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C.C. Vermeule, *Roman Imperial Art in Greece and Asia Minor* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 330–33, fig. 22.

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F. Villard, "Une tête romaine de porphyre," *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France,* 27 (1977), 235–37.

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Vermeule, *Imperial Art,* 335–68.

Villard, "Une tête romaine," 235.

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C O N T E N T S

An Attic Document Relief in the Walters Art Gallery

Carol Lawton

Among the classical Greek sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery is a fragmentary Athenian document relief with an unusual depiction of Athena leaning on a pillar, upon which she has draped her aegis. Although only a few letters of its inscription are preserved, examination of the style and iconography of the relief suggests that it belonged to an Athenian honorary decree of the late fifth century B.C.

Among the classical Greek sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery is a fragmentary document relief—a relief on an inscribed public document, such as a decree or inventory—depicting Athena (fig. 1). The only certain example of an Attic document relief in an American collection, it is an unusual and important addition to the corpus of works that establish the iconography of Athena in the late fifth century B.C.[1] Although only a few letters of the inscription on its mouldings are preserved, the provenance and probable subject of the relief can be reconstructed by comparison with contemporary Attic document reliefs.

The relief is broken on both sides and along the bottom; it preserves part of its original rough-picked top and back. At the top and bottom of the relief are mouldings inscribed respectively ...]NOΣ[... and ...]NEP[.... Before the *nu* of the lower moulding is the apex of a triangular letter, probably *alpha*. The left vertical after the *rho* has no crossbar; it is more likely *iota* than *kappa*. On what is apparently the right side of the relief, Athena leans with her left elbow on a pillar-like support and turns slightly toward the left, although her head is shown in full profile and her left leg very nearly so. Her right hand hangs at her side. She wears a belted peplos with kolpos and unbelted overfall. Her aegis, its scalloped edges and small gorgoneion now very worn, is draped over the top of the pillar. The direction of her gaze and traces of a scepter immediately to her right indicate that at least one other figure originally stood on the missing left side of the relief. The scepter, its top extending to the upper moulding, is lightly incised into the relief ground.[2] No traces remain of the figure holding it.

The Walters fragment is undoubtedly Attic in origin. In material, format, dimensions, figure style, and letter forms the relief very closely resembles Attic document reliefs of the late fifth century.[3] It is carved from the medium- to fine-grained white marble usually associated with Mt. Penteli in Attica, which was used for almost all classical Attic document reliefs.[4] The mouldings above and below the relief consist of an inscribed fillet over an ovolo, a common form of frame in early Attic document reliefs, illustrated, for example, by the relief of a document of 406/05 concerning Athens and Kios (fig. 2).[5] It is not possible to tell whether the relief had side borders; most early document reliefs did not (figs. 2, 4–8, and 10). Since the figure of Athena turns her attention toward the left, it is probable that the relief extended only a little beyond the break at the right edge. If the Walters relief orginally had the same proportions as two others of about the same height, the relief of the document of 403/02 honoring the Samians for loyalty to Athens (fig. 3)[6] and the very similar relief of the inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods of 400/399,[7] roughly two-thirds of the relief is missing.

The inscriptions on the upper and lower mouldings are too fragmentary to aid in the reconstruction. In fifth-century Athenian document reliefs, the mouldings often carry a heading with the name of the secretary of the Council, who was charged with the responsibility of having Athenian documents inscribed, but it is unlikely that the Walters relief carried the name of its secretary on either moulding because the formula naming him always ended in ΕΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΕ, usually at the end of a line; the formula would be too long for either moulding if there were no other figures to the right of Athena. Nor do the letters appear to fit the name of any Athenian eponymous archon of the period in question. It is most likely that the mouldings

Fig. 1. *Athena*, Attic document relief, marble, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 23.177.

Fig. 2. *Athena and the Hero Kios,* relief from an Athenian document of 406/05 B.C. concerning Athens and Kios (*IG* I³ 124), marble, Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6928.

Fig. 3. *Hera and Athena,* relief from an Athenian document of 402/02 B.C. praising the Samians (*IG* I³ 127; *IG* II² 1), marble, Athens, Akropolis Museum 1333.

Fig. 4. *Apollonophanes of Kolophon and Athena,* relief from an Athenian decree of ca. 427/26 B.C. honoring Apollonophanes (*IG* I³ 65), marble, Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6615.

carried the name of the person, perhaps with ethnic and title, with whom the missing document was concerned, as in the reliefs of the honorary decrees of ca. 427/26 for Apollonophanes of Kolophon (fig. 4)[8] and ca. 420 for Sotimos of Herakleia (fig. 5).[9] The letters have the large, careful, and elegant forms of late fifth-century Attic inscriptions. They are similar to those of the stele of 405/04 honoring Epikerdes of Kyrene[10] and the stele of 403/02 concerning the Samians (fig. 3).

The figure of Athena provides the most telling evidence of the relief's Attic origin. Although the pillar supports Athena's left elbow, she does not really lean on it; instead she drops the shoulder over her weight-bearing leg in the Polykleitan formula that became common in Attic sculpture around 420.[11] The general arrangement of the drapery—the peplos with the folds of its overfall displaced slightly toward the left and details such as the folds that separate and spread over the left thigh—indicates knowledge of the korai of the Erechtheion of 420–10.[12] But the way in which her drapery folds are executed, with tubular, sometimes bifurcated ridges rising sharply out of wide, level valleys, also reflects the influence of Master B of the Nike Temple Parapet.[13] Aspects of his fluid, linear, and more transparent drapery style, particularly the

Fig. 5. *Athena, Sotimos of Herakleia, and Herakles,* relief from an Athenian decree of ca. 424/23 B.C. honoring Sotimos (*IG* I³ 74), marble, Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6609.

Fig. 7. *Athena,* relief from an Athenian document of 410/09 B.C. concerning Athens and Thracian Neapolis (*IG* I³ 101), marble, Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6598.

Fig. 6. *Athena and Erechtheus(?),* relief from the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena of 410/09 B.C. (*IG* I³ 375), marble, Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 831.

Fig. 8. *Erechtheus(?) and Athena,* relief from the inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods of 398/97 B.C. (*IG* II² 1392), marble, Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1479.

sharp distinction between the inflated ridges and broad valleys of the folds, find their way into the work of a number of sculptors of minor reliefs from about 410 to the end of the century, and a stiff and hardened version of the style continues even into the early fourth century.

The style is not as well represented in securely datable document reliefs as it is in contemporary votive reliefs. The document reliefs that come closest are the reliefs of the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena of 410/09 (fig. 6),[14] the relief of the document concerning the Thracian Neapolitans also from 410/09

(fig. 7),[15] and, from about a decade later, the reliefs of the decrees honoring the Samians of 403/02 (fig. 3) and the inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods of 398/97 (fig. 8).[16] The figures of 410/09 are similar to the Walters Athena in the transparency of their drapery, but the ridges and valleys of the folds are not as emphatically separate, and on the Treasurers' account the ridges are not as tubular. On the other hand, in the relief from the Samian decrees (fig. 3), the drapery folds have already stiffened into the hard patterns more characteristic of the early fourth century. The Walters relief belongs in a style phase somewhere between the two extremes. Among the closely comparable votive reliefs, the best examples of the style are the relief dedicated to Pan and the Nymphs by Archandros (fig. 9),[17] two reliefs depicting Eleusinian deities,[18] and a relief depicting a seated Athena from the Akropolis.[19] The figure of the middle Nymph in the Archandros relief is perhaps closest to the Walters Athena, not only in drapery style but also in figure type and stance.

The general type of Athena, the so-called "angelehnte" or leaning Athena, often thought to reflect a statuary prototype of ca. 430,[20] appears in the reliefs of the honorary decree for Apollonophanes (fig. 4) and the decree concerning Neapolis (fig. 7) and in later reliefs, statues, and vase paintings.[21] There are too many variations in the figures, however, for all of them to have been derived directly from a single model, and the Walters figure differs in important respects from the others. In all of the other representations, Athena leans on an upright shield, whereas the Walters Athena leans on a pillar. In all but one of the other versions, a fourth-century pyxis being the exception, Athena wears a peplos with belted overfall, a peplos style so consistently associated with Athena, particularly in document reliefs, that it could be considered one of her attributes. The Athena in the Walters relief wears a peplos with its overfall hanging free. In many of the other representations, Athena wears her aegis around her neck like a collar. In the Walters relief she has removed it and draped it over the top of the pillar where, like the himation of the Athena in the relief of the document concerning Neapolis (fig. 7), it provides a cushion for her left elbow.

The respects in which the Walters Athena differs from the other leaning Athenas combine to emphasize her peaceful nature. The substitution of another type of support for her shield removes the most commonly represented item of her armor. The featureless support itself does not appear to have any particular iconographic significance. It may have been suggested

Fig. 9. *Archandros, Pan, and the Nymphs,* votive relief dedicated by Archandros, marble, late 5th c. B.C., Athens, National Archaeological Museum 1329.

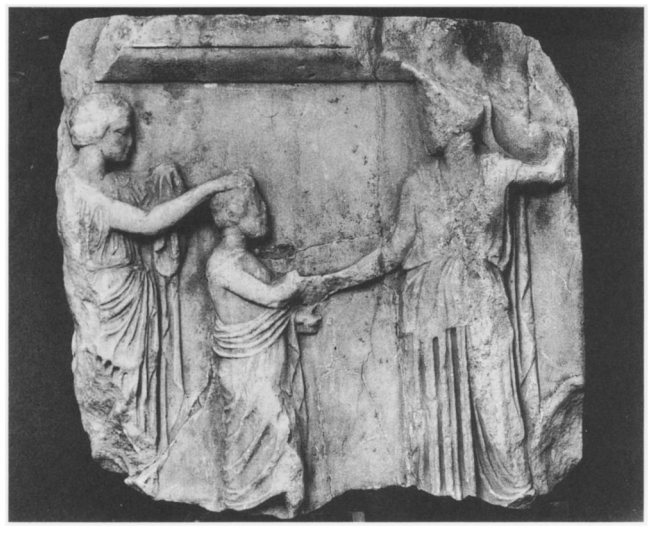

Fig. 10. *Aphrodite, Proxenides of Knidos, and Athena,* relief from an Athenian decree of ca. 420–10 B.C. honoring Proxenides (*IG* I^3 91), marble, Athens, Akropolis Museum 2996.

by the pillar of a late fifth-century leaning Aphrodite, a statue that may have been the original inspiration for the "angelehnte" Athenas and other late fifth-century leaning figures.[22] It seems unlikely that the support is intended as a stele or marker of some kind, as in the so-called "Mourning Athena" from the Akropolis and in related depictions in vase painting,[23] since Athena ignores it. Like the olive tree on the relief of

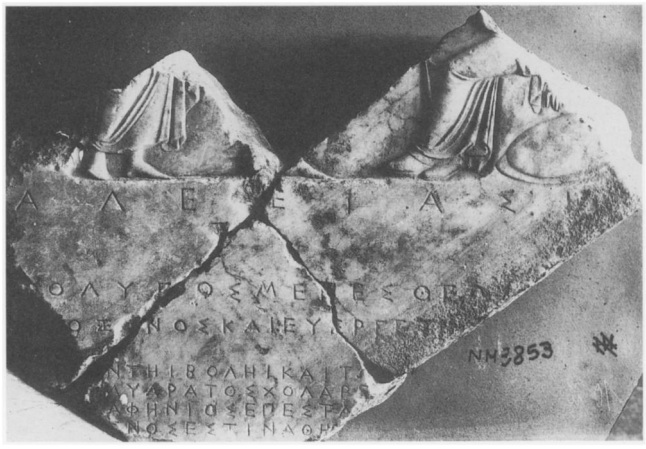

Fig. 11. *The Hero Gortys(?), [P]olypos Menestheus, and Athena,* relief from a decree of 405/04 B.C. honoring [P]olypos (*IG* I³ 126), marble, Athens, Epigraphical Museum, 2552 + 3169 (joining).

the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena of 410/09 (fig. 6), it may have been intended to suggest the sanctuary of Athena on the Akropolis,[24] but its primary function in the Walters relief is as a resting place for Athena and her aegis.

The doffed aegis is the most remarkable departure from the usual representations of Athena. Athena is often shown without her aegis (figs. 6 and 7), but the depiction of it as having been removed, with the rest of her armor nowhere in sight, implies a conscious and final stage of disarming. In this respect, the figure goes a step further than the Athena of the casual assembly of gods on the east frieze of the Parthenon, who sits with her aegis in her lap and who also holds her spear.[25] In tone, the Walters Athena more closely resembles the Athena who regularly and consciously puts aside her aegis in depictions of the birth of Erichthonios, in which she assumes the role of foster-mother of Erichthonios and turns her aegis around and over her back so that she can hold the baby.[26] Evelyn B. Harrison aptly characterized the maternal, peaceful Athena of these scenes as "a forerunner of Eirene."[27] The context of the Walters Athena is certainly different, but she has the same relaxed and kindly demeanor.

The preference of the Walters Athena for a peplos with an unbelted overfall is not so remarkable, but it is unusual in document reliefs.[28] Hera, Demeter, and Hygieia are the goddesses who above all wear this dress; its accumulated associations with their wifely, maternal, and beneficent qualities ultimately made it the appropriate dress for the Eirene of Kephisodotos.[29] When Athena wears it, as she does on the east frieze of the Parthenon[30] and on a votive relief from the Akropolis in which she is seated with her helmet in her lap,[31] she usually reveals the peaceful side of her nature.

In order to explain the peaceful character of the Walters Athena, it is necessary to examine other depictions of Athena on Athenian documents of the late fifth century. The earliest securely dated Athenian document reliefs come from the 420s, when they appeared on stelai inscribed with decrees and other official documents concerned for the most part with Athenian foreign relations.[32] The two most common types of Athenian documents with reliefs in the fifth century are alliances and other formal agreements between Athens and her allies (figs. 2, 3, and 7), and honorary decrees (figs. 4, 5, 10, and 11), in which Athens grants individuals, almost always foreigners, honors such as Athenian citizenship and proxeny, the right of foreigners to represent Athenian interests in their own cities.[33] The subjects of the reliefs accompanying both kinds of documents correspond consistently and closely to the content of the inscriptions. In the alliances and other agreements, patron deities or eponymous heroes represent the parties involved. An example is the relief of the document concerning Athens and Samos, in which Athens is represented by Athena and Samos by its chief goddess Hera (fig. 3). Their concord is expressed in their handclasp, or dexiosis (figs. 2, 3, and 7). In honorary decrees, Athena bestows the honors, usually expressed by crowning (figs. 4 and 10), upon the honorand, whose mortal status is always indicated by his smaller scale relative to that of the goddess.[34] The honorand is often accompanied by a patron deity or hero who joins in the honoring and provides a visual clue to the honorand's ethnic. Sotimos of Herakleia is honored in the presence of Athena and Herakles (fig. 5), Proxenides of Knidos by Athena and Aphrodite (fig. 10),[35] and [P]olypos Menestheus by Athena and another fragmentary figure, perhaps the hero Gortys, if the restoration of his ethnic Gortynios is correct (fig. 11).[36]

There is a wide range of Athena types in these reliefs, but she is consistently depicted with her armor, as befits a war goddess who represents the foremost military power of the time. Often she wears her aegis and a panoply of more conventional armor, her shield, helmet, and spear (fig. 3). The spear is sometimes omitted, particularly when her right hand is occupied with a handclasp or with crowning (figs. 2, 4, and 8). In other document reliefs she has at least her helmet and shield (figs. 5 and 8), her shield (figs. 4, 7, and 11), or her spear (fig. 6). A closer look at these Athenas reveals two fundamentally different groups: those who wear their armor and those who do not. The Athenas in the second group lean on their shields

(figs. 4 and 7) or sit with their helmets and shields at their sides (figs. 5 and 11).[37] Their peaceful, at times almost casual demeanor is quite different from the upright, alert, and dignified posture of the figures in the armed group (figs. 2, 3, 8, and 10). Although the correspondence is not exact—there is a fully armed Athena on the honors for Proxenides (fig. 10) and a leaning Athena on the document concerning Neapolis (fig. 7)—the formidable, armed type was apparently deemed most appropriate for documents that dealt directly with states and other institutions; it served as a reminder of Athenian power and vigilance. The disarmed, casual Athena was preferred for documents in which Athens honored individual friends; in these Athena communicates on a warmer, more personal level.

The Walters Athena, wearing none of her armor and leaning on the aegis she has earlier removed, is at the most relaxed end of this spectrum, and it is therefore probable that she belonged to an honorary decree. The likely occupants of the missing left side of the relief would have been the honorand on the far left, and his patron deity or hero, the figure who held the scepter, in the center of the relief (figs. 5, 10, and 11). Since the scepter is so close to Athena and no part of the figure extended to the right of it, the figure probably held the scepter in the raised left hand and perhaps crowned the honorand with the right. Without further clues to the content of the inscription the figure cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. Zeus is the pre-eminent scepter-holding figure in fifth-century reliefs,[38] although in document and votive reliefs he is almost always seated facing Hera, an unlikely arrangement for the Walters relief. Other likely scepter holders include Hera alone (fig. 3) and Demeter.[39] The honorand would have been a foreigner who, like Apollonophanes of Kolophon (fig. 4), Sotimos of Herakleia (fig. 5), Proxenides of Knidos (fig. 10), Polypos (fig. 11), and Epikerdes of Kyrene,[40] had rendered some assistance to Athens or represented Athenian interests abroad. Whoever he was, it appears that he had sufficiently earned the trust and respect of Athens to have been ushered into the presence of Athens's most irenic Athena.

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Notes

1. I am grateful to Ellen D. Reeder, Curator of Ancient Art, for suggesting this article and to Michael B. Walbank for discussion of the inscription.

Please note the following abbreviations: *IG* I^3 = *Inscriptiones Graecae, I, Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores, editio tertia,* D.M. Lewis, ed. (Berlin and New York, 1981). *IG* II^2 = *Inscriptiones Graecae, II–III, Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores, editio minor,* J. Kircher, ed. (Berlin, 1913–40). *LIMC,* II = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* II (Munich, 1984).

Walters Art Gallery 23.177: p.h. 0.508, p.w. 0.20, th. 0.16 m. E.D. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery* (Princeton, 1988), 70, no. 1. A late fifth-century relief depicting Athena in the Norbert Schimmel Collection is another probable example in an American collection; it preserves no trace of the inscription that would securely identify it as a document relief: D.G. Mitten in *Ancient Art: the Norbert Schimmel Collection,* O.W. Muscarella, ed. (Mainz, 1974), no. 42. For Attic document reliefs in general, see M. Meyer, *Die griechischen Urkundenreliefs, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung, Beiheft* 13 (Berlin, 1989); C. Lawton, "Attic Document Reliefs of the Classical and Hellenistic Periods: Their History, Development and Use," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1984; R. Binnebössel, *Studien zu den attischen Urkundenreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Kaldenkirchen, 1932).

2. A spear and a bow are similarly etched into the ground of the relief of the Athenian honorary decree of 340/39 for Phokinos, Nikandros, and Dexippos (Avignon, Musée Calvet 28; *IG* II^2 231): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 91, pl. 27.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 48; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 55. Scepters, spears, and similar thin or delicate details that would have been time-consuming to carve are more often added in paint, as numerous now "missing" details in document reliefs attest: Lawton, "Document Reliefs," 81–82. Cf. the missing scepter of Zeus on the alliance of 417/16 between Athens and Argos (Athens, Akropolis Museum 2980 + 2431 + 2981 + Epigraphical Museum 6588a; *IG* I^3 86): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 8, pl. 3.1–2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 8; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 9; O. Walter, *Beschreibung der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* (Vienna, 1923), no. 2, fig. 2.

3. Other Greek cities occasionally adopted the practice of putting reliefs on their inscriptions, but with the exception of a possible late fifth-century example from Delphi, non-Attic document reliefs do not appear until shortly before the middle of the fourth century: Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* N1–24; T. Ritti, "Sigle ed emblemi sui decreti onorari greci," *Memorie. Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche,* 14 (1969/70), 259–359. Delphi Museum inv. 12675: J.-C. Moretti, "Une vignette de traité à Delphes," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique,* 111.I (1987), 157–66, figs. 1–4.

4. The difficulty of determining the provenance of Attic marble has been well documented in recent years by geological studies, and use of the traditional term Pentelic to refer to marble of this type remains problematic: N. Herz and W.K. Pritchett, "Marble in Attic Epigraphy," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 57 (1953), 71–83; C. Renfrew and J.S. Peacey, "Aegean Marble: A Petrological Study," *Annual of the British School at Athens,* 63 (1968), 45–66; B. Ashmole, "Aegean Marble: Science and Common Sense," *Annual of the British School at Athens,* 65 (1970), 1–2; R.E. Wycherley, "Pentelethen," *Annual of the British School at Athens,* 68 (1973), 349–53.

5. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6928 (*IG* I^3 124): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 22, pl. 8.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 14; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 19. Other securely dated examples from the fifth century include the frames of the reliefs of the alliance between Athens and Argos (see note 2); a document concerning repayments to the treasury of Athena in 410/09 (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6605; *IG* I^3 99): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 14, Lawton, "Doc-

ument Reliefs," no. 11; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 16; B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists,* I (Cambridge, Mass., 1939), D 9, fig. 187; and an honorary decree for Epikerdes of Kyrene of 405/04 (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 7010; *IG* I^3 125): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 24, pl. 8.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 15; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 12; J.N. Svoronos, *Das Athener Nationalmuseum* (Athens, 1908–37), pl. 206.2.

6. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1333 (*IG* I^3 127; *IG* II^2 1), h. 0.50, w. 0.56 m, its slightly greater width attributable to its frame: Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 26, pl. 10.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 17; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 22.

7. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 7862 (*IG* II^2 1374), h. 0.51, w. 0.53 m. Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 27, pl. 10.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 19; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 23.

8. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6615 (*IG* I^3 65): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 2, pl. 1.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 2; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 2.

9. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6609 (*IG* I^3 74): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 31, pl. 12.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 5; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 13.

10. See note 5.

11. E.B. Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, The Cult Statues," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 81 (1977), 164–67.

12. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art,* 70. The Erechtheion was probably begun at the time of the Peace of Nikias in 421; the korai were sculpted by 409, by which time their porch was nearly complete according to the building accounts: J.M. Paton, *et al., The Erechtheum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 291, 452–56. The korai: H. Lauter, "Die Koren des Erechtheion," *Antike Plastik,* 16 (1976).

13. R. Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), pls. VII, VIII, IX. For a date before 410 for the work of Master B, see E.B. Harrison, "A Classical Maiden from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia,* Suppl. 20 (1982), 47 n. 35; "Style Phases in Greek Sculpture from 450 to 370 B.C.," *Pratika tou XII Diethnous Synedriou Klasikis Archaiologias 1983,* gamma (Athens, 1988), 103–104.

14. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 831 (*IG* I^3 375): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 16; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 13; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 14.

15. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6598 (*IG* I^3 101): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 15, pl. 5.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 12; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 15.

16. Athens, National Museum 1479 (*IG* II^2 1392): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 36, pl. 11.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 20; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 24. Examples of the style in document reliefs of the early fourth century include the relief from a decree honoring men from Abydos (Athens, Akropolis Museum 1330; *IG* II^2 49): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 18; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 86; M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Athens, 1974), 168–69 no. 1330, fig. 361; and a relief from another, lost honorary decree (Athens, Akropolis Museum 13777): O. Palagia, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London,* 73 (1990), fig. 3; Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 33; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 88; G. Neumann, *Probleme des griechischen Weihreliefs* (Tübingen, 1979), pl. 37 b.

17. Athens, National Museum 1329; *IG* II^2 4545: Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum,* pl. 44; W.-H. Schuchhardt, *Die Epochen der griechischen Plastik* (Baden-Baden, 1959), 90–92, fig. 64; J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (London, 1971), 142, fig. 192; C. Edwards, "Greek Votive Reliefs to Pan and the Nymphs," Ph.D. diss., New York University, Institute of Fine Arts 1985, 293–303; Harrison, "Classical Maiden," pl. 7 b (det.).

18. Athens, Agora S 1045: T.L. Shear, "The Campaign of 1938," *Hesperia,* 8 (1939), 210; A. Peschlow-Bindokat, "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 87 (1972), 118, fig. 40; Neumann, *Weihreliefs,* fig. 34 a; and Athens, National Museum 1597: Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum,* pl. 129; A. Linfert, "Die Deutung der Xenokrateiareliefs," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung,* 82 (1967), Beil. 84.

19. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2664 + 2460: Walter, *Beschreibung,* no. 75, fig. 75; Brouskari, *Acropolis,* 168, fig. 358.

20. F. Studniczka, *Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna, 1894), 11–15; C. Praschniker, "Die 'angelehnte' Athena," *Antike Plastik, W. Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1928), 176–81; H.K. Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus; Untersuchungen zur Zeitbestimmung* (Frankfort am Main, 1938), 197–202; S. Karouzou, "Two Statues on a Vase," *Essays in Memory of Karl Lehmann,* L. Sandler, ed. (New York, 1964), 153–59.

21. Cf. also the relief on a document of unknown content from the second quarter of the fourth century (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2787; *IG* II^2 165 = *IG* II^2 4434): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 40, pl. 14.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 91; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 45; Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum,* pl. 224.2; and a fragmentary late fourth-century relief that may also have carried an inscription (Athens, Akropolis Museum 2429): Walter, *Beschreibung,* no. 18, fig. 18; Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 54, pl. 18.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 206. Votive relief (Athens, National Museum 1369): Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum,* pl. 37.5. Late fifth-century statuette (Athens, Akropolis Museum 3027): Praschniker, "Athena," figs. 6 and 7. Roman statue in Athens, Akropolis Museum: Praschniker, "Athena," 176–81, figs. 1–4. Paintings on a red-figure kotyle of ca. 370 (Athens, National Museum 13909): Karouzou, "Statues," 153–59, figs. 1–4 and a red-figure Kertch-style pyxis (Athens, National Museum 1935, c.c. 1962): Karouzou, "Statues," 154, fig. 6.

22. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art,* 70. Leaning Aphrodite: A. Delivorrias, *LIMC,* II (Munich, 1984), 29–31, nos. 185, 200, s.v. "Aphrodite"; "Die Kultstatue der Aphrodite von Daphni," *Antike Plastik,* 8 (1968), 19–31. Leaning Artemis: Delos, Delos Museum MA 3193; E. Mitropoulou, *Corpus I. Attic Votive Reliefs of the 6th and 5th Centuries B.C.* (Athens, 1977), 64, no. 127, fig. 184; L. Kahil, *LIMC,* II, 658, no. 456, s.v. "Artemis"; Brauron, Brauron Museum 1058; Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* A 17, pl. 7.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 9.

23. F. Chamoux, "L'Athéna au 'terma'," *Revue archéologique,* 1972.2, 263–66.

24. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art,* 70.

25. F. Brommer, *Der Parthenonfries; Katalog un Untersuchung* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), pl. 177.

26. Harrison, "Cult Statues," 150–54.

27. Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part III, Iconography and Style," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 81 (1977) 411–12.

28. The only exception is the Athena of a document of 424/23 concerning Methone (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6596; *IG* I^3 61), who appears to have been derived from the type of Aphrodite Olympias: Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs,* 162, A 4, pl. 4.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 4; Binnebössel, *Studien,* no. 3.

29. H. Jung, "Zur Eirene des Kephisodot," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 91 (1976), 97–134.

30. See note 25.

31. See note 19.

32. Reliefs also appear on decrees concerning cults and on treasur-

ers' accounts and inventories. There are reliefs on the decrees concerning the construction of the Rheitos bridge of blocks re-used from the Eleusinion (Eleusis, Eleusis Museum 5093; *IG* I³ 79): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 5; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 6; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 5; P. Demargne, *LIMC*, II, no. 606, fig. 606, s.v. "Athena"; improvements in the sanctuary of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 10616; *IG* I³ 84): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 7, pl. 6.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 7; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 8; and on fragmentary documents concerning the cults of Apollo (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 5; *IG* I³ 137): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 10, pl. 6.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 82; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 7; Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum*, pl. 211.1; and Bendis (now lost; *IG* I³ 136): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 12; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 79; Mitropoulou, *Corpus*, DR no. 4, fig. 76. In addition to the accounts of the Treasurers of Athena of 410/09 (fig. 6) and the inventory of the Treasurers of Athena and the Other Gods of 400/399, there are reliefs on a document of 426/25 tightening up the collection of allied tribute (Athens, Epigraphical Museum 6595; *IG* I³ 68): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 3; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 3; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 4; Meritt, *Tribute Lists*, I, D 8, fig. 178; and on the document concerning repayments to the treasury of Athena in 410/09 (see note 5).

33. For Athenian honorary decrees, see M.B. Walbank, *Athenian Proxenies of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto and Sarasota, 1978); M.J. Osborne, *Naturalization in Athens*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschnappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, Klasse de Letteren, Jaargang 43, Nr. 98, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1981–83); A.S. Henry, *Honors and Privileges in Athenian Decrees: the Principal Formulae of Athenian Honorary Decrees*, Subsidia Epigraphica 10 (Hildesheim, 1983).

34. For distinctions in scale in Greek relief, see H. Rauscher, *Anisokephalie; Ursache und Bedeutung der Grossvariierung von Figuren in der griechischen Bildkomposition*, (Vienna, 1971).

35. Athens, Akropolis Museum 2996 (*IG* I³ 91): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 6, pl. 2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 78; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 6.

36. Athens, Epigraphical Museum 2552 + 3169 (*IG* I³ 126): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 23, pl. 12.1; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 16; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 20. For the hero, compare the figure labelled Kios in fig. 2.

37. The same seated, unarmed type also occurs on two early fourth-century honorary decrees: see note 16.

38. For example, on the relief of the alliance between Athens and Argos (see note 2), and probably on the relief of the agreement of 362/61 between Athens and the Peloponnesian states of Arkadia, Achaia, Elis, and Phleious (Athens, National Museum 1481; *IG* II² 112): Meyer, *Urkundenreliefs*, A 58, pl. 17.2; Lawton, "Document Reliefs," no. 34; Binnebössel, *Studien*, no. 37.

39. Athens, Akropolis Museum 1348: Mitropoulou, *Corpus*, 49, no. 79, fig. 117; Brouskari, *Acropolis Museum*, 170, fig. 363; Athens, National Museum 1597: Mitropoulou, *Corpus*, 53, no. 90, fig. 140; Svoronos, *Nationalmuseum*, pl. 129.

40. See note 5.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 2, 4, 5, 8, 11, Athens, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut; figs. 3, 10, Athens, Akropolis Museum; fig. 6, Paris, Musée du Louvre; fig. 7, Athens, Epigraphical Museum; fig. 9, Alinari.

Der "Ölgießer" des Gnaios Granat in der Walters Art Gallery

Gertrud Platz-Horster

Der römische Gemmenschneider Gnaios, von dessen Hand sechs signierte Werke bekannt sind, hat diesen exquisiten Granat um 30–20 v.Chr. geschnitten. Meisterlich nutzte er den dünnen, flachen Edelstein aus, um einen jugendlichen Athleten in Frontalansicht darzustellen, der seinen Körper mit Öl salbt. Das Motiv und die plastische Gestaltung des trainierten Körpers greifen ein statuarisches Vorbild aus der griechischen Kunst des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. auf, den in verschiedenen römischen Varianten überlieferten "Ölgießer." Da sowohl der Granat in Baltimore als auch zahlreiche weitere Gemmen und Glaspasten diesen Statuentypus recht einheitlich wiedergeben und früher als die römischen Statuenkopien entstanden sind, muß die Frage nach dem griechischen Vorbild neu gestellt werden.

In der schönen und anregenden Ausstellung *Polyklet* im Museum alter Plastik, Liebieghaus, Frankfurt a.M., 1990 zeigte Peter Bol einen Gemmenring (Abb. 1),[1] der mehr als zweieinhalb Jahrhunderte aufgrund seines Materials, seiner Darstellung und besonders seiner Signatur in der Forschung für Aufregung gesorgt hat.

Als die Gemme 1736 durch Rodulfino Venuti (1705–1763)[2] in Rom mit einem Stich von Michael Sarellò erstmals veröffentlicht wurde, gehörte sie dem Venezianer Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750), der zwischen 1718 und 1729 Hofdichter und Historiker bei Karl VI. in Wien war und eine bekannte Münzsammlung besaß. Sofort interessierte sich Philipp von Stosch (1691–1757) für den Stein, hatte er sich doch mit seiner 1724 erschienenen Abhandlung "Gemmae antiquae celatae, scalptorum nominibus insignitae" als kritischer Kenner antiker Künstlersignaturen erwiesen, und dieser Stein war nach Venuti signiert von einem bislang unbekannten Künstler namens GELIOS. Stosch, der leidenschaftlichste Gemmensammler seiner Zeit, erwarb die Gemme um 1739, und vermutlich ließ er sie auch in dem zierlichen Goldring fassen.[3] Ob bereits Stosch die Signatur richtig als die des GNAIOS las, dessen berühmten Herakles-Kopf in Aquamarin[4] er in seinem o.g. Traktat behandelt hatte (Taf. 23), oder erst Lorenz Natter, ist unbekannt. Der Gemmenschneider Lorenz Natter untersuchte den Stein in der Sammlung des William, dritter Vicomte Duncannon, zweiter Herzog von Bessborough (1704–93), des nächsten Besitzers; Natter bestimmte das Steinmaterial als "Vermillon. Hyacinthe Orientale, ou Berylle, couleur de Grenat de Bohème" und legte seine Beobachtungen zur Schnittechnik der Gemme im "Traité ..." 1754 nieder.[5] J.J. Winckelmann jedoch wiederholte im Katalog der Stosch'schen Gemmensammlung 1760 die falsche Lesung der Signatur,[6] vielleicht gestützt auf Venuti, der ihm bei der Bestimmung der Porträtgemmen geholfen hatte.[7] Auch Ph.D. Lippert edierte 1767 in seiner *Dactyliothec* einen Abguß (Abb. 2) mit der falsch gelesenen Signatur ΓΗΛΙΟΥ, die er in eine offenbar unscharfe Vorlage neu einschnitt![8]

Um 1780 kaufte George, vierter Herzog von Marlborough (1739–1817), die gesamte Sammlung Bessborough;[9] 90 Jahre später beauftragte sein Erbe, der siebente Herzog von Marlborough, den Professor für Mineralogie an der Universität Oxford, M.H. Nevil Story-Maskelyne, mit der Veröffentlichung seiner Gemmensammlung.[10] Dieser bestimmte das Steinmaterial der Gnaios-Gemme als eingefärbtes Glas und mokierte sich über die Unkenntnis des Gemmenschneiders Natter, der ja 116 Jahre zuvor von einem "Hyacinthe Orientale, ou Berylle" geschrieben hatte. Allerdings widerrief Story-Maskelyne sein Urteil 25 Jahre später anläßlich der ersten öffentlichen Präsentation der Gnaios-Gemme auf der Burlington Fine Arts Exhibition 1904;[11] ebenso erging es A. Furtwängler nach der Autopsie des Steins.[12] Damals war die Gnaios-Gemme im Besitz des Sir Thomas D. Gibson Carmichael: nachdem 1875 die Sammlung Marlborough en bloc an David Bromilow übergegangen war, hatte am 28. Juni 1899 Mr. Ready das kleine Meister-

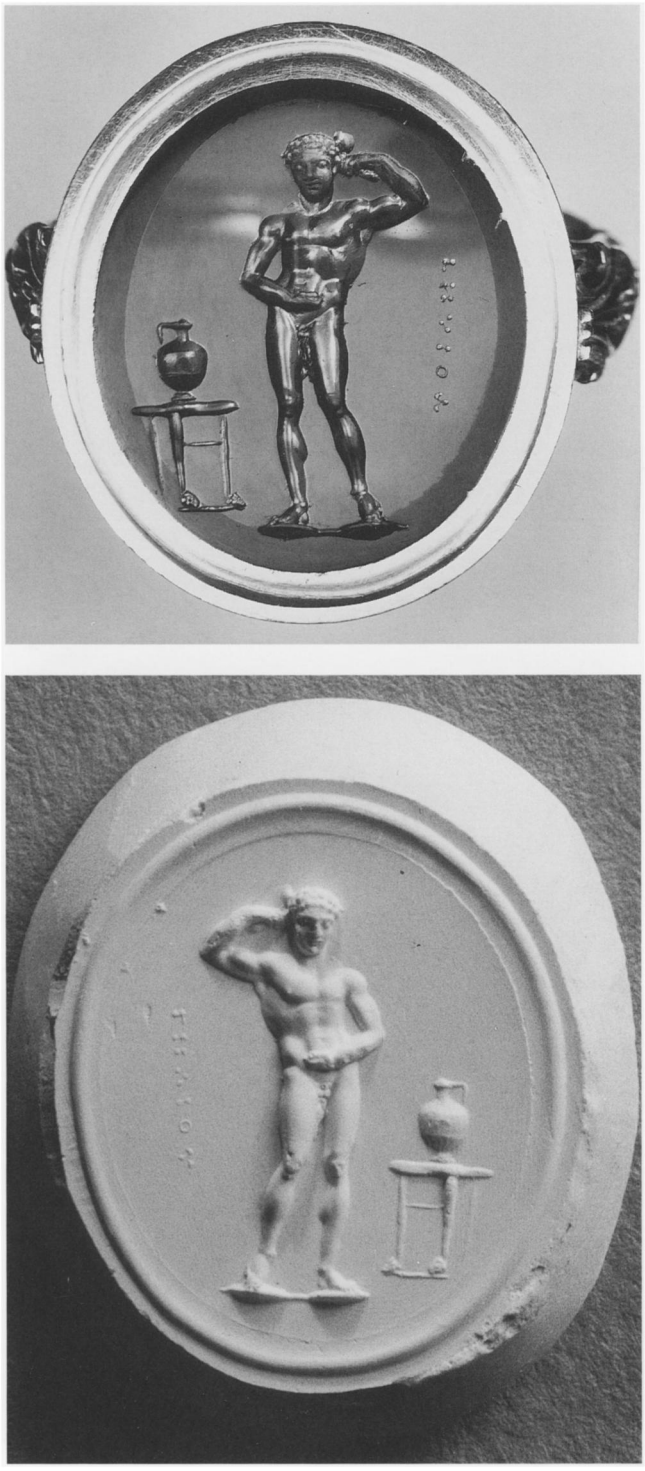

Abb. 1. Granat des Gnaios mit ölgießendem Athleten, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 42.109.

werk bei Christie's (lot 621) erworben, der es dann an Carmichael verkaufte. 1926 von Joseph Brummer ersteigert, kaufte es 1927 Henry Walters, der seinen gesamten Kunstbesitz 1931 der Stadt Baltimore vermachte; dort ist der Gemmenring seit 1939 in der Walters Art Gallery ausgestellt.

Aber erst 1975 veröffentlichte Dorothy Kent Hill ein Foto des Originals und klärte die verzwickte und von Mißverständnissen durchsetzte lange Geschichte der Gnaios-Gemme lückenlos auf.[13] Sie veranlaßte auch eine Untersuchung des Steins in der Smithsonian Institution in Washington: dort wurde mit Hilfe der Röntgenfeinstrukturanalyse (nach Max von Laue, 1912) eindeutig festgestellt, daß es sich um einen Edelstein, wohl um einen Granat, handelt—und nicht um Glas, das röntgenamorph ist und keine Beugungsspektren erzeugt. Ich halte den Stein für einen Hessonit, eine rötlich-gelbe Varietät des Granat, der früher auch Kaneelstein, d.h. Zimtstein genannt wurde—im Französischen "Vermeille", was auf das wohl falsch gedruckte oder übersetzte "Vermillon" bei Natter zurückführt (s.o. Anm. 5). Da der Stein nicht fluoresziert, kann es kein Hyazinth sein, wie Newton-Robinson meinte.

In der neueren Gemmenforschung werden sechs mit ΓNAIOC oder ΓNAIOY signierte Edelsteine für antik erachtet, sowohl die Darstellung wie die Signatur bestreffend;[14] weitere unsignierte Steine werden ihm zugeschrieben.[15] J. Boardman bestimmte einen mit ΓNAIOC signierten Amethyst in der Sammlung Ionides als Porträt des Marc Anton,[16] das Vollenweider für eine postum von seiner Tochter mit Kleopatra VII., Kleopatra Selene, in Auftrag gegebene Arbeit hielt;[17] deren Porträt erkannte sie in einem mit ΓNAIOY signierten Karneol im Metropolitan Museum, New York.[18] Kleopatra Selene war seit ca. 19 v. Chr.

Abb. 2. Abguß der Gnaios-Gemme [Ph.D. Lippert, *Dactyliothec* (1767), II, Nr. 908].

verheiratet mit dem numidischen König Juba II.; dieser ließ Münzen mit einem jugendlichen Herakles-Kopf prägen, wie er—im Typus des "Herakles Lansdowne"—auf dem eingangs erwähnten Aquamarin des ΓNAIOC im British Museum erscheint, dem berühmtesten Werk des Gemmenschneiders.[19] Aber auch unabhängig von den Benennungen und Kombinationen dieser drei Bildnisse läßt sich Gnaios, der vielleicht als Freigelassener eines Römers dessen Pronomen (Gnaeus) erhalten hatte,[20] durch stilistische Eingrenzungen als einer der führenden Gemmenschneider Roms in den Jahren zwischen 30 und 20 v. Chr. fassen.

Mit ΓNAIOY signierte er ferner einen Sardonyx der Sammlung Devonshire, der Diomedes beim Palladionraub zeigt—ein damals von vielen Gemmenschneidern favorisiertes Motiv,[21] ferner einen kleinen Nicolo im Cabinet des Médailles Paris (Abb. 3) mit einem sich schabenden Athleten ("Apoxyomenos"),[22] und den schönen Granat in Baltimore mit einem sich salbenden Athleten ("Öleingießer").

An signierten Werken dieses frühaugusteischen Gemmenschneiders sind uns also zwei Intagli mit der Signatur ΓNAIOC erhalten (Kopf des Marc Anton ehem. Sammlung Ionides und Herakles-Kopf, London, British Museum) und vier mit der Signatur ΓNAIOY (Kopf der Kleopatra Selene im Metropolitan Museum, New York, Diomedes der Sammlung Devonshire, Apoxyomenos im Cabinet des Médailles Paris sowie Öleingießer der Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore).

Der beiderseits völlig flache und erstaunlich dünne Granat in Baltimore (Höhe 18 x Breite 14,7 x Dicke 2,3 mm) war—nach dem Stich bei Venuti zu urteilen—schon vor der ersten Publikation 1736 "ruinously repolished" (Story-Maskelyne): dies erklärt die Unsicherheit in der Lesung der Signatur, die bei Venuti auch zu nah am Körper und zu eng wiedergegeben ist. Die verbindenden Hasten zwischen den feinen Punktbohrungen der kleinen Buchstaben sind nur im Gegenlicht am Original zu sehen: dies gilt besonders für die schräge Haste des zweiten Buchstabens, wodurch es zu der irrigen Lesung H statt N kam; zudem hat ΓNAIOC sein A meist ohne Querhaste graviert, sodaß es auch als Λ (Lambda) gelesen werden konnte. Diese sekundäre Politur erfaßte nicht nur die gesamte Oberfläche von Vorder- und Rückseite des Edelsteins, sondern auch die Gravur: der ganze Körper des Athleten ist hochglänzend überpoliert und erhält dadurch seine virtuos gegeneinander gesetzten Muskelflächen in Transparenz zurück. Lediglich auf dem Kopf und der erhobenen Hand haftet noch ein dichter, weißer Belag, an dessen Entfernung sich der Graveur des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts(?) offensichtlich nicht herangewagt hatte. Denn die feinen Reihen kleiner Buckellocken, das detailliert ausgearbeitete Gesicht und die bis in die einzelnen Fingerglieder differenzierte Hand stellten ihn wohl vor eine zu gewagte Aufgabe bei einem solch kostbaren, sehr dünnen und sehr harten Stein: zwei Absplisse am Handgelenk und am Kopfkontur lassen darauf schließen, daß der Edelstein—vielleicht durch die bei der Politur entstehende Hitze—bereits in Mitleidenschaft gezogen worden war. Auch zwischen den Oberschenkeln weisen winzige Absplisse auf dieses Risiko hin. Wieviel von der Oberfläche bei dieser Prozedur verloren gegangen ist, läßt sich nicht nur an der so weit abgeschliffenen Signatur ermessen, sondern auch an dem unvollständigen Henkel der Hydria und am fehlenden Trapezmuskel der gesenkten Schulter des Athleten, wie bereits Venutis Stich durch einen scharfen Einschnitt korrekt wiedergibt.

Abb. 3. Nicolo des Gnaios mit Apoxyomenos, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1856.

Im Zentrum des weiten Ovals der ansonsten ausgezeichnet erhaltenen Gemme steht frontal ein nackter Jüngling mit langen Beinen und schmalem Becken im entlasteten Kontrapost, den durchtrainierten Oberkörper wie den Kopf zur Standbeinseite hin leicht gedreht und vorgeneigt; die gesenkte Hand hält er vor dem Unterbauch nach oben geöffnet, die gewinkelt zum Kopf gehobene Hand umschließt offenbar einen Gegenstand. Seitlich der "geöffneten" Körperflanke gravierte der Künstler in das freie Spannungsfeld zwischen abgespreiztem Ellbogen und zur Seite gesetztem Spielbeinfuß seine kleine, präzise Signatur: von oben nach unten, linksläufig (also im Siegelabdruck "richtig" zu lesen) und nach außen gewandt. Auf der "geschlossenen" Standbeinseite verdichtete der Künstler seine Komposition durch ein dreibeiniges Tischchen mit Tierfüßen, auf das er eine Hydria mit feinem Zungenmuster postierte. Während

Abb. 4. Gelbe Glaspaste mit Ölgießer (Original und Abguß), Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 3137.

er unter dem höher gestellten Tischchen mit einer einfachen, dünnen Grundlinie die Standebene markierte, schnitt er unter den Füßen des Athleten je eine halbrunde, plastische Standplatte in die Tiefe des Steins: dies ist außerordentlich selten und nur auf qualitätvollen Gemmen der frühesten Kaiserzeit zur Charakterisierung statuarischer Motive zu finden.[23]

Nur am Original ist die hohe Qualität des Gemmenschnitts zu erfassen: der perfekte Einsatz des feinen Rundperl-Bohrers für die zwei Reihen minutiös ausgearbeiteter Buckellöckchen, für Nase, Augen und die Finger der erhobenen Hand ist wegen des dichten, weißen Belages nicht am Abguß, der hier nur eine flaue, grobe Form wiedergeben kann, sondern einzig im Gegenlicht des faszinierend leuchtenden Steins und der entsprechend angefertigten Fotografie zu bewundern. Der feine Rundperl findet sich aber auch an allen Gelenken, an den Brustwarzen, den Hoden und der gerade noch (nach der sekundären Politur) vorhandenen Andeutung von Schamhaar seitlich des Penis, an den Widderköpfen der Tischfüße und natürlich an der Signatur. Die plastischen Körperformen dieses muskulösen Athleten, die leichte Drehung seines Oberkörpers mit Einblick in die tiefe Ausdehnung seines Brustkorbs zur Achsel des erhobenen Arms, die in der Tiefe des Steins verschwindende Ferse des seitlich abgespreizten Spielbeinfußes, die Plazierung des Motivs im Oval des flachen Steins, die Ausgewogenheit der Komposition durch die Einbindung des erhobenen Arms mittels der Signatur einerseits und das Gegengewicht mittels der gegenständlichen Requisite andererseits zeugen von der hohen Meisterschaft des Gemmenschneiders Gnaios.

Bevor ich auf die Deutung der Handlung des Athleten eingehe, sei die Beliebtheit dieses Motivs auf Gemmen des späten Hellenismus und der frühen römischen Kaiserzeit anhand von 5 Gemmen und Glaspasten aus der Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin verdeutlicht:[24]

— Die konvexe Paste aus gelblich durchsichtigem Glas FG 3137 (Abb. 4) in neuzeitlichem Silberring zeigt einen nackten Athleten in etwas kompakteren Körperformen und engerem Stand, ansonsten aber sehr ähnlicher Auffassung vom zurückgesetzten Spielbein mit gehobener Ferse, dem stark ausgeschwungenen Standbein, der Drehung von Oberkörper und Kopf und der Haltung beider Arme. Hier steht seitlich des Spielbeins eine Kanne mit Palmzweig, auf der anderen Seite ein runder Gegenstand (Diskus?).
1,15 x 0,85 x 0,4 cm.
2. Hälfte 2. Jh.-1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.
Lit.: A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* (Berlin, 1896), 140, Taf. 26, 3137; ders., *Meisterwerke der griechischen Plastik* (1893), 468, Anm. 4; ders., "Studien über die Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 3 (1888), 317. Aus der gleichen Form stammt wohl die Glaspaste Leiden, früher Den Haag: M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems from the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague* (1978), 118, Nr. 129.

— Die flache, durchscheinend braune Glaspaste mit opak-weißem Querstreifen FG 4572 (Abb. 5) bringt

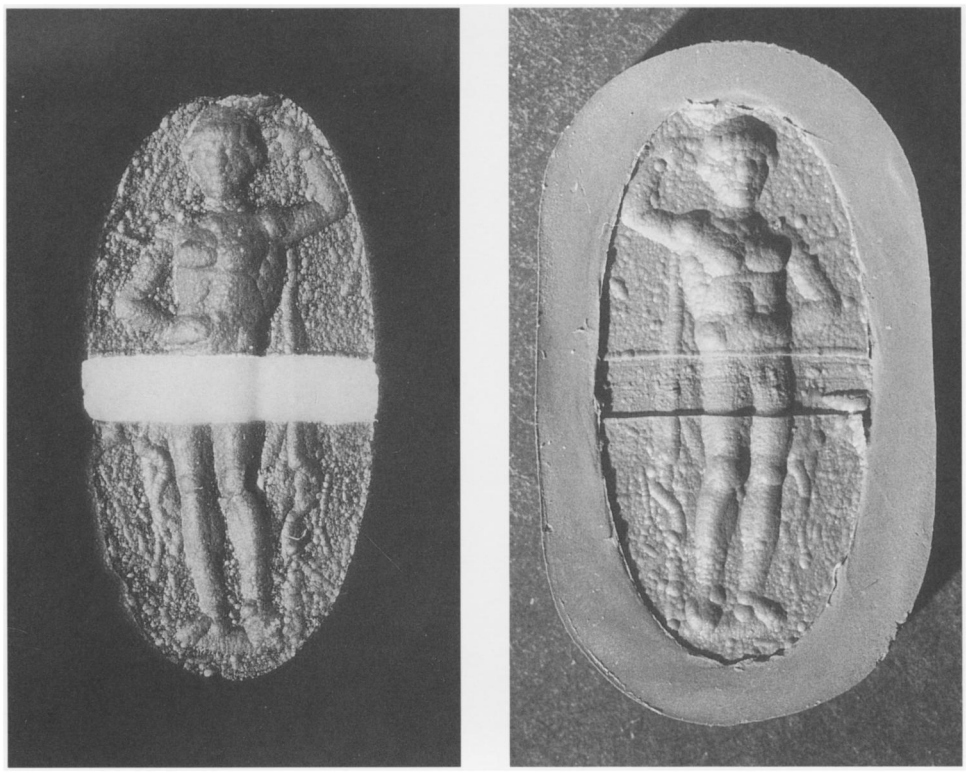

Abb. 5. Quergestreifte Glaspaste mit Ölgießer (Original und Abguß), Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 4572.

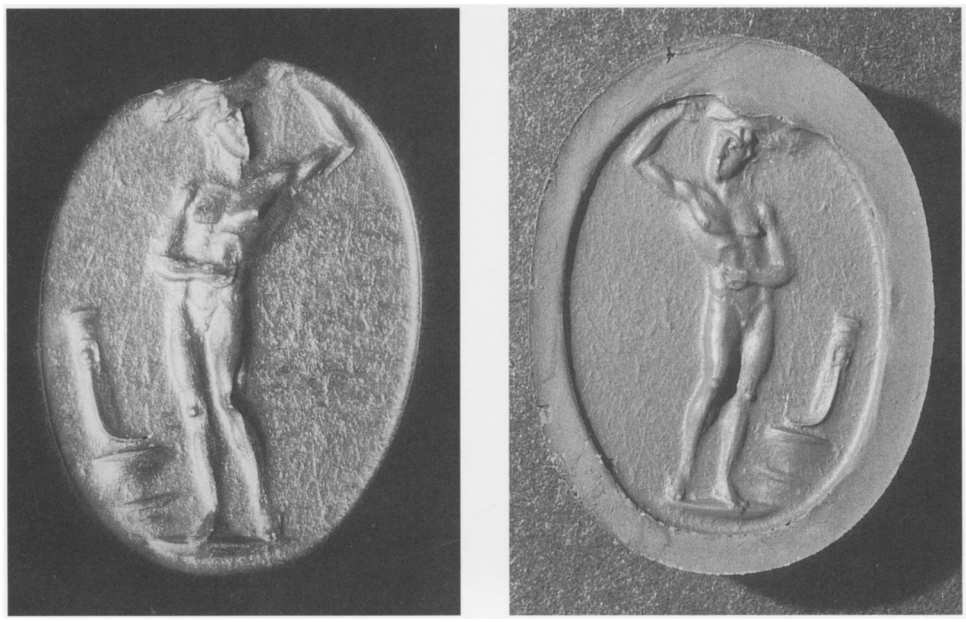

Abb. 6. Sard mit Ölgießer (Original und Abguß), Berlin, Antikensammlung, Sammlung Dressel 295.

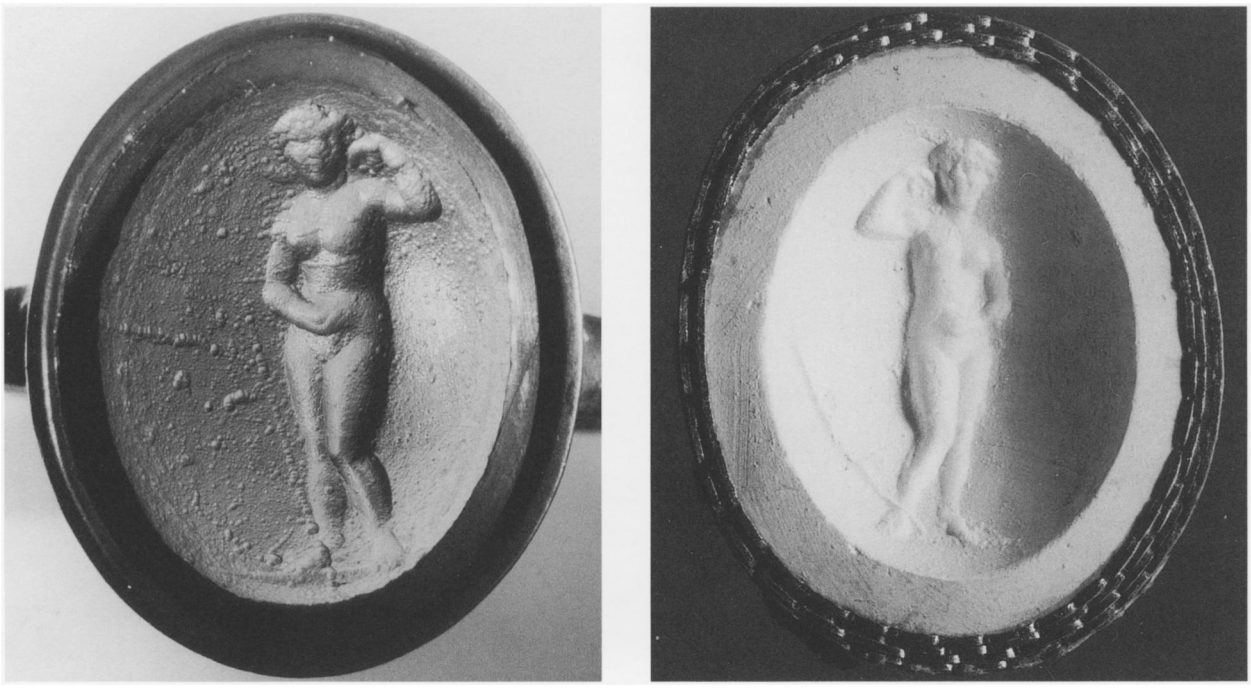

Abb. 7. Zwei formgleiche gelbe Glaspasten mit Ölgießerin, Berlin, Antikensammlung FG 1554 (Original) und FG 1555 (Abguß).

das gleiche Athleten-Motiv in einem völlig anderen, diesen den Bandachat nachahmenden Glasgemmen eigenen Stil: in das Langoval ist der Körper des jungen Mannes im nur angedeuteten Kontrapost mit seinen beiden angewinkelten Armen wie eingezwängt. Hinzugefügt hat der Gemmenschneider einen Mantel, der wie eine Folie dem Körper hinterlegt ist. Sowohl die Drehung von Oberkörper und Kopf, die feinen Buckellöckchen um das Gesicht und auch die Handlung entsprechen dem Athleten des Gnaios-Granat. Für ein Attribut im Bildfeld fehlt der Raum.
1,62 x 0,83 x 0,22 cm.
40/30 v. Chr.
Lit.: Furtwängler, *Beschreibung,* 187, Taf. 34, 4572.

— Eine kühne Veränderung des Motivs leistet sich der Gemmenschneider des dunkelbraunen, beiderseits flachen Sard ehem. Sammlung Dressel Nr. 295 (Abb. 6): Die Bewegung des schwungvoll aufgebauten Körpers gipfelt in dem zur erhobenen Hand hochgedrehten Kopf, öffnet die Komposition zur "offenen" Körperseite hin. Dieser Arm ist erheblich höher gestreckt als bei den vorherigen Stücken, die Hand berührt schon die Steinkante. Dem entspricht auf der "geschlossenen" Körperseite ein auf derselben Grundlinie wie der Athlet aufgebautes, stufiges Gebilde mit einem Becken vor einem Pfeiler, an dem eine Strigilis hängt. Der Steinschneider nutzt das Bildoval bis an die Ränder aus, spielt aber zugleich mit dem freien Raum, der die elegante Bewegung des jungen Mannes zur Geltung bringt. Auch hier ist—wenn auch sparsamer—der Einsatz des feinen Rundperlbohrers im Gesicht, an den Brustwarzen und an allen Gelenken zu beobachten.
1,42 x 1,07 x 0,28 cm. Abspliss über dem Kopf.
Anfang 1. Jh. n. Chr.
Erwähnt: Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke,* 468, Anm. 4.

— Wie das Motiv des "Diadumenos" für die weibliche "Anadyomene" verwendet wird, so das Motiv des sich salbenden Athleten für ein weibliches Pendant: zwei formgleiche konvexe Pasten aus honiggelbem durchsichtigen Glas FG 1554 (in neuzeitlichem Silberring) und FG 1555 (Abb. 7a, b) übernehmen Körperhaltung und Handlung; neben Material und Form der Paste zeigen die vollen Körperformen und der engere Stand die zeitliche Nähe zur erstgenannten Berliner Glaspaste FG 3137 (Abb. 4) an. Der Kopf der Frau, die wegen ihrer Nacktheit wohl nur Venus genannt werden kann, ist zur gehobenen Hand gewendet, allerdings nicht so prononciert wie beim Sard ehem. Sammlung Dressel 295 (Abb. 6).
1,4 x 1,1 x 0,47 mm.
2. Hälfte 2. Jh./1. Hälfte 1. Jh. v. Chr.
Lit.: Furtwängler, *Beschreibung,* 88, Taf. 16, 1554, 1555.

Die drei zuerst betrachteten Intagli der Berliner Antikensammlung und weitere acht aus anderen Museen

zeigen einheitlich einen frontal stehenden nackten Athleten im Kontrapost, der die auf der Standbeinseite gesenkte Hand nach oben offen vor dem Bauch hält, während er die andere hoch erhoben neben (Abb. 4, 5) oder über den Kopf (Abb. 6) geführt hat. In dieser gehobenen, nach vorn geschlossenen Hand "ist das Salbgefäß zu denken", wie Furtwängler schrieb, aus dem sich der Athlet Öl zur Reinigung des Körpers über die Brust goß und mit der Hand vor dem Bauch auffing. Der Mantel im Rücken des Athleten auf der Berliner Paste FG 4572 (Abb. 5) und die an dem Ständer hängende Strigilis auf der Sard ehem. Sammlung Dressel 295 (Abb. 6) schließen aus, daß ein sich mit der Strigilis am Rücken schabender Sportler gemeint sein könnte, wie P.C. Bol im Katalog zur Frankfurter Polyklet-Ausstellung annahm.

Der Granat des Gnaios in Baltimore stimmt am engsten mit der konvexen gelben Paste Berlin FG 3137 (Abb. 4) und deren Replik in Leiden/Den Haag überein, sowie mit einer weiteren opak-grünen Paste mit blauem und weißen Querstreifen in München,[25] die in frühaugusteischer Zeit entstanden ist, und einer nur durch einen Gipsabguß bei Cades überlieferten Gemme.[26] Alle fünf geben gleichlautend ein statuarisches Vorbild wieder: Standmotiv im Kontrapost mit etwas zur Seite und nach hinten gesetztem Spielbein und gehobener Ferse, lange Beine und schmales Becken, den kraftvollen Oberkörper in leichter Drehung und Neigung sowie den jugendlichen Kopf zur Standbeinseite leicht gesenkt, die gesenkte Hand offen vor dem Bauch gehalten, die andere bis in Ohrhöhe gehoben und mit greifend gekrümmten Fingern wohl ein Salbgefäß umfassend.

