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A NEW LOOK AT OLD THINGS: REVISITING THE MEDIEVAL
COLLECTIONS OF THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

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FOREWORD

MARTINA BAGNOLI *Andrew W. Mellon Curator of Medieval Art*

The medieval collection at the Walters Art Museum is known internationally for its depth and quality. Started by Henry Walters at the beginning of the twentieth century and bequeathed to the City of Baltimore on his death in 1931, the collection has continued to grow in the decades since through gifts, bequests, and acquisitions. Successive generations of curators and scholars have studied and published the Walters' medieval holdings, establishing the collection's renown at home and abroad. The essays in this volume represent another chapter in this tradition of scholarship. The authors are emerging scholars, and the intent of the present *florilegium* is to bring their voices to bear on the interpretation of objects from a very distant past. Some of the authors tackled "famous" pieces; others explored storage to discover hidden gems. Some authors sought to establish the authenticity of disputed pieces or proposed new attributions for well-known objects; others mined the collection to test new theories in medieval studies or to challenge old ones. Despite the multitude of methodological approaches, all of the essays are equal in one aspect: they all do justice to the Walters' reputation for informed and rigorous research.

Scholarship plays an important role in the life of the museum, and a number of fellows in recent years have made important contributions to the curatorial department. The editors of the present volume were both fellows at the museum: Richard Leson as the Zanyvl Krieger Pre-doctoral Fellow in the Department of Manuscripts and Rare Books (September 2003–August 2006) and Kathryn Gerry as the postdoctoral Mellon Fellow in the Department of Medieval Art (February 2009–August 2011). We are grateful to the Zanyvl Krieger Foundation and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for making the scholars' talent available to the museum. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to the anonymous reviewers who generously provided constructive comments on early drafts of each of the essays in this volume.

This publication is a testimony to the interest and passion that Henry Walters' medieval collection continues to spawn. These essays celebrate its past and salute its future.

RECONSIDERING THE MEDIEVAL OLIPHANT

THE IVORY HORN IN THE WALTERS ART MUSEUM

JENNIFER KINGSLEY

The oliphant on display in the medieval galleries of the Walters Art Museum (71.234; fig. 1) belongs to a large corpus of medieval objects that share ambiguous or conflicting attributions to multiple sites around the Mediterranean Sea.¹ The Walters horn has alternately been localized to southern Italy or Fatimid Egypt and has been variously characterized as “Byzantine,” “very orientalizing but not strongly Islamic,” “Islamic par excellence,” and, most recently, “hybrid.”² Such widely divergent descriptions illustrate the significant problems that underlie efforts to attribute the ivory to any specific originating context based on traditional methods of stylistic and iconographic analysis.³ The oliphant’s carved decoration consists of five ornamental bands featuring arabesques and geometric shapes, two intertwined snakes that run along the inner curve of the horn, and a medallion interlace (or vine scroll) that grows from a vase represented on the outer curve of the oliphant and contains an array of birds, rabbits, antelopes, deer, and lions. Together these constitute a repertoire of motifs popular throughout the Mediterranean from the tenth to the twelfth century.⁴

Attempts to localize and date medieval oliphants to a particular originating context within the Mediterranean depend on a taxonomy and periodization with virtually no solid landmarks. Of the ivory objects probably produced during this period, only one piece can be attributed to Fatimid patronage with any degree of certainty; it is an uncarved box made in Tunis that bears a Kufic inscription naming the Fatimid caliph al-Mu’izz li-Dīn.⁵ Stylistic characterizations of oliphants as Fatimid therefore depend entirely on comparisons with wood-carving.⁶ A small ivory case from the Metropolitan Museum of Art that is usually attributed to southern Italy is stylistically related to one group of oliphants and caskets, although not to the Walters

ivory horn. It bears a dedicatory inscription “TAVR.FI.MANS” (interpreted as *Taurus filius Mansonis* [Taurus, the son of Mansone]) that may refer to a member of the Mansone family from Amalfi, a city with major trade connections both to Byzantium and to Fatimid Egypt.⁷ Like the Fatimid box, the case’s evidence remains inconclusive for localizing oliphants.⁸ Against that background, any attempt to attribute the oliphant to a particular site of production seems futile, and with little or no documentation to substantiate stylistic claims, it is not only the effectiveness of this approach that is questionable, but also its objectives.⁹

Moving away from paradigmatic stylistic and iconographic approaches to an analysis of the technical characteristics of the ivory offers an alternate way to understand the appearance of the Walters oliphant. Cutting and carving techniques, tool marks, the contouring of surfaces, the exploitation (or not) of the substance of ivory, and the detailing and finishing of motifs all serve as signs of the craftsman.¹⁰ By analyzing these elements together with the oliphant’s overall composition, this essay reconsiders earlier interpretations of the significance of the object’s appearance to argue that the Walters oliphant was carved by a single hand and represents a kind of experiment with the decorative possibilities offered by the medium.

The varying attributions of the oliphant to either southern Italy or Fatimid Egypt depend entirely on the general perception that the style and iconography of the carving at the center of the oliphant—the intertwined snakes and the medallion interlace containing animals—are consistent with Italo-Byzantine art, while the carving on its endzones is more Islamic in appearance. Therefore, before turning to the physical examination of the oliphant, it is useful to offer a brief overview of the basis for these claims.



1a

Fig. 1. Ivory horn, southern Italy or Fatimid Egypt, probably eleventh century. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (71.234). (a) side; (b) inner curve with snakes and decorated bands marked; (c) outer curve with medallion interlace (inhabited vine scroll).



In a first publication of the oliphant, Otto von Falke considered the arabesque ornament of the endzones to be typically Byzantine. Publishing after von Falke, Ernst Kühnel disputed that characterization, finding the carving of the endzones to be quite “orientalizing.”¹¹ Both agreed, however, that while the interlace in the middle zone resembled Fatimid ornament, it was executed in a Byzantine style. Von Falke described the motif as having been transformed from a Fatimid model into a typically Greek symmetrical design of a more three-dimensional and classicizing character than is usual for Islamic art, but he offered no specific comparisons to support that characterization.¹² Ernst Kühnel generally agreed with von Falke about the interlace, but for him, the key piece of evidence that suggested the work could not be Fatimid was the inclusion of intertwined snakes along the oliphant’s inner curve, which he described as being a particular breach of the Islamic aesthetic; he did not elaborate further.¹³ Almost a decade later Hermann Fillitz would return to the intertwined snakes on the Walters oliphant, which he also found especially problematic. In a 1967 article, Fillitz proposed that the ivory had been carved in at least two separate campaigns by two different craftsmen and attributed the snakes to a later recarving of the oliphant.¹⁴

Recently, Avinoam Shalem reclassified the Walters oliphant, placing it in a group of ten ivory horns that he proposes were made in Cairo around the year 1000 for either royal Fatimid or Coptic contexts. In addition to the Walters ivory, the group includes the oliphants from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (50.3426), the Musée du Louvre (OA 4069), the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin (w 1007), the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh (1956.562), the Musée Cluny, Paris (Cl.13065 and a fragment Cl.13061), the Early Byzantine and Christian collection, Berlin (586), the treasury of the palatine chapel in Aachen, and the British Museum in London (OA+.1302).¹⁵ Each includes similar carved bands on their endzones that encircle the oliphants with arabesques, palmettes, and sometimes animals running after each other. Parallels to these motifs appear in Cairene wood-carving during both the Abbasid (from 750) and Fatimid (969–1171) periods, and further, the particular device of animals running after each other seems to have no parallel in western art. Four of the oliphants in the group have smooth, undecorated bodies, while the remainder include carving along their middle zones that differs markedly from one oliphant to another. In order to account for the similarities between



Fig. 2. Ivory horn, 71.234: oblique cutting. (a, top) medallion interlace (vine scroll); (b, middle) arabesques from upper endzone frontal view; (c, bottom left) arabesques from upper endzone detail and angled view; (d, bottom right) arabesques from lower endzone.



Fig. 3. Ivory horn, 71.234: V-shaped cutting. (a) snakes and edges of relief bands; (b) defining musculature of animals.

the carving on the endzones of these oliphants and the differences in the carving (or lack thereof) at their centers, Shalem posited that in their original states the oliphants would have been decorated only on their endzones, and, following Fillitz, suggested tentatively that western craftsmen may have recarved the middle zone of some oliphants at a later stage.

Most recently, Shalem, who continues to read the Walters carving as a stylistic composite, has productively shifted focus away from the question of localization in favor of considering the ivory's visual effect. He uses the Walters oliphant, among others, as a springboard to make broader points about what he labels a "hybride Aesthetik," a term that suggests the combination of two independent stylistic traditions.¹⁶ In his analysis he sets the ivory against the background of western medieval acts of appropriation, conversion, and spolia, acts usually treated by modern scholars as ideologically determined.¹⁷ Although more productive and nuanced than previous readings of the oliphant, a careful examination of the ivory suggests that even this interpretation is subject to revision. Importantly, Shalem sidesteps the issue of making—namely, is the appearance of the Walters oliphant due to the interventions of a second carving campaign or the product of a single design concept? The question is crucial not only for evaluating whether the oliphant is properly described as an amalgam of styles, but also for

considering the suggestion that the oliphant's appearance bears ideological significance.

A careful analysis of the physical evidence proves that all the carving on the oliphant was executed at the same moment, probably by a single craftsman. The approach to the substance of ivory is consistent throughout. The background varies in level, sinking toward the frame and lines of decoration. This is as true in the undecorated sections of the oliphant as it is for the background of the decorated portions (when it is visible). A certain amount of irregularity in the repetition of motifs suggests the carver worked entirely free-hand, with the exception of the small holes that punctuate the intertwined bodies of the snakes. These are exactly circular and were certainly produced by a drill. The carver particularly favored an oblique cut that slants toward the ground at a slight angle, whether to articulate the interlace on the body of the oliphant, or to excavate between the lines of arabesque that appear in each band on the endzones (fig. 2). The result is a consistently modulated line formed by a series of successive short straight-edged cuts that step down to the ground. The carver also used a V-shaped tool in the lines that mark the boundary between decoration and frame, at points where the bodies of the two snakes overlap, for the musculature of the animals on the body of the oliphant, in the comma-shaped strokes that mark feathers, antlers, and other details (fig. 3).¹⁸



Fig. 4. Ivory horn, 71.234: curls. (a) palmettes from endzones; (b) bird wing from body.

Comparisons between the carving of the endzones and body of the Walters oliphant support the contention that the entire object was produced either by the same craftsman or by more than one hand working in the same manner, likely as part of a single team. For example, the end of the wing of a bird on the body of the oliphant shares with the curved ends of the scrollwork in all the other bands of decoration the same technique of defining the edges of the curl with a series of short slanting cuts and the same excising of the inner point of the curl. In a close-up view, the wing and a palmette or flower in one of the raised bands of the endzones of the oliphant are indistinguishable one from the other (fig. 4). The shape of the snakes' eyes, a circle with an incised comma extending from the edge of the eye outwards, repeats exactly the form of the eyes of the birds and rabbits in the central band of the oliphant, although it differs from other methods of representing eyes on the oliphant, a point to which I shall return later (fig. 5).

Technical evidence further suggests contemporaneous execution of each segment of decoration. Certainly the snakes along the inner curve of the oliphant were carved as part of the same plan of decoration as the oliphant's endzones. This is especially apparent where the snakes intersect with the raised bands of arabesques. The ornament of bands B and C (see fig. 1b) can be read as a triangular frame enclosing a vegetal scroll or arabesque in the shape of a stylized

flower or palmette. Where the carving of the snakes crosses these bands, the motif is disrupted. In a frontal view of the inner curve, to the right of the snakes in both bands appears exactly one half of the triangle and palmette. To the left of the snakes, however, the motif differs from its usual form. Rather than starting from the center of the motif, the carver formed an additional arabesque. The reason for modifying the decoration is the available space, which is wider to the left than to the right of the snakes but yet not wide enough to complete the motif, a problem that the carver would face only if the snakes were already blocked out as part of the decorative plan. Moreover, if the snakes had been carved in a second phase of decoration, then it should be possible to complete the zig-zag across the space occupied by the snakes. Yet the spacing makes this unlikely. The two raised bands at the bottom of the oliphant share another problem of alignment. To the left and right of the snakes, the lower edges of band D and the top edges of band E are offset from each other by several millimeters, which presumably could have been avoided had the bands ever been planned to encircle the oliphant in its entirety.

These elements suggest that the Walters oliphant was carved in a single campaign. Nothing in this analysis conclusively points to one place of production over another. However, understanding the oliphant as the product of a single design concept allows for a fresh look at the



Fig. 5. Ivory horn, 71.234: eyes. (a, top left) snakes; (b, right) lion and deer; (c, middle left) lion; (d, bottom left) quadruped

significance of the oliphant's technical characteristics. The Walters oliphant (58 cm long, 11.2 cm at its widest point) was made from the hollow end of an African elephant's tusk. Elephant tusks naturally vary in shape, which poses technical challenges for the carver. As the elongated upper incisor of an elephant, the tusk not only curves up toward its pointed end, but also curves slightly to the side, generally away from the elephant's head. On the tusk used for the Walters oliphant, the craftsman also had to contend with an indentation that appears about one third of the way up the oliphant (from its narrow end) and may have been caused either by an irregularity in the growth pattern of the dentine or by wear and tear on the tooth.¹⁹

Both the snakes along the oliphant's concave curve and the center line of the vine along the oliphant's convex curve follow the lateral curvature of the tusk. That is to say, the vertical elements of the decoration follow what is the true center of the tusk as it twists slightly in space. When the

inner curve is viewed frontally, this arrangement results in the illusion that the snakes are off-center (fig. 1b). Such curvature complicates the relationship between that ornament which is designed along the vertical axis of the tusk, namely the snakes and the interlace, and that which is designed along the horizontal axis, namely, the ornamented bands A–E that encircle the tusk (fig. 1b). A frontal view of the inner curve of the oliphant shows the carver had more space to fill in bands B and C to one side of the snakes than to the other. Further visual evidence in these same bands B and C suggests the carver modified the layout of the ornament during the course of production. In band B, the two lines that form partial triangles to each side of the snakes are parallel to each other, whereas in band C, the two lines forming partial triangles mirror each other. To achieve this effect in band C, the craftsman stretched the ornament in relation to the pattern of band B as he carved around the oliphant's circumference. As a result, in one side view, the triangles in bands B and C mirror each other (fig. 1a), while in other views they run at times parallel to each other and at other times slightly offset from each other. This suggests that in the planning of the work, the relationship between the vertical snakes and the horizontal bands posed particular challenges for the carver.

Along the outer curving face of the oliphant, the triangles in bands B and C are irregularly spaced in relation to each other (fig. 1c). In this same view, at the narrow end of the oliphant, both the vase and the interlace that decorate the body of the ivory appear to align with the center of the ornament in bands D and E. At the wide end of the oliphant, however, the top of the interlace just misses aligning with the point of the triangle carved in band C, further suggesting that the irregularities in the layout may have stemmed from an effort to generate symmetry along both the vertical and horizontal axes of the tusk. Together, the stretching of the horizontal ornament at the top of the oliphant, and the alignment of the vertical ornament with the tusk's curvature, however, reconcile in a side view (fig. 1a), where the decoration appears perfectly symmetrical.

Despite these irregularities, the craftsman was clearly familiar with his material. That the vertical line of the ornament follows the tusk's natural curve suggests the carver blocked out the design based on practical experience working with tusks rather than on precise measurements.²⁰ He also modulated the level of both the background and uppermost

surfaces of the carving, imparting a sense of roundedness in both the line and the overall volume.

The oliphant is the product of a single carving campaign. An experienced ivory carver, familiar with carving tusks rather than just plaques, worked out a new scheme of decoration predicated on reconciling two differently oriented designs. That these motifs stemmed from more than one source and/or represent an imaginative experiment might be inferred from one particular detail of the carving, the ways in which the craftsman represents the eyes of the animals in the medallion interlace (fig. 5).

Each of the animals' eyes are formed one of three ways using two different techniques. In the first method, used most frequently (fig. 5a, b), the outline of the eye is formed in a circle by a deep, relatively straight cut to the ground. The eye is extended at one corner with a comma-shaped line that seems to have been formed with a V-shaped tool. The pupil, however, seems to have been shaped with a kind of chisel; it is formed into a cone by a series of angled cuts. The second method, used for the eyes of the some of the stags, quadrupeds and for the lion, forms the outline of the eye by excavating at an angle with a V-shaped tool around the pupil of the eye (figs. 5c, d). In the case of the stags and quadrupeds, the resulting shape of the eye is roughly triangular, with the long end of the triangle helping to articulate the animals' cheek (fig. 5c). In the case of the lion, this triangle is more curved, almost taking the form of an arc, and the long side helps shape the animal's brow. Along with the oliphant's other idiosyncracies enumerated above, this diversity of approaches to forming the eye contrasts sharply with the regularity of the design on other oliphants, most notably a group of ivory horns and caskets closely related to the Mansone case in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Avinoam Shalem has persuasively proposed that this group has qualities that suggest a certain level of mass production. This seems entirely opposite to the making of the Walters ivory horn.²¹

The Walters oliphant might then represent a kind of experiment; it is surely no coincidence that this ivory is the sole extant oliphant that features an entirely symmetrical design along both the vertical and horizontal axes of decoration, and that the resulting irregularities have generated so much debate about the oliphant's origins. Moreover, the shift into greater regularity in the layout of the side of the ivory suggests an attempt to accommodate two main vantage

points for the viewer of the oliphant: one that faces the snakes along the inner curve of the ivory, as if someone were holding the oliphant to their mouth, and another turned ninety degrees so as to enable a direct view of the side of the oliphant.

The experimental quality of the carving explains both the prevailing impression that the Walters oliphant is a kind of visual hybrid, and the problems it has long posed for its attribution. Rather than actual differences of style or technique between the decoration on the body and endzones of the ivory, the physical examination suggests that both the wide variety of motifs and the craftsman's compositional experiment created shifting relationships between the multiple parts of the decoration. In no way does the carver signal his design choices to be motivated by anything but a response to the medium, nor does he introduce motifs that carry with them references to specific origins such as Christian religious motifs or kufic writing. Contrary to medieval practices of *spolia*, conversion, and appropriation, there is no evidence to suggest that these decisions carried any ideological weight. Rather, the carver of the Walters oliphant worked to create a harmonious effect out of a wide variety of forms organized and oriented in what are at times visually discontinuous ways.

Wherever they may have originally been produced, all extant medieval oliphants at some point in their history made their way to Europe.²² There they circulated in a variety of contexts. References to ivory horns generally appear in two main areas: vernacular epics and the inventories of church treasuries from the British Isles, France, and Germany.²³ As early as 1040, the *Song of Roland* uses the term "oliphant" for the ivory horn that the Frankish knight Roland sounds to signal Charlemagne that the army's rear guard is about to be defeated by Saracen troops.²⁴ Based on that narrative, it has been suggested that oliphants served in secular contexts as signal or hunting horns, notwithstanding their large size.²⁵ However, oliphants need not have been functional objects to serve the medieval nobility as signs of prestige. Before the thirteenth century, ivory was a rare commodity in northern Europe and enjoyed a particularly exalted status; this may have been especially so for oliphants due to the evident consumption of the precious material that they represent.

By the twelfth century, carved ivory horns appear primarily in ecclesiastical treasuries north of the Alps, where some served as reliquaries.²⁶ Alternatively, such objects may

have been treated as natural marvels.²⁷ Western churches owned and displayed a range of curios analogous to elephant tusks in the Middle Ages, from unicorn horns to meteorites.²⁸ According to the thirteenth-century scholar Durandus of Mende, such objects were staged to attract the faithful: “In some churches they keep ostrich eggs suspended, or something of this sort, which cause wonderment since they are so rarely seen, so that people are drawn to church and greatly touched by this sight.”²⁹ The presence of natural objects in churches easily dates as far back as the Carolingian era, although it is uncertain to what degree these may have been considered by the Carolingians to be marvels in the sense that Durandus describes for the thirteenth century.³⁰ However, whether in secular or ecclesiastical contexts, the oliphant was certainly treasured, for its connection to a creature already considered wondrous by Pliny the Elder, for the quantity of precious material that it represented, and for the legendary associations that developed around these objects over the course of the Middle Ages.

The Walters oliphant includes physical traces of later interventions worth noting here that suggest its continued use. Green staining as well as numerous scratches and a general flattening of the decoration from abrasion appears at the top of the oliphant, as do regularly spaced pinholes.³¹ Elemental analysis of the green staining conducted using air-path x-ray fluorescence spectroscopy (XRF) revealed the presence of copper and zinc, suggesting that the staining could be the result of a brass fitting held in place by pins. Similar staining suggests that a metal piece also once covered the narrow end of the oliphant. It seems logical to conclude that at least the top fitting was not an original part of the design, since it conceals a considerable portion of the carved decoration. At the same time, treasury inventories from the Middle Ages occasionally describe an oliphant not only as an ivory horn, *cornu eburnea*, but also as decorated or closed with silver or gold, indicating that this may have been a medieval intervention from later in the object’s history.³²

Traces of pigment appear in recesses throughout the oliphant. The drill holes between the snakes alternate in color between red and blue. XRF analysis detected mercury and copper as principal elements in those locations, suggesting the use of the red pigment vermilion and a copper-based blue pigment such as azurite. A dark red pigment also appears along the top of the oliphant and along the edges of some of the inhabited vine scroll. XRF analysis of

this colorant detected primarily iron, suggesting the use of an iron earth pigment; manganese was also detected as a minor component, suggesting the use of an umber pigment. All of these pigments derive from minerals and have been used as colorants since antiquity and cannot be dated or localized with certainty.³³ Other trace elements in the XRF data, however, suggests some degree of modern restoration. These include the elements chromium and zinc, generally associated with the nineteenth-century pigments viridian and zinc white. Titanium was also detected, indicating the probable presence of the twentieth-century pigment titanium white.³⁴ The evidence of the pigments thus point to the oliphant being painted at several points in its history, and also most likely cleaned. Yet the analysis suggests that while the oliphant in the Walters Art Museum undoubtedly underwent some modifications over the course of its history, these did not include changes to the carving. Rather, one craftsman adapted from a repertoire of motifs common in the Mediterranean in order to decorate an object of a singularly impressive appearance.

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NOTES

1. O. Grabar, “The Shared Culture of Objects,” in H. Maguire, ed., *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204* (Washington D.C., 1997), 115–130; E. Hoffman, “Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth century,” *Art History* 24 (2001): 17–50.
2. These attributions stem respectively from O. von Falke, “Elfenbeinhörner: II. Byzanz,” *Pantheon* 5 (1930): 39–44, esp. 41; E. Kühnel, “Die sarazenischen Olifanthörner,” *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 1 (1959): 33–50, esp. 37 and 41; A. Shalem, *The Oliphant: Islamic Objects in Historical Context*, Islamic History and Civilization: Studies and Texts 54 (Leiden and Boston, 2004), 64–66; and Shalem, “Islamische Objekte in Kirchenschätzen der lateinischen Christenheit: Ästhetische Stufen des Umgangs mit dem Anderen und dem Hybriden,” in C. and K. van Eickels, eds., *Das Bistum Bamberg in der Welt des Mittelalters*, Bamberger interdisziplinäre Mittelalterstudien Vorlesungen und Vorträge 1 (Bamberg, 2007), 163–76.
3. Attribution has shifted back and forth between Egypt and various sites in Italy. Otto von Falke distinguished between two large groups of oliphants, the “oriental” and the “Byzantine,”

each of which he treated in a separate article. He considered the Walters oliphant, which he mistakenly identifies as being in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to be a Byzantine work made after a Fatimid model. O. von Falke, "Elfenbeinhörner: I. Ägypten und Italien," *Pantheon* 4 (1929): 511–17; and "Elfenbeinhörner: II. Byzanz," *Pantheon* 5 (1930) at 44. For the Islamic-style oliphants studied in his first publication, von Falke distinguished between original Fatimid works and western copies of Fatimid oliphants. Ernst Kühnel disagreed, attributing all the so-called Saracenic oliphants to southern Italy, in "Die sarazenischen Olifanthörner" and *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*. Kühnel's argument rests on two main assumptions: (1) that certain motifs on the oliphants can be characterized as intrusions of Christian or other western elements; (2) that all the documentary evidence for oliphants is western. Shalem offers a persuasive critique of these points in *The Oliphant*, 50–60. In particular, Shalem counters the idea that ivory horns were unknown in Islamic contexts. He also reclassifies the oliphants into new stylistic and technical groups.

4. S. D. Goitein, "The Unity of the Mediterranean World in the 'Middle' Middle Ages," *Studia Islamica* 11 (1959): 29–42; J. Trilling, "Medieval Interlace Ornament: The Making of a Cross-Cultural Idiom," *Arte Medievale* 9 (1995): 59–86; O. Grabar, "Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the 'Luxury Arts' in the West," in H. Belting, ed., *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, International Congress of the History of Art 2 (Bologna, 1982), 27–34, and "The Shared Culture of Objects"; Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability"; R. Ousterhout and D. Fairchild Ruggles, "Encounters with Islam: The Medieval Mediterranean Experience; Art, Material Culture and Cultural Interchange," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 83–85; M. Al-Asad, "Encounters: A Preliminary Anatomy," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 177–81.
5. D. Jones and G. Mitchell, eds., *The Arts of Islam*, exh. cat., London, Hayward Gallery (London, 1976), no. 145; S. S. Blair, *Islamic Inscriptions* (New York, 1998), 188; S. S. Blair and J. M. Bloom, "Signatures on Works of Islamic Art and Architecture," *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 11 (1999): 52–53. More generally, only a few works can be securely attributed to Fatimid patronage in Egypt. J. M. Bloom, *Arts of the City Victorious: Islamic Art and Architecture in Fatimid North Africa and Egypt* (New Haven, 2008). The scarcity of the evidence may be due to a variety of factors. For example, between 1061 and 1069, caliph al-Mustansir raised funds by selling treasures from the palace. This is related in Al-Qadi al-Teshid ibn al-Zubayr's *Kitab al-Hadaya waal-Tuhaf*, for which see *Book of Gifts and Rarities*, trans. Ghada al-Hijjawi al-Qaddumi (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 230. No oliphants or other ivories stylistically related to them include Fatimid inscriptions. One piece now in Sheikh Sa'ud's collection in Qatar includes kufic writing, but the carved letters simply repeat the Arab word *al-mulk*, meaning king, kingdom, or king-related,

which does not help specify either a point of origin or a particular patron. Shalem, *The Oliphant*, color pl. III and fig. 32.

