

The
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OF THE WALTERS ART GALLERY

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

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Vermeule, *Imperial Art*, 335–368.

Villard, "Une tête romaine," 235.

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A Late Middle Kingdom Wooden Statue from Assiut in the Walters Art Gallery

Julia Harvey

A wooden statue in the Walters Art Gallery, at present on display in the New Kingdom galleries, is reassessed and assigned to the Middle Kingdom on the basis of comparisons with similar statues in other collections.

The wooden statue that forms the subject of this paper is one of a number acquired by Henry Walters in 1914 and the years following from the antiquities dealer Dikran Kelekian. The figure (fig. 1) is that of a “stepping” female, i.e., one whose left foot is advanced, but not far enough for the weight to be transferred to it, as in a stride. She wears a heavy tripartite wig reaching to the top of her breasts and a sheath dress, indicated only by the hemline at mid-calf. Both arms are missing, but the dowels and holes left in her shoulders show that they were held parallel to her body. Her hands were probably held open with the fingers outstretched. Her left leg is advanced in a step, but the foot is broken off at the ankle. Her right leg is straight, and the heel of the foot is extant with a tenon underneath for insertion into a base. The front part of the foot was originally secured to the base, but both this and the base are now missing. The statue is at present mounted on a modern base. There are traces of color all over the statue, and these conform to what we know about the painted decoration of female statues. The entire statue shows evidence of having been covered in a layer of yellow paint or gypsum, on top of which other details were added. The wig, brows, outlines of the eyes, and pupils all show traces of black paint; we would expect traces of white in the eyes and on the dress, but this has not survived the passage of time. The general condition of the statue is very good, notwithstanding some cracks down the front and the back. What is extant is carved from a single block, perhaps acacia, although the wood has not been analyzed. The present height is 41 cm.

There are a number of fine details worthy of mention: the wig is striated with a center parting, and falls

straight down all around, covering the ears, but not the shoulders. The ends of the wig are bound, indicated by a series of diagonal carved lines on each striation. Under the wig, in the center of the forehead, a small triangle is visible (fig. 2). This indicates the presence of a headscarf or headcloth worn under the wig,¹ which is pulled back slightly from each temple. The woman has a fine, full figure and the quality of the carving conveys a sense of movement. There is no indication of a dress bodice, and we would consider her to be nude were it not for the hemline.² The statue was published by Steindorff who says that it is “probably early Eighteenth Dynasty, or possibly Middle Kingdom.”³ Vandier also attributes the piece to the New Kingdom.⁴

All the statues acquired from Kelekian were said to be “from Assiut.” Kelekian attributed them all to the Twelfth Dynasty. On stylistic grounds both Steindorff and Vandier consider that they came from Meir rather than from Assiut.⁵ They are most likely to have come from the excavations of Said Bey Khashaba, a merchant of Assiut who, in 1910, obtained a permit to excavate the district between Dairut, north of Meir, and Deir el-Ganadla, just south of El-Badari, on both sides of the river (fig. 3). This huge concession included Meir, Deir el-Gabrawi, and Assiut. In these localities are extensive Old and Middle Kingdom cemeteries. Khashaba did not actually excavate himself; he hired a large number of *fellahin* to do the physical labor and enlisted the services of Ahmed Bey Kamal, an Egyptian archaeologist, to supervise the work and publish the results.

The major part of the excavation took place at Meir under the supervision of Kamal between 1910–1914. There is no doubt, however, that other teams employed by Khashaba were at work in other areas of the concession. Kamal published the material found under his supervision in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*,⁶ but none of the statues in the

Fig. 1. *Stepping female*, wood, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 22.15.

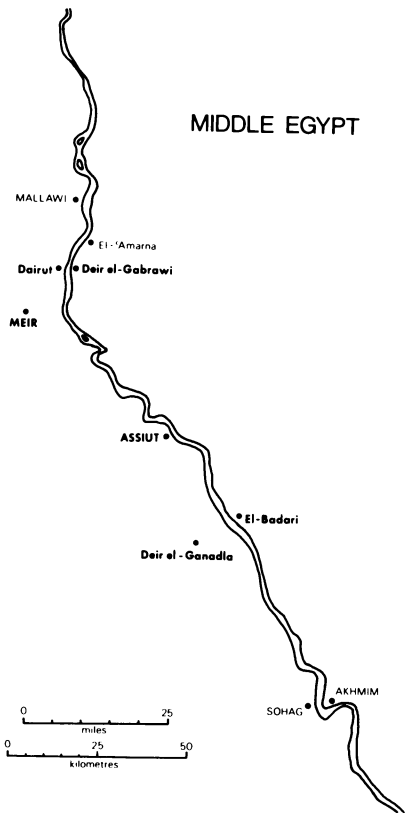


Fig. 2. Detail of Figure 1.



Walters Art Gallery can be identified with those listed there. No records exist of the finds made in the course of the excavations not directed by Kamal. Many probably found their way very quickly onto the lucrative antiquities market. In fact, Khashaba himself seems to have viewed his concession as a convenient source of additional income, and Kamal with difficulty persuaded him to establish a museum in Assiut to display some of his pieces, rather than dispose of them all for cash.⁷

Despite the stylistic considerations of Steindorff and Vandier, Kelekian’s statement that the statues came “from Assiut” cannot be dismissed out of hand. He would have had no reason to try to disguise their true provenance if he had acquired them from Khashaba. Since a proper archaeological report from the time is lacking, it is not possible to establish beyond doubt that Assiut was the exact find-spot, but some weight must be given to Kamal’s supervisory competence. Although his reports are sketchy by today’s standards, he did his best to make a scientific record of everything which was unearthed during his period of excavation—it may be that only very small items “disappeared” while he was present. Meir, therefore, seems to be the least likely of the possible prove-



nances for these statues. At the excavation sites Kamal visited only irregularly, however, the tale is very different. No publication at all exists for these, and it is not surprising that a large number of objects found their way onto the antiquities market, either through Khashaba himself or the private enterprise of his men.

Vandier considers the Walters Art Gallery statues to be stylistically inferior to those from Assiut that he had examined.⁸ He seems, however, to have confined his comparisons to those statues excavated by Chassinat and Palanque in the period up to 1903 and now in the Louvre, Paris, and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.⁹ These statues are of a remarkably high quality by any standards, and compared to them the Walters statues are indeed inferior. In 1907, D.G. Hogarth conducted a single season of work at Assiut. Rather than investigating the larger tombs already dealt with by Chassinat and Palanque, he directed his attention to those of the lesser inhabitants of the district. During these excavations, he turned over a great number of tombs and sent a large quantity of material to the United Kingdom. Much of it, including twenty-seven wooden statues, still awaits publication.¹⁰ A comparison of the quality of the workmanship, the style, and the range of these pieces

with the group in the Walters Art Gallery suggests that the latter also originated from Assiut.¹¹

A wooden statue of a woman in the National Museum, Copenhagen (fig. 4), bears a striking similarity to the Walters figure under discussion.¹² This statue was presented to the National Museum by the Ny Carlsbergfondet in 1958. Purchased from a Swiss art dealer, its previous history is unknown, but it was said to be from Assiut. It was published in 1960 by Buhl, who says that the statue originates from an unknown tomb at Assiut, and should be dated, along with two others in the British Museum, to the Twelfth Dynasty.¹³ Those in the British Museum come from Hogarth's excavations and have, therefore, a secure provenance and associated objects by which they can be dated. The Copenhagen statue is a stepping female wearing a heavy tripartite wig and a sheath dress.¹⁴ This dress has no upper bodice indications; it cannot be shown to exist by the hemline because the lower part of the statue (below mid-calf) is missing. However, the presence of cloth covering the legs is confirmed by the fact that the legs are not separately carved, even though the left leg is advanced. The arms are pegged into the shoulders by internal dowels and

Fig. 3. (left) Map of Middle Egypt showing the area from Dairut to Deir el-Ganadla.

Fig. 4. (right) *Stepping female*, wood, from Assiut, Copenhagen, National Museum, no. 13969.

Fig. 5. Detail of Figure 4.



Fig. 6. *Stepping female*, wood, from Assiut, London, the British Museum, no. 45193.

Fig. 7. Detail of Figure 6.



hang parallel to her body with the tips of the outstretched fingers reaching the level of the knees. The hands are very beautifully carved with much attention to the detail of the fingers and nails, although the white paint that would have covered the fingernails originally is now completely gone. Again, the quality of the carving of the statue gives the impression of movement, and, just as in the Walters Art Gallery statue, the torso is carved from a single piece of wood. The wig is parted in the middle, and the striated hair falls straight down onto the breasts and back, covering the ears, but not the shoulders. The ends are bound, as indicated by diagonally carved lines on each striation. The hair is pulled back slightly at the temples, and the figure wears a headcloth under the wig (fig. 5). The general condition of the statue is excellent, although there is some damage to the left-hand side of the wig in front, and a large filled crack down the back. The figure was originally covered in a thin layer of yellow paint or gypsum, of which many traces remain, and there are traces of black paint on the brows and eyes. In the corners of the eyes some white traces have survived. The extant height is 48.5 cm, slightly larger than the Walters statue.

The similarities between the two statues may be more than coincidental, although the Copenhagen

statue is of slightly better quality. It is possible that both were produced within a very short time of each other, possibly in the same workshop, and that they both came from the Middle Kingdom necropolis at Assiut. To support the attribution to Assiut, I would draw attention to the similarity of these figures to BM 45193, Idy-Keky (fig. 6), which was excavated by Hogarth at Assiut.¹⁵ This statue wears a heavy tripartite wig with bound ends, and a headcloth is visible in the center of the forehead (fig. 7). In contrast to the other statues, Idy-Keky's wig is plaited, and she wears a fillet drawing it back from her face. She wears a sheath dress, indicated only by the hemline. The arms are held parallel to the body, and the outstretched fingers reach the level of the knees. The left leg is advanced. On the basis of its known provenance, the piece can be dated to the Twelfth Dynasty.

Consideration of a statue, now in the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 8), may help in determining a more precise date.¹⁶ The woman wears a similar wig to that of BM 45193. Here it is difficult to be sure whether the statue wears a headcloth under her wig, as a large blob of plaster obscures the relevant spot. This could be accidental overflow from the wig, or the effects of the passage of years on the original decoration. Her wig is held back from her temples by a fillet. In this

case, the wig has been carved as a separate piece and is dowelled into the head of the statue. Her left leg is advanced and she stands on an inscribed base. Her dress is again a simple sheath, but this time enough of the original painting of the bodice remains for us to be able to discern its shape (fig. 9). Straps form a trapezoidal pattern with the top of the dress, a feature which appears from the Eleventh Dynasty on, replacing the V-form of the Old Kingdom. The gap between the straps increased and the straps themselves often became wider as the Middle Kingdom progressed.¹⁷ Although the straps on the Brooklyn statue are fairly narrow, the trapezoid they form is wide enough for the piece to be dated to the second part of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁸

The evidence that points to a late Middle Kingdom date for both the Walters statue and that from the National Museum, Copenhagen can be summarized as follows:

— The wearing of a headcloth under a full tripartite wig appears to be confined to the Middle Kingdom. All datable examples so far collected confirm this.

— The style of the tripartite wig, striated or plaited with bound ends drawn back from the forehead or tied back from the temples with a fillet appears to be of the Middle Kingdom. This is again confirmed by the dateable statues so far collected.

— The straps of the dresses on those statues on which enough painted bodice decoration remains form a trapezoid on the chest. The size of this increases towards the end of the Middle Kingdom. The example closest to the two statues under discussion is the statue from Brooklyn which has been dated to the late Middle Kingdom.

— Their most likely provenance is Assiut, given the date at which they first appeared on the market and the information supplied at the time, coupled with the excavation circumstances. The arguments of Steindorff and Vandier that the statues are not of high enough quality to come from Assiut are negated by the finds made by Hogarth.

— The dating of the statues to the New Kingdom must be dismissed and the statues assigned to the Middle Kingdom, probably the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty.

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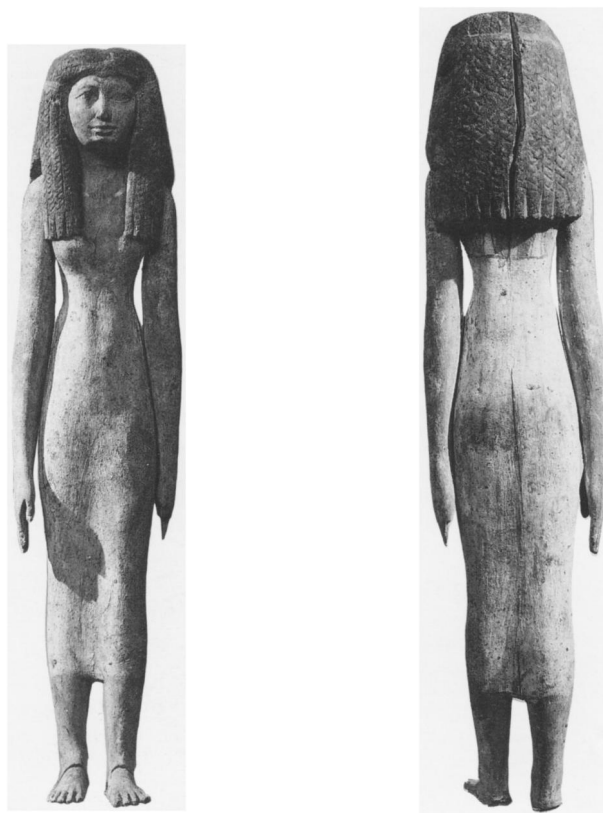


Fig. 8. *Stepping female*, wood, unknown provenance, Brooklyn, the Brooklyn Museum, no. 86.226.11, gift of the Ernest Erickson Foundation.

Fig. 9. View of the back of Figure 8.

Notes

A letter stating that the statue Nationalmuseet 13969 was excavated at Assiut or Meir by Said Bey Khashaba between 1910 and 1914, and was on display in his museum until 1957, has recently been found in the archives of the National Museum Copenhagen (personal communication from Dr. Elin Rand Nielsen). Since Meir is excluded for the reasons discussed above, we can now be sure that this statue does indeed come from Assiut.

I would like to express my thanks to those museum curators whose help and encouragement have made this article possible, especially Dr. Ellen Reeder of the Walters Art Gallery, Mr. W.V. Davis and Dr. A.J. Spencer of the British Museum, Mr. Søren Dietz of the National Museum, Copenhagen, and Mr. Richard Fazzini of the Brooklyn Museum. I am also most grateful to Dr. D.M. Dixon of University College, London, for his invaluable criticism of the manuscript.

1. This is not an unknown phenomenon, cf. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 49633 (an unpublished female offering bearer from El Moalla); London, British Museum, no. 45193 (fig. 7); Copenhagen, National Museum, no. 13969 (fig. 5); etc.

2. Again, this is a very common method of portraying the dress, cf. London, British Museum, no. 45193 (fig. 6); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, no. 4318–1943; Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 72.4128; Copenhagen, National Museum, no. 13969 (fig. 4); Brooklyn, Brooklyn Museum, no. 86.226.11 (fig. 8); etc.

3. G. Steindorff, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 45, no. 125, pl. XVII.
 4. J. Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Egyptienne III: Les Grandes Epoques: La Statuaire* (Paris, 1958), 438.
 5. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 158: "On peut être assuré, en tout cas, que les statuette de Baltimore n'ont pas été exécutées à Siout. Le style est très différent, et la comparaison avantage, sans aucun doute, Siout. On peut donc, mais sous réserves, attribuer à Meir le groupe de statues. . ."
 6. This he did in a series of articles published from 1911 onwards.
 7. *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, 15 (1915), 177.
 8. See note 6 above.
 9. E. Chassinat and Ch. Palanque, *Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout*, Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 24 (Cairo, 1911); cf. J. Harvey, "Some Notes on the Wooden Statues from the Tomb of Nakht at Assiut," *Göttinger Miszellen*, 116 (1990), 45–50.
 10. Of the material in the British Museum, BM 45193 has been published by M.-L. Buhl, "En fornem aegypterinde," *Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmerk* 1960, 38–44; the remaining artifacts from the excavations are still unpublished.
 11. See the forthcoming publication of my thesis "A Typological study of Wooden Statues from the Old and Middle Kingdoms," for further discussion of this point.
 12. Copenhagen, National Museum, no. 13969.
 13. M.-L. Buhl, "En fornem aegypterinde," 38–44. Buhl illustrates one British Museum piece (BM 45193, fig. 3, p. 41). I believe the second to be BM 45057, but this is a guess on my part as nowhere does Buhl give the inventory numbers of either statue.
 14. Further publications of this piece include: M.-L. Buhl, 100 *Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East* (Copenhagen, 1974), 53–54, no. 44; W. Seipel, *Ägypten: Götter, Gräber und die Kunst—4000 Jahre Jenseitsglaube I*, (Linz, 1989), no. 85b.
 15. Hogarth's Tomb XXXV at Assiut.
 16. Originally published in *Handbook of the Minneapolis Institute of Art* (Minneapolis, 1917), 26; and further by R.S. Bianchi in *The Collector's Eye. The Ernest Erickson Collections at the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1987), 103.
 17. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 258. The feature is already present on the Eleventh-Dynasty female offering bearers from the tomb of Meketre. See Cairo., Egyptian Museum, JE 46725, and New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 20.3.7, although the angle formed by the straps is very slight.
 18. Vandier, *Manuel III*, 258. Bianchi, *The Collector's Eye*, 103.
- PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 2, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 4, 5, Copenhagen, the National Museum, Dept. of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities; figs. 6, 7, London, the British Museum; figs. 8, 9, Brooklyn, the Brooklyn Museum.

Goddess Riding a Goat-Bull Monster: A Ceres Zodiac Gem from the Walters Art Gallery

Etta M. Saunders

This article identifies the subject of a Walters Art Gallery gem, previously described as “goddess riding a goat-bull monster.” The goddess is recognized as Ceres through iconographic associations of grain and cornucopia. Her anomalous mount, the goat-bull monster, is identified as a zodiac symbol with agricultural connotations, and as such is clearly related to Ceres.

There is an engraved gem with an unusual subject in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. It is an intaglio executed in yellow sard of wide oval shape, $\frac{7}{16}$ inches in length and mounted in a gold ring. The gem is in good condition with no fractures or chips. It was acquired before 1931, when the collection was given to the city. The museum has identified the subject of the gem as a goddess riding a goat-bull monster, and has placed it in the first century A.D. (fig. 1).¹

The image, based on its impression, is that of a woman, facing left and seated side-saddle on an animal that comprises the foreparts of a goat (left) and bull (right). The goat is executed in profile; it has a high arched neck, a delicately formed head that is held close to its neck, and two forelegs that are held high to indicate a prancing or running motion. The bull is executed with its torso and neck in profile, and its head in three-quarter view; whereas its neck, torso and leg proportions are nearly the same as the goat's, its legs are not held as high as the goat's and thus indicate only a running motion. The scale of these animals to the woman is not realistic. If she were shown standing by them, their heads would reach approximately to her upper thigh—the size of a large dog.

The woman's body is executed in three-quarter view, and her head is in profile. She holds a stalk of grain in her right hand and cradles a cornucopia in her left arm. The cornucopia has three round objects coming out of it that are possibly fruits. Her hair is gathered into a roll at her forehead and then pulled back into a knot at the nape of her neck. Her sleeve-

less chiton is drawn closely over her torso and gathered just below her breasts. Beneath this point, the cloth falls in generous folds, and drapes to reveal her legs. Her mantle appears to have fallen around her lap. Although the drapery is executed realistically, its folds do not accurately reveal the contours of her torso and legs.

These figures appear against a neutral background, which provides no context within which to place their activity. However there is a name inscribed in Latin letters along the perimeter of the gem: ALBANI.

The unusual qualities of this gem, revealed in its description, suggest several points for exploration: the nature of the goat-bull monster and its significance; the identity of the goddess, the significance of the items she carries, and her relationship to the monster; whether other gems with similar subjects exist; the date of this gem; and the nature of the inscription.

The goat-bull monster in itself is an unusual motif, but it has precedents. The combining of two animals in such a manner is first seen in the Greek Archaic period in a series of Greco-Phoenician gems found in Cyprus that date to the sixth century B.C. (figs. 2 and 3).² The subject on both these gems consists of two joined winged bull foreparts. These bull foreparts are typical of orientalizing gems of this period found in Cyprus, where the style and subject are oriental, while the treatment of the subject is Archaic Greek.³ Figure 2 has been identified as an astrological talisman associated with the sign of Taurus.⁴ Thus, we can say that the motif has its origins with Phoenician influences in the Archaic period and is associated with the zodiac sign of Taurus in the East.

Gems whose subject is the joining of foreparts from two different animals are rare, known to me only from two more Archaic gems and one from the Roman imperial period. They involve a variety of animals.⁵ One Archaic gem shows a goat and a lion as joined (fig. 4), the other a lion and a boar (fig. 5),



Fig. 1. Impression of a sard intaglio, *Goddess Riding on a Goat-Bull Monster*, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.459.



Fig. 2. Carnelian scarab, *Two Winged Bull Foreparts*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 295.



Fig. 3. Carnelian scarab, *Two Winged Bull Foreparts*, [from Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen*, taf. 25, No. 6].



Fig. 4. Glass scarab, *Goat-Lion Whirligig*, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no. 1941.1198.



Fig. 5. Carnelian scarab, *Lion and Boar Foreparts*, London, the British Museum, cat. no. 650.

while the Roman Imperial gem combines a bull and goat (fig. 6).⁶ The Imperial gem is of particular interest, for it has the same two animals as the Walters gem and dates to the last quarter of the first century A.D. In this case, Zwierlein-Diehl states that the goat represents Capricorn,⁷ suggesting that the goat-bull forepart combination must also have astrological significance. Since Capricorn is associated with December, and Taurus is associated with April, the Walters gem spans the months from December to April, which is the growth season for the fall planting in Greek agriculture.⁸

The identification of the goddess and her relationship to this agricultural zodiac sign must now be addressed. This goddess is one who has mixed iconography. She holds the grain and cornucopia associated with Demeter/Ceres (figs. 7 and 8), yet she is depicted as riding both a goat and a bull. This riding motif is associated with two different goddesses: Aphrodite Epitragia, who rides a goat (fig. 9), and Europa, who rides a bull (fig. 10).⁹

Europa, a maiden abducted by Zeus in the form of a bull, was taken to Crete, where she bore him three sons, married a local king, and later came to be worshipped as a Cretan earth-mother.¹⁰ The fact that Demeter/Ceres is also an earth-mother makes it reasonable that she would be also shown riding a bull. Indeed, Demeter is known occasionally to be identified with the earth-mother of Crete.¹¹ The strongest support for this association is a gem from a Boeotian cult that depicts Demeter-Europa, riding side-saddle on a bull, holding poppies, corn, and a cornucopia (fig. 11).¹²

Thus, the goddess in the Walters gem can be identified as Demeter/Ceres through the iconography of the grain, the cornucopia, and the bull. However, she is not just riding a bull; she is riding a goat as well.¹³ As discussed earlier, this Capricorn-Taurus zodiac coincides with a December through April agricultural season. Association of this symbolism with an agricultural goddess such as Demeter/Ceres is reasonable. Indeed, Zwierlein-Diehl suggests that the goat-bull zodiac in figure 6 could be associated with the protection of Ceres for the prosperity of crops, particularly grain, after harvest in November and for the harvest festival.¹⁴ If this pair has such a strong connection with Ceres even when she is not present, then the Walters gem must certainly depict Demeter/Ceres with her symbol.

Finally, since Demeter/Ceres is usually depicted as standing or seated (figs. 7 and 8), and it is physically impossible for two animals whose foreparts are joined in opposite directions to move, there is a possibility that



Fig. 6. Carnelian intaglio, *Bull and Goat Foreparts*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. IX B 943.

the goddess is not riding an animal but is seated at a throne that has symbolically become these two animals.

Surprisingly, there are other gems with similar goddesses and zodiac subjects. Not including the goat-bull zodiac (fig. 6), there are fifteen other gems of this genre recorded in other collections. One of these, in the Thorvaldsen Museum in Copenhagen (fig. 12),¹⁵ is a near twin of the Walters gem. The two differ only in that the Thorvaldsen goddess holds the goat's left horn in her right hand, instead of grain. Fossing records fourteen examples: eleven pastes in Berlin with the same subject as the Baltimore and Copenhagen gems, some with the goddess holding corn/grain in her right hand; a gem in the British Museum with a goddess standing on Ares and Taurus while holding a flower(?) and poppy seed vessel; a gem with a goddess seated on Capricorn while holding a trident and dolphin; and a gem with Demeter, also on Capricorn, holding a possible libation bowl and scepter.¹⁶ Finally, a nineteenth-century woodcut depicts a gem with Fortuna Primigenia seated on Capricorn while holding a trident and dolphin (fig. 13).

Thus, there appears to be a series of gems with like iconography and subject matter. Within this group, figures 1, 12, and 13 are also similar in overall appearance, with similar hairstyles, poses, and drapery transparency. However, subtle differences in the treatment of drapery point to different artists. The bottom edge of Fortuna Primigenia's chiton (fig. 13) is treated as a series of flaps,¹⁷ while the Thorvaldsen goddess (fig. 12) wears a chiton whose bottom edge seems fringed, and the chiton of the Walters goddess (fig. 1) ends in regular folds. Further, the Thorvaldsen goddess is seated with her knees apart, which causes hori-



Fig. 7. Chalcedony scarab, *Demeter (standing, holding grain)*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 254.



Fig. 8. Drawing of a sardonyx, *Fortuna [Demeter] (seated, holding cornucopia, with three stalks at her feet)*, current location unknown [from King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XXXV, no. 2].



Fig. 9. Sardonyx cameo, *Aphrodite Epitragia*, in the collection of Lorenzo de' Medici, Naples (as of 1843), [from Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, 24, taf. XXIV, No. 5].



Fig. 10. Onyx cameo, *Europa on the Bull*, London, the British Museum, cat. no. 3425.



Fig. 11. Drawing of a sard, (*Demeter-*) *Europa*, current location unknown [from King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. VII, no. 1]. The same gem is reproduced in a drawing in Farnell, *The Cults of the Greeks* III, 221, pl. IVa.

zontal stretch lines in the fabric between her legs, while the Walters goddess is seated with her knees together as depicted by fold lines which follow and emphasize the contour of her left leg. The Walters places its gem in the first century A.D. and Fossing calls the Copenhagen gem "Graeco-Roman."¹⁸

To narrow these dates down more, it is customary to examine the material, shape, carving style, and mo-



Fig. 12. Impression of a white paste intaglio, *Goddess on a Goat-Bull*, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, no. 723.

tifs of the gem. Since the stone is sard, and this material is popular through all periods of antiquity, it is not possible to derive a date on that basis.¹⁹ The wide oval shape of the stone does however place it firmly in the early imperial era. Since that era is noted for its artists' ability to carve skillfully in any style they wished — whether classical Greek or Hellenistic—what remains to be examined is not its carving style, but hairstyle.

Demeter/Ceres' hair is gathered into a roll at her forehead and then swept back into a knot at the nape of her neck in both the Walters gem and in the two other gems that closely compare. This hairstyle is also found on portrait gems of women in the Augustan era (figs. 14 and 15).²⁰ Of particular interest is the portrait of Antonia, the wife of Nero Drusus, a woman who lived from 36 B.C. to A.D. 37 (fig. 15). In light of the gem's Roman date, the goddess should be called Ceres instead of Demeter.

The final question to be addressed is the significance of the inscription around the perimeter of the gem. Three possibilities, but no definitive explanation, can be offered. First, that the gem or its associated cult is from Alba Longa or Albania.²¹ Second, that the family name of the Roman owner was inscribed on it rather than the artist's name, as was customary.²² Finally, that the name is that of the wealthy Renaissance Albani family, who collected classical art in Rome, and might have had their name inscribed on the gem if it was in their possession.²³ Without evidence of a Roman Albani family or any indication that the gem ever belonged to the Renaissance Albani family, it is most likely that the inscription describes the cult's location.



Fig. 13. Drawing of a sardonyx intaglio, *Fortuna Primigenia* (possibly *Demeter/Ceres*), current location unknown [from King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XXXV, no. 3].

In conclusion, the Walters gem, previously known as "goddess riding a goat-bull monster," has been identified as Ceres, seated side-saddle on a Taurus-Capricorn zodiac symbol (or possibly seated at a throne symbolized by the zodiac signs). The significance of this zodiac lies in its association with the fall agricultural cycle and thus the protection of the



Fig. 14. Impression of a carnelian intaglio, *Portrait of a Woman*, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1910, no. 10.110.1.

fertility and abundance of the earth and its crops.

The Walters gem belongs to a genre of Ceres zodiac gems, which includes the two other similar gems discussed in this paper, the Thorvaldsen goddess gem and the Fortuna Primigenia gem. Finally, because of the Augustan hairstyle depicted on the Walters gem, it has been dated to the second quarter of the first century A.D.

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Notes

I would like to thank the Walters Art Gallery for being so accommodating during the course of my research. I would also like to thank Drs. Marjorie Venit and John Duffy at the University of Maryland in College Park, and Dr. John J. Dobbins at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, for all their proofreading and advice through the course of the writing process. I would also like to thank Peter Collat who assisted with translations.

1. Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.459. This information was supplied to me by the Gallery from curatorial files.
2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 295; See P. Zazoff, *Die Antiken Gemmen* (Munich, 1983), 108, n. 48.
3. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos. Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* (London, 1926), xxix.
4. C.W. King, *Antique Gems and Rings* (London, 1872) 51, pl. XVI, no. 10.

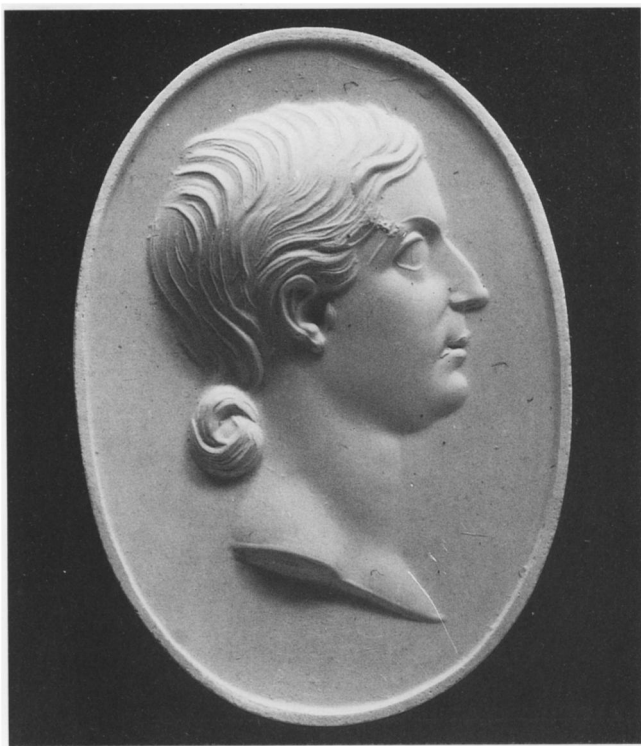


Fig. 15. Impression of a black jasper intaglio, *Portrait of Antonia*, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1907, no. 07.286.124.

5. I am unaware of any gems with the double animal forepart motif from the classical, Hellenistic, Etruscan, or Roman republican eras, though these could certainly exist.

6. Oxford, the Ashmolean Museum, no. 1941.1198; London, the British Museum, see Walters, *Catalogue*, 80, no. 650, pl. XI; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. IX B 943, see E. Zwielerlein-Diehl, *Die Antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorisches Museums in Wien I* (Munich, 1973), 162, no. 530, taf. 89.

7. Zwielerlein-Diehl, *Antiken Gemmen I* (1973), 162, no. 530.

8. R.M. Frazer, "Works and Days," *The Works of Hesiod* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1983), 117. The fall planting season was linked to the movement of the Pleiades. Planting would occur at the end of October, and reaping would occur during the second week in May. Therefore, a period from December through April would not only be the growing season, but also the coldest part of the year—a time when Demeter/Ceres' protection would be needed most.

9. Aphrodite Epitragia (fig. 9), see G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1843), 24, taf. XXIV, no. 5; London, the British Museum, cat. no. 3425, see Walters, *Catalogue*, 322, no. 3425, pl. XXXIII.

10. C. Kerenyi, *The Gods of the Greeks*, (London, 1951), 109–110. M. Robertson, "Europe," *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, IV, Part 1 (Zurich/Munich, 1988), 76, also mentions that she was worshipped with Zeus Asterios at Gortyna, Crete as a moon goddess.

11. L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States III* (New Rochelle New York, 1977), 31.

12. Demeter-Europa (fig. 11), see Farnell, *Cults III*, 219–220.

13. I know of no evidence for an association between Demeter/Ceres and Aphrodite Epitragia.

14. Zwielerlein-Diehl, *Antiken Gemmen I*, 162.

15. Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, no. 723, see P. Fossing, *Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos* (Copenhagen, 1983), 216, no. 1589. He quotes Furtwängler as saying that the goddess is Ceres and Müller as calling her Virgo.

16. *Ibid.*, the gem Fossing describes as a goddess on Capricorn with trident and dolphin must be the one illustrated in King, *Antique Gems and Rings*, pl. XXXV, no. 3.

17. It is difficult to make any strong arguments about this gem since it is known only through this 19th-century woodcut.

18. Walters Art Gallery files and Fossing, *Catalogue*, 216, respectively.

19. Walters, *Catalogue*, xvi. One-half of the gems in the Berlin and British Museums are either sard or carnelian.

20. New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, nos. 10.110.1 and 07.286.124, see G.M.A. Richter, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems of the Classical Style* (New York, 1920), nos. 222, 224.

21. Albani, Albanorum = of or from Alba Longa or Albania. This explanation includes the idea that it could be a cult of Ceres as protector of that particular region.

22. G.M.A. Richter, *Engraved Gems of the Romans* (New York, 1971), 12. However, I cannot find a Roman family name that would yield the ALBANI inscription.

23. Brian Kelly, School of Architecture, University of Maryland, personal communication, April 17, 1989. I found no record of the gem in descriptions of the Albani family's collection.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 5, 10, London, the British Museum; fig. 6, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; fig. 12, Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum, photo Lennart Larson; figs. 14, 15, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

An Early Byzantine-Style Gold Medallion Re-considered

Terry Drayman-Weisser and Catherine Herbert

A small enamelled gold medallion decorated with a cross-in-wreath and two cross-topped orbs in the collection of the Walters is generally cited as one of the two earliest-known examples of Byzantine enamelling. In this new study, puzzling aspects of its iconography and style inconsistent with its supposed mid-fifth-century date, including the anomalous tripartite form of the orbs, have been investigated. In addition, technical study and analysis raise questions concerning the circumstances of the medallion's manufacture and early Byzantine date.

Included in Henry Walters's bequest of his collection to the public in 1931 was an extraordinary filigree enamelled gold medallion (figs. 1 and 2).¹ Because it was acquired through an unknown dealer, the previous history of the medallion is unclear. This unique object, catalogued as an early Byzantine imperial dress ornament² due to its iconography and the four holes pierced around its periphery,³ is decorated with an image of a cross in the center of a wreath, which in turn is surrounded by alternating twelve-petalled rosettes and lozenges with scrolled ends. Below each arm of the central cross hovers a tripartite globe surmounted by a small cross. Following its inclusion in the exhibition *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, organized by the Walters in 1947,⁴ the medallion received its first substantial scholarly treatment in a 1960 article by Philippe Verdier.⁵ Since then the medallion has figured prominently in studies by Marvin Chauncey Ross, Klaus Wessel, Angelo Lipinsky, David Buckton, and Günther Haseloff.⁶

The Walters medallion has been dated to the early Byzantine period on the basis of its iconography, and more specifically to the mid-fifth century because of its similarity in technique and conception to an apparently fifth-century filigree enamelled gold medallion in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (fig. 3).⁷ The depiction of two globes on the Walters medallion has been interpreted to represent the Eastern and

Western empires before 476 when the last Western Roman emperor was deposed.⁸ The Paris medallion, first published in 1900 by M. Ernest Babelon,⁹ was dated by Richard Delbrück in 1913 to ca. 450, based on its central design, a repoussé bust of an empress. He noted a close correspondence between this repoussé bust and a distinctive portrait on a *solidus* of the Empress Licinia Eudoxia, who was the wife of the Western Roman emperor Valentinian III and who bore the imperial title *Augusta* from 439 to 462 (fig. 4).¹⁰ This dating has been traditionally accepted.¹¹ Although the Walters and Paris medallions differ in subject, the similarities are so striking that either the two medallions are products of the same workshop (or are by the same hand, as Buckton concludes¹²) or one was made in imitation of the other.

One of the similarities between the Walters and Paris medallions is that both are decorated in the filigree enamel technique, whereby a thin layer of enamel is applied within the boundaries of filigree wire decoration. The enamel is below the level of the filigree wire and is therefore not polished. This technique should not be confused with cloisonné or champlevé enamelling. In the cloisonné technique strips of metal are soldered onto a back plate forming cells that serve as partitions between areas of enamel. The metal cells are filled with enamel, which is then ground and polished down to a level surface. In the champlevé enamel technique design areas in a metal plate are gouged out and filled with enamel.¹³ The filigree enamel technique dates from ancient times and was employed in ancient Greece almost to the exclusion of other enamelling techniques,¹⁴ while the Romans favored the cloisonné and champlevé techniques.¹⁵ Ross cites the Walters and Paris medallions as examples of early Byzantine filigree enamelling reminiscent of that found on Greek jewellery, which he says clearly demonstrates "that the old traditions had not completely vanished from the Eastern part of the Empire."¹⁶



Fig. 1. Enamelled gold medallion, no. 44.304, obverse, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.



Fig. 2. Enamelled gold medallion, no. 44.304, reverse, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.



Fig. 3. Enamelled gold medallion, obverse, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles.



Fig. 4. *Solidus* of Licinia Eudoxia, obverse, London, British Museum.

The most recent comprehensive iconographic study of the Walters medallion began in conjunction with a technical study of the piece by the Walters Division of Conservation and Technical Research. Walters curator of medieval art, Gary Vikan, brought to the attention of the authors a stylistically related work appearing in Vladimir de Grűneisen's 1930 catalogue of his collection of early Christian and medieval art (fig.

5).¹⁷ Since Vikan noted that de Grűneisen's collection included a number of suspicious pieces, this close stylistic correspondence raised questions about the Walters medallion. De Grűneisen described his object as a gold Byzantine pendant medallion from Asia Minor dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century, and decorated in blue and white enamel and filigree. While by no means identical, and seemingly seven centuries apart, the two

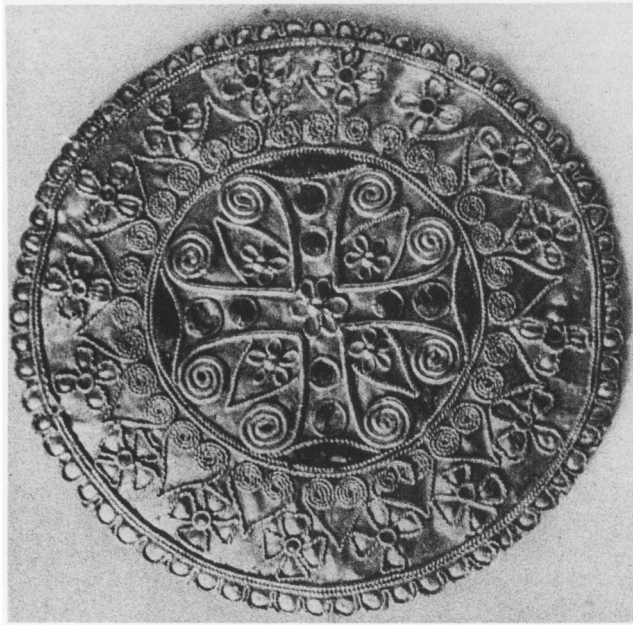


Fig. 5. Enamelled medallion [after V. de Grűneisen, *Art chrétien primitif du Haut et du Bas Moyen-Age*, Paris, 1930].

medallions share certain features of technique and decoration, particularly the unusual form of the cross arms, whose tips curve back on themselves to form spirals, rather than ending in projecting serifs, typical of Byzantine crosses (fig. 6). Since the current location of the de Grűneisen cross is unknown, no further comparisons could be made; however, a study was initiated to focus on the origins of the Walters medallion.

At the 16th Annual Byzantine Studies Conference held in Baltimore in October 1990 the authors of this paper questioned the authenticity of the Walters medallion based on technical and iconographic inconsistencies. It is important to review and elucidate our concerns for two major reasons:

1. Since there are relatively few unquestioned early Byzantine objects with imperial associations, this "imperial dress ornament" has a significant influence on the way the public and the scholarly community view the period it represents.
2. The medallion plays an important role in the history of enamelling. It has repeatedly been characterized as one of the two earliest extant examples of Byzantine enamelling, the other being the Paris medallion.¹⁸ Although other early works have been cited as Byzantine filigree enamel, such as the late sixth- or early seventh-century gold pendant cross decorated with enamelled birds in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 19),¹⁹ it is worth noting that stylistically and technically the Walters and Paris medallions ap-

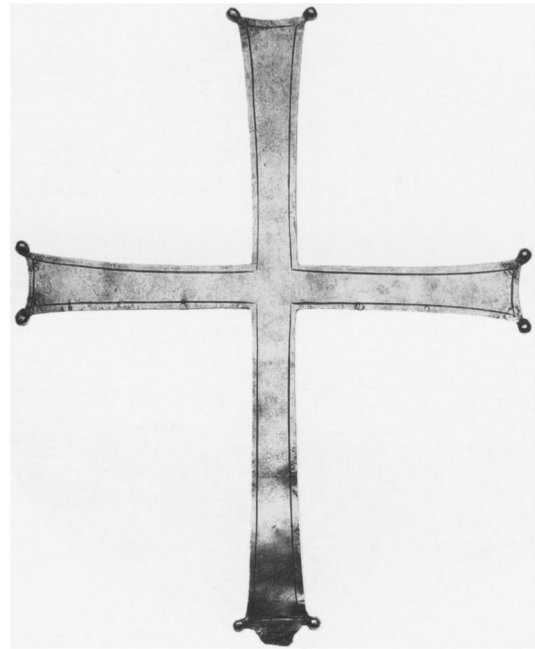


Fig. 6. Silver cross from Hama, no. 57.641, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

pear to form a category unto themselves, for which no close parallels in the early Byzantine period exist. If the Walters medallion is not authentic, further examination of the closely related Paris medallion becomes imperative, and the fifth-century date for the earliest known Byzantine enamelling must be reconsidered.

Due to the importance of the Walters medallion, both historically and technically, this paper will re-examine the medallion in the light of iconography, techniques, and materials in search of evidence which would support or deny its early Byzantine date. A paper by Dr. Julian Henderson, formerly Research Fellow at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University, on the analysis of the enamels used to decorate the medallion follows this paper.

Iconography

Verdier's interpretation of the iconography of the Walters medallion centered on the twin tripartite globes or orbs surmounted by small crosses placed under the cross arms. According to his hypothesis, which has not heretofore been challenged, the medallion was intended to enrich an imperial garment, possibly a diplomatic gift.²⁰ The orbs would thus allude to the shared rule of an emperor and co-emperor, or an emperor and empress. The tripartite form of the orbs, Verdier believes, is explicated by a literary source, the



Fig. 7. Silver Missorium of Theodosius, Madrid, Museo de la Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.

Etymologiae of Isidore of Seville (d. 636), which conceives of a circular world map divided in three sections representing Asia, Africa, and Europe.²¹

The iconography of the Walters medallion, consisting of a cross and two orbs encircled by a stylized triumphal laurel wreath decorated with a round “jewel” above and clasped by five “ribbons” below, was, as Verdier also concluded, undoubtedly intended to connote an imperial context. However, certain aspects of this iconography cannot be reconciled with the supposed fifth-century date suggested by its close resemblance to the Paris medallion. Two of Verdier’s notions need to be addressed here: first, that the tripartite orb symbolizing Asia, Africa, and Europe can be traced to this period, and second, that the twin globes can be linked with pre-Justinianic iconography and refer to shared rulership.²² The body of comparative material from which evidence will be drawn includes well-known early Christian ivories, silver, and, chiefly, the extensive series of surviving coins and coin medallions.

Although the orb or globe surmounted by a cross (*globus cruciger*), which signifies the divine basis of imperial dominion over the world, as Philip Grierson observes,²³ is commonly an attribute of emperors and empresses on coins of the fifth century, the depiction of such a globe as tripartite is a significant anomaly for this time period. Verdier could not provide a pictorial example of the tripartite orb, citing only the description of the terrestrial globe divided into three parts in

Isidore of Seville’s seventh-century writings. A further difficulty, which Verdier admits, is that under Isidore’s schema the *orbis tripartitus* should be divided vertically in the lower, not the upper, hemisphere, with the upper (eastern) undivided hemisphere representing Asia.²⁴ It should also be noted that neither Percy Ernst Schramm nor Josef Deér, in their studies of European globe symbolism, cites depictions of the tripartite orb dating to the Roman imperial or early Byzantine periods.²⁵ It is not until much later in the Middle Ages that the motif of the tripartite globe becomes common, examples being found in northern European manuscripts and sculpture.²⁶

A search for tripartite orbs in a Roman imperial or early Byzantine context reveals their extreme rarity. Where the orb is marked with divisions, a quadripartite scheme, with the two lines crossing vertically and horizontally or in an X-shape, is the norm: as for example on the globes held by the sons of Theodosius I on the late fourth-century silver Missorium in Madrid (figs. 7 and 7a).²⁷ The quadripartite divisions presumably represent the equator and meridian which circle the terrestrial globe, dividing it into quadrants.²⁸ Other examples, to select only a few of the best-known, include a leaf from a mid-sixth-century Constantinopolitan ivory diptych with the figures of the Virgin and an



7a. Detail of the Missorium of Theodosius [after A. Grabar, *Byzantium, from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam*, London, 1967].

angel holding a quadripartite globe, now in Berlin,²⁹ and the early sixth-century Murano diptych leaf in Ravenna, on which angels at the top corners, flanking two angels supporting a cross-in-wreath, display quadripartite globes (figs. 8 and 9).³⁰ As one would expect, these images reflect coins and medallions of the period, on which the quadripartite orb is frequently featured, held by an emperor or by the figure of Roma (the female personification of Rome), as on a gold medallion of Honorius dating to about 405 (fig. 10).³¹

The sole representation of a tripartite orb ascribed to the early Byzantine period or earlier found during this research is a bimetallic medallion of the emperor Numerian dating to 284 preserved in the British Museum. This medallion portrays the bust of the emperor holding a tripartite orb surmounted by an allegorical Victory (fig. 11).³² The globe is divided in the upper hemisphere, as are the globes on the Walters medallion, and not as in Isidore's conception. However, the Numerian medallion raises problems of its own. Several variants are known whose obverses, a bust-length portrait of Numerian holding an orb and an eagle-tipped sceptre, are nearly identical except for the markings on the orb. The reverses occur in two types: one depicting an *adlocutio* (Carinus and Numerian addressing their troops) and the other representing the female personifications known as the three Monetae (metals).³³ In 1912 Francesco Gnechi recorded five surviving examples of the Numerian medallion with the *adlocutio* reverse, including the one in the British Museum, the only example that he reproduced in his book. He does not specify whether the remaining examples depict a tripartite or other type of orb. However, the orb on medallions of Numerian is also found in the more expected quadripartite form with the lines crossing horizontally and vertically and with stars placed in the quadrants, as on an example from the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, which displays the three Monetae on its reverse (fig.



Fig. 8 (right). Ivory diptych leaf, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

Fig. 9 (below). Detail of a five-part ivory diptych leaf from Murano, Ravenna, Museo Nazionale.

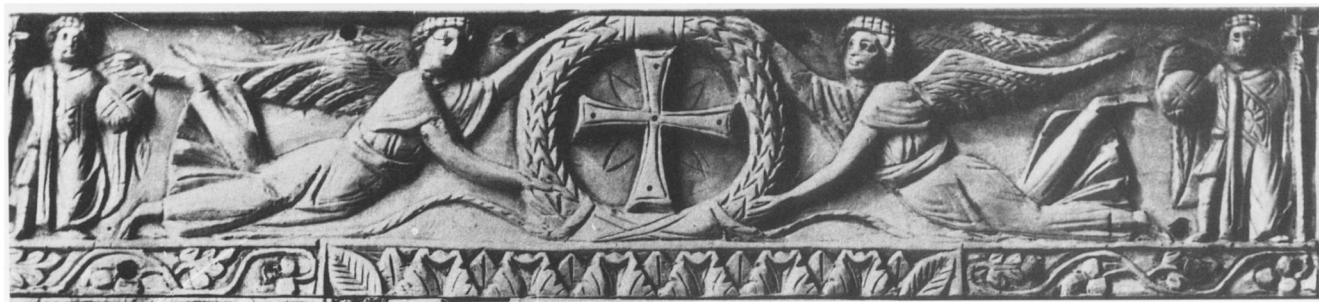


Fig. 10 (right). Gold medallion of Honorius, reverse, London, British Museum.



Fig. 11 (below). Bimetallic medallion of Numerian, obverse (left) and reverse (right), London, British Museum.



Fig. 12 (below). Bronze medallion of Numerian, obverse (left) and reverse (right), Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.



12).³⁴ Plain versions of the orb are also known, although some of these may once have had markings which are now worn away.³⁵ Further complicating the issue is that the lines on the tripartite orb on the British Museum example have been subjected to some “improvement,” according to John Kent (formerly Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum), although he does not believe they were fundamentally altered.³⁶ He cites only one other possible tripartite orb, in addition to the Numerian medallion, namely on a bronze medallion of Maximian, who reigned from 286–310.³⁷ Gneccchi’s reproduction of this medallion, however, fails to convince that the globe is indeed tripartite.

Verdier’s second proposal, that the use of the double globes alludes to co-emperorship, is likewise difficult to accept, given the existence of quite different iconographic formulae to symbolize this concept. Wessel, expanding on Verdier’s hypothesis, dates the medallion specifically to the second half of the fifth century, during the reign of one of the Western Roman emperors—Majorian (457–461), Anthemius (467–472), or Julius Nepos (474–475)—recognized by the Eastern empire.³⁸ He suggests that the depiction of double globes signifies the joint rule of the Roman emperors of the East and West. However, in the later fourth and fifth centuries the motif of a globe shared by two emperors, rather than two individual globes, is the standard means of symbolizing the joint rule of the *Augusti*.³⁹ Examples include a gold *solidus* of Maximus (ca. 385), on which the globe is quadripartite (fig. 13), and a *solidus* of Theodosius (378–395) with Valentinian II.⁴⁰ Wessel’s suggestion that the double orbs allude to the rule of a Western Roman emperor recognized by the East, such as Anthemius, is contradicted by another *solidus* of 467–472, depicting Anthemius sharing a *globus cruciger* with Leo I, the Eastern emperor (fig. 14).⁴¹ Depictions of two separate globes in the same context are rare before the seventh century, one instance being the Missorium of Theodosius, on which the emperor’s sons Valentinian II and Arcadius each hold an orb (fig. 7).⁴²

As these examples help to illustrate, where orbs are depicted, they invariably appear as attributes of a personage, never alone. Moreover, while the cross-in-wreath by itself is a common motif on coins of the fifth century, becoming one of the main types of the *tremiss* (third of a gold *solidus*),⁴³ not a single example that specifically combines the motif of the cross-in-wreath with the imperial globe has been found during this research. However, there are numerous sixth-century coins where two tiny stars or pellets, but not orbs,



Fig. 13 (left). *Solidus* of Maximus, reverse, London, British Museum.



Fig. 14 (right). *Solidus* of Anthemius, reverse, London, British Museum.



Fig. 15. Silver coins of Justinian I, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

appear under the arms of a plain or monogram Chi-Rho cross, as for example on silver coins of Justinian I (fig. 15).⁴⁴

While none of these points is alone sufficient to prove the Walters medallion a forgery, together they indicate that previously held assumptions about its attribution must be reconsidered. If it is a forgery, it remains to be determined what type of model, if any, its creator used for the tripartite orbs, so strikingly out of place in an early Byzantine context. These orbs may have resulted from a misunderstanding of a depiction of a quadripartite orb whose lower division was worn away (for example on a coin), giving the impression of a tripartite orb. The craftsman may have been more familiar with images of tripartite orbs from the context of later medieval art, and assumed them to be the norm for the earlier period. Whatever the case, these orbs are a significant clue that the origins of the Walters medallion lie outside the fifth century.

Techniques and Materials

A technical study was carried out on the Walters medallion to characterize the manufacturing techniques and materials used to create and decorate it, as well as its current condition. In addition an attempt was made to determine if the medallion can indeed be one of the earliest extant Byzantine enamels. This study involved an examination with the naked eye, examination with magnification, polarized light mi-

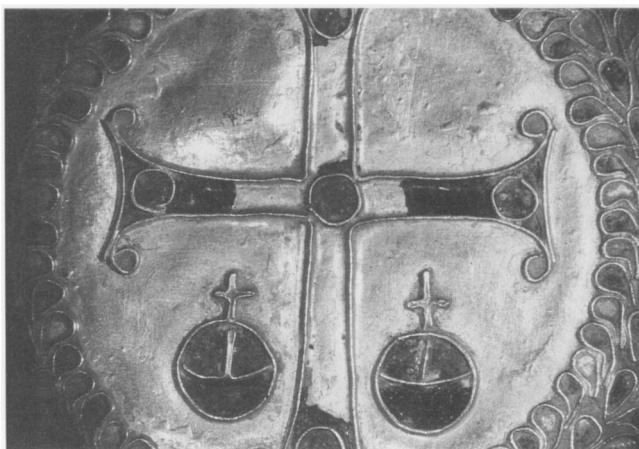


Fig. 16. Enamelled gold medallion, no. 44.304, photomicrograph 1.0x on film, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.



Fig. 17. Enamelled gold medallion, no. 44.304, photomicrograph 4.0x on film, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

croscopy,⁴⁵ x-radiography,⁴⁶ energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence analysis of the gold and enamel,⁴⁷ and wave-length dispersive electron microprobe analysis of the enamel.⁴⁸ Electron microprobe energy dispersive spectroscopy⁴⁹ and wet microchemical analysis⁵⁰ were carried out on a surface deposit from the obverse of the medallion.

The base plate of the medallion is a thin, circular gold sheet, with an uneven surface, indicating that it was probably formed by hammering. This was confirmed by x-radiography which reveals typical variations in thickness of the metal caused by hammer blows. The sheet is 6.6 cm in diameter, and is approximately 0.25 mm thick with a raised edge approximately 0.5 mm thick. Plain gold filigree wires, rectangular in section (0.27 mm deep and 0.22 mm wide), but rounded on the top edge, have been soldered onto the gold sheet to create the image of the cross in wreath, twin globes, rosettes, and lozenges (fig. 1). Most design areas formed by the filigree wires have been embellished with shallow, unpolished blue, green, and white

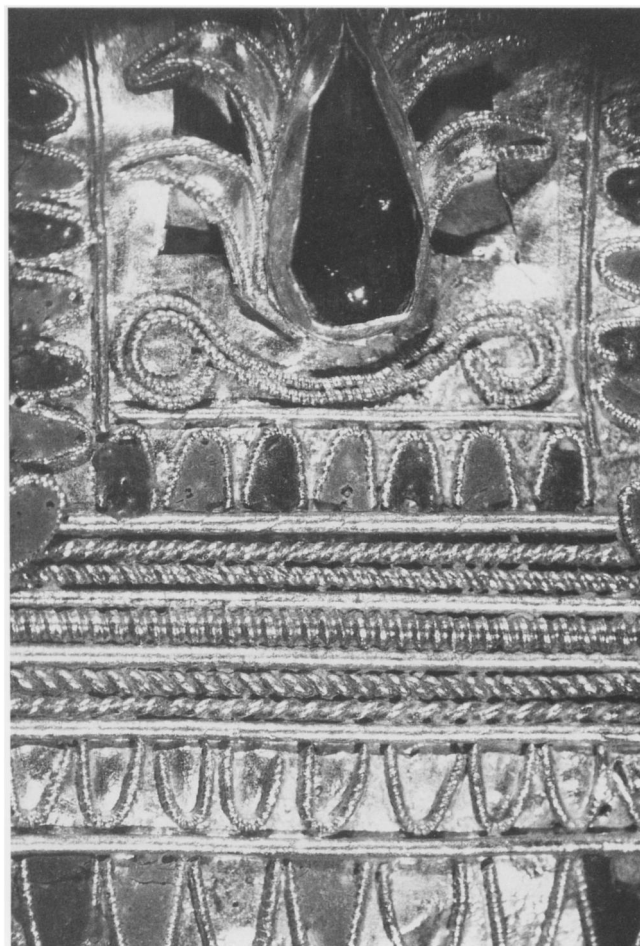


Fig. 18. Hellenistic enamelled and inlaid diadem, no. 1548, photomicrograph 2.5x on film, Athens, Benaki Museum.

enamel. Much of the enamel is now lost.

The manner in which the filigree wire was used on the medallion is inconsistent and the craftsmanship is poor. While the leaves in the wreath were formed individually and attached separately, each twelve-petalled rosette was made by bending a single wire. The small crosses over the globes were each formed by bending a single wire, so that each arm of the cross is actually a double thickness of wire. It is interesting that within the globes, the internal division lines are constructed differently. In the globe on the left the horizontal and vertical divisions are created by bending a single wire in the center to create a double thickness vertical division and folding out the ends in both directions to form a single thickness horizontal division. In the globe on the right these divisions are composed of two separate wires, a single horizontal wire and a doubled-over vertical wire, so that the visual effect is similar to that in the other globe (fig. 16).

The areas around all the filigree wires on the medallion are flooded with solder. This is evident

even to the naked eye where the solder has created a puddling appearance around the central cross (fig. 16). This may be due to misjudging the amount of solder required for the job and an inability to control the temperature properly during the soldering procedure. There are partially melted chips of gold solder, some retaining an almost rectangular form, scattered over the front surface of the gold sheet, with a large concentration of them in the upper left quadrant (fig. 17). This indicates that the craftsman was having difficulty controlling the soldering process, perhaps due to the flux boiling up during heating.

One of the striking similarities in the appearances of the Walters and Paris medallions, besides their almost identical laurel wreaths, is that both images have been created solely with plain rectangular-section filigree wires. A study of ancient filigree enamelled objects shows that they are generally embellished with elaborately twisted and beaded decorated wires (fig. 18). Plain wire, when it is used, is generally part of a pattern or it is used in conjunction with decorated wire for contrast or in an inconspicuous place.⁵¹ Therefore the Walters and Paris medallions break with ancient filigree enamel tradition in the use of the plain wire to create the design.

The effect of the use of plain, rectangular-section wire to create the entire design on the Walters and Paris medallions is that of an unfinished object, where the design areas created by the wires should be filled to the top with enamel. The use of plain wire can be seen on the late sixth- or early seventh-century gold pendant cross with birds in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (cited above) (fig. 19); however, rectangular-section wire is used only where it encloses thick enamel which comes to the top of the wire, while round-section wire is used to create parts of the image where it does not enclose enamel, e.g., to create the legs and feet of the birds. On the Walters and Paris medallions, the rectangular-section wire is used both when it is and when it is not associated with enamel, e.g., to form borders between bands in the wreath and around the periphery of the medallion. The use of plain rectangular-section wire with shallow filigree enamel similar to that on the Walters and Paris medallions does appear in the post-Byzantine period, e.g., in works which have been called "Venetian" (fig. 20).⁵²

The reverse of the base plate of the medallion is undecorated but shows the impressions caused by pressure on the filigree wire designs from the obverse (fig. 2). This indicates that the gold sheet is very malleable and is of high carat. Excess solder and file marks can be seen near the edges which indicate that



Fig. 19. Byzantine enamelled gold pendant cross, no. 58.40, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks.

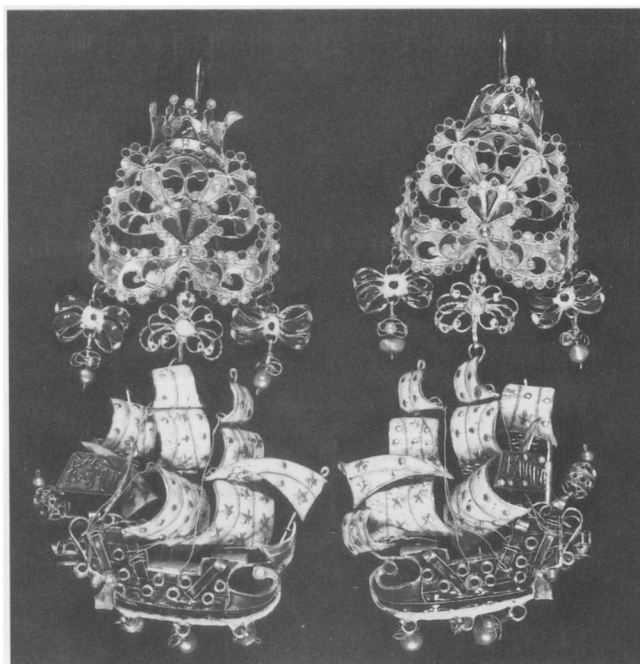


Fig. 20. Post-Byzantine enamelled gold caravel earrings, no. 7670, Athens, Benaki Museum.

the raised rim on the obverse was created by soldering a filigree wire at the periphery of the gold sheet, rather than by turning up the edge of the sheet itself. In the center of the reverse is a small indentation which is probably a centering mark for creating the circular shape of the sheet. There are two concentric rings (1.4 and 2.1 millimeters from the center) which stand proud of the surface of the reverse and coincide with the edges of the wreath on the obverse. These rings are evidence that circles were inscribed on the obverse to facilitate the layout of the design. These same centering and inscribing techniques can be seen on sixth-century Byzantine silver patens.⁵³

The four holes around the periphery of the medallion, which have led to the object's identification as a dress ornament, were pierced from the front to the back. Evidence of this is the fact that there are excess folds of metal around the holes on the reverse. These holes are located at 12 o'clock, 3 o'clock, to the left of 6 o'clock, and at 9 o'clock. The hole which is to the left of 6 o'clock was punched off-center since there is insufficient space between the edge of the medallion and the bottom rosette to accommodate a hole without damaging the rosette or tearing the gold rim (see fig. 1). The solution of placing the hole off center must have been arrived at after the metal rim tore over the rosette in the 12 o'clock position. This indicates that the holes were not part of the original conception but an afterthought or later addition to the otherwise symmetrically laid-out piece. Since there is no other indication of a method for suspension or attachment, we are left with the puzzling problem of determining the intended function of the object.

A red deposit covers many areas of enamel and is trapped in the interstices of the filigree wires. To the naked eye this red deposit resembles the coloration sometimes seen on gold objects that have been recovered from archaeological sites. A troubling observation is that although the red deposit appears on the obverse in all the interstices, there is no trace of it, even under high magnification, in the folds of the metal around the holes on the reverse. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that the red deposit is a burial accretion, its complete absence from these metal folds would be virtually impossible if the holes existed prior to burial. A possible explanation is that the holes were punched after excavation in order to attach it to something; however, since it is only a recent philosophy to save burial encrustation on decorative gold objects, the obscuring deposit certainly would have been removed to reveal the beauty of the medallion at the time the holes were punched sometime before it en-

tered the Walters collection.

If the red deposit is not a burial accretion, then we have to answer the following questions: What is it and why is it only on the front of the medallion? Microscopic examination revealed that the deposit is a mixture of homogeneous small, red particles and slightly larger white granular-looking particles. Under magnification it does not have the appearance of other red deposits observed on gold pieces known to have come from an archaeological context; these latter red deposits are caused by impurities in the gold and usually appear waxy or resinous rather than powdery or granular.⁵⁴ Polarized light microscopy and wet micro-chemical analysis did not conclusively identify the deposit, but indicated the probable presence of iron oxide and calcium carbonate in the mixture. Qualitative analysis of the red and white deposit using a wave-length dispersive electron microprobe showed the major components to be sulfur, potassium, aluminum, iron, and calcium. Silica appears in isolated areas and a trace of copper is also present. The composition of the red and white mixture may in fact be composed of materials commonly found in a burial context mixed with contaminants from the enamels and the materials used during manufacture; however, they are also consistent with materials found in a goldsmith's workshop, e.g., powdered rouge (iron oxide) and whiting (calcium carbonate). Further analysis is needed to determine the exact composition of the deposit.

It is certain that the bulk of the red deposit cannot be a residue left from carrying out the gold work, since the mixture covers the enamel which was applied after the gold work had been completed. It is also unlikely to be from a later polishing of the object, since the deposit obscures the enamels and certainly would have been removed for aesthetic reasons. It is possible that the red deposit was intended to make a newly-made object look old. This "antiquing" technique has been observed on forgeries.⁵⁵ However, it is also possible that the red deposit was added to an authentic object by a dealer to improve the "look of age." Such an embellishment could unjustly call the object's attribution into question. Either of these scenarios would explain the red deposit on the obverse and the lack of it on the reverse around the holes.

In order to show differences in surface composition and to search for the presence of certain elements both in the gold and in the enamels that might indicate inconsistencies with its proposed date, the Walters medallion was analyzed using the energy dispersive x-ray fluorescence (XRF) technique. This is a non-destructive method, i.e., no sample must be re-

moved from the object. An often-voiced concern about this analytical technique is that it will analyze only the surface of the object. This is considered a serious problem in the analysis of gold since the metal may have been surface-enriched (metals other than gold may have been removed), by the initial pickling during manufacture, by acids and salts during burial, by cleaning with certain reagents, or it may have been done intentionally to alter the color and make the gold appear more pure than it is. Therefore, the data must be interpreted carefully and may not give a reliable picture of the original composition of the gold. However, it should be noted that in a previous study of Byzantine silver, an extremely close correspondence was found between the analytical data from XRF and neutron activation analysis (considered one of the most accurate techniques) of the same objects, even though silver may be surface-enriched in the same manner as gold.⁵⁶

Several sites on the medallion were selected for analysis by XRF. First the undecorated reverse of the medallion was analyzed to establish the general surface composition of the unadorned gold. It was found to be fairly pure with 98.6 percent gold and 1.4 percent silver. Although such high purity gold could be the result of surface enrichment, it is also consistent with that reported for ancient,⁵⁷ early medieval, and middle Byzantine periods.⁵⁸ The impressions of the filigree wire which appear on the reverse of the medallion are an indication that the gold is very malleable, as mentioned above, and supports the findings of high purity. A non-enamelled area on the obverse was analyzed and found to be significantly higher in silver content than the reverse. The composition was 86.5 percent gold and 13.5 percent silver. This difference is most likely caused by the presence of a gold/silver solder which, as mentioned above, was flooded or scattered over the front surface. The surface was also analyzed in several locations for cadmium, an element discovered around 1815, since its presence in gold solder in more than a trace amount is often interpreted as a sign of modern origin.⁵⁹ No cadmium was found on the medallion.⁶⁰ The enamelled areas were screened for modern colorants, such as chromium and uranium. These elements were not found. A small amount of lead was detected and trace amounts of copper, tin, and antimony were found.

Although questions had been raised already by the study of the medallion, there was as yet no definitive evidence that would preclude an early Byzantine date. Since composition can be a significant factor in determining the probable date of enamel, a more ex-

tensive study of the medallion's enamels was initiated. In order to identify the exact compositions of the enamels, and if possible, to place them in their historic context, minute (approximately the size of the head of a pin) samples of the white, blue, and green enamels were taken for wavelength-dispersive electron microprobe analysis. In general, the results of the electron microprobe analysis by Henderson show that the enamels cannot be early Byzantine. Based on a comparison with data from previous glass studies, he concludes that the high potassium rather than sodium content indicates a date later than at least the ninth century, and the presence of lead and arsenic in the white enamel confirms a post-seventeenth-century date. Chromium, which was generally not used as a colorant in green glass until the nineteenth century,⁶¹ the known exception being the glazes on some Iznik ceramics of the seventeenth century,⁶² was detected in the green enamel. Although XRF analysis did not detect chromium in the green enamel (or for that matter, cobalt, the colorant in the blue enamel), in the following paper Henderson offers a possible explanation for the difference in the data. Considering the analyses of the major and minor constituents of the enamels on the Walters medallion, Henderson concludes "that the enamels used for decorating the medallion were manufactured more recently than the Byzantine era. . ."

Conclusion

This study is an example of how art historical research and technical examination and analysis together can shed new light on objects that have been studied previously. The iconographic problems, taken in concert with the technical anomalies do not prove conclusively that the medallion is a modern forgery; however, they tip the scales in favor of a modern date of manufacture. Additional studies of technical similarities and differences between the Walters and Paris medallions and later filigree enamelwork appear warranted. The importance of the analytical results on the enamels is especially significant. Even if the medallion itself were found to be ancient and later embellished, the modern date for the enamels demands that the object relinquish its place as one of the two earliest surviving examples in the history of Byzantine enamelwork.

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Notes

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13. D. Buckton, "Enamelling on Gold," *Gold Bulletin*, 15:3, (1982), 101–104.
14. Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel and the West," 235.
15. Buckton, "Enamelling on Gold," 102.
16. Ross, "Byzantine Enamels," 391.
17. V. de Grüneisen, *Art chrétien primitif du Haut et du Bas Moyen-Age* (Paris, 1930), no. 453, pl. XXXI.
18. Ross, "Byzantine Enamels," 391; Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels*, 15, 38; Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel and the West," 236–237; Haseloff, *Email*, 16. Buckton has recently questioned this attribution in a personal communication.
19. Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel and the West," 237–238.
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23. P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, 2: Phocas to Theodosius III, 602–717, Part I, Phocas and Heraclius (602–641)*, A. R. Bellinger and P. Grierson, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1968), 84–5; *idem*, *Byzantine Coinage* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 20. He considers the orb to have been only a notional and symbolic component of imperial regalia in this period, not a real object.
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25. J. Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines* (Leipzig, 1930), 33, implies the existence of the tripartite globe motif symbolizing (according to him) Asia, Africa, and Europe, on Roman imperial coins, but does not cite examples.
26. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel*, pl. 33, fig. 69b, and pl. 35, figs. 73a–b.
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30. Ravenna, Museo Nazionale; Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no. 125, pl. 66.
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32. Kent, *Roman Coins*, pl. 146, no. 557.
33. H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain, communément appelées médailles impériales*, 6 (Paris, 1886), 368, no. 4, and 371, no. 25.
34. J. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, *Numismatic Studies*, 5 (New York, 1944), pl. XLVII, no. 8. Cf. Cohen, *Description historique*, 371, no. 25. A medallion type with a quadripartite orb and *adlocutio* reverse also exists: see Cohen, 368, no. 4, for an example in the Cabinet des Médailles. Although Cohen describes it only as "studied with stars," Michel Amandry, Director of the Cabinet des Médailles, has confirmed that the globe is indeed quadripartite. It would therefore resemble the Vatican example (fig. 12).