Die Frage nach dem statuarischen Vorbild dieser stilistisch unterschiedlichen, aber motivisch einheitlichen Überlieferung auf Gemmen sei an dem Granat des Gnaios, dem größten, detailreichsten und qualitätvollsten Edelstein diskutiert. A. Furtwängler hatte 1888 den "Öleingießer Petworth", den er "Polyklet oder dessen Kreis" zuschrieb, für das Vorbild dieser Gemmen gehalten.[27] In seinen "Meisterwerken" widerrief er diese Ansicht und bevorzugte nun den "myronischen" Ölgießer in München.[28] Bevor P. Zanker 1974 den "Öleingießer Petworth" für eine Neubildung des 1. Viertels des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. erklärte,[29] hatte bereits A. Linfert in seiner 1966 erschienenen Dissertation "Von Polyklet zu Lysipp" in allen bisher "Öleingießer" genannten statuarischen Typen Rückenschaber vermutet: "Eigentlich ist das Motiv des 'Ölgießens' ein Unding, da die von allen Ölgießern ausgeführte Handlung offenbar einige Kraftanstrengung fordert".[30] Und im Frankfurter

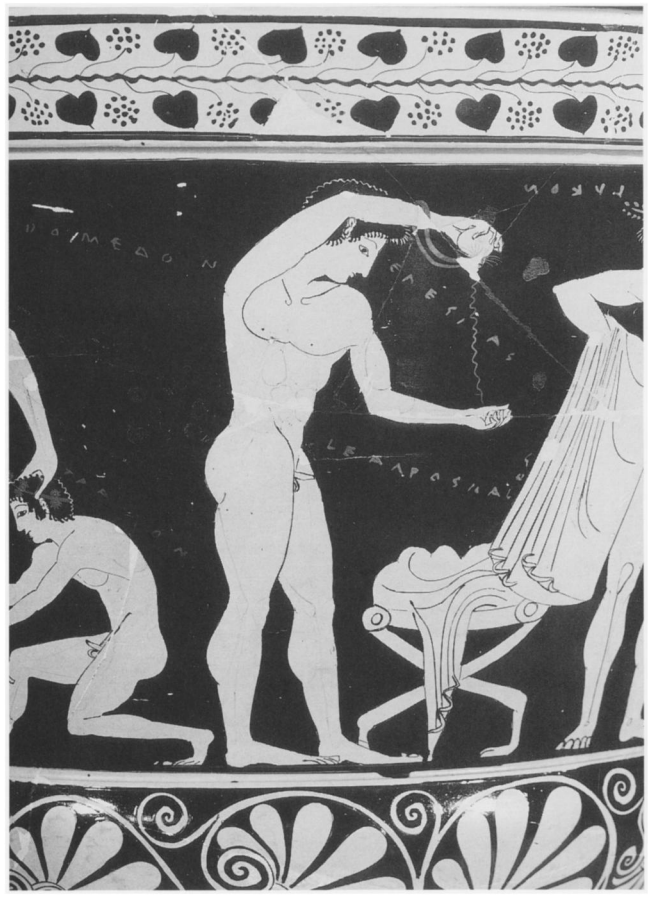

Abb. 8. Ölgießer Hegesias auf Euphronios-Krater, Berlin, Antikensammlung F 2180.

Polyklet-Katalog bekräftigt er dieses Urteil: "... das Motiv des Ölgießens in dieser angestrengt verkrampften Haltung (ist) unsinnig und so gut wie sicher nicht dargestellt".[31] Diese ausgreifende Bewegung war aber gerade beim Motiv des sich salbenden Athleten in der griechischen Kunst durchaus geläufig, wie ein Blick etwa auf den Euphronios-Krater in Berlin (Abb. 8) zeigt.[32] A. Linfert hatte zum Beweis seiner Rückenschaber-Theorie zwei Bronzestatuetten herangezogen, die aber beide auf der Standbeinseite in der erhobenen Hand die Strigilis halten, während die andere Hand lose an der Spielbeinflanke herunterhängt.[33] Bei allen statuarischen "Ölgießern" agiert jedoch die vor den Bauch gesenkte Hand: sie wird das Öl auffangen, das der Athlet mit ausgreifender Geste seitlich des leicht geneigten Kopfes über Hals und Brust ausgießt. Da aber der Gegenstand in dieser erhobenen Hand offenbar bei keiner der Statuenkopien original erhalten ist, kommt dem Granat des Gnaios in Baltimore in dieser Streitfrage eine besondere Beweiskraft zu.

Erst die Autopsie der Gemme und die neuen Aufnahmen des Originals erlauben hier eine Aussage, waren doch die bisher bekannten Gipsabgüsse alle flau

und teilweise sogar nachgeschnitten. Die Politur vor 1736, die den weißen Belag entfernen sollte, der noch auf Kopf und erhobener Hand haftet, hat nicht nur die Oberfläche erheblich reduziert, sondern auch die Gravur an einigen Stellen beschädigt: eine solche Beschädigung ist der muschelförmige Abspliss über der erhobenen Hand im Zwickel zu den Buckellocken; und auch das längliche Gebilde unter dem nach vorn gedrehten Handrücken, in Verlängerung der gekrümmten Finger, weist denselben Glasglanz wie der Abspliss über der Hand auf, kann also nicht als das Ende eines Salbgefäßes in der Hand des Athleten erklärt werden; zumal das Salbgefäß eines Athleten ein kleiner runder Aryballos sein müßte. Es ist somit auch nicht der Griff einer Strigilis, wie P. Bol im Polyklet-Katalog (zu Nr. 153) interpretiert. Hielte der Athlet die Strigilis so hoch und nah am Kopf, müßte er sich die Nackenhaare schaben; zudem liefe das Öl im Rücken herab, und die Haltung der vor dem Bauch geöffneten Hand wäre sinnlos. Der Athlet auf dem Fragment eines "Campana-Reliefs" in Rom schabt sich tatsächlich im Rücken, der agierende Arm ist senkrecht gehoben, der Unterarm im spitzen Winkel nach hinten gesenkt.[34] Die erhobene Hand auf dem Gnaios-Granat klärt also die Frage nach dem Gegenstand nicht, sondern der Abspliss unter dem Handrücken rührt vermutlich von dem Bemühen der sekundären Politur, die bis in die einzelnen Glieder gearbeitete Hand (ob einst mit oder ohne Attribut) wieder im ursprünglichen Edelsteinglanz erstrahlen zu lassen. Es ist—mit Furtwängler—das Salbgefäß in der zum Kopf gehobenenen, umgreifenden Hand nur zu folgern. Daß sie aber—im Gegensatz zur Haltung des ölgießenden Hegesias auf dem Berliner Euphronios-Krater (Abb. 8)—so nah am Kopf dargestellt ist, läßt vielleicht auf die enge Anlehnung an das statuarische Vorbild schließen; war dieses aus Marmor, durften Kopf und Hand nicht zu weit voneinander entfernt sein. Auf dem Sard der Sammlung Dressel (Abb. 6), der das Motiv freier interpretiert, hält der Athlet die Hand viel höher und weiter vom Kopf entfernt.

Drei Terrakotta-Statuetten aus Myrina, die den ölgießenden Athleten aus statischen Gründen mit einer Amphora am Standbein verstärken,[35] bestätigen die Überlieferung dieses reizvollen Motivs auf den Gemmen: der bei den statuarischen Kopien gebrochene erhobene Arm ist bei allen dreien erhalten, die Hand sehr nah an den Kopf geführt und zum Greifen um das Salbgefäß nach vorn gedreht, Unterarm und Hand deutlich über der Brust oder sogar auf ihr (Myrina 276). Teils von Diphilos signiert oder seiner Werkstatt zugeschrieben, können die Terrakotten in den Beginn des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. datiert werden. Alle drei zeigen einen Jüngling mit weichen, fast weiblichen Körperformen, nichts ist von dem muskulösen Oberkörper auf schmalem Becken und langen Beinen vorhanden, wie ihn der Gnaios-Granat tradiert. Die Inversion des Motivs (Myrina 678) spricht für den freien Umgang mit einer beliebten Vorlage, wie ihn auch einige der eingangs besprochenen Gemmen in der Übernahme für ein weibliches Pendant widerspiegeln.

Läßt sich aber nun aus diesen in unterschiedlichster Brechung überlieferten "Ölgießern" ein gemeinsames statuarisches Vorbild herausschälen? Der Gnaios-Granat setzt sich, zusammen mit den vier o.g. Gemmen späthellenistischer bis frühaugusteischer Zeit, durch die "klassische" Auffassung des athletischen Körpers in Bewegung und Proportion deutlich von den anderen Gemmen und den Terrakotten aus Myrina ab. Allein diese homogene Gruppe kann uns näher an das Vorbild heranführen. Der von A. Furtwängler bevorzugte Münchner "Ölausgießer" (s.o. Anm. 28), den B. Vierneisel um 360 v. Chr. datierte und "direkte Beziehungen zur weiteren Polykletfolge" vermutete,[36] scheidet wegen seines breiten, festen Standes als unmittelbare Vorlage aus; auch ist der Aufbau des Körpers unruhiger und verspannt, zeigt nicht den lockeren und flüssigen Duktus wie der Athlet der Gnaios-Gemme. Hingegen scheint mir der etwas früher entstandene Typus des Ölgießers Dresden 67 und Florenz, Pitti D 22,[37] in seinem engeren Stand, der einst gehobenen Spielbeinferse, und dem schlanken Körper mit zugleich muskulös durchgebildetem Oberkörper dem Vorbild der Gnaios-Gemme näher zu stehen. Allerdings ist hier das Spielbein zur Seite und nicht zurückgesetzt wie auf der Gnaios-Gemme; die Aktion des Ölgießens wird bei der Statue noch prononcierter vorgetragen, indem der rechte Arm stärker gehoben, die Schulter damit schräger gekippt und der linke Unterarm waagerecht vor dem Unterbauch gehalten ist. Diese extreme Bewegung findet auf dem Sard Sammlung Dressel (Abb. 6) ihre Entsprechung. Der Athlet, den der augusteische Gemmenschneider Gnaios so meisterlich in das weite Oval des kleinen, aber kostbaren Granat schnitt, erinnert stilistisch in dem betonten Gegensatz von schlankem Unterkörper mit stark vorgetragener Ponderation zu dem breiten, muskulösen Oberkörper in Gegenbewegung und in dem runden Kopf mit kleinen Buckellöckchen eher an den sich schabenden Athleten des Lysipp.[38]

Die Variationsbreite der späthellenistischen und römischen Kopisten—in der Großplastik, der Koro-

plastik oder der Glyptik—läßt sich am Beispiel des "Ölgießers" gut verfolgen, die Rückschlüsse auf ein vermutetes griechisches Original allerdings sind nicht so eindeutig wie erhofft zu ziehen. So kann der "Öleingießer Petworth" m.E. nicht als kaiserzeitliche Neubildung (siehe Anm. 29) bewertet werden; sein Verhältnis zu den übrigen Statuenkopien von "Ölgießern" sollte noch einmal überdacht werden.[39] Die Terrakotten von Myrina und die geschnittenen Edelsteine aus der Zeit um 100 v. Chr. bis in die frühe Kaiserzeit weisen deutlich darauf hin, daß das statuarische Motiv des ölausgießenden Athleten sich bereits vor der Entstehung der uns überlieferten römischen Statuenkopien großer Beliebtheit erfreute. Erdacht wurde es vermutlich im Kunstkreis des Lysipp oder der Polykletfolge. Ob eine oder mehrere ähnliche Statuen—vielleicht auch bereits Varianten der ursprünglichen Fassung—den römischen Koroplasten und Gemmenschneidern bekannt waren und sie zur Übernahme in ihr Medium reizten, ließe sich nur durch eine kopienkritische Durchsicht aller römischen Statuen von "Ölgießern" prüfen, zu der die Kleinkunst allen Anlaß gibt.

Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Anmerkungen

1. *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik.* Ausstellung im Liebieghaus, Museum alter Plastik, Frankfurt am Main, Hrsg. H. Beck, P.C. Bol, M. Bückling (Mainz, 1990), 625 Nr. 153 (P.C. Bol). Der vorliegende Text ist die ergänzte Fassung des Vortrags "Der 'Öleingießer' auf Gemmen" beim "Symposion zu Polyklet" im Liebieghaus Frankfurt a.M. am 19.1.1991. Ich danke Ellen Reeder, Walters Art Gallery Baltimore, für die großzügige Erlaubnis, den Stein während der Frankfurter Ausstellung untersuchen zu können, ihn durch Isolde Luckert vorzüglich fotografieren zu lassen und das Ergebnis im Journal der Walters Art Gallery publizieren zu dürfen.

2. *Collectanea antiquitatum Romanarum quas centum tabulis aeneis incisas et a Rodulphino Venuti, Academico Etrusco Cortonensi, notis illustratas exhibet Antonius Borioni* (Roma, 1736), kl. 2, p. 53 Taf. 75. — Die besonders durch Abschreibefehler verwirrte Geschichte der Gnaios-Gemme hat D. Kent Hill aufgeklärt in: "From Venuti and Winckelmann to Walters", *Apollo,* 162 (August 1975), 100 ff. mit vollständiger Bibliographie und Abbildungen der Stiche des 18. Jahrhunderts. Zu ergänzen sind nur Details: A. Furtwängler hatte bereits die irrige Interpretation von Cl.V. = clarissimus vir (und nicht "Clemens V.") richtig gestellt, siehe "Studien über die Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* 3 (1888), 315, Anm. 31 = Kleine Schriften von A. Furtwängler, herausgegeben von J. Sieveking u. L. Curtius, Band 2 (München, 1913), 237, Anm. 3. Furtwängler hat den originalen Gnaios-Stein durchaus selbst gesehen und korrigierte daraufhin sein Urteil über das Material, das er von Story-Maskelyne übernommen hatte, siehe A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1900), Bd.II, Zusätze und Berichtigungen S. 314 zu Taf. L,9; s.u. Anm. 12. —Lit.-Ergänzung: P. Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen. Handbuch der Archäologie* (München, 1983), 289, Anm. 138, Taf. 82,3; siehe auch Anm. 14.

3. Vgl. die ähnliche Fassung des Käferrückens des sog. Stosch'schen Steins: Antikensammlung Berlin, Inv. FG 194 (der schöne Goldring ist—da nicht antik—leider weder bei A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* [Berlin, 1896], Taf. 5,194, noch bei E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Antike Gemmen in deutschen Sammlungen,* II [Berlin, 1969], 103, Taf. 51,237 abgebildet). Vgl. ferner: Goldring mit Onyx-Kameo im Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv. M 231–1975. *Rings through the Ages,* Hrsg. A. Ward (Fribourg, 1987), 118, Abb. 255.

4. H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (London, 1926), no. 1892.

5. L. Natter, *Traité de la méthode antique de graver en pierres fines, comparée avec la méthode moderne* (London, 1754), 39 ff. Taf. XXV: die Gemme erscheint hier erstmals gefaßt! Natter wird dem Anspruch seines Buchtitels auch hier durchaus gerecht, setzt er sich doch kritisch mit den Schwierigkeiten des antiken Gemmenschneiders auseinander, in einen derart dünnen und beiderseits flachen Edelstein eine frontal stehende Figur mit nach vorn geneigtem Kopf, also in die Tiefe des Steins zu gravieren.— *Catalogue des pierres gravées tant en Relief qu'en creux, de Mylord Comte de Bessborough, Pair d'Angleterre et d'Irland, dressé par Laurent Natter à Londres* (London, 1761), 12, no. 36, Taf. XXV. D. Kent Hill (s.o. 102, Anm. 2) vermutete, der bei Story-Maskelyne (siehe Anm. 10) als Nr.621a aufgeführte Sard der Sammlung Marlborough könnte die von Natter nach dem Studium des originalen Gnaios-Granat gefertigte Kopie sein. Diese Gemme wurde—ebenso wie der Gnaios-Granat—auf der Auktion bei Christie's London am 28. Juni 1899 von Mr. Ready erworben (lot 621a). Eine Kopie als Kameo von N. Marchant (lot 621b) kaufte hingegen Mr. Rathbone. G. Seidmann, *Nathaniel Marchant, Gem-Engraver* 1739–1816. The Walpole Society III, 1987 (1990), 43, Nr. 17. Die genaue Beobachtung und kritische Auseinandersetzung Natters mit den von ihm untersuchten antiken Gemmen läßt sich auch anhand der sog. Natter'schen Gemme mit der verwundeten Amazone nachvollziehen, von der eine Kopie Natters bekannt ist, siehe G. Platz-Horster, in *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer,* 581, Nr. 101 (Abb. a und b vertauscht). —T.V. Buttrey, "Natter on Gem Collecting", *Journal of the History of Collections,* 2 (1990), 219 ff.

6. J.J. Winckelmann, *Description des pierres gravées au feu Baron de Stosch...* (Florenz, 1760), 455, zu Nr. 9, obwohl der einigen Exemplaren beigefügte Stich die Signatur richtig wiedergibt und ebenso beschriftet ist, siehe Furtwängler, "Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", 316, Anm. 32 u. 34.

7. H. u. P. Zazoff, *Gemmensammler und Gemmenforscher* (München, 1983), 121, Taf. 32,2.

8. Ph.D. Lippert, *Dactyliothec. Das ist Sammlung geschnittener Steine der Alten...* II (Leipzig, 1767), 236, Nr. 908.

9. Zu Sammlungsgeschichte und Genealogie der Dukes of Marlborough siehe E. Zwierlein-Diehl, "Der Divus-Augustus-Kameo in Köln", *Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte,* 17 (1980), 16, Anm. 23.

10. M.H. Nevil Story-Maskelyne, *The Marlborough Gems* (London, 1870), XV, 103 Nr. 621.

11. C. Newton-Robinson, *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* (London, 1904), 212 zu M 140.

12. A. Furtwängler, "Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", 315, Nr. 3, Taf. 10,12 = Kleine Schriften von A. Furtwängler, Hrsg. J. Sieveking u. L. Curtius, Band 2 (1913) 237f. Nr. 3 Taf. 27,12; ders., *Die antiken Gemmen,* Bd. II, 314 zu Taf. L,9; Bd. III, 346; s.o. Anm. 2.

13. s.o. Anm. 2.

14. siehe E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Glaspasten im M. v. Wagner - Museum der Universität Würzburg* (München, 1986), 106, 1–6 zu Nr.148 (mit

früherer Lit.).

15. M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Steinschneidekunst und ihre Künstler in spätrepublikanischer und augusteischer Zeit* (Baden-Baden, 1966), 45 f., Taf. 42,3; Taf. 43, 4–5; Taf. 44, 1–6.

16. J. Boardman, *Engraved Gems: The Ionides Collection* (London, 1968), 93 no. 18; ders., in: *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,* 233 (1981), 64; H. Jucker, *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 12,3 (1981), 676, Anm. 29, Taf. 5, 6.

17. M.-L. Vollenweider, *Die Porträtgemmen der römischen Republik* (Mainz, 1972/74), 188, Taf. 137, 1.3.5.

18. Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst,* Taf. 43, 1–3.

19. s.o. Anm. 4; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst,* Taf. 42, 1.2.4.

20. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Glaspasten - Würzburg,* 107; dies., "Griechische Gemmenschneider und augusteische Glyptik", *Archäologischer Anzeiger,* 1990, 540 f., Anm. 6.

21. Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst,* Taf. 41, 1.2. —Vgl.: ebenda Taf.39, 1.2 (signiert von Felix); Taf. 41, 3; Taf. 47, 5.6.8 (Solon zugeschrieben); Taf. 62, 1.2 (signiert von Dioskurides). —Siehe auch: Zazoff, *Die antiken Gemmen,* 288, Anm. 132, Taf. 81,7.

22. M. Chabouillet, *Catalogue génerale de camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Imperiale* (Paris, 1858), no. 1856; G. Horster, *Statuen auf Gemmen* (1970), 66, Anm. 2; Boardman, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen,* 233 (1981), 64. —Die schwarze Glaspaste, E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien,* Bd. 2 (München, 1979), 59, Taf. 31, 770 ist ein wohl neuzeitlicher Glasguß nach dem Nicolo in Paris, siehe *idem,* Bd. 3 (München, 1991), Nachträge 318. Die Qualität des Gemmenschnitts in diesem nur 8 x 6 mm großen Nicolo läßt sich schwer mit der der übrigen von Gnaios signierten Steine vergleichen, wenngleich die Muskulatur recht kraftvoll und das Motiv des sich schabenden Athleten detailliert bis in die Wiedergabe der Strigilis graviert ist. Die zierliche Signatur, die von der gehobenen Ferse des Athleten bis zu seinen Schultern fast zwei Drittel der Steinhöhe einnimmt, stimmt in den kleinen präzisen Buchstabenformen mit Rundperlenden ganz mit den Signaturen des Gnaios an den Gemmen London, Devonshire und Baltimore überein.

23. siehe Horster, *Statuen auf Gemmen,* 49 ff., Taff. IX, XI–XIII, XX, XXI; Vollenweider, *Steinschneidekunst,* Taff. 40, 2; 47, 1.7; 48; 63, 1.3.4; 66, 1–4.

24. siehe Horster, *Statuen auf Gemmen,* 66, Anm. 4; ferner die im Folgenden erwähnten Gemmen und Glasplasten, sowie: Nicolo, V. Scherf, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen* III Braunschweig (Wiesbaden, 1970), 40, Taf. 16, 124; Nicolo, E. Brandt, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen* I, 3 München (München, 1972), 48, Taf. 215, 2390; grün-blau-weiße Glaspaste, E. Schmidt, ebenda, 176, Taf. 312, 3260; grüner Jaspis Malaga, Privatsammlung. M. Dolores Lopez de la Orden, *La gliptica de la antiguedad en Andalucia* (Cadiz, 1990), 153 f., Taf. 14, 144.

25. E. Schmidt, *Antike Gemmen in Deutschen Sammlungen* I, 3 München, 176, Taf. 313, 3261.

26. Cades, Impr.Gemm. IV F 73; Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke,* 468, Anm. 4; ders., *Die antiken Gemmen,* 213, Taf. 44, 24; G. Lippold, *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1921), Taf. 56, 7.

27. A. Furtwängler, "Gemmen mit Künstlerinschriften", 315 ff.

28. Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke,* 468, Anm. 4.

29. P. Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz, 1974), 39 f., Nr. 39, Taf. 41.

30. A. Linfert, *Von Polyklet zu Lysipp* (Diss. Freiburg i. Br., 1966, 2. Aufl. 1969), 42. —Rezension von H. v. Steuben, in: *Gnomon* 44 (1972), 814 f.

31. Linfert, in: *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer,* 278.

32. Antikensammlung Berlin, Inv. F 2180, siehe jetzt: *"Euphronios, der Maler"* (Berlin, 1991), 61 ff., Ölgießer Hegesias 67 (D. v. Bothmer).

33. Linfert, *Von Polyklet zu Lysipp,* 42 f., 81. Bronzestatuetten: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, Nr.934 und Sammlung Loeb Taf. 11, siehe Linfert, in: *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer,* 281, Abb. 159, 295, Anm. 110.

34. H. v. Rohden, H. Winnefeld, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* (1911), 151, Abb. 278.

35. E. Pottier, S. Reinach, A. Veyries, *La nécropole de Myrina,* Bd. 1 (1887), 450 ff., no.3, 453, Fig. 52; G. Kleiner, *"Tanagrafiguren", Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 15. EH (1942), 230*22; S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs et romains, II Myrina* (Paris, 1963), 124, IV Pl. 150, e, c, a.

36. B. Vierneisel-Schlörb, Glyptothek München, *Katalog der Skulpturen* II (München, 1979), 304 ff., Anm. 3 (Lit.).

37. siehe H. Protzmann, in: *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer,* 619 f., Nr. 146 (Lit.).

38. siehe Linfert, in: *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer,* 291 f., Abb. 175, Anm. 166 (Lit.).

39. Liste der Ölausgießer bei: D. Arnold, "Die Polykletnachfolge", *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 25. EH (1969), 271 ff. L.I.-IV. Sowohl B. Vierneisel-Schlörb (siehe Anm. 36: 306 Anm. 16 u. 18) wie A. Linfert (in: *Polyklet. Der Bildhauer,* 280, 295, Anm. 109) weisen auf das Problem der ungeklärten Kopienzugehörigkeit zu einem oder mehreren spätklassischen Vorbildern hin.

FOTONACHWEIS: Abb.1: Isolde Luckert; Abb. 2, 4–7: Johannes Laurentius; Abb. 3: Bernhard Platz; Abb. 8: Ingrid Geske-Heiden.

English Summary

The "oil-pourer" of Gnaios, one of the most famous ancient Roman gems, was bequeathed by Henry Walters with the rest of his collections to the city of Baltimore in 1931. First published in 1736, the gem had passed through the hands of the ambitious German collector Baron Phillip von Stosch (1691–1757), who apparently had it set in the fine golden finger ring. After the ownership of William, second Earl of Bessborough (1704–1793), the gem passed to George, fourth Duke of Marlborough (1739–1817). At the end of the last century the great Marlborough collection was dispersed at auctions in London.

Ever since the gem was published, the signature of its gem-cutter, its material, and the action of the athlete, in its relationship to several Roman marble statues copied after a lost Greek original, have all attracted interest.

In 1975 Dorothy Kent Hill first published a photo of the gem, which previously was known only from engravings and plaster casts. She also clarified the rather complicated history of the jewel. The stone was ana-

lyzed as a garnet by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington. More precisely, one can say it is hessonite, a yellow-reddish variety of the garnet—a "vermeille" in French, as the gem-cutter Lorenz Natter had already determined in 1745.

Further discussion of the signature of the artist, in the right field of the gem, is pointless: on the original one can read that it was cut by Gnaios, one of the leading Roman gem-engravers in the early Augustan period, who is known from six signed gems datable to between 30 and 20 B.C. Like most of the Roman artists of the time, he signed his name in Greek letters. The name "Cnaeus" shows that he was a freedman. He portrayed three famous personalities in gems: the Roman leader and antagonist of Augustus, Marc Antony; his daughter with Kleopatra VII of Egypt, Kleopatra Selene; and probably her husband, the Nubian king Juba II.

Most of the questions concerning the Baltimore gem derive from the fact that the stone was repolished in the early eighteenth century in an attempt to remove a firm, white incrustation that had impaired the very fine and detailed engraving of the naked youth. In this process some of the thin and very hard material was splintered—as can be seen above the left hand and under the left thumb, as well as between the upper thighs. The whole surface was cut down, with the result that the contours of the body, the jar alongside, and the letters of the signature are all incomplete. Only the head of the athlete, the tiny drilled curls, eyes, and nose-tip, can be admired in the original, as they are still filled with this white incrustation, which the repolisher did not risk touching.

The Baltimore garnet shows a youthful athlete who anoints himself, pouring oil from a flask in his upper hand over his chest and catching it with the other hand under his belly. Numerous gems dating from the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. share this motif, demonstrated here by gems and glass pastes in the Antikensammlung, Berlin. They all reflect a statue, the so-called "oil-pourer," known from different Roman marble copies. The problem of their derivation—whether they go back to one or more Greek original statues of the time of the sculptor Lysippos or to followers of the school of Polykleitos—cannot be determined from the gems. However, the gems and glass pastes clearly show a youthful athlete pouring oil over his body after his exercises; they therefore help reconstruct the action portrayed in the marble copies, in which part of the arms have been broken off and restored in modern times.

The publication of this excellent garnet in Baltimore, with the new detailed photographs of Isolde Luckert, should bring this famous gem back into discussions of the gem-cutter Gnaios, of the history of European and American collections in the last two centuries, and of the problems concerning the statue of the "oil-pourer."

I warmly thank Ellen Reeder for the opportunity to study the gem during the exhibition *Polyklet* in Frankfurt a.M. in 1990.

The Power of the Anointed: The Life of David on Two Coptic Textiles in the Walters Art Gallery

Thomas E.A. Dale

Two Coptic textile fragments in the Walters Art Gallery, generally dated between the sixth and ninth centuries, provide the basis for an investigation of the iconography and function of David scenes in a group of some twenty-five related textiles. Better preserved examples belonging to the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg and the Metropolitan Museum in New York make it clear that both Walters pieces once decorated the hem of a tunic and allow us to reconstruct a cycle comprising a maximum of six or seven different scenes from the hero's youth. It is proposed that the narrative functioned apotropaically and that its emphasis on the protection granted to David by virtue of his anointing served as a visual analogy for the Coptic patron, who was enabled to overcome evil forces through his/her own baptismal unction.

Coptic textiles, more often than not, survive as *disiecta membra*—colorful vignettes, isolated from their original functional contexts. Consequently, most studies devoted to them have been confined to classifying individual works on the basis of formal properties and isolated iconographic motifs.[1] Such catalogues are essential tools for the organization of a vast body of fragmented and undocumented artifacts, of which an estimated one hundred thousand have been dispersed to collections throughout Europe, North America, and Japan, following the wanton pillaging and—at best, haphazard—excavations of Egypt's late antique and early medieval burial grounds in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[2] However, to be satisfied with mere classification is to deprive these images of their potentially rewarding contribution to our understanding of late antique and early Byzantine art. While a number of studies in the past have dealt with selected classical themes appearing on the more Hellenizing Egyptian textiles from the early Byzantine period,[3] it is only recently that later Coptic textiles have been integrated into the history of Byzantine religious art. Gary Vikan and Laila Abdel-Malek have demonstrated the importance of Coptic textiles in tracing the early history of Old Testament illustration; Dr. Abdel-Malek has also investigated the original disposition and meaning of Joseph scenes as clothing ornaments; and, more recently, Henry Maguire has begun to reconstruct the specific domestic and magical functions of Coptic textiles, placing them within the broader context of early Byzantine material culture.[4]

The two textiles that are the focus of this study are particularly well suited to these recent approaches. Like most Coptic textiles that have come down to us, they are fragments of clothing decoration. The larger of the two pieces (fig. 2) is part of a horizontal hem tape comprising a single narrative scene in a roundel flanked by pairs of equestrians in half roundels; the smaller piece (fig. 1), a square panel with one narrative roundel, must originally have been positioned above the hem at one edge of the back or front of a tunic.[5] What distinguishes these two pieces is their association with a small group of red-ground textiles from Achmim-Panopolis, which share a common ornamental vocabulary and a limited repertoire of single narrative scenes—here identified with David—contained in roundels consistently measuring 18–22 cm in diameter.[6]

Any attempt to understand the motivation and function of these textile fragments is hampered from the outset by two basic problems: chronology and legibility. Coptic textiles are notoriously difficult to date because of the absence of precise archaeological data on the sites from which they were originally—often illicitly—obtained. Thus, only a generalized framework has been established on the basis of stylistic development, dyes, and techniques used; currently, textiles stylistically related to the Walters pieces are dated anywhere between the sixth and ninth centuries. The problem of legibility arises from decidedly abstract figure styles and garbled inscriptions, which are, in turn, the result of mass production and the adaptation of

Fig. 1. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 83.727, gift in honor of Janet Wurtzburger by her friends Dr. and Mrs. Robert A. Milch, 1975.

more sophisticated models in a relatively coarse medium. The task of the iconographer is further complicated by the fact that many of the pictorial compositions from David's life seem to have been inspired by mythological scenes. Since pagan and Christian traditions co-existed in domestic textile design at least until the Arab conquest, it is not always possible to tell whether the subject is a pagan one or a Christian one borrowing iconographic elements from a pagan composition. Thus, it is not surprising that a number of the subjects here identified with David have been described by other scholars as pagan.

In this prolegomenon to the virtually uncharted territory of David textiles, I will necessarily draw upon research into Coptic textiles depicting the Old Testament cycle of Joseph. As is the case with these tunic ornaments, I assume that the David textiles must ultimately have been based on designs in silk originating between the sixth and eighth centuries: this influence is betrayed by their red background, medallion format, and ornament.[7] In both groups of textiles, multiple generations of copying in increasingly abstract styles, likely within a brief time-span, have rendered many of the designs difficult to read and have reduced to decorative patterns the inscriptions that might once have identified individual figures or narrative actions. Silks roughly contemporary with the woolen textiles, together with later middle Byzantine manuscript illumination, have provided crucial evidence in unraveling the story of Joseph; similarly, the life of David can be deciphered on the basis of the seventh-century silver plates from Cyprus, as well as middle Byzantine manuscript illumination and ivories. I intend to use the relatively clear episodes represented on the two Walters textiles

as a springboard for an investigation of David iconography in a group of some twenty-five examples. On the basis of the better preserved David textiles, I will suggest the original scope and disposition of the narrative. Finally, I will use the evidence of other Christian images on Coptic apparel together with exegetical and liturgical texts to explore the affective function of this sacred narrative on clothing.

David summoned to be anointed by Samuel (fig. 1)

The smaller of the two Walters textiles (inv. no. 83.727), a roughly square panel measuring 21.2 x 24.2 cm, depicts a narrative scene within a roundel, tapestry-woven in a bright palette of indigo, pale blue, forest green, pink, golden yellow, and white against a red-ocher background. The two figures, though clad in classical garb, are executed in a decidedly abstract manner common to a large group of textiles usually dated between the sixth and eighth centuries.[8] Their bodies are approximately rectangular. Drapery folds and contours are rendered as straight parallel lines or concentric curves that tend to flatten rather than model the figures. The blocky heads are dominated by large rectangular eyes with square pupils and straight brows, and by oversized, doughnut-shaped ears; mops of hair are differentiated only by three wavy lines, and a backward *C* forms the mouth.

The frame comprises an inner border displaying a serpentine vine on white ground, with palmettes punctuating the four cardinal points, and a narrower outer border with a multicolored interlocking *gamma* design. The latter motif appears on the border of a red-ground silk in the treasury of St. Servatius at Maastricht, which has been dated between the sixth and eighth centuries.[9] Both the vine and the half-lotus motif are ubiquitous in the Mediterranean during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, but a particularly close parallel for their combination on the textile border can be found on a silver plate, dated by hallmarks between 602 and 610, now in the Nicosia Museum of Antiquities.[10] This provides useful corroborating evidence for the generally accepted stylistic dating of the red-ground textiles.

Within the roundel, a bulky, nimbed male sits at right on a cushioned throne with a suppedaneum at his feet and a lyre resting in his left hand. Clad in an indigo mantle and a pale blue tunic marked by two gold clavi over one shoulder, the figure is twisted in a contrapposto pose so that his lower body faces frontally or slightly to the left and his upper body and head are turned to the right. A second nimbed figure, rendered on a smaller scale than the first, approaches the seated figure from the left with the right arm outstretched in salutation. Although his costume is rendered with less care, he seems, like the musician, to be clad in a long chiton with a mantle.

The composition is inscribed with eleven Greek letters arranged around the periphery. To the right of

Fig. 2. *David before Saul* and *Paired Holy Riders,* Coptic textile, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 83.728.

Fig. 3. *David and Melodia,* manuscript illumination, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 139, fol. 1v [after H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1932), fig. 1].

the musician appear four letters which read from top to bottom as follows: ⲇⲁⲩⲓ. Between the heads of the two figures is an ankh on its side. The vertical inscription to the left of the standing figure reads from top to bottom ϑϩⲉⲧⲥ. Finally, an upside down ω is found at the feet of the same figure. It would be logical to assume that these inscriptions once identified the two protagonists of our scene, but only the right-hand inscription can be tentatively read as the (garbled) abbreviation for David in Coptic: Δα(ου)δ. That the inscriptions should be used more as decorative fill than as meaningful labels is certainly in keeping with the vast majority of Coptic textiles from the Byzantine period.[11]

The identification of the seated musician as David is supported not only by the inscription but also by specific iconographic details. At first glance, the two-figure composition resembles David and Melodia in middle Byzantine psalters belonging to the aristocratic recension, of which the Paris Psalter, cod. gr. 139 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is the best-known example (fig. 3).[12] Both the textile and the miniature show David seated at right, holding his lyre and looking off to his left, with a companion behind him at left. However, the actions of the figures are significantly different. In the textile, the musician is not actually playing the lyre: instead, he rests it on one knee while gesturing with his free right arm. David's companion does not sit with him and lean over his shoulder to inspire him, as Melodia does, but stands in the pose of a herald—such as the angel Gabriel—and interrupts David's music with an important announcement. Thus, as Claudia Nauerth has proposed, the Walters roundel might better be compared with David summoned to be anointed (I Sam. 16:11–12) on the early seventh-century silver plate in Nicosia (fig. 4).[13] In this composition, David, like his counterpart on the textile, holds the lyre in his left hand and has apparently stopped playing in order to hear the messenger who approaches from the left with the right arm extended in salutation.

The subject of the Walters roundel can be found on at least twelve other red-ground textiles, all of which are generally dated on the basis of style between the sixth and eighth centuries and ten of which conform in format and ornament to the two Walters pieces.[14] Particularly close to the Walters textile is the example in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (fig. 5). Although the ornament and composition are almost identical, a slightly less rigid style allows one to read more clearly the anatomy of the figures—particularly the twisted pose of David—and to perceive the detail of a fillet or diadem in the hair of both David and the messenger. The inscription to the right of David is less

Fig. 4. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* silver plate, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum J454 [after K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), no. 426].

Fig. 5. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Tx 315.

Fig. 6. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Frühchristlich-byzantinische Sammlung 4680.

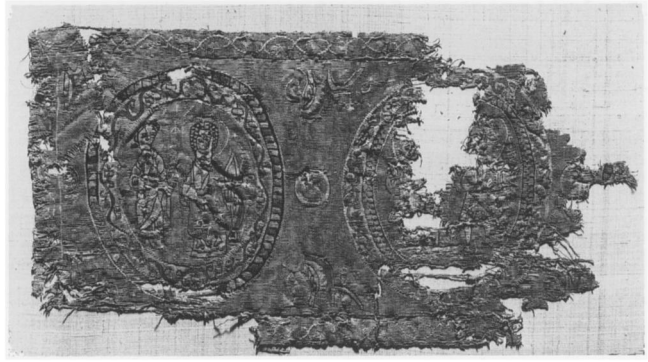

Fig. 7. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 96.333.

helpful though: it contains none of the same letters as the Walters textile and cannot be deciphered.

Amongst the remaining textiles depicting the same theme, there are at least five significant iconographic variations that appear to betray different phases of transmission and may better preserve certain details of the presumed narrative source of the image. Thus, in the version of the scene belonging to the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (fig. 6), the left-hand figure, like the messenger on the silver plate (fig. 4), wears a long-sleeved tunic, hose, and cloak, and he holds a long object in his left hand that suggests the messenger's staff. Another variation, exemplified by textiles found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 7), the British Museum (fig. 8), and the Städtische Museum of Trier (fig. 9), shows David in a frontal pose that corresponds more closely to the Cyprus plate. The textiles in Boston and Trier also differentiate the headgear of David and the messenger: David is nimbed and appears to wear a curious dappled headdress—probably an abstraction of his curly hair—while the messenger lacks the nimbus and wears a headband comparable to that which appears in the Brussels textile. The most convincing evocation of a dialogue between the two figures is found on the fragmentary roundel in the Gemeentemuseum of The Hague (fig. 10): here the messenger leans closely towards David, who turns around to face his interlocutor.[15] Finally, a rectangular panel in Berlin (fig. 11), though executed in an even more abstract style than the Walters roundel, includes two elements of the narrative composition not found in any of the other textile copies: one of the sheep from the lower border of the plate, and the segment of heaven from the top of the plate have both been translocated to the left of David.[16]

This particular episode is rare before the middle Byzantine period: it occurs neither on the fourth-century wooden doors of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan nor in the early Coptic paintings of Bawît.[17] Moreover, like images in the later Byzantine marginal psalters and the Nicosia silver plate, it varies from the biblical text by showing David's interlocutor not as a servant of Jesse, implied in I Samuel 16:11–12, but as a nimbed messenger, thereby emphasizing David's divine election, promised in I Samuel 16:1 and confirmed in the second half of verse 12.

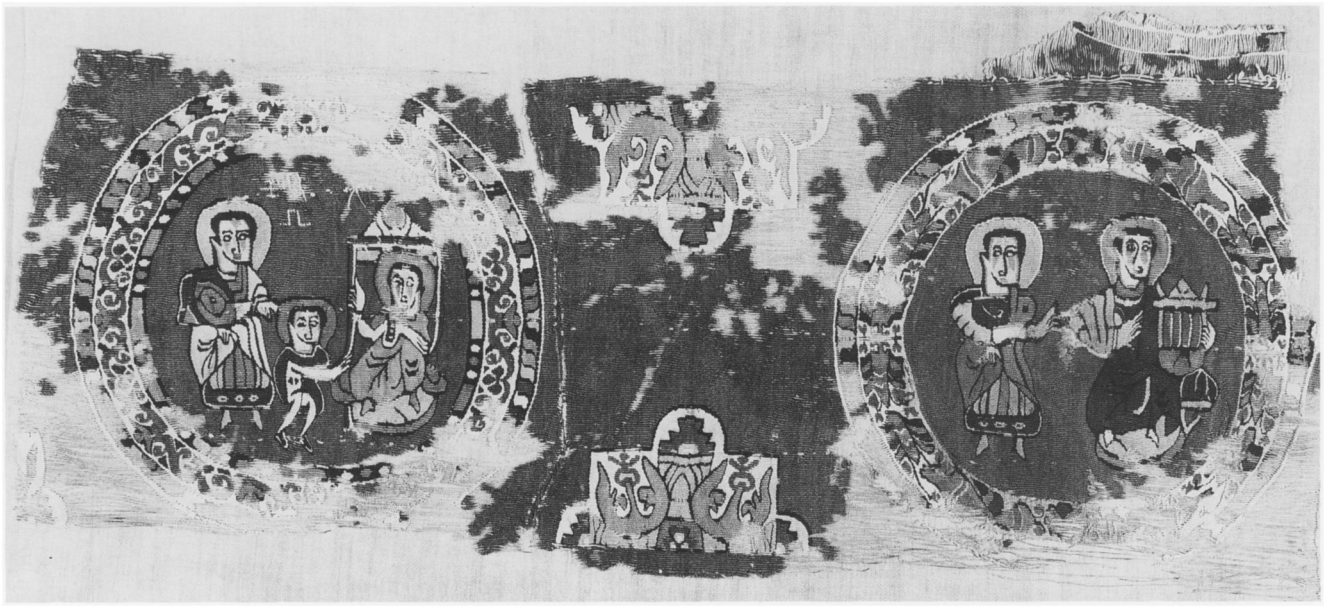

Fig. 8. *David Volunteers to Fight Goliath* and *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, London, British Museum 65662.

Fig. 9. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Trier, Städtische Museum VII.100 [after C. Nauerth, *Koptische Textilkunst im Spätantiken Ägypten* (Trier, 1978), fig. 47].

Fig. 10. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, The Hague, Gemeentemuseum OW 51 z.j [after A.C. Lopes-Cardozo and C.E. Zijderveld, *Koptische Weefsels* (The Hague, 1982), no. 80].

If it is accepted that the Walters textile depicts the episode of David summoned by the messenger, it must also be admitted that the composition of David and Melodia may have played a role in contaminating the iconography of the former in the process of transmission over the centuries. From this composition the weaver or his source might have borrowed the messenger's inappropriate costume and the pose of David.[18]

David volunteers to fight Goliath (fig. 2)

The second Walters textile (inv. no. 83.728) is a frieze measuring 25.8 x 64.5 cm and displays a single narrative roundel flanked by paired equestrian figures in half roundels. The scale, ornament, palette, and style closely

relate it to Walters 83.727, but the somewhat more organic handling of bodies and draperies betrays the hand of a different weaver. The full roundel, the border of which conforms to the design of Walters 83.727, displays a three-figure composition. A nimbed ruler, clad in a white and blue chiton with an indigo chlamys over his shoulders, is enthroned at left beneath a baldachin, his feet resting on a suppedaneum. A youth, scantily dressed in a blue cloak, gestures towards the ruler, while another nimbed figure, dressed in the fashion of the messenger in Walters 83.727, guides him forward from behind. Three clusters of letters appear to identify the figures, but again, their interpretation is elusive.[19] One might very tentatively identify the *delta,* beginning the vertical inscription above the youth, with David, and the backward *sigma* at the bottom of the inscription, to the left of the ruler with Saul. Of greater importance, however, is the fact that the vertical sequence of letters behind the right-hand figure, θΓΘΤC, duplicates the inscription that appears in Walters 83.727 to the left of the messenger (reversing the second and third letters), thereby providing another tangible link between the two textiles.

The association of this scene with David is more concretely supported by comparison with Coptic textiles in the British Museum (fig. 8) and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 12).[20] In the first example, the Walters scene appears in conjunction with David summoned to be anointed. While the two roundels clearly belong together in terms of style and iconography (compare the left-hand figures), the order is not necessarily the original one, for there is an irregular seam immediately to the right of the roundel containing the three-figure scene. In the second textile, the Walters scene and David slaying the lion occupy separate full roundels interspersed with

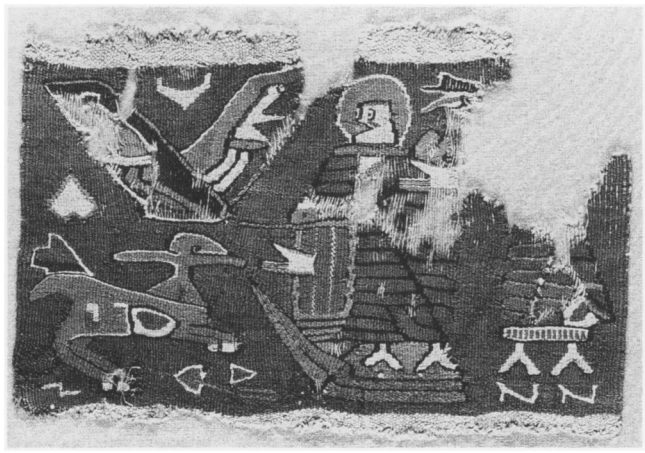

Fig. 11. *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Berlin, Staatliche Museen 6965.

paired equestrians in half roundels, thereby conforming to the design on Walters 83.728.[21] This juxtaposition suggests that the episode in question is the youth's second appearance before Saul in I Samuel 17:31–32, for it is at this point that David recounts his exploits against the bear and the lion in order to convince Saul to let him fight Goliath. In keeping with this interpretation, the youth appears to be engaged in conversation with the ruler; on the other hand, the attributes of David's first appearance before Saul—the kid and the basket brought as gifts for Saul from Jesse—are conspicuously absent.

A comparable image of David before Saul is found on an eleventh-century dodecahedral ivory casket in the Treasury of Sens Cathedral (fig. 13).[22] Saul, like his counterpart on the textile, is enthroned beneath a baldachin and raises one hand in salutation to the youth, who is brought before him by an older bearded man clad in a chiton and himation. Deviating from the biblical text, the figure who presents David to Saul is portrayed (and inscribed) as Samuel. Gold-

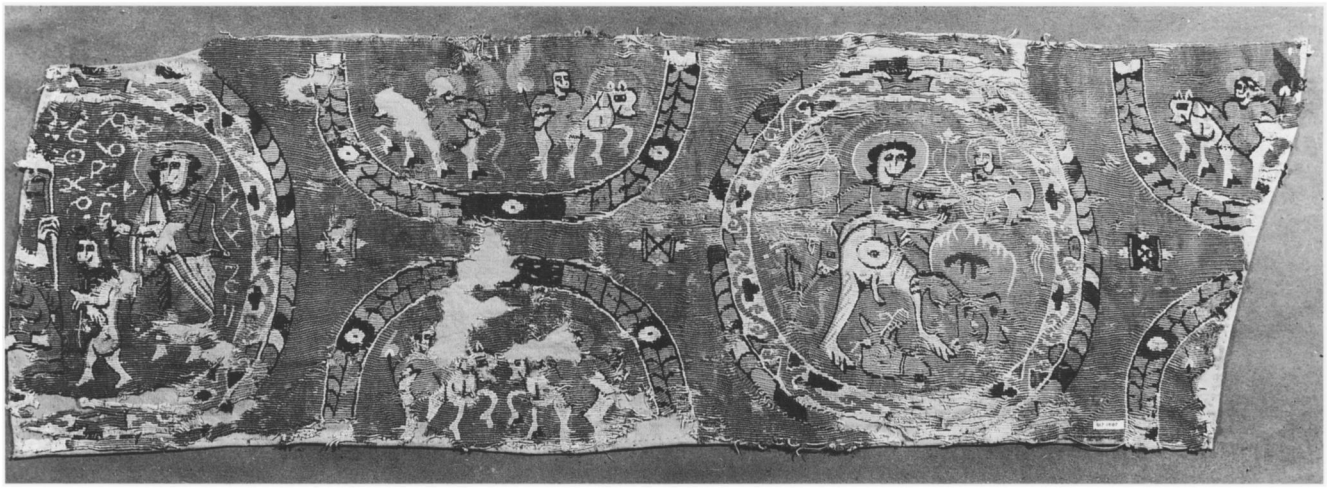

Fig. 12. *David Volunteers to Fight Goliath, David Slays the Lion,* and *Paired Holy Riders,* Coptic textile, London, Victoria and Albert Museum 631.

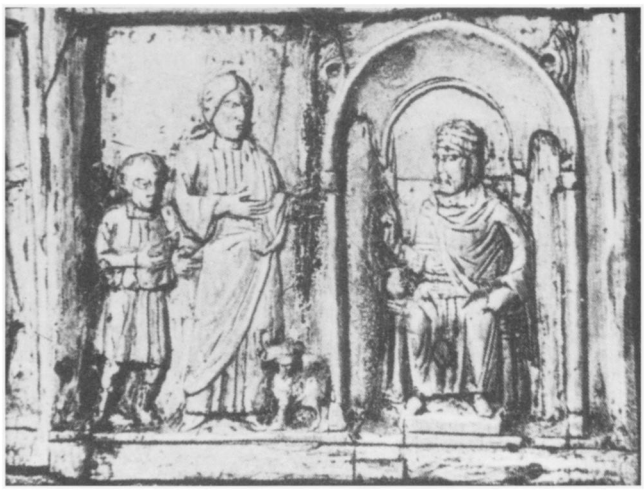

Fig. 13. *David before Saul* (detail), ivory casket, Sens Cathedral Treasury [after A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1932), I, pl. LXXII (f)].

Fig. 14. *David Volunteers to Fight Goliath,* silver plate, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.397, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

schmidt and Weitzmann identified the episode on the ivory as David entering into the service of Saul; however, since the youth on the ivory gestures towards Saul—as if to recount his exploits—and the next relief in the series depicts David being armed for battle by Saul, it is just as likely that the intended subject is David volunteering to fight Goliath. Moreover, the ivory and the textiles have in common the central three figures featured on the Cyprus plate that depicts David volunteering to fight Goliath (fig. 14).[23] Here, in keeping with the ceremonial, centralized composition of David's marriage to Michal on another Cyprus plate, Saul occupies the central axis, with David and a bearded companion on opposite flanks. Weitzmann has identified David's bearded companion as Samuel on the basis of the later ivory; now, the textile seems to provide additional evidence for the earlier history of this extra-biblical iconographic anomaly.[24]

The scope and iconography of the David cycle on Coptic textiles

The Walters textiles are but fragments of larger cycles of the life of David embroidered into decorative hem tapes of linen tunics. Initial investigations have revealed some twenty-five textiles belonging to the David group, but undoubtedly more will come to light as new catalogues make previously unpublished collections accessible. From this initial sampling, at least three more narrative episodes can be deciphered: David slaying the lion, Samuel anointing David, and a two-figure scene possibly representing David confronting Goliath.

The first and most legible of these scenes survives in no fewer than seven examples.[25] One of the clearest versions is found on the hem tape in the Victoria and Albert Museum, of which the left-hand roundel has already been identified along with Walters 83.728 as David volunteering to fight Goliath (fig. 12).[26] The nimbed figure of David, curiously naked except for a cloak, stands at left with his legs wide apart and grabs the rampant lion by the neck. Between his legs lies the carcass of the sheep recently devoured by the lion. To the right, a small crouching figure, possibly nimbed, seems to be perched on a tree branch.

Although the silver plate of the same subject in the Metropolitan Museum follows a different iconographic tradition (fig. 15),[27] in which David kneels on the lion's back and raises a club, it does correspond in a couple of significant details: the tree at right indicating the setting and the carcass of the dead sheep in the foreground. The latter is crucial to identifying the scene with David rather than Samson or Hercules. On the other hand, the episode of Hercules wrestling the Nemean lion may have influenced both the composition of the David scene and the depiction of heroic nudity. Textiles of the same stylistic group as our David textiles and a sixth-century silver plate belonging to the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris portray the naked Hercules confronting the rampant lion head-on and grabbing it by the neck, as David does in the Victoria and Albert textile.[28] This compositional type

Fig. 15. *David Slays the Lion,* silver plate, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.394, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

Fig. 16. *David Slays the Lion* (detail), ivory casket, Sens Cathedral Treasury [after A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1932), I, pl. LXXII (b)].

is also used on the Sens ivory casket discussed earlier (fig. 16) and in certain middle Byzantine psalters of the aristocratic recension, for example, that in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (cod. gr. 17, fol. 4v).[29]

One important detail in the textile scene of the lion-slaying remains to be explained: who is the figure observing events from the tree? One possible answer is provided by the tenth-century Paris Psalter (fig. 17). This particular manuscript of the aristocratic recension is rife with personifications of locales and of abstract concepts—virtues, vices, and natural forces. In the illus-

Fig. 17. *David Slays the Lion,* manuscript illumination, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale cod. gr. 139, fol. 2v [after H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1932), fig. 2].

tration of David slaying the lion, the hero is urged on by *Dynamis* while a personification of the *locus* reclines in the background. Either alternative is possible for our textile, especially given the translocation of iconographic details and extreme abstraction of style incurred as the model was transmitted to the woolen textiles; however, *Dynamis,* embodying the special heroic virtue of David, would seem more appropriate.[30]

A fourth episode seems to appear twice in a row on two textiles in the Metropolitan Museum (figs. 18 and 19) both of which conform to the format of Walters 83.728 (fig. 2) and the related example in the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 12)—namely, a red-ground frieze comprising full narrative roundels alternating with paired half roundels containing equestrian figures. Both Metropolitan textiles repeat a three-figure composition in the full roundels. In one of them, however, the second full roundel at right has been cropped and folded over onto the back (fig. 20), where a third, badly damaged roundel depicts the familiar two-figure scene of Walters 83.727 (fig. 1), David summoned to be anointed. The new compositions, which are difficult to read because almost all of the colored weft threads have been lost, superficially resem-

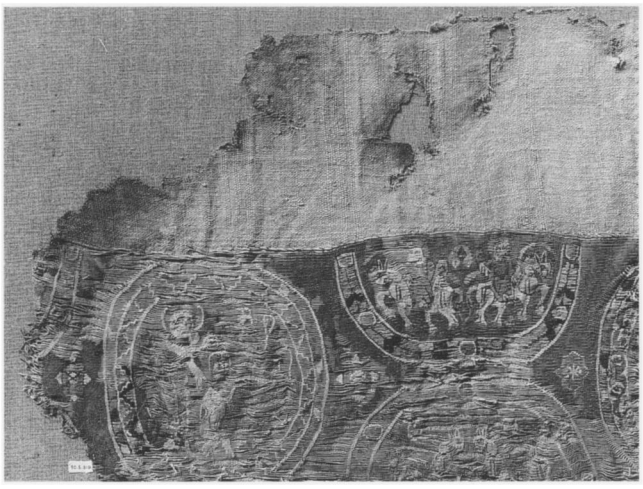

Fig. 18. *Anointing of David by Samuel,* Coptic textile, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.810 (front), gift of George F. Baker, 1890.

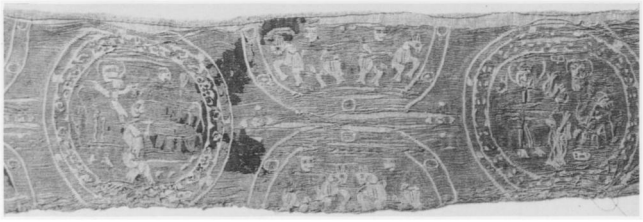

Fig. 19. *Anointing of David by Samuel* (twice), Coptic textile, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 09.50.2672.

ble David volunteering to fight Goliath (figs. 2, 8, and 12). In both cases, a tall figure, comparable to David's companion in Walters 83.728 (fig. 2), appears to guide the youth towards a seated figure at right. However, the seated figure is no longer ascribed the regal attributes of baldachin and suppedaneum. At the same time, the gesture of the figure at left has been changed significantly, so that in the left-hand roundel of both Metropolitan textiles (figs. 18 and 19) he raises one arm over the youth's head and, in the right-hand roundel (figs. 20 and 21), both arms.

In the life of David there are four episodes that might be represented by this balanced three-figure composition: the anointing of David by Samuel; David brought before Saul to play the harp; David before Saul volunteering to fight Goliath; and David armed by Saul. Of these four alternatives only the first can really explain the peculiar gesture of the left-hand figure. Is this not Samuel lifting up the horn over David's head to anoint him? If this is the case, then the right-hand roundels (figs. 20 and 21) must be considered the more accurate of the two versions: Samuel is clearly holding an object—now lost with the colored weft threads—over the youth's head, and David is shown frontally rather than facing away from the prophet. The

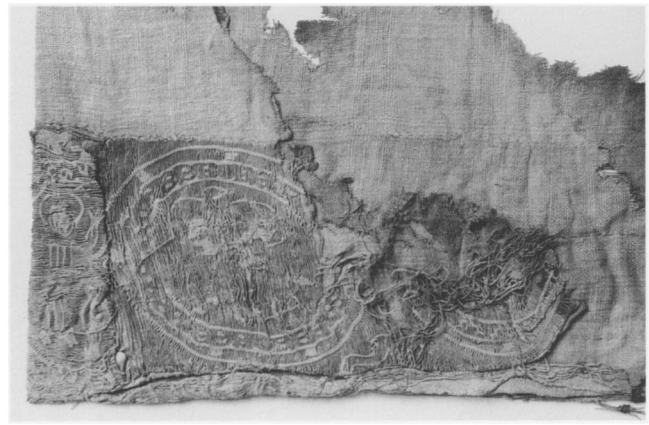

Fig. 20. *Anointing of David by Samuel* and *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.810 (back).

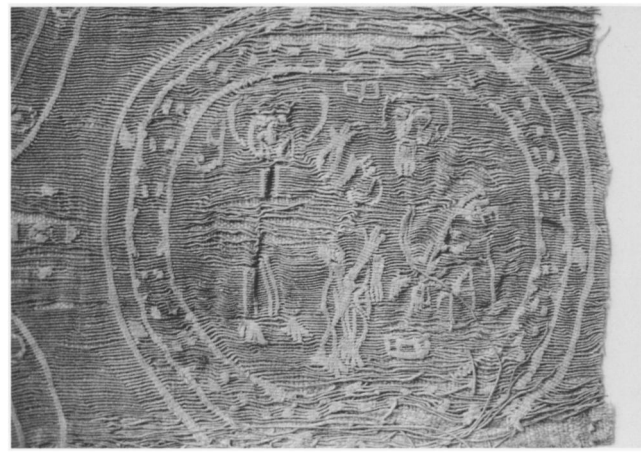

Fig. 21. *Anointing of David by Samuel,* detail of right roundel in figure 19.

third, older bearded figure would have to be David's father, Jesse, the chief witness of the event. Quite a close compositional parallel is found in the central three figures of the Metropolitan Museum's Cyprus plate showing the anointing (fig. 22).[31] The omission of David's brothers is understandable in light of the restricted format of the roundel. Similarly, in middle Byzantine psalter illustrations the episode is often confined to the figures of David and Samuel alone.[32]

A fifth, frequently recurring two-figure scene appears four times in conjunction with David slaying the lion in tunic fragments in the Abegg-Stiftung (fig. 23), the Museo Archeologico of Florence, the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 24), and the Louvre (fig. 25).[33] This is by far the most obscure of the five scenes examined here, its reading complicated by the high degree of abstraction in the extant examples. In the better preserved versions belonging to the Abegg-Stiftung and the Louvre (figs. 23 and 25), one can discern two figures facing each other, set within a landscape filled with delicate ferns and vines. At left, a tall nimbed figure in

three-quarter view gestures boldly with his left arm while holding his right awkwardly close to his side. Opposite him stands a shorter nimbed figure, who mirrors his pose and gestures. Both figures wear a cloak and a knee-length chiton or tunic with an embroidered hem tape reminiscent of the actual textiles that we are considering. However, they are distinguished by their footwear: the left-hand figure sports a pair of boots and stockings, while the right-hand figure appears to be wearing sandals over bare feet. Finally, on the ground between the protagonists lies a complex object with protruding "limbs." It might be construed as an animal, for it is similar in shape to the carcass of the sheep in the textile images of David slaying the Lion (figs. 12, 24, and 25), but it is also possible that it is intended to represent an article of clothing.