6. It is difficult to assess what technical relationship, if any, may have existed between wood and ivory carving. There are a number of Greco-Roman ivory and bone artifacts paralleled in wood. A. St. Clair, *Carving as Craft: Palatine East and the Greco-Roman Bone and Ivory Carving Tradition* (Baltimore, 2003). In thirteenth-century France, guild documents suggest the same carvers worked in stone, wood, ivory, and bone. E. Sears, "Ivory and Ivory Workers in Medieval Paris," in P. Barnet ed., *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age* (Princeton, 1997), 18–37. This resulted in striking resemblances across both media and scale. P. Williamson, "Symbiosis across Scale: Gothic Ivories and Sculpture in Stone and Wood in the Thirteenth Century," in P. Barnet ed., *Images in Ivory*, 38–45. Unfortunately we currently know little about Fatimid craft practices.
7. B. M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia, 1991), 79–87; A. O. Citarella, "Merchants, Markets and Merchandise in Southern Italy in the High Middle Ages," in *Mercati e mercanti nell'Alto Medioevo: L'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea, 23–29 aprile 1992*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 40 (Spoleto, 1993), 239–84, esp. 283–84; B. M. Kreutz, "Ghost Ships and Phantom Cargoes: Reconstructing Early Amalfitan Trade," *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994): 347–57; J. Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge, 2004).
8. Substantial evidence points to the presence of experienced ivory carvers in Italy, especially in Campania and in the Veneto. See in general A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der romanischen Zeit, XI–XIII. Jahrhundert*, vols. 3 and 4 (Berlin, 1923 and 1926); and F. Bologna, ed., *L'Enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno*, exh. cat., Salerno. Italy: Museo Diocesano, 2 vols. (Naples, 2008). Despite the fact that there is no securely attributed corpus of ivories that offers parallels to the styles and subjects of the oliphants, since Kühnel scholars have continued to try to localize oliphant production to specific sites in Italy. Hanns Swarzenski associates some oliphants, including those in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, with ivory carving from Salerno. H. Swarzenski, "Two Oliphants in the Museum," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* 60 (1962): 27–44. Hermann Fillitz and Tessa Garton propose an ivory workshop in Bari. H. Fillitz, *Zwei Elfenbeinplatten aus Süditalien* (Bern, 1967); T. Garton, "Islamic Influences in Early Romanesque Sculpture in Apulia," *Art and Archeology Research Papers* 4 (1973): 100–116; and T. Garton, *Early Romanesque Sculpture in Apulia*, Ph.D. dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1975 (published in the series Garland Outstanding Theses from the Courtauld Institute of Art, New York, 1984). Robert Bergman proposes Amalfi. R. P. Bergman, "A School of Romanesque Ivory Carving in Amalfi,"

- Metropolitan Museum Journal* 9 (1974): 163–85 and *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980). David Ebitz made a case for Venice, but his suggestion has not found broad acceptance among scholars. D. M. Ebitz, “Two Schools of Ivory Carving in Italy and Their Mediterranean Context in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1979; and “Fatimid Style and Byzantine Model in a Venetian Ivory Carving Workshop,” in V. P. Goss and C. Verzár Bornstein, eds., *The Meeting of Two Worlds: Cultural Exchange between East and West during the Period of the Crusades* (Kalamazoo, 1986), 309–30. For a review of the problem and its historiography, see V. Paci, “Présence et reflets de l’art islamique en Italie meridionale au Moyen Âge,” *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 35 (2004): 57–70. Paci persuasively argues that the project to localize oliphants to any specific Italian city is misguided.
9. There has been a tendency in analyzing oliphants to assume that we can distinguish between the Islamic and non-Islamic execution of similar motifs. This often assumes a model of influence in which copies vary from a postulated original in predictable ways. The shifting attributions of oliphants suggests to the contrary that scholars are not able to determine the origins of Mediterranean objects based on style or motif selection alone—at least not until a secure corpus has been formed from independent evidence. In Spain, for example, inscriptions confirm the attributions of ivories to the Umayyad court, establishing groups of ivories that can be analyzed for style and cultural practices. A. Cutler, “Ivory Working in Umayyad Córdoba: Techniques and Implications,” *Journal of the David Collection* 2 (2005): 36–47.
 10. A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques and Uses in the Mediterranean World, AD 200–1400* (Washington D.C., 1985); and *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory and Society in Byzantium (9th–11th Centuries)* (Princeton, 1994).
 11. Kühnel, “Die sarazenischen Olifanthörner,” 37 and 41.
 12. Von Falke, “Elfenbeinhörner: II. Byzanz,” 41.
 13. Kühnel, “Die sarazenischen Olifanthörner,” 37 and 41.
 14. Fillitz, *Zwei Elfenbeinplatten*, 24ff. He makes an identical suggestion for an oliphant in the Musée de Cluny that depicts biblical scenes, a suggestion David Ebitz develops further in “Secular to Sacred.”
 15. Shalem, *The Oliphant*, plates V, VI, XI, and XII, figs. 37–44.
 16. Shalem, “Islamische Objekte in Kirchenschätzen.” These observations will hopefully be developed further in a catalog of medieval oliphants currently under preparation. A. Shalem with M. Glaser, *Corpus der mittelalterlichen Olifante* (Berlin, forthcoming, 2012).
 17. B. Brenk, “Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 103–9; and D. Kinney, “Rape or Restitution of the Past? Interpreting Spolia,” in S. C. Scott, ed., *The Art of Interpreting* (University Park, Pa., 1995), 52–67; but cf. A. Cutler, “Reuse or Use? Theoretical and Practical Attitudes toward Objects in the Early Middle Ages,” in *Ideologie e pratiche del reimpiego nell’alto Medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1999), 1055–79. Shalem’s analysis begins with Ottonian and Salian examples that use Fatimid spolia once studied by Ilene H. Forsyth in “Art with History: The Role of Spolia in the Cumulative Work of Art,” in C. Moss and K. Kiefer, eds., *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann* (Princeton, 1995), 153–62. Shalem’s second group of examples come from Norman Sicily, and he admits that their mixture of styles had political resonance.
 18. Our evidence for ivory carving practices in the Middle Ages is sketchy at best. We do not even know what tools were used, or what they would have been called. Consequently, we can only hypothesize based on a careful examination of the material. Cutler, *The Hand of the Master*, 79–152; on tools see especially 91–94; Cutler, “Ivory Working in Umayyad Córdoba.”
 19. For more on elephant ivory, see Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory*.
 20. In contrast, some late antique consular diptychs seem to have been laid out with mathematical precision using calipers and other measuring tools. A. Cutler, “The Making of the Justinian Diptychs,” *Byzantion* 54 (1984): 75–115.
 21. Shalem, *The Oliphant*, especially 63–64 and 70–75.
 22. Kühnel, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 6–14; Ebitz, “The Medieval Oliphant”; Ebitz, “Secular to Sacred.” For a discussion of references to ivory horns in Islamic sources, see Shalem, *The Oliphant*.
 23. Kühnel, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 85–88; Shalem, *The Oliphant*, 107–17.
 24. C. Samaran, *La chanson de Roland: Reproduction phototypique du manuscrit Digby 23 de la Bodleian Library d’Oxford* (Paris, 1933); I. Short, “The Oxford Manuscript of the Chanson de Roland: A Palaeographical Note,” *Romania* 94 (1973): 221–31; M. B. Parkes, “The Date of the Oxford Manuscript of *La chanson de Roland* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 23),” *Medioevo romanzo* 10 (1985): 161–75; H.-E. Keller, “*La chanson de Roland* d’Oxford et son public,” in Keller, *Autour de Roland: Recherches sur la chanson de geste* (Paris, 1989).
 25. Ebitz, “The Medieval Oliphant”; Ebitz, “Secular to Sacred.” The Walters oliphant measures fifty-six centimeters long, eleven centimeters at its widest point and ranges from three to seven millimeters in thickness. While I did not weigh the horn, when I had the chance to examine it in the museum’s conservation lab it was clear that the object was hefty and unwieldy. According to Avinoam Shalem and witnesses to an experiment performed at the British Museum, oliphants can produce sound (private communication, summer 2010). However, it is unclear whether

they were ever used for that purpose. There are no traces of wear on the Walters oliphant that would suggest extensive handling. Because of their shape, oliphants have also been related to drinking horns, but the same objections apply. I believe it to be more probable that oliphants were objects for display.

26. On the functions of medieval oliphants in the West, see E. Kühnel, *Die islamischen Elfenbeinskulpturen VIII–XIII Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1971), 6–14 and 85–88. D. Ebitz, “The Medieval Oliphant: Its Function and Meaning in Romanesque Secular Art,” *Explorations: A Journal of Research at the University of Maine at Orono* 1 (1984): 11–20; Ebitz, “Secular to Sacred.”
27. Swarzenski, “Two Oliphants in the Museum.”
28. P. A. Mariaux, “*Curiositas et curiosités naturelles au Moyen Âge: Quelques remarques sur les naturalia au service de la liturgie.*” *Art et Architecture en Suisse* 56 (2005): 6–11.
29. Durandus of Mende, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum* 1.3:43; Eng. trans. T. M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale divinatorum officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York, 2007), 45.
30. In Carolingian St. Denis, a pear hung from the narthex wall, and a ram’s horn from the door. *Miracula sancti Dionysii* I, 18; I, 7; I, 8. Cited in P. A. Mariaux, “Collecting (and Display),” in

C. Rudolph, ed., *A Companion to Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2006), 227n35.

31. I am grateful to Kathryn Gerry, Andrew Mellon Fellow in the Department of Medieval Art, and Terry Drayman-Weisser, Director of the Division of Conservation and Technical Research, for their time and thoughts.
32. See the inventories published in B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse I. Von der Zeit Karls des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1967), nos. 38.13 and 48.34. On the basis of other medieval fittings combined with ivory, such as those on book covers, the terms probably indicate gold or silver-plated brass.
33. On the use of colors in the decoration of ivory sculptures throughout the Middle Ages, see D. Gaborit-Chopin and B. Guineau, “La polychromie des ivoires gothiques,” *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1996): 188–210. On the question of polychromy in Byzantine ivory, see C. L. Connor, *The Color of Ivory: Polychromy on Byzantine Ivories* (Princeton, 1998).
34. Glenn Gates, Conservation Scientist at the Walters Art Museum, conducted the analysis; private communication, Fall 2010.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Jennifer Kingsley: figs. 2a, 2c, 3, 4, 5a–c; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2b, 2d, 5d

THE CONTENT AND PURPOSE OF WALTERS W.73 AND DECORATED TREATISES ON NATURAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

LAURA CLEAVER

In 1159 John of Salisbury, having studied in Paris for almost twelve years, included in a list of subjects to be covered by students “Physical philosophy, which explores the secret depths of nature, [and who] brings forth from her stores numerous lovely ornaments of diverse hue.”¹ In the 1120s, Hugh of Saint-Victor had provided a longer description of the study of the natural world, noting “Physics searches out and considers the causes of things as found in their effects, and the effects as derived from certain causes.”² After quoting Adelard of Bath, he continued, “the word *physis* means nature, and therefore Boethius places natural physics in the higher division of theoretical knowledge. This science is also called physiology, that is, discourse on the nature of things.” The investigation of the nature of things is also the subject of a remarkable manuscript of nine leaves in the Walters Art Museum, w.73. This volume contains a compilation of texts and diagrams on the topic, with particular emphasis on cosmology.³ Thus a note added to folio 1, probably in the thirteenth century, identifies what follows as a “treatise on the spheres.”⁴ The texts and diagrams address the zodiac, winds, stars, planets, sun, moon, comets, air, celestial harmony, climate zones, elements, tides, consanguinity, and the organization of time, providing a relatively simple and concise introduction to these subjects.⁵ The manuscript measures 273 × 163 mm and was made about 1200, probably, on the basis of its style, in England.⁶ Like John of Salisbury’s account of lovely ornaments, the text is accompanied by twenty diagrams emphasized by colored pigments. Decorated manuscripts on technical subjects have received relatively little attention in recent scholarship, but w.73 is an exception. Scholars have discussed the sources of the textual content of the work, its relation to the calculation of Easter,

and the quality and accuracy of its diagrams.⁷ A detailed account of its contents may be found in the most thorough treatment of the text, in Harry Bober’s article of 1956–57.⁸ Bober concluded that this compilation was a “common type of medieval ‘scientific’ compilation,” part of a continuation of “a regular tradition of monastic teaching and learning,” which “may be called an illustrated school edition of Bede’s *De natura rerum*.”⁹ In his analysis Bober concentrated on the relationship of this manuscript to earlier texts, but his conclusions raise questions about the production of so elaborate a summary of much earlier sources, at a time when new texts had rendered these authors largely obsolete for many students. Moreover, while the diagrams were also derived from earlier sources, John Murdoch noted that some of them were “more decorative than accurate,” raising the question of their function in this manuscript.¹⁰ This article will thus take another look at the nature of the texts and diagrams in w.73 in the context of decorated manuscripts on similar subjects made in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. It will consider the content of this manuscript in relation to contemporary educational practices to argue that it may have had a specific, and to date undervalued, significance in a monastic context, as a record of a particular strand of knowledge.

The study of technical manuscripts has tended to concentrate on establishing the sources of their texts and diagrams. This was Bober’s main aim in his consideration of w.73, and he managed to identify the original authors of much of the material in the manuscript. Most of the text and diagrams can be traced to Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologies* and *De natura rerum*, Bede’s *De natura rerum* and *De temporum ratione*, Pliny the Elder’s *Historia naturalis*, and texts associated

with Abbo of Fleury, from which it was transcribed with minimal changes.¹¹ There are also parallels with parts of Rabanus Maurus's *De universo*, which are closely related to Bede's work but contain some minor variations in wording. Excerpting and recombining material were important skills for twelfth-century students in all fields. Thus although John of Salisbury described Bernard of Chartres as condemning plagiarism, he also noted that students were taught to take established authors as their models.¹² Presenting the words of authorities indicated knowledge and could justify new ideas. At the same time, manuscripts such as the famous mid-twelfth-century collection of excerpts on scientific subjects from Mont-Saint-Michel (Avranches, Bibliothèque municipale MS 235), which also features colorful diagrams, suggest that some monks compiled excerpts as part of their learning process.¹³ Modern scholars' attempts to identify the sources of texts included in compilation manuscripts highlight the role of their creators in selecting material to include, yet identifying sources can be deceptive, as by the end of the eleventh century much of the material in w.73 was already circulating in excerpted form.¹⁴ The surviving precursors closest to w.73 therefore, are, as Bober noted, three much larger compilations, often described as *computus* manuscripts; a famous volume made at Thorney in about 1110–11, now in St. John's College, Oxford (MS 17), a manuscript made at Winchcombe in the 1170s and 1180s (London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius E.IV) and another collection, now broken up, made at Peterborough about 1120 (British Library, Harley MS 3667 and Cotton MS Tiberius C.I).¹⁵

The term *computus* has been applied to a diverse collection of books, and relates to calculation in general, and to determining the date of Easter in particular (on the basis of the movement of the sun and moon), neither of which is a major theme in w.73.¹⁶ Thus in addition to a collection of material on cosmology like that in w.73, the Thorney manuscript contains treatises and tables for calculating the date of Easter and annals. Similar material is also found in the Winchcombe and Peterborough manuscripts. Only three quires of the Peterborough volume survive, and these are numbered vi, vii, and xxi, indicating that a significant amount of material has been lost.¹⁷ The two volumes that survive in substantially their original form also contain copies of Bede's *De temporum ratione* and *De natura rerum* in addition to the collections of excerpts, providing a further

match with the texts in w.73.¹⁸ However, it is important to note that none of the larger volumes contains all the material found in the Walters manuscript (with the Winchcombe volume providing the most limited match), and that none of the other three volumes are identical. Nevertheless all three seem to be attempts to meet a common need, and considering w.73 together with these books may thus help to establish its function.

In addition to their comparable textual content, the Thorney, Peterborough, and Winchcombe manuscripts also share similar page sizes and layouts (figs. 1, 2).¹⁹ The other volumes are all slightly larger than w.73; the Thorney, Winchcombe, and Peterborough manuscripts measuring 340 × 245 mm, 300 × 220 mm, and 320 × 205 mm, respectively. The Winchcombe volume was damaged by fire in 1731, but on the whole the size of the pages has not significantly changed. It is possible that w.73 was cut down, leaving narrow margins, particularly at the top, however the survival of pricking for the ruling at the edges of the pages suggests that it was never significantly larger than it is now. While w.73 lacks the wider margins of the other manuscripts, its text area is very similar (234 × 143 mm, compared with 230 × 150 mm in the Peterborough volume and an average of 234 × 143 mm in the Thorney manuscript). The mixture of single- and double-column pages in w.73 also recalls that in the other manuscripts, though none of the pages are identical in content and structure. Despite the more modest size of its pages, therefore, w.73 closely resembles a group of large manuscripts containing material on natural philosophy in both its text and execution.

Given the similarity of the surviving material in w.73 to the larger manuscripts, it seems possible that the nine surviving leaves were intended to be part of a larger volume. The leaves are now in a modern binding probably applied shortly before the volume was bought by Henry Walters in 1903.²⁰ The last six folios are a gathering of three bifolia, but the first three folios are either single leaves, or more probably a bifolium and a cut-down page.²¹ It is thus possible that they have been separated from an earlier section. Explaining an absence is difficult, but the blank section on the upper half of folio 1 may be read as evidence that this was the beginning of a new section, with space perhaps left for rubrics that were never completed, or for the completion of a text begun on a previous gathering. Intriguingly the Winchcombe volume has a similar blank space at the start



Fig. 1. Wind diagram. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.73 fol. iv

of its compiled material, which begins with the same text as that in w.73, on winds. In the Winchcombe volume the text starts at the top of the second column on folio 29v, while the other column and preceding page were left blank. It is possible that this area was left blank to enable the continuation of the chronicle that precedes the collected material, and ends in 1181. While explanations for the blank space in w.73 must remain speculative, therefore, it may not have marked the start of the original manuscript.

At the same time, the final lines of w.73 (on fol. 9v) may indicate that it was once joined to something else. These seem to have been added to the main text, in a slightly different style, though by a contemporary, or near-contemporary, hand, and fill the last five lines of the final column and the lower margin. This text departs from the subject of the rest of the volume, and discusses four interpretations of the



Fig. 2. Wind diagram. London, British Library, ms Harley 3667, fol. 5v.

Hebrew word “Alleluia,” attributed to Augustine, Jerome, Gregory, and Ambrose. The section then concludes with a statement that Hebrew, Greek, and Latin have been preeminent languages at different times, but all are used to God’s praise. This might simply be a note unrelated to the rest of the text, but it might also reflect a change of emphasis in subsequent material. At the very least, the note suggests that the material was connected with religious matters by one early reader, despite the lack of material about the date of Easter and other feasts. However, as Bober observed, the excerpts from Bede’s work on folio 3v make it unlikely that this collection was to be combined with the full text of his *De natura rerum*, which is found in the Thorney and Winchcombe manuscripts.²² Thus if w.73 was to be combined with other material, the resulting volume would probably have been smaller in both dimensions and extent than

the other manuscripts, representing a condensed version of these explorations of the relationship between the natural world, time, and God.

Although w.73 is not identical to the Thorney, Winchcombe, and Peterborough manuscripts, these volumes share another common feature in their large and elaborate diagrams. In particular, the volumes from Peterborough (Harley MS 3667, fol. 5v) and Winchcombe (fol. 30) include a wind diagram similar to that on folio 1v of w.73 (figs. 1, 2). This is a design I have not found in an earlier volume, though it may be ultimately derived from imagery in Rabanus Maurus's *De universo*, as an eleventh-century manuscript now in Montecassino Abbey Library (MS 132, p. 231) includes a similar image with winged angels around the creation of Adam.²³ The creation scene does not depict life being breathed into Adam, but the main figures are set into a circle presumably meant to represent Earth, surrounded by two more concentric circles representing the terrestrial and celestial heavens in which the angels surround the Earth. The wind diagrams similarly show human faces blowing toward the Earth in the center, and in the Peterborough version these have wings. In the Winchcombe manuscript and w.73 the Earth is represented as a land mass divided into three continents (in the common "O-T" form). In w.73 this treatment of the Earth is repeated in a second version of the wind diagram on folio 2, though this version does not give the winds faces, and does not show the Earth surrounded by a green sea. The relationship between the diagram and the text of the three manuscripts is different, with the diagram set into the text in the Winchcombe manuscript, while the text is not included at all in the Peterborough version. Yet in each case the large size of the diagram, which dominates the page, and level of decoration are similar. The size of these diagrams is emphasized by the inclusion of a much smaller version in a very small manuscript (145 × 100 mm) made in the 1140s, now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS Bodley 614, fol. 34v). Despite its small scale, in this version the winds are again shown as faces blowing toward dry land surrounded by sea inhabited by fish (fig. 3). Thus, although Bober claimed that the handsome appearance of the diagrams in w.73 had "no bearing on their function" of communicating information, the large number and careful execution of the diagrams suggests that they were extremely important in all these manuscripts, and enhanced their value as objects for visual display as well as sources of information.²⁴



Fig. 3. Wind diagram. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 614, fol. 34v.

The value of the diagrams in w.73 is further indicated by the fact that the manuscript seems to have been planned around them. Unlike other manuscripts on related subjects where the diagrams are pushed into the margins or left incomplete, in w.73 they dominate the pages, and the text has been written in the remaining space. This is particularly striking on folio 7, where two diagrams taken from Bede's *De temporum ratione* are surrounded by the text of chapter 34 of his work on the five circles of the universe (fig. 4). In the larger manuscripts this chapter is preceded by the diagram of the circles, which is placed at the top of the page in w.73.²⁵ However, the other diagram on folio 7 of w.73 is usually placed at the end of chapter 17 on the course of the moon, and shows its position in the zodiac. In w.73 it thus has no direct connection with the text around it. In theory the diagram could function without accompanying text, as it contains a description of its contents, but it is unlikely that it would have been much use to readers who were not already familiar with related ideas. The decorative potential

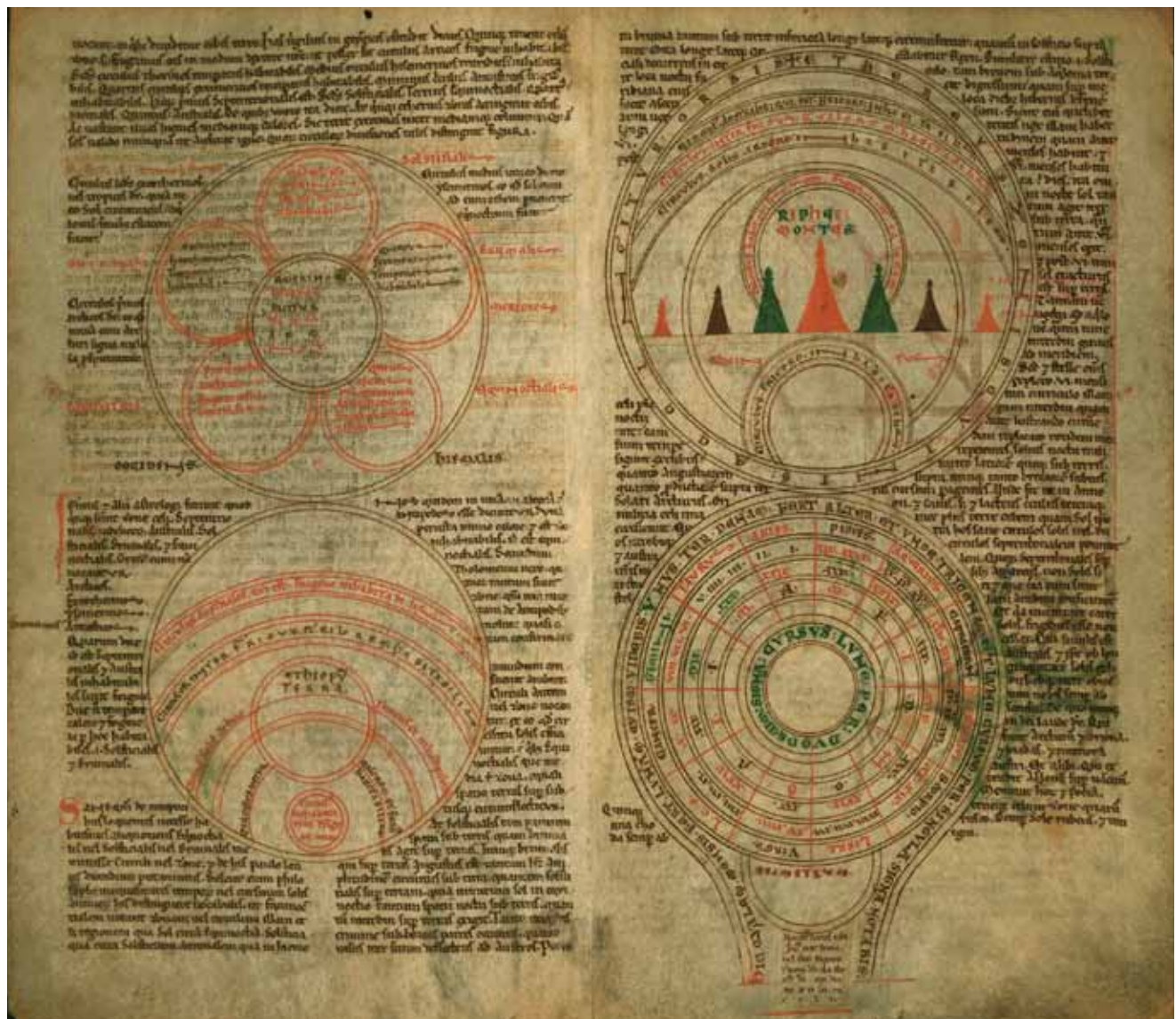


Fig. 4. Diagrams of the orbit of the planets. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.73 fols. 6v-7.

of this diagram is explored in the Winchcombe manuscript (fol. 62), where the circular section is set on a column, the lines of which terminate with foliate forms. The association of a dial and a column is reminiscent of other images of astronomers at work observing the sky with tubes and dials set on columns. For example in a late eleventh-century illustration in a palimpsested manuscript from St. Gall, preserved in the monastic library (MS 18, p. 43), a monk is shown using a tube and dial resting on a column to observe the apparent movement of the stars.²⁶ Similarly, a sculpted dial decorated with a figure observing the heavens set on a column, originally from the monastery at St. Emmeram, is now in the Museum der Stadt, Regensburg.²⁷ In both the Winchcombe and Walters manuscripts, however, practical

connotations are ignored in favor of a more abstract treatment of the diagram. Without the related explanatory text, the diagram in w.73 may thus have been included primarily as another attractive image from Bede's work.

At the same time, the inclusion of elaborate diagrams in these volumes is unusual, as by the twelfth century copies of Bede's works were commonly produced without diagrams. Equally, many manuscripts on *computus* and related subjects contain simple diagrams executed in the same ink as the text.²⁸ For example, a pocket-sized manuscript, measuring 152 × 109 mm (now bound as fols. 14–27 in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D. vii) begins with the question, "What is the teaching of computation?"²⁹ It goes on to explain the lunar cycle, but some of the diagrams seem to be missing, as

reference is made on folio 21v to a diagram of the elements, which if it was included no longer survives. In addition to the text, the compilation includes a calendar, two circular diagrams, tables of the lunar cycle, and hand diagrams rather crudely executed in black and red. On folio 23v a hand diagram contains the necessary information to calculate the date of the full moon before Easter. The hand is set into a series of circles, which were marked out with a compass, but roughly executed, providing data about the twenty-eight year cycle of the days of the week (fig. 5). The size, content, and quality of this booklet would seem to suggest that it was made for an individual's use, and provide a striking contrast to the scale and decoration of w.73 and the elaborate *computus* manuscripts, into which more time and materials were invested.

