The JOURNAL

OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

VOLUME 59, 2001

FOCUS *on the* COLLECTIONS

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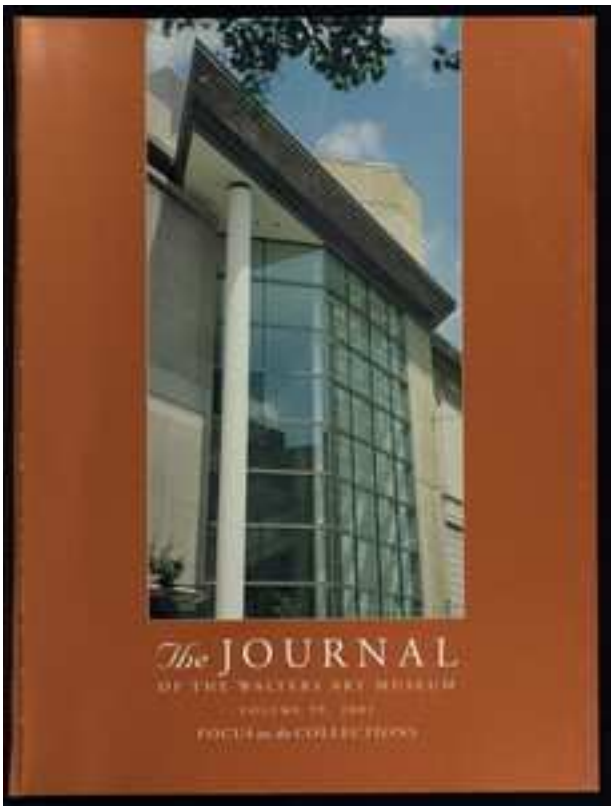

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The Walters Art Museum welcomes contributions on all aspects of art history; contributions deriving from or related to the museum's collection are preferred, but others will be accepted as well. In addition to full-length articles, short notes are also published. The preferred language is English, but contributions in other western European languages will be considered. Articles in languages other than English must be accompanied by an English summary that adequately describes the arguments and evidence presented, including references to illustrations. Send submissions, prepared according to the following instructions, to:

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PROCEDURES

All submitted manuscripts are reviewed by members of the Editorial Board, at times in consultation with outside experts. *The Journal of the Walters Art Musuem* is published annually; the submission deadline is 1 December for articles to be considered in the next year's issue. Authors have the opportunity to review their manuscripts after editing has been completed and again in galleys. Authors will be billed for any changes to galleys in excess of ten percent of the original cost of typesetting their articles.

Contents

Preface

Ever since its origins in 1938 as the *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, this annual publication—which incidentally is the oldest continuously published journal of museum scholarship in the United States—has served as a forum for the presentation of scholarly and technical research related primarily to works of art in the Walters' collection. With the exception of several special-topic issues published in recent years (1996, 1999, and 2000), the *Journal*'s contents have ranged across the entire spectrum of the museum's encyclopedic holdings, with articles written by both Walters' staff and outside contributors. This volume—published to coincide with the reopening of the Centre Street Building following a major project of building renovation and collection reinstallation—continues the traditional emphasis on the Walters' collections. At the same time, it is a focus issue in that most of the articles gathered here result from art historical and conservation studies undertaken in preparation for the reinstallation of the collections of Ancient, Medieval, Late Medieval/Early Renaissance, and Islamic art and Manuscripts and Rare Books.

The renovation of the Centre Street Building, along with certain adjacent areas in the Palazzo, began in earnest in August 1998, when the galleries were cleared of their exhibits and interior spaces gutted. Yet already for several years before the actual onset of heavy construction, the Walters' staff responsible for collections had started to plan for the eventual reinstallation of the works of art in reconfigured and refurbished galleries. Curators and others developed an overall scheme to tell the story of fifty-five centuries of art history from the ancient world to the modern era, formulated installation concepts for specific collection areas, and—most painstaking of all—selected the objects and devised object groupings. In many instances, this process involved forays into the recesses of storage areas and the discovery of many exciting works of art that, while long catalogued as part of the museum's holdings, had never attracted sustained curatorial or scholarly attention. Some of the most dramatic discoveries were made within the Egyptian collection, now widely regarded as among the most significant in North America, with particular strengths in Middle Kingdom and Late Period sculpture. Both familiar objects and newly recognized ones in turn raised issues of scholarship and interpretation across the entire range of the collections and inspired a spate of research projects, with works of art studied and evaluated from a variety of perspectives. The museum's conservators, under the leadership of Terry Drayman-Weisser, Director of Conservation and Technical Research, also played an active role in the development of the collection reinstallation and in specific research projects, including the analysis of materials and techniques, as well as in the treatment of objects selected for reinstallation. Throughout the reinstallation project, members of the museum's curatorial and conservation divisions worked together closely, reaffirming a long-standing Walters' tradition of productive and collegial collaboration between curators and conservators.

The articles in this volume of the *Journal* are the fruit of collaboration on two additional, and very important, levels. From the outset, the broad scope of reinstallation-related collection research involved colleagues at other museums and universities who contributed their scholarly and technical expertise towards the understanding of Walters' objects. The participation of a number of these consultants was made possible through the generous support of public and private granting institutions. The Walters is pleased—and most grateful—to list here the names of all those, within the museum and beyond, who took part in collection research projects, as well as the funding organizations. The new installation of the collections is the culmination of years of sustained effort and activity, as attested to by the insights into Walters' paintings, sculptures, manuscripts, and objects of all kinds presented in the following pages.

—Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Volume Editor*

Reinstallation Curatorial Staff and Scholarly Consultants

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The following doctoral students at Johns Hopkins University contributed to research on objects in the Egyptian collection, under the direction of Professor Betsy Bryan and with the support of the Getty Grant Program.

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A Greek Statuette in Egyptian Dress

CAROL BENSON

An unusual bronze statuette in the Walters' collection stands in an Egyptian pose and has Egyptian features in its dress, but is East Greek in its style. The unprovenanced work's tantalizing hints of stylistic cross-influences between Egypt and the northern cities of East Greece prompts a review of relevant art historical and archaeological evidence on this topic. While not conclusive, detailed stylistic analysis supports the authenticity and importance of the work, which has its closest parallels in early fifth century B.C., small-scale works from the Troad.

One of the toughest challenges facing curators today is the critical re-examination of the works in their collections that, due to the market and collecting practices of an earlier era, unfortunately lack the invaluable information that accompanies a secure and accurate provenance. To perform this task with the remarkable antiquities collection amassed by Henry Walters is as great an education for the eye as for the intellect.[1]

One bronze statuette of a woman (acc. no. 54.970) provides an especially intriguing example of the excitement and frustration that accompany this challenge. The lack of reliable information about the origins of this work is particularly regrettable as the statuette is such a rare composite of different characteristics that its very authenticity must be investigated and tested; yet its significance, if it could be demonstrated to be an original of the early fifth century B.C., would be enormous. Its primary stylistic characteristics are Greek, and, as a Greek bronze figure in Egyptianizing pose and dress, it is almost without parallel. Any real understanding of the circumstances surrounding the creation and of the remarkable details of the work requires a thorough and careful analysis.

THE HISTORY OF THE STATUETTE

Henry Walters acquired the statuette, as well as many other works of art, from Dikram Kelekian, a prominent and active dealer who advised Walters extensively on his purchases of antiquities.[2] Reasonably reliable evidence, in the form of a series of annotated photograph albums put together by Kelekian for Walters, suggests that the work was offered for sale in 1909. These five albums contain photographs of objects primarily from the ancient world—Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Islamic— and were sent to Walters when he was considering purchases. The first is dated 1909; the rest are dated 1911, 1912, 1914, and one larger album inexplicably contains items offered in both 1913 and 1917. Kelekian apparently acquired the items in these albums "on spec" from a wide variety of sources and had them photographed to be offered for sale. The photographer is not identified.

The photograph of the bronze statuette is labeled simply "found in Greece." Of course, the use of this type of phrase by a dealer of Kelekian's character and reputation is not a reliable indicator of the piece's true origin; it could easily be a fabrication if Kelekian did not know the source (especially if he acquired it from another dealer) or if he did not choose to let his source be known.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE WORK

The statuette (figs. 1–4) was published by Dorothy Kent Hill in 1949,[3] but has since received scant attention. It is solid-cast and stands 13.6 cm. tall. The head of the figure is thoroughly Greek in style, with distinctively "Ionian," or East Greek, features typical of the late sixth to early fifth centuries B.C. The stance, however, is an Egyptian one: it has the stiffly frontal pose characteristic of Egyptian figures, the legs and feet entirely straight and tightly drawn together. The right arm of the figure is also stiffly vertical and held straight by her side. Her hand is clenched in an Egyptian manner. Her left arm is broken away above the elbow and appears to have been drawn slightly forward and away from the body. The existence of corrosion along the break indicates that the damage occurred in antiquity.

Figs. 1–3. Bronze statuette of a maiden, 500–480 B.C. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.970.

Below the knees of the figure, an irregular line marks a discontinuity in the bronze. The lower part of the garment and the legs and feet are smooth, with no decorative details added. On the figure's proper right side, just above the garment's hem, is an irregular cavity partially filled with lead. The bottoms of the feet have been filed smooth in modern times, making it impossible to determine whether metal tangs originally extended below them.

This lower section has been identified by Walters' conservators as a clumsily achieved, cast-on repair, the date of which cannot be determined.[4] The metal of the statuette has numerous shrinkage cracks and extensive pitting, leading to the supposition that the craftsman responsible was technically inexpert in the casting of bronze. One explanation for the repair might therefore be that the statuette was incompletely cast originally, with the casting ending below the knees, and a repair that was less detailed than the main body of the figure was cast onto the partial statuette in antiquity, in order to complete it.[5] Or it is possible that a casting flaw led to a break in this area at a later date, and that the lower part of the figure was cast onto the statuette to make a damaged statuette more "whole" and thus more saleable. Pending scientific testing of the content of the metal alloys of the upper and lower castings may give us additional information about whether the two sections of the statuette could have originated in the same workshop.

The figure also combines details of Greek and Egyptian dress, as if a Greek artist wished to emulate an Egyptian "look" but was confused about the correct arrangement of Egyptian garments. What appears to be a thin, short-sleeved undergarment is visible over the breasts, embellished with closely set vertical striations. This is covered by a thin mantle tightly draped and fastened in a horizontal cinch just below the breasts. Running down the sides of the sleeves are the button-fastenings characteristic of an Ionic

Fig. 4. Bronze statuette of a maiden (top of head).

garment called a *chiton*. Three decorative bands at the neckline echo a typical Egyptian-style banded collar or necklace. The back surface of the piece is not as well preserved as the front; it is basically smooth, although we can still see the lines that continue the bands around the neck, as well as incisions near the shoulders that resemble the "suspender" effect of the simple linen garment worn by Egyptian women.

The figure's hair is combed tightly around the head; it is gathered up from the nape and bound in a wide band of fabric. At the front, locks of hair are formed into the distinctive flattened, semicircular curls worn over the temples, known as "side-curls," that are characteristic of works in the Ionian style of the late sixth and early fifth century B.C. A detail of the top of the piece (fig. 4) shows that these curls are pulled over the band at the front.

The cranial and facial characteristics of the Walters' figure are also typical of the "Ionian" style. The head is shaped like an egg, with its axis running from the chin to the back of the crown. The eyes are almond-shaped and adapted to the curved surface of the head, giving them a somewhat slanted appearance from the front. The face is oval, with a sweet and demure expression, marked by high cheekbones and a small mouth that curves into a slight smile as the chin projects forward.

PLACING THE STATUETTE IN CONTEXT

As one of the few small-scale figural works to combine Greek and Egyptian stylistic characteristics, the Walters' statuette finds its closest parallels in a small group of works discussed by Klaus Parlasca in his study of Archaic Greek statuettes from Egypt.[6] Parlasca looked at works in the Greek style that were found in Egypt, and that were believed to have been manufactured there as well. These include small-scale statuettes of nude *kouroi*, including a fine example in Cairo carved in "alabaster," now recognized as gypsum, with many parallels from Naukratis.[7] A remarkable faience *shawabti* figure of the late sixth century B.C. with a distinctly Greek bearded head, from Saqqara, now in the Cairo Museum, is an even more intriguing example of the mixture of Greek and Egyptian characteristics.[8]

Parlasca also included in his discussion a small bronze statuette of a Greek youth wearing the Egyptian kilt that was found in Vonitsa in Akarnania in Greece and is now in Dresden (figs. 5–7).[9] This is the only Greek bronze statuette of a man to wear Egyptian dress, although a handful of Cypriot bronze figures also wear the Egyptian kilt.[10] These have recently been analyzed by Glenn Markoe as reflecting a special case of Phoenician transmission of Egyptian motifs to Cypriot patrons and artisans.[11]

The Dresden statuette, which cannot be dated more precisely than the second half of the sixth century B.C., is actually part of an implement, perhaps a mirror support, as the flattened details of the back, with a hole for a rivet attachment at the neck, indicate. The relatively unrefined male figure stands in the pose of a *kouros*, with his left leg advanced before his right.

Parlasca suggested that the works he discussed were the products of a Greek workshop located in Naukratis that was under heavy East Greek influence.[12] While this hypothesis may be correct, it is difficult to substantiate, especially for the works found outside of Naukratis. We have no information on how the Dresden bronze came to be made and how it came to Vonitsa, and its somewhat coarse features offer few leads. By contrast, the Walters' statuette clearly contains detailed and specific stylistic characteristics that indicate its possible origins in the northern region of East Greece.

The hairstyle and head-covering worn by the Walters' statuette are unusual, but they have parallels in works from northern Ionia and Thessaly. A head from Atrax in Thessaly, while exhibiting the somewhat later facial characteristics of the second quarter of the fifth century, is a close parallel, with both the wide headband and the flat curls at the temples.[13] The famous relief from Pharsalos in Thessaly now in the Louvre, crafted slightly later (mid-fifth century

Figs. 5–7. Bronze statuette of a male wearing Egyptian kilt, second half of the 6th century B.C. Dresden: Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, acc. no. Z.V. 2626.

B.C.), has a similar but more elaborate head-covering that catches up the hair in the back.[14] Thessaly was strongly influenced by Ionian styles in this period, as is clear even from these examples. Two more examples from the northern Ionian sphere include the Kore from the Akropolis that is believed to be Chian in style if not in origin (Akropolis 675), has a similar facial structure, and is dated to 520–510 B.C.[15] and a coin from Lampsakos, on the northwest coast of the Troad, a city with close ties to Miletos and Phokaia, dated to 500–490 B.C. The coin's obverse depicts a janiform head of a woman with very similar facial features; her hair is bound by a thin band and has flat curls at the temples.[16]

The stylistic features of the Walters' statuette indicate an origin among the artistic centers of East Greece (the region of Greek settlement along the west coast of modern-day Turkey.) We unfortunately still know little about the majority of these centers, due to historical circumstances (see below) and the limited extent to which the sites have been excavated. A terracotta banqueter from the Troad (the region near Troy in the northwestern region of modern-day Turkey), now in The British Museum (fig. 8),[17] has a strikingly similar facial structure and smile to the Walters' piece. An Archaic terracotta *protome* of a woman from Sardis in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 9), comes from a tomb of the Lydian period called the "Stele Tomb," after the Greek marble stelae that flanked the entrance.[18] Its facial features have many similarities with the Walters' bronze. Dating to the early fifth century B.C., it has been thought to indicate contacts between Lydia and the East Greek city of Rhodes, an important Greek trading center on the southern coast.

GREEK-EGYPTIAN CONTACTS IN THE SIXTH AND FIFTH CENTURIES B.C.

Parlasca's article reflects the fact that the traditional focal point for scholars interested in Egypt's relations with Greece in the Archaic period has been the important site of Naukratis on the Canopic branch of the Nile. This was the Greek trading settlement that handled the major commercial transactions between the Egyptians and Greeks.[19]

Fig. 8. Terracotta figurine of a reclining banqueter from the Troad, early 5th century B.C. London: The British Museum, acc. no B113.

Herodotos' passage identifying the cities that founded the sanctuaries of Naukratis (Hdt. 2.178) is our best source of information about the principal Greek cities active here; he tells us that the Aeginetans built a temple to Zeus, the Samians one to Hera, and the Milesians a temple in honor of Apollo. In addition, the largest sanctuary in Naukratis, the Hellenion, was built by the joint efforts of the Ionians of Chios, Teos, Phokaia, and Klazomenai, the Dorians of Rhodes, Knidos, Halikarnassos, and Phaselis, and the Aeolians of Mytilene. It is this site that presented the most frequent and commonplace opportunities for direct contact between the two cultures. As is well known, however, the Egyptians were wary of the Greeks, maintained a tight control over Greek trade, and limited any Greek settlement other than that of mercenaries to this one site during the Archaic period.[20]

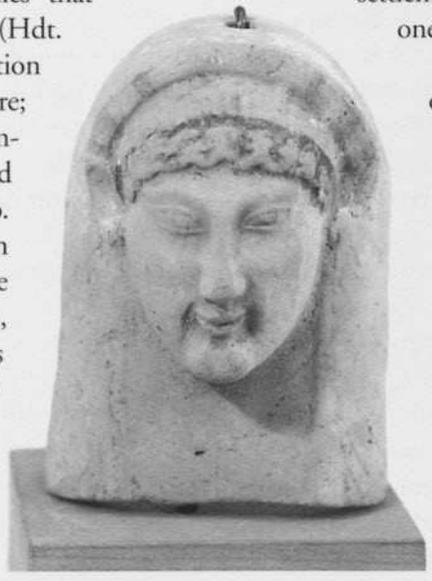

Fig. 9. Terracotta female protome from Sardis, ca. 500–480 B.C. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 26.164.8.

The lack of information on the original context of the Walters' statuette precludes its placement within the tremendously valuable body of material known as "Aigyptiaka": the Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts that have been excavated from Greek archaeological sites. This material was originally published by J. D. S. Pendlebury in 1930, and has been updated twice in more recent times, by Richard Brown in 1975, and again, in an exhaustive treatment by Nancy Skon-Jedele in 1994, which catalogued more than 5,000 objects.[21]

The number of true Egyptian artifacts that reached Greek lands is substantial, but the objects are primarily small items—faience

figurines, small vessels, scarabs, and beads—that circulated through trade. We now know that both Naukratis and Rhodes had factories that produced small faience articles in the Egyptian manner to satisfy a demand for these artifacts among Greek curiosity-seekers. Scarce but slowly mounting evidence from the major East Greek sanctuaries, from scattered Greek sites, and from Lydian contexts just east of Greek territories is also beginning to indicate that Egyptian influences were strongly felt in Archaic Greek centers other than Naukratis.

All of the bronze artifacts discussed among the "Aigyptiaka" are purely Egyptian in style. When Pendlebury first published the material, the known bronzes were limited to a statuette of a Seated Horus from Athens and a small Apis bull found on Samos.[22] Subsequent excavations revealed only a few additional examples—a similar Horus statuette from Argos and a mirror from Perachora[23]—until the spectacular finds from the Sanctuary of Hera at Samos changed the picture entirely.[24] With one excavation, the number of Egyptian bronzes from Greek sites had jumped from a handful to more than 140, encouraging scholars to hope for similar riches from future excavations at East Greek sites. In recent years, the list has been expanded by a bronze Isis and a falcon-headed implement from the excavations at Miletos and a bronze *situla* from Samos.[25]

The Egyptian bronze statuettes excavated in the Samian Sanctuary of Hera (Heraion) have been identified by Ulf Jantzen as belonging to the Kushite period of the twenty-fifth dynasty, that is, ca. 719–656 B.C.[26] A notable number of these statuettes are of women, including a very fine standing figure of the goddess Neith (figs. 10–12), another of the goddess Mut, and several naked female figures wearing a polos headdress and with separately formed and attached arms.[27] They are thought to have been imported into Samos shortly after their manufacture in Egypt. Thus our picture of the Heraion on Samos in the Archaic period must now include numerous very fine Egyptian works dedicated in the sanctuary, as well as works of Near Eastern origin, also published by Jantzen,[28] a situation unparalleled at any other Greek site.

The Egyptian goddess Neith was a deity of war and hunting, especially revered in Lower Egypt, her principal cult center being located at Sais, home of the kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty, the period between 664–525 B.C. The statuette of the goddess excavated at Samos (figs. 10–12) wears the red crown of Lower Egypt and an incised broad collar necklace inlaid with copper, as well as a thin net-like garment covered by her falcon-wings, also indicated by incision. Her stance is frontal, with her left foot only slightly advanced before her right. Her right hand hangs straight by her side, while her left arm is bent at the elbow with her hand lifted forward. Both hands are pierced to hold attributes.

A comparison between this statuette and the Walters' maiden is revealing for the works' stylistic differences. While the Egyptian Neith exhibits the frontal stance and stiff leg position typical of many statuettes of the goddess, closely imitated in the Walters' piece, the heads of the figures are each fully representative of the very different cultures that produced them. The expressive, large-featured Egyptian face of Neith, with the strongly outlined eyes and protruding ears, contrasts with the distinctly Ionian Greek shape of the head of the Walters' statuette. Moreover, the oval face, the shape of the eye, the light-hearted expression with high cheekbones, small mouth, and projecting chin, as well as the treatment of the hair and head-covering, are all characteristics that belong to East Greece and related northern Greek settlements.

The Walters' statuette can be dated between 500 and 480 B.C., a period of turmoil and upheaval in the region, as the advancing Persian empire now extended to the edge of the Aegean. Under Persian rule, Ionia fell within the satrapy, or region, administered from Sardis. Because of the upheaval and the fact that the Ionian people were subjugated to the Persians, we know few details of Ionian life in this period, and have no comparable bronze statuettes to compare to the Walters' work. But the movement to revolt against Persian domination, which was to have dire consequences for the region, had begun.

The Walters' bronze points toward a greater communication and cross-influence between Egypt and the northern region of East Greece than excavated evidence currently supports. That a similar exchange took place on Rhodes and on Samos, the formidable trading powers to the south, has long been recognized. The stimulus of trade was the driving force behind this cultural interaction, and Naukratis was not the only site where this was taking place; an important trade route between Egypt and Greece followed the coastlines of Palestine, Phoenicia, and Asia Minor.

The Egyptian dedications at major East Greek sanctuaries may also have had a greater cultural impact than has previously been recognized, but there is only one extant Egyptian stone sculpture dating from the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth dynasties (between 750 and 525 B.C.) excavated from an Aegean context; it is a battered fragment of an Egyptian stone head, less than half life-size, found near the temple of Athena Polias at Kamiros on Rhodes.[29] It is hoped that continuing excavations throughout the region will yield further valuable evidence.

The writings of the early Greek historian Herodotos also lend support. Herodotos tells us that the Egyptian king Amasis dedicated two wooden images of himself to Hera in Samos, during the time of the Samian tyrant Polykrates, ca. 540 B.C. (Hdt. 2.182). He also mentions dedications by Amasis at a Greek sanctuary at Lindos on Rhodes, and another at Cyrene on the north coast of Africa.[30]

Figs. 10–12. Egyptian bronze statuette of Neith, from the Heraion at Samos, ca. 700 B.C. Athens, Deutsches Archaeological Institut.

FINAL ASSESSMENT

The Walters' statuette represents a powerfully poignant example of the challenges faced by modern curators. This odd and intriguing work, both literally and figuratively a pastiche of different elements and styles, potentially represents a rare material example of cultural dialogue. The works of art from the region and period with which it is associated are few and little-known, largely due to the toll of military campaigns waged for dominance over this fertile and strategically located region. If its origins could be definitively ascertained, the importance of the piece would be staggering.

Has the statuette been too compromised by its obvious modifications to be considered authentic? It would take more information than we now have to damn it as a false creation. Most of the comparanda for the piece were not known, many not yet even excavated, by 1909, the date the piece was apparently offered for sale to Henry Walters. The excavations that yielded the Egyptian bronzes in the Sanctuary of Hera at Samos did not begin until 1910; most of the bronzes were not found before the 1920s and not publicly announced until the 1950s. The Dresden bronze was not published until 1921; Parlasca's article appeared in 1975. Our general knowledge of East Greek styles was still in its infancy in the late 1920s, when Ernst Langlotz published his *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (Early Greek Sculptural Schools) in Nürnberg in 1927. Thus it is conceivable but very unlikely that a false creation combining these details could have been made by 1909. The corrosion patterns of the metal, including the break surface of the proper left arm, while it cannot confirm the dating, are consistent with manufacture in antiquity.

The relatively smooth back of the piece is also inconclusive. Terry Drayman-Weisser, Head of Conservation at the Walters, suggests that it could have been smoothed over in modern times, which means we cannot determine whether the lack of incised detail is original or is due to greater weathering and corrosion of this side. As already noted, the cast-on repair, if that is what it is, of the lower part is remarkably crude in comparison to the rest of the work and may be the result of later modification. Such questions about possible alterations need not cloud the assessment of the piece, however, since we already know that it passed through a dealer's hands ca. 1909.

The lively grace and remarkable delicacy of the piece are the best argument for its authenticity, as are its distinctive East Greek stylistic elements. Knowledge of an early twentieth-century workshop producing forgeries of this kind, or scientific testing that proved there is a modern component to the alloy of the upper part of the work, would settle the matter. At present, we must deeply lament the circumstances that have led to the loss of the work's original provenance. At the same time, however, we can carefully note its oddities while celebrating its unique qualities and the suggestion of stylistic interrelationships that the piece represents.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. This article was researched and written while I was an Andrew W. Mellon Curatorial Fellow at the Walters Art Museum. The fellowship presented me with the remarkable opportunity to research the important collection of ancient Greek bronzes from the point of view of condition, provenance or lack thereof, authenticity, and style. I thank Marianna Shreve Simpson and Ellen D. Reeder for making this opportunity possible. An earlier version of this article was presented at the College Art Association conference in New York on 25 February 2000, at a session entitled "Egypt and the Ancient World."

2. W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore and London, 1999), 144–47; see also the article by Marianna Shreve Simpson in this volume.

3. D. K. Hill, *Catalogue of Classical Bronze Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1949), 109–10, pl. 48.

4. Terry Drayman-Weisser, Donna Strahan, and Julie Lauffenburger have examined and discussed the work with me, and I thank them for their observations and careful consideration.

5. Both portions of the statuette were made in the "lost-wax" technique. It is possible that the original wax model (forming what is now the upper portion of the statuette) was produced by a craftsman who was not present for the casting or for any subsequent "repair" work.

6. K. Parlasca, "Zur archaisch-Griechishen Kleinplastik aus Ägypten," *Wandlungen. Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst, Ernst Homann-Wedeking Gewidmet* (Waldsassen-Bayern, 1975), 57–61 (hereafter cited as Parlasca).

7. "Alabaster" (gypsum) statuette of a kouros, from Sais, ca. 550 B.C., Cairo Museum, no. CG 27425, H. 11.5 cm. Parlasca, 57, Taf. 8a; exh. cat., *Götter-Pharaonen* (Mainz, 1978), no. 75. For a new interpretation of the gypsum kouroi from Naukratis as a Cypriot product, see I. Jenkins, "Archaic Kouroi in Naucratis: The Case for Cypriot Origin," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), 163–79; Jenkins sees Cypriot carvers as successfully mimicking Greek form and style, but the majority of his examples are headless.

8. Faience shawabti, from Sakkara, late 6th century B.C., Cairo Museum, no. JE 35268, H 9.5 cm. Parlasca, 59, Taf. 10b–c; *Götter-Pharaonen*, no. 74.

9. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, Inv. Nr. ZV 2626. V. Müller, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1921, 234–36, Abb. 3; W. Müller, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1931, 338–40, Abb. 2; G. Lippold, *Die Griechische Plastik, Handbuch der Archäologie* 3 (Munich, 1950), 90 n. 9; Parlasca, 59, n. 26, Taf. 10 d–f; W. Fuchs and J. Floren, *Die Griechische Plastik* I: *Die Geometrische und Archaische Plastik* (Munich, 1987), 417 n. 14.

10. A. T. Reyes, "The Anthropomorphic Bronze Statuettes of Archaic Idalion, Cyprus," *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 87 (1992), 243–57; Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus: A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford, 1994), 69–84, esp. 82–84, pl. 11.

11. G. E. Markoe, "Egyptianizing Male Votive Statuary from Cyprus: A Reexamination," *Levant*, 22 (1990), 111–22.

12. Parlasca, 57ff; Frank Brommer had earlier drawn a close parallel between the head of one of the gypsum figures and a marble head found at Keramos (near Halikarnassos) in Asia Minor; F. Brommer, "Ein Archaischer kopf in Kairo," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1952, 48–59; Jenkins, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105 (2001), 176.

13. Marble head of a Kore from Atrax, 2nd quarter 5th century, H. 27 cm., location cited as "Kunsthandel," in H. Biesantz, *Die Thessalischen Grabreliefs* (Mainz, 1965), 29, no. L 9, 122, 147, Taf. 30.

14. Musée du Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. Ma 701, Fragment of a stele, from Pharsalos. Biesantz, *Thessalischen Grabreliefs*, 22–23, no. 36, Taf. 17; M. Hamiaux, *Les Sculptures Grecques* I (Paris 1992), 109, no. 98, with bibliography.

15. Akropolis Museum, Athens, no. 675, E. Langlotz et al., *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis* (Frankfurt, 1939), no. 43; H. Payne, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1951), 31, pls. 49–50; G. M. A. Richter, *Korai: Archaic Greek maidens; a study of the development of the Kore type in Greek sculpture* (London, 1968), no. 123, figs. 394–97; M. Brouskari, *The Acropolis Museum: A Descriptive Catalog* (Athens, 1974), 65; B. S. Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture* (Princeton, 1977), 94, 106, 117; C. Rolley, *La Sculpture Grecque* I. *Des origines au milieu du Ve siècle* (Paris, 1994), 258–59, figs. 4, 261.

16. Lampsakos coin: drachm of electrum, ca. 500–460 B.C., Obverse; Janiform head with taenia; Reverse: Head of Athena, helmeted, left, in incuse square. British Museum. Dept. of Coins and Medals, Vol. 15. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia* (Bologna, 1964), 79, pl. XVIII,9. Also Arthur S. Dewing Collection, 2197.

17. R. A. Higgins, British Museum, *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Vol. I (London, 1954), 154 no. 566, pl. 74; E. Langlotz, *Studien zur Nordostgriechischen Kunst* (Mainz am Rhein, 1975), 101–2 n. 32, Taf. 28 3–5.7; F. Croissant, "Sur quelques visages ioniens de la fin de l'archaïsme," *Études Delphiques*, BCH Suppl. IV (1977), 337–63, esp. 351–52, figs. 26–27; Croissant, *Les protomés féminines archaïques. Recherches sur les représentations du visage dans la plastique grecque de 550–480 av. J.C., BEFAR* 250 (Paris 1983), 146 n. 3, pls. 45–46.

18. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Inv. No. 26.164.8, Terracotta Female Mask from Sardis. H. C. Butler, *Sardis I: The Excavations, Part I*, 1910–1914 (Leiden, 1922), 115–22, esp. 116–18, ill. 124; G. M. A. Richter, "Greeks in Persia," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 50 (1946), 26 n. 22; H. R. W. Smith, "A Goddess from Lebadeia," *Hesperia Supp.*, 8 (1949), 355 n. 8; Richter, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Handbook of the Greek Collection* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), 70 n. 38, pl. 52e; B. K. Hamanaka, in exh. cat., *Aspects of Ancient Greece*, Allentown Art Museum, September 16–December 30, 1979 (Allentown, 1979), 234–35, no. 114.

19. R. M. Cook, "Amasis and the Greeks in Egypt," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 57 (1937), 227–37; C. Roebuck, "The Organization of Naukratis," *Classical Philology*, XLVI (1951), 212–20; M. M. Austin, *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic Age, Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society Suppl.*, 2 (1970), 22–34; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: their early colonies and trade*, second ed. (New York, 1980), 111–41.

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21. J. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca* (Cambridge, 1930); R. B. Brown, "A Provisional Catalogue of and Commentary on Egyptian and Egyptianizing Artifacts found on Greek Sites," Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1975; N. Skon-Jedele, "*Aigyptiaka*: A Catalogue of Egyptian and Egyptianizing Objects Excavated from Greek Archaeological Sites, ca. 1100–525 B.C., With Historical Commentary," Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1994.

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24. Brown also mentions a statuette of the god Nefer-Toum found in the bothros in excavations of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros at Eretria in Euboea; it is not clear whether it is made of bronze. J. Constantinou, *Praktika* (1955), 127; Brown, "Provisional Catalogue," 29.

25. Finds from Miletos: G. Hölbl, "Funde aus Milet VIII: Die Aegyptiaca vom Aphroditetempel auf dem Zeytintepe," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1999, 345–71, esp. 345 n. 2. Situla from Samos: G. Touchais, "Chronique des Fouilles en 1983," *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellenique*, 108 (1984), 824, 826, fig. 168.

26. Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 89. See also R. S. Bianchi, "Egyptian Metal Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period (Circa 1070–656 B.C.), from Its Egyptian Antecedents to Its Samian Examples," in M. True and J. Podany, *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World, Symposium at the J. Paul Getty Museum*, March 16–19, 1989 (Malibu, 1990), 61–84, esp. 74–75.

27. Standing Neith, Samos B 354, H. 22.5 cm.; Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 23, Taf. 27–28. Standing Mut, Samos B 148, H. 17.4 cm.; H. Walter and K. Vierneisel, "Ägyptische und Orientalische Funde aus Brunnen G und dem Bothros," *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1959), 37–38, Beil, 77; Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 23, Taf. 28. Naked female with polos-like headdress (no arms), Samos B 1216, H. 17.3 cm.; *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 74 (1959), 35–37, no. 1, Beil. 76; Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 13, Taf. 15. Naked female with polos-like headdress, Samos B 1517, H. 14.3 cm; Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 13, Taf. 14.

28. Jantzen, *Samos VIII*, 39–85.

29. Rhodes, Archaeological Museum, Inv. No. 14342. G. Jacopi, *Clara Rhodos*, VI/VII (1932), 287 no. 2, 289, fig. 12; S. Dietz and S. Trolle, *Arkaeologens Rhodos* (Nationalmuseet, Kopenhagen, 1974), 62–63, fig. 62; Trolle, "An Egyptian Head from Camirus, Rhodes," *Acta Archaeologica*, 49 (1978), 139–50.

30. E. D. Francis and M. Vickers, "Green Goddess: A Gift to Lindos from Amasis in Egypt," *American Journal of Archaeology*, 88 (1984), 68–69; ibid., *Bulletin of the Institute for Classical Studies*, 31 (1984), 119–30.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; figs. 5–7, Dresden, Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen; fig. 8, London, By permission of The British Museum; fig. 9, New York, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art; figs. 10–12, Athens, Deutsches Archaeological Institut.

A Technical Examination of Three Ptolemaic Faience Vessels

YUNHUI MAO

A technical examination was performed on three Ptolemaic faience vessels currently in the Walters' collection. The study revealed that in addition to traditional technology, the production of Ptolemaic faience vessels incorporated innovations that were significant in the development of faience manufacture in Egypt.

The Walters Art Museum possesses an outstanding Egyptian faience collection, with a total of about 260 pieces dating predominately from the New Kingdom (1550–1070 B.C.) through the Roman period in the early first century A.D. Among these works is a small group of twenty faience vessels and vessel fragments made in the Ptolemaic period (330–30 B.C.). Ptolemaic faience is distinctive from earlier works produced in pharaonic periods. This group's particular features comprise design elements of both Egyptian and foreign types arranged in a series of friezes, a characteristic light green overall glaze, and subtle surface decorations enhanced by two-tone glazes in contrasting colors.

The manufacturing method for this type of Ptolemaic faience vessel has not yet been studied thoroughly.[1] For this technical examination, three Ptolemaic faience vessels in the Walters' collection were selected based on their overall stylistic representation of the period. The aim was to identify the construction techniques and the materials used in the production of Ptolemaic faience and to compare the results to earlier faience. The comparison indicated that the faience made in the Ptolemaic period incorporated traditional Egyptian faience technology with innovations from other cultures and was essential to the advancement of faience manufacture in Egypt.

THREE PTOLEMAIC VESSELS

The three Ptolemaic vessels included in this study were a bowl (acc. no. 48.367), a rhyton (acc. no. 48.368), and a jar (acc. no. 48.370) (figs. 1–3).[2] Henry Walters purchased all three in the early 1920s from Dikran Kelekian, an art dealer based in Paris and New York.[3] Both the bowl and the rhyton were formerly in the MacGregor collection, which was sold at Sotheby's in London in 1922. All three pieces date from between 300 B.C. and 200 B.C.[4] Their specific provenance is not known, however, many examples of this type of Ptolemaic faience were found in the Nile Delta region in Egypt.[5]

During the Ptolemaic period (which coincides with the Greek Hellenistic period), Egypt was ruled by a dynasty of Greek origin. Greek and other foreign influences were apparent in the stylistic changes in Ptolemaic faience. For example, the shape of the rhyton originated from the Near East.[6] The surface decoration combined traditional Egyptian designs with foreign ones. Many foreign decorative motifs inspired by Near Eastern and Greek tradition,[7] such as rosettes, palmettes, griffins, garland-and-bow designs, and dancing figures, were used repeatedly on Ptolemaic faience, including the three Walters' vessels.

Although most of the design elements appear raised on the surface in low relief, some are recessed, which creates an interplay of positive and negative images. For example, the leaf patterns in the Walters' bowl are recessed, but the braid pattern below and the wave pattern above are in low relief. The garland-and-bow design on the rhyton is recessed, and the griffins are in low relief. In all three vessels, the series of friezes are arranged in alternating broad narrative bands with narrow ornamental borders. Because both the rhyton and the jar are enclosed, they have only exterior surface decoration. The bowl is visible on both sides and is decorated on both the interior and the exterior.

None of the three vessels has survived intact. The rhyton is missing its top rim[8] and the lower third is restored. The jar is missing a small handle, which would have been located just below the mouth, and a large part of its rim is restored. The bowl has been extensively restored, as more than half of its original surface is missing.

Fig. 1. Ptolemaic faience bowl. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.367.

TECHNICAL EXAMINATION

The manufacturing method for these Ptolemaic faience vessels was determined by visual examination under a microscope and with xeroradiographic imaging (a technique that will be described later). The identification of materials used to produce these vessels was based on a recent technical study of similar types of Ptolemaic faience fragments in the Walters' collection.[9]

CONSTRUCTION

Visual examination revealed that these Ptolemaic faience vessels were mold-made.[10] All of them had relatively thin vessel walls: the maximum thickness of the bowl measured only 2 mm. In addition to the thinness of the vessel walls, the low relief decorations on the surface were extremely shallow and subtle. The interiors of both the rhyton and the jar exhibited irregular and lumpy surfaces, which indicated that both were made by pressing the semi-malleable raw faience body into a mold or molds without smoothing afterwards. The thinness of the vessel walls, the subtle surface relief, and the interior irregularity were all characteristic of mold-formed vessels.

These visual observations were further confirmed by the xeroradiographic imaging. Xeroradiography,[11] a nondestructive examination technique capable of detecting minor differences in radiodensity of solid objects, is often used to study the construction of ceramics. When a xeroradiograph is taken of a ceramic object, joints, seams, air bubbles, inclusions, and the orientation of the ceramic

Fig. 2. Ptolemaic faience rhyton. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.368.

body (such as throwing ridges) can easily be seen. In all three vessels studied, neither concentric ridges associated with wheel turning nor a specific orientation of the body materials were evident.[12] Also, xeroradiographs of these vessels illustrated numerous large air bubbles in the body. The air bubbles were seen as black holes (fig. 4). This indicated that the body was made of a non-plastic material, which was hard to manipulate and thus trapped air bubbles during the kneading process. The non-plastic nature of the raw material would have made it impossible for these vessels to be created on a wheel. All of this evidence led to the conclusion that these objects were mold-formed.

According to the xeroradiographs, both the rhyton and the jar had joint seams. Their enclosed and complex shapes indicated that they were made from a multi-step procedure. The jar was made of two sections and joined at the widest point. The joint seam was visible to the naked eye upon close examination. The mouth was a continuous part of the top section. The flat base on the bottom was not added on, but created at the same time as the lower section in the mold. The handle of the jar is now missing; however, based on the observation of another Ptolemaic jar (48.378) in the Walters' collection with its handle intact, the handle was probably formed by hand and then attached.

The rhyton was also made in two sections, which were joined just above the garland-and-bow design. In this case, the joint seam had been smoothed and was not visible to the naked eye. However, it can be seen easily in the xeroradiograph (fig. 4). The joint area is less dense than the rest of the faience body, thus it is seen as a dark circular band.

Like the shape of the vessels, the low relief surface designs were also created in the same molds as part of a single step. The designs were probably carved out into the mold. For simple and repetitive decorative elements like rosettes, a stamping technique may have been employed. When the vessel was pressed onto the mold, the design was then transferred to its surface. The shallow depression in the mold corresponds to the low relief on the vessel. Because there are no surviving Ptolemaic faience molds,[13] it is difficult to know exactly how the recess designs are achieved. The recess designs, such as the garland-and-bow pattern on the rhyton, could have been made either in the mold or carved directly on the surface. After the piece was taken out of the mold, the final details and designs, like the dotted lines with tapered ends around the garland-and-bow design on the rhyton, were likely enhanced through carving and/or incising with pointed tools. Indeed, the edges of some decorative motifs are extremely sharp and crisp.

Unlike the rhyton and the jar, the bowl was made in one step using two molds: an exterior one and an interior one. Since both sides of the bowl have relief decorations, it seems that the body material was probably placed in the exterior mold and then pressed by the interior one. The bowl has two bands of raised yellow dots around the leaf pattern (fig. 1). Because these dots are not uniform in size, it was not clear whether they were added by hand after the bowl was formed or were created from the interior mold. A close examination of a broken dot revealed that it was continuous with the rest of the body. No seam was present, as there would have been if the dots had been added. Therefore, these raised dots had to have been formed in the interior mold.

BODY

The crispness of the designs and the subtle low relief of these three vessels are a direct result of the use of an extremely fine faience body. In contrast to pottery, which is made of clay and can be easily thrown on a wheel, faience is made from a non-plastic material, mainly quartz. Scientific analysis confirmed that the body of this type of Ptolemaic faience consisted chiefly of ground quartz.[14] The quartz was mixed with a small amount of glaze, acting as a flux, to promote good fusion upon firing of the vessel.

It has been suggested that sometimes a small amount of clay was intentionally added to the quartz body of faience in this period, which would increase the plasticity of the body so that a vessel could be thrown on a wheel.[15] However, no clay component was detected in this particular group of objects.[16]

GLAZES

In all three Walters' examples, the surface color is achieved by two layers of glazes (an underglaze and an overall glaze) in contrasting pigments. They can be easily distinguished visually by the colors used. The underglaze is blue and appears to be thick and opaque. It is only present in the recess areas. The overall glaze is light green and is present on the entire surface as a final layer. The overall glaze appears to be thin and transparent. It is abraded and worn, particularly in the raised areas. The underglaze has a stronger and darker color than the overall glaze, thus emphasizing the design elements. Upon close examination, at the broken edges the underglaze is much thicker than the overall glaze. Scientific analysis confirmed that the underglaze was made of a slurry mixture of glaze and finely ground quartz, and the overall glaze has no additional glaze and is transparent.[17] In the case of yellow seen on the raised dots, the yellow is actually showing through from the thin light green overall glaze.

Scientific analyses revealed that both the underglaze and the overall glaze were made of lead-alkali-silica mixed with metal oxides as colorants.[18] Previous studies have suggested that the bi-colored surface was achieved by the application of one layer of glaze that collected in the recesses, therefore firing a darker color than the thinner raised areas.[19] In fact, there are two distinct layers of glazes with different compositions.[20] The main difference between the underglaze and the overall glaze is in the colorant used. Cobalt (predominantly), iron, and probably manganese in small amounts were employed as colorants for blue in the underglaze. Copper and lead antimonate were used in small amounts as colorants for light green in the overall glaze. Lead antimonate alone was responsible for the yellow color of the raised dots on the bowl.

Fig. 3. Ptolemaic faience jar. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.370.

The glazing process of these three Ptolemaic vessels seems to be an application process. There is no evidence to suggest that they were self-glazed,[21] a practice common to many traditional pharaonic faience objects or pieces. The underglaze was probably applied as a layer of slurry mixture overall to the decorative surface, then wiped off from raised areas so that it would collect only in the recesses. It would be very time-consuming to fill each individual recess of a complex and detailed surface design. In addition, the interior surface of the jar does not appear to be glazed. Given the fact that it would be difficult to wipe away the underglaze from the enclosed interior surface of the jar, the interior would have been glazed with the blue underglaze had it been self-glazed. Finally, an overall thin layer glaze is applied instead of self-glaze, as indicated by the drip marks, for example, around the mouth area in the interior of the jar.

Fig. 4. Xeroradiograph of rhyton. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.368.

Once the faience vessels were made, they were probably fired in a one-firing process.[22]

In comparison to the earlier pharaonic faience that is known to have an alkali-silica glaze, the Ptolemaic faience glaze (both the underglaze and the overall glaze) contains lead-alkali-silica.[23] Only a few other Ptolemaic faience samples of this stylistic type in other museum collections have been analyzed thus far; those pieces were also shown to have a lead-alkali-silica glaze.[24] During the Ptolemaic period, lead was added to the traditional alkaline glaze intentionally. The lead modifies the glaze by reducing its viscosity during firing and creating a smooth surface. The lead also improves the optical brilliance of the glaze[25] and ultimately enhances the appearance of the object. This development may have been the result of a natural progression of traditional Egyptian faience technology, but it may also have come from influences outside Egypt.

CONCLUSION

The technological innovations made during the Ptolemaic period had great significance within the chronology of 4,000 years of faience manufacture in Egypt. In contrast to the predominately turquoise-blue faience vessels made in earlier periods, Ptolemaic faience had refined characteristics in both its appearance and production techniques. The motifs used were no longer limited to the traditional Egyptian elements, and a distinct light green glaze became fashionable. The use of two contrasting glaze colors to highlight relief designs appears to be unique to this period. Probably for the first time, a glaze rich in both lead and alkali elements was being produced, marking a departure from the alkaline glaze used previously.

Faience is one of the earliest forms of glazed ware,[26] as early pottery was usually not glazed. It was not until the Roman era (first century B.C. to first century A.D.) that lead glazed pottery began to be produced in the West.[27] Unlike faience, which has a body made of quartz, pottery has a clay body that is much easier to shape and can be wheel-thrown. Lead glaze is much easier to prepare and work with than alkaline glaze, and produces higher optical brilliance.[28] As a consequence of these difficulties, faience began to lose its popularity, and its production began to decline as glazed pottery became more popular. Falling in the transition period between traditional faience and lead glazed pottery, Ptolemaic faience may have laid the foundation for the production of lead glazed ceramics for centuries to come.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. R. Scheurleer, "Thirteen drinking cups," *Enthousiasmos: Essays on Greek and Related Pottery* (Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum, 1986), 147–56; M.-D. Nenna and M. Seif el-Din, "La vaisselle en Faïence du Musée Gréco-Romain D'Alexandrie," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, II Études Chroniques et Rapports* (École Française D'athènes, 1993), 117, 565–603.

2. The bowl (acc. no. 48.367) measures 17.8 cm. in diameter and 5.2 cm. in height. The rhyton (acc. no. 48.368) measures about 21.3 cm. in height, and the opening diameter at the top measures 9.8 cm. The jar (acc. no. 48.370) measures 16.6 cm. in height, and the diameter at the widest point is 5.5 cm.

3. See the article by Marianna Shreve Simpson in this volume.

4. E. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art in the Walters Art Gallery* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 105–6. The dates of manufacture of these three vessels were further confirmed by Dr. R. Scheurleer at Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam during a personal communication with him in 1998.

5. W. M. F. Petrie, "The Pottery Kilns at Memphis," *Historical Studies* II (London, 1911), 34–37; K. Mysliwiec, "In the Ptolemiac Workshops of Athribis," *Egyptian Archaeology*, 9 (1996), 34–36; A. J. Spencer and L. Schofield, "Faience in the Ancient Mediterranean World," *Pottery in the Making: World Ceramic Traditions* (London, 1997), 104–9.

6. Reeder, *Hellenistic Art,* 105.

7. Ibid.; H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art: the MacGregor Collection* (London, 1897), 81–85.

8. A rhyton fragment with a partially intact rim is published in *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1922). This object currently belongs to The British Museum.

9. Y. Mao, "Lead-alkaline Glazed Egyptian Faience: Preliminary Technical Investigation of Ptolemaic Period Faience Vessels in the Collection of the Walters Art Gallery," *Journal of the American Institute for Conservation*, 39 (2000), 205–14.

10. Presumably the mold used for Ptolemaic faience was made of clay, as clay was used for earlier mold-made faience.

11. For detailed technical information on Xeroradiography, see P. Magliano and B. Boesmi, "Xeroradiography For Paintings on Canvas and Wood," *Studies in Conservation*, 33 (1988), 41–47.

12. Xeroradiography was carried out at the Division of Conservation Technical Research at the Walters Art Museum in 1997, using the Xerox 126 system for xeroradiography. Xeroradiographs of these three Ptolemaic faience vessels were taken at 150 kv, 2.4 mA, and 10 seconds.

13. Nenna and Seif el-Din, "La vaisselle en Faience," 565–603.

14. Mao, "Lead-alkaline Glazed Egyptian Faience," 198–99.

15. Vandiver, P. "Appendix A: the Manufacture of Faience," in *Ancient Egyptian Faience: an Analytical Survey of Egyptian Faience From Predynastic to Roman Times* (England, 1983), A123–25; P. Nicholson, "Materials and Technology," in *Gifts of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience* (New York, 1998), 50–64.

16. Mao, "Lead-alkaline Glazed Egyptian Faience," 198–99.

17. Ibid., 199.

18. Ibid., 196–98.

19. D. K. Hill, "Some Late Egyptian Ceramics in the Walters Art Gallery," *GBA*, 30 (1946), 195; Reeder, *Hellenistic Art*, 105.

20. Mao, "Lead-alkaline Glazed Egyptian Faience," 196–98.

21. There are two types of self-glazing processes for producing Egyptian faience. One is an efflorescence process and the other is a cementation process. The efflorescence process involves the mixing of soluble alkali salts with the faience body prior to the construction of the object. Upon drying of the object, the salts effloresce or deposit on the surface, and during firing become the glaze. The cementation process involves placing an unglazed faience object in a glazing powder, and during firing the body becomes glazed. See P. B. Vandiver, "Technological Changes in Egyptian Faience," *Archaeological Ceramics* (Washington, D.C., 1982), 167–79.

22. Vandiver, "Appendix A: the Manufacture of Faience," A1–A137.

23. Mao, "Lead-alkaline Glazed Egyptian Faience," 196–98.

24. P. B. Vandiver, "Appendix C: X-ray Fluorescence Analyses of Individual Objects," *Ancient Egyptian Faience: an Analytical Survey of Egyptian Faience From Predynastic to Roman Times* (Warminster, England, 1983); M. T. Wypyski, "Appendix," *Gift of the Nile: Ancient Egyptian Faience* (New York, 1988), 265.

25. M. S. Tite, I. Freestone, R. Mason, J. Molera, M. Vendrell-Saz, and N. Wood, "Lead Glazes in Antiquity: Methods of Production and Reasons for Use," *Archaeometry*, 40 (1998), 241–60.

26. Glazed terracotta, such as pottery and architectural bricks, was manufactured in ancient Mesopotamia from 1550 B.C. to 330 B.C., but the glaze used is strictly alkaline, the same glaze composition as pharaonic faience glaze. P. Moorey, *Materials and Manufacture in Ancient Mesopotamia: The Evidence of Archaeology and Art* (BAR International Series 237, England, 1985), 165–87.

27. Tite, Freestone, Mason, Molera, Vendrell-Saz, and Wood, "Lead Glazes in Antiquity."

28. Ibid.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

The Conservation and Attribution of an Egyptian Sculpture: A Collaboration between Conservators and Curators

LORRAINE TRUSHEIM

During an NEA-funded conservation project, collaboration between conservators and curators led to the attribution of an Amenhotep II sculpture in the Walters Art Museum collection. The sculpture had a significant amount of restoration, including a restored nose. After determining it was not an ancient repair, the restored nose was removed. The conservation treatment revealed original facial features, which enabled the curators successfully to identify the sculpture.

As antiquities were unearthed from Egypt in the early part of the twentieth century, the exchange of art objects between dealers and collectors was frequently left unrecorded or reduced to a single line in a ledger or journal. There is often no information on an object's provenance or condition and treatment upon excavation. In such cases, conservators can refer only to general historical accounts of past excavation methods and treatment procedures when interpreting an object. Fortunately, in many cases artifacts themselves can provide clues to their history. Collaborative efforts between the conservation and curatorial departments frequently answer many questions that would otherwise go unresolved. Such collaboration led to the attribution of an important Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Museum collection.

The Walters' collection of Egyptian art is considered by many to be one of great importance due to its breadth and quality. Henry Walters (1848–1931) assembled most of the Egyptian collection through acquisitions from the art dealer Dikran Kelekian (1868–1951).[1] In 1998, a National Endowment for the Arts grant was awarded to the museum to fund the conservation treatment of Egyptian hardstone. During the course of this conservation project, a black granodiorite[2] Egyptian head (acc. no. 22.229) that had been in storage for many years was brought to the lab for treatment, and with it came a question from the curatorial department[3]: what king does this sculpture portray (figs. 1 and 2)? In the past, scholars had debated whether this piece dated to the eighteenth dynasty (1550–1307 B.C.), nineteenth dynasty (1307–1196 B.C.), or Third Intermediate Period (1070–712 B.C.).[4] As with many unidentified Egyptian sculptures, nuances in the sculpting of facial features can lead to a secure attribution. Sometimes the angle of an eye, the curve of the mouth, or the shape of the nose can be revealing. Of course, it is common to find ancient sculptures with missing or restored noses, and, in this case, the nose had been restored in such a way that the delineation between original surfaces and restoration was unclear. Thus the main problem was to determine how much of the nose was original.

Previous damage and repair was confirmed in records of a complicated treatment history on file in the conservation laboratory. The surface of the stone head was carefully examined and documented. To help reveal the extent of restoration, the object was viewed under long-wave ultraviolet light. Ultraviolet light examination is a non-destructive technique used to make a visual identification of surface anomalies. It is based on the principle that materials, such as resin and glues, have certain fluorescent properties under this range of light and so can be clearly detected. A network of fills on the Walters' Egyptian head fluoresced an orange color (indicative of shellac) throughout the surface, especially in the area of the nose (fig. 3).

To determine the actual degree of loss in the original stone, it was necessary to locate the border between stone and restoration material; therefore, investigative tests to remove the restoration around the nose were done under high magnification. Mechanical removal of restoration material with a micro-scalpel combined with the use of organic solvents showed that the fill extended over a well-defined join line that circled the perimeter of the nose. Given the extent of previous damage and repair, a visible join at the nose was not in itself problematic; it was the artificial, planar nature of the join line that raised questions about the authenticity of the existing nose. Was it an ancient repair, either by the original sculptor or by another sculptor re-carving the head for use by a subsequent ruler, or was the nose a modern restoration?

Fig. 1. Amenhotep II with "Blue Crown." The front view of head, before treatment. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 22.229.

Fig. 2. The proper right side of head, before treatment.

Two observations immediately precluded the likelihood of an ancient repair. First, the resin adhesive used over and in between the join was consistent with other areas of modern restoration dated to 1939. Second, and equally important from a curatorial standpoint, the nose was stylistically inconsistent with comparable examples of Egyptian sculpture. After deliberation, the decision was made to remove the nose in order to examine the repair more closely. The nose was easily detached from the head in one piece by dissolving the resin adhesive with ethanol. It became apparent that the initial break edge of the nose was deliberately carved flat to receive the rear join surface of the extant nose. This method of repair was inconsistent with ancient repairs seen on other Egyptian sculptures, where, traditionally, a modified mortise-and-tenon join was used mechanically to attach an element to a sculpture.[5]

Evidence in favor of the nose being original was the fact that the stone used to carve the nose was similar, if not identical, to the stone used to carve the head. However, another explanation for this similarity was found on further examination. During a previous restoration, a wide diameter core was removed from the underside of the neck, possibly to facilitate mounting for installation. While the head would have originally been solid and part of a standing figure, the neck was now hollow. It is quite possible that the stone cored from the neck was used to carve the nose.

The hypothesis that the nose was not original was further supported by a comparison to another repaired nose on a sculpture of Queen Hatshepsut in the Cleveland Museum of Art (acc. no. 1917.976). Dr. Betsy Bryan, Professor in Egyptian Art and Archaeology at The Johns Hopkins University, compared the repair methods on the two sculptures and found them to be executed in the same fashion. Cleveland's records trace the repair of their sculpture to the workshop of the Kalebjian brothers, two Armenian art dealers working in Paris during the early part of the twentieth century. One of the brothers frequently repaired missing noses on antique sculpture. His signature style of repair was to shave and flatten down the break edge so that the new feature could be readily attached.[6] The similarity

Fig. 3. Outline drawing showing the areas of fill material that fluoresced orange under ultraviolet light (Line drawing by Lorraine Trusheim).

between the Cleveland and Walters' noses strongly suggests that the Kalebjian workshop repaired the Walters' sculpture. This object was acquired in 1913 through the dealer Dikran Kelekian, who had a shop in Paris, as well as in Cairo and New York. During his career as a collector, Henry Walters made regular trips to Paris, where he would visit other dealers' shops with Kelekian as his guide.[7] It is probable that Kelekian knew the Kalebjian brothers, based on the proximity of their shops, the nature of their businesses, and known interactions among Armenian dealers.[8]

The answer to the initial question of the Walters' sculpture's identity relied on the curatorial study of the facial features, more specifically, their shapes, angles, and proportions. Without the distracting restored nose, the original features could be clearly seen. Based on stylistic features, such as almond-shaped eyes, square jaw, and the slightly protruding upper lip, the head was confidently attributed to Amenhotep II (1427–1401 B.C.).[9] This identification is significant because it is extremely rare to find an example of this eighteenth-dynasty pharaoh wearing the "khepresh," or "blue crown." The crown is worn by the king in scenes of battle and coronation, and it first came into fashion with pharaohs from the eighteenth dynasty.[10]

Considering that the nose was a modern restoration, a decision needed to be made about whether to display the head with or without it. The restoration detracted from the sculptor's original aesthetic because it imposed a modern nose, which was in no way stylistically accurate, on an ancient face. The decision was made to display the head without the nose, allowing visitors to view clearly what remained of the sculpture's original facial features (fig. 4).

In addition to the nose removal, further conservation treatment was necessary to stabilize the condition of the object and to prepare it for installation in the new Egyptian galleries. A report in the conservation file describes a major repair involving reconstruction of the head after it was broken in an accident in 1939. The report also refers to a previous reconstruction, but the nature of this damage is unknown. As a result of these two major repairs, the fragments are somewhat misaligned. The 1939 treatment

Clockwise from top left: Fig. 4. The front view of head, during treatment, showing the removal of the restored nose, as well as the removal of unstable cement in area of crown. Fig. 5. The proper right side of head, during treatment, showing removal of unstable cement from areas of loss. Fig. 6. The proper right side of head, during treatment, showing areas of loss filled with tinted plaster of paris. Fig. 7. The proper right side of head, after treatment, showing fills inpainted.

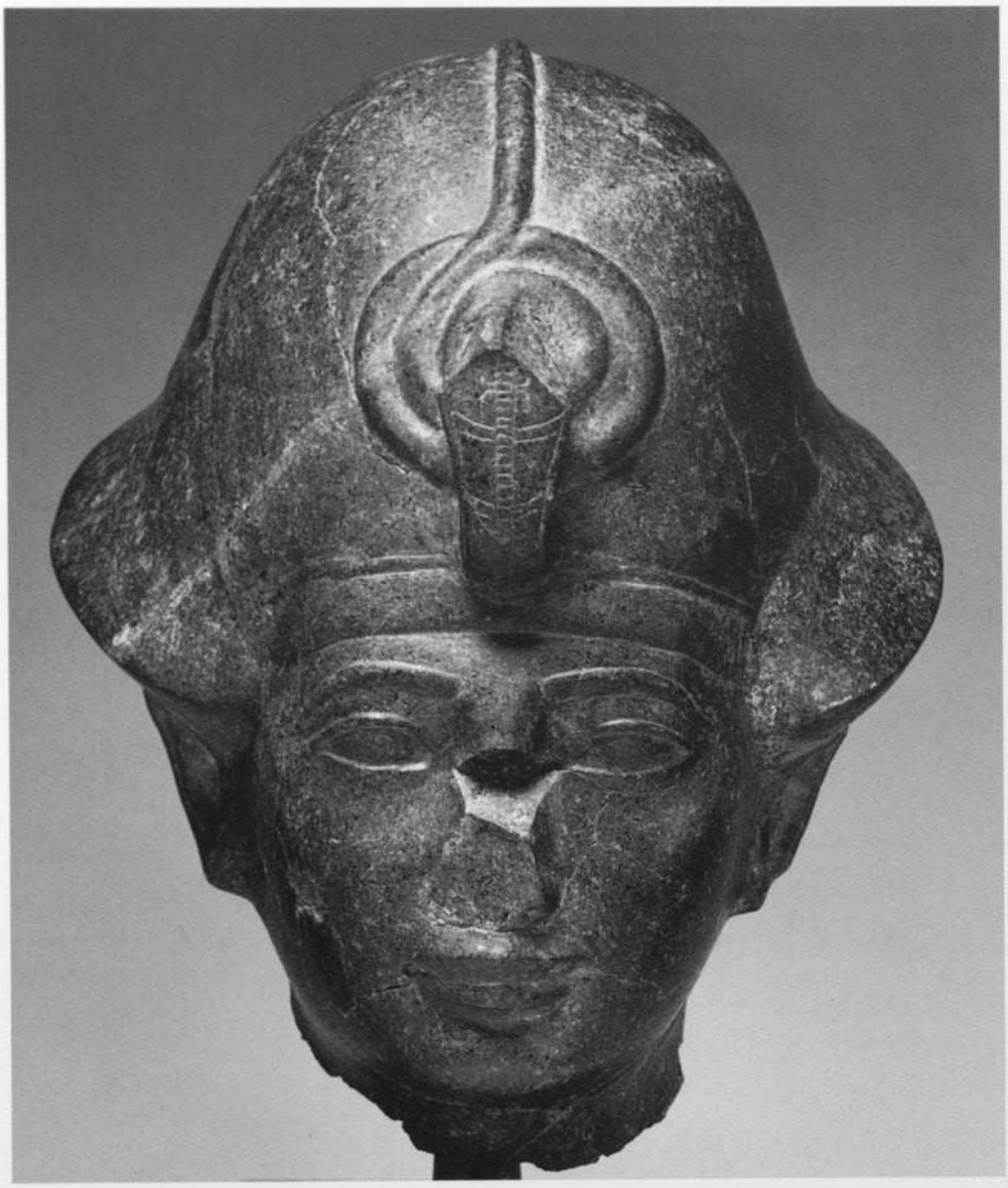

Fig. 8. The front of head, after treatment, showing fills inpainted.

used a proprietary product called "Meyer's Cement" to adhere the fragments of the head and fill any losses. Unfortunately, this cement contains unstable magnesium salts, which started to migrate to the surface with fluctuations in relative humidity and could have caused irreversible harm to the stone. An important part of the conservation treatment was, therefore, the mechanical removal of as much of this cement as safely possible with a sharp, micro-scalpel (figs. 4 and 5). The remaining cement was sealed with Paraloid B-72 (methyl acrylate-ethyl methacrylate copolymer) and losses were refilled with tinted plaster (fig. 6). The losses were filled to the level of the surrounding stone and inpainted so that they did not detract from the sculptural quality of the head (figs. 7 and 8).