The confusion of the left-hand figure's arms with the foliage in the background has led Pierre du Bourguet and Annemarie Stauffer to identify the subject of the Louvre and Abegg-Stiftung textiles as Apollo and Daphne. However, this seems too great an abstraction even for our Coptic weavers. A Coptic panel of that subject on the fifth- or sixth-century shawl of Sabina in

Fig. 22. *Anointing of David by Samuel*, silver plate, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.398, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

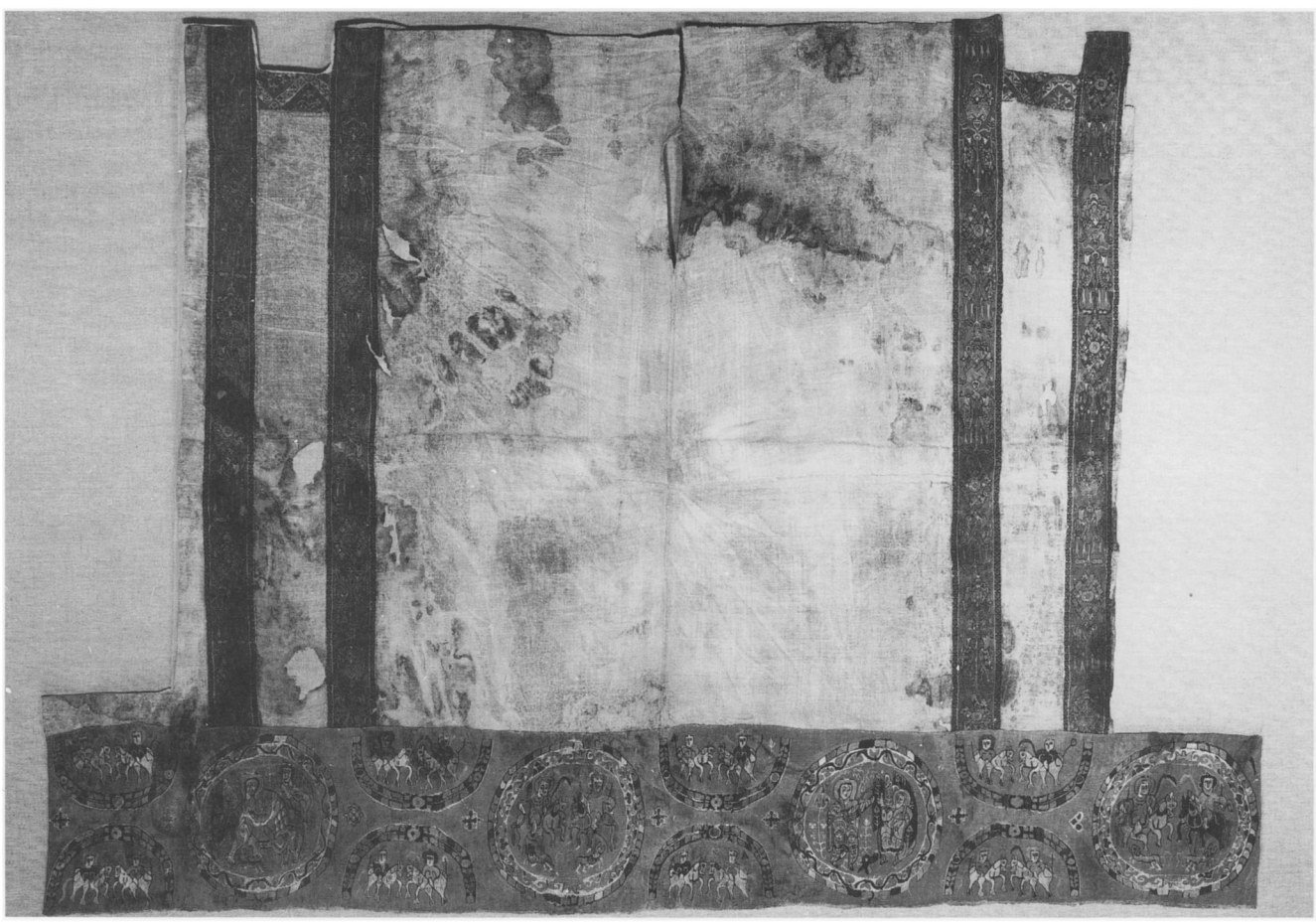

Fig. 23. *David Slays the Lion* and *David Confronts Goliath (?)*, Coptic textile, Riggisberg (Bern), Abegg-Stiftung no. 1388.

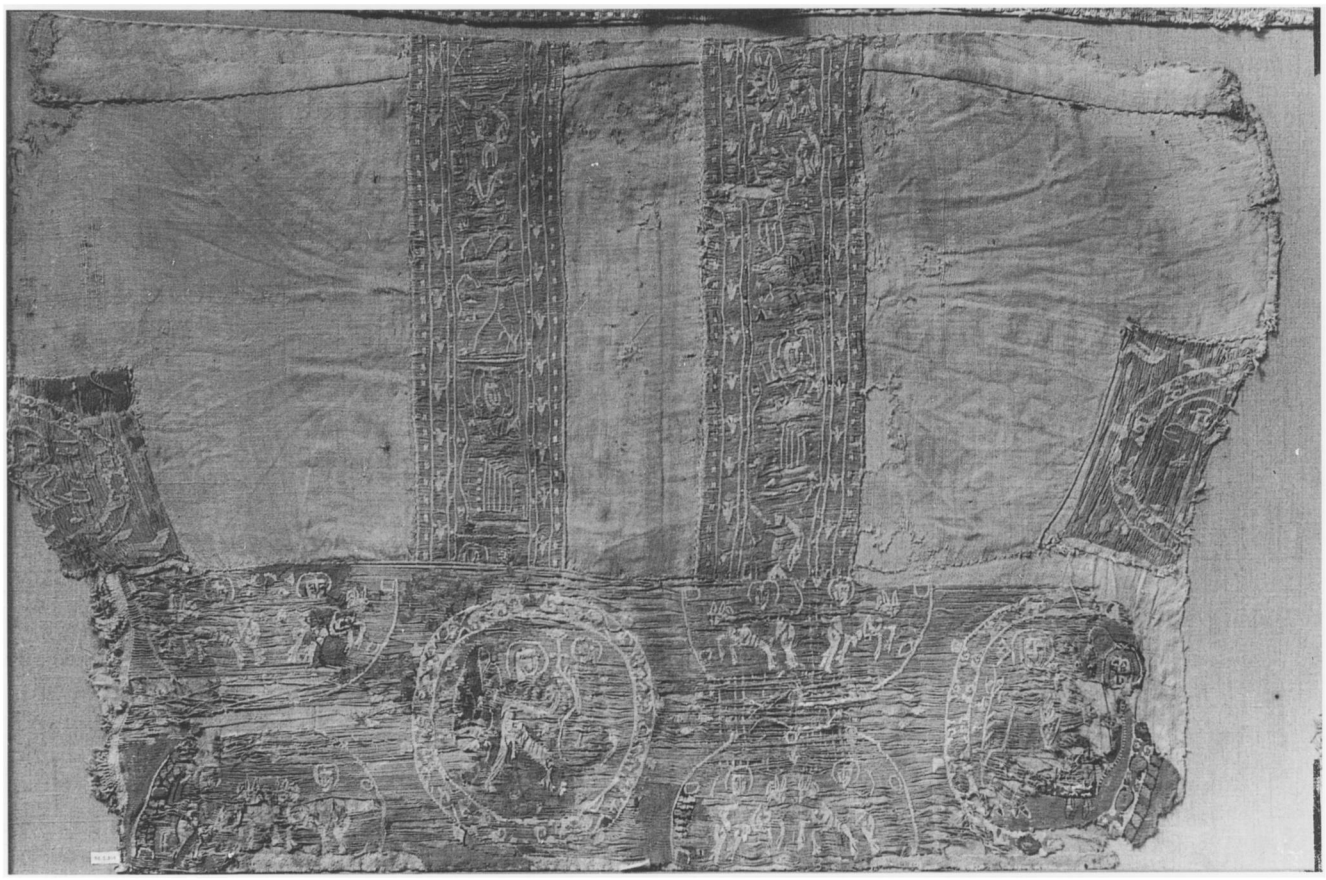

Fig. 24. *David Slays the Lion* and *David Confronts Goliath (?)*, Coptic textile, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.814, gift of George F. Baker, 1890.

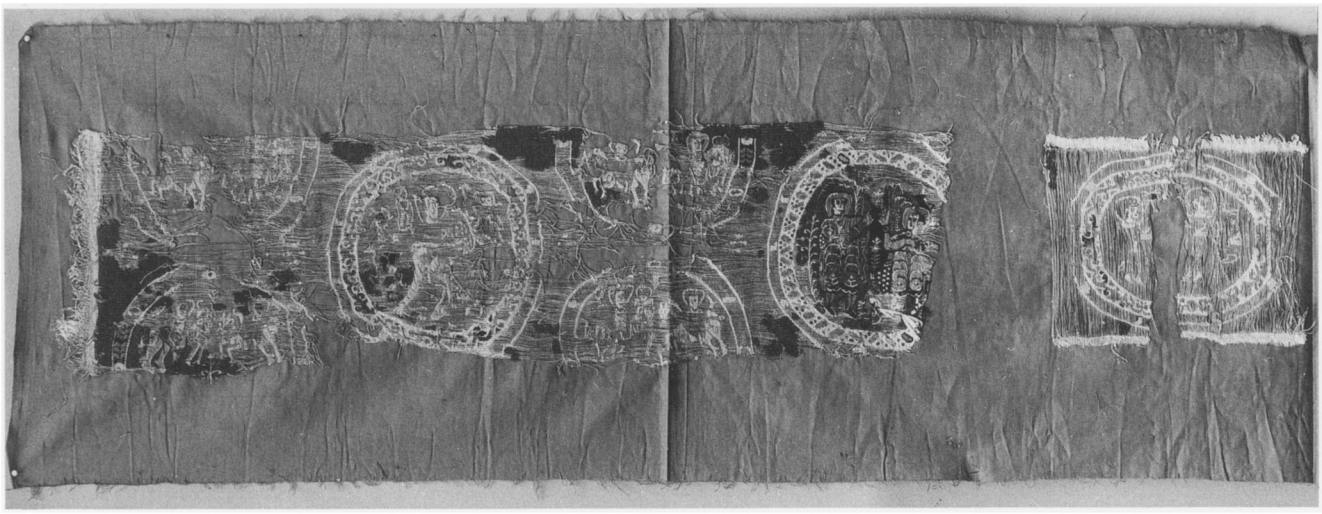

Fig. 25. *David Slays the Lion, David Confronts Goliath,* and *David Summoned to be Anointed,* Coptic textile, Paris, Musée du Louvre X 4749.

the Louvre leaves no room for doubt about its iconography.[34] Apollo is clearly shown in heroic nudity—rather than a tunic—pulling his bow, while his other attribute, the lyre, stands at one side. Daphne, unlike the right-hand figure on our "David" textiles, is also naked and forms the trunk from which two branches sprout on either side.

The identity of the two tunic-clad figures must surely be determined on the basis of the well preserved hem tapes in Riggisberg, Florence, New York, and Paris, all of which portray David slaying the lion as the pendant narrative medallion, and two of which include the scene here identified as David summoned to be anointed. In light of these more legible scenes from David's youth, it may tentatively be proposed that the subject intended to complete the cycle is

David confronting Goliath, either before or during the battle. These choices seem justified by the contrast in the heights of the figures and, more importantly, by the program of the cycle as a whole, which would certainly be incomplete without the climactic confrontation of the youth with the giant.

That the textiles represent the battle itself may be argued on the basis of a comparison with the sixth- or seventh-century fresco in Chapel III at Bawît (fig. 26).[35] As in the textiles, this composition is confined to the two main protagonists, who are unnecessarily separated by foliage. This interpretation is weakened, however, by the absence of any clear indication of a battle or of the weapons involved.

The simple juxtaposition of combatants each raising one arm towards the other recalls the abbreviated representation of the initial confrontation (or David's challenge to Goliath) in the top register of the largest of the David plates (fig. 27). Here, David and Goliath, flanked by representations of walled cities, raise their right arms to salute each other over the centered personification of the locale. While the cities are certainly absent from the textile, it is possible that the object on the ground between the figures on the textile is a last vestige of the personification.

The function and meaning of the David cycle on Coptic textiles

Up to this point, I have discussed the textiles as discrete iconographic entities. It is now possible to propose a reconstruction of their original context and to explore the possibility of programmatic meaning in the selection of scenes.

Claudia Nauerth, who rightly connected the David textiles with certain iconographic features of the Cyprus silver plates, has pushed the relationship further, proposing that the textile roundels might actually have served as place mats, with each roundel corresponding to an individual plate.[36] This hypothesis must be rejected, however, in light of two well-preserved David friezes attached to their original linen backing, one in the Abegg-Stiftung and the other in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (figs. 23 and 24).[37] The former example—a frieze comparable to Walters 83.728 (fig. 2) and the Victoria and Albert frieze fragment (fig. 12), comprising four full medallions with interspersed equestrian half roundels—forms the tapered lower border, or hem tape, of a nearly complete tunic.[38] The full medallions depict, from left to right, David slaying the lion, two equestrians trampling beasts, the episode that I have tentatively identified as David confronting Goliath, and, finally, another pair of equestrians. Two pairs of clavi extend from the hem on either side of a central seam, each decorated with a repeating pattern of two birds heraldically flanking a tree of life. A small ornamental strip borders an aperture cut some 6.5 cm from the top of the tunic, between each pair of clavi.

What seems at first a rather peculiar arrangement can be explained if it is realized that the left and right

Fig. 26. *David Fights Goliath,* fresco from Bawît, Chapel III [after J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit,* Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, 12 (Cairo, 1904), pl. XVIII].

Fig. 27. *David and Goliath,* silver plate, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.396, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

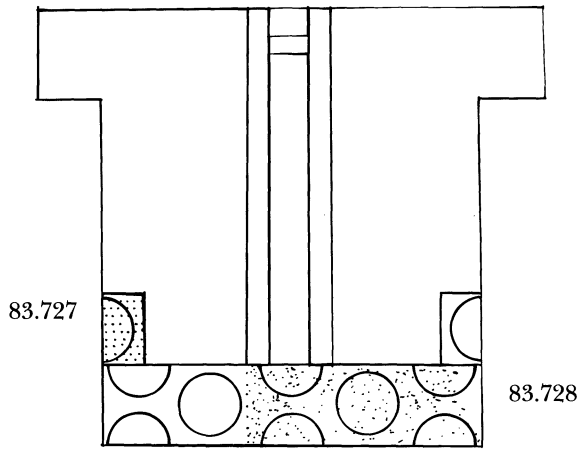

Fig. 28. Schematic diagram of David tunic, showing disposition of Walters fragments [drawing by the author].

edges have been brutally trimmed by a dealer for the purposes of mounting: both front and back of the tunic are simultaneously displayed, the central seam forming one edge of the tunic, and the slit near the top of the seam pointing to the original location of one sleeve. Originally, then, front and back of the tunic would have resembled each other with identical pairs of clavi, neck bands, and a broad hem tape with full roundels alternating with paired equestrian half roundels. (For this to work out symmetrically, the hem band must have had an additional full roundel on the left and an additional pair of half roundels on the right). With an existing height of 122 cm, a neck diameter of 18–21 cm, and a reconstructed width of 102 cm, this tunic would have been the appropriate size for a youth.

A slight variation in design is manifested in the Metropolitan Museum's textile (fig. 24). This tunic fragment comprises the hem tape and two clavi depicting single standing saints and equestrian figures. In addition, mounted immediately above the hem on either end, there are two vertically bisected square panels with inscribed roundels, depicting opposite halves of the scene I have identified as the summons of David to be anointed on Walters 83.727 (fig. 1). The figure of David appears in the left panel, and the messenger in the right. It seems that each of these panels must have been folded over the seam connecting the front and the back of the tunic but was divided more or less in half when the tunic itself was dismembered. Such an arrangement can be found in textiles displaying different subject matter, such as a work belonging to the Victoria and Albert Museum with scenes of Solomon on horseback and Daniel with the lions.[39] This tunic fragment shares with the David textiles the repeating medallion frieze at the hem, the truncated square panels with medallions above at either end, and the two clavi.

The displacement of the summons of David from the main frieze on the Metropolitan Museum's tunic is probably not accidental. This is the only David scene to appear as a distinct roundel isolated from the frieze, and on at least three other examples known to me, in Paris (fig. 25), Saint Petersburg, and Brussels (fig. 5), the pattern of wear indicates that it was vertically folded.[40] Since it represents the earliest episode on extant David textiles, it may well have been intended as the starting point for the reading of the narrative on each side. At the same time, its special emphasis may have been intended to draw attention to an underlying theme of David's youth: his divine election. This aspect is emphasized on the silver plate and in the textiles by the messenger's nimbus and in middle Byzantine manuscript illuminations by the representation of the messenger in the form of an angel.[41]

The examples from the Metropolitan Museum of New York and the Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg provide us with enough material to reconstruct fairly accurately a complete David tunic and consequently the original disposition of the two Walters panels (fig. 28). In contrast to the Joseph tunics, it is apparent that the narrative element was confined to the hem tape and squares attached to it. The Riggisberg tunic, though substituting paired equestrians for David scenes in alternate full roundels, allows for the possibility of narrative in as many as five full roundels on the hem tape—two on the front and three on the back, in alternation with paired half roundels depicting equestrian figures. In addition, many tunics, like that in the Metropolitan Museum discussed above, must also have been equipped with two single roundels of the same scene, folded over the seam at either side. This allows for a maximum of six individual scenes, five of which I have already identified. It must be cautioned, however, that the system was quite flexible, so that in some cases the number of distinct narrative scenes may have been much more limited, repeating individual episodes such as the summons to be anointed (fig. 24) or the anointing of David (figs. 18–22), which, as I will argue below, were deemed particularly important for the perceived function of the narrative cycle.

Thus, our picture of the David cycle is quite complete. It must have been limited in scope, comprising no more than six episodes, all of which seem to have derived from David's youth: David slaying the lion; David summoned to be anointed; David anointed by Samuel; David volunteering to fight Goliath; and David confronting Goliath. A sixth scene, if one was included,

would probably have shown David decapitating Goliath or perhaps the slaying of the bear, but this remains to be discovered amongst unpublished textile collections.

The presence of biblical narrative on clothing is hardly surprising. It is documented at least as early as the fourth century in a well-known sermon by Asterius, Bishop of Amaseia. Here the bishop records that

> the more religious among rich men and women, having picked out the story of the Gospels, have handed it over to the weavers—I mean our Christ together with all his disciples, and each one of the miracles the way it is related...In doing this they consider themselves to be religious and to be wearing clothes that are agreeable to God.[42]

As Henry Maguire has pointed out, Asterius's text makes it clear that laymen rather than clergy promoted this custom of wearing biblical narrative on clothing, and the miracles selected by the patron must have been deemed beneficial to his or her spiritual and physical health, thereby making the clothes "agreeable to God."[43] What is more, these very subjects appear on extant Coptic textiles, for example a clavus in the National Museum in Copenhagen, as well as on amuletic pendants where miracles such as the woman with the issue of blood are accompanied by magic inscriptions.[44]

Even narrative episodes in which miracles play no direct role seem to have been imbued with an apotropaic significance. Thus, the infancy scenes—the Annunciation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, and Baptism—which decorate a tunic in the Field Museum of Chicago take on affective properties in light of an encolpion in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection bearing the same scenes and inscribed with the invocation, "Christ, our God, help us."[45] From the realm of Old Testament iconography, Maguire has also convincingly argued that the narrative of Joseph, which was so frequently embroidered on Coptic textiles, was specifically intended to ward off envy.[46]

The David narrative must surely be placed within this broader context of apotropaic narrative on clothing. One is immediately prompted to see the choice of David as an archetypal hero, whose battles with the lion and Goliath are analogous to the mighty works of Christ's ministry and passion.[47] Moreover, the narrative medallions gain a certain power by virtue of association with a litany of saints on the clavi, in the case of the large tunic fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, or the pairs of nimbed riders, which are repeated time and again on the surviving hem tapes of the David group. Likewise, the seemingly decorative pattern of paired birds flanking the tree of life on the

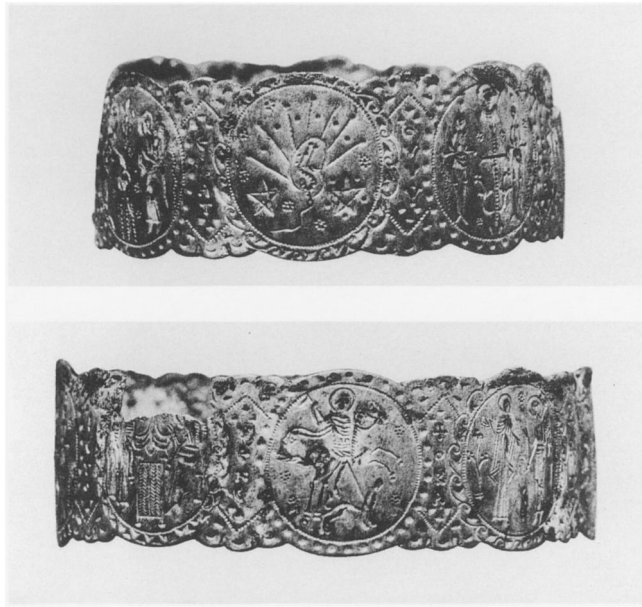

Fig. 29. *Christological Scenes and Amuletic Motifs,* silver armband, Cairo, Egyptian Museum [after J. Maspero, "Bracelets-amulettes d'époque byzantine," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Egypte,* 9 (1908), 246–58, figs. 1 and 2].

clavi of the Bern tunic may refer—if somewhat more obliquely—to the life-granting properties expected by the wearer of the tunic.[48] The Holy Rider is one of the most common motifs to appear on Egyptian and Syrian amulets of the early Byzantine period.[49] Whether it was intended to depict Alexander the Great, King Solomon, who was given the Seal of God to triumph over demons, Christ himself triumphantly entering into Jerusalem or a soldier saint such as Sissinius, George or Mercurios, accompanying inscriptions consistently ascribe to the Holy Rider the power to guarantee the safety of the wearer.

The combination of David's life with the repeating motif of the Holy Rider, arranged in a series of roundels around a hem, suggests a telling analogy with amuletic armbands that comprise a series of medallions with single scenes from the life of Christ (fig. 29). Ernst Kitzinger and Gary Vikan have demonstrated that the life of Christ itself acquires a protective function by virtue of association with explicitly apotropaic inscriptions and motifs such as the evil eye or the Holy Rider, and the arrangement of a sequence of medallions in a complete circle further imbues the narrative with the quality of a charm.[50] Precisely the same effect is produced by the disposition of David scenes, one per roundel, in a cycle around the hem of a tunic, interspersed with pairs of holy riders.

As in the case of the Joseph textiles, though, I believe that the particular selection of scenes from David's youth were intended—at least in the initial

copying phase—to present a more specific analogy for the contemporary Coptic Christian. Although David undoubtedly was chosen for his heroic virtues, it is important to observe that among the clearly identifiable scenes on surviving textiles, only one explicitly heroic episode—the lion slaying—is included, while three involve his special calling as Saul's divinely appointed successor. The messenger from God comes to bring David before Samuel; Samuel anoints David; David comes before Saul to demonstrate his qualifications to redeem his people from the Philistines, citing his victory over the lion and the bear. It has also been observed above that the summons to be anointed and the anointing of David are given particular prominence in extant cycles by placement or repetition.[51] Surely the emphasis is on the fact that David has a special calling from God who has anointed him, and this is what protects him. Likewise, the baptized Christian who wore such a David tunic would have won similar protection through his own baptismal unction.

That anointing was designed to ensure the catechumen of both spiritual and physical protection is confirmed by the Coptic baptismal liturgy. While the main rubrics of the baptismal anointing can be traced back as far as the late third-century "Egyptian Church Order," the emphasis on exorcism and the victory over Satan in the present rite is more closely paralleled in the Coptic liturgy of the sixth century.[52] Signed and sealed with no less than three different oils—the oil of catechesis, the *hagielaion* or oil of gladness, and the chrism—the neophyte is clearly prepared as God's holy warrior. The service begins with the prayer for the exorcism of the oil of catechesis, in which the priest prays: "Make it to be free from demons and their magic and sorcery and all idolatry and change it and manifest it as an oil for the anointing of catechumens, unto the making of the soul believing."[53] Thereupon, the priest anoints first the forehead and shoulder blades, then the forehead again, and finally the heart, hands, and upper torso saying "May this oil destroy every power of the adversary."[54] After this first unction the neophyte himself renounces the devil, pronounces his adherence to the catholic faith, and prepares to receive the second oil, that of the *hagielaion.* As the priest performs this cruciform anointing, he again recites an apotropaic formula: "I anoint thee, N., with the oil of gladness, as a defense against every work of the adversary, that thou mayest be grafted into the root of the sweet olive tree which is the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church of God."[55] Following this second anointing, as if to reinforce its efficacy, the priest prays for the expulsion of "all apostate and hostile powers" and petitions that those just anointed may ". . .be clothed with a garment of salvation; an armor invincible and unconquerable by those who fight against us."[56] At this point the catechumen is baptized and receives communion for the first time. Finally, after the baptism, the priest anoints the neophyte with the chrism, making no less than thirty-six signs of the cross on the forehead, the eyes, the nostrils, the mouth, the ears, the hands (inside and out), the heart, the knees, the soles of the feet, the back, the arms, the shoulders, and above the heart. The formulae used again suggest the protection and prosperity granted to the new Christian:

> The anointing of the pledge of the kingdom of heaven. Amen. The anointing of participation in eternal and immortal life. Amen. The perfection of the grace of the Holy Spirit, and the breastplate of faith and of righteousness. Amen. I anoint thee, N., with holy oil: in the Name of the Father, and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.[57]

The notion that the Christian acquires through baptismal unction a protective "armor" against evil originates with St. Paul. In his Epistle to the Ephesians (6:11 ff), he urges the faithful to "put on the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil." Further on in the same epistle, he extends the metaphor to include the "shield of faith," the "helmet of salvation," the "sword of the Spirit," and the "breastplate of righteousness" mentioned during the prayer for the unction of the chrism.

A biblical source seems also to supply the link between David and the anointed neophyte evoked in the textiles. In Psalm 89, the theme of which is the covenant established between David and the Lord at the time of his anointing, the protection granted to the youth over his enemies foreshadows the apotropaic cadences of the Coptic prayers of baptismal unction:

> I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him: With whom my hand shall be established: mine arm also shall strengthen him. The enemy shall not exact upon him; nor the son of wickedness afflict him. And I will beat down his foes before his face. . . . (Ps. 89:20–23).

The specific analogy between the efficacy of David's anointing and that of the baptized Christian is drawn as early as the third century by Ephraim the Syrian in his *Hymni in festum epiphaniae.* In his third hymn, focusing on baptismal unction, Ephraim cites David's anointing as one of a series of Old Testament types for the neophyte:

> In the unction of David, brothers, the Holy Spirit descended into his heart and filled it with its agreeable fragrance. The sweetness of his heart was like that of the oil. The spirit dwelt within him and dictated the psalms. Your unction is (even) better, because the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit have come down to abide within you.[58]

In the fifth hymn, he again uses David as exemplar, this time to suggest that the oil of anointing imbues both David and the neophyte with the power to triumph over evil:

> David, having been anointed with oil, fought with his arms and humiliated the giant who wanted to subjugate Israel. Behold, by the oil of Christ and with his arms concealed in the water he has put down the pride of the Evil One, who wanted to subjugate the (Christian) people.[59]

It has already been recognized that visual analogy was deemed so affective by Coptic Christians that they used the narrative of Christ and Joseph as magic charms to protect themselves from harm and guarantee a prosperous life.[60] In this paper it has been proposed that the selection of scenes from the youth of David, which emphasizes the apotropaic powers acquired through unction, provided a more specific analogy for the baptized Christian. Just as David was chosen and enabled to overcome evil powers through his anointment, so the Christian was protected by his baptismal unction. In literally wearing the life of David, he was spiritually "putting on David" in the same way that Paul describes the neophyte "putting on Christ" at baptism.[61]

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Notes

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1. Two of the most comprehensive classifications of Coptic textiles are to be found in the catalogues of the vast holdings of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Louvre in Paris. See A.F. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt,* 3 vols. (London, 1920–22) and P. du Bourguet, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des étoffes coptes* (Paris, 1964).

2. See A. Gonosová, "Textiles," in F.D. Friedman, ed., *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.,* (Providence, 1989), 65 [exh. cat.]. For a general introduction to excavations in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* I, 1–24.

The first examples of Coptic textiles to enter the Walters Art Gallery were acquired in the 1920s from the New York dealer Dikran G. Kelekian, and a later generation of the same family has supplied the Walters with important additions as recently as 1983.

3. For iconographic studies focusing on individual themes from classical mythology, see P. Friedländer, *Documents of Dying Paganism: Textiles of Late Antiquity in Washington, New York and Leningrad* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1945); V.F. Lenzen, *The Triumph of Dionysos on Textiles of Late Antique Egypt,* University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, V, 1 (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1960), 1–23; M.T. Picard-Schmitter, "Une Tapisserie hellénistique d'Antinoë au Musée du Louvre," *Monuments Piot,* 52 (1962), 27–75; K. Weitzmann, "Eine Darstellung der Euripideischen Iphigenie auf einem koptischen Stoff," *Antike Kunst,* 7 (1964), 42–47; S. Lewis, "A Coptic Representation of Thetis at the Forge of Hephaistos," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 77 (1973), 309–18; E.J. Dwyer, "Narrative and Allegory in a Coptic Textile," *American Journal of Archaeology,* 78 (1974), 295–97. The studies by Friedländer are exceptional in their focus on the functional context of the textiles.

4. G. Vikan, "Joseph Iconography on Coptic Textiles," *Gesta,* 18 (1979), 99–108; L. Abdel-Malek, "Joseph Tapestries and Related Coptic Textiles," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1980; H. Maguire, "Garments Pleasing to God: The Significance of Domestic Textile Designs in the Early Byzantine Period," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 44 (1990), 215–24. The most recent study of early medieval Joseph iconography to take into account the evidence of Coptic textiles is that of M. Friedman, "On the Sources of the Vienna Genesis," *Cahiers archéologiques,* 37 (1989), 5–17, esp. 9–10.

5. The panel with the single roundel, Walters 83.727, is discussed by R. Randall, "In Honor of Janet Wurtzburger," *The Walters Art Gallery Bulletin,* 28, 6 (1976), 1–2 and 4; also C. Nauerth, *"David Lyricus," Theologische Brosamen für Lothar Steiger, Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche,* 5 (Heidelberg, 1985), 275–85. Executed in a 2-ply woolen warp (s-spun, 9 wp/cm) and a 2-ply, woolen and linen weft (s-spun, 40 wft/cm), the textile is unusually well preserved. The panel measures 21.2 x 24.2 cm; its somewhat squashed roundel measures 19.2 x 21.7 cm. The textile was purchased from Mr. Charles D. Kelekian of New York City in 1975 with funds from the Janet Wurtzburger Memorial Fund and Dr. and Mrs. Robert Milch.

Walters 83.728 is unpublished and was acquired in 1976 from the same source as 83.727. Technique and materials are identical to Walters 83.727. The frieze as a whole measures 25.8 x 64.5 cm. Unlike its counterpart, it has been badly discolored in the burial process and has been severely damaged particularly at the top and lower borders of the full roundel. The vertical seam running between the full roundel and the right-hand pair of equestrian half-roundels antedates the burial and may be either an early repair or the original seam dividing the front and back of the garment (see fig. 28).

6. For the excavations at Achmim-Panopolis in the 1880s and 1890s, see R. Forrer, *Die Graeber- und Textilfunde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strassbourg, 1891), 9–11 and Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* I, 5–24.

7. A. Gonosová, "On the Alexandrian Origin of the Vatican Annunciation and Nativity Silks," *Abstracts of Papers. Byzantine Studies Conference,* 16 (1990), 9–10 and *idem,* "Textiles," in *Beyond the Pharaohs,* 72. Previous studies emphasizing this relationship include: Vikan, "Joseph Iconography"; Abdel-Malek, "Joseph Tapestries," esp. 132–40, 146–48; and O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin, 1921), I, 20–21.

8. See du Bourguet, *Louvre,* groups C, D and E, 22–26, 83–247 and Abdel-Malek, "Joseph Tapestries," 147–48.

9. W.F. Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles* (London, 1969), 47, 100; Abdel-Malek, "Joseph Tapestries," 139–40; A. Stauffer, *Die mittelalterlichen Textilien von St. Servatius in Maastricht, Schriften der Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg,* 8 (Bern, 1991), 102–103, no. 35.

10. Nicosia, Museum of Antiquities J 455. This work is cited by Abdel-Malek, "Joseph Tapestries," 140. See also E. Cruikshank Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps,* Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 7 (Washington, D.C., 1961), 126–27.

11. On the problem of deciphering inscriptions see S. Gaselee, "Lettered Egyptian Textiles in the Victoria and Albert Museum," *Archeologia,* 23 (1924), 79–81 and Forrer, *Die Graeber- und Textilfunde,* 25–26. Both authors conclude that most inscriptions on woolen Coptic textiles are used ornamentally. Leslie MacCoull of the Society of Coptic Archaeology in Washington, D.C., has recently confirmed that the inscriptions on the two Walters textiles defy interpretation in their present form.

12. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1932), 13–17. For the aristocratic recension, see K. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761: Its Place in the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 10 (1947), 20–51 and A. Cutler, *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Paris, 1984).

13. C. Nauerth, *"David Lyricus,"* 275–85, esp. 278–81; A. Kakovkin, "Coptic textiles with David in the Hermitage," (in Russian) *Vizantijskij Vremennik,* 44 (1983), 182–85. (E. McGeer kindly translated the latter for me.)

On the iconography of the Cyprus plates, see K. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Cyprus Plates," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal,* 3 (1970), 97–111; M. van Grunsven-Eygenraam, "Heraclius and the David Plates," *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving,* 48 (1973), 158–74; S.H. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal,* 8 (1973), 99–100; and M.L. Fobelli, "Fonti e cronologia dei piatti argentei di Cipro con le storie di Davide," *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'arte,* Series III, 6–7 (1983–84), 191–219 (with further bibliography). See also note 60.

The identification of this plate's subject is controversial. Van Grunsven-Eygenraam, "Heraclius and the David Plates," 161–62 and Fobelli, "Fonti e cronologia," 194 propose that it portrays David coming to Saul to play the harp; but they fail to explain why Saul should be seated amidst the flocks of sheep, why he would be holding the harp, and why David would be holding a messenger's staff. Their argument that David would be nimbed only after the anointing is spurious: in the eleventh-century Theodore Psalter (fol. 190r), David is nimbed in both the summons and anointing, see S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen-Age,* II (Paris, 1970), fig. 297. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761," 39 sees the plate as a "literal illustration of the text" of I Kings 16:17–19, i.e., David summoned before Saul. But as A. Cutler points out in "A Psalter from Mar Saba and the Evolution of the Byzantine David Cycle," *Journal of Jewish Art,* 6 (1979), 48, n. 64, the Bible actually requires more than one messenger. The depiction of a single messenger in the summons to be anointed is linked with the Septuagint text of Psalm 151 by M. Philonenko, "L'histoire du roi David dans l'art byzantin. Nouvel examen des plats de Chypre," in *Les Pays du Nord et Byzance. Actes du colloque nordique et international de byzantinologie,* Uppsala, 20–22 April 1979, (Uppsala, 1981), 353–57, esp. 355. Moreover, Wander, "The Cyprus Plates," 95 observes that the celestial bodies depicted above David's head indicate his divine election, a theme directly associated with the summons to be anointed.

14. i & ii) Berlin, Staatliche Museen 4680 and 6965; O. Wulff and W.F. Volbach, *Spätantike und koptische Stoffe aus ägyptischen Grabfunden in den Staatlichen Museen: Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Ägyptisches Museum, Schliemann-Sammlung* (Berlin, 1926), pl. 105, fig. 14; *ibid.,* pl. 112, 108; and A. Effenberger, *Koptische Kunst. Ägypten in spätantiker, byzantinischer und frühislamischer Zeit* (Vienna, 1976), 239, 271, pl. 123.

iii) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 96.333; unpublished.

iv) Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire Tx.316; I. Errera, *Catalogue d'étoffes anciennes et modernes,* 3rd ed. (Brussels, 1927), 106, no. 234; and D. de Jonghe and J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Textiles coptes des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* (Brussels, 1988), 17, fig. 77.

v) The Hague, Gemeentemuseum OW 51 z.j.; A.C. Lopes-Cardozo and C.E. Zijderveld, *Koptische Weefsels* (The Hague, 1982), no. 80, 64.

vi) London, British Museum 65662; unpublished, mentioned in Nauerth, *"David Lyricus,"* 276, n. 5.

vii & viii) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.810 (back) and 90.5.814 (upper roundel, divided in 2); unpublished.

ix) Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 6066; du Bourguet, *Louvre,* F 179, 312.

x & xi) Saint Petersburg, Hermitage Museum 13122 a) and 13122 b); Kakovkin, "Coptic textiles," 182–85, pls. 1 and 2.

xii) Trier, Städtische Museum, Simeonstift VII.100; C. Nauerth, *Koptische Textilkunst im Spätantiken Ägypten* (Trier, 1978), no. 75, 64, fig. 47.

15. My interpretation of this fragment is anticipated by Nauerth, *"David Lyricus,"* 276, n. 4. Although only the upper half of the roundel survives and it is badly damaged on either side, the upright of the throne, the cushion, and the strings of the lyre along the right-hand edge all correspond to the attributes of David on the Walters textile.

16. Cf. Nauerth, *"David Lyricus,"* 282.

17. For the Sant'Ambrogio doors, see A. Goldschmidt, *Die Kirchentür des Heiligen Ambrosius in Mailand* (Strassburg, 1902). For Bawît, see J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit,* Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire, 12 (Cairo, 1904), 13–29 and Cutler, "A Psalter from Mar Saba," 61–63.

18. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates," 100–101 has already suggested as much for the David plate. He observes that "David's raised right arm and inclined head would appear to be seventh-century adjustments of an earlier harping figure" and concludes the scene is a "seventh-century creation, joining a running figure and a harping David in order to narrate the episode."

19. At the left edge one reads from top to bottom, "ⲁⲓⲥ"; above the youth, two columns of letters read, "ⲇⲁⲩⲓⲇ" and "ⲉⲭⲁⲭⲉ."

20. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* III, no. 631, pl. 8, 14.

21. For the identification of this scene with David rather than Hercules, see below, pages 30–31.

22. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen* (Berlin, 1932), I, no. 124.

23. New York, Metropolitan Museum 17.190.397; K. Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality* (New York, 1979), 477–79, no. 427 [exh. cat.].

24. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena," 107.

25. These are: Riggisberg (Bern), Abegg-Stiftung 138; A. Stauffer, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien* (Bern, 1991), 145–50 and catalogue no. 67, 246–49 (kindly conveyed to me by Dr. Stauffer while the work was in proofs). Florence, Museo Archeologico 7954; L. Guerrini, Le stoffe copte del Museo archeologico di Firenze (Rome, 1957), no. 108, 89–91, pl. XXXVIII. London, Victoria and Albert Museum 417–1887; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* III, no. 631, 14, pl. VIII. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.5.814 and 90.5.834; unpublished. Paris, Musée du Louvre AF 6066; du Bourguet, *Louvre,* F 179. And finally, Trier, Städtische Museum, Simeonstift VII; Nauerth, *Koptische Textilkunst,* 63, no. 72 and Volbach, *Early Decorative Textiles,* 76, pl. 35.

26. Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* III, 14 tentatively identifies this episode as "a figure (David?) wrestling with a lion, with other animals (sheep?) around."

27. *Age of Spirituality,* 479–80, no. 429.

28. E.g., London, Victoria and Albert Museum 668–1886; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* III, 28, no. 681. For the Hercules textiles see C. Nauerth, "Formen des Hercules. Seine Taten auf koptischen Stoffen," *Thiasos ton Mouson. Studien zu Antike und Christentum. Festschrift für Josef Fink zum 70. Geburtstag* (Cologne and Vienna, 1984) and L. Kybalova, *Koptische Stoffe. Ein Beitrag zur ästhetisch-technologischen Problematik* (Prague, 1967), 144–45. For the silver plate of Hercules wrestling the Nemean lion in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, see *Age of Spirituality,* 162–63, no. 139. This parallel has previously been suggested for the Cyprus plate by van Grunsven-Eygenraam, "Heraclius and the David Plates," 165 and J. Trilling, "Myth and Metaphor at the Byzantine Court: A Literary Approach to the David Plates," *Byzantion,* 48 (1978), 254–63. However, more precise parallels for David's peculiar kneeling pose on the silver plate have been found in stone sculptures of Hercules from Dura Europos and Ghorfa, Tunisia by S. Downey, "Possible Ancient Prototypes for the Cyprus Plates," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies,* 8 (1967), 309–13.

29. For the ivory, see Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen,* I, 65, no. 124. For the psalter in Venice, see Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters,* no. 58, fig. 413.

30. The very existence of classical personifications in biblical narrative on these textiles is important because, if accepted, it would provide further evidence for Buchthal's contention that personifications were not first introduced into Byzantine biblical narrative illustration during the Macedonian Renaissance but already had been part of the pre-Iconoclastic repertoire. See Buchthal, *Paris Psalter,* 17–18, 46–47. On the contrary, Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761," 43–45, observing that only one personification occurs in the Cyprus plates and one in the sole surviving Byzantine cycle of manuscript illustrations for the Books of Kings (Vatican Library, cod. gr. 333), has argued that "personifications were not a characteristic feature of the picture cycle of the Book of Kings" but rather were added to the Paris Psalter as part of the classicizing vocabulary of the Macedonian Renaissance. He reiterates this position in *Geistige Grundlagen und Wesen der Makedonischen Renaissance,* Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 107 (Cologne and Opladen, 1963), translated as "The Character and Intellectual Origins of the Macedonian Renaissance," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination,* H.L. Kessler, ed. (Chicago, 1971), 176–223, esp. 182–83.

31. New York, Metropolitan Museum 17.190.398; *Age of Spirituality,* 427, no. 425.

32. Cf. Sinai, Ms. 48 (psalter), fol. 28r; Vatican Library, cod. gr. 1927, fol. 264v., and Vatican Library, cod. Barb. gr. 320, all cited by Cutler, "A Psalter from Mar Saba," 46, n. 38. Two further illustrations may be added to the list: the marginal psalters, London, British Library, Additional 19.352, fol. 106r (see Der Nersessian, *L'illustration,* II, fig. 174, 42) and Mount Athos, Pantocrator Monastery, Ms. 61, fol. 125r (see S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du Moyen-Age,* I [Paris, 1969], pl. 19, 32).

33. Riggisberg (Bern), Abegg-Stiftung, inv. 1388; Stauffer, *Spätantike und koptische Wirkereien,* 145–48, who, contrary to my reading, identifies the narrative scenes as Hercules slaying the Nemean lion (left) and Apollo and Daphne (right). Florence, Museo Archeologico 7954; Guerrini, *Le stoffe copte,* no. 108, pl. XXXVIII. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 90.5.814. Paris, Musée du Louvre X 4749; du Bourguet, *Louvre,* F 179. Two other examples of the scene are: Chicago, Field Museum, inv. 173762 (unpublished) and Paris Musée du Louvre AC 825 and X 4862 (see du Bourguet, *Louvre,* F 180 and F 181).

34. Paris, Musée du Louvre Gu 1230; Maguire, "Garments," 218 and *Age of Spirituality,* 134–35, no. 112.

35. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit,* 13–29, esp. 20.

36. Nauerth, *"David Lyricus,"* 283.

37. See note 33.

38. In the paper that I presented at the Byzantine Studies Conference in Baltimore, "The Life of David on Coptic Textiles," in *Abstracts of Papers. The Byzantine Studies Conference,* 16 (1990), 32–33, I mistakenly identified the New York textile fragment as a tapered sleeve. However, the dimensions of the frieze, some 90 cm in length, and conventions of tunic design argue in favor of the identification I am proposing here. On this point, I benefitted from the comments of Anna Gonosová following my paper.

39. London, Victoria and Albert Museum 2167.1900; Kendrick, *Catalogue of Textiles,* III, 10–11, no. 626, pl. VI. For a complete tunic following this pattern displaying purely ornamental rather than figural designs, see *ibid.,* II, 23, no. 337, pl. XVI.

40. See above, note 14.

41. See discussion above. The messenger is portrayed as an angel in the Theodore Psalter, fol. 189v; Der Nersessian, *L'illustration,* II, fig. 296.

42. *Homil.* I, *PG* 40, 165–68; translation in C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453,* Sources and Documents of the History of Art (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), 50–51.

43. Maguire, "Garments," 220 and E. Dauterman Maguire, *Art and Holy Powers,* 31–32.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Maguire, "Garments," 220–21.

46. *Ibid.,* 223–24.

47. The numerous Eastern patristic texts that draw parallels between David's victories over the lion, the bear, and Goliath and Christ vanquishing Satan are summarized in "David," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum,* Th. Klauser, ed. (Stuttgart, 1956), III, 594–603.

48. A tree of life decorating a tapestry-woven curtain fragment in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is actually inscribed "ΕΥΦΡΙ" or "Flourish!" See Maguire, "Garments," 217, fig. 8.

49. See C. Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets* (Ann Arbor, 1950), 208–11; A.M. Jones, "The Equestrian Motif in Coptic Textiles," Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University, 1974, esp. 39–47; G. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic in Early Byzantium," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 38 (1984), 65–86, esp. 79–80; *Art and Holy Powers,* 25–28; *Beyond the Pharaohs,* 192–93, nos. 103 and 104.

50. E. Kitzinger, "Christian Imagery: Growth and Impact," in *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium* (New York, 1980), 141–63, esp. 150–52; *idem,* "Reflections on the Feast Cycle in Byzantine Art," *Cahiers archéologiques,* 36 (1988), 51–73, esp. 60–63; Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic," 74–83, and *idem,* "Two Byzantine Amuletic Armbands and the Group to which They Belong," *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, 49/50* (1991/92), 33–51 and in *Byzantine East, Latin West. Festschrift for Kurt Weitzmann,* forthcoming, 1993.

51. The repetition of a narrative scene within a single cycle is not unusual on Coptic textiles. Henry Maguire, "Garments," 220–21 and fig. 25, discusses a tunic in the Field Museum of Chicago in which the Baptism of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi are each repeated at least twice in order to emphasize the appeal to God's aid.

52. R.M. Woolley, *Coptic Offices* (London, 1930), xvi–xvii. For an excerpt of the 6th-century Coptic text (in Latin translation) see F.J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn, 1909),

54–56. For the following discussion of Coptic baptismal unction I have relied upon L.L. Mitchell, *Baptismal Anointing: Alcuin Club Collection,* XLVIII (London, 1966), esp. 73–76.

53. Mitchell, *Baptismal Anointing,* 73.

54. *Ibid.,* 74.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. *Ibid.,* 75.

58. T.J. Lamy, ed., *Sancti Ephraem Syri. Hymni et Sermones,* I (Mechelen, 1882), 38, v. 16.

59. *Ibid.,* I, 54, vv. 10–11. This passage is cited by C. Kraeling in conjunction with the decapitation of David in the baptistery at Dura Europos: *The Christian Building. The Excavations of Dura Europos: Final Report,* VIII/2 (New Haven, 1967), 188–90. According to Kraeling, 190, this single scene is located in the niche used to store the baptismal oil "because of its relevance to the conception of the unction as that which provides the convert with the power to be victorious in his struggle against the power of evil."

60. There may also have been a more specific historical resonance to the selection of David imagery on these textiles. Since pre-Iconoclastic cycles of David's life are extremely rare, it is interesting to note that two other Egyptian cycles of David's youth are generally ascribed to the same period between the sixth and eighth centuries: the frescoes of Chapel III at Bawît and a stone relief from the same monastic complex. Moreover, it has already been observed that the iconography of certain scenes on the textiles is related to the most famous pre-Iconoclastic cycle of David's infancy, the set of silver plates dated by hallmarks to the reign of Heraclius. The David narrative on these plates has been interpreted as an allegory of the emperor's own heroic exploits against the Persians—an analogy proposed in contemporary Byzantine and Western sources and cultivated by the emperor himself. In the period following the liberation of Egypt from Persian rule by Heraclius, it is hardly surprising that interest in his Old Testament model should be manifested in pictorial narrative. The wearer of a David tunic could claim the dual protection of both the model hero anointed by God and his contemporary incarnation in the person of the Emperor.

For the Bawît David cycles, see Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouit,* 13–29 and H. Torp, "Two Sixth-century Coptic Reliefs with Old Testament Stories," *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institutum Romanum Norvegiae,* 2 (1965), 105–19. For the programmatic relationship between Heraclius and the David plates, see van Grunsven-Eygenraam, "Heraclius and the David Plates," 170–74; S.H. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 29 (1975), 345–46; S. Spain Alexander, "Heraclius, Byzantine Imperial Ideology, and the David Plates," *Speculum,* 52 (1977), 217–37; Trilling, "Myth and Metaphor," 249–67; and Fobelli, "Fonti e cronologia," 207–19.

61. Galatians 3:27 and Romans 8:29. For clothing as a theological metaphor, see S. Brock, "Clothing as a Means of Theological expression in the Syriac Tradition," in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern,* Eichstätter Beiträge, 4, M. Schmidt, ed. (Regensburg, 1982) and A. Kehl, "Gewand der Seele," in *Reallexkion für Antike und Christentum,* 10 (Stuttgart, 1978), 973–1025, and esp. 1005–1023 on the expression "to put on" in the sense of acquiring godliness.

ADDENDUM: Just as this article was going to press, L. McCoull kindly sent me C. Nauerth's "Evidence for a David Cycle on Coptic Textiles," in *Acts of the Third International Congress of Coptic Studies,* Warsaw, 1984 (Warsaw, 1990), 285–97. In this expanded version of her study, "*David Lyricus*" already cited here, Nauerth confirms all of my identifications of scenes with the exception of David confronting Goliath. Two hem tapes in the Simeonstift at Trier, of which I was unable to obtain photographs, are illustrated in fig. 3: inv. no. VII.190 depicts David volunteering to fight Goliath, David anointed by Samuel, and a third damaged scene; on VII.193, David slaying the lion is paired with David anointed by Samuel.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 2, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; fig. 5, Brussels, ACL; figs. 6, 11, Berlin, Staatliche Museen; fig. 7, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; fig. 8, London, Trustees of the British Museum; fig. 12, London, Victoria and Albert Museum; figs. 14, 15, 18, 22, 24, 27, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; figs. 19–21, 28, Th.E. Dale; fig. 23, Riggisberg, Abbeg-Stiftung; fig. 25, Paris, CRMN.

The Walters "Imperial" Menologion

Nancy Patterson Ševčenko

The Walters "imperial" menologion is an illustrated collection of Byzantine saints' lives for the month of January. Traditionally assigned to the second quarter of the eleventh century, it was probably made for use in a royal monastery in Constantinople. The miniatures that precede each text are remarkably faithful copies of miniatures in one of the most luxurious of all Byzantine manuscripts, the Menologion of Basil II in the Vatican Library, produced some fifty years before. The extent of its dependence on this earlier manuscript is unusual and can be best understood if we view the miniatures not as illustrations of narrative texts but as painted invocations. They are therefore as deliberately traditional in their form as are the written invocations in the Walters manuscript, which appeal to each saint in turn to intercede with Christ on behalf of the emperor.

In 1930 Henry Walters bought a richly illuminated Byzantine manuscript in Paris, persuaded by a dealer that the manuscript had been recently rescued from sure destruction in the Turkish city of Trebizond (fig. 1).[1] When the first catalogue of medieval manuscripts in American collections was published in 1935, its entry on the Walters manuscript (W. 521) caught the eye of a Belgian scholar, the Bollandist Père François Halkin.[2] Halkin wrote to Dorothy Miner at the Walters Art Gallery for details, and her answer confirmed his hunch: the manuscript did not come from Trebizond at all, but was one that had disappeared from the library of the Greek Patriarchate of Alexandria sometime after the turn of the century.[3] Halkin presented his findings in an article written in 1939; in 1985 he turned once again to the study of the manuscript, this time editing a number of its Greek texts and providing them with French translations.[4]

The Walters manuscript contains twenty-four miniatures, all portraits of holy men and women or scenes of their martyrdom.[5] These miniatures are of particular interest because they copy so faithfully the miniatures in a famous earlier manuscript, the Menologion of Basil II, housed today in the Vatican Library (cod. gr. 1613).[6] This extraordinary imperial manuscript, now thought to date ca. 1000–1018,[7] contains 430 miniatures accompanying far shorter and simpler texts than those in the Walters manuscript.[8] This paper will compare each miniature in the Walters manuscript with its model in the Vatican, and explore the reasons why, despite the evolved character of the texts, the older iconographic tradition was so consistently maintained.

A description of the Walters Menologion

Walters 521 is a menologion, or collection of saints' lives, for the month of January. It now contains twenty-six of an original thirty-two texts, one or more for each day of the month.[9] Each text was preceded by a framed miniature. A single folio with the beginning of the life of St. Silvester (January 2), along with its miniature, found its way to Berlin in 1866 via the German consul in Cairo; it is still there today, in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek (gr. fol. 31).[10]

The manuscript measures 23.2 x 30.1 cm. Its texts are written in two columns of twenty-six lines each, in a clear sober script of the first half of the eleventh century.[11] The ink is dark brown. The title for each text is written in carmine ink and preceded by a cross;[12] the date on which the text is to be read is also written in carmine and centered at the top of the page.[13] Each opening initial is a simple carmine uncial with barely a flourish; the smaller initials are also carmine. A miniature is placed before each new text, at the top of the page just below the date; it is framed by narrow blue and red lines and occupies the full width of the two columns of text. There is no ornament in the manuscript.

The texts themselves are mostly abbreviated versions of saints' lives composed by an earlier author,

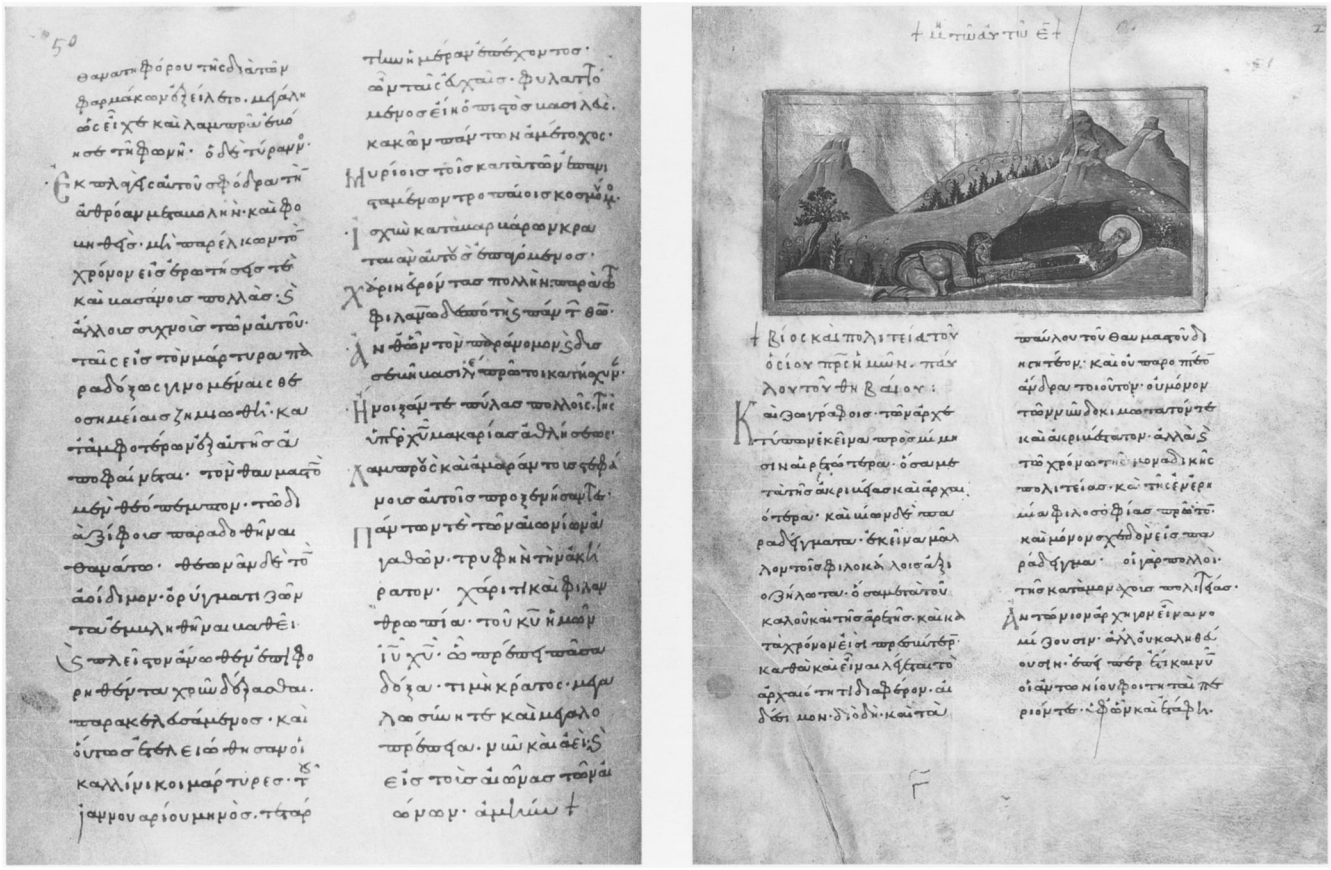

Fig. 1. Acrostic at the end of the life of Sts. Theopemptos and Theonas, and beginning of the life of St. Paul the Thebaite, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fols. 27v and 28r.

Symeon Metaphrastes, in the latter part of the tenth century.[14] Metaphrastes did not write a life for each day of January, however, and where there was no Metaphrastian text to adapt, the author of this menologion turned to other known hagiographical sources; in a couple of cases he may have relied on originals that are now lost or have composed a new life just for this collection.[15]

At the end of each saint's life, there appears a set of prayers not found in Metaphrastes, nor in any of the other texts on which the menologion is based. In these prayers, God, through the intercession of the saint, is asked to grant the emperor an array of benefits, such as victory over his enemies, health and long life, a peaceful reign, remission of his sins, success on the Day of Judgment, and life eternal.[16] The inclusion of these prayers has led to the designation of this type of menologion as "imperial." The list of requested benefits, which varies somewhat from saint to saint, is so arranged that the first letters of each new phrase form an acrostic, which taken together reads MIXAHΛΠ, traditionally taken to be a reference to the Byzantine Emperor Michael IV "the Paphlagonian" (1034–41).[17] The phrases themselves may vary, but they always form the same acrostic, the letters of which are highlighted in the manuscript (fig. 1).[18] The acrostic has been used to date this manuscript, text and miniatures alike, to the second quarter of the eleventh century.

Other "imperial" menologia

A volume such as this was unlikely to have been produced for the month of January alone, and indeed a very closely related volume is to be found today in the Historical Museum in Moscow (cod. gr. 183).[19] This Moscow Menologion covers the months of February and March; it contains fifty-nine texts, fifty-seven of which are preceded, as in the Baltimore manuscript, by a miniature the width of two columns of script. At the end of each text there appears a comparable set of prayers containing once again the acrostic MIXAHΛΠ (fig. 2). Eight other full manuscripts of this type of menologion are known, though none has miniatures; four date from the Byzantine period.[20]

The striking similarity between the Baltimore and

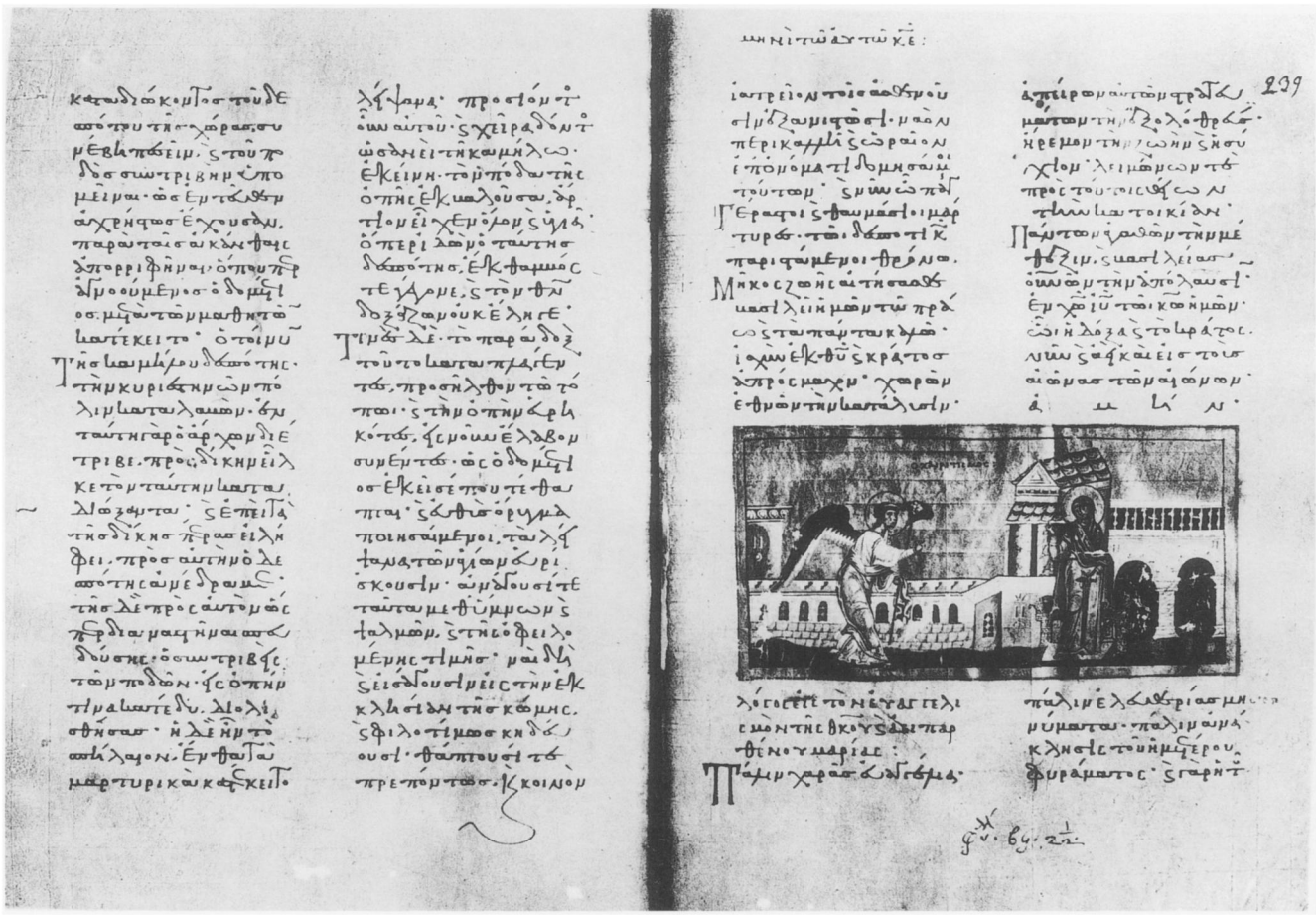

Fig. 2. End of the life of St. Dometios and beginning of a homily on the Annunciation, Moscow, Historical Museum gr. 183, fols. 238v and 239r.

Moscow volumes of the menologion led to the false assumption that these two manuscripts were a pair, separate volumes of the same original edition, but a close study of the Moscow codex published by Sirarpie Der Nersessian in 1973 revealed a considerable number of discrepancies in the format, script, and miniature style of the two volumes, and led her to conclude that the Moscow volume was a later product, an "imperial" menologion that echoed the miniatures and acrostic of the Baltimore volume but was written and illustrated in the latter half of the eleventh century.[21]

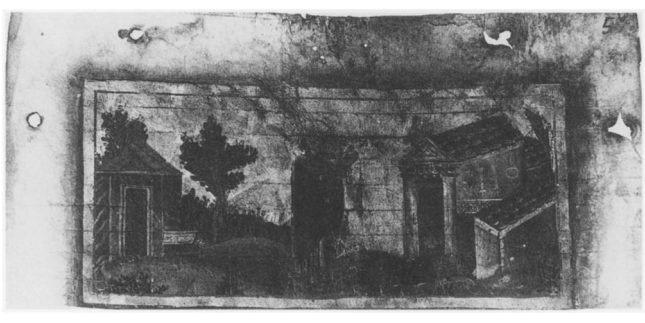

Fig. 3. *St. Tarasios,* Athens, Benaki Museum 71 (Protheke 34/6), fol. 5v.

