

The
JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

Volume 46
1988

Published by the Trustees
of The Walters Art Gallery

EDITORIAL BOARD

Robert P. Bergman

William Johnston, *Executive Editor*

Gary Vikan, *Volume Editor*

E. Melanie Gifford

Ellen D. Reeder

Roger Wieck

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

Eric M. Zafran

This publication was made possible through the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fund for Scholarly Research and Publications

The Walters Art Gallery welcomes contributions on all aspects of art history; articles deriving from or related to the museum's collection are preferred, but others will be accepted as well. The preferred language is English, but contributions in other western European languages will also be considered. Send submissions, prepared according to the following instructions, to:

William Johnston

Executive Editor

The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery

600 North Charles Street

Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Form of Manuscript

All manuscripts must be typewritten and double-spaced (including quotations and footnotes). Submit the original, not a photocopy. Articles may also be submitted on computer disk; please check with the editor as to compatibility of systems. Include on a separate sheet your name, work and business addresses, and phone numbers.

Footnotes should be numbered consecutively and typed (double-spaced) on separate pages, subjoining the text of the article. Author's name and affiliation should appear after the title and before the text of the article.

Form of citation

Monographs: Initial(s) and last name of author followed by comma; title of monograph, underscored, followed by comma; title of series (if needed) not underlined; volume number(s) in Roman numerals (omitting "vol."), place and date of publication enclosed in parentheses, followed by comma; page numbers (inclusive, not f. or ff) without p. or pp.

C. C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and*

Asia Minor (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 330–333, fig. 22.

Periodicals: Initial(s) and last name of author followed by comma; title of article, followed by comma, with double quotation marks; title of periodical, underscored, followed by comma; volume number in Arabic numerals (omitting "vol."); year of publication enclosed in parentheses, followed by comma; page numbers (inclusive, not f. or ff) without p. or pp.

F. Villard, "Une tête romaine de porphyre," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, 27 (1977), 235–237.

For the first citation, a full reference must be used, thereafter a shortened form. The form must be indicated at the end of the first citation with "hereafter" followed by the shortened form, enclosed in parentheses.

(hereafter, Vermeule, *Roman Imperial*).

Subsequent Citations

For both monographs and periodicals, use the author's last name, and a short form of the title (first significant word or phrase) followed by a comma; page numbers (inclusive, not f. or ff.) without p. or pp.

Vermeule, *Roman Imperial*, 335, 368

Villard, "Une tête romaine," 237–239.

Illustrations

Supply sharp, glossy prints made, whenever possible, from the original work of art. If photographs have of necessity been made from reproductions, supply full bibliographical information in the appropriate footnote.

On the reverse of each photograph indicate its figure number in soft pencil; indicate cropping on the front of each photograph in crayon in the margin. Supply a double-spaced list of captions for all illustrations (on a separate page, subjoined) with the following information:

- artist or object type
- title or iconography
- medium
- present location (city, museum, and accession number)

Permission to reproduce is the responsibility of the author. All photographs must be submitted with the manuscript.

Procedures

All submitted manuscripts will be reviewed by members of the Editorial Board, at times in consultation with outside experts. The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery will be published at the end of each year; articles submitted before December 1 are eligible for consideration for the next year's issue. Authors will have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after editing has been completed and again in galley. Authors will be billed for any changes to galley in excess of 10 percent of the original cost of typesetting their articles.

Carla Brenner, *Coordinator for Exhibitions and Publications*

Amy Freese, *Production*

Muriel Toppan, *Proofreader*

Typeset by BG Composition, Inc., Baltimore

Separations by Baltimore Color Plate, Inc., Baltimore

Printed by Collins Lithographing, Inc., Baltimore

© 1988 The Walters Art Gallery
600 North Charles Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201
ISSN 0083-7156

C O N T E N T S

The Byzantine Openwork Gold Plaque in The Walters Art Gallery AIMILLIA YEROULANOU	2
Bogus Byzantine Enamels in Baltimore and Washington, D.C. DAVID BUCKTON	11
A Technical Study of Three Cloisonné Enamels from the Botkin Collection CONSTANCE STROMBERG	25
Unknown Carolingian Drawings of Hercules from the Scriptorium of Reims, and the <i>Cathedra Petri</i> Ivories LAWRENCE NEES	37
A Mid-Fifteenth Century Book of Hours from Bruges in The Walters Art Gallery (MS.721) and Its Relation to the <i>Turin-Milan Hours</i> M. SMEYERS	55
A Rediscovered Work By Hugo van der Goes CLAUS GRIMM	77
The Conservation of Hugo van der Goes's <i>Portrait of a Donor with St. John the Baptist</i> in The Walters Art Gallery ERIC A. GORDON	93
A Recent Acquisition: Wilhelm Stetter's <i>Adoration of the Magi</i> , and a Consideration of Stetter's Paintings ERIC M. ZAFRAN	99

the
JOURNAL
OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

The Byzantine Openwork Gold Plaque in The Walters Art Gallery

AIMILLIA YEROULANOU

Benaki Museum, Athens

The openwork gold plaque number 57.547 in The Walters Art Gallery (figs. 1, 2) is a unique example of Early Byzantine metalwork.¹ Its special interest lies in that it is representative of a large and important group of pre-iconoclastic gold jewelry related by both technique and decorative motifs, yet is distinguished among them by its extraordinary size and its unusual design. Measuring about twelve by four centimeters, this narrow, oblong plaque is semicircular at its upper end. The thinness of the gold sheet from which it was made accounts for the fracture across its mid-point. The entire surface of the plaque is ornamented with pierced and incised work.

Pierced decoration, *opus interrasile*, first appeared in gold jewelry during the late Roman period, and was commonplace in Early Christian times.² A great many, and perhaps the most outstanding, pieces of Early Byzantine jewelry were executed in this technique.³ This article examines the place occupied by the Walters plaque in the corpus of such jewelry, as well as its probable date.

The plaque is divided vertically into four panels above a broad band. In the topmost, rounded panel are two confronted birds separated by a delicate foliate form. The scene is surrounded by the inscription:

ΘΕΩΤΟΚΗ/ΒΩΕΘΙΤ/ΙΦΟΡΟΤΑ (Mother of God, help the wearer). Below are three square panels, each decorated in a similar manner with a smaller square whose corners touch the center point of the sides of the larger. In the first of the small square panels, proceeding from top to bottom, is an eagle, its wings opened within a narrow ring ornamented with a single row of punched stipples. The center of the second

panel is occupied by a cruciform pattern of four anthemias with conjoined stems, and that of the third is filled by a rosette made up of four delicate foliate clusters separated by four incised leaves. The triangular spaces at the corners of the first and third of the larger panels are filled with anthemias whose outer leaves unfold and branch out; those of the second bear fan-shaped foliate anthemias. A continuous wave pattern fills the two vertical borders along the three lower panels, and the broad horizontal band at the bottom is occupied by a spiral plant design with foliate sprays at either end entwining a pair of trefoils and, between them, a cross with four equal arms.

The first question posed by the plaque is its function. The inscription clearly indicates it was part of a woman's costume. Inscriptions on earlier (third- and fourth-century) jewelry often include a word variously associated with the Greek verb *chro*, signifying "I use," "I am the owner," "I wear"; specifically, it occurs in phrases such as *chro hygiainousa* (wearing this I am healthy) and *eutychos chro dia biou* (I happily wear this lifelong).⁴ Use here of the equally common verb *phoro*, meaning "I wear," leaves no doubt that this plaque was made to be worn on clothing. The feminine form of the Greek word implies, of course, that it was owned and worn by a woman. The problem is to establish what sort of a jewel or part of a jewel it was.

The semicircular shape of one end of the plaque is reminiscent of a type of belt plate, fairly commonplace in the seventh century (fig. 3),⁵ that is composed of two identical plaques arranged back to back to secure the end of the belt strap. There are, however, fundamental differences between those plaques,



Figure 1. *Openwork Plaque, Invocation*, gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.547.



Figure 2. Reverse of Figure 1.

which clearly were made to adorn the ends of belts, and the plaque in The Walters Art Gallery. For instance, the latter is of much greater size and would presuppose a particularly wide belt, improbable in the case of a woman's dress at this period. Its delicacy and fragility set it apart from customary belt jewelry of the period, which is distinguished by the solidity essential to its function. But the feature that argues most strongly against this plaque's use on a belt is the arrangement of its decoration. Motifs decorating the end of a belt are usually arranged so that they are seen upright when the belt is fastened with its end hanging down. For example, the confronted birds with a sprig between them depicted at the end of the

belt in Figure 3—a motif which, incidentally, reappears on the Walters plaque—has been set in the rectangular space of the plaque closest to the belt end, and in the orientation required if it is to be seen correctly when hanging down. The monograms that often ornament such articles of jewelry also have the same alignment.⁶ In the case of the Walters plaque, the birds filling the semicircular end panel would be upside down were the plaque attached to a belt end. Indeed, particular care has been taken that the inscription should be readable when the plaque is observed vertically.

One may infer from the absence of any trace of a clasp, pin, or pendant loops that the Walters plaque



Figure 3. *Belt Plate, Birds*, gold, Washington, D.C., The Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 48.20.



Figure 4. *Belt Plate with Buckle, Monogram*, gold, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.545.

must have been sewn onto a cloth or band as a kind of accessory to a dress. The view recently expressed that a number of fourth-century articles of jewelry, once thought to have been diadems or necklaces, may have been stitched to the necks of *chitons* supports this theory.⁷ But we still know too little about this sort of jewelry to determine precisely where or how it would have been worn. Possibly it was stitched over the breast or onto a headcovering, like earlier hair ornaments; but unfortunately, there is no supporting evidence for either assumption.

However scant the information about the function of the plaque, its decoration assists in establishing its apotropaic nature, its dating, and its relationship to contemporary jewelry. First and foremost the supplicatory inscription, but also the bird scenes, give this piece of jewelry the character of an amulet of distinctly Christian symbolism. Inscriptions, most often invoking "Our Lord," but also, the "Mother of God," are found on many items of jewelry, especially finger rings.⁸ They are particularly common, in various forms, on pierced-technique objects. Some record the owner's name⁹ or a wish,¹⁰ and others are invocations, the latter being especially characteristic of sixth- and seventh-century specimens. The inscription on the plaque in the Walters collection is unique among pierced work insofar as it is addressed to the

Theotokos. Besides such inscriptions, monograms of an invocative character are found on articles of jewelry (fig. 4), but it is not always clear if the supplications are directed to "Our Lord" or to the "Mother of God."¹¹

The motif with confronted birds separated by a delicate plant form occupies a dominant position in the decoration (fig. 1). This was a particularly popular Byzantine motif, and is often found on pierced jewelry. The birds usually represented are peacocks; the plant placed between them is of various kinds. Sometimes it is a small trefoil anthemion of a decorative type (fig. 5),¹² sometimes classicized with more abundant leaves and sometimes of a tall and slender treelike growth.¹³ The composition has been interpreted as symbolic of paradise, with the central feature representing the Tree of Life as described in Genesis 2:8-9: "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden. . . . And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the Tree of Life also in the midst of the garden. . . ." Like other symbolic motifs, that of confronted birds with a plant emblem or a fountain placed between them entered Christian art by way of Roman models, which were treated with much greater naturalism.¹⁴ Motifs of this kind appear on monuments and in catacombs from the second century on, but around the fourth century the subject acquires a symbolic character, and is depicted with a rigorous symmetry. Just a few examples of the many that have survived, such as the wall paintings in the third-century catacombs of Domitilla, the fourth-century Lateran sarcophagus, the fifth-century mosaics in the church of St. George, Thessaloniki, and the sixth-century episcopal throne of Maximian in Ravenna, suffice to demonstrate the persistent popularity of this theme throughout the empire and, at the same time, to illustrate its development in a very general manner.¹⁵

In pierced jewelry the composition appears chiefly on crescent earrings, on which peacocks are usually depicted with anthemion, fountains, crosses or monograms interposed between them (figs. 5, 6). Examples from the Mersin Treasure (Asia Minor) (fig. 6) allow the dating of similar earrings to the late sixth to seventh century.¹⁶ Motifs similar to those on earrings are found on the pendant jewel on the belt from the Mytilene Treasure (fig. 7), which may be dated to the beginning of the seventh century by hallmarks on associated silver objects,¹⁷ on a pair of clasp medallions on a necklace from Constantinople in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,¹⁸ and on the medallions in the Mainz necklace with a variation of the theme.¹⁹

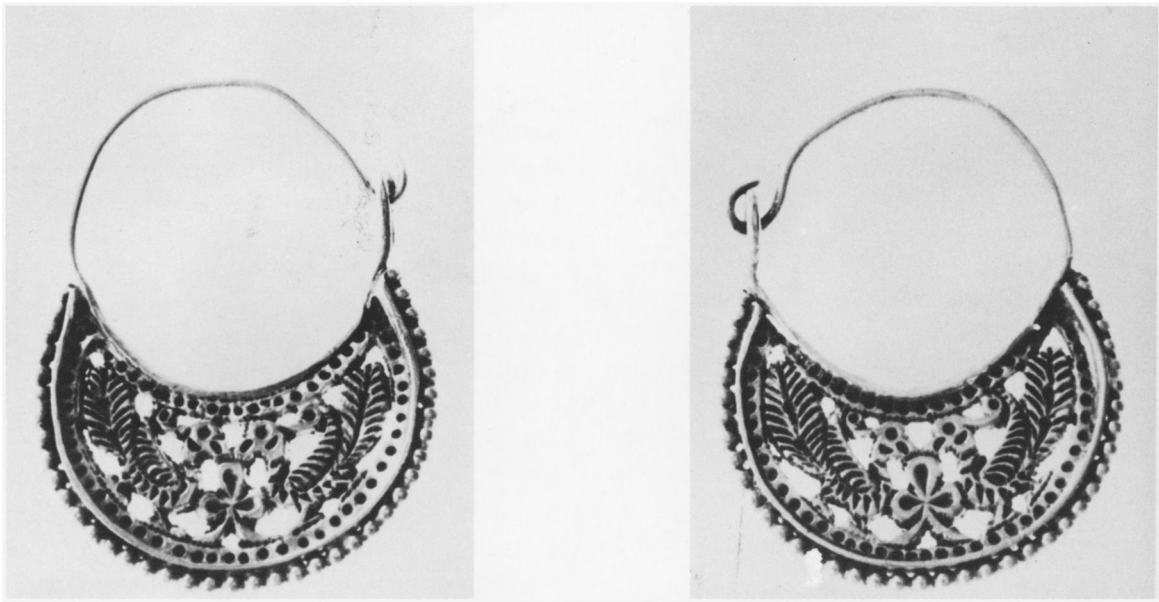


Figure 5. *Earrings, Birds*, gold, Athens, Canellopoulos Collection.



Figure 6. *Earrings, Birds*, gold, Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, no. *omega* 96.



Figure 7. *Belt Pendant, Birds*, gold, Athens, Byzantine Museum, Mytilene Treasure no. 3057.



Figure 8. *Earring, Bird*, gold, Athens, Benaki Museum, no. 1811.

The variety of birds found on these objects appears to be dictated in part by the space to be filled; that is, peacocks with their tails displayed are better suited to the half-moon design of earrings. From their shape, punched bodies, and crests, the birds on the Walters plaque may be identified as guinea fowl, symbols of eternity, that also occur, for example, on the British Museum gold bracelet, where they are combined with other birds and a relief bust of the Mother of God.²⁰ Guinea fowl are portrayed also on the pierced medallions of the necklace from the Second Cypriot Treasure in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.²¹

Within a ring in the center of the next panel (fig. 1), there is an eagle with open wings, its head turned to the left. This motif also occurs on crescent earrings of the seventh century, where it is often surrounded by a similarly punched circular band (fig. 8).²² It may have a symbolic connection with Psalm 103:5: "... thy youth is renewed like the eagle's," a supplication thus acquiring particular significance when associated with articles of jewelry that may belong to a young woman.

The decorative plant motifs occupying the central squares of the next two panels, the corners of all the large panels, and the wide lower band of the plaque are of special interest. In the center of the third panel from the top are four foliate clusters arranged in a cruciform pattern. This motif, in various designs and compositions, such as those decorating medallions on the breast-chain from Egypt now in the British Museum²³ and the necklace from Kyreneia in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia (fig. 9),²⁴ was employed from the fifth century on. The anthemion with outspread and branched lateral leaves that fill the outer corners of the second and fourth panels are particularly akin to the latter example. It is not insignificant that these two motifs are repeated on jewelry from the treasure discovered at Pantalica in Sicily, each on clasp medallions of two distinct necklaces (fig. 10).²⁵ Coins found with that treasure postdate Heraclius, spanning the years up to the end of the seventh century.

A rosette of four leaves with incised veins and a delicate anthemion with a long leaf stalk decorate the central square of the next to last panel. In its design and decoration the four-leaf pattern resembles the central rosette in one of the compositions decorating the pierced medallions of a necklace in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum of Mainz;²⁶ similar fine clusters appear in the central rosette of the pectoral in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond,²⁷ as well as in a rosette design on the breast-chain in the British Museum.²⁸

The incised foliate anthemion in the corners of the third panel are close in design to those introduced as subordinate features between the arms of crosses on amulets, such as that from the Pantalica Treasure,²⁹ and another in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 11).³⁰

The foliage in the lower horizontal band of the plaque is noticeably stylized (fig. 1). At the center point it encompasses a cross with arms of equal length, flanked by trefoils; the cross is identical to that marking the inscription. This kind of foliage, whose design is restricted by the motifs it enfolds and whose significance it emphasizes, is comparable with that on a sixth-century bracelet in the British Museum³¹ and a seventh-century belt tab in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 3).³² The combination of trefoils and a cross of the same size gradually became an established motif, at the same time the motif of two cypress trees with a cross between them did.³³ The foliage terminates in the lower corners of the plaque in anthemion, a common feature, especially in the seventh century; it occurs, for example, on a ring from Kyreneia, now in Nicosia (fig. 12),³⁴ and on another ring in the Pantalica Treasure,³⁵ as well as on a pendant at Dumbarton Oaks.³⁶

Finally, the repeated spirals forming a wave pattern running the length of the two upright borders of the Walters plaque is paralleled in many kinds of jewelry dateable to the sixth and seventh centuries. In earlier examples it is of delicate form, but slowly it acquired a more solid presence. The closest parallels to the spirals on this plaque are those that wind around the circular pendant ornaments and the dividing cylinder on the child's necklace in the Mersin Treasure (fig. 13).³⁷

The Walters plaque's decorative themes are associated directly or indirectly with objects found among sixth- and seventh-century treasures. Some features help to date it more precisely. The anthemion with outspread lateral foliage provides a link with the Pantalica Treasure, which may be fairly accurately dated to the latter half of the seventh century. This treasure includes a circular amulet depicting a cross with arms of equal length—of basically the same type as that on the plaque, and having within its angles dense anthemion analogous to those occupying the corners of the plaque's third panel. Lastly, the incised inscription "Lord, help her who wears me" occurs on a Pantalica Treasure finger ring,³⁸ and on the other Pantalica finger ring (see note 35) there are anthemion at the extremities of the foliage much like those in the lower band of the plaque. Similarly, the Walters plaque has a link with the Mytilene Treasure through the scene depicting



Figure 9. *Necklace, Ornamental Motifs*, gold, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, no. 1959/x-9/1.

confronted birds separated by a plant, which ornaments the belt end in Figure 7. The coins and seals on silver objects among this treasure are of the early seventh century.

Yet another representation of birds flanking a plant is to be found on the earrings in the Mersin Treasure, which has other features in common with the Mytilene Treasure, such as cylindrical bracelets and finger rings with calyx-shaped bezels.³⁹ The Mersin Treasure has been thought to date to the end of the sixth century, but its identification with the Mytilene Treasure reinforces the likelihood of its dating to the early seventh century.

Without excluding the possibility that some of the objects forming these treasures were made in the late sixth century, the date of the Walters plaque may with some assurance be said to lie around the middle of the seventh century, given that some of its characteristics match those of several pieces of jewelry which chronological evidence suggests are seventh-century in date.

The technique applied strengthens this view. That is, incised decoration and punched details are not as prominent as they are on various pieces of jewelry which, judging by their workmanship, appear to be of a later date. The openwork has not reached the



Figure 10. *Necklace Clasps, Ornamental Motifs*, gold, Sicily, Pantalica Treasure.



Figure 11. *Reliquary Pendant of St. Zacharias, Cross and Ornamental Motifs*, gold, Washington, D.C., The Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 57.53.



Figure 12. *Ring, Ornamental Motifs*, gold, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, no. J 433.

point of destroying that essential sense of balance on which pierced work always depended. On the other hand, the density of the design and the restricted area of pierced space distances it from earlier sixth-century examples.

Regarding the provenance of the plaque, what may be said of many pieces of jewelry of this period is valid here too. The appearance of identical features in Cyprus, Sicily, Asia Minor, and Constantinople points to common models and to a dominant center in which a variety of jewelry designs and techniques evolved—a center where new types of ornamentation were introduced, developed, and dispersed, and where various trends and artistic influences, drawn together from all corners of the Empire, found expression and were disseminated. Such a center could be none other than Constantinople, a city of overwhelming influence at the time. Indeed, the originality displayed by the Walters plaque, the masterly combination in its ornamentation of elements of design typical of the age, and the quality of the workmanship all point to its being a product of Constantinopolitan provenance.

NOTES

1. Acquired in Paris in 1929 (Gruel), it measures 12.0 X 4.1 cm. For earlier bibliography, see *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1947 (Baltimore, 1947), 97, no. 456, pl. LXV (exhibition catalogue); and P. Verdier, "Notes sur trois bijoux d'or byzantins de Walters Art Gallery," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 11 (1960), 122.

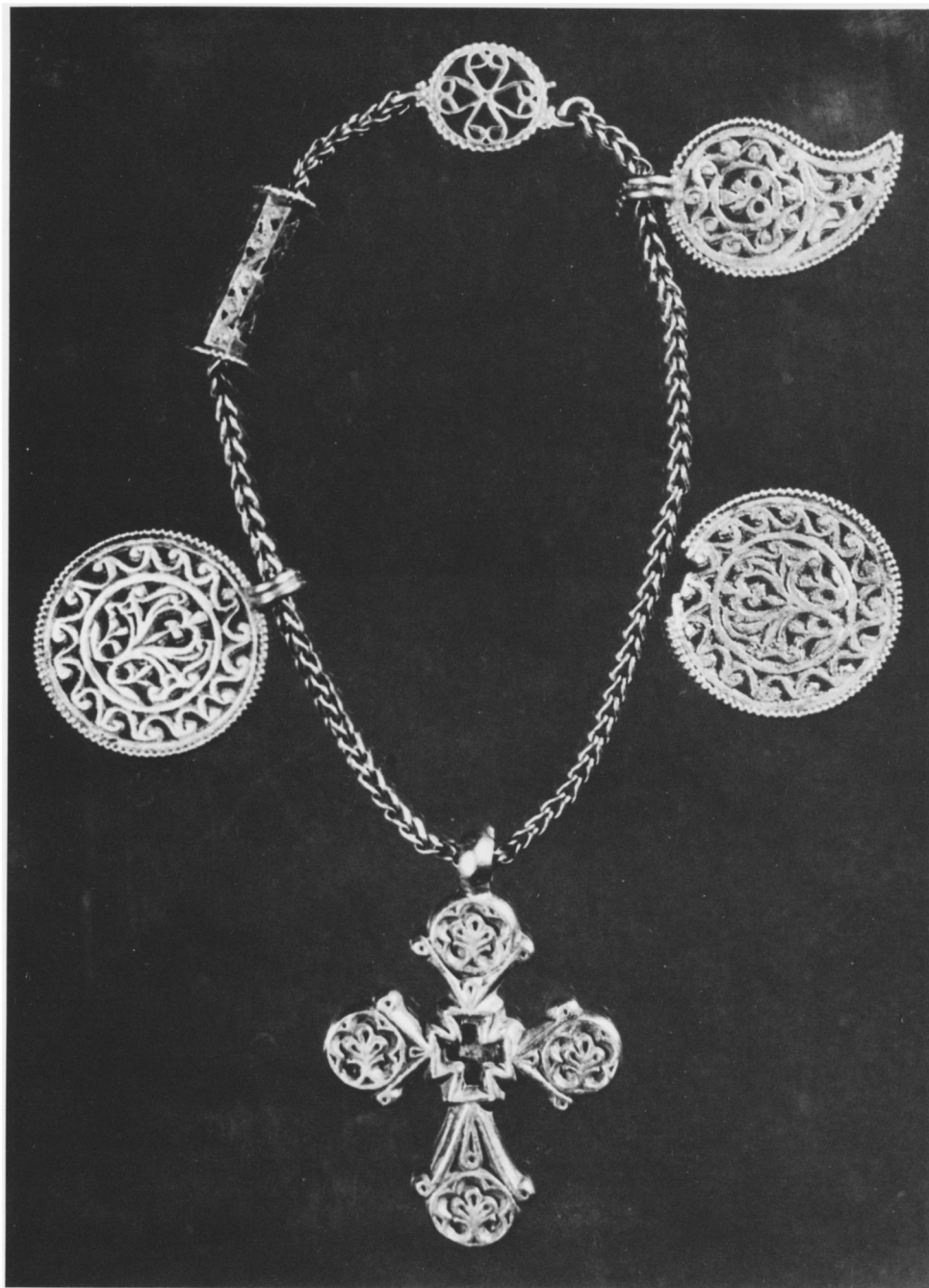


Figure 13. *Necklace, Cross and Ornamental Pendants*, Leningrad, State Hermitage Museum, no. omega 105, 106.

2. The Latin term is mentioned in Pliny, *Natural History*, 12.94. The technique consists of removing the background around a pattern, which previously had been engraved on thin gold foil.

3. My study of Early Christian and Byzantine pierced jewelry is near completion; it is accompanied by a catalogue of about 400 examples of all types.

4. The first inscription appears on bracelet no. 512 in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (C. Lepage, "Les bracelets de luxe romains et byzantins du II^e au VI^e siècle," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 21 [1971], 10, fig. 19), and the second on bracelet no. 30219,509 of the Antikenabteilung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, Band I: *Fundgruppen* [Berlin 1970], 75–76, pls. 55[7], 56).

5. M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, II: Jewelry, Enamels, and the Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D. C., 1965), no. 43, pl. XXXV (acc. no. 48.20) (hereafter, Ross, *Catalogue*). Compare also the end of a belt in the Guilhou collection (A. Sambon, *Collection Guilhou, Objets antiques* [Paris, 1905], no. 274, pl. X), and the end of a sword belt from the Mersin Treasure (A. Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* [Leningrad/Moscow, 1966], no. 105 [hereafter, Bank, *Byzantine Art*]).

6. See, for example, Bank, *Byzantine Art*, no. 105.

7. C. Metzger, "Colliers, diadèmes ou ceintures?," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* (1980), 16.

8. M. Chatzidakis, "Un anneau byzantin," *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*, 18 (1944), 25–34.

9. As, for example, the fibula (no. A5141.50–826) in the Los Angeles County Museum, which bears the inscription IOVI(O) AUG(USTO) VOT(IS) XX, referring to Diocletian on the twentieth anniversary of his reign (R. Noll, "Eine goldene 'Kaiserfibel' aus Niederemmel vom Jahre 316," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 174 [1974], 228); and a ring (a recent, unpublished acquisition) in the British Museum, with the pierced inscription ETCEBIOT. I would like to thank Dr. David Buckton, Head of the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, and Mr. Chris Entwistle for drawing my attention to this ring.
10. This type of inscription appears on, for example, ring number 57.1824 in The Walters Art Gallery, with ETTTXXI on the stone of the bezel and the latin inscription DULCIS VIVAS on the hoop (*Jewelry, Ancient to Modern*, A. Garside, ed. [Baltimore/New York, 1979], no. 355 [hereafter, *Jewelry*]); a similar ring is in the British Museum (O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum* [London, 1912], no. 3 [hereafter, Dalton, *Catalogue*]).
11. The Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.545 (*Jewelry*, no. 431). Compare also the end of the sword belt in the Hermitage (Bank, *Byzantine Art*, no. 105); the gold seal in the Stathatos Collection (*Collection Stathatos* [n.l., n.d.], IV, no. 721, pl. XV); and the monogram of an earring (no. 19015) in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum of Art which, together with its mate, now lost, was formerly part of the Tyszkiewicz Collection (W. Frohner, *La Collection Tyszkiewicz* [Munich, 1892], no. 6, pl. I).
12. The Canellopoulos Collection, Athens (*Byzantine Art, An European Art*, Athens, 1964, [Athens, 1964] no. 418 [exhibition catalogue] [hereafter, *Byzantine Art*]). Compare also the earring in the British Museum, Medieval and Later Antiquities, (no. 1949, 10–7, 5).
13. Compare an example in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (D. Talbot Rice and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Byzantium* [London, 1959], pl. 65); and a similar one in the Grüneisen Collection (W. de Grüneisen, *Collection de Grüneisen, Catalogue Raisonné* [Paris, 1930], no. 498, pl. XXXI).
14. Similarly, the representation of the vine, which became common in the Christian era, originated in Dionysiac scenes. See C. Leonardi, *Ampelos, Il simbolismo della vita nell'arte pagane e paleocristiana* (Rome, 1947).
15. See, respectively, A. Grabar, *Le premier art chrétien* (Paris, 1966), pl. 75; pls. 295, 296; W. F. Volbach and M. Hirmer, *Early Christian Art* (London, 1961), pls. 125, 216.
16. Bank, *Byzantine Art*, no. 104b; and A. Grabar, "Un médaillon en or provenant de Mersine en Cilicie," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 6 [1951], 28.
17. *Byzantine Art*, 425–26, and no. 391.
18. Ross, *Catalogue*, no. 4 A, pl. VIII.
19. K. Brown, *The Gold Breast Chain from the Early Byzantine Period in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* (Mainz, 1984), pl. 3 (hereafter, Brown, *Breast Chain*).
20. Dalton, *Catalogue*, no. 279.
21. A. and J. Stylianou, *The Treasures of Lambousa* (Nicosia, 1969), no. 19, fig. 42.
22. The Benaki Museum, Athens (no. 1811) (B. Segall, *Goldschmiede Arbeiten, Museum Benaki* [Athens, 1938], no. 244, pl. 48). Compare also the earring in Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, no. 30219, 439 (A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall, Staatliche Museen, Antikenabteilung, Band II: Einzelstücke* [Berlin, 1975], 67, pl. 52 [11]). On these earrings the eagle appears with spread wings, thus filling the entire surface.
23. W. Dennison, "A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period from Egypt," *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*, University of Michigan Studies (New York, 1918), 148, no. 15, pls. XXIX, XL (hereafter, Dennison, *Gold Treasure*).
24. A. Pierides, *Jewelry in the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia, 1971), 52, pl. XXXV 1, 2 (hereafter, Pierides, *Jewelry*); and *Splendeur de Byzance*, Brussels, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, 1982 (Brussels, 1982) (exhibition catalogue), no. J7.
25. P. Orsi, "Byzantina Siciliae," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 19 (1910), 68, fig. 3 (hereafter, Orsi, "Byzantina Siciliae").
26. Brown, *Breast Chain*, pls. 2, 3.
27. M. C. Ross, "Jewels of Byzantium," *Arts in Virginia*, 9/1 (1968), no. 21.
28. Dennison, *Gold Treasure*, 148, no. 15, pls. XXIX, XL.
29. Orsi, "Byzantina Siciliae," 67, pl. A, fig. 7.
30. Ross, *Catalogue*, no. 31, pl. XXVII.
31. Dalton, *Catalogue*, no. 279.
32. Ross, *Catalogue*, no. 43, pl. XXXV.
33. See for example the triptych of Harbaville (D. Talbot Rice and M. Hirmer, *The Art of Byzantium* [London, 1959], pl. 102).
34. Pierides, *Jewelry*, 59, pl. XL, 8.
35. Orsi, "Byzantina Siciliae," 67, pl. A, fig. 4.
36. Ross, *Catalogue*, no. 34, pl. XXVI.
37. Bank, *Byzantine Art*, no. 104a.
38. Orsi, "Byzantina Siciliae," 67, pl. A, fig. 3.
39. Compare Bank, *Byzantine Art*, nos. 107, 103 with *Byzantine Art*, nos. 394, 397.

*Bogus Byzantine Enamels in Baltimore and Washington, D.C.*¹

DAVID BUCKTON
British Museum

In the following article, Constance Stromberg publishes the results of a scientific examination of three gold cloisonné enamels once in the St. Petersburg (Leningrad) collection of Mikhail Petrovich Botkin (1839–1914). Two, medallions of Christ Emmanuel and St. Gregory Nazianzenus, the Theologian, are now in The Walters Art Gallery; the third, a plaque depicting St. John Chrysostom, is in the Byzantine collection at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Botkin's collection comprised paintings, sculpture, bronzes and other metalwork, ivories, glass, ceramics, woodcarving and furniture, textiles, decorated leather, and *champlevé* enamels.² By 1892 it contained seven cloisonné enamels:

1. Representations of the Sts. Nicholas and Basil purchased by Botkin from V. A. Prokhorov, who died in 1882.³ These are probably the two busts, with fragmentary Greek inscriptions, set into one plaque and illustrated in Botkin's catalogue of his collection.⁴
2. A reliquary-cross with a Greek inscription,⁵ brought to Russia in 1861 from Mount Athos by possibly the greatest Russian collector of all, P. I. Sevast'yanov, who exhibited it in the *Musée rétrospectif* at the Paris International Exhibition of 1865.⁶ It was published as in the Botkin collection by the Aachen antiquarian priest Johannes Schulz, who died in 1889.⁷
3. A medallion of St. Demetrios, with a Georgian inscription,⁸ until 1885 attached to an icon of the archangel Michael in the Dzhumati Monastery in Georgia.⁹ The medallion was published as in Botkin's

possession by N. P. Kondakov in 1892.¹⁰ A companion-piece, a medallion of Christ Pantocrator, was in Botkin's collection by 1911.¹¹

4. A Crucifixion quatrefoil, with Greek and Georgian inscriptions,¹² recorded in 1873 in the Shemokmedi Monastery in Georgia, when it was attached to a crozier.¹³ In 1892 the Russian collector A. V. Zvenigorodskoi wrote that he had bought the quatrefoil in May 1885,¹⁴ but, since it was exhibited as part of his collection in Aachen in 1884,¹⁵ his memory may have failed him: he had probably bought it in Tbilisi in 1882. In 1886 or thereabouts it was misappropriated from Zvenigorodskoi; by 1892 it was in the Botkin collection.¹⁶

5. A medallion of St. Theodore, with a Greek inscription,¹⁷ at some time attached to an icon of the archangel Gabriel in the Dzhumati Monastery.¹⁸ According to Zvenigorodskoi in 1892, he had bought the medallion in Tbilisi in 1882,¹⁹ but it was not exhibited with the rest of his collection in 1884,²⁰ and it seems certain that he was confusing its acquisition with that of the Shemokmedi quatrefoil (no. 4 above), and that he had actually bought the St. Theodore medallion in May 1885. It subsequently suffered exactly the same fate as the quatrefoil, being misappropriated from Zvenigorodskoi and passing into the Botkin collection by 1892.²¹

6. The face and hands of a representation of the Mother of God either *Chalkoprateia* or from a *Deësis*,²² published as in the Botkin collection by Kondakov in 1892.²³

7. Two fragments of a halo, probably from an icon in Georgia,²⁴ also published as in Botkin's collection by Kondakov in 1892.²⁵

In less than twenty years, by the time Botkin published it in 1911, his collection of cloisonné enamel had grown from the seven items attested by 1892 and listed above²⁶ to no fewer than 160 figural examples catalogued as tenth- to twelfth-century Byzantine and a further two as twelfth- to thirteenth-century Georgian.²⁷ These 162 items included enamels formerly owned by other collectors,²⁸ but over 150 have no known earlier history and, besides, have a "family likeness" that has long aroused suspicions.

In fact, no sooner had Botkin's catalogue been published than a reviewer was expressing disquiet:

As we turn over these pages we are impressed by a certain disproportion between the expense so lavishly incurred and the apparent quality of much that is here depicted. . . . If the plates adequately represent the objects which they illustrate, we shall in many cases find it hard to accept without qualification the author's claim that everything in his collection deserves a place in the best museums of Europe. . . . The very numerous Byzantine enamels form a most remarkable group in which a high level of technical skill is associated with daring experiments in colour, an imaginative treatment of ornamental detail, and the admission here and there of features hitherto considered foreign to Byzantine iconography. . . . When one considers the great number of these enamels, so homogeneous, and of so sustained a technical quality, the mind involuntarily reverts to the Poniatowski gems, which betrayed a like uniformity of style and a like cleverness in execution. We may hope that here the analogy alone is false; but the published opinion of Professor Kondakov upon the series as a whole would be welcome to those who find much to perplex them in this series.²⁹

In 1923, nine years after Botkin's death and six years after the October Revolution, several enamels from the Botkin collection were "restored" to Georgia and the remainder sold off. Cyril G. E. Bunt, writing in 1953, recalls that "it is over a quarter of a century ago that an important group [of Botkin's enamels] came under my notice and induced me to take a lively interest in the then debated question of their authenticity and date."³⁰ One of the most nota-

ble art historians to have expressed the view that there had been fakes among Botkin's enamels was Shalva Amiranashvili, sometime Director of the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts and prolific writer on Georgian enamel. In his opinion, the Georgian enamels in the Botkin collection were "all genuine, if partly restored, whereas many of the other items have turned out to be forgeries."³¹

In 1930, Guillaume de Jerphanion included in an iconographic study two Botkin enamels,³² the authenticity of which he subsequently decided was "very doubtful," according to Magda Bárány-Oberschall, who wrote: "We know that there was a period when Byzantine enamels were a favourite subject for counterfeiting."³³ In 1938, V. I. Lazarev was uncompromising: "The type of the seated *Hodegetria* is found in a forged enamel in the Botkin collection."³⁴

Ten years later Otto Kurz was to expound at length:

A novel and quite convincing style of Byzantine enamels was created in the nineteenth century. The forger who produced them evidently made a thorough study of genuine enamels. He derived his forgeries mainly from a group of enamels made in Georgia in the eleventh century but he did not neglect Byzantium proper. The plaques from the crown of Constantine Monomachos (1042–50) in Budapest and the Relic of the Cross in Limburg (948–59) were used by him as models for his figures and compositions. He indicated the draped folds enveloping his figures by a thin net of gold lines; the imitation of Georgian enamels is patent, but the forger avoided their angular style. The draperies are covered with a monotonous herring-bone pattern, occasionally interrupted by a spiral.

The imitations of types and faces are fairly efficient, but the pupil placed in the corner of the eye, though usual in medieval Byzantine enamels, never produces there a restless slanting glance, as it does in these modern imitations. The forger avoided iconographical blunders on the whole but once he left out the footstool under the feet of Christ enthroned, an attribute indispensable in Byzantine art. Moreover no medieval artist would have represented the Madonna accompanied by two saints, whose identity cannot be established by their distinctive attributes.

Notwithstanding all these symptoms, most of these enamels are so well made that they would be completely deceptive but for one circumstance: all the specimens of this style were assembled in one collection and no piece of this kind had been seen before they all were sold to Mr. Botkine. It is hardly conceivable that a modern collector should have held the monopoly of a special style, existing in numerous detached specimens. The conclusion becomes almost inevitable that these fakes were specially made to delude Mr. Botkine, and thus to be insinuated among the genuine enamels of his collection.³⁵

A decade or so after the publication of Otto Kurz's book, Frank Arnau concluded a note on the Botkin collection: "All the evidence suggests that an extraordinarily clever forger or his client knew Botkine's collection so well that he manufactured and offered him just the pieces needed to fill the gaps."³⁶

Several studies of particular ex-Botkin enamels have appeared during the last ten years or so. In 1978 Anna Gonosová gave a clean bill of health to the Dumbarton Oaks St. John Chrysostom (fig. 15),³⁷ which three years later was included in an exhibition of dubious artifacts.³⁸ In 1982 Aune Jääskinen deliberately left open the question of the authenticity of a Christ Pantocrator and a Mother of God now in the Orthodox Church Museum in Kuopio, Finland, and a St. Peter in a Helsinki private collection.³⁹ In 1985 Jean-Pierre Caillet remained undecided over a plaque with figures of the apostles Matthew and Luke in the *Musée de Cluny*.⁴⁰ Most recently, Nancy Netzer and Pamela England have condemned a St. Nicholas medallion in Boston,⁴¹ and Paul Williamson has done the same for a plaque of the Nativity in Lugano.⁴²

The year 1911, then, had witnessed the sudden appearance of some 150 figural enamels, none of which showed any sign of ever having been buried, and all of which were clean, bright, and new-looking. Compared with indisputably medieval Byzantine and Georgian enamels the suspect items are generally on a larger scale, with cleaner-cut designs and broader expanses of more vibrant colors; there is little of the horror vacui that prompted medieval artists to fill every conceivable space with some decorative detail or other.

The medallions and plaques tend to be flatter than their slightly domed medieval counterparts, and the gold is generally thinner. In the *Senkschmelz* technique, where the figure or motif is silhouetted against the metal of the plaque (fig. 3)⁴³ instead of having an

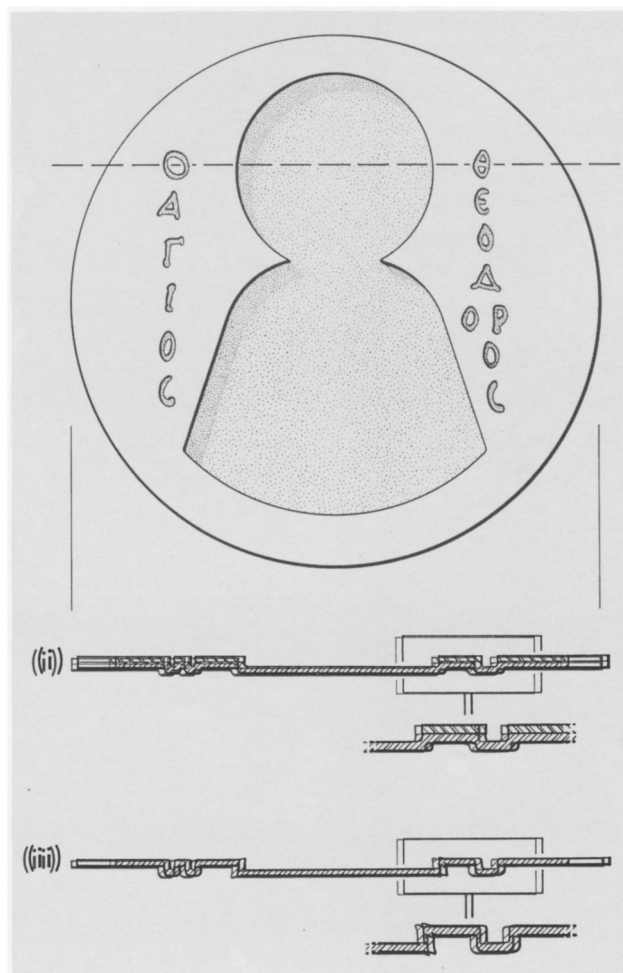


Fig. 1. Cross-sections of *Senkschmelz* bases: (i) a conventional Byzantine enamel, and (ii) a typical Botkin enamel. Drawing by Jim Farrant.



Fig. 2. *Medallion, St. Simon*, gold cloisonné enamel, Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, inv. no. 3290 (*olim* Botkin collection).



Fig. 3. *Plaque, St. Mark*, gold cloisonné enamel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 52.54.7 (olim Botkin collection).

enameled background (fig. 2),⁴⁴ a single gold sheet was generally used, in contrast to the standard Byzantine practice of employing a cut-out face-plate to give the enamel a crisp edge in combination with a back plate bent to provide the required depth (fig. 1). The sharp right-angle deformation of the single sheet needed to produce crisp edges for the enamel often caused splits in the gold of Botkin *Senkschmelz* plaques.⁴⁵

The cloisons are finer in Botkin enamels than in their incontestably medieval counterparts, and have a constant gauge and almost mechanical accuracy. In Byzantine enamel they were either soldered to the base-plate or left unattached before enameling; in “Botkins,” the cloisons were not soldered but were sometimes fixed in place with a little glass.⁴⁶ Whereas medieval cloisonné enamels were topped up and re-fired until the gold cells were completely filled, after

which the composite surface of glass and metal would be “stoned” (ground smooth and polished),⁴⁷ “Botkins” often have uneven surfaces, low areas either having been built up with layers of colorless glass⁴⁸ or, alternatively, having escaped the stoning.

There are never any nail holes in Botkin *Vollschmelz* items (where the figure or motif has a background of enamel extending to the edge of the plaque); in *Senkschmelz* “Botkins” the holes are regularly or aesthetically placed in comparison with genuinely medieval examples and often appear unused, suggesting that the plaque has never been attached to anything.⁴⁹

Inscriptions in Greek, except those denoting Christ or the Mother of God, are often spelled out in full rather than, as with most Byzantine enamels, conventionally abbreviated; they are, however, occasionally misspelled,⁵⁰ and non-Greek letters (notably Russian characters) are sometimes used.⁵¹ On *Senkschmelz* plaques black enamel is often used for inscriptions, in place of the red or blue almost invariably used on Byzantine examples.