At the beginning of this project, an Egyptian sculpture's attribution was in question due to a confusing restoration and a lack of documentation regarding its provenance. The exchange of art historical and technical information answered an important question, resulting in the confident attribution of an Egyptian sculpture to its proper period.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. W. R. Johnston, "From Private Collection to Public Museum," *The Walters Art Gallery Guide to the Collections* (London, 1997), 9–18. See also the article by Marianna Shreve Simpson in this volume.

2. Granodiorite is an igneous rock and is essentially a type of granite. Igneous rocks are formed from hot magma that undergoes cooling, thus crystallizing into stone. The rate of cooling has a direct impact on the size of the crystals within the stone; slow cooling creates coarse grains, while rapid cooling creates fine grains.

3. The Egyptian object reinstallation list was compiled by a Guest Curatorial committee, headed by Dr. Betsy Bryan, Professor in Egyptian Art and Archaeology at the Johns Hopkins University.

4. Christianne Henry, Project Assistant for Egyptian Art, personal communication.

5. L. M. Berman, K. J. Bohac, P. S. Griffin, and D. B. Christman, *The Cleveland Museum of Art Catalogue of Egyptian Art* (New York, 1999), 223–24. Numerous examples of mechanical joinery (such as mortise and tenon joins) can be seen in Egyptian artifacts made from both stone and wood, showing that the ancient Egyptians had full knowledge of these techniques for use in the manufacture and/or repair of objects.

6. Berman, *CMA Catalogue*, 212.

7. W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore and London, 1999), 147.

8. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 147, 274.

9. On 8 July 1999, the head was attributed to Amenhotep II by a Guest Curatorial Committee composed of Dr. Betsy Bryan and Dr. Gerry Scott of the San Antonio Museum, working in conjunction with a Scholarly Advisory Board, consisting of Richard Fazzini, Dr. Edna Russman, Dr. James Romano of the Brooklyn Museum of Art, and Dr. Rita Freed of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

10. Dr. Betsy Bryan and Christianne Henry, personal communication.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 2, 4–8, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; fig. 3, Lorraine Trusheim.

Inside and Out: Two Gothic Heads Reveal Their Secrets through Technical Analysis

KELLY M. HOLBERT, DONNA STRAHAN, AND LORE L. HOLMES

This article considers the recent technical analysis of two medieval heads of apostles in the Walters' collection. One of these heads had long been suspected by art historians as being of nineteenth-century manufacture, while the other had never been doubted, but was of uncertain provenance. Limestone samples taken from both heads were tested using neutron activation analysis, while the paint layers of one head in particular were also studied in detail. Recent results from these tests have thrown new light on the heads with regard to authenticity and provenance, enabling art historians to assign them to their proper place in the history of fourteenth-century French sculpture.

Among the works of art that were re-examined in preparation for the 2001 reinstallation of the medieval collection were two problematic heads that had previously been dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century (acc. nos. 27.350 and 27.351).[1] The place of origin of each limestone head was uncertain, and one of the two, which had particularly baffled scholars, was even considered to be a nineteenth-century creation. Connoisseurship, or stylistic analysis, had not been able to resolve these arguments during the past fifty years, and so scientific methods of examination were called upon to shed some light on these issues of authenticity and provenance.

The research and planning phase of the Walters' reinstallation coincided with the activities of the Limestone Sculpture Provenance Project, sponsored by the International Center of Medieval Art at The Cloisters, in New York. The Walters provided thirty-two samples from its collection for this project, whose stated goal is to test and analyze the composition of medieval limestone sculptures in American and French collections.

Once collected, the limestone samples are subjected to neutron activation analysis at the Brookhaven National Laboratory in Upton, New York.[2] This analytical technique, based on studies begun at the laboratory during the 1970s,[3] establishes the compositional profile (or "fingerprint") of limestone by determining the concentrations of twenty to twenty-four elements present in the stone.[4] The resulting data are recorded in the Brookhaven Limestone Database, which currently comprises more than 2,200 samples taken from sculptures in museum collections and from monuments and quarries throughout France.

THE PROBLEM OF HEAD A

One of the Walters' sculptures tested as part of this project had caused great debate, both before and after the data analysis was carried out. This Head of an Apostle (acc. no. 27.350, figs. 1–4), which measures 11⅝ in. (29.5 cm.) in height, was acquired by Henry Walters sometime before his death in 1931. For the limestone analysis, a small sample was drilled from the bottom of the neck, avoiding all surfaces that would be visible when the head is on display.

The head is carved in the style of the fourteenth century, and presumably once formed part of a standing figure of an apostle of the type most often seen on the exterior of large French cathedrals, such as at Amiens or Chartres. The sculpture, here called Head A, exhibits a rich, mature Gothic style, with luxurious hair that forms tight, symmetrical curls around the face and chin. The full lips are almost pursed beneath the moustache, and there are slight puffy patches under the expressionless eyes. Overall, the features are smooth and unlined, giving the face a sense of majestic calm. The back of the head (fig. 4), never before published, reveals that the head once formed part of a figure attached to a pillar or anchored in a shallow niche.

For many years, Head A was thought to have come from the church of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins in Paris, built in 1319–24. Five statues survive from this now lost monument and are preserved in the Musée National du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny.[5] These statues are noteworthy for having been carved by one of the few medieval sculptors known by name, Robert de Lannoy, with the help of his assistant, Guillaume de Nourriche. The Walters' head was attributed to Robert de Lannoy in the 1950s by Philippe Verdier, then Curator of Medieval Art at the Walters.[6]

Fig. 1. Head of an Apostle, 14th century, limestone. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.350.

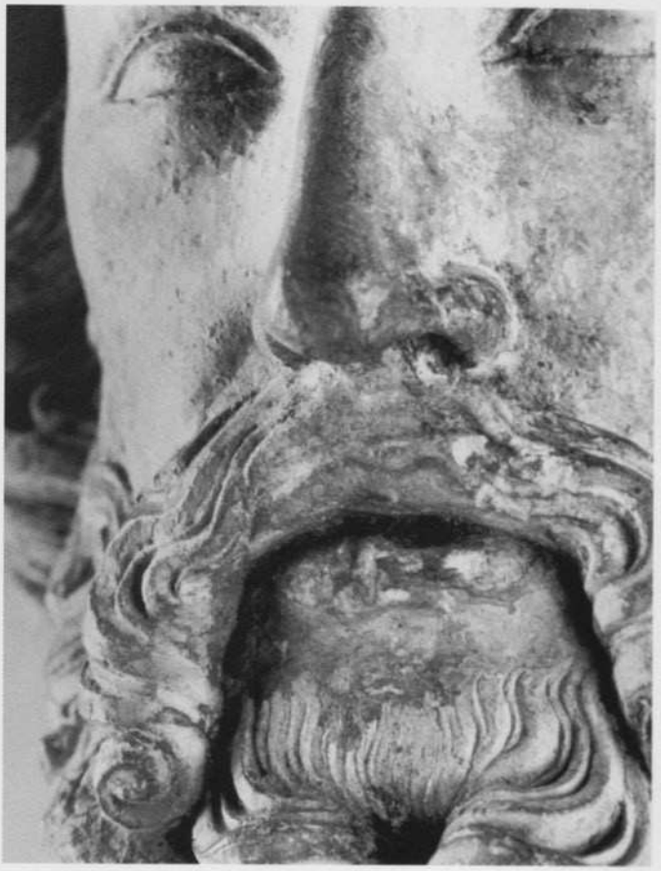

Fig. 2. Head of an Apostle, detail of fig. 1.

This attribution remained tentative, however, and the head was simply described as "French, 14th century" when it was exhibited at the Philbrook Art Center in Tulsa in 1965.[7] Head A bears only a superficial resemblance, though, to the more expressive figures from Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins, with their tilted heads and furrowed brows. The association of Head A with Saint-Jacques was therefore discredited in 1975 by Françoise Baron, a curator at the Musée du Louvre who, on the whole, found little to support the attribution despite a certain "exuberance" seen in the carving of the heads in this group. Furthermore, on the basis of its appearance alone, Baron found Head A to be a little "suspect."[8]

In 1981, a seminal exhibition of fourteenth-century Gothic sculpture called *Les Fastes du Gothique: le Siècle de Charles V* took place in Paris.[9] In the accompanying catalogue, the Walters' head was described as being "generally regarded with suspicion."[10] This view was echoed in the 1980s and 1990s by a number of medieval art historians who expressed the private opinion that this head was either an outright forgery or was carved in the nineteenth century to replace a lost medieval head on a French monument. In either case, the head appeared suspicious to many scholars, and for this reason has not been on view at the Walters for over twenty years.

The fact that the provenance of Head A is completely unknown only compounds the doubt caused by its style. In this instance, as in many others, the museum's curatorial files record only that the piece was purchased by Henry Walters some time before his death in 1931. Later notes, added by Verdier in the 1950s, suggest that the head was sold to Henry Walters by the renowned art dealer Dikran Kelekian.[11] This supposition, however, is based solely on the knowledge that Walters is known to have bought many pieces from him over the years and that three other Gothic heads were still in Kelekian's collection when his estate was settled in 1955.[12] These heads now belong to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, the Detroit Institute of Arts, and the Art Museum of Wellesley College.[13] Each has been considered suspect, although only the Rijksmuseum has publicly acknowledged that its piece (off view since 1955) is a forgery.[14] The head at Wellesley College has also been mentioned as a comparison to Head A,[15] although this head differs markedly from the Walters' piece by having an odd row of double curls along the forehead and a slightly worried look below a furrowed brow. Finally, three more sculptures should be added to this questionable group on the basis of their common style of carving—a head in the

Fig. 3. Head of an Apostle, profile.

Fig. 4. Head of an Apostle, back.

Indiana University Art Museum, a standing apostle figure in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, and a standing Saint Paul in the Pitcairn collection of the Glencairn Museum in Bryn Athyn, PA.[16]

Although the various sculptures of this group merit further study to see if they share a similar provenance, under close examination they do not have many features in common beyond each head's curly beard and a general "Gothic" style. Of the six, Walters' Head A bears the greatest resemblance to the head in the Detroit Institute of Arts (fig. 6), which is still catalogued at that museum as having been carved by Robert de Lannoy, or by a member of his workshop.[17] This attribution can be questioned, however, as when seen from the side, the Detroit head has the unusual and alarming quality of sloping inward at an almost 45% angle, making the face appear chinless to an extreme.[18] The Detroit head is also problematic due to a number of other features, such as the uneven brows and flat cheeks. Nevertheless, in the 1960s, it was compared to Walters' Head A by Richard Randall, Verdier's successor as Curator of Medieval Art,[19] who found it to be similar in the treatment of the central curls of the beard and in the c-shaped wave of hair covering each ear. In the end, these are the only two features the works have in common, for Head A is a more crisply carved piece of sculpture, with a clear bone structure, broad forehead, and greater use of tight curls to frame the face.

What may have inspired the stylistic comparison between the Detroit and Walters' heads is the quality of a 1935 photograph of Head A (fig. 5) that was published as recently as 1981 in the catalogue for *Les Fastes du Gothique*. While the Walters' head does look similar to the one in Detroit when this older photograph of Head A (fig. 6) is used for comparison, the two look quite dissimilar when a more recent photograph (fig. 1) is used instead. The difference in the sculpture's appearance shows how misleading photographs can be when they are not compared directly with the original objects. Head A appears stark and mask-like in figure 5, yet in reality it is a warm, light ochre color with small imperfections that add texture to the surface.

This was the state of the art historical research when the time came to take samples for the Limestone Project. Despite all previous doubts, Head A was included in the study along with the other presumed French sculptures in the hopes of settling the question of its authenticity once and for all. There was still a good possibility that the head

Fig. 5. Head of an Apostle, photograph taken in 1935.

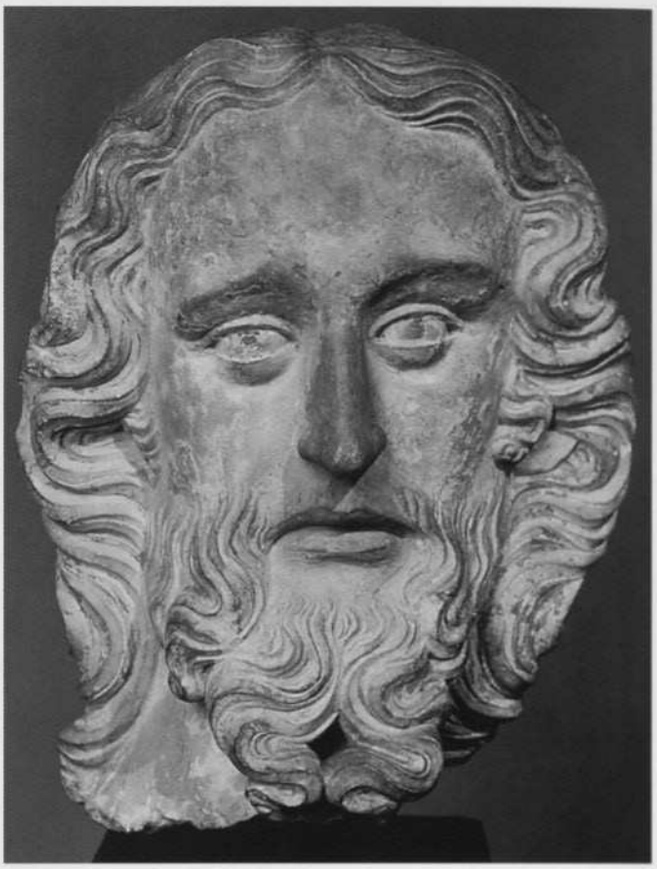

Fig. 6. Robert de Lannoy, Head of Christ, 14th century, limestone. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. George R. Fink, acc. no. 51.328.

was genuine, and even the catalogue entry in *Les Fastes du Gothique*, where Head A is called "suspect," mentions that it nevertheless has some qualities in common with figures from Jumièges.[20] The figure of Saint James from the church of Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins also appears close in style to Head A, and so Saint-Jacques was not ruled out as a possible place of origin.[21] A third possibility was the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, and especially the group of exterior figures dating to 1250–60.[22] In fact, when it came time to provide provenance information for the Limestone Project, Notre-Dame was listed by the Walters as a possible place of origin for Head A based only on the fact that this cathedral had been suggested most recently.

The sample from Head A was therefore compared with the contents of the Project's database, and in 1993 not a single match was found for the limestone. Stone from Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins was not a match, and nor, it seemed, was stone from Notre-Dame. The head would at this point have been consigned to storage if it were not for the fact that Donna Strahan, then a conservator in the Walters' conservation laboratory, was already studying the piece and carefully cleaning its grimy surface.

In 1999, the Walters requested that the sample from Head A be compared with the contents of the database at the Brookhaven Laboratory for a second time, as many new samples from monuments and quarries had been added to the database since the first test in 1993. By 1999, the number of samples in the database had reached 2,200.[23] When the results from the second search came back, staff members at the Walters were pleased to find that the stone was consistent with samples from the quarries that had provided the limestone for the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Amiens.

This, however, turned out to be only a preliminary result, as members of the Limestone Project subsequently realized that the compositional profile of Amiens limestone closely resembles the limestone found at another French site, namely Jumièges, located just west of Rouen in Normandy. When the sample from Head A was compared with the database for a third time, in February of 2001, its stone now showed a reasonable degree of probability of corresponding to the limestone that had been used at the abbey of Jumièges.[24] The resemblance of the stone from Head A to a group of thirty samples taken from apostle figures and masonry at Jumièges (described in greater detail below) is illustrated in figure 7.[25]

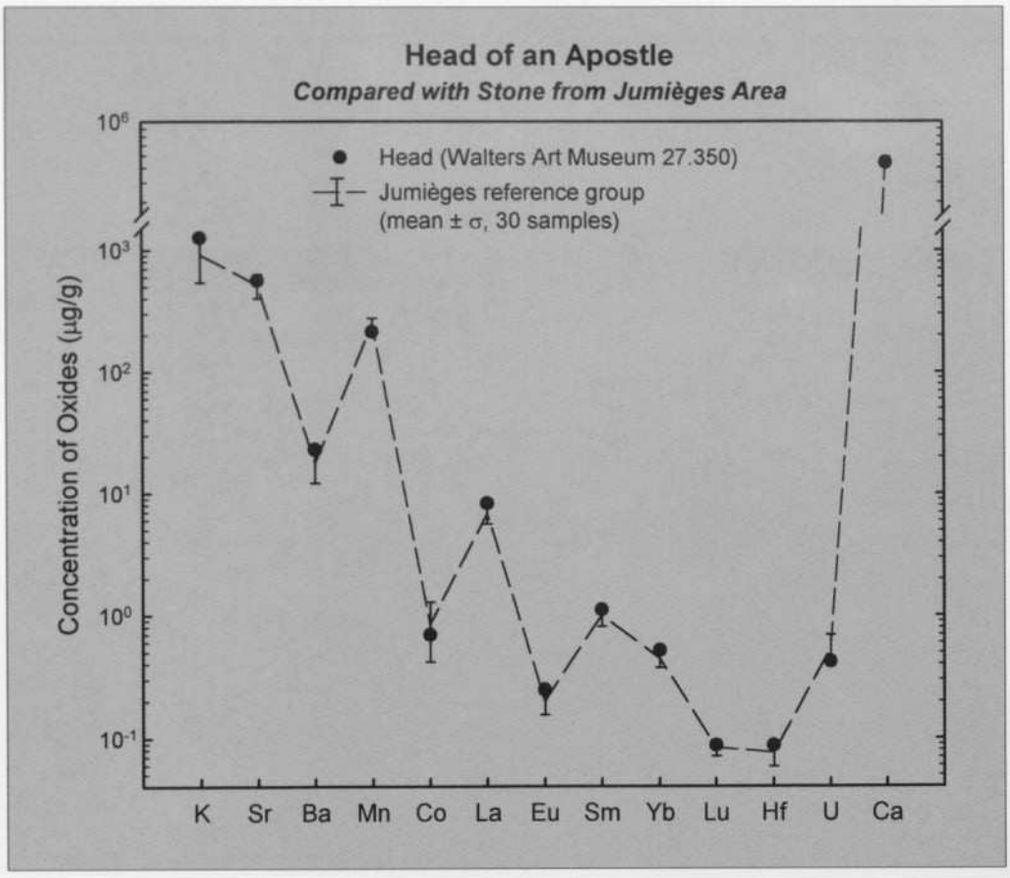

Fig. 7. Profile plot showing that the composition of stone from the Head of an Apostle (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.350) corresponds to that of stone from the Jumièges area in the concentration of thirteen elements.

This result provided new information on *where* the stone for the Walters' head may have originated. The limestone test did not, however, provide any answers as to *when* this particular piece of stone was carved. New data had to be added to the discussion before the question of authenticity could be laid to rest, and before any monument or site in France could be studied for possible art historical ties to Head A. The information needed to help support a medieval date for the carving of Head A came from the on-going technical analysis that was being carried out in the Walters' conservation laboratory.

TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF HEAD A

Head A was first brought to the Walters' lab in an attempt to determine its age by studying the stone's surface. The first step involved a thorough examination of the piece, which revealed that it was complete and without repairs. A close-up view showed dark areas in the carved recesses that could be mistaken for dirt (fig. 2). Under examination with a binocular microscope, however, it became clear that there were scattered traces of pigment and gilding in recesses of the face, beard, and hair. It appeared that there might be a number of layers of paint on the head, a discovery that warranted a closer look at the sculpture.

Polychromy played an important role in the decoration of Gothic architecture and sculpture, although little of this color remains today. Over time the original paint layers have aged, flaked, and been abraded, leaving uneven, dirty surfaces. These surfaces were likely washed and repainted during periodic restorations that would not necessarily have followed the original color scheme or used the same materials.[26] The current fashion of each period may have influenced the choice of colors and the use of gilding to embellish the surface. During the nineteenth century, much of the older paint was scrubbed off the figures on the outsides of churches. At times, too, sculptures were painted over with the color of the surrounding stone to hide the older residue, or, as was the case with a number of major nineteenth-century restorations, the quicker method of whitewashing stone surfaces was used instead.[27] With regard to Head A, it is also possible that a dealer applied the gray paint before Henry Walters purchased the head, but it is difficult to tell, as this surface layer is quite fragmentary.

The purpose of examining the polychromy on Head A was to investigate its pigments and ground structure, to

Fig. 8. Paint cross section from the hair of Head A. This sample contains an original ochre ground and four paint layers (78x magnification).

identify the original pigments used, and to study any subsequent paint layers. Based on information gained from this investigation, it was hoped that the head's original coloring could be determined. In addition, information on the color composition used for repainting in later periods might be revealed. Results of the examination also would be useful for identifying any pigments that had been manufactured in modern times, possibly discounting an early date for the carving of the sculpture.

Microscopy was employed to study minute paint samples removed from the head. Cross sections and dispersed samples of paint from the face, head, and beard 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 determining the paint medium. Scanning electron microscopy (SEM), a technique that allows magnification far beyond that attainable with a light microscope, in conjunction with energy dispersive x-ray spectroscopy (EDS), was used to identify individual inorganic elements present in the paint layers. The information obtained from SEM-EDS analysis confirmed many of the findings observed from polarized light microscopy.

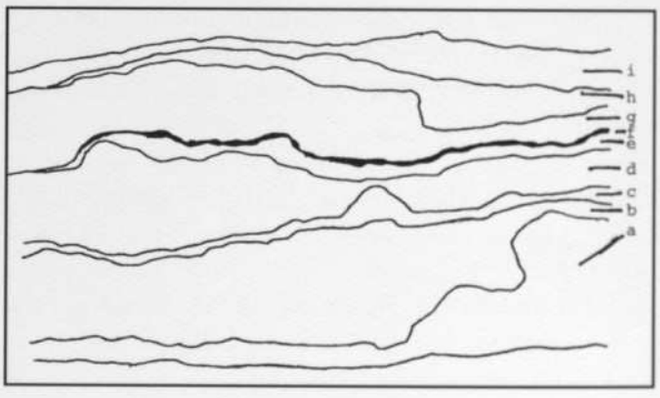

Fig. 9. Diagram of paint cross section from the hair in fig. 8.

Ground and first paint layer:
a. yellow ochre, lead white
b. white lead
c. red lead, white lead

Second repaint:
d. white lead
e. silver
f. organic coating with elements iron, lead, calcium, aluminum, silica, chlorine
g. dirt containing elements iron, lead, calcium, aluminum, silica

Third repaint:
h. red lead, calcium, iron

Fourth repaint:
i. white lead, iron

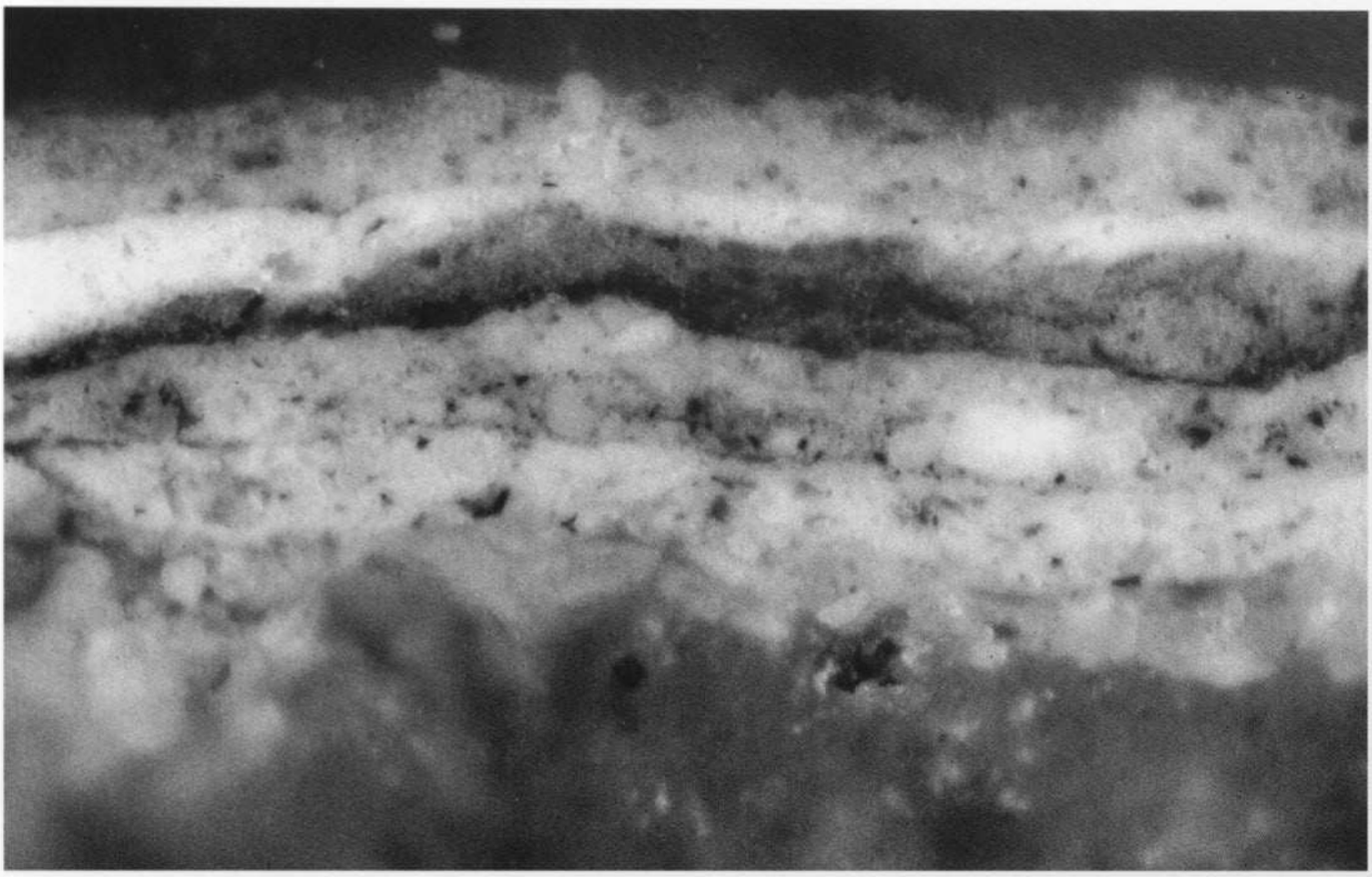

Fig. 10. Paint cross section from the lips of Head A. This sample contains an original ochre ground and four paint layers (78x magnification). The fourth repaint layer (gray) is missing from this cross section.

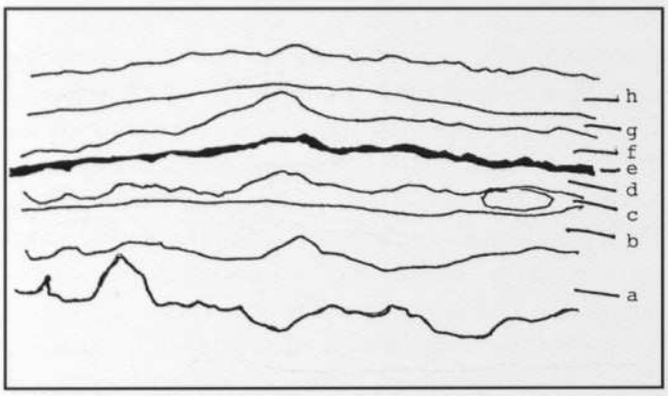

Fig. 11. Diagram of paint cross section from the lips in fig. 10.

Stone with ground and first paint layer:
a. limestone
b. white lead
c. white lead, calcium carbonate
d. white lead

Second repaint:
e. dirt containing elements iron, lead, calcium
f. red lead

Third repaint:
g. white lead
h. red lead, white lead

At that point it was possible to reach tentative conclusions about the original appearance of Head A and how it had changed in the course of successive repainting. Examination of the samples with a reflected light microscope revealed that in some places Head A had been painted up to four times. A yellow ochre preparation ground was found under the bottom layer. This ground layer sits directly in contact with the stone and was found under all areas that were polychromed. Yellow ochre was often used on medieval stone sculpture to fill pores in the stone and to provide a smooth surface for painting.[28] All of the samples taken consistently had a yellow ochre preparation layer under white ground, made up of white lead and calcium carbonate. Furthermore, only one layer of dirt or grime was found. This does not mean that other layers were not exposed to grime, but rather that they were cleaned before repainting.

Two cross sections may serve as examples of the process and its results. It should be kept in mind that each polychromy campaign on stone sculpture may be made up of multiple layers. The first sample comes from a recess in a hair curl and reveals an original ochre preparation layer and four later repaints. Within each campaign of repainting are one or more layers consisting of a ground with a pigment

overlay in a different color or tone (figs. 8 and 9). Later ground layers that were applied to the head are predominately made up of white lead mixed with calcium carbonate and silica.[29] The yellow preparation layer directly in contact with the stone was identified as yellow ochre with some white lead (a). The first campaign of polychromy is a pure white ground composed mainly of white lead with calcium carbonate and a little silica (b). On top of the ground is a yellow-red pigmented layer composed primarily of red lead mixed with white lead (c). This would have produced an original auburn color of the hair.

The second campaign is made up of a complicated series of ground, foil, and glaze. It begins with a ground layer consisting of larger particles of white lead and calcium carbonate (d). Next, a thin, pale yellow layer over this was identified as yellow iron oxide, which might be a bole (fine red clay) or oil size (dilute glue) containing ochre, used to attach the metal foil (e).[30] On top of this layer is a metal foil made of very pure silver (f); on top of the foil is an amber-brown layer containing iron and a little lead (g). A large component of the layer may be an organic resin component, but this has yet to be determined. This layer (g) may be a tinted glaze used to make the silver foil appear to be gold, a technique known to have been used in medieval and later times. There are gaps and dirt between this layer and the third decorative scheme, a pink layer. This was the skin tone painted overall to cover the dirt. It is probable that the hair color was painted on top of the pink, but was lost before the final repainting campaign was applied. This pink layer is predominately white lead and red lead with a little iron (h). The fourth campaign is the outermost gray, mainly made of white lead mixed with iron pigments (i). The gray layer was probably applied in the nineteenth century.

The second cross section comes from the lips of Head A and reveals that they were painted four times (figs. 10 and 11). In addition to the limestone, a total of seven layers can be seen in the cross section. Beginning at the bottom is the limestone with a few particles of ochre preparation layer (a). The limestone consists mainly of calcium, silica, and alumina. The first polychromy campaign is composed of multiple grounds and an upper colored layer. Within this stratum, the first level is a pure white layer composed mainly of white lead with some calcium and silica (b). The next level is more crumbly and gray in color (c). It is composed of white lead with small amounts of calcium carbonate and silica. The next layer is white with occasional red particles, forming the pink skin tone (d). It is a mixture of white lead and red lead, as well as a small amount of calcium carbonate and silica. This was the original skin tone that would then have had a glue layer to hold a bright color

Fig. 12. Apostle (Jude?), 1332–35, limestone. Jumièges, Musée Lapidaire (statue formerly in Duclair).

onto the lips; the layers on the lips, however, were stripped down to the ground before repainting.[31] This campaign ties in directly with the first campaign on the hair (figs. 8 and 9 a–c). Between the first thick paint campaign and the second is a dark brown line that is likely dirt from years of exposure (e). It consists of lead, iron, and calcium compounds. On top of the dark line is the second layer, a dense layer of red lead with a small amount of calcium and silica compounds (f). This red layer on the lips matches the second campaign on the hair, the glazed silver foil (figs. 8 and 9 d–g). The third campaign begins with a white lead ground (g) on top of the red (f). On top of this is a pale pink layer with scattered red particles mainly in the upper half. It is composed of red lead and white lead with a little calcium and silica (h). This layer, probably the skin tone with a darker red added to the lips, ties in well with the third repaint layer of the hair (figs. 8 and 9 h). The top gray layer found on the hair and skin is missing from this cross section, but is present in other samples, where it forms the fourth and final layer.

Other samples of the skin taken from the face and neck were examined only by polarized light microscopy and were found to share the same features as the two cross

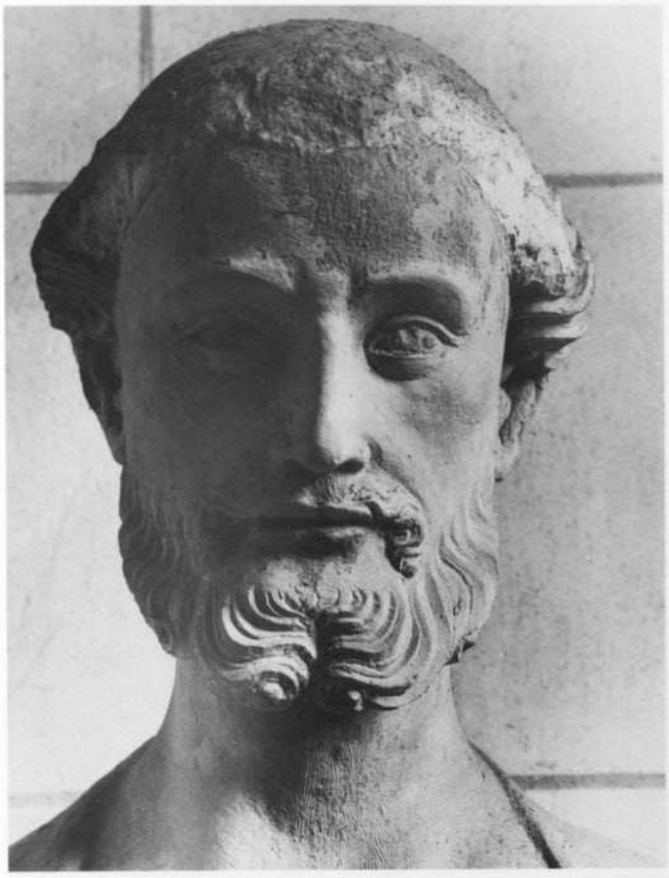

Fig. 13. Apostle (Peter?), 1332–35, limestone. Jumièges, Musée Lapidaire (statue formerly in Duclair).

sections discussed and illustrated earlier. The skin had been painted four times—each time it was a pink color produced by a mixture of white and red lead pigments, with the topmost layer being gray.

With regard to the samples taken from the hair and the lips, no medium was detected within the lowest pigment layers under the microscope using reflected light in the visible and ultraviolet ranges.[32] After applying biological stains, the hair cross section was examined under ultraviolet light, and the use of different media in various layers was identified. Based on this visual evidence, it appears likely that most of the media used were proteins and not oils. The exact nature of each medium, though, cannot be identified until more instrumental analyses are performed.

The cross section samples were taken to The Metropolitan Museum of Art to be compared with samples from French Gothic sculpture with secure provenances, as well as to a known forgery in the collection.[33] The multiple layers seen on Head A turned out to be similar in number and color to those found on several genuine Gothic and late medieval sculptures at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and at The Cloisters.

Study of the pigments and paint layers provided the evidence needed to place Head A in its proper place in art history. The colors used were typical of the Gothic and late medieval periods, beginning with the ochre surface preparation of the stone.[34] While we cannot pinpoint the date of each paint layer, the layers do represent the colors typical of various periods throughout history. The colors, and the use of silver foil, also reflect documented trends in polychromy, and the final paint layer of gray follows nineteenth-century practices. All of the pigments used on Head A were available during the medieval period, and no modern or nineteenth-century pigments were found. Future analytical study should concentrate on the pigment binding media, the possible organic component of what may be bole under the silver foil in the hair, and the composition of the glaze over this foil. Based on other studies of organic materials used during different historical periods, a further identification of these materials may provide more specific dates for the various layers of paint found on Head A.

ATTRIBUTION OF HEAD A

As the microscopic analysis revealed, the multiple layers of paint on Head A's surface suggest that the limestone was carved earlier than the nineteenth century. When the evidence of these paint layers is added to the findings of the Limestone Sculpture Provenance Project, we gain a more complete picture of a medieval head of an apostle that was most likely carved in Normandy for the monastic complex at Jumièges.

Very little remains of this abbey, which, following the French Revolution, was mostly destroyed in 1792.[35] The site was subsequently used as a quarry, yet a number of sculptures still survive from the two abbey churches. At the height of its power, in the eleventh century, Jumièges was a well-endowed monastery with important political ties to England and sufficient funds to finance the construction of the large church of Notre-Dame alongside the smaller, pre-existing church of Saint-Pierre. Subsequent building campaigns took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when the Gothic style was imposed on the earlier Romanesque architecture.

In the case of Jumièges, the findings of the Limestone Project also provide evidence that the medieval stonemasons who worked on this abbey acquired their limestone from only one source, used for both the abbey church of Notre-Dame and for the smaller church of Saint-Pierre. This one source or quarry provided the stone for the carvings originally found on both the interior and the exterior of the two churches and for the walls of the other monastic buildings at Jumièges.[36]

It is during the Gothic period, in 1332–35, that a group of apostle figures is believed to have been carved for the church of Saint-Pierre (figs. 12 and 13).[37] These apostles, as well as other biblical figures, were most likely placed up against pillars as part of an extensive rebuilding campaign undertaken at Saint-Pierre. The apostles were not intended to serve as exterior figures, like those seen on the portals of cathedrals, but were instead carved as part of the interior program of the nave in the manner made popular at Sainte-Chapelle, dedicated in 1248.[38] Of these apostles, about six or seven figures have been identified today, along with three or four heads.[39]

The modern history of the sculpture of Jumièges is unusual and complex, beginning with the removal of the figures in 1792 and their subsequent transfer to a nearby church in Duclair.[40] Sometime after 1870, the statues were retrieved and taken back to Jumièges, where a number seem to have been buried in the old cemetery. This action, described as an old custom, was apparently taken to hide the figures from the sight of a curious antiquarian.[41] Four figures, however, were not buried. In 1923, an additional group of three heads and five bodies was exhumed by a local group who called themselves "friends of the arts." Six statues, however, were left in the ground, and not all of the ones brought to light were apostles. Most of the known heads and figures are now back in the Musée Lapidaire, Ruines de l'Abbaye, in Jumièges.

Given the results of the neutron activation analysis, Walters' Head A now appears to belong to one of these lost apostles, and therefore must have been removed from the Jumièges or Duclair region at some time before Henry Walters acquired it, that is, before 1931. Given the evidence of the paint layers, though, it was not one of the heads or figures that was buried. The style of Head A further supports the scientific attribution to Jumièges, as can be seen when the head is compared with two of the known apostles from the abbey (figs. 12 and 13). Each of these Jumièges figures has the smooth face, high cheekbones, and tightly curled beards that also characterize Head A. All three have slightly puffy patches under the eyes, and the apostle Jude (fig. 12) and Head A also share the soft, loose waves of hair that frame the cheeks, just below the ears.

The figural style of the group of Jumièges apostles can be said to be typically Norman, and is also found in works from smaller churches in the surrounding region, such as Notre-Dame of Ecouis. Dorothy Gillerman dates the Ecouis sculptures to 1310–13,[42] and Hartmut Krohm also points to St. Wandrille and Fécamp as sites where this style is to be found.[43] The figures that were carved in the early 1300s on the west façade of the collegiate church at Mantes (located between Paris and Rouen) have also been included in this group and have been attributed to the same atelier that worked at the cathedral of Rouen.[44]

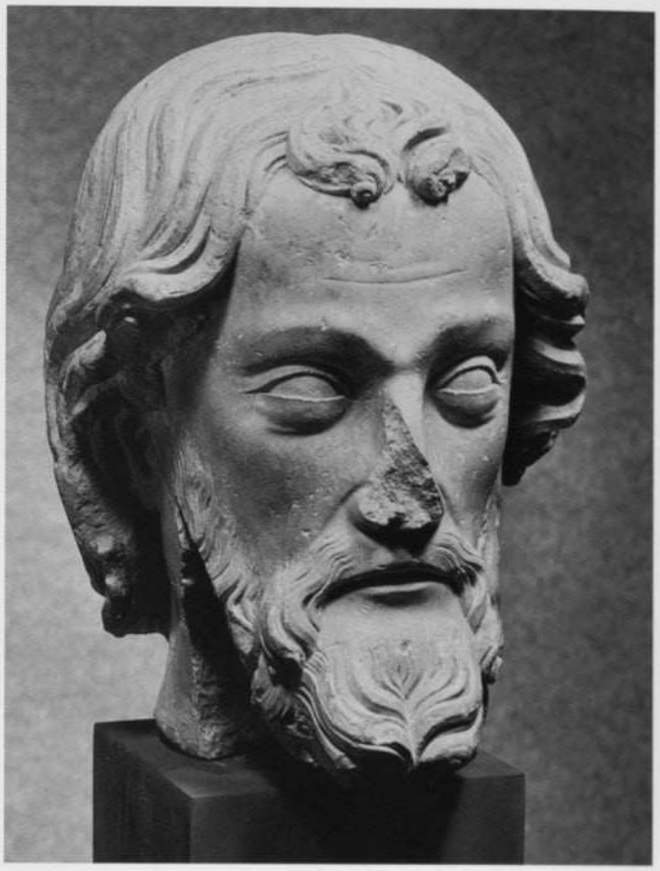

Fig. 14. Head of an Apostle, 14th century, limestone. Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.351.

Walters' Head A, with its new attribution to Jumièges, fits into this larger picture of fourteenth-century sculpture from the region of Normandy. This attribution has been made not only on the basis of style and appearance, but more importantly on the foundation of careful, technical analysis of both the surface of the head and the composition of its limestone. The Head of an Apostle that had previously been dismissed as "suspect" can now take its place among the group of elegant apostles carved for the renowned abbey of Jumièges.

THE PROBLEM OF HEAD B

The second head to be considered here, Head B (acc. no. 27.351, fig. 14), was also dated to the fourteenth century, but unlike Head A, has never had its authenticity questioned. In this case, the Limestone Sculpture Provenance Project was critical in providing a better sense of where this Head of an Apostle might have come from, as well as a warning as to how problematic it can be to make judgments about provenance based on style alone.

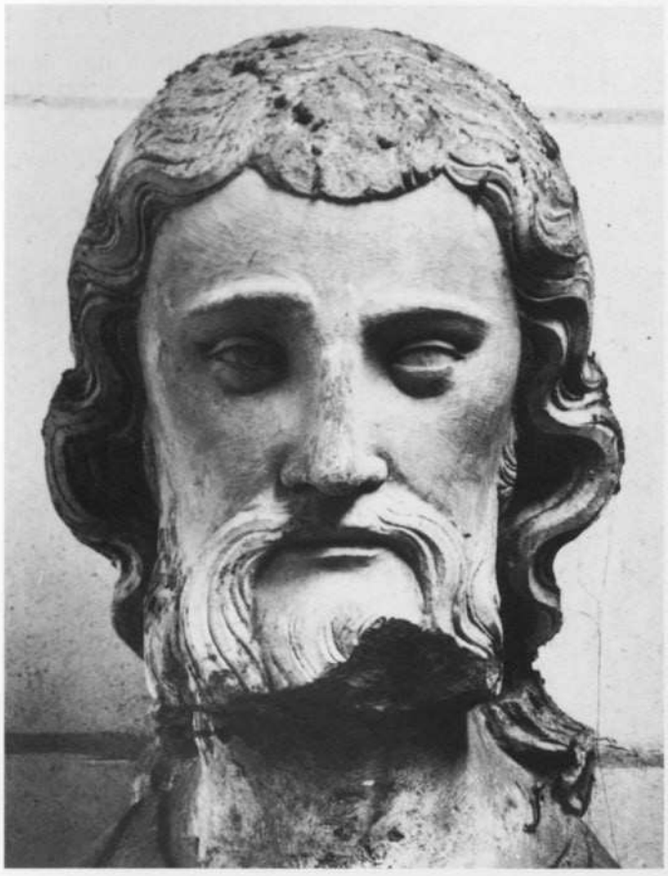

Fig. 15. Apostle (Andrew?), 1332–35, limestone. Jumièges, Musée Lapidaire (statue formerly in Duclair).

The common wisdom among art historians was that Head B (12⅞ in., or 32.7 cm.) came from the abbey of Jumièges, discussed above.[45] Head B was assigned to a body of one of the lost Jumièges apostles based on its comparable Gothic style, exemplified by the long, narrow face, symmetrical beard and forelock, and delicate lines under the almond-shaped eyes. The similarities in appearance are particularly striking when Head B is compared to the Jumièges apostle tentatively identified as Andrew (fig. 15).

This attribution to Jumièges was made as early as the 1930s, and may even date to 1917, the year in which Henry Walters acquired the head. Unfortunately, there are no records relating to this purchase in the files at the Walters Art Museum. Like Head A, Head B was thought to have been sold to Henry Walters by Dikran Kelekian, with whom he had many dealings. All that we know for certain is that when Head B was catalogued, it was assigned to Jumièges and dated to the thirteenth century. A connection to Jumièges also may have been made due to the fact that a number of sculptures from this site came on the market in the years following extensive excavations in the 1870s, although most of the apostle statues were not discovered until 1923.[46]

Head B has received little art historical attention over the years, but in 1977 it was included in a small exhibition called *Transformation of the Court Style: Gothic Art in Europe, 1270 to 1330*, held at the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design. In the accompanying catalogue,[47] the head was identified as being from Jumièges, 1332–35, representing part of the figure of Christ that would have accompanied the twelve apostles of the cycle. The head has alternately been considered to be from either an apostle or a Christ figure, although a determination is not possible without a corresponding body.

Walters' Head B was most recently published in *Les Fastes du Gothique* (1981).[48] Here, in a joint entry with Head A, the second head was again described as perhaps being from Jumièges, based on stylistic features such as the treatment of the eyes, mouth, and beard. The catalogue entry states at the end that analysis of the stone has not produced any conclusive results, and that the exact provenance of this head (like the other) could not be established with any certainty.

This was the state of the question at the time that a small limestone sample was taken for testing at the Brookhaven Laboratory. While a confirmation of a Jumièges source for the stone was generally expected, the actual results, which came in 1997, suggested that much more research was needed to determine the complex origins of this Head of an Apostle.

TECHNICAL ANALYSIS OF HEAD B

To confirm or deny Head B's origin at Jumièges, the scientists at the Brookhaven National Laboratory compared the compositional profile of its stone with compositional data for masonry and sculpture from the two ecclesiastical buildings still partly standing at Jumièges: the abbey church of Notre-Dame and the smaller church of Saint-Pierre.[49] As with Head A, a small amount of limestone had been removed from the underside of the neck of Head B.

To determine the composition of the stone used at Jumièges, small amounts of limestone powder were drilled from the church buildings and the statuary.[50] The masonry samples used for comparison came mainly from the walls of the eleventh-century church of Notre-Dame and were removed from the west façade, the north tribune, the nave, the porch, and the choir.[51] In addition, three samples were taken from the north arcade of the church of Saint-Pierre.[52] Specimens for analysis also came from twelve fourteenth-century apostle figures and from fragments thought originally to have formed part of figures in the church of Saint-Pierre. These fragments are now stored in the abbey's lapidary reserve.[53] All of these samples of homogeneous, chalky Cretaceous limestone were subjected to neutron activation analysis at Brookhaven.

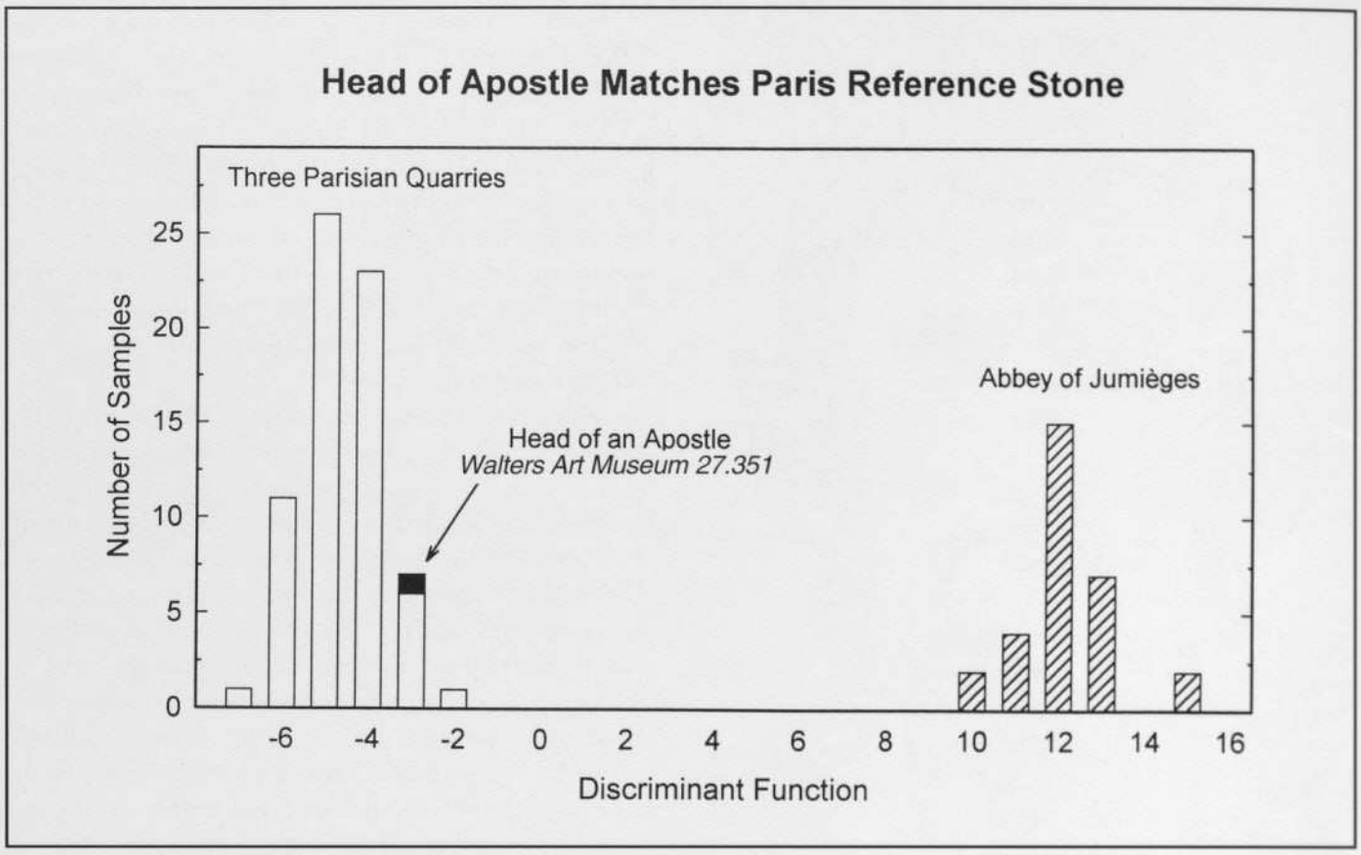

Fig. 16. Discriminant Analysis plot showing that the stone for the Head of an Apostle (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 27.351) did not come from Jumièges. Instead, its composition corresponds to that of limestone sources in the immediate area of Paris.

Data for the following groups of samples were included in the statistical analysis: Jumièges (30 samples); quarries near Paris at Charenton, Carrières-sur-Seine, and St-Maurice (68 samples).

Compositional analysis of the samples from Jumièges masonry and sculpture shows that the artisans who erected the buildings and carved the once-gilded and polychromed[54] apostle figures took their stone from the same source. Together these samples form a close-knit "reference group" of Jumièges stone to which the compositional profile of Head B could be compared. Such a comparison showed that Head B was carved of stone very different from that used at Jumièges, and, most tellingly, that the concentration of calcium carbonate in the stone of the head is much lower than that of Jumièges.[55]

Because the compositional profile of Head B differs so markedly from that of the Jumièges reference group, a computerized search of the Brookhaven Limestone Database was conducted to try to identify the true source of the stone. Based on similarities in composition, groups of samples taken from quarries known to medieval craftsmen, as well as from the monuments they built, have been assembled into additional reference groups. Using multivariate statistics, the compositional profile of the Head B sample was compared with each of these reference groups in turn to find one or more that the sample resembled.[56] From these comparisons, the probability of Head B's membership in each group was then calculated. The calculations indicated that stone from the head most closely resembled limestone from the immediate area of Paris.

To confirm the resemblance to Parisian stone, samples from Jumièges and the Paris area were subjected to discriminant analysis. Discriminant analysis distinguishes among groups of samples by combining the concentrations of many elements according to a set of mathematical relationships that calculate "discriminant functions." These calculations maximize differences among the stone groups and allow us to determine the probability that the sample from Head B belongs to one of the groups (fig. 16). Eleven variables contribute measurably to the discriminant functions that distinguish between Paris and Jumièges stone. These are (in order of importance): manganese, iron, lutetium, chromium, scandium, thorium, lanthanum, cerium, ytterbium, sodium, and barium. Based on these variables, discriminant functions were calculated and plotted for each sample in the Jumièges and Paris groups and for the sample taken from Head B. In the end, the calculations showed that stone from the head probably came from a limestone source in the immediate area of Paris.[57]

ATTRIBUTION OF HEAD B

The results provided by the Brookhaven Laboratory contradicted the original art historical hypothesis that Head B came from one of the apostles carved for the church of Saint-Pierre in Jumièges. The fact that the match that did emerge from the tests was with stone samples taken from the area immediately surrounding Paris greatly widens the field of possible places of origin, including the abbey church of Saint-Denis and the cathedrals of Sens and Chartres, which all used this limestone to some degree.[58] Multiple quarries to the north and northeast of Paris provided this rather homogeneous limestone, which turns up in buildings dating from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. The same limestone was even used for churches within a larger radius, as it could be transported by river to distances of up to 100 kilometers.[59] In some instances, Parisian limestone is also found in churches that are not near to any rivers at all, suggesting its transport by cart as well.

In the case of Head B, art historians now have to begin again in the search for a possible provenance. Given the many losses of sculpture since the French Revolution, an exact church in or around Paris may in fact never be found. Each new test, however, may lead to new discoveries that can provide clues to authenticity, and may also suggest a general localization within a region or country. Still to be carried out is an analysis of the paint layers of Head B, which were only preliminarily studied in the 1970s.[60] At that time, it was noted that layers of white and yellow ochre paint are present on roughly 10% of the head's surface, and that there are traces of black, blue (on one eye), and red (on the mouth) as well. Like Head A, Head B also may have been part of a figure that stood in the interior of a church, protected from the destructive effect of the outside elements.

In the end, somewhat ironically, it was Head A and not Head B that was traced back to the famed abbey of Jumièges. The origins of Head B are still uncertain, and thus while the reinstallation of the Walters' medieval collection has indeed provided opportunities for new research, the discoveries surrounding these two Gothic heads have proved to represent not the end of the story, but only the beginning.

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NOTES

1. The authors would like to take this opportunity to thank Charles Little, Dorothy Gillerman, and Georgia Wright for their invaluable insights and suggestions on the subject of these Gothic heads, and especially Dorothy Gillerman for graciously providing Robert Branner's photographs for use in this article. We would also like to thank Michele Marincola and Renée Stein of the conservation department at The Metropolitan Museum of Art for their time and comments on the technical section of this paper.

2. For a detailed description of the methodology of neutron activation analysis and its uses in medieval art history, see the articles in a dedicated volume of *Gesta*, 33, no. 1 (1994) or the website www.medievalart.org/limestone.

3. P. Meyers and L. van Zelst, "Neutron Activation Analysis of Limestone Objects: a Pilot Study," *Radiochimica Acta*, 24 (1977), 197–204.

4. Neutron activation analysis is described in L. L. Holmes, C. T. Little, and E. V. Sayre, "Elemental Characterization of Medieval Limestone Sculpture from Parisian and Burgundian Sources," *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 13 (1986), 419–38. In this process, samples are bombarded by neutrons in a nuclear reactor. Elements in the stone form radioactive isotopes that emit characteristic gamma rays; these gamma rays identify and quantify the major and trace constituents of the stone.

5. See F. Baron, "Le Décor sculpté et peint de l'hôpital Saint-Jacques-aux-Pèlerins," *Bulletin Monumental*, 133 (1975), 29–72, and V. Huchard, *The Musée National du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny* (Paris, 1996), 47–53.

6. This information comes from letters, dated 1954 and 1956, between Philippe Verdier and Paul Grigaut, the chief curator at the Detroit Institute of Arts. The letters are preserved in the Walters Art Museum's curatorial file for 27.350.

7. The Philbrook Art Center, *Medieval Art* (Tulsa, 1965), cat. no. 79.

8. Baron, "Le Décor sculpté et peint," 45. Baron did, however, participate in the attempt to find bodies to fit the two Walters' heads. In 1979, at the request of Richard H. Randall, Jr., plaster casts were carefully made from the heads in the conservation laboratory at the Walters. In January of 1980, the casts were sent to Mme Baron to be fitted to possible candidates for bodies in the Louvre and at the Cluny. There are no detailed records of this experiment, but, in the end, no successful match was made.

9. Réunion des musées nationaux, *Les Fastes du Gothique: le Siècle de Charles V* (Paris, 1981).

10. *Les Fastes du Gothique*, cat. no. 14, entry written by Françoise Baron. The phrase reads in French: *"La tête est généralement considérée avec plus de suspicion."*

11. See the essay by Marianna Shreve Simpson in this volume.

12. This information is contained in the files of the Walters Art Museum. A connection between Head A and Dikran Kelekian was first assumed in the 1950s by Philippe Verdier (then Curator of Medieval Art), but was also pursued as a possibility by his successor, Richard Randall, in 1969.

13. For the head in Amsterdam (acc. no. NM 12403), see J. Leeuwenberg, *Beeldhouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 1973), cat. no. 914. For Detroit (acc. no. 51.328), see the *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 31 (1951–52), 76. Additional information on the purchase of these heads from Kelekian's estate is found in letters of 1954 and 1956, written to Philippe Verdier by curators at the Rijksmuseum and the Detroit Institute of Arts, respectively.

14. Leeuwenberg, *Beeldhouwkunst*, cat. no. 914.

15. As with the Detroit head, the comparison between Head A and the Wellesley head (acc. no. 51.9) was made by Philippe Verdier and Richard Randall (see note 12). Baron also discusses the various heads, 43–45. For the head at Wellesley, see D. Gillerman, *Gothic Sculpture in America. I. The New England Museums* (New York/London, 1989), 385, no. 295, (in the "Doubtful Authenticity" section).

16. The head at the Indiana University Art Museum is acc. no. 77.31. For the figure in the Royal Ontario Museum (acc. no. 920.3), see the exhibition catalogue from the Department of Art, Brown University, at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, *Transformations of the Court Style: Gothic Art in Europe, 1270 to 1330* (Providence, 1977), cat. no. 3, where it is published as a genuine, 14th-century sculpture. For the Pitcairn figure (acc. no. 09.SP.127), see The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Radiance and Reflection: Medieval Art from the Raymond Pitcairn Collection* (New York, 1982), cat. no. 76, where the Saint Paul statue is dated to around 1250–60.

17. See the *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 76.

18. Baron, "Le Décor sculpté et peint," 45, also notes this feature of the Detroit head.

19. This information is preserved in the Walters' curatorial files.

20. See in particular the figure of Saint Andrew, illustrated in *Les Fastes du Gothique*, cat. no. 12.

21. For the statue of Saint James, see Huchard, *Musée National*, fig. 62.

22. The possibility of Notre-Dame of Paris was first raised by Willibald Sauerländer in a letter of 1992. I would also like to thank Elizabeth Antoine for pointing out the similarities between Head A and the figure of Adam from Notre-Dame, now in the Cluny. See A. Erlande-Brandenburg, *Les Sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris au Musée de Cluny* (Paris, 1982), cat. no. 324.

23. Information provided by the Limestone Sculpture Provenance Project.

24. Report prepared by Lore L. Holmes, the Brookhaven National Laboratory.

25. For each compositional variable, the vertical bar represents the variation in composition for the reference group of thirty samples. The center of the bar (not actually plotted, for clarity) corresponds to the mean for the group; the length of the bar defines the likely spread about that mean. The symbol for Head A falls within the range of composition for the reference group, supporting a common source for the analyzed stone. Stone from Head A corresponds to that of Jumièges in the concentrations of the following variables: potassium (K), strontium (Sr), barium (Ba), manganese (Mn), cobalt (Co), lanthanum (La), europium (Eu), samarium (Sm), ytterbium (Yb), lutetium (Lu), hafnium (Hf), uranium (U), and calcium (Ca).

26. For a detailed discussion on the history and methods of polychromy, see M. Marincola, J. Soultanian, and R. Newman, "Untersuchung eines nicht-polychromierten Holzbildwerkes in The Cloisters: Identifizierung einer ursprünglichen Oberfläche," *Kunsttechnologie Konservierung*, 11:2 (1997), 238–48. M. Katz details techniques in Spain during the same period in "The Mediaeval Polychromy of the Majestic West Portal of Toro, Spain: Insight into Workshop Activities of Late Mediaeval Painters and Polychromers," *Painting Techniques: History, Materials and Studio Practice*, (International Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works, Dublin, September 1998), 27–34.

27. Katz, "Mediaeval Polychromy," 29.

28. The use of yellow ochre as a pore filler in stone, and later as layers of repaint in France and Spain, is discussed in C. Weeks, "The 'Portail de la Mere Dieu' of Amiens Cathedral: Its Polychromy and Conservation," *Studies in Conservation*, 43 (1998), 101–8, and in Katz, "Mediaeval Polychromy," 27–34.

29. SEM-EDS analysis confirmed these findings. SEM-EDS was performed at the Central Facility of Microanalysis of the University of Maryland in College Park. Christopher Kang operated the Philips Electro Scan E3 instrument on 5 April 1999.

30. Renée Stein's unpublished preliminary report, "Technical Study of the Polychromy on the Sandstone Virgin from the Strasbourg Cathedral" (at The Cloisters in New York) refers to oil-varnish mixtures with ochre used as size for gilding, a process also discussed in V. and R. Borradaile, *The Straßburg Manuscript: A Medieval Painters' Handbook* (London, 1966), passim.

31. This information comes from personal communication with Michele Marincola, Associate Conservator for The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

32. All powdered pigments need to be mixed with a medium in order to make them adhere to the surface to be painted. Oils, gums, or proteinaceous media were common binders used on polychromed sculpture in Europe, and these proteinaceous glues include animal glues, egg tempera, and casein. Animal glues are formed from the bones, skin, and intestines of many animals, including fish, and were the predominant protein media used on Gothic sculpture. Gums included fruit wood exudates, gum acacia, and gum tragacanth. They were used straight or added to other media to modify their properties—adjusting drying time, gloss, or building impasto. For a further discussion of binding media, see Marincola, Soultanian, and Newman, "Untersuchung," 245–47, and Katz, "Mediaeval Polychromy," 30, Table 2, listing various binding media found on European portals. For a detailed discussion of the use and analysis of gums, see Marincola, Soultanian, and Newmann, "Untersuchung," 246.

33. On December 18, 1998, Michele Marincola, Associate Conservator for The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Renée Stein, Mellon Fellow, Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation (The Metropolitan Museum of Art), examined cross sections of Head A and provided samples for comparison.

34. International Symposium on the Polychromy of Gothic Portals, *La Couleur et la Pierre*, held at Amiens, 12–14 October 2000. Numerous talks on the polychromy of Gothic portal sculpture at this conference discussed similar methods of building up paint layers on stone sculpture. Proceedings are planned but not yet published.

35. For Jumièges, the most important secondary source is still J. Bailly, "Le Collège apostolique de l'abbaye de Jumièges," *Revue des sociétés savantes de Haute-Normandie*, 18 (1960), 29–42. See also Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Rouen, *Jumièges: Vie et survie d'une abbaye Normande* (Rouen, 1954), and Musée des Antiquités, Rouen, *Trésors des abbayes Normandes* (Rouen and Caen, 1979). For a list of documentary sources, see C. U. J. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age* (Montbéliard, 1894–99), I, 1587–88.

36. Report prepared by Lore Holmes, the Brookhaven National Laboratory.

37. Bailly, "Le Collège apostolique," 29–42.

38. See P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture, 1140–1300* (New Haven/London, 1995), 147–49, and nn. 21–23 for further sources on Sainte-Chapelle.

39. The number of sculptures identified as having come from Jumièges tends to vary from scholar to scholar. Bailly, "Le Collège apostolique," 30, puts the number at six or seven figures and three heads, while Françoise Baron, in *Les Fastes du Gothique*, 70, suggests that there are seven figures in good shape, two possible figures that are damaged, and two heads.