Der Nersessian's hypothesis that more than one illustrated edition of the imperial menologion was produced in the course of the eleventh century is confirmed by some charred pages from yet a third illuminated menologion, now in the Benaki Museum in Athens.[22] The Benaki fragments contain the miniatures and opening folios for the lives of five different saints (fig. 3). Four of these are saints celebrated in February. The content thus overlaps that of the Moscow manuscript, proving beyond doubt that at least two—and most likely three—different illustrated editions were produced in the course of the eleventh century.

The miniatures in the Walters Menologion and their relation to the Menologion of Basil II

Twelve folia are apparently missing from the beginning of the Baltimore manuscript, along with three miniatures. One of these missing miniatures, that of Pope Silvester, for January 2, is now in Berlin (fig. 4).

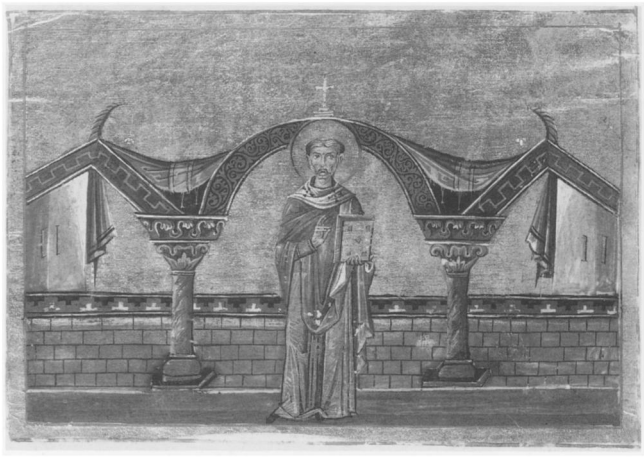

Fig. 4. *St. Silvester,* Berlin, Staatsbibliothek gr. fol. 31.
Fig. 5. *St. Silvester,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 291.

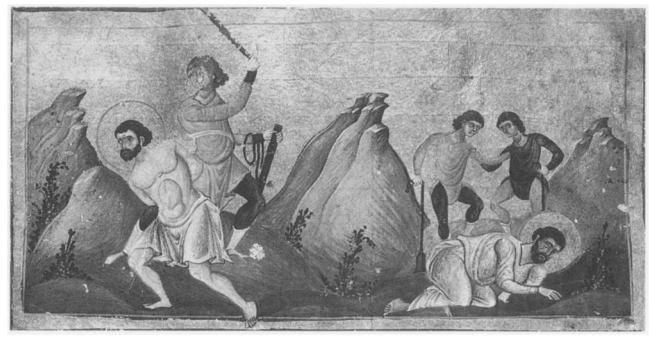

Fig. 6. *Sts. Theopemptos and Theonas,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 521, fol. 25r.
Fig. 7. *Sts. Theopemptos and Theonas,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 295.

Fol. 31 (fig. 4): Silvester, archbishop of Rome, January 2 (.144 x .077)[23]
The miniature is damaged, and the face of the saint is worn, but he was apparently youthful. Wearing the omophorion, the long narrow stole of an Eastern bishop, the Pope stands under an arch before a red brick wall. Archways to the left and right are draped with a red hanging.

In the corresponding miniature in the Menologion of Basil II, Silvester has a very short trimmed white beard (p. 291, fig. 5), but all the other details have been taken over in the Baltimore manuscript virtually without change.

Fol. 25r (fig. 6): The martyrs Theopemptos and Theonas, January 4 (.15 x .077)[24]
At the left Theopemptos, a dark-haired man with a beard, clad only in a loincloth, is about to be beheaded in an open landscape of brown and violet hills. His executioner wears a red tunic, blue stockings, and white boots. The figure lying dead at the right is Theonas, who at Diocletian's order had prepared a deadly poison for Theopemptos and was converted when he saw how little effect the drink had on the saint. Theonas has been buried alive by the two youths who stand behind with shovels, clasping each other on the shoulder. The miniature follows that in the Menologion of Basil II and the account there (p. 295, fig. 7), ignoring the information in the text that actually accompanies it in the Baltimore manuscript, wherein Theopemptos is described as a bishop. The earth the youths were supposed to pack over Theonas, though visible in the Basil Menologion, was not included in the Baltimore miniature.

Fol. 28r (fig. 8): Paul the Thebaite, January 5 (.145 x .075)[25]
St. Antony, who after a long search found St. Paul living in the far reaches of the Theban desert, crouches to clasp the legs of the dead monk, who is laid out in his cave, eyes shut and hands crossed on his chest. Antony wears a long brown mantle (mandyas) over an olive-green tunic and a black hood (koukoullion) decorated with white dots; he has a short white beard. Paul is dressed in shades of brown and wears a black vest, or analobos; he has a longer beard and more ascetic features. The text, which is based on Symeon Metaphrastes's version of the life of Paul by St. Jerome, is lengthy and lively, but few of its details enter the miniature, which instead faithfully reproduces that in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 327, fig. 9).[26]

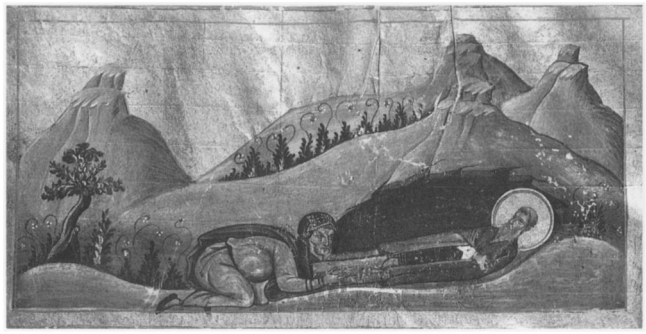

Fig. 8. *St. Paul of Thebes,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 28r.

Fig. 9. *St. Paul of Thebes,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 327.

Fol. 36r (fig. 10): The prophet Micah, January 5 (.15 x .08)[27]
At the left, Micah is about to be hurled over a precipice at the order of King Joram; the prophet wears a whitish mantle over a pale blue tunic. At the right, two men, the elder raising veiled hands to his chin in mourning, have laid the prophet wrapped in grave clothes into a stone sarcophagus, whose pedimented lid lies at the right. One of these figures wears a traditional chiton and mantle, the other a plain brown coat. The Baltimore text says nothing of the burial of the prophet, but that of the Menologion of Basil II (p. 298, fig. 11) says that Micah's relatives buried him in the ground, separately, near the "common grave." A walled precinct at the right encloses a pedimented building. The miniature copies that in the Menologion of Basil II carefully, altering only certain colors and adding larger windows to the building.

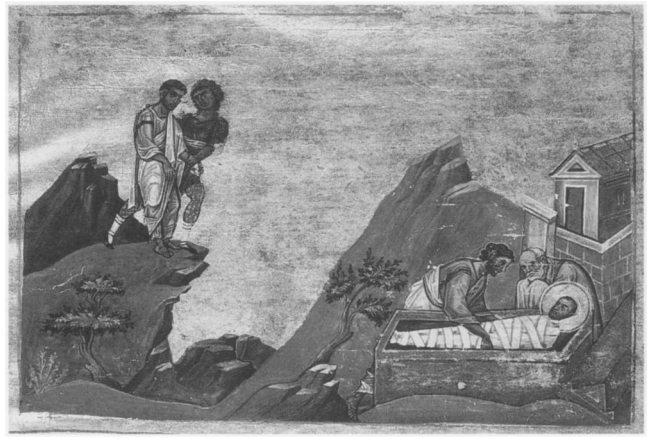

Fig. 11. *The prophet Micah,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 298.

Fig. 10. *The prophet Micah,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 36r.

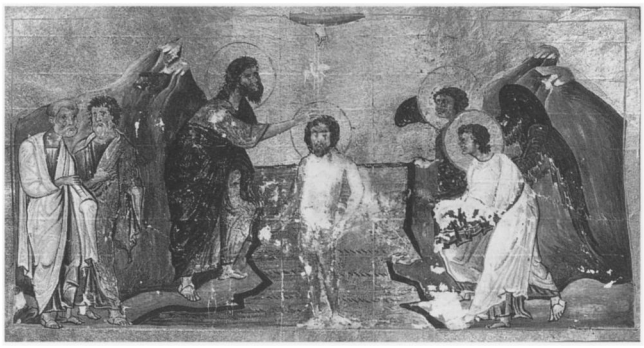

Fig. 12. *The Baptism of Christ,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 38r.
Fig. 13. *The Baptism of Christ,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 299.

Fol. 38r (fig. 12): The Baptism of Christ, January 6 (.15 x .08)[28]
Christ, a rather stumpy nude figure, stands covered by the waters of the Jordan river; John the Baptist, clad in an ordinary brown tunic and dark brown mantle, baptizes him from the bank on the left. The dove descends from the arc of heaven, from which projects the hand of God. Two angels on the right bank rush forward with robes to clothe Christ, and two apostles look on from the left. The image repeats that in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 299, fig. 13), though it leaves out the little cross in the Jordan and outlines more harshly the banks of the river. The figure of Christ is now centered over the space between the two columns of text.

Fol. 48v (fig. 14): John the Baptist, January 7 (.152 x .075)[29]
The text is a brief praise of the Baptist, celebrating, on the day after the feast of the Baptism, his importance in the Bible. In the picture John points to a tree against which leans an axe, a reference to the Gospel passage Matthew 3:7–12. He is clad in a brown tunic and a blackish-green mantle and holds a long staff with a white cross on top. Three men (the Pharisees and Sadducees) listen at the left; they are clad in ocher or blue tunics, brown or greenish-brown cloaks with pale collars, and low black shoes. The miniature repeats that found in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 300, fig. 15), though the figure of John has been moved minimally to the right so as to center him over the beginning of the right column of text, and the axe has been enlarged.

Fol. 50v (fig. 16): Zotikos the Ptochotrophos, January 8 (.153 x .078)[30]
The lifeless elderly saint, wrapped in a pale brown tunic, his eyes shut, has been bound by the ankles to a pair of saddled mules, who gallop off to the right, dragging his corpse along the ground. A stream gushes forth from a spring by a tree at the left (presumably marking the spot where the saint's eye fell out). A henchman goads the mules from behind a hill. Bushes with little red flowers enliven the ground.

As the accompanying text of the life of Zotikos is found only in this Baltimore manuscript,[31] and there is no corresponding Zotikos text or miniature relating to Zotikos in the Menologion of Basil II, the artist of the Baltimore manuscript was forced to improvise. He

Fig. 14. *St. John the Baptist,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 48v.
Fig. 15. *St. John the Baptist,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 300.

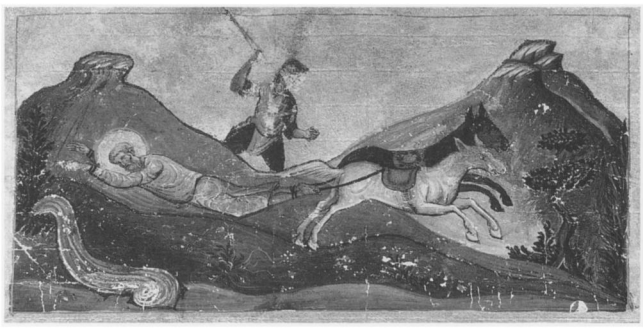

Fig. 16. *St. Zotikos,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 50v.
Fig. 17. *St. Orestes,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 172.

Fig. 18. *St. Polyeuktos,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 56v.
Fig. 19. *St. Polyeuktos,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 302.

has apparently based his composition loosely on another page in the Vatican manuscript, which illustrates the death of Orestes (p. 172, fig. 17), a saint who suffered a similar fate, having been dragged by a single wild horse twenty-four miles before he died.

Fol. 56v (fig. 18): The martyr Polyeuktos, January 9 (.15 x .077)[32]
The elderly soldier from Melitene, clad here in a pale blue tunic with a greenish-black collar and hem, red stockings, and low blue shoes, his arms bound behind him, is about to be beheaded in an open landscape. His sword-wielding executioner is clad in a short, bright red tunic and a blue cape, which sweeps up to echo the lines of the hills. At the left is an archway before a pair of towers. According to the accompanying text, Polyeuktos, when still a pagan, had a vision in which Christ removed the saint's dirty himation and gave him instead a precious one with a gold fibula. According to the account in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 302, fig. 19), Christ merely brought him a beautiful cloak, envisaged in the Vatican manuscript as a tunic shot through with gold highlights.

Fol. 61r (fig. 20): Markianos, priest and oikonomos (steward) of St. Sophia, January 10 (.146 x .078)[33]
The elderly priest, known primarily for the many churches he founded in Constantinople, is shown holding a golden Gospel book and standing in front of a high pedimented entranceway. Extending out to the sides is a walled enclave of a lovely violet color, decorated with slits and formal tendril designs, and with prominent blue and white corbels and dentils. Although the basic composition is taken over from the Vatican Menologion (p. 307, fig. 21), the architecture has been somewhat altered: the columns have been omitted and barred windows and dentils added, and the priest's halo and head now entirely fill the tympanum. Markianos's priestly vestments, a blue tunic, or sticharion, and a brown cape, or phelonion, now include a gold-hemmed stole, or epitrachelion.

Fol. 70v (fig. 22): Theodosios the koinobiarch, January 11 (.15 x .075)[34]
The saint, chief of the Palestinian communal monasteries (koinobia), is a monk with a short, pointed white beard; he stands under a pink marble arch supported by pink columns with blue capitals and bases, his arms raised in prayer. Behind is a low, ocher and

Fig. 20. *St. Markianos,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 61r.
Fig. 21. *St. Markianos,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 307.

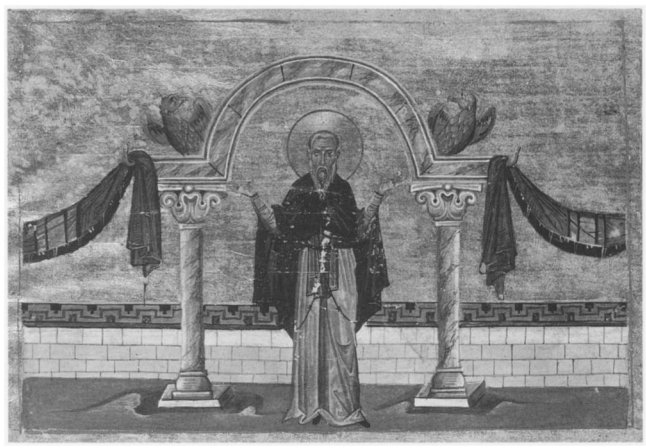

Fig. 22. *St. Theodosios,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 70v.
Fig. 23. *St. Theodosios,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 310.

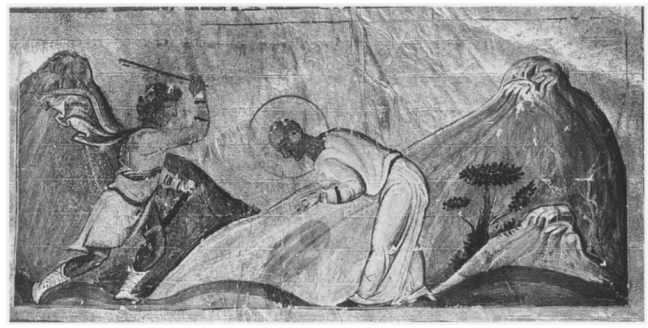

Fig. 24. *St. Tatiana,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 86r.
Fig. 25. *St. Tatiana,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 311.

white brick wall topped by a dark blue cornice. Cloth hangings are draped from horn-like hooks attached to the entablature. The saint is clad in an ocher stichari-on, black mandyas, and dark brown analobos. The Baltimore miniature has changed the architecture of its model in the Vatican (p. 310, fig. 23) only to the extent of leaving out the eagles flanking the arch.

Fol. 86r (fig. 24): The virgin martyr Tatiana, January 12 (.15 x .076)[35]
The Roman martyr, dressed in a long ocher tunic, bends forward toward her executioner, who has raised his sword to behead her. The latter wears a short red tunic, with a blue cape and leggings, and white boots. Behind the figures rises a violet hill. Though the text describes the many tortures Tatiana suffered before this moment, the artist has emphasized only the moment of death and the fact that her head (here unusually large and in profile) was shaved. The miniature faithfully reproduces the one in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 311, fig. 25).

Fol. 88r (fig. 26): The martyrs Hermylos and Stratonikos, January 13 (.16 x .077)[36]
One of the two saints is being hurled from the rocky

Fig. 26. *Sts. Hermylos and Stratonikos,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 88r.
Fig. 27. *Sts. Hermylos and Stratonikos,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 314.

shore into the Danube near Belgrade; his hands are bound behind his back and a white stone is tied to his neck. The body of the other saint is already floating in the river, which swirls with waves like the sea. The extraordinary rear view of the first martyr copies that in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 314, fig. 27). Other details are less carefully preserved: the saint in the water is not submerged here, nor is there any stone around his neck, though a rope for it is visible.

Fol. 92v (fig. 28): The monks slaughtered at Sinai and Raithu, January 14 (.15 x .075)[37]
One of the most vivid in the volume, this miniature depicts the slaughter of a group of six monks before their church by a turbaned intruder wielding a sword; in the center of the composition is the extraordinary figure of a monk whose skull has been split open and spurts blood.[38] Three men rush in from the left to attack another monk; the foremost of these is black-skinned, with one side of his chest bare and without leggings. Tall green reeds (palm trees?) flank the scene, while blood streams from the corpses down into the lower red border of the miniature.

The scene illustrates the slaughter of the thirty-three fathers of Raithu by the Blemmyes—Nubian nomads—and it contains no reference to the death of the Sinai monks who are celebrated on the same day.[39] From the corresponding scene in the Basil Menologion that served as his model (p. 317, fig. 29), the artist has eliminated one of the attackers, as well as the figure of Neilos, the witness to the massacre, whose face, in the Vatican miniature, appears among the reeds behind the apse of the basilica. All the raiders in the Menologion of Basil II are either dark-skinned or black, but in the Baltimore manuscript, only one of them is. None of the relevant texts mentions the monk with a split head.

Fol. 96r (fig. 30): John Kalybites, the "Poor in Christ," January 15 (.153 x .078)[40]
The young saint, a beardless monk, holds the fancy Gospel book which was given him by his parents and by which he was recognized when he died. He is clad in a light brown sticharion and a black mandyas and analobos. He stands under a sort of pedimental arch that connects eventually to flanking facades of a building. Two columns of blue-veined marble with brown capitals support the entablature. A deep red cloth hanging envelops the arch.

Though the basic structure here is that of the

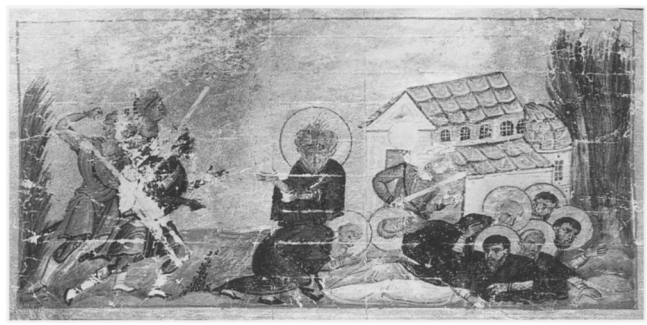

Fig. 28. *The Monks of Sinai and Raithu,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 92v.
Fig. 29. *The Monks of Sinai and Raithu,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 317.

Fig. 30. *St. John Kalybites,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 96r.
Fig. 31. *St. John Kalybites,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 322.

miniature in the Vatican Menologion (p. 322, fig. 31), the Baltimore artist has replaced the outer pair of columns with building façades, elaborated the ornament of the entablature, and changed the pale pink of the hanging in his model to a deep red not found elsewhere in the manuscript.

Fol. 105r (fig. 32): Proskynesis of the Venerable Chain of St. Peter, January 16 (.15 x .08)[41]
An elderly bishop (the Patriarch of Constantinople?) bends with veiled hands before a wooden table covered by a cloth. He wears a blue sticharion and a brown phelonion. To the right, behind a marble chancel screen with wooden doors, is the actual altar covered with a brown cloth; above is a gray, four-columned baldacchino with a pyramidal roof. Behind the altar rises a synthronon, the row of seats for the clergy in the apse. To the far left, behind the bishop, is a structure composed of a column draped by a curtain, a sloping cornice, and an outer wall, perhaps the nave colonnade and wall of the church.

The relic itself—the chain that bound the hands of St. Peter when he was imprisoned by Herod—is not actually depicted, though it can be seen on the table in the model for this composition, the miniature in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 324, fig. 33). Preserved by the faithful in Jerusalem, the chain(s) had been transferred to Rome, and probably thence to Constantinople by the late ninth century; they were housed in the church of St. Peter near the skeuophylakion, or sacristy, of St. Sophia.[42]

The text from which the Baltimore text has been abbreviated addresses Peter directly in its final section;[43] it entreats the saint through his relic to protect the emperor and to grant him victories and a peaceful existence.[44] This appeal is taken over almost verbatim in the Baltimore manuscript, even though the wishes it expresses are thus actually redundant, in that they are almost identical to those voiced in the acrostic prayer appended as usual to the end of the text.

Fol. 113v (fig. 34): Antony the thaumatourgos, January 17 (.153 x .078)[45]
A monk stands leaning on a staff, at one end of a straw pallet on which lies the corpse of St. Antony, while another monk clasps the saint's ankles. St. Antony, wearing a mandyas and monastic hood, through which a bit of his white curly beard emerges, lies with his hands crossed on his chest. The scene unfolds in an open

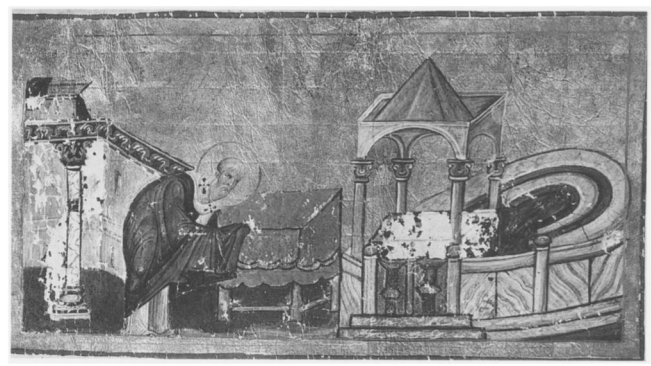

Fig. 32. *The Chains of St. Peter,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 105r.
Fig. 33. *The Chains of St. Peter,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 324.

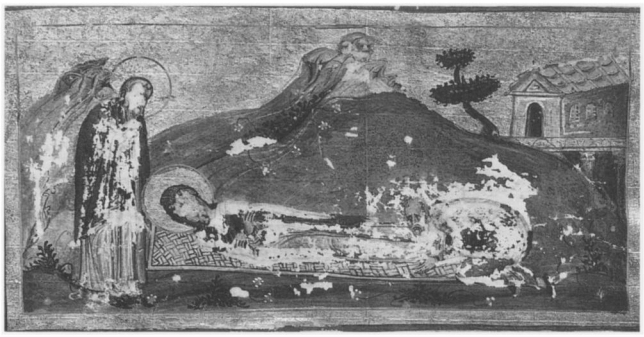

Fig. 34. *St. Antony,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 113v.
Fig. 35. *St. Antony,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 321.

landscape, with a church visible in the distance at the right behind a colonnade. There is an unusual amount of flaking of the colors. The miniature closely follows that in the Vatican Menologion (p. 327, fig. 35).

Fol. 129v (fig. 36): Athanasios, confessor and archbishop of Alexandria, January 18 (.15 x .075)[46]
St. Athanasios, having a short squarish beard, is dressed in episcopal vestments (dark blue sticharion, dark brown phelonion, white omophorion, an epitrachelion, and the encheirion, an embroidered square hanging from his belt). He blesses with one hand and holds a gold-covered Gospel book in the other; his eyes gaze off to the left. He stands before the façade of a pink and violet building, under a round blue arch decked with a blue and red hanging. In the Vatican Menologion (p. 329, fig. 37), St. Athanasios is celebrated together with St. Cyril of Alexandria (see below): the two saints are depicted side by side in the miniature and share the sixteen lines of text. Since the texts for Athananios and Cyril are separated here, however, the artist of the Baltimore manuscript has had to create two miniatures from the single one in his model: he has eliminated the figure of Cyril entirely and moved Athanasios to the center, replacing the two arches on columns with an undistinguished building façade loosely based on one found elsewhere in the Vatican Menologion as the backdrop of diverse standing portraits.[47] Athanasios does not wear the little cap, his prerogative as the Patriarch of Alexandria, as he does in the Vatican Menologion (though there it may well be a later addition), and the square shape of his beard corresponds to the portrait type which predominates from the eleventh century on.[48]

Fol. 151r (fig. 38): Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, January 18 (.145 x .075)[49]
The balding bishop has a short pointed beard and wears a light brown sticharion, a dark brown phelonion, a white omophorion, and the epitrachelion. He stands before an arcade of blue arches on brown columns; the arch directly over his head is triangular like a pediment. Hanging between the arches to his left and right are two green and red silk curtains, attached to rods and concealing part of the façade of a pale brown building behind the arcade. A red hanging is visible behind the structure. The composition diverges from that of the Vatican Menologion (fig. 37) but adapts a formula used elsewhere in that manuscript (e.g., that on p. 397, fig. 39).

Fig. 36. *St. Athanasios,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 129v.
Fig. 37. *Sts. Athanasios and Cyril of Alexandria,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 329.

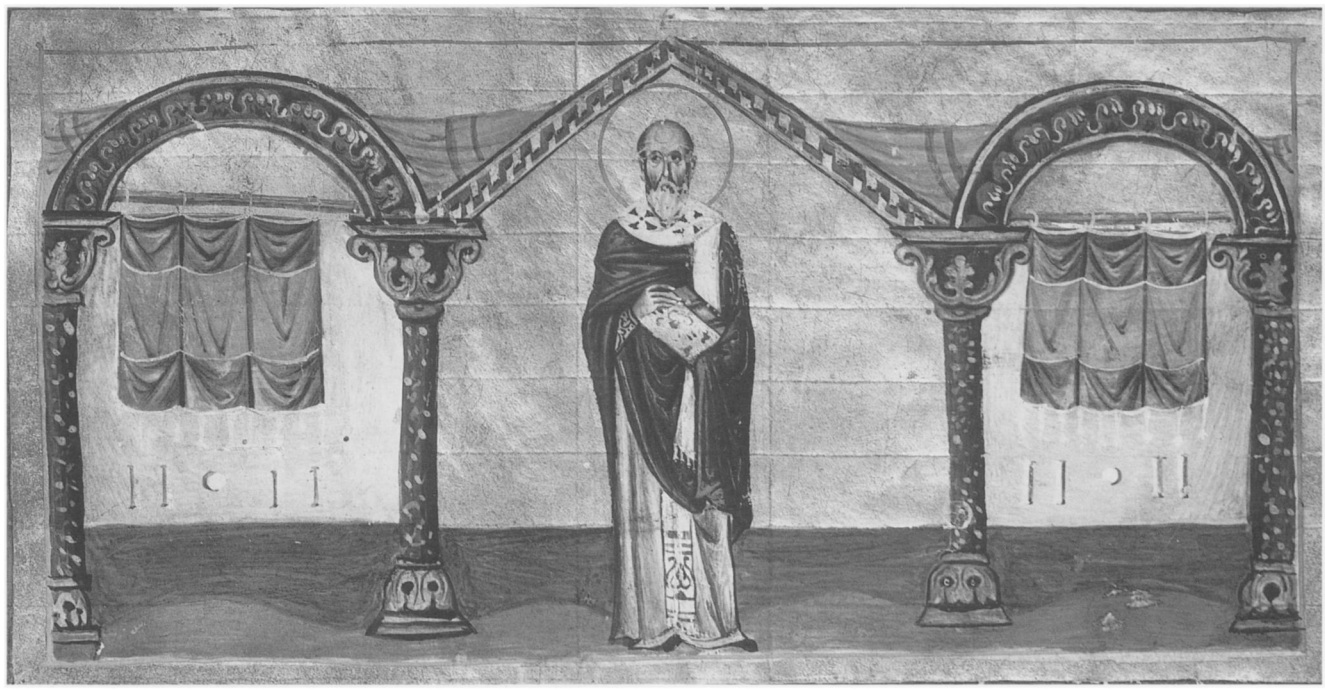

Fig. 38. *St. Cyril of Alexandria,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 151r.
Fig. 39. *St. Eulogios of Alexandria,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 397.

Fol. 155v (fig. 40): Theodotos, archbishop of Kyrenia in Cyprus, January 19 (.156 x .075)[50]

This bishop saint has dark brown hair and a short pointed beard; he wears a pale blue sticharion, a pale brown phelonion, and a white omophorion and epitrachelion. He stands, blessing and clasping his Gospel book, under a blue arch on brown columns from which are stretched, via hooks, elaborate red, green, and brown patterned hangings. To the sides are low arched structures like city gates, topped by blue entablatures decorated with red and white designs; in the foreground before each of these appears a tiny gray hillock. The artist has added a second pair of horns to the entablature seen in the Vatican Menologion (p. 332, fig. 41) and omitted the pair of tapers, the pair of consoles, and the curtain framing the saint.

Fig. 40. *St. Theodotos,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 155v.
Fig. 41. *St. Theodotos,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 332.

Fig. 42. *St. Euthymios,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 158v.
Fig. 43. *St. Euthymios,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 338.

Fig. 44. *St. Neophytos,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 200r.
Fig. 45. *St. Neophytos,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 339.

Fol. 158v (fig. 42): Euthymios, January 20 (.155 x .078)[51]
The Palestinian monk Euthymios has a long spiraling white beard; he wears a pale brown tunic, a brown mandyas, and a black analobos. Unlike the corresponding miniature in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 338, fig. 43), where the figure of the saint has a straighter beard and is placed before a building, Euthymios is here shown standing in a landscape of violet and brown hills and small trees, his arms outstretched in prayer. The fact that this very building form had already been borrowed once to create the new miniature of St. Athanasios of Alexandria (fig. 36) may have determined the artist's choice, but whatever his reasons, the landscape setting does fit the narrative better. The setting has close analogies elsewhere in the Vatican manuscript (e.g., p. 64, St. Thekla).

Fol. 200r (fig. 44): The megalomartyr Neophytos, January 21 (.151 x .071)[52]
The beardless young Nicaean saint falls to the ground under the blows of a henchman's club. His right shoulder is bloodied, and there is blood on the ground. His tormentor wears a short blue tunic, a green cape, and red patterned leggings, the latter a feature often found in the Basil Menologion but relatively rarely in this manuscript. Neophytos wears a plain brown tunic. The scene takes place outdoors against a hillside and a square structure is visible at the left. The text accompanying the miniature relates this clubbing episode but goes on to describe various other tortures that Neophytos had to endure before he was knifed to death by one of the emperor's men. The Vatican Menologion (p. 339, fig. 45) depicts the death of Neophytos by the sword, in accordance with the text in that manuscript. The Baltimore artist has adopted the Vatican composition in every respect except that he has changed the murder weapon and transformed the executioner's sheath into a spare club.

Fol. 203v (fig. 46): The apostle Timothy, January 22 (.153 x .074)[53]
The miniature is unusual in that two separate episodes are depicted within the single frame. At the left, in a hilly landscape, the apostle falls to the ground. He has been clubbed to death by one of the pagans whose festival he had disrupted, and his head streams with blood. Timothy has a short black beard and wears a blue tunic and brownish-white mantle, plus his omophorion as bishop of Ephesos. The pagan is dressed in a green tunic and blue patterned leggings.

Fig. 46. *St. Timothy,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 203v.
Fig. 47. *St. Timothy,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 341.

Fig. 48. *St. Clement of Ankara,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 207v.
Fig. 49. *St. Clement of Ankara,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 346.

At the right, two men in blue or white tunics and green or brown phelonia carry on their shoulders a pale brown sarcophagus with a triangular lid; a bearded priest swinging a lit censer precedes them. Behind these figures is a walled precinct with a high rectangular entranceway leading into a barrel-vaulted passage. Over the walls can be seen three blue domes, topped by crosses, and some treetops.

This second scene is probably meant to represent the burial of Timothy at Ephesos, rather than the translation of his remains to the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (effected by Emperor Constantius II in 356), as the miniature copies the one in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 341, fig. 47), where the text describes only the burial, not the translation of the relics.[54] The changes introduced are minor: there is only one figure attacking Timothy (two in the Vatican manuscript); the sarcophagus has no carved decoration; the priest leading the procession, younger than the comparable figure in the Vatican, is cut off by the frame and thus bears no candle; and treetops have been added behind the domes.

Fol. 207v (fig. 48): Clement, hieromartyr and bishop of Ankara, January 23 (.15 x .076)[55]

Bishop Clement has just been decapitated while celebrating the liturgy at a wooden altar inside a prison. He wears a blue sticharion, a pale brown phelonion, and an omophorion and is still erect, though his neck spurts blood. His bloody head rests on the patterned brown altarcloth; the bodies of his two deacons, Christopher and Chariton, lie on the floor nearby, next to their own severed heads. The executioner, in a patterned brown tunic with a red hem and a blue cape, stands behind Clement sheathing his sword. The prison is a curved violet enclosure, with towers and a big barred gate at the left; a couple of tall narrow buildings close the composition at the right. The landscape elements outside the prison at the left may serve to suggest that the prison was located outside the city.

The vivid image of the severed head on the altar, as though on a paten, occurs already in the miniature in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 346, fig. 49), though the text there states merely that Clement was knifed while performing the liturgy.[56] One synaxarion text, however, relates how Clement's head fell onto the altar.[57]

Fol. 228r (fig. 50): Eusebia, renamed Xene, January 24 (.148 x .074)[58]

The body of the ascetic, who avoided marriage in Rome and died eventually at Mylassa in Caria, lies in an open landscape on a bier made of wood and leather straps.

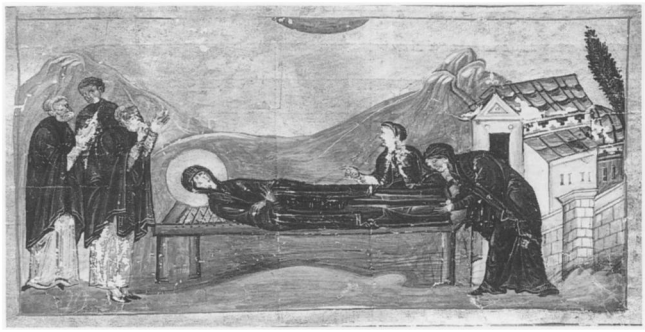

Fig. 50. *St. Eusebia/Xene,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 228r.
Fig. 51. *St. Eusebia/Xene,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 330.

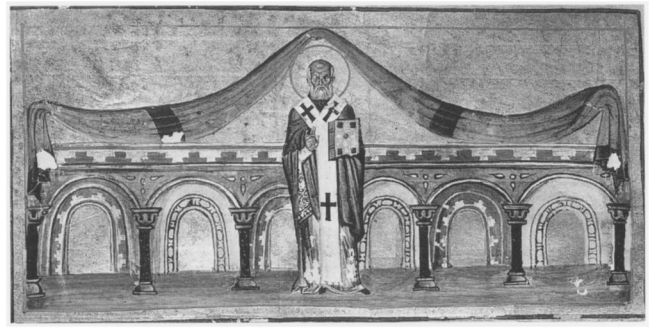

Fig. 52. *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 521, fol. 234v.
Fig. 53. *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 349.

She is dressed in a dark brown tunic and a black mandyas and hood. One nun clasps her feet, while another nearby points at the corpse, addressing three monks who stand at the head of the bier. Two of these monks raise their hands and gaze up toward the arc of heaven located over the center of the composition. Suspended below the arc are traces of a cross made out of little circles. Behind the nun at the right is an aisled, apsed basilica and a tree within an enclosure—probably the monastery church of St. Stephen, which Eusebia had built and where she lived with her fellow nuns.

In the Vatican Menologion, the saint is celebrated on January 18 instead of January 24 (p. 330, fig. 51).[59] The miniature there, though clearly the source for the Baltimore version, cannot be understood on the basis of its accompanying text alone, which says nothing about the cross of stars that appears in the Vatican manuscript too, below the arc of heaven. The story of this remarkable sign, which appeared at her death, does occur in the Synaxarion of Constantinople[60] and in the Metaphrastian text used in the Baltimore manuscript.

Fol. 234v (fig. 52): Gregory Theologos, archbishop of Constantinople, January 25 (.147 x .077)[61]

The rather grim-faced patriarch stands blessing and holding his Gospel book; he wears episcopal vestments (pale brown sticharion, gray phelonion, white omophorion and encheirion). Behind him is a low violet arcade, behind each of whose arches is visible a further blue or gold arched opening on tiny brown columns. A frieze of blue chevrons runs along the top of the arcade, and above it is stretched a long swatch of red silk cloth that rises to rest on a hook above Gregory's head and functions like a pedimental arch.

Fig. 54. *St. Synkletike,* Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1613, p. 297.

The artist has in this case radically altered the background of the corresponding miniature in the

Menologion of Basil II, where Gregory stands under a marble arch, and domed silver ciboria (?) are visible behind the flanking walls, (p. 349, fig. 53). Possibly the large amount of silver on the Vatican page—the ciboria, Gregory's omophorion, and the column bases are all of silver—led the later artist to pick a different page to serve loosely as a model (e.g., p. 297, fig. 54).

The acrostic and the date of the Walters manuscript

Because of its acrostic, which spells out ΜΙΧΑΗΛΠ, the Baltimore Menologion (as well as the other imperial menologia) has traditionally been associated with the emperor Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–41). But there are certain problems regarding this identification. In the first place, Michael IV was never called Paphlagon in any sort of official context; if anything the epithet had disparaging overtones.[62] Second, as others have rightly noted, acrostics of this type generally form the names of authors, not addressees.[63] Third, Th. Detorakis has argued that the word *Agarene* found in the prayers has no particular relevance to events of the eleventh century but makes good sense in the context of the Arab campaigns of an earlier time, and he has proposed pushing the date of the original "imperial" menologion text back into the tenth century. Although the word *Agarene* is in fact used in the eleventh century—now referring to the Seljuks rather than the Arabs—Detorakis's reluctance to accept the traditional interpretation of the acrostic remains justified.[64]

One alternate hypothesis regarding the acrostic has been advanced: that it refers to Michael I Keroularios, patriarch of Constantinople from 1043 to 1058, to whose chancery could thus be attributed both the vitae and the concluding prayers.[65] The similarity of the language of the manuscript's prayers to attested patriarchal prayers on behalf of the emperor lends a certain credence to this proposal.[66] Also to be taken into account is the extra letter found in some of the acrostics: in every set of prayers of the later group of imperial menologia (Group A), a prayer beginning with the letter K comes right after the one beginning with Π. In a twelfth-century manuscript of this group, this letter K is actually highlighted along with the other letters.[67] Thus our acrostic could conceivably be read as Μιχαήλ Π(ατριάρχης) Κ(ωνσταντινουπόλεως) —or Κ(ηρουλάριος).[68]

Yet, even if Michael P is the name not of the emperor but of the patient compiler of all these prayers, a connection of the Baltimore Menologion with the time of Emperor Michael IV is still hard to dismiss out of hand. The vita of St. Zotikos (here called "the Ptochotrophos"), a text known only from this one manuscript, is particularly significant in this regard.[69] It tells how Emperor Constantine the Great persecuted those struggling with the "holy disease" (ἱερὰ νόσος, which can mean leprosy or epilepsy), of Constantius II's reversal of this harsh policy after the martyrdom of Zotikos, and of his founding of a hospital; in the concluding acrostic prayer to the Walters text, "our pious emperor," clearly a contemporary now, is praised for ministering to just these kinds of sufferers: he himself washes them in the bath and even embraces them.[70]

The parallels with the case of Michael IV would seem to be more than mere coincidence. Michael IV himself suffered from both epilepsy and dropsy, and Psellos tells of the emperor's unusual sympathy for lepers, of his vast project for the monastery of the Kosmidion, dedicated to the doctor saints Kosmas and Damian, and of his founding of a hospice called "the Ptochotropheion."[71] Psellos also tells us how Michael in his agony turned to monks and made them promise to beseech God on his behalf.[72] It is tempting to suggest that the original menologion text, quite possibly the Baltimore manuscript itself and the lost volumes in the same series, was commissioned for use in the Kosmidion, where Michael was tonsured shortly before his death and where he was buried.

The evidence, however, remains circumstantial, and a sure interpretation of the acrostic still eludes us.[73] Copies of the imperial menologion made after the eleventh century do not add anything further to our understanding: they preserve the prayers, some even with the acrostic intact but with little apparent grasp of its meaning.[74] The best we can do here is to suggest the following sequence of events: verses were selected from a pool of traditional prayers for the well-being of the emperor; these verses, many of which went back to the tenth century, were then arranged in such a way as to spell out the name Michael P and were appended to the rewritten vitae of Metaphrastes. Then the manuscripts were illustrated. In a second edition of the menologion (Ehrhard's Group A), made as a gift for some other institution later in the eleventh century, many of the prayers were repeated, but rephrased in twelve-syllable verse, and the extra letter K was added to the acrostic.[75]

Liturgical use of the imperial menologia

In what context would manuscripts like these menologia have been used? It is attested that the vitae of Metaphrastes were read aloud in monasteries at orthros (matins), at least from the eleventh century on,[76] and we can assume that the texts in the imperial menologia, which are merely abbreviated versions of the Metaphrastian vitae, must have had a comparable function. A special short office recited shortly before orthros is attested for certain *imperial* monastic foundations of the Early Comnenian period: in the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Virgin Kecharitomene, founded ca. 1110 by Irene Dukaina, wife of emperor Alexios I,[77] and that of the Pantokrator, founded by her son, Emperor John II Komnenos in 1136.[78] Known as the "royal office," and probably invented specifically for use in imperial foundations,[79] it consisted of Psalms 19–20, plus two troparia, or short prayers, on behalf of the emperor, and a theotokion, or short hymn in honor of the Virgin. Our imperial menologia, containing both saints' vitae and prayers on behalf of the emperor, may well have been designed to be read at an expanded "royal" office of this kind, in a monastery founded by an emperor or destined to house his tomb.[80]

Use of the Basil Menologion as model

In the discussion of the miniatures in the Baltimore Menologion, we observed their astonishingly close dependence on those in the Menologion of Basil II.

Yet the difference in the texts—the Baltimore texts being longer and more discursive, based not on the synaxarion, as are those in the Basil Menologion, but on the vitae of Symeon Metaphrastes—has led inevitably to an alteration in the overall format.[81] The balance between text and image, so perfectly calibrated in the Vatican Menologion, is disrupted. The text beneath the miniatures in the Baltimore manuscript occupies in each case exactly sixteen lines, just as it does in the Basil Menologion, but where in the latter a miniature filled the whole other half of the page (i.e., the equivalent to another sixteen lines of text), in the Baltimore manuscript each miniature is allotted only the equivalent of ten lines of text, or closer to one-third of the page. The text is now written in two narrow columns, which means that it has to be read in two segments, no longer as a single block as in the earlier manuscript. Furthermore, the different texts now continue on for several pages each; thus there is no longer a miniature on every single page. The regular alternation of text and image, characteristic of the Basil Menologion, has vanished, and the miniatures, which once shared the page equally with the texts, are on their way to becoming mere headpieces.[82]

The new format has exerted a modest retroactive influence on the composition of the miniatures. The fact that the miniatures in the Baltimore manuscript are placed above two separate columns of text means that each miniature is now visually—sometimes even literally (via the vertical ruling lines)—divided into three sections: one over each text column, with a narrow central area corresponding to the space between the two columns of text. The standing portraits now tend to be centered directly over the break between the two text columns, the other compositional elements being arranged more symmetrically over the two flanking columns of text.

The reduction in the height of the picture area has led to a noticeable diminution in the area allotted to the sky and therefore in the amount of gold. The frame has been lowered, so to speak, from above; the figures now loom larger in the composition, and, with less space in which to move, they start to tread on the lower frame or even break through it (figs. 6 and 12). Gone is the spectacular isolation in the Vatican manuscript of the colors of garments and buildings against the gold: now as the hills rise to meet the upper frame, the colors are isolated against the dusky landscape instead.

Other changes in the compositions are probably due less to the new format than to the difference in date and cost of production of the two works. Gone is the extraordinary surface ornamentation of the Vatican manuscript: its brilliantly rendered details of architecture and costume, often in gold and silver, have been replaced by a variety of plain bright areas of color, set almost in patches throughout the Baltimore miniatures. The greenery now tends to follow the outer contours of the hills, rather than growing freely upon them; the outlines of the figures and ground have begun to merge, and there is no space between the forms. The illusionism, which still pervades the Vatican manuscript, is all but gone (fig. 26).

Apparently constrained to preserve the basic iconography of the Vatican scenes, the artist of the Baltimore manuscript has only rarely added or subtracted whole figures (figs. 28 and 46) or the occasional arm or leg to clarify the grouping. Some liturgical vestments have been brought up to date by the addition of the epitrachelion and the encheirion to the episcopal costume (figs. 20 and 36). He has more

Fig. 55. *Emperor Basil II,* Venice, Biblioteca Marciana gr. 17, fol. IIv.

freely altered the architectural backgrounds, such as the design of friezes and mouldings or the shape of arches, and has added windows whenever he could.

But when all is said and done, what strikes us most is the fidelity with which the miniatures of the earlier manuscript have been copied. Despite the fact that the texts that accompany the Baltimore miniatures are richer in detail than the very brief synaxarion notices in the Vatican Menologion, the miniatures themselves scarcely ever expand to reflect these expanded narratives. Formal changes have been made, as we have seen, to adjust the compositions to the shape of the new page, but these miniatures remain otherwise stubbornly faithful to the venerable pictorial model, aloof from their new setting.

Why were images from the Menologion of Basil II repeated virtually unchanged in a new manuscript with a new set of texts? Why was fidelity to a pictorial model more important than fidelity to the accompanying text? The question is not easy to answer. The prestige of the early manuscript and of its owner, Basil II, must surely have played a role. A major threat to Michael IV's reign, namely the Bulgarians, had been faced once before and dealt with in a spectacular manner by Basil; this memory may have prompted this emulation of Michael's illustrious predecessor, in art as well as war.[83] Perhaps the fact that the Metaphrastian menologion had not yet developed its own tradition of illustration that could be easily transmitted with the texts may also explain why the artist relied so heavily on the Basil illustrations.[84]

The dedicatory poem to the Emperor Basil in the Menologion of Basil II (p. A) may give us some further insight into the function of the images in these various menologion manuscripts: "In all those whom he has portrayed in colors," so the poem reads, "may he find active helpers, sustainers of the state, allies in battles, deliverers from sufferings, healers in sickness, and above all, eager mediators before the Lord at the time of Judgment, and providers of the ineffable glory and the Kingdom of God."[85] These wishes are essentially those voiced in the acrostic prayers at the end of each text in the Walters menologion. In both cases, the saints who figure in the manuscript are being summoned to the aid of the emperor. But the poem in the Basil Menologion says specifically that it is through the making of his image, not merely through the writing or the recitation of the story of his life, that the saint is being invoked.

A portrait of Basil II in the contemporary Venice psalter (Marciana gr. 17, fol. IIv; fig. 55), often cited in connection with this poem, conveys a comparable message. This frontispiece miniature shows the emperor triumphant, crowned both by angels and by Christ.[86] To left and right of Basil we see the busts of six military saints. These saints have apparently helped him achieve his victory, for the poem placed to face this miniature (fol. IIIr) reads in part: "The martyrs are his allies, for he is their friend. They smite [his enemies] who are lying at his feet."[87] What is interesting is that each military saint appears here within a little frame: in short, as an icon of himself. The message is apparently that it is through the medium of their *images* that these saints have brought victory to the emperor.

Turning to the Baltimore manuscript with this in mind, we could argue that each of its narrative texts is framed fore and aft by an invocation. Before the text comes the image of the saint: it reveals the nature and origin of his sanctity and summons him to the emperor's side. Following the text is a set of prayers whose liturgical reiteration proffers the same message: now that the saint has achieved heaven and can act as intercessor, may he beseech Christ to grant the emperor (and us as well) the following array of benefits.

The function of these prefatory images in our manuscript, then, is invocative, not illustrative; liturgi-

cal, not narrative. We should not expect these miniatures to betray their pictorial model, the Menologion of Basil II, in order to conform to the new texts inscribed below them. Quite the contrary: as with any prayer, it is the repetition of venerable formulae, not the invention of new compositions, that will bring about the desired result.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Notes

1. Cf. two letters, one dated June 10, 1943, from Dorothy Miner to C. Morgan Marshall, the other dated February 18, 1948, from Hooker A. Doolittle to T. Mosconas, both in the Walters curatorial files.

2. S. de Ricci and W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* I (New York, 1935), 760, no. 16.

3. The manuscript (as Cairo, Patriarchal Library 33) was described, not entirely accurately, by A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche,* II (Leipzig, 1938), 566–67; cf. *ibid.,* III (Leipzig, 1940), 392–93. Little of its earlier history is known. It was once in the hands of an Armenian, who numbered the early quires; they were all later renumbered in Greek. Both these numberings seem to have occurred after a portion of the original texts was lost, but before they were replaced in the sixteenth century (cf. note 9 below). The features of the executioners in the miniatures have been defaced, something encountered frequently (but not exclusively) in manuscripts that have spent time on Mount Athos (the Moscow Menologion, Hist. Mus. gr. 183, see note 17 below, is one such example). The manuscript was seen in Cairo by C.R. Gregory in 1906, but it had vanished by 1914, when Carl Schmidt went to complete Gregory's notes. The present binding was added by the Paris dealer, Jacques Gruel.

4. F. Halkin, "Le mois de janvier du 'Ménologe impérial' byzantin," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 57 (1939), 225–36. *Idem, Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore* (Brussels, 1985). The book includes a reprint of the 1939 article.

5. T. Mosconas, "Histoire étrange d'un manuscrit enluminé alexandrin du XIe siècle perdu et retrouvé," *Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la Bibliothèque patriarchale d'Alexandrie,* 12 (Alexandria, 1963). G. Vikan, ed., *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts in American Collections* (Princeton, 1973), no. 11. I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453* (Leiden, 1981), no. 306, with additional bibliography. Sirarpie Der Nersessian had planned a study of this manuscript as far back as the 1930s.

6. Facsimile: *Il Menologio de Basilio II (Cod. Vaticano greco 1613)* [=Codices e Vaticanis selecti, VIII], P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, ed., 2 vols. (Turin, 1907). Descriptions and bibliography: C. Giannelli, *Codices Vaticani Graeci. Codices 1485–1683* (Vatican City, 1940), 276–78; E. Follieri, *Codices graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti* [=Exempla Scripturarum, Fasciculus IV] (Vatican City, 1969), 33–35, no. 20. P. Canart and V. Peri, *Sussidi bibliografici per i manoscritti greci della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1970), 617–18; M. Buonocore, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1968–1980),* II (Vatican City, 1986), #18265–18360. M. Ceresa, *Bibliografia dei fondi manoscritti della Biblioteca Vaticana (1981–1985)* (Vatican City, 1991) 388 f.; *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Liturgie und Andacht im Mittelalter,* Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum Köln [exh. cat.] (Stuttgart, 1992), no. 19. Studies: I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* 16 (1962), 245–76, rpt. in *idem, Ideology, Letters and Culture in the Byzantine World* (London, 1982), part XI. L. Ventura, "A proposito delle trasmigrazioni del 'Menologio di Basilio II'," *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia,* 55 (1987), 35–39.

The resemblance between the miniatures is so close that, in some cases, the Baltimore manuscript can be used to reconstruct the original aspect—even perhaps the original colors —of some of the repainted Vatican Menologion miniatures (cf. note 38 below).

7. On the question of the dating, cf. S. Der Nersessian, "Remarks on the Date of the Menologium and the Psalter Written for Basil II," *Byzantion,* 15 (1940/41), 100–25 (after 976, before 989). I. Ševčenko, "On Pantoleon the Painter," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 21 (1972), 241–49, rpt. in *idem, Ideology, Letters and Culture,* part XII (after 1001, before 1016). A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," *Arte Veneta,* 30 (1976), 9–19, esp. 16; *ibid.,* 31 (1977), 9–15, esp. 13 (ca. 1001–1005).

8. The texts, which are versions of the Synaxarion of Constantinople, are published in *Patrologia Graeca,* J.P. Migne, ed. (= *PG*), 117:20–332. Each takes up exactly sixteen lines on the page. The Basil Menologion has notices for the saints celebrated from September through February; no equivalent volume for the second half of the year has survived.

9. Missing portions were replaced at a later period: one life at the beginning (Amphilochios, fols. 1–11), much of one in the middle (fols. 178–91 from the life of Euthymios), the end of the life of Gregory of Nazianzus plus the final six lives in the volume today (fols. 255–94) were added on paper in the sixteenth century. Fols. 22 and 34 are also sixteenth-century replacements. The very last text in the manuscript today, that of Chrysostom on St. Meletios, does not belong in a January menologion and was probably not in the original volume.

10. The page also bears the signature gr. 269. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* II, 567, note 1; III, 395. C. de Boor, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin,* II (Berlin, 1897), no. 269. *Zimilien abendländische Handschriften des Mittelalters aus den Sammlungen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1975), no. 3 [exh. cat.].

11. This traditional dating of the script has been kindly confirmed by Msgr. Paul Canart and by Professor Ihor Ševčenko. I wish to thank the latter for reading an early draft of this paper and for his valuable help regarding the vocabulary and literary form of the prayers. The manuscript was rebound in 1963, and the quire system is not always easy to determine: 1 x 11 (11) (all paper), 1 x 7 (18), 19 x 8 (170), 1 x 7 (177), 1 x 11 (188) (all paper), 1 x 3 (191) (all paper), 7 x 8 (247), 1 x 7 (254). Fols. 255–94 are all paper. The ruling pattern is similar to the Lakes' II 8a, except that the two columns of text are ruled independently; K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200* (Boston, 1934–39). The overall writing area measures 15 x 21 cm; the width of each column is 6.4 cm. The miniatures regularly take up ten of the twenty-six ruled lines. Measurements are given width before height.

12. There is no cross on fol. 61r. On fol. 70v and from fols. 158v to 233v, there is a cross both at the beginning and the end of the title.

13. The date too is generally flanked by crosses (through fol. 158r, with one exception), or at least preceded by a cross.

14. On the texts of these so-called imperial menologia, cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* III, 341–442.

15. Cf. the lives of Prophet Micah and of St. Zotikos (January 5, 8). The Zotikos text survives only in this one manuscript, and the only other known texts relating to this saint are the brief notices in the

synaxarion, where he is celebrated on December 31 (H. Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* [Brussels, 1902], 359–62). The vita and the synaxarion notices apparently both derive from a common lost source.

16. E.g., "Through his (St. Marcian's) intercessions with God, may our pious and faithful emperor obtain everything he hopes and desires, a long life without suffering, an inalterable peace, strength and an invincible force against those who would rise up [against him], celestial and eternal joy after death, the unfading enjoyment of the everlasting good, in the company of the choirs of the saints, shining in the resurrection more brilliantly than the sun itself. And may we attain this too, through the grace and good will of our Lord Jesus Christ..." Halkin, *Ménologe,* 113.

17. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* III, 403–405; Halkin, *Ménologe,* 10–11.

18. If there is only one phrase per line, or the phrase is two lines long, the letters of the acrostic read vertically down the left-hand margin of the text; in other cases, however, the phrases occupy a line and a half, so that the sequence of acrostic letters jumps back and forth between the margin and the middle of the line. The letters of the acrostic are always highlighted in carmine ink.

19. V. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini saeculi X quae supersunt,* fasc. 1 (St. Petersburg, 1911, rpt. Leipzig, 1970). Cf. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* III, 342–45. The miniatures were published by D.K. Tréneff and N.P. Popoff, *Miniatures du ménologe grec du XIme siècle No 183 de la Bibliothèque Synodale à Moscou* (Moscow, 1911). Cf. Spatharakis, *Corpus,* no. 307, with additional bibliography. The manuscript belonged to the Kastamonitou monastery on Mount Athos in the sixteenth century, and it was taken to Moscow probably in 1655.

20. Athos, Kutlumus 23, of the twelfth century, for February and March and some of April and May: F. Halkin, *Dix textes inédits tirés du Ménologe de Koutloumous* [=*Cahiers d'orientalisme* 8] (Geneva, 1984). Athens, B.N. gr. 982, dated 1599, and Athos, Protaton 47, dated 1598, both for February through May: Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* III, 409–11. Patmos 736, of the fourteenth century, for April and May: Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* III, 378–83. Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate Taphou 17, of the twelfth century, for June through August: Latyšev, *Menologii,* fasc. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1912, rpt. Leipzig, 1970). Athos Dionysiou 83 of 1142, Athens, B.N. gr. 1046 of the fourteenth century, and Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate Stavrou 16 of the sixteenth century, all for the latter three months: Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* III, 360–61, 394 and 362–63. There are also the Benaki fragments for February 17–21 plus December 21 (cf. note 22 below). Individual texts of this series are encountered occasionally in other kinds of menologia. Cf. Ehrhard, as in note 14 above.

21. S. Der Nersessian, "Moskovskii Menologii," *Vizantija, Južnye slavjane i Drevnjaja Rus', Zapadnaja Europa. Sbornik statej v čest' V.N. Lazareva* (Moscow 1973), 94–111. The Moscow manuscript has twenty-nine lines of text per page, the date for each saint is written over the lefthand column only, and the miniatures, which are of varying heights, are placed wherever one text ends and the next begins, not consistently at the top of a new page as they are in the Baltimore manuscript. The letters of the acrostic are not highlighted. The prayer formulae are prefaced in a different way: they address the saint directly, on behalf of the emperor alone, not, as in the case of the Baltimore texts, of "ourselves" as well. Many of the prayers are couched in twelve-syllable verse; this is not the case in the Baltimore manuscript.

Ehrhard divided the various surviving imperial menologia into two groups: one represented by the Moscow manuscript and by those in Jerusalem and Patmos (this he named Menologion A), and the other represented by Kutlumus 23 (Menologion B). He concluded on the basis of literary analysis that Menologion B was an earlier form of Menologion A. He did not have access to the Baltimore manuscript and thought it belonged to the A group. On the basis of its prayer formulae, however, it seems rather to belong to the earlier B group.

22. Cod. 71 (Protheke 34/6): E. Eyridice Lappa-Zizica and M. Rizou-Couroupou, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs du musée Benaki* (10e–16e s.) (Athens, 1991), no. 36, with color plates of fols. 1r and 4v. The Benaki fragments were unknown to Ehrhard.

23. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 20–33. On this folio, see note 10 above.

24. F. Halkin, "Les martyrs Théopemptos et Théonas dans le ménologe impérial," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 30 (1981), 151–55; trans. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 41–45.

25. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 46–58.

26. The circumstances of his death as recounted in the Baltimore text (e.g., the lions which dig his grave) are ignored. In the Menologion of Basil II and other related documents (Typikon of the Great Church, Synaxarion of Constantinople, Typikon of the Virgin Evergetis), Paul is venerated on January 15 (only two manuscripts among the synaxaria cited by Delehaye celebrate him on January 5: p. 371.39). The January 5 date is the standard one in manuscripts of the Metaphrastian menologion (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* II, 531), and in the menaia.

27. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 69–74.

28. The text is Gregory of Nazianzus's Homily on the Baptism, *PG* 36:336–60. For the text of the concluding prayer, cf. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 75.

29. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 76–79.

30. M. Aubineau, "Zoticos de Constantinople, nourricier des pauvres et serviteur des lépreux," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 93 (1975), 67–108.

31. Cf. note 15 above.

32. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 84–91.

33. *Ibid.,* 100–13.

34. The whole middle part of the life of Theodosios is missing in the Baltimore manuscript. For its beginning and end, cf. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 125–37.

35. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 150–53.

36. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 157–70. Cf. *idem,* "Trois textes grecs inédits sur les saints Hermyle et Stratonice, martyrs à Singidunum (Belgrade)," *Analecta Bollandiana,* 89 (1971), 5–45, esp. 40–45.

37. F. Halkin, "Les moines martyrs du Sinaï dans le ménologe impérial," *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière* (Geneva, 1984), 267–73.

38. The comparable image in the Menologion of Basil II (p. 317) was apparently somewhat damaged when a restorer came along to touch up the miniatures (in 1714?, cf. *Il Menologio,* Testo, vi), for he interpreted this tragic figure as a monk with two heads!

39. There are actually three miniatures in the Basil Menologion involving the monks of Sinai and Raithu. The titles of the three texts are: " 'Athlesis' of our holy fathers who were killed on Mt. Sinai" (p. 315); "Memory of the holy fathers slain on that mountain by the Blemmyes under the Emperor Diocletian" (p. 316); "Memory of the thirty-three fathers living at Raithu, slain by the Blemmyes, at the place of the twelve springs and the seventy date-palms" (p. 317).

40. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 173–85.

41. *Ibid.,* 197–212.

42. Cf. V. von Falkenhausen, "Petri Kettenfeier in Byzanz. Phantasien über ein Apostelfest," *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz. Hans-Georg Beck zum 18 Februar 1990,* G. Prinzing and D. Simon, eds. (Munich, 1990), 129–44. The skeuophylakion was northeast of the main altar—a location which would correspond with the setting in the miniature. The text also praises the knife of St. Peter, which was ap-

parently kept in a chapel dedicated to the saint inside the imperial palace. The synaxarion (Delehaye, *Synaxarium,* 395) attributes the translation of the chains to "our pious emperors," but does not say whence they came.

43. F. Halkin, ed., *Biblioteca Hagiographica Graeca,* 3rd ed. (= *BHG*) (Brussels, 1957), no. 1486. It is attributed to the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in a fourteenth-century manuscript: Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* II, 568 (Kosinitza 29); in an eleventh-century manuscript it is attributed to John Chrysostom (see following note).