But it is the facial features of a Botkin enamel (fig. 2) that give it its unmistakable stamp: the smooth, exaggerated curves at temples and cheeks contrasting oddly with the fussy detailing of hair and beard, elongated eyes with the iris in the extreme corner, and a supercilious double-downward-curving mouth. The faces are usually broad at the brow and cheekbones; the hair often has an intricate outline and an asymmetrical forelock. Ears seldom have a convincing shape, and are usually defined by a short cloison



Fig. 4. *Medallion, St. Theodore*, gold cloisonné enamel, on the “Chalice of the Patriarchs”, Venice, S. Marco, Tesoro, inv. no. 69.

separate from that outlining the face, hair, or beard; the nose is generally long and straight with a trefoil tip.

Hands and feet are poorly drawn in comparison with incontestably Byzantine enamels; the left hand is often covered by drapery. Folds in garments are monotonous, generally consisting of unrelieved parallel lines, either in nested V-folds or square-end hair-pin shapes.⁵² Where folds fall in curves, they often become abstract patterns with sensuous shapes redolent of Art Nouveau and *fin-de-siècle* Japanese art (fig. 3).

Botkin enamels betray a lack of familiarity with Byzantine conventions regarding costume. Where saints wear the standard *chiton* (undergarment) and *himation* (loose outer garment), the latter usually clings precariously to the right shoulder (fig. 2) instead of being draped comfortably over the shoulder and arm (fig. 11).⁵³ With military costume the all-over pattern on the *chlamys* (cloak) does not always stop at the edge of the garment, as obviously it should (fig. 4),⁵⁴ but invades the *chiton* (fig. 5). In the case of bishops, the vestments at the neck (fig. 6)⁵⁵ have been rendered as a rigid framelike edging to the neck of the tunic; the *omophorion* (stole with crosses) is usually truncated (fig. 7).⁵⁶

Iconographic faults abound in Botkin enamels, and, although some of these occur in incontrovertibly Middle Byzantine examples or in earlier nineteenth-century forgeries, this merely serves to indicate the models used by the Botkin enameler. For instance, the hand of Christ Pantocrator which holds the Gos-



Fig. 6. Plaque, *St. John Chrysostom*, gold cloisonné enamel, on the "Chalice of the Patriarchs", Venice, S. Marco, Tesoro, inv. no. 69.

pels is veiled by drapery in at least a half-dozen Botkin examples;⁵⁷ whereas with many saints this was a common device to indicate the inviolability of the scriptures, in the case of Christ it is theological as well as iconographic nonsense. The model in this instance was the Pantocrator enamel from the Dzhu-mati icon of the archangel Gabriel (fig. 13).⁵⁸



Fig. 5. Medallion, *St. Demetrios*, gold cloisonné enamel (olim Botkin, collection). (From M. P. Botkin, *Collection M. P. Botkine* [St. Petersburg, 1911], pl. 72).



Fig. 7. Medallion, *St. Nicholas*, gold cloisonné enamel, Boston, The Museum of Fine Arts, no. 28.243 (olim Botkin collection).

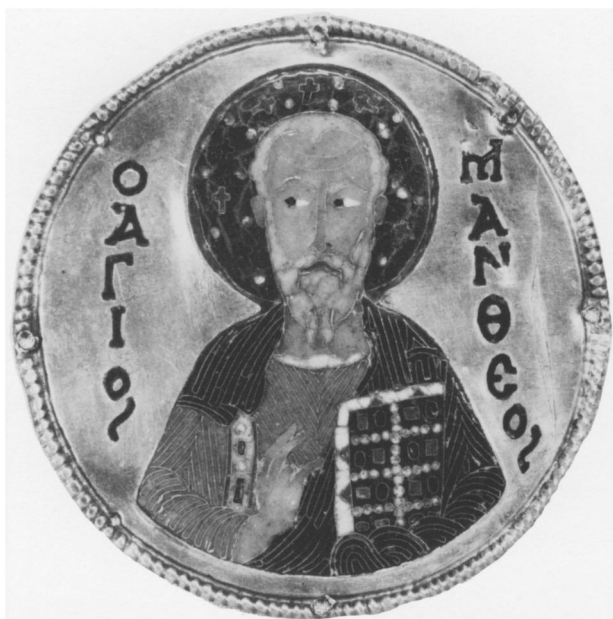


Fig. 8. *Medallion, St. Matthew*, gold cloisonné enamel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.672 (olim Zvenigorodskoi collection).



Fig. 9. *Medallion, St. Matthew*, gold cloisonné enamel (olim Botkin collection). (From M. P. Botkin, *Collection M. P. Botkine* [St. Petersburg, 1911], pl. 81).



Fig. 10. *Plaque, St. Paul and St. Peter*, gold cloisonné enamel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 52.54.5 (olim Botkin collection).

Most of the Botkin medallions owe at least something to the enamels from this icon, which were published in great detail and full color by Kondakov in 1892.⁵⁹ In particular, two spelling mistakes in the series, *HOGIOS* (tholy?) in place of *HO HAGIOS* (the holy . . . , i.e. Saint . . .)⁶⁰ and (fig. 8) *MANTHEOS* (Manthew) instead of *MATTHEOS* (Matthew), were faithfully reproduced on the Botkin medallions (fig. 9).⁶¹ A comparison of the Deësis, Sts. Peter and Paul, and the evangelists Matthew, Luke, and John in Kondakov's publication⁶² with *Vollschmelz* versions of exactly the same subjects on plate 81 of Botkin's catalogue shows the dependence (figs. 8⁶³ and 9); St. Mark's absence from both sets of evangelists is especially significant.

The busts on a few of the medallions in Botkin's collection seem to have been copied from the upper halves of full-length enameled figures on the reliquary of the True Cross in the cathedral treasury at Limburg an der Lahn, in the Federal Republic of Germany.⁶⁴ This magnificent reliquary, made in Constantinople between A.D. 963 and 989, certainly provided the models for most of the standing figures on Botkin's enamels. A direct copy is the plaque of Sts. Paul and Peter from the Botkin collection (fig. 10),⁶⁵ which closely reproduces a plaque of the same saints on the Limburg reliquary (fig. 11). However, on the reliquary the internal drawing on the chiton of each saint does not form closed cells, and the translucent colors run into each other through gaps left between the cloisons. On the Botkin plaque the cloisons on each chiton form closed cells and keep the colors

entirely separate. This difference suggests that the craftsman responsible for the Botkin version was not copying the figures on the Limburg reliquary itself but a full-color illustration in which the loose, impressionistic internal drawing of the original had already been converted into contrasting self-contained motifs. Just such an illustration was published in 1866 (fig. 12);⁶⁶ Kondakov published a monochrome wood engraving in 1892,⁶⁷ but the treatment accorded to the chitons on the Botkin plaque of Sts. Paul and Peter perfectly matches the lithographic representation in the 1866 publication.

The third principal grouping among Botkin's enamels comprises the New Testament scenes representing festivals of the Orthodox Church.⁶⁸ Although these can be related to Byzantine festival enamels on the great altarpiece the Pala d'Oro in San Marco, Venice, which were illustrated in color in 1885,⁶⁹ there are only six such scenes on the Pala d'Oro compared with eleven in the Botkin catalogue.⁷⁰ Paul Williamson has pointed out in the case of the Botkin Nativity plaque how varied the sources of the iconography were,⁷¹ and it is quite clear that in some cases the enameler of the Botkin festivals had recourse to the New Testament scenes in other media, notably painted icons.⁷² However, some use was made of the 1885 illustrations: although the inscription on the Botkin *Anastasis* plaque⁷³ reads *HE AEASTASIS* instead of *HE ANASTASIS* as on the Pala d'Oro itself,⁷⁴



Fig. 13. Medallion, *Christ Pantocrator*, gold cloisonné enamel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.678 (olim Zvenigorodskoi collection).

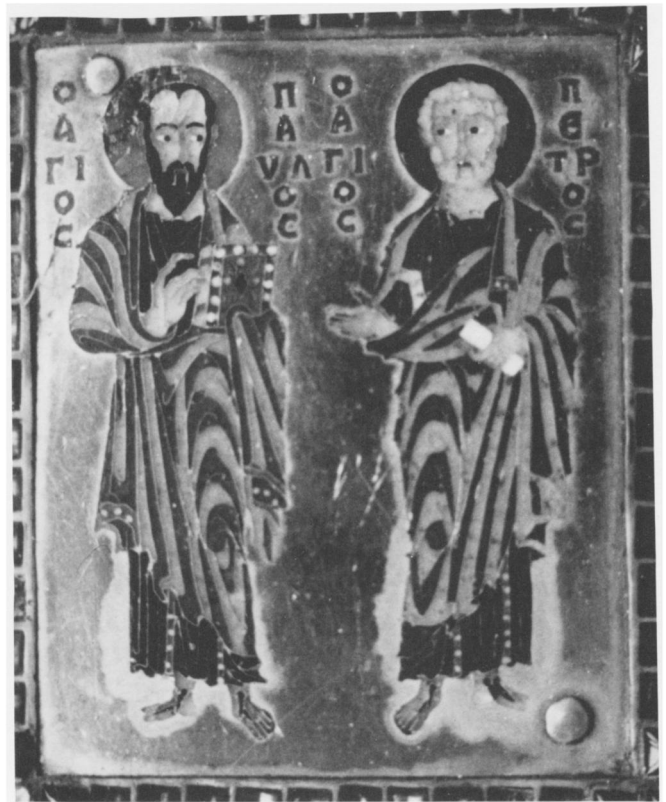


Fig. 11. Plaque, *St. Paul and St. Peter*, gold cloisonné enamel, on the Limburg reliquary of the True Cross, Limburg an der Lahn, Diözesanmuseum.

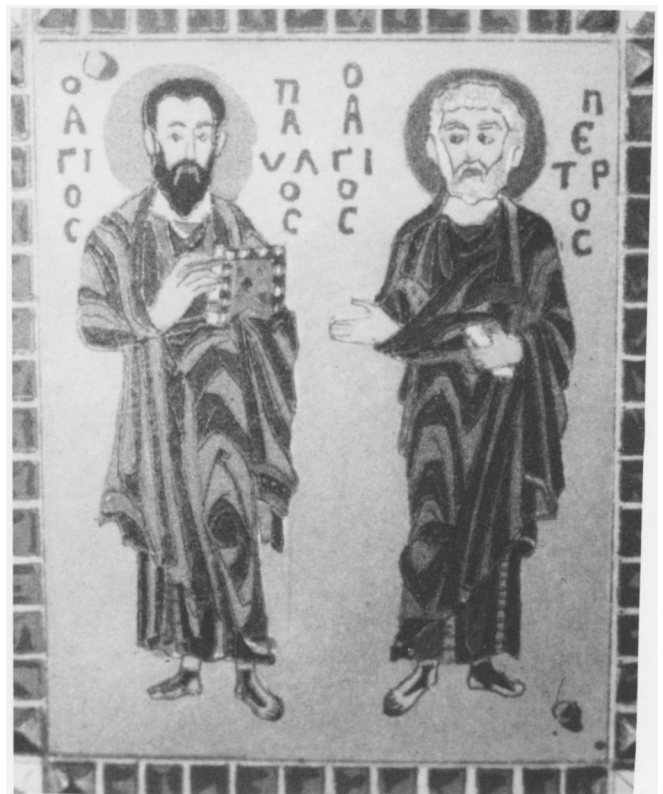


Fig. 12. Lithograph, *St. Paul and St. Peter*, gold cloisonné enamel plaque on the Limburg reliquary. (From E. aus'm Weerth, *Das Siegeskreuz der byzantinischen Kaiser Constantinus VII. Porphyrogenitus and Romanus II ...* [Bonn, 1866], pl. I).

the mistake had already been perpetrated by the artist responsible for the 1885 chromolithography, who had substituted an *eta* for the *nu* of the original.⁷⁵

A recent study of a Botkin enamel in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has identified two modern constituents in the enamel, uranium and chromium.⁷⁶ Constance Stromberg has found the same elements on Botkin plaques in The Walters Art Gallery and at Dumbarton Oaks; there also appears to be too much lead in comparison with medieval enamel and, perhaps, too much tin and too little antimony.⁷⁷ Consequently, there can now be no doubt that the distinctive enamels were made comparatively recently, presumably between 1892 and 1911, when Botkin's collection was swollen by over 150 of them.

The enamels in question are fakes, either because they were sold to an unsuspecting collector as medieval or because Botkin knew what they were and yet catalogued them as tenth to twelfth century. The tendency has been to assume that Botkin was himself deceived, but he was, after all, a successful artist, a member of the St. Petersburg Academy, and today his paintings hang in the Tret'yakov in Moscow and in other Soviet galleries.⁷⁸ Could he really have had no "eye" at all, and, as an assiduous collector, could he have been ignorant of what was going on, presumably in his own city?

For St. Petersburg was, of course, the enameling capital of the world during the years with which we are concerned. Kenneth Snowman relates how, in 1906, Carl Fabergé's third son, Alexander, traveled to Paris to ask the foremost enameler in France, Houillon, to take him as an apprentice. "Are you crazy?" was Houillon's response. "We in Paris are quite unable to do the things you appear to do so easily in St. Petersburg!"⁷⁹

The house of Fabergé produced at least one "Byzantine" cloisonné enamel, a copy of one of the Dzhumati Gabriel icon medallions (fig. 13),⁸⁰ possibly based on the illustration in Kondakov's 1892 publication. The copy was incorporated in a pendant (fig. 14) bearing the mark of Henry Wigström, who had become workmaster of one of the Fabergé workshops in 1903.⁸¹ After the Revolution, Carl Fabergé's second son, Agathon, stayed on and continued on and off with the work he had begun in 1914, restoring and cataloguing the imperial crown jewels.⁸² It is perhaps significant that when he left Russia in 1928 he carried with him two Botkin enamels, rectangular plaques with half-figures of Christ Pantocrator and the Mother of God.⁸³

There were, of course, many other firms of jewelers and goldsmiths besides that of Fabergé in turn-

of-the-century imperial St. Petersburg,⁸⁴ as well as the Stieglitz school for applied arts and handicrafts.⁸⁵ There must have been quite a number of enamellers capable of using their spare time to make "Byzantine" enamels there, and, with the availability of high-quality color lithographs, the geographical remoteness of models in Germany and Italy posed no serious problem.

In conclusion, it may be enlightening to turn to the three enamels which are the subject of Constance Stromberg's scientific report in this volume and to examine them in the light of the generalizations set out above.

I. *Vollschmelz* plaque of St. John Chrysostom (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, acc. no. 63.4) (fig. 15).⁸⁶ Although not typical of "Botkin" enamels, the St. John Chrysostom plaque shows many of their characteristics to an exaggerated degree. To begin with, it is exceptionally large (12.2 x 11.2 cm) and has the clean-cut design and broad expanses of color typical of enamels which entered the Botkin collection between 1892 and 1911. The gold base is extraordinarily thin, practically foil, and the cloisons are so fine that they are almost invisible. There are no nail holes in the *Vollschmelz* plaque, which, although it has been published as a fragment, is, according to Con-



Fig. 14. Pendant by Fabergé incorporating a cloisonné enamel *Pantocrator* based on the medallion in Fig. 13. (From H.C. Bainbridge, *Peter Carl Fabergé . . . Life and Work, A.D. 1846-1920* [London, 1949], pl. 112).

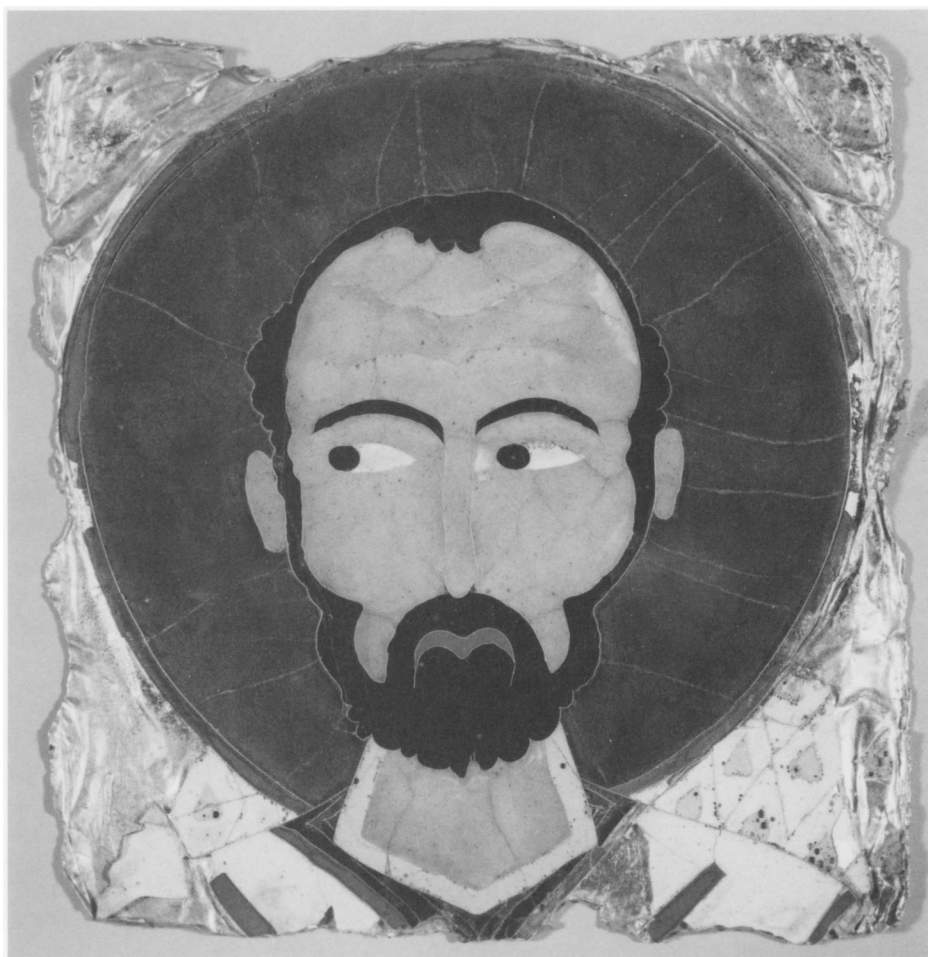


Fig. 15. *Plaque, St. John Chrysostom*, gold cloisonné enamel, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, no. 63.4 (*olim* Botkin collection).

stance Stromberg, complete.⁸⁷

The saint has intricately outlined, carefully detailed hair and beard, with an asymmetrical forelock instead of the iconographically correct widow's peak.⁸⁸ The face is broad at the forehead and cheekbones, with exaggerated curves and sucked-in lower cheeks. The nose is long, with a trefoil tip; the eyes are elongated, with the iris in the corner. The ears are blobs, drawn with a separate cloison, and the mouth has an exaggerated double downward curve.

There is no inscription, and no hands or draperies are visible; there is still room, however, for a few iconographic peculiarities. The background of white lozenges with yellow inverted heart shapes is badly out of context; its closest parallel is possibly the decoration of Christ's throne on the Limburg reliquary.⁸⁹ The rigid framelike collar, so typical of representations of bishops in the Botkin collection, owes more to Russian icons than it does to Byzantine enamels. Coloristically, the red and white (instead of black and white) *omophorion* again recalls Russian icons, and the opaque green of the halo shows a lack of understanding; the colors of haloes in Byzantine enamel essen-

tially provided contrast, those in *Vollschmelz* (where the background was translucent green) being commonly opaque yellow, and those in *Senkschmelz* (against a gold background) being opaque light blue, except in the case of elderly saints, whose gray hair (especially when represented in opaque pale blue enamel) would be given a contrasting halo, usually of translucent green.

II. *Senkschmelz* medallion of St. Gregory Nazianzenus, the Theologian (Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 44.644) (fig. 16).⁹⁰ The medallion is of prodigious size (D 14.1 cm) and is made from a single sheet of gold. The nail holes are fairly regularly placed, and one appears never to have been used.⁹¹ The inscription, which is in black, is much more complete than was customary with Byzantine enamel;⁹² there is a strange single accent over the HO HA[GIOS] monogram,⁹³ and a Russian letter *i* in place of the Greek *eta*.

Once again the hair and beard are fussily detailed, and the face is broad at the brow and cheekbones, with exaggerated curves, especially at the



Fig. 16. Medallion, St. Gregory Nazianzenus, the Theologian, gold cloisonné enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.644 (olim Botkin collection).

cheeks. The nose is long and trefoil-tipped, the ears are shapeless, apparently defined with a separate cloison, and the mouth has the familiar double downward curve. The only facial features that are not typical of most of the enamels in the Botkin collection are the eyes, with their centered irises. The saint's left hand, holding a book, is veiled in billowy drapery; the right hand, however, is unusually well articulated for a Botkin enamel, the third finger folded into the palm. The draperies are represented by the combination of nested V-folds and square-end hairpin shapes which is absolutely characteristic of Botkin enamels.

Iconographic peculiarities include the rigid framelike collar and an *omophorion* which is too short, is folded in an unusual manner and has patriarchal (double) crosses instead of the simple (Latin) ones that would be expected.⁹⁴ There are book-clasps on two edges of the book instead of only on the edge opposite the spine, and there is a puzzling small cross apparently either balanced on the saint's index finger or fastened to the *omophorion*.⁹⁵ Besides the black of the inscription, coloristic oddities include the red edges of the *omophorion* and, possibly, the eyebrows which match the hair color.⁹⁶

III. *Vollschmelz* medallion of Christ Emmanuel (Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 44.641) (fig. 17).⁹⁷ There is little obviously wrong with this medallion of the youthful Christ. Its diameter, 4.2 cm, would not be exceptional in a Byzantine context, but the base is made of very thin gold, almost foil, and there are no nail holes.



Fig. 17. Medallion, Christ Emmanuel, gold cloisonné enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.641 (olim Zvenigorodskoi and Botkin collections).

Although the hair is very detailed and the face is broad at the brow, the representation is fairly naturalistic, lacking the exaggerated "Art Nouveau" curves that make most Botkin enamels look like caricatures. The nose is straight, with a lozenge tip, and the eyes have white showing below the irises, which are centered. The reasonably naturalistic ears are defined by the cloison which also forms the jaw; the mouth is damaged. The facial features would not be out of place on a Byzantine *Senkschmelz* plaque of the second half of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century. The hands are not very well drawn; the right has the third finger tucked into the palm and the left is indistinct. The draperies are defined by nested V-folds but are reasonably naturalistic and convincing.

The only suspicious elements, apart from the foil base and the absence of nail holes, are the right hand, which should surely be blessing, and the extremely well-formed, enameled letters of the inscription; these are closely related to the letter-forms used on the *Senkschmelz* medallions from the Dzhumati Gabriel icon (fig. 13), which purport to date from the twelfth century, and do not accord with the tenth or early eleventh-century facial features. Constance Stromberg has now shown that the enamel of the Emmanuel medallion contains chromium, which is not known to have been used as a glass or enamel colorant until the nineteenth century.

The differences between the Emmanuel medallion on the one hand and the St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzenus on the other were to be expected. For whereas the latter made their first appearance in 1911 in Botkin's catalogue and were

probably custom-made for his collection, the Emmanuel was a hand-me-down: it had been published as early as 1890. It was then in the collection of A. V. Zvenigorodskoi, who acquired his enamels between June 1881 and May 1885; the Emmanuel medallion probably entered his possession in either August or December 1881,⁹⁸ thirty years before the other two enamels were even heard of. It therefore belongs to a rather earlier generation of forgeries.

Botkin enamels have deceived quite a lot of people for quite a length of time. One of the reasons for

this must be their profusion: as loose enamels, unattached to chalices, reliquaries, book covers and the like, they threaten to outnumber genuine Byzantine examples,⁹⁹ distorting twentieth-century perception of Byzantine enamel and even finding their way into published histories of the subject.¹⁰⁰ The way is now clear for a careful reassessment of the work of Byzantine enamellers, based on a rigorous examination of the materials, techniques, iconography, epigraphy, and styles that can securely be identified as theirs. Imitation may be the sincerest form of flattery; imposture is not.

NOTES

1. Based on the papers "St. Petersburg 1892–1911: When the Saints Go Marching In?", presented at the 8th British Museum enamel colloquium, October 29–31, 1987, and "Pre-Revolution Russian Collections of Medieval and Quasi-Medieval Cloisonné Enamel," given at the tenth anniversary conference of the Society of Jewellery Historians, Burlington House, London, November 2–3, 1987. The author records his appreciation of help with aspects of this study given by John Ball (W. G. Ball Bros, Longton, Stoke on Trent), Aileen Dawson (British Museum), Geneviève François (Corpus des émaux méridionaux, CNRS, Paris), Margaret Frazer (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), Paul Hetherington (London), Tony Issa-Churchill (Art Research and Trading, Vienna), Norbert Jopek (Trier), Geoffrey Munn (Wartski, London), Jack Ogden (London), Yanni Petsopoulos (Axia Art Consultants, London), Cornelius Steckner (Hamburg), Constance Stromberg, John Stuart (Sotheby's, London), Christine Thomas (British Library), and Paul Williamson (Victoria and Albert Museum).
2. (M. P. Botkin) *Collection M. P. Botkine* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 2–29, pls. 1–56 (hereafter, Botkin, *Collection*). The catalogue is in French, whence the transliteration of Botkin's name with a final "e"; in the present article standard English transliteration has been used for all Russian names and other words unless they appear in quotations or the non-Russian titles of published material.
3. J. Schulz, *Der byzantinische Zellschmelz* (Frankfurt am Main, 1890), 53 (hereafter, Schulz, *Zellschmelz*). V. A. Prokhorov (1818–82) was a noted antiquarian writer, artist, and publisher.
4. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 91.
5. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 86 (right). Now in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., acc. no. 36.20.
6. *Exposition de 1865, Musée rétrospectif*, Paris, Palais de l'industrie (Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie), (Paris, 1865), *Catalogue des antiques*, no. 591. P. I. Sevast'yanov (1811–67) was particularly interested in manuscripts (see *Russkii Archiv*, 1867, cols. 2009–12, and A. Viktorov, *Sobranie rukopisei P. I. Sevast'yanova* [Moscow, 1881]).
7. Schulz, *Zellschmelz*, 53. According to Schulz (53, note 3), the reliquary-cross was copied in silver by the Moscow firm of Ovchinnikov at the instigation of A. V. Zvenigorodskoi, who presented the copy to the Suermondt Museum, Aachen, in 1884; unfortunately, it does not seem to have survived (Dr. E. G. Grimme, personal communication, May 22, 1987).
8. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 85 (wrongly identified as St. George). Now in the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, inv. no. 3214.

(The St. George of the series, which was in the collection of Count A. A. Bobrinskii, is now in the State Hermitage, Leningrad, inv. no. V3–787).

9. D. Z. Bakradze, *Arkheologicheskoe putesthestvie po Gurii i Adchare* (St. Petersburg), 1878 (researched in 1873), 261 f., no. 2 (hereafter, Bakradze, *Putesthestvie*). N. P. Kondakov, *Opis' pamyatnikov drevnosti v nekotorykh khramakh i monastyryakh Gruzii* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 102 f., fig. 48 (hereafter, Kondakov, *Opis' drevnosti*). On the original of this text illustration, against each of the medallions which had left Georgia between 1885 and 1889, is the manuscript name of its new (Russian) owner; Botkin's name does not appear, and so the St. Demetrios medallion evidently had not entered his collection by 1889, when the book was written.

10. N. Kondakov (N. P. Kondakov), *Geschichte und Denkmäler des byzantinischen Emails (Byzantinische Zellen-Emails: Sammlung A. W. Swenigorodskoi)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1892), 379, note 1; 380 (hereafter, Kondakov, *Geschichte*). Also published as *Istoriya i pamyatniki vizantiiskoi emali (Vizantiiskaya emali: sobranie A. V. Zvenigorodskago)* (St. Petersburg, 1892), and *Histoire et monuments des émaux byzantins (Émaux byzantins: collection Zvenigorodskoi)* (Frankfurt am Main, 1892).

11. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 85. Now also in the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, inv. no. 3215.

12. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 86. Now in the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, inv. no. 3217.

13. Bakradze, *Putesthestvie*, 138, no. 3.

14. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, iv (foreword by Zvenigorodskoi).

15. J. Schulz, *Die byzantinischen Zellen-Emails der Sammlung Swenigorodskoi* (Aachen, 1884) (hereafter, Schulz, *Zellen-Emails*); see C. de Linas, "Émaillerie byzantine: la collection Svenigorodskoi," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 3rd ser., 3 (1885), 209–17 (hereafter, Linas, "Émaillerie").

16. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, iv, note 1.

17. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 85. Now in the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, inv. no. 3228.

18. Bakradze, *Putesthestvie*, 262–4, no. 3. Kondakov, *Opis' drevnosti*, 102; Kondakov, *Geschichte*, 273, fig. 91.

19. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, iv.

20. Schulz, *Zellen-Emails*; see also Linas, "Émaillerie," 206.

21. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, iv, note 1.

22. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 69. Now mounted as the central icon of the Khakhuli Triptych in the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi. The face and hands are close, if not identical, to the face

and hands of the icon shown in an 1890 publication of the Khakhuli Triptych (Kondakov, *Opis' drevnosti*, fig. 1), but it is impossible to tell from the illustration whether these features are enameled or, as would be normal, painted in egg tempera on a wood panel. In any case, the accompanying description (*Opis' drevnosti*, 6) runs: "The triptych serves as a *kiot* [icon-case] for an icon of the Mother of God, comprising a modern copy of an ancient miracle-working image painted after the model of the Mother of God *Chalkoprateria*, venerated from time immemorial in the church of that name in Constantinople."

23. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, 380.

24. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 91 (top left and right). Now in the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts, Tbilisi, inv. no. S⁴ 3227.

25. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, 322, note 1.

26. The evidence is not entirely negative, for Schulz (*Zellenschmelz*, 53–5) surveys Russian holdings of Byzantine enamels (noting the representation of Sts. Nicholas and Basil and the Sevast'yanov cross [nos. 1 and 2 above] in Botkin's possession) and then sums up: "In short, the history of art knows no private collection of Byzantine cloisonné enamels to compare even distantly with that of Zvenigorodskoi" (which at the time, 1889, contained just over thirty-five items). Kondakov, publishing three years after Schulz's death, mentions a further five items in Botkin's collection (nos. 3–7 above). Kondakov was the curator of the medieval and Renaissance collections in the Imperial Hermitage and held the chair of art history at the University of St. Petersburg, Botkin's own city; it would seem that by 1892, when Kondakov's history of Byzantine enamel was published, either Botkin had not increased his collection of cloisonné enamel beyond the seven items recorded, or Kondakov considered any other Botkin enamels unworthy of mention.

27. Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 57–91 (pl. 85 for the two Georgian enamels).

28. For example, the Emmanuel medallion in The Walters Art Gallery, which had belonged to Zvenigorodskoi before it entered the Botkin collection.

29. "A. J. K." (A. J. Koop?) in *Burlington Magazine*, 22 (1912–1913), 352. The present author is grateful to the current editor of *Burlington Magazine* for permission to reproduce these extracts. The reviewer compares the Botkin enamels to a large collection of engraved gems assembled in Italy early in the nineteenth century by Prince Stanislas Poniatowski (1754–1833), nephew and heir of the king of Poland. Although they purported to date from classical antiquity, the consistency of their style and technique has long been regarded as militating against their authenticity (see C. Gere, J. Rudoe, H. Tait, and T. Wilson, *The Art of the Jeweller: Catalogue of the Hull Grundy Gift to the British Museum: Jewellery, Engraved Gems and Goldsmiths' Work*, I, [London, 1984], 124, no. 836). On the question of Kondakov's opinion of Botkin's enamels, see note 26, above.

30. "An Important Group of Enamels," *Connoisseur*, 132 (1953), 104.

31. Cited by O. G. von Wesendonk, "Über georgisches Heidentum," *Caucasica*, 1 (1924), 96, note 2.

32. "Le Thorakion: caractéristique iconographique du XI^e siècle," *Mélanges Charles Diehl* (Paris, 1930), 75, nos. 12, 13, figs. 1, 2; see Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 78 (the Mother of God as a Byzantine empress), and pl. 80 (an equestrian St. George).

33. "The Crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos," *Archaeologia Hungarica*, 22 (1937), 89.

34. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bulletin*, 20 (1938), 61, note 172; see Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 59.

35. O. Kurz, *Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students* (London, 1948), 216–217. The present author is grateful to Messrs. Faber and Faber Ltd. for permission to reproduce this extract. In fact, both instances of an enthroned Christ illustrated by Botkin (*Collection*, pls. 61, 63) do include footstools of a sort; the "Madonna" mentioned by Kurz is identical with the "seated *Hodegetria*" condemned by Lazarev (see note 34).

36. *Three Thousand Years of Deception in Art and Antiques* (London, 1961) (translation by J. Maxwell Brownjohn of *Kunst der Fälscher der Kunst* [Düsseldorf, 1959]), 321.

37. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks, no. 63.4. A. Gonosová, "A Study of an Enamel Fragment in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32 (1978), 327–33 (hereafter, Gonosová, "Fragment"); see Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 85. (Photo (c) 1987, courtesy of Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, D.C.)

38. S. Boyd and G. Vikan, *Questions of Authenticity among the Arts of Byzantium*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publication, 3, (Washington, D.C., 1981) 28–29, no. 13.

39. "Botkinin kokoelman kultaemali-ikoneja Suomessa," *Taidehistoriallisia Tutkimuksia/Konsthistoriska Studier*, 6 (1982), 8–17 (hereafter, Jääskinen, "Kultaemali-ikoneja"); see Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 77, 91.

40. *L'Antiquité classique, le haut moyen âge et Byzance au Musée de Cluny* (Paris, 1985), 241, no. 165: "Orient byzantin, X^e-XI^e s. (ou XIX^e s?)" ; see Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 79.

41. H. Swarzenski and N. Netzer, *Medieval Objects in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Enamels and Glass* (Boston, 1986), 148–149, no. A1 (technical note by P. England) (hereafter, Swarzenski and Netzer, *Medieval Objects*); see Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 73.

42. P. Williamson, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection: Medieval Sculpture and Works of Art* (London, 1987), 160–3, no. 34 (hereafter, Williamson, *Thyssen-Bornemisza*); see Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 88.

43. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 62. Now in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 52.54.7. (Photo David Buckton, courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.)

44. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 82. Now in Madrid, Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, inv. no. 3290. (Photo courtesy of the Fundación Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid.)

45. See Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 63, 68 (St. John the Baptist), 73 (St. Matthew), 74 (bottom right plaque), 80, 90 (Resurrection of Lazarus).

46. Swarzenski and Netzer, *Medieval Objects*, 148, no. A1. The present author has recently examined a plaque of St. James (Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 76) where, in a now damaged area, the anchoring of the cloisons into an undercoat of clear glass flux is perfectly visible. See J. P. Strosahl, J. L. Strosahl, and C. L. Barnhart, *A Manual of Cloisonné and Champlevé Enamelling* (New York, 1981), 26 (hereafter, Strosahl et al., *Manual*): "The modern method of cloisonné is to fire a thin coat of one enamel and to position the wire shapes on this enameled surface. Then all is fired again and the wire sinks into the undercoat, to be held in place when the enamel cools." See also *Manual*, 65 f., fig. 95.

47. Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, III, chaps. 54, 55. See Theophilus, *De diversis artibus*, C. R. Dodwell, ed. (London/Edinburgh/Melbourne/Toronto/New York, 1961), 107; *On Divers Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus*, J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith, trans. and eds. (Chicago, 1963), 127–128.

48. Another modern practice; see Strosahl et al., *Manual*, 85 ("Flux overcoats"), 135 ("Problem enamels").

49. It was probably alien to the philosophy and practice of a Byzantine goldsmith to provide a plaque with fixing-holes which might in the future prove desirable; it is certainly far more likely that holes were made only when they were needed. The present author appeals to fellow curators not to risk the distortion of such evidence by making use of existing nail holes, etc., when securing museum objects.
50. See below.
51. Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 65, 91 (St. Theodore): Russian *de* in place of Greek *delta*; pl. 84 (St. Luke): Russian *el'* in place of Greek *lamda*.
52. Jack Ogden has pointed out to the present author that metal strips bent into these shapes will stand up without being supported. This is significant in the context of cloisons fixed into an undercoat of glass: see Strosahl *et al.*, *Manual*, 26: "... the wire literally floats in a sea of molten enamel during firing..."
53. Photo David Buckton, courtesy of the Bischöfliches Ordinariat, Limburg an der Lahn.
54. Venice, San Marco, "Chalice of the Patriarchs," inv. no. 69. (Photo David Buckton, courtesy of the Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice.)
55. Photo David Buckton, courtesy of the Procuratoria di San Marco, Venice.
56. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 73. Now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 28.243. (Photo courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Marie Antoinette Evans Fund.)
57. Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 63, 68, 77, 85, 86, 89.
58. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
59. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, pls. 1–12. There is no doubt that these superb chromolithographic illustrations could have served as blueprints for the Botkin enamels, as one of them probably did for a Fabergé copy (see below).
60. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, pls. 7, 11.
61. Botkin, *Collection*, (respectively) pl. 83, pls. 72, 81.
62. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, pls. 1–8.
63. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
64. H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (Düsseldorf, 1957), pls. 38–47 (hereafter, Schnitzler, *Schatzkammer*).
65. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 79. Now in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 52.54.5. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
66. E. aus'm Weerth, *Das Siegeskreuz der byzantinischen Kaiser Constantinus VII. Porphyrogenitus und Romanus II. und der Hirtenstab des Apostels Petrus* (Bonn, 1866), pl. I (hereafter, aus'm Weerth, *Siegeskreuz*).
67. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, 211, fig. 61.
68. Primarily Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 87–90; for the present whereabouts of these enamels, see Williamson, *Thyssen-Bornemisza*, 160.
69. A. Pasini, *Il Tesoro di San Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1885), pls. XV, XVII (hereafter, Pasini, *Tesoro*). The quality of these chromolithographs is, however, inferior to those in Kondakov's *Geschichte* or aus'm Weerth's *Siegeskreuz*.
70. The eleven festival enamels in the Botkin collection comprised the following (asterisks denote the scenes represented in Byzantine enamel on the Pala d'Oro): the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism of Christ, the Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Entry into Jerusalem,* the Crucifixion,* the Anastasis,* the Ascension,* Pentecost,* and the Koimesis.* Botkin possessed a second Crucifixion scene (*Collection*, pl. 66), and an Annunciation (pl. 62) might possibly be added to the eleven other festivals.
71. Williamson, *Thyssen-Bornemisza*, 162.
72. Whereas on the Pala d'Oro the Pentecost scene includes a black king and a white one, symbolizing the nations of the world to whom the apostles could preach once they had received the gift of tongues, the Botkin Pentecost plaque has the single figure of Cosmos, which is the standard iconography on Russian icons.
73. Botkin, *Collection*, pl. 87.
74. W. F. Volbach, A. Pertusi, B. Bischoff, H. R. Hahnloser, and G. Fiocco, *La Pala d'Oro* (Florence, 1965), pl. XLV (hereafter, Volbach *et al.*, *Pala d'Oro*).
75. Pasini, *Tesoro*, pl. XV.
76. Swarzenski and Netzer, *Medieval Objects*, 148.
77. See the following article.
78. See *Illyustrirovannyi katalog khudozhestvennago otdela vserossiiskoi vystavki v Moskve, 1882 g.*, N. P. Sobko and M. P. Botkin, eds. (St. Petersburg, 1882), 4–5, illus. pp. 7–8, nos. 40, 42–4; U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler ...* (Leipzig, 1910), IV, 411; E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire ... des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs ...*, nouv. ed. (Paris, 1976), II, 201.
79. A. K. Snowman, *The Art of Carl Fabergé* (London, 1953), 52–53 (hereafter, Snowman, *Fabergé*).
80. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.678. Photo courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
81. H. C. Bainbridge, *Peter Carl Fabergé ... : His Life and Work, A.D. 1846–1920* (London, 1949), 129, pl. 112. The enameler is thought to have been Aleksandr or Nikolai Petrov, or Vasilii Boitsov. Photo reproduced with kind permission of the publishers, B. T. Batsford, Ltd.
82. Snowman, *Fabergé*, 129–300.
83. Jääskinen, "Kultaemali-ikoneja," 17.
84. Snowman, *Fabergé*, 123.
85. A. Dawson, "The Stieglitz Museum," *Apollo*, 120 (1984), 312–7.
86. First published in 1911 in Botkin's catalogue (*Collection*, pl. 85), this plaque has no known earlier history. When the Botkin collection came on the market, the St. John Chrysostom was one of the nine enamels bought by A. S. Drey (Munich). It was exhibited in Chicago in 1931 (*Byzantine Art*, University of Chicago), Baltimore in 1947 (*Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, The Walters Art Gallery, exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art [Baltimore, 1947] no. 527, [hereafter, *Early Christian*]), and Hartford in 1948. In 1948 Paul Drey (New York) sold it to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, who presented it to Dumbarton Oaks in 1963. It was exhibited at the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., between 1972 and 1976, and was published at length, as eleventh-century, in 1978 (Gonosová, "Fragment"). In 1981 it was included in the Dumbarton Oaks exhibition *Questions of Authenticity Among the Arts of Byzantium* (see note 38) and has not since been on public display.
87. Gonosová, "Fragment," title and *passim*. See the following article.
88. Representations of St. John Chrysostom in enamel show him with a pointed widow's peak on the two Romanos chalices in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice (inv. nos. 65 and 70), and on the Limburg reliquary; on the rather later "Chalice of the Patriarchs" in San Marco (inv. no. 69) the peak is slightly rounded but still strictly symmetrical. On the Pala d'Oro it has all but disappeared,

but the hairline remains symmetrical (Volbach, *et al.*, *Pala d'Oro*, pl. LVI, no. 137).

89. Schnitzler, *Schatzkammer*, pl. 41. This enamel was the model for an enthroned Christ in the Botkin collection (*Collection*, pl. 61).

90. The medallion has no known history before it was published in the 1911 catalogue of the Botkin collection (*Collection*, pl. 64). It was subsequently published in 1960 (*Art Quarterly*, 23 [1960], 182, 184) and in 1961 (*Chronique des arts* [February 1961], 21, no. 73); it was acquired by The Walters Art Gallery in 1960. Photo, The Walters Art Gallery.

91. The small one "between eight and nine o'clock."

92. Byzantine enamels of St. Gregory Nazianzenus have the following inscriptions after the monogram for "Saint": GREG/ HO THEOL/ (San Marco chalices inv. nos. 65 and 69) and GREG/ HO THE/ (San Marco chalice inv. no. 70). The relevant enamel on the Limburg reliquary (GRIGOR/ HO THEOL/) has recently been comprehensively restored; it was not, in any case, reproduced in the 1866 publication (see note 66).

93. Two accents, one of which is very like the accent on the Baltimore St. Gregory medallion, appear on each of the medallions of St. George and St. Demetrios from the Dzhumati Gabriel icon (Kondakov, *Geschichte*, pls. 9, 10).

94. Patriarchal crosses on *omophoria* are commonplace on Russian icons; see also note 95.

95. On a small medallion in the Zvenigorodskoi Collection (Kondakov, *Geschichte*, pl. 14) St. John Chrysostom is shown with a patriarchal cross in an analogous position, but he is holding this in his right hand, and it is to be regarded as an attribute of this particular saint (*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, W. Braunfels, ed., VII, col. 95).

96. St. Gregory Nazianzenus, the Theologian, has blue hair but black eyebrows in enamel plaques on two Byzantine chalices in the San Marco Treasury (inv. nos. 69 ["Chalice of the Patriarchs"] and 70 [the Romanos chalice with handles]).

97. Published in 1890 (Schulz, *Zellenschmelz*, pl. 14), in 1892 (Kondakov, *Geschichte*, 307–9, pl. 14), and in 1896 (F. Bock, *Die byzantinischen Zellenschmelze der Sammlung Dr. Alex. von Swenigorodskoi* [Aachen, 1896], 398), the medallion belonged at the time to A. V. Zvenigorodskoi. In 1911 it was included in the catalogue of the Botkin collection (*Collection*, pl. 85) and was one of the nine enamels from that collection subsequently bought by A. S. Drey (Munich). The Emmanuel medallion was included in the mandatory sale of the Drey stock in 1936 (sale catalogue Paul Graupe, Berlin, June 17–18, 1936, lot 212, pl. 48) and when exhibited in Baltimore in 1947 (*Early Christian*, no. 531) it belonged to Frederic A. Stern. It was apparently reacquired by the Drey family, as it was sold to The Walters Art Gallery by the Paul Drey Gallery, New York City, in 1957. It was published in the same year (*Art Quarterly*, 20 [1957], 205, 209), in 1959 (P. Verdier, *Russian Art* [Baltimore, 1959], no. 6), and in 1966 (R. H. Randall, Jr., "Jewellery through the Ages," *Apollo*, 84 [1966], 496–497). Photo, The Walters Art Gallery.

98. Kondakov, *Geschichte*, iv.

99. There are many more Botkin-type enamels than were published in Botkin's catalogue. The British Museum has recently acquired a plaque of Sts. Paul and Peter (reg. no. M&LA 1984, 11–4,1) which is virtually identical to the plaque in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 10), and was clearly made by the same person at the same time.

100. For example, K. Wessel, *Die byzantinische Emailkunst vom 5. bis 13. Jahrhundert* (Recklinghausen, 1967), nos. 43, 54.