40. For the modern history of Jumièges see Bailly, "Le Collège apostolique," 30–31; *Trésors des abbayes Normandes*, 186–87; and *Les Fastes du Gothique*, 70.

41. Bailly, "Le Collège apostolique," 30–31, and *Trésors des abbayes Normandes*, 187.

42. D. Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny and the Church of Notre-Dame at Ecouis. Art and Patronage in the Reign of Philip the Fair* (University Park, PA, 1994).

43. H. Krohm, "Die Skulptur der Querhausfassaden an die Kathedrale von Rouen," *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 40 (1971), 131–34.

44. Gillerman, *Enguerran de Marigny*, 122, and Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*,170. Rouen cathedral represents a special case, as the heads currently seen on the figures on the southern portal (Porte de la Calende) are 19th-century replacements. See Krohm, "Die Skulptur," 40–153, for a detailed study of the Rouen figures.

45. This information is preserved in the Walters' files, and dates mostly to the 1950s and 1960s.

46. See Bailly, "Le Collège apostolique," 30–31, and *Trésors des abbayes Normandes*, 186–87.

47. *Transformations of the Court Style*, cat. no. 5.

48. *Les Fastes du Gothique*, cat. no. 14.

49. P. Juignet, "La vallée de la Seine de Vernon à Rouen et Honfleur," *Terroirs et Monuments de France*, C. Pomerol, ed., Orléans, France (Editions du BRGM), no date, 240–42.

50. The authors would like to thank Mmes. Annie Blanc, Danielle Johnson, and Georgia Wright for collecting samples for this study at the ruined Abbey of Jumièges.

51. Masonry samples came from the abbey church of Notre-Dame, southwest chamber, wall courses:

Porch, north bay, ground floor
Porch, north bay, ground floor
Porch, north bay, ground floor

West façade, north tower, wall at level of step 100
West façade, north tower, wall perpendicular to step 103, course 6
West façade: base of tower, course 3
West façade: porch, north side, walled-up niche

Gothic choir: absidial chapel, at level of base of window
Gothic choir: absidial chapel, course above level of base of window
Gothic choir: absidial chapel, Romanesque base:
small block added to large block

Nave: north wall(exterior), north northwest buttress, course ?
Nave: north wall(exterior), north northwest buttress, course 5
Nave: north wall(exterior), north northwest buttress, course 1
Nave: north wall(exterior), north northwest buttress,
walled-up door, course 8

North tribune, north wall, bay #5, course 8(LM)
North tribune, north wall, bay #5, course to right of course 8
North tribune, north wall, bay #7, course 7(above socle)
North tribune, south wall, filling in vault
North tribune, south wall, bay #8, reworked wall masonry

52. Locations of masonry samples from the church of St-Pierre:

Nave: north arcade, pier capital
Nave: north arcade, impost
Nave: north arcade, course beneath capital

53. Samples were collected from the following figures and fragments (inventory numbers):

Saint James with sword (95-1-136)
Apostle with head and book (no number)
Apostle with bearded head (no number)
Apostle without head (95-1-131)
Apostle without head (no number)
Apostle without head (no number)
Apostle (95-1-135)
Apostle (95-1-138)
Apostle (95-1-140)
Apostle (95-1-143)
Head with long beard (#X; 40 in pencil)
Head with long beard (#A)

54. The gamma spectrum of a sample can demonstrate the presence of gold and of the mercury pigments often used in polychromy even though the polychromed decoration is no longer visible on the stone's surface.

55. Limestone is a sedimentary rock composed almost entirely of calcium carbonate [$CaCO_3$], present mainly as the mineral calcite. Under certain conditions the calcium in calcite may be replaced in part by magnesium to form dolomitic limestone [$CaMg(CO_3)_2$]. In calcite the calcium carbonate concentration usually ranges from 90–100%; in dolomitic limestone the calcium carbonate concentration may vary from 50–90%.

The calcium carbonate concentration in the sample from Head B is approximately 85%, indicating a mixture of dolomite and calcite. In short, the head was carved from stone different from the nearly pure calcite used at Jumièges.

56. For a discussion of statistical techniques, see L. L. Holmes and G. Harbottle, "Compositional Fingerprinting: New Directions in the Study of the Provenance of Limestone," *Gesta*, 33, no. 1 (1994), 10–18; G. Harbottle and L. L. Holmes, *A Primer on Numerical Taxonomy for Art Historians*, Brookhaven National Laboratory Publication, available on request from L. L. Holmes, Chemistry Department (Building 555), Brookhaven National Laboratory, Box 5000, Upton, NY 11973-5000.

57. This work was made possible by grants from the Florence J. Gould Foundation, the Getty Grant Program, the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, and the David L. Klein, Jr. Memorial Foundation, administered by The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the International Center of Medieval Art. It was carried out at Brookhaven National Laboratory under contract DE-AC02-98CH10886 with the United States Department of Energy.

58. This information comes from remarks made by Annie Blanc of the Laboratoire de Recherche des Monuments Historiques, Champs-sur-Marne, at the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI, May 3–6, 2001. Annie Blanc's paper was titled "Utilization des calcaires parisiens au Moyen Age dans les monuments de Beauce et de Brie," and was part of the ICMA-sponsored session no. 383, *A Scientific Approach to Material Culture and Resources: Resources and Technology of Medieval Stone.*

59. Annie Blanc (see note 58). The use of barges to transport limestone was also discussed at the same conference session by Janet Synder, West Virginia University, in a paper titled "Confessions of a Material Girl: The Impact of the Properties of Quarried Stone on the Design of Medieval Sculpture."

60. This information is contained in the conservation files of the Walters Art Museum.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–4, 8–10, Donna Strahan; figs. 5, 14, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; fig. 6, Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts.; figs. 7, 16, Lore Holmes; figs. 12, 13, 15, Robert Branner.

The Painting Technique and Treatment History of Eight Late Fifteenth-Century German Panels Representing the Passion of Christ

KAREN FRENCH AND ERIC GORDON

Investigation of a fifteenth-century German altarpiece cycle in the Walters Art Museum reveals a complicated painting technique. A large studio produced the series, oftentimes using incompatible materials and application methods that caused a deterioration pattern, exhibited to some degree on all eight panels. Since entering the museum in the 1930s, all panels have been treated, reflecting shifts in conservation philosophy. By examining these treatments, certain generalizations can be made regarding conservation practices and trends.

Research into the types of materials and techniques involved in the production of a German Passion altarpiece cycle in the Walters Art Museum (acc. nos. 37.663–64, 37.667–71, and 37.674) reveals interesting insights into artist workshops in the northern European provinces in the late fifteenth century (figs. 1a–d and 2a–d). The creators of the altarpiece combined expensive and inexpensive materials to produce rich effects on a complicated structure (fig. 3). Furthermore, scientific examination indicates that an extensive and varied studio was involved in the production of the series, not only in the manufacture of the supports, but in the actual underdrawing and painting. In fact, two different hands can be identified in underdrawing on the same panel (fig. 4). Finally, it appears that the materials and techniques used to make the panels contributed to the pattern of deterioration seen to some degree on all the paintings.

During the nearly seventy years that the Walters has been open to the public, all eight panels have been treated in the painting conservation studio, some more than once, a process that reflects changing conservation philosophy of panel treatments over the years. Both the original painting techniques and the panels' conservation histories as a representation of twentieth-century conservation tendencies will be explored here.

As with most of the Walters' objects acquired before the museum opened to the public in 1934, information about the provenance and acquisition history of the eight German Passion of Christ panels is scant. Both William and Henry Walters, father and son collectors, felt that complete inventories lessened the importance of their acquisitions. Museum records indicate that these panels were acquired before 1909 by Henry Walters, and that the entire series contained twelve panels that at one point in their early history at the museum were ascribed to Bartholomaus Zeitblom.[1] Although four vertically composed panels have since been assigned to Bernhard Strigel, it can be assumed that these twelve paintings, all from Germany and dated to the end of the fifteenth century, were acquired together and most likely from the same unknown source.

The Passion of Christ was a popular theme for late fifteenth-century altarpieces in northern Europe—including those produced in the region of the German city of Ulm in Swabia, where these panels may have originated—and was often expanded beyond scenes from Christ's arrest to his crucifixion. The Walters' series contains: Christ on the Mount of Olives, The Arrest of Christ, Christ before Caiaphas, The Flagellation, The Crowning with Thorns, On the Way to Calvary, The Crucifixion, and The Entombment. The museum's paintings were most likely from a large altarpiece and located on the inside of two large wings that each contained four paintings. The outside of the doors may have been painted in monochrome and depicted saints or other religious scenes, such as The Annunciation, Last Supper, or Marriage at Cana. In the center, between the two large wings, there may have been a polychromed and gilded sculptural group. There are several examples of intact altarpiece groupings still in German churches, such as Hans Schüchlin's high altar of 1469 in Tiefenbronn in the Pfarrkirche.[2]

PAINTING TECHNIQUE

Each panel painting is composed of between four and seven wooden planks. The wood has been identified as Abies Alba or Silver Fir,[3] a type of pine. Most panels from this time period in central/eastern Europe were painted on pine or lime wood, while in northern Europe the typical support was oak, and in Italy the choice was poplar.

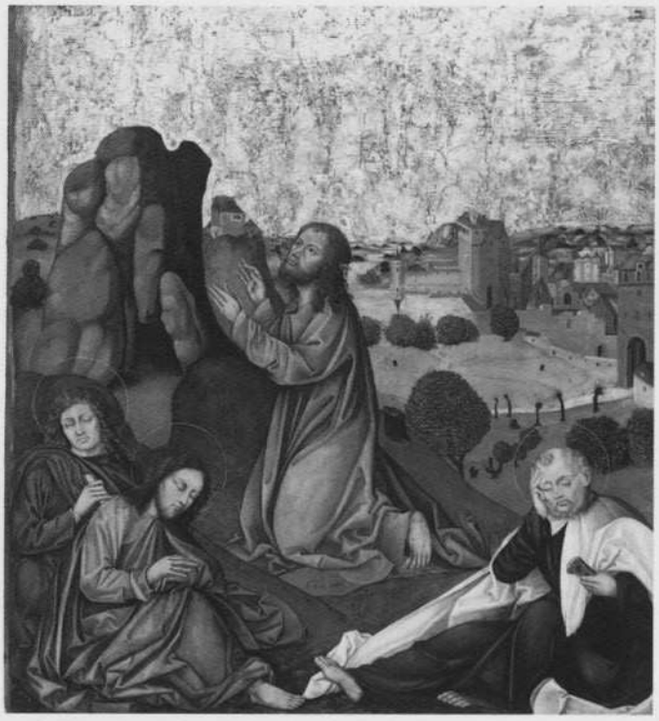

Fig. 1a. *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.674.

Fig. 1b. *The Arrest of Christ*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.667.

The wood grain is oriented in a vertical direction and the planks are butt-jointed together, probably with a cheese-glue, a cement-like adhesive produced by mixing water-soaked cheese with lime.[4] The planks vary somewhat in width from about 4 to 12 in. (13 to 19 mm.), narrower widths generally being used at the outer edges. Judging from similar paintings of the period, where double-sided paintings have been divided,[5] the original thickness of the Walters' panels was most likely around a 1/2 to 3/4 in., with both front and reverse prepared to receive paint.

The preparation of the Walters' panel supports was likely undertaken by an independent craftsman rather than the painter, though he may have been part of the same workshop. In general, to prepare a painted panel after assembly of the planks, several coats of glue size (possibly made from boiled parchment scraps) would have been applied in thin to thicker coats to seal the wood. Small faults and irregularities in the panel would have been covered with hemp fibres, animal hair, or cloth strips, using the same glue size.

In the Walters' Passion cycle there is a fragmentary fabric interlayer between the wood support and the gesso preparation layer. X-radiographs reveal diagonal score marks in the wood in the area under the fabric; these would have prepared the surface for better adhesion. The discontinuous fabric scraps, most placed horizontally (perpendicular to the wood grain) on the upper third of each panel, extend almost halfway down the picture (fig. 5). As well as being evident in the X-radiographs, samples of fabric were uncovered during conservation treatment (fig. 6). The incorporation of reused pieces of fabric helps reveal the costliness of textiles in the fifteenth century. The scraps are coarsely woven, and there are four types: a white plain weave, a white herringbone weave, and two types of white-and-blue-check plain weave. Coincidentally, in *The Crucifixion*, the figure to the right of Christ is wearing an undershirt of white-and-blue-check fabric similar to that used in the preparation of the panel painting (fig. 7).

The intent of this partial fabric layer seems to have been less to cover faults in the wood (not all faults outside the gilded areas are covered with fabric) than to act as a "cushion" for the tooling and texturing of the ground beneath the gilded decoration. The haphazard application of the pieces, with overlaps and gaps, however, later caused serious cracking problems in the paint.

As commonly found on northern European fifteenth-century paintings, the ground on the Walters' panels is composed of calcium carbonate and animal glue.[6] Here the layer is fairly thick and uneven to accommodate the discontinuous fabric pieces. Where there is no fabric, the gesso is thickest; where there is fabric, the layer is thick enough to cover the linen's rough texture and provide an overall even painting surface. The ground would have been applied in several coats; an initial thin wash, a coarser mixture applied with a scraper, and, lastly, a finer layer

Fig. 1c. *The Crowning with Thorns*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.671.

Fig. 1d. *On the Way to Calvary*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.663.

applied with a brush. Bare wood margins on all the Walters' panel edges indicate that they were inserted into a framework prior to the application of the canvas and gesso.

The preparation of the panels seems to have been undertaken prior to a final painting design since the cloth underlayer extends into the painted areas, far beyond what was necessary for the background pattern. It is likely that any sculptural elements for the altarpiece would have been prepared at the same time as the panels by the same craftsman.

The gilding and decorating of background areas would have been carried out next. Gold decoration such as punchwork, for which small decorative metal tools are used to hammer designs into the surface, can only be undertaken after the metal leaf is laid down; deep carved designs, such as those on the Passion cycle, had to be undertaken before gilding.

Artists from the late Middle Ages employed a range of materials (both costly and less expensive) in various ways on their altarpieces to imitate precious fabrics for curtains and wall hangings. These designs were reproduced on panels using the techniques of engraving, *pressbrokat* (gilded wax impressed in a mold), painted pattern, punchwork, *pastiglia* (raised gesso), and *sgraffito* (scratching through paint layers over metal leaf).[7] In some altarpieces, mock jewels or gilded paper stars were applied for further decoration.[8] Fabric designs commonly found were pomegranates, pineapples, leaves, blossoms, animals, geometric shapes, and arabesques.[9] On the Walters' panels, such designs cover the upper third of the compositions and are divided into an elaborate brocade and a *tremoliert* (carved with a zigzag) herringbone pattern (fig. 8). The middle and lower portions are carved with a flowering pomegranate design and covered in pure gold leaf. The difference in light reflection on the patterned and smooth surfaces produces the fabric effect. This type of engraved background was commonly used on shrine interiors and on the "festive" or "holy day" side of altar wings.

The tops and corners of the panels were gilded in silver leaf *tremoliert* in a herringbone pattern[10] and toned with a transparent golden glaze, now lost except for a few small remains found on *The Crucifixion* and *On the Way to Calvary* panels. Cheaper silver leaf was a cost-saving measure for less important parts of the gilding that would be partly obscured by the overlaying tracery of the original frame.

Although many paintings from this period in central and eastern Europe have silver backgrounds, it was not a recommended artist's material.[11] For example, in a fifteenth-century treatise on painting written by Cennino Cennini, he observed of silver leaf "Above all you are to work with as little silver as you can, because it does not last, and it turns black, both on wall and on wood, but it fails sooner on a wall. Use beaten tin or tin foil."[12] Sir Charles Eastlake, in his *Methods and Materials of Painting of the Great Schools and Masters*, mentions many documents speaking of "tin-foil, and its use, by means of a yellow varnish, to imitate gold."[13]

Fig. 2a. *Christ before Caiaphas*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.669.

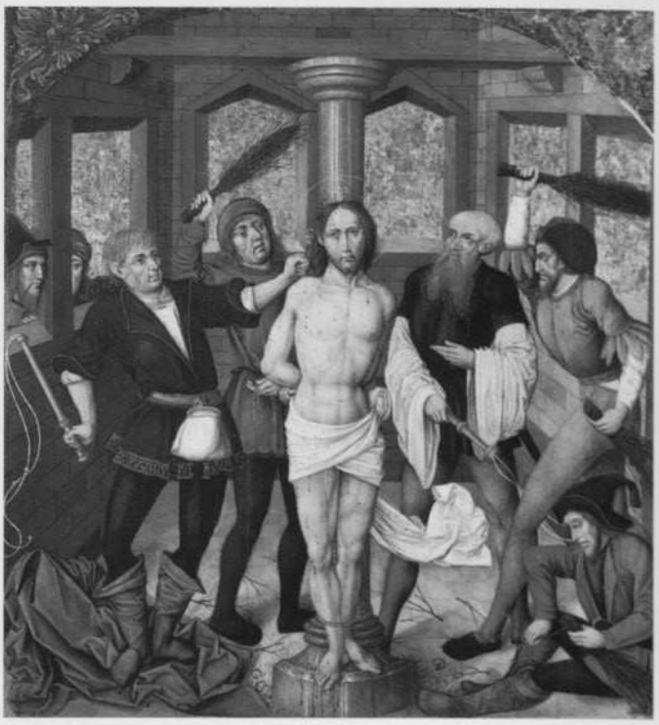

Fig. 2b. *The Flagellation*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.670.

To some degree, the application of a golden glaze would have protected the silver from tarnishing.

The carving and gilding processes were complex for these kinds of paintings. After laying down several coats of gesso to provide a thick, carvable surface, the master would trace the design through holes in a patterncard, dust charcoal through the holes, join together the dots of charcoal, and carve the design with an engraving hook into the ground. The similar designs in the Walters' series indicate that they were based on models from patternbooks.

The gold backgrounds in contemporary altarpieces at Ulm, Memmingen, Reutlingen, and Graubünden show identical patterns. This indicates that the same workshop may have produced these backgrounds and/or employed the same pattern books. Recent research by Westoff, Hahn, and Krebs reveals that there were master craftsmen who specialized in just the task of engraving designs and other forms of decorative backgrounds.[14]

After the design was carved, areas to be gilded were given a layer of bole, a red chalk mixed with animal glue. The metal leaf (gold, silver, or tin) was attached to the surface by activating the glue in the bole with a little moisture and laying the metal leaf down with a fine-haired, flat brush. Once dry, the metal leaf surface was burnished with a hardstone such as Hematite or an animal tooth.

It is likely that other incision work, such as architectural lines and outlines in the design, were carried out at the same time as the tooling. Again, there is evidence that the planning of these panels was somewhat inexact and that the gilding and patterning was probably undertaken by someone other than the painter. Incised lines indicating the location of the gilding can be found in the gesso, however, they are very freely incised. Furthermore, the tooling in the gilding in several areas around the horizon line extends beyond the background and into the painted picture (fig. 9).

At this stage, a rough sketch may have been drawn onto the panels. Charcoal sticks were used predominantly, as were red and metal crayon, and color wash applied with quill pens and brushes. Sometimes various media were used on the same picture at different stages. For example, on the unfinished reverse side of a South German painting of Mary's death, in Stuttgart, there is a primary red chalk sketch of the birth of Christ followed by corrections in charcoal.[15] Both sketches were made directly on the wooden panel, which already had cloth, gesso, bole, and gilding applied to its upper portion.

Examination of the Walters' panels with infrared light reveals fairly extensive drawing beneath the paint layer. In fact, on some panels, underdrawing can be seen with the naked eye through the now aged and more transparent paint layers. The quality of the drawing varies as well as the type of mark, indicating that it may have been sketched by at least two hands and with different tools. The heavier, more confident lines were most likely applied with a brush,

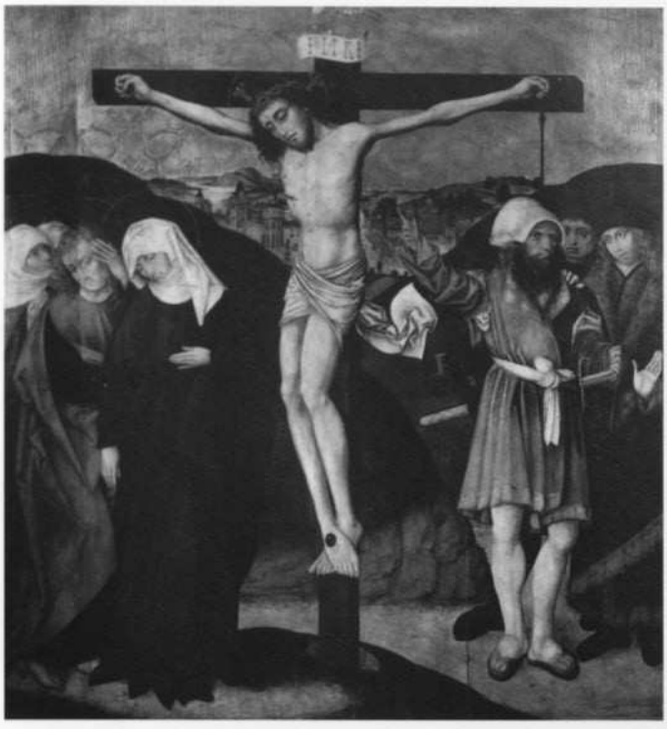

Fig. 2c. *The Crucifixion*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.668.

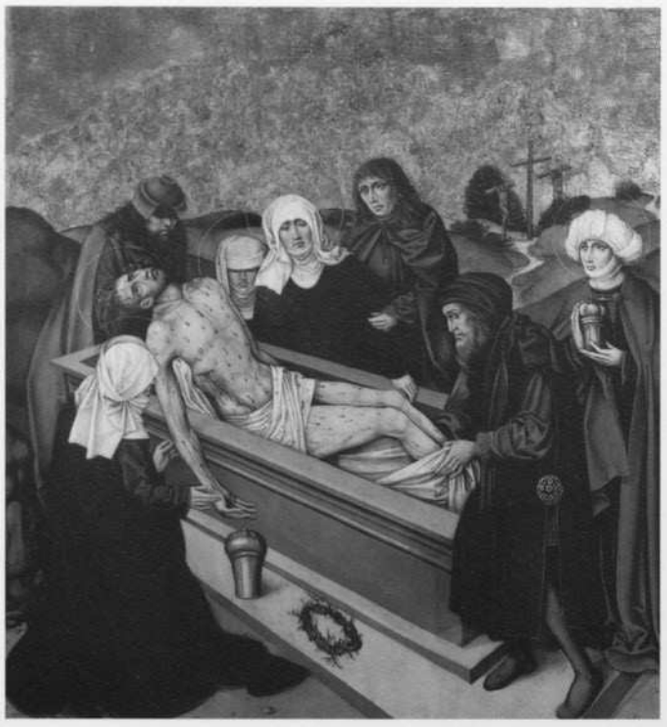

Fig. 2d. *The Entombment*, German, late 15th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.664.

while the thinner, lighter, more delicate strokes were drawn with a quill pen. In general, different hands appear to have worked on separate figures; however, on *The Flagellation*, the work of both hands can be seen on the figure to Christ's right, though they remain isolated to certain areas (fig. 4). The heavy strokes generally relate to areas of dark paint, while the lighter strokes relate to areas of paler colored paint.

The underdrawing reveals some adjustments to design being worked out on the panels. For example, on the same figure on *The Flagellation*, there is a collar drawn (which was never painted) beneath the beard (fig. 4).[16] These differences in the drawing and the subsequent painting show the artist (or artists) evolving the layout while painting rather than following a finished drawing. Before painting began, the gesso ground (and drawing) probably would have been sealed with a glue size layer to prevent absorption of the oil from the paint.

In Germany during the late Middle Ages, the different tasks of the panel painter and the sculpture painter were generally clearly defined and divided. The panel painter was responsible for painting the altar panels such as the wings, predella, or shrine background; the sculpture painter was responsible for painting the three-dimensional sculpture and reliefs of the shrine. Although these tasks were usually separated from one another in a workshop, sometimes the same person undertook all painting. For example, the painter Bartholomaus Zeitblom also painted the sculpture as well as the panels for the Kilchberger Retabel (today in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum, cat. 33).[17] In similar altarpieces in Hungary, it has been noted that

> painters and wood-carvers co-operated closely with the guilds, and the painting of carved wooden statues required the same technical skills as panel painting. It was possible for the painting, gilding, carving and cabinet-work necessary for the creation of an altar to be completed by one man; but when commissioned to produce a large altarpiece the master would divide the work among his pupils and associates.[18]

On the Walters' paintings, the irregular outline of the upper gilded background clearly suggests that the original framing consisted of open-carved trelliswork. This, combined with the paintings' high quality and rich colors, suggests that these panels were surely on the inside or "festive holy day" side of two large altarpiece wings. Compared to other surviving Passion cycles, the Walters' paintings, with their expressive, sometimes demonic figures and complicated gilded backgrounds, must have been painted by an accomplished artist and workshop.

Studies have found that, frequently, different artists painted the panels for the exterior and interior wings of altarpieces: "This was often the case with winged altars: since they were open most of the time, the inner panels were painted by a Master painter, the exterior by a member of

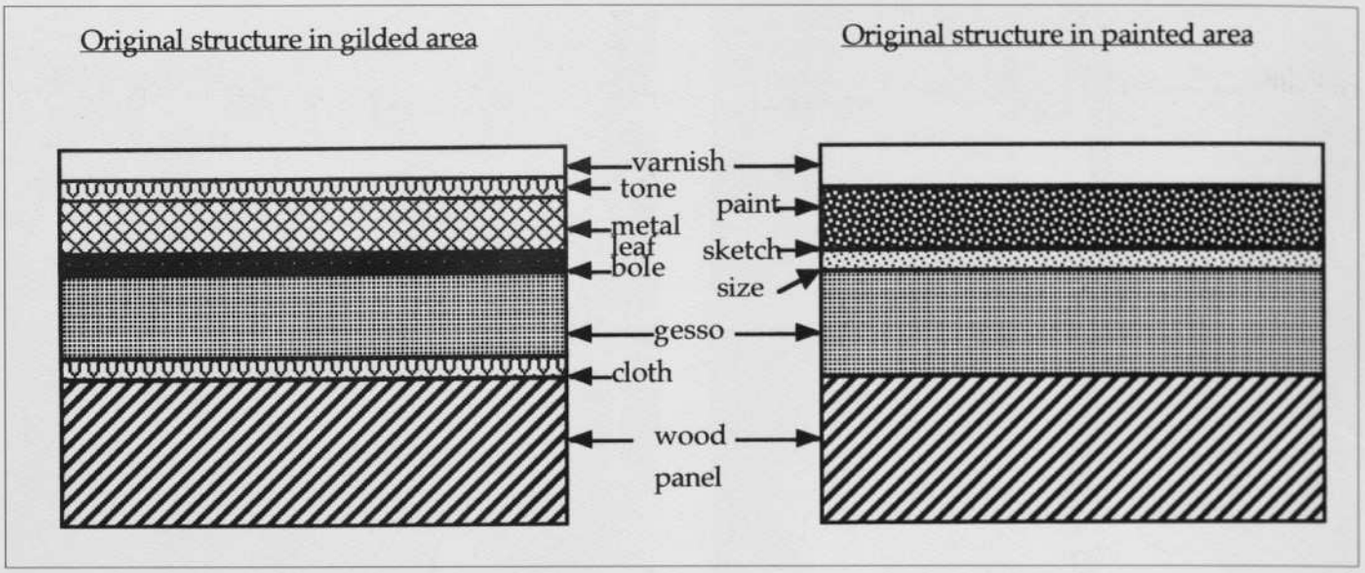

Fig. 3. Cross section views through original painting structure.

his workshop."[19] In the case of the Walters' cycle, it appears that more than one hand was involved in the undertaking of the main panels as well. For example, the shadows on figures and on drapery in *Christ Carrying the Cross* are depicted more realistically than in *The Crowning with Thorns.*

The colors for painting were produced from powder or lumps of pigment, both organic and inorganic. These were generally prepared in the artists' studio by grinding on a rough stone followed by mixing with a binder on a smooth stone such as porphyry. Binding materials of the period were nut oil, linseed oil, eggwhite, resin, and plant gums. Once ground, painting colors were stored already mixed in half musselshells or other small containers. The paintbrushes used would have been coarse pig bristle and fine tail hair from animals such as squirrels, cats, and badgers.

The colors found in the Walters' Passion cycle were typical for the period. Visual examination of cross sections reveals earth colors, lead white, lead tin yellow, vermilion for the red, copper resinate green, smalt, and azurite. A large amount of expensive gold was employed for the backgrounds, along with the silver leaf. Azurite was used for the blues rather than the more costly ultramarine favored in Italy; this was common in the area, especially since there was an East German source of "German Blue" azurite.[20]

Fig. 4. Infrared image detail of underdrawing on *The Flagellation.*

The subtle blending of color indicates that the medium is most likely oil. The paint application was fairly thin to medium, although some areas are thicker, especially whites and those colors mixed with white.

It is likely that the completed Passion cycle paintings were given a coat of a natural resin varnish. Although, according to Sir Charles Eastlake, there are several references, such as De Mayerne's notes, that varnishing painting was not universal even by the 1700s.[21]

CONSERVATION HISTORY

The unstable condition of the panels was pre-determined to a degree by the materials and techniques involved in their production. This is true to some extent of course of all artwork. In this case, however, due to the provincial nature of the materials and techniques and the artists' lack of understanding of or concern about their aging tendencies, the results were more serious. Most notable are the dramatic losses seen at the junctures of the fabric interlayer, where the linen fragments end. For example, in *The Entombment* (fig. 10), there are losses ranging from large fissures to major gaps in the paint layer twelve inches below the bottom of the gold leaf horizon line.

Conservation of the panels has taken place in one form or another almost as long

Fig. 5. Photograph of *Christ before Caiaphas* indicating placement of fabric pieces.

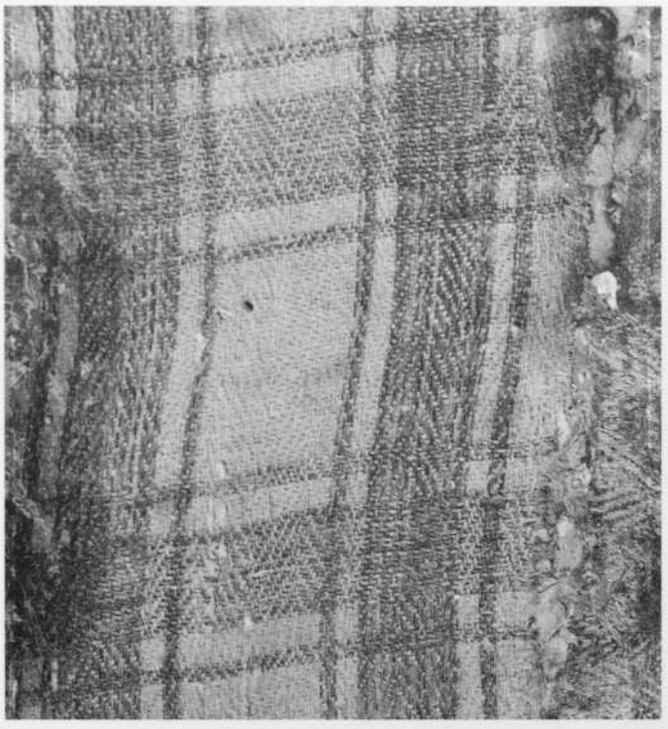

Fig. 6. Blue-and-white fabric interlayer sample removed during transfer of *The Entombment.*

as there has been a painting laboratory at the Walters. The first treatment of a panel in the series is recorded in 1937, three years after the opening of the museum to the public. While the paintings have not been treated continually over the years, they have been in and out of the studio for either partial or full treatments, and all eight have not been displayed at the same time in recent history due to their condition.

Before entering the Walters, all panels had received major restoration treatments on both the reverse wooden supports and the front painted and gilded images. It is not known when, where, or by whom the treatments were carried out, but, based on the materials and techniques of restoration, it seems likely that conservation took place in Europe rather than America.

The pre-Walters restoration of the wooden supports was fairly complex. The double-sided paintings were separated by sawing through the middle of the wood panel, resulting in two single-sided paintings only $^{3}/_{16}$ in. thick. The remaining original supports were glued to new wooden backings composed of panels of butt-jointed pine in a vertical grain direction, like the original supports. On the reverse of each painting, two battens were slid horizontally into cross-grained channels cut into the secondary backings, about eight inches from the top and bottom edges. In a subsequent restoration, the battens were removed, the secondary backings planed down to a flat surface, leaving just a trace of the batten channels, and a wooden cradle attached (figs. 11 and 12). Early Walters' reports note that the cradles caused "further splitting of wood and cleavage of the painted surface."[22]

Early restoration of the gilded surfaces was just as dramatic. The background gilding (gold and silver leaf) was seriously over-restored in all panels, though carried out differently on various scenes. On *The Flagellation,* the top left and right corners were painted with scroll designs in black and gray paint to simulate trelliswork, echoing the designs on the frames. In three (*The Entombment, The Flagellation,* and *Christ Crowned with Thorns*), the carefully carved and gilded fabric design was filled with gesso to form a flat surface on which a blue sky was painted, most likely in an attempt to make the background space appear more realistic. Later (before entering the museum), the other five panels received undercoats of a reddish-brown layer and several coats of modern "radiator" paint to hide the many losses in the original gold leaf. The three panels that had received a simulated sky then had several layers of gold paint applied so that all eight panels would have gold backgrounds once again (fig. 13).

More confusing was the early restoration of the paint layer. Most likely, all panels had their original varnishes removed and replaced, and losses filled and retouched. Early, incomplete Walters' documentation gives us little insight into the condition of the paint surfaces, which varies substantially among the panels. Early photographs show us,

Fig. 7. Detail of blue-and-white-check shirt sleeve of figure to the right of Christ in *The Crucifixion.*

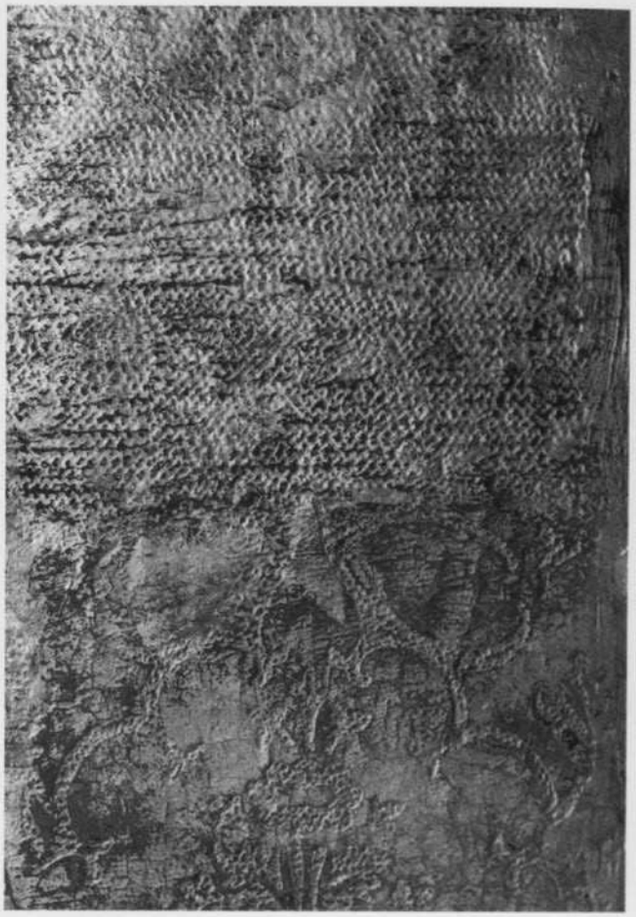

Fig. 8. Detail of *tremoliert* zigzag and flowering pomegranate patterns from *Christ on the Mount of Olives.*

however, that large losses had been over-restored in a fashion that did not resemble the original painting technique.

In summary, before entering the Walters, all panels had been divided and the supports had been thinned, backed, and fitted with battens. The battens had been removed, the secondary backing thinned, and cradles attached. Areas of gilding had been overfilled and/or overpainted. Original varnishes had been removed and losses filled and retouched. The paint layer on some panels may have been damaged by cleaning during an early varnish removal.

During the late 1930s, the condition of all the panels was evaluated and various treatments undertaken. As these paintings were examined right after the museum opened, they must have been considered very important. Flaking paint was reattached in *Christ Taken into Captivity, Christ before Caiaphas, The Flagellation, The Crowning with Thorns,* and *On the Way to Calvary.* Some reports mention the use of "melted wax" (*The Crowning with Thorns*)[23] while others mention "glue" (*The Flagellation*)[24] as a consolidant. Splits were noted due to restrictions from the cradles.

Four panels, *Christ on the Mount of Olives* (fig. 14), *Christ before Caiaphas, The Crowning with Thorns,* and *On the Way to Calvary,* had their varnishes removed at this time. "Cleaned" is the concise description of the technique involved and the materials identified.[25] According to early reports, the other panels were not cleaned because they "contained so many restorations."[26] Curiously enough, of the four cleaned in the 1930s, the paint layers in two, *Christ before Caiaphas* and *On the Way to Calvary,* are still in fairly good condition, while the other two are severely over-cleaned. A notation in the conservation file of *The Crowning with Thorns* says that "the whole picture had been repainted at some previous time…over a hundred years ago, perhaps in the 17th century…shadows having been put in the faces and drapery."[27] These four panels have little to no accompanying written documentation, though before-treatment photographs exist. In the pre-treatment photographs, one can see clearly that in these two pictures all the images are fairly complete and unified, as if there had been little restoration undertaken before cleaning. Otherwise, the restoration was so good that it very closely imitated the original, not like the restoration seen in the photographs of the other grossly over-painted panels. After treatment, little attempt was made to reintegrate

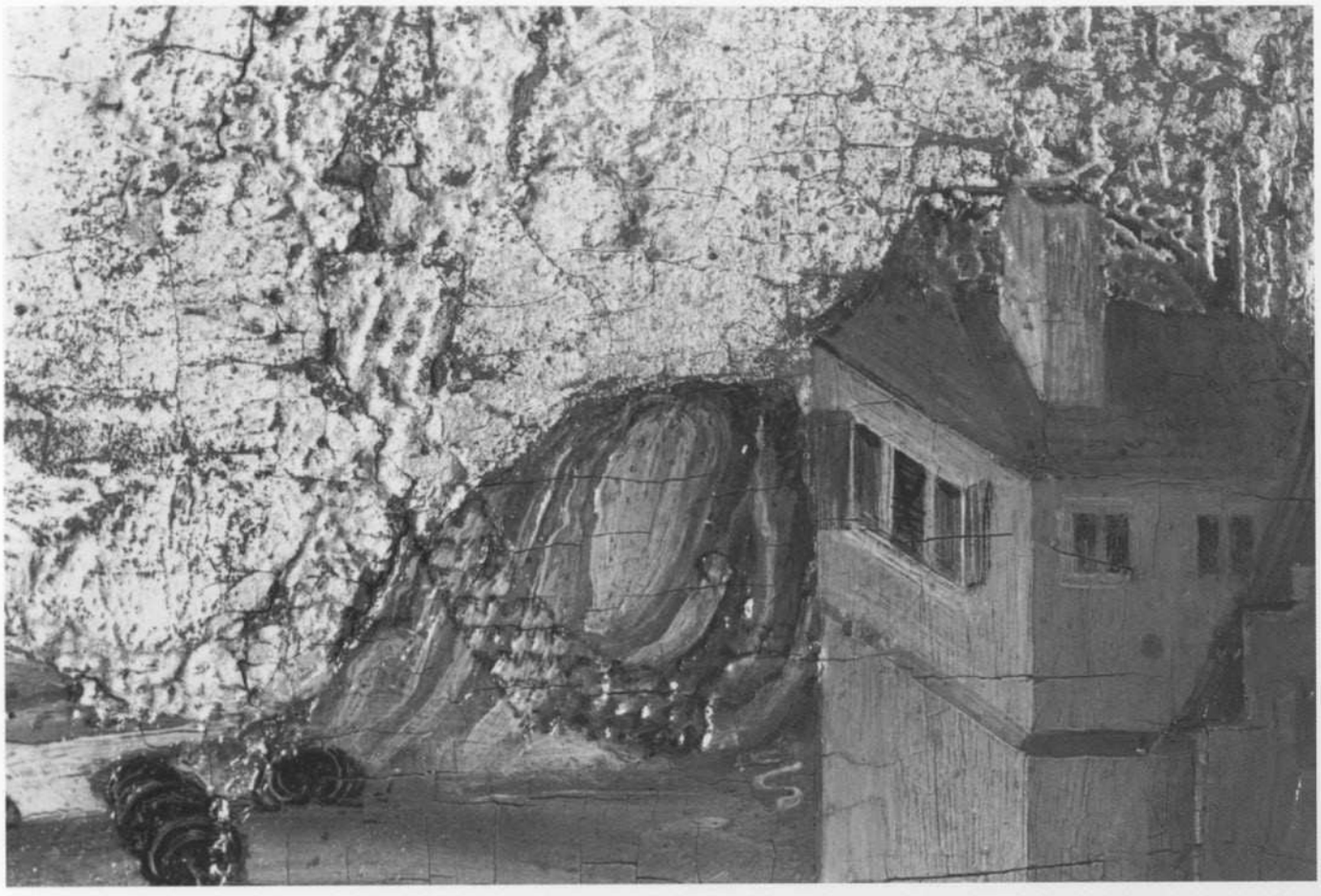

Fig. 9. Extended tooling for metal leaf under paint layer in *Christ on the Mount of Olives.*

the damaged surfaces of the two seriously abraded panels. It seems that either *The Crowning with Thorns* and *Christ on the Mount of Olives* were abraded before entering the Walters (as the above report mentions) and, subsequently, restoration was removed during the 1930s treatment, or these two pictures were cleaned by a less skilled restorer at the museum. The fact that four panels were not cleaned because of their condition while the abraded panels were cleaned may lead to the conclusion that two of the four panels cleaned in the 1930s in fact were abraded at the museum.

According to the conservation files, besides setting down blisters and cleaning four panels, "missing gold leaf was filled with new gold leaf, paint losses were retouched in watercolor [*The Crucifixion*][28] or tempera [*The Crowning with Thorns*]."[29] and the conserved paintings were varnished and waxed. Ironically, some of this "missing gold leaf" was originally a toned silver leaf. Again, for the most part, conservation materials and techniques were not identified.

In looking through Walters' annual reports from the 1930s, it becomes apparent that great pride was taken in the large number of treatments completed by the end of every year.

> Approximately 24 paintings (...out of 327 objects sent to restoration) were worked on during this year. The major part had blisters laid down, and the soiled and discolored varnish removed. These were revarnished, waxed, and hung. In other instances, such as *On the Way to Calvary* by Zeitblom, much tedious work was involved since the background had been covered with radiator paint, which, of course, had to be removed. Under this was a coating of reddish-brown (probably shellac), and under this shellac the traces of the original gold leaf were uncovered. All of this was accomplished by days of painstaking work, but the result is so brilliant that the time spent was well worth it.[30]

The 1938 annual report noted that 304 objects completed in restoration, including ninety-five paintings. During this productive year, one month was spent lining the Tiepolo and two Zeitbloms (from the Passion cycle) were cleaned and restored.[31] At the time, the Walters employed (on paper) a "Technical Advisor" or chief restorer (David Rosen) for six months out of every year and an "Assistant to (the) Technical Advisor" (Elisabeth Packard). One suspects and

Fig. 10. Losses in *The Entombment.*

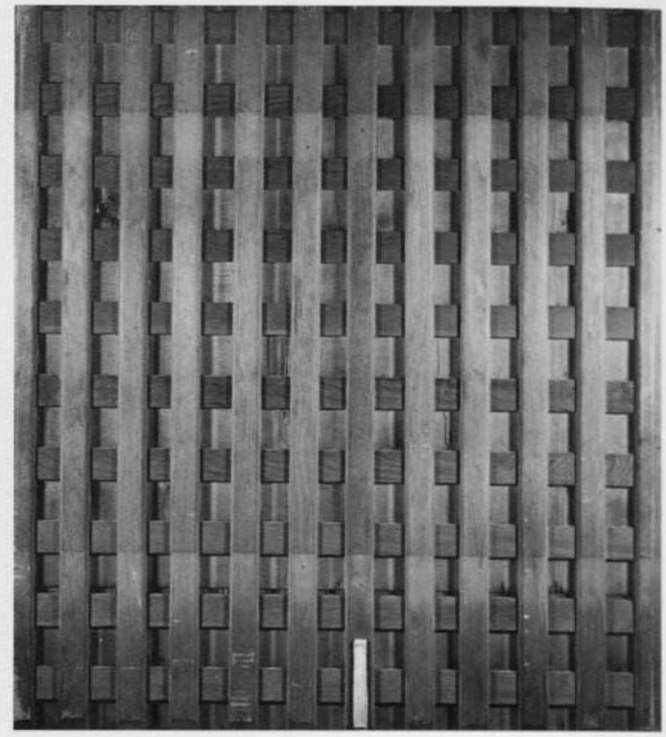

Fig.12. Cradle from reverse of *The Crucifixion.*

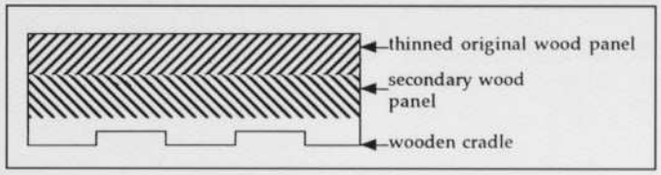

Fig. 11. Cross-section view through panel structure showing original and subsequent restorations.

sees in archival photographs that David Rosen worked with a *coterie* of assistants. In fact, it would have been impossible to line the Tiepolo or treat the large number of paintings recorded in the annual report without many helpers. Furthermore, judging from the different materials used to treat the same problem, as noted in the early reports (for example glue and wax used as a consolidant and watercolor and tempera used to retouch), it may be concluded that more than two restorers treated these paintings.

To place these statistics in perspective, the Tiepolo, the museum's largest painting at 9 x 16 feet, was recently treated, though not lined, by five conservators in a little over two years. And last year, the current painting conservation department, employing one part-time and four full-time conservators, treated fifty-four paintings.

Museum files indicate that the Passion series returned for conservation treatment in the 1950s. At that time, *The Entombment*, *Christ Taken into Captivity*, and *The Flagellation* had "blisters laid down with glue then infused with melted wax. Losses [were] inpainted in watercolor."[32] Heat lamps set close to the paint surface helped the adhesive penetrate into *The Crowning with Thorns* panel with unfortunate results. The lamps produced far too much heat and blistered and distorted the paint. Also, numerous fairly large pinholes are scattered over the paint surface of *The Entombment*, indications of attempts to inject an adhesive into the panel. *The Crowning with Thorns*, which had been cleaned in the 1930s, was "sprayed with dammar and faced with mulberry tissue and rice starch paste," most likely to secure the paint and warping support in preparation for a future treatment.[33] In its present condition, it could not be displayed.

In the 1960s, the conservation department focused on the more difficult panels not previously cleaned because they contained "too many restorations."[34] In fact, judging from before-treatment photographs, some of these paintings exhibited extremely serious structural problems in their wooden supports—cracking, warping, and flaking—besides actual paint loss and discolored restoration. Notes from the examination of *The Flagellation* indicate that one strip of the cradle had completely detached, and several others were loose.[35] Also, it was observed that warping of the secondary support had increased since 1957. In 1969, the panel was cleaned with organic solvents and put aside.

In 1973, *Christ Taken into Captivity*, a relatively stable panel, was cleaned with fairly strong solvents (dimethylformimide) and a stencil brush in order to remove some of

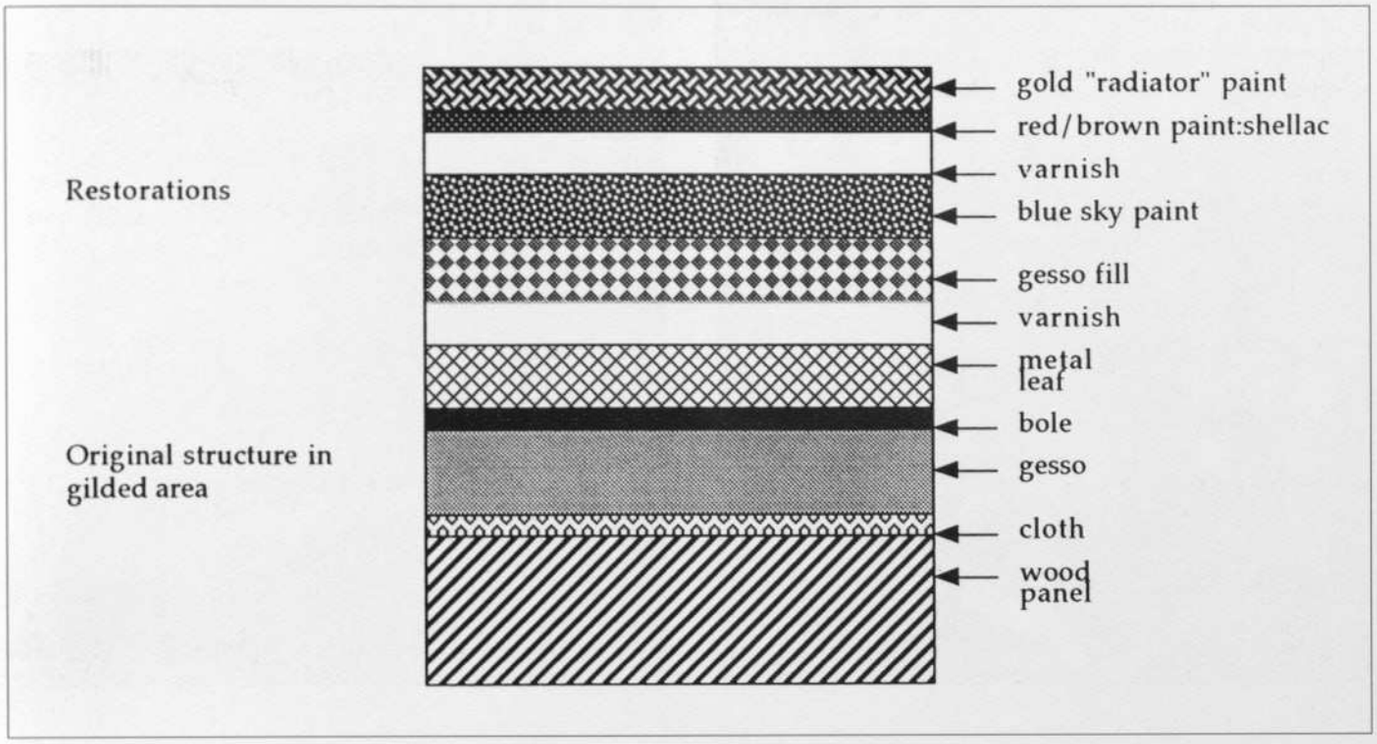

Fig 13. Cross-section view through upper gilded area with restorative paint layers.

the stubborn red paint over the gilding. Flaking was set down with wax, and losses were filled with "new gesso," most likely rabbet skin glue and whiting. The picture was sprayed with AW2 (a polycyclohexanone synthetic resin that resembled a natural resin) and inpainted with polyvinylacetate. It was given final spray coats of AW2 and Acryloid B-72 (an ethyl methacrylate resin). In keeping with the philosophical trend of the time, all modern materials were synthetic and had been tested for their stability and reversibility. The picture was and still is in good condition. It is curious that it had not been cleaned earlier.

The Flagellation, cleaned in 1969 then set aside, was brought back into the laboratory again and treated structurally in 1974. Because of its unstable condition, noted above, conservators decided to transfer the painting. Transferring is an extremely risky technique involving the removal of the picture's support, leaving only the paint or paint and ground layer, which is then reattached to a new support. The procedure involves attaching protective facings of tissue paper and fabric onto the surface of the picture with an adhesive, turning the picture face down, and removing the original support layer by layer down to the back of the ground and/or paint. A small mistake can irreparably destroy the paint layer. It is rarely performed today because of its extremely invasive nature, besides the fact that it removes original material.

With *The Flagellation*, the paint and ground layers were removed from the original wood support and adhered with a wax-resin adhesive onto linen mounted onto a new, stable, rigid auxiliary support of aluminum-honeycomb (fig. 15). More linen was attached to the reverse of the honeycomb with wax-resin adhesive. Subsequently, the facings were removed, and losses were filled with rabbet skin and white polymer glue. The surface was varnished with a spray coat of AW2. Losses were inpainted with gouache and dry pigments mixed with polyvinylacetate, and a final spray of AW2 unified the surface. The painting is now very flat.

In 1975, while *The Flagellation* was being transferred, *The Crowning with Thorns* was re-evaluated. The following year it too was transferred, this time onto linen, masonite, and an aluminum-honeycomb panel. Like *The Flagellation*, the records here note that "to counter-balance, the reverse was lined with linen and wax-resin" a rather superfluous addition considering the paint layer was separated from the reverse by about an inch of various inert materials.[36] In 1980, the painting was filled, varnished with AW2, and inpainted with dry pigments in polyvinylacetate. It was finished with spray varnishes of AW2 and Acryloid B-72. It too is very flat.

The last transfer was completed in 1982, on *The Entombment*, the painting in the worst condition, judging from early photographs. This picture had major horizontal and vertical losses following the edges of the fabric interlayer and the vertical cracks between planks (fig. 10); additionally, there were large, very damaged areas of abrasion on Christ's body due to past over-cleanings. This time, the paint layer

Fig. 14. After cleaning, 1937, *Christ on the Mount of Olives.*

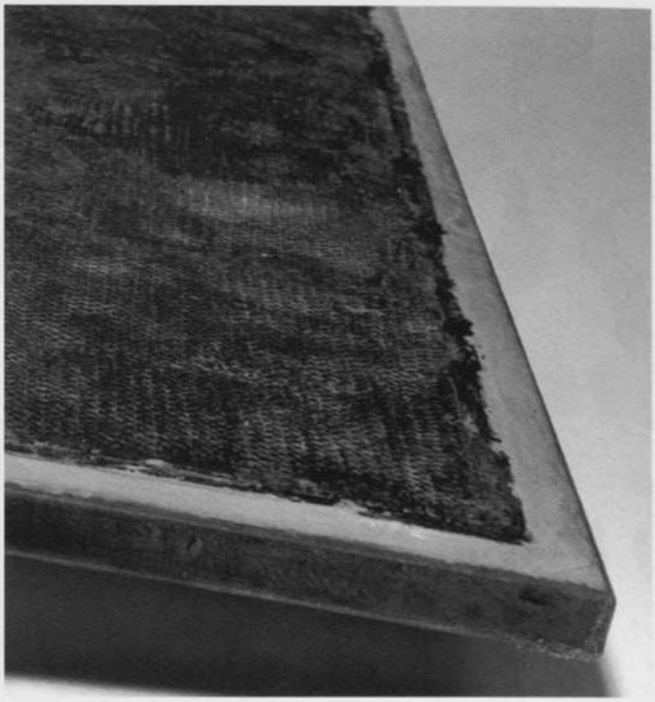

Fig. 15. Aluminum honeycomb support on *The Entombment.*

alone was transferred onto another piece of fabric and adhered with wax-resin onto an aluminum honeycomb support. Because of the massive number of losses, it was put aside until 1989, when it was then to be further cleaned, filled, inpainted, and varnished. Organic solvents and solvent gels were used under magnification to remove discolored resins and restorations. Losses were filled with the same rabbet skin glue and polyvinylacetate gesso as before, and fills were inpainted with a synthetic medium, Lefranc and Bourgeois Restorer's Colors. Finally, a new synthetic resin, MS2A, which replaced AW2 in simulating the visual properties of a natural resin, was brushed over the surface.

In the late eighties and early nineties, six panels were assessed to determine how they could be stabilized and brought up to the same finish so that they could hang in the gallery. It would be the first time in decades that six panels would be shown together. Because *Christ on the Mount of Olives* had been so severely over-cleaned, and *The Crucifixion* had not yet been cleaned, they were not considered exhibitable. The other six had remained relatively stable since their earlier structural treatments at the Walters. Some required minor local consolidation. *Christ before Caiaphas* and *On the Way to Calvary* had reached a point where over fifty years after cleaning and varnishing with a natural resin, their varnishes and surface waxes had seriously discolored. These two panels, which had not been over-cleaned in the thirties, now were cleaned, varnished, and inpainted again with modern reversible materials, similar to those used in the treatment of *The Entombment.* Additionally, more surface work was needed to bring the other four panels to a higher degree of finish. For example, all the panels, especially *The Crowning with Thorns*, needed considerable inpainting, and *Christ Taken into Captivity* and *The Flagellation* needed glossier varnishes to counter the matte finishes that were more popular in the seventies, when they were applied.

The last panel to receive a full treatment was *The Crucifixion*, in 1999. This panel had some minor horizontal and vertical cracks following the patterns of loss in the others and had a very discolored, almost green, varnish, most likely over a hundred years old. Walters' records from the thirties state that it was not treated at the time because of its condition.[37] Curiously enough, this panel is in the best condition of all eight, and why it was not treated with the initial four is a mystery. The recent treatment consisted of locally consolidating insecure areas with a traditional animal skin glue, thinning the discolored varnish with organic solvents, and removing discolored overpaint with a mild solvent and scalpel under magnification. Under the overpaint, considerable original paint and only very small losses were found. These losses were filled with rabbet skin glue and whiting gesso, and the picture was varnished with MS2A resin and inpainted with Lefranc and Bourgeois Restorer's Colors, like those panels treated in the late eighties and early nineties.

CONCLUSION

In looking over past Walters' treatments and evaluating the condition of the paintings, a few conclusions can be drawn and some questions can be raised. It is apparent that the early treatments were less invasive to the structure of the panel, but the materials and/or methods involved in cleaning were at times more harmful to the paint surface than later interventions. For example, two out of four panels cleaned in the thirties were severely over-cleaned. Their structural treatments, however, were limited to localized consolidation, a fairly non-invasive procedure. Inpainting of losses and abrasion was minimal, again conservative, but with little regard for matching the levels of finish on the less damaged panels. To summarize, for the most part, structural work was minimal, cleaning could be careful or somewhat harsh, and retouching was reversible and minimal, with little attempt to hide or reintegrate losses.

Likewise, treatments in the fifties and sixties were localized and relatively conservative. Here though, new, fairly reversible, synthetic materials were introduced.

In the seventies and eighties, major invasive structural treatments were undertaken when three panels were transferred onto new, rigid supports. Were these pictures transferred onto aluminum honeycomb because it was a more common, popular treatment at the time (in regards to the 1970s notion of preventative conservation) or because "they contained so many restorations" that their condition warranted such a severe procedure? Mary Lou White, the conservator who transferred *The Flagellation*, wrote in an article that a transfer should "only be resorted to if all other alternatives fail. I strongly disapprove of the transferring of panel paintings as a general practice and think that it is a method which should be considered only in the most extreme circumstance."[38] Later, she mentions that separation of the cloth from the wood support had caused most of the cleavage and "coupled with the fact that several cradle members had come unglued, led us to the decision to transfer the picture."[39] She then described in detail her methods and materials. The same reasons were given to transfer the other two paintings. It is impossible now to know if they received a more aggressive structural procedure because of their condition or the treatment philosophy of the time, which emphasized preventing further deterioration by sometimes taking a more aggressive structural approach, but also put a high priority on the aesthetics of flat surfaces, on panels as well as on canvas paintings. During the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, many canvas paintings were lined on the hot table under vacuum pressure in order to remove any deformations in plane. A very flat, very clean, thinly varnished painting indicated a well thought-out treatment and was highly prized.

In the 1980s and 1990s, structural treatments again became more conservative, while retouching and varnishing were taken further. The emphasis on a more highly finished paint surface and the acceptance of planar distortions in the support became overriding characteristics of these treatments. Were the localized structural treatments and more refined surface work part of a trend, or did the panels' conditions require these treatments? Or both?

To answer these complex questions, one now must look beyond the paintings themselves and consider recent advances in museum technology and a new attitude towards museum audiences. With the museum's environment stabilized by new heating, ventilation, and air conditioning systems, it is no longer necessary to consider major structural treatments as a viable option. Preventative conservation now means placing a picture in the proper stable environment rather than treating it aggressively to halt a possible future structural problem. Furthermore, a re-evaluation of the importance of the entire painting, from the support to varnish layers has lead conservators to try to save as much of the original as possible. Finally, the value placed on the viewer's understanding and enjoyment of the picture have led to placing a greater emphasis on unification of the paint surface and the effect of the final presentation. It is no longer acceptable summarily to tone in areas of paint loss and expect the viewer mentally to bring together raw and highly finished areas in a painting. A unified surface, either somewhat abraded overall or more highly retouched is considered of prime importance in helping the viewer appreciate the picture.

In fall 2001, the entire Passion cycle will be finished and hung together for the first time at the Walters. The eight pictures will have been brought to a similar level of inpainting, and the varnishes will have a similar gloss. Current retouching should discolor more slowly with the use of more stable, synthetic inpainting mediums, and, with new climate controls, the supports should not move in response to changes in relative humidity. Some panels may look flatter than others due to the earlier transfer process but a new framing system should lessen that appearance. The frame will echo the original arrangement, with two sets of four panels set up together as two wings.

Today, the philosophy of reversibility is at the core of all conservation practice. Time will tell how the various conservation treatments fare, for it is impossible to look objectively at what one does at the time. Only hindsight will inform us if our decisions were the best for the paintings. For now, at long last, the series will be installed as a coherent ensemble, stable and visually unified in a manner sympathetic to their original construction and satisfying to all who see them.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

1. Walters Art Gallery, 5th Annual Report, 1937.

2. Daniela Gräfin v. Pfeils, "Die Stellung Hans Schüchling in der Ulmer Malerei," in *Meisterweke Massenhaft: Die Bildhauerwekstatt des Niklaus Weckmann und der Malerei in Ulm um 1500* (Stuttgart, 1993), 161.

3. Identified by Edward Arens, Research Asst., School of Forestry, Yale University. Notes in the Conservation treatment folders, Accession numbers 37. 663, 37.670, and 37.671, Walters Art Museum.

4. Theophilus, *On Diverse Arts*, J. G. Hawthorne and C. Stanley Smith, trans. (Chicago 1963; reprinted New York, 1979), 26.

5. Karen French, Conservation treatment report on the Heilige Katharina Legend, Catalog number V111 Nr. 21, Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 1990.

6. Microchemical test results, Notes in Conservation treatment folder, Accession number 37.668, Walters Art Museum, 2001.

7. H. Westoff and R. Hahn, "Verzierungstechniken in Malerei und Skulptur," in *Graviert, Gemalt, Gepresst; Spätgotische Retabelverzierungen in Schwaben* (Stuttgart, 1996), 18–31.

8. E. Krebs, H. Westoff, and R. Hahn,"Werzeuge und Materialien in den Spätmittelalterlichen Werkstätten der Bildhauer, Schreiner und Maler," in *Meisterweke Massenhaft*, 301–9.

9. H. Westoff, R. Hahn, and E. Krebs "Verzierungstecknicken ab Spätmittelalterlichen Altarretabeln," in *Meisterweke Massenhaft*, 295–99.

10. Analyzed by Scanning Electron Microscope (SEM), University of Maryland, December 1999, Notes in Conservation treatment folder, Walters Art Museum.

11. A good example of a silver background is found on *The lamentation from Turdossin* (1450–60), no. 55.918, Museum of Fine Arts, Hungary (transferred in 1939 from the Hungarian National Gallery).

12. C. Cennini, *Il Libro del'Arte*, D. V. Thompson, trans. (New Haven, 1933; reprinted New York, 1954), 60.

13. Sir C. L. Eastlake, *Methods and materials of painting of the great schools and masters*, vol. I, (New York, 1960), 124–25.

14. Westoff, Hahn, and Krebs, "Verzierungstecknicken ab Spätmittelalterlichen Altarretabeln," 295–99.

15. Birth of Christ, working drawing on the reverse of Mary's death panel, South German, 1600–50, no. 23, Wütrtembergisches Landesmuseum, Stuttgart.