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 36. Personal communication, July 10, 1990.
 37. Gnechchi, *I Medaglioni*, II, pl. 126.10.
 38. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels*, 38.
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 40. Kent, *Roman Coins*, no. 713, pl. 181; MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, pl. 50.
 41. Kent, *Roman Coins*, no. 762, pl. 193.
 42. For another example, in this case a *solidus* with Valentinian I (364–375) and Valens (364–378), each holding a globe, seated on either side of the son of Valentinian, see MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony*, pl. 49. This iconographic convention seems to have been employed in the fourth century, before being superseded by that of the two emperors sharing a globe.
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 45. Polarized light microscopy was carried out by E. Melanie Gifford at the Walters Art Gallery.
 46. X-radiography was carried out by one of the authors, Terry Drayman-Weisser.
 47. XRF analysis was carried out by Dr. George Reilly, Coordinator and Head of Scientific Research at the Winterthur Museum Analytical Laboratory. All quantitative analyses were carried out utilizing the Americium-241 source and the Binary Gold Alloy Program. In this particular case the binary alloy was gold/silver. Screening for additional elements was done using the Iron-55 source and the Cadmium-109 source. The beam size was $\frac{7}{8}$ inch.
 48. Wavelength dispersive electron microprobe analysis of the enamel was carried out by Dr. Julian Henderson, Research Fellow, Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, Oxford University. For details of the technique, see following paper.
 49. Electron microprobe energy dispersive spectroscopy of the surface deposit was carried out by Helaleh Maghsoudlou, Faculty Research Assistant, Center for Microanalysis, Engineering Materials Department, University of Maryland.
 50. Wet microchemical analysis was carried out by one of the authors, Terry Drayman-Weisser.
 51. Personal communication, Dr. Niamh Whitfield.
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 55. Ogden, *Jewellery*, 169.
 56. Mango, *Silver*, 61.
 57. Ogden, *Jewellery*, 18–19.
 58. Buckton, "Enamelling on Gold," 105.
 59. M. Jones, ed., *Fake? The Art of Deception* (London, 1990), 282. An opposing point of view is presented by G. Demortier, "Analysis of Gold Jewellery Artifacts, Characterization of Ancient Gold Solders by PIXE," *Gold Bulletin*, 17:1 (1984), 27–38. However, Demortier's conclusions are questioned by M.D. Meeks and P.T. Craddock, "The Detection of Cadmium in Gold/Silver Alloys and its Alleged Occurrence in Ancient Gold Solders," *Archaeometry*, 33:1 (1991), 95–107.
 60. In order to satisfy ourselves that the closeness of peaks for silver and cadmium was not interfering with the results, XRF analysis was run on a modern alloy of gold with 41.5% silver in which 0.5% cadmium was included. Even with this high level of silver, the cadmium could still be detected.
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 62. For references, see appended paper by J. Henderson.
- PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 2, 6, 16–18, 20, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 3, 15, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles; figs. 4, 10, 11, 13, 14, London, Trustees of the British Museum; fig. 7, New York, Giraudon/Art Resource; figs. 8, 9, New York, Marburg/Art Resource; fig. 12, Biblioteca Vaticana; fig. 19, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection.

A Scientific Analysis of the Enamel Decorating a Gold Medallion in the Walters Art Gallery

Julian Henderson

The chemical analysis (using electron microprobe) of three enamel samples taken from a gold medallion in the Walters Art Gallery revealed that their chemical compositions are entirely different from published compositions of Byzantine enamels/glasses. The other information obtained from the analyses was the determination of the colorants used in the enamels and the associated impurity levels. The combination of high arsenious oxide levels and the use of a potassium oxide-silica-lead oxide glass matrix used as an enamel clearly shows that the enamels have an anomalous composition. When compared with Byzantine and later enamel/glass compositions the inference is that the enamels used in the brooch were likely to have been manufactured in the seventeenth century or later.

When glass is applied to a metal surface it is often referred to as an enamel.¹ The identity of some of the raw materials used to make an enamel can be established through chemical analysis, and examination of sets of chemical compositions in ancient glass or enamel reveal specific changes in technological traditions over time. In general, four classes of components are useful in this way:

- 1) the major components used, such as soda (Na_2O), silica (SiO_2), potassium oxide (K_2O), calcium oxide (CaO) or lead oxide (PbO)
- 2) the minor components, some of which may have been introduced accidentally as "impurities," such as magnesium oxide (MgO), alumina (Al_2O_3) and possibly potassium oxide (K_2O)
- 3) deliberately added substances that aid glass coloration, clarification or opacification, such as tin oxide (SnO_2) and lead pyroantimonate ($\text{Pb}_2\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_7$)
- 4) trace impurities in the above, such as titanium oxide (TiO_2) and phosphorus pentoxide (P_2O_5)

Either separately or together, variation in the levels of these compounds represent patterns which *sometimes* provide a chemical fingerprint for the time (and place/region) of manufacture. Thus, when samples of enamel from a medallion in the Walters Art Gallery

(see preceding article by Drayman-Weisser and Herbert) were analyzed chemically, the principal aim was to place their compositions within a technological bracket that would suggest when the enamels and, by inference, the medallion itself were made.

Analytical Techniques Used

Minute samples from areas of opalescent white, translucent blue, and translucent green enamel were analysed by the author in Oxford University. A Cambridge microscan 9 electron microprobe was used to analyze each sample chemically. Samples were first mounted in epoxy resin blocks and then polished through a set of polishing powders of increasing fineness, ending with 0.5 micron diamond paste. This procedure removed any weathering from the samples and produced flat polished surfaces, which were coated with a thin conducting layer of carbon. The carbon coating prevented the electron beam from being distorted or deflected from the sample surface. Several analyses of each sample were carried out; twenty-two elements were routinely sought.² A fuller description and discussion of the technique is to be found elsewhere.³ Where a sample was too small, qualitative analysis was carried out.

Results

The numerical results for the analyses of the opalescent white and translucent blue enamels are presented in Appendix 1; a fuller discussion will appear elsewhere.⁴ The sample of green enamel was too small for a full quantitative analysis, though, nevertheless, it was possible to establish its principal compositional characteristics. The results are presented and discussed here in a general form.

The enamel described as "white" is not opaque

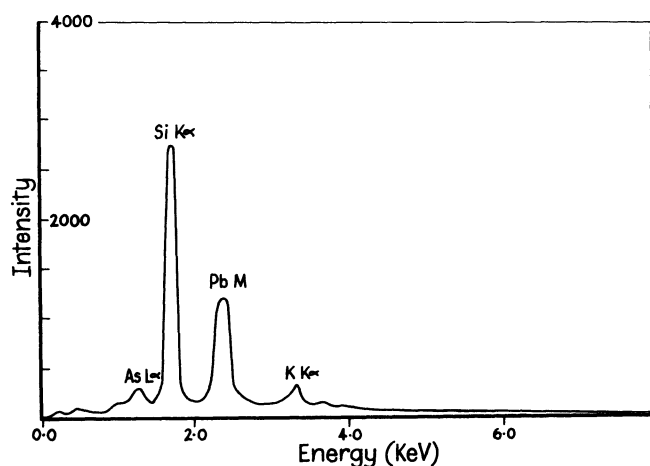


Fig. 1. X-ray spectrum for the opalescent white enamel over the energy range 1–7 KeV.

(i.e., wavelengths of light are *not* reflected by masses of crystals in the glass) as might be expected in ancient enamels, but is of an opalescent whitish hue. It has a lead oxide-potassium oxide-silica composition (see Appendix 1). Soda and alumina were detected at 1 and 0.3 percent, respectively; magnesia was not detected at all. Apart from major components, other oxides detected at significant levels were manganese oxide, cupric oxide, and arsenious oxide, the latter at unusually high levels for ancient enamel/glass. The failure to detect magnesia is also very unusual in an ancient enamel/glass (see Appendix 2 for comparative data). Sulphur trioxide, chlorine, and iron oxide were detected at impurity levels. An x-ray spectrum for the opalescent white enamel over the energy range 1–7 KeV is given in figure 1, where the arsenic L alpha, silicon K alpha, lead M, and potassium K alpha peaks are labelled. The spectrum was obtained using the energy dispersive spectrometer attached to a Cameca SU scanning electron microprobe. The spectrum shows a further characteristic of the enamel composition in that it lacks the normal levels of impurities found in ancient enamels. Unusually, calcium oxide was not detected at all; the minimum level of detection for calcium oxide under the conditions employed is 170 ppm. By examining the sample with a backscattered detector, small crystals up to ca. 3 microns long were observed that were found to contain higher potassium oxide levels than the enclosing matrix; the crystals showed up as a darker grey color than the matrix because of their lower average atomic number.

The blue enamel sample can also be categorized as lead oxide-potassium oxide-silica glass. It contains negligible magnesia and alumina and only 1.7 percent calcium oxide. The only other oxides detected that

would affect the overall coloration of the enamel are manganese oxide, iron oxide, cobalt oxide, nickel oxide, cupric oxide, and arsenious oxide. All of these elements *could* be connected with the use of a cobalt-rich mineral as a colorant. Undoubtedly this was the case for some of them, but the level of arsenious oxide at ca. 4 percent is considerably higher than normally detected in arsenical cobalt-rich glasses and is likely to derive from a different source. The levels of cobalt and arsenious oxides are unusually high for an ancient glass composition.

The qualitative analysis of the bright green enamel sample links it to the other two by its major components, lead oxide, potassium oxide, and silica. Like the blue enamel, this sample contained copper oxide, which by itself would impart a green color. However, detection of chromium oxide in the green enamel and its absence in the blue and white samples suggest that the unusually bright green color may be due to chromium oxide. Because the sample was too small for a full quantitative analysis, more research will be carried out to establish the exact levels of transition metal oxides that could potentially act as colorants in the green enamel.⁵

Discussion and Conclusions

All three samples were manufactured in the same technological tradition, with a lead oxide-potassium oxide-silica composition, and the blue and opalescent white samples are further characterized by high arsenious oxide levels.⁶ To the author's knowledge no enamels/glasses of lead oxide-potassium oxide-silica composition of Byzantine type/date have been published. Until ca. 800–1000, the major compositional type used was soda-lime-silica (see Appendix 2, analyses 1 and 3 for examples of such compositions in translucent glasses of the first millennium A.D.), with few variations in the ancient western world (see Appendix 2, analysis 2 for the composition of an opaque white glass of "Roman" type). After ca. 800–1000, a much wider range of compositions, including lead oxide-silica is found.⁷ A deep blue-green glass from Rogachev, CIS (former USSR; see Appendix 2, analysis 7) shares some compositional features with the Walters enamel. However, its potassium oxide level is more than three times higher and no arsenious oxide was detected, so we may therefore discount its being produced with the same raw materials as the Walters enamels.

Freestone *et al.*⁸ have shown that Byzantine glass tesserae dating between the fifth and thirteenth cen-

turies are soda-lime-silica, mixed alkali (potassium and sodium)-lime-silica, lead oxide-soda-lime-silica, and a fourth type with a composition similar to the third but with elevated potassium oxide levels. The samples of glass tesserae they analyzed from Shikmona, Israel (fifth century: Appendix 2, analysis 3), Hosios Loukas, northern Greece (tenth century: Appendix 2, analysis 4) and San Marco, Venice (eleventh–thirteenth century: Appendix 2, analysis 5) differ compositionally from the Walters samples being discussed here. In the Roman world there is a clear connection between the glass used for making glass tesserae and enamel.⁹ Indeed, it has been shown that the same source of glass has been used to make enamels and glass tesserae, and this includes production in the late Roman period. There is, therefore, every reason to suggest that the same stocks of glass were used for the manufacture of both Byzantine enamel and glass tesserae. None of the Byzantine tesserae analyzed by Freestone *et al.* have compositional features in common with the Walters enamel samples under discussion.

If the unusual major components of the enamel alone were not sufficient to signal that the Walters samples were probably not made in the Byzantine tradition, the presence of arsenious oxide in the opalescent white enamel also strongly suggests a date in the seventeenth century or later. Another recently used glass and glaze colorant is chromium oxide, which was introduced in the European ceramic industry as a green colorant in glazes at Sèvres in 1804. Chromium oxide has also been found in Ottoman Iznik ceramic glazes of sixteenth-century date, mainly in the form of spinel crystals, and it was also dissolved in glazes and used as a green colorant in the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Its use as a green colorant in the green enamel under discussion would make a Byzantine provenance very unlikely. As mentioned above, further analytical research is required to be sure of the exact chromium levels. Arsenious oxide detected in the green enamel probably acted as a reducing agent on the chromium oxide and would produce the brilliant green color observed.¹¹ Stromberg mentions that chromium was detected in yellow enamel of a Byzantine St. Eleutherios medallion; its presence there may merely indicate that it was introduced as an impurity with the sand, though it is conceivable that it was deliberately added as a colorant. Weyl notes chromium produces a yellow color in glass when it is present as lead chromate (PbO CrO_3) in “neutral” glazes/glasses. It is important that chromium was not detected in the green enamel of the St. Eleutherios medallion. The fact that it is detected in the yellow but not in the green enamel sug-

gests that a more detailed chemical and/or structural analysis of both yellow and green enamels is necessary to establish the colorants in this reputedly genuine Byzantine object.¹²

The colorants commonly used in glass/enamel dating from the first millennium A.D. are copper and/or iron oxides in green glass, calcium antimonate ($\text{Ca}_2\text{Sb}_2\text{O}_7$) and sometimes tin oxide (SnO_2) crystals in white glasses (where they act as opacifiers), and cobalt and/or copper oxides in blue glasses. While cobalt has been detected in the blue enamel of the medallion under discussion, the unusually high arsenic oxide content suggests a much later date, since at least part of the arsenic is liable to have been present in the basic glass prior to the addition of the cobalt-rich colorant. The high level of arsenic oxide in the white and blue enamels and the presence of chromium oxide in the green enamel (possibly at significant levels), coupled with the use of major components not found in other first millennium glasses, makes the medallion's enamel compositions entirely different from established patterns of glass technology in the period.

It is clear that the enamels used for decorating the medallion were manufactured more recently than the Byzantine era and that this fact casts doubt on the date of the medallion itself.

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Notes

1. J. Henderson, “Some Chemical and Physical Characteristics of Ancient Glass and the Potential of Scientific Analysis,” *Glass Circle*, 7 (1991), 67–77.
2. The electron probe, which has two wavelength-dispersive spectrometers, was operated at 20kV and 40nA and the electron beam defocused to ca. 80 μ so as to optimize the analytical conditions by minimizing the loss of sodium by volatilization and other processes. A ZAF4 program was used to correct the detected x-ray intensities, and the results were converted to specified oxides using stoichiometry.
3. J. Henderson, “Electron Probe Microanalysis of Mixed-alkali Glasses,” *Archaeometry*, 30: 1 (1988), 77–91.
4. J. Henderson and T. Weisser, “A Technological Study of a Medallion in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore,” in preparation.
5. X-ray fluorescence analysis using a radioactive source at the Winterthur Museum of an area of the medallion that included blue and green enamels did not show the presence of either cobalt or chromium. Considering that the area analyzed was $\frac{7}{8}$ inch in diameter, and that a very small area of the enamels relative to metal were included in the analysis, it is understandable that chromium and

cobalt were undetected.

6. In the first millennium A.D. (see Appendix 2 for comparative analyses of glasses), high lead glasses tend to be opaque colors because the lead often plays a role in the formation of the opacifying agents used. High lead translucent glasses are very unusual, except in the 9th–11th centuries, when some British Viking-age glasses of a lead oxide-silica composition were produced (see Appendix 2, analysis 6). However, a major difference is that in these samples, potassium oxide was either detected at very low levels or not detected at all; their compositions, therefore, are quite distinct from the enamels under discussion. See J. Bayley, “Non-ferrous Metal and Glass Working in Anglo-Scandinavian England: an Interim Statement,” *PACT: Journal of the European study group on physical, chemical and mathematical techniques applied to archaeology* 7 (1982), 487–496 and J. Henderson and S.E. Warren, “Analysis of the glass and glassy waste,” *Finds from Parliament Street and Other Sites in the City Centre*, The Archaeology of York, Small Finds 17/4 (York, 1986), 224–226.

7. J. Henderson, “Aspects of Early Medieval Glass Production in Britain and Ireland,” paper presented at the *12th Congress of the International Association for the History of Glass* (A.I.H.V.), Vienna, August 26–31, 1991.

8. I.C. Freestone, M. Bimson, and D. Buckton, “Compositional Categories of Byzantine Glass Tesserae,” *Proceedings of the 11th Congress of the International Association for the History of Glass*, Basel, August 29–September 3, 1988, (Amsterdam, 1990), 271–180.

9. J. Henderson, “Technological Characteristics of Roman Enamels,” *Jewellery Studies; Festschrift for R. Higgins*, in press, 1992.

10. M.S. Tite, “Iznik pottery: an investigation of the methods of production,” *Archaeometry*, 31, 2 (1989), 115–132 and J. Henderson, “Iznik Ceramics: a technical examination,” in N. Atasoy and J. Raby with J. Henderson, *Iznik. The Pottery of Ottoman Turkey*, Y. Petsopoulos, ed. (London, 1989).

11. W.A. Weyl, *Coloured Glasses* (Sheffield, 1954), 143.

12. C. Stromberg, “A Technical Study of Three Cloisonné Enamels from the Botkin Collection,” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 46 (1988), 25–33.

Appendix 1: Chemical compositions of enamels in the Walters Art Gallery medallion (no. 44.304), expressed as weight percent oxide.		
	opal white enamel	translucent blue enamel
Na ₂ O	1.0	6.6
MgO	ND	0.1
Al ₂ O ₃	0.3	0.2
SiO ₂	41.4	46.0
P ₂ O ₅	0.4	1.1
SO ₃	0.2	0.1
Cl	0.2	0.2
K ₂ O	5.0	4.5
CaO	ND	1.7
TiO ₂	ND	ND
Cr ₂ O ₃	ND	ND
MnO	0.5	0.1
Fe ₂ O ₃	0.1	0.1
CoO	ND	1.8
NiO	ND	0.1
CuO	1.4	0.2
ZnO	ND	0.1
As ₂ O ₃	1.2	4.1
SnO ₂	ND	ND
Sb ₂ O ₃	ND	ND
BaO	ND	ND
PbO	47.3	33.8
TOTAL	99.0%	100.8%
Notes: ND=Not Detected		

Appendix 2: Chemical compositions of first–thirteenth-century A.D. glasses.

Analysis	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Site	Silchester ¹	Silchester ¹	Shikmona ²	H Loukas ²	San Marco ²	York ³	Rogacev, CIS ⁴
Date	1st c.	1st c.	5th c.	10th c.	11–13th c.	11th–12th c.	11th–13th c.
Color	tr blue	op white	tr blue	tr blue	tr blue	tr green	deep blue-green
Na ₂ O	16.1	14.3	14.3	14.4	11.5	1.4	0.52
MgO	0.5	0.3	0.8	1.6	2.5	0.6	0.2
Al ₂ O ₃	2.5	2.4	2.7	1.4	0.8	0.9	0.9
SiO ₂	72.2	63.9	66.9	69.8	55.7	18.2	52.02
P ₂ O ₅	0.1	0.2	0.4	–	0.7	–	–
SO ₃	ND	0.3	–	–	–	–	–
Cl	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.0	0.9	–	–
K ₂ O	0.5	0.6	1.2	1.5	2.6	ND	17.23
CaO	8.1	6.5	9.6	7.2	5.9	ND	1.41
TiO ₂	ND	0.1	–	–	–	–	0.2
Cr ₂ O ₃	ND	ND	ND	–	–	ND	–
MnO	0.2	0.5	0.5	1.1	0.6	ND	0.71
Fe ₂ O ₃	0.5	0.5	0.7	1.8	0.9	0.09	0.31
CoO	0.1	ND	–	–	–	ND	–
NiO	ND	0.1	–	–	–	ND	–
CuO	0.1	ND	–	–	–	0.5	1.17
ZnO	ND	0.1	–	–	–	–	–
As ₂ O ₃	ND	0.2	–	–	–	ND	–
SnO ₂	ND	0.1	–	–	7.0	0.17	–
Sb ₂ O ₃	ND	8.8	–	–	–	ND	–
BaO	0.1	ND	–	–	–	–	–
PbO	ND	3.2	0.3	–	9.1	77.8	27.97

Notes: tr = translucent op = opaque
ND = not detected – = not reported

1. Analysis given in J. Henderson, “Technological and archaeological analysis of the glass from Silchester,” table 1, in M. Fulford, *Silchester Excavations*, forthcoming.
2. Analysis listed in table of results in I.C. Freestone, M. Bimson, and D. Buckton, see note 8.
3. Analysis given in J. Henderson and S.E. Warren, “Analysis of the glass and glassy waste,” Table 10, analysis 1, see note 6.
4. Analysis listed in M.A. Bezborodov, *Chemie und Technologie der antiken und mittelalterlichen Gläser* (Mainz, 1975), table XXII, analysis 687.

Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to which They Belong

Gary Vikan

This article has the twofold aim of introducing two unpublished amuletic armbands from the early Byzantine period, one in the Walters Art Gallery and the other in the Benaki Museum, Athens, and analyzing the group of twenty-two like objects to which they belong. The importance of these technically simple, relatively inexpensive pieces of jewelry lies in their unusually rich and varied iconography, which unites traditional pagan and Jewish magical elements with imagery newly developed for the famous Christian pilgrimage shrines of the Holy Land. The focus of this article will be on these armbands, and on the world of piety and belief from which they emerged.

The more elaborate of the two armbands appeared at auction in Switzerland in November 1990, where it was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 6).¹ Said to be from a private Lebanese collection, it consists of a thin bronze band (height .6 cm) with nine equally spaced oval medallions (height 1.8 cm), the last of which (fig. 6j) was soldered to the back of the first (fig. 6b) to complete the circle.² There is a break through the fourth medallion (fig. 6e), and part of the sixth (fig. 6g) and the connecting section to the seventh are missing; otherwise the object is well preserved. An original circumference of approximately 26 cm may be reconstructed, which reflects a diameter of just over 8 cm. On the basis of the narrative sequence of the armband's Christological scenes, and the compositional direction of its two scenes showing animals, it is clear that the medallions read from left to right, as do those of all the other armbands in the group. The reduced figure style is that characteristic of the simplest early Byzantine metalwork; the lower body is evoked by just a few sketchy diagonal lines of drapery, the upper torso and arms by a sagging, sack-like protrusion (fig. 6i), and the head by an oval depression within the halo.

The sequence of eight engraved medallions begins (fig. 6b) with an inexplicably inverted four-line

inscription after a cross, consisting of the first five words of Psalm 90 (*Septuagint*): †*Ho ka/toikon/ en boe/thia tou* ("He that dwells in the help of the [Highest] . . .").³ The Annunciation appears on the next medallion (fig. 6c), with the Virgin standing at the left and Gabriel, with his hand raised in greeting, at the right. The third medallion (fig. 6d) shows a beardless nimbed rider with cross-staff. Although one would expect to see the long ears of a donkey instead of what seem to be the short ears of a horse, and perhaps some hint of a cross within the halo, the composition should nevertheless be understood as a simplified version of the Entry into Jerusalem. This is indicated by the cross-staff that the figure carries, by the medallion's close compositional parallels with the many other such images of the period that include unmistakable elements of the Entry (fig. 11: *Eulogemenos* ["Blessed One"]), and by the fact that one of the armbands in the group (fig. 7) shows this figure plus the more typical version of the Holy Rider, wherein a mounted warrior impales a prostrate demon beneath the hooves of his horse.⁴

The next, broken medallion (fig. 6e) bears a flared, equal-armed cross with circles enclosing Xs in its quadrants (see below), and the one after that (fig. 6f) shows the *aphlaston* (aplustre), flanked above by the name *Solomonos*. The *aphlaston* is the fan-shaped decorative sternpost of an ancient ship (fig. 12), traceable iconographically and textually, with little variation, from Homer through late antiquity.⁵ Perhaps originally an imitation of a bud or lotus flower, as on Egyptian ships, it developed into a plume- or fan-shaped object and, as a detachable symbol, was taken as a trophy when the ship was captured; moreover, it could stand alone, like a ship's prow or rudder, to evoke sea power or seafaring in general. In its detached state, as here, it appears on a number of bronze amulets of the period and, with "Solomon," on a group of contemporary amuletic clay tokens (fig. 13).⁶

After the *aphlaston*, on medallion six (fig. 6g), there is a simple magical character—an X within a circle—set inside a hexagonal field defined by a border of dense hatching. Although its origin and specific potency are unknown, and probably unknowable, the general meaning of the symbol is unmistakably clear from its parallel appearance on Greco-Egyptian amuletic gems (fig. 14), and in late Roman magical inscriptions.⁷ The seventh medallion (fig. 6h) shows a running lion over a snake, with a crescent moon above, a combination of apotropaic motifs that appears frequently on bronze amulets of the period (fig. 15b);⁸ the last medallion (fig. 6i) bears the Women at the Tomb, with one of the Marys to the left, the angel to the right, and between them the tomb aedicula, in the form of a low rectangle (door?) with a starburst above. Finally, mention should be made of the hatched slits that appear on the band between the successive medallions; that these are not merely decorative but rather the blinded or neutralized Evil Eye (Campbell Bonner's suggestion) is indicated by the appearance of the same eye-like motif at the point of the Holy Rider's lance on bronze amulets of the period (fig. 16).⁹

The simpler of the two armbands, in the Benaki Museum, Athens, is silver (fig. 4).¹⁰ Said to be from Egypt, it consists of four iconographic medallions separated by pairs of elongated diamonds with incised circles, and between the diamonds, by a small square with an incised equal-armed cross set within a circle. Somewhat smaller than the Walters armband, its diameter is 6.4 cm. It is in excellent condition, and its figure style, although basically quite close to that of the Walters armband in its reduced, formulaic approach to drapery and the body (cf. figs. 4d and 6i), is executed with fewer, more confident strokes, and there is some internal articulation to the face, in the form of punch dots for eyes and mouth.

The first of its four medallions (fig. 4a) shows the Raising of Lazarus, with Christ to the left and a mummy-wrapped, larva-like Lazarus within a round-topped aedicula to the right. This is followed (fig. 4b) by a simpler (misunderstood?) version of the *aphlaston*, rendered as four snake-like strands or bars becoming progressively longer as they rise from horizontal to nearly vertical, and all springing more or less from the same point, at the lower left. In its crudeness it is closer to the motif on the amuletic token already introduced (fig. 13), and although it lacks *Solomonos*, the memory of that inscription is retained in the form of nine triangular punch marks corresponding in number and location to the letters on the equivalent

Walters medallion (fig. 6f). A galloping Holy Rider, with nimbus and flowing cape, impales a prostrate, mummy-wrapped demon on the next medallion (fig. 4c); and the Women at the Tomb, with a single Mary to the left and a gabled aedicula (with door and hanging lamp?) to the right appears on the last medallion (fig. 4d).

These two objects belong to a group of at least twenty-two early Byzantine amuletic armbands and armband fragments interrelated through a combination of design elements, inscriptions, iconography, figure style, and provenance.¹¹ Although known to scholars for more than eight decades through an excellent short article published by Jean Maspero in 1908, and cited during recent years with increasing frequency in studies devoted to early Byzantine amulets, pilgrimage art, and Christological iconography, these armbands have never been systematically assembled and analyzed; indeed, Maspero's line drawing of an unusually elaborate silver example then belonging to Dr. Fouquet in Cairo remains their most familiar representation in the literature.¹² It is hardly surprising, therefore, that these armbands have generally, though mistakenly, been understood to be characteristically Egyptian and silver.¹³

Members of the group have a thin flat band showing from one (figs. 1 and 2) to eight (figs. 6, 7, 9, and 10) iconographic or inscriptional medallions, with those bearing four medallions (figs. 3–5 and 8) being the most common.¹⁴ Independent of whether or not the band bears an inscription, its profile may be either narrow and unarticulated, between widely spaced medallions (figs. 1–3 and 6); wide, with a short arc composed of three small arches, between closely spaced medallions (figs. 9 and 10), or wide-narrow-wide in an ABCBA rhythm, with a pair of diamonds and a small medallion (or square) between successive large medallions, which may be either closely or widely spaced (figs. 4, 5, 7, and 8). The narrow band is characteristic of those members of the group showing one or four medallions, although the Walters armband, with eight, falls into that category as well; by contrast, the wide band is confined to a closely interrelated subgroup of three armbands with eight medallions each (items 7, 8, and 11). The third, most richly articulated band profile includes a wide range of variants, from complex to simple, with the intervening small medallion bearing a multi-figure scene (fig. 7), an inscription (fig. 8) or just a symbol (fig. 4)—or becoming nothing more than a vestigial spur (fig. 5).

As for "figure style," the reduced, sketchy mode characteristic of the Walters and Benaki examples is

shared, in levels of greater or lesser sophistication, by well over half of the armbands in the series, whether the medium be bronze (figs. 1–3 and 6) or silver (figs. 4 and 5). Certainly much more detailed and subtle in execution, but known to me only through a line drawing, is a silver armband published by Dalton in the de Béarn Collection in 1905 (fig. 7). Additionally, there is a subgroup of at least four silver armbands (items 5, 7, 8, 11; figs. 8–10) whose linear, etching-like style stands apart from the much simpler sketchy manner of the others, by virtue of its greater precision, detail, and elegance, and through its liberal use of punched and tooled decoration.

About 60 percent of the armbands are bronze (including figs. 1–4 and 6) or, in one case, iron, and of those with known provenance, eleven come from Syria/Palestine or Cyprus (including figs. 1–3 and 5–7), and seven come from Egypt (including figs. 4 and 8–10).

Nearly every armband in the series bears one or more inscriptions, with Psalm 90, *Ho katoikon en boetheia tou hypsistou* . . ., being by far the most common, occurring on the band (figs. 1, 2, 5, 7, 9, and 10) or on one or more medallions (figs. 3a and 6b) of eighteen of twenty-two armbands. The portion quoted varies from just the first few words to nearly all of the first six verses (item 14):

1. He that dwells in the help of the Highest, shall sojourn under the shelter of the God of heaven.
2. He shall say to the Lord, Thou art my helper and my refuge: my God; I will hope in him.
3. For he shall deliver thee from the snare of the hunters, from every troublesome matter.
4. He shall overshadow thee with his shoulders, and thou shalt trust under his wings: his truth shall cover thee with a shield.
5. Thou shalt not be afraid of terror by night; nor of the arrow flying by day;
6. nor of the evil thing that walks in darkness; nor of calamity, and the evil spirit at noon-day.¹⁵

The sense of the passage, plus its frequent appearance during this period on amuletic jewelry of all sorts (e.g., fig. 16 [reverse: *Ho katuko*]), house lintels (notably in Northern Syria), and tombs, leave no doubt of its apotropaic intent on the armbands.¹⁶ Also apotropaic are most of the secondary inscriptions, including the popular *Heis Theos* . . . (“One God [who conquers evil]”) acclamation (figs. 1, 2, and 10d), the Trisagion (figs. 5b and 8), *Hygieia* (“Health”; fig. 5c), and *Solomonos* (fig. 6f), the name of the Old Testament king renowned for his ability to manipulate the power of demons with his seal ring.¹⁷ Moreover, on one armband (fig. 1) the excerpt from Psalm 90 is followed by an invocation of the “blood of Christ” (. . . *to hema tou Christou pause apo* . . .).¹⁸ Just one armband (fig. 7)

bears biblical texts (as captions to its Christological scenes), and three have invocations: “Lord, help your servant and Sissinios” (item 14); “One God (who) preserves, guard (your) servant Severinam” (item 21); and “*Theotoke*, help Anna; Grace” (item 22; fig. 5d), the last one coupled with an iconic frontal image of the Virgin and Child Enthroned.

As dominant iconographically as is Psalm 90 inscriptionally, is the Holy Rider (figs. 1, 2, 3d, 4c, 7, 8c, 9a, and 10h), which in its demon-impaling identity (cf. fig. 15a) appears on sixteen of the nineteen more or less complete armbands; moreover, in at least two of the three cases where it does not appear, its close relative, the Entry into Jerusalem, appears instead (figs. 5c and 6d). That the Entry is here to be understood as functioning apotropaically, as it does on many amulets of the period (e.g., fig. 11),¹⁹ and not as a *locus sanctus* referent or as a Gospel storytelling element, is confirmed by its appearance out of biblical order in two of the three instances when it does appear on the armbands (figs. 5c, 6d and 7), and by its coupling in one case with the word “Health” (fig. 5c). Certainly the most popular amuletic image of the period, the Holy Rider was for Jew, Christian, and pagan alike the primal evocation, and invocation, of the triumph of good over evil.²⁰

The notion of magical self-protection is augmented on some of the armbands by such common late antique prophylactic images as the running lion and snake (figs. 1, 2 and 6h; and 15b), Solomon’s pentapla signet device (figs. 9b, 10d, and 10h), ring signs (*characteres*) (figs. 6g and 10d [*zetas*]; and 14), the Evil Eye (figs. 3 and 6; and 16), and the Chnoubis (figs. 9b and 10d), the lion-headed snake with seven planetary rays which, among Greco-Egyptian gem amulets, was a popular *apotropaion* for abdominal pains (fig. 17: “Guard in health the stomach of Proclus”).²¹ To this extent—with the Holy Rider, *Heis Theos*, *Ho katoikon*, the lion and snake, the Evil Eye, and ring signs—these armbands are, but for their design and how they were worn on the body, substantially of a kind with the ubiquitous bronze pendant amulets catalogued by Campbell Bonner (figs. 15 and 16 [“late antique; Syro-Palestinian”]).²²

While slightly over half the medallions on the armbands are dominated by those patently amuletic images and words, the remainder bear explicitly Christian iconography which, with the exception of a medallion with the cross (fig. 6e), another with the Virgin and Child (fig. 5d), one with John the Baptist(?) or Zacharias(?) (fig. 8b), and an armband with four orant saints (including Menas; item 9), is drawn

from the following series of Christological scenes (with frequency of appearance):

Annunciation	6
Nativity	4
Adoration of the Magi	3
Baptism	4
Raising of Lazarus	2
Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion	4
Women at the Tomb	10
Ascension	2

For the armbands illustrated in our figures 7, 9, and 10 (there are four like this in all), one may speak of a “cycle” of scenes, since there is an extended, narrative-consistent string of six (or five) episodes: Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion, Women at the Tomb, Ascension.²³ More typically, however, there is only a selection of such iconography which, when interspersed with the various apotropaic images, provides little sense of storytelling: Adoration of the Magi, Women at the Tomb-O-O (fig. 3); Raising of Lazarus-O-O-Women at the Tomb (fig. 4); Women at the Tomb-O-O-O (fig. 5); O-Annunciation-O-O-O-O-Women at the Tomb (fig. 6). Furthermore, there are six armbands, like those illustrated in figures 1 and 2, which show only the Holy Rider.

The numerical differential between the Annunciation (6 occurrences) and the Ascension (2) is probably to be explained by the tendency of any picture cycle to sputter out before its completion (cf. figs. 9 and 10), which is especially likely in the present context, wherein many armbands lack sufficient medallions for the entire story, and the interest in magical imagery is as strong or stronger than the interest in biblical storytelling or in *locus sanctus* iconography. The only other statistically noteworthy episode is the Women at the Tomb (10 occurrences), whose significance for the armbands may better be understood against the backdrop of the pilgrimage art from which most of this Christological iconography derives (see below).

As for the significance of the “cycle,” it has been noted on several occasions that the Christian imagery on these armbands functioned in a complementary way to the magical motifs, to protect the wearer.²⁴ Ernst Kitzinger has drawn a general parallel between the sequence of images encircling these armbands, and thereby repeating itself, and the word charm (Psalm 90) interspersed with it. But perhaps the cycle’s prophylactic role may more specifically be understood as comparable to that of Gospel miracle stories as they are sometimes invoked among the magical papyri, including a fifth-century health amulet from Oxyrhynchus:

Fly, hateful spirit! Christ pursues thee; the son of God and the Holy Spirit have outstripped thee. O God (who healed the man at) the sheep pool, deliver from every evil thy handmaid Joannia whom Anastasia also called Euphemia bare. . . O Lord Christ, Son and Word of the living God, who healest every sickness and every infirmity, heal and regard thy handmaid Joannia, whom Anastasia also called Euphemia bare. Chase from her and put to flight all fevers and every kind of chill, quotidian, tertian, and quartan, and every evil. . . Upon thy name, O Lord God, have I called, the wonderful and exceeding glorious name, the terror of thy foes. Amen.²⁵

On its most basic level this papyrus amulet draws its power from the invocation of the sacred name, and thereby from the primal, magical belief that such names share the being and participate in the power of their bearers.²⁶ But this amulet is magical as well on a secondary, “aretalogical” level, as the power of the deity (as if this were Isis or Asklepios) is invoked through a recitation of his most glorious deeds.²⁷ The same is perhaps true of the armbands and their *locus sanctus* picture cycle, whose individual scenes may be read as sequential verses in a visual aretalogy. Indeed, this method of invoking sacred power is attested among Christians as early as Origen (*Contra Cels.*, 1.6), who in response to Celsus’ charge that he and his coreligionists got their power from reciting the names of demons, countered by saying that:

. . . it is not by incantations that Christians seem to prevail [over evil spirits], but by the name of Jesus, accompanied by the announcement of the narratives which relate to Him; for the repetition of these has frequently been the means of driving demons out of men. . . .²⁸

But as noted, this “empowered” picture cycle is in fact often unidentifiable as a cycle (cf. fig. 3), suggesting that at least some of its scenes were believed to be individually potent. Significantly, the armbands derive their iconography not directly from the Gospel narrative but rather from its selected and transmuted manifestation in pilgrimage art, where compositions were made to respond to the appearance and experience of the *locus sanctus* shrines commemorating the biblical events.²⁹ This is clear from the fact that their version of the Women at the Tomb (figs. 3c, 4d, 5a, 6i, 7, 9a, and 10g) does not show the cave of the biblical account but rather a small gabled aedicula replicating such salient architectural elements of Constantine’s Holy Sepulchre shrine as the “grilles” described by the pilgrim Egeria (ca. A.D. 385), and from the striking similarity that exists between the choice and configuration of their Christological scenes and those that appear on the well-known Palestinian holy oil (pilgrim)

flasks preserved, for the most part, in Monza and Bobbio.³⁰ For example, six of the eight medallions on the armbands illustrated in our figures 7 and 10 match scenes on the reverse of Monza ampulla 2 (fig. 18).³¹ The role of these pewter ampullae as pilgrim amulets, both for healing and for travel protection, has been well established; indeed, one of them bears the inscription “Oil of the Wood of Life that guides us by land and sea.”³² Also well established is the principle that at least some of these scenes could convey the same amuletic power independent of the sanctified oil, simply by virtue of iconographic coincidence with their power-bearing archetype.³³ This is especially likely in the case of the most frequently appearing armband scene after the Holy Rider—namely, the Women at the Tomb—since its compositional verisimilitude was not merely with what the pilgrims may have seen on their journey (whether shrine architecture or shrine mural), but with the most revered of pilgrim relics: the Holy Sepulchre.³⁴

The two bronze armbands from Syria now in Ann Arbor (items 1 and 2; fig. 3) are so alike in dimensions, technique, and iconography that Bonner was prompted to suggest that they had been made “in the same shop.”³⁵ Noteworthy, beyond their shared figure style, is the narrow band with Evil Eyes, the medallion with just a few words of Psalm 90, and the solder-join assembly. Very closely related to these two armbands are three armband fragments in the group (items 13, 15, and 16), each of which includes a single medallion with the opening words of Psalm 90, and one of which (item 15) has a short section of a thin band with Evil Eyes; although none has a known provenance, all three may be placed in Syria/Palestine, very near in time and place to the Ann Arbor armbands. Also quite close, and known to have come from Syria/Palestine, is the Walters armband (fig. 6), which is an almost exact match in size (for band and medallions) to those in Ann Arbor, has basically the same figure style (cf. figs. 3c and 6i), and includes a Psalm 90 medallion, Evil Eyes, and the same sort of solder join. Although heavily corroded, the armband in Paris (item 20), reputedly from Syria, is clearly a member of this Syrian/Palestinian subgroup as well; this is indicated by its design and construction, with narrow band and solder-join medallion, by what can be made out of its reduced figure style, and by its inclusion of a Psalm 90 medallion.

A second tight subgroup from Syria/Palestine is that formed by the five armbands showing a single

medallion with the Holy Rider (items 6, 12, 17, 19 and 21; figs. 1 and 2), which are interrelated as well through their inscriptions (notably *Heis Theos*), and through such distinctive complementary motifs as the apotropaic running lion. Four of the five (items 6, 12, 19, and 21) are known to have come from Syria/Palestine (three specifically from Palestine), and the fifth (item 17) should be assigned there as well.³⁶ Moreover, a near relative to these three is the armband from Cyprus with the first six verses of Psalm 90 spread over four medallions, and a fifth medallion with the Holy Rider. Stylistically, that medallion is a close match for the five Holy Riders just noted, which are in turn basically of a kind in terms of style with the extended series of Syrian/Palestinian armbands already discussed (cf. figs. 2 and 5c).

There is one tight, distinctive subgroup of three silver armbands said by Maspero to have been found together near Saqqara (items 7, 8, and 11; figs. 9 and 10). Two (items 7 and 8) are virtually identical, and the third differs only insofar as a pair of magical motifs which are united on it (fig. 10d: Trinity[?] and Chnoubis) are each given their own medallion on the others (fig. 9b), effectively forcing the last *locus sanctus* image, the Ascension, out of the cycle. Uniting these three armbands are not only medium, provenance, and iconography, but also their distinctive wide-band design, the liberal use of decorative punchwork and engraving, and an elegant, linear figure style (contrast figs. 5c and 9a). The silver armband in Berlin (item 5), which also came from Egypt, is a close cousin to this subgroup of three, for although its hoop design is of the wide-narrow-wide sort and it lacks Psalm 90, it does show much of the same decorative punchwork, and basically the same elegant, linear style (cf. 8c, 9a). Also related is a silver armband catalogued in Cairo by Strzygowski (item 9), whose band profile matches that of the Berlin armband, and like that one shows pairs of elegant birds on its inter-medallion diamonds, as well as the abundant punchwork characteristic of all of the silver armbands from Egypt.³⁷

In all, this makes for, on the one hand, a closely interrelated series of fifteen armbands localizable to Syria/Palestine and Cyprus, with eleven having a more or less securely known provenance and four attributed, and, on the other hand, seven armbands known to have come from Egypt, with five showing a unified style quite distinct from that of any of the armbands in the Syrian/Palestinian series. In light of this is it appropriate to speak of the genre as being constituted of a Syrian/Palestinian subgroup and an Egyptian subgroup?³⁸ Or should one instead imagine that all arm-

bands originated from a single center—which presumably would have been the Holy Land, by virtue of the *locus sanctus* iconography?³⁹

Speaking in favor of the latter possibility are the many general similarities uniting all the armbands—the various close links in specific details of design, such as that uniting the ABCBA-type bands of item 18 (Syria) and item 5 (Egypt) (figs. 7 and 8) and the stylistic and iconographic links between the Walters (Syria) and Benaki (Egypt) armbands—and the fact that such comparable pilgrimage-related artifacts as the Monza/Bobbio ampullae are by findspot mostly Italian and Egyptian, but by origin universally recognized to be Palestinian.⁴⁰ The armbands are, after all, portable, and even if they did not have the sanctified oil of the ampullae to tie them specifically to Jerusalem, it is reasonable to suppose, by virtue of their iconography, that they held special appeal for pilgrims returning from the Holy Land. Furthermore, there are strong iconographic and stylistic bonds connecting the non-pilgrimage imagery on many of these armbands with other sorts of artifacts known to be Syrian/Palestinian, including, most notably, the ubiquitous Holy Rider pendant amulets that Bonner long ago realized were distinctive to that region, and the relatively unusual *aphlaston* tokens said to be from the area of Antioch (fig. 13).⁴¹

But as appealing as the one-source scenario might be, it cannot be sustained. First, while there is much to link these armbands generally to Syria/Palestine, there is little to tie them specifically to Jerusalem or the Holy Land, or even to the pilgrimage trade. Indeed, by virtue of its presumed amuletic power, *locus sanctus* iconography quickly acquired a life of its own, far removed from the holy site at which it originated and independent of the blessed oil, earth, water *et cetera* to which it was originally bound and for which it was originally invented.⁴² The most revealing witnesses to this phenomenon are the four octagonal gold rings (fig. 19) that bear on the facets of their hoops basically the same cycle of Christological *locus sanctus* scenes as that shared by the ampullae and armbands (cf. figs. 10 and 18).⁴³ By design and technique, and through the marriage iconography on the bezels of three of the four, these rings may be linked to an extensive series of deluxe marriage rings which are certainly, as a type, of Constantinopolitan origin, and which are otherwise without any pilgrimage connection. The Christological scenes on their hoops were taken over and exploited far from the Holy Land, and at one remove, for the amuletic power they were thought to convey.

It might rather be argued that the iconographic connection with the Qal'at Sim'an clay tokens (fig. 13), the inscriptional link (Psalm 90) with Syrian house lintels, and the numerous provenances "from Syria" more strongly suggest that region, and not Palestine, as the place of origin. But Syria, or even Syria/Palestine, as the sole source for the group may be too confining, since despite its general similarities with the others, the Egyptian subgroup of five is so thoroughly distinctive in style and internally so homogeneous as to suggest if not require a distinction in place of manufacture. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that only these armbands show the Chnoubis and the *zeta*-like ring signs, which are otherwise familiar primarily from Greco-Egyptian gem amulets, and that one armband among this Egyptian subgroup (item 9) bears a representation of St. Menas, renowned for his healing shrine southwest of Alexandria.⁴⁴ Finally, one must ask if there is any reason not to suppose multiple locations of manufacture for these armbands, across Syria/Palestine and in Egypt, in light of the internal variations that are apparent even in the Syrian/Palestinian series (cf. figs. 2, 5, and 7), and with the knowledge that, unlike the ampullae, this genre of object need not derive from a single sacred source. As for the question of where this object type was invented, Syria/Palestine would be the obvious answer, by virtue of the armbands' more or less localizable connection there to the ampullae's *locus sanctus* cycle, the Holy Rider, and Psalm 90. Moreover, it is in Syria/Palestine that the earliest members of the series, those with a single Holy Rider medallion, may be localized (see below).

The issue of dating is less problematic than that of localization, even though direct archaeological evidence is confined to the armband now in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (item 22; fig. 5). According to the New York antiquities dealer who first offered the piece for sale, it was part of a small silver hoard from eastern Anatolia, comprising about two dozen objects of everyday life, including belt fittings, a key, rings, a spoon, phylactery cases, and several coins from the reign of Justinian (A.D. 527–565).⁴⁵ This dating can be further refined by the presence in the hoard of a ring and a spoon bearing cross monograms, which indicate a *terminus post quem* of about mid century.⁴⁶ Further, there is an apparent derivative relationship between (at least) the *locus sanctus* armbands and the Palestinian ampullae, which for a variety of reasons are universally recognized to belong somewhere between the mid-sixth and the early seventh century, and a parallel relationship between

those armbands and the octagonal *locus sanctus* rings, whose temporal center of gravity, on the basis of findspot information and the internal development of the genre, may well fall closer to the mid-seventh century.⁴⁷ Additionally, it should be noted that this mid-sixth- to mid-seventh-century time frame is consistent with the traditional dating of another of the armbands' close *comparanda*, the clay pilgrim tokens.⁴⁸ But there is good reason to believe that the series of twenty-two armbands herein catalogued has its roots significantly earlier than the mid-sixth century. Specifically, our subgroup of five bronze examples from Syria/Palestine showing just a single medallion with the Holy Rider and *Heis Theos* (items 6, 12, 17, 19, and 21; figs. 1 and 2) is, but for the band, of a kind with Bonner's Holy Rider pendant amulets.⁴⁹ And, significantly, a few of these sorts of amulets have been discovered in datable tombs of the fourth century.⁵⁰ There is therefore no reason to doubt that this subgroup of five armbands could date as early—which suggests that it may represent the genre's *Ur*-type, the substantially non-Christian early form from which the demonstrably later *locus sanctus* variant developed.⁵¹

When it comes to the question of use, the issue is not whether these armbands functioned as amulets, for obviously they did; Maspero knew that eighty years ago. Rather, the twofold issue is this: for whom and toward what end did they function? Because their average diameter is slightly in excess of 7.5 cm, it may be assumed that they were worn on the arm, at some point above the wrist (fig. 20).⁵² Presumably this mode of self-adornment was not uncommon at the time, nor was the use of armbands as amulets; Severus of Antioch urged Christians to avoid those who proposed "the suspension and attachment to necks or arms . . . [of] *phylacteria*, or protective amulets. . .".⁵³ It might even be supposed that these armbands, like others, were made in pairs, one for each arm, since among the nineteen more or less complete examples in the group, there are two sets of twins (items 1/2; 7/8).⁵⁴ Moreover, the likely possibility that they were made specifically for women is strengthened by the example with a personalized invocation naming a certain "Anna" (fig. 5d), and that invoking protection for a certain "Severinam" (item 21).

A female clientele would be consistent as well with what may be surmised about the specific magical potency of a least some of these armbands. Certainly most of their iconography and inscriptions—the Holy

Rider, Psalm 90, the lion and snake, the Evil Eye, ring signs, "Health," *et cetera*—were believed generically efficacious, with multivalent power against any variety of demons and illnesses.⁵⁵ But a few images were probably more specific: the *aphlaston*, under the umbrella of the name "Solomon," offered protection for the seafarer, and the Chnoubis, as I have argued elsewhere, was probably added to afford protection against afflictions of the abdomen.⁵⁶ But precisely because these Chnoubis armbands were likely women's amulets, I went on to argue that the Chnoubis would here probably be understood to function more specifically in its well-established role as the "Master of the Womb," to control, presumably, conception, menorrhagia, and/or parturition.⁵⁷ Among many late Roman Chnoubis gem amulets, the uterus, as a bell-shaped organ, appears on the reverse, with a skeleton key "locking" and thereby controlling its lower orifice. I argued further that corroboration for the possible association of the Chnoubis armbands with the magical manipulation of the womb comes in the form of the objects' very medium, silver, since while silver at this period is relatively rare for jewelry, it is conspicuous among these armbands and among a series of iconographically related Chnoubis rings and pendants, which by their identifying inscriptions and by the magical charms that some of them bear are revealed to be uterine amulets.⁵⁸

It would be a mistake to view these armbands in isolation, either in terms of their manufacture or in terms of their use. Certainly the craftsmen who made them made amuletic pendants as well (fig. 15), and rings with the Holy Rider (fig. 21), with Psalm 90, and with various *locus sanctus* scenes (fig. 22); iconography, inscriptions, technique, medium, and even dimensions were all more or less interchangeable among these three object types.⁵⁹ So were, from the client's point of view, their various amuletic functions, for what counted when it came to these sorts of artifacts was much less self-adornment than self-protection, and how, or in how many seemingly redundant ways, that was accomplished, was likely of little concern, provided that the desired effect was achieved.⁶⁰ This is the message of late antique amulets generally, and this, specifically, is the message of these armbands.

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Notes

N.B.: All figures are reproduced at or close to 1:1.

1. See footnote 11, item 4
2. Remnants of solder provide a clear match between the back of the first medallion and the front of the last.
3. Generally, the armbands in this group should be read beginning with the 90th Psalm *incipit*, which nearly all of them show. The structure of this armband, with Psalm 90 on the first, overlapping soldered medallion, indicates that order, which is explicit as well on the armbands with the fullest cycles (figs. 7, 9, 10), where the first few letters of Psalm 90 appear just to the left of the Annunciation medallion.
4. Figure 11 = destroyed during World War II (*olim* Berlin, Königliche Museen). See O. Wulff, *Altchristliche Bildwerke, Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, 2/1 (Berlin, 1909), no. 825, pl. XL. For the Triumphal Entry/Holy Rider, see G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic in Early Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 38 (1984), 75, note 57; and footnote 20, below.
5. Figure 12 = The Hague, Kon. Penningkabinet (Mark Antony: 32–31 B.C.). See L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), fig. 121, and, for the *aphlaston* generally, 86 etc., and figs. 114, 116, 119, 120, 129 etc. This symbol and its multiple appearances on late antique amulets are considered in more detail in my article "Guided by Land and Sea: Pilgrim Art and Pilgrim Travel in Early Byzantium," *TESSERAe: Festschrift für Josef Engemann, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 19* (1991), 90 f.
6. Figure 13 = Paris, Robert-Henri Bautier Collection. See Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 82, fig. 24; and *idem*, "Guided," 87–91, pl. 11e.
7. Figure 14 = location unknown (*olim* Brummer). See C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor/London/Oxford, 1950), no. 281, illus., and also nos. 291, 292. See also H.D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago/London, 1986), 319; and R. Kotansky, "Magic in the Court of the Governor of Arabia," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 88 (1991), 42–45.
8. Figure 15 = location unknown. See *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions, 1100 B.C.–A.D. 700, Jewish, Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, Zurich, Frank Sternberg, Auction XXIII, November 20, 1989 (Zurich, 1989), no. 190, illus. (auction catalogue). See, more generally, Bonner, *Amulets*, 214, nos. 298–326.
9. Figure 16 = New York, American Numismatic Society, Newell no. 45. See Bonner, *Amulets*, 218 f., no. 319, illus.
10. See footnote 11, item 3.
11. In 1908 Maspero (see item 7, below) knew of eight armbands. Piccirillo's survey of the genre seventy years later (see item 12, below) included just two more examples, to which Feissel (see item 17, below) added two in 1984. The group, listed alphabetically by location, now numbers twenty-two, two of which (items 4 and 13) have come to light since late 1989, and two others (items 15 and 16) were long ago catalogued as fragments of finger rings. I have recently received word from Lieselotte Kötzsche of two additional(?) iconographic armbands of this type in the possession of a Hamburg antiquities dealer, S. Simonian. Items 6 and 21 were kindly brought to my attention by Elisabeth Jastrzebowska.

1. [FRAGMENTS] Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, no. 26131/26160 (*olim*, Aleppo, Ayvas Collection). Bronze: three of originally four(?) medallions, plus one for a solder connection.

From Syria (Aleppo). See Bonner, *Amulets*, no. 322, illus. Band inscription: none (Evil Eyes). Medallions: Holy Rider; Adoration of the Magi; ?; Psalm 90.

2. Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, no. 26198 (= our fig. 3). Bronze: four medallions, plus one for a solder connection (D = 7.5 cm). From Syria. See Bonner, *Amulets*, no. 321, illus. Band inscription: none (Evil Eyes). Medallions: Adoration of the Magi; Women at the Tomb; Holy Rider; Psalm 90.

3. Athens, Benaki Museum, no. 11472 (= our fig. 4). Silver: four medallions (D = 6.4 cm). From Egypt. Unpublished. Band inscription: none (crosses). Medallions: Raising of Lazarus; *aphlaston*; Holy Rider; Women at the Tomb.

4. Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.2657A–C (*olim* Lebanon, private collection) (= our fig. 6). Bronze: eight medallions, plus one for a solder connection (D = ca. 8.3 cm). From Syria/Palestine. See *Antike Münzen . . . Geschnittene Steine und Schmuck der Antike . . . Schweizer Gold- und Silbermünzen*, Zurich, Frank Sternberg AG, Auction XXIV, November 19–20, 1990 (Zurich, 1990), no. 475, illus. (auction catalogue); and Vikan, "Guided," 90 f. Band inscription: none (Evil Eyes). Medallions: Psalm 90; Annunciation; Entry into Jerusalem; cross; *aphlaston* (with *Solomonos*); magical character; lion and snake; Women at the Tomb.

5. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, no. 4927 (= our fig. 8). Silver: four(?) medallions (D = 7.3 cm). From Egypt. See Wulff, *Bildwerke*, no. 1109, pl. LV. Band inscription: Trisagion (plus birds with branches in their beaks). Medallions: Adoration of the Magi; John the Baptist(?) or Zacharias(?) and aedicular; unclear; Holy Rider. (For the John the Baptist identification, compare figure 8b with the early panel of this saint in Kiev. See K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons. Volume One: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* [Princeton, 1976], no. B11. For the Zacharias identification, compare Bobbio ampulla 20. See A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte [Monza-Bobbio]* [Paris, 1958], pl. LII.)

6. [FRAGMENT] Binyaminah, Israel, Mrs. E. Vilensky Collection. Bronze: one medallion. From Palestine (Caesarea). See A. Hamburger, "A Greco-Samaritan Amulet from Caesarea," *Israel Exploration Journal*, 9 (1959), 43–45, pl. 4a, b. Band inscription: Psalm 90 (plus lion). Medallion: Holy Rider (with *Heis Theos*; and on the reverse, a later(?) Samaritan inscription: "There is none like God, O Jeshurun [Deuteronomy 33:26]).

7. Cairo, Egyptian Museum. Silver: eight medallions. From Egypt (near Saqqara). See J. Maspero, "Bracelets-amulettes d'époque byzantine," *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, 9 (1908), 250–252. Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallions: Annunciation; Nativity; Trinity(?) plus ring signs; Baptism; Chnoubis and pentaplas; Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion; Women at the Tomb; Holy Rider.

8. Cairo, Egyptian Museum (= our fig. 9). Silver: eight medallions. From Egypt (near Saqqara). See Maspero, "Bracelets-amulettes," 250–252, figs. 2–5 and pls. at end of volume. Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallions: Annunciation; Nativity; Trinity(?) plus ring signs; Baptism; Chnoubis and pentaplas; Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion; Women at the Tomb; Holy Rider.

9. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, no. 7022. Silver: four medallions (D = 7.5 cm). From Egypt. See J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Vienna, 1904), Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, no. 7022, fig. 400. Band inscription: none (birds). Medallions: four orant saints, one of whom is Menas.

10. Cairo, Egyptian Museum, no. 7025. Iron: four medallions (D = 7.1 cm). From Egypt. See Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, no. 7025, fig. 403. Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallions: Women at the Tomb(?); unclear; Raising of Lazarus(?); Holy Rider.

11. Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, no. 77.246 (*olim* Cairo, Fouquet Collection) (= our fig. 10). Silver: eight medallions (D = 7.7–7.9 cm). From Egypt (near Saqqara). See Maspero, “Bracelets-amulettes,” 246–250, fig. 1 (line drawing). Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallions: Annunciation; Nativity; Trinity(?) plus Chnoubis, ring signs, and pentalpha (with *Heis Theos*); Baptism; Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion; Women at the Tomb; Holy Rider plus pentalpha; Ascension.

12. Jerusalem, private collection (*olim* Jerusalem, P. Godfrey Kloetzli Collection) (= our fig. 1). Bronze: one medallion (D = 7.5 cm). From Palestine (Bethlehem). See M. Piccirillo, “Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlem,” *Liber Annuus*, 29 (1979), 245–252, figs. pp. 25, 27. Band inscription: Psalm 90 (plus lion and inscribed cross [IC/XC A/W]). Medallion: Holy Rider (with *Heis Theos*).

13. [FRAGMENT] Jerusalem, private collection (*olim* Jerusalem, L. Alexander Wolfe Collection). Bronze: one medallion. Provenance unknown. See *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions*, no. 345, illus. Band inscription: ?. Medallion: Psalm 90.

14. London(?), Private collection (as of 1924). Silver: five medallions (D = 7.5 cm). From Cyprus. See O.M. Dalton, “A Gold Pectoral Cross and an Amuletic Bracelet of the Sixth Century,” *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger* (Paris, 1924), II, 386–390, pl. XVII/3. Band inscription: Psalm 90 and, inside, “Lord, help your servant and Sissinios.” Medallions: Holy Rider and, on four medallions, portions of Psalm 90.

15. [FRAGMENTS] London, British Museum, no. AF 289. Bronze: two medallions. Provenance unknown. See O.M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities and Objects from the Christian East in the . . . British Museum* (London, 1901), nos. 157, 191. Band inscription: none (Evil Eyes). Medallions: Psalm 90; Annunciation.

16. [FRAGMENT] London, British Museum, no. AF 256. Bronze: one medallion. Provenance unknown. See Dalton, *Catalogue*, no. 158. Band inscription: none. Medallion: Psalm 90.

17. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 756 (Froehner Collection, no. IX.284). Bronze: one medallion. Provenance unknown. See D. Feissel, “Notes d’épigraphie chrétienne (VII),” *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 108 (1984), 575–579, fig. 3. Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallion: Holy Rider (with *Heis Theos*).

18. Location unknown (*olim* Paris, Comtesse R. de Béarn Collection [as of 1921; see below]) (= our fig. 7). Silver: eight medallions (D = 7.7 cm). From Syria. See W. Froehner, “Deux bracelets de Syrie,” *Collection de la Comtesse R. de Béarn* (Paris, 1905), 9–12, line drawing p. 10. Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallions: Annun-

ciation (with Luke 1:28); Nativity (with Luke 2:14); Entry into Jerusalem; Baptism (with Matthew 3:17); Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion; Women at the Tomb (with Luke 24:5–6/Matthew 28:6); Holy Rider; Ascension (with John 14:27).

The collection of the Comtesse R. de Béarn (Martine de Béhague [1870–1939]), after having been passed on to her nephew, the Marquis de Ganay, was dispersed in three auctions (1921, 1987, 1989). The fate of items 18 and 19 is unknown to me.

19. Location unknown (*olim* Paris, Comtesse R. de Béarn Collection [as of 1921; see above]) (= our fig. 2). Bronze: one medallion (D = 7.5–7.8 cm). From Syria. See Froehner, “Deux bracelets,” 7–9, line drawing on p. 7. Band inscription: Psalm 90 (plus orant saint, and lion and snake). Medallion: Holy Rider (with *Heis Theos*).

20. Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. BR4329. Bronze: four medallions, plus one for a solder connection. From Syria. See Maspero, “Bracelets-amulettes,” 252 f.; and E. Peterson, *HEIS THEOS: Epigraphische, formsgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, New Series, 24 (Göttingen, 1926), 94. Band inscription: none. Medallions: Women at the Tomb(?); Holy Rider; military saint and snake; Psalm 90.

21. Philadelphia, Maxwell Sommerville Collection (as of 1926 [Peterson]). Bronze: one medallion. From Palestine (near Jerusalem). See Peterson, *HEIS THEOS*, 95 f. Band inscription: “One God (who) preserves, guard (your) servant Severinam” (plus lion and snake). Medallion: Holy Rider (with *Heis Theos*).

22. Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 986.181.93 (*olim* New York, Jeffrey Spier Collection) (= our fig. 5). Silver: four medallions (D = 7.7 cm). From eastern Anatolia (Syria?). See Vikan, “Art, Medicine and Magic,” 75, fig. 10. Band inscription: Psalm 90. Medallions: Women at the Tomb; Trisagion; Entry into Jerusalem (with *Hygia*); Virgin and Child Enthroned (with *Theotoke*, help Anna; Grace). (A forged copy of this armband in gold was being offered for sale in New York and Switzerland during the mid-1980s.)

In the mid-nineteenth century E. Renan (*Mission de Phénicie* [1864], 432) made note of a “bracelet de cuivre à quatre médallions” with, inscribed on the “fermoir,” the first six words of Psalm 90 (see Feissel, “Notes,” 576). Whether this is one and the same with an armband in the list above (e.g., item 2), is uncertain. In addition, Strzygowski catalogued two silver armbands (*Koptische Kunst*, nos. 7023 and 7024) with four large and four small medallions each, organized in an ABCBA pattern; neither, however, shows decoration beyond simple crosses. Wulff catalogued a bronze armband from Egypt (*Bildwerke*, no. 850) with eight medallions, but only crosses for decoration.

12. The closest thing to a post-Maspero analysis of the genre is Michele Piccirillo’s brief survey of ten examples in *Liber Annuus*, 1979 (cited under item 12, above). The Fouquet armband, which is now in Columbia, Missouri (item 11), is reproduced through the Maspero line drawing in, among others, P. Testini, “Alle origini dell’iconografia di Giuseppe di Nazareth,” *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 48 (1972), 320 f., fig. 30; J. Engemann, “Palästinensische Pilgerampullen in F. J. Dölger Institut in Bonn,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 16 (1973), 18, fig. 3; E. Kitzinger, “Christian Imagery: Growth and Impact,” *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, K. Weitzmann, ed. (New York, 1980), 151 f., fig. 14b; and G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collection Publications, 5 (Washington, D.C., 1982), 42, fig. 33.

13. See, most recently, E. Kitzinger, "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *Cahiers archéologiques*, 36 (1988), 60 f., and note 64.

14. Figure 1 = item 12
Figure 2 = item 19
Figure 3 = item 2
Figure 4 = item 3
Figure 5 = item 22
Figure 6 = item 4
Figure 7 = item 18
Figure 8 = item 5
Figure 9 = item 8
Figure 10 = item 11

Of nineteen more or less complete armbands (discounting solder medallions): five have eight medallions, one has five medallions, eight have four medallions, and five have one medallion.

15. For a comparison of the Psalm 90 inscriptions on ten of the armbands, with observations on letter forms and spelling (generally indicating "l'origine populaire"), see Piccirillo, "Un braccialeto," 245–248.

16. Feissel, "Notes," 575–579.

17. For *Heis Theos*, see Peterson, *HEIS THEOS*, esp. 91–96. For the Trisagion, *Hygieia*, and King Solomon, see Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 69, 75–80; *Testament of Solomon*, D.C. Duling, trans. and intro., in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, I: Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments*, J.H. Charlesworth, ed. (Garden City, New York, 1983), 948–991; and, more recently, C. Walter, "The Intaglio of Solomon in the Benaki Museum and the Origins of the Iconography of Warrior Saints," *Deltion des Christianikes Archaïologikes Hetaireias*, 4/15 (1989–1990), 35 f.

18. Piccirillo, "Un braccialeto," 247 f., with references to the use of such invocations in amuletic papyri.

19. According to Wulff's description (*Bildwerke*, no. 825), the back side of this now-destroyed amulet bore a serpent-like form, the name Solomon, and an unidentified figure.

20. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 75, 79–81; E. Dauterman Maguire, H.P. Maguire, and M.J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and Holy Powers in the Early Christian House*, Illinois Byzantine Studies II, Urbana, Illinois, Krannert Art Museum, 1989 (Urbana/Chicago, 1989), 25–28 (exhibition catalogue); and Walter, "Intaglio of Solomon," 33–42.

The demon-impaling Holy Rider, as distinct from the Entry into Jerusalem Holy Rider, appears on the armbands in two distinct iconographic variants: one wherein the demon is a long-haired female, nude above and mummy-wrapped below, lying on her back (figs. 1, 2, 3d, and 7); and one wherein the demon is a running lioness with a human head (figs. 9a and 10h). For the distinction, see Bonner, *Amulets*, nos. 324 and 325.

21. Figure 17 = Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 2189. See A. Delatte and P. Derchain, *Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes* (Paris, 1964), no. 80; and Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 75 f.

The Chnoubis appears on three of the armbands, in two variant forms: one wherein the lion head, curling snake tail, halo, and solar rays are each clearly identifiable (fig. 10d); and one wherein the head and halo have coalesced into a misshapen bean-like form and the tail has become desiccated (fig. 9b). For the pentalpha, and various forms of the Chnoubis, see Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 69 f., 75–78; for ring signs (i.e., *characteres*), see R. Kotansky, "A Silver Phylactery for Pain," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal*, 11 (1983), 172 f.; and for the lion and snake, and the Evil Eye, see Bonner, *Amulets*, nos. 319, 324 etc. In this category, too, belongs the so-called Trinity above the Chnoubis in our figure 10d, though its precise meaning has yet to be determined.

22. Recall that the back of the amulet in figure 16 bears the opening letters of Psalm 90. For the group, see Bonner, *Amulets*, 208–228, nos. 298–319.

23. Kitzinger, "Reflections," 60 f. Iconographically, the cycle's individual scenes may be characterized as follows:

Annunciation: The Virgin stands at the left weaving the veil of the Temple; Gabriel approaches from the right with a hand raised in speech (figs. 6c, 7, 9a, and 10b).

Nativity: The Virgin lies half upright on a mattress at the right; Joseph sits at the left (fig. 10c) with a hand raised in speech; the Christ Child lies at the center on a block-like manger ornamented with a grille pattern, bearing a niche at its lower center; a star (the moon, a lamp?) appears above, with the ox and ass to the left and right (figs. 7 and 10c).

Adoration of the Magi: The Virgin and Child sit in profile at the left; a single Magus approaches from the right (figs. 3b and 8a).

Baptism: John the Baptist stands in profile at the left; one (or two; fig. 10e) angel(s) stand(s) in profile at the right, with towel(s); a child-like Christ stands against a curtain of water at the center turning slightly (fig. 7) toward John; the Dove of the Holy Spirit descends over Christ's head (figs. 7, 9b, and 10e).

Raising of Lazarus: Christ stands at the left; a mummy-wrapped Lazarus appears at the right, standing within a round-topped aedicula (fig. 4a).

Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion: The Bust of Christ (flanked by the Sun and Moon; fig. 7) appears above the cross at the center; the crucified thieves flank him, with arms bound behind them(?) (figs. 7 and 10f) or extended at elbow level (fig. 9b); two small figures (suppliants) kneel before the cross at the bottom center (fig. 7).

Women at the Tomb: One (figs. 3c, 4d, 5a, and 6i) or two (figs. 7, 9a, and 10g) Marys approach/stand/recline(?) at the left; the angel (or no angel; fig. 4d) stands/sits at the right; a gabled aedicula is at the center, with a pagoda-like (fig. 9a) or dome-like top (fig. 10g), flanking columns (figs. 9a and 10g), a hanging lamp (fig. 4d and 7), a central opening (figs. 7, 9a, and 10g), and a finial cross (fig. 7).

Ascension: Christ sits within a mandorla, carried heavenward by two angels (fig. 10i) or flanked by the four beasts of the Apocalypse (fig. 7); a frontal orant Virgin stands below him at the center, flanked by the Apostles, in two rows.

24. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 81; and Kitzinger, "Reflections," 60 f.

25. See A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, VIII (London, 1911), 251–253; and H. Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44 (1990), 221. For another such papyrus, see K. Preisendanz, *Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, 2nd ed., II (Stuttgart, 1974), 227 (P18).

26. See D.E. Aune, "Magic in Early Christianity," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt*, 23/2: Principat (Berlin/New York, 1980), 1546.

27. *Ibid.*, 1547.

28. *Origène, Contre Celse*, M. Bourret, ed., I (Paris, 1967), 1.6.

29. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art*, 19–23.

30. For the Holy Sepulchre's appearance, see J. Wilkinson, "The Tomb of Christ: An Outline of its Structural History," *Levant*, 4 (1972), 83–97; and for the ampullae, see Grabar, *Ampoules*; and Engemann, "Pilgerampullen."

31. Figure 18 = Monza, Treasury of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist. See Grabar, *Ampoules*, Monza ampulla 2, pl. V. Much like Monza ampulla 2, though better preserved in some areas, is Bobbio ampulla 18 (Grabar, *Ampoules*, pl. XLVI).

The armbands' cycle compares iconographically with that of the ampullae as follows:

Annunciation: This scene on Monza ampulla 2 is composed left to right, and includes a large chair behind the Virgin; Bobbio ampulla 18 offers a closer match for the armbands in showing the action moving from right to left.

Visitation: This scene on the ampullae has no counterpart among the armbands.

Nativity: The armbands (especially item 11; fig. 10c), are generally close to Monza ampulla 2, although unlike that ampulla they give no hint of the cave, and instead of showing an aedicula-manger closed by a grille, both items 18 and 11 (figs. 7 and 10c) show a block-shaped manger with a grille-like texture, and a niche at its bottom center. On the origin of this *locus sanctus* iconography for the manger, see Engemann, "Pilgerampullen," 17 f.; and K. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 28 (1974), 36–39.

Adoration of the Magi: This scene does not appear on Monza ampulla 2 or Bobbio ampulla 18, and where it does appear among the ampullae (Monza ampullae 1 and 3), the Virgin is enthroned frontally and the Magi come from one side and the shepherds from the other. Just the winged angel preceding the Magi appears before the Virgin and Child on three rock crystal intaglios of the period, presumably because of the restricted size of the object and the relatively coarse technique. See J. Spier, "Early Byzantine Rock Crystal Intaglios," *Byzantine Jewelry*, D. Content, ed. (forthcoming), nos. 3–5 (with discussion).

Baptism: The armbands (especially item 18; fig. 7) closely match Monza ampulla 2.

Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion: The armbands (especially item 18; fig. 7) closely match the ampullae, especially Bobbio 18. On the distinction between the Adoration of the Cross (as here in fig. 7, with Christ *en buste* and two suppliants) and the Crucifixion (as on some of the Monza/Bobbio ampullae), see Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta," 40; and Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art*, 22–24.

Women at the Tomb: The armbands (especially item 18; fig. 7) closely match Monza ampulla 2. Counterparts for those armbands with fewer figures (figs. 3c, 4d, 5a, and 6i) appear among the clay tokens from Qal'at Sim'an (the angel, but no Marys; see Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," fig. 24), again, presumably because of lack of space and the coarse technique, and not because of any direct iconographic link. The dome-like top to the Sepulchre aedicula in figure 10g, and the columns in figures 9a and 10g, are both paralleled among the rock crystals (Spier, "Intaglios," nos. 9 and 10), which in one case (no. 10) shows the aedicula, the angel, but no Marys. For the Holy Sepulchre aedicula, see Wilkinson, "Tomb of Christ," 83–97.

Ascension: The armbands (especially item 18; fig. 7) closely match Monza ampulla 2, though on the ampullae generally, the Apostles are aligned in one row. For the Apocalyptic beasts around the mandorla (fig. 7), see Bonner, *Amulets*, no. 324; and for the Ascension in *locus sanctus* art, see Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta," 43 f.

32. Grabar, *Ampoules*, 59; Engemann, "Pilgerampullen," 10, 12 f.; and Vikan, "'Guided'."

33. *Idem*, "Sacred Image, Sacred Power," *Icon* (Washington, D.C., 1988), 15–18.

34. *Idem*, "Early Byzantine Pilgrimage *Devotionalia* as Evidence of the Appearance of Pilgrimage Shrines," forthcoming in the Acts of the 12. *Internationaler Kongress für Christliche Archäologie*.

35. Bonner, *Amulets*, 306.

36. This was first suggested by Feissel ("Notes," 576).

37. The Benaki armband, although known to have come from Egypt, shares its figure style with the Syrian/Palestinian armbands (cf. figs. 3c and 4d), and finds parallels for its *aphlaston* there as well (cf. figs. 4d, 6f; and 13). The ABCBA rhythm of its design, however, most closely matches that of the Egyptian armband in Berlin (fig. 8).

38. Some of the following observations on specifically Egyptian iconographic traits, and on the Syria-Egypt distinction in origin, were originally made by Maspero ("Bracelets-amulettes," 256–258).

39. This is Kitzinger's view ("Reflections," 61).

40. Engemann, "Pilgerampullen," 6, note 11; 13, note 65; 25 f.

41. Bonner, *Amulets*, 208–228; and for the provenance of the Qal'at Sim'an tokens, see Vikan, "'Guided'," 76.

42. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta," 39; Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art*, 39–43; and *idem*, "Sacred Image," 15–18.

43. Figure 19 = Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 45.15. See P. Verdier, "An Early Christian Ring with a Cycle of the Life of Christ," *The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, 11/3 (1958); and G. Vikan, "Art and Marriage in Early Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 44 (1990), 57–61.

Some of the most noteworthy iconographic deviations of the cycle shared by the rings from that of the armbands include: the kneeling Virgin in the Annunciation; the inclusion of the Visitation scene; the inclusion of all the Magi and the accompanying angel in the Adoration of the Magi; the inclusion of Longinus and Stephaton in the Crucifixion.

44. It is noteworthy as well that Egyptian armbands (specifically, items 7, 8, and 11) show distinctive iconographic approaches to the Holy Rider (lioness), the Women at the Tomb (columns, pagoda or dome top), and the Ascension (angels). Moreover, in the latter two instances, the contrasting version of the scene attested on the fullest of the Syrian armbands, item 18 (fig. 7), is iconographically closer to the Palestinian ampullae.

45. I saw the hoard in New York in March 1983; it has since gone with the armband to the Royal Ontario Museum. Three pieces from the hoard were included in the *Art and Holy Powers* exhibition at the Krannert Art Museum in 1989 (catalogue nos. 63, 87, and 97).

46. For the spoon, see *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 63. On the dating of the Byzantine cross monogram, see E. Weigand, "Zur Monogrammschrift der Theotokos (Koimesis) Kirche von Nicaea," *Byzantion*, 6 (1931), 412 f. Corroborating a mid-sixth century *terminus* is the fact that the letters forming the small medallion inscriptions on the Berlin armband (fig. 8) are similarly arranged in the shape of a cross.

47. Vikan, "Art and Marriage," 158.

48. *Idem*, "Two Pilgrim Tokens in the Benaki Museum and the

Group to Which They Belong," forthcoming in the Laskarina Bouras memorial volume.

49. Bonner, *Amulets*, 208–228, nos. 298–319; and *Objects with Semitic Inscriptions*, nos. 176–193.

50. Bonner, *Amulets*, no. 303; N. Makhoul, "Rock-cut Tombs at El Jish," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*, 8 (1930), 45–47; B. Bagatti, *The Church from the Circumcision*, reprint (Jerusalem, 1984), 223, 261 f., fig. 108 (first from right); Walter, "Intaglio of Solomon," 36; and H. Gitler, "Four Magical and Christian Amulets," *Liber Annuus*, 40 (1990), 371.

51. Among the five, explicitly Christian elements are confined to item 12 (fig. 1), which shows an inscribed cross and the "blood of Christ" addition to the Psalm 90 inscription, and item 19 (fig. 2), which shows an orant saint. The latter would suggest for that armband specifically a *terminus post* in at least the fifth century, if not the sixth.

52. Figure 20 = Vatican Library, cod. lat. 3867, fol. 106r: Aeneas and Dido in a Cave. See E. Rosenthal, *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus* (Zurich, 1972). Measurements in the 6.0 to 6.5 cm range suggest that wear was restricted to the wrist. See *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, K. Weitzmann, ed., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977–1978 (New York, 1979), nos. 282, 292, 297, and 299 (exhibition catalogue). On the distinction between a wrist band and a band worn up on the arm (*perikarpia* and *peribrachiona*), see F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, II/2 (Paris, 1925), 1118.

53. *Patrologia orientalis*, 29/1 (Paris, 1960), 583 f.

54. For pairs of bracelets and armbands, see *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 292, 297–300.

55. Bonner, *Amulets*, 208–228; and Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 74, note 52.

56. *Idem*, "Guided," 87–91; and *idem*, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 75–78.

57. On the Chnoubis and the womb, see Delatte and Derchain, *Les intailles*, 244–256; Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 77; and, most recently and comprehensively, J.-J. Aubert, "Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 30/3 (1989), 421–449.

58. Vikan, "Art, Medicine and Magic," 77 f. I took up the gender-specific question as it relates to these armbands and to silver in an unpublished paper entitled "The Magic of Silver in Early Byzantium," presented as part of the 1986 NEH sponsored symposium, *Ecclesiastical Silver Plate in Sixth-Century Byzantium*, jointly hosted by the Walters Art Gallery and Dumbarton Oaks. A measure of silver's rarity in early Byzantine jewelry is provided by its very minor role among marriage rings, which survive in bronze and gold in relative abundance. See Vikan, "Art and Marriage," notes 22, 45, and 97.

The connection between women, silver, and Selene, between silver's tendency to tarnish, the menstrual cycle, and the notion of "unclean" is an age-old one. (On the link between the uterus and the moon, see, most recently, Aubert, "Threatened Wombs," 441–448.) The silver chalice and paten set in the *vita* of St. Theodore of Sykeon is "unclean" and turns black because it had been refashioned from the chamber pot of a prostitute. (See *Three Byzantine Saints*, E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes, trans. [Oxford, 1948],

117 f.) The myrrh-collecting silver basin of the bishop of Heraklea was defiled because it had formerly been used by a sorcerer to collect blood from human sacrifice. (See *Theophylact Simocattes, Historiae*, Carl de Boor, ed. [Leipzig, 1887], I, 11, 59–62.)

Pliny has much to say about the (mostly bad) magical properties of "the monthly flux of women," including its power to tarnish and rust various metals, and dull mirrors (*Natural History*, XXVIII.23):

First of all, they say that hailstorms and whirlwinds are driven away if menstrual fluid is exposed to the very flashes of lightening; that stormy weather too is thus kept away, and that at sea exposure, even without menstruation, prevents storms. Wild indeed are the stories told of the mysterious and awful power of the menstuous discharge itself, and the manifold magic which I have spoken of in the proper place.

See Pliny, *Natural History*, W.H.S. Jones, trans. (Cambridge, Massachusetts/London, 1975), 55.

59. Figure 21 = Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 986.181.125. See *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 84. Figure 22 = Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 986.181.26. See *Art and Holy Powers*, no. 89. For a ring from the period and region with Psalm 90, see G. Vikan, *Byzantine Objects of Daily Life in the Menil Collection*, I (forthcoming), no. R23. Matches on the bezels of rings, many known to have come from Syria/Palestine, may be cited for virtually all of the Christological scenes on the armbands. See, most recently, for the Raising of Lazarus and the Adoration of the Cross, L.Y. Rahmani, "On Some Byzantine Brass Rings in the State Collections," *'Atiqot*, English Series, 17 (1985), nos. 10, 11.

There are as well occasional pendants bearing *locus sanctus* scenes matching those of the ampullae. Although iconographically related at some remove to the armbands, and functionally like them insofar as they are clearly amulets, these pendants differ basically in style and, for the most part, in medium. The most familiar example, in copper, was published nearly a century ago by Gustave Schlumberger ("Quelques monuments byzantins inédits," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 2 [1893], no. 1, illus.); it shows the Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion over the Women at the Tomb, much as they appear on some of the ampullae, and it bears the inscription: "Cross, help Aba Moun." For a (now destroyed) cast lead pendant with the Women at the Tomb on one side and the Ascension on the other, see W.F. Volbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz*, 2 ed. (Berlin/Leipzig, 1930), no. 6726, pl. 5. And for a casting mold of the sort used to make such a pendant, showing the Adoration of the Cross and an equal-armed cross, see *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.*, F.D. Freidman, ed., Providence, Rhode Island, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 1989 (Providence, Rhode Island, 1989), no. 106 (exhibition catalogue). For a pewter pendant with, recto and verso, the Adoration of the Cross/Crucifixion and the Women at the Tomb, both very closely matching the ampullae, see L. Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, "Pilgerandenken aus dem Heiligen Land," *VIVARIUM: Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90. Geburtstag, Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband 11* (1984), 241–244, pl. 27 (with a discussion of the genre as well). Interestingly, all of these pendants plus the casting mold may be associated with Egypt.

60. Some of these same images might appear as well on the individual's clothing. See *Art and Holy Powers*, 28, no. 68.

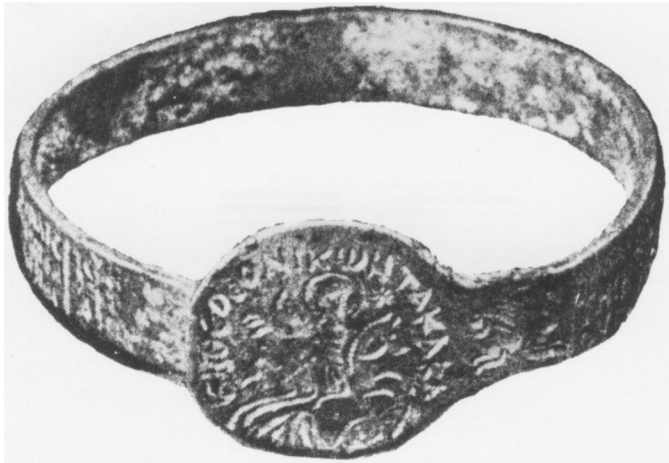


Fig. 1. Armband, *Holy Rider*, bronze, Jerusalem, Private Collection (*olim* Jerusalem, P. Godfrey Kloetzli Collection).



Fig. 2. Armband, *Holy Rider*, bronze, location unknown (*olim* Paris, Comtesse R. de Béarn Collection).



3a



3c



3d



3b

Fig. 3. Armband, *Annunciation et cetera*, bronze, Ann Arbor, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, no. 26198.

Fig. 4. Armband, *Raising of Lazarus et cetera*, silver, Athens, Benaki Museum, no. 11472.

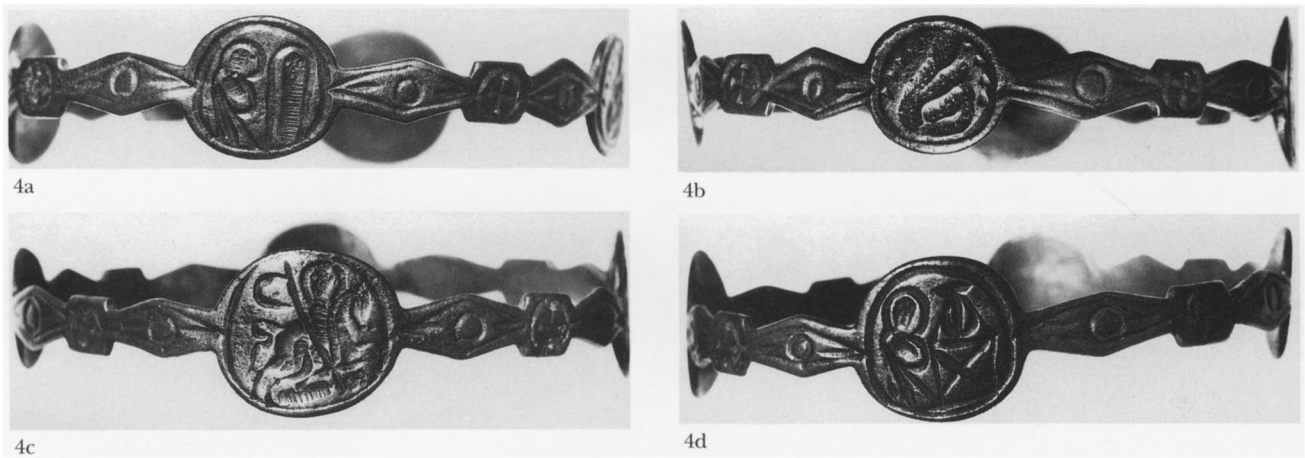


Fig. 5. Armband, *Women at the Tomb et cetera*, silver, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 986.181.93.

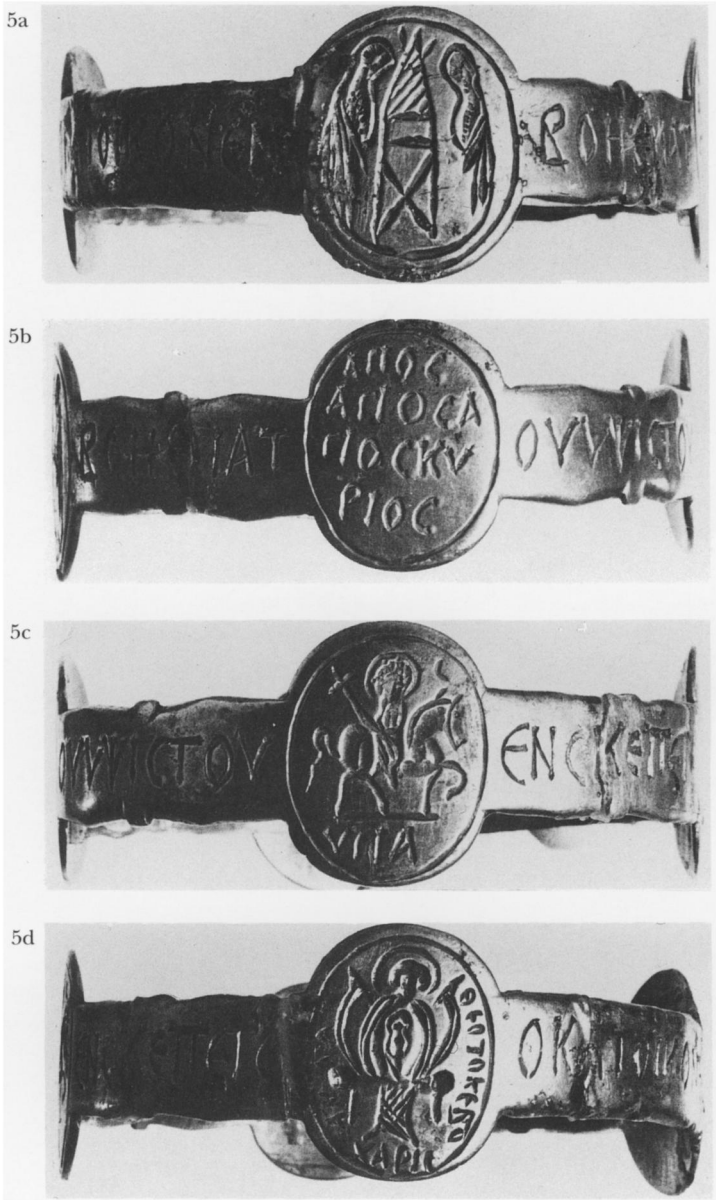


Fig. 6. Armband, *Annunciation et cetera*, bronze, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.2657A–C.

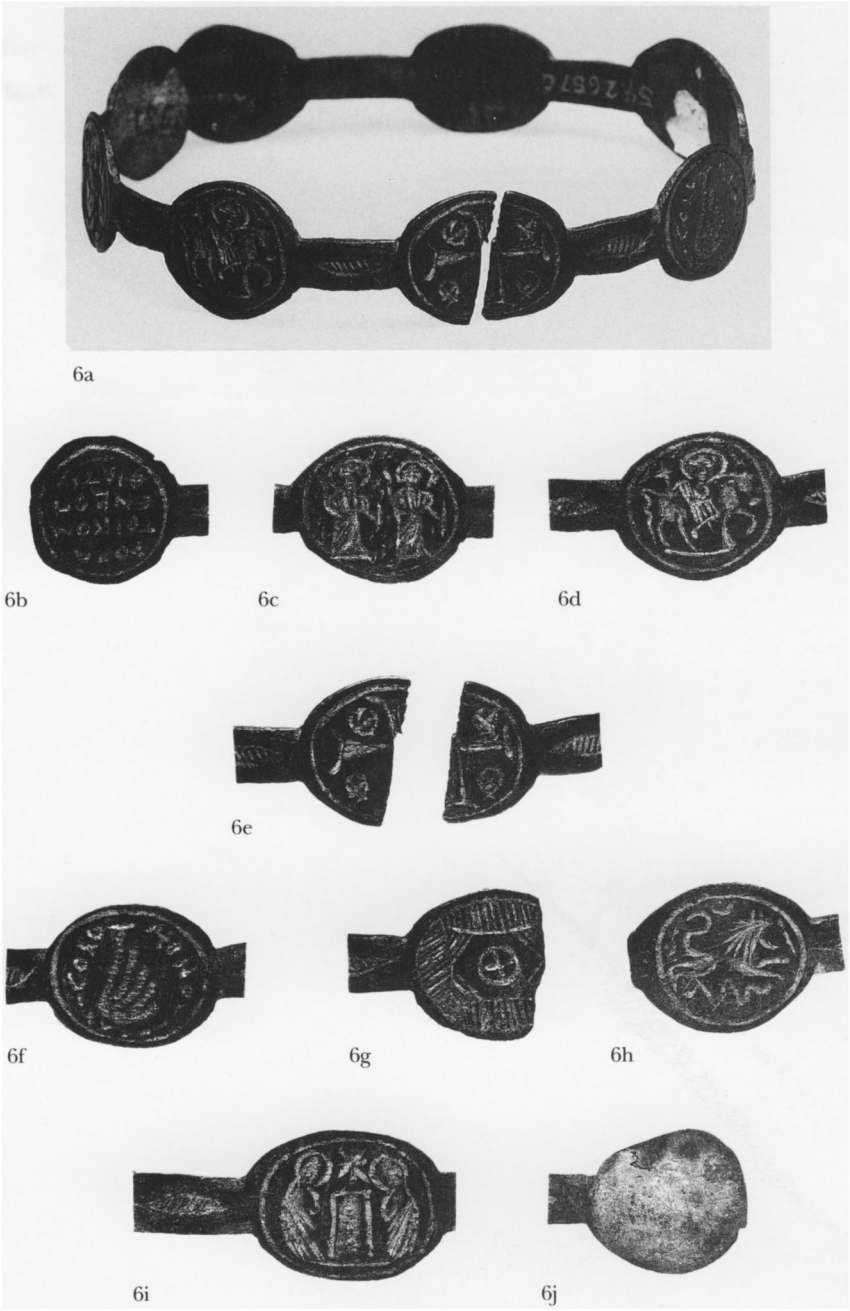


Fig. 7. Armband, *Annunciation et cetera*, silver, location unknown (olim Paris, Comtesse R. de Béarn Collection).

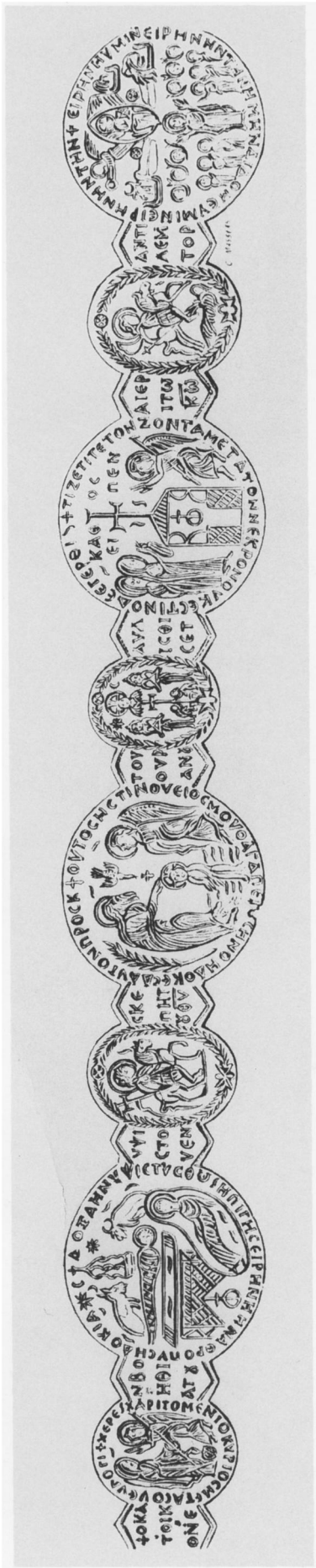




Fig. 8 (above). Armband, *Annunciation et cetera*, silver, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Frühchristlich-Byzantinische Sammlung, no. 4927.

Fig. 9 (right). Armband, *Annunciation et cetera*, silver, Cairo, Egyptian Museum.

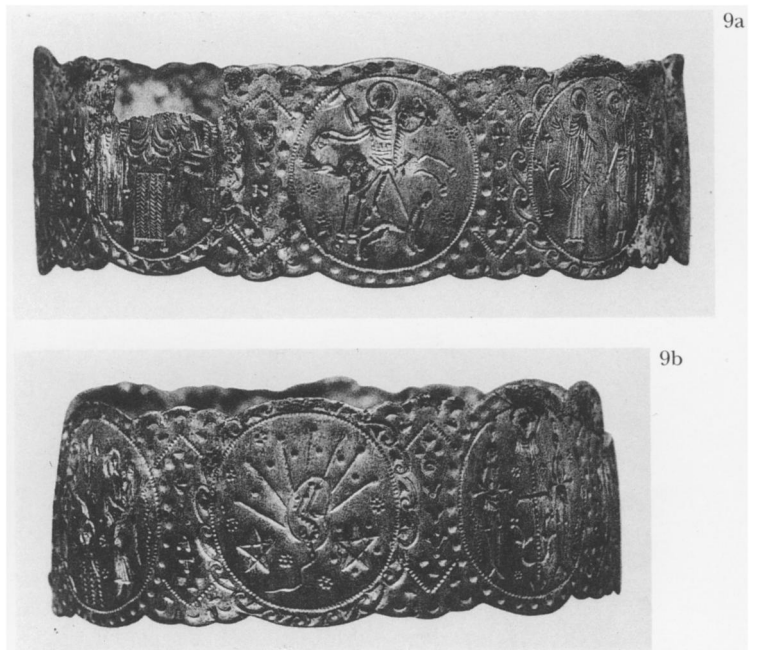


Fig. 10. Armband, *Annunciation et cetera*, silver, Columbia, Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri–Columbia, no. 77.246.



Fig. 11. Amulet, *Triumphal Entry*, copper, destroyed during World War II (olím Berlin, Königliche Museen).



Fig. 12. Coin (Mark Antony: 32–31 B.C.), ship with *aphlaston*, copper, The Hague, Kon. Penningkabinet.



Fig. 13. Pilgrim Token, *Aphlaston*, clay, Paris, Robert-Henri Bautier Collection.



Fig. 14. Amulet, *Caracteres*, stone, location unknown (olim Brummer).



Fig. 17. Amulet, *Chnoubis*, stone, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, no. 2189.



Fig. 15. Pendant, *Holy Rider et cetera*, bronze, location unknown.



Fig. 18. Pilgrim Flask, *Annunciation et cetera*, pewter, Monza, Treasury of the Cathedral of St. John the Baptist (ampulla 2).



Fig. 16. Pendant, *Holy Rider*, bronze, New York, American Numismatic Society, Newell no. 45.



19a



19b



19c

Fig. 19. Ring, *Annunciation et cetera*, gold, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 45.15.



19d



Fig. 20. Manuscript Miniature (*Vergilius Romanus*), Aeneas and Dido in a Cave, tempera on vellum, Vatican Library, cod. lat. 3867, fol. 106r.



Fig. 21. Ring, *Holy Rider*, bronze, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 986.181.125.



Fig. 22. Ring, *Women at the Tomb*, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, no. 986.181.26.

“Pictures Fertile with Truth:” How Christians Managed to Make Images of God without Violating the Second Commandment

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This paper was delivered as the eleventh annual Theodore L. Low Lecture at the Walters Art Gallery on November 17, 1991. It appears here in the original unannotated text prepared for that occasion.

In the introduction to his acclaimed *The Book of J* (New York, 1990), Harold Bloom reminds us of the extent to which a particular Christian position persists in the very terminology we use for Jewish scripture. Bloom writes,

Christians call the Hebrew Bible the Old Testament, or Covenant, in order to supersede it with their New Testament . . . I myself suggest that Jewish critics and readers might speak of their Scriptures as the Original Testament, and the Christian work as the Belated Testament, for that, after all, is what it is, a revisionary work that attempts to replace a book, Torah, with a man, Jesus of Nazareth, proclaimed Messiah of the House of David by Christian believers. (p. 3)

The notion that God’s covenant with Israel had been replaced by a new and more perfect alliance is, of course, introduced in the New Testament itself. There, Christ’s life not only completes the events and prophecies described in the Hebrew Bible—which it must if Jesus is to be recognized as the Messiah—it also replaces God’s compacts with the Chosen People. The Epistle to Hebrews presents the case clearly.

Had the first covenant been faultless, there would have been no need to look for a second in its place. . . For the Law contains but a shadow and no true image of the good things which were to come. (8:7–10:1)

Accordingly, not only the explicit visions of future events that the Jews too took to be Messianic prophecies, but any passage in the Old Testament became a prefigurement if read attentively with the knowledge of Christ’s life. For Christians, every person, event, and object in Hebrew scripture was a cryptic foretelling of Jesus and, hence, the whole Old Testament

was a vast field to be searched for evidence of God’s plan as they had come to understand it. The third-century theologian Origen offers a good example. Struck by the identity of the names Joshua and Jesus (both *Ihsoûs* in Greek), Origen wrote a 200-page treatise in which he demonstrated his belief that the Hebrew Book of Joshua had been written “much less to inform us of the deeds of Joshua, Son of Nave, than to describe the mysteries of Jesus, our Savior.” (*Homilies on Joshua*, I, 3).

Verse 21 of Psalm 68 (69) suggests how the Christian reading proceeded. King David’s scorching lament, “They gave me also gall for my food, and made me drink vinegar for my thirst,” becomes nothing other than a reference to the sour wine mixed with gall offered to Christ on the cross. As the Evangelist John already recognized, “Jesus, aware that all had now come to its appointed end, said in fulfillment of Scripture, ‘I thirst.’ So they soaked a sponge with the sour wine, fixed it on a javelin, and held it up to his lips. Having received the wine, he said, ‘It is accomplished.’” (John, 19:29) Many of the allegorical readings of the Hebrew Bible seem ludicrously undisciplined to us. During the Middle Ages, however, the very difficulty of finding Christian meaning in the Old Testament only contributed to the sense of the mystery of God’s plan. To discern the true message in the words of scripture was a spiritual act; animating the sacred text was a way to approach God.

The burning bush described in the book of Exodus (3:2ff.), for instance, where Moses was instructed to deliver his people from bondage in Egypt, came to be understood as a sign of Christ’s miraculous birth. How? The bush not consumed by flames was taken as a sign of Mary’s virginity, unaltered by the divine conception. As a hymn sung in church on the Feast of Moses (September 4) recounts, “Moses knelt down when he saw the stupefying vision of the bush and of the fire, the extraordinary union that fig-



Fig. 1. Manuscript illumination, Psalm 68, Moscow, Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 67.

ures ahead of time the untainted birth by the Virgin Mary.” Read literally, Exodus tells only of Moses’ mission to free the Israelites, of little interest to Gentiles. Read as prophecy—with Christ’s life in mind—the ancient Jewish scripture discloses a Christian mystery with universal appeal.

From the very beginning, Christians embraced art as one means for providing spiritual readings of the Old Testament and, hence, for rendering scriptural exegesis accessible. Sometimes, this was done footnote-like, by appending a picture to the text itself. The ninth-century illuminator of a Byzantine psalter in Moscow (Historical Museum, cod. gr. 129, fol. 67; fig. 1), for instance, introduced the Crucifixion alongside Psalm 68, by means of this illustration converting the verses of a Jewish poem into a prophecy of Christ’s Passion. Other times, the meaning of the Old Testament event was introduced with symbols, as when a thirteenth-century icon painter transformed the scene of Moses’ theophany on Mt. Horeb into a

prophecy of Christ’s advent by inserting a portrait of Mary into the burning bush (Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine’s; fig. 2). It was art’s capacity to encompass more than one textual account in a coherent and plausible narrative, however, that gave pictures their special appeal in this process of Christian interpretation. Pictures could present the Jewish story intact and, at the same time, reveal its hidden significance—not only in association with texts or through symbolic interpolations—but in fully unified depictions that seemed both real and true. For example, as rendered by a ninth-century Byzantine illuminator, Ezekiel’s vision of the “appearance of the glory of the Lord” enthroned in heaven (1:28) becomes a prophecy of Jesus Christ (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, cod. gr. 699, fol. 74; fig. 3). To be sure, written commentaries also recognized Christ in the unspecific words of Hebrew scripture; in this case, the accompanying text notes that “[Ezekiel], like the others, under a figure foreshadows the great founder and ruler of our sec-

ond state, and foreshadows its constitution.” (5, 172). Only by means of a picture, however, could the Christian understanding be assimilated fully and naturally to the several sacred texts.

The great fifth-century theologian Cyril of Alexandria offers insight into this process of transforming Old Testament words into Christian pictures. Trying to explain how Jewish scripture is “very much less than the truth and an incomplete indication of the things signified,” Cyril turned to art.

We say that the law was a shadow and a type like unto a picture set as a thing to be viewed before those watching reality. The underdrawing (shadow) and lines are the first elements in the pictures, and if the brightness of the colors is added to these, the beauty of the picture flashes forth. (*Epistle* 41, 21; trans. J. McEnery)

Cyril surreptitiously substituted “underdrawing” here (*skiagraphia* in Greek) for “shadow” (*skia*) in the text of Hebrews. The result is that Jewish scripture is likened to an artist’s preliminary sketch, blocking in essentials (in the Ezekiel miniature, the Lord seated on a throne); Christ’s covenant becomes the precise and brilliant painting laid on top. And just as a painting does not totally obscure its preparatory delineaments, Christianity does not destroy Hebrew scripture; rather, Christianity perfects the general forms of Jewish law by clarifying the significance in the extended theological economy. In contrast to Jews, who read the Bible as a closed and rigid written document, Christians understand it as art, to quote Cyril again, “as a picture fertile with truth.” (*Epistle* 41, 23).

Cyril’s use of artistic process to explain how Christians appropriate Hebrew scripture for their own purposes came to be deployed from the eighth century on as a real argument in support of images. His metaphoric interpretation was deemed especially forceful during this period against a growing cohort of critics who increasingly attacked images, and by 730, instituted real iconoclasm in Byzantine lands, that is, the systematic destruction of all religious art. Cyril’s argument offered ammunition against one of the iconoclasts’ charges, namely that images are not authorized anywhere in scripture; his likening of the New Testament to a completed painting was based on the Epistle to Hebrews, after all. Cyril’s commentary was read at the Second Council of Nicaea assembled in 787 (J. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, vol. 13, p. 12), the first time a church body met with the express purpose of defining formally the place of icons in Christian worship. Even earlier, John of Damascus had reduced it to an aphorism in his important treatise, *On the Divine Images*: “As the Law is a preliminary ad-



Fig. 2. Icon, *Moses Before the Burning Bush*, Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery [Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mt. Sinai].



Fig. 3. Manuscript illumination, *Vision of Ezekiel*, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, cod. gr. 699, fol. 74.



Fig. 4. Manuscript illumination, *Moses Receiving the Laws*, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 6, 32, fol. 7v.



Fig. 5. Manuscript illumination, *Christ in Majesty*, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 6, 32, fol. 8.

umbration of the colored picture, so Grace and Truth are the colored picture” (paraphrasing John Chrysostom, PG 94, 1363). And in this version, a second scripture added to the mix enhanced the metaphor’s authority, John 1:17: “The Law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.”

The trope was refashioned further and recycled in numerous later writings on images, completely fusing the Old Testament with an artist’s preparatory sketch and the Gospels with the completed picture. In the life of the Patriarch Tarasios written by Ignatius the Deacon in the ninth century, for instance, pictures are defended precisely as a means for explicating the Old Testament and for presenting the New.

Who would not venerate a colored depiction illustrating examples of piety, through which one can be taught the ancient lessons about the world, the Law, and the prophets, completing the understanding of the old covenant and archaic thought? Through [pictures] one comes to learn perfectly the divine and great wonders, which leads beholders to the glory of God. (PG, 98, 1415 and I.A. Heikel, p. 416)

Cyril’s metaphor came to the mind of the great ninth-century Patriarch of Constantinople, Photios, when he read Christ’s claim in the Gospel of Matthew, “I came not to destroy the law but to fulfill it” (5:17):

Here is designated the preliminary sketch of the image filled by colors, certainly the perfection of the drawing and not its abrogation. Christ coming to the human commonwealth served the first underdrawing in the law and completed it. (*Frag. in Matt. 5:17; PG 101, 1193*)

Nicephorus, like Tarasios and Photios a patriarch of Constantinople, put it bluntly, calling those who would dare destroy images “persecutors of color, or rather, persecutors of Christ” (*Adversos Iconomachos*, chap. 20; J.B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, p. 282). This point is made visual in the Moscow Psalter (fig. 1). Iconoclasts “crucify” an icon just as the soldier pushing a vinegar-soaked sponge to his lips tortures Christ himself, not by breaking or defacing the image but by covering its color with whitewash.

What in the Epistle to Hebrews is simply a metaphor for describing the levels of God’s revelation

—shadow/image/celestial reality—was transformed by means of Cyril’s elaboration into a powerful defense of pictures. It could now be said that images were indeed grounded in the Bible, in the Gospels as well as Epistles. And like the Gospels, pictures were constructed as theological meditations of the Old Testament. Just as Christ had fulfilled and perfected the Jewish prophecies, so too images of him completed the bare words of the old law and resolved the enigmas they contained. Because of their fullness and presence, pictures belong to a later, better, Christian phase of sacred history in which truth is known directly.

From the tenth century, this opposition of written revelation and Christian image was introduced in certain Gospel books that, anomalously, included frontispieces of Moses Receiving the Commandments and juxtaposed them with pictures of Christ in Majesty. The late twelfth-/early thirteenth-century codex in Florence (Laurenziana, cod. Plut. 6, 32, fols. 7v-8; figs. 4 and 5) is typical. On the left, Moses is shown striding forward through the valley of Sinai and receiving the tablets from a hand emerging from a celestial arc, a symbol of the invisible God known only through words. On the right, Christ is portrayed, God made man and the source of the four Gospels. The caption quotes John 1:17 to clarify the meaning: “The Law was given through Moses, grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.” Here, exactly, is Harold Bloom’s contrast of Torah and man. Here also is the evolved opposition of Jewish revelation locked in history and law, as against the continuously accessible Christian covenant available in effigies of Christ. Germanos, an eighth-century patriarch of Constantinople, explained it this way.

The Gospel is the coming of God, when He was seen by us; He is no longer speaking to us as through a cloud and indistinctly, as He did to Moses through thunder and lightning and trumpets, by a voice, by darkness and fire on the mountain. But he appeared visibly as a true man and we have beheld his glory as the only begotten Son, full of grace and truth. Through Him, the God and the Father spoke to us face to face, and not through riddles. (*On the Divine Liturgy*; trans. P. Meyendorff)

Attempting to incorporate this remarkable argument into canon law, a church council in 692 had long before demanded that all symbols be replaced by full depictions:

On some venerable images a lamb is depicted, a symbol of Grace showing us in advance, through the Law, the true Lamb, Christ our Lord. While embracing the ancient symbols and shadows inasmuch as they are signs and anticipatory tracings handed down to the Church, we give preference

to Grace and Truth which we have received as the fulfillment of the Law. Consequently, in order that the perfect should be set down before everyone’s eyes even in painting, we decree that Christ our Lord should henceforward be set up in human form on images in place of the ancient lamb. (Mansi, *Sac. conc.*, 11, 977; trans. C. Mango)

According to this edict, art was no longer simply to stand in for scriptural exegesis, it had actually to present the interpretation. The Epistle to Hebrews underlies the language of this seventh-century canon, and its rephrasings, in the contrasts here of Old Testament shadows and tracings to the perfected images of Christ.

Some seven hundred years later, the argument was elaborated in a depiction of Moses before the Burning Bush in a manuscript unfortunately destroyed in the great Smyrna fire of 1922 and known today only in photographs (Evangelical School, cod. B 8, p. 166; fig. 6). Representing the words of Exodus 3:6, “Moses covered his face, for he was afraid to gaze on God,” the miniature depicted the prophet shielding his eyes as he listened to the divine voice symbolized by the hand. As on the thirteenth-century icon (fig. 2), the viewer of the miniature is shown the mystery of Moses’ theophany in the figures of the Virgin and Child, something that the prophet himself could not see. Here, however, the Christian vision is introduced not simply through an inserted motif but by an icon. Mary and Christ portrayed above the Old Testament narrative not only convey the message that the burning bush symbolized God’s plan to deliver his Chosen People through a son born of a virgin; presented in a framed portrait, they also assert that this message is to be found in images. A hymn attributed to Theodore of Stoudios sung on the feast commemorating the cult of images—which not just incidentally is celebrated on the day of the Feast of Moses and Aaron—proclaims the same revelation.

Moses was deemed worthy to contemplate you, Mother of God, mystically manifested in the burning bush; we have been introduced to you more clearly, seeing the image of your form; judged worthy to adore it, we receive directly the grace emanating from your protection which resides in it. (J. Johannek, *Nicée II*, p. 149)

Like Christ in Majesty in the Florence Gospels, the icon of the Virgin and Child reminds the faithful that, whereas in the past, God made himself available only through enigmatic words uttered to a few chosen prophets, a living God is now always accessible everywhere through images.

Sinai, it should be remembered, is where God bestowed writing on mankind, inscribing the tablets de-



Fig. 6. Manuscript illumination, *Moses on Horeb*, formerly Smyrna, Library of the Evangelical School, cod. B 8, p. 166 [after Strzygowski].

livered to Moses with his own finger and dictating the Torah for the prophet to transcribe. The miniature suggests that it was also on Sinai that God inaugurated images, or at least that is the possibility raised by the miniature's caption: "Mt. Sinai, the true beholding" (*alethes theoria*). The reference is purposefully ambiguous. In Greek usage, "*theoria*" means both the actual contemplation of perceptible things and also a deep intellectual activity that goes beyond sensible perception to penetrate the meaning of events. As physical seeing, "*theoria*" here alludes to Moses' encounter with God and to viewing the icon, to the momentous theophany that culminated in the Exodus of the Israelites and the giving of laws, but also to the continuing theophany available to Christians in images. As interpretation, it refers to the process demonstrated in the miniature, the revelation that Mary and Christ are the true theophany veiled in this Old Testament story.

Once again, Cyril of Alexandria comes to mind. In trying to explain how the Book of Joshua can be read both as an account of Joshua's conquests and as



Fig. 7. Manuscript illumination, *Moses Receiving the Laws and Moses and Aaron Depositing Tablets in the Ark of the Covenant*, formerly Smyrna, Library of the Evangelical School, cod. B 8, p. 167 [Vienna, Nationalbibliothek].

a prefigurement of Christ's life, Cyril recalled a legend about Moses' death (*Stromata* VI, 15, 132, 3; *PG* 9, 356f.). Caleb, an Israelite, saw only a natural occurrence: Moses carried into a cave and buried; but Joshua, that is Jesus, perceived a supernatural event: angels descending to take the prophet's soul to heaven. Jews comprehend with carnal senses, they see only the historical occurrence; Christians read the same words and witness the same events, but they understand the true significance.

The icon in this miniature is a *theoria* in both senses of the word. It clarifies the mystery of the bush not consumed by fire and offers a material contemplation of God's revelation. In contrast to the Jews who failed to excavate truth from the law—even Moses who was allowed to talk to God on the holy mountain and to glimpse his back—Christians are granted the privilege of seeing God, because Christ resolved the enigmas of the biblical prophecies and by entering matter, God became visible.

The pictorial argument is expanded further on

the facing page, which confronts the icon and episode of the burning bush with two more scenes from the story of Moses (p. 167; fig. 7). At the top, Moses receives the tablets from God's hand (as was common in Byzantine art, these are shown as rectangular slabs of veined marble, but here unusually large and strapped together). Below, with Aaron and the Israelites, he deposits the enshrouded commandments in the ark of the covenant, rendered as a tomb-like chest. The tablets of law sealed from view and evoking a sense of death, contrast with the painted tablet of the life-giving mother and child open to all. God's truth formerly cloaked in the Old Testament's dark mysteries—in sounds and words, in symbols and obscure tracings—is made visible now through Christ, who fulfilled the prophecies and enabled full, colored images to disengage the true sense of the words in Hebrew scripture.

But what of the explicit prohibition of images in the laws that Moses received from God on Sinai? How could Christians get around the Second Commandment's unqualified injunction of all pictorial representation?

On the day when the Lord spoke to you out of the fire on Horeb, you saw no figure of any kind; so take good care not to fall into the degrading practice of making figures carved in relief of a man or a woman, or of any animal on earth or bird that flies in the air, or of any reptile on the ground or fish in the waters under the earth . . . gods made by human hands out of wood and stone, gods that can neither see nor hear, neither eat nor smell. (Deut. 4:15-28)

As Theodore of Stoudios suggested in his influential treatise, *On the Holy Icons*, the Second Commandment could be either dismissed as irrelevant to Christians or could be subjected to a spiritual reading.

Whatever the Law says, it says to those under the Law. The ancient commandments should not be imposed on those under grace . . . But we must understand these things only as a foreshadowing. The apostle says that the Law is a shadow but not the true image of the realities. (II, 36; trans. C. Roth)

Unlike the stories they took as prophecy and in contrast to the 613 Levitical regulations they rejected as parochial, however, Christians maintained the Decalogue, believing that the Ten Commandments coincided with natural law. Just as the condemnation of stealing and adultery and the requirements to honor God and one's parents were regarded as inherent rules governing social behavior, so too the prohibition of images. Made by men of dead matter, images

could never merit the veneration due God alone, the creator of man. Those who opposed the cult of images always invoked the Second Commandment; the Jewish prohibition is the starting point of every iconoclastic polemic.

Defenders of images had, then, to respond directly to this attack, and they did so in various ways. Some asserted that because Jews had lived in Egypt, a land of idols, they were predisposed to idolatry and had to be curbed in ways no longer necessary for Christians. Others pointed out that the injunction could not have been meant absolutely, since Jews themselves also revered holy objects, the tabernacle and holy vessels kept inside it, indeed, the tablets of the law themselves. These, too, were entered into the debate as "material contemplations" on a par with holy scripture itself. Thus, John of Damascus could argue,

An image foreshadows something that is yet to happen, something hidden in riddles and shadows. For instance, the ark of the covenant is an image of the Holy Virgin and Theotokos, as are the rod of Aaron and jar of manna. . . . Again, things which have taken place are remembered by means of . . . two kinds of images: either they are words written in books, as when God had the law engraved on tablets and desired the lives of holy men to be recorded, or else they are material images, such as the jar of manna, or Aaron's staff, which were to be kept in the ark as a memorial. (*On the Divine Images*, I, 12-13; trans. D. Anderson)

The same argument, indeed paraphrased from John of Damascus, was forcefully advanced in a little-known treatise on icons written by the philosopher John Italos at the end of the eleventh century, which concludes with the claim that icons are answers to the "riddles" found in Hebrew scripture and replacements for the sacred vessels formerly kept in the tabernacle.

Images represent the future through painted symbols, as the Red Sea according to the Apostle, which represents the water of baptism and the cloud the Holy Spirit (1 Cor. 10:2). The contemplation (*theoria*) by means of the past assists future generations through remembrance. These images are of two kinds: either they are written words, as when God himself engraved the law on tablets of stone and old holy books he commanded to be written, or they are material contemplations (*theorias*), as when God arranged everything together, the manna jar and rod kept in the ark as a memorial. According to the custom of excellent men, we make and set up holy and venerable icons. (P.-P. Joannou, *Ioannes Italos quaestiones quodlibetales*, p. 151)

And the same claim is made visual in the Smyrna manuscript through a series of miniatures juxtaposing diverse icons of Mary and Christ with their material



Fig. 8. Manuscript illumination, “The Jar of Manna,” formerly Smyrna, Library of the Evangelical School, cod. B 8, p. 178 [Paris, École pratique des Hautes Études, Collection Millet].

prefigurements: the tabernacle, table, menorah, Aaron’s budding rod, jar of manna, and tablets of the law. One miniature, for example, depicts Moses and Aaron flanking the jar of manna (p. 178; fig. 8)—a classic prefigurement of the Virgin whose womb contained Christ—and its *theoria* in the form of an enormous icon of the Virgin and Child suspended above. Another represents the tabernacle’s interior with the tablets, jar of manna, and budding rod below and a circular icon of Mary and Christ above (p. 179; fig. 9); quite literally, here, the Christian image fulfills Jewish revelation in material forms far superior to those Moses made after he descended from the holy mountain, superior even to the tablets of the law inscribed by God himself. Moreover, as the caption recalls, the Jewish vessels were kept hidden; only the high priest could approach them and then but once a year when he sought the people’s redemption inside the tabernacle. Christian icons, in contrast, were always open to everyone, because God had become visible in Christ and had provided an eternal sacrifice through the Crucifixion.

It was the christological argument that proved most effective in disposing the Second Commandment:



Fig. 9. Manuscript illumination, “The Tabernacle,” formerly Smyrna, Library of the Evangelical School, cod. B 8, p. 179 [Paris, École pratique des Hautes Études, Collection Millet].

God, invisible to the Jews, could be represented because he had assumed flesh and was seen. To deny images was tantamount to questioning the reality of Christ’s incarnation, or so the defenders of images maintained. The liturgy performed on the feast of images asserts,

Those who penetrate the words of Moses, “Watch yourselves, because the day the Lord spoke to you on the mountain at Horeb, you heard the sound of words but you did not see his form,” they know how to respond. . . . Thus, those who have received from God the power to distinguish the prohibition contained in the law and the instruction borne by Grace, the one which, in the law is invisible, the other which, in Grace, is visible and palpable and, for this reason, they represent in images the realities seen and touched and venerated. (*Synodikon of Orthodoxy*, Gouillard, p. 51)

Another refutation of the Second Commandment—implied by Italos, for instance—was the claim that pictures are the spiritual significance beneath the law. Whoever attacks images because of the old prohibi-



Fig. 10. Manuscript illumination, "The Spiritual Tablets," Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, cod. Ross. gr. 251, fol. 12v.

tion reads the Bible literally, the way Jews do, missing its higher truth. As John of Damascus put it,

They truly are in error, brothers, for they do not know the Scriptures, that the letter kills, but the spirit gives life. They do not find in the written word its hidden, spiritual meaning. (*On the Divine Images*, I, 5; trans. C. Roth)

The reference here—now tethered to the defense of images—is to the most potent argument against the old covenant found anywhere in the New Testament, Paul's Second Letter to the Corinthians. Developing the account in the book of Exodus which describes Moses' transfigured face when he read the law to Israel, the apostle advanced the essentially spiritual nature of Christianity.

[Christ's covenant is a] new covenant, a covenant expressed not in a written document, but in a spiritual bond; for the written law condemns to death, but the Spirit gives life. The law, then, engraved letter by letter upon stone, dispensed death, and yet it was inaugurated with divine splendor . . . which made the face of Moses so

bright that the Israelites could not gaze steadily on him . . . [Moses] put a veil over his face to keep the Israelites from gazing on the fading splendor until it was gone. But in any case their minds had been made insensitive, for that same veil is there to this very day when the lesson is read from the old covenant; and it is never lifted, because only in Christ is the old covenant abrogated. But to this very day, every time the Law of Moses is read, a veil lies over the minds of the hearers. However, as Scripture says of Moses, "whenever he turns to the Lord the veil is removed." Now the Lord of whom this passage speaks is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. And because for us, there is no veil over the face, we all reflect as in a mirror the splendor of the Lord. (3:6-18)

Put more succinctly by Cyril of Alexandria, "Because we are led in Christ toward the sight of God and the Father, we will see glory without the veil of Moses, understanding the laws spiritually" (*Glaphyrorum in Exodum*, III; PG 69, col. 537). For Christians, then, the law instituted through Moses to mediate between man

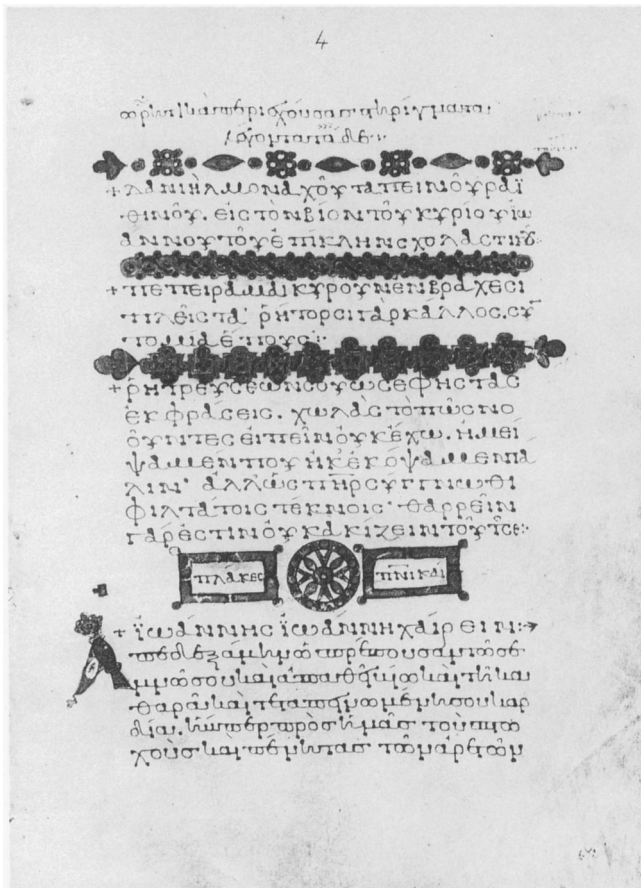


Fig. 11. Manuscript illumination, “The Spiritual Tablets,” Mt. Sinai, St. Catherine’s Monastery, cod. gr. 417, fol. 4 [Kurt Weitzmann].

and God has lost its grasp, and Jews, adhering to it blindly, are doomed to death. Christ is now offered in place of the law, and with him grace and freedom of the spirit. By understanding the Old Testament through Christ’s life, Christians lift the veil from Moses’ face, revealing the spirit of God’s law and seeing God’s glory face to face.

The implications of Paul’s argument and the others we have been examining are fully realized in an eleventh-century miniature decorating a copy of John Climacus’s *Heavenly Ladder* in the Vatican Library (cod. Ross. 251, fol. 12v; fig. 10). Its oxymoronic caption, ΠΛΑΚΕΣ ΠΝ(ΕΜΑΤ)ΙΚΑΙ, “spiritual tablets,” picks up the contrast Paul set up between the law—written letter by letter on stone—and the life-giving spirit of the new covenant. In the immediate context, this refers to Climacus’s own treatise written in the seventh century at St. Catherine’s on Mt. Sinai and called “Spiritual Tablets,” both to link it to Moses’ law transmitted in the same place and, at the same time, to distinguish its own Christian message. Thus, a letter from John of Raithu to Climacus, included in the Vatican manuscript as in other exemplars of the treatise,

likens the author to “Moses of old on that same mountain [who has] seen in the vision of God and [has sent] us a book like the divinely written tablets, for the instruction of the New Israel.” (PG 88, col. 624; trans. L. Moore). Whereas in such earlier manuscripts of the *Heavenly Ladder* as the tenth-century Climacus on Mt. Sinai (Monastery of St. Catherine’s, cod. 417, fol. 4; fig. 11) the “Spiritual Tablets” are shown simply as marble plaques, the Byzantine convention for representing Moses’ laws (cf. figs. 4, 7, and 9), in the Vatican miniature, two icons of Christ replace the liths, thus demonstrating the claim that holy images have superseded the Old Testament. In fact, the empty plaques remain visible as squares beneath the twin portraits; quite literally, here, the law is the shadow, a preparatory outline, and Christ really the painted image. As Cyril had explained it, by understanding the laws spiritually, the faithful are led toward the sight of God through Christ.

The icons pictured in the Vatican miniature are specifically the originary Byzantine portraits of Christ and hence the holiest of all images. The one at the left is the Mandylion, a fringed white cloth decorated with a diaper design and bearing Christ’s face encircled by a halo. According to legend, it was created without artistic intervention when a cloth was pressed to Christ’s face. The Mandylion is less a work of art, then, than a relic witnessing God’s presence on earth and, hence, was taken by defenders of images as proof that the prohibition of graven images did not pertain to those who had actually seen God on earth. The Patriarch Nicephorus, for instance, cited the Mandylion against those who demanded scriptural proof that the Mosaic injunction had indeed been abrogated; Christ’s act of transferring the imprint of his face onto the cloth, he maintained, was more persuasive than writing (*Antirrheticus* III, 42; PG, 100, 461). The icon at the right is the Keramion, a terra-cotta tile ornamented with the same lozenge and vegetal pattern as the Mandylion only in white, and the same portrait only in mirror reversal. The Keramion, too, was produced miraculously when a tile was laid atop the Mandylion to protect it; a mechanical offset of the first, it asserts the possibility of reproducing holy images.

Because the two icons were not actually manufactured, they confound one of the principles underlying the Mosaic prohibition of images, “the degrading practice of making figures carved in relief and the worshipping of gods made by human hands.” And shown together, the Mandylion and Keramion also refute a second tenet of the biblical proscription, namely, that because they are themselves made of inani-

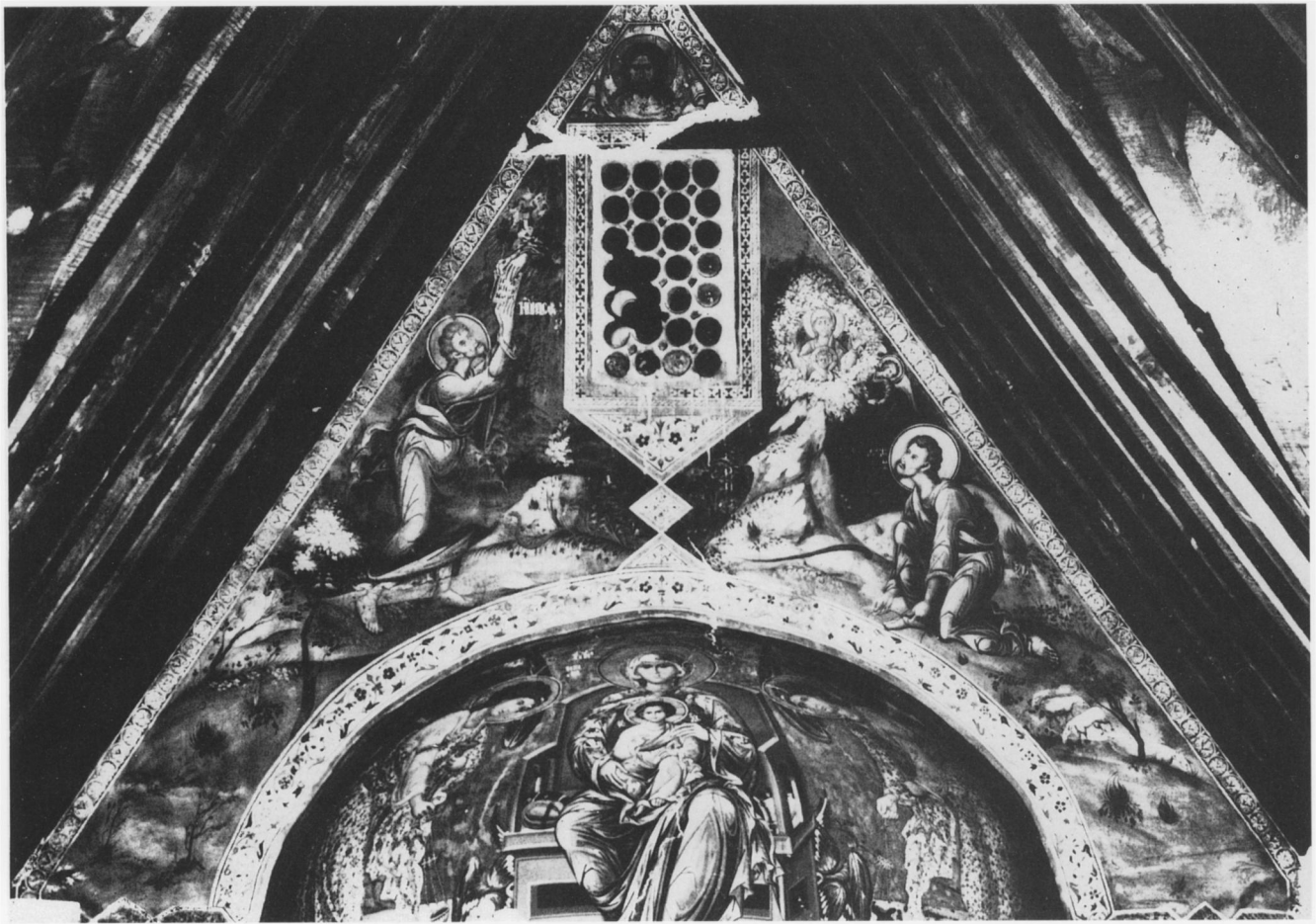


Fig. 12. Fresco, *Moses Before the Burning Bush, Moses Receiving the Laws, and the Holy Mandylion*, Cyprus, Panhaghia Podithou [after Papageorgiou].

mate matter, images are dead “gods that can neither see nor hear, neither eat nor smell.” The reversals of tone and color produce the effect of matrix and print in the paired images, recalling modern photographic processes; and within the limits of symmetry, such minor modifications as the turn of the eyes and fall of hair reinforce the suggestion of an offset also in the faces. But the portraits of Christ are themselves virtually identical to one another, completely resistant to the reversals of color established so carefully in the material supports. In other words, the paired icons make the claim that the holy visage exists independent of cloth and clay, outside the matter through which it is realized.

Theodore of Stoudios explained how this worked by likening the icon to an intaglio seal that can impress an identical image into such diverse materials as clay or wax.

A seal is one thing, and its imprint is another. Nevertheless, even before the impression is made, the imprint is in the seal. There could not be an effective seal which is not impressed on some material. Therefore, Christ also, unless he appears in

an artificial image, is in this respect idle and ineffective. . . . If he who looks at the seal and its imprint sees a similar and unchanged form in both, the imprint exists even before the impression is made. (*On the Holy Icons*, III, D, 9-10; trans. C. Roth)

To be seen by human eyes, the image must be realized in matter; but it exists independent of that impression and of the specific material chosen. By referring to them as *plakes*, tablets, the miniature’s caption emphasizes the icons’ materiality; but this only serves to underscore the notion that they are *plakes pneumatikai*, “spiritual tablets.” It is the portrait that gives the icons their spirit, the holy face expressed through—not in—the matter. The mysterious amalgam of dead matter and immaterial image is precisely what sanctifies the icon, just as the Christian reading of Jewish scripture animates the old covenant. Once again, Christians do not simply reject Jewish custom; they appropriate it for their own purposes.

The connection of icon to the Mosaic tablets was remembered in 944 when the Byzantine emperor rescued the authentic Mandylion from the Muslims and brought it into his chapel in Constantinople. Senate



Fig. 13. Mosaic, *Mary and Christ*, Istanbul, Hagia Sophia [Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks].

and priests acclaimed the chest in which the holy portrait was carried into the city as a second Ark of the Covenant, superior to “the other less elevated ark containing the most holy, venerable, and mysterious covenant” (PG, 113, 420). Tacked to a board and set in a gold frame, the Mandyllion was then displayed in the Pharos Chapel where the actual tablets were kept as relics. The association between Jewish law and Christian image continued to be recalled in church services. Readings on a feast established to celebrate the Mandyllion include Moses’ admonition not to forget the law, and a recapitulation of the Ten Commandments. And the recollection of the covenant with Moses, not its suppression, persisted in art as well. Sixteenth-century frescoes on the apse wall of the church of Panhaghia Podithou on Cyprus (fig. 12) give pride of place to Moses Receiving the Laws and Moses before the Burning Bush where, as usual, the prefigurement of Mary and Christ appear. At the apex above the window, the Holy Mandyllion is pictured to assert a fundamental point: with the coming of Christ,

the old law, including the prohibition of images, had been at one time both fulfilled and superseded. The stone tablets “engraved letter by letter” yield to an image that reveals rather than veils the “splendor of the Lord.”

Christians could have images without violating the Second Commandment, then, because pictures are a *theoria* of the biblical injunction, a spiritual contemplation, both of the words themselves and of the material tablets on which they were inscribed. Precisely by seeming to violate one of God’s most emphatic prohibitions, images assert the belief that the old covenant no longer pertains and that adherence to the law is heresy or, at the very least, Jewish blindness. Like the Christian Bible having a New Testament and an Old, pictures reminded the Christian faithful that the laws delivered to Moses during his ascent on Sinai were imperfect, containing only what was shown and understood before the Incarnation. Indeed, they draw power from the tension between the two scriptures and from the process used to harmonize the dual revelation. If Torah contains God in every letter, every word, every line, revealing divine will only through permanent interpretation, images present the unity of the divine economy in Christ—immediately and all at once. Just as Christians called Hebrew law the “Old Testament” in order to supersede it with their new scripture, so too they asserted the superiority of their covenant every time they made an icon. For like Christ’s Gospels—to which it was frequently equated—the holy image was a mysterious fusion of the actual and the spiritual.

The icon, then, does not merely symbolize Christian supersession, though the themes and liturgical literature surrounding it insistently advance that idea, too. It re-enacts the central Christian mystery. Christ brought mankind a life-giving spirit that abrogated the law; the holy image does the same. And just as in Jesus Christ a true man is united with God, in the icon, matter acquires Grace when it is impressed with the sacred form.

As complicated as were these theological claims, set down in voluminous treatises, images succeeded not because of the theological logic but because of a mystery inherent in art itself. Pictures triumphed in Christian culture because of the magical facility of all art to transform stone and wood and pigments and glass and metal into living things. What had provoked

the Second Commandment in the first place, the danger that material objects animated through art would be mistaken for living creatures, was what led ultimately to the injunction's annulment. For when Christian viewers saw pigments composed of base matter converted into beautiful faces, or marble tesserae mysteriously transformed into radiant cheeks, they discovered further evidence of the wondrous wedding of flesh and spirit in their Incarnate God. Photios understood this well and he will once again be our witness. Writing of the mosaic set up in Hagia Sophia shortly after the end of Iconoclasm (fig. 13)—an icon of the Virgin and Child, incidentally, quite like that in the Smyrna Cosmas (fig. 8)—the great patriarch embedded the most profound theology in the very process through which art imbues matter with life.

Before our eyes is the Virgin carrying the Creator in her arms as an infant, depicted in painting as she is in writings and visions, a grace of the eyes

and a grace of the mind, carried by which the divine love in us is uplifted to the intelligible beauty of truth. You might think her not incapable of speaking even if one were to ask her, "How didst thou give birth and remainest a virgin?" To such an extent have the lips been made flesh by the colors, that they appear merely to be pressed together and stilled as in the mysteries, yet their silence is not at all inert neither is the fairness of her form derivatory, but rather is it the real archetype. (Homily XVII, 2; trans. C. Mango)

"You might think her not incapable of speaking . . ." *Hear*, in Photios' words, the echo of the Second Commandment's prohibition against "gods made by human hands that can neither see nor hear neither eat nor smell."

"To such an extent have the lips been made flesh by colors." *See* in the image itself, in the life-bestowing power all art possesses, how the commandment is subsumed in the mystery of the Incarnation.

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Le Miroir du Canoniste: A Propos d'un Manuscrit du *Decret* de Gratien de la Walters Art Gallery

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*Cette étude de l'iconographie du manuscrit du Decret de Gratien W. 133 de la Walters Art Gallery (produit dans le Nord de la France à la fin du XIII^e siècle) propose—sans renier les questions respectives de l'histoire de l'art et de l'histoire du droit—une analyse systématique des trente-six initiales historiées de la deuxième partie, afin de s'interroger sur la fonction idéologique d'un tel manuscrit enluminé. Elle attire particulièrement l'attention sur la figure du "grand personnage", que le texte des *causae* ne mentionne pas explicitement, et qui pourrait incarner dans onze des images le rôle d'arbitre et de diseur du droit du canoniste, voire le prestige et la nécessité du droit canon lui-même. Cette figure révélerait la fonction de miroir du manuscrit, entre les mains de son commanditaire ou des hommes de loi qui ont pu l'utiliser.*

L'impressionnant *Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, dont Anthony Melnikas a livré au public en 1975 les trois volumes et les centaines d'illustrations,¹ n'a pas rencontré auprès des érudits l'écho qu'il méritait: l'embarras des historiens, peu familiers d'ordinaire des images autant que du droit, le peu d'intérêt des historiens de l'art pour des images répétitives de qualité parfois moyenne, l'ignorance des arts visuels chez la plupart des historiens du droit, ou encore le caractère nécessairement succinct des analyses de l'auteur de cette somme,² expliquent peut-être que le *Corpus* n'ait, depuis sa parution, fait l'objet d'aucune exploration systématique.³ Sans prétendre à cette ambition, sans pouvoir même me prévaloir d'une spécialité d'historien de l'art ou d'historien du droit,⁴ je voudrais tenter de montrer, à partir de l'exemple d'un manuscrit de Baltimore, l'intérêt que pourrait présenter pour l'ensemble des historiens (y compris les historiens du droit), une analyse et une interprétation rigoureuses de ces miniatures. Cette enquête exploratoire pourra peut-être fournir des suggestions méthodologiques et susciter ainsi d'autres études plus larges et plus approfondies.