*A Technical Study of Three Cloisonné Enamels from the Botkin Collection*¹

CONSTANCE STROMBERG

Kathmandu, Nepal

In 1911 a catalogue of the collections of M. P. Botkin, in Russia, was published that included over 170 cloisonné enamels in the Byzantine, Georgian, and Russian styles.² Most of these enamels have no earlier history, and it is now generally thought that the majority may indeed have been made for Botkin in the years around 1900.³ But, because there is still not complete consensus on this question, a thorough technical examination was recently undertaken of three suspect Botkin pieces:⁴ St. Gregory Nazianzenus (fig. 1) and Christ Emmanuel (fig. 2) medallions in The Walters Art Gallery, and a fragmentary plaque of St. John Chrysostom (fig. 3) at Dumbarton Oaks.⁵ Two Byzantine medallions of undisputed authenticity, St. Eleutherios from the Walters (fig. 4) and St. Lauros from Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 5), are included for comparison with the Botkin pieces.⁶ Two medallions, Christ (fig. 6) and St. Matthew (fig. 7), originally from an icon at the Monastery at Dzhumati, Georgia, and now at The Metropolitan Museum of Art,⁷ and several Botkin plaques at the Metropolitan Museum⁸ were also briefly examined for this project. Visual and microscopic examination, and x-radiography were used to investigate the condition, manufacturing techniques, and structure of the enamels. Another non-destructive analytical method, qualitative x-ray fluorescence spectrometry (XRF), was used to investigate colorants and opacifiers in the colored glasses. The compositions of the gold alloys were determined using semi-quantitative XRF, and compared to analyses of gold alloys from other studies of cloisonné enamels. Neutron activa-

tion analysis of alloys from one of the Dzhumati medallions and the three Metropolitan Museum of Art Botkin pieces will be included here for comparison.

The Technique of Cloisonné Enamel

The treatise *On Divers Arts* written by the monk Theophilus, who was probably a twelfth-century metalworker in a German abbey, provides valuable insight into metal working, enameling, and glass manufacture during the Middle Ages. Cellini's *Treatise on Goldsmithing*, and Biringuccio's *Pirotechnia* contain useful information about sixteenth-century gold and enamel work.⁹ However, inspection of Byzantine enamels shows many variations on the methods described in these sources. For cloisonné enameling, thin gold strips (cloisons) were shaped to form designs, and then attached to a gold baseplate. The cells formed by the designs were filled with various colored glass powders, and the assembly was fired to melt the glass, usually fusing it to the baseplate. After cooling, more powder was added, and the object was refired one or more times until the cells were filled. The enamel was then polished until it was level with the tops of the cloisons, and was sometimes given a final firing.

Medieval craftsmen prepared the gold baseplate in various ways. The flat metal sheet might be covered across its surface with cloisons and enamel, or cavities for the cloisonné design might be sunk into the baseplate by hammering. In the latter method it was common to attach a second gold sheet on top of the backing sheet, cut out around the enamel, provid-



Fig. 1a. Medallion, St. Gregory, enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.644.



Fig. 1b. Reverse of Fig. 1.

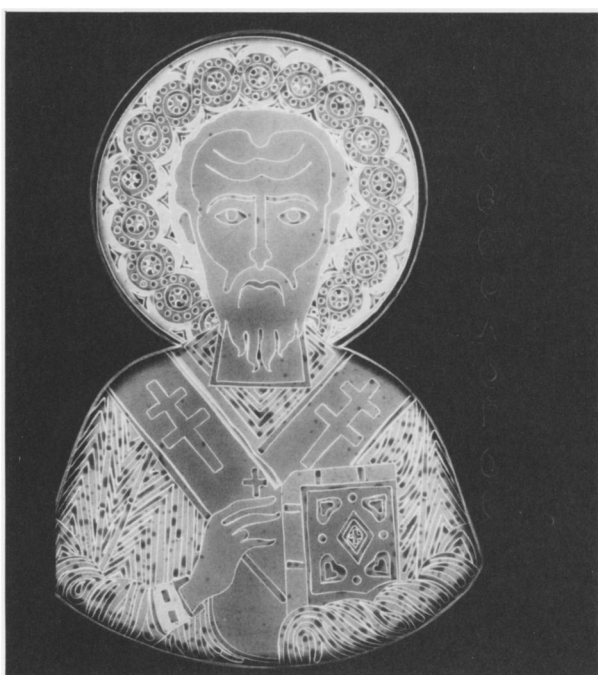


Fig. 1c. X-radiograph of Fig. 1.

ing a crisper edge to the design.¹⁰ Outlines of major design lines were often punched into the backing sheet, presumably as a guide for the placement of cloisons (fig. 7b).¹¹

The cloisons of Byzantine enamels are found to be both attached and unattached to the baseplate.¹² Theophilus describes soldering cloisons to the gold backing sheet after fixing them in place with moistened flour.¹³ In the sixteenth century Cellini men-

tions that cloisons can be soldered or not, after having been affixed to the backing sheet with gum tragacanth, since in either case they would be held in place by the fused enamel.¹⁴ A twentieth-century enamel craftsman, Herbert Maryon, suggests soldering a few of the principal cloisons, then scraping the cloisons and background clean of flux or solder residue prior to packing the cells with enamel powder.¹⁵ Modern enameleers usually apply an undercoat of clear enamel flux to the metal base, attach the cloisons by securing them onto the glassy layer with gum binder, and fire the assembly; however, soldering is still done in some cases.¹⁶

The glass or enamel powders were composed primarily of sand (silica) and sodium or potassium containing alkali. Lead was often added both to lower the melting temperature of the glass and to act as a colorant. Contaminants such as calcium, iron, and manganese are usually present in medieval glasses.¹⁷ Medieval and Byzantine glasses were colored and opacified by small amounts of metallic elements or their ores. Factors such as time of heating and whether there were oxidizing or reducing conditions in the furnace affected the final colors. Theophilus discusses heating the same pot of glass for different periods to obtain saffron yellow, flesh, or purple colors. He also describes the use of white, black, green, yellow, blue, red, and purple Roman mosaic tesserae in the manufacture of enamel colors.¹⁸



Fig. 2a. *Medallion, Christ Emmanuel*, enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.641.



Fig. 2b. Reverse of Fig. 2.

Condition of the Enamels in This Study

The three Botkin enamels in this study (figs. 1–3) are in good to excellent condition. The gold and enamel surfaces show very little abrasion. The enamel colors are bright and appear to have the opacity or translucency that was originally intended in their manufacture. Large pieces of enamel have been lost from the Christ Emmanuel and St. John Chrysostom plaques, probably because it did not fuse onto the gold backing sheet. The gold backing on these two plaques, which is thin enough to be termed foil, is crimped and bent in the areas that have lost enamel. The gold foil of the St. John Chrysostom enamel is torn, and there are remnants of cloisons and enamel near the shoulders of the figure. However there is no evidence of cloisons in the upper corners of the gold foil, and this area may never have held enamel. The Christ Emmanuel medallion was enameled over its entire surface. Pieces of the background and the cloison at the mouth appear to have been intentionally removed. Conchoidal chips missing from around the mouth probably occurred with removal of that cloison. Losses on the Christ Emmanuel medallion may have been attempts at artificial aging, as they are visible in the 1911 Botkin catalogue. The Botkin St. Gregory Nazianzenus enamel is in excellent condition, with a few light scratches on the gold and enamel.¹⁹

The enamels examined for this study exhibit a range of condition. The small Byzantine sunken en-



Fig. 2c. X-radiograph of Fig. 2.

amels (figs. 4, 5) have not fared as well as the Botkin pieces. The St. Eleutherios and St. Lauros medallions were probably buried, or at least subjected to adverse environments. Remnants of a black crust present mainly over the cloisons on the St. Eleutherios are probably related to burial. The gold baseplates are cracked, abraded, and distorted. The enamel colors have been corroded or leached from contact with burial soil or atmospheric moisture, causing a fragile,

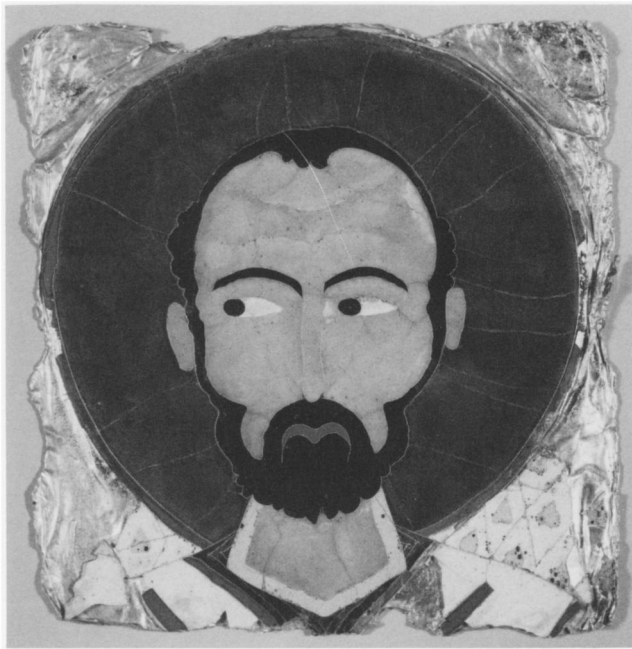


Fig. 3a. *Plaque, St. John Chrysostom*, enamel, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 63.4.



Fig. 3b. Reverse of Fig. 3.



Fig. 4a. *Medallion, St. Eleutherios*, enamel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 44.299.



Fig. 4b. Reverse of Fig. 4.

pitted surface and loss of color. Letters to either side of the figure of St. Eleutherios were originally filled with red glass, but now contain mostly powdery white residue. Chunks of the green glass in the halo have fallen away, probably due to leaching or other corrosive processes.²⁰ The St. Lauros enamel has also lost flakes of glass, and has a fragile and pitted surface. By contrast, the Dzhumati medallions (figs. 6, 7) show only minor damage and have retained brilliant colors, perhaps because they had remained in the frame

of the Archangel Gabriel icon until removed in the second half of the nineteenth-century.²¹

Evidence of Manufacturing Techniques

Microscopic examination and x-radiography reveal a great deal about the structure of cloisonné enamels. Examination of the magnified surface shows such things as tool marks in the gold, cloison attachment

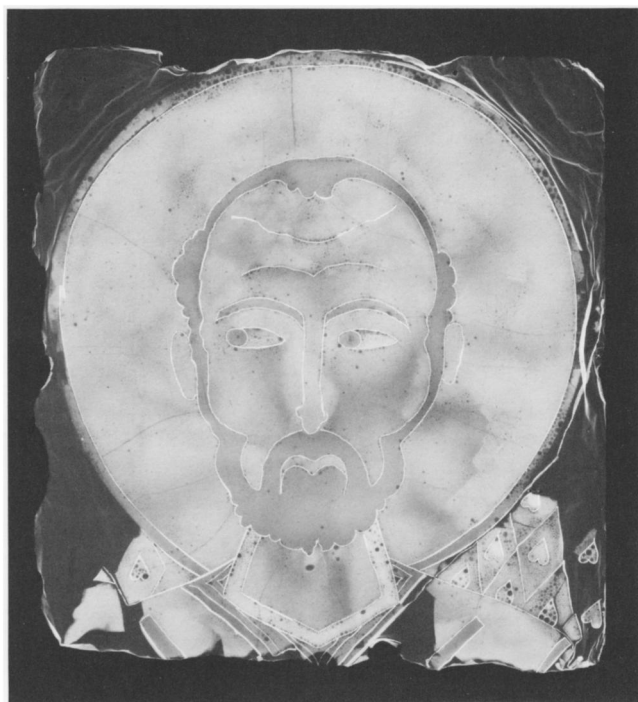


Fig. 3c. X-radiograph of Fig. 3.



Fig. 4c. X-radiograph of Fig. 4.

(visible at losses of enamel), and whether glasses are well fused, translucent or opaque. X-radiography exposes hidden elements of the structure such as tool and hammer marks, repairs, lumps of solder, and the character of the cloisons.

Before discussing microscopic examination of the Botkin enamels, it is important to mention their size relative to unquestioned Byzantine enamels. The St. Gregory Nazianzenus and St. John Chrysostom plaques are clearly too large to have ever decorated

icons or crowns. Anna Gonosová states that the large size of the latter is plausible as a fragment of a much larger work;²² however the thin gold foil could probably not support a much larger quantity of enamel. Moreover, the edges of the foil appear to have been deliberately torn, and, as previously mentioned, much of the background may never actually have held enamel. Many other medallions in the Botkin catalogue are also far too large to have been used as applied decoration; however, there are a few, such as the Christ Emmanuel, that are smaller, and thus within the scale of non-Botkin Byzantine medallions.

1. Gold Baseplates

The Botkin and non-Botkin enamels examined for this study show marked differences in the appearance of their gold backing sheets. All the Botkin gold sheets, whether thick or thin, have a flat, machinelike quality that is especially noticeable in x-radiographs. (Slight variations in thickness are especially apparent in x-radiographs of gold because it has a high atomic number and therefore strongly absorbs x-rays.) The gold sheet of the Botkin St. Gregory Nazianzenus as well as those of several Botkin plaques at the Metropolitan Museum are thick and flat, but no marks from a rolling mill, which might have produced such a uniform surface, are present in the x-radiographs. Random, very shallow hammer marks are present on the Botkin plaques mentioned above, but not on the Botkin plaques with thin gold foil backing (Christ Emmanuel and St. John Chrysostom). None of the Botkin enamels that were examined have punched design outlines in their gold backing sheets. On the verso of the St. John Chrysostom plaque (fig. 2b), there are large, shapeless tool marks behind some of the facial features and a few clusters of rectangular punch marks behind the halo that do not correspond to cloisons on the recto. The sunken letters on the St. Gregory Nazianzenus medallion have porous surfaces and appear to have been cast and soldered on to the verso (fig. 1b). This differs sharply from the crisply tooled sunken lettering on the Dzhumati Christ (fig. 6b) and St. Matthew (fig. 7b), although the degree of relief is similar. Unlike the non-Botkin sunken enamels, the Botkin St. Gregory Nazianzenus (fig. 1b) and some of The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Botkin plaques with thick gold backings have join lines visible along the edges of the "sunken" sheets on their versos. The gold sheet backing the Botkin figures was evidently soldered to the surrounding gold sheet after a flange was bent down from the outer sheet.

Examination of the gold sheet on St. Lauros, St. Eleutherios, and Dzhumati medallions (figs. 4–7) shows considerable evidence of the use of hand tools. These enamels were made from thin beaten gold sheet, and hammer and other tool marks are well defined in the x-radiographs. Faint outlines of the main facial features are present on the backing sheets of St. Lauros and St. Eleutherios, although it is not clear how they were made. The Dzhumati enamels, especially the Christ, have major design lines punched into their backing sheets. The x-radiographs reveal that cloisons were not always attached directly on the punched lines. Major alterations in the pattern were also carried out, as is evident in the changed design of the book on the Christ medallion (fig. 6c).

The composition of the gold backing sheets on the three Botkin plaques, the St. Lauros, and the St. Eleutherios was determined using semi-quantitative x-ray fluorescence (XRF). Table I shows the alloy compositions and compares them to the neutron activation analysis of gold alloys in three Botkin plaques and one Dzhumati medallion at The Metropolitan Museum of Art done by Pieter Meyers in 1971: The gold of most of the Botkin enamels shows almost no fluctuation in alloy composition at all analyzed sites, while there is some variation in composition between the recto and verso of the non-Botkin enamels. The recto of the Byzantine St. Eleutherios medallion is markedly higher in gold than the verso, possibly because two different sheets were used to fabricate the medallion. The St. John Chrysostom plaque is the only Botkin piece that is exceptionally high in gold. The St. Lauros medallion shows a high gold content, perhaps due to surface enrichment caused by preferential corrosion of the less noble copper and silver alloy constituents.

Byzantine goldsmiths were able to refine gold to fairly high purity with processes such as parting and amalgamation.²³ However, gold that is alloyed with silver and copper is made harder and more workable than pure gold, and thus is more useful for the manufacture of decorated gold sheet.²⁴ A recent study of the gold content in Byzantine coinage and jewelry found that some eleventh- to thirteenth-century gold work was made with a gold alloy more fine (approximately 89 percent gold) than contemporary coinage, and other pieces corresponded very closely to the twelfth-century *hyperperon* coin (80–85 percent gold).²⁵ Earlier chemical analysis of the backing on cloisonné enamels in the crown of the Emperor Constantine Monomachos showed approximately 79 percent gold.²⁶ The XRF analysis of the gold in the Botkin enamels shows an acceptable range of gold, silver,

and copper alloy constituents, and does not necessarily condemn or support their authenticity.

2. Cloison Wires

The character of the cloison wires proved to be an important feature in differentiating the enamels in this study. The three Botkin enamels have uniform cloisons throughout their designs. Cloisons that form the robes of St. Gregory Nazianzenus and Christ Emmanuel (figs. 1, 2) are parallel and “monotonous,” and bend only along their length. This is well illustrated at the top center of St. Gregory’s tunic, where the wires form regular V-shaped bends. The Botkin St. John Chrysostom has uniform cloisons that are wavy along their length and give the illusion of being thinner within large color fields that contain fewer cloisons. X-radiographs of the Botkin cloisons show that they are primarily flat across their width and there are no thickness changes in the sheet that would occur from tooling. The ends of cloisons are mostly cut at a 90 degree angle in the Botkin plaques (fig. 1c, 2c, 3c).

Cloisons of the St. Lauros, St. Eleutherios, and Dzhumati medallions (figs. 4–7) fall within the same thickness range as the Botkin cloisons (.18–.25 mm), but vary in thickness along their length and width. The contrast between this wavy, ribbonlike quality and the stiff Botkin cloisons is most visible in x-radiographs. The Dzhumati St. Matthew cloisons are pinched at the V-shaped bends, and more fluidly describe the drapery than the mechanically bent wires in the Botkin St. Gregory Nazianzenus (contrast figs. 1, 7). Cloisons in the non-Botkin medallions are cut at many different angles, and some have pointed, thickened or balled-up ends. Unlike any of the Botkin plaques, the St. Eleutherios and Dzhumati medallions (figs. 4c, 6c, 7c) reveal in x-radiographs hidden, half-width cloisons located on the backing sheet within large expanses of enamel. These hidden cloisons probably functioned to anchor the enamel and reduce cracking. An upper layer of half-width floating crosses is visible on the surface of the Dzhumati St. Matthew halo over the lower cloisons. Another feature of the cloisons in the Dzhumati enamels is that many of the wires within the nimbi are silver in color, and are probably made of an electrum alloy.

X-radiographs taken using Kodak High Resolution Film (SO 343) were examined at up to 30X magnification to search for solder on cloisons. The only x-radiograph that showed a profusion of dense lumps that could be interpreted as excess solder adjacent to

cloisons was of the St. Eleutherios medallion (fig. 4). Solder may also be present in the others, but the excess could have been removed by scraping. Only a thin line would then remain under the cloisons and would not be distinguishable in x-radiographs. David Buckton observed the use of colorless glass to attach cloisons to the baseplate in a Botkin plaque at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.²⁷ However, this can only be determined by visual inspection at losses of enamel, and in this study cloisons are not attached to the gold at losses.

3. Enamels

Examination of the colored enamels was carried out with qualitative XRF, visible and ultra-violet light, and a Geiger counter. Because the St. Lauros and St. Eleutherios enamels are in an advanced state of deterioration, only remnants of the colors are visible. The Dzhumati enamels include translucent dark blue and green glass, and opaque flesh, red, pale blue, white, yellow, and black glass. The Botkin palette is similar to that of the Dzhumati enamels but the former has a greater number of colors that generally appear more garish. The Botkin St. Gregory has a layer of clear glass over several of the colors that fills in low areas. This is a modern technique and is probably the main reason why this medallion is so smooth and flawless.²⁸

X-ray fluorescence (XRF) spectrometry is a useful, non-destructive tool for qualitative analysis of the metallic colorants and opacifiers (above atomic number 19) used in enamels. However, awareness of the limitations of XRF is crucial for interpretation of the results obtained. Only surface analysis is possible, and the composition of enamel in various states of deterioration is probably least well represented at its surface. Semi-quantitative analysis of the colorants can only be accomplished if removal of corroded surface layers is possible.²⁹ A second limitation is that some elements present in minute quantities can be masked by overlapping peaks of adjacent elements that are present in larger quantities. Also, such small percentages of some metallic elements (such as cobalt) are used to color enamels that XRF may not detect their presence. Table II lists the elements found in the colors of the seven objects that were analyzed for this study. Most colors were surveyed in two different areas. Because the collimated beam is at least three millimeters in diameter, molybdenum disks with small holes in their centers were used as masks so that enamels could be analyzed without interference from gold or other colors.



Fig. 5a. *Medallion, St. Lauros*, enamel, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, no. 58.18.



Fig. 5b. Reverse of Fig. 5.



Fig. 5c. X-radiograph of Fig. 5.



Fig. 6a. *Medallion, Christ Pantocrator*, enamel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.678.



Fig. 6b. Reverse of Fig. 6.

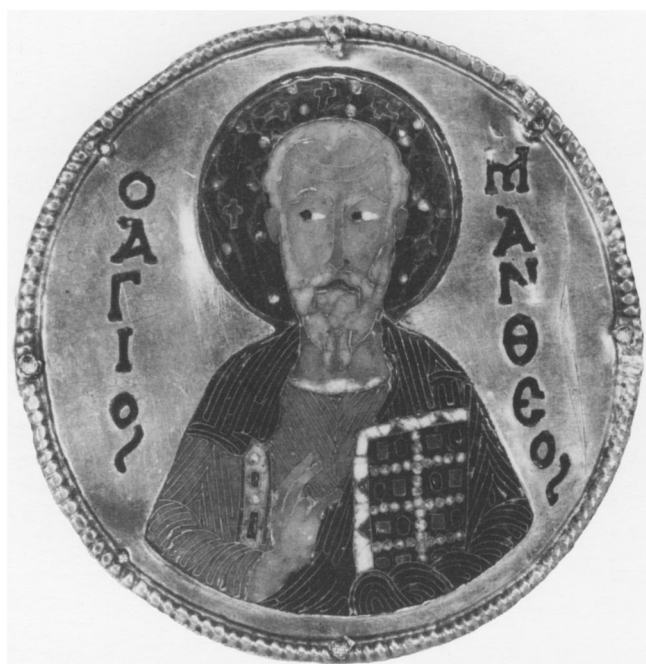


Fig. 7a. *Medallion, St. Matthew*, enamel, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.672.



Fig. 7b. Reverse of Fig. 7.

Given its limitations, XRF was still able to reveal that there are constituents in two of the Botkin enamels that support a late date of manufacture. Uranium was detected in several colors of the St. Gregory Nazianzenus and St. John Chrysostom plaques. The use of uranium salts to produce a range of glass and enamel colorants began in the late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century.³⁰ The presence of uranium was confirmed by a Geiger counter and by strong

ultraviolet fluorescence (long wave) of the colors in which it is present. Chromium peaks were visible in three colors on the St. Gregory plaque and in at least one on the Christ Emmanuel enamel. It has been suggested that chromium was not in use as a colorant until the nineteenth century,³¹ but it is present in the yellow enamel on the St. Eleutherios medallion. Tin was found in many of the Botkin enamel colors, but none was detected in the non-Botkin enamels.



Fig. 6c. X-radiograph of Fig. 6.



Fig. 7c. X-radiograph of Fig. 7.

High lead counts were detected in most of the colors on the three Botkin pieces. Although lead was found in many of the enamel colors on the St. Eleuthérios and St. Lauros medallions, amounts detected were much lower. Glasses used for enamels usually contain lead as a fluxing agent and for lowering the melting temperature. Also, the lower lead counts in the non-Botkin enamels may in some measure be due to lead having leached out. The very high lead counts

and low colorant counts on many of the Botkin enamel colors might be explained by the presence of a clear glass layer over some areas of the enameled surface.

Conclusion

Microscopic examination and x-radiography have proven to be the most helpful analytical tools for corroborating previously held opinions about the questionable authenticity of the three Botkin enamels in this study. The mechanical nature of the Botkin cloisons was made particularly obvious by the x-radiographs. X-radiography also revealed the use of half-width hidden cloisons within large fields of enamel in all the undisputed medallions except the tiny St. Lauros, which has only small cells of enamel. The use of hidden cloisons has not been discussed in literature on enamels of this period. This may prove to be a useful technique for dating Byzantine cloisonné work, and for the detection of other forgeries in the Botkin collection.

X-ray fluorescence spectrometry showed the presence of uranium and chromium in the Botkin St. Gregory Nazianzenus and St. John Chrysostom plaques, but did not detect any in the Botkin Christ Emmanuel. Hence, XRF is not quite as helpful for the detection of forgeries when the maker avoided modern colorants. That would not be too difficult to do, as many of the same colorants that were used in the twelfth century are still being used by present-day enamellers. A more comprehensive study of enamels from the Botkin collection may shed light on problems such as the attachment of cloisons, use of the clear flux enamel over the colorants, and the different styles among the forgeries.

Table 1 Composition of Gold Alloys Found on Botkine and Byzantine Enamels

Botkine Medallions	Elements Present^c			Location
	% Au	% Ag	% Cu	
<i>Christ Emmanuel</i>	89	9.5	1.6	recto-2 sites
[WAG 44.641] ^a	88.8	9.4	1.8	verso-3 sites
<i>St. Gregory</i>	90.8	7.8	1.4	recto-3 sites
[WAG 44.644] ^a	90.8	7.7	1.5	verso-3 sites
<i>St. John Chrysostom</i>	99.5	0.4	0.1	recto-3 sites
[DO 63.4] ^a	99.5	0.4	0.03	verso-3 sites
<i>Presentation</i>	89.4	8.2	2.4	rim-1 site
[MMA 38.85.1] ^b	89.1	8.8	2.2	verso-2 sites
<i>Ascension</i>	88.7	7.4	3.9	rim-1 site
[MMA 52.54.3] ^b	88.8	8.8	2.5	verso-2 sites
<i>Deesis</i>	87.8	10.4	1.8	rim-1 site
[MMA 52.54.1] ^b	87.9	10.5	1.6	verso-1 site
Byzantine Medallions				
<i>St. Eleutherius</i>	76.3	18.5	5.1	recto-3 sites
[WAG 44.299] ^a	70.4	24.1	5.4	verso-3 sites
<i>St. Laurus</i>	97.9	1.8	0.3	recto-1 site
[DO 58.18] ^a	98.4	1.4	0.2	verso-1 site
<i>Djumati</i>	87.8	9.6	2.6	rim-1 site
<i>St. George</i>	87.5	10.3	2.3	verso-2 sites
[MMA 17.190.674] ^b				

^a Semi-quantitative x-ray fluorescence analysis done by the author at CAL, Smithsonian Institution, 1987.

^b Neutron activation analysis done at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1971, by Pieter Meyers.

^c 18 carat gold containing 75.2% Au, 17.4% Ag and 7.5% Cu (wt.

%) was used as a standard. Only gold, silver, and copper were found except in a few spectra which showed minute iron peaks that were not included in these calculations. Simple averages were calculated when more than one site was analyzed, with between 0.05% and 1.2% fluctuation.

Table 2 Qualitative X-Ray Fluorescence Analysis of the Enamel Colors

Medallion	Color	Elements Detected (Relative amounts)											
		Pb	Sn	Sb	Fe	Cu	Zn	Mn	Co	Ca	K	U	Cr
Botkine <i>Christ Emmanuel</i> [WAG 44.644]	Green	++++	+		+	++				++			
	Flesh	++++	+	++	++	+		+++		+++	++		
	Yellow	++++	++		+	+				++			
	White	++++	++		+	+		+		++			
	Pale Blue	++++	++++		++	+++				++			
	Purple	++++	++++		++	++		+++		+			
	Dark Blue	+++	++	++	+++	++		++	++	+++			+
	Black	++	+		++	++?			++?	+			
	Red	++			++	++		++?		++			++?
	Amber	++			+++	+		++++		+++			
Botkine <i>St. Gregory</i> [WAG 44.644]	Green	++++			+	+					+++	+	++
	Flesh	++++			+						+++	+	
	Yellow	++++	+	+	+					+++			
	White	++++	++	++	++	+		+		+++		+	
	Pale Blue	++++			++				++?	+++		+	
	Turquoise	++++	+	+	+	+++	++		+	+++		+	++
	Dark Blue	++++	+	++	+				+	++		+	
	Black	++++				+++		+++	++	++			
	Red	++++			+++	+++			++	++			+
Botkine <i>St. John Chrysostom</i> [DO 63.4]	Green	++++	+		++	++				+			
	Flesh	++++	+	++	+			++		++	+	++	
	Yellow	++++	+	+	+					+			+
	White	++++			+					+		++	
	Dark Blue	++++			+	+		+	+	++?	+		
	Black	++++			+	++		+	++	+			
Byzantine <i>St. Eleutherius</i> [WAG 44.299]	Red	+++		+	+	++					+		+
	Green	+		+	++	++	++?				+		
	Flesh	+		+	++	+	++?	+		+			
	Yellow	+++		+	++					++			+
	White	+		++	++		+	+		++			++?
	Dark Blue	+		+	++	+		++?		+			
	Black				+	+		++		+			
Byzantine <i>St. Laurus</i> [DO 58.18]	Red	++?			++	+		++		+			
	Flesh	+		+	+++	+				+			
	Yellow	++		+	+	++?				+			
	White	+		+	+	+				+			
	Turquoise	+		+	+	++				+			
	Dark Blue	++		+	+	+			++?	+			
	Black	++?			+++	++	+		+	+	+		
Byzantine <i>St. Laurus</i> [DO 58.18]	Red	+			+	+				+			

Pb = flux, colorant
Sn, Sb = opacifiers
Fe, Cu, Zn, Co = colorants

Mn = colorant or decolorizer
Ca, K = alkalis (glass formers)
U, Cr = modern colorants

NOTES

1. This project would not have been possible without the support of Gary Vikan (The Walters Art Gallery) and Susan Boyd (Dumbarton Oaks). Helen Evans and Edmund Dandridge (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) were most helpful with the Dzhumati enamels at The Metropolitan Museum of Art. David Buckton (British Museum) was generous with his expertise, as were Lambertus van Zelst, Edward V. Sayre, and Joan Mishara of the Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The editing skills and unflagging encouragement of Carol Grissom (CAL) were most appreciated. Pieter Meyers (Los Angeles County Museum of Art) graciously allowed his analysis of gold alloys on Metropolitan Museum of Art enamels to be included here.
2. [M. P. Botkin], *Collection M. P. Botkine* (St. Petersburg, 1911) (hereafter, Botkin, *Collection*).
3. See the preceding article by David Buckton. See also, O. Kurz, *Fakes: A Handbook for Collectors and Students* (New York, 1948), 216–218; S. Boyd and G. Vikan, *Questions of Authenticity Among the Arts of Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 29, 30 (hereafter, Boyd and Vikan, *Questions*); H. Swarzenski and N. Netzer, *Medieval Objects in*

- the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: Enamels and Glass* (Boston, 1986), no. A1 (hereafter, Swarzenski and Netzer, *Medieval Objects*).
4. Technical analysis plays a role in the Swarzenski and Netzer catalogue entry cited in the preceding note.
 5. Acc. nos. 44.644 and 44.641, and 63.4. See, respectively, Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 64, 85; as well as P. Verdier, *Russian Art* (Baltimore, 1959), no. 6 (Christ Emmanuel); A. Gonosová, “A Study of an Enamel Fragment in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 32 (1978), 327–33 (St. John Chrysostom) (hereafter, Gonosová, “Fragment”); and Boyd and Vikan, *Questions*, no. 13 (St. John Chrysostom). (Photos courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery [nos. 44.644 and 44.641] and (c) 1987, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, D.C. [no. 63.4].)
 6. Acc. nos. 44.299 and 58.18. See, respectively, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art, 1947 (Baltimore, 1947), nos. 525 (exhibition catalogue); and M. C. Ross, *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Medieval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Volume Two: Jewelry, Enamels, and Art of the Migration Period* (Washington, D.C., 1965), no. 153. Photos courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery [no. 44.299]

- and (c) 1987, Dumbarton Oaks, Trustees of Harvard University, Washington, D.C. [nos. 58.18].)
7. Acc. nos. 17.190.678 (Christ), 17.190.672 (St. Matthew), 17.190.674 (St. George). See M. Frazer, "The Dzhumati Enamels: A Twelfth Century Litany of Saints," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 28 (1970), 240–251 (hereafter, Frazer, "Dzhumati"). Photos courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gifts of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (nos. 17.190.678 and 17.190.672).
 8. Acc. nos. 38.85.1 (Presentation), 52.54.1 (Deesis), and 52.54.3 (Ascension). See Botkin, *Collection*, pls. 58, 63, 89.
 9. See, respectively, *On Divers Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus*, J. G. Hawthorne and C. S. Smith, trans. and eds. (Chicago, 1963) (hereafter, *Theophilus, Arts*); Benvenuto Cellini, *Treatises on Goldsmithing and Sculpture*, C. R. Ashbee, trans. (New York, 1967) (hereafter, *Cellini, Treatises*); and *Vannoccio Biringuccio, Pirotechnia*, C. S. Smith and M. T. Gnudi, trans. (Cambridge, 1966).
 10. D. Buckton, "Enamelling on Gold," *Gold Bulletin*, 15 (1982), 103.
 11. Frazer, "Dzhumati," 246.
 12. See the preceding article.
 13. *Theophilus, Art*, 126 (Bk II, chaps. 53, 54).
 14. *Cellini, Treatises*, 11, 15 (goldsmithing).
 15. H. Maryon, *Metalwork and Enamelling* (London, 1959), 176, 177.
 16. J. P. Strosahl, J. L. Strosahl, and C. L. Barnhart, *A Manual of Cloisonné and Champlevé Enameling* (New York, 1981), chap. 9 (hereafter, Strosahl *et al.*, *Manual*).
 17. Numerous analyses of ancient and medieval glasses have been published. Some of the more relevant studies are included here for reference: J. D. Bateson and R. M. Hedges, "The Scientific Analysis of a Group of Roman-Age Enamelled Brooches," *Archaeometry*, 17 (1975), 177–91; M. Bimson, "A Preliminary Survey of Two Groups of Twelfth-Century Mosan Enamels," *Annales du 8e congrès international d'étude du verre* (Liege, 1981), 161–64; R. G. Newton, "Colouring Agents Used by Medieval Glassmakers," *Glass Technology*, 19 (1978), 59–60; R. G. Newton, "Recent Views on Ancient Glasses," *Glass Technology*, 21 (1980), 173–83; and E. V. Sayre, *Some Ancient Glass Specimens of Particular Archeological Significance* (New York, 1964).
 18. *Theophilus, Arts*, 55–57 (Bk II, chaps. 7, 8).
 19. The number 200 is scratched into two areas on the verso of this medallion.
 20. D. E. Clark, C. G. Pantano, Jr., and L. L. Hench, *Corrosion of Glass* (New York, 1979).
 21. S. Amiranashvili, *Medieval Georgian Enamels of Russia* (New York, 1964), 119.
 22. Gonosová, "Fragment," 331.
 23. *Theophilus, Arts*, 121, 122, 146, 147 (Bk II, chaps. 51, 69–70).
 24. R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology: 8* (Leiden, 1971), 174.
 25. A. Oddy and S. La Niece, "Byzantine Gold Coins and Jewellery," *Gold Bulletin*, 19 (1986), 19–27.
 26. M. Bárány-Oberschall, "The Crown of The Emperor Constantine Monomachos," *Archeologica hungarica*, 22 (1937), 87, 95–96.
 27. Swarzenski and Netzer, *Medieval Objects*, 148 (and the preceding article).
 28. Strosahl *et al.*, *Manual*.
 29. G. A. Fox and A. M. Pollard, "X-ray Fluorescence Analysis of Ancient Glass: The Importance of Sample Preparation," *Archaeometry*, 19 (1977), 45–54.
 30. W. A. Wehl, *Colored Glasses* (Sheffield, 1951), 205–11.
 31. Swarzenski and Netzer, *Medieval Objects*, xxi.

Unknown Carolingian Drawings of Hercules from the Scriptorium of Reims, and the Cathedra Petri Ivories

LAWRENCE NEES

University of Delaware

Pen drawings in the margins or on blank or fly-leaves of early medieval manuscripts are not so much rare as rarely studied. To my knowledge only a single article has been devoted to such drawings as a distinct class,¹ and individual drawings have seldom received detailed study.² Indeed, catalogue descriptions of medieval manuscripts often neglect to note the existence of such incidental drawings, and when they do note their existence provide little guidance to the drawings' date, subject matter, or relationship to the manuscript in which they are found.³ They are in most cases, and surely in most cases correctly, identified as *probationes pennae*, pen trials, or even as mere doodles added by a bored or troubled copyist or, more likely, by the sort of later vandalizing reader so feared and rigorously condemned by bibliophile and rare book librarian. Their simplicity and generally inartistic quality has much to do with the low esteem in which such drawings are often held, and also explains the tendency to dismiss them as late and uninteresting additions to the manuscript even when it is clear that some are early in date and even autograph efforts of the original scribe, as for example in the case of the well-known eighth-century Fredegarius manuscript in Paris,⁴ in the unjustly neglected and very interesting Codex Cervinianus in the Vatican,⁵ or in a number of images accompanying scribal colophons.⁶ In these cases the drawings, even though simple and of little aesthetic distinction, are nonetheless art historical documents of considerable importance, well worthy of detailed study and consideration, rather than being mere

unexplainable and uninteresting graffiti to be passed over without comment. It is my belief that two hitherto neglected drawings in a famous Carolingian manuscript of the Beinecke Library at Yale University (figs. 1 and 2) fall into the same category of important documents, and deserve attention beyond what they have heretofore received.

The manuscript to which I refer was presented to Yale by Edwin J. Beinecke in 1969, having been previously in the great manuscript collections of Sir Thomas Phillipps and of A. Chester Beatty. While in the latter collection it was described and illustrated in Eric Millar's magnificent catalogue of the Beatty western manuscripts,⁷ but no mention was there made of the large pen drawings on folios 1v and 105r which are the focus of this study. The drawings were again passed over unmentioned in the discussion of the manuscript in the important catalogue of early German royal and imperial monuments by Percy Ernst Schramm and Florentine Mutherich.⁸ The drawings were first mentioned in the 1969 Sotheby's auction catalogue for the Beatty manuscripts, which presented the only reproduction of either drawing heretofore published, described as "a large pen drawing, rough but vigorous, of two wrestlers."⁹ Shortly thereafter both drawings were mentioned, that at the end of the volume for the first time, and thereby came eventually to my attention, in two contributions to the *Yale University Library Gazette*. In his article of 1970 in which the gift of the manuscript to Yale was reported, Thomas E. Marston noted in the course of a summary history and description of the manuscript



Fig. 1. *Hercules and Antaeus*, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 413, fol. 1v: front flyleaf.

that the Beinecke book had “a lively near-contemporary drawing of two men wrestling, and on the recto of the last leaf is another drawing, now much damaged, which appears to represent a man on horseback.”¹⁰ More recently, in their selective 1978 catalogue of the medieval and Renaissance manuscripts at Yale, Walter Cahn and James Marrow noted that “on the flyleaf (1 verso), there is a rough, doodle-like sketch of two figures joined in an interlocking grip.”¹¹

As the previously published descriptions of the drawings in Beinecke 413 reveal, the nature, date, and identification of the drawings is problematic, as is the case with so many other marginal or fly-leaf drawings in medieval manuscripts. Moreover, the two

published descriptions agree only insofar as to note that one of the drawings shows two men wrestling or at least gripping one another. Both the 1969 Sotheby’s catalogue and Marston suggested that the first drawing was nearly contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, which dates from the last quarter of the ninth century. Cahn and Marrow did not explicitly support or reject that suggestion, but are silent on the date of the drawings. Marston correctly noted the severe damage which the drawings have suffered, the usual and indeed presumably anticipated fate of fly-leaves. Nevertheless, careful examination allows a good deal of the drawings to be recovered for study, revealing that they are indeed nearly contemporary



Fig. 2. *Hercules and the Horse of Diomedes*, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 413, fol. 105r: rear flyleaf, under ultra-violet light.

with the manuscript, are in fact rare early medieval representations or sketches of the exploits of Hercules, and are related to the magnificent and still highly controversial Hercules ivories decorating the so-called *Cathedra Petri* in Rome, also a Frankish work of precisely the same period and intimately associated with the same historical and patronage context in which the Beinecke manuscript was produced.

Beinecke 413 is a collection of Carolingian capitularies, including the compilation of capitularies of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious made by Ansegisus in 827 (fols. 2v–66v) and six capitularies issued by Charles the Bald (fols. 67r–102r).¹² Since one of the latter is the capitulary of 873 from Quierzy (fig. 3),

that date provides a firm *terminus post quem* for the production of the manuscript. Since the post-Ansegisus capitularies are all connected with Charles the Bald (fig. 4),¹³ it is extremely likely that the manuscript was made in his territories and very likely during his reign, suggesting a plausible if less definite *terminus ante quem* of 877, the year of Charles the Bald's death. As I will attempt to show, both the proposed range of dates 873–877 and the association with Charles the Bald are amply supported by other evidence. Four other texts are to be found in the manuscript, of which three were later additions upon previously blank leaves, but one forms a part of the original codex, and was written by the original scribe.

This lattermost original text (fols. 96r–97r) begins in mid-page, following directly upon the conclusion of Charles the Bald's capitulary of 864, and is headed by the rubric *Sententia Dom(i)n(i) Gregorii Papae*; I have not been able to identify this text, which deals with various heresies, and its presence in the book I simply do not understand.¹⁴ The first of the three later additions to the manuscript is a hymn, in a late ninth- or tenth-century hand, according to Cahn and Marrow,¹⁵ in honor of Sts. Gervasius and Protasius (fol. 2r, on the blank recto of the title page of the manuscript), suggesting at least an early association with if not necessarily an origin of the manuscript in Soissons.¹⁶ The second text, written in a small and possibly late Carolingian hand, with the rubric *De iure sepulturae*, draws upon Old Testament precedents to develop the law concerning burial practices, and specifically whether a husband and wife might be buried in a single tomb (fol. 82v, the last leaf of a gathering).¹⁷ A nearly identical version of this highly unusual text occurs in a ninth-century Carolingian manuscript from Freising, a manuscript also containing a Sacramentary with rubrics referring to Charle-

magne's acquisition of the text from Pope Hadrian.¹⁸ The third text added to the manuscript is a very interesting list of Frankish kings, written in two columns and in two distinct inks and slightly different scripts, dating probably from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, including the kings from the Trojan Faramund to Philip Augustus, the thirty-second Frankish king (fig. 5).¹⁹

Beinecke 413 is a relatively large-format book (265 x 224 mm) containing 105 folios of high-quality parchment. The body of the text is written in a good Caroline minuscule script by two scribes, responsible respectively for folios 1v–42v (the first five gatherings) and folios 43r–96r and 98r–102r (the bulk of the remaining eight gatherings). In a recent letter and in a forthcoming publication,²⁰ Bernard Bischoff has abandoned his earlier identification of the second hand with the scribe Ingobert who worked in the Bible of S. Paolo fuori le mura,²¹ while continuing to posit some close connection of the Beinecke manuscript with the scriptorium of Reims. The manuscript has indeed been associated with Reims by nearly all who have written about it.²² Wilhelm Koehler on the

Fig. 3. Initial Q, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 413, fol. 98r.