16. Kathy Hebb, Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.669, Walters Art Museum.

17. Krebs, Westoff, and Hahn, "Werzeuge und Materialien," 301–9.

18. G. Török, in *The Hungarian National Gallery, The Old Collections*, E. Hoch, trans. (A Magyar Nemezeti Galéria régi gyújteményei. Corvina Kiadó, Budapest, 1984), 47.

19. Ibid., 66.

20. Discussion of azurite use with Michele Marincola, Objects Conservator, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

21. Eastlake, *Methods and materials*, 469–70.

22. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.663, Walters Art Museum.

23. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.671, Walters Art Museum.

24. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.670, Walters Art Museum.

25. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.674, Walters Art Museum.

26. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.663, Walters Art Museum.

27. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.671, Walters Art Museum.

28. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.668, Walters Art Museum.

29. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.671, Walters Art Museum.

30. Walters Art Gallery, 5th Annual Report, 1937, 5.

31. Walters Art Gallery, 6th Annual Report, 1938, 5–6.

32. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.664, Walters Art Museum.

33. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.671, Walters Art Museum.

34. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.670, Walters Art Museum.

35. Ibid.

36. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.671, Walters Art Museum.

37. Notes in Conservation treatment file, Accession number 37.668, Walters Art Museum.

38. M. L. White, "The transfer of a late 15th Century panel painting of the Swabian School," *The International Institute of Conservation, American Group Technical Papers*, 1968–70.

39. Ibid.

PHOTOGRAPHY: figs. 1–15, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

The "Evangelistario" from the Cathedral of Messina

MAIA WELLINGTON GAHTAN

This essay discusses the liturgical function of four brass reading desks representing the Four Evangelists probably produced ca. 1500 in the zone of Maastricht. They are shown to have once belonged to a vast multiple lectern used for Gospel reading in the cathedral of Messina and called an "Evangelistario" by the Messanese. They appear to be the only surviving fragments of this type of late medieval liturgical furniture, otherwise known only through scattered literary references.

Since 1910, the Walters' collection has possessed four magnificent brass bookrests (acc. nos. 53.70–73, figs. 1a–d) that once belonged to a vast multiple lectern standing perhaps as tall as three meters (fig. 2). The sculptural bookrests have always been recognized to be of the highest quality.[1] However, their uniqueness as the only surviving fragments of a type of liturgical furniture produced in the late fifteenth century has been overlooked. The present essay will address this omission and offer some hypotheses as to the liturgical function of this extraordinary object by discussing the iconography and functions of related lecterns. Although the evidence remains inconclusive, at the very least, it can be shown that this impressive brass structure—called an "Evangelistario" by contemporaries—served to glorify the Gospel reading within the mass by visually commemorating the words of each of the four Evangelists.

Each of the four bookrests is supported by an Evangelist symbol adorned with a scroll and measures approximately 45 cm. in height and 44 cm. in length. The hole in the head of the figure representing St. Matthew possibly held a candle. They are in varying states of preservation: the eagle of St. John having suffered the most damage, probably due to imperfections in its original casting.[2] Until 1908, the bookrests, on their original supporting structure, stood near the altar in the cathedral of Messina, Sicily.[3] The structure was destroyed in an earthquake that hit Messina on 28 December 1908 and practically leveled its cathedral. The sculpted pelican of about the same dimensions that crowned the top of the whole apparatus also vanished at this time.[4] Fortunately, the original form is known from pre-1908 photographs (fig. 2), from a set of lithographs produced in 1852 (fig. 3), and from an early nineteenth-century lithograph of the cathedral's interior (fig. 4).[5]

The first reference to the object in the Messina cathedral occurs in a description of the city written in 1606 by Giuseppe Buonfiglio. He mentions the piece along with various candlesticks and lamps. His term for the lectern, "Evangelistario," is unusual in such a context and will be discussed later. Buonfiglio writes:

> In front of the three principle chapels one sees ten large and tall double candlesticks of bronze, marvelously beautiful suspended lamps, the *Evangelistario* with the four animals described by Ezekiel and the eminent column of alabaster of not little value destined for the support of the Easter candle.[6]

This "Evangelistario" was probably produced in the vicinity of Maastricht (southern Netherlands) in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, perhaps as late as 1500. While the style of the figures could place them anywhere from Maastricht in the east, Malines in the center, to Tournai in the west, technical details help us to locate a possible origin more precisely. In an article discussing the lost-wax method in various parts of Belgium, Ignace Vandevivre convincingly showed that brass liturgical furniture of certain Malines provenance uniformly used iron chaplets, while those produced in Tournai or Maastricht used rectangular chaplets made from a copper alloy.[7] A careful inspection of the Walters' reading desks by Julie Lauffenburger, Senior Objects Conservator at the Walters Art Museum, confirmed the use of rectangular brass alloy chaplets of similar dimensions to those described by Vandevivre (1.5 x 11 mm.).[8] In addition, the irregularity of the shapes of these chaplets makes a Maastricht provenance more likely than a Tournai one (fig. 5).[9]

Brass lecterns and other liturgical objects were made in great abundance in present-day Belgium, Germany, and England during the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. They were produced for local consumption and also for export. A number of such works were sent to Italy.

Fig. 1a. Reading Desk with the Eagle of St. John, Maastricht?, ca. 1475–1500. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 53.70.

Fig. 1b. Reading Desk with the Bull of St. Luke, Maastricht?, ca. 1475–1500. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 53.71.

The major sites of importation by sea were Genoa, Venice, and Messina; bronze liturgical objects made in northern Europe exist in all three of these cities.[10] At one time or another, the cathedral of Messina possessed at least four brass lecterns (including the Walters' example) and various candlesticks, and the medieval church of San Francesco in Messina had at least two brass lecterns. One of the San Francesco lecterns (now lost) was supported by an eagle and was purchased in 1509 via Messanese correspondents in Bruges with funds collected from many prominent individuals.[11] The other San Francesco lectern is supported by a pelican and is in the Museo Regionale of Messina. It bears an inscription indicating that it was a gift of Octavian, preacher to Charles V, and that it was purchased in Antwerp in 1535.[12] A second similar pelican with a more archaic base is currently in use on the Gospel side of the cathedral of Messina.[13]

Few dated lecterns exist. The conservatism of their figural designs makes precise dating of uninscribed examples difficult. The best indications of date are usually derived from the base structure. Earlier bases tend to be more solid and sturdy, while fifteenth-century examples move towards the flamboyance that also characterizes later Gothic architecture. By the mid-sixteenth century, classicizing Renaissance forms appear alongside more traditional Gothic ones.[14] The photographs and lithographs of the original base structure of the Walters' example place it in the flamboyant Gothic period, before the introduction of Renaissance forms.

Most brass lecterns possessed single bookrests supported by the outstretched wings of birds. The other lecterns of the Messina cathedral and of San Francesco are of this simple type. The eagle was the most common choice of bird, and possibly the only choice in certain production centers.[15] The eagle often grasped a snake—as in one fifteenth-century lectern formerly in the Messina cathedral (no longer extant, fig. 6). Sometimes the eagle has two heads.[16] Most often the eagle simply stood on a half-sphere with no other distinguishing attribute. Scholars have usually interpreted the eagle as the symbol of St. John derived from Ezekiel's vision.[17] In this case, it would reflect the same concept as the four Walters' bookrests in an abbreviated form. St. John, as the most important of the four Evangelists would stand for all four. However, there is little evidence for this interpretation. Rather, several pieces of evidence would support an alternative interpretation of the eagle as a symbol of Christ. The short digression on such lecterns and their symbolism that follows aids in placing the significance of the Walters' example in greater relief.

In his thirteenth-century description of the divine offices, Guillaume Durand, Bishop of Mende (d. 1296) states that it is common practice for the deacon to read (or sing) the Gospel on an eagle lectern.[18] Although he did not know the brass eagle lecterns that were produced after his time, he would have had in mind the wooden and stone precedents to these objects, some of which were attached to ambos or

Fig. 1c. Reading Desk with the Man of St. Matthew, Maastricht?, ca. 1475–1500. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 53.72.

Fig. 1d. Reading Desk with the Lion of St. Mark, Maastricht?, ca. 1475–1500. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 53.73.

rood lofts. His interpretation of the eagle symbol as Christ is loosely based on Psalm 17:11 and derives from Christ's capacity to fly over the wings of winds ("*et volavit super pennas ventorum*").[19] This allegorical interpretation of the eagle as Christ accords with a special honoring of Christ during this portion of the mass. The acclamations used by the *deacon—Gloria tibi domine* (Glory to you, God), *Laus tibi, Christe* (Praise to you, Christ), *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini* (Blessed is he who comes in God's name)—all reinforce Christ's dominant role.[20]

In the same passage, Durand also distinguishes the Gospel and Epistle readings and comments on their relative importance. He notes how the eagle—or rather the place where the Gospel is read—should be covered by a cloth of linen or silk on feast days to show softness in the hearts of Christians.[21] The place where the Epistle is read is never covered in order to show the supposed hardness in the hearts of the Jews.[22] For Durand, the liturgical furniture and its symbolism were secondary to the physical locations where the Gospel and Epistle were sung. Thus, although the eagle/Christ was well suited to the Gospel reading, it was not an integral symbol of that portion of the mass. This helps explain why eagle lecterns could be used for purposes other than Gospel readings.

A second reason for rejecting the identification of the eagle with the symbol of St. John is the fact that the other bird represented in this context is the pelican, an undisputed symbol of Christ's self-sacrifice. Pelican lecterns do not appear before the late fifteenth century and were never produced in the same quantity as the eagles. As noted earlier, their production may have been restricted to certain cities.[23] If one assumes that the pelican was viewed as an acceptable substitute for the eagle by this later period, then the eagle most likely symbolized Christ. The fact that the Walters' lectern was originally crowned by a pelican is not only a confirmation of its late fifteenth-century date, but also suggests the continuing importance of including a symbol of Christ, even when the Evangelist symbols were also used.

Thirdly, when the eagle symbolizes St. John, it usually possesses no attributes other than perhaps a book or a scroll. Typical in this respect is the Walters' eagle bookrest, which holds a scroll in its beak (fig. 1a). The other three Evangelist symbols are also adorned with scrolls. In many eagle lecterns, as noted earlier, the eagles grasp snakes or dragons (fig. 6) and sometimes have two heads. These features are not easily reconcilable with an interpretation of the eagle as St. John, but they are perfectly consistent with an interpretation of the eagle as Christ.

While an eagle lectern is appropriate for Gospel readings, it is also equally appropriate for any other function for which a lectern is needed. It could be used for Epistle readings, and, if large enough, in the choir. The large eagle lectern appearing in old photographs (fig. 6) of the Messina cathedral choir (next to the wooden Seicento double-faced choir

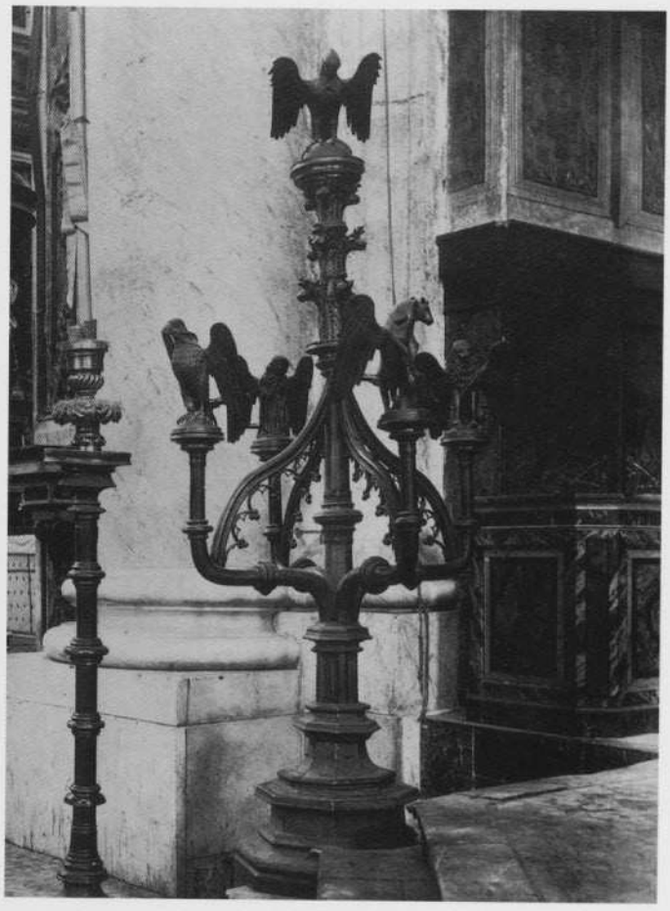

Fig. 2. "Evangelistario" of Messina, pre-1908 photograph (reproduced from Gaetano La Corte Cailler, *Del Duomo di Messina. Memoria artistica*, no. XXXI by permission of GBM by GEM s. r. l.).

lectern) probably served this purpose. In some churches, the same lectern was used for both the Gospel and Epistle readings, just as a single ambo could also be used for both. For example, the "Rites of Durham" (England), written in 1593, record that

> At the north end of the high altar, there was a goodly fine letteron of brasse where they sunge the epistle and the gospell, with a gilt pellican on the height of it, finely gilded pullinge hir bloud out hir breast to hir young ones, and the winges spread abroade wheron did lye the book that they did singe the epistle and the gosple, it was thought to be the goodlyest letteron of brasse that was in all this cuntrye it was all to be taken in sunder with wrests every ioynt from another. Also ther was lowe downe in the quere another letteron of brasse (not so curiously wrought) standing in the midst against the stalls, a marveilous faire one, with an eagle on the height of it, and hir winges spread a broad whereon the monkes did lay theire bookes when they sung theire legends, at mattens or at other times of service.[24]

This description contradicts what is normally thought of as standard catholic liturgical practice as it was codified towards the end of the fifteenth century. After the demise of the double-staired ambo (used for both Gospel and Epistle readings) and its elaborate ascent and descent rituals derived from the Eastern Church, the Gospel and Epistle readings were relegated to different sides of the church. The earliest textual references locate the *cornu evangelii* to the north,[25] on the left side of the altar (assuming the normal orientation towards the east and that one is facing the altar), and the *cornu epistolae* towards the south, on the right side of the altar. However, as Sibile de Blaauw has suggested, variations in liturgical practice seem to have led to a certain amount of confusion as to the different sides of the church.[26] Architectural evidence provides plenty of examples of the reverse orientation (e.g., in Rome, San Clemente, Santa Maria in Cosmadin, San Lorenzo Fuori le Mura). When Burchard de Strassbourg published his important pontifical in 1485, he reversed the orientation, establishing the *cornu evangelii* towards the south and *cornu epistolae* towards the north. Thereafter, this historically incorrect orientation was considered standard though it was not conscientiously followed.[27]

Churches with only one ambo traditionally placed that ambo *in cornu evangelii*.[28] The pelican lectern at Durham that was used for both readings, however, stood at the north end of the altar—the side associated with the Epistle by this period.[29] In his seminal article on medieval brass lecterns in England, C. C. Oman has found other examples of this practice and other variants.[30] While the lectern's northern location may reflect the earliest liturgical practices, it also demonstrates the importance of Durham's local tradition in maintaining that location.

The more general point to be made here is that the liturgical function or meaning of these lecterns was largely developed through their ritual use and not through their shape, iconography, or any longer through standardized placement. In an earlier period, directional placement was viewed as much more important. For Durand, the Gospel lectern acquired its liturgical meaning by virtue of its location on the Gospel side of the church. Similarly, he stressed "the place where one reads the epistle" and not the furniture used to support the book. By the time of Burchard de Strassbourg, however, this ritual placement had become less strict and probably also less significant. The spatial layout of the mass was in flux. The placement of lecterns and ambos was adapted to the particular circumstances of the church or cathedral in question, practices ultimately leading to Burchard's historically incorrect orientation in his pontifical of 1485.

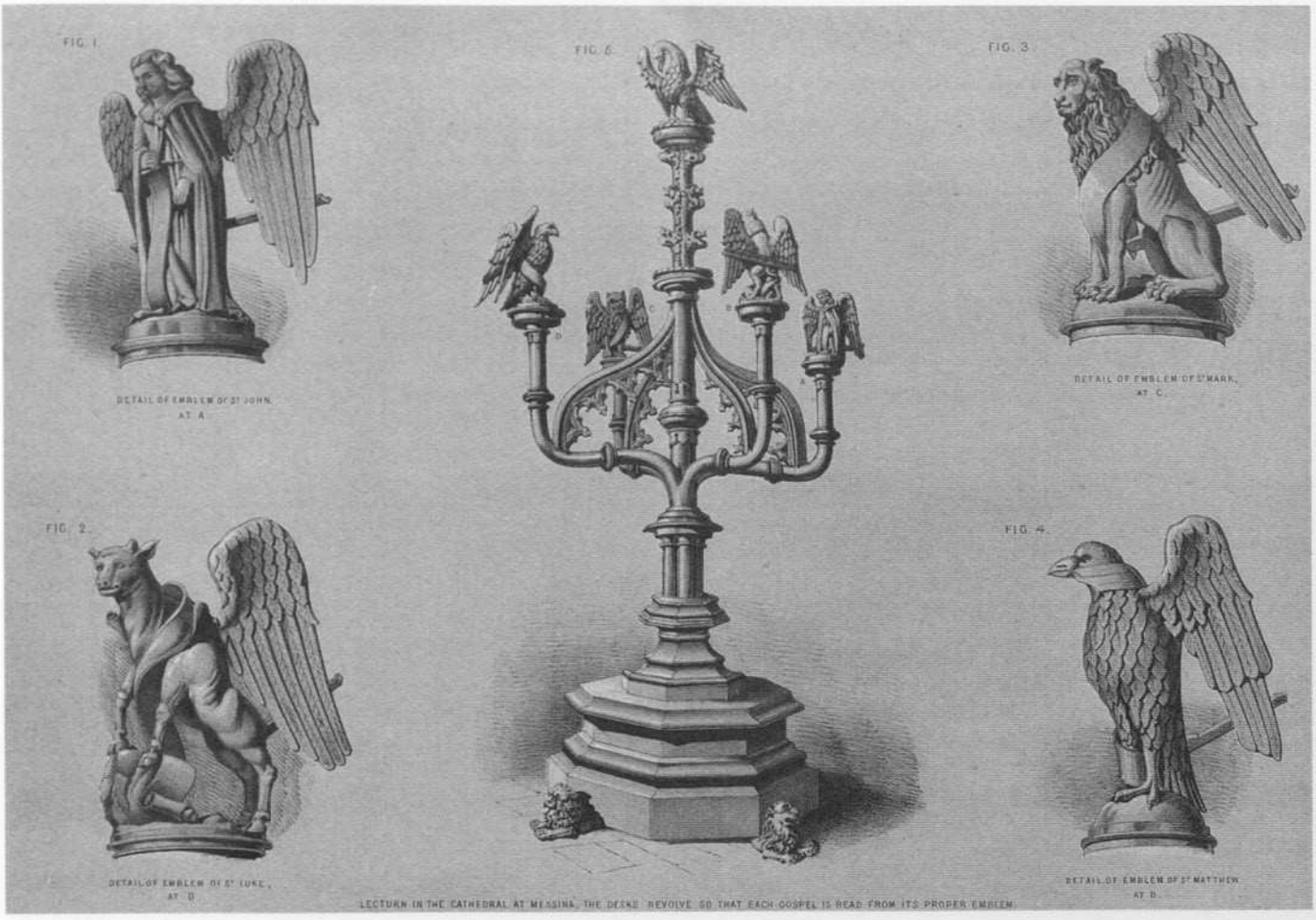

Fig. 3. "Evangelistario" of Messina, lithograph, 1852 (Matthew Digby Wyatt, *Metalwork and its Artistic Design*).

In this flexible liturgical context, lecterns were produced with only generic functions in mind, acquiring specific meanings through the rituals with which they were associated. Although choir lecterns were less adaptable because they needed to be larger to accommodate large choir books (and often possessed several desks so that several books could be viewed at once), they too could take on the same general appearance as reading lecterns, as the reference to the Durham eagle demonstrates.

In contrast to all of these eagles and pelicans, the Walters' lectern—or "Evangelistario" as it was called in Messina—was made to be function-specific. Incorporating the symbols of the four Evangelists, each of which supports its own reading desk, this lectern was meant for Gospel reading only. It was invested with a specific liturgical meaning at the time of production, a meaning that then followed it to its eventual liturgical setting. At least three—and possibly four[31]—such lecterns are known to have been produced, and it appears that all three were used in exactly the same ritual fashion. Besides the Walters' example from the Cathedral of Messina, another existed in the Charterhouse of Champmol (Dijon) and a third in the Cathedral of Dunkeld, Scotland. Doubtless many others were produced but were not described and have apparently not survived.

The documentary evidence for the ritual use of the Walters' lectern dates from the nineteenth century. In his book *Metalwork in Italy and its Artistic Design* published in 1852, Matthew Digby Wyatt describes:

> Plate XXXV is a curious lectern worked in brass, and now in use for the reading of the Gospels, in the cathedral at Messina in Sicily. The upper portion is made to revolve, so that a copy of each evangelist's writing being laid upon his proper emblem, the priest, standing on a step at the side, has only to turn the desk round until he has opposite to him the requisite gospel. Thus each evangelist's record is successively read from an appropriate emblem, the priest in all cases remaining with his face to the congregation. It is impossible in any drawing, however careful, to render the exceeding accuracy and mechanical dexterity with which this object has been executed.[32]

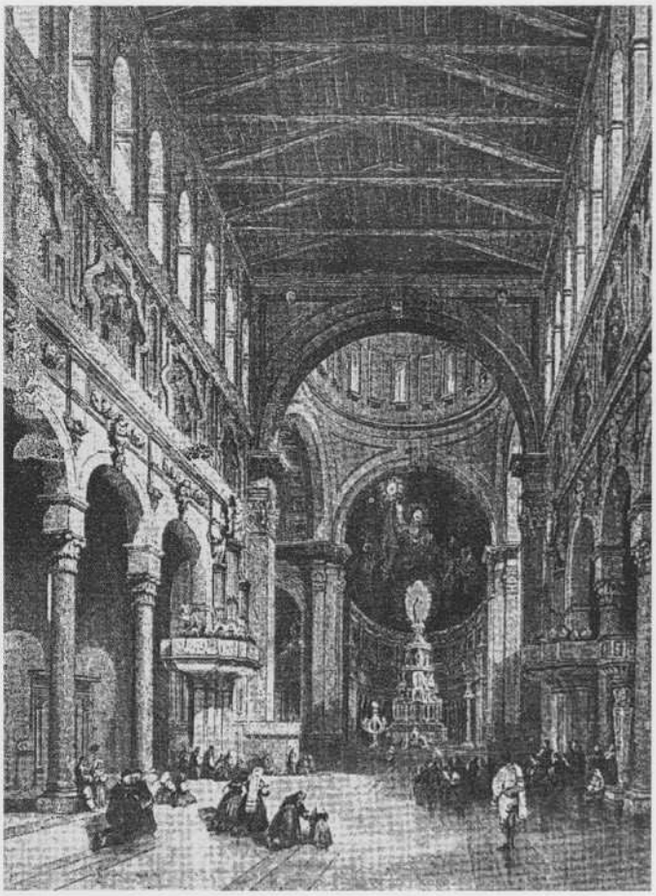

Fig. 4. Messina Cathedral Interior, lithograph, before 1873 (reproduced from Maria Accascina, *Profilo dell'architettura a Messina dal 1600 al 1800* by permission of Edizioni dell'Ateneo).

Fig. 5. Bronze Alloy Chaplet from Bull of St. Luke, detail. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 53.71.

Although Wyatt does not state where the lectern is located, a nineteenth-century print of the interior of the Messina cathedral clearly shows what he must have seen (fig. 4). The lectern stands on the north side of the cathedral to the left of the altar, a placement in accordance with early liturgical practices and probably reflecting local Messanese tradition. A giant paschal candlestick—certainly the one noted by Buonfiglio in 1606—stands to the right. At the center is the so-called "macchina," an elaborate seventeenth-century monument by Filippo Juvarra housing St. Luke's painting of the Virgin and commemorating the Virgin's letter to the Messanese people. The cathedral, Santa Maria della Lettera, was dedicated to this apocryphal letter.[33]

On its own, Wyatt's description would be of little historical value except as evidence for nineteenth-century practice. However, a description was made of a very similar lectern in the Charterhouse of Champmol (Dijon) in 1718 by Le Brun des Marettes, Sieur de Moléon:

> At the Charterhouse of Dijon the Gospel lectern is a very large column of bronze, on the height of which there is a phoenix, and around which are the four animals of Ezekiel, which serve as four reading desks which one turns according to the Gospel. Across on the Epistle side is a large and magnificently sculpted ancient chair in which the Celebrant sits during the Epistle reading.[34]

Aside from the fact that this lectern was crowned with a phoenix—also a symbol of Christ—instead of a pelican, this object would appear to be identical to the Messina example. Though not normally used on lecterns, the phoenix was a common symbol of the Resurrected Christ, here seeming to substitute for the sacrificial Christ of the pelican. Unfortunately, the date of this Champmol lectern is not known. A second eagle lectern cast by cannonier Maitre Colart is recorded as having been located in the center of the monk's choir at Champmol. It possessed a commemorative inscription that was added sometime after it was acquired. The inscription refers to the founding of the church in 1383.[35] This lectern was probably used by the choir, and may even have served for Gospel readings until the specific Gospel lectern noted by Lebrun des Marettes was acquired.[36] The fact that a visitor's account of Champmol in 1486 does not mention the Gospel lectern—even though it describes many other less imposing elements—suggests that it was acquired after that date.[37]

Fig. 6. Choir lecterns from Messina Cathedral, pre-1908 photograph (reproduced from Gaetano La Corte Cailler, *Del Duomo di Messina. Memoria artistica*, no. XXX by permission of GBM by GEM s. r. l.)

Fig. 7. Paschal Candlestick, Lübeck?, Cathedral of Lund, Sweden, ca. 1400. Lund, Historisk Museet.

The third known Gospel lectern of this revolving type was presented to the Dunkeld Cathedral by Bishop George Brown (1484–1514). It is described in Alexander Mylne's life of the bishop written sometime shortly after his death:

> Though he was kept busy by the suits of the church's enemies and made it an object to acquire lands, the bishop was far from being unmindful of the interior decoration of his church. He presented . . . a tabernacle for the high altar: a four-sided lectern of brass with four figures of the Evangelists supporting desks upon which the Gospel is sung in turn, according to the title of the Evangelist: a brazen figure of Moyses holding a desk in his arms, and at the back thereof a candlestick of brass with three branches. Also he had the upper parts of the choir stalls painted: he completely renewed the rood-loft, with the altars of St. Michael and St. Martin and the choir-screens.[38]

Like the lecterns of Messina and Champmol, this Gospel lectern (as well as the Moses lectern for the Epistle reading) dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Although there is no indication as to where it was produced, we do know that in 1508 Bishop Brown purchased a wooden tabernacle from Flanders and had it shipped to Dunkeld by way of Dundee.[39] The fact that all three lecterns were used in exactly the same theatrical manner in three different countries and three different centuries gently confirms that this was in fact their original function.[40]

Two other brass liturgical objects—both paschal candlesticks—are known that adopt a similar iconography and a similar shape. So close are these candlesticks in form to the Messina lectern that many scholars have assumed that both also served as lecterns.[41] The larger of the two candelabra holds seven candles and exists in Lund, Sweden (fig. 7). Scholars seem to concur that it is of Lübeck workmanship.[42] The second example holds a single candle and is one of the few pieces of medieval church furniture still extant in the cathedral of Genoa (fig. 8). It is usually given a Dinant provenance, if any at all.[43] A firsthand examination of the animals on the Genoese candlestick with photographs of those in Lund, however, strongly suggests that both were made in the same region, probably near Lübeck. In both examples, the animals look distinctly archaic and angular, recalling fourteenth-century German acquamaniles more

than the rounded, flowing forms of the Walters' evangelist symbols. Their wings have delicate, detached feathers, as opposed to the sturdy, unified wings of the Walters' reading desks. It is likely that both candlesticks predate the Walters' lectern by least fifty, and perhaps one hundred years.

Paschal candlesticks, like those in Genoa and Lund, may have provided a model for the later Gospel lecterns, especially these Gospel lecterns that were probably produced in Maastricht, a Netherlandish city close to the German border. Paschal candlesticks were usually placed in *cornu evangelii* near the ambo or lectern used for the Gospel reading. The seven-armed candlestick type, which substitutes for seven individual candlesticks, moreover, is particularly associated with the portion of the mass known as the liturgy of the word. It is probably for these reasons that the candlesticks were decorated with Evangelist symbols in the first place. Some later candlesticks without Evangelist iconography (such as those in Léau and in Viborg, which are roughly contemporaneous with the Walters' lectern), also include lecterns on their shafts. It is furthermore known that one of the brass candlesticks from the cathedral of Tongres included a lectern used for Gospel readings.[44] The Viborg cathedral example is a seven-branched paschal candlestick like the one in Lund.[45] Combinations such as these further demonstrate the conceptual affinities between these two liturgical objects.[46]

Evangelist symbols also occur on the covers of Evangeliaries (books containing the Gospel readings used during the mass) and on a few much earlier Gospel ambos. One southern Italian example is Melchiorre da Montalbano's ambo of 1279 for the cathedral of Teggiano (Campania). This elevated marble structure is decorated with Evangelist symbols. The central, protruding speaking podium is decorated with another eagle standing on the back of a rabbit held by a man. Similarly, the Gospel ambo, which once existed in the church of the Cathedral of Pavia, also includes Evangelist symbols combined with an eagle reading desk.[47] In these examples, both types of eagles—St. John and Christ—are represented; the one symbolizing St. John holds a book, and the one for Christ decorates the reading podium.[48] Other examples of ambos with Evangelist symbols include the "Guarna" ambo in the Salerno Cathedral, the thirteenth-century ambo of Wechselburg (Saxony), and Emperor Henry II's ambo in the Palatine Chapel, Aachen.[49] Like Messina's *Evangelistario*, ambos such as this were made to exalt the Gospel reading during the mass. However, by the fourteenth century (and perhaps even earlier), these types of specific-function Gospel and Epistle ambos were rarely produced, if at all. (The great ambos of Nicola and Giovanni Pisano, for example, probably served a variety of functions, including that of a *cantoria* for singing). Instead, in the fifteenth century, a different kind of raised platform—the preaching pulpit—was sweeping both Italian and northern

Fig. 8. Paschal Candlestick, Lübeck?, ca. 1400. Soprintendenza di Genova.

European churches. They first appear in cathedrals and mendicant churches but soon spread to parish churches. While it is not always known how many and precisely which purposes the earliest of these pulpits served, it is certain that the single examples being erected in the naves of churches by the mid-fifteenth century were conceived with preaching in mind, rather than the singing or reading of the Gospel.[50]

There are many explanations for the rise of preaching pulpits. Most important among them are the increased importance of preaching during and outside of the mass, and the simplification and scaling down of the rood screen.[51] The existence and use of such pulpits, however, must also have affected the mass. Greater emphasis on the homily (delivered after the Gospel reading) and on preaching in general by giving this action its own platform in the nave is likely to have reduced the impact of the Gospel reading, especially if this reading was done from a more remote location in the choir or behind a rood screen. Could the invention of Evangelist candlesticks and then the grandiose Evangelist lectern partly be a response to this liturgical shift? Might the revolving, theatrical "Evangelistario" of the Messina cathedral have served to restore the waning

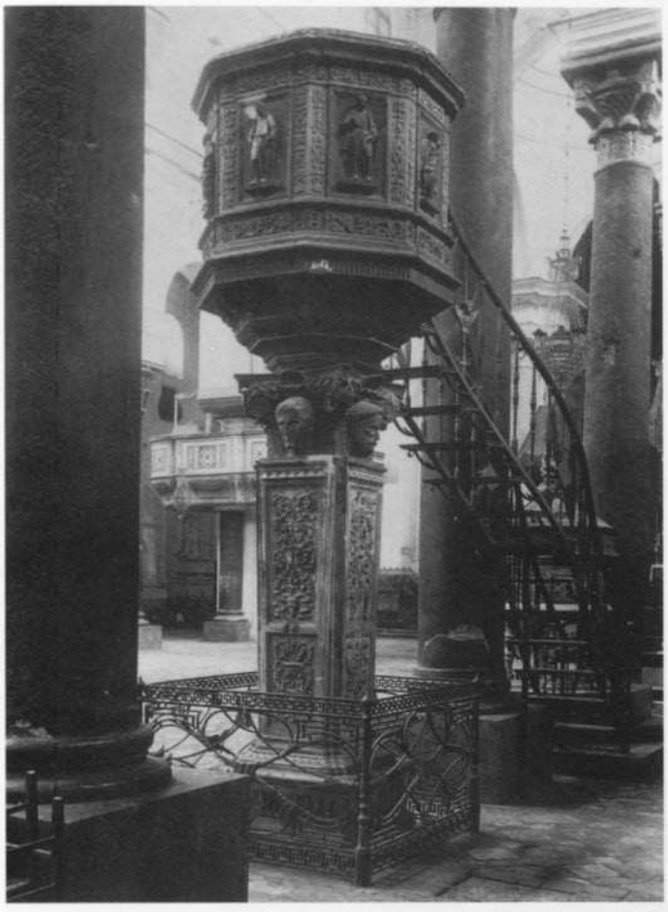

Fig. 9. Interior View of Messina Cathedral, pre-1908 photograph (reproduced from Gaetano La Corte Cailler, *Del Duomo di Messina. Memoria artistica*, no. XXXVI by permission of GBM by GEM s. r. l.).

liturgical impact of the Gospel reading? In addition to its great size, it is a complex object that not only glorifies the Gospel segment of the mass, but also glorifies the individual character of the words of each Evangelist by giving each one its own podium.

Sometime in the early sixteenth century, the Messanese built a pulpit in their cathedral in *cornu evangelii* (fig. 9). Even though it was probably built after they acquired their *Evangelistario*, it would have been erected in response to an earlier need. When Buonfiglio described this lectern, he does so just after describing this pulpit in the nave in which *"i piu famosi Predicatori dimostrare lor scientifica eloquenza, condotti con grosso stipendio dalla Citta"* (the most famous preachers demonstrate their studied eloquence, brought here with large stipends from the state).[52] These preachers were valued for their individual contributions to the understanding and dissemination of sacred text. With the introduction of the "Evangelistario," such an individual accent could also be visually appreciated during the Gospel reading of the mass.

The term Buonfiglio uses—"Evangelistario"—also implies a special liturgical function. If one looks up the word *Evangelistario* in the most important Italian historical dictionary, produced by Accademia della Crusca, it is defined as a synonym for "Evangeliario" or Evangeliary, the book of Gospel readings used in the mass. Four examples are given in which it means "Evangeliario," but all are from central Italian (mostly Tuscan) sources. Similarly, Du Cange's dictionary of medieval latin defines "Evangelistarium" as a synonym for "Evangeliarium," and several examples are given. In one of Du Cange's examples from the chronicle of Fossanova of 1196, however, it is not completely certain that the Evangelistarium refers to a book. It could easily refer to a special silver bookrest used for the Evangeliary: "quattuor Evangelistaria argentea, 12 cruces argenteae." If one leaves central Italy, the meaning of the word changes. Inventories of the sacristy in Cathedral archives (Maramma), use the word to mean a sumptuous linen cloth.[53] The cloth might have been used to wrap or adorn the Evangeliary, or it might have adorned the lectern on which the Evangeliary was placed, as Durand had specified for feast days.

The Walters' "Evangelistario" probably took its name from that cloth, for, like the cloth, it is an object that embellishes the Evangeliary. It is possible that it was originally only used on special occasions, just as the cloth was draped on the Gospel lectern only during feast days. The seventeenth-century antiquarian Jean-Baptiste Thiers cites two examples (one from 1507) of a liturgical practice in which the Gospel was read during weekdays, and on certain feast days on a lectern placed *in cornu evangelii* next to the altar, set up expressly for this purpose. On Sundays and other feast days, it was sung on a lectern on the rood loft or ambo inside the choir.[54]

The "Evangelistario" also may have played a greater role in the mass itself than did standard lecterns. In the introduction to his fundamental book on the history of western liturgy, Mario Righetti describes the great liturgical importance attached to the Evangeliary in some circumstances outside of the mass. At the Council of Ephesis in 451, the profession of faith was read in the presence of the Evangeliary. At the Fourth Council of Constantinople of 869, held at Hagia Sophia (Istanbul), the Evangeliary was placed on a throne with the relics of the Holy Cross, a practice that was carried over to Ravenna and Rome.[55] Such a situation of a sacred book left on a bookrest on the altar is illustrated in some sixth-century mosaics in the Ravenna baptistry. Corroborating these examples, Thiers cites various early texts by Leo IV and St. John Chrysostom describing the practice of preserving the Gospel books like relics on the altar.[56] Discussing the mass, Sibile de Blaauw mentions a different practice of the subdeacon placing the Evangeliary on the podium near the ambo in the lower choir where the seven candlesticks resided—after the Gospel reading.[57] In the "Rites of Durham," the combined Gospel and Epistle

book was also placed on the altar after the readings for the remainder of the mass (instead of resealing it and returning it immediately to the treasury).[58] Perhaps also in Messina in this later period, the Evangeliary was left on the "Evangelistario" after the reading or placed there during certain solemn occasions.[59] Perhaps it—or they for it could have been bound in four separate books—were even stored there from time to time.[60] Unfortunately, because no fifteenth-, sixteenth-, or seventeenth-century liturgical books from the Messina cathedral survive, such hypotheses cannot be verified in this context.[61]

What is certain is that Messina's "Evangelistario" testifies to the lavish attention accorded to the Gospel reading and to the words of each Evangelist during mass. It shows how the basic concept of reading (or singing) was elaborated, even glorified by a simple mechanical apparatus and a theatrical presentation. The early church elevated the importance of the Gospel reading through ritual ascending of the ambo stairs and the directional orientation of the deacon. The High Middle Ages gave it a place and ambo (or lectern) of its own *in cornu evangelii* in opposition to the Epistle reading on the other side. While the ambo sometimes reflected its Gospel function through its imagery, lecterns were generic until meaning could be attached to them through ritual use. The late fifteenth century witnesses the triumph of the artistic object in this context. Not only does preaching receive its own pulpit, but also the Gospel reading receives is own magnificent *Evangelistario*, and each Gospel, its own podium. The once elaborate orchestration of gazing north, and standing to the south, was thus overshadowed by artistic symbolism and ingenuity.

In the early nineteenth century (fig. 4), the Messina "Evangelistario" did not stand *in cornu evangelii*, but rather on the Epistle side. While it may have been moved, it is also possible that this was its location when Buonfiglio was describing the church in 1606 (his text is unclear on this point). Had this been the case, it would mean that the Messina "Evangelistario," like its simpler counterpart in Durham, partook of a mass organized according to local tradition, perhaps ultimately based on archaic liturgical practices. Unlike the Durham pelican, Messina's "Evangelistario" (along with its counterparts in Dunkeld and Champmol), illustrated its liturgical function through its physical and iconographic form. Ritual not only invested significance in the "Evangelistario," but also adapted itself to the object's iconography and physical structure. The "Evangelistario" enriched the liturgy of the word by symbolically identifying the sacred words of each individual Gospel.

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

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1. In 1960, the four reading desks were exhibited in Detroit (Detroit Institute of Art, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization.* Catalogue of the Exhibition, *Masterpieces of Flemish Art: Van Eyck to Bosch* (Detroit, 1960), nos. 109–12, 277–79) and Bruges (*Le siècle des primitifs flamands.* Catalogue Édition française. [Bruges, 1960], no. 122, 222). In 1962, it was included in the Walters Art Gallery exhibition, *The International Style. The Arts in Europe around 1400.* (Baltimore, 1962), no. 140–41, 147. Most recently the lecterns were discussed (briefly) by Jean-Philippe Lecat, *Le siècle de la Toison d'Or.* (Paris, 1986), 62–63. The entries in these catalogues, especially that in *The International Style*, provided an invaluable point of departure for this study.

2. The eagle's head has been flattened and his beak and wings are cracked. Surely some of this damage occured from a fall but, according to Julie Lauffenburger, Senior Objects Conservator at the Walters Art Museum, the cracks on the wings look to be the result of longterm deterioration.

3. Henry Walters purchased the lecterns from Raoul Heilbronner in Paris in 1910. Notes in the museum files indicate that the dealer had acquired the reading desks from the Cathedral of Reggio Calabria, on the straits of Messina. However, as was first pointed out by Marvin Chauncey Ross ("Vier Evangelistenpulte aus Messina," *Pantheon*, 22 [1938], 290), these figures must have come from the cathedral of Messina. There is no evidence that the cathedral of Reggio Calabria ever possessed a lectern such as this, and there is photo documentation that the Messina cathedral did. Ross further notes that "Mr. Walters himself when speaking to a friend referred to these pieces as having come from Messina and that they were sold to aid in the reparation of the damage to the cathedral caused by the earthquake." The ultimate provenance of these lecterns is certainly the Messina cathedral. Although Walters' statements suggest that he believed the lectern ensemble to have been sold by a responsible representative of the cathedral, it is not clear by which path they came into Heilbronner's possession.

After the great earthquake of 1908, the Messina cathedral and most of the city was left a ruin. The cathedral had no roof and no interior architectural structure left. Many precious artworks belonging to the cathedral and to other churches were quickly taken to Palermo (at this date there was no Soprintendenza or major museum in Messina) for safekeeping and restoration while others were left amidst the ruins. Some objects were stored in the cathedral "baracca" (closet), especially after some important items had been stolen, including a beautiful bronze angel from the tomb of Cardinal Cibo in San Francesco. On 30 January 1909, the Soprintendente Antonio Salinas indicated that *"Ad eccezione degli avanzi del soffito, pei quali non era possibile di trovare posto,*

tutto il materiale artistico del Duomo si è lasciato nel Duomo stesso e nei magazzini espressamente construiti lì presso" (*Scritti scelti.* [Palermo, 1976–77], vol. II, 423–24). The works sent to Palermo were a source of great concern to the Consiglio Comunale of Messina because they were worried that these precious objects and paintings would never be returned. An angry letter to the editor by Consigliere Professor Fleres in the "Corriere di Sicilia" (6–7 August 1913) was rebuffed by Soprintendente Antonio Salinas of Palermo (9 August 1913). Salinas reiterates the intention of the Soprintendenza to return works in their possession, reminding the Consigliere that he had no control over the many objects for sale in antique shops, some of which were stolen: *"Tornando ora all'interpellanza Fleres, è notorio che i negozi di antichità di Palermo son pieni di oggetti provenienti da Messina e così pure quelle di Taormina, di Catania, di Napoli, di Roma; oggetti venduti dai proprietari ma più di sovente risultato di furti che si fecero e che si continuano a fare, pur troppo, presso chiese o presso ente morali, amministrati da gente ignorante o, talvolta, ladra a dirittura."*

Unfortunately, the Archives of the Opera della Cattedrale (=Maramma della Cattedrale) are only partially preserved. After the earthquake, there are many references to the selling of lead in order to earn money to pay for repairs. There are no indications that artwork or even building materials were sold for this purpose. All of the above-noted correspondence regarding the artistic remains of Messina are discussed and extensively quoted in Antonio Salinas and Gaetano Mario Columba, *Terremoto di Messina. Opera d'arte recuperate*, eds. F. C. Cicala and G. Molonia (Messina, 1998). Republication of material originally presented as: Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. *Terremoto di Messina (28 dicembre 1908). Opere d'arte ricuperate dalla RR. Soprintendenze dei monumenti, dei musei e delle gallerie di Palermo* (Palermo, 1915).

4. It may have been destroyed or possibly sold to someone else. On the Messina cathedral and its history (with many photographs), see *Messina. Prima e dopo il disastro.* (Riproduzione anastatica dell'Edizione 'Giuseppe Principato' of 1914). Introduction by Carmelo Trasselli. (Messina, n.d., 197–230), F. Chillemi, *Il centro storico di Messina. Strutture urbane e patrimonio artistico.* (Messina, 1999), 136–90, and especially the essay by Gaetano La Corte Cailler, edited by Giovanni Molonia as a volume with many photographs, *Del Duomo di Messina. Memoria artistica.* (Messina, n.d.).

5. Some early photographs show the altar area without the lectern. It may have been temporarily removed after the fire of 1867.

6. "*Dinanzi alle tre capelle maggiori si veggono dieci grossi & alti doppieri di bronzo, oltra del sostengo delle lampadari a meraviglia bello, l'Evangelistario con i quattro animali descritti da Ezechiele & l'eminente colonna d'alabastro cotognino di non poca valuta dirizzara per sostengo del Cero Pasquale.*" Giuseppe Buonfiglio, *Messina. Citta Nobilissima descritta in VIII Libri* (Venice, 1606), 28.

7. I. Vandevivre, "Le moblier liturgique en laiton fondu dans les anciens pay-bas méridionaux du XVe au milieu du XVIe siècle. Précisions technologiques," *Bulletin. Institut royal du patrimoine artistique*, 9 (1966), 170–79, especially 175.

8. Vandevivre, "Le moblier liturgique," 175, gives a range of dimensions: 1–3 mm. x 9–20 mm.

9. The chaplets are slightly wedge-shaped on the bodies and bases—the hollow parts—of the sculptures while they are crisp rectangles on the wings. Those on the wings are also of a higher copper content. These figures possess fewer chaplets than the examples surveyed by Vandevivre. He found an average of twenty on each figure he surveyed (173). The Walters' examples probably do not possess more that eight to ten each, though it is possible that they are well hidden beneath the patina.

10. On these objects, see J. Squilbeck, "Les lutrins dinantais de Venise et de Gênes," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 21 (1940–41), 347–56, C. C. Oman, "Niederländische Messingpulte in Italien," *Pantheon*, 9 (1937), 274–77, and for a discussion of the lectern in the Museo Regionale of Messina from the church of San Francesco, Messina, see J. Squilbeck, "Le lutrin-pélican de Borneval," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire*, 11 (1939), 126–36. On sea trade, see J. Finot, *Étude historique sur les relations commerciales entre la Fiandre et la République de Gênes au moyen age* (Paris, 1906), R. Didier, "Expansion artistique et relations économiques des Pays-Bas méridionaux au moyen age," *Bulletin. Institut royal du patrimoine artistique*, 4 (1961), 57–75, and H. Bresc, *Un monde méditerranéen. Économie et société en Sicile* 1300–1450. Two volumes (Rome, 1986). On Messina specifically, see D. Abulafia, "The Merchants of Messina: Levant Trade and Domestic Economy," *Papers of the British School at Rome*, 54 (1986), 196–212, C. Salvo, "Il consolato del mare di Messina. Feudatari e mercanti tra Medioevo ed Età moderna," Clio. *Trimestrale di studi storici*, 26 (1990), 187–226, C. Trasselli, "I Messinesi tra quatto e cinquecento," *Annali della Facoltà di economia e commercio*, 10 (1972), 311–91, and the exhibition catalogue, *Messina. Il ritorno della memoria*, eds. G. Fallico and A. Sparti (Palermo, 1994), especially 222, which mentions the great preference for Flemish works in Messina attested to in wills and other archival documentation. The standard annal of the city is the very lengthy and detailed, *Gli annali della città di Messina* (Messina, 1939) by Caio Domenico Gallo (1697–1780). Unfortunately he was not interested in liturgical furniture.

11. These documents are in the Archivio di Stato di Messina and are discussed by Trasselli, "I Messinesi," 346–47. Documents note that the eagle lectern was intended for both Epistle and Gospel readings (*"cum so pedi per uno legio di li epistoli et divini evangelii"*). Trasselli incorrectly identifies this lectern with the pelican lectern in the Museo Regionale. Unfortunately, no inspection of the chaplets of either the Museo Regionale lectern or the two in the cathedral has yet been conducted.

12. This lectern is reproduced and discussed at length by Squilbeck, "Borneval," 131–34. Squilbeck notes that the style of the bird places its production in Brabant and that Antwerp was a large marketplace for objects from all over the country.

13. This is probably the same pelican lectern recorded by R. Salvini, Soprintendente of art in Sicily, which he found dismantled in the cathedral annex (Squilbeck, "Borneval," 136. This pelican must have been put there after the earthquake).

14. Various examples of lecterns and other liturgical objects are discussed and reproduced by S. Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire des arts du métal en Belgique* (Brussels, 1951), vol. 1, 248–57, and in H. Lüer and M. Creutz, *Geschichte der Metalkunst* (Stuttgart, 1904), vol. I, 341–75. A classic 14th-century example reproduced in both Lüer and Collon-Gevaert, signed by Jean Josès and dated 1370, exists in the Eglise de Notre-Dame, Tongres. Various later dated examples are cited in Vandevivre, "Le mobilier liturgique," 178. The base of the San Francesco lectern in the Museo Regionale examplifies the later adaptation of Renaissance forms.

15. Vandevivre's list of dated brass liturgical furniture with certain provenance from Malines, Tournai, and Maastricht ("Le mobilier liturgique," tables 1 and 2, 178) shows only eagles in Tournai and Maastricht, while it includes pelicans in Malines. However, it should be remembered that the Walters' "Evangelistario" was once crowned with a pelican.

16. For example, a two-headed eagle lectern from the choir of the Basilica of S. Giovanni e Paolo exists in the Museo Correr, Venice.

17. E.g., Collon-Gevaert, *Histoire*, I, 253, Squilbeck, "Borneval," 126, C. C. Oman, "Medieval Brass Lecterns in England," *The Archeological Journal*, 87 (1930), 117–49, 120.

18. Durand's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* was the liturgical handbook for the late Middle Ages and Renaissance. Very many manuscripts and later, many printed editions (forty-three printings by 1500), were produced. These had a profound influence on later writers on this subject, who always took Durand as their point of departure. Even authors as late as Pompeo Sarnelli (*Antica basilicografia*. Naples, 1686) extensively follow Durand in their interpretations. See Joseph A. Jungmann in his fundamental *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development*, trans. F. A. Brunner (Dublin, 1950 [reprinted 1986]), vol. I, 115, and especially, A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Liturgie und des religiösen Volkslebens*. (Darmstadt, 1963), 476–92 on Durand's text and 493ff on later writers.

19. Guillaume Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, eds. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau. (Turnholti, 1995). See Book IV, chapter xxiv, 20 (vol. I, 349): *"Legitur etiam de more evangelium super aquilam, iuxta illud:* Et volavit super pennas ventorum. . . ."

20. The emphasis on honoring Christ through the Gospel reading is discussed by Jungmann, *Mass*, I, 442–55, esp. 447.

21. Charles Rohault de Fleury in his chapter on "lectoria" mentions various other examples of this practice (*La messe. Études Archéologiques sur ses monuments* [Paris, 1888], vol. VI, 112).

22. Durand, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, Book IV, chapter xxiv, 20 (vol. I, 349): *"Legitur etiam de more evangelium super aquilam, iuxta illud:* Et volavit super pennas ventorum*; et aquila ipsa seu locus in quo legitur, in diebus festivis, aliquo panno lineo vel serico operitur, ad significandum mollitiem cordium christianorum, unde Dominus per Prophetam:* Ecce cor carneum dabo vobis et scribam legem meam in cordibus vestris. *Locus vero in quo epistola legitur non cooperitur, ad significandum duritiam cordium Iudeorum."*

23. See note 15.

24. *Rites of Durham: being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites, & customs belonging or being within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression. Written 1593*, ed. T. Fowler (Durham, 1903), 13–14. A slight varient of this passage was cited in Oman, "England," 118.

25. According to Durand, Book IV , Chapter xxiv, 21 (vol. I, 349–50), the deacon faces north-east because the cold mid-day wind which represents the devil comes from that direction. He bases this interpretation on Isaiah 18 [*"Lecturus autem evangelium transit ad partem sinistram, prout iam et supra sub titulo* De mutatione sacerdotis *dictum est, et opponit faciem suam aquiloni, iuxta ilud Ysaie xliii:* Dicam Aquiloni: Da, et Austro: Noli prohibere, *ut ostendat nos doctrina evangelii debere armari et predicationem Christi contra illum specialiter dirigi qui ait:* Ponam sedem meam ab aquilone et ero similis Altissimo. *Nam et secundum Prophetam:* Ab aquilone pandetur omne malum super habitatores terre. *Rursus, versus aquilonem evangelium legitur, iuxta illud quod legitur in Canticis iiii:* Aquilo surgat, *id est dyabolus fugiat, et: dyabolum evangelium legitur, ut illum sua virtute expellat, quoniam dyabolus nichil tantum quantum evangelium odit. Siquidem aquilo, ventus frigidus, dyabolum significat qui flatu temptationum corda hominum a Dei timore congelat et refrigerat. Cum ergo fides in evangelio contineatur, que est armatura nostra contra dybolum, iuxta illud:* Cui resistite fortes in fide, *merito legitur contra illum."*] In accordance with this interpretation, the Augustan hermit, John Bechofen writing in 1505, asserts that the Gospel reading is meant as a direct attack on the devil (Jungmann, *Mass*, II, 448).

26. Personal communication, 16 January 2001. This confusion was especially apparent in Italy and occured in spite of the fact that earlier texts like that of Durand were being assiduously studied.

27. A very early reference to two ambos (*anologia ad legendum*) occurs in the celebrated plan of Saint Gall, drawn about 820 (F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, "Ambon," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. I, 1332). The first certain use of the term *cornu evangelii* occurs in a text by Ivo of Chartres (*De conventionibus Veteri et Novi in Patrologia Latina* CLXII, 550A), where it is refered to as the *sinistra pars ecclesiae*. Ivo explains that the Gospel is given this less honorable side (left) because it signifies how when the Jews refused the faith, the apostles turned to the gentiles. The Epistle reading signifies the disciples' mission. See Jungmann, *Mass*, I, 110, especially his footnotes in which he cites other concurring interpretations.

The standard reference on the orientation of the celebrant is that by Cyrille Vogel. Vogel shows that in the early Middle Ages the *cornu evangelii* was normally on the north side of the church until 1485 when a pontifical by Burchard de Strassbourg reversed the positions. From then on, the *cornu evangelii* was on the south side ("Versus ad orientem. L'orientation dans les *ordines romani* du haut moyen age," *Studi medievali*, 1 (1960), 447–69). Medieval architectural evidence offers more examples of the *cornu evangelii* being to the south. It should be noted, however, that there are some exceptions. The ambo of St. Ambrogio in Milan stands on the north side of the nave and its Gospel desk faces southwards. This position appears to be original and may have something to do with the Ambrogian rite. This particuliarity was first observed by J. Tavanor-Perry, "Some Square Ambones in Northern Italy," *The Burlington Magazine*, 16 (1909–10), 100–4, 101 in particular. The issue of sides is more generally discussed by S. de Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor: liturgia e architettura nella Roma tardoantica e medievale: Basilica Salvatoris, Sanctae Mariae, Sancti Petri* (Vatican City, 1994), vol. I, 91, esp. n. 276, with reference to specialized bibliography on this question.

29. On the arrangement of liturgical furniture, see Cabrol and Leclercq, "Ambon," I, 1330–47, de Blaauw, *Cultus de decor*, esp. 85–93, M. Righetti, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica* (Milan, 1966 and 1998), esp. vol. III on the mass, and, of course, Durand. For a clear description of the use of the ambo in the east, see S. G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrior, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *Art Bulletin*, 29 (1947), 1–24. On later ambos, see the essays in the volume edited by Daniela Lamberini, *Pulpiti medievali toscani. Storia e restauri di micro-architetture. Atti della Giornata di Studio. Accademia delle Arti del Disegno. Firenze 21 giugno 1996*. (Florence, 1999).

30. On the question of sides, see note 27 and bibliography cited. At Durham, the Gospel and Epistle were bound in the same book, though read by different people. The ceremony surrounding the readings reflected the tight association between the two readings. See the *Rites of Durham*, 8.

31. Oman, "England," esp. 117–21. Jean-Baptiste Thiers in his 1688 antiquarian survey of altars, ambos, and rood screens, also notes a few examples of ambos placed on the Epistle side: *Dissertations Ecclesiastiques sur Les principaux Autels des Eglises, Les Jubés des Eglises. La Clôture du Choeur des Eglises*. (Paris, 1688), Book II: *Les Jubés des Eglises*, chapter II, 7–13. The wealth of liturgical information contained in this volume merits its reprinting.

32. The other example is mentioned by Charles Rohault de Fleury (VI, 104) but is not sufficiently described to identify it as exactly the same type. He draws his citation from a 17th-century description of the Abbey church of St. Denis by Jacques Doublet (Paris, 1625), Book I, 286–87: *"à bon droit surnommé le Iuste, ledit Choeur estoit divisé en trois parties: en la premiere est posee au milieu l'Aigle (ou Poulpitre) de cuivre, enrichie des 4. Evangelistes & autres figures, donnee par le roy Dagobert, provenant*

del 'Eglise de S. Hylaire de Poictiers, lorsque ledit Roy ruyna la ville dudit Poictiers pour cause de rebellion." For another possible version, see the eagle lectern described in note 59.

33. M. Digby Wyatt, *Metalwork and its Artistic Design.* (London, 1852).

34. The history of this letter and the cult of the Virgin in Messina is amply discussed by Placido Sampieri, *Iconologia della gloriosa virgine madre di Dio Maria protettrice di Messina.* Introductions by Giuseppe Lipari, Enrico Pispisa, and Giovanni Molonia. (Messina, 1990). This edition includes reprint of first 1641 edition along with essays by the three authors. On the history of the Virgin's letter, see especially pp. 71f, on St. Luke's image, 51–71. The major feast day for the cathedral was first held on 8 September, the day of the Virgin's birth. It was then changed to 3 June, because that is the day in which she wrote the letter.

35. *"Aux Chartreux de Dijon le Lutrin de l'Evangile est une fort grande colonne de cuivre, au haut de laquelle il y a un Phénix; & autour les quatre animaux d'Ezechiel, qui servent de quatre pupitres, qu'on tourne selon l'Evangile. Vis-à-vis, du cote de l'Epître, est une ancienne chaise grande et magnifique de sculpture pour asseoir le Célebrant durant l'Epître. Le Brun des Marettes, Voyages liturgiques de France ou recherches faites en diverses villes du Royaume."* (Paris, 1718), 156. A copy of this text exists in the Walters' library. The archival references to the Colart eagle and the text of its inscription are cited by C. Monget, *La Chartreuse de Dijon* (Montreuil, 1898), vol. I, 172–74, and vol. III, 81. These Colart references and that of Le Brun des Marette are discussed in Louis-Marie de Massiac, "Lutrins d'anciennes Chartreuses," *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 50 (1907), 249–51, and most recently in a Ph.D. dissertation by Sherry Christine Maday Linquist, "Patronage, Piety, and Politics in the Art and Architectural Programs at the Chartreuse de Champmol in Dijon" (Northwestern University, 1995), 48–51.

36. *"Circa truncum aenei pulpiti antiqui operis et elegantis formae, quod in medio Choro postitum est, gotthico dimidiatae eminentiae charactere, Inscriptum legitur: Philippe Filz de Roy de France, Duke de Bourgoingne, Conte de Flandres, d'Artois et de Bourgoingne, Palatin, Sire de Salins, Conte de Rethel et Seigneur de Malines, a fondé ceste Esglise de Chartreuse de Dijon ou lieu apellé Champmol, en l'honneur et Révérence de la Sainte Trinité et fust comencié la vingtième jour d'aoust lan de Grace MCCCIIIIxx et II,"* as cited in Monget, *La Chartreuse*, I, 173. A second document notes payment to Colars: *"A Jehan Foucault, escripvain, pour sa pene et salaire de certaines escriptures qu'il a pourtraittes sur le lettery de cuyvre que Maistre Colars le canonnier fait pour lesdiz Chartreux, esquelles escriptures est contenu le tiltre de Mons. Et la fondacion desdiz Chartreux. Par sa quitt. Et certifficacion dudit Maistre Colas donnée le 15 jour de décembre 1389…2 franx demy."* (Monget, *La Chartreuse*, I, 173).

37. Le Brun de Marettes mentions that an eagle lectern was used for the choir in the church of St. Stephen in Dijon. According to Thiers, II, 251, *"Les Chartreux, qui parurent sur la fin du 11 siecle n'ont point de Jubés dans leurs Eglises, parce qu'elles ne sont que pour eux, & que la solitude dont ils font une profession tres exacte, ne leur permet pas d'y assembler des Laïques."*

38. J. Chipps Smith, "The Chartreuse de Champmol in 1486: The Earliest Visitor's Account," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 106 (1985), 1–6.

39. *"Et licet inimicorum ecclesiae litibus occupatus, et terrarum conquestui intendebat, decorem ecclesiae suae interius minime oblitus est…donavit… tabernaculum majori altari; anagogium aeneum quadripartitum, evangelistarum figuras quatuor, ambones gestantes, super quibus vicissim canitur evangelium, prout evangelistae intitulatur; figuram Moysi aeneam ambonem brachiis tenentem, ed ad tergum candelabrum aeneum tripartitum. Supersellia stallorum chori depinxit. Solium sanctae crucis, cum altaribus divorum Michaelis et Martini chorique cancellis, totaliter nova fecit. Alexander Mylne. Vitae Dunkeldensis ecclesiae episcoporum, a prima sedis fundatione, ad annum MDXV."* (Edinburgh, 1831), 45. The translation is from *Rentale Dunkeldense. Being Accounts of the Bishopric* (A.D. 1505–1517) *with Myln's 'Lives of the Bishops'* (A.D. 1483–1517). Trans. and ed. R. Kerr Hannay (Edinburgh, 1915), 314. Oman, "England," 149, first noted this passage.

40. F. C. Eeles, "Dunkeld Cathedral. A note on the development of the building and its internal arrangement," in *Rentale Dunkeldense*, xxxii–xliv, xl.

41. The iconography of Evangelist exists on one other lectern in the choir of Eton college. Perhaps this two-sided lectern was used for both Gospel and Epistle readings, one side for each. It is reproduced by Oman, "England," plate XVIII, no. 42. Evangelist symbols were common decorations on the covers of Evangeliaries.

42. Oman, "Niederländische Messingpulte," 276 thought Lund example was a lectern, Ross, "Vier Evangelistenpulten," 290, thought Genoa example was a lectern.

43. The Lund candlestick is discussed briefly by Peter Bloch, "Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen," *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 23 (1961), 55–190, 167–68, and by Ewert Wrangel, *Konstverk Lunds Domkyrka.* (Lund, 1923), 39–40.

44. For example, Oman, "Niederländische Messingpulte," 276, or more recently, Clario di Fabio in his entry for the Soprintendenza dei beni artistici di Genova. This candlestick was most recently discussed by Mario Marcenaro in "L'interesse per le 'arti minori' in Liguria fra Ottocento e Novecento" in *Tessuti, oreficeria, miniature in Liguria. Tredicesimo – quindicesimo secolo. Atti di convegno internazionale di studi Genova-Bordignera 22–25 maggio 1997.* (Bordignera, 1999), 349–403, esp. 372–73.

45. See Pl. F. Lefèvre's introduction to his edition of the Ordinal of Tongres: *L'Ordinaire de la Collégiale, autrefois cathédrale de Tongres d'après un manuscrit du Xve siècle* (Louvain, 1967), vol. I, xlix–l.

46. The Viborg candlestick is reproduced by Lüer and Creutz, *Geschichte der Metalkunst*, 371, fig. 275, and the Lund example, 372, fig. 276.

47. Choir lecterns might have served as another model since they often have many reading desks. Sometimes lecterns were used for both readings and choir, as in a wooden example in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (L. 81/55) and a brass example in The Metropolitan Museum (Cloisters), New York.

48. Reconstructed by de Fleury, *La Messe*, III, 29–30, pl. CLXXX.

49. On this pulpit, see M. Mormone, "Il pulpito di Melchiorre da Montalbano nella Cattedrale di Teggiano," *Napoli nobilissima*, 19 (1980), 165–73, and N. Zchomelidse, "*Amore virginis and honore patriae*-Die Rufolo Kanzel im Dom von Ravello," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, 26 (1999), 99–117.