Like w.73, the manuscripts from Thorney, Winchcombe, and Peterborough have had particular attention paid to the sources of their texts, as it has been suggested that they contain evidence of a lost late tenth-century *computus* by Byrhtferth of Ramsey.³⁰ The association of w.73 with this group and a consideration of the nature of the surviving manuscripts, however, indicate that the picture is somewhat more complicated, as none of the material in w.73 can be linked solely to Byrhtferth's *computus*. This in turn highlights the fact that the other manuscripts contain additional material to Byrhtferth's work and were part of a continuing process of excerption and recompilation in the twelfth century. Moreover, the texts and diagrams were organised differently in all three volumes. It is thus worth reassessing the nature of these manuscripts in the context of twelfth-century study, when as Cyril Hart observed, the *computus* seems to have experienced a revival of interest in England.³¹

As has already become clear, twelfth-century *computus* manuscripts varied considerably in size, content, and decoration. The pocket-sized manuscript in the British Library (Cotton MS Titus D.vii) was designed to enable a reader to calculate the date of Easter, but it also sets the process in a historical context by listing important historical figures in the development of the calendar; Julius Caesar, Dionisius, Bede, and Gerland. In particular, the inclusion of Gerland points to a major theme in work on *computus* in the twelfth century. As Jennifer Moreton has explored, Gerland's work in the late eleventh century built upon the method of calculating the date of Easter put forward by Bede and attributed by him to Dionisius.³² Thus a copy of this work is included

in an early thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS Digby 56, fols. 156–219), which also contains collected material on cosmology and the calculation of Easter, together with diagrams, including that on the motion of the planets found on folio 4v of w.73.³³ However, the manuscript refers to the "*vulgaris*" *computus* of Abbo, meaning "common," but probably also "crude," and suggesting that although this material was part of a tradition of teaching, it had been surpassed.³⁴ Gerland's work in turn laid the foundations for new work on the subject, and was developed by authors such as Roger of Hereford in the late twelfth century, none of which was included in w.73.³⁵

In addition to more recent texts, MS Digby 56 also boasts more complicated diagrams than those in w.73, including one on folio 187 in which the nineteen-year lunar cycle (from which the date of Easter was derived) is associated with the 235-year cycle of lunar phases, the solar year, and the resulting



Fig. 5. Diagram for the calculation of Easter. London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D. VII, fol. 21v. © The British Library Board

pattern of eclipses (fig. 6). This diagram is executed in black, red, and yellow, and the sun and moon are given faces. Yet while the treatment of the diagram is reminiscent of those in w.73, the volume as a whole is smaller, measuring 191 by 145 mm, and the parchment is of relatively poor quality, with lots of holes. It thus falls between the manuscript in the British Library (Cotton MS Titus D.vii) and w.73 in both size and quality. Size is not always linked to quality; the very small manuscript in the Bodleian Library (MS Bodley 614), which contains a calendar, Easter tables, and short excerpts of texts on astronomical subjects, the natural world and the *Marvels of the East*, is extensively illustrated and decorated with gilding (fig. 3). Perhaps more significantly, however, the Digby manuscript seems to have been studied, as notes have been added and amendments made in a variety of inks, but by a contemporary hand (or hands). In contrast, while some corrections have been made to w.73 by the scribe, there are no other signs of study. The distinction between books for individual study, teaching tools, and those for monastic libraries is often very difficult to make, and volumes may have been used in multiple contexts. However, these comparisons suggest that w.73 would have been a lavish, but



Fig. 6. Lunar diagram. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 56, fol. 187

limited volume for a teacher, or for display in a classroom setting at the start of the thirteenth century, as was suggested by Bober, and is more likely to have been made to enhance a library.³⁶

Moreover, as a treatise on the natural world, the content of w.73 had little to offer as a didactic tool for scholars at the turn of the thirteenth century. While Bede, Isidore, and Pliny were respected authorities, and as Charles Haskins observed, twelfth-century English computistical study remained conservative, others had produced works on both the natural world and the *computus* since the material collected and copied in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.³⁷ At the start of the twelfth century Adelard of Bath made reference to Aristotle's work, and this was the text sought after by those interested in the authorities on the subject, while Adelard's own *Questiones naturales* was available in England in the early twelfth century.³⁸ Alexander Neckam's *De naturis rerum*, probably written in the late twelfth century, provides a striking contrast to the content of w.73.³⁹ Like John of Salisbury, Neckam had studied and taught in Paris, but he later became a canon at Cirencester.⁴⁰ A monk of Canterbury wrote to Cirencester in his attempt to collect Neckam's sermons, indicating the flow of ideas between such institutions.⁴¹ Neckam's treatise was extremely wide-ranging and his discussion of nature was set in the context of its creation by God. However, in the section on cosmology, Neckam turned to Aristotle as his source and combined these references with quotations from classical authors.⁴² Thus in comparison with contemporary teaching in the leading cathedral schools, the content of w.73 was significantly out of date, instead representing a tradition of monastic knowledge, which would have made an important addition to the library, rather than a useful tool for the study of the spheres.

Yet if w.73 may be seen as part of a tradition of lavish cosmographical manuscripts, it was not the last such volume to be made. In about 1244 another volume containing Bede's treatises, some additional short texts on relevant topics, and annals was made at Dore Abbey. This manuscript is now also in the British Library (Egerton MS 3088), and measures 320 by 240 mm. Indeed so close is it to the Winchcombe volume that Charles Jones judged the section on Bede's *De natura rerum* to be a copy of the earlier manuscript.⁴³ However the Dore volume has a significant difference, as in Bede's *De natura rerum* his sources are identified in the

rubrics, emphasising the historical nature of the text and the process of transmission. The theme of history is also brought out through the chronicle material, here placed at the end of the volume. Indeed, with the exception of w.73 all the other large and highly decorated volumes with this material also contain chronicles, suggesting that the material on the natural world is to be read as part of a historical record. There are some direct links between the two kinds of text. The chronicles include references to eclipses and comets, the physical explanations for which are then provided in the excerpted texts. For example, on folio 3v of w.73, Bede's *De natura rerum* describes comets as "long stars of flame, suddenly appearing, portending a change of monarchy, plague, war, winds, or heat."⁴⁴ It is possible that w.73 was made to accompany such annals, or was copied from such a collection. In this way time and the natural world were brought together as means for God to demonstrate his will throughout history.

In this context, the relationships between the sites for which these books were made may be significant. Ramsey, Thorney, and Peterborough were all Benedictine houses within a small area. Although Winchcombe was on the other side of the country it had been re-founded by monks from Ramsey, and was near to the Cistercian House at Dore.⁴⁵ A devastating fire at Winchcombe in 1151 destroyed books, and may have prompted the restocking of the library.⁴⁶ It is possible that the monks at these houses were attempting to preserve a tradition associated with Abbo and Byrhtferth, emulating the example of these men in producing these large and lavish collections of cosmological material, and choosing not to update them.⁴⁷ Thus w.73 should not be seen as the product of a community that lacked more recent information, but as a claim to a particular tradition of knowledge at a time when new ideas about how to make sense of the natural world were circulating. A coda to this study may thus be found in the work of Godfrey of Saint-Victor. Writing in Paris in the last quarter of the twelfth century, at a house whose scholarly tradition was probably also in decline, Godfrey described education in an allegory in which he drank from rivers. Of physics he claimed to have drunk without becoming full, because the study of the art was long, life short, and experience deceitful.⁴⁸ He may have spoken for many students who preferred the simple, but long-established texts of a volume such as w.73 to the complexities of contemporary studies.

A great deal of research remains to be done on manuscripts on technical subjects. However, w.73 seems closely to resemble a group of exceptional decorated volumes on similar topics. The precise circumstances in which these volumes were created must be left for others to investigate, but w.73 and the other large and lavishly produced *computus* manuscripts may be understood as reference works for monks interested in the history of their surroundings, rather than as teaching tools on the nature of time and space. Such a function would seem to explain their large format, careful execution, and lavish decoration. In this context the inclusion of the diagrams served to emphasize the importance of the text, as much as to explain the details of the subjects under discussion. In making such books monastic houses may have been exploring their own past as a means of understanding and shaping the world around them. Thus w.73 serves as a reminder that at start of the thirteenth century the study of science was as concerned with the past as it was with making new discoveries.

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NOTES

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2. *The Didascalicon of Hugh of Saint Victor*, ed. and trans. J. Taylor (New York, 1991), 71.
3. See Bede, "On the Nature of Things" and "On Times," trans. C. B. Kendall and F. Wallis (Liverpool, 2010), 3.
4. Tractatus de sphaera; H. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede's 'De Natura Rerum,'" *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19–20 (1956–1957): 64–97 at 89.
5. J. E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York, 1984), 143.
6. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book", 87; see also *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* ed. M. Holcomb and L. Bessette, exh. cat., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven and London, 2009), 108–10.
7. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book," 64–97; J. Feltmann, "Inscribing Order: The Didactic Function of the Walters Art

- Museum MS 73," *Athanasius* 25 (2007): 7–16; Murdoch, *Album of Science*, 55, 143, 343; *Pen and Parchment*, 108–10.
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 9. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book," 65, 78, 89.
 10. Murdoch, *Album of Science*, 143.
 11. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book," 89–97; see also Bede, "On the Nature of Things" and "On Times," 7–12.
 12. *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury*, 68–69.
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 15. Bober, "An Illustrated Medieval School-Book," 77; Baker and Lapidge, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, liii; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), 57; R. Hanna and J. Griffiths, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Medieval Manuscripts of St. John's College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2002), 27–34; for a digital facsimile of this manuscript see: <http://www2.odl.ox.ac.uk/gsd/cgi-bin/library>; Baker and Lapidge, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, lv–lvii; for images of the Harley manuscript, see <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/welcome.htm>.
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 21. I am grateful to Abigail Quandt, head of books and paper conservation, and Kathryn Gerry, curatorial fellow, at the Walters Art Museum for this information.
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 39. Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum and De laudibus divinae sapientiae*, ed. T. Wright (London, 1863); see also L. Thorndike, *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators* (Chicago, 1949), 5.
 40. R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Neckam (1157–1217)*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford, 1984), 5–10.

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42. See, for example, Neckam, *De naturis rerum*, 62.
43. C. Jones, ‘Manuscripts of Bede’s *De Natura Rerum*’ *Isis* 27, no. 3 (1937): 432.
44. Comet[a]e sunt stell[a]e flammis crinit[a]e, repente vascentes, regni mutationem, aut pestilentiam, aut bella, vel ventos, [a] estusve portendentes.
45. See also Moreton, “Before Grosseteste,” 565.
46. British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius E.IV, fol. 24; D. Royce ed., *Landboc sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba* (Exeter, 1892), 1:83.
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48. “Godfrey of Saint Victor Fons Philosophiae,” ed. P. Michaud-Quantin, *Analecta Mediaevalia Namurcensia* 8 (1956): 51.

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THE BRONZE PANELS AND THE PORTAL OF SAN CLEMENTE A CASAURIA

JESSICA N. RICHARDSON

In 1902, Henry Walters acquired two bronze panels from the Collection of Don Marcello Massarenti in Rome. Each measures approximately 28 centimeters square and 3.5 centimeters thick. On one, we see a three-turreted castle in high relief containing delineated brickwork with an inscription at its base reading *CASTRUM FARE DABRILIE*, or Castle of Fare d'Abrilie (fig. 1). The other contains a raised square area that has a punched border framing eight interlacing lozenges, also bearing punch marks, which converge somewhat awkwardly at center.¹ The two plaques once formed part of the bronze doors of the main portal of the Benedictine church of San Clemente a Casauria, today a national monument, situated approximately 67 kilometers southwest of Pescara in Abruzzo (fig. 2).² The doors were commissioned by the abbot of the monastery, Gioele, and thus date from the period of his leadership, between 1182 and 1191.³

Praised in the nineteenth century as “the famous bronze portal” and “one of the most important elements of the [church’s] decoration,”⁴ the doors of San Clemente a Casauria have received surprisingly little note in recent years considering the attention given to medieval bronze doors in Italy, in particular, the latest flurry of publications on their technique and manufacture.⁵ For the most part, study of the doors of San Clemente has been overshadowed by interest in the marble reliefs that surround them and their more famous patron, Abbot Leonate, Gioele’s predecessor, who ruled the monastery from 1155 until his death in 1182.⁶ Indeed, the marble reliefs are among the great treasures of twelfth-century sculpture in southern Italy and testify to the sophistication of planning and the skill of sculptors working on a monumental and arguably unprecedented scale (figs. 2, 3). Yet the portal decoration is worthy of attention for another reason: it provides us with a rare instance of monumental twelfth-century marble and bronze reliefs that formed part of

a coherent visual program.⁷ Recent scholarship on medieval sculpture tends to divide the study of the two media;⁸ the portal of San Clemente a Casauria presents a case for their interdependence. In this essay, I argue that the bronze and marble reliefs of the main portal formed part of a complex, unified campaign, begun by Abbot Leonate and continued under Abbot Gioele, aimed at securing the monks’ authority in the region through recourse to the abbey’s history and its patrons, and its rights to various properties. Consideration of the imagery in the doors and in the surrounding marble reliefs, together, not only collapses material boundaries; it allows for a deeper understanding of the role a multimedia



Fig. 1. Door panel with castle, ca. 1190, from the Church of San Clemente a Casauria, Abruzzo. Bronze. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters with the Massarenti Collection, 1902 (54.1058)



visual project played in the construction of institutional identity, the recording of history, and the establishment of alliances within a medieval monastic community.

THE CHRONICON CASAURIENSE AND THE MARBLE RELIEFS

As Markus Späth demonstrates in his 2007 book on San Clemente a Casauria, the surviving textual and visual evidence from the abbey presents a particularly rich case for the study of the construction of memory in medieval Europe.⁹ The monastery's history is unusually well documented in a splendidly preserved manuscript, the *Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum Monasterii Casauriensis* or *Chronicon Casauriense* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411), begun around 1170, which, according to the text itself, was commissioned by Abbot Leonate, composed by monk Johannes Berardi, and written and illuminated by master Rusticus.¹⁰ The manuscript, part chartulary and part chronicle, consists of 272 folios, with the chartulary containing more than

Fig. 2. Central portal, Church of San Clemente a Casauria, Abruzzo

Fig. 3. Marble lintel and tympanum, central portal, Church of San Clemente a Casauria, Abruzzo



2,150 copied documents. The latter occupies the majority of the pages and is thematically divided into four parts, while the chronicle, for the most part, appears in the margins throughout.¹¹ The chronicle begins with the illustrious foundation of the site by Louis II (r. 846–879) in 866 and ends with the death of Abbot Leonate in 1182. In what is effectively a foundation charter of 873, it recounts that Louis II installed its first abbot; referred to the monastery as “casa aurea” (hence its current name Casauria, or golden house); endowed it with rights, including lands; and placed it under his personal protection.¹² A prominent focus is the power and presence of its titular saint, as told through the arrival of St. Clement’s relics to the site, their reinvention in 1104, and his miracles on behalf of the monastery.¹³ While access to the manuscript itself was probably limited to the monks and to select individuals who visited the site, the history recounted presumably reached a broader audience through the reading of the text at particular moments during the liturgical year, including anniversaries of important events, and at the reception of distinguished guests.¹⁴ Significantly, key episodes in the abbey’s past, as narrated in the *Chronicon*, reached an even wider public through the sculpture above the central portal, begun, according to the *Chronicon* itself, under Leonate in 1176.¹⁵

In the lintel above the main portal of San Clemente (see fig. 3) appears the story of the monastery’s foundation. The figures are each labeled by inscription, and an additional text running along the lower border further elaborates upon the events depicted, with the protagonists addressing each other in the first person. Beginning at left we see Pope Hadrian II (r. 867–872) presenting Louis II with the reliquary containing the body of St. Clement: “In accordance with the emperor’s vow, I [Pope Hadrian II] bestow the entire [body] of Clement”;¹⁶ “Behold, father of the country [Louis II], I confer a gift on you, the body of Clement. Take the sacred corpse”;¹⁷ the translation of the saint’s relics from Rome to the abbey, which are presented by Louis II to two of the abbey’s brothers, Celsus and Reatus: “Take the body of the outstanding martyr Clement”;¹⁸ Emperor Louis II installing the monastery’s first abbot, Romanus: “Island of Pescara, flowery source of paradise, we affirm with the scepter dominion over you; take [the body of Clement], we beg”;¹⁹ the ceding of territory to the abbey by the Frankish noble Sisenandus (in 871) and Bishop Grimbalduus (in 873): “Island of the Pescara, which is considered under our jurisdiction,

deliver us by your worth”;²⁰ and at far right, the prelate Heribaldus, who issued documents in favor of the monastery on behalf of Louis II in 873 and 877, and who here addresses the viewer: “May he rightly be called Caesar.”²¹

Directly above the lintel, two of the abbey’s patrons feature prominently in the tympanum: St. Clement sits enthroned at center, with his disciples Phoebus and Cornelius at left, and at right, Abbot Leonate presents him with a model of the church. The figures are again labeled by inscription and the text directly above the image of the model church reads: “Receive, St. Clement, the regal church prepared for you and repay Leonate with the blessed abode in heaven.”²² Framing the central portal are four monumental figures in jambs; each wears a crown and bears a scroll. In contrast to the images in both the lintel and tympanum, these figures are not identified by inscription. Yet, as I hope to demonstrate, the presence of these reliefs, rarely discussed in the literature on the site and its sculpture, relates directly to the *Chronicon*; provides the crucial link between the imagery in the tympanum and lintel and that in the bronze doors; and is essential to our understanding of the entire portal program.

The *Chronicon* and the marble reliefs in the lintel and tympanum of San Clemente’s central portal, commissioned in the same decade and by the same abbot, worked in conjunction. The latter provided a select and somewhat independent summary of events, visually recording key themes and possibly serving to enhance oral recitations of the manuscript itself.²³ As Gloria Fossi, Laurent Feller, Späth, Elizabeth Bradford Smith, and Francesco Gandolfo have all shown, the *Chronicon*, together with the scenes in the tympanum and lintel, was part of a concerted effort to assert the rights of the monastery, connecting the past to the present and stressing the antiquity and legitimacy of the monks’ current claims to power.²⁴ Specifically, the lintel reliefs highlight the abbey’s royal foundation and papal support; the role of an imperial patron in appointing its first abbot and securing land for the monastery; and the presence of St. Clement’s relics at the site.

PATRONS: HOLY AND MONASTIC

While one finds earlier examples of sculpted patron saints featured centrally in the tympana of Italian churches (recall, for example, the figures of St. George and St. Zeno in their eponymous churches at Ferrara and Verona),²⁵ the image of

a contemporary abbot, in this case Leonate, presenting the model of the church to the titular is uncommon in external portal reliefs.²⁶ Moreover, in earlier monumental imagery in the interior (not exterior) of churches, it was most common to find popes and bishops presenting model churches to Christ, not the patron saint.²⁷ One exceptional example in stone, coeval to the reliefs at San Clemente appears in a capital in the cloister of the church of Monreale, (consecrated in 1182, the very year of Abbot Leonate's death). Here, the patron, the Norman king William II (1169–1189), presents a model of the church to the site's titular, the Virgin Mary (with the Christ Child).²⁸ There is also, however, a more closely related model in fresco, which was very likely in the thoughts of those planning the portal relief of San Clemente: the eleventh-century image in the nearby Benedictine church of Sant'Angelo in Formis. In the lower register of the apse, the patron, Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino (abbot, 1058–1087), offers the church to its titular St. Michael.²⁹ Yet even despite the monumental precedent for the topos of an abbot presenting his project to the titular saint of the site, the clearest parallels for the images at both Sant'Angelo in Formis and San Clemente a Casauria would seem to come from manuscripts where we find illuminations of the book itself presented to their respective titular saint. In the *Chronicon Cassinense* or *Codex Benedictus* (Vat. lat. 1202) of around 1075, we find a representation, again, of Abbot Desiderius this time presenting the manuscript to St. Benedict (480–547), founder and patron of Monte Cassino.³⁰ Likewise, the *Chronicon Casauriense* contains an image depicting Johannes Berardi, the maker of the manuscript, presenting his work to an enthroned St. Clement (fig. 4). Here, just as in the tympanum image of Abbot Leonate, the monk appears with an accompanying verse inscription addressed to the saint.³¹ This latter image provides further testimony for the close conceptual and visual relationship between the *Chronicon* and the marble reliefs: Abbot Leonate and monk Berardi perform the same act of offering before the church's enthroned titular saint. As we shall see, this rapport between project patron and titular saint is also present in the bronze doors.

Another remarkable feature of the marble reliefs at San Clemente is their focus on the site's foundation and its early history. As numerous recent studies have shown, the writing and rewriting of monastic histories, particularly in regards to their foundations and privileges, were central concerns of religious houses throughout the Italian peninsula and

beyond, and the task was pursued with new vigor beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.³² Moreover, while rooted in the past, this self-fashioning played a crucial role in the present, in both the self-image of the monks and that projected to the wider community.³³ While in eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy these issues are addressed most commonly in the reorganization and (re)writing of manuscripts, they are rarely illustrated glyptically: foundations legends are commonly recorded in manuscripts, their representation on a church façade, at this date, is most unusual. A notable exception (and probably our earliest example in Italy) appears in the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century reliefs on the left doorpost framing the central portal of the Benedictine abbey of San Silvestro, Nonantola.³⁴ These reliefs, like those at San Clemente, are concerned with lineage and land, and parallel the process evident in the Nonantolan monks' coeval writings that, as recently demonstrated by Dorothy Glass, attempted to "(re)-frame its history in the light of current concerns."³⁵ As discussed by Glass, these narrative reliefs, beginning with the foundation of the monastery and including the arrival of St. Sylvester's relics to the site, were part and parcel of the much larger process of recording the abbey's history and affirming its claims to the possession of the relics of its patron saint.³⁶ For example, the third relief from the bottom depicts the crowned eighth-century Lombard king



Fig. 4. Johannes Berardi presents his manuscript to St. Clement. *Chronicon Casauriense*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 272v, detail

Aistulf presenting what appears to be a piece of land to his brother-in-law, Bishop Anselm, founder of the monastery (fig. 5) and this is followed by scenes relating to the interment of St. Sylvester's relics in the church.³⁷ The monks' efforts to communicate their royal foundation and the presence of the relics of their titular saint through visual means are not unlike those at San Clemente a Casauria. In both instances, the prominent display of these themes in the reliefs that frame the entrance of the churches corroborated and reinforced the monks' written projects, while at the same time reaching a wider public.

THEMES OF PROPERTY

Surviving textual evidence testifies to a much larger phenomenon in eleventh- and twelfth-century Italy that focuses on (re)-recording monastic foundations and their early patrons. The manuscripts created in this period for the religious houses at Farfa and Monte Cassino present further cases in point.³⁸ Moreover, as has been discussed most notably by Patrick Geary, a crucial component of these histories and, more

generally, a defining characteristic of the chartularies created in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe is the preoccupation with land in the form of detailed recordings of donations and privileges.³⁹ Firm testimony for this interest at San Clemente appears in the contents, organization, and appearance of the *Chronicon Casauriense*. The donation and confirmation of lands to the monastery, beginning with its very foundation, is a consistent theme throughout. For example, the first part of the chartulary (6–72v) contains copies of early charters pertaining to the monk's holdings and is arranged topographically; the chronicle that appears in the margins of this section of the text not only recounts the story of the foundation, but lists the properties possessed by the abbey in its early years. Further, in a notable number of passages in the following sections, the privileges and properties granted to the monks are described, and the act itself is often illuminated, serving as a preface to the text (fig. 5), and throughout the entire manuscript lands are consistently singled out by rubrication. For example, *Castrum Fare Abrilie* (in its various appellations in the manuscript, *Farum Ambrilie*, *De ambrilie* and *De fara ambrilie*) a former site in the territory of nearby Bolognano just south (east) of Casauria, appears rubricated throughout the *Chronicon*.⁴⁰ This rubrication and the recurrent mention of the site together with the fact that it is recorded as a gift to Abbot Romanus by one Mauricius Castaldio in 876, thus forming part of the monastery's early holdings, testifies to its significance.⁴¹ So too does the fact that it formerly appeared on the central doors of the church: it is the very locale inscribed in the lower



Fig. 5. Relief on the left doorpost framing the main portal of the Benedictine abbey of San Silvestro, Nonantola



Fig. 6. Emperor Berengar granting a privilege to the monks of San Clemente a Casauria. *Chronicon Casauriense*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 124, detail

portion of the Walters' panel (fig. 1). Thus, the imagery in the bronze doors both complements and extends the themes found in both the manuscript and the surrounding marble sculpture, most notably, through this panel and those similar panels that depict three-turreted castles containing inscriptions of sites beneath. The latter are usually associated with properties possessed by the monastery, a point to which I shall return. Yet unlike the marble reliefs, which remain as a whole fabulously well preserved, the bronze doors have a more complicated history, and their current appearance requires some explanation.

THE BRONZE DOORS: HISTORY AND RECONSTRUCTION

Measuring approximately four meters high by two meters wide and consisting of seventy-two panels, the doors of San Clemente, as they appear today, consist of four plaques containing rosettes in the corner of each valve; twenty, three-turreted castles (fourteen of which are distinctly labeled), with ten along the outermost border of each valve; forty-two ornamental plaques; two knockers in the shape of lions heads; and four figures in the uppermost row: a crowned figure holding a scroll and scepter; an enthroned bishop; a second crowned figure, who gestures with his right hand and holds a scepter in his left; and a hooded monk whose head and arms gesture toward our right. As will be discussed, the latter have been identified as Louis II, St. Clement, William II, and Abbot Gioele. Forty-four of the panels are original; the remaining twenty are wood reproductions (see fig. 2).⁴²

By the time Pierluigi Calore, the man who would dedicate his life to the restoration of San Clemente a Casauria, arrived on the scene in the 1880s, the doors were already in a state of severe disarray, as he himself recorded, and as noted in a description by his friend and compatriot Gabriele D'Annunzio: "[the site] seemed to me at first glance, a ruin . . . from all the cracks in the masonry sprouted clumps of weeds; recent constructions of brick and mortar blocked the wide openings of the lateral arches; *the doors were falling off their hinges* [emphasis mine]."⁴³ Further evidence for the state of the doors is found in the 1890s, when, according to Calore, the sculpted figures decorating the inner face of the capitals of both jambs were shaved off to make room for a wooden door intended to secure the remaining panels from robbery.⁴⁴ The installation of this door and the desire

to protect the bronze panels coincided with the restoration work begun by Calore around 1891, who noted in his publication of that year that many of the panels "had been stolen" and others, still on the doors, "had been moved and misplaced."⁴⁵ Yet despite efforts to preserve what remained through lock and key, the solution was not entirely successful. For in 1902 (coincidentally, the very year two of the bronze panels entered the collection of Henry Walters), the Prefect of Teramo wrote a letter to the Minister of Public Education describing how, at an unspecified time between 16 and 31 April, an unknown suspect used a pole to force open the lock of the church's doors and took "four bronze panels of historical value."⁴⁶

The restoration of the doors begun by Calore was completed by Ignazio Gavini around 1933.⁴⁷ Evidence for the appearance of the doors prior to their work appears in an 1842 etching by Saverio Cavallari (fig. 6). The etching was made some six years after Cavallari had visited San Clemente in 1838 and featured in Heinrich Wilhelm Schulz's *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, published posthumously by Ferdinand von Quast in 1860.⁴⁸ The etching and the reconstructed doors present similar arrangements of the panels, and in his 1986 book on Monte Cassino, Herbert Bloch argued that it in fact provided a model for the restoration work. Yet Bloch rightly drew attention to two major problems with both: the number of castle panels and the arrangement of the four figures in the upper row.⁴⁹ In the first instance, both Cavallari's etching and the doors as they stand reconstructed contain twenty castle panels, while the earlier descriptions (including that recorded in the 1860 publication itself) list twenty-two castles panels with their accompanying inscriptions.⁵⁰

The decision to include twenty and not twenty-two castle panels in the restoration of the doors of San Clemente is slightly more complicated than Bloch would lead us to believe. For Calore (and presumably also Gavini) was not only acquainted with the early studies describing the doors; he himself published a list of twenty-two inscriptions found beneath the castles in his 1891 article related to the restoration of the site, noting that these were given to him along with "six other panels and elements of the frames and nails, that had been recovered by the ministry of Castiglione a Casauria and the Ministry of Public Education."⁵¹ Further, even though the wooden reproductions of the castle panels do not contain actual inscriptions (that is, the six of the

twenty panels that are not original, fig. 2), in his 1894 article devoted solely to the restoration of the doors, Calore listed the twenty inscriptions upon which he based his reconstruction, and provided his rationale for the two panels he excluded, “CASTRUM FARE D’ABRILIE” (the Walters’ castle panel, listed in all other early accounts as the eighth castle on the left valve) and “CASTELLUM VETULUM MONACISCUM” (now lost, but which, according to our written testimony, once appeared as the ninth castle panel on the right valve):

One sees clearly how in the right [*sic*: left] valve there is no space for the panel CASTRUM FARE D’ABRILIE . . . it was not listed in the said portal because the space allotted for castles was full, and, as stated, there is no space and the panel no longer survives . . . On the left [*sic*: right] valve, for the same reasons, CASTELLUM VETULUM MONACISCUM has also been wrongly [*falsamente*] listed.