44. E. Batareikh, "Discours inédit sur les Chaînes de S. Pierre attribué à S. Jean *Chrysostome,"* Chrysostomika. *Studi e ricerche intorno a S. Giovanni Crisostomo .... per il XV centenario della sua morte* (Rome 1908), 1004–05. Cf. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 211–12.

45. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 228–48.

46. *Ibid.,* 249–77.

47. Cf. that for St. Euthymios (p. 338, fig. 43).

48. Cf. J. Myslivec, in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* V (Rome/Freiburg 1973), 267–72. On the possibility that the cap was added later, cf. *Il Menologio,* Testo, 89.

49. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 278–84.

50. F. Halkin, "Saint Théodote de Chypre. Sa passion *BHG* 2437 dans le ménologe impérial," *Antidoron, Hommage à Maurits Geerard,* I (Wetteren, 1984), 169–75.

51. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 297–339.

52. F. Halkin, "La Passion de Saint Néophyte dans le ménologe impérial BHG 1326 b," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 75 (1982), 1–5.

53. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 345–51.

54. In the synaxarion text, however, considerable attention is given to the translation of the relics, in connection with those of Andrew and Luke; Delehaye, *Synaxarium,* 411–12.

55. The text is essentially that of Metaphrastes, *PG* 114:816–893 (with lacunae). For the text of the prayer, cf. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 352–53.

56. *PG* 117:277.

57. Delehaye, *Synaxarium,* 417.39–41. The Metaphrastian text used in the Baltimore manuscript merely plays on the idea of the sacrificer sacrificing himself, *PG* 114:892A.

58. Halkin, *Ménologe,* 355–63.

59. This earlier date is that used in the Typikon of the Great Church, the later one that used in the Metaphrastian menologion and in monastic typika of the eleventh to twelfth century. Manuscripts of the synaxaria are about equally divided.

60. Delehaye, *Synaxarium,* 419.

61. PG 35:244–304. The text is the encomium on St. Gregory by Gregory presbyter.

62. The term Paphlagon seems to have been used only after his death, probably to distinguish him from the other Michaels who ruled after him in near succession: Michael V Kalaphates (1041–42), Michael VI Stratiotikos (1056–57), and Michael VII Doukas (1071–78).

63. I. Ševčenko in Vikan, *Manuscripts,* 80; Th. Detorakis, "He chronologese tou autokratorikou menologiou tou B. Latyšev," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 83 (1990), 46–50. For instant "poems" (probably acrostics?) created ad hoc on the basis of personal names, cf. De Ceremoniis, Book I, chap. 56 (A. Vogt, ed., *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le Livre des Cérémonies,* 2nd ed., II [Paris, 1967], 45, lines 5–9). It is perhaps also worth mentioning in this context the mysterious word MAPTIOY thought to be an acrostic based on official titles and a cryptic reference to Michael VIII Palaiologos; the story is told in Book I of George Pachymeres, I. Bekker, ed., *De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis,* 27–28 (Bonn).

64. Detorakis, as above. For the Seljuks as Agarenes, cf. Michael Ataleiates, I. Bekker, ed., *Historia,* 24–25 (Bonn).

65. I. Ševčenko, in Vikan, *Manuscripts,* 80; *idem, Three Byzantine Literatures: A Layman's Guide* (Brookline, Mass., 1985), 6, note 2.

66. The prayers spoken by the patriarch when he visited the emperor are attested especially for Eastertime and on August 15: M. Arranz, "Couronnement royal et autres promotions de cour," *Orientalia cristiana periodica,* 56 (1990), 6–133, esp. 109–23 (H4–6).

67. The phrase beginning with K is usually something like "kai basileias theou ten klerouchian." On group A, cf. note 21 above. The manuscript in which the K is highlighted is Dionysiou 83 (dated 1142): K. and S. Lake, *Minuscule Manuscripts* III, pl. 199 and note 20 above.

68. For the forms that Michael Keroularios used when signing patriarchal documents, cf. V. Grumel and J. Darrouzès, *Les regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople* I, fasc. II–III (Paris, 1989), nos. 855–886. On Michael Keroularios, cf. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058). Kritische Überlegungen zu einer Biographie," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik,* 39 (1989), 95–127. It should be noted that other illustrious contemporaries, such as Christopher of Mitylene and Theodore Prodromos, were writing metrical calendars, brief clever verses in honor of the saints for every day of the year.

69. Aubineau, "Zoticos," esp. 68.

70. *Ibid.,* 85.

71. Michael Psellos, *Chronographia,* Book IV, 17–18, 31–32, 34–36; S. Impellizzeri, ed., *Michele Psello. Imperatori di Bisanzio,* trans. S. Ronchey, I (Venice, 1984), 135–56, 153–54, 157–59. English translation by E.R.A Sewter, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 96–97, 105–07.

72. Psellos, *Chronographia,* Book IV, 37; Sewter, *Rulers,* 108. Michael's implication in the murder of Romanos IV evidently caused some of the monks to hesitate. On Michael IV, cf. also S. Caruso, "Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italo-greca," *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentini, S.J.* (Florence, 1986), 261–84.

73. There is also the remote possibility that the Michael could refer to the archangel Michael and the menologion have been designed for a monastery dedicated to St. Michael.

74. In the Dionysiou manuscript, for example, despite the highlighting of the K, no set of prayers retains the complete acrostic MIXAHA Π K (cf. e.g., fol. 180v).

75. Cf. notes 21 and 67 above. The prayers in the Baltimore manuscript are never in proper dodecasyllables.

76. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung,* II, 314–18. N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago, 1990), 3.

77. P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômènè," *Revue des études byzantines,* 43 (1985), 87, lines 1222–32.

78. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantokrator," *Revue des études byzantines,* 32 (1974), 33–35, lines 82–109. This typikon and that of the Kecharitomene both provide an alternate office for when the founder/emperor is no longer alive. In the Pantokrator typikon, this includes a lengthy prayer for the "deceased orthodox emperors and founders," a prayer that was probably composed just for this monastery. The text of the "royal" or "imperial office," though rarely recited today, is included in some printed editions of

the horologion, at the very beginning of orthros. Two out of the three troparia in these printed editions correspond to those used in the Pantokrator monastery.

79. Cf. J. Matéos, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *Proche-orient chrétien,* 11 (1961), 201–202. Mateos cites Sinai 866 (a horologion of the thirteenth century), but not the earlier typika. The horologion has the same theotokion as that prescribed in the Pantokrator typikon. The office is prescribed in the eleventh-century Evergetis typikon as well, although the troparia are not specified as relating to the emperor: P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," *Revue des études byzantines,* 40 (1982), 27, lines 222–34.

80. In the tenth century, Constantine VII Porphyrogennitus sent out a decree requiring churches and monasteries in the capital and throughout the land to pray for the emperor's success on the battlefield: R. Vári, "Zum historischen Exzerptenwerke des Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* 17 (1908), 80, lines 13–21. Cf. H. Ahrweiler, "Un discours inédit de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *Travaux et mémoires,* 2 (1967), 395 and note 10. This sort of decree and the growing number of royal monasteries founded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to house family tombs, may have led to the development of this special office.

81. The Metaphrastian corpus has affected other aspects of the manuscript as well. For example, the dates of celebration for Sts. Paul of Thebes and Eusebia/Xene are no longer those assigned to them in the Vatican Menologion, but now conform to the ones prescribed in the Metaphrastian menologion: Paul is changed from January 15 to January 5, Xene from January 18 to January 24. Cf. notes 26 and 59 above. On some stylistic differences between the two manuscripts, see K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniatures and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination,* H.L. Kessler, ed. (Chicago, 1971), esp. 273–77.

82. In the Moscow manuscript, the text is given an even greater priority, and the miniatures are simply inserted at any point on the page, wherever one text ends and the next begins. Cf. note 21 above.

83. For the imperial use of calendar cycles, N. Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion,* 189–91.

84. The earliest illustrated editions of the Metaphrastian menologion that have survived (dated 1055 and 1063) show two quite different systems of illustration, neither of them directly related to the "Synaxarion" martyrological tradition. See N. Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion,* 181–86, 197–98.

85. Follieri (as in note 6 above), 34, lines 23–28. English translation by I. Ševčenko, "Illuminators," 273.

86. On the Psalter cf. Cutler, "Psalter" (as in note 7 above, esp. part 2) and I. Ševčenko, "Illuminators," 272–73.

87. "hoi martyres de symmachousin hos philo/ rhiptontes tous posi prokeimenous." Translation, I. Ševčenko, "Illuminators," 272, note 92. In the imperial menologia, the emperor is often designated as "philomartyr."

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42, 44, 46, 48, 50, 52, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; fig. 2, Moscow, Historical Museum, from Latyšev, *Menologii*; fig. 3, Athens, Benaki Museum; fig. 4, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek; figs. 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, 37, 39, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 51, 53, 54, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The Antiphonaries of the Conradin Bible Atelier and the History of the Franciscan and Augustinian Liturgies

Rebecca W. Corrie

Among the treasures of the manuscript collection of the Walters Art Gallery is the so-called Conradin Bible, which takes its name from an association with Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, executed in Naples in 1268. The growing list of Bibles attributed to this master and his atelier supports the traditional attribution of the Walters Bible to southern Italy, but its date has remained problematic. The least studied works of this atelier are two musical manuscripts, antiphonaries made for Franciscan and Augustinian houses. Their analysis here supports the south Italian attribution and also a date in the 1260s. Of even greater interest is what they tell us about the relationship between the Augustinian and Franciscan liturgies in the years immediately after the founding of the orders. The antiphonaries also shed light on the organization of their manuscript atelier and the manner in which illuminated manuscripts were put together for religious orders in the thirteenth century.

By and large when art historians study manuscripts produced in the ateliers of medieval Europe, they focus on the most elaborate illuminated works, among them the great Bibles, the luxury psalters, Gospels, books of hours, and Apocalypses.[1] With some brilliant exceptions, the working liturgical manuscripts—the breviaries, missals, antiphonaries, and graduals that contain the texts and rules for the mass and for the daily offices of monastic life—receive short shrift.[2] This is unfortunate for the manuscripts' textual variations can tell us a great deal about dating and localizing the activity of the artists who decorated them. And many, especially the most modest, are our witnesses to major changes in the religious life of their times, as erasures and re-writing, additions and omissions reveal a scramble to keep up to date.

At no other time between late antiquity and the Reformation were changes in religion as dramatic as they were in the thirteenth century. The Church at Rome was transformed by reformers who included St. Francis of Assisi and St. Dominic, and the age was marked by popular movements such as the flagellants and by the growth of the mendicant orders. From our vantage point, it is easy to lose sight of the importance of these groups of religious men and women in thirteenth-century Italy. But the mendicant orders were urban orders, closely linked to the development of the rapidly expanding Italian cities. Indeed, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the four leading new orders, the Augustinians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Servites erected vast and beautifully decorated churches.[3] The very language of religion was altered as offices were written for newly canonized saints, including Dominic and Francis, and changes in religious practices and the appearance of new orders, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans, led to an extensive rewriting and reorganizing of the Roman liturgy.[4] For example, the Roman rite reformed and corrected by Humbert of Romans for the Dominican order in 1256 required new versions of fourteen liturgical books.[5] Haymo of Faversham carried out a similar correction of the liturgy for the Franciscans during the same period, leading to the eventual alteration of the Roman liturgy as a whole.[6]

The purpose of this article is to look at two antiphonaries written and decorated in Italy in the thirteenth century, the first for a Franciscan house, a second for Augustinians. Our antiphonaries are of particular interest because they belong to a group of works built around a famous and problematic manuscript, the so-called Conradin Bible, Ms. W. 152 in the Walters Art Gallery. All of the manuscripts from this group were decorated in the highly idiosyncratic style of a painter often called the Master of the Conradin Bible. The style of this master and his associates is distinguished by its simulation of Byzantine art, and as a result it has become important for our understanding of the style known as the *maniera greca* in Italy and of the formulation of "Byzantinizing" styles in the Mediterranean

basin in general.[7] The figures in the manuscripts show remarkable affinities with those of Byzantine painting, not only in general facial and drapery characteristics, but as I have pointed out elsewhere, in very specific details that must be based on the direct copying of Byzantine works of art.[8] At the same time, the brilliant ornamental style of the atelier combines elements of the Italian and French decorative repertoires.[9]

While the renewed interest in the art of the thirteenth-century Mediterranean basin in the last few decades has brought attention to the Conradin Bible, most of the scholars who have worked on the manuscript group have focused on other problems, particularly the provenance and date of the Conradin Bible and the manuscripts related to it. The Conradin Bible first came to the attention of scholars in the middle of the nineteenth century.[10] From that time until 1964, the manuscript remained in splendid isolation, attributed to regions as far apart as Sicily and the Veneto.[11] In that year Angela Daneu Lattanzi identified the Bassetti Bible in Trento as the work of the same artist or atelier.[12] Since then, four more Bibles, at Oxford, Paris, Palermo, and the Vatican, have been attributed to this master.[13] A few other manuscripts have been added: our antiphonaries, two copies of the *Medical Encyclopedia, Al-Hāwī,* written and illuminated in Naples in 1282, and a copy of the *Liber Annayde* written by Boniface of Verona for the Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, before Ubaldini's death in 1272.[14]

As the group of manuscripts has grown, we have come closer to pinning down their date and provenance. The traditional attribution to southern Italy or Sicily in the third quarter of the thirteenth century comes from the association of the Walters Bible with Conradin, the last Hohenstaufen king of Sicily, the grandson of the Emperor Frederick II, executed when he was sixteen by his political rival, Charles of Anjou, at Naples in 1268.[15] A long-standing tradition asserts that the Bible was made in Sicily for Conradin and sent to him shortly before his ill-fated march south to retake his Italian inheritance. But there is no proof that the manuscript was made for him, although the Bible is missing several sections which could easily have included a colophon.[16] This lack of evidence led several scholars in the middle of the twentieth century to attribute the Walters Bible to cities in Tuscany as well as Umbria, primarily on the basis of comparisons with panel painting.[17]

In contrast, Angela Daneu Lattanzi and Florentine Mütherich, among others, never abandoned the South Italian provenance, and more recent scholarship argues that the attribution to southern Italy was probably correct after all.[18] In 1978, Hélène Toubert pointed out the importance of a heraldic crest in the Bodleian Bible. It belongs to the Auria of Lucera, a South Italian family with ties to the Hohenstaufen court.[19] Furthermore, she convincingly attributed to the manuscript group a Bible now in Palermo that was originally attributed to a different South Italian manuscript group active in the 1250s and 1260s.[20] And at a conference in 1990 I added a Bible now in the Vatican that has a provenance connecting it with Naples.[21] Finally, one of the most important developments was Daneu Lattanzi's observation that the presentation copies of the *Medical Encyclopedia, Al-Hāwī,* commissioned by Charles of Anjou at Naples and finished between 1281 and 1282, were decorated by an artist working in a style close to that of the Master of the Conradin Bible, indeed, possibly the Master of the Conradin Bible himself.[22]

One approach that has not been taken to the problem of the Conradin Bible manuscript group is through a study of the antiphonaries decorated by artists from the same atelier. Most of the manuscripts identified as part of the group thus far are one-volume Bibles, with very consistent texts, but in this case, the leading master and his assistants decorated another type of book, in which the text varies because copies were intended for two different religious orders. The antiphonaries therefore provide information on the organization of the atelier: we can speculate as to whether the same manuscript illuminators and scribes worked together on a regular basis, or whether artists were hired to decorate texts that were already prepared by the order. Above all, analyzing these antiphonaries yields information about their dates and dates the activity of the atelier as a whole. The same information may help art historians and liturgists date other liturgical manuscripts from the same century.

Finally, our investigation reaches beyond the history of a single artist and his atelier, for the antiphonaries of the Conradin Bible group offer information about the development of the liturgy of the Roman Church in the thirteenth century. Our Franciscan antiphonary may be the earliest Franciscan antiphonary written in square notation extant. And the Augustinian antiphonary may well be the earliest such antiphonary remaining from the period immediately following the union of that order in 1256. They address unresolved questions about the origins of the Franciscan and Augustinian liturgies and provide insight into the relationship between the liturgies of these two important orders. Still we should acknowledge that our aims here are modest. Set aside for an-

other time are fascinating questions about the relationship between the complex religious orders and the brilliant style of these manuscripts. At the very least we must wonder who made the decision to hire the atelier and what, if anything, the members of an order that espoused poverty thought of using books decorated in a manner resembling that found in manuscripts commissioned for members of South Italian courts.

The Franciscan antiphonary at Colchester

Antiphonaries are the choral books that provide religious orders with the musical portions of their daily observances, which are organized around the canonical hours of the day and the yearly cycle of feasts and include texts for the offices of saints.[23] In contrast to the gradual and missal, which are used for public ritual and the mass, the antiphonary contains the private ritual recited by religious orders, and it is often called the nocturnal office because much of it is recited at night.[24] The antiphonary takes its name from the antiphons or hymns sung in alternation in every office, although each office for a feast of the church year also contains responses, invitatories, and other elements.

Our two antiphonaries were added to the list of manuscripts produced in the Conradin Bible atelier on the basis of the similarity between their figure style and the style of the Conradin Bible itself. Ilaria Toesca first identified a group of fragments in private collections and museums that appeared to come from a single antiphonary.[25] In 1982, Antonio Caleca published a portion of an Augustinian antiphonary now in the Museo Nazionale e Civico di San Matteo in Pisa. He correctly identified this portion, a sanctorale containing some of the year's offices for the saints and some of the common offices, as the work of the Master of the Conradin Bible.[26] As we shall see, it is quite likely that the fragments and the Pisa codex actually belong to a single work.

The other antiphonary is a nearly complete sanctorale made for Franciscan use, now Ms. 222.32 in the collection of the Colchester and Essex Museum in Colchester, England; it contains most of the year's offices for the saints. Since this manuscript probably tells us the most about the Conradin Bible atelier, we will begin with it.[27]

The Colchester Antiphonary was one of several medieval manuscripts given by Lionel Penrose to the Colchester and Essex Museum at the Colchester Castle in Colchester, England in 1932.[28] It is likely that

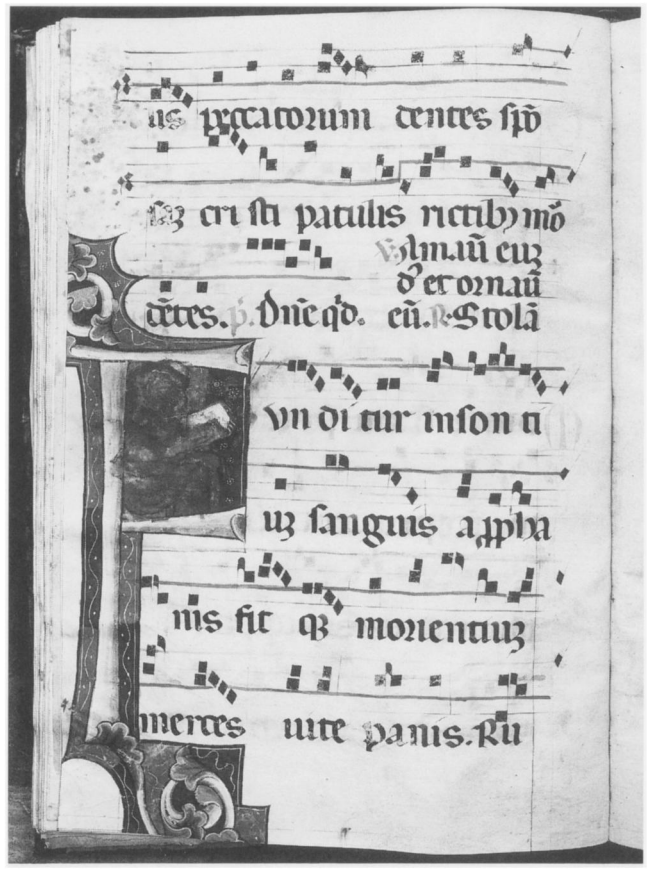

Fig. 1. *St. Anthony of Padua,* Feast of St. Anthony, Colchester Antiphonary. Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum Ms. 222.32, fol. 56v.

the antiphonary, like many of the other manuscripts given to the museum by Penrose, came from the estate of his grandfather, Baron Alexander Peckover of Wisbech, a famous manuscript collector in the late nineteenth century.[29] Thus the antiphonary was in England by the close of the nineteenth century, but its earlier provenance remains a mystery.

Although folios are missing from both the beginning and the end of the Colchester codex, it comprises the remarkably full sanctorale portion of a Franciscan antiphonary. It opens with most of the text from the office of the Purification of the Virgin, and the remaining feasts of the church year follow in order, closing with the office of St. Clement, which is followed by commons that end with an incomplete common for a virgin.[30]

There are historiated initials at the first responses for matins of eight of the most important feasts in the Franciscan church year: the Annunciation (fol. 17v); St. Anthony of Padua (fol. 56v, fig. 1); St. John the Baptist for the Nativity of John the Baptist (fol. 70r); Sts. Peter and Paul (fol. 84v); the Virgin and Child for the Assumption of the Virgin (fol. 123r, fig. 2), the Virgin and Child for the Nativity of the Virgin (fol. 135r, fig. 3); St.

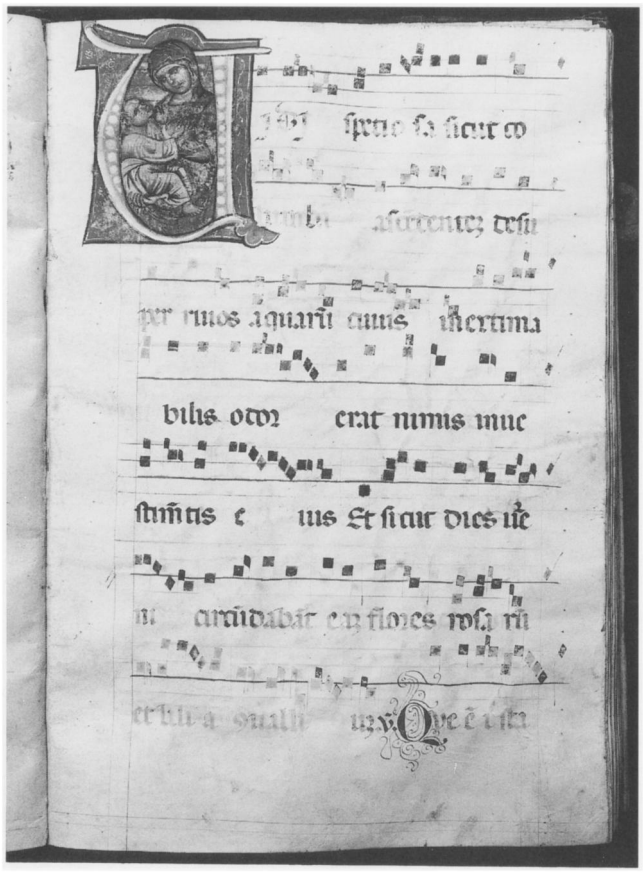

Fig. 2. *Virgin and Child,* Assumption of the Virgin, Colchester Antiphonary, Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum Ms. 222.32, fol. 123r.

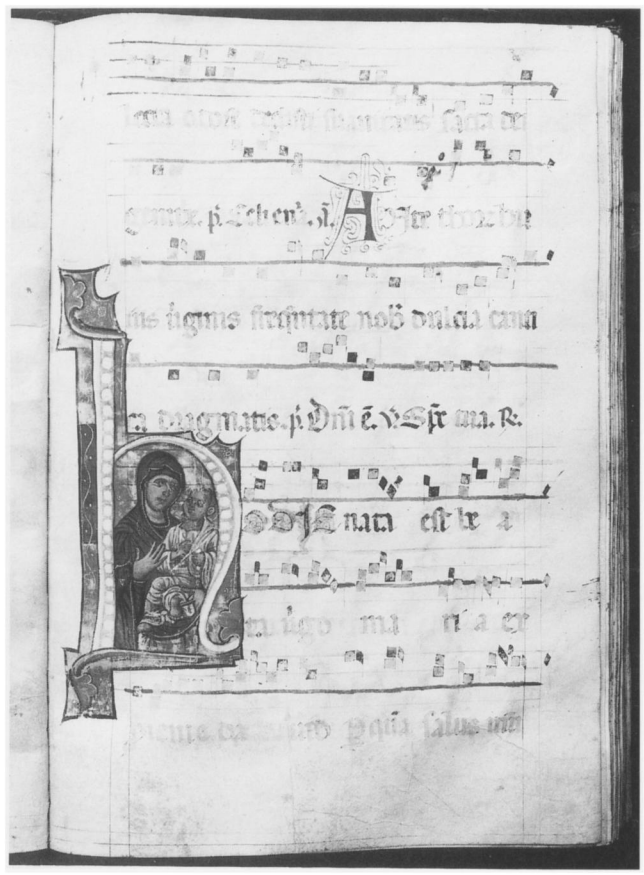

Fig. 3. *Virgin and Child,* Nativity of the Virgin, Colchester Antiphonary, Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum Ms. 222.32, fol. 135r.

Michael and the dragon for the dedication of St. Michael (fol. 148r, fig. 4); and St. Francis receiving the stigmata for the feast of St. Francis (fol. 159v).[31]

The original form of this manuscript is not clear. Choral manuscripts in which the sanctorale (containing the offices for saints) appears as one volume and the temporale (containing the individual feast days of the church year, especially those associated with the life of Christ) appears as another do occur, but there is so much variation in the arrangements of antiphonaries in the thirteenth century that we can only guess at the original format here.[32] It is possible that a missing volume might have begun with the temporale and closed with the earliest portion of the sanctorale, beginning with the feast of St. Stephen and closing with the Conversion of Paul, therefore making the volume remaining to us the second. A parallel for such an arrangement is the two-volume sanctorale in an antiphonary for the Franciscan office at Cortona, part of a five-volume set of liturgical choral books, identified (by Maria Grazia Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto) as the first complete choral cycle made for Franciscans.[33] But the more likely possibility is that the Colchester Antiphonary was a complete sanctorale. In that case a missing portion at the front could have included all the missing feasts through the Purification of the Virgin. Undoubtedly the section missing from the close of our manuscript included the remaining portion of the common for a virgin and two offices, for the dead and for the dedication for a church.

That the Colchester Antiphonary was decorated by artists from the atelier of the Conradin Bible is clear from a look at a few of the illuminated initials (figs. 1–4). Indeed, of all of the manuscripts in the Conradin Bible group, this antiphonary has the closest parallels for the figures found in the Conradin Bible. Above all, the large scale of many of the figures in both antiphonaries is remarkably like that in the Conradin Bible and differs from the more precious style of the other Bibles.

The finest initials in the Colchester Antiphonary are the John the Baptist (from the feast of the Nativity of St. John) and the Virgin and Child (from the feast for the Assumption of the Virgin, fig. 2).[34] Both have broad Byzantinizing faces characteristic of thirteenth-century Italy, and highlighting—especially around the

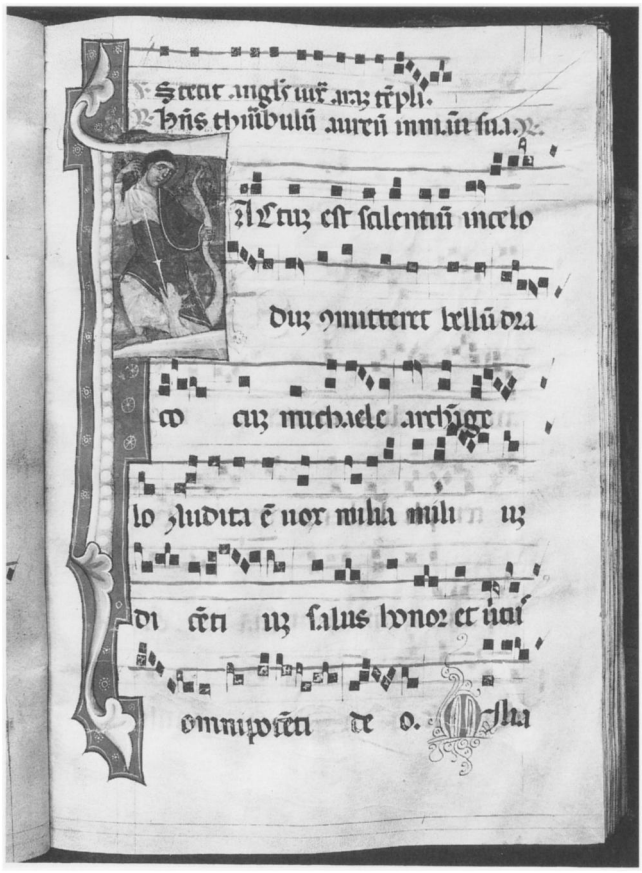

Fig. 4. *St. Michael and the Dragon,* Dedication of St. Michael, Colchester Antiphonary, Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum Ms. 222.32, fol. 148r.

eyes—based on Byzantine models. But we also see the brilliant, hooded eyes and the greenish skin tone painted in fine, feathered strokes characteristic of the entire Conradin Bible. A remarkably close comparison in the Conradin Bible for the face of the Virgin can be found in the Virgin in the Book of Matthew (figs. 2 and 5).[35]

One characteristic that distinguishes both the Colchester and Pisa antiphonaries from the Bibles in the Conradin Bible manuscript group is the much simpler ornamental style of the initials in the antiphonaries (figs. 1–4), with similar foliage but lacking the dragons and the gold dots of the Conradin Bible (figs. 5 and 6). But such differences do not remove the antiphonaries from the manuscript group. As liturgical scholars have pointed out, the manuscripts used by mendicant orders such as the Franciscans and Dominicans were by rule and practice simpler in their decoration than those produced for lay patrons.[36]

Indeed, despite these differences in their ornamental styles, its seems likely that the Colchester Antiphonary and the Conradin Bible are very close in date. The figures in the Colchester Antiphonary initials vary in quality and style in ways that correspond to similar variations within the Conradin Bible itself. In addition to the fine heads mentioned above there are two other types. For example, the painting of the head of the Virgin from the office for the Birth of the Virgin has sharp highlighting at the eyes that corresponds to faces found in the Conradin Bible's Old Testament (figs. 3 and 6). The smaller heads of other figures such as St. Michael compare closely with small, simple ones in the Conradin Bible (figs. 4 and 6). Particularly characteristic here is the painting of noses, articulated with pale dots. These different types suggest either that we are looking at variations in the style of a single individual or that we are looking at the work of one master assisted by other artists simulating his style. Whatever the explanation for these variations, the repetition of the types from the Conradin Bible in the Colchester Antiphonary is significant. The similarity is particularly striking because there is a greater range of figure types within the Bible group. Both the early and later manuscripts are painted in figure styles more precious than those we have here. In other words, if we can date the Colchester Antiphonary, we have an approximate date for the Conradin Bible.

The Colchester Antiphonary and development of the Franciscan liturgy

It is the place of the Colchester Antiphonary in the development of the Franciscan liturgy that provides us with information on its date. Its textual idiosyncrasies point to the manuscript's execution in the 1260s and suggest that it may be the earliest Franciscan antiphonary with square notation remaining. Van Dijk provided an outline for the development of the Roman liturgy in the thirteenth century. He wrote that the first distinctly Franciscan antiphonaries were put together in the 1230s, shortly after the death and canonization of St. Francis.[37] These differ from ours in text and notation. A representative manuscript is Ms. San Rufino 5 in the Cathedral Library at Assisi, a beautiful manuscript decorated with white vine initials on gold ground, with notation in a Beneventan style. It includes the rhythmical office of St. Francis written by Julian of Speyer in 1235.[38] The Assisi antiphonary was updated in the second half of the thirteenth century with the addition of the rhythmical office written by Julian of Speyer for St. Anthony of Padua and an antiphon for St. Francis, *Celorum candor.*[39] The history of the Franciscan antiphonary of the second half of the

Fig. 5. *The Tree of Jesse,* Gospel of Matthew, Conradin Bible, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 152, fol. 53v.

Fig. 6. *The Jews of Jerusalem Send a Letter to the Jews of Egypt,* II Maccabees, Conradin Bible, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 152, fol. 42v.

century has been slower to emerge. In fact when van Dijk and Walker published their study of the Franciscan liturgy they knew of no Franciscan antiphonaries from the second half of the thirteenth century.[40] Although works such as the Cortona and Bologna antiphonary sets have since been published and dated to the third and fourth quarters of the thirteenth century, much of the history of the Franciscan antiphonary remains to be written.[41] Nevertheless, van Dijk's study of the Roman liturgy, particularly in the breviaries, has identified many of the characteristics that distinguish the early antiphonaries such as San Rufino 5 from those made in the second half of the century.

Van Dijk has shown that numerous changes in the liturgy of both the Franciscans and the Roman curia itself took place under the guidance of Haymo of Faversham, the fourth minister-general of the Franciscan order between 1240 and 1244.[42] Haymo's ordinal containing his corrections, clarifications, and simplifications of the rubrics of the liturgy was issued in the 1240s and 1250s. It was incorporated into the Franciscan breviary, which contains the spoken office, although in the form of the noted breviary (that is, the breviary with musical notation) it can also include the musical portions of the office found in the antiphonary. Indeed, because so few Franciscan antiphonaries are left from the period we are studying, we will need to look at the more numerous breviaries, which include the material found in the antiphonaries.

Analysis of the Colchester Antiphonary will show that it conforms in most respects to Haymo's corrections, which would date it no earlier than the late 1250s, and that some aspects of the text argue for a date after 1260. At the same time, the absence of other elements will argue that it could not have been written long after 1260. Such a date suggests that this is among the earliest of the Franciscan antiphonaries we have left, certainly of those with square notation. It also answers one of van Dijk's unresolved problems, confirming that directions for antiphonaries were issued on the heels of the breviaries corrected according to Haymo's rubrics.[43] What we have to ponder is

whether an official antiphonary model or exemplar was issued.

Unquestionably, our manuscript conforms to the new rubrics found in Haymo's ordinal. For example, his rubric for the feasts of the Virgin, found at the feast of the Purification, appears in the Colchester Antiphonary (*Et sic dicitur et per omnia festivitates beate Virginis Marie et per octavia assumptionis*).[44] Similar correspondences exist for the rubrics for Philip and James (*Omnia dicuntur sic in festo Sancti Marci...*)and for the Invention of the Holy Cross (*Sciendum est in festivitatibus sancte crucis et angelorum non fit commemoratione de apostolis nec de Sancto Francisco nec de pace...*), and for the octave of St. Francis.[45]

In some ways the Colchester Antiphonary does not conform to Haymo's corrections. For example, Haymo's important rubric which precedes the feast of the Annunciation and specifies practices for all feasts between Lent and Pentecost is missing entirely.[46] It should appear just before the text on folio 16v and is found in a similar position in other Franciscan texts from the same period.[47] Since no attempt was made to insert the missing rubric, we should assume that the omission was intentional. It is possible that the Franciscans who commissioned our antiphonary were responding to the rapid changes between 1245 and 1265 regarding the observations of feasts of the Virgin.[48] So many changes had been made with regard to the feast of the Annunciation that they may have assumed yet another new rubric was immediately forthcoming and that there was no point in including this one. In fact, none was forthcoming, and Haymo's rubric held.[49]

A second rubric is missing. This is a rubric for the Nativity of the Virgin, and uncertainty surrounding this feast may have motivated its omission too, although some sort of rubric for the feast usually does appear. But there was another good reason for omitting a rubric for the Nativity of the Virgin: Haymo did not include a rubric in his ordinal for this newly raised feast.[50] It was a series of rulings at chapters in 1245, 1254, and 1263 that resulted in the variety of thirteenth-century rubrics for this feast.[51] The absence of the two rubrics in the Colchester Antiphonary may be the result of the same cautious spirit and encourages us to argue, tentatively, that the manuscript belongs to the period of greatest uncertainty, when Haymo's changes were first coming into common use, in the 1250s and early 1260s.

A few lines in the rhythmical office of St. Francis increase the accuracy of our dating of the Colchester Antiphonary and discourage a date before 1260. Upon becoming prior-general of the Franciscan order, St. Bonaventure continued the reform of the Franciscan liturgy carried out under Haymo. Among the most distinctive and universal changes was an alteration in the text of Julian of Speyer's office for St. Francis. St. Bonaventure found the first antiphon at matins offensive:

> Hic vir in vanitatibus
> Nutritus indecenter
> Plus suis nutritoribus
> Se gessit insolenter

The Council of Narbonne in 1260 ordered it changed to:

> Hic vir in vanitatibus
> Nutritus indecenter
> Divinis charismatibus
> Praeventus est clementer[52]

The original version can still be found in a number of breviaries, and in others there is evidence that the old text was scraped out and replaced.[53] The fact that such corrections were made suggests that there was some urgency about the change, and we can argue that the Colchester Antiphonary, with the new version of the antiphon, must be dated shortly after 1260, the year in which the change was instituted, or later.

At the same time, a different aspect of the office for St. Francis in the Colchester Antiphonary argues that the manuscript cannot be too much later than 1260. It lacks the antiphon *Celorum candor.* This was an important text, attributed to Cardinal Raynerio Cappoccio and sung from an early date at La Verna, where St. Francis received the stigmata.[54] In 1260, the chapter at Narbonne recommended that it be sung occasionally at vespers, and it appears in many manuscripts, including some earlier than 1260 in date—especially in Umbria, the region around Assisi.[55] The absence of the *Celorum candor* antiphon from the Colchester Antiphonary is especially conspicuous because it does have three other antiphons usually sung with it: *O martyr desiderio, Salve sancte pater,* and *Sancte Francisce propera.*[56] Thus the ommission of *Celorum candor* suggests that the Colchester Antiphonary belongs to a period when the addition of new texts to Julian's original office was still flexible, that is before the Council of Narbonne in 1260, or shortly after.

Other factors support our date of "1260, and not much later." Julian of Speyer's rhythmical office for St. Anthony of Padua was placed in its correct position by the original scribe.[57] This office was first included in the sanctorale of breviaries in 1260, although it was written in 1235 and accepted for use in 1254.[58] Conversely, the ommission of other feasts is also signifi-

cant. Among the changes instituted for the breviary by Haymo of Faversham was a sanctorale that extended from St. Andrew to St. Catherine.[59] For example, the two-volume antiphonary at Cortona, which probably dates from the 1260s, ends the feasts of the year with an office for St. Catherine.[60] But she is missing from the Colchester Antiphonary.

Even more telling is the lack of an office for the feast of St. Clare in the Colchester Antiphonary. Although her canonization had just taken place in 1255, some manuscripts from the 1260s, including the Cortona Antiphonary, contain rhythmical offices for her feast.[61] The absence of St. Clare from the Colchester Antiphonary argues that we should not propose a date for it too much later than that of the Cortona volumes and that our codex was written before such offices came into general use. Yet we must be cautious. The church did not officially accept an office for the feast of St. Clare until 1292, and both the presence of offices in manuscripts such as the Cortona Antiphonary and the structure of the legislation of 1292 regarding her feast indicate that a number of variations were in use decades before the final legislation.[62]

The absence of St. Catherine and St. Clare also bears on the question of the localization of the scriptorium. Duprè dal Poggetto has argued that the Cortona chorale set, which she dates to shortly after 1260, constituted the first such set executed for the Franciscans.[63] If she is right, we should assume that contemporary and subsequent antiphonaries from the same region would have included the same cycle. Hence it is likely that the Colchester Antiphonary was not made in close proximity to Umbrian Franciscan scriptoria. Furthermore, since scholars have argued that feasts for St. Clare first appeared in the area around Assisi, it seems likely that our antiphonary was produced at some distance from these Franciscan centers.[64]

The absence of the antiphon *Celorum candor,* which discourages a date much after 1260, also discourages locating the production of the Colchester Antiphonary in Umbria, for, as we noted above it was sung at La Verna from an early date. And the relationship between this addition and other changes made by Haymo and Bonaventure helps our analysis. For example, Haymo added to Julian of Speyer's office a series of responses, beginning *Carnis spicam, De paupertatis horreo, Sex Fratrum, Arcana, Euntes, Regressis,* which were written by Gregory IX, Thomas of Capua, and Raynerius Cappoccio.[65] The new texts, including the *Celorum* antiphon, were added to the office in different combinations. The arrangement in the Colchester Antiphonary does not match those I have found in Umbrian manuscripts but does resemble those found in breviaries from other regions, including Naples and Rome, in which the responses precede lauds and the *Celorum* antiphon is missing.[66] On the other hand, when Umbrian offices got the new responses, they apparently also got the new antiphon.[67] It seems likely that if the Colchester Antiphonary had been produced in Umbria or was based on a single Umbrian model it have would included all of the more up-to-date changes, not just the *Hic vir* alteration, but also the *Celorum* and the new responses; or, like the more archaic Umbrian group, it would have lacked the responses and the antiphon. The absence of the *Celorum* antiphon argues for our manuscript's production outside Umbria.

The differences between the Colchester Antiphonary and Umbrian antiphonaries and breviaries shed light on another question. As we have noted, van Dijk speculated inconclusively on the problem of the Franciscan antiphonary. He noted that church legislation provided for the issuing of an antiphonary following the issuing and regularizing of the breviary. But he also noted that we have no evidence that standard antiphonaries were ever disseminated from a single center by the Church.[68] Indeed, the ways in which the Colchester Antiphonary differs from Haymo's ordinal and from other antiphonaries and breviaries made after 1260 indicate that it was probably devised locally and was made by combining older antiphonaries or breviaries with the information found in the newly issued breviaries and ordinals.[69]

The Colchester Antiphonary and notation systems

The notation system corroborates a date not long after 1260 for the Colchester Antiphonary. Our antiphonary is written in square notation, but it lacks the clefs that usually appear at the beginning of staffs in square notation to indicate pitches (as can be seen in figs. 11 and 12). Instead we find red and yellow lines used to indicate (*F*) and (*C*) on staffs of black lines, a method that belonged to the old central Italian or Beneventan notation system (figs. 1–4).[70] Only the office for St. Anthony of Padua uses a different clef system, a three-diamond system characteristic of earlier medieval notation, which suggests that this office was copied from a separate model (top left, fig. 1).[71] In Italy the replacement of the medieval system of Beneventan neumes with the new French square notation began in the middle of the thirteenth century and was

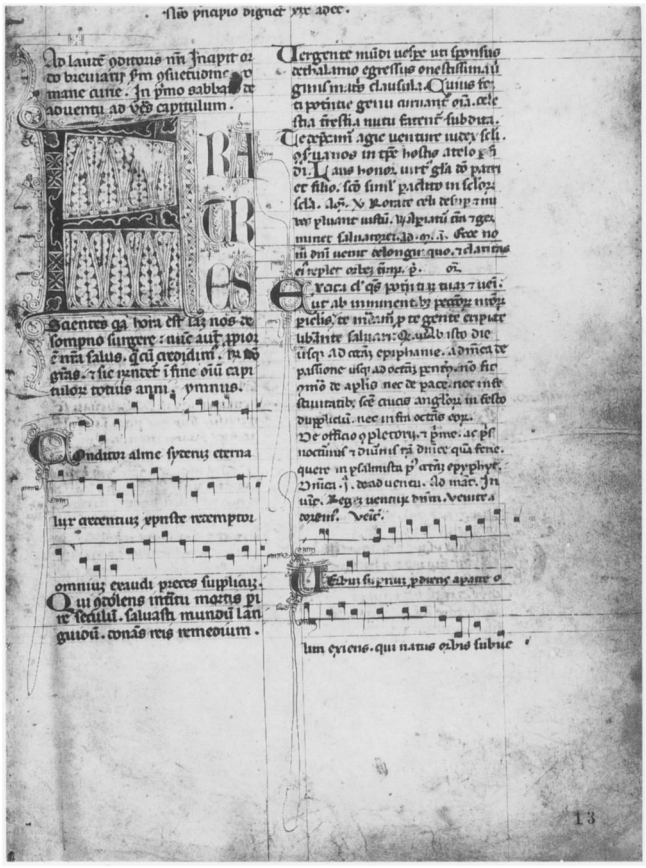

Fig. 7. *"Fratres,"* breviary, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ms. Vat. lat. 12,992, fol. 13.

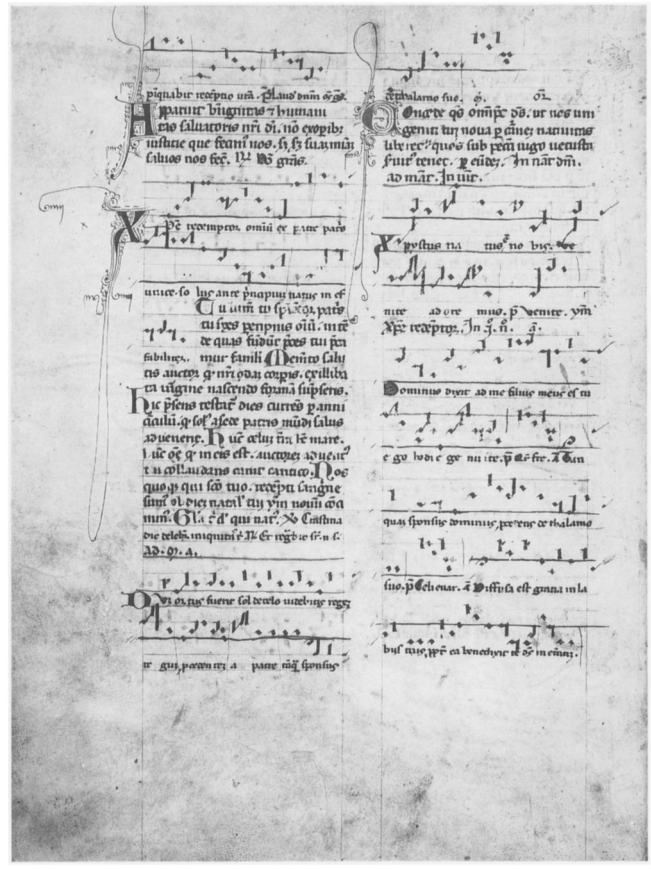

Fig. 8. Office for the Nativity of Christ, breviary, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ms. Vat. lat. 12,992, fol. 24v.

required for new texts issued by the Franciscans after the chapter at Genoa in 1251, according to van Dijk.[72] But a survey of the manuscripts produced in Umbria and Central Italy for the Franciscans shows that the change was gradual and troublesome, at least in the decade between 1260 and 1270. In several cases, scribes combined elements of both systems, corrected Beneventan neumes by over-writing, and even left the notation out of some offices, perhaps on the assumption that models with square notation for particular feasts would soon be available and that the notes could be filled in at a later date.

Of the manuscripts with confused or composite notation, the latest one with a firm date I have encountered is Ms. Archivio San Pietro E.1 in the Vatican, a missal dated by van Dijk to the period of 1271 to 1276, on the grounds that the letter *G* for Pope Gregory X appears in the *Exultet*.[73] Van Dijk has attributed the manuscript to Spoleto. In it we find both Beneventan neumes and square notation.

It seems hardly coincidental that the manuscript with the system of notation most like that in the Colchester Antiphonary seems firmly dated in the 1260s. This is the Franciscan breviary, Vat. lat. 12,992 (figs. 7 and 8).[74] It has a calendar with numerous early additions that indicate that it was used primarily in the region of Trevi and Terni in southern Umbria, and it can be attributed to a scriptorium in that region.[75] Some of the characteristics of 12,992 would categorize it as a Regula breviary, the type of breviary to which Haymo of Faversham made his corrections, but it has the *Hic vir in vanitatibus* text revised in 1260. It was written in double columns of text with musical notation, and it has some rubrics which pre-date Haymo's corrections. Most interesting, however, is the notation itself, which appears in some sections as square notation, and in others as Beneventan neumes (figs. 7 and 8).[76] A second manuscript, Vat. Reg. lat. 2050–2051, also dated after 1260 by the revised *Hic vir* text, even has Beneventan neumes and square notation on the same folio side of the same office, for example in the feast of St. Cecilia (fig. 9).[77] In some places, we find the staffs, but no notation. This occurs in the office for St. Francis, for example (fig. 10). Perhaps the notation was omitted because the work was to be saved for a scribe who could write the square notation, or because the scribe was waiting for a model for the feast with the square notation. A model with notation,

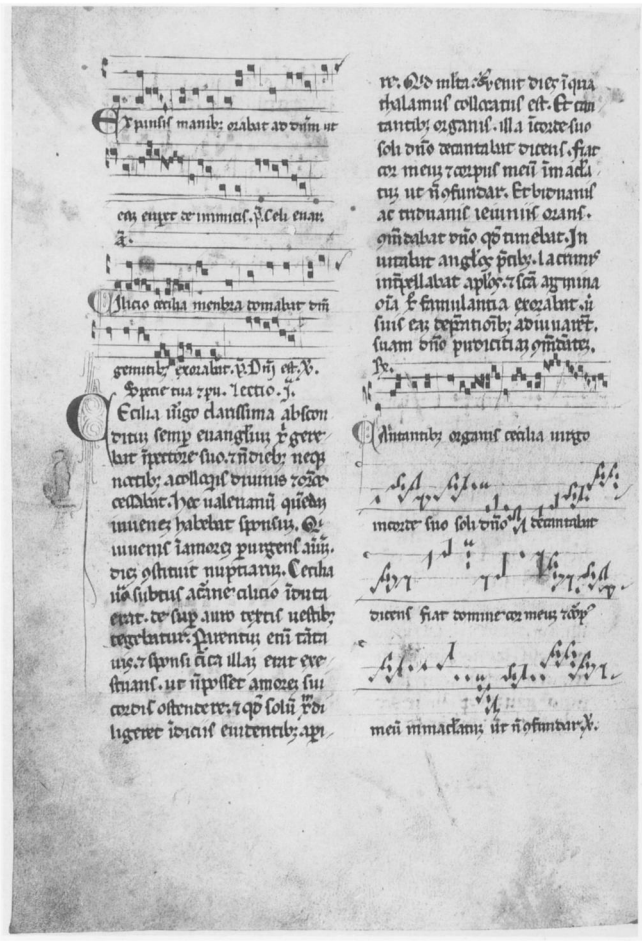

Fig. 9. Office for St. Cecilia, breviary, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ms. Reg. lat. 2051, fol. 175v.

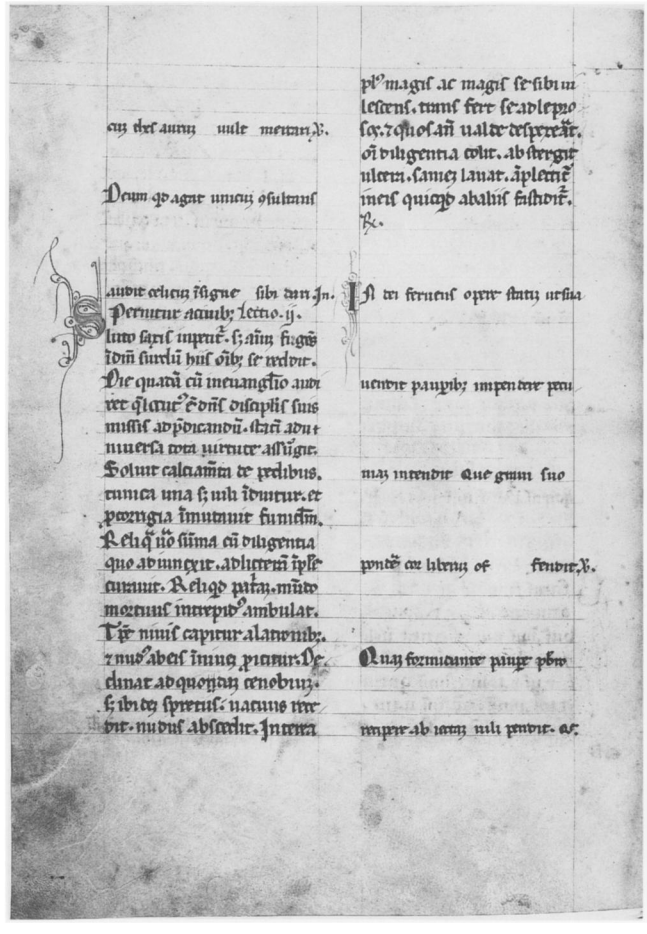

Fig. 10. Office for St. Francis, breviary, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ms. Reg. lat. 2051, fol. 149v.

probably Beneventan, was apparently available, since the text letters are spaced to leave openings in staffs one and six for two long melismas, or musical embellishments.

Ms. Reg. lat. 2051 has clefs in the square notation portions and red lining throughout both systems (fig. 9). Ms. Vat. lat. 12,992, like the Colchester Antiphonary, uses a system that has no clefs at all. Instead, the pitches of 12,992 are marked by red and yellow lines on staffs of black or silverpoint lines in both the Beneventan and Parisian notation areas (figs. 7 and 8). Like the Colchester Antiphonary, these breviaries appear to have been produced by scribes at a point of transition from the Beneventan style. The Vatican manuscripts and the Colchester Antiphonary suggest that some breviaries and antiphonaries produced in the 1260s were copied from manuscripts written with Beneventan neumes and that the red-and-yellow-line "clef" system of the earlier notation style was carried over to the new system, perhaps for the convenience of the users, or because the scribe did not fully understand the new notation.[78] The contrast with uniformly written antiphonaries, such as those at Cortona, is striking and supports a date for the Colchester Antiphonary no later than the 1260s.

The Colchester Antiphonary and thirteenth-century manuscript production

This analysis sheds light on another facet of manuscript production in the thirteenth century. Piecemeal transcription of the liturgy runs counter to our usual view of the development of manuscript illumination and liturgical texts during this period. Generally we assume that official exemplars were sent out by the order, either from Rome or from Assisi, and copied directly. (This would parallel the copying of one-volume Bibles and other manuscripts from single models.)[79] As we noted above, van Dijk considered the possibility that a specific Franciscan antiphonary was developed and then dispersed for use by the Franciscan order, but he was unable to come to any firm conclusion because he did not have any post-Haymonian an-

tiphonaries.[80] Duprè dal Poggetto thought that the five-volume set at Cortona was the first full set of Franciscan choral manuscripts. The beautifully written set of five choral manuscripts produced for the Franciscans at Bologna in the 1280s and decorated by one of the leading illuminators of Bologna, the so-called Gerona Bible Master, encourages the impression that such manuscripts were copied from an accepted exemplar.[81] Similarly, the antiphonary in Deruta, Ms. 247, beautifully organized, elegantly written, and decorated with penwork initials, suggests no hesitation on the part of the scribes executing the project.[82] But manuscripts such as the Colchester Antiphonary and the breviaries with similar anomalies suggest a different scenario. Manuscripts with missing notation and changes in notation style suggest that some manuscripts were made piecemeal, copying a number of texts from earlier manuscripts, adding new offices or new notation when they were available, and leaving blanks when scribes or clergy had been alerted that new texts or offices might soon be available to make others obsolete. A clear indication in the Colchester Antiphonary is the use of archaic, diamond-shaped clefs in the office for St. Anthony of Padua, which suggests that this office came from a different source than the rest of the notation. Like the textual anomalies, notational shifts argue that while some manuscripts were copied from single exemplars, others were pulled together piecemeal from manuscripts such as noted breviaries, earlier antiphonaries, and ordinals.

Was the Colchester manuscript copied from another antiphonary or from a breviary, or put together from a combination of these? The up-to-date rubrics do suggest that a copy of Haymo's ordinal or a breviary was used to write the Colchester Antiphonary. This corresponds to suggestions that the noted breviary was intended as a model for other manuscript types, and not just as the priest's office book.[83] But there is also reason to think that one model used to assemble the Colchester Antiphonary was a multi-volume antiphonary. Immediately following the text for the feast for St. Agatha, half way down folio 10r begins the common for an apostle, with the incipit and text that opens the commons section of the sanctorale. It completes both 10r and 10v, after which it breaks off, with the end of the quire and a catchword at the bottom of the page, which does not correspond to the text on folio 11r, where the Chair of St. Peter begins. Presumably the inclusion of this common text was a scribal error. The same text is repeated in its proper position at the start of the commons for saints on folio 205r. On folio 11r the text that should follow the feast of St. Agatha, the opening of the feast for the Chair of St. Peter, begins right at the top of the folio. It seems likely that one of the models used to put together this antiphonary was another antiphonary organized in a different format. A number of manuscripts, including the antiphonary at Deruta, which breaks after the feast of the Annunciation, and the one at San Rufino in Assisi, were organized in several volumes that mixed portions of the temporale and the sanctorale, with the commons for saints appended to them at the close of each volume. A combination of such an antiphonary with breviaries and ordinals as models seems to lie behind our antiphonary. Such a combination would require the supervision of the order.

Indeed, the character of the Franciscan antiphonary at Colchester, with its feasts of St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua and its carefully chosen rubrics, argues that the manuscript was produced according to the needs and instructions of the order and may have been written by the Franciscans themselves. This conforms to rules they laid down in the 1250s.

> Scribes outside the Order are not to be entrusted with copying; if not enough competent scribes are available among the friars, superiors must compel others to learn the technique.[84]

In this case at least, the Master of the Conradin Bible was not working with the scriptorium of a court atelier, or even a lay scriptorium of the sort we know existed in centers such as Paris by this time.[85]

The Augustinian Antiphonary at Pisa

The unnumbered Augustinian antiphonary in the Museo Nazionale e Civico di San Matteo at Pisa conforms to the peculiar usages of its order as much as the Franciscan antiphonary conforms to its.[86] Indeed there is no indication that the two manuscripts came from the same scriptorium, for the Pisa Antiphonary is very different from the Colchester Antiphonary in its script style and has numerous textual anomalies that identify its separate place in the liturgical history of the thirteenth century.

The Augustinian Friars were reformulated from other orders as a single order in 1256.[87] Within a few years, they received permission to use the papal court liturgy—that is to say—Franciscan books.[88] Van Dijk suggested that this liturgy was probably intended to include an antiphonary tailored for Augustinian use, but as with the Franciscans, he was unable to determine whether the thirteenth-century Augustinians ever issued their antiphonary.[89] The Pisa Antiphonary

Fig. 11. *St. Augustine Venerated by Two Augustinians,* Translation of St. Augustine, antiphonary, Pisa, Museo Nazionale e Civico di San Matteo, fol. 9r.

proves that such a manuscript type existed in the thirteenth century. Whether it was repeated with regularity is not known.

The Pisa Antiphonary was first brought to public attention by Antonio Caleca.[90] He accurately noted the similarity of the painting style in its initials, both historiated and foliate, to that of the Conradin Bible.[91] Even in the small, rubbed faces of the monks reproduced here there are strong similarities to the faces in the Conradin Bible (figs. 11 and 6). But Caleca went on to set up broad and unconvincing comparisons with Pisan wall paintings in order to argue for a Pisan origin for the entire Conradin Bible manuscript group. He also argued for this origin on the basis of the provenance of the manuscript. He claimed that additions made to the manuscript in the seventeenth century, including the feast of St. Nicholas of Tolentino, were proof of its manufacture by Augustinians for use in the church of San Nicola in Pisa. In contrast, I would suggest that the addition of the new texts in the seventeenth century argues not that the manuscript had always been in that church, but that it was given to the church as late as the seventeenth century, and that changes were made to bring it up to date quickly. Indeed, the fact that the manuscript was updated for Augustinian use in 1604 and 1619, when colophons were added, suggests that this manuscript may have remained unused for several centuries. It seems safest to say that the early history of the manuscript remains unknown.[92]

At first glance, the structure of the Pisa Antiphonary appears quite similar to that of the Colchester Antiphonary. Although it is missing far more text than the Colchester manuscript, it seems likely that this too was a sanctorale, possibly the sanctorale portion of a larger set of manuscripts. The volume that remains today consists of 118 folios. There are four historiated initials in the codex: St. Peter (fol. 2r), St. Augustine adored by two Augustinians (fol. 11r, fig. 11), the Annunciation (fol. 23r), and St. Michael (fol. 45r). There are also twenty-three painted foliate initials.[93]

Although the manuscript is bound, the folios are extensively cut down and the binding is extremely loose, supporting an argument that the codex has been rebound and that it once contained a much fuller cycle of offices.[94] There are three places where the manuscript could easily have been divided—at spots where the end of one feast and beginning of another correspond to the division between quires. For example, the opening feast, St. Peter's Chair, begins with its rubric at the very top of folio 1r, at the beginning of the quire. Similarly, at the end of the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael, which abruptly closes the proper feasts, we find folio 53v with an entire antiphon, *Princeps gloriosissime,* and two-and-one-half blank staffs left over. The quire ends here. At the top of folio 54r, where a new quire opens, a rubric introduces the text for the common for an apostle's birth, at vespers.[95]

Unfortunately these clear breaks between offices facilitated the removal of quires from the Pisa Antiphonary, and there is good reason to think that the fragments and folios that remain today in various collections came from the same manuscript. Added to the antiphonary, they comprise a nearly complete sanctorale. Ilaria Toesca first identified these five fragments.[96] She published a Presentation in the Temple, formerly in the Hoepli Collection and now in the Fondazione Cini in Venice; St. Paul, St. Michael with the Dragon, and an image of the Virgin and Child, all

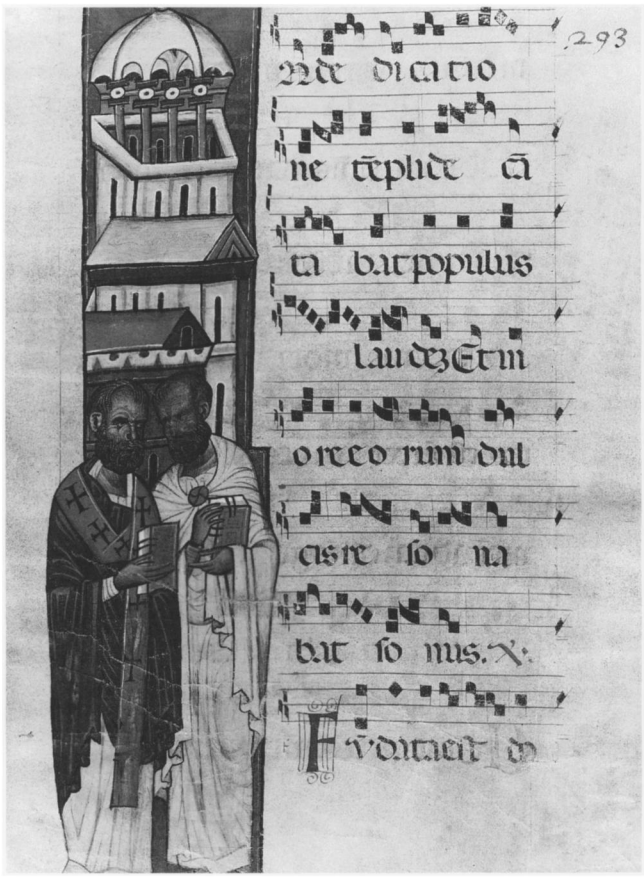

Fig. 12. *St. Augustine and an Unidentified Saint,* Dedication of a Church, leaf from an antiphonary, St. Louis Art Museum 65.1952, gift of Henry B. Pfleger.

