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CONTENTS

A Gilt Bronze Guanyin from the Nanzhao Kingdom of Yunnan: Hybrid Art from the Southwestern Frontier
ANGELA FALCO HOWARD 1

The Life of the Buddha in the Pāla Monastic Environment
HIRAM W. WOODWARD, JR. 13

A Matrix from Panticapaeum
MICHAIL JU. TREISTER 29

The Earliest Eleousa: A Coptic Ivory in the Walters Art Gallery
ROBERT P. BERGMAN 37

Modular Assemblages: Reconstructing the Choir Clerestory Glazing of Soissons Cathedral
MADELINE H. CAVINESS 57

A Terracotta *Joseph* Attributed to Civitale: Its Authenticity Vindicated
JOANEATH A. SPICER 69

Some Cretan Icons in the Walters Art Gallery
MARIA VASSILAKI 75

Jaume Cascalls. Un Nombre para el Maestro del Triptico de Baltimore
ROSA ALCOY 93

A Gilt Bronze Guanyin from the Nanzhao Kingdom of Yunnan: Hybrid Art from the Southwestern Frontier

Angela Falco Howard

Two major aspects of the Walters gilt bronze Guanyin are considered: its place of origin and date. The provenance is established by its similarity with the art of Yunnan, where the importance of the cult of Guanyin determined novel stylistic and iconographic features. The execution of the work is ascribed to the Nanzhao Kingdom, to the last part of the ninth century. This attribution is based on two historical factors: First is the consolidation of Buddhist teaching, which reached Yunnan from the southwest and was vigorously supported by the Nanzhao royal family. Second is the raid on Chengdu, the Sichuan capital, in the winter of 829/30, which resulted in an influx of skilled craftsmen to Yunnan.

The gilt bronze of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, Guanyin in Chinese, in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1a–d) is beautifully crafted and aesthetically very pleasing but has not received the attention it deserves, probably due to the reluctance of art historians to face the challenge of identifying its provenance, dating, and significance. This reluctance is likely caused by the fact that the sculpture is very uncommon. Although there is consensus that it is Chinese, no one has been able to prove convincingly from which geographical area it comes.

In the last decade, the field of Chinese Buddhist art has widened considerably with the excavation of new evidence. Greater possibilities for travel in China have also brought to our attention monuments and carvings which had previously gone unnoticed. The Buddhist art now accessible in southwestern China makes possible the study of this Guanyin. In the following pages, two major aspects are considered: the place of origin and the dating of the sculpture. Because there is no inscription to rely on, the conclusions rest on comparisons with the art available for study in the province of Yunnan (the supposed place of origin) and on the textual evidence recording the history of this area.

Identity and Origin of the Sculpture

We begin with a description of the piece. It is unusually tall, about 43 cm., and gives the impression of compact solidity because the deity's arms are held close to the body (fig. 1a). Like most bronze sculpture it is hollow. The modeling of the front is extremely accurate: no detail was overlooked in rendering the well-formed body, the elegant drapery, and jewelry. In contrast, the back is planklike, its surface smooth and polished (fig. 1b). Body forms, drapery, and ornament are totally neglected in the back. It is obvious that the sculpture is meant to be experienced frontally. The pedestal upon which it must have stood is no longer extant.

Body and limbs are sensitively rendered. No nipples mark the torso, yet there is a clear definition of a youthful chest tapering at the waist. Below the waist, beneath a profusion of pleats, one is aware of the slight swelling of the upper thighs and the slight forward position of the flexed left leg.

The deity wears a *dhoti*, or long skirt, made of heavy cloth and draped to form deeply cut, arched

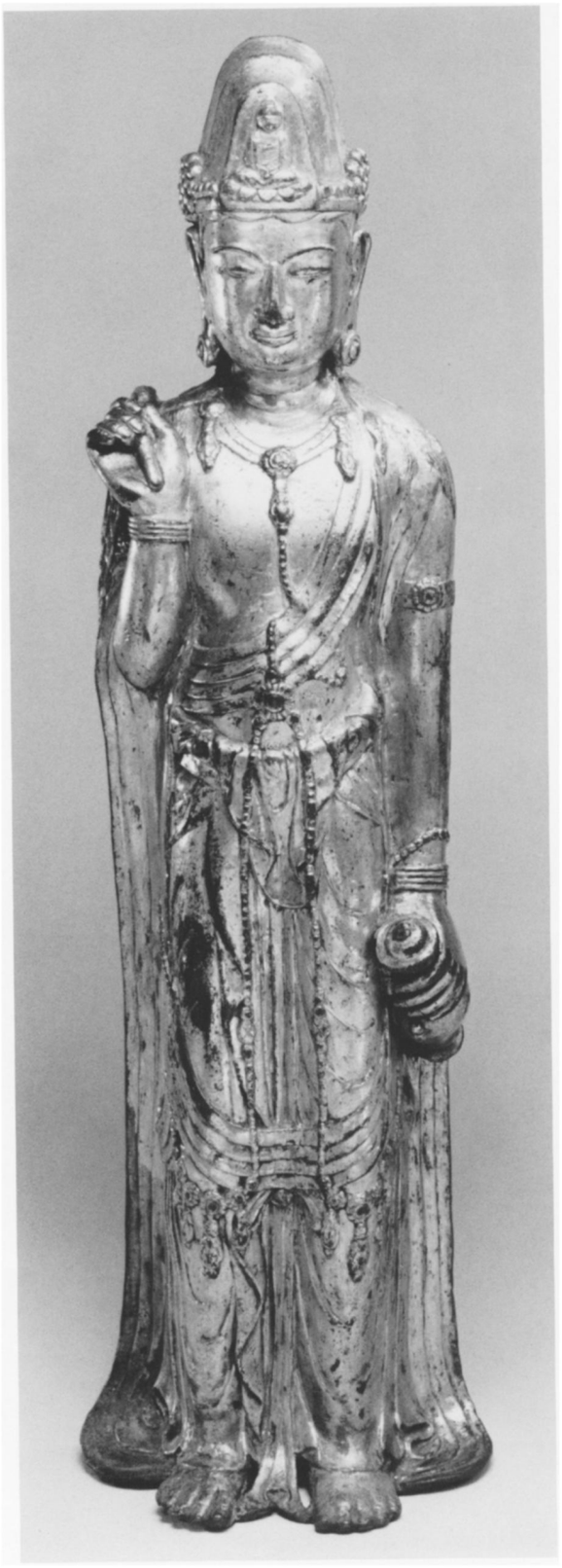






Fig. 1a. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, gilt bronze, Nanzhao Kingdom (Yunnan), 9th century, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.1345.
Fig. 1b (top right). Detail of back.
Fig. 1c (right). Detail of head.

patterns on the thighs and legs. The *dhoti* is kept in place by a wide belt, tied in front, whose ends fall between the legs to a fishtail shape between the feet. The upper part of the *dhoti* folds over in front to cover the abdomen. The *udarabandha,* or stomach band, crosses the torso diagonally. The last item of clothing is an unusually long stole, of the same width as the stomach band. It is draped over the shoulders to form a U-shaped loop at knee level; from the shoulders the ends fall right and left of the sculpture as a solid cascade of cloth, widening and curving as they reach the ground. The stole is functional as well as decorative, acting as a frame for the image and stabilizing it.

The fairly wide face with deeply cut features is striking in its nobility. Above the face is an eccentric headdress worn over hair that is piled high. This is formed by three sections of a material that suggests a stiff and thick cloth (felt?). In back the cap adheres closely to the head and neck (fig. 1c). Above the shoulder blades the cap divides and the ends cover the shoulders as a caplet, decorated by a large whorl. Long, stylized strands of hair emerge from the cap at equal intervals. The headdress is kept in place by a wide, closely fitting band, studded with beads and embellished with large rosettes over each ear. Above the forehead, the band supports the image of Buddha Amitābha seated in meditation on a lotus.

The figure wears a moderate amount of jewelry. From the center of the rather plain necklace hangs a long strand of beads forming an unusual loop that is carefully tucked under the *udarabandha.* Emerging, the beads are linked above the abdomen to a large flower, which, in turn, supports two chains with pendant jewels that hang below the knees (fig. 1d). Other ornaments are earrings, an armband, and bracelets on both wrists (on the left both a beaded and plain one).

In the left hand the figure carries the *kamaṇḍalu,* water pot with spout, and in the right a willow branch, both implements commonly associated with Guanyin. The presence of the Buddha on the headdress further confirms the Guanyin identification. This iconographic type was very popular during Tang (618–907) and is well represented both in sculpture and painting. Good examples include the silk banner from Dunhuang, dated 910, whose inscription reads, "Praise to the Great Merciful, Great Compassionate Savior from Hardships Guanyin Bodhisattva" (fig. 2), and the stone sculpture dated 759, also called "Savior from Hardships," in niche 87 of the Southern Cliff at Bazhong,[a] Sichuan (fig. 3). The Dunhuang Guanyin, the Sichuan Guanyin, and the one studied here all share the same implements, attire, and ornaments.[1]



Fig. 1d. Detail of fig. 1a, front.



Fig. 2. *Bodhisattva Guanyin,* ink and colors on silk, from Dunhuang, 910, Five Dynasties, London, British Museum (from R. Whitfield, *Arts of Central Asia* [Tokyo,1983], fig. 7).



Fig. 3. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, red sandstone, dated 759, Niche 87, Southern Cliff, Bazhong, Sichuan.

The Guanyin in the Walters is rare but not unique. In the early decades of this century, two other gilt bronzes, similar in both style and size, were in private collections, though their present whereabouts are now unknown (figs. 4 and 5). Neither had an inscription. A third related example, also without inscription, was acquired by the Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, Cologne (fig. 6a and 6b) in 1985. This gilt bronze Guanyin, although clearly related to the Walters piece in iconography, style, and size (43.5 cm. height), also shows noticeable differences in facial expression, in the arrangement and ornateness of the jewelry, and in the greater detailing of the back.[2]

A fourth example, of great importance to the current discussion since its iconography proves that this Guanyin type was popular in Yunnan, is a gilt bronze plaque (21 cm. high by 17.5 cm. wide) formerly in the collection of Charles B. Hoyt and now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 7). On the plaque are embossed three images: a monk flanked by two Guanyin Bodhisattvas. The monk holds a bowl with three jewels (?) in his left hand and with the right hand performs a variant of the "fear-not gesture" with two fingers raised, the other folded. This monk is an important, supernatural figure in the local history of Yunnan. The two identical Guanyin accompanying him are strikingly close to the image under study.[3]

The monk, no other than an incarnation of Guanyin, reached Yunnan from India in the middle of the seventh century. At that time, Yunnan's population was loosely organized and consisted of several indigenous, ethnically differentiated tribes. The six tribes of Man[b] people (Bai and Wu[c] Man) living in western Yunnan, especially in the area of the Erhai[d] Lake, were beginning to emerge as the constituent members of the future Nanzhao[e] Kingdom. According to legend, the holy monk with his dog appeared to the Meng[f] family, namely to the wife and daughter-in-law of the man who would become King Xinulo[g] (reigned 653–74). They fed the monk and gave him two bolts of cloth, which he bound around his head. To express his gratitude, the monk prophesied that the Meng would be the founders of the Nanzhao monarchy. Afterwards, while proselytizing in Yunnan, he also bestowed a special effigy of Guanyin, the "Founder of the Kingdom," known also as the "Luck of Yunnan." The earliest document narrating and illustrating this legend is the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*[h] (*Illustrated History of Nanzhao*), a handscroll dated 947 in the Fujii Yurinkan[i] Collection, Kyoto. It is a copy of the lost original painted in 899, at the end of the Nanzhao Kingdom.[4]

In the *Illustrated History*, the monk is portrayed several times. In his last appearance, he manifests himself in his true nature, carrying on his head the Guanyin effigy he had bestown on Nanzhao (fig. 8). Since he is





Fig. 4. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, gilt bronze, Nanzhao Kingdom (Yunnan), 9th century, *olim* Torio Tokuanshi coll., Japan (from S. Omura, *Shina bijutsushi, chōso hen* [Tokyo, 1915], fig. 643).

Fig. 5. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, gilt bronze, Nanzhao Kingdom (Yunnan), 9th century, *olim* Kleijkamp coll., United States, (from J. Kleijkamp, *The Santa Barbara Museum of Art, An Exhibition of Masterpieces of Ancient China* [New York, 1941], fig. 7).





Fig. 6a. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, gilt bronze, Yunnan, 13th to early 14th century, Cologne, Museum für Ostasiatische Kunst, no. C85, 2.

Fig. 6b. Rear of figure 6a.

Guanyin incarnate, he also holds the bottle and willow. He wears a cap fashioned like that worn by the monk on the Boston plaque. This very same monk is carved on the cliff at Shizhongshan,[j] near Jianchuan[k] (fig. 9), where the Nanzhao royalty sponsored a complex of niches and caves in the ninth century (see infra). Here, the monk is shown holding a bowl and is accompanied by his dog. Next to the monk is an inscription with the date 1179. In summary, the monk portrayed in the plaque is a likeness of the celebrated Holiness; his two Guanyin attendants (why two is still inexplicable) are the same as the Walters bronze. The latter's provenance, consequently, is Yunnan.

A painting of Guanyin (fig. 10) in the *Fanxiang zhuan*[l] (*Long Roll of Buddhist Images*) is the last example in this sequence of related images. The *Long Roll*, painted by Zhang Shengwen[m] between 1173 and 1176 for the Emperor Li Zhen[n] of the Later Li[o] Kingdom, is the most celebrated art work of Yunnan. The Guanyin portrayed in panel 101 is recognized as an indigenous manifestation of the deity. The cartouche identifies him with the familiar appellation, "Savior from Hardships." The similarities between the *Long Roll* figure and the Walters sculpture are several: the implements carried (bottle and willow), the jewelry (beads partially hidden by the chest band and forming a loop), and the frontal rigidity. The similarity, however, does not extend to the headdress. The panel does, though, offer an additional clue. The painter has placed Guanyin in a specific landscape setting. Behind Guanyin one recognizes the Dianzang[p] Mountains, shielding Dali[q] in the west; in front lies Lake Erhai with its two tributaries. Identification of this lake is unmistakable, because of its ear shape and because it is inhabited, as shown, by a legendary golden fish with a wheel on its head and a golden conch, the two kept apart by two poisonous snakes. This Guanyin was likely the tutelary deity of Dali.[5]

The evidence discussed has shown that iconographically the Walters Guanyin is related to several Yunnanese artifacts. A technical feature, furthermore, links it to the same geographical milieu. Yunnanese sculptures of Guanyin have a peculiar back: they are not modeled, and their smooth, flat surfaces have two square openings in the upper and lower torso, used to place devotional objects into the hollow body. The back of the head, likewise, lacks detail. A rear view of the Guanyin Luck of Yunnan in the Fine Arts Gallery, San Diego, dated between 1147 and 1172 (fig. 11),[6] offers a comparison.



Fig. 7. *Triad of Monk and Two Guanyin Bodhisattvas*, gilt bronze plaque, Nanzhao Kingdom (Yunnan), 9th century, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 50.1404, bequest of Charles B. Hoyt.

Guanyin was the most revered deity in Yunnan during the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms (seventh to thirteenth century), judging from the number of extant images and available records. Among the six hundred cult implements found in Dali, in 1978, in the course of restoring the tallest of the three pagodas, eighty are representations of Guanyin. The sculptures were executed in all kinds of media—bronze, silver, crystal, wood, celadon, and even solid gold. They come in all sizes and represent different iconographic types. In Yunnan, various images of Guanyin are found. In addition to the celebrated Luck of Yunnan, protector of the kingdom at large, there were Guanyin as tutelary gods of specific places, such as the Guanyin in panel 101 of the *Long Roll* and, very likely, the Walters Guanyin. We know that during Nanzhao, at least six cities (most of them in the Erhai area) were successively chosen as royal residences and centers of political power.[7]

Literary sources also speak of Guanyin's importance in Yunnan. In the *Nanzhao yeshi*[r] (*Unofficial History of Nanzhao*), one reads that during the reign of Shun Huazehn,[s] in the year 900, a six-*zhang* (approximately 20-meter) Guanyin was cast for the Chongsheng[t] Temple of Dali. The casting was sponsored by the Chief Minister, Cheng Maisi,[u] together with sixteen other principals. The image was fashioned by Li Jiating,[v] a native of Sichuan. The information found in the Ming gazetteer, *Dian shiji*[w] (*Explanatory Record of Dian*), on the same subject gives more details, but sets the events about seventy-five years earlier, when the temple was built under Fengyou[x] (reigned 823–59). The details are as follows: When Li Xian built the Chongsheng Temple, he wished also to make a likeness of the Mahāsattva Guanyin, but could not for lack of metal. The monks of Dali scouted the town and its surroundings gathering all that was available. In the night a violent downpour occurred, and at day break everyone rose to see that around the temple metal was streaming everywhere. Thus a standing Guanyin, eight meters tall (a discrepancy with the previous text) could be cast. Because of such legendary circumstance, this Guanyin was known as the "Rain Copper Guanyin." Restored several times, it was still extant at the start of this century.[8] From the inadequate photograph exhibited in



Fig. 9. *His Holiness, the Monk Incarnation of Guanyin*, red sandstone, Later Dali Kingdom (Yunnan), possibly 1179, Shizhongshan, Jianchuan.



Fig. 8. *His Holiness, the Monk Incarnation of Guanyin*, detail from *Illustrated History of Nanzhao*, ink and color on paper, Later Dali Kingdom (Yunnan), 947, Kyoto, Fujii Yurinkan (from L.Z. Li, *Nanzhao Daliguo xin ciliao de zonghe yanjiu* [Taipei, 1967], 135).

the Xiaguan Museum, Yunnan, it is impossible to determine its original appearance or to decide whether the Rain Copper is the same Guanyin as painted in panel 101 of the *Long Roll* (fig. 10). It is equally impossible to establish whether the Walters Guanyin (which has several affinities with the Guanyin of panel 101) is a miniature of the Dali icon. The likelihood is, however, tantalizing.

No clearer understanding of the enormous popularity of Guanyin in Nanzhao can be gained than by reading the *Baiguo yinyou*[2] (*Origin of the Bai People*), a



Fig. 10. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, Panel 101 from the *Long Roll of Buddhist Images*, ink and color on paper, by Zhang Shengwen, Dali Kingdom (Yunnan), 1173–76, Tapei, National Palace Museum (from Li, *Nanzhao Daliguo*, 111).



Fig. 11. *Bodhisattva Guanyin*, gilt bronze, back, Late Dali Kingdom (Yunnan), 1142–72, San Diego, Fine Arts Gallery (from Li, *Nanzhao Daliguo*, 72).

late seventeenth-century compendium of legend tied to the Bai people, who formed the majority of the Nanzhao population. This booklet describes eighteen miraculous apparitions of Guanyin. I summarize a few. As an old man, Guanyin appeared to exhort the primitive inhabitants of Dali to mend their ways and convert. As an Indian monk, he manifested himself to the Meng family (this is the story painted in the aforementioned *Illustrated History of Nanzhao*). As an old monk, during Xinulo's reign (653–74), Guanyin promised the Pure Land and liberation from the torments of hell to his followers. As an Indian monk, Guanyin converted those who tried to kill him by fire. As a beggar traveling with his white dog, Guanyin was denied food, and his dog was eaten. When the tormentors' cruelty proved to be of no avail, Guanyin manifested himself as a beautiful maiden to whom these coarse people submitted. As an old man, Guanyin underwent all

sorts of torments: cut in pieces, burned, his ashes placed in a hollow bamboo thrown in a river. The old man came back from all these deaths even stronger to confound his wicked persecutors. As an old Indian accompanied by his dog, Guanyin was maltreated. First the dog was killed and eaten, and the same treatment intended for its owner, but Guanyin called back the dog from the thieves' bellies, causing them such dreadful pains they had to repent. Some manifestations are linked to historical events. Around 750, during the reign of Kolofeng[aa] the Tang military governor tyrannized the Yunnanese. The Nanzhao king had the governor murdered, but the Tang army retaliated and moved against Yunnan. Guanyin appeared then as an old man and gave instructions to fashion an eleven-headed Guanyin, who assisted Nanzhao to victory. During the tenth century, when Dali was again threatened by the Han army, Guanyin appeared as an old woman carrying a heavy stone on her back and convinced the army to desist from attacking Dali.

The naiveté which pervades all these stories indicates that the cult of Guanyin had penetrated Nanzhao society to its lowest strata. Even the most humble and ignorant, whose circumstances did not differ greatly from those of savages, knew Guanyin's boundless power.[9]

Chronology: Reasons for a Tang Date

The prevailing tendency to ascribe most Yunnanese art to the sponsorship of the Dali kings (945–1253), who ruled simultaneously with the Song emperors, stems from the fact that the two well-known Yunnanese masterpieces, the *Long Roll of Buddhist Images* and the San Diego Guanyin, are firmly dated to this period. However, in order to date more accurately Yunnanese Buddhist art, including the Walters Guanyin, it is worthwhile to consider the growth of the earlier Nanzhao Kingdom (653–902) under its local leaders, the contemporary ascent of Buddhism, and the support given by the Nanzhao kings to Buddhism. The historical events reveal that the Nanzhao period was far more innovative and dynamic than its successor, the Dali. Indeed, the contributions of the earlier period to Buddhist art are more far-reaching than has been generally assumed.

Between the mid-seventh century and the beginning of the tenth, Nanzhao evolved from a cluster of barbarian tribes, concentrated around Erhai Lake in western Yunnan, to a full-fledged kingdom that was respected and also feared by China and other bordering countries—Tibet, Burma, and Thailand. The humble beginnings of Nanzhao have already been alluded to in this paper. The future king was ploughing the fields in the Dali plain when the Indian monk, Guanyin's incarnation, tried the goodness of his family. Having been fed and clothed, the monk rewarded them with the prophecy of their being the founders of the Nanzhao Kingdom. Actually, the unification of the tribes in western Yunnan did not take place until the mid-eighth century under King Piloko,[ab] in 738 he was recognized as "King of Yunnan" by the Tang emperor. By the end of his reign, Piloko had become a rival of Chinese interests in the southwest.[10]

Kolofeng (reigned 748–79), the son of Piloko, occupies the place of a hero in Nanzhao history. He was an intelligent and shrewd leader who devised a strategy to survive Chinese might by forming a strong alliance with Tibet. In 751, the Tibetan monarch recognized him as his "cadet brother." Throughout the eighth century, contacts between the two kingdoms were frequent, especially via the route northwest of Lijiang,[ac] which is still accessible today. The asperities of the mountainous terrain and dangerous river crossings were conquered by building daring bridges suspended with iron chains. Made confident by the Tibetan alliance, Kolofeng repeatedly attacked the Tang troops stationed in Sichuan, justifying his policy in a famous stele inscription erected in Dali. The Tang army's morale and strength were then at low ebb, frustrated by several unsuccessful punitive campaigns mounted against Nanzhao. In contrast, Kolofeng had so much confidence in his army that in 762 he attacked the Pyu[ad] Kingdom of upper Burma. During the eighth century, the Tibetan alliance made Nanzhao stronger and kept it independent.[11]

A realignment occurred in the 790s when Yimouxun[ae] (reigned 779–808), the grandson of Kolofeng, renounced the Tibetan alliance and pledged loyalty to the Tang. For the next half century (until 759), the youth of the royal house and the nobility of Nanzhao went to Chengdu,[af] Sichuan's sophisticated capital, to be educated. It is therefore surprising that in the winter of 829 Nanzhao staged a very successful raid in Sichuan, occupying Chengdu for a few days and then retreating with thousands, perhaps four thousand, captives. Among them figured prominently skilled laborers—textile workers, builders, and carvers. Throughout the ninth century, emboldened by its military successes against Sichuan, Nanzhao began its thrust into southeast Asia, Khmer territory, and Annam, attracted by the exotic riches of these areas. In 902, however, the entire royal family of

the Meng was wiped out by a usurper, and the Nanzhao Kingdom came to an end. The incessant campaigns may have sapped its strength.[12]

The growth of Buddhism in Yunnan parallels Nanzhao's political consolidation and power. The presence of Buddhism is officially recorded during the reign of Shenglopi[ag] (712–28). In 714, the Nanzhao envoy to the Tang court, Zhang Jiancheng,[ah] received from the Emperor Xüan Zong[ai] an image of Buddha, which he brought back to the Nanzhao king. This gift may represent the beginning in Yunnan of the Buddhist beliefs already practiced in northern China.[13]

Prior to this, however, another brand of Buddhism had probably already entered Nanzhao. The Guanyin legends previously recalled prove the existence of a special brand of Buddhism. The monks of these legends suggest the presence in Yunnan of proselytizers. These thaumaturgs, miracle makers, not bound by monastic vows, and allowed to marry if they so wished, were called "Achali.[aj]" Living in the wilderness, the Achali performed deeds beneficial to mankind, relying on magic spells similar to Tantric mantras. These practices were acceptable to the natives since they did not collide with their shamanistic beliefs. The Achali bring to mind the Indian cult of the Mahāsiddhas, charismatic adepts who scorned orthodox behavior but whose mission was to spread Buddhist teaching and to benefit mankind with their magical powers. This cult began spreading from India by 700. Afterwards, Tibet was particularly receptive to it. From Tibet it may have reached Yunnan during the eighth century, when the two countries were closely allied. This form of Buddhism may have entered Yunnan prior to the official coming of northern Buddhism, and it is likely that the two brands of Buddhism grew side by side.[14]

The presence and impact of traditional Buddhism on Yunnan is visible in the sponsorship of Buddhist monuments and art by the royal house. The king who stands out for his role as munificent benefactor is Fengyou (reigned 823–59). According to the Nanzhao *Unofficial History*, in 825 there was feverish work to complete the complex of buildings of the Chongsheng Temple in the capital of Dali. This complex is no longer extant but was then the most important temple in the kingdom. The monk Li Chengmei[ak] built three tower pagodas, and the monastery had 11,400 Buddha images and 890 rooms. Fengyou's building activity extended also to the eastern capital, modern-day Kunming, where two pagodas were erected which are still standing. In 828, a Buddha shrine was fashioned using five thousand ounces of silver. In 829, a monumental Parinirvāṇa was carved in the cliff of Yongchang.[al] Under Fengyou, Buddhism may have become a state religion since Daoism was abolished. At the court, belief in Buddhism was so intense that the king's mother and even his chief concubine (mother of the royal heir) became nuns.[15]

Because of the intensity of faith permeating Fengyou's household and his sponsorship of major Buddhist monuments, I would propose that the majority of Shizhongshan cliff carvings, near Jianchuan, were also executed during his reign. These are the most important cliff sculptures in Yunnan, about 100 km. north of the royal residence of Dali. The thirty-seven grottoes and niches are scattered in three different locations; the greatest concentration of sculpture is at Shizhongshan. Here are carved both Buddhist deities and Nanzhao kings giving audience or in more intimate settings with their families. The earliest inscription is dated 850, during Fengyou's reign. The style at Shizhongshan is homogeneous and related to late Tang; thus I see no reason to ascribe this project to the Duan[am] family, the founders of the Dali Kingdom. Why would this family have wanted to glorify the Meng kings Xinulo, Kolofeng, and Yimouxun, who are all carved on the cliffs? Surely, it was King Fengyou who immortalized them, being proud of his ancestors.[16]

It was also under the reign of Fengyou, in the winter of 829/830, as already mentioned, that the Nanzhao army invaded Sichuan and conquered Chengdu. It is important to reflect on the implications of this historical event on the Buddhist art of Yunnan. It was a short-lived invasion; the invaders stayed no longer than ten days in the western quarters of the city, then retreated. Thus, the offensive was not motivated by territorial ambition, but rather by the desire to acquire Sichuan's riches. Although sources differ concerning the number of captives, all agree that among them were skilled artisans. Tang dynastic histories note that from that time on Nanzhao matched the Tang court in the arts and crafts. The surge of Buddhist zeal that culminated under King Fengyou undoubtedly took advantage of the craftsmen who had been dragged south from sophisticated Chengdu to Dali. The successful invasion is responsible for the increase in Buddhist art. It stands to reason, therefore, that the Guanyin under investigation was also cast during these creative years, although a date later in the ninth century is also quite possible, since Fengyou's successors maintained the same stand toward Buddhism. King Longxun[an] (reigned 877–97) even



Fig. 12. *King Kolofeng and His Court*, red sandstone, Nanzhao Kingdom (Yunnan), 9th century, Shizhongshan, Jianchuan.

called himself "Mahārāja" and "Cakravartin," Universal Monarch, declaring openly his Buddhist faith.[17]

Before concluding we should briefly consider why the Guanyin should not be assigned to northern China during Tang. The squarish proportions of the face, the rigid verticality of the figure and its compactness, and the flat, unformed back are all characteristic of Yunnanese work. But the most telling evidence is the figure's headdress. This extraordinary cap has no equal in northern China. It reflects, likely, the headgear of one of the Nanzhao tribes. Nanzhao kings had extravagant taste when it came to hats, judging from those worn by Kolofeng and his ministers in the Shizhongshan relief (fig. 12). In the *Manshu*[ao] there is unusual stress on how the hair is worn and what kind of caps are used. In the section discussing the products of Yunnan, one learns of a special thread gathered from the *polo*[ap](?) tree, which is woven to form a "cage head" (no description is supplied) worn both by men and women. In the section on men's customs, the idea is repeated but here we read that their "head bag" is peculiar and strange. We are told that the men gather their hair in a single hair knot that is wrapped inside the head bag. Guanyin's cap may reflect this cage head or head bag.[18]

Conclusions

The gilt bronze Guanyin in the Walters Art Gallery was cast in the Nanzhao kingdom, present-day Yunnan, during the ninth century. In this period, corresponding to the late Tang, faith in Buddhism and patronage of Buddhist art reached unprecedented heights under the reign of King Fengyou and his successors. This type of Guanyin may have occupied a special place, may have carried a special meaning in the Nanzhao kingdom, since in the Hoyt plaque it is associated with the supernatural Indian monk who visited the kingdom at its inception. From this association, a number of inferences are possible. This Guanyin was perhaps the focus of a cult that was an alternate to that of the Guanyin Luck of Yunnan; perhaps it was the object of another competing cult, one which did not find the same favor. This Guanyin could also be a tutelary god of Dali, favorite residence of Nanzhao royalty, on account of its similarity with the Guanyin of panel 101 in the *Long Roll of Buddhist Images*. If the figure is not to be associated with Dali, it might be the tutelary god of another location in Nanzhao. At present, one cannot be more precise for lack of both textual and visual evidence.

Guanyin's attributes and jewelry are the same as those found on the type of Guanyin that was revered on a national scale in China, especially in the second half of Tang. There are, however, exclusively Yunnanese features in the figure. The facial expression appears to be inspired by a local ethnic type and the unusual headdress likely copies a tribal headgear.

In the title, I have used the adjective "hybrid" to express the idea that this frontier state, because of geographic and historical circumstance, came in contact with several different cultures. Nanzhao benefited in varying degrees from each contact. Tang China, its most powerful neighbor, exercised the strongest influence, but the role of Tibet, which needs further study, should not be underestimated, especially in the transmission of a special brand of Esoteric Buddhist teaching. The southeast Asian countries, Burma, Thailand, and Vietnam, acted as mediators of Indian contributions, not investigated here. Nanzhao was able to take advantage of what each country had to offer to enrich its own heritage. The blending of all produced a hybrid art of which the Walters Guanyin is a good example.

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NOTES

I wish to thank Dr. Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., Curator of Asian Art, the Walters Art Gallery, for his assistance in the preparation of this article. I also wish to acknowledge the support of the Asian Cultural Council, New York, which enabled me to travel and do research in Yunnan in the winter 1989/90.

1. This iconography stems from the well-known *Lotus Sutra*, chapter 25, "The All-sidedness of the Bodhisattva Guanyin," in which the deity assumes as many as 33 guises to rescue those in need. M. Murase, "Guan-Yin as Savior of Men," *Artibus Asiae*, 33, 1/2 (1971), 399–74. The Guanyin painting from Dunhuang is published by R. Whitfield, *The Art of Central Asia* (Tokyo, 1983), 2, fig. 7.

2. S. Omura, *Shina bijutsushi, chōso hen* (*Chinese Art History, Compilation of Sculpture*) (Tokyo, 1915), fig. 643, dates the Guanyin in the Japanese collection Northern Qi (ca. 575). J. Kleijkamp, *The Santa Barbara Museum of Art. An Exhibition of Masterpieces of Ancient China* (New York, 1941), fig. 7, dates his Guanyin Tang, ca. 800. R. Goepper, "Guanyin mit dem Weidenzweig," *Wallraf-Richartz Jarhbuch*, 47 (1986), 35–44, dates the Cologne Guanyin Yüan, 13th to early 14th century. The later date may account for the stylistic differences. Otherwise, are the differences to be ascribed to the existence of more than one workshop fashioning this icon?

3. H.C. Tseng and R.P. Dart, *The Charles B. Hoyt Collection* (Boston, 1964), 157, label the plaque "Taoist Trinity(?)" and date it Tang. The plaque may originally have been kept in a shrine and was perhaps complemented by additional images now lost.

4. The *Nanzhao tuzhuan* is discussed by L.Z. Li, *Nanzhao Daliguo xin ciliao de zonghe yanjiu* (*A Study of the Nanzhao and Dali Kingdoms in the Light of Art Materials Found in Various Museums*) (Taipei, 1967); also by H.B. Chapin, revised by A.C. Soper, *A Long Roll of Buddhist Images* (Ascona, 1972), 10–41. Chapin and Soper translate the text of the scroll and discuss at length the miraculous events connected with the monk.

5. The legend of Lake Erhai is also illustrated and described in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan*. The *Long Roll* is studied by the scholars mentioned in note 4 and by M. Matsumoto, *Chang Sheng-Wen's Long Roll of Buddhist Images* (Ann Arbor, U.M.I.), Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1976.

6. The first scholar to bring to the world's attention much of Yunnan Buddhist art, including the gilt bronze Guanyin Luck of Yunnan, is H.B. Chapin, "Yunnanese Images of Avalokiteśvara," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 8 (1944), 131–86. Chapin was also the first to use the appellation "Luck of Yunnan". See also M.T. de Mallmann, "Notes sur les bronzes du Yunnan représentant Avalokiteśvara," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 14 (1951), 567–601. Both scholars ascribe the Guanyin Luck of Yunnan images to Southern Song, 12th century, on the basis of the San Diego example, which so far is the only dated bronze. I believe that this dating should be qualified in view of the fact that this iconographic type is already present in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* scroll, originally painted in 899. It means that this type of Guanyin was already available in the ninth century, perhaps earlier. Being the tutelary god of Yunnan's native monarchy, it was afterward reproduced without significant alterations. It is more probable to assume that of all the Guanyin gilt bronzes available, some could have been cast earlier than Southern Song, during Tang.

7. Archaeological Team of Yunnan Province, "Dali Chongshengsi san ta zhutade shice he qingli (Survey and Clearing of the Main Pagoda (among the Three at the Chongsheng Temple in Dali)," *Kaogu Xuebao*, 2 (1981), 245–67. Dali and Xiaguan Museums, ed. "Xiaguanshi Fotuta shice he qingli baogao (Report on the Investigation and Clearing of the Buddhist Pagoda at Xiaguan)," *Wenwu*, 7 (1986), 50–55. G.Y. Fang, *Zhongguo Xinan lishi dili kaoshi* (*Investigation of the History and Geography of China's Southwest*) (Beijing, 1987), 1, 436–41, gives the historical background for the change of capitals.

8. The *Nanzhao yeshi* was compiled by the Ming scholar Yang Shen in 1550 and revised by Hou Wei in 1775. I have used the translation of this text by C. Sainson, *Nan-tchao ye che, Histoire particuliére du Nan-tchao* (Paris, 1904) 79 (hereafter, Sainson, *Nan-tchao*). The reference in the *Dian shiji* is quoted in *Yunnan difanzhi Fojiao cailiao suobian* (*Simple Compilation of Buddhist Evidence from Yunnan Gazetteers*) (Kunming, 1986), 18. A faint reproduction of the Dali Rain Copper Guanyin is in K.S. Li and Q.F. Qi, *Nanzhao shihua* (*Conversations on Nanzhao History*) (Kunming, 1984), 119 (hereafter, Li and Qi, *Nanzhao shihua*).

9. The *Baiguo yinyou* was compiled in 1707 by Jiyu[aq] and consists of one long chapter in eighteen sections. I used the edition in the Dali Library published by the Yunnan Bai Minority Press (Baoshan, 1984). The hostilities between Nanzhao and Tang actually took place in 750–51. Guanyin's popularity is also evident in the following custom peculiar to Yunnan. Guanyin's devotees when donating an image or having a sutra copied to acquire merits, prefixed their name with that of Guanyin. See Q. Ye, "Dali fang guji (Diary of a Visit to Dali)," *Wenwu*, 8 (1961), 53.

10. For the history of Nanzhao I have relied primarily on C. Backus, *The Nan-Chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier* (Cambridge, 1981) (hereafter, Backus, *The Nan-Chao Kingdom*). In addition, see W. Stott, "The Expansion of the Nan-Chao Kingdom," *T'oung-pao*, 50 (1963), 190–220. E. Rocher, "Histoire des princes du Yunnan," *T'oung-pao*, 10 (1899), especially 1–32, 115–26.

11. A vividly evocative description of a Tibeto-Yunnanese route is found in the *Manshu* (*Book of the Southern Barbarians*) written in 862–63 by Fan Cho[ar], secretary of the Chinese governor in southeastern China. "The east cliff of Shih-men[as] is a sheer precipice rising ten thousand fathoms. The stream moreover flows underground for several hundred feet. You can only hear the sound of the water, but no man can reach it. The west cliff is also a stone precipice. Along the side of the cliff also there is a covered road, one pace broad. It goes up and down and round about for over thirty *li*. Halfway along the cliff there is a gap in the frame of the road, with a dangerous topple and an awful void." About Lijiang, "On the three sides [of Lijiang] there is nothing but the Great Snow Mountains, their summit reaching to the sky. Sometimes there are Tibetans who come for trade." In 794 Meng Yimouxun took his army and stormed both [of Lijiang's] cities, east and west, and cut down the Iron Bridge." I have used the translation by G.H. Luce, *Manshu* (Ithaca, 1961), 9–10, 18, 59 (hereafter, Luce, *Manshu*). Also E. Chavannes, "Documents historiques et géographiques relatifs à Li-Kiang," *T'oung-pao*, 13 (1912), 576. On the routes which linked Tibet to the southwest, Y. Fujisawa, "Tōdai nyū Unro shiteki kōsatsu (Historical Investigation of Routes into Yunnan during the Tang Dynasty)," *Iwate shigaku kenkyū*, 29 (1958), 16–30. The stele "De hua[at] (Virtuous Transformation)" was written to explain how the Nanzhao king had been forced by Tang politics to ally with Tibet. The text was by Cheng Hui[au], a former Chinese magistrate of Sichuan, captured by the Yunnanese, who later became an important official at the Nanzhao court. The stele was set up in Dali in 776. The text has been translated by E. Chavannes, "Une inscription du royaume de Nan-tchao," *Journal Asiatique*, 16 (1900), 381–450. On the Yunnan-Burma conflict see, G.H. Luce, "The Ancient Pyu," *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, 27 (1937), 239–53.

12. The 829/30 invasion of Sichuan and the capture of Chengdu are thoroughly analyzed by Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom*, 113–22. He scrutinizes all available records and presents all conflicting opinions.

13. For a bird's-eye view of Nanzhao Buddhism, see Y. Fujisawa, "Nanshō koku no Bukkyō ni tsuite (About Buddhism in the

Nanzhao Kingdom)," *Tōyōshigaku ronshu*, 3 (1954), 321–34. The visit of the ambassador Zhang to the Tang court is recorded in several sources; I used *Yunnan zhilüe*[av] (*Abbreviated Record of Yunnan*) compiled by Li Jing[aw] during the Yüan Dynasty, as quoted in *Yunnan difangzhi*, 15.

14. Li and Qi, *Nanzhao shihua*, 110–12, offer some cursory remarks on the Achali cult. The term Achali is the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit Acārya or spiritual teacher. An investigation on this subject has still to be done; there are, however, several references to the activity of Achali in the *Nanzhao yeshi*. For instance, Kolofeng's younger brother, the monk Kopuo[ax] and his wife née Bai, performed magic by spreading a piece of silk and clapping their hands. By means of this sorcery they defeated the Tang army. Kopuo went as ambassador to Tibet in 750. By his magic arts, he could reach Tibet and come back to Dali in one day! See Sainson, *Nan-tchao*, 44, 45–46. As for the Achali Candragupta, he was not Yunnanese. He had come from Magadha (present day Bihar in northeast India). He was greatly revered by the Nanzhao royal family for his superior wisdom and supernatural powers. The latter were used to transform the environment of Zengming[ay] prefecture, half of whose surface was covered by a lake. Candragupta poked with his staff the feet of the surrounding mountains. Ten huge caverns thus formed drained the water of the lake. People could then start ploughing the soil and hunt in the reclaimed land. From *Wan li zhi*[az] quoted in *Yunnan difangzhi*, 25–26. P. Pal, "Arhats and Mahāsiddhas in Himalayan Art," *Arts of Asia*, (Jan–Feb, 1990), 66–78.

15. Sainson, *Nan-tchao*, 62,63; W. Liebenthal, "Sanskrit Inscriptions from Yunnan," *Monumenta Serica*, 12 (1947), 6–16, discusses the evidence on dating from several conflicting sources. He also concludes that the temple complex was sponsored by King Fengyou.

16. No comprehensive study of this site is yet available except the pamphlet by Ou Yangchun, *Jianchuan shiku* (*Cliff Sculpture of Jianchuan*) (Kunming, 1985). Also B.Y. Song, "Ji Jianchuan shiku (Record of Jianchuan Cliff Sculpture), *Wenwu*, 4 (1957), 46–55; R.Y. Wang, "Shizongshan shiku (Cliff Sculpture of Shizhongsha)," *Wenwu*, 8 (1981), 80–84.

17. See note 12. King Longxun's titles are written in the *Nanzhao tuzhuan* next to his painted effigy.

18. Luce, *Manshu*, 68, 77.

Photographs: Fig. 1, the Walters Art Gallery; figs. 3, 9, 12, the author; fig. 6, Rheinisches Bildarchiv; fig. 7, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Chinese Characters

a. 巴中
b. 蠻
c. 白鳥
d. 洱海
e. 南詔
f. 蒙
g. 細奴羅
h. 南詔圖傳
i. 有隣館
j. 石鐘山
k. 劍川
l. 梵像卷
m. 張勝溫
n. 利貞
o. 後理
p. 點蒼
q. 大理
r. 南詔野史
s. 舜化貞
t. 崇聖寺
u. 鄭買嗣
v. 李嘉亭
w. 滇釋紀
x. 豐祐
y. 李賢
z. 白國因由
aa. 閣羅鳳
ab. 皮羅閣
ac. 麗江
ad. 驃
ae. 異牟尋
af. 成都
ag. 盛羅皮
ah. 張建成
ai. 玄宗
aj. 阿吒力
ak. 李成眉
al. 永昌
am. 段
an. 隆舜
ao. 蠻書
ap. 婆羅
aq. 寂裕
ar. 樊綽
as. 石門
at. 德化
au. 鄭回
av. 雲南志略
aw. 李京
ax. 閣陂
ay. 憎愧
az. 萬历志

The Life of the Buddha in the Pāla Monastic Environment

Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.

A chronological structure for developments in Pāla art from the ninth through the eleventh century can be established by paying close attention to memorial stūpas, especially at Bodh Gayā, to their style, their selection from the eight principal events of the life of the Buddha, and their use of the crowned Buddha.

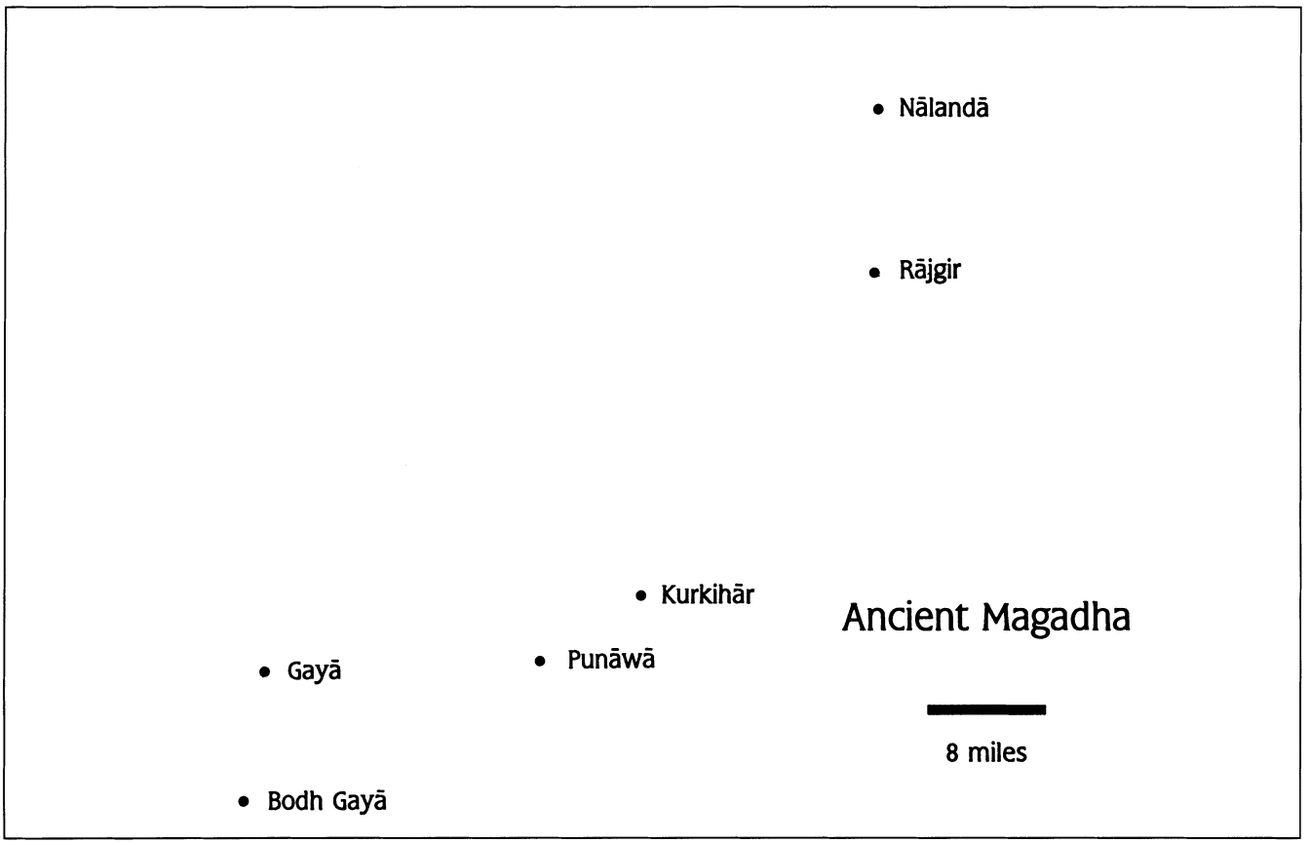
In building up his collection, as in his scholarly work, Alexander B. Griswold was always on the lookout for the significant historical connection. A Pāla Indian image of the crowned Buddha (fig. 15), one of a large number of works Mr. Griswold presented to the Walters in 1977, entered the circle of the Griswold collection because of the light it could shed on the relationship between the eleventh-century art of India and that of Burma and Thailand, the two countries which were the focus of most of his scholarship.[1] The questions the crowned Buddha raises about this relationship are indeed intriguing. It is equally interesting to think about the antecedents of the image, however, and about the shape of developments in Buddhist art from the ninth through the eleventh centuries. This is, in fact, a matter that has been far more thoroughly explored than has that of the progeny—but not thoroughly enough to discourage one from attempting to plug holes and to define the contour of the development in a fresh way.

A laconic statement from the Tibetan historian Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, written in 1608, suggests one approach to the period:

> Shortly after Rāmapāla became king [ca. A.D. 1072],[2] the great Abhayākaragupta was invited to act as *upādhyāya* of Vajrāsana. After many years, he was appointed as the upādhyāya of Vikramaśīla and Nalendra. By this time the older tradition of these centers had changed.[3]

Tāranātha's history is a sort that might be expected from a Tibetan monk very much concerned with the identification and accomplishments of Buddhist masters and disciples. "Among the Mahāyānī's of the time," he wrote, "the foremost was *ācārya* Abhayākaragupta."[4] This great figure is known as the author of the best-known handbook of Tantric mandalas, the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*.[5] He became abbot at the Vajrāsana (the "diamond throne"), as the Mahābodhi temple at Bodh Gayā is known, and subsequently at the two other most important monastic establishments, Vikramaśīla and Nālandā (see map).[6] The implication is that Abhayākaragupta had won King Rāmapāla's favor and was therefore dispatched to impose his will—and his particular doctrines—at one center, and then another. Had "the older tradition of these centers" already changed before his arrival, merely due to a tide of new practices? The text—or the English translation—is ambiguous.

Tāranātha's skeletal and not always accurate chronicle seems to offer the promise of a fleshed-out history, filled with the making of important works of art and the composition of key Buddhist texts. Something of that scope cannot yet be created,



however. The pages that follow are intended to draw attention merely to a few signposts in such a history. They are devoted to what may well be considered "the older tradition," prior to the time of King Rāmapāla and the great teacher Abhayākaragupta, but not exactly "the older tradition of these centers," as the focus is primarily on Bodh Gayā and secondarily Nālandā, ignoring the sites further east entirely.

The chosen works illuminate the uses that were made of the life of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni in a period stretching from the ninth century to the eleventh. Other, equally valid accounts might take as signposts greater works of art, or ones that best illustrate stylistic change or the growth of the Buddhist pantheon.

Stūpas at Site 12, Nālandā

In 1942, Hirananda Sastri published the inscriptions on several small stone stūpas at Nālandā.[7] One of these, photographed at the site in 1980, appears in figure 1. Half-hidden in the grass can be seen a two-line inscription. The upper line gives the verse concerning causation that is known as the Buddhist creed; the lower records that the stūpa was made during the reign of Mahendrapāla. This Mahendrapāla is now thought to be a Pāla king who ruled in the middle of the ninth century, after his father Devapāla and before his younger brother Sūrapāla.[8]

The photograph shows two scenes from the life of the Buddha, the great miracle, or miracle of double appearances, on the left, the taming of the mad elephant on the right. The panel beyond depicts the Buddha's enlightenment, and if this scene is supposed to face east, then the overall configuration is as follows:

(N) *first sermon*
(NW) *descent from heaven* (NE) *birth*
(W) *death* (E) *enlightenment*
(SW) *gift of honey* (SE) *taming of the elephant*
(S) *great miracle*

The places where the four major events, the birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and death, took place were declared places of pilgrimage by the Buddha himself, according to the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*.[9] The remaining four events were elevated to a place of importance only much later, perhaps in the eighth century.[10] The four chief events are not placed on the cardinal faces; the great miracle, on the south, has displaced the birth. But it is an arrangement that has



Fig. 1. Memorial stūpa, Site 12, Nālandā.



Fig. 2. Memorial stūpa, Site 12, Nālandā.

obviously been carefully thought out. The enlightenment and the death become a central axis. On the other faces, postures are paired: the Buddhas on the north and south both perform *dharmacakra-mudrā*, and those on the northwest and southeast are both standing. Furthermore, there is temporal opposition, the birth and enlightenment being placed on one side, the events at the end of the Buddha's life, the gift of honey and the death, on the other.