He then went on to comment on the disappearance of the panels, quoting Serafino Ventura’s 1853 *Brevi notizie sulla fondazione del monistero di Casauria*:

The said bronze doors no longer exist, that is, less than three quarters of them because sacrilegious hands, taken by greed for money and the evil spirit of robbery, stole the rest, selling for a small price their sacrilege. I have conserved in the parish church about fifteen panels of the said metal doors, recovered by persons who had purchased them from anonymous thieves.⁵²

Why Calore explicitly excluded the two panels from his list (and ultimately from the reconstruction), while including five other sites that were, according to his own assessment, also lost, is a question we cannot answer. Nor can we trace with precision the exact dates the missing panels were removed from the doors. We can, however, more closely approximate when the Walters’ castle panel (and presumably also its companion ornamented panel in the same museum) left the site. In his 1885 study *S. Clemente a Casauria e il suo codice miniato esistente nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi*, Vincenzo Bindi lists twenty-one separate inscriptions on the panels and their arrangement in the doors, eleven on the right valve and ten on the left (minus the first castle on the right door), which includes CASTRUM FARE D’ABRILIE. That Bindi is not just repeating earlier sources is apparent from the comment that precedes his list: “Here are the

names of the possessions, according to the reading that we have made, correcting some inaccuracies in which other writers have incurred [emphasis mine].”⁵³ This implies that the Walters’ panel, the only surviving castle panel missing from the reconstructed doors, was still *in situ* in 1885 and that it left the site sometime before 1894, when Calore first reported its absence.⁵⁴

Like the castle panels, the current collocation of the four figures in the upper row corresponds to Cavallari’s 1842 etching (see figs. 2 and 7). However, the incorrect order of these panels is signaled by two details, visible today, that both relate to the figure of the monk. First, in its current position the gesture of this figure is directed toward the right corner rosette, in what appears an arbitrary pose that was undoubtedly intended for a recipient. Second, an inscription in the framing element above the image of the enthroned

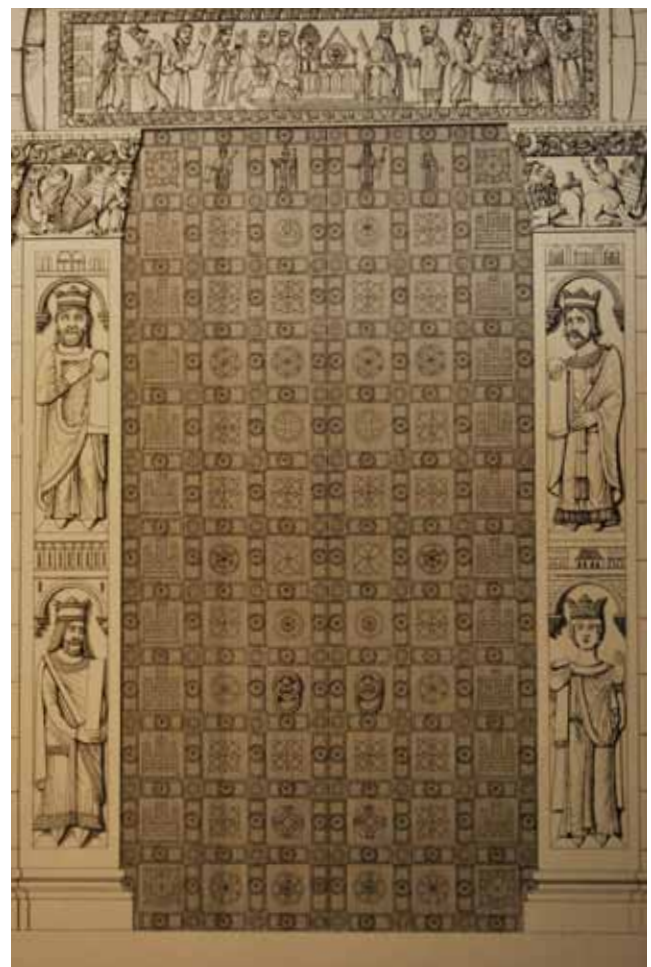


Fig. 7. Heinrich Wilhelm Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, published posthumously by Ferdinand von Quast, Dresden: Eigentum von W. K. H. Schulz, 1860, Atlas, pl. 55

figure reads IOHEL ABBAS, words that relate to the monk and that in fact identify him as Gioele, who, as we have noted, was abbot of San Clement from 1182 to 1191. If we move the panel of the monk to below this inscription and then shift the position of the enthroned figure one to the right we find a much more likely arrangement.⁵⁵ Confirmation for this exists in both a published letter of 1754 by Giuseppe Allegranza and in Ignazio Di Pietro's 1804 *Memorie storiche della città di Solmona*. The former recorded that "in mezzo Johel Abbas Sanctus Clemens" and Di Pietro, transcribing also this inscription, noted that the abbot was undoubtedly Gioele on account of "the name with his image," which was "next to the other of St. Clement."⁵⁶ Thus, these early sources affirm also the identity of the enthroned image as St. Clement (a counterpart to the image of the saint in the marble lunette) who would have appeared as the logical recipient of the abbot's bow. The crowned figure with the scepter would then appear fourth (in the current position of Abbot Gioele). The identification and the suggested replacement of Abbot Gioele before St. Clement correspond to the images in the *Chronicon* and in the lunette that depict the monk Johannes Berardi and Abbot Leonate respectively, presenting their works to the titular saint of the abbey (see figs. 2 and 3).⁵⁷ In the case of the bronze portal image, the abbot's downturned head and outstretched arm indicate his gift of the very doors themselves to St. Clement.

Unfortunately, none of our early sources refers to inscriptions for the two crowned figures that, in their proper order, would have flanked Abbot Gioele and St. Clement. As noted above, Bloch identified the left figure as King Louis II, whose scroll, he suggested, references the monastery's foundation charter, and William II, the Norman king who ruled south Italy from 1166 until his death in 1189, and who, he reported, had particularly good relations with the monastery.⁵⁸ In the few studies that mention these royal figures Bloch's proposal has been accepted, but their relationship to the surrounding imagery has not been further explored.⁵⁹

Representations of King Louis II, Abbot Gioele, and St. Clement in the bronze panels augment the meaning assigned to the marble sculpture above, with its emphasis on the royal foundation of the site and the central depiction of the current abbot before the site's patron saint. A representation of King William II, however, would add a new dimension to the portal imagery. The depictions of the monastery's late twelfth-century leaders and the patrons of

its decoration, Abbots Leonate and Gioele, in the presence of its founder and titular saint, its royal and holy patrons, draws its protectors into the present. The appearance of the contemporary Norman king would further emphasize this by linking the site's historical royal patron to present Norman rule. As we shall see, the representations of the monastery's patrons—royal, monastic, and holy—from its foundation to the present also has implications for our understanding of the castle panels and their connection to the surrounding portal imagery.

REPRESENTING PROPERTIES: THE BRONZE CASTLE PANELS

Scholars have long noted a relationship between the bronze doors at San Clemente and those at the nearby abbey at Monte Cassino.⁶⁰ The latter, originally ordered from Constantinople by Abbot Desiderius in the mid-eleventh century and re-worked and more or less transformed to their current state under Abbot Oderisius around 1123, list some 200 sites possessed by the abbey at the time of their creation.⁶¹ While surely known to the monks at Casauria, the decision to include the names of sites on their doors could have come also from Rome itself. As Konrad Hoffmann already pointed out nearly forty years ago, according to descriptions, the atrium of Old St. Peter's had bronze doors donated by the Emperor Charlemagne (r. as emperor 800–814), now lost, that contained inscriptions of territories possessed by the papacy.⁶² Were the monks at Casauria drawing on this tradition, one that likely also inspired the Monte Cassino doors, thus, perhaps consciously linking the monastery to an earlier, and more illustrious Carolingian past?

The conceit of inscribing sites on the panels of the portal at San Clemente was surely filtered through the example available in the doors at nearby Monte Cassino.⁶³ Drawing a comparison between the two sets of doors, Bloch referred to those at Monte Cassino as a "sort of grandiose chartulary," and complimented those responsible for planning San Clemente as having "much more grace and taste."⁶⁴ Bradford Smith notes in passing that in comparison to Monte Cassino, the doors of San Clemente "simplified the message using visual representations of castles rather than inscriptions."⁶⁵ Yet the doors not only contain inscriptions, they provide a sophisticated presentation of place, drawing on a well-known representational device, a three-turreted *castrum* or castle,

widely available in coins and seals, and using it in a novel way.⁶⁶ The symbolic use of a fortified structure to represent sites on a monumental scale within a monastic context is rare; the only near-contemporary example known to me appears in a fresco, now lost, that formerly adorned the narthex of the church of Santi Vincenzo and Anastasio, Rome of around 1200.⁶⁷

What is more, unlike the bronze doors from Monte Cassino, one finds almost exclusive reference to *castra* or territories immediately surrounding San Clemente, and dependent churches were categorically excluded.⁶⁸ Further, as already noted by Giovanni Pansa in 1893, several of the sites inscribed in the panels are not recorded as possessions of the monastery in any of the known late-twelfth century documents. Labeling these “castelli falsamente enunciati,” Pansa posited that perhaps they were former possessions alluding to an earlier period of splendor in the monastery’s history.⁶⁹ This idea of viewing the sites listed as the monks’ attempt to claim control and draw attention to their former holdings amidst their declining power finds favor in the studies of economic historians of medieval Abruzzo. For example, according to the statistics gathered by Feller, the majority of the territories owned by the monks at the end of the twelfth century had entered their possession by the mid-eleventh century. For aside from those lands granted in 1160, the number of new possessions did not increase, and by the end of the twelfth century, the very period in which the doors were created, privileges had altogether ceased.⁷⁰ Both Bloch and Späth draw special attention to the fact that the sites inscribed beneath the castles were not known to have been possessed by the monastery at any single period in its history, and, even more, Späth shows that in at least seven instances the properties listed are not found in any of the known papal and imperial privileges listing sites possessed by the monastery dating from between 877 and 1191, some of which appear copied in the *Chronicon* itself.⁷¹ If not a list of the territories owned by the monastery at the time of the creation of the doors, what was the meaning of the castle panels and their accompanying inscriptions?

In his recent study, Späth argues that the inscribed territories present a synopsis of sites possessed by the monastery at different periods in its history and that this is in keeping with the overall conception of time and space as outlined in the *Chronicon* and as found in the sculpted imagery above, and, more generally, with ideas of twelfth-century monastic

historiographic writing and visual narratives.⁷² As we have seen, the mixing of temporal elements occurs in the bronze doors themselves, through the pairing of figures from the ninth and twelfth centuries (Louis II and William II) and the first and twelfth centuries (St. Clement and Abbot Gioele). Späth further maintains that this chronological complexity evident in the inscriptions served a memorial function, presenting a selective summary of the monks’ collective history. While certainly true, this imagery is strongly linked also to the monks’ ideas concerning their present and future in ways hitherto unexplored. In the remaining section, I will present a case for how previously overlooked aspects of the visual evidence allow for a fuller understanding of the significance of the castle panels and ultimately the relationship between the marble and bronze sculpture. The imagery in the doors is essentially the culminating statement in the portal program, and it most critically encapsulates the concerns the monastery faced during the last decades of the twelfth century.

It is now widely recognized that imaginative recreations of a monastery’s early history should not be viewed in the realm of fabrication or invention, but as a presentation of beliefs.⁷³ As Amy G. Raymensnyder has noted, the recording of monastic foundation legends, present “imaginative memory” that falls outside the realm of “fiction” or “forgery” because “the members of monastic communities believed in these images of their past” just as we might “believe what we remember.”⁷⁴ Thus, just because the territories listed on the doors are not recorded as possessions of the monks (in late-twelfth-century documents), does not mean that they were not believed to have been theirs, and the so-called “castelli falsamente enunciati” could, in fact, be our only surviving evidence for the latter. While attempts to understand the precise nature of the selection process for the sites inscribed in the doors of Casauria prove impossible, I would like to suggest that a key to understanding their meaning can be found in the imagery contained in both the *Chronicon* and the surrounding marble sculpture. For the latter, however, we should look not to the celebrated reliefs in the lintel and tympanum, but to the four sculpted figures that flank the doors (see fig. 2).

ROYAL PATRONAGE

Long dismissed as Old Testament prophets and kings,⁷⁵ it has been proposed more recently that the jamb figures flanking the main portal at Casauria might instead reference an

illumination in the *Chronicon*, which contains four kings, tagged Hugo (d. 947), Lambert (d. 898), Lothar (d. 869), and Berengar (d. 924), inside a church labeled San Clemente (fig. 8).⁷⁶ Bradford Smith, the only scholar to devote attention to these marble reliefs, supports this suggestion in passing.⁷⁷ She is most interested, however, in the figures' artistic sources, comparing them to architectural sculpture found in mid-twelfth-century France and Emilia, particularly the jambs from Saint-Denis, and stating that the inspiration for the representation of royal figures at San Clemente could have carried a dual message, referring to both biblical and locally important kings.⁷⁸ Yet Bradford Smith notes also that their identity is impossible to decipher since "whatever was painted on their scrolls has long since disappeared."⁷⁹

These crowned marble figures do indeed find their counterparts in the *Chronicon*'s illuminations. Not, however, in the folio previously associated, but in the images showing royal figures offering scrolls to the monks (see fig. 6). Similar to the scrolls proffered in the parchment scenes, the scrolls held by the kings in the jambs do not contain text, and the latter might have been intentional. While the scrolls could have contained painted words for which no physical trace remains, it seem likely that, if included, the text in these reliefs would have been inscribed and not painted, in keeping with the other images from the site. Consider, for example, the use of carved text in the lintel and tympanum, particularly the inscribed scrolls held by Sisendanus and Bishop Grimbalduus that specifically call attention to the donation of properties to the early monastery (see fig. 3).⁸⁰ Further, the scrolls featured in the hands of other coeval figures in the façade decoration are inscribed and not painted, such as the one held by St. Michael in the tympanum of the left portal.⁸¹

In the *Chronicon*, the blank scrolls symbolically represent rights or privileges given to the monks and the illuminations serve to preface the accompanying text. I would like to suggest that, in a similar vein, the key to understanding the scrolls held by the sculpted figures in the jambs is found outside the image itself: it appears inscribed beneath the castles in the nearby doors. Thus, just as the text of the *Chronicon* elucidates the illuminated scenes, so here, the inscriptions beneath the castles are the words absent from the scrolls presented by the four crowned figures in the jambs, serving to complete their royal message. These four marble figures quite literally frame the castle plaques, and in each instance the unfurled blank parchment is held in the hand

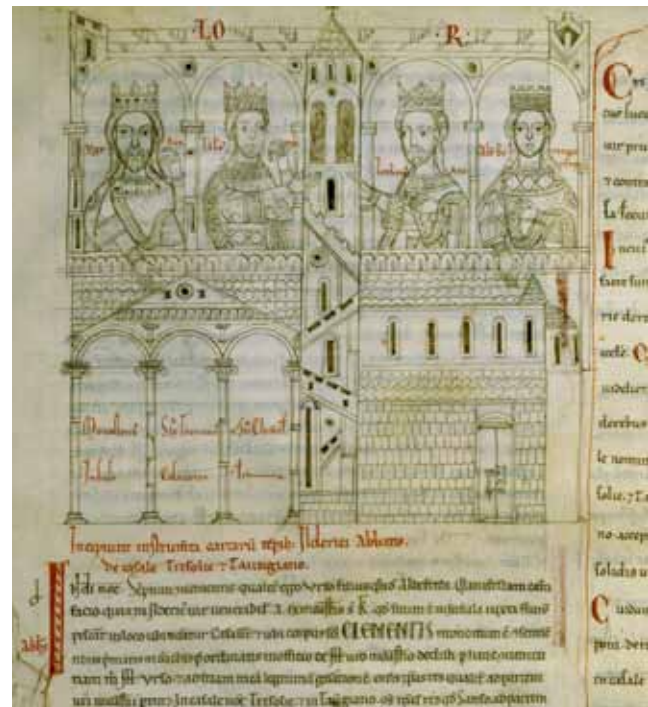


Fig. 8. Church of San Clemente with Kings Hugh, Lambert, Lothar, and Berengar. *Chronicon Casauriense*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 129v, detail

closest to the row of castle panels in the doors, creating a visual association between patrons and property.⁸²

While direct correlations cannot be made between the representations of the royal figures offering scrolls in the manuscripts and those in the doors, they employ a similar visual vocabulary, and it is clear that in both instances attempts were made to distinguish these figures. In the marble reliefs, for example, we see distinct facial features and hairstyles, sartorial diversity, and various shaped crowns. Likewise, in the *Chronicon* we find attempts to differentiate the figures through the use of general, but by no means distinct individualizing traits. For example, Emperor Berengar, who appears in two separate illuminations, sports a different crown in each image (see figs. 6 and 8).

Despite the lack of visual uniformity and the absence of inscribed names in the jamb reliefs, we can perhaps attempt to identify these royal figures based on the images and themes in the *Chronicon* itself. In the manuscript, a total of seven kings or emperors appear illuminated throughout.⁸³ Of these, only five are depicted with scrolls, four emperors and one king. These are Emperors Charles III (r. 881–888), Berengar I (r. 915–924), Otto I (r. 962–973), Conrad II (r. 1027–1039), and King Adalbert (950–961).⁸⁴ In the case of the latter,

however, it is not King Adalbert who proffers the scroll to the monks, but the other way round: Abbot Idelicus presents the king a privilege granted by Louis II in the hopes of resolving a dispute of property between the monastery and Bishop Giovanni of Penne, who appears isolated at right.⁸⁵ It is possible that the figures on the jambs were intended to represent the four emperors depicted in the *Chronicon*, who do indeed present a document to the monks, and whose rules date from between the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries: Charles III, Berengar I, Otto I, and Conrad II. Yet as each of the sites listed in the doors cannot be directly linked to one or another of these kings either granting or confirming the monks' rights to these lands, their meaning must be sought elsewhere.

Accepting the jamb figures as representations of kings that favored the monastery and the relationship between their blank scrolls and the inscriptions beneath the castles demands, we look more closely at the identifications proposed for the royal personages in the bronze doors. Again, at either end of the upper row, should appear, according to Bloch, Louis II and William II (see fig. 2), and the latter provides, he suggested, a *terminus ante quem* for the doors themselves.⁸⁶ Although this hypothesis cannot be proven, it seems plausible. Consider that the eleventh missing castle panel of each respective valve according to Bloch's reconstruction would have appeared in the position directly below these two royal figures in bronze.⁸⁷ Thus, like the row of ten panels in each valve, these two castle panels would have been framed also by kings, the founder and the current king. The four marble kings in the jambs, then, evoke the protection of historical kings between Louis II and William II that favored the monastery and its holdings. By placing William II in a program that highlights the loyalty of kings past, we could read this image as both a presentation of the monastery's patron, in line with a long tradition of royal predecessors, and perhaps an appeal for his support (we might note as significant, for example, that he would be the only royal figure to appear in the portal program who does not contain a scroll). The individualizing features and the absence of inscribed names for the kings are not necessarily at odds: the presence and placement of these figures relates to the very idea of royal protection, drawing a direct parallel between the past and the present.

The *Chronicon* records contemporary miracles of St. Clement that occurred after the reinvention of his relics in

1104.⁸⁸ Graham Loud has keenly observed that the author had little interest in miracles related to thaumaturgical healings and focused instead on St. Clement's power to intervene on behalf of the monastery and its holdings.⁸⁹ The latter were increasingly under threat with the arrival of the Normans in the region in the 1060s. For example, the defeat of the monastery's *bête noire* in the 1080s and 1090s, Hugh Mamouzet, is attributed to the saint's intervention: "God whom he had offended, and St. Clement, overthrew his house, despoiled it of silver and gold, and did not permit him to fulfill his desires. For he made him suffer with a most serious illness which brought him to the grave, and in the year which he died five of his sons followed him in death."⁹⁰ In another, slightly earlier, account related to one who doubted the relics, the text makes explicit St. Clement's interest in protecting the monastery's rights: "He [Clement] always knows about and strikes down those who do him harm, and also looks after those faithful to him, watches over their property, and, as we see, guards and magnificently defends his church."⁹¹ And in another account of 1128, Clement appeared in vision to two monks and foretold the downfall of a vassal who had seized the abbey's animals: "I want you to know that I shall soon have revenge on my enemies, and I shall have them driven from their paternal inheritance, and they will live and die miserably in exile in a land that is not their own."⁹²

That St. Clement should appear in visions to protect the monastery's rights comes as no surprise. What is less expected are miracles in which the saint is accompanied by Casauria's founder, Louis II. For example, we are told that in 1137, when the monastery was under threat from the Norman count of Manoppello, both St. Clement and Louis II appeared in vision to two of the monks to assure them of their protection.⁹³ The idea of royal protection, particularly in relation to the monastery's rights and holdings, is a central concern of the *Chronicon*, and Loud has convincingly suggested that this related directly to the monks' newfound royal protectors: the Norman kings of Sicily.⁹⁴

The impact of the process of *incastellamento*—the foundation of fortified villages or the fortification of existing settlements—in Abruzzo from around 970 and the subsequent Norman invasions beginning in the 1060s threatened San Clemente and its holdings.⁹⁵ The monastery's rivalries with local Norman lords over lands came, moreover, at a time when the monks lacked a royal protector, a point made explicit in the *Chronicon*. It relates, for example, that around

1064 “the brothers began to forget the court of the emperor”⁹⁶ and that, in the 1090s, Abbot Grimoald “was neither able to go to the emperor, nor was he able to let the emperor know what was happening—for the Normans who had invaded the whole land refused to hear the name emperor, nor would they permit anybody to go to him.” This lack of recourse to a central authority led the monks to seek the protection of Pope Urban II, who placed the abbey under his protection “of which previously the abbey of San Clemente had known little since it had been governed by emperors.”⁹⁷ As Loud notes, the papal patronage described in the text of the *Chronicon*, sought at a time when the abbey lacked imperial support, is also evident in its illustrations depicting the abbots before popes.⁹⁸ It is not, however, a theme picked up the abbey’s portal decoration. For while Pope Hadrian II does indeed appear in the lintel as granting Louis II the relics of St. Clement for the new foundation at Casauria, emphasis is placed on the abbey’s imperial roots. This, it would seem, was directly linked with its renewed relationship to royal authority, which dramatically shifted with King Roger II’s conquest of Abruzzo in 1140 and was followed by the “renaissance” of San Clemente under Leonate’s leadership.⁹⁹ With the centralization of Norman rule in the figure of Roger II and his successors, William I (r. 1154–1166) and William II, the monastery returned to imperial favor, and it is this theme, the benefices of its royal patrons, particularly in relation to land, that is most forcefully advanced in the imagery in and around the bronze doors.¹⁰⁰

In relation to the *Chronicon*, Loud concludes that “to the monastic chroniclers of the Abruzzi . . . the strong rule of the Norman kings of Sicily offered the hope of prosperity and peace in a world that was otherwise uncertain.”¹⁰¹ Rather than read the inscriptions beneath the castle panels as the monks’ “desperate attempt” (a phrase used by Bloch) to assert their claims to past power amid their current decline or as a memorial testifying to the monastery’s prestigious past and laying claims to the future, we might view the imagery in both the marble and bronze as an affirmation of their imperial favor, both past and present. The monks chose to have inscribed a selection of properties—purchased, gifted, exchanged or newly constructed—most geographically close to the monastery, but some further afield; most, according to the *Chronicon*, granted or acquired under Louis II, but some more recently acquired.¹⁰² Understanding the precise nature of the relationship each site listed in the doors had with the

monastery is not crucial; rather the main message is to evoke the idea of royal support in favor of various properties, in the past, present, and in the future.¹⁰³

NEW ICONOGRAPHIES: ADVERTISING PROPERTY

As noted, while property rights and land were common concerns of religious houses in medieval Europe, these themes are rarely represented in monumental façade sculpture. The relief at San Silvestro, Nonantola depicting the donation of land by the Lombard King to the monastery’s first abbot, provides what is likely our earliest example of this theme in monumental façade sculpture in Italy (see fig. 5). Another instance in stone—although in the cloister and not a part of the facade decoration—is the late twelfth-century column sculpture now housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from the Benedictine monastery of Sant’Ellero at Galeata (fig. 9). Here we find the patron saint of the church, Hilary (Ellero), dressed as a Benedictine monk, pointing with one hand and holding a scroll in another that contains the inscription, in translation: “From the territory that soldiers overran, St. Hilary gave to the holy man lands which, in accordance with secular and parish requirements, appeared to belong to him, with all their lawful dues.”¹⁰⁴ Such “veritable charters in images,” as they have been termed by Léon Pressouyre, confirmed the monastery’s rights to its lands, and here provide an exceptional visual parallel to the jamb images at San Clemente. In the case of Casauria, however, the message is less specific: the royal figures in the jambs do not directly relate to the



Fig. 9. Marble column statue of St. Hilary (Ellero) of Galeata, late twelfth century, Galeata. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1908 (08.175.9)

foundation of the monastery or the donation of land at a specific period in its history, but rather, they stand as its protectors.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSION

The preoccupation with patrons, property, and ownership is not unique to San Clemente a Casauria; nor was the idea of listing sites on bronze doors unprecedented, as we know from the example at Monte Cassino (and perhaps also at Old St. Peter's). What is exceptional is the ways in which the designers of the portal program picked up on themes in their manuscript and created a new visual vocabulary for their expression. In reference to the sculpted marble surrounding the central portal of San Clemente a Casauria, Bradford Smith notes that “nearly everything here—arrangement, style, and iconography—is new to the region of the Abruzzi.”¹⁰⁶ In effect, the same can be said of the bronze doors. The identification of the jamb figures as kings or emperors important to the patrimony of the San Clemente, as well the relationship these reliefs bear to the inscriptions in the bronze doors, is remarkable. For while the use of inscriptions in twelfth-century architectural sculpture has generated a great deal of interest among scholars, this would be a unique case in which the message of the marble figures quite literally extends to the doors themselves, both visually, in the form of the three-turreted castles (a wholly new invention, not repeated in any other known surviving set of medieval doors), and textually, in the form of the actual inscriptions beneath.¹⁰⁷

At San Clemente a Casauria the representation of kings is a consistent theme emphasized in parchment, marble, and bronze. In all three instances, crowned figures are depicted holding scrolls. These unfurled texts symbolically reference land. The castles and their accompanying inscriptions are literally framed by marble and bronze images of kings, past and present. The links between the bronze doors and the marble sculpture are complex and intricate and bear a direct relationship to the ideas and arguments found throughout the *Chronicon*, suggesting that all three projects were part of the same continued program, begun under Abbot Leonate and brought to completion under Abbot Gioele. While the portal program at San Clemente indeed presents an abbreviated conception of the monastery's history, as detailed in the *Chronicon*, the perceived permanence of the materials used, marble and bronze, the monumentality of the images, and

their arrangement on and around the central portal, ensured a visibility not possible with the manuscript and offered a powerful message that asserted its alliances and advertised its protectors. Viewed together, these images offer a glimpse at a larger part of the monastery, its conception of time, and the history of its image making, boldly inserting the role of patrons, past and present—holy, terrestrial, religious, and especially royal—into its dynamic play for the negotiation of space beyond the walls of the monastery.

