be accepted uncritically. The range of painting style and handling raises the possibility that more than one artist contributed miniatures to Walters 239, and that the marks are either those of a workshop or the border decorator.

This study will help clarify these questions. It presents a close examination of this manuscript that supports the idea that the stamps certify the work of a single painter. The study will suggest reasons for one painter's style taking substantially different forms.

Relationship of the marks to the border painter

As Farquhar has established, the borders in the Walters Book of Hours were painted by two different artists, each working with a distinctive decorative formula. On the illustrated pages the border decorator laid out the vines on the page in a loose, airy pattern. The border painter for the text pages arranged the vines more densely on the page.

Since one border painter's work, that on the illustrated pages, is always associated with marked pages, there is a possibility that these stamps refer to him. All the marked pages were closely examined with a stereomicroscope to determine whether the marks or the borders were put on the page first. If the marks are the trademark of the miniaturist, one might assume that the border painter would receive the illustrated pages already stamped before he added his decoration. On the sparsely decorated inner borders of the illuminated pages the only details are three tufts of vine decoration, with a cluster of three tiny penwork circles in the space between each. The stamps appear in open spaces in these inner borders. Even when more than one stamp appears on a page, they almost never coincide with the ink of the border decoration. The care with which they seem to have been fitted into the pattern implies that they were intended to be seen in the finished manuscript.

In only three miniatures does a stamped mark lie close to the ink or paint of the border decoration. Though the transparency of the medium in the stamps precludes certainty, the ink of the border decoration surrounding the Crucifixion, the Mass for the Dead, and the Massacre of the Innocents seems to cross over the marks. On other folios, where the mark's placement should have overlapped with the cluster of three tiny circles, that detail was placed off-center, as if to avoid the stamp (St. Margaret, fig. 2), or the motif does not appear on the page at all (Presentation in the Temple, fig. 9). In the Massacre of the Innocents the lowest of the three marks is against the edge of the illumination itself, and appears to lie over the black paint framing the miniature. This stamp falls where one of the clusters of three tiny circles would be expected, and close examination shows only traces of that detail. The ink has almost entirely flaked away in that one location, most likely because of poor adhesion to the slick surface of the medium used for the stamp.

These observations suggest that folios were stamped after the miniatures were completed; they were already in place when the border painter began his work, and he took care not to obscure them. Though it is conceivable that the border painter first stamped his trademark on the page, then fitted his border decoration around it, common sense strongly implies that the stamps register the authorship of the miniatures, and not that of the border.

Iconographic and Compositional Sources

This discussion, however, does not clarify whether this type of stamp served as the trademark of individual painters, or of groups of artists. Walters 239 gives further evidence on this issue; though all the illustrated pages are stamped with the same mark, their handling is varied. In considering their authorship, this writer looked not only for evidence of different hands, evidence that might associate the different manners of the illustrations with personal styles, but for an alternative explanation that could account for considerable variations in style within the work of one painter. A survey of the compositional and iconographic sources of Walters 239 suggested an explanation.

An overview of earlier manuscript sources and related contemporary manuscripts shows that the miniatures in 239 fall into two groups. The majority relate most closely to Flemish manuscripts associated with the so-called Gold Scrolls group. Several of the related manuscripts also have stamped illuminations, suggesting perhaps that they were made in the same area, meeting the same requirements. Using liturgical and heraldic evidence, as well as stylistic and codicological analysis, J. D. Farquhar has presented evidence that Walters 239 was probably executed and illustrated

in Bruges between 1450 and 1462. This group of miniatures, then, is associated with a dominant style in the area of the manuscript's origin. The other group of miniatures derives closely from French prototypes from the Limbourg circle at the early part of the century.

The associations between the Walters Book of Hours and these various groups of related manuscripts are not equally close. The artist, or artists, were probably working from pattern books, or collections of patterns copied from other manuscripts. In the case of the Limbourg prototypes, the Walters miniatures follow the source in almost every detail, implying a great fidelity in the pattern to the model. In the case of the Gold Scrolls associations, as is typical for manuscripts from this circle, the miniatures in Walters 239 share a greater or lesser number of details with miniatures in related manuscripts, but rarely can be considered exact copies. For these images, various artists' collections of patterns must have combined individual details from a great number of sources. The resulting illustrations combine elements in a bewildering range of permutations.

Interestingly, miniatures from both groups also show parallels with certain scenes in a group of Dutch manuscripts from around 1440 that are illustrated with grisailles,[4] a connection that has not been widely recognized. The fact that the Grisaille group, though very different in style and handling, shows parallels with both Gold Scrolls and Limbourg manuscripts suggests that Dutch artists, like their Flemish counterparts, were basing their images on collections of patterns and, in fact, shared many of the same sources.

Contemporary Flemish Manuscripts

Three miniatures, the Crucifixion (fig. 5), the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 8), and the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 9), show numerous parallels with both Gold Scrolls group manuscripts and with manuscripts from the Grisaille group. In several manuscripts two or all three of these subjects can be associated with the Walters 239 miniatures.

The figures in the Crucifixion miniature of Walters 239 (fig. 5) are hieratically grouped in a traditional composition, Christ on the cross on a slight rise of ground, the Virgin to his right and John to his left. Though the great majority of Flemish manuscripts from this period closely follows this format, slight variations can be used to link different manuscripts.

Three manuscripts share most of 239's details: Chicago, Newberry Library Ms. 56 (fig. 38); London, Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. Reid 32 (fig. 39);[5] and Wigan, Upholland College Ms. 106 (fig. 20). Of these, the composition of the Crucifixion in Newberry 56 is the most similar. The Virgin turns away, arms crossed, and John rests his cheek on one hand. In Upholland 106 the figure of Christ is strikingly similar in posture to 239, and it corresponds to 239 down to details like the isolated strands of hair drawn out on the shoulder on the right, and the slight break in the contour of the arm which indicates the transition from upper arm to elbow. From the photographs available, it seems that the handling, as well, in the faces of Upholland 106 is very close to that in the faces in 239's Crucifixion. Reid 32, a Dutch manuscript from the Grisaille group, has a similar composition despite the very different style and handling.

In four other manuscripts the Crucifixion shows associations with 239 in certain figures: Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274 (fig. 40); Baltimore, Walters 173 (fig. 41); Rennes, Ms. 31 (fig. 42); and Oxford, Bodleian, Canon Liturg. 17 (fig. 43).[6] Christ's position is similar to 239 in all four. In each the Virgin or John shares with 239 details such as the position of the hands or attitude of the head although not corresponding exactly through the entire figure.

The Adoration of the Magi in Walters 239 (fig. 8) presents a curiously disjointed quality. In part this is due to the tile floor, which is represented straight-on with no recession, and the problematic perspective of the bed, which seems to tip toward the viewer. But more than this, the figures in the miniature have a somewhat uneasy relationship, as though they had been assembled from a variety of sources. A review of French manuscript painting in the early years of the century shows that elements of this miniature can be separated, and seem to be based on patterns that may originally stem from two different models.

The seated figures of Joseph and the Virgin seem to be based on a pattern that derives (through the medium of many intermediate copies) from the Nativity miniature in the *Belles Heures* (fig. 44).[7] The massive figure of the Limbourg Virgin, holding the Child looking over his shoulder, has been lifted from the ground to a more regal couch without substantial changes in her position. Joseph is still at the lower left and preserves the exact gesture of the prototype, left hand propping up his pensive head, right hand resting on his knee. His squat form, however, has more in common with the slightly later figure from the Egerton workshop (British Museum, Egerton 1070; fig. 44).[8] The figures of Joseph, Mary and the Child probably depend on intermediate models that preserved Joseph's gesture with the squatter form.

The group of the three kings uses a triangular placement of the figures where the two younger kings stand behind the older man who kneels. This arrangement, which is repeatedly used in contemporary manuscripts, seems based on a pattern whose lineage may depend on the Adoration in the *Boucicaut Hours* (fig. 46).[9] Two manuscripts with this arrangement can be mentioned: London, Sotheby's, 22 June, 1982, lot 82 (fig. 23), and Liège, Wittert 17 (fig. 47). In both these manuscripts the Virgin sits on a diagonally-placed couch as she does in 239. And as she does in 239, the Virgin floats on the couch, her figure locked in the position of the *Belles Heures* prototype. Interestingly, Sotheby's lot 82 uses a landscape background very like Walters 239, with abstract hills shaded on the right side with fine parallel lines.