50. The other "Ajello" ambo includes an eagle bookrest. The eagle stands on a man who is killing a serpent—a concept not unlike the later eagle lecterns in which the eagle steps on a serpent. The conservatism of this imagery is remarkable. A full discussion of the Salerno cathedral ambos with many detailed photographs is provided by Francesco Aceto, *"I pulpiti di Salerno e la scultura romanica della costiera di Amalfi," Napoli nobilissima*, 18 (1979), 169–94. See also, J. Tavanor-Perry, "Some Ambones of Ravello and Salerno," *The Burlington Magazine*, 9 (1906), 396–403. For a nice discussion of the close connection between southern Italian ambo decoration and liturgy, see D. F. Glass, "Pseudo-Augustine, Prophets, and Pulpits in Campania," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), 215–26. The curious feature about

these ambos is that the Evangelist symbols occur on the "Guarna" ambo which was clearly used for the Epistle reading. Besides being on the north side of the church, it is physically smaller that the "Ajello" ambo to the south. Moreover, the "Ajello" ambo is furnished with a giant paschal candlestick. These decorations could be explained if one assumes that the ambos were not conceived of as a pair from the beginning.

51. The exact liturgical uses of all of these raised platforms and their various terminology in different periods and different geographic locations would benefit from further study.

52. For bibliography, see S. de Blaauw, "Architecture and Liturgy in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages," *Archiv für Liturgie-Wissenschaft*, 33 (1991), 1–34. On the Italian rood screen, see especially, M. Hall, "The Ponte in S. Maria Novella: The Problem of the Rood Screen in Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 37 (1974), 157–73, esp. 167–69, and by the same author, "The Italian Rood Screen: Some Implications for Liturgy and Function," in *Essays presented to Myron P. Gilmore* (Florence, 1978), vol. I, 213–18. On changes to church architecture around Messina, see F. Paolino, *Architetture religiose a Messina e nel suo territorio fra controreforma e tardorinascimento* (Messina, 1995). Unfortunately, the author does not address the problems of pulpits and rood screens.

53. Buonfiglio, *Messina*, 28.

54. See, for example, the 17th-century inventory in Archivio dell'Opera della Cattedrale=Maramma di Messina, vol. 66, 27v, "Evangelistarii." Filza 3, 26, an inventory of 1688 mentions four bronze candlesticks. These may be the "doppieri di bronzo" cited by Buonfiglio, *Messina*, 28.

55. Thiers, Book II, 195–96: *"le Diacre portant le livre des Evangiles panché sur sa poitrine. Aux jours de Dimanches & de Fêres, dans les Eglises où il y aura un Jubé derriere le Choeur, ou ailleurs, en quelque lieu élevé, on y lira l'Evangile. Mais aux Féries, aux Fêtes de trois lecons, & pendant les Octaves, on le lira au côté gauche de l'Autel, sur un Pupitre préparé pour cela,"* and *"l'Auteur des Rubriques du Missel de l'Ordre de la Mercy, imprimé a Barcelone en 1507, par le commandement de Jean d'Urgel Professeur en Théologie & Général de l'Ordre. Car voici comme il parle: Aux jours de dimanches & de Fêtes, dans les Eglises où il y aura des Jubés, on y chantera l'Evangile sur un lutrin; mais aux jours de Féries, de Fêtes de trois Lecons & pendant les Octaves, on le chantera au côté gauche de l'Autel, sur un lutrin que l'on y aura préparé"* (Book II, 202). The second citation, reportedly published in Barcelona in 1507 has not been verified. The only Missals that I have found published in 1507 are the following three for churches in Montecassino, Liège, and Mainz: *Missale monasticum se[cundu]m more[m] [et] ritu[m] Casinensis congregationis: al[ia]s s[an]cte Justine, cum multis missis de novo additis* (Venice, 1507), *Missale ad co[n]suetudine[m] insignis ecclesie leodie[n]sis* (Paris, 1507–8), and *Missale Maguntiu[m]: denuo exactissima cura recognitu[m] et a priorib[us] quibusdam mendis operose ac solerter emaculatu[m]* (Mainz, 1507).

56. Righetti, *Manuale*, I, 302–3. On the Evangeliary, see T. Klauser, *Das römische Capitulare Evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen su seiner ältesten Geschichte.* (Münster in Westfalia, 1935) and W. H. Frere, *The Roman Gospel Lectionary* (Studies in Roman Liturgy II). (Oxford, 1934).

57. Ibid., 60, also notes this practice. Leo IV, as cited in Thiers, *Dissertations*, Book I, 36: *"Super altare nihil ponatur, nisi caepsae cun Reliquiis Sanctorum, aut forte quattuor sancta Dei Evangelia, aut pixis cun corpore Domini ad viaticum infermis."* The Council of Nicea, as cited in Thiers, I, 37: *"Nihil super altari ponatur nisi capsae cum Sanctorum Reliquiis & quatuor Evangelia."* John Chrysostome, as cited in Thiers, *Dissertations*, Book II, 38: *"Evangelium (dit-il) altaris medio perpetuò accumbens, Christum regem throno suo insidentem manifestat; & sacerdos primo ad altare appulsu in Evangelio Christum veneratur, Diacono humilitatis & status sui conscio, thronum illum regium adorare contento."* To Thiers, writing in 1688, the idea of placing the book on the altar for safe-keeping was not odd, even if it was not that common: *"On ne trouveroit mauvais aujourd'hui qu'on laissat continuellement le livre des Evangiles sur l'autel; & il y auroit tres-asurément des visiteurs au assés chagrins, ou assés peu versés dans l'antiquité sacrée, pour blâmer les Ecclestiastiques qui l'y laisseroient. Autrefois cependant on l'y laissoit le jour & la nuit, dans l'Eglise Latine comme dans l'Eglise Grecque, avec cette différence néamoins que l'usage constant de l'Eglise Grecque étoit d'y laisser, au lieu que dans l'Eglise Latine on n'avoit la liberté d'y laisser, ou de ne l'y pas laisser"* (Book I, 36).

58. De Blaauw, *Cultus et Decor*, I, 87.

59. "...the gospeller did carrye a mervelous faire booke which had the Epistles and the Gospells in it & did lay it on the altar the which book had on the outside of the coveringe the picture of our Savior Christ all of silver of goldsmiths worke...the epistoler when he had sung the epistle did lay the booke againe on the altar and after when the gospell was sung the gospeller did lay it down on the altar, untill the mass was done" (*Rites of Durham*, 9).

60. Another function of the four Gospels during the mass occurs at the end. Usually this was restricted the the reciting of the beginning of St. John, but passages from Luke, and perhaps the other two Gospels were also used (Jungmann, *Mass*, II, 447–51). Jungmann links this practice to the invocation of the Gospels to bless the weather. In the High Middle Ages, the four Gospels were identified with the four points of the compass (Jungmann, *Mass*, II, 448).

61. An inventory of the Abbey of Prum from 1003 records four separate books for each of the four Evangelists. Each one had its own "tabula" which, although usually translated (e.g., in examples given by Ducange) as the decorative metal plates that adorn the Evangeliary, here would seem to mean lectern or at the very least, bookrest. This is also the opinion of the author of the article, M. A. Digot, "Inventaire du trésor de l'abbaye de Prum," *Bulletin Monumental*, 15, 1849, 283–300, 299 n. 19: *"Evangelia IIII, cum eo quod dominus Lotharius dedit; ex quibus unum totum interius et exterius aureum; argenteum I quotidianum. Tabulae ad opus evangliorum IIII; duo auro et lapidibus; altare (pro alterum) argento compactum. Missalem unum cum auro et gemmis; lectionarium unum cum auro et gemmis paratum; antiphonarium I cum tabulis eburneis; croparium I simile cum tabulis eburneis. Ambo, quod nos dicimus analogium, argenteus cum arcubus praeparatus; et desuper aquila deaurata stans super fabrica in modum pomi argentea pendulae inde machinae quadrifico opere compositae quae gallicae linguae pantheres nuncupantur, auro argentoque nitentes,"* as cited in Digot, 292. The eagle lectern probably served the choir. It is not clear what the author means by *"pantheres."* According to Charles Rohault de Fleury, (*La Messe*, VI, 106, n. 1), *"pantière"* means a net or rack (*"filet"*) in Old French. If is this the case, then the eagle lectern might have contained five resting places for books.

62. Some 14th-century liturgical books from the Messina cathedral survive in the National Library of Madrid. There is one "Pontifical," ms. 678, one "Pontifical Romano para uso de Mesina," ms. 715, a "Textus quattuor evangeliorum," ms. 219. All three are described in the *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1953), vol. I, with some further bibliographic references. The pontificals are given longer entries in José Janini and José Serrano's *Manuscritos liturgicos de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Madrid, 1969), 30–37, and 39–50. Later liturgical books and archival records were probably destroyed during one of the many earthquakes or fires that took place in the city.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1 a–d, 5, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; figs. 2, 6, 9, GBM by GEM s. r. l.; fig. 4, Edizioni dell'Ateneo; fig. 7, Lund, Historisk Museet; fig. 8, Soprintendenza di Genoa.

The Walters' *Madonna and Child* Plaquette and Private Devotional Art in Early Renaissance Italy

ALLISON LEE PALMER

A small bronze plaquette of the Madonna and Child before a Niche *from the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore is a fine example of a widely produced private devotional image from Early Renaissance Florence. Most studies have focused only on the attribution and provenance of such objects in the context of the patrician class. By setting them in a broader socio-historical context, we can see that spiritual authority fused with the growing importance of household possessions to generate a lively new market for these works. The result in Tuscany was an image of private, family-centered piety mingled with family solidarity and honor.*

The introduction of private devotional art in late medieval Italy and its widespread popularity through the Renaissance is a phenomenon that has recently attracted a good deal of attention among scholars.[1] This research focuses on the Florentine patrician class and revolves around the examination of unique painted or carved panels or sculpture commissioned by the wealthy for their homes.[2] However, fewer studies exist on the parallel appearance of a lively market for the mass-produced, but often high quality, devotional images intended for the growing middle class.[3] Such works abound in museum collections today. A small bronze plaquette of the *Madonna and Child before a Niche* (54.22) belonging to the Walters Art Museum is an excellent example of this type of mass-produced, popular devotional image (fig. 1).[4] Sixteen known copies of this work exist today, as well as countless slight variations on the composition.[5]

Because these copies are undated, unsigned, and their original locations and owners are unknown, studies of these plaquettes have focused on assigning them to the shop of a particular artist and giving them a chronology and a city of origin.[6] Thus, scholars have not fully examined the specific function these images had within their broader social and historical context.[7] For example, the image of the Madonna and Child exemplified by the Walters' plaquette is particularly pervasive in Florence in the fifteenth century, and I would argue that this subject not only reflects the growing cultivation of spiritual and familial authority during this time, but it also reveals specifically Tuscan ideas on honor and family solidarity. Therefore, this study will attempt to place the Walters' plaquette into the context of the development of its genre in Florentine society by demonstrating not only its consistency with devotional objects produced in the workshops of Florence in the *quattrocento*, but also its socio-historical importance within the Tuscan family.

The Walters' plaquette is traditionally attributed to Donatello, dated to the 1440s, and considered to be cast in Padua.[8] The small work ($3^{3}/_{4}$ x $2^{15}/_{16}$ in.) can easily fit into the palm of a hand, and depicts a half-length image of the Virgin holding a squirming Christ Child close to her. The Virgin's face, seen in profile, is visually linked to the frontally faced Christ, who reaches his chubby arm around her neck and presses his face against hers. Behind the figures, a scalloped-shell lunette forms an arch that frames the work, giving it what was called in *quattrocento* Florence an *all'antica*, or ancient, style.[9] The fact that this image is an icon, yet is overwhelmingly maternal and loving as well as quite small in scale, helps to confirm its use as a private, portable object for the home. In fact, the three small holes, one at the top and one at each bottom corner, suggest that the work may have been an *image de chevet*, or bedside image, that was sewn onto the inside of a bed curtain.[10] The portable nature of these small works is best explained by Galvano Flamma, a *trecento* chronicler of Milan, who described a sudden increase in devotion to the Crucifix during the plague of 1373, when many people began to take small Crucifixes around the streets with them for added protection.[11] The Walters' plaquette, then, reveals the crisp lines and unified structure, yet smooth corners, of a first-generation copy that shows signs of wear, likely from being carried around in a pocket or touched frequently. In other cases, devotional plaquettes were mounted into frames for display on altar tables, or for liturgical use within a church as a *pax* to be kissed.[12] Although some scholars argue that the devotional plaquette was also found mounted onto the front of a tabernacle, usually a non-replicated relief served this function.[13]

Fig. 1. *Madonna and Child before a Niche*, circle of Donatello, mid-1400s, bronze plaquette. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.22.

Fig. 2. *Madonna and Child before a Niche*, circle of Donatello, mid-1400s, bronze plaquette. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection, 1942.9.263.

The numerous copies of the Walters' plaquette that exist today were clearly cast from the same model, although the location of the original is unknown. One copy, part of the Kress Collection in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., reveals less wear than the Walters' example and has only one hole punched at the top of the plaquette (fig. 2).[14] A second version that reveals traaces of gilding is located in the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 3).[15] A third copy, located in the Bargello Museum in Florence, is roughly filed around the edges and has no holes, while a fourth version, mounted in a frame to be used as a pax, is located in The British Museum in London and carries the coat-of-arms of Marino Tomacelli, Bishop of Cassano from 1485 to 1491.[16] Variations on this general composition are found in bronze plaquettes such as the *Virgin and Child with a Garland* in Washington, D.C.'s National Gallery of Art. (fig. 4).[17] This small, rectangular bronze plaquette differs from the Walters' version mainly in the hairstyle of the Virgin, the right arm of the Christ Child, and the background, which replaces the *all'antica* niche with a decorative garland frame.

Because the concept of exclusive ownership of specific compositions was almost nonexistent in the *quattrocento*, the exact dates and attributions of these works is impossible to confirm. In addition, it is likely that the *botteghe* where plaquettes were made did not specialize exclusively in metalwork; many plaquette compositions are associated with the shops of Donatello, Antonio Rossellino, and Lorenzo Ghiberti, yet only Ghiberti belonged to the guild of goldsmiths. In Germany at this time, plaquette designers were sometimes members of the coppersmith guild, but no guild affiliation was actually necessary to receive commissions.[18] This was probably the case in Italy as well. Most plaquette designers were therefore likely to be journeymen, unnamed in documents, who worked from copies or casts made either in the shop or acquired from elsewhere. In addition, no specific term can be found from the Renaissance that refers specifically to the plaquette, and therefore this format was probably considered part of a larger production of a variety of mass-produced objects that were all labeled *modelli*.[19]

However, while plaquettes, medals, and medallions are often studied together, their production and functions were very different.[20] More is known of medal or medallion workers, who sometimes included their names in the commemorative text that encircled the medal. Plaquettes are about the same size as bronze medals or medallions, but, unlike medals, they are made of a flat piece of bronze with a relief on one side only. While secular plaquettes occasionally have identifying marks of the designer, no identifications

Fig. 3. *Madonna and Child before a Niche*, circle of Donatello, mid-1400s, bronze plaquette. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, The Severance and Greta Millikin Purchase Fund, 1984.53.

Fig. 4. *Virgin and Child with a Garland*, circle of Donatello, mid-1400s, bronze plaquette Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.356.

are found on devotional plaquettes. Also, unlike coins, which were struck, the earliest plaquettes were often cast in wax.[21] Typically, a wax model was carved or molded onto a disk of wood, metal, or stone. Lead was often used for the first trial cast, since it was easy to melt, and this first image was then sometimes kept as a model. More permanent casts were done in bronze, and sometimes in gold or silver. Bronze casts were then usually stained with a patina to treat their reddish color. A second-generation copy of a plaquette could then be created from a new mold made from the first cast; then third-generation casts could be made from molds taken from second casts, so each successive cast would gradually become smaller and less finely detailed. Given this working method, Donatello may well have provided to another workshop a bronze or glass mold that would be used for creating approved replicas of his works, or other workshops could simply have created their own version of Donatello's compositions, imitating his style. Therefore, although it is unlikely that we will ever confirm plaquette attributions or dates, it is clear that a mechanism for this mass-production was certainly in place by the mid-*quattrocento*, which in itself reveals much about the broader cultural climate in which these plaquettes were produced.

The classicism of Rome, the workshop techniques developed in Padua, and the humanizing elements found in Florence are stylistic and technical sources often found blended together in these plaquettes, and this melding has partly been the reason scholars have had difficulty in tracing the origins of this artistic genre. Although most scholars consider Padua, with its rather large market for metalwork, to be the birthplace of the plaquette, other scholars consider plaquettes to have originated in Rome, where a thriving interest in antiquarianism created a commercial market for bronze casts of classical gems that then inspired the new genre of the plaquette.[22] Many classical or classicizing plaquettes seem to confirm both origins. Examples of these diverse centers of production include a plaquette of the *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Anthony of Padua*, dated 1450–75, and now in the Walters' collection, which was likely made in Padua due to its unique iconography (fig. 5). The image is traditionally linked to the style of Filarete and has a composition similar to painted *sacra conversazioni* found in the Veneto.[23] A similarly dated allegorical plaquette from the Walters' collection entitled *An Emperor and Concord*, however, is attributed to Cristoforo di Geremia, an artist who was active in Rome from 1456 until his death in 1476 (fig. 6).[24] This type of small plaquette may well have

Fig. 5. *Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Anthony of Padua*, circle of Filarete, 1450–75, bronze plaquette. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.1244.

Fig. 6. *Emperor and Concord*, attributed to Cristoforo di Geremia, 1460s, bronze plaquette. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.223.

been inspired by classical gems found in Rome in the mid-*quattrocento*. Classical subject matter is certainly pervasive in plaquettes, mainly in the *cinquecento*, as seen in a popular image of *Hercules and the Oxen of Geryon* from the Labors of Hercules (fig. 7). This work was likely cast by Moderno, one of the most prominent medal engravers working in northern Italy in the middle of the sixteenth century.[25] Often these classical images shared the same compositional sources as religious plaquettes. A bronze representation of The Flagellation, also attributed to Moderno from the sixteenth century, reveals a muscular nude Christ, similar to the Hercules, with legs bent sharply on an angle and now facing the viewer and tied to a column (fig. 8).[26]

Private devotional plaquettes of the Madonna and Child, however, are philosophically very different from classical Paduan and Roman works, and they must therefore be traced to different sources. It is particularly difficult to assign an original inspiration for devotional plaquettes in general, since prior to the *quattrocento*, bronze reliefs that anticipated the development of this genre were found on insignias worn by pilgrims, ornamental crucifixions, metal reliefs found on devotional book covers, and other liturgical objects.[27] These mass-produced, domestic, devotional plaquettes shared certain characteristics with other types of private devotional images from *quattrocento* Florence that include a generalization of styles, a portable scale, and the use of iconic subjects.[28] It is within this broader context that these Madonna and Child plaquettes fit.

The Walters' *Madonna and Child before a Niche* can be linked to the humanistic, sweet style of Madonna and Child imagery popular in Florence at this time, in which the maternal embrace is the overriding theme. This pose is evident in another small Florentine plaquette of the *Madonna and Child* traditionally attributed to the circle of Antonio Rossellino, located in Washington D.C.'s National Gallery and dated to the mid-*quattrocento* (fig. 9).[29] Here the Virgin gazes tenderly at her chubby infant son, who sits on her lap and clutches a bird in his little hands. Although this object has a smooth background, its semicircular top suggests a lunette, and the hole at the top indicates a similar function as the Walters' *Madonna and Child before a Niche*. A small, rectangular bronze pax of the *Madonna and Child*, located in the Cleveland Museum of Art and linked to the circle of Antonio Rossellino in the mid-*quattrocento*, offers a similarly maternal mood (fig. 10).[30] This type of devotional image of the Virgin, so prevalent in Florence, is also found in other mass-produced media. For example, a larger polychrome stucco relief of the *Madonna and Child* from the circle of Andrea Verrocchio, dated to the 1480s, shows a loving Madonna looking down at her healthy Son, who stands on a pillow (fig. 11).[31] This maternal style soon spread throughout Tuscany and is found in the Walters' *Virgin and Child* bronze cut-out relief plaquette attributed to Francesco Marti, who was active in Lucca between 1489 and 1516 (fig. 12).[32]

Fig. 7. *Hercules and the Oxen of Geryon*, attributed to Moderno, mid-1500s, bronze plaquette. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.326.

Fig. 8. *Flagellation*, attributed to Moderno, mid-1500s, bronze plaquette. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.293.

The initiation of this type of mass-production of high quality devotional images paralleled both a sudden increase in material wealth in the *quattrocento* and an increase in the popularity of domestic devotional images.[33] In the previous century, the most common formats for private devotional works included single panels, diptychs, small *tondi*, small folding triptychs, painted stucco reliefs, bronze reliefs, and terracotta or bronze statuettes, although each format followed a different historical development.[34] The numerous inexpensive *tabernacholi* and *cholmi da chamera* made and sold by shops such as that of Neri di Bicci in the *quattrocento* also attest to the expansive market for mass-produced devotional images.[35] Neri's commissions tended to be small in scale, ranging from 1 *braccia* (roughly an arm's length), considered to be a *cholmetto*, to 3 1/2 *braccie*, which was a larger tabernacle. His workshop also specialized in painting, gilding, and framing works done by artists such as Desiderio da Settignano and Giuliano da Maiano, and this type of collaboration seems to have been quite prevalent during the Renaissance, which certainly lent an ease to the sharing of models and compositions found in these mass-produced objects.[36] Furthermore, only a small percentage of these works were commissioned by wealthy families. Instead, most of Neri di Bicci's clients were merchants, salesmen, paper-makers, silk-makers, shoe-makers, goldsmiths, linen workers, dyers, notaries, and woodcarvers, almost all of whom were from the middle class. The clientele for bronze plaquettes must certainly have been similar to that of Neri di Bicci's shop in Florence.

Although archival sources typically document the private homes of wealthy families, a few surviving family documents from more modest houses testify that devotional works were increasingly prevalent in all types of homes during the early Renaissance; therefore, we can see that mass-production reduced the cost of objects such as plaquettes and encouraged their use in a variety of homes. For example, the middle-class house of Giovanni Francesco Maringhi, a *quattrocento* business associate of the lesser-known branch of the Medici family, is known to us today through his inventory, which details a number of devotional works.[37] He worked in the small town of Pera, outside of Florence, and died there bankrupt. His inventory, completed at his death in 1506 for his creditors, provides us with an idea of the interior furnishings of a more modest home during this time period.

His residence had a minimal amount of furnishings, jewels, and clothing, with a small amount of personal linens.[38] Most of his possessions, in fact, belonged to the company of Francesco de' Medici. In Maringhi's bedroom were a bed and a large chest, as well as one sculpted Saint Jerome in high relief and one *chapellinaiusso*, which can be translated as *cappellanuccio*, or "small, simple (miserable) shrine." No devotional objects existed in any other room of the house, including the bedrooms of his apprentices. Thus, in contrast to wealthier homes, which tended to have a profusion of increasingly decorative objects in the *quattrocento*, middle-class families usually continued to acquire functional, devotional images exclusively.[39]

Although documents of the homes of the poorest families are usually unknown or unpublished, we do know that servants of wealthy families could have kept devotional images in their sparse quarters. In Leon Battista Alberti's treatise on family life from the mid-*quattrocento*, he wrote that one of Giannozzo Alberti's female servants had asked Giannozzo for a small amount of money to buy herself a wooden Madonna and Child panel for her room.[40] Giannozzo gave her this money, since, he argued, generosity to servants meant their loyalty to him. These wooden panels were likely purchased at open markets rather than *botteghe*, but they were probably modeled on the popular subjects and compositions of the more expensive works that a servant might see in the home where he or she lived and worked.[41] This might help to explain the widespread use and re-use of a *modello* in such devotional works as plaquettes.

Much can be learned of the function and general context of these works by examining this family documentation, which shows that more modest families often preferred similar visual imagery to their wealthier counterparts. We can assume that the locations and functions of these works, discussed by Alberti, were also consistent with common practice in more modest homes. For example, Giannozzo Alberti went on to detail the interior of his home and confirmed the priority of the bedroom as the place where the most valuable objects were kept during the late *trecento* and *quattrocento*.[42] He explained that tapestries, garments, and jewels were all stored in the bedroom so that they would be safe, but also so that they could be examined privately.

During the course of his narrative, the aged Giannozzo began explaining the virtuous qualities of a good wife to his companions, and reminisced about the manner in which he had introduced his wife to his household. After touring the entire house, he finally led his wife to the bedroom, locked the door, and showed her all his precious belongings, which were stored in his *cassoni*, or trunks, located at the foot of the bed. While instructing his wife on the evils of wearing make-up, he had her look at a small statuette. This small saint, standing in the center of the altar-table, was made of silver, with its head and hands carved from pure ivory.[43] No works like this are known today. Documents, however, show that bronze statuettes were common in the home, and were sometimes painted silver.[44] After Giannozzo finished introducing his way of living to his new wife, together they knelt down at the altar in their bedroom and prayed to God for eternal family harmony.[45] This widespread hope for family harmony was echoed in the public sermons of Bernardino of Siena, a Franciscan preacher popular in Tuscany in the first years of the *quattrocento*, who argued that family conflicts were the main threat to society.[46]

Fig. 9. *Madonna and Child*, circle of Antonio Rossellino, mid-1400s, bronze plaquette. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection, 1957.14.142.

The spiritual authority of these visual images imbued them with a singular importance beyond that of domestic secular images, which also shared a growing popularity in the *quattrocento*.[47] Alberti describes the almost magical authority that these religious visual images had in directing the thoughts of household members.[48] Because they were symbols of

Fig. 10. *Pax: Madonna and Child*, circle of Antonio Rossellino, mid-1400s, gilt bronze plaquette. Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Norman O. Stone and Ella A Stone Memorial Fund, 1968.24.

Fig. 11. *Madonna and Child*, circle of Andrea del Verrocchio, 1480s, polychrome stucco relief. Oberlin, Ohio, Allen Memorial Art Museum, R. T. Miller, Jr. Fund, 1944, acc. no. 44.167.

religious power and authority, they were even seen as creating a potentially sacred space that could at any moment receive the presence of God through prayer.[49] Literature detailing miraculous visions caused by contemplating icons served to inspire private worshippers. For example, it was widely known that Saint Catherine of Alexandria prayed to an image of the Madonna, and Saint Francis received his vision while praying to an image of the Crucifixion located in the small church of San Damiano.[50] This tradition continued into the *quattrocento*, when the majority of these mystics were women. In her *Libro de la Vita*, Saint Catherine of Genoa, while still a child in the 1450s:

> had in her chamber an image of Our Lord Jesus Christ of the kind which is commonly called Pietà. Every time she entered her chamber, she turned her eyes to it, and felt herself pierced through her very marrow with pain and love by the bitter passion which the Lord had took upon Himself out of love for us.[51]

Clearly, the bedroom separated the family from the public, and in this solitary room individuals could cultivate personal piety based on the concept that the spiritual world is ever-present.[52]

In the domestic setting, this spiritual authority fused with a household desire to represent family solidarity to reveal a new type of private, family-centered piety based on the bond between mother and child as *exemplum virtu*.[53] Domestic religious images in this time period seem to be directed specifically to women, who were not only the caretakers of the house and the children, but who also gave their children a foundation for their spiritual education. For example, Fra Giovanni Dominici, a Dominican preacher popular around Siena and Florence in the early *quattrocento*, stressed the moral and educational aspects that these domestic devotional works had in the education of children; his own favored subjects included John the Baptist or John the Evangelist as children, young virgins, the Madonna and

Fig. 12. *Madonna and Child*, attrib. to Francesco Marti, active 1489–1516, bronze cut-out relief plaquette. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.40.

Child, or the Massacre of the Innocents, a popular household subject specifically in Siena.[54] In 1456, Giovanni Rucellai stressed to his two sons in a family diary the high respect they should maintain for their mother as their primary instructor of morals.[55] Finally, women were also encouraged to act as intercessors within the home, in the tradition of the Virgin, to ensure family harmony by bridging age and personality differences between her husband's generation and that of her children.[56]

Upon her marriage, a woman might receive her first devotional object, either from her own family in her marriage trousseau or from her new husband as part of her counter-dowry. Marriage documents detail private devotional images given in trousseaus, and underline both the importance of female interaction with these images and the bedroom as the center of this devotion. The wife's trousseau, or *cassone*, which she took with her to her new home, sometimes contained private devotional objects such as a small figure of the Christ Child or a statuette of a female saint, both used for devotional play-acting.[57] The bedroom was also furnished at the time of her marriage as a gift to the bride, who offered a dowry of at least two-thirds the value of the bedroom furnishings. This counter-trousseau consisted mainly of clothing and jewelry, but at times it also included devotional images, as has been recorded in nuptial documents. For example, when Valorino Ciurianni married his son Lapozzo in 1410 to a woman from the Cavalcanti family, he promised 700 florins; 74 of which were to decorate the bridal chamber.[58] In 1482, Tribaldo dei Rossi spent 270 florins on both clothing and decorations, "to dress his wife and make his bedroom."[59] In addition, Tribaldo dei Rossi's ricordanze records the commissioning of a painting of a "Nostra Donna" shortly after his marriage to decorate the bedroom.[60]

These domestic religious works, as well as the secular images increasingly found in the patrician bedroom, all emphasized the traits of morality, chastity, purity, modesty, fidelity, and love, which were stressed as a wife's most important virtues.[61] In addition, images of the Virgin and Child also seem to focus on maternal love, a characteristic more complex than we might assume.[62] First of all, children were routinely separated from their families, beginning at birth, when they were sent to be raised by wet-nurses, who typically lived outside the city and kept the child for about two years.[63] Legislative documents from France and Castile reveal that wet-nursing was not restricted to the wealthy, but that middle-class people such as artisans and shopkeepers often sought to emulate the rich by using wet-nurses, not necessarily out of medical necessity, but as a status symbol.[64] Then, once children returned home, both sons and daughters of all classes typically were sent away from home again a few years later, either to be educated, apprenticed, or to help support the family.[65] Young daughters then left their paternal home around the age of twelve or slightly later to be married, while the sons, who usually married in their twenties, remained in their paternal home and carried the family name into the next generation.

This routine separation was compounded by the high rates of infant mortality that ranged between 20–50% in *quattrocento* Florence, depending upon the severity of the plague at that time.[66] Many families thought that children would fare better with a wet-nurse in the fresh air of the countryside rather than in the city, where mortality rates

were higher. This explains in part why families did not always seek out a wet-nurse that lived near them. In addition, the use of a wet-nurse allowed a mother to have children in more rapid succession, thereby increasing the odds that some children would survive to adulthood. Therefore, although the use of a wet-nurse was often seen as a status symbol, infant health and a mother's fertility were surely the primary family issues surrounding childcare decisions. Thus, these images could remind the family of an absent child, or, if the child did not survive infancy, parents could then draw strength in their sorrow from these visual images, which reveal the example of the Virgin, who gained redemption by offering her Son's life for the greater good of the world.[67]

The image of the Virgin might also be seen as a reminder to chastity for women, as it was widely believed during this period that their greater sexual appetite could lead to family dishonor and ruin.[68] The mother also could lead her husband's family to financial ruin by remarrying after the death of her husband, who was often an entire generation older than her, and taking her dowry with her into her new home.[69] Although it is widely believed that a woman severed all ties to her own family at marriage, in reality, her father and brothers still maintained some form of a *patria potestas*, and, therefore, it was considered most honorable by a young widow's family for her to return to her paternal home with her dowry in order to claim a new husband.[70] In leaving her first husband's home, however, a woman was required to renounce guardianship of her first children, who then did not inherit her dowry.[71] Such family conflicts, with no clear resolution in legislative or traditional practice, helped to establish a widespread image of the disloyal, unloving mother, particularly in Florence. Thus, a mother's morality, chastity, and fidelity, even after the death of her husband, was cultivated through enduring images of familial love that helped to ensure both social and economic stability within her husband's home.[72]

We can now see how these ever-present, mass-produced images of the Madonna and Child, seen in such *quattrocento* Florentine plaquettes as the Walters' *Madonna and Child before a Niche*, functioned in a variety of ways in the Tuscan home. They were intended to help cultivate a domestic environment of harmony and spirituality while reinforcing ideas of fertility, chastity, and family loyalty, all inherent in the subject of the Virgin and Child, which offered the hope of family survival through social and economic stability. This hope reached beyond the patrician class to include middle-class groups, and thus these mass-produced, private devotional plaquettes responded beautifully to the widespread needs of many families in the Renaissance.

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NOTES

This paper is one aspect of my work on private devotional art in Italy in the Early Renaissance. Other studies include a recent article entitled "The Maternal Madonna in *quattrocento* Florence: Social Ideals in the Family of the Patriarch," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* (forthcoming), and a presentation on the maternal Madonna given at the Twenty-Fourth International Conference on Patristic, Medieval and Renaissance Studies sponsored by the Augustinian Historical Institute at Villanova University, Pennsylvania, in October 1999. My research and conference expenses were funded by the School of Art and the College of Fine Arts at the University of Oklahoma.

1. The conference entitled *Bringing the Renaissance Home: Domestic Arts and Design in Italy c.1400–c.1600* held at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and its accompanying exhibition catalogue *Disegno: Italian Renaissance Designs for the Decorative Arts*, ed. B. Holman (New York, Copper-Hewitt Museum, 1997), signals the beginning of this recent interest in domestic imagery, which has been given more focused study by scholars such as Jacqueline Marie Musacchio, in *The Art and Ritual of Childbirth in Renaissance Italy* (New Haven, 1999). H. van Os, *The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300–1500*, with E. Honee (Princeton, N. J., 1994), 157–74, discusses in detail how images were used for devotion in the late Middle Ages, and S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk, Netherlands, 1983), 30, notes the increase in the number of lay organizations in the late Middle Ages that helped to bring about the subsequent development of a more private, mystical type of devotion.

2. J. K. Lydecker, in "The Domestic Setting of the Arts in Renaissance Florence," (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1987), seeks to define the interior setting of the patrician home using documents from six prominent Florentine families. L. Martines, *The Social World of the Florentine Humanists, 1390–1460* (Princeton, N. J., 1963), publishes some of the more well-known Florentine family documents in order to examine ideas about family and marriage. B. Cole, "The Interior Decoration of the Palazzo Datini in Prato," *Mitteilungen des Künsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 1 (1967), 61–82, and E. Volpi, *Art Treasures and Antiquities from the Famous Davanzati Palace* (New York, 1916), also discuss some of these interiors.

3. D. Balestracci, *The Renaissance in the Fields: Family Memoirs of a Fifteenth-Century Tuscan Peasant*, trans. P. Squatriti and B. Merideth (University Park, Penn., 1999), 88, alludes to this idea and notes that peasants often donated building materials and other types of alms to local churches, thereby linked the poor with the wealthy in participating in a religious devotion that transcended class distinctions.

4. The plaquette (acc. no. 54.22), acquired by Henry Walters, is cast in a bronze flat relief with a brown patina, and measures $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. high by $2\frac{15}{16}$ in. wide (9.5 x 7.5 cm.). E. Callmann, *Beyond Nobility: Art for the Private Citizen in the Early Renaissance* (Allentown, Penn., 1980), 45, presents the only published illustration of this plaquette.

5. See P. M. de Winter, "Recent Accession of Italian Renaissance Decorative Arts. Part I: Incorporating Notes on the Sculptor Severo da Ravenna," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, 73/3 (March 1986), 127, for bibliographic references to this list of fourteen copies. They are located in: The Walters Art Museum (acc. no. 54.22), The Cleveland Museum of Art (84.53), the Museo Civico of Belluno, in the Sculpturengalerie of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin (Inv. 630), the Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo in Brescia (Inv. Rizzini 73), the Bargello Museum in Florence (no. 396), The University Art Museum in Santa Barbara (Morgenroth

Coll.), the Kress Collection of The National Gallery in Washington, D.C. (acc. A512.234B), two versions in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (acc. nos. 4080-1857 and A406-1910), two versions in the Wallace Collection in London (inv. Nos. S299–S300), and two versions in the Louvre (inv. nos. 372 and 414). In addition, H. Chapman, in *Padua in the 1450s: Marco Zoppo and His Contemporaries* (London, 1998), 44, published a fifteenth example located in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The sixteenth example is a rectangular version mounted as a pax and located in The British Museum in London. Many variations on this composition exist, and include two versions of a similarly composed *Virgin and Child with a Garland*, one located in the Bargello Museum in Florence, and one in the Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

6. Recent bibliography on plaquettes remains sparse and focuses on categorizing specific collections with a review of past literature, such as F. Vannel and G. Toderi, *Medaglie e Placchette del Museo Bardini di Firenze* (Florence, 1998); G. Toderi, *Placchette, secoli XV–XVIII nel Museo nazionale del Bargello* (Florence, 1996); and D. Banzato and F. Pellegrini, *Bronzi e placchette dei Musei civici di Padova* (Padua, 1989).

7. J. Pope-Hennessy, "The Italian Plaquette," *The Study and Criticism of Italian Sculpture* (New York, 1980), 192–222, gives an overview of these small bronze plaquettes and focuses on their classical subjects and use. The proceedings of a symposium on the Italian plaquette held in March 1985 and published as *Italian Plaquettes*, vol. 22 of *Studies in the History of Art*, ed. A. Luchs Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1989) is the most recent major study on Italian plaquettes, and there Pope-Hennessy (29–30) points out that although questions of attribution, dating, and iconography are not completely solved, it is important for scholars to begin to look at the context and function of these objects. See, for one, C. B. Fulton, "The Master IO.F.F. and the Function of Plaquettes," *Italian Plaquettes*, 143–64, who argues that secular plaquettes were often designed as utilitarian objects like inkwells, sword pommels, or bookbindings, but the majority were made as collectibles. The use of *Madonna and Child* plaquettes as well as other devotionals is not fully addressed in this study. See P. Bober's review in *Renaissance Quarterly*, 44/3 (Fall 1991), 590–93, for an overview of the symposium.

8. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes from the Samuel H. Kress Collection* (London, 1965), 20–21, confirms the connection between the Walters' plaquette and the work of Donatello, and notes that Molinier, Ricci, and Cott were first to suggest that this plaquette was likely cast in Padua, where Donatello worked in the 1440s. (See E. Molinier, *Les Plaquettes—Catalogue raisonne*, 2 (Paris, 1886), 30, no. 372; S. de' Ricci, *The Gustave Dreyfus Collection. Reliefs and Plaquettes* (Oxford, 1931), 174, no. 234; and M. Cott, *Renaissance Bronzes, Statuettes, Reliefs and Plaquettes, Medals and Coins from the Kress Collection* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1951), 145. Although many scholars still maintain that this work is Paduan, de Winter, 76, argues that the figure style is Florentine, and is consistent with Donatello's work in Florence in the 1430s. I would agree with de Winter's analysis of the Florentine style of the plaquette, and suggest that the Florentine social ambience was also conducive to the popularity of this maternal subject in Tuscany.

9. Many domestic works in Florence were framed by columns with carved capitals and a rounded top, called an *all'antica* or classical style. Neri di Bicci, in his *Ricordanze*, ed. B. Santi (Pisa, 1976), 390, no. 730, describes this type of image: "*...il quale tabernacholo è formato al'anticha, c[i]oè quadro in mezo, cholonne da lato chon chapitegli intagliati e intavolato d'intorno al quadro e da pie' una basa cho.lletere d'ariento, chanpo azuro e di sotto una ghocc[i]ola di chornic[i]one e di sopra architrave....*"

10. See R. H. Randall, Jr., "An 'Image de Chevet,'" *Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery*, 20/4 (1968), 1–2, for a painted enamel *image de chevet* from Limoges. The *Annunciation* panel by the Master of Moulins, ca. 1400 (Chicago Art Institute), reveals the use of a portrait of Christ as an *image de chevet*, pinned to bed curtains in the Virgin's room.

11. See P. Mezzanotte and G. C. Bascapé, eds., *Milano nell'arte e nella storia* (Milan, 1948), XXIII, for Conte Giorgio Giulini's *Memorie spettanti alla storia al governo ed alla descrizione della città, e della campagna di Milano, ne' secoli bassi* (Milan, 1760), where he published the *trecento* chronicle of Milan by Galvano Flamma.

12. See the polychrome wood framed bronze plaquette of the *Madonna and Child with Saint John the Baptist as a Child* located in La Spezia, which is ascribed to the circle of Jacopo Sansovino in the Veneto but more likely fits into an earlier Florentine environment for this type of displayed image. (C. Avery, *La Spezia: Museo civico Amedeo Lia Sculture: Bronzetti, placchette, medaglie* [La Spezia, 1998], 278–79).

13. D. Lewis, "Introduction," *Italian Plaquettes*, 12.

14. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, fig. 3, also attributes this work to the shop or style of Donatello, from Padua, and dates it to the late 1440s.

15. See de Winter, "Recent Acquisitions," 74, for this illustration.

16. See Toderi, *Placchette*, 61, for an illustration of the Bargello example, and G. F. Hill, "The Whitcombe Greene Plaquettes," *Burlington Magazine*, 30 (1917), 103–10, for the pax.

17. See Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, fig. 5, cat. no. 58. Pope-Hennessy argues that this version, although it derives from Donatello, was likely created in Padua. A similar version, flanked by Saints Francis and Anthony of Padua, is also widely considered to be Paduan.

18. A. S. Norris and I. Weber, *Medals and Plaquettes from the Molinari Collection at Bowdoin College* (Brunswick, Maine, 1976), 97–98, notes that in Germany, plaquettes could be modeled by a sculptor without a guild affiliation. This was likely the case in Italy as well, which may help explain in part the lack of documentation on these works.

19. Ibid., 98–99.

20. Pope-Hennessy, "The Study of *Italian Plaquettes*," in *Italian Plaquettes*, 32, has not found any market overlap in the production of medals and plaquettes.

21. M. Salton, *The Salton Collection: Renaissance and Baroque Medals and Plaquettes* (Brunswick, Maine, 1969), n.p., gives an overview of the wax-cast method often used to generate the first impression of a medal.

22. Molinier, *Les Plaquettes*, 1, 26–35, was the first scholar to group together a series of similar plaquettes into the Paduan School, where Donatello worked in the 1440s, while Pope-Hennessy, "The Italian Plaquette," 195, argues that the papacy in Rome inspired the earliest manufacture of bronze plaquettes, which were molded from gems in the papal collections. See F. Rossi, "Le gemme antiche e le origini della placchetta," *Italian Plaquettes*, 55–69, for an elaboration on this theory. Interestingly, in the mid-*trecento*, Petrarch showed his Roman coin collection to Emperor Charles IV, and it seems that classicizing plaquettes soon found their way into these same Renaissance collections, often for a political and/or decorative purpose. See the plaquette reproductions in the illuminated pages of Monte di Giovanni's manuscript *I Trionfi del Petrarca*, from 1480, located in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, for this link between Petrarch, manuscripts, and plaquettes. (Vannel and Toderi, introduction [n.p.], mention this notation in their Bardini catalogue).

23. See P. Cannata, "Le Placchette del Filarete," *Italian Plaquettes*, 48, for this work.

24. See Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, fig. 19, cat. no. 54, for a copy of this work located in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and its attribution history.

25. See Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, fig. 156, cat. no. 137, for this work in The National Gallery in Washington, D.C., which likely belonged to a series of the Labors of Hercules that were displayed together. The function of these classical works is varied, and a similar scene of Hercules is found on an inkstand attributed to Riccio's workshop.

26. See Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, fig. 171, cat. no. 134, for a copy of this work also in The National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., its relation to the beautiful silver Flagellation located in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and its comparison to Moderno's Hercules' series.

27. See Vannel and Toderi, *Medaglie e Placchette*, introduction (n.p.), for this observation.

28. See Lydecker, "Domestic Setting," 172–83, for an overview of the characteristics of religious art found in Florentine homes. Lydecker notes that in the wealthier homes, secular works gradually became more popular in the later *quattrocento* and were placed together with religious images. By the 1490s, this was so common that Savonarola spoke against the custom of keeping images "of naked men and women" near the beds, in reference to various subjects from Ovid that became popular. I would argue that throughout the Renaissance, more modest families continued to maintain devotional objects almost exclusively, and their ideas concerning the function and intellectual value of art did not change much from the *trecento*.

29. Pope-Hennessy, *Renaissance Bronzes*, fig. 11, cat. no. 233, argues that this plaquette was likely meant to be inserted in a tabernacle frame, although it has a hole at the top that would suggest that it was hung onto something.

30. See W. Wixom, *Renaissance Bronzes from Ohio Collections* (Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975), cat. no. 27, for this work.

31. This work, measuring 84.5 x 60.3 cm., is located in the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio.

32. A similar work by Francesco Marti of *The Virgin and Child* seen standing on a crescent moon is located in the Museo Civico in Padua. (See Banzato and Pellegrini, *Bronzi e placchette*, 38–39, for this work, which is assigned a Florentine origin).

33. R. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and Demand for Art in Italy 1300–1600* (Baltimore, 1993), presents an excellent study of the growing demand for art and other material objects that characterized all levels of Italian society in the Renaissance. Ronald G. Kecks, *Madonna und Kind: Das häusliche Andachtsbild im Florenz des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1988), in tables I–XIII, gives numerous examples of such devotional images in the *quattrocento* bedroom.

34. M. Wackernagel, *The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market*, trans. A. Luchs (Princeton, N. J., 1981), 174, discusses the formats of these *trecento* images. Wackernagel's text, first published in 1938, was one of the earliest works to discuss domestic imagery and define its characteristics.

35. Neri di Bicci's *Ricordanze* is a business account book that gives us detailed descriptions of household objects produced by his workshop between 1453 and 1474 and a list of his clientele.

36. Neri di Bicci, *Ricordanze*, 156, no. 308, notes one example of a work by Desiderio da Settignano: "*Richordo ch'el detto di rendei a Pietro Tazi orafo 1o tabernacholo da tenere in chamera drentovi una Vergine Maria di marmo di mano di Disidero....*"

37. See G. Randolph and B. Richards, eds., *Florentine Merchants in the Age of the Medici, Letters and Documents from the Selfridge Collection of Medici Manuscripts* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), 11, for background on Maringhi, and 185–200 for manuscript 495, entitled "Inventory of the Possessions of Giovanni di Francesco Maringhi," 1506, inscribed "in the name of God and profit." A cross sign at the top of the page was meant to prevent dishonest entries.

38. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and Demand*, 72–74, argues that by the *quattrocento* wealthy homes began to accumulate furnishings.

39. See, for example, the Medici family inventories from 1456, 1463, and 1492 published by E. Müntz, *Les collections des Medicis au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1888), for the accumulation of a diversity of objects within the wealthy home.

40. See L. B. Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. R. Watkins (Columbia, S. C., 1969), 195, for Giannozzo Alberti's dialogue, which was part of a long afternoon family discourse that took place in May of 1421 when Giannozzo reminisced about his youth in Florence prior to the family exile. At the time of this discussion, Giannozzo was age sixty-four, so the period that he is referring to is the late *trecento*.

41. See B. Cole, "A Popular Painting from the Early Trecento," *Apollo*, 101 (1975), 9, for the discovery of a simple, mass-produced panel that echoes the compositions of Giotto and might have been purchased at an open market.

42. Alberti, *Family*, 208–9. This location is confirmed in contemporary visual images, where the protagonist is seen kneeling in prayer to an image of the Madonna and Child or a Crucifix in the bedroom. See, for example, Giovanni di Paolo's small panel entitled *Saint Catherine Beseeching Christ to Resuscitate Her Mother* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 1975.1.33), and a fresco of the *Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine*, Spinello Aretino, 1387, in the *Oratory of Saint Catherine in Antella*, for such examples.

43. See Alberti, *Family*, 214, for a description of this statuette.

44. See U. Middeldorf, "Some Florentine Painted Madonna Reliefs," *Collaboration in Italian Renaissance Art* (New Haven, 1978), 78, for the silvered statue in the Medici collection of 1553: *una Carità di terra cotta in color di metallo*, and 82 n. 5, for the silvering of the faces and hands of the bronze statues of Donatello in Padua. Although no object like this exists today, two silver statuettes without ivory, one of Saint John the Baptist and one of Saint Francis, can be found in the Museo Civico at Città di Castello, both attributed by Middeldorf to either Luca della Robbia or Ghiberti.

45. Alberti, *Family*, 214. An interesting detail in the *Saint Henry Triptych* in San Martino a Mensola, Florence, done in the manner of Orcagna about 1391, shows an image of a wife vowing continence to her husband while they kneel together in prayer before a small crucifix at an altar table in their bedroom.

46. D. Herlihy, "Santa Caterina and San Bernardino: Their Teachings on the Family," reprinted in *Women, Family and Society in Medieval Europe: Historical Essays 1978–1991* (Providence, R. I., 1995), 188.

47. See A. B. Barriault, *Spalliera Paintings of Renaissance Tuscany: Fables of Poets for Patrician Homes* (University Park, Penn., 1994), for secular images.

48. See Lydecker, "Domestic Setting," 75, for this citation from Alberti. S. Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions: Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Private Piety," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 73 (1969), 159, discusses the historical opposition to the devotional image among orthodox members of the Church, who sought an "image-less devotion" as the goal of any true mystic. He argues that although the Church did not always approve of the worship of icons, the power that art had in forming miraculous visions was widely recognized at the time.

49. M. Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Plague* (Princeton, N. J., 1951), 106, noted that historians always seem to overlook the power that visual images had on the religious imagination.

50. See Ringbom, "Devotional Images," 161, for these examples.

51. Ringbom, "Devotional Images," 161, gives this quote from the *Libro de la Vita* of Saint Catherine, published in Genoa in 1551.

52. Most scholars, including Lydecker, "Domestic Setting," 175–77, have noticed from documents that most religious works in a household are found in the bedrooms, and the spiritual world was considered to be potentially present mainly in this room.

53. D. Herlihy, in his article "Family," *Portraits of Medieval and Renaissance Living: Essays in Memory of David Herlihy*, eds. S. K. Cohn and S. A. Epstein (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1996), 7–28, discusses the Latin root of "familia" that entered Romance languages in the 12th century and came to represent a strongly hierarchical group of relatives united, in isolation, from society. Most late medieval theories on the family derive from Herlihy's studies.

54. See Fra Giovanni Dominici, *Regola del governo di cura familiare*, ed. D. Salvi (Florence, 1860), 130. The popularity of the *Massacre of the Innocents* in the *trecento* Sienese household has not yet been examined.

55. A. Perosa, *Giovanni Rucellai ed il suo Zibaldone: 1. Il Zibaldone quaresimale* (London, 1960), 13: "*L'Educazione dei figli. Ricordovi il modo abbiate a tenere nell'allevare e' vostri figluoli. Et prima, che la propria madre l'allatti quando fusse senza pericolo et sanza offenzione della persona della madre....*"

56. See D. Herlihy, "The Natural History of Medieval Women," reprinted in *Women, Family*, 67, for this idea.

57. See C. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1987), 11–12, for the objects given in a woman's trousseau and the argument that these objects were used to increase devotion through play-acting in the bedroom.

58. See Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual*, 220, for the Ciurianni document.

59. See ibid., 221–22, for the dei Rossi documents.

60. See ibid., 221.

61. See E. Callmann, "The Growing Threat to Marital Bliss as seen in Fifteenth-Century Florentine Paintings," *Studies in Iconography*, 5 (1979), 76, for secular work and messages of morality. Although secular art will not be discussed here in detail, it is important to note that secular scenes would often complement the devotional images found in the bedroom. For example, the panels of the *cassoni* were often painted with moralizing scenes such as Boccaccio's tales, Susannah and the Elders, or *putti* as fertility symbols. The indoctrination of moral messages and regulation of sexual patterns were aimed specifically at women in order to ensure the patronage of the family line. (See also *The Secular Spirit: Life and Art at the End of the Middle Ages*, intro. T. B. Husband and J. Hayward [New York, 1975] for examples of bedroom furniture that were decorated with these themes.)

62. Although it is difficult to reconstruct the history of tenuous human emotions, some ideas on maternal attachment may be found in textual sources. See, for example, S. Shahar, "Infants, Infant Care, and Attitudes Toward Infancy in the Medieval Lives of Saints," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 10 (1983), 281–309, for this type of study. In addition, Musacchio's text (in note 1), offers an excellent study of how the material culture of childbirth, seen in the form of paintings as well as objects such as wooden trays and ceramic bowls, reveals how cultural attitudes and familial attachments were formed at the event of childbirth.

63. V. Fildes, *Wet Nursing: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Oxford, 1988), 44, for Italy.

64. Ibid., 36–49.

65. See R. Trexler, *The Children of Renaissance Florence: Power and Dependence in Renaissance Florence*, 1 (Binghamton, N. Y., 1993), 83 n. 135, for Pier Paolo Vergerio's assertion that education away from the home was more effective than keeping them home.

66. M. L. King, *Women of the Renaissance* (Chicago, 1991), 2–6. Herlihy, "Santa Caterina" notes that before the plague, Florence had about 120,000 people, and only about 40,000 in the later *quattrocento*. See Musacchio, *Art and Ritual*, 25–31, for further discussion of the high mortality rates of newborns, young children, and mothers in child-birth.

67. See Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli, *Ricordi* (1393–1421), ed. Vittore Branca (Florence, 1956), 455–59, for the death of his child and his process of mourning.

68. King, *Women of the Renaissance*, 41–42. One of the few instances in which a women would forfeit her dowery was in the case of adultery.

69. Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family, and Ritual*, 120, notes that in the 1427 tax declaration in Florence, 25% of women and only 4% of men were widowed.

70. T. Kuehn, *Law, Family and Women: Toward a Legal Anthropology of Renaissance Italy* (Chicago, 1991), 198–99, for the *patria potestas*, and Klapisch-Zuber, 123–24, for the widow's return to her paternal family.

71. Giovanni Morelli noted with some rancor his own maternal abandonment at the death of his father, despite the fact that as a child he continued to live with his mother in the house of his stepfather. (L. Pandimiglio, "Giovanni di Pagolo Morelli e le strutture familiari," *Archivio storico italiano*, 136/1–2 [1978], 6).

72. Balestracci, 42–43, discusses the importance of economic family solidarity among the rural peasant class in Tuscany.

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1, 5, 6, 12, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; figs. 2, 4, 7–9, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art; figs. 3, 10, Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art; fig. 11, Oberlin, Allen Memorial Art Museum.

An Amulet from Afsharid Iran

SHEILA S. BLAIR

One of the most interesting objects in the Islamic gallery at the Walters Art Museum is a small carnelian amulet made in Iran on 28 June 1748. Its lengthy inscriptions reflect the uncertainty of the time, in which appeals were made to God, the prophet Muhammad, the fourteen immaculate ones venerated by Shi'ites, and the four orthodox caliphs venerated by Sunnis. Its mixture of forms and designs shows that the Afsharid rulers of Iran, though often at war with their neighbors, appropriated their rivals' artistic tastes and styles.

One of the smallest—yet most interesting—objects on display in the splendid new installation of Islamic art at the Walters Art Museum is a carnelian pendant made in 1748, probably in Iran (fig. 1).[1] Like many examples of Islamic art, the pendant is decorated with writing. Its inscriptions not only tell us what function the pendant filled and when and where it was made, but also transform this everyday object into a consummate work of art. The carnelian pendant thus provides a window into daily life and popular practices during the turbulent times of its creation.

The pendant is carved from carnelian (also spelled cornelian), a hard reddish and translucent mineral that has been used as a gemstone since Antiquity.[2] Carnelian was widely used in classical times by the Romans, who obtained it in West Asia and the Indian subcontinent. It continued to be used in Islamic times, and, by the fifteenth century, it was by far the most common type of hardstone used for jewelry, seals, and amulets, sometimes called talismans.[3]

To make the pendant, the stoneworker shaped the hardstone to form a small articulated oval measuring 5.03 cm. wide, 3.65 cm. high, and 3.3 cm. thick (fig. 2). He drilled a channel through the flat top edge of the hardstone, and the projecting wings, now broken, would have provided a place for a chain or cord from which to suspend the object as a pendant. The back side is flat, but the front is rounded or in cabochon. While the carver left the back plain, he covered the front side of the pendant with writing. The inscriptions are executed in several techniques and styles and contain different sorts of text carefully fitted together in bands and cartouches, like a jigsaw puzzle.

The largest texts are contained in two boxes at the top and center of the pendant (see fig. 3 for a schematic representation showing the location of the various inscriptions). The script in both these boxes is formed by incising the outlines of the letters and filling the background with a tiny floral design so that the letters stand out in reserve. The two words in the box at the top (IA) invoke God's name (*yā allāh*). This short text is followed by the longer text in the center (IB), a common phrase from the Koran invoking God's majesty and power (*in allāh 'alā kull shay qadīr*). This phrase occurs eleven times in the Koran in this exact form (2:20, 2:106, 2:109, 2:148, 2:259; 3:165, 16:77, 24:45, 29:20, 35:1, 65:12), as well as many other times in shorter or variant forms. The large texts on the pendant can be read together, as a single statement: "O God, truly God is powerful over all things." In invoking God's name and power, these two large inscriptions immediately identify the function of the object as an amulet invoking God's protection on the wearer.

The shape of the pendant confirms its talismanic function. Amulets made in the Islamic lands were carved in many shapes—circles, rectangles, hearts, or pyramids—but most were oval. For example, of the thirty-six amulets in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris that are carved with positive inscriptions (as distinct from the thirteen amulets carved with negative inscriptions that read backwards and hence were meant to be used as seals), twenty-one, or almost 60%, are oval.[4] Many, like the amulet in the Walters, have a pierced opening at the top for a chain or cord. One, made of green glass with inscriptions rather crudely carved on both sides (fig. 4), has the same articulated oval shape as the carnelian amulet in the Walters, with flat top and bottom and rounded sides.[5] There are similar examples in the Ashmolean Museum and in the unpublished collection of The British Museum.[6]

The carver of the carnelian amulet in the Walters called attention to the importance of the reserve texts (IA and IB) in several ways. He made the letters bigger than those of the other texts. He also made the letters legible by carving them in reserve against a darker ground. He further accentuated the rhythm created by the letters. In the top box, he emphasized the vertical strokes of *alif* and *lam*, written in a thick round script known as *thuluth*. In the middle box, he turned the last letter in each of four large words (the *nūn* [n] in *in*, the *alif maqṣūra*ʾ [a] in *ʿalā*, the *lām* [l] in *kull*, and the *yā*ʾ [y] in *shay*) into a large bowl. The swooping tails add internal unity and pattern to the design. The carver further varied the thickness of the strokes in these letters to add a sense of movement. These features are typical of the hanging script known as *nastaʿlīq*, which was developed in Iran in the fourteenth century and became particularly popular there for transcribing Persian poetry from the fifteenth century onwards.[7] A similar composition, with swooping tails to the final letters, is found, for example, on a sheet of decorated calligraphy done by the scribe and illustrator Ismaʿil Jalayir in the mid-nineteenth century.[8] The use of this style of script immediately suggests an Iranian provenance for the amulet.[9]

To make these patterns with the letters, the carver had to manipulate the text, particularly in the middle box. He squeezed the second and last words of the phrase (*allāh* and *qadīr*) into the upper corners above the other four words. He even had to change the spelling. He spelled *allāh* without the inital *alif*, making the initial *alif* of *in*, the vertical stroke on the left of the rectangle, do double service as the initial *alif* of two words. Clearly, he expected his audience to know the phrase, recognize it, and recite it, rather than read it literally. He made pattern take precedence over meaning.

In contrast to the large texts carved in reserve, the other texts on the pendant are incised in a fine, even script known as *naskh*, quite legible despite its diminutive size. The incised texts fall into two parts, based on meaning and placement. The first text (II) incised on the carnelian amulet continues in the same vein as the reserve text and is written in successive tiers around the central rectangle (see Table 1 for a transcription and translation of the text). It begins beneath the central rectangle in the first cartouche on the right and continues around the first row of cartouches immediately surrounding the central rectangle (IIa). The text (IIb) continues around the second row of cartouches, also written in a circle. The text then moves to the fields surrounding the rectangular floral border, beginning with the field below the rectangle (IIc) and moving clockwise around the three other fields (IId–f). Whereas the cartouches each contain a phrase, the text in the field is written in lines, with each phrase or word separated by a small circle or other mark. To read the full text, the viewer needs to turn the pendant in a clockwise direction three times.

Fig. 1. Carnelian pendant. 5.03 x 3.65 x 3.3 cm. [actual size]. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 42.1205.

The cartouche layout of the beginning of the incised text calls to mind the typical talismanic design of a magic square, in which single characters, words, or phrases are set in a checkerboard pattern. The magic square (Arabic *wafq*) is first documented in a group of writings attributed to Jabir b. Hayyan (known in Europe as Geber) and thought to have been compiled in the late ninth or early tenth century. From the twelfth century, manuals on magical formulas and procedures proliferated. The master of the art was Abu'l-ʿAbbas Ahmad b. ʿAli b. Yusuf al-Buni al-Qurashi (d. 1225), who composed a treatise on the construction of magic squares and talismanic designs based on the letters composing the Beautiful Names of God. His treatise may have circulated on a popular level, and only two written copies are known to have survived: one dated 16 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 828/24 September 1425 and a second copied at Valljevo southwest of Belgrade on 29 Jumada 963/10 May 1556.[10]

Magic squares have become typical on talismanic charts, shirts, and plaques made in the Islamic lands in the last few centuries.[11] The squares could be filled with numbers, written in numerals or alphanumerics (*abjad*), in which each letter of the alphabet stands for a numerical value. The squares could also be filled with single words or phrases. The words might spell out a verse from the Koran, but one of the most common texts on these talismanic objects was the Beautiful Names of God (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā*),[12] and this is how the text incised around the middle of the carnelian amulet in the Walters opens.

The small incised text on the amulet begins in the bottom right by invoking God's name (*yā allāh*), the same phrase carved in reserve at the top of the amulet. Next comes the traditional list of ninety-nine Beautiful Names, all of them also invoked with O (*yā*). These names are already mentioned in an early hadith, or prophetic tradition, transmitted by one of Muhammad's companions, Abu Hurayra. According to this tradition, God had ninety-nine names, a hundred less one, for He, the odd number (the Unique) likes to be designated by these enumerated names one by one; whoever knows the ninety-nine names will enter paradise.

Fig. 2. View of the pendant, magnified five times.

The repetition of these ninety-nine names has become one of the most diligent devotions in Islam. Pious Muslims repeat them and meditate on them, often with the help of ninety-nine beads strung together like a rosary (*subḥa*). These ninety-nine names have become particularly important for mystics and are often included as part of the *dhikr*, or recitation by Sufis. The fourteenth-century Persian mystic 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Qashani, for example, included them in his glossary of Sufi terms under the heading Servants of God.[13]

Since these ninety-nine names do not all occur in the Koran, the list has never been absolutely fixed and is liable to contain variants. Most lists, including the one on the Walters' amulet, begin with the thirteen names mentioned in Koran 59:22–24. They are written on the amulet in cartouches running on the bottom and left side of the central rectangle: *yā raḥmān* (O Merciful), *yā raḥīm* (O Compassionate), *yā malik* (O King), *yā quddūs* (O Holy), *yā salām* (O Peace), *yā mu'min* (O Faithful), *yā muhaymin* (O Protector), *yā 'azīz* (O Mighty), *yā jabbār* (O Repairer), *yā mutakabbir* (O Great), *yā khāliq* (O Creator), *yā bārī* (O Maker), and *yā muṣawwir* (O Fashioner).[14]

The subsequent order in the list of ninety-nine Beautiful Names often varies. Most names are grouped mnemonically. The next six in the standard order are governed by euphony: *ghaffār* (Forgiver), *qahhār* (Dominant), *wahhāb* (Bestower), *razzāq* (Provider), *fattāḥ* (Opener), and *'alī* (Knower). They are written in the first row of cartouches above the central rectangle. Other names are grouped by assonance, associations of verbal forms, or pairs having both a correlative and paradoxical sense. For example, *awwal* (First) is typically paired with *akhir* (Last), *ẓāhir* (Evident) with *bāṭin* (Hidden).