Rappelons que le *Decretum* ou *Concordia discordan-*

tium canonum, produit en 1140 par un juriste du couvent des SS. Naborre e Felice de Bologne, a marqué l'aboutissement d'un effort séculaire de l'Eglise post-grégorienne, non seulement pour adapter son droit à l'évolution de la société, mais pour contribuer à cette évolution en lui donnant une partie de ses cadres juridiques, et en offrant les moyens légaux de résoudre les conflits qu'elle avait fait naître. Pour ce faire, Gratien ne s'est pas contenté de compiler une énorme masse d' "autorités" (près de 4000), tirées de la Bible, des Pères de l'Eglise, des canons des conciles antérieurs, des décrétales des papes, il les a rangées dans un ordre logique et les a confrontées les unes avec les autres de manière à soumettre à la critique leurs contradictions et à résoudre celles-ci dans l'énoncé de ses propres *dicta Gratiani*. Pour se convaincre de la portée de l'œuvre réalisée, il suffit de se rappeler que le *Decret* de Gratien est resté le fondement du droit ecclésiastique jusqu'à sa refonte complète en 1917. Peu de phénomènes médiévaux ont joui d'une longévité aussi grande et précisément datée.

Le *Decret* comprend trois parties: la première traite en 101 *distinctiones* du statut des clercs et de la discipline ecclésiastique. La troisième, *De consecratione*, traite en cinq *distinctiones* de questions de droit ayant trait à la liturgie. Incontestablement, c'est la deuxième partie qui est la plus originale. Elle comprend trente-six *causae*, qui se distinguent par la diversité de leurs sujets et la nouveauté de leur structure.

Ces *causae* traitent de l'exercice du droit dans l'Eglise, du statut des clercs et des moines, des biens ecclésiastiques, des relations entre les laïcs et les clercs, de la place des laïcs dans l'Eglise. La plupart des *causae* se regroupent en plusieurs ensembles: les *causae* II à VII forment un *ordo iudicarius* (règles de procédure), les *causae* XII à XIV traitent des biens ecclésiastiques, les *causae* XVI à XX concernent les moines, les *causae* XXVII à XXXVI constituent un véri-

table traité *De matrimonio*, qui culmine dans la *causa* XXXIII *De poenitentia*.⁵

L'originalité des *causae* tient plus encore à leur structure. Elles comprennent trois éléments: un récit bref ou *casus*, les *quaestiones* que le récit invite à poser, enfin les arguments *pro* et *contra*, tirés de la tradition et que Gratien tente de concilier dans ses propres *dicta*.

Le *casus* est la partie la plus neuve de cet ensemble: c'est un récit bref, dont l'intrigue, fictive, mais plausible, consiste en une succession d'actions concrètes, centrées sur un ou plusieurs personnages principaux et propres à susciter les questions de droit qui sont ensuite posées et résolues.

Si les spécialistes des formes narratives se sont intéressés au *casus* pour en dégager les traits spécifiques,⁶ et si les historiens du droit se sont penchés sur les relations du *casus* et des *quaestiones*,⁷ l'intérêt du *casus* n'est pas moindre pour l'historien des images. En effet, lorsque les manuscrits de la seconde partie du *Decret* comportent des images, celles-ci, placées au début de chaque *causa*, sont étroitement liées au *casus*. Le plus souvent, elles en illustrent même l'initiale.

Certes, la plupart des innombrables manuscrits du *Decret* ne furent pas illustrés du tout: livre utilitaire, produit et vendu en masse par les *stationarii* au profit des juges des officialités ou des maîtres et des élèves des universités, le *Decret* n'était confié à un enlumineur que dans les cas d'une commande d'un personnage plus riche et plus puissant: A. Melnikas a relevé par exemple les commandes de l'évêque de Iesi, de l'archevêque de Sens, de professeurs d'université ou d'importants juristes et humanistes, du roi de France Charles V lui-même. Dans le cas de commanditaires aussi puissants, des artistes et des ateliers pouvaient être sollicités, tel par exemple, à Paris, Maître Honoré, qui enlumina par ailleurs le *Missel de la Sainte-Chapelle*. L'historien de l'art peut identifier les styles iconographiques et les ateliers d'enlumineurs, et mettre ainsi en évidence l'existence de groupes de manuscrits apparentés.

Je voudrais pour ma part insister surtout sur d'autres aspects, qui tiennent aux caractéristiques les plus importantes de ces images. Il faut d'abord souligner que les enlumineurs du *Decret* jouissaient d'une liberté d'interprétation particulièrement grande: comme A. Melnikas l'a lui-même remarqué, ils n'étaient dépendants d'aucun modèle antérieur, ils pouvaient donc et devaient même innover. Dans la tradition iconographique médiévale—qu'on pense par exemple aux contraintes de l'illustration de la Bible—le fait était suffisamment rare pour qu'il mérite d'être souligné. Un autre trait caractéristique

de ces images est qu'elles sont toujours attachées aux *casus*. Se pose donc pour elles, non seulement le problème du rapport entre "texte et image" (il se retrouve dans la quasi-totalité de l'art médiéval), mais celui du rapport entre une image et un texte de caractère *narratif*. S'il est admis que l'image ne saurait être la simple redondance ou "illustration" du texte, il faut aussi se demander si elle se donne elle-même pour une image narrative, et dans ce cas ce qu'elle retient du récit qu'elle est censée illustrer: elle peut chercher à figurer les différents épisodes du récit, ou au contraire n'en choisir qu'un seul (mais lequel, et pourquoi ce choix?). L'image peut aussi ne pas se contenter d'illustrer l'histoire: elle peut, à sa manière, l'*interpréter*.

Le manuscrit W. 133 de la Walters Art Gallery est un manuscrit daté d'environ 1290, originaire du Nord de la France.⁸ Ce manuscrit nous a semblé, pour plusieurs raisons, se prêter particulièrement bien au type d'analyse que nous voulions mener: son enluminure est très complète, puisque les trente-six *causae* de la seconde partie du *Decret* commencent par une initiale illustrée et plus précisément historiée.⁹ Ces initiales, très proches les unes des autres par la taille, les couleurs, le mode de figuration des personnages, forment une série dont les traits récurrents se prêtent à des comparaisons précises et même à des comptages.¹⁰ Notons enfin que l'iconographie de ce manuscrit est représentative d'une étape importante dans l'évolution de l'illustration du *Decret* de Gratien: ses initiales historiées s'intercalent en effet, chronologiquement, entre les lettrines ornées de végétaux, d'entrelacs, ou de motifs allégoriques que l'on rencontre surtout dans la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle, et les vignettes historiées, mais détachées de la lettre, qui se multiplient au XIV^e siècle. Au XV^e siècle, cette vignette indépendante se divise même de plus en plus souvent en plusieurs scènes successives. Le manuscrit W.133 correspond donc bien à la phase centrale de cette évolution. Mon but n'est pas de décrire ces miniatures pour elles-mêmes,¹¹ mais de repérer des récurrences formelles qui permettent de préciser la fonction idéologique de ces images.

Des images qui sont d'abord des lettres

Rappelons qu'une initiale historiée, avant d'être une image, est une lettre: c'est la première lettre du premier mot d'un texte, en l'occurrence le *casus*. Ce

texte, comme souvent dans l'art médiéval, est antérieur à l'image, et pourtant les relations qu'il entretient avec l'image ne sont pas univoques. Certes, le texte inspire l'image. Mais réciproquement, comme l'a noté Hubert Damisch, l'image "prend langue" avec le texte.¹²

Dans le cas présent, l'image est véritablement fondatrice du texte, puisqu'elle en est l'initiale: on ne peut pas lire le texte sans commencer non seulement par voir l'image, mais par la *lire*, puisqu'elle est aussi *du texte*. Le texte impose doublement sa marque sur l'image: avant même de lui suggérer son thème, il la fait entrer dans la forme même d'une lettre, dans son contour (le plus souvent circulaire), dans ses linéaments (ceux de la lettre *S*) ou ses barres (lettre *E*).

Dans tous les cas (à l'exception du *I* de la *causa* V), la lettre est elle-même inscrite dans un cadre rectangulaire au fond coloré et qui contient en outre, généralement écrits verticalement et sur le bord droit, la suite du mot et même le deuxième mot du *casus* (par exemple, pour la *causa* II [fig. 1]: *E-piscopus quidam*). La lettre la plus fréquente est de loin le *Q* du *Quidam* (quinze cas), suivie par *E*, *C*, *D* et *A* (chacune avec quatre occurrences), puis *S* (deux cas), *I* (un cas) et *U* (un cas). À de rares exceptions près,¹³ ces lettres sont non seulement les initiales du texte, mais les initiales d'un nom désignant un personnage. Ce personnage, dans dix-neuf cas, est un homme d'Eglise: évêque (huit cas), clerc (quatre cas), abbé (deux cas), prêtre (deux cas), archevêque (un cas), archiprêtre (un cas), chanoine (un cas). Mais les laïcs sont presque aussi nombreux.¹⁴ La qualité du personnage qui est ainsi désigné dès l'initiale du texte n'est pas indifférente: c'est le "héros" du récit, celui dont les actions, le plus souvent délictueuses, engagent l'intrigue, et suscitent à son égard des réactions chez les autres personnages du récit (la dénonciation par des témoins, l'accusation en justice, etc.). Ainsi commence par exemple le *casus* de la *causa* II: "Un évêque est accusé par un laïc d'un péché de luxure." Cet évêque est bien le "héros" du récit dont la lettre *E* (*E-piscopus quidam*) est l'initiale.

Très souvent, la lettre semble s'effacer au profit de l'image qu'elle entoure de sa forme circulaire (ce qui est d'autant plus vrai que les lettres les plus fréquentes sont des lettres "rondes": *Q*, *D*, *C*). Mais plus d'une fois, elle vient rappeler sa présence, notamment quand sa forme se surimpose au champ de l'image: c'est nécessairement le cas du *E*, avec sa barre transversale, ou du *S*, qui sinue au milieu de l'image.

Cependant la relation de l'image et de la lettre n'est jamais simple: si dans le cas des *causae* II (fig. 1),

XXII (fig. 14), XXIV, la barre centrale du *E* de *E-piscopus* forme une sorte de rampe horizontale qui ferme la scène de l'image devant le spectateur, la même initiale, dans la *causa* III (fig. 2), s'insinue au contraire dans l'image elle-même, se glisse entre les personnages. Du coup, elle définit deux plans, l'un "en avant" de la barre du *E*, et l'autre "derrière". Le jeu de la lettre et de l'image crée une profondeur spatiale apparente qui donne l'illusion que tous les personnages ne sont pas sur le même plan: ainsi se crée une hiérarchie entre les personnages du premier plan, les mieux visibles, et les personnages du second plan, qui apparaissent immédiatement comme des figures secondaires.

Il en va de même dans le cas du *S* de la *causa* IX, où l'archevêque frappé d'excommunication (*Sententia excommunicationis notatus quidam archiepiscopus*) est placé "en avant" de la lettre, tandis qu'un édifice et la tête d'un personnage regardant le prélat apparaissent "derrière" elle. Le regard de ce personnage secondaire et le geste de bénédiction de l'archevêque semblent se répondre et mettent en relation les deux plans, "arrière" et "avant", de l'image.

Le dessin de la lettre *E* n'intervient pas de manière moins sensible dans le cas de la *causa* XXII (fig. 14): ici, la barre horizontale contredit fortement, mais fait ressortir d'autant mieux, le double mouvement opposé des phylactères que tiennent, l'un en face de l'autre, l'évêque et l'archiprêtre. Avant même de lire le reste du texte, on voit déjà quelle violence anime leur débat contradictoire.

La structure du champ

Par leur forme ronde, les initiales délimitent le plus souvent un champ circulaire. À son tour, celui-ci est non seulement peuplé de figures et d'objets, mais structuré par elles selon deux axes, l'un horizontal et l'autre vertical.

L'axe horizontal, même quand il n'est pas souligné par la barre transversale d'un *E* (comme par exemple pour la *causa* II), est au premier abord le plus sensible, puisque l'image dispose en général latéralement plusieurs personnages côte à côte. Ceci est encore plus vrai quand la jambe d'un personnage assis, le corps tout entier d'un personnage couché, ou une table, matérialisent cet axe horizontal.¹⁵

Pourtant, c'est l'axe vertical qui me semble dominant: c'est lui que rappellent et multiplient les lignes des corps et des vêtements des personnages debout,¹⁶ la crosse dressée des évêques ou des abbés,¹⁷ les élé-

ments d'architecture,¹⁸ ou l'édifice vertical des églises.¹⁹ Bien souvent, cet axe vertical est un axe de symétrie, qui de haut en bas coupe l'image en deux parties plus ou moins égales. Les personnages disposés de part et d'autre de cet axe sont figurés de trois quarts, tournés vers le centre, soit sur leur droite, soit sur leur gauche. Il n'est pas rare que cet axe de symétrie soit souligné par le vide qui se creuse entre les personnages qu'il sépare: véritable dépression qui révèle sur toute la hauteur de l'image la feuille d'or du fond, mais qui encadre aussi les mains qui se tendent les unes vers les autres et les objets que les personnages échangent au centre de la scène. Ainsi voit-on dans la *causa* I, d'un côté l'abbé et le moine, de l'autre le père et l'enfant, les uns et les autres tournés vers le centre où les mains se touchent en signe d'accord, et où celles du père remettent dans celles de l'abbé l'enfant et la bourse.²⁰

S'il arrive que cet axe de symétrie partage verticalement l'image en deux parties à peu près égales, il est plus fréquent encore qu'il se déplace soit vers la gauche, soit vers la droite. Dans ce cas, il tend à isoler un personnage que sa position privilégiée et sa taille supérieure à celle des autres désignent visuellement comme plus important.

Ce personnage majeur peut être rejeté sur la droite de l'image, son corps étant tourné vers sa droite (c'est-à-dire, pour le spectateur, vers la gauche). Le plus souvent, le personnage concerné est un évêque, qui apparaît dans l'exercice de son autorité et de ses fonctions liturgiques.²¹

Plus souvent encore, le personnage majeur est rejeté sur la gauche de l'image, et il se tourne vers sa gauche. Situé dans ce cas au plus près de la marge, au début du texte, il est tourné dans la sens de l'écriture et de la lecture qui en est faite, de gauche à droite. Or, sur ces quatorze cas, trois seulement concernent un évêque.²² Dans les onze autres cas, il s'agit d'un personnage qui se laisse moins aisément identifier que l'évêque. Nous l'appellerons provisoirement le "grand personnage".

Avant de chercher à identifier ce dernier, examinons encore les quatorze initiales historiées qui restent et qui ont en commun de ne pas présenter de personnage majeur rejeté sur l'un des deux côtés. Trois concernent un personnage solitaire, en dehors de toute scène narrative.²³ Deux lettrines représentent un personnage majeur parmi d'autres personnages de moindre importance; mais au lieu d'être placé sur le côté de l'image, il se trouve au centre de celle-ci, sur son axe de symétrie. Dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'un évêque.²⁴ Neuf lettrines, enfin, sont des images elles

aussi organisées selon un axe de symétrie, mais dépourvues de personnage majeur. Elles ne concernent qu'une seule fois un évêque.²⁵ Tous les autres cas concernent des laïcs agissant en relation avec des moines ou des clercs séculiers²⁶ et le plus souvent entre eux seuls.²⁷ A chaque fois, l'enlumineur a choisi un moment particulier du récit, celui qui, sans doute mieux que les autres, "fait image": soit par sa charge symbolique (la remise de l'oblat et de la bourse dans la *causa* I, le don de la dîme dans la *causa* XIII, l'investiture du nouveau moine infirme dans la *causa* XVII), soit par son caractère spectaculaire (le meurtre dans la *causa* XV; dans la *causa* XXVII, la femme qui repousse son premier époux, dont elle déplore le vœu de chasteté, pour en prendre un second; dans la *causa* XXIX, la femme qui se détourne du serf imposteur au profit du noble qui l'avait demandée en mariage). Enfin, les deux images finales ont pour particularité de représenter, en deux scènes distinctes, non pas un seul épisode, mais deux épisodes successifs du récit.²⁸

Qui est le "grand personnage"?

De toutes ces images (celles où l'évêque est le personnage majeur, celles qui montrent un personnage unique ou encore celles où tous les personnages ont la même importance), se distinguent fortement les onze images (sur trente-six) qui mettent en scène, à gauche, celui que j'ai appelé le "grand personnage" (figs. 1-11). Qui est-il?

On peut d'abord chercher la réponse dans le texte des *casus* correspondants, mais leur lecture réserve une surprise: si les récits mentionnent bien les évêques, l'archidiaque ou le juge séculier que les images représentent par ailleurs, ils ne nomment jamais ce "grand personnage" dont la figure s'impose pourtant au premier plan de onze images. A. Melnikas a donc émis des hypothèses quant à ce personnage: pour la *causa* II (fig. 1), il voit en lui un "juge séculier";²⁹ mais outre le fait que l'intrigue du récit ne fait aucune place à un juge séculier, la comparaison entre le "grand personnage" et le juge séculier explicitement nommé et figuré à la *causa* XI (fig. 12) montre que cette interprétation est erronée. Pour la *causa* III (fig. 2), Melnikas dit que l'évêque est agenouillé "devant son supérieur", autrement dit un archevêque;³⁰ mais, là encore, le récit ne cite aucun archevêque et il suffit de comparer ce "grand personnage" à l'archevêque de la *causa* IX (qui ne se distingue pas d'un évêque ordinaire), pour s'assurer que cette interprétation n'est pas la bonne. Enfin, pour la *causa*

XXIII (fig. 6)—seul cas où le “grand personnage” est tête nue—Melnikas parle plus prudemment de “possibly a doctor of Law or a civil authority”.³¹ Je pense que l’auteur est ici plus près du vrai, mais qu’il faut être plus clair encore: ne s’agit-il pas en effet, dans les onze cas, d’un “doctor of Law”? Pour m’en assurer, je propose d’affiner l’analyse formelle de ces images, puis de revenir au texte des *casus* et des *quaestiones* correspondants.

1. Nous avons déjà reconnu quelques traits distinctifs du “grand personnage”: la taille (d’autant plus importante que, bien qu’assis, le “grand personnage” occupe toute la hauteur de l’image), ainsi que le fait d’être toujours assis à gauche de l’image (tourné vers la droite, c’est-à-dire dans le sens de l’écriture). Il se distingue en outre par son vêtement: une ample robe, le capuchon rabattu sur le dos, mais sans le signe d’aucune fonction ecclésiastique (à l’inverse de l’évêque). Une fois (*causa* XXIII, fig. 6), il est tête nue; les autres fois, il porte un couvre-chef dont il existe plusieurs types: un bonnet plat (*causa* XXV, fig. 7), parfois surmonté d’une sorte de plumeau (*causae* II, XXXII, XXXIII; figs. 1, 10, 11); ou bien un bonnet mou (*causa* XXXI, fig. 9) et plus fréquemment un chapeau conique, marqué d’une ligne blanche verticale séparant deux points blancs.³² Ces couvre-chefs, qui dans la plupart des cas sont de couleur rouge clair, se distinguent non seulement de la mitre des évêques, mais du bonnet rouge conique à trois cerceaux du juge séculier, comme du chapeau noir à larges rabattants de l’archiprêtre mondain (*causa* XXI, fig. 13). En revanche, dans la *causa* XXXIII (fig. 11), un personnage secondaire qui apparaît comme un acolyte du “grand personnage” porte le même bonnet à plumeau que lui. Il en va de même de l’archidiacre qui, dans la *causa* XXII (fig. 14), reproche son parjure à l’évêque.

Sauf rares exceptions,³³ le grand personnage tient de sa main gauche un livre fermé sur sa jambe gauche. Ce livre apparaît comme un véritable attribut de ce personnage, car il est exceptionnel dans l’image de l’évêque,³⁴ comme dans celle du juge séculier (qui, dans la *causa* XI [fig. 12] tient seulement un sceptre fleur-de-lysé). Cette fonction d’attribut apparaît particulièrement bien quand les personnages secondaires qui s’adressent au grand personnage tiennent eux-mêmes, en face de ce livre fermé, soit un phylactère,³⁵ soit deux phylactères et un livre ouvert, ce dernier justement tenu par un évêque (*causa* XVIII, fig. 5). L’opposition livre ouvert *vs* livre fermé est très claire et certainement significative: n’oppose-t-elle pas un

évêque sur la défensive (il cherche des arguments pour assurer sa défense) à un juge qui est la source et le garant du droit (il n’a nul besoin d’ouvrir le livre qui est l’attribut de son savoir et de sa puissance)?

En général, le “grand personnage” lève la main droite comme pour argumenter, ou tend l’index en signe d’élocution ou d’autorité.³⁶ Dans la *causa* XXIII (fig. 6), les doigts de sa main droite touchent ceux du personnage qui lui fait face et avec qui il dialogue. Mais jamais, à l’inverse de l’évêque, il ne fait un geste de bénédiction ou quelque autre geste liturgique.

Sauf dans un cas où il croise une jambe sur l’autre (*causa* XXIII, fig. 6), comme le fait aussi le juge séculier (*causa* XI, fig. 12), le “grand personnage” est toujours assis de trois quarts, les jambes à peu près parallèles, position qui est également celle de l’évêque: il adopte donc une posture, sinon de “majesté” (puisque’il n’est jamais figuré de face et qu’une jambe est généralement légèrement repliée vers l’arrière), du moins de grande autorité. Mais cette position ne semblant pas obligatoire pour lui comme elle l’est pour l’évêque (on ne conçoit pas un évêque croisant une jambe sur l’autre, comme le fait une fois le “grand personnage” et comme le montrent à cette époque bien des images de rois), il faut attribuer l’attitude du “grand personnage” non à la sacralité de l’ordo, comme c’est à l’évidence le cas pour l’évêque, mais à la revendication d’une dignité sociale qu’il doit conquérir.

Le “grand personnage” se distingue-t-il aussi par les couleurs de son vêtement? Le manuscrit présente, dans son ensemble, une gamme très riche de couleurs: outre le fond, toujours constitué d’une feuille d’or, on note le blanc des visages (avec les pommettes rouges et les cheveux blonds) et de certains objets (par exemple les nappes des tables); puis des couleurs généralement saturées et réservées aux grandes surfaces, telles celles des manteaux: le bleu, le rose-mauve, et plus rarement le rouge-brique, le gris, le brun. Enfin, des couleurs qui recouvrent des surfaces moins importantes, notamment le revers des vêtements, ou leurs pièces annexes (chaussures, bonnets, etc.): le vert, le noir, sans oublier le jaune des cheveux.

Comme c’est la règle dans les miniatures médiévales, une couleur n’est jamais attribuée à un personnage de manière définitive: dans la même miniature et à plus forte raison dans des miniatures successives, un même personnage (par exemple l’évêque) peut présenter des couleurs différentes. En effet, les couleurs ne fonctionnent pas comme un code absolu (qui permettrait de reconnaître le statut ou l’identité



Fig. 1. Initiale historiée, *Causa II, Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 107.

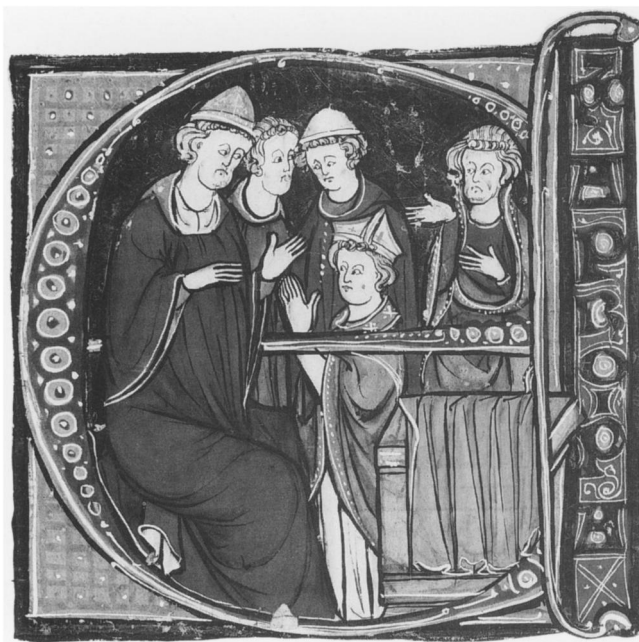


Fig. 2. Initiale historiée, *Causa III, Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 123.

d'un personnage), mais suivant des règles d'alternance internes à chaque miniature. Ces règles, même si elles sont moins contraignantes que celles de l'héraldique, obéissent au moins à deux principes:

- de visibilité, qui exclut notamment que la même couleur soit attribuée à deux pièces de vêtement contigues ou qui se recouvrent;
- de rythmicité, qui veut que les couleurs majeures se succèdent à peu près régulièrement, pour donner à l'image une plus grande dynamique visuelle.³⁷

Il serait donc vain de vouloir identifier l'évêque ou le

"grand personnage" par une couleur unique. En revanche, d'autres principes régissant la couleur peuvent permettre de les caractériser: la plus ou moins grande densité des couleurs, leur degré de luminosité, la surface qu'elles recouvrent, le fait que telle couleur soit attribuée dans une image donnée à un personnage du premier plan ou seulement du second plan. Or, bien qu'il n'y ait en ce domaine, rappelons-le, aucune règle absolue, il apparaît bien que les traits qui donnent à une couleur sa présence la plus forte—saturation, luminosité, grande surface, premier plan—concernent tout particulièrement le manteau du "grand personnage", notamment quand il est d'un bleu très dense.³⁸ En revanche, l'évêque serait plutôt caractérisé par une robe de couleur rose-mauve plus ou moins saturée.³⁹

Ainsi, l'analyse formelle des images permet-elle de caractériser le "grand personnage" dans sa relation à d'autres personnages majeurs auxquels, par certains traits, il s'oppose, mais dont il peut aussi, à d'autres égards, se rapprocher: ces personnages sont avant tout l'évêque, et aussi le juge séculier (*causa XI*, fig. 12) et l'archidiacre (*causa XXII*, fig. 14). Mais elle ne peut suffire à identifier le "grand personnage" de manière certaine. Il est donc temps de vérifier si le texte des *casus* concernés apporte les lumières nécessaires, et à défaut si les *quaestiones* posées par Gratien, et à partir desquelles il a forgé l'intrigue de chaque *casus*, permettent de savoir qui il est.

2. Examinons de plus près chacun de ces onze textes, les personnages mis en scène (le "héros" du récit et les personnages secondaires), et aussi les actions qui tissent l'intrigue, en essayant d'imaginer toutes les images que des rebondissements souvent complexes auraient pu inspirer à l'artiste. De toutes ces images virtuelles, on verra laquelle a finalement été choisie, et donc celles qui ont été ignorées. Nous pourrions voir aussi dans quelle mesure l'image se situe hors ou au-delà du récit, en innovant partiellement ou totalement, en ne représentant pas nécessairement ce que le récit raconte, mais plutôt ce qu'il suggère implicitement et ce qu'il signifie.

Causa II (fig. 1):

- Le héros: un évêque, accusé du péché de chair.
- Les autres personnages: le laïc qui l'accuse; les témoins à charge: deux moines, un sous-diacre, deux lévites; le métropolitain qui le condamne.
- les actions susceptibles d'être figurées: à l'exception du péché de chair, elles sont toutes d'ordre judiciaire (accusation, témoignages, défection des témoins, corruption, examen canonique).



Fig. 3. Initiale historiée, *Causa XII*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 162.

-Ce que montre l'image retenue: un moine, donc un des témoins, tenant un phylactère à la main, chargeant l'évêque qui, au second plan, fait un geste d'impuissance. Le vêtement du "grand personnage" ne permet pas de reconnaître en lui le métropolitain qui condamne l'évêque. En revanche, on voit, notamment à son geste, qu'il prend partie sur la cause. C'est bien un spécialiste du droit, mais le récit ne le mentionne pas.

Causa III (fig. 2):

-Le héros: un évêque, démis de son siège, puis traîné en justice (*ducitur in causam*).

-Les autres personnages: ses accusateurs (un homme concubinaire, deux hommes de mauvaise renommée, trois religieux), des témoins, dont certains ne comparaissent pas, mais témoignent par lettres. Enfin, un juge, qui finalement relaxe l'accusé.

-Les actions: un procès (accusation, témoignage, jugement, relaxe).

-L'image: face au "grand personnage", qui pourrait être le juge et qui semble assisté d'un personnage secondaire, l'évêque supplie à genoux; au second plan, l'homme de mauvaise renommée, d'un geste heurté des mains, l'accuse injustement.

Causa XII (fig. 3):

-Les héros: des clercs qui renoncent à leurs biens propres et à ceux de leurs églises.

-Les actions: rédaction des testaments et distribution des biens. Les *quaestiones* portent sur la légitimité de l'aliénation des biens des églises.

-L'image: un clerc, alité et nu, remet son testament à un pauvre homme. D'autres personnages, debout,



Fig. 4. Initiale historiée, *Causa XIV*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 176.

considèrent la scène en faisant des gestes vifs. Le "grand personnage" se tient assis sur la gauche comme en marge de l'action et de cette agitation. Une fois encore, sa présence dans l'image contraste avec son absence dans le récit.

Causa XIV (fig. 4):

-Les héros: les chanoines d'une église, qui engagent une action en justice au sujet de prêts consentis à des marchands.

-Les autres personnages: les témoins cités par les chanoines; les marchands qui sont leurs débiteurs.

-Les actions: la procédure engagée par les chanoines (*questionem movent de prediis*), la production de témoins, le prêt aux marchands.

-L'image: un chanoine à genoux exhibe devant le "grand personnage" un phylactère (il doit contenir la preuve du prêt consenti aux marchands). Celui-ci n'est-il pas le juge appelé à trancher la "*questio*"?

Causa XVIII (fig. 5):

-Le héros: un abbé devenu évêque.

-Les autres personnages: les frères de son monastère; son successeur à la tête de ce dernier.

-Les actions: accession de l'abbé à l'épiscopat; tentative du nouvel évêque de nommer son successeur; résistance des moines.

-L'image: l'évêque est assis à droite, le livre ouvert sur les genoux; d'autres personnages, l'un avec un phylactère, présentent avec insistance leurs arguments au "grand personnage". On peut penser qu'ils soutiennent la cause de l'évêque, puisqu'un petit moine se détourne au contraire avec son propre phylactère.



Fig. 5. Initiale historiée, *Causa XVIII, Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 198.

Causa XXIII (fig. 6):

- Les héros: des évêques hérétiques.
- Les autres personnages: le pape qui décide de ramener les hérétiques par la force dans le giron de l'Eglise; les fidèles passés à l'hérésie avec leurs évêques; les autres évêques restés fidèles à l'orthodoxie; les soldats recrutés par les évêques pour soumettre les hérétiques.
- Les actions: les menées des hérétiques; la condamnation pontificale; la guerre (certains hérétiques sont tués, d'autres capturés); la réconciliation des hérétiques.
- L'image: à part un évêque à genoux suppliant le "grand personnage", rien n'indique le récit. Les autres personnages, dont deux moines, semblent témoigner. Le "grand personnage", qui n'est ni le pape,

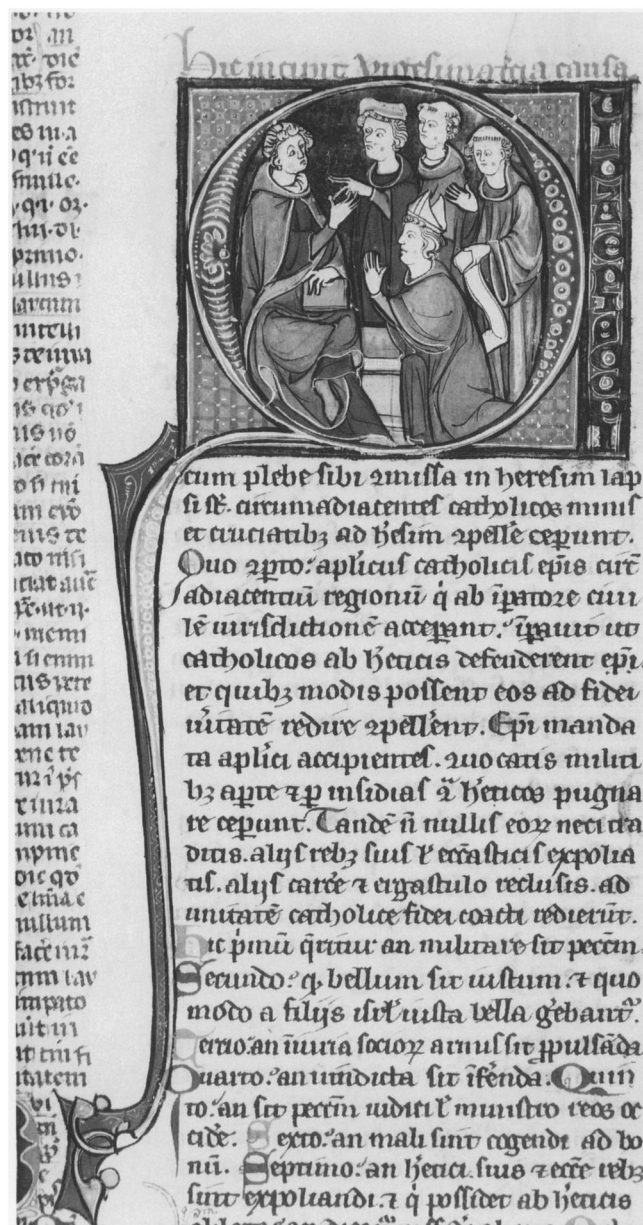


Fig. 6. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXIII, Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 213.

ni l'un des évêques demeurés dans l'orthodoxie, dialogue avec le troisième témoin.

Causa XXV (fig. 7):

- Le héros: un monastère, dont les frères revendiquent les dîmes d'une église baptismale qu'ils ont acquise.
- Les autres personnages: les clercs séculiers qui leur dénie ce droit.
- Les actions: acquisition d'une église par les moines; paiement des dîmes; conflit entre les moines et les clercs à propos des dîmes.
- L'image: un moine et deux clercs soutiennent leurs causes respectives devant le "grand personnage". A l'arrière, l'église contestée.

Causa XXVIII (fig. 8):

- Le héros: un Infidèle converti, qui se remarie, devient veuf, puis clerc, puis évêque.
- Les autres personnages: sa première épouse, une Infidèle, qui le quitte par haine du christianisme; sa deuxième épouse, qui est chrétienne, mais qui meurt.
- Les actions: conversion au christianisme, séparation du premier couple, mort de la seconde épouse, entrée dans les ordres, accès à l'épiscopat.
- L'image: au second plan, on voit bien le nouveau couple, tandis que la première épouse, l'Infidèle, pleure. Au premier plan, si le "grand personnage" lève l'index, il ne bénit pas la nouvelle union: ce n'est pas un prêtre.

Causa XXXI (fig. 9):

- Le héros: un homme adultère, qui séduit la femme d'un autre, puis l'épouse après la mort de celui-ci.
- Les autres personnages: la femme; le mari trompé; la fille née du couple; l'homme à qui le père promet d'abord sa fille; l'homme à qui il la marie finalement.
- Les actions: adultère; mort; mariage de l'homme et de la femme adultère; naissance d'une fille; promesse de mariage, puis mariage de la fille.
- L'image: tandis que la fille et son mari s'enlacent au second plan, l'homme à qui elle a été promise par son père tend un phylactère au "grand personnage".

Causa XXXII (fig. 10):

- Le héros: un homme qui épouse une prostituée stérile.
- Les autres personnages: la prostituée stérile; son père, de condition servile; son grand-père, un libre qui donne sa petite fille en mariage; une servante, avec laquelle le mari commet l'adultère afin d'avoir des enfants; un autre homme que le mari engage à coucher avec sa femme afin de pouvoir la répudier pour cause d'adultère; une Infidèle que le mari épouse ensuite à condition qu'elle se convertisse.
- Les actions: mariage, adultère, conversion.
- L'image: presque identique à l'image précédente (*causa XXXI*), l'image ne figure aucune de ces actions, sinon, au second plan, un couple enlacé. Devant le "grand personnage", l'homme à genoux tend un phylactère pour exposer la situation juridique complexe dans laquelle il se trouve.

Causa XXXIII (fig. 11):

- Le héros: un homme marié rendu impuissant par un maléfice, est séparé de sa femme puis, une fois guéri, veut la reprendre, tout en faisant vœu d'abstinence.
- Les autres personnages: la femme, commet l'adultère

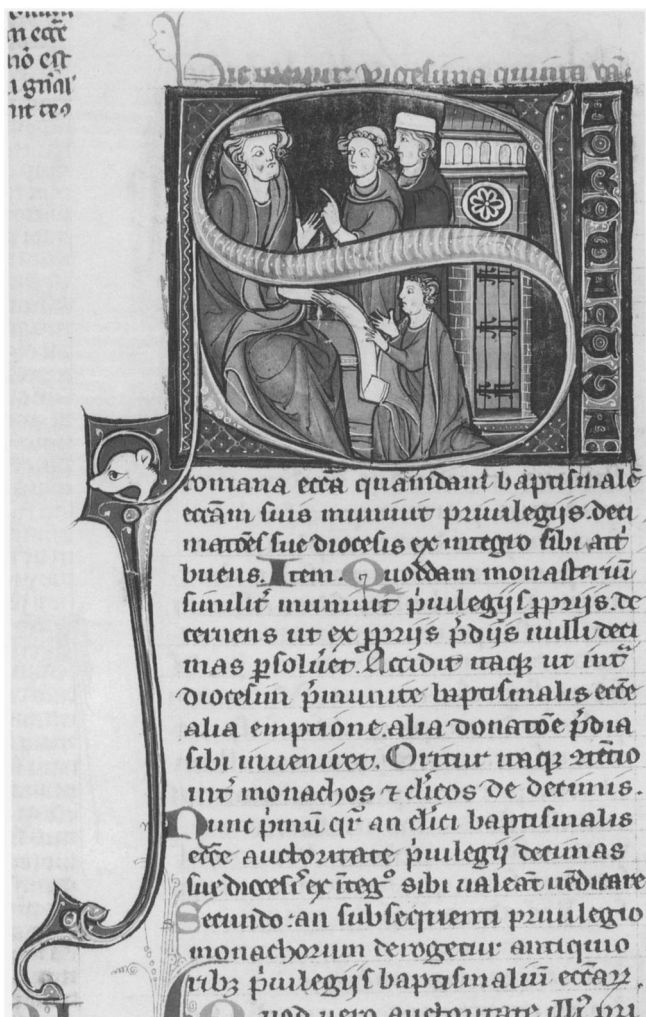


Fig. 7. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXV*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 243.



Fig. 8. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXVIII*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 260.



Fig. 9. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXXI, Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 267.

puis épouse un autre homme; elle retrouve ensuite son premier mari, mais refuse son vœu d'abstinence. Le deuxième mari.

-Les actions: mariage, adultère, séparation.

-L'image: deux femmes produisent devant le "grand personnage" et un acolyte vêtu et coiffé de la même manière, la preuve de l'impuissance du mari, afin de justifier la séparation du couple.⁴⁰

Les onze images sur lesquelles nous concentrons notre attention innovent donc de manière très sensible par rapport aux récits qu'elles introduisent. Elles ne figurent qu'une partie des actions que ces récits évoquent et, le cas échéant, donnent même à l'illustration de ces actions une place de second plan. Pareillement, l'acteur principal (le héros) du récit, n'accède jamais au premier plan de l'image, mais est figuré comme un personnage parmi d'autres. Au contraire, le "grand personnage", qui n'est jamais mentionné explicitement dans le *casus*, s'impose au premier plan de l'image. Son identité ne peut plus faire de doute: il est soit le juge ecclésiastique devant lequel comparaissent et argumentent les parties, soit plus sûrement encore le canoniste qui n'est pas impliqué dans l'action, mais doit trancher au fond, c'est-à-dire poser les *quaestiones* qui suivent le récit et leur apporter les réponses nécessaires, notamment sous la forme des *dicta* de Gratien. Le canoniste est moins un acteur du *casus*, qu'un spectateur des conflits et un recours pour les protagonistes. L'image, en lui attribuant une taille plus grande, une posture majestueuse et des gestes d'autorité et d'enseignement

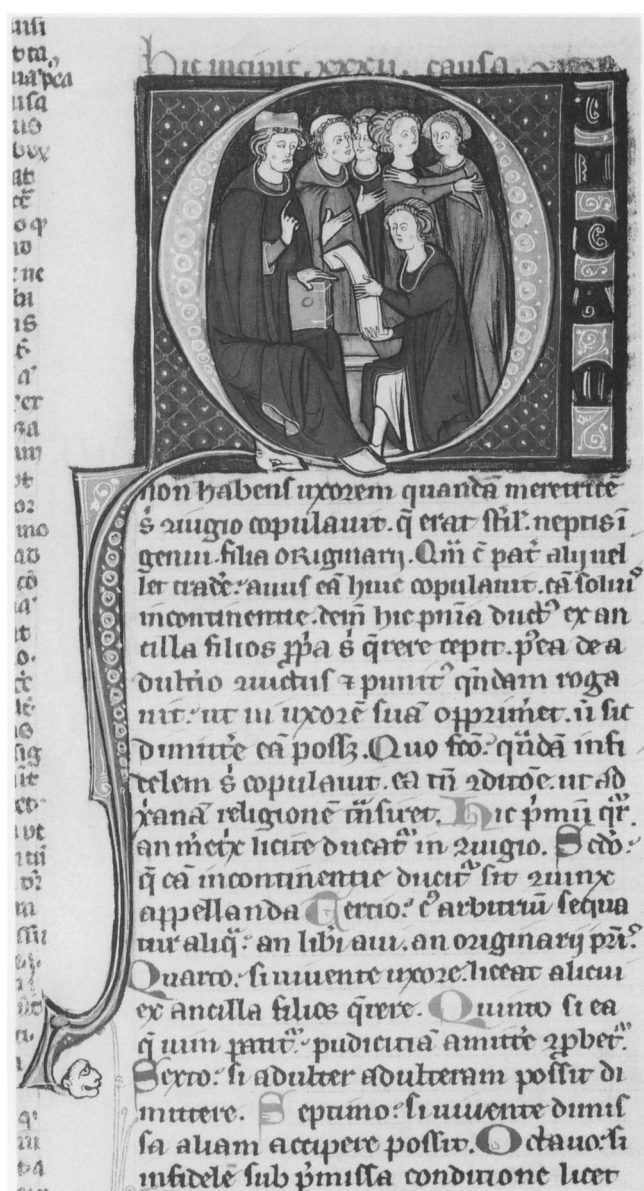


Fig. 10. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXXII, Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 269.

(l'index levé), illustre parfaitement sa fonction de recours et d'énonciation du droit. Autrement dit, la figure du canoniste ne renvoie pas tant au *casus* qu'aux questions et aux réponses qui sont le fondement véritable du récit.

En effet, si les autres personnages se livrent à des actions justifiant l'exercice concret du droit, la figure du canoniste se situe plutôt au niveau des principes du droit, de son énonciation, de son commentaire. Cette figure évoque le travail de Gratien lui-même, ainsi que les gloses de ses continuateurs. Ces derniers avaient coutume de "poser le cas" ("*casus sic ponitur*", "*magister sic ponit casum*"),⁴¹ c'est à dire de prendre les *casus* de Gratien comme des objets, afin de les commenter. Du reste, l'un des premiers commentateurs

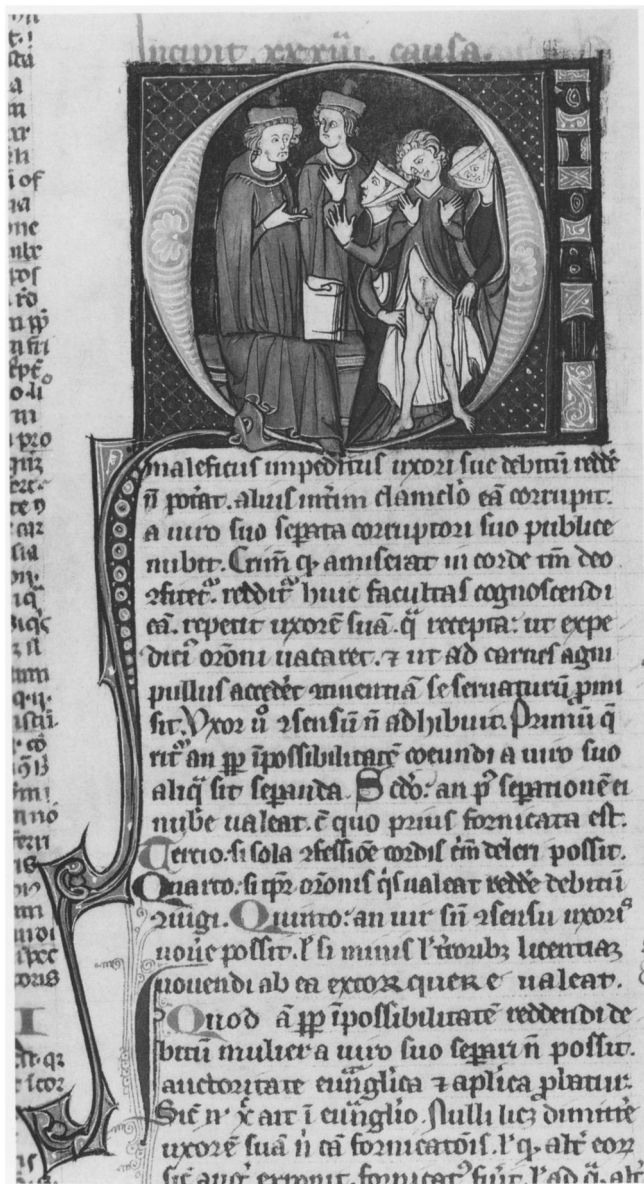


Fig. 11. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXXIII*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 277.

du *Decret*, Rufin, dans la préface de sa *Summa*, vers 1170, décrit sa méthode de travail dans des termes qui évoquent très précisément la figure du canoniste de notre manuscrit:

Contemplant sans nous lasser et avec l'admiration que ressentiraient des païens ces officines de la maison céleste et parcourant à travers ses principaux monuments la voie longue et spacieuse des décrets, nous avons tenté d'indiquer par quels contrats sont déterminés les statuts des églises et sont attribués et retirés les dignités et les offices ecclésiastiques, *sans plonger la main dans ces matières, mais plutôt, (parlant) depuis le chancel des canons, le doigt dressé à distance.*⁴²

On ne saurait mieux justifier la manière dont la figure du canoniste, dans nos images, se tient "à distance"



Fig. 12. Initiale historiée, *Causa XI*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 152.

des conflits, "sans y plonger la main", en levant au contraire l'index pour dire le droit.

Notre hypothèse est donc que les images de ce manuscrit n'ont pas seulement une fonction d'illustration des *casus* dont elles occupent l'initiale, mais qu'elles sont, au sens médiéval du mot *speculum*, le miroir où le canoniste se contemple lui-même dans son image d'autorité, comme celui qui connaît, dit, et commente le droit. Ou plus précisément encore, comme celui qui possède et tient sur son genou gauche, le livre qui énonce le droit canon, qui est tout le savoir du canoniste, qui justifie son autorité et . . . contient son image. Il *tient* ce livre, mais on peut dire tout autant que ce livre, sans lequel il n'est rien, tient le canoniste. Livre fermé, car le canoniste n'a pas besoin de l'ouvrir pour en connaître le contenu, et surtout parce qu'il est un attribut, le signe d'un statut et d'un pouvoir, non un simple instrument. Ce livre n'est-il pas le *Decret* de Gratien, le manuscrit même qui contient ces images? Il rappelle en tous cas l'autorité de l'écriture, dont la prise en compte fut à l'origine de la *concordia* de Gratien, dont le propre ouvrage guide à présent les décisions des juges. L'image du "grand personnage" est ainsi intimement liée à l'écriture qui se déploie dans ce livre: elle est toujours située, on l'a vu, sur le bord gauche de l'initiale, donc au début du texte écrit, comme si elle en était l'origine. De même que le canoniste tire son autorité de l'écriture, l'écriture émane du "grand personnage".

Nous trouvons là par conséquent un remarquable exemple de figuration en abîme mise au service de l'image que le canoniste entend se donner de lui-même, dans ce livre qui est pour lui bien plus que l'in-

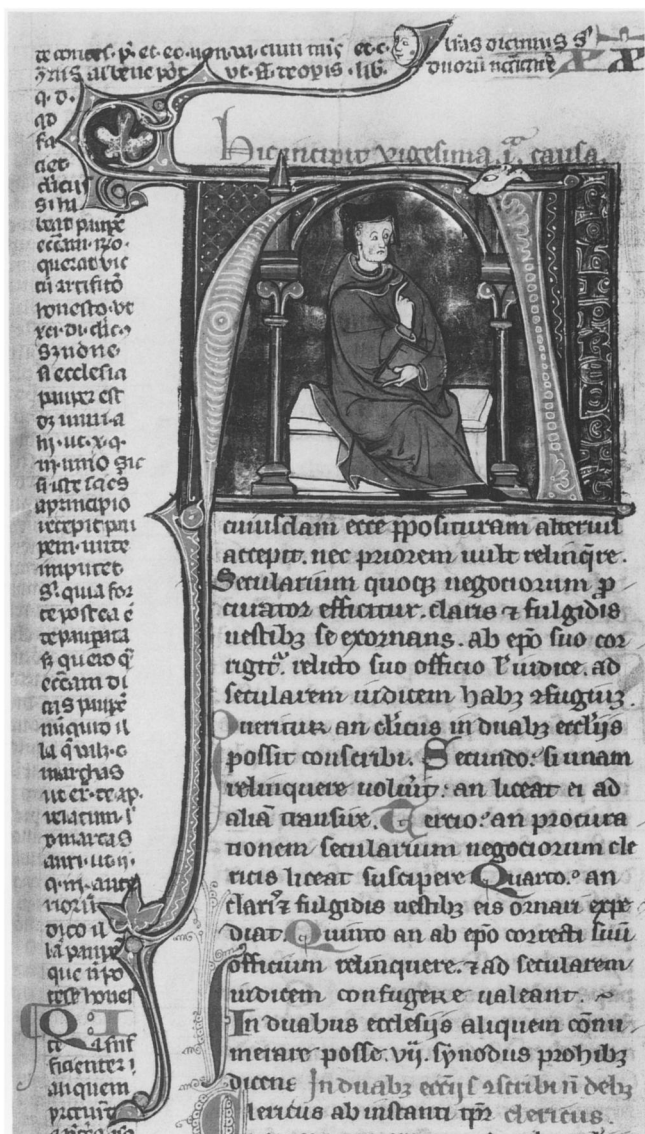


Fig. 13. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXI*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 13.

strument de son savoir et de son exercice du droit: il est tout à la fois son œuvre, son attribut (qui le distingue aussi bien de l'évêque que du juge séculier, et qui affirme l'importance de son rôle dans la société et dans l'Eglise), son *speculum*, c'est-à-dire le "miroir" où il se reconnaît chaque fois qu'il prend son livre.

La revendication en image de la *distinction* du canoniste—au double sens de sa dignité et de sa singularité⁴³—s'affirme ici, à la fin du XIIIe siècle, dans le contexte d'une séparation accrue entre le droit (*jus*), comme savoir, comme pouvoir et comme activité "professionnelle" particulière dans l'Eglise, et le pouvoir sacramentel (*sacerdotium*). L'affirmation d'une sphère autonome du droit ecclésiastique et de ses spécialistes (canonistes, décrétalistes, juges, etc.), est l'aboutissement d'une évolution historique de pre-



Fig. 14. Initiale historiée, *Causa XXII*, *Decretum Gratiani*, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, MS W. 133, fol. 206.

mière importance, qui trouve son origine dans la Réforme grégorienne et ensuite dans l'émergence à Bologne du droit canon comme discipline scolaire distincte. S'il n'est pas de mon propos de retracer cette histoire longue et complexe, je voudrais au moins en suivre quelques jalons dans la tradition manuscrite qui culmine dans le manuscrit de Baltimore.

La naissance du canoniste

A. Melnikas a mis en évidence l'existence d'un groupe de manuscrits enluminés du *Decret*, produit selon lui à Cîteaux et à Clairvaux dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle; à cette famille de manuscrits se rattacherait le manuscrit postérieur de Baltimore.⁴⁴ Sans mettre en cause cette filiation, Carl Nordenfalk a proposé d'adjoindre à ce groupe d'autres manuscrits (que Melnikas pensait originaires des régions voisines de la Manche) et a proposé de retenir une tout autre origine: ces manuscrits proviendraient plus vraisemblablement d'un atelier parisien, et non bourguignon, séculier, et non monastique.⁴⁵ Ils témoigneraient de l'éveil précoce de l'enluminure parisienne, mieux connue à partir du XIIIe siècle.⁴⁶ Parmi ces manuscrits antérieurs à celui de Baltimore, qu'il nous faut tout particulièrement prendre en compte, relevons ceux des Bibliothèques municipales de Troyes, ms. 103, Douai, ms. 590, et Cambrai, ms. C 967, ainsi que le ms. lat. Fol. 1 de la Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz de Berlin. Tous ces manuscrits présentent, comme le manuscrit postérieur de Baltimore, une iconographie très complète du *Decret*.

Toutefois, à y regarder de plus près, les miniatures du XIIe siècle présentent dans leurs motifs une variété bien plus grande que celles qui s'en inspirent partiellement vers 1290. Alors que le manuscrit de Baltimore ne montre, à une exception près (celle de la *causa* IV), que des initiales historiées, bien des miniatures antérieures ne figurent pas de personnages, mais des motifs floraux, des entrelacs, des monstres à tête humaine, ou des scènes allégoriques, en général un personnage affronté à un animal plus ou moins monstrueux. Même lorsque tous les manuscrits montrent, pour la même *causa*, une miniature historiée, il s'en faut de beaucoup que celle-ci soit dans le détail toujours identique. Deux traits retiennent particulièrement l'attention:

- les miniatures antérieures évitent de donner à l'un des personnages, fût-ce l'évêque, une taille et une surface supérieures à celles des autres personnages figurés: ces manuscrits ignorent le "grand personnage".
- elles ne figurent pas, sauf exception,⁴⁷ le canoniste, mais seulement des personnages explicitement mentionnés dans le *casus*. Pour autant que nous puissions en juger, la figure du canoniste en "grand personnage" est donc bien une innovation du manuscrit cistercien flamand de la fin du XIIIe siècle. Cette innovation creuse au maximum l'écart entre ce manuscrit et ses modèles.

Voyons dans le *Corpus* d'A. Melnikas contre quels types d'images antérieures s'est imposée l'image inédite du canoniste.

Le cas le plus fréquent est celui d'une image allégorique (image d'un monstre ou du combat d'un homme contre un monstre), remplacée un siècle plus tard par une image narrative dominée par le canoniste en "grand personnage".⁴⁸ Selon A. Melnikas, ces images allégoriques représentent "le combat du bien contre le mal".⁴⁹ Mais peut-être faut-il donner à ces termes une valeur plus juridique que morale: la scène symboliserait plutôt la lutte du droit contre le désordre; par rapport à l'intrigue narrée par le *casus*, elle se situerait donc au même niveau d'abstraction que l'image emblématique du canoniste dans le manuscrit de Baltimore. Mais celle-ci quitterait le plan symbolique des miniatures antérieures, pour exalter l'incarnation du droit dans la personne et le statut du canoniste. L'évolution de ces miniatures traduirait donc bien l'affirmation de la conscience que les canonistes auraient d'eux mêmes et de leur fonction dans l'Eglise et la société.

Cette "archéologie" des images du canoniste en "grand personnage" peut aussi nous faire remonter

jusqu'à des images déjà narratives, mais dont le canoniste est encore absent. Nous y trouvons plutôt l'évêque, figuré tout seul là où le manuscrit de Baltimore placera au contraire le canoniste.⁵⁰ Ou encore, nous voyons l'évêque accusé par des moines et des clercs⁵¹ ou rétabli sur son siège épiscopal:⁵² le manuscrit postérieur relèguera ces évêques au second plan, pour mettre au contraire au premier plan la figure inédite du canoniste ou du juge ecclésiastique. Il n'y a en fait qu'un seul cas où l'évêque est confronté au canoniste, comme il le sera dans le manuscrit de Baltimore.⁵³ Mais les différences entre les deux images sont instructives: dans la miniature du XIIe siècle, l'évêque, qui est le "héros" du *casus*, sa crosse dans la main gauche, la main droite levée en signe d'élocution, s'adresse au juge ecclésiastique (*ducitur in causam*, dit le texte) qui montre du doigt un long phylactère. La figure principale de l'image est bien l'évêque. Un siècle plus tard, le rapport entre les deux personnages s'est complètement inversé: en avant de la barre horizontale du *E*, le canoniste en "grand personnage" écoute assis la requête de l'évêque qui, derrière la barre du *E*, ayant quitté son siège, le supplie humblement à genoux et les mains jointes.

On voudrait enfin en savoir plus sur les rapports entre l'évolution de cette iconographie et ses lieux de production. Si l'on retient l'hypothèse de C. Nordenfalk d'une forte empreinte parisienne et séculière sur le groupe de manuscrits dont procède celui de Baltimore (plutôt que l'influence cistercienne défendue de manière peu convaincante par A. Melnikas), l'importance croissante du "grand personnage"—image du canoniste et à travers lui de l'exposition du droit et de l'affirmation de son pouvoir—se révèle particulièrement intéressante pour l'historien. A défaut d'en savoir plus sur les conditions précises dans lesquelles est née cette iconographie, retenons l'hypothèse encore vague d'un lien avec Paris, siège de la monarchie et de son administration, lieu par excellence de la sécularisation du pouvoir et de sa mise en scène.

La démonstration que je propose mériterait naturellement d'être étayée par d'autres preuves. Nous n'avons comparé ici le manuscrit de Baltimore qu'à des manuscrits antérieurs et apparentés. Mais qu'en est-il, en dehors de cette "famille" de manuscrits, de l'ensemble des manuscrits enluminés du *Decret*? Il ne semble pas que le manuscrit de Baltimore ait fait école. Peut-être parce que d'autres solutions formelles l'ont emporté au XIVe siècle, essentiellement celle de la

miniature divisée en plusieurs vignettes narratives. On ne peut non plus isoler les manuscrits du *Decret* d'autres types de manuscrits juridiques, ceux du droit romain (rappelons l'émergence, dans nos manuscrits, de la figure du juge séculier pour la *causa* XI [fig. 12]) et de certains coutumiers. Les miniatures d'un manuscrit exactement contemporain et richement illustré des *Coutumes du Beauvaisis* de Philippe de Beaumanoir montrent celui-ci, au début de chaque chapitre, siégeant en quasi-majesté, les mains gantées, un bâton d'autorité dans la main droite, les initiales *PhE* (pour Philippe) inscrites sur la bordure supérieure de l'image.⁵⁴ Cette promotion du "diseur du droit" dans l'image n'est pas sans rappeler le "grand personnage" de notre manuscrit. Mais il s'en distingue aussi, puisque le manuscrit du *Decret* ne dépeint jamais explicitement Gratien lui-même; ses miniatures montrent plutôt le canoniste et le juge, incarnation majestueuse du droit canon lui-même tel qu'il s'est développé à partir de Gratien.

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Notes

1. A. Melnikas, *Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani*, 3 vols., *Studia Gratiana*, 16–18 (1975). L'intérêt de ces trois volumes est de reproduire par centaines des miniatures (1800 exactement, dont 200 planches en couleur) provenant de 150 manuscrits différents du *Decret*.

2. Voir aussi, du même auteur: "The salient points of methodology in the compilation of 'Corpus picturarum minutarum quae in codicibus manu scriptis Decreti Gratiani continentur' ('The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani')", *Studia Gratiana*, 12 (1967), 325–328.

3. L'insuffisance des travaux sur l'iconographie juridique est soulignée dans son compte rendu critique de l'ouvrage de Melnikas par C. Nordenfalk, *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, 43 (1980), 318–337. Mais cet auteur reproche avec raison à Melnikas de ne pas préciser les critères de sélection des manuscrits et des illustrations, d'avoir négligé des manuscrits importants, et de proposer des attributions parfois douteuses.

4. Je tiens à exprimer à Monsieur Anton Schütz ma gratitude pour avoir bien voulu relire cet article et pour m'avoir fait bénéficier de sa grande compétence dans l'étude du *Decret* de Gratien.

5. G. Le Bras, Ch. Lefebvre, et J. Rambaud, *L'âge classique, 1140–1378. Sources et théories du droit*. Coll. Histoire du droit et des institutions de l'Eglise en Occident 7 (Paris, 1965), 78.

6. En particulier A. Jolles, *Formes simples* (trad. fr. Paris, Editions du Seuil, 1972), 137–157: le cas est, selon l'auteur, l'une des neuf "formes simples" ou "dispositions mentales" qui peuvent se réaliser dans des formes narratives savantes. Jolles distingue trois domaines d'application du cas: les relations amoureuses (les débats de la Cour d'amour), la justice (c'est ce que montre, bien qu'il ne le cite pas, le *Decret* de Gratien), la religion (la casuistique morale). Sur la casuistique morale, dont le développement historique au Moyen Age est parallèle à celui de la casuistique juridique, voir: P. Michaud-

Quantin, *Sommes de casuistique et manuels de confession au Moyen Age (XIIe–XVIe siècles)* *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia* 13, (Louvain/Lille/Montréal, 1962). Intéressante comparaison de la casuistique médiévale et de la casuistique moderne (celle des Jésuites) dans: J. Gritti, "Deux arts du vraisemblable. I: La casuistique", *Communications* 11 (1968), 1, 99–114.

7. Le Bras, *et al.*, *L'âge classique*, 273, considère le *casus* à la fois comme élément de la casuistique ("il s'agit d'un problème concret, quoique souvent fictif, mais qui reflète un phénomène ou une réalité de la vie sociale, demandant une solution juridique") et comme genre littéraire ("il se rapproche des *distinctiones*, car il consiste dans l'exposé d'un cas, ce qui donne l'occasion à l'auteur d'indiquer la solution à donner avec sa justification, en particulier la solution et la réponse aux *contraria*"). Le *casus* est donc inséparable des *quaestiones* qui suivent.

8. J'ai pris connaissance du manuscrit à la Walters Art Gallery en 1981 et en 1987. Je remercie Ms. Lilian Randall de l'aide chaleureuse qu'elle m'a apportée lors de toutes mes visites, et Ms. Elizabeth Burin pour ses remarques constructives. A. Melnikas situe dans le monastère cistercien de Cambron-près-Mons l'origine de ce manuscrit. Même si elles ne portent pas explicitement sur ce manuscrit, les réserves émises par C. Nordenfalk quant aux attributions proposées par Melnikas incitent ici aussi à ne suivre cette hypothèse qu'avec prudence.

9. Seule exception, l'initiale de la *Causa* IV ne comporte qu'un motif floral, sans personnage.

10. La troisième partie du *Decret* (*De consecratione*), commence par une initiale historiée du même type que celles de la seconde partie. Mais je ne l'ai pas incluse dans les comptages qui suivent.

11. D'autant moins qu'est attendue la parution du vol. III, de L.M.C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, qui donnera une description exhaustive de ce manuscrit.

12. H. Damisch, "La peinture prise au mot", *Critique*, 370 (1978), 270–290, à propos de M. Schapiro, *Words and Picture* (The Hague/Paris, 1973).

13. *Causa* V: *I-n infamiam cuiusdam episcopi...*, *Causa* IX: *Sententia excommunicationis*, *Causa* XXV: *S-ancta romana ecclesia*.

14. Seize cas, dont deux enfants pour la *Causa* XX. Seule la *Causa* XXV *Sancta romana ecclesia...* échappe à ce décompte.

15. La jambe: *Causae* II et III. Un personnage couché: *Causae* VII, VIII, XII, etc. . . Une table: *Causae* XXXV et XXXVI.

16. *Causae* V, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, etc. . .

17. *Causae* I, VI, VII, X.

18. *Causae* VII, XI, XIII, XXI.

19. *Causae* X, XXXIV.

20. Le même axe "en creux" se retrouve dans un très grand nombre d'images, les plus nettes étant celles des *Causae* II, XI, XVIII, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXVII, XXX.

21. Dans sept cas—dans les *Causae* IX, X, XIX, XXII, XXIV, XXX—le personnage majeur est un évêque: dans la *Causa* IX, l'archevêque, bien qu'excommunié, bénit et procède à l'imposition des mains pour investir des clercs dans un autre diocèse que le sien; dans la *Causa* X, il revendique l'immunité d'une église contre le fondateur laïque de celle-ci; dans la *Causa* XIX, il écoute deux clercs qui lui demandent la permission d'entrer au monastère; dans la *Causa* XXII, il s'oppose à l'archidiacre qui l'accuse avec raison de parjure; dans la *Causa* XXIV, bien qu'hérétique, il prive des clercs de leur office et les excommunie; dans la *Causa* XXX, il baptise un enfant que son père charnel tient par méprise sur les fonts baptismaux. En revanche, dans la *Causa* XI, le personnage majeur est un juge séculier assis en face de deux clercs (l'un se soumet à son

jugement tandis que l'autre se détourne en affirmant ne devoir répondre que devant un juge ecclésiastique).

22. Ces quatorze cas sont les suivants: *Causae* II, III, VIII, XII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XX, XXIII, XXV, XXVIII, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII. Les trois cas où il s'agit d'un évêque: dans la *Causa* VIII, un évêque est choisi comme son successeur par un vieil évêque qui va mourir (la scène évoque celle de *Causa* VII, mais l'orientation des personnages est inversée); dans la *Causa* XVI, l'évêque considère une scène stéréotypée d'oblation (voir aussi la *Causa* I), qui ne correspond qu'approximativement au problème posé par le texte (des moines peuvent-ils toucher les revenus d'une paroisse?); dans la *Causa* XX, l'évêque considère les gesticulations de l'enfant qui ne veut pas endosser l'habit monastique.

23. Dans un cas (*Causa* V), il s'agit d'un évêque, debout, tourné vers la droite, dans le sens de l'écriture dont il désigne du doigt le début. Dans un autre (*Causa* XXI), on voit l'archiprêtre coupable de cumuler les bénéfices et de mener une vie mondaine; lui aussi est tourné vers la droite; il lève l'index, et semble s'adresser à la tête du serpent qui émerge de la lettre A. Son ample vêtement, sa coiffe noire à large rabattants et le livre qu'il tient, l'identifient comme un personnage socialement important. Le dernier cas concerne le prêtre astrologue (*Causa* XXVI), assis, tourné vers la droite, tenant l'astrolabe qui l'identifie, l'index pointé vers les cieux.

24. *Causa* VI: un évêque est accusé de simonie par deux fornicateurs qui se tiennent de part et d'autre de lui; *Causa* XXXIV: un autre évêque écoute la plainte d'un ancien captif au sujet du remariage de son épouse; il sépare les deux espaces occupés d'un côté par la prison et le captif, de l'autre par le nouveau couple.

25. *Causa* VII: au centre de l'image (bien marqué par l'architecture et la crosse épiscopale), le nouvel évêque se penche vers l'évêque mourant qui vient de le désigner comme son successeur.

26. Avec des moines: *Causae* I et XVII; avec des clercs séculiers: *Causa* XIII.

27. *Causae* XV, XXVII, XXIX, XXXV, XXXVI.

28. Dans la *Causa* XXXV, l'image est partagée par la table en deux scènes superposées, celle du repas de nocce et celle des funérailles de l'épouse; dans la *Causa* XXXVI, on voit successivement le jeune homme offrir à boire à la jeune fille, puis la séduire.

29. Melnikas, *Corpus*, I, 138, fig. 18.

30. *Ibid.*, 169, fig. 14.

31. *Ibid.*, II, 744, fig. 13.

32. *Causae* III, XII, XIV, XVIII, XXVIII.

33. *Causae* II, III et XXV quand il remet un phylactère à l'une des parties, dans un litige concernant les droits d'un monastère sur une église baptismale.

34. *Causae* VIII, XVI, XX, XXXIV.

35. *Causae* XIV, XXIII, XXXI, XXXII.

36. *Causae* II, XXVIII, XXXII.

37. Sur les couleurs au Moyen Âge, voir les travaux de M. Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs. Etude sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales* (Paris, 1986) et *idem*, *Couleurs, images, symboles. Etudes d'histoire et d'anthropologie* (Paris, 1989).

38. *Causae* II, III, XXVIII, XXXII.

39. *Causae* V, XVI, XXX.

40. Sur la discussion canonique des conséquences, quant à la validité du mariage, de l'impuissance sexuelle du mari, voir: J.A.

Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago/London, 1987), qui reproduit (Pl. 14) l'image de notre manuscrit, avec le commentaire suivant: "One mode of proof involved examination of the parties by experienced women, who attempted to produce sexual arousal in the allegedly impotent man. In the case illustrated here the husband had clearly failed to respond". Je doute fortement qu'il ait été concevable à la fin du XIII^e siècle qu'une telle image, à la place qu'elle occupe dans un tel manuscrit (il s'agit d'une lettrine, non d'une figure marginale grotesque) pût représenter une érection. De plus, l'artiste ne visait pas à représenter une scène *réelle*, mais à figurer le problème juridique de l'impuissance sexuelle: c'est ce que signifie le sexe.

41. S. Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik (1140–1234)*, Prodomus Corporis Glossarum I (Città del Vaticano, 1937), 228–232.

42. Rufinus, *Summa decretorum*, H. Singer, ed. (Paderborn, F. Schöningh, 1902), 3: "Has igitur celestis familie officinas incessabiliter conspicantes et velut unus de gentilibus admirantes, quoniam pacto ecclesiarum status ponderentur, clericorum dignitates et officia imponantur et reponantur, non quidem manibus intusos attingere, sed per cancellos canonum velut eminus suspenso digito temptavimus indicare, longam et spatiosam viam decretorum summis vestigiis percurrere". Je remercie M. Anton Schütz de m'avoir signalé ce texte.

43. J'entends "distinction" au sens sociologique que lui donne P. Bourdieu, *La distinction. Critique sociale du jugement* (rpt., Paris, 1979).

44. Melnikas, *Corpus*, I, xxvi. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple particulièrement frappant de ces ressemblances, voir par exemple les initiales historiées de la *Causa* XVII (l'infirme qui marche avec une béquille et veut entrer au monastère) dans les manuscrits de Troyes (*ibid.*, II, fig. 11), Berlin (fig. 13), Douai (fig. 14) et Baltimore (fig. 15).

45. Nordenfalk, review of Melnikas, *Corpus*, 326–329.

46. R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1977), et F. Avril, "A quand remontent les premiers ateliers d'enlumineurs laïcs de Paris?", *Les dossiers de l'archéologie*, 16 (1976), 36–44 (cité par Nordenfalk, 328).