None of these related miniatures, however, include the seated figure of Joseph that in Walters 239 seems to echo the *Belles Heures.* In the Dutch Grisaille group, at least four manuscripts illustrate the Adoration of the Magi with almost identical scenes preserving the composition of the three magi standing and kneeling around the seated Virgin and Child. Reid 32 (fig. 48) is typical of the group.[10] In each, however, Joseph is seated on the ground at the lower left, as he is in 239. Beyond this, the Grisaille group miniatures vary from the Walters: in each Joseph looks up at the kings, and holds a small casket on his knees. The similarity of placement, however, implies that both the Walters 239 artist and the Grisaille group depend on an intermediate prototype preserving this aspect of the *Belles Heures* composition.

The Presentation in the Temple in Walters 239 (fig. 9) shares a number of features with two Gold Scrolls manuscripts: Rennes, Ms. 31 (fig. 49), and London, Sotheby's, 22 June, 1982, lot 82 (fig. 24). Rennes 31 shares not only the general composition, but a number of details: the attendant's footed basket, something of the Virgin's drapery pattern, and the altarcloths, with one hanging loosely in the long direction and two small fringed panels hanging down in front. Although the Presentation is the only miniature in Walters 239 with a true "gold scroll" background, the background in Rennes 31 is a tile pattern above a dado not unlike that in many of the 239 miniatures. Sotheby's lot 82 uses the composition in reverse. The miniature has in common with Walters 239 details like the priest's forked beard and the footed basket and uses a tile floor like 239's.

In the Grisaille group at least three manuscripts use a composition in the Circumcision that is somewhat related to 239's Presentation. As is usual with this group, the compositions are almost identical from one manuscript to the next; the Circumcision in Reid 32 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) (fig. 50) is typical.[11] In these manuscripts the orientation of the Virgin at the lower left and the priests at the upper right, behind the altar, is similar to that in the Walters Book of Hours. Another manuscript central to the Gold Scrolls group, Brussels 9798, also uses this composition in the Presentation miniature (fig. 51) and may, in fact, have been the source of this image for the Grisaille group.[12] The relationship here is much closer, including shared drapery patterns, though the figures in 9798 are oriented on one level, unlike 239 and the Grisaille group.

The Crucifixion, Adoration, and Presentation miniatures in Walters 239 form a group within the manuscript since a survey of their compositional sources suggests that a number of manuscripts have close relationships to at least two of these compositions. At least two Flemish manuscripts of the Gold Scrolls group (Rennes 31; Sotheby's lot 82) and three Dutch manuscripts from the Grisaille group (Reid 32; Leiden B.P.L. 224; Douce 248) are closely related to more than one miniature.

None of these relationships are close enough to suggest that one served as a direct model for another. Instead, the assumption must be that the artists based these miniatures on the same or similar patterns, though other miniatures in these manuscripts have few features in common.

Only in the Crucifixion miniature in Walters 239 can we consider direct influence of another manuscript. In the case of Newberry 56 the Crucifixion miniature is very close to the 239 composition, though the body type varies and the miniature as a whole is more detailed. Even closer is the Crucifixion in Upholland 106. Though the positions of Mary and John have been slightly altered, the handling and the details in the faces and Christ's figure are so closely allied to 239 that direct influence is a possibility. Both of these manuscripts are associated with the Dutch Otto van Moerdrecht group. Along with the existence of patterns shared by Walters 239 and the Grisaille group, this reemphasizes the interchange that must have existed between artists in the northern and southern Netherlands. The extent of this interchange is still an open question that deserves further research.

Although they are less frequently illustrated in Books of Hours, the St. Sebastian (fig. 3) and St. Anthony (fig. 4) pages have compositional parallels with the same subject in at least three other manuscripts. Similar compositions to the St. Sebastian appear in: Douai, Ms. 179 (fig. 52) and Bruges, Museum van de Potterie, O.P.5.1. (fig. 54). Related St.

Anthony miniatures appear in: Douai, Ms. 179 (fig. 53); Liège, Wittert 17 (fig. 55); and Baltimore, Walters 165 (fig. 56). Interestingly, Douai 179 uses both subjects in compositions that are related to Walters 239, though their style is considerably more elegant. Walters 239's St. Sebastian stands against a sapling, his arms tied behind his back. He has already been struck by three arrows, but waits patiently while two soldiers at the left fit more arrows to their bows. The composition in Douai 179 is more graceful and the gestures more finely observed than in 239, but the plans of the two compositions are similar.

In much the same way, the Douai 179 St. Anthony is more elegant than the image in Walters 239, but similar in layout. St. Anthony stands in a rocky landscape with his staff in his left hand and a book in his right, gathering his cloak across himself. Behind him stand his two pigs, one sniffing the air. In 239, the pigs, one of them still sniffing the air, have been grouped together to the left of St. Anthony. The saint looks beyond his book instead of reading it, and his staff has been transformed into a blunt walking stick. Notwithstanding these differences, most other details reflect the more sophisticated Douai 179, down to the halo rendered as a burst of radiance behind the saint's head.

Two manuscripts with St. Anthony miniatures, Wittert 17, from the Gold Scrolls group, and Walters 165, from the Grisaille group, are most closely linked to each other. Like Bruges O.P.5.1.'s St. Sebastian, Wittert 17 does share the arch-topped format, which encloses a small block of text, used in the Walters miniatures. As in other cases of compositional relationships between Gold Scrolls and Grisaille manuscripts, the styles appear to have nothing in common. The compositions, however, are consistent in so many details (the positions of the saint and the pig, the saint's bell, book, and staff) that they must depend either directly on each other, or, more likely, must have been based on very similar images in their artists' collections of patterns. Even the simplified drapery patterns in the Gold Scrolls manuscript follow the same pattern as the Grisaille.

Walters 239's closest association with these manuscripts is to the single pig who curls around the saint from behind. The painter of 239 reversed the pig to stand on the saint's left. Otherwise the animal is almost a replica of the Gold Scrolls pig, with his upturned snout and the crest running down his back. As in other associations within the Gold Scrolls group, the artists must have worked from patterns that recombined details from a number of sources rather than replicating compositions in their entirety, or they may have improvised on the patterns as they devised their compositions. In this case the sniffing pig seems to be the only element in the 239 artist's pattern book that appeared in the models for the St. Anthony miniatures in Wittert 17 and Walters 165.

In the remaining group of miniatures in Walters 239 that have associations with the Gold Scrolls group of manuscripts, the parallels are less frequent and less direct than in the illustrations discussed so far. These compositions can also be traced to French sources, but they seem to be iconographic ideas that were not adopted in the north as widely as, for example, the Boucicaut Adoration.

The Massacre of the Innocents in Walters 239 uses an unusually gruesome image in which a soldier presents Herod with a single infant, holding up the tiny child skewered on his sword. No mother is present at this massacre. Four contemporary Flemish manuscripts have been found that illustrate this episode with the killing of a single child: London, Sotheby's lot 82 (fig. 22); Liège, Wittert 17 (fig. 57); Besançon 50 (fig. 58); and Baltimore, Walters 173 (fig. 25 initial). In all three, as in Walters 239, Herod sits on a canopied throne holding a bared sword, his robe drawn across his lap with one side turned back to show the ermine lining. The soldier wears armor in these miniatures, though in neither is it as distinctively old-fashioned as in 239.[13] The action of the first two miniatures differs from the 239 image, but the initial of Walters 173 shares with 239 the even more unusual image of the skewered infant.

It seems likely that this unconventional rendering of the Massacre of the Innocents can be traced to the appropriation of a model which originally illustrated another episode. A French manuscript dated by Millard Meiss to 1380–85 (fig. 59)[14] illustrates the Judgment of Solomon with a cast including many of the same characters. The king sits on an architecturally enclosed throne, one of the mothers kneels before him in supplication, while an armored soldier holding the child lifts his sword. Interestingly, this soldier's armor is closer to that in 239 than to the armor in any of the other three Flemish manuscripts discussed above. The implication is that all four manuscripts share models based ultimately on a late fourteenth-century Judgment of Solomon, applying it to the quite different iconography of the Massacre of the Innocents, but that 239's pattern includes details such as the armor that most closely preserve the original image.[15]

The Coronation of the Virgin uses a balanced composition in which the Virgin sits beside God the Father rather than kneeling before him. He blesses

her with his right hand, while his left rests on the orb in his lap. Ms. 56 from the Newberry Library, Chicago, is another northern manuscript that has been found with this somewhat unusual formula (fig. 60).[16] God's gesture is of crowning the Virgin rather than one of benediction, and in his other hand he holds up the orb. The general composition, however, is quite close to 239, and the drapery patterns, though not identical, are like those in 239. Newberry 56 also includes a tile pattern rear wall above a dado. Though something of a variation on the setting of 239's Coronation, this interior appears in several other 239 miniatures.