Fig. 13. *St. Paul with Timothy,* Epistle to the Philippians, Conradin Bible, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 152, fol. 118.

three in a single private collection; and finally a second image of the Virgin and Child formerly in the Daniel Wildenstein Collection, now in the Musée Marmottan in Paris.[97] These fragments round out some of the missing sanctorale feasts from the Pisa Antiphonary: the Purification, the Birth of St. Paul, the Dedication of the Church of St. Michael, the Nativity of the Virgin, and the Assumption of the Virgin.[98] Toesca also mentioned but did not illustrate a sixth fragment in the private collection holding the group of three fragments, an initial *D* with a Pentecost scene, which she described as being in terrible condition.[99] This fragment does pose a problem, for Pentecost is found in most antiphonaries in the temporale portion, which contains the feasts dealing with the life of Christ, while our two antiphonaries otherwise appear to have been sanctorales. It is possible of course that the fragment does not belong to the Pisa Antiphonary, but because it was not reproduced and is no longer available to scholars we will have to wait to determine its role in the manuscript. If it does belong to the Pisa Antiphonary, it may be that the antiphonary originally included a temporale or part of a temporale as well as a sanctorale.

Following Ilaria Toesca's discovery, Dorothy Miner published a single leaf now in the St. Louis Art Museum (fig. 12).[100] It depicts two saints standing before a church at the first response for the office for the dedication of a church. The saints have been identified as Peter and Paul, but this is unlikely, since neither figure conforms to typical depictions of these saints. (St. Paul usually has black hair and beard with a high hairline, while Peter usually has a short, white or pale-gray beard, and hair with bangs.) Instead, the bishop saint can probably be identified as St. Augustine. His companion eludes identification.[101] The treatment of the faces in particular, their shape, the shape of ears, and the highlighting around eyes compares closely with faces of prophets and apostles in the Conradin Bible (fig. 13). In addition, the palette is the same. The bishop wears a brown vestment, a color used often in the Conradin Bible. His under-tunic is pale pink with red shoes, another common combination, especially in the Pisa Antiphonary (figs. 11 and

Fig. 14. *Cyrus Orders the Building of the Temple of Jerusalem,* I Ezra, Conradin Bible, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery Ms. W. 152, fol. 154v.

12). The figure beside him is dressed in a dusty pink under-tunic with a lime green or chartreuse cloak. This is the palette found in the Conradin Bible and associated with the hand I have called the Byzantine Master, who painted portions of the Old Testament prophets and all the New Testament.[102] This section of the Conradin Bible has the same facial types as well.

Conti suggested that the extant fragments belonged originally to the Pisa Antiphonary.[103] This is plausible not only because the fragments together make a nearly complete sanctorale without any duplications, but also because the treatment of the initials is remarkably consistent. Unlike the initials in the Colchester Antiphonary, the historiated initials in the Pisa Antiphonary are large and broad and take up a great deal of the folio side in each case. A good comparison can be made between the St. Louis leaf and the image of St. Augustine venerated by two Augustinians (figs. 11 and 12). The costumes are also similar. And in both cases there are large, simple, geometrically bordered scenes in blue fields, parallel to formats that can be found in the Conradin Bible, such as Esdras I (figs. 11, 12, and 14; see also 5 and 6). Furthermore a close look at the fragments published by Toesca, at the Pisa Antiphonary, and at the St. Louis sheet shows that the condition of all of them is the same. The faces are extensively rubbed. Finally, the drawing of the foliate initials found on some feasts is lively and informal and corresponds to that of initials in many of the Bibles, especially the Vatican Bible.

While the Pisa Antiphonary resembles the Conradin Bible and must be very close to it in date, it differs from the Colchester Antiphonary in some details. Both the size of these historiated initials and the presence of numerous foliate initials in the Pisa Antiphonary distinguish it from the Colchester Antiphonary, which must have been less expensive. These differences in illumination parallel codicological differences. For example, the staffs are red-lined, not black ink or silverpoint, and there are eight staffs on each folio in the Pisa Antiphonary, not seven; the clef system conforms perfectly to the system for square notation, without red and yellow lining; and the script itself is a rounder and more elegant Bolognese rotunda, in contrast to the script of the Colchester Antiphonary, which is more compressed laterally and seems more like a miniscule (figs. 1–4 and 12).[104]

The Pisa Antiphonary and the Augustinian liturgy

Above all, there are major differences between the texts of the Colchester and Pisa antiphonaries, which reinforce our observation that each manuscript was made according to the specifications of its own order. Although the Augustinians received permission to use the Franciscan liturgy shortly after the Great Union of the Augustinian order in 1256, the Pisa Antiphonary apparently conforms in small details to a separate Augustinian version of the Franciscan liturgy.[105]

Among the most prominent Augustinian characteristics is a full text of the office for St. Augustine, which occurs here at the feast for his Second Translation on February 28. To my knowledge, this text, which does not appear in the Franciscan liturgy, has never been fully edited by modern scholars, even though it is a standard office.[106] In the context of thirteenth-century liturgy, van Dijk found it puzzling.[107] Yet it appears both with and without notation in liturgical manuscripts, especially breviaries, used by the Augustinians and others in a number of centers in Italy over several centuries.

The text may be unusual in the thirteenth centu-

ry, as van Dijk observed, but even here it is by no means unique. The office can be found in at least two earlier thirteenth-century antiphonaries written not for the Augustinians but for the Dominicans, the first at Lucca, the second in Perugia; to the latter the feast was added in the second half of the century.[108] But this should not be taken as an indication that the Dominican liturgy lay behind the Augustinian. Among many differences is the presence in the Augustinian liturgy of the feast of the Apparition of St. Michael. While St. Michael appears in the papal court and Franciscan liturgies in the thirteenth century, he had no office in the Dominican liturgy until 1423.[109] Indeed, for the most part, the distinctive characteristics of the Augustinian liturgy do not appear in the Dominican liturgy.[110]

What the presence of the office for St. Augustine in the Lucca and Perugia manuscripts does tell us is that this text was not invented for the Augustinian liturgy of the 1250s. This is important, for there is little record of this office. It does not appear in the breviaries specifically made for the Augustinians in the thirteenth century that I have consulted. Esteban, the leading scholar on the subject of the Augustinian liturgy, does not discuss this office, and when van Dijk encountered it in a fourteenth-century copy of Haymo of Faversham's ordinals altered for Augustinian use he suggested that it was a local Tuscan usage.[111] In fact, this is not likely. Not only does the office occur in the Pisa, Perugia, and Lucca antiphonaries, but a portion of it is repeated in a medieval suffrage for St. Augustine in northern Europe, and it appears in its entirety in several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Augustinian breviaries that are attributed to different regions of Italy.[112] It is pervasive in the same form in the modern breviaries of the Augustinians and other orders that follow the rule of St. Augustine, such as the Dominicans, Servites, and Carmelites.[113]

One difference between the texts of all of these breviaries and the musical office of St. Augustine in the Pisa Antiphonary is that the office in our manuscript appears at the Second Translation of St. Augustine in February rather than in its usual place at the feast of St. Augustine on August 28. Of course, this latter section of our antiphonary is missing, and it is possible that the office was repeated there.[114] But that would be an extremely profligate use of vellum. It is more likely that the actual celebration was moved and placed in February to avoid conflict between the chief celebration of their founder and the numerous August feasts such as the Assumption of the Virgin and the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, which make a busy season. As we shall see, moving such celebrations was not unheard of. In any case, the fact that the scriptorium that produced the Pisa Antiphonary had this full text and placed it so carefully is another indication that the order itself closely supervised the project.

The rubrics of the Pisa Antiphonary support this assessment, for they conform to those found in numerous other Augustinian liturgical manuscripts. They are distinctive in that they differ from the usage proposed by Haymo of Faversham for the papal court and the Franciscans. Indeed, the rubrics in the Pisa Antiphonary include texts that were omitted or corrected by Haymo. How did this happen? Van Dijk writes that the Augustinians were given permission to use the Franciscan office after 1256. But he neglects to note in this context that it was not Haymo's version they chose and repeated.[115] The Franciscan liturgy they copied was not the fully reformed one, but a slightly earlier version. Once the Augustinians accepted this liturgy they continued to follow it. When the Franciscans and the papal court moved on to Haymo of Faversham's liturgy, the Augustinians did not.

Evidence that the Augustinians used pre-Haymonian models can be found in the Pisa Antiphonary, in the rubric, for example, that precedes the feast for the Invention of the Holy Cross. The Colchester Antiphonary (fol. 38r) uses the rubric most often found in post-Haymonian liturgical manuscripts:

> Et fit commemoratione de sanctis. A. lux perpetua V.....sciendum est in festivitatibus sancte crucis et anglorum non fit commemoratione de apostolis nec de Sancto Francisco neque de pace...

This is the rubric found in the ordinal of Haymo of Faversham; it appears in Franciscan antiphonaries and breviaries written after 1260 and in some of an earlier date. But in the Augustinian antiphonary at Pisa there is a different rubric:

> Postea fit commemoratione de sanctis, S. Alexandri et aliorum. Ad matins. Invit exultent in domino. Ymnus. Eterna X. Duo nocturna fiunt de sanctis, tertius de Cruce.[116]

This is the rubric just before it was changed and corrected by Haymo, as van Dijk records it. It occurs in Franciscan breviaries from the middle of the thirteenth century belonging to the type van Dijk calls the Regula breviary, whose origin he dates to the 1230s.[117] Yet it was not the standard pre-Haymonian Regula breviary from which the Augustinian antiphonaries and breviaries were taken, for those Regula breviaries lack most of Haymo's rubrics, while the Pisa Antiphonary combines some of Haymo's new rubrics with some of the old usages.

In fact, the characteristics of the Augustinian antiphonary at Pisa and of several of the Franciscan and Augustinian breviaries consulted for this study appear to come from a transitional stage of the Franciscan breviary. In other words, there was a stage in the development of the Franciscan liturgy that is remarkably close to what we find in the Pisa Antiphonary. It is exemplified by two breviaries in the Vatican Library which we discussed above. The first is Ms. Reg. lat. 2050–2051, the second Vat. lat. 12,992.[118] Van Dijk describes 2050–2051 as a Franciscan Regula breviary, for it has a sanctorale that ranges from St. Saturninus to St. Crisogono, rather than to St. Catherine.[119] And it has rubrics—such as the *Postea* text cited above—that were corrected by Haymo. Yet the manuscript has some of Haymo's rubrics. It also has an intriguing calendar with many original obits for the late 1230s, and it has been attributed to the decade after 1240 as a result.[120] A careful reading of the text indicates that it cannot pre-date the late 1250s.[121]

The Pisa Antiphonary shares an unusual liturgical text with Ms. Reg. lat. 2050–2051. This is a specification for the use of the invitatories for the commons of apostles.[122] The invitatory beginning *Regem* is to be used for Sts. Thomas, John, Mark, Philip and James, John before the Latin Gate, Peter and Paul, and Peter in Chains. The one beginning *Gaudete* is for Sts. Matthew, Barnabas, James, Batholomew, Luke, and Simon and Jude. This rubric distinguishes between the two invitatories, *Gaudete et exultate* and *Regem apostolorum* by use. The Colchester Antiphonary and most Franciscan breviaries simply refer to the *Gaudete* as the *Invit,* and the *Regem* as *Aliud Invit.*[123] In the Pisa Antiphonary the distinguishing rubric occurs when part of the common for an apostle is noted, just before the text for the feasts of saints between Easter and Pentecost.

Van Dijk noticed this rubric added in the margin of a Franciscan ordinal altered for Augustinian use in Siena in the fourteenth century. He found it unusual and, like the full office for St. Augustine in the same ordinal, he attributed this specification to the practices of local Tuscan Augustinians.[124] Clearly, however, it was a rubric used by Augustinians as early as the thirteenth century, since it occurs in the Pisa Antiphonary, and its presence in a few Franciscan breviaries of the mid-thirteenth century argues that it was a modification known to both Franciscans and Augustinians. It apparently disappeared from Franciscan sources after the 1260s and St. Bonaventure's reforms but continued in Augustinian manuscripts.[125] That this usage was not simply Augustinian or local is indicated by its presence in Vat. lat. 12,992.[126] Like 2050–2051, it has St. Bonaventure's new text for *Hic vir in vanitatibus* required in 1260. It also has a rubric for the Nativity of the Virgin, officially issued by the Franciscans at Pisa in 1263. These point to, but do not guarantee, a date after 1260 and probably after 1263. It has, however, our *Postea* text and a sanctorale that ranges from Saturninus to Crisogono. For these reasons it seems to be a sort of transitional breviary, corrected in part according to Haymo of Faversham, but not fully. Here the rubric for the apostle is added in the margin, and refers only to the *Gaudete* text (fol. 174r).

These Franciscan breviaries demonstrate that this unusual rubric occurred in Franciscan manuscripts and point to the period shortly after 1260. From here we can trace this rubric in Augustinian manuscripts through the Pisa Antiphonary and then watch it become a standard aspect of Augustinian breviaries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as did the *Postea.*[127]

The persistence of obsolete Franciscan texts in Augustinian breviaries and antiphonaries, officially omitted from Franciscan breviaries after 1260, serves to refine van Dijk's observation that permission to use the "papal, i.e., Franciscan" liturgy was given to the Augustinians between 1256 and 1260.[128] The result must have been liturgical texts not fully in accordance with all of the corrections of Haymo or of Bonaventure and rarely consistent with the Regula breviary either. On the other hand, the relatively consistent characteristics include the rubric on the invitatories and the *Postea* rubric. Thus it seems as though one particular moment in the Franciscan breviary became the Augustinian model. It may be that a single exemplar or a single scriptorium lay behind the Franciscan breviaries with these unusual texts and thus behind the Augustinian manuscripts based on them.

That the Pisa Antiphonary had so many of what we can now think of as distinctly Augustinian characteristics demonstrates that the local house that commissioned it must have closely supervised the work or even carried out the execution of the text, and that the house was in close contact with the leaders of the order. Dating is more problematic. Since two of the Franciscan breviaries with the rubrics for the invitatories are probably later than 1260, the Pisa Antiphonary, which presumably depends on such models, could have been made a few years later. How much later we cannot estimate since the continued use of these obsolete Franciscan texts by the Augustinians can make manuscripts appear earlier than they are.

Our analysis addresses some other questions. Van Dijk was not certain that an antiphonary was issued or

even called for by the Augustinians when they requested breviaries shortly after the union of the order in 1256.[129] It seems likely that instructions of some sort had been issued. Our manuscript exists and it conforms to Augustinian breviaries. Still, it is apparent that the Augustinians did not simply take on the text of a Franciscan or papal antiphonary as they had taken on the Franciscan breviary. Instead, our manuscript suggests that in the third quarter of the thirteenth century a decision was made to base the antiphonary on the modified Franciscan Regula breviary that had become the Augustinian breviary. Moreover, because our antiphonary resembles the most consistent group of Augustinian breviaries it seems likely that by this time the order had specified which breviary was to be followed, both for breviaries and antiphonaries.

Reflections on the Conradin Bible atelier

Along with the insights that our manuscripts offer regarding the production and distribution of new liturgical manuscripts in the thirteenth century, the Colchester and Pisa Antiphonaries tell us something about the nature of the Conradin Bible atelier itself and the commissions it received, and it may tell us something about the date and localization of the atelier. What distinguishes the antiphonaries from the Bibles already discussed by scholars is their idiosyncratic texts. In both cases the text has been tailored to the needs of the order for which it was made. Moreover, neither the notation nor the script is the same. Such differences imply either that the orders wrote the texts and notation themselves, or that they closely supervised the writing. They also allow us to speculate about the atelier in other ways.

In the past, some scholars have characterized the atelier that produced the Conradin Bible manuscript group as a court atelier, which implies that the scribes and artists were permanently employed and associated with the Hohenstaufen royal court in southern Italy.[130] One could envisage a scenario in which a wealthy patron provided antiphonaries for nearby churches. But we seem to have something different here. We would be hard pressed to connect the artists and the scribes to each other or to a single patron. The Augustinian antiphonary was more elaborate and expensive, and the codicological characteristics are very different from the Franciscan antiphonary. It seems more likely that we have an independent illuminator and his atelier who have been hired to decorate manuscripts already prepared. We know that this method of organizing work existed in southern Italy, as well as in cities like Paris. It is also described in documents that remain to us from the commissioning of the dedication copies of the *Medical Encyclopedia, Al-Ḥāwī,* for Charles of Anjou in Naples, which were finished in 1282.[131] Scribes and illuminators were hired separately from outside the court for the project. The painter was paid per initial, and the expense of each initial was determined by its size and complexity.[132]

The execution of the *Al-Ḥāwī* manuscripts is of interest to us in other ways. Both Daneu Lattanzi and I have written that there is good reason to believe that these manuscripts produced in Naples around 1282 were decorated by a painter from the atelier that produced the Conradin Bible, if not the master himself at a later stage in his career.[133] The ornamental style is remarkably close to that of the Bassetti Bible in Trento, which can probably be placed near the end of the Conradin Bible Master's career. The Naples painter has been identified as the monk Giovanni da Montecassino, who lived at that time with the Archbishop of Naples. We can only speculate, but such an individual would have been well placed to decorate manuscripts for new religious orders settling in the city.

At this point we can return to the problem of dating and localizing the Conradin Bible atelier. The traditional date, derived from the association with Conradin, is around the year of his execution, 1268. While some scholars, such as Antonio Caleca, have dated the activity of the Conradin Bible atelier to the very end of the thirteenth century, most of the evidence gathered so far points to a date in the third quarter of the century.[134] Five manuscripts in particular help us to bracket the activity of this atelier. On the early end, the most important manuscript is the Colchester Antiphonary, which cannot be much earlier than 1260 owing to the *Hic vir in vanitatibus* text and is probably not much later than 1270, given the composite style of its notation and its cautious treatment of the rubrics for the feasts of the Virgin. The Bible in Palermo attributed to the group by Hélène Toubert also points to a date in the 1260s. This manuscript was originally attributed to a different South Italian manuscript group, the Manfred Bible group, by Daneu Lattanzi, because of similarities in the treatment of the figures and ornamentation.[135] A second Bible in the Vatican, which shares characteristics with both the Palermo Bible and the Conradin Bible, also has unusual similarities to the Manfred Bible.[136] The Manfred Bible itself is dated slightly before 1258, and scholars date the activity of that atelier into the 1260s.[137]

Other manuscripts date to a later period. The last manuscripts we have associated with the atelier are the *Al-Hāwī* codices dated around 1282, and as I have argued elsewhere the odd formation of the figures and some floral forms point to these as late works, executed at some chronological distance from the rest of the group.[138] Finally, another manuscript, the *Liber Annayde*, added to the group by Hélène Toubert, has a *terminus ante quem*, since it was produced for the Roman Cardinal Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, who died in 1272.[139] Together these dates point to the decades of the 1260s and 1270s for the bulk of the Conradin Bible Master's activity, and they are remarkably close to that claimed for the Conradin Bible by tradition.

Localizing the activity of the atelier is more complex. Several scholars, including Angela Daneu Lattanzi, Florentine Mütherich, Hélène Toubert, and I, have argued to preserve the South Italian attribution for more than a decade.[140] Recently other scholars have joined us, while some have preferred a Tuscan or Umbrian source.[141] Several of the Bibles in the group, the Palermo Bible, the Bodleian Bible, and the Vatican Bible, have provenances that argue for the South.[142] And, as we noted earlier, in the Palermo and Vatican Bibles in particular there are elements that resemble the style of the South Italian Manfred Bible manuscript group.

Our antiphonaries offer some information on the problem. Scholars have often argued that the religious orders founded in the thirteenth century did not get a foothold in southern Italy until the final defeat of the Hohenstaufen house with the deaths of Manfred in 1266 and Conradin in 1268. They note the hostility between Frederick II and the papacy and argue that Frederick persecuted the new orders, especially the Franciscans.[143] But the history of the orders in the South presents a different picture. Franciscan and Augustinian houses were founded in Palermo, Foggia, Naples, and other centers before 1260.[144] And with the arrival of the Angevins in Naples in 1266 additional building was underway.[145]

A curious element in the St. Louis leaf argues for the South Italian provenance (fig. 10). While we cannot identify the building, the depiction of the architecture is helpful. It compares closely to architectural rendering in manuscripts from the South Italian Manfred Bible atelier, especially the buildings in the Biblioteca Angelica version of the *Baths of Pozzuoli*.[146] The triangles of the gable on the upper basilica and the cornice on the lower one are quite different from motifs in other thirteenth-century works, such as Tuscan panel painting. Here and in the *Baths of Pozzuoli* the triangles are not arranged concentrically, but rest on the same base line, a form of egg-and-dart motif. The sharing of these unusual details suggests that the artists were trained not only in the same tradition, but possibly in the same atelier. Furthermore, the Colchester Antiphonary gives no indication of having been produced in Umbria. The uncertainty of the rubrics and the absence of an office for St. Clare suggest instead that it was produced at some distance from this Franciscan center.

The Pisa Antiphonary yields similar observations. The placement of the office for St. Augustine at the feast of his second translation appears to be unique. I have suggested that this may be related to the large number of feasts with individual offices already in August. But the history of the city of Naples contains a similar shift that may help explain the change. The Archbishop of Naples, Ayglerio, a Benedictine monk from a local noble family, moved the feast of the Neapolitan patron St. Gennaro to May 8 from September 19, a time of year when the inhabitants of the region were overwhelmed by agricultural work.[147] If the Pisa Antiphonary came from Naples or the surrounding region, the ruling on St. Gennaro may explain why the February feast of the Translation of St. Augustine received the unusual fully written-out office of St. Augustine.[148] It is possible that those using the Pisa Antiphonary had to hold their major celebration for St. Augustine at the February feast rather than on August 28 during the heavy agricultural season.

The addition of the two antiphonaries to the group of manuscripts attributed to the Master of the Conradin Bible and his atelier extends our understanding of the atelier that decorated the manuscripts. It confirms our impression that this was not a court atelier, nor one associated with a particular monastery. As we come to know each new manuscript added to the group, we get a clearer picture of the location and date of the atelier's activity. At this time the evidence drawn from the entire manuscript group indicates that the nineteenth-century attribution of the Conradin Bible to southern Italy in the 1260s may have been right. We must also consider the possibility that the association with Conradin could be accurate. Accepted in the nineteenth century because it appeared in the publications of the eminent scholar Leopold Delisle, the connection came under attack because there was no surviving documentation. It seemed as though the association with the Hohenstaufens was based on sentiment or rooted in the cultural ambition of early owners of the Conradin Bible. But our evidence today indicates that the date and lo-

calization were accurate. It seems highly unlikely that scholars could have determined the origin of the Conradin Bible by sheer guesswork, especially in an age when they generally dated Italian manuscripts at least a century late. While we must remain cautious, we should entertain the possibility that the tradition reflected a lost colophon. As the group of manuscripts executed by the Master of the Conradin Bible has grown in the last decade and a half, we have obtained a clearer picture of the atelier. Perhaps a manuscript will finally surface with a colophon or other information that allows us to localize the activity of this artist with conviction and to change an appealing tradition into history.

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Notes

1. This paper is based in part on my dissertation, "The Conradin Bible, Ms. 152, the Walters Art Gallery: Manuscript Illumination in a Thirteenth-Century Italian Atelier," Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1986, and on subsequent research carried out in preparing a book on the Conradin Bible. I am indebted for recent support from the Roger Schmutz Faculty Grant Program of Bates College which provided time in England to work on the Colchester Antiphonary and to the National Endowment for the Humanities for a fellowship that provided an essential year in Italy in 1987–1988. Brief portions of my dissertation and more recent research have been published in R.W. Corrie, "The Conradin Bible: Since 'Since de Ricci'," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 40 (1982), 13–24 and "The Conradin Bible: East Meets West at Messina," in V.P. Goss and C.V. Bornstein, eds., *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, 1986), 295–307, figs. 41–47. Currently in press is "The Conradin Bible and the Problem of Court Ateliers in Southern Italy in the Thirteenth Century," *Studies in the History of Art,* papers from the symposium *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen,* 18–20 January 1990, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Michael Norris and Professor Jonathan Alexander who, respectively, generously brought the Bible, Vat. lat. 4195 and the Colchester Antiphonary to my attention, and to Ernst Kitzinger and Paul Meyvaert for their patient guidance on my dissertation, as well as to the curators and staffs of the manuscript collections.

2. The numerous manuscripts cited in this paper for comparative purposes were selected from several sources, most importantly, P. Salmon, *Les manuscrits liturgiques latins de la Bibliothèque Vaticane,* 5 vols. (Vatican City, 1968–1972) and S.J.P. van Dijk and J.H. Walker, *Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Liturgy of the Papal Court and the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century* (Westminster, Md. and London, 1960). See also A. Ziino, "Liturgia e musica francescana nei secoli XIII–XIV," *Francesco d' Assisi, Storia e Arte* (Milan, 1982), 147, 154–57.

3. For example, on church decoration see H. Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi: Ihre Dekoration als Aufgabe und die Genese einer neuen Wandmalerei* (Berlin, 1977) and R. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel* (University Park and London, 1988).

4. A. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A guide to their organizations and terminology* (Toronto, 1982), xxx.

5. W.R. Bonniwell, O.P., *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York, 1944), 84, 86 and A.A. King, *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (Milwaukee, 1955), 336.

6. S.J. van Dijk, "Historical Liturgy and Liturgical History," *Dominican Studies,* 2 (1949), 180, S.J.P. van Dijk and J.H. Walker, *The Ordinal of the Papal Court from Innocent III to Boniface VIII and Related Documents* (Fribourg, 1975), and S.J.P. van Dijk, *Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy: The Ordinals of Haymo of Faversham and Related Documents,* 2 vols. (Leiden, 1963).

7. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York, 1970), 30–31.

8. Corrie, Ph.D. diss., 270–358 and *idem,* "East Meets West," figs. 46, 47.

9. Corrie, Ph.D. diss., 81–98.

10. The provenance of the Conradin Bible is recounted in S. de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada,* I (New York, 1935), 764. Important nineteenth-century publications include Auguste, Comte de Bastard d'Estang, *Peintures et ornements des manuscrits, classées dans un ordre chronologique, pour servir à l'histoire des arts du dessin, depuis le IVe siècle de l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à la fin du XIVe,* (1832–1869); L.V. Delisle, *Les collections de Bastard d'Estang à la Bibliothèque Nationale, catalogue analytique* (Paris, 1885), 263, 276; A. and E. Molinier and L. Delisle, *La collection Spitzer,* V (Paris, 1892), 124–26 and 141–43.

11. For the Veneto, see D. Miner, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1949), 16. The attribution to Sicily is a traditional one found in Delisle, *Les collections,* 263, 276 and Delisle and Molinier, *Spitzer,* 143.

12. The manuscript is Ms. 2868 in the Biblioteca Comunale in Trento. A. Daneu Lattanzi, "Ancora sulla scuola miniaturistica dell'Italia meridionale sveva," *La Bibliofilia,* 66 (1964), 105–62 and *idem, Lineamenti di storia della miniatura in Sicilia* (Florence, 1968), 53–58. For a thorough bibliography see M. Bernasconi and L. dal Poz, *Codici miniati della biblioteca comunale di Trento* (Florence, 1985), 69–120.

13. These four Bibles are Ms. I.C.13 in the Biblioteca Centrale della Regione Siciliana at Palermo, Ms. 14 in the Bibliothèque St. Geneviève in Paris, and Ms. Lat. 59 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford identified by Hélène Toubert. See H. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible de Conradin: trois nouveaux manuscrits enluminés," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome,* 91 (1979), 729–84. Each has an extensive bibliography cited in Toubert, "Autour de la Bible," and Corrie, Ph.D. diss., 370–461. The most recent addition to the group is Ms. Vat. lat. 4195 in the Vatican Library introduced in Corrie, "Court Ateliers."

14. A. Daneu Lattanzi, "Una 'Bella Copia' di *Al-Hāwī* tradotto dall'arabo da Faraq Moyse per Carlo I d'Angiò (Ms. Vat. lat. 2398–2399)," *Miscellanea di studi in memoria di Anna Saitta Revignas.* Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, no. 86 (Florence, 1978), 149–69. Hélène Toubert first added the *Liber Annayde* to the group. Although I initially disagreed with this suggestion, I now support it. See Toubert, "Autour de la Bible," 781–84. For an extensive bibliography and discussion of the role of Ottaviano degli Ubaldini in dating this group, see Corrie, "Court Ateliers."

15. On the history and historiography of Conradin, see articles in *Die Zeit der Staufer: Geschichte - Kunst - Kultur,* Katalog der Ausstellung, Wurtttembergisches Landesmuseum, III (Stuttgart, 1977).

16. A thorough description of the condition of the Conradin Bible can be found in Corrie, Ph.D. diss., 37–48. See also *idem,* "Since 'Since de Ricci'." Both describe a series of cuttings from the Bible sold at auction at Sotheby's in 1981 and the history of the mutila-

tion of the manuscript. Through the efforts of Rainer Zietz of London, Michael Ward of New York, and Lilian Randall of the Walters Art Gallery, and the generosity of J. Paul Getty II, most of these pieces have been reunited with the Bible in the Walters collection. Because the cuttings had just come on the market and were changing hands rapidly when I wrote about them, descriptions and locations for a few of them are not accurate. See also Sotheby, Parke Bernet & Co., *Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts and Single Leaves from the Ninth to the Sixteenth Century,* 14 July 1981, 10–14.

17. Most influential was Roberto Longhi's attribution to Umbria. See R. Longhi, "Apertura sui Trecentisti Umbri," *Paragone,* 191 (1966), 3–7 and *idem,* "Postilla all'apertura sugli Umbri," *Paragone,* 195 (1966), 3–8.

18. Daneu Lattanzi, *Lineamenti,* 53–58 and *idem,* "Una 'Bella Copia'." For Florentine Mütterich's comments see *Die Zeit der Staufer,* I, 662–63. Earlier I argued for an attribution to Messina, see Corrie, "East Meets West." More recently I have modified this view. While southern Italy or Sicily is the likely region for localizing this atelier, it is difficult at this time to choose among Messina, Naples, and Foggia. Interestingly Pierluigi Leone de Castris has recently proposed Sicily on different grounds, *Arte di Corte nella Napoli Angionina* (Florence, 1986), 110.

19. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible," 784.

20. *Ibid.* The Bible was the Palermo Bible, originally associated with the Manfred Bible, whose localization to the south has never been questioned. For Daneu Lattanzi's original attribution of the Palermo Bible to that group see, A. Daneu Lattanzi, *Una Bibbia prossima alla bibbia di Manfredi* (Palermo, 1957). The most important recent publications on the Manfred Bible have come from Hélène Toubert. See her "Trois nouvelles Bibles du maître de la Bible de Manfred et son atelier," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome,* 89 (1977), 777–810 and "Influences gothiques sur l'art Frederichien: le maître de la Bible de Manfred et son atelier," in A.M. Romanini, *Frederico II e l'arte del duecento italiano,* Atti della III Settimana di studi di storia dell'arte medievale dell'Università di Roma, 15–20 May 1978 (Galatina, 1980), 59–83.

21. This is Ms. Vat. lat. 4195. See Corrie, "Court Ateliers." This Bible is linked to the south by both its provenance and its ornamentation, which links it to the Conradin Bible, the Manfred Bible, and the Palermo Bible.

22. Daneu Lattanzi, "Una 'Bella Copia'." See also C.C. Coulter, "The Library of the Angevin Kings," *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* 45 (1944), 141–55.

23. The best recent description of the form and function of the antiphonary can be found in Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* 160–244. Another, shorter discussion can be drawn from R.G. Calkins, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1983), 207–09, 226–28. See also W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington and London, 1966), 13, 17–18.

24. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* 14 and Bonniwell, *Dominican Liturgy,* 20.

25. I. Toesca, "Qualche foglio del maestro 'di Corradino'," *Paragone,* 235 (1969), 68–72.

26. A. Caleca, "Un codice pisano di fine duecento," *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica,* Atti del I congresso di storia della miniatura italiana, Cortona, 26–28 May 1978 (Florence, 1979), 207–21.

27. This codex includes 255 folios, measuring 472 x 325 mm. Most quires consist of ten folios or five bifolios each, although there are some variations especially at gathering 6 at the office for St. Anthony and gathering 22 at the opening of the common of saints and at the close where it ends incomplete. Catch words appear on folios 10v, 20v, 30v, 40v, 50v, 63v, 73v, 83v, 93v, 103v, 112v, 122v, 146v, 156v, 166v, 176v, 184v, 214v, 224, 232v. The gatherings appear as follows: 1(1)10, 2(11)10, 3(21)10, 4(31)10, 5(41)10, 6(51)3, 7(54)10, 8(64)10, 9(74)10, 10(84)10, 11(94)10, 12(104)9, 13(113)10, 14(123)12, 15(135)12, 16(147)10, 17(157)10, 18(167)10, 19(177)8, 20(185)8, 21(193)8, 22(201)4, 23(205)10, 24(215)10, 25(225)8, 26(233)10, 27(243)9, 28(252)4.

28. On this manuscript see N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries,* II (Oxford, 1969), 408; also Corrie, "East Meets West," *idem,* "Since, 'Since de Ricci'," *idem,* "Court Ateliers," and *idem,* Ph.D. diss., 427–39.

29. On Peckover see F.J. Gardiner, *History of Wisbech and Neighborhood during the Last Fifty Years, 1848–1898* (Wisbech, 1898), 33, 35, 402–03. Although the antiphonary lacks the bookplate found in many of the Baron's other manuscripts, a description of it as M. 176 appears in an inventory of his collection. This inventory citation matches the text of a clipping from a sales catalogue pasted into the front of the Colchester codex. Michael Sweeney has kindly informed me of the entry in the catalogue of Alexander Peckover's library. I am also indebted to Jane L. Arthus of the Wisbech and Fenland Museum, Antony Penrose, and Frances Thackway for their assistance in tracing the history of Baron Peckover's collection.

30. 1r Purification of the Virgin; 2r St. Agatha; 11r St. Peter's Chair; 11r Commemoration of St. Paul, Apostle; 15v Annunciation; 26r Common for Saints between Easter and Pentecost; 33v St. Mark, Evangelist; 35r Sts. Philip and James, Apostles; 37r Invention of the Holy Cross; 42v St. John before the Latin Gate; 42v Apparition of St. Michael the Archangel; 54r St. Anthony of Padua; 67r Nativity of St. John the Baptist; 81v Sts. John and Paul, Martyrs; 84r Sts. Peter and Paul, Apostles; 93r Commemoration of St. Paul; 102v St. Mary Magdalene; 108v St. Peter in Chains; 110v St. Lawrence; 121v Assumption of the Virgin; 130v Decollation of St. John the Baptist; 134r Nativity of the Virgin; 142r Exaltation of the Holy Cross; 146v Dedication of the Church of St. Michael; 156v St. Francis; 172r All Saints; 181r St. Martin; 190v St. Cecilia; 200v St. Clement; 205r Common of Disciples; 215v Common of a Martyr; 223v Common of Several Martyrs; 235v Common of a Bishop Confessor; 243v Common of a Confessor who is not a Bishop; 246v Common of a Virgin.

31. Four of these initials have been published: the Virgin and Child (fol. 135r) and St. Francis Receives the Stigmata (fol. 159v) in Corrie, "Since 'Since de Ricci'," figs. 5, 6; the Virgin and Child (fol. 123r) in *idem,* "East Meets West," figs. 42, 43; the initial depicting John the Baptist (fol. 70r) in *idem,* "Court Ateliers." A more extensive discussion of their iconography appears in *idem,* Ph.D. diss., 430–32. On the major feasts of the year see van Dijk, *Origins,* 499, n. 3.

32. Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* 193.

33. M.G. Ciardi Duprè dal Poggetto, "La nascita dei cicli corali umbri," *Francesco d'Assisi, 3. Documenti e archivi codici e biblioteche miniature* (Milan, 1982), 331, 338.

34. The image of St. John the Baptist is reproduced in Corrie, "Court Ateliers," fig. 17.

35. Both images of the Virgin and Child in the Colchester Antiphonary are Byzantine in origin. The image from the office for the Nativity of the Virgin is a Hodegetria, a Byzantine type in which the Virgin holds the Child to one side and points in his direction. Here the Child sits bolt upright with one foot turned over with its sole showing. It is identical to an image from the Conradin Bible, now among the cuttings in the Walters Art Gallery. These images are published and discussed further in Corrie, "Since 'Since de Ricci'," figs. 6, 13. On the Virgin from the office for the Assumption see *idem,* Ph.D. diss., 415.

36. W.A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order,* II (New York, 1965, 1973), 196.

37. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 242, 339.

38. *Ibid.*, 218.

39. *Ibid.*, 381. Folios 335 and 342.

40. *Ibid.*, 340.

41. Duprè dal Poggetto, "La nascita," and M. Salmi, *La miniatura fiorentina gotica* (Milan, 1955), 33, pls. Va, VI.

42. Van Dijk, "Historical Liturgy," 180. For a brief summary of Haymo's activity, see van Dijk, *Origins,* 302–04.

43. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 322.

44. Fol. 1v; Van Dijk, *Sources,* II, 128. This volume contains texts for all of the rubrics here.

45. Fols. 38r and 171r, and van Dijk, *Sources,* II, 483.

46. Van Dijk, *Sources,* II, 132.

47. For example it occurs in the Vatican manuscripts Ms. Reg. lat. 2051, fol. 38v and Vat. lat. 12,992, fol. 129v. See Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 198, 152. It also appears in the superb Franciscan antiphonary at Deruta (Ms. 247, fol 179r), usually dated around 1270. See *Francesco d'Assisi,* 339.

48. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 370–75, 483. The earlier pre-Haymonian rubric can be seen fully written out in the Vatican Library breviary Vat. lat. 8737, fol. 198v; see Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 189 and van Dijk, *Origins,* 291–20. Salmon calls it thirteenth–fourteenth century Modena, but van Dijk correctly identifies it as a Regula breviary and dates it solidly in the first half of the thirteenth century.

49. The practice of omitting entirely texts or rubrics that are expected to change momentarily is cited in van Dijk's discussion of the office for St. Anthony of Padua in *Origins,* 384.

50. *Ibid.*, 373–75.

51. Variations of rubrics for the Nativity of Virgin can be found in two Franciscan breviaries in the Vatican Library. Ms. Vat. lat. 12,992 (fol. 159r) has two rubrics, one apparently issued around 1263. Ms. Reg. lat. 2051 also has the second.

52. *Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis Saeculis XIII et XIV conscriptae ad codicum fidem,* Analecta Francescana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta ad historiam fratrum minorum spectantea edita a patribus collegii S. Bonaventurae adiuvantibus, X (1926–1941), 379. The full text is on pages 372–88. The two versions can be roughly translated: "This man nurtured indecently in vanities, more than his nurturers behaved insolently"; and "This man nurtured indecently in vanities, through divine gifts, mercifully was saved." I am grateful to Thomas Hayward of the Bates College Ladd Library and Classics and Medieval Studies Program for his assistance with this translation.

53. See two Vatican breviaries: Ms. Reg. lat. 1738 attributed to Civitá Castella just north of Rome and Vat. lat. 12,986 probably made in Naples. Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 150, 197.

54. *Legendae S. Francisci,* 383.

55. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 381. For example, Ms. Santa Maria Maggiore 41 in the Vatican Library with the obsolete *Hic vir* text has the *Celorum candor* antiphon. Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 163. Its calendar includes St. Herculanus, Bishop of Perugia in red at his feast in November, as well as his translation in March. There is also an added obit for Aegidius, a Franciscan who died at Perugia, 22 April 1272.

56. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 381–82.

57. For the text of that office see J. Cambell, "Le Culte liturgique de Saint Antoine de Padoue," *Il Santo, Rivista Antoniana di storia dottrina arte,* 11 (1971), 3–70 and 157–97. Another edition is in press, Centro Studi Antoniani, *Fonti Agiografiche Antoniane, IV: Documenta liturgica (Sec. XIII–XIV)* (Padua: EMP-Edizione Messagero).

58. *Ibid.* and van Dijk, *Origins,* 384.

59. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 388.

60. *Francesco d'Assisi,* 54.

61. *Ibid.*

62. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 385–87.

63. Duprè dal Poggetto, "La nascita," 338.

64. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 385, 387.

65. *Ibid.*, 380–81 and *Legendae S. Francisci,* 381–82.

66. Central Italian Regula breviary Ms. Vat. lat. 8737 (above note 48), Vat. lat. 12,986, attributed to Naples or Rome, and Reg. lat. 1738, attributed to Civitá Castellana, above note 53.

67. Ms. Santa Maria Maggiore 41 in the Vatican Library from Perugia has the new responses and *Celorum* antiphon. See above note 55. More archaic Umbrian breviaries lack both the responses and the antiphon. These include Vat. lat. 7687, Vat. lat. 12,922, and Vat. Reg. lat. 2050–2051. See Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 392, 198, 152 and van Dijk, *Origins,* 219–20.

68. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 339–40.

69. The use of the breviary as a model for antiphonaries and other manuscripts suggested by Rousseau is discussed by Bonniwell in his comments on a noted Dominican breviary at the archives of the Dominican order in Rome compiled at Paris in the first half of the thirteenth century. *Dominican Liturgy,* 36–37; see also Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts,* 123.

70. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 142–43.

71. A good comparison for the three-diamond system can be found in an eleventh–twelfth century Italian manuscript (Piacenza, Bibl. Capit. MS. 65, fol. 235) illustrated in D.M. Hughes, *Early Medieval Music up to 1300* (London, 1969), pl. opposite 178.

72. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 326–29.

73. *Ibid.*, 338–39 and Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* II, 102.

74. Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 198.

75. Among the saints in the calendar are St. Aemilanus, Bishop and Martyr added to January 28, from Trevi, St. Juvenalis, Bishop and Confessor added to May, from Terni, and others from Gubbio, Arezzo, and Perugia.

76. A good comparison for the Beneventan notation in the Vatican breviary Vat. lat. 12,992 can be found in Vat. lat. 5319, a gradual written for a Roman basilica around 1100, W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington and London, 1966), 485, pl. VII.

77. Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 152. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 219–20 dates this manuscript around 1240.

78. This scenario is supported by the appearance of clefs in the Colchester Antiphonary in portions of the office for St. Anthony of Padua (fols. 54r–57r, 59v, 62r, 66v–67v). This is probably the newest office and may have been copied from another source. Otherwise single clefs appear on 16 folio sides out of a total of 510 possible sides.

79. C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston, 1986), 126.

80. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 340.

81. The manuscripts are usually described as in the Museo Civico, Bologna, but are now in the new Medieval Museum as Codices 526, 528, 529, 530, and 540. The antiphonary volumes are 528 and 530. See *Francesco d'Assisi,* 340.

82. Deruta, Pinacoteca Comunale, Ms. 247. See note 47.

83. See note 69.

84. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 329.

85. De Hamel, *A History,* 107–35 and R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), 7–11.

86. Very little has been published on the history of the Augustinian antiphonary. See van Dijk, *Origins* and P.C. Langeveld, "De Liturgische Verordeningen OESA van de 13e Eeuw," *Nederlandse Analecta,* 1.3 (1960), 71–76. I am grateful to Fr. Alberic de Meijer, O.S.A. for making this volume available to me.

87. Aspects of the Great Union of 1256 are discussed in R.J. Halliburton, "Fact and Fiction in the life of St. Augustine: An essay in mediaeval monastic history and seventeenth century exegesis," *Recherches Augustiniennes,* 5 (1968), 15–40. See especially R. Arbesmann, "Henry of Friemar's 'Treatise on the origin and development of the Order of the Hermit Friars and its true and real title'," *Augustiniana,* 6 (1956), 37–145, F. Roth, "Cardinal Richard Annibaldi First Protector of the Augustinian Order 1243–1276. A Study of the Order before and after its Great Union in 1256," *Augustiniana,* 2–4 (1952–1954), and K. Elm, "Italienische Eremiten Gemeinschaften des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," *L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII* (Mendola, 1962), 535–49.

88. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 400.

89. *Ibid.,* 226.

90. Caleca, "Un codice pisano," 207–21.

91. For more extensive discussions of style see *ibid.* and Corrie, Ph.D. diss., 423–24.

92. These texts appear in Caleca, "Un codice pisano," 208 and Corrie, Ph.D. diss., 544. One reason for Professor Caleca's interest in connecting the manufacture of the Pisa manuscript with an Augustinian house in Pisa is the existence of a two-volume antiphonary in Volterra, a manuscript written by an Augustinian scribe, with a colophon in 1299. This manuscript was mentioned by Carlo Ragghianti and Caleca in connection with the Conradin Bible but was never published with photographs. Stylistically, this superb manuscript has little to do with the Conradin Bible group. The ornamental style is Bolognese; the figure style is minute and entirely Tuscan, with some influence from the Tuscan *maniera greca.* I am indebted to Professor Franco Lessi for assistance during my visit to Volterra. See P. Ferrini, *Volterra* (Volterra, 1978), 31; Caleca, "Un codice pisano," 208; *Monumenti dell'arte a Volterra* (Pisa, 1981), 20–21; C. Ragghianti in Mellini, *L'arte in Italia,* I (Milan, 1969), 872, 875–76. Unfortunately, a textual analysis of this manuscript could not be included here. Owing to the lack of a sitting bishop at Volterra at the time of my visit, I could not obtain permission for a thorough study.

93. Several foliate initials and all of the figured initials are reproduced in Caleca, "Un codice pisano."

94. It was not possible for me to measure the manuscript exactly or take a full collation during my inspection of it. It is approximately the same size as the loose folios discussed below, 470 x 340 mm. The Pisa Antiphonary contains the following offices: 1r St. Peter's Chair; 9r Translation of St. Augustine; 22r Annunciation; 31v Common for Apostles; 32r Common for Saints from Easter to Pentecost; 37v St. Mark; 39r Sts. Philip and James, Apostles; 40v Invention of the Holy Cross; 44v St. John before the Latin Gate; 45r Apparition of St. Michael the Archangel; 54r Common for Apostles; 63v Common for Evangelists; 71v Common for Several Evangelists; 82v Common for a Confessor; 82v Common for a Confessor and Doctor; 94r Common for a Virgin; 94r Common for Several Virgins; 100v Common for a Virgin not a Martyr; 102v ends incomplete with added texts to folio 118.

95. Identical breaks occur in the Colchester Antiphonary, suggesting that these separations were standard procedure in that period or region. The arrangement of the gatherings in the Colchester Antiphonary can be found above, note 27. The parallels include: the Chair of Peter begins at the top of a folio and the start of a quire; the office of St. Michael ends on a folio recto with two and one half staffs free and the verso blank; another major break comes before the common office for apostles after the office for St. Clement.

96. Toesca, "Qualche foglio," 68–72.

97. On the first and last see P. Toesca, *Miniature di una Collezione Veneziana* (Venice, 1958), n. LXXVII and J.P. Dauriac, "Musée Marmottan, La Collection Wildenstein," *Pantheon,* 39 (July–Sept. 1981), 296–297. I am grateful to Alan Salz for information on the Wildenstein Collection.

98. The Presentation in the Temple, no. 210 in the Fondazione Cini in Venice, matches the Pisa Antiphonary codicologically and stylistically. Unlike the Colchester Antiphonary with seven staffs, the Pisa Antiphonary and the Venice folio have eight staffs, as does the St. Louis sheet. The pieces are too fragmentary to judge. The palette of the Venice folio, which is pale, matches the Pisa Antiphonary as well. For example, the Virgin is dressed in a pink tunic with a pale-yellow striped marphorion, both with red touches. The fragments, like the St. Louis sheet, and the Pisa codex are extensively rubbed. Where foliation numbers can be found they are generally useful: the Presentation, fol. 61; St. Michael, fol. 199; the Dedication of a Church, fol. 293. Only the number for the Presentation does not fit into the current state of the Pisa Antiphonary and according to Toesca, the number style on the Presentation is earlier, and folio is larger. While this does suggest that it may be from a different manuscript, it may also be an indication that it was removed earlier, before the manuscript was renumbered. Although there are some correspondences, ultimately the sizes of the folios are not useful, since they vary depending on how much the pieces have been cut down since they were removed from the codex. According to Toesca the measurements are: Venice: 513 x 347 mm; St. Paul: 465 x 340; St. Michael: 467 x 338 (bifolia 199r and 206r); Virgin and Child from the Nativity of the Virgin: 467 x 336; Virgin and Child from the feast of the Assumption in the Musée Marmottan: 222 x 150. The St. Louis Saints: 470 x 335.

99. Toesca, "Qualche foglio," 72. The provenance of these fragments is not much help. The piece in the Musée Marmottan is reputed to come from a Polish collection. See S. Neyman, *Iluminacje rekopisów średniowiecza* (Warsaw, 1939), fig. 1. Ilaria Toesca has kindly told me in correspondence that the fragments in a private collection have a similar provenance.

100. The leaf currently bears the accession no. 65.52. It was given to the museum in 1965 by a collector, Henry B. Pfleger of St. Louis. He had purchased the manuscript from Dr. Vladimir Simkovitch who had imported the page from Turin, with an export seal dated 12 July 1932. The association with the Conradin Bible was first noticed by Carl Nordenfalk after the leaf reached the St. Louis museum. See D. Miner, "Since de Ricci, Western Illuminated Manuscripts Acquired since 1934," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 32 (1969), 87. See also M. Ferretti, in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa,* ser. 3, vol. 2.2 (1972), 1054–57, pl. LXXXI.

101. None of the companions of St. Augustine fits this image. See J. and P. Courcelle, *Iconographie de Saint Augustin: Les cycles du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1965) and Arbesmann, "Henry of Friemar," 39–40.

102. I am grateful to Judith W. Mann of the Department of Early European Painting of the St. Louis Art Museum for providing me with a full description of the colors in the St. Louis page. A much fuller discussion of hands and palette can be found in Corrie, Ph.D. diss., chap. 2.

103. A. Conti, *La Miniatura Bolognese, Scuole e Botteghe, 1270–1340* (Bologna, 1981).

104. On the script style see B. Pagnin, *La "Littera Bononiensis" Studi*

Paleografico (Pavia, 1975–1977) and M.B. Bischoff, "La nomenclature des écritures livreques du IXe au XIIIe siècle," *Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle,* Premier Colloque International de Paleographie latine, Paris, 28–30 April 1953 (Paris, 1954), 7–14.

105. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 400.

106. Given the lack of information available on this office, it merits recounting: *Feast for St. Augustine:* Antiphon: Adest dies..., Invit: Magnus dominus...; *1st Noct:* Ant: Aperuit Augustinus..., Ant: Insinuavit ergo..., Ant: At ille iussit..., Respon: Invenit se Augustinus... (illumination with St. Augustine venerated by two Augustinians), Vers: Nec tu me..., Respon: Sensit igitur..., Vers: Propter..., Respons: Tunc vero..., Vers: Quid autem...Gloria Patri...; *2nd Noct:* Ant: Veruntamen..., Ant: Inde ubi tempore..., Ant: Nec satiabitur..., Respon: Itaque audissime..., Vers: Et Apparavit..., Respon: Misit ergo..., Vers: Audierat..., Respon: Volebat..., Vers: Displicebat enim...Gloria Patri...; *3rd Noct:* Ant: Flebat..., Ant: Voces..., Ant: Adiunctus..., Respon: Vulneraverat..., Vers: Ascendenti..., Respon: Accepta..., Vers: Tunc..., Respon: Verbum Dei..., Vers: Testamentum...Gloria Patri...; *Ad laudes et per horas:* Ant: Post Mortem..., Ant: Comperta autem..., Ant: Factus ergo..., Ant: Sanctus autem..., Ant: Eodem tempore..., Ant: In diebus... (Other medieval and renaissance texts add "Ad vespers, Post Mortem.") Ad Mag: Hodie gloriosus Pater Augustinus...

107. Van Dijk, *Sources,* I, 93; II, 158–59.

108. Ms. 2654 in Lucca forms a set with Ms. 2648, an antiphonary and a responsoriale temporale. The Perugia manuscript is an antiphonary, Ms. 15 in the Biblioteca Capitolare at Perugia. See A. Caleca, *Miniatura in Umbria* (Florence, 1969), figs. 365–66 and 164–65.

109. Bonniwell, *Dominican Liturgy,* 237.

110. Ludovicus Rousseau, "De ecclesiastico officio fratrum Praedicatorum secundum ordinationem ven. magistri Humberti de Romanis," *Analecta Ordinis Praedicatorum,* 34 (1926), 711.

A comparison with a more recent edition reveals the same differences, for example: *Breviarium Juxta Ritum S. Ordinis Praedictorum apostolica auctoritate approbatrum. Reverendissimi Patris Pratris Hyacinthi Mariae Corimer: Pars Posterior* (Rome: in Hospitio Revendissimi Magistri Ordines, 1909.)

111. Fr. Eustasio Esteban, "De Festis et Ritibus Sacris Ordinis Eremitorum S.P. Augustini," *Analecta Augustiniana,* 8 (1919), 111–36. Van Dijk, *Sources,* II, 158–59.

112. For its use in Augsburg, see F.A. Hoeynck, *Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie des Bisthums Augsburg mit Beilagen: Monumenta Liturgiae Augustanae* (Augsburg, 1889), 95, 106. For example, in the Vatican Library: Ms. Chigi D.V.68, fols. 380v–384v, which may be south Italian, the fourteenth-century Ms. Rossiana 112, fols. 184r–193v, and Ms. Ottobon. lat. 544, fols. 335r–339r, a fifteenth-century breviary. See Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 128, 157, 134. The calendar of Rossiana 112 includes the first Bishop of Padua, Prosdoemi, in red on November 7 (fol. 11r).

113. A slightly longer form of the same office can be found in modern Augustinian breviaries, for example in the sanctorale: *Proprium sanctorum ad usum canonicorum regularium congregationis gallicanae capituli generalis jussu editum* (Paris: Ludovicum Josse, 1716), 149–59. For a similar Servite office see *Breviarum Romanum ad usum fratrum ac sororum ordinis servorum B.M.V....* (Rome: typis Josephi Salviucci et Francisci filii, 1858), 796–804. *Breviarium Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo...* (Tornaci Nerviorum: Typis soc. sancti joannis evangelistae desclee, lefebbre et soc. edit. pont., 1886), 768–73. This assortment is not analytical but reflects the holdings of the Harvard University library.

114. In one breviary where texts appear for both the feast on August 28 and the Translation in February, there are two separate offices. Our original office appears at August 28. See Vatican Ms. Ottobon. lat. 544, fols. 265r, 335r–339r.

115. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 400.

116. *Ibid.,* 525.

117. On the date of the Regula breviary, Van Dijk, *Origins,* 218. An example can be found in the Regula breviary Vat. lat. 8737 (fol. 204v). Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 189. Van Dijk writes that the Augustinians used the Regula breviary but states that their use conformed to that of the Franciscans, which as we shall see, is inaccurate (*Origins,* 223).

118. See above including notes 74–77.

119. Van Dijk, *Origins,* 219–20.

120. *Ibid.*

121. For example we find rubrics for the feasts of the Virgin that are comparable to those in other post-Haymonian manuscripts. The feast for the Annunciation matches that in the Deruta Antiphonary usually dated in the 1270s (fol. 38v), and that for the Assumption is the same as that in the Colchester Antiphonary (fol. 113v). In addition the *Hic vir in vanitatibus* text here is the one required by Bonaventure in 1260 (fol. 148v).

122. Ms. Reg. lat. 2050–2051, fols. 182v–183r; in the Pisa Antiphonary, fol. 31v.

123. In the Colchester Antiphonary, fol. 205v.

124. The ordinal is Ms. G.V.13 in the Biblioteca Comunale at Siena. See van Dijk, *Sources,* II, 173.

125. Like the rubric for the Invention of the Holy Cross, this rubric does not appear in early thirteenth-century manuscripts. See for example, van Dijk, *Ordinal,* 382–85, 455–58.

126. Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 198, and notes 74 and 75 above. There is no indication in these manuscripts that they were intended for any but Franciscan use. There are no additions, such as later feasts for St. Augustine.

127. Ms. Rossiana 112, fol. 230v and Ms. Ottobon. lat. 544, fol. 374r. Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 134. Another Vatican breviary Ms. Chigi D.V.68, dated around 1300 and commissioned for Augustinians, has this rubric, Haymo's corrections, and the obsolete *Hic vir* text, erased and corrected, a combination that suggests that it was based on a transitional text. Another Augustinian breviary, Vatican Ms. Ottobon. 140, localized by its calendar to Milan and dated by its illuminations to around 1275 has rubrics that are pre-Haymonian as well. See Salmon, *Les manuscrits,* I, 128, 132.

128. See also van Dijk, *Origins,* 400.

129. *Ibid.,* 226.

130. For example see C.M. Kauffmann, *The Baths of Pozzuoli: A Study of the Medieval Illuminations of Peter of Eboli's Poem* (Oxford, 1959), 29. For further discussion see Corrie, "Court Ateliers."

131. Coulter, "Angevin Kings," 141–55.

132. *Ibid.,* 144.

133. Daneu Lattanzi, "Una 'Bella Copia'," Corrie, "Court Ateliers," and *idem,* Ph.D. diss., 385–88.

134. Caleca, "Un codice pisano," 211–21.

135. Toubert, "Autour de la Bible," 733–57.

136. Corrie, "Court Ateliers," fig. 11. This shows dragons with the same long, trailing tails found in the Manfred Bible but nowhere else in the Conradin Bible atelier.

137. On the dating see in particular S. Pettenati, "Un altra 'Bibbia

di Manfredi'," *Prospettiva,* 4 (1976), 7–15.

138. Corrie, "Court Ateliers."

139. See note 14.

140. See note 18.

141. See note 17. More recently see P. Leone de Castris, *Arte di corte nella Napoli Angionina* (Florence, 1986), 104–05, 110.

142. The Palermo Bible has been in Sicily for centuries; the Bodelian has a heraldic crest that places it in Apulia in the sixteenth century; and the Vatican Bible was given to the Vatican Library by a humanist from Naples. See Toubert, "Autour de la Bible" 776–77 and Corrie, "Court Ateliers."

143. For example, G. Leanti, "L'ordine Francescano in Sicilia nei secoli XIII e XIV," *Miscellanea Francescana,* 37 (1937), 557–58 suggests that the reason for the construction of a church in Messina in 1254 was that Frederick II had destroyed the earlier building.

144. See E. Benvenuto, "Chiese e conventi francescani a Foggia," *Miscellanea Francescana,* 64 (1964), 150–63 and P.G. D'Andrea, *I Frati minor napoletani nel loro sviluppo storica* (Naples, 1967), especially 522–46. On the Augustinians see Roth, "Cardinal Richard Annibaldi," 128. He dates the founding of Augustinian houses in the south with Naples by 1259, Foggia by 1250, Palermo not before 1265. See also S. Lopez, "De conventu S. Augustini neapolitano documenta et notitiae," *Analecta Augustiniana,* 12 (1927), 128–46 and J. Kruger, *S. Lorenzo Maggiore in Neapel, Eine franziskanerkirche zwischen Ordenstil und Herrschafts-architektur. Studien und Materialien zur Baukunst der ersten Anjou-Zeit* (Wer/Westfalen, 1985), 34. At Messina, the church of S. Francesco was begun under the patronage of three noblewomen in 1254. See S. Bottari, *L'arte in Sicilia* (Messina, 1962), 85 and G. Bellafiore, *La civilità artistica della Sicilia, dalla preistorica ad oggi* (Florence, 1963), 129.

145. At Naples, the Franciscans had begun their work in 1234 on the present site of S. Lorenzo Maggiore, which was itself built at the end of the century during an intense period of Angevin expansion. See J. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), 157.

146. Kauffmann, *The Baths of Pozzuoli,* fig. 12, fol. 13.

147. D.M. Zigarelli, *Biografie dei Vescovi e Arcivescovi della Chiesa di Napoli* (Naples, 1861), 60–62. This presumably was the archbishop with whom the painter monk Giovanni da Montecassino resided when he was hired to paint the *Al-Hāwī* manuscript in 1281, the year in which Aylerio died, having been appointed in 1267. Moreover, Pope Gregory X had appointed him as vicar over Montecassino, and this gives him a tie to the painter.

148. The second Translation of St. Augustine was from his original burial at Sardinia to Pavia. But we have no particular reason to associate our antiphonary with the latter city.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum; figs. 5, 6, 13, 14, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 7–10, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; fig. 11, Pisa, Museo Nazionale e Civico di San Matteo; fig. 12, St. Louis Art Museum.

The Walters Art Gallery Chinese Lacquer Buddha: Dating, Regional Style, and Iconography

Marylin M. Rhie

The impressive life-size statue of the seated Buddha in the Walters Art Gallery (pl. I and fig. 1) is an important Chinese Buddhist image and a rare pre-T'ang (618–906) example in wood and lacquer. This article focuses on clarifying the specific issues of stylistic dating, regional attribution, and iconography. The technical aspects are presented in the accompanying article by Donna K. Strahan.[1]

Note: Color plate I follows the text.

Description, style, and aesthetic

The image is depicted seated in a meditation pose (dhyānāsana) with the legs loosely folded and the forearms positioned towards the front. The now-missing hands were undoubtedly placed in the meditation gesture (dhyānamudrā) on the lap. Overall, the figure gives the impression of stately and serene composure coupled with an alert inner awareness. It has a distinct hierarchical grandeur, but without harshness or overbearing force.