There is in addition a relationship to texts describing the eight great *caityas*, or memorials, at the sacred places.[11] In two of these texts,[12] which may date from about this time, the places are listed in the following order:

(3) *first sermon*
(5) *descent from heaven* (1) *birth*
(8) *death* (2) *enlightenment*
(7) *gift of honey* (6) *taming of the elephant*
(4) *great miracle*

Places one and two in the list fall opposite seven and eight; three is opposed to four, and five to six. The east-west axis, with the enlightenment and the death, is primary, and the paired first sermon and great miracle are the intermediate events. The ordering has a visual symmetry that seems to smooth the practitioner's inward digestion of the path, and more forcefully to state the goal of the deceased monk to whom the stūpa may have been dedicated.

In his 1942 publication, Hirananda Sastri provided the texts of inscriptions on another of the small stūpas at Nālandā Site 12 (fig. 2). The Buddhas of the four niches on this stūpa exhibit the following *mudrā*:

(N) *abhaya* (fig. 2)
(W) *samādhi* (E) *bhūmisparśa*
(S) *vara*

These are the gestures of the four cosmic Buddhas or Jinas found on Borobudur and usually given the names (E) Akṣobhya, (S) Ratnasambhava, (W) Amitābha, and (N) Amoghasiddhi.

Not until forty-seven years had passed did a translation of this inscription appear.[13] The inscription is in four parts, on each of the four faces. Sastri did not identify the location of the texts, and through photographs it has been possible only to be certain of the western and northern texts, not all four.[14] Nevertheless, the sequence is probably as follows.

On the east is the text concerning causation known as the Buddhist creed. Moving in a clockwise sequence to the south, there is a verse from the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna*, the litany of Bodhisattva vows known to art historians as the text pictorialized on the

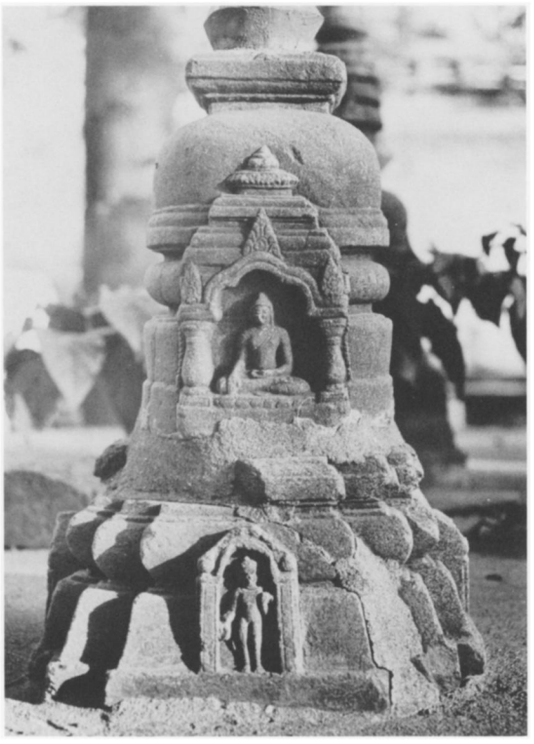


Fig. 3. Memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple compound, north section.



Fig. 4. Memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple, upper level terrace, western face.



Fig. 5. Memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple, upper level terrace, western face.

fourth gallery of Borobudur. The dedicatory record is placed on the west. The stūpa was set up in honor of a Buddhist teacher, Prabhākaramati, who "was in the world like the rays of the sun; his presence too was like the beams of the moon, beautiful and brilliant."[15] By his student Buddhākara

> āropito bhagavataḥ sugatasya caityaḥ
> svarṇṇācalapratisamasthitir eva bhūyāt[16]
>
> a *caitya* of the Blessed One, the Sugata, was raised—may it endure like a mountain of gold![17]

The passage provides good evidence for believing that many of the uninscribed small stone stūpas must also have been memorials. On the north, finally, is a verse beginning "You must begin! You must step forth! You must attach yourselves to the instruction of the Buddha!"[18]

During the thirty-fifth or thirty-ninth year—ca. 850—of the reign of Mahendrapāla's father Devapāla, Balapūtradeva, the exiled scion of the Śailendra dynasty, builders of Borobudur, had established a monastery at Nālandā.[19] The presence of the Jinas and the invocation of the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna* on this memorial stūpa suggest either the stimulus of the Śailendra monarch's foundation or the existence of longstanding similarities in religious practice. It might even be proposed that the texts present a brief synopsis of Borobudur, starting with the theme of causation (corresponding to Borobudur's covered

base), moving on to the *Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna* (the fourth gallery), then turning to memorialization and "a mountain of gold" and to a return to the world (themes of Borobudur's crowning terraces).[20] Nevertheless, this stūpa gave the creators of Pāla India's memorial or votive stūpas an option they almost never followed.

Bodh Gayā

Around the Mahābodhi temple, there are hundreds of stone stūpas with scenes from the life of the Buddha, but none that follow the scheme of the Mahendrapāla stūpa in figure 2.[21] Except for some granite stūpas with single niches, which could belong to an early period, they are all later in date. Most appear to belong to the reign of Mahīpāla, who reigned ca. 977 to ca. 1027. A stūpa dating from this period of intense production is seen in figure 5. Figures 3 and 4 appear to be somewhat earlier.

The stūpa of figure 3 is a unique type. Its single niche holds an image in the earth-touching gesture, standing for the enlightenment that took place at the site. There are some connections with the Mahendrapāla stūpa (fig. 1): the molding sequence is the same, and above niches in both are tiered structures with *amalaka* finials. The Bodh Gayā stūpa adds a trefoil arch, with three leaves or flaming pearls above, and bulbous undulant columns for support. These elements subsequently became standard.

With the figure 4 stūpa, another three niches are added as well as a double-lotus band crowning the molding sequence. When figures 3, 4, and 5 are looked at as a progression, certain tendencies can be observed. The *amalaka* finial and terminant above diminish in size and relationship to the dome. The tiered roofs of the superstructure become more sharply differentiated, through deeper recession, and the topmost roof becomes narrower in relationship to the width of the niche. First the flaming pearls are incised flat surfaces; later they are treated plastically. Hooks are added between the pearls. The proportions of the niches change, as they grow narrower and taller. The niche frame is first composed of two equal moldings, then of a dominant central molding, and finally of a flat inner molding (which will become increasingly broad) with a round molding beside. The columns are initially thick and squat, eventually thin, tall, and complex.

It is not easy to say how much of a timespan these three stūpas cover. If figure 4 belongs to the reign of Gopāla (ca. 952–ca. 972), as certain stylistic features suggest,[22] then figure 3 must be somewhat earlier. It is tempting to speculate that this stūpa was the responsibility of a Sri Lankan monk named Panditaratna Śrījana, who erected an image hall at Bodh Gayā, perhaps near the year 930.[23] The practice of establishing such stūpas would then have been followed by his pupils and by the pupils' pupils.

The Monkey's Gift

In figures 4 and 5, the images are placed as follows:

(N) *dharmacakra-mudrā*
(W) *holding the bowl* (E) *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*
(S) *dharmacakra-mudrā*

With such stūpas—which are in the majority—there is no way to identify the northern and southern scenes. Some years ago, however, Mireille Bénisti drew attention to a stūpa in Calcutta with identifying small figures, and other such stūpas remain in the compound.[24] On these, defeated heretics can be seen on one face and a tiny wheel on the other. Therefore the scenes are:

great miracle
gift of honey *enlightenment*
first sermon

The bases on which the stūpas of figures 4 and 5 were originally placed had, as far as can be determined, no scenes from the Buddha's life. Only later were the remaining events depicted on stūpas of such a scale. (The base of one of these later stūpas can be seen in fig. 3.) On these bases, the birth and the death invariably appear on opposite sides. The position of the remaining two scenes—the taming of the elephant and the descent from heaven—seems not to have been fixed. In figure 6 is a view of a stūpa with an original attached base (inscribed with the Buddhist creed), and from it one may conclude that the proper orientation of the remaining four scenes was:

(N) *birth*
(W) *taming of the elephant* (E) *descent from heaven*
(S) *death*

Included among the scenes of the primary niches around the drums are three that appear also on the Mahendrapāla stūpa (fig. 1): the first sermon, the enlightenment, and the great miracle. The positions of the first sermon and great miracle are reversed, however. The fourth scene, on the west, is in the Mahendrapāla stūpa the death, on the Bodh Gayā



Fig. 6. Memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple, upper level terrace, northern face.

stūpas, the monkey's gift of honey.

Janice Leoshko was the first to explain adequately the rationale for the elevation of this event to a position of importance.[25] The Pāli tradition connects the monkey's gift with the Pārileyyaka forest,[26] the Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang with the sites of both Mathurā and Vaiśālī. About Mathurā Hsüan-tsang wrote:

> At this time a monkey holding [a pot of] honey offered it to Buddha. Buddha hereupon ordered him to mingle it with water, and to distribute it everywhere among the great assembly. The monkey, filled with joy fell into a deep hole and was killed. By the power of his religious merit he obtained birth as a man.[28]

The deep hole, or well, is sometimes depicted in Pāla art, usually as what looks rather like a pile of doughnuts (fig. 7). The monkey's death is clearly an important aspect of the episode. But the Buddha's impending death is too. The Eight Great *Caitya* texts make it clear that the site in question is Vaiśālī and that it was important because, as one of these texts puts it, "This is the place where he pondered the length of his remaining life (*āyuḥpramāna*)."[29] It was at Vaiśālī that the Buddha determined the time of his passing into nirvāṇa.

The scene on the western face of the Bodh Gayā stūpas is not then the parinirvāṇa but the resolve to pass into nirvāṇa. If the stūpas were memorials for monks, then perhaps this is the proper "death" scene, one that makes it clear that the monks are not yet nirvanized and are still able to accept the merit donated to them by the founders of the stūpas.[30] The monkey's gift is multiplied and distributed, according to Hsüan-tsang; it may be said to have been transformed into the liquid power of compassion. Having provided this gift, the monkey, like the Buddha, resolves to pass away. The Buddhist practitioner must in certain ways identify with the monkey. The mind is like a monkey because it flits from one thing to another—this is a thought running through Buddhist literature—but it is also capable of resolve, and of the thought of enlightenment. The monkey that jumps into a well would be a mind with resolve. The substitution of a decision to die for the actual passing into nirvāṇa suggests that the stūpas are proclaiming the Bodhisattva path and the importance of remaining in the world to spread compassion.

There is also evidence that the gift of honey and the remaining seven events could serve Tantric purposes. One Eight Great *Caitya* text was translated into Chinese by Fa Hien, or Fa T'ien, a Nālandā monk who arrived in China in 973.[32] Judging by the Tantric titles of many of the texts translated by Fa T'ien, the *Aṣṭamahāsthāṇacaityastotra*, with its brief descriptions of the eight great sites, was a text well known in Tantric circles in Nālandā in the middle decades of the tenth century.



Fig. 7. Section, memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple compound, eastern entrance path.

The full meaning of the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* to a Tantric practitioner like Fa T'ien may never be known. It was in these same decades that the events were first depicted in schematic form on steles having as the principal image the Buddha in the earth-touching gesture—at Nālandā especially, and to a lesser degree at Bodh Gayā.[33] The earliest dated Bodh Gayā image (fig. 8) was made in the year Mahīpāla 10 or 11 (ca. 986/987).[34] The votive stūpa in figure 5 may belong to the same period; those in figures 3 and 4 would be older. The pairing of scenes in this stele is one prefigured in the Mahendrapāla stūpa (fig. 1) and also reflected in the Eight Great *Caitya* texts:

first preaching — great miracle
descent from heaven — taming of the elephant
gift of honey — birth

At the lower left edge, beneath the gift proper, the monkey's suicide can be seen, as he tumbles head first down the well. If the scene stands for some internal mental process, there are clues but no consistent answers. Sense objects give rise to distraction, and this distraction should be visualized in the form of a monkey, according to a Tibetan tradition; when the meditator is on the path to successful mind control, the monkey must at one point be made to disappear.[35] Perhaps the monkey's suicide stands for this disappearance. It has also recently been argued that the lateral scenes on certain central Indian sculptures of the tenth century are intended to be statements in mythic terms of the processes of Kundalinī-yoga, involving descent down two side channels in the body and the bringing of a goddess up a central channel.[36] The Buddhist steles may be a response to the challenge of Hindu ones, an ordering of secondary events that could be considered to have a locus within the human body. It cannot easily be shown, however, that the Buddhist images have any specific connection with yogic processes—though indeed the monkey's diving action could be interpreted in such a way, as could the presence of female figures on the pedestals of other such images.[37]

The Crowned Buddha

The crowned Buddha became an important iconic type, it is thought, at some point in the tenth century in Pāla India, but depictions of the Buddha wearing a crown are rare among the memorial stūpas of Bodh Gayā. When the crown appears, it is on works that seem to fall toward the end of the period of production, perhaps near the end of the reign of



Fig. 8. Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* with life scenes, shrine, Mahābodhi temple compound. (Photo by Janice J. Leoshko.)

Mahīpāla (ca. 1027). A face of one of the larger, multilithic stūpas is an example (fig. 7). Two kinds of explanation can be proposed. One would be chronological and would argue that in fact the spread of the crowned Buddha did not really occur until the eleventh century. The other explanation, which has textual support, would be a sectarian one. The development of the crowned Buddha must in some way have been connected with the rise of initiation ceremonies in which monks were crowned. Crowns would have had an exclusionary connotation, and the makers of the stūpas of Bodh Gayā would have been followers of another form of Buddhism.

The clearest explanation of the crowned Buddha was presented by the Tibetan monk Mkhas-grub-rje (1385–1438) in the first chapter of his treatise "Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras."[38] In this chapter he explains how, according to the different schools, Siddhārtha became a Manifest Complete Buddha (Abhisaṃbuddha): first, the Hīnayāna position, or position of the Śrāvakas, following the universally known biography of the Buddha;[39] then the two Mahāyāna positions, those of the Pāramitā school and of the Mantra or Tantric school. According to the followers of the Pāramitā, "At the time of the last existence, the Buddhas of all the ten directions in the Akaniṣṭha heaven [called] Ghanavyūha (a dense

array) conferred on him the initiation of great light."[40]

The Mantrayāna view is different. What corresponds to this light initiation are a garment initiation and a diadem initiation. Mkhas-grub-rje explains the position of Śākyamitra (ca. 10th century) and Buddhaguhya (ca. 8th century):

> . . . the Bhagavat had the characteristics of a Bodhisattva of the tenth stage from the time he was born as a son to King Śuddhodana until the time of practising austerities at the bank of the Nairañjanā River.
>
> After spending six years there in practising austerities, he was equipoised in what is called the "the great [part] of the great Fourth Meditation" (*dhyāna*), the "unstirring *samādhi*," and the "Space-filling *samādhi*."
>
> At that time, the Buddhas of all the ten directions assembled, aroused him from that *samādhi* by snapping their fingers, and said to him, "You cannot become a Manifest Complete Buddha by this *samādhi* alone." "Then how shall I proceed," he implored them. They guided him to the Akaniṣṭha heaven. Moreover, while his maturation body (*vipākakāya*) stayed on the bank of the same Nairañjanā River, the mental body (*manomaya-kāya*) of the Bodhisattva Sarvārthasiddha proceeded to the Akaniṣṭha heaven.
>
> After the Buddhas of the ten directions had given him garment initiation (*vastra-abhiṣeka*) and diadem initiation (*mukuṭa-abhiṣeka*), they bade him enter the intense contemplation in sequence of the five Abhisaṃbodhi. After completing the five Abhisaṃbodhi, he became a Manifest Complete Buddha as Mahāvairocana, the Saṃbhoga-kāya.
>
> Having become a Buddha, he performed the four kinds of marvel (*prātihārya*). He proceeded to the summit of Mt. Sumeru and pronounced the Yoga Tantras. Thereupon, he proceeded to the world of men and re-entered his maturation body on the bank of the Nairañjanā. Then he arose, defeated Māra, and taught the methods of Manifest Complete Buddha, and so forth.[41]

A doorway from Punāwā, a site fourteen miles northeast of Bodh Gayā, appears to correspond to the *mukuṭa-abhiṣeka* described in the text (fig. 9).[42] On the lintel celestial beings hold aloft a crown, while in the larger niches above appear Buddhas distinguishable by their hand gestures, from left to right: *abhaya, vara, samādhi, bhūmisparśa, dharmacakra.* They must be Jinas from the four cardinal directions and—at the far right—the zenith. In two of the smaller intermediary niches are Bodhisattvas, and in two, female deities. Judging by the style of the figures at the bottom of the door jambs and other elements, this doorway very likely dates from the years around 1000.[43]

In the light of the quoted text, the incorporation of the crown in the scene of the monkey's gift (fig. 7) demands explanation. The Buddha is supposed to have resumed his maturation body: how can he be shown with a crown? The crown in this instance would appear to signify that this is an event having a significance that goes beyond the life of the historical Buddha. It is an event that occurs in the life of all Buddhas—including the follower of the Tantric way.



Fig. 9. Doorway from Punāwā, Calcutta, Indian Museum.

Bodh Gayā: the Eleventh Century

There are just four monarchs of significance. Mahīpāla died ca. 1027 and was succeeded by Nayapāla (reigned ca. 1027–ca. 1043). His successor was his son Vigrahapāla III (reigned ca. 1043–ca. 1070). In ca. 1072, Rāmapāla came to the throne, and the monk Abhayākaragupta became the chief figure in the Buddhist hierarchy. It was probably he who was primarily responsible for a new Buddhist orthodoxy. Activity at Bodh Gayā remained vigorous throughout the reign of Mahīpāla. After his death, however, there was a drop in the level of production, and the course of development is not easy to trace. The re-invigoration that came with the reign of Rāmapāla met with strong participation at Nālandā but not at Bodh Gayā.

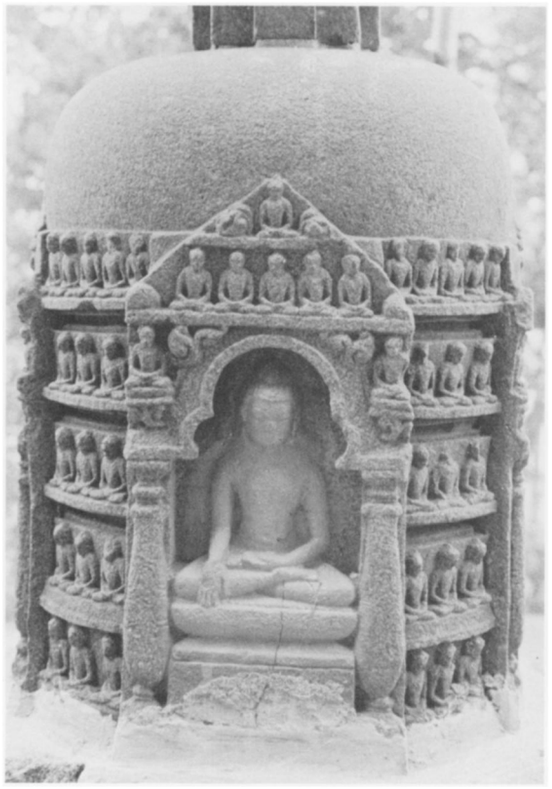


Fig. 10. Memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple, upper level terrace, northern side.

The memorial stūpa seen in figure 10 can be assigned to a terminal phase because there are really no stūpas that seem to advance its characteristics further. Certain trends noticed from the beginning—the increasing height of the niche, the broadening inner band of the niche frame—are developed in such a stūpa. Columns had gradually reached a state of elegance and refinement, which in this example is coarsened, with abrupt shifts from the narrow to the broad. The profile of these columns is like that of a toy baseball bat. This stūpa and others like it can be rather accurately dated because of their stylistic resemblance to the Buddha (with two flanking Mārīcī) on a Bodh Gayā stele with a Chinese inscription dated equivalent to 1022 (fig. 11).[44] They are also apparently made out of the same sort of reddish-tan stone, possibly pegmatite. There seems to be a thematic connection as well, for the inscription mentions the carving of a stūpa with a thousand Buddhas. The multiple Buddhas on the stūpa must indeed be the thousand Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa* rather than Buddhas of the ten directions of space.

The face of a larger stūpa belonging to this group is shown in figure 12. Above the principal niche are paired tendrils of a type similar to those on the dated stele (fig. 11) and in figure 10, and the niches with the smaller Buddhas are of the type seen in figure 11. The date cannot be distant from that of the stūpa face seen in figure 7, but all three of these works (figs. 10–12) seem to be the product of a workshop that has sprung up suddenly, to a considerable degree independent of the older traditions, and without access to the traditional stones.

The death of Mahīpāla in ca. 1027 may simply have brought the appointment of a new abbot and a sectarian change at the temple with a consequent drop in the level of patronage. On the other hand, there is the possibility that more severe disruptures brought change, in the wake of the expansion of the Kalacuri-Cedi dynasty of Tripuri. Kalacuri-Cedi forces are thought to have been in Banaras by 1033, where they drove the Pālas from power.[45] Tāranātha describes an invasion of Magadha by King Karṇa with "five hundred Turushkas," or Muslims. He puts this in a context that suggests that the invasion took place before the renowned monk Atiśa's departure for Tibet in 1040, though Karṇa himself only came to the throne in 1041. Nayapāla and his son Vigrahapāla III both engaged Karṇa in battle.[48] Sometime after Vigrahapāla came to the throne (ca. 1043), peace seems to have been made, and the Pāla monarch took Karṇa's daughter as his queen.

Bronze images of the standing crowned Buddha from the Kurkihār hoard date from the third and nineteenth years of Vigrahapāla's reign, and they provide helpful fixed points. These bronzes, it has been observed, much resemble a stone image in the Bodh Gayā Museum (fig. 13), which accordingly must be given a date in the same period (ca. 1040s–60s).[49] The close relationship is especially apparent in the torso, with its narrow waist and broad rounded shoulders. The smaller flanking Buddhas on this stele



Fig. 11. Stele depicting Buddha and Mārīcī, with Chinese inscription dated equivalent to 1022, Calcutta, Indian Museum.



Fig. 12. Section, memorial stūpa, Mahābodhi temple compound, western section.

appear to correspond to the two standing Buddhas on the sculptures with life scenes, as in figure 8. On the Buddha's right is the taming of the elephant, on his left, the descent from heaven. This leaves the identity of the standing crowned Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* uncertain. The same gesture characterizes contemporary images, both the dated bronzes and two giant (over 2-meter) stone sculptures that were likely intended for installation at the Mahābodhi temple, where one remains (fig. 14).[50] If this Buddha is Dīpaṃkara, the first in a chronological sequence of twenty-four Buddhas, as some evidence suggests, then the idea may be that all the Buddhas of the past have manifested themselves at the site of the Mahābodhi temple and that future enlightened ones will have to as well.[51] The giant sculpture on the stairway landing at the temple (fig. 14), an image seeming both to descend and to greet, conveys this sense of the passage of all Buddhas. This image, if it was once one of a pair, may also be a source for the connection of the Mahābodhi temple with the theme of multiplication, as is found in the art of Burma and Thailand.[52]

A seated Buddha that can be tentatively placed in this same period is the Walters image (fig. 15).[53] The stele (66 cm. high) is about as equally pointed as the one in figure 13 (although the shape is somewhat different), and the border is comparable, as is the plain background surface. But the proportions of the Walters Buddha are less exaggerated, more like the images from the earlier eleventh century. In general, the characteristics of the work suggest that it was made in southern Magadha in the eleventh century, and is somewhat older than the standing Buddha of figure 13. The Walters image and the one in the Bodh Gayā Museum exemplify a plain style that is apparently characteristic of the middle decades of the eleventh

century. This style stands in contrast to the elaboration to be observed in figure 7 (perhaps from the first quarter of the century) and figure 16 (perhaps from the last quarter). It should be seen against the background of the Thousand-Buddhas style of the 1020s (figs. 10–12), possible disruption by warfare, and the drop in production of memorial stūpas.

The ascent of Rāmapāla to the throne (ca. 1072) and the rise of the authority of the monk Abhayākara and of such texts as the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* brought the spread of a new style that was felt strongly in Nālandā but was less evident in Bodh Gayā, where little was produced in this period. The Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara from Nālandā (fig. 16), with its broad smile, projecting upper torso, pierced backslab and five arrayed Jinas at the top is typical of the new direction. If one pursues the religious uses to which the life of the Buddha can be put, the story at this point must be followed less in Abhayākara's Buddhism, more in the eleventh- to twelfth-century developments in Pagan, Burma.[54]

A summing up is in order. Two types of memorial stūpa made an appearance in Nālandā in the ninth century, one with four Jinas in the four directions, the other with eight scenes from the life of the Buddha. In the tenth century, memorial stūpas started to proliferate at Bodh Gayā—all with scenes from the life of the Buddha, none with Jinas. Particularly interesting is the use made of the monkey's gift of honey. The elevation of this obscure event to one of the four chief scenes must be connected with themes of death—the Buddha's announcement of his impending departure, the monkey's suicide, the presumed memorial character of the stūpas. Just a little later than the establishment of the standard type of memorial stūpa—it seems—came the development of the steles depicting the eight chief events. There is reason to believe that these steles had an esoteric aspect—relating to the practice of meditation—that may have constituted their primary meaning. Hard on the heels of such steles came the spread of the crowned Buddha, which surely had Tantric connections and a sectarian significance. By the 1020s, all these strands were present at Bodh Gayā, when suddenly there arose another workshop, responding apparently to the interest of Chinese pilgrims in the theme of the thousand Buddhas.

What happened next is less clear. There may have been a watershed of some sort, perhaps due to an invasion or a political event. The production of memorial stūpas of the standard type seems to have come to an end. The Buddhism that had been



Fig. 13. Standing crowned Buddha, Bodh Gayā Museum.



Fig. 14. Standing crowned Buddha, on landing, Mahābodhi temple. (Photograph by Paul L. Pryor.)



Fig. 15. Crowned Buddha in *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*, muscovite chlorite schist, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 25.71, gift of Alexander B. Griswold.

characterized by the crowned Buddha and by life-of-the-Buddha steles persisted but in modified form, with a particular focus on the standing Buddha, and with a penchant for such stylistic features as a plain backslab. But this direction was not to last, and the reforms of the last decades of the eleventh century brought yet new ways of thinking.

The Walters Art Gallery
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NOTES

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1. The study most obviously relevant is A.B. Griswold, "The Holy Land Transported," *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume* (Columbo, 1965), 173–222.

2. This and other regnal dates are taken from S.L. Huntington and J.C. Huntington, *Leaves from the Bodhi Tree: The Art of Pāla India and its International Legacy*, the Dayton Art Institute, the Walters Art Gallery, etc., 1989–1990 (Dayton, 1990) (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, S. and J. Huntington, *Leaves*).

3. *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*, L. Chimpa and A. Chattopadhyaya, trans. (Calcutta, 1980), 313 (hereafter, *Tāranātha's History*).

4. *Ibid.*

5. *Niṣpannayogāvalī of Mahāpaṇḍita Abhayākaragupta*, B. Bhattacharyya, ed., Baekwad's Oriental Series, no. 109 (Baroda, 1972).

6. *Tāranātha's History*, 313.

7. H. Sastri, *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Material*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 66 (Delhi, 1942), 106–107, pls. X–XI (hereafter, Sastri, *Epigraphic Material*).

8. S. and J. Huntington, *Leaves*, 81, 542.

9. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, T.W. and C.A.F. Rhys Davids, trans., pt.2, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. 3 (rpt. London, 1977), 153–54 (*Digha-nikāya* ii.140–8).

10. A Sārnāth stele, the oldest visual evidence, may date from the eighth century: J. Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," *Ars Orientalis*, 10 (1975), 191 and fig. 3. The record of an eighth-century Korean monk sheds light on this issue: J.J. Leoshko, "The Iconography of Buddhist Sculptures of the Pāla and Sena Periods From Bodh Gayā," Ph.D. dissertation, 1987, Ohio State University, (Ann Arbor, UMI), 132 (hereafter, Leoshko, "Iconography").

11. P.C. Bagchi, "The Eight Great Caityas and Their Cult," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 17 (1941), 223–35 describes four such texts (hereafter, Bagchi, "Caityas"). His III (Nanjio 898, T. 1685) was translated also in H. Nakamura, "The Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra and the Chinese and Tibetan Versions of a Text Similar to It," in *Indianisme et Bouddhisme: Mélanges offerts à Mgr Étienne Lamotte*, Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain, 23 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), 259–66 (hereafter, Nakamura, "Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra").

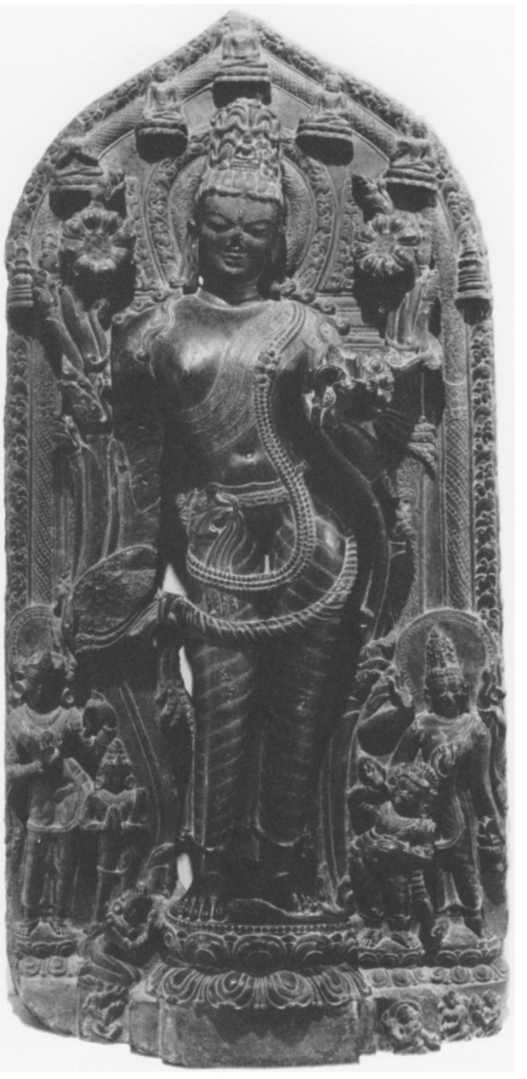


Fig. 16. Khasarpaṇa Avalokiteśvara, Nālandā Museum.

See also, "Appendix I: the Eight Great Illusory Displays," in S. and J. Huntington, *Leaves*, 531–33.

12. Bagchi, "Caityas," texts I and III.

13. G. Schopen, "A Verse From the Bhadracarīpraṇidhāna in a 10th Century Inscription Found at Nālandā," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 12 (1989), 149–57 (hereafter, Schopen, "Verse").

14. The text visible in fig. 2 is Sastri's part D, his pl. XIc (*Epigraphic Material*). Sastri's part A, his pl. XIa, was identified on American Institute for Indian Studies photograph I 293.99. Illustrations of the eastern and southern faces of the stūpa appear in M. Bénisti, *Contribution à l'étude du stūpa bouddhique indien: Les stūpa mineurs de Bodh-Gaya et de Ratnagiri*, 2 vols., Publications de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, no. 125 (Paris, 1981), vol. 2, figs. 110 and 111, but they are not clear enough to determine which has text B, which text C. For her discussion of the stūpa, vol. 1, 52–53 (hereafter, Bénisti, *Contribution*).

15. Schopen, "Verse," 152–53.

16. *Ibid.*, 151.

17. *Ibid.*, 153.

18. *Ibid.*

19. Sastri, *Epigraphic Material*, 92–102; also *idem*, "The Nālandā Copper-plate of Devapāladeva," *Epigraphia Indica*, 17 (1923–24), 310–27.

20. In accordance with one interpretation of Borobudur, e.g., H.W. Woodward, Jr., "Barabuḍur as a Stūpa," in L.O. Gómez and H.W. Woodward, Jr., eds., *Barabuḍur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument* (Berkeley, 1981), 121–38.

21. For a survey of these stūpas, Bénisti, *Contribution*. The mismatch of so many stūpa parts is largely the responsibility of British restorations supervised by J.D. Beglar beginning in 1880. See A. Cunningham, *Mahâbodhi or The Great Buddhist Temple* (London, 1892, rpt. Varanasi: Indological Book House, n.d.), i and pl. XVIII.

22. On the slender evidence of the Gopāla (II) pedestal, S.L. Huntington, *The "Pāla-Sena" Schools of Sculpture*, Studies in South Asian Culture, vol. 10 (Leiden, 1984), fig. 51 (hereafter, S. Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*).

23. This hypothesis is based upon an undated inscription that has not been recently studied. The text and translation appear in R. Mitra, *Buddha Gayá, The Hermitage of Śākya Muni* (Calcutta, 1878; rpt. Varanasi, 1972), 194–97. For additional references, D.R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* (Patna, 1963), 65, no. XV. The inscription records the foundation of an image hall (*gandhakuṭi*) in the fifteenth year of the reign of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king named Tuṅgadharmāvaloka, otherwise unknown. A scenario can be pieced together along the following lines. In about 916–917 there was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Pratihāra territories that may have brought Rāṣṭrakūṭa control over regions the Pratihāras had earlier seized from the Pālas. (R.S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* [1937; rpt. Delhi, 1970], 255, 259–61. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, *History of Ancient Bengal* [Calcutta, 1971], 124.) Rāṣṭrakūṭa Tuṅgadharmāvaloka was then installed and given hegemony over Bodh Gayā, where in the fifteenth year of his reign (ca. 930) he erected an image hall. The Pāla monarch of the period, Rājyapāla (r. ca.917–ca. 952), married a relative of this Tuṅgadharmāvaloka, perhaps his daughter. (For the inscriptional evidence, F. Kielhorn, "The Dinajpur Copper-Plate Inscription of Mahīpāla," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 61 [1892], 80. R.D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal* [1914; rpt. Varanasi, 1973] surmised that this Rāṣṭrakūṭa princess was Tuṅgadharmāvaloka's daughter. Cf. Leoshko, "Iconography," 68, n. 4.) Only with the accession of Rājyapāla's son Gopāla was Bodh Gayā re-integrated into the Pāla kingdom.

24. M. Bénisti, "Sur un stūpa votif de l'Asutosh Museum," *Artibus Asiae*, 27 (1964), 151–56 (hereafter, Bénisti, "Sur un stūpa").

25. Leoshko, "Iconography," 141–43. See also the discussion in J.C. Huntington, "Sowing the Seeds of the Lotus: A Journey to the Great Pilgrimage Sites of Buddhism, Part IV," *Orientations*, 17, no. 7 (July 1986), 28–40.

26. E.W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, 3 vols., Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 28–30 (Cambridge, 1921), vol. 1, 180.

27. S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols. (rpt. in one vol. New York, 1968), vol. 1, 182–83, vol. 2, 68.

28. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 182–83. There is a Tibetan version of the story in I.J. Schmidt, *Der Weise und der Thor*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg and Leipzig, 1843), vol. 2, 348–49.

29. Nakamura, "Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra," 261.

30. The idea that the stūpas are memorials runs counter to the thesis that they commemorate pilgrimages. As stated by Mireille Bénisti in 1964, "Nous sommes amenés à penser que cette substitution de deux lieux [the great miracle and the monkey's gift] à deux autres a correspondu à une évolution historique, à la pression d'un phénomène social, à une importante réalité humaine: les grands pélerinages." ("Sur un stūpa," 156). See also Bénisti, *Contribution*, vol. 1, 50–51. Simon Lawson has written, "one certainly has to consider the strong possibility that these votive stūpas might have had a funerary function." See Lawson, "Votive Objects From Bodh Gayā," in *Bodh Gayā: the Site of Enlightenment*, J. Leoshko, ed., (Bombay, 1988), 61–72 (hereafter, Leoshko, *Bodh Gayā*).

31. For references to texts identifying the mind with a monkey, the earliest being the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*, see G. Dudbridge, *The Hsi-yu chi. A Study of Antecedents to the Sixteenth-Century Chinese Novel* (Cambridge, 1970), 168–69.

32. Bagchi, "Caityas," text III (T. 1685). For the titles of works translated by Fa T'ien, *Hôbôgirin*, Fascicule Annexe, *Tables du Taishō Issaikyō* (Tokyo, 1931), 138, *s.v.*, Hôken.

33. For the place of an elaborately carved stele at Jagdishpur in this development, J.C. Huntington, "Pilgrimage as Image: The Cult of the Aṣṭamahāprātihārya, Part II," *Orientations*, 18, no. 8 (Aug. 1987), 56–68.

34. On this image, S. Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*, 57, 100; J. Leoshko, "The Vajrasana Buddha," in Leoshko, *Bodh Gayā*, 29–44, esp. 40.

35. C. Genoud, *Peintre bouddhique du Ladakh* (Geneva, 1981), 103–105. I thank Richard Kohn for this reference.

36. H.W. Woodward, Jr., "The Lakṣmaṇa Temple, Khajuraho, and Its Meanings," *Ars Orientalis*, 19 (1989), 27–48.

37. A *dhāraṇī* inscribed on an eleventh-century bronze image frame from Kurkihār depicting the chief events should perhaps be looked at to see if it provides clues as to ways the events could be internalized by the practitioner, perhaps by the performance of ritual hand gestures (*mudrā*). This frame, Patna Museum 9625, is illustrated in N.R. Ray, K. Khandalavala, and S. Gorakshkar, *Eastern Indian Bronzes* (Bombay, 1986), fig. 256 (hereafter, Ray, *et al.*, *Eastern Indian Bronzes*). The text appears in P.L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities* (Patna, 1965), 132. I thank Professor Gregory Schopen for identifying this text as one he had discussed in "The Text on the 'Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya': a Minor Contribution to the Study of Mahāyāna Literature in Ceylon," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 5 (1982), 100–108.

38. F.D. Lessing and A. Wayman, *Introduction to the Buddhist Tantric Systems* (Delhi, 1978; orig. publ. as *Mkhas-grub-rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras*, 1968).

39. *Ibid.*, 17–21.

40. *Ibid.*, 21.

41. *Ibid.*, 27.

42. Punāwā was described by A. Cunningham in "Four Reports Made During the Years 1862–63–64–65," *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1 (1871), 13. The Indian Museum doorway must be the one Cunningham described as follows: "One of the doorways is richly sculpted. In the centre is a figure of the ascetic Buddha, with a three-pointed crown over his head, and on each side of him nine figures with joined hands kneeling towards him." In Broadley's notebook, the Indian Museum door was described as coming from "Purnaha." See F.M. Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection, Bihar Sharif," *Artibus Asiae*, 32 (1970), 107 and pl. III. It is here proposed that Purnaha (not independently locatable) must be identical with Cunningham's Punāwā. I thank Professor Asher for his helpful clarifying letter on this point.

43. Cf. the dated jambs, S. Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*, figs. 55–57.

44. For the inscription, S. Beal, "Two Chinese-Buddhist Inscriptions Found at Buddha Gaya," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, n.s. 13 (1881), 552–72; E. Chavannes, "Les inscriptions chinoises de Bodh-Gaya," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 34 (1896),

7–15; S. Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*, 246–49.

45. R.K. Sharma, *The Kalachuris and Their Times* (Delhi, 1981), 23.

46. *Tāranātha's History*, 328–29.

47. P.L. Paul, "Kalicuri Karṇa's Invasion of Bengal and the Origins of the Varmans and the Senas," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 12 (1936), 469–76.

48. Nayapāla: S. Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*, 75n; D.C. Sircar, "Comments on the Pāla Chronology in R.C. Majundar's History of Ancient Bengal (1971)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta, 18 (1976), 97–98. Vigrahapāla: *Rāmacaritam of Sandhyākaranandin*, R. Basak, trans., Reprint Memoir Series, vol. III, no. 1 (Calcutta, 1969), xxvii, 7.

49. Ray *et al.*, *Eastern Indian Bronzes*, 156–57.

50. Leoshko, "Iconography," 202–210; Leoshko, "Buddhist Sculptures from Bodh Gayā," in *idem*, *Bodh Gayā*, 45–60, esp. 59. S. Huntington, *"Pāla-Sena" Schools*, 100 and fig. 107.

51. For Dīpaṃkara, Leoshko, "Iconography," 189–90; D. Paul, *The Art of Nālandā: Development of Buddhist Sculpture 600–1200* A.D. (Leiden, 1987), 157–58.

52. On this issue, H.W. Woodward, Jr., "The Bâyon-Period Buddha Image in the Kimbell Art Museum," *Archives of Asian Art*, 32 (1979), 72–83, esp. 80–81.

53. Analysis of a fragment of the Walters crowned Buddha at the University of Minnesota, courtesy of Prof. Frederick M. Asher, yielded the following results:

40% lithic fragments consisting of
30% calcite
25% quartz
15% plagioclase
15% muscovite
10% chlorite
5% chloritoid
30% quartz
20% chlorite
tr. opaques
tr. brown biotite

Some of the chlorite in this sample is an alteration product of brown biotite. The lithic fragments and high mica content of the section argue in favor of a graywacke protolith. The thin section is extremely uneven in thickness, to the extent that quartz exhibits first order blue interference colors.

Rock name: muscovite chlorite schist (metagraywacke)

This identification supports the attribution to southern Magadha. Compare Richard Newman, *The Stone Sculpture of India* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), fig. 29, p. 35, a 10th–11th century face-slab from a stūpa, identified as "chlorite-muscovite schist." See also F. M. Asher, "Eastern Indian Sculptures: A Preliminary Analysis of Stone Materials," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, vol. 14 (1987), pp. 235–41.

54. For introductions to the connections, H.W. Woodward, Jr., "Burmese Sculpture and Indian Painting," *Chhavi-2: Rai Krishnadasa Felicitation Volume* (Banaras, 1981), 21–24; S. and J. Huntington, *Leaves*, 199–205.

A Matrix from Panticapaeum

Michail Ju. Treister

Because only a handful of Hellenistic matrices survive, the recent discovery of a stone fragment from Panticapaeum assumes a special importance in expanding our knowledge of Hellenistic matrix-hammered metalwork.

During 1978 excavations of the western plateau of the Mithridates mount, a fragment of a grey-green layered limestone plate (figs. 1 and 2)[1] was found in a Hellenistic wall (N 11a). This fragment was part of a stone matrix used to produce gold foil decoration, probably for calathos-like headdresses. Its Hellenistic date provides evidence of a long tradition of matrix-hammered metalwork at Panticapaeum and prompts a general discussion of metalwork found in the region.

The fragment is approximately rectangular in shape, measuring 15 by 11 cm., with a depth of 0.8–1.0 cm. Engraved on the thoroughly polished surface is a slightly curved ornamental band with three friezes, divided from each other by two deeply carved lines 0.2 cm. wide. The total height of the friezes is 7.8 cm. The central frieze, set between two incised lines, is 4.3 cm. high and represents a floral pattern in the shape of an acanthus tendril with various flowers: an eight-petal rosette and two ten-petal flowers with serrated-tipped petals, all with a diameter of ca. 2 cm. The main tendril is less than 0.1 cm. In addition, there are two three-petal lily flowers in the field of the central frieze, oriented in opposite directions up and down. These are 1.7 and 0.8 cm. high. Upper and lower friezes represent bands of "running wave" pattern, slanted to the right; the scrolls of the lower one are oriented downwards, those of the upper one in the opposite direction. Details of upper and lower friezes differ in execution as well as dimension. The scrolls of the lower frieze are engraved more deeply, and its base is an incised straight line. The triangular fields between the ground line and the scrolls are hollowed out. The dimensions of the scrolls vary from 0.8 to 1.0 cm. The upper frieze is engraved less deeply, and the engraved lines are not so deep and wide. The upper frieze has no base line, so the triangular fields are not hollowed out but are only occasionally marked. These scrolls vary from 0.8 to 0.9 cm. in diameter.

The reverse of the fragment is unworked except for several diagonal cuts executed by an instrument having a working edge 0.15 cm. wide (figs. 3 and 4). The lower edge of the piece, 4.3 cm. long, is straight, and its carefully polished lateral face is evidently the original surface. The upper edge of the matrix fragment is not worked, but is sharply chopped; nevertheless, because the edge runs parallel with the frieze, we may suppose that the original upper edge of the matrix was not much different in appearance.

The fragment from Panticapaeum was clearly a matrix used to make ornaments of thin gold foil. The piece could not serve as a casting mould because the separate elements of the pattern are not connected. Moreover, gates and vents for molten metal and gases, obligatory for casting molds, are absent. In addition, the carving is shallow and without any undercutting that would impede removal of the relief from its matrix.[2]



Fig. 1. Fragment of a matrix, limestone, from Panticapaeum, Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, M–78C. (Drawing by Maria Lvova.)



Fig. 2. Photograph of fig. 1.

The technique of manufacturing metal foil reliefs by means of stone and bronze matrices was an important one in antiquity, along with casting, and other such cold metal treatments as engraving, carving, and repoussé. D. Kent Hill noted that the technique of relief manufacture in matrices was known during the entire antique period, both in Greece and in Rome, but with the invention of repoussé in the second half of the fourth century B.C. (it flourished until the third century B.C.), the popularity of matrix hammering diminished.[3] The modern point of view has practically not changed. E.D. Reeder notes that only a few fourth-century and Hellenistic matrix-hammered reliefs are known.[4] Among them there are silver phialai from the museums of London and New York, gold overlays of Scythian gorytoi from the North Pontic area and Vergina necropole, as well as various reliefs used for earrings and necklaces. To that list we may add the North Pontic finds, including overlays for wooden vessels and some types of plaques.[5]

Although surviving ancient matrices are made of both bronze and stone, stone examples are relatively few:[6] the fourth-century B.C. find from Olbia;[7] a matrix from Corinth for production of a diadem with the figures of sirens, palmettes, tripods, and lotus flowers, dated by different scholars from the sixth to the fifth century B.C.;[8] a Hellenistic matrix from the Pergamon-museum, probably used for silver bowls;[9] and two Roman marble matrices. As this is practically the entire list of surviving Classical stone matrices,[10] the new find from Bosporos is a significant one.

To reconstruct the matrix from Panticapaeum we must take into consideration the curvature of the ornamental frieze itself and the fact that the frieze is adjacent to the border of the matrix. It is possible to estimate that the lower edge was originally about 55 cm. long (fig. 5). It is thus possible that the object hammered in the matrix constituted the gold plate of a calathos like those found in the Bolshaja Bliznitsa barrow.

The Graeco-Scythian headdress as reconstructed from North Pontic finds has been extensively discussed in Russian and Soviet historiography, beginning with the study M.I. Rostovtzeff and P.K. Stepanov,[12] and including the more recent publications by T.V. Miroshina, L.S. Klochko and Ju. S. Grebennikov.[13] Uncertainty still exists, however, about terminology and type. A unique headdress found in the Bolshaja Bliznitsa barrow has been called a calathos because it resembles the Greek type in so far as it consists of a round cap extending upwards. Scythian headdresses, by contrast, do not appear to have been of uniform appearance (fig. 6); but in T.V. Miroshina's reconstruction, the headdress does not extend completely around the head.[14] The reliefs

made in the Panticapaeum matrix would, therefore, seem best suited to the calathos of the Bolshaja Bliznitsa type.[15]

Floral patterns carved in the Panticapaeum matrix find numerous comparanda among the sewn gold plaques of headdresses from the Scythian barrows: T.V. Miroshina combined such subjects in her R group ("floral"), dividing the latter into four types.[16] Though there are no exact parallels to all the components of the ornamentation of the Panticapaeum matrix, nevertheless we do find acanthus tendrils and lotus flowers on the plaques. It is notable that similar ornamentation is also seen in the calathos and tiara plaques from Tolstaja Mogila, Chertomlyk, Ryzhanovsky, Melitopolsky, and the Five Brothers barrow.[17]

Ornamentation comparable to that on the Panticapaeum matrix appears on many objects of Hellenistic date. From the late fourth and early third centuries, we can compare Greek diadems, a number of them made in matrices,[18] including the diadem from Vergina;[19] elements of south Italian vase decoration;[20] and the walls of Bosporan wooden sarcophagi.[21] Similar ornamentation also decorates Athena's diadem on the pendants from Kul Oba.[22]

Examples of the "running wave" pattern also appear on the Bosporan coffins,[23] the chryselephantine shield from the Vergina tomb, the trapezoidal textile pieces from the smaller gold casket found in the same tomb,[24] and the gold ornaments.[25]

Although many comparanda for the Panticapaeum matrix ornamentation come from burials of the second half of the fourth and the early third centuries B.C., there is good reason, as M. Pfrommer points out, for dating the matrix in the second to first century B.C.[26]

In addition to the comparable examples cited by Pfrommer, we can add that rosettes with serrated petals are characteristic of the third to second centuries B.C., as for example on the silver bowl from Civita Castellana, and that the organization of the ornamentation finds parallels on the middle zone of Megarian bowls of Ionian production dated in the mid second half of the second century B.C.[28] Thus a late Hellenistic date is most probable for the matrix.

The manufacturing centers of the antique metal objects from the Scythian barrows of the North Pontic area have been often discussed, with most scholars arguing that workshops were located in the Bosporan (Panticapaeum) area.[29] Although A.P. Mantsevich disputed the attribution, a position strengthened by the discovery of the Vergina tomb, M. Andronicos is

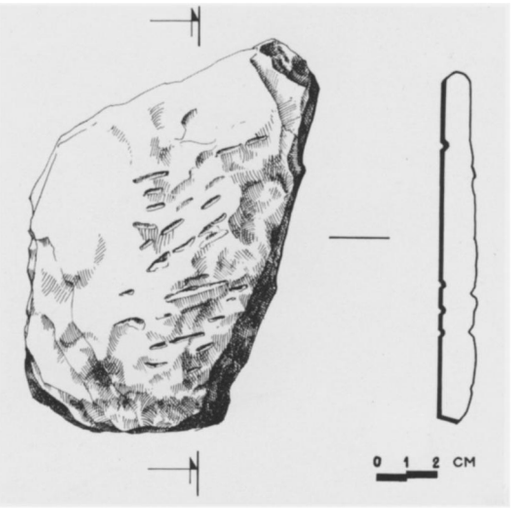


Fig. 3. Obverse of fig. 1. (Drawing by Maria Lvova.)



Fig. 4. Photograph of fig. 3.

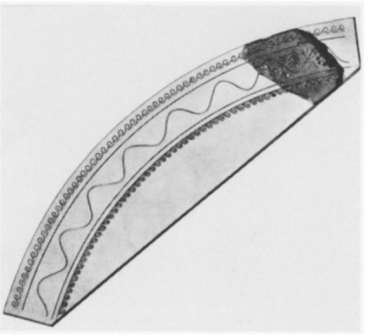


Fig. 5. Probable reconstruction of the matrix. (Drawing by Maria Lvova.)