POSTSCRIPT

Technique and Construction: The Casauria Panels in the Walters Art Museum

A technical examination of the two panels from San Clemente a Casauria in the Walters Art Museum (fig. 1) was conducted by Glenn Gates, conservation scientist at the Walters, with the assistance of conservation objects intern Brianna Feston, on 28 September 2010.¹⁰⁸ Using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) it was determined that the panels are highly leaded bronze.¹⁰⁹ The five samples taken (four on the panel with the interlace design and one on the castle panel) revealed the following consistencies:

Copper: 69.9% to 82.4%

Lead: 7 to 21%

Tin: 5.7 to 7.9%

Zinc: 1.3 to 4.1%.¹¹⁰

These analyses further revealed no remaining traces of gilding or any material in the inscription under the castle panel.¹¹¹ While all elements of the panels—frame, corner caps, and bosses—could have been easily cast in sand, the reverse of the panels shows definite evidence of working in wax, indicating that the model for the panels was wax placed over some more rigid material, possibly wood. While it is conceivable that the panels with similar designs were created from the same mold, it should be noted that in the castle plaques there are examples of central turrets of at least two varying heights, implying that at least two separate molds were used.¹¹² Technical analysis did not determine definitively whether the inscription beneath the castle panel at the Walters was made before or after the casting process (even if a model was reused, the lower space containing the inscription could have been changed). Julie Lauffenberger,

senior objects conservator at the Walters, observed that it would have been more economical and perhaps less time-consuming to include the inscriptions in the casting process itself. Lauffenberger also noted that due to surface erosion it is impossible to tell whether the incisions—for example, those delineating the brickwork in the castles, those found in the frame, and the marks repeated within the ornamental motif—were created before or after the casting process. Lauffenberger did conclude, however, that these incisions reveal evidence for the use of several distinct types of tools: different sized V-shaped gravers, a circular punch, two different-sized square punches, and an oval or triangular punch. Historic photographs, observation of the remaining panels in situ at San Clemente a Casauria, and analysis of the frame in storage at the Walters all provide testimony for the installation of the individual panels. As was the case in the late twelfth-century doors signed by Barisanus for the cathedrals at Ravello, Trani, and Monreale, the individual panels of the San Clemente doors were cast separately and the frames and embosses, also cast individually, were affixed over them.¹¹³ The individual bronze panels would have been attached to the wood core of the door using nails or bolts, and then the frames and the bosses would have been applied separately. Analysis of the two Walters panels and the frame conducted and recorded by Lauffenberger helped further explain this process. In her report, she notes the rectilinear holes in the four corners of the panels (used to secure them to the doors) and a sizable gap between the inner edge of the frame and the raised relief panel; she also observed that there is not an exact registration between the panel and the frame.

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NOTES

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Vescovi for their invaluable suggestions. Research funding from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., supported image costs and my recent travel to Abruzzo. While there, I benefited from the hospitality of Marco Cascianelli, who accompanied me to San Clemente a Casauria, and from the generosity of the head restorer of the church, who provided me access to the site, otherwise closed for restoration. Dr. Gerry, Dr. Bagnoli, and Julie Lauffenberger, senior objects conservator at the Walters, facilitated my access to the bronze panels and offered their expert observations. Last, and certainly not least, I would like to thank Ms. Lauffenberger and Glenn Gates, conservation scientist at the Walters, for conducting the recent analysis on the plaques and for sharing their results of this work, published here for the first time in the postscript.

1. The two panels are included in the 1897 catalogue of Palazzo Accoramboni, Rome: the castle panel in part one of the second volume under “ancient bronzes” (its inscription is mentioned and it is described as a “rare objet du XIII siècle”) and the panel with the interlace design in part two of the same volume under “Renaissance and modern bronzes” (listed also as thirteenth century), where it is described in a frame. This frame, now detached from the panel, is in storage at the Walters Art Museum. See E. van Esbroeck, *Catalogue du musée de peinture, sculpture et archéologie au Palais Accoramboni*, vol. 2: *Musée* (Rome, 1897), 16, nos. 63 and 67, no. 296. See W. R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, The Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore and London, 1999), 153–63, for a discussion of Walters’ purchase of the Massarenti Collection, and 160, for mention of the bronze panels. The panels have featured in three exhibitions and their accompanying catalogues: *Art of the Romanesque* (Notre Dame, 1960), no. 46; K. Hoffmann, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1970), 126–27, no. 130; J. Spicer, *The Allure of Bronze: Masterpieces from the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1995), 2–3, no. 31.
2. In June 2010, I found the church filled with scaffolding and closed for restoration due to damage caused by the 2009 earthquake. For a report on this destruction, see F. Aceto, “Il terremoto del 6 aprile 2009 in Abruzzo: S. Clemente a Casauria,” *Kunstchronik* 63, no. 2 (2010): 53–55. The site reopened in April 2011: E. Povoledo, “Abbey’s Restoration Is the First Stitch to Heal a Gash in Central Italy’s Landscape,” *New York Times*, 5 May 2011, A8. On the site, see M. Latini and A. A. Varrasso, *L'abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria* (Pescara, 1997), with bibliography; A. Ghisetti Giavarina, *San Clemente a Casauria: L'antica abbazia e il territorio di Torre de' Passeri* (Pescara, 2001); and M. Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung: Bildproduktion und Geschichtsschreibung im Kloster San Clemente a Casauria während des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 2007).
3. As will be discussed below, the evidence for this comes from the imagery in the doors itself.

4. “Le famose porte di bronzo,” V. Bindi, *S. Clemente a Casauria e il suo codice miniato esistente nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi* (Naples, 1885), 43. “Uno degli ornamenti più importanti,” G. Pansa, *Il Chronicon Casauriense e le vicende dell’insigne monastero benedettino di S. Clemente alla Pescara. Studio storico-critico* (Avezzano, 1893; reprint, 1983), 102.
5. The San Clemente doors are not mentioned, for example, in J. I. Daniec, *The Message of Faith and Symbol in European Medieval Bronze Church Doors* (Danbury, Conn., 1999). They do, however, feature in the earlier study on medieval bronze doors: U. Götz, “Die Bildprogramme der Kirchentüren des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts,” Ph. D. diss. (Tübingen: Universität Tübingen, 1971), 316–23, and are mentioned briefly in U. Mende, *Die Bronzetüren des Mittelalters, 800–1200* (Munich, 1983), 99–101. Two important recent collections of essays on the analysis of medieval bronze doors are O. Banti, ed., *La porta di Bonanno nel duomo di Pisa e le porte bronzee medioevali europee: Arte e tecnologia (Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Pisa, 6–8 maggio 1993)* (Pontedera, 1999); and A. Iacobini, ed., *Le porte del paradiso: Arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo* (Rome, 2009). The doors have not been the subject of technical analysis, until now; see the postscript for these results.
6. See, for example, J. Poeschke, *Die Skulptur des Mittelalters in Italiens*, 1: *Romanik* (Munich, 1998), 172, where the doors are mentioned in passing, and F. Gandolfo, *Scultura medievale in Abruzzo: L’età normanno-sveva* (Pescara, 2004), 116–38, where the doors are absent from an otherwise detailed discussion of the portal and the other sculpture at the site. The one exception to this is Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 230–59 (chapter on doors), but here too a direct visual relationship between the two sets of sculpture is not made.
7. Two exceptional examples of surviving doors (in this case made of wood and today housed in the Museo d’arte sacra della Marsica, Celano) and surrounding marble sculpture created in the twelfth century for Benedictine houses in Abruzzo are San Pietro in Albe and Santa Maria in Cellis: G. Curzi, *Arredi lignei medievali: L’Abruzzo e l’Italia centromeridionale, secoli XII–XIII* (Cinisello Balsamo, 2007), 15–63. Although one could argue for the interdependence of the imagery in the bronze doors and surrounding marble sculpture of the main portal of the Church of San Zeno, Verona, they were not part of the same campaign. See note 25 below for the façade sculpture. On the complex issue of the date and manufacture of the doors, see G. L. Mellini, *I maestri dei bronzi di San Zeno* (Verona, 1992); the essays by F. Zuliani; F. M. Aliberti Gaudio and F. Pietropoli; M. Leoni; and C. Caneva and M. Marabelli, in *Le porte di bronzo dall’antichità al secolo XIII*, ed. S. Salomi (Rome, 1992), 1:407–45; and Gaudio, “Le porte bronzee della basilica di S. Zeno a Verona,” in *La porta di Bonanno*, 225–28.
8. For example, an important recent study defines sculpture as “works created in wood or stone.” R. A. Maxwell and K. Ambrose, “Romanesque Sculpture Studies at a Crossroads,” in *Current Directions in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Sculpture Studies*, ed. Maxwell and Ambrose (Turnhout, 2011), 1. See note 6 above. Marble (not bronze) sculpture is considered, for example, in G. Albertini, “La scultura nel Romanico d’Abruzzo,” in *L’Abruzzo nel Medioevo*, ed. U. Russo and E. Tiboni (Pescara, 2003), 495–514 (with particular mention of San Clemente lintel and lunette on page 502). For a consideration of Byzantine imported bronze doors in Italy in relation to the sculpted marble decoration surrounding the church portal, see Gandolfo, “Bronzi e marmi: Le incorniciature e la sistemazione di facciata delle porte bizantine,” in *Le porte del paradiso*, 141–57.
9. Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*.
10. For a complete facsimile edition, see A. Pratesi, *Liber instrumentorum seu chronicorum monasterii Casauriensis: Codicem Parisinum Latinum 5411 quam simillime expressum edidimus* (L’Aquila, 1982). See L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Milan, 1726), 2.2: cols. 775–1018 (hereafter *RIS*), which, it should be noted, contains no more than one twentieth of the documents in the chartulary.
11. For a description of the manuscript and its contents, see G. Pansa, *Il Chronicon*; Bindi, *S. Clemente a Casauria*; C. Manaresi, “Il Liber Instrumentorum sue Chronicorum Monasterii Casauriensis della Nazionale di Parigi,” *Rendiconti dell’istituto Lombardo. Classe di lettere e di scienze morali e storiche* 80 (1947): 29–63; Pratesi, “L’Abbazia di Casauria e il suo cartolario,” *Bullettino della Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* 71 (1981): 25–45; Pratesi, “Il Chronicon casauriense,” pamphlet in *Liber instrumentorum*; L. Feller, “Le Cartulaire-chronique de Casauria,” in *Les Cartulaires*, ed. O. Guyotjeannin, L. Morelle, and M. Parisse (Paris, 1993), 261–77; G. A. Loud, “Monastic Chronicles in the Twelfth-Century Abruzzi,” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 27 (2004): 101–31, esp. 127–28; and Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 55–172.
12. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, 70r; *RIS*, 2.2: cols. 801–803.
13. For a discussion of the translation of St. Clement’s relics from Rome to Casauria and the early dedication of the church to the Trinity, see H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1986), 1:572–79. For a discussion of the dedication in relation to San Clemente, Rome, see also E. B. Garrison, “The S. Clemente Frescoes: A Retraction, a Reconsideration and an Addition to the Evidence,” *Studies in the History of Medieval Italian Painting* 3, no. 2 (1957): 116–18.
14. The reading of texts aloud was widespread and accounts for one of the many ways monastic writings reached wider audiences. Patrick Geary argues that “most [medieval] texts have an essential oral character—they were vocalized at the time and they were transcribed and were intended to be vocalized in their reading, whether for an individual reading aloud to him—or herself, or as a performance for others”: P. J. Geary, “Oblivion between Orality

- and Textuality in the Tenth Century,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. G. Althoff, J. Fried, and Geary (Cambridge, 2002), 115.
15. *RIS*, 2.2: col. 915: “1176. Quando verò fundamenta posuit, erat annus Incarnationis Domini millesimus centesimus septuagesimus sextus. Unde sic est versicatum. Hoc templum primo Ludovic construxit ab imo, / Abbas quod clarè Leonas cupiens renovare / Cum voto mango Domini fundavit in anno / Milleno seno centeno septuageno. 1182.” See *RIS*, 2.2: cols. 771–73, for a depiction of the lunette and lintel and a discussion of its inscriptions.
 16. CESA/RIS AD / VOTVM / CLEM[EN]TE[M] C[ON]/FERO TOTV[M]. This and the following transcriptions and translations are adapted from C. B. Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church: Romanesque Portals and Their Verse Inscriptions* (Toronto, 1998), 282–83, no. 163.
 17. + / ECCE/ PATER / PA[TR]IE / MAGNV[M] / TIBI / C[ON]FERO / MVNVS / CLEM[EN]TIS CORPVS TV SACRVM SVSCIP[ER] FVNVS.
 18. MA[RT]IRIS EXIMII CLEMENTIS SVSCIP[ER] CORPVS.
 19. INSVLA PISCARIE PARADISI FLORIDVS ORTVS; SCEPTRO FIRMAMVS REGIM[EN] TIBI SYME ROGAMVS.
 20. INSVLA PISCARIE QVE NOSTRI IVRIS HABETVR LIBERA P[RE]TIA TVA
 21. CESAR / IVRE / VOCE / TVR.
 22. + SVSCIP[ER] S[AN]C[T]E CLE/MENS / + TIBI REGIA TE[M]PLA/ PARATA / RETRIBUENS CELO LEO/NATI REGNA / BEATA
 23. On the oral recitation of manuscripts, see further M. Fassler, “The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History,” in *Representing History, 900–1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. R. A. Maxwell (University Park, Pa., 2010), 149–71. The question of orality is crucial not only when considering the manuscript (for which see note 14 above), for as Kendall has argued in his study on verse inscriptions adorning the façades of medieval churches, there was a performative aspect to such texts: Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, esp. 92–98. Just as the manuscript could have been experienced orally by a larger audience, monumental imagery too could have had an auditory dimension through the performative contexts of the inscriptions themselves.
 24. G. Fossi, “L’abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria. Il monumento dal IX al XII secolo: Leonate e la decorazione plastica dei portali,” *Quaderni dell’Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica* 2 (1981): 161–86; Feller, “La fondation de San Clemente a Casauria et sa représentation iconographique,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome, Moyen âge–Temps modernes* 94 no. 2 (1982): 711–28; Späth, “Die Konstruktion des heiligen Ortes in der Portalplastik von San Clemente a Casauria,” *Annali dell’Istituto Storico Italo-Germanico in Trento* 26 (2000): 471–90; E. Bradford Smith, “San Clemente a Casauria: The Story in the *Chronicon* and the Story in the Stones,” in *Medioevo: Immagine e racconto*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle (Milan, 2003), 287; Gandolfo, *Scultura medievale* (2004), 116–33.
 25. For San Giorgio, Ferrara, see C. B. Verzár, “The Artistic Patronage of the Returning Crusaders: The Arm of St. George and Ferrara Cathedral,” in *Immagine e ideologia: Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, ed. A. Calzona, R. Campari, and M. Mussini (Milan, 2007), 240–47. For San Zeno, Verona, see Calzona, “Niccolò a Verona: La facciata e il protiro di San Zeno,” in *Nicholaus e l’arte del suo tempo*, ed. A. M. Romanini (Ferrara, 1985), 2:441–89; and Verzár, *Portals and Politics in the Early Italian City-State: The Sculpture of Nicholaus in Context* (Parma, 1988), 137–58.
 26. Indeed, this might be our first example in Italy.
 27. One thinks of the sixth-century mosaic of Bishop Ecclesius (r. 521–532) presenting a model church to Christ at San Vitale, Ravenna, or the ninth-century mosaic of Pope Paschal I (r. 817–824) presenting a model church to Christ in Santa Prassede, Rome. A notable case in which the site is offered to the titular appears in the seventh-century apse mosaic of Sant’Agnese fuori le Mura, Rome, where Pope Honorius (r. 625–638) offers a model of the church to St. Agnes. A potentially earlier example might be the now lost mosaic of the triumphal arch at Old St. Peter’s depicting Constantine presenting a model of the church to both Christ and St. Peter, which dates from a later (perhaps Carolingian) period: H. Kessler, “St. Peter’s Basilica at the Time of the First Jubilee,” in *Old Saint Peter’s and Church Decoration in Medieval Italy* (Spoleto, 2002), 7. On the theme, see E. Lipsmeyer, “The Donor and His Church Model in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque Period,” Ph.D. diss. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1981); and E. S. Klinkenberg, *Compressed Meanings: The Donor’s Model in Medieval Art to around 1300* (Turnhout, 2009), especially 19–38.
 28. The relief appears on the eighth capital in the west aisle (south face): R. Salvini, *The Cloister of Monreale and Romanesque Sculpture in Sicily* (Palermo, 1962), 135–39; W. Krönig, *The Cathedral of Monreale and Norman Architecture in Sicily* (Palermo, 1966), 70–72 and fig. 84. A comparative example exists in the relief on the right side of the twelfth-century altar at Notre-Dame, Avenas, which depicts Louis VII (r. 1120–80) offering a model of the church to St. Vincent of Mâcon. A mosaic within the church of Monreale also depicts William II presenting a model of the church to the enthroned Virgin, for which see J. Poeschke, *Italian Mosaics, 300–1300*, trans. R. Stockman (New York and London, 2010), fig. 131. It should be noted that although the titular saint is not present, the left doorpost at Nonantola contains a scene with its patron, Bishop Anselm, behind a representation of the church, see D. F. Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca. 1095–1130: History and Patronage of Romanesque Facades* (Farnham and Burlington, Vt., 2010), 75, fig. 35 and 79.
 29. Lipsmeyer, *The Donor and His Church*, 175–77; Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 218–19; and Klinkenberg, *Compressed Meanings*,

- 45–49 and 52–55, where, without mention of the literature, it is argued that the architectural model itself “presents an allusion to the Cassinese tradition,” and through this Abbot Leonate presents himself as “equal to Desiderius.” I thank Professor Arturo Calzona for calling my attention to the potential parallel between the monumental images of Abbot Desiderius and Abbot Leonate. For the fresco at Sant’Angelo in Formis, see G.M. Jacobitti and S. Abita, *La basilica benedettina di Sant’Angelo in Formis* (Naples, 1992), figs. 16 and 51.
30. Vat. lat. 1202, fol. 2. Facsimile edition: *The Codex Benedictus: An Eleventh-Century Lectionary from Monte Cassino*, ed. P. Meyvaert (New York, 1982). The scene takes place in front of a representation of the abbey, and the inscription (“Cum domibus miros plures, pater, accipe libros”) indicates that both the book and the building are offered simultaneously to St. Benedict: F. Newton, *The Scriptorium and Library at Monte Cassino, 1058–1105* (Cambridge, 1999), 65–67, 291–307, and pl. 1. See also Newton, pp. 9–10, for earlier examples of manuscripts containing images of abbots presenting a book to St. Benedict.
 31. The inscription reads, in translation: “Clement, take for yourself this volume as a written light / So that your rights may be in light through these writings / Let it be known and read in these documents what your rights are / May this book which your little servant has worked upon be welcome / May you be clement to him as your own name is Clement / May the memory of brother John last through the years for ever,” Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 272v (*RIS*, 2.2: col. 916). See Loud, “Monastic Chronicles,” 128.
 32. A. G. Remensnyder, “Croyance et communauté: La mémoire des origines des abbayes Bénédictines,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome* 115, no. 1 (2003): 141–54. On the topic of the construction of memory through the rewriting of the histories of the monasteries of Farfa and Fonte Avellino, see U. Longo, “La funzione della memoria nella definizione dell’identità religiosa in comunità monastiche dell’Italia centrale (secoli XI e XII),” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome* 115, no. 1 (2003): 213–33.
 33. On the broader conceptions of temporal and spatial realities in eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe, Hans-Werner Goetz noted that “[h]istory was a ‘sequence of time,’ the importance of which lay in a constant re-presentation, not in a representation of the past as such, but of a certain past that was relevant for the present”: Goetz, “The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, 165.
 34. Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform*, 71–107; Glass, “(Re)Framing Early Romanesque Sculpture in Italy,” in *Current Directions* (2011), 103–17. Glass dates the reliefs to ca. 1095. Most scholars date them to the beginning of the twelfth century. See A. Tcherikover, “Reflections of the Investiture Controversy at Nonantola and Modena,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 60, no. 2 (1997): 150–59.
 - Calzona, “L’Abbazia di San Silvestro a Nonantola tra ideologia e filologia,” in *Forme e storia: scritti di arte medievale e moderna per Francesco Gandolfo*, ed. W. Angelelli and F. Pomarici (Rome, 2011), 193–206.
 35. Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform*, 73.
 36. Glass’s larger argument is that they also display their alliances, that is, they were “intended to further the claims of that newly reformed institution and to emphasize its relationship with the papacy,” *The Sculpture of Reform*, 84.
 37. Glass, *The Sculpture of Reform*, 79–83 and specifically 103 n. 9.
 38. For Farfa, see note 32 above, and S. Boynton, *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa, 1000–1125* (Ithaca, 2006); and Boynton, “Writing History with Liturgy,” *Representing History*, 187–200. For Monte Cassino, see W. Pohl, “History in Fragments: Monte Cassino’s Politics of Memory,” *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 3 (2001): 343–74.
 39. Geary, “Land, Language and Memory in Europe, 700–1100,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 9 (1999): 169–84; and Geary, “From Charter to Cartulary: From Archival Practice to History,” in *Representing History*, 181–86.
 40. On the site, see E. Jamison, *Catalogus Baronum* (Rome, 1972), with map and 252, no. 1217; Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:601–2; and S. Castiglione, “La Terra Sansonesca tra l’età tardo antica e il medioevo,” *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome, Moyen âge–Temps modernes* 105, no. 1 (1993): 131 and 167, no. 25.
 41. *RIS*, 2.2: col. 816.
 42. The present analysis does not consider the significance of the panels containing ornamental motifs, which are indeed worthy of attention in their own right and which will form the basis of a future study.
 43. “Mi parve, al primo sguardo, una rovina. Tutto il suolo intorno era ingombro di macerie e di sterpi; frammenti di pietra scolpita erano ammucchiati contro i pilastri; da tutte le fenditure pendevano erbe selvagge; costruzioni recenti, di mattone e calce, chiudevano le ampie aperture delle arcate di fianco; le porte cadevano.” G. D’Annunzio, “L’abbazia abbandonata. A Pasquale Villari,” *Il Mattino* (Naples, 1892), 1, 15, quoted in Bradford Smith, “San Clemente a Casauria,” 291 and 299 n. 21. For corresponding images of the site in this period, see Bindi, *Monumenti Storici ed artistici degli Abruzzi* (Naples, 1889), which are reproduced in Ghisetti Giavarina, *San Clemente*, figs. 13 and 14.
 44. “Peccato che molte formelle, fasce e rosoni che facevano parte dell’ornamento, furono rubate, e il guaio non cessò che quando potei metterle sotto chiave prendendone la consegna, perchè la porta di legno, fatta costruire come foderatura anteriore, non fu sufficiente a garantirle, ed anzi apportò danni sopra danni, perchè, con molto poco criterio, si permise che fossero tagliati i capitelli ed i bassorilievi sugli stipiti, per dar luogo alla chiusura

- della nuova porta, mentre benissimo si potevano togliere gli spigoli di legname di essa.” Calore, “La ricomposizione delle porte di San Clemente a Casauria,” *Archivio storico dell’arte* 7 (1894): 204. For a pre-1927 photograph showing this door still in place, see I. C. Gavini, *Storia dell’architettura in Abruzzo* (Milan, 1927–28), 1:232, fig. 277.
45. Calore, “La ricomposizione delle porte,” 204.
46. “In ore imprecise dal 31 al 16 aprile scorso, ignoti facendo girare una pertica a bilancino che suol chiudere una porticina vetusta penetrarono nella Chiesa di S. Clemente a Casauria e forzato un lucchetto aprirono le porte del tempio e staccarono 4 formelle di bronzo d’un valore storico. Furono fatte diverse copie di tre formelle con la calcografia tutte conformi alle rimaste; ma per quarta non fu possibile perché la uguale fu rubata in epoca anteriore. . . .” Transcribed in P. Refice, “Le porte di bronzo medievali dell’Italia meridionale: rifacimenti e restauri tra otto e novecento,” in *La porta di Bonanno*, 309, document 4.
47. For Calore’s restorations: Calore, “L’abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria,” *Archivio storico dell’arte* 4, no. 1 (1891): 9–36; and Calore, “La ricomposizione delle porte,” 201–17. See also Gavini, “Il restauro della badia di San Clemente a Casauria,” *Bollettino d’arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione* 6, no. 3 (1926): 97–109. For a brief summary of the restoration of the doors, see Refice, “Le porte di bronzo,” 304–6, and for a comprehensive history of the restoration at the site up to 1925, M. Latini, “Tutela e restauro nell’Abruzzo post-unitario: le vicende di San Clemente a Casauria, 1875–1925,” in *Identità e stile: Monumenti, città, restauri tra Ottocento e Novecento*, ed. M. Civita and C. Varagnoli (Rome, 2000), 193–210. For photographs taken at the end of the nineteenth century showing the arrangement of the panels prior to the restoration, see Calore, “L’abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria,” 32 and 34 and Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 3; fig. 216.
48. H. W. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien*, published posthumously by F. von Quast (Dresden, 1860), Atlas, pl. 55. On the doors, see Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst*, 2:29–30.
49. Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:584–98.
50. For lists of the inscriptions on the panels see the letter of G. Allegranza, “Legende dell’atrio, delle porte di bronzo, dell’ambone, e sotto l’urna di S. Clemente M. nel tempio casauriese,” Chieti, 17 May 1754, published in *Opuscoli eruditi latini ed italiani del P.M. Giuseppe Allegranza* (Cremona, 1781), 188–92; I. Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche della città di Solmona* (Naples, 1804; reprint, Bologna, 1971), 141–42; and Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst*, 2:30. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:584–98 and, for his reconstruction, 3; fig. 215 (also reproduced in Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 270).
51. Calore, “L’abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria,” 33–35, n. 2. Calore’s description is somewhat confusing, as he list five panels on the right and seventeen on the left (for a total of twenty-two) and begins his list with the following comment “si osservano incisi i nomi dei seguenti castelli che con *precisione trascrivo* [emphasis mine]” (“that I transcribe with precision”), but later goes on to state that only fifteen panels “con castelli” survive. In his study of three years later that exclusively treats the restoration of the doors, Calore discusses all twenty-two panels, noting which fifteen still survive: Calore, “La ricomposizione delle porte,” 206. Bloch’s comment (*Monte Cassino*, 1:588) that all the writers beginning with Schulz failed to consult these sources is inaccurate.
52. Calore, “La ricomposizione delle porte,” 216: “Dal risultato di questi studi si vede chiaramente, come nello sportello a destra non vi è posto per la formella del CASTRUM FARE D’ABRILIE, che era nel territorio di Bolognano; e quando anche fosse castello appartenente a Casauria, per tuttavia insieme con gli altri di minore importanza non è riportato nelle porte descritte, perchè, riempito lo spazio destinato ai castelli, come ho detto, non vi è posto e la formella non esiste. . . . In quello sinistra, per le stesse ragioni, è stato falsamente enunciato il CASTELLUM VETULUM MONACISCUM, abbenchè ancora questo fosse della giurisdizione di Casauria, e della mancanza di esso ci diede testimonianza anche l’arciprete Ventura, che alla pag. 23 del suo opuscolo ‘Brevi notizie sulla fondazione del monistero [sic] di Casauria, 1853,’ dice: ‘Non esistono ora di dette porte di bronzo, che meno tre quarti di esse; perchè mani sacrileghe, tratte dall’avidità del danaro e dal maligno spirito del furto, derubarono il resto, vendendo a vil [sic] prezzo il loro sacrilegio. Si conservano da me nella chiesa parrocchiale circa rotola quindici di metallo delle suddette porte, ricuperato da persone che ne avevano fatto acquisto da non conosciuti ladri.’” In his 1891 article, Calore, “L’abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria,” 34, listed “CASTELLVM VETVLVM MONACISCVM (?) (Castelbasso, in provincia di Teramo)” and “CASTRV FARE D’ABRILIE (Castello della fora di Ambilio, distrutto, in territorio di Bolognano, provincia di Chieti).” For fuller descriptions of these sites, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:601 and 608–9.
53. “Ecco i nome de’ possesi, secondo la lettura che noi ne abbiamo fatta, correggendo qualche inesattezza in cui altri scrittori sono incorsi,” Bindi, *S. Clemente a Casauria*, 45. Bloch refers to Bindi’s *Monumenti storici* (1889), and believed (incorrectly) his list was taken from Schulz: Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:584–85, especially 585 n. 1.
54. We might even modify this to between 1891 (the publication of Calore’s first article) and 1884, although the 1891 source presents some problems, as discussed in note 51 above. Aside from the two panels in the Walters Art Museum, the whereabouts of only two additional plaques missing from the doors is known. These, which both contain geometric motifs (one the very same interlacing lozenge design as the Walters plaque) entered the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, in 1905: O. Wulff, *Altchristliche und*