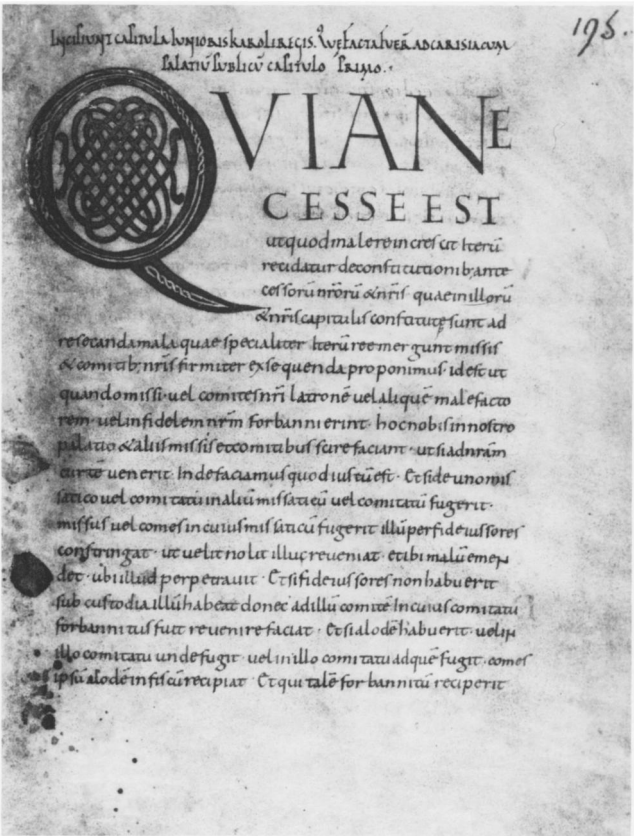
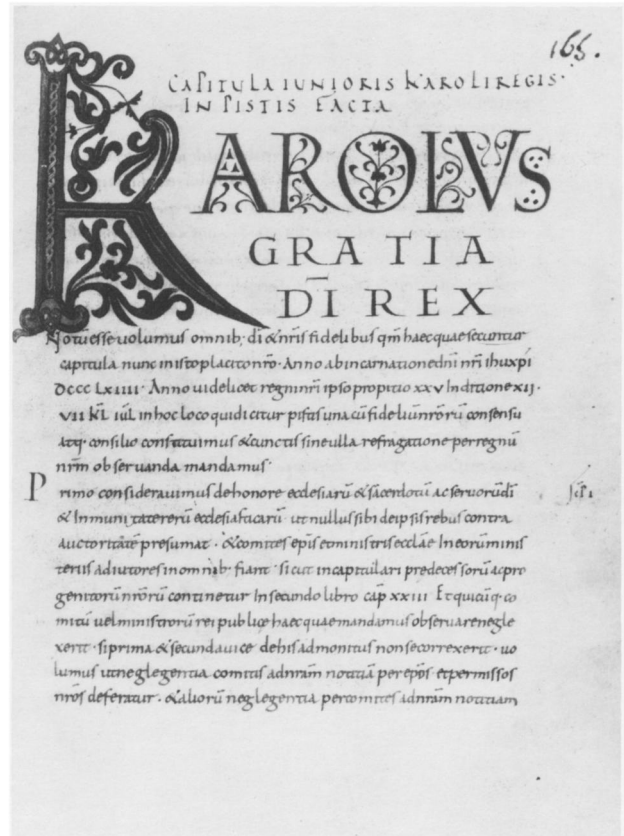


Fig. 4. Initial K, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 413, fol. 83r.



grounds of its decoration specifically linked the Beinecke book with the “Hincmar group,” manuscripts associated with the great archbishop from 845–882,²³ as seen for example in a comparison of the Q initials in the Beinecke manuscript and in the so-called Hincmar Gospels in New York, Morgan Library Codex M. 728 (figs. 3 and 6).²⁴ The similarity of the vegetal ornament inside this Q from the Morgan manuscript to that employed in the O on another page of the Beinecke book (fig. 4) further underscores this relationship. Recently, in an important article devoted to legal manuscripts produced during the later Carolingian period, Janet Nelson has treated Beinecke 413 at length, emphasizing the extraordinarily strong connections of not only this book but indeed of the entire manuscript tradition for such texts with Hincmar and Reims.^{24A} Millar suggested that the Beinecke book was probably a gift from Hincmar to Charles the Bald,²⁵ a suggestion later seconded by Schramm and Mutherich, and by Gaehde,²⁶ although Rosamond McKitterick has rightly indicated the absence of compelling direct evidence for this suspicion.²⁷ The notion that this manuscript was conceived as a special

presentation copy²⁸ is supported by its unusually rich decoration, with eleven large initial letters illuminated with interlace and animal ornament, some occupying as much as ten to fourteen lines of text (that is, nearly half of a page), and some embellished with silver, a level of luxury more consonant with a liturgical volume than with a capitulary collection or other secular text.²⁹

In comparison to the high quality and finish of the luxurious Beinecke 413 manuscript as a whole, the drawings on the fly-leaves at front and rear certainly seem crude and incongruous, and are manifestly not part of the original campaign of decoration. It is therefore no surprise that they have hitherto been dismissed as unrelated later additions unworthy of notice. It is important to stress, however, that the leaves upon which the drawings appear are integral parts of the original codex. The first drawing, on folio 1v, appears upon an intact bifolium whose second leaf, folio 2, contains on its verso the title page to the collection, written in large display-capital letters.³⁰ The two leaves are both strongly pricked for ruling according to the same system as the body of

Fig. 5. *List of Kings of the Franks*, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 413, fol. 97v.

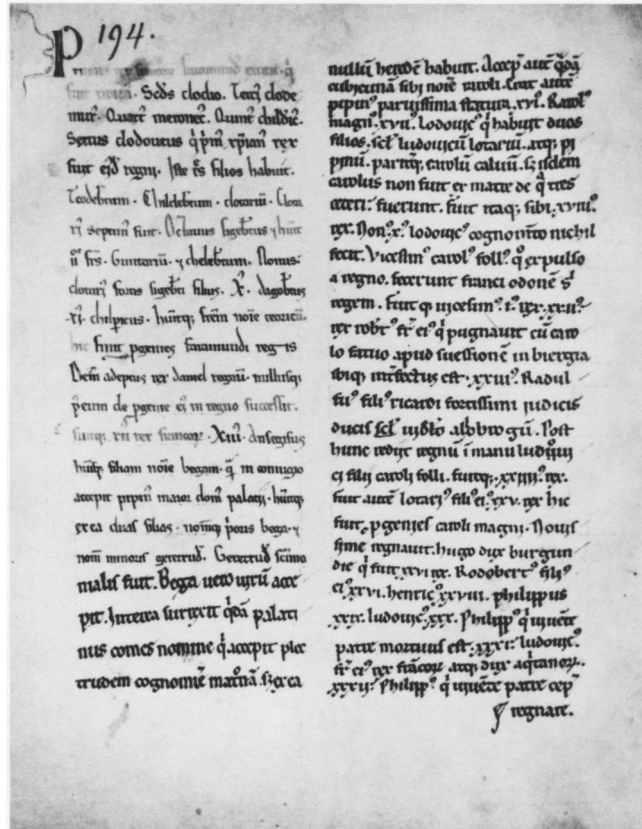


Fig. 6. *Initial Q*, New York, Morgan Library, MS M. 728, fol. 95r.



the text³¹ and indeed, as prickings are not evident elsewhere, it seems possible that this opening sheet served as a pattern for all the ruling in the book. Of the two leaves comprising the opening bifolium only folio 2 is ruled, however, and it seems possible that the unruled folio 1v was reserved for an intended miniature facing the blank folio 2r, according to common practice in Carolingian scriptoria. The closing drawing, on folio 105r, occurs on the last page of a regular quaternion, and is conjoint with folio 98, on whose recto begins the 873 capitulary of Quierzy with a large colored ornamental initial (fig. 3).

The consistent luxury of the Beinecke manuscript's production is also evident from the substantial number of originally blank pages throughout. For example, the text of the capitulary of 862 from Pîtres ends on folio 82r, followed by the added text *De iure sepulturae* on the formerly blank verso, the last leaf of the gathering. Similarly the text of the capitulary of 864 from Pîtres ends on folio 96r, followed by contemporary inserted *sententiae* of Gregory on folios 96r–97r and the Frankish royal succession on folio 97v; apparently the last three pages of the quaternion were left blank so that a new capitulary could begin with a new gathering, as it does on folio 98r.³² The same retention of empty space characterizes the last gathering, folios 98–105, with the capitulary of Quierzy beginning on 98r but ending in the middle of 102r. The Quierzy text is then partially repeated in a different hand on folios 102v–104v, breaking off abruptly at the bottom of folio 104v in the middle of the eighth of twelve Quierzy capitula. Clearly folios 102v–104v are a bit of school-work writing practice, and offer revealing evidence for the interpretation of the drawings. Since the text of these leaves is the same as that contained on folios 98–102r, it cannot have been conveniently copied as an exercise after the binding of the book, and must have been made either prior to the binding or else from the same exemplar. In either case the school-work reproduction would seem to have been produced in close association with the original, very likely in the same scriptorium, as seems to me also consistent with the type of script employed. As will presently be seen, the fly-leaves proper are characterized by the same repetition of texts, evident pen- or more accurately script-trials, and one is entitled to wonder whether they too were not produced in close association with the original scriptorium. First, of course, they must be described and discussed, as their complexity makes them difficult to untangle, especially from the photographs.

The recto of the front fly-leaf is blank save for the former shelfmark "Phillips MS 10190." On the

verso are found both drawings and inscriptions (fig. 1). Before treating the former in more detail, the critical evidence of the latter must be presented. At the top left corner of the page (beneath the Arabic numeral 2, from the modern pagination) are four lines of script written in brown ink in a very small Caroline minuscule hand, all apparently cut along the left margin at the time of some later trimming. I have not been able to read all the letters or to decipher the text; clearest is the last line, apparently reading in part *d(omi)n(u)s possedit . . .*. To the right and slightly below is a full line partially erased, beginning *Hi sunt . . . ville de pote(state?) . . .*, written in a larger but generally similar Caroline script, although employing an uncial-form *d* at one point. Below this is the clearest inscription on the page, "*Reverentissimo*," also in Caroline minuscule beginning with a large *R*, and written, unusually for this book, in black ink. Immediately below this word are the heads of the figures of the drawing. To the right of the neck of the right figure is written "*missi n(ost)ri*," in a clear Caroline minuscule. Between the lines of a flowing "scarf" behind the left hand figure is written, in a similar although thinner and more upright script, *pustet* or *pustel* (?); this indecipherable or, to me at least, unknown word closely conforms to the oblique angle of the scarf and meets its lower edge so neatly that it must have been written *after* the drawing had been made,³³ a fact of capital importance for the dating of the figures, to which I shall return. Across the torsos of the figures are two lines of script, the upper *iste est* in the same script as *missi nostri*, the lower apparently reading *Lasrieul/lus* in the script of *pustet*, the division between the two *I*'s being due to the presence of figural lines and thereby offering additional evidence that the drawings predate these inscriptions. At the left, beside the hip of the left figure, is written *d(eu)s emeus* (?), in the *pustet* script. At the bottom of the page are two lines of text written upside-down vis-à-vis the other texts and the figures. The upper line, just between the two figures, reads in Caroline minuscule *In nom(ine) d(omi)ni*. The lowest line of script is written in a florid diplomatic or charter style hand, with narrow Caroline letter forms given elongated ascenders and descenders, *Cum in nomine d(omi)ni d(e)i aeterni . . .* [an elaborate ligature] *s(anc(t)e luca . . .*; once again the foot of the left hand figure interrupts but does not override the text, and thus apparently predates it.

This initially bewildering page is evidently a collection of *probationes peninae*, pen-trials. It bears a variety of brief and for the most part inconsequential or meaningless texts, written without regard to order or

appearance, written in at least five separate styles which may or may not be by different hands; the upper left shows a careful minute script, the central groups three or four larger and looser, and no doubt more rapid, text hands, the bottom a kind of charter hand. Evidently one or more scribes were “trying out” not only their pens, but varieties of script. In general form and letter canon all the inscriptions are Caroline, and in date appear to stem from the Carolingian period, although some likely date into the tenth rather than the ninth century; as already noted, in a private response to my queries Professor Bischoff accepts a tenth or perhaps later ninth-century date for the critical *pustet* and related inscriptions. Moreover, some direct connection with the text of the manuscript proper is suggested by the dedicatory texts and especially the *missi nostri* phrase, which in fact occurs frequently in the capitulary collection in Beinecke 413.³⁴

Before returning to the drawings, the inscriptions upon the rear fly-leaf (fig. 2) need to be considered. Here are found only three inscriptions (other than an isolated large capital *D* and smaller *ful* below), written one after the other at the top of the page, well above the drawing. The first line is written all in rustic capitals, *D(omi)NE ORATIO QUANDO COMMUNICANDU(m) E(st)*. The second text occupies three lines, and is in a minute Caroline hand very similar to that of the upper left portion of folio 1v, reading *D(omi)ne ihu xpe fili d(e)i vivi qui ex voluntate patris cooperante sp(iritu)u s(an)c(t)o p(er) mortua(m) mundu(m) . . . Hic sacru(m) corpus et sanguine(m) tuam a cunctis iniquitatibus . . . Et nunquam in perpetuu(m) separari*. The third text is written in a cruder Caroline hand, and copies portions of the second preceding inscription as well as the entire first one, *D(omi)ne ihu xpe fili d(e)i vivi qui ex voluntate*, etc., inserting also the first text *Oratio quando comunicandu(m)* by literally hanging it from the enlarged *o* of *voluntate* in the previous line. Again we have evident pen- and script-trials, as on the front fly-leaf, and the appearance of such closely related scripts on two conjoint fly-leaves strongly suggests contemporaneous workmanship; the texts of the two fly-leaves belong together, at least in part, and belong to the later ninth or tenth century.

Can anything further be said concerning these inscriptions on the fly-leaves? Their contents are at least in part related to the manuscript proper, which must predate them by some interval, but by no more than a century at the outside limit. Two features support a close connection of the fly-leaf inscriptions with the scriptorium of Reims, with which the manuscript proper has consistently been associated. In his still fundamental discussion of the scriptorium of

Reims during the time of Hincmar, Frederick Carey noted that the Caroline script of Reims has few peculiarities, citing only the absence of a hierarchy as was employed at Tours, the near elimination of uncials, the use of an *a* of small uncial type with large belly and of a *g* with both loops open, infrequent ligatures, and a generally straight stance.³⁵ Of these characteristics of Reims production during the time of Hincmar cited by Carey most are found in the fly-leaf inscriptions of Beinecke 413. These include rustic capitals but not uncials, have infrequent ligatures, an uncial *a* and open-looped *g* (both visible in *sanguine(m)* in the second line of the second text on folio 105r, fig. 2), and in the most accomplished scripts (the minute hand visible on both leaves) a notably upright stance. This is certainly not enough in and of itself to prove a connection with Reims in Hincmar's period, but is wholly consistent with such a dating. Since the manuscript itself stems from that time and place, such an attribution of at least the finest texts is quite plausible. It must be noted that the minute “Reimsian” hand on the fly-leaves does not demonstrably pre-date the drawings; all may be contemporary, but the drawings may be somewhat later, although no later than the *pustet* inscription of the later ninth or tenth century. Thus the most expanded possible chronology would be: 1) manuscript proper, probably Reims 873–877; 2) “minute” inscriptions on both fly-leaves, probably Reims 873–ca. 880; 3) drawings on both fly-leaves, of origin still to be determined, post 873–ca. 950(?); 4) *pustet* inscriptions, of uncertain Carolingian origin, post 873–tenth century.

How do the drawings fit into the picture of the Beinecke 413 fly-leaves developed thus far? They appear on original conjoint leaves, integral to the original manuscript. They are surrounded by inscriptions of Carolingian date which guarantee their production by the tenth century at the latest, and by inscriptions which are pen- and script-trials, some of which appear to be close to the Reims scriptorium during the period of Hincmar, that is, close to the production of the Beinecke manuscript proper. Clearly the drawings share something of the inscriptions' trial character. For example, the drawing on folio 1v (fig. 1) shows two nearly complete figures locked together in some manner of embrace, but also an additional head which is evidently another version of the left-hand figure's head, close enough in treatment to suggest the work of the same or at least of a contemporary draughtsman. All the figures are sketchy and evince a greater interest in gesture or motif than in detail; for example, the draughtsman has suggested the arms of the two embracing figures by the simple

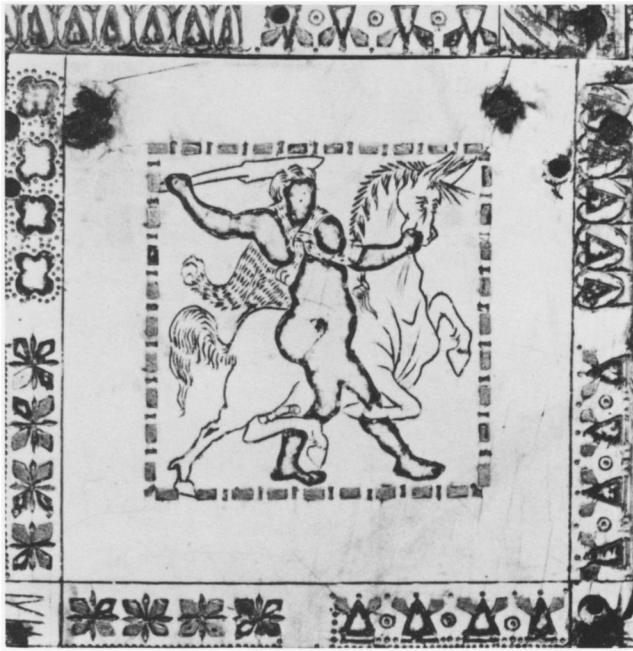


Fig. 7. *Cathedra Petri*, *Hercules and the Horse of Diomedes*, ivory panel, Vatican.

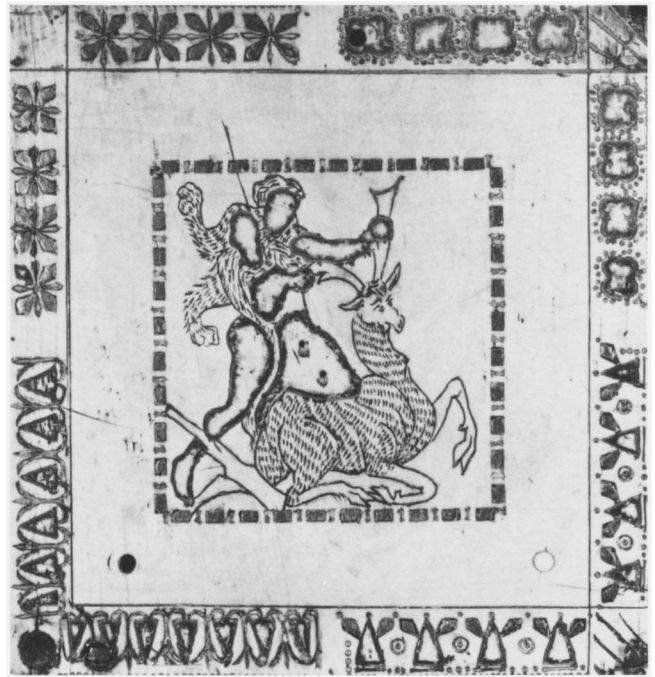


Fig. 8. *Cathedra Petri*, *Hercules and Stag*, ivory panel, Vatican.

expedient of curves extending outward from the shoulders, without any hands being included.³⁶ If context offers any clue, the drawings should also be trials, but unlike some of the inscriptions such as *missi nostri*, the drawings on the fly-leaves are manifestly not drawn from or inspired by the text of the manuscript proper, which has no figural illustrations whatsoever, and no texts which could plausibly account for these active figures. What might be the model or point of departure for these very unusual figures? What indeed do they represent?

In the only previously published descriptions of the drawings on the fly-leaves of Beinecke 413, the 1969 Sotheby catalogue identified the figures on folio 1v as “two wrestlers,” while Marston termed them “two men wrestling,” and that on folio 105r as “a man on horseback.” Cahn and Marrow mention only the former, which they term “two figures joined in an interlocking grip.” I contend that the fly-leaf drawings in fact represent Labors of Hercules, the former Hercules wrestling with Antaeus, the latter most likely Hercules with the horse(s) of Diomedes. A similar conclusion was reached independently by Barbara Shailor, the editor of the Beinecke manuscripts,³⁷ and indeed was quickly reached by most of the other scholars to whom I have shown the drawings in an admittedly unscientific opinion poll. Closer analysis reveals the basis for the identification of these drawings with the Labors of Hercules.

The drawing on the rear fly-leaf is badly abraded, and is here illustrated by means of a photograph made under ultraviolet light (fig. 2), which yields a clearer image than the original page itself. A beardless man is depicted with something behind his head suggested by two roughly parallel lines something which I take to be a club, Hercules’ standard attribute, often brandished by him in just this manner. The waving “scarves,” which seem at first to suggest arms, although unaccountably and impermissibly three in number, are not arms of the man but the limbs of his lion-skin garment, ending not in crudely flapping disjointed fingers but in furry fringes and claws. The hero appears to wear a fillet on his brow, but it may be unsafe to read the details here with too much confidence, as the drawing also appears to suggest a monastic tonsure, which hardly seems a likely interpretation. The central portion of the drawing is too badly damaged and too sketchily drawn to be effectively understood, but the lower part clearly shows at the left the upraised foreleg of an animal, probably a horse, as identified by Marston, at the center the profile leg of a man, and at the right the flapping long tail of some manner of animal (the lion skin?).

All of the motifs noted in the Beinecke 413 fly-leaf drawing can be paralleled in the only known Carolingian images of Hercules’ Labors, the extraordinary and highly controversial ivories decorating the *Cathedra Petri*. I will shortly return to the question



Fig. 9. *Cathedra Petri, Hercules and Antaeus*, ivory panel, Vatican.



Fig. 10. *Cathedra Petri, Hercules and Lion*, ivory panel, Vatican.

of the date and origin of those ivories, but here wish only to compare them in visual terms to the Beinecke 413 drawing. No single episode of the *Cathedra* series corresponds to the Beinecke drawing, but the major motifs are all found there, divided between two different scenes. The raised club held behind the hero's head occurs in the scene of Hercules and the horses (here also a single horse) of Diomedes (fig. 7), which also provides a very good comparison for the tightly drawn-in foreleg of the horse, and weaker parallels for the tail of the horse (?), the profile leg of the hero, and the flapping lion's skin. Better parallels for the last two motifs are offered by the ivory *Cathedra* panel of Hercules and the stag (fig. 8), with the swelling buttock and calf of the hero's leg and the down-turned foot strikingly similar in proportion and conception in the two works, as are the lion-skin legs stretching behind the hero with one hanging down and one tossed upward. Such close parallels make the possibility of mere coincidence seem remote, especially so because each work is linked independently by a variety of evidence with Hincmar's Reims, and most especially given the utter absence of comparisons nearly so close as these. Only the fillet of Hercules, which appears to be implied in the drawing, is absent from the ivories, but one must remember that the face and indeed the entire figure of Hercules on the ivory was originally inlaid with gold leaf upon which details were engraved, details now almost en-

tirely lost with that gold leaf. Of course the various single motifs are combined in the Beinecke drawing in a garbled and incomprehensible manner, the figure not riding the horse as suggested by Marston or throttling the horse as seen on the *Cathedra* ivory, but almost merged with the horse. This apparently garbled quality raises other problems which will require further attention. Nonetheless, the identity of the motifs seems certain.

Turning to the "wrestlers" or "figures joined in an interlocking grip" of folio 1v, the identification with Hercules seems initially less certain. In the absence of a telltale club, one might wish to identify here a mere "genre" scene analogous to the famous wrestlers in the Sketchbook of Villard de Honne-court, although it should be noted immediately that such an interpretation is contradicted by the abundant evidence of the texts, which suggests that the two fly-leaves were worked together and belong together. It is true that in support of the distinction between the two fly-leaves one could note the differences in the drawing of the figures' noses and eyes, respectively round-nostrilled and indicated by separated upper and lower arc-shaped lids on the rear fly-leaf, but with triangular nose and closed almond-shaped eyes on the front wrestlers leaf. However, the presence of the distinctive waving lion-skin on the front leaf, and the repetition of its wavy-clawed end on the middle of the rear page, should assure even

the most cautious observer that both fly-leaf drawings are indeed linked and are both intended to depict Hercules. It is important to note that although the lion skin is found in a number of constellation pictures of Hercules in Carolingian manuscripts, it is there always shown differently, hanging from the hero's extended left arm, a divergence that underscores the distinctive relationship between the Beinecke drawings and the Cathedra Petri ivories.³⁸ The wrestlers are then most probably Hercules and Antaeus, as the hero's grappling with other figures such as Geryon, although certainly described in many literary texts, is only one of a series of events. Only in the encounter with Antaeus is the wrestling motif essential to the story, and it is thus not surprising that images of Hercules wrestling with an anthropomorphic opponent are in ancient art usually linked with Antaeus rather than another of Hercules' enemies. Comparison to the rendering of Hercules and Antaeus on the Cathedra Petri ivory (fig. 9) is initially disappointing, since that ivory panel shows Hercules lifting Antaeus to one side from behind, rather than the two opponents facing each other. The widely splayed legs of Hercules on the ivory do suggest the splayed legs of the drawing, although in the drawing the legs appear to belong to the two different figures. Once again the Beinecke drawing is very summary, manifestly showing too few arms and legs, but it must be said that it is difficult to envisage the Beinecke drawing as a copy based upon the ivory. It is possible that here too one sees a mixture of motifs found separately on the ivory panels, where a generally analogous rising pyramidal composition with antagonists face to face and gripping one another is employed for the episode of Hercules and the Lion (fig. 10). Yet even if such a mixture is somehow involved, it remains difficult to explain. Why should anyone take motifs from different episodes and jumble them together? Another possibility suggests itself. If the drawings are in some sense "trials" like the surrounding texts, might they be preliminary compositional sketches, executed prior to the carving of the ivories?

At first mention the notion that these crude fly-leaves might comprise preliminary sketches for the beautiful and luxurious ivories seems absurd, and I admit that such an interpretation cannot be definitely established beyond reasonable doubt, yet significant evidence points in this unexpected direction. The episode of Hercules and Antaeus is familiar to most modern scholars from its frequent depiction by Renaissance and later artists, but in fact it was rare in Antiquity, as Kurt Weitzmann has shown in his study of the Vatican ivories,³⁹ and the Vatican panel is the only surviving early medieval representation of



Fig. 11. *Cathedra Petri*, sketch of horse's head on back of ivory panel, Vatican.



Fig. 12. *Cathedra Petri*, sketch of human head on back of ivory panel, Vatican.

the myth. If I am correct in arguing, as I have done elsewhere, that the Vatican ivory had no direct pictorial prototype at all, but was made up on the basis of a literary text for a decidedly programmatic purpose, as suggested in my forthcoming monograph treating these ivories,⁴⁰ then the Carolingian artist would have been forced to develop a new composition almost from scratch, and we might expect that various alternatives would be tried before the final solution was hit upon.

Of course preliminary drawings, beyond a few apparent *pentimenti*, are the rarest of creatures for this period, but they must surely have existed and indeed, miraculously, it appears that such “trials” by the artist or artists of the Cathedra Petri ivories have actually survived. The back of one panel (fig. 11), hidden from view in the final mounting, shows a sketch for the head of Diomedes’s horse (fig. 7). The two versions from the Cathedra are conceived rather differently: the preliminary sketch on the ivory’s back is more fluent, with longer nose, curving ears, and curving rather than jutting jagged mane. It is difficult to know what to say about the presence of a bridle in the drawing but not in the ivory version of the horse. Although initially inclined to see the grasping of the horse by its nostril as a mistake, I have been assured by several equestrians that such a technique can be effectively employed to control a horse. The grasping of the nostril does occur in ancient iconography,⁴¹ and it seems therefore that neither presence nor absence of bridle provides strong evidence of priority of conception. Although Bernhard Bischoff suggested that these engraved sketches were possibly later additions to the ivory, more revealing of the later history of the throne than of its origin,⁴² the more convincing realization of the horse on the back is not the only indication that it is better understood as a preliminary sketch. The artist or artists of the Cathedra Petri ivories also sketched a human head and neck on the back of another plaque (fig. 12), creating a rather strong analogy in tousled hair and triangular neck base to the head for folio 1v of the Beinecke manuscript (fig. 1), but having no close relationship to any of the heads on the ivory plaques, of which it can hardly be thought a copy. Another surprising analogy between the Beinecke 413 drawings and the Cathedra Petri ivories is the presence of inscriptions carved on the backs of the ivories, some of which are clearly Carolingian, with the Reims-associated open *g* and uncial *a* forms of the Beinecke 413 fly-leaves (fig. 13),⁴³ and with other inscriptions such as a *berilus* (fig. 14), which is as elongated in form and as incomprehensible as the critical *pustet* inscriptions of the front fly-leaf of Beinecke 413.⁴⁴



Fig. 13. *Cathedra Petri*, minuscule letter *g* on back of ivory panel, Vatican.

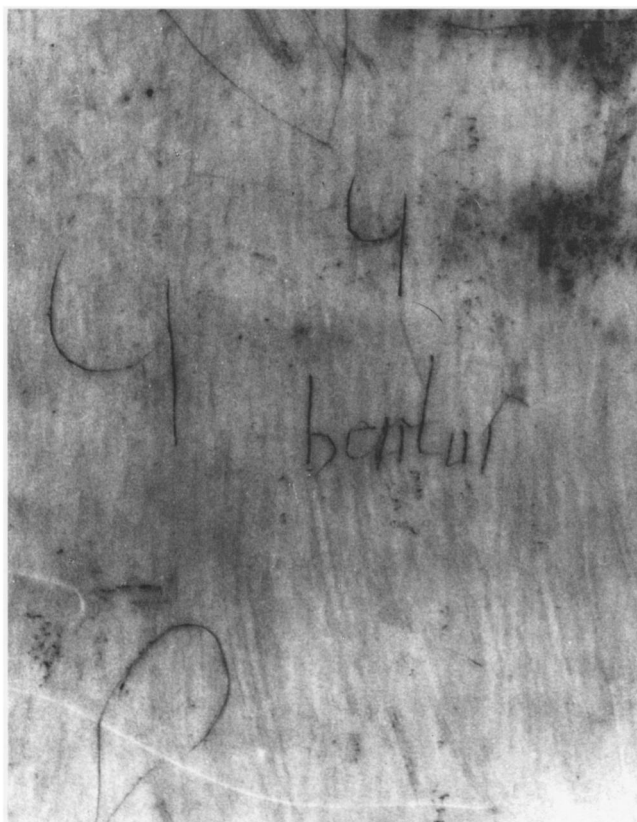


Fig. 14. *Cathedra Petri*, inscription *berilus* on back of ivory panel, Vatican.

Surely all these links cannot be dismissed as mere coincidence, and I therefore think it fair to conclude that the two monuments must be closely associated in time and place of origin, although I stop short of arguing definitively in favor of the unprovable suggestion that the fly-leaves necessarily embody preliminary drawings for the ivories. To me this in fact seems the most likely solution, and is easier to accept than the derivation of the fly-leaves from the ivories with unaccountably confused mixing of motifs. Dismissing the relationship as no more than coincidental appears to me an untenable position, leaving the only other possible explanation the postulation of a lost common source. This last alternative is of course a possibility, and an approach to which medievalists often have recourse, but in my own view should generally be seen as a refuge of last resort to which one is ineluctably driven by the evidence rather than simply a harbor of convenience. In this case, given the total absence of alternative *comparanda* taken together with the positive evidence for the outright invention of the Antaeus scene, the notion of a lost common model seems to me both unnecessary and unsatisfactory. The drawings in Beinecke 413 either prepare the way for or derive from the ivories of the Cathedra Petri, with the former alternative appearing the more likely on purely formal grounds.

The evident connection between the Beinecke drawings and the Cathedra Petri ivories raises an historical difficulty. The Cathedra Petri bears a portrait of Charles the Bald on its back, and although no definite evidence survives regarding either the date or circumstances of its entry into the papal collection, no one has ever adduced evidence against and few have overtly doubted the inherently likely and commonly professed conclusion that the throne was in fact brought to Rome by Charles in some connection with his assumption of the Roman imperial title after his coronation by the Pope on Christmas Day, 875.⁴⁵ Although in my own view it is most likely that the throne's acquisition for the papal collection reflects Charles the Bald's unexpected death in 877, it is also possible that the throne was intended as a gift for the pope, like the famous Bible now at San Paolo fuori le mura, certainly even if again not demonstrably just such a gift.⁴⁶ That Bible, if not necessarily a product of the Reims scriptorium of Archbishop Hincmar in the strictest sense,⁴⁷ was certainly produced in close association with that scriptorium;⁴⁸ it is again difficult to accept that the throne upon which Charles sits in the dedication portrait from that manuscript, much closer to the extant throne now termed the Cathedra Petri than any other in a Carolingian

royal image, does not bespeak some intimate and direct connection between Bible and Cathedra.⁴⁹

The historical problem posed by the evidently close relationship between the Beinecke Hercules drawings and the Cathedra Petri Hercules ivories is that the Cathedra Petri was taken to Rome probably in 876, and almost surely before Charles the Bald's sudden death in the spring of 877, and the throne with its ivories surely remained in Rome, by the thirteenth century at the latest and probably already in the twelfth century becoming identified with the apostolic throne of St. Peter himself.⁵⁰ In my forthcoming monograph I will argue in detail that the Hercules ivories were not executed or even planned before the autumn of 875, so that they would only have been available in a Frankish workshop for the short span of less than two years at the very most, from autumn 875 to spring 877. If this interpretation is correct, then the Beinecke manuscript must date to the period after 873 and probably before 877,⁵¹ and there is no evidence whatsoever for the manuscript having sojourned in Italy so that a doodler could disfigure it with drawings based upon the Cathedra Petri ivories before returning it to France. Clearly access to either monument by the artists responsible for the other would have been possible, but whether they are preliminary studies or subsequent derivatives, the Hercules drawings of the Beinecke manuscript would have to be dated to the period fall 875–spring 877, and they cannot then be significantly later in date than the manuscript itself. But how could such apparently casual drawings have been added to an elaborately decorated royal presentation codex so soon after its initial manufacture?

The answer to this historical question requires consideration of and itself sheds further light upon the relations between Archbishop Hincmar of Reims and Charles the Bald. What after all would be the significance of the presentation of such a gift as the capitulary collection in Beinecke 413 to the king?⁵² It would be interesting to examine in detail the contents of the six royal capitularies added to the Ansegis collection in the Beinecke manuscript, and to compare this grouping to other early capitulary collections so as to ascertain if the Beinecke book focuses upon any particular theme or problem. Such an extended investigation will not be attempted here, but it is surely worth noting that among the twenty-nine documents listed by Alfred Boretius as capitularies of Charles the Bald, the six in the Beinecke collection include both of those identified as having been written by Hincmar of Reims and reflecting his special interests, the capitularies of Quierzy of 857

and that of Pîtres of 862,⁵³ along with the two capitularies of Soissons of 853, the first of which deals specifically with the clerics of Reims, and the second giving pride of place to Hincmar among the royal *missi*.⁵⁴ The association with Hincmar of Reims on textual and historical grounds is further supported by the fact that in or near 873 Hincmar wrote and dedicated to Charles the Bald his treatise *De regis persona et ministerio*, which offers advice on the character and duties of the royal office very similar to those presented in the capitularies collected by Ansegisus and in the Beinecke manuscript, especially in the capitulary of 862.⁵⁵ Clearly, then, Hincmar of Reims was at just the moment when the Beinecke manuscript was being produced, apparently in a scriptorium closely associated with Reims, engaged in presenting advice to the king which was not novel advice, but in fact reminded Charles the Bald of the royal duties prescribed by St. Augustine, by his father and grandfather, and by his own earlier capitulary issues. Why should such reminders have been deemed necessary? The last years of Charles the Bald's life, from 873 to 877, were a time of considerable tension between the king and Hincmar of Reims, who had been closely associated since the latter's elevation in 844 just four years after Charles's assumption of the West Frankish kingship.⁵⁶ Hincmar's initial condemnation of Charles's seizure of the imperial title⁵⁷ and "fierce protest" at the oath demanded of him by the king in 876⁵⁸ were matched by Charles's useless attempt to set up Archbishop Ansegisus of Sens as apostolic vicar with authority over the entire Frankish church, a move which Hincmar successfully resisted.⁵⁹

Paradoxically, the period of conflict between Hincmar and Charles the Bald saw not only a series of treatises written by Hincmar for the king's "benefit," but also a series of luxurious artistic presentations, including very likely the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, and if I am correct the Hercules ivories of the Cathedra Petri as well as the Beinecke 413 capitulary collection. All three of these works are independently associated with Reims and Hincmar, and share a number of features. For example, as already noted, the throne upon which Charles the Bald sits in the San Paolo Bible dedication miniature is closer in form to the Cathedra Petri than to any other extant or pictured Carolingian throne. Indirect evidence of special interest in connection with the originally blank fly-leaves of Beinecke 413 upon which the Hercules images were drawn further supports the linkage of the three luxurious works of art and ties them to Charles the Bald. A Carolingian manuscript from Metz now in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale cod.



Fig. 15. *Charles the Bald*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, cod. lat. 9654, fol. Av.

lat. 9654), contains a series of texts very similar to those in Beinecke 413, having not only the Ansegisus collection but also five of the six capitularies of Charles the Bald in Beinecke, in addition to a version of the Lex Salica originally composed at the order of Charlemagne and some other legal texts.⁶⁰ On its opening page, folio A verso (fig. 15), the manuscript presents a full-page drawing of an enthroned ruler, which was formerly identified as a representation of Charlemagne but more recently and in my view more plausibly as Charles the Bald, according to Percy Ernst Schramm. Schramm suggested its possible derivation from a lost legal manuscript written for Charles ca. 870, primarily because the throne upon which the ruler sits is best paralleled by Solomon's throne in the San Paolo Bible.⁶¹ Schramm cites Beinecke 413 as evidence for the production of a luxury edition of the capitulary collection for Charles the Bald, but in doing so is unaware of the Hercules drawings in that manuscript. Clearly the Paris 9654 portrait of Charles the Bald cannot have been derived directly from Beinecke 413, but the portrait lends support to the possibility suggested earlier that the blank fly-leaf at the front of Beinecke 413 might have been intended for

a royal portrait, and only received the Hercules drawings after circumstances led to a change in the originally planned decoration of the book, or in the texts to be included in it, and finally led to an abandonment of the project, and thus made the unusual manuscript available to the artists in the workshop.

It is possible and indeed tempting to think that Charles's assumption of the imperial title in 875 was the circumstance that led to the change, and resulted in a more extensive collection of texts in a luxury manuscript with royal or imperial portrait, which served as the model for Paris 9654. One possible explanation for the close relationship between the Beinecke 413 drawings and the ivory carvings of the Cathedra Petri might be found in such circumstances, concerning which the lack of direct evidence prevents further speculation. Another possible explanation for the availability of the Beinecke manuscript in the ivory workshop proceeds from an analogy with the history of the Cathedra Petri and the San Paolo Bible. It seems very likely that the latter of these magnificent works certainly, and the former possibly, were given away by Charles the Bald shortly after he received them, and the same fate may well be imagined to have befallen the Beinecke manuscript, gratefully

received by the king from his esteemed senior archbishop, and generously bestowed upon a deserving recipient, perhaps in this case the church of Hincmar's suffragan at Soissons. Under such circumstances, with utility much lessened and without sacred content to stand in the way, it is not difficult to imagine that the blank fly-leaves of the Beinecke manuscript could have become available again to the group of artists working for Hincmar on the Hercules ivories intended for the throne of Charles the Bald. Again it must be said that the available evidence does not permit a definite choice between the two suggested explanations for the relationship, and there may be another and better explanation. Precisely how the manuscript was made available again to an atelier in Hincmar's service cannot now be known, but the plain evidence of drawings and ivories powerfully argues that it was. Obviously the picture here drawn is a catena of speculation, and cannot be unassailably demonstrated, but it seems to me to best account for the character of the Hercules drawings in the Beinecke manuscript, and may at the very least stimulate further discussion of these and also of other unjustly neglected artistic marginalia of the early Middle Ages.

NOTES

1. B. Degenhart, "Autonome Zeichnungen bei mittelalterlichen Künstlern," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3rd ser., 1 (1950), 93–158.

2. An important example of those that have been discussed are the Carolingian drawings in a manuscript at Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare, cod. CLXV, for which see C. Walter, "Les dessins carolingiens dans un manuscrit de Verceil," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 18 (1968), 99–107 (also conveniently reproduced in J. Hubert, J. Porcher, and W. F. Volbach, *Europe of the Invasions*, [New York, 1969] figs. 156–161 [hereafter, Hubert *et al.*, *Europe*]).

3. This is the general practice of E. A. Lowe's *Codices latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, 12 vols. (Oxford, 1934–71) (hereafter, Lowe, *Codices*).

4. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, cod. lat. 10910. For the drawings, see E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (Berlin, 1916), 75, 178, pls. 73, 74 (reproduced in Hubert *et al.*, *Europe*, 188, figs. 195–197; Porcher says that they are "curious graffiti (one can hardly call them drawings) inserted in the margins.").

5. Vatican Library, cod. Ottobonianus lat. 66. Lowe, *Codices*, I, no. 66, and *Il libro della Bibbia: esposizione di manoscritti e di edizioni a stampa della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana dal secolo III al secolo XVI*, Vatican City, 1972 (Vatican City, 1972), no. 11 (exhibition catalogue). The drawings, which remain, to the best of my knowledge, unpublished, include: (facing the colophon of the scribe Dominicus on the opposite verso) Moses and Joshua holding rod and sword, set in a roundel at the end of Exodus, on fol. 113r; a didactic image of *Ecclesia* arranged in a quincunx pattern around a central image of the Agnus Dei, on fol. 113v; and a portrait of

Moses standing and holding a book, set within a medallion under the *incipit* for Deuteronomy, on fol. 196v.

6. I have made a detailed study of another end-paper drawing, which I take to be closely associated in date and content with the scribal colophon even if not necessarily the work of the original scribe, in "The Colophon Drawing in the Book of Mulling: A Supposed Irish Monastery Plan and the Tradition of Terminal Illustration in Early Medieval Manuscripts," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 5 (1983), 67–94.

7. E. G. Millar, *The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts: 1* (Oxford, 1927), 50–52; no. 11, pls. 28–30 (illustrating the large decorated initial pages on fols. 28v–29r, and 83r (hereafter, Millar, *Catalogue*). Photographs of MS 431 are courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

8. P. E. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II. 768–1250* (Munich, 1962), 135, no. 55 (hereafter, Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale*).

9. *Catalogue of thirty-eight manuscripts of the 8th to the 17th century. The property of the late Sir A. Chester Beatty*, The Chester Beatty Western Manuscripts, Part II, Tuesday 24 June 1969, Sotheby and Co. (London, 1969), no. 40, 20–23, pls. 4–6, the fly-leaf drawing pl. 4 (sale catalogue, hereafter, Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969). I am very grateful to Elizabeth Beatson for both calling my attention to and providing me with a copy of this catalogue, which I had previously failed to find.

10. T. E. Marston, "A Legal Manuscript of the Ninth Century," *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 44 (1970), 111–113 (hereafter, Marston, "Manuscript").

11. W. Cahn and J. Marrow, "Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts at Yale: A Selection," *The Yale University Library Gazette*, 52 (1978), no. 5, 180, and pl. 1 (reproducing an initial page from the manuscript) (hereafter, Cahn and Marrow, "Manuscripts"). Here is published the older bibliography concerning the manuscript, which I will not repeat as a whole, but will draw upon only as relevant to the present article. I am very grateful to Jeffrey Hamburger for bringing this catalogue to my attention and thereby leading me to the previously unremarked drawings. This study began while we were both Fellows at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts of the National Gallery of Art, whose stimulating environment and support I remember with gratitude.

12. For the contents of the manuscript, see Millar, *Catalogue*; Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969; Cahn and Marrow, "Manuscripts"; and for the texts, A. Boretius, *Capitularia regum francorum: I MGH legum sectio II* (Hannover, 1863), 392, no. 44, and *idem*, *Capitularia regum francorum: 2*, nos. 259, 260, 266, 272, 273, and 278 (hereafter, Boretius, *Capitularia*). The statement by Marston, "Manuscripts," that there are only four capitularies of Charles the Bald is erroneous.

13. Millar's identification of one text as a capitulary of Emperor Lothair is misleading, as the capitulary from Valenciennes of 853 (fols. 69v–72r) is a joint promulgation by Lothair and Charles the Bald, with the rubric *Capitula Hlotharii imperatoris et Karoli regis facta in Palatio Valentianas*.

14. The text begins, in a rough transcription: *Gregorius commissam sibi divinitus aeclesiam Ligures, Venetios, Hiberos, aliosque a scimate sub libello confessos calcidonem s(an)c(tu)m sindodu(m) venerari compellens ad unitatem s(an)c(t)ae aeccle(siae) revocavat*. . . . It may be significant that collections from Augustine and Isidore on heresies are included in the Freising manuscript that contains the unusual text on burial of spouses discussed below, note 18. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to consult the manuscript in order to determine if this text may also be found in the Freising book.

15. Cahn and Marrow, "Manuscripts," 178. According to Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969, 22, this text is written in a hand "very nearly contemporary with the main text."

16. The weak arguments on behalf of the alleged origin of the Beinecke 413 manuscript in Soissons were recently criticized by J. Nelson, "Legislation and Consensus in the Reign of Charles the Bald," in P. Wormald *et al.*, eds., *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society. Studies presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), 202–227, especially 206 note 18 (hereafter Nelson, "Legislation and Consensus"). Even more recently, the suggestion has been made that "according to M. Huglo the *neumes* resemble those from the Northeastern region of France at the boundary of the Lorraine style of notation and are of the type sometimes found at Rheims," so that even the later presence of the manuscript at Soissons cannot be said to be firmly established by these entries; see B. A. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, 2: MSS 251–500, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 48 (Binghamton, New York, 1987), 320 (hereafter, Shailor, *Catalogue*). I am very grateful to Professor Shailor for sending me a copy of her discussion of Beinecke 413, which appeared just as this article was being completed.