Though apparently simple in its composition of form and line, the work is complex in the subtle interaction of elements. The stylistic features of concavity and convexity, expansion and contraction, human and abstract, as well as the reciprocal movements of upward and downward forces are all subtly balanced, suggesting the yin-yang principles of the Chinese artistic aesthetic.[2] The smoothly curved shape of the body and the long, gradually spreading folds of the well-fitting drapery have a pronounced abstraction that is humanized by the compelling face and by gentle naturalistic nuances, like the hint of the shape of the legs and feet under the heavy but limpid drapery. The dense, rounded forms of the upper chest, shoulders, and legs seem to merge imperceptibly with the flattened planes of the tall mid-section and sleek flat folds of the garment. The drapery and body create a harmony of form and line, each enhancing the other; beauty of pure form vies with beauty of pure line, yet they blend as one entity. The solemnity and power generated by the strong tendency towards abstraction of form and line are given life by the balance of upward thrusts and downward movements: as the folds of the drapery seem to descend in long, spreading lines towards the crossed legs, the powerfully rounded upper chest lifts the eye upward towards the imposing head.

The figure is depicted wearing two robes, both of which pass under the right arm, leaving the right arm and chest bare in a typical Indian mode. The inner robe, revealed by the low draping of the outer robe (saṇghāti), is worn tight to the body. Its edge makes a thick and taut but gently curved line across the chest. The coloration is dark with a wide border of lighter color, and there are traces of at least one large medallion design in the center (for discussion of the color, which appears to be a later repainting, see the article by Donna Strahan). The outer robe drops below the waist and with a pronounced curvature moves across the torso and over the left shoulder. The expanding shape of its prominent edge-fold as it draws upward to the left shoulder is complemented by the expanding movements generated in the reverse direction by the adjacent folds, which spread as they descend from the left shoulder to form wide steplike pleats over the legs. Three of these step-pleats lap forward over the left leg emphasizing its round shape. Others create long horizontal and oblique pleats over the center and the right leg, echoing the asymmetrical composition of the spreading lines on the upper body. Three widely spaced step-pleats in a loose fanlike configuration break the solid surface on the front part of the upper left arm, and a series of four tightly folded step-pleats wrap around the left forearm. The subtle asymmetrical and diagonal contrasts of directions between the strikingly clear and well-composed linear groups, each with just a few, selective lines, imparts flowing and graceful rhythms that offset the harsher power of the body form.

Fig. 1. *Seated Buddha,* wood and lacquer, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 25.9.

As indicated by the remains of color, which, even though a later repainting, may reflect the original designs, the outer robe is portrayed as the patched robe of the Buddha. Broad slanting strips of dark color separate the patches of red, and each dark strip has a light edge and black outline. The remaining color now presents a plain and bold pattern, enhancing the simplicity of the body form, which still retains some gilding, and providing a counterpoint to the carved fold lines.

The head of this image is in relatively normal proportion to the body. Without being too large or small it nevertheless reinforces the impression of strength imparted by the firm and rounded mass of the body. The uṣṇīṣa (cranial protuberance, a mark of the Buddha's enlightenment) is low and broad. The hair, which appears like a tight cap over the cranium, is left plain, although the surface is a bit rough. There is a gentle undulating curve to the contours on the forehead. The face is oval, with an emphasis on the long curve of the full cheeks and a large, smooth chin (fig. 2). The eyebrows, depicted by a raised strip, are only slightly arched. The eyes have heavy lids and appear half closed. The upper lid has a nearly straight edge, but the lower lid has an unusual dip. The eyeballs are represented by a shiny, dark unidentified material (see Donna Strahan's article). Inset eyeballs are not

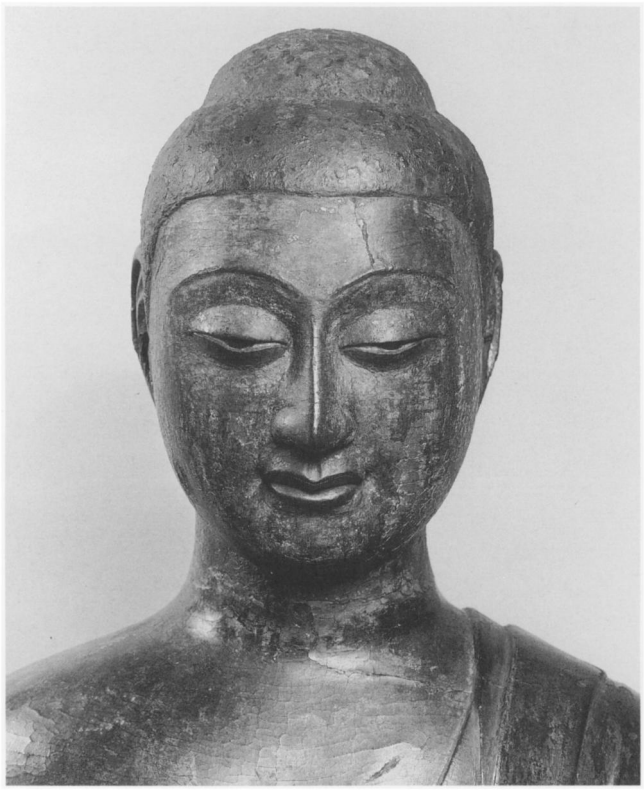


Fig. 2. Figure 1, detail of head.

Fig. 3. Figure 1, side view.

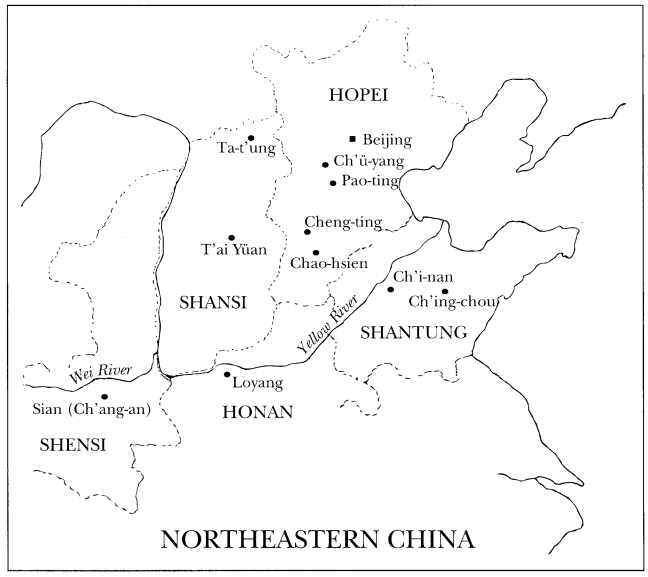
generally seen in Chinese sculptures before the mid-eighth century in the T'ang period. They are possibly a later addition to this image. Under the Liao (in northeast China, ca. 947–1125) it was especially popular to add eyeballs to Buddhist statues as seen, for example, in many repaired images at the Yün-kang cave temples near Ta-t'ung in northern Shansi province. These dark eyes impart a sharp and penetrating quality to the Walters image. The nose is long and has a narrow, straight bridge, which increases the generally strong abstract impression of the image. The mouth has a distinct shape: it is generous in size and has an unusually wide arch to the upper lip. The upper lip has a raised rim, but the lower lip does not, and there is a prominent indentation between the upper lip and nose. Some slight repair in lacquer around the mouth and eyes creates a little feeling of hesitancy in some of the contours and alters the original appearance a small amount, but not enough to be consequential. The ears have raised rims; the lobes, which are now broken and missing, were probably not too long, judging from the remaining portion.

From the side, the image appears tall and narrow (fig. 3). The lifted upper chest creates the sense of expanded lungs (a yogic attribute) while the straight back imparts further dignity to the posture. From this view it is seen that the outer robe wraps tightly around the left arm and the hem falls in a series of loose, double-back, slightly irregular, circular loops over the left thigh and hip (fig. 4). Each loop is slightly different, eschewing a strictly formal regularity. The back is relatively plain with little definition of the drapery (fig. 6 in Donna Strahan's article). In the center is a long rectangular hole used for the insertion of relics, which are now missing.

The well-preserved condition of the image and its imposing size not only add to its beauty and importance but also contribute to the magnetism of its appeal to the viewer. Because of these distinctions and its rarity as a large wood-and-lacquer Chinese Buddhist image, it is of particular interest to determine its dating as precisely as possible and to try to understand its stylistic, regional, and iconographic placement within its period.

Dating

Since there are no known inscriptions or dated materials associated with this image, it must be dated through comparative stylistic analysis within the chronology of Chinese sculpture. Stylistically, this work has the attributes of Sui-dynasty (581–617) Buddhist sculpture, particularly that from the earlier half of this short dynasty.[3] In previous work I discussed the chronology and regional styles of Sui Buddhist sculpture in terms of four general phases, each roughly corresponding to a decade within the slightly less than forty-year period of the dynasty.[4] This chronology provides a framework with which to analyze the style and dating of the Walters image.



Sui reunified northern China by 581 and southern China by 589 after more than three hundred and fifty years of division. The unifier and first emperor of Sui, Yang Chien (Wen-ti), ruled from 581 until 604 in the K'ai-huang (581–600) and Jen-shou (601–604) eras. His successor, Yang-ti, who ruled the Ta-yeh era (604–617) overtaxed the new empire in both public works (the grand canal) and in warfare (three unsuccessful attempts to conquer Koguryo in northern Korea). By 617 the empire was crumbling and the stage was set for the emergence of the T'ang (618–906), one of the greatest dynasties in Chinese history.

Fig. 4. Figure 1, detail of lower left side.

Fig. 5. Buddha, west side niche, central pillar, Cave VIII, T'ien-lung shan cave temples, Shansi, dated 584 [after O. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture* (New York, 1970), pl. 207].

Fig. 6. Main Buddha, Cave III, T'o shan, Shantung [after Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki,* VII (Tokyo, 1940), pl. 95].

The Sui-dynasty period, though short-lived, was nevertheless one of intense activity in Buddhist art, which was given impetus by Sui's official restoration of Buddhism following its proscription from 574–578 under the Northern Chou and the devastation of the conquest of the Northern Ch'i by the Northern Chou in 577.

During the opening years of Sui (the first phase, ca. 580s) Buddhist sculpture from northern China tends to be strongly linked stylistically to the preceding styles of Northern Ch'i in the northeast and Northern Chou in the northwest. In the south, the art presumably developed from the lineages of the preceding Liang and Ch'en dynasties, but relatively little is known of the images of the south aside from the important sculptures from the Wan-fo ssu in Cheng-tu, Szechwan.

Sculptures in a lineage from the Northern Ch'i were generally stiff and frequently blocky in form, having a hieratic frontality and pronounced rigor of posture with little alleviation, even with line, which tended to be very measured and highly symmetrical. The figures seem to have an aloof purity of abstract form and line. On the other hand, images from the northwest regions tend to have richer textures, to experiment with movement in the figure and to have the heavier jewels and garments derived from the Northern Chou traditions. A distinctly heroic grandeur seems to suffuse the larger images of the first phase of early Sui.

During the second phase of the 590s there appears to have developed more coherence of form and line, producing some tempering of the abstraction and a greater freedom in movements of line. The third

phase, from approximately 600–610, incorporating the Jen-shou and early part of the Ta-yeh period, sees a turn towards elegance in proportion, a reduction in the linear movements, and a definite interest in more naturalistic shaping of the body. This phase is followed in the late Ta-yeh era by what appears to be a strengthening and consolidation of the naturalistic elements of the third phase. However, this fourth phase is extremely complex, particularly in relation to the developments in the cave temples of Tun-huang in northwest Kansu. The break into a freely flexible form and naturally deployed garments does not appear to occur in Sui-period images, which do not release the grip of abstraction as their major stylistic basis despite the experiments with naturalistic elements. Although there is certainly variety in the sculptures of each phase and the regional distinctions are a complicating factor, in general the styles seem to follow this progression.

The Walters Art Gallery Buddha corresponds most closely with sculptures from the first half of the Sui, and more precisely from ca. mid 580s to ca. early 590s. Though the Walters image has a sense of hieratic grandeur similar to the large stone images dated to the 580s—as exemplified by the seated Buddhas in Cave VIII at the T'ien-lung shan cave temples near T'ai-yüan in Shansi (fig. 5) dated 584, and by the large Buddha of Cave III at T'o shan near Ch'ing chou in Shantung dating between 577 and 594 (fig. 6),[5] both examples from the northeastern region—it does not seem to be as rigorous and blocky in shaping. However, the local style and the monumental size of these large stone images may have resulted in a degree of conservatism and exaggerated abstraction. This factor is apparent when these large stone images are compared with some other smaller dated stone images of the same time, such as those from the Hsiu-te ssu in central Hopei[6] and with the images from a gilt bronze altar dated 584 recently discovered in Sian (Ch'ang-an, the capital of the Sui dynasty).[7] This altar is an important new discovery, not only because of its date and rarity as a bronze work of this time, but also because there are so few images from the Sian area surviving from the Sui period. The Buddha of the altar (fig. 7), said to be Amitābha, has a more graceful shaping of the body and pleats of the garment, both of which seem to have some lilting, intrinsic movement, than the stiffer works of the northeastern region of similar date. Despite this, the 584 bronze Buddha also has a comparable degree of emphasis on the long torso, simplicity of linear configurations, and smooth shaping of the planes and of the rounded volumes characteristic of the larger stone works from the northeast. Clearly there are complex regional and other factors involved in this period, but there is nevertheless a general stylistic compatibility that transcends these differences.

The Walters Buddha has a remarkably close stylistic correspondence with the sophisticated style of the 584 bronze Amitābha, except that the Walters image has more of the vigorous power in the body exemplified in the T'o shan Cave III and T'ien-lung shan Cave VIII images. Certainly the tall proportions, the emphasis on the beauty of the curved strips of the selected pleats and edges of the garment, the soft shape of the foot, and the elegant curves of the drapery over the legs, as well as the general shape and style of the head, are similar in each. Also, the distinctive mouth shape appears to be similar in each. Even the loose pattern of the pleat hems at the side of the Walters image (fig. 4) resembles the hem patterns on the spreading folds in front of the 584 Amitābha. In the Walters Buddha the spreading folds in front have been broken off, but very possibly the original configuration was similar to

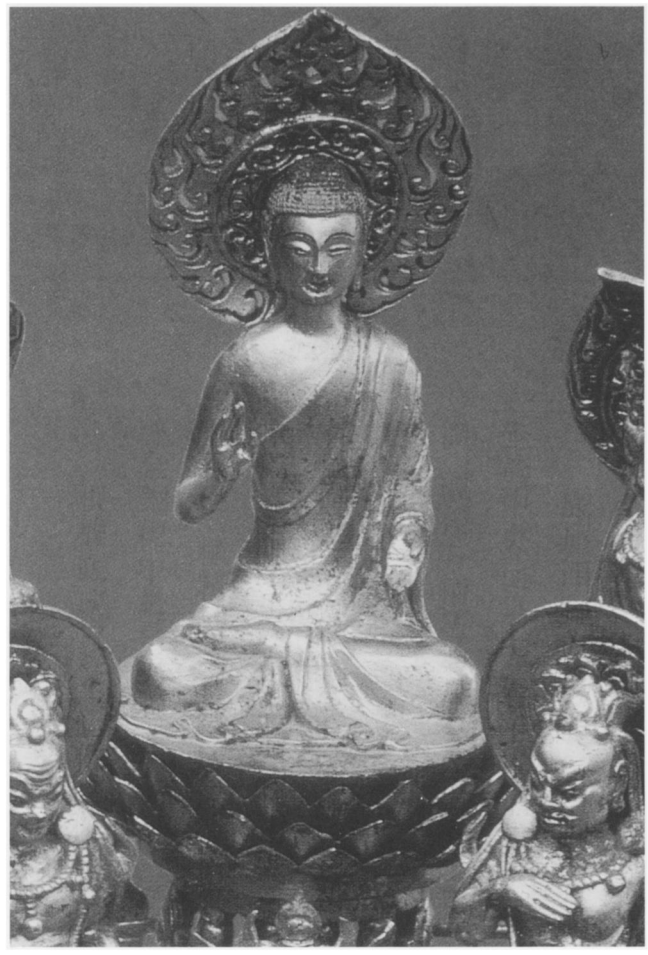


Fig. 7. Amitābha Buddha altar (detail), from Sian (Ch'ang-an), Shensi, dated 584, gilt bronze, Shensi Sian Wen-kuan-hui collection [after *Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'üan-chi,* Sculpture, IV (Beijing, 1988), pl. 1].

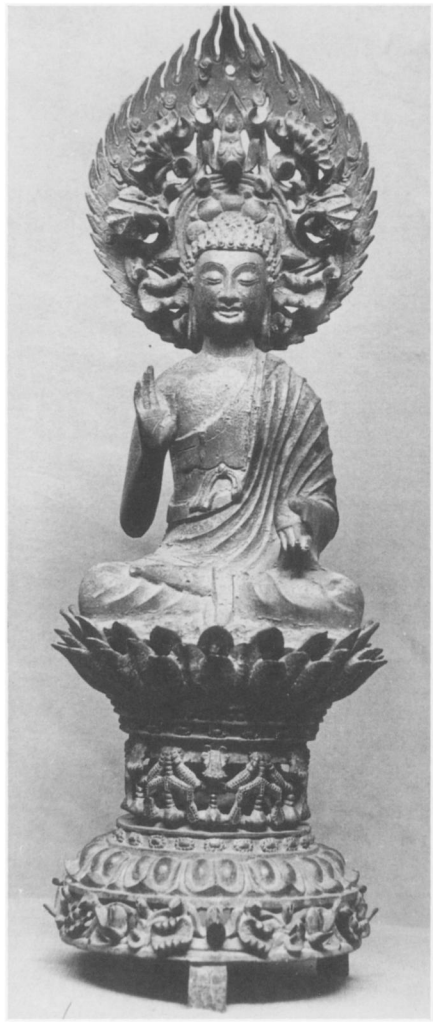


Fig. 8. Amitābha Buddha from an altar configuration dated 593, said to have come from Chao hsien, southern Hopei, bronze, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 22.407, gift of Mrs. W. Scott Fitz; gift of Edward Jackson Holmes in memory of his mother, Mrs. W. Scott Fitz (47.1407–1412).

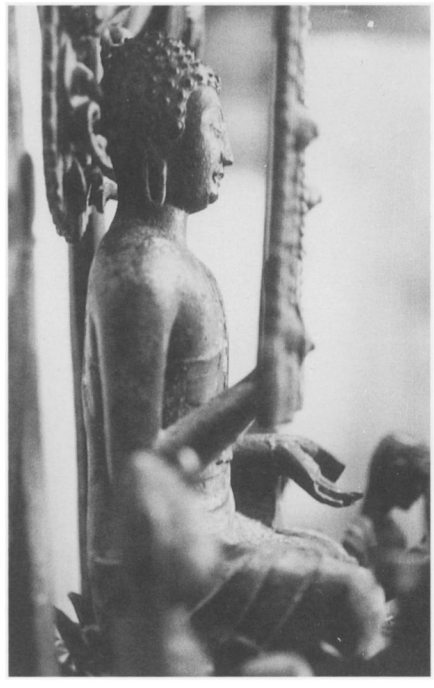


Fig. 9. Figure 8, side view [photo by the author].

that of the 584 bronze Amitābha.

The Walters Buddha also has a number of strong similarities with the bronze Amitābha Buddha sculpture from the altar dated 593 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 8), which is said to have come from Chao hsien in southern Hopei province.[8] Particularly, the rounded full mass of the upper torso and the expanding and contracting pattern of the long curving lines of the outer garment are closely related. The side view of the 593 Buddha (fig. 9) shows a straight back, forceful curve of the high upper chest, and flat abdomen quite similar to the Walters image (fig. 3).

When compared with the Śākyamuni Buddha dated 600 at Yü-han shan near Ch'i-nan in Shantung (fig. 10),[9] the Walters image shows some similarities in the shaping of the upper torso and the linear configuration on the upper arms (fig. 1). However, the greater degree of naturalism in the loosely folded drapery over the legs and the more developed natural shape of the abdomen area seem to reflect a definite shift away from the more abstract and hierarchical style exhibited by the Walters Buddha and the earlier dated Sui images.

Common stylistic characteristics appear to relate the Walters image with the main Buddha (back wall niche) of the large and important Cave 419 at Tun-huang, which probably dates from around the 590s (fig. 11). Despite the fact that the legs are stiffer and the head is smaller in proportion and the work has greater emphasis on the movement of line, the Cave 419 Buddha has a long torso and long upper arms, pronounced roundness of upper torso, and controlled movement of drapery folds over the torso and arms similar to the Walters Buddha. The Bodhisattva images from the same cave offer parallels for the unusual shape of the mouth in the Walters Buddha. Also, both have the deep notch above the upper lip and wide spreading shape for the upper lip (figs. 12 and 2).

The leg position of the Walters Buddha is of some interest. It is not a tight locking of the ankles (vajrāsana) or the typical padmāsana, in which each foot lies on the opposite thigh. It is a looser folding of the legs where one leg is placed in front of the leg which has its foot resting on the opposite thigh. This is a mode which became popular in the Northern Ch'i period (550–577) and is seen, for example, in some important images from the caves of Hsiang-t'ang shan in northern Honan and southern Hopei. It remained quite prevalent throughout the early part of the Sui-dynasty period but virtually disappeared by the end of Sui and early T'ang. It is a posture that may be associated

with South Indian and Southeast Asian modes, possibly indicating some interrelationship with this area in the Northern Ch'i and early Sui periods. The famous Indian monk Paramārtha, who was very influential in the Northern Ch'i period, is known to have come to China via the sea route through Southeast Asia.[10]

The skillfully rendered and sensitive arrangement of the drapery stretched over the right foot of the Walters image, revealing the outlines of its shape beneath the cloth, is, however, not readily seen in other known examples. An image such as the seated Buddha in T'ien-lung shan Cave VIII (fig. 5) has a similar leg position, but the shape of the foot is more revealed and pronounced and not so elegantly portrayed, with the drapery both obscuring and revealing the foot, as in the Walters Buddha. Most images of the first two phases of Sui show one foot uncovered by the drapery or both feet entirely hidden, without revealing the shape of the feet at all. With regard to the shape of the foot, probably the closest comparable stylistic example to the Walters Buddha is the foot of the 584 Amitābha (fig. 7).

The abstract power of the Walters image does not readily relate to the gentility of sculpture of the third phase (ca. 600–610), although the elegance in its

Fig. 10 (above). Śākyamuni Buddha triad, Yü-han shan, Shantung, dated 600 [after Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki,* VII (Tokyo, 1940), pl. 57].

Fig. 11 (below, left). Buddha niche, west (back) wall, Cave 419, Mokao Caves, Tun-huang, Kansu [after Dunhuang Institute for Cultural Relics, comp., *Art Treasures of Dunhuang* (Hong Kong, 1981), pl. 20].

Fig. 12 (below). Figure 11, detail of right attendant Bodhisattva [after Dunhuang Institute for Cultural Relics, comp., *Art Treasures of Dunhuang* (Hong Kong, 1981), pl. 22].

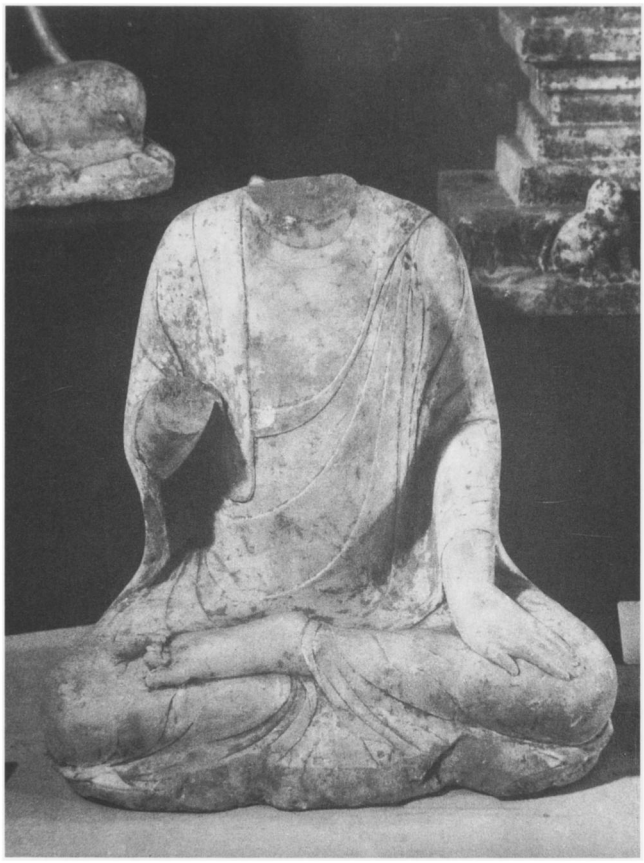


Fig. 13 (above, left). Seated Buddha, marble, from the Hsiu-te ssu, Ch'ü-yang, central Hopei, Beijing, Ku-kung po-wu-kuan.

Fig. 14 (left). Main Buddha, Cave II, T'o shan, Shantung, detail of head [after Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki,* VII (Tokyo, 1940), pl. 89].

Fig. 15 (above). Buddha, south side of central pillar, Ssu-men t'a, Shen-t'ung ssu, Shantung, dated 611 [after *Ssu-men t'a wei Shen-t'ung ssu* (Beijing, 1981), p. 9].

drapery does appear to forecast the elegance of the third-phase style, as perhaps epitomized in the seated marble Buddha from the Ch'ü-yang Hsiu-te ssu (fig. 13). However, it can be noted that the unusual eye shape with the dip in the lower lid as seen in the Walters Buddha appears also in an image that I had related to this phase—the seated Buddha of Cave II at T'o shan in Shantung (fig. 14).[11]

The sculptures of phase four (ca. 610–617) at the end of Sui show some intriguing similarities to the style of the Walters Buddha, especially in the powerful and bold aspects of form and line. However, there are critical differences: images of this final phase of Sui show advanced definition of the major parts of the body. The distinct element of hierarchical stiffness in the posture of the Walters image does not seem to agree with the changes. Comparison with some major images from Shantung and Tun-huang reveal these differences.

The three remaining of the four sculptures originally placed around the sides of the central pillar in the Ssu-men t'a (Four-gate Pagoda) at the Shen-t'ung ssu near Ch'i-nan in Shantung (fig. 15) are important dated works from late Sui, a period with strikingly few dated images. These sculptures have actually been known for a long time, but only as covered by later repair and without the knowledge of the newly discovered Ta-yeh seventh-year (611) inscription.[12] The body form in these stone images lacks the forthright and almost abstractly forced tall torso and the powerfully rounded shape of the upper torso seen in the Walters Buddha. Instead there is a rolling movement of the form, including the softening of contours around the abdomen to indicate a more natural shape. In general the line tends to be more vigorous and bold than in the Walters work, typical of the late phase of Sui, but, interestingly, the drapery shows remnants of the smooth wide pleats seen in the Walters image.

There are similar stylistic elements in the Cave 244 and 298 sculptures, both important late Sui caves at Tun-huang (figs. 16 and 17). Some elements appear to reflect the Walters Buddha style, but mainly they depart from it, with their greater freedom of curved line and less emphasis on the abstract shape of the body. The body, though still boldly fashioned, tends to acknowledge the bulging of the abdomen section and in some cases to reduce the power of the high, lifted chest seen in the Walters image. The circular pleats around the left arm of the standing monk attendant in Cave 244 (fig. 16) are like those encircling the left arm of the Walters image, but they appear more developed and freely used.

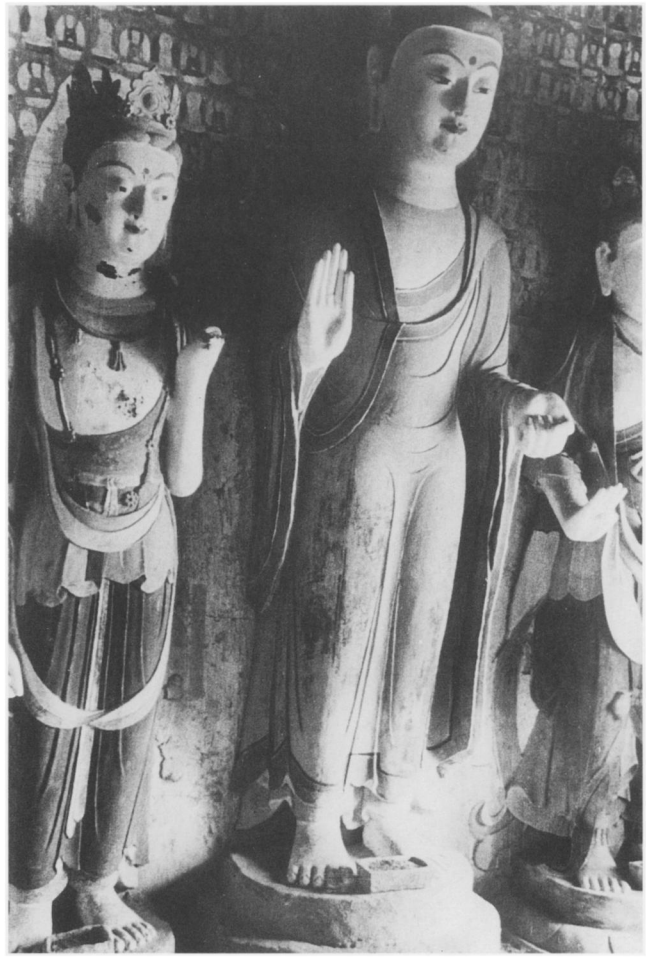


Fig. 16 (left). Buddha and attendants, west (back) wall, Cave 244, Mokao Caves, Tun-huang, Kansu [after *Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'üan-chi*, Sculpture, VII (Beijing, 1987), pl. 67].

Fig. 17 (above). Buddha and right attendant Bodhisattva, south wall, Cave 298, Mokao Caves, Tun-huang, Kansu [photo James and Lucy Lo].

These new moves towards articulated form are among the elements that develop into the early T'ang style, as represented by Cave 390 at Tun-huang from the opening years of the T'ang period.[13] The Walters Buddha, however, partakes of the hierarchical grandeur of the early Sui styles and does not appear to correspond to the early T'ang developments. Clearly the Ssu-men t'a and Tun-huang Cave 244 and 298 images present a lower general limit for the dating of the Walters Buddha, which, based on the evidence available, most satisfactorily appears to date in the mid

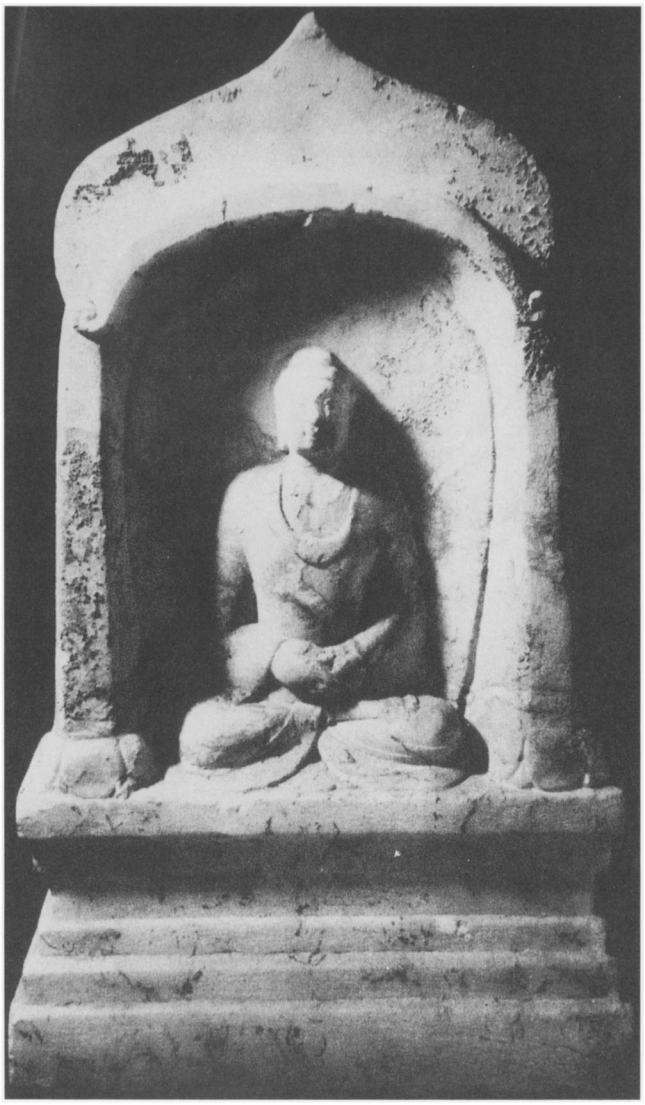


Fig. 18. Seated Buddha in a niche, marble, from Hsiu-te ssu, Ch'ü-yang, central Hopei.

K'ai-huang period, from the mid-580s to the early 590s. Stylistically, it combines the beauty of the bronze images of 584 and 593 with the abstraction, power, and grandeur of the major stone images of that period from the northeastern area. As an image dating to this time, it can be established as a rare wood-and-lacquer survivor of pre-T'ang date.

Provenance and regional style

According to Sirén, this image was said to have come from a temple called the Ta-fo ssu (probably Great Buddha Temple, a common Buddhist temple name) in Pao-ting fu, which is a city in central Hopei province.[14] Information provided at the time of purchase of the work from Yamanaka in New York in 1920 states that the image came from the Tai-fu ssu (also Great Buddha Temple) in Cheng-ting, a city to the south of Pao-ting. This conflict cannot be resolved here, nor can the data in either case be confirmed for this sculpture without *in situ* photographs or more certain documentation, such as inscriptions.

Nevertheless, a provenance of Hopei province for the Walters Buddha is probably the most plausible on stylistic grounds, although it is not certain. As we have seen above, this Buddha is similar in many respects to images from the northeastern region. Although the stylistic similarities with the Buddha from the 593 altar are perhaps the best evidence that both come from a similar locale, the provenance of the 593 altar from Chao hsien is itself unconfirmed. However, a seated Buddha from the group of sculptures discovered at the Hsiu-te ssu temple site near Ch'ü-yang in central Hopei may offer another example relating the Walters Buddha with the Hopei area (fig. 18). It is apparently not dated, but the figure, like the Walters Buddha, has the stylistic attributes of the 580s or early 590s. Both have the full and lifted upper chest and long, flat mid-section that create their distinctive body style, and both have the selective yet gracefully flowing linear style, though the Hsiu-te ssu figure has a plain, uncreased robe.

The similarities of the Walters Buddha with the altar dated 584 from Ch'ang-an could suggest a provenance for the Walters Buddha around the Sui capital area, but there are several reasons I believe this may not be so likely. The Walters image does not have the lilting movements which are a factor of the northwest-area styles and which also appear in this 584 example. Instead, it partakes of the abstractly stiffer forms characteristic of the northeast at this time. The close similarities between the 584 altar image and the Walters Buddha could reflect either some crosscurrents between Shensi (especially the Ch'ang-an area) and the northeast (possibly the styles moved out into the provinces from the capital or vice versa), or perhaps a connection of both with some southern styles. These are difficult questions needing further investigation, a task that is still hampered by lack of evidence and images from the Ch'ang-an and southern areas. However, the complexity of inter-regional stylistic relationships is a characteristic of Sui Buddhist sculpture; it is in part made difficult by the tendency to obliterate the previously sharper regional distinctions, due to the unification of China at this time, and also by the complex experiments that lead ultimately to the new style that emerges clearly by the 640s as the distinctive T'ang style.

It is also becoming clear that there are local schools within the larger provincial regions. For example, in Hopei, the style of the Ch'ü-yang area as known from the Hsiu-te ssu images appears to be different from the images of the Pao-ting locale, and in the Shantung area the style of T'o shan near Ch'ing chou is different from the image style at Yü-han shan near Chi-nan, and so on.

Another interesting factor to note is the apparently close stylistic relation between some images of the northeastern area, especially Hopei province, and some sculptures of the Tun-huang caves in the far northwest. I had called attention to this factor in an earlier article,[15] but it is worthy of emphasis here because of the stylistic links of the Walters image to a number of the Tun-huang images. In fact, the Walters Buddha seems to be a major example of a style that appears to develop into the style of images in Cave 298, one of the biggest and most important caves of late Sui at Tun-huang (fig. 17). It could be that both reflect styles from the area of Ch'ang-an in the Sui period, but unfortunately, there are few images surviving from Ch'ang-an to verify this as yet.

The apparent linkage between the Hopei and Tun-huang sculptural styles occurs in other periods as well. Another possible factor in this relation could be the communication route across the north of China from Hopei and Ta-t'ung to Kansu. This route, known from early times as the Chü-yen lu, is different from the main central Chinese routes through Loyang and Ch'ang-an to Kansu (the Ho-hsi lu). The northern route was especially used by the nomadic tribes which lived on China's northern borders. For example, it was used by varying branches of the Hsien-pi, some of which lived in the northern Hopei and Shansi and Manchurian area and others in the northern Kansu area. This needs further research and analysis, but could be an interesting factor in determining some of the movements of artistic styles across northern China.

According to the materials we now have, the Walters Buddha would appear to be a valuable and rare example of a large independent seated Buddha figure from the Hopei region. As such it helps to establish a more complete view of the subtle differences between the wood, stone and bronze images of this region and, because of its size and excellent quality, it becomes a major work in defining the Hopei regional style, especially with regard to the seated Buddha image, in comparison with other regional styles of the Sui period.

Iconography

The Walters Buddha is not readily identifiable, but is most likely to be either Amitābha/Amitāyus or Śākyamuni. The most identifying attribute in this instance where there is no defining inscription or documentation is the meditation seated posture (dhyānāsana) and probable hand position (dhyānamudrā).

The dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā type occurred frequently among the early Buddhist images of China, made in the third through fifth centuries, and with somewhat less frequency thereafter. In the early images of the third through fifth centuries, the dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā Buddhas were often parts of sets of three, five, seven, ten or 1,000 Buddhas. There is, however, one famous example from Ping-ling ssu Cave 169 of a seated dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā Buddha with a dated inscription corresponding to 420 that cites the Buddha as Amitāyus.

Amitāyus, meaning infinite life, and Amitābha, meaning infinite light, are considered one and the same Buddha. Together they represent infinite time and space, reflect the wisdom and compassion aspects of Buddhist thought, and preside over Sukhāvatī, the blissful Western Pure Land. Though both the names Amitāyus and Amitābha were known in translated texts and images from the earliest periods of Chinese Buddhist art, it is from around the middle of the sixth century that interest in this Buddha, his Pure Land domain, and his famous Bodhisattvas, especially Kuan-yin, began to increase dramatically. It is well known that by the middle of the seventh century and into the eighth century this Buddha was probably the most popular of all in China.

Although Amitābha/Amitāyus images are often depicted in the dhyānamudrā throughout Chinese Buddhist art, sometimes other hand gestures (mudrās) are used, especially for Amitābha. For example, from the Sui period the 584 Amitābha has the abhayamudrā (fearlessness) with the right hand and the varamudrā (gift bestowing) with the left hand (fig. 7), and the 593 Amitābha has the right hand in the vitarkamudrā (teaching) and the left in the varamudrā (fig 8).

In the Sui dynasty there do not appear to be many images in the dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā. Among those known, few are inscribed. However, among the image niches carved in the cliffs at the cave site of Yü-han shan near Ch'i-nan in Shantung, there are some niches of dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā Buddhas with inscribed dates and identifications. Sekino and Tokiwa noted the following ones: 1) niche 3, dated 584, Amitābha; 2) niche 4, dated 585, Amitābha; 3)

Fig. 19. Buddha niche, south (left) side of central pillar, Cave 427, Mokao Caves, Tun-huang, Kansu [after *Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'üan-chi*, Sculpture, VII (Beijing, 1987), pl. 65].

niche 5, dated 593, Amitābha; 4) niche 2, dated 600, Śākyamuni.[16] Although most are Amitābha, at least one is Śākyamuni. If we judge according to these examples, fairly close in time and place to the Walters Buddha, it would tend to suggest, but certainly not confirm, that the Walters image is likely be Amitābha but could be Śākyamuni.

There is an intriguing factor raised by the statement of Sirén about the Walters image. He remarked that "this statue, together with three other seated Buddhas of similar material, stood formerly in a temple known as the Ta-fo ssu, near Pao-ting fu in Chihli [Hopei]. . . ."[17] Although this information may not be reliable and Sirén does not give his sources of it, one could consider the Walters Buddha as one of a group of four images. Such a grouping is seen in Sui Buddhist art in a number of important yet difficult to interpret cases, all of which contain in their configurations the representation(s) of the dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā Buddha(s). Three such examples will briefly show the types and indicate the complexity of identification. All are four-part unidentified configurations which occur on *in situ* central pillars, and all have a differing number of Buddhas in the meditation posture and hand position:

1) Cave 427 at Tun-huang, a large cave dating stylistically in the first phase of the Sui dynasty, has three niches (two sides and the back) each with a dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā Buddha (fig. 19). On the front face of the pillar there is a large standing Buddha with two standing Bodhisattvas.

2) Cave VIII at T'ien-lung shan (Shansi), dated by inscription to 584, has four niches, each with a seated Buddha, but only the west (left-side) Buddha is in the dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā form (fig. 5). All the other seated Buddhas have variations of the abhayamudrā and varamudrā.

3) The Ssu-men t'a (Four-gate Pagoda) at the Shen-t'ung ssu, Shantung, dated 611 by inscription, has only three of the four Buddhas remaining, two of which are in the dhyānāsana/dhyānamudrā position (the west and south sides) (fig. 15).

The exact meaning of the four-sided pillar and its configurations is one of the major unanswered problems of Chinese Buddhist art. Most believe that it is the representation of the stūpa inside a hall or cave. It is not certain what are the earliest examples of the central pillar in China, but by the second half of the fifth century it is a known configuration. It remained a relatively popular form in Chinese Buddhist art of the sixth century, particularly in the cave temples of the Kansu area, but virtually disappeared by the end of the Sui dynasty and was not used much thereafter. Wai-kam Ho has presented a brief synopsis and discussion of four-sided pillar configurations with tables of the main examples of the Northern Ch'i and Sui periods along with a table of the major Buddhist texts which cite the four-direction Buddhas. In all the cases of texts prior to the T'ang dynasty, the west direction Buddha was Amitāyus or Amitābha.[18] Although the major questions of the textual or iconographic identity of the configurations and meaning of the four-sided pillar cannot be definitively addressed here, and there is no way of knowing if the Walters Buddha actually was part of a similar configuration, it may still be of interest to suggest that at least in the case of the west niche on the central pillar of T'ien-lung shan Cave VIII, the Buddha, which is close in date and style to the Walters Buddha, is most likely to be Amitāyus or Amitābha.

Finally, it can be noted that there are at least three different modes of holding the hands in dhyānamudrā during the Sui period: lying flat (as with the Ssu-men t'a and Yü-han shan examples: figs. 15 and 10), with hands held on the side edge (Tun-huang Cave 427 and T'ien-lung shan Cave VIII: figs. 19 and 5) and held in a grip resembling a handshake (Buddha from the Ch'ü-yang Hsiu-te ssu: fig. 18). Judging from the arm position of the Walters

Buddha, the hands were probably originally lying flat or on the side. The hand-shake style is rare and requires the arms to be lifted higher than in the Walters Buddha. Since the examples of the hands placed on their sides appear to come from the earlier part of Sui and those lying flat tend to be later, it is possible, but not certain, that the hands of the Walters image were placed on the side, similar to those of the T'ien-lung shan Cave VIII Buddha (fig. 5).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Walters Buddha statue is an important work on many accounts. Although it is not possible to identify it with certainty, it is clearly a major work dating ca. 585–ca. early 590s and probably comes from the Hopei region. The dating confirms the image as a very rare surviving large wood-and-lacquer Buddhist image prior to the T'ang dynasty. Since the image was entirely finished in wood before the application of the lacquer, as discovered in the technical investigations described in Donna Strahan's article, it represents the style of wood sculpture of this period and region. Although differing slightly from the stone and bronze images of the same time and region, it seems to contain elements of both. Other examples of Buddhist sculpture in wood to survive from the pre-T'ang phases of Chinese Buddhist art are generally smaller works from Central Asia or Tun-huang, so the Walters image is important in this respect as well. The image, when seen in the Walters Art Gallery, where it is now handsomely displayed in an altar-like setting, does not fail to impress the viewer with its majestic power and composure and the beauty of its solid form and strong yet subtly composed and flowing line. In these qualities it embodies the best of the early Sui-period conception of the hierarchical, aloof, and powerful yet dignified and humanized Buddha.

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Northampton, Massachusetts

Notes

1. See the article by Donna Strahan, "The Walters Chinese Wood and Lacquer Buddha: A Technical Study" in this same issue. I am grateful to Hiram W. Woodward, Jr., Curator of Asian Art at the Walters Art Gallery, for giving me the opportunity to write an article on this important sculpture.

2. Yin and Yang are the dualistic opposites of phenomena as defined from ancient times in China, especially as codified in the classic of the *I-ching* (Book of Changes), but also used in virtually all the Chinese philosophies. Yin is the female principle (yielding, darkness, negativity, cold, etc.) and Yang is the male principle (aggressive, brightness, positivity, hot, etc.). Together they form the basis of phenomena, and one is not considered superior to the other. These principles operate as a major factor in Chinese aesthetics of all forms.

3. Osvald Sirén, a pioneer scholar of Chinese Buddhist sculpture in the West, placed this work in the T'ang dynasty, a date which has been followed by most other writers who have noted the sculpture. O. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture* (New York, 1970, rpt. of 1925 original), 147, pl. 547.

4. M. Rhie, "Late Sui Buddhist Sculpture: A Chronology and Regional Analysis," *Archives of Asian Art,* 35 (1982), 27–54.

5. For these and other dated images of the K'ai-huang period see M. Rhie, "Aspects of Sui K'ai-huang and T'ang T'ien-pao Buddhist Images," *East and West,* n.s., vol. 17, nos. 1–2 (June 1967), 96–108. For the T'o shan Cave III date, see Daijo Tokiwa and Tadashi Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki,* VII (Tokyo, 1940), pl. 71.

6. These small stone images from the Hsiu-te ssu show a delicate and refined style. The Buddha figures have sloping shoulders and slim body form, though the rounded volume and controlled curved lines are similar to the larger images of the time. See *Chung-kuo mei-shu ch'üan-chi,* Sculpture, IV (Sui-T'ang t'iao-su) (Beijing, 1988), pl. 3 (dated 585) and pl. 5 (dated 591).

7. *Ibid.,* 1 and pl. 1.

8. Information concerning the date, identification, and donors (eight women of the Fan clan) appears in the inscription on the back of the Buddha's pedestal. The altar is said to have been found near the famous single-span bridge in Chao chou (same as Chao hsien), southern Hopei, "around the turn of the century." *Asiatic Art in the Museum of Fine Arts,* Boston (Boston, 1982), 101 and no. 88; *ibid.,* 3 and pl. 6; Saburo Matsubara, *Chūgoku bukkyō chokokushi kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1966), 142.

9. Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki,* VII, 52–55.

10. Wai-kam Ho, "Notes on Chinese Sculpture from Northern Ch'i to Sui, Part I: Two Seated Stone Buddhas in the Cleveland Museum," *Archives of Asian Art,* 22 (1968–69), 14–18.

11. Rhie, "Late Sui Buddhist Sculpture," 30–32.

12. Ch'i-nan shih po-wu-kuan, *Ssu-men t'a wei Shen-t'ung ssu* (Beijing, 1981), 6.

13. Cave 390 is an important but somewhat controversial cave. For a discussion on the interpretation of the inscription in the cave and on its probable dating in the early Wu-te period (618–626) of early T'ang, as well as for a detailed chronology of the earliest Early T'ang caves at Tun-huang, see M. Rhie, "The Dunhuang Caves from 618–642 AD: The Formation of the Early T'ang Style in Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," in *Tun-huang shih-k'u yen-chiu kuo chi t'an lun hui* (International Conference on Tun-huang Stone Cave Research: Collected Papers) (Kansu, 1990), 54–79 (in Chinese).

14. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture,* 147.

15. Rhie, "Late Sui Buddhist Sculpture," 54 and note 44.

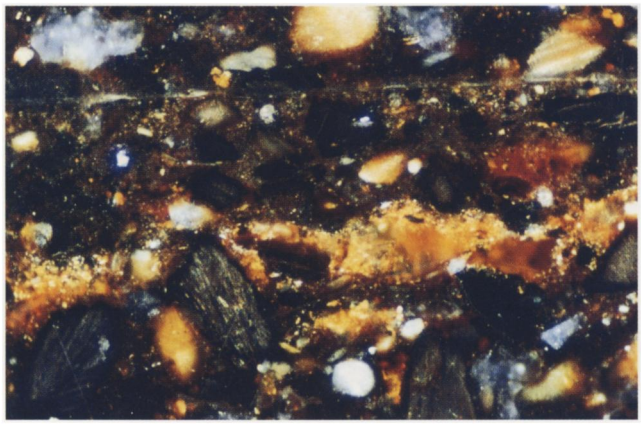
16. Tokiwa and Sekino, *Shina bunka shiseki,* VII, 54–55, pls. 56–60.

17. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture,* 147.

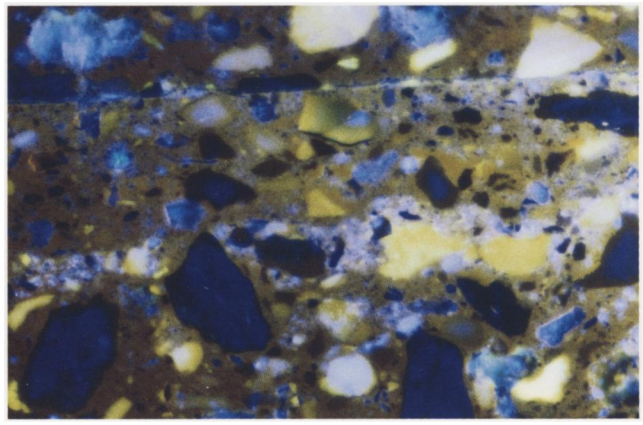
18. Ho, "Notes on Chinese Sculpture," 21–23 and tables III, Va and Vb.

PHOTOGRAPHS: pl. 1, figs. 1–3, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; figs. 4, 9, by the author; fig. 8, Boston, Boston Museum of Fine Arts; fig. 17, James and Lucy Lo.

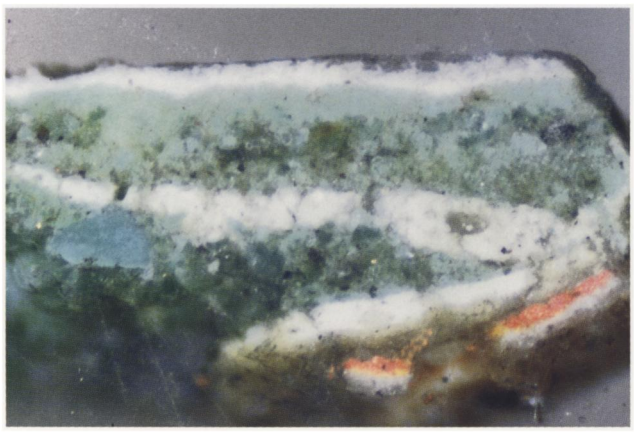
Pl. I. Seated Buddha, wood and lacquer, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 25.9.



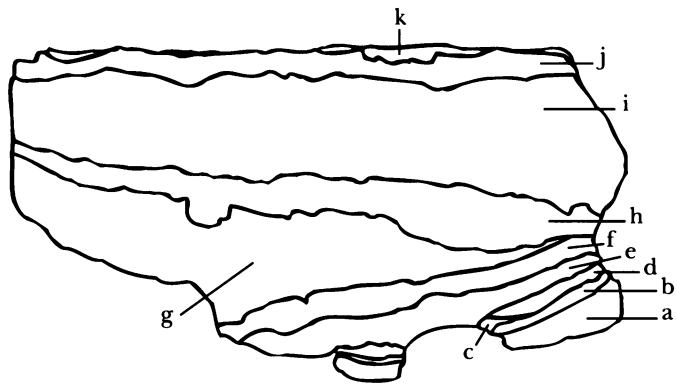
Pl. IIa. Reflected light photomicrograph of the lacquer layers 3 through 6 in cross-section. The black particles are burnt bone. The white and grey particles are also bone; the light yellow layer in the center may contain fibers. See note 40. (170x)



Pl. IIb. Ultraviolet light photomicrograph of plate IIa. Resin particles which are black in reflected light are visible here as yellow particles. The bone appears blue, black and white. The layers are easier to distinguish in ultraviolet light. See note 40. (170x)



Pl. IIIa. Paint cross-section (#25.9.13) from the shawl of the Walters Buddha. This sample contains five repaints and six grounds. Most of the top pigment layer is missing. (78x)



Pl. IIIb. Diagram of paint cross-section in plate IIIa.

a) calcium sulfate, silicon oxide lower ground
b) white lead upper ground
c) orange-red layer: red lead
d) red layer: cinnabar
e) calcium sulfate lower ground
f) white lead upper ground
g) green layer: malachite
h) white lead ground
i) green layer: malachite
j) white lead ground
k) partial remains of green layer: malachite

The Walters Chinese Wood-and-Lacquer Buddha: A Technical Study

Donna K. Strahan

A technical study was performed on a significant early life-size wood-core dry-lacquer Chinese Buddha to determine the date and method of its manufacture. The techniques used to study the image include x-radiography, radiocarbon dating, microscopy, scanning electron microscopy, Fourier transform infrared spectrophotometry, and x-ray diffraction. The analysis revealed the sculpture to be constructed of a multi-piece wood core, covered with two lacquer-impregnated layers of cloth, five bone-bulked lacquer layers, and at least six sequential layers of painted design.

Note: Color plates I–III precede the text.

Very little Chinese Buddhist sculpture in materials other than stone survives from the sixth or seventh century. This is probably because bronze, lacquer, clay, and wood sculptures were destroyed by fires or demolished during periods of Buddhist persecutions.[1] However, three life-size Sui and early Tang dynasty dry-lacquer figures of the seated Buddha are known to exist: at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 2), at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington (fig. 3), and at the Walters Art Gallery (pl. I and fig. 1). A fourth, smaller dry-lacquer Bodhisattva from the mid-Tang dynasty is in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art.[2]

Although all four were fabricated in the same lacquer method, only the Walters Buddha is constructed on a wood core. It should thus be considered a wood-core dry-lacquer sculpture, one carved from a solid, joined-wood structure covered with cloth and lacquer. Until earlier Buddha images in the same technique are identified within China, the Walters statue may be considered the oldest such work to have survived. In contrast to the Walters piece, both the Freer and Metropolitan sculptures, which date to the late Sui and early Tang dynasty (618–907), were formed over a clay core that was removed before the sculptures were completed. They are considered to be hollow dry-lacquer sculptures.

At this point some clarification of lacquer terminology may be appropriate. There is some confusion in lacquer terminology in the literature. The method of using layers of cloth with lacquer, however, is known as *jiazhu*. In this paper, *jiazhu* will refer to the application of layers of cloth and lacquer, regardless of the presence or absence of a core. Those objects from which the cores have been removed after covering them with layers of cloth and lacquer (*jiazhu*) will be referred to as hollow dry-lacquer sculptures. These include the Metropolitan, Freer, and Cleveland sculptures. When layers of cloth and lacquer (*jiazhu*) are applied to a wood core the object will be referred to as a wood-core dry-lacquer sculpture.[3]

The life-size wood-core dry-lacquer Buddha in the Walters collection was purchased by Henry Walters in 1920 from Yamanaka & Co. in New York.[4] According to the original invoice "the figure came from the temple of Tai Fu Ssu (Daifu), Cheng Ting Fu (Zhengding), province of Chi-li (Hebei)." The statement cannot be confirmed, although one temple in Zhengding, the Longxing Temple, was constructed in 586.[5] The lacquer Buddha in the Metropolitan Museum, purchased from Yamanaka in 1919, was also said to have come from Daifu Temple of Zhengding, Hebei province.[6] In her accompanying article, Marylin Rhie discusses her reasons for dating the Walters Buddha on stylistic grounds to the late sixth century.

The Walters Buddha is wearing the standard "Three Garments" specified for the Buddhist monkhood, consisting of an undercloth, a robe, and a shawl. All three are rectangular sheets of cloth draped around the body in various ways.[7] The Buddha wears a robe in the open mode with the right shoulder exposed, and on top of this is a shawl, draped over the left shoulder. It is pleated down the front and over the lap. No separate undercloth is visible.

The Buddha's shawl has a painted red and green patchwork design. The pattern on the robe is now

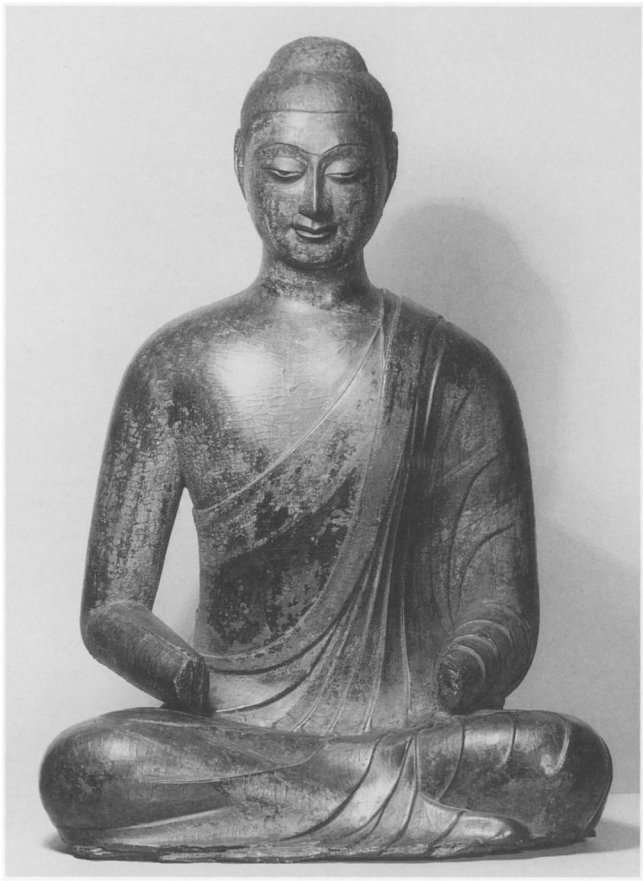


Fig. 1. *Seated Buddha,* wood and lacquer, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 25.9.

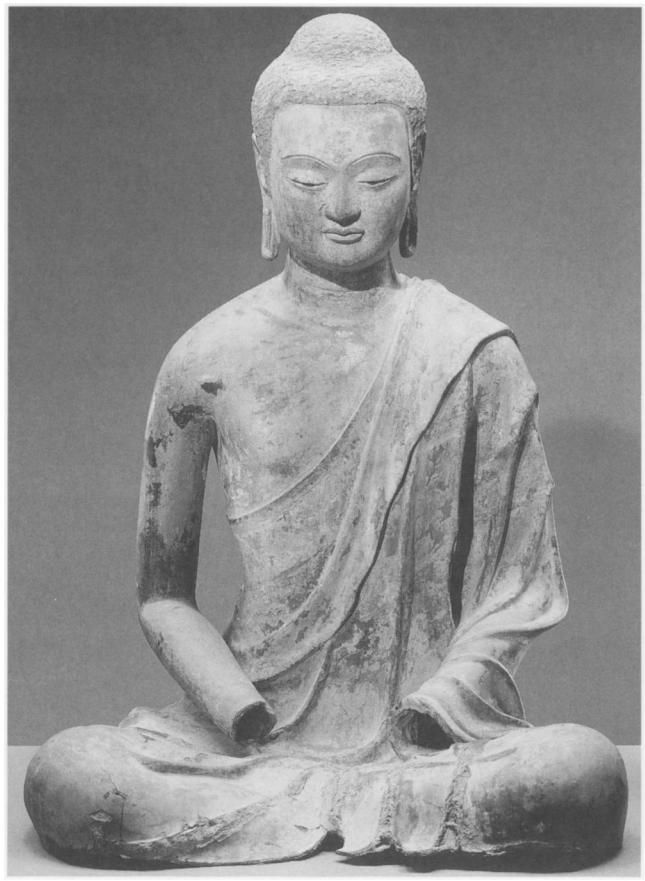


Fig 2. *Seated Buddha,* cloth and lacquer, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 19.186, Rogers Fund, 1990.

very indistinct. At the midriff the remains of a central circular pattern can be detected. A polychrome band on the upper edge of the robe is painted in orange, red, white, green, and blue. The background of the robe is blue and green as is the central circular design. All of the exposed skin areas on the front of the Buddha have the remains of gilding on the surface. The skin on the back of the figure is not gilded but rather has a pink flesh tone. The same color also can be seen under the gilded areas.

Of the known Buddhist lacquer sculptures of the period—the Metropolitan, the Freer, the Cleveland, and the Walters—the Walters Buddha is the first to be the subject of a technical study. Studies have been conducted on Japanese lacquer sculptures, the techniques of which are derived directly from China, but all of these sculptures postdate the Walters Buddha by more than 180 years.[8] The Walters Buddha has a wood core made of multiple pieces which were nailed, joined, and carved before the application of cloth and lacquer. The lacquer has a layered structure: cloth layers next to the wood, lacquer layers on top of the cloth, and polychrome layers on top of the lacquer. Among the questions explored in this study are the following: what is the relationship of the head to the body? of how many pieces of wood was the Buddha constructed? how was the wood joined? how many lacquer and cloth layers are there? was the lacquer technique similar to methods described in the historical literature? how many times has the figure been repainted? what were the original colors? and—finally—has the sculpture been extensively repaired?

The lacquer tradition

Raw lacquer is the milky-white sap collected from the tree Rhus verniciflua, in Chinese *qishu,* a member of the poison ivy family. The tree grows wild over large areas of southern Asia, including most of the provinces of China. Although lacquer has been in use since 4000 B.C., there is no evidence that the tree was cultivated earlier than the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220).[9] The tree is tapped in the summer and then the sap is purified and condensed to form a paste. It can be used alone as a coating, and when mixed with ex-

Fig 3. *Seated Buddha,* cloth and lacquer, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art 44.46.

tenders or colorants it becomes a painting medium. The main constituents of raw lacquer are urushic acid (urushiol, a mixture of phenols), water, gummy substances, and a small amount of the enzyme laccase. Once purified and applied to a surface, lacquer requires a temperature between 20 to 28 degrees centigrade and high relative humidity (over 55 percent is best) to harden into an impervious film.[10] Hardening is accelerated at higher relative humidities.[11] Lacquer objects are usually made up of multiple layers of lacquer, and many weeks of work are required to complete a single object. Each layer must dry before the next layer can be applied. Once set, lacquer produces a tough resistant coating.