More than any other miniature in Walters 239, the Mass for the Dead (fig. 12) has a pieced-together quality, with figures which seem only imperfectly related to one another. The naked corpse lies awkwardly on the floor, rather than on a bier as respect would dictate. Three figures wearing two different designs of mourning costume stand behind the body, and behind them stand an older man and two women, each of whom seems somewhat out of scale with the others. This implies a patchwork use of diverse models that seems to be supported by an examination of the miniature's compositional sources.

The spidery, grinning corpse is very like figures from the Rohan workshop (fig. 61). Though the figure lies on a flat floor, its posture, with legs bent at the knees and one arm hanging free, suggests a source in a Pietà (fig. 62). Indeed, Rohan workshop representations of the Mass for the Dead seem to borrow this posture from the Pietà (fig. 63).

The figure of the mourner on the right, whose coarse face is represented in profile, is a general type that is also seen in the Rohan workshop, but his gesture of two fists held up in front of his chest is hard to explain. A more direct parallel can be found in the Boucicaut workshop. In the Funeral Service of the *Boucicaut Hours* (fig. 64),[17] the face of the mourner on the far left is a mirror image of the profile in 239. Moreover, the Boucicaut mourners carry long tapers; the gesture of the figure in 239 is extremely close to the hands of the Boucicaut figure, though in 239 the taper has disappeared. This "misunderstood detail," which is still effective as a gesture of mourning, and the difference in costume suggest that the figure in 239 was based on a source at several steps removed from the original.

The other mourners wear old-fashioned costumes[18] that seem to be unusual in Flemish manuscripts of this period; the costume has a headdress with a rolled band, full sleeves gathered into a cuff, and an over-tunic with split sides. Two Flemish manuscripts have mourners wearing costumes including similar headdresses and full sleeves, implying that they, too, were painted using somewhat out-of-date patterns that may be related to those of Walters 239: Berkeley Heights, N.J., Laurence Schoenberg Collection (fig. 65), and Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274 (fig. 66). In the Schoenberg manuscript the costumes are most similar to 239, including an over-tunic with split sides.

The remaining three figures are common Gold Scrolls figure types. The older man relates to other figures within Walters 239, such as the St. Anthony. The two women have typically bland and generalized faces. The Mass for the Dead in Ste.-Geneviève 1274 shares 239's disconcerting combination of coarse-faced mourners depicted in profile, whose models must lie in earlier French miniatures, with smooth-faced Gold Scrolls figures. Its tile background also includes a motif of descending rays of light, which appears in the Crucifixion background in 239.

These miniatures from Walters 239 share numerous compositional features with the miniatures of the same subjects in the Flemish and Dutch manuscripts discussed above. Often in these same miniatures they also share elements in the handling of the landscapes or the decoration of the interiors, many of which have been pointed out. A few other miniatures, however, should be mentioned as well. Though these illuminations represent subjects that do not appear in Walters 239, or use compositions essentially unrelated to that manuscript, they use background elements that are closely related. This implies that even though these miniatures are not based on the same patterns as Walters 239's, there is a link between the artists in shared decorative conventions: Wigan, Upholland College Ms. 106 (fig. 67); Paris, Bibliothèque Ste.-Geneviève, Ms. 1274 (fig. 68); and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Ms. 1055–1975 (fig. 69, 70). In the Annunciation of Upholland 106 the background motif of falling rays of light, which appears in the Crucifixion in that manuscript, is used as a wall pattern above a dado. In combination with a tile floor like that in many of the 239 miniatures, this makes an interior very like 239's St. Margaret (fig. 2), or the Mass for the Dead (fig. 12). Ste.-Geneviève 1274 shows a number of parallels with miniatures in 239, but in the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, a subject that does not appear in 239, the handling of the landscape is most markedly similar to 239's St. Anthony (fig. 4). The hills here, though textured in a grooved pattern, slant to the right and are shaped with the fine parallel lines that form the hills in 239. The stream, with its scalloped edges also defined by fine parallel lines and the curved lines suggesting ripples, is very like the stream beside the

saint. Fitzwilliam 1055–1975 is a manuscript for which no direct compositional parallels with Walters 239 have been found. This manuscript does, however, share significant interior details with 239. A tile floor of 239's type appears in the Mass for the Dead and the Man of Sorrows, which uses a gold scroll pattern background, and has a cloth with a pattern made of initials, much like the altarcloth in the Presentation of 239.

Tracing the original sources of these features is beyond the scope of this paper, but one somewhat earlier manuscript has been found in which a number of the motifs appear. This manuscript may provide a starting point in the search for these motifs in an earlier generation of miniaturists. Walters 170 has been dated to approximately 1425 by Dorothy Miner.[19] The Entombment uses a tile floor with the pattern of Walters 239 (fig. 71). The rear wall here is a "tile" pattern quite like that appearing in several of the 239 miniatures. The denser pattern of the background in the earlier manuscript recalls the diapered backgrounds in French manuscripts of the previous century that probably were the source for this motif. Elsewhere in Walters 170, the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 72) uses a rudimentary gold scroll pattern background, a motif that also looks back to earlier French manuscripts. By mid-century this had been developed into the ubiquitous element for which the Gold Scrolls group is named.

Influence of the Limbourg School

The remaining miniatures in Walters 239 do not relate to Flemish manuscripts in the Gold Scrolls group. Three are clearly based on two illuminations in a Limbourg school Book of Hours formerly in the Seilern Collection, London. These associations are far closer than the associations between 239 miniatures and manuscripts in the Gold Scrolls group which have been discussed until now. The Gold Scrolls associations suggest a variety of shared patterns with greater or lesser fidelity to the earlier sources. Various artists' collections of these patterns introduced variations so that similarities occur in some miniatures but not in others, or in only some details within the miniatures. It seems likely, too, that some artists may have improvised, using their pattern book sources as a starting point for their compositions.[20] The miniatures based on the Seilern Hours are so close as to suggest that they were based on a very faithful pattern that copied the original in virtually every detail.

Though the majority of the Seilern miniatures are so closely based on Limbourg sources that they must have been executed in France in the Limbourg circle, three miniatures were completed later and are painted in a Gold Scrolls style. It seems likely that the manuscript was in Flanders when it was completed.[21] The Limbourg style miniatures could have been copied for Flemish pattern books, very possibly by the artist who painted the three later miniatures.

The Nativity in Walters 239 (fig. 6) is extremely faithful to the miniature of that subject in the *Seilern Hours* (fig. 18).[22] The Seilern Nativity is itself based on the *Très Riches Heures* (fig. 73),[23] but Walters 239 follows the Seilern miniature in virtually every variation from the Limbourg prototype. The figures of Mary, Joseph, and the Child are arranged in the same composition and their draperies follow the exact pattern of the source. The stable, filled by the large bed, is in the same orientation; the landscape includes the same lobed hill and the interlocking curved lines that indicate clefts in the foreground follow the Seilern model stroke for stroke. The 239 artist has merely simplified the composition somewhat, eliminating the group of shepherds and the ox and ass, and replacing the distant cityscape with the type of spindly trees on wavering trunks that appear in the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 8).

The elimination of the shepherds from the background of the Nativity is understandable in light of the composition of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in 239 (fig. 17). Here the painter has used a Seilern prototype, but it seems that his collection of patterns did not include the Annunciation to the Shepherds miniature from the *Seilern Hours*. Instead of copying that composition he enlarged the small background detail from the Nativity of the shepherds tending their flocks into an independent miniature. For this reason, the episode takes place in almost the same setting as the 239 Nativity, and the shepherds seem to take little notice of the single, faintly indicated angel.

The Last Judgment in Walters 239 (fig. 11), like the Nativity, is closely based on the Seilern miniature of this subject (fig. 19), though somewhat simplified. The figures of John and Mary have been eliminated. Where the Seilern miniature represents the Judged with three different half-figures as well as isolated heads emerging from star-burst breaks in the ground, only the naked figure with his back to the viewer and a number of heads have been preserved emerging from similar star-bursts. The scrollwork background has been replaced with a "tile" pattern like the backgrounds in several other 239 miniatures. Otherwise,

the parallels with the Seilern Last Judgment are exact. The figure of Christ, in the voluminous robes quite unlike most of the other miniatures in 239, has been reproduced exactly. The trumpet-blowing angels have been copied down to the detail of having each turn in the same direction. The Seilern Last Judgment combined the compositions of two illustrations for Psalms from the *Très Riches Heures* (figs. 74, 75).[24] Again, the fact that the painter of 239 was using the *Seilern Hours* as his model rather than another source based on the *Très Riches Heures* is shown by the use of changes, which were introduced by the Seilern artist, like the asymmetrical placement of the angels.