17. The text, which occupies an entire page, begins: *De Viris et Uxoribus in uno sepulchro Eucherius ait Cebon civitas iiii virorum qui in ea sepulti sunt iiii patriarche in spelunca duplici cum tribus uxoribus suis. Id est abraham et sara. Isaac et rebecca. Iacob et Lia. Pret[er] ipsos Adam et Eva[m] uxore[m] sua[m] . . .*

18. I have not been able to myself examine the manuscript, formerly Freising manuscript 42, and now Munich, Bayerische Staats-

bibliothek, Clm. 6242, for which see K. Halm, G. Thomas, and W. Meyer, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, Part 3, (Munich, 1874), I, 77–78. The text forms chapter 29 of a collection of thirty chapters concerning marriage law, on fols. 303–310, according to F. Kunstmann, "Das Eherecht des Bischofes Bernhard von Pavia," *Archiv für Katholisches Kirchenrecht*, 6 (1861), 3–14 and 217–262, especially 10 for the text, which reads according to Kunstmann's transcription: *De sepeliendis . . . ascenderit uxoribus juxta viros suos. Eucherius dixit: Cebon civitas virorum quattuor, quae in ea sepulti sunt tres patriarche in spelunca duplici cum tres uxoribus suis, id est abraham et sarra, isaac et rebecca, jacob et lia, praeter adam ipsum et evam uxorem suam.* The incipit is cited by M. Fornasari, *Initia Canonum, a primaevis collectionibus usque ad Decretum Gratiani*, Monumenta Italiae Ecclesiastica, Subsidia 1 (Rome, 1972), 106, with a misleading reference to its occurrence in the early thirteenth-century canonist Bernard of Pavia. I am very grateful to Robert Somerville for finding the incipit in Fornasari and bringing it to my attention, as I had myself been unable to identify the text.

19. The text is clearly of some interest in the context of the Capetian attempt to establish continuity with the Merovingian and Carolingian traditions. For the latter, see most recently E. A. R. Brown and M. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986), 1–40, esp. 13–15, 23, with further bibliography, including G. M. Spiegel, "The *Reditus Regni ad Stirpem Karoli Magni*. A new Look," *French Historical Studies*, 7 (1971), 145–174, esp. 152, note 33, for texts in the *Grandes chroniques de France* and elsewhere discussing the alleged Merovingian descent of the Carolingians through St. Beggue, which is included in the Beinecke list, and E. A. R. Brown, "La notion de la légitimité et la prophétie à la cour de Philippe Auguste," R. H. Bautier, ed. *La France de Philippe Auguste. Le temps des mutations: actes du colloque international organisé par le C.N.R.S. (Paris, 29 septembre–4 octobre 1980)* (Paris, 1982), 77–111, esp. 103, with the transcription of a somewhat similar list of Frankish kings from the Trojan Faramund to Philip Augustus, contained in one of the latter king's registers (Archives nationales, JJ7, fol. 145). My own partial and rough transcription of the text in Beinecke 413, uncorrected save for expansion of some obvious abbreviations, is as follows: *Primus rex francorum Faramund exciit qui fuit troiana. Secundus Clodio. Tertius Clodemus. Quartus Meronecus. Quintus Childericus. Sextus Clodoveus qui primus christianus rex fuit . . . Fuitque XII rex francorum. XIII Ansegisus huiusque filiam nominem Begam qui in coniugio accepit Pipinum maior domum palatii. Huiusque ex ea duas filias nominem p[rimus?] Bega nominem minoris Geretrud. Geretrud sanctissimo malis fuit. Bega vero virum accepit. Interea surrexit quidam palatinus comes nomine quie accepit Plectrudem cognomine Matonam et ex ea nullam heredi habuit. Accepit autem quidam (. . .) sibi nominem Racoli. Erat autem Pipinus parvissima statura. XVI Karolus magnus. . . . XXIII Radulfus fili Ricardi fortissimi iudicis ducis (. . .) allobrogorum. Post hunc rediit regnum in manum Ludovici filii Caroli folli. Fuitque XXIV rex fuit autem Lotarius fili ei. XXV rex hic fuit progenie Caroli magni. Novissime regnavit Hugo dux Burgundie qui fuit XXVI rex Rodobert fili ei. XXVII Henricus. XXVIII Philippus. XXIX Lodovicus. XXX Philippus que (ante?) patrem mortuus est. XXXI Ludovicus frater ei rex Francorum atque dux aquitanos. XXXII Philippus qui vetere patre cepit est regnare.*

20. Professor Bischoff was kind enough to respond to my inquiries concerning these and other matters relevant to the Beinecke manuscript in a letter of June 6, 1987, and I am most grateful to him for his assistance. For the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, see the series of studies by J. Gaehde, esp. "The Pictorial Sources of the Illustrations to the Book of Kings, Proverbs, Judith and Maccabees in the Carolingian Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura in

Rome," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 9, (1975), 359–389 (hereafter, Gaehde, "Sources"), with the earlier bibliography, and the forthcoming full facsimile publication with contributions by Bischoff, Gaehde, and others.

21. This opinion is quoted by Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale*, by Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969, by Cahn and Marrow, "Manuscripts," by Shailor, *Catalogue*, and developed at much greater length in J. Gaehde, "The Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome: Its Date and Its Relation to Charles the Bald," *Gesta*, 5 (1966), 9–21, esp. 11 and note 30, quoting Bischoff's letter of July 1964 (hereafter, Gaehde, "Bible").

22. The only clear exception known to me is the anonymous Sotheby's cataloguer for the aborted Beatty sale of 1932, who inexplicably and surely erroneously termed the book "French (Tours?)" ; see *Catalogue of the Renowned Collection of Western Manuscripts the property of A. Chester Beatty, Esq.*, Sotheby and Co. (London, 1937), 4, lot 3, pl. 3. The more recent 1969 Sotheby's catalogue associates the first of the two hands with Tours, but the second with Reims. More recently Rosamond McKitterick seems to say that the manuscript was a Tours product, but the passage is somewhat ambiguous, and may be intended to signify that it was transcribed from an exemplum from Tours; see her *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), 32.

23. W. Koehler, *Buchmalerei des frühen Mittelalters*, E. Kitzinger and F. Mutherich, eds. (Munich, 1972), 145.

24. For the Hincmar Gospels, see A. L. Vandersall, "Two Carolingian Ivories from the Morgan Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 6 (1972), 17–57, esp. 41 and figs. 30–32. The connections of the ornament of Beinecke 413 with Reims have been elaborated more recently by Shailor, *Catalogue*, 324, who cites a number of other manuscripts from that scriptorium with related decoration, including the Bible of San Paolo. (Photograph of M. 728 courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.) See Nelson, "Legislation and Consensus," especially 205–208, who argues that Hincmar probably had a personal role in writing twenty-four of the fifty-eight surviving capitularies of Charles the Bald, and was associated with the production of manuscripts including twenty-three more, so that Hincmar appears to have had some connection with the transmission of the text of at least fifty-three of the fifty-eight capitularies, surely an exceptional number and indicative of his central role. Nelson derived from Sotheby's *Catalogue* 1969 the opinion that the last capitulary of Quierzy of 873 was added to the Beinecke manuscript by the same scribe at a later date, a view which she repeats but which I believe to be without basis and highly unlikely.

24A. See Nelson, "Legislation and Consensus," especially 205–208, who argues that Hincmar probably had a personal role in writing twenty-four of the fifty-eight surviving capitularies of Charles the Bald, and was associated with the production of manuscripts including twenty-three more, so that Hincmar appears to have had some connection with the transmission of the text of at least fifty-three of the fifty-eight capitularies, surely an exceptional number and indicative of his central role. Nelson derived from Sotheby's *Catalogue* 1969 the opinion that the last capitulary of Quierzy of 873 was added to the Beinecke manuscript by the same scribe at a later date, a view which she repeats but which I believe to be without basis and highly unlikely.

25. Millar, *Catalogue*.

26. Schramm and Mutherich, *Denkmale*; Gaehde, "Sources," 15, note 30: "a luxury manuscript written for Charles the Bald after 873."

27. R. McKitterick, "Charles the Bald (823–877) and His Library: The Patronage of Learning," *English Historical Review*, (1980), 28–45, esp. 41 (hereafter, McKitterick, "Library"). The author here discusses MS W.2 (de Ricci 374) in The Walters Art Gallery, whose dedicatory inscription in red rustic capitals on fol. 60v (PER LEGE REX SAPIENS / SOPHIAE PIA DOGMATA SCAE / SICQUE FIDEM FIRMA / PECTORE ET ORE TUO) has led some scholars to posit a relationship with the workshop of Charles the Bald or possibly with Reims. It has recently been suggested that this manuscript was copied from a luxurious royal exemplar with at least one illumination; see E. Jauneau, "Un 'dossier' carolingien sur la création de l'homme (Gènesè I, 26–III, 24)," *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 38 (1982), 112–132, esp. 118 and note 24, although the evidence for this interpretation seems to me far from conclusive.

28. Marston, "Manuscript," suggested on the basis of its "luxurious appearance" that "it may have been prepared for some high official at the court of Charles the Bald."

29. See W. Koehler and F. Mutherich, *Die Hofschule Karls des Kahlen*, Die karolingischen Miniaturen, 5 (Berlin, 1982); all twelve of the illuminated manuscripts connected with this group are liturgical books of some sort, including Psalters, Gospel books, prayer books, sacramentaries, and antiphonaries. The forthcoming volume in this series on the manuscripts of Reims should present the material for that group more fully. McKitterick, "Library," mentions that the manuscript in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, cod. lat. 1597A, usually but not universally attributed to Reims, and containing among other texts the proceedings of the Paris Synod of 825, has *tituli* in gold and red rustic capitals. Perhaps the closest comparison among ornate secular manuscripts is the famous Vatican cod. lat. 7207 of the *Libri Carolini*, datable ca. 792–793. Although its identification as a capitulary by its editor Hubert Bastgen is misleading, the text certainly embodies "official" views concerning contemporary political and ecclesiastical matters, and is therefore generally analogous in content to Beinecke 413. In its originally envisaged form the *Libri Carolini* manuscript apparently would have had ornamental initials for each of its 121 chapters, although none were adorned with silver and none were as large as those in Beinecke 413. It must also be emphasized that this Vatican manuscript was a very special production of highly peculiar circumstances. Although Ann Freeman no longer accepts her own (and others') earlier view that the book was intended as a presentation copy for the pope, its extraordinary history testifies to its anomalous character. It is surely worth noting that the only surviving complete manuscript of the text (the Vatican manuscript is a substantial fragment only, and lacks the fourth book), Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal cod. 663, was produced for Hincmar of Reims directly from the Vatican exemplar, and there can be no doubt of Hincmar's familiarity with this possible precedent for the rich decoration of the Beinecke 413 collection which, as I will further argue, was produced at his direction. For the *Libri Carolini* manuscript and its intimate connections with Hincmar, see now A. Freeman, "Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*," *Viator*, 16 (1985), 65–108, with guidance to the immense earlier literature.

30. In the course of a very helpful discussion of some of the problems connected with the manuscript, Robert Babcock of the Beinecke Library suggested that because of the rough quality of the parchment comprising the first two folios, they might both be thought to have been exposed at some point in the history of the manuscript, and he suggested that this first bifolium might originally have served as an outside wrapper for the entire codex, before its binding. Yet the roughness and discoloration of both

recto and verso of both leaves seemed to him, and to me, inconsistent with such an interpretation; moreover I see no basis for separating the page of display capitals on fol. 2v from the initial production of the codex, and the rough condition of the parchment of the opening bifolium remains still an unaccountable peculiarity.

31. Although the same in scale, the ruling on fol. 2 provides for twenty-five rather than the twenty-four long lines of text of the manuscript as a whole.

32. The manuscript is composed of fourteen gatherings, or perhaps one should say thirteen gatherings plus the opening bifolium, the remainder being regular quaternions save number 12 (fols. 91–97), which has but seven folios (fol. 97 is a singleton whose stub protrudes before fol. 91), although no break in text. Gatherings II–V and VIII still retain their original signatures, the rest having apparently been trimmed away. I can see no strong evidence for the argument advanced in Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969, 21, that the last gathering was only added to the manuscript by the same scribe after a lapse of some years, the original plan being to end it with fol. 97. The theory is possible, but seems both unlikely and unnecessary.

33. That “these drawings antedate some early scribbles on the same page and seem to be nearly contemporary with the manuscript” was already noted in Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969, 22.

34. The phrase *missi nostri* occurs very commonly, for example on fol. 67r in large colored capitals at the beginning of the first of the capitularies of Charles the Bald (*Ut missi nostri*), on fol. 69v in the preface to Charles’s capitulary issued jointly with Lothair, and again on fol. 72r in the preface to another of Charles’s capitularies.

35. F. M. Carey, “The Scriptorium of Reims during the Archbishopric of Hincmar (845–882),” *Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand*, L. W. Jones, ed. (New York, 1983), 41–60, esp. for this list of characteristics, p. 48. For more recent discussion of the Reims scriptorium, see the brief note by Bernhard Bischoff, in *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, Grundlagen der Germanistik, 24 (Berlin, 1979), 157 no. 30, along with additional literature cited in subsequent notes.

36. As will be argued later, the armlike appendage extending from the shoulder of the left figure is not an arm; indeed descending curves from its shoulders indicate the position of both arms of the right figure, who was surely not tri-brachial. I should note here that the very small profile head at the lower right of the rear fly-leaf, which is quite distinct in style, scale, and character, may very well be a much later addition, and will not be discussed here.

37. When I first spoke to Professor Shailor about these drawings, she identified the figures as Hercules before I even hinted at my own opinion, although she stated that she had no actual evidence supporting the identification, and had not pursued it. See now her discussion of the manuscript, *Catalogue*, 324: “crudely drawn figure, perhaps Hercules with club and lion’s skin.”

38. For these manuscripts see the convenient recent study by P. McGurk, “Carolingian Astrological Manuscripts,” in M. Gibson and J. Nelson, eds., *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, British Archaeological Reports International series, 101 (Oxford, 1981), 317–332, with list of manuscripts and bibliography, and with an illustration of Hercules pl. 7. The Hercules page from the well-known manuscript in Cologne written for Charlemagne’s Archchancellor Hildebald is conveniently reproduced in *Karl der Grosse, Werk und Wirkung*, Aachen, 1965 (Düsseldorf, 1965), no. 443 and fig. 84 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *Karl der Grosse*).

39. K. Weitzmann, “The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter’s Cathedral,” *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973), 1–37, esp. 9 (hereafter, Weitzmann, “Plaques”).

Additional examples of the subject in Roman art have been mentioned in the more recent article by R. Olmos and L. J. Balmaseda, “Antaios,” *Lexikon iconographicum mythologiae classicae* (Zurich/Munich, 1981), I, 800–811, although it remains far less prevalent than episodes from the canonical Labors of Hercules. Photographs of the *Cathedra Petri* ivories are courtesy of Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, the Vatican.

40. *A Tainted Mantle. Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (forthcoming). Some discussion of this point may also be found in my “Theodulf’s Mythical Silver Vase, *Poetica Vanitas*, and the Augustinian Critique of the Roman Heritage,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), 443–451.

41. See Weitzmann, “Plaques,” p. 11.

42. B. Bischoff, “Die Schrift auf der *Cathedra*,” *Nuove ricerche sulla cattedra lignea di San Pietro in Vaticano*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia, ser. III, Memorie (Vatican City, 1975), I, 21–32, esp. 32, and figs. 33, 34 (hereafter, Bischoff, “Schrift”).

43. Bischoff, “Schrift,” figs. 13 and 21.

44. *Ibid.*, fig. 31. In citing this study, I do not mean to imply that Professor Bischoff has confirmed to me a belief in the close relationship between these inscriptions, as in his opinion the uncalledigraphic form of the carved “scribbles” on the ivories do not allow a close comparison.

45. See P. E. Schramm, “Kaiser Karl der Kahle der Stifter des Thrones in St. Peter,” in M. Maccarrone et al., *La cattedra lignea di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archaeologia, ser. III, Memorie, 10 (Vatican City, 1971), 277–293, esp. 281 f., with citation of the texts in the contemporary Annals of Fulda, St. Vaast, and St. Bernin (the last written in these years by Hincmar of Reims himself) which speak of the “rich gifts” (*pretiosa munera*) offered by Charles to the Pope (hereafter, Schramm, “Kaiser Karl”). That the throne was likely taken to Rome by Charles the Bald is also stated by Florentine Mutherich, in “Der Elfenbeinschmuck des Thrones,” in Maccarrone, et al., *La Cattedra lignea . . .*, 253–273, esp. 261 (hereafter, Mutherich, “Elfenbeinschmuck”).

46. For the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura, see the forthcoming facsimile cited above, and J. Gaehde and F. Mutherich, *Carolingian Painting* (New York, 1976), 28, no. XXIX: “The manuscript’s presence in Italy during the late eleventh century is attested by a contemporary entry on the blank recto of fol. 2 of the oath of fealty by the Norman Duke Robert Guiscard to Pope Gregory II in 1080. It is most likely, however, that the Bible was one of the gifts of Charles the Bald to Pope John VIII on the occasion of his coronation in Rome as Emperor in 875” (hereafter, Gaehde and Mutherich, *Painting*).

47. See Gaehde, “Bible,” 9–21, with discussion of the earlier bibliography and various opinions concerning the origin of the manuscript at St. Denis and other centers, the Reims origin being maintained again in Gaehde and Mutherich, *Painting*, 16, 28, 114.

48. See the studies cited above, notes 14–19.

49. On this connection see especially Schramm, “Kaiser Karl,” 277–279, and Mutherich, “Elfenbeinschmuck,” a connection more recently reiterated by Weitzmann, “Plaques,” 34.

50. On the early and high medieval history of the *Cathedra*, see M. Maccarrone, “La storia della Cattedra,” in Maccarrone et al., *La Cattedra lignea . . .*, 3–70, and *idem*, “Die Cathedra Sancti Petri im Hochmittelalter. Vom Symbol des päpstlichen Amtes zum Kultobjekt,” *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 75 (1980), 171–207. The later history of the throne is a difficult and controversial problem to be explored in another context.

51. See most recently the opinion of Shailor, *Catalogue*, who gives the date "ca. 875" in the heading to the entry and "shortly after 873" in the text. Although highlighting Charles the Bald's legislation seems most likely in a manuscript made for that ruler, the possibility certainly cannot be ruled out that it was made for Charles's son Louis the Stammerer. Hincmar himself crowned Louis after his father's death, and composed the *ordo* for that ceremony, and continued to write for Louis the sort of guides to Christian regal duties already composed for Charles over the course of many years; for these questions, see J. Nelson, "Kingship, Law and Liturgy in the Political Thought of Hincmar of Rheims," *English Historical Review*, 92 (1977), 241–279, reprinted in her *Politics and Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1986), 133–173, esp. 152, with further bibliography (hereafter, Nelson, "Kingship").
52. It is worth noting, however, the observation by McKitterick, "Library," that if the Beinecke 413 manuscript were in fact a personal possession of Charles the Bald, "it would certainly be the only collection of royal laws known to have belonged to a Frankish king," while Nelson, "Legislation and consensus," *passim*, especially 217 note 71, emphasizes Charles the Bald's dependence upon Hincmar for the recall and mastery of his own previous legislative actions.
53. See Boretius, *Capitularia* 2, no. 266, 285–291, and no. 272, 302–310. The Capitulary of Pîtres was attributed to Hincmar by H. Schrörs, *Hinkmar Erzbischof von Reims, seine Leben und seine Schriften* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1884), 235, on the grounds that the long discussion of episcopal prerogatives in chapter four so closely reflects Hincmar's intense concern with that issue. That Hincmar has been suggested as the author of these two capitularies was previously noted in Sotheby, *Catalogue* 1969, 21.
54. See Boretius, *Capitularia* 2, no. 259, 266–270 and no. 260, 270–276.
55. *Patrologia latina* 125, cols. 833–856. The treatise has received less attention than it deserves, probably because it is to a very large degree composed of extracts from Augustine.
56. The most comprehensive recent discussion of Hincmar's career is J. Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845–882*, *Travaux d'histoire éthico-politique*, 29 (Geneva, 1976). For the period 863, see his chapter nine, with the revealing title "Hincmar et Charles le Chauve: la fin des illusions," in particular the discussion of the period close to the imperial coronation (pp. 790–824).
57. See *Ad episcopos et proceres provinciae Rhemensis de fide Carolo Regi servanda*, in *Patrologia latina* 125, cols. 961–984.
58. The phrase is from Nelson, "Kingship," 154, with further bibliography.
59. See Hincmar's *De iure metropolitanorum, cum de Ansegisi primatu ageretur*, in *Patrologia latina* 126, cols. 189–210, reflecting again the emphasis upon episcopal prerogatives included in the capitulary of Pîtres of 862, for which see above, note 53.
60. The most convenient description of Paris 9654 is by W. A. Eckhardt, "Die von Baluze benutzten Handschriften der Kaspitularien-Sammlungen," in *Mélanges offerts par ses confrères étrangers à Charles Braibant* (Brussels, 1959), 113–140, especially 121–123, with bibliography for earlier published descriptions and editions. The Ansegis collection of Paris 9654, on fols. 29v–66r, is treated in Boretius, *Capitularia* 1, no. 17. The unusually comprehensive collection of legal material in this manuscript includes a number of texts not capitularies, and the *Leges Salica*, *Francorum Chamavorum*, *Ribuaria*, *Alamannorum*, and *Baiuvariorum*, along with the two lists of Frankish kings, the lattermost feature recalling the presence of a list of Frankish kings in Beinecke 413. It might be very interesting to fully collate Paris 9654 and Beinecke 413 with a view toward precisely determining their textual relationship. Photograph courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
61. See P. E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit 751–1190*, rev. ed. F. Mutherich, ed. (Munich, 1983), no. 45, 176–177. The identification as Charlemagne is maintained in *Karl der Grosse*, no. 687. For the Solomon portrait see Gaehde and Mutherich, *Painting*.

A Mid-Fifteenth Century Book of Hours from Bruges in The Walters Art Gallery (MS.721) and Its Relation to the Turin-Milan Hours¹

M. SMEYERS

*Katholieke Universiteit Leuven,
Louvain, Belgium*

Manuscript W721 from The Walters Art Gallery, a Book of Hours from Bruges of around 1450, has almost completely escaped attention up to now. Yet this codex is important because of its iconographic program, the way in which models—even Eyckian models—were applied, and its relation to other contemporary manuscripts from Bruges, especially the *Turin-Milan Hours*. The latter relationship introduces some speculation concerning the workshops active in Bruges in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The codex is in vellum and has 297 folios. The recent foliation runs from 1 to 296 (with fol. 50a following fol. 50). The leaves measure 14.2 x 10.7 centimeters, with a justification of 7.2 x 4.9 centimeters. The text is written in a single column of sixteen lines (with a line-interval of 4.5 mm), except the calendar, which numbers seventeen lines. The script is in black and the rubrication in purple ink. A catchword is visible on folio 102v, and there are traces of signature marks on folios 114r and 115r (O [?] III, and IIII), respectively, the third and fourth leaves of the fifteenth quire. The script is written in *textura*, except on folios 295v–296 where, on a blank verso and an inserted folio, prayers were added later in *rotunda*.² The eighteenth-century binding is of brown leather over cardboard, with *Oraciones a la Virgen* stamped on the spine. It was repaired in 1835.

The thirty-eight gatherings are mostly of eight leaves. (During the composition of the gatherings the contents of the manuscript was taken into account, and for that reason the collation is provided with the table of contents in note 4.) Full-page miniatures are on inserted, yet contemporary singletons (always with blank rectos). However, five of these singletons³ disappeared at an unknown date. Textual loss is noted after folios 15v (one leaf), 74v (one double page), and 125v (several leaves).

The contents are: folios 1r–12v: Calendar; folios 13r–15v: Athanasian credo (*quicumque vult salvus esse*, with textual loss at the end); folios 16r–125v: short Hours for every day of the week, each followed by a Mass; folio 125v: *Obsecro te* (with textual loss); folios 126r–131v: *Missa pro peccatis*; folios 132r–199v: the Office of the Blessed Virgin; folios 200r–208r: Advent Office of the Virgin; folios 208v–210v: *O intemerata* (masculine); folios 211r–221r: Seven Penitential Psalms; folios 221r–233v: the Litany, followed by several prayers; folios 234r–276v: Office of the Dead; folios 277r–295v: Psalter of St. Jerome; folios 295v–296r: five added prayers, all beginning with the invocation *O Domine Jhesu Christe*.⁴ The essential components of a Book of Hours⁵ (the Office of the Virgin, the Penitential Psalms, the Litany and the Office of the Dead) are present. The abridged Hours of each day of the week in this manuscript constitute a normal cycle.⁶



Fig. 1. *Salvator mundi*, *Trinity*, *Book of Hours*, vellum, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 16v–17r).

The calendar, written in red and black, is quite easy to localize, since a number of saints are commonly celebrated in the Netherlands.⁷ The celebration of St. Amandus as *festum fori* (Feb. 6) and of Sts. Eleuterius (Feb. 20), Ludovicus rex (Aug. 25), Bertinus (Sept. 5), and Livinus (Nov. 12) as *festum chori* points towards the Diocese of Tournai. The following saints are marked in red, and particularly refer to Bruges: Egidius (Sept. 1), Remigius (Oct. 1), Donatianus (Oct. 14), and Eligius (Dec. 1).⁸ Also pointing to Bruges are the references as *festum chori* to the *translatio* of Sts. Donatianus on August 30 and Brandanus on May 17.⁹ Also significant is the solemn celebration of the *Depositio sancti Benedicti* on June 11, an element again pointing to Bruges.¹⁰ The presence of Sts. Livinus, Quintinus, and Donatianus in the litany confirms the Tournai and even Brugian character of the calendar. Of interest is the indication of Santa Maria de la Hoo on December 18 as *festum fori*; it is the feast of the *expectatio Mariae*, the day on which, during Advent, the first antiphons, beginning with the exclamation

O, are sung. This celebration originated in Spain,¹¹ and perhaps this explains why this feast is noted in Spanish.

Was this Book of Hours made for export to Spain? Such an assumption is reinforced by the fact that the calendar was adapted to the Spanish liturgy, and to Toledo in particular, by another hand, yet also in a fifteenth-century *textura*. The following saints were added: Yldefonsus *archepiscopus toletanus* (Jan. 23), Eulalia (Feb. 12), Petrus *martir de ordine predicatorum* (April 29), Torquatus (May 1), Sancta Maria de Nives (Aug. 4), Antoninus (Sept. 2), Fruilanus (Oct. 3), Facundus et Primitivus (Nov. 27), and Leocadia *virgo toletana* (Dec. 9). The inscription on the spine, although of a later date, confirms that the codex once had a Spanish owner.

The decoration is meant to articulate the contents in a hierarchical way. Initials of three lines or more are in blue or red with white tracery; the center of the letter is filled with foliage and flowers on gold fields. In one case the letter is occupied by a peacock

(fol. 17r). Larger initials of four or five lines mark the beginning of the major texts; those of three lines were used for the Mass of the Trinity,¹² the *missa pro peccatis*, and the Advent Office of the Virgin. In each case the letters have taillike pen-and-ink extensions from which leaves and flowers sprout up and down in the left-hand margin. Initials of one or two lines in gold on red and blue fields, also with white tracery, indicate smaller sections within the major texts. Only on a few folios is the first letter of the upper line accompanied by a modest interlacing at the stem of the letter (fol. 5v, beginning of the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and fols. 88v and 243r, where it does not seem to serve a particular function).

Every part of the text that begins with an initial of four or five lines is preceded by a facing full-page miniature framed by marginal decoration, which is also used on the text page. This decoration, principally in green, red, and blue, consists of tendrils with acanthus leaves filled with gold dots. It is separated from the text by a double baguette. Drolleries are also found in this foliage: figures with half bodies appearing from flowers, and people and fantastic beasts that are placed randomly within the border or on small islands painted in green. Grotesque creatures are seen with prickles on the back, monstrosities of animal bodies and human heads, naked creatures, and angels with plates, jars, or musical instruments. In some cases the margin offers a supplementary illustration in circular, oval, or rectangular medallions or, more freely, on the islands already mentioned.

Only on a few pages at the beginning of four of the Penitential Psalms (fols. 212r, 213r, 215r, and 216v) does the marginal decoration fill only three borders. It is closely linked with the two-line initials from which it sprouts. The final elements of decoration are the line-endings in blue and red with white tracery.

Only thirteen full-page miniatures of the original program are extant. This program included the additional illustrations that, as already mentioned, are painted in the borders of the facing pages. Thus, although the full-page miniatures are executed on inserted leaves, the illustration of the codex was conceived of as a whole.¹³ This is also confirmed by the style and by the type of marginal decoration, which is identical around both full-page miniatures and text.

The first series of miniatures decorates the abridged Hours for each day of the week. The Hours of the Trinity open with a *Salvator mundi* (fig. 1). Christ wears a purple mantle and is seated on a throne beneath a canopy with a hanging cloth of honor



Fig. 2. *Raising of Lazarus*, *Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fol. 35v).

adorned with blue and gold fleurs-de-lis. Two angels playing musical instruments float in the air; the background is diapered. The Trinity, which one would expect with this text, is represented in the border of folio 17r. Father and Son are depicted as identical figures with an open book on their laps.¹⁴ Their faces are scratched out and the Dove of the Holy Ghost is no longer visible.

In the lower margin of this page a man sits on a little green field, holding a banderole with the inscription *Miserere mei Deus meus*. This supplication is connected with the figure painted in the upper right corner who holds a cloth in front of him with a personification of a soul. This is Abraham, a symbol of heavenly salvation (Luke 16:22).¹⁵

The Raising of Lazarus adorns the beginning of the Hours of the Dead (fig. 2). Christ holds out his hand to Lazarus who steps out of the grave. Particularly unusual in this scene is the fact that Lazarus is shown dressed in a *jacks*, fashionable at the middle of the fifteenth century. On the left either Mary or Martha looks on with hands crossed in front of her. Several Jews appear as spectators. The scene is set in front of a vast landscape with a view of a distant town.

In Books of Hours this theme usually introduces the Office of the Dead. Here it has been transposed to the weekday Hours of the Dead. Although found in Books of Hours from about 1415, the scene is relatively rare before 1460.¹⁶ Its appearance in the Walters manuscript is undoubtedly one of the earliest in Books of Hours from the southern Netherlands.

The Pentecost at the Hours of the Holy Spirit (fig. 3) is, in contrast to the preceding miniature, set against an abstract purple background, with a strip of open blue sky from which the Holy Ghost descends on beams of light. The Apostles and Mary sit down on the ground. Two Old Testament episodes, in the margins of this and the opposite page, prefigure the Pentecost: Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law (Exodus 31:18), and the eldest among the Israelites sitting and waiting for Moses to ascend Mount Sinai (Exodus 24:14). In various typological treatises, such as the *Pictor in Carmine*, the *Concordia Novi et Veteris Testamenti*, the *Corcordantia Caritatis*, *Biblia Pauperum*, and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*,¹⁷ this story of Moses is connected with the Pentecost.¹⁸

A compact group of saints aptly decorates the Hours of All Saints (fig. 4). Only Sts. Peter and Paul are securely identifiable; a pope, possibly St. Gregory, stands in the center. The background is filled with gold scrolls on a purple ground, enclosed at the top by a row of blue angels.

After folio 74v a miniature is missing, the subject of which would have been related to the Hours of the Holy Sacrament, perhaps a Last Supper or the Veneration of the Holy Sacrament.

The Hours of the Cross open with a Crucifixion (fig. 5). An angel receives the blood from Christ's side in a chalice. On the left the Virgin swoons in the arms of St. John, on the right the centurion pronounces the words with which he recognized Christ as the Son of God. A single prefiguration adorns the lower margin: with a dagger Joab kills Absalom, who is hooked up in a tree (2 Samuel 18:9). This subject appears in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as a prefiguration of the thrust of the lance into the side of Christ.¹⁹ Parallel to this vignette, the lower margin of the facing page shows the unearthing of a cross in

Fig. 3. *Descent of the Holy Spirit, Moses Receiving the Tables of the Law, Book of Hours, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 49v–50r)*



the presence of Empress Helen. Instead of an Old Testament prefiguration, here the legend of the True Cross was applied as a source of inspiration. Several versions exist of this story, the best known of which is from the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine.²⁰

The Saturday Hours of the Virgin are illustrated with a Madonna of Humility which is, at the same time, a *Virgo lactans* (fig. 6). Mary is seated on a large cushion while giving the child her breast. Usually occurring together, these two themes express the solitude, humility, and love of the Virgin. The Madonna of Humility originated in Trecento Sienese painting and was very popular in western Europe at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century.²¹ Two blue angels, holding a crown above the head of the Virgin, offer an antithesis: humility leads to exaltation.²² The background is decorated with diaper patterns. The vignette in the margin of the facing page depicts the education of Mary by her mother Anne.

The illustrations in the Hours of the Virgin exhibit two peculiarities. The first is the use of a double cycle that employs full-page miniatures from the Infancy of Christ juxtaposed with medallions in the right border of the facing page showing the Passion. This is to be explained by the origin of Books of Hours.²³ In French manuscripts the Hours of the Virgin were normally illustrated with either a Passion cycle or an Infancy cycle. During the fourteenth century, the latter was gradually favored. Nevertheless, scenes from the Passion were often maintained on a secondary level, such as in historiated initials, or were placed in the margins, as here. During the first half of the fifteenth century this procedure was still followed in Books of Hours of the so-called Gold Scrolls group.²⁴ The second striking feature of the Hours of the Virgin is related to its use of typological symbolism. While in the part of the codex already discussed prefigurations were scarcely used, now beneath every full-page miniature as well as on the opposite page a scene from the Old Testament is found, referring respectively to the Infancy and Passion Cycles.

Matins is illustrated by the Annunciation (fig. 7). Mary, kneeling in a chapel formed of green cloth, turns in wonder to Gabriel, who carries a messenger's staff around which is a banderole with the salutation. At the upper left God the Father appears, attended by angels, sending the Holy Spirit to Mary. A vase with lillies stands between her and Gabriel. The prefiguration of this scene shows Moses and the Burning Bush (Exodus 3:2). This association is also made in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*²⁵ and in the *Biblia Pauperum* (where, however, the story of Moses is re-



Fig. 4. *All Saints, Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fol. 61v).

lated to the Nativity). On the facing page is depicted the Agony in the Garden. The scene is accompanied by Samson Slaying the Philistines with the Jawbone of an Ass (Judges 15:16). In the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* this theme is connected with the episode of the *Ego sum*, when the soldiers fall to the ground during Christ's arrest.

Lauds is illuminated with the Visitation (fig. 8). The scene is set in a hilly landscape with scattered buildings and trees. The prefiguration depicts the visit of the black Queen of Sheba to Solomon (1 Kings 10:10). This subject occurs in various typological treatises, but always with the Adoration of the Magi. Thus, its juxtaposition with the Visitation in the Walters Hours is exceptional. The facing page shows the Betrayal of Christ. Various successive events are united here in the traditional manner: Judas embracing Christ while the latter, with his right hand, seizes the ear of Malchus just when Peter strikes it off. As a complementary scene the treacherous murder of Abner by Joab is represented in the lower margin (2 Samuel 20:8-10).

In the Nativity at Prime (fig. 9), Mary kneels in front of a large bed covered with royal purple on which lies the naked and radiant Child. Joseph, holding a candle in his hand, looks on. The Holy Spirit



Fig. 5. *Crucifixion, Absalom's Death, Finding of the True Cross, Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 86v–87r).

descends from God the Father, a sun with a human face. Behind the stable extends a vast landscape. An unusual motif here is the bed within the stable. The traditional iconography of the Nativity shows Mary lying on the bed. Yet, since the type of the Virgin kneeling in adoration of Christ had been introduced at the end of the fourteenth century, this piece of furniture was retained in numerous representations, either completely empty or with Mary seated or lying down, the Christ Child on her lap. In a few cases dating from the first decades of the fifteenth century only the child is lying on the bed.²⁶ Consequently, in this Book of Hours the motif would appear archaic.

Underneath this scene one recognizes the Tiburtine Sibyl kneeling in adoration of the Madonna, who appears to her in an aureole as the Woman of the Apocalypse. This apocryphal theme, spread by the *Legenda Aurea*, is connected with the Nativity in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as well. Yet, it should be noted that the latter always included the Emperor Augustus.²⁷ A representation without this sovereign,

however, is also found in a typological treatise belonging to the Gold Scrolls group from about 1440.²⁸ The Scourging of Christ, who is tied to a slender column, is on the facing page. The scene is juxtaposed with that of Job Tormented by his Wife and the Devil (Job 2:7–9). The combination of these themes is found in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* as well as in the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti*.²⁹

The Annunciation to the Shepherds marks the beginning of Terce (fig. 10). The event is set in an open, brightly lighted landscape with a river. The prototype shows David Slaying Goliath (1 Samuel 17:50–51). In the *Biblia Pauperum* this theme appears with the Harrowing of Hell, and in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* with the Temptation of Christ.³⁰ Consequently, the juxtaposition of David with the Annunciation to the Shepherds is unusual here. It is possible that the choice was suggested by the fact that David, at an early age, had been a shepherd. On the next page the Passion Cycle continues with Christ before Pilate. This subject is connected with the blind Sam-

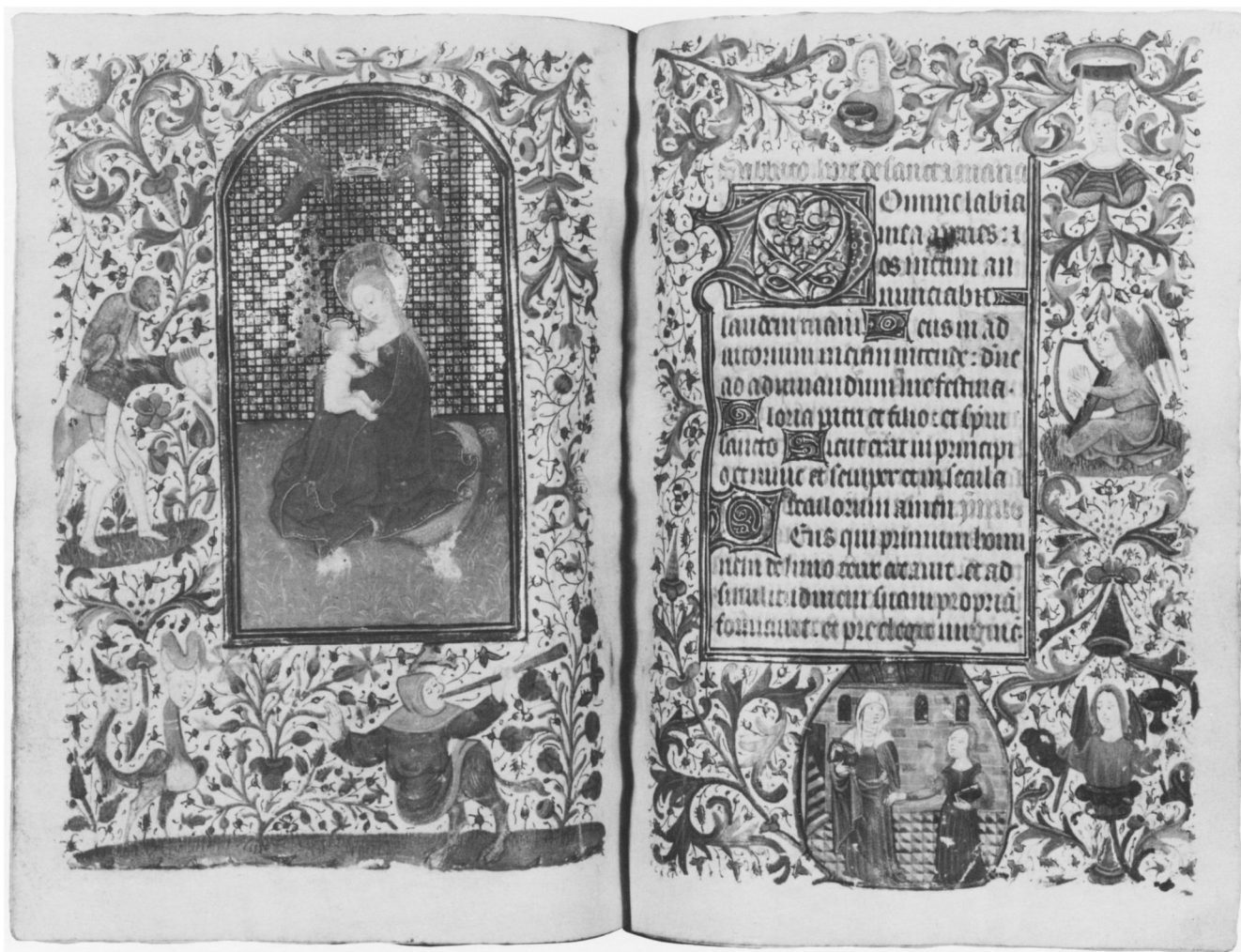


Fig. 6. *Virgin of Humility, Education of the Virgin, Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 111v–112r).

son who pulls down the columns of the Temple (Judges 16:23–30). In the context of the Passion, the *Concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti* shows this theme at the Crucifixion, thus laying stress on the death of Samson. The *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* connects the Mocking of Christ with the humiliation of Samson by the Philistines. Because the latter event and the destruction of the temple succeed each other chronologically as cause and effect, the two events were united in a single scene in various versions of the *Speculum*.³¹ However, strictly speaking, this prefiguration does not occur at the condemnation of Christ by Pilate.

At Sext a full-page miniature is missing. Almost certainly it represented the Adoration of the Magi. On the facing folio is the Bearing of the Cross. Christ, carrying the cross on his shoulder and dragged by a rope, looks back at Mary. Isaac is carrying the wood of his sacrifice in the prefiguration (Genesis 22:6). A similar combination is found in the principal typological treatise (in the upper margin a figure appears

from a flower with a banderole with an invocation much in evidence during the Middle Ages: *O mater Dei, memento mei*).

None is illuminated with the Presentation in the Temple (fig. 11). Simeon extends his hands, covered with a cloth, over an altar to take the child from Mary. The corresponding scene here is the presentation of Samuel to Eli (1 Samuel 24). Again, this is a traditional prefiguration. The facing page shows the Crucifixion with the swooning Virgin and the centurion. At the bottom is the apocryphal story of Isaias, sawn asunder. This subject is described in the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor.³² As prefiguration of the Nailing on the Cross it is also found in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. Consequently, the juxtaposition in Walters 721 shows that a slight shift has taken place.

The Massacre of the Innocents precedes Vespers (fig. 12). A woman with a child in her arms begs Herod for mercy, while another is attacked by a soldier. The interior displays a wooden wall, the lower



Fig. 7. *Annunciation, Moses and the Burning Bush, Christ in Gethsemane, Samson Slays the Philistines*, *Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 132v–133r).



Fig. 8. *Visitation, Salomon and Sheba, Betrayal of Judas, Abner Kills Joab*, *Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 157v–158r).



Fig. 9. Nativity, Tiburtine Sibyl, Flagellation, Job Tormented, Book of Hours, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 168v–169r).



Fig. 10. Annunciation to the Shepherds, David Slays Goliath, Christ Before Pilate, Samson Destroys the Temple, Book of Hours, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 173v–174r).

part of which is covered with a green cloth decorated with gold dragon motifs. A shelf with plates and jars is attached to the back wall. The scene of the Massacre is an alternative for the Flight into Egypt.³³ The Old Testament scene in the margin shows a tall armored man pitching into others with a sword. A woman with a child tries to avert the blows. It is not quite clear which biblical episode is represented here. The giant figure makes one think of Goliath, yet no known story of this colossus fits the context. Saul, who ordered the death of the priests of Nob, as well as men, women, and children (1 Samuel 22:19), is another possibility. As a prefiguration of the Massacre of the Innocents this theme appears in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Concordantia Caritatis*.³⁴ The right page shows the Deposition. A man on top of a ladder lets down Christ, who is held by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus at the foot of the cross. As the prefiguration, a scene from the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* was chosen: namely that of Jacob's Sons Show-

ing Their Father Joseph's Blood-Stained Cloak (Genesis 37:32–34).³⁵

The full-page miniature at Compline has disappeared. It was possibly the Coronation of the Virgin. The margin of the next page shows the Entombment (fig. 13), in combination with Jonah Cast into the Sea (Jonah 2:1), a prefiguration also found in the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*.

After the Hours of the Virgin there are only a few illuminated pages. At the beginning of the Penitential Psalms a miniature has been lost (after fol. 210v). It possibly represented King David, the supposed author of the Psalms. In the lower margin of the page on which the text begins David is found kneeling in penitence and playing the harp (fig. 14). The margin is adorned with an angel making music on a portable organ, a giant Goliath emerging from a flower, and at the upper left, the young David with sling in hand.

At the beginning of the Office of the Dead an-



Fig. 11. *Presentation in the Temple, Presentation of Samuel, Crucifixion, Death of Isaias, Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 182v–183r).

other large miniature is missing (after fol. 233v): a Last Judgment, or Vigil, or Mass of the Dead. Underneath the text, on folio 234r, three monks are shown singing the Absolution.

The last full-page miniature, at the Psalter of St. Jerome, portrays this church father reading in his study (fig. 15).³⁶ While he supports his head with his left hand, the gesture of melancholy, with the other he turns over the leaves of the book lying in front of him. Against the back wall stands a cupboard with a curtain. Books, glass receptacles, and a rosary are displayed. On the table are, among other things, a

pen case and an apple. Jerome’s attribute, the lion, is resting on the floor in front.³⁷

In review, it is clear that the subjects of the large miniatures in Walters 721 belong to the then-current repertory employed in Books of Hours. Of special interest is the fact that typology plays an important part in this manuscript’s pictorial cycles. In the table below, the first column summarizes the correlation between the scenes of the Old and New Testaments. The next columns indicate the presence of the Walters prefiguration in the various typological treatises.