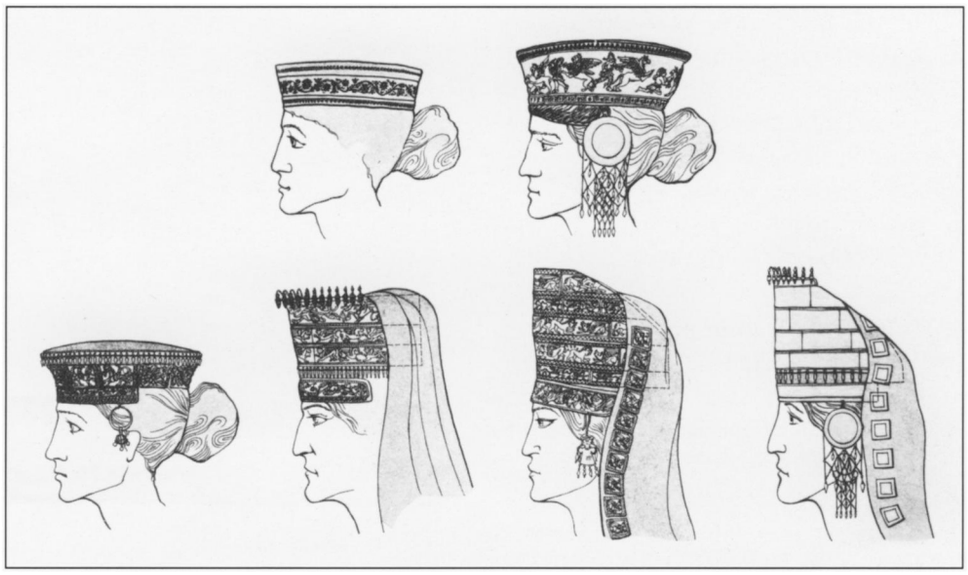


Fig. 6. Reconstructions of gold foil calathoi from the North Pontic area. Upper row, left: calathos from the Panticapaeum matrix, right: calathos from Bolshaja Bliznitsa. Bottom row, from Scythian barrows. All reconstructions after T.V. Miroshina, B.M. Mozolevsky, L.S. Klochko, and Ju. S. Grebennikov. (Drawings by Maria Lvova.)

more prudent in assuming the production of gorytoi both in Panticapaeum and in Northern Greece and Macedonia.[30] M. Pfrommer also considers that there were centers of the early Hellenistic toreutics both in Bosporus and in Macedonia, in which not only local but also Italic craftsmen worked (he explains the gorytoi in Vergina as presents given by Spartokides to the Macedonian court). Pfrommer further states that the broad use of tendril and flower patterns is one of the characteristic features of the North Pontic toreutic center.[31]

Until recently our discussion of the technique of Bosporan toreutics was largely confined to the analysis of unique articles, produced with the help of a matrix not otherwise attested, that work having been done by B.V. Pharmakovsky[32] and N.A. Onaiko.[33] The four known examples of the gorytoi from the same matrix have advanced our understanding because it is clear that they were hammered in a bronze matrix that was reworked as it gradually wore down, a phenomenon N.A. Onaiko ties to the activity of local Bosporan craftsmen.[34]

Use of bronze matrices in Pontic metalwork of the third to second centuries B.C. is further substantiated by the find of bronze stamps for plaque production in Panticapaeum,[35] Tiritaka,[36] and Gorgippia.[37] Such an abundance of toreutic tools is especially interesting given the decline in bronze- and ironworking[38] during the Hellenistic period.

Given the importance of Panticapaeum as a metalworking center in the fourth and third centuries B.C., and the use, as shown, of diverse metalworking techniques, the question naturally arises whether Attic craftsmen worked in the capital of Bosporus.[39] We must also ask whether Panticapaeum was the manufacturing center for all the metal objects found in the Scythian barrows.

It has been often observed that the North Pontic barrows contain objects of varying artistic quality. Therefore, those who considered that the center of toreutics was situated in Panticapaeum have inevitably concluded that metal workshops of Bosporos employed Barbarian workmen. N.A. Onaiko, for example, recognized the input of Sindo-Maeotian tribes in the iconography of the female deity. Further, the gorytoi and the reworking of their bronze matrix led her to proclaim the presence of the "Barbarian stream in Bosporan toreutics."[40]

I doubt, however, that we should identify as Barbarian all the coarse clumsy work, including the reworking of matrix; the presence of Barbarian craftsmen in the royal ergasterion is hardly imaginable. I rather think that in the fourth century B.C. invitations to the court of Spartokides were extended to skillful craftsmen; we must be mindful not only that the difficulties imposed by the Peloponesian war led to the emigration of craftsmen from Attica,[41] but also that Greek artists were traditionally fairly mobile.[42] Given this hellenized element in the metal workshops of Panticapaeum, it is reasonable to assume at least several metalworking centers in the North Pontic area. We should remember the finds of the

matrices with images of a lion paw[43] and female head[44] in the Kamenskoje settlement; the evidence of the production of gold stamped ornaments from Belksoje settlement;[45] and, from the ritual complex in the Uljap barrow N 5 in the Kuban region, bronze stamps for beads and plaques that depict a panther.[46]

In connection with the latter find, A.M. Leskov supposed that the matrices themselves were manufactured in one of the North Pontic centers, whereas the beads and plaques were produced locally by Maeotian craftsmen.[47] N.A. Onaiko, on the other hand, argued that the scarcity of matrix finds may be explained by the fact that such objects were destroyed in antiquity on the analogy of coin dies. According to this theory, Bosporos tried to monopolize the manufacture, not only of gold coins, but of closely connected gold artistic objects as well.[48] Whereas it is impossible to refute or to substantiate Onaiko's argument for a monopoly, it seems unreasonable that foreign workshop aids would have traveled freely without the workmen who used them. In the case, for example, of the discovery in Heuneburg of the casting mold for an Etruscan handle,[49] it seems unlikely that it could have passed over such a long distance without its master.

I consider that the matrices found in the territory of Scythia and in the Kuban River region were produced by local craftsmen. Such toreutic centers satisfied the needs of local tribes for simple gold ornaments like plaques, which could be made with stamps. By contrast, the Greek centers of North Pontic toreutics, foremost among them being Panticapaeum, supplied the Scythians, perhaps in the character of gifts from the ruler of Bosporos,[50] with expensive artistic objects manufactured in so-called "Graeco-Scythian style"[51] produced, for the most part, with matrices.[52]

We should conclude by stressing not only that Panticapaeum was an important metalworking center in Hellenistic times, but that its activity continued to the very end of the period, as is attested not only by the late Hellenistic matrix under discussion here, but also by the discovery in Kerch of a matrix, dated to the first century A.D. that depicts a frontal horned lion-griffin, reliefs from which were used for the decoration of pteryges of muscle cuirasses (figs. 7a/7b).[53]

Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts
Moscow, U.S.S.R.



Figs. 7a/7b. Matrix, bronze, from Kerch, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Archaeological Collection, no. 9159. Photos from Williams, Ellen Reeder, *The Archaeological Collection of the Johns Hopkins University.* The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore/London, 1984, p. 90.

NOTES

1. Kept in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow (W-78C, 30–48, wall N 11a). The author is grateful to the chief of excavations Dr. Vladimir P. Tolstikov who attracted his attention to the object discussed.

2. D. K. Hill, "Ancient Metal Reliefs," *Hesperia*, 12 (1943), 97–115 (hereafter, Hill, "Ancient Metal Reliefs"); E. Reeder Williams, "Isis Pelagia and a Roman Marble Matrix from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia*, 54 (1985), 116–117, and references cited in note 53; *idem*, "A Bronze Matrix in the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, 42/43 (1984/85), 24–31 (hereafter, Reeder Williams, "A Bronze Matrix"); *idem*, "The Mother of the Gods and a Hellenistic Bronze Matrix," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 91 (1987), 429 (hereafter, Reeder, "The Mother of the Gods").

3. Hill, "Ancient Metal Reliefs," 114.

4. Reeder, "The Mother of the Gods," 429.

5. See diadems below, note 18; V.O. Rjabova, "Wooden Vessels with Overlays from the Scythian Time Barrows," *Archeologia*, 46 (1984), 31–44 (in Ukrainian with Russian summary) (hereafter, Rjabova, "Wooden Vessels with Overlays").

6. Reeder Williams, "Isis Pelagia," 117; St. Kolkówna, "Remarques sur les sources archéologiques antiques relatives à la production d'orfèvrerie sur les rivages septentrionaux et occident de la Mer Noire," *Studies in Ancient Jewelry*, T. Hackens, ed. (Louvain-le Neuve, 1980), 114–115, pl. 1X, 1 (hereafter, Kolkówna, "Remarques sur les sources archéologiques"); V. Vasilev, "Bronze Matrices in Roman Toreutics of the IInd–IIIrd Centuries A.D.," *Problems of Classical History and Culture* II (Erevan, 1979), 22–270 (in Russian); V.P. Vasilev, "Matrices en bronze dans la toreutique romaine provinciale des IIe–IIIe siècles," *Actes du IVe colloque international sur les bronzes antiques* (17–21 mai 1976) (Lyon, 1976), 187–190; D. Gáspár, "A Roman Die?" *Bronzes romains figurés et appliqués et leur problèmes techniques. Actes du VIIe colloque international sur les bronzes antiques, Albia Regia*, 21 (1984), 87–88.

7. See Kolkówa, "Remarques sur les sources archéologiques," pls. VII, VIII.

8. G. Davidson, *The Minor Objects, Corinth*, XII (Princeton, 1952), 307–308, N 2661, pl. 126.

9. I. Kriseleit, "Antike Guss- und Treibformen," *Forshungen und Berichte, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, 20/21 (1980), 197, abb. 7.

10. Reeder Williams, "Isis Pelagia," 117.

11. *Compte-Rendu de la Comission Impériale Archéologique*, 1865 (St. Petersburg, 1866), 21, pl. 1. Here we compare only the principal shape of the Bolshaja Bliznitsa calathos, not the technique of its manufacture, which is completely different, being made with stamped ornaments soldered to gold foil plate.

12. M.I. Rostovtzeff and P.K. Stepanov, "Hellenic-Scythian Head-Dress," *Izvestija Archeologicheskoj Komissii*, 63 (1917), 69–101 (in Russian).

13. T.V. Miroshina, "Scythian Calathus," *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 1 (1980), 30–45 (in Russian with English summary) (hereafter, Miroshina, "Scythian Calathus"); *idem*, "Some Types of the IVth–IIIrd Century B.C., Scythian Head-Dresses," *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 4 (1981), 46–69 (in Russian with English summary) (hereafter, Miroshina, "Some Types of Scythian Head-Dresses"); *idem*, "Greek Head Ornaments of the North Pontic Area," *Kratkije Soobshenija Instituta Archeologii*, 174 (1983), 10–17 (in Russian) (hereafter, Miroshina, "Greek Head Ornaments"). L.S. Klochko and Ju. S. Grebennikov, "Scythian Calathus of the IVth Century B.C.," *Materialy po chronologii archeologicheskih pamjatnikov Ukrainy* (Kiev, 1982), 86–96 (in Russian) (hereafter, Klochko and Grebinnikov, "Scythian Calathus").

14. See Miroshina, "Greek Head Ornaments," 15 and *idem*, "Scythian Calathus." However, B.A. Shramko does not consider the cylindrical reconstruction of the Scythian calathos to be final, see B.A. Shramko, rev. B.M. Mozolevsky, *Tovsta Mogila* (Kiev, 1979) (in Ukrainian) and *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 1 (1984), 276–277 (in Russian).

15. Klochko and Grebinnikov, "Scythian Calathus," 92. The matrix could not have been used for manufacture of the gold overlays of wooden bowls. Such overlays usually have smaller dimensions and were not decorated with floral patterns (see Rjabova, "Wooden Vessels with Overlays," 52).

16. Miroshina, "Some Types of Scythian Head-Dresses", 52.

17. *Ibid.*, 53, pl. 4, 62, fig. 9.

18. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les bijoux antiques* (Paris, 1956), pl. XVIII; H. Hoffman and P.F. Davidson, *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander* (Mainz, 1965), 67–68 (hereafter, Hoffman and Davidson, *Greek Gold*); G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art*, 7th ed. (London-New York, 1974), 271, fig. 388; W.W. Rudolph, *Highlights of the Burton Y. Berry Collection* 22 (Indianapolis, 1979), 14, n. 11; *Schmuck der Antike. Gefässe und Geräte aus Bronze, Münzen und Medaillen A.G. Basel*, Sonderliste T. (October 1981), no. 11; *Gli ori di Taranto in età ellenistica* (Milan, 1984) 118, n. 47; R. Zahn, *Sammlung Baurat Schiller; Berlin: Werke antiker Kleinkunst* (Berlin, 1929), 49, no. 103, taf. 42; A. Pierides, *Jewelery in the Cyprus Museum* (Nicosia, 1971), 20–29, pl. XVII,1–3; G. Neumann, "Ein frühhellenistisches Golddiadem aus Kreta," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 80 (1965), 143–151.

19. M. Andronicos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs* (Athens, 1984), 196, fig. 158–159 (hereafter, Andronicos, *Vergina*).

20. See for example, A.D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou, *The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia*. Oxford Monographs on Classical Archaeology, I (Oxford, 1978), pls. 20,3–4; 26,4; 29,3–6; 34,4–5; 69,5–6; 77,3–4; 118,3–4; 119,1–2; 125,3.

21. B.I. Sokolsky, *Antique Wooden Sarcophagus of the North Pontic Area, Sved Archeologicheskich Istochnikov*, GI-17 (Moscow, 1969), pls. 11,1–2; 20,7 (in Russian) (hereafter, Sokolsky, *Antique Wooden Sarcophagus*).

22. N.A. Onaiko, "About the Reflection of Monumental Art in Bosporan Toreutics," *Problems of Classical History and Culture*, II, 396, figs. 1–2 (in Russian).

23. Sokolsky, *Antique Wooden Sarcophagus*, pls. 21; 24,3,5.

24. Andronicos, *Vergina*, 135, fig. 93; 195, figs. 156–157.

25. Hoffman and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, nos. 54–55.

26. A. Ju. Alexeev, "Notes on Chronology of Scythian Steppe Antiquities of the IVth Century B.C.," *Sovetskaja Archeologia*, 2 (1987), 28–39 (in Russian with English summary) (hereafter, Alexeev, "Chronology"); *idem*, "Chronology of Scythia of the Second Half of the IVth Century B.C.," *Archeologicheskij Sbornik*, 28 (1987), 38–51 (in Russian with English summary); Hoffman and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, 68; B. van den Driessche, "Le trésor de bijouterie de Santa Eufimia," *Antiquité Classique*, XLII 2 (1973), 562–563.

"From my point of view, the flower tendril fits well into eastern decorative systems. All the three preserved large flowers are rosettes and that is actually in keeping with a High- or Late Hellenistic date. The dominating preference for rosette-like flowers in tendril systems is, however, just a tendency, but I think, even your matrix from a late Hellenistic fill corroborates this observation. I have not to elaborate that this does not mean that a decoration with varying flower types cannot be placed in the late Hellenistic or Imperial period. It just means that a decoration comprised of a tiny tendril and large rosettes is by far more likely a late decoration than an earlier one. There are a few exceptions in late Classical vase painting in the 4th century but their general composition and the rendering of the

details are all different. The general balance of the elements in your tendril differs widely from earlier Northern Pontic redactions of the flower tendril system; see for example the tendril on the Chertomlyk gorytos (*JdI* 87 [1982] 152, fig. 29). In view of the composition, I would compare the Pergamene friezes (Ch. Bŏker, *JdI* 88 [1973], 296–301, figs. 6–9) that bear, for example, the same pointed rosettes. The large rosette with serrated, three-pointed leaves on your matrix finds, for example, analogies on High-Hellenistic jewelry, as the golden belt in Athens (P. Amandry, *Collection Hélène Stathatos* [1953], pls. 49–50). While known in the Italian world as early as the 4th century, the full blown rosette with serrated leaves is—to the best of my knowledge—not represented among eastern material of the same period. The type was, however, quite popular in the East in Seleuco-Parthian contexts (see a Late-Hellenistic silver bowl and an early Imperial rhyton in Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum of alleged Near Eastern provenance; *GettyMusJ* 15 [1987], 164–165, nos. 21, 22 with ill.). Balancing the flower type with the general rendering of the decoration, I would suggest a date in the 2nd or 1st century BC." Letter, M. Pfrommer, July 18, 1989.

27. M. Pfrommer, *Studien zu alexandrinischer und grossgreiechischer Toreutik frühhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1987) Archäologische Forschungen, Bd. 16, 137, 264, KBk 123, 124, taf. 57,c2. M. Pfrommer dates the bowl to the second half of the 2nd century.

28. A. Laumonier, *La céramique hellenistique à reliefs* (Paris, 1977) Délos, fasc. XXXI, pl. 89, 1556, 1547; pl. 93, 5553.

29. See for example, M.I. Rostovtzeff, *Scythia and Bosporus* (Leningrad, 1925), 171, 362, 457–461; N.A. Onaiko, "Animal Style and Antique World of the North Pontic Area in the VIIth–IVth Centuries B.C.," *Scytho-Siberian Animal Style in the Art of Eurasian Peoples* (Moscow, 1976), 66–73 (in Russian); *idem*, "About the New Publications of Antique Toreutics from the Scythian Barrows of the Dnieper Valley," *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 4 (1982), 252–253 (in Russian); Alexeev, "Chronology," 43–44; E.V. Jakovenko, "The Problem of Provenance of Articles of Toreutics from the Early Hellenistic Barrows of Scythia and Bosporus," *Black Sea Littoral in the Hellenistic Epoch.* Acts of the IIIrd All-Union Symposium on the Ancient History of the Black Sea Littoral, Tshaltubo, 1982 (Tbilisi, 1985), 341–352 (in Russian with English summary); N.L. Grach, *ibid.*, 434–435; A.I. Boltunova, *ibid.*, 441–442; M. Mielczarek, "Gold Pantikapaean Coins Set in Rings Found in the Great Ryzhanovka Barrow (Ukraine)," *Archeologia*, 37 (1986), 104–105. About production of Scythian calathoi in the Bosporus in the 4th century B.C., see especially, Klochko and Grebinnikov, "Scythian Calathus."

30. N.P. Mantsevich, "The Find of a Royal Tomb near Vergina Village in Northern Greece," *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 3 (1980), 166 with bibliography (in Russian); *idem*, "Sur l'origine des objets de toreutique retrouvés dans les tumuli de l'époque scythe (d'après les materiaux de l'Ermitage)," *Studies in Ancient Jewelry*, T. Hackens, ed. (Louvain-le-Neuve, 1980), 80-105; cf., Andronicos, *Vergina*, 181–186.

31. M. Pfrommer, "Grossgriechischer und mittelitalischer Einfluss in der Rankernornamentik frühhellenistischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 97 (1982), 166.

32. B.V. Pharmakovsky, "Gold Overlays of Gorytoi from the Chertonlyk Barrow and the Barrow near Iljintsy," *Collection of Archaeological Articles Presented to A.A. Bobrinsky* (St. Petersburg, 1911) (in Russian).

33. N.A. Oniako, "Notes on the Technique of Bosporian Toreutics," *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 3 (1974), 78–86 (in Russian with French summary) (hereafter, Onaiko, "Notes on Technique").

34. *Ibid.*, 81–82.

35. I.D. Marchenko, "Materials on Metalworking and Metalurgy of Pantikapaion," *Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR*, 56 (1957), 163, figs. 2, 7–8 (in Russian) (hereafter, Marchenko, "Materials on Metalworking").

36. V.F. Gaidukevich, "The Find of Antique Bronze Stamp in Tiritaka," *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 6 (1940), (in Russian) (hereafter, Gaidukevich, "Bronze Stamp").

37. Bronze stamp for making of plaques with an Aphrodite bust was found in 1987 (unpublished).

38. M. Ju. Treister, "New Data on Artistic Metalworking in Bosporus," *Vestnik drevnej istorii*, 1 (1984), 146–160 (in Russian with English summary); *idem*, "Bronzeworking in Bosporus in the IVth Century B.C.," *Kratkije Soobshenija Instituta Archeologii*, 191 (1987), 7–13 (in Russian); *idem*, "Metalworking of Panticapaeum," 45–46.

39. See M. Ju. Treister, "Metalworking of Panticapaeum, Capital of the Kingdom of Bosporus," *Bulletin of the Metals Museum* 12 (1987), 46 (hereafter, Treister, "Metalworking of Panticapaeum").

40. Onaiko, "Notes on Technique," 86.

41. See, for example, D.R. Macdonald, "The Emigration of Potters from Athens in the Late Fifth Century B.C. and its Effect on the Attic Pottery Industry," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 85 (1981), 159–168.

42. See A. Burford, *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society* (Ithaca, 1974), 66.

43. B.N. Grakov, "Kamenskoje Settlement upon Dnieper," *Materialy i Issledovanija po Archeologii SSSR*, 36 (1954), 134–135, fig. 13,5 (in Russian).

44. B.A. Shramko, "About the Manufacture of Gold Ornaments by Scythian Craftsmen," *Sovetskaja Archaeologia*, 2 (1970), 217–221 (in Russian).

45. B.A. Shramko, *Belskoje Settlement of the Scythian Epoch* (Gelon Town) (Kiev, 1987), 121 (in Russian).

46. *The Treasures of Adygoeja Barrows* (Moscow, 1985), 95, fig. 50 nos. 252–253 (exhibition catalogue) (in Russian).

47. *Ibid.*, 38.

48. Onaiko, "Notes on Technique," 85.

49. F.S. Wells, *Culture Contact and Culture Change* (Cambridge, 1980), 26–27, fig. 3.6.

50. Alexeev, "Chronology of Scythia," 43–44.

51. W. Rudolph, "A Greco-Scythian Gold Pectoral from Tolstaja Mogila near Ordzonikidze," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 90 (1986), 208–209.

52. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. bronze stamps were broadly used in Bosporan toreutics. See Gaidukevich, "Bronze Stamp;" I.D. Marchenko, "Materials on Metalworking," 163, fig. 2,7–8. A bronze stamp for making plaques with the bust of Aphrodite was found in Gorgippia in 1987 (unpublished).

53. D.M. Robinson, "A State Seal-Matrix from Panticapaeum," *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps* (Princeton, 1936), 306–313; E. Reeder Williams, "A Bronze Matrix for a Cuirass Pteryx," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 81 (1977), 233–235; *idem*, "A Bronze Matrix," 26–27, figs. 10–11.

The Earliest Eleousa: A Coptic Ivory in the Walters Art Gallery

Robert P. Bergman

The author attempts to fix the date of a controversial ivory Virgin and Child in the Walters collection and to comment on its particular iconography. A number of associations confirm the traditional attribution of the work to an early Christian Egyptian workshop.

The ivory Virgin and Child (figs. 1–4) in the Walters Art Gallery is a fascinating and enigmatic work whose analysis raises complex and wide-ranging issues connected with late antique art. While some of these larger issues will be addressed here, I shall, for the most part, concentrate on two particularly critical and vexing problems: the date and stylistic affiliations of the ivory and the origin of the Virgin "type" represented. Finally, some speculation will be offered concerning the possible function of the Walters piece.[1]

Carved on the convex surface of a single piece of ivory whose semicircular shape reveals the perimeter of the original tusk, the relief measures 25.5 cm. high by 11.6 cm. across by 6 cm. deep. The panel might have been slightly taller originally since it appears to have been cut at the bottom. The top edge has been described as intact since it still carries its ornament of incised leaves. As we shall see, this is not really the case. Inclusion of the decoration on the top suggests that this surface may have been visible in its original setting. Cut into the front of this top edge is a curious rectangular indentation that could be connected with the original mounting of the piece. There are as well several holes, presumably also for mounting but of uncertain date, which penetrate the surface, and the left edge of the piece has suffered some loss. Small repairs, probably ancient, are visible above the Virgin's eyes. At some time in the past, but presumably not when it was first made, the ivory was given a reddish-brown patina.

Although the subject is carved in low relief, the semicircular shape of the ivory renders it stable enough to stand without support, lending it the quality of a free-standing statuette. The Virgin and Child thus possesses the seemingly contradictory qualities of a two-dimensional carving on a three-dimensional armature.

The Virgin sits frontally on a low, cushioned seat the frame of which is decorated with a series of point and circle punches while the cushion is indicated by a web of cross-hatching. She holds the nimbed Christ child across her chest, supporting him with her right arm beneath his thighs and buttocks and her left around his torso and resting on his left shoulder. Christ wears a short-sleeved tunic. The Virgin's frontal posture is relieved by the turning of her head slightly to her left. Thus the side of her face meets Christ's upturned head, producing a tender cheek-to-cheek embrace, completed by the extension of the child's left arm around his mother's right shoulder. The Virgin and Child are flanked on either side by full-length angels carrying scepters whose outstretched wings enframe the Virgin's head. The head of the angel at the right is cut off just above eye level while that at the left may be missing a small portion at the very top of his head.



Fig. 1. *Virgin and Child*, ivory, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 71.297.



Fig. 2. Fig. 1, from the right.



Fig. 3. Fig. 1, from the left.

Of the ivory's salient formal qualities, in addition to the generally rough carving of the conspicuously crowded relief surface, one notes the unusual proportions of the figures, with their large heads and small hands. The Virgin's face, a smooth and fleshy oval featuring a large straight nose, tiny mouth, and riveting eyes etched with double lines above and below surrounding a central punch for the pupil, is perhaps the most characteristic figural detail of the relief. The drapery, too, is cast in a particular mode. The Virgin's tunic and *maphorion* are depicted as a series of repetitious incised lines, most notable among which are the herringbone-like patterns created on her left leg and torso. While the carving is, overall, of low relief the Virgin's head and the figure of Christ are in high enough relief to catch the light and cast shadows on the surface. The Virgin's right leg is depicted in a curious frontal view, without the foreshortening that would truly develop the appearance of its form in depth.

Despite the apparent rusticity of the carving technique, the ivory's maker displays a number of particular sensitivities to the task at hand. The slight bend of the Virgin's torso reflects a subtle—and necessary—adaptation to the curve of the tusk. The web of incisions arrayed on the surface is not without its own inner decorum. Moreover, in seemingly contradictory yet effective fashion, the carver has meaningfully juxtaposed the relatively rigid figure of the Virgin with the more supple image of the child. Both the interplay of the two figures' faces and the interweaving of their arms and torsos effectively express the tender quality of their relationship. These qualities, in combination with the relatively convincing structure of the figures and of their physical interrelationship, suggest that in the carver of the Virgin and Child we are dealing not with a naive artist but one working against the background of a significant artistic tradition.

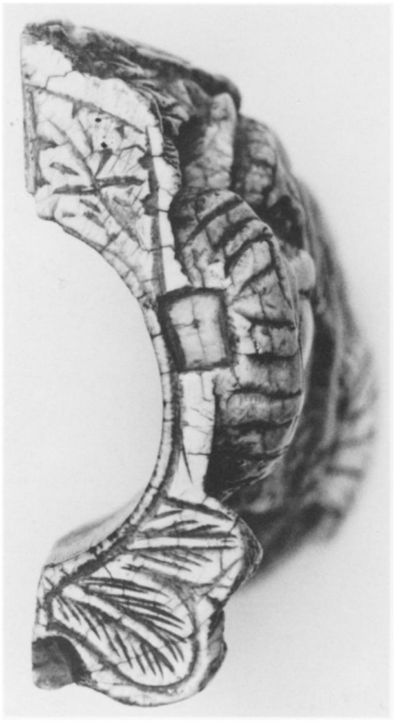


Fig. 4. Fig. 1, from the top.

The Walters Virgin and Child does not exist in total isolation but is closely related to an ivory of virtually identical size and shape (and featuring identical ornament on the upper edge) depicting the Virgin and Child of the *Hodegetria* type (figs. 5–7) in the Museo d'Arti Applicate (Castello Sforzesco) in Milan.[2] Clearly the sister carving of the Walters Virgin, and perhaps even carved by the same hand, the Milan ivory shows the Virgin in a more hieratic, frontal position, with the Christ child (nimbed, holding a scroll in his left hand and gesturing in benediction with his right) held on her right leg. While her right hand is wrapped around the child's body and supports him at the thigh, her left hand is held in front of her torso indicating his importance. In the upper half of the relief two angels are shown flanking the Virgin and Child group and indicating them with two-handed gestures. As in the Walters panel their wings enframe the central group. The angel at the left, who appears to carry a palm leaf, traditional motif of homage, has been cut at the level of his forehead while the one at the right may have suffered a slight loss at the top of his head. In the lower section two figures are depicted in smaller scale: one of the Magi, wearing a conical hat (often used in the Middle Ages to characterize "Orientals" or Jews) and carrying an object in his outstretched hands, approaches from the right; at the left a female figure extends a hand toward the Virgin. She can be identified as the midwife Salome, described in apocryphal literature (see note 32), whose hand withered when she doubted the virginal character of Christ's birth and was then restored when she accepted the reality of the event. Salome, described as the first person to bear witness to Christ's Incarnation, is sometimes depicted in early scenes of the Nativity. The pairing of Salome and one of the Magi is a meaningful one: both recognized the miraculous nature of Christ's birth and thus were among the earliest to testify to his divinity. The Milan ivory, then, presents a more complex iconography than the simple Virgin and Child imagery of the Walters panel, incorporating aspects of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi. As we shall see, this fact will eventually be very important in the closely intertwined issues of the dating and interpretation of the Virgin and Child ivories.



Fig. 5. *Virgin and Child*, ivory, Milan, Museo d'arti applicate (Castello Sforzesco), no. 16.



Fig. 6. Fig. 5, from the right.



Fig. 7. Fig. 5, from the left.

Two additional ivories in the Metropolitan Museum, one only a fragment, have been associated with the Walters and Milan Virgins. Both depict the Ascension in almost identical fashion. (figs. 8 and 9).[3] While the style of these ivories is not identical with that of the Walters and Milan pieces, it reflects significant parallels in its generalized qualities, its use of incised lines to create drapery forms, the presence of the concentric-circle punch, and the rather round, plain faces. Like the two Virgin and Child ivories, these Ascensions fill the surface of the half-round shape of the tusk with forms. Despite these similarities, the Ascension panels by no means reflect the style of the Madonnas to the extent that the Baltimore and Milan plaques resemble each other.



Fig. 8. *Ascension*, ivory, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.46.

Style and Date

Since the establishment of an approximate date for the ivories is critical to their interpretation, we will consider the dating problem first. From their initial publication in 1912[4] the Walters and Milan Virgins have almost unanimously been assigned an origin in Egypt. The surviving evidence, meager as it may be, suggests that during the late antique period Egypt, close to the African source of the material, specialized in the carving of ivory. Proposed datings, on the other hand, have ranged from the sixth through the tenth century. This issue is a matter of more than passing chronological interest, for the differences in date imply associations with significantly divergent cultural epochs.

The Walters Virgin and Child failed to receive any scholarly attention until it was publicly shown for the first time in two pioneering exhibitions: *Art of the Dark Ages* at the Worcester Art Museum in 1937 and *Pagan and Christian Egypt* at The Brooklyn Museum in 1941.[5] At virtually the same time (in 1940) Stephen Poglayen-Neuwall published the first significant study of the Milan ivory, soon after it had entered the Museo d'Arti Applicate. Upon learning of the existence of the Walters version he quickly wrote a supplementary note to his article, published the following year. This pair of articles represents the beginning of analytical scholarship on the ivories.[6] Why Poglayen-Neuwall and other earlier scholars were unaware of the existence of two obviously related pieces is difficult to understand, since they had been reproduced together on the same lithographic plate in E. Aus'm Weerth's posthumously-published 1912 elephant folio on early Christian and medieval ivories.[7]



Fig 9. *Ascension* (fragment), ivory, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 17.190.47.

Fig. 10. *Rider*, ivory plaque, mounted on the ambo of Henry II, Aachen Cathedral.



Fig. 11. *Warrior*, ivory plaque, mounted on the ambo of Henry II, Aachen Cathedral.



Fig. 12. *Bacchus*, ivory plaque, mounted on the ambo of Henry II, Aachen Cathedral.





Fig. 13. *Bacchus*, ivory plaque, mounted on the ambo of Henry II, Aachen Cathedral.



Fig. 14. *Isis*, ivory plaque, mounted on the ambo of Henry II, Aachen Cathedral.



Fig. 15. *Nereid*, ivory plaque, mounted on the ambo of Henry II, Aachen Cathedral.

Poglayen-Neuwall dated the two ivories to late sixth- or early seventh-century Egypt, citing for comparisons the famous series of ivory plaques mounted on the ambo of Aachen Cathedral in the eleventh century by Emperor Henry II (figs. 10–15).[8] These works have been ascribed by virtually all scholars to Egypt—the presence of Isis among the figures lends support to this attribution—and have been dated in the sixth century. He cited the Nereid plaque from the Aachen series (fig. 15) as providing particularly telling parallels. Clearly, the unusual proportions of the figures and, especially, their very characteristic smooth, ovoid, expressionless faces prompted the comparison. The less plastic quality of the Virgins suggested to Poglayen-Neuwall a date slightly later than the Aachen ivories; that is, in the late sixth to early seventh century. In support of his dating this scholar noted that the particular iconography of the Milan Virgin, including references to the Adoration and the Nativity, is reminiscent of the Monza ampullae, generally assigned to Syria-Palestine in the later sixth century.[9] It is worth recording that F. Witte, who edited Aus'm Weerth's volume, attributed the ivories to the "Orient" and ascribed to them a sixth to seventh century date, pointing out that while both were "rough" work, the Walters Virgin has a "classical profile."

Meanwhile, the American scholars responsible for organizing the Worcester and Brooklyn exhibitions, while also proposing an Egyptian localization for the Walters Virgin, dated it to the ninth to tenth century, obviously relying for their dating on correspondences between the ivory's style and that of several dated Coptic manuscripts in the Morgan Library. Of particular interest in this regard are the images of the nursing Virgin and Child (the type later to become known as the *Galaktotrophousa* or *Maria lactans*) in Morgan M. 612, dated 892–893 (fig. 16), and M. 574, dated 897–898 (fig. 17),[10] where "herringbone" drapery folds similar to those in both the Baltimore and Milan Virgins are also found. Indeed, this detail, as well as the generally abbreviated and rough style of the miniatures, is the key point on which the ninth to tenth century dating depends. Most subsequent writers, relying on these comparisons, have accepted this late date for the ivories, seeing them as part of a tradition of Coptic art that lasted well into Egypt's Islamic Middle Ages.[11] Volbach, however, arrived at a compromise position by placing the ivory group in the eighth to ninth century, though he provided no explanation for his dating.[12]

More recently, scholars have revived the earlier dating of the ivories. Klaus Wessel has proposed a sixth-century date for the Milan Virgin and a seventh-century origin for the Walters ivory,[13] while Oleg Zastrow has suggested a sixth-century date for both Virgins, again citing parallels with the Aachen ambo ivories as the most convincing evidence.[14] Zastrow points to the strong similarities between the Virgins' faces and that of the main figure in the Aachen "Rider" plaque, citing the oval and fleshy qualities, the long, subtle nose, and the small mouth. He also singles out the contrast between the plasticity of the rider's bust and the relative flatness of the rest of the plaque as being similar to the contrast of the Virgins' faces and bodies. Zastrow also mentions the Isis plaque from the Aachen group as similar in facial expression and in its use of herringbone lines in the drapery.



Fig. 16. *Galaktotrophousa*, manuscript illumination, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.612. fol. 1v.

Regarding the relative dating of the two ivories, the opinion that sees them separated by any significant span of time is to be rejected out of hand. This is demonstrated both by the remarkable consonance of their style and conception, and by the virtual identity of their measurements. Moreover, the precise parallel of the unusual leaf-ornament and rectangular impression carved into the top edges of both pieces makes it evident that we are dealing with consistent and contemporary practices of a single workshop.

With regard to the general question of fixing a date for the Virgin ivories no new competing sugges-



Fig. 17. *Galaktotrophousa*, manuscript illumination, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.574. fol. 2r.

tions arise from a fresh analysis of the material. The issue may be easily summarized: are they to be understood as works of the sixth to seventh century or the ninth to tenth century? The earlier dating positions the ivories as part of the final phase of the late antique world in Egypt, whereas the later dating would place the Virgins in a completely different context, post-dating the Arab invasion of Egypt. This was a period when certain classical aspects of figural representation were seriously challenged by an extremely abbreviated and stylized formal language of Islamic origin.

The intentions of this article do not permit a general re-examination of the complex and only vaguely understood history of late antique Egyptian art, normally referred to in its Christian manifestations as Coptic art;[15] the dating and localization of most Coptic works remains extremely tentative due to the lack of a suitable matrix of securely dated works within which to operate. In a memorable article now more than fifty years old, Ernst Kitzinger outlined a history of style in early (third to sixth century) Coptic sculpture.[16] Subsequent years have made us less rather than more certain that we have truly understood the dynamics of this development. Moreover, scholars have recognized the inapplicability of other approaches to understanding the early Coptic material—such as the overemphasis on the role played by Alexandria—and have stressed the classical versus abstract duality of early Coptic developments.[17] Some scholars prefer to see these two stylistic modes as reflective of an "official" art and a "popular" art, others as reflecting the point of view of the "Greek" component of the population as opposed to the native Egyptian. As is true for every area of the late-antique Mediterranean world, understanding the artistic *koine* of Egypt during this period requires a sensitivity to the local syntheses of the classicizing and abstracting tendencies characteristic of the epoch's artistic production.

The argument of those who support the later dating of the ivories rests primarily on the connections between their style and that of the ninth- and tenth-century Coptic manuscripts in the Morgan Library cited above. In fact, while the compositions are generally similar, and although herringbone drapery patterns may be found in both manuscripts and ivories, the actual approach to the rendering of the figure is markedly different. In the manuscripts the figures appear awkwardly juxtaposed to one another while on the ivories the poses of mother and child remain convincingly integrated. Even allowing for the inherent differences between sculpture and painting, the manuscript illuminations, totally lacking the plasticity achieved through light and shadow and featuring forms outlined with firm black lines, are rendered in a far more schematic, two-dimensional manner than the ivories. Moreover, the painted Virgins reveal little interest in the organic interrelationships of the parts of the body. By comparison, the ivories appear much more unified in their make-up. The proportional peculiarities of the ivory figures, featuring large heads and small hands, are reversed in the miniatures, where tiny heads and overly large hands characterize the figures. All in all, close comparison suggests only superficial similarities between the manuscripts and ivories that do not support the assumption of a common date. On the contrary, stylistic divergences suggest distinctly different dates. If the extreme schematism of the manuscripts is the hallmark of Christian art in Egypt during the later centuries after the Arab conquest, the Walters and Milan Virgins appear, by contrast, to remain more firmly rooted in pre-conquest times, when the classical tradition presumably enjoyed more of an afterlife.

In fact, as most scholars have pointed out, the Aachen ambo ivories do provide the Virgins' closest stylistic comparisons: their overall sense of monumentality; oval, expressionless faces with their long noses

and tiny mouths; large-headed proportions; overcrowding of the surfaces; compositions featuring a central figure flanked by smaller-scale subsidiary figures; point-and-circle punch as a decorative element in both groups; and, finally, use of the half-round form of the tusk for all of these ivories.

A technical aspect of the carving also unites the Virgins and the Aachen ambo ivories. The top edge of the Walters ivory is not intact. While it is true that the portions that retain the foliate ornament are intact, the parts at the front of the ivory that extended over the heads of the angels have clearly been damaged. This explains the awkward and highly unusual truncated appearance of these angels' heads. These thoroughly illogical truncations were not part of the carver's original design but resulted from damage to the top edge. But how can this seeming anomaly be explained: most of the top surface appears intact, yet the angels' heads are clearly cut off. Clearly these heads must have been carved to extend above the height of the rest of the plaque. At a later time they were cut even with the level of the remainder of the top, whose surface remained intact. It is not difficult to understand the vulnerability of such protruding pieces.

Recognition that the angels' heads originally protruded from the top of the Walters—and also the Milan—Virgin is important because precisely this carving detail of the half-round plaque is evident in at least two of the Aachen ambo ivories. In the "Rider" panel (fig. 10) the heads of the two victories flanking the equestrian figure protrude above the rest of the ivory in just the manner proposed for the angels of the Madonnas. The putti in the "Warrior" panel (fig. 11) are disposed in exactly the same manner. This is a feature unique to these two groups of ivories and, in my opinion, provides strong evidence of their common origin and contemporaneity. The present mounting of the Aachen ivories does not allow for an examination of their top surfaces, so that one is left to wonder whether or not the sketchy acanthus ornament was also used there.

The Walters and Milan ivories are not identical in style to the Aachen group. The latter retain far more of the classical approach. It is hard to imagine the languid posture of the ivory Bacchus (fig. 12) at its core as anything other than a fourth-century or Hellenistic Greek type. Perhaps their pagan, mythological subject matter was considered appropriately rendered in this mode, while for the Virgins a more abbreviated vocabulary was deemed proper. On the other hand, perhaps the Virgins are types invented only in late antique times and do not carry with them a stylistic inheritance still borne by the classical figure types. Yet, as we have seen, in so many ways their approach to form is closely related to the Aachen ivories. I would not go so far as those who think the Virgins were carved in the very same workshop as the pagan Aachen ambo panels,[18] but I would maintain that they were created in the same time and place, in late sixth-or early seventh-century Egypt.

A further detail that has escaped notice supports this early dating. The ornament carved into the top edge of both Virgins consists mainly of very generalized acanthus leaves with oval terminals (fig. 4). In keeping with tendencies in Egyptian sculpture of the late antique period the leaves are depicted in extremely sketchy fashion: their central veins are rendered in slight relief while the smaller capillary veins are shown as simple incised lines radiating from the central vein. Precisely such execution may be found on two fragments of bone carving formerly in Berlin (destroyed in World War II) which have been attributed to fifth- or sixth-century Egypt (fig. 18).[19] This ornamental detail is so similar in the Madonnas and the bone carving fragments that a common origin seems assured.

Yet further corroboration of the early dating comes from a survey of the early Christian paintings of Egypt, which have survived in far greater numbers than the ivories. Here, in the remarkable frescoes of Bawit and Saqqara, particularly those securely dated to the early period (sixth and seventh century) the figural population often tends to carry the same characteristic proportions and round, fleshy faces as the Madonnas. These features may also be paralleled in contemporary stone sculpture such as, for example, the sixth-century Virgin and Child in Cairo (fig. 19).[20] What's more, even herringbone drapery patterns, the primary point of comparison for the "late" date, can be found among the sixth-century frescoes at Saqqara and Bawit such as, for example, in the often-reproduced group of Four Saints and a "Penitent" (fig. 20).[21]

One decorative detail in the related Ascension ivories also may be usefully addressed at this point. In both of these works Christ's tunic is decorated with a design consisting of "Maltese crosses" whose four equal triangular arms point in toward the center. This



Fig. 18. Ornamental fragments, ivory, Berlin, formerly Kaiser Friedrich Museum, nos. 3881, 3882 (now destroyed).



Fig. 19. *Virgin and Child with Angels*, limestone, Cairo, Coptic Museum, no. 8006 (M.E. 8704).



Fig. 20. *Four Saints and a Penitent*, fresco, Saqqara, Monastery of Apa Jeremiah, Cell A, north wall.

element is a common feature superimposed on garments in Coptic frescoes of the sixth and seventh but not later centuries and is visible in the Saqqara fresco just cited.[22]

All in all, then, the ivory Virgins find their most significant stylistic associations among works produced in sixth- or seventh-century Egypt. Their iconography, although enigmatic in certain respects, sustains this attribution.

The Virgin Types

Even before the Council of Ephesus in 431 declared the Virgin *Theotokos*, or "Mother of God," devotion to Mary had reached significant proportions. After Ephesus the impetus to create independent cult images of the Virgin and Child was significantly intensified. As one would have expected, such images began to be produced with particular frequency in the sixth and seventh centuries, coinciding with the general heightening of interest in the "cult of images."[23]

In the course of the Byzantine Middle Ages various formulas were developed for the depiction of the Virgin and Child. Pioneering comprehensive research on the later, more normative phases of these types by Russian scholars around the turn of this century pointed the way toward future directions of inquiry that might have served to refine our understanding of this complex subject.[24] Yet, while considerable research on the theme has been completed in the ensuing decades, the grand and inclusive vision of these scholars has never been renewed. For the purposes of this inquiry I will limit myself to those aspects of this larger problem that touch upon our understanding of the Walters and Milan ivories.[25]

Among the early Virgin and Child types, which always remained more fluid than the more fixed formulas of Middle Byzantine and later times, the type of the Milan ivory—which was to become known as the *Hodegetria*—is one of the most popular. Here, as stated earlier, the child is displayed on one of the frontally-seated Virgin's knees; the Virgin indicates Christ by pointing to his diminutive figure. This Virgin and Child type became referred to as the *Hodegetria* (the one who shows the way) because its prototypical version was believed to have been the early icon miraculously discovered in Jerusalem and taken to the famous Hodegon monastery in Constantinople. This image became the virtual *palladium* of the Byzantine capital and was believed to have been painted by the

hand of St. Luke. Countless examples of the type exist from early Christian times, and the *Hodegetria* later occupied a central place in Middle Byzantine iconography.[26]

The Milan ivory represents a particular version of the type. The fact that the Virgin is surrounded by two angels lends the group a more regal and hierarchical aspect; this more majestic image is often described as a *Regina angelorum*. There is little doubt that such imagery, developed in dialogue with imperial imagery, originated early in the history of Christian art. Although both the simple *Hodegetria* and the *Regina angelorum* may be found in Egypt as early as the sixth century, this iconography is so widespread in early Christian and later medieval times throughout the Mediterranean world that it is difficult to interpret its appearance in the Milan ivory as demonstrating affiliation with any particular time or place.[27]

More interesting in this regard are the subsidiary figures of the Magus and Salome who flank the Virgin and Child. Although the more common type of iconography for the Adoration of the Magi depicts the Virgin and Child in profile to one side approached by the three kings, during the early Christian period there was another iconographical type popular particularly in the eastern Mediterranean which showed a central hieratic image of the Virgin and Child flanked by the Magi (sometimes three, sometimes four) on either side. Two characteristic examples of the type are shown on ivory plaques in the John Rylands Library and the British Museum (fig. 21), attributed to a Syrian workshop.[28] This iconography was generally rejected during later periods in favor of the more narrative profile type. The Milan ivory, with its central Virgin and Child and flanking Magus, is conceived very much in the spirit of these early Adorations.[29]

The midwife Salome, depicted on the Virgin's opposite side, seems to replace another Magus in this roughly symmetrical composition. While I can provide no precise parallel for the bringing together of Salome and one of the Magi as subsidiary elements of a Virgin and Child representation, it is worth noting that the appearance of Salome extending her hand, while very common in early Christian art attributed to Egypt or Syria, is very rare in later times.[30] Interestingly, she appears in the Nativity scene carved below the Adoration on the two ivories just mentioned.

Another pertinent parallel for both subsidiary figures is provided by a Carolingian ivory pyxis in Vienna, undoubtedly copied from a sixth-century Christian Egyptian ivory.[31] Here a central, enthroned Virgin and Child forms part of both the Nativity and the



Fig. 21. *Adoration of the Magi/Nativity*, ivory, London, British Museum, Department of Medieval and British Antiquities, ivory cat. no. 14.

Adoration. Salome, kneeling and extending her hand, flanks the Virgin at the left while one of the Magi approaches from the right. The final composition is very reminiscent of the Milan Virgin and Child. In all these examples, then, the same repertory of iconographic elements evident in the Milan ivory appears on early Christian ivories from the eastern Mediterranean. There can be little doubt that the iconography of the Milan ivory supports an early rather than a late dating.[32]

The iconography of the Walters ivory, while devoid of the subsidiary figures of Salome and the Magus, presents us with a far more complicated historical issue. The presence of the flanking angels again indicates that we are dealing with a *Regina angelorum*, but the central group is no longer of the *Hodegetria* type. The Virgin's gentle cradling of the child, his affectionate grasp of her shoulder, and, most importantly, their cheek-to-cheek embrace are all characteristics of another of the Virgin types that would be of central importance in the history of Christian art: the *Eleousa*, or the "Virgin of Tenderness" (literally, "of mercy"). Although *Eleousa* is not a word used during the Middle Ages to designate this iconography—it is,

instead, used to describe a quality of the Virgin herself—it has come to be the most common epithet to describe this affectionate type.[33]

The history of the *Eleousa* type is quite complex, and the Walters Virgin plays a central role in the story, for reasons that will soon become evident. At the beginning of the century, some scholars suggested that the *Eleousa* made its first appearance in eleventh- or twelfth-century Byzantine art.[34] Others thought that it had begun much later and that its occurrence in Byzantine (and Russian) art only developed as a result of the influence of early Italian painting of the Dugento and Trecento, where the type could be found in considerable profusion. Such a personalized vision of the Virgin and Child, it was argued, must have been a purely Western development of the emerging Renaissance.[35] That view required radical revision when the most revered Byzantine example of the type, the Virgin of Vladimir (fig. 22), was restored in 1918–1919. Formerly considered to date in the fourteenth century, the icon was revealed by Lazareff and Alpatoff in 1925 to be a work of the Comnenian period of the early twelfth century.[36] Not only was the earliest appearance of the type pushed back by several centuries, but it was evident that, far from originating in the Latin West, it had been employed by Byzantine artists long before its appearance in Italy. The influence had traveled precisely the reverse route of what had hitherto been thought by some. The two Russian authors now reasserted what some scholars could earlier only have intuited: that the *Eleousa* developed on Byzantine soil not later than the twelfth century. They speculated that it evolved from the *Hodegetria*, simply by the bringing together of the heads of the two figures. In the ensuing decades numerous examples of Byzantine *Eleousa* Virgins have been discovered, the earliest of which appears to be the version in the new church of Tokali Kilise in Cappadocia (ca. 950–964), clearly based on a Constantinopolitan tradition.[37] Popularity of the type during Middle Byzantine times was undoubtedly encouraged by its use as the central devotional image in the palace church of the Emperor John II Comnenus (1118–1143).[38]



Fig. 22. *Virgin and Child (Virgin of Vladimir)*, tempera on panel, Moscow, Tretyakov Gallery, no. 14.243.

An early "sub-controversy" developed concerning the form of the earliest *Eleousa*. Lazareff proposed that the original version would have been a full-length standing figure. I. Grabar, on the other hand, in an article of 1930 in which he proposed an origin for the type in ninth-century Byzantium, suggested that the original of the *Eleousa* was a Byzantine seated Virgin and Child of the ninth century.[39]

Meanwhile, in a pair of studies published in 1928 and 1930 concerning a thirteenth-century Serbian Psalter, André Grabar suggested that both stylistically and iconographically the illuminations in this manuscript depended on early Coptic models. One of the miniatures depicts a "cheek-to-cheek" Virgin and Child. In proposing the derivation of this miniature from an early Egyptian model, Grabar cites Coptic apocryphal Gospels and other Egyptian texts that emphasize the human relation of the Virgin and the Christ child, among which are several that describe the Virgin holding her son in her arms and caressing him. For Grabar there is a close correspondence in spirit between the type of the nursing Virgin and Child (later to become known as the *Galaktotrophousa*) and the *Eleousa*: both are types which emphasize an intimate and tender relationship between mother and child. Although Grabar's analysis is outdated in a number of respects, many of his fundamental points remain valid.

The nursing Virgin and Child, which was also to have a later life in early Renaissance Italy, may not have had its earliest use in Egypt—as many have thought—but it certainly flourished there in early Christian times. Numerous preserved painted and

sculpted examples—such as this sixth-century fresco from Saqqara (fig. 23)—testify to its popularity in Egypt by the sixth century. A specifically Egyptian character of the type may derive from the fact that the image of the nursing mother and child had been employed along the Nile in pre-Christian and Late Antique times for representations of Isis with the infant Horus (the Greek Harpocrates). Although recently several scholars specializing in pre-Christian art have doubted the derivation of the nursing Madonna from the Isis-Horus tradition there can be little doubt that an iconographic predisposition toward the type existed in Egypt which favored the use of such a formula to depict a mother-and-child deity group. Moreover, many early Egyptian and related texts may be cited that allude to the Virgin's breast-feeding of the infant Christ in a manner emphasizing the affectionate and nurturing aspect of the gesture. The nursing Madonna is, in fact, an even more "intimate" type than the *Eleousa*. What the two have in common is the emphasis on the tenderest relations of mother and child expressed through tangible, physical relationships.[41]

Grabar's thesis is essential for an understanding of the Walters *Eleousa* since it establishes a context for the type's appearance in early Christian Egypt. In order to keep Grabar's prophetic theory in proper historical perspective, it must be remembered that his analyses were written when the Virgin of Vladimir was the earliest known example of the type in existence, when the words "Coptic" or "Egyptian" had never been uttered in relation to the *Eleousa*, and years before the Walters ivory had been introduced into scholarly discussion.