Lacquer has been used in China as an adhesive and a coating over wooden substrates since the beginning of the neolithic age some six thousand years ago. Lacquer-covered wooden bowls have been found at the sites of Yuyao and Hemudu in Zhejiang province.[12] The purpose of the lacquer was both protective and decorative. By the Western and Eastern Zhou dynasties (1100–221 B.C.), lacquerware was a fully developed art form. Everything from cups to coffins was made with lacquer-coated wood. Often the topmost layer of objects was painted with pigmented designs using lacquer as the medium. Cloth, metal, and leather were also used as common base materials for a variety of objects. However, wood remained the main substrate throughout Chinese history and is still used today.[13] It provides a strong versatile support that is easily shaped into many forms.

By the fifth century B.C., lacquer objects began to appear in larger quantities. Some pieces had elaborately carved relief designs.[14] It is known that during this period vessels were formed by the *jiazhu* method. At the site of Zuojiatang in Changsha, Hunan Province, Chu tombs of the mid-Warring States Period (476–221 B.C.) contained *jiazhu* lacquerware. Throughout the Han dynasty *jiazhu* lacquer pieces were shaped into receptacles such as boxes, cups, and bowls.

During the Han dynasty the imperial administration took control of the lacquer industry, resulting in a rise in the quality of workmanship and the mass production of huge quantities of lacquerware.[15] The fall of the Han dynasty brought the end of the official production of fine lacquer. Lacquerware declined in status and was no longer listed among the treasures of the wealthy as it had been during the Han. Lacquer did continue to be produced, however.[16]

According to S.X. Wang, by the end of the Han dynasty, when Buddhism had been introduced into China, Buddhist images began to be made by the *jiazhu* method.[17] Although written records on lacquer fabrication between the Han and Tang dynasties are scarce, one ancient text writes of Dai Kui, a master sculptor who died in A.D. 395 and was known for his great skill at making lacquer Buddhist images.[18] Lacquer objects never again regained the high status they held during the Han dynasty. Nevertheless, a few examples do exist from Northern Wei dynasty (386–585 B.C.) sites, which suggests a continuity of the manufacture of painted lacquerware.[19] And, although exotic imported objects were preferred during the expansive Tang dynasty, elegant inlaid lacquers—some with gold-and-silver-sheet cutouts and some with mother of pearl—number among Tang luxury goods.[20]

The *jiazhu* method of lacquer manufacture continued to be used into the Tang dynasty.[21] The Freer, Metropolitan, Cleveland, and Walters sculptures are all examples. It was during the Tang dynasty, in the early eighth century, that the technique was passed on to Japan, where today many more ancient lacquer sculptures survive than in China.[22]

The art of lacquer is a very difficult, time consuming, and expensive craft.[23] It takes anywhere from sev-

eral weeks up to a year to complete a lacquer object. Over the centuries the slow exacting technique of applying lacquer layers has changed very little. The Walters Buddha, probably installed originally in a major temple, must have taken over a year to finish.

Methods used in the technical study

In order to answer questions concerning the Buddha's structure, composition, and techniques, studies of the figure and microscopic samples taken from it were performed with a variety of examination techniques and analytical methods.

X-radiography was used to study construction, joining methods, repairs, and other internal features not visible on the exterior of the Buddha.

Radiocarbon dating analysis (carbon-14) computes the age of wood or other once-living materials by measuring the concentration of the carbon-14 isotope present in the sample. Use of this technique on art objects was limited in the past by the need to take relatively large samples. In order to date the wood of the Buddha, the accelerator mass spectrometry technique was used, which can measure samples of less than one milligram. This determined the date of the tree used for the sculpture.

Microscopy was employed to study minute samples removed from the sculpture. Using known reference materials for comparison, unknown substances can be identified. This technique was employed to identify the wood and cloth used to make the Buddha, as well as to examine the lacquer, lacquer layers, lacquer inclusions, pigments, and paint medium. Cross-sections and dispersed samples of paint and lacquer were examined using reflected, transmitted, polarized, and ultraviolet light microscopy. Biological stains were applied to selected samples and viewed under the microscope in both visible and ultraviolet light as an aid in identifying the paint medium. Melting-point analysis of the lacquer was also conducted on the microscope hot-stage. Micro-chemical tests aided in the identification of various pigments.[24]

Scanning electron microscopy (SEM) is a technique that allows magnification far beyond that attainable with a light microscope. When the SEM is equipped with energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (EDS), it is capable of identifying individual elements. It was used to isolate inorganic elements present in the paint and lacquer layers. The information obtained confirmed many of the findings from polarized light microscopy. In addition, elemental dot maps, which indicate the concentration and location of specific elements over the sample surface, were produced to confirm the location of specific elements within cross-section layers. SEM photographs were an additional aid in identifying morphological features of various inclusions in the lacquer.[25]

Fourier transform infrared spectrophotometry analysis (FTIR) is a technique that primarily identifies the organic components of a material by exposing it to infrared light and determining the compounds present. It was performed on microtomed cross-sections of lacquer samples to define the chemical structure of the lacquer, identify other organic inclusions, and confirm the identification of the binding medium used in the polychrome layers.[26]

X-ray diffraction analysis (XRD) is a technique that identifies crystalline structures by bombarding them with x-rays and measuring how they are diffracted from the crystal faces. It was performed on microscopic pigment and lacquer samples to identify the inorganic compounds that could not be interpreted with elemental analysis alone.[27]

Construction

Wood

Examination of the Buddha began by determining the number of wood pieces it was composed of, how they were attached, the type of wood, and the approximate date of its construction. It became apparent during the initial visual examination that the Buddha was composed of a number of pieces of wood. As only the back of the statue, the underside, the ends of the wrists, and the ends of the earlobes had exposed areas of wood, it was difficult to determine how many pieces were used to form the figure. In order to understand better the structure of the figure and determine how it was assembled, it was x-radiographed.[28]

The x-radiographs of the Buddha reveal that the figure is composed of twelve pieces of carved wood (fig. 4): head with neck (#1), a peg in the neck (#2), chest (#3), outer left upper arm (#4), outer right upper arm (#5), one piece in the left forearm (#6) and two pieces in the right forearm (#7, 8), one piece for the folded legs (#9), two pieces in the hips (#10, 11), and a section of the missing back panel (#12, of which only a fragment remains). The location of some of the joins can be seen by cracks in the lacquer that occurred as the wood aged.

Small wood samples were taken from five separate accessible pieces (chest, legs, both small hip additions,

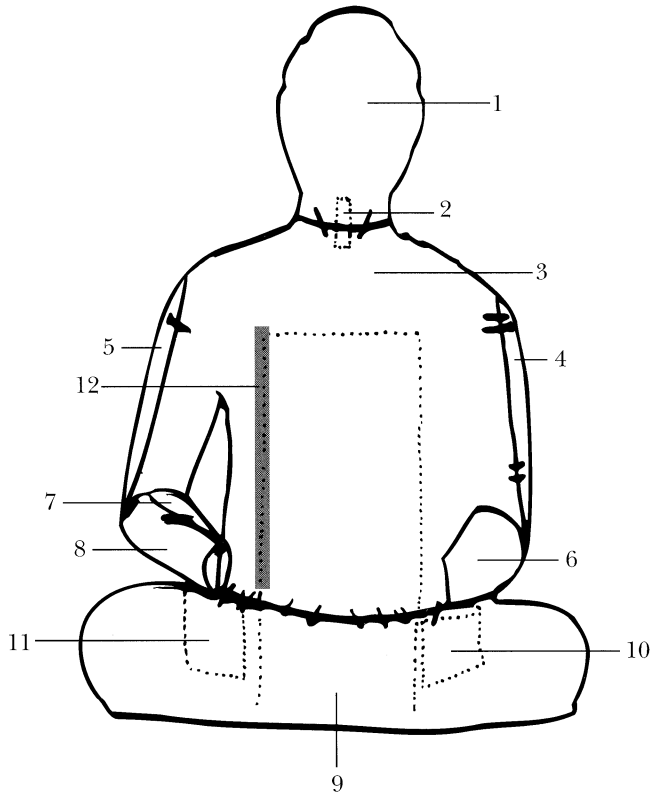


Fig 4. Drawing showing location of the twelve pieces of wood of which the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1) is composed.

ear) to determine if the Buddha was fabricated from more than one type of wood. They were sent to the U.S. Forest Products Laboratory for tree family and species identification. All of the samples were from the same type of tropical or subtropical tree. It was identified as a member of the family Moraceae (which includes the mulberry, pipal, and fig) and is possibly a species of fig (*Ficus*).[29]

Radiocarbon dating analysis was performed on a small sample taken from deep within the body block. The carbon-14 age in years is 1525 +/- 55 before the present, which means that the age of the tree rings sent for analysis was A.D. 467 +/- 55 years.[30] This date is consistent with the stylistic date of late sixth-century and could be used to argue for an earlier date. Because the sample was not taken from the outermost tree ring the exact date the tree was cut down cannot be pinpointed, but it would have to have been sometime later than A.D. 467 +/- 55 years.

The x-radiographs also reveal that numerous iron nails were used to join the various pieces of wood together. Iron nails have been in use in China since the late Warring States period.[31] It could not be determined whether the wood pieces were also adhered with glue, lacquer, or a paste mixture as no joins were exposed for examination.

A solid wooden block forms the head and neck. All of the features on the head (ears, nose, topknot, and lips) are carved from this single block. It is possible that the earlobes, now missing, were carved separately in wood and attached. Perhaps, however, they were made of a lacquer paste over cloth.

The head-and-neck block is attached with a large wooden peg and two metal nails to the chest block. The peg and the nails appear to be original (fig. 5). The main portion of the upper torso, which includes parts of the extended arm, was carved from a single block of wood measuring approximately 40 cm across the diameter of the chest. The join between the chest and the neck is flat and smooth, and no restorations are visible. Due to differential expansion of the individual pieces of wood, there is a crack running around the neck at the location of the chest join. Both sections show a vertical grain direction in the x-radiographs, but because they are made from separate pieces of wood the patterns do not coincide.

The chest has been hollowed out from the back, providing a large cavity, which probably held sacred ritual objects (which are often found in Buddhist sculpture). It also lightened the weight of the sculpture and helped keep the wood from excessive cracking as it aged.[32] An example of the type of objects

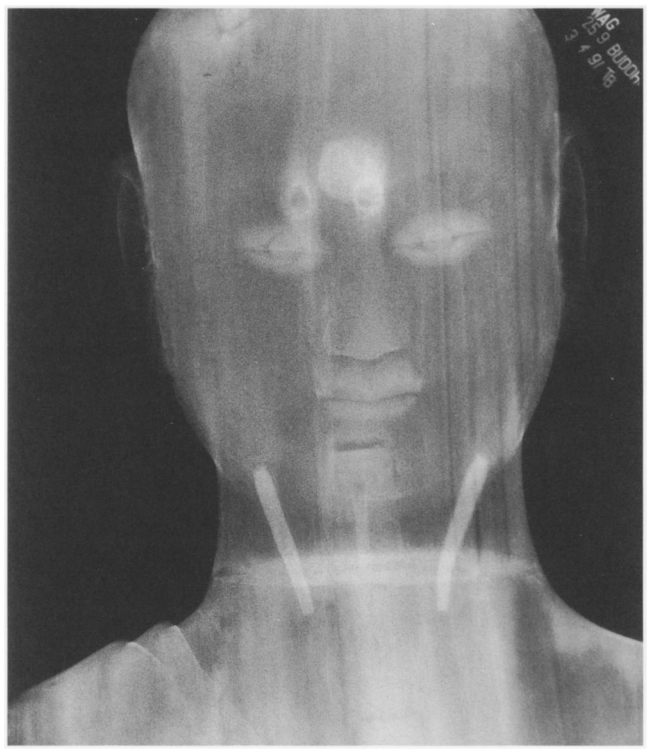


Fig 5. X-radiograph of the head of the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1), front view. Two metal nails are present on either side of the wooden peg. All three help hold the head onto the body. The eye pellets are clearly visible.

Fig 6. Back view of the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1), showing the carved cavity which may have held sacred objects in the past. This photograph was taken before the metal bands were added to the sculpture.

placed in sculptures can be found in a Nara-period Japanese lacquer statue of Vaisravana. It split open while being moved, and inside the figure a sacred deposit of five hundred rolls of cloth and many boxes of lacquer was discovered.[33]

Originally the cavity must have been covered with a wooden panel. There is some tangible evidence of this in the rectangular gap (fig. 6). On the proper left side there are remains of a separate piece of wood nailed to the outside edge of the cavity. There is no indication that the cavity had a base. More than likely there was a wooden plank set into the base to hold the deposit. No attempt was made to finish the interior, and rough chisel marks are plainly visible on the inside of the hollowed space.

The outside half of the figure's proper right upper arm is carved from a separate piece of wood (fig. 4, #5). It has been adhered and nailed to the chest block. A thin, flat-headed, modern machine-made nail is present just above the elbow (#3). Three quarters of the figure's proper left upper arm and elbow are carved from the chest block. Only the small outermost slab of the arm has been carved from a separate piece of wood (#4) and nailed with traditional headless wrought-iron nails to the exterior of the arm.

The proper right forearm is formed from two planks of wood butt-jointed vertically just below the elbow (#7, 8). The interior half of the proper left forearm is carved from the chest block, whereas the outside of the forearm is a separate piece of wood (#6). The elbows were formed with lacquer paste to give them a rounded shape before the final layers of lacquer were applied.

Both hands are missing and were probably positioned together on their side in the attitude of meditation (see Marylin Rhie's article). They would have been carved of separate pieces of wood and attached to the wrist with wooden dowels and/or iron nails.

The crossed legs and hips are carved from a block of wood attached to the body-block by a butt-joint, using at least thirteen nails of varying sizes and shapes (#9). All but one of the nails is wedge-shaped with no distinct head. There are also two large (6 cm long) U-shaped iron pins, which also appear to be original. Two small blocks are attached to either side of the

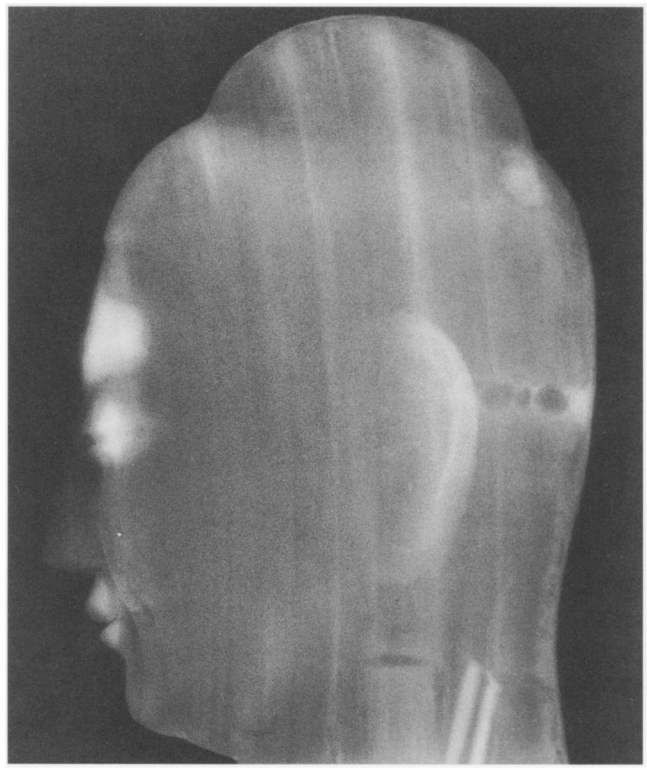


Fig 7. X-radiograph of the head of the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1), side view. Note the dense fill material (white) in the urna, the eyes, the lips and the holes in the back of the head. The two metal nails and the square wooden peg are visible in the neck.

back of the legs where the body and legs meet at the hips (#10, 11). Chisel marks are clearly visible on the inside of the leg block. Once the wooden sections were carved, glued, and assembled, they were clamped by binding and allowed to dry. After the binding was removed the features of the face and details of the body and clothing would have been carved. Holes were carved for iris sockets. In addition, there are two 5-cm deep holes which penetrate the head, horizontally, from the center back. These may have been used originally to hold a *mandorla* or to aid in attaching the figure to a wall. At present they have been filled and are only visible in the x-radiograph (fig. 7).

Cloth

After carving, the figure was covered with two layers of cloth soaked in a lacquer-paste mixture and applied directly to the wood. Since the cloth did not show up on the x-radiographs, it was not possible to determine if it covered the wood in strips or sheets. The first layers of cloth visible on the interior of the Metropolitan Buddha were applied in strips. The fabric on the Walters Buddha is only visible in cracks and under losses on the head, shoulders, back, arms, legs, sides, but no overlaps or joins were evident in these areas. It is apparent that the cloth was used for several purposes: to cover wood joins, to model folds in the drapery, and to enhance the detail of the carving. Most of the detail had already been carved in the wood; it was not produced in the cloth and lacquer layers, as is the case with hollow dry-lacquer sculpture, such as the Metropolitan and Freer Buddhas.[34] The cloth may have also helped attach the lacquer to the wood core by producing a napped surface to which the final lacquer layers could adhere.

Microscopic examination of the cloth samples revealed it to have a plain-weave structure with 16 threads per square cm or 30 threads per inch (fig. 8). All of the cloth samples have the same weave, thread count, and S-twist. Samples of the lacquer layers (including cloth and pigments) were taken for cross-section analysis. Samples containing cloth were taken from the head (the ear) and the body (the shoulder) to help determine if the head was original to the body. The fibers from both the head and body were examined by polarized light microscopy. The cloth samples were identical in appearance and identified as hemp.[35] The consistency of the results helped confirm that the head is original to the body.

Fig 8. Magnified close-up of the cloth on the shoulder of the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1). The plain weave structure is readily apparent. The saturated fibers are well preserved in the lacquer. (25x)

Lacquer

According to early Chinese texts on lacquer manufacturing there were very specific steps to be followed by the lacquer maker. An annotated sixteenth-century text quotes from earlier sources and describes these steps in detail. The text lists common inclusions for making lacquer pastes, including deer antler ash, cow horn ash, porcelain ash, bone ash, pig's blood, calcined clam shells, and ground dried lacquer. The finest lacquers are mixed with deer antler ash and crushed porcelain; medium-quality lacquers are made with bone ash and powdered clam shell ash; the cheapest are made with brick and ground lacquer.[36] A Ming-dynasty text on manufacturing techniques states that lacquer was commonly used as an adhesive and was often bulked with ashes to form a paste, which was used to fill in cracks, joins, and uneven areas before the application of the cloth and lacquer.[37]

One Qing-dynasty text describes the method of making *jiazhu* images during the Yuan and Ming dy-

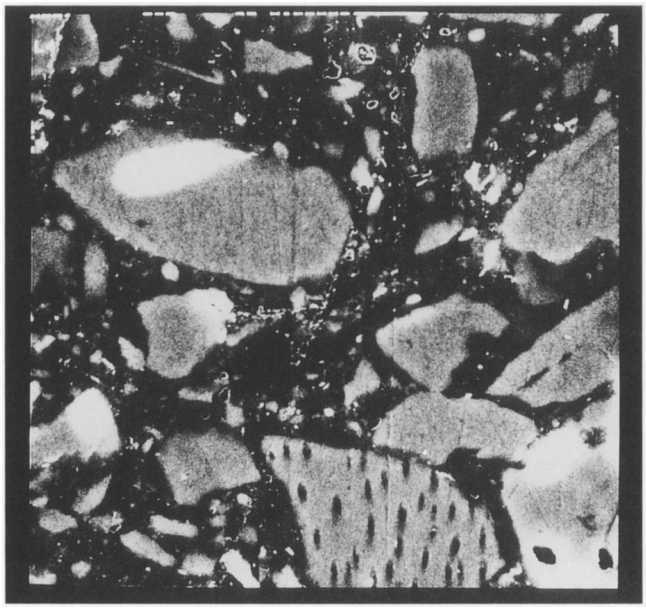


Fig 9. SEM of lacquer cross-section revealing bone particles in the matrix of the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1). The gray and white particles are raw and partially burnt bone. (440x)

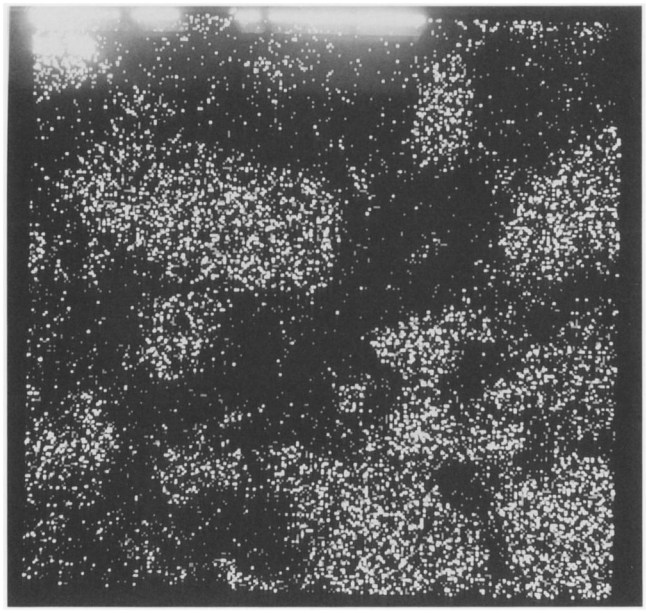


Fig 10. SEM elemental dot map of bone particles in figure 9. The white dots show the location of calcium (a component of bone) in the polished cross-section. (440x)

nasties and lists the materials necessary:

> For Buddhist images pile up gauze crushed into a seated image to a height up to one meter. For a standing figure, first add a coarse layer of lacquer paste, next a layer of lining, then a thick lacquer paste layer, then a layer of medium grade paste and finally apply two layers of fine lacquer paste. This is a total of six layers. For each ⅓ meter tall figure use one basket of loess, six sheets of paper, three baskets of sand, three baskets of wheat husks, two teals of hemp cloth and two sculptors.[38]

Step-by-step details are also given for making fine lacquer vessels. The text includes information on gluing the wood core together using lacquer, methods of grinding materials, and the precise percentages of all ingredients necessary for each layer.

The exposed lacquer on the Walters Buddha appears brown-black and contains colorants and inclusions visible under low levels of magnification. The natural color of lacquer when dry is a translucent brown-black. Lacquer has been pigmented ever since ancient times. The most common colors are red and black. Since many pigments, such as azurite, malachite, chalk, red and white lead, and vegetable colorants, cause an adverse chemical reaction with raw lacquer, either giving the lacquer a muddy appearance or hindering it from drying, the color of lacquer is confined to a small palette, usually of red, yellow, or black (the pigments cinnabar, orpiment, and carbon black).[39]

Aside from pigments, other particles were added to the lacquer layers to serve as bulking agents. The addition of particulate material thickened the runny raw lacquer into a paste which was easier to apply and remained in place. Thick paste was used for minor molding and was also effective in filling any flaws present on the base material, such as that found in the elbow.

Although it is theoretically possible to date lacquer by radiocarbon dating analysis, the high percentage of inclusions in the lacquer on the Buddha prevented this. Most of the inclusions were chemically based on carbon and, therefore, would have given a false or difficult-to-interpret date. Furthermore, the Buddha was infused with wax, a carbon-containing material, as a preservation treatment in the 1930s, and this would have exacerbated the inaccuracy of the result. Last, the sample size necessary for accurate data was considered too large for removal from the Buddha.

Very small samples for microscopy of the lacquer layers were taken from the edges of existing losses or cracks. Areas sampled were the chest, proper right ear, upper right back, and proper left forearm. In all cases the total thickness of the lacquer layers was about 3000 microns (μm) or 0.3 cm.

SEM-EDS analysis identified the primary inorganic inclusions in the lacquer as calcium and phosphorus, which are the major components of bone, with traces of silica, magnesium, aluminum, and potassium. XRD analysis confirmed the presence of basic calcium phosphate, or bone. The only other inorganic compound identified by XRD was quartz, or silicon oxide. Using both optical microscopy and elemental analysis it became clear that the majority of inclusions

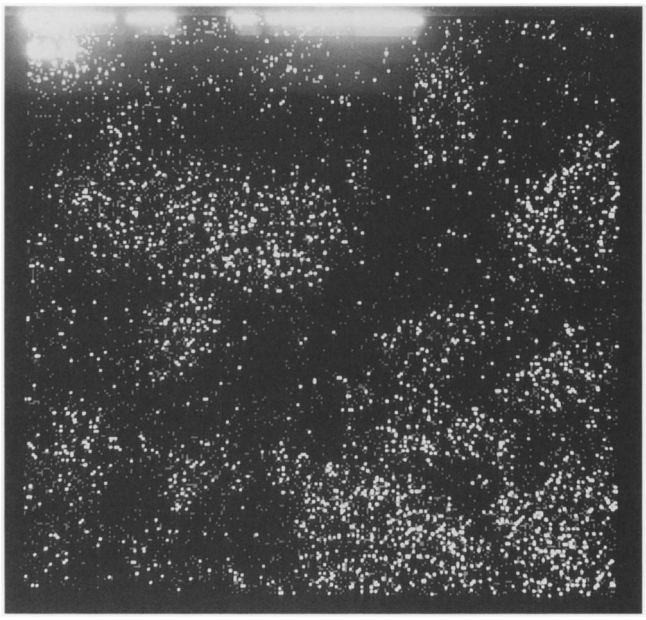


Fig 11. SEM elemental dot map of bone particles in figure 9. The white dots show the location of phosphorus (a component of bone) in the polished cross-section. (440x)

were ground bone: raw (white), burned (black), and partially burned (gray). Photographs of a lacquer cross-section segment taken by the SEM show the particles were ground to a wide range of sizes (fig. 9). The SEM-EDS elemental dot maps for calcium and potassium confirm the presence and exact location of the bone in the lacquer cross-section (figs. 10 and 11). The black particles are pure carbon—probably completely burned bone, also known as "bone black" pigment. These particles tend to be much smaller and more finely ground than the unburned or partially burned bone. The bone particles range in size from 5 μm to 150 μm, with the average around 35 μm. However, the percentage and size of the particles vary with each lacquer layer.

Lacquer samples taken from the back of the Buddha were mounted in polyester both in the form of a chip and as a 20 μm microtomed thin-section. They were analyzed using FTIR. Only lacquer was detected, and no other resins were found. Ultraviolet light photomicrographs were taken of the lacquer cross-section to assist in identifying any fluorescent or absorbing organic material not seen under visible light. Since resin chips were visible in the ultraviolet light photomicrographs as red-brown particles, perhaps dried lacquer was ground up and used as a bulking agent in the raw lacquer (see pls. IIa and IIb).

Reflected light microscopy of cross-sections of the lacquer revealed that it consisted of seven layers.[40] Each layer contained inclusions of varying percentage and size, which caused the brown-black lacquer to appear opaque. Next to the wood, layers one and two contained woven cloth and inclusions, while layers three through seven contained only particulate inclusions—except for layer four, which may have plant fibers in it. The lacquer layers next to the wood contain the largest particles and were roughly polished before the application of the upper layers. Only the top two layers were finely polished. The uppermost layer contained the most finely ground particles with no ground resin (see figs. 12 and 13).

The Walters Buddha was made following guidelines similar to those in the texts described above, with seven lacquer layers on top of the carved wood. Although the sculpture is five hundred to a thousand

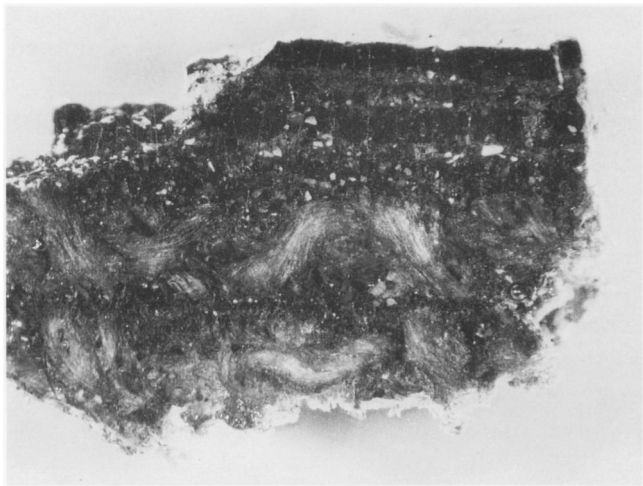


Fig. 12. Polished cross-section of cloth, lacquer and ground layers sampled from the back of the Walters Buddha (pl. I and fig. 1). The two layers of woven cloth are readily visible as are the white bone particles. (24x)

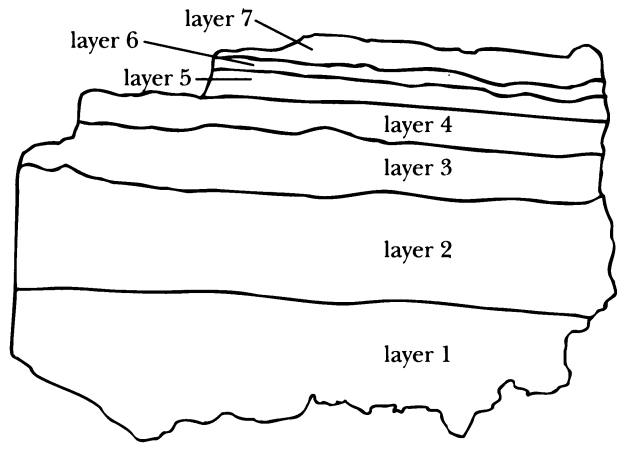


Fig 13. Diagram of the cloth and lacquer cross-section in figure 12.

years earlier than these records, the technique changed little over time.

Several cross-sections of the lacquer were taken to help determine if the number of layers was consistent over the image. All lacquer samples taken from the Buddha contained the same number of lacquer layers, and each layer was approximately the same thickness everywhere on the body. This indicates that the lacquer was applied one layer at a time over the entire image and that lacquer paste was not used to form details. The details take the exact shape of the carved wood. The only evidence of lacquer repair is a small area at the bend of the shawl by the waist. This relacquered area contains only iron oxide as an inclusion, with none of the other particles that are present in the original lacquer layers.

Painted decoration

Powdered pigments have been used on Chinese artifacts at least since the Shang dynasty, as evidenced by the presence of cinnabar in the carved lines of oracle bones.[41] The tomb of Lizang at Mawangdui (150 B.C.) contained colored lacquer vessels with some surface decoration in oil paint, believed to be derived from tung oil, an oil extracted from the nut of a tree. This is the earliest known example of colored lacquer decorated with a non-lacquer medium, thus allowing the use of lacquer-sensitive pigments and permitting a more varied palette.[42]

The only contemporary painted sculptures comparable to the Buddha were executed in reeds and stucco rather than wood and lacquer, but they are useful for comparing the painted decorations. These are the painted Sui-dynasty Buddhist stucco sculptures at Dunhuang, China, notably in caves 427, 244 and 298. In these caves, there are also wall paintings that can be used for comparison (see Marylin Rhie's article). Polychrome lacquer examples that most resemble the Walters Buddha are the Chinese hollow dry-lacquer sculptures at the Freer Gallery of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Both have remnants of brightly painted polychrome designs with white grounds. This technique was also adopted by the Japanese and is found in Japan as early as the eighth century.[43] Based on these examples it can be surmised that it was customary to paint lacquer Buddhist sculpture.

Sculptures were routinely maintained by repainting. Through the study of wall paintings and inscriptions inside sculptures it is evident that craftsmen traveled around with materials and models, creating new images as well as repairing old ones.[44] During the Tang dynasty, gilded objects were very popular. The Tang text *Tang Liu Tien* (712–56) lists fourteen types of gold decoration. Gold leaf continued to be used on art objects until 1040, when a declaration by the emperor forbade the use of gold on images of the Buddha.[45] During the thirteenth century sculptures were painted in naturalistic colors until the Ming dynasty, when changing fashion led to the renewed popularity of gilding large statues, probably in imitation of gilded bronze.[46]

The purpose of examining the polychrome layers of the Walters Buddha was to investigate the pigment and ground structure, to identify the pigments, and to study the later repainted layers. Based on information gained from this investigation it was hoped that the original coloring of the image could be determined. In addition, it was hoped that some information about the designs used for repainting in later periods could be brought to light.

Microscopic paint cross-sections were taken from the face, the uncovered chest, the robe, and the shawl. Examination of these samples with reflected light microscopy revealed that in some places the Buddha had been repainted at least six times. White preparation grounds were found under most of the upper paint layers (pls. IIIa and IIIb).

It was, of course, impossible to remove the upper paint layers, and therefore only a general picture of the design of the original paint layer can be formed. The pigments in the original layer are as follows:

Location	Pigments
Ground	white (kaolin, calcium sulfate, silicon oxide)
Shawl	red (red lead)
Robe	blue (indigo)
Skin	pink (white and red lead)

The first layer of ground sits directly in contact with the lacquer and is found under all areas that are polychrome. The composition of the grounds changed during different repainting efforts. Identification by x-ray diffraction revealed the Buddha's original ground to be a mixture of kaolin, calcium sulfate, and silicon oxide, with a small amount of white lead. The later grounds were predominately white lead, sometimes mixed with calcium carbonate.

All powdered pigments need to be mixed with a medium in order to make them adhere to the surface to be painted. Lacquer can only be mixed with certain pigments and could not produce the full range of colors found on the Buddha. Animal glue was a common binder used on wall paintings and sculptures in China at least since early Han times.[47] Infrared analysis of the medium of both the ground and lowest pigment layer on the Buddha was identified as a protein and not a

lacquer or an oil.[48] Proteinaceous glues include animal glues, egg tempera, and casein. Animal glues are formed from the bones, skins, and intestines of all animals, including fish. They are the predominant media used in Chinese painting.[49] Therefore, the medium was probably an animal glue. No medium was visible in the lowest pigment layers under the microscope using reflected light in either the visible or ultraviolet range. However, biological stains revealed proteinaceous media in most of the painted layers.

It is possible to reach tentative conclusions about the original appearance of the Buddha and how it changed in the course of successive repaintings. The shawl over the Buddha's left shoulder was originally completely red (red lead). Samples were taken from scattered areas around the shawl and all had red lead as the first color layer. It was repainted at least four times. All repaints were red (either iron oxide, red lead or cinnabar) and green (malachite) to indicate the patchwork cloth. The first repaint of red (cinnabar) was applied without an additional ground directly to the original red lead layer. The remainder of the later repaints are in either red lead, iron oxide, or cinnabar, usually separated by ground layers. The top layer (as it appears today) is red (cinnabar) with green patches (malachite). The edge of the shawl, which runs across the chest, was originally blue (indigo) but varied from blue (azurite) to green (malachite) to red (cinnabar) in later repaints.

The robe appears to have been divided into two areas, the main body and a band, which runs along the top edge of the robe. At present the main body of the robe has a large circle design at the midriff. The band appears to have an intricately painted, multicolored design on the top surface. This may have been similar to the sword pommel scroll design which can be clearly seen on the band of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Buddha. According to James Watt this design is in typical Ming-dynasty style.[50] The original color of the body of the robe on the Walters image was blue (indigo). It could not be determined if a design was present on the original painted surface. The original color of the robe band was red (red lead). Again it could not be determined if a decorative pattern was present in the original layer.

The paint cross-sections of the skin areas from the head and body were identical. Most of the original ground layer was worn away but a few traces could be found. The skin was repainted a total of three times. Over the original translucent mixed ground, a dense white lead ground was applied. The first pink skin tone was produced by adding small amounts of red lead to the predominately white lead layer. The second and third layers had white lead grounds with a denser, darker pink layer produced by combining white lead and cinnabar. Above the third pink layer was a thin layer of gold leaf.

Gold leaf was detected in the following sections: shawl, shawl band, robe band, and all of the skin areas. It is possible that at one time the front of the Buddha may have been gilded, in imitation of a bronze statue. The back, however, has never been gilded. Gold leaf was used throughout, and no powdered gold was detected in any layer. The gold leaf, which was analyzed using SEM-EDS, was very pure, with only traces of copper and silver. The gold could have been applied with an animal glue or a thin layer of lacquer, although today it is more common to use animal glue.[51] Gold leaf was present in two layers in a number of samples: in the second layer, which may have a Tang date, and in the topmost layer, which may be Ming in date. Gilding was popular during both of these periods.

The sample from the hair area contained no pigment layers, only lacquer and cloth layers directly on the wood. It is not possible to determine if the hair was painted until more sampling is performed.

It is not possible to be certain what the correlations between the repainted layers in the different spots chosen for analysis may be. Certain areas may have been singled out for repainting more often than other areas. Nevertheless, it is likely that there were six campaigns on the garments and three campaigns on the skin areas. The blue, green, and red pigments used on the garments were coarsely ground in order to obtain a strong color and thus resulted in crumbly, flaking paint layers requiring more frequent repaints.

The complete palette identified on the Buddha includes white lead, red lead, cinnabar, iron oxide, malachite, azurite, and indigo, all of which were readily available in the Sui dynasty and had been in common use long before the image was made.[52]

The eyes were filled with smooth black disc-shaped pellets set into white gesso-like material. The black irises and pupils appear to be round, flat-shaped pieces of stone, but this could not be confirmed without causing damage to the sculpture. The whites of the eyes contained some pigments unlike any others identified on the image and therefore may be restoration.

Repairs

The lacquer on the Walters Buddha is in excellent condition, aside from cracks, while the wood base is riddled with insect holes. More than half of the polychrome design is missing, thereby revealing the underlying lacquer surface. Examination of the figure using optical microscopy, ultraviolet light, and x-radiography indicates that the Buddha has been repaired several times. It is unknown what restorations may have occurred before its arrival at the Walters. More than likely it was restored by Yamanaka prior to the sale, although no documentation has been found.

Judging from the earliest photographs available some repairs were performed before the image entered the Walters collection. Under visible and ultraviolet light it is very difficult to detect any alterations. However, in the x-radiograph it became apparent that areas had been repaired, including fills and lacquering over the *urna,* two holes in the back of the head, and the most protruding section of the lips. At that time the eyelids were reformed and black pellets were probably added as iris and pupils. The lacquer and pigment over the nose and over what remains of the ears are original and have not been restored. The hair has been retouched, especially across the back. A large roughly circular shape on the back of the head which encompasses the holes has been covered with fill material. Originally it may have been flat to accommodate a *mandorla* or a wall mounting device. It is interesting to note that this area on both the Freer and the Metropolitan Buddhas is unsculpted and appears to have been left smooth and unfinished. The only other repairs evident from this campaign are to the arms. Where the joined wood slabs were becoming detached, a modern nail was added to each arm and the cracks were filled with putty.

All of the repairs except one postdate the topmost pigment layer. A section around the waist appears to have been repaired early on in the Buddha's history. Rather than the original red pigment on top of the first ground layer, there is a layer of black lacquer filled with large red iron oxide particles. None of the inclusions found in the original lacquer are present. It appears that this black layer was pigmented red to imitate the surrounding original red pigment of the drape. There are five layers of overpaint on top of the black layer, indicating that the black layer was applied very early.

In 1938 the Buddha was consolidated in order to strengthen the soft, crumbling insect-damaged wood structure and to reinforce the flaking painted surface.[53] It was immersed in a mixture of waxes for twenty-eight hours, after which excess wax was removed with organic solvents. Since the head had been loose, gaps around it and some holes in the body were filled with wax. A few areas around joints were then coated with a thin layer of gesso and inpainted. There are no other records of conservation treatment. In the 1950s, three metal bands were screwed to the interior of the back and the interior of the leg section to hold the sections together. The bands have not been removed as they are not presently causing visible stress. It is apparent from comparison of the photographs taken before and after treatment that some minor pigment loss occurred during immersion; however, the sculpture remains stable today, and the wax has held the remaining pigment firmly in place since 1938.

The sculpture was not treated again until its preparation for installation in Hackerman House in 1991. Other than examining and sampling the figure for analysis it was only lightly surface-cleaned to remove accumulated dust and excess wax from the earlier treatment. All remaining pigment layers were left intact. The alterations and previous treatments were kept in mind when the Buddha was examined.

Conservation concerns

Generally speaking, lacquer is unaffected by most acids and alkalis, most organic solvents, and water at room temperature, and is impervious to insect attack. However, exposure to ultraviolet radiation and to extremes of temperature can initiate deterioration of lacquer and may cause irreversible discoloration and the dissolution of some constituents.[54] Fortunately the painted layers on the Buddha have helped protect the lacquer. Ideal environmental conditions for lacquer are relative humidity 50% +/- 5%, 70°F +/- 2°, and 5 foot-candles of light with ultraviolet filters.

Lead pigments are easily discolored by atmospheric sulfur. There are many reports of this problem, most notably on the murals at Dunhuang. There was no discoloration of the lead pigments observed on the Walters Buddha, but the lowest layers are very thin and fragmented. Any discolored surface could have flaked off over time or might have been scraped before repainting.

This detailed study of the Buddha has made apparent the need for caution before conservation treatments are performed on painted lacquer sculpture. Careful examination of the pigment layers and a knowledge of the history of techniques is necessary be-

fore considering the removal of any of the layers. Later painted and gessoed layers may contain important information on methods and materials used in other periods and should not be lost through cosmetic or superficial treatments. At the very least, carefully recorded documentation should be kept, and thoroughly labeled samples should be saved for future analysis.

Conclusion

The Walters Buddha presents a significant example of a lacquer-working tradition that continued from the Han to the Tang dynasties. It has a multi-piece wood core assembled with simple butt-joints. Details of the head and clothing were carved in the wood. This was followed by two layers of lacquer-soaked woven hemp cloth over which five layers of lacquer bulked with bone and powdered lacquer were applied. The black lacquer surface was originally painted in bright colors. Throughout its history the image has been repainted as many as six times. X-radiographic imaging and the consistency of the lacquer and pigment layers leave no question that the head is original to the body.

Is this sculpture the last of the wood-core lacquer sculptures to be made, or is it the first, or is it merely a step in a developing art? Here questions can only be pondered until further study adds more data. Future research should include comparative technical studies of the Freer and Metropolitan sculptures, as well as Japanese pieces and later lacquer sculpture from the Yuan, Song, and Ming dynasties.

The Walters Art Gallery
Baltimore, Maryland

Notes

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1. L. Sickman and A. Soper, *The Art and Architecture of China,* (New York, 1978), 144.

2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Buddha (19.186) measures H. 96.5 cm x W. 68.6 cm. It has been discussed in the following publications: J.C.Y. Watt, *The Arts of Ancient China,* (New York, 1990), 56–57. A. Priest, *Chinese Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* (New York, 1944), 38–39; this volume refers to earlier publications of the sculpture. F. Chow, "Chinese Buddhist Sculpture," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* 23 (1965), 320. H.E. Fernald, "A Chinese Buddhistic Statue in Dry Lacquer," *The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania,* 18:3 (Philadelphia, 1927), 287. P. Pelliot, "Les Statues en 'Laque Sèche' dans l'ancien art chinois," *Journal Asiatique,* 202 (avril–juin 1923), 207.

The Freer Gallery of Art Buddha (44.46) measures H. 99.5 cm x W. 72.5 cm x D. 56.7 cm and was purchased in 1944 from Ellis Monroe, New York. It has been mentioned in S.E. Lee, "A Dry Lacquer Buddhist Image from T'ang China," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art,* 71 (March 1984), 98; the conservation treatment is discussed in W.T. Chase, "Lacquer Examination and Treatment at the Freer Gallery of Art: Some Case Histories," *Urushi: Proceedings of the 1985 Urushi Study Group* (Tokyo, 1988), 106–07. It is also published in *Chugoku bijutsu* III (sculpture) (Tokyo, 1972), pl. 76 and in *Freer Gallery of Art—China* (Tokyo, 1972), pl. 83.

The Walters Art Gallery Buddha (25.9) measures H. 105.4 cm x W. 71.8 cm x D. 48.4 cm. It has been published in H.W. Woodward, Jr., *Asian Art in The Walters Art Gallery: A Selection* (Baltimore, 1991), 24–25. O. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1945), 147, lists four Chinese pieces known to exist in the 1920s, including the Walters Buddha. The sculpture is also mentioned in Fernald, "A Chinese Buddhistic Statue in Dry Lacquer," 287–88. For a list of Chinese lacquer statues in Western collections, see Lee, "A Dry Lacquer Buddhist Image," 98. The sculpture's conservation treatment is discussed in J.C. Kirby, "The Care of a Collection," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery,* 15–16 (1952–53), 19–22.

The Cleveland Museum of Art Bodhisattva (83.86) measures H. 44 cm x W. 30.8 cm x D. 33.7 cm. Once owned by C.T. Loo, it was bought at auction in 1983. It has been published in Lee, "A Dry Lacquer Buddhist Image," 90–99; in O. Fischer, "Chinesische Lackskulptur," *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift,* N.F. 9 (1933), pl. 16; and in F.L. Hollendonner, "Restoration of an early Chinese hollow dry lacquer figure," *The Conservation of Far Eastern Art,* (London, 1988), 146-48.

3. In addition to the confusion in the literature, the Chinese lacquer terminology changed over the dynasties.

H. Garner, *Chinese Lacquer* (Boston, 1979), 34, describes the dry-lacquer method as layers of fabric covered with a lacquer composition without a wood or metal base.

Y.K. Lee, *Oriental Lacquer Art* (New York, 1972), 26, describes the *chia-chu* (*jiazhu*) method as: "consisting of covering the basic model, whether wood or metal with fabric such as linen, hemp, or silk on one or both surfaces...fabric is pasted onto the body, using lacquer as a glue. When it dries, the desired number of layers of lacquer is painted on the fabric.... If it is made following long established specifications very strictly, the end product is much stronger than wood." In the hollow-body dried lacquer technique (*tuotai*) "first a model is made of mud, then fabric is pasted onto it, and when dry the desired number of layers of lacquer is painted on. When these dry, the article is put in water and the clay washed out."

S.X. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo* (Beijing, 1983), 165–66, describes the *buxinzhitai* (body of cloth and paper) method as using a lacquer and lacquer/ash combination placed on a series of layers of cloth pasted together, on the outside surface paper is pasted; *zhongbutai*

(heavy cloth body) method has cloth pasted together (with lacquer) both on the inside and outside. The two methods together are called *jiazhu*. There is no solid base. According to Wang, the "Japanese dry-lacquer images have their origins in *jiazhu*.... *Tuotai* utilizes wood and tin.... During the Qing, what are called *tuotai* lacquer objects are in fact *jiazhu*.... *Jiazhu*, *zhongbu* and *tuotai* are all inner structures for lacquerwares, and one can say that at different times the nomenclature that passed down differed." Lee and Wang's definitions are in direct conflict, therefore the confusion continues.

4. Walters curatorial file 25.9 has a typed description of the sculpture from Yamanaka.

5. *Through the Moon Gate: a Guide to China's Historic Monuments,* (New York, 1986), 39.

6. This information comes from the registrar's catalogue entry. Also see Watt, *Ancient China,* 57.

7. A.B. Griswold, "Prolegomena to the Study of the Buddha's Dress in Chinese Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae,* 24:2 (1963), 85.

8. S.C. Morse, "Japanese Sculpture in Transition: An Eighth-Century Example from the Todai-ji Buddhist Sculpture Workshop," *The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies,* 13:1 (1987), 54.

9. W.W. Willetts, *Chinese Art* I (Middlesex, 1958), 190.

10. T. Kenjo, "Scientific Approach to Traditional Lacquer Art," *Urushi: Proceedings of the 1985 Urushi Study Group* (Tokyo, 1988), 157.

11. G.W. Carriveau, *Technical Examination of Oriental Lacquer,* Advances in Chemistry Series 205, Archaeological Chemistry III, (Washington, 1982), 397.

12. S.X. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo* (Ancient Chinese Lacquerware) (Beijing, 1983), 49.

13. *Ibid.,* 164.

14. X.Q. Li, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations* (New Haven, 1985), 342–58.

15. C. Michaelson, "Mass Production and the Development of the Lacquer Industry during the Han Dynasty," *Orientations,* 23:11 (1992), 65.

16. J.C.Y. Watt and B.B. Ford, *East Asian Lacquer* (New York, 1991), 18–22.

17. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shou,* 165–66.

18. A. Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China* (Ascona, 1959), 20. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo,* 165, also mentions Dai Kui of the Jin dynasty as one of the master lacquer sculptors.

19. Garner, *Chinese Lacquer,* 45 and Watt, *East Asian Lacquer,* 19.

20. Watt, *East Asian Lacquer,* 20–21.

21. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo,* 165.

22. Morse, *Japanese Sculpture,* 55, "Japanese scholars have identified just over forty extant Japanese wood-core dry-lacquer works."

23. Morse, *Japanese Sculpture,* 57.

24. Samples for microscopy of all lacquer, ground, and paint layers were removed from the edges of cracks or along areas of loss. They were mounted in Bioplastic polyester resin, then ground and polished to expose the layers in cross-section. Dispersed samples were mounted in Cargille Melt Mount (n=1.662).

25. Elemental analysis of cross-sections was performed by scanning electron microscope with energy dispersive x-ray analytical capabilities (SEM-EDS) using a Jeol electron microprobe at the facilities of the Central Facility for Microanalysis of the University of Maryland in College Park.

26. Using a Mattson Cygnus 100 Fourier Transform Infrared Spectrophotometer, Dr. Mary Baker, Research Chemist at the Conservation Analytical Laboratory, Smithsonian Institution, analyzed the organic composition of the lacquer and its inclusions, as well as the medium of the lowest layers of ground and pigments.

27. X-ray diffraction analysis was performed by Beth Price, Conservation Chemist, at the Philadelphia Museum of Art on a Philips PW 1729 X-ray generator at 40kV, 30ma. The lacquer sample was run on a quartz plate in the diffractometer and the ground sample was run in the Gandolfi camera.

28. X-radiography was carried out by Reliance Testing of Baltimore, using an iridium 192 source at 32 curies between 1.5 to 6.5 minutes.

29. The wood samples were identified by Dr. Regis B. Miller, Wood Anatomist, Center for Wood Anatomy Research, U.S. Forest Products Laboratory, Madison, Wisconsin.

30. Beta Analytical Inc. in Coral Gables, Florida performed radiocarbon dating analysis using the accelerator mass spectrometry technique (Beta Analytical Lab number: Beta-47951, ETH-8636).

31. Li, *Eastern Zhou and Qin Civilizations,* 323.

32. Morse, *Japanese Sculpture,* 56.

33. S.F. Moran, "Ashura, A Dry-Lacquer Statue of the Nara Period," *Artibus Asiae,* 27 (1964), 99-133, refers on page 128 to a Japanese volume by Omura Seigai, *Shina Bijutsushe,* Chosohen (Tokyo, 1915), where Omura discusses a text in which a dry-lacquer statue held relics.

34. Morse, *Japanese Sculpture,* 56. Examination of the Metropolitan Buddha revealed scattered pieces of wood used as support along the base and the back. The wood was inserted between the cloth layers during fabrication, presumably after the clay core had been removed and before the final layers were applied. All of the three-dimensional design was produced in the lacquered cloth sometimes bulked with clay which could be seen in worn areas of drapery folds.

35. They were identified as bast fibers with crystalline nodes. The polarization colors of the fibers further identified them as hemp when examined under crossed polars using the first-order gypsum plate. M. Goodway, "Fiber Identification in Practice," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation,* 26:1 (1987), 31.

36. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo,* 44.

37. *Ibid.,* 166.

38. *Ibid.,* 165.

39. A. Burmester, "Technical Studies of Chinese Lacquer," *Urushi: Proceedings of the 1985 Urushi Study Group* (Tokyo, 1988), 178.

40. The following are observations on each lacquer layer:

Layer one (next to the wood): 812 μm thick, dark translucent brown-black lacquer-embedded woven cloth, bulked with inclusions of ground raw and burnt bone particles, resin, and bone black. Black particles predominate. Average size of particles: black - 23 μm; white - 35 μm; gray - 50 μm.

Layer two: 870 μm thick, dark translucent brown-black lacquer-embedded woven cloth, bulked with inclusions of ground bone particles, resin, and bone black. The size and color of the particles are the same as in layer one.

Layer three: 350 μm thick, the same dark translucent brown-black lacquer bulked with a variety of large and small bone particles of varying colors, darkened with a predominance of gray bone particles. Average size of the particles: black - 20 μm; white - 60 μm; gray - 60 μm. This is the thickest layer without cloth, and it has the roughest surface. The line between the next lacquer layer has some areas which appear flat while other sections are rough. The layer was probably roughly polished before the application of the next

layer. However, no polish residue is visible.

Layer four: 116 μm thick. It is an uneven wavy golden speckled brown layer with large white bone inclusions predominating. Black, gray and red-brown resin (lacquer) chunks are also scattered throughout. Average size of the particles: black - 12 μm; white - 70 μm; gray - 45 μm; red-brown - 20 μm. It is unclear what gives this layer its golden speckled color other than the bouncing of light within the resinous particles. Plant fibers mixed in the lacquer may be present. However they are much thinner than the fibers of the cloth layers and are not woven (as is the cloth found next to the wood). Microscopic fibers were examined and appear to be cellulosic fibers but could not be positively identified. (See figs. 12 and 13 and pls. IIa and IIb).

Layer five: 290 μm thick. This layer is similar to the third layer with more burnt gray and black particles than white. Few red-brown resinous lacquer particles can be seen. Average size of particles: black - 46 μm; white - 50 μm; gray - 58 μm. The top has been polished smooth, producing a flat line all the way across the sample.

Layer six: 300 μm thick. This layer, like layer four, is an uneven golden speckled brown but has more of a reddish tone. There are no cellulose particles present. Gray and black particles predominate; white and red are difficult to discern. Average size of particles: black - 35 μm; white - 50 μm; gray - 40 μm.

Layer seven: 232 μm thick. It is a dense, dark brown with inclusions similar to the other layers without red-brown particles. However, the inclusions are smaller and finer. Average size of particles: black - 20 μm; white - 15 μm; gray - 15 μm. It has been finely polished on the upper surface.

41. R.S. Britton and A.A. Benedetti-Pichler, "Oracle-bone Color Pigments," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies,* 2 (1937), 1-3.

42. Garner, *Chinese Lacquer,* 28.

43. Morse, *Japanese Sculpture,* 57.

44. J.H. Larson, *Guanyin: A Masterpiece Revealed* (London, 1985), 12.

45. Lee, *Oriental Lacquer,* 30.

46. Larson, *Guanyin,* 13 and J.H. Larson, "The Treatment and Examination of Polychrome Chinese Sculpture at the Victoria and Albert Museum," *The Conservation of Far Eastern Art* (London, 1988), 120.

47. F. Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors: Studies of Their Preparation and Application in Traditional and Modern Times* (Seattle, 1988), 17.

48. See note 26.

49. Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 17.

50. Personal communication, January 8, 1993.

51. Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo,* 145. Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 46, discusses the modern method of applying gold leaf to a prepared surface using animal glue.

52. *Lead pigments* were the predominant colorants found on the Buddha. *White lead* has been used as a painting material in China since before 300 B.C. Therefore, it is not unusual to find it in a ground or as a pigment on the Buddha. (J. Needham, *Science and Civilization in China,* 5:3 [Cambridge, 1976], 15-17). E.H. Schafer, "The Early History of Lead Pigments and Cosmetics in China," *T'oung Pao* (Cambridge, 1956) 428, suggests white lead was made in China before the Han dynasty where it was used as both a pigment and a cosmetic. *Red lead,* also known as minium, has been in use in China probably since the beginning of the refining of lead around the fourth millennium B.C. But the first reference to the use of red lead as a pigment is not found until the early fifth century B.C. (E.W. Fitzhugh, "Red Lead and Minium" *Artists' pigments: A Handbook of their History and Characteristics* [Washington, 1986], 110). The first reference to artificially prepared red lead is in the Han dynasty (Schafer, "Early History," 422). The modern process in China consists of using excess lead from white lead manufacture and heating it until it produces red lead (Fitzhugh, *Artists' Pigments,* 122 and Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 6). It was not possible to determine whether the red lead on the Buddha was natural or artificial. However, no natural red lead has been identified on Chinese art objects to date (E.W. Fitzhugh, personal communication).

Copper-based pigments were the predominant green and blue pigments found on the Buddha. *Malachite,* green basic copper carbonate, is the only green pigment identified on the Buddha. (R.J. Gettens and G.L. Stout, *Painting Materials: A Short Encyclopaedia* [New York, 1966], 128, found both malachite and azurite in wall paintings in the Buddhist caves at Dunhuang). It has been used in Chinese painting from earliest times, at least by the Han and Qin dynasties. The source may be the large copper deposits in Guizhou and Yunnan (Gettens and Stout, *Painting Materials,* 95–96). *Azurite,* blue basic copper carbonate, was one of two blues identified on the Buddha. Azurite minerals are usually found in association with malachite minerals in copper deposits. Its source is probably the same copper deposits in Guizhou and Yunnan. Azurite was used at least by the Han and Qin dynasties (Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 23).

Cinnabar is obtained by grinding the mineral mercuric sulfide. It is a dense red mineral that occurs in the provinces of Guizhou and Hunan (R.J. Gettens, R.J. Feller, and W.T. Chase, "Vermilion and Cinnabar," *Studies in Conservation,* 17 [London, 1972], 46). Ground cinnabar has been identified on oracle bones and was found strewn on grave burials in China during the Shang dynasty (T.K. Cheng, *Archaeology of China,* II [Cambridge, 1960], 66). The Chinese developed a method to manufacture artificial cinnabar in the Han dynasty (Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 5). Artificially made cinnabar, also produced from mercuric sulfide, is called vermilion. The pigments on the Buddha could not be positively identified as artificially produced vermilion because of the small sample size available.

Iron oxide red (also known as red ocher, hematite or earth red) is produced from naturally occurring ferric oxide ores. It was used on the Buddha as both a pigment and a lacquer colorant in the repair at the waist. It has been used since neolithic times and is present in large quantities on Wei-dynasty murals (Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 27). A vast source of red iron ore is found in the Yanmen region in Shanxi Province (*ibid.,* 5).

White chalk was the principal pigment used in wall paintings in China from the Han dynasty onwards. There are extensive deposits of chalk all over China, primarily in the provinces of Shanxi, Anhui, and Henan (*ibid.,* 9). Chalk is used on the Buddha mixed with some pigments, notably white lead and indigo. Polarized light microscopy of the chalk samples revealed oval shaped birefringent coccoliths, the skeletons of minute sea organisms, which indicated the use of natural chalk rather than the calcined ground clam shell mentioned in the literature (Wang, *Xiu Shi Lu Jie Shuo,* 171; R.J. Gettens, E.W. Fitzhugh, and R.L. Feller, "Calcium Carbonate Whites," *Studies in Conservation,* 19 [1974], 167).

XRD analysis identified gypsum, kaolin, silica, and lead carbonate as the main components of the Buddha's original ground. *Silica* (silicon oxide) is often found as an impurity in both gypsum and kaolin, but it may also have been intentionally added to the ground as a bulking agent. *Gypsum* has been found in the grounds of wall paintings in western China that date from the fifth to the eighth century (R. Gettens, "The Materials in the Wall Paintings from Kizil in Chinese Turkestan," *Technical Studies in the Field of Fine Arts,* VI [Boston, 1937-38], 283). Impurities in gypsum include calcium carbonate, clay, and silica (Gettens and Stout, *Painting Materials,* 118). *Kaolin* (china clay), a natural hydrated silicate of aluminum, was used as a ground or pigment on Tang-dynasty artifacts unearthed at Turpan, China. (H. Oguchi, and I. Hayashi, "On the Coloring Materials and Painting Techniques of Artifacts Unearthed from the Tomb of the Tang Dynasty at Turpan," *Bijutsukabu, Tokyo Geijutsu Daigaku, Bijutsubu Kiyo,* 16 [1981], 39). Kaolin was also used extensively as a primer on clay wall paintings in central China during

later periods (R. Gettens, "Pigments in a Wall Painting from Central China," *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts,* VII [Boston, 1938-39], 99). The best kaolin was mined in Qimen in Anhui Province (Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 28).

Indigo was the other blue pigment found on the Walters Buddha. Indigo is an organic pigment and is more commonly used as a dye. The plant from which indigo is extracted, *Indigofera tinctoria,* grows in tropical climates and is found in both India and China (Gettens and Stout, *Painting Materials,* 120). It has been used as a pigment in China at least since the Han dynasty either alone or mixed with other pigments. Silk paintings from several Han-dynasty excavations used indigo for blue and it was also mixed with other pigments to achieve a range of colors. One Han silk had a base layer of cinnabar with indigo mixed with clamshell over top to produce a purplish hue (*Wenwu,* 1973.9, 74–75 and *Wenwu,* 1977.11, 31 and Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 23). Indigo is probably the most difficult pigment to make as it takes several days to complete the process and can only be made during the warm seasons. Many steps are necessary to produce a small amount of pigment. The leaves are collected in the autumn, fermented to produce indigo, which is the primary dyeing component. It is soaked, strained, and pounded numerous times for an entire day. In the final soak the solution is settled and skimmed. Glue is then added, and lastly it is sun dried (Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 14, 59). For use as a dye it must be precipitated with a mordant, but for use as a pigment it is ground directly to a fine powder (Gettens and Stout, *Painting Materials,* 120). Combined plant and mineral pigments were abundantly used in China by the fifth century (Yu, *Chinese Painting Colors,* 21). Indigo has also been found on the wall paintings at Dunhuang as mentioned by L. Warner, *Buddhist Wall Paintings, A Study of a Ninth-century Grotto at Wan Fo Hsia* (Cambridge, 1938), 9.

53. Details of the 1938 conservation treatment can be found in J.C. Kirby's article, "The Care of a Collection," 19–22. Additional details are in the file of the Walters Department of Conservation and Technical Research.

54. Carriveau, *Technical Examination,* 397.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 2, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; fig. 3, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art; all others, Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery. Drawings by the author.

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