Walters 239 is not the only northern manuscript reusing the compositions of the *Seilern Hours*. Three manuscripts from the Grisaille group use a version of the Last Judgment. The illustration in Reid 32 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) (fig. 76)[25] is typical of the group. All three are closely related, and share changes from the Seilern prototype, such as the angels' straightened trumpets, the off-center placement of Christ's feet and the orb, and the addition of a male figure bending over, his hands raised to his face. But two of the three, Reid 32 and Warsaw O.v.I.3, use a figure of a woman with long hair looking up in supplication that appears in the *Seilern Hours* but not in Walters 239. These manuscripts would not appear to depend on 239 or a related manuscript as their source. Instead they show yet again that Dutch manuscripts were based on patterns that also were used by this artist. Since no other Gold Scrolls manuscripts have been found with such a link to the *Seilern Hours*, the possibility must be considered again that there was a link between the artist of Walters 239 and Dutch artistic circles.

One miniature in Walters 239 remains to be discussed. The opening illumination (fig. 1), a heraldic page showing a woman in blue who holds a delicate chain attached like a leash to a coat of arms, has no counterpart in the manuscripts that have been studied for this project.[26] Its significance is not clear, though Farquhar's article in this volume includes information on the Mailly family to which the coat of arms would appear to have belonged, and evidence for the intended owner being Antoine de Mailly, born after 1438. This page seems to be an invention for this manuscript, in which a figure based on Limbourg prototypes was turned to a new use, and placed in an interior characteristic of the Gold Scrolls-related miniatures. As Farquhar has pointed out, the figure has a fairly close prototype in the woman receiving a ring in the April calendar page from the *Très Riches Heures*(fig. 37).[27] The April figure is not unique in the Limbourg school; figures and drapery patterns appear more than once in various manuscripts. The heraldic figure could represent another fairly direct link with the *Très Riches Heures,* or could have been based on a similar figure pattern.

The iconographic and compositional sources of Walters 239 are complex. It is not yet possible to identify one artistic community whose traditions shaped this artist's imagery. The patterns of influence suggest the use of compositional models from many sources. It seems unlikely that a manuscript will be found that shares all these models, but many of the related manuscripts have miniatures paralleling at least two or three of the compositions in Walters 239.

Though the Limbourg school is the major influence on three of the miniatures, the range of sources used in Walters 239 is the more difficult to establish when considering the related Flemish manuscripts. Since 239 was apparently made in Flanders, the artist was probably working in the same town as the painters of many of these manuscripts, and near many more.

Inevitably numerous versions of any one composition must have circulated. Some were probably quite accurate to the manuscript that originated the composition, and others, at several removes from the source, were less so. Of the manuscripts related to any one composition in Walters 239 some may be drawing on the same pattern book version of the compositional model; others may vary more, being based on copies after copies of the composition; others may share only a detail or two appropriated for inclusion in another version of the scene.

Some loose groupings of the Flemish sources within the Gold Scrolls group can be established, however. Several Dutch-influenced manuscripts from the Otto van Moerdrecht group are related to the composition of the Walters 239 Crucifixion. These include Upholland 106 and Oxford Canon Liturg. 17, both of which include stamped folios, and Newberry 56. A number of other Gold Scrolls manuscripts have several parallels with compositions in 239. These include Wittert 17, Rennes 31, Sotheby's lot 82 (another stamped manuscript), and Ste.-Geneviève 1274. Finally, a more refined Gold Scrolls manuscript, Douai 179, can be related to two of the 239 miniatures.

These manuscripts share more than iconographic elements with Walters 239. Almost all include the unusual interior details used in 239. Tile floors and dados below tile-patterned rear walls appear in almost all these Gold Scrolls manuscripts. Several include the even more uncommon use of initials in patterns on walls or fabrics, or use similar landscapes.

Many manuscripts in the Grisaille group also show parallels with Walters 239, particularly in the miniatures of the Adoration, the Presentation in the Temple, and the Last Judgment. The large number of parallels is probably due to the fact that the manuscripts in this group seem to follow their shared models with an unusual consistency. Study of all the manuscripts in this group will almost certainly find many more parallels with 239. The fact that these Dutch manuscripts from the Grisaille group appear to share compositional sources with Flemish manuscripts from the Gold Scrolls group, while also drawing on Limbourg images through the Last Judgment in the *Seilern Hours,* points out the complexity of the compositional sources available to illuminators, and may suggest relationships with Walters 239 and southern Netherlandish miniaturists that have yet to be determined.

Collections of patterns that drew on many sources must have circulated, mixing images from many manuscripts, and not always reproducing every miniature from any one manuscript.[28] Parallels can be drawn between the illustration in one manuscript and a few illustrations each in numerous other manuscripts; rarely is there a one-to-one correspondence throughout the images in a pair of volumes. The consistency of the compositions within the Grisaille group seems to be the exception, but the patterns that the group draws on are as varied in their sources as those used by Flemish artists. The miniatures in a manuscript like Walters 239 embody this eclectic approach.

Stylistic Analysis of the Miniatures

Despite the diversity of compositional sources, the miniatures in Walters 239 present a cohesive appearance in format and handling. Elements such as page layout, compositional structure, decorative formulae and some facial types are common to all the illuminations.

The layout on the page is consistent throughout the volume. All the illuminations are placed in an arch-topped space of the same size; their placement on the page allows for deep margins on the lower and outside margins. Almost all are on the verso of the folio, the recto being blank. The only exceptions are three miniatures from the gathering including the heraldic page and miniatures of specific saints that were added to tailor the manuscript for a certain owner. In the three saints' pages an illuminated initial and the start of the text were fitted into the same arch-topped space, and two of these miniatures are on the rectos of the folios. These variations reflect the latitude that could be allowed since these were unique pages. The gathering as a whole, complete with text, was prepared for the known destination of one manuscript. The other illuminations were prepared to be sold unbound, for use in any manuscript.

The illuminations share consistent decorative formulae. The palette uses characteristic colors throughout the manuscript: grayish pink, strong orange, mint green, and a deep brownish-red in some backdrops. In many miniatures gold is used as a color rather than being reserved for metallic elements like crowns, or the figure in a brocade. Throughout the manuscript the use of patterned elements reappears. Sometimes this takes the form of tile designs on backdrops; often it appears in the decorative use of initials on backdrops or as the pattern in fabric details.

Some aspects of the handling of the landscape are also consistent throughout the illuminations. The ground is indicated with green paint in a somewhat irregular wash that grows darker toward the distance. The hills are always a light beige with details added in a darker brown, and the green wash of the grass runs a little way up the base of the hills. The trees are of a few types which appear in several miniatures. All share the same basic structure. The body of the tree was first indicated in a mid-tone green, then given a three-dimensional form with darker green shading at the lower edge and, in larger trees, along the sides of clumps of leaves. The trunks and branches and yellow details of foliage in various forms were added on top of the green. Forms common to several illuminations include a large tree, which has a jagged upper edge, in the middle distance, and small umbrella-shaped trees on spindly, wavering trunks in the far distance.

The figures throughout the manuscript share many facial features. The mouths are colored red; most are down-turned. The nose is defined with a line of white down the bridge, and the tip of the nose is touched with red. Eyelids are indicated with a stroke of white paint, or in the very ruddy faces, with light pink. All the pupils are indicated with a pronounced dark dot and the whites of the eyes are reinforced with a touch of white paint beside the pupil. In most cases, though not all, the eye is further defined by a strong line above the pupil. With the exception of the Crucifixion figures, which are missing the touch of red on their mouths and the tips of their noses, every face in the manuscript shares this basic structure.

Some other elements seem to divide the miniatures into groups that can be related to the groups

already organized around the compositional sources. In a first broad division, one can distinguish common features among the three miniatures based on the *Seilern Hours* and among all the miniatures depending on Gold Scrolls group prototypes.

The Gold Scrolls-related miniatures are set in distinctive spaces. The interior settings all use an unusual tiled floor in which green bands separate light squares enclosing a smaller green or red square tile. In some interiors the tiles are laid out on a diagonal recession; in others they are drawn parallel to the borders, without perspective. These interiors also include a rear wall patterned with either initials or with a squared-off design like decorated tiles. The only variant from this formula is the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 9), which uses the more common gold scroll pattern background.