Along with the apocryphal Gospel texts cited by Grabar and others, an important body of relevant literature dealing with the early Egyptian conception of the Virgin is provided by homiletic texts. Such texts, in most cases actually preached during public worship, offer a glimpse of what must have been widely and popularly dispersed notions. One, an early fifth-century Coptic Christmas sermon incorrectly ascribed by some to Cyril of Alexandria but whose author remains unknown, provides a real sense of the characteristic human conception of the Virgin's relationship to her infant son held by Coptic Christians. The author addresses the Virgin:

> You extended your right arm, and took him and made him lie on your left arm. You bent your neck and let your hair fall on him. You kissed his mouth in the same way that the Father kissed his mouth in heaven, and you sat him on your knees. He raised his eyes toward your face. He stretched out his hand, he took your breast and he drew into his mouth the milk that was sweeter than manna. The taste of your offering was sweeter than that of the sacrifice of Noah. After having drunk from your immaculate breasts he called you 'My Mother...' Afterwards you took him by the hand and led him along the road and you said: 'My sweet son, walk a bit on the road, in the way that all the children are accustomed to walk.' And he, Jesus, God, followed you without hesitation. With his little fingers he reached for you and after a while he stopped. Then he grabbed again for the hem of Mary's garments, his mother; he who supported the whole world. He raised his eyes toward your face, he who sustains the whole universe and in whom it finds its order. Then you approached him, took him up in your arms and continued your walk.[42]



Fig. 23. *Galaktotrophousa*, fresco, Saqqara, Monastery of Apa Jeremiah, Cell A, apse.

Another early homily attributed by some to Theophilus of Alexandria (d. 412), *Flight of the Holy Family to Egypt*, is very close in content and feeling to Cyril's text. But in this instance, the Virgin, describing her walk with the infant Christ, says, ". . . And I immediately took him up into my bosom; I took him and I kissed him, and I rejoiced in being with him."[43] Such textual evidence, explicitly describing the central action of the *Galaktotrophousa* type, provides at least an implicit literary context for the *Eleousa* image as well.

In the scholarly investigations of the *Eleousa* type one searches in vain for any reference to an early text describing the specific pose of the Virgin and Child in which their faces are brought together. In fact, this detail does appear in a sixteenth-century Ethiopic translation of another Mary homily ascribed to Theophilus of Alexandria, which surely derives from an early Christian Egyptian source. It occurs in the middle of the recounting of a strange tale about the Holy Family in Egypt, accompanied by Salome. They are accosted by a pair of thieves, one Egyptian and one a Jew, who literally steal the clothes off the backs of their victims. The Virgin, fearing for the life of her son, then says: "And I lifted him (Jesus) up in my arms, and weeping I laid my face upon his and said, 'Woe is me, O my beloved Son, whither shall I escape from this hour? Whither shall I run? I fled with thee from Jerusalem through fear of the enemy Herod, lest they should kill you, O my beloved Son. . .'"[44]

Eventually one of the thieves repents and saves the family from his accomplice; these turn out to be the good and bad thieves who are crucified at Christ's side. It is worthy of note that this event occurs during the Holy Family's sojourn in Egypt, suggesting the possibility that the cheek-to-cheek iconography is, in every sense, an Egyptian phenomenon.

When seen against the full range of early Christian depictions of the Virgin and Child, the characteristic nature of these intimate types becomes even more pronounced. In fact, with several notable exceptions, outside of Egypt the types used during the pre-Iconoclastic period are reserved to variants of the *Hodegetria* and other hieratic types such as what later became known as the *Nikopoia*. The latter is an even more formal type than the *Hodegetria*: it features the Christ Child seated in a rigidly frontal position in front of the Virgin's chest, foreshadowing the *Sedes sapientiae* Virgins of the later Middle Ages in the West.[45]

When Poglayen-Neuwall published the first study of the Walters Virgin, ascribing it to sixth- or seventh-century Egypt, he immediately recognized it as the earliest known example of the *Eleousa* type.[46] Had he known of Grabar's theory—and the absence of reference to Grabar's writings suggests that he did not—it would have lent support to his argument. Conversely, "discovery" of the Walters ivory appeared to validate Grabar's Egyptian hypothesis. But Grabar's theory, though logical and compelling, remained just that—a hypothesis. What it lacked was an actual "Coptic" *Eleousa* as proof of the existence, if not the invention, of the type in that milieu. The Walters ivory provides that missing "proof," but only if its date can be fixed in the early period. Since Middle Byzantine examples can be found from as early as ca. 950, a dating of the Walters piece in the ninth or tenth century would allow it to be seen as possibly reflecting a Middle Byzantine iconographic type. The many writers who refer to the Walters Virgin as the earliest *Eleousa* yet date it in the ninth or tenth century have not recognized the implications of that late date. If that date is accepted, our ivory Virgin is surely *not* the earliest *Eleousa*, for in 1962 an important discovery was published by Per Jonas Nordhagen, who reconstructed in a fragmentary fresco in Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome a standing version of the type that must date to ca. 650 (fig. 24).[47] With this discovery the Walters Virgin no longer existed in isolation; it could be firmly demonstrated that the *Eleousa* type definitely existed in the seventh century. While the example is a Roman early Christian fresco, surely not coincidental is its location in a church whose complex decoration has always been considered to have been created under the strong influence of artists and models from the eastern parts of the Mediterranean world.



Fig. 24. *Eleousa*, original in fresco, Rome Santa Maria Antiqua (reconstruction drawing by Per Jonas Nordhagen).

Further support, if less than corroboration, of an early Egyptian origin for the *Eleousa* type may be provided by its popularity among the medieval frescoes of Faras in Nubia, the land along the Nile south of the First Cataract. Although highly complex in origin, the art of Nubia is heavily dependent on neighboring Egypt, from which it derived much of its cultural character. The *Eleousa* Virgins found at Faras include full-length standing and bust-length versions dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which might depend on much earlier Egyptian sources.[48]

To summarize our conclusions concerning what in later times is known as the *Eleousa*: the ideology/theology of the type finds a home in early Christian Egypt; the related type later known as the *Galaktotrophousa* was popular in sixth-century Egypt; an early (seventh-century) *Eleousa* in Santa Maria Antiqua proves the existence of the type in pre-Iconoclastic times. These observations provide the background against which I would propose that the Walters Virgin, whose style we have seen relates most closely to sixth- and seventh-century Egypt, from an iconographical point of view also finds its logical home in that very same milieu. Whether it or the Santa Maria Antiqua Virgin and Child should be considered the earliest preserved *Eleousa* is a question impossible to answer at present. One thing is certain, however: both ivory and fresco testify to the invention of the *Eleousa* during the early Christian period and, *pace* the venerable dispute of Lazareff and Grabar, to the existence of both standing and seated versions already at that time.

The Walters Virgin and Child has also played an important role in the interpretation of a seemingly unrelated Virgin image: the Virgin and Child of the Book of Kells (fig. 25). It was Ernst Kitzinger who first suggested that the position of the Christ child in the Hiberno-Saxon manuscript, along with the gesture of his left hand reaching up to the Virgin, should be understood in relation to the Walters ivory.[49] Kitzinger suggests that the Kells iconography, in which Christ turns toward his mother but does not touch his cheek to hers, represents a transitional formula between the *Hodegetria* type, in which there is expressed virtually no relationship between the two, and the highly expressive *Eleousa*. He sees this more informal, intermediary type as growing out of Hellenistic, Roman, and early Christian secular imagery and the immediate model for the Kells Madonna as having come out of the orbit of Constantinople. This is an ingenious and sophisticated hypothesis, but not entirely satisfactory. It requires one to accept an almost "cinematic" evolution of the *Eleousa* type almost wholly dependent on morphological change. The theological import of these formulas seems to me so potent as to argue against such a view. I would instead see the propounding of an important Virgin type as representing an essential theological decision rather than an artistic metamorphosis. Kitzinger accepts the ninth- to tenth-century date for the Walters ivory and thus does not consider it as a possible precursor of the Book of Kells. But if the early dating supported in the present study is correct, then the ivory predates the manuscript by a considerable length of time. Can the Kells master have adapted an *Eleousa* model to his needs by utilizing its main features with the exception of the cheek-to-cheek pose? Although stylistic matters must inevitably be analyzed independently, one cannot help but remark on the presence of the characteristic herringbone designs in the drapery on the legs of the Kells Virgin—exactly where it appears in the ivory Virgins—and wonder whether a work close in style to the ivories might, after all, have served as the model. Martin Werner's more recent study of the Virgin and Child in the Book of Kells, while also assuming a late date for the Walters ivory, emphasized the miniature's Coptic background.[50] A redating of the ivory Virgins could have a significant impact on understanding the origins of this masterpiece of Hiberno-Saxon art.



Fig. 25. *Virgin and Child*, manuscript illumination, Dublin, Trinity Collge Library, Ms. 58 A.I.6, fol. 7v.



Fig. 26. *Virgin and Child with Angels/Christ Pantocrator*, wool tapestry, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 67.144.

In what context might the two early Christian Egyptian Virgin and Child ivories have been utilized? That no hypotheses have been put forward is understandable since there are in fact no comparable objects existing in their original contexts which offer guidance. Nor do there exist representations of such carvings in other works of art. Nor, as far as I know, are there early texts describing such ivory Virgins. In consequence, one must rely on a combination of internal evidence, inference, and common sense to suggest something of their original function and context.

There can be little doubt that these hieratic, almost idol-like objects served as icons. One usually associates the icon with paintings on panel but during early Christian times, and even later, icons were made of a variety of materials, including ivory; indeed, a significant number of ivory icons are preserved dating from the sixth through the twelfth centuries. Many of these depict the Virgin and Child.[51] Moreover, the evidence of existing works and testimony in texts points to the popularity of the Virgin and Child as a subject for icons from a very early period. That icons of the Virgin and Child were particularly widespread in early Christian Egypt is demonstrated by the many frescoed versions of the theme and by a limited number preserved in stone. The magnificent sixth-century tapestry icon in the Cleveland Museum (fig. 26) is surely the most splendid of our early Christian Egyptian Virgin icons.[52] Texts provide proof that early painted panels depicting the Virgin were also produced in Egypt.

The popularity of such icons is not surprising when one considers the great importance played by the Virgin's cult in early Coptic Egypt.[53] Of course the Virgin was central to the faith in all parts of the Christian world, particularly after 431, but in Egypt she enjoyed a particularly intense early Christian following. It should be remembered that Egypt contained *loca sancta* connected with Christ's life, most particularly with the Flight into Egypt. We have already alluded to the fact that it was Christ's mother who, along with Joseph, brought the infant Jesus to Egypt to avoid certain death at the hands of Herod's child-slaying soldiers. Already in the second century a site in Old Cairo was identified and venerated as the House of the Virgin, the place where she and her family took refuge during their sojourn, and a church was erected on the spot in the fifth or sixth century.[54] It was also among the Egyptian fathers of the church that her designation as *Theotokos* was first formulated; their theology was the foundation for its acceptance as church dogma at Ephesus.[55]

The Virgin played a particularly important role in early Coptic Christianity as intercessor on behalf of mankind, a role that she was often to assume in medieval (and later) Christian devotion. This must have fostered even further the popularity of Virgin and Child icons in Coptic Egypt, as well as have encouraged the depiction of a particularly affectionate relationship between intercessor and Christ as judge. That precisely this type of relationship was important to the Virgin's role as advocate for mortal souls in early Christian Egypt is suggested in the early Coptic homily falsely ascribed to Cyril of Alexandria:

> O Wise Virgin, I beseech you to bring the favor of God, who is your son, upon us, and may he forgive us our sins, and deliver us from all the crafts of the adversary Devil. Take us all to yourself, lest the Devil take delight in us and draw us down into the Gehenna of fire. O Mary, do draw near to the King, the Christ, that he may receive your supplication on our behalf, for he is your son and your beloved and you did bear him and he called you 'My mother . . .'[56]

These modestly scaled ivory Virgins undoubtedly served as objects of individual devotion, either in a monastic context or, perhaps even more likely, in a

domestic environment. John Moschus, who wrote in the early seventh century and who knew of Eastern monastic practices from his contacts with monks in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, tells two stories of Palestinian hermit-monks who kept icons of the Virgin in their caves. In one the monk is described as lighting a candle before the icon each time he left on a journey. Upon his return, no matter how long the journey, the candle was always still lit. The second story tells of the appearance to a monk of the Devil, who tries to strike a deal with the hermit: if you will stop "adoring" your icon of the Virgin with the infant Jesus in her arms, I will not tempt you further. The monk chooses to continue his devotions which, presumably, in themselves perform the required exorcism.[57] Ernst Kitzinger pointed out long ago that domestic icons must have been extremely common in the pre-Iconoclastic eastern Mediterranean world.[58] A Coptic homily on the Virgin, of disputed authorship but certainly originating in Egypt between the seventh and ninth century, refers to the magical properties of just such a "house" icon of the Virgin.[59] The text clearly describes a painted panel, but it might just as well have been inspired by an ivory icon. Had this been the case, the icon in question might well have resembled one of the rare specimens preserved in Milan and Baltimore.

The Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

This article was written during a sabbatical leave provided me in 1989–90 by the Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, to whom I extend my gratitude. Professor Kurt Weitzmann kindly furnished a number of important photographs. A version of this study was presented at the Sixteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference, Baltimore, October 1990. I was able to incorporate an important revision thanks to Professor Anthony Cutler's helpful comments on that occasion.

1. The Walters ivory (no. 71.297) was acquired by Henry Walters in Amsterdam before 1931. It is mentioned in most studies of Coptic art and in the literature concerned with the medieval iconography of the Virgin. Fundamental bibliography includes: S. Poglayen-Neuwall, "Eine frühe Darstellung der Eleousa," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 7 (1941), 293–4. (hereafter, Poglayen-Neuwall, "Eleousa"); J. Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture* (London, 1963), 30, no. 133 (hereafter, Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*); K. Wessel, "Die älteste Darstellung der Maria Eleousa," *Studi di antichità cristiana*, 26 (1965) (Atti del VI congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Ravenna, 1962), 207–213 (hereafter, Wessel, "Älteste Darstellung"); *idem*, *Koptische Kunst* (Recklinghausen, 1963), 36, 127–133, fig. 36 (hereafter, Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*); *idem*, "Zur ikonographie der koptischen Kunst," *Christentum am Nil*, K. Wessel, ed. (Recklinghausen, 1964), 233f. (hereafter, Wessel, *Christentum am Nil*); F. Rademacher, *Die Regina Angelorum in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* (Dusseldorf, 1972), 52–54 (hereafter, Rademacher, *Regina Angelorum*); W. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*, 3rd ed. (Mainz, 1976), no. 254 (hereafter, Volbach, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*); O. Zastrow, "Ancora sulla presunta Madonna 'copta' già della Raccolta Trivulzio, nell'ambito del gruppo di opere eburnee alessandrine tardo antiche nel Castello Sforzesco," *Rassegna di studi e notizie*, 5 (1977), 279–303 (hereafter, Zastrow, "Madonna copta"); R. Randall, *et al.*, *Masterpieces of Ivory in The Walters Art Gallery* (New York, 1985), no. 180 (hereafter, Randall, *Masterpieces*); R. Freytag, *Die autonome Theotokosdarstellung der frühen Jahrhunderte* (Munich, 1985), 296–298, 315–324 (hereafter, Freytag, *Theotokosdarstellung*).

2. The piece came to the museum in 1935 with the bequest of the Trivulzio collection. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 253; S. Poglayen-Neuwall, "Ein koptisches Elfenbeinrelief mit Anbetungsszene aus der Sammlung Trivulzio," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 6 (1940), 523–532 (hereafter, Poglayen-Neuwall, "Koptisches Elfenbeinrelief"); Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, 127–133; Zastrow, "Madonna copta;" *idem*, *Museo d'arti applicate. Gli avori* (Milan, 1978), no. 17.

3. For the complete piece see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 255; the Walters Art Gallery, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, Baltimore Museum of Art, 1947, (Baltimore, 1947) (exhibition catalogue), no. 57 (hereafter, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*); Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, fig. 134. For the fragment see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 255a.

4. E. Aus'm Weerth, *Fundgruben der Kunst und Ikonographie in den Elfenbeinarbeiten des christlichen Altertums und Mittelalters*, 2, F. Witte, ed., (Bonn, 1912) pl. XVI.

5. *Art of the Dark Ages*, Worcester Art Museum, 1937, (Worcester, 1937) (exhibition catalogue), no. 61; *Pagan and Christian Egypt*, Brooklyn Museum, (New York, 1941) (exhibition catalogue), no. 108 (hereafter, *Pagan and Christian Egypt*).

6. S. Poglayen-Neuwall, "Koptisches Elfenbeinrelief," and "Eleousa."

7. See note 5 above.

8. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 72–77; Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, 123–126. Complete photographs are published in C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avorii romano-orientali* (Rome, 1944), pls. XXIV–XXVIII (hereafter, Cecchelli, *Cattedra di Massimiano*); P. Schramm and F. Mutherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*, 1 (Munich, 1962), no. 137; H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer* (Dusseldorf, 1957), pls. 109–117. H. Stern's attempt ("Quelques oeuvres sculptées en bois, os et ivoire de style oméyyade," *Ars orientalis*, 1 [1954], 119–131) to associate the ivories with Umayyad style and thus to date them at the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century has not met with acceptance.

9. For the Monza ampullae see A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958) (hereafter, Grabar, *Ampoules*) and, more recently, J. Engemann, "Palastinensische Pilgerampullen im F.J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn," *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 16 (1973), 5–27.

10. *Pagan and Christian Egypt*, no. 13 (M.574), no. 12 (M.612); M. Cramer, *Koptische Buchmalerei* (Recklinghausen, 1964), fig. 64 (M.612), colorplate VII (M574); J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits coptes et coptes-arabes illustrés* (Paris, 1974), 96–97, pl. 34 (M.574), 94–96, pl. 31 (M.612).

11. For example, Beckwith, *Coptic Sculpture*, no. 133; P. Du Bourguet, *L'art copte* (Paris, 1968), 41; Randall, *Masterpieces*, 104.

12. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, 144. M. Ross (*Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, no. 160) dates the Walters Madonna to the ninth century and attributes it to "Syria or Egypt" without providing any rationale.

13. Wessel, "Älteste Darstellung," 213.

14. Zastrow, "Madonna copta," *passim*.

15. The bibliography on Coptic art is relatively plentiful but, in general, rather insubstantial. Aside from the various studies cited

elsewhere in these notes I add here some recent general studies, without intending the listing to constitute testimony of their value: Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*; *idem*, *Christentum am Nil*; P. du Bourguet, *L'art copte* (Paris, 1968); H. Zaloscer, *Die Kunst in christlichen Ägypten* (Vienna, 1974); A. Badawy, *Coptic Art and Archaeology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978); J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1979), 68–74; F. Friedman, ed., *Beyond the Pharaohs*, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design and the Walters Art Gallery, 1989, (Providence, 1989) (exhibition catalogue).

16. E. Kitzinger, "Notes on Early Coptic Sculpture," *Archaeologia*, 87 (1938), 181–215.

17. For a succinct overview of the earlier views and a rebuttal of them see E. Kitzinger, "Byzantine Art in the Period Between Justinian and Iconoclasm," *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, 4:1 (Munich, 1958), 1–50, esp. 10, 38–39 (reprinted in *idem*, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West. Selected Studies*, E. Kleinbauer, ed. [Bloomington, 1976], 157–232) (hereafter, Kitzinger, *Byzantium and the Medieval West*).

18. Wessel, "Älteste Darstellung," 212.

19. Cecchelli, *Cattedra di Massimiano*, 67. The fragments were originally published without a date but grouped with other examples from the fifth and sixth century by O. Wulff, *Köngliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen: III Altchristliche und Mittelalterliche Byzantinische und Italienische Bildwerke*, 2 (Berlin, 1911), nos. 448, 450, pl. XX.

20. For the relief, see J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*. Catalogue général des antiquitées égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Vienna, 1904), 105, fig. 161; Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, 36, fig. 34.

21. P. van Moorsel and M. Huijbers, "Repertory of the Preserved Wall Paintings from the Monastery of Apa Jeremiah at Saqqara," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinenta*, 9 (1981), pls. IV–V; see also pl. I (*Virgo lactans*) (hereafter, Van Moorsel and Huijbers, "Repertory"). The feature may also be seen on the Christ figure in the Christ and St. Menas icon from Bawit (see Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, colorplate XIV).

Herringbone drapery of a similar kind is found on a controversial ivory plaque in Bologna which shows scenes from Christ's Infancy. Volbach (*Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 250, pl. 112), among others, has assigned it to eleventh-century Italy, although he admits that it must be based on an early Christian model. A. Goldschmidt (*Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 4 [Berlin, 1926], no. 125, pl. XLI), on the other hand, thinks it to be a seventh-century Coptic work. Still others have recognized the panel as a product of an eighth-century Lombard workshop (see the references in Volbach). Further research might substantiate Goldschmidt's theory. The fleshy oval faces and the use of the point-and circle punch suggest an early date, as do numerous iconographic details. Furthermore, the central portion of the panel's rear surface is inset to receive wax, indicating that it was once part of a diptych used for liturgical purposes. This, too, would support an early Christian date.

22. The Maltese Cross is present in at least two other frescoes from Saqqara (van Moorsel and Huijbers, "Repertory," pls. XXa (*Virgo lactans*), XXVIc (angel) and on several from Bawit (see, for example, the figure of Christ in the apse fresco reproduced in Wessel, *Koptische Kunst*, colorplate VII).

23. On the earliest images of the Virgin, see E. Wellen, *Theotokos. Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Göttesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht, 1961) (hereafter, Wellen, *Theotokos*); *idem*, "Das Marienbild der frühchr. Kunst," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, III, E. Kirschbaum, ed. (Rome, 1971), 156–161 (hereafter, *LCI*); R. Lange, *Das Marienbild der frühen Jahrhunderte* (Recklinghausen, 1969); R. Freytag, *Theotokosdarstellung*.

24. The classic study is N. Kondakoff, *Iconography of the Virgin*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1914–1915) (in Russian) (hereafter, Kondakoff, *Iconography*). Despite the obviously dated quality of this and other publications of the period, there is an enviable ambition and scope to the research. Much of this work is analyzed and criticized by V. Lazareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *Art Bulletin*, 20 (1938), 26–65 (hereafter, Lazareff, "Iconography of the Virgin").

25. Among the more recent general studies of the range of Virgin "types" are: N. Mitropulos, *Marienikonen* (Ettal, 1964); E. Velthius, *Maria-Ikone* (Ecteld, 1979); H. Hallensleben, "Das Marienbild der byz.-östkirchl. Kunst nach dem Bilderstreit," *LCI*, 3, 161–178; K. Wessel, "Das autonome Marienbild der Ostens," in G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst*, 4:2 (Gutersloh, 1980), 19–30 (hereafter, Schiller, *Ikonographie*); G.M. Lechnev, "Marienverehrung und bildende Kunst," *Handbuch der Marienkunde*, W. Beinert and H. Petri, eds. (Regensburg, 1984), 559–621.

26. See the relevant sections in the literature cited in notes 23–25.

27. Lazareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," 50f.; Rademacher, *Regina Angelorum*, 23–31.

28. Zastrow, "Madonna Copta," 290; see Volbach, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 88, no. 127, pl. 67 (John Rylands Library); 89–90, no. 131, pl. 68 (British Museum). Several Monza ampullae depict a central Virgin and Child flanked by the Magi and Shepherds; see Grabar, *Ampoules*, pls. II, IV, VII.

29. An interesting detail evident in both ivory Madonnas is the motif of the angels' wings that enframe the central group, which may be a specifically Egyptian design. This element is also present in the two Virgin miniatures in the Morgan Library manuscripts adduced as proof of the later dating of the ivories and also in the sixth-century Coptic stone Virgin shown in Fig. 21. It is found as well in a sixth- or seventh-century stone relief from Thalin in Armenia (see B. Brentjes, *et al.*, *Kunst des Mittelalters in Armenien* (Vienna, 1982), fig. 68. There is no evidence that the feature entered the repertoire of Middle Byzantine art. It became extremely popular, however, in the medieval and post-medieval art of Ethiopia, where it defines a prominent type of Virgin and Child; see S. Chojnacki, *Major Themes in Ethiopian Painting* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 179–187, where the type is eloquently described as "The Virgin under the Canopy of Wings." Not surprisingly, Ethiopian art was significantly influenced by that of neighboring Egypt.

In this regard it is worth quoting an Egyptian homily on the Virgin erroneously attributed to Cyril of Alexandria, in which the Virgin is addressed in the following way: "Since you did cover His face with your garments to shield it from the wind and snow, then surely the Cherubim and the Seraphim shall stand by the altar of sacrifice and cover your face with their wings; Since you did carry Him in your bosom, and held Him on your knees, then surely you are sitting now upon a throne of glory, and the Cherubim and the Seraphim are standing and singing hymns to Him Whom you brought forth." The text is transcribed and translated by E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1915), 720 (hereafter, Budge, *Miscellaneous Texts*). I have taken the liberty of transposing Budge's "King James" translations into a modern idiom without, I trust, altering their meaning. Western art later adopts a similar scheme; examples are in Ottonian art and in Romanesque and Gothic sculpture, for which see Rademacher, *Regina Angelorum*, figs. 62, 66, 67, 69, 70.

30. K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton, 1951), p. 54, can locate only two post-Iconoclastic examples (both in the West) and P. Wilhelm-Red, "Geburt Christi," *LCI* 2, 99 adds only two more predating the fourteenth century (also Western), while early Christian versions, particularly of eastern Mediterranean origin, are numerous; see Schiller, *Ikonographie*, I, 75.

31. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 199; E. Gombrich, "Eine verkannte karolingischen Pyxis im Wiener Kunsthistorisches Museum," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorisches Sammlungen in Wien*, 7 (1933), 1–14; T.

Hoving, *The Sources of the Ivories of the Ada School*, Ph.D. thesis, 1960, Princeton University, (Ann Arbor, UMI), 99–105, where it is said to be copied after an early Christian Syrian model. See, Freytag, *Theotokosdarstellung*, comparative fig. 30.

32. It should be emphasized that the figure of Salome, most often associated with Egyptian or Syrian iconography of the early Christian period, is derived not from the text of the canonical Gospels, which provide little detail concerning the birth of Christ, but from an apocryphal source. The story of Salome is recounted in the *Protevangelion of James*, whose text was widely exploited as a source for art and literature during the early Christian period. This text was particularly influential in Coptic Egypt, where many of its elements were reiterated by early Christian writers. In recent years it has even been proposed that this apocryphal gospel was written in Egypt.

For the *Protevangelion* text, see M.R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (London, 1924), 42–54. Many of the details become almost commonplace in early Egyptian texts concerned with Christ's infancy. The apocryphal descriptions had a decisive impact on later imagery as well, for which see J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident*, 1 (Brussels, 1964), 16–23. An Egyptian origin for the *Protevangelion* was proposed by E. De Strycker, *La forme la plus ancienne du Protévangile de Jacques. Recherches sur le Papyrus Bodmer* 5 (Brussels, 1961), 419–465.

33. In addition to the relevant sections of the general Virgin and Child literature cited in notes 23–25, see most recently: K. Kolb, *Eleusa, 2000 Jahre Madonnenbild* (Regensburg, 1968), esp. 65–70; A. Grabar, "L'Hodegetria et l'Eleousa," *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 10 (1974), 3–13; *idem*, "Les images de la Vierge de tendresse. Type iconographique et theme (à propos de deux icones à Decani)," *Zograf*, 6 (1975), 25–30; *idem*, "Remarques sur l'iconographie byzantine de la Vierge," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 26 (1977), 167–178; M. Tatic-Djuric, "Eleousa. A la recherche du type iconographique," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 25 (1976), 259–267; N. Thierry, "La Vierge de tendresse à l'époque macedonienne," *Zograf*, 10 (1979), 59–70. Perhaps the greatest number of *Eleousa* Virgins are illustrated in V. Lazareff, *Vizantyskaya Zivopis* (Moscow, 1971), 282–291.

34. For instance, Kondakoff, *Iconography*, 2, 211–214; G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile* (Paris, 1916), 685.

35. For example, N. Lichacev, *The Historical Importance of Italo-Greek Icon Painting* (St. Petersburg, 1911), 149 (in Russian).

For the Italian "Virgins of Tenderness" see C. Weigelt, "Über die 'mutterliche' Madonna in der italienischen Malerei des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Art Studies*, 6 (1928), 195–221; E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *L'iconografia della Madonna col bambino nella pittura italiana del Dugento* (Siena, 1934), 57–69.

36. V. Lazareff and N. Alpatoff, "Ein byzantinisches Tafelwerk aus der Komnenenepoche," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 46 (1925), 140–155.

37. Thierry, "Vierge de tendresse," 59; see now A. Epstein, *Tokali Kilise. Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappodocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986), 26, figs. 118–119, colorplate 7.

38. D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz* (Munich, 1965), 177; H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1981), 174.

While one is hesitant to read meanings from later times into earlier images it is worth noting that the Middle Byzantine *Eleousa* Virgins may well incorporate in their tender embraces a foreshadowing of the lamentation of the Virgin at the time of Christ's death. As both Pallas and Belting point out, the cheek-to-cheek motif is present in scenes of the Lamentation, among which the twelfth-century fresco at Nerezi is surely the most moving and poignant example. These authors and, most eloquently, H. Maguire, "The Depiction of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 31 (1977), 166, note 240a, cite a homily of Symeon Metaphrastes (tenth-century) in which he specifically alludes to the relationship of the gesture made by the Virgin toward the new-born Christ and the dead Christ. Whether or not one should ascribe such meaning to the early *Eleousa* is difficult to say. Metaphrastes' further allusion to the Virgin and Christ touching lips is surely to be understood as providing background for the presence of the related type of the "kissing" Virgin and Child in later Byzantine and Russian art, although this intimate action is already described in Coptic literature. See the homiletic text cited later in the text and in note 40.

39. Grabar, "Sur les origines," 41; Lazareff, "Iconography of the Virgin," 37–38.

40. *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique* (Paris, 1928), 76–77; "Deux images de la Vierge dans un manuscrit serbe," in *L'art byzantine chez les slaves*, G. Millet, ed., I:2 (Paris, 1930), 264–276 (reprinted in *idem*, *L'art de la fin de l'antiquité et du Moyen Age*, 1 [Paris, 1968], 543–554). According to Lazareff ("Iconography of the Virgin," 43–44), the specific Madonna type that Grabar describes, in which the Christ child reaches up and touches his mother's chin with one hand, is a late variant of the *Eleousa*. See K. Wessel, in Schiller, *Ikonographie*, 4:2, 29, where this type is called the *Glykiphilousa*. Needless to say, there is little consistency in the use of these descriptive terms.

41. Van Moorsel and Huijbers, "Repertory," pl. I.

On the *Galaktotrophousa* see the relevant sections of the literature cited in notes 22–24 and the following more specific studies: K. Wessel, "Eine Grabstele aus Medinet el-Fajum, zum Problem der Maria lactans," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift dem Humboldt-Universität, Berlin*, 4 (1954–1955), 149–154 ; P. van Moorsel, "Die stillende Göttesmutter und die Monophysiten," in *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in christlicher Zeit*, E. Dinkler, ed. (Recklinghausen, 1970), 281–290. Van Moorsel corrects Wessel's view that the nursing Madonna can only have been created by a Diophysite community by adducing many Coptic Monophysitic hymns and poems describing the type.

A. Cutler, "The Cult of the Galaktotrophousa in Byzantium and Italy," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, 37 (1987), 338–350 (hereafter, Cutler, "The Cult of the Galakotrophousa"), has identified a number of non-Egyptian Byzantine texts that emphasize the Virgin's nursing of the Christ child. Outside of Egypt, however, there exist no pre-Iconoclastic depictions of the type, although Cutler cites eighth- and ninth-century texts which he believes describe such images. Middle Byzantine examples may be found, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Wessel (in Schiller, *Ikonographie*, 4:2, 22) has recently revised his earlier view that the nursing Virgin type was invented in Egypt; he now asserts that it was particularly popular there in the early Christian period. This revision was brought about by the publication of a late fourth-century *Galaktotrophousa* on a marble crater in Rome, probably of Constantinopolitan workmanship: H.-G. Severin, "Öströmische Plastik unter Valens und Theodosius I," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 12 (1970), 211–252, esp. 216–240. The creation and reception of the nursing type in Egypt may still be due to the endemic nature there of Isis/Horus imagery.

Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis Lactans* (Leiden, 1973), 40–49, denies any relationship between the nursing Virgin type and images of Isis and Horus. Unfortunately, this work seems to reflect no knowledge of Coptic texts, nor of fundamental studies on the subject such as Wessel's. L. Bonfante, "Iconografia delle madri: Etruria e Italia antica," *Le Donne in Etruria*, A. Rallo, ed. (Rome, 1989), 85–106, agrees with this negative thesis. An interesting aspect of this analysis is its point that the motif of nursing deities was popular in Greek art but rejected by the Romans. In fact, T. Price, *Kourotrophos. Cults and Representations of the Greek Nursing Deities* (Leiden, 1978), 35, emphasizes this and suggests the possibility that *Isis lactans* entered Christian art through the intermediary of the suckling *kourotrophos*.

On the afterlife of the type see M. Meiss, "The Madonna of

Humility," *Art Bulletin*, 18 (1936), 435–464; H. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei 1300–1400* (The Hague, 1969), 109–127.

42. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 717–720. For commentary see G. Giamberardini, *Il culto mariano in Egitto*, 1 (Jerusalem, 1974), 163–166 (hereafter, Giamberardini, *Culto Mariano*).

43. Giamberardini, *Culto mariano*, 1, 165–166, note 1.

44. E.A.W. Budge, *Legends of Our Lady Mary the Perpetual Virgin and Her Mother Hanna Translated from the Ethiopic Manuscripts Collected by King Theodore at Makdala and Now in the British Museum* (London, 1923), 75–76.

45. The definitive study is I. Forsyth, *The Throne of Wisdom. Wood Sculptures of the Madonna in Romanesque France* (Princeton, 1972).

46. Poglayen-Neuwall, "Eleousa," 294.

47. J. Nordhagen, "La più antica Eleousa conosciuta. Una scoperta in S. Maria Antiqua," *Bollettino d'arte*, 47 (1962), 351–353; *idem*, "S. Maria Antiqua: The Frescoes of the Seventh Century," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historium pertinenta*, 8 (1978), 130, pl. LVI. This identification has been accepted by all later writers save Freytag, *Theotokosdarstellung*, 321, who provides no reasons for his skepticism.

48. K. Michalowski, *Faras. Die Wandbilder in den Sammlungen des Nationalmuseums zu Warsaw* (Warsaw, 1974), 270, fig. 59 (half-length); 271, fig. 60 (full-length); 216, fig. 44 (fragmentary); also *idem, Faras, Die Katedrale aus dem Wustensand* (Zurich, 1967), 106, pl. 24/25 (full-length).

49. E. Kitzinger, "The Coffin Reliquary," in C.F. Battiscombe, ed., *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1956), 203–304, esp. 248–254.

50. M. Werner, "The Madonna and Child in the Book of Kells," *Art Bulletin*, 54 (1972), 1–23, esp. 4–5. F. Henry, *The Book of Kells* (London, 1974), 188, theorized that the Kells Virgin, whose breasts are noticeably outlined on her tunic, was perhaps an "unfaithful" adaptation of a nursing Madonna. Recently, G. Henderson (*From Durrow to Kells* [London, 1987], 155) has dismissed the whole issue by suggesting that the position of Christ turning toward his mother was the invention of the Kells painter. According to him the model would have shown Christ with his torso in frontal position, as in the coffin of St. Cuthbert. Neither hypothesis seems tenable in light of existing monuments.

51. For the early Christian examples, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 137, pl. 71; no. 142, pl. 75; no. 145, pl. 77; no. 156, pl. 80. The Middle Byzantine examples are too numerous to list individually: see A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 2 (Berlin, 1934), *passim*.

52. D. Shepherd, "An Icon of the Virgin. A Sixth-Century Tapestry Panel from Egypt," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 56 (1969), 91–120.

53. On the cult of the Virgin in Egypt during the early Christian centuries see Giamberardini, *Culto Mariano*, 3 vols., *passim*, where many of the early images are also collected. Various texts and summaries of the Coptic *Theotokia*, or hymns to the Virgin, are provided by J. Muyser, *Maria's Heerlijkheid in Egypt*, 1 (Louvain-Utrecht, 1935).

54. Giamberardini, *Culto Mariano*, 1, 60–64.

55. On the early Egyptian Fathers' use of the term "Theotokos" before the Council of Ephesus, see W. Delius, *Geschichte der Marienverehrung* (Munich, 1963), 104–111. Cyril of Alexandria is the primary pre-Ephesian writer involved.

56. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts*, 714. On the role of the Virgin as intercessor in early Christian Egypt see, G. Giamberardini, *La mediazione di Maria nella chiesa egiziana* (Cairo, 1952).

57. G. Mosco (John Moscus), *Il Prato* (Naples, 1982), 92–93, 190–191.

58. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age Before Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 8 (1954), 83–150 (hereafter, "Cult of Images") (reprinted in *idem, Byzantium and the Medieval West*, 91–156). Freytag, *Theotokosdarstellung*, 139 makes the same point specifically in reference to icons of the Virgin.

59. The text is reproduced and translated in W. Worrell, *The Coptic Manuscripts in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1923), 359–380; see esp. 369. Kitzinger, "Cult of Images," 98, note 45 (reprinted in *idem, Byzantium and the Medieval West*, 101, note 59) dates the homily after 787 while E. Kantorowicz, "Kaiser Friedrich II und das Kōnigsbild des Hellenismus," *Varia Variorum: Festgabe für Karl Reinhardt* (Munster, 1952), 188, note 36, (reprinted in *idem, Selected Studies* (New York, 1965), 264-283) argues for an origin in the seventh century.

Photographs: Figs. 1–4, the Walters Art Gallery; figs. 16, 17, the Pierpont Morgan Library; fig. 21, Trustees of the British Museum; fig. 26, the Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase, Leonard C. Hanna, Jr. bequest.

Modular Assemblages: Reconstructing the Choir Clerestory Glazing of Soissons Cathedral

Madeline H. Caviness

The identity and provenance of two very large seated figures in stained glass that are now installed in the Walters Art Gallery have been at last discovered: with two comparable figures in the Glencairn Museum and two busts in Kiev, they come from the double lights in the straight bays of the choir of Soissons Cathedral, part of a glazing program to which the king made a financial contribution sometime between 1201 and 1223. Apostles were placed hierarchically above Old Testament prophets, attesting to the power of the priesthood.

The great increase in height and scale of the cathedral churches built in France around 1200 has generally been discussed by art historians either in terms of form and style, or in terms of engineering, and the light admitted by the huge windows has frequently been alluded to as an abstract entity that had symbolic value for its thirteenth-century audience.[1] Relatively less attention has been paid to the kinds of images in stained glass that were created to fill these windows, though they are surely as integral to the architecture as was the new repertory of foliate capitals.

Especially the great clerestory windows that became the vogue after Chartres have aroused little interest, possibly because the gigantic figures they often display seem repetitious in contrast to the legendary windows of the lower level. Yet it was in these upper zones that high Gothic architecture was most revolutionary: Three-story elevations of the chartrain type raised the height of the arcade, eliminated the glazed gallery, and placed the sills of the clerestory windows at about the height of most twelfth-century vaults; the clerestory was extended upwards to equal the arcade in height, and the springing of the vaults was in turn adjusted upwards so that the webs hid the windows from view as little as possible; for the same reason, the glazing groove was placed close to the inner plane of the wall, and the sill was deeply splayed (figs. 1 and 2).[2] The challenge to the glass painters was to create images that had sufficient power to dominate the interior from their position over seventy feet above the heads of the viewers. The modern visitor can experience this leap in scale by passing from the late twelfth-century Abbey Church of Saint-Remi to the Cathedral in Reims, or even by strolling through the south transept of Soissons Cathedral, coeval with Saint-Remi, into the choir and nave; in each case one is astounded at the increase in height achieved by the next generation of builders.

The clerestory programs of Chartres and Bourges are preserved essentially intact. As with the ground plans and the structural systems, they differ radically from one another: Whereas in Bourges, a homogeneous series of large standing figures fill the clerestory windows of both the main vessel and the inner aisles, in Chartres, figures and even narrative scenes vary greatly in unit-size from bay to bay. The choir clerestory program of Notre-Dame in Paris, where the four-story elevation of the twelfth century was remodelled according to the chartrain composition, is lost because the gigantic figures were unacceptable to

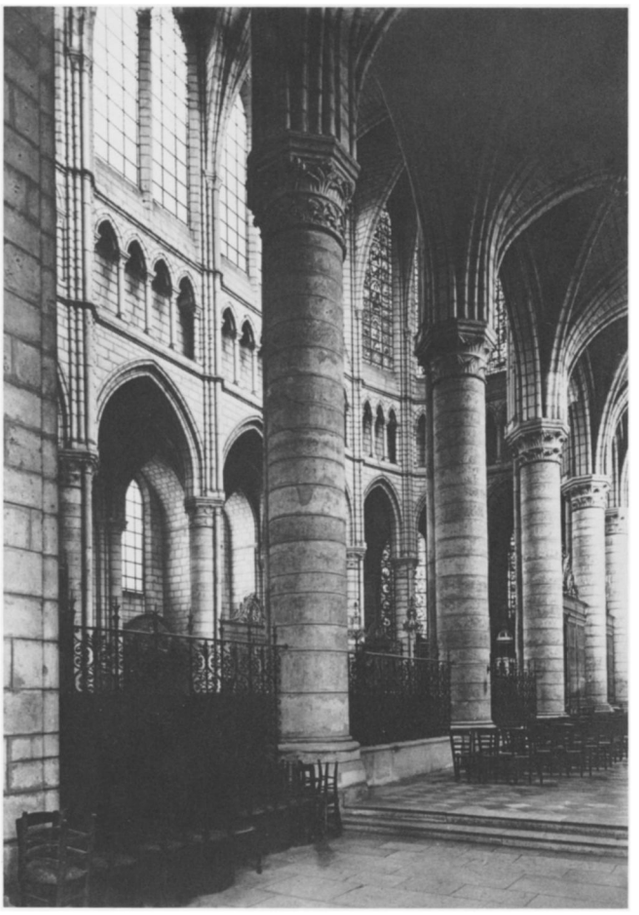


Fig. 1. (above) View to the north east, interior of the choir, Soissons Cathedral.

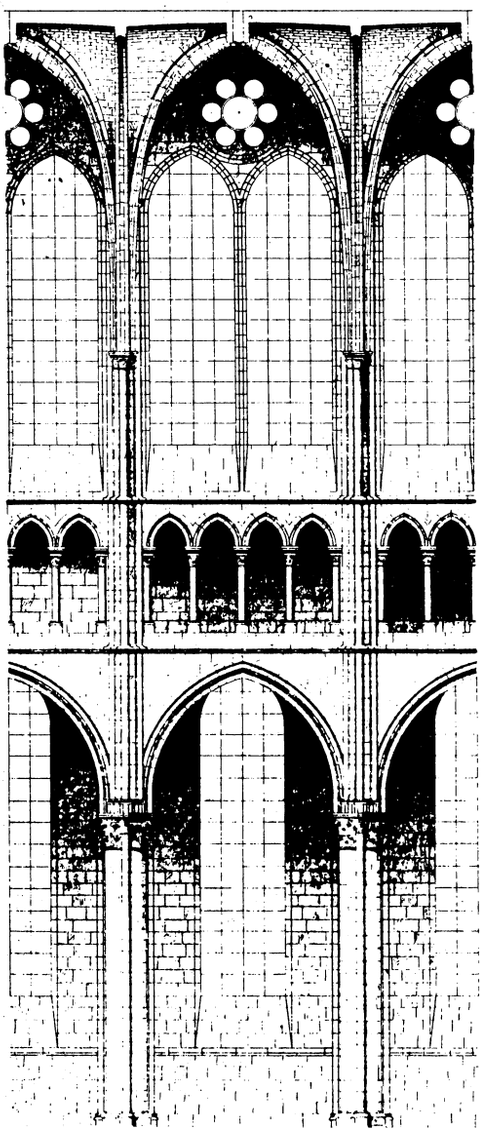


Fig. 2. (right) Elevation of a nave bay, showing doublet and rose composition of the clerestory windows as in the straight bays of the choir; after Paul Gout, Administration des cultes, archives, enregistre no. 12 (Paris, Ministère de la Communication, Bibliothèque de la Direction de l'Architecture).

eighteenth-century taste.[3] Of the next generation of buildings, the choir clerestory windows of Auxerre Cathedral have fared well;[4] and the choir of Reims cathedral presents a careful restoration.[5] Strasbourg Cathedral not only preserves figures *in situ* in the nave clerestory, but also perhaps the remnants of a Romanesque program.[6] The Cathedrals of Amiens and Troyes, with the Abbey of Saint-Ouen of Rouen, continue this idea into the fourteenth century.

One building that has been curiously neglected, though holding an important place among the Gothic monuments in the Paris basin, is the Cathedral of Soissons. For the architecture this neglect is perhaps in part explained by the extent of damage in the First World War.[7] For the stained glass it must be explained by the destruction of much of the original glass, and the removal from the site of most that survived into the second half of the nineteenth century. Following the initiative of Louis Grodecki, however, a good deal has now been recognized in various collections.[8] Best known of the glass remaining on the site are the surviving panels from four of the five windows in the turning bays of the choir clerestory (fig. 3). The axial window contains the heavily restored remnants of a Jesse Tree, a subject described in this position in the mid-nineteenth century (fig. 4).[9] To the north is a fragmentary Last Judgment, and to the south, a window with the Creation and Fall of Adam and Eve, and a window with the Life of the Virgin, including the Dormition.[10] All are of similar scale and style; the panelling provides units of about 80 cm. high, and except in the Last Judgment window the figures are about twice this height, that is life size. The axial window(s?) comprised a gift from King Phillipe "Auguste" (1180-1223), according to the necrology of the Cathedral.[11] Some additional original pieces have been identified, includ-

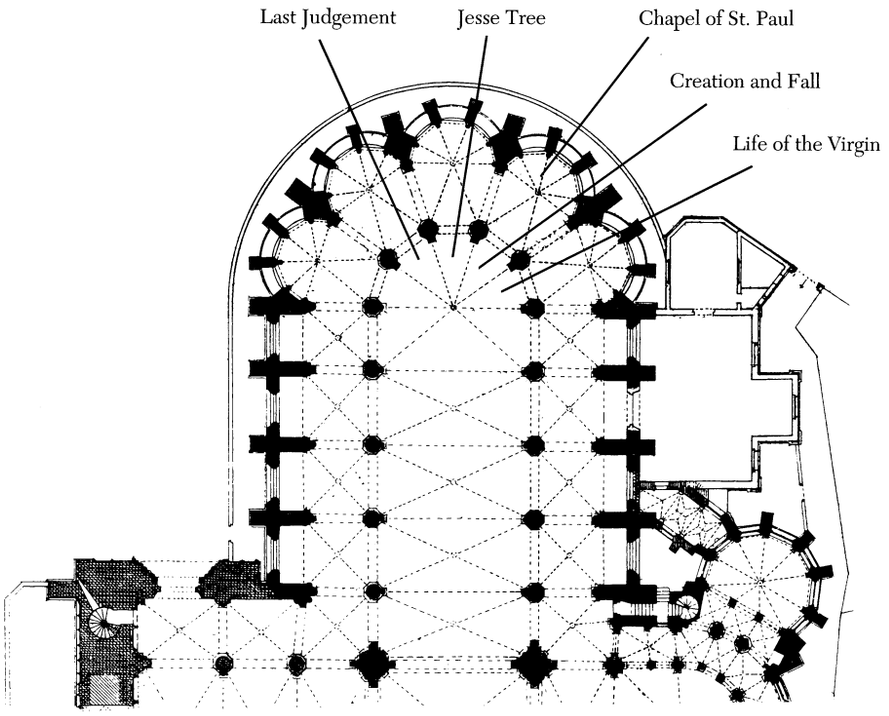


Fig. 3. Plan of the chevet of Soissons Cathedral; after Emile Brunet, 1925 (Commision des monuments historiques, Aisne dossier, no. 20774), with labels added.

ing the exquisite Virgin from the Jesse Tree, once in the Berlin Museums but missing since the Second World War.[12] The refined *Muldenfaltenstil* of these windows is easily connected, despite the difference of scale, with the historiated panels made for the chapel windows below.[13]

Less easily associated with this group, because of their very different scale and apparent differences of style, are parts of six very large seated figures preserved in the Museum of Eastern and Western Art, Kiev (USSR), in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, and in the Glencairn Museum, Bryn Athyn (Pa). Nonetheless they appear to have been made for the twin lights of the straight bays of the choir, in which presently only fragments of colored glass survive in some of the roses above the doublets (fig. 5). In each collection is a pair of nimbed figures, one turned in three-quarter view, the other full-face, with fragmentary inscriptions on bands and scrolls (figs. 6 and 7, 8 and 9, 10 and 11). The panels are fairly consistent in size, and when two whole figures with ornamental borders are placed one above the other to form a pointed lancet, the full dimensions accord reasonably well with those of the Soissons doublets.[14] Notes made in the cathedral by the Baron François de Guilhermy between 1842 and 1864 indicate that he probably saw four of the six figures in the windows, though they were no longer in the clerestory; all were in the narrower lancets of the Chapel of St. Paul, and he commented that their large size was out of place there.[15]

The two panels in Kiev present only the head and shoulders of each figure, yet they appear far more authentic than the whole figures in the American collections; they have been studied and published, including reproductions in black and white and in color, which is fortunate because I have not been able to examine them personally.[16] The more coherent of the two may be readily identified as Ezekiel (fig. 6). The figure is clearly labeled, on a band passing behind the neck, *EZEC.IEL*, evidently the prophet despite the red nimbus which would normally be associated with a saint. His scroll, inscribed ...*SPECIE*...*LECTR*... probably held part of the text: "Et vidi...de medio eius quasi *species electri*, id est de medio ignis" (Ezekiel 1:4).[17] His hair and beard are green, the lips are separately leaded, and a lead also passes through the eyebrows. His robes are yellow and purple, and a yellow corbel on the left supports angled red and yellow archivolts. The inscriptions were not legible to Guilhermy, but he did mention a bust of a prophet or Apostle with a red nimbus, in the third window of the Chapel of St. Paul (fig. 3).

The bust in Kiev identified as St. Paul has his typical long bearded face with receding hair-line, and the contour of his sword, with some pieces of green glass in the lower part of it, appears authentic (fig. 7). The shoulders are draped in white and purple, and the



Fig. 4. *A king and prophets*, axial window of the choir clerestory, Soissons Cathedral.