			Speculum humanae salvationis	Biblia pauperum	Pictor in carmine	Concordant caritatis
ABRIDGED OFFICE FOR EVERY DAY OF THE WEEK						
Fol. 49v	Descent of the Holy Spirit	Moses receiving Tables of the Law	x	x	x	x
Fol. 86v	Crucifixion	Absolom’s death	(piercing of the lance)			
OFFICE OF THE VIRGIN						
Fol. 132v	Annunciation	Moses and Burning Bush	x	x (Nativity)	x	
Fol. 157v	Visitation	Solomon and Sheba	x (Epiphany)	x (Epiphany)	x (Epiphany)	x (Epiphany)
Fol. 168v	Nativity	The Tiburtine Sibyl	x			
Fol. 173v	Annunciation to Shepherds	David and Goliath	x (Temptation)	x (Harrowing)		
Fol. 182v	Presentation in Temple	Presentation of Samuel	x	x	x	x
Fol. 187v	Massacre of Innocents	Saul kills the priests, or History of Saul		x (Saul)		
SECOND CYCLE						
Fol. 133r	Christ in Gethsemane	Samson slays the Philistines	x (executioner’s men who fall to ground)			
Fol. 158r	Betrayal of Judas	Abner kills Joab	x	x	x	x
Fol. 169r	Flagellation	Job tormented	x		x	
Fol. 174r	Christ before Pilate	Samson destroys the Temple	x (Samson mocked)		x (Crucifixion)	
Fol. 178r	Christ carrying the Cross	Isaac carrying the wood	x	x		
Fol. 183r	Calvary	Death of Isaia’s	x (nailing on the Cross)			
Fol. 188	Descent from the Cross	Jacob receiving the blood-stained cloak	x			
Fol. 195	Entombment	Jonah cast into the sea	x	x		

Thus, altogether, there are sixteen prefigurations of which nine occur in the *Biblia Pauperum* and fifteen in the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*. A single prototype, the Massacre of the Innocents, could not have been taken from the *Speculum* because this New Testament theme does not appear in it. Could this be the cause of the obscurity, noted above, that accompanies this prefiguration? With this one exception it would appear that the *Speculum* was employed as a source of inspiration. While the relationships in Wal-

ters 721 between Old and New Testament events are not always in accordance with those of the typological treatises, as far as content is concerned, the shifts are not inappropriate.

In this context it should be noted that typological symbolism in Books of Hours was not introduced until shortly before the middle of the fifteenth century.³⁸ Prefiguration does appear in the Bedford Hours of around 1430, but this is exceptional for that time.³⁹ Somewhat later, typology flourished in man-

uscripts from the entourage of the Master of Guillebert de Mets⁴⁰ and in the Turin-Milan Hours,⁴¹ the completion of which (occurring in two stages, one by Masters F to I, and another by Master K) between 1440 and 1450, in my opinion must be situated in Bruges. In the same period, a few *Speculum* manuscripts and other typological treatises were also executed in a workshop associated with the so-called Gold Scrolls style in Bruges.⁴² Consequently, this latter workshop was quite familiar with typological symbolism. In addition, a south Netherlandish *Spiegel van den Leven ons Heren* from about 1440–1450 should be noted. The miniatures represent only scenes from the New Testament, yet give pronouncements of the prophets with reference to what is represented above and below. The text of this codex contains numerous typological elements as well.⁴³ In light of these manuscripts it is thus possible to arrive at a date of about 1450 for Walters 721, and to localize it in a Flemish workshop, even in the entourage of the so-called Gold Scrolls group. Some iconographic details and the

combination of the Infancy and Passion Cycles help confirm this.

With a view toward a more precise attribution, other elements, especially in regard to layout, use of models, and style, have to be considered. It can already be suggested that the border decoration and the full-page miniatures are executed by different hands. As far as the layout is concerned, the presence of illustration in the margin calls for some consideration. The method of using scenes inside medallions surrounded by scrolls is already found in manuscripts from the workshops of the Boucicaut Master, the Bedford Master, and the Rohan Master.⁴⁴ In the southern Netherlands it appears in Books of Hours of the Master of Guillebert de Mets.⁴⁵ The motif continues in Flemish manuscripts of later date.⁴⁶

Free-floating figures in borders already decorate French manuscripts of around 1415.⁴⁷ The same applies to people appearing from flower buds. Both are used in manuscripts of the so-called Master of the Gold Scrolls, around 1440.⁴⁸ The work of the latter



Fig. 12. *Massacre of the Innocents, History of Goliath or Saul, Descent from the Cross, Jacob Receiving Joseph's Blood-Stained Cloak, Book of Hours, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fols. 187v–188r).*

contains fine examples of figures on small islands as well. They also appear in a manuscript from the last phase of the Gold Scrolls atelier, the Missal of the Magdalene-Leperhouse in Bruges from 1454.⁴⁹ It is worth noting that these border figures act as supplementary illustrations to the historiated initials, just as is the case in the Walters Hours. Another Brugian manuscript from about 1450 (Morgan 421), with borders reminiscent of the Gold Scrolls style, not only has comparable islands but also has the dragons with prickly backs.⁵⁰ We shall return to this manuscript when discussing its relation to the *Turin-Milan Hours* and *Llangattock Hours*. Particular points of comparison to related manuscripts are worth mentioning. The rectangular frame surrounding King David in the margin of Walters 721 (fig. 14) is also found in the *Magdalene-Leperhouse Missal*. The motif of the peacock with spread tail inscribed in a circle (fol. 17r) is repeatedly found in Brugian codices from the second quarter of the fifteenth century.⁵¹

The shape of the scrolls, their interwoven patterns, and the thick flowers in the margin are quite comparable to border decoration in manuscripts from the Gold Scrolls group. These and other already mentioned motifs allow us to connect the Walters manuscript, at least as far as its margins are concerned, with this workshop.

Some of the full-page miniatures permit further specificity. The Annunciation occurs frequently in manuscripts, and in many different forms. Striking here (fig. 7) is the posture of Mary and the angel, the oblique wall at the back left, and the shape of the chapel or canopy with one curtain hanging down and the other tied up. A similar scheme already occurs with the Limbourg brothers, the Boucicaut Master, and his followers,⁵² but the kneeling Madonna who turns around is, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, found in manuscripts from the southern Netherlands, and next, within the entourage of the Master of Guillebert de Mets⁵³ and the Gold Scrolls group.⁵⁴ The scene in its entirety, as worked out in Walters 721, is closely related to the same subject in numerous Books of Hours from both groups (fig. 16).⁵⁵ The Book of Hours of Diego Duarte, a codex from the early Gold Scrolls workshop, contains an Annunciation with a related composition, although the canopy is arranged differently. Particularly similar is the diapered background and the manner in which the heightened floor in front is treated in an angular way.⁵⁶

That, in regard to the compositional scheme described above, we refer to prototypes in French illumination from the first decades of the fifteenth cen-



Fig. 13. *Entombment, Jonah Cast into the Sea, Book of Hours, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fol. 195r).*



Fig. 14. *David Kneeling in Penitence, Book of Hours, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fol. 211r).*

tury, as well as the border decoration, should not be surprising. It is recognized that the Gold Scrolls style is rooted in this earlier French tradition. The same can be said of the representation of the Walters Hours's All Saints (fig. 4). The composition is a compact group, and the inclusion of a pope in the center is found in Parisian Books of Hours from the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁵⁷ Later on it is copied in those of the Gold Scrolls group.⁵⁸

The Presentation in the Temple (fig. 11) strongly resembles a miniature in a Book of Hours from ca. 1450. However, the one in Walters 721 is more realistically worked out. The manuscript in question probably originated in Bruges.⁵⁹ Other miniatures, however, clearly relate to the *Turin-Milan Hours*, a phenomenon deserving of careful consideration. In addition, many of the typological prefigurations that occur in the Walters manuscript are also to be found in the *Turin-Milan Hours*.⁶⁰ Further parallels can be cited. The crucified Christ (fig. 5) is comparable to the representation in one of the miniatures of Master H in the *Turin-Milan Hours* (Milan part, fol. 48v). One

recognizes the same slender and elongated Christ (though in 721 the legs are more bent), the transparent *perizonium*, the blood dripping down the elbows, along the forearms, and flowing, by way of belly and legs, onto the lower crossarm, the clenched fists, the radiated nimbus, the *titulus* at the top of the cross, and the way in which letters and abbreviations are painted thereon.

Remarkable also is an unnoticed detail in the scene of the Raising of Lazarus (fig. 2). The frontally depicted pointing man at the back is identical to Judas in the miniature of the Finding of the True Cross in the *Turin-Milan Hours* (fig. 17).⁶¹ The Gothic buildings in the background city, on the other hand, relate to another miniature in the *Turin-Milan Hours*, the construction which dominates the city scene in the Betrayal of Judas (Turin part, fol. 24r, Master G). In the latter manuscript this is meant to be the Temple of Jerusalem, which makes no sense in the story of Lazarus, since this scene takes place near Bethany. The small tree on the left mid-ground of the Walters Hours is closely related to a flowering tree in the



Fig. 15. *St. Jerome in his Study*, *Book of Hours*, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.721 (fol. 277v).



Fig. 16. *Annunciation*, *Book of Hours*, Louvain, Centrale Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. A 12 (fol. 22r).

Turin-Milan Hours (Turin part, fols. 65r, 75v), as well as in a kindred codex, a Brugian *Cité de Dieu* from 1445.⁶²

Evidence that the *Turin-Milan Hours* Finding of the Cross⁶³ was actually known to the illuminators of Walters 721 may appear from the illustration in the margin of folio 87r (fig. 5); although an Old Testament scene is expected here, the unearthing of the True Cross has been substituted, and what is more, the man with the spade is depicted in exactly the same position as the one in the *Turin-Milan Hours*. The latter scene is also found in other manuscripts bearing further resemblance to Walters 721.⁶⁴ A profound study of the dependences indicates that these miniatures directly or indirectly go back to a lost Eyckian prototype.

The scene of St. Jerome in His Study (fig. 15) shows a striking resemblance to a representation of this church father on a panel in the Institute of Arts, Detroit (fig. 18). The similarity concerns the general composition as well as numerous details and the coloring. Note, for instance, the fingers of the saint that

part the leaves of his book and the instrument lying over the edge of the table. The astrolabe of the painting, however, is replaced in the miniature by a document that hangs over a shelf of the bookcase; the lion is reproduced on a reduced scale and in reverse.⁶⁵ The attribution of the Detroit panel is problematic. Formerly it was given to Jan van Eyck, an attribution contradicted by the date 1442 discovered during cleaning. Others have thought it a work of Petrus Christus after a lost painting of van Eyck. According to some, the panel was begun by Jan and finished by an anonymous artist.⁶⁶ The problem grows more complex with speculation that the painting in question was not executed until the end of the nineteenth century, probably in Germany.⁶⁷ Whatever the facts of the matter, even assuming that the Detroit panel is not original, there must, in any case, have been an Eyckian painting on which it is based. There is much evidence for this: an inventory of the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici (1492) records a similar panel painted by Master Jan of Bruges;⁶⁸ a wall painting of Ghirlandaio in the Ognissanti in Florence has clear



Fig. 17. *Finding of the True Cross*, *Book of Hours*, Turin, Museo civico, *Turin-Milan Hours* (fol. 118r).



Fig. 18. *Panel, St. Jerome in His Study*, tempera on wood, Detroit Institute of Arts.

analogies with the panel.⁶⁹ A third argument is the fact that the work was copied in Bruges illumination. Apart from the Walters manuscript, we can also mention a simplified copy in a Book of Hours that, although once considered a Ghent product of about 1420,⁷⁰ can more accurately be attributed to Bruges between about 1440 and 1450 (fig. 19).⁷¹

The fact that the Eyckian St. Jerome was imitated in a Bruges illumination from about 1440 and 1450 argues in favor of the above suggested origin and dating of Walters 721. In addition to what has already been ascertained concerning the relation between the Walters manuscript and the *Turin-Milan Hours*, it should be observed that the latter also includes a St. Jerome (fig. 20). The saint, however, was transformed by the use of other Eyckian motifs into a Thomas Aquinas for iconographical reasons.⁷²

Parallels with the *Turin-Milan Hours* are not exhausted here. The group of shepherds in Walters 721 (fig. 10) largely corresponds to those of the Nativity in the *Llangattock Hours* (fig. 21).⁷³ Rosy Schilling gave this miniature, previously attributed to Willem Vrelant, to the anonymous Brugian Llangattock Master, active around 1450.⁷⁴ The shepherds in the *Llangattock Hours*, however, are in turn derived not from one (as is supposed by Schilling) but from two miniatures in the *Turin-Milan Hours*, a scene of the Nativity and another of the Annunciation to the Shepherds (figs. 22, 23).⁷⁵ From the second scene, the shepherd on the left, bending his knees and leaning on his staff, was taken; from the first, likewise, the pointing shepherd on the left was copied, along with his upward gazing companion. Even the landscape of the *Llangattock Hours* is partly derived from the scenery of the Nativity of the *Turin-Milan Hours*. All motifs quoted in the Llangattock manuscript are reproduced in reverse, a fact pointing to an intermediate model or to certain copying techniques.

The shepherds in Walters 721 (fig. 10) do not go back directly to the *Turin-Milan Hours*, but rather derive from those in the *Llangattock Hours* or from the model employed in that workshop. Both figures and the landscapes in 721 are in the same direction as those in the *Llangattock Hours*. The cohesion between the figures in all three codices is reinforced by their proportions, which do not differ greatly from one to another.

The *Llangattock Hours* contains still other recognizable derivations from the *Turin-Milan Hours*. Hence it can be deduced that the former manuscript was illuminated in Bruges around 1450 in a workshop with direct connections with that in which the *Turin-Milan Hours* was being finished at that time (Master K phase).⁷⁶



Fig. 19. *St. Jerome in His Study*, *Book of Hours*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3110 (fol. 163v).

A final few details call for attention. The rack with plates and jars in the *Massacre of the Innocents* (fig. 12) is more or less related to one in the Nativity of St. John in the *Turin-Milan Hours* (Milan part, fol. 93v; Master G). The man leaning with his back against the ladder in the medallion of the *Deposition* of folio 188r (fig. 12), performs an identical action in the *Turin-Milan Hours* (Turin part, fol. 36r; Master K).⁷⁷

The evidence above justifies a few conclusions. More than one master collaborated in the production of Walters 721. Its margins correspond with the manuscripts associated with the Gold Scrolls group;⁷⁸ the type of rinceau, the kind of figures in the margins and the manner in which these are arranged, the illustration system with double cycles, the application of typological symbolism, and the style of the marginal scenes confirm this. The full-page miniatures, on the other hand, belong to a different school, at least as far as style is concerned (iconographically they also belong to the tradition of the Gold Scrolls group). This is revealed in certain miniatures such as the *Annunciation* and *All Saints*, as well as by numer-

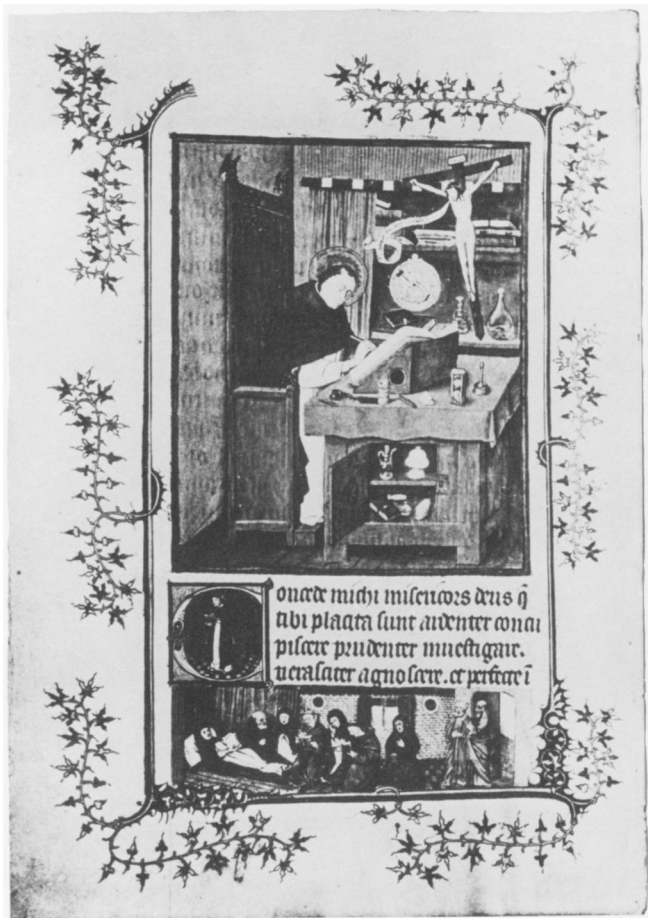


Fig. 20. *St. Thomas Aquinas in His Study*, *Book of Hours*, Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria, Ms. K.IV.29 (fol. 73v; now destroyed).

ous iconographical peculiarities. The master of the full-page miniatures made use of models from the Gold Scrolls workshop. The presence of abstract backgrounds and other archaisms, as well as older French pictorial elements in some miniatures leads to the same conclusion. Indeed, it has already been observed that the Gold Scrolls style reveals links with Parisian illumination from the early fifteenth century. On the other hand, the backgrounds of various scenes show realistic and vast landscapes, proving that this master also tried to free himself from the archaic style and transform his models in a more modern style.

The illuminators of Walters 721 borrowed from more than one miniature of the *Turin-Milan Hours*—borrowings which appear to prove that these artists knew this manuscript. There is also a strong relationship with the *Llangattock Hours*, the production of which is related to the completion of the last phase of the *Turin-Milan Hours* about 1450. Both the scenes in the borders and the full-page miniatures in the Walters manuscript are related to the *Turin-Milan*



Fig. 21. *Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds*, *Book of Hours*, Malibu, The J. P. Getty Museum, Ms. IX.7, Ludwig (fol. 87v).

Hours, a relationship confirming the hypothesis already put forward that the masters of the borders and full-page miniatures, although working in a divergent style, are still to be connected.

These relationships permit one to locate the illumination of Walters 721 at Bruges, about 1450. This dating is supported by the use of typological symbolism, and the costumes point that way as well.⁷⁹ That the nearly old-fashioned Gold Scrolls tradition in 721 is accompanied by another trend rooted in a post-Eyckian sphere allows us to call this manuscript a work of transition.

An analogous situation appears in two other Brugian Books of Hours already mentioned: Brussels IV.1085, in which the Gold Scrolls style is also enriched by Eyckian elements (although the illumination as a whole still remains archaic), and Pierpont Morgan Library 421, the borders of which are executed in the style of the Gold Scrolls group, and whose large miniatures show an evolved style reminiscent of the *Turin-Milan Hours* and the *Llangattock Hours*.⁸⁰

Various tendencies meet in the Walters manuscript where masters with different schoolings collaborate. On one hand this phenomenon shows that the idea of an atelier in the sense of a self-contained workshop identified with a uniform style is untenable, and that manuscript illumination ever interwove

progressive and old-fashioned elements. On the other hand, our findings accentuate once again that there exists a “continuity from the beginning of the 15th century through the production of anonymous works in the Gold Scrolls style to the style practised in Bruges around the middle of the 15th century.”⁸¹

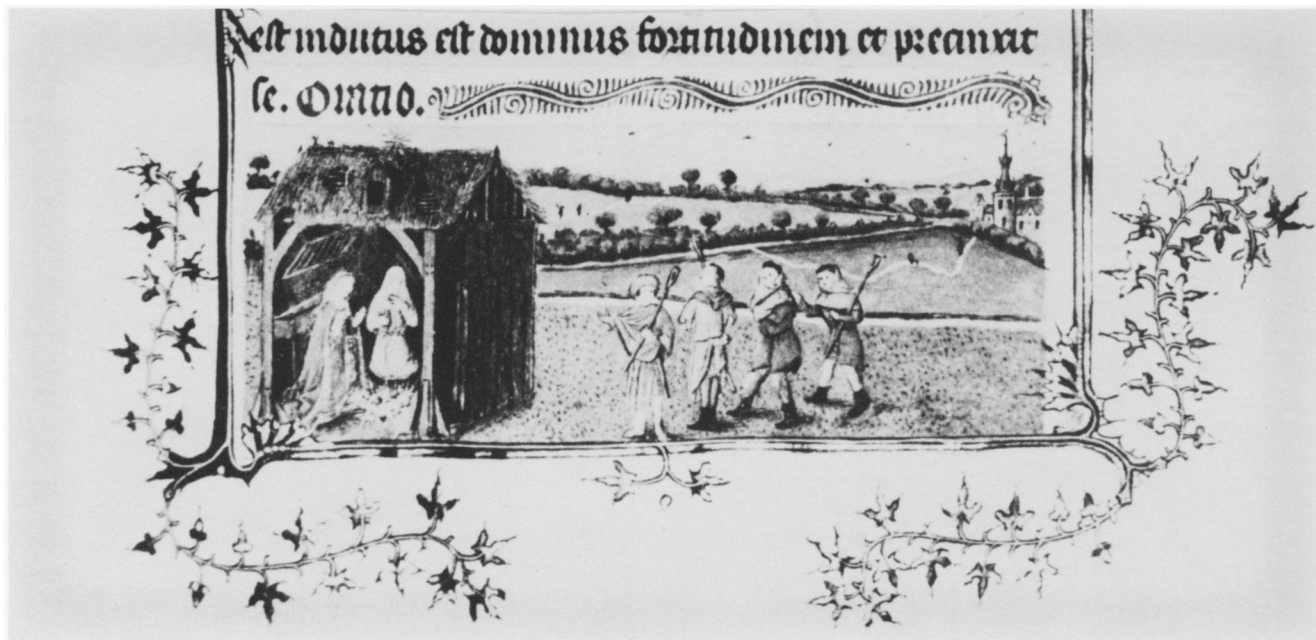


Fig. 22. *Nativity, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Book of Hours, Turin, Museo civico, Turin-Milan Hours (fol. 7r).*



Fig. 23. *Annunciation to the Shepherds, Book of Hours, Turin, Museo civico, Turin-Milan Hours (fol. 9v).*

NOTES

1. Our sincere thanks go to C. Stroo of Louvain University for his translation of this article from the Dutch and to B. Cardon for critical reading of our text.
2. Fol. 295v shows an original ruling of 16 lines; yet two written lines were added. Fol. 296r has no ruling; 14 lines of text are found here.
3. After fols. 74v, 177v, 194v, 210v, and 233v.
4. Collation in combination with the contents: Calendar (fols. 1r–12v) I–II⁸; Credo (fols. 13r–15v) III⁴ (– one leaf, after fol. 15 textual loss); Hours for each day of the week, *Obsecro te*, and *Missa pro peccatis* (fols. 16r–131v) IV⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 16 [= miniature]); V¹⁰ (+ one bifolio, fols. 28–29, + two leaves, fol. 34 [= miniature]); VIII⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 61 [= miniature]); IX⁸; X⁸ (– one leaf [= miniature] and bifolio, after fol. 74 textual loss); XI⁸; XII⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 86 [= miniature]); XIII–XIV⁸; XV⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 111); XVI⁸ (– two leaves after fol. 125 [textual loss]); XVII⁸ (– two leaves before fol. 126 [textual loss]); Office of the Virgin (fols. 132r–199v) XVIII⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 132 [= miniature]); XIX–XX⁸; XXI⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 157 [= miniature]); XXII² (+ one leaf, fol. 168 [= miniature]); XXIII⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 173 [= miniature]); XXIV⁸ (– one leaf before fol. 178 [= miniature] and + one leaf, fol. 182 [= miniature]); XXV⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 187 [= miniature] and – one leaf after fol. 194 [= miniature]); XXVI²; Office for Advent and Prayer to the Virgin (fols. 200r–210) XXVII¹⁰ (+ one leaf, fol. 210); Penitential Psalms and Office of the Dead (fols. 211r–276v) XXVIII⁸ (– one leaf before fol. 211 [= miniature]); XXIX⁸; XXX (– one leaf after fol. 233 [= miniature]); XXXI–XXXV⁸; Psalter of St. Jerome (fols. 277r–295) XXXVI⁸ (+ one leaf, fol. 277 [= miniature]); XXXVII⁸; XXXVIII⁴ (+ one leaf, fol. 296). Photographs of the manuscript courtesy of The Walters Art Gallery.
5. See V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, I (Paris, 1927) xiv (hereafter Leroquais, *Les livres*); and J. Harthan, *Books of Hours and Their Owners* (London, 1977), 14–9 (hereafter, Harthan, *Owners*).
6. Namely, according to the rubrics in this manuscript: *Die dominica: hore de Trinitate* (fol. 17r); *Die lune: hore de defunctis* (fol. 35r); *Die martis: hore de Sancto Spiritu* (fol. 50r); *Hore de omnibus sanctis: die mercurii* (fol. 62r); (Thursday: Hours of the Holy Sacrament [first leaf is missing]); *Die veneris: hore de sancta Cruce* (fol. 87r); *Sabbato: hore de sancta Maria* (fol. 112r). Concerning these hours, see Leroquais, *Les livres*, I, xxviii.
7. According to the *festum fori*: Martinus (Nov. 11) and the *festa chori*: Bonifacius (June 5), Germanus (July 31), Lambertus (Sept. 17) *undecim millium Virgines* (Oct. 21), Quintinus (Oct. 31), and Nicasius (Dec. 14). St. Hubertus is mentioned on May 28; however, he is not commemorated on this day, but on May 30.
8. On July 25 the translation of St. Eligius is also marked in red; on this day he is commemorated in the Diocese of Tournai, though not solemnly.
9. Actually, the correct date is May 16. Concerning the cult in Bruges, see W. P. Gerritsen, D. Edel, and M. de Kreek, *De wereld van Sint-Brandaan* (Utrecht, 1986), 72–7.
10. E. I. Strubbe and L. Voet, *De chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp/Amsterdam, 1960), 448 (hereafter, Strubbe and Voet, *Chronologie*).
11. *Ibid.*, 468. See also C. Callewaert, “De groote adventsantifonen O,” *Sacris erudiri* (Steenbrugge, 1940), 405–18; M. Huglo “O Antiphons,” *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, X (New York/Sydney, 1967), 587–8.
12. The remaining masses for weekday Hours are not supplied with large initials.
13. Concerning the phenomenon of additional illustration in the margin, see O. Büttner, “Ikonographisches Eigengut der Randzier in spätmittelalterlichen Handschriften: Inhalte und Programme,” *Scriptorium*, 39 (1985), 197–233.
14. See W. Braunfels, “Dreifaltigkeit,” *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I (Freiburg/Vienna, 1968), cols. 525–38 (hereafter, *Lexikon*).
15. E. Lucchesi-Palli, “Abraham,” *Lexikon*, I, col. 31. The theme was popular in the Romanesque period and was employed during the late Middle Ages as a secondary motif in the representation of Dives and Lazarus. Christ with souls in his lap, as an image of Paradise, appears in the *Biblia Pauperum*. Compare also a north Netherlandish Book of Hours from the beginning of the 15th century (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Collection, Ms. L.A. 148), where the Office of the Dead includes a miniature of Christ with souls in his lap.
16. H. Guratzsch, “Die Auferweckung des Lazarus in der niederländischen Kunst von 1400 bis 1700: Ikonographie und Ikonologie,” *Ars Neerlandica*, 2 (1980), 60 (with a list of representations 341.). See also, O. Pächt, U. Jenni, and D. Thoss, *Flämische Schule* (Vienna, 1983), I, 89 (hereafter, Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss, *Flämische Schule*); they cite only two examples from between 1460 and 1470 among the Flemish Books of Hours in the Austrian National Library.
17. Concerning typology: for the *Carmine*, see M. R. James, “Pictor in carmine,” *Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity*, 94 (1951), 141–61; and F. Roehrig, “Rota in medio rotae: Ein typologischer Zyklus aus Österreich,” *Jahrbuch des Stiftes Klosterneuburg*, n.s. 5 (1965), 56. For the *Concordantia Caritatis*, see L. D. H. van Loo-veren, “Concordantia Caritatis,” *Lexikon*, I, cols. 459–61. For the *Concordantia Novi et Veteris Testamenti*, see G. Heider, *Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Typologie aus Bilderhandschriften des Mittelalters* (s.l., 1861), 113–22 (hereafter, Heider, *Typologie*). For the *Biblia Pauperum*, see H. Cornell, *Biblia pauperum* (Stockholm, 1925); E. Soltész, *Biblia Pauperum. Faksimileausgabe des vierzigblättrigen Armenbibel-Blockbuchs in der Bibliothek der Erzdiözese Esztergom* (Hanau, 1967). For the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, see E. Breitenbach, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis: Eine typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Strassburg, 1930) (hereafter, Breitenbach, *Speculum*); J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, *Speculum humanae salvationis. Texte critique. Traduction inédite de Jean Miélot (1448)* (Mulhouse, 1907). For a general discussion, see Heider, *Typologie, passim*.
18. Breitenbach, *Speculum*, 244.
19. *Ibid.*, 207–9.
20. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, III, (Paris, 1959), II 633–4; and *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross*, New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1980 (New York, 1980) (exhibition catalogue).
21. M. Meiss, “The Madonna of Humility,” *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), 434–64 (in note 48, Meiss gives examples of this motif in the Netherlands between ca. 1400 and 1440; only three miniatures are recorded). See also, J. de Coe, *Museum Mayer van den Bergh, Catalogus 2: Beeldhouwkunst, Plaketten, Antiek* (Antwerp, 1969), 148–9, no. 2141; and G. G. King, “The Virgin of Humility,” *Art Bulletin*, 17 (1935), 473–91, who wrongly situates the origin of the motif in Spain.
22. About this antithesis, see J. Fonrobert, “Apokalyptisches Weib,” *Lexikon*, I, col. 148.
23. Leroquais, *Les livres*, I, xlv. F. O. Büttner, “Komposite Programme der Stundenbuchikonographie in den südlichen Niederlanden bis gegen 1480,” *Miscellanea Neerlandica. Opstellen voor Dr. Jan Deschamps ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, I (Louvain, 1987), 311–27 (hereafter, Büttner, “Komposite Programme”).

24. Examples include: Louvain, Centrale Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. A3 (ca. 1440); Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.173 (second quarter of the 15th century); Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms. Wittert 17 (ca. 1440–50); Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Ms. 6 (ca. 1440; where the Passion Cycle is represented exceptionally in the full-page miniatures and the Infancy Cycle in the margins); the same occurs in a Book of Hours of ca. 1460 influenced by the Gold Scrolls group (Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.202). About Louvain Ms. A3, see L. Helewaut, "Een Brugs getijdenboek van ca. 1420 (Leuven, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Hs. A3: Een bijdrage tot de studie van de zgn. Meester van de Gouden Ranken," (unpublished diss., Louvain University). About Berlin Ms. 6, see U. Finke, *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Handschriften und Einzelblätter in der Kunstbibliothek*, Sammlungskataloge der Kunstbibliothek, 3 (Berlin, n.d.), 16–21, no. 6 (hereafter, Finke, *Katalog*).
25. Breitenbach, *Speculum*, 119–20.
26. Examples include: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Ms. acc. 4560(7) (Book of Hours, workshop of the Boucicaut Master, ca. 1420), fol. 45v; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968), fig. 298 (hereafter, Meiss, *French Painting: Boucicaut*); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 1444 (Book of Hours, French, 1407), fol. 63r; M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (London, 1974), fig. 419 (hereafter, Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs*). See M. Smeyers, "Een collegeschrift van de oude Leuvense Universiteit (1481–1482): Een codicologisch en iconografisch onderzoek" *Arca Lovaniensis*, 4 (1975), 273–5.
27. Breitenbach, *Speculum*, 127–9.
28. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.649. See B. Cardon, "The Illustrations and the Gold Scrolls Group," in *Typologische Tafereelen 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, I, M. Smeyers, ed. (Louvain, 1985) 133 (hereafter, Cardon, "Illustrations").
29. About Job the Tormented, the *Bible Moralisée* records: "Hoc significat quod Jesus-Christus fuit flagellatus, spinis coronatus, clavi crucis confixus. . . ."
30. Breitenbach, *Speculum*, 156.
31. Examples include: Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian Ms. 60 (*Speculum*, Bruges, 1455); Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 281–283 (*Speculum*, Steynhaus, ca. 1400), fol. 23r; London, British Library, Ms. add. 11575 (*Spiegel der Menschliker Behoudenesse*, west Flanders, ca. 1410), fol. 46v; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.385 (*Speculum*, Gold Scrolls group, ca. 1440), fol. 22r. See also Breitenbach, *Speculum*, 181.
32. J. P. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latina* 198 (Paris, 1885), col. 1414. J. J. M. Timmers, *Symboliek en iconografie der christelijke kunst* (Roermond-Maaseik, 1947), 187, no. 375 (hereafter, Timmers, *Symboliek en iconografie*).
33. For alternatives, see Leroquais, *Les livres*, I, xlv; and Harthan, *Owners*, 29–31.
34. Other possible prefigurations for the Massacre of the Innocents are: Athalia Ordering the Death of the King's Sons (2 Kings 21:1); Joram Killing his Brothers (2 Kings 21:4); and Pharaoh Ordering the Death of New-born Male Hebrews (Exodus 1:15). See Timmers, *Symboliek en iconografie*, 227, no. 457; and W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1926), 35–6, nos. 121–26.
35. Cardon, "Illustrations," 145.
36. Concerning this theme, see M. Madou, "Saint Jérôme dans l'art de l'enluminure: notice iconographique," *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta. La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de Saint-Jérôme*, 4a, B. Lambert, ed. (Steenbrugge, 1972), 69–76.
37. E. Panofsky, "A Letter to Saint Jerome: A Note on the Relationship between Petrus Christus and Jan Van Eyck," *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle de Costa Greene* (Princeton, 1954), 102 (hereafter, Panofsky, "A Letter"); *idem*, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 189, note 2 (hereafter, Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish*).
38. B. Cardon, "De *Speculum humanae salvationis* in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (ca. 1410–1470): Een bijdrage tot de studie van de 15de-eeuwse miniatuurkunst en van de functie en betekenis van het historisch symbolisme," (unpublished diss. Louvain University, 1985), 370, (hereafter, Cardon, "*Speculum*"); Büttner, "Komposite Programme," 327.
39. London, British Library, Ms. add. 18859 (Paris, ca. 1423).
40. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ottoboni, Ms. lat. 2919 (Book of Hours, Master of Guillebert de Mets or Master of the Gold Skys, ca. 1430–40); P. Durrieu, "Notice sur quelques manuscrits à peintures d'origine française ou flamande, conservés en Italie," *Bulletin de la Société française de reproduction de manuscrits à peintures*, 1 (1911), 102; F. Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei* (Leipzig, 1925), 198; *Libri manoscritti e stampati del Belgio nella Biblioteca Vaticana (secoli IX–XVII)*, Rome, Vatican Library, 1979 (Rome, 1979), 24–5, no. 42 (exhibition catalogue). Also, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1138 (A III App. Ms. 1274) (Book of Hours, Master of Guillebert de Mets, 1430–40); C. Limentani Virdis, *Codici miniati fiamminghi e olandesi nelle biblioteche dell'Italia nord-orientale* (Vicenza, 1981), 39–41, no. 4.
41. M. Smeyers, "Het Turijns-Milanees getijdenboek. Een bijdrage tot de Van Eyck-studie," (unpublished diss., Louvain University, 1970), 381–421 (hereafter, Smeyers, "Turijns-Milanees"). This study, completed with new data, is forthcoming.
42. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.385, (*Speculum*, ca. 1440); Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Ms. Gks79 f^o (*Spegel der Minschliken Zalicheid*, ca. 1440–50); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 188 (*Miroir de la salvation humaine*, ca. 1450); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.649 (typological scenes from the life of Jesus, ca. 1440). See Cardon, "*Speculum*"; and Cardon, "Illustrations." Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Ms. Wittert 17 (Book of Hours, ca. 1440–50).
43. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.868. See J. H. Marrow in W. H. Beuken, ed. *Spiegel van den Leven Ons Heren. Mirror of the Life of Our Lord* (Doornspijk, 1979) (hereafter, Beuken, *Spiegel*).
44. On the Boucicaut Master, see Meiss, *French Painting: Boucicaut*, 53–54, 123, 262–269; on the workshop of the Bedford Master, see *ibid.*, fig. 150; and on the Rohan atelier, see Harthan, *Owners*, 113–114.
45. Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Ms. Masson 22 (1450); Sotheby's, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures*, July 3, 1984 (London, 1984), 145–53, no. 89 (sale catalogue).
46. For example, a Book of Hours in a private collection, of ca. 1450: Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1908), no. 234; J. Backhouse, *Books of Hours* (London, 1985), 34–5; P. De Winter, "A Book of Hours of Queen Isabel la Católica," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 67 (1981), 348–9.
47. See for example, Meiss, *French Painting: Boucicaut*, figs. 118, 149, 164, 158–169.

48. Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Ms. 23.6; U. Finke, *Katalog*, 16–21, no. 6. Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Ms. Gris. 4; *Das christliche Gebetbuch im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1980) no. 48 (exhibition catalogue). Bruges, O.L.Vr.vd.Potterie, Ms. O.P. 5.I. See also manuscript in note 50, below.
49. Bruges, Grootseminarie, Ms.48/3; M. Smeyers and B. Cardon, "Vier eeuwen Vlaamse miniatuurkunst in handschriften uit het Grootseminarie te Brugge," *De Duinenabdij en het Grootseminarie te Brugge* (Bruges, 1985), 161–6 (hereafter, Smeyers and Cardon, "Vier eeuwen").
50. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.421.
51. For example: Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.222 (Book of Hours, Bruges, second quarter of the 15th century), fol. 42v; illus. in Beuken, *Spiegel*, pl. 2; see also J. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation. The Work of a Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illuminator* (Fort Lauderdale, 1976), 96–103, pl. 86, where this manuscript is located in northern France (hereafter, Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation*); Bruges, O.L.Vr.vd.Potterie, Ms. O.P. 5.I (Book of Hours, Gold Scrolls group, second quarter of the 15th century), fol. 74v; Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.282 (Book of Hours; Gold Scrolls group, second quarter of the 15th century), fol. 93v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 10548 (Book of Hours, Bruges, ca. 1450), fol. 18v; illus. in Leroquais, *Les livres*, pl. LXVI.
52. Meiss, *French Painting: Limbourgs*, fig. 126; and *idem*, *French Painting: Boucicaut*, figs. 118–25, 127, 263, 269.
53. Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ottoboni, Ms. lat. 2919 (Book of Hours) fol. 50v; Bologne, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1138 (Book of Hours) fol. 50v.
54. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. M.385 (*Speculum*, ca. 1440) fol. 49v; Ms. M.374 (Missal, before 1431) fol. 387r; Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Rossiano 63 (Book of Hours, 1430–40) fol. 26v.
55. Entourage of the Master of Guillebert de Mets: Bruges, Grootseminarie, Ms. 64/183 (Book of Hours, second quarter of the 15th century) fol. 27v; see Smeyers and Cardon, "Vier eeuwen," 159). Gold Scrolls group: Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliothek, Ms. GkS 79 f^o (*Spejel der Minschliken Zalicheid*, ca. 1440), fol. 26v; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F 25 (Book of Hours, 1430–40), fol. 22r; Louvain, Centrale Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. A 12 (Book of Hours, second quarter of the 15th century), fol. 47v; Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Ms. Rossiano 63 (Book of Hours, second quarter of the 15th century) fol. 26v; Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.282 (Book of Hours, second quarter of the 15th century), fol. 36r; London, British Library, Ms. add. 39638 (Book of Hours, 1430–40), fol. 38v; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9785 (Book of Hours, second quarter of the 15th century), fol. 17r. The canopy is found in another Book of Hours of the Gold Scrolls group: Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 1274. The motif was also copied in the northern Netherlands through south Netherlandish models: Münster, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 41 (*Hoya Missale*, Master of Zweder van Culemborg), fol. 190r; see U. Jenni, *Das Skizzenbuch der internationalen Gotik in den Uffizien* (Vienna, 1976), Textband, fig. 11. Photograph, courtesy of Louvain, Centrale Universiteitsbibliotheek.
56. Lisbon, National Archives, Armario dos Tratados (without signature), fol. 96v; see M. Martins, *Guia geral das Horas del-Rei D. Duarte* (Lisbon, 1971).
57. Sotheby's, *Western Manuscripts and Miniatures* June 24, 1986, lot 100 (Boucicaut Master, ca. 1415), (London, 1986) (sale catalogue).
58. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.211 (ca. 1425); see Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, *The International Style, The Arts in Europe around 1400*, (Baltimore, 1962) (exhibition catalogue), no. 71.
59. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.220 (Book of Hours, ca. 1450); see Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation*, 96 and ill. 13. This manuscript, formerly ascribed to W. Vrelant is associated by this author with an atelier in northern France.
60. In the *Turin-Milan Hours* the following prefigurations are found that also appear in Walters 721: Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law (Turin part, fol. 42r, Master K, and Milan part, fol. 84v, Master F); the Death of Absalom (Turin part, fol. 34v); Moses and the Burning Bush (Milan part, fol. 1v); Solomon and the Queen of Sheba (Milan part, fol. 13v); the Presentation of Samuel (Milan part, fol. 16v); Job Tormented, Isaac Carries the Wood, the Death of Isaias and Jacob with the Blood-Stained Cloak of Joseph (Turin part, respectively, fols. 30r, 31v, 33r, 36r).
61. A distant echo of this figure is found in a miniature with the Raising of Lazarus in a Book of Hours from the Vrelant Group (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 1987, fol. 158v; see Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss, *Flämische Schule*, 89, fig. 162). Photograph, courtesy of Turin, Museo Civico.
62. Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. 9015, fol. 1r. Compare also the little tree on the full-page miniature of 721, fol. 168v.
63. This miniature is usually attributed to Master G; however, this is questioned by J. Held, review of Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish*, in *Art Bulletin*, 37 (1955), 222–3. See also A. Châtelet, "Les enluminures eyckiennes des manuscrits de Turin et de Milan-Turin," *Revue des arts*, 7 (1957), 155–64; R. Brignetti and G. T. Faggin, *L'opera completa dei Van Eyck*, Classici dell'arte, 17 (Milan, 1968), 85 (hereafter, Brignetti and Faggin, *Van Eyck*); J. H. Marrow, review of new introduction in the reprint of *Heures de Turin*, P. Durrieu, ed. (Paris, 1903; Turin, 1967), *Art Bulletin*, 59 (1968), 205–6.
64. Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, Ms. W.174 (Missal, Utrecht [?], ca. 1430), fol. 79v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. fr. 309 (*Miroir Historial*, Bruges, ca. 1450), fol. 360v. In both cases the dependence is only iconographic, and not stylistic. The latter manuscript, formerly ascribed to Vrelant, was attributed by J. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation*, 188, to a north French atelier. See a response to this in Pächt, Jenni, and Thoss, *Flämische Schule*, 90–2. Concerning all those miniatures with the Finding of the True Cross, see Smeyers, "Turijs-Milanees," 793–7.
65. The relation was already observed by Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish*, 189, and *idem*, "A Letter," 102.
66. *Status quaestionis* in *De eeuw der Vlaamse Primitieven*, (Bruges, 1960) 41–5, no. 3 (exhibition catalogue); *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization. Catalogue of the Exhibition Masterpieces of Flemish Art, Van Eyck to Bosch* (Detroit, 1960), 69–72, no. 5 (exhibition catalogue); Brignetti and Faggin, *Van Eyck*, 98–9, n. 33. The attribution to Jan van Eyck was resumed by E. C. Hall, "Cardinal Albergati, St. Jerome and the Detroit Van Eyck," *The Art Quarterly*, 31 (1968), 3–44, and *idem*, "More About the Detroit Van Eyck: The Astrolabe, the Congress of Arras and the Cardinal Albergati," *The Art Quarterly*, 34 (1971), 181–96: this author relates the execution to Cardinal Albergati and the Congress of Arras in 1435 (after Panofsky, "A Letter," 106–7). They are followed in this by C. Sterling "Jan Van Eyck avant 1432," *Revue de l'art*, 33 (1976), 56. However, this hypothesis is without foundation. A. Châtelet, "Un collaborateur de Van Eyck en Italie: relations artistiques entre les Pays Bas et l'Italie à la renaissance," *Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger* (Brussels/Rome, 1980), 58–9 (hereafter, Châtelet, "Un collaborateur"), is of the opinion that the scene was painted by Master H of the *Turin-Milan Hours*, in Italy in 1442. This opinion is questionable

and unproved. See also J. P. Howell, "Jan Van Eyck and St. Jerome. A Study of Eyckian Influence on Colantonio and Antonello da Messina in Quattrocento Naples," (unpublished diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976), 34–6. Photograph, courtesy of Detroit, Institute of Arts.

67. R. H. Marijnissen, "On Scholarship: Some Reflections on the Study of Early Netherlandish Painting," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Schone Kunsten*, 40 (Brussels, 1978), no. 4 (contested by Châtelet, "Un collaborateur," 58, note 36).

68. Inventory text in L. Baldass, *Jan van Eyck* (London/New York, 1952), 276.

69. In this context it may be noted that the panel from Detroit was acquired in Italy in a recent period. See E. P. Richardson, "The Detroit St. Jerome by Jan Van Eyck," *The Art Quarterly*, 19 (1956), 227 (this is one of the reasons why it was identified with the work in the Medici collection).

70. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3110, fol. 163v; *Manuscrits à peintures offerts à la Bibliothèque nationale, par le Comte Guy de Boisrouvray*, (Paris, 1961), 73–4, no. 15 (exhibition catalogue). Photograph, courtesy of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale.