47. *Causa* III, Cambrai, BM, MS C. 967, fol. 87 (Melnikas, *Corpus*, I, fig. 11).

48. On le voit pour les *Causae* III (Berlin, fol. 90; Melnikas, *Corpus*, I, pl. II), XII (Troyes, fol. 124v; *ibid.*, II, pl. I), XXIII (Cambrai, fol. 144v; *ibid.*, II, fig. 2), XXVIII (Berlin, fol. 192v; *ibid.*, III, fig. 2), XXXI (Berlin, fol. 198v; *ibid.*, III, fig. 5), XXXII (Troyes, fol. 194; *ibid.*, III, fig. 2).

49. *Ibid.*, II, 409 (à propos de la *Causa* XII, manuscrit de Troyes).

50. *Causa* XXV, ms. de Berlin, fol. 180; *ibid.*, II, fig. 10.

51. *Causa* II, ms. de Douai, fol. 73 (*ibid.*, I, pl. I) et ms. de Troyes, fol. 83 (*ibid.*, I, fig. 14).

52. *Causa* III, ms. de Troyes, fol. 95; *ibid.*, I, fig. 10.

53. *Causa* III, ms. de Cambrai, fol. 87; *ibid.*, I, fig. 11.

54. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, ms. Hamilton 193, France du Nord, 1283 (63 miniatures), par exemple l'illustration du fol. 34.

PHOTOGRAPHS: Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

Summary

Using A. Melnikas's ample corpus as a starting point, this article focuses on Walters MS W. 133, possibly of Parisian origin and dated to the late thirteenth century, to analyze the historiated initials to the thirty-six *causae* of the second part of Gratian's *Decretals* and to elucidate the historical significance of these images.

A connection is suggested between the initial letter and the image, which "speaks" to the text. Whereas certain round letters (*Q*) frame the miniature, others that have a horizontal stroke (*E*) or a sinuous curve (*S*) insert themselves between the figures, contributing to a hierarchy of different planes and of the figures drawn into them. Moreover, the images are constructed with an important vertical division either through the center or, more often, to the viewer's left. In eleven cases (figs. 1–11), this division isolates on the left-hand side, the side where the text originates, a "grand personnage" who exhibits a number of distinctive traits. He is very tall (although seated, he occupies the whole height of the picture); he always sits in a position of authority (but not of majesty), turned slightly to his left (i.e., to our right, in the direction of the script); in his left hand he holds a closed book (which may be contrasted with an open book or scroll held by his interlocutors) and with his right hand he makes a gesture of demonstration or argumentation (but never a liturgical gesture or one of blessing); his head is covered with a hat, not a mitre; and he wears a gown of a saturated color. Contrary to Melnikas's hypotheses, this figure is neither a bishop nor a secular judge. The text does not help to identify him, since he is

never mentioned in the fictional narrative of the corresponding *casus*. We must therefore conclude that he is outside the action and that, far from being one of the protagonists or even the judge called on to rule in the particular case, he represents the legal problem posed and its solution. This figure belongs not to the realm of the specific practice of the law, but to that of its enunciation. A text by Rufinus perfectly describes this position of the canonist who, "raising his finger at a distance," pronounces the law without meddling in the action. One may conclude that the book he holds closed is the very book that contains his image, the *Decretals*. This book is an attribute, not a tool to be opened: it proceeds from him. Conversely he draws his authority from the book and recognizes himself in it as though in a mirror (*speculum*). The distinction and differentiation of the canonist in these images thus affirms the autonomy of *jus* as opposed to the traditional power of *sacerdotium*.

This mirror-image appears to be an innovation, replacing symbolic depictions or representations of a bishop in earlier related manuscripts. But, perhaps for formal reasons (the diffusion in the fourteenth century of composite pictorial narratives consisting of several images), it seems not to have had any following. This theory could, however, be tested on other manuscripts concerning civil or common law. An example would be Hamilton MS 193 (Berlin) of the *Coutumes de Beauvaisis* where the author, Philippe de Beaumanoir, is named and represented with the appearance and pose of a judge and law-giver. But the comparison is only an approximate one since the miniatures of our manuscript do not represent Gratian himself, but rather the abstract notion of the law.

Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery: A Concordance

Elizabeth Burin and Elizabeth Dove

The following two-way concordance aims first and foremost to resolve the long-standing confusion between the call numbers of the Walters manuscripts (prefixed by the letter W.) and the entry numbers in Seymour de Ricci's *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. Pending the completion of Lilian M.C. Randall's *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, entry numbers for this catalogue have been listed in the third column for volumes I and II only, while manuscripts to be included in volumes III and IV, in progress, are given a volume number in Roman numerals. A fourth

column provides reference numbers for other important publications pertaining to the collection. A key to all these publications is supplied below. Note that entry numbers from Roger S. Wieck's exhibition catalogue, *Time Sanctified*, are included only for the Books of Hours produced outside France, i.e., those for which the Randall catalogue does not already provide more extensive information.

These lists naturally omit parts of the collection that have not yet been catalogued, such as the Islamic and South Asian manuscripts and leaves, Ethiopian manuscripts, and ancient papyri.

Key

De Ricci	Seymour de Ricci, with W. J. Wilson, <i>Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada</i> , 2 vols. (New York, 1935–37), I, 757–856
A	<i>Ibid.</i> , "Errata and Addenda," II, 2288–92
S	C.U. Faye and W.H. Bond, <i>Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada</i> (New York, 1962), 194–200. (De Ricci numbers preceded by S are found in the <i>Supplement</i> only.)
Randall	Lilian M.C. Randall et al., <i>Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery</i> , 4 vols., in progress (Baltimore, 1989–)
App	<i>Ibid.</i> , vol. II, Appendix
DM	Dorothy Miner, "Since de Ricci—Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934: a report in two parts," <i>Journal of the Walters Art Gallery</i> , 29/30 (1966–67), 68–103, and 31/32 (1968–69), 40–117
GV	<i>Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections: An Exhibition in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann</i> , ed. Gary Vikan, exhibition catalogue, the Art Museum, Princeton University (Princeton, 1973)
RW	Roger S. Wieck et al., <i>Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life</i> , exhibition catalogue, the Walters Art Gallery (New York, 1988)
SDN	Sirarpie Der Nersessian, <i>Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery</i> (Baltimore, 1973)

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other
1	61, S	2		51	46	III	
2	374, S	1		52	38	26	
3	60, S	3		53	48	27	
4	62, S	III		54	47	28	
5	63, S	III		55	39	IV	
6	112, A, S	IV		56	49	18	
7	64, A, S	III		57	36	15	
8	71, S	III		58	37	21	
9	69, S	III		59	50	22	
10	73, A, S	III		60	40	16	
11	111, A, S	IV		61	45	17	
12	384	III		62	145	IV	
13	380	III		63	144	IV	
14	67, S	III		64	147	IV	
15	68, A, S	III		65	394	13	
16	89, S	III		66	428	III	
17	65, S	4		67	58	11	
18	57, S	III		68	81	III	
19	396, S	5		69	88	III	
20	448, S	8		70	79	III	
21	476, S	10		71	385	III	
22	477, S	9		72	393, A	III	
23	77	III		73	412	III	
24	74	12		74	59	IV	
25	76	III		75	114, A	IV	
26	75, S	III		76	479	IV	
27	389, S	IV		77	444	IV	
28	113, A, S	6		78	78, A	III	
28 Add. (ex 743)	S 565-566	6		79	103	III	
29	387, A, S	III		80	404	deaccessioned	
30	388, A	III		81	484, A	III	
31	66	IV		82	99	III	
32	155	IV		83	135	III	
33	115	III		84	173	69	
34	90	III		85	160	III	RW,78
35	87	III		86	161	47	
36	86	III		87	162	III	
37	158	III	RW,79	88	165	III	RW,80
38	157	58		89	176	73	
39	156	39		90	168	54	
40	159	29		91	167	70	
41	82	III		92	163	71	
42	102	33		93	164	57	
43	84	30		94	174	75	
44	80	32		95	171	III	
45	91	5		96	177	76	
46	83	20		97	166	41	
47	85	40		98	170	49	
48	42	23		99	180	92	
49	43	24		100	179	82	
50	41	25					

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other
101	182	91		151	56	IV	
102	169	III	RW,111	152	44	IV	
103	178	83		152a–w (ex 752)	S 568	IV	
104	172	55		153	148, A	IV	
105	175, A	III	RW,112	154	399	IV	
106	500	III		155	391	IV	
107	342	66		156	142	IV	
108	130	19		157	495	IV	
109	131	48		158	409	IV	
110	93	III		159	408	IV	
111	95	III		160	429	IV	
112	92	38		161	427	44	
113	97	37		162	445	IV	
114	96	35		163	359	III	
115	105	59		164	196	III	RW,82
116	94	34		165	192	III	
117	98	III		166	190	III	RW,83
118	101	31		167	229, A	III	
119	104	68		168	235	III	RW,109
120	51	IV		169	194, A	III	
121	52	IV		170	189	III	RW,84
122	53	IV		171	397	III	
123	54	43		172	195	III	RW,85
124	119, A	67		173	237	III	RW,89
125	501	74		174	122	III	
126	501	74		175	129	III	
127	116	56		176	317	III	RW,100
128	117	42		177	345	III	
129	118	IV		178	297	III	
130	70	60		179	344	III	
131	378	46		180	256	III	
132	502	36		181	346	III	
133	407	III		182	255	III	
134	405	III		183	254	III	
135	406	51		184	258	III	
136	411	52		185	191	III	RW,107
137	524	50		186	260	III	
138	522	79		187	275	131	
139	523	80		188	216	III	RW,108
140	506	64		189	281	III	
141	511	72		190	234	III	
142	528	53		191	197	116	
143	509	65		192	231	III	
144	507	III		193	247	III	
145 a,b	55	61		194	277	III	
146 a,b	529	62		195	288	III	RW,95
147 Lf.	120	77		196	274	III	RW,94
148	395	III		197	259	III	RW,93
149	390, A	III		198	108	III	
150	106	IV		199	504	III	
				200	423	App.1	

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other
201	527	III		251	222	127	
202	224	III		252	262	157	
203	291	160		253	236	106	
204	263	III		254	220	101	
205	270	146		255	282	179	
206	343	130		256	298	175	
207	238	126		257	219	123	
208	269	III		258	267	169	
209	207	86		259	212	102	
210	292	134		260	185	94	
211	201	III	RW,88	261	184	97	
212	294	145		262	240	115	
213	286	159		263	221	III	
214	273	158		264	230	144	
215	188	III	RW,81	265	213	87	
216	199	119		266	253	III	
217	304	191		267	228	III	
218	200	III		268	241	117	
219	215	100		269	227	129	
220	250	III	RW,91	270	242	III	
221	203	108		271	206	95	
222	271	142		272	266	III	RW,97
223	276	143		273	204	89	
224	302	165		274	232	133	
225	278	167		275	239	128	
226	265	166		276	202	93	
227	300	196		277	290	III	
228	306	192		278	246	173	
229	249	III		279	245	III	RW,96
230	287	121		280	268	177	
231	214	84		281	261	112	
232	181	85		282	284, A	203	
233	305	164		283	248	148	
234	187	104		284	218	162	
235	279	184		285	233	135	
236	280	195		286	296, A	171	
237	186	78		287	217	103	
238	183	90		288	208	109	
239	209	III	RW,87	289	223	111	
240	252	III	RW,92	290	210	114	
241	283	163		291	285	180	
242	289	189		292	272	137	
243	244	138		293	211	113	
244	205	99		294	299	197	
245	303	168		295	301	185	
246	225	III	RW,90	296	72	172	
247	226	118		297	137	132	
248	198	105		298	133	III	
249	264	139		299	136	124	
250	243	147		300	132	88	

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other
301	128	187		351	496	IV	
302	121	110		352	370	IV	
303	140, A	204		353	19	IV	
304	377	150		354	17	IV	
305	525	III		355	454	IV	
306	526	153		356	371	IV	
307	520	III		357	478	IV	
308	508, A	151		358	373	IV	
309	485	141		359	410	IV	
310	503	154		360	464	IV	
311	398	125		361	463	IV	
312	505	III		362	461	IV	
313	514, A	176		363	460	IV	
314	517	III		364	462	IV	
315	518	III		365	456	IV	
316	510	122		366	458	IV	
317	516	161		367	457	IV	
318	512	170		368	459	IV	
319	521	152		369	480	IV	
320 Lf.	293	183		370	465	IV	
321	257	III		371	453	III	
322	352	IV		372	483	IV	
323	349	IV		373	466	IV	
324	355	IV		374	436	IV	
325	354	IV		375	435	IV	
326	348	IV		376	438	IV	
327	353	IV		377	437	IV	
328	350	IV	RW,115	378	450	IV	
329	351	IV		379	451	IV	
330	109	IV		380	449	IV	
331	107	IV		381	473	IV	
332	134	IV		382	430	IV	
333	139	IV		383	434	IV	
334	138	IV		384	452	IV	
335	386	IV		385	446	IV	
336	126	IV		386	447	IV	
337	152	IV		387	433	IV	
338	379	IV		388	471	IV	
339	401	IV		389	432	IV	
340	402	IV		390	431	IV	
341	403	IV		391	474	IV	
342	497	IV		392	455	IV	
343	481	IV		393	472	IV	
344	372	IV		394	475	IV	
345	375	IV		395	467	IV	
346	376	IV		396	470	IV	
347	381	IV		397	468	IV	
348	382	IV		398	469	IV	
349	383	IV		399	443	IV	
350	392	IV		400	440	IV	

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other
401	439	IV		451	335	213	
402	441	IV		452	338	208	
403	442	IV		453	326	200	
404	498	IV		454	325	181	
405	487	IV		455	333	210	
406	486	IV		456	311	188	
407	490	IV		457	295	174	
408	491	IV		458	318	190	
409	493	IV		459	361, A	206	
410	492	IV		460	153	201	
411	494	IV		461	519	App.2	
412	151	IV		462	533	App.3	
413	124	IV		463	515	207	
414	125	IV		464	419	IV	
415	123	IV		465	513	149	
416	149	IV		466	418	App.4	
417	127	IV		467	417	212	
418	150	IV		468 Lf.	336	202	
419	356	IV		469	357	IV	
420	322, A	IV	RW,118	470	141, A	IV	
421	400	IV		471	146	IV	
422	482	IV		472	154	IV	
423	308	III		473	489	IV	
424	340	205		474	413	IV	
425	313	III	RW,105	475	18	IV	
426	332	III		476	421	IV	
427	316	III	RW,103	477	424	IV	
428	315	III	RW,104	478	426	IV	
429	347	III		479	488	IV	
430	312	192		480	537	IV	
431	309	III	RW,101	481	551	IV	
432	360	III		482	544	IV	
433	330	III		483	547	IV	
434	329	III		484	546	IV	
435	314	III	RW,102	485	541	IV	
436	328	III		486	539	IV	
437	337	III		487	549	IV	
438	331	III		488	542	IV	
439	307	III	RW,98	489	540	IV	
440	310	III		490	552	IV	
441	319	III		491	545	IV	
442	324, A	III		492	548	IV	
443	323	III		493	543	IV	
444	110	IV		494	362	App.8	
445	334	177		495	422	App.6	
446	341	211		496	530	App.5	
447	320	186		497	534	App.9	
448	327	198		498	364	III	
449	339	209		499	358	App.7	
450	321	199		500	550	IV	

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other
501	538	IV		719	193	III	RW,86
502	553	IV		720	143	IV	
503	554	IV		721	251	III	
504	555	IV		722	416	III	
505		III		723	363	III	
506	365	App.11		724		IV	
507	368	App.10		725		IV	
508	531	App.17		726		App.22	
509	420	App.14		727		App.21	
510	414	App.12		728		III	
511 a–d	367	App.13		729		IV	
512	499	IV		730		IV	
513	366	III		731	S 558	III	DM,I
514	425	App.16		732	S 559	III	DM,I
515				733	S 560		DM,I
516	20–23						GV,29
517	20–23			734	S 561	IV	DM,II
518	20–23			735		III	
519	20–23			736		IV	
520	12, A			737		IV	
521	16, S		GV,11	738			
522	2, A			739			DM,I
523	3, A			740	S 562	III	
524	1, A		GV,5	741	S 563	107	DM,II
525	10, A			742 Lf.	S 564	63	DM,II
526	9			751	S 567	III	DM,I
527	8, A		GV,7	752	see W. 152a–w		
528	7, A			754	S 570	III	DM,I
529	6, A		GV,40	755	S 571	V	DM,II
530a–g	415		GV,8,22	756	S 572	III	DM,I
			23,36,52	757	S 573	III	DM,I
531	4, A		GV,44	759–762	S 574–577	III	DM,II
532	5, A		GV,43	764	S 578	III	DM,I
533	11, A			766	182		DM,II
534	14, A			767		IV	DM,II
535	13, A			769		III	
536	15			770	96		DM,II
537	24		SDN,I	774		III	
538	25		SDN,II	776		III	DM,I
539			DM,I,	777	IV		DM,II
			SDN,III	778	14		DM,II
540	29		SDN,V	779		IV	
541	26		SDN,VII	780		App.15	
542	31		SDN,VI	781		155	
543	28		SDN,IV	782		III	RW,110
544	27		SDN,VIII	783		IV	
545	32		SDN,XI	785		IV	
546	30		SDN,IX	786		III	
547	33		SDN,X	787		III	RW,116
548	369			789		IV	
549	34			790		III	
550	35						

Walters (W.)	De Ricci	Randall	Other	De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
791		App.18		1, A	524		GV,5
792		App.19		2, A	522		
793		III		3, A	523		
795		98		4, A	531		GV,44
796		III		5, A	532		GV,43
800		156		6, A	529		GV,40
801		140		7, A	528		
802		App.20		8, A	527		GV,7
804		IV		9	526		
805	II(1937), p.1938, no.6	III		10, A	525		
806		III		11, A	533		
807		136		12, A	520		
809		7		13, A	535		
810		81		14, A	534		
815		120, App.23		15	536		
816 a,b		App.24		16, S	521		GV,11
817		194		17	354	IV	
				18	475	IV	
				19	353	IV	
				20–23	516–519		
				24	537		SDN,I
				25	538		SDN,II
				26	541		SDN,VII
				27	544		SDN,VIII
				28	543		SDN,IV
				29	540		SDN,V
				30	546		SDN,IX
				31	542		SDN,VI
				32	545		SDN,XI
				33	547		SDN,X
				34	549		
				35	550		
				36	57	15	
				37	58	21	
				38	52	26	
				39	55	IV	
				40	60	16	
				41	50	25	
				42	48	23	
				43	49	24	
				44	152	IV	
				45	61	17	
				46	51	III	
				47	54	28	
				48	53	27	
				49	56	18	
				50	59	22	

De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other	De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
51	120	IV		101	118	31	
52	121	IV		102	42	33	
53	122	IV		103	79	III	
54	123	43		104	119	68	
55	145	61		105	115	59	
56	151	IV		106	150	IV	
57, S	18	III		107	331	IV	
58	67	11		108	198	III	
59	74	IV		109	330	IV	
60, S	3	3		110	444	IV	
61, S	1	2		111, A, S	11	IV	
62, S	4	III		112, A, S	6	IV	
63, S	5	III		113, S 565–566	28	6	
64, A, S	7	III		114, A	75	IV	
65, S	17	4		115	33	III	
66	31	IV		116	127	56	
67, S	14	III		117	128	42	
68, A, S	15	III		118	129	IV	
69, S	9	III		119, A	124	67	
70	130	60		120	147	77	
71, S	8	III		121	302	110	
72	296	172		122	174	III	
73, A, S	10	III		123	415	IV	
74	24	12		124	413	IV	
75, S	26			125	414	IV	
76	25	III		126	336	IV	
77	23	III		127	417	IV	
78, A	78	III		128	301	187	
79	70	III		129	175	III	
80	44	32		130	108	19	
81	68	III		131	109	48	
82	41	III		132	300	88	
83	46	20		133	298	III	
84	43	30		134	332	IV	
85	47	40		135	83	III	
86	36	III		136	299	124	
87	35	III		137	297	132	
88	69	III		138	334	IV	
89, S	16	III		139	333	IV	
90	34	III		140, A	303	204	
91	45	45		141, A	470	IV	
92	112	38		142	156	IV	
93	110	III		143	720	IV	
94	116	34		144	63	IV	
95	111	III		145	62	IV	
96	114	35		146	471	IV	
97	113	37		147	64	IV	
98	117	III		148, A	153	IV	
99	82	III		149	416	IV	
100	43	30		150	418	IV	

De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other	De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
151	412	IV		201	211	III	RW,88
152	337	IV		202	276	93	
153	460	201		203	221	108	
154	472	IV		204	273	89	
155	32	IV		205	244	99	
156	39	39		206	271	95	
157	38	58		207	209	86	
158	37	III	RW,79	208	288	109	
159	40	29		209	239	III	RW,87
160	85	III	RW,78	210	290	114	
161	86	47		211	293	113	
162	87	III		212	259	102	
163	92	71		213	265	87	
164	93	57		214	231	84	
165	88	III	RW,80	215	219	100	
166	97	41		216	188	III	RW,108
167	91	70		217	287	103	
168	90	54		218	284	162	
169	102	III	RW,111	219	257	123	
170	98	49		220	254	101	
171	95	III		221	263	III	
172	104	55		222	251	127	
173	84	69		223	289	111	
174	94	75		224	202	III	
175, A	105	III	RW,112	225	246	III	RW,90
176	89	73		226	247	118	
177	96	76		227	269	129	
178	103	83		228	267	III	
179	100	82		229, A	167	III	
180	99	92		230	264	144	
181	232	85		231	192	III	
182	101	91		232	274	133	
183	238	90		233	285	135	
184	261	97		234	190	III	
185	260	94		235	168	III	RW,109
186	237	78		236	253	106	
187	234	104		237	173	III	RW,89
188	215	III	RW,81	238	207	126	
189	170	III	RW,84	239	275	128	
190	166	III	RW,83	240	262	115	
191	185	III	RW,107	241	268	117	
192	165	III		242	270	III	
193	719	III	RW,86	243	250	147	
194, A	169	III		244	243	138	
195	172	III	RW,85	245	279	III	RW,96
196	164	III	RW,82	246	278	173	
197	191	116		247	193	III	
198	248	105		248	283	148	
199	216	119		249	229	III	
200	218	III		250	220	III	RW,91

De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other	De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
251	721	III		301	295	185	
252	240	III	RW,92	302	224	165	
253	266	III		303	245	168	
254	183	III		304	217	191	
255	182	III		305	233	164	
256	180	III		306	228	192	
257	321	III		307	439	III	
258	184	III		308	423	III	
259	197	III	RW,93	309	431	III	RW,101
260	186	III		310	440	III	
261	281	112		311	456	188	
262	252	157		312	430	192	
263	204	III		313	425	III	RW,105
264	249	139		314	435	III	RW,102
265	226	166		315	428	III	RW,104
266	272	III	RW,97	316	427	III	RW,103
267	258	169		317	176	III	RW,100
268	280	177		318	458	190	
269	208	III		319	441	III	
270	205	146		320	447	186	
271	222	142		321	450	199	
272	292	137		322, A	420	IV	RW,118
273	214	158		323	443	III	
274	196	III	RW,94	324, A	442	III	
275	187	131		325	454	181	
276	223	143		326	453	200	
277	194	III		327	448	198	
278	225	167		328	436	III	
279	235	184		329	434	III	
280	236	195		330	433	IV	
281	189	III		331	438	III	
282	255	179		332	426	III	
283	241	163		333	455	210	
284	282	203		334	445	177	
285	291	180		335	451	213	
286	213	159		336	468	202	
287	230	121		337	437	III	
288	195	III	RW,95	338	452	208	
289	242	189		339	449	209	
290	277	III		340	424	205	
291	203	160		341	446	211	
292	210	134		342	107	66	
293	320	183		343	206	130	
294	212	145		344	179	III	
295	457	174		345	177	III	
296, A	286	171		346	181	III	
297	178	III		347	429	III	
298	256	175		348	326	IV	
299	294	197		349	323	IV	
300	227	196		350	328	IV	

De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other	De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
351	329	IV		401	339	IV	
352	322	IV		402	340	IV	
353	327	IV		403	341	IV	
354	325	IV		404	80	deaccessioned	
355	324	IV		405	134	III	
356	419	IV		406	135	51	
357	469	IV		407	133	III	
358	499	App.7		408	159	IV	
359	163	III		409	158	IV	
360	432	III		410	359	IV	
361, A	459	206		411	136	52	
362	494	App.8		412	73	III	
363	723	III		413	474	IV	
364	498	III		414	510	App.12	
365	506	App.11		415	530a-g		GV,8,22, 23,36,52
366	513	III		416	722	III	
367	511	App.13		417	467	212	
368	507	App.10		418	466	App.4	
369	548			419	464	IV	
370	352	IV		420	509	App.14	
371	356	IV		421	476	IV	
372	344	IV		422	495	App.6	
373	358	IV		423	200	App.1	
374, S	2	1		424	477	IV	
375	345	IV		425	514	App.16	
376	346	IV		426	478	IV	
377	304	150		427	161	44	
378	131	46		428	66	III	
379	338	IV		429	160	IV	
380	13	III		430	382	IV	
381	347	IV		431	390	IV	
382	348	IV		432	389	IV	
383	349	IV		433	387	IV	
384	12	III		434	383	IV	
385	71	III		435	375	IV	
386	335	III		436	374	IV	
387, A, S	29	III		437	377	IV	
388, A	30	III		438	376	IV	
389, S	27	IV		439	401	IV	
390, A	149	III		440	400	IV	
391	155	IV		441	402	IV	
392	350	IV		442	403	IV	
393, A	72	III		443	399	IV	
394	65	13		444	77	IV	
395	148	III		445	162	IV	
396, S	19	5		446	385	IV	
397	171	III		447	386	IV	
398	311	125		448, S	20	8	
399	154	IV		449	380	IV	
400	421	IV		450	378	IV	

De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other	De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
451	379	IV		501	125–126	74	
452	384	IV		502	132	36	
453	371	III		503	310	154	
454	355	IV		504	199	III	
455	392	IV		505	312	III	
456	365	IV		506	140	64	
457	367	IV		507	144	III	
458	366	IV		508, A	308	151	
459	368	IV		509	143	65	
460	363	IV		510	316	122	
461	362	IV		511	141	72	
462	364	IV		512	318	170	
463	361	IV		513	465	149	
464	360	IV		514, A	313	176	
465	370	IV		515	463	207	
466	373	IV		516	317	161	
467	395	IV		517	314	III	
468	397	IV		518	315	III	
469	398	IV		519	461	App.2	
470	396	IV		520	307	III	
471	388	IV		521	319	152	
472	393	IV		522	138	79	
473	381	IV		523	139	80	
474	391	IV		524	137	50	
475	394	IV		525	305	III	
476, S	21	10		526	306	153	
477, S	22	9		527	201	III	
478	357	IV		528	142	53	
479	76	IV		529	146	62	
480	369	IV		530	496	App.5	
481	343	IV		531	508	App.17	
482	422	IV		532	Autogr.		
483	372	IV		533	462	App.3	
484, A	81	III		534	497	App.9	
485	309	141		535	Autogr.15.6		
486	406	IV		536	Autogr.15.1		
487	405	IV		537	480	IV	
488	479	III		538	501	IV	
489	473	IV		539	486	IV	
490	407	IV		540	489	IV	
491	408	IV		541	485	IV	
492	410	IV		542	488	IV	
493	409	IV		543	493	IV	
494	411	IV		544	482	IV	
495	157	IV		545	491	IV	
496	351	IV		546	484	IV	
497	342	IV		547	483	IV	
498	404	IV		548	492	IV	
499	512	IV		549	487	IV	
500	106	III		550	500	IV	

De Ricci	Walters (W.)	Randall	Other
551	481	IV	
552	490	IV	
553	502	IV	
554	503	IV	
555	504	IV	
556	Autogr.15.4		
557	Doc.		
S 558	731	III	DM,I
S 559	732	III	DM,I
S 560	733		DM,I, GV,29
S 561	734	IV	DM,II
S 562	740	III	
S 563	741	107	DM,II
S 564	742	63	DM,II
S 565–566	28 add.	6	
S 567	751	III	DM,I
S 568	152a–w		
S 569	George Peabody Libr.		
S 570	754	III	DM,I
S 571	755	IV	DM,II
S 572	756	III	DM,I
S 573	757	III	DM,I
S 574–577	759–762	III	DM,II
S 578	764	III	DM,I

Technical Notes on an Altarpiece by Jacob de Punder

E. Melanie Gifford

Two panels by the sixteenth-century Flemish painter Jacob de Punder were reunited in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery in 1984. X-radiographs, infrared examination, and paint analysis have established the original relationship of the two panels as exterior wings of a lost altarpiece and also have clarified their complex provenance.

The Malines painter Jacob de Punder (1516 or 1527–after 1572)¹ was generously praised by Karel van Mander in his *Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters* of 1604, the portraits being singled out for special mention.² Today, however, just three works by de Punder are known; two are in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery. Technical analysis has shed light not only on their original context but also, intriguingly, on their provenance.

By 1909 Henry Walters owned a portrait of a cleric in prayer (fig. 2),³ subsequently identified as Nicholas à Spira (1510–1568), abbot of Grimbergen from 1543 to 1568.⁴ This painting, dated 1563 and signed (J)ACOBVS (D)EPVNDER (F)ECIT, is inscribed with the abbot's device, SPIRITVM RECTVM INSPIRA, and his age. In 1938 Julius Held recognized the painting as one of only two signed works by Jacob de Punder.⁵ Soon after, J.G. van Gelder published a companion panel representing St. Nicholas with his hand raised in benediction (fig. 1);⁶ in 1984 this second painting was acquired by the Walters Art Gallery.⁷ In the earlier literature these paintings were described as halves of a diptych. While technical analysis has confirmed the close relationship between the two panels, it has also shown that their original configuration was more complex.⁸

The paintings are virtually identical in format, being almost exactly the same size, with the reverse of each painted dark brown.⁹ The compositions are mirror images; in each, a dark green curtain has been drawn aside to reveal the figure, dressed in jeweled and embroidered vestments and holding a crozier. St.

Nicholas wears a jeweled miter, while that of Nicholas à Spira, a mitered abbot, rests behind the sitter.

Nicholas à Spira shares some vestments with his saint. Each wears a brocade cope with orphrey bands hinged at the shoulders. Though the pattern has been rendered in red on the *Nicholas à Spira* and in brown and blue¹⁰ on the *St. Nicholas*, it is clearly the same garment, and the orphrey bands vary only slightly. On the saint's orphrey the figure of St. Peter appears in an arched niche above an Old Testament prophet. The abbot wears an orphrey with St. Paul above another prophet; a small section of the left orphrey can be seen to be the same as that in the *St. Nicholas* panel.

Thus, though the saint's garments are more heavily jeweled than those of the abbot, the two wear the same cope and orphrey, rich vestments that must have formed an important part of the abbey treasury. These vestments are unlikely to be an artist's invention. Not only the attention that has been lavished on their representation, but their iconographic program suggests that these were the cope and orphrey bands of the abbot at Grimbergen. The abbey was dedicated to the Virgin as well as to Peter and Paul.¹¹ Peter and Paul dominate the orphreys while the Virgin is represented on St. Nicholas's morse and in the crook of his crozier. All three appear on the abbot's miter; a similar grouping of a robed figure flanked by two figures in niches appears on his morse, though this passage is too vague to identify the figures depicted.

From an infrared examination we may infer that the painter may at one time have intended the two men to share a miter and morse as well. Infrared photographs (figs. 3 and 4) indicate that the dark background was laid in first, leaving reserves for the figures and the miters. While the figures themselves correspond closely to the reserves, the shapes of the miters differ unexpectedly. The artist first planned miters that were considerably shorter, with straighter, less flared sides. While the present miters probably date



Fig. 1. Jacob de Punder, *St. Nicholas*, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2615, purchased through the W. Alton Jones Foundation Acquisition Fund, 1984.



Fig. 2. Jacob de Punder, *Nicholas à Spira*, 1563, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.258.



Fig. 3. Jacob de Punder, *St. Nicholas*, infrared photograph.

from the sixteenth century, the forms implied in the infrared photographs are consistent with the shape of those datable to the fifteenth century.¹²

St. Nicholas now wears a morse of simple oval form with an image of the Virgin and Child. The abbot's morse, placed higher than the saint's, has a more varied outline and loosely implies three figures in gothic niches. In both paintings a dark shape beneath the final paint layers can be seen in the infrared photograph fairly high in the cope's opening.¹³ Here, also, the interpretation of the infrared examination can suggest that the figures were dressed alike at some stage of the paintings' planning. The artist may once have intended the abbot, as well, to wear the morse with the Virgin and Child worn by the saint.

Despite the close association of the abbot with his saint, these two panels were unlikely to have formed a pair of portraits or a diptych. In all probability they originally formed the wings of a triptych. The light in the paintings does not fall from a consistent point to one side of the figures, but rather from a point between the two, implying that the composition was more extensive. In addition, van Mander describes de



Fig. 4. Jacob de Punder, *Nicholas à Spira*, infrared photograph.

Punder as a painter of religious works as well as portraits: "He painted a Crucifixion, an altarpainting in which many portraits appear."¹⁴ Composite x-radiographs of the paintings (figs. 5 and 6) clarify the original structure.

In the x-radiograph of *St. Nicholas*, a robed figure with arm upraised in benediction is superimposed over the image of the saint. The x-radiograph of *Nicholas à Spira* includes not only the image of the abbot, but also the image of a woman kneeling before a book at a lectern and turning to look over her shoulder. These two figures can only be the Archangel Gabriel and the Virgin of the Annunciation. When the x-radiographs are viewed with the saint and the abbot in their proper positions, however, Gabriel appears to make his announcement into emptiness toward the left, while the Virgin turns away from him when she looks up in response.

Further examination using paint analysis revealed that the *Annunciation* was painted on the reverse of the panels, now obscured by dark brown paint. Using the x-radiographs to choose a recognizable feature of the *Annunciation*, paint cross sections were taken from



Fig. 5. Jacob de Punder, *St. Nicholas*, composite x-radiograph superimposing St. Nicholas and the angel of the Annunciation.

the same point on the front and reverse of each panel.¹⁵ The samples from the front of the paintings (figs. 7 and 9) have a structure typical of the mid-sixteenth century; the panel was prepared with a chalk ground and a white lead upper ground. The succeeding paint layers correspond to the images now visible. The samples from the reverse (figs. 8 and 10) indicate that this surface of the panels was prepared with exactly the same structure of chalk ground and white lead upper ground; above the grounds these samples have a thin design layer, in either light or dark gray paint, corresponding to the *Annunciation*. Above the gray layers, however, the samples differ from the front, with a white layer followed by dark brown paint. These are the thick white "ground" and dark paint that completely cover the back of both panels.¹⁶

The Baltimore paintings served originally as wings of an altarpiece. When the altarpiece was open the paintings of Nicholas à Spira in prayer and St. Nicholas, his intercessor, flanked a central sacred image, now lost, the lighting of which is reflected in the two wings. When closed, the altarpiece displayed a grisaille of the *Annunciation*. The repeated motifs of



Fig. 6. Jacob de Punder, *Nicholas à Spira*, composite x-radiograph superimposing Nicholas à Spira and the Virgin Annunciate.

the Virgin along with Peter and Paul in the vestments shared by the abbot and his saint clearly refer to the dedication of the abbey at Grimbergen. More specifically, the emphasis on St. Nicholas and the close association that the abbot seems to have felt with his patron saint suggest that this work was the altarpiece for the chapel dedicated to the Holy Lamb and St. Nicholas, which Nicholas à Spira built and in which he was buried.

Finally, an intriguing result of the paint analysis has been the opportunity offered to clarify the provenance, which is not known before the late nineteenth century, and which has been conflated in the previous literature. From the sales records the paintings appear to have been separated by 1883.¹⁷ In that year the *St. Nicholas* appeared in the de Malherbe sale in Valenciennes, and Hymans published the acquisition of the *Nicholas à Spira* by the Comte de la Béraudière, in Paris.¹⁸ Later sales catalogues also document an independent provenance for each painting.¹⁹ Since detailed descriptions of both paintings in Hymans's publications and in sales catalogues make no reference to images on the reverse, the *Annunciation* was almost

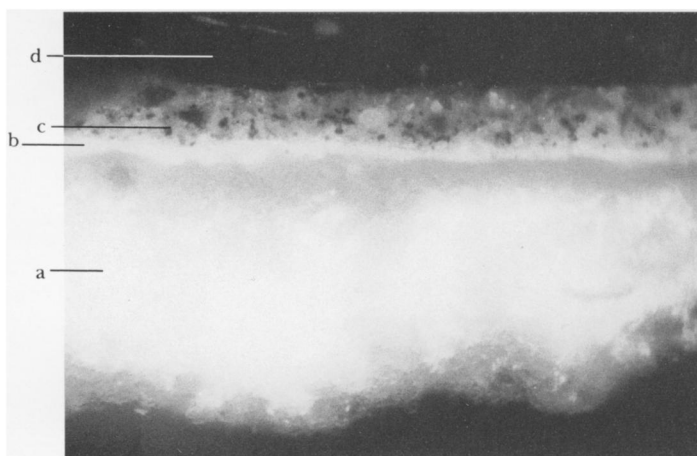


Fig. 7. Paint cross section (#784) from front of *St. Nicholas*, green drapery at upper left (corresponding to the angel's sleeve in the x-radiograph). a) chalk ground; b) white lead upper ground; c) blue base-tone of drapery: azurite, white lead, carbon black; d) green copper glaze of drapery. (Magnification 170x)

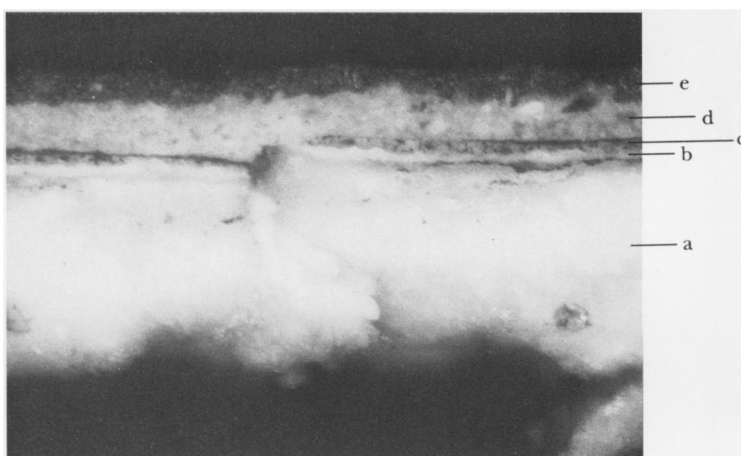


Fig. 8. Paint cross section (#785) from reverse of *St. Nicholas*, (corresponding to the angel's sleeve in the x-radiograph). a) chalk ground; b) white lead upper ground; c) dark gray design layer of reverse: carbon black, lead white; d) additional ground layer covering image on reverse: white lead, barium sulfate, earth; e) dark brown paint layer: umber, white lead. (Magnification 170x)

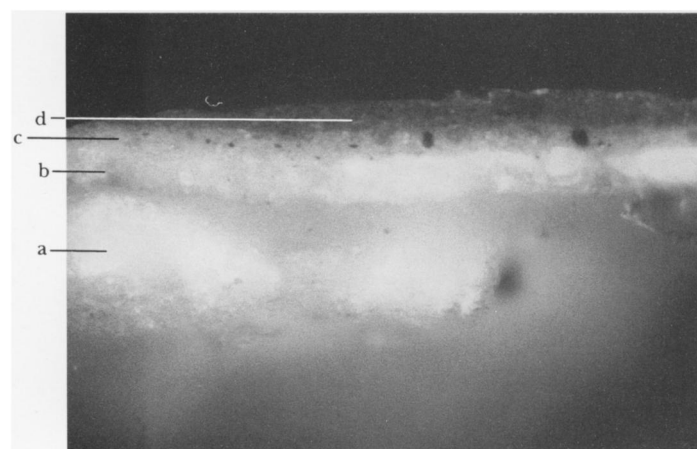


Fig. 9. Paint cross section (#782) from front of *Nicholas à Spira*, middle of crozier (corresponding to the Virgin's sleeve in the x-radiograph). a) chalk ground; b) white lead upper ground; c) brown base tone of crozier: earth colors, possibly yellow lake; d) warm brown: earth colors. (Magnification 170x)

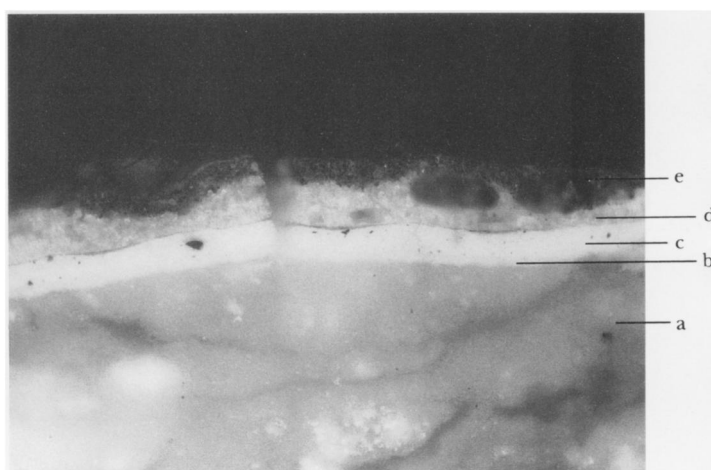


Fig. 10. Paint cross section (#783) from reverse of *Nicholas à Spira*, (corresponding to the Virgin's sleeve in the x-radiograph). a) chalk ground; b) white lead upper ground; c) light gray design layer of reverse: white lead, carbon black; d) additional ground layer covering image on reverse: white lead, barium sulfate, earth e) dark brown paint layer: umber, white lead. (Magnification 170x)

certainly obscured by this time.

The two halves of the *Annunciation* probably were covered over to facilitate their sale when the pair was separated; without half of the *Annunciation* on the reverse, either painting could have been sold as a portrait of a cleric. When this separation occurred, however, has been unclear. The altarpiece could have been dismembered when the Iconoclasm reached Grimbergen in 1566, when the French confiscated the abbey in 1796²⁰ or, in fact, at any time before 1883.

The obscuring paint on the reverse of both panels is identical. The thick white "ground" layer below the brown-black paint contains two white pigments, white

lead and barium sulfate. White lead is the ubiquitous white pigment in easel paintings from antiquity into the nineteenth century. Barium sulfate, however, came into commercial use for oil paints after 1820.²¹ I would suggest that the paintings must have remained together from their creation in 1563 into the nineteenth century, being separated only between 1820 and 1883. Thus technical analysis has provided not only insights into the original format of the altarpiece, but also an interesting footnote to the marketing of art in the nineteenth century.

The Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

Notes

1. The documentary references to de Punder's life are summarized by J. Duverger, "Enkele gegevens betreffende schilder Jacob de Punder alias de Poindre," *Gentsche Bijdragen*, 9 (1943), 211–215. De Punder was born in Malines in either 1516 or 1527. He was a student of Marcus Willems, and in 1559 Willem de Vos was registered as a pupil of de Punder's. Around 1560 de Punder moved to Brussels and in 1568, after the Iconoclasm, went into exile. By 1572, (when he signed and dated a *Resurrection* now in Lausa, near Dresden) he seems to have been in Germany.

2. K. van Mander, *Het leven der doorluchtighe Nederlandsche en Hooghduytsche schilders*, included in *Het Schilderboek*. . . (Haarlem, 1604); an English translation of de Punder's biography appears in W. Stechow, "Jacques de Poindre," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1 (1938), 51–53.

3. Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.258; 85.1 x 58.4 cm (33 1/2 x 23 in.). Acquired between 1903 and 1909 by Henry Walters (see *The Walters Collection* [Baltimore, 1903]; *The Walters Collection*, [Baltimore, 1909], 77, no. 258).

4. Curatorial files, the Walters Art Gallery: personal communication, Joseph De Meyer, May 12, 1951. A further communication, June 14, 1951, summarized the records of the abbey concerning the tenure of Nicholas à Spira. See also the exhibition catalogue *Laus Brabantiae* (Grimbergen, 1958), 118, cited by L. van Puyvelde, *La Renaissance Flamande de Bosch à Brueghel* (Brussels, 1971), 232, n. 145.

5. J. Held, "Jacobus de Punder," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 1 (1938), 44–50. The other painting is the notably weak Lausa Resurrection (see note above).

6. Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2615; 85.5 x 58.5 cm (33 5/8 x 22 3/4 in.). Purchased through the W. Alton Jones Foundation Acquisition Fund. Published by J.G. van Gelder, "Nieuw werk van Jacob de Punder (Jacques de Poindre)," *Oud Holland*, 5/6 (1942), 129–133; see also William H. Schab Gallery, Inc., *Master Paintings of the 16th to the 18th century: An exhibition in association with Galerie Pardo, Paris*, (New York, 1983), 10–12.

7. R.P. Bergman and B. Baryte, "Jacob de Punder's *St. Nicholas*," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, 37, no. 2 (March/April, 1984), n.p.

8. Preliminary results of my examination were included in E.M. Zafran, *Fifty Old Master Paintings from The Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1988), 100–103.

9. Both are on thin oak panels, slightly beveled on both front and reverse. Neither has been cut down; both retain on all four sides an unpainted margin of wood with a raised bead of the ground where the panel was once fitted into an engaged frame.

10. The large colored areas, originally blue, now appear grayish through the degradation of the blue pigment, smalt.

11. L.H. Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés I* (Mâcon, 1935), 1346.

12. For a discussion of the present miters see Held, "Jacobus de Punder," 49. A similar, though somewhat shorter, form is published in J. Braun, *Die Liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1907), fig. 240. By the 15th century miters tended to be higher than they were wide but the flaring form was rare until the second half of the century; see Braun, 474–475. The outline seen in the infrared photograph of the *Nicholas à Spira* panel suggests a more rounded form. This may simply be an aberration of the angle depicted, or it could represent a more mannered form, like that in a panel of *Albrecht von Brandenburg as St. Erasmus* from the second quarter of the 16th century. See *Albrecht von Brandenburg, Kurfürst, Erkanzler, Kardinal: 1490–1545*, (Mainz, 1990), 188, illustrated in color on the frontispiece.

13. In the *Nicholas à Spira* this coincides with the final placement of the morse, while in the *St. Nicholas* the morse was lowered several inches from this point. This dark paint may be underpaint laid down in preparation for the depiction of metal. It probably indicates the intended shape of the morse, though it is possible that the artist blocked out only the general area while intending to complete the design in the more complex outline shown in the underdrawing of the *Nicholas à Spira*.

14. Stechow, "Jacques de Poindre," 51.

15. Microscopic samples that included all paint and ground layers were taken from the edges of existing paint losses. These were mounted in polyester then ground and polished to expose the layers in cross section. Pigments were identified by polarizing light microscopy of dispersed pigment samples and by energy dispersive x-ray analysis of the cross sections using a Jeol electron microprobe at the facilities of the Electron Microscope Central Facility of the University of Maryland at College Park. I am most grateful to Myron Eugene Taylor, Director of the facility, and to Helaleh Maghsoudlou, Graduate Research Assistant, for their assistance.

16. That both the Virgin's and Gabriel's garments were painted in grey implies that the *Annunciation* on the reverse was painted in grisaille. This is confirmed by examination of the reverse with a stereo-microscope. In one paint loss corresponding to Gabriel's cheek a tiny area of grey paint can be seen.

It has not yet been possible safely to remove the heavy white ground and brown paint covering the reverse of the panels, but experiments with alternative cleaning methods offer hope that the *Annunciation* will be visible again.

17. *St. Nicholas*: de Malherbe sale, Valenciennes, 17–18 October, 1883, no. 46 as Lambert Lombard; Cabinet Foucard sale, Valenciennes, 12–14 October, 1898, no. 68 as Lambert Lombard; de Somzée sale, Brussels, 24 May, 1904, no. 565 as Lambert Lombard, also attributed to Jacques de Poindre.

Nicholas à Spira: de la Béraudière sale, Paris, 18–30 May, 1885, no. 120; Vente X, 1898 (see H. Mireur, *Dictionnaire des ventes d'arts*, VI [Paris, 1912], 20).

18. H. Hymans, *Courrier de l'Art* (1883), 351.

19. See note above. The sales catalogues locate the *St. Nicholas* in Valenciennes in 1883 and 1898, and in Brussels in 1904, while the *Nicholas à Spira* was probably in Paris at least from 1883 to 1898. This appears to be contradicted in Hymans's 1903 biographical entry on de Punder (H. Hymans, "Poindre, Jacques de," *Biographie Nationale*, XVII [Brussels, 1903], 883–884), in which he associates the two paintings for the first time. He reported seeing both paintings with a Paris dealer, and wrote that both had come from the de la Béraudière collection. Only the *Nicholas à Spira* was in the de la Béraudière sale, however, and in his 1883 article Hymans published only the acquisition by de la Béraudière of the *Nicholas à Spira*. In his 1903 description he confuses the two, possibly paraphrasing a sales catalogue entry for the *St. Nicholas* in his description of the *Nicholas à Spira*. He also refers to both as canvases, which suggests that he had not recently seen the paintings.

The catalogue of the 1904 de Somzée sale in Brussels added Jacques de Poindre as an alternative to the *St. Nicholas*'s traditional attribution to Lambert Lombard (see van Gelder "Nieuw werks," 130). Whether or not the paintings were briefly rejoined between 1898 and 1903, as Hymans suggests, the association between the two had been recognized.

20. De Meyer, June 14, 1951.

21. It was widely used as an inexpensive extender for white lead, as it is used here. R.L. Feller, ed., *Artists' Pigments: A Handbook of their History and Characteristics*, I (Washington, D.C., 1986), 47–50.

PHOTOGRAPHS: All figures, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

Die Gruppe der Diana auf dem Hirsch in der Walters Art Gallery

Lorenz Seelig

An abstract in English follows the text.

In der Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore befindet sich das silbervergoldete Trinkspiel der Diana auf dem Hirsch (Abb. 1), das bislang als Werk des Augsburger Goldschmieds Jakob I Miller (um 1550–1618) aus dem Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts gilt.¹ Die Gruppe wurde 1910 von Henry Walters bei dem Pariser Kunsthändler Jacques Seligman erworben.² Zuvor war sie am 4. Mai 1908 als Lot 190 bei Christie's in London aus dem Nachlaß der Lady Jane Conyngham (née Stanhope, 1833–1907)—der Witwe von George Henry, dem dritten Marquis Conyngham (1825–1882)³—versteigert worden. In der Objektdokumentation der Walters Art Gallery wird die Gruppe auf die erste Marchioness Conyngham zurückgeführt: Elizabeth Denison, 1794 vermählt mit Henry Conyngham (1766–1832)⁴—dem nachmaligen Earl of Mountcharles und ersten Marquis Conyngham—war die Mätresse des Regenten und späteren Königs Georg IV., die bis zum Tod des Monarchen im Jahr 1830 großen Einfluß am englischen Hof besaß. So schenkte ihr der König—selbst ein passionierter Sammler⁵—zahlreiche Kunstwerke; nach Aussage der Museumsdokumentation zählt auch die angeblich aus dem Besitz der englischen Krone stammende Diana-Gruppe zu jenen Geschenken Georgs IV. an seine Mätresse. Später förderte Lady Conyngham, die 1861 starb, insbesondere ihren Sohn Albert Denison, ersten Baron Londesborough (1805–1860), der ebenfalls eine große Kunstsammlung besaß.⁶

Die in Baltimore befindliche Gruppe der Diana auf dem Hirsch, die deutlich auf die Seitenansicht hin komponiert ist, erhebt sich über einem gestreckten Sockel. Der streng im Profil gesehene Hirsch, dessen Kopf abgenommen werden kann, ist im Augenblick des Sprunges dargestellt; mit gestreckter Hinterhand scheint sich das Tier gleichsam von der Standplatte abzuschneiden. Dagegen ist die Gestalt der in seit-

lichem Sitz auf dem Hirsch reitenden Diana, die mit der Rechten am Hals des Hirsches Halt findet, frontal gegeben (in technischer Hinsicht wird die Figur der Diana durch einen Silberstab fixiert, der auf dem Rücken des Hirsches aufgelötet ist). Der nur mit einem Tuch versehenen Jagdgöttin ist ein auf der Kruppe des Hirsches sitzender Putto beigegeben, der in der gesenkten Linken einen Bogen hält und auf dem Rücken einen Köcher trägt. Ebenfalls im Maßstab des Hirsches und seiner Reiterin konzipiert sind die beiden großen Jagdhunde, die die Standplatte einnehmen. Maßstäblich wesentlich kleiner gebildet ist ein springender Hund, der sich vorn etwa unterhalb der Vorderhufe des Hirsches befindet. Ferner ist die Standplatte mit kleinformatigen Tieren—Eidechsen, Fröschen und Käfern in unterschiedlicher Größe—besetzt.

Das Bildwerk ist aufwendig dekoriert. Der mit einem Zierkrönchen versehene Hirsch trägt eine durchbrochene Satteldecke, die aus ausgesägtem Silberblech gearbeitet ist. Dagegen ist die auf den Flanken des Hirsches befindliche Schabracke, die ausgeprägt ornamentalen Charakter besitzt, in Silber gegossen; das Zentrum der oben in einer Blüte gipfelnden Zierelemente trägt jeweils einen geflügelten Puttenkopf, der untere Rand ist mit Zierquasten und Silberperlen besetzt. Auf der Brust des Hirsches findet sich ein Maskaron. Die Fuge am Hals des Hirsches ist mit einem durchbrochenen Zierband in Art einer Manschette bedeckt, das vorn einen geflügelten Puttenkopf trägt. Zudem ist das Zaumzeug zum Teil mit Edelsteinen besetzt.⁷ Der länglich achteckige Sockel der Gruppe, der auf einem stark gegliederten Profil ruht, ist auf den glatten Seitenwandungen mit durchbrochenen Beschlägen in Schweifwerkformen geschmückt; die senkrechten Sockelkanten werden durch Profilstäbe mit begleitendem Zackenband akzentuiert. Die plane Deckplatte ist mit graviertem Schweifwerkornament versehen. Zur Differenzierung



Abb. 1. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, wohl England, 19. Jahrhundert, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 57.923.

der Oberfläche des Bildwerks trägt entscheidend die partielle Vergoldung bei. Zu dem vergoldeten Leib des Hirsches kontrastieren die weißsilbernen Zierelemente der Schabracke, der Satteldecke und der Halsmanschette; auch ist u.a. das Geweih des Hirsches aus der Vergoldung ausgespart. Desgleichen ist der Leib der Diana und des Putto weißsilbern belassen; hier setzt nur die Vergoldung des Tuchs, des Haars usw. kontrastierende Akzente. Ein ähnlicher Oberflächen Gegensatz findet sich auch bei den beiden großen Hunden: Während der hockende Hund ganz vergoldet ist, beschränkt sich bei dem stehenden Hund die Vergoldung auf das Halsband. Bei dem Sockel sind nur die mittleren Zierelemente der Beschläge aus der Vergoldung ausgenommen.

Dem Typus nach gehört die Diana-Gruppe zur Kategorie der Trinkspiele, wie das im Sockel befindliche Automatenlaufwerk erweist. Bei solchen Trinkspielen wird mittels eines Federaufzugs die weingefüllte Gruppe über die Tafel bewegt; derjenige der Gäste, vor dem sie stehenbleibt, hat aus dem Leib des Hirsches zu trinken, dessen Kopf abnehmbar ist



Abb. 2. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Joachim Fries, Augsburg, um 1620, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.746, Geschenk von J. Pierpont Morgan.

und dessen Hinterbeine gewöhnlich nur mit glatten Stiften in die Standplatte eingelassen sind, so daß sie leicht herausgezogen werden können. Auch der Kopf des größeren Hundes ist abnehmbar.

Unmittelbar mit der Gruppe in Baltimore zu vergleichen ist das mit dem Meisterzeichen des Joachim Fries (um 1579–1620) versehene Diana-Trinkspiel im Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Abb. 2), das 1917 von J. Pierpont Morgan dem Museum geschenkt wurde und sich zuvor in der Sammlung Eugen Gutmann in Berlin befand.⁸ In fast allen Details stimmen die beiden Goldschmiedewerke exakt überein. So sind z.B. hier wie dort die glatten Sockelflächen insgesamt vergoldet,⁹ ohne die bei den übrigen Diana-Gruppen charakteristische Differenzierung zwischen weißsilbernen und vergoldeten Partien. Desgleichen finden sich bei den Dianen in New York und Baltimore—zumindest teilweise—an denselben Stellen Edelsteine in ähnlicher Fassung.¹⁰ Die überaus enge Entsprechung zwischen beiden Ausführungen ist umso bemerkenswerter, als die anderen Exemplare der Diana auf dem Hirsch sich stets in mehreren



Abb. 3. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Matthäus Walbaum, Augsburg, Anfang 17. Jahrhundert, München, Schatzkammer der Residenz, 588.

Punkten voneinander unterscheiden.¹¹

Insgesamt freilich ist die Diana-Gruppe der Walters Art Gallery, im Vergleich zu dem New Yorker Exemplar, in der Oberfläche ausgesprochen glatt und undifferenziert sowie in der Durchführung weniger scharf und präzise. Dies läßt sich speziell auch an dem Sattel- und Zaumzeug ablesen: Die ornamental konzipierte Schabracke der New Yorker Statuette (Abb. 4)¹² findet sich in exakt der gleichen Form—einschließlich der zahlreichen Bruch- und Fehlstellen—auch am Exemplar in Baltimore (Abb. 5), freilich ohne die scharfen Bruchkanten, die bei der New Yorker Diana zu Tage treten. So legt der detaillierte Vergleich der beiden Gruppen die Vermutung nahe, daß die Diana der Walters Art Gallery eine weitgehend auf dem Wege der Abformung im Gußverfahren hergestellte Reproduktion des New Yorker Exemplars darstellt. Dies wird im Fall des Hirsches durch ein wichtiges Indiz unzweifelhaft bestätigt: Die unterhalb des Halses des Hirsches auf der linken Seite befindlichen Goldschmiedemarken der Diana in Baltimore sind nicht—wie es die Praxis des Beschauwesens zwingend erfordert—unmittelbar mit Punzen eingeschlagen, sondern deutlich mitgegossen, freilich in derart unscharfer Ausführung, daß die Initialen des Meisterzeichens und das Bild—der Pyr—des Beschauzeichens kaum in Erscheinung treten; deren Form und An-

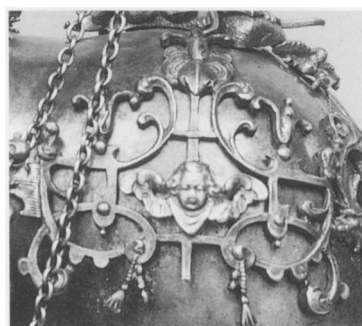


Abb. 4. Detail, Abb. 2.

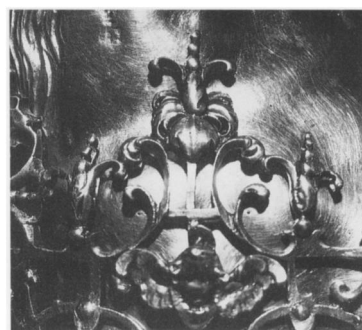


Abb. 5. Detail, Abb. 1.

bringungsort aber entsprechen exakt der Diana in New York. Schwache Vertiefungen finden sich auch innen an der Manschette des Hirschkopfes—somit an jener Stelle, die bei den Augsburger Trinkspielen gewöhnlich Marken aufweist, da in der Regel jedes größere separate Teil einer Goldschmiedearbeit mit Marken versehen sein mußte. Im übrigen ist der Leib des Hirsches der in Baltimore befindlichen Diana-Gruppe im Inneren nicht vergoldet und zudem dort in der Oberfläche sehr grob belassen; dagegen weisen die als Trinkgefäße konzipierten authentischen Diana-Gruppen stets eine sorgfältige Vergoldung des eingehend geglätteten Inneren auf. Zudem entspricht die Herstellungsart des Körpers des Hirsches¹³ keineswegs der in Augsburg um 1600 üblichen Technik: Gewöhnlich wurden die einzelnen Teile des Rumpfes durch Löten zusammengefügt und die gegossenen Extremitäten gleichfalls in Löttechnik angesetzt, so daß zumindest bei näherer Untersuchung die Löt Nähte zu erkennen sind.¹⁴ Dagegen finden sich bei der Diana-Gruppe in Baltimore augenscheinlich keine Löt Nähte. Während nun die Dianafigur und—soweit ersichtlich—auch der Hirsch der Gruppe der Walters Art Gallery in der Technik des Hohlusses gearbeitet sind, ist die Deckplatte des Sockels offensichtlich in Treibtechnik ausgeführt. Das Vorbild der New Yorker Gruppe¹⁵ ist hier formgetreu, wenn auch in größerer

Ausführung, kopiert.¹⁶ Bezeichnenderweise fehlen bei dem Exemplar in Baltimore auf der Deckplatte die Beschau- und Meistermarken, die sich bei der New Yorker Goldschmiedearbeit—wie meist bei den Diana-Gruppen—auf der vorderen Schmalseite der Standplatte finden.

Vor einer näheren Einordnung der beiden Gruppen in Baltimore und New York sind die übrigen Ausführungen dieses Typus kursorisch vorzuführen.¹⁷ Die Erfindung der Komposition der Diana auf dem Hirsch geht vermutlich auf den Augsburger Goldschmied Matthäus Walbaum (Meister um 1590, gestorben 1632) zurück, der auf der Grundlage eines rationellen Fertigungssystems, unter Beteiligung spezialisierter Kunsthandwerker, zahlreiche Goldschmiedewerke von oft komplexem Charakter hervorbrachte; die plastischen Modelle der figürlichen Elemente wurden wahrscheinlich von Augsburger Bildhauern geschaffen. Das äußerst qualitätsvolle Diana-Exemplar Matthäus Walbaums im Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum, das wegen der spezifischen Form seines Augsburger Beschauzeichens um 1600–1605 anzusetzen ist, verdeutlicht die Eleganz und Leichtigkeit der Gruppe (Abb. 8).¹⁸

Die ursprüngliche Anordnung der vierteiligen Komposition, die im Berliner Exemplar wie auch in den anderen Ausführungen jeweils geringfügig verändert ist, wird durch eine detaillierte Federzeichnung in dem 1650–1660 angelegten Inventar der Lobkowitzschen Silberkammer überliefert (Abb. 9).¹⁹ Hier werden auch im Detail diejenigen Elemente der Komposition verdeutlicht, die bei der Gruppe der Walters Art Gallery nicht vorhanden sind. Der authentischen Konzeption nach hält die Jagdgöttin in der erhobenen linken Hand einen Pfeil, auf dem Rücken trägt sie den Bogen; desgleichen sind dem Putto Pfeil und Bogen sowie zusätzlich ein Hifthorn in die Hände gegeben. Von der erhobenen Linken Dianas aus gehen Ketten zu den Halsbändern der beiden Hunde. Die Zeichnung des Lobkowitzschen Inventars läßt auch die ursprüngliche Jagdszenerie der Sockelplatte erkennen, die bei der Baltimorer Ausführung nur mehr rudimentär überliefert ist: Ein Hase wird von einer Hundemeute gehetzt, die ein zu Fuß eilender Jäger begleitet. Den Beschluß bildet ein auf sprengendem Pferd dahineilender Jäger, der in das Hifthorn bläst. Vorne auf der Standplatte finden sich zwei silberne Blumensträuße in der Art des sog. Schmeck.

Der vermutlich von Matthäus Walbaum geschaffene Typus der Diana auf dem Hirsch wird von den beiden Augsburger Goldschmieden Jakob I Miller (Abb. 13) und Joachim Fries (Abb. 2) fortgeführt und

variiert. Im Vergleich zu Walbaums Erfindung erscheint hier der Hirsch im Sprung weniger gestreckt und in der Bewegung gedämpfter, ja gleichsam erstarrt. Dabei stehen die Arbeiten des Joachim Fries—wie etwa die Diana des New Yorker Metropolitan Museum of Art—der Prägung Matthäus Walbaums noch näher als die Gruppen Jakob I Millers.²⁰

Oft wurde angenommen, daß sämtliche Diana-Gruppen aus ein und demselben Anlaß, einem Ringelstechen zur Wahl und Krönung von Kaiser Matthias 1612 in Frankfurt am Main, entstanden sind. Doch können die verschiedenartigen Diana-Bildwerke, die sich in über fünfundzwanzig Exemplaren nachweisen lassen, keinesfalls alle zum selben Zeitpunkt entstanden sein, wie schon die unterschiedlichen Augsburger Beschauzeichen verdeutlichen: Vielmehr ist ein Entstehungszeitraum etwa zwischen 1600 und 1615–1620 anzunehmen.²¹

Die außerordentliche Verbreitung der Diana-Gruppen wird auf überraschende Weise durch eine um 1618–1622 entstandene Miniatur der indischen Mogul-Hofkunst bestätigt,²² die den Empfang des iranischen Herrschers Shah Abbas durch den indischen Kaiser Jahangir darstellt; dort hält Khan Alam, Jahangirs Botschafter im Iran, eine vergoldete Diana-Gruppe auf längsovalen Sockel. Im Unterschied zu den bisher besprochenen Exemplaren scheint der Hirsch dort jedoch zu schreiten und nicht zu springen.

Die Gruppen der Diana auf dem Hirsch bildeten im 19. Jahrhundert begehrte Sammelobjekte, da sich in ihnen die Vorliebe der Spätrenaissance für komplexe Kunstgegenstände, mit denen sich zugleich eigentümliche Trinkgebräuche verbanden, zu manifestieren schien. So fanden sich—neben zahlreichen Exemplaren in oder aus fürstlichen Kunst-, Silber- und Schatzkammern—verschiedene Diana-Gruppen in bedeutenden Privatsammlungen: namentlich der Rothschild in England und Deutschland, aber etwa auch des Fürsten Paul Demidoff in Italien.²³ Gerade jene Ausführungen, die sich nicht in direkter Linie auf fürstliche Sammlungen zurückführen lassen, zeigen oft eine aufwendige Auszier mit Edelsteinbesatz. Dagegen ist denjenigen Exemplaren, die in ununterbrochener Folge aus historischen Sammlungen fürstlichen Ranges hervorgegangen sind, kein ausgeprägter Edelsteinbesatz zu eigen.²⁴ Der Schmuck beschränkt sich hier vornehmlich auf beweglich befestigte Silberperlen; an der Stelle von Edelsteinen finden sich z.B. silberne Blütenrosetten. Der spezifische Reiz liegt gerade im beschränkten Kontrast der weißsilbernen und der vergoldeten Partien. Die Diana-Gruppe der Münchner Schatzkammer²⁵ (Abb. 3)



Abb. 6. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Matthäus Walbaum, Augsburg, um 1600–1605, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, The Lee of Fareham Collection, L. 960.9.153, Leihgabe der Massey Foundation, heutiger Zustand.

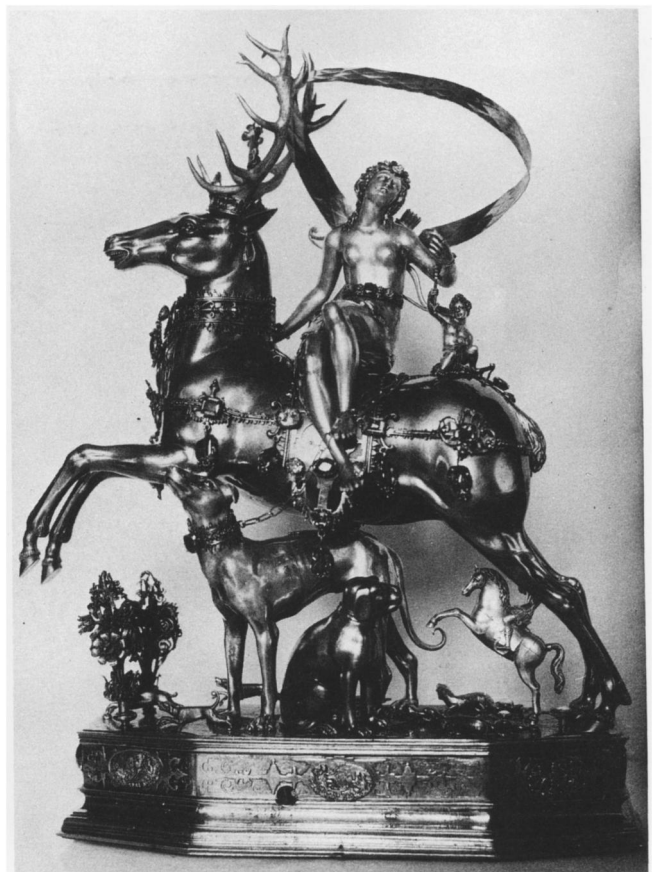


Abb. 7. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Matthäus Walbaum, Augsburg, um 1600–1605, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, The Lee of Fareham Collection, L. 960.9.153, Leihgabe der Massey Foundation, Zustand im Jahr 1884.

ist zudem durch ein prächtiges Korallengeweih ausgezeichnet, wie es häufig die silbernen Hirschstatuetten der deutschen Renaissance zierte.