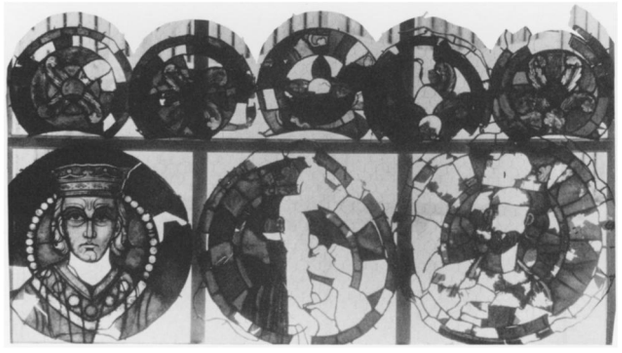


Fig. 5. Fragments from the choir clerestory roses, Soissons Cathedral.



Fig. 6. *Bust of Ezekiel*, Kiev Museum of Eastern and Western Art; here identified as coming from the choir clerestory of Soissons Cathedral.

face is very striking for its greenish-blue hair and beard, for the bold modeling of the domed forehead, and for the fiercely staring eyes. As with Ezekiel, the flesh-colored lips are separately leaded and a lead passes through the eyebrows. The fragment of inscription, *hO*, appears out of place, and there are stopgaps above and below it, as well as to the right, including the upper part of the sword and pieces above it; the figure is framed by a red arch which follows the upper curve of the red nimbus, and this may originally have fit under a canopy of the type seen in other panels of the series (figs. 8 and 10–12). Guilhermy described a seated figure with bare feet, holding an inscribed scroll and a sword, with the name *S. Paul*[u], in the central window of the Chapel of St. Paul in Soissons. It seems very probable that the curving inscription *S PA..VS*, with the canopy over it, now attached to the frontal figure in the Glencairn Museum (fig. 8), originally belonged with the Kiev panel.[18]

As noticed by Muratova, the large figures in the choir clerestory of Reims Cathedral offer several points of comparison with the Kiev busts; illustrated here is the head and shoulders of St. Thomas from the north side (fig. 9). Also similar in outline are the archbishop and apostle now set in grisaille in the first bay from the west (fig. 13).[19] The leadlines are close, but the painting is more flat and linear. In fact a few fragments of royal busts *in situ* in the roses above the doublets in the Soissons clerestory provide by far the most convincing comparisons for the Kiev pieces (fig. 5).[20] Photographs taken after damage in World War I, the leadlines and the remaining pieces of glass show frontal or three-quarter view "portraits" with large ears (like St. Paul), leaded brows, colored wavy hair with



Fig. 7. *Bust of St. Paul*, Kiev Museum of Eastern and Western Art; here identified as coming from the choir clerestory of Soissons Cathedral.



Fig. 8. *St. Paul, with head and shoulders of another apostle*, Bryn Athyn (Pa.), Glencairn Museum, 03.SG.233 A-E; here identified as coming from the choir clerestory of Soissons Cathedral.



Fig. 8a. Restoration chart of fig. 8 (Caviness & Cothren).



Fig. 9. *St. Thomas* (detail), before 1227?, Reims Cathedral choir clerestory, fourth bay from the west on the north side.



Fig. 10. "*Senizien*," Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, 46.41; here identified as Joel from the choir clerestory of Soissons Cathedral.



Fig. 10a. (right) Restoration chart of fig. 10 (Caviness & Cothren).

separately leaded locks (as Ezekiel), and long tubular necks. The similarities confirm an original position for Ezekiel and St. Paul in the lower lights of these windows. Yet both of the panels in Kiev are oddly disfigured by a leadline that passes vertically through the center, cutting through the faces. This in fact confirms that by the mid-nineteenth century they occupied a position in one of the lower windows of the cathedral, since these had an axial vertical iron; the reinstallation was evidently hastily done, without regard to preservation or aesthetic effect, and it explains Guilhermy's general impression of disorder in the glass.[21] Colored glass from various positions seems to have been concentrated in the chevet chapels in 1772, to compensate for Protestant damage, and again shortly after 1815, when two powder magazines exploded near the Cathedral.[22] Since figures from Braine that were brought to the site about 1816 were mixed with Soissons glass in the Chapel of St. Paul, where they received the same brutal treatment, it seems that this was the date of the installation.[23]

The figure identified as St. Paul in the Glencairn Museum (fig. 8) has the bare feet and long scroll that Guilhermy leads us to expect, and his purple mantle and white tunic accord with those of the Kiev bust.



Furthermore, his right hand grasps a now truncated and unrecognizable object, perhaps once the outline of a sword hilt, and the leadlines below this hand suggest that stopgaps of drapery fill in what should be a scroll.[24] In fact almost all of this panel, other than these stopgaps, is new, but the restorer may have followed the original leadlines. The lower panels are better preserved, especially the left half of each, but the scroll has jumbled fragments of lettering of different sizes.

The frontal head now attached to the Glencairn figure is largely authentic, and the configuration of the leading is similar to that of Ezekiel, but the drapery is new. This upper panel also has the tell-tale mark of the vertical repair through the center. Yet, as suggested above, it is very likely that the Kiev bust in fact belongs in place of this panel; the Glencairn "portrait" is thus unidentified, but being bareheaded, it may have been an apostle. As with some of the large figures from Braine that were in Soissons Cathedral in the nineteenth century, the panels have been mismatched and cleverly joined in a later restoration.[25]

A third frontal figure is in Baltimore, labeled *SENIZIEN* (fig. 10). Surmounted by a canopy and wearing a green Jewish hat, this may be the upper part of a



Fig. 11. *Habakkuk, possibly with the head of an apostle,* Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, 46.40; here identified as coming from the choir clerestory of Soissons Cathedral.

Fig. 11a. (left) Restoration chart of fig. 11 (Caviness & Cothren).





Fig. 12. *An apostle,* Bryn Athyn (Pa.), Glencairn Museum, 03.SG.235 A-E; here identified as coming from the choir clerestory of Soissons Cathedral..

Fig. 12a. (right) Restoration chart fig. 12 (Caviness & Cothren).

prophet seen by Guilhermy below St. Paul in the central window of the chapel; the inscription is largely restored, no longer conforming to the *iohel ppha* that Guilhermy tentatively deciphered, but repairs through the center of both upper panels again vouch for the provenance. The brilliant yellow mantle and purple robe are in part old, but much patched and repainted. The bottom panel is essentially modern, and the bare feet, normal for an Apostle, are incongruent with the prophet's hat.

A third prophet, under a canopy inscribed *ABACVC:PROPHETA*, is also in Baltimore (fig. 11); the upper part of a figure so inscribed, holding a scroll, was recorded by Guilhermy in the first chapel window.[26] The tightly draped white mantle of this figure and the light red sleeves are exquisitely painted, but the lower two panels are a clumsy restoration, including the scroll inscribed: *EVAN SECVND MATHEVM.* The panel with the head and shoulders is again problematic. The jumbled inscription which passes behind the neck (*EP..SC.V*) is redundant, and both the architectural details that support the canopy above the shoulders that conform with the figure below are modern. The hat is a stopgap of old glass, and the face, authentically unbearded and turned to the right, is patched through the right side. It is tempting to think

that this bust is a fragment of yet another figure, whether a prophet or an apostle.

Finally the youthful bare-footed apostle in Glencairn with a red mantle and green robe, may be the one seen by Guilhermy in the upper part of the first window of the chapel (fig. 12). Guilhermy rejected his first reading of ...*aspē* on the scroll, and the present lettering is stopgap, but in includes *P* in the scroll, perhaps for another prophet, and *THMA*, presumably for St. Thomas. The last fragment is incorporated into an entirely new panel, as are the authentic feet. The three genuine panels are repaired through the center, but the breaks do not greatly detract from the smoothly modelled face, this time without leadlines through the brows.

Thus parts of at least seven figures have been recognized among the six reconstituted in collections; the whole figures are oddly disjointed and drawn out as though randomly assembled from the modular units of the panels. In the original arrangement at Soissons it seems that prophets, with or without caps, with name bands passing behind their necks and with inscribed scrolls, were seated frontally under low canopies. They would fit the lower halves of the clerestory lights. Apostles, named on curving bands in the canopy that filled the resolution of the arch, and possibly also holding scrolls, would have been placed in the tops of the lights. Their heads are turned, perhaps to acknowledge the figure of Christ in the axial window. Whereas such figures are paired in the straight bays of the choir clerestory of Auxerre Cathedral, the arrangement of Soissons is more hierarchical.

The general composition, with superimposed seated figures, follows a pattern established in the late twelfth century at Canterbury and Reims. In Saint-Remi the hierarchies are respected: Apostles, and also patriarchs, are placed over archbishops, patriarchs are placed over kings of France. A similar system was perpetuated in Reims Cathedral in the first half of the thirteenth century (fig. 13). The Soissons series were evidently imposing in size and brilliant in color and they must have made a dramatic impact on the viewers in the choir, but they are rather heavily inscribed for such distant viewing; neither the earlier nor the later series in Reims indulged such a bookish habit.

The question of dating deserves brief review, especially since new observations of the stonework of the choir suggest a break in construction between the arcade and the upper levels.[27] Two fixed points have always been considered in conjunction with the hemicycle glass: The inscribed slab in the choir that com-

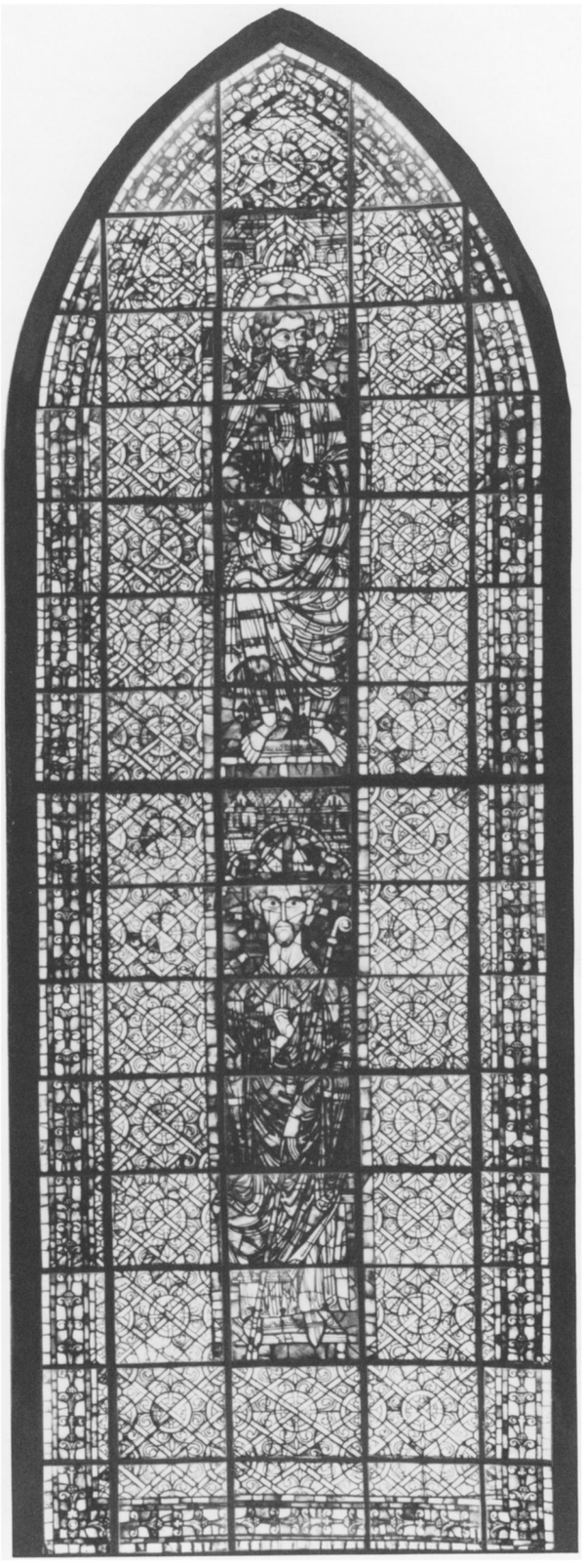


Fig. 13. *Unnamed apostle and archbishop*, before 1227?, Reims Cathedral choir clerestory, first bay from the west on the north side.

memorates its first use in May 1212, and the royal gift for the axial window, sometime before 1223. Chapels in the rebuilt choir seem to have been glazed by about 1210.[28] This date accords well with the glass on the basis of its resemblance to that of the east windows of Laon, generally dated just before 1205. The upper levels may have been constructed after 1212 if a temporary wooden ceiling allowed the choir to be occupied. However, the resemblances between the Jesse Tree figures and those in the lower windows, pointed out earlier, suggest a continuity in production. And, despite the lack of elegance in many of the colossal figures from the straight bays, there are also striking resemblances in facial types, drapery systems and chromatic range, to the Jesse figures (cf. figs. 4 and 12). Thus it seems possible that the entire choir was glazed in the lifetime of Philippe Auguste.

The rebuilding of the Cathedral may be very intimately connected with the vissicitudes of his reign, and especially with those of his repudiated queen, Ingeborg, who was in Soissons in 1201 for the council which was to determine her reinstatement. The king, following the well-timed death of his third wife, capitulated at the council.[29] The affair had dragged on for many years, some of them marked by an interdict, and the reconciliation might have occasioned an expiatory gift from the king, then or later; he was in Soissons again in 1213, when the upper levels of the choir were presumably in construction. There is no record of a natural calamity in the 1190s, such as a fire or earthquake, which would explain the demolition and rebuilding on grander scale of a recently completed choir. Yet the man-made calamity of the interdict, and other natural catastrophes causing famine that the Pope blamed on the king's rejection of his bride, were perhaps seen as "signs" providing a powerful incentive for expiatory building. An added factor might have been rivalry. The twelfth-century choir and transepts kept pace with the Cathedrals of Noyon and Senlis, and with the refurbished "archimonasterium" of Saint-Remi; but in the period 1195 to 1212 they must have increasingly appeared low and outmoded in comparison to the rebuilding at Chartres and eventually Reims, and even risked being dwarfed by the Premonstratensian Abbey of Braine. The programs in the glass seem to reinforce episcopal and ecclesiastical authority; there is a preponderance of saintly churchmen among the "lives" of the lower windows, and the prophets and patriarchs of the choir emphasize the biblical mandate to the priesthood. The unusual subjects in the hemicycle, the Fall and the Last Judgment, (hemming in the king's gift which celebrates the royal lineage of Christ) call for repentance. The apostles are assembled as witnesses to the Incarnation, but also as jury at the second coming.

Recognition of the way in which the seven huge figures identified here originally fit into their architectural and programmatic context has advanced our knowledge of Soissons Cathedral, and of the arts in the reign of Phillipe Auguste. Stained glass was the most powerful medium of the "middle ages," not only brilliant and eye-catching and able to expand to the scale of the new buildings, but also endowed by the theologians with unique spiritual qualities.[30] It should not be surprising, then, that it was one of the vehicles for communicating statements about the role of kingship and genealogy, the reconciliation of a royal couple with each other and with the church, and the balance of power and authority between secular and ecclesiastic rulers. The brilliant quality of this art form will catch the eye of the museum goer, but it is only with painstaking research that such fragments, heavily restored, mislabelled and misidentified, can now take their place in thirteenth-century history.

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NOTES

I am grateful to the Walters Gallery for providing a ladder so that close examination of the glass could be carried out in 1985, and to Marilyn Beavan for her assistance. Michael W. Cothren helped with the examination of panels in the Glencairn Museum, for which he is preparing a volume in the Corpus Vitrearum series. Carl F. Barnes Jr. has generously discussed many problems, and provided photostats for figs. 2 and 3. Mark Lisle executed the restoration charts. The research on stained glass in American collections has been generously supported by an Interpretive Research Grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, and by The J. Paul Getty Trust. A version of this paper appeared earlier as "Rekonstruktion der Hochchorglasfenster in der Kathedrale von Soissons: Ein Spiel des Zusammensetzens," in *Bau- und Bildkunst im Spiegel internationaler Forschung (Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Prof. Dr. Edgar Lehmann)*, ed. Erhard Drachenberg *et al.* (Berlin, 1989), 41–51.

1. Among examples are: L. Grodecki, A. Prache, and R. Recht, *Gothic Architecture* (New York, 1977) (hereafter, Grodecki *et al.*, *Gothic Architecture*); R. Mark, *Experiments in Gothic Structure* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); O.G. von Simpson, *The Gothic Cathedral: Origins of Gothic Architecture and the Medieval Concept of Order* (New York, 1956).

2. The contemporary Cathedral of Bourges presented another solution: The webs of the vaults are pierced by round openings which allow a fragmented view of the doublets and triplets in the choir clerestory.

3. P. Le Vieil, *L'Art de la Peinture sur Verre et de la Vitrerie* (Paris, 1774), 24-25; he describes colossal bishops, at least 4.5 m. tall, "d'une manière très-grossière."

4. V.C. Raguin, *Stained Glass in Thirteenth-Century Burgundy* (Princeton, 1982), 104-107.

5. E. Frodl-Kraft, "Zu den Kirchenschaubildern in den hochchorfenstern von Reims—Abildung und Abstraktion," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 25 (1972), 28-52.

6. V. Beyer, C. Wild-Block, and F. Zschokke, *Les Vitraux de la cathédrale Notre-Dame de Strasbourg*, Corpus Vitrearum, France IX, part 1 (Paris, 1986), 27-29, 311-470 (esp. 314), figs. 10, 213-409.

7. Recently however, it has been the object of two monographic studies: C.F. Barnes, Jr., *The Architecture of Soissons Cathedral: Sources and Influences in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1967 (Ann Arbor, 1984) and J. Ancien, *Contribution à l'étude archéologique: Architecture de la cathédrale de Soissons* (Soissons [privately printed], 1984) (hereafter, Ancien, *Contribution à l'étude archaéologique*). It is briefly mentioned in Grodecki *et al.*, *Gothic Architecture*, 80, 114-115, 168, pls. 62, 111, and more fully in J. Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley, [ca. 1983]), 5-6, 134, 148-9, 163-5, 169, 172, 227, 230, 255-6, 323, figs. 126D, 143, 155, 189, 213, 237, 298.

8. L. Grodecki, "Un Vitrail démembré de la cathédrale de Soissons," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 43 (1953), 169-176; L. Grodecki in Marcel Aubert *et al.*, *Le Vitrail français* (Paris, 1958), 123 (hereafter, Grodecki, *Vitrail*); L. Grodecki, "Les Vitraux soissonnais du Louvre, du Musée Marmottan et des collections américaines," *La Revue des Arts*, 10 (1960), 163-178; see also P. Verdier, "A Stained Glass from the Cathedral of Soissons," *Corcoran Gallery of Art Bulletin*, 10 (1958), 4-22; M.H. Caviness and V.C. Raguin, "Another Dispersed Window from Soissons: A Tree of Jesse in the Sainte-Chapelle Style," *Gesta*, 20 (1981), 191-198 (hereafter, Caviness and Raguin, "Another Dispersed Window"); J. Hayward in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection* (New York, 1982), 137-146; S. Childs, "Two Scenes from the Life of St. Nicholas and Their Relationship to the Glazing Program of the Chevet Chapels at Soissons Cathedral," in M.H. Caviness and T. Husband, eds., *Selected Papers from XIth International Colloquium of the Corpus Vitrearum, New York, 1-6 June 1982* (New York, 1985), 25-33; M.H. Caviness, E. Pastan, and M. Beaven, "The Gothic Window from Soissons: A Reconsideration," Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, *Fenway Court 1983* (Boston, 1984), 6-25; M.H. Caviness and J. Hayward, "Checklist of Stained Glass before 1700 in American Collections," *Studies in the History of Art*, 15 (1985), 14, 40, 97; *idem*, 23 (1987), 16, 57, 111-114; and 28 (1989), 156 (hereafter, Caviness and Hayward, "Checklist").

9. F. de Guilhermy, "Notes sur diverses localités de la France," XVI, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS n. acq. fr. 6109, ff. 255v-256v (hereafter, Guilhermy, "Notes"). This text has been edited to appear as Appendix 7 to my book *Sumptuous Arts at the Royal Abbeys in Reims and Braine, ornatus elegantia et varietate stupendae* (Princeton, 1990).

10. L. Grodecki, F. Perrot, J. Taralon, *et al.*, *Les Vitraux de Paris, de la région parisienne, de la Picardie, et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, France: Recensement I, (Paris, 1978), 171, Pl. 13, fig. 94 (hereafter, Grodecki *et al.*, Recensement I).

11. This frequently cited document, which does not survive in a medieval recension, is edited by Carl F. Barnes from excerpts made in the seventeenth century: "Ex Martyrologio Ecclesiae S Gervasii Suessionensis," Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Baluze vol. 46, f. 463r, in Appendix 5 of my book on Saint-Remi of Reims and Saint-Yved of Braine.

12. H. Schmitz, *Katalog der Glasgemälde den Königl. Museen* (Berlin, 1913), II, 23, pl. 66; this piece was acquired in 1904. From the same window is the upper half of a king now in the Glencairn Museum (M.W. Cothren in Caviness and Hayward, "Checklist," [1987], 111).

13. Compare, for instance, the prophets of the Jesse Tree (Grodecki *et al.*, Recensement I, fig. 94) and the group formerly identified as the inhabitants of Reims in the Gardner Museum (L. Grodecki and C. Brisac, *Le Vitrail gothique au XIIIe siècle* [Paris, 1984], fig. 26).

14. The most reliable original panel dimensions are of those in Kiev: St. Paul, 74.5 x 90.5 cm.; Ezekiel, 68.5 x 81.5 cm., but the latter especially appears cut down. The panel dimensions in Baltimore and Bryn Athyn are 70.5-73 x 82.5 cm., with borders 35.7 cm. wide, for a combined dimension of 7.50-60 x 1.54 m.; however these canopies too are cut down at each side, possibly by as much as 20 cm. Each light of the doublets measures ca. 7.05 x 1.95 m., but the sills appear to have been built up by two or three courses of masonry, allowing an original height up to 8 m.; I am grateful to Marilyn Beaven for calculating these measurements from the scale engraving in T.H. King, *Etudes pratiques tirées de l'architecture du moyen âge en Europe I* (Bruges, 1857), Soissons, pl. 2. My measurements of the single lights in the turning bays indicate a height of ca. 10.5 m.

15. Guilhermy, "Notes," f. 257v. According to M. Beaven, these lights measure about 8.2 x 1.5 m.

16. X. Muratova, "Deux panneaux inconnus de vitraux français du XIIIe siècle au Musée de Kiev," *Revue de l'Art*, 10 (1970), 63–65; and in *Iskusstvo*, 33, no. 9 (1970), 61–66. I am grateful to the author for some discussion of these panels, and to Ernst Kitzinger for scanning the Russian article for me. They are listed as nos. 465 and 466 in the catalogue of the Khanenko collection by S. Ghilarov, 1927 (also not available to me). See also: A.M. Roslavets and O.V. Krizhitsky, *Kiev: Gosudarstvennyi muzei zapadnogoi vostochnogo iskusstva* (Kiev, 1964), 19, Pl. 11; and M.D. Faktorovich, *Khudozhestvennye muzei Kieva* (Moscow, 1977), 194–195, col. pl. facing p. 192.

17. The lower halves of the S and E (last and first of *species electri*) are also discernable, in their correct position.

18. The best way to test this would be to bring rubbings of the lead-lines of these panels together; it is to be hoped that such an exchange might be effected.

19. These may predate the donation of the hemicycle windows by Archbishop Henri de Braine, 1227–1240: H. Reinhardt, *La cathédrale de Reims* (Paris, 1963) 185.

20. Such heads were described throughout the building by Guilhermy, "Notes," ff. 255v-256. See also C.F. Barnes, "The Cathedral of Chartres and the Architect of Soissons," *Society of Architectural Historians Journal*, 22 (1963), fig. 19.

21. M. Beaven has compiled a very useful dossier "Soissons before 1896" with photographs and engravings of the Cathedral, as well as rough photo-montages of the glass as Guilhermy saw it. Some of this material is discussed and illustrated in her paper "A Reconstruction of the Stained Glass in the Windows of Soissons Cathedral as it Appeared in c. 1860, taking special account of those panels now in American Collections," unpublished "Festbundel" for Jane Hayward, May, 1987. See also M. Beaven, "The Legendary Stained Glass from the Thirteenth-century Choir of Soissons Cathedral," Masters thesis, Tufts University, 1989.

22. Caviness and Raguin, "Another Dispersed Window", 193.

23. Cf. the king from Braine, Pitcairn 03.SG.234 A-C (illus. Cothren in Caviness and Hayward, "Checklist," [1987], 108).

24. I am grateful to the museum for permission to examine these panels thoroughly on a light table in 1987, and especially to Michael W. Cothren who carried out the examination with me and supplied me with copies of the rubbings.

25. Eg. the King in Glencairn and "Sophonias" in the Walters Art Gallery: M.H. Caviness, "Rediscovered Glass of About 1200 from the Abbey of Saint-Yved at Braine," in *Selected Papers from the XIth International Colloquium*, 1985, 46, n. 40.

26. The authentic remaining parts of the inscription:...*ACV.: PPHA* are close to his reading (...*cuc ꝑpa*); the restorer overlooked the contraction sign for *pro* in the original.

27. J. Ancien, "Une Interpretation arbitraite [sic]—ou un délire de

traduction," in *Contribution à l'étude archéologique de la cathédrale de Soissons*, Soissons (privately printed, [ca. 1982]), esp. 7–11; *Contribution à l'étude archéologique*, 29–31, Pl. 9; see also C.F. Barnes, "The Twelfth-Century Transept of Soissons: The Missing Source for Chartres?" *Society of Architectural Historians Journal*, 28 (1969), 20.

28. Personal communication, 7/30/1984; the earliest dates for the chapels he had found previously were 1207 and 1208, from *Gallia Christiana* X, col. 385, but he reported new discoveries indicating earlier construction.

29. J. Saincir, *Le Diocèse de Soissons*, I, (Evreux, 1935), 101-103.

30. The best overview of these Neoplatonic texts, which attribute special qualities to glass because of its translucence, is that of Louis Grodecki (Grodecki, *Vitrail*, 40–45).

Photographs: Figs. 1, 4, 5, 9, 13, S.P.A.D.E.M; fig. 2, Bibliothèque de la Direction de l'Architecture; figs. 8, 12, Glencairn Museum; figs. 8a, 10a, 11a, 12a, *Corpus Vitrearum* (USA); figs. 10, 11, the Walters Art Gallery

A Terracotta *Joseph* Attributed to Civitale: Its Authenticity Vindicated

Joaneath A. Spicer

The authenticity of a terracotta Joseph, sometimes attributed to Matteo Civitale or Fra Ambroglio della Robbia, is supported by thermoluminescence analysis. The reasons why it was previously doubted may be sought in an analysis of its provenance.

While it may be valid to judge individuals in part on the basis of the company they keep, this can be very misleading in the case of works of art. A terracotta statue of the seated *Joseph*[1] (height, 98 cm., fig. 1), for many years attributed to the Lucchese sculptor Matteo Civitale (1436–1501), was included in the Walters Art Gallery 1987 exhibition *Artful Deception: The Craft of the Forger*[2] as probably an early twentieth-century fake. This assessment resulted from *Joseph's* common history with a *Virgin* and *Child* (fig. 2) in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C.,[3] with which it was thought to form a freestanding Nativity group and which thermoluminescence analysis in 1970 had shown to be an early twentieth-century fabrication.[4] The fate of the Walters *Joseph* was assumed to be sealed as well. Factors contributing to the negative assessment of the Walters piece are worth a brief review, especially as parallel testing completed while the 1987 exhibition was in progress demonstrated that the Walters *Joseph* is an authentic Renaissance terracotta, the dating range allowed by the testing being 1407 to 1607.[5]

The history of the three pieces is intriguing and clearly contributed to this judgment. The Walters *Joseph* was first publicly recorded in 1914 in the collection of Thomas Fortune Ryan (1851–1928), New York, along with the infant *Christ Child* now in the National Gallery, the latter apparently coming from the dealer Joseph Duveen.[6] They were there attributed to Civitale, based on the expertise (1913) of the Berlin museum director Wilhelm von Bode, Duveen's prime advisor. The three pieces—"the splendid painted terra-cotta group of the *Adoration of the Child*"—were the subject of a letter of January 23, 1914 from Bode to Mr. Ryan[7] in which they are referred to as having been previously in the collection—opened to the public as a museum in the Palazzo Davanzati in 1910[8]—of the Florentine expert and dealer Prof. Elia Volpi who assigned them to Francesco Laurana (ca. 1430–1502?). Duveen acquired them from Volpi in 1913.

The third piece, the *Virgin* (height, 130 cm.), now also in the National Gallery, was lent in 1914 by Duveen to Ryan, presumably in the hopes of inducing a sale, a type of loan for which the dealer was well known.[9] At the time of the loan the three were photographed together in Ryan's home (fig. 3); the photograph was published in a 1914 article by Wilhelm Valentiner, to which we shall return.

Duveen subsequently reacquired the *Child* at the Ryan collection sale in 1933[10] and then sold the *Virgin* and *Child* to Samuel Kress in 1941. According to information supplied to the National Gallery by Duveen Brothers (and noted in Ulrich Middeldorf's 1976 catalogue of the Kress Collection sculpture),[11] the *Virgin* and also the *Child* had been in a church in Lucca(?) before having been acquired by Volpi.

There is no specific evidence in the public

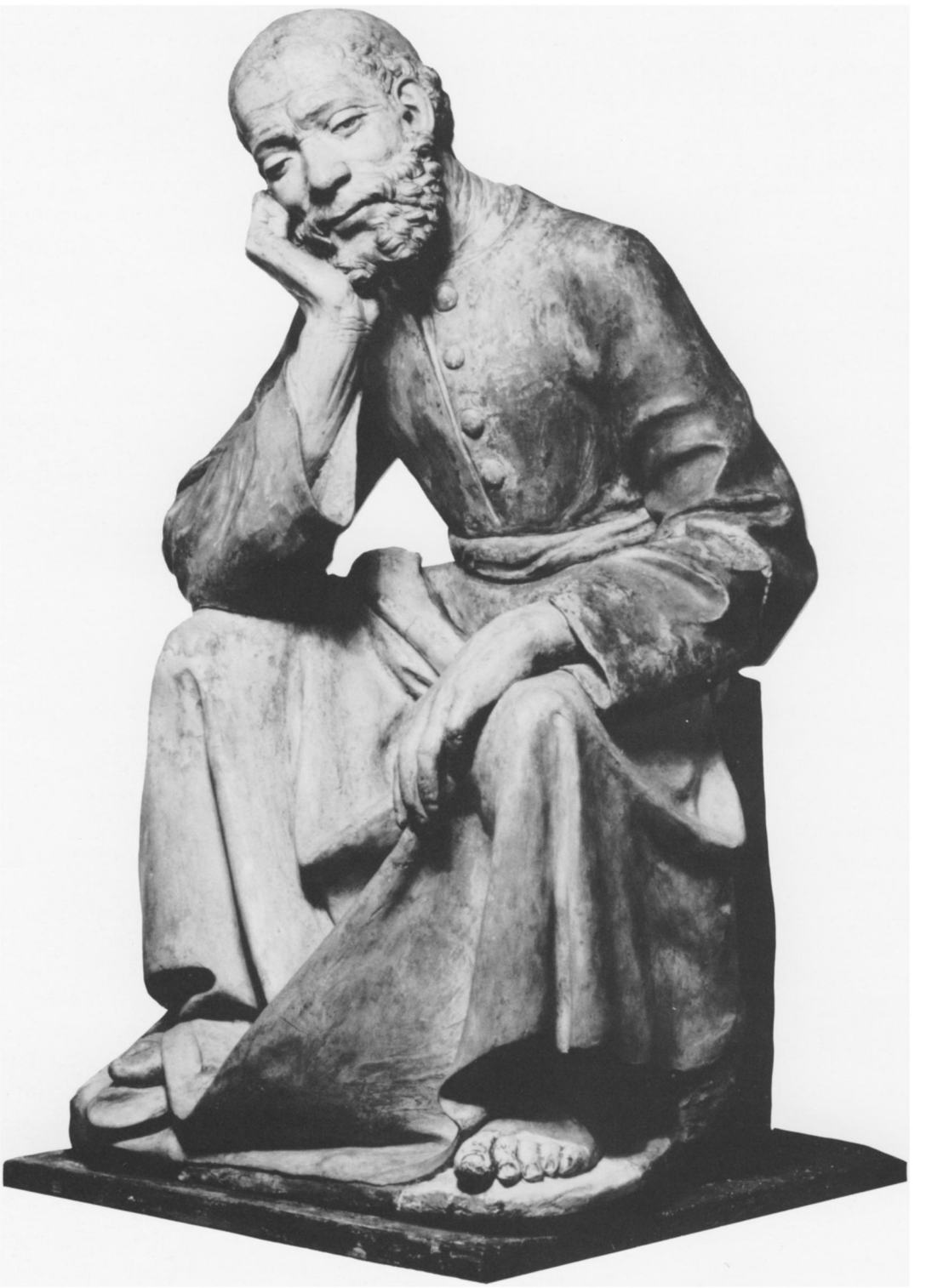


Fig. 1. Matteo Civitale (attributed to), *Joseph*, painted terracotta, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.531.

domain of where Ryan acquired *Joseph*, but since the three pieces were apparently acquired together by Duveen from Volpi and since it was surely Duveen, a man consistently contemptuous of objects supplied to his clients by other dealers,[12] who encouraged the idea of bringing the three pieces together, we can logically infer that *Joseph* also came directly from Duveen.

The photograph taken of the three figures together in the Ryan collection appeared, as noted above, in an 1914 article by Valentiner[13] who supported the attribution to Civitali. This temporary grouping and the photograph recording it left, I suspect, a false impression of "documentation," which fostered subsequent confusion. Thus when the two figures within the group proved to be modern fakes, it seemed logical to conclude that the third was as well. In the text Valentiner refers to the *Virgin* as a loan from Duveen, but the caption to the illustration of the three pieces together, reads "Matteo Civitale: The Nativity. Collection of Mr. Thomas F. Ryan, New York." A 1946 letter from Duveen Brothers to Hanns Swarzenski at the National Gallery notes in part: "Mr. Ryan had them together in his house for some while because Dr. Valentiner and Dr. Bode said they all belonged together but they never made a very happy combination."[14] However, in 1976, Middeldorf, when writing up the *Virgin and Child* ("In the style of the LUCHESE SCHOOL: around 1900 [?]") stated that the three figures "formed a group," citing Bode's letter as proof that all three "once belonged together."

The known history of the pieces does not support that assertion. Given Bode's close connections with Volpi it would appear that the assertion of the relationship goes back to Bode, if not to Volpi. There is no evidence today that Duveen, Bode or Volpi were aware of the modernity of the *Virgin* and *Child*,[15] though Volpi was apparently the source for the suspect assertion that the *Virgin* and *Child*—which we now know to have been of recent production—had come from a church.

The fact that the works exhibit real stylistic differences has not really been addressed. Even taking into consideration that the removal of the paint from the Virgin by Duveen at some point before 1938[16] may have affected the terracotta beneath, the slick, reductive surfaces and forms of the *Virgin* are far removed from the surface realism, studied modeling, and psychological depth of *Joseph*. This is so even in passages such as the garment folds or locks of hair, which are not so obviously influenced by the differences in the traditionally varying characterizations of an idealized face and posture of a young Virgin and a more realistic and world-weary face and comportment of an older Joseph.

American taste in the years before World War I was particularly susceptible to the appreciation of these sweetly sentimental Nativity groups; for example, a *Virgin Adoring the Child* (fig. 4), traditionally attributed to Civitali was purchased for Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1902.[17] The absorbed, exclusive relation-

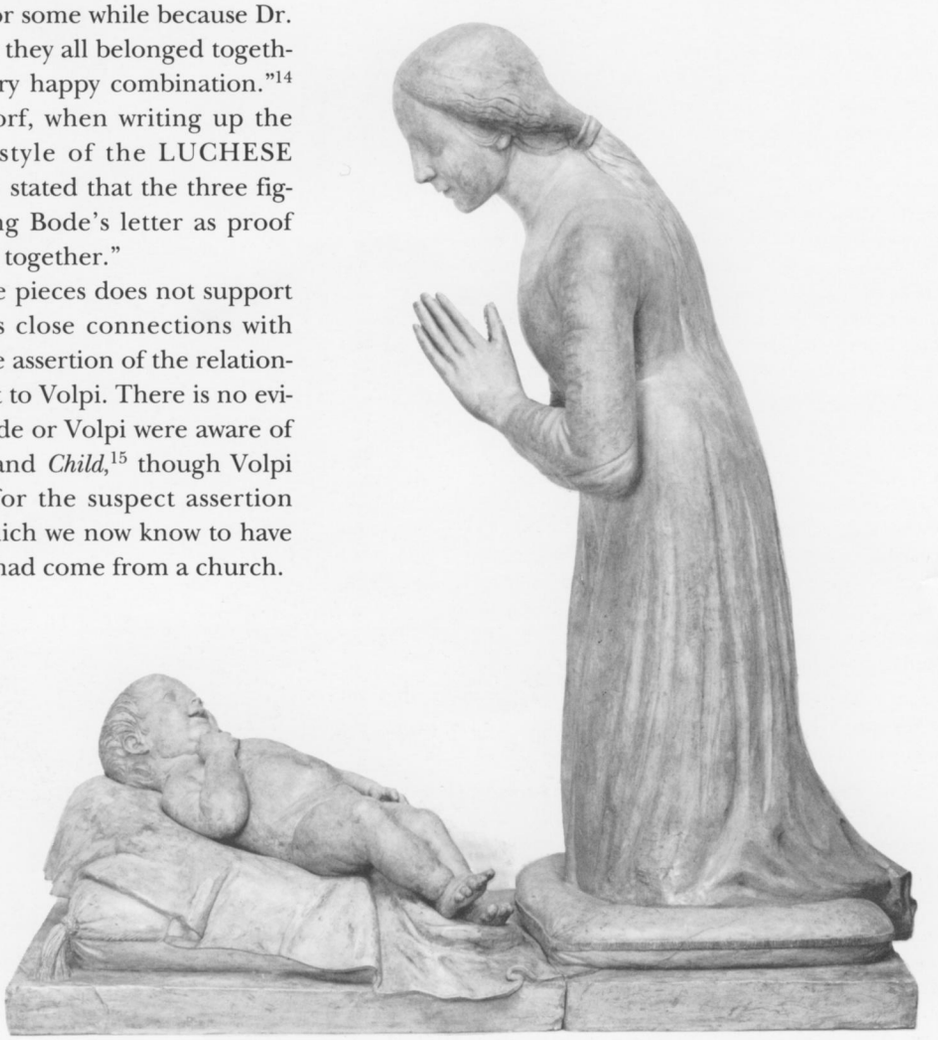


Fig. 2. Italian, ca. 1900, *Virgin Adoring the Child*, terracotta, Washington, D.C., the National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, no. K1254.

ship of these two figures suggests, however, that they were never accompanied by a figure of Joseph. The only group in American collections including a Joseph is in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 5),[18] probably issuing from the workshop of A. Rossellino(?) or one of the della Robbias; it includes not only a praying Virgin, Child and melancholic Joseph, but even a donkey and cow. While Italian Renaissance art encompasses other subjects with despondent seated men—Joachim in the wilderness or Joseph succumbing to doubts as to his wife's virginity—they are not treated in such terracotta groups so often associated with popular devotion; therefore it is reasonably certain that the Walters *Joseph* was conceived as part of a Nativity, the other members of which are misidentified or, more likely, lost.

The Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

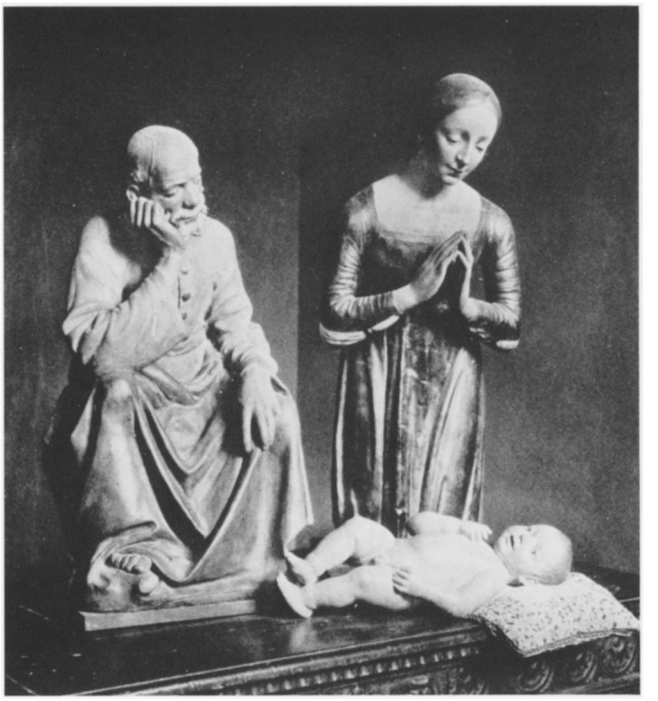


Fig. 3. The statues illustrated in figures 1 and 2 temporarily joined in a group in the home of Thomas Fortune Ryan, New York in 1914. [From *Art in America*, 2 (1914), 197].

NOTES

1. The Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.531 (as attributed to Fra Ambrogio della Robbia), acquired in 1949 from the J. Brummer collection (Parke Bernet, New York, June 9, 1949, lot 454). Though the piece is meant to be seen from the front, it is modeled in the round. To facilitate firing, the figure was cut in two, under the elbow and through the body. The toes of the left foot are missing. The jacket retains extensive remains of a musty dark blue paint (untested), while traces of a dark reddish brown are found in the skirts.

A consideration of the attribution to Civitale or to another master is beyond the intention of this short article, though a few comments may be offered. The current museum attribution apparently derives from an anonymous, undated note in the files which proposes an attribution to Fra Ambrogio della Robbia on the basis of a comparison of the pose with the indeed similar one of a Joseph (published, however, only in a disadvantageous side view with the face turned away) in a freestanding presepio in S. Spirito, Siena, which may be the one documented as completed by Fra Ambrogio della Robbia in that church in 1504 (A. Marquand, *The Brothers of Giovanni della Robbia* [Princeton, 1928], 48–9, fig. 23). Nevertheless, the earthy, broad-nosed-peasant realism of the Baltimore *Joseph*, with balding, veined pate, seems removed from the normally classic, restrained demeanor characteristic of works usually assigned to the della Robbia family and their workshops, such as the *Joseph* (accompanied by a kneeling *Virgin*).

2. Baltimore, 1987, of which a variant is circulating (1989 until 1992) without the *Joseph*. There is a checklist of the circulating version but no catalogue.

3. No. K1254. U. Middeldorf, *Sculptures from the Samuel H. Kress Collection, European Schools XIV-XIX Century* (London, 1976), 48–9. Here I would like to acknowledge the very generous assistance given me by Don Myers, and especially Alison Luchs and Douglas Lewis.

4. Testing done at Research Laboratory for Archaeology and History of Art, Oxford, in 1969/70. Two samples were taken: 1) the pillow of the *Child* and 2) the base(?) of the *Virgin*. The following definition of such testing is supplied by Terry Weisser, head of the Walters's Division of Conservation and Technical Research: Thermoluminescence (TL) dating is a technique whereby fired min-



Fig. 4. Matteo Civitale, *Virgin Adoring the Child*, painted terracotta, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, no. S27n4.

eral materials (such as ceramics) may be dated by measuring the amount of naturally occuring radiation the material has received since it was last fired. Energy from naturally occurring radiation, which is always around us, is trapped and stored in clays and most materials used in ceramics. When a ceramic object is fired during manufacture, it releases any previously stored radiation energy and begins accumulating it again; that is, its thermoluminescence clock has been re-set to zero. The older a ceramic object is, the greater the cumulative radiation dose it has received since firing. During thermoluminescence testing, when a sample from a ceramic is heated to 500° C, the energy it has accumulated since its last firing is given off in the form of light (thermoluminescence). This light can be measured to calculate the approximate date of the object.

5. Testing by the same Oxford Research Laboratory was initiated by Terry Weisser. The present writer came on staff in 1990. Two samples, in powder form, were taken from: 1) the interior edge of the lower body section at the arm, and; 2) the interior edge of the upper body section. A parallel example of "honor reinstated" is that of a terracotta *Virgin and Child* after Andrea del Verrocchio in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery which had been declared by John Pope-Hennessey as "almost certainly dated from the nineteenth century." Examination and thermoluminescence testing published by Stephen Rees-Jones, "A Fifteenth-Century Florentine Terracotta relief. Technology—conservation—interpretation," *Studies in Conservation*, 23 (1978), 95–113, demonstrated its authenticity, as acknowledged by Pope-Hennessey in "The Forging of Italian Renaissance Sculpture," *The Study and Criticism of Italian Sculpture* (New York, 1980), n. 12.

6. Middeldorf leaves out Duveen from the provenance of the *Child* at this point, but correspondence from Duveen Brothers (letter of May 1946) in National Gallery curatorial files (cited with permission) makes it clear that it was in the dealer's possession before going to Ryan. This could in any case be suspected from the fact that Duveen in 1941 supplied the same provenance for the *Child* (a provenance not supplied by the 1933 sales catalogue) as for the *Virgin* which he had owned all along, indicating an otherwise unexplained knowledge of the *Child's* earlier history.

7. A copy of the letter may be found in the files of the National Gallery and is published with permission.

8. See for example, R. Ferrazza, "Palazzo Davanzati: Elia Volpi e Leopoldo Bengujat," *Antichità viva* 24, 5/6 (1985), 62–69.

9. See the report of such an "option" offered to John D. Rockefeller in S.N. Behrman, *Duveen* (London, 1960), 16–7, (hereafter, Behrman, *Duveen*).

10. American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, Inc. (New York), 23–25 November 1933, lot 297. Lot 298 was the *Child*.

11. See note 3, above.

12. Behrman, *Duveen*, 12.

13. See note 1, above.

14. See note 6, above.

15. Volpi disposed of his collections (apparently sequentially assembled for this purpose) primarily through auctions, the first in 1910 in Florence, the following held belatedly in New York in 1916 at the American Art Galleries November 21–27, 1916. The latter—Volpi tells us in the introduction—was to have been accompanied by an introduction by W. von Bode. The sale included as lot 111 a terracotta bust-length *Madonna and Child* as by Nanni de Banco, which was acquired by Henry Walters (Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.208). Other auctions in New York followed.



Fig. 5. Rossellino, Antonio (workshop of), *Nativity*, painted terracotta, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 11.136.1–5, purchase, Kennedy fund.

16. The polychromy had been removed by the time of the exhibition *Italian Gothic and Early Renaissance Sculptures*, curated by W. Valentiner, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts (1938), no. 77 as Civitali (ill.). This decision to remove the polychromy could be interpreted as evidence that Duveen did not know it was a fake.

17. Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, no. S27n4; height 99 cm. C. C. Vermeule, W. Cahn, and R. van N. Hadley, *Sculpture in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum* (Boston, 1977), no. 139. The authenticity of the piece was confirmed by thermoluminescence testing in 1977. Karen Hass was kind enough to check the museum files on this piece.

18. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 11.136.2 (height of *Joseph* is 61.7 cm.). Acquired in 1911 from E. Volpi and published by W. Valentiner, "A Group of the Nativity by Antonio Rossellino," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1911), 207–210 (as "one of the most beautiful sculptures of the Italian Renaissance") and later in "Unglazed Terra Cotta Groups by Andrea della Robbia," *Art in America*, 14 (1926), 120–30 (attributed to Andrea della Robbia and described as "justly considered to be the most beautiful example of Italian Renaissance sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art"). Thermoluminescence testing suggests that the pieces may not all have been fired at precisely the same time—pieces may have been added more or less contemporaneously to the set—but none is modern. In a letter of August 31, 1990, James Draper plausibly proposes that, "Though the Virgin is more Robbia-like and the Joseph more Rossellino-like, the whole composes well and there is no reason why a sizable workshop responsible for these things would not draw on various prototypes of the sort." This type of popular creche group was discussed by R. Berliner, *Die Weihnachtskrippe* (Munich, 1955).

Photographs: Fig. 1, the Walters Art Gallery; fig. 2, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; fig. 4, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum; fig. 5, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Some Cretan Icons in the Walters Art Gallery

Maria Vassilaki

This paper deals with three Post-Byzantine Cretan icons, acquired in 1902 by Henry Walters from the Massarenti collection. The first is an icon showing the Annunciation and St. George Killing the Dragon. Iconographically, it is closely related to Cretan icon-workshops of the second half of the fifteenth century and especially that of Andreas and Nikolaos Ritzos. Stylistically, a date in the 1490s or around 1500 seems to be the most appropriate. The other two icons are signed by the well-known Cretan painter Angelos Bitzamanos (documented between 1482 and 1532), whose artistic activity took him from Crete to Dalmatia and southern Italy. The first is a now dismembered triptych showing St. Jerome in penitence, the Virgin and Child, and St. John the Baptist. The second shows the Visitation and, according to its inscription, was painted in Otranto, Italy.

The Walters Art Gallery possesses a significant number of Cretan works of art dating from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, only a few of which have thus far been published. The most famous is the illuminated manuscript W.335, formerly Olschki 35398, first published in 1915.[1] According to its colophon, this manuscript was written and decorated in Candia (modern Heraklion), where it was completed on October 10, 1415. The manuscript, presumably executed for a Venetian client, consists of the text written in the Venetian dialect (the commentary of Federigo da Venezia on the Apocalypse of St. John) and three miniatures.

Other Cretan works in the Walters became known through their publication in 1956 by A. Xyngopoulos.[2] One is an icon depicting the Virgin *Platytera* enthroned between St. John the Baptist and the Apostle Philip. It is signed by Emmanuel Tzanes and therefore dates to the seventeenth century. The second is a seventeenth-century triptych of unique type and shape. It constitutes a faithful representation of an *iconostasis,* on a miniature scale, and this underlies its role as a liturgical object for a private cult, a domestic *iconostasis.* Finally, another triptych, of which only the central and left panels survive, was recently attributed to the Cretan painter Georgios Klontzas (ca. 1540–1608). This triptych, which was until then completely unknown, was first exhibited at the Walters Art Gallery in 1988 on the occasion of the exhibition *Holy Image, Holy Space.*[3] This last object comes from the famous Massarenti collection, acquired in 1902 by Henry Walters.[4] The same collection was the source of an impressive number of Cretan paintings, three of which will be discussed in this paper.

An Icon with the Annunciation to the Virgin and St. George Killing the Dragon

The icon (fig. 1) measures 52.7 x 39.7 cm. Apart from some losses at the top corners, its state of preservation is very good. The icon is divided by a dark red stripe into two unequal parts. The upper, larger part shows the Annunciation to the Virgin and the lower, St.



Fig. 1. Icon, *The Annunciation* and *St. George Killing the Dragon*, Baltimore, tempera on wood, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.725.

George Killing the Dragon. The combination of these two subjects is peculiar and must have been chosen by its donor.[5] This might be a certain George who wanted to offer an icon of the Annunciation to the Virgin and at the same time to honor his homonymous or patron saint. Such an icon could be either for a church dedicated to the Annunciation or for private use, in which case the feast day of the Annunciation must have played an important role in the donor's life.

The icon was included in the catalogues of the Massarenti collection, published in 1881 and 1897. The catalogue of 1897[6] described it as, "*Auteur inconnu (XII siècle)....Ce tableau est divisé en deux compartiments: dans le haut l'Annonciation et dans le bas St. Michel tuant le dragon....*" In the Walters Art Gallery files, the icon was described as "*Greek (Byzantine Style)*" and dated to the fifteenth to sixteenth century. (The fifteenth-century date was later crossed out.) Here it will be argued that, iconographically and stylistically, the icon seems more naturally to belong with Cretan painting of the late fifteenth century.