The list of Beautiful Names incised on the Walters' amulet contains the standard ninety-nine, with only a few variations. The name following the common first thirteen, inserted before the six euphonic names, is *sittār* (Veiler), not often included in the standard list. By contrast, *rashīd* (Director), the second to last name on the standard list, is omitted on the amulet. There also seems to be one extra name, bringing the total to one hundred names, or 101 including the name of God (*allāh*) at the beginning. The unusual name is written on the amulet in the fifth cartouche

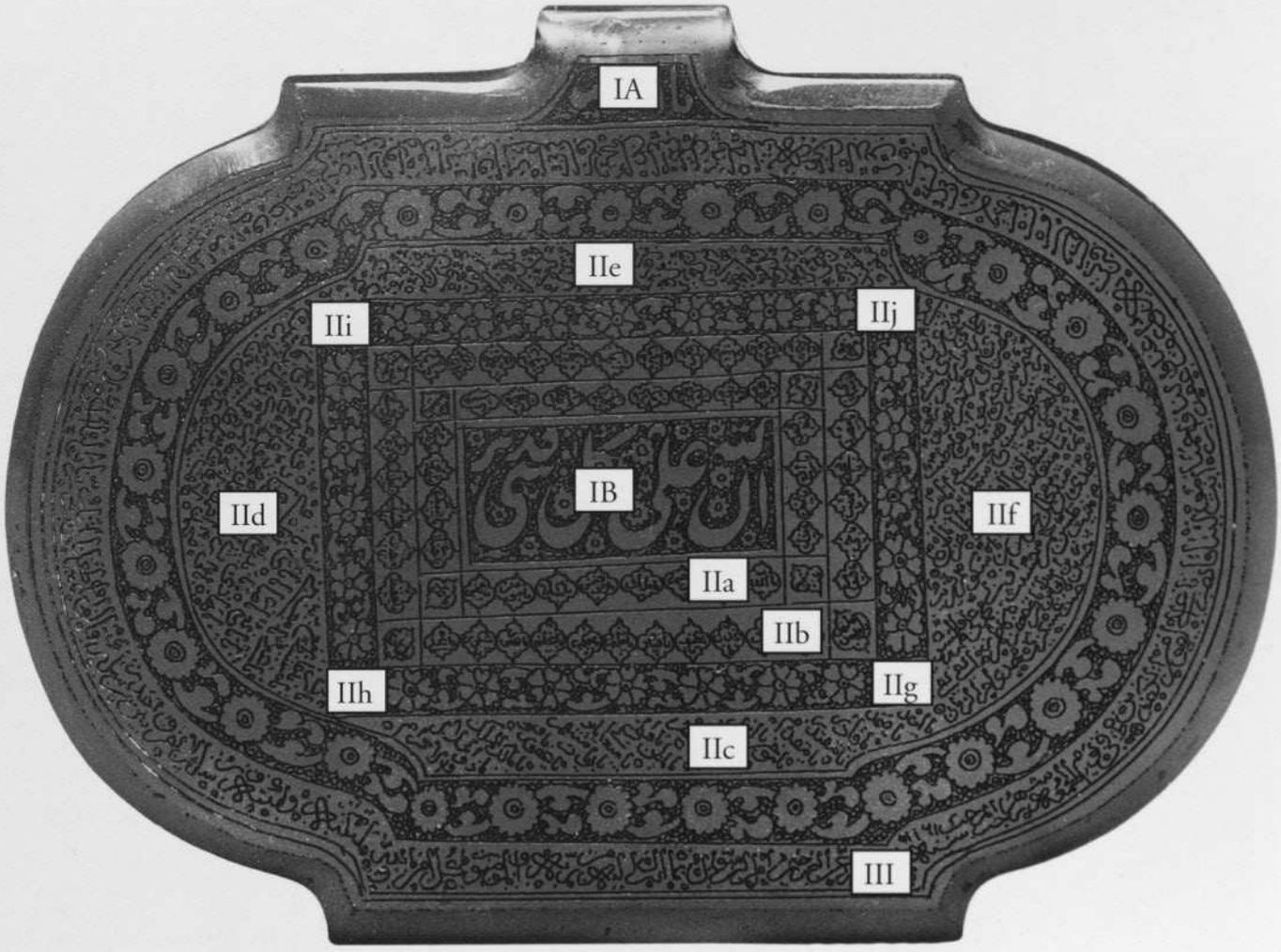

Fig. 3. Pendant, with marks showing the location of the different inscriptions and knots.

from the right in the bottom line: it seems to contain the word *qubbād*. This is the name of one of the kings of ancient Persia; it is not part of the standard list of God's name and its inclusion on the amulet is a puzzle.

The list of God's Beautiful Names ends midway in the field to the left of the central rectangle on the amulet (IId). Most of the rest of the space in the fields (IId–f) is taken up with the Noble Names (*al-asmā' al-sharīfa*), ninety-nine pious names and epithets of the prophet Muhammad that are meant to parallel the ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God. The Prophet's names are not invoked with *yā* (O), and rather than the circle used to mark the end of each of God's names, the Noble Names are followed by the letter *ṣad*, an abbreviation for the *taṣliya*, the phrase "May God bless him and give him peace" that must follow every mention of the Prophet in written or spoken discourse.[15]

The list of the Prophet's Noble Names is even more variable than the list of God's Beautiful Names. It typically begins with four variants derived from the root *ḥ-m-d*, meaning praise: *muḥammad* (He who is worthy of Praise), *aḥmad* (More praiseworthy), *ḥamid* (Praising), and *maḥmūd* (Praised). The list continues with more names, all taken from the Koran and grouped in many of the same ways as the Beautiful Names of God. Some Noble Names rhyme. Some pairs play on the same idea, such as *munīr* (Radiant) and *sirāj* (Lamp), both mentioned in Koran 33:46. Some pairs are variants on the same Arabic root, such as *hādin* (Guide) and *mahdī* (Rightly guided), both of which derive from *h-d-i*. A few pairs are opposites, such as *fātiḥ* (Opener) and *khātim* (Seal or End) or *bashīr* (Bearer of good tidings) and *nadhīr* (Warner). A few are identical with the names of God, such as *awwal* (First) and *ākhir* (Last) or *ẓāhir* (Evident) and *bāṭin* (Hidden), but most refer only to the Prophet. Some come from the Prophet's country or family, such as *makkī* (Meccan), *madinī* (Medinan), *'arabī* (Arab), *ḥijāzī* (From the Hijaz), *abṭaḥī* (Belonging to al-Batha, the area around Mecca), *nizārī* (From the Nizari tribe), *qurayshī* (From the Quraysh

Fig. 4. Green glass amulet from the Bibliothèque nationale, after Kalus, *Catalogue des Cachets, Bulles, et Talismans Islamiques*, no. III.1.23

clan), and *muḍarī* (From the Mudar tribe). Some refer to the mystical letters found at the beginning of chapters, or suras, in the Koran, such as the letters *yā'-sīn*, found at the beginning of sura 36, *ṭa'-sīn*, found at the beginning of sura 27, and *ḥa'-mīm*, found at the beginning of suras 40–46.

Reciting the Prophet's Noble Names became a popular practice in Islam. The fourteenth-century historian al-Safadi composed a long poem in which he enumerated the ninety-nine names of the Prophet. Mystics often invoked these names, which served as talismans to ward off evil. For example, Sayyid Baqir, a seventeenth-century Suhrawardi mystic from Ucch (now in Pakistan), included a chapter on the virtues and divine grace of Muhammad's ninety-nine names in his treatise *Jawāhir al-awliyā* (Jewels of the Saints).[16] In more recent times, the list was elaborated in popular tradition: an Arabic manuscript dated 1268/1851–52 gives 201 names, and other sources mention four hundred or even one thousand.[17]

The Noble Names do not occur on many surviving amulets, perhaps because of their length.[18] Calligraphers, however, sometimes made up the Noble Names into calligraphic pictures. One example is the so-called Muhammadan Rose, a floral design with the ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God, the ninety-nine Noble Names of the Prophet, and the names of the Ten to whom Paradise was promised (*al-'ashara al-mubashshara*).[19]

Finally, after listing the two hundred names of God and the Prophet, the inscription incised around the center of the Walters' carnelian amulet ends in the middle of the right field (IIf) with the names of the so-called fourteen immaculate ones (Persian: *chahārdah ma'ṣūm*): Muhammad, his daughter Fatima, and the Twelve Imams who succeeded him. These are the fourteen inerrant or immaculate personages venerated by Twelver Shi'ites.[20]

After the death of the Prophet in 632, the nascent Muslim community split over how to choose his successor.[21] Eventually, two major positions emerged regarding the nature of authority over the Islamic community. One position, ultimately accepted by the majority of believers, was that of the caliphal loyalists. By the middle of the eighth century, they came to call themselves the "people of tradition and unity," in Arabic *ahl al-sunna wa'l-jam'a*, or, more simply, *sunnis*. Sunni Muslims comprise the overwhelming majority of the more than one billion Muslims in the world today.

The other major position regarding the nature of authority over the Muslim community is represented by the partisans of Muhammad's nephew and son-in-law 'Ali. This group is collectively known as Shi'ites, from the Arabic word *shi'a* meaning "party" or "faction." Shi'ites initially pointed to 'Ali's justice, religious knowledge, and closeness to the Prophet, arguing that any head of the community should be a direct descendant of Muhammad through his daughter Fatima and her husband 'Ali. Their doctrine evolved so that by the eighth century most Shi'ites also held that the caliph, or Prophet's successor, would also be a divinely guided, infallible religious teacher, or *imam*. They believed that only such a leader could guide the Muslim community to achieve the justice and salvation promised by the Koran.

Shi'ites differ over the names and number of direct successors to Muhammad, but the largest group, known as Twelver Shi'ites, believe that the twelfth imam went into hiding in the year 940 and that, until he reappears on Judgment Day, he is represented on earth by a viceroy, who reinterprets the *shari'a*, the rules and regulations that govern the day-to-day lives of Muslims, for every age. Twelvers comprise the largest group of Shi'ites in modern times, making up most of the population of modern Iran and sizeable minorities in neighboring countries.

Fig. 5. Amulet, dated A.H. 1161/A.D. 1748. 5.8 x 4.2 x 6 cm. London, The British Museum, BM 1866 12-29 101.

Although Iran is now a Shi'ite country, Twelver Shi'ism became the state religion there only in the sixteenth century, under the rule of the Safavid dynasty (1501–1722). During this period, theosophers such as Mulla Sadra (d. 1640) elaborated the cosmic function of the fourteen immaculate ones. These figures became a major focus of popular piety and are often mentioned in formulas invoking divine blessing. Their names are inscribed, for example, on an amulet dated [1]161/1748 in The British Museum (fig. 5), on three undated amulets in the collection of the Cabinet des Médailles, on eight undated amulets in the Ashmolean, and on several talismanic plaques from the same period.[22] The presence of these names is often taken to be an indication of Persian provenance and adds weight to the stylistic evidence in attributing the Walters' amulet to Iran.[23]

Curiously, the names of the fourteen immaculate ones appear on the carnelian amulet in juxtaposition to those of their rivals. The central rectangle is surrounded by a reserved band of six-petaled flowers separated by pairs of leaves. Cartouches in the four corners (IIg–j) have the names of the four orthodox caliphs: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, and 'Ali. These four people were the first successors to Muhammad, chosen by the consensus of the community. In later times, some Muslims looked back, through somewhat rose-colored glasses, to their successive reigns as a "Golden Age" in which faith, justice, and the pristine Islamic values flourished. Hence, these caliphs became known to Sunni Muslims as *al-khulafā' al-rashīdūn*, or "rightly guided" caliphs. Shi'ites, by contrast, traditionally curse the names of the first three caliphs, whom they consider usurpers and murderers of the fourth and, in their view, only legitimate caliph, 'Ali.

Inscribing the names of the four orthodox caliphs on objects became a hallmark of the arts produced under the Ottomans, rulers of Anatolia and much of the eastern Mediterranean from the late thirteenth century to 1922. From 1501, they were the Safavids' great rivals. The Ottomans often had the name of the four orthodox caliphs inscribed on tile panels (fig. 6), ceramic vessels (fig. 7), and many other types of art.[24] On these objects, the four names

were often written in a line or set in cartouches, but in one type of work the four names were typically disposed in the four corners: calligraphic works bearing a description of the Prophet. Known as *hilya* (literally, decoration or adornment), these calligraphic specimens contain a verbal description of the prophet Muhammad giving both his physical and his mental characteristics. The description of the Prophet was written in a large central medallion, with pendant circles in the four corners inscribed with the names of the four orthodox caliphs. This arrangement of the *hilya* (fig. 8) became standard under the Ottoman master calligrapher Hafiz Osman (1642–98) and was reproduced until modern times.[25]

Ottoman calligraphers adapted the calligraphic tradition of inscribing the names of the four orthodox caliphs in medallions for other media as well. The names, together with those of Muhammad, 'Ali, Hasan, and Husayn, were reproduced on eight wooden roundels designed in 1859 by Mustafa 'Izzet to be hung below the dome in the interior of the congregational mosque converted from the great church of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. The largest of their type, these wooden roundels measure eight meters (twenty-five feet) in diameter. The compositions were enlarged by squaring, and smaller versions of these sacred names survive on both cardboard and wood.[26]

To understand why the carnelian amulet in the Walters is inscribed with the names of both the fourteen immaculate ones, typical of Shi'ites, and the four orthodox caliphs, typically pronounced by their rivals, the Sunnis, we must turn to the other text incised around the border of the amulet (III). Slightly larger than the text incised in the middle of the amulet (with the *alif* measuring approximately 1 cm., about twice the size of the *alif* in the central text), the border text is separated from the rest of the decoration by a band of floral motifs set in reserve against a dark ground. The floral band, composed of many-petaled, lotus-like flowers alternating with pairs of stylized leaves, serves to set off the border inscription and distinguish it from the other incised text in the center.

As with the reserved text, the carver of the carnelian amulet in the Walters elaborated the script in the border band to enhance the meaning of the message. The main artistic touches are the knots added to final *ha'* in eight places around the border. The knots are not spaced symmetrically. Nor do they seem to be placed semantically: many are used on the pronoun *hā'* (him), meaning Muhammad or God, but two at the end are used on the *tā' marbūṭa*, or feminine ending, of the words *al-jum'a* (Friday) and *sana* (year). Rather, the carver seems to have added these knots wherever space was available.

Despite their random placement, the knots may have had magical significance. Many objects made in the Islamic lands were decorated not only with magical writing, often

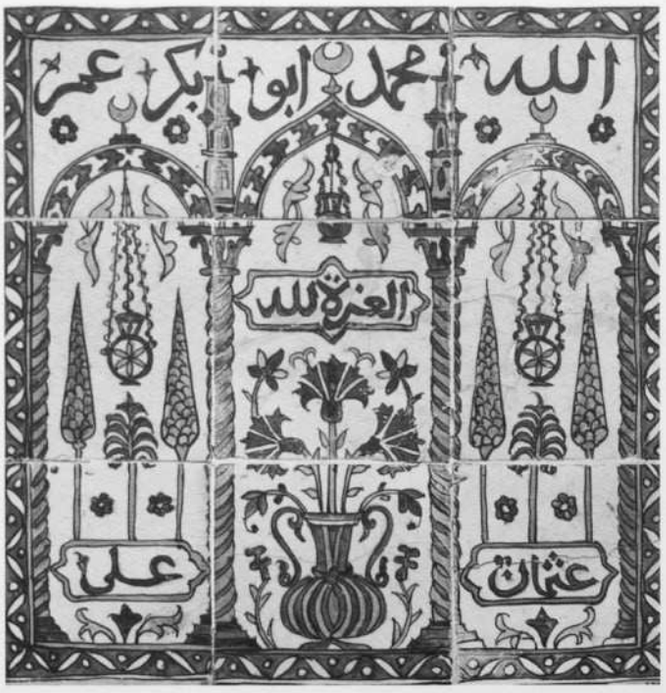

Fig. 6. Tile plaque with names of the Four Orthodox caliphs. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15.76.3.

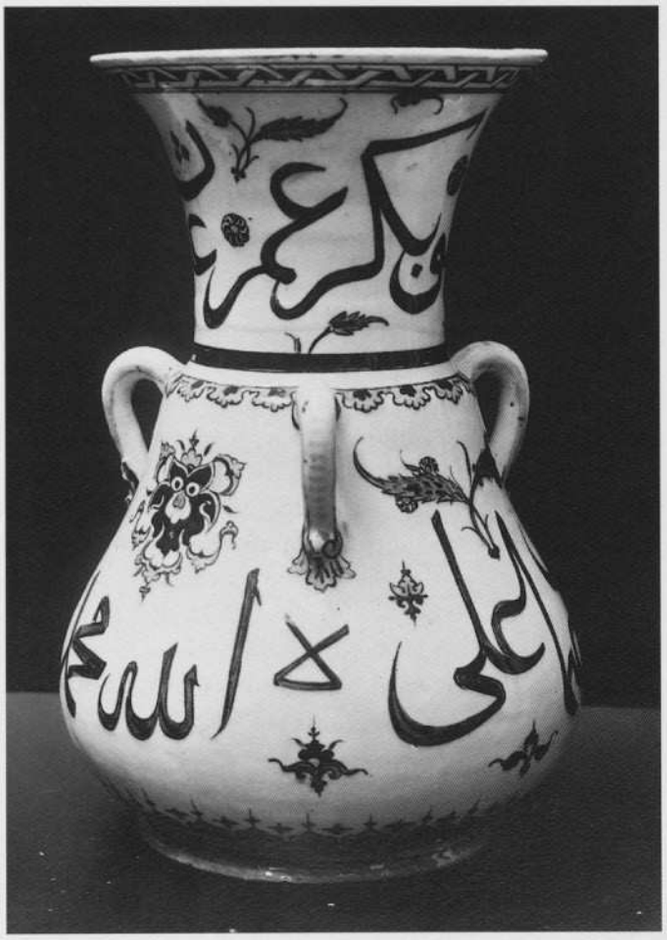

Fig. 7. Ceramic vessel in the form of a mosque lamp, ca. 1580. 32 x 17.8 cm. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.1301.

Fig. 8. *Hilya* [verbal description of the Prophet Muahmmad] calligraphed by Hafiz Osman. A.H. 1103/A.D. 1691. 47 x 34 cm. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, T559.4.

arranged in squares, but also with the five- or six-pointed star, commonly known as the seal of Solomon. Solomon is known in Islamic lore for the power he exercised over the evil *jinn*, "shape-shifting," supernatural creatures. The *jinn* (whence the English word genie) are mentioned frequently in the Koran (e.g., 6:100, 6:112, 6:128, 18:50, 55:14–15, etc.), and one entire sura (72) is entitled *jinn*. For Muslims, the *jinn* have bodies composed of vapor or flame and are intelligent but imperceptible to human senses, capable of appearing in different forms and of carrying out heavy labors. Although accepted in official Islam, the *jinn* became particularly popular in folklore and occur extensively in *The Arabian Nights*.[27] Solomon exercised his power over the *jinn* through a talismanic ring engraved "the most great name" of God, and many designs with a sealed knot seem to have magical connotations.[28] The engraver may well have intended the knots he added to the tails of the letter *hā'* in the border inscription around the Walters' carnelian amulet to recall the Solomonic knot and evoke the power Solomon exercised over the *jinn* through his talismanic ring.

The border text begins at the lower right of the flat, bottom edge of the amulet. It opens with the invocation to God known as the *basmala*, from the words *bism allāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* (in the name of God the Merciful and the Compassionate). Muslims invoke the basmala in all sorts of daily activities, from reading the Koran to giving a lecture or beginning a journey. This phrase is also found at the beginning of all but one sura in the Koran (the exception is Chapter 9), and here too on the carnelian pendant, the basmala is followed by a Koranic text.

The border text on the pendant comes from the second chapter of the Koran, called *al-Baqara* (The Cow). The longest chapter in the Koran and one of the latest to be revealed, it is often thought to sum up the entire teaching of the Koran, which Muslims accept as God's revelation to the prophet Muhammad.[29] The sura takes its name from the parable of the cow or heifer (*al-baqara*), mentioned in verses 67–71, which illustrates the insufficiency of carping obedience. When people lose faith, they put off obedience with various excuses. Even at last when they obey the letter of the law, they fail in spirit and become fossilized, but their self-absorption prevents them from realizing that they are spiritually dead.

The text on the pendant contains the last two verses (285–86) from sura 2, which sum up the nature of faith illustrated by the parable:[30]

> The Messenger believes in what was sent down to him from his Lord, and the believers; each one believes in God and His angels, and in His Books and His Messengers; we make no division between any one of His Messengers. They say, 'We hear, and obey. Our Lord, grant us Thy forgiveness; unto Thee is the homecoming.
>
> God charges no soul save to its capacity; standing to its account is what it has earned, and against its account what it has merited.
>
> Our Lord take us not to task if we forget, or make mistake. Our Lord, charge us not with a load such as Thou didst lay upon those before us. Our Lord, do Thou not burden us beyond what we have the strength to bear. And pardon us, and forgive us, and have mercy on us; thou art our Protector. And help us against the people of the unbelievers.

The Koranic quotation takes up most of the border band, ending about three-quarters of the way down the right lobe on the amulet. The carver marked the end of the Koranic text with three signs: a circle, the Arabic letter *ṭā'*, and a circle inscribed with a small cross-shape or *x*. Although classical Arabic was not written with punctuation in its modern sense, some marks were used to indicate divisions between paragraphs, sentences, or sections.[31]

The circle was commonly used to represent the letter *hā'*, for the word *intahā'*, meaning "it is finished." One of the earliest marks known, the circle may have been adopted from old Persian or Pahlavi, for it occurs on papyrus documents written in this language to indicate divisions between sentences. Scholars writing Arabic adopted it in Islamic times to separate one hadith from another. The circle is used in modern printed editions of the Koran to separate one verse (*āya*) from another.

The second mark at the end of the Koranic verses on the amulet, the Arabic letter *ṭā'*, had a similar meaning. An abbreviation for *muṭlaq* (free or independent), it was traditionally used when transcribing the text of the Koran to indicate a full-stop. It is also used in non-Koranic codices transcribed in Persia and India to indicate the word *faqaṭ*, literally meaning "only" and used as a synonym for *intahā'* (end). It is also written on invoices to indicate the grand total and prevent fraudulent additions at the end of a document.[32]

These two marks, the circle and the *ṭā'*, are standard, and the carver used them elsewhere in the Koranic text on the amulet, but the third mark, a circle inscribed with a small cross-shape or *x*, is more unusual and appears only in this place on the amulet. It may be a variant of the dots or other marks added to an empty circle upon reading a hadith. According to the great traditionalist al-Katib al-Baghdadi (d. 1071), the scribe should leave the circle empty so that a dot or some other mark could be placed in it during collation. If the hadith were read or heard several times, the circle could contain several dots,[33] and the two slashes here may indicate that the text contains two Koranic verses.

Whatever the literal meaning of the two strokes, the mark, like the circle and the letter *ṭā'*, signifies the end of the Koranic text and separates it from the dating information that follows. This part of the inscription reads: "Friday in the month of Rajab the venerated (*murajjab*) during the year 1161 *h(ijriyya)* (of the hijra)." This lunar year ran from 2 January to 21 December 1748.

Rajab is the seventh month in the Muslim lunar year. In pre-Islamic times, it was observed as a holy month in spring when sacrifices were offered to pagan deities in gratitude for increased flocks and herds. It was also the month of peace during which tribes in the Arabian peninsula refrained from raids and warfare. Due to this legacy, Rajab is often called *al-aṣamm* (the deaf), because no sound from weapons was heard during that month, or *al-aṣabb* (the pouring), because the unbelievers of Mecca used to say that mercy poured forth in that month. It was a time of devotional practices, exertions, and fasting.

These pre-Islamic practices continued in Islamic times, but Muslim scholars had various, and often contradictory, opinions about their correctness. Strictly orthodox scholars stressed that there was no valid tradition concerning the virtues of Rajab. Others, particularly the pious and devoted, favored the widely circulated, popular traditions, in which the Prophet is said to have emphasized the virtues of Rajab and encouraged carrying out various practices deemed laudable and correct. Fasting during Rajab was thought to be particularly commendable, and very high rewards were promised to people who did so. For many, Rajab became one of four sacred months (the others are the first month, Muharram; the eighth month, Sha'ban; and the twelfth month, Dhu'l-Hijja, during which Muslims undertake the fifth pillar of Islam, the *hajj*, or pilgrimage to Mecca), and there even developed a popular rivalry between Rajab and the following month Sha'ban as to which should be more highly venerated.[34]

The carnelian amulet clearly belongs to the popular tradition of venerating Rajab, for in the border inscription the month is labeled *murajjab* (venerated or awesome), an adjective derived from the same triliteral root (*r-j-b*) as the name of the month. This was a somewhat unusual choice of adjective to use in an inscription, but one attested in a few examples, particularly from later Islamic times.[35] Such an adjective may be rare in epigraphy because it reflects popular, rather than literary, tradition.

For many, Rajab came to be associated with certain events in the Prophet's life. His mother is said to have conceived him on the first evening of the month. According to another tradition, the Prophet was born in Rajab, though his birthday is usually celebrated on the 12th of the month of Rabi' al-Awwal. More importantly, the 27th of Rajab came to be celebrated as the day of the *mi'rāj*, the Prophet's mystical ascension to heaven, or of the *isrā'*, his visionary night journey. Hence, many Muslims spend the night of the 27th in vigil. In some places, particularly those areas that were converted to Islam more recently and therefore where indigenous traditions are stronger, this day is celebrated with popular festivities. In Indonesia, for example, Muslims celebrate the night of Muhammad's journey with lights and even fireworks.[36] In East Africa, Muslims spend the preceding three days listening to a recitation of a prose version of the story, first in Arabic and then in a Swahili translation, followed by a day of fasting.

The amulet, however, cannot have been made to commemorate the Prophet's journey, for the inscription gives the date of a Friday in Rajab during the year 1161, and in that year the 27th of Rajab fell on a Tuesday. Rather, the amulet was made for one of the other nights of the month that are considered to be replete with God's graces. God is said to grant every supplication made by the believer on the first night of the month, but the amulet cannot commemorate that day either, for it fell on a Thursday in the year 1161. During that year there were five Fridays in Rajab: the 2nd, the 9th, the 16th, the 23rd, and the 30th.

The first Friday night of Rajab, known as the night of the prayer for extensive and desirable gifts (*ṣalāt al-raghā'ib*), is one of the most celebrated of the month. To mark this day, the believer fasts on the preceding Thursday and then fills the evening with prayers and supplications containing hundreds of invocations, prostrations, bowings, and recitations of suras from the Koran. The central inscription incised on the amulet accords with such a dating to the first Friday night in Rajab: one of the ancestors of Sayyid Baqir, the Suhrawardi mystic who wrote the treatise on Muhammad's ninety-nine names, considered it particularly valuable to recite these names after evening prayer, for doing so would cause that person to enter Paradise.[37] Therefore, the amulet was probably made as a gift to mark that first Friday, and hence it can be dated precisely to 2 Rajab 1161, corresponding to 28 June 1748.

This date makes the carnelian amulet in the Walters one of earliest dated amulets to survive from the Islamic lands. Most published amulets date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[38] A few are earlier. For example, of the thirty-six Islamic amulets in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, one of the first collections to be published, the two earliest pieces date from the mid-eighteenth century. One (fig. 9), a heart-shaped amulet of yellow chalcedony, is dated [1]173/1759–60. Approximately the same size as the one in the Walters, it is decorated with two texts in round scripts, one carved in reserve and the other incised, like those on the Walters' amulet. The other dated amulet in the Cabinet des Médailles (fig. 10), a small oval of white chalcedony, is inscribed [1]171/1757–58. Half the size of the one in the Walters, it is incised with the same common Koranic praise that is carved in reserve in the center of the Walters' amulet (Koran 2:20, etc.), saying that God has power over all things.

In addition to these two published examples, the collection of The British Museum contains a white chalcedony amulet that is dated to the same year as the one in the Walters, [1]161/1748, (fig. 5). Heart-shaped with a flat top and base with straight sides, it is slightly larger than the one in the Walters and contains three texts: the outer margin with sacred names circumscribes two texts with Koranic verses. The inner margin contains Koran 2:255, the so-called Throne Verse (*āyat al-kursī*), considered the most sublime statement of God's majesty and power. In the center is a shorter Koranic text containing the last two verses from sura 68, known as Chapter of the Pen (*Sūrat al-Qalam*) and thought to be the first of God's revelations to Muhammad. The verses (68:51–52) state that unbelievers, when they hear God's message, might take a Muslim to be mad, but that truly God's revelation is a message to all the worlds.

Although a few amulets are dated sporadically in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,[39] these four examples from the mid-seventeenth century comprise a rare group of dated amulets. The amulet in the Walters is further distinguished because of its precise date, giving the day of the week and the month as well as the year. It is the only example I know with such a specific date. This date, along with the lengthy inscriptions on it, helps us understand why the Walters' amulet was made. To put the amulet in context, we must examine the turbulent historical and religious situation of the time.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the power and authority of the Safavids as rulers of Iran had dribbled away under a series of increasingly inept and ineffective shahs. In 1722, the Afghans invaded. Safavid resistance soon collapsed, and, in the ensuing strife and upheaval, power passed to Nadir Shah, a Turcoman chieftain of the Afshar tribe from the province of Khurasan in northeast Iran.[40] Nadir began by ridding the country of its Afghan invaders, and, after consolidating his power, he proclaimed himself shah in 1736. Whereas the Safavids had claimed legitimacy as teachers of religious law who exercised their personal judgment (*ijtihād*) until the ultimate return of the Mahdi, or Hidden Imam, Nadir Shah had no such claim to religious authority. At his coronation, therefore, he announced a new religion, an attenuated form of Shi'ism with the sixth imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq, as its spiritual head. To appease the Ottomans, his undefeated enemies on the west who still controlled Baghdad, and to end the traditional Shi'ite-Sunni hostility between Persia and Turkey, Nadir Shah insisted that Shi'ites abjure the traditional practice of cursing the first three of the four orthodox caliphs, a practice particularly hateful to Sunnis.

Nadir Shah's new religion was a bust: it made no one happy, and it did not achieve its desired aim of détente with the Ottomans. Rather, Nadir Shah's persistent need for money to wage continual warfare was one of the things that drove him into his brilliantly successful campaign against India in 1738–39. Nadir Shah defeated the Mughals, the supremely wealthy dynasty that had ruled the Indian continent since 1526, and gained enormous tribute, including the fabled Peacock Throne, which he carted back to Iran on the backs of donkeys. The loot was so extensive that Nadir Shah was able to exempt the people of Persia from taxes for several years.

Like his new religion, Nadir Shah's political ambitions were soon thwarted. Though a powerful military opponent, he failed to lay the administrative foundations for government. He became increasingly suspicious and capricious, savagely punishing those who staged a revolt, or were even alleged to have done so. Resentment rose, and with it attacks on the ruler, until a group of Afshar and Qajar chiefs finally succeeded in assassinating Nadir Shah on 11 Jumada II 1160/20 June 1747.

Fig. 9. Amulet from the Bibliothèque nationale, dated A.H. [1]173/A.D. 1759–60. 5.2 x 3.4 x 5 cm. After Kalus, no. III.1.11.

Fig. 10. Amulet from the Bibliothèque nationale, dated A.H. [1]171/A.D. 1757–58. 2.6 x 2.3 x 5 cm. After Kalus, no. III.1.16.

Fig. 11. Oil painting of Nadir Shah, attributed to Muhammad Riza Hindi, ca. 1740. 162.7 x 102 cm. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 20-1919.

Nadir Shah was succeeded briefly by two of his nephews. His assassins first offered allegiance to his eldest nephew, who was enthroned as 'Adil Shah, but after a reign of less than one year, he came up against the ambitions of his younger brother. The armies supporting the two brothers collided in Jumada II 1161/June 1748, and 'Adil Shah was deposed in favor of his younger brother, who reigned briefly as Ibrahim Shah. He too was soon overthrown, and Nadir Shah's blind grandson, Shah Rukh, ascended the throne in 1163/1750. A descendant of the old Safavid house through his mother Fatima, daughter of the Safavid shah Sultan Husayn, Shah Rukh was more acceptable to the populace than any mere descendant of Nadir Shah. Despite interruptions, he managed to stay on the throne for almost fifty years.

The carnelian amulet in the Walters, commissioned as a gift for the night of the prayer for extensive and desirable gifts, 2 Rajab 1161/28 June 1748, and the amulet in The British Museum dated to the same year (fig. 5) were made during the brief and troubled interregnum of Nadir Shah's two nephews. The Walters' amulet is precisely dated to the month following the younger boy's upset of his older brother. The texts on both amulets reflect the rapidly changing political situation in Iran. Both contain Koranic verses asking help from God against unbelievers. Both also cite the names of the fourteen immaculate ones, and, on the Walters' amulet, the traditional Shi'ite allegiance to the imams is tempered by Iranian overtures to the Ottomans, in the form of the names of the four orthodox caliphs. The texts on both these amulets can be read as appeals to God and his regents on earth for help in these troubled times. Wearing such an amulet would protect the wearer from harm.

It is also possible to see the Walters' amulet as reflecting the new taste of the Afsharid court. Much of the art made in Iran during this period depicts Nadir Shah in triumph.[41] The first life-size royal portraits to survive in Iran date from this period, including an oil portrait (fig. 11), assigned to the hand of Muhammad Riza Hindi, ca. 1740. It shows Nadir Shah seated on a floral carpet. He is festooned with ropes of pearls set with emeralds, diamonds, and polished red spinels and grasps a string of pearl prayer beads in his left hand. At the beginning of his reign, Nadir Shah had dressed modestly, but following his conquest of India, he often donned the fabulous jewels and accoutrements of the Mughal court. The ropes of pearls he wears in the portrait, for example, may be the very ones worn in portraits by the Mughal emperors Shah Jahan (r. 1605–27) and his son Jahangir (r. 1628–57), now in the Crown Jewels collection in Tehran.[42] The Crown Jewels collection also contains other gems that may have passed from the Mughals to Nadir Shah, including an emerald engraved with his name and dated 1152/1739 that is the same size and shape as the one in this portrait and other similar spinels with the names of Nadir Shah and late Mughal rulers.

Nadir Shah inherited his taste for fancy jewelry from the Mughal emperors, who were particularly fond of engraved gemstones.[43] Court artists there in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed new drilling techniques using the wheel and polishing points to produce free-flowing designs of flora and fauna engraved on precious stones. One of the most stupendous examples is a huge emerald weighing 234 carats (fig. 12) that has been wheel cut into an octagon and drilled with a floral scene.[44]

The precious stones collected by the Mughals attest to their international connections. The emeralds most in demand were imported from Columbia. Muslims often attributed supernatural powers to gemstones, particularly as their vivid colors made them stand out from their natural surroundings. Emeralds were generally considered an antidote to viper bites and protection against epilepsy and stomach disorders. The exceptionally deep green of emeralds from

the New World was particularly prized, and Mughal authors sometimes likened the color to the Garden of Paradise and the Emerald Mountain, the highest spiritual level of Sufism.

The Mughals were not alone in their taste for engraved gemstones. In the early eighteenth century, there was a major revival of gem-engraving in Europe, partly due to the widespread interest in the arts of antiquity.[45] As in the Muslim lands, the gems typically used there were the traditional hardstones such as carnelian and sard, but important patrons also commissioned works on diamonds, emeralds, and aquamarines, though not on the scale ordered by the fabulously wealthy Mughals. During the first half of the century, Rome was the undisputed center of production, but, in the second half of the century, London became a major center as well.

Works produced in Rome and London were exported to monarchs abroad. One of the most successful and passionate collectors was Catherine II, Empress of Russia (r. 1762–96). She sent agents all over Europe to round up other collections, including that of the Orléans family in France, and amassed a vast collection amounting to more than 10,000 pieces, now in the Hermitage. Her daughter-in-law, later Empress Maria Fyodorovna (1759–1828), was also an accomplished engraver of cameos, many depicting members of the imperial family.

Nadir Shah's collection of Mughal jewelry made of precious gems and gemstones may well have stimulated courtly taste for amulets carved from hardstones. The carnelian amulet in the Walters is not inscribed with the name of any particular person, but its precise date strongly suggests that it was a specific commission, and its quality and precision (there are more than three hundred words incised on a surface measuring only 15 square cm., or 3 square in., slightly larger than the area of of a silver dollar), indicate that it was made for a wealthy and sophisticated patron, perhaps a member of the Afsharid court.

Just as the material of the Walters' amulet is a cheaper version of the gemstones used by the Mughals, so too the shape and decoration of the Walters' amulet echo the Mughal style. The articulated oval shape recalls the cusped ogee arches typical of Mughal art and architecture. Mughal artisans also used the same shape for precious objects, including a pendant dated 1029/1619 (fig. 13).[46] Its apotropaic text, saying that God alone wields strength and power, suggests that it, like the carnelian pendant in the Walters, served as an amulet, but its precious materials—it is carved of grey nephrite with a ruby set in the center—are indicative of royal patronage. The 1619 piece may well have been made for the emperor Jahangir himself.

Both the cusped ogee arch and the articulated oval shape also occur on other works of Mughal art, such as an enameled gold jar and cover made around 1700 and decorated with a white trellis set against a green translucent ground (fig. 14).[47] The overall shape of the jug is without

Fig. 12. Emerald, wheel cut and drilled. Late 16th or early 17th century. Maximum diameter 5.7 cm. Kuwait, Ex-Sabah Collection, no. LNS 28 HS.

Fig. 13. Gray nephrite amulet dated A.H. 1029/A.D. 1619. Maximum height: 7.2 cm.; maximum width: 6.6 cm.; depth/thickness: 0.5 cm. (including jewel). Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Is As 31.

parallel in Mughal art; it may well have been inspired by a Timurid jade or metal jug that passed to the Mughal court. The enameled decoration, however, is specific to Mughal India. European craftsmen had introduced the technique to the Mughal court, where it was exploited by Mughal artists using local motifs and themes of decoration, such as the cusped arches and cusped medallion on the shoulders and body on this jar.

Fig. 14. Gold jar and cover with champlevé enameled decoration in green, pink, and white. Height 14.3 cm. Cleveland, Cleveland Museum of Art, 62.206.

The floral motifs on the Walters' amulet are also reminiscent of Mughal taste. Plants derived from European herbals had become part of the Mughal decorative vocabulary under Jahangir around 1620, and from the period of Shah Jahan, they became ubiquitous in all the arts produced for the Mughals.[48] Naturalistic at first, the flowers became increasingly stylized, as on the enameled jar and cover as well as many other objects made for the Mughals in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The flowers incised in reserve on the Walters' amulet are further stylized and routinized in the style typical of Persian art of previous centuries.[49] Both the six-petaled flowers in the band around the central box and the lotus-like flowers in the band near the edge recall the floral designs common on Mughal gold objects and other metalwares.[50] These floral motifs also became typical of Bidri wares, objects cast of an alloy of zinc and inlaid with silver or brass and made in Bidar and other places in the Deccan in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[51]

The Walters' amulet, securely dated to 28 June 1748, thus provides a window into courtly art and culture of the eighteenth century. The period is often reckoned one of decadence and decline in West Asia, poised between the rule of great shahs, sultans, and emperors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the European imperialism and colonialization of the early nineteenth. Indeed, the mid-eighteenth century was a period of constant warfare, particularly under Nadir Shah, who expelled the Russians and Ottomans from Iran, conquered Central Asia and Oman, and marched into India. The inscriptions on the amulet reflect the uncertainty of the time, in which appeals were made to God, the Prophet, the fourteen immaculate ones venerated by Shi'ites, and the four orthodox caliphs venerated by Sunnis. At the same time, the mixture of forms and designs on the amulet—from the disposition of the names of the four orthodox caliphs following the Ottoman style to the oval shape and floral designs typical of Mughal taste—show enmity that was no barrier to artistic transferal. Though the Afsharids were often at war with their neighbors, the Ottomans and the Mughals, they often appropriated their artistic tastes and styles.

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Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts

TABLE 1: List of names incised around the center of the carnelian amulet in the Walters (Inscription II)

ROW 1, BOTTOM:

1	*yā allah*	O God
2	*yā raḥman*	O Merciful
3	*yā raḥim*	O Compassionate
4	*yā malik*	O King
5	*yā quddūs*	O Holy
6	*yā salām*	O Peace
7	*yā mu'min*	O Faithful
8	*yā muhaymin*	O Protector
9	*yā 'aziz*	O Mighty

ROW 1, LEFT SIDE:

10	*yā jabbār*	O Repairer
11	*yā mutakabbir*	O Great
12	*yā khāliq*	O Creator
13	*yā bārī*	O Maker
14	*yā muṣawwir*	O Fashioner

ROW 1, TOP:

15	*yā sittār*	O Veiler
16	*yā ghaffār*	O Forgiver
17	*yā qahhār*	O Dominant
18	*yā wahhāb*	O Bestower
19	*yā razzāq*	O Provider
20	*yā fattāḥ*	O Opener
21	*yā 'alīm*	O Knower
22	*yā qābiḍ*	O Restrainer
23	*yā bāsiṭ*	O Spreader

ROW 1, RIGHT SIDE:

24	*yā khāfiḍ*	O Abaser
25	*yā rāfi'*	O Exalter
26	*yā mu'izz*	O Honorer
27	*yā mudhill*	O Destroyer
28	*yā samī'*	O Hearer

IIB: ROW 2, BOTTOM:

29	*yā baṣīr*	O Seer
30	*yā ḥākim*	O Ruler
31	*yā 'adl*	O Just
32	*yā laṭīf*	O Subtle
33	*yā qubād??*	O ??
34	*yā ḥalīm*	O Clement
35	*yā ḥakīm*	O Wise
36	*yā 'aẓīm*	O Grand
37	*yā ghafūr*	O Forgiving
38	*yā shakūr*	O Grateful
39	*yā 'alī*	O Exalted
40	*yā ḥāfiẓ*	O Keeper

ROW 2, LEFT SIDE:

41	*yā ḥafiẓ*	O Guardian
42	*yā muqīt*	O Strengthener
43	*yā ḥasīb*	O Reckoner
44	*yā jalīl*	O Majestic
45	*yā karīm*	O Generous
46	*yā raqīb*	O Watcher
47	*yā mujīb*	O Approver

ROW 2, TOP:

48	*yā wāsi'*	O Comprehensive
49	*yā wadūd*	O Loving
50	*yā majīd*	O Glorious
51	*yā bā'ith*	O Raiser
52	*yā shahīd*	O Witness
53	*yā ḥaqq*	O Truth
54	*yā wakīl*	O Advocate
55	*yā qawī*	O Strong
56	*yā matīn*	O Firm
57	*yā walī*	O Patron
58	*yā ḥamīd*	O Laudable
59	*yā muḥṣi*	O Counter

ROW 2, RIGHT SIDE:

60	*yā mubdī*	O Beginner
61	*yā mu'id*	O Restorer
62	*yā muḥyī*	O Quickener
63	*yā mumīt*	O Killer
64	*yā ḥayy*	O Living
65	*yā qayyūm*	O Subsisting
66–67	*yā waḥid yā mājid*	O Unique One, O Praiser

BOTTOM FIELD:

68	*yā aḥad*	O One
69	*yā ṣamad*	O Eternal
70	*yā qādir*	O Powerful
71	*yā muqtadir*	O Prevailing
72	*yā muqaddim*	O Bringing Forward
73	*yā mu'akkhir*	O Deferrer
74	*yā awwal*	O First
75	*yā ākhir*	O Last
76	*yā ẓāhir*	O Evident
77	*yā bāṭin*	O Hidden
78	*yā wālī*	O Governor
79	*yā muta'ālī*	O Exalted
80	*yā barr*	O Righteous
81	*yā tawwāb*	O Accepter of Repentance
82	*yā muntaqim*	O Avenger
83	*yā 'afū*	O Pardoner
84	*yā ra'ūf*	O Kind
85	*yā mālik al-mulk*	O Ruler of the Kingdom
86	*yā dhu'l jalāl wa'l-ikrām*	O Lord of Majesty and Liberality

LEFT FIELD:

87	*yā rabb*	O Lord
88	*yā muqsiṭ*	O Equitable
89	*yā jāmi'*	O Collector
90	*yā ghanī*	O Independent
91	*yā mughnī*	O Enricher
92	*yā māni'*	O Withholder
93	*yā darr*	O Distresser
94	*yā nāfi'*	O Profiter
95	*yā nūr*	O Light
96	*yā hādī*	O Guide
97	*yā badī'*	O Incomparable
98	*yā bāqī*	O Enduring
99	*yā wārith*	O Inheritor
100	*yā ṣabūr*	O Patient
101	*yā ṣādiq*	O Sincere
102	*muḥammad*	[He who is] worthy of praise
103	*aḥmad*	More praiseworthy

104 *ḥāmid* Praising
105 *maḥmūd* Praised
106 *qāsim* Divider
107 *ʿāqib* Following
108 *fātiḥ* Opener
109 *khātim* Seal
110 *ḥāshir* He who gathers people [at Doomsday]
111 *nāj* Saviour
112 *dāʿī* Caller
113 *munīr* Radiant
114 *sirāj* Lamp
115 *bashīr* Bearer of good tidings
116 *nadhīr* Warner
117 *hādī* He who guides rightly
118 *mahdī* Rightly-guided
119 *rasūl* Messenger
120 *nabī* Prophet
121 *nadhīr* Unequaled
122 *yāsīn* The letters yā' and sin

TOP FIELD:

123 *muzammil* Wrapped
124 *mudaththir* Covered
125 *shafīʿ* Healer
126 *khalīl* Good friend
127 *kalīm* He to whom [God] has talked
128 *ḥabīb* Beloved
129 *mustafà* Chosen
130 *murtaḍa* Content
131 *mujtabā* Elect
132 *mukhtār* Selected
133 *nāṣir* Helper
134 *mansūr* Victorious
135 *hāfiẓ* Preserver
136 *shahīd* Martyr
137 *ʿādil* Just
138 *ʿālim* Knowing
139 *qāʾim* Steadfast
140 *nawr* Shining
141 *munawwir* Illuminated
142 *ḥujjat* Reasoner
143 *nūr* Light
144 *abṭaḥī* Belonging to al-Batha [the area around Mecca]
145 *muʾmin* Believing
146 *muṭīʿ* Obedient
147 *mudhakkir* He who makes remember
148 *amīn* Trustworthy
149 *ṣādiq* Sincere
150 *muqtaṣid* Adopting a middle course
151 *ṣāḥib* Possessor

RIGHT FIELD:

152 *makkī* Meccan
153 *madinī* Medinan
154 *ʿarabī* Arab
155 *ḥijāzī* From the Hijaz
156 *nizārī* From the Nizari tribe
157 *qurayshī* From the Quraysh clan
158 *muḍarī* From the Mudar tribe
159 *ummī* Illiterate
160 *ʿazīz* Dear
161 *ḥārṣ* Full of concern
162 *raʾūf* Mild
163 *raḥīm* Merciful
164 *yatīm* Orphan
165 *muḍī* Resplendent
166 *jawwād* Generous
167 *fattāḥ* Opener
168 *tayyib* Agreeable
169 *ẓāhir* Evident
170 *maẓhar* Object of divine power
171 *khatīb* Preacher
172 *faṣīḥ* Eloquent
173 *sayyid* Lord
174 *muttaqī* God-fearing
175 *imām* Leader
176 *bārr* Beneficent
177 *ṣāfin* Pure
178 *mutawassiṭ* Moderate
179 *sābiq* Previous
180 *maʿtaẓid* Petitioner
181 *awwal* First
182 *ākhir* Last
183 *zāhir* Evident
184 *bāṭin* Hidden
185 *mahdī* Rightly guided
186 *mubīn* Manifest
187 *muḥallil* Resolver
188 *muḥarram* Forbidden
189 *ʾamin* Secure
190 *nāhin* Abstinent
191 *shakūr* Grateful
192 *qarīb* Near
193 *munīb* Returner
194 *ṭāʾ-sīn* The letters ṭa' and sin
195 *ḥāʾ-mīm* The letters ḥa' and mim
196 *ḥasīb* Respected
197 *awwala* Worthier
198 *muḥammad* Muhammad
199 *ʿalī* 'Ali
200 *fāṭima* Fatima
201 *ḥasan* Hasan
202 *ḥusayn* Husayn
203 *zayn al-ʿabidīn* ['Ali] Zayn al-'Abidin
204 *bāqir* [Muhammad] Baqir
205 *jaʿfar* [al-Sadiq] Ja'far
206 *kāẓim* [Musa] Kazim
207 *ridā* [spelled with alif] ['Ali] Rida
208 *taqī* [Muhammad] Taqi
209 *naqī* ['Ali] Naqi
210 *ḥasan ʿaskarī* Hasan al-'Askari
211 *mahdī ākhir al-zamān* [Muhammad] Mahdi, the end of time

NOTES

1. My thanks to Marianna Shreve Simpson, then Curator of Islamic Art at the Walters, for introducing me to this amulet and encouraging me to write this article about it.

2. In ancient times, minerals were divided into three categories (very hard, hard, and soft), but in modern times they are often arranged according to the ten degrees of hardness on the scale developed by Austrian mineralogist Friedrich Mohs (1773–1839). Based on the ability of one mineral to scratch another, the Mohs scale ranges from the softest talc (1) to the hardest diamond (10). Most true hardstones, including carnelian, fall into category 7, quartzes. These include rock crystal, amethyst, agate, jasper, and the fibrous variety of quartz known as chalcedony, which is particularly valued for carving. Chalcedony, in turn, comprises a wide range of stones, including carnelian, one of the best known and most valued types of common chalcedony, hardstones that are light and uniform in color. See "Hardstones" in *The Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Shoaf Turner (New York, 1996), vol. 14, 167.

3. The distinction between amulet and talisman is often arbitrary and unclear, as many authors use the terms differently. Following Francis Maddison and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools & Magic*, vol. 12, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (London, 1997), 133, an amulet is here defined as any relatively small object intended to ensure protection and well-being and made of durable materials. It can thus be distinguished from a talisman, which is made of more ephemeral materials, such as paper. The adjective talismanic means apotropaic, intended to ward off evil or bad luck. There are many Arabic and Persian terms for amulets and talismans (*ṭilsam, ḥijāb, ḥāmīla*, etc.), but they too are often used interchangably and variably.

4. L. Kalus, *Catalogue des Cachets, Bulles, et Talismans Islamiques* (Paris, 1981), 70.

5. Ibid., 84, no. III.1.23.

6. For the ninety-four objects with inscriptions written in positive in the Ashmolean Museum, see L. Kalus, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans* (Oxford, 1986). My thanks to Venetia Porter for supplying this information from her forthcoming catalogue of the Islamic seals and amulets in The British Museum.

7. For the 14th-century evolution of *nasta'liq*, see E. Wright, *The Look of the Book: Manuscript Production in the Southern Iranian City of Shiraz from the Early Fourteenth Century to 1452*, Oxford Studies in Islamic Art (Oxford, forthcoming).

8. See *Treasures of Islam*, ed. T. Falk (London, 1985), no. 177.

9. *Nasta'liq* script was also used in India, but the script there tends to be more sloping. More work needs to be done to distinguish Iranian and Indian calligraphy during this period.

10. The former is in the Nour Collection (MS 300), the latter in Vienna (MS. a.f. 162a(76)); see Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools & Magic*, no. 22.

11. Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools & Magic*, 106–31.

12. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition [henceforth EI/2] (Leiden, 1931–), s.v. "Asma' al-husna."

13. 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Qashani, *Kitab istalahat al-sufiyya*, trans. N. Safwat, as *A Glossary of Sufi Technical Terms* (London, 1991), nos. 293–392.

14. As Gardet points out (EI/2: "Asma' al-husna"), it is difficult to translate these names into English as they often contain complimentary or even contradictory associations. I have taken my translations mainly from T. P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam* (Lahore, n.d.), s.v. "God."

15. On the names of Muhammad, see A. Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger: The Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (Chapel Hill, 1985), esp. Chapter 6.

16. Cited in Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, 110 and n. 29.

17. Ibid., 111; for the Leeds manuscript, see R. Y. Edier and M. J. L. Young, "A List of the Appellations of the Prophet Muhammad," *Muslim World*, 66 (1976), 259–62.

18. One rare example is a gold amulet published by W. E. Staples, "Muhammad, A Talismanic Force," *Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, 57 (January–October 1940), 63–70 and cited by Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, 100 and n. 30.

19. For an Ottoman example of the Muhammadan Rose in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, see Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, 111, and front cover. For the ten promised Paradise, see EI/2: "al-'Ashara al-Mubashshara."

20. *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (London, 1985-), s.v. "Cahardah Ma'sum."

21. A convenient introduction to the fundamental tenets of Islam and its culture is J. Bloom and S. Blair, *Islam: A Thousand Years of Faith and Power* (New York, 2000), esp. Chapter 1.

22. The amulet in the British Musum (1866 12-29 10), formerly in the Duc de Blacas collection, was published in M. Reinaud, *Monuments Arabes, Persans et Turcs* (Paris, 1828), vol 2. For the amulets in the Cabinet des Medailles, see Kalus, *Cachets, Bulles et Talismans Islamiques*, nos. III.1.17, III.1.18, and III.1.19, and for those in the Ashmolean, see idem, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans*, nos. 1.16–1.22 and 2.4. The Nour collection owns several talismanic plaques (e.g., SC116 and SC117; see Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools & Magic*, nos. 55 and 56).

23. Shi'ites in Mughal India also venerated the Twelve Imams, and it is impossible to exclude an Indian provenance for the piece. More work needs to be done in distinguishing Iranian from Indian works of this period, but the style of *nasta'liq* script used on the Walters' amulet argues for an Iranian provenance.

24. Several sets of these tiles panels survive (Boston, Museum of Fine Art, 90.162 and New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 15.76.3). For these tiles and the mosque lamp, see S. Blair and J. Bloom, eds., *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art* (Austin, 1991), nos. 22 and 30a.

25. For the *hilya* in the Chester Beatty library, see D. James, *Islamic Masterpieces of the Chester Beatty Library* (London, 1981), no. 40. For a general discussion of the *hilya*, see my forthcoming *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh, 2002).

26. The cardboard examples in the Nour Collection (CAL204-209) measure 35 cm. in diameter; the wooden ones in the same collection (MXD 265A-B) 60 cm.; see N. Safwat, *The Art of the Pen: Calligraphy of the 14th to 20th Centuries*, vol. 5, Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art (London, 1996), nos. 82–89.

27. EI/2, s.v. "Djinn" and R. Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: A Companion* (London, 1994), 203–7.

28. For more on the many uses of the Solomonic knot over the centuries, see *King Solomon's Seal*, ed. R. Milstein (Jeruslaem, [1995]). I thank Eva Baer and Rachel Milstein for speedily obtaining a copy of this hard-to-find publication.

29. The classic study of the Koran is W. Montgomery Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'an* (Edinburgh, 1970).

30. Translations of the Koran are taken from A. J. Arberry, *The Koran Interpreted* (New York, 1955).

31. On these marks, see A. Gacek, "Technical Practices and Recommendations recorded by Classical and Post-Classical Arabic Scholars concerning the Copying and Correction of Manuscripts," *Les Manuscrits du Moyen-Orient: Essais de codicologie et de paléographie*, ed. F. Déroche (Istanbul/Paris, 1989), 51–60, esp. 55.

32. For further information of these marks, see Adam Gacek's forthcoming book, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden, in press).

33. See Gacek, "Copying and Correction," 55.

34. EI/2 s.v. "Radjab."

35. Gaston Wiet, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum*, Part I, Egypt, vol. 2, fascicule 1, Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo, 1929), 37, gives some other examples.

36. EI/2, s.v. "Mi'radj, 4."

37. See Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger*, 111.

38. Maddison and Savage-Smith, *Science, Tools & Magic*, 132.

39. E.g., two in The British Museum: one of white chalcedony dated 1077/1666–67 (Sloane amulet 4) and a second of pinkish-orange carnelian dated 1086/1675–76 (1878 12-20 9, Christy collection). There are also two early examples in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford: a bracelet with three stones of yellow chalcedony, carnelian, and jasper, the last dated 1078/1667, and another jasper oval dated 1121/1709-10; see Kalus, *Catalogue of Islamic Seals and Talismans*, nos. II.2.3(III) and II.1.26. Both of the Ashmolean examples belonged to the J. B. Elliott collection, which was acquired in India and given to the Bodleian Library in 1859.

40. For Nadir Shah and the Afsharids, see, among many works, Peter Avery's chapter, "Nadir Shah and the Afsharid Legacy" in *From Nadir Shah to the Islamic Republic*, eds. P. Avery, G. Hambly, and C. Melville, vol. 7, Cambridge History of Iran (Cambridge, 1991), 3–62, esp. 35–36.

41. *Royal Persian Paintings: The Qajar Epoch 1785–1925*, eds. L. S. Diba and M. Ekhtiar (London and Brooklyn, 1998), 137–45.

42. For a typical portrait of Shah Jahan bedecked in pearls and jewels, see the painting of him as a prince from the Minto album (London, V&A I.M. 14-1925); illustrated in *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule*, catalogue of an exhibition held at the V&A, 21 April–22 August 1982 (London, 1982), cover and no. 41. For the Crown Jewels, see V. B. Meen and A. D. Tushingham, *Crown Jewels of Iran* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1968), 65–67 and 77; cited in Diba and Ekhtiar, eds., *Royal Persian Paintings*, 140 and no. 10.

43. "Gemstones, 6. Indian" in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 12, 252–53.

44. The emerald was in the Sabah collection in Kuwait (see *Islamic Art in the Kuwait National Museum: The al-Sabah Collection*, ed. M. Jenkins [London, 1983], 124), but was looted during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 and is now missing (see J. Bloom and L. E. Gould, "Patient Restoration: The Kuwait National Museum," *Saudi Aramco World* (September/October 2000), 10–21).

45. "Gemstones, 11" in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 12, 261–64.

46. *The Indian Heritage*, no. 353.

47. *The Indian Heritage*, no. 324; S. Blair and J. Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800* (London and New Haven, 1994), 300 and fig. 379; Mark Zebrowski, *Gold, Silver and Bronze from Mughal India* (London, 1997), 59 and fig. 29.

48. Robert Skelton, "A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art," *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. P. Pal (Leiden, 1972), 7–37; Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, 281 and 299, figs. 351 and 376.

49. See, for example, the floral band with a rosette connected by paired leaves that runs along the bottom of a luster tile made at Kashan in the 1270s for the Ilkhanid palace at Takht-i Sulayman; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 12.49.4, illustrated in Stefano Carboni and Tomoko Masuya, *Persian Tiles* (New York, 1993), cover and no. 19.

50. Zebrowski, *Gold, Silver and Bronze*, figs. 30–34.

51. In addition to Blair and Bloom, *Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800*, fig. 380, and Zebrowski, *Gold, Silver and Bronze*, see S. Stronge, *Bidri Ware: Inlaid Metalwork from India* (London, 1985).

PHOTOGRAPHS: figs. 1–3, 7, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; figs. 4, 9–10, after Kalus, *Catalogue des Cachets, Bulles, et Talismans Islamiques*; fig. 5, London, Trustees of The British Museum; fig. 6, New York, © The Metropolitan Museum of Art; figs. 8, 13, Dublin, By kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library; fig. 11, London, The Victoria and Albert Museum; fig. 12, Kuwait, Ex-Sahab Collection; fig. 14, Cleveland, © The Cleveland Museum of Art.

"A Gallant Era": Henry Walters, Islamic Art, and the Kelekian Connection

MARIANNA SHREVE SIMPSON

The history of art collecting and museums in the United States includes fascinating stories of the relations between collectors and dealers. One such account involves Henry Walters (1848–1931) and the dealer Dikran G. Kelekian (1868–1951), who played a major role in the formation of Mr. Walters' encyclopedic holdings and was particularly influential in Walters' acquisitions of Islamic art. This article documents Henry Walters' decades-long association with Kelekian in the context of his varying interests in and reasons for collecting the arts of the Islamic world.

The formation of the Islamic collection belonging to the Walters Art Museum fits a familiar pattern within the history of private collecting in the United States. It involves a discriminating but not necessarily knowledgeable collector, seemingly motivated by various impulses both personal and intellectual, and an expert and persuasive art dealer eager to guide his client in the purchase of both multiple and singular objects. The two individuals involved in this particular story are Henry Walters (1848–1931) and Dikran G. Kelekian (1868–1951) (figs. 1 and 2).[1]

Among the 22,000 or so works of western and eastern art that Mr. Walters bequeathed to the City of Baltimore in 1931 were some 1,200 Islamic objects, covering the full expanse of Muslim history from its formative period through modern times and representing the main cultures and artistic media of the traditional Islamic world. Within the American history of collecting and exhibiting Islamic art, the creation of the Walters Art Gallery as a municipal institution charged with benefiting the public through the presentation of diverse artistic traditions, including Islamic, certainly may be considered a significant development.[2]

Another milestone in this history occurred exactly twenty years later when, in January 1951, Dikran Kelekian plunged to his death from the twenty-first floor of the St. Moritz Hotel in New York. Over a career that spanned six decades, this well-known dealer played a notable role in the creation of the Islamic holdings of a number of major American museums, including The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Freer Gallery of Art. Kelekian was also the primary instigator behind and principle source for the Islamic collection formed by Henry Walters and remained an unmistakable presence in the early life of the Walters Art Gallery as a public museum. Kelekian was on hand to help celebrate the museum's official opening in 1934, and was affectionately known to the Walters' staff at that time as "Kiki."[3]

The Islamic collection at the Walters today remains essentially as Henry Walters bequeathed it in 1931. Eighty percent of the holdings consists of arts of the object, with a predominance of under- and overglaze painted ceramics, including both vessels and tiles. The department of Islamic art also includes glass, metalwork (including silver objects that were long believed to be Sasanian and now can be reattributed to the early Islamic period), arms and armor (considered to be one of the finest collections in North America), jewelry, woodwork, ivory, lacquerware, textiles (including many tiraz fragments), and carpets. As is the case in most Islamic collections in the United States, the majority of objects come from Iran and date from the medieval period to modern times. There are also works from Spain, Egypt, Syria, and Iraq dating from the ninth through fifteenth centuries, as well as from Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India.[4] The Walters' department of manuscripts and rare books also houses several dozen bound volumes of the Koran, plus illuminated and illustrated copies of Arab, Persian, Turkish, and Indian texts. The total number of 127 codices, many with quite fine bindings, actually makes the Walters the largest art museum collection of bound Islamic manuscripts in the United States. In addition, there are close to one hundred detached manuscript folios and album paintings and drawings.[5]

Henry Walters' acquisition of Islamic objects and manuscripts was part and parcel of his general interest in art and his collecting activities as a whole. Henry was first exposed to art as a child during the late 1850s in Baltimore, where his father William, a successful businessman, started to patronize both local and nationally prominent American artists and to collect their work.[6] At this same time, the

senior Mr. Walters also began to explore European painting, acquiring works by various emerging academic masters, including Jean-Léon Gérôme.[7]

At the onset of the Civil War, William Walters relocated his family, including 13-year-old son Henry (or Harry as he was called), to Paris.[8] There the Walters toured museums and monuments and visited artists' studios, and William carried on with his art collecting and patronage, including commissioning works from Gérôme, Daumier, and the prolific *animalier* Barye, among others. In the fall of 1862, the family traveled to London to visit the International Exhibition, where they were particularly taken with the displays of Japanese and Chinese art—an area in which William would soon start to collect.