Nicht in allen Fällen läßt sich der Edelsteinbesatz der Diana-Gruppen und der verwandten Goldschmiedearbeiten eindeutig datieren (zumal eine solche Feststellung jeweils die Untersuchung des Originals zwingend voraussetzt). Besonderes Interesse beansprucht in diesem Zusammenhang eine Gruppe von Goldschmiedewerken, die sich im 19. Jahrhundert im Besitz des Londoner Bankiers und Kunstsammlers Baron Alfred de Rothschild (1842–1918) befanden und zum Teil schon auf Erwerbungen seines Vaters Baron Lionel de Rothschild (1808–1879) zurückgehen. Zu der bedeutenden Sammlung gehörten—neben einem von Jakob I Miller geschaffenen Trinkspiel des Hl. Georg im Kampf mit dem Drachen²⁶ (Abb. 12)—auch zwei Gruppen der Diana auf dem Hirsch: ein heute im Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (Abb. 6) bewahrtes Exemplar mit der Meistermarke des Matthäus Walbaum²⁷ sowie eine in deutschem Privatbesitz befindliche Ausführung sehr

unterschiedlicher Konzeption (Abb. 10/11). Der ungemarkte Hirsch der zuletzt genannten Gruppe, dem das Zaumzeug fehlt, entspricht den Statuetten Matthäus Walbaums,²⁸ die—im Gegensatz zu den Hirschen des Joachim Fries—keine Ziselierung an Augenbrauen und Ohren aufweisen. Dagegen finden sich an der von Harpyien getragenen Standplatte in gelängter Form mit gerundeten Schmalseiten das Regensburger Beschauzeichen und die Meistermarke Paulus Ättingers des Älteren.²⁹ Hier fragt sich, ob die aus der Spätrenaissance stammende Standplatte, deren ziselierter Dekor gegenüber den anderen Diana-Gruppen ausgesprochene Selbständigkeit beweist, original zur Gruppe gehört,³⁰ zumal die Harpyienstützen in gewissem Widerspruch zu der wohl ursprünglichen Bestimmung als Trinkspiel stehen und der Hirsch nicht—wie üblich—aus der Standplatte herausgezogen werden kann. Der vorne befindliche Strauß aus geschnittenem Silberblattwerk, der sog. Schmeck, ist—nach Auskunft der die Initialen *IR* zeigenden Marke—eine Arbeit des Nürnberger Blümleinmachers Jeremias Rauchwolf.³¹ Sollte

der Sockel zum ursprünglichen Bestand zählen, so hätte der Regensburger Goldschmied Paulus Ättinger eine getreue Kopie der Diana auf dem Hirsch³² und der begleitenden Hunde nach dem Augsburger Vorbild des Matthäus Walbaum geschaffen. Andernfalls wäre anzunehmen, daß zu späterer Zeit die vorhandenen Elemente des Hirsches mit der Dianenfigur und den begleitenden Tiere einerseits sowie der Standplatte andererseits miteinander kombiniert wurden.

Ähnlich aufwendigen Edelsteinbesatz wie die Diana in deutschem Privatbesitz zeigt der genannte Hl. Georg (Abb. 12), der gleichfalls aus der Sammlung Baron Lionel und Baron Alfred de Rothschilds stammt und sich heute im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum in München befindet: Hier ist bei näherer Untersuchung deutlich zu erkennen, daß die Edelsteine und Perlen im 19. Jahrhundert hinzugefügt sind (so besitzen z.B. die Edelsteine, im Gegensatz zu den originalen Teilen der Gruppe, neuere Schraubgewinde). Recht ähnlich war ehemals die Erscheinung der jetzt in Toronto befindlichen Diana aus dem Besitz Baron Alfred de Rothschilds (Abb. 6/7), deren heutiger Schmuck freilich nicht dem Edelsteinbesatz des 19. Jahrhunderts entspricht. Wie sich einer Aufnahme und der zugehörigen Beschreibung aus dem Jahr 1884 entnehmen läßt,³³ wies die Gruppe eine höchst aufwendige Ausschmückung mit Brillanten, Rubinen, Smaragden und Saphiren auf. Zu einem nicht bekannten Zeitpunkt wurde dieser im 19. Jahrhundert angebrachte Edelsteinzierat im Sinne einer strenger historischen Erscheinung verändert:³⁴ Namentlich die großen Edelsteine an dem Sattelzeug wurden durch kleinere Steine in Tafelschliff ersetzt, die in schmaler Goldfassung über jeweils vier hell emaillierten Blättern sitzen. Auch entfernte man z.B. die Steine an den Ohren des Hirsches und den steinbesetzten Gürtel der Diana; doch verblieb deren brillantenbesetztes Diadem.

Da die Goldschmiedewerke des Hl. Georg und der mit den Regensburger Marken versehenen Diana bereits 1862 in der historischen Sektion der Londoner Weltausstellung (gewiß im heutigen Zustand³⁵) gezeigt wurden, muß die Bereicherung und Verschönerung, welche die beiden Gruppen auf letztlich unhistorische Weise zu ausgesprochenen Schatzkammerstücken erheben und sie gleichsam nobilitieren sollte,³⁶ vor 1862 stattgefunden haben—wahrscheinlich in der Werkstatt eines Londoner Goldschmieds oder Juweliers.³⁷

Auch der Edelsteinbesatz der heute im Metropolitan Museum of Art befindlichen Diana-Gruppe ist als nachträgliche Ergänzung und Bereicherung anzusehen. Hier ist zu beiden Seiten der Schabracke sowie

oben auf der Satteldecke je ein Brillant in runder Fassung montiert; die Edelsteine geben sich schon durch den Schliff wie durch die Fassung mit Haltekörnern als spätere Zutat zu erkennen. Zudem trug die Gestalt der Diana—wie ältere Aufnahmen zeigen³⁸—auf dem Scheitel einen edelsteinbesetzten Halbmond, ähnlich dem der erwähnten Diana in Privatbesitz, deren Standplatte die Meistermarke Paulus Ättingers des Älteren aufweist³⁹ (im übrigen ist bei dem New Yorker Exemplar auch der von der Jagdgöttin in der Linken gehaltene Pfeil, der sich als neuere Ergänzung zu erkennen gibt, dem der Diana mit den Regensburger Punzen ausgesprochen ähnlich⁴⁰). So geht die Umarbeitung der beiden Diana-Gruppen—in New York⁴¹ und in deutschem Privatbesitz—möglicherweise auf die gleiche Werkstatt des 19. Jahrhunderts zurück.

Im Falle der Diana-Gruppe in Baltimore kann vermutet werden, daß die Goldschmiedearbeit mit bemerkenswert hoher Qualität gegen Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts gefertigt wurde;⁴² möglicherweise entstand sie im Zusammenhang mit der Umarbeitung und Bereicherung der heute im New Yorker Metropolitan Museum of Art befindlichen Diana, die wiederum Beziehungen zu der vor 1862 veränderten Regensburger Diana in deutschem Privatbesitz aufweist. Als Herstellungsland ist wohl England anzunehmen: Speziell in London etablierte sich schon früh ein bedeutender Kunstmarkt, der die Nachfrage vermögender Sammler nach kostbaren Goldschmiede- und Schmuckobjekten zu befriedigen suchte.⁴³ Dort wurden einerseits authentische Arbeiten früherer Jahrhunderte durch Schmuckbesatz gleichsam aufgewertet und verschönt⁴⁴—wie die genannten Hl. Georgs- und Diana-Gruppen, die bereits 1862 in der Londoner Ausstellung erschienen—andererseits verschiedene Objekte teils wörtlich kopiert, teils nach historischen Vorbildern variiert, auch unter partieller Verwendung älterer Elemente.⁴⁵ Hier ist insbesondere die Werkstatt Charles Fox' des Älteren und des Jüngeren zu nennen, die wiederum verschiedene Londoner Firmen belieferte.⁴⁶ Ein ebenso frühes wie prominentes Beispiel ist die für William Beckfords Kunstsammlung in Fonthill Abbey wohl im zweiten Jahrzehnt des 19. Jahrhunderts in einer Londoner Goldschmiedewerkstatt höchst aufwendig gearbeitete Goldfassung der Drachenschale,⁴⁷ die eine künstlerisch durchaus eigenständige Schöpfung darstellt.

Im Zusammenhang mit den frühen englischen Sammlungen, die auch Nachbildungen, Fälschungen u.ä. einschließen, spielt die oben erwähnte Sammlung des ersten Baron Londesborough eine nicht un-

wesentliche Rolle. Denn in seinem Besitz befanden sich verschiedene—bereits 1857 und 1869 im Stich veröffentlichte—Objekte, die einer späteren Prüfung nicht oder nur partiell standhielten und als Hervorbringungen oder Kombinationen des 19. Jahrhunderts erkannt wurden.⁴⁸ Gleiches gilt für zwei der ehemals im Besitz von Lady Conyngham—seiner Mutter—befindlichen Schmuckstücke, die später von Baron Ferdinand Rothschild als authentische Werke der Renaissance erworben, aber im Rahmen der jüngsten Bearbeitung des Waddesdon Bequest durch Hugh Tait nun als moderne Erzeugnisse im Stil der Renaissance katalogisiert wurden⁴⁹ (während drei weitere Schmuckstücke aus ihrem Besitz—heute ebenfalls im Waddesdon Bequest des British Museum—in ihrer Originalität nicht bezweifelt werden⁵⁰). Da offensichtlich Inventare der Sammlung von Lady Conyngham fehlen und auch Ankaufunterlagen u.ä. nicht bekannt sind, lassen sich keine genaueren Aussagen treffen; Hugh Tait vermutet, daß die Schmuckstücke von Lady Conyngham bereits etwa zwischen 1820 und 1830 erworben wurden, wenngleich ihr Interesse auch später erneut durch die spektakulären Schmuckerwerbungen ihres Sohns in den frühen fünfziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts angeregt worden sein könnte. Insbesondere bleibt ungewiß, welche Kenntnisse Lady Conyngham selbst über ihre Sammelobjekte besaß und ob jene nur als bloße Imitationen im Stil der Renaissance oder bereits als ausgesprochene Fälschungen (mit explizit betrügerischer Absicht) gefertigt wurden.

In gleichem Sinne bedürfen auch die Entstehungsumstände der Diana der Walters Art Gallery, die aus dem Besitz der Lady Conyngham stammt, noch der abschließenden Klärung. Zumindest läßt sich mit Sicherheit feststellen, daß die heute in Baltimore befindliche Gruppe zwar kein Original der Renaissance ist, aber doch eine wichtige Stellung als Goldschmiedearbeit des 19. Jahrhunderts einnimmt: Die Baltimorer Diana bildet ein bemerkenswertes Zeugnis des erstaunlich frühen Interesses an exakten Kopien nach authentischen Werken, die zudem—als Trinkspiele—auch kulturhistorisch bedeutende Aufschlüsse über höfische Tafel- und Trinksitten der Spätrenaissance zu vermitteln vermögen. Zudem steht das Bildwerk in enger Verbindung mit einer recht umfangreichen Gruppe nachträglich—im 19. Jahrhundert—ausgezierter Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätrenaissance, die erst jetzt in Umrissen sichtbar wird.

Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
München



Abb. 8. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Matthäus Walbaum, Augsburg, um 1600–1605, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, K 3899.

Notes

Nachtrag: Die hier besprochene Diana in deutschem Privatbesitz (Abb. 10/11) gelangte bei Sotheby's Genf, 18. Mai 1992, Lot 85 zur Versteigerung.

1. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 57.923; Höhe 37.1 cm, Länge des Sockels 24.3 cm, Breite des Sockels 12 cm. K.A. Dietschy, "Der Werthemannsche Hirsch und seine Verwandten. 1. Nachtrag", *Historisches Museum Basel, Jahresberichte* (1968), 30, Abb. 31; A. Gabhart, *The Walters Art Gallery: Treasures and Rarities, Renaissance, Mannerist and Baroque* (Baltimore, 1971), 21; zuletzt L. Seelig, *Der hl. Georg im Kampf mit dem Drachen. Ein Augsburger Trinkspiel der Spätrenaissance* (München, 1987), 34, Anm. 54, mit näheren Angaben zu den im folgenden genannten Diana-Gruppen (siehe auch Anm. 17).

2. Zu den Beziehungen zwischen Walters und Seligman siehe G. Seligman, *Merchants of Art: 1880–1960* (New York, 1961), 130–137.

3. F. Boase, *Modern English Biography*, I (London, 1892), Sp. 698.

4. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XII (London, 1887), 63.

5. Siehe u.a. *George IV and the Arts of France* (London, 1966) (Ausst. Kat.) und *Carlton House. The Past Glories of George IV's Palace* (London, 1991) (Ausst. Kat.).

6. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIV (London, 1888), 351; Boase, *Biography*, II (London, 1897), Sp. 481; H. Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum. I. The Jewels* (London, 1986), 20.

7. Auf der zum Hals des Hirsches hin gerichteten Seite der Sateldecke findet sich jeweils ein Amethyst, auf der zur Kruppe hin gerichteten Seite dagegen eine silberne Rosette.



Abb. 9. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Federzeichnung, Inventar der Lobkowitzschen Silberkammer, Böhmen, um 1650–1660, früher Schloß Raudnitz.

8. H.-H. Zabel, "Gutmann, Eugen", *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, VII (Berlin, 1966), 347; die Diana-Gruppe ist nicht enthalten in dem Katalog von O. v. Falke (Hrsg.), *Die Kunstsammlung Eugen Gutmann* (Berlin, 1912).

9. Im Fall der New Yorker Diana handelt es sich wohl um eine Neuvergoldung. Dies gilt auch für die von Jakob I Miller gefertigte Diana im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum, München, Sammlung Fritz Thyssen, Legat Anita Gräfin Zichy-Thyssen (Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 34, Abb. 25, 26), deren Sockel offensichtlich undifferenziert neu vergoldet wurde.

10. Siehe Anm. 7.

11. Im Unterschied zu dem New Yorker Exemplar fehlen bei der Diana in Baltimore nur die Attribute des Köchers, der Pfeile und des Bogens sowie die zu den Hunden führenden Ketten.

12. Zum Vergleich sei auf die vollständigen Schabracken des gleichen Typs bei den von Joachim Fries geschaffenen Exemplaren in Darmstadt, auf Burg Eltz, in Mailand und Neapel verwiesen (siehe Anm. 24).

13. Auffallend im Vergleich zu den übrigen Diana-Gruppen ist bei der in Baltimore befindlichen Diana die beträchtliche Stärke des Silberblechs an der Manschette des Halses wie an der Halsöffnung des Rumpfes des Hirsches.

14. Siehe Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 18.

15. Der Dekor der Sockelplatte der New Yorker Diana unterscheidet sich motivisch deutlich von anderen Gruppen mit der Marke des Joachim Fries, wie z.B. dem Exemplar in Gera (R. Lang, "Die Restaurierung des Geraer Diana-Trinkautomaten von Joachim Fries", *Alle*

Uhren und moderne Zeitmessung [Februar 1990], 31–35, Abb. 3).

16. Das Laufwerk der Gruppe konnte von mir nicht untersucht werden (zumindest ist die untere Abdeckplatte keinesfalls vor dem 19. Jahrhundert entstanden). Nach Angabe der Museumsdokumentation ist das mit zwei Antriebsrädern und einem Steuerrad versehene Laufwerk in der Weise konstruiert, daß das Trinkspiel einen Kreis mit einem Durchmesser von etwa ca. 76 cm (30 inches) beschreibt. Das Laufwerk einer solchen Diana-Gruppe ist nun erstmals exakt dokumentiert in dem Artikel von Lang, "Restaurierung", 34, Abb. 4–6. Die Zeichnung eines—freilich in der Mechanik unterschiedenen—Laufwerks findet sich bei H. Tait, *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum. II. The Silver Plate* (London, 1988), 265.

17. Grundlegend G. Axel-Nilsson, "Falk Simons Donation. 1949. I. Diana auf dem Hirsch", *Röhsska Konstslöjd museet Göteborg Årstryck* (1950), 41–65; ders., "Einige ergänzende Angaben betreffs der Diana auf dem Hirsch", *Röhsska Konstslöjd museet Göteborg Årstryck* (1957), 55–58; K.A. Dietschy, "Der Werthemannsche Hirsch und seine Verwandten", *Historisches Museum Basel, Jahresberichte* (1967), 29–39; ders., "1. Nachtrag", *ebd.* (1968) 30–31; zuletzt ausführlicher Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 28–40, 83 (dort auch einzelne Nachweise zu den im folgenden genannten Diana-Gruppen, die hier nicht wiederholt, sondern nur stellenweise ergänzt werden: siehe Anm. 17/18, 20/21, 23–27); zu den Augsburger Automatentrinkspielen und speziell den Diana-Gruppen jetzt auch Tait, *Silver Plate*, 267, der wohl erstmals Zweifel an der Authentizität einiger Exemplare äußert: "Unfortunately, many have no recorded histories and cannot be traced back beyond the 1870s, and doubts about the age and origin of some of them seem justified."

18. In Ergänzung zu der Aufzählung der auf Matthäus Walbaum zurückgehenden Diana-Gruppen sind auch zwei Exemplare in der Sammlung Mania Bey, Lugano-Sorengo zu nennen (*Alles Tafelgerät. Sammlung Udo und Mania Bey* [Hamburg, 1966], no. 2 und 3 [Ausst. Kat.]), die beide dem Walbaumschen Typus entsprechen. Das gilt namentlich für die beiden Hirsche und deren Zaumzeug, wobei das Exemplar no. 2 der Prägung Matthäus Walbaums noch näher kommt. Offensichtlich tragen beide Goldschmiedearbeiten, die ich nicht im Original untersuchte, keine Goldschmiedemarken. Farbaufnahmen der Gruppen, die bisher nicht in Abbildungen veröffentlicht wurden, verdanke ich der Freundlichkeit von Frau Mania Bey.—Hier ist ferner auf ein weiteres Diana-Bildwerk in französischem Privatbesitz hinzuweisen, das sich ehemals im Château de Beaumesnil (Département de l'Eure) befand. Wohl auf Grund eines späteren Eingriffs ist die Figur der Diana dort insgesamt vergoldet; als Sockel dient eine nachträglich hinzugefügte Bergkristallstufe (Herrn Dr. Hinrich Sieveking, München, danke ich sehr für ein Photo der unveröffentlichten Gruppe).

19. Die hier vorgeschlagene Rekonstruktion der kleinformatigen Jagd- und Tiergruppe auf dem Sockel stützt sich ferner auf die erhaltenen Exemplare in Berlin, Darmstadt und Basel (letztere ist vielleicht die mit allen Accessoires besterhaltene Gruppe, die auch am ehesten der Zeichnung in dem Lobkowitzschen Inventar entspricht).

20. Zu den in der Nachfolge der genannten Gruppen stehenden Goldschmiedearbeiten zählt auch die in diesem Zusammenhang bisher nicht beachtete Diana im Palazzo Venezia in Rom, die in starker Körperwendung auf einem sehr hoch steigenden Hirsch reitet; siehe A. Valente, "Gli argenti tedeschi delle Collezioni Wurts nel Museo del Palazzo di Venezia", *Bollettino d'Arte*, 28 (1934/35), 497, Abb. 18—mit der Zuschreibung an Melchior Gelb—sowie F. Hermanin, *Il Palazzo di Venezia* (Rom, 1948), Abb. 343 (für den freundlichen Hinweis danke ich Ralf Schürer). Die Gruppe hat starke Ähnlichkeit mit der bei Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 36, Anm. 68, genannten Diana in der Sammlung des Lord Londesborough.

21. Außer den im Anm. 17/18, 20 und 23–27 genannten Zusätzen



Abb. 10. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Sockel: Paulus Ättinger d.Ä., Regensburg, frühes 17. Jahrhundert; Gruppe: Regensburg oder Augsburg, frühes 17. Jahrhundert, deutscher Privatbesitz (bis 1992), Vorderseite.



Abb. 11. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Sockel: Paulus Ättinger d.Ä., Regensburg, frühes 17. Jahrhundert; Gruppe: Regensburg oder Augsburg, frühes 17. Jahrhundert, deutscher Privatbesitz (bis 1992), Rückseite.



Abb. 12. Trinkspiel, St. Georg im Kampf mit dem Drachen, Jakob I Miller, Augsburg, um 1615, München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 86/227.

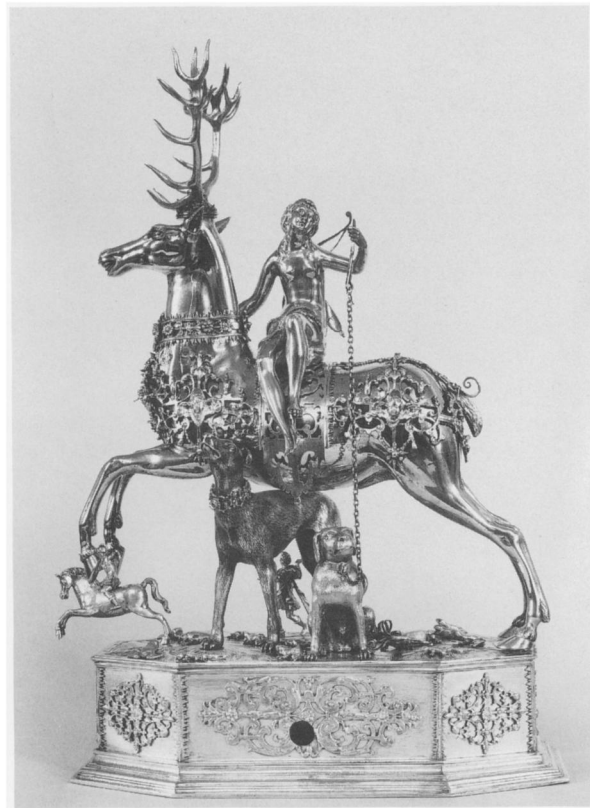


Abb. 13. Trinkspiel, Diana auf dem Hirsch, Jakob I Miller, Augsburg, um 1610–1615, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RBK 17010.

ergeben sich folgende Ergänzungen: Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 34, Anm. 57: Axel-Nilsson, *Diana*, 42, 48 vermutet, daß das 1905 im Besitz von Generalkonsul Max Baer in Frankfurt am Main befindliche Exemplar der Diana, das 1949 in das Röhsska Konstslojdmuseet gelangte, aus der Frankfurter Sammlung des Freiherrn Karl von Rothschild stammt. Der von G. Axel-Nilsson nicht berücksichtigte Katalog *Ausstellung alter Goldschmiedearbeiten aus Frankfurter Privatbesitz und Kirchenschätzen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1914), 20, no. 27 gibt dagegen an, daß die Gruppe aus der Sammlung von Lord Tweedmouth erworben wurde. Das (zweite) Exemplar der Sammlung von Karl von Rothschild ist dagegen eher mit der von Jakob I Miller geschaffenen Diana im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum, München, Sammlung Fritz Thyssen, Legat Anita Gräfin Zichy-Thyssen zu identifizieren (Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 34, Anm. 56). - Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 36, Anm. 69: Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Werner Schwarz werden die beiden ehemals im Schloßmuseum zu Gotha befindlichen Diana-Gruppen in einem 1764 angelegten Inventar der Herzoglichen Kunstkammer in Schloß Friedenstein im ersten Gemach, ersten Kabinett unter Nr. 12 und 13 beschrieben (Gotha, Museen der Stadt Gotha); ähnliche Eintragungen finden sich in den Inventaren von 1721 und 1733. Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 38, Anm. 72: Nach Axel-Nilsson, "Ergänzende Angaben", 57 soll in dem 1811 aufgestellten Inventar der Ambraser Sammlung (Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Abteilung für Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Nr. 6665) ein Exemplar der Diana auf dem Hirsch genannt sein. Wie die freundliche Überprüfung und Durchsicht des Inventars durch Herrn Dr. Rudolf Distelberger ergab, dem ich für seine Hilfe sehr danke, ist in dem Ambraser Inventar jedoch keine Diana-Gruppe genannt.

22. R. Ettinghausen, *Paintings of the Sultans and Emperors of India in American Collections* (Neu-Delhi, 1961), Taf. 13; der Hinweis auf die Miniatur fand sich in der Dokumentation der Walters Art Gallery.

23. Zu Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 34, Anm. 55, 59 ist zu ergänzen, daß—nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Drs. Reinier J. Baarsen—das Exemplar der Sammlung Paul Demidoff (Versteigerung, Florenz, Palazzo San Donato, 15. März 1880, 284, no. 1238, Abb. 286; H. Havard, *Dictionnaire de la décoration et de l'ameublement*, I [Paris, 1887], 201, Abb. 124) mit dem des Rijksmuseum Amsterdam aus der Sammlung Fritz Mannheimer identisch ist (siehe M.D. Haga, "Mannheimer, de onbekende verzamelaar", *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, 22 [1974], 87–95); das Exemplar war am 26. April 1937 bei Sotheby's in London als Lot 196 aus der Sammlung Victor Rothschild versteigert worden. Auf Grund der teilweisen Veränderung der Attribute wie auch einiger Details (Halsband des größeren Hundes, Mittelrosetten der Sockelappliken) und des Verlustes verschiedener Elemente ist die heutige Erscheinung der Amsterdamer Gruppe gegenüber dem Zustand des Jahres 1880 partiell modifiziert.

24. Die von Joachim Fries geschaffenen Exemplare der Diana-Gruppe in der Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (in Ergänzung zu Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 30, Anm. 50 siehe A. Lugli, *Naturalia et Mirabilia. Il collezionismo enciclopedico nelle Wunderkammern d'Europa* [Milano, 1983], Abb. 82) und auf Burg Eltz (in Ergänzung zu Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 30, 83, Anm. 46 siehe D. Band, *Der Sprung über das Salzfaß—Untersuchungen zu den silbernen Tafelaufsätzen und zu dem Tafelsilber in der Schatzkammer der Burg Eltz* (Magisterarbeit Freiburg im Breisgau, 1990), Maschinenmanuskript, 19–22, 87/88, no. 26) zeigen jeweils—in sehr verwandter Weise—einen großen Stein in einfacher Kastenfassung auf der Brust des Hirsches.

25. Der Tafelaufsatz wird im Inventar der Münchner Kunstkammer aus dem Jahr 1807 unter Nr. 37 ausführlich beschrieben (München, Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen, Museumsabteilung, Inventar Nr. 3).

26. Jetzt im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum München (siehe Anm. 1).

27. In Ergänzung zu Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 28, Anm. 37, siehe jetzt K. Corey Keeble, "The Lee of Fareham Collection", *The Antique Collec-*

tor, 60, no. 10 (Oktober 1989), 68, Abb. 2.

28. 1987 hatte ich—auf Grund einer alten Abbildung und ohne Möglichkeit einer Untersuchung des Originals der Diana in deutschem Privatbesitz—irrtümlich die Annahme geäußert, daß der Hirsch der Formulierung des Joachim Fries nahesteht (Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 36).

29. Für die Identifizierung der Meistermarke AP (M. Rosenberg, *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, 3. ed., III [Frankfurt am Main, 1925], 292, no. 4448) siehe M. Angerer, "Regensburger Goldschmiedekunst im 16. Jahrhundert", *Festschrift für Gerhard Bott zum 60. Geburtstag* (Darmstadt, 1987), 78–82; vgl. auch A. Hubel, *Kostbarkeiten aus kirchlichen Schatzkammern. Goldschmiedekunst im Bistum Regensburg* (München/Zürich, 1979), 73, no. 120 (Ausst. Kat.). Herrn Dr. Martin Angerer, Direktor der Museen der Stadt Regensburg, danke ich sehr für freundliche Auskünfte zu den Marken der Regensburger Diana-Gruppe.

30. Recht verwandt ist die von ähnlichen, aber nicht identischen Harpyien getragene Standplatte einer Diana-Gruppe mit heute nicht bekanntem Standort, die das Meisterzeichen des Augsburger Goldschmieds Christoph Erhart trägt (Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 36).

31. Rosenberg, *Merkzeichen*, 3. ed., III (1925), 193–194, no. 4154; Wenzel Jamnitzer und die Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst (Nürnberg, München 1985), 263, no. 87, 283–284, no. 137–138, 286, no. 141 (Ausst. Kat.).

32. Die Figur der Diana erscheint in der Ziselierung weniger scharf als die entsprechenden Figuren der von Walbaum gemarkten Exemplare.

33. C. Davis, *A Description of the Works of Art Forming the Collection of Alfred de Rothschild*, II (London, 1884), Taf. 192. Da die Diana-Gruppe nicht im Katalog der Londoner Weltausstellung des Jahres 1862 unter den Leihgaben Baron Lionels genannt ist (*Catalogue of the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance and More Recent Periods*, 2. ed. [London, 1863], 505–513, no. 6116–6186), muß es offen bleiben, ob sie schon von Lionel oder erst von Alfred de Rothschild erworben wurde.

34. W.W. Watts, *Works of Art in Silver and Other Metals, Belonging to Viscount and Viscountess Lee of Fareham* (London, 1936), no. 54.

35. *Catalogue of the Special Exhibition*, 511, no. 6173; 512, no. 6185. In den knappen Beschreibungen des Katalogs wird zwar der Steinbesatz nicht erwähnt; doch ist es sehr wahrscheinlich, daß beide Gruppen 1862 bereits mit den Edelsteinen und Perlen versehen waren.

36. Hier standen dem Goldschmied des 19. Jahrhunderts als Vorbilder offensichtlich ausgesprochene Schatzkammerstücke des 18. Jahrhunderts (wie z.B. im Dresdner Grünen Gewölbe) vor Augen, die oft üppigen Edelsteinbesatz aufweisen. Im späten 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert finden sich Edelsteine und Perlen vorrangig an Goldobjekten, die bereits durch das farbige Email ein reiches Erscheinungsbild annehmen.

37. Dem Edelsteinbesatz nach mit den hier behandelten Gruppen durchaus zu vergleichen ist die von Elias Zorer gemarkte Diana im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum, München, Sammlung Fritz Thyssen, Legat Anita Gräfin Zichy-Thyssen, deren Hirsch der Formulierung Matthäus Walbaums entspricht.

38. Rosenberg, *Merkzeichen*, 3. ed., I (1922), 93, no. 514g, Abb. 12; dagegen findet sich der Halbmond nicht mehr auf den neueren Aufnahmen bei A. Chapuis und E. Droz, *Les Automates* (Neuchâtel, 1949), Abb. S. 81; E. Maingot, *Les automates* (Paris 1959), Abb. 9; *Die Welt als Uhr. Deutsche Uhren und Automaten 1550–1650* (München, 1980), 276, no. 102 (Ausst. Kat.); H. Heckmann, *Die andere Schöpfung* (Frankfurt am Main, 1982), 137, Abb. S. 138; A. Beyer, *Faszinierende Welt der Automaten* (München, 1983), Abb. 48.

39. Vgl. auch das Diamantdiadem der Gruppe in Toronto (siehe Anm. 33).

40. Der Bogen und der Köcher der beiden Gruppen sind ebenfalls sehr verwandt. Hier ist jedoch die Beurteilung schwieriger, da auch andere Gruppen ähnliche Attribute aufweisen.

41. Möglicherweise wurden im gleichen Augenblick, in dem bei der New Yorker Diana die Edelsteine hinzugefügt sowie Pfeil, Köcher und Bogen (und möglicherweise die Ketten) ergänzt wurden, auch Teile der Schabracke erneuert, was sich heute freilich nicht mehr verifizieren läßt (nach frdl. Mitt. von Clare Vincent, New York, der ich für ihre großzügige Hilfe sehr zu Dank verpflichtet bin).

42. Die Authentizität der Diana in Baltimore hatte ich bereits im Jahr 1987 in Frage gestellt (Seelig, *Hl. Georg*, 30, 34), freilich nur an Hand von Photographien und ohne Untersuchung des Originals; Clare Vincent und Dr. Klaus Maurice hatten schon zuvor—auf Grund des Vergleichs mit dem Exemplar des Metropolitan Museum of Art—die Gruppe der Walters Art Gallery als Arbeit des 19. Jahrhunderts klassifiziert, wie sie mir freundlicherweise mitteilten.

43. J. Culme, *Attitudes to Old Plate 1750–1900* (London, 1985), ohne Seite.

44. Siehe z.B. H. Müller, *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. European Silver* (London, 1986), 136–139, no. 36 (aus der Sammlung William Beckfords, der ursprüngliche Steinbesatz im 19. Jahrhundert wesentlich erweitert) sowie jetzt *Carlton House*, 187, no. 162 (Ausst. Kat.) (Augsburger Nautiluspokal des späten 17. Jahrhunderts, der wohl von der Firma Rundell vor 1823—im Hinblick auf einen Ankauf durch Georg IV.—mit Edelsteinen ausgeziert wurde).

45. J. Culme, *Nineteenth-Century Silver* (London, 1977), 65–76; P. Glanville, *Silver in England* (New York/London/Sidney, 1987), 118–123; siehe ferner auch z.B. Tait, *Silver Plate*, 201–214, no. 40 (mit Steinbesatz); und T.B. Schroder, *The Gilbert Collection of Gold and Silver* (Los Angeles, 1988), 20–21, 434–437, no. 117, 452–458, no. 122.

46. S. Bury, "The Lengthening Shadow of Rundell's. Part 3: The Rundell Influence on the Victorian Trade", *The Connoisseur*, 161 (1966), 218–219; Culme, *Silver*, 76–77; ders., *The Directory of Gold and Silversmiths, Jewellers and Allied Traders 1838–1914* (London, 1987), I, 162–163.

47. *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1984), 179, no. 95; Tait, *Jewels*, 15; idem, *Silver Plate*, 17–18; C. Wainwright, *The Romantic Interior. The British Collector at Home 1750–1850* (New Haven/London, 1989), 142–143.

48. Tait, *Silver Plate*, 16, 209–214, 301, 309.

49. Tait, *Jewels*, 109–113, no. 13; 127–128, no. 19.

50. Tait, *Jewels*, 79–84, no. 6; 119–122, no. 16; 152–155, no. 26. Für Lady Conynghams Sammlungen siehe jetzt P.C. Kaellgren, "Lady Conyngham's silver gilt in the Royal Ontario Museum", *The Burlington Magazine* 134, 1992, 368–374.

PHOTOGRAPHS: Abb. 1, 5, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; Abb. 2, 4, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Abb. 3, München, Bayerische Verwaltung der staatlichen Schlösser, Gärten und Seen; Abb. 6, Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum; Abb. 8, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum; Abb. 10–12, München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum; Abb. 13, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

Summary

This article offers a reassessment of a jeweled, silver-gilt automaton in the collection of the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1), which takes the form of Diana on a stag. It is of a type used on princely tables in the early seventeenth century and was traditionally attributed to the Augsburg goldsmith Jakob Miller (ca. 1550–1618). The automaton was acquired by Henry Walters in 1910 from Parisian dealer Jacques Seligman. It had previously appeared in the London sale of the estate of Lady Jane Conyngham (*née* Stanhope, 1833–1907), widow of George Henry, third Marquis of Conyngham (Christie's, May 4, 1908, lot 190).

This type of vessel was for drinking wine at elaborate feasts. The head of the stag and of the largest dog could be removed, and wine poured in. The automaton was then wound up and sent rolling over the table to a guest. The mechanism inside the base of the Walters Diana is set to move in a circle about 76 cm (30 in.) in diameter.

Direct examination of the piece by the author confirmed previously expressed scholarly doubts about its authenticity. The Walters automaton is similar to one in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2). Indeed, they correspond in every detail except precision of execution. Most telling is the goldsmith's mark on the Baltimore piece, which appears to have been cast rather than punched (figs. 4 and 5). In addition, normally all the separately cast pieces would have been marked, which is not the case in the Baltimore Diana. The characteristics of the Baltimore automaton are consistent with its having been cast from the New York work. Finally, the interior of the Walters stag is not gilded, as would be expected for a vessel actually intended for drinking, but has been left rough.

The composition of Diana on a stag as a subject of such complex goldsmith work probably goes back to Augsburg goldsmith Matthäus Walbaum (master in 1590, died 1632), perhaps based on a model by an Augsburg sculptor about 1600–1605. Walbaum's composition, of which existing versions (such as the one now in the Royal Ontario Museum, fig. 6) show small variations, is reflected in a drawing of 1650–1660 made as part of a visual inventory of the Lobkowitz silver cabinet. There Diana holds an arrow in her right hand and carries a bow on her back. A chain runs from her left hand to the collars of the two dogs. These details may have been more complete at one time on the Walters piece, but the intricate detailing

of woodland flora and fauna on the base of the original is far more rudimentary on the Walters example.

Walbaum's composition was taken up by his contemporaries Jakob Miller and Joachim Fries. Fries's versions, as that in New York (fig. 2), are closer to Walbaum's original than Miller's (see for example the automaton in Amsterdam, fig. 13), but both exhibit less spontaneity in movement. It has been suggested that these vessels were created for the festivities surrounding the 1612 election and coronation in Frankfurt am Main of Mathias as Holy Roman Emperor; however, there are more than twenty-five examples known and not all were made at the same time, as the range of Augsburg marks found on them demonstrates. Thus a more general dating for this group to the years between ca. 1600 and 1615/1620 is more appropriate.

The wide popularity of these automata featuring Diana on a stag is evidenced by a Mughal miniature of about 1618/1622 (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) depicting the Moghul ruler Jahangir's reception of the Persian Shah Abbas. In it Jahangir's ambassador Khan Alam holds a gilded Diana on a stag supported by an oval base.

These automata, perfect expressions of late Renaissance virtuosity, were very popular with nineteenth-century collectors. Besides the many examples then still remaining in old princely collections, various Diana groups are also found in private nineteenth-century collections, including for example those of the Rothschilds in England and Germany. Examples

not known to have belonged to princely collections are more likely to be ornamented with precious and semi-precious stones. In contrast, those that can be traced with certainty to princely collections are more restrained in their decoration (having, for example, pearls or coral) and depend more on the virtuosity of the metalworker. In some cases, it is apparent that the stones on the pieces in private collections were added in the nineteenth century, as those on the Diana in New York appear to have been.

The Walters Diana now appears to be the work of a mid-nineteenth-century goldsmith, its creation probably associated with the refurbishment of the New York Diana, which there is reason to suppose took place in London around mid-century, before 1862. At that time in London, there was a thriving market for such objects, authentic pieces sometimes reworked to more elaborate nineteenth-century tastes, pieces that combine authentic parts with new additions, and copies of historical pieces sometimes with slight variations. Two other items formerly belonging to Lady Conyngham and subsequently Baron Rothschild, in whose collections they were considered as authentic Renaissance works, have recently been demonstrated by Hugh Tait to be of nineteenth-century workmanship. It is not known how Lady Conyngham herself viewed these works or the Walters Diana.

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Antoine-Louis Barye à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts (1818–1825)

Frédéric Chappey

La présente étude se propose de préciser certains aspects mal connus de l'activité créatrice du sculpteur Barye, tels que son cursus scolaire de 1818 à 1825 à l'Ecole royale des Beaux-Arts de Paris, ses premières expositions et les premiers articles de presse citant l'artiste. Leurs analyses permettent de dresser un essai de catalogue sommaire de ses premières œuvres connues, une quarantaine, le plus souvent découvertes lors de la lecture d'archives inédites.

En dépit du fait que Barye soit un des sculpteurs français du dix-neuvième siècle dont l'œuvre a été fort étudiée et souvent publiée, bien des zones d'ombre subsistent encore sur certains aspects de son activité créatrice. Les sept années de sa scolarité, passée de 1818 à 1825 comme élève à l'Ecole royale et spéciale des Beaux-Arts, demeurent fort mal connues, peu documentées, et sont souvent rapportées de manière erronée. La présente et courte étude sur ce sujet se propose d'apporter une modeste contribution à une meilleure connaissance de la germination de l'œuvre du sculpteur.

Antoine-Louis Barye, né le 24 septembre 1795 et décédé à Paris le 25 juin 1875,¹ fut inscrit le 7 juillet 1818 avec le numéro 459 sur le registre des élèves de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts.² Il fut présenté par François-Joseph Bosio (1768–1845) dans l'atelier privé duquel il était rentré en décembre 1816. Barye était aussi élève en peinture de Jean-Antoine Gros (1771–1835) depuis mars 1817. Ce même registre conserve les mentions administratives de son passage devant le secrétariat de l'Ecole en août 1818, août 1820, septembre 1823 et mars 1824.

Le 30 septembre 1818, Barye est admis dixième sur seize élèves sculpteurs au Concours des places sur figures modelées d'après nature.³

Le 13 février 1819, première participation à un concours pour le Grand Prix, il est reçu troisième sur six élèves lors du jugement du Premier Essai pour le Concours du Grand Prix de Gravure en médailles, sur

esquisse modelée en bas-relief (d'après un sujet inconnu), et le 22 février suivant, cinquième et dernier logiste après le jugement du Second Essai sur figures modelées d'après nature.⁴ Le 24 mars, il est reçu cinquième sur dix-sept élèves sculpteurs au Concours des places.⁵

Le 19 juin 1819, il obtient une mention honorable au Concours du Grand Prix de Gravure en médailles, avec son médaillon (fig. 1 et 2) sur le sujet de *Milon de Crotone une main ou les deux mains prises dans un arbre et attaqué par un lion*.⁶ Comme le règlement le stipulait, Barye exécuta quatre œuvres à l'occasion de la dernière épreuve de ce concours: une esquisse en terre de son sujet, suivie de l'œuvre définitive, d'abord en terre et en bas-relief, puis en acier, et enfin une copie sur pierre fine d'une tête antique gravée elle aussi sur pierre fine. L'appréciation du jury fut la suivante: "la Section a trouvé que le carré offre une bonne exécution et intelligence dans les plans mais que son modèle n'y répond pas".⁷ En 1980, Glenn Bengé a rédigé une excellente notice sur cette première œuvre conservée de Barye.⁸ Le Grand Prix (fig. 3) fut remporté par le graveur Ursin-Jules Vatinelle (1798–1881).⁹

Enfin, Barye est admis quatrième sur quinze élèves sculpteurs au Concours des places du 28 septembre 1819.¹⁰ En rapport avec l'obtention de sa première récompense à un Concours du Grand Prix, il est intéressant de noter que, contrairement à ce que certains biographes contemporains ont pu écrire, la première exposition publique à laquelle participa le jeune Barye ne date pas de 1827 (année de sa première participation à un "Salon")¹¹ mais bien de 1819, huit années auparavant. En effet, l'Académie des Beaux-Arts avait pour tradition de présenter tant bien que mal, avant le jugement (et le plus souvent fort mal, comme s'en plaignent rituellement les critiques artistiques du temps),¹² les œuvres exécutées par les logistes participant aux concours pour les différents Grands Prix de l'Académie. Le public pouvait alors



Fig. 1. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Milon de Crotone une main ou les deux mains prises dans un arbre et attaqué par un lion*, médaillon en plâtre non signé ni daté [1819], Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.191

défiler pendant trois jours pour venir examiner de près les œuvres des jeunes gloires de demain, volontairement laissées anonymes et portant un numéro ou une lettre. Le jugement, qui n'intervenait que quelques jours plus tard, se devait d'être parfaitement équitable. . . Les critiques artistiques de la presse quo-



Fig. 2. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Milon de Crotone*, médaillon en bronze signé et daté, 1819, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.507.

tidienne de l'époque ne manquaient pas de rapporter cette rare exposition et de disserter plus ou moins longuement sur les qualités et les défauts de telle ou telle œuvre. Malheureusement, bien souvent, l'anonymat des œuvres traitées par ces commentaires ne permet pas de les rapporter à une œuvre précise d'un artiste bien identifié. La première exposition publique d'œuvres de Barye remonte donc aux journées des 16, 17 et 18 juin 1819, quand les œuvres concourant pour le Grand Prix de Gravure en Médaille furent présentées au Collège des Quatre-Nations, aujourd'hui Palais de l'Institut. Cette exposition fut généralement commentée par la presse quotidienne parue ces jours-là.¹³ *Le Journal des Débats*, par exemple, publie plusieurs informations sur le concours, dont le 17 juin, un long article qui se termine par une mise en garde, que Barye et son camarade Dieudonné¹⁴ semblent curieusement avoir mis fort à profit:

Toutefois, nous persistons à protester contre le grand prix de la sculpture en médailles, comme nous ferions contre l'institution du grand prix de la peinture en miniatures. Que ceux de ces jeunes gens qui sentent en eux le germe du talent, concourent pour le prix de sculpture et poursuivent leurs études vers ce but. Si les forces leur manquent, s'ils se sont trompés sur leur vocation, il sera toujours temps pour eux d'en revenir à la gravure en pierres fines et en médailles.

Dès l'année suivante, en 1820, Barye abandonnera l'étude de la gravure en médailles et ne concourra plus que pour le Grand Prix de Sculpture.



Fig. 3. Ursin-Jules Vatinelle, *Milon de Crotone*, Premier Grand Prix de Gravure en médailles de 1819, poinçon en acier, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, no. 1.767.

L'année suivante, le 14 mars 1820, notre artiste est reçu quatrième sur quinze élèves lors du jugement du Premier Essai sur esquisse modelée en bas-relief pour le Concours du Grand Prix de Sculpture, sur le sujet de *Camille partant pour le siège de Troie fait vœu de consacrer à Apollon la dîme du butin*.¹⁵ Le 25 mars, il est reçu huitième et dernier logiste après le jugement du Second Essai sur figures modelées d'après nature.¹⁶ Un mois plus tard, le 25 avril, Barye est encore admis troisième sur dix-sept élèves sculpteurs au Concours de places.¹⁷ Le 30 septembre 1820, après avoir passé 78 jours de travail en loges, le jeune sculpteur n'obtient à l'unanimité que le Second Grand Prix de Sculpture, sans doute du fait de l'inachèvement de sa figure en ronde bosse de *Caïn maudit entendant la voix de l'Eternel*.¹⁸

Les commentaires du jugement furent néanmoins assez encourageants:

La figure n° 2 offre une pensée qui est parfaitement dans l'expression du sujet, que la tête est d'un bon caractère, que quoique la figure ne soit pas entièrement terminée elle manifeste un grand sentiment de force et de vérité qui donne les plus grandes espérances.¹⁹

Cette année-là, Georges Jacquot (1794–1874), lui aussi élève de Bosio, obtint le premier Grand Prix (fig. 4).

La presse quotidienne se félicita de la haute qualité des œuvres présentées cette année-là au concours:²⁰

... en général, ces figures sont bien posées, bien modelées. Celles même dont le style est le plus romantique ne portent point ce défaut à l'excès, et quelques-unes le rachètent, autant que faire se peut, par un mérite d'exécution remarquable.²¹

Le Constitutionnel et le *Journal de Paris* qui sont les deux seuls journaux qui analysèrent les œuvres dans le détail les unes après les autres, mentionnent tous deux celle de Barye comme étant la seconde œuvre la plus réussie du concours:

Le N° 7 est, après le N° 1, celui qui plaît le plus au public. Il appartient à M. Barry [sic], élève de M. Bosio: l'auteur n'a pas eu le temps de le polir, mais sa statue n'en est pas moins un ouvrage très remarquable qui, aux yeux des connaisseurs, peut disputer le prix avec le n° 1.²²

Deux figures paraissent surtout dignes de fixer l'attention du public: la cinquième et la septième... La septième figure ne laisserait presque rien à désirer si la tête était moins âgée. Tout le mouvement du corps est rendu avec une vérité parfaite, et les contours se font remarquer par une exactitude anatomique, qui, sans être poussée jusqu'à l'exagération, donne l'idée la plus avantageuse des connaissances du jeune artiste dans cette partie si essentielle de l'art.²³



Fig. 4. Georges Jacquot, *Caïn maudit entendant la voix de l'Eternel*, Premier Grand Prix de Sculpture de 1820, bronze, Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts, no. 326.

Dans les archives de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, parmi les pièces se rapportant au Concours du Grand Prix de Sculpture de 1820, se trouve une note manuscrite non datée indiquant l'adresse de Barye cette année-là: "rue du Bac, Passage Ste-Marie, maison de Mr. Fauconnier".²⁴ Cette précision biographique est précieuse, car elle pourra permettre dorénavant d'avancer de plusieurs années la date d'entrée de Barye dans l'atelier de l'orfèvre Jacques-Henri Fauconnier (1776–1839), lequel était traditionnellement censé avoir accueilli le sculpteur de 1823 à 1831, selon la plupart des biographes de l'artiste.

Le 20 mars 1821, notre sculpteur est reçu neuvième sur seize élèves lors du jugement du Premier Essai pour le Concours du Grand Prix de Sculpture,



Fig. 5. Henri Lemaire, *Alexandre dans la ville des Oxydraques*, Premier Grand Prix de Sculpture de 1821, bas-relief en plâtre, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, no. 4351.



Fig. 6. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Reproches d'Hector à Pâris*, Prix du Concours de Composition de février 1823, bas-relief en plâtre, état actuel, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, no. 4.421.

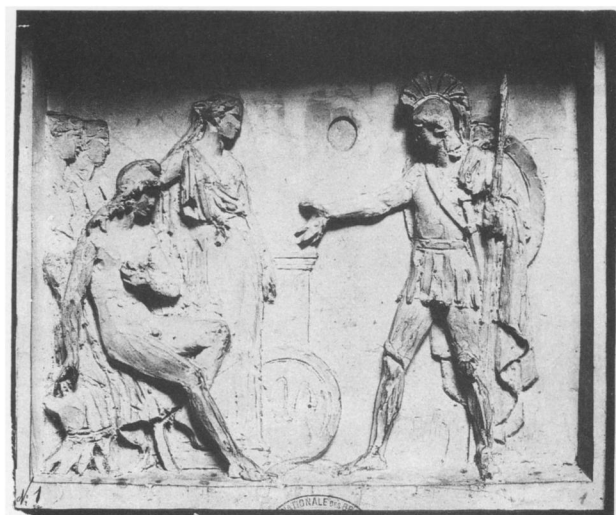


Fig 7. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Reproches d'Hector à Pâris*, photographie ancienne de la fig. 6, Paris, coll. phot. de l'Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.

sur le sujet de *Fabius Maximus et le soldat Lucanien*, et huitième et dernier logiste après le jugement du Second Essai, le 31 mars suivant.²⁵ En loges, il exécutera avec les autres concurrents un bas-relief sur le sujet d'*Alexandre dans la ville des Oxydraques*. Henri Lemaire (1798–1880) obtiendra le Premier Grand Prix (fig. 5) et Barye, aucune récompense. Cette tentative infructueuse pour ce Grand Prix est la seule participation à un concours scolaire en 1821.

La presse quotidienne rapporta assez peu le concours, cette année-là.²⁶ Seul le critique du *Constitutionnel* rendit compte de l'exposition. Ce journal, toujours très favorable à Barye, soutint une fois encore le bas-relief de notre sculpteur au détriment même de celui de Lemaire qui obtint en fin de compte le prix:

Les bas-reliefs qui sont aux deux extrémités seront probablement ceux qui disputeront le prix: l'un, à gauche en entrant, est de M. Barry [sic]; la figure d'Alexandre est bien posée, mais

les Indiens qui l'entourent ont l'air d'assister à un spectacle, et l'on ne sait à qui appartient un bouclier placé au milieu de la composition qui est mal conçue; mais le faire est large; il y a une verve, un sentiment de la nature qui ne se trouve pas dans l'ouvrage de M. Lemaire, qui est à l'autre extrémité de la salle; l'ensemble est mieux entendu, mais l'exécution est moins naturelle...²⁷

Le 9 mars 1822, Antoine-Louis Barye est reçu troisième sur dix-huit élèves au jugement du Premier Essai du Concours pour le Grand Prix de Sculpture, sur le sujet de la *Mort de Tullus Hostilius*, et second logiste sur huit concurrents sculpteurs après le jugement du Second Essai, le 23 mars suivant.²⁸ En loges, il exécutera une figure en ronde bosse sur le sujet de *Jason emportant la Toison d'Or*. En septembre, Barye envoie une lettre (non datée) au peintre Pierre Guérin, président de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts, déclarant qu'il doit abandonner le concours pour raison de santé, et qu'il demande à ce que sa figure ne soit pas exposée.²⁹ En l'absence de Premier Grand Prix, Charles-Marie-Emile Seurre (1798–1858) remporta le Second Grand Prix.

L'œuvre de Barye n'ayant pas été présentée lors de l'exposition, les rares critiques artistiques qui écrivirent très précisément sur le concours ne la citèrent pas dans leurs comptes-rendus.³⁰

Au début de l'année suivante, le 26 février 1823, le sculpteur obtient le Prix du Concours de Composition en Esquisse modelée, sur le sujet des *Reproches d'Hector à Pâris*.³¹ Le moulage original en plâtre de ce petit bas-relief (fig. 6 et 7) existe encore, et appartient aux collections de l'Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.³²

Deux semaines plus tard, le 8 mars, il est reçu sixième sur quatorze élèves au jugement du Premier Essai du Concours pour le Grand Prix de Sculpture, sur le sujet de la *Mort de Pyrrhus, Roi d'Épire*.³³ Mais il n'est pas sélectionné le 29 mars suivant après le jugement du Second Essai pour l'épreuve définitive du concours.

De 1823 datent quelques rares œuvres encore connues de Barye, comme le médaillon de son *Jeune homme coiffé d'un béret* (fig. 8),³⁴ ou peut-être la petite statuette d'Hercule tuant le sanglier d'Erymanthe dont il existe de nombreuses épreuves selon six versions différentes (fig. 9–15),³⁵ ou encore l'*Hercule terrassant le lion de Némée*,³⁶ œuvre singulière de l'artiste, fort souvent confondue avec le *Milon de Crotone* de 1819 ou l'*Hercule tuant le sanglier d'Erymanthe*. C'est également sans doute vers 1823 que Barye commence à fréquenter assidûment le laboratoire d'anatomie comparée du Museum d'Histoire Naturelle, où il des-



Fig. 8. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Jeune homme coiffé d'un béret*, médaillon en bronze, 1823, Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. RF. 1931.

sinera avec Eugène Delacroix, dès 1827.³⁷

Le 13 mars 1824, Barye est reçu sixième sur seize élèves au jugement du Premier Essai du Concours pour le Grand Prix de Sculpture sur le sujet de *Thestoride confondu par Homère*, et quatrième logiste sur huit concurrents, le 27 mars suivant, après le jugement du Second Essai.³⁸ En loges, il exécutera un bas-relief sur la *Tunique de Joseph rapportée à Jacob*. Charles-Marie-Emile Seurre obtiendra le Premier Grand Prix (fig. 16), et Barye aucune récompense.

Parmi les différents quotidiens qui rapportèrent le déroulement du concours, deux d'entre eux, le *Journal de Paris* et la *Gazette de France*, ne se contentèrent pas d'énoncer les noms des lauréats, mais donnèrent aussi une analyse détaillée des différents



Fig. 9. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Etudes de figures à l'antique*, dont celle de l'*Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, mine de plomb sur papier, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 37.2771B.

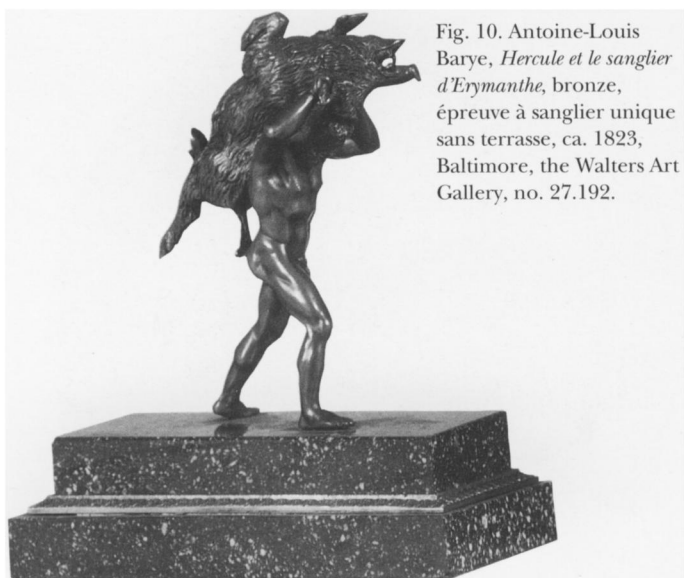


Fig. 10. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, bronze, épreuve à sanglier unique sans terrasse, ca. 1823, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.192.

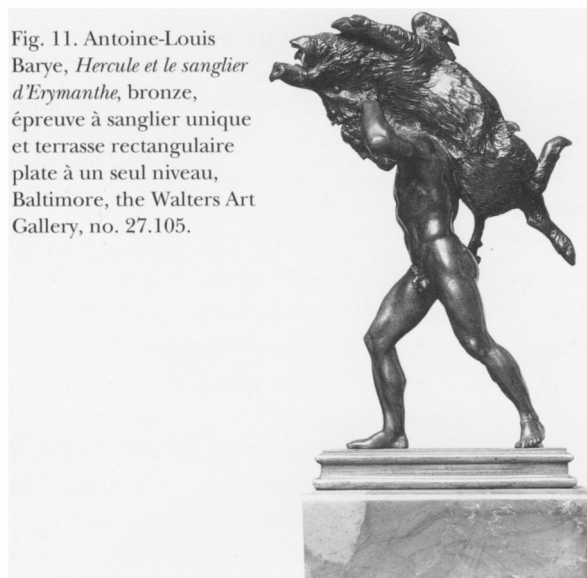


Fig. 11. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, bronze, épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse rectangulaire plate à un seul niveau, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 27.105.

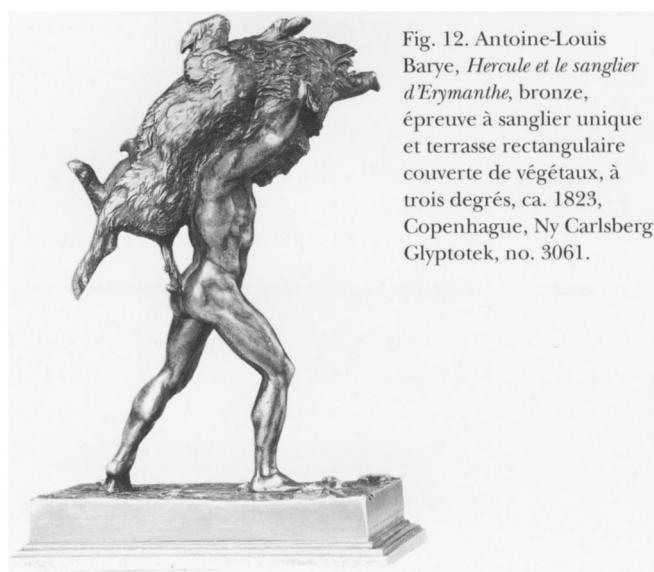


Fig. 12. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, bronze, épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse rectangulaire couverte de végétaux, à trois degrés, ca. 1823, Copenhague, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, no. 3061.

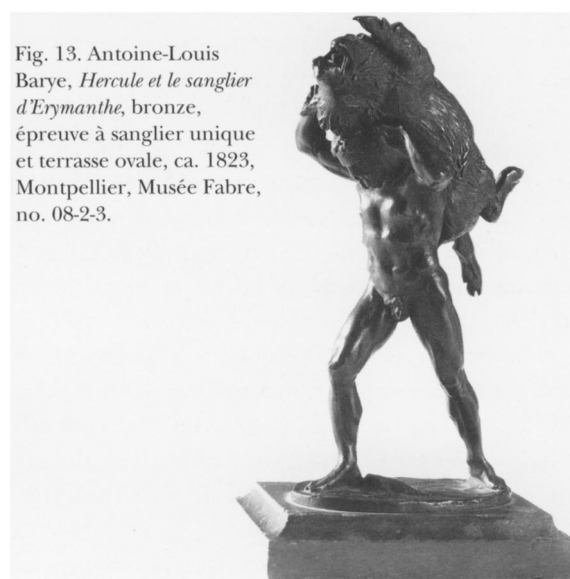


Fig. 13. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, bronze, épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse ovale, ca. 1823, Montpellier, Musée Fabre, no. 08-2-3.



Fig. 14. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, bronze, épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse ovale avec très haute plante, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, no. 880.

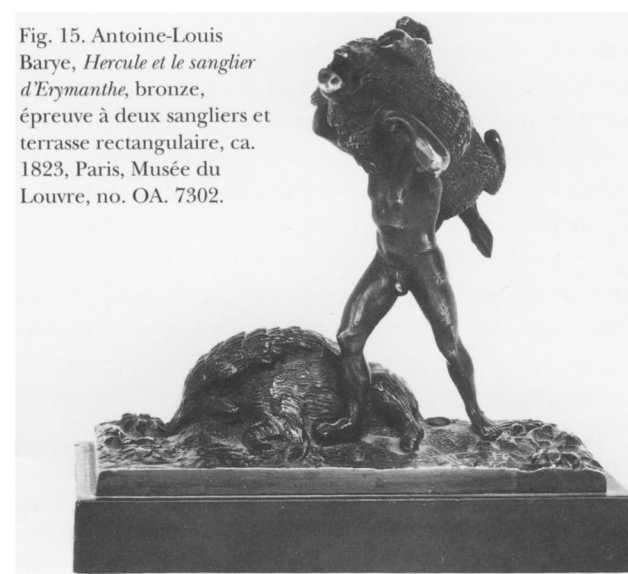


Fig. 15. Antoine-Louis Barye, *Hercule et le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, bronze, épreuve à deux sangliers et terrasse rectangulaire, ca. 1823, Paris, Musée du Louvre, no. OA. 7302.

bas-reliefs en présence, dont celui de Barye.³⁹ Malheureusement, les œuvres étant exposées anonymement, la numérotation utilisée par les critiques artistiques (qui ne correspond pas d'ailleurs à celle des archives administratives) ne nous permet pas de lier tel ou tel commentaire à notre jeune sculpteur.

Contrairement à ce que rapportent généralement les études sur le sculpteur, qui datent de 1824 l'achèvement de sa scolarité à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, la dernière trace de celle-ci remonte au 9 avril 1825, quand Barye est reçu sixième sur quinze élèves au jugement du Premier Essai du Concours pour le Grand Prix de Sculpture, sur le sujet de la *Mort de Méléagre*.⁴⁰ N'ayant pas été admis en loges après le jugement du Second Essai, le 23 avril suivant, il renonce définitivement au Grand Prix de Sculpture et abandonne l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Durant ces sept années, Barye semble s'être présenté exclusivement aux concours pour les Grands Prix (en Gravure sur médailles, ou en Sculpture dès 1820). En effet, mis à part les concours de places obligatoires pour sa ré-inscription annuelle, il n'est jamais cité parmi les nombreux lauréats d'autres concours de l'Ecole comme ceux de la Tête d'Expression ou d'Emulation, à l'exception d'une seule fois en 1823, au Concours de Composition en Esquisse modelée créé en 1816.

Se présentait-il régulièrement à ces concours ou se réservait-il pour le concours annuel du Grand Prix? L'étude de sa biographie au début des années 1820 peut nous amener à penser que, consacrant le plus clair de son temps à ses activités professionnelles, Barye choisit sans doute de ne concourir que pour le Grand Prix, voie triomphale à l'époque pour une carrière officielle riche en commandes publiques et privées (fig. 17).

Cela dit, les archives des concours de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts ne mentionnant que le nom des lauréats et non celui des différents concurrents, l'absence de mention du nom de Barye parmi les procès-verbaux des jugements des différents concours ne signifie pas qu'il n'ait pu, à l'occasion, participer à certaines épreuves alors que l'apparente médiocrité de sa scolarité—mauvais rangs dans les concours et dernière place de logiste, trois années de suite—n'a pas permis d'en conserver la trace administrative. Apparente médiocrité, car il faut néanmoins noter les deux Seconds Grands Prix obtenus dans deux disciplines différentes, à peine deux ans après son inscription à l'Ecole, qui condamnèrent Barye à ne pouvoir désormais être récompensé que par une distinction supérieure, en l'occurrence un Premier Grand Prix, qu'il espéra en vain.



Fig. 16. Charles-Marie-Emile Seurre, *La Tunique de Joseph rapportée à Jacob*, Premier Grand Prix de Sculpture de 1824, bas-relief en plâtre, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, no. 4354.

Parallèlement aux œuvres exécutées à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, et à celles dûment datées par l'artiste, il existe une série d'œuvres (ou mention d'œuvres) peu nombreuses et non datées qui pourraient avoir été exécutées antérieurement, à la fin des années 1820.

Les "deux petites académies, (esquisses), [...] en cire" et les deux énigmatiques bas-reliefs aux sujets



Fig. 17. Anonyme, *Je serai de l'Institut*, eau-forte et burin avec rehauts de couleurs, Paris, collection particulière.

curieusement non décrits de l'inventaire après décès de Barye, enregistré le 4 août 1875 (folios 25 et 38),⁴¹ se rapporteraient-ils à des œuvres scolaires de l'artiste? Retrouverions-nous le souvenir de ces académies en cire, soit dans celle qui fut exposée sous le numéro 75 à l'exposition posthume de novembre 1875 de l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts et adjugée 21 francs sous le numéro 540 à Monsieur Dietsch lors de la vente Barye en 1876, soit dans les deux figures en cire d'*Homme nu debout* conservées au Musée du Louvre (inv. n° RF. 2774), et à Paris au Musée du Petit-Palais (aux amusantes similitudes iconographiques avec le thème du *Caïn maudit* de 1820)?

Que représentait le bas-relief appartenant à Monsieur Ph. Jourde qui fut présenté sous le numéro 474 lors de l'exposition Barye de 1889? L'anonymat des sujets de ces bas-reliefs de Barye, alors même que les sujets de toutes les autres sculptures sont précisément décrits, ne serait-il pas dû à la difficulté de lecture de bas-reliefs à sujets antiques?

Si nombre d'esquisses de Barye sur ces sujets correspondent souvent à des travaux préparatoires en vue de commandes connues (exemples: la *Victoire ailée*, la *Femme drapée à l'antique* ou les deux esquisses de *Jeune femme nue*, toutes conservées au Musée du Louvre), il pourrait parfois être judicieux de ré-examiner certaines autres œuvres de ce type à la lumière de la scolarité de l'artiste. Par exemple, ne pourrait-on pas dater approximativement de la même époque l'*Enfant monté sur un bouc* (statuette en bronze, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. n° O.A. 7296) et l'*Hercule tuant le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, qui présentent tous deux des similitudes dans certains détails d'exécution comme ceux des végétaux s'étalant sur la terrasse?

L'étude de la scolarité publique de Barye qui dura près de sept années, nous aura néanmoins permis de recenser une trentaine d'œuvres inédites, toutes disparues ou non encore localisées (à l'exception de deux d'entre elles: le *Milon de Crotone* de 1819 et les *Reproches d'Hector à Pâris*), qu'il est possible désormais d'adjoindre au catalogue de l'œuvre du sculpteur Antoine-Louis Barye.

Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts
Paris

Notes

Je tiens à remercier vivement tous ceux qui m'ont apporté leur précieux concours afin de faciliter mes recherches: William R. Johnston, Directeur Associé de la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore, Joaneath Spicer, ancien éditeur de *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* et Dr. Elizabeth Burin, Assistant Curator, enfin Carla Brenner, ancienne chargée des publications de la Walters Art Gallery et Valerie Arnade; Isabelle Leroy-Jay Lemaistre, Conservateur des Musées de France, Conservateur au Département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre; James David Draper, Conservateur du Département de la Sculpture et des Arts décoratifs européens du Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York et Stefanie Walker, Assistant; Edward J. Nygren, Directeur de la Huntington Art Gallery de San Marino, California; Peter Dreyer, Conservateur des Dessins et Cara Denison, Conservateur des Dessins et Gravures à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York; Elizabeth W. Easton, Conservateur adjoint du département de la Peinture et Sculpture Européennes au Musée de Brooklyn de New York; Janet L. Farber, Conservateur Associé de l'Art du XX^{ème} siècle au Joslyn Art Museum d'Omaha, Nebraska; Flemming Friberg et Lenhard Gottlieb de la Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek de Copenhague; Xavier Dejean, Conservateur au Musée Fabre de Montpellier et Madeleine Dutheil au Service Photographique du Musée; Christophe Cousin, Conservateur du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Belfort; Claude Petry, Conservateur du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Nancy; Vincent Ducoureau, Conservateur du Musée Bonnat de Bayonne; Anne-Marie Laffitte-Larnaudie, Conservateur des Archives de l'Institut de France; Claude Bouret, Conservateur au Cabinet des Estampes et de la Photographie de la Bibliothèque Nationale; Marie-Cécile Comerre, Chargée du Centre de Documentation des Commissaires Priseurs de Paris (Drouot Documentation); Robert et Mary Manouk.

1. Comme l'a justement remarqué Martin Sonnabend dans son étude sur l'artiste (*Antoine-Louis Barye, 1795–1875, Studien zum plastischen Werk* [München, 1988], 9 et 223), l'année de naissance de Barye n'est pas 1796, comme l'ont écrit et l'écrivent nombre de biographes de l'artiste, mais bien 1795. Vapereau, Mantz, Bellier et Auvray, Benezit et bien d'autres avaient eu raison de transcrire la date du "2 vendémiaire an IV" par celle du "24 septembre 1795". C'est d'ailleurs ces deux dates qui figurent sur le registre d'inscription de l'Ecole, à la date du 7 juillet 1818 (Archives Nationales: AJ⁵² 234), et celle de "1795" dans le dossier scolaire de Barye (A.N.: AJ⁵² 321). Néanmoins, il existe dans un des nombreux dossiers sur Barye à la documentation du Département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre, l'original de la rédaction autographe attribuée à Anatole de Montaiglon, du texte paru en 1886 dans les *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art français* (pages 105–106), sur le projet d'installation d'une plaque avec inscriptions sur la maison où mourut Barye. Si dans le texte, la date "1795" est celle qui est retenue, la retranscription de l'acte de naissance de l'artiste comporte, après la date "an quatre de la République française, le deux vendémiaire", la curieuse mention "24 septembre 1793" publiée en toutes lettres dans les Archives: "vingt-quatre septembre mil sept cens quatre-vingt-treize". Le texte imprimé l'ayant été selon la note manuscrite qui ne donne que la date en chiffres, on peut raisonnablement penser qu'il ne s'agit là que d'une erreur d'écriture de Montaiglon.

2. A.N.: AJ⁵² 234.

3. Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Manuscrit A93, p. 124 et A.N.: AJ⁵² 6. Les élèves étaient obligés de se présenter à ces concours d'entrée à l'Ecole, tant qu'ils n'avaient pas obtenu une médaille à un concours durant le semestre d'hiver, ou le semestre d'été.

4. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194, et Archives de l'Institut: 5E11. Les cinq logistes furent dans l'ordre: Brenet, Vatinelle, Dieudonné,

Eugène Dubois et Barye.

5. E.N.S.B.A.: Ms. A93, pp. 124–125, et A.N.: AJ⁵² 6.

6. E.N.S.B.A.: Ms. A93, p. 125, et A.N.: AJ⁵² 6. Parmi quelques exemplaires connus:

1) Un exemplaire en bronze argenté (diam. 7.2 cm; signé et daté en bas: *BARYE, 1819*) au Musée du Louvre (inv. n° OA.7304), ancienne collection Montaignac, don Zoubaloff en 1919.

2) Un exemplaire en plâtre (diam. 7.4 cm; non signé ni daté en bas) à la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore (inv. n° 27.191).