- mittelalterliche byzantinische und italienische Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1911), 2:85, no. 1953; and W. F. Vollbach, *Mittelalterliche Bildwerke aus Italien und Byzanz* (Berlin, 1930), 155–56, nos. 2990 and 2991. They are now housed in the Bode Museum, Berlin.
55. A pre-restoration photograph of the doors (see note 47 above) shows the monk in its current position with the frame above missing, confirming that the inscription is in its proper position and that the panel with the image was remounted. As is visibly evident from their current state and arrangement, the panels and frames were separately cast and assembled. This technique of construction is also evidenced by the surviving frame in the Walters (in storage). For more on this process, see the postscript.
 56. Allegranza, “Legende dell’atrio, delle porte di bronzo,” 190 and Di Pietro, *Memorie storiche*, 140–41. Although Schulz did not mention this inscription, he identified the figure as St. Clement, but this could very well be based on his reading of Di Pietro, to whom he refers: Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst*, 2:29. Bindì, *S. Clemente a Casauria*, 45, noted also the image of Gioele, recorded the inscription, and transcribed a second inscription in one of the bronze panels referring to Abbot Gioele and St. Clement, which would thus correspond to the dedicatory inscriptions found in the *Chronicon* and in the lunette that accompany the images of the respective commissioners before St. Clement. See further Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:589.
 57. Calore suggested that perhaps the monk Rusticus, “who wrote the *Chronicon*,” also had a role to play in the design of the figures in the bronze panels: Calore, “L’abbazia di San Clemente a Casauria,” 33 and “La ricomposizione delle porte,” 206.
 58. Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:590–94. On representations of the Normans kings of Sicily, see the still useful essay, S. H. Steinberg, “In ritratti dei Re Normanni di Sicilia,” *Bibliofilia* 39, nos. 1–2 (1937): 29–57; and most recently Gandolfo, “Ritratti di committenti nella Sicilia normanna,” in *Medioevo: I committenti*, Atti di Convegno internazionale di Studi, Parma, 21–26 settembre 2010 ed. Quintavalle (Milan, 2011), 201–14.
 59. The figures receive only passing mention in Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 234.
 60. Schulz, *Denkmäler der Kunst*, 2:30; Calore, “La ricomposizione delle porte,” 206; É. Bertaux, *L’art dans L’Italie méridionale* (Paris, 1904), 2:559–60; Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:610–11; Bloch, “Le porte bronzee di Montecassino e l’influsso della porta di Oderisio II sulle porte di San Clemente a Casauria e del duomo di Benevento,” in *Le porte di bronzo*, 307–24. Bloch’s interest in the doors at San Clemente stems in fact from his work on the doors at Monte Cassino, published in his magisterial three-volume study on the site, *Monte Cassino* (1986).
 61. The panels containing inscriptions in the current doors are in fact the backside of the original panels, which was revealed after the allied bombings of 1944: Bloch, “Origin and Fate of the Bronze Doors of Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 89–102; and Bloch, “The Inscription of the Bronze Doors of Monte Cassino: A Contribution of Classical Archaeology to Medieval Studies,” In *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (1908–1988), ed. R. T. Scott and A. R. Scott (Washington, D.C., 1993), 447–62. For discussion on the sites listed in the Monte Cassino doors, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:167–494.
 62. Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, 126. See G. B. De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores* (Rome, 1888), 2:221, no. 107, and 2:233, no. 152. For the location of the doors in the atrium, see the plan of Old St. Peter’s by Tiberio Alfano of 1589/90, after a plan in the *Liber pontificalis*, no. 152: Alfano, *De basilicae vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura. Publicato per la prima volta con introd. e note dal Dott. D. Michele Cerrati* (Rome, 1914), 197, no. 52 and pl. 1. The prestige of Old St. Peter’s and its influence on Cassinese and Casauriense imagery is evident from this example and that cited above (note 27) of the lost image of Constantine presenting a model of the basilica to St. Peter and Christ. For the importance of its pictorial decoration in Italy, see the classic essay by Kessler, “Old St. Peter’s as the Source and Inspiration for Medieval Church Decoration,” in *Old Saint Peter’s*, 7–95.
 63. Recall that the fresco of Abbot Desiderius offering the church to St. Michael at nearby Sant’Angelo in Formis might have inspired in part the image of Abbot Leonate in the tympanum, testifying to the influence of artistic commissions from in and around Monte Cassino.
 64. Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:610.
 65. E. Bradford Smith, “Models for the Extraordinary: Abbot Leonate and the Facade of San Clemente a Casauria,” in *Medioevo: i modelli*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Parma, 27 settembre–1 ottobre 1999, ed. Quintavalle (Milan 2002), 463–76, at 465.
 66. For examples of this iconography in Norman coins and seals, see A. Engel, *Recherches sur la numismatique et la sigillographie des Normands de Sicile et d’Italie* (Paris, 1882; reprint, Bologna, 1972). For the long tradition and the meanings of such representations in ancient, early medieval, and Byzantine art, see E. B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956); P. Lampl, “Schemes of Architectural Representation in Early Medieval Art,” *Marsyas* 9 (1960–1961): 6–13 and S. Ćurčić, “Representations of Towers in Byzantine Art: The Question of Meaning,” in *Byzantine Art: Recent Studies. Essays in Honor of Lois Drewer*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton and Tempe, 2009), 1–37. For further discussion of its use in the medieval period and specifically on coins, see G. Bandmann, *Early Medieval Architecture as Bearer of Meaning*, trans. K. Wallis (New

- York, 2005), 99–108. Coins and seals might have also inspired the depiction of William II in the doors.
67. The frescoes are depicted in an engraving published in the nineteenth century by J.-B. L. G. Seroux D'Agincourt, see *History of Art by Its Monuments, from Its Decline in the Fourth Century to Its Restoration in the Sixteenth*, trans. from the French (London, 1847), pl. 98 (r). In the engraving we find representations of churches and fortified structures. It should be noted that in the dedicatory illumination in the *Chronicon Cassinense* mentioned above (see note 30), the lower portion of the page contains representations of churches that provide a parallel or even a precedent for the symbolic representations of possessions used in the doors at Casauria. A mid-fourteenth-century example of the use of this symbolism on a monumental scale might be the two “castle” panels that some argue were displayed in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, as possessions of the city, although this hypothesis has been recently challenged: A. Ronen, “Due paesaggi nella Pinacoteca di Siena già attribuiti ad Ambrogio Lorenzetti,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 50, no. 3 (2006): 367–400 and esp. 399 n. 88 (for the literature supporting their function as possessions). For imagery of possessions on a monumental scale, see also the marble Tomb of Bishop Tartali (ca. 1327–30) in the Cathedral of Arezzo. V. Continelli, “‘Una sepoltura ricchissima e quanto piu si potesse onorata’: Osservazioni sul cenotafio di Guido Tarlata ne duomo di Arezzo,” in *Arte in Terra d'Arezzo: Il Trecento*, ed. A. Galli and P. Refice (Florence, 2005), 179–89 and especially at 189, where a comparison with the imagery in the portal of San Clemente is explicitly made.
68. There are two sites listed in the Marche: IN MARCHIA CASTRUM LORI and IN CAMERINO CALDAROLE. For a topographical register of the sites listed, see Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:599–612 and Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 250–57. For the use of the term *castrum* or *castra* (included in the descriptions of several of the sites inscribed in the doors) and the process of *incastellamento* in medieval Abruzzo, see Feller, “Casaux et castra dans les Abruzzes: San Salvatore a Maiella et San Clemente a Casauria (XI–XIII siècle),” *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen âge–Temps modernes* 97, no. 1 (1985): 145–82; Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales: Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XIIIe siècle* (Rome, 1998), esp. 211–303; Feller, “The Northern Frontier of Norman Italy,” in *The Society of Norman Italy, 1060–1140*, ed. L. and A. Metcalfe (Leiden and Boston, 2002), 47–73; and G. Chiarizia and L. Santoro, “L'incastellamento,” in *L'Abruzzo nel Medioevo*, ed. U. Russo and E. Tiboni (Pescara, 2003), 305–26.
69. Pansa, *Il Chronicon*, 106.
70. Feller, “Casaux et castra,” 152, fig. 1, and Feller, *Les Abruzzes médiévales*, 822, fig. 27, which is a revised chart, showing that the monastery received no new donations after 1099.
71. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1: 599–610 and, Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, appendix 3, tables a and b, 271–72.
72. Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 231–57. See also Goetz, “The Concept of Time,” 139–65.
73. See E. A. R. Brown, “*Falsitas pia sive reprehensibilis*: Medieval Forgers and Their Intentions,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter (Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16.–19. September 1986)* (Hanover, 1988), 1:101–19.
74. Remensnyder, “Topographies of Memory: Center and Periphery in High Medieval France,” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past*, 194–95.
75. For example, Gavini, *Storia dell'architettura*, 1:230, stated that “gli stipiti hanno quattro edicole . . . e ciascuna con entro una figura di profeta con rotulo spiegato nelle mani.” See also O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Abruzzo und Molise. Kunst und Geschichte* (Munich, 1983), 136.
76. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 129v. Fossi, “L'abbazia,” 178.
77. Bradford Smith, “Models for the Extraordinary,” 463–65. Gandolfo, *Scultura medievale*, 118; and Poeschke, *Die Skulptur*, 172, also consider this a probable solution.
78. Bradford Smith, “Models for the Extraordinary,” esp. 465–70.
79. Bradford Smith, “Models for the Extraordinary,” 465.
80. Sisenandus's scroll reads: “Emperor, may the island of Pescara be yours” (CE/SAR, / V[EST]RA / SIT / / IN/SU/LA / PIS/CA/RIE) and that held by Bishop Grimbaldu reads: “We give you our rights to this island” (DAM[US] VOB[IS] OM[N]E / I[US] N[OST]RU[M] DE HAC I[N]SULA.)” Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:582.
81. According to the *Chronicon*, the upper oratory was dedicated to St. Michael, the Trinity, and St. Thomas Becket. Several prophets in the archivolt of the central portal, including David and Joel, also hold scrolls containing carved inscriptions. The presence of the prophet Joel has been used as evidence that this work was undertaken under the leadership of Abbot Gioele. The *Chronicon* itself states that work on the church was not complete upon the death of Leonate: *RIS*, 2.2: col. 914. While the statement is generally assumed to refer to parts of the interior of the church, it is conceivable that it could refer also to sections of the exterior, that is, to the period of Abbot Gioele's rule. It should be noted also that the devastating earthquake of 1348 undoubtedly caused damage to this area of the church and probably destroyed the church's bell tower (represented in the model presented by Leonate). This earthquake is believed to have destroyed also a twelfth-century ciborium that was then replaced by the current thirteenth-century monument. See Bradford Smith, “San Clemente a Casauria,” 287.
82. Although the current order of the remaining castle panels is not correct, according to Bloch's reconstruction, they would have occupied their current space in the doors. See note 50 above.

83. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 118 (Charles III); fol. 124 (Berengar I); fol. 131 (Adalbert); fol. 132v (Otto I); fol. 135 (Otto I); fols. 181 and 181v (Henry III); fols. 205 and 205v (Henry III); fol. 208 (Henry III); and fol. 248 (Roger II).
84. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fols. 118, 124, 131, 132v, and 184v.
85. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 131.
86. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:591. R. Paciocco, "I rapporti tra autorità regia, istituzioni monastiche e poteri locali nell'Abruzzo adriatico normanno: Le abbazie benedettine di San Clemente a Casauria e San Bartolomeo di Carpineto," *Benedettina* 42 (1995): 365 and Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 125 n. 111, both accept that the doors date from before William II's death. Späth dates the doors to around 1191, the date of Abbot Gioele's death, or slightly thereafter. The year 1191 marked both the year of the papal bull of Celestine III to Abbot Gioele confirming privileges to the monastery and the death of that same abbot. Späth's chapter on the doors, subtitled "Veränderungen im kollektiven Gedächtnis um 1190/1200," reflects his thinking on the properties in relation to the 1191 bull. Again, Späth notes only in passing the presence of William II in the doors: *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 234.
87. See notes 50 and 82 above.
88. H. Houben, "Laienbegräbnisse auf Klosterfriedhof: Unedierte Mirakelberichte aus der Chronik von Casuarìa," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 76 (1996): 64–76. See also Loud, "Monastic Miracles in Southern Italy, c. 1040–1140," in *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, ed. K. Cooper and J. Gregory (Woodbridge, and Rochester, N.Y., 2005), 109–22.
89. Loud, "Monastic Miracles," esp. 116–21.
90. *RIS*, 2.2: col. 870. Quoted in Loud, "Monastic Miracles," 117. For a discussion on Hugh Mamouzet and his relationship to San Clemente, see further Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 121–22.
91. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fols. 241–42. Quoted in Houben, "Laienbegräbnisse auf Klosterfriedhof," 72 and Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 114.
92. *RIS*, 2.2: cols. 884–85, and 887; Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 123, n. 99.
93. *RIS*, 2.2: col. 887; Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 110.
94. In a similar vein, Remensnyder has noted that "French legends generally embodied sources of authority that eclipsed the local," "Topographies of Memory," 205.
95. See note 68 above.
96. *RIS*, 2.2: col. 863; Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 115.
97. *RIS*, 2.2: cols. 871–72. Quoted in Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 115–17.
98. Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 117. Examples include Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 5411, fol. 218v (Leo IX and Abbot Dominic); fol. 233v (Gregory VII and Abbot Transmund); fol. 238 (Urban II and Abbot Grimoald); and fol. 253 (Hadrian IV and Abbot Leonate). See also G. Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Vatican City, 1970), 2 (Text): 28–33.
99. Loud links the "renaissance" that occurred during the period of Leonate to the monastery's relationship to centralized, royal authority, that is, to the favor of the Norman kings, beginning with Roger II, a thesis also advanced by Paciocco, "I rapporti," 335–74. Although Bloch did not comment on the jamb figures, nor did he associate the Leonate artistic projects to a broader period of prosperity brought about by the Norman kings beginning with Roger II, he supported his identification of William II in the bronze doors in the following way: "the two Norman kings [William I and William II] were the first rulers in two centuries to take an active interest in the monastery and to protect it and its subjects effectively against the noble ruffians in the area": Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:591.
100. For example, William I is described as "a man of extraordinary wisdom and great courage," *RIS*, 2.2: col. 895, and we are told that Abbot Leonate was able to recover a church that had been taken from the abbey through "sua fortitudine et regia auctoritate," *RIS*, 2.2: col. 900. See Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 125. See further Paciocco, "I rapporti." For comments on the relationship between shifts in attitudes toward the Norman rulers, as reflected in the *Chronicon*, and the monastery's relative decline and loss of independence, see T. S. Brown, "The Political Use of the Past in Norman Sicily," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), 196.
101. Loud, "Monastic Chronicles," 126.
102. See note 68 above. Podium S. Gregorius was a new site, built under Leonate and is mentioned in the *Chronicon* in relation to William II and his protection of properties, *RIS*, 2.2: col. 905: "Recuperavit profectò in regali Curia super quendam strenuissimum virum Wilielmum, Morelli nomine, Baronem Aprutinum, homines juris B. Clementis, quos in Castello de Ripa Wilielmus idem sibi violenter vendicaverat: unde iudicio regalis Curiae de ipso Castello praesatis hominibus abstractis, vocabulo S. Gregorii, Castellum construxit, & in eo ad prosectum Ecclesiae homines posuit atque minuit."
103. That the monks were still actively staking claims to nearby properties is evidenced in three documents dating from 1191: a bull of Pope Celestine III to Abbot Gioele and two forged diplomas of that same year, which claim to date from the reign of Louis II and Roger II. For the privilege of Pope Calixtus II, the first papal charter to list of the monastery's possessions, see *RIS*, 2.2: col. 881; and U. Robert, *Bullaire du Pape Calixte II* (Hildesheim and New York, 1979), 327, no. 222. For the 1191 bull of Celestine III, also listing possessions, see *RIS*, 2.2: cols. 917–20. See Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:598–610, who uses both bulls in his discussion

- of the castles inscribed on the doors and Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, appendix, 3, a and b.
104. L. Pressouyre, "Le saint Hilaire de Galeata au Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser. 73 (1969): 129–40; Pressouyre, "St. Bernard to St. Francis: Monastic Ideals and Iconographic Programs in the Cloister." *Gesta* 12, nos. 1–2 (1973): 71–92; and L. Castelnovo-Tedesco and J. Soutanian, eds., *Italian Medieval Sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Cloisters* (New Haven and London, 2010), 93–96, no. 22 (J. Soutanian).
105. Späth suggests that the text in the castle panels at San Clemente forms part of a much wider, yet little-studied phenomenon: the use of monumental inscriptions in or on religious structures that pertain to privileges and rights. Examples, he notes, are found at two Benedictine houses: Sant'Antimo in Tuscany, where privileges granted to the monastery in 1117/18 are found inscribed in stone tablets surrounding the altar, and the lower church at Subiaco, where a fresco shows Innocent III above a text describing the privileges he granted to the monks in 1203, and to the left of the text are depictions of St. Benedict and the current abbot, Romanus (1198–1216): Späth *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 242–44, and figs. 13.4, 13.5, and 13.6; Ladner, *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, 2 (Text): 68–72. We might also include the late eleventh- or early twelfth-century baptismal font from San Donnino, Fidenza, which depicts Pope Alexander II, holding a scroll that reads "INSTITUCIO ALEXANDRI PP. II," which references privileges he granted to the cathedral. On this work, see G. de Francovich, *Benedetto Antelami—architetto e scultore e l'arte del suo tempo* (Milan and Florence, 1952), 1:373–74 and 2: fig. 433; and *Vivere Il Medioevo. Parma al tempo della Cattedrale*, exh. cat., Parma, Palazzo della Pilotta (Cinisello Balsamo, 2006), 177–79, no. 41 (G. Gregori).
106. Bradford Smith, "Models for the Extraordinary," 463.
107. C. B. Verzar, "Text and Image in North Italian Romanesque Sculpture," in *The Romanesque Frieze and Its Spectorator*, ed. D. Kahn (London, 1992), 120–40; Kendall, *The Allegory of the Church*, 1998.
108. G. Gates, "Analytical Report on WAM 54.1057, 1057B, and 1058," December 17, 2010, Walters Art Museum. See further J. Lauffenberger, "Summary Notes for San Clemente Door Panels 54.1057, 54.1057B, and 54.1058," 14 December, 2010, Walters Art Museum, for observations on the installation of the panels on the doors, their technique and manufacture, and their surfaces.
109. For brief comments on the use of bronze and its revival in the eleventh-century southern Italy, see G. K. Geerlings, *Metal Crafts in Architecture* (New York, 1971), 11. For further bibliography on bronze doors in Italy, see note 5 above.
110. To compare Gates's results with the alloy compositions of other eleventh- and early twelfth-century bronze doors in Italy see: A. Braca, "Le porte in lega del Medioevo fra Salerno e la Costa d'Amalfi la tecnica al servizio della critica," *Kronos* 13 (2009): 15–19 and "Il contributo del restauro alla conoscenza delle porte di bronzo bizantine di Amalfi, Atrani e Salerno," in *Le porte del Paradiso*, 221, where comparison of the alloy compositions of eight doors (Amalfi, Monte Cassino, San Paolo fuori le Mura, Monte Sant'Angelo, Altani, Salerno, and Venice) created between 1057 and 1120 are given, in this order of constituency: copper: 62.9 to 80%; zinc: 4.5 to 17.9%; lead: 3 to 19.2%; and tin: 0.1 to 7%). Daniec, *The Message of Faith*, 102–3, Table 1X, provides a comparative metallurgical analysis of eight sets of doors dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Augsburg Cathedral, Gniezno Cathedral, Hildesheim Cathedral, Mainz Cathedral, Monte Cassino, St. Paul Outside-the Walls, Rome, St. Mark's, Venice, and San Zeno, Verona), which reveals a wide range of readings: copper: 66.5 to 92.25%; tin: 0.12 to 16.32%; lead: 0.87 to 20.1%; and zinc: 0 to 17.9%. For studies on analyses taken on bronze doors in Italy, see also the essays in Banti, *La porta di Bonanno*.
111. In other examples of bronze doors in south Italy, the inscribed letters or outlines of figures were often filled in with a black sulphuric compound, or, as in the case of the Monte Cassino doors, with silver, providing greater legibility.
112. Calore, "La ricomposizione," 206, observed that castle panels are of equal size and shape and Bertaux, *L'art*, 558, that they were all cast from the same mold (statements later repeated by Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, 1:599; Mende, *Die Bronzetüren*, 167–69; and Späth, *Verflechtung von Erinnerung*, 237).
113. See D. A. Walsh, "The Iconography of the Bronze Doors of Barisanus of Trani," *Gesta* 21.2 (1982): 91–106; and Walsh, "The Bronze doors of Barisanus of Trani," in *Le porte di bronzo*, 1:399–406. See note 1 above. A photograph of the panel, still in its frame, is published in Hoffmann, *The Year 1200*, 126.

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WORKMANSHIP, MATERIAL, AND VALUE IN A TWELFTH-CENTURY PORTABLE ALTAR

KATHRYN B. GERRY

We hastened to adorn the Main Altar of the Blessed Denis where there was only one beautiful and precious frontal panel from Charles the Bald. . . . [This panel], of marvelous workmanship and lavish sumptuousness (for the barbarian artists were even more lavish than ours), we ennobled with chased relief work equally admirable for its form as for its material, so that certain people might be able to say: The workmanship surpassed the material.

Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, *De rebus in administratione sua gestis* 33 (trans. E. Panovsky)

That medieval liturgical objects continued to be used for centuries after their initial manufacture is hardly surprising given the relative scarcity of certain material resources in much of Europe during this period and the generally conservative mindset of the medieval Church. Just as buildings were repaired, modified, and updated throughout the period, many portable objects underwent several stages of adaptation, and these changes reveal much about the priorities and values of the people who made and used these works of art. The altar frontal described by Suger in the quotation above¹ is lost, but extant examples of other cumulative or composite works such as the Stavelot Triptych in New York and the *Imago Pietatis* in Rome have been the object of scholarly inquiry, and their individual stories have become part of the art-historical canon.² Many humbler works, however, made for smaller centers or under the care of less renowned patrons, have similar stories to tell. When the stages of transformation in these lesser-known objects are subjected to close scrutiny, they too may yield important information.

A small portable altar in the collection of the Walters Art Museum is such an object, and provides an opportunity to study the reuse and adaptation of an item valued not only by its original patrons but by subsequent owners as well (fig. 1).³

Measuring 19.3 × 34.4 × 19 cm, the altar consists of a wooden core covered with gilt-copper repoussé panels and gilt copper strips decorated with stamped motifs and *verniss brun*; the altar stone is a slab of porphyry, now cracked and showing a certain degree of wear.⁴ This piece was probably made in the twelfth century but incorporates several panels of an earlier antependium. Philippe Verdier reconstructed and analyzed the original iconography of the reused panels, but little consideration has been given to the motivations behind the decision to preserve and adapt these older materials.⁵ A more thorough understanding of the altar's composite nature may clarify how it was valued by its owners in the twelfth century, particularly in regard to the relative importance of material as opposed to pictorial elements.⁶

No documentation of the altar's original context has survived, and at first glance, the repurposing of older materials in the Baltimore altar is ambiguous, raising questions about the date of and reasons for their reuse. As with many repaired or recycled works, the primary motivation for reuse might have been financial: to use available materials because the resources required for new production were scarce. Or these older pieces might have been selected to preserve an object of some importance, perhaps associated with a particular person or event, and kept as a reminder or an assertion of that connection to the past, incorporating into the new object the authority or sanctity that inhered in the older work. These are not opposing ideas, and one does not exclude the other, but the understanding of how and why materials have been used and reused requires a thorough and precise understanding of the object itself. To this end, the first part of this study provides a detailed examination of the altar. The second part probes how the reuse of materials itself conveyed meaning. Although no contemporaneous documentation survives, the physical evidence of the altar itself hints at the intention to



Fig. 1. Portable altar with scenes of the Life of Christ. 11th–12th century. Copper gilt over wood, enamel, porphyry. Acquired by Henry Walters, 1927. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (53.77)

display continuity, or perhaps venerability, by incorporating damaged works rather than renewing the raw materials at hand. This is further supported by the comparative evidence of analogous objects and relevant texts.

Questions of the localization and date of the Baltimore altar have relied largely on stylistic analysis. In the present configuration, the iconography of the side panels concerns themes of resurrection, rebirth, and triumph, all suitable for the Eucharist and common imagery on portable altars, but not indicative of any particular saint's cult and not much help in identifying where the altar, or any of its components, was made.⁷ The style has been associated with the school of Reichenau, and the post-Carolingian developments of the school of Reims, while Verdier associated the altar with pieces produced in Lower Saxony.⁸ Localizing a work exclusively on the basis of style presents difficulties, however, and perhaps the most that can be said about the altar's origins is that it was produced within the Ottonian Empire, north of the Alps.

Verdier dated the altar and its components by style, situating the construction of the altar in the twelfth century, and the manufacture of the repoussé panels covering its

sides in the tenth or eleventh century; his arguments have recently been strengthened by technical analysis carried out by the Conservation and Technical Research Division of the Walters.⁹ The materials and techniques employed are consistent with those available in the central Middle Ages, and the piece's form accords with that of a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century portable altars.¹⁰ The base and upper deck are the same size, while the sides are recessed; the shape overall is essentially a miniaturized version of a fixed altar. This basic form can be seen in the eleventh-century Gertrude Altar, part of the Guelph Treasure, and now in Cleveland, and in the twelfth-century Paderborn Altar, attributed to Roger of Helmarshausen (figs. 2 and 3).¹¹ The Baltimore altar's decoration is also consistent with that of other twelfth-century examples. Although many portable altars feature a series of compartmentalized single figures along the sides, as does the Paderborn Altar, other examples, such as the Abdinghof Altar, contain narrative scenes.¹²

In addition to the pictorial decoration, the altar is adorned with applied gilt copper strips: the strips surrounding the altar stone and beveled edges of the upper and lower projections are decorated with stamped palmettes and rosettes,¹³ while



Fig. 2. Portable altar of Henry of Werl, Bishop of Paderborn. 1100 with later additions. Silver, partly gilt, over wood, gilt bronze, gems, pearls, niello. Paderborn Cathedral, Treasury



Fig. 3. Portable altar of Countess Gertrude. ca. 1045. Gold over wood (oak), cloisonné enamel, red porphyry, gems, pearls, niello. The Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust (1931.462)

the reused pictorial panels are framed with *vernis brun* strips, some decorated with a vine scroll pattern and some with fictive columns and gemstones. These techniques, as well as the motifs employed, indicate that these decorative elements were likely applied in the twelfth century, strengthening the claim that the portable altar was constructed at that time.

As with many medieval pieces, particularly those with signs of later adaptation, the possibility of a nineteenth-century production must be considered, and there are indeed several indications of post-medieval interventions in this object. Significant repairs have been made to the wood base, demonstrated by neatly cut and newer-looking wood inserted in several places on the bottom panel. The gilt-copper strips along the base also show signs of repair and possibly repositioning.¹⁴ These appear to be isolated repairs, however, rather than significant reworkings.

The vertical vine scroll strips edging the side with the Holy Women at the Tomb are notably different from the horizontal vine scroll strips along the upper and lower edges of the altar (fig. 4). These *vernis brun* scrolls have a similar appearance, but the pattern is not quite identical. Subtle differences in the design of the ornamental motif are evident in the two vertical vine scroll strips, and both are slightly wider than the others.¹⁵ These two strips might be later medieval additions or even modern repairs.¹⁶ They highlight the consistency of the rest of the borders, and, like the patching on the base, the piecemeal character of later interventions.