The three Gold Scrolls-influenced miniatures with landscape settings, St. Sebastian, St. Anthony, and the Adoration of the Magi (figs. 3, 4, 8), all mix naturalistic landscape with abstract elements. Abstract backdrops are used behind the landscape, or a landscape and blue sky are used behind a foreground with a green tiled floor. These miniatures also share a yellow-green tone in the wash that represents the grass. The hills are smooth-surfaced and lean to the right, their shadowed sides defined by parallel strokes of brown paint. The foreground plants are yellow; the plants in the distance are dark green.

The Seilern-influenced miniatures all have exterior settings. Though the Last Judgment (fig. 11) uses the more abstract setting called for by the iconography, the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds (figs. 6, 17) use naturalistic landscapes. Unlike the rest of the illuminations, they do not mix natural and abstract elements. In these miniatures the wash that represents the grass has a blue-green tone rather than the yellow-green in the other illuminations. As in the *Seilern Hours* (fig. 18), the hills have a lobed form; even the clumps of loose stones were copied directly from the model. In the foreground of these miniatures are yellow plants with colored flowers; in the distance the plants are all yellow, rather than the dark green used in the St. Sebastian and St. Anthony miniatures (figs. 3, 4). Variations in the topography of the earth are indicated with interlocking curved strokes of brown paint. These curves follow similar details in the Seilern model stroke for stroke.

A clear difference between the illuminations deriving from the *Seilern Hours* and those based on Gold Scrolls sources is the appearance of the drapery. In the Nativity and the Last Judgment (figs. 6, 11) the drapery follows the Seilern models (figs. 18, 19) fold for fold; the result is much lusher and more complex than the drapery in the other illuminations. In the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fig. 17) the drapery is simpler, but these figures are based on a distant element in the prototype, enlarged to full size for the scene in Walters 239. The schematic character of a minor compositional element in the original was preserved by a painter who could copy the more complex drapery patterns, but could not create new ones.

At first glance, the handling in the Seilern-influenced draperies seems different from the rest of the manuscript, the more complex pattern seeming more fully modeled. The blue draperies, especially, seem different because a greater proportion of white pigment was mixed with the blue to achieve the more complex modeling. The painter started with a fairly light blue mid-tone, and used delicate parallel strokes to model the highlights and shadows of the rounded folds in subtle gradations.

In most of the miniatures related to Gold Scrolls manuscripts, the drapery is simpler; a more limited range of values is used to render the less complex network of folds. A clear difference is in blue drapery, like the Virgin's robe in the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 9). Here the painter started with a much deeper, purer blue; the distinctions between highlights and shadows are much sharper. Close examination, however, shows that the handling is not actually very different from that in the Seilern-influenced miniatures. Though the transitions from light to dark are more abrupt, the shading is rendered in the same fine parallel strokes. The one exception to this technique is the drapery on the figures in the Crucifixion and on the rear figures in the Mass for the Dead (figs. 5, 12). Here the drapery is represented by only a dark base tone with linear shadows painted over it. There are no highlights, and no rounded folds of fabric.

Though all the faces share the common characteristics outlined above, other features, which are found only in some faces, help to separate the miniatures further into groups. Faces modeled in the round with shadows are characteristic of the Limbourg-influenced miniatures. The face of Christ in the Last Judgment is unique in the use of what seems to be a greenish underpaint that is exploited in the shadows of the modeling, though without firsthand examination of the *Seilern Hours,* one cannot say if this is typical of the model. These illuminations include several profile faces, with a characteristic aquiline nose. The nostrils are not indicated in these miniatures. Noses that are not rendered in profile end in a straight horizontal line, and mouths are also indicated by a straight line.

The Gold Scrolls faces in Walters 239 seem to divide into at least two types, which sometimes appear together in the same illumination. In one group the faces are smooth ovals, with almost no modeling to shape the structure. Some of the common features of the faces in this group include arched brows and a mouth indicated by a single line. A dot indicates the hollow of the chin below the mouth. Some of these faces have a touch of red on the chin as well as the red on the mouth and the end of the nose that appear throughout the manuscript. Not all the smooth faces include the red dot on the chin, but with the exception of the woman on the heraldic page (who is something of a hybrid) no faces of the other types have this feature. This smooth-faced group includes St. Margaret and the Virgin and Child in the Adoration. In the Presentation it includes the Virgin and Child, the female attendant and the young priest. The group also includes the Virgin in the Coronation and all the figures in the Mass for the Dead except the bearded man.

The faces in the Crucifixion seem to be a similar but separate group of smooth faces. These faces are monochrome, without the touches of red on the nose, mouth, and chin, and they have lines indicating the lower contour of the eye as well as the upper lid.

The other major facial type within the Gold Scrolls miniatures has a modeled facial structure rather than a smooth oval. In these figures the contours of the face and wrinkles are developed by blending darker and lighter flesh tones. Most of these faces have straight brows, though a few are arched. Most mouths are indicated with a straight line, but St. Anthony, the figure of God in the Coronation, and all the figures in the Massacre of the Innocents have a more completely indicated mouth, painted slightly open and showing the teeth. None of the smooth faces or the Seilern-influenced faces show this feature. Every bearded figure in the manuscript falls into this group of modeled faces. The group includes Sts. Sebastian and Anthony, the archers in the Sebastian miniature, both of the figures in the Massacre of the Innocents, all the figures in the Adoration except the Virgin and Child, the older men in the Presentation in the Temple, God in the Coronation of the Virgin, and the bearded man in the Mass for the Dead.

Two other facial features seem to be used from time to time in faces from all the groups. Occasionally a line suggesting a circle under the eye is included, and sometimes a line above the eye (independent of the eyebrow) is used to suggest the socket.

It is worth noting that though the Limbourg-influenced miniatures consistently use one facial type, the two Gold Scrolls facial types (the smooth oval faces and the more modeled faces) often appear together in the same miniature. This complicates the question of whether variations of style should be attributed to different hands or to the influence of the model.

Relationships between Styles and Compositional Sources

Clearly, compositional sources significantly influenced the style of the miniatures in Walters 239. The most obvious distinction is between the Limbourg sources, transmitted by the *Seilern Hours* or a faithful intermediary and the Flemish, mostly Gold Scrolls, sources.

The sophistication of the Seilern model is reflected in the fully modeled faces and the rich drapery of the 239 miniatures based on these compositions. Even the color of characteristic elements like the Virgin's blue robe was changed in these miniatures. This change could have been a practical one, since a dark blue robe would not afford the variation in tone needed to render the complexity of the original. It could also suggest that the pattern the 239 painter was following was not a simple line drawing. The painter could have been copying a painted model, reproducing the handling of paint as well as the image.

Within the Gold Scrolls-associated compositions there are more complex variations of style that may also be dependent on the compositional source. In some cases elements such as facial types, which seem typical of different manners of painting, are combined side by side in the same miniature. For the most part the images that combine figures of both facial types are the images that seem to draw on a variety of sources. Figures of both types seem to appear together in miniatures like the Adoration of the Magi and the Mass for the Dead, which seem to combine elements from various models. Again, this suggests the dominance of the model over the painter.

Some suggestions can be put forward on the sources of the different facial types in 239. The smooth, oval faces may have associations with Dutch-influenced manuscripts. Three Otto van Moerdrecht-style manuscripts (Newberry 56, Oxford Canon Liturg. 17, and Upholland 106) have parallels with the Crucifixion, in which the faces are a monochrome version of the smooth facial type. Some of the more fully modeled faces seem to be associated with the more refined Flemish sources. Sts. Sebastian and Anthony, for example, are closely related to Douai 179. It is very possible, however, that many of the other

manuscripts that have compositional parallels with miniatures in Walters 239 also show similar stylistic variations based on their sources. Whether or not this is a trait specific to Walters 239 cannot be resolved immediately. Without firsthand examination of many other manuscripts any judgment would be speculative.

Study of photographs does show, however, that elements from the distinctive settings of the miniatures in 239 appear in many of the manuscripts with compositional parallels. This repetition of unusual decorative formulae combined with formal iconographic similarities tends to suggest contact between the painters of these manuscripts. A patterned back wall above a dado appears in Newberry 56, Rennes 31, Sotheby's lot 82, Upholland 106, and Wittert 17. Sotheby's lot 82 and Ste.-Geneviève 1274 also have a similar treatment of landscape, with smooth slanted hills shaded by fine parallel lines.