The iconographic scheme of this Annunciation includes the Archangel Gabriel on the left and the standing Virgin on the right. Gabriel, shown walking towards the Virgin, has his right hand raised in blessing and in his left he holds a scepter signifying his role as a messenger. Deep in thought, the Virgin stands on a footrest in front of a wooden stool, which has a red cushion on it. Her right hand, palm outward, projects from under her *himation* and points towards the angel. In her left hand she is holding the usual skein of purple wool and the distaff. The Holy Spirit, descending from heaven, reaches the Virgin's halo. The architectural background consists in the center of a low wall, with rectangular niches and a tall structure at each end. These structures have been destroyed at the top corners, but, as will be shown below, they can easily be reconstructed on the basis of other similar representations of the Annunciation. Behind the building on the right there is a tree with thick foliage and a diagonal trunk. The floor is marble. A faded inscription, *O ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙCΜΟC*, can be read in the background between the tree and the building on the left.

All of those elements that characterize the Annunciation portion of the Walters icon are also to be found in a series of representations in wall decorations[7] and icons,[8] in an illuminated manuscript,[9] on five pairs of sanctuary doors,[10] on the inside of the right wing of a portable altar,[11] and on the inside of the left wing of a triptych.[12] These all date from the second quarter or the second half of the fifteenth century and have been ascribed to Cretan painting of the time. It has been argued, convincingly, that the main iconographic elements that characterize this scheme of the Annunciation, especially the standing Virgin and the architectural background, derive from Late Byzantine representations dating mainly from the fourteenth century.[13] Some of these are directly connected with Constantinople.[14] At the same time, a scheme with the seated Virgin and a different architectural background was also current in Late Byzantine art. However, surviving examples show that this scheme never became popular in Cretan icon painting of the fifteenth century.[15]

If we compare the Walters Annunciation to the Cretan representations with which it belongs, we find that its iconographic scheme is most often repeated identically among icons, rather than in other media. For example, the tree, even the shape of its trunk and foliage, is found in the icons only. Apart from this, it is obvious that every detail of the Walters Annunciation also appears in most of these icons, many of which have been associated with the workshop of the famous Cretan painter Andreas Ritzos (ca. 1420–1491) and his son Nikolaos (ca. 1460–1503).[16] In fact, one of these bears the signature of Nikolaos Ritzos: it is the composite icon in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia, with the *Deësis* and the central theme surrounded by single saints and ten



Fig. 2. Icon, Nikolaos Ritzos, *Deësis, Dodekaorton* and *Single Saints*, tempera on wood, Sarajevo, Museum of Ancient Serbian Art (from K. Weitzman *et al.*, *The Icon* [New York, 1982], 321).



Fig. 3. Icon, *The Virgin Enthroned, Dodekaorton* and *Single Saints*, tempera on wood, Athens, Benaki Museum, no. 3051.



Fig. 4. Detail of fig 3., *The Annunciation.*

Dodekaorton scenes, with the Annunciation in the upper left (fig. 2).[17] This signed Nikolaos Ritzos icon is very like an icon in the Benaki Museum, Athens, in which the central theme is the Virgin enthroned holding the Christ Child flanked by two angels, and whose frame includes single saints and four *Dodekaorton* scenes with the Annunciation, again in the upper left (figs. 3 and 4). This icon has been attributed to the workshop of Ritzos.[18] An icon of the Annunciation in the Museum of Recklinghausen is also thought to have been produced by the Ritzos workshop,[19] and the same has been suggested for some of the sanctuary doors which illustrate the Annunciation.[20] Finally, a triptych that includes a representation of the Annunciation has also been attributed to Nikolaos Ritzos.[21] In all these representations there are also minor details to suggest their association with the Ritzos workshop. One such detail is the wooden stool in front of which the Virgin stands, which occurs as a standard motif in Ritzos's vocabulary. Another is the type of building, which is repeated in various icons by Ritzos.[22]

The Walters Art Gallery Annunciation has a strong Late Byzantine character, which is obvious in the other Cretan representations too. This has been explained through the dependence of the composition on fourteenth-century examples from Byzantium. At the same time, our composition must be placed among the works produced on Crete during the fifteenth century because, as shown above, it belongs in a group of icons produced on the island during the second half of the fifteenth century and associated with the Ritzos workshop. There is one more reason to assign this Annunciation to fifteenth-century Crete: the punched decoration, employed for the haloes of both the archangel and the Virgin, is especially associated with Cretan icon painting of the time. This feature comes from Italian painting; that Cretan artists should have borrowed elements from Italian art is easily understood when one remembers that Crete was then under Venetian occupation. Several studies have thrown light on the character of Cretan painting during the Venetian occupation of the island (1210–1669) and especially during the later centuries of this occupation.[23] They have shown how the Byzantine background of Cretan painting mingled with elements from western art. They have also shown that Cretan painters executed icons for both Cretan and Venetian clients, icons which were painted either *"alla maniera greca"* or *"alla maniera italiana."*

A detailed study of the punched motifs employed by fifteenth-century Cretan painters would give interesting results because, as has been already shown in

the case of Italian artists, each workshop used its own tools and was, therefore, producing punched motifs that were specific to it.[24] Surviving Cretan icons indicate that the use of punched haloes was limited during the first half of the fifteenth century, but expanded rapidly during the second half of the century and was employed by the most famous painters and workshops of the time, such as Andreas and Nikolaos Ritzos, and Nikolaos Tzafouris. The vegetal motif employed by the painter of the Walters Annunciation is very close—indeed, almost identical—to that employed by Tzafouris for the icon with the Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St. John in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig. 5).[25] This might suggest that the present icon is also his work. In any case, the high quality of the execution of the punched decoration shows it to have been produced by an important Candian workshop.

The lower part of the icon shows St. George killing the dragon. The saint is dressed in a highly decorated military uniform and a red *chlamys*, which is fluttering behind him as he rides. The horse, rearing backwards on its hind legs, is grey, with a red harness, bridle and saddle; its tail is tied in a characteristic knot. St. George is pulling the horse's bridle with his left hand and holds a spear with his right, which he is plunging into the mouth of the dragon, a black monster with red wings. The dragon's tail is wound around the horse's hind legs. In the background there are mountains filling the whole of the lower half of the composition; they are rendered in earth colors and red tones. The name of the saint is clearly visible on either side of his punched halo, written in red on the golden background: *Ο ΑΓ(ΙΟC) ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC.*

This representation of St. George is a faithful copy of an icon in the Benaki Museum that bears the signature of the Cretan painter Angelos and is, therefore, dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (fig. 6).[26] It has been argued that it was through the painter Angelos that this iconographic type became established in Cretan icon painting.[27] What is not yet clear is whether Angelos created this iconography or borrowed it from other media and transferred it to icon painting. The fact that this type of horse, the shape of the dragon, and the uniform of the saint are to be found in Venetian painting of the fourteenth century, and especially in the work of Paolo Veneziano,[28] supports the hypothesis that this iconographic type was created by a Cretan painter, presumably Angelos. However, the fact that this iconographic type is also located in Georgia, in metalwork and wall decorations of the fifteenth century,[29] leaves the issue



Fig. 5. Icon, Nikolaos Tzafouris, *Virgin* (detail), *The Man of Sorrows between the Virgin and St. John*, tempera on wood, Vienna, Kunsthistorishches Museum, no. 4040.



Fig. 6. Icon, Angelos, *St. George Killing the Dragon*, tempera on wood, Athens, Benaki Museum, no. 28129.

open. Constantinople may bridge the gap between Crete and Georgia, but more research in this direction needs to be done.

In any case what is important for us now is that the iconographic type of St. George on horseback killing the dragon as it appears in the Walters icon is identical with that of Angelos's icon in the Benaki. There are a few differences between the two representations, but they are of minor importance. In the Walters icon the hand of God appearing from the sky and blessing is omitted, the dragon is not three-headed, the halo of St. George is punched with dots creating winding circles, and the rocky background has been expanded in order to cover the whole width of the icon, which is bigger than the Benaki panel. Apart from these differences, the Baltimore icon has followed the Benaki St. George type in every single detail. Some similarities between the two icons are so striking as to suggest the use by the painter of the Baltimore icon of a working drawing based on the Benaki icon, a hypothesis which is made more likely by the fact that Angelos is known to have possessed working drawings—as documented in his testament of 1436, in which he bequeathed them to his brother John, who was also a painter.[30] Years later, in 1477, John Akotantos sold these (?) drawings to the painter Andreas Ritzos.[31] Though the contract of 1477 included terms to assure the use of these drawings by Andreas Ritzos exclusively, it does offer evidence that one painter's working drawings could pass into the hands of another. It also gives an idea of how working drawings were being circulated in Candia in the second half of the fifteenth century. The circulation of working drawings is also implied by the existence of series of icons in which an iconographic subject is faithfully copied, generation after generation. One of the best examples to illustrate this process is the theme of St. George on horseback killing the dragon, which became established in Cretan painting of the first half of the fifteenth century and was produced in an impressive number of icons from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.[32]

Until now we have tried to establish, on iconographic grounds, that the Walters icon belongs with Cretan works of the second half of the fifteenth century. The stylistic characteristics of the icon point in the same direction. This icon can clearly be seen not to date from the first half of the fifteenth century if it is compared with other works of that period. For example, though comparison with an icon such as the *Deësis* from *Hagia Moni* Viannou painted by Angelos (fig. 7)[33] shows many of the same stylistic devices to be present, the final effect is quite different. The use of a continuous play of light and shade to model shapes is still present in the Walters icon, but the figures have become more squat and dry, the architectural background shows a flatter conception of space, and the folds of the drapery are treated more geometrically. Instead of Angelos's painterly treatment of white highlights on the projecting parts of the face and body we find thick, white areas.

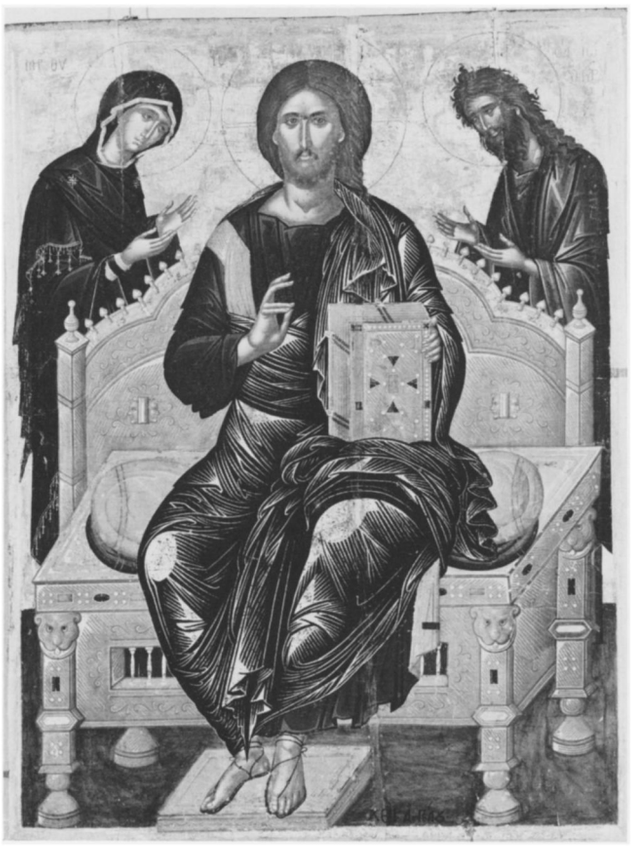


Fig. 7. Icon, Angelos, *Deësis*, tempera on wood, Crete, Hagia Honi Viannou.

On the other hand, works from the second half of the fifteenth century, such as those of Andreas and Nikolaos Ritzos, do show such stylistic devices. The composite icon (fig. 8) of Andreas Ritzos in Tokyo,[34] with the Ascension as its main theme, combined with the *Hetoimasia*, the Hospitality of Abraham, and single saints, includes figures that are like those in the Walters icon. There are clear parallels between the archangel Gabriel of our Annunciation and figures in the Tokyo icon (e.g., Apostles in the Ascension). Even so, the Walters archangel is less "juicy," less "lively" than those of the Tokyo panel. The elegance of the Tokyo figures does not exist in our icon. The close dependence of the Walters icon on the aesthetic principles of fifteenth-century Cretan painters and at the same time its drier quality suggest a date in the 1490s or around 1500. This becomes more clear if our icon



Fig. 8. Icon, Andreas Ritzos, *Ascension, Hetoimasia, Hospitality of Abraham* and *Single Saints*, tempera on wood. Tokyo, National Museum for Western Art.

is compared with the Sarajevo icon (fig. 2) signed by Nikolaos Ritzos, which has been assigned to that period.[35] Thus, the iconographic affinities between the composition of the Walters Annunciation and paintings connected with the Ritzos workshop are complemented by the stylistic affinities of the icon with the Ritzos workshop.

A Triptych by Angelos Bitzamanos

This triptych was acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti collection in 1902. Today its three panels are separated, but they were not during the last decades of the nineteenth century, when it was exhibited in Rome in the Accoramboni Palace.[36] A photograph presumably taken soon after 1902 (fig. 9) shows that the triptych was still whole during the first years after its acquisition. It further shows that the frame of the central panel is not original. (This may explain why the triptych was dismembered.) Though not the original, the frame in the photograph is certainly the same shape as the original, because something like this would have been required to attach the lateral wings to the central panel, which is slightly shorter. This is a highly unusual way of putting the three panels of a triptych together.

The central panel (fig. 10), measuring 20.5 x 16.2 cm., shows the Virgin in bust holding the Christ Child.



Fig. 9. Triptych, Angelos Bitzamanos, photographed soon after its acquisition in 1902, tempera on wood, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.626.

Fig. 10. (below) Central panel of triptych in fig. 9, *The Virgin Holding the Christ Child.*

The left wing (fig. 11), measuring 20.7 x. 8.8 cm., shows, on its inner side, St. Jerome in the desert; the right wing (fig. 11), measuring 20.9 x 8.4 cm., shows St. John the Baptist. The outer side of each wing, which is painted red, shows a coat of arms on the lower part (half on each wing) and a cross with the symbols of the Passion and the abbreviations IC XC (=*IHCOYC XPICTOC*) in the upper part (fig. 12). The top corners of the exterior display a vegetal decoration, consisting of tendrils rendered in gold on the red background.

The triptych was painted by the Cretan artist Angelos Bitzamanos, as an inscription on the inside of the left wing (fig. 11) clearly indicates: *ANGELUS BI/ZAMANUS/PINXIT.* This painter was active in the last decades of the fifteenth century and the first decades of the sixteenth.[37] However, the triptych was dated "*around 1150*" in the old catalogues of the Massarenti collection, a reasonable conjecture at a time when the documents concerning the painter's



life and career were unknown. Today we know that Angelos Bitzamanos worked in Crete, Dalmatia, and Italy. The earliest document connected with his activity is a contract of apprenticeship, signed on April 24, 1482, in Candia, between the Cretan painter Andreas Pavias and the father of Bitzamanos, Nikolaos.[38] In the contract, it is agreed that Andreas Pavias will teach the art of painting to the young Angelino Vicimano (=Bitzamano) for a period of five years. The next document is from 1518 and relates to a commission for the execution of an altarpiece Angelos Bitzamanos undertook to paint for the Confraternity of the Holy Spirit in Komolac, Dalmatia.[39]

For the execution of this altarpiece—of which only the *predella* (the lower frieze) survives today (figs. 13 and 14), in Dubrovnik[40]—Bitzamanos moved to Komolac. After Dalmatia, Bitzmanos, together with his brother(?) Donato, went to Italy, working in Otranto and Barletta. A *terminus* for his stay in Otranto is the year 1532, a date given by an icon by Angelos Bitzamanos showing the Virgin with the Christ child and the young St. John, which is in Leningrad.[41] Perhaps he stayed in Otranto for as long as Donato did, who signed an icon there in 1539.[42] Angelos's presence in Barletta is documented by one of his icons; indeed this is the last trace of him.[43] The activity of Angelos Bitzamanos is indicative of the conditions existing on Crete during the period of the Venetian occupation, when the travel and even the emigration of Cretan painters to Venetian-held territories, such as Dalmatia, or to Italy itself was facilitated.

The central panel of the triptych shows the Virgin holding the Christ child (fig. 10). The atmosphere of the composition is very westernized; the Virgin is an Italian *Madonna*, not a Byzantine *Panaghia*. The western look of her face is further emphasized by the garments she is wearing: an inner vestment with a golden stripe around the neck and sleeves, a transparent *velum*, and a mantle so heavily decorated in gold that it acquires a *brocart* appearance. Christ is also very western looking, with his fat, round face and curly hair. His vestments too are completely Italian, both in type and color. A further western element is his small halo. Christ's posture is unusual, as is the way he is gazing upwards to the right, where St. John the Baptist appears on the wing. Though the icon is western in manner and Cretan painters were often commissioned by western clients to execute icons of the Virgin "*alla latina*," the preferred type was usually the *Madre della consolazione*.[44] Though this triptych shares features with the *Madre della consolazione*, such as the fixed, undirected gaze and the transparent *velum*, they are relatively minor.



Fig. 11. Left and right wings of triptych in fig. 9, inner side, *St. Jerome* (no. 37.626A) and *St. John the Baptist* (no. 37.262B).

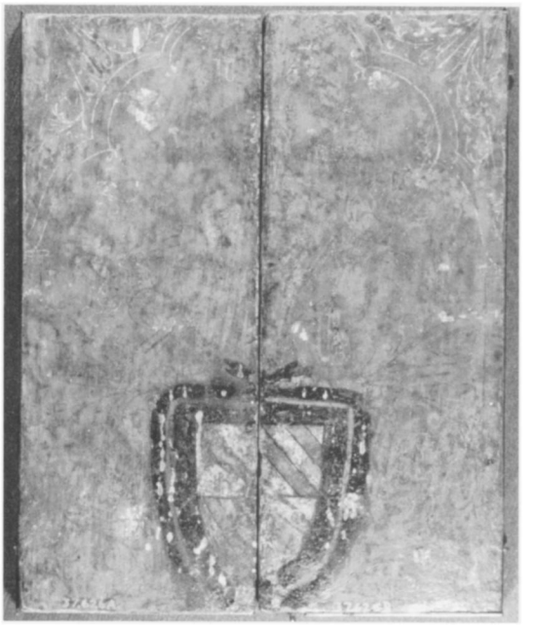


Fig. 12. Rear of triptych in fig. 9.



Fig. 13. Predella, Angelos Bitzamanos, *Five Saints*, tempera on wood, Dubrovnik, Monastery of the Franciscans (from Weitzman *et al.*, *The Icon* [New York 1982], 326).

On the inner side of the left wing (fig. 11), the penitent St. Jerome is depicted. He is kneeling before a cave and, turning to the right, gazes upwards towards a crucifix. St. Jerome has a stone in his right hand, and his arm is extended, ready to beat his chest. With his left hand he is grasping the border of his *himation* close to his chest, which is left uncovered. Behind him on a rock lies his cardinal's hat and just above appears the inscription.

A representation of St. Jerome is also found in another painting by Angelos Bitzamanos: the *predella* of Komolac (figs. 13 and 14). The two representations, though they both display the iconographic type of the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness, have very few specific features in common. The Komolac Jerome has been completely transformed into a western saint. This is especially evident in the Italianate background, which is a very important part of this iconographic theme. On the other hand, the Walters St. Jerome displays Late Byzantine features, such as the type and shape of the cave and the rocky landscape with the tiny bushes.[45] A third representation of St. Jerome, also associated with Angelos Bitzamanos, is found in a composite icon in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens (figs. 15 and 16).[46] The icon, which shows the Virgin of the Passion, scenes from the Virgin's life, and single saints, has been convincingly attributed to Angelos Bitzamanos. The saint is again shown penitent in the wilderness, but his representation has an even deeper western character. What is common to all three representations is that the serpent, scorpions, and skull, which constitute current elements of this composition, have been omitted; the lion was included only in the Komolac St. Jerome.



Fig. 14. Detail of fig. 13, *St. Jerome.*

The representation of St. Jerome, a saint especially venerated in the Latin church, in the work of a Cretan painter is not peculiar. It is consonant with the conditions on Crete during the Venetian occupation and reflects the fact that Cretan icons were meant for both Orthodox and Catholic clients. Furthermore, the co-existence of Cretans and Venetians, especially in the urban centers of Crete, resulted in some western saints gaining popularity even among Orthodox Cretans. This is the case with St. Francis, representations of whom are included even in Cretan churches.[47] As for St. Jerome, depictions of his iconographic cycle are to be found in Late Byzantine churches, as well as single representations of him curing the lion's paw.[48] The surviving representations of St. Jerome in Cretan painting indicate that among his various iconographic schemes the one that gained the greatest popularity is the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness, which is a western theme. We have already seen three representations of the penitent St. Jerome in works either signed or attributed to Angelos Bitzamanos. To these examples may be added four more: a Cretan triptych in the Vatican, with St. Jerome on the outer side of the right wing,[49] presumably of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, a composite icon including St. Jerome on the lower-right corner, which dates from the late-fifteenth century, in the Museum of Art and History in Geneva,[50] and two icons of the fifteenth to sixteenth century, one in the Byzantine Museum and the other in Ravenna.[51]

The image of the penitent St. Jerome in the wilderness has been shown to represent the medieval conception of the holy man.[52] It has also been shown that the penitent St. Jerome was especially venerated by orders of hermits founded in the late fourteenth century and dedicated to St. Jerome. The most important of these orders, the Hieronymites, were settled in the area of Florence (Fiesole). Their activities have been associated not only with the veneration of St. Jerome, but also with the representation of that saint in fifteenth-century Florence. It is believed that this iconographic subject was established in Florence, possibly in the workshop of Lorenzo Monaco, whence it spread all over Italy.[53] The contribution made by Venetian artists to the establishment of the type is also undeniable.[54] The penitent St. Jerome was frequently a popular subject in works of art for private cult and devotion as well. He was considered to offer an ideal example for the conduct of personal life. His representation on the triptych of the Walters Art Gallery, an object relating to a private cult, must support this idea.

St. John the Baptist is shown on the inner side of the right wing of the triptych (fig. 11). He is turned to the left, dressed in his usual garments, the sheepskin (*melote*) and the *himation*. He is holding in his right hand a long staff topped with a lozenge bearing a representation of the Lamb of God (*Agnus Dei*), toward which he points with his left hand. Before his feet is the bowl with his decapitated head. The background is rocky and consists of two diametrically opposed triangular mountains.

The main iconographic features of this representation are current in fifteenth-century Cretan icons. In fact, the posture of St. John (with one leg bent and turning his body toward the side), his garments, his decapitated head in a bowl before his feet, the shape of the bowl, and the type of the landscape are all to be found in icons of St. John the Baptist painted by



Fig. 15. Icon, *The Virgin of the Passion, Scenes,* and *Single Saints,* tempera on wood, Athens, Kanellopoulos Museum, no. 7.

Angelos (Akotantos) in the second quarter of the fifteenth century (fig. 17).[55] What is different from these icons is that St. John is here not winged and he is carrying the long staff with the Lamb of God. (He is also carrying it in the *predella* of Komolac [fig. 13] by Bitzamanos.) This feature derives from fourteenth-century Italian panel paintings, where it usually has the shape of a disk and not a lozenge.[56] Tracing the origin of this feature, however, we are taken back to the sixth-century throne of the archbishop Maximian



Fig. 16. Detail of fig. 15, the lower part of the icon.



Fig. 17. Icon, Angelos, *St. John the Baptist*, tempera on wood, Malines, Museum Hof van Busleyden (from *Golden Light* [Antwerp, 1988]).

in Ravenna.[57] This element was also employed by thirteenth-century Crusader painters, as is shown by a triptych at Mount Sinai, depicting St. John on the left wing.[58] The *Agnus Dei* is the only purely western element in the representation of St. John the Baptist on the right wing of the Walters triptych. All other elements have a strong Late Byzantine character. On the other hand, the depiction of St. John on the Komolac *predella* has a deeply western character, which is further emphasized by the background.

The Walters triptych has brought into conjunction three iconographic themes—St. Jerome, the Virgin and Child, and St. John the Baptist—which are interconnected through the image of Christ included in all of them. This combination exists in a large number of western triptychs and panels.[59] Furthermore, St. Jerome and St. John the Baptist represent the ideal of eremitic life. They have also been combined in another Cretan triptych of the fifteenth century, now in the Vatican.[60] A representation of these two saints together with the Crucifixion is also mentioned in a document of 1640 signed in Candia.[61]

It is reasonable to ask who might have been the owner of this triptych. The medium itself and the object's size point in the direction of an individual. The inscriptions of the painter's and the saints' names in Latin may indicate a western individual, presumably a nobleman, as the coat of arms on the outer side of the wings shows. The form of inscription with the painter's name gives ground for further speculation: *ANGELUS BIZAMANUS PINXIT*—without mention of the place of the painter's origin or the place where this triptych was executed, as some Cretan icons do. For example, an icon of the Crucifixion by Andreas Pavias says *ANDREAS PAVIAS PINXIT DE CANDIA*[62] and others of the Virgin of the Passion by Andreas Ritzos say *ANDREA RICCO DE CANDIA PINXIT*.[63] We tend to believe that such icons were meant to be sent outside Crete. Angelos Bitzamanos himself signed an icon he painted in Otranto, Italy with the inscription *ANGELUS BIZAMANUS GRECUS CADIOTUS PINXIT IN OTRANTO*.[64] Does the simplicity of the inscription's information on the triptych indicate then that it was painted in Candia and it was meant for a Venetian also living in Candia? This hypothesis is supported by the iconographic and stylistic evidence of the triptych. It displays all the qualities and principles evident in Cretan painting of the fifteenth century: a Late-Byzantine character mingled with elements from Italian painting, and a combination of compositions rendered either *alla maniera greca* (St. John the Baptist) or *alla maniera italiana* (the Virgin and Child, St. Jerome). These are the lessons Angelos Bitzamanos might have been taught by Andreas Pavias, in whose workshop he stayed for five years (1482–1487). The icons by Andreas Pavias clearly illustrate the skill and ability of Cretan painters to work in two manners.[65] This is evident in the work of his pupil Angelos Bitzamanos and especially in the Walters triptych.

An Icon of the Visitation by Angelos Bitzamanos

The icon (fig. 18) measures 22.5 x 17.9 cm. and is in a very good state of preservation. It belonged to the Massarenti collection and was mentioned in the catalogues of 1881 and 1897.[66] Before that the icon was in the possession of Seroux d'Agincourt.[67] D'Agincourt included it in the third volume of his monumental work *Histoire de l'art par les monuments depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVIe*, which was published in Paris in 1823. He made a very faithful drawing of the icon (fig. 19), in its original size, and suggested a date from the fifteenth to sixteenth century.[68] The drawing of the icon by d'Agincourt was included in the article of M. Bianco-Fiorin on Angelos and Donato Bitzamanos;[69] the



Fig. 18. Icon, Angelos Bitzamanos, *The Visitation*, tempera on wood, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.748.

author was unable to trace the location of the icon. In an exhibition catalogue of 1988,[70] the icon is mentioned as being located in the National Museum of Naples.[71] Only recently, was the icon rediscovered in the storerooms of the Walters Art Gallery.

An inscription on the lower right corner reads: *ANGELUS BIZA/MANUS GRECUS CADIOTUS PINXIT/A OTRANTO.* It is obvious that this is one of the icons Angelos Bitzamanos painted during the years he stayed in Otranto. The icon illustrates the Meeting of the Virgin and St. Elizabeth, the mother of St. John the Baptist, while they were both pregnant (Luke 1:40–56). Elizabeth is on the right, and kneeling before the Virgin, extends her right hand to greet and welcome her. The Virgin stands on the left, opposite Elizabeth. High above her haloed head the abbreviations MHP ΘV are written. Both women are dressed in rich garments with heavy folds. Behind the Virgin stands Joseph accompanied by two angels. Behind Elizabeth stand three young-looking women in front of an arched structure with a rectangular doorway, flat roof and an oblique frieze with mouldings; this building presumably indicates Elizabeth's house, where the Meeting took place. A walled city occupies part of the background of the composition, while the rest is covered by high mountains.

This is a completely western composition and has no connection with Late Byzantine or Cretan representations of the theme, where it never existed as an independent scene, but it was part of the Virgin's cycle or the *Akathistos* (*Oikos V*). In these examples the compositional scheme is very simple and includes only the two embracing women; the background consists of a long wall, sometimes interrupted by two rectangular buildings.[72] On the other hand, the Walters icon is an independent, multifigured composition and the background is rich in architectural details and landscape elements. It is reasonable to suggest that Bitzamanos, during his stay in Otranto, could easily have become aware of current western representations of the Visitation and copied one of them.[73] In fact, he appears to have copied a representation of the Visitation, which we managed to locate in Books of Hours (fig. 20) printed in Paris between 1505 and



Fig. 19. Drawing by Seroux d'Agincourt of the icon in fig. 18 (from Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art* [London, 1847], pl. XCIII).

1511 by Thielman Kerver.[74] We do not know how Angelos Bitzamanos became aware of a woodcut representation either created or presumably just used by this very printer and engraver. It is more reasonable to suppose that this representation of the Visitation, after it was carved on wood, could have been produced in large numbers and circulated throughout Europe. Judging from the style of the woodcut, used by Kerver, its origin must be looked for in northern Europe, possibly in Flemish art. The German origin of Kerver himself points in the same direction. The style of the Bitzamanos' Visitation, however, is more Italianate. The figures are less elongated than in the woodcut and the architectural background, especially the walled city, has lost its North-European, medieval character and taken the appearance of an Italian Renaissance city. Did Bitzamanos himself convert the North-European style of the scene into an Italianate composition, or did he simply copy the work of an unknown Italian artist, who had already borrowed this representation either through Flemish art or through the Kerver Books of Hours and had given to it an Italian style? For as long as the surviving material cannot support such hypothesis, these questions must remain open. The Walters Visitation is a Cretan icon only in the sense that it was painted by a Cretan painter and it is an icon only because it shows a religious subject; in this case the term panel seems more appropriate.

The case of Angelos Bitzamanos, a Cretan painter who became aware of western painting while still living on Crete and who came into more direct contact with western art after he left the island and went to Italy, is not unique. It is however one of the earliest documented cases. Neither is the fact that he left Crete after having undertaken a commission for an altarpiece in Dalmatia unique, although this too is one of the earliest documented cases.

The example of Angelos Bitzamanos foreshadows the activity of Cretan painters such as Michael Damaskinos (ca. 1535–1592/93) and Domenikos Theotokopoulos (ca. 1541–1614). The former stayed in Venice between 1574 and 1584 and carried out the decoration of the parish church of San Giorgio dei Greci.[75] The latter left Crete in 1567/68 wishing to explore the full depth of western art, to reach the extremes of a



Fig. 20. *The Visitation*, Book of Hours. Thielman Kerver, Paris, March 31, 1511. Printed Book. London, The British Library, c. 29 g. 9, fol. 30ro.

style of painting he already knew from Crete. His stay in Venice and Rome enriched his artistic vocabulary, but his arrival in Spain was the most decisive step towards his transformation into a western artist, albeit one who would always keep his Greek identity.[76]

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NOTES

I had the opportunity to study these icons when I was on a Dumbarton Oaks fellowship in the summer of 1989. Dr. Gary Vikan was extremely helpful in putting everything at my disposal during the visits I paid to the Walters Art Gallery. I want to thank Dr. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Director of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, for the photographs in Figures 15 and 16, and Mr. S. Stassinopoulos, conservator of the Benaki Museum, for the photographs in Figures 2, 5, 13, 14, 17.

1. L. Olschki, "Manuscrits très précieux," *La Bibliofilia*, 16 (1914–15), 49–50, pls. III, IV; A. Luttrell, "Federigo da Venezia's Commentary on the Apocalypse: 1393/94," *The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, 27–28 (1964–65), 57–65, figs. 1, 2; D.I. Pallas, "Hoi Venetokretikes mikrografies Olschki 35398 tou etous 1415," *Pepragmena tou Defterou Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou-Chania 1966*, A΄ (Athens, 1967), 362–372 ff., pls. ΡΚΑ΄ ΡΚΒ΄; H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg, 1970), 70–71, fig. 25; *idem*, "Auftraggeber der spätbyzantinischen Bildhandschrift," *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues*, Actes du colloque organisé par l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines à Venise en Septembre 1968 (Venice, 1971), 176, fig. 18; M. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts de l'école crétoise et la question de l' école dite italogrecque," *Mnemosynon S. Antoniades* (Venice, 1974), 197, pl. 26 (hereafter, Chatzidakis, "Les débuts").

2. A. Xyngopoulos, "Kretika Meletimata. A΄. Dyo erga kretikes zografikes eis ten Walters Art Gallery tes Valtimores," *Kretika Chronika*, 10/3 (1956), 323–332, pls. Α–ΑΒ΄.

3. *Holy Image, Holy Space: Icons and Frescoes from Greece*, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, etc., 1988–90 (Athens, 1988), no. 70 (M. Vassilaki) (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *Holy Image*).

4. *The Journal of The Walters Art Gallery*, 1 (1938), 9–12, esp. 11; W.R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth Century Paintings in The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), 2.

5. We know of similar cases, such as a twelfth-century icon of the Virgin between the Apostle Peter and the martyr-saint Natalia. For this unusual selection of saints the explanation given was that *"La famille du donateur devait en effet compter parmi ses membres un Pierre et une Nathalie."* See T. Velmans, "Rayonnement de l'icone au XIIe et au début du XIIIe siècle," *XVe Congrés International d'études byzantines*, Rapports et Co-rapports, III. Art et Archéologie (Athens, 1976), 214. On a pair of fifteenth-century sanctuary doors the Apostle Andrew was included for bearing the same name as its donor, Andreas Limogallos. See C. Baltoyannis, "Parastasse Evangelismou kato apo neoteri epizografisse sto vemothyro T. 737 tou Vyzantinou Mouseiou," *Athens Annals of Archaeology*, 17/1–2 (1984), 70 (hereafter, Baltoyannis, "Parastasse").

6. M. Massarenti, *Catalogue d'une collection de tableaux de diverses écoles spécialement des écoles italiennes* (Rome, 1881), no. 4 (hereafter, *Catalogue*, 1881); *idem, Catalogue du Musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni premier étage Place Rusticucci, No. 1'8 Près du Vatican.* Première partie. Tableaux (Rome, 1897), no. 8 (hereafter, *Catalogue*, 1897). The saint (George) was erroneously identified as St. Michael.

7. For example, in the sanctuary apses of the churches of St. George (ca. 1436–1445) in Apano Symi, Viannou painted by Manuel Phokas, and of Hagioi Pateres (1462/1470) in Apano Floria, Selinou painted by Xenos Digenes. See M. Borboudakis, "Ho naos tou Hagiou Georgiou Apano Symis Viannou," *Pepragmena tou Tritou Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou-Rethymnon* 1971, B΄ (Athens, 1974), pl. 46; M. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, "Ho zografos Xenos Digenes kai he ekklesia ton Hagion Pateron sta Apano Floria Selinou tes Kretes," *Pepragmena tou Tetartou Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou-Heraclion* 1976, B΄ (Athens, 1981), 558–560, pl. 146.

8. A comparable Annunciation is depicted singly in two icons, one in Recklinghausen (*Kunstsammlungen der Stadt Recklinghausen, Ikonen-Museum* [Recklinghausen, 1981], no. 204 pl. 10), and the other in a private collection in Prague (J. Mysliveć, *Ikona* [Prague, 1947], pl. 13), and among other scenes in two composite icons, one in the Museum of the Ancient Serbian Church in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia (K. Weitzmann, G. Alibegashvili, A. Volskaya, G. Babić, M. Chatzidakis, M. Alpatov, and T. Voinescu, *The Icon* [New York, 1982], pl. on page 321 [hereafter, Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon*]), and the other in the Benaki Museum, Athens (N. Chatzidaki, *Icons of the Cretan School, 15th–16th Centuries*, Benaki Museum, Athens, 1983 [Athens, 1983], no. 18 [exhibition catalogue] [hereafter, Chatzidaki, *Icons*]).

9. This is the Sticherarion, cod. 1234 in the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. A colophon gives the name of the scribe, John Plousiadenos, and the year 1469. See K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1973), 30–31, fig. 44.

10. They are to be found in Thessaloniki (A. Xyngopoulos, "Vemothyron Kretikes techtes eis ten Thessaloniken," *Makedonika*, 3 [1954], 116–125, pls. 1–3), in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 43–72 esp. 51–60, color plate), in Patmos [M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos: Questions of Byzantine and Postbyzantine Painting* [Athens, 1985], no. 11 [hereafter, Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*], Naxos (N. Zias, "Vyzantina kai neotera mnemeia nesson Aigaiou," *Archaiologikon Deltion*, 26 (1971), Chronika, 483, pl. 500], and one in a private collection in New York (Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 54, fig. 6).

11. It is in a private collection in Athens. The altar, which is dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, includes a triptych painted by Silvestros Theocharis (attested 1633–1638). See Chatzidaki, *Icons*, no. 40; *From Byzantium to El Greco: Greek Frescoes and Icons*, exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1987 (London, 1987), no. 71 (L. Bouras) (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, *From Byzantium*).

12. Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 51, fig. 4. The left wing of the triptych depicting the Annunciation, is in a private collection in New York, while the rest is in the Temple Gallery, London, *Icons: A Sacred Art*, 30th Anniversary Exhibition Catalogue, The Temple Gallery, London (London, 1989), no. 6 (M. Vassilaki) (sale catalogue).

13. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, 157; Baltoyannis, "Parastasse," 51.

14. Specifically, mosaic icons in Florence depicting the *Dodekaorton* and in the Victoria and Albert Museum depicting the Annunciation. They are both attributed to the same artist. See V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 368, figs. 489, 492 (hereafter, Lazarev, *Storia*); Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon*, pls. on 74, 77.

15. To my knowledge, the Virgin is shown seated in the Annunciation on the right leaf of a sanctuary door in Patmos (Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos*, no. 38) and in a composite icon with scenes from the life of the Virgin in Cairo (L. A. Hunt, "Note on an Unknown 'Italo-Cretan' Icon in Cairo," *Byzantion*, 58.2 [1988], 394–399, esp. 395–397, figs. 1,4).

16. M. Cattapan, "I pittori Andrea e Nicola Rizo da Candia," *Thessaurismata,* 10 (1973), 238–282 (hereafter, Cattapan, "I pittori"); *idem,* "I pittori Pavia, Rizo, Zafuri da Candia e Papadopulo dalla Canea," *Thessaurismata,* 14 (1977), 219–225.

17. See above, note 8.

18. See above, note 8, and Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos,* no. 124.

19. T. Chatzidakis, *L'art des icônes en Crète et dans les îles après Byzance,* Europalia, Greece, 1982 (Charleroi, 1982), no. 9 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, Chatzidakis, *L'art des icônes*).

20. See above, note 10 (the pair of sanctuary doors in Patmos).

21. See above, note 12.

22. For example, both these features occur in the composite icon by Andreas Ritzos in Tokyo (fig. 8). See K. Koshi, "Über eine kretische Ikone des 15. Jahrhunderts von Andreas Ritzos im Nationalmuseum für westliche Kunst in Tokio," *Bulletin annuel du Musée national d'art occidental,* 7 (1973), 37–44, figs. 1, 15, 22.

23. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 169–211; *idem,* "Essai sur l' école dite 'italogrecque' précédé d'une note sur les rapports de l'art vénitien avec l'art crétois jusqu'à 1500," *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV,* 2 (Florence, 1974), 69–124; *idem,* "La peinture des 'madonneri' ou 'vénéto-crétoise' et sa destination," *Venezia centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (secoli XV–XVI), Aspetti e Problemi,* Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana (1973), 2 (Florence, 1977), 675–690.

24. M. Frinta, "An Investigation of the Punched Decoration of Mediaeval Italian and Non-Italian Panel Paintings," *Art Bulletin,* 47 (1965), 261–265, figs. 1–52; *idem,* "Unsettling Evidence in Some Panel Paintings of Simone Martini," *La pittura nel XIV e XV secolo. Il contributo dell' analisi tecnica alla storia dell' Arte, Atti del Congresso Internazionale di storia dell' arte,* a cura di H.W. van Os and J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer, 3 (Bologna, 1982), 211–223, figs. 1–29 (hereafter, *La pittura*); E. Skaug, "Punch Marks. What are they Worth? Problems of Tuscan Workshop Interrelationships in the Mid-Fourteenth Century: The Ovile Master and Giovanni da Milano," *La pittura,* 253–278, figs. 1–25.

25. Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon,* 311, pl. on pp. 322–323; Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 184–185, pl. 14.1; M. Bianco-Fiorin, "Nicola Zafuri, Cretese del Quattrocento, e una sua inedita 'Madonna'," *Arte Veneta,* 37 (1983), 166, fig. 2 (hereafter, Bianco-Fiorin, "Nicola Zafuri").

26. L. Bouras, "Eikona tou Angelou me ton Hagio Georgi kavalari, dorea tou hidrymatos A.G. Leventis," *Ta Nea ton Filon tou Mouseiou Benaki* (Jul.–Sept. 1986), 26–27, fig. 20; P. Vokotopoulos, "Dyo eikones tou zografou Angelou," *Filia Hepe,* 2 (Athens, 1987), 410–414, pls. 66a, b, 69c; M. Vassilaki, "A Cretan Icon of Saint George," *The Burlington Magazine,* 131 (March, 1989), 208–214, figs. 23, 26 (hereafter, Vassilaki, "Cretan Icon").

27. Vassilaki, "Cretan Icon," 213.

28. In the representation of St. George included in the polyptych of San Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna. See M. Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia* (University Park and London, 1970), 101–102, figs. 96–97.

29. These representations are found in the metal cross of Tchekhari (Ch. Amiranachvili, *L'art des ciseleurs Georgiens* [Gründ/Paris, 1971], fig. 97) and above the entrance door in the church of St. George in Alaverdi (I thank Father Chr. Walter for the information).

30. M. Manoussakas, "He diatheke tou Angelou Akotantou (1436), agnostou kretikou zografou," *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias,* series 4th, B΄ (1960–61), 143, 147, 150.

31. Cattapan, "I pittori," 262, no. 19.

32. Vassilaki, "Cretan Icon," 213, figs. 27–29.

33. Chatzidaki, *Icons,* no. 4.

34. See above, note 22.

35. See above, note 8.

36. *Catalogue,* 1881, no. 1; *Catalogue,* 1897, no. 1.

37. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 195, 196; M. Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività dei pittori Angelo e Donato Bizamano: precisazioni ed aggiunte," *Bolletino d'Arte,* 27 (1984), 89–94, figs. 1–2, 5–8 (hereafter, Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività"); C. Gelao, "Tra Creta e Venezia. Le icone dal XV al XVIII secolo," *Icone di Puglia e Basilicata dal Medioevo al Settecento,* exhibition at Bari, 1988 (Bari, 1988), 36–38, 141 (exhibition catalogue) (hereafter, Gelao, "Icone").

38. M. Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500," *Thessaurismata,* 9 (1972), no. 17, 221.

39. The document is kept in the State Archives of Dubrovnik. C. Fisković, "Slikar Angelo Bizamano u Dubrovniku," *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji,* 11 (1959), 74, note 4 (hereafter, Fisković, "Slikar")

40. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," pl. 26.1; Fisković, "Slikar," figs. 29–34; Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività," figs. 1–2; Weitzmann *et al.*, *The Icon,* pls. on page 326.

41. Bianco-Fiorin, "L 'attività," 89; Gelao, "Icone," 36, 141.

42. Bianco-Fiorin, "L'attività," 90, fig. 3; Gelao, "Icone," 143, no. 50.

43. The icon in S. Mauro Forte shows the Ecce Homo image of Christ. An inscription on the lower right corner reads: *ANGELUS BIZAMANUS GRECUS CADIOTUS PINXIT I BARLETA.* Gelao, "Icone," no. 47.

44. The establishment of the type in Cretan icon-painting is closely associated with Nikolaos Tzafouris, active during the second half of the fifteenth century. Bianco-Fiorin, "Nicola Zafuri," fig. 1; *From Byzantium,* no. 42.

45. The shape of the cave is identical with that of the cave of Patmos in Cretan representations of St. John the Theologian and Prochoros from the first half of the fifteenth century. Compare, for example, the miniature on folio 3 in the manuscript W.335 of 1415 in the Walters Art Gallery (see above, note 1; Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," pl. 26), and an icon by Angelos at Mount Sinai (K. Weitzmann, *Ikonen aus dem Katharinenkloster auf dem Berge Sinai,* [Berlin, 1980], no. 22, pl. 22).

46. *Affreschi e icone dalla Grecia,* Palazzo Strozzi, Florence, 1986 (Florence, 1986), no. 76 (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou) (exhibition catalogue).

47. M. Vassilakis-Mavrakakis, "Western Influences on the Fourteenth-Century Art of Crete," *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress. Akten II/5, Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 32/5 (1982), 304, fig. 6.

48. An iconographic cycle of St. Jerome is included in the fresco-decoration of the church of St. Nicholas Orphanos (ca. 1320–1330) in Thessaloniki. A. Tsitouridou, *He entoichia zographike tou Hagiou Nikolaou ste Thessalonike* (Thessalonike, 1978), 142–144, figs. 70–72 (hereafter, Tsitouridou, *He entoichia*). A single representation of St. Jerome curing the lion's paw is included in the wall-decoration of the monastery-church of Varsamonero (early 15th century). M. Chatzidakis, "Toichografies sten Krete," *Kretika Chronika,* 6 (1952), 73.

49. A. Muñoz, *I quadri bizantini della Pinacoteca Vaticana provenienti dalla biblioteca Vaticana* (Rome, 1928), pl. XIV; M. Vassilaki, "A Cretan Icon in the Ashmolean: the Embrace of Peter and Paul," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 40 (1990).

50. M. Lazović, St. Frigerio-Zeniou, *Les icones du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire Genève* (Geneva, 1985), no.3. The iconography and style of the icon is closely associated with that of Nikolaos Tzafouris.

51. The Byzantine Museum icon is unpublished. I want to thank

Professor N. Chatzidaki and Mrs. C. Baltoyannis, Curator of the Byzantine Museum, for providing the information. For the icon in Ravenna, see P. Angiolini-Martinelli, *Le icone della collezione classense di Ravenna* (Bologna, n.d.), no. 161.

52. M. Meiss, "Scholarship and Penitence in the Early Renaissance: The Image of St. Jerome," *Pantheon*, 32 (1974), 134–140; D. Russo, *Saint Jerôme en Italie. Étude d'iconographie et de spiritualité. XIIIe–XVe siècles* (Paris/Rome, 1987), 117–140.

53. See the preceeding note, and B. Ridderbos, *Saint and Symbol: Images of Saint Jerome in Early Italian Art* (Groningen, 1984), 73–88, figs. 35, 37, 39.

54. *Ibid.*, 202, 203, 211, figs. 35–39.

55. There are four icons of St. John the Baptist by Angelos in the Museum of Malines, Belgium, in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, in the Museum of Zante, and in the Hodegetria Monastery in Crete. See J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Une icone d'Angélos au Musée de Malines et l'iconographie du St. Jean Baptiste ailé," *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, 6th series, 48 (1976), 121–143, figs. 1–6; *idem*, "Une icone d'Angélos et l'iconographie du Saint Jean-Baptiste ailé," *Byzantion*, 53/1 (1983), 7,8; *Golden Light: Masterpieces of the Art of the Icon*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone kunsten, Antwerp, 1988 (Antwerp, 1988), no. 119 (exhibition catalogue); Chatzidakis, *L'art des icônes*, no. 2; Chatzidaki, *Icons*, no. 2.

56. For example in a triptych of 1345–55 by Tomaso da Modena in Modena (L. Coletti, *Tomaso da Modena* [Venice, 1963], fig. 98), in a polyptych by Paolo Veneziano in the Art Institute of Chicago (R. Pallucchini, *La pittura veneziana del trecento* [Venice-Rome, 1964], fig. 171) and in another polyptych by Lorenzo Veneziano in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice (*ibid.*, fig. 499).

57. For a brief reference, see I. Hutter, *The Universal History of Art and Architecture: Early Christian and Byzantine* (New York, 1971), fig. 87.

58. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 20 (1966), 344, fig. 44. The triptych formerly attributed to "The Master of the Knights Templars" has now been ascribed to a "South Italian Painter."

59. In a triptych by Simone dei Crocifissi (1355–99) in the study collection of the University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia. (F.R. Shapley, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. Italian Schools XIII–XV century* [London, 1966], K1201, 72, fig. 195 [hereafter, Shapley, *Kress Collection*]), and another by Sano di Pietro (1408–81) in the Metropolitan Museum (F. Zeri and E. Gardner, *Italian Paintings. A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Sienese and Central Italian Schools* [New York, 1980], pl. 54), in the Placidi altarpiece by Matteo di Giovanni (1452–95) in Siena (K. Christiansen, L. B. Kanter and C. Brandon Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena: 1420–1500*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988 [New York, 1988], fig. 1 on 274, [exhibition catalogue]), in panels by Girolamo dai Libri in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona (L. Coletti, *Pittura veneta del Quattrocento* [Novara, 1953], pl. 111, [hereafter, Coletti, *Pittura veneta*]), by Sano di Pietro in the Lowe Art Gallery of the University of Miami (Shapley, *Kress Collection*, fig. 391), and by Giambattista Cima in the National Gallery of Washington (Coletti, *Pittura veneta*, pl. 175).

60. See above, note 49.

61. "*Una imagine de Crocifisso, picolo, con san Zuane et san Gerolamo, con la sua cornegion, vechio, per lire otto.*" M. Konstandoudaki, "Martyries zografikon ergon sto Handaka se eggrafa tou 16ou kai 17ou aiona," *Thessaurismata*, 12 (1975), 46.

62. Chatzidaki, *Icons*, no. 20.

63. The icons in the Museum Bandini, Fiesole, in the Parma Art Gallery and in Ston, Dalmatia. Cattapan, "I pittori," nos. 1–3, pls. A, B1.

64. This is the icon presented below.

65. Chatzidakis, "Les débuts," 197–211.

66. *Catalogue*, 1881, no. 2; *Catalogue*, 1897, no. 2.

67. Jean Baptiste Louis George Seroux d'Agincourt (1730–1814), initially an army officer, spent the last thirty-six years of his life (1778–1814) in Italy travelling around and exploring the remains of archaeological sites and works of art. He settled in Rome and worked on the preparation of his monumental work *Histoire de l'art . .* , which he started publishing in Paris in 1808, but left unfinished. This work was carried on by M. Gence and was completed in 1823. For a quick reference see *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., s.v., "Seroux d'Agincourt;" *Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle*, 14/1 (Paris, 1982), 606. See also the *Enciclopedia Italiana di scienze, lettere ed arti pubblicata sotto l'alto patronato di S.M. Il Re d'Italia*, 31 (Rome, 1936–1939), 445. For an evaluation of Seroux d'Agincourt's work see H. Loyrette, "Seroux d'Agincourt et les origines de l'histoire de l'art médiéval" *Revue de l'art*, 48 (1980), 40–56.