3) Un exemplaire en bronze (diam. 8.3 cm; signé et daté en bas: *BARYE, 1819*) à la Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore, acquis au XIXe siècle, à une date indéterminée, par Henry Walters lui-même (inv. n° 27.507).

4) Un exemplaire en bronze (diam. 7.3 cm; signé et daté en bas: *BARYE, 1819*) au Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York (inv. n° 35.88).

5) Un exemplaire en galvano patiné (diam. 7.5 cm; signé et daté en bas: *BARYE, 1819*) au Musée Bonnat de Bayonne (inv. n° 918).

6) Un exemplaire en plâtre patiné (diam. 7.5 cm; signé et daté en bas: *BARYE, 1819*). Vente Jacques Zoubaloff, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 30 mai 1929, par M^e Lair-Dubreuil, n° 60. Serait-ce celui de Baltimore?

7) Un exemplaire en bronze. Vente de la collection Auguste Sichel, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 27 février 1886, par M^e Paul Chevallier, n° 75 (diam. 7 cm; sans indication rapportée de signature dans le catalogue de vente); ce médaillon serait-il un de ceux conservés aux Etats-Unis?

7. Archives de l'Institut: 5E11, 19 juin 1819 (datée par erreur 1817).

8. P. Fusco et H.W. Janson, eds., *The Romantics to Rodin: French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections* (New York [c. 1980]), 125–126, n° 14 (catalogue de l'exposition).

9. L'Ecole nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts conserve de Vatinelle son poinçon en acier (diam. 7.4 cm; n° 1.767) et son grand bas-relief en plâtre, et le Musée Girodet de Montargis, un petit moulage en plâtre patiné (diam. 9 cm; inv. n° 989–155, don Lee-Childe, en 1874).

10. E.N.S.B.A.: Ms. A93, p. 125, et A.N.: AJ⁵² 6.

11. Salon de 1827, n° 1055: *Plusieurs bustes*; et n° 1200: *Un cadre de médailles modelées*.

12. F. Chappey, "1811 ou le début des 'Trois Glorieuses'. Eléments pour une étude de l'enseignement de la sculpture à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts au début du XIXe siècle," catalogue de l'exposition *Aux grands hommes—David d'Angers*, Saint-Rémy-lès-Chevreuse, Fondation de Coubertin, et Angers, Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1990–1991, 78, note 53.

13. *Le Moniteur Universel*, 15 juin 1819, n° 166, p. 1. *Journal de Paris, politique, commercial et littéraire*, 21 juin 1819, n° 172, p. 1 (Sans doute la plus ancienne mention imprimée du nom de Barye dans un article de presse: "[. . .] Mention honorable de M. Barye (Antoine-Louis), de Paris, âgé de 23 ans et demi, élève de M. Bosio"). *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 15 juin 1819, p. 2; 17 juin 1819, pp. 2 et 3; 22 juin 1819, p. 2 (citation du nom des lauréats, dont Barye). *Le Constitutionnel*, 21 juin 1819, p. 4 (analyse anonyme de certaines œuvres), et 23 juin 1819, p. 3 (citation du nom des lauréats, dont Barye, dénommé "M. Bauze [Antoine-Louis]").

14. Jacques-Augustin Dieudonné (1795–1873) fut, comme Barye, élève de Gros et Bosio. Il obtint en 1819 le Second Prix de Gravure en médailles, mais sa carrière future sera celle d'un sculpteur renommé, apparemment fort lié à la famille des Orléans.

15. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194. Le recueil de sujets des Grands Prix (A.N.: AJ⁵² 195) indique à tort le sujet d'*Oreste et Pylade voulant immoler Hélène*, qui n'est que celui d'un Concours d'Esquisses modelées, jugé le 11 mars 1820.

16. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194. Les logistes furent dans l'ordre: Lemaire, Jacquot, Brion, Dieudonné, Seurre Jeune, Lequien, Desprez et Barye.

17. E.N.S.B.A.: Ms. A93, p. 126 et A.N.: AJ⁵² 6.

18. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194; Archives de l'Institut, 5E12, 30 septembre 1820.

19. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et Archives de l'Institut, 5E12, 30 septembre 1820.

20. *Journal des Débats politiques et littéraires*, 28 septembre 1820, p. 4, et 8 octobre 1820, p. 4 (citation du nom des lauréats, dont Barye). *Journal de Paris politique, commercial et littéraire*, 29 septembre 1820, p. 2, et 1er octobre 1820, p. 1 (citation du nom de Barye parmi les lauréats). *Le Constitutionnel*, 29 septembre 1820, p. 3 (citation de l'œuvre de Barye), et 2 octobre 1820, p. 4 (citation du nom de Barye). *Le Moniteur Universel*, 1er octobre 1820, p. 1332 (citation du nom des lauréats, dont Barye). *La Gazette de France*, 3 octobre 1820, n° 277, p. 1113 (citation du nom de Barye parmi les lauréats).

21. *Journal des Débats*, 28 septembre 1820, p. 4.

22. *Le Constitutionnel*, 29 septembre 1820, p. 3.

23. *Journal de Paris*, 29 septembre 1820, p. 2.

24. Archives de l'Institut, 5E12. Lors de son inscription à l'Ecole, le 7 juillet 1818, Barye avait indiqué comme adresse "Quai des Orfèvres no 16" (A.N.: AJ⁵² 234).

25. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194. Les logistes furent dans l'ordre: Lemaire, Lequien, Fessard, Seurre Jeune, Brion, Dumont, Dantan et Barye.

26. *Moniteur Universel*, 18 septembre 1821, p. 1323 et 23 septembre 1821, p. 1348. *Journal des Débats*, 19 et 23 septembre 1821. *Journal de Paris*, 23 septembre 1821, p. 1. *Gazette de France*, 24 septembre 1821, p. 3.

27. *Le Constitutionnel*, 21 septembre 1821, p. 4.

28. A.N.: AJ⁵² 6 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194. Les autres logistes étaient Dumont, Seurre Jeune, Jaley, Duret, Lanno, Dantan et Desprez.

29. Archives de l'Institut: 5E13 (citée dans le catalogue de l'exposition *Evocation de l'Académie de France à Rome à l'occasion de son Troisième Centenaire*, Paris, Institut de France, juin-juillet 1967, n° 40).

30. Si le *Journal des Débats*, le *Moniteur Universel* et le *Constitutionnel* donnèrent les noms des lauréats, seuls la *Gazette de France* (20 septembre 1822, p. 3) et le *Journal de Paris* (19 septembre 1822, pp. 2 et 3) publièrent une analyse parfois détaillée de certaines œuvres exposées.

31. A.N.: AJ⁵² 7.

32. E.N.S.B.A.: n° 4.421 (bas-relief en plâtre, 35.5 x 45 cm; non signé ni daté). A une date indéterminée, cette œuvre a été endommagée, et un morceau de la partie gauche a disparu (dont les deux personnages féminins à l'extrême gauche), comme en témoigne une photographie ancienne datant des années 1880, conservée à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

33. A.N.: AJ⁵² 7 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194.

34. Médaillon en bronze (diam. 12 cm; signé et daté en bas: *BARYE 1823*), Paris, Musée du Louvre, acquis en 1927. En l'absence de tout autre portrait ou médaillon de ce type dans l'œuvre de jeunesse de l'artiste, et en regard de certains portraits représentant Barye jeune, il serait parfois tentant de considérer ce médaillon

comme un autoportrait du sculpteur. Mais Barye n'y aurait-il pas indiqué une mention plus spécifique que sa signature et la date?

35. On se rapportera avec profit pour l'analyse stylistique de l'*Hercule tuant le sanglier d'Erymanthe*, aux notices de Glenn Benge (*The Sculpture of Antoine-Louis Barye in American Collections* II [n.p., 1969], 542–543; *Romantics to Rodin*, n° 15) et de Martin Sonnabend (*A.-L. Barye 1795–1875*, 256 [note 361] et 300). La cire originale fut possédée par l'orfèvre Vever qui en fondit, paraît-il, dix exemplaires en argent (13 x 6 x 4 cm), dont celui conservé au Musée Bonnat de Bayonne (12.9 x 8 x 5 cm, inv. n° 881). Dès l'exposition Barye de 1889 à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts, pas moins de quatre exemplaires étaient présentés: 1) n° 249, 13 x 12 cm (matière non précisée: *App. à M. Léon Bonnat*. Serait-ce l'épreuve en bronze à patine brun clair (12.7 x 11.5 cm) conservée aujourd'hui au Musée Bonnat de Bayonne (inv. n° 880), achat de Léon Bonnat en 1888? 2) n° 377, bronze, hauteur 13 cm, *App. à M. Ducasse*. 3) n° 396, bronze, hauteur 13 cm, *App. à M. Paul Meurice*. Serait-ce l'épreuve en bronze (hauteur 12 cm) conservée aujourd'hui au Musée du Louvre (anciennes collections Paul Meurice et Zoubaloff, don Zoubaloff en 1919; inv. n° O.A. 7302)? 4) n° 401, bronze, hauteur 13 cm, *App. à M. A. Elias*. Une dizaine d'autres exemplaires sont connus. Parmi ceux-ci:

Walters Art Gallery de Baltimore: 1) bronze, hauteur 11.5 cm, inv. n° 27.192 (fig. 10); 2) bronze, hauteur 15.5 cm, signé *BARYE*, inv. n° 27.105 (fig. 11).

Brooklyn Museum of Art de New York: ancienne collection Cyrus J. Lawrence, achat en 1910, inv. n° 10.130 (œuvre non localisée).

Metropolitan Museum of Art de New York: bronze, hauteur 11.8 cm, legs de George Blumenthal en 1941, inv. n° 41.190.52.

Pierpont Morgan Library de New York: bronze doré, achat en 1908 (ancienne collection Glaenger), pas de n° inv.

Joslyn Art Museum of Omaha: 1) bronze, signé *BARYE* sur la terrasse, don de l'Art Institute of Omaha, inv. n° 1930.26; 2) bronze, don de Madame Arthur O'Brien, inv. n° 1947.159.

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek de Copenhague: bronze, 13.5 x 9.6 cm, signé *BARYE*, don de la Fondation Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek qui l'avait acquis en 1972 dans le commerce d'art parisien, inv. n° 3061 (fig. 12).

Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Belfort: bronze, 12.6 x 7.5 x 5.5 cm, signé *BARYE*, don Camille Lefevre en 1932, inv. n° CLS 19.

Musée Fabre de Montpellier: bronze, 12 x 7.5 x 6 cm, signé *BARYE* sur plinthe, legs Bonduran dit Prunelle, en 1905, inv. n° 08-2-3 (fig. 13).

Il est possible de distinguer six versions différentes parmi ces œuvres: 1) épreuve à sanglier unique, sans terrasse (Metropolitan de New York, Omaha inv. n° 1947.159 et Baltimore inv. n° 27.192 [fig. 10]). 2) épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse rectangulaire plate à niveau unique (Bayonne inv. n° 881, Omaha inv. n° 1930.26, et Baltimore inv. n° 27.105 [fig. 11]). 3) épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse rectangulaire couverte de végétaux, à trois degrés (Copenhague [fig. 12], et Morgan Library de New York). 4) épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse ovale (Belfort et Montpellier [fig. 13]). 5) épreuve à sanglier unique et terrasse ovale avec très haute plante (Bayonne inv. n° 880 [fig. 14]). 6) épreuve à deux sangliers et terrasse rectangulaire (Musée du Louvre inv. n° OA. 7302 [fig. 15]).

Près d'une vingtaine d'épreuves en bronze et en argent, de différents modèles, sont passées en vente aux enchères depuis la fin du siècle dernier. Parmi celles-ci:

Vente de la collection Henri Vever, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 1–2 février 1897, par M^e Paul Chevallier, n° 178: "Cire originale."

Vente de la collection du Colonel Merlin, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 27 juin 1900, par M^e Paul Chevallier, n° 72: "Statuette en argent de la maison Vever."

Vente de la collection B. . . , 28 novembre 1904, n° 209, argent (information de seconde main trouvée à la Documentation du Département des Sculptures du Musée du Louvre; catalogue de vente non retrouvé).

Vente de la collection Louis Germeau, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 13–25 février 1905, par M^e Paul Chevallier, n° 450: "Petit bronze doré avec terrasse rectangulaire sans touffe de roseaux", et n° 451: "Petit bronze, terrasse ovale, avec touffe de roseaux."

Vente de la collection Paul Perier, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 7 avril 1908, par M^e F. Lair-Dubreuil, n° 45: "Epreuve dorée," bronze provenant de la Collection Germeau.

Vente de la collection de Mr. Z. . . (Zoubaloff), Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 10–11 décembre 1917, n° 200: argent.

Vente de la collection de feu A. Bergaud, Paris, Galerie Georges Petit, 1–2 mars 1920, par Mes F. Lair-Dubreuil et H. Baudoin, n° 94.

Vente de la collection de Mme. H. . . (provenant en grande partie de la collection Thomy Thiery), Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 15 mars 1926, par M^{es} M. Pecquet et G. Albinet, n° 59.

Vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 10 décembre 1945, par M^e E. Ader, n° 22 et n° 23.

Vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 24 novembre 1947, par M^e D.-H. Baudoin, n° 164, et n° 165 (trois bronzes).

Vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 30 juin 1952, par M^e E. Ader, n° 62.

Vente de la collection André Schoeller, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 14–16 mai 1956, par M^e E. Ader, n° 67.

Vente à Paris, Palais Galliera, 16 mars 1972, par M^{es} Ader, Picard et Tajan, n° 14.

Vente à Enghien, 27 avril 1980, n° 58.

Vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, salle 2, 4 juin 1986, par M^{es} J.-P. Couturier et R. de Nicolay, n° 96 ter.

36. Aucune œuvre, à ma connaissance, n'a encore été retrouvée sur le sujet d'*Hercule terrassant le lion de Némée*, depuis la disparition en 1925 d'une esquisse en plâtre retouchée à la cire, dont on suivait la trace depuis la vente de l'atelier de l'artiste en 1876:

Esquisse en cire, sans dimensions, exposition Barye à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Paris, en novembre 1875, n° 77, propriété de la famille du sculpteur.

Catalogue des œuvres de feu Barye, vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 7–12 février 1876, n° 542: *plâtre retouché à la cire*, sans dimensions, adjugé 22 francs à M. Sichel.

Plâtre retouché à la cire, exposition Barye à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Paris en 1889, n° 653, sans dimensions, *App. à M. Baudot*.

Vente à Paris, Hôtel Drouot, 23 février 1925, par Me F. Lair-Dubreuil, n° 141: *maquette en terre, en partie recouverte de cire*, hauteur 7 cm; n° 542 de la vente après décès de Barye, n° 653 de l'exposition Barye de 1889.

37. Voir F.-R. Loffredo, "Des recherches communes de Barye et de Delacroix au Laboratoire d'anatomie comparée du Museum

d'Histoire naturelle," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français*, 1982 (éd. de 1984), 147–157.

38. A.N.: AJ⁵² 7 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194. Les logistes furent dans l'ordre: Brion, Desprez, Barye, Jaley, Dantan (Ainé), Grevenich et Debay.

39. *Journal de Paris*, 26–27 août 1824, p. 3, et *Gazette de France*, 29 août 1824, pp. 1–2.

40. A.N.: AJ⁵² 7 et AJ⁵² 321, p. 194.

41. F.-R. Loffredo, "L'Inventaire après décès d'Antoine-Louis Barye (1796–1875)", *Archives de l'Art français*, 30 (1989), 151, 153.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 2, 9–11, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 3, 5–7, 16, Paris, Ecole nationale supérieure de Beaux-Arts; fig. 4, Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts, photo Gilbert Mangin; figs. 8, 15, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cliché des Musées Nationaux; fig. 12, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek; fig. 13, Montpellier, Musée Favre, Cliché Frédéric Jaulmes; fig. 14, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat; fig. 17, Paris, collection particulière.

English Summary

Although Antoine-Louis Barye (1795–1875) is among the most famous, and studied, of French sculptors, several aspects of his creative activity remain a mystery. This study attempts to illuminate some of these, examining his time as a student at the Ecole royale des Beaux-Arts in Paris (1818–1825), his first exhibitions, and the notices they received in the press. From these early reviews it is possible to draw up a basic catalogue of Barye's first sculptures, some forty in number, most of which can be identified in the unpublished archives of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Barye was born in 1795 (not 1796 as given by some scholars). He registered at the Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts on July 7, 1818 with an introduction from one of his two teachers, the academic sculptor François-Joseph Bosio (1768–1845). He left the school in April 1825 after his sixth failure to obtain the Premier Grand Prix de Sculpture.

Archives at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts record the results of about twenty competitions in which Barye

was awarded a prize. Because the archives list only the laureates, Barye's name does not appear in records of other examinations in which he must have participated. The Premier Grand Prix de Sculpture, the official and prestigious way to launch an academic career, eluded Barye. However, a year after his enrollment he received an honorable mention in the 1819 competition for medal engraving (figs. 1–3) and in 1820 was awarded the second prize in the sculpture competition, which was won by Georges Jacquot (fig. 4). In 1823 Barye won the medal in the composition competition for modeled sketches with *Reproches d'Hector à Pâris*. This relief, which now belongs to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, is Barye's only student sculpture recognized today (figs. 6 and 7).

The first exhibition of Barye's works was not the Salon of 1827. In fact his works were exhibited to the public almost every year beginning in 1819 in the annual exhibitions of students' works presented by the Académie des Beaux-Arts prior to the competitions. These exhibitions were reviewed by art reporters from the most famous newspapers of the day, and so the first mention of Barye's name and works is found in the *Journal des Débats*, the *Journal de Paris*, the *Constitutionnel*, the *Gazette de France*, etc.

Archives relating to the 1820 competition for the grand prize in sculpture include Barye's address, revealing that the artist was then already living in the house of Jacques-Henri Fauconnier (1776–1839). This advances by three years the date when Barye is known to have entered the atelier of that goldsmith.

During his time as a student, Barye executed many works outside the school. Today, a few of these are known, including the *Jeune homme coiffé d'un beret* (fig. 8), *Hercule terrassant le lion de Némée*, and *Hercule tuant le sanglier d'Erymanthe*. The last of these is the subject of a typological study identifying the relationship between the six versions that now exist of the composition in bronze and silver (figs. 9–15, and note 35).

The Walters Art Gallery 1764 Jade *Qing* Lithophone and Related Pieces

Terese Tse Bartholomew and Mitchell Clark

Examples of Qing-dynasty jade qing scattered in the private and public collections in the United States are of two types: the twelve individual lithophones known as teqing and the set of sixteen called bianqing. This article deals with the history of this musical instrument and identification of extant pieces from dated sets, with special emphasis on the example in the Walters Art Gallery.

Two imperial five-clawed dragons contending for the flaming pearl decorate the jade *qing* of the Walters Art Gallery (fig. 1),¹ a thick slab of green nephrite shaped like an inverted “L,” resembling a carpenter’s square. This musical instrument, made to sound by being struck with a wooden beater, once belonged to a set of *bianqing*, a set of sixteen such jades suspended in two rows of eight each, which played an important musical role in the court rituals of the Qing dynasty. The dragons are painted in gold lacquer, their fluid lines showing excellent calligraphic skill. Emitting streaks of fire from their backs, they fight among clouds in the shape of *ruyi* (the wish-granting scepter whose head resembles the sacred *lingzhi* fungus), delineated in parallel lines of gold. The same motif appears front and back. A suspension hole is drilled through the flaming pearl and strung with a thick silk cord dyed in imperial yellow. Inscribed along the top edges, the longer side of the *qing* bears two characters incised and gilded in standard script, stating the pitch of this *qing* as *yingzhong* (fig. 2).² The inscription of seven characters along the shorter side reads *Qianlong ershijiu nianzhi* (fig. 3), “made in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Qianlong,” which is equivalent to 1764.

The *qing* is a lithophone of a very ancient type, the earliest examples dating to China’s neolithic period. The *qing* unearthed from Xia (ca. 21st–16th centuries B.C.) and Shang (ca. 16th–11th centuries B.C.) dynasty tombs are stone, usually limestone or marble. The use of jade (specifically nephrite) is later. The

written character for *qing* appears on Shang-dynasty oracle bones, and possibly also on one Shang-dynasty *qing* itself.³ Various translations into English as “sounding stone” and “sonorous stone,” the word “*qing*” is a generic term in China for stone and jade percussion instruments.

There have been several varieties of *qing* through the centuries, the most important of which have been the *teqing* (“single *qing*”) and the set of *qing* known as *bianqing* (“arranged *qing*”). Since early times, the ritual and musical functions of these two forms of *qing* have been paired with those of two forms of bronze *zhong* bells, specifically the *teqing* with the single-bell *bozhong* and the *bianqing* with the set of bells, *bianzhong*.

A few *qing* dating to China’s earliest dynasty, the Xia, have been excavated in modern times. Each instrument is roughly chipped from stone and is undecorated. It has been conjectured that the *qing* originally evolved during neolithic times from the stone ploughshare and that it may have been used as a signaling device when the ploughshare, with a hole already drilled through it, was suspended and struck.⁴

The more numerous *qing* dating to the Shang dynasty include instruments of more highly developed manufacture, many of which are decorated or inscribed. The large, often-published *qing* of greenish marble excavated in 1950 from a tomb at Wuguan, Henan, and dating to ca. twelfth century B.C. or earlier shows a superbly rendered stylized tiger design carved in its surface.⁵ Other motifs found on Shang-dynasty *qing* include an owl (or parrot), a fish, and a tiger with a forked tail.⁶ The shapes of the early *qing* are variable but tend towards a generally triangular form which would ultimately evolve into the “carpenter’s square” form, with an arched bottom edge, standardized during the Zhou dynasty (ca. 11th century–256 B.C.).

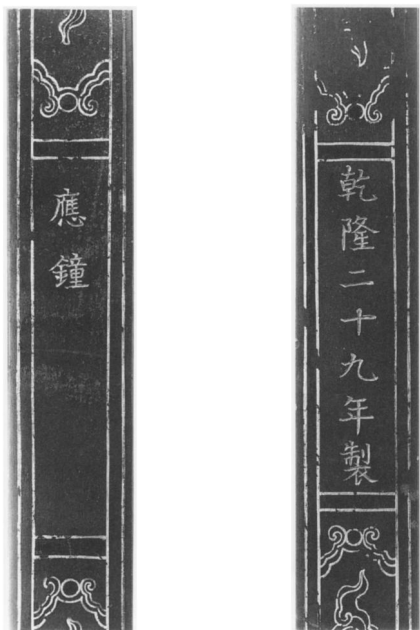
The *qing* unearthed from Shang times include single *qing* as well as sets of three or five *qing*. In the case of the tomb of Fu Hao at Xiaotun, Henan, dating to



Fig. 1. *Qing*, dated 1764, green nephrite with gold gilt, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.274.

Fig. 2. (left) Detail of fig. 1, showing inscription naming the pitch.

Fig. 3. (right) Detail of fig. 1, showing date inscription.



the twelfth century B.C. or earlier, three *qing*, perhaps of a single set, were found together with a set of bronze bells,⁷ which suggests that the paired musical functions of *qing* and bells may date back to this early time.

Qing are well documented in the Chinese Classics. Passages in the *Shujing* (“The Classic of Documents”), the *Shijing* (“The Classic of Poetry”), and the *Liji* (“The Record of Ritual”) refer to the contexts for and uses of the *qing* during the early- to mid-first millennium B.C., and are rich both in imagery and information on early performance practice. In the *Shujing*, a passage involving Kui, Music Master in service to the legendary Emperor Shun, is of interest in relation to playing technique in that two distinct levels of force used for sounding the instrument are described. Kui states, “I strike the stone, [I] tap the stone.” He goes on to say that by his playing he causes “the hundred wild animals to lead one another in dance, and encourages the government officials to become disposed towards harmonious accord,”⁸ a reference to the classical Chinese view of the role of music in the regulation of the empire.

In the *Shijing*, descriptions are found of the make-up and function of the ensembles in which the *qing* was used. In the poem *Gu zhong* (“The Striking of Bells”), the *qing* is combined with the *zhong*, *gu* drum,

se and *qin* zithers, and *sheng* reed organ to accompany the singing of the *Ya* and *Nan* odes.⁹ *Gu zhong* is itself a *Ya* ode, and may well have been sung to the accompaniment of the instrumental ensemble it describes. Such self-reflexive musical references are found elsewhere in *Shijing* texts. In *No* (“Abundance”), a sacrificial hymn to Tang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, it is stated, “The harmonious [instruments, which accompany the sacrifice] follow the sound of our *qing*.”¹⁰ Here we have perhaps the earliest reference to what was still to be the ensemble role of the *qing* some two and a half millennia later, i.e., its function of “receiving and transmitting” the notes of the melody it accompanied. The melodic lines of ceremonial hymns are quite simple: notes of equal duration, the regular phrases of which are periodically punctuated by percussion instruments. In Qing-dynasty practice, the accompaniment of the melody includes the *bianqing* striking the melody-note just before the end of the note’s duration, coordinating the ensemble for the next melody-note, which is begun with a stroke on the *bianzhong*.¹¹ In this way, the *qing* helped guide and regulate the continuous flow of the ensemble.

A reference to the *qing* in the *Yueji* (“The Record of Music”) portion of the *Liji* describes the sounds of five classes of instruments, namely bells, sounding-stones, silk-stringed zithers, bamboo wind instruments, and drums. Here it is stated, *shi sheng qing*, “stone [makes the] sound *qing*,” demonstrating the onomatopoeic nature of the word *qing*.¹²

With the one exception of a reference in the *Liji* to a single-stone *liqing* (“separate *qing*,” another name for the *teqing*),¹³ the language of the Classics does not distinguish numbers of *qing*. The set of several *qing* known as *bianqing* became standardized, at sixteen stones, during the Zhou dynasty. At this time, *bianqing* were used not only in a ceremonial capacity, but also in chamber music, combined with softer-sounding wind and string instruments.¹⁴ Indeed, the reference in the Confucian Analects (*Lunyu*) to Confucius playing the *qing* at home—a man passing by the door of the Master’s house was said to have exclaimed, “It has passion, his playing of the *qing*!”—would seem to refer to an intimate musical use of the instrument.¹⁵

During the Zhou dynasty, the stone slabs of a *bianqing* were of uniform thickness, tuning being accomplished by varying the size of the slabs, the smaller ones being higher in pitch. At some time after the Zhou dynasty, there was developed the tuning method of varying the thickness while maintaining a uniform size, the thicker slabs being higher in pitch.¹⁶ With succeeding dynasties, the numbers of stones in the

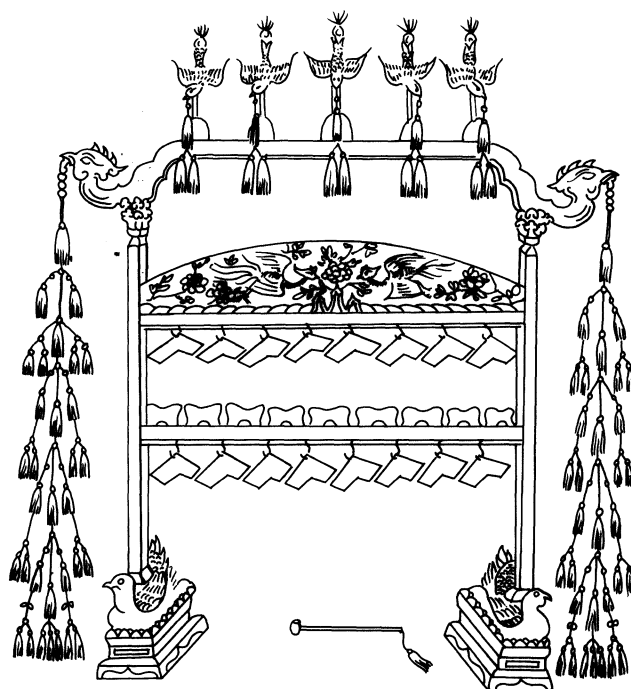


Fig. 4. Diagram of the *bianqing*, dated 1715 [redrawn from *Huangchao ligi tushi*, vol. 8, p. 47].

bianqing fluctuated, beginning with nineteen stones during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D.220) and varying from fourteen (Northern Zhou dynasty, 557–581) to twenty-four (Ming dynasty, 1368–1644). Sets of sixteen stones had been used during a few of the intermediate dynasties, and in the Qing dynasty, during the reign of the Kangxi emperor (1662–1722), the use of the sixteen-piece *bianqing* was reinstated.¹⁷

The *bianqing* used in the court and religious ceremonies of the Qing dynasty consisted of a frame upon which the *qing* were suspended in two parallel rows of eight each. The frame itself was highly ornamented with tassels and zoomorphic forms (fig. 4), as were the frames of the *teqing*, *bianzhong*, and *bozhong*. The two vertical poles of the *bianqing*’s frame rested on carved images of ducks, with the *qing* themselves suspended by thick cords of yellow silk.

The *bianqing* and *teqing*, together with the *bianzhong* and *bozhong*, were part of the imperial musical ensemble of the Qing dynasty, known as *Zhonghe Shaoyue*. These instruments were stored under the eaves of the Taihe Palace (the first palace inside the Forbidden City) and were played during important state functions such as the emperor’s ascension to the throne, his birthday, his wedding, and the New Year’s celebrations. In the handscroll depicting the wedding of the Guangxu emperor (1875–1908), now in the Palace Museum, Beijing, the *bianqing* and *teqing* are clearly shown to the left of the entrance of Taihe

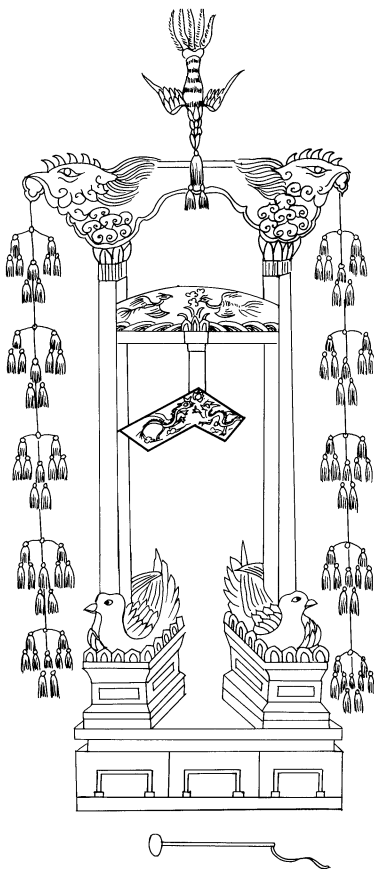


Fig. 5. Diagram of the *teqing* no.11, dated 1761 [redrawn from *Huangchao liqi tushi*, vol. 8, p.45].

Palace, while the *bianzhong* and *bozhong* are to the right.¹⁸

In the Temple of Confucius, the *bozhong* and *bianzhong* were placed on the east side of the terrace, with the *teqing* and *bianqing* on the west side.¹⁹ For the Sacrificial Hymn to Confucius, the *bozhong* is struck at the beginning of each line of the hymn and like the *teqing*, which is struck at the end of each line, is tuned to the pitch appropriate to the month of the ceremo-



Fig. 6. *Qing* of the pitch *linzhong*, Kangxi period, dated 1716, green nephrite with gold gilt, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 03.15.1, gift of Major Louis Livingstone Seaman, 1903.

ny. As mentioned before, the *bianzhong* is struck at the beginning of each melody-note and the *bianqing* just before the end. These arrangements follow the dictum, "When the metal [*zhong*] sounds, the jade [*qing*] answers."²⁰

The Qing dynasty was established when the Manchus overthrew the native-Chinese Ming dynasty in 1644. The Manchurians assimilated quickly, especially the emperors, who were well-steeped in the Chinese Classics. They began to reinstate some of the ancient Confucian court rituals, which included the use of *zhong* and *qing*. This may account for the various sets of jade *qing* made during the Kangxi and Qianlong (1736–1795) periods.

The Kangxi emperor had a set of *bianqing* (fig. 4) made in the fifty-fourth year of his reign (1715). This set is illustrated in the famous *Huangchao liqi tushi*, or "Illustrated Regulations for the Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Qing Dynasty," printed by the palace in 1766. This book deals with ritual vessels, costumes for the court, insignia, military uniforms, and weapons, and contains a large section on musical instruments for the court.²¹ Figures 4 and 5 are redrawn from a photoprint edition, printed in Taipei in 1976. According to the description in *Huangchao liqi tushi*, this *bianqing* with stones decorated with dragons and clouds was made of *lingbishi*, a type of hardstone, and not jade.²²

Although sets of *qing* existed in the Ming dynasty, the authors have not come across extant examples. It has been mentioned above that the number of stones on the *bianqing* varied through the centuries and reached the number of twenty-four during the Ming dynasty, though *bianqing* were also produced in sets of sixteen stones. The designs of the Qing-dynasty *qing* were most probably based on Ming prototypes. It is interesting to note that the set of *bianqing* made in 1715 was made of the hardstone *lingbishi*, and not of jade. It



Fig. 7. *Qing* of the pitch *taicou*, Kangxi period, early 17th century, Green nephrite with gold gilt, Shenyang, Palace Museum [reproduced from a postcard].

is doubtful that the Ming prototypes were made of jade, for the simple fact that large jade boulders were not available during the Ming dynasty. Ming-dynasty jade pieces were carved from jade pebbles picked up from the rivers of Khotan, in what is now Xinjiang province. The possibility of finding a river boulder large enough to be cut into a set of matching pieces seems remote. Thus Ming-dynasty *bianqing* were most likely cut from hardstones such as *lingbishi*.

The large scale quarrying of jade in the mountains of Yarkand (two hundred miles northwest of Khotan) made sizable boulders available in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. This accounts for the comparatively larger jade carvings from the seventeenth century onward.²³ It also made it possible for the Qing-dynasty emperors to commission *qing* made of jade.

The earliest jade *qing* of the Qing dynasty seen so far in a western collection is the one inscribed *linzhong* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 6).²⁴ It is the twelfth pitch from a set of *bianqing*, dated to the fifty-fifth year of the Kangxi period, which is equivalent to 1716.²⁵ Like the Baltimore example, it depicts two dragons confronting the flaming pearl. The only difference is in the cloud forms: they are painted in the double-line technique and are less complicated than the clouds in the Baltimore example.

Another set of *bianqing* was made in 1720. There are two known examples from this set. The first example was formerly in the Abler collection.²⁶ It is again inscribed along the top two edges: the name of the pitch *guxi*, which makes it the ninth *qing* among the set of sixteen, and the date "Kangxi 59th year." It bears the same motif as the Metropolitan example. The second example also dated to 1720 appears in a 1984 Sotheby's catalog.²⁷ Unfortunately, the catalog did not mention the pitch of this *qing*.

As yet, no *qing* can be traced to the Yongzheng emperor's reign (1723–1735). The next reign, that of the Qianlong emperor, was a golden age for the production of jade *qing*.

A *qing* inscribed with the pitch *taicou* was on display in the Palace Museum of Shenyang during the fall of 1988 (fig. 7). The label did not mention a date, but gave the information that this was part of a *bianqing* used during the Qianlong emperor's visit in 1743. The palace of Shenyang (Liaoning province), now converted into a museum, was once the home of the early Manchu rulers before they moved to Beijing. In the eighth year of his reign, the Qianlong emperor made an inspection tour of the northeastern part of his empire, which included his ancestral home in



Fig. 8. Complete set of *Bianqing*, Qing dynasty, green nephrite and gold gilt, Shenyang, Palace Museum.

Shenyang. Being a stickler for etiquette, he had a *bianqing* sent there from Beijing so that the court ceremonies could be conducted in the proper manner. The motif on this *qing* is similar to the Metropolitan example. Based on the double-line method of depicting the clouds, this *qing* should be dated to the Kangxi period.

The set of *bianqing* photographed by Dr. Hiram W. Woodward, Jr. (fig. 8), is from the Shenyang Palace Museum. This was part of an exhibition from China shown in Singapore in 1989. This may possibly be the complete set of *bianqing* sent from Beijing to Shenyang on the occasion of the Qianlong emperor's visit in 1743.

In 1759, eleven bronze *zhong* bells were excavated in Jiangxi province of China. The Qianlong emperor was delighted and decreed that a set of *zhong* should be cast in the style of these excavated pieces. At the same time, he ordered that sets of jade *qing* be made, for "having replicated the bells, the *qing* should not be omitted."²⁸ This coincided with the emperor's success-

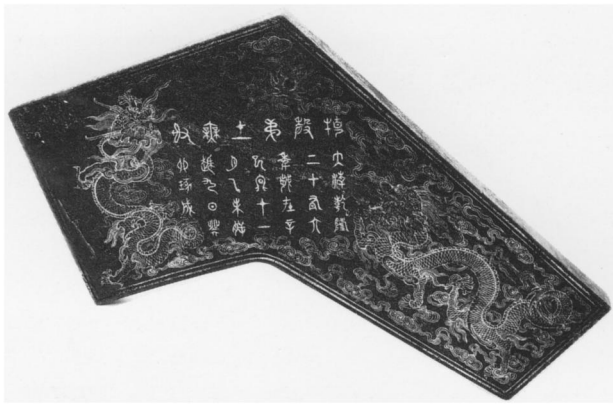


Fig. 9. *Teqing* of the pitch *wuyi* (front), Qianlong period, dated 1761, green nephrite with gold gilt, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, no.B60 J67, gift of Avery Brundage.

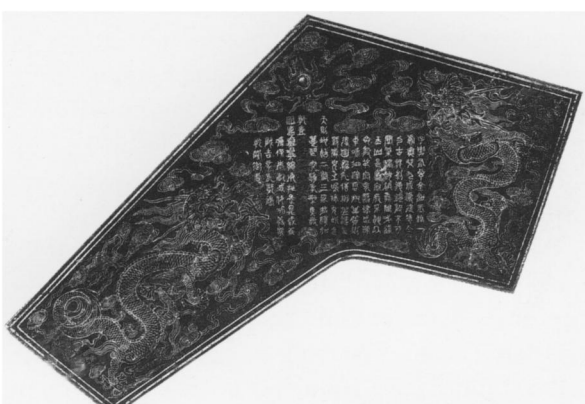


Fig. 10. Reverse of fig. 9.

ful military campaigns to the west of China, when Khotan and Yarkand, the main sources for jade, came under China's jurisdiction. Large boulders of green nephrite were transported to Suzhou, the center of jade-carving in China, and sets of *qing*, numbering more than 160 pieces, were manufactured.²⁹ These *qing*, made in the twenty-sixth year of the Qianlong emperor's reign, 1761, consist mainly of *teqing*. The Palace Museum of Beijing has a complete set of 1761 *teqing* on display, while *teqing* from another set (or sets), also dated 1761, are scattered among museum collections in the United States.

As mentioned above, the *teqing* is a single *qing*, and is made in sets of twelve, each *qing* corresponding to a particular month of the lunar year,³⁰ as opposed to the *bianqing*, which comes in sets of sixteen. The *teqing* made in 1761 are very elaborate, and the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco has one such example, a gift of Avery Brundage.³¹ While the shape and the gold lacquered decoration remain the same as the Kangxi examples, the motif is more complicated and differs front and back. The front again depicts two dragons fighting for the flaming pearl, the center of which has been drilled for suspension (fig. 9). The dragon on the left is in a vertical position, while the one on the right is horizontal. Between them are two inscriptions in seal script: the horizontal one on top reads "*teqing* number 11: *wuyi*," and the vertical inscription below gives the date, "Made on the ninth day of the eleventh moon, in the twenty-sixth year of the Qianlong period of the Great Qing dynasty." The dragons and inscriptions appear against a background of golden clouds. Unlike the Kangxi examples, the clouds are no longer shown in the double-line technique, but are filled with concentric lines of gold. On the back, the positions of the dragons are reversed (fig. 10). In between is inscribed a long poem by the

Qianlong emperor in seal script, where he gives the reason for having these *qing* made, states that the jade came from Khotan, and links the role of music to the harmony of the empire.

Illustrations of a 1761 set of twelve *teqing*, together with description and measurements, appear in the "Illustrated Regulations for the Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Qing Dynasty." Figure 5 shows the *teqing* number 11, of the pitch *wuyi*, from the set dated 1761.

Besides the Asian Art Museum example, there are four other 1761 *teqing* in collections in the United States. The Art Institute of Chicago has one example; inscribed *taicou*, it is a larger piece, being the third from among the set of twelve.³² The design, front and back, is identical to the Asian Art Museum's *teqing*.

The eighth and twelfth *teqing*, those of the pitches *linzhong* and *yingzhong* respectively, are in the Norton Gallery of Palm Beach.³³ Formerly in the collection of Stanley C. Nott,³⁴ these two examples were said to be part of a set presented by the Qianlong emperor to the Temple of Confucius in Beijing, and were possibly stolen from there during the Boxer rebellion.³⁵

The fourth example (fig. 11) is found in the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.³⁶ The motif is identical to the above-mentioned pieces. Again dated 1761, it is the tenth *teqing*, of the pitch *nanlü*.

Another *teqing*, also dated 1761, appears in a 1981 Sotheby's catalog.³⁷ This example (mistakenly labelled as a *bianqing*), is inscribed "*teqing* no. 4: *jiazhong*."

Jade *qing* were again manufactured three years later, in the twenty-ninth year of the Qianlong period, corresponding to 1764. The Palace Museum, Beijing, has on display a complete set of *bianqing*, dated 1764.³⁸ Besides the Walters Art Gallery's *qing*, there are three other known examples of individual pieces



Fig. 11. *Teqing* of the pitch *nanlü*, Qianlong period, dated 1761, green nephrite with gold gilt, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, no. 37.113, gift of John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

of this date. Unlike the 1761 examples mentioned above, these are *bianqing*, belonging to a set (or sets) of sixteen. The motif is identical throughout, with confronting dragons front and back similar to the Kangxi examples, but with more complicated cloud formations. One example was published by Sotheby's in 1988.³⁹ This *qing* is inscribed with the pitch *beiwuyi*, the third in the set of sixteen. The Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay, has the seventh of the series, inscribed *taicou*.⁴⁰ It belongs to the Tata Collection, possibly the largest collection of Chinese and Japanese art in India. The fourteenth *qing*, inscribed *nanlü*, was exhibited as an anonymous loan at the China Institute in 1968.⁴¹ And the sixteenth of the series, *yingzhong*, now belongs to the Walters Art Gallery. It is the thickest among the set, and has the highest pitch. It was once part of the Auguste F. Chamot collection, and was listed as a "Grand Imperial Sounding Stone" in a sales catalog entitled *Imperial Art Treasures*, printed by the American Art Galleries, New York, in 1907.⁴² Here the *qing* is described as being "made of green jade, with decoration of four [i.e., two on each side] imperial dragons amid cloud forms pursuing the flaming pearl of omnipotence pencilled in gold outline."

The *teqing* and *bianqing* from the Qing dynasty are large objects, and are fashioned from green nephrite boulders of considerable proportions. It must have been an arduous task to locate these immense boulders of matching colors, which also had to be flawless to ensure a perfect tone. They were transported by

camels across the Taklamakan Desert to Beijing, a long and hazardous journey of over two thousand miles.⁴³ The Qianlong emperor's poem on the each of the 1761 *teqing* mentions that the jade that constitutes these *teqing* came from Khotan (along with Yarkand, one of the two main jade-producing centers in Chinese Turkestan). Xu Song, a notable scholar and official banished to Chinese Turkestan for seven years (1813–20), gives some insight regarding the production of *qing* in his *Xiyu shuidao ji* ("River Systems of the Western Regions"), first published in Beijing in 1823.⁴⁴ In discussing the jade of Yarkand, he mentions that "the jade produced here is said to be of the best quality, of brilliant color and strong substance and to emit the clearest sound when struck with the hammer, vibrating for a long time till the sound stops abruptly in the way characteristic of jade."⁴⁵ He also states that in the twenty-ninth year of the Qianlong period (1764), the Governor of Yarkand despatched to the emperor thirty-nine large slabs, weighing a total of 3,975 catties (more than 2½ tons) for the purpose of making *qing*.⁴⁶ He further reports that these jades were quarried in the Mirtai mountains (Mount Mirtagh) and that they had been sawn into slabs by the natives of Sungaria.⁴⁷ From this valuable source, it can be concluded that the material for making the Walters Art Gallery *qing*, dated 1764, came originally from Yarkand.

With the dissolution of the Qing dynasty and its ultimate fall in 1911, bringing an end to imperial China, the musical instruments specific to the rituals of the court fell into a decline. While some instruments of the ceremonial orchestra had repertoires outside of this ensemble (for instance, the *qin* zither and the *sheng* reed organ), the *qing* was solely for ritual use. One observer noted that by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, sets of *bianqing* were being broken up and the individual *qing* were available for sale.⁴⁸ The use of the *teqing* and *bianqing* was relegated to the infrequent Confucian rituals, which survive today in Taiwan. The last flowering of the construction and use of *qing* was in the Qing dynasty, and its height during this time was the reign of the Qianlong emperor.

Asian Art Museum of San Francisco
San Francisco, California

AAM = Asian Art Museum of San Francisco AB = Abler AIC = Art Institute of Chicago CI = China Institute HKS = Sotheby's, Hong Kong MET = Metropolitan Museum of Art		NG = Norton Gallery NYS = Sotheby's, New York POW = Prince of Wales Museum RI = Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design WAG = Walters Art Gallery		
	1716 bianqing	1720 bianqing	1761 teqing	1764 bianqing
Beiyize*				
Beinanlū*				
Beiwuyi*				NYS
Beiyingzhong*				
Huangzhong				
Dalū				
Taicou			AIC	POW
Jiazhong			HKS	
Guxi		AB		
Zonglū				
Ruibin				
Linzhong	MET		NG	
Yize				
Nanlū			RI	CI
Wuyi			AAM	
Yingzhong			NG	WAG
* not applicable to teqing				

Table 1. Locations of known *teqing* and *bianqing* from the reigns of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors.

Notes

Listed in Table 1 are the known jade *teqing* and *bianqing* from the reigns of the Kangxi and Qianlong emperors. It is hoped that more of the individual *qing* from these sets will come to light in the future.

1. Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 42.274; green nephrite with gilt; length 45.1 cm.
2. The pitches, or *lū*, of the Qing-dynasty *bianqing* are as follows, chromatically from low to high: 1) *beiyize* 2) *beinanlū* 3) *beiwuyi* 4) *beiyingzhong* 5) *huangzhong* 6) *dalū* 7) *taicou* 8) *jiazhong* 9) *guxi* 10) *zhonghū* 11) *ruibin* 12) *linzhong* 13) *yize* 14) *nanlū* 15) *wuyi* and 16) *yingzhong*. The *qing* suspended in the upper row of the *bianqing* are tuned to the *yang lū* (the odd-numbered pitches given above), and those of the lower row to the *yin lū* (the even-numbered pitches).
3. A *qing* found at the tomb of Fu Hao at Xiaotun, Henan, dating to the 12th century B.C. or earlier has an inscription commonly read as *Ren Zhu ru shi*, “Ren Zhu offered [this] stone”; for instance see Chang Renxia, “Guqing” (“*Qing* of Antiquity”), in *Wenwu*, 7 (1978), 77–78. Tong Kin-Woon, in his “Shang Musical Instruments” (Part I in *Asian Music*, 14/2 [1983], 17–182), 83, suggests that “the fourth graph [of this inscription] should directly be read as ‘*qing*.’”
4. Tong, “Shang Musical Instruments,” 69.
5. See Tong, “Shang Musical Instruments,” fig. 17.
6. See Tong, “Shang Musical Instruments,” figs. 16, 19, and 21.
7. Tong, “Shang Musical Instruments,” 81 and 95; see also his figs. 15 and 16 for single *qing* from the same site.

8. *Shujing*, *Yijibian*, 10; see J. Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics*, III: *The Shoo King* (rpt., Hong Kong, 1960), 89 (Chinese text and Legge’s English translation).
9. *Shijing*, *Xiaoya*, Mao No. 208; see B. Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm, 1950), 159–161 (Chinese text and Karlgren’s English translation).
10. *Shijing*, *Song*, Mao No. 301; see Karlgren, *Odes*, 261–262 (Chinese text and Karlgren’s English translation).
11. Described in the late Qing dynasty by J.A. van Aalst in his *Chinese Music* (Shanghai, 1884; rpt., New York, 1964), 33 and 51.
12. *Liji*, *Yueji*, III, 15; see W. Kaufmann, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics* (Detroit, 1976), 44 (his English translation [Reference 37 III 15]) and 212 (Chinese text).
13. *Liji*, *Mingtangwei*, 25; see Kaufmann, *Musical References*, 54 (his English translation [Reference 72]) and 222 (Chinese text).
14. Liang Mingyue, *Music of the Billion* (New York, 1985), 74.
15. *Lunyu*, XIV, 42; see Kaufmann, *Musical References*, 60 (his English translation [Reference 97A]) and 226 (Chinese text).
16. A.R. Thrasher, “*Qing* (i),” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, III (London/New York, 1984), 173.
17. Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, 50, quoting the *Shidiankao* (“A Study on Sacrifices”).
18. The Seibu Museum of Art and The Asahi Shimbun, *Catalogue of Art Exhibition of Imperial Court in The Forbidden City, Qing Dynasty* (Tokyo, 1985), 52, pl. 14–5.
19. Illustrated in Kaufmann, *Musical References*, 82.

20. Quoted in van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, 53 (with Chinese text) and 55, and based on a statement of Mencius; see J. Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics, II: The Works of Mencius* (rpt., Hong Kong, 1960), 372 (Chinese text and Legge's English translation).
 21. See M. Medley, *The "Illustrated Regulations for Ceremonial Paraphernalia of the Ch'ing Dynasty"* (London, 1982) for a description of this book.
 22. *Huangchao liqi tushi* (rpt., Taipei, 1976), 8, 47–48.
 23. J.C.Y. Watt, *Chinese Jades from Han to Ch'ing* (New York, 1980), 27.
 24. New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 03.15.1; green nephrite with gilt; 11 ½ x 20 x 1 in.
 25. Oriental Ceramic Society, *Chinese Jades Through the Ages*, Victoria and Albert Museum (exhibition catalogue), (London, 1975), no. 410; also in L. Roberts, *Treasures from the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, China Institute (exhibition catalogue), (New York, 1979), no. 26; J. Hartman, *Three Dynasties of Jade*, Indianapolis Museum of Art (exhibition catalogue), (Indianapolis, 1971), no. 23; R. Fisher, *Magic, Art and Order: Jade in Chinese Culture*, Palm Springs Desert Museum (exhibition catalogue), (Hong Kong, 1990), no. 132.
 26. S.H. Hansford, *Chinese Carved Jades* (London, 1968), 93, pl. 85; Sotheby's New York, Feb. 28, 1980, lot no. 371 (sale catalogue).
 27. Sotheby's New York, March 16–17, 1984, lot no. 345 (sale catalogue).
 28. Long Xiuhua, "Biyu teqing" ("A Teqing of Green Jade"), *Gugong bowuyuan cangbaolu* ("A record of treasures in the Palace Museum") (Hong Kong, 1985), 250.
 29. Long Xiuhua, "A Teqing," 250.
 30. The pitches of the Qing-dynasty *teqing* and their corresponding months of the lunar calendar are as follows, chromatically from low to high: 1) *huangzhong*—11th month; 2) *dalü*—12th month; 3) *taicou*—1st month; 4) *jiazhong*—2nd month; 5) *guxi*—3rd month; 6) *zhonglü*—4th month; 7) *ruibin*—5th month; 8) *linzhong*—6th month; 9) *yize*—7th month; 10) *nanlü*—8th month; 11) *wuyi*—9th month; and 12) *yingzhong*—10th month.
 31. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, gift of Avery Brundage, no. B60 J67; green nephrite with gilt; 54.5 x 22 x 4 cm.
 32. The authors are grateful to Dr. Yutaka Mino for supplying this information.
 33. The authors are grateful to Joan Hartman-Goldsmith for this information. Published in H.H.F. Jayne, *Chinese Collections in the Norton Gallery and School of Art* (West Palm Beach, 1972), pl. 226/7.
 34. S.C. Nott, *An Illustrated Record of the Stanley Charles Nott Collection of Chinese Jades* (St. Augustine, Florida, 1942), pls. XXVIII, XXX.
 35. Jayne, *Chinese Collections*, n.p., acc. no. 226/7.
 36. Providence, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, no. 37.113; green nephrite with gilt.
 37. Sotheby's Hong Kong, Nov. 24–25, 1981, lot no. 413 (sale catalogue).
 38. The Palace Museum, *Art Treasures from Birthday Celebrations at the Qing Court* (Hong Kong, n.d.), n.p.
 39. Sotheby's New York, April 7, 1988, no. 143 (sale catalogue).
 40. Marg Publications, *The Tata Collection* (Bombay, 1988) (illustrated desk diary for 1988), fig. 20.
 41. J. Hartman, *Chinese Jades Through the Centuries*, China Institute (exhibition catalogue) (New York, 1968), no.66.
 42. The authors are grateful to Dr. Hiram W. Woodward, Jr. for supplying this information.
 43. S.H. Hansford, "Jade and Jade Carving in the Ch'ing Dynasty," *Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, 35 (1963–64), 29.
 44. Hansford, "Jade and Jade Carving," 32.
 45. *Investigations and Studies in Jade*, 1 (New York, 1906), 24–25.
 46. In quoting from *Investigations and Studies in Jade*, Hansford, in "Jade and Jade Carving" (see note 43), uses the date 1762, while the former uses the "29th year of Qianlong," which is equivalent to 1764.
 47. *Investigations and Studies*, 24–25.
 48. Van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, 51.
- PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; fig. 6, New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 8, Hiram W. Woodward, Jr.; figs. 9, 10, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco; fig. 11, Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

CHINESE CHARACTERS

beinanlǔ 倍南呂
 beiwuyi 倍無射
 beiyingzhong 倍應鐘
 beiyize 倍夷則
 bianqing 編磬
 bianzhong 編鐘
 bozhong 搏鐘
 dalǔ 大呂
 gu 鼓
 guxi 姑洗
 Gu zhong 鼓鐘
 Huangchao liqi tushi
 皇朝禮器圖式
 huangzhong 黃鐘
 jiazhong 夾鐘
 Liji 禮記
 lingbishi 靈璧石

lingzhi 靈芝
 linzhong 林鐘
 liqing 離磬
 Lunyu 論語
 Mingtangwei 明堂位
 Nan 南
 nanlǔ 南呂
 No 那
 qin 琴
 qing 磬
 ruibin 蕤賓
 ruyi 如意
 se 瑟
 sheng 笙
 Shijing 詩經
 Shujing 書經
 Song 頌

taicou 太簇
 teqing 特磬
 wuyi 無射
 Xiaoya 小雅
 Xiyu shuidao ji
 西域水道記
 Xu Song 徐松
 Ya 雅
 yang lǔ; yin lǔ 陽呂 陰呂
 Yijibian 益稷編
 yingzhong 應鐘
 yize 夷則
 Yueji 樂記
 zhong 鐘
 Zhonghe Shaoyue
 中和韶樂
 zhonglǔ 仲呂

Nei Jing Tu, a Daoist Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man

David Teh-Yu Wang

The Daoist diagram Nei Jing Tu not only depicts the concept of the circulation of the vital force (qi) and the formation of the internal elixir in Daoist physiological alchemy, but also illustrates the syncretic fusion of Daoism with Buddhism. The macro-microcosmic configuration of this diagram consists of numerous motifs that possess multiple iconographic significance.

The Walters Art Gallery was recently given more than four hundred Chinese rubbings by Laurance P. Roberts. Among the rubbings, which were acquired in Beijing in 1932–33, one titled at the top *Nei Jing Tu* (no. 96.46) is of particular interest (figs. 1–3). This work is impressive because of both its size (129.5 x 54.2 cm) and its rare subject matter. The *Nei Jing Tu* (“diagram of the internal circulation of man”) shows a cross-section in profile of the head, thorax, and abdomen of a human body in yoga posture, facing our left. It is an illustration of the Daoist practice of physiological alchemy.

The *Nei Jing Tu* was analyzed in 1933 by Von Erwin Rousselle¹ and in 1983 by Joseph Needham.² Although Rousselle’s study makes reference to Daoist physiological alchemy, it tends to look at the subject from the angle of Chan meditation. In Needham’s book, on the other hand, the *Nei Jing Tu* is only mentioned briefly, within the context of a study of Daoist physiological alchemy. These analyses provide only partial answers to the iconographic issues presented by the rubbing. The present article is intended to provide a more complete interpretation of the iconography, in order to clarify the macro-microcosmic and metaphysical significance of the diagram.

Origin of the Diagram

The title *Nei Jing Tu* can be understood as “Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man.” The compound *Nei*

Jing first appears in the famous medical work *Huangdi neijing suwen* (The Yellow Emperor’s Classic of Internal Medicine). This is the oldest extant medical book, ascribed to Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor. Huangdi, one of the legendary rulers in the dawn of Chinese civilization, is thought to have reigned from 2696 to 2598 B.C. Although it may not be possible to ascertain its exact age, the *Huangdi neijing suwen* was in existence by the Western Han (206 B.C.–A.D. 25).³ The philosophical foundations of this medical book, embodied in such concepts as Dao, Yin and Yang, the five elements, numerology, hexagrams, and the Celestial Stems (*tian gan*), are closely related to Daoist philosophy.⁴ Moreover, anatomical and physiological concepts were presented in the *Huangdi neijing suwen* for the first time. Such anatomical, physiological, and philosophical concepts laid the foundation for the development of the “Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man.”

The Walters rubbing was made from an engraving that was itself a transcription of a painting in hanging-scroll format. According to the inscription in the lower left-hand corner (fig. 3), by a certain Pure-Cloud Daoist Priest (*Suyun daoren*) Liu Chengyin, the painting was found in a temple at an unidentifiable Gaosong Mountain:

This painting has never had copies circulating anywhere in the world. Because the Dao (Way) of the true Gold Elixir (*dan dao*) is broad yet delicate in its principle, and those whose roots [of perceiving the Dao] are blocked from learning [the essence of the Dao of Internal Elixir], this diagram is little known in the world. When I, by chance, was browsing books and paintings in a studio at Gaosong Mountain, I noticed that this painting was hung on the wall. The painting is refined and minute in style. The notations of arteries, junctures of bones, and networks of veins are clearly given, and each of them is accompanied by secret lore. I looked at this painting for long, and I began to comprehend that breathing out and breathing in (*huxi*), as well as expelling out and taking in (*tuna*), are actually waxing and waning

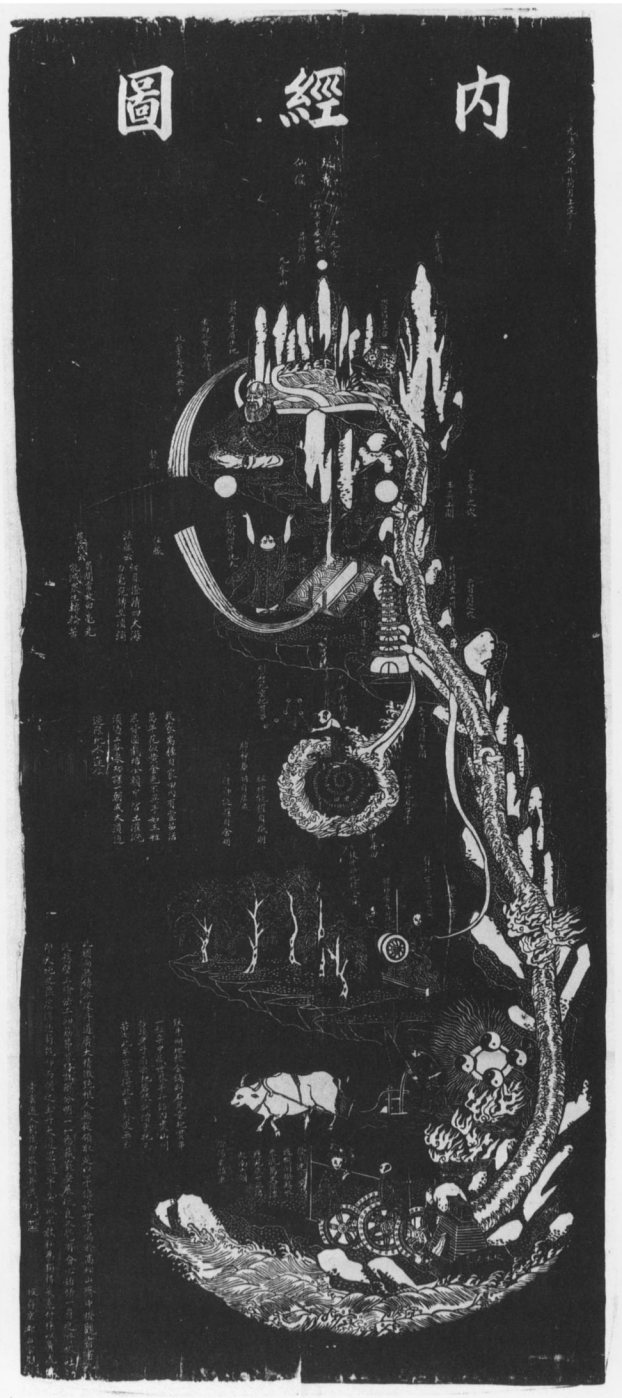


Fig. 1. *Nei Jing Tu* (A Daoist Diagram of the Internal Circulation of Man), rubbing from stone stela, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, no. 96.46.

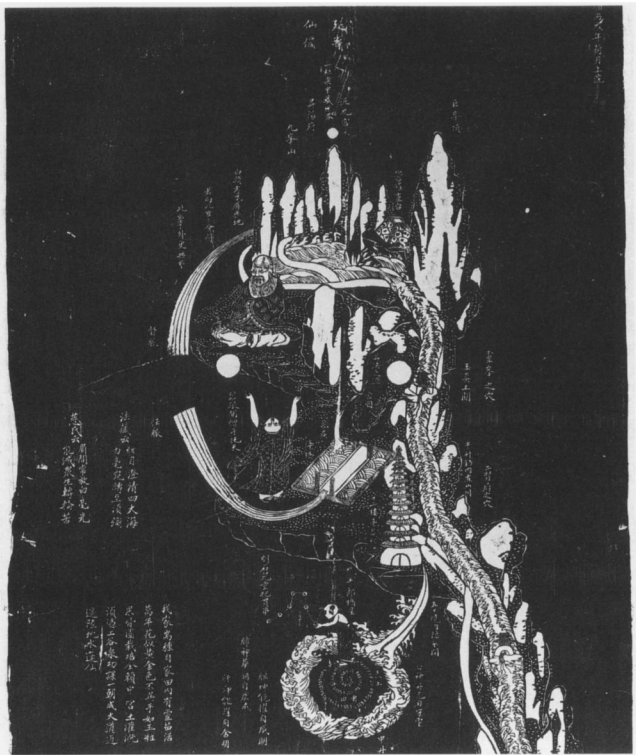


Fig. 2. Detail of figure 1.

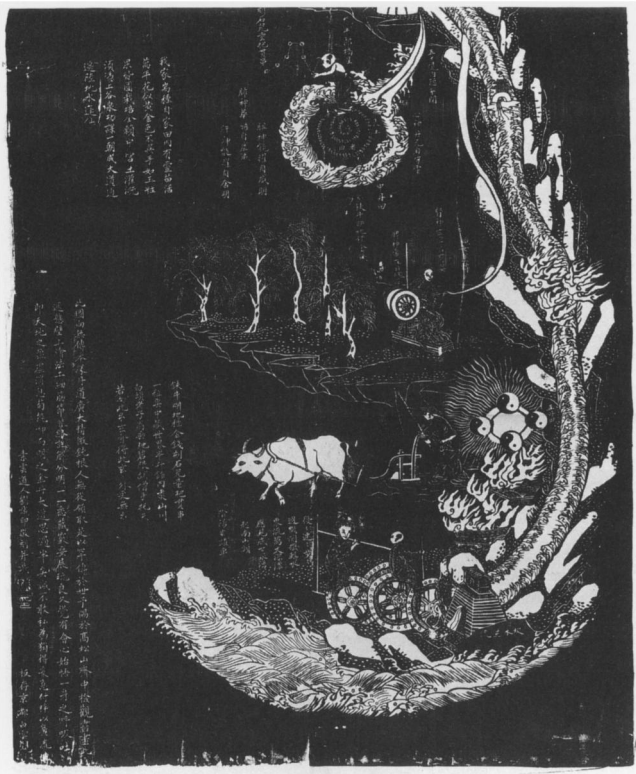


Fig. 3. Detail of figure 1.

(*yingxu*) as well as the ebb and flow (*xiaoxi*) of the cosmos. If one understands this, one then grasps more than half of the main essentials of the true Gold Elixir. I dare not keep this [painting] to myself alone, and I therefore engrave it on a printing plate (*zi*) for popular circulation.

[I,] Pure-Cloud Daoist Priest Liu Chengyin engrave and inscribe [this] in reverence (Followed by two seals; one carries the character “*Cheng*,” and the other “*Yin*.”)

Another short line after this inscription reads: “The printing plate (*ban*) is stored in the White Cloud Daoist Temple (*Baiyun guan*) in the capital [i.e., Beijing].” The White Cloud Daoist Temple is the largest Daoist temple in China, the seat of the Complete Perfection (*Quan zhen*) sect of Daoism in Beijing, as well as the chief monastery of the Longmen subject established by Qiu Changchun (1148–1227).⁵

Although in the short inscription the printing plate is referred to as a *ban* (“wooden plank” or “wooden block”), the rubbing was surely made from a stone stele that may still be in the White Cloud Temple.⁶ The engraving on the stele was made in the sixth lunar month in 1886, according to an inscription in the upper right-hand corner (fig. 2).

Rousselle published a painting of the *Nei Jing Tu*, without mentioning its location (fig. 4). This painting could be the one seen by Liu Chengyin, a copy thereof, or a work derived from the Walters rubbing. The Walters rubbing bears the caption *Nei Jing Tu* as well as the long inscription by Liu Chengyin, the short inscription mentioning the White Cloud Temple, and the date of engraving. None of this information is in the painting; apparently, all of it was added when the engraving was made. The caption *Nei Jing Tu* written in big characters clearly identifies the subject matter. Other captions convey similar contents, although there are minor discrepancies in wording in the two versions. The captions in the painting, however, are more correctly written than those in the rubbing—especially the poems and the names of the six viscera, which are discussed below. Moreover, there are two captions in the painting that are not found in the rubbing. These considerations point to the possibility that the painting is the work closer to the original.

The major difference in pictorial representation between the painting and the rubbing lies in the fact that there is a halo behind the head region in the painting as well as an oblong body mandala. These lines isolate the image from the surrounding space. There are also variations in the details of the rubbing. For example, in the rubbing, the woman by the spinning wheel in the lower central section is shown seat-

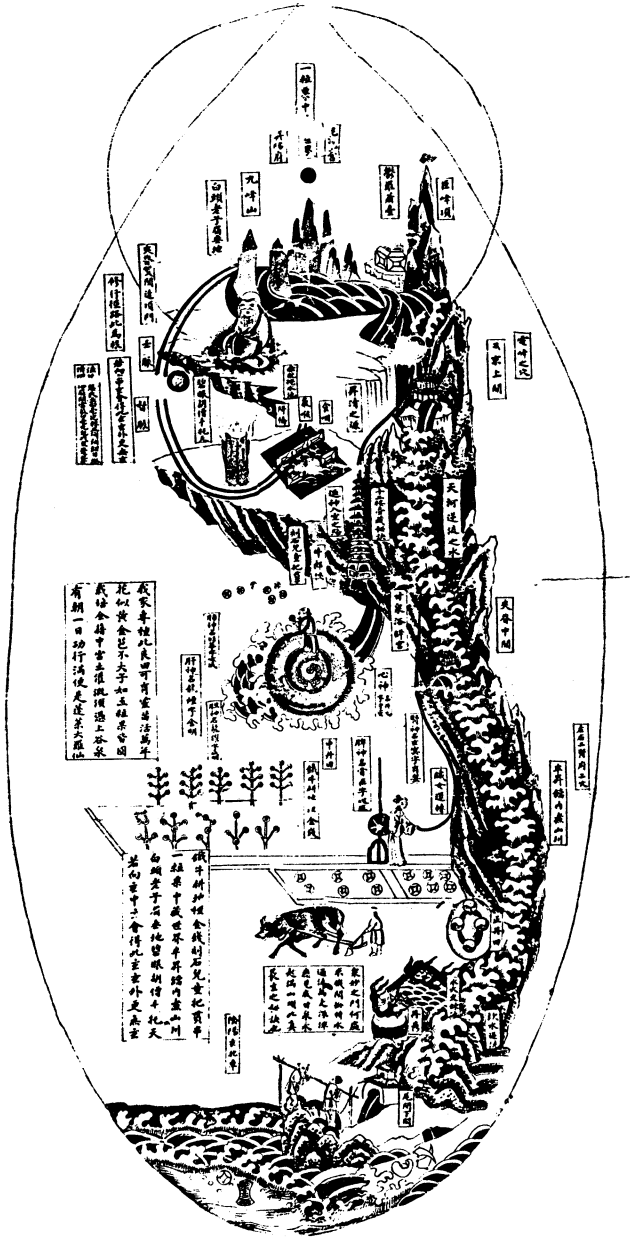


Fig. 4. *Nei Jing Tu*, hanging scroll, location unknown [from E. Rousselle, “Ne Ging Tu, ‘Die Tafel des inneren Gewebes’ ein Taoistisches Meditationsbild mit Beschriftung,” *Sinica*, 8 (1933), 207–216, fig. 22].

ed, but in the painting, she is standing. In the rubbing, there are five naturalistic trees to the left of the woman. In the painting, there are ten coin-growing schematic plants in two rows.