More research is needed to be more specific in directly associating the miniatures in Walters 239 with a circle of other manuscripts. This research could address another aspect of the problem: to see how clearly the handling in related manuscripts corresponds to that in Walters 239, and whether this usually coincides with compositional similarities. This paper also has discussed only the painting of the miniatures in Walters 239. Farquhar has presented a clearer understanding of the professional activity of the other artisans involved in the preparation of the manuscript, relating the rulings, penwork initials, line fillings, and text and miniature borders to other manuscripts. Some of these associations provide supporting evidence for contact between the illuminators of 239 and the manuscripts with compositional relationships described in this paper. Douai 179 is related to the penwork and line fillings of Walters 239, and the miniature borders are related to Sotheby's lot 82 and the text borders to Ste.-Geneviève 1274. More direct links with other manuscripts on the basis of handling must be established before the complex relationship of all the artisans working on one manuscript can be described.

Evidence for the Number of Hands at Work in Walters 239

The miniatures in Walters 239 can be divided into broad groups based on their compositional sources; the miniatures within each of these groups also have distinctive stylistic features. The evidence, however, does not seem to support different hands being responsible for these different groups of miniatures. The internal evidence suggests that one person painted all the miniatures in 239.

Close examination suggests that the handling of the paint is consistent throughout the manuscript. The drapery is shaped with fine parallel strokes, whether it follows the simple schematic pattern of the Gold Scrolls miniatures, or the lush complex drapery in the miniatures based on the *Seilern Hours*. The handling of foliage is consistent, though details are varied from tree to tree, even in the same miniature. The wash painting of the grass and the hills is the same throughout. Though the faces vary in some details they all seem to be based on a thinly painted flesh tone that exploits the color of the parchment in passages like the hollow of the eyes. Contours of flesh tones throughout the manuscript are indicated with a thin, semitransparent brown paint. Individual details such as the touch of white indicating the white of the eye may be more or less heavily applied, but this variation seems to be random. It does not seem to coincide with any of the variations in facial type, or style, that have been identified. One face only, that of God in the Coronation of the Virgin, seems more heavily painted. In one other miniature, the Massacre of the Innocents, the flesh tones are ruddier than usual, including a higher proportion of coarse red pigment than in other miniatures. These variations, though, seem plausible within the working practice of one painter over some days.

A considerable number of features appear throughout the manuscript without regard for the compositional prototype. Some features do not appear in just one group or the other. These stylistic elements appear in both the Gold Scrolls and the Limbourg-influenced miniatures; they can be taken to be characteristic of the painter rather than his models.

Some of these more personal characteristics were allowed to creep into the Seilern images when the artist simplified the prototypes. When the painter eliminated the distant cityscape from the Nativity and the Annunciation to the Shepherds he replaced it with characteristic slender umbrella-like trees on wavering trunks like those in the Adoration of the Magi. In the same two illuminations based on the *Seilern Hours* the grass is represented by a loose wash like that in the Gold Scrolls miniatures. Though many compositional features have been reproduced exactly, the painter did not copy the fine strokes that build the grass in the Seilern miniatures. The gold scroll pattern background of the Seilern Last Judgment was replaced in Walters 239 with a tile pattern background. This design, painted alternately in white and

red, is exactly the same as one of the two motifs decorating the tile in the background of the St. Margaret miniature, one of the Gold Scrolls group. Even the characteristic "handwriting" of this element is the same in the two miniatures. The detail is an incomplete circle with three prongs extending off the top and the two sides. More often than not in both miniatures the side prongs point slightly upwards.

On the other hand, some Limbourg details appear in miniatures associated with the Gold Scrolls group, suggesting that the painter adopted details from these models into his general repertoire. The interlocking curves of brown used to define contours in the earth were copied stroke for stroke from the Seilern prototype in 239's Nativity. The same curves define the edge of the stream in the St. Anthony miniature, and appear in the foreground of the Crucifixion.

The heraldic miniature seems to be an invention for this manuscript, and here the painter drew on both traditions, setting down a figure derived from the Limbourg school in the characteristic interior of the Gold Scrolls-influenced miniatures.

Some common features cannot be clearly traced to one or the other group. In both Gold Scrolls and Limbourg-influenced landscapes the green wash of the grass overlaps the base of the hills in the same way, though the hills themselves are handled differently in the two groups. With the exception of the Crucifixion and some of the figures in the Mass for the Dead, where the drapery is essentially unmodeled, all the drapery is painted in the same way; fine parallel strokes model the folds. The different appearance of the Limbourg-style drapery is due to the different style of the model; the painting method is the same as in the simpler Gold Scrolls draperies.

Conclusions

The diverse influences on this artist included contemporary Flemish manuscripts, some of which brought with them Dutch influences, and an earlier manuscript of the Limbourg circle, the *Seilern Hours.* The style of the compositional model had a considerable influence on the style of each of the Walters 239 miniatures. It was reflected in the degree to which the faces were characterized and the complexity of the modeling of the drapery.

These influences, however, must be seen within the context of a single artist. This painter had his own repertoire of distinctive motifs: tile floors, letter backgrounds, and smoothly formed hills. All his figures' faces had a standard structure within which stylistic variations appeared. Close examination shows that the handling of paint is consistent even in seemingly different styles. His unusual palette, with grayish pinks and light greens, appears throughout the manuscript: the single variation is a simple admixture of white to the blue draperies to yield the full range of modeling in the Seilern prototype.

It appears that the marks that are found stamped in the margins of the illuminated folios in Walters 239 refer to the painter of the miniatures, not to the border painter or to a general workshop. Though no other manuscripts have been attributed yet to this artist, the painter of Walters 239 is a strong and recognizable artistic personality.

NOTES

1. F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts,* (Leipzig, 1925), rev. ed. Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries,* (Amsterdam, 1987) pp. 27–31.

2. J. D. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation: The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator,* (Ft. Lauderdale, Fla., 1976; hereafter, Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation),* introduces this issue, and considers it in some depth. The first draft of this article was prepared for a seminar conducted by Dr. Farquhar. I am grateful for access to his exhaustive photographic files of fifteenth-century Flemish manuscripts, and for his invaluable comments throughout the preparation of the article. The photographs in this article are reproduced through the courtesy of their owners except where noted.

3. W. J. Weale, "Documents inédits sur les enlumineurs de Bruges," *Le Beffroi,* 2 (1864–65), 298–319, cited by J. D. Farquhar, "Identity in an Anonymous Age: Bruges Manuscript Illuminators and Their Signs," *Viator,* 11 (1980), 371.

4. G. K. Fiero, "Geertgen tot Sint Jans and the Dutch Manuscript Tradition," *Oud Holland,* 96 (1982), 61–68.

5. Photographs of Victoria and Albert Museum, Ms. Reid 32 are reproduced through the courtesy of the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.

6. O. Pächt and J. J. G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. Vol. I: German, Dutch, Flemish, French, and Spanish Schools* (Oxford, 1966), 16, pl. XV (hereafter, Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts).*

7. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, Purchase, 1954, (54.1.1), f. 48v. See M. Meiss with S. O. D. Smith and E. H. Beatson, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries,* 2 vols., (New York, 1974), 331–36, fig. 333 (hereafter, Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs).*

8. *Ibid.,* 328–29, fig. 334.

9. M. Meiss with K. Morand and E. W. Kirsh, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), 131–33, fig. 33 (hereafter, Meiss, *French Painting: Boucicaut).*

10. Very similar miniatures appear in Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek, Ms. B.P.L. folio 82v (see A. W. Byvanck, trans. A. Haye, *La miniature dans les pays-bas septentrionaux* [Paris, 1937], 142–43, pl. LV, [hereafter, Byvanck, *La miniature*]); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 248, folio 109v (see A. W. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen in Handschriften de 14de, 15de, en 16de Eeuwen verzameld en beschreven,* 3 vols., (The Hague, 1922–26), 24, pl. 8B [hereafter, Byvanck and Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche*

Miniaturen]); and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 500, folio 48v (see *ibid.*, 24, pl. 207 B).

11. Very similar miniatures appear in: Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek, Ms. B.P.L. 224, folio 79v (see Byvanck, *La miniature,* 142–43, pl. LV); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 248 (see Pächt and Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts,* I, 17, pl. XVI).

12. Kathleen Pedersen Knutsen brought to my attention the connections between compositions in the Grisaille group manuscripts and Brussels Ms. 9798.

13. Personal communication, J. D. Farquhar.

14. M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke,* 2 vols., (London, 1967), 315, fig. 611 (hereafter, Meiss, *French Painting: Fourteenth).*

15. Another link between the four manuscripts is the similar setting, with a rear wall that has a dado with a patterned expanse above. In this miniature, 239 uses a pattern alternating the letters *L* and *A* and Sotheby's lot 82 and Wittert 17 use tile patterns similar to those in other 239 miniatures. In addition, Sotheby's lot 82 uses a tiled floor like 239's.