68. D'Agincourt, *Histoire*, vol. 3, 115, pl. XCIII.

69. Bianco-Fiorin, "L' attività," fig. 8.

70. Gelao, "Icone," 141.

71. Trying to verify the location of the icon, mentioned in the catalogue, I wrote to the Director of the National Museum of Naples, Prof. N. Spinosa. The answer I received on the 20th December, 1990 says that "*l'icona della Visitazione firmata da Angelo Bizamano non risulta nè appartenere nè essere appartenuta alle collezioni del Museo Nazionale.*"

72. I cite some representations of the Visitation in Palaeologan churches, such as St. Nicholas Orphanos (*ca.* 1320–1330) in Thessaloniki (Tsitouridou, *He entoichia*, 108, fig. 53), the Virgin's Church at Peć (*ca.* 1330), Yugoslavia (M. Ivanović, *The Virgin's Church in the Patriarchate of Peć* [Beograd, 1972], fig. 36), and in the fourteenth-century Cretan churches of St. Anne at Anisaraki, and of the Virgin at Lambini and Thronos (K. Kalokyris, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* [New York, 1973], 157). *Reallexikon der byzantinischen Kunst*, 2 (Stuttgart, 1971), cols. 1093–1099 (K. Wessel).

73. L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien. Iconographie de la Bible*, 2/II (Paris, 1957), 195–210, esp. 199–204; *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, 2 (Rome–Freiburg–Basel–Vienna, 1970), cols. 229–235 (M. Lechner); G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, 1 (London, 1971), 55–56. Schiller argues that the Visitation became an independent scene in western art from the fifteenth century onwards, after it was introduced in the Roman Catholic Church calendar as a Feast from 1389 onwards.

74. Thielman Kerver was born in Koblenz, Germany and was active in Paris between 1497–1522. Ph. Renouard, *Répertoire des imprimeurs Parisiens, libraires, fondeurs de caractères et correcteurs d'imprimerie depuis l'introduction de l'Imprimerie à Paris (1470) jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1965), 223–225. His printed Books of Hours date from 1497 to 1522. I was able to carry out my research in the British Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where I managed to find a complete series of Kerver's Books of Hours. For a list of these printed Books of Hours I consulted the *Short Title Catalogue of Books printed in France and of French Books printed in other countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Library.* Supplement (The British Library, 1986), 180–181; *Livres d'Heures imprimés au XVe et au XVIe siècle conservés dans les bibliothèques publiques de Paris*, Catalogue par P. Lacombe (Paris, 1907), 79–129; *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVIe siécle*, par Br. Moreau, 1. 1501–1510 (Paris, 1972), *passim*, 2. 1511–1520 (Paris, 1977), 82–85. It was only in the editions of 1505–1511 that Th. Kerver introduced this iconographic variation for the Visitation.

75. M. Chatzidakis, *Hellenes zographoi meta ten Halose (1450–1830)* (Athens, 1987), 241–254; *idem, Icônes de Saint-Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise* (Venice, 1964), 51–73.

76. J. Brown, "El Greco, the Man and the Myths," *El Greco of Toledo.* Exhibition Catalogue (The Toledo Museum of Art, 1982), 15–33; see also *El Greco of Crete,* exhibition catalogue edited by N. Hadjinicolaou (Heraclion, 1990), *passim.* It is interesting to note that in his painting of the Visitation, which he executed between 1607–1613, El Greco adopted the simple Byzantine formula of the two embracing women. The painting is in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C. *El Greco of Toledo,* no. 52, pl. 65.

Photographs: Figs. 1, 9–12, 18, the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; figs. 2, 5, 13, 14, 17, S. Stassinopoulos, Benaki Museum, Athens; figs. 15, 16, M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, Byzantine Museum, Athens.

Jaume Cascalls. Un nombre para el Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore

Rosa Alcoy

A summary in English follows the article.

El Maestro de san Marcos y el Maestro catalán de Baltimore.

En la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore se conserva un bello tríptico trescentista no documentado, que Millard Meiss clasificó como obra catalana.[1] Desde entonces han sido varias las aportaciones realizadas al estudio de esta pieza que juega un papel fundamental en la consolidación de los esquemas italianos del siglo XIV dentro del ámbito catalán, reproduciendo en Cataluña las condiciones que habían sido favorables al desarrollo de una particular tridimensionalidad pictórica experimentada con éxito en la Italia medieval. Desconocemos el origen preciso de la obra; en función de este hecho y a pesar de las relaciones de la tabla con pinturas catalanas, se llegaría a proponer incluso su estricta italianidad. Meiss acotó esta opción sugiriendo, sin embargo, que el Maestro de Baltimore (o Maestro catalán de Baltimore) sería un italiano afincado en Cataluña en los primeros años de su carrera. Aquí intentaremos desmentir este último matiz, aunque sabemos que no se encuentra completamente falto de base, reuniendo algunos argumentos a favor de una autoría distinta que replantee aquello que sabemos de un artista catalán con nombre y obras conocidas: Jaume Cascalls.

Según M. Meiss el tríptico con la Virgen y el Niño de Baltimore podía relacionarse con las obras del llamado "Maestro de san Marcos." Para ser más exactos, aclararemos que Meiss tenía en cuenta la conexión del tríptico con el círculo de este anónimo,[2] cuya cronología ha sufrido notables cambios desde que el investigador publicara su artículo pionero. También ha variado la aproximación a la personalidad del Maestro de san Marcos que hoy por hoy se superpone a la personalidad de Arnau Bassa, gracias a la documentación que de forma indirecta permite atribuir el retablo de San Marcos y Aniano de Manresa a este pintor. Los zapateros de Barcelona encargaron en 1346 un retablo a Arnau, hijo del también pintor Ferrer Bassa, que por razones que no podemos precisar con seguridad sería trasladado a Manresa más tarde, probablemente en el momento en que, ya en el siglo XV, el gremio barcelonés decidió renovar el mobiliario destinado a la nueva capilla que poseía en la catedral.[3] La obra encargada a Arnau Bassa no sería otra que la conservada actualmente en una de las capillas de la cabecera de Santa María de la Aurora de Manresa y que ostenta los escudos del gremio de zapateros en sus entrecalles.

Volviendo a la tesis de Meiss, observaremos que estas reservaban un espacio particular al "Maestro catalán de Baltimore," que no había de confundirse con otros pintores contemporáneos, ni con Arnau Bassa ("Maestro de san Marcos") ni con Ramón Destorrents, entre los más sobresalientes. Post apoya esta teoría; J. Sureda,[4] respetando lo fundamental de la tesis de Meiss, cataloga el tríptico como pintura anónima de mediados del siglo XIV, no realizada, sin

embargo, en talleres barceloneses. Sureda diferencia, por tanto, el tríptico de las obras de Arnau con especial énfasis, para sumarse hasta cierto punto a la via de interpretación de Bologna, argumentación que analizamos más adelante.

Destorrents, identificado con el Maestro de san Marcos por Gudiol, fue considerado también posible artífice del retablo de Baltimore,[5] no sin ciertas reservas que el autor se cree obligado a precisar en función de un "italianismo arcaizante" que descubre en la tabla americana.

En función de la proximidad entre el tríptico de la Virgen y el Niño de Baltimore y las obras del Maestro de san Marcos, la cronología de la primera pintura se establecía, en el artículo de Meiss, teniendo en cuenta la del anónimo de Manresa, que en 1941—como también sucedía con el Salterio de París—pasaba directamente a ser problema de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV, concretamente del tercer cuarto de la centuria. Ahora bien, al juicio ponderado y pionero del citado investigador se fueron añadiendo otras opciones que tendían a agrupar el retablo de Baltimore entre las producciones del Maestro de san Marcos en persona, identificado como hemos visto con uno de los miembros de la familia Bassa. A partir de aquí se inaugura una tendencia que concederá especial importancia a las intervenciones de Arnau Bassa, pintor documentado en Cataluña entre 1345 y 1348. En esta dirección, Arnau—convertido en verdadero Maestro de san Marcos—aparece contrapuesto a la "academia" de su padre, Ferrer (1324, 1333–1348), definida en las pinturas tardías—documentadas en el 1346 de la capilla de San Miguel en el monasterio de Santa María de Pedralbes (Barcelona). Arnau, asumiendo las aportaciones de la modernidad italiana de las últimas décadas del primer Trecento, permitía englobar un crecido número de obras que no siempre son absolutamente afines, restando méritos a nuestro artista de Baltimore,—que desaparecía o, simplemente, dejaba de existir como tal-, pero también a las primeras obras, mal conocidas, de su padre.[6] Por otro lado, y al margen de aportaciones historiográficas reseñadas previamente (Meiss, Bologna, Sureda), que tal vez permitirían distinguir *sub judice* al autor de la pintura de Baltimore como artista peculiar, no confundible con los Bassa, no conocemos ningún estudio específico en que esta sea valorada por su importancia concreta y en que se definan al mismo tiempo, *in extenso*, sus particularidades y catálogo. Tampoco conocemos otros ensayos de identificación que no remitan a Arnau Bassa o a Ramon Destorrrents, posibilidades que descartamos. La primera en función del estilo, la segunda en base al estilo y también a la cronología, ya que Destorrents, pintor y miniaturista, sólo trabajó en la segunda mitad del siglo XIV.[7]

Nuestro propósito en este marco será, por consiguiente, desmentir la relación más problemática que afecta a la conexión directa del tríptico de la Walters Art Gallery con los Bassa. Simultáneamente, ensayaremos una nueva atribución que confirmaría a la vez que desmentiría el parentesco de la tabla de la Virgen y el Niño de Baltimore con este taller barcelonés de pintura regentado por Ferrer Bassa solo en un principio y, a partir de 1346, en compañía de su hijo Arnau.

Abandonaremos, por tanto, la inclinación clásica de buena parte de la historiografía catalana, en un intento de desmembrar el grupo de obras consolidado en torno al retablo del Maestro de san Marcos (Manresa). Grupo que resulta excesivo por mucho que las correspondencias de época y estilo tengan cabida, convirtiéndose en un todo heterogéneo que no debió ser, en ningún caso, el producto de un único artista, ni tan siquiera de dos, tan comprometidos en un universo común como Arnau y Ferrer Bassa. En este sentido, la documentación nos permitirá subrayar la presencia de otra personalidad importante, Jaume Cascalls, cuya actividad en la década de los cuarenta parece bien asegurada por producciones que nos llevaran del campo de la escultura, con algunos puntos de referencia consolidados, al de la pintura, terreno sin excesivos puntos en los que apoyarse, pero confirmado por la interdisciplinar actividad del artista que la documentación parece reflejar.

Aproximación al catálogo del Maestro catalán de Baltimore: El tríptico, el retablo de "Cardona" y el libro de Horas de María de Navarra.

Si nos fijamos ahora en el tríptico de Baltimore para poner de manifiesto su relación con otras obras catalanas que ampliarán el catálogo de su autor, estaremos en condiciones de reconstruir un corpus suficiente que permita la comparación con la escultura de Jaume Cascalls. A esta perspectiva deberemos sumar posteriormente los datos que contextualizan a este artista nacido en Berga (Barcelona) como pintor vinculado a los Bassa.

Una imagen de la Virgen entronizada, con el niño a un lado de la falda, ocupa el centro del tríptico (fig. 1), cuya organización nos lleva en las calles laterales de la Anunciación (fig. 22), abajo a la izquierda, a la

zona inferior derecha, donde se representa la Presentación de Jesús en el templo (fig. 5). Los compartimentos superiores nos muestran en el mismo sentido el tema del Calvario y la Coronación de María (figs. 20 y 26). Otra lectura, en aspa y ascendente, podría ser válida al unir los temas de la Anunciación y la Coronación, la Presentación y la Crucifixión, asociaciones convincentes o correctas gracias al enlace de contenidos que resumen la encarnación y la glorificación de la Virgen, la profecía sobre el sacrificio en el templo y la redención consumada en la cruz.

Desde la perspectiva teofánica abierta en la tabla central, apoyada en la adoración y ofrecimiento de dos ángeles a izquierda y derecha del trono, se inquieta también nuestro espacio de espectadores, en términos generales y, tal vez, como lo haría una imagen esculpida. Más aún cuando se insinúa la necesidad de un trasfondo real que oponer a la imagen para completar la escena pintada como "epifanía." Los actuantes que coprotagonizan idealmente el cuadro deben pertenecer a nuestro marco y comparten así nuestro emplazamiento delante de la tabla. Las líneas del trono encajan la *efigie* de María en un ámbito que se perfila en el vacío con el fin de potenciar después el volumen redondeado de las figuras, entre el fondo determinado por el respaldo y la base, levantada y horadada, donde ella, la Virgen, reposa los pies. Sentada sobre almohadón, María ladea la cabeza hacia la derecha, de tal modo que la composición tiene un eje de simetría ligeramente desplazado, en la misma dirección que el movimiento que acusa, además, la diagonal reforzada por la dirección de la mirada. Meiss apuntaba que la solución de Baltimore procedería de una Virgen italiana acompañada de la figura del donante.[8] Desde nuestra óptica la tesis de este autor no resulta incoherente, es más, podremos ofrecer un claro paralelo catalán del tema para la Virgen de Baltimore.[9] Ahora bien, tampoco es una conclusión obligada. La simetría de la figuración puede ser una de las consecuencias del ensayo y valoración espaciales que, por otra parte, abundan en la penetración escultórica que deseamos retener y que no contradicen las fuentes de la iconografía del conjunto.[10]

La forma excepcional de enfrentarse a la moda italiana del Maestro del tríptico de Baltimore vista desde Cataluña, resulta característica y diferente de otras opciones, dado que potencia la resolución escultórica de los volúmenes individualizados en la ficción del plano y no fundidos en él. Esta visión que se plasmará en el tríptico, nos lleva a considerarlo como pieza clave para una nueva agrupación de las obras que giran en torno a los Maestros más renombrados de la escuela catalana de la primera mitad del siglo XIV. La pintura de nuestro anónimo no es idéntica a la del Maestro de san Marcos, vinculado en alguna medida la forma pictórica de Ferrer Bassa; menos aún puede confundirse con la pintura de este último. Sin embargo, algunas de las piezas atribuidas a estos artífices sí pueden y deben ser reclamadas para el Maestro de Baltimore. En esta dirección, el conjunto de producciones que agruparemos a partir del tríptico de la Walters Art Gallery, sin ser muy amplio, es lo suficientemente complejo y variado como para cautivar la personalidad de un artista distinto que asume los logros del italianismo precedente sin renunciar a las alternativas que nos encaminan al segundo período del 1300, una vez superada la crisis de 1348.[11]

Entre las producciones a que nos estamos refiriendo se encuentra un gran retablo fragmentario que se considera procedente de Cardona, aunque sin ninguna seguridad al respecto. Joan Ainaud de Lasarte ha explicado la problemática del origen de un conjunto cuya historia resulta bastante intrincada.[12] Para comenzar señalaremos que solamente se conservan dos fragmentos del mismo, divididos entre el Museo de Arte de Cataluña (Barcelona)—Anunciación y reyes de una Epifanía n. inv. 15855—(figs. 3, 10–11, 14–16, 21 y 19) y el Fogg Art Museum de Cambridge (Mass.)—Natividad, inv. 1949,149-. Fue Diego Angulo Íñiguez quien percibió por vez primera las semejanzas entre las dos obras.[13] Las tablas sufrieron las consecuencias de su vida en lugares distantes y su apariencia se ha resentido por ello, sobretodo en el apartado que afecta a las restauraciones. La parte del retablo conservada en el Fogg es la que presenta mayores modificaciones si tenemos en cuenta el que fuera su estado original; estos cambios enmascaran tanto el estilo como la carpintería del fragmento gótico. En definitiva, podemos resumir la cuestión advirtiendo que la Navidad del Fogg conformaría, en lo fundamental, uno de los episodios de la calle de la derecha del retablo mientras que, en su ángulo opuesto, los episodios conservados en el museo catalán cerrarían el lateral a nuestra izquierda. Las escenas del marco superior estructuradas convenientemente con idénticas molduras curvadas marcando la ojiva, ornamentadas con florones y emplazadas entre dos agujas o pináculos también rematados por florón, componen sin ningún problema de lectura la organización de un complejo que podemos reconstruir parcialmente de la Anunciación del ángel a María, pasando por la Natividad, a la Adoración de los reyes magos que, sin duda, debía implicar la representación de la calle central, donde necesariamente hay que imaginar un lugar para la

Virgen y el Niño. La iconografía del episodio perdido y la existencia de una cumbrera son dos aspectos que ahora dejamos en suspenso.[14]

A nuestro juicio la pertenencia de ambos fragmentos a un mismo retablo se halla fuera de duda, juicio que compartimos con la mayor parte de los estudiosos del tema. Podemos pasar por tanto a discutir otros puntos destinados a polemizar sobre la atribución del retablo. La idea de Post cuando escribía por vez primera sobre el asunto, fue inscribir estas obras dentro del círculo de Ferrer Bassa, aunque no tardaría mucho en modificar tal advertencia, señalando a continuación que los enlaces con el Maestro de san Marcos—el futuro Arnau Bassa—eran más nítidos y que, en conclusión, era aconsejable revisar su criterio en pro de este último.[15]

Debemos hacer notar que Meiss comparaba ya la arquitectura de la Anunciación de Baltimore (fig. 22) con las construcciones que aparecen en la Adoración de los reyes magos de Barcelona (figs. 3 y 29).[16] Sin embargo no aisla este parentesco, notorio desde nuestra actual posición, si no que lo suma a todo aquello que la tabla de Baltimore tiene en común con el retablo de san Marcos de Manresa, el políptico Morgan y el llamado *Llibre Verd* de Barcelona (Usatges). De esta forma, en cierta medida, el tema se desenfoca nuevamente de nuestro objetivo principal: apreciar en el conjunto de Baltimore y en el de Barcelona–Cambridge (Mss.), al menos, el predominio de una misma mano distinta a la de Arnau Bassa.

Sin embargo, la conexión del retablo de "Cardona" con el autor del conjunto de Manresa, es una constante que pervive en la bibliografía, más allá de las eventuales atribuciones, de ambas pinturas, a Arnau Bassa o a Ramón Destorrents. Ya nos hemos referido al estudio de Ainaud que tuvo lugar con ocasión de la exposición *Barcelona restaura* y a sus opiniones sobre el particular (nota 12); recordemos también ahora que en 1938, para Josep Gudiol i Ricart[17] nuestro conjunto fragmentario de Barcelona–Cambridge era obra del Maestro de san Marcos que, más tarde y sucesivamente, identificaría con Arnau de la Penna, Ramón Destorrents y Arnau Bassa.[18] Verrié lo integraba entre las producciones del Maestro de san Marcos, "potser identificable amb Arnau Bassa," escribía.[19]

Desde nuestra óptica, insistiremos en que la opción estilística del "Maestro de Baltimore-Cardona" no puede ser equiparada en ningún caso a la del Maestro de san Marcos, con independencia de la identificación propuesta para este pintor.[20] En consecuencia, tampoco son factibles las atribuciones de este conjunto afin al estilo de Baltimore a Arnau y en menor medida aún a Destorrents.[21] El "Maestro catalán de Baltimore," como figura aislada por su peculiar e interesante *maniera italianizada* pero afin a las corrientes establecidas en Cataluña facilita una aproximación a la obra relacionada sin excesiva contundencia con Cardona, hasta el punto que creemos verosímil la equiparación de sus autores.[22]

Finalmente, antes de añadir un tercer conjunto de escenas que amplian nuestra visión sobre el maestro de los retablos (o trípticos) de la Virgen, será útil recordar nuevamente una de las apreciaciones sobre el estilo de la Natividad del Fogg. Berenson observaba la conexión de la tabla con la pintura ligur.[23] Como es manifiesto, nuestro objetivo no es demostrar ahora la relación de lo catalán con lo italiano; sin embargo la referencia a Génova, a la Liguria en términos más amplios, se proyecta sobre otras advertencias que nos interesan cara al denominador común que es factible establecer entre las producciones catalanas que ahora nos incumben. Entre los comentarios de Bologna sobre el tríptico de Baltimore habría que recordar aquel en que el autor asocia la pintura a ese ámbito mediterráneo de la geografía italiana que corresponde a la costa ligure. La coincidencia espacial parece señalar hacia al mismo universo pictórico que comunica los dos conjuntos a partir de la Liguria, aunque en el caso de Bologna se matice la posición ya que se habla de una obra—tríptico de Baltimore—*ligure-catalana*.[24]

La historia del Maestro de san Marcos en los años treinta y cuarenta de nuestro siglo era confusa; no queremos decir, sin embargo, que ahora se encuentre totalmente aclarada. En este sentido, un total optimismo pecaría de inconsciencia; ahora bien, son posibles algunas diferenciaciones que afianzan el panorama y que por aquellos años eran ajenas al discurso de la investigación más actualizada. El descubrimiento del *Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*[25] juega un papel primordial en esta encrucijada, pero también hay que considerar la simple aproximación al estudio comparativo de las piezas del primer *Trecento* catalán, mucho más fecundo, es cierto, a la luz del oracional de la reina. De este estudio sacamos una consecuencia inmediata: no todo tiene porqué coincidir o explicarse a través del "omnipresente" retablo de la Seu de Manresa, dedicado a los santos Marcos y Aniano (fig. 13), ni el grupo de piezas que engloba su círculo pueden definirse en la personalidad de Arnau Bassa, documentado solamente durante tres años.

Así se nos aparece un último grupo de pinturas relacionables con el Maestro de Baltimore–Barcelona–

Cambridge que nos remite al *Libro de Horas de María de Navarra* de la Biblioteca Marciana de Venecia (ms. lat. I 104/12640). Este códice, que perteneció, como demuestran escudos y figuraciones de una joven reina, a la primera mujer del rey Pedro el Ceremonioso, es forzosamente una creación anterior al 1347, año en que falleció María de Navarra, después de su corto período de reinado en tierras catalanas (1338–1347). La cronología temprana de la obra dentro del Trecento catalán limitada por estas fechas, de finales de la cuarta y la quinta décadas del siglo XIV, obligaba a replantear nuevamente la actividad del Maestro de san Marcos y, en consecuencia, también la del taller de los Bassa.[26]

Hemos intentado hacer una comparación global del libro de Venecia y de los artistas que en él intervienen en otro lugar por lo que no volveremos a repetir ahora el ensayo completo.[27] A pesar de ello, advertiremos lo principal de nuestra posición sobre este oracional que encierra y refleja las coordenadas de una compleja etapa de la pintura gótica catalana y puede servir de guía al mismo tiempo frente a las que serían futuras realizaciones de la segunda mitad de la centuria, precisando algunos de los enlaces entre el primer y el segundo Trecento. En primer lugar, subrayaremos la intervención en el libro del Maestro de Pedralbes, Ferrer Bassa, pintor y miniaturista que identificamos con el Maestro del Salterio de París. Pedro III (IV) le encargó, como mínimo, un libro de Horas que, en el 1342, reclamaría a su primera esposa. La correspondencia documental y estilística nos permiten defender esta aproximación, pero sin menospreciar en absoluto la participación de otros maestros en la ilustración del manuscrito. Por ejemplo, junto a la de su padre Ferrer, tiene especial protagonismo en el libro la mano de Arnau Bassa[28] y también, junto a ambos, la de otro artífice, nuestro anónimo Maestro de Baltimore. Descubramos directamente en las ilustraciones la cuestión que nos preocupa, dado que estas permiten comparar los tres estilos diferenciales que, vigentes en un mismo período, caracterizan por lógica la obra de tres pintores distintos y no son muestra, por lo tanto, de diferentes etapas en la trayectoria de un único artista.

Entre las miniaturas del libro nos fijaríamos—rogando al lector una cierta ingenuidad en la primera visualización de la imagen—en la *Maiestas* de la Virgen del folio 15v. (fig. 2), pues la solución es sorprendentemente cercana a la Madonna entronizada del tríptico de Baltimore (figs. 1 y 25). La página miniada donde se reproduce la composición de la tabla, se configura añadiendo la representación de la reina donante (María de Navarra) y dos ángeles que, en la parte alta del trono, levantan una tela por encima del respaldo del sitial de la Virgen, como lo hacen en el episodio de la Coronación del tríptico de Baltimore (figs. 1 y 26). Sin embargo, en el códice el sujeto elegido remite a la Virgen de la leche, distanciada del tipo de la pintura sobre tabla que estudiamos. Con todo, la estructura de los tronos y el volumen de la figura principal es semejante en uno y otro caso, hecho que no impide cierta simplificación de los recursos tridimensionales, aplicados y bien encauzados en Baltimore, por parte del autor de la miniatura. Apreciamos, por ejemplo, las líneas que delimitan la zona cumbrera de los brazos del trono y su relación espacial respecto de la efigie de la Virgen. En el caso de Baltimore, María se impone sin problemas por encima del horizonte visual que pauta su asiento—recurso que utilizó en alguna ocasión y en Mallorca el Maestro de los Privilegios—mientras que la miniatura utiliza una perspectiva diversa que en buena medida, diluye la intensidad de captación del volumen dentro del espacio. Así, podríamos acumular indicios que diversifican la autoría de las dos imágenes, pero siempre restaría en la base el aspecto general que enlaza ambas obras, y a pesar de la factura distinta que les reconocemos.[29] El compromiso entre ambas es tal que podría certificar sin más un enlace entre sus autores, un proyecto común. Pero el libro nos reserva otras sorpresas en sus miniaturas, ya que en ellas se despierta, bien contrastado por el contexto que ofrecen otras imágenes (de Ferrer Bassa y Arnau Bassa), el estilo peculiar del Maestro de Baltimore.[30]

De hecho, el primer episodio del Libro de Horas que nos interesa atribuir al Maestro de Baltimore es la Visitación de María a Isabel, representada en el folio 44v. (fig. 4). Es una imagen que destaca por encima del resto gracias a la precisión lineal y a la vez cromática de los volúmenes, recortados sobre la superficie plana. El diseño del tema despierta en el códice una comprensión distinta de lo tridimensional pictórico que ya advertíamos en el tríptico de la Virgen de Baltimore. Su proyección queda enfrentada en parte a los esquemas *bassianos* y en particular a los que caracterizan la obra de Ferrer Bassa. Las mujeres que protagonizan la Visitación se ubican sobre un basamento dibujado a manera de repisa que sirve de peana (o base escultórica) al grupo, subdividido claramente en dos, ya que se obvia el conocido y famoso instante del abrazo entre las primas. En definitiva, advertiremos que el sistema de representación puede vincularse en lo general al que domina en Baltimore. Este tiene como particularidad la tendencia a proyectar las figuras sobre el límite mismo de la superficie, sobre su

primerísimo término, de forma que los volúmenes parecen salirse hacia afuera más que penetrar en el interior imaginario de la pintura que comprende figura y lugar como problemas esenciales. El espacio interno queda suficientemente representado en los temas de fondo que denominaríamos de *paisaje* artificial sin personajes, dado que los escenarios tienen vida propia al margen de lo sujetos, inciden en el tema por detrás de ellos, que son siempre los más cercanos y tangibles posible, como efigies salidas de un relieve trescentista.

En las figuras de cabeza ovoidal y canon estilizado del manuscrito tenemos un patrón inmejorable para la comparación con el tríptico de Baltimore y el retablo de Barcelona y Cambridge. Una descripción exhaustiva de todos los aspectos no sería factible por más que se deba hacer el ensayo detenido de la demostración para percibir las similitudes entre estas producciones. No podemos dejar de aconsejar algunas comparaciones puntuales. Por ejemplo entre las formas otorgadas a las mujeres de la Crucifixión y Virgen de Baltimore y las que corresponden a las protagonistas del folio 44v. María, en la Visitación de Venecia, reclama el referente de la Virgen anunciada de Baltimore. Después, todas ellas, las mujeres de la miniatura y las del tríptico, pueden parangonarse con las santas que aparecen inscritas en medallones en el retablo de "Cardona" (figs. 14–16). El parentesco es lo bastante espectacular como para afirmar que las obras citadas fueron empresa de un único artista.

La visitación de María a Isabel (fig. 4) es una de las ilustraciones más vistosas y originales del *Libro de Horas de María de Navarra*, y puede ser por consiguiente un punto de partida ideal para agrupar otras miniaturas del códice, con lo cual ampliaríamos todavía más el catálogo del Maestro de Baltimore. En el folio 97 v. de las Horas aparece la Presentación de Jesús en el templo, escena que hay que poner al lado del mismo episodio representado en el margen inferior derecho del tríptico de la Walters Art Gallery (figs. 5 y 6). Si bien el episodio de la Presentación del Niño reencuentra, hasta cierto punto el sistema compositivo de Ferrer Bassa, en él—como en aquellos que examinaremos seguidamente—prevalece la orientación estilística de Baltimore.

En el folio 287v. el sujeto de análisis será la otra Presentación, es decir, la de María al templo (fig. 7). En principio advertiremos que la agrupación de personajes en el primer término de la imagen es una constante que el Maestro resuelve sin excesivos problemas. La figura de Ana, de perfil, guía con el movimiento de las manos la devota asención de su hija, siendo un tipo equiparable a otros dentro del libro. Por ejemplo, a María en el Descendimiento (folio 248v.) probablemente de Arnau Bassa. En segundo lugar, destaca la voluntad de algunos personajes—en particular, Santa Ana y el joven servidor de tradición itálica[31]—por salirse del cuadro. Esfuerzo que se convierte en el leitmotiv de una particular visión escultórica de la pintura enfocada ahora desde el Trecento catalán.

Del ciclo de san Luis también pertenece a nuestro Maestro el tema del folio 198v.: María de Navarra postrada a los pies del Santo que fue rey de Francia (fig. 8). También es suya la imagen de la misma reina consorte, encerrada en la inicial del folio 45, de espaldas a la Visitación y ante un libro abierto. En el folio que sucede a la Trinidad con el tetramorfos aparece un santo obispo y escribano que sobresale también por aproximarse al estilo que intentamos aislar (folio 109) (fig. 9).[32] Su caracterización es próxima a la de los abades que figuran en los montantes del retablo llamado de Cardona (figs. 10 y 11).

No podemos abandonar el libro de Horas sin constatar la importancia del universo de la marginalia, verdaderamente excepcional para un códice catalán. En función de ello, nos gustaría señalar el interés de los rostros, máscaras redondas, cometas romboidales (fig. 32), o algunos dragones, que componen un mundo relacionable estilísticamente con el Maestro de la Visitación veneciana, con su manera de expresarse pictóricamente. Este artífice generará un programa específico donde tiene cabida el tema profano, gracias a tradiciones bien asimiladas por la miniatura, pero también por otras vertientes del arte entre las que no falta la escultura. Sin entrar ahora de lleno en el asunto,[33] remarcaremos la presencia de algunas caras, semblantes humanos o semi-humanos y gryllas (fig. 34) que jalonan el manuscrito, sus mejores folios, pero también las páginas intermedias más consagradas al texto que a la imagen. La cara antropomorfa, la máscara de color y geometría suprareales, algunos seres de naturaleza fantástica..., nos permiten la elección que nos lleva una vez más hacia la mano del "Maestro de Baltimore" en los folios 62, 81, 124, 125, 130v., 133, 146, 166, 194, 242, 252v., 283v. y al folio 342 con que se cierra el libro. Otras figuraciones redescubren la riqueza de los estilos presentes en el códice, pero en el marco de la marginalia lo mejor y más prototípico pudo ser obra del Maestro de la Visitación del folio 44v.

Es muy probable que Ferrer Bassa asumiera la autoría global—el encargo-de las Horas de María de Navarra. Su situación privilegiada como principal pintor de la Corona y la cronología del libro así parecen corroborarlo. Recordemos además los documentos

que se refieren a unas Horas de Ferrer Bassa pagadas por el Ceremonioso. Ahora bien, si es verosímil que la traza dependiera de un programa aplicado por este artífice, la ejecución sería responsabilidad compartida con otros a un mismo nivel. El caso de la marginalia nos hace pensar en una dirección alternativa, sin necesidad de abandonar la idea de un proyecto principal, contrastando sus particularidades con las de otros manuscritos del círculo de Bassa. Si no hay que especular demasiado para explicar la participación de Arnau junto a Ferrer, ya que padre e hijo dieron vida a un mismo taller, quizas sea algo más comprometido objetivar la del "Maestro de Baltimore." Podemos pensar que este fuera llamado a intervenir en el taller de los Bassa gracias al ejercicio brillante que generaba su pintura. Interprete original de lo italiano y adelantado en Cataluña si hemos de valorar el planteamiento de las soluciones sobre el lugar de las figuras y su volumen, su trabajo podía ser necesario a la maestranza de Ferrer y Arnau, que durante la quinta década del XIV, sería hegemónica y determinante, sobretodo en Barcelona y atendiendo a la documentación. No obstante, no sería conveniente menospreciar otras causas que influyeran de forma más concreta favoreciendo la colaboración o el pacto entre creadores de primera línea pero de distinto carácter y formación.

Jaume Cascalls, *Magister lapidum ex altera*

La primera pregunta que debemos plantear es si existe algún artista documentado en el panorama catalán del tercer cuarto de siglo a quien sea posible referir la personalidad del "Maestro de Baltimore" y, por extensión, las obras agrupadas a su entorno. Tres piezas fundamentales resumen como hemos intentado demostrar lo que conocemos de su pintura: el tríptico que da nombre al anónimo, las tablas de Barcelona y Cambridge y, por fin, algunas de las miniaturas del oracional de María de Navarra. A partir del análisis de estas producciones y de sus enlaces es evidente que no se trata de un pintor italiano. Sin embargo, sus realizaciones se desmarcan del estilo del retablo de san Marcos y no dependen estrictamente de la *maniera* aislable para Ferrer Bassa,[34] se distancian, por consiguiente, de la obra del pintor más importante del italianismo catalán de la primera mitad del siglo XIV y también de la de su hijo. Por otro lado, la producción del Maestro de Baltimore pudiera trascender la primera mitad del Trecento ya que hallamos reflejos muy directos de su influencia en la pintura catalana posterior a la Peste Negra y a la crisis del 1348.[35]. La coherencia interna que caracteriza los trabajos que le hemos atribuido, no por su disparidad ajenos a la trayectoria de los Bassa, puntua la posibilidad de otorgar una fecha posterior al 48 a alguno de ellos. En este sentido, la cronología no es obstáculo a que el artífice sobreviviera a los Bassa muertos ya en 1348.[36] Se trata de un personaje atrayente, con capacidad para enlazar la pintura catalana del primer y del segundo Trecento sumando a los estilos de Ferrer y Arnau una forma de hacer original y propia que confiere a su pintura una dimensión escultórica. Es decir, una interpretación distinta del fenómeno italiano que también ofrecía esta versión que, verosímente, el Maestro de Baltimore traduce y prolonga después de la muerte de sus compañeros de trabajo en las Horas de la Biblioteca Marciana de Venecia.

Nuestras averiguaciones en este campo nos ofrecían un nombre que hemos citado de antemano y que se nos presenta a partir de 1345 estrechamente vinculado a los Bassa. Nos referimos lógicamente a Jaume Cascalls de Berga, escultor, pintor y arquitecto.[37] En él intentamos descubrir un paralelo al personaje que pudiera romper con el anónimato de las pinturas y miniaturas del Maestro de Baltimore. Jaume Cascalls fue de hecho uno de los artífices que enlazaron el segundo cuarto del siglo XIV con el mundo posterior a la "fractura" de la Peste Negra. Es uno de los artífices de rica personalidad—por no exagerar diciendo que se trata del único—que a través de la documentación y obras conservadas, ofrece un paralelo verosímil sobre el cual probar de entender una aportación pictórica acreedora y deudora a la vez del taller de los Bassa y de la escultura.

La denominación con la que de manera más frecuente se alude a Jaume Cascalls, es la que especifica su calidad de "Maestro." Maestro en las artes primeramente, para hacer constar acto seguido otros matices de su especialización. Sin embargo, en ningún momento, puede deducirse que sea exclusivamente su destacada actividad de escultor la única o aquella que prevalece en el momento en que sus contemporáneos habían de considerar o sintetizar su personalidad artística. El hecho de que la mayoría de los documentos conservados sobre su actividad hagan referencia al conjunto de los sepulcros reales de Poblet (doc. 1349 en adelante) puede haber contribuido, además de la conformidad dada por el retablo de Cornellà, firmado por el artista y punto de partida de su catálogo de escultor, a que se le atribuyan solamente esculturas.[38]

El papel de Cascalls en la pintura, no por difícil de precisar, deja de ser una faceta atrayente de su

aprendizaje y de su actividad, faceta importante según demuestra la documentación publicada y cabe esperar de un artista de sus condiciones y protagonismo relacionado con los encargos de la Corona. En este sentido, no seria justa su casi absoluta desaparición de escena—hecho bastante habitual—cuando se trata de pensar o escribir sobre la pintura gótica catalana del 1300. Los trabajos que se le dedican se centran exclusivamente en sus aportaciones a la escultura, siendo de mención obligada, pero sin mayor ambición que la de dejar constancia de ella, la documentación que nos da noticia de su actividad de pintor. Es notable el compromiso pactado entre Ferrer Bassa y los maestros de obras Nicolau d'Empuries y Felip ça Riba y Jaume Cascalls, *pictor civis Barchinone*, para trabajar en Zaragoza del 11 de noviembre de 1346,[39] ya que nuestro artista, el maestro Jaume, aparece mencionado como pintor de Barcelona, pero también dado que en esta noticia se ha obviado su faceta de escultor en unas fechas en que Cascalls ya había firmado y fechado (problemáticamente: 1340–1345) el retablo de alabastro de Santa María de Cornellà de Conflent. Por demás, sabemos que es Ferrer Bassa quien actúa como testigo del contrato de sociedad entre Aloi de Monbrai y Jaume Cascalls en noviembre de 1347.[40]

El documento que menciona a Cascalls "pintor" y determina el nexo profesional con Ferrer para un trabajo en Zaragoza es demostrativo, más, que de un alumnado inmediato, de la mirada que el primero pudiera tener puesta en la mejor pintura (o miniatura) catalana del Trescientos; es más se afirma su conocimiento de la misma. Es lógico pensar que la colaboración debía hallarse a la altura de Ferrer y que, más adelante, el escultor sería capaz de ofrecer su trabajo en este otro terreno sin mediaciones. En esta dirección hay que celebrar la existencia de un documento de enero de 1352 en que el rey Pere III (IV) ordena el envío a Cascalls de un pago a cuenta de las pinturas que este habría de realizar para la capilla de la reina Elionor de Sicilia, su tercera esposa, en el Palacio Real de Barcelona.[41]

Para redondear nuestro repaso de los enlaces conocidos entre los Bassa y Cascalls debemos recordar también que la vinculación entre estos artífices fue más que profesional. Hemos conservado un documento que versa sobre la dote de la hija de Ferrer Bassa, María, con quien contrajo matrimonio Jaume Cascalls.[42] Por esta razón y no sólo metafóricamente podemos hablar de sus parientes en el terreno del italianismo.

A pesar de los encargos reales en este terreno artístico y a pesar de la documentación existente acerca de alguna otra empresa iniciada conjuntamente o bajo el amparo de Ferrer Bassa, nada parece haber quedado para reconstruir el estilo de Cascalls a entresacar de las obras de sus contemporáneos y parientes, "los pintores" del italianismo. El hecho no sería preocupante si los "Maestros" anónimos catalanes fueran abundantes, como sucede en Italia, donde el debate se halla abierto y donde los estilos se han ido perfilando paulatinamente a partir de los elencos pocos satisfactorios de principios de siglo. Sin embargo, no es así.

El período de la actividad de Jaume Cascalls, abierto seguramente con su formación, probable dentro de la cuarta década, nos lleva de los años que preceden a la epidemia (1348) al final de los años setenta (1377–78). La primera obra que permite su identificación, como hemos advertido, es el retablo de alabastro de Santa María de Cornellà del Conflent. Posteriormente otros encargos de escultura nos llevarían a Barcelona, Poblet, Lérida y Tarragona..., pero la existencia de obras documentadas es mucho más difícil de reconocer. Si recluímos apriorísticamente a *Magister Iacobum Cascalli de Berga* en este campo profesional concreto no será posible trascender su imagen más habitual, problemática, que lo califica simplemente como escultor marginando las noticias sobre su actividad de pintor. No obstante, nuestra reconstrucción de la personalidad de este artista parte de la idea de una formación completa dentro de los talleres italianos. Aunque nuestro fin no sea describir ahora las fuentes del italianismo del Maestro de Baltimore, debemos tener presente la coordenada pisana de su pintura ya que esta condicionará la relación con la escultura que nos ocupa y el paso de esta a la pintura.

Tenemos en cuenta un aprendizaje que abarca ambas técnicas, la del volumen ficticio y la de los volúmenes tangibles, desde el momento en que proponemos para la escultura de Cascalls una dinámica conectada con el universo pisano—sin prescindir de Siena, Génova, ni de las comarcas catalano-francesas-, conectada con las artes plásticas trescentistas que viven un intenso proceso de interrelación a principios del trescientos.

Con estos presupuestos coincide también nuestro juicio sobre la formación del Maestro de Baltimore i Jaume Cascalls, emparentado desde el 1346 con la familia de los Bassa, que se convierte, como el anónimo que trabajara en las Horas de la reina, en colaborador de este taller barcelonés. Sabemos además que en 1345 el rey Pedro III pacta con Cascalls la realización de algunas obras para Perpiñán, en el mismo momento en que Ferrer Bassa trabajaba, también por voluntad del monarca, para este centro.[43] Concluyendo, hay que advertir que los datos objetivos que poseemos no

contradicen la hipótesis central que sumaría las personalidades de Cascalls y el Maestro de Baltimore, incluso podríamos lleger a creer que algunos de ellos contribuyen a dar verosimilitud a esta hipótesis.

Teniendo en cuenta los datos conocidos de la carrera del escultor y otros que difícilmente podríamos resumir aquí y que prescriben las fuentes de su italianismo,[44] consideraremos primeramente las implicaciones pictóricas de la escultura de Jaume Cascalls para tener en cuenta después el estilo que abraza sus realizaciones sea cual sea la técnica utilizada. La plasticidad del *non finito* fue extraordinariamente descrita en obras italianas que después serían asimiladas en algunas creaciones catalanas del momento, como es el caso del retablo de Cornellà. En él se aplican las convenciones de lo inacabado sin demasiadas trabas lingüísticas, a la espera, seguramente, de los elementos cromáticos que completarían la receta y, tal vez, el tema de algunos relieves. Es evidente que la apariencia del retablo de Cornellà del Conflent sería por completo distinta de hallarse absolutamente pintado; y, probablemente, debió ser así, polícromo en origen. Si podemos plantear el tema de una escultura de definición pictórica, sin olvidar la realidad paradójica de una escultura pintada, deberemos precisar también la validez de unas formas de pintar que, templadas en el carácter escultórico de las imágenes y sus principales recursos, determinen la dureza de los volúmenes ficticios sobre el plano. Se crea de este modo un paréntesis que confluye con la búsqueda de las densidades características de los volúmenes reales y artificiales al mismo tiempo determinados por la escultura. La búsqueda de un espacio tridimensional que prestigia también la escultura y promociona su aceptación desde la observación curiosa del pintor. La mirada de la pintura que capturará los volúmenes artificiales del objeto, o sujeto esculpido, es uno de los ordenes más interesantes de la averiguación trescentista sobre el espacio. Y nada tendran de marginales los ámbitos que se reserven a este fenómeno o proceso si hay que hacer justicia a su interrelación .[45]

En este emplazamiento de las artes de la primera mitad del siglo XIV en Cataluña hallamos dos frentes distintos de aprecio artístico que se funda en el complementarse de escultura y pintura. La visión escultórica del Maestro de Baltimore es la ilusión forjada en el espacio bidimensional que conecta y contradice al mismo tiempo la de los Bassa,[46] todo aquello que le rodea y fascina se traduce luego en la fórmula escultórica de su pintura. En este sentido, el parentesco profesional y familiar del escultor Jaume Cascalls con Arnau y Ferrer parece poner de relieve la convergencia de su protagonismo con la del anónimo de Baltimore, pintor y miniaturista como se ha visto. Conexión que revaloriza el manuscrito de la biblioteca Marciana de Venecia, en tanto puede ser atribuido a diversos artistas de personalidad heterogénea que trabajan en el taller barcelonés de Ferrer y entre los cuales se advierte la mano del maestro catalán de la Walters Art Gallery.

A continuación intentaremos comprobar las anteriores coincidencias y coordenadas que dan cuerpo a nuestra hipótesis dándoles fundamento por otra via que nos permite, una vez descrito el problema, atender a su resolución y demostración, atando cabos en torno al estilo que aproxima las obras de Jaume Cascalls a las del Maestro de Baltimore.

Es conveniente abrir de nuevo el libro de Horas de la reina, por las páginas que nos descubren las mejores fajas de decoración marginal. Allí encontraremos elementos suficientes de comparación con algunos motivos periféricos que decoran también el retablo de Cornellà, el retablo fragmentario del Museo Poblet o el llamado san Carlomagno del Museo de la catedral de Gerona en el detalle de las bestias que se retuercen a sus pies (figs. 35–40), producciones escultóricas del taller de Jaume Cascalls. Si bien las coincidencias temáticas con otros libros ilustrados son asumibles, es preciso recabar en la asociación de algunas figuras del libro veneciano con una escultura, que, por su lado y en el caso de Cascalls, escultor y *miniaturista*,[47] no oculta una notable vocación por la *marginalia*.

Si estos aspectos que enraizan en lo iconográfico no fueran suficientes, podríamos pasar al examen de otros detalles. En la imagen devocional de María y el Niño de Baltimore, este sostiene un pájaro en la mano derecha al que tanto él como la Virgen parecen dirigir la mirada (fig. 1). El detalle no tiene nada de extraño y son muchas las obras que hacen aprecio del mismo;[48] sin embargo nos interesa constatar que el pájaro en cuestión juega un papel similar en esculturas de Cascalls (efigie de María y el Niño de Cornellà (figs. 23 y 24) y de su círculo. Como ya hemos visto, la simulación de un encuadre y ocupación espacial ligeramente asimétricos se consigue de forma plena en la obra de Baltimore que, por otra parte, contrapone nítidamente las figuras vestidas de tonalidad oscura al trono de color claro, constelado y rematado por florones, donde encaja también una limitada corte celestial, en un esfuerzo por hacer encajar la imagen con nuestro propio espacio. Observemos que en Italia es habitual que la Virgen disfrute de un amplísimo cortejo de santos, santas y ángeles, pero también que este quede resumido, en conjuntos de menos envergadura,

a algunas personalidades elegidas por diversas razones. En Cataluña la primera vía se ejemplifica en la pala de Bellpuig de les Avellanes de Ferrer Bassa. Debemos tener en cuenta, sin embargo, la existencia de exponentes esculpidos que sintetizan, limitando como es lógico el número de personajes (el número de elementos esculpidos) aquello que en las tablas pintadas es enriquecimiento voluntario de los actuantes anclados en escena.[49] En Baltimore los ángeles obsequian a Jesús de forma intemporal como lo habían hecho los reyes magos en otra circunstancia. No olvidemos que en el retablo de "Cardona" (Barcelona–Cambridge), como en el relieve de Cornellà, hay que fijar la idea de la ofrenda en un registro subordinado a la imagen o efigie central que no se ciñe propiamente al espacio de los reyes y que partiendo de la opción escultórica aconseja la reducción de los personajes a unos mínimos asequibles.[50]

La Virgen de Cornellà del Conflent (fig. 23) nos permite reseguir algunas de las características del modelo conservado en Baltimore (fig. 25). Subrayaremos la forma de huevo de las cabezas que se convierte en una de las características del trabajo del Maestro en pintura y escultura, pero nos detendremos también en la articulación del volumen del cuerpo bajo las vestiduras que lo recubren con esmero y con cierto distanciamiento a la vez. La Virgen de hombros estrechos retiene al Niño en sus brazos de forma que la posición de este es uno de los factores que atrae nuestra atención. La manera que tiene Jesús de moverse en brazos de la madre facilita el paso de la tabla al alabastro. El Niño, al tiempo que sostiene el pájaro en sus manos, levanta la pierna hacia adelante, sugiriendo este movimiento a la par que contribuye a dar complejidad volumétrica a pintura y escultura. Un detalle común es también la forma de dejar suspendidos los ropajes por encima del pie del Niño para que estos cuelguen a un lado y a otro de la extremidad. En cuanto a la Virgen, su vientre abombado y los pliegues que caen asimétricamente, el cierre del manto entre otros aspectos de la escultura, podrían compararse, aunque la tipología no sea la misma, con la solución de María entronizada en la pintura (figs. 24 y 25). Los repliegues que se forman en torno a la cintura conectan la Virgen de Baltimore con la Virgen del relieve de la Coronación de Cornellà. Las manos estilizadas, de dedos largos y delgados, acogen al Niño y pueden casar sin problemas con la titular del retablo esculpido, si bien en la talla se ha perdido la mano derecha y nos fijamos en el brazo y mano izquierdos donde apoya a Jesús, de pelo rizado y sienes despejadas tanto en la tabla como en el alabastro. Otras comparaciones nos llevan de los ángeles pintados a la Virgen de volumen tangible. Los elementos que vinculan unas y otras representaciones se describen a partir de ciertos rasgos comunes; véase la organización del cabello en los ángeles pintados y en la estatua de la Virgen de Cornellà. Observemos, por ejemplo, los pómulos redondeados y amplios que matizan las transiciones a una barbilla fina y estrecha, en cuya zona superior se dibujan unos labios pequeños, base de una nariz recta y afilada, nacimiento a su vez para las cejas arqueadas, que resiguen la pauta estricta de los ojos en almendra, marcando un desnivel en su extremo que dará nuevo relieve a la zona del pómulo.

Es necesario abrir un paréntesis para advertir la importancia del cambio de técnica en una comprobación como la que ahora planteamos. Es evidente que mientras que los puntos de vista de la escultura, buenos o malos, pueden multiplicarse al infinito, la visión de la pintura es mas fija, a pesar del tiempo que se incluye como factor de nuestra percepción. En este sentido, deberemos acomodar el comentario—y la comprensión del mismo—a dos "naturalezas" artísticas distintas que no pueden ser igualadas sin hacer previamente algunas salvedades.

Si nos fijamos en la Virgen anunciada y en Gabriel en cualquiera de las obras relacionadas con el "Maestro de Baltimore" (figs. 21 y 22), se verá como en ambos casos sus cuerpos se encuentran en el límite mismo de la superficie. La intencionalidad que define el espacio de la Anunciación de Baltimore no es muy distinta a la del episodio siguiente, el de la Presentación de Jesús en el templo (fig. 5). Nuevamente destaca la inclusión de un fondo arquitectónico que parece independizarse de la acción concentrada en el primer plano.[51] Es el modo de proceder impuesto por una visión que caracteriza los relieves contemporáneos de Cascalls. Citemos al menos la Presentación de Cornellà y una pieza del Fogg Museum de Cambridge (Mass.).[52] Hay que confesar algunas diferencias palpables que surgen de la comparación de la pintura y las tallas. En realidad el relieve de la Presentación del Conflent se aproxima más a la iconografía del libro de Horas de María de Navarra (folio 97v.) (fig. 6) mientras que la pintura sobre tabla tiene algo de versión intermedia entre los modelos anteriores y la versión esculpida del Fogg.