It might appear that the painting is closer to the original on which the engraving was based. Nevertheless, the painting may well be a copy of the rubbing. In the painting, not only are the figures and buildings depicted in an aesthetically much less satisfactory manner, but the water is much more schematic and rough. A painting is usually more elaborate and more

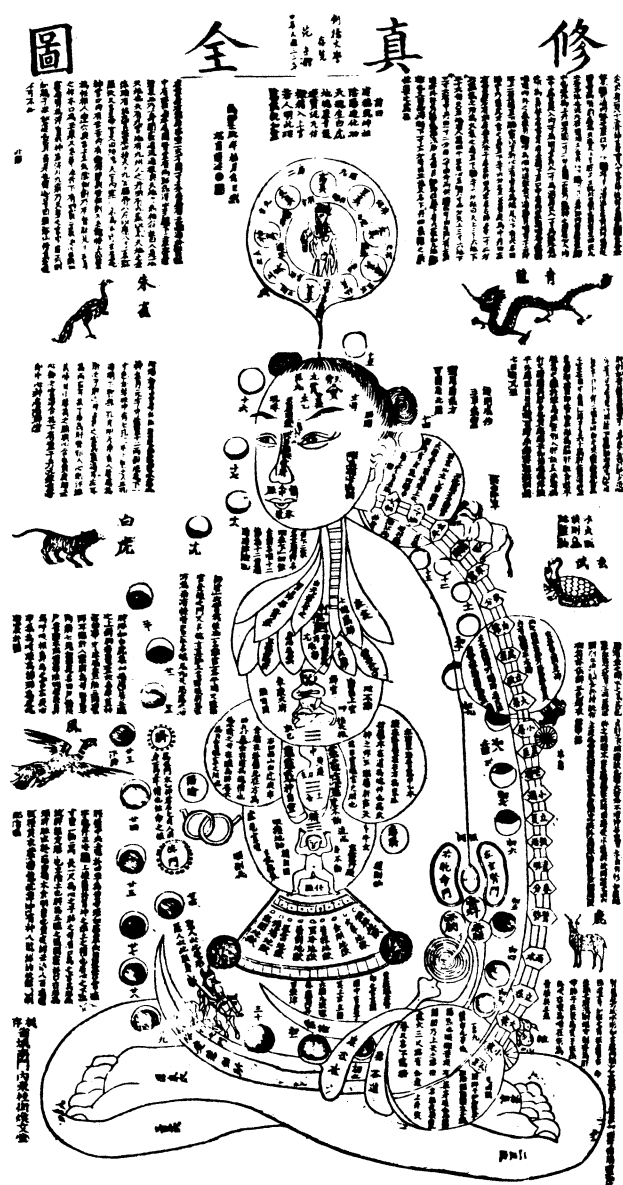


Fig. 5. *Xiuzhen quantu* (Complete Chart of the Regeneration of the Primary Vitalities), wood-block broadsheet, 1920s [from J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China*, V:5, fig. 1588].

successful aesthetically than an engraving. Therefore, I believe that the painting in question might have been derived from the rubbing. Several more captions were added to, and some collations in the text were made in, this later painting.

The Internal Elixir in Daoist Physiological Alchemy

What is the “Dao (Way) of the true Gold Elixir” expounded in Liu Chengyin’s colophon? Within Daoist tradition there is a practice of prolonging life and of hoping to achieve *xian* immortality, a sort of material

immortality. Two major approaches are adopted by the Daoist adept for this aspiration for longevity and immortality. One (*wai dan*, “external elixir”) is outward and material, the obtaining of the elixir of life or the practice of exoteric alchemy, through such tangible substances as mercury, lead, and cinnabar. This process involves the production of chemical elixirs. The other method (*nei dan*, “internal elixir”) is inward and insubstantial; the whole practice lies in the idea of not letting the body follow natural processes of aging. Using one’s body as an alchemical furnace to produce an internal elixir (*nei dan*), one can prevent the deterioration of body and therefore fulfill the aspiration for longevity and immortality. *Dan* is “elixir”; *nei dan* is an internal elixir. *Nei dan* is a procedure for cultivating physiological alchemy, opposed to producing chemical elixirs of longevity (*wai dan*).⁷ For *nei dan* Needham coined the word *enchymoma* from the Greek word *chumos*, “juice.” The prefix of this word indicates that it is within the body, while its second and third syllables can be connected not only with the term *chyme*, still current in modern physiology, but also with one of the possible origins of the very name of chemistry itself.⁸ Though Needham’s coinage is well thought out, I will simply use “internal elixir” in my discussion because students of Chinese culture are more familiar with this term. The *Nei Jing Tu* illustrates how physiological alchemy is cultivated internally. Its anatomical significance is clearer when it is studied together with the *Complete Chart of the Regeneration of the Primary Vitalities* (fig. 5), a woodblock print dating from the 1920s.

Heavenly Vault: The Head

Above the head in figure 2 there are four small characters “*yan shou xian fo*” (“To prolong longevity and to attain *xian* immortality and Buddhahood”)⁹ that do not exist in the painting. This caption states the purpose and dual nature—Daoist and Buddhist—of this diagram.

The head is conceived as a mountainous landscape with rapids. A dot stands prominently above the summit in the center; a caption above reads: “A grain of millet contains the world” (*yili suzong zang shijie*). This sentence originally formed a couplet in a poem by Lü Dongbin (798–after 862), a very important Daoist patriarch who was later included among the Eight Immortals (*xian*). The counterpart of this couplet can be found in the neck region: “[One] cooks the mountains and rivers in a half-*sheng*-volume caul-

dron" (i.e., "in a small cauldron," *bansheng danzhong zhu shanchuan*).¹⁰ Quotations from this important poem by Lǚ Dongbin appear throughout the *Nei Jing Tu*. For the time being, let us be content with reading this poem as a whole and not attempt an interpretation:

The iron ox plows the field where coins of gold
are sown;
The boy engraves on the stone, stringing up coins.
A grain of millet contains the world;
[One] cooks the mountains and rivers in a two-
sheng-volume cauldron.
The white-headed old man's eyebrows hang down
to earth;
The blue-eyed foreign monk supports heaven
with his arms.
If [one] aspires to this mysticism, one will acquire
the [secret of] mysticism;
Beside this mysticism, there is no other [secret of]
mysticism.¹¹

Two captions indicate that this dot is the "Hall of Ball of Mud" (*niwan gong*), or the brain, also the "Prefecture of the Rising Sun" (*shengyang fu*). The Daoist term *niwan* was adapted from the Buddhist concept of "nirvana" in the third or the fourth century A.D.¹² The homophonic permutation of *niwan* and *nirvana* indicates that, by meditation, one enters into a blissful state that resembles the undifferentiated primordial condition, a paradise, or the "unconsciousness" of the uncreated world.¹³ The term "Prefecture of the Rising Sun" is therefore interpretable as the primordial paradise. Presumably this dot is understood also as a rising sun; according to Rousselle's firsthand observation of the *Nei Jing Tu* painting (fig. 4), this dot is colored red.¹⁴ To the best of my knowledge, it may be related to an anecdote from *Zhuang Zi* (the Book of Master Zhuang) of 290 B.C. According to this story, a Woman Crookback has the complexion of a child even though she is very old. When she is asked her secret, she mentions that it lies in being free from one's existence. After one frees oneself from one's own existence, one has a vision of the brightness of dawn illuminated by the rising sun.¹⁵

There are nine peaks on top of the skull (above the highest one is the dot of "ball of mud") given the caption "Nine-Peak Mountain" (*jiufeng shan*). To the right of the Nine-Peak Mountain a large mountain dominating the entire diagram is furnished with the caption "Summit of Big Mountain" (*jufeng ding*). In the valley between these two mountains lies a stone terrace named "Spiritual Terrace of Melancholic Net" (*yulou lingtai*). The head is sometimes referred to by the Daoist adept as Mt. Kunlun¹⁶—a cosmic mountain better known in *fengshui* (geomancy) theory as the ori-

gin of all the mountain dragon arteries (*longmo*).¹⁷ This mountain is also known in Daoist literature as the cosmic paradise where the Mother of the West dwells.¹⁸ Because the number nine in ancient Chinese culture always stands for the maximum,¹⁹ Mt. Kunlun is represented by nine peaks here. The water at the foot of the mountain, hence, may be identified as the Yellow River, of which Mt. Kunlun is also known as the origin.²⁰

However, the "Nine-Peak Mountain" appears to be a combination of Mt. Kunlun and Mt. Meru. The "Nine-Peak Mountain," together with the rushing water below, might as well refer to "Nine Mountains and Eight Seas" in Buddhist terminology as a general reference to this world. In Buddhist cosmology, there are nine mountains in this world and, among them, eight seas. At the center of them is Mt. Meru (Sumeru).²¹ On the other hand, Mt. Kunlun is described in Daoist texts as the central mountain of the five immortal mountains and is located amid eight seas.²² Obviously, Mt. Kunlun is sometimes identified with Mt. Meru in Daoist tradition as an influence from Buddhist cosmology. Moreover, it has been noted that, by the fourth century, Mt. Kunlun is believed to have nine levels, the ninth having an ever smaller and ever narrower form, which is identified with Mt. Meru.²³

"Summit of Big Mountain" is harder to identify. The most famous single summit within Chinese culture should be the summit of the Vulture Peak on which the Buddha preached the Lotus Sutra. In Buddhist cosmology, Mt. Meru is at the center, separated by oceans from the four continents. The Vulture Peak (Gridhrakūṭa) is a physical mountain in this world, the continent of Jambudvīpa.²⁴ In the diagram, the Nine-Peak Mountain that might partially stand for Mt. Meru is separated from the Summit of Big Mountain by water. Therefore, I would like to venture the opinion that this summit might be the Summit of the Vulture Peak. However, this "Big Mountain" can also be interpreted as the Fenglai Mountain, the legendary mountain in the eastern sea occupied by the Immortals in Daoist mythology. In Chinese, Vulture Peak is known as *Lingjiu shan* (Spiritual Vulture Mountain). The *jiu* (vulture) may be omitted and the peak may as well be referred to as *Ling shan* (Spiritual Mountain).²⁵ The Buddha's preaching on the summit of the Vulture Peak is referred to in Chinese as *Lingshan hui* (Gathering at the Spiritual Mountain). On the other hand, *Ling shan* is another appellation of the Fenglai Mountain.²⁶ In any case, this Summit of Big Mountain refers to a place where spiritual communion takes place.

The “Spiritual Terrace of Melancholic Net,” standing between the “Nine-Peak Mountain” and the “Summit of Big Mountain,” might be related to both Daoist and Buddhist terminology. The “Spiritual Terrace” is another Daoist term for the mind in *Zuangzi*,²⁷ and the “Melancholic Net” might have been related to “Indra-jāla, the net of Indra, hanging in Indra’s hall, out of which all things can be produced.”²⁸ As god Indra lives on Mt. Meru, and, as we have seen, in later Daoist texts, Mt. Kunlun is identified with Mt. Meru, the “Spiritual Terrace of Melancholic Net” might be a combination of both Daoist and Buddhist sources to suggest that the mind can produce everything—including the “internal elixir.” This interpretation in fact reflects the Huayan doctrine of *indrajāla*, in which Indra’s jeweled net is a celestial web, each faceted diamond reflects one another, and Buddhas are everywhere. It is a mirage in the mind but also a noumenon in Buddha’s realm.²⁹

Accordingly, this section depicts where spiritual communion takes place in meditation. Together with the “ball of mud” (*niwan*/nirvana) above, this upper skull region epitomizes the blissful primordial paradise before civilization, for which the nostalgic philosophical Daoists yearned. Because brain tissue is wrinkly, Daoists conceive the brain in the shape of a craggy mountain; the resemblance to the wrinkly shape of brain tissue is particularly clear in the internal structure of the “Summit of Big Mountain.”

In the area of the forehead below the Nine-Peak Mountain sits an old man in yoga posture by a riverbank. The caption above this figure reads: “The white-headed old man’s eyebrows hang down to earth” (*Baitou laozī mei chuidi*). Rousselle took *laozī* literally as the historical Laozi of the fourth century B.C., represented here as an embodiment of the teaching of Daoism.³⁰ Kristofer Schipper followed this identification and elaborated on the cosmic body of the historical Laozi.³¹ Referring to the classic *Xiaodao Lun* (On Laughing at the Dao), he related Laozi’s mythic birth from the primordial chaos (*hun tun*) and expounded the mythic transformation of Laozi’s body into the world, the sun, the moon, and so forth. The text of the *Xiaodao Lun* reads: “Lao-tzu [Laozi] transformed his body. His left eye became the sun, his right eye the moon, his head the K’un-lun [Kunlun] mountain, his beard the planets and the heavenly mansions . . .”³² Accordingly, the body represented in the *Nei Jing Tu* is not only the physical and mythical body but also the social body. Plausible though this interpretation is, it focuses on the white-headed old man only, and the interpretation would be justified only if the old man

were isolated from the rest of the rubbing.³³

For me, the characters *laozī* refer to the historical Laozi only secondarily. The Daoist adept conceives the human body as a microcosm in which many archei (*shen*)³⁴ dwell, each corresponding to an organ or a part of the body. It is believed that Master Niwan, alias the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star, is the eighth archeus of the brain.³⁵ An egg-shaped protrusion of the forehead is an iconographic attribute associated with the Old Man of the Southern Pole-star. It has been suggested that such a shape suggests a return to the undifferentiated primordial cosmos (*hun tun*):

As in the tales of the *hsien* [*xian*] immortals who return to paradise by magically leaping inside a hollow gourd, the Taoist [Daoist] as a mystic “gourd master,” “pumpkin head,” or “egghead” reassembles the primordial body of man. Indeed, it is tempting to speculate that the exaggerated head and belly iconography of the typical Taoist [Daoist] saint is to some extent a remembrance, or a “re-membering,” of this kind of archaic symbolism.³⁶

Below the Old Man of the Southern Pole-star stands a monk raising his arms. The caption to his left reads: “The blue-eyed foreign monk supports heaven with his arms” (*biyan huseng shou tuotian*). The old man, according to Rousselle, is Laozi, and the blue-eyed foreign monk, Bodhidharma (d. ca. A.D. 475). “Blue eyes” are opposed to “white eyebrows.” Needham accepted both the identifications.³⁷ It is true that in Chan Buddhist literature the foreign monk alone, or sometimes with the prefix “blue eyes,” is often used as an alternative for Bodhidharma.³⁸ One may raise four questions about this identification, however. First, why did the artist choose to use Bodhidharma instead of an image of Buddha that better symbolizes Buddhism? Second, if this monk is indeed Bodhidharma, why he is not portrayed in the customary way as a thickly bearded Indian monk? Third, one wonders why Bodhidharma is located immediately below the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star. Finally, why is this monk, whoever he is, supporting heaven with his arms? Although the first question can be readily answered by the relevant techniques of meditation taught by later patriarchs, the others remain challenging.

Rousselle indeed noticed that this monk is rather young or even childish. He explained away this phenomenon by first pointing out that “the caption makes the reference to him [Bodhidharma] possible,” and by suggesting that the young appearance is due to Bodhidharma’s spiritual attainment. In contrast, the

Old Man believed to be Laozi appears very old because he has acquired “eternal wisdom.”³⁹ He subsequently pointed out that Bodhidharma, facing the cliff in meditation, was able to open his “heavenly eye” (*tianyan*) in his forehead and that “anatomically, the ‘blue-eyed foreign monk supporting heaven’ means the transformed eye-socket and the cross-beam arcs of the brain capsule.”⁴⁰ Bodhidharma appears to be a plausible identification, but the aforementioned questions still cannot be fully answered with this identification. My alternative will be given at the very end of this section, after a thorough discussion of the head area. For the time being, I will simply refer to this figure as the “blue-eyed foreign monk.” At any rate, the identification of the “blue-eyed foreign monk” as Bodhidharma does not fully explain his iconographic significance, which has to be complemented by the Old Man above.

The iconographic significance and implication of the Old Man and the foreign monk can be further approached from a different perspective, that of the Daoist terminology of physiological alchemy. In Daoist literature, “blue-eyed foreign monk” is one of the synonyms of mercury, and “white-headed old man” refers to lead.⁴¹ Mercury and lead are two elements important in preparing the elixir of life (*wan dan*), but the formation of the amalgam of mercury and lead is also a dominant concept in cultivating internal elixir. The mixture of mercury and lead in Daoist terminology can be best elucidated by a tenth-century text attributed to Dong Zhenzi, *Xiuzhen liyan caotu* (Transmitted Diagrams Illustrating the Tried and Tested Method of Regenerating the Primary Vitalities [physiological alchemy]). It first says that lead has the quality of true Yang, and mercury that of true Yin. Lead symbolizes the macro-microcosmic sun’s redness, while mercury the macro-microcosmic moon’s whiteness. When the ninefold regeneration of the *qi* is completed, the lead, the mercury, and the *shen* (mentality) are all present, and the internal elixir is attained. The interaction between lead and mercury in physiological alchemy is further explained:

True lead originates from fire and is the ancestor of the *ching* [*jing*; seminality]. True mercury likes to fly up (i.e. sublime or distil), yet abides within the red blood. The semen of a man and the blood of a woman mutually embrace (and intermingle); the blood gives rise to the (red) flesh, and the semen produces the (white) bones. All these happenings arise from good match-making and marriages, and happiness in the bearing of children results.

What is (true) mercury? It is the effulgence of the infinite origin, and the ancestor of the myriad things. The ancestor of mercury is the red dragon

(*chhih lung* [*chi long*]). The red dragon is cinnabar (*tan sha* [*dan sha*]), but this is not common cinnabar; it is the Flowing Fluid of the Great Mystery (*thai hsüan liu i* [*taixuan liuyi*]), which the primary *chhi* [*qi*] has prepared during a period of 2160 years. And it is called the Vital Enchymoma [internal elixir] of Emptiness and Nothingness (*hsü wu chen tan* [*xuwu zhendan*]).⁴²

This text construes in a rather mysterious, yet explicit, way the interaction between mercury and lead and the formation of the internal elixir. The circulation of the *qi* (vital energy) and the formation of the internal elixir are related to astronomy governed by the hexagrams. Not only is the body conceived as macro-microcosmic but the whole process also involves the concept of making one’s body into an alchemical furnace.

If the “blue-eyed foreign monk” stands for mercury and the “white-headed old man” for lead in physiological alchemy, since mercury ascends and sublimes while lead descends in the reaction process between mercury and lead, the lower position of the “blue-eyed foreign monk” is justified. The eyebrow of the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star hanging down to the earth stands for the descent of lead; the monk’s arms reaching out to heaven are emblematic of the ascent of mercury. The monk assumes double significance: not only as a blue-eyed foreign monk, but also as a symbol of mercury.

Now we can turn to the two rather prominent dots in the central head region. We have seen from the aforementioned quotation how lead (true Yang) symbolizes the sun’s redness, and how mercury (true Yin) stands for the moon’s whiteness. In the Daoist concept of microcosmic archei, the left eye is ruled by the archeus of the sun, and the right eye, the archeus of the moon.⁴³ The interaction between lead and mercury is reiterated by the dots symbolizing the sun and moon. The sun and moon revolve in the sky, and the sky is usually referred to as a “vault” (*qiong long*) in classical Chinese literature. The *Huai’nan zi* (The Book of the Prince of Huai’nan: Compendium of Natural Philosophy) of ca. 120 B.C. equates the human body with the cosmological structure of the world: “The head is round, the shape of heaven, and the feet are square, the shape of earth.”⁴⁴ Without venturing into detailed interpretation, one can easily see the analogy between the round head and the heavenly vault and comprehend how the symbolic sun (lead) and moon (mercury) revolve in the head.⁴⁵

The left profile of the face is silhouetted by two rainbow-like bands meeting in the center. The upper one is *du mo*, the dorsal median tract; the lower one is *ren mo*, the ventral median tract. In Chinese medical

physiology *du mo* and *ren mo* exist apart from the twelve main vessels; they are two of the eight auxiliary tracts or routes of circulation of the *qi*. They cannot be understood in an anatomical sense. *Du mo*, the dorsal median tract, circuits upwards from the coccyx, along the spinal column, then the rear axis of the skull, descends along the front axis of the skull, and ends at the junction above the teeth of the upper jaw. *Ren mo*, the ventral median tract, circuits along the front axis of the torso from the perineum through the point below the teeth of the lower jaw. In the *Nei Jing Tu* the circulations of these two major conduits of the *qi* are portrayed as confined to the head. The *du mo* comes down over the top of the head as far as the junction above the teeth of the upper jaw. Originating from a pool of *qi*, the *ren mo* goes up to its last point on the chin. We have seen that the head is conceived as the microcosmic heavenly vault. These two *mo* therefore not only run through the head, the *qi* circulates through the two *mo* inside the entire microcosm. Accordingly, the head is also conceived as the whole body. In composing the head the artist ingeniously used a variety of motifs and created an interchangeable configuration of the head, the torso, and a microcosm.

The pool of *qi* is rectangular in shape, with two *que*-like⁴⁶ gateways in the front, through which the *ren mo* passes. Above this pool a cascade pours down from a precipice. This cascade originates from a hollow dot, around which two captions read: “larynx” or “thorax” (*shiyān*) and “the origin of the method of ascendance” (*shengfa zhiyuan*)—or “the origin of ascending purity” (*shengqing zhiyuan*), as given in the painting.

In the quest for immortality, several important techniques were adapted by the Daoist adept. An exceptionally important role was played by preserving certain secretions, such as saliva and semen. The swallowing of saliva (Yin; mercury) and the moderation of the dispersals of semen (Yang; lead) was believed to preserve the *qi*, which forms the essential ingredients for the internal elixir.⁴⁷ Those who have some experience with Daoist physiological alchemy know that rolling up the tongue against the upper jaw can produce saliva. In the *Bao Pu Zi* by Ke Hong, ca. A.D. 300, saliva is mentioned as “jade juice” (*yu yì*); through proper control, it can be conducted to the “Golden Pool” (*jīn chí*).⁴⁸ The pool of *qi* is thus the “Golden Pool” and is depicted near the thorax. Because of the importance of swallowing the saliva, this juncture is named the “origin of ascendance.”

Below the thorax a twelve-storied pagoda is given the caption: “The Secret Methods are stored in the twelve-storied pagoda” (*shì'ér loutai cāng mǐjue*). It is

the trachea.⁴⁹ The “twelve-storied pagoda,” a Daoist term, originates from the quasi-anatomic shape of the trachea: “Because there are twelve rings overlapping one another in the trachea.”⁵⁰ To its right is inscribed: “Hall of Sweet Spring and Cold Peaks” (*gānquān lěngfēng gōng*). Because saliva is swallowed through the trachea, this part of the rubbing is called the Hall of Sweet Spring and Cold Peaks. Nearby, below the pagoda, is another seven-character sentence: “*wúshì jīngnèi yīn xuānguāng*” (literally, “the mystic secrets are hidden in fifty localities”). These two seven-character sentences originate from another poem by Lǚ Dongbin.⁵¹ The latter part of this stanza reads differently in the poem: “Within the five thousand words [i.e., *Lao Zi* or *Dao de Jing*] the secrets are hidden.” Obviously, the “fifty localities” is a corruption of “five thousand words.” It is then clear that Lǚ Dongbin’s poem refers to the practice of physiological alchemy, which is, in turn, associated with *Lao Zi*, the ultimate source of Daoism.

To the left of the mountain, there are two short inscriptions with the final lines of Lǚ Dongbin’s poem. One reads: “If [one] aspires to this mysticism,⁵² one will acquire the [secret of] mysticism” (*ruo xiāng cǐ xuān xuān huì de*). The other reads: “Beside this mysticism, there is no other [secret of] mysticism” (*cǐ xuān zhī wài gēng wú xuān*).⁵³ These two “mysterious” lines only reiterate the importance of the practice of physiological alchemy.

To the left of the *ren mo*, two couplets further allow complex interpretations with respect to the configuration and captions in the head region. The couplet on the right reads: “*Fa Zang* says: ‘The blue eyes bring about purification [i.e., peace] to the four large seas [i.e., the world], while the white light spreads to [Mt.] Sumeru indirectly.’” The one on the left reads: “*Ci Shi* says: ‘Between the eyebrows [from the ūṛṇā] white bright light often emanates, which can emancipate the creatures from the suffering of ceaseless reincarnation.’” These two couplets are also found in the painting supplied by Rousselle, though the wording is slightly different.

Rousselle took *Fa Zang* as Dharmagupta,⁵⁴ but Dharmagupta’s Chinese name was Fami; he arrived in China during the Sui Dynasty (605–618). If we follow Rousselle’s trend of thought and take “*Fa Zang*” as a person’s name, then it may be Fazang (643–712), sinicized scion of a Sogdian family of Chang’an in the Tang; he was the third patriarch of the Huayan School, who systematized the Huayan teaching. The quoted lines in the *Nei Jing Tu*, nevertheless, cannot be found in the eleven essays by Fazang collected in

the *Tripitaka* (*Dazang jing*).⁵⁵ Accordingly, I tend to abandon the interpretation as a person's name. There are other possibilities for *Fa Zang* in Chinese Buddhist usages; among them, *Fa Zang* is the appellation for Amitābha before he attains Buddhahood.⁵⁶ Clearly, what Amitābha said before attaining Buddhahood is not so important. In another usage, *Fa Zang* is a general reference to the Buddha's teaching, hence, a synonym of Buddhist sutras.⁵⁷

The captions in question may have been derived mainly from the *Lotus Sutra* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*). After Buddha's sermon of a Mahāyāna sutra, *Anantanirdeśa* (The Immeasurable Doctrine), he "sent forth from the curl of white hair between his eyebrows that illuminated eighteen thousand worlds to the east, omitting none of them, reaching downward as far as the Avici [the lowest] hell and upward as far as the Akaniṣṭha [highest] gods. . ."⁵⁸ "[How can] the Superior [i.e., the Buddha] emanate white light from the [ūrṇā] between the eyebrows and illuminate the 18,000 worlds?" Maitreya (*Ci Shi*) asked. Mañjuśrī answered by saying: "Buddha's light is as shining as the rays of the sun and the moon."⁵⁹ *Ci Shi* ("he who is merciful") is an appellation for Maitreya,⁶⁰ as pointed out by Rousselle,⁶¹ and fits into the context of the *Lotus Sutra*. The statement in the couplet that "the white light spreads to [Mt.] Sumeru indirectly" might have been derived from the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra* (*Foshuo guan wuliang shoufo jing*, Sutra of the Buddha of Unlimited Longevity Spoken by Buddha):

At the time, the Superior [i.e., Buddha] emanated white light from [the ūrṇā] between the eyebrows. The golden light illuminates the infinite worlds of the ten directions. When [the golden light] returned to the top of Buddha's head, it turned into a golden terrace not unlike Mt. Sumeru, in which the Bodhisattvas of the ten directions as well as pure and marvelous beings all appear.⁶²

Accordingly, the captions in question mean that the Buddha's teaching says so-and-so and that Maitreya's question addresses so-and-so.

Taking into account the quotations from the *Lotus Sutra* and, to a minor extent, the *Amitāyurdhyāna Sūtra*, in the *Nei Jing Tu* the foreign monk must be an image of Maitreya. What is more than a coincidence is that, with the raised arms, the Maitreya is closely identified with the iconography of the Laughing Buddha, *Mile fo*, the later Chinese metamorphosis of Maitreya.⁶³ If my interpretation is correct, the young countenance of the monk can be justified: *Mile fo* is always portrayed as having a beardless face, and, in most cases, raising his arms. Rousselle's explanation of the young appearance

as an effect of Bodhidharma's attainment in enlightenment is too extraordinary to accept, since there is not a single portrait of Bodhidharma without his typical thick beard. Moreover, a Bodhidharma with raised arms is unknown among the portraits available to us. What the artist intends to portray is the blue-eyed *Mile fo* bringing peace to the world, as the quotation says.

Although I have identified the white-headed old man both as a symbol of lead in Daoist physiological alchemy and as the Old Man of the Southern Pole-star, the eighth archeus of the brain, Rousselle's identification of him as the historical Laozi does bring out his broader significance. Daoists believed that Laozi went to India. When Buddhism was introduced into China there was a strong resistance from the Daoists. As early as A.D. 166, Xiang Kai presented a memorial mentioning that after Laozi disappeared beyond the western passes, he went to India, where he converted the barbarians and became the Buddha. In the early fourth century this Daoist contention was solidified in a book entitled *Huahu Jing* (Sutra on the Conversion of the Barbarians [by Laozi]).⁶⁴ Accordingly, the couplets can also be read from a Daoist perspective. The Buddha's teaching (*fa zang*) became Laozi's teaching in disguise. Even if the blue-eyed *Mile fo* brought peace to the world, it was Laozi who spread the white light to Mt. Sumeru. The two couplets require a complex reading—not only as quotations from Buddhist sutras, but also as a proclamation of Laozi's preeminent role in the Buddha's teaching.

To conclude, the "white-headed old man" is not merely the historical Laozi; he may also be the Immortal Old Man of the Southern Pole-star as an archeus of the brain, as well as a symbol of the element lead. The "blue-eyed foreign monk" is not Bodhidharma, as claimed by Rousselle; he should be a mixture of *Mile fo* and a symbol of the element mercury. The Buddha's (and hence Laozi's) teaching takes place not far away but within the realm of the mind, embodied in the amalgamated Mt. Kunlun and Mt. Meru (Sumeru). Through meditation, the adept of physiological alchemy reaches a state of blissful primordial paradise, or nirvana, in his brain (the Hall of Ball of Mud). Not only did Daoist practices of physiological alchemy appropriate Buddhist teaching, but Buddhist teaching supported Daoist physiological alchemy. A syncretic amalgam of Daoism and Buddhism is illustrated in the head area, which is summarized by the inclusive caption: "To prolong longevity and to attain *xian* immortality and Buddhahood."

The Macro-Microcosmic Body: The Torso

In the rubbing, water is rushing down inside the head below the Nine-Peak Mountain. Here, water stands for Divine Water of Primordial Unity (*taiyi shenshui*). The Daoist adept believes that when the divine water (*qi* of Yin) descends from the head, and fire (*qi* of Yang) ascends from below in the abdomen (flames, as seen below in the diagram), a perfected equalization will be attained.⁶⁵ Because of such perfected Yin/Yang equalization, internal elixir is formed.

The spinal column, known as “marrow path” in physiological alchemy, is regarded as the main conduit for the circulation of *qi*. Although the spinal column appears to be anatomically depicted (i.e., the horizontal zigzag lines seem to stand for the vertebrae), it is really shown as a mountain path flanked by crags. There is a metamorphosis from the conduit of *qi* to the mountain path. There are three gates or bottlenecks for the circulation of *qi* along the spinal column.⁶⁶ The upper gate is generally called *yujing shan* (jade capital mountain) but is in the rubbing named *yuzheng shangguan* (upper-pass of jade-reality). This pass is also captioned “the cavity of the spiritual peak” (*lingfeng zhixue*). The central pass is *jia ji* (vertebral strait gate), indicated in the painting but not in the rubbing. The lowest pass is *wei lü*, near the coccyx. These three gates are often simply addressed as “upper gate,” “middle gate,” and “lower gate.” Of particular iconographic interest is the lower pass; the term *wei lü* is derived from a rock meaning “the eye of the sea,” where all the waters of the ocean converge. *Wei lü* may have a cosmological significance, as the “world cloaca” in the Eastern Ocean.⁶⁷

The essential principle in physiological alchemy is to reverse the natural sequence and thus achieve rejuvenation.⁶⁸ Accordingly, we see at the bottom of the spinal column (fig. 3) a pool of divine water being sent upward by the treadmill water-raising machine, Mysterious Yin-Yang Treadmill (*yin yang xuan tache*). Yin and Yang are clearly indicated by a girl and a boy manipulating this machine. Below the *wei lü* gate a line reads: “The *kan* water flows in reverse” (*kanshui niliu*). The Divine Water of Primordial Unity derives from the *kan* trigram (☵), since the *kan* trigram stands for the image of water.⁶⁹ Because the Water is the *jing* (seminal essence) and *qi* of the primary vitality, the solid line is given within the *kan* trigram.⁷⁰ The reverse process is summed up by the poem inscribed beside the Mysterious Yin-Yang Treadmill:

Repeatedly, continuously, [the treadmill is]
peddled in cycle;
When the machine turns, the water flows
eastward.

Deep water of ten thousand feet should [be
emptied to] expose the bottom;
[Then] a sweet spring bubbles up from the
summit of Southern Mountain.

The Southern Mountain, in my opinion, should be the mountain range of the same name in the south of Xinjiang, which is regarded as a major branch of Mt. Kunlun. As we have seen, the head is also referred to as Mt. Kunlun; the Southern Mountain is only another appellation of the head. This poem explains that when the Divine Water of Primordial Unity is forced to flow in reverse, a sweet spring (saliva) will appear in the head. A cycle of the circulation of the *qi* is hence completed.

Two caldrons with flames rushing up are near the lowest gate. Above the caldrons are four diagrams of the Supreme Ultimate (*tai ji*) arrayed to the cardinal directions and connected into a lozenge. To the right of them there are three characters meaning “due field of internal elixir” (*zheng dan tian*). “*Dan*” means “internal elixir” or “vital heat,” and “*tian*” means “field” or “region.” *Dan tian* are considered the areas from which the *qi* sets out on its circulatory path through the body and to which it returns; they are also the regions where internal elixir is produced. There are three *dan tian* in physiological alchemy—the upper one in the head, the middle one in the thorax, and the lower one in the abdomen.⁷¹ The upper *dan tian* is located “in the space between the eyebrows.” “One inch behind this is the cosmic palace (*ming tang*), two inches behind it is the arcane chamber (*dong fang*), and three inches behind it is the upper *dan tian*.”⁷² The middle *dan tian* is “in the crimson palace (*jiang gong*) or the golden gateway (*jin que*) below the heart.”⁷³ The lower *dan tian* is located “two and four-tenths of an inch below the navel.”⁷⁴ Because life-giving warmth is radiated from the neighborhood of the lower *dan tian*,⁷⁵ curved lines are depicted as emancipating heat from the Supreme Ultimate—emblems that represent, together with the “Central Earth” at the center, the five elements and the four cardinal directions.

At the level of the neck we read “[One] cooks the mountains and waters in a half-*sheng*-volume caldron” and “Cavity of two reins or kidneys” (*ershenfu zhi xue*). The two reins in classic medical literature are *nei shen* (the kidneys) and *wai shen* (the testes). Semen and blood are regarded as generated from the reins, which can be understood as the urino-genital system.⁷⁶ The flame is Yang, while the seminal fluid is Ying.

Flames at this point symbolize the Yang within the Yin of the seminal fluid and its *qi*. These two captions should not belong to the neighborhood of the neck, however. They are correctly found much lower in the painting (fig. 4), slightly above the diagrams of the four Supreme Ultimate of the “due field of internal elixir” and at the level of the weaving woman. Clearly the two captions are erroneously placed near the neck in the rubbing.

In the region approximately at the heart, we see a boy standing inside a ring of waves representing the vital *qi*. This boy is the Herdboy Constellation (Altair), as indicated by the caption “Constellation of the Herdboy” (*niulang qiaoxing*). This ring stands for the “middle field of internal elixir” (*zhong dan tian*). Inside the ring of the vital *qi* is a spiral made of hollow dots which are clearly depicted as coins in the painting. Two two-character captions can be seen along this spiral. One is the “Field of the *ken* trigram” (*ken tian*); the other, “This Field” (*zhe tian*). The *ken* (☶) here should not be understood in the context of the symbolic correlation of the eight trigrams, as the direction of northeast. We must here refer to a chart specially formulated by Peng Xiao in A.D. 947 to elucidate internal elixir theory, which is entitled “*Ming Jing tu*” (Bright Mirror of Physiological Alchemy).⁷⁷ In this chart Metal was distributed both to *qian* (☰) and *dui* (☱), Water both to *kan* (☵) and *zhen* (☳), Earth both to *ken* (☶) and *kun* (☷), Fire to *li* (☲), and Wood to *sun* (☴). Moreover, the Herdboy Constellation is correlated with the *ken* trigram. With such a correlation the Herdboy is depicted in the *Nei Jing Tu* as standing in the “Field of the *ken* trigram.” The Herdboy is depicted in the rubbing as holding a constellation string in the “ball-and-link” convention.⁷⁸ To the left is a caption, “the boy engraves on the stone, stringing up coins” (*keshi ertong baguan chuan*). Similarly yet differently, the boy is illustrated in the painting as literally holding a string of coins. This is an interesting conflation of the stars and coins.

In the abdomen region is a bank growing with five trees with a caption “the iron ox plows the field where coins of gold are sown.” The ox is represented below. According to Needham, the iron ox in Buddhism is a symbol of evil desire; the plowing signifies the efforts needed to control the evil desire. Needham gives a very interesting interpretation:

This [effort of controlling the evil desire] parallels the emphasis placed both in East and West upon the high moral character required of alchemists. Intrinsically the ox is the motive power for the circulation of *chhi* [*qi*] and *i* [*yi*] in the body which permits the Yin tiger to drink from



Fig. 6. Illustration of the internal elixir as a rejuvenated being [from *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (Principles of the Inner Radiance of the Supreme Unity), 1668, p. 41].

the pool of ‘true’ mercury and to approach the Yang dragon in the fiery clouds. Then the herdboy, rejoicing, smiles with pleasure, and the enchymoma [internal elixir] of immortality is achieved.⁷⁹

Nevertheless, I cannot find such an allusion in any Buddhist text. At best, “iron ox” is used in Chan Buddhism as a metaphor of immobility and that of a fact about which no doubt can be raised.⁸⁰ I would, therefore, tend to look at the plowing scene simply as a metaphor of steadfast effort in the cultivating of physiological alchemy. In addition, the iron ox here must not be confused with the ox associated with the Herdboy. It is particularly so if the farmer is taken into account—the ox is not attended by the Herdboy.

Even so, the boy standing in the field of the *ken* trigram symbolizes not only an astronomical body but also the crystallization of the product of physiological alchemy—the internal elixir—as a fully rejuvenated being. To help illustrate this point, I include a drawing from the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (Principles of the Inner Radiance of the Supreme Unity) (fig. 6). This drawing is well known in the West since it is reproduced in the *Secret of the Golden Flower*.⁸¹ A baby boy is shown appearing from the abdomen as a rejuvenated being, the substantial product of physiological alchemy. Thus, as the rejuvenated boy strings together the coins, he harvests and puts together the coins sown by the iron ox—an allusion to the attainment of the in-

ternal elixir of immortality.

Between the heart and lower abdomen regions a girl is seen by a spinning wheel. She is the Weaving Girl Constellation (Vega), counterpart of the Herdboy Constellation in Chinese legend.⁸² In physiological alchemy she is named the Pretty Girl (*cha nü*) as a symbol of the element Fire (*li* trigram; true Yang) emanating from the reins.⁸³ As we have seen in the chart of “Bright Mirror of Physiological Alchemy,” the Herdboy Constellation is correlated with the *ken* hexagram. But the Herdboy here should not be understood as merely symbolizing the element Earth normally associated with the *ken* trigram. In this context the Herdboy also symbolizes the element Water (true Yin). An examination of the Herdboy together with the Weaving Girl indicates that when Fire and Water meet and are harmonized, the internal elixir is formed and one can be revitalized. The boy inside the circle of *qi* therefore assumes a triple status, symbolizing the Herdboy Constellation, the crystallization of the internal elixir, and Water nourishing the Earth in the field of the *ken* trigram, that is, in the “due field of internal elixir” (*zheng dan tian*).

The abdomen houses the six major viscera related to the formation of internal elixir. Each of the six viscera is assigned a specific archeus (*shen*) and is indicated only by name and cognomen. One reads to the right of the heart region: “The archeus of the heart is [called] Essence of Internal Elixir (*dan yuan*), alias Keeper of Spirit (*shou ling*).”⁸⁴ To the left, one reads three captions: “The archeus of the gall-bladder is [called] Dragon Brightness (*long yao*), alias Majesty Illumination (*wei ming*);” “The archeus of the lung is [called] White Splendor (*hua hao*), alias Attainment of Immateriality (*xu cheng*);” and “The archeus of the liver is [called] Dragon Smoke (*long yan*), alias Containing Brightness (*han ming*).” Above the Weaving Girl one reads two captions: “The archeus of the reins is [called] Mysterious Obscurity (*xuan ming*), alias Conception of Baby (*yu ying*)” and “The archeus of the spleen is [called] Always There (*chang zai*), alias Sojourn of the Soul (*hun ting*).”⁸⁵ Again, Needham gives an explicit interpretation of the functions of the archei of the viscera in physiological alchemy:

Once some of the enchymoma [internal elixir] has been formed the adept can use its Chen (Yang) *chhi* [true Yang *qi*] to transmute the *chhi* [*qi*] of the viscera into *shen* [the archei] with all their ascensory power. Meeting in the brain with the *yuan chhi* [i.e., the primordial *qi*], as if in audience with the emperor, they will descend again and manufacture more of the reverted anablastemic enchymoma [internal elixir] (*huan tan*) [*huan dan*]. Ordinarily the visceral *chhi* [*qi*]

go round perpetually in their circuit, but in this case each one is converted into a *shen* [archeus], and so shunted upwards out of the cycle to the brain—liberated, ‘as the sparks fly upwards’, as it were—to that ouranic region, whence, fortified by the *shen shui* [divine water], they will return to accomplish their mission in the spleen or the central region of vital heat.⁸⁶

This interpretation brings our attention to the notion of the greater and a lesser circulation of the *qi*. The lesser circulation involves mainly the viscera. The reins are symbolized by the Weaving Girl, and the true Yang *qi* is sent by her spinning-wheel to the throat and trachea (note a ribbon-like band of *qi* going up from the spinning-wheel). The Divine Water is added to the *qi* at the trachea before it is sent down to the central region of vital heat. This then makes the “conjunction of heart and reins” (*ji ji*). It is believed that when the semen is transmitted upwards from the reins and the saliva is showered down from the brain and heart, they meet at the Yellow Court (*huang ting*; the region of the heart) and form, with other constituents, the internal elixir.⁸⁷

The greater circulation involves the spinal column and the brain. We have seen how the treadmill water-raising machine sends up the *jing qi* (seminal essence). The seminal essence is sent up through the three gates. Then it joins the Divine Water and descends through the face, down to the Yellow Courts where the internal elixir is symbolized by a glory emanating from a pack of the four diagrams of the Supreme Ultimate (*tai ji*). The nearby ox plowing the field where coins of gold are sown further refers to the “golden” internal elixir of immortality.⁸⁸

To the left of the thorax region a poem sums up the practice of Daoist physiological alchemy:

I exclusively cultivate my own field, in which
grows a spiritual sprout that will live to ten
thousand years.

The flowers are like gold in color, and the fruits
are similar to round balls in jade.

The cultivation relies on the earth of the Central
Palace [i.e., Yellow Court], yet the irrigation
must depend upon the spring from upper val-
leys.

Once the practice attains the Great Way (*dao*),
one would become a *xian* immortal blissfully
wandering about on earth or on the immortal
isles in the sea.⁸⁹

Of particular interest is the usage of the “field” in this context. Although the “field” here clearly refers to the “field of internal elixir” (*dan tian*), the term is also adopted from Buddhist terminology “*fu tian*” (*punya-ksetra*, or “field of merit”).⁹⁰

To the left of the abdomen region is a poem that consists exclusively of the following caption in the diagram:

The iron ox plows the field where coins of gold are sown;

The boy engraves on the stone, stringing up coins.

A grain of millet contains the world;

[One] cooks the mountains and rivers in a half-*sheng*-volume cauldron.

The white-headed old man's eyebrows hang down to earth;

The blue-eyed foreign monk supports heaven with his arms.

If [one] aspires to this mysticism, one will acquire the [secret of] mysticism;

Beside this mysticism, there is no other [secret of] mysticism.

Conclusion

Liu Chengyin mentioned that when he looked at the *Nei Jing Tu* he experienced "waxing and waning as well as the ebb and flow of the cosmos." Without the halo and mandala seen in the painting, the diagram in the rubbing seems to lose this anthropomorphic shape. Moreover, the diagram is couched in terms of a landscape painting consisting of ponds, banks, mountain paths, passes, and peaks in which people are active. The diagram is more an equation of microcosm to macrocosm than a macrocosm symbolized by a landscape. This paper has discussed how the macro-microcosmic configuration is rendered. Most motifs in this diagram also possess dual, or even triple, iconographic significance, assuming both material and conceptual existence, simultaneously representative, allegorical, and symbolic. Such can be said of the old man, foreign monk, ox, boy, and weaving girl.⁹¹

The ancient Chinese are known for pragmatic thought—a thinking process de-emphasizing the abstract aspect of thought, assuming more a figurative, and hence substantial, character. Pragmatism or even utilitarianism is the essence of Chinese philosophy.⁹² It is particularly so with the Daoist philosophers. With their emphasis on Nature, they passed from the purely observational to experimental in their philosophy.⁹³ Due to this pragmatic thought, we have at our disposal an illustrative diagram essentially substantial in character. It is owing to such substantialism that the internal texture and circulation of the human body are portrayed as a macro-microcosmic landscape. Indeed, substantialism provides the fundamental concept of

the material *xian*-immortality here on this earth, or, even if etherealized, in the otherworldly Isles of Immortality. The cultivation of the elixir for life, the "external elixir," is undoubtedly substantial, as is the formation of the internal elixir.

This Daoist diagram contains Buddhist concepts and phrases which reveal a syncretic fusion with Buddhism. It is well known that Buddhism borrowed heavily from Daoism in its early introduction to China, especially in matters of vocabulary. Even in the mature epoch of Chinese Buddhism, Daoist influence on imported Indian ideas is also discernible, as in the "totalism" of the Huayan School.⁹⁴ On the other hand, Buddhism also contributed a new scope, variety, and imagination to Daoism. It is noted that Daoists not only borrowed but also plagiarized Buddhist sutras from the fifth century on.⁹⁵ As a matter of fact, since Wei-Jin times (220–420), Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism have been called the Three Teachings. The syncretic interflow of the ideas of the Three Teachings was particularly strong in the Yuan (1271–1368).⁹⁶ The idea of the Three Teachings continued in the late Qing Dynasty when the Walters rubbing was made. The most representative figure in this syncreticism was Liao Ping (1852–1932), who proposed, "The Buddha was a product of Taoism [Daoism], being the first to undergo the process of the conversion of the barbarians. . ."⁹⁷ Such an interpretation, of course, is open to objection, yet it furnishes us with a historical background of the content of the rubbing, on which some of my interpretations are based.

Yoga and physiological alchemy are two parallel phenomena. Some, such as Needham, argue that Chinese Daoism might have influenced India in the development of later forms of yoga associated with Tantrism (fourth through sixth centuries) and Hāthayoga (ninth through thirteenth centuries).⁹⁸ Even without elaborating on the chronological sequence of Chinese physiological alchemy and Indian yoga, it is fully possible for a Daoist diagram of physiological alchemy to encompass yoga to some extent. Moreover, it has been noted that the Chan emphasis on meditation in order to experience communion with the Dharmakāya (reality body) is close to the Daoist method of acquiring the *Dao*.⁹⁹ Although Rousselle's previous study emphasizes this aspect too heavily, from the Chan point of view, as Buddhahood may be found in everyone and everything, it might well be found in Daoist physiological alchemy. On the other hand, if one follows the Daoist approach in taking Laozi as the predecessor of the Buddha, then the

Dao resides even in Buddhism, and the Buddhist elements in the rubbing are mainly a manifestation of the omnipotence of Daoism. Either perspective indicates a syncreticism particular to Chinese thought, which is well stated in the dual purpose of the diagram—"To prolong longevity and to attain immortality and Buddhahood." It is therefore not without significance that, in the rubbing, while the torso section is exclusively Daoist, the head area is full of symbols embodying both Daoist and Buddhist concepts.

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Notes

1. E. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu, 'Die Tafel des inneren Gewebes', ein Taoistisches Meditationsbild mit Beschriftung," *Sinica*, 8 (1933), 207–216.
2. J. Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge, 1983), V: 5, 114–116. The *Nei Jing Tu* rubbing appears as fig. 1587, p. 115. I owe much to the erudite study of Needham with regard to the general understanding of Daoist physiological alchemy. A close copy of the rubbing also appears in K.M. Schipper, "The Taoist Body," *History of Religions*, 17 (1978), 355–381, as Fig. 1.
3. I. Veith, *Huang Ti Nei Ching Su Wen: The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Internal Medicine* (Berkeley, 1972), 4–9.
4. *Ibid.*, 9–25.
5. Y. Yoshioka, "Taoist Monastic Life," H. Welch and A. Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism: Essays in Chinese Religion* (New Haven, 1979), 229–252.
6. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu." Also Needham, *Science*, V:5, 114. Whether the stone stele is still in the White Cloud Temple is an open issue that can be answered when I have the chance to visit this famous temple in person. Yoshioka, on p. 250 of his "Taoist Monastic Life," gives a rather detailed floorplan of the White Cloud Temple, including seventy-two locations. The stele in question, however, is not marked. If the rubbing was taken from a wooden plank, as noted by Liu Chengyin, then this wooden plank may be stored in the Pavilion of the Daoist Canon (*canjing ke*).
7. The most comprehensive study of physiological alchemy in English is, of course, Needham's *Science*, V:5. For a much simpler and less precise introduction to this respect, see C.Y. Chang, "An Introduction to Taoist Yoga," *The Review of Religion*, 20 (1956), 131–148; also J. Blofeld, *The Secret and Sublime: Taoist Mysteries and Magic* (New York, 1973), 129–151, as well as his *Taoism: The Road to Immortality* (Boulder, 1978), 113–129.
8. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 27.
9. Note that the character "fo" ("Buddhahood") is written in an ancient manner, consisting of three parts, "man," "west," "country," meaning the person from a country in the west.
10. In Lü Dongbin's poem, the cauldron is of two-*sheng* volume; in the *Nei Jing Tu*, half a *sheng* volume. Each measurement indicates a very small cauldron.
11. Lü Dongbin, *Lüzu zhi* (Records of Lü the Patriarch), 5:11a (*Zhengtong Daozang* [Daoist Tripiṭaka], LX:48694). Both in the *Zhongwen da zidian* (The Complete Dictionary of Chinese) (Taipei)

(I:2370) and Morohashi Tetsuji, *Dai Kan-Wa ji-ten* (The Complete Chinese-Japanese Dictionary) (Tokyo) (I:2294), this couplet is erroneously given as derived from a Chan Buddhist book entitled *Wudeng huiyuan* (The Convergence of the Essentials of the Five Lamps) by Monk Pu Ji during the Song Dynasty. The first sentence is hence wrongly understood as that Buddhahood is discernible even in the most common things. The twenty-chapter (*quan*) *Wudeng huiyuan* does not contain this couplet, nevertheless.

12. H. Maspéro, "Les Procédés de 'nourrir le principe vital' dans la Religion Taoiste Ancienne," *Journal Asiatique*, 228 (1937), 77–252, 353–430; 229 (1937), 177–353, par. 194.
13. R. Stein, "Jardins en miniature d'extrême-orient," *Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême-Orient*, 42 (1942), 53–54.
14. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 210.
15. *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu*, trans. B. Watson (New York, 1968), chap. 6, par. 82–83 (hereafter, Watson, *Chuang Tzu*). The sentence of concern is rendered as "After he had put life outside himself, he was able to achieve the brightness of dawn, and when he had achieved the brightness of dawn, he could see his own aloneness." (83). Although the rising sun per se is not directly mentioned in the text, the brightness of the rising sun is clearly suggested. If this enlightenment is couched in psychological terms, it can be interpreted as the transformation from "a consciousness limited to ego-form in the form of the non-ego-like-self." C.G. Jung's foreword to D.T. Suzuki, *An Introduction to Zen Buddhism* (New York, 1964), 13.
16. Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qi qian* (The Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchels) (ca. A.D. 1022), 11:44 (*Dao Zang*, XXXVI:29248).
17. For Mt. Kunlun in geomancy, see, for example, S. Skinner, *The Living Earth Manual of Feng-shui: Chinese Geomancy* (London, 1989), 44–45.
18. For a general discussion of the Paradise Lost in different cultures, see R. Heinberg, *Memories and Visions of Paradise: Exploring the Universal Myth of a Lost Golden Age* (Los Angeles, 1989). Mt. Kunlun is mentioned in 58, 60. See also Needham, *Science*, II:100–121, par. 111, for Daoist attack on civilization and nostalgia for paradise.
19. For the study of the number nine in Chinese culture, see M. Granet, *La Pensée Chinoise* (rpt., Paris, 1968), 234.
20. Detailed in R.A. Stein, *The World in Miniature: Container Gardens and Dwellings in Far Eastern Religious Thought*, trans. P. Brooks (Stanford, 1990), 226. An article is also of relevance in this respect, M. Symié, "Le Lo-feou Chan, étude de géographie religieuse," *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 48 (1956), 1–139.
21. Monk Puguang (Vasubandhu), *Jiushe lun* (*Abhidharmakośa*, Treasury of the Higher Subtleties), translated into Chinese by Paramārtha in 563–567 and by Xuanzang in 651–654, (Tripiṭaka ed., vol. 41, no. 1821), 18:185–192. The importance of this work lies in its coverage of Buddhist ontology, psychology, cosmology, and ethics.
22. This Daoist legend can be traced to *Tang Zi* (rpt., Taipei, 1976 [facsimile of an early 20-century ed.]), 5:3b.
23. Wang Zinian, *Shiyi ji* (Records of Leftover) (*Shou fu*, Commercial Press ed., 1926), 30:11a–b. Stein has referred to this source in his discussion of Mt. Kunlun, *World in Miniature*, 227.
24. Explained and illustrated in R.J. Corless, *The Vision of Buddhism* (New York, 1989), 138–142.
25. "Gridhrakūṭa is known as the Vulture Peak. . . it is called the Spiritual Vulture Peak in full, and Spiritual Peak in short." Monk Bianji, translated into Chinese by Xuanzang (ca. 596–664), *Da Tang xiyu ji* (Record of the Regions to the West of China in the Great Tang Dynasty) (*Sibu congkan chubian* ed., history: vol.17, 1975), 9:96.

26. For example, Zuo Si, "Wudu fu" ("Ode to the Capital of the Wu [State]"), in Xiao Tong, ed., *Zhaoming wenxuan* (Anthology of Literary Writings Edited by Prince Zhaoming) (Taipei: *Wenhua shuju* [facsimile rpt. of 1809 ed.], n.d.), 64–77, par. 66.
27. "Keng Zangchu," *Zhuangzi* (rpt., Taipei, 1976 [facsimile of an early 20th-century ed.]), 8:8a. Watson renders it as "Spirit Tower," *Chuang Tzu*, 255, n. 10.
28. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō-daijiten*, s.v. "Indara-mō." I am obliged to Dr. Hiram Woodward for pointing out this interpretation to me.
29. From the famous *Essay on the Golden Lion* by Fazang when he tried to explain the *Huayan Sutra* to Empress Wu Zetian (r. 690–704). See K. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton, 1964), 316–320; Corless, *Vision*, 36–38, in which a section of Fazang's essay is given. See also L.O. Gómez and H.W. Woodward, eds., *Barabudur: History and Significance of a Buddhist Monument* (Berkeley, 1981), 179, in which a similarity between the Huayan doctrine of Indra's Net and the plan of the upper levels of the monument at Barabudur is suggested; further references are given in n. 28.
30. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu."
31. Schipper, "Taoist Body." The interest of this article, however, lies mainly in using the figure of the white-headed old man—being accepted as the historical Laozi—to expound Laozi's cosmogonic body as coexistent with the principle of the universe. No effort is made to analyze the iconographic contents of the *Nei Jing Tu*.
32. Cited *ibid.*
33. It would be more convincing if the features of the sun, the moon, and the Kunlun mountain could have been related to those seen in the rubbing. As we will see below, my acceptance of the identification of the historical Laozi is conditional, based on an interpretation coherent with the other symbols in the rubbing.
34. For the translation of *shen* I adopt "archeus"; the definition of which is given as "The immaterial principle supposed by the Paracelsians to produce and preside over the activities of the animal and vegetable economy; vital force." (*The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v., "archeus"). The example given after the definition further clarifies the usage in our concern: "It was held that the chief *archeus* was situated in the stomach, and that subordinate *archei* regulated the action of other organs."
35. *Shangqing huangting neijing jing* (Manual of the Supreme Purity of the Internal Radiance of the Yellow Courts) in *Yunji qi qian* (The Seven Bamboo Tablets of the Cloudy Satchel) by Zhang Junfang in ca. A.D. 1022, 18:5a–b (*Dao Zang*, XXXVI:29334).
36. N.J. Girardot, *Myth and Meaning in Early Taoism: The Theme of Chaos (hun-tun)* (Berkeley, 1983), 286.
37. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu." Needham, *Science*, V:5, 116.
38. For example, "A blue-eyed foreign barbarian sat by himself for nine years." Monk Puji of the Song Dynasty, *Wudeng huiyuan* (The Convergence of the Essentials of the Five Lamps) (Ming Jiajing ed.), 19:30b.
39. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 212, and note a.
40. *Ibid.*
41. Listed in the *Wuzhen bian* (Poetical Essay on Realizing the Necessity of Regenerating the Primary Vitality), composed by Zhang Boduan about A.D. 1075 (28–30, in *Dao Zang*, IV:2904–2905). Although these pages are reproduced in Needham, *Science*, V:5, 97, the significance of these two terms evaded his attention.
42. Quoted in Needham, *Science* V:5, 222.
43. *Yun ji qi qian*, 11:12, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI:29232.
44. Liu An, *Huai'nan zi*, 7:2a. Also see T.L. David, "The Dualistic Cosmogony of Huai-nan-tzu and its Relations to the Background of Chinese and of European Alchemy," *Isis*, 25 (1936), 327–340; G.P. Conger, *Theories of Macrocosms and Microcosms in the History of Philosophy* (New York, 1967).
45. Although I am hesitant to follow Rousselle's interpretation that the red sun refers to the third "heavenly eyes" in the forehead, I should like to give him the credit of first pointing out that the dot on the left stands for the sun and the one on the right stands for the moon. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 211.
46. The *que* is made of two free-standing pillars marking the entrance of an architectural complex. It was particularly popular in the Han Dynasty. An example can be seen in L. Sickman and A. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China* (Baltimore, 1971), fig. 250.
47. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 29–30.
48. Ke Hong, *Bao Pu Zi*, 5:5a. Also see J.R. Ware, trans., *Alchemy, Medicine and Religion in the China of A.D. 320: the "Nei Pien" of Ko Hung* (Cambridge, 1966), 105.
49. Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qi qian*, 11:45, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI: 29248.
50. Zhang Junfang, *Yun ji qi qian*, 11:45, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI: 29248. It happens that, in a book written in the Han, Mt. Kunlun is mentioned as having towns and twelve jade pagodas. Huan Lin, *Xiwangmu zhuang* (Record of the Mother of the West) (Tao Zongyi, *Shou fu* [Wanwei shantang ed., 1646], sect. 113, p. 22. These twelve jade pagodas also appear on the summit of Mt. Kunlun in another book from the Han, Dongfang shuo, *Hainei shizhou ji* (Record of the Ten Continents in the World) (*Shou fu*, sec. 66, 10b–11a). Nevertheless, I cannot make a logical, much less a convincing, connection between this source and the Daoist usage for the trachea. Perhaps it is only a coincidence.
51. *Lüzu zhi*, 7:7b–8a (*Dao Zang*, LX:48692–48693).
52. For the translation of "xuan" as "mysticism" I adopt the definition given in *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*: "The experience of mystical union or direct communion with ultimate reality reported by mystics."
53. These two sentences comprise the last couplet in the aforementioned poem by Lü Dongbin. The first line is slightly different in Lü's poem: "If [one] seeks within [the above secrets], one will acquire the [secret of] mysticism" (*ruo xiang ci zhong xuan hui de*).
54. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 213.
55. *Daizōkyō* (The Tripitaka in Chinese) (Tokyo, 1925–1932).
56. *Fushuo Wuliangshoufo jing* (Sutra of the Buddha of Unlimited Longevity), *Dazang jing* ed., no. 360, chap. 1: 267.
57. For example, *Lotus Sutra*, 1:5. Also *ibid.*, 4:34.
58. In Tripitaka, no. 262, 1:2. For English translation I adopt that in L. Hurvitz, *Scripture of the Lotus Blossom of the Fine Dharma* (New York, 1976), 4. See also the translation in W.E. Soothill, *The Lotus of the Wonderful Law* (rpt., London, 1975), 60.
59. *Ibid.*, but the English translation of the question and answer is mine.
60. *Jushe lun*, 18:282.
61. Rousselle, "Ne Ging Tu," 213.
62. *Foshou guan wuliang shoufo jing*, in *Dazang jing*, no. 365, p. 341. The translation is mine.
63. For an explicit introduction to the Maitreya cult in China and the formation of *Mile fo*, the Laughing Buddha, see Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 405–408.
64. For a detailed study on this debate, see Wang Weicheng, *Laozi*

huahushuo kaozheng (A Critical Study of the Contention of Laozi Converting the Barbarians), *Guoxue jikan* (Quarterly of Sinology), IV, 2 (1934), 44–55.

65. For the equalization between yin and yang (water and fire), see Needham, *Science*, V:5, 67–82.

66. Detailed by Needham in *Science*, V:5, 72–73.

67. Needham, *Science*, IV:3, 548.

68. Fully discussed by Needham in *Science*, V:5, 34–67.

69. *The I Ching*, trans., R. Wilhelm, rendered into English by C.F. Baynes (Princeton, 1983), I.

70. Chen Zhixu, *Jindan dayao* (Main Essentials of the Metallous Enchymoma; the true Gold Elixir) of A.D. 1331, 1:31b, quoted by Needham, *Science*, V:5, 40.

71. Such a system came into being during the Later Han or the Three Kingdom period, as it was first seen in Ke Hong's *Bao Pu Zi*, about A.D. 300.

72. Ke Hong, *Bao Pu Zi*, 18:1b, trans. and quoted in Needham, *Science*, V:5, 39.

73. *Ibid.*

74. *Ibid.*

75. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 38.

76. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 22, n.d.

77. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 55–56.

78. For a discussion of ancient Chinese representations of constellations, see Needham, *Science*, III, 19–25.

79. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 100.

80. Such usages can be found throughout Chan texts, such as *Wudeng huiyuan*.

81. Reproduced on p. 41 from the *Taiyi jinhua zongzhi* (Principles of the Inner Radiance of the Gold Elixir) compiled by Jiang Yuanling in 1668, a Daoist treatise on meditation and sexual techniques. This treatise is translated by R. Wilhelm with a commentary by C.G. Jung as *The Secret of the Golden Flower: A Chinese Book of Life* (rpt., New York, 1975). Needham gives a substantial discussion on the rendition of this treatise: *Science*, V:5, 248–252.

82. For this constellation, see Needham, *Science*, III, 245, 251, 276. For the relationship between Altair and Vega, see III, 282.

83. Wilhelm rendered *cha nü* as “bride” (*Secret*, 69), and Needham, “pretty girl” (*Science*, V:5, 250). I follow Needham's rendition.

84. The captions designating the six archei in this diagram are different from the common phrases in that the fifth character “zi”¹ (alias) is changed into “zi”² (by oneself). If the translation follows the caption in the rubbing it should read: “The archeus of the heart is called Essence of the Internal Elixir; it guards the spirit.” Although this translation still makes sense, obviously the author of the rubbing made a slip of the pen. The text is correctly given in the painting (fig. 4). For the present translations, I follow the six cognomena found in *Shangqing huangting neijing jing* (Manual of the Supreme Purity of the Internal Radiance of the Yellow Courts) in Zhang Junfang, *Yunji qi qian*, 11:23a–24b, in *Dao Zang*, XXXVI: 29237–29238.

85. The *Yunji qi qian* provides further interpretations regarding these archei of the viscera (*ibid.*) For the archeus of the heart, it reads: “Internal allegory; the heart is the origin/essence of viscera; it is the dwelling of fire of the south, hence it is named Keeper of Spirit.” For the archeus of the lung, it reads: “The lung is the canopy of the heart; *hao* means white, the color of metal of the west; the lung is white and is light and immaterial, hence it is named

Attainment of Immateriality.” For the archeus of the liver, it reads: “The liver belongs to the phase/element of Wood; it has the color of the blue dragon of the east. Among the viscera, it is in charge of the eyes. The sun rises in the east, and Wood produces Fire; hence it is named Containing Brightness.” For the archeus of the reins, it reads: “The reins belong to Water, and hence is called Mysterious Obscurity; semen is produced in the reins, allowing the conception of a child, and is hence called Conception of Baby.” For the archeus of the spleen, it reads: “The spleen is in the center, the location of Earth, and is hence named ‘Always There;’ it is the palace of the Yellow Court. The spleen digests food and the archeus is healthy and strong, and is hence named Sojourn of the Soul.” For the archeus of the gall-bladder, it reads: “The color of the gall-bladder is bluish yellow; that is why [the archeus] is called Dragon Brightness; it is in charge of bravery and audacity, and is hence named Majesty Illumination. It follows the external phenomenon of the blue dragon flying in clouds.”

86. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 79.

87. The “conjunction of heart and reins” is discussed in Needham, *Science*, V:5, 72–80.

88. Needham, *Science*, V:5:114–116. For a shorter description of the lesser and greater circulations, see C.Y. Chang, *Creativity and Taoism* (New York, 1970), 155.

89. Except the last couplet, this poem is identical with a poem in Lü Dongbin, *Lüzu zhi*, 4:16a (*Daozang*, LX:48685).

90. R.A. Stein, “Religious Taoism and Popular Religion from the Second to Seventh Centuries,” in Welch and Seidel, eds., *Facets of Taoism* (New Haven, 1979), 53–81, par. 76.

91. It appears that such multiple statuses are similar to, yet much more complicated than, the iconography in alchemical illustrations in Europe. The European counterparts are simply allegorical, at most symbolic and psychological. For the allegorical interpretation, see, for example, L.S. Dixon and P. ten-Doesschate Chu, “An Iconographical Riddle: Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout's *Royal Repast* in the Liechtenstein Princely Collections,” *Art Bulletin*, 71:4 (December 1989), 609–627. This article gives us a clear picture of how art represents alchemy as a fact of seventeenth-century life. For a discussion on the symbolic (par. psychological) aspect in European alchemy, see Needham, *Science*, V:5, *passim*, in which some interesting illustrations and a most comprehensive bibliography are given.

92. Fung Yu-lan, *A History of Chinese Philosophy*, 2 vols., trans., D. Bodde (Princeton, 1952), 4–6.

93. Detailed in Needham, *Science*, V:2, 33–164, par. 33–36.

94. F.H. Cook, “Fa-tsang's Brief Commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā hṛdaya-sūtra* [Heart Sutra],” in Minoru Kiyota, ed., *Mahāyāna Buddhist Meditation: Theory and Practice* (Honolulu, 1978), 167–206.

95. Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 473–476.

96. Liu Ts'un-yan and J. Berling, “The ‘Three Teachings’ in the Mongol-Yüan Period,” in Hok-lam Chan and Wm. T. de Bary, eds., *Yüan Thought: Chinese Thought and Religion Under the Mongols*, 477–512, esp. 492–496.

97. Fung Yu-lan, *Chinese Philosophy*, II:717.

98. Needham, *Science*, V:5, 280–285. R.H. van Gulik, *Sexual Life in Ancient China: A Preliminary Survey of Chinese Sex and Society from 1500 B.C. to A.D. 1644* (Leiden, 1961). Also see Chang, “Taoist Yoga.”

99. *The Book of Balance and Harmony*, trans., T. Cleary (San Francisco, 1989), xxi. See also Ch'en, *Buddhism*, 361–363.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery.

CHINESE TERMS*

canjing ke	藏經閣	jin chi	金池	Sun (trigram)	巽
cha nü	姤女	jing	精	tai ji	太極
chi long	赤龍	jing qi	精氣	taixuan liuyi	
dan sha	丹砂	Kan (trigram)	坎		太玄流液
Dharmagupta (Fazang)		Ken (trigram)	艮	taiyi shenshui	
	達磨笈多(法藏)	kua	卦		太一神水
dongfang	洞房	Kun (trigram)	坤	tian gan	天干
Dui (trigram)	兌	Kunlun	崑崙	tian yan	天眼
Fa Mi	法密	Li (trigram)	離	wai shen	外腎
Fa Zang	法藏	Liao Ping	廖平	wei lü	尾閭
fengshui	風水	Mile fo	彌勒佛	xian	仙
fo	佛(儺)	ming tang	明堂	Wu Zetian	武則天
fu tian	福田	nei shen	內腎	xuwu zhendan	
hao	皓	qi	氣		虛無真丹
huan dan	還丹	Qian (trigram)	乾	yuan qi	元氣
huang ting	黃庭	qiong long	穹窿	yujing shan	玉京山
ji ji	既濟	Quan zhen	全真	yu yi	玉液
jia ji	夾脊	que	闕	Zhen (trigram)	震
jiang gong	絳宮	shen	神	zi ¹	字
jin que	金闕	shen shui	神水	zi ²	自

*Chinese characters included in the illustrations are not given

CHINESE TEXTS

Bianji, Xuanzang, <i>Da Tang xiyu ji</i>	辯機，玄藏，大唐西域記
Chen Zhixu, <i>Jindan dayao</i>	陳致虛，金丹大要
<i>Dazang jing</i> (Daizōkyō)	大藏經
Dongfang shuo, <i>Hainei shizhou ji</i>	東方朔，海內十洲記
Dong Zhenzi, <i>Xiuzhen liyan caotu</i>	洞真子，修真歷驗鈔圖
<i>Foshuo guan wuliang shoufo jing</i>	佛說觀無量壽佛經
<i>Huahu jing</i>	化胡經
Huan Lin, <i>Xiawangmu zhuan</i>	桓麟，西王母傳
Jiang Yuanting, <i>Taiyi jinhua zongzhi</i>	蔣元庭，太乙金華宗旨
Ke Hong, <i>Bao Pu Zi</i>	葛洪，抱樸子
Liu An, <i>Huai'nan zi</i>	劉安，淮南子
Lü Dongbin, <i>Lüzu zhi</i>	呂洞賓，呂祖志
Peng Xiao, <i>Ming jing tu</i>	彭曉，明鏡圖
Puguang, <i>Jushe lun</i>	普光，俱舍論
Pu Ji, <i>Wudeng huiyuan</i>	普濟，五燈會元
<i>Shangqing huangting neijing jing</i>	上清黃庭內景經
Tao Zongyi, <i>Shoufu</i>	陶宗儀，說郛
Wang Weicheng, <i>Laozi huahushuo kaozheng</i>	王維誠，老子化胡說考證
Xiao Tong, <i>Zhaoming wenxuan</i>	蕭統，昭明文選
<i>Xiaodao lun</i>	笑道論
Zhang Boduan, <i>Wuzhen bian</i>	張伯端，悟真篇
Zhang Junfang, <i>Yunji qi qian</i>	張君房，雲笈七籤
<i>Zhengtong Daozang</i>	正統道藏
Zuo Si, "Wudu fu"	左思，吳都賦