71. Smeyers, "Turijs-Milanees," 743–4. The St. Jerome is also found in a Book of Hours of the Gold Scrolls group, ca. 1440 (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, Ms. IV. 1085, fol. 194v).

72. This miniature could have been painted by Master I; see

Smeyers, "Turijs-Milanees," 734–51. Photograph, courtesy of Turin, Biblioteca nazionale universitaria.

73. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig IX.7; A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, II (Cologne, 1982), 115–41. Photograph, courtesy of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

74. R. Schilling, "Das Llangattock-Studenbuch, sein Verhältnis zu Van Eyck und dem Vollender des Turin-Mailänder Studienbuch," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, 23 (1961), 216.

75. Milan part; respectively, fol. 7r (Master K) and fol. 9v (Master F). Photographs, courtesy of Turin, Museo Civico.

76. Smeyers, "Turijs-Milanees," 819–32.

77. The miniature in the *Turin-Milan Hours*, however, goes back to a lost work (apart from one fragment) of the Master of Flémalle, from a Brugian church, a copy of which was preserved in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool; Smeyers, "Turijs-Milanees," 764–77.

78. Concerning the problems of the the Gold Scrolls group, see Cardon, "Illustrations," 155–6, 163.

79. Compare, for example, the *bourrelet* of the monstrous creature in the margin of fol. 111r, and the *jacke* of Lazarus in the miniature on fol. 34v.

80. I am currently preparing a study of this manuscript.

81. Cardon, "Illustrations," 166.

A Rediscovered Work By *Hugo van der Goes*¹

CLAUS GRIMM

Haus der Bayerischen Geschichte, Munich

Introduction

After more than a hundred years of art historical research and photographic documentation, rediscoveries of works by famous masters have become extremely rare. Reattributions, as part of the general process of research, are more frequent. The painting that is the subject of this article is one of these very rare rediscoveries. It presents us with a completely new and complex problem, for this is not merely the report of a discovery, but a Cinderella story in which the main figure was so cleverly concealed by rags that generations of art historians ignored it. Recent restoration, however, has brought to light the unexpected elegance of a masterpiece.

The work, now in a private American collection, is a large early Netherlandish panel painting representing the Virgin and Child flanked by saints, all set under an elaborate architectural framework in front of a landscape (pl. I). At some time in the past this composition had been obscured (fig. 1); the Virgin and Child in the center were covered with an architectural perspective view of a church, and the saints were almost totally transformed to make them participants in a scene usually identified as the Marriage of Henry VII. It is astonishing to note that even in its altered form this work was well thought of in the eighteenth century. Both collectors and connoisseurs held it in high regard and competed in their attempts to identify the subject.

An analysis of this painting must take into account two different questions: its fate before restoration and its art historical status afterwards. The first part of this article therefore deals with its history and reception in its altered state; the second details the restoration, and is concerned with the work's original appearance, its significance, and its creator.

The Panel's Early History

In 1890 the painting was included in *The Tudor Exhibition* at the Royal Academy, London. Claude Philips, reviewing the exhibition for the *Gazette des beaux-arts*, was able to discern the original figures of the Virgin and Child hidden under the church interior, and described both this major work and the contemporary opinion of it:

Un grand panneau des plus curieux est celui qu'on a affublé de la définition 'Mariage de Henri VII' avec Elisabeth d'York, en l'attribuant à Mabuse ... une oeuvre supérieure de la main d'un Flamand ou Hollandais de la fin du XVe siècle ... Au milieu, se voyait, sans aucun doute, le groupe traditionnel la 'Vierge avec l'Enfant' ... mais quelque zèle spectateur hollandais du XVIIe siècle a dû le faire remplacer par une perspective d'église nue et froide, comme en peignaient les Steenwyck et les Saanredam. ...²

At the time of the exhibition and this review, the painting was in the collection of the Dent family at



Fig. 1. *The Marriage of Henry VII and Elisabeth of York*, oil on panel. Formerly at Sudeley Castle, England.

Sudeley Castle in Gloucestershire, and there it remained until recently acquired by its present owner. The Dent family's ownership dates back to its purchase by John Dent in 1842 for £178.10 at the sale of the famous writer and collector Horace Walpole. Walpole had hung the painting on the east wall of his great Gothic-revival "Long Gallery" at Strawberry Hill. He, in turn, had bought it for £80 in 1753 at the estate sale of Lord Pomfret.³ A friend of Walpole, A. C. Ducarel, twice visited the seat of the Pomfret family at Easton Neston, Northamptonshire, before the sale to study the work.⁴ He provided information which Walpole, who was clearly proud of the painting, incorporated into *Anecdotes of Painting in England* which, in the words of manuscript notes by George Vertue, Walpole "digested and published" in 1762. He there reproduced an engraving of the panel and gave the following description:

The only work besides I know of this master [Mabuse] in England, is a celebrated picture in my possession. It was bought for £200 by Henrietta Louisa Countess of Pomfret, and hung for some years at their seat at Easton Neston in Northamptonshire, whence it was sold after the late Earl's death. The Earl of Oxford once offered £500 for it. It is painted on board and four feet six inches and three quarters wide by three feet six inches and three quarters high. It represents the inside of a church, an imaginary one, not at all resembling the abbey where those princes were married. The perspective and the landscape of the country on each side are good. On one hand on the foreground stand the King and Bishop of Imola who pro-

nounced the nuptial benediction. His majesty + is a trist, lean, ungracious figure, with a down-cast look, very expressive of his mean temper, and of the little satisfaction he had in the match. Opposite to the Bishop is the Queen +, a buxom well-looking damsel, with golden hair. By her is a figure, above all proportion with the rest, unless intended, as I imagine, for an emblematic personage, and designed from its lofty nature to give an idea of something above human. It is an elderly man, dressed like a monk, except that his habit is green, his feet bare, and a spear in his hand. As the frock of no religious order ever was green, this cannot be meant for a friar. Probably it is St. Thomas, represented, as in the martyrologies, with the instrument of his death. The Queen might have some devotion to that peculiar Saint, or might be born or married on his festival. Be that as it may, the picture, though in a hard manner, has its merits, independent of the curiosity.⁵

George Vertue, a distinguished connoisseur, historian, antiquarian, and engraver, who was many years Walpole's elder, acted as his adviser. According to him, the Pomferts had purchased the painting from the art dealer Sykes (ca. 1659–1724).⁶ No earlier history of it is recorded. Its subject and significance greatly preoccupied Vertue, and a letter from Walpole to Ducarel of 1762 provides an inkling of the differences of opinion between collector and connoisseur:

I am very much amazed at Vertue's blunders about my Marriage of Henry VII. His account is a heap of ridiculous contradictions. He said, Sykes knowing how to give names to pictures to make them sell, called this the Marriage of Henry VII and afterwards, he said, Sykes had the figures inserted in an old picture of a church. He must have known little indeed, Sir, if he had not known how to name a picture that he had painted on purpose that he might call it so! That Vertue on the strictest examination could not be convinced that the man was Henry VII not being like any of his pictures. Unluckily he is extremely like the shilling which is much more authentic than any picture of Henry VII—but here Sykes seems to have been extremely deficient in his tricks: did he order the figure



Fig. 2. Top, Detail of crown from Fig. 1. Infrared reflectograph showing underdrawing. Bottom, Detail of current state.

to be painted like Henry VII and yet could not get it painted like him, which was the easiest part of the task? Yet how came he to get the Queen painted like, whose representations are much scarcer than those of her husband? And how came Sykes to have pomegranates painted on her robe, only to puzzle the cause? It is not worth adding, that I should much sooner believe the church was painted to the figures than the figures to the church. They are hard and antique; the church is a better style, and at least more fresh. If Vertue had made no better criticisms than these, I would never have taken so much trouble with his MSS.⁷

Today it is clear that both were right in their own way: Vertue recognized the artificial reworking of the two royal figures, Henry VII and Elisabeth of York, and the fact that they were deliberately so named. Walpole, for his part, recognized the differing ages of the paint layers and the more modern style of the church interior.

Findings of the Restoration

Restoration was carried out in 1983 and 1984 by David Bull, now at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Overpainted areas were carefully removed. (The adhesive qualities of the upper layer being less strong, they could be removed with comparative ease.) The results of restoration are as follows:

1. Entire areas of the original paint surface were revealed beneath the overpainting. These are stylistically related to the surrounding areas previously visible on either side. A homogenous composition appeared (pl. I). This shows the Virgin and Child seated in the center and, from left to right, four standing saints: Thomas, John the Baptist, Jerome, and Louis. Two sections have been scratched away: a rectangular area around the Virgin and the silhouette of St. John.

2. The support, six oak boards measuring a total of 110.7 x 124.8 cm, was originally glued together vertically. An additional board, about fifteen centimeters wide, was later inserted into the middle section, where the panel had been divided, cutting through the figures of the Virgin and Child.

3. After removal of the overpainting a series of details in the original paint surface became visible. A survey of differences (pre- and post-restoration) reveals a distinction between basic and superficial alterations. The removal was probably done by solvents which touched the colors of the figure of St. John more than the central panel whose drawing remains largely intact. Solvents also removed some of the green of St. Thomas's cloak on the left, since repainted. The removal of the Virgin and Child, which must have been due to a distaste for its religious content, was radical, while the saints were simply "secularized" by the obliteration of their attributes. Thus, the figure of St. Jerome became an historical bishop with the removal of his red cardinal's hat and the lion at his feet. Objects related to the Virgin Mary at the lower edge of the painting, such as the glass vase with the columbine and the open censer, were also hidden. The robed figure of "Elisabeth of York" took the place of the bare-legged St. John the Baptist. Even the pillars and marble tiles were reworked. A church interior replaced the Virgin and Child, and the open arcade was integrated into the immediate foreground, and stained glass windows painted into the flanking niches to underline this effect.

4. Contrary to the usual practice of the time, the paint surface was removed with such care that part of the original drawing beneath the protective layer

of priming is still intact. (One may assume that the alterations were carried out in such a way as to minimize irregularities in the repainted surface.) It is of considerable art historical significance that in its present state this painting is one of only very few surviving examples showing the original underdrawing to the naked eye. Aside from the many examples previously recorded with the aid of infrared reflectography, evidence of the technique of underdrawing was until recently provided only by unfinished works such as the *St. Barbara* by van Eyck (1437, Antwerp), the *Salvator mundi* by Dürer (ca. 1503, New York), the *Madonna and Child, St. John, and Four Angels* from the studio of Michelangelo (ca. 1510, London), and the *Allegory of Virtue* by Correggio (Rome, Doria Gallery).

Reconstruction of the Painting's Original Appearance

As a result of these findings, and with the newly acquired view of the whole, speculation naturally arose as to the original appearance of the painting. A comparison with the engraving produced by Grignion for Walpole shows that the overall format of the panel, as it then existed, is identical with its dimensions before the recent removal of the added board. The extent of the original paint surface is visible on all sides of the work (pl. I). The close proximity of some architectural details and figures on the carved stone facade and capitals to the panel's edges is thus an aspect of the original composition. (It is improbable, after all, that the alteration of the painting included the complete removal of ground and paint from its outer edges.) Subsequent examination with an infrared Vidicon camera has brought to light additional underdrawing, visible under all surfaces except those where verdigris has been used.⁸ Two further details, which were not immediately apparent as alterations, could also be detected by means of infrared. These are the crown (fig. 2) and the robe of the king (fig. 3). The underdrawing of the former shows a flat ring ornamented only with fleurs-de-lis; the ribs in the background architecture are visible beneath the hat of the crown and the clumsily added crosses. The original design resembles that shown in an early sixteenth-century miniature of Louis XI from Rouen (fig. 4).⁹ The motif visible on the robe of the king in the panel is an indication that he, too, was meant to be recognized as a king of France. The opaque dark blue now seen represents a particularly stubborn section of overpainting, beneath which there is very probably a light shade of blue ornamented with many gold fleurs-de-lis.

Conjectures on the Reasons for Overpainting

The painting was probably commissioned for a specific purpose and place, and was not regarded as a movable object, as Walpole rightly remarked. (On account of its size, it is very unlikely that it was frequently moved.) A connection with England is indicated by its early appearance on the English art market and, particularly, by its intentional transformation into an English historical picture traditionally interpreted as representing a royal marriage. The elimination of French attributes, the crown and the fleurs-de-lis on the robes, also points to England. Unfortunately, the most reliable piece of evidence that could have been scientifically tested for age and regional characteristics, the added panel, was lost after restoration. The style of the overpainting is thus the only means for determining the date of the alterations.

The style of the overpainting can be dated to the late sixteenth or the first half of the seventeenth century by the treatment of architecture and figures. It could point to the Low Countries as well as to England, but it is inconceivable that a painting which

had survived the turmoils of the iconoclastic rebellion there in the mid-sixteenth century should have been remodeled subsequently. Re-Catholized Flanders would have presented no necessity for such an operation, and even in the northern Netherlands there would have been no justification, historically speaking, for the concealment of a French king.

Assuming that the painting was in England, the possible political and religious motives for its transformation should be sought within the period of time provided by stylistic evidence. The similarity to works by the Steenwijks was already pointed out in 1890 by Claude Philips. Steenwijk the Elder's earliest representations of church interiors date from the early 1580s; Aerts and others in the northern Netherlands were producing similar works around 1600.¹⁰ It is likely that this genre of painting was also known in England before Steenwijk the Younger settled in London (1617), where he remained until his death around 1646. The popularity of such church interiors can be adduced from the fact that Charles I gave him a number of commissions.

But even in the reproduction of the painting before restoration (fig. 1), it is evident that the exe-

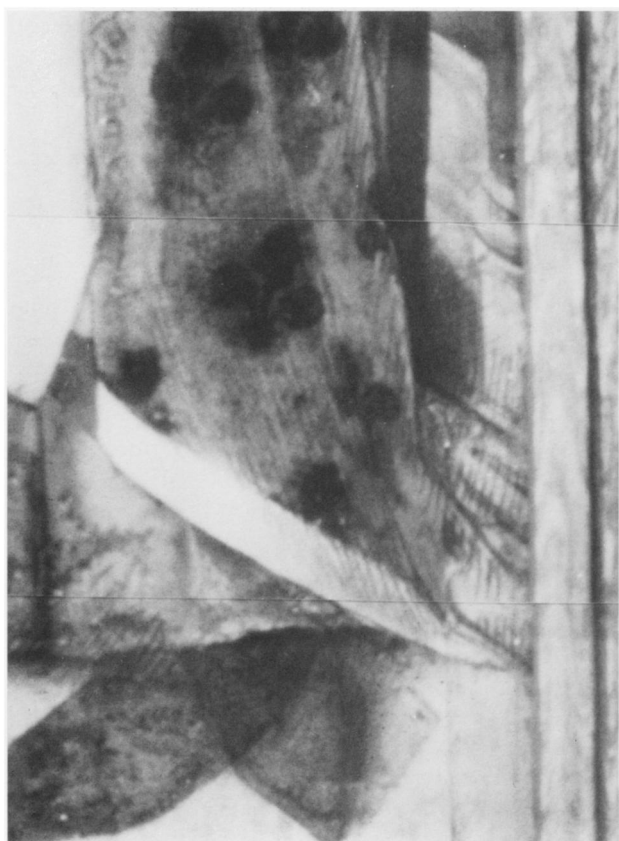


Fig. 3. Detail of robe from Pl. I. Infrared reflectograph showing underdrawing.



Fig. 4. Louis XI. Detail of manuscript miniature in *Mémoires* of Philippe de Commines, Nantes, Musée Dobrée.

cution of this interior view is much cruder than genuine works by either Steenwijk. A stylistic analysis, however, is difficult due to confusion arising from the combination of two different perspective-constructions dating from different periods. The original painting shows a multiple perspective: the vanishing points for the marble tile in the center and for the upper part of the architecture are situated within the face of the Virgin Mary; however, the outer edges of the tiles at each side come together within the figure of the angel beneath the keystone in the vault. These inconsistencies have been "corrected" in the enlarged painting to form a strict central perspective. The style of the figures and their dress appear to fit into the earlier part of the seventeenth century.¹¹

The conflict between different religious groups is the first factor to consider in the discussion of possible historical causes for the alteration of such a religious painting. It is possible that the owner of the painting would have been hesitant to sell such an obviously Catholic work, preferring to make it more saleable by transforming it into a historical scene. It might even have been the owner who commissioned the careful overpainting in order not to be suspected of being a Catholic or harboring conspiratorial beliefs. Distrust of popism and pro-Catholic policies in England dates to the time of Queen Mary I (1553–8). A generation later the main reason for the execution of Mary Stuart (1587) was the fear of military plots by leading Catholics. Mary Stuart's connection with France—until 1560 she was married to François II—explains the combination of religious suspicion and fear of treason. Then there were the plots in support of Spanish intervention, culminating in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The next anti-Catholic uprising started after the defeat and expulsion of the Elector Palatinate, Frederic, son-in-law of James I, from the Kingdom of Bohemia and his German properties. The marriage of Charles I to the French Princess Henrietta Maria in 1625 and the ensuing pro-Catholic policy aggravated existing mistrust.

Later, similar events were the protests by the Scottish Calvinists in 1637–8, the "Long Parliament" of 1640, called in opposition to Charles I, the Civil War of 1640–9, the protectorship of Oliver Cromwell of 1649–60, and the secret diplomatic relations between Charles II and Louis XIV of France, all of which repeatedly aroused a combination of anti-Catholic and anti-French feeling. However, the style of the overpainting makes a dating in connection with events after 1630 improbable.



Fig. 5. Rogier van der Weyden, *Medici Madonna*, oil on panel, Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut.

Iconography

The original composition (pl. I) combines a series of familiar themes. The spatial arrangement is dominated by an open arcade in the immediate foreground, which is set parallel to the picture plane. A hilly landscape with trees, a castle, and a church tower can be glimpsed in the far background. The central arch opens into a chapel, and the upper part of the painting shows a symmetrical arrangement of arches beneath a richly ornamented façade. Consoles, pilasters, and creepers decorate the area above the curved arches of the portals. Each of the four red marble pillars is surmounted by a capital.

The capitals on either side of the head of the Virgin illustrate scenes from the Old Testament: Esther before Ahasuerus and the Finding of Moses (pl. II). Queen Esther, to save her throne, had dared to enter before King Ahasuerus, a crime for which any other woman would have suffered death. But touching her with his scepter, Ahasuerus granted her special permission, and this was taken to symbolize God's grace towards the Virgin Mary. Similarly, Moses, as one of God's elect, is a precursor of Christ. The

sculpted figures above the columns (pl. III) cannot be identified as they have no attributes; they may be ancestors of the Virgin.¹²

The chapel behind the Virgin is traditionally seen as a representation of the Church, the Temple of God, and therefore analogous to Mary the Mother of God.¹³ The crown on Mary's head identifies her as Queen of Heaven. Similarly, the glass vase with the partially abraded columbine symbolizes virginity and the presence of the Holy Ghost.¹⁴ The silver incense burner can probably be interpreted as an allusion to the gifts brought by the Three Kings and thus symbolic of their wisdom and reverence; its top clearly points towards the king on the right. The enthroned figure of Mary is seen looking down, holding the left hand of the Child, who is seated on her lap with outstretched legs. This gesture resembles that of the same figures in Hugo van der Goes's *Montforte Altarpiece* (Berlin-Dahlem). The standing saints on either side, each of whom is holding a book, appear to be in deep thought with downcast eyes. They are identified by their attributes, from left to right: St. Thomas, with a spear, as in a wing of Hugo's *Portinari Altarpiece* (Florence, Uffizi Gallery); St. John the Baptist, in a pose related to that found in Memling's *St. John Altar* of 1485 in Bruges; St. Jerome, with a book bag, lion, and Cardinal's cross and hat; and St. Louis, recognizable as a French king by his scepter and crown with the fleur-de-lis.

Emphasis should be laid on the colorful marble flooring and on the landscape in the background, which is divided into several views. The castle on the left and the church tower on the right have not been identified.

The composition under discussion has several precursors. It goes back to the type of architectural arrangement first found in Jan van Eyck's *Madonna of Canon van der Paele*, now in the Groeninge Museum, Bruges. There, too, the throne of the Virgin Mary is placed upon a low stone base. The arrangement of the figures has a predecessor in Rogier van der Weyden's *Medici Madonna*, of around 1450, in Frankfurt, in which the saints also form a semicircle in front of the Virgin (fig. 5). Their isolated expression is similar and the gestures of the hands appear related. However, van der Weyden's painting shows them awkwardly grasping their attributes, whereas here, the books are held in such a way as to suggest that even after they have been closed, the saints will continue to reflect upon their contents. This is a new use of psychological observation; the saints are not indicated solely by their attributes, but are recognizable as thinking beings.

The architecture of the painting, with its decorated open arcade, seems to have no immediate predecessor, but it has its imitators. It is encountered in scarcely altered form in altarpieces by Memling: with the exception of the use of a double row of figures, the *St. John Altar* of 1479, in the St. Janshospitaal in Bruges, takes up several compositional elements of our rediscovered painting, in particular, the spatial setting of the central panel and of the outsides of the wings. A similar type of architecture is found in the wing exteriors of the *Rein Triptych* (ca. 1480), and those of the *Floreins Triptych* (1479), both of which are now also in the St. Janshospitaal in Bruges.

The Question of Authorship

The psychological urgency, the pensiveness, and the spatial unity, as described above, are all elements which suggest links with the known works of Hugo van der Goes. Yet, since an immediate attribution to van der Goes might seem presumptuous, a series of detailed comparisons is needed in order to consider other stylistically related painters.

Because the painting includes the representation of a French king, it is conceivable that the commissioner of the work had such connections and that the painter may have been French, possibly a Flemish trained court painter. The works of Jean Hey, the Master of Moulins, are close in style to the painting in question and to the works of Hugo van der Goes. It is even possible that Hey was a pupil of the latter. However, a precise comparison shows that the French artist's use of color is different. The modeling of the faces is lighter throughout, and the drapery shows a preference for dominant areas of color. A cooler overall effect rather than atmospheric tonality emerges from the juxtaposition of large areas of color.

Another comparable early Netherlandish master is Gerard David, and many details in his works compare favorably with details from the painting under discussion. The hands of King Cambyses, for example, in the right wing of David's *Judgment of Cambyses* (Bruges, Groeninge Museum) are paralleled almost exactly by those of the St. Louis. Related motifs can also be found in David's *Adoration of the Magi* in Munich, which presumably goes back to a lost painting by Hugo.

Plates IV–VII juxtapose a head from our newly discovered painting (pl. IV) with David's Munich copy after Hugo van der Goes (pl. V), Hugo's *Montforte Altarpiece* (pl. VI), and St. John from a painting in The Walters Art Gallery (pl. VII).¹⁵ It is clear that David's head is far less convincing in execution and in its

understanding of volumes and proportions. The face is flatter, the areas around the eyes, mouth, and nose are merely drawn, without the confidence reflecting an understanding of spatial forms. Thus, on balance, our St. Thomas appears closer to the magus in the *Montforte Altar* and John the Baptist in the Walters panel. Moreover, further comparisons with details from accepted works by Hugo van der Goes reinforce the attribution:

1. The modeling of heads with a light source from the left:
 - a) St. Louis (pl. VIII)
 - b) Monk donor in the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (Brussels) (pl. IX)
2. The anatomical treatment of legs and feet:
 - a) Left foot of St. Thomas (fig. 6)
 - b) Feet in the *Death of the Virgin* (Bruges) (fig. 7)
 - c) Leg of St. John the Baptist (fig. 8)
 - d) Leg of Adam in the *Fall of Man* (Vienna) (fig. 9)
3. The use of color and treatment of details in areas of landscape:
 - a) Section of background above St. Louis (pl. X)
 - b) Section of background in the *Montforte Altarpiece* (pl. XI)
4. The drawing and treatment of light in still life elements:
 - a) Incense burner (pl. XII)
 - b) Gold casket in the *Montforte Altarpiece* (pl. XIII)

These comparisons show a marked similarity in anatomical accuracy, in the luminosity of landscapes, the harmonious treatment of colors, in the forms, the subdued tonal effects, and in the brilliant observation of the play of light on faces and metal objects between the newly discovered work and accepted paintings by Hugo van der Goes.

Chronological Classification

The chronology of Hugo van der Goes's work poses great problems, since historical criteria are provided only by the *Portinari Altarpiece* and the wing-panels (Trinity panels) at Edinburgh.¹⁶ As these are insufficient for the elaboration of a theory of development, we have to turn to other methods.

Until now, van der Goes's *oeuvre* has been catalogued according to: genuine works categorized as such by the consensus of art historians, and stylistic features that can be visibly detected and ordered according to varying theories on the development of style. One of the problems with this approach, as Thompson and Campbell have convincingly demonstrated, is that several of van der Goes's altarpieces took several years to complete.¹⁷ This is clear in the



Fig. 6. Detail of St. Thomas from Pl. I.



Fig. 7. Hugo van der Goes, detail of *Death of the Virgin*, oil on panel, Bruges, Groeninge Museum.

obvious differences between the individual panels of the *Portinari Altarpiece*. Dendrochronological evidence provided by Peter Klein has also shown that the two panels in Vienna belong to different periods.¹⁸ The execution of these need not differ by as much as the

date of the felling of the trees, but a difference of ten years could well account for the stylistic differences.

To judge from the accepted works by Hugo van der Goes, one cannot simply speak of a single style for the artist, but is obliged to distinguish between several styles. Even within the context of one altarpiece, a multitude of personal characteristics may be found. The handwriting of an underdrawing may not be homogeneous and sometimes may be by another hand from that of the painting done over it. The latter may be inconsistent in its manufacture because

of the participation of helpers. As far as can be judged today, most underdrawings are the work of the master himself, since they are usually more homogeneous than the upper paint surfaces.

The differences in execution of Hugo's two altarpieces in Berlin are striking; indeed, the treatment of faces, hands, plants, and the background in the *Montforte Altarpiece* seems unlike the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and other panels. Such differences can be found even within a single work; the execution of the land-



Fig. 8. Detail of St. John the Baptist from Pl. I.

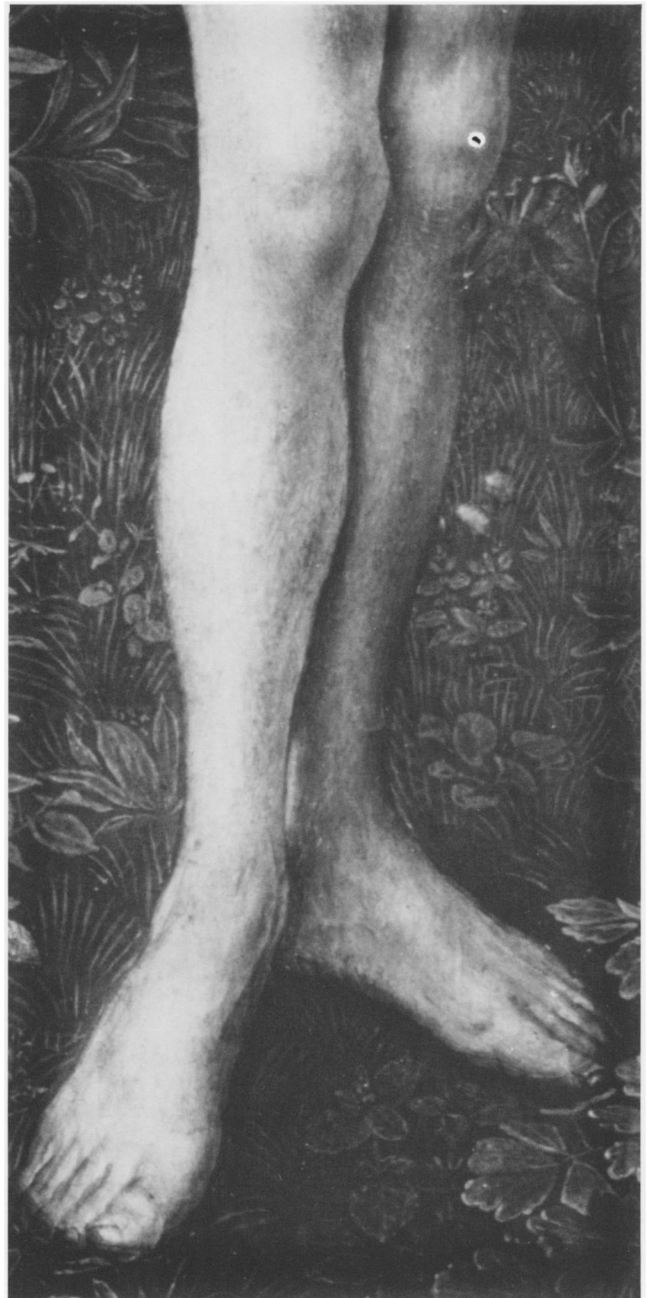


Fig. 9. Hugo van der Goes, detail from the *Fall of Man*, oil on panel, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

scape in the Vienna *Fall of Man*, for example, cannot be compared with the excellence of the figures, and the Edinburgh panels are noticeably weaker where drapery areas are concerned than in the faces and hands. Compared with these, the painting in question is remarkably homogeneous. An infrared examination of the underdrawing leaves no doubt of the close relationship of this painting with the *Montforte Altarpiece*, though the underdrawing appears more detailed and refined in the earlier panel.

It appears possible to redefine the development of Hugo van der Goes's style on the basis of recent findings with infrared reflectograms and the dating of key works by dendrochronology. These findings reveal that Hugo's underdrawing changes from fine hatching with silver point and pen in his earlier works to summary brushwork for the contours and shading later. Flat and evenly drawn diagonal planes grading dark and light replace a pattern of forms that is shaded by close hatching and partly by cross-hatching. This development away from the early, more conventional preparatory design could not be fully documented before the rediscovery of this lost painting. All other early works by Hugo van der Goes are comparatively small and show less of the underdrawing, which is limited to outlines and only a few modeling hatches, as far as the Vienna and Brussels paintings have disclosed in recent infrared reflectograms.¹⁹ The closest similarity, though not entirely comparable due to the difference in size, can be observed between the underdrawing of the back of the *Fall of Man*, in the St. Genovefa, and in the rediscovered painting.²⁰

A heightened perception of dark and light contrasts in the execution of the paint surface can be seen to parallel the above-noted development toward improved underdrawing. Thompson has given a convincing account of the interrelationship between increasing skill and the impact of a growing self-confidence in a new personal concept. This puts a surprising emphasis on expressive values (in relation to the *Death of the Virgin* panel in Bruges).²¹

The painting discussed here must be dated shortly after the earliest works by van der Goes (the *Virgin and Child* in Frankfort, the *Fall of Man* in Vienna, and the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* in Brussels) but before the *Montforte Altarpiece* in Berlin. The fine underdrawing found in all parts of the painting distinguishes it from the latter. Similarly, the modeling of the faces is smoother here, but the relationship is already apparent.

"Before the *Montforte Altarpiece*" means far earlier than the *Portinari Altarpiece* and the Edinburgh altar panels. To suggest a date falling within the bounds of

the following dendrochronological report by Pieter Klein,²² the painting is thus of about 1470.

The oak panel (110.7 x 124.8 cm) consists of six boards with the following sizes (all measurements are cm) and number of annual rings:

Board I	110.7 x 28.5 (top) 28.9 (bottom)	196 rings
II	110.7 x 20.8 (18.5)	152
III	110.7 x 7.7 (10.6)	75
IV	110.7 x 28.7 (29.3)	201
V	110.7 x 27.8 (28.2)	204
VI	110.7 x 10.0 (9.2)	78

Between boards II and III a new small shaving is fixed in. It is certain that boards I-V came from the same tree and board V includes four sapwood rings. The origin of the wood is in the Polish/Baltic region and the single boards can be dated as follows:

Board I:	1447-1282
II:	1447-1296
III:	1296-1222
IV:	1448-1250
V:	1453-1250
VI:	1422-1344

The youngest growth ring of all boards was grown in 1453 and because board V includes four sapwood rings the sapwood-heartwood boundary is between 1449 and 1450.

For the determination of the felling date the statistical number of sapwood rings must be added. Based on the origin of the wood in Eastern Europe, a felling date in the range 1462 . . 1464 . . 1468 in 50 percent of all values can be derived. Regarding the age of the tree with more than 200 years a felling date from 1454 upwards is more plausible.

Under the assumption of ten years of storage time for the wood, a creation date of this painting from 1474 is probable. But an earlier creation time is also possible given the storage times common in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The evaluation of the growth ring curves reveals that those of the *Adam and Eve* panel (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and from boards I-V are very similar. A relation to the same woodland can be derived, but whether from the same tree cannot be proved with certainty. A similar cutting date for both panels is possible, but cannot be proved because the smaller panel has the sapwood rings cut off.

The Identity of the Patron

The likelihood that the painting was in England during its alteration provides many arguments for its having been there before this date. Prior to 1600

such a work was not an object for an art dealer and was unsuitable for a private household; it was instead an altarpiece intended for a particular setting, such as a church or chapel. Since nothing is known of the person who commissioned the work, a plausible identification must take into account all the saints and explain the connection with St. Louis as well as the portraitlike appearance of both saints to the right of Mary.

There is no suitable connection to be made between members of the Burgundian court and Louis XI, or with the names of the saints included here, in particular, with Thomas, which is more common in England. A provisional suggestion of an English patron is Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, a political ally of Louis XI. Both were descendants of St. Louis and were aware of this relationship. Both were linked by a strong devotion to the Virgin Mary.²³ Warwick had been at the court of Burgundy in 1459 and continued diplomatic relations with Burgundy subse-

quently. Warwick's older brothers were Thomas and John. His younger brother George became Archbishop of York in 1466 and made attempts to obtain a cardinal's office.²⁴ From May to September, 1470, Warwick was in northern France (Honfleur, Valognes) where he was warmly greeted by Louis XI as the two laid plans for Warwick's return to England to establish the House of Lancaster. He was killed in the battle of Barnet, 1471, and his body was laid to rest in Bisham Abbey, which was destroyed during the reign of Henry VIII.

A further understanding of the historical context of the painting may become clear when more is known about other representations of St. Louis: his appearance in other altarpieces at the time, and who is represented in his likeness, as in the painting at Ince Hall.²⁵ In comparison with these unanswered questions, the reattribution of this painting to Hugo van der Goes and the strengthening of our vision of his early style are happily a very clear affair.

NOTES

1. I thank Miss Susan Cubitt for help with the translation and Dr. Eric Zafran for his contributions. For historical advice and useful hints I am indebted to Dr. Michael Henker and Jürgen Rapp.

2. C. Philips, "La 'Tudor Exhibitions' à la New Gallery: Exposition des maîtres anciens à la Royal Academy," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, (1890), 252.

3. Catalogue of the Strawberry Hill sale, 1842. See H. Walpole, "Correspondence," in H. Walpole, *Works*, Lewis, ed. (New Haven, 1937), 68, note 12 (hereafter, Walpole, "Correspondence"). The sale price is elsewhere given as £84. See "Correspondence," 215–6 (letter from A. C. Ducarel of February 23, 1762).

4. See letter from A. C. Ducarel of February 27, 1762 (Walpole, "Correspondence," 222).

5. G. Vertue, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, 1, H. Walpole, ed. (Strawberry Hill, 1762). The head of the Queen may be related to a historical model because of a general likeness to a portrait of the sixteenth century, which is now in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Also, the identification of the King as Henry VII is not absurd since there is a distant resemblance to the paintings deriving from the portrait by Michael Sittow (also in the National Portrait Gallery, London; see *The Illustrated Dictionary of English History*, A. Marwick, ed. [London, 1980], 138 [hereafter, *Illustrated History*]).

6. Letter to A. C. Ducarel of February 24, 1762 (Walpole, "Correspondence," 219).

7. *Ibid.*

8. The reflectograms were taken by the research team of Konstanz University: Bernd Konrad, Henry Gerlach, Emanuel Weissen, and the author.

9. *Mémoires* of Philippe de Commines (Nantes, Musée Dobrée).

10. Compare the painting by Aerts, dated 1600, in a private collection, reproduced in the catalogue *Terugzien in Bewondering* (The Hague, 1980), pl. 1.

11. As best seen in the position of the king's legs and the figure of "Elisabeth of York." Compare the similar fashion and position of legs in paintings of late Elizabethan date: for example, *Queen Elizabeth on the Shoulders of Her Knights*, attributed to Robert Peake (coll. Digby Sherborne Castle, see *Illustrated History*, 103).

12. As suggested by Elizabeth Dhanens in a discussion with the owner of the painting in February 1986.

13. Compare the literature on the many paintings of Mary in the Church. See R. Lemaire, "De Madonna in de Kerk uit het Berlijnse Museum," *Mededelingen van de Koninkl. Vlaamse Academie . . .* (1950); E. Herzog, "Zur Kirchenmadonna van Eycks," *Festschrift Jantzen, Berliner Museen*, N.F. 6 (1956), 2–16; J. L. Ward, "Hidden Symbolism in Jan van Eyck's Annunciations," *Art Bulletin*, 57 (1975), 195.

14. See L. Behling, *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei* (Weimar, 1957/Cologne, 1967); I. Bergström, "Disguised Symbolism in Madonna-Pictures and Still Lifes," *Burlington Magazine* 97 (1955), 203–8.

15. For the latter, see the article in this volume by E. Gordon. In general, see the illustrations in C. Thompson and L. Campbell, *Hugo van der Goes and the Trinity Panels in Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1974) (hereafter, Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo*). Photograph of van der Weyden's *Medici Madonna*, courtesy of Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

16. Following the argument for dating given by C. Thompson and L. Campbell, *Hugo*, the *Portinari Altarpiece* was not commissioned before 1473 and finished by 1479/80, with the wings being definitely later than the center panel. Similarly, the commission for the Edinburgh altarpiece may have been given in 1473, whereas the completion may have been not before 1479.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Dr. Peter Klein, Hamburg University, Ordinariat für Holzbiologie, examined the Vienna panels in 1986. I am grateful for his permission to publish his results, conveyed in his letter of June 22, 1987: The oak panel *Adam and Eve* (33.9 x 22.9 cm) was thinned to

2 mm and joined with a tangentially cut oak board. On the original board, 237 growth rings with signs typical of a Baltic origin were measured. The growth ring curve could be dated between 1448 and 1212. Without any sapwood rings, a felling date of 1464 ± 2 can be derived. Creation of the painting can be presumed from 1473 upwards, assuming a median of 15 sapwood rings and ten years storage time. The oak panel *Deposition of the Cross* (24.3 x 22.8 cm) contains only 155 rings and also originates from the Baltic region. Notwithstanding that the growth ring curve of this board is very dissimilar from the other panel, from the dating of the curve between 1454 and 1300 a felling date of 1469 ± 2 can be derived for the tree.

Though these have long been thought to be a diptych, Klein's research points to a much later dating for the *Deposition*. Klein's storage time of 10 years is comparatively long in my opinion. For different arguments concerning tree-ring dating, see S. Bunney, "A Firmer Footing for Tree-Ring Dating of Old Masters," *New Scientist* (May, 1986), 29.

19. I am indebted to Dr. Pauwels, Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, for his support with infrared reflectography of the *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* panel. Furthermore, I thank Ingrid Alexander

for her information and comment on the underdrawings of the Vienna panels. The informative reproductions of the underdrawings can be found in I. Alexander, F. Mairinger, R. van Schoute, "Le dessin sous-jacent chez van der Goes. Le diptyche du péché originel et de la déploration du Kunsthistorisches Museum de Vienne," *Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain*, 11 (1978), 73–83.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

21. Compare Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo*, 90–3.

22. Dr. Peter Klein provided the dendrochronological data in a letter of January 22, 1987.

23. P. M. Kendall, *Louis XI* (London, 1971/Munich, 1979), notes that Warwick and Louis XI called each other "cousin" because of their common descent from St. Louis (see his note 56). Louis XI went to the church of Notre Dame in Caen and, on behalf of Warwick, presented one large candlestick, six consecrated vessels, and a devotional wax figure of himself (p. 283).

24. P. M. Kendall, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (London, 1957), 187, 192.

25. This painting of *The Madonna with St. Louis and St. Margaret* by an unknown master, ca. 1500, is reproduced in Thompson and Campbell, *Hugo*, pl. 49.



Pl I. Hugo van der Goes?, *Virgin and Child with Saints Thomas, John the Baptist, Jerome and Louis*, oil on panel, United States, private collection.



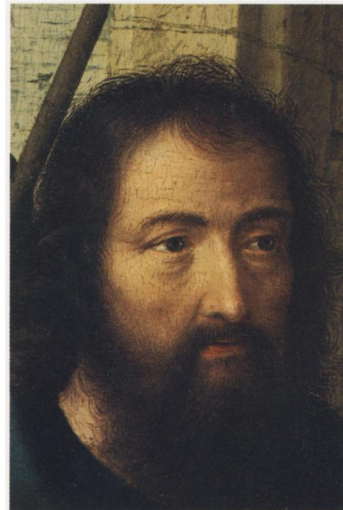
Pl. II. Detail of the *Finding of Moses* from Pl. I.



Pl. III. Detail of architectural sculpture (ancestor of Mary?) from Pl. I.



Pl. IV. Detail of St. Thomas from Pl. I.



Pl. V. Gerard David, detail of the Holy King from the *Adoration of the Kings*, oil on panel, Munich, Alte Pinakothek.



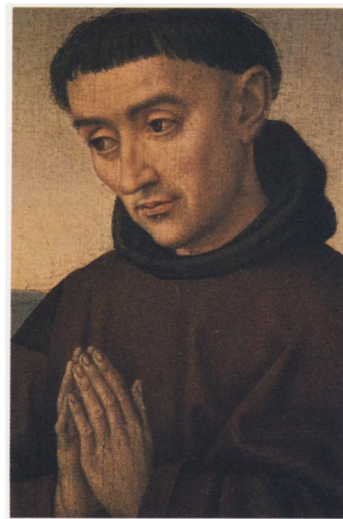
Pl. VI. Hugo van der Goes, detail of the Holy King from the *Montforte Altarpiece*, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie.



Pl. VII. Hugo van der Goes, detail of St. John the Baptist from *Portrait of a Man with John the Baptist*, oil on panel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.296.



Pl. VIII. Detail of St. Louis from Pl. I.



Pl. IX. Hugo van der Goes, detail of donor from *Virgin and Child and St. Anne*, Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts.



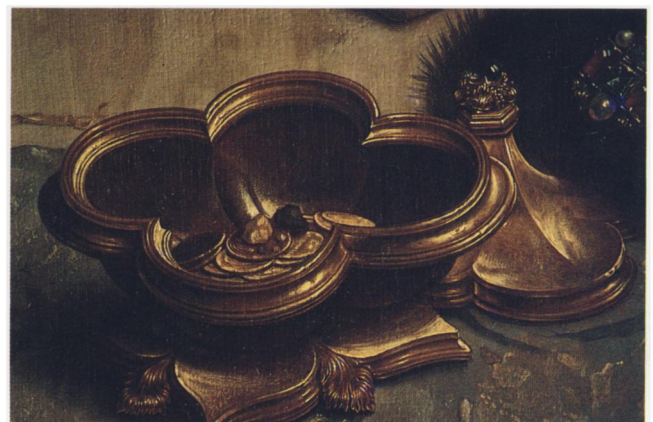
Pl. X. Detail of landscape from Pl. I.



Pl. XI. Hugo van der Goes, detail of landscape from the *Montforte Altarpiece*, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie.



Pl. XII. Detail of censer from Pl. I.



Pl. XIII. Hugo van der Goes, detail of casket from the *Montforte Altarpiece*, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie.



Pl. 1. Hugo van der Goes, *Portrait of a Man with St. John the Baptist*, oil on panel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.296.

The Conservation of Hugo van der Goes's Portrait of a Donor with St. John the Baptist in The Walters Art Gallery

ERIC A. GORDON
The Walters Art Gallery

When Henry Walters acquired Hugo van der Goes's *Portrait of a Donor with St. John the Baptist* in 1920 (fig. 1), it looked quite different than it does today (pl. 1).¹ Both figures had thick curly hair, and St. John's beard fell in delicate tendrils. The donor appeared in a traditional bust-length pose with no individualizing details below his neckline, and the background was an ambiguous, two-toned space. The painting appeared pristine and complete, but like many portraits entering American collections during the decades surrounding the turn of the century, it had been significantly altered to present a more appealing and marketable image.²

This painting once formed part of a larger work, probably a diptych.³ The diptych's left panel would most likely have portrayed the Madonna and Child. The early history of the painting is unknown; however, by 1882 it was in the P. A. Borger Collection in Arnhem, The Netherlands.⁴ From there it was sold to a Mr. Leembruggen, who from 1903 to 1920 lent it to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.⁵ It was sold at auction in 1920⁶ and then acquired by Germain Seligman who in turn immediately sold it to Henry Walters.⁷ The painting has been dated to the third quarter of the fifteenth century by dendrochronologist Peter Klein of the University of Hamburg.⁸ Most scholars have placed the panel late in Hugo's career, between 1475 and 1481.⁹

The dimensions of the panel were reduced before 1882.¹⁰ As seen in the early photograph (fig. 1), the paint layer stops before the right and left edges

of the panel, creating an .8 centimeter border of wood on both sides, which may originally have been covered by an engaged frame. However, the paint layer continues to and is fractured at the top and bottom edges. The composition corroborates the conclusion insofar as the donor's hands are bisected below, and an ambiguous, incomplete rectangle floats in the upper left corner.