A more glaring intervention is a hole cut in one of the ends (see fig. 7). This might have been done in an attempt

to verify the presence of the relics inside the altar, or perhaps to remove relics.¹⁷ The Baltimore altar is likely to have contained relics when it was consecrated, though no trace of these remains today. Many portable altars have a small opening, often in the base, that provides access to the relics kept inside. The edges of the wood around the hole in the Baltimore altar are uneven and worn to a degree that points to considerable age, and there are indications that another piece might have fit into the opening, suggesting that this was a point of access from an early stage of construction. If this were indeed the case, the loss of a plug and the tearing of the copper panels around it suggest that those responsible for this damage knew something about the original construction but were more concerned with the relics than with the altar itself.

The interventions outlined above indicate that while the Baltimore altar might have undergone some restoration in the post-medieval period, it does not appear to have been significantly reconstructed. Instead, the relatively minor and isolated alterations suggest a long life rather than a modern fabrication.

When the altar was created in the twelfth century, it was itself extending the life of an older, now lost work. The panels preserved on the sides of the Baltimore altar point to a larger object composed of a series of repoussé fields with christological narratives and representations of standing saints. To Verdier, the material and scale of these fragments suggested an altar frontal, such as the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio or the Ottonian antependium at Aachen.¹⁸ Alternatively,



Fig. 4. Walters 53.77: Side panel with the Holy Women at the Tomb



Fig. 5. Walters 53.77: Side panel with Christ in Majesty and partial scene of Baptism of Christ with female figure.

the panels might have derived from a reliquary shrine, but given the scale and subject matter, an antependium seems the most likely source.

The portable altar contains three scenes, but the present arrangement of these panels does not reflect the subject matter of the original object in a straightforward way. The first has been identified as the Holy Women at the Tomb (fig. 4). This is the largest panel, and includes two women and an angel. Completing this side, and positioned as if it were part of the same scene, is a third figure on a separate panel. On the opposite side is Christ in Majesty to the left, with the enthroned Christ surrounded by the symbols of the four Evangelists (fig. 5). This image is divided, with the split running between Christ on one side, and the symbols of Matthew and Luke on the other. The wear on the panels makes stylistic comparison imprecise, but there is no apparent discrepancy between these two pieces: the style of the figures, the technique, and the material itself all appear consistent, so it seems that one panel was split apart at some point and then rejoined here.¹⁹ To the right of this Christ in Majesty is a somewhat curious group of two figures. The naked male figure with a cruciform halo, an apron of rippling water, and a dove above his head can only be Christ at the Baptism, but the nimbed, veiled female figure to the right, turning toward Christ, is not what one would expect in this scene. If we return to the figure on the smaller panel of the opposite side, a nimbed male, partly turned with both hands raised, with a small triangular area of ripples by his foot, we find the completion of this scene, the subject of

which appears to combine standard iconographies for the Baptism and the Deesis (fig. 6).

Verdier contended that this scene represents a rare liturgical tradition in which Ecclesia, closely identified with the Virgin, was linked with the Baptism.²⁰ Verdier's proposal is compelling enough as far as the lost original object is concerned, though there might have been local factors at work that further inhibit our understanding.²¹ I will return to the issue of iconography later, but the point I want to make here is that, at present, the subject matter of some of the scenes on these panels is difficult, if not impossible to retrieve. This seems to be the result of a lack of concern for iconography on the part of the people who pieced these fragments together. Repositioning a figure from one unusual scene as a figure in another scene suggests a lack of attachment to, or intellectual engagement with, the iconography of the original piece. The absence of explanatory inscriptions further suggests that clarity of the narrative was not a priority.

The shorter sides of the altar each feature two standing, nimbed, male figures (figs. 7, 8). These are stylistically similar to the figures on the side panels, but they are somewhat smaller and in slightly higher relief. These panels have been significantly damaged: the gilding has been worn away and the relief has been crushed almost flat in some areas. The damage complicates stylistic analysis, but despite the small differences in scale and technique, the figures on all of the panels appear to have been made either by the same individual or by a group of people working in close coordination. The style of the figures is closely related; a comparison of the female figure in the Baptism scene with the standing figures on the ends shows clear similarities in the postures of the figures, the character of the drapery folds, and the relationship of the underlying limbs to the drapery.

The incorporation of older materials is not unique to the Baltimore altar. A number of medieval portable altars employed reused materials, including a portable altar in the treasury at Conques (fig. 9). This piece consists of a slab of alabaster framed with enamels, gems, and filigree; the materials of the frame are thought to be reused items originally from the cover of an evangeliary made for an early twelfth-century abbot.²² In addition to comparable altars, a number of medieval reliquaries incorporate older materials. The Stavelot Triptych and the reliquary of Sainte Foy are perhaps the most well known.²³ An especially relevant example is the so-called Oda Shrine in the Walters collection: the



Fig. 6. Walters 53.77. Presumed original arrangement of Baptism of Christ

present reliquary was refashioned in the thirteenth century from one end of an earlier reliquary casket; the casket itself incorporated a panel from an older altar frontal, providing the main figural component.²⁴

The portable altar in Baltimore, therefore, as a composite object, is far from unique. But what were the reasons for reusing these particular materials? To what degree was the decision motivated by financial considerations, by aesthetic considerations, or perhaps by the perceived sanctity or authority of the older object?

Several physical features of the portable altar suggest that financial considerations might have played a role. Verdier noted that the border strips, most of which were likely made when the altar was assembled in the twelfth century, are in keeping with the decorative elements of other portable altars.²⁵ The *vernis brun* columns present a simpler, less costly version of the micro-architectural elements commonly found in portable altars, as the Eilbertus Altar, which has raised enamel columns separating the figures on the side panels, or the Gertrude Altar, which includes columns in repoussé and cloisonné enamel on the longer sides, and raised columns with niello ornament on the shorter sides (fig. 3). Two-dimensional representations of columns, as on the Baltimore altar, would certainly have been cheaper and more quickly

produced than sculpted or enameled micro-columns (fig. 5). The same can be said of the border strips along the short ends, where lines of circles suggest the gem-studded borders often found on luxurious portable altars, such as the Gertrude and Paderborn Altars (figs. 2, 3, 7, 8). Although the materials employed required less financial expenditure and technical skill, they were intended to give the impression of a sumptuous and costly fabrication, visually comparable to the materials and techniques used on other portable altars. This implies that the people who made the Baltimore altar were aware of the aesthetic and material conventions pertaining to altars and wished to participate in this tradition.

The condition of the older panels on the sides of the Baltimore altar is also an important consideration. These panels are far from pristine: the relief work has been crushed in many places, and the gilding has been worn away. As noted above, the panel depicting Christ in Majesty is now in two pieces, presumably because it had been broken before being reassembled on the portable altar. This all suggests that the original object might have been significantly damaged before it was incorporated into the present portable altar. If these panels did indeed come from a large gilt antependium—something along the lines of the examples at Sant’Ambrogio or Aachen, though perhaps not quite as



Fig. 7. Walters 53.77. End panel with two saints



Fig. 8. Walters 53.77. End panel with two saints

grand—significantly damaged and only partly salvageable, what is the significance of the reuse of certain pieces in a much smaller and not especially luxurious portable altar?

Making the most of what was left might have been a motivation, and without any knowledge of how much was usable, and whether other bits of the damaged antependium were reused in other, now lost, objects, it is difficult to draw any conclusions about why particular fragments might have been selected. What we can conclude from the surviving work is that a great deal of trouble was taken to piece together these fragments of an altar frontal in order to create a new altar, and that those responsible did not choose simply to recycle the materials, to melt the metal down and fashion it into something new, but instead to use the fragments in their visibly damaged state.

The decision to reuse the panels as they were resulted in a new altar with the appearance of a more venerable object, privileging age over luxury. In piecing together these panels,



Fig. 9. Portable altar of Sainte Foy, ca. 1100. Silver gilt over wood, gems, enamels, alabaster. L'abbatiale Sainte-Foy de Conques, Treasury.

the makers also chose to discard the original iconography of the antecedent object. By splitting apart the Baptism/Deesis scene, a choice was perhaps made to use panels according to their size and shape, fitting them onto the sides of the altar so as to provide the best coverage, rather than to maintain narrative content. In the case of the Christ in Majesty, the figural group was pieced together to preserve the original iconography, but this traditionally important scene was not placed in a central position or emphasized in any particular way, breaking with established compositional choices.²⁶

This implies that the iconographic content of the scenes was not a driving factor in the decision to reuse them. This is not what we would expect. Many practitioners of medieval art history have been largely concerned with identifying and interpreting images, reading them as we read texts. This practice has relied on the belief that medieval people interpreted pictures in much the same way as they interpreted words. Such a belief is supported by one of the most widely cited pronouncements on the role of images in the medieval West, Gregory the Great's famous dictum that pictures are the books of the illiterate.²⁷ Leaving aside the question of whether Gregory's justification has much to do with the actual audiences of many medieval works of art, the fact that it was cited so frequently during the Middle Ages implies that the idea that pictures could be interpreted as texts was plausible, and must sometimes have been the case. However, works like the Baltimore altar suggest this might not have always been the most important concern, and medieval descriptions of works and inscriptions on the works themselves also raise questions about the assumed privilege of iconographic content.

Erik Thunø has recently investigated the balance between the richness of materials and the pictorial messages conveyed by the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan.²⁸ The presence of an inscription on the Golden Altar, the quality of the altar's craftsmanship and materials, and the grand nature of its commission mark it as something quite different from the Baltimore altar, but nevertheless introduce some of the same art historical problems. The inscription celebrates and explains the use of rich materials and ignores the iconographic meaning of the pictures carried by those materials.²⁹ Thunø wrestled with the apparent lack of interest in the pictures, observing not only that they are not mentioned in the inscription, but that the visual richness of the materials obscures the iconographic content of

the pictures unless a viewer is standing close to the work.³⁰ The pictures must have played a role, and they do of course carry some meaning—otherwise they would not have been included—but they are of secondary interest.³¹ The text clearly communicates the priorities of those responsible for creating this work: the visually radiant materials are meant to be a reflection of, or perhaps a gloss on, the spiritually radiant relics inside the altar. In the case of the Golden Altar, the choice of materials seems to have taken precedence over the narrative content of the pictures.

Returning to the Baltimore altar, if the content of the pictures was not of paramount importance, perhaps we should consider the role played by qualities specific to the materials themselves. Although this portable altar has affinities with the Golden Altar of Sant’Ambrogio, the panels that were reused on this small object are hardly of the same caliber as the work in Milan, either in terms of monetary value or visual sumptuousness. Could the reused materials have been valued for reasons beyond the financial, aesthetic, and quasi-spiritual worth attributed to materials such as gold and precious gemstones in the Middle Ages? Altar frontals were sometimes associated with important persons: Henry II (r. 1002–1024), for example, gave altar frontals to the cathedral at Basel and the palace chapel at Aachen.³² In the case of the Sant’Ambrogio altar, the metal was marked with pictorial and textual references to the patron Angilbertus and the craftsman Wolvinus, as well as Ambrose himself and several other local historical figures.³³ Perhaps the fabric of the older antependium reused in the Baltimore altar was likewise valued for its connection to past people or events. Any association of the Baltimore panels with an individual is not, at this point, recoverable, in part because the pieces that have been saved do not make any overt statement about their origins, offering no pictures or inscriptions that make their significance clear to modern viewers.

Lacking inscriptions, clear iconographic meanings, or other documentation, we are left with the question of how meaning was conveyed by these panels once they were integrated into the portable altar. An effort was made to preserve and adapt these panels, but which qualities of the panels were being preserved and adapted? I would propose that it was the act of reusing older materials that conveyed their value, marking a connection between this portable altar and the older altar frontal. It is not only the inherent nature of the materials that was valued, but the fact that they had

been created and manipulated by a goldsmith at an earlier point. The value of the gilt copper was enhanced by the fact that it featured reliefs, but the narrative content of those reliefs was not a primary concern. The pictures in this case do not serve to convey meaning through what is depicted, but they instead function as the surviving traces of an older work, including perhaps the process of commissioning and executing that older work, and of events or persons related to it.³⁴

If the function of the Baltimore altar was, at least in part, the preservation of an earlier work of art and the associations that went along with its prior existence, the form of the new object—an altar—might well have contributed to the project’s overall meaning. Evidence provided by several surviving portable altars and a textual account of an altar frontal suggest that the altar was understood as a location of temporal collapse, a nexus between past and present where the ongoing celebration of the Eucharist affirmed and reaffirmed the continuity of the Christian community.

Abbot Suger has provided us with a roughly contemporary account of an old, fragmentary altar frontal that was considered to be worth saving. In his text on the church and the liturgical objects at the Abbey of Saint-Denis, Suger recounted that a fragment of an altar frontal given by Charles the Bald had been preserved and reincorporated into a newly refurbished altar.³⁵ Suger made a point of tying the surviving altar panels to Charles the Bald, mentioning the former ruler and lay abbot of Saint-Denis a number of times. But it was not only the association with Charles’s imperial power that Suger valued. He emphasized the long continuity implied by this connection, and his own position within that continuity, mentioning that he was offered to the monastic life at this very altar, and recording his name in the inscription, alongside that of Charles, as a donor. Suger did not simply reuse the remaining panels of this altar frontal, he took great liberty in adapting them as they were integrated into the new altar. He wrote that the older panel, itself of “marvelous” workmanship, was, under his stewardship, “ennobled with chased relief work equally admirable for its form as for its material.”³⁶ Suger later reaffirmed the value placed on craftsmanship and technique when he commented on the work executed by St. Eloy in adorning a liturgical vessel, recently reclaimed from pawn, and the transformation effected on a porphyry vase converted into a flagon.³⁷ Suger also sought to safeguard the abbey’s historical treasures, and he conceived

the new altar as something like a treasury, where things of value could be preserved. Although he did not state this explicitly in regards to the Carolingian work, he mentioned that other items of value were fixed to the new altar so that they would not be lost.³⁸

Suger's attitude to the antependium of Charles the Bald, and his intent in preserving it and integrating it into a new altar, were not unique, though perhaps better documented than other cases. There are a number of instances in which older pieces were incorporated into new liturgical objects as a means for the patron and designer to insert themselves into a longer lineage, whether in the genetic or political sense. Ilene Forsyth has argued that the mid-eleventh-century Borghorst cross, now in Münster, enabled Abbess Bertha to associate herself with a number of important figures, some removed from her by centuries and others by only a generation or two.³⁹ The portable altar from Conques mentioned above incorporates components of an earlier book cover, apparently arranged as they were on the book. Bouillet proposed in 1892 that these panels were the reused frame of an evangeliary cover made for Bégon, abbot from 1099 to 1118, and Élisabeth Taburet-Delehay has recently reaffirmed the likelihood of this hypothesis.⁴⁰ If this is correct, we have another example of an object, in this case closely tied to an institutional figure, reused and adapted to serve as a portable altar.⁴¹

The Paderborn Altar also visually advocates for a strong connection to the past, and a sense of continuity with that past (figs. 2 and 10). This piece does not incorporate or preserve older works of art, but it does depict both Henry of Werl (r. 1084–1127), the bishop who commissioned the piece, and his illustrious predecessor, Meinwerk (r. 1009–1036), considered to be a second founder of Paderborn. Both bishops are shown during the mass, standing at altars (fig 10).⁴² In the depiction at the top of the altar stone, Meinwerk stands at the high altar, raising the chalice, while in the lower scene, Henry stands at the same altar, censuring (figs. 11, 12). But Henry is censuring at another altar as well. A portable altar, probably intended to represent the Paderborn portable altar itself, has been placed on the main altar, adding to and expanding the cult activities of his church.⁴³ Like Suger, Henry here placed himself within a continuum, and used the altar to declare his role within it.⁴⁴

Looking again to Saint-Denis, the interest in preserving the old fragmentary antependium continued past the reign

of Abbot Suger. Whether for the sake of the connection with Charles the Bald, with Suger himself, with the ancient and continuing glory of the institution, or a combination of these and other ideas, the altar frontal was kept and was later adapted into a new form, a retable placed on top of the altar, as shown in the only pictorial evidence we have of this object, a painting (ca. 1500) of the Mass of St. Giles, now in the National Gallery, London (inv. no. NG 4681).

I do not intend to suggest that the Walters portable altar was connected to an institution as renowned as Saint-Denis, or to persons as notable as Abbot Suger or Charles the Bald. Nevertheless, Suger's concern to preserve the altar frontal of Charles the Bald by integrating it into a new altar, thereby enshrining a sense of continuity with the past, provides us with a model for the concerns that might have motivated the creation of the piece in Baltimore, and suggests, along with the portable altars in Conques and Paderborn, a perception of altars as important sites for such preservation and adaptation.

Despite, or perhaps because of, the damaged and fragmentary nature of these gilt copper panels, they were carefully pieced together to adorn a new altar. As I have argued above, it was not the pictorial content of these panels that was being salvaged, but their connection with the past. The narrative message conveyed by the reliefs appears to have been a secondary concern; instead, their state as venerable sculpted panels was the most important factor contributing to their value. Whether these panels were intended to carry forward an association with a particular donor, or with an earlier, possibly more prosperous phase in the history of the institution or family responsible for this piece, they served to tie this new altar to an earlier one, creating a direct link between the officiant and worshipers who used this portable altar, and the people who performed and heard mass at that older, grander altar. The implication here is of continuous use and adaptation rather than the reclamation of something recovered from the distant past.

In understanding how materials and craftsmanship could convey a sense of continuity, perhaps we can turn once more to Suger, who described the lavish and sumptuous materials and drew attention to the skilled craftsmanship of both the remnants of Charles the Bald's frontal and the new altar, and yet gave little attention to what was depicted.⁴⁵ Suger's account of the main altar and other liturgical objects at a prominent monastery and the evidence of the more modest



Fig. 10 (above). Portable altar of Henry of Werl: deck

Fig. 11 (right top). Portable altar of Henry of Werl: detail

Fig. 12 (right bottom). Portable altar of Henry of Werl: detail



Baltimore portable altar suggest that sculpted material was held in high regard, and that such sculpted material itself could be of greater importance than the concepts or narratives related by the images shown there. The material is not used in the service of conveying the message of the pictures, not simply another mode of transmission for quasi-textual pictorial content. Instead, the most important message, the one worth preserving, is conveyed by the material and the artistic processes used in creating it. Regardless of the status of the institution or the resources available, precious metals worked by skilled craftsmen were held to be of value and were worth saving. If the workmanship does not surpass the

material, it certainly enriches it—as Suger put it, “equally admirable for its form as for its material” (*tam forma quam materia mirabili*).⁴⁶

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NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was read at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, 2009, session 1002; I am grateful to Glyn Davies for inviting me to participate in this session, to those present at the session

for their comments, and to Theo Riches and Bernard Gowers for listening to a late-night run-through beforehand. Drafts of this paper have been read by colleagues, all of whom have offered thoughtful and useful comments; particular thanks are owed to Martina Bagnoli, William Diebold, Richard Leson, and Lisa Mahoney. This paper has also benefited greatly from the editorial efforts, and patience, of Charles Dibble.

1. Abbot Suger, *On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and Its Art Treasures*, ed. and trans. E. Panofsky (Princeton, 1946), 60–63; *Principale igitur beati Dionysii altare, cui tantem anterior a Karolo Calvo . . . speciosa et preciosa habebatur. . . . Ulterioreum vero tabulam miro opere sumptuque profuso, quoniam barbari et profusiores nostratibus erant artifices, tam forma quam materia mirabilis anaglifo opere, ut a quibusdam dici posit Materiam superabat opus.*
2. For the Stavelot Triptych, see W. Voelkle, *The Stavelot Triptych: Mosan Art and the Legend of the True Cross*, exh. cat., New York: Pierpont Morgan Library (New York and Oxford, 1980); and K.M. Holbert, “Mosan Reliquaries and the Cult of the True Cross in the Twelfth Century” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1995). For the *Imago Pietatis*, see H.L. Kessler in M. Bagnoli, et al., eds., *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, exh. cat., Cleveland Museum of Art, Walters Art Museum, and British Museum (Baltimore, 2010; London, 2011), 201–2 (no. 116).
3. The altar was purchased by Henry Walters in 1927 from Arnold Seligmann-Rey; it had previously been in the Guldpenfennig Collection in Paderborn.
4. The wooden core, probably oak, is formed from discrete boards, not carved from a single log, and the gilt-copper plaques and strips are attached to this core with small nails.
5. P. Verdier, “Plaques d’un *antependium* ottonien et iconographie mariale du Baptême,” in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, ed. P. Gallais and Y.-J. Riou (Poitiers, 1966), 185–95.
6. An early draft of this essay included the word “spolia” in the title, but faced with how broadly that word has come to be used—sometimes strictly reserved to describe the reuse of ancient architectural elements, sometimes applied to visual references to contemporary but foreign traditions—it seems now to be applicable to almost every work of medieval art. I have decided to avoid it, in favor of describing the precise situations I have in mind. However, as an examination of the motivations for reusing older bits, this work certainly owes much to the field of spolia studies; see D. Kinney, “The Concept of *Spolia*,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Malden, Mass., 2006), 233–52; the range of meanings associated with this word, and objections to the increasingly expansive use of the term, were demonstrated at the ninety-seventh

annual conference of the College Art Association (Los Angeles, February 27, 2009) in a session organized by Jennifer H. Shaffer, “Interpreting *Spolia* in Medieval Architecture and Art.”

7. For the relevance of Eucharistic imagery, see Stefan Soltek’s comments in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik in Köln*, ed. A. Legner, 3 vols. (Cologne, 1985), 2:403. The Paderborn and Abdinghof Altars of the early twelfth century, both attributed to Roger of Helmarshausen, and the Bégon Altar, made in Conques around 1100, are all closely tied by pictures and inscriptions to local saints or patrons. For a recent discussion of the Paderborn and Abdinghof Altars, with extensive bibliography, see P. Lasko, “Roger of Helmarshausen, Author and Craftsman: Life, Sources of Style, and Iconography,” in *Objects, Images, and the Word: Art in the Service of the Liturgy*, ed. C. Hourihane (Princeton, 2003), 80–201; for the Bégon Altar, see A. Bouillet, *L’église et le trésor de Conques (Aveyron): Notice descriptive* (Macon, 1892; repr. Nîmes, 2003), 59–62; and É. Taburet-Delehay, in D. Gaborit-Chopin and É. Taburet-Delehay, eds., *Le trésor de Conques*, exh. cat., Paris: Musée du Louvre (Paris, 2001), 56–61 (no. 10)
8. See M. Creutz, *Kunstgeschichte der edlen Metalle*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1909), 2:130; Verdier “Plaques d’un *antependium* ottonien,” 195; Dimitri Tselos commented on the altar’s relationship to Reims work (personal communication, 1937, curatorial file), but did not, to my knowledge, publish anything on this piece.
9. Information available in the curatorial file for the Baltimore altar documents changes in opinion as to the date of the work; insights offered by members of the conservation division of the Walters, particularly Julie Lauffenburger, have helped to resolve some of the questions about the date. When the altar was sold to Henry Walters in 1927, it was described as an eleventh-century work. Verdier, in a letter of 1958, stated that he believed the altar was a nineteenth-century fabrication, a pastiche of tenth- or eleventh-century panels. In his 1966 publication, however, Verdier decided in favor of a twelfth-century date for the present altar’s manufacture.
10. S. Soltek, in *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, 2:403. Peter Lasko cites the Gertrude Altar as an early example of this transformation of portable altars from simple boxlike shapes to the “almost architecturally conceived portable altars of the Romanesque period.” Lasko, *Ars Sacra, 800–1200* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 135.
11. See H.A. Klein in Bagnoli, et al., *Treasures of Heaven*, 86–87 (nos. 42, 43); and Lasko, “Roger of Helmarshausen.”
12. For the Abdinghof altar, see K.B. Gerry in Bagnoli, et al., *Treasures of Heaven*, 126 (no. 65); and Lasko, “Roger of Helmarshausen.”
13. For comparable examples from the third quarter of the twelfth century, see *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, 2:408–10 (nos. F 49–51): F 49 is particularly close.