16. The common features in these miniatures seem to stem from late fourteenth-century French prototypes in the work of the Brussels Initial Master (see *The Coronation of the Virgin,* Cleveland, Museum of Art, *Hours of Charles le Noble,* p. 191. Meiss, *French Painting: Fourteenth,* 323–24, fig. 772). Meiss has established that this painter was Italian (*ibid.,* 214). He brought an Italian monumentality to this composition while amending certain details, such as the orb that replaced a scepter, to suit French usage (*ibid.,* 238). Only a few Flemish painters, the artist of 239 amoung them, seem to have adopted this composition.

17. Photograph courtesy of Bulloz. See M. Meiss, *French Painting: Boucicaut,* 131–33, fig. 41.

18. Personal communication, J. D. Farquhar.

19. This manuscript is dated to approximately 1425 by Dorothy Miner in a note in the curatorial files of The Walters Art Gallery.

20. I am grateful to Dr. Farquhar for this observation.

21. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation,* 46–48.

22. R. Schilling, "A Book of Hours from the Limbourg Atelier," *Burlington Magazine,* 80/81 (1942), 194–197.

23. Photograph courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y. See Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs,* 308–324, fig. 569.

24. Photograph courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y. See *ibid.,* 308–324, figs. 555–65.

25. Byvanck and G. J. Hoogewerff, *Noord-Nederlandsche Miniaturen,* 25–6, pl. 47B. Very similar illustrations appear in Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa, Ms. O.v.I.3., folio 77v and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 74 G 35, folio 59v (see *ibid.,* 24, pl. 46B).

26. It has been suggested that this page was reworked early in the manuscript's history. This alteration could have changed an earlier coat of arms to the one appearing today, or it could have changed a more traditional iconography into the present unusual heraldic emblem by adding the coat of arms to an existing miniature. Close microscopic examination has not provided conclusive evidence of any changes. No paint of any other color can be seen below the present paint layers and there is no clear evidence of parts of an earlier design having been scraped away. Likewise infrared reflectography of the recto and verso of the folio in both reflected and transmitted light shows no sign of a hidden or effaced image. The areas of thinner black paint above the woman's hand and around her head that can be seen by transmitted light are very likely evidence of the background paint having been applied around the contour of the figure. A similar pattern can be seen in the green wash above Joseph's head in the Adoration. The black paint was applied after the woman had been painted in, but before the final details of her hair had been applied. Comparison with other miniatures shows that some backgrounds were painted before the figures, and others after. It may be that the sequence depends more on color than on compositional constraints. Black areas in most miniatures seem to have been applied after adjacent colors.

27. Photograph courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y. See Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs,* 308–324, fig. 542.

28. Ernst Kitzinger presents evidence for such a transmission of images in "Norman Sicily as a Source of Byzantine Influence on Western Art in the Twelfth Century," *Byzantine Art: An European Art, Lectures, 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe,* Athens, Office of the Minister to the Prime Minister, 139–141. Cited in Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation,* 175, note 6.

Paintings by Boucher in The Walters Art Gallery

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The Walters Art Gallery has from its inception housed a pair of oval paintings (figs. 1, 2) both signed by François Boucher and dated 1769.[1] These paintings were acquired by Henry Walters from the New York dealer Eugene Glaenzer in 1913 and have been frequently exhibited and published since then.[2] Most recently Ananoff, who groups them as pendants, published them as *Le goûter champêtre* and *Pêcheur accompagné d'une femme,* and identified them as the pair of paintings in the sale of the collection of the *receveur général* Bergeret on 24 April 1786. In that sale, the two works in lot 66 were described as:

> Deux paysages; On voit sur le devant du premier une femme accompagnée de deux enfans dont un sur ses genoux. L'on remarque sur le premier plan du second, un pêcheur accompagné d'une femme qui tient un panier dans lequel il y a du poisson. Des masses et groups d'arbres terminent les fonds.[3]

This description deviates from the paintings in the Walters in one detail, namely that there are no fish to be seen in the basket. Such a minor discrepancy might not seem of importance were it not also that visually this pair of paintings seems mismatched. In all of Boucher's other pendant paintings, especially the oval pastoral scenes, the scale of the figures in each of the pendants is balanced,[4] but here the mother, children, and dog in the first are of such prominence as to become the chief subject. In the other painting, however, the fisherman and the woman are small in scale and subordinate to the landscape. This is different not only from the supposed pendant but also from the relationship that exists in a related drawing of the same subject (fig. 3).[5]

Even the subject matter in the paintings is not balanced. The large, lively children also employed in such contemporary works as the oval *Virgin and Child* or the *Petit alchimiste*[6] are quite different from the fisherman and girl, who are characteristic of the many scenes of adult pastoral activities. This observation is not made to cast aspersions on either work, but to draw attention to their disparity. Whether or not they are the pair that appeared in the Bergeret sale, they do not seem to have been painted as pendants, but rather to have been joined at some later time.

In addition to these two well-known pastorals, the Walters Art Gallery possesses a third painting by Boucher which is here published for the first time.[7] There are no surviving records of its acquisition, but it was probably part of the Massarenti collection which Henry Walters purchased in Rome in 1902. The catalogue of this collection, compiled in a rather haphazard manner by van Esbroeck, included a *Sujet mythologique* by Boucher measuring 38 × 47 cm.[8] The work under examination, which is actually a pastoral subject, measures 37 × 46 cm. After languishing in storage as "Follower of Boucher" for many years, the painting was recently cleaned in the museum's Department of Conservation and Technical Research.[9] Removal of the old, discolored varnish revealed a work of remarkable brilliance (fig. 4).

This painting seems to be the best surviving version of a composition known from an etching after it by Louis Michel Halbout as *Les enfans du fermier* (fig. 5).[10] Ananoff, who was unaware of The Walters' painting, reproduced as "number two" in his catalogue raisonné of Boucher's paintings another version of this subject which was in a gallery in Vienna in 1897 (fig. 6).[11] Alastair Laing[12] has called attention to yet another, somewhat more cropped version that was sold as a Watteau in New York in 1951.[13] Both these

Fig. 1. François Boucher, *Mother and Children in a Landscape,* oil on canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.838.

Fig. 2. François Boucher, *Fisherman with a Young Woman,* oil on canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.839.

Fig. 3. François Boucher, *Fisherman with a Young Woman*, chalk drawing, present location unknown.

versions differ from the print and the Walters painting in the absence of the rather large cow. Although Ananoff dismissed the Vienna painting as "mediocre," the provenance he assigned to it includes some of the most discriminating collectors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[14] This begins with Godefroy in whose sale catalogue the following description praises the painting and specifically mentions cows:

> Un Berger et une Bergère gardant un troupeau de moutons et de vaches; le fond est terminé par des paysages; il parait que le peintre s'est occupé d'un pastiche de Teniers dans la maniere du Bassan. Ce tableau est de la plus belle couleur et d'une touche franche et variée.[15]

The same description is essentially repeated in the sale catalogues of Vaudreuil (1787), Montesquiou (1788), and Lebrun (1814). That of Maurice (1835) adds "ouvrage fort extraordinaire du peintre," and the Arago sale of 1873 gives a bit more description:

> Une jeune bergère assise sur l'herbe, tenant à la main une houlette, cause avec un jeune berger assis en sens inverse auprès d'elle: à droite des moutons se désaltèrent dans un grand vase en cuivre. Composé dans la manière du Bassan après le séjour de Boucher en Italie. Gravé sous le titre indiqué.[16]

As the Arago painting is described as the source of the print, it seems reasonable to assume that it contained the cow and that this was the painting that passed into the Massarenti collection and ultimately to Mr. Walters. A certain amount of hyperbole may be granted to the writers of sales catalogues, but in this case the praise is justified and the references to the Italianate quality of the work apt. Ananoff, despite his seemingly early dating of the work, was clearly aware of this, for he notes the similarity of its composition (specifically the pose of the seated shepherdess) to the now lost work, *Le moineau apprivoisé* (fig. 7), which was painted by Boucher after his return from Italy in 1731.[17] The head of the young boy is likewise close to that found in another work of this period, the *Capriccio View of Tivoli*.[18]

Boucher's sources for these pastoral subjects, as has been observed in the past,[19] are often the works of the sixteenth-century Venetian school—notably the Campagnolas. The latters' print of *Shepherds in a Landscape* (fig. 8),[20] for example, has most of the elements of Boucher's painting. Shepherds and their flocks lounging by a brook are juxtaposed with distant, rustic buildings and overhanging trees in a quite similar arrangement. Boucher, however, was able to breathe an eighteenth-century spirit into this stiff composition. The ineffable atmosphere in his small painting derives from the fluid brushwork, which animates both figures and animals, and renders with vivid strokes the diffused glow of the setting sun. It must have been such gemlike creations that Diderot, no admirer of Boucher's art, had in mind when he wrote in his Salon review of 1763:

> Cet homme, lorsqu'il était nouvellement revenu d'Italie, faisait de trés belles choses; il avait une couleur forte et vraie; sa composition était sage, quoique pleine de chaleur; son faire, large et grand. Je connais quelques-uns de ses premiers morceaux, qu'il appelle aujord'hui des croûtes et qu'il rachéterait volontiers pour les brûler.[21]

Fortunately for us, this *petite croûte* survived and can now take its rightful place in the master's oeuvre.