Si en las escenas que venimos citando hemos querido resaltar la independencia de los volúmenes implicados y la simplificación del número de actuantes que favorecerá asimismo esta visión del volumen aislado, en la crucifixión del tríptico de Baltimore se profundiza en esta perspectiva al eliminar los referentes

espaciales, y arquitectónicos en particular, que resuelven el telón de fondo en otras oportunidades dando paso al escenario donde se ubican los actores de cada drama. Es manifiesto que la opción expresionista de los relieves de Cornellà ha sido abandonada en pro de una alternativa más plácida de la muerte en el Calvario del tríptico de Baltimore. Con todo, todavía perviven algunos detalles referidos a la disposición de Jesús en la cruz que acortan la distancia entre el proyecto pictórico y el relieve. Un detalle que llama nuestra atención en la tabla pintada son los guantes blancos del centurión, personaje que no tiene cabida en las crucifixiones de Cornellà del Conflent, pero que a partir de este detalle de la indumentaria podemos parangonar con la escultura de otro episodio del mismo conjunto; nos referimos a la epifanía y más concretamente a la mano enguantada del imberbe rey Baltasar. Habiendo presentado ya estas dos figuras, el centurión y rey mago, nos fijaremos acto seguido en la confección general de sus vestiduras. Un rasgo muy significativo será la cintura acusadamente baja que atañe indistintamente a la figura pintada y a la efígie tallada y que también caracteriza otras obras del Maestro de Baltimore por un lado y de Jaume Cascalls por otro. Así la estatua del rey de la catedral de Gerona (o sea "san Carlomagno") asociada a Cascalls por su notoria relación estilística con el retablo de Cornellà. El "san Carlomagno" resulta parangonable al centurión de la pintura. Siguiendo esta línea es factible establecer nexos con los reyes magos de Barcelona (fig. 29) emparentados a su vez con los reyes de la Epifanía de Cornellà por más de un motivo.

La Epifanía de los reyes magos es la última escena que, respetando el orden cronológico de lectura, hemos conservado del retablo de la Virgen de `Cardona' (fig. 29).[53] Un análisis de los reyes favorece nuestra insistencia en los paralelos esculpidos. Los magos, ricamente ataviados, se arrodillan ante la imagen central (desaparecida) y hacen sus ofrendas casi a un mismo tiempo; su indumentaria reclama nuestra atención sobre las modas trescentistas que ponen de relieve la ascendencia italiana de algunas soluciones pero también la conexión con algunas obras de Cascalls en que se repiten los tipos. La figura pintada del sirviente que acompaña a los reyes puede ser una versión extrema o exagerada de la peculiar anatomía que define la estatua del falso san Carlomagno de Gerona, apreciada normalmente por ser factible retrato ideal del monarca catalán Pedro III (IV). Si buscamos ahora las equivalencias en el retablo de Cornellà del Conflent, veremos como el rey blanco (fig. 30) realiza en el tipo escultórico el mismo gesto que en la pintura al descubrir su ofrenda. También el vestuario es común a las dos producciones y coincide la ubicación centrada del monarca más joven, situado entre el rey de edad madura y el de edad más avanzada. Este último, que ha depositado la corona en el suelo, se arrodilla en señal de reverencia reproduciendo el tipo entrevisto en la pintura del Museo de Arte de Cataluña. Ahora bien, la formula no es estrictamente la misma ya que el monarca del relieve apoya uno de sus pies en el suelo de manera que su imagen no coincide exactamente con la de la tabla. No es difícil subsanar esta imprecisión, que puede entorpecer nuestras comparaciones, si recurrimos a otros modelos descritos en la Natividad del Fogg (san José) o en la Anunciación barcelonesa (Gabriel) (fig. 31). Aprovechemos la cita de las figuras postradas para advertir también la semejanza existente entre la postura de Isabel en la Visitación del folio 44v. del manuscrito de María de Navarra y los tipos comparados con el relieve del rey blanco de Cornellá del Conflent (figs. 4 y 30).

Buscando los mejores paralelos para la posición de Gaspar, el rey de edad madura de la tabla de Barcelona, topamos con los exponentes escultóricos que nos conducen a la serie de piezas gerundenses que formaron parte de un Santo Sepulcro de la iglesia de Sant Feliu de Girona del que se conserva asi completa la imagen de Cristo; es decir, a los fragmentos que se nos muestran como nuevas facetas del trabajo Jaume Cascalls relacionado con y su ámbito. El rey Gaspar del Museo de Arte de Cataluña nos recuerda la estatua, correspondiente a una figura verosímilmente masculina, que, arrodillada, formaba parte del grupo de actuantes en rededor del Cristo yaciente de Sant Feliu de Girona, hoy en día aislado *in situ*. Se trata de una estatua sin cabeza que, a pesar de su conservación parcial, reproduce la flexión que del pie a la rodilla perfila la postura del rey mago.[54]

Las santas (figs. 12 y 14–16), incluídas en los medallones de las entrecalles en el retablo catalogado como procedente de Cardona (figs. 10 y 11), pueden cotejarse, por otro lado, con los apóstoles esculpidos en los marcos tetralobulados de la predela de Cornellà del Conflent (figs. 17–19). Fijémonos, por ejemplo, en las manos y en la forma un tanto inexperta de sostener los atributos que identifican a unas y otros. En este sentido, también recordaríamos las figuras inscritas en la predela de otra obra dependiente de Cascalls, conservada hoy en el Museo del monasterio de monjes blancos de Poblet (Tarragona). La clara vocación cisterciense del conjunto de Baltimore–Cambridge daría que pensar, habida cuenta de la relación de Jaume Cascalls con las obras emprendidas en Poblet, encar-

gos que, seguramente, no se limitaron a su trabajo personal (y al de su taller) en los panteones reales de la iglesia de Santa María. La posibilidad de que el excelente conjunto de "Cardona" fuese en realidad una pintura destinada a un monasterio cisterciense nos obliga a evaluar su factible relación con Poblet (Tarragona), centro con el que Cascalls se halló relacionado largo tiempo, inmiscuído como estaba en los trabajos del Panteón Real que el rey Pedro el Ceremonioso haría construir en el templo de Santa María de la abadía cisterciense. Esta es una idea sugestiva que, apoyada por la iconografía de las tablas de Barcelona y Cambridge, vendría en nuestro socorro y ayudaría quizás a justificar el porqué de esta producción asociable al taller de Jaume Cascalls entendido como taller de "Maestro de Baltimore."

La Coronación de la Virgen del tríptico de Baltimore (fig. 26) presenta una gestualidad extraña a las convenciones más difundidas en Italia. En la obra catalana se elige la solución en que Cristo corona a la esposa con una mano mientras sostiene en la izquierda el orbe rematado por una cruz. A medio camino entre esta formulación y la versión más frecuente en lo italiano—en que Cristo sostiene la corona sobre la cabeza de María con las dos manos—se puede emplazar la Coronación de uno de los relieves de Cornellà (fig. 27). Otros paralelos escultóricos que nos interesan nos llevan a trabajos de iconografía muy cercana a Baltimore y estilo dependiente de Cascalls. Por citar un caso destacado, recordaremos la clave de bóveda de la capilla del Baptisterio de la catedral de Tarragona.[55] Observaremos también la Coronación, muy lastimada, del retablo del Museo de Poblet, obra reconocida a Jaume Cascalls (fig. 28). La solución que en ella se presenta es muy próxima a Baltimore (fig, 26), especialmente en lo que al canon y disposición de sus protagonistas se refiere. Por otra parte, insistiremos en que nada impide suponer que tanto esta producción como otros retablos esculpidos del Maestro, se complementasen con elementos de tipo pictórico que posiblemente afectarían, no sólo a las efigies sino incluso a la composición temática o descriptiva del fondo del episodio.[56]

Las figuras de cabeza ovoidal y canon estilizado que cobran vida en las miniaturas que hemos destacado en el manuscrito de Venecia (fig. 4) nos abrían el camino hacia los prototipos de Baltimore—véanse las figs. 20 y 22, por ejemplo-; unas y otros nos permitirán enlazar nuevamente con la escultura de Cascalls. En este sentido, es necesario describir la forma abombada y cerrada del volumen de la cabeza de la Virgen de Cornellà (figs. 23–25), pero, más allá de esta, conviene recurrir a algunos de los fragmentos del retablo de piedra conservado en el Museo de Poblet. Ciertas partes, reservadas de la erosión, en una obra fragmentaria que presenta zonas muy dañadas, nos permiten intuír la evolución de Cascalls hacia un estilo escultórico más perfilado en los acabados que aquel que califica su producción desde la temprana realización del Conflent (1340–1345).[57] De forma que este proceso nos aproxima a la textura pictórica del Maestro de Baltimore tendente a la fusión de la pincelada de tal modo que se subraya la perfección de las superficies pulidas y lisas de textura alabastrina que Cascalls también es capaz de potenciar, contrastando su potencialidad con la expresividad pictórica del *non finito.* Obsérvese por ejemplo la Ascención de Cristo y el acabado de los rostros admirados de los apostoles (fig. 33). Advertiremos además que los personajes arrodillados de este tema emparentan con algunas figuras del Santo Sepulcro de Sant Feliu de Girona, que se han visto conectadas con la tabla de los reyes del Museo de Arte de Cataluña, a la vez que sus rostros conectan claramente con algunas de las caras lunares que comprende la marginalia y las iniciales miniadas del Libro de *Horas de María de Navarra.*

Somos conscientes de no haber profundizado todavía en la cronología de la obra pictórica que asociamos y comparamos con la actividad del Maestro Jaume Cascalls. No obstante, la aproximación que propicia el escaparate escultórico nos circunscribe para el caso de Baltimore en un momento posterior al que cristaliza Cornellà del Conflent. En consecuencia, la ejecución del tríptico se inscribe en un período que deberemos fijar sin olvidar la inseguridad sobre el año exacto de realización del retablo de alabastro de Cornellà, primera obra segura del artífice que no sería ni anterior al 1340 ni posterior al 1345. El año 1345 determinaría aquel acercamiento a los Bassa de que hemos hablado, documentando una relación fija a partir de entonces. El año siguiente, 1346, sería un jalón decisivo en esta dirección y para nuestros planteamientos. Un elemento que novedoso entra en juego es, sin lugar a dudas, el *Libro de Horas de María de Navarra,* donde hemos localizado al Maestro de Baltimore y también ciertos esquemas que asumimos entre los más propios de su estilo, a pesar de que la ejecución pueda desmarcarse en algún caso de la suya propia. En este apartado proponíamos la reflexión sobre las conexiones reales que pudieran darse entre el Maestro de Baltimore y Arnau Bassa, planteando también la posible influencia que el primero pudo ejercer sobre el antiguo "Maestro de san Marcos." Era, por tanto, una premisa que descartaba la confusión entre ambos. Sea

como fuere, la vida de María de Navarra acotaba una cronología no posterior al 1347 que debía situar el códice con precisión y, por consiguiente, también las miniaturas del Maestro de Baltimore (c. 1343–1345). En vista a todo ello podría desplazarse la realización del tríptico a fechas muy próximas a la iluminación del manuscrito. No es impensable que el modelo que proporciona el tríptico de la Walters Art Gallery sirviera para una de las miniaturas del libro de Venecia, aquella que atribuímos a Arnau Bassa y que corresponde a la Virgen de la leche del folio 15v. (fig. 2), y entonces habría que anteponer la ejecución de la tabla a la ilustración. Sin embargo, también es factible imaginar la existencia de otras obras paralelas que suplirían el protagonismo del retablo de Baltimore en una secuencia mejor trabada. Ahora bien, un modelo alternativo proporcionado por el anónimo, nuestro hipotético Cascalls, quien trabaja al menos una temporada junto a Arnau Bassa, no nos distanciaría en demasía del marco temporal acotado por las Horas.

Una instancia distinta para la evaluación del tríptico y de las obras afines depende de los contactos definibles entre Jaume Cascalls y la generación que emerge a partir de 1350. El enlace previo con Arnau Bassa quizá pueda aclarar algunos puntos; su vida pudo haber descrito una secuencia simultánea a la de Destorrents y Jaume Cascalls, pero su originalidad quedaría ahogada por otras en el primer momento y más tarde se cierne el problema de la muerte precoz en el 1348. En cualquier caso, nuestra pretensión ha sido distanciar el grupo de pinturas Baltimore–Barcelona–Cambridge–Venecia de la producción de los Bassa—en el caso de las miniaturas del libro de Horas sólo en parte-, teniendo en cuenta, sin embargo, que se trata de obras catalanas enlazadas con los modelos de este taller barcelonés.

La altenativa que nos dirije hasta el escultor tiene fundamentos de carácter estilístico y se apoya en la comparación entre las piezas esculpidas y las pinturas y miniaturas referidas, pero asimismo, enraíza en la documentación conocida desde antiguo sobre la personalidad de Cascalls, artista tan ligado a la Corona catalano-aragonesa como pudiera serlo Ferrer Bassa, aunque la cronología de ambos no pueda superponerse y de la mano del escultor vayamos indefectiblemente a enfrentarnos con el universo posterior a 1348. La obra pictórica de Jaume Cascalls, de ser aquella que hemos intentado atribuirle, no desmerecería, en modo alguno, su más notable aportación a la escultura catalana del gótico italianizado. Contrariamente, de no ser aceptada la hipótesis central que sugerimos ya en el título de este trabajo, eligiendo el nombre Jaume Cascalls para el Maestro del tríptico de Baltimore, es necesario tomar consciencia de que nos queda más de un problema por resolver entorno a una personalidad compleja. Se trata de contextualizar la figura de nuestro anónimo una vez revisado un catálogo que, sin ser muy extenso, se amplia aquí para ofrecernos el reflejo parcial de una de las mejores manifestaciones pictóricas de la introducción del italianismo en Cataluña.[58]

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NOTAS

1. La principal aportación sobre esta impresionante *pala* (n. inv. 37.468 de la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore, 127 x 185 cm.) es debida a M. Meiss "Italian Style in Catalonia and a Fourteenth Century Catalan Workshop," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 4 (1941), 45–87, 78–81, fig. 1 (después, Meiss, "Italian Style"). Otros estudios en que se hace referencia al tríptico de Baltimore son E. Packard, I, "An Italo–Spanish Altarpiece," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin* vol. 1, no. 2, (1948); D.S. Shorr, *The Christ Child in Devotional Images in Italy during the Fourteenth Century* (Nueva York, 1954), 103, fig. p. 104; *The International Style. The Arts in Europe around 1400* (Baltimore, 1962), cat. 7, làm. 1, 7–8; M.S. Frinta, "Evidence of the Italian influence on Catalán panel painting of the fourteenth century," *Actas del XIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte* (Granada, 1983), I, (Granada, 1976), 361–371, 363 y 366. Completamos esta reseña en notas sucesivas. No podemos dejar de agradecer aquí al profesor Eric Zafran, conservador de la Walters Art Gallery, por todos los materiales que ha puesto amablemente a nuestra disposición así como aquellas facilidades que nos ha brindado y sigue brindándonos para el estudio del tríptico de la Virgen, que es pieza central de este artículo y, además, capítulo también importante de nuestra tesis doctoral (Barcelona, 1988, *vid.* nota 6).

2. M. Meiss, "Italian Style," 78.

3. Acerca de la identificación con del Maestro de san Marcos y Arnau Bassa: F.P. Verrié, "La pintura" (gótica), en *L'art Català*, I, (Barcelona, 1955–1957), 386–387 (después, Verrié, "La pintura"); J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Exposición de pintura catalana*, Casón del Buen Retiro, Madrid, 1962; *idem*, "Arnau Bassa y seguidor (Ramon Destorrents?)," en *Barcelona restaura*, Catálogo, (Barcelona, 1980), 61–65, n. 15., 63–65 (después, Ainaud de Lasarte, "Arnau Bassa y seguidor"). Esta opinión es apoyada en J. Sureda, *El Gótic català I, Pintura* (Barcelona, 1977), pp. VIII–IX (después, Sureda, *El Gótic català*) y en J. Gudiol y S. Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura Gótica catalana*, (Barcelona, 1986), 46 (después, Gudiol y Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura Gótica*).

4. C.R. Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, 14 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1930–1966), 9 (1947), 743–744 (después, Post, *Spanish Painting*) y J. Sureda, *El Gótic català*, p. VIII del apéndice i p. 130.

5. J. Gudiol, *Pintura Gótica* (Madrid, 1955), (Ars Hispaniae, 9), 65. Cf. la opinión de Meiss malinterpretada en este texto.

6. Para el desarrollo de este aspecto remitimos a nuestra tesis doctoral: R. Alcoy, *La Introducció i derivacions de l'italianisme a la pintura gòtica catalana: 1325–1350*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1988) (después, Alcoy, *La Introducció*), existe una edición microfichada del original, Universidad de Barcelona, 1989).

7. Ramon Destorrents es un artista documentado con certeza sólo a partir de 1351, año en que actúa como miniaturista del rey, ilustrando un Salterio. Véase para una primera reconstrucción de su per-

sonalidad F.P. Verrié, "Una obra documentada de Ramón Destorrents," *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, 6 (1948), 321–340. Nuestro enfoque sobre su problemática empezó a perfilarse en *La Introducció*, 787–796 y será objeto de futuros trabajos.

8. M. Meiss, "Italian Style," 78 i ss.

9. Veáse más adelante nuestro comentario sobre el *Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra.*

10. La Epifanía que denominamos "epifanía del donante"—el episodio de los magos subyacente en ella-, comunica con el tema de los ángeles oferentes. Sin embargo, las atribuciones de la corte celeste son más generales y podrían vincularse directamente con el tema de la adoración de los reyes sin mediaciones (*vid.* R. Alcoy, "Sobre algunas epifanías extemporáneas, la llegada al 'Otro Mundo' y la iconografía de los reyes magos," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar,"* 27 [1987], 39–65).

11. 1348 es la fecha admitida para el fallecimiento de Ferrer Bassa, siendo muy probable que la muerte de su hijo Arnau aconteciera dentro del mismo año y a consecuencia de la epidemia de la Peste Negra.

12. Ainaud de Lasarte, "Arnau Bassa y seguidor," 61–65, donde se hallará abundante bibliografía sobre el conjunto, atribuido en esa ocasión a Arnau Bassa y a un posible seguidor del mismo (Ramón Destorrents ?). Remitimos a los apartados finales del artículo del investigador catalán en cuanto se refiere a los matices que deben tomarse en consideración frente a las afirmaciones sobre la procedencia de Cardona del retablo. Básicamente se trata de contrastar la inexistencia de fuentes suficientemente fidedignas sobre este origen (información muy mediatizada que puede atender a la venta del conjunto ya descontextualizado) con el conocimiento de otros documentos que hacen referencia a obras vinculadas a Santa María de Cardona y que no pueden ser, por otro lado, identificadas con el conjunto fragmentario de Barcelona y Cambridge.

13. D. Angulo Íñiguez, "El retablo de Cardona en el Museo del Parque de Barcelona," *Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología*, n. 21, 7, (1931), 272–273. Esta nota del año 31, se hace eco de la publicación de B. Berenson, en "Quadri senza casa," *Dedalo*, (1930), 278 y fig. p. 280 (después, Berenson, "Quadri senza"), quien atribuye la Natividad con Simeón y san Juan Bautista, hoy en el Fogg Art Museum de Cambridge Mass. (n. 1949.149) a un "seguace ligure di Taddeo di Bartolo." Angulo señala la familiaridad de la pieza con el fragmento de Barcelona, aunque no se atreve a considerarlas de un único retablo ni a replantear la clasificación de Berenson.

14. Para el estudio iconográfico de la obra remitimos a nuestra tesis ya citada (nota 7). Lugar donde cotejamos diversas hipótesis sobre los temas de las partes perdidas y sobre la organización del santoral de este gran conjunto.

15. Post, *Spanish Painting*, 2, (1930), 213–215; 4, (1933), 512–515, donde acepta la propuesta de Angulo y emplaza las tablas en un universo intermedio entre los Bassa y los hermanos Serra. También Post, *Spanish Painting*, 6, (1935), 524, n. 4, donde remarca las semblanzas con el Maestro de san Marcos asumiendo una idea planteada ya anteriormente por A. Soler i March, "Les frères Serra," en *La Peinture catalane a la fin du Moyen Age*, 1931, 21–40, 40.

16. M. Meiss, "Italian Style," 79.

17. J. Gudiol i Ricart, *La pintura gótica a Catalunya* I (Barcelona, 1938), 10–11, lám. XXXV.

18. J. Gudiol, *Historia de la pintura gótica en Cataluña*, (Barcelona, 1944), 31, lám. XXXV. Además de Gudiol y Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura Gótica*, 47.

19. Verrié, "La pintura," 385–87, fig. 373.

20. Sureda, *El Gótic català*, p. IX, descarta la atribución del retablo de Santa María de "Cardona" (Bages) al Maestro de san Marcos. Sin embargo, duda de que la pieza del Fogg y la del Museo de Arte de Cataluña formasen parte de un mismo complejo, aunque sí fuesen obradas por un sólo autor hacia 1350. Advertiremos que la comparación de las medidas entre ambos fragmentos apoya la tesis de su adscripción a una única obra.

21. A nuestro parecer la pintura (y la miniatura) de Ramón Destorrents precisa de una revisión completa que remodele su imagen de pies a cabeza. En este sentido, es preciso reconocer que Ferrer Bassa y Arnau Bassa disputan a Destorrents lo principal de lo conservado en el retablo de la Almudaina de Mallorca y que, desde esa nueva perspectiva, hay que buscar otras bases donde fundamentar nuestro conocimiento sobre su producción (Alcoy, *La Introducció*, II, 797–811). Por otro lado la identificación de Arnau con el Maestro de san Marcos sería la mejor trabada y aquella tesis de la que partimos para reconstruir su personalidad artística (*vid.* "Arnau Bassa, *pintor y maginum*," ibid., 573–811).

22. Acerca de los contactos del Maestro de Baltimore y otros artistas remitimos particularmente a R. Alcoy, "El Mestre de l'Escrivà dels Usatges de Lleida i la cultura pisana del primer Trescents" (Barcelona, 1984), *Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals*, 4, (1986), 120–141, donde ya planteabamos la cuestión y donde debemos lamentar el error de edición en el pie de foto, dado que este relaciona el tríptico de Baltimore con Ramón Destorrents falseando nuestra opinión (p. 135, fig. s.n.), el error es, por tanto, absolutamente inexplicable desde nuestra perspectiva. Un primer avance sobre el tema en R. Alcoy, "Mestre de l'Escrivà. Fragment. La resurrecció de Tabita," *Thesaurus, Estudis*, (Barcelona, 1985), n. cat. 72, 127–129.

23. En concreto, con la producción de un seguidor genovés de Taddeo di Bartolo (Berenson, "Quadri senza," 278 y 280).

24. Indicaremos que Bologna (véase F. Bologna, "Di alcuni rapporti tra Italia e Spagna nel Trecento e 'Antonius Magister'," *Arte Antica e Moderna*, Enero–diciembre, [1961], 27–48, y *idem, I pittori alla Corte Angioina di Napoli 1266–144 e riesame dell'arte nell'età fridericiana* [Roma, 1969], 304–305, 337, notas 89–90 y tavs. VII–40 y 41 [después, Bologna, *I pittori alla Corte*]) relacionaba el tríptico de Baltimore con una Madonna y el Niño con dos ángeles y dos donantes de la iglesia de San Agustín de Salerno que, si bien recuerda la pintura de Bartolomeo de Camogli—aunque su calidad es inferior-, también se aproxima al conjunto de la Walters Art Gallery. Este, relacionado con la cultura catalana y aviñonesa por una parte de la crítica, refleja, según criterio del mismo Bologna, la aportación de un momento de la producción ligure anterior a Bartolomeo que se imprime en el "Crocifisso della Consolazione" (Génova). Los intercambios entre Aviñón y la costa genovesa nos conducen de nuevo hacia Barcelona y la cultura artística que repercutirá también en los centros napolitanos (Bologna, *I pittori alla Corte*, 304–305, nota 89; cf. M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Age of Jean Berry* [London, 1967], 365, nota 112). En otra coordenada hay que situar también el enlace común a traves Siena y su importante escuela pictórica (*vid.* N. Rubinstein, "Political Ideas in Sienese Art: The Frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti and Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 21 [1958], 179 y ss.). Por nuestra parte añadiríamos un tercer y, hasta un cuarto referentes, que no dejan de antojársenos a la altura de los primeros mencionados. Pensamos principalmente en las escuelas y obras de Pisa y Mallorca que comunican con Barcelona. En definitiva, remitiríamos a la importancia de algunas piezas realizas en Génova—tumba del Cardenal Luca Fieschi—y que nos introducen en el área de influencias italianas que conectan con lo catalán. Más adelante sugerimos la dependencia del escultor Jaume Cascalls de esta realidad artística. Ahora se trataría de dejar constancia de una penetración que en la misma Liguria parte de Pisa y que queda definida ya por los trabajos de Giovanni Pisano para la tumba de Margarita de Brabante. En este sentido, las ciudades de Pisa y Génova son espacios bien comunicados que apoyarán más tarde algunas de las tesis que queremos presentar, aunque no abundemos en el particu-

lar de las relaciones con Italia, ya que este tema ha de ser objeto de un nuevo trabajo dedicado al análisis pormenorizado del italianismo del "Maestro del tríptico de Baltimore" y de su escuela.

25. A. Saulnier-Pinsard, "Une nouvelle oeuvre du Maître de San Marcos: le livre d'Heures de Marie de Navarre," en *La Miniatura italiana tra Gotico e Rinascimiento*, Atti del II Congreso di Storia della Miniatura Italiana, (Firenze, 1985), I, 35–50 (después, Saulnier-Pinsard, "Une nouvelle oeuvre").

26. N. de Dalmases i A. José i Pitarch, *L'Art Gótic s. XVI–XV*, (Història de l'Art Català, III) (Barcelona, 1984), 154–156, atribuyen el manuscrito de Venecia a Ferrer Bassa y lo datan c. 1338–1342.

27. Veáse nuestra argumentación sobre la posibilidad de una cronología algo más tardía—ya que prolonga la idea de su realización más allá de 1342-, para el códice de Venecia y también acerca de la intervención de diversos maestros en la obra, entre los que incluímos a Ferrer, pero sin que este tenga exclusiva alguna, en R. Alcoy, "Los Maestros del Libro de Horas de María de Navarra. Avance sobre un problema complejo" (Barcelona, 1987), *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar,"* n. XXXIV, 1988, 104–134, (después, Alcoy, "Los Maestros del Libro"). El tema se amplia en nuestra tesis (*La Introducció*, I y II, capítulos monográficos correspondientes a Ferrer Bassa, Arnau Bassa y Jaume Cascalls) especialmente desde el enfoque iconográfico.

28. Ya Saulnier-Pinsard, "Une nouvelle ouvre," 40, realizaba una subdivisión de las miniaturas del libro de la Biblioteca Marciana y completaba la existencia de un artista principal—Maestro de san Marcos—y de un ayudante—o "artiste secondaire"-. Al primero se le confiere la tarea de las pinturas a página entera, las iniciales historiadas y algunas letras con personajes, al segundo el resto. Por nuesra parte, algo dijimos sobre las diferencias de estilo que se evidencian en este manuscrito en R. Alcoy, "La recepción de un modelo espacial "italogótico" en Cataluña: sobre su dinámica y alternativas en la pintura del primer y segundo *Trecento,"* (Barcelona, 1984), Actas del *Vè Congrés Espanyol d'Història de l'Art*, (Barcelona, 1988) nota 6 y ss. *Idem*, "Taller dels Bassa. Fragment d'un retaule de sant Jaume," en *Thesaurus. Estudis*, Catálogo, (Barcelona, 1985), 122–124, 123 y finalmente en *idem*, "Los Maestros del Libro."

29. La tipología de la Virgen de la leche entronizada tiene, en estos momentos, una seria competidora en aquella versión que sintetiza sus rasgos con los de la Virgen de la Humildad. Insistimos en el particular porque este aspecto apoya indirectamente la mencionada correspondencia entre la miniatura del libro de Horas y la tabla central del conjunto de Baltimore, es decir, entre dos vírgenes entronizadas aunque una de ellas se convierta, por razones que podríamos conectar con el programa iconográfico del códice de María de Navarra (Alcoy, *La Introducció*, II, 605–612), en Virgen de la leche.

30. Entre las realizaciones que separamos de la labor realizada por los Bassa existen bastantes elementos que justifican esta proyección hacia la pintura de la segunda mitad del siglo XIV, aunque debiéramos reconocer prontamente que también Arnau Bassa habría tenido algo que decir de haber sobrevivido a la Peste de 1348.

31. Remarquemos la imagen de este joven que nos da la espalda y oculta su cabeza bajo el cesto apoyado en su hombro izquierdo, cuyo modelo remite a Giotto, a la Presentación de María al templo de la Arena Padovana. Véase además E. Sandberg Vavalà, "A Chapter in Fourteenth Century Iconography: Verona," *The Art Bulletin*, 11 (1929), 376–412, figs. 28, 29 y 31. Y un modelo para la escultura en C. Baroni, *Scultura gotica lombarda*, (Milán, 1944) fig. 231, del "Primo Maestro dell'altare di Carpiano."

32. R. Alcoy, *La introducció*, 1082–1083.

33. Sobre este aspecto concreto, y dedicado muy especialmente al libro de Horas de María de Navarra, hemos redactado el texto: "Els rostres profans i els *marginalia* a Catalunya," dividido en dos partes. La primera, que comporta el planteamiento general bajo el título "les cares lunars del primer Trescents" aparece en la revista *D'Art*, (departamento de Historia del Arte de la Univ. de Barcelona) n. 15, 1989. La segunda, "Els rostres profans del Mestre de Baltimore i la seva incidència en les ares catalanes" (en *Lambard*, IV, 1990, 139–228) aborda, entre otros aspectos, el problema de la atribución de la marginalia del códice de la reina a distintos autores.

34. La obra de este artífice podría resumirse citando lo principal de la miniatura trescentista del llamado salterio anglo-catalán de París (Ms. Lat. 8846, Biblioteca Nacional de París), la pintura sobre tabla de Bellpuig de les Avellanes (perdida) y, finalmente, el conjunto de pinturas murales del 1346 en la capilla de San Miguel del monasterio de Pedralbes (otras atribuciones en Alcoy, *La Introducció*, 33–572).

35. Ampliaremos nuestras ideas sobre este tema en uno de los trabajos que tenemos actualmente en curso: "El tríptic català de Baltimore i la pintura barcelonina abans i després de 1348," para su realización contamos con el soporte de una beca concedida por la CIRIT, (Generalitat de Catalunya).

36. En función de su estilo, las pinturas del Museo de Arte de Cataluña (Barcelona) y del Fogg Art Museum (Cambridge, Mass.) no deben alejarse en demasía de la mitad del siglo. Con todo, las precisiones cronológicas dependerán de la atribución que establecemos más adelante y que, en virtud de la iconografía del conjunto, no desmentiría tampoco la relación con el monasterio cisterciense de Santa María de Poblet (Tarragona).

37. Acerca de Jaume Cascalls: A. Durán i Sanpere, *Els retaules de pedra*, I, (Barcelona, 1932), 41–50 (después, Durán i Sanpere, *Els retaules*); C. Pérez Jimeno, "En torno a Jaume Cascalls: su obra en Girona," *D'Art*, 5 (1979), 65–77; E. Liaño Martínez, "Jaume Cascalls, escultor en Tarragona y Poblet," *Reales Sitios*, 71 (1982), 65–72 (después, Liaño Martínez, "Jaume Cascalls"). Para la documentación citemos como mínimo: F. Marés Deulovol, *Las tumbas reales de los monarcas de Cataluña y Aragón del monasterio de Santa María de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1952); A. Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana migeval*, I–II, (Barcelona, 1908–1921) (después, Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*) y J.M. Madurell i Marimón "El pintor Lluís Borrassà," I–III, *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, 7, 8 y 10, (1949, 1950 y 1952) (después, Madurell i Marimón, "El pintor"). Además, Alcoy, *La Introducció*, II, 881–1134.

38. El papel de arquitecto para el que también aparece dotado es parámetro poco definido todavía, a pesar de que no falten algunas alusiones a su labor de constructor en conexión con la práctica escultórica y se le conozca como Maestro de Obras de la catedral de Lérida en el 1361. No ocurre de igual forma en el caso de la pintura, marginada de sus iniciativas, habida cuenta de los documentos que a ella hacen referencia.

39. ACB. Pedro Borrell, man. años 1346–1348, Madurell i Marimón, "El pintor," 10, (1952), 14, doc. 378.

40. *Ibid.*, 19–20, doc. 389.

41. Rubió i Lluch, *Documents*, II, 94–95, doc. C. Recordaremos que, en el 1352, si bien tanto Arnau como Ferrer Bassa habían muerto y ya no podían hacer la competencia a Cascalls, otro artista, Ramón Destorrents, había iniciado su carrera de pintor y miniaturista de la monarquía.

42. Arxiu Not. de Barcelona, Manual de Ramón Morell, recogido en M. Trens, *Ferrer Bassa i les pintures de Pedralbes* (Barcelona, 1936), 173–174, doc. XXXII. Durán i Sanpere *Els retuales*, I, 42, (sin indicar la fuente exacta), sitúa a Jaume Cascalls trabajando en Perpiñán, en una serie de obras de alabastro, que serían pagadas por el rey en 1345. La coincidencia con un encargo a Ferrer Bassa es relevante dentro de un correlato que fructificaba no mucho después con el enlace matrimonial de Jaume y María, hija de Ferrer, a quien se otorgaba una dote de 120 libras. Compárese la cifra con las 150 libras que requerían los pagos por dos retablos de envergadura para

los castillos de Leida y Mallorca, encargados a Ferrer Bassa por el rey. En este sentido, la dote no puede considerarse egoísta y debemos pensar que el interés por el casorio favorecía a ambas partes.

43. Aprovechando la advertencia de R. Longhi sobre una factible escala de Bartolomeo de Camogli en Aviñon, pintor relacionado con el Maestro de Baltimore, deberemos tener en cuenta la certeza sobre la actividad de Jaume Cascalls en la Cataluña Norte, en el Conflent y el Rosselló, a poca distancia de la Provenza de los Papas.

44. Sobre el italianismo escultórico de Jaume Cascalls *vid.* R. Alcoy y P. Beseran, "Jaume Cascalls i les escoles de la Italia Meridional a Catalunya: l'escultura del Trescents," (Setiembre de 1986), en prensa, *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* (Biblioteca Balmes de Barcelona) (después, Alcoy y Beseran, "Jaume Cascalls").

45. En Italia hallaríamos sólo con atender a los murales de San Francisco de Asís un buen número de exponentes que representan la escultura dentro de la pintura, es decir, una preocupación por la integración del fenómeno artístico dentro del cuadro (mural en este caso).

46. Recogemos la bibliografía fundamental sobre una de las obras contratadas por los Bassa (tabla de san Jaime de Jonqueras) puntualizando nuestra opinión en : R. Alcoy, "Taller dels Bassa. Fragment," en *Thesaurus*, 122–124.

47. Podríamos elegir algún paralelo, aceptado por la crítica, a la situación en que pudiera hallarse nuestro maestro como escultor y miniaturista. En este sentido citaríamos a Andre' de Beauneveu, artista relacionado con la ilustración del libro y las artes del volumen y que, en todas las vertientes de su trabajo, fue un excelente artífice (*vid.* H. Bober, André de Beauneveu and Mehun-sur-Yèvre," *Speculum*, 28, (1953), 741–753, figs. 5–6, 7–8, 9–16). A pesar de las fechas avanzadas del siglo XIV a que nos conduce, es un exponente lujoso para ejemplificar la posibilidad de nuestras propuestas en torno al catalán Jaume Cascalls.

48. Cf. P. Verdier, "The Madonna and Child with a Bird," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, vol. 6, no. 3 (1953).

49. El grupo escultórico del oratorio de San Bernardino de Siena (Giovanni di Agostino, c. 1336) en A. Bagnoli, "Giovanni d'Agostino," *Il Gotico a Siena* (Florencia, 1982), 209–210.

50. Las ofrendas de los tres reyes de "Cardona"—de Poblet según hipótesis que argumentamos en el trabajo *La Introducció*, 1056–1069—aparecen en sendos recipientes en forma de cáliz que pueden parángonarse con aquellos que hemos visto sobresalir en Baltimore como presente floral de los ángeles a la Virgen y el Niño.

51. Las formas estrelladas que aparecen en el tríptico de Baltimore pueden recordar la estrella de David frecuente en la miniatura de los Bassa. Sin embargo, nos recuerdan también los bordados de perlas y oro que ornan los corporales de Santa María de Pedralbes (Museo de Pedralbes). Motivos que reaparecen en las mitras de san Marcos y san Aniano del retablo de los zapateros, conservado en la Seu de Manresa (fig. 13). Por otro lado, las estructuras arquitectónicas del tríptico de la Virgen pueden aproximarse, no únicamente al retablo de Manresa, sinó también al *Decretum Gratiani* de Londres, Ms., Add. 15. 274 del British Museum. Veáse A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, I–III, (Roma, 1975), I, pl. XIX, causa VI, fig.52; III, causa XV, fig. 49, causa XIX, pl.IV...). La comparación entre el estilo dominante en el *Decretum* y el del Maestro de Baltimore nos permite considerar la relación entre este último y al menos uno de los miniaturistas catalanes del códice de Londres, asimismo vinculado al ejercicio artístico de los Bassa y quizas también a algunas realizaciones de ámbito pisano efectuadas en Cataluña.

52. Ya expusimos nuestro parecer sobre esta obra, quizas procedente del retablo mayor de la Seo de Lérida, en Alcoy y Beseran, "Jaume Cascalls."

53. En realidad es la iconografía de esta tabla la que permite una aproximación al programa global de la obra.

54. Archivo Más de fotografía (Barcelona), negativo serie G/A, n. 10973). Si bien el conjunto del Santo Sepulcro responde a un encargo realizado al Maestro Aloi de Montbrai, en virtud del enlace entre este artista y Jaume Cascalls no puede descartarse la atribución de la obra a nuestro maestro (cf. Bracons y Freixas, "Aloi de Montbrai [Mestre Aloi]," en *Thesaurus, Estudis* [Barcelona, 1986], 182–184).

55. A. Durán i Sanpere y J. Ainaud de Lasarte, *Escultura gótica* (Ars Hispaniae, 8), (Madrid, 1956), fig. 204.

56. Un ejemplo notable de esta manera de hacer en la escultura catalana es el retablo de los santos Bernabé y Bernardo en la iglesia de Santa María de Montblanc (Tarragona) o el de Santa Pau, obra firmada por un Maestro Ramón (colección particular, Barcelona).

57. Es sabido que la datación del retablo de Cornellà no se precisa con total exactitud, pues existe un margen factible que nos emplaza entre 1340 y 1345; remitimos a Durán i Sanpere, *Els retaules*, I, y a M. Durliat, "L'église de Corneilla-de-Conflent," *Congrès Archèologique de France*, 1955, 266–279, 278, nota 1. Para el retablo de piedra de Poblet: Liaño Martínez, "Jaume Cascalls."

58. Debo agradecer al profesor Josep Trenchs, cuyo reciente fallecimiento hay que lamentar profundamente, algunas observaciones que tendían a cuestionar el contenido de los documentos publicados en que Jaume Cascalls aparece como pintor. Si bien en un primer momento su parecer me hizó dudar de la conveniencia de publicar este artículo tal y como fue escrito en 1987, después de reflexionar sobre la cuestión he creído oportuna su publicación, dado que a pesar de las dudas que yo misma pueda tener sobre la identidad del Maestro de Baltimore—e incluso sobre la de Jaume Cascalls escultor—continue pareciéndome fructífera la relación entre sus respectivas obras, hasta el punto de poder extraer de ambas elementos próximos que nos conducen al estudio de un transfondo comùn.

Photographs: Figs. 1, 5, 20, 21, 25, 26, the Walters Art Gallery.

English Summary

A triptych in the Walters Art Gallery (fig.1), depicting the *Enthroned Virgin and Child with Angels* in its center with the *Crucifixion* and *Annunciation* on the left wing and the *Coronation of the Virgin* and the *Presentation in the Temple* on the right, was attributed by Millard Meiss in 1941 to an anonymous Catalan painter of the fourteenth century known as the Master of Saint Mark. Subsequent research has shown that the paintings attributed to this master were actually the works of various painters active in Catalonia in the 1340s, among them Arnau Bassa, son of Ferrer Bassa, and Ramon Destorrents.

The Walters triptych is, however, the work of a third painter who was also responsible for a large retable from Cardona, of which survive three fragments: an *Annunciation* and *Three Kings* (fig. 3) in the Museum of Catalan Art in Barcelona, and a *Nativity* in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The stylistic characteristics of these works suggest that

this painter was familiar with contemporary trends in Italian painting, particularly in Liguria, but was firmly grounded in Catalan traditions.

The painter of the Walters triptych and the Cardona retable was also one of the illuminators (along with Ferrer and Arnau Bassa) of the *Book of Hours of María de Navarra* (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana MS Lat. I 104/12640), completed before its patroness died in 1347. Contributions made by the painter of the Walters triptych included the *Visitation* (fol. 44v, fig. 4), the *Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 287v, fig. 5), which can be compared to the same theme in the Walters triptych, *María de Navarra before Saint Louis of France* (fol. 198v, fig. 8), and a *Bishop Writing* (fol. 109, fig. 9), as well as some of the margin decorations.

Unlike the Bassas, both of whom probably died in the plague epidemic of 1348, the artist of the Walters triptych was active beyond 1350 and serves as a stylistic link in Catalan art between the two halves of the fourteenth century.

This artist can now be identified with Jaume Cascalls, who, though best known as a sculptor, was also a painter and architect. Most of the documentary references to Cascalls concern the royal tombs at the monastery of Poblet (on which he began work in 1349), and the signed alabaster *Retable of the Virgin* from Cornellà de Conflent (figs. 17–19). However, he is mentioned as a "painter of Barcelona" as early as 1346 and was associated not only professionally with Ferrer Bassa (perhaps receiving training from him) but personally, as he married the latter's daughter.

Though no documented paintings by Cascalls survive, the very sculptural qualities of the figures and the treatment of spatial illusion in the Walters triptych, the Cardona fragments, and the *Book of Hours of María de Navarra* suggest a fundamental conception quite distinct from the style of the Bassas. More importantly, motifs such as the bird held by the Christ Child in the Walters triptych echo similar ones in the Virgin and Child compartment in Cascalls's signed Cornellà retable. Both works also share figures with egg-shaped heads and volumetrically conceived bodies perceptible beneath draperies, among many other similarities. Further analogies can be made between Cascalls's sculpted works and the Cardona fragments, while discrepancies can be accounted for by the demands of the different media. It is even possible that the Cardona retable was actually a commission for Poblet.

Though a definitive chronology of Cascalls's works remains to be determined, it can be tentatively proposed that the Walters triptych is dated later than the Cornellà retable. It can even be speculated that both of these works predate the *Hours of Maria de Navarra* (and thus 1347), since the center of the Walters triptych appears to have provided models for one of Arnau Bassa's contributions to the manuscript, the *Nursing Virgin* (fol. 15v, fig. 2), unless we postulate a common source for both.

After the demise of the Bassas, Cascalls's main production seems to have been sculptural. Nevertheless, his early painted work, within the general style parameters of the Bassas, yet distinct from them, provides some of the finest examples of the introduction of Italian art into Catalonia.

Judith Berg Sobré
The University of Texas at San Antonio



Fig. 1

Fig. 6.



Fig. 5.

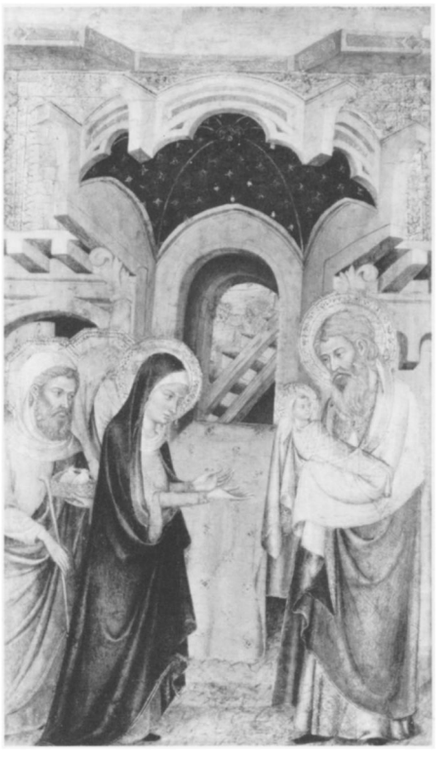




Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.



(clockwise from top left) Fig. 1. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Tríptico de la Virgen*, tempera sobre tabla, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.466.

Fig. 2. Arnau Bassa, *Virgen de la leche con ángeles y María de Navarra, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*, Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 15v.

Fig. 3. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Retablo de la Virgen*, supuestamente procedente de Cardonna, fragmento, tempera sobre tabla, Barcelona, Museo d'Art de Cataluña, inv. 15855.

Fig. 4. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Visitación, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*, Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 44v.

Fig. 5. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Tríptico de la Virgen, Jesús al templo* (detalle de la fig. 1).

Fig. 6. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Presentación de Jesús al templo, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*, Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 97v.



Fig. 7. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Presentación de la Virgen al templo, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*, Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 287v.



Fig. 8. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *María de Navarra y san Luís rey de Francia, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*, Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 198v.



Fig. 9. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Santo obispo escribiendo, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra*, Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 109.



Fig. 10. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *san Antonio*, montante del retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 11. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *santo Abad cisterciense*, montante del retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 12. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *santa Lucía*, medallón del montante del retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3, *vid.* fig. 16).

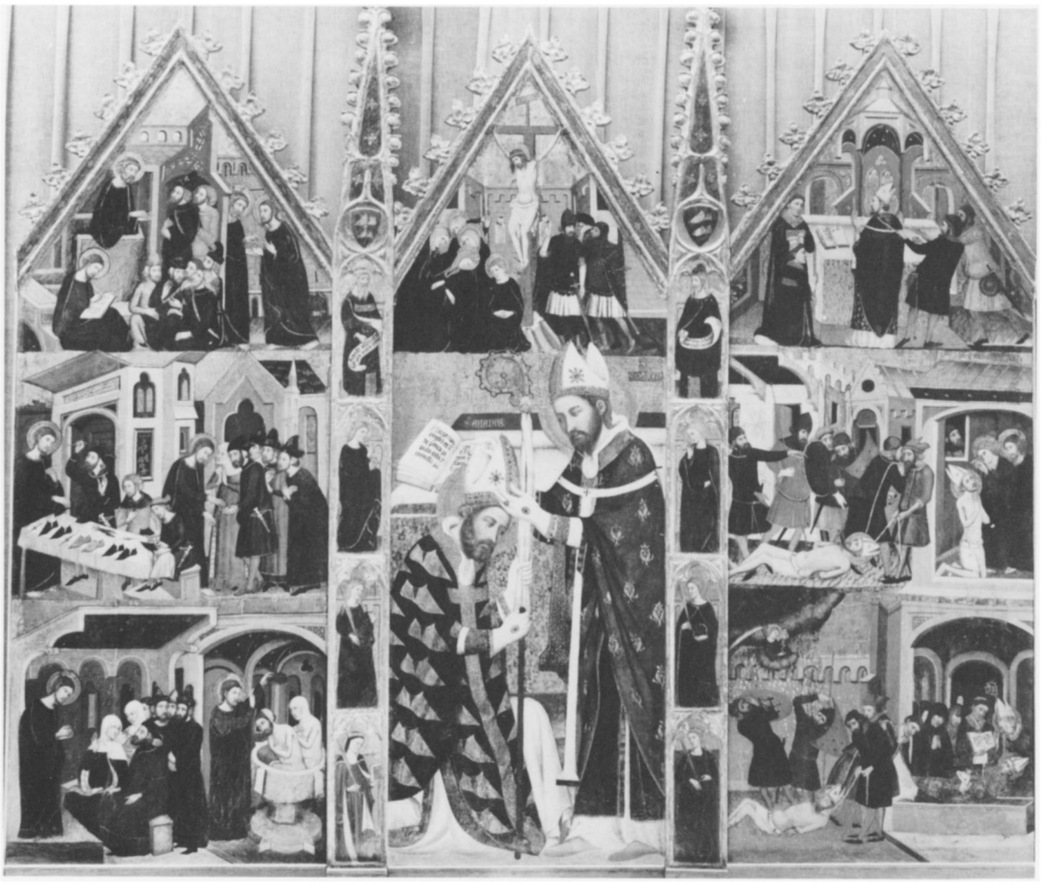


Fig. 13. Arnau Bassa, *Retablo de san Marcos y san Aniano*, tempera sobre tabla, Manresa, Santa María de la Aurora.



Fig. 14. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *santa Magdalena*, medallón del montante del retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 15. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *santa Apolonia*, medallón del montante del retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 16. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *santa Lucía*, medallón del montante del retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3, *vid.* fig. 12).



Fig. 17. Jaume Cascalls, *obispo, predela del retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parrroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 18. Jaume Cascalls, *Santiago, predela del retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parrroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 19. Jaume Cascalls, *san Juan, predela del retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parrroquial de Santa María.

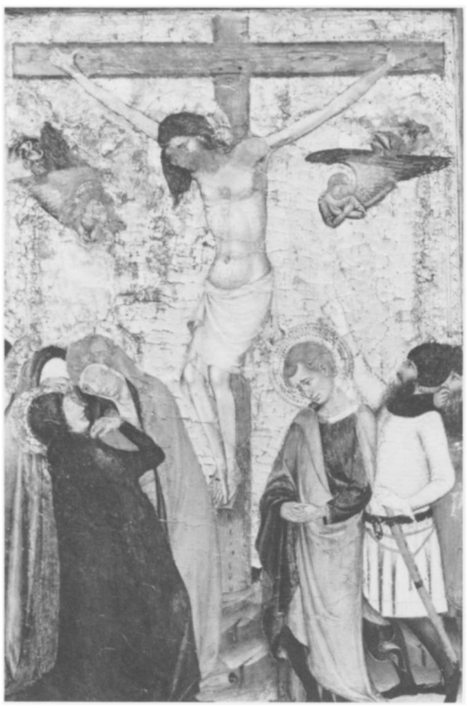


Fig. 20. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Tríptico de la Virgen, Crucifixión* (detalle de la fig. 1).



Fig. 21. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Tríptico de la Virgen, Anunciación* (detalle de la fig. 1).



Fig. 22. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Anunciación*, retablo de "Cardona" (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 23. Jaume Cascalls, *Virgen con el Niño, retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 24. Jaume Cascalls, *Virgen con el Niño, retablo de la Virgen* (detalle de la fig. 23).



Fig. 25. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Tríptico de la Virgen, Virgen con el Niño* (detalle de la fig. 1).



Fig. 26. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Tríptico de la Virgen, Coronación de la Virgen* (detalle de la fig. 1).



Fig. 27. Jaume Cascalls, *Coronación de la Virgen, retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 29. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Reyes de la Epifanía*, retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 30. Jaume Cascalls, *Reyes de la Epifanía, retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 28. Jaume Cascalls, *Coronación de la Virgen*, retablo fragmentario, piedra, Monasterio de Santa María de Poblet, Museo.



Fig. 31. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *Anunciación*, retablo de "Cardona," (detalle de la fig. 3).



Fig. 32. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *marginalia, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra,* Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 166.



Fig. 33. Jaume Cascalls, *Ascención,* detalle, retablo fragmentario, piedra, Monasterio de Santa María de Poblet, Museo.



Fig. 34. Maestro del Tríptico de Baltimore, o Jaume Cascalls (?), *marginalia, Libro de Horas de la reina María de Navarra,* Venecia, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Lat. I. 104/12640, fol. 81.



Fig. 35. Jaume Cascalls, *bestiaro,* detalle, del *retablo de la Virgen,* alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 36. Jaume Cascalls, *bestiaro,* detalle, del *retablo de la Virgen,* alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 37. Jaume Cascalls, *bestiaro*, detalle, del *retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 38. Jaume Cascalls, *bestiaro*, detalle, del *retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 39. Jaume Cascalls, *bestiaro*, detalle, del *retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà del Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.



Fig. 40. Jaume Cascalls, *rostro peludo*, detalle de la predela del *retablo de la Virgen*, alabastro, Cornellà de Conflent, Iglesia parroquial de Santa María.