In preparation for an exhibit in 1939, the picture was examined and restored by David Rosen, then Technical Advisor at the Walters. At that time, an x-radiograph (fig. 2) revealed the praying hands of the donor, the suggestion of a chain about his neck, and different hairlines on both the donor and St. John. Soon after, the aged, yellowed varnish and discolored nineteenth-century overpaint were removed with solvents (fig. 3), exposing a damaged though more fully realized image (fig. 5). In addition to revealing the original receding hairline of the donor, the thinner hair and beard of St. John, and the donor's hands and chain, the cleaning uncovered a small, horizontal rectangle in the upper left corner, thought to be a window. The picture, once cleaned, became an abraded though more detailed fragment, and in the process revealed more of the artist's original. Public reaction was quite positive. On May 14, 1939, *The Baltimore Sun* published an article on the Hugo, titled "Object of the Week." It began, "Many people object to the cleaning of old paintings on the score that their golden tone is often destroyed and their aesthetic value diminished. An instance, however, in



Fig. 1. Pl. 1, x-radiograph.

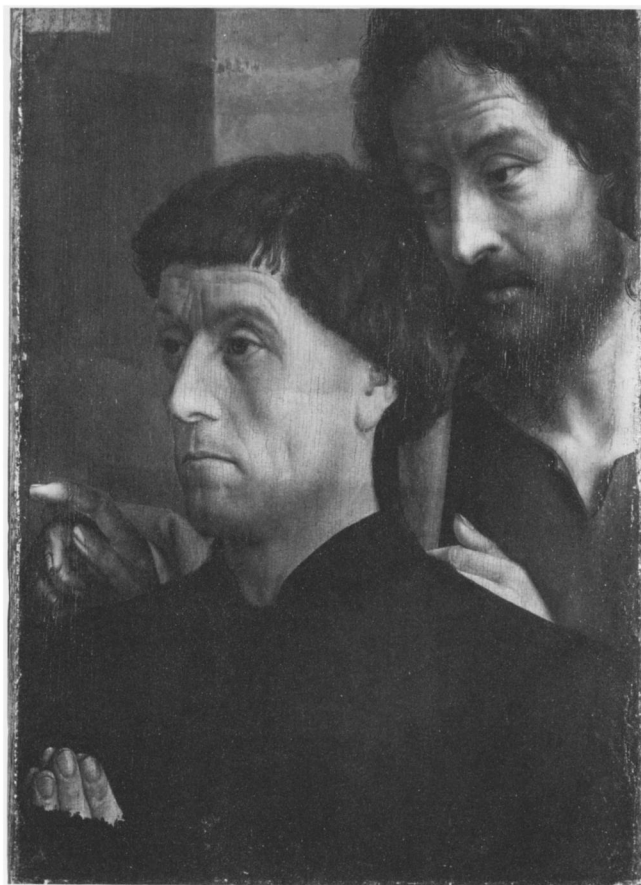


Fig. 2. Pl. 1, during treatment, 1939.

which the patience and skill of the restorer have been rewarded with happy results is this fine painting of a Donor and St. John the Baptist by Hugo van der Goes. . . . As a result of the removal of overpaint around the heads of both the Donor and St. John the rather wooden expression of the Donor is changed to one of nobility and intellectual power, while the face of St. John becomes more spiritual and gentle." Besides removing discolored varnish and overpaint, Rosen attempted to straighten a slight warp in the panel. At some time before the panel entered the Walters, its reverse was planed down to a thin veneer and adhered to another thin oak panel. This treatment was thought to stabilize the wooden support. However, the support apparently moved slightly over the years, and in 1939 Rosen attempted to remove the warp with humidity and a press, a common treatment at the time. Wax was then ironed into the reverse of the auxiliary panel to act as a moisture barrier, and aluminum strips were fitted over the top and bottom edges to restrict any movement. Unfortunately, this last measure hid some of what had been recently uncovered under the overpaint. Rosen also retouched

in an easily reversible, modified tempera medium the losses in the paint film which had been caused by harsh cleaning methods of earlier, overzealous restorers. The retouching was minimal (fig. 4), perhaps in reaction to the previous overrestoration. As the *Baltimore Sun* observed, "The paint film was found to be in excellent condition except for a few slight losses which have now been touched in to harmonize with the surrounding areas, without attempting to imitate them exactly, as used to be the practice of restorers." The painting was then varnished, waxed, and displayed in a gilded frame in a shadow box.

The panel remained basically in the same state until recently. In 1960 it was rewaxed for an upcoming exhibition; however, this did little to change the long term appearance of the work. Although the surface temporarily became glossier, it dulled to a matt finish within a few years as the wax attracted dust. The retouching also darkened slightly over time, and what was thought to be a scrupulously honest restoration in 1939 gradually came to be seen as a somewhat unsympathetic approach to the presentation of a damaged painting.

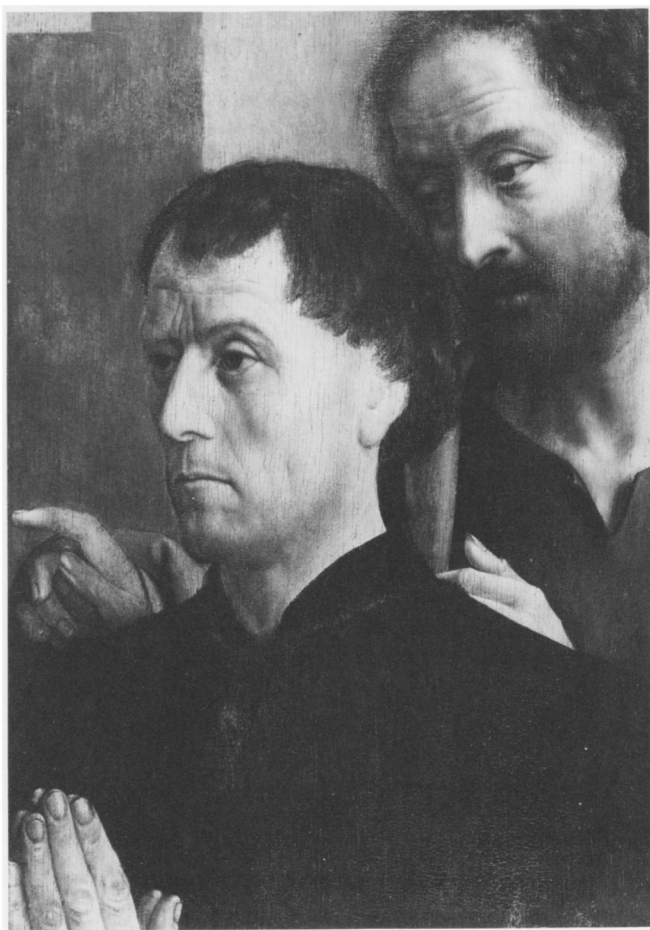


Fig. 3. Pl. 1, after treatment, 1939.

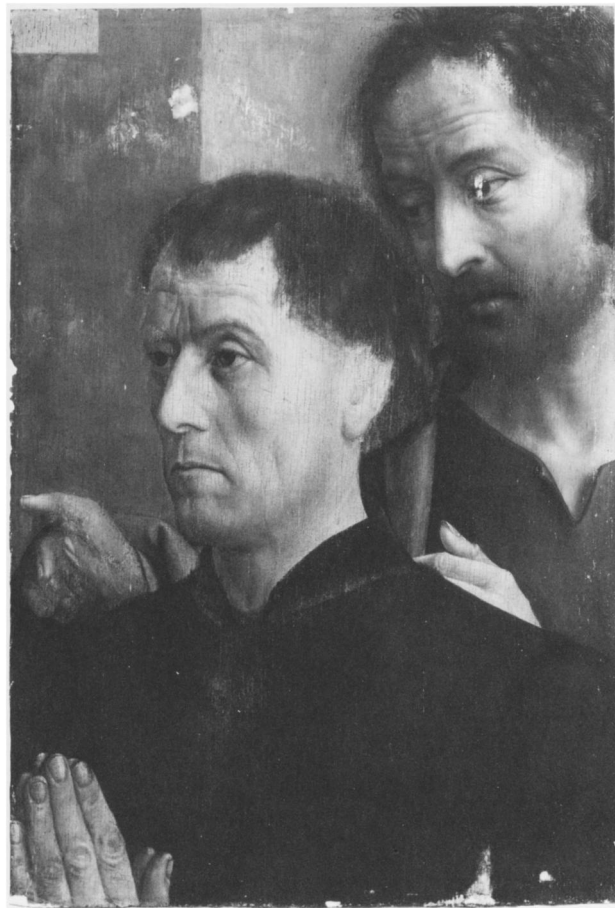


Fig. 4. Pl. 1, during treatment, 1986 (after cleaning, before inpainting).

The panel was formally reevaluated in 1986 as part of the assessment of the Walters painting collection during the renovation of its 1904 building. The aluminum channels were removed during dendrochronologist Peter Klein's work, and it was decided that, if possible, the strips should remain off in order to reveal more of the painting surface (parts of the hands and the window). Tracings were made of the curve of the panel, and over several months it was monitored in order to detect any slight change. As no movement was noticed for over a year, and our galleries are carefully climate-controlled, the strips have not been replaced.

It was concluded that the appearance of the painting could be improved, and that its importance warranted a new treatment. New materials and techniques have become available to conservators and some approaches practiced by conservators in the past are no longer accepted today. Since the 1939 treatment, the surface of the painting had dulled as dust accumulated on wax, and the varnish had yellowed. More distracting, however, was the treatment of the areas of lost or abraded paint. The treatment

of the losses, which had been touched in to harmonize with the surrounding areas without attempting to imitate them exactly, exaggerated the sense of loss and abrasion throughout the panel. Thus, while the "pre-Rijksmuseum" restoration had deceptively heightened the sense of completeness, the 1939 restoration had stressed the incompleteness of the panel. Indeed, the ground under the paint layer could be seen in the foreheads of the figures, the proper left eyebrow and ear of the donor, the saint's fingers and hand, and throughout the background. Most of the inpainting did not match the color or style of Hugo's work. For such an intimate, precise, and detailed painting, which demands minute inspection for full appreciation, a summary, toned-in suggestion of form was not a sensitive approach.

The painting was cleaned with mild solvents, which removed wax, varnish, and retouching (fig. 5). Oil retouching around the top outside hairline of the donor and of St. John were also removed, which softened the contrasts in the picture considerably. The inside hairline along the donor's forehead and above his temple and ear was also modified by the removal

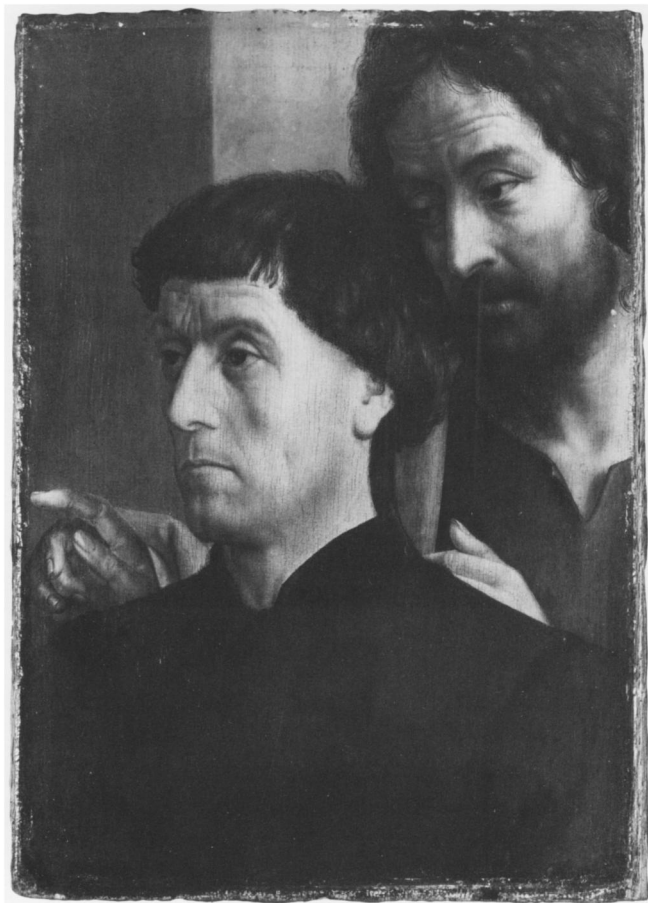


Fig. 5. Pl. 1, after treatment, 1986.

of retouching, and it now coincided with hairlines on male portraits in other Hugo paintings of the period.¹¹

The new hairline revealed a large abraded area at the top of the ear. Because the ear is such a prominent feature of the donor, and is located in the very center of the picture, it was decided to inpaint this area so that it would not detract from the completeness of the rest of the face. The painting was varnished and its losses were filled, and an investigation was undertaken to see if there was a "typical" Hugo ear. After researching the few extant Hugos, it became apparent that there was a distinctive feature throughout: a piece of cartilage running about 45 degrees from the top of the area connecting the ear to the head, down to the bottom of the inner ear (e.g., as in all the shepherds in Hugo's *Portinari Altarpiece* in Florence, and the Magi in his *Adoration of the Magi* in Berlin). This feature was inpainted, in an easily reversible medium, to look slightly worn or abraded in keeping with the rest of the paint layer. Similarly, research was carried out on Hugo's subjects' hands, specifically, on pointing right index fingers, but with

less success. None could be found that approximated the position of St. John's on this panel. However, it was decided that a very abraded pointing finger and hand next to the donor's head would detract from the cohesiveness of the overall painting, and thus, the finger and hand were inpainted in a manner suggesting Hugo's style. Other losses and abraded areas were inpainted using the same approach, and the panel was given a final, non-yellowing varnish (pl. I).

The Walters *Portrait of a Donor with St. John the Baptist* is now displayed with its four edges exposed, allowing the viewer to see all that remains of what Hugo painted five hundred years ago. The recent conservation treatment attempted to present a unified painting in an approach sensitive to and in keeping with the artist's style, and consistent with what remains of his original work. Overall clarity and coherence were key elements in the approach to this treatment. It is hoped that revealing more of the painting and exposing fewer losses presents the panel in a manner closer to the artist's original intention. As a fragment, the painting will never approach its original conception. However, reintegrating the surface and presenting the picture cohesively should allow the strength of Hugo's artistry to overcome the damages wrought by time.

NOTES

1. No. 37296 (32.2 x 22.5 cm.). M. J. Friedländer, *Die altniederländische Malerei* (Leyden, 1934), IV, 49, 128, no. 18 (hereafter, Friedländer, *Malerei*). F. Winkler, *Das Werk des Hugo van der Goes* (Berlin, 1964), 86, pl. 66 (hereafter, Winkler, *Werk*).
2. In 1902 when Pontormo's *Portrait of Maria Salviati and the Young Cosimo de' Medici* entered the Walters collection, it depicted a single large woman looming against a black background (E. S. King, "An Addition to Medici Iconography," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, 3 [1940]). After scientific analyses and cleaning, it was discovered that a child holding the right hand of the sitter had been over-painted and the sitter's right hand altered, apparently to disguise a damaged, cropped bottom edge, sharply cutting through the child. Both the Hugo and the Pontormo portraits had been deliberately and deceptively altered in order to achieve more cohesive compositions and appeal to the tastes of the contemporary art market.
3. The 1911 Rijksmuseum catalogue (no. 984A) and J. Destrée, *Hugo van der Goes*, [Brussels/Paris, 1914] 122 (hereafter, Destrée, *Hugo*) suggest the fragment was part of a triptych. Most other scholars, including Friedländer (*Malerei*, 44, 128) and Winkler (*Werk*, 86), believe that the painting was originally half of a diptych.
4. Sale, Frederik Muller and Co., Amsterdam, Nov. 13, 1882, no. 16, as "school of Van Eyck."
5. *Catalogue of the Pictures . . . etc. in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam*, (Amsterdam, 1905) 13, no. 9842.
6. Sale, Frederik Muller and Co., Amsterdam, April 13, 1920, no. 66.
7. G. Seligman, *Merchants of Art: 1880-1960* (New York, 1961), 121.
8. In a letter of July 18, 1986. Counting the rings in the end grain of the panel and comparing their number and spacing to the rings in dated panels of the same period and region, Klein estimated that the oak tree from which this panel was cut was felled between 1448 and 1454. Assuming that only sapwood rings were cut off during the manufacturing of the panel, and taking into account a storage (acclimatization) time of ten years or more for a fifteenth-century Netherlandish panel, a creation date of 1464 or later is most plausible.
9. Destrée, *Hugo*, 122; M. Conway, *The Van Eycks and Their Followers* (London, 1921), 184; Friedländer, *Malerei*, 49; K. Oettinger, "Das Ratsel des Kunst des Hugo van der Goes," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlung in Wien*, 12 (1938), 57; C. de Tolnay, "Hugo van der Goes as a Portrait Painter," *Art Quarterly*, 7 (1944), 184; V. Denis, *Hugo van der Goes* (Brussels, 1956), 39.
10. The earliest existing photograph (fig. 1) was taken while the painting was in the Rijksmuseum (1903-20). In it, the panel's dimensions are the same as those today, with the fractured paint layer at the top and bottom edges exposed.
11. For example, Hugo's *St. Luke* in Lisbon and his *Portrait of a Monk* in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Wilhelm Stetter's Adoration of the Magi and a Consideration of Stetter's Painting

ERIC M. ZAFRAN
The Walters Art Gallery

Recently added to the collection of The Walters Art Gallery is a delightful depiction of the Adoration of the Magi (fig. 1).¹ This panel painting is dated 1526 on a stone in the center foreground, that also bears the artist's monogram, W. S. with a Maltese Cross. The painting was last exhibited in 1934 by the Munich dealer Julius Böhler.² It was then sold to the firm of Knoedler and Co. in New York,³ from whom it was purchased by Roland L. Redmond in 1939 as a Christmas present for his wife, Sara.⁴ Mrs. Redmond, a niece of Henry Walters, and a long-time trustee and supporter of the museum, bequeathed the painting to the Walters upon her death in 1985.

The Master W. S. with the Maltese Cross, by whom about twenty-five works are known,⁵ was identified in 1952 by Jean Rott as Wilhelm Stetter.⁶ The archives of the Order of St. Jean of the Green Island from the Alsatian city of Strasbourg revealed that Stetter, who became an acolyte in 1510 and was fully ordained in 1512, received his earliest recorded commission in 1513, and was active as a painter there until his death in 1552. He devoted much of his energy to serving the Order, not only as a painter but also as a caretaker of its considerable artistic treasures.⁷ Many of his works remained in the original Commanderie of St. Jean in Strasbourg until 1633 when, following its destruction, they were removed to another location, and then transferred again in 1687 to a new church of St. John. The warden of this church, François Goetzmann, prepared in 1741 an inventory of Stet-

ter's remaining works which was published by Rott. This inventory includes fourteen items, of which the second is certainly the Walters 1526 *Adoration of the Magi*.⁸ According to Rott these works were all dispersed after the Revolution,⁹ but Hans Haug of the Strasbourg Museum has written that eight of Stetter's works, including this *Adoration*, which all have the same height of eighty-six centimeters, were housed until the eighteenth century in the Commanderie of Laxou near Nancy.¹⁰ These works range over the painter's entire career, and although they constitute a group devoted to the life and passion of Christ (with one scene of the death of St. John the Baptist), it is unlikely that they originally formed a uniform altarpiece. Rather, they may have been adapted to fit their new location. In any case, by studying these and selected other works of the artist, it is possible to put the Walters painting, apparently the only work by Stetter in the United States, into proper context, and to provide an appreciation of this minor but inventive master.

Stetter's artistic training is unknown, but a study of his surviving works reveals that stylistically he was greatly influenced by the region's most famous painter, Hans Baldung Grien,¹¹ and compositionally he owes much to the Nuremberg master Albrecht Dürer, particularly the latter's prints. It is also evident that Stetter had two distinct approaches, one heroic and one miniature, that he could adapt as necessary to fit his subjects. The heroic or grandiose style of large-scale figures shown with broad, simply



Fig. 1. Wilhelm Stetter, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1526, oil on panel, Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, 372619. Bequest of Mrs. Sara D. Redmond, 1985.



Fig. 2. Wilhelm Stetter, *St. John the Evangelist Receives the Poisoned Cup*, 1519, oil on panel, Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar.

conceived gestures derives from the early works of Baldung Grien.¹² It is fully in evidence in the impressive painting of 1519 *St. John the Evangelist Receiving the Poisoned Cup* (fig. 2).¹³ This tale from the *Golden Legend*¹⁴ relates how the Evangelist preaching in Asia encountered the idolatrous worshipers of Diana, whose high priest Aristodemus challenged the saint to prove his faith by drinking from a poisoned cup, the contents of which were first tested on two condemned men, seen at the left in the painting. The apostle, however, took the cup and, after making the sign of the cross over it, drank the poison and suffered no ill effects, thus leading to the conversion of the heathens. This dramatic incident is rendered by Stetter in a somewhat stolid manner. Individual details such as the large size of the cup and the exotic nature of the high priest's garments are emphasized. The inlaid marble floor on which the action takes

place gives way rather incongruously to a scenic Danubian landscape, much as perfected in the works of Wolf Huber and Altdorfer. The figure of St. John, with his wide young face and long hair, also follows the type popularized among this school of painters.¹⁵ Several of the other characters who observe the action have heads that seem too small for their bodies, as if the artist had naively combined motives from different sources. Of these figures, the second from the right, a more individualized bearded man who looks out at the viewer with great intensity, may, as Hugelshofer first suggested, be a self-portrait of the artist.¹⁶

The same approach, with large-scale figures in strikingly patterned garments set before a landscape of Danubian firs, is also evident in the two earliest works from the supposed Laxou group, a *Decapitation of St. John the Baptist*, 1515 (fig. 3),¹⁷ which closely



Fig. 3. Wilhelm Stetter, *Decapitation of St. John the Baptist*, 1515, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy.

follows Dürer's 1510 woodcut of the subject¹⁸ and a *Noli Me Tangere* of 1523 (fig. 4),¹⁹ both in the Musée de Nancy. The painter treats these two startling events in a surprisingly placid manner. Only the closed eyes of the Magdalen (fig. 4) suggest strong emotion. As with the chalice-like cup given to St. John the Evangelist, her ointment jar is disproportionately large. Seeking to stress the miraculous nature of the Resurrection, Stetter also exaggerates the size of Christ's wounds. The banner of Christ draws attention to the juxtaposition of the two large trees, one dead and one living, at the right, undoubtedly a further allusion to the salvation offered by the Resurrection. Here, as in many of his works, the artist places his monogram or the date directly into the composition. In this case, the date 1523 is inscribed on a stone between Christ's feet, as if to emphasize the continuing validity of the miracle.

If all or a portion of the paintings at Laxou did form parts of one large altarpiece, it probably had as its central panel a large Crucifixion scene. No full-scale depiction of this subject by Stetter is now known, but the two works latest in date from this group, also painted in the artist's heroic style, would have properly complemented it. These are the *Christ before Pilate* of 1535 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Strasbourg (fig. 5)²⁰ and the *Lamentation* of 1536 in

Nancy (fig. 6).²¹ In the first of these, Stetter uses what we shall see was one of his favorite devices, an elaborate architectural setting. He employs columns to divide the composition into two scenes, Pilate washing his hands and the condemned Christ led away. Also characteristic of the painter is the use of open-mouth speaking figures. Usually these are the key figures making important pronouncements. Here it is Pilate who (Matthew 27:24) "taking water washed his hands before the people, saying, 'I am innocent of the blood of this man.'" Placed in the window opening above Pilate is his wife who, as related in Matthew 27:19, having had a bad dream, warned her husband "to have nothing to do with this just man." Other aspects of the composition, such as the marble floor; the variety of exotic costumes, and the prominent placement of the instruments from the mocking of Christ, can now be recognized as typical of the painter.

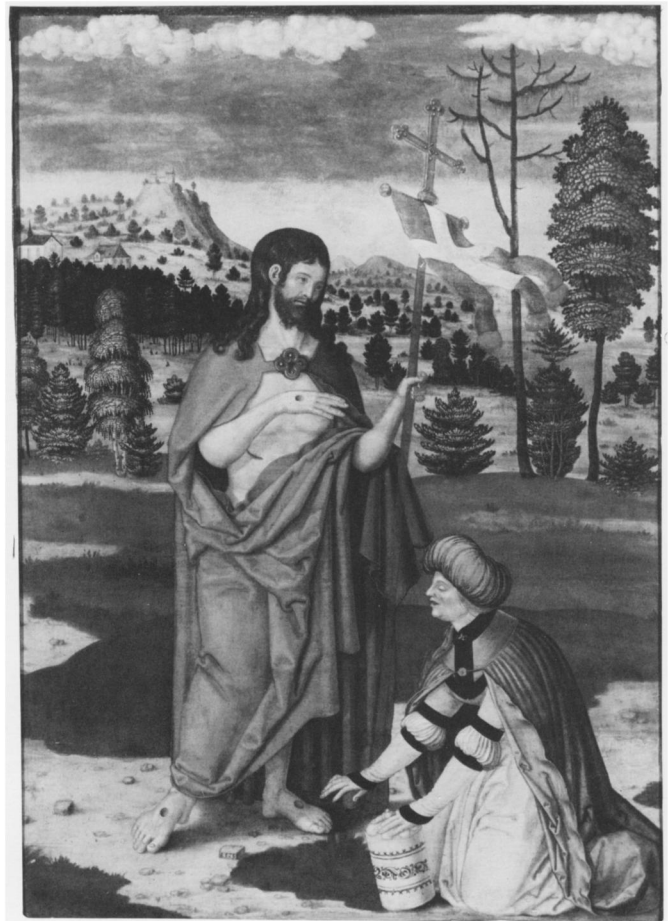


Fig. 4. Wilhelm Stetter, *Noli Me Tangere*, 1523, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy.

The depiction of the Lamentation in both its greater expressive power and its emphasis on details, such as the large ointment jar and the crown of thorns, derives from prototypes by Dürer: his painting of the same subject, dated 1503 in Munich²² and his woodcut from the Great Passion Series.²³ The latter, as here, includes the scene of the Deposition in the background, though Stetter again adds the motif of the dead and living tree. Most of Dürer's characters are regrouped in the foreground. The Virgin is given a restrained attitude of grief, the Magdalen, identified by her more elaborate costume, holds one of Christ's hands, and another of the Marys, wearing contemporary garb, gesticulates to express her grief. Three bearded figures stand at the right. Nicodemus at the left holds the large ointment jar for anointing the body before the burial in the tomb, whose corner can be seen at the left. The figure at the right is

Joseph of Arimathea with the winding sheet. It is less clear who the man in the middle is. Sometimes St. Joseph appears in this place in Lamentation scenes, but in this case the man wears a hat similar to that of the small figure in the center background who departs the Crucifixion carrying a sponge on a stick. This must be the Roman soldier, named according to legend, Stephaton,²⁴ who as a final torturous step of the Passion gave the dying Christ a vinegar-soaked sponge when he cried out (John 19:28) "I thirst." Could this sinner have been incorporated into the attendants at the Lamentation to suggest the potential of human repentance? He is the only figure in the painting who looks directly out at the viewer, and it is quite possible that this is a self-portrait of the now more aged painter who appeared previously in the *St. John Receiving the Poisoned Cup* (fig. 2).

Having examined these paintings characteristic



Fig. 5. Wilhelm Stetter, *Christ Before Pilate*, 1535, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg.



Fig. 6. Wilhelm Stetter, *Lamentation*, 1536, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy.

of Stetter's grand style, we now turn to those, including the Walters work, which are in a more precious, ornamental style. The first of the "Laxou" paintings in this other manner is the *Christ Presented to the People* or *Ecce Homo* of 1521 in Nancy (fig. 7).²⁵ Clearly the figures do not have the same large proportions in relation to their setting as did those in the previous group. Stetter must have known Dürer's woodcut of this subject²⁶ and there is perhaps a distant echo of it in the turbaned Pilate, but there is none of the harshness or grotesque quality which Dürer gives to the bloodthirsty crowd. The artist's chief interest here seems to be the enormous ornamental canopy under which the action transpires. This dominant element, composed of hybrid beasts, profile heads, putti, and topped by a clock and smoking urn, may derive from architectural structures found in another Dürer woodcut, *The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*,²⁷ and Baldung Grien's painting of the *Stoning of St. Stephen*.²⁸

It is the use of such decorative elements and the dominance of the architectural setting over rather toylike figures that characterize the two remaining "Laxou" paintings, the Walters 1526 *Adoration of the Magi* (fig. 1) and a *Nativity* of the previous year in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (fig. 8).²⁹ Quite similar to these works is an *Adoration of the Shepherds* that was recently sold at Sotheby's in London and is now in a German private collection (fig. 9).³⁰ These three works are related in subject and are united visually by the large glittering star of Bethlehem in the sky above. Compositionally each of the paintings is also a variation on the theme of an elaborately ruined building that serves to shelter the infant Christ and his mother. The contrast made between this structure, with its gothic arch and overlay of up-to-date Italianate decorative elements, and the old-fashioned flat wooden Germanic structures either behind or to the side of it, serves a didactic purpose. It occurs in Dürer's *Paumgartner Altarpiece*³¹ and in his *Nativity* engraving (fig. 10),³² with the intention, as explicated by Panofsky, of distinguishing the Old Dispensation of the Jews from the New one brought about through the birth of Christ.³³ The picturesque ruin as a setting for the Nativity became a favorite composition among the Danube School artists,³⁴ and Stetter in these three examples has delighted in filling it with a number of unusual and charming motifs.

In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* from the German private collection, the triumph of Christianity is made most explicit by the cross-shape in each of the three centrally placed windows. The annunciation of the angel to a single shepherd occurs in the right back-

ground. In the middle ground are three shepherds, chosen like the three magi to represent the three ages of man. The youngest looks up at the singing angels and the other two observe the miraculous scene of the adoration of the Christ Child by his mother and the ox and ass. The artist has emphasized the isolation of the Virgin and Child from the other figures. The wall around them makes a clear demarcation of holy ground. Although there is some suggestion of this in various of Dürer's woodcuts,³⁵ Stetter greatly exaggerates it, and the shape of the enclosed space he creates resembles that of the symbolic wine press that was often used to suggest the suffering and sacrifice of Christ.³⁶ It also recalls that this is the choir of a church with the Child placed as if on an altar, the Virgin acting as the priest and the animals as the communicants at mass. The isolation of the Virgin and Child is further achieved by, following Dürer's engraving, assigning St. Joseph a subsidiary role filling a jug with water.³⁷ Also perhaps derived from Dürer is the chorus of three angels, which Stetter transforms in his typical earthy manner into three

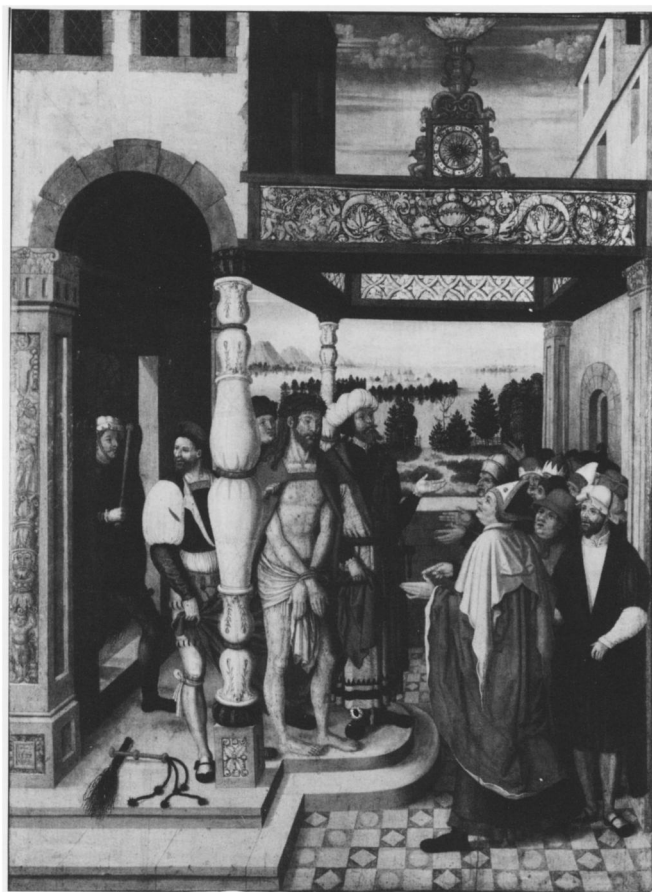


Fig. 7. Wilhelm Stetter, *Christ Presented to the People*, 1521, oil on panel, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy.



Fig. 8. Wilhelm Stetter, *Nativity*, 1525, oil on panel, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, GM 1270.

chunky childish figures.³⁸ The one at the right holds a baton to lead the others in full fledged open-mouth singing. The words on their scroll are a portion of those given to them by St. Luke "Excelsis Deo in terra," which were also incorporated into the Gloria.

Returning to the paintings with the Laxou provenance, the *Nativity* of 1525 in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (fig. 8), repeats several of the same elements, such as the isolated Virgin and Child and the singing angels, but also adds several other highly individual touches. The Annunciation to the Shepherds is again visible in the background, but not all the figures arriving at the manger are shepherds. The melancholic man in the window seems to be a scholar pondering the meaning of the scene. The most unusual feature, however, is the activity of St. Joseph. He is shown chopping kindling, which three angels collect in a basket, ostensibly to feed the fire seen in the very distant back room. This image also



Fig. 9. Wilhelm Stetter, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1523(?), oil on panel, private collection, Germany.

derives from a woodcut by Dürer, *The Holy Family in Egypt* (fig. 11),³⁹ but the saint's action has been given a different interpretation. On the one hand it may be a variation of the familiar theme of St. Joseph with a candle that is outshone by the miraculous light of the baby.⁴⁰ Even more likely however, given the striking cross-shape pattern of the wood he chops is that this is another reminder of the future suffering and death of Christ. The repeated cross shape is certainly not accidental, and in fact occurs in similar fashion in the painter's earlier *Discovery of the True Cross*.⁴¹

The Walters *Adoration of the Magi* can now be seen to be highly characteristic of Stetter's decorative manner. There is, for example, the similar peeling painted wall as in the German *Adoration of the Shepherds*, and all three Nativity paintings have a single dog in the middle background. There are again some distinctive touches. Here there are not angels but instead three real children, one at the left riding a

toy horse, and two at the right who seem to act as emissaries from the Magi's entourage. The architecture, derived more directly than in the other examples from Dürer's engraving, twice encompasses the familiar motif of the dead and living trees, and serves in this case not to isolate the Virgin and Child but to enforce a form of late medieval segregation, isolating the black (and youngest) king, Balthasar, outside the divine presence.⁴² In this composition St. Joseph has been eliminated completely.

One element that has not been previously mentioned, but with the recent cleaning of this painting

has become most evident, is Stetter's use of color. As in other aspects of his artistry, it is not as subtle or profound as that of Baldung Grien, Altdorfer, or Dürer, but it has a sparkling crystalline brightness, ranging from the vivid black and yellow of Balthasar's robe to the rich reds and blues of the Virgin's garments. This brilliant palette invests the work with an immediacy and even prettiness that must have enlivened the hearts of Stetter's fellow bretheren and still serves to create a perfect Christmas image.



Fig. 10. Albrecht Dürer, *Nativity*, 1504, engraving.



Fig. 11. Albrecht Dürer, *The Holy Family in Egypt*, 1505, woodcut.

NOTES

1. Acc. no. 372619, oil on panel, 86 x 54 cm (34 3/8 x 21 1/4 in).
2. *Ausstellung altdeutsche Kunst*, J. Böhler, Munich, 1934, no. 16 (exhibition catalogue). The painting was mentioned and reproduced in *Die Weltkunst*, 8/27 (1934), 1.
3. According to a letter of April 14, 1986, from the Böhler Gallery, the painting had come from the dealer Franz Xavier Scheidwimmer in Garmisch, and was sold to Knoedler and Co. in 1937.
4. According to information supplied by M. Knoedler and Co.'s librarian, Nancy Little, the painting was sold to Clendenin Ryan of New York in June 1938, and returned in February 1939, and then sold to Mr. Redmond in December of that year.
5. The earliest studies of the painter are T. von Frimmel, "Das deutsche Hieronymus-bild der Sammlung F. Lippman," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, I, 4 (June 1904), 89; and R. A. Peltzer, "Reisebriefe aus französischen Provinz-Galerien," *Blätter für Gemäldekunde*, 7/6 (Feb. 1912), 85; and P. Drey, "Der Meister W. S. mit dem Malteserkreuz," *Frimmel's Studien und Skizzen zur Gemäldekunde*, 1 (1913/15), 76. The most thorough review is that of W. Hugelshofer, "Der Meister W. S. mit dem Malteserkreuz (Ein elsass-lothringischer Maler der Baldungszeit)," *Oberrheinische Kunst*, 4 (1929-30), 48-55 (hereafter, Hugelshofer, *Meister*). Other bibliography includes F. G. Pariset, "Le couronnement d'épines du Maître à la Croix de Malte," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire d'Alsace*, 8 (1939-46), 101 (hereafter, Pariset, *Cahiers*); H. Rott, "Quellen und Forschungen zur südwest-deutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte," *Der Oberrhein*, 3 (1938), 106-111 (hereafter, Rott, *Quellen*); U. Thieme, F. Becker, and H. Vollmer, "Meister W. S. mit dem Malteserkreuz," *Allgemeines Lexicon der bildenden Künstler* (Leipzig, 1950), XXXVII, 455.
6. J. Rott, "Le Maître W. S. à la Croix de Malte, Wilhelm Stetter," *Revue d'Alsace*, 91 (1952), 122-119 (hereafter, Rott, *Maître*). Since the publication of Rott's article several other works attributed to the Master W. S. with the Maltese Cross have appeared. A *Martyrdom of St. Catherine of Alexandria* sold at Parke-Bernet (New York, March 25, 1964, no. 1) seems too weak for Stetter and its tooled background is reminiscent of that in the work of another master who comes close to Stetter, Der jüngere Zürcher Nelkenmeister, whose *Adoration of the Kings* is in the Kunsthau Zurich. The unsigned and undated *Annunciation* sold at Fischer Gallery, Lucern (November 24, 1970, no. 2264 and again on November 6, 1986, no. 1376) is a reasonable variant of one at Einsiedeln (Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 31, no. 2), and can be accepted as Stetter's. An even more elaborate *Annunciation* signed and dated 1527 is at the Städtisches Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau (inv. no. M 66/4), published in the exhibition catalogue *Die Renaissance in deutschen Südwesten Zwischen Reformation und Dreissigjährigem Krieg* (Heidelberg, 1986), 169-70, no. C5. (I am indebted to Christian Heck for this and several other references.) The two panels of the *Arrest and Discovery of the Head of St. John the Baptist*, also sold at Fischer Gallery (June 16-17, 1972, no. 388), do not seem to be by Stetter's hand. The *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* of 1522 (Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 30, no. 1) by Stetter that was formerly in the Auspitz Collection, Vienna, is now, according to Bernd Konrad, in the Fürstenberg-Sammlungen, Donaueschingen.
7. Rott, *Maître*, 113-116.
8. *Ibid.*, 117 as, "Item ein taffel, worauf adoratio regum, und bezeichnet mit der jahrzahl 1526, dan W+S."
9. *Ibid.*, 116.
10. H. Haug, *Catalogue des peintures anciennes, musée des beaux-arts de la ville de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg, 1938), 36, (hereafter, Haug, *Catalogue*). The contention that all these works come from Laxou is questioned by Pariset, *Cahiers*, 102.
11. See the exhibition catalogue *Hans Baldung Grien*, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, 1959 (Karlsruhe, 1959), 133.
12. Especially such works as the Berlin *Adoration of the Magi* and the Nuremberg *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*. See G. von der Osten, *Hans Baldung Grien: Gemälde und Dokumente* (Berlin, 1983), pls. 3, 13 (hereafter, von der Osten, *Grien*).
13. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 30, no. 2; Rott, *Maître*, 119, no. 7. (Photograph O. Zimmerman, courtesy of Musée d'Unterlinden, Colmar.)
14. *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine*, G. Ryan and H. Ripberger, eds. (New York, 1969), 61.
15. For Altdorfer's painting in Munich, see E. Ruhmer, *Albrecht Altdorfer* (Munich, 1965), pl. 37 (hereafter, Ruhmer, *Altdorfer*). For examples in the works of Hans Baldung Grien, see von der Osten, *Grien*, pl. 33.
16. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, 50.
17. Photo: Gilbert Mangin. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 28, no. 2; Rott, *Maître*, 119, no. 2.
18. A. Bartsch, *Peintre-Graveur* (Vienna, 1808; Leipzig, 1966), VII, no. 125 (hereafter Bartsch); see W. Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1963), pl. 212 (hereafter, Kurth, *Woodcuts*).
19. Photo: Gilbert Mangin. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 33, no. 1; Rott, *Maître*, 119, no. 13.
20. Haug, *Catalogue*, no. 37; Rott, *Maître*, 119 no. 17.
21. Photo: Gilbert Mangin. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 28, no. 1; Rott, *Maître*, 119, no. 18. According to Haug, *Catalogue*, 37, this work is a reduced variant of a painting in the Church of St. Peter the Younger in Strasbourg.
22. In the Bayerische Staatsgemälde. See F. Anzelewsky, *Dürer: Werk und Wirkung* (Stuttgart, 1980), 84, pl. 67, (hereafter, Anzelewsky, *Dürer*).
23. Bartsch 12; Kurth, *Woodcuts*, pl. 126.
24. See G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1971-2), II, 89 (hereafter, Schiller, *Iconography*).
25. Photo: Gilbert Mangin. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 32, no. 1; Rott, *Maître*, 119, no. 10. Another version of this subject by Stetter, dated 1548 (Wedewer Sale, Lepke, Berlin, March 17, 1908 no. 50) places the scene in front of a much more elaborate architectural setting. This work may be the same as the one assigned to 1547 by Rott (*Maître*, 119, no.20).
26. Bartsch 9; Kurth *Woodcuts*, pl. 123.
27. Bartsch 81; Kurth, *Woodcuts*, pl. 179.
28. Formerly at Strasbourg; see von der Osten, *Grien*, pl. 119.
29. Rott, *Maître*, 119, no. 14; *Deutsche Kunst und Kultur zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg*, National Museum for Western Art (Tokyo, 1987), 81, no. 33 (exhibition catalogue).
30. This painting 49.5 x 34.8 cm (12 1/2 x 13 3/4 in.) is signed with the monogram and dated on the left base of the arched doorway in the middleground. In the catalogue of the Sotheby's sale (London, April 8, 1987, no. 28) the date is given as "1523" and there is no provenance. The painting, however, was formerly in the Hohenzollern Collection at Sigmaringen and later with the Mathiesen Gallery, London. See F. Lehner, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde zu*

- Sigmaringen* (1883), no. 26; Rott, *Quellen*, 106 and 110, fig. 59; and Rott, *Maitre*, 119, no. 1. All these sources give the date as 1513, but on close examination the abraded date seems to be 1523 which is also stylistically more reasonable.
31. Dated 1498–1503 in the Bayerische Staatsgemälde, Munich; see Anzelewsky, *Dürer*, pl. 69.
32. Bartsch 2; Anzelewsky, *Dürer*, fig. 89.
33. E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton, 1943), 84.
34. For examples by Altdorfer, see Ruhmer, *Altdorfer*, pls. 53–54, 146; for one by Hans von Kulmbach, of 1511 in Berlin, see C. Glaser, *Die altdeutsche Malerei* (Munich, 1924), fig. 237; and in the works of Wolf Huber, see F. Winzinger, *Wolf Huber: Das Gesamtwerk* (Munich, 1979), II, pls. 262 and 263, 282 and 284.
35. In the *Adoration of the Shepherds* and the *Adoration of the Magi* from his *Life of the Virgin* series, see Bartsch nos. 85 and 87. See Kurth, *Woodcuts*, pls. 183 and 185.
36. Schiller, *Iconography*, II, 228–9.
37. This somewhat unusual motif also occurs in an early sixteenth-century German painting of the *Nativity* at the Lyndon Baines Johnson Library and Museum, Austin, Texas.
38. This and other similarities can be found in the *Adoration* of 1552 formerly attributed to Andreas Giltner in the Rosgartenmuseum, Konstanz.
39. Bartsch 90; Kurth, *Woodcuts*, pl. 188.
40. Schiller, *Iconography*, I, 81.
41. Hugelshofer, *Meister*, pl. 29, no. 2 at which time it was in a private collection, Lucern; it is dated ca. 1516 by Rott, *Maitre*, 119, no. 5.
42. This separation of the black king is not a unique occurrence. A suggestion of it is found in Dürer's 1504 *Adoration of the Magi* in the Uffizi, where the black king is kept off to the right, and, as in Stetter's painting, the middle king turns toward him with a somewhat dismissive attitude. See Anzelewsky, *Dürer*, pl. 107. This division of the kings is made even more clearly in Netherlandish painting of the sixteenth century, as, for example, in triptychs of the *Adoration of the Magi* by Pieter Coeck van Aelst and his workshop in which the black king is isolated in one of the wings. See M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Leyden, 1975), XII, fig. 149a, and also an example in The Walters Art Gallery, acc. no. 37.254.