William continued his collecting activities following the family's return to Baltimore in 1865, with frequent excursions back to Europe during the later 1860s and 1870s for visits to art dealers, museum exhibitions, and international expositions.[9] Occasionally, Harry, by then in college, would accompany his father on art buying "sprees," as at the 1876 Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia, where William acquired a large number of Japanese and Chinese objects, along with artifacts from Egypt, Tunisia, and Russia. Harry recorded all these purchases in a notebook, organizing the items by vendor and including details on their media, age, condition, and price, and even some cursory sketches.[10]

While such experiences were clearly formative for Henry Walters, it is hard to say when he came into his own as a collector. Few records survive of his own purchases, and precious little else by way of documentation that might reveal his collecting motivations and patterns. What is certain, however, is that while William Walters did have interests beyond the European painting and Oriental objects that he primarily collected, even extending to Islamic art,[11] the range of Henry's ambitions eventually far exceeded that of his father. Henry possessed a wider cultural and historical vision, possibly because what he was aiming for—and what he ultimately achieved—was a collection that would transcend the bounds of the private and particular and attain the realm of the public and the comprehensive.

First and foremost, Henry's world view encompassed ancient art and archaeology—areas that attracted and sustained his attention and support from fairly early on.[12] In 1884, he joined several prominent Baltimoreans in establishing the first local chapter of the Archaeological Institute of America, and, in 1897, he became one of the founding benefactors, along with J. P. Morgan, of the American Academy in Rome.[13] A year later, Henry Walters took the first of several Mediterranean cruises on his yacht the *Narada*, stopping in Venice and then sailing to Egypt, where he and his party shopped for antiquities at Giza.[14]

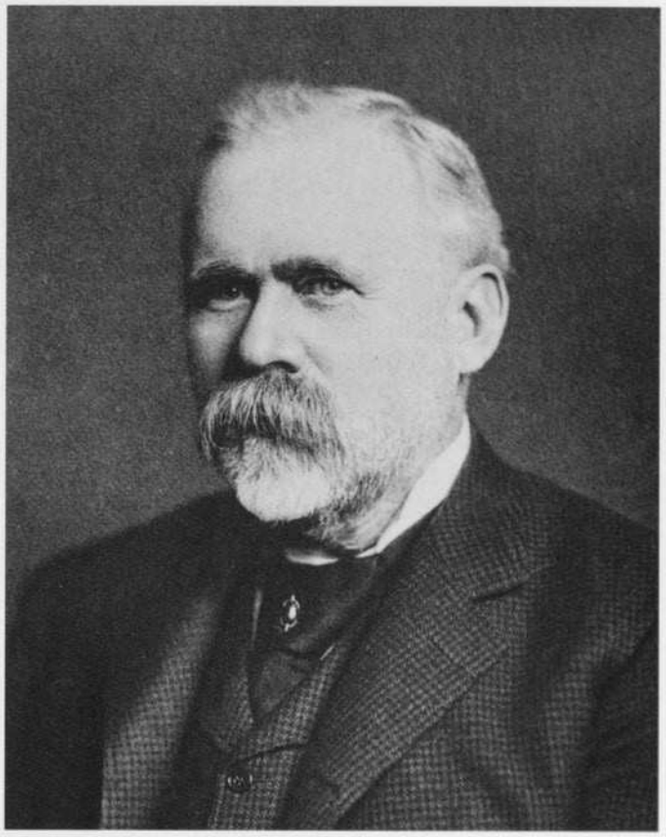


Fig. 1. Henry Walters, ca. 1908. From *Records of the Zodiac Club as They Appear in the Minute Books* (New York, privately printed, 1916). Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Unfortunately, no memoirs or receipts survive from that particular shopping expedition, but we do know one notable consequence of the trip. In 1899, at the request of the newly created Bath Commission of Baltimore, Mr. Walters paid for four public bath houses in his hometown, "citing the appalling lack of hygiene that he had encountered on his recent trip to Egypt and his dismay at learning that similar conditions prevailed at home."[15] A subsequent *Narada* cruise took Mr. Walters and a group of guests to Istanbul, where he purchased several damascened sword blades and a blue-and-white Chinese porcelain bottle, dating from the K'ang-hsi era (1662–1722) and later turned into a Near Eastern-style water pipe through the addition of gilt and jeweled mounts.[16]

It was also during the 1890s that Henry Walters first came into contact with Dikran Garabed Kelekian, who was to play such an important role in Henry's transformation from a casual shopper for souvenirs into a serious collector of works of art. The son of an Armenian banker from Kayseri, Dikran Kelekian and his brother Kevork set themselves up in the antiquities business in Istanbul in 1892.[17] The next year, Dikran came to the United States as a commissioner for the Persian Pavilion at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[18] Evidently this initial

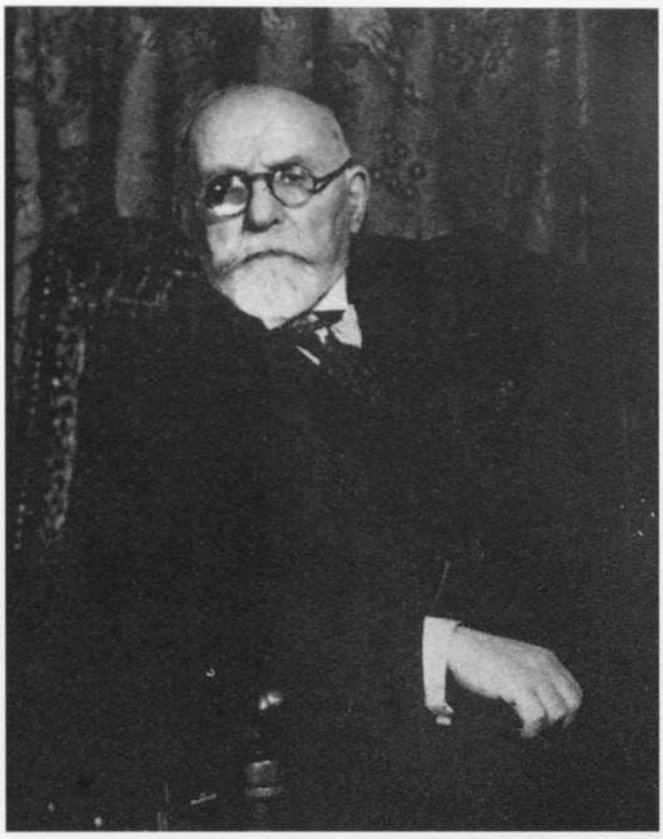
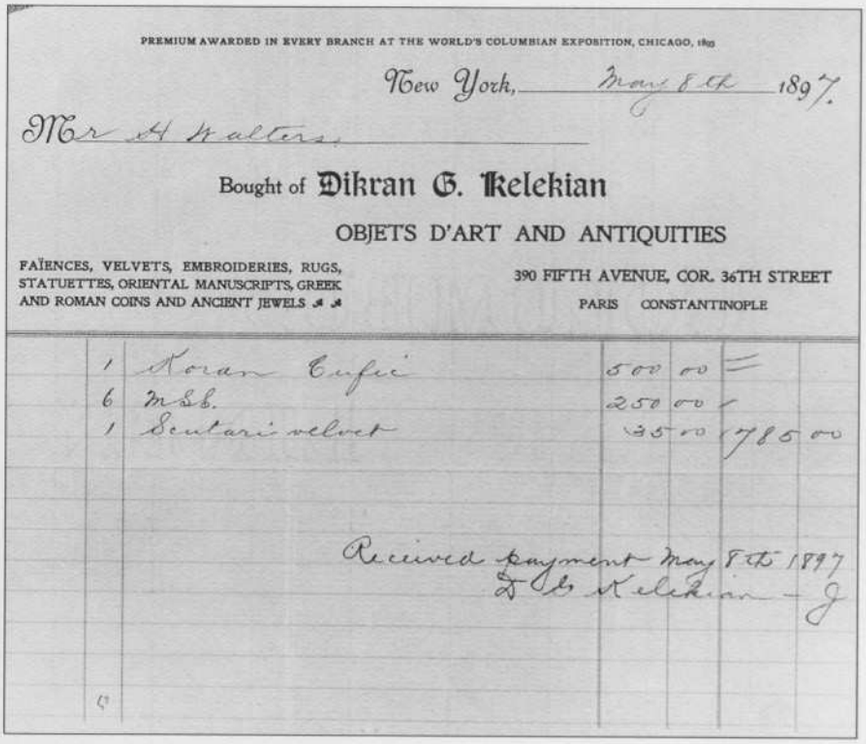


Fig. 2. Dikran G. Kelekian, ca. 1944. Photo: Alfredo Valenti. After *Kelekian as the Artist Sees Him.*

American venture was a success, judging from Kelekian's printed invoices and statements, preserved in the archives of the Walters Art Museum, which proclaim "Premium awarded in Every Branch at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893."[19] He soon established shops in New York, Paris, London, and Cairo, where he and his brother flourished as vendors selling works of art and antiquities, and specifically "faiences, velvets, embroideries, rugs, statuettes, oriental manuscripts, Greek and Roman coins and ancient jewels."[20] In 1900, Kelekian apparently served as a member of the jury for the Universal Exposition in Paris,[21] and, in 1903, he lent a number of his works to the massive "Exposition des Arts Musulmans" held at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs (Pavillon de Marsan), also in Paris.[22] The following year, he participated in the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair, mounting a large display of his wares and accompanying the display with an illustrated catalogue. Already by this time Kelekian seems to have been recognized by the shah of Iran for his efforts to promote Persian art and culture, and he had added the honorific title of Khan between his first and last names.[23] The title page of the St. Louis catalogue gives the dealer's name as "Dikran Khan Kelekian" and identifies him further as "Commissioner-General for Persia," while the following page features a formal photograph of Kelekian wearing a dress uniform complete with a fez, sword, and a large star-shaped medallion on his breast and another at his neck.[24] An issue of the *World's Fair Bulletin*, published several months before the exposition actually opened to the public, includes a cropped version of the same photo, with his medals even more conspicuous, and characterizes Kelekian both as Persia's Commissioner-General and as the Consul of Persia in America. "He came to St. Louis by special edict of the Shah of Persia to arrange for a display of the industries and manufactures of his [*sic*] country.... Commissioner Kelekian was one of the judges of award on Persian art at the Paris Exposition, and for that reason does not desire to enter into competition for awards with other Oriental exhibitors. Many medals were awarded him at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago."[25] Eventually Kelekian became an American citizen, adding another country of allegiance to those of his heritage (Armenia), his birth (Turkey), and his professional interests and recognition (Iran).[26]

The 1904 catalogue was one of a number of publications that Kelekian published in the early part of the century on aspects of Islamic and Far Eastern art.[27] Although some of these volumes are presented as monographic studies, with scholarly introductions and substantive texts, they all feature objects—primarily textiles, rugs, and ceramics—in Kelekian's own possession and undoubtedly were intended to attract potential customers in Europe and the United States. Henry Walters certainly was among Kelekian's earliest American customers, and the two are reported to have met at the 1893 Columbia World Exposition, where Kelekian sold Walters a group of Mesopotamian cylinder seals.[28] This purchase of a large number of small antiquities seems to have been entirely consistent with the thrust of Walters' acquisitions up to that point, and gives credence to the supposition that it was his involvement with ancient, including Egyptian, Ancient Near Eastern, Greek, and Roman, art and culture that laid the groundwork for his subsequent interest in Islamic art.

Within a few years, Walters started to frequent Kelekian's New York establishment on Fifth Avenue, and immediately began to broaden the areas of his collecting and to step up the pace of his buying. A series of surviving invoices from April, May, October, and November 1897 lists several hundred items representing a truly eclectic range of purchases from Louis XIV brocades to Greek intaglios. These invoices also document what probably were among Mr. Walters' first acquisitions of Islamic art, including manuscripts, textiles, tiles, ivories, knives, and scissors that are mostly described in very general terms: one Persian velvet, one ivory Turkish pen rest, one Arabic manuscript, and so forth.[29]



PREMIUM AWARDED IN EVERY BRANCH AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893

New York, May 8 1897.

Mr H Walters.

Bought of **Dikran G. Kelekian**

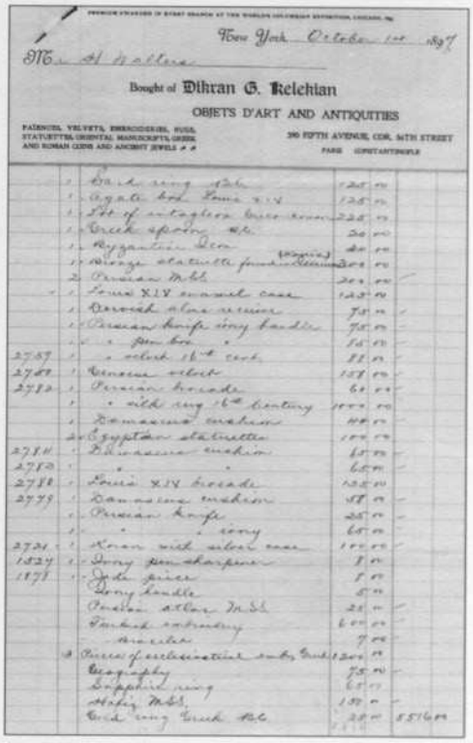
OBJETS D'ART AND ANTIQUITIES

FAÏENCES, VELVETS, EMBROIDERIES, RUGS, STATUETTES, ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS, GREEK AND ROMAN COINS AND ANCIENT JEWELS

390 FIFTH AVENUE, COR. 36TH STREET
PARIS CONSTANTINOPLE

1	Koran Cufic	500 00	=
6	M.S.S.	250 00	/
1	Scutari velvet	35 00	785 00

Received payment May 8th 1897
D G Kelekian — J



New York October 1st 1897

Mr H Walters

Bought of **Dikran G. Kelekian**

OBJETS D'ART AND ANTIQUITIES

390 FIFTH AVENUE, COR. 36TH STREET
PARIS CONSTANTINOPLE

Fig. 3. Invoice from Dikran Kelekian to Henry Walters, 8 May 1897. Fig. 4. Invoice from Dikran Kelekian to Henry Walters, 1 October 1897.

Nowadays it is almost impossible to match the objects listed on these 1897 invoices with catalogued works in the Walters Art Museum, but a few of Mr. Walters' early Islamic purchases from Kelekian do stand out. These include a magnificent copy of the Koran, long attributed to Timurid Iran, but much more likely to be from fifteenth-century India on the basis of the style and palette of its lavish illumination.[30] Mr. Walters paid Kelekian $2,750 for the Koran, an astronomical amount compared to what he was charged by Kelekian for other works in 1897. More significantly, with this acquisition, Walters placed himself—consciously or not—in the vanguard of American collectors of Islamic manuscripts and distinguished himself within that company by "his focus on the artistic rather than the textual aspects of manuscripts."[31] Kelekian accompanied the Koran with a note declaring it to be "the handsomest and most richly illuminated in the world having explanatory footnotes, probably the work of the best writer Yakood, taken from the Royal Bibliothèque." Another noteworthy work that jumps out of the invoices drawn up by Kelekian in April 1897 is an Ottoman tile panel, of extremely fine quality and condition, depicting the Great Mosque at Mecca and inscribed with verses from the Koran exhorting Muslims to make the pilgrimage (sura 3:96–97).[32] Once again, Kelekian provided a commentary—which, like the note that accompanied the Koran, comprises more fiction than fact: "Damascus tile of the fifteenth-century, having an inscription in early Arabic: 'This is the first temple stone that was put in Mecca, anyone who visits this magnificent place can see the wonders of God and become holy.'" Kelekian continues with information about the provenance, far more specific and today far more disconcerting than what he mentioned about the Koran: "This was taken from the Kiosk Hirkai Sherif or Sacred Coat where the Bird [*sic*] of Mohamed is supposed to be, and where every Sultan has to pay a visit once a year." The Kiosk must refer to the Hirka-i Saadet Dairesi, or Pavilion of the Holy Mantle, in what was then still the Topkapi Sarayi Palace (now Museum) in Istanbul. Kelekian presumably shared this information with Mr. Walters to impress his client with the plaque's value (although he only charged Walters $125 for it), but it is interesting that the dealer apparently had no qualms in revealing its previous (or at least its alleged previous) whereabouts.

The significance of these two acquisitions notwithstanding, the surviving invoices for purchases made by Walters from Kelekian in 1897 confirm that Mr. Walters did not give greater weight to works of Islamic art than to classical, medieval, or Renaissance art. Indeed, it is tempting to imagine Walters coming into Kelekian's Fifth Avenue shop searching for antiquities and emerging a few hours later having been persuaded by Kelekian to buy not only Greek intaglios, but also a few other things from the general Mediterranean koine and points east that happened to date from the Islamic era. On the whole, it was the region—rather than the culture—that seems to have been of paramount concern to Mr. Walters.

That Henry Walters' primary interest remained the ancient and classical world was confirmed when Dikran Kelekian represented his client in a major sale of antiquities from the W. H. Forman collection held at Sotheby's, London, in June 1899. Acting on Walters' behalf, the dealer bought three Egyptian objects, as well as eleven Etruscan, Greco-Roman, and Roman bronze statuettes.[33]

That same month, Kelekian also bid for Walters at another significant London sale, that of the collection of ancient and Renaissance carved and engraved gems owned by George Spencer, duke of Marlborough. Although Walters later regretted not having attended the auction in person, his agent Kelekian, whom he regarded as a "quasi-expert" on gems, did succeed in buying 107 gems for prices ranging from 10 to 45 pounds.[34] Some of these pieces were of great beauty and historical importance, such as a sixteenth-century lapis lazuli cameo showing Hercules and Omphale.[35]

Walters' passion for gems—and indeed for small-scale works of diverse kinds—provides yet another context in which to understand his Islamic purchases. As William Johnston so aptly observes in his comprehensive study of Henry's collecting: "Undoubtedly, given his tastes [for precious objects], he found the emphasis on exquisite craftsmanship and exacting detail inherent in Islamic art particularly congenial."[36]

As Johnston also has documented, by the end of the century, Walters began to take annual spring trips to Paris—a travel routine he would follow for the rest of his life.[37] There he made the rounds of a few antiquarians, usually beginning at Kelekian's shop, first located on the Rue Rossini and later on the Place Vendôme, where he also met other dealers, many of them Armenians who had recently left Istanbul for Paris. "As they showed Walters their wares, Kelekian, standing nearby, would nod to Mr. Walters signifying his approval or disapproval of potential purchases."[38] While confidant of his own tastes and collecting instincts, Walters clearly relied on Kelekian for advice and guidance in the selection of specific objects for his ever-burgeoning collection.

Kelekian continued to be a major source of works of art for Walters during the first three decades of the new century, as evidenced by additional material in the Walters' archives (fig. 5). Of particular value is a set of five albums, dating from the 1910s and containing photos of works of art, which Kelekian assembled for Mr. Walters.[39] Although we cannot be sure today whether Kelekian intended the photo albums to tempt the collector with available offerings or to document what he already had sold to Walters, most of the reproductions can be identified with works in the museum's collection. Many of the works are Islamic, including ceramics, glass, ivory and woodwork, metalwork, arms and armor, textiles, and miniatures, in addition to ancient Egyptian wood and stone sculpture and Greek bronzes and intaglios. Kelekian identified each photo with a brief caption, generally providing the work's title, date, and place of origin and occasionally an exhibition citation. Kelekian's notations are not entirely accurate or reliable, tending, in particular, to date miniatures a century or so earlier than they actually were painted. This could have been a deliberate strategy on Kelekian's part to enhance the work's appeal to Mr. Walters' antiquarian tastes. On the other hand, Kelekian did sometimes make mistakes, as in his tenth-century date for a green glass weight with a Kufic inscription in the 1914 album (fig. 7). The dated inscription actually reveals that the one pound (full ratl) weight was made during the very short reign (126/744) of the Umayyad caliph Yazid III under the aegis of al-Walid ibn Abd al-Rahman, financial director of the treasury in Damascus. The year of the weight's manufacture makes this one of the earliest dated works of Islamic art in an American collection, a distinction that Kelekian surely would have touted to Henry Walters had he known it.[40]

The album put together in 1911 contains seventeen pieces of arms and armor, many of which Kelekian identifies as "Saracenic, 14th century," and as originally in the "Arsenal of Constantinople." Again, as with the Koran and the ceramic plaque representing the Great Mosque of Mecca that Kelekian sold to Mr. Walters in 1897, the dealer seems to have had no compunction about revealing the original source of his offerings. Occasionally, he notes other owners, as several helmets from the "d'orville collection."[41] Two other helmets, documented in the album of 1913–17, have an even more intriguing provenance (fig. 8). In addition to citing that they came from the Arsenal of Constantinople, Kelekian states they were in the Gérôme collection. The by-then well-known French painter was an inveterate traveler, and took a half-dozen trips to Egypt, Turkey, and the Maghrib during the 1850s through early 1880s.[42] During his travels, Gérôme probably acquired the two helmets that Kelekian included in his album of 1913–17. Gérôme's trips also resulted in numerous paintings of orientalist subjects, including compositions with armed figures wearing helmets that may very well be the ones that Henry Walters subsequently acquired.[43] Part of the added appeal of these objects for Henry must have been the fact that his father William had been an admirer of Gérôme's orientalist themes, even commissioning the artist to paint a scene of a Nubian walking two whippets in a barren wind-swept desert.[44]

About half of the objects included in the Kelekian albums consist of ceramics, a percentage that corresponds to the overall proportion of ceramics to other Islamic objects that Walters bought from the dealer over the years. This concentration is hardly surprising given Kelekian's expertise in Islamic, and particularly Persian, pottery and his active involvement in the sale of medieval Islamic ceramics following the sherd finds in Rayy (then called

Fig. 5. Page from a photo album prepared by Dikran Kelekian for Henry Walters, dated summer 1913–17.

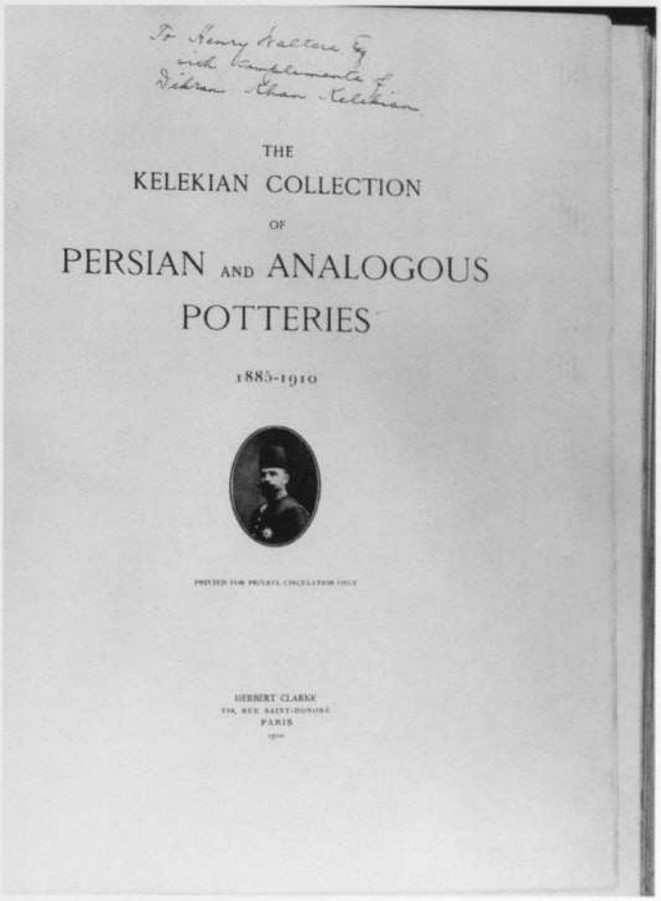


Fig. 6. Title page of *The Kelekian Collection of Persian and Analogous Potteries*, with Kelekian's dedication to Henry Walters.

Rhages) in the late 1880s–early 1890s, and excavations begun in Raqqa in 1896 and Sultanabad and Veramin in 1905.[45] Kelekian took advantage of the newly available finds to put together his own large collection, which he used as the basis for a brief survey of Persian and Near Eastern pottery in 1909 (one of the first such introductions published in English) and a lavishly illustrated collection catalogue in 1910 (fig. 6).[46] Many familiar pieces, now in the Walters as well as other U.S. museums including the Metropolitan, the Freer, and MFA, Boston, made their first appearance in Kelekian's 1909 publication. Among Mr. Walters' possessions reproduced in the 1909 volume were an Ottoman mosque lamp, described by Kelekian as Rhodian and long since recognized as a fine example of Iznik ware (see fig. 7 in the article by Sheila Blair in this volume);[47] an impressive turquoise plate dated 885/1480–81, called Koubatcha by Kelekian and now attributed to Nishapur;[48] and two Hispano-Moresque plates.[49]

Kelekian wrote the texts in his two ceramic publications in a prose style bordering on the fulsome. In addition to laying out a historical chronology and artistic classification, he seems to have two principle aims: to convince the reader of the aesthetic qualities and human "relevance" of Persian art in general, and pottery in particular, and to validate the taste of collectors who already had been persuaded to acquire Persian art and to encourage them to continue in their acquisitions. Two passages, one excerpted from the 1909 survey and the other from the 1910 catalogue, may suffice to make this point.

> The Persian art is nearer to the spirit of the time in which we live. It is more human than its predecessors.... Discriminating collectors who have come to know it in recent times, have grown to love it with a deep and abiding affection as something quite within the scope of their own emotional experiences.[50]

> My object in selecting the specimens which make up my collection has been to establish the right of the Persian potteries to be regarded as one of the powerful artistic impulses of all time.... Persian art is Decoration in its highest interpretation.... It only remains for the beautiful potteries to be recognized as the lovely works of art they undoubtedly are, for their beauty and their charm to be felt.[51]

Fig. 7. Pound Weight, Syria (Damascus), dated A.H. 126/A.D. 744, glass. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 47.6.

Fig. 8. Turban Helmet, Northwestern Iran, ca. 1450–1500, steel engraved and inlaid in silver. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 51.70.

Mr. Kelekian's few surviving letters contain comments in a similar vein about specific works that were either offered to or acquired by Henry Walters. On 20 May 1915, Kelekian wrote a long missive from Paris:

> The fine large plate you saw in my place was discovered four years ago and caused an enormous sensation throughout Persia. The owner wanted a very big price for it. Finally I bought it last year and sent it to my brother, after bargaining for it during four years. I do not say this boastingly from a financial point of view, but simply to show you that it is for the love of these beautiful potteries that I desired to control them.

The same letter contains a reference to another piece: "I was very glad to hear news of you from my brother. He said that you had called on him [probably in New York] and that you had bought the very best luster vase that I have ever seen. Please accept my congratulations. Your Persian collection now ranges amongst the few most noted in the world."[52] These blandishments were, however, coupled with admonishments, in an apparent effort to reinforce his expertise in Persian ceramics and to justify the prices he was charging Mr. Walters:

> Although I have been telling you that there are no more Persian potteries to be found, you said to my brother that there were many to be had in America at very moderate prices. I am quite ready to confirm my statement which I can prove by 30 years of personal experience and by that of my brother and father before me.... I have studied this question most carefully and have been myself and am sending people continually to the spot of excavations to study the matter.... I have come to the conclusion and am quite convinced that there is practically nothing more to be found.

Kelekian goes on to caution Henry Walters that the pieces then on the U.S. market were fragments and to imply that they were not worthy of the collector's consideration.[53]

The courage of his convictions notwithstanding, Kelekian hardly could have written Walters in such an admonitory tone were it not for the long and fruitful relationship between dealer and collector. Indeed, Henry Walters continued to acquire objects of all kinds from Kelekian through the late 1910s and 1920s, as documented in a handful of invoices and notes, and a series of inventory lists that were made as cases of objects were unpacked in Baltimore. Among the more notable Islamic acquisitions that Walters made from Kelekian in this era was a brass ewer, inlaid with silver scenes in 644/1246–47 by the "decorator" Yunus ibn Yusuf al-naqqash al-Mawsili.[54] As in the past, Kelekian revealed details about the work—including

Fig. 9. Prayer Rug, Iran (Kashan?), second half of the sixteenth century, silk and wool. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 81.6.

its former owner, scholarly significance, and competition for its purchase—presumably in a (successful) effort to encourage Mr. Walters:

> I am delighted you are interested in the great Arabic Ewer (Persian) that I bought many years ago in Constantinople from Ghazy Mahmoud Moukhtar Pasha ex-Grand Vizier who owned nearly all the inlaid bronzes bought by Baron Delore and Moore (of Tiffany) but he had kept this piece always refusing to sell it. When 25 years ago he was a great soldier he conquered all Yemen and had gathered these pieces (as his share of the loot). I bought this piece with a choice [...] shield. Will tell you when I shall have the pleasure to see you. This piece is absolutely the finest piece known. It is dated end of 13th century and signed. Van Berchen the great Suisse orientalist came and took the photo before the War. He wanted to publish [it], but I have no news from him since. Louvre Museum wanted often to buy [it,] but we never came to an understanding.[55]

In addition to ceramics and metalwork, Kelekian had a long-time involvement with Islamic textiles and ceramics. In April 1910, he acquired several fine rugs at the celebrated sale of the Charles Tyson Yerkes Collection in New York (fig. 9). He also may have encouraged Mr. Walters to take an interest in this sale, at which Henry purchased five carpets—actually more than any other dealer or private collector.[56]

In one area of collecting, Dikran Kelekian's persuasive powers seem to have had no effect whatsoever on Henry Walters. Sometime in the 1910s, well into his fruitful relationship with Mr. Walters, Kelekian turned his attention to modern art, particularly the work of French impressionist and post-impressionist painters. By 1920, he had built up an impressive collection of works by artists ranging from Cézanne to Toulouse-Lautrec, and including living painters such as Bonnard, Derain, Matisse, Picasso, and Vuillard.[57] His holdings attracted the admiration of no less a critic than Roger Fry, who opined: "Here is a man whose whole life has been spent in the study of early art, who at a given moment has had the grace to see its implications, to see that principles precisely similar to those employed by early Persian potters and Fatimite [*sic*] craftsmen were being actually put into practice by men of the present generation."[58] Henry Walters obviously did not share Fry's views of the connections between contemporary artists and Islamic artisans, and, even more tellingly considering that his father had been a great champion of the art of his time, did not avail himself of the opportunity to expand his collection's scope when a large selection of Kelekian's "modern pictures" was sold in New York City in January 1922.[59] Not even the fact that Kelekian himself expressed an affinity between the art of past and present, and that he had received the French Legion of Honor for arranging the first exhibitions of modern art in Paris, seems to have convinced Henry Walters to venture into this field.[60]

This is not to say, however, that Henry Walters completely rejected the "contemporary" art and artists who had so appealed to his father. Indeed, Henry inherited all of his father's nineteenth-century (i.e., contemporary) paintings and displayed them in the Palazzo-style gallery he built on Mt. Vernon Place in Baltimore between 1904 and 1909. Among the nineteenth-century compositions amassed by William and passed along to Henry were quite a few depicting orientalist themes, including "On the Desert" that William commissioned from Gérôme in 1867 (fig. 10), "Collision of Moorish Horsemen" by Eugène Delacroix, "Arabs in Egypt, Sunrise" by Adolph Schreyer, "The Slipper Merchant" by the Spanish artist Villegas, and a quintessentially orientalist work, "Entering the Harem," by Georges-Jules Victor Clairin.[61] Over the years, Henry made his own acquisitions in the orientalist genre such as "Arab Fantasia" by Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, "Bashi-Bazouk Singing" by

Fig. 10. Jean-Léon Gérôme, *On the Desert*, before 1867, oil on panel. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.34.

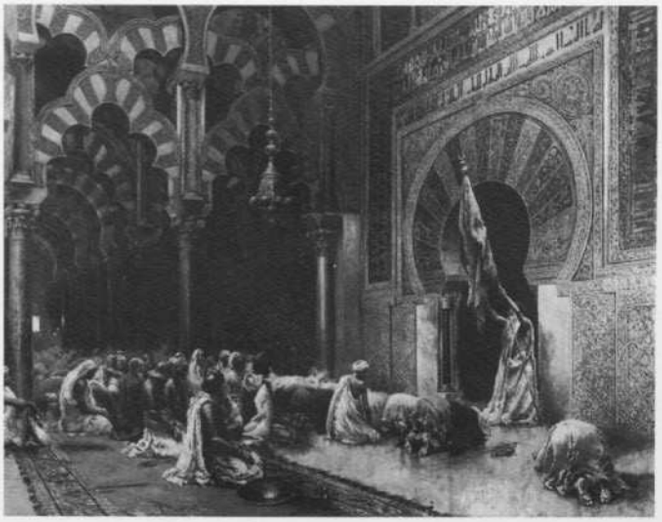


Fig. 11. Edwin Lord Weeks, *Interior of the Mosque at Cordoba*, ca. 1880, oil on canvas. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.169.

Gérôme, an enormous composition depicting the "Interior of the Mosque at Cordoba" by the American artist Edwin Lord Weeks (fig. 11), and—perhaps most celebrated and daring of all—"Odalisque" by Ingres.[62]

That Henry Walters was exposed as a youth to works depicting—admittedly in very fanciful and romanticized modes—peoples and places in the Islamic world, and that he continued to acquire such paintings throughout his life, surely must have some bearing on his collecting of actual works of Islamic art. For Henry Walters, these "exotic" scenes of harems and bazaars, Moorish battles, and mosque interiors offered an entrée to another world, one filled not only with unusual personages and settings, but with strange and beautiful objects of all kinds, including arms and armor. Thus it might have been natural—or at least not too much of a stretch—for him to want to possess the ceramics, glass, metalwork, weapons, and textiles depicted in paintings he had known since youth. And, although Dikran Kelekian had quite different tastes when it came to contemporary European painting, he presumably would not have discouraged—and perhaps even encouraged—his long-standing client from acquiring works that evoked the world—or perhaps more accurately—the mood of Kelekian's origins and of so many of the pieces the dealer purveyed.

In short, Henry Walters collected Islamic art for several different reasons: as an extension of his fascination with the history and culture of the ancient world and classical antiquity, as a response to the aesthetic appeal of small-scale objects decorated with dense and colorful designs, and as a physical manifestation of the fantastic sights and sounds depicted in orientalist paintings that Henry knew from childhood and that he experienced firsthand on occasional visits to Constantinople and Cairo.[63]

Whatever the motivations, Dikran Kelekian was a continuous influence throughout the formation and expansion of Henry Walters' Islamic holdings and, as we have seen, had a major impact on this development.[64] That Kelekian could have been a dominant, even domineering, force is borne out by a character sketch written in the dealer's latter years: "He is a creature so curiously compounded that, under his grim and sometimes awesome visage, he combines, in one person, the qualities of a Persian satrap and a properly accredited archangel, of Ghenghis Khan and the Chevalier Bayard, of Thor, the God of Thunder and Saint Francis of Assisi."[65] That Kelekian and Walters enjoyed instead a relationship of mutual respect and trust—in keeping with notions of conduct among gentlemen of affairs of their day—is attested to much later by Dikran's son Charles, who was actively involved in the Kelekian business.[66]

> "Mr. Walters was a quiet, most likeable and honest man—a man to whom you could do no disservice. Dikran Kelekian liked him and admired him and therefore supplied him with the best that could be found.... Of course, times have changed now, but I still think that collectors of his [Walters'] kind would be difficult to imagine, even if the circumstances were closer to those prevailing at the beginning of this century. It was, indeed, a gallant era."[67]

The Walters Art Museum
Baltimore, Maryland

NOTES

A somewhat longer version of this article was first published in *Ars Orientalis*, 30 (2000): 91–112. I am grateful to the Editorial Board for permission to reprint it here.

1. Much of what follows here depends upon research about Henry Walters and the Walters Art Gallery undertaken over many years by William R. Johnston, Associate Director and Curator of 18th- and 19th-Century Art. I am indebted to Bill for his interest in my work on the Islamic collection and for his generosity in answering a myriad of questions and sharing material in advance of publication (see note 2). I also would like to acknowledge, with appreciation, the assistance of Barry Wood, Carol Bates Fellow at the Walters in 1998–99 and Michele Root, a Walters' Intern in the summer of 1999, in the research on Dikran Kelekian.

2. For a detailed study of William and Henry Walters and the founding of the Walters Art Gallery, see W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore and London, 1999). A concise account, also by William R. Johnston, appears in *The Walters Art Gallery. Guide to the Collections* (London, 1997), 9–18.

3. Kelekian's life and career remain to be studied fully, including his dual role as a dealer and collector of such varied works as Ancient Near Eastern artifacts and modern European and American paintings. Basic biographical information appears in his obituary in the *New York Times* (31 January 1951) and in a follow-up article also in the obituary section ("Bank to Administer Art Expert's Estate," *New York Times*, 3 February 1951). See also *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1995), 227: s.v., Kelekian, Dikran Garabed; and *The Dictionary of Art* (London, 1996) 10: 91, s.v., Egypt, ancient, section XX, 2: Dealers. Additional biographical information, including Kelekian's relationship with donors to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, appears in M. Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient' at the Met: Early Tastemakers in America," *Ars Orientalis*, 30 (2000), 73–76, 84–85. See also A. Cooney Frelinghuysen, G. Tinterow, et al., *Splendid Legacy: The Havemeyer Collection* (New York, 1993), 99, 105, 107–8, 110, 133, 242, 253, 255, 258, 268, 272, 274, 276. Kelekian's purchase and sale of an important group of Assyrian reliefs from the famous "Nineveh Porch" at Canford Manor, England, to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., who subsequently gave them to the Metropolitan, is documented in J. M. Russell, *From Nineveh to New York: The Strange Story of the Metropolitan Museum's Assyrian Collection and the Hidden Masterpiece at Canford Manor* (New Haven and London, 1997), 129–52, 159, 164–65, and 197–98. See also below, notes 17–20. Over the years, Kelekian published various exhibition and sales catalogues. These are listed in chronological order, along with the Kelekian Collection sales held after his death, in the appendix to the extended version of this article in *Ars Orientalis*.

4. There is no published catalogue of the collection. For an overview, see *Guide to the Collections*, 99–108.

5. Several of the manuscripts are reproduced in *Guide to the Collections*, 122–25, 127. There are two other important and well-known Islamic manuscripts which often have been associated with the Walters: volume one of the Gold Koran and the *Zafarnama* made for Sultan Husayn Bayqara. Although both these volumes once were on long-term loan to the museum and occasionally exhibited there, they actually have belonged since 1942 to Johns Hopkins University (Milton S. Eisenhower Library, John Work Garrett Collection). In February 2000, the university transferred ownership of the Gold Koran to the Republic of Turkey in order to unite it with volume two in the Nurosmaniye Library, Istanbul.

6. For William's development as an art patron and collector, see Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 12–21.

7. *Guide to the Collections*, 77; Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 17 and pl. 1.

8. Ibid., Chapter Two.

9. Ibid., Chapter Three.

10. Ibid., 73–75.

11. That William's interests were actually broader than his purchases is revealed by his visit to the 1878 universal exhibition in Paris where he was attracted by works of Islamic art from private collections on view at the Galerie Orientale. Ibid., 77.

12. For an account of Henry's acquisition of Greek and Roman antiquities, see D. K. Hill, "The Classical Collection and its Growth," *Apollo*, 100 (November, 1974), 6–13.

13. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 129–31, 137.

14. Ibid., 119.

15. Ibid., 128.

16. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 49.2199. Ibid., 121.

17. Ibid., 144, where Kelekian's father is described as a goldsmith. Russell, in *From Nineveh to New York*, 136, mentions a brother named Hovannes Garabed Kelekian. Much of the history of Kelekian's business career that follows here has been pieced together from various invoices and statements of account, dated from 1897 through 1921 and preserved today in the archives of the Walters Art Museum, that itemize Kelekian's sales to Henry Walters. One such invoice, dated 29 December 1898, refers to the Kelekian family business as "Le Musée de Bosphore," and gives 1830 as the year of its establishment in Turkey. Through these sales documents, as well as a few surviving letters from Kelekian to Walters, it is also possible to track the location of Kelekian's various shops, especially in New York (see note 20), and even to determine when Mr. Kelekian installed telephone service. Far more fascinating is the glimpse that these documents give us of what today might be called Kelekian's self-image in the early part of his career since those of 1897 through 1909 include promotional notices, titles, and variants on the dealer's name.

18. I have not yet been able to verify either the meaning of the term "commissioner" or Kelekian's appointment as commissioner of the Persian Pavilion in Chicago in 1893.

19. Invoice dated 2 April 1897.

20. Invoice dated 8 May 1897. Kelekian's establishments changed locations regularly, judging from the addresses that appear—sometimes with handwritten corrections—on this and other Kelekian invoices. Before April 1897, the Kelekian New York shop, called Le Musée de Bosphore, was located at 303 Fifth Avenue. A handwritten change on an invoice of 2 April 1897 documents Kelekian's move to 390 Fifth Avenue. (Note that Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient,'" 74, dates this move to 1895.) By early May 1897, Kelekian had had new forms made with the address clearly printed as "390 Fifth Avenue, cor. 36th Street." The cities of Paris and Constantinople are listed, but without specific addresses. A statement dated 28 November 1898 has the 390 Fifth Avenue address crossed out and replaced with 303 Fifth Avenue, which then appears in printed form on a statement dated 29 December 1898. In June 1903, Kelekian sent Walters a statement from 10, rue Rossini, Paris; the same document gives the address of his New York shop as 252

Fifth Avenue, indicating yet another change of venue. A statement of 13 October 1906 has his New York address as 252 Fifth Avenue, near 28th Street and the Paris address as 2 Place Vendôme. By 1921 Kelekian had relocated to 709 Fifth Avenue, between 55th and 56th Streets, while remaining at 2 Place Vendôme, Paris, and with establishments also in Constantinople and Cairo.

21. Kelekian's role at the 1900 exposition is documented in an invoice, printed in French and dated 5 June 1903, that gives his name as Dikran Khan Kelekian, followed by "Membre du Jury, Exposition Universelle de 1900." See also below, note 25.

22. G. Migeon, M. van Bercham, and C. Huart, *Exposition des Arts Musulmans: Catalogue Descriptif* (Paris, 1903), pls. 50, 51, 87, 88, 89, and 96.

23. I have not found any independent verification about the award of the title of Khan or the honorary appointments as Consul-General of Persia and Commissioner-General by the then-shah of Iran, Muzaffar al-Din. On the French invoice of 5 June 1903 (see note 21), however, the dealer adds an honorific title between his first and last names—Dikran Khan Kelekian—suggesting that the royal recognition came in that year. An invoice of 13 October 1906 adds a new adjective to his already grand title: Imperial Persian Commissioner-General. His 1951 obituary (see note 3) states that Kelekian got the title of Khan "from the Shah of Persia for services as honorary consul general more than thirty years ago."

24. See *Catalogue of Ceramics, Textiles, Rare Rugs, Jewelry and Manuscripts from the Private Collection of Dikran Khan Kelekian, Commissioner-General for Persia, Exhibited at the Imperial Persian Pavilion, Lousiana Purchase Exposition, Saint Louis, 1904* (New York and Paris, 1904), and Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient,'" fig. 4.

25. "Persia's Participation: Dikran Khan Kelekian, Persia's Commissioner-General, visits World Fair," *World's Fair Bulletin*, 5 (February 1904), 41. The article also reveals that "Mr. Kelekian will display his private collection [containing] many fine rugs, velvets and potteries...which he will bring to St. Louis under bond." In truth, the *Bulletin* article sounds a bit like a personal press release.

26. Kelekian evidently became a U.S. citizen before November 1921, judging from a letter he wrote to Edward Forbes, director of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, in which he says "As I am an American…." Russsell, *From Nineveh to New York*, 134. By that time, however, his original heritage seems to have gotten blurred, and he is described in a 1922 publication as a native of Persia. S. de Ricci, "The Kelekian Collection. A Foreword," in *Illustrated Catalogue of the Notable Collection of Modern French Pictures and a Group of Works of the Noted American Artist Arthur B. Davies Formed by and Belonging to the Widely Known Antiquarian Dikran Khan Kelekian of Paris and New York* (New York), n.p.

27. See the appendix in *Ars Orientalis* for a full list of Kelekian's publications from 1899 onwards.

28. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 137, 144. See also note 38. Walters eventually amassed impressive holdings in cylinder seals, and the Walters Art Museum long has been renowned for its strength in this area. The precise pieces that Kelekian sold to Walters in 1893 have never been identified, however, and it may be that they were no longer part of the collection when Walters died in 1931 and left his bequest to Baltimore.

29. A couple of the manuscripts are identified by their author or title. An invoice of 7 April 1897, for instance, lists "1 Gulistan Sheikh Saadi" and "one Hafiz."

30. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. W.563. *Guide to the Collections*, 122; Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, pl. 9.

31. Ibid., 145–46.

32. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.1307. *Guide to the Collections*, 108; Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 146.

33. Ibid., 146. See also Hill, "The Classical Collection," 8.

34. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 146–47.

35. Walters Art Museum, acc.no. 42.1057. Ibid., 147. Hill, "The Classical Collection," 10–11, documents other classical sales in which Kelekian served as Mr. Walters' agent.

36. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 146.

37. Ibid., 147.

38. This revealing anecdote about the Walters-Kelekian relationship was reported years later by Dkiran's son Charles D. Kelekian, who visited the Walters Art Gallery in April 1970. A staff memorandum of this visit in the museum's archives also is the source of the information that Henry Walters first met and bought his first cylinder seal from Dikran Kelekian at the Columbian Expostion in Chicago in 1893. See also Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 147.

39. Four of the albums are dated 1911, 1912, 1913–17, and 1914. The fifth is undated but is likely to be part of the same sequence.

40. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 47.6. R. Ettinghausen, "An Umaiyad Pound Weight," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 2 (1939), 73–76. Kelekian made what today we can recognize as another striking mistake in the 1912 album where he identified a 12th-century mirror from Iran (Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.520), decorated in relief with two addorsed sphinxes, as Arab from 11th-century Baghdad.

41. Walters Art Museum, acc. nos. 51.1, 51.3, 51.72, 51.75. Kelekian also notes that two of these (acc. nos. 51.3 and 51.75) were exhibited at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, although only 51.75 is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue (see Migeon, van Berchem, and Huart, *Exposition des arts musulmans*, cat. no. 69, right). The caption gives the collector's name as "M. Orville," as opposed to Kelekian's rendition of "d'orville."

42. G. M. Ackerman, *The Life and Work of Jean-Leon Gerome with a Catalogue Raisonne* (New York, 1986), chapters 5–8 and 11. For a more recent summary of scholarly views of Gérôme as an orientalist painter, see H. Edwards, *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930* (Princeton, N. J., and Williamstown, Mass., 2000), 128–30.

43. Walters Art Museum, acc. nos. 51.70 and 51.74. Both works bear the mark of the Ottoman armory (arsenal). Acc. no. 51.74 seems to be depicted in Gérôme's *The Snake Charmer* (Ackerman, *Life and Work*, cat. no. 282; Edwards, *Noble Dreams*, cat. no. 5). For other possible associations between the two Walters' helmets and Gérôme's paintings, see also Ackerman, *Life and Work*, cat. nos. 161, 190, 194, 211, 269.

44. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.34. W. R. Johnston, *The Nineteenth-Century Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1982), cat. no. 109.

45. Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 146.

46. See appendix in *Ars Orientalis*. Kelekian sent copies of both publications, today in the Walters' library, to Henry Walters, inscribed with his compliments. The works published in the 1910 volume are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

47. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.1301. N. Atasoy and J. Raby, *Iznik* (London, 1989), no. 569; S. Blair and J. Bloom, eds., *Images of Paradise in Islamic Art* (Hanover, N. H., 1991), cat. no. 30a.

48. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.1031. *Guide to the Collections*, 101; L. Golombek, R. B. Mason, and G. A. Bailey, *Tamerlane's Tableware: A New Approach to the Chinoiserie Ceramics of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1996), 290 (pl. 50) and 250 (pl. X).

49. Walters Art Museum, acc. nos. 48.1100 and 48.1300

50. Kelekian, *The Potteries of Persia* (Paris, 1909), 8–11.

51. D. Kelekian, *The Kelekian Collection of Persian and Analogous Potteries 1885–1910* (Paris, 1910), unpaginated preface. Inasmuch as "the beautiful potteries" were part of Kelekian's inventory as a dealer, his hyperbole here probably should be understood as a marketing or promotional tactic.

52. The luster vase may be Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 48.1246, although there is otherwise nothing that definitely links this piece to Kelekian.

53. Notwithstanding this advice, Walters did acquire quite a number of objects, particularly mina'i, that are composed of unrelated fragments and heavily overpainted. See also Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 195.

54. Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 54.456. *Guide to the Collections*, 99 and 106–7.

55. Walters' archives, letter dated 15 February 1917. The document is typed and may have been transcribed from a handwritten original, which may explain its somewhat fractured epistolary style. The parenthetical comments—including the seemingly contradictory characterization of the Yunus ibn Yusuf ewer as "Arabic Ewer (Persian)"—are taken directly from the typed document. Not surprisingly, Kelekian also stressed what Russell, *From Nineveh to New York*, 132, aptly has called the "noble pedigree" of works offered to other clients. Edward C. Moore—whom Kelekian refers to as "Moore (of Tiffany)"—was responsible for introducing Tiffany and Company's "Saracenic" line of silverware based on Islamic metalwork. I am grateful to Bill Johnston for this gloss. Moore was also an avid collector and a great benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum in New York—an institution that Henry Walters also supported as a member of the Board of Trustees for many years (see Johnston, *Reticent Collectors*, 131–32, 175–76, 198; Jenkins-Madina, "Collecting the 'Orient,'" 76–80).

56. T. J. Farnham, "The Yerkes Collection," *Hali*, 101 (November 1998), 82–83, 85. As Farnham has documented, 83, Henry used someone other than Kelekian to bid for him at the Yerkes sale. His agent outbid the Metropolitan, exasperating Wilhelm Valentiner who represented the New York museum. Four of Henry's five purchases belong today to the Walters Art Museum (acc. nos. 81.3, 81.5, 81.6, 81.7); apparently the fifth rug, originally in Henry's living room and sold in 1941 as part of his widow's estate, is now lost.

57. *Collection Kélékian. Tableaux de l'Ecole Francaise Moderne* (Paris, New York, and Cairo: n.p., 1920).

58. R. Fry, "Modern Paintings in a Collection of Ancient Art," *The Burlington Magazine*, 37 (December 1920), 303–9. Reprinted in *Illustrated Catalogue of the Notable Private Collection.*

59. *Illustrated Catalogue of the Notable Private Collection.* Mr. Walters' lack of interest in this sale—and presumably in its contents—is reinforced by the fact that the catalogue was not in the extensive reference library that formed part of his 1931 bequest.

60. See the passage from Kelekian, *Potteries of Persia.* The Legion of Honor award is mentioned in Kelekian's *New York Times* obituary, 31 January 1951. The dealer had his portrait painted numerous times by artists whose careers he supported. Many of these paintings were exhibited in New York in 1944. The introduction to the exhibition catalogue emotes that "no collector in America, during the first two decades of the century, was more alive to the importance of modern French painters; no one more convinced that Cezanne and his followers were masters of the first and most indubitable order." F. Crowninshield, in *Kelekian as the Artist Sees Him* (New York, 1944), n.p. Other publications related to Kelekian's modern collection are cited in the appendix of *Ars Orientalis.* See also J. Rewald, *Cézanne and America: Dealers, Collectors, Artists and Critics*, 1891–1921 (Princeton, N. J., 1989), 319–21, 341–42.

61. For the painting by Gérôme (Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 37.34), see note 44. The other paintings referred to here are acc. nos. 37.6 (Delacroix), 37.136 (Schreyer), 37.105 (Villegas), 37.82 (Clairin). See Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Paintings*, cat. nos. 13, 195, 219, 134.

62. Walters Art Museum, acc. nos. 37.191 (Fortuny, purchased 1898); 37.883 (Gérôme, purchased 1917); 37.169 (Weeks, purchased from the artist's estate in 1905); 37.887 (Ingres, purchased 1925). See Johnston, *Nineteenth-Century Paintings*, cat. nos. 215, 110, and 6; and Edwards, *Noble Dreams*, cat. no. 10 (for Weeks' *Interior of the Mosque at Cordoba*).

63. The essays in Edwards, *Noble Dreams*, offer additional contexts within which to consider the impact of the Islamic "Orient" on the United States. See also S. Vernoit, ed., *Discovering Islamic Art: Scholars, Collectors and Collections*, 1850–1950 (London and New York, 2000) where the focus is primarily on Great Britain and Europe.

64. The museum's current automated provenance records specify Kelekian as a source for only about one-quarter of the total Islamic collection. William Johnston agrees, however, that the actual tally of Islamic works sold by Kelekian to Walters was doubtless much higher. The museum also acquired objects from the Kelekian estate after his death, such as an Iznik plate decorated with a cypress, tulips, and roses (acc. no. 48.2057).

65. Crowninshield, in *Kelekian as the Artist Sees Him*, n.p. (see above, note 60).

66. According to a letter he wrote Dorothy Kent Hill, Curator of Ancient Art at the Walters, on 12 February 1975, Charles Kelekian first meet Mr. Walters in France in 1919 "and from then on, I helped him in his selections and transactions with my father, up to the time of his death." Charles carried on the Kelekian family business long after both Dikran and Henry had passed away, and in 1966 he sold the Walters Art Gallery a so-called Golden Horn plate with fine spiral designs (acc. no. 48.2251). The Walters also owns a charming pastel portrait of Charles Kelekian at age twelve by Mary Cassatt (acc. no. 37.3656), who had been a friend of both Dikran Kelekian and Henry Walters. William R. Johnston, "Recent Acquisition: Mary Cassatt's Portrait of Charles Dikran Kelekian," *Walters Art Gallery Bulletin*, 46 (February 1993), 2.

67. The first part of this quotation comes from a staff memorandum recording Charles's visit (see note 38). The second half comes from Charles's letter to Miss Hill, cited in the previous note. Admittedly the younger Kelekian would want to cast the relationship between his father and Henry Walters, one of the senior Kelekian's main customers, in sympathetic and even nostalgic terms, especially in light of his own interest in continuing to do business with the Walters Art Gallery.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library; fig. 2, Alfredo Valenti; figs. 3–12, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

"Searching for the New": Later Safavid Painting and the *Suz u Gawdaz* (Burning and Melting) by Nau'i Khabushani

MASSUMEH FARHAD

Nau'I Khabushani's Suz u Gawdaz *(Burning and Melting) was one of the most frequently illustrated texts in mid-seventeenth-century Safavid Iran. Set in Mughal India, it recounts the story of a Hindu bride who decides to join her husband on the funeral pyre. A copy in the Walters Art Museum (W.649), owned and illustrated by Muhammad Ali, one of the leading painters of the period, highlights the artistic and historical importance of this text within the later Safavid period.*

The Safavid dynasty (1501–1722) is associated with some of the most extraordinary paintings and illustrated manuscripts ever produced in Iran. Apart from the celebrated Tahmasb *Shahnama* (Book of Kings) completed ca. 1522–45 and Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft awrang* (Seven Thrones) dated to 1556–66, the work of Sadiqi Bek (fl. 1570s–1610), Riza Abbasi (fl. 1587–1635), and Ali Quli Jabbedar (active in the last half of the seventeenth century) attest to the richness of the arts of book during this period. While recent scholarship has offered invaluable new insight into the production and patronage of several sixteenth-century manuscripts, it has paid relatively little attention to the seventeenth century, with the exception of the work of Riza Abbasi, the celebrated painter at the court of Shah Abbas (r. 1587–1629).[1]

Particularly admired for his inventive use of line and bold experimentation with color, Riza Abbasi's work is considered the embodiment of seventeenth-century Persian aesthetics and the standard for assessing, and often dismissing, later Safavid pictorial arts (fig. 1). It has even been argued that Riza's impact upon the seventeenth century left subsequent artists little alternative but to work in the "European mode," which ultimately led to the decline of traditional Persian painting.[2]

Riza Abbasi's artistic legacy notwithstanding, a manuscript such as the 1068/1658 *Suz u Gawdaz* (Burning and Melting) by Muhammad Riza Khabushani, known as Nau'i,[3] now in the collection of the Walters Art Museum (W.649), suggests that later seventeenth-century painting is a far more complex and nuanced tradition than one simply emulating western artistic concepts.[4]

Following Riza Abbasi's death in 1635, not all seventeenth-century artists embraced European pictorial conventions with equal enthusiasm or to the same degree. For instance, Riza's best-known student and follower, Mu'in Musavvir, who enjoyed a remarkably long career from ca. 1630s to 1690s, seems to have rejected western ideals altogether and, like his master, continued to explore the artistic potential of pure line and color.[5] Shaykh Abbasi (fl. ca. 1645–85), on the other hand, looked towards India as a new source of inspiration. Favoring idealized figures in Indian costume, his paintings are notable for their soft palette, smoothly graded modeling, and receding landscape setting.[6] Riza Abbasi's son, Shafi Abbasi, (fl. 1634–56) specialized in elegant bird and flower compositions, inspired by similar Mughal models and European herbals that had become readily available in seventeenth-century Iran.[7] The work of Muhammad Ali (the artist of the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz*), Muhammad Qasim, and Muhammad Yusuf, all active in the mid-seventeenth century, represents yet another pictorial style—an amalgam of both Indian and European formal and iconographic conventions adapted to Persian aesthetic norms. It was not until the 1660s that artists such as Muhammad Zaman and Ali Quli Jabbedar began to focus systematically on European-inspired mythical, religious, and historical subjects, further enriching the formal and thematic range of later Safavid painting.[8] In addition, most later seventeenth-century painters worked simultaneously in different techniques and formats, ranging from lavishly painted manuscript illustrations to individual colored drawings and quick ink sketches intended for albums (*muraqqa's*).[9] More importantly, they no longer relied solely on royal support, but worked independently for a broader, more diverse group of patrons beyond the court.[10] These included wealthy merchants, such as Muhammad Taqi Tabrizi,[11] or Qarachqay Khan, the governor of Mashhad under Abbas II (r. 1642–66)

Fig. 1. "Barefoot youth," signed by Riza Abbasi, Iran, ca. 1600. Lichtenstein, Art and History Trust.

and a member of the corps of royal slaves (*ghulam-i khassa*), the new administrative class created by Abbas I. Trained and educated at the court, these Armenian, Circassian, and Georgian converts to Islam became active patrons of both architecture and painting to express their growing political, social, and economic status.[12] The sheer number of seventeenth-century single-page compositions also suggests that many were intended for sale on the open market and to anonymous patrons, which explains in part the greater need for artists to identify themselves by signing and inscribing their work, a practice that became common in seventeenth-century Iran.[13]

Although some of the changes in the practice and patronage of seventeenth-century Safavid painting can be traced back to at least the last quarter of the sixteenth century, they became increasingly predominant after the late 1630s, giving rise to a new artistic idiom, as is manifested in the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz*. To consider the manuscript according to the norms of the past or within a framework of cultural and artistic binaries, therefore, undermines its distinct features and historical importance within the remarkably heterodox visual and literary culture of its own period.

The text of the *Suz u Gawdaz*[14] presents a significant departure from earlier Safavid illustrated manuscripts, which tended to be familiar literary classics, such as Firdawsi's *Shahnama* or the lyrical poetry of Nizami, Hafiz, and Sa'di. Set in India, the text recounts the story of a young Hindu woman who commits *sati*, the Hindu practice of self-immolation or widow-burning, by joining her deceased groom on the funeral pyre—a rather unusual subject for a Persian text.[15] Curiously, the *Suz u Gawdaz* enjoyed far greater popularity in Iran than in India, a fact that will be discussed shortly. At least five copies and two detached illustrations of this story were commissioned between the late 1640s and 1650s in Safavid Iran: two manuscripts are housed in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin, and one each in the collections of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[16] The climax of the narrative—the scene of *sati*—is also the subject of a lunette in Isfahan's Chihil Sutun palace, completed by Shah Abbas II in 1647, further attesting the importance of Nau'i's text in the mid-seventeenth century (fig. 15).[17] In contrast, only one Mughal illustrated copy of the *Suz u Gawdaz* is known, which has been attributed to a provincial workshop.[18]

The author of the text, Muhammad Riza Khabushani, was one of the many Persian poets who migrated to India during the sixteenth century. Most scholars have attributed this exodus to economic reasons, arguing that the legendary wealth of the Mughal courts provided Persian poets with an attractive incentive to seek their fortunes in India.[19] By the sixteenth century, professional poets in Iran were also competing for patronage with both amateur and part-time poets, among them craftsmen, artists, and merchants, and may have been therefore "lured away by the new, rich markets of India."[20]

Nau'i Khabushani figures prominently in several contemporary Indian and Persian sources. According to Mulla Abd-al Baqi Nahavandi's *Ma'athar-i rahimi* (Traditions of Rahimi), written in India in 1025/1625, Nau'i was born into a mercantile family in Khabushan, present-day Quchan, in the northeastern province of Khurasan.[21] In his youth, he moved with his father to Kashan, one of the important commercial centers in Iran for both Indian and European traders, where he studied with the great poet Mullana Muhtasham (d. 1588) before returning to Mashhad.[22] The *Tazkira-yi maykhana* (Memoirs of the Tavern), composed in 1028/1618 by Abdul-Nabi

Fakhr-al-Zamani Qazvini, maintains that Nau'i then left with his father for Gujarat, where a prosperous relative supported them and eventually financed their return to Khurasan. Following his father's death, Nau'i reportedly squandered his inheritance and decided to leave once again for India. In Lahore, he entered the service of Mirza Yusuf Khan (d. 1601), a highly respected Persian émigré, whom Akbar appointed governor of Kashmir in 1587.[23] Accompanying Mirza Yusuf Khan to Kashmir, Nau'i established a reputation for both poetry and archery as well as his excesses (*ifrat*), lack of principles (*bi-qaydi*), and free spirit (*lavandi*).[24] Notwithstanding these characteristics, when Prince Daniyal (1581–1614), Akbar's youngest son, visited Burhanpur, he was greatly impressed with Nau'i's literary talents and asked him to join his court. Here, the poet composed a *Saqinama* (Book of the Cupbearer), for which he received 10,000 rupees, special robes, an Iraqi horse, and an elephant chain (*zanjir-i fil*).[25] Shortly afterwards, Nau'i wrote the *Suz u Gawdaz*, in which he identifies Daniyal as its patron.[26]

Prince Daniyal died in 1614, at the age of thirty-three, from excessive consumption of wine, and Nau'i spent the last years of his life at the court of Mirza Abd al-Rahim Khankhanan (1556–1627), the most influential noblemen and patron of both painting and poetry under the emperors Akbar (r. 1556–1605) and Jahangir (r. 1605–27). Raised at Akbar's court, Abd Rahim was appointed governor of Gujarat in 1575 and in 1584 received the title *khan-khanan* (lord of the lords), a title also held by his father Muhammad Bayram Khan, who had been murdered in 1561. Five years later, he was appointed *vakil al-saltana* (vice regent of the empire) and spent much of the last thirty years of his life assisting various royal princes, including Daniyal, in subduing the wealthy kingdom of the Deccan.

A passionate bibliophile, Abd Rahim's personal library was reputed as one of the marvels of the age and reportedly received some one hundred visitors daily. In addition to the celebrated copy of the *Ramayana* (1587–98), now in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., he commissioned and refurbished a number of other texts, such as the 1616–17 *Razmnama* (Book of War) and a copy of the *Shahnama* (Book of Kings).[27] Proficient in several languages, Abd Rahman wrote poetry in both Persian and Hindi under the pen name "Rahim" (the Compassionate) and translated the *Baburnama* from Turki into Persian, which he presented to Akbar in 1589. His court became the refuge of poets, painters, and calligraphers, and his lavish support of protégés became proverbial. Nau'i Khabushani was also among those who enjoyed the Abdul Rahim's generosity and reportedly was weighed in gold for his *qasidas*, long monorhythmic odes.[28] The poet

Fig. 2. "Nau'i prostrates himself in front of Prince Daniyal," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, Iran, A.H. 1068/A.D. 1657–58. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.649, f. 5.

died in 1610 at the age of forty-nine at Abd Rahim's court in Burhanpur.[29]

In general, Nau'i's work is praised by his contemporaries. Nahavandi states that among the *taza guyan* (fresh/new-speakers), his poetry is refined (*nafis*),[30] although some people refer to it as *shutur u gurba*, literally, camel and cat, "meaning that you find chaff and grains together."[31] The term *taza guyan* refers to poets composing in what is more commonly known as the Indian style (*sabk-i hindi*), which was particularly favored at the court of Abd al-Rahim Khankhanan. Coined only in the twentieth century, the term tends to be misleading since the style was actually developed by Persian poets in the late fifteenth century, even if many subsequently moved to India. Equally popular in Iran, Central Asia, and Ottoman Turkey, in addition to India, this poetic style is known in contemporary sources as the "new style" (*shiva-yi taza*).[32]

Fig. 3. "The youth confesses his love to his father," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, W.649, f. 9.