Fig. 4. François Boucher, *Pastoral Scene: Les enfants du fermier,* oil on canvas, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.391.

Fig. 5. Louis Michel Halbout after François Boucher, *Les enfans du fermier,* etching.

Fig. 6. Attributed to François Boucher, *Les enfans du fermier,* oil on canvas, formerly Preyer Gallery, Vienna.

Fig. 7. René Gaillard after François Boucher, *Le moineau apprivoisé,* engraving, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

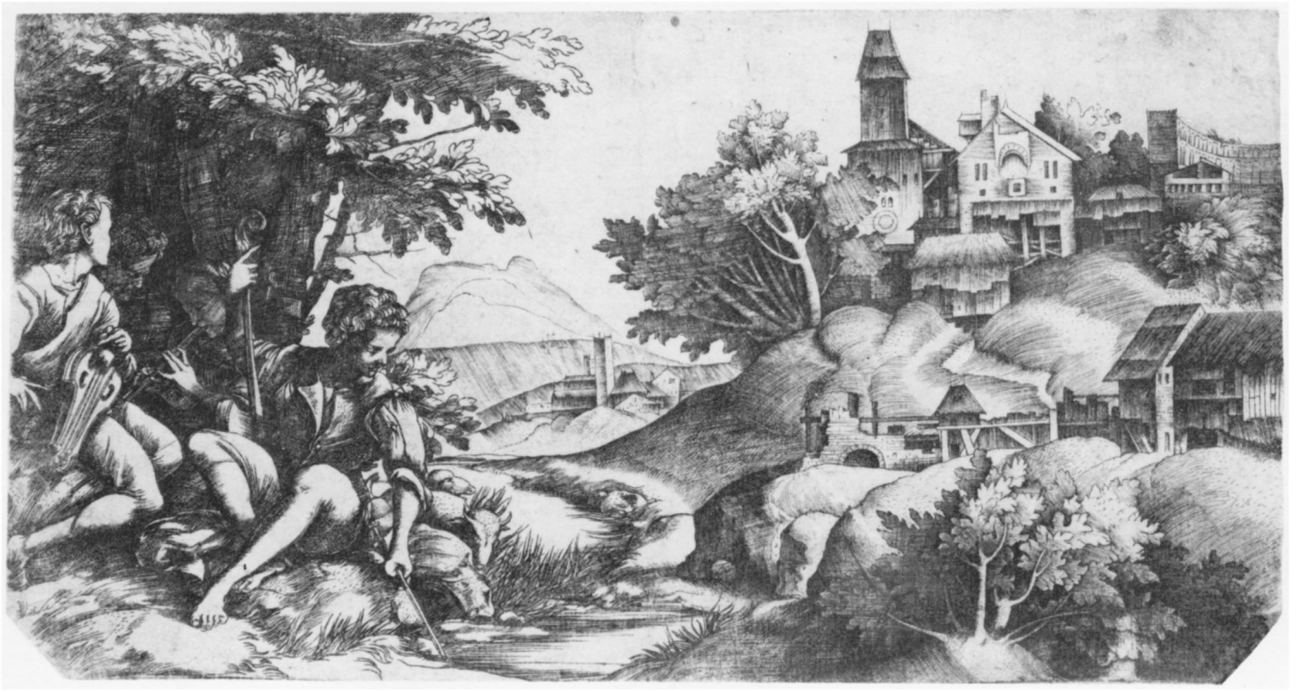

Fig. 8. Giulio and Domenico Campagnola, *Shepherds in a Landscape,* etching, Washington, D.C., The National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.

NOTES

1. No. 37.838, *Idyllic Scene (Mother and Children in a Landscape),* oil on canvas, 25 1/4 x 21 3/4 in (64 x 54 cm), signed and dated *F. Boucher 1769;* No. 37.839, *Idyllic Scene (Fisherman with a Young Woman),* oil on canvas, 25 5/8 x 21 5/8 in (65 x 55 cm), signed and dated *F. Boucher 1769.*

2. *An Exhibition of Treasures of The Walters Art Gallery,* Wildenstein (New York, 1967), no. 3 (exhibition catalogue); *François Boucher, A Loan Exhibition,* Wildenstein (New York, 1980), nos. 38, 39 (exhibition catalogue); A. Ananoff, *François Boucher* (Geneva, 1976) II, 291–293, nos. 666, 667, (hereafter, Ananoff, *Boucher*); *idem, L'opera completa di Boucher* (Milan, 1980), 141, nos. 704, 705; A. P. Wintermute, in *The First Painters of the King* (New York, 1985), nos. 4, 5.

3. *Vente Bergeret,* (Paris, 24 April 1786), 34–35, no. 66 (sale catalogue). The same pair was listed in an inventory of Bergeret's home in 1785. See G. Wildenstein, "Un amateur de Boucher et de Fragonard, Jacques-Onesyme Bergeret (1715–1785), *Gazette des beaux-arts,* 58 (1961), 71, no. 93, where they are described more simply as "Au devant du premier une femme accompagné de deux enfants; dans l'autre un pêcheur et une femme."

4. See for example Ananoff, *Boucher,* II, nos. 464, 465, 594, 595; another pair are nos. 664 and 665, which were in the private collection of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Walters. As Ananoff has mistakenly and repeatedly published one of these, (no. 664) *Le Cours d'eau,* as being in The Walters Art Gallery, this seems the appropriate place to note that both works were sold in the sale of Mrs. Henry Walters, Sotheby's, London, May 1, 1941, lots 1180 and 1181. It was not one of these works which was exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art in 1959, but rather The Walters' painting no. 37.838.

5. Sold at Ball and Graupe, Berlin, April 17, 1929, lot 53. Photo courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art.

6. Ananoff, *Boucher,* 2, nos. 662, 663.

7. No. 37.391, oil on canvas, 37 x 46 cm.

8. E. van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni,* (Rome, 1897), 135. no. 748.

9. By E. Melanie Gifford, Senior Conservator, in 1985.

10. P. Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François Boucher* (Paris, 1978), no. 1072 (hereafter, Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé*).

11. Ananoff, *Boucher,* I, 159, fig. 184.

12. In correspondence of June 15, 1986.

13. Sale at Parke-Bernet, New York, March 14, 1951, lot 45.

14. Ananoff, *Boucher,* I, 159 where the provenance given is: Godefroy sale, Paris, Nov. 15–19, 1785, no. 46; Vaudreuil sale, Paris, Nov. 26, 1787, no. 76; Montesquiou sale, Paris, Dec. 9, 1788, no. 234; J.-B. Lebrun sale, Paris, May 23, 1814, no. 17; Bernardini sale, Paris, Dec. 10, 1832, no. 382; Maurice sale, Paris, Feb. 2–3, 1835, no. 97; E. Arago sale, Paris, Feb. 8, 1872, no. 5; Preyer Gallery, Vienna, 1897.

15. *Vente Godefroy,* Paris, November 15–19, 1785, no. 46 (sale catalogue).

16. *Vente Arago,* Paris, Feb. 8, 1872, no. 5 (sale catalogue).

17. Ananoff, *Boucher,* I, 205; Jean-Richard, *L'Oeuvre gravé,* 262, no. 1033. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

18. A. Laing, *François Boucher,* (New York, 1986), 130–132, no. 16.

19. B. S. Jacoby, "A Landscape Drawing by François Boucher after Domenico Campagnola," *Master Drawings,* 27/3 (1979) 261–272.

20. J. Levenson, K. Oberhuber, and J. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington D.C., 1973), 410, no. 150. Photo courtesy of the National Gallery of Art.

21. See *Diderot Salons,* J. Seznec and J. Adhémar, eds. (Oxford, 1957), 1, 205.