Fig. 4. "The bride with her mother prepares herself for the wedding," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, W.649, f. 10v.

Like the conventional characterization of later seventeenth-century painting, Safavid-Mughal poetry has often been viewed as "a literature of decline." Its use of convoluted syntax, colloquialisms, and unusual similes and metaphors, what Nahavandi perhaps means by the term "camel and cat," has been criticized for an excessive preoccupation with style and rhetoric at the expense of a clear expression of ideas and emotions, which characterized earlier poetry.[33] In his study of later Persian poetic tradition, Losensky has maintained that the persistent focus on rhetorical flourishes within Safavid-Mughal poetry has undermined its communicative and artistic aspects, not to mention its remarkable literary diversity."[34] It is tempting to argue that later seventeenth-century Safavid painting has also suffered from a similar narrow approach, one that has disregarded its tremendous stylistic variety and hybrid pictorial language as innovations towards a new and broader pictorial idiom.

Nau'i modeled his *mathnavi*[35] on Nizami's celebrated late twelfth-century *Khusraw u Shirin*, both in terms of its literary mode and choice of title. According to Losensky, in Safavid-Mughal poetry, the binary pairing of metaphors either in the form of actual names, such as Asifi's *Dastan-i Jamal u Jalal*, or abstracted examples, as in the case of Nau'i's *Suz u Gawdaz*, refer back to Nizami's models, including both his *Layli u Majnun and Khusraw u Shirin*.[36]

In his introduction, Nau'i explains the underlying reasons for composing the *Suz u Gawdaz*. One night, his patron, Prince Daniyal, summons him into his presence and complains that,

> The old songs weary my heart, they cast diamond dust on the ear of the lover, How long must we read the tale of the nightingale and the moth? And how long shall these dreams suffice?
>
> It is better far to hear none at all than to read these wearisome tales: If we read at all, let it be what we have seen and beheld ourselves. . . . Sing a new song with thy sweet voice, so that the flower may melt in the flower and the thorn in the thorn.

Fig. 5. "The bridegroom is buried under the collapsed building," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, W.649, f. 13.

Fig. 6. "The bride accompanies the youth's coffin," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, W.649, f. 14.

> The love-story of Farhad and Shirin has grown old and lost its savor, like the remains of a feast or last year's almanack. . . . Create for me a new spring of fire, and light such a torch with your pen as shall enter every heart.[37] (fig. 2)

In response, Nau'i composed a tragic story of a young Hindu couple set during the reign of emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605), Daniyal's father.[38] The actual narrative begins with the description of the ardent love of a Hindu youth for his childhood companion. On reaching maturity, he confesses his love to his father (fig. 3), who consents to his wishes to marry the young woman and sends a messenger to her parents. Overjoyed at hearing the news, the young woman and her mother prepare for the wedding (fig. 4). On the morning of the nuptials, the youth is overcome with a sense of foreboding, and as he rides towards his beloved's house, he stops under a tall mud building to rest. Unbeknownst to him, years of rain had weakened the structure, and as soon as the trumpets and drums are sounded to announce his arrival, the building collapses, burying him and his companions alive (fig. 5). Shattered and distraught, the bride accompanies her groom's coffin to the funeral pyre and decides to commit *sati* (fig. 6). When her family and friends fail to dissuade her, Emperor Akbar, who had heard about the incident, decides to intervene. He promises to adopt the young bride and provide her with every possible comfort, but she remains steadfast in her decision, preferring death to a life of luxury and privilege (fig. 7).[39] Finally, Akbar accedes to her wishes and asks his son Daniyal to accompany the girl to the pyre. On route, Daniyal pleads one last time with the young woman, but she remains resolved to join her deceased groom (fig. 8). At the site of the pyre, she bids her companions farewell and climbs into the fire (fig. 9).

The only known Mughal copy of the *Suz u Gawdaz* includes three illustrations that are executed as tinted drawings (*nim-qalam*) and have been attributed to the 1630s. Although this manuscript constitutes the earliest illustrated *Suz u Gawdaz*, neither its style nor choice of

Fig. 7. "The bride before Emperor Akbar," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, Iran, W.649, f. 16.

Fig. 8. "Daniyal accompanies the bride to the funeral pyre," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, W.649, f. 17v.

compositions bears any resemblance to those illustrated in Safavid Iran, which must have been created independently of the Mughal version.[40]

The Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz* is one of the most elaborate copies of the text. Its signed and dated colophon (fig. 10) reads,

> The lowly Ibad-allah ibn Sa'id Murad al-Husayni copied it with his broken pen as a souvenir [*yadigari*] for the Mani of the times, the greatest of painters, master Muhammad Ali the painter from Mashhad. It was copied at the end of the month of Safar 1068 [November 1657].

While the calligrapher of the *Suz u Gawdaz* is otherwise unknown, Muhammad Ali, to whom the manuscript is dedicated, was one of the most prolific painters of mid-seventeenth-century Iran. None of the paintings in the manuscript is signed, but stylistically they are consistent with Muhammad Ali's identified compositions, suggesting that he was both the owner and artist of the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz*. The only other Safavid painter to have illustrated his own manuscript is Sadiqi Bek, whose personal copy of the 1593 *Anvar-i Suhayli* (Light of Canopus) includes 107 of his paintings.[41] Although Muhammad Ali is not mentioned in any of the contemporary historical or literary sources, his comparison to the "Mani of time," the mythical Persian painter *par excellence*, confirms the high social and artistic status he must have enjoyed among his peers.

Muhammad Ali was active from at least the 1640s to the 1650s, and his *nisba* (the descriptive part of a Muslim name that refers to a geographical location, a family, or a profession) "al-Mashhadi" suggests that he was associated with the city of Mashhad in northeastern Iran. According to a drawing signed "Muhammad Ali ibn Malik al-Husayn Isfahani,"[42] the artist was also the son of Malik al-Husayni, another painter and a contemporary of Riza Abbasi. Malik al-Husayni contributed a signed, double-page frontispiece to a *Shahnama*, dated 1058/1648 and commissioned by

Fig. 9. "The union of the couple on the pyre," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, W.649, f. 19v.

Fig. 10. Colophon, from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, Iran, W.649, f. 21.

the Armenian *ghulam* Qarachqay Khan, previously identified as the governor of Mashhad under Shah Abbas II. This manuscript, one of the most lavishly illustrated texts of the mid-seventeenth century, also includes numerous illustrations by Muhammad Ali.[43] According to the introduction of a Persian translation of Abd al-Rahman al-Sufi's *Kitab-i kavakib al-sabita* (Book of Fixed Stars), completed in 1042/1632 and prepared for Manuchihr Khan, Qarachqay Khan's father, Malik al-Husayni was responsible for the text's extraordinary tinted drawings. On purely stylistic grounds, it has recently been suggested that these large-scale compositions are more typical of Muhammad Ali's work and should be attributed to him.[44]

Following traditional artistic practice in Iran, Malik al-Husayni was probably responsible for his son's artistic training and therefore influential in the formative years of Muhammad Ali's career. By the 1640s, however, Muhammad Ali had clearly developed his own distinct style, which underwent little change in the next decade. With the exception of the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz*, our scant knowledge of Muhammad Ali's career is gleaned from his signed, single-page drawings, often highlighted with light washes of color and gold.[45] A competent draftsman, Muhammad Ali emphasized line over color, and his relatively simple compositions are notable for their strong graphic quality. Small and intimate in scale, they frequently represent idealized youths, young women, or elderly shaykhs, either shown seated or standing in a landscape. Some of his drawings were inspired by the work of Riza Abbasi or the late sixteenth-century painter Muhammadi, which he

Fig. 11. "A bearded man and a woman in a landscape," from a dispersed copy of the *Divan* of Hafiz, dated A.H. 1069/A.D. 1658–59. Washington, D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, S86.318.

reinterpreted in his characteristic style.[46] In most instances, however, he repeatedly refers to his own idealized types and compositions with minor modifications to the pose, props, or landscape setting, lending his work a distinct visual homogeneity. These album pages appear less as independent, self-contained images and more as variations on certain circumscribed subjects, which must have been particularly in demand by his patrons.

Like other leading seventeenth-century Safavid painters, Muhammad Ali also contributed to several manuscripts. In addition to the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz*, he worked on a text devoted to the battles of Imam Ali (*Akhbar-i ulya fi ghazawat-i murtiziyya*), completed in 1047/1657, and the Windsor *Shahnama* (1058/1648), which opens with a double-page frontispiece by his father Malik al-Husayni, as already mentioned. The largest number of his compositions, comprising lightly tinted drawings, are found in two manuscripts of the *Divan* of Hafiz, one in the Topkapi Saray Library, dated 1050/1640, and a second dispersed copy from 1069/1659 (fig. 11).[47] While Muhammad Ali's text illustrations show greater thematic and compositional variety, they also tend to be relatively simple and focus on the most essential elements of the narrative. The originality of Muhammad Ali's manuscript illustrations, like that of his album-pages, depends less on his choice of subject matter or composition and more on the adaption, transformation, and "persianization" of new artistic conventions, in particular the concept of modeling and shading.

Safavid fascination with these novel pictorial ideals has been generally attributed to the influx of European adventurers, merchants, diplomats, and clergy, who visited Iran in increasing numbers following the accession of Shah Abbas I in 1589, drawn in large part by his attempts to bolster trade with the West.[48] Demand for European luxury goods in Iran also increased after this period. In his *Etat de la Perse en 1660*, Raphael du Mans, the head of the Capuchin order in Isfahan, recommended French luxury goods such as clocks, watches, crystals, chandeliers, and paintings of battle scenes and of princes and princesses to be exported to Iran.[49] Several European craftsmen and painters, such as the Dutchmen Philip van Angel and Heindrick Boudewijin van Lockhorst, also settled in Iran in the later seventeenth century to satisfy the new demand for western works of art.[50] Yet another source for European-style paintings was the Armenian suburb of New Julfa, notable for its many churches and private residences, embellished with lavish religious and secular paintings. New Julfa was also home to numerous painters, manuscript illuminators, goldsmiths, and silversmiths, who worked either independently in local workshops or at the Safavid court ateliers.[51]

To enrich this visual mix even further, Indian painting from both the Mughal and Deccani courts, which had embraced European pictorial conventions and subject matter since the latter part of the sixteenth century, probably served as one of the most important catalysts.[52] Artists and craftsmen, like poets, moved frequently back and forth between India and Iran, and the long-standing commercial, diplomatic, and artistic ties between the two powers facilitated the flow of luxury goods and works of art.[53] The "indianized" compositions of Shaykh Abbasi and Bahram Sufrakish or Shafi Abbasi's bird-and-flower compositions, not to mention the the large reception scenes of the Chihil Sutun palace, all attest to Safavid interest in and familiarity with Indian pictorial conventions in the seventeenth century. As a tradition that had already selected, transformed, and integrated western artistic ideals into its pictorial language, Indian painting

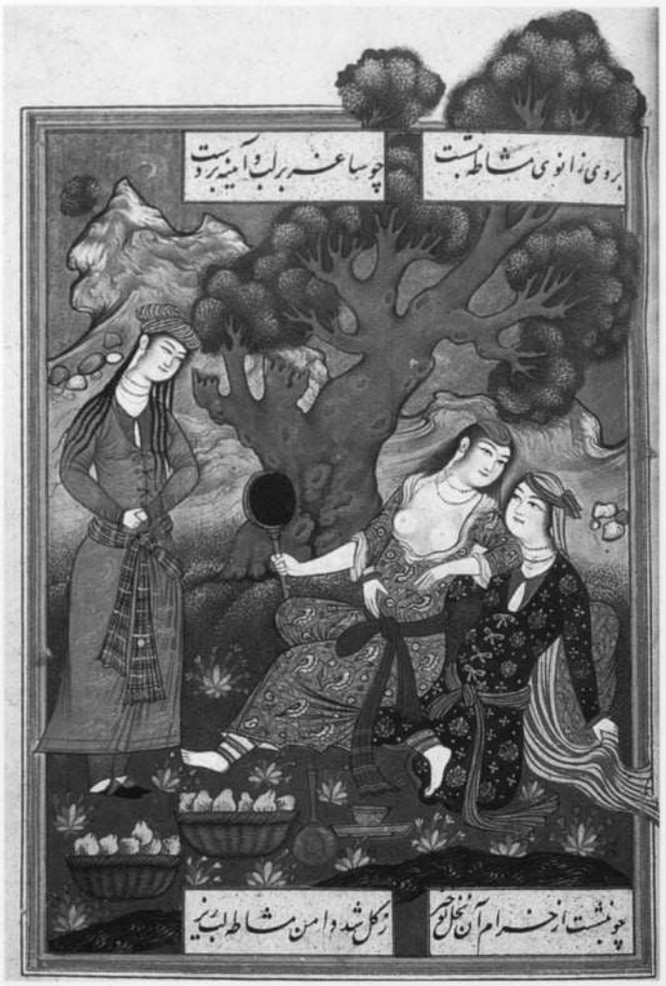


Fig. 12. "The bride with her mother prepares herself for the wedding," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, Iran, attributable to the early 1650s. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 268, f. 16.

Fig. 13. "The bride prepares for the *sati*," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, Iran, attributable to the early 1650s. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 268, f. 31v.

may well have served as an intermediary for understanding European conventions for the same Safavid artists.[54]

The sources for the hybrid style of the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz* illustrations, however, defy clear identification, for the principles of modeling and shading served a different purpose for Muhammad Ali than for either his European or Mughal counterparts. Instead of using these conventions uniformly to create a sense of optical naturalism and to approximate the visual appearance of the figures and their settings, he has transformed them into two dimensional decorative designs, employed to draw attention to select compositional features. As is evident from the paintings of the *Suz u Gawdaz*, modeling is generally relegated to the secondary features of the composition, in particular to the background. In the scene of the bride and her mother (fig. 4) or Daniyal accompanying the young woman to the funeral pyre (fig. 8), Muhammad Ali has lightly stippled the grass and highlighted the tree's lush foliage and gnarled bark, while the figures are devoid of any suggestion of mass and volume. For the artist, modeling served not to create a sense of depth but to define the individual forms and to enhance their surface design.[55] Far from receding visually and conceptually in his compositions, the setting has gained greater visual weight, suggesting a new pictorial balance between the figures and their background that runs counter to western notions of pictorial hierarchy. Thus, Muhammad Ali's paintings still conform to traditional Persian pictorial norms in which disparate elements were given equal emphasis and defined by their relationship to each other rather than by a perspectival scheme. His selective use and "persianization" of modeling and shading seem less an attempt to emulate the European or Indian mode than an effort to forge a new, hybrid pictorial idiom. While drawing on the past, this new style also expanded the traditional norms of Persian painting.

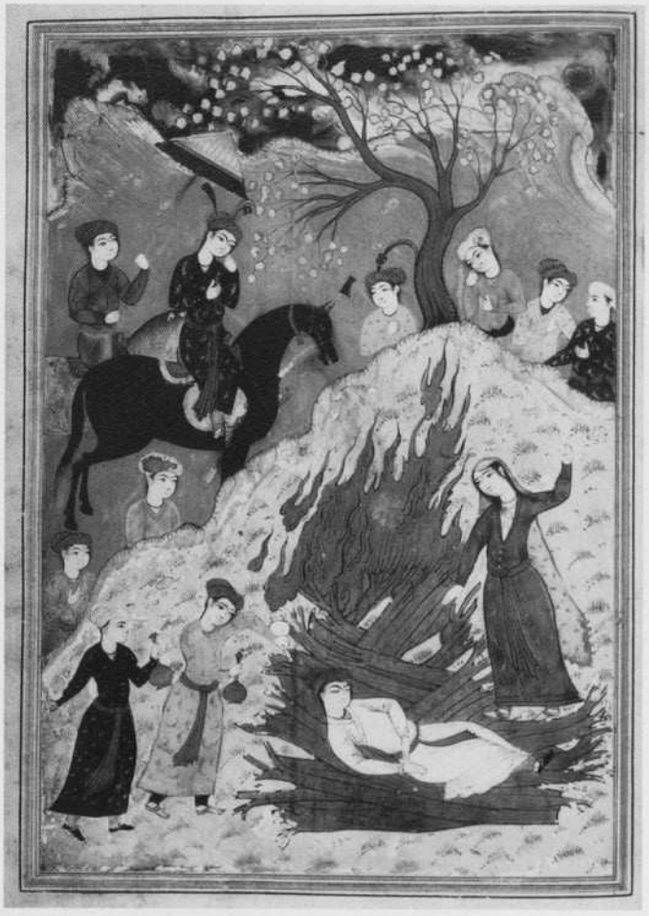


Fig. 14. "The bride prepares for the *sati*," from a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* by Nau'i Khabushani, Iran, attributable to the 1650s. Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, MS 269, f. 26.

Muhammad Ali's treatment of the figures also suggests his indebtedness to new pictorial sources. As Nau'i's narrative unfolds in Mughal India, the men are depicted wearing Indian-style turbans, which tended to be smaller and flatter than contemporary Safavid types. For his female protagonist, Muhammad Ali has used his artistic license to introduce a new and mildly eroticized female figure into the pictorial cycle. In all but one illustration, the heroine is shown bare-breasted, an iconographic feature that was not required by the text.

Single images of seductive or scantily dressed females, created for albums, became increasingly popular in Iran after the late sixteenth century. Some were inspired by European models, such as Riza Abbasi's 1595 *Sleeping Woman*, based on a print by the Italian artist Marcantonio Raimondi,[56] while others, like Muhammad Qasim's *Standing Nude* and *Lovers*, suggest that Safavid painters soon developed their own eroticized types, which became part of the standard repertoire of later Safavid subject matter.[57]

The heroine of Muhammad Ali's *Suz u Gawdaz* illustrations was probably based on a European or more likely Mughal model of an allegorical figure. Such images were first introduced to India by the Portuguese in the 1580s and became an important pictorial source for several artists, including the celebrated court painters Baswan (fl. 1560s–90s) and his son Manohir (fl. 1580s–1620s).[58] Their subtly modeled drawings are faithful copies of European originals, while Muhammad Ali has transformed the figure both formally and conceptually according to Safavid aesthetics and inserted her into the *Suz u Gawdaz* pictorial narrative. He may simply have been intrigued by the figure's appearance, but it seems more likely that he was unfamiliar with Indian female guise and mistook the Mughal allegorical representations as those of actual Indian women. By transforming the figure and integrating her into his cycle of illustrations, the Safavid painter has enhanced the pictorial novelty of the *Suz u Gawdaz* and perhaps also satisfied contemporary taste for more eroticized female imagery.[59]

The adaption and integration of new formal and iconographic principles into Persian painting in mid-seventeenth-century Iran finds an apt parallel in the early fourteenth century, as is evident from Rashid al-Din's *Jami' al-tawarikh* (1314) and the Mongol *Shahnama* of ca. 1335.[60] Exposed to Chinese and western works of art, fourteenth-century painters also drew on new formats, techniques, and design elements to create a pictorial language that echoed the historical, cultural, and artistic realities of their period. For both Il-Khanid and later Safavid artists, these foreign sources provided an impetus "to search for the new" and invigorate the existing pictorial language according to contemporary needs and perspectives.

During the 1640s and 1650s, Muhammad Ali collaborated with Muhammad Qasim and Muhammad Yusuf, whose work together offers a fascinating synchronic view of Persian painting practices in the mid-seventeenth century. Their individual paintings, drawings, and manuscript illustrations share many of the same thematic and stylistic elements, especially a preoccupation with adapting and integrating new artistic concepts into traditional Persian painting.

According to a now lost notation, the *Suz u Gawdaz* manuscript in the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, was signed and dated by Muhammad Yusuf in 1067/1657.[61] Active from ca. 1635 to the late 1650s, Muhammad Yusuf worked closely with Muhammad Ali throughout much of his career, as is evident from their contributions to the Windsor *Shahnama*, the Topkapi Saray *Divan* of Hafiz, and the dispersed copy of the same text. If indeed earlier than the Walters' *Suz u Gawdaz*, the Jerusalem copy may have served

Fig. 15. "The bride prepares for the *sati*," from the Chihil Sutun Palace, Isfahan, Iran, completed in 1647.

as the model for Muhammad Ali's compositions. The two manuscripts share an almost identical pictorial cycle, while their individual illustrations follow the same format, with the exception of some minor modifications, such as the number, pose, and orientation of some of the figures.[62]

Muhammad Ali's *Suz u Gawdaz* illustrations also suggest his awareness of a third unsigned and undated manuscript, now in the collection of the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (MS 268), that includes ten illustrations securely attributed to Muhammad Qasim.[63]

Among these three painters, Muhammad Qasim, known both as an accomplished poet and a painter,[64] was probably the first to introduce modeling and shading into his works, as demonstrated by his 1036/1627 signed tinted drawing of "Shah Abbas and a page."[65] This stylistic innovation, a departure from Riza Abbasi's more schematized treatment of the setting must have clearly inspired Muhammad Ali and especially Muhammad Yusuf, whose earlier works tend to be more traditional in style and conception.[66]

The affinity of Muhammad Ali's and Muhammad Qasim's styles is most apparent in the scene of the young woman with her mother in the Walters' and Chester Beatty *Suz u Gawdaz* manuscripts (figs. 4 and 12). Relying on an identical composition, both painters have devoted considerable attention to the landscape, and their idiosyncratic modeling of the foliage, grass, and tree bark enhances its decorative character.

The Chester Beatty *Suz u Gawdaz*, however, also exhibits certain notable differences. Muhammad Qasim has included two additional illustrations, but curiously has omitted a representation of the bridegroom's tragic death.[67] Moreover, his final painting focuses on the preparations for the *sati* rather than the more dramatic union of the couple on the funeral pyre (fig. 13). Disheveled and distraught, the young woman is shown taking leave from Prince Daniyal as two figures in the background are carrying wood and feeding the billowing flames. In comparison to the five extant copies of the *Suz u Gawdaz*, Muhammad Qasim's paintings seem almost incomplete without the

representations of the two key episodes in the narrative. Interestingly, the detached painting in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, depicts a scene of *sati* in Muhammad Qasim's style. Neither the folio's dimensions nor its columns of text, however, correspond to those of the Dublin *Suz u Gawdaz*, suggesting that it may have belonged to yet another manuscript or was intended as an independent composition for an album.

Comparison of the three illustrated copies of the *Suz u Gawdaz* suggests that they depended on a continuous process of repetition, modification, and refinement. Muhammad Ali, Muhammad Qasim, and Muhammad Yusuf were clearly aware of each other's work and appropriated either select motifs or entire compositions, which they then modified to offer their own interpretation of the pictorial cycle. The practice of repetition within a circumscribed pictorial idiom may have been prompted by the demands of the new, more diverse group of patrons outside the court. These individuals probably now competed with each other and with the court to commission, acquire, and collect some of the same type of album pages and illustrated manuscripts.[68] In the absence of strong royal patronage, mid-seventeenth-century painters, in turn, vied with each other for commissions and, in response to the taste and concerns of their audience, offered a variety of pictorial styles. At the same time, their work helped to establish their artistic identity and simultaneously allowed them to add their personal mark on the tradition of Persian painting.

Except for the *Shahnama*, no other text enjoyed the same popularity as the *Suz u Gawdaz* in later Safavid Iran. While copies of Firdawsi's national epic continued to be illustrated throughout the seventeenth century, all five extant *Suz u Gawdaz* manuscripts as well as the Chihil Sutun wall painting were created within a relatively short time period that spans the late 1640s and the 1650s. In explaining Safavid interest in Nau'i's text, it has been proposed that even though the story is set in Mughal India and the hero and heroine are Hindus, its theme is inspired by a well-known Persian mystical concept—self-annihilation as a means towards union with the beloved, i.e., God—for which the final scene of *sati* is an apt and fitting metaphor.[69] Nizami's *Khusraw u Shirin*, the model for the *Suz u Gawdaz*, deals with a similar theme, which Nau'i has presented in a new and now Indian guise. In an investigation of the scene of *sati* in Isfahan's Chihil Sutun palace, however, Sussan Babaie has convincingly argued that the popularity of the *Suz u Gawdaz* in mid-seventeenth-century Iran was prompted by a series of historical and political events during Shah Abbas II's reign.[70]

The province of Qandahar in present-day Afghanistan was of great strategic importance to both the Mughals and the Safavids, and in the first half of the seventeenth century became the main stage for military conflict between the two powers. After several attempts, Shah Abbas I captured Qandahar in 1622, but the fortress fell to the Mughal forces in 1638. When Abbas II succeeded to the Safavid throne in 1642, efforts to recapture Qandahar were once again revived. Following a series of Mughal military miscalculations, the Safavids succeeded in regaining control of the strategic fort in 1649, which remained the single most important military victory of Shah Abbas II's reign.[71]

For obvious political reasons, the Qandahar campaign received considerable attention in contemporary historical chronicles, such as the *Qasas al-khaqani* (Chronicles of Kings) written by Vali Quli Shamlu, Abbas II's court historian. Composed between 1662 and 1675, Shamlu's lengthy description of the Safavid military victory also includes an account of a certain Mughal official, named Mitraudis, who died during the siege. Reportedly, his widow decided to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre despite the efforts of Dawlat Khan, the commander of the Mughal forces, to dissuade her. Just before her death, she was asked about the outcome of the siege and prophesized that the Mughals would fail to send reinforcement and Qandahar would fall to the Safavids within forty days, which came true. According to Shamlu, this event reminded him of Nau'i's tragic heroine and inspired him to compose his own commemorative *mathnavi*, which he includes in the official chronicle.[72] Even if apocryphal, the story and the subsequent poem, which indeed closely parallel the *Suz u Gawdaz*, may illustrate Shamlu's belief in the predestined outcome of this military event and, by extension, Safavid supremacy over the Mughals, also commemorated in the Chihil Sultun.[73] The conquest of Qandahar and the repeated failure of the Mughals to gain control of the fortress in the early 1650s must have lent Nau'i's *Suz u Gawdaz* particular historical and political relevance, transforming it into a most pertinent literary expression of contemporary Safavid realities.

As the sudden popularity of Nau'i's text implies, its association with Abbas II's military victory did not go unnoticed among the Safavid elite, who, like the shah, may have desired their own literary and pictorial commemoration of the event. Interest in the story was also shared by calligraphers and painters, such as Ibad-allah and Muhammad Ali, who collaborated on a manuscript of the *Suz u Gawdaz* as a reminder and souvenir [*yadigari*] of the Safavid triumph over its neighbor.

The Safavid illustrated manuscripts of Nau'i's *Suz u Gawdaz* belonged to a period when Iran enjoyed relative military peace, political stability, and economic prosperity under Abbas II. With the administration in firm control of the court and the loyal *ghulam-i khassa*, commercial and diplomatic contacts with Europe and India continued to flourish, and the Safavids succeeded in securing a significant victory over the Mughals. The new social and political climate, coupled with the growing availability of foreign luxury goods, also affected contemporary taste and led to the efflorescence of a new Safavid aesthetic. Among the multiplicity of pictorial idioms, Muhammad Ali's contributions to his personal copy of the *Suz u Gawdaz* in the Walters Art Museum represents one of the most potent manifestations.

Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

NOTES

1. This article is dedicated to Basil W. Robinson, who first wrote on the *Suz u Gawdaz* and encouraged me to pursue the study of later Safavid painting. I would like to thank Tom Lentz, Marianna Shreve Simpson, Sussan Babaie, and Chahryar Adle for their help and suggestions. Among the most notable publications on Safavid painting are M. B. Dickson and S. C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnameh.* 2 vols., (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1981); M. S. Simpson with contributions by M. Farhad, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's* Haft Awrang: *A Princely Manuscript from Sixteenth-Century Iran,* (Washington, D.C., London, and New Haven, 1997); and S. R. Canby, *The Rebellious Reformer: The Drawings and Paintings of Riza-yi Abbasi of Isfahan* (London, 1996). For the work of Sadiqi Bek, see Anthony Welch, *Artists for the Shah: Late Sixteenth-Century Painting at the Imperial Court of Iran* (New Haven and London, 1976), chaps. 3–4; for Ali Quli Jabbedar, see O. Akimushkin, *The St. Petersburg Muraqqa': Album of Indian and Persian Minatures of the 16th–18th Centuries and Specimens of Persian Calligraphy of 'Imad al-Hasani.* Lugano, 1994), figs. 59, 64, 77, 80, 89, 90.

2. S. R. Canby, *Persian Painting* (London, 1993), 102. The chapter on later 17th-century painting here is entitled "The Long Decline."

3. This term literally means "kind" or "sort," a title (*takhalus*) that was given to the poet by one of his patrons, see note 24.

4. The manuscript measures 23.4 x 15.4 cm. and consists of 21 folios. Written in the *nasta'liq* script, the text is divided into two columns and opens with an elaborate illuminated heading (*sarlawh*) on fol. 1v.

5. For a discussion of Mu'in Musavvir's work, see M. Farhad, "The Art of Mu'in Musavvir: A Mirror of His Times," *Persian Masters: Five Centuries of Painting,* ed. S. R. Canby, (Bombay, 1990), 113–28. Mu'in Musavvir's career and those of other leading mid-17th-century painters mentioned in this article are examined in I. Stchoukine, *Les Peintures des Manuscrits de Shah Abbas Ier à la Fin des Safavis* (Paris, 1964) and Massumeh Farhad "Safavid Single Page-Paintings 1642–1666," (Ph.D., dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1987).

6. R. Skelton, "'Abbāsī, Šayk," *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (1985), 86–88; A. Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts* (New York, 1992), no. 147. An album in the collection of the Walters Art Museum (W.668) includes several paintings by Shaykh Abbasi.

7. For examples, see Canby, *Persian Painting,* figs. 74, 75.

8. For a selection of Muhammad Zaman's work, see Akimushkin, *St. Petersburg Muraqqa',* figs. 69, 71, 73, 78, 83. Largely because of Muhammad Zaman's preoccupation with western-inspired themes, his work has been the subject of much scholarly debate and is generally considered to represent Safavid painting in the last quarter of the 17th century as a whole. When viewed within the larger context of the period, however, it becomes clear that it was one of several pictorial styles that co-existed during this period.

9. Late 16th-century painters, such as Riza Abbasi and Sadiqi Bek, already worked in different styles and formats, but, with the growing demand for less costly album pages, this practice became more prevalent in the mid-17th century. For a range of works by these painters, see Welch, *Artists for the Shah,* chaps. 3, 4.

10. Among the leading artists of the period, only Shaykh Abbasi, who received the honorific title "Abbasi," from Shah Abbas II and Shafi' Abbasi, Riza Abbasi's son, appear to have enjoyed royal patronage. For Shaykh Abbasi, see Skelton, "'Abbāsī, Šayk," 86–88. Several of Shafi Abbasi's bird and flower paintings are inscribed to a royal patron, probably Abbas II.

11. *Treasures of Islam*, ed. Toby Falk (London, 1985), figs. 96 and 97.

12. S. Babaie, K. Babayan, Ina Baghdiantz-McCabe, and M. Farhad, *Slaves of the Shah: The New Elites of Safavid Iran* (London, forthcoming).

13. In a recent article, Sussan Babaie has proposed a new interpretation for the meaning of 17th-century Safavid single-page compositions; "The Sound of the Image/the Image of the Sound: Narrativity in Persian Art of the 17th century," in *Princeton Papers: Interdisciplinary Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*; Special Issue, "Seeing Things: Textuality and Visuality in the Islamic World," eds. O. Grabar and C. Robinson (Princeton, forthcoming).

14. The text of the *Suz u Gawdaz* has been published and edited by A. H. Abidi (Tehran, 1969); for a translation, see M. Y. Dawud and A. Commaraswamy, *Burning and Melting. Being the* Suz u Gudaz *of Muhammad Riza Nau'i of Khabushan* (London, 1912).

15. According to V. N. Datta, *sati or suttee* is the practice of "burning of the living widow with the corpse of her husband. The word sati in Sanskrit is a feminine noun meaning a good woman, a true wife but when applied to the widow, it means a woman who sacrifices herself on the funeral pyre for the love of her husband." *Sati: Widow Burning in India* (New Delhi, 1988), 1.

16. B. W. Robinson, The Chester Beatty Library. *A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures*, vol. 2 (Dublin, 1962), MS 268 and MS 269, pls. 27–30; Stchoukine, *Peintures*, 153–54, pls. LXIX–LXX; R. Milstein with contributions by N. Brosh, *Islamic Painting in the Israel Museum* (Jerusalem, 1984), cat. nos. 67–73 (Yahuda 1067); E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1905–34), no. 1859 (Suppl. Persan 769), and Stchoukine, *Peintures*, 153–54. A detached painting is in the collection of the British Library, London (BL Or. 4938, f. 26), see N. M. Titley, *Miniatures from Persian Manuscripts: Catalogue and Subject Index of Paintings from Persia, India, and Turkey in the British Library and the British Museum* (London, 1977), no. 42. Another unpublished illustration from the *Suz u Gawdaz* is in the collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (64.48). The manuscripts fall into two distinct stylistic groups: Those in the Walters, Israel Museum, and one of the Chester Beatty copies (MS 268) comprise one, while the Bibliothèque Nationale and the second Chester Beatty copies (MS 269), attributable to Riza Musavvir and his circle, the other. The focus of this article will be on the first group.

17. S. Babaie, "Shah Abbas II, the Conquest of Qandahar, the Chihil Sutun, and Its Wall Paintings," *Muqarnas* 11 (1994), 136, fig. 15. The painting, which is located in one of the side chambers, is executed in the same distinct style as those in the audience hall, another indication of its importance within the Chihil Sutun cycle of wall paintings. I am grateful to Dr. Babaie for providing me with an image of this painting.

18. British Library, London, BL Or. 2839. Titley, *Persian Manuscripts*, no. 299; see also, J. P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London, 1982), cat. no. 81.

19. J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature*, ed. K. Jahn, (Dordrecht, 1968), 293; A. Ahmad, "Safawid Poets and India," *Iran*, 14 (1976), 117–18.

20. P. E. Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani: Imitation and Poetic Individuality in the Safavid-Mughal Ghazal* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1998), 141.

21. Nau'i's date of birth is not given, but as he died in 1610 at the age of forty-nine, he must have been born in 1561; see note 29.

22. Ed. M. H. Husayn (Calcutta, 1931), 635 n. 1. According to E. G. Browne, Mullana Muhtasham was one of the most renowned poets of Shah Tahmasb's reign (1524–72). He began his literary career by composing erotic verse but later specialized in religious poetry. His best known work is the *hafitband*, a poem in praise of the Imams; *A Literary History of Persia* (reprint; Cambridge, England, 1977), 4:172. Naik also maintains that before returning to Khurasan, Nau'i spent some time in Merv and became a close companion of Nur Muhammad Khan, the governor; *'Abdu'r-rahim Khan-i-Khanan and His Literary Circle* (Ahmedabad, 1966), 351.

23. *Tazkira-yi maykhana*, ed. A. G. Ma'ani (Tehran, 1983), 258–59.

24. Nahavandi, *Ma'athir*, 3:636, n. 1, and 259. Mirza Yusuf Khan was also responsible for giving the poet the title (*takhalus*) "Nau'i."

25. Ibid., 3:636–37.

26. Although none of the contemporary sources mentions the date for the *Suz u Gawdaz*, Coomaraswamy and Dawud state that it was composed around 1506, perhaps meaning 1606, *Burning and Melting*, 3.

27. For a recent discussion of Abdul Rahman's career and patronage, see J. Seyller, *Workshop and Patron in Mughal India: The Freer* Ramayana *and Other Manuscripts of Abdul Rahman, Artibus Asiae*, Supplementum XLII [42] (Zurich and Washington, D.C., 1999).

28. Naik, *Literary Circle*, 352.

29. Nahavandi, *Macathir*, 638; Abu'l Fazl Allami, *A'in i Akbari*, trans. H. Blochmann (Calcutta, 1873), 1:606; Naik, *Literary Circle*, 352; the *Tazkira-yi maykhana* gives the date as 1018/1609, 362.

30. Nahavandi, *Ma'athir*, 637.

31. As stated and translated in Abu'l Fazl, *A'in i Akbari*, 606.

32. Losensky, *Fighani*, 4.

33. Rypka, *Iranian Literature*, 292.

34. Losensky, *Fighani*, 4–5. The methodological framework of Losensky's study of Safavid-Mughal poetry also influenced my approach to later 17th-century painting.

35. The *mathnavi* form consists of couplets and was reserved for narrative poetry, whether heroic, romantic, or didactic. J. Clinton, "Court Poetry at the Beginning of the Classical Period," in *Persian Literature, Bibliotheca Persica* 3, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (New York, 1988), 87.

36. Losensky, *Fighani*, 148.

37. Abidi, *Suz u Gawdaz*, 39; Dawud and Coomaraswamy, *Burning and Melting*, 24–26.

38. According to Naik, the story was based on an actual incident that took place during emperor Akbar's reign; *Literary Circle*, 352.

39. V. N. Datta maintains that Akbar strongly discouraged the practice of *sati* and on several occasions intervened personally to prevent a number of Hindu noble women from self-immolation. Short of banning the practice altogether, Akbar forbade the forcible committing of *sati* and made it mandatory to obtain a permission to carry out the ritual, *Sati*, 11–12.

40. The illustrations show the couple as children in school (fol. 8r), the young woman before Akbar (fol. 15r) and the scene of *sati* (fol. 17v). Titley, *Miniatures*, no. 299.

41. Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Geneva, Ms 40. For a recent discussion and illustrations, see S. R. Canby, *Princes, Poets and Paladins. Islamic and Indian Paintings from the Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan* (London, 1998), cat. no. 43.

42. "*Man Holding a Large Folio*," ca. 1645–50, Leipzig, Kunsgewerbe Museum; P. W. Schulz, *Die persich-islamische Miniaturmalerie. Ein Beitrage zur Kunstgeshichte Irans* (Leipzig, 1914), pl. 171.

43. Windsor Castle, MS Holmes 151 (A/6); see B. W. Robinson, "Two manuscripts of the *Shahnama* in the Royal Library, Windsor Castle-II: Ms Holmes 151 (A/6)," *Burlington Magazine* (March 1968), 133–38; Farhad, "Safavid Single Page Painting," 125–27, and ibid., "Seventeenth-century Painting and Patronage" in *Slaves of the Shah*.

44. B. Schmitz, *Islamic Manuscripts in the New York Public Library* (New York, 1992), II.18. (Spencer, Pers. 6), pl. X, figs. 122–28.

45. Among Muhammad Ali's large body of work, only one drawing is dated to the year A.H. 1067/A.D. 1657–58; this is an unusual drawing of a group of bears imitating a court scene, which may have been inspired by a fable; Istanbul, Topkapi Saray Library, H. 2144, fol. 13a.

46. "*Drinking Party*," (British Museum, London, 1920-9-17-0300) is based on a drawing by Muhammadi attributed to ca. 1575; see R. Hillenbrand, *Imperial Images in Persian Painting* (Edinburgh, 1977), no. 157 and Welch, *Shah Abbas*, no. 4; "*Girl in Furred Bonnet*" (Musée du Louvre, Paris, no. 7128) is modeled after one of Riza Abbasi's drawings, attributed to the early 1590s; see B. W. Robinson, *Persian Drawing from the 14th through the 19th Century* (Boston and Toronto, 1965), pl. 66, and Canby, *Rebellious Reformer*, cat. 39.

47. Illustrations from the *August Account of the Alid Wars* by Muhammad Fasih have been published in Christie's, London, 23 April 1996, lot 78. For the Topkapi Saray *Divan* of Hafiz, see. E. F. Karatay, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Topkapi Saray Library nos. 1–940* (Istanbul, 1961), 221.

48. Safavid interest in European style and subject matter is first manifested in a series of paintings and tinted drawings by Sadiqi Bek. Unlike the work of mid-17th-century artists discussed later, Sadiqi clearly intended to "copy" and faithfully re-create his models. See, G. Bailey, "In the Manner of Frankish Masters: A Safavid Drawing and its Flemish Inspiration," *Oriental Art*, 4, no. 4 (1995), 29–34; R. Skelton, "Ghiyath al-Din 'Ali-yi Naqshband and an Episode in the Life of Sadiqi Bek," and G. Bailey, "Supplement: The Sins of Sadiqi's Old Age," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars: Studies in Honor of Basil W. Robinson*, ed. R. Hillenbrand (London, New York, 2000), 249–64.

49. *Etat de la Perse en 1660* (Paris, 1890), 354–55.

50. W. Floor, "Dutch Painters in Iran during the first half of the 17th century," *Persica*, 8 (1979), 145–61.

51. V. S. Ghougassian, *The Emergence of the Armenian Diocese of New Julfa in the Seventeenth Century*, University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies, no. 14, (Atlanta, GA, 1998), 49. For illustration of Isfahan's Armenian churches and their decoration, see J. Carswell, *New Julfa: The Armenian Churches and Other Buildings* (Oxford, 1968).

52. For a discussion of the waves and impact of European art in India, see M. C. Beach, *The Grand Mogul: Imperial Painting in India 1600–1660* (Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., 1978), 155–57.

53. The French jeweler, Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who visited Iran six times between the 1630s and 1670s, maintains that during a royal audience, Abbas II showed him an album with portraits of various Mughal kings and princes. J. B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1679), 520–21.

54. For Bahram Sufrakish, see, Soudavar, *Persian Courts*, cat. no. 145, fig. 50; for Chihil Sutun wall paintings, Babaie, "Shah Abbas II," 125–36.

55. See also S. Canby, "Farangi Saz: The Impact of Europe on Safavid Painting," in *Silk and Stone: The Arts of Asia*. The third Hali Annual (London, 1966), 52.

56. Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University (275.1983); see Canby, "Farangi Saz," ill. 13. For another version of the "*Sleeping Woman*" by Riza Abbasi, see E. Atil, *The Brush of the Masters: Drawings from Iran and India* (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1978), no. 19b.

57. Stchoukine, *Peintures*, pl. LXXIV, and Welch, *Shah Abbas*, no. 61.

58. Both Baswan's and Manohir's drawings were probably inspired by such European images found on the frontispiece of the first volume of the Polyglot Bible, a copy of which was presented by the Portuguese to Akbar in the 1580s. A. Okada, *Miniatures de l'Inde Impériale: Les peintres de la cour d'Akbar, 1556–1605* (Paris, 1989), fig. 54; ibid., *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal Court*, trans. Deke Dusinberre (New York, 1992), figs. 85–87, 90.

59. The heroine in both the Bibliothèque Nationale and the second Chester Beatty *Suz u Gawdaz* manuscripts (MS 269) is shown fully covered. For an illustration from the Bibliothèque Nationale copy, see E. Blochet, *Les peintures de manuscrits arabs, persans, et turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1911), pl. 44. For the Chester Beatty MS 269, see Robinson, *Chester Beatty*, pl. 30.

60. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles: Rashid al-Din's Illustrated History of the World* (Oxford, 1995); O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago and London, 1980). In her recent publication, Sheila Canby also compares Il-Khanid and Safavid use of new visual sources, *Persian Painting*, 113.

61. Milstein, *Israel Museum*, cat. nos. 67–73. Milstein maintains that the date and signature of the manuscript probably appeared on the illustration of Akbar and the young woman, now lost.

62. For illustrations, see ibid., figs. 70, 71.

63. See, Robinson, *Chester Beatty*, no. 268.

64. M. T. Nasrabadi, *Tazkira-yi Nasrabadi* (Tehran, 1317/1938), 139. According to Nasrabadi, Muhammad Qasim died in 107[0]/165[9]–6[0] and is buried in the Takht-i Fulad cemetery near the mausoleum of Baba Rukn al-Din in Isfahan. In his biographical sketch of Muhammad Qasim, Vali Quli Shamlu, Abbas II's court historian, also gives the painter's date of death as 1070/1659–60. V. Q. Shamlu, *Qasas al-Khaqani*, ed. H. S. Nasiri (Tehran, 1371/1992), 2: 153–54.

65. Musée du Louvre, Paris, MAO 494, for illustration see, J. M. Kevorkian and J. P. Sicré, *Les jardins du désir: sept siècles de peintures persanes* (Paris, 1983), 238. For a recent discussion of Muhammad Qasim's career, see A. T. Adamova, "On the Attribution of Persian Paintings and Drawings of the Time of Shah 'Abbas I: Seals and Attributary Inscriptions," in *Persian Painting from the Mongols to the Qajars*, 22–23.

66. For an earlier work, see Canby, *Persian Painting*, fig. 69.

67. These are "The Worship of Fire" (fol. 8r) and "The Bride with her Family and the Brahmans" (fol. 22v); see, Robinson, *Chester Beatty*, MS 268 and pl. 29; Stchoukine, *Peintures*, LXIX.

68. For a discussion of imitation in Persian painting, see D. J. Roxburgh, "Bihzad and the Authorship of Persianate Painting," *Muqarnas*, 17 (2000), 119–47.

69. Robinson, *Chester Beatty*, 40; Babaie, "Shah Abbas II," 137.

70. Babaie, "Shah Abbas II," 136–37.

71. H. R. Roemer, "The Safavid Period," in *The Cambrige History of Iran, The Timurid and the Safavid Periods*, vol. 6, eds. P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (Cambridge, 1986), 299–301.

72. Shamlu, *Qasas*, 1: 372–81.

73. Babaie, "Shah Abbas II," 136–37; ibid., "Safavid Palaces at Isfahan: Continuity and Change 1590–1666" (New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, Ph.D. dissertation, 1994), 206–8.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Lichtenstein, Art and History Trust, Courtesy of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; figs. 2–10, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum; fig. 11, Washington, D.C., Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; figs. 12, Reproduced by the kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin; fig. 15, Courtesy of Sussan Babaie.

The Sacrifice of Abraham in Timurid Art

JOSEPH GUTMANN

The Sacrifice of Abraham is first found in early fifteenth-century Timurid art. Although Timurid manuscripts at times follow the iconography established in Mongol art, we find no textual or pictorial precedent to be on hand for the Sacrifice in fourteenth-century Mongol art. The iconography of Abraham's sacrifice of his son Ishmael in the Iskandar Anthology *of 1410–11 is repeated in several later Timurid miniatures. In the sixteenth century, the Sacrifice becomes a favorite subject in Islamic art.*

The significant role that the Sacrifice of Abraham plays in Christian[1] and Jewish art[2] has been intensively explored in numerous studies. The Sacrifice in Islamic art, however, has largely been neglected, although numerous images on this theme have survived from as far back as the fifteenth century.[3] The Koran (sura 37:102) does not name the son Abraham offers for sacrifice. Therefore, Islamic scholars were divided as to whether it was Isaac or Ishmael and debated this point for several centuries. By the tenth century, Ishmael had won out in Islamic theological discussions. Although theologically the Sacrifice of Abraham was of great interest, in art it did not receive much attention until the fifteenth century.

The earliest extant depiction of the Sacrifice in Muslim art comes from the *Anthology of Iskandar Sultan* (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation, MS L.A. 161, vol. 2, fol. 326v), dated 1410–11, and made in Shiraz, Iran (fig. 1). Iskandar, a nephew of Shāh Rukh, the son and successor of Timur, the founder of the Timurid dynasty, was one of the most active manuscript patrons of fifteenth-century Iran. The miniature in his *Anthology* shows four winged angels peering down from behind a mountaintop at the sacrificial scene below. Another angel, with multi-colored wings, standing on the left, has apparently just released the white ram with black feet and large horns. The ram runs toward a turbaned Abraham, who is dressed in a light-blue robe, his right hand drawing a large knife over Ishmael's throat. Abraham's left hand is holding the hair of the blindfolded Ishmael, who, attired in a brownish-red sleeved robe, is kneeling, with outstretched hands in an apparently helpless gesture.[4] This scene, with minor changes, is repeated in the *Kulliyāt-i Tarikh* (Historical Anthology) of Hafiz-i Abrū, the Persian historian at the court of Shāh Rukh (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, Baghdad 282, fol. 35v).[5] It has been suggested that Pīr Ahmad Bāghshimālī, the leading artist at Iskandar Sultan's court, may have painted both of these miniatures. After Iskandar's fall in 1415, Pīr Ahmad probably was in the employ of Shāh Rukh in Herat, Iran,[6] where he may have painted the *Kulliyāt-i Tarikh* miniature (fig. 2), which most likely dates from around 1415. The four angels peering down from the mountaintop have been eliminated, and a silvery tree with green leaves against a gold background serves to divide the scene: to the left of the tree, a winged angel with light blue wings bringing the ram; to its right, the sacrifice. Both the angel and Abraham are depicted with silvery flaming haloes. The blue robe of Abraham and the brownish-red robe of Ishmael in the Iskandar *Anthology* have here been reversed. These miniatures, with their gracefully painted figures, subtle colors, and spatial relationships, mark the high point of fifteenth-century Timurid art.

Two closely related miniatures (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, Hazine 1653, fol. 35v and Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.676A [fig. 3]) of Hāfiz-i Abrū's Majma' al Tawārīkh (Assembly of Histories), dated at Herat, around 1425, essentially follow the iconographic pattern of the Iskandar *Anthology*. In the Topkapi miniature, the ram is standing still and has no black horns,[7] while in the Walters' miniature the ram has a bell around his neck, and trees are growing from the hilltops. Abraham's green garment and Ishmael's brown one in Hazine 1653 have been reversed in the Walters' miniature. In both miniatures a blue sky has replaced the gold background of the earlier depictions.

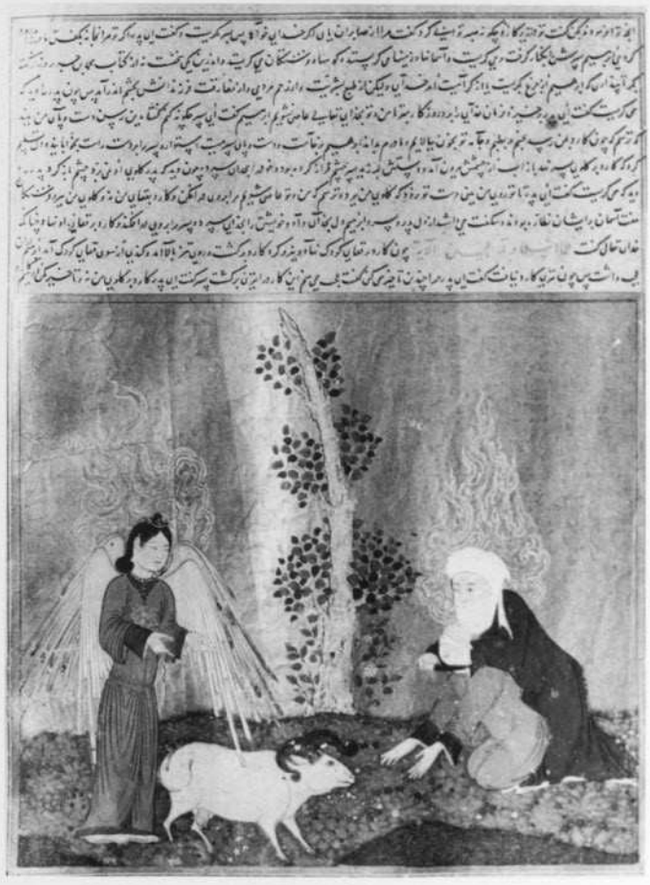


Fig. 1. (Left) Sacrifice of Abraham, *Anthology of Iskandar Sultan.* Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation, ms. L.A. 161, vol. 2, fol. 326v.

Fig. 2. (Above) Sacrifice of Abraham, *Kulliyāt-i Tarikh* of Hafiz-i Abrū. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, Baghdad 282, fol. 35v.

A final Timurid example of Abraham's Sacrifice (Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, Hazine 2153, fol. 119) is usually dated to around 1400,[8] but probably dates to around 1430 (fig. 4).[9]

We need only compare the fluted crown, the tunic tied with flowing ribbons, and the ribbed wings of the angel to note the striking similarities to Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, Hazine 1653, fol. 71v, dated 1425, and Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Turc 190, fol. 13, dated 1436.[10] The iconography and style of the Walters' miniature, however, differs from the previous examples. Ishmael is no longer kneeling or blindfolded, but is lying prostrate on the ground, while Abraham is pinning him down with one knee, holding the head to the ground with his left hand, and placing a long knife to his throat with his right hand. Abraham, turning his head, gazes at a running angel, who now holds a black ram in his arms.

As for other biblical miniatures, such as Moses's combat with the giant Og,[11] we would expect the artists of Abraham's sacrifice of his son Ishmael in the Iskandar *Anthology* and of the later Timurid miniatures to have had access to Rashid al-Dīn's *Jāmi al-Tawārīkh* (Compendium of Chronicles), made in 1314 at Tabriz,[12] the earliest Islamic chronicle to contain biblical images. Comparisons between Abraham in the Fire miniatures in the Iskandar *Anthology* (fols. 326v–327),[13] for instance, do show the catapult with slingshot along with Abraham surrounded by a flowery garden and seated upright in the fire, hands raised in prayer, as in the Rashid al-Din miniature (Edinburgh, University Library, MS Arab. 20, fol. 5v).[14] While later Timurid miniatures (Topkapi Palace Museum, Hazine l653, fol. 31v and 1654, fol. 5v)[15] adhere more closely to Rashid al-Din's Mongol miniatures, the artist of the Iskandar *Anthology* was more creative and introduced new compositional features, including a gold background.

What appears strange is that no illustration of the Sacrifice has survived from Rashid al-Din's time. The question arises whether there even was such a miniature in the original Rashid al-Din *Jāmi al-Tawārīkh.* Usually we find in Islamic manuscripts, after the textual description of

Fig. 3. Sacrifice of Abraham, *Majma' al-Tawārīkh* of Hafiz-i Abrū. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W.676A.

Abraham in the Fire, the story of Abraham's Sacrifice. Yet, after the narrative of Abraham in the Fire in the extant Rashid al-Din manuscript, which gives an account of the *Prophets and Patriarchs of Islam*, no text is found recording the Sacrifice.[16] Even Rashid's *Chronicle* dealing with the History of the Children of Israel does not include an illustration of the Sacrifice. In the History of the Children of Israel, the sacrificial victim is Isaac, in keeping with rabbinic tradition and the *Targumim* (Aramaic paraphrases of the Bible), with which Rashid, a convert to Islam, was all too familiar. The Rashid History of the Children of Israel, following rabbinic sources, describes Isaac as 37 years old at the time of the Sacrifice, while in Islamic accounts Isaac/Ishmael is usually 7 or 13 years old. The biblical thicket in which the ram becomes entangled becomes here, as in rabbinic sources, a tree from which the ram is suspended.[17]

Some Timurid manuscripts contain a world history by Hāfiz-i Abrū.[18] Although the Persian texts in the Hāfiz-i Abrū manuscripts of the Sacrifice vary somewhat, they essentially contain the story related in the Walters folio:

> [Isma'il] said: "O father, do that which they have ordered." The father [Ibrahim] said: "How can you be resigned [to going] under the knife?" [Isma'il] said: "you find me among the resigned if God wants it." Then the father wept. . . .
>
> Then [Isma'il] said: "Bind my hands and feet with this rope; I fear that when the knife gets to me I may jump. . . . Don't delay in doing God's will. Let us not be refractory." His father bound his hands and feet and put him face down and drew the knife to his neck. . . ."

Fig. 4. Sacrifice of Abraham, Album. Istanbul, Topkapi Palace Museum, Hazine 2153, fol. 119.

> The Lord sent Jibra'il [Gabriel] to bring a sheep from Paradise. Jibra'il took a white sheep with black eyes, black feet and long horns by the ear; he brought it to the mountain [Thabir][19] and it stood there . . . . When Ibrahim prepared the knife and put it to his son's throat again, God the Exalted spoke from above saying: "You have fulfilled your dream [Koran 37:105]!". . . .
>
> Then Ibrahim said to his son: "Lift up your head, for God Almighty has given us joy."
>
> The son got up and saw Jibra'il with the sheep. He said: "God is great, praise be to Him!"[20]

Many of the miniatures discussed, in keeping with the above text, show Gabriel bringing a white ram with black eyes, black feet, and long horns. They also have Abraham drawing "the knife to his neck." Abraham, however, appears not to have tied Ishmael's hands and feet, but a blindfold is usually covering Ishmael's eyes, though it is not mentioned in the text.[21] Most of the above details are already recorded in al-Tabarī's ninth-century history of the Prophets and Patriarchs.[22]

Thus Sacrifice of Abraham depictions appear for the first time in fifteenth-century Timurid art, with no seemingly pictorial precedent in any known fourteenth-century Mongol art. The iconography in the 1410–11 Iskandar *Anthology* is repeated in several extant Timurid manuscripts. The Sacrifice again becomes a favorite subject in late sixteenth-century illustrated manuscripts of Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf al-Naysāburī's *Qisas al-anbiyā* (Stories of the Prophets) and in Muhammad Fudūlī's *Hadīqat al-su'ada'* (Garden of the Blessed).[23]

NOTES

1. Compare H. M. von Erffa, "Abraham's Opfer," in *Ikonologie der Genesis*, II (Munich, 1995), 145–88. In Christianity, the Sacrifice is called *sacrificium patriarchae nostri Abrahae.*

2. Compare J. Gutmann, "The Sacrifice of Isaac in Medieval Jewish Art," *Artibus et historiae*, 16 (1987), 67–89. In Judaism, the Sacrifice is called *Aqedat Yitshaq*, the Binding of Isaac. See also J. Gutmann, "Revisiting the 'Binding of Isaac' Mosaic in the Beth-Alpha Synagogue," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 6 (1992), 83 nn. 1, 6.

3. Compare M. Schapiro, "The Angel and the Ram in Abraham's Sacrifice: A Parallel in Western and Islamic Art," and "An Irish-Latin Text on the Angel with the Ram in Abraham's Sacrifice," in M. Schapiro, *Antique, Early Christian and Medieval Art* (New York, 1979), 289–318. These studies are in need of revision in light of recent research. See also R. Milstein, *Miniature Painting in Ottoman Baghdad* (Costa Mesa, 1990), 14–15.

4. P. P. Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan. Structure and Content," in L. Golombek and M. Subtelny, eds., *Timurid Art and Culture. Iran and Central Asia in the Fifteenth Century* (Leiden, 1992), 130, and E. J. Grube, *The World of Islam* (New York, 1966), 133, fig. 53. In R. Milstein, K. Rührdanz, B. Schmitz, *Stories of the Prophets. Illustrated Manuscripts of Qisas al Anbiyā'* (Costa Mesa, 1999), 174 n. 57, Milstein maintains that a 14th-century miniature depicting the Sacrifice of Abraham is in Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Diez A, Fol. 72, fol. 28. According to Dr. Hars Kurio (Letter, 28 May 1999) this miniature is not in the above cited manuscript. See also S. Okasha, *The Muslim Painter and the Divine. The Persian Impact on Islamic Religious Painting* (London, 1981), 82–85.

5. G. Inal, "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts from the Time of Shahrukh in the Topkapi Palace Museum," in Golombek, *Timurid Art*, 108–9, fig. 9.

6. B. W. Robinson, "Two Illustrated Manuscripts in the Malek Library," in P. P. Soucek, ed., *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World* (University Park, PA, 1988), 93–94.

7. R. Ettinghausen, "An Illustrated Manuscript of Hāfiz-i Abrū in Istanbul, Part 1," *Kunst des Orients*, 2 (1955), 37, figs. 7, 41. See also Schapiro, "The Angel and the Ram," 297–99, fig. 7.

8. Compare T. Lentz and G. D. Lowry, *Timur and the Princely Vision. Persian Art and Culture of the Fifteenth Century* (Los Angeles, 1989), 60, who date it late 14th-century Tabriz; M. S. Ipsiroglu, *Painting and Culture of the Mongols* (New York, 1966), fig. 25, also dates it late 14th century.

9. J. M. Rogers, ed., *Topkapi Saray Museum. The Albums and Illustrated Manuscripts* (Boston, 1986), 155, dates the animals in some folios of the album to ca. 1430 Herat.

10. Inal "Miniatures in Historical Manuscripts," in Golombek, *Timurid Art*, 111, fig. 12, and E. Bahari, *Bihzad: Master of Persian Painting* (London, 1996), 25.

11. Compare J. Gutmann and V. B. Moreen, "The Combat between Moses and Og in Muslim Miniatures," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 1 (1987), 111–22.

12. S. S. Blair, *A Compendium of Chronicles. Rashid al Din's Illustrated History of the World* (Oxford, 1995), 31, 90, 100, and Gutmann, "Combat between Moses," 118–19. See also T. Allen, "Byzantine Sources for the Jāmi al Tawārīkh of Rashīd al Dīn," *Ars Orientalis*, 15 (1985), 121–36. The comparisons in this article seem forced and unconvincing. Sources closer to the Mongol biblical miniatures can be found in European models, such as those in the late 6th-century Italian Ashburnham Pentateuch and the 9th-century Touronian Bibles. The subject merits investigation.

13. R. Hillenbrand, "The Use of Space in Timurid Painting," in Golombek, *Timurid Art*, 88 and figs. 42a–b.

14. D. Talbot Rice and B. Gray, *The Illustrations to the World History of Rashid al Din* (Edinburgh, 1976), 52.

15. J. Gutmann, "'Abraham in the Fire of the Chaldeans,' A Jewish Legend in Jewish, Christian and Islamic Art," in J. Gutmann, *Sacred Images: Studies in Jewish Art from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (Northampton, 1989), XII, 348–51, and Addenda et corriganda, 3–4. See also Milstein, et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, 118–19.

16. I am indebted to Prof. Aleya Rouchdy for kindly checking for me the text of the Rashid al-Din manuscript.

17. K. Jahn, *Die Geschichte der Kinder Israels des Rasid ad-Dīn* (Vienna, 1973), 38–39; Gutmann, "Sacrifice of Isaac," 67, 80, 89 n. 31, and R. Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands: The Evolution of the Abraham-Ishmael Legends in Islamic Exegesis* (Albany, 1990), 124, 145–46. Compare A. Netzer, "Rashīd al-Dīn and his Jewish Background," *Irano-Judaica III* (Jerusalem, 1994), 118–26, and R. Milstein, "Islamic Paintings of Bible Prophets: A Case of Synchretism," *Pādyāvana*, vol. 2, ed. A. Netzer (Costa Mesa, 1997), 69.

18. Compare J. E. Woods, "The Rise of Timurid Historiography," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 46 (1967), 84, 96–98.

19. On Mt. Thabir, see Firestone, *Journeys in Holy Lands*, 118, 120–22, 145, and S. Bashaer, "Abraham's Sacrifice of his Son and Related Issues," *Der Islam*, 67 (1990), 254, 259–60, 268.

20. I am very grateful to Dr. Marianna S. Simpson for sending me a copy of the above text, which was prepared by Barry Wood.

21. Compare Gutmann, "Revisiting the Binding of Isaac Mosaic," 80 and 84 n. 20, for Isaac blindfolded in Christian art. The Via Latina catacomb painting, mentioned on p. 80 does not show Isaac suspended in midair. See A. Ferrua, *The Unknown Catacomb: A Unique Discovery of Early Christian Art* (Florence, 1991), 124.

22. Compare W. M. Brinner, ed. and trans., *The History of al-Tabarī: Prophets and Patriarchs* (Albany, 1987), 93–95. See also M. Grünbaum, *Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sagenkunde* (Leiden, 1893), 111–17.

23. Compare Milstein et al., *Stories of the Prophets*, 185–217, for *Qisas al Anbiyā'* manuscripts with Sacrifice of Abraham miniatures. See also Milstein, *Miniature Painting*, 100–4, for miniatures of the Sacrifice in *Hadīqat al-ʿsuadā'* manuscripts.

PHOTOGRAPHS: fig. 1, Lisbon, courtesy Gulbenkian Foundation; figs. 2, 4, Istanbul, courtesy Topkapi Palace Museum; fig. 3, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

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