14. The nails and strips appear to be medieval, but there is evidence that the strips were moved and refastened at some point, likely reusing the same nails; this might have been done to consolidate surviving portions.
15. On the horizontal pieces, the innermost tendrils spiral all the way around, turning in on themselves, whereas the equivalent tendrils on the vertical strips extend outward in a small flare. On the vertical strips, almost all of the tendrils end in this flare, similar to a serif, while the tendrils on the horizontal strips are more varied. Also, these two strips are slightly wider than the other *vernīs brun* strips on the altar: these vertical strips are 2.5 cm wide, while the other strips range from 1.5 to 2 cm (vertical vine scroll strips: 2.5–2.6 cm; strips with column design: 1.4–1.7 cm; all other *vernīs brun* strips: 1.8–2.0 cm). Julie Lauffenburger, senior objects conservator at the Walters, has noted that the surfaces of these two wider strips have a slightly different appearance and texture than the others, suggesting to her that they might not have been made with exactly the same technique; these surface differences are slight, however, and further observation under ultraviolet light did not reveal anything unusual or questionable about these two strips; Lauffenburger's efforts in examining and discussing this piece with me in 2009 have been essential to this research; for additional technical information, see Conservation Report of January 2000, in object file.
16. Rocío Sanchez Ameijeiras has suggested to me that these strips might be of sixteenth-century manufacture (personal communication, 2009).
17. See Verdier, "Plaques d'un *antependium* ottonien," 185; according to a conservation report by Yunhui Mao, dated 18 January 2000, Kelly Holbert, the curator at the time, was also of this opinion. The report is erroneously dated "1/18/99": it records that the object was in fact received on 7 September 1999 and work begun on 4 November 1999.
18. See Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 50–55, figs. 46, 47 (Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio); 130, 131, fig. 132 (Aachen antependium). For lengthier discussions of the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio, see C. Hahn, "Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Presentation and Reception," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 167–87; and E. Thunø, "The Golden Altar of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan: Image and Materiality," in *Decorating the Lord's Table: On the Dynamics between Image and Altar in the Middle Ages*, ed. S. Kaspersen and E. Thunø (Copenhagen, 2006), 63–78.
19. It is worth considering that Christ in Majesty and the symbols of the four Evangelists are subjects that Theophilus recommends executing with a die stamp (*De diversis artibus*, chap. 75). If the smaller panel represents a later repair, and if these images were stamped, it is possible that the original stamps were reused for the repair.
20. Verdier argued in "Plaques d'un *antependium* ottonien" that the depiction of Christ in the River Jordan between John the Baptist and a female figure, identified as both Ecclesia and the Virgin, would have been understood for its theophanic implications rather than as a type of the sacrament of baptism, and served as a symbolic reference to the matrimonial union of Christ and Ecclesia. Citing a variety of early Christian and early medieval texts, Verdier established that the Baptism was associated with the feast of the Epiphany (6 January), and that an elision between the ideas of epiphany, baptism, and the marriage of Christ and Ecclesia would have been familiar to Carolingian Christians and those living in the aftermath of the Carolingian period. He associated the group on the Walters altar with the antiphon *Hodie caelesti sponso iuncta est Ecclesia* (Amalarius of Metz's *Liber officialis*, version amended between 831 and 835 [IV, 33]) and proposed that this is a unique trace of this antiphon in the visual arts.
21. Our understanding of medieval iconography has perhaps been limited by the tendency to assume that one image would have conveyed one meaning to any medieval viewer; see J. Baschet, *L'iconographie médiévale* (Paris, 2008). In a recent conference paper, Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen has explored several cases in which the interpretation of spoliated fragments employed in later reliquaries was dependent on a layered understanding of both the original and the new functions of the fragments, implying a degree of sophistication beyond what modern scholarship has accorded medieval audiences: "The Memory of Objects: Spolia in Reliquaries," delivered at the Baltimore session of the symposium *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, April 29–May 1, 2011.
22. Bouillet, *L'église et le trésor de Conques*, 60–62; É. Taburet-Delehay, in Gaborit-Chopin and Taburet-Delehay, *Le trésor de Conques*, 62–65 (no. 11). A small portable altar in the Schnütgen Collection in Cologne (no. G.13) has been identified by Michael Budde as an eleventh-century altar, with some modern additions, that incorporates a tenth-century panel as the base. See M. Budde, *Altare Portatile: Kompendium der Tragaltäre des Mittelalters, 600–1600*, 3 vols. (Werne an der Lippe, 1998), 2: 177, 178. After examining this object and discussing it with Hiltrud Westermann-Angerhausen, Manuella Beer, and Lisa Mahoney, I think it is certainly possible that this piece has been heavily altered since the Middle Ages, and I am not confident in the identification of the lower panel; however, if further study supports the claim that the work is primarily medieval, then a comparison between the Schnütgen and Baltimore portable altars could be very productive.
23. For the Stavelot Triptych, see above, Voelkle, *The Stavelot Triptych* and Holbert, "Mosan Reliquaries"; for the Sainte Foy statue, see B. Fricke, *Ecce Fides: Die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen* (Munich, 2007); and D. Gaborit-Chopin

- in Gaborit-Chopin and Taburet-Delehay, *Le trésor de Conques*, 18–29 (no. 1).
24. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 57.519; K. B. Gerry in Bagnoli et al., *Treasures of Heaven*, 176–77 (no. 81).
 25. Verdier, “Plaques d’un antependium ottonien,” 195.
 26. See Thunø, “The Golden Altar,” 74.
 27. There is a vast literature exploring what Gregory might have meant by this and to what degree the statement of an early medieval pope accurately reflects the intentions of artists and patrons throughout the millennium that we call the Middle Ages. For a recent discussion of this quotation and relevant bibliography, see H. Kessler, “Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Malden, Mass., 2006) 151–72.
 28. Thunø, “The Golden Altar,” 63–78.
 29. “The beneficent shrine shines forth, lovely with its glittering panoply of metal and dressed with gems. But more potent than all its gold is the treasure with which it is endowed by virtue of the holy bones within it. This work the noble bishop, famed Angilbert, offered with joy in honor of the blessed Ambrose who lies in this temple, and dedicated to the Lord in the time when he held the chief place of this brilliant see. Father on high, look upon and pity thy loving servant, and by thy intercession, may God bestow his divine blessing.” Translation from George Bishop Tatum, “The Paliotto of Sant’Ambrogio at Milan,” *Art Bulletin* 26 (1944): 25–45; Tatum reproduces the original Latin (26 n. 15), which can also be found in Thunø, “The Golden Altar,” 77 n. 4, and in A. Silvagni, ed., *Monumenta epigraphica christiana*, 2: *Mediolanum* (Vatican, 1943), tab. V, 6: AEMICAT ALMA FORIS RUTILOQUE DECORE VENUST(A) / ARCA METALLORUM GEMMIS QUAE COMPTA CORUSCA(T) / THESAURO TAMEN HAEC CUNCTO POTIORE METALL(O) / OSSIBUS INTERIUS POLLET DONATA SACRATI(S) / (AE)GREGIUS QUOD PRAESUL OPUS SUB HONORE BEAT(I) ? INCLITUS ambrosii templo recubantis in isto / optulit angilbertus ovans domiNOQUE DICAVI(T) / TEMPORE QUO NITIDAE SERVABAT CULMINA SEDIS / (A) SPICE SUMME PATER FAMULO MISERERE BENIGN(O) / (T)E MISERANTE DEUS DONUM SUBLIME REPORTE(T) [letters in parantheses are shared between words at the corners].
 30. See especially pp. 64, 66, 67; Thunø attempted to resolve this paradox by arguing that pictures and materials worked together in the case of the Golden Altar to promote an anagogical experience.
 31. See Hahn’s discussion of the narrative in “Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant’Ambrogio.”
 32. Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 129–31; Desiderius had an antependium made in Constantinople for Monte Cassino; see Leo of Ostia, *The Chronicle of Monte Cassino* III, 18, 26–32, trans. H. Bloch, in *Literary Sources of Art History*, ed. E. G. Holt (Princeton, 1947), 4–10, excerpted in C. Davis-Weyer, *Early Medieval Art, 300–1150* (repr. Toronto, 1986), 139.
 33. See Hahn, “Narrative on the Golden Altar of Sant’Ambrogio.”
 34. A fuller discussion of the spiritual value of the process of creating a work of art is beyond the scope of this essay, but is explicated by Theophilus in *De diversis artibus*; see H. Gearhart, “Transforming the Natural World: Hierarchies of Material in Theophilus’ *On Diverse Arts*,” in *Art and Nature: Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. L. Cleaver, K. Gerry, and J. Harris (London, 2009), 81–94.
 35. Suger, ed. and trans. Panofsky, *On the Abbey Church*, 60–65, and see also 66–73; a thorough bibliography of Suger’s much studied and discussed texts would be well beyond the bounds of a note, but would certainly include C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis: Abbot Suger’s Program and the Early Twelfth-Century Controversy over Art* (Princeton, 1990); *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium*, ed. P. L. Gerson (New York, 1986); and, in the context of composite works of art, P. Buc, “Conversion of Objects,” *Viator* 28 (1997): 99–143, esp. 114–28.
 36. Suger, *On the Abbey Church*, 60–63, translation quoted at the start of this essay; see note 1
 37. Suger, *On the Abbey Church*, 76–79: “We also offered to the blessed Denis . . . another most precious vessel. . . . It is an established fact that this vessel . . . is adorned with ‘verroterie cloisonnée’ work by St. Eloy which is held to be most precious in the judgment of all goldsmiths; Aliud etiam vas preciosissimum . . . beato Dionysio obtulimus. Quod videlicet vas. . . . inclusorio sancti Eligii opera constat ornatum, quod omnium aurificum iudicio preciosissimum aestimatur; and 78, 79: “And further we adapted for the service of the altar, with the aid of gold and silver material, a porphyry vase, made admirable by the hand of the sculptor and polisher”; Nec minus porphyriticum vas sculptoris et politoris manu ammirabile factum . . . transferendo auri argentique materia altaris servicio adaptavimus.
 38. Suger, *On the Abbey Church*, 60, 61: “we installed there the two candlesticks of King Louis, son of Philip, of twenty marks of gold, lest they might be stolen on some occasion”; 62, 63: “Much of what had been acquired and more of such ornaments of the church as we were afraid of losing—for instance, a golden chalice that was curtailed of its foot and several other things—we ordered to be fastened there.” Suger (pp. 64, 65) also makes a point of contrasting the relative safety of the objects kept on the altar of Saint-Denis with that of objects at Hagia Sophia. See also Buc, “Conversion of Objects,” esp. 126
 39. I. Forsyth, “Art with History: The Role of Spolia in the Cumulative Work of Art,” in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. C. Moss and K. Kiefer (Princeton, 1995), 154, 155.

40. Bouillet, *L'église et le trésor de Conques*, 60–62; Gaborit-Chopin and Taburet-Delehay, *Le trésor de Conques*, 62–65 (no. 11).
41. The most famous medieval object from Conques, the reliquary statue of Sainte Foy, was also the product of numerous additions and other transformations, though the additions recorded, such as the golden doves given by Bernard, abbot of Beaulieu and later bishop of Cahors, seem prized for qualities other than their age or connection to historical figures (*Book of Sainte Foy*, trans. P. Sheingorn [Philadelphia, 1995], 81, 82); for more on this reliquary statue, see Fricke, *Ecce Fides*.
42. See Lasko, “Roger of Helmarshausen” and Buc, “Conversion of Objects,” 140.
43. The depiction of a portable altar on top of a fixed altar calls into question the commonly cited role of portable altars as instruments that allowed mass to be performed outside the confines of a church building. There are several other medieval depictions of portable altars being used on top of fixed altars, including the scene of St. Erhard celebrating mass in the Uta Codex (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13601, fol. 4r), and Bernward celebrating mass in the Bernward Gospels (Hildesheim, Dom- und Diözesanmuseum, Ms 18, fol. 16v); it would seem that another role for these moveable small-scale altars might have been to expand the liturgical practice within a given church building. Such a role is suggested by pictorial evidence, but has not yet come to light in medieval textual sources. For a recent examination of the portable altar in relation to medieval concepts of sacred space, rooted in textual sources, see É. Palazzo, *L'espace rituel et le sacré dans le Christianisme: La liturgie de l'autel portatif dans l'Antiquité et au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout, 2008).
44. Meredith Parsons Lillich has argued that fragments of stained glass were preserved through several rebuilding campaigns at Châlons in order to assert a similar sense of continuity; see “Remembrance of Things Past: Stained Glass Spolia at Châlons Cathedral,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 no. 4 (1996): 461–97.
45. Suger, *On the Abbey Church*, 60, 61: see note 1.
46. Suger, *On the Abbey Church*, 60, 61.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Cleveland Museum of Art: fig. 3; Photo Erich Lessing / Art Resource: fig. 9; Paderborn Cathedral, Treasury: figs. 2, 10–12; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 4–8

T'OROS ROSLIN AND THE REPRESENTATION OF PAGAN THREAT

LISA MAHONEY

“T’oros Roslin,” the name of a thirteenth-century Armenian scribe and illuminator, today resounds well beyond the boundaries of this artist’s homeland. It is a name above all synonymous with inspired and innovative portrayals of long-conventionalized biblical subjects. Compare his Annunciation scene in a Gospel Book now in the collection of the Walters Art Museum (w.539) with the Annunciation scene in a Gospel Book in the Freer Gallery of Art (MS 50.3), made by a predecessor working in the same area and possibly even the same scriptorium (figs. 1 and 2).¹ Dated to the later twelfth century, the Freer Annunciation scene represents those artistic practices out of which Roslin’s own forms developed. This includes the full-page format and the relatively (and regally) stiff and stoic figures of Gabriel and Mary, who dominate a landscape of architectural forms. Not even a century later, the moment is wholly transformed in the hands of T’oros Roslin. Now the angel and Mary are positioned in opposing margins of Luke’s text, clearly disregarding the tradition of the full-page frame in terms of both size and confinement. Despite their distance, God’s messenger gestures decisively toward Mary, who reacts by grabbing at her cloak and attempting to hide her face, uneasy at the sight of a Gabriel just-landed, to judge from his upturned wings and his fluttering drapery. The legibility of action has been increased through the reduction of setting, and, correspondingly, the stillness that characterizes the work of Roslin’s predecessor has been replaced by drama.

Indeed, the force of the narrative and the strength of the characters surely explain the initial attraction of Roslin’s work in general. Of *sustaining* interest, however, is the meaning or significance of his distinct approach to illuminating the Gospels. This is precisely what I would like to consider here, and I propose to do so by analyzing the impetus and function of Roslin’s new forms as they appear in the Walters

Gospel Book, the locus of our engaging Annunciation scene and a manuscript that is both a representative and a mature example of his art. The specific interrogation of forms that I am offering restricts itself to their expanded dramatic register, and does not treat other novelties of subject matter or iconographic ingredients except where these elements converge. Attending to this single aspect of the Walters Gospel Book does three things. It provides an explanation for Roslin’s popularity during his lifetime; it reveals the very close relationship between manuscript production and historical context in Armenia; and it complicates causal assessments of cultural borrowings or influences in the eastern Mediterranean.² Before looking at the forms themselves, this analysis begins with a description of the two “environmental” factors that made them possible.

The first of these environmental factors is the advantageous location of the particular region within which Roslin was working and the resulting exposure to a variety of cultures that it afforded. The site of Roslin’s scriptorium was Hromkla, the fortified location of the Armenian patriarchate on the Euphrates, which lies within the region of Cilicia. Of course, Cilicia was well positioned for contact with its Byzantine neighbor, and the changing politics of the region had made this contact frequent if not always amicable.³ But the attractive ports at Ayas and Corycos and the favorable passage over the Tarsus Mountains also made Cilicia a major crossroads for goods traveling west from the Far East and those traveling east from Italy.⁴ These same features in turn made Cilicia one of the main thoroughfares and stopping points for crusading armies, envoys, and preachers. And they probably played no small part in the marriage and military alliances sought between the crusaders, or Franks, and the Armenians of Cilicia.⁵ Such circumstances for interaction between cultures provide the context for the many concrete

references to contact that have come down to us in primary sources—all of which hint, at any rate, that we should not be surprised to find here the emergence of new and hybridized artistic forms.⁶ In the realm of manuscript arts, Byzantine pictorial conventions had supplied Armenia with its roots; this relationship was long and has been well studied.⁷ New to the era of the crusades, however, is the influence of western forms. Geographical proximity easily accounts for artistic affinity between Byzantium and Armenia. For that between the West and Armenia, one single example must support the claim that the nature of interaction so briefly outlined here could be accompanied by exposure to cultural products. This example is the Franciscan William of Rubruck, who came to the Levant as advisor to Louis IX in the middle of the thirteenth century. After a journey to the Mongol Khan, William stayed for a length of time in Cilicia, as did the many manuscripts he had brought with him in support of his missionary activities. One can imagine William working even an Armenian crowd with such treasures, as he tells us he did the Mongols.⁸

The second “environmental” factor that defined Roslin’s production of illuminated manuscripts was the particular tenor of the historical moment within which he was working. For decades, the Armenians had been attacked from without, most recently by the Seljuk Turks and the Mongols.⁹ The numerous Seljuk assaults had resulted not in complete subjugation, but in forced tribute; the Mongol efforts had resulted in control over the region of Greater Armenia.¹⁰ In fact, the Mongols had torn through the Levant with such ferocity and efficacy that by 1250 the ruler of Cilicia was forced to negotiate the terms of a treaty, whereby tribute and military support was exchanged for a modicum of peace, if not complete independence, and for the aid of a Mongol army in fighting off not only the persistent Seljuks but also the increasingly successful and ambitious Mamluks.¹¹ In the words of Marino Sanudo, who spent his youth in the Levant and would later write its history: “The king of Armenia is under the fangs of . . . ferocious beasts—the lion, or the Tartars [Mongols], to whom he pays a heavy tribute; the leopard, or the Sultan [of the Mamluks], who daily ravages his frontiers; [and] the wolf, or the [Seljuk] Turks, who destroy his power. . . .”¹² A sense of Cilician communal dread can be gleaned, perhaps, from one of the few Armenian textual sources dated to this period—the colophons of the manuscripts that continued to be manufactured no matter



how hopeless the situation had become. These colophons frequently contain such direct and anxious imperatives as: “In times of wars and invasions carry the books to the cities and bury them.”¹³ This seems to reinforce what medieval historians tell us, namely that during these decades of cruel conflicts and limited freedoms, it was specifically religious fervor that united the embattled nation and gave them hope for a peaceful kingdom.¹⁴

It might be said that this historical moment, for the Armenians, was no worse than the countless other dark hours they had already survived as a nation. What was different, however, was that an artist creating in and living through these particular decades of the thirteenth century had access to a new pictorial vocabulary, and this new



Fig. 1 (left). Annunciation (Gabriel arriving with his message and Mary receiving it), Gospel Book, 1262. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, bequest of Mrs. Henry Walters, 1935, w.539, fols. 203v and 204

Fig. 2 (above). Annunciation, Gospel Book, 12th–13th century. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, MS 50.3, fol. 132

pictorial vocabulary seems to have inspired his creations to move in a certain direction—toward picturing a present anxiety. Indeed, there can be no doubt that Roslin’s miniatures show the influence of a western iconographic tradition. This has been the particular focus of Helen Evans’s work.¹⁵ It is an influence most obvious in the employment of new subject matter, such as the Mocking of Christ and the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins.¹⁶ It is even possible that Roslin’s style was influenced by an acquaintance with western or, perhaps better, Frankish forms; certain of the figures, such as Christ in Christ among the Doctors and all those participating in the Return to Israel, to mention two among many examples, have been depicted with the distinctive wide eyes and black lines running from the corner of

the eye to the temple that have been identified as a major stylistic trait of Frankish workshops in Acre.¹⁷

What is of greatest consequence, however, is the package within which these influences were delivered, and that package is pictorial narrative. It is my contention that narrative’s capacity to capture a more dramatic reading of the Gospel was appealing, both to Roslin and to his illustrious patrons, because it was better able to make the biblical text present and, accordingly, to make it speak to the *requirements* of the present—a present marked, above all, by the oppression of a deeply pious community at the hands of fluctuating non-Christian forces and an urgent need for the intervention of a greater salving power. The new awareness of narrative’s potential brought with it, as a consequence, an interest in

poignant subject matter, some of which seems to have been supplied by a western or Frankish source, and some of which seems simply to be the result of a new engagement with the text and the opportunity afforded by its content.

It would be convenient if we could say without qualification that the larger Armenian Gospel Book pictorial tradition was restricted to representations of the four Evangelists as authors of their respective texts. But, although certainly a dominant tradition, it was not the only one available. Indeed, full-page scenes of the life of Christ, albeit those limited to the major festivals of the liturgical year, or the so-called “feast cycle,” were *sometimes* added—in the area of Greater Armenia as prefatory scenes, in Cilicia as close to the corresponding text as possible.¹⁸ As Roslin worked in Cilicia, the latter was a tradition he knew and arguably the one within which he was trained. Indeed, this customary collection of scenes appears in the Walters Gospel Book. The distinction I am making in pointing to the heightened significance of the narrative mode in Roslin’s remaining miniatures is, therefore, a subtle one, for the “feast cycle” certainly contains certain properties of narrative, insofar as the scenes can be understood to progress through time and space.¹⁹ Faced with the thorny task of underlining that which makes Roslin’s pictorial contribution distinct, we can appeal to scholars of visual narrative, such as Sixten Ringbom and Herbert Kessler, and the essential characteristics they have assigned it.²⁰ In addition to elements of temporal sequence and the situation of events in a particular place, the narrative mode is marked by *action* or, to borrow the apt and clear terminology employed by William Loerke, by being *statu nascendi* [lit.: in the state of being born].²¹ I do not want to overstate my case, but the prominence or full effect of action in the scenes from the traditional feast cycle is certainly diminished by their very conventional nature (as individual scenes and as a group), by their monolithic mass (covering the whole of the page and hemmed in by a frame), and, often, by the stiffness of their actors. Moreover, the linearity, or story-telling capacity, of this “cycle” as a whole is surely not its *modus vivendi*, if we are to understand anything of its frequent non-sequential presentation in, for example, churches and manuscripts. The emphasis of such a program is doctrinal, and probably also devotional. Conversely, Roslin introduces not only a radically expanded pictorial cycle wherein frameless secondary scenes propel the text’s reader through an ostensibly comprehensive account of the

life of Christ, but also miniatures set on capturing something not yet completed, something that *is happening*—to use a syntactical term, he renders events as gerunds. Thus we see feeding, healing, fleeing, accusing (fig. 3).²² The emphasis of this program is experiential. To be sure, the West did not hold a monopoly on the narrative mode.²³ But, during the second half of the thirteenth century some of the most impressive examples of its employment—the Arsenal Old Testament and, arguably, the Moralized Bible—were in this very area.²⁴ In fact, Evans has identified a number of iconographic instances in Roslin’s work wherein a Moralized Bible provides a proximate model.²⁵

The manuscript in question, the Walters Gospel Book, contains fifteen full-page miniatures, which are augmented by twenty-nine smaller miniatures and thirty-eight marginal figures. The task of such a program is, of course, to lay out the most important moments in the life of Christ—moments such as the Nativity, the Presentation in the Temple, the Baptism, the Entry into Jerusalem, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, the Descent from the Cross, and the Ascension.²⁶ The smaller miniatures are often designed to continue the larger thread that is the trajectory of the full-page program, their size reflecting in no way a diminished import for their subject matter. It is in the smaller miniatures, for example, that we find reference to the Resurrection.²⁷ But the true heartbeat of these smaller intertextual miniatures and the marginal figures is the recurrence of two specific themes: miracles and persecution.

These may seem unlikely partners, but they both resonate with a period defined by hope for salvation in the face of disastrous religious confrontation. Thus, the power of Christ is everywhere manifest, for example, in his healings of lepers and paralytics and the sick (fig. 4). Better yet, the triumph over evil is a featured emphasis as demons are expelled from their containers (fig. 5). That *this* theme is not a mere by-product of comprehensive story-telling but a calculated presentation of Scripture is perhaps best indicated by the role its counterpart, persecution, plays.

Two scenes might be called upon to support this assertion. One is the Beheading of John the Baptist, wherein Herod exhibits the rounded head, wispy beard, and almond-shaped eyes associated with the Mongols and thus links the infamous biblical tyrant with a present persecutor (fig. 6).²⁸ The other is the Mocking of Christ, already mentioned. Within the scope of Christ’s life, this is the sharpest example



of persecution available, and one that seems particularly strategic given its western provenance.

But a closer look at one single illumination, calling attention to its unique and pertinent subject matter, dismisses immediately any reservations regarding the inflection of this pictorial program. This is the depiction that accompanies Christ's prediction of the suffering of the apostles in the Gospel of Matthew (fig. 7), wherein Christ states: "you will be dragged before governors and kings for my sake, to bear witness before them and the Gentiles. . . . Brother will deliver brother over to death, and the father his child, and children will rise against parents and have them put to death; and you will be hated by all for my name's sake. But the one who endures to the end will be saved" (Matthew 10: 17–23). Although these words from Matthew are not captured literally, they certainly inspired the general suffering pictured; and the special importance of this text is made evident by

Fig. 3 (top left). An Apostle Fleeing, Walters Art Museum, w.539, fol. 191

Fig. 4 (top right). Cleansing of the Leper, Walters Art Museum, w.539, fol. 38

Fig. 5 (bottom left). Healing of the Possessed and the Sick, Walters Art Museum, w.539, fol. 40

Fig. 6 (bottom right). The Beheading of John the Baptist (Herod's Banquet), Walters Art Museum, w.539, fol. 66

the size of the miniature it prompted, which is one of only two in the whole manuscript allotted an entire half-page.²⁹ In previous scholarship, this unique image has elicited only the remark that Roslin decided here to depict a warning rather than an actual event.³⁰ But a closer look reveals that Roslin has done far more.



Fig. 7. Prediction of the Sufferings of the Apostles, Walters Art Museum, w.539, fol. 48

The scene of suffering is divided into two separate registers. Beginning on the top register and reading from left to right, we see first an enthroned king in a rich robe decorated with sirens; he is orchestrating the horrors predicted by Christ. Like Herod in the Beheading of John the Baptist, this ruler's physiognomy is Mongolian. Evil sits on the king's back in the form of a demon and whispers in his ear, no doubt suggesting the afflictions and martyrdoms delineated: to the right a man hangs upside down and is being flayed and soldiers slay an entire group of men and women, while below figures are delivered to the torments of fire, serpents, wild beasts, and tongue removal (the nature of the second to last torture is unclear). Above the king an inscription reads, "He forces to sacrifice to the idols;" such an idol, gold and elevated, appears beside the king.³¹ As there is neither a model for this scene nor a text that provides its details, it is tempting to connect this reference to early Christian persecution, here dressed up in contemporary costume, to the concerns of a people fearing religious oppression in the thirteenth century. This may even explain the scene's two-story format. This format joins with the subject matter assigned each pictorial register to recall eastern palace designs, wherein the ruler's reception hall was located above the "dungeon."³² Nonetheless, to both faithful groups, the

martyrs of the past and the martyrs of the present, Christ appears in the upper-right corner and offers comfort, attested in an inscribed scroll: "Whosoever shall confess me before men, [I also will acknowledge before my Father who is in heaven]" (Matthew 10:32) and "[In the world you will have tribulation.] Be of good cheer: I have overcome the world" (John 16:33).³³

The relevance of this suffering or, better, test of faith, could not have been lost on this book's maker or user.³⁴ It is certainly no more exaggerated than the ferocious-beast metaphors used to describe non-Christians in Sanudo's *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, quoted above. As additional contemporary support, we might even add the picture of Cilicia provided by the Armenian chronicler Vardan, who contextualizes Katholikos Konstandin I's death in 1267 with these words:

He was sympathetic, one who shared our nation's travail and grief in this sinful age afflicted with anger. In painful times of anguish he took everything upon himself and as best he could lightened it. . . . Therefore it is appropriate for him to say to his Lord: 'We have passed through the fire and water of various trials, of snares that burn and strangle.' Indeed [Kostandin] tasted of the thick



Fig. 8. Magi Returning Home, Walters Art Museum, w.539, fol. 19

and bitter final dregs, near the end of his life, like the Lord—the tottering of our kingdom, the sword and captivity of his own land, where he had been born and raised. He experienced the trial and the furnace of the fiery flame of gehenna [i.e., hell]. . . . They [these events] in particular brought close his final day and caused the anguished pressure of his breath, firing his thirst for release from this troubled life.³⁵

That the miniatures in the Walters Gospel Book can be read as a response to the immediate environment of their manufacture finds further support, on the one hand, in the employment of contemporary details. We have already noted the Mongolian features of Herod and of a persecuting king (see figs. 6 and 7). But there are other examples. The three Magi return to the East with an unexpected and extra-biblical army dressed in thirteenth-century armor and displaying thirteenth-century banners, certainly recalling traveling parties of illustrious contemporary rulers and their protectors; and women wear thirteenth-century headdresses, of the type newly introduced to Armenia via Frankish Levantine inhabitants (see figs. 8 and 6).³⁶ This infiltration of contemporary details was not unique to Armenian book production; but there was a reason for its ubiquity—the

anachronistic elements successfully diminished the distance of the biblical past from the present and, thereby, made the events and deeds of the text meet contemporary needs.

On the other hand, we can return to a survey of colophons to uncover even more direct links between manuscripts and the historical context that produced them. Generally, the expected content of colophons includes such elements as the declaration of scribal and illuminator identity, particulars of patronage, date, and entreaties of divine favor. But, in keeping with the larger Armenian tradition, Cilician colophons complement such formulaic records with details related to the atmosphere of the moment.³⁷ Already manuscripts made at the end of the eleventh century, in the shadow of crusaders passing through Armenian territories, lent some of their dedicatory lines to mentions of the “valiant nation from the west” that proved “God has visited his people according to his promise.”³⁸ That Roslin too felt a kinship between his productions and his historical moment is confirmed by his lamentation for Antioch in a codex made just after its fall to the Mamluks (1268): “[A]t this time great Antioch was captured by the wicked king of Egypt, and many were killed and became his prisoners, and a cause of anguish to the holy and famous temples, houses of God, which are in it; the wonderful elegance of the beauty of those which were destroyed by fire is beyond the power of words” (Malatia Gospel Book, 1268 [Matenadaran, Yerevan, MS 10675]).³⁹ Written only six years after the completion of the Walters Gospel Book, these words seem equally valuable for the anxiety and pathos they express, a kind of anxiety and pathos I believe one is to locate within Roslin’s paintings as well.

As with the words of scribes, then, so the pictures of an illuminator joined Scripture to situate the production of a manuscript within a specific place and time. In this case forthright statements of hopes, disappointments, and fears are replaced with the veiled, but no less effective, appeal to narrative as a mode capable of intensifying biblical drama so that it might better reflect the intensity of the present. A specific confluence of geographical and historical factors made such artistic expression possible, and made T’oros Roslin, the artist who seized their potential, an illuminator without peers.

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NOTES

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1. For a comprehensive and concise introduction to T’oros Roslin’s Gospel Book (w.539), see S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1973), 10–30. A partial translation of one of its content-rich colophons can be found on page 11, with discussions of the additional colophons summarized on page 10. Der Nersessian makes an argument for the manufacture of the Freer Gospel Book in Hromkla: *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1963), esp. 11–14. The other major treatment of Roslin’s work, and one in which w.539 plays a substantial role, is H. C. Evans, “Manuscript Illumination at the Armenian Patriarchate in Hromkla and the West” (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1990); sections of this have since appeared in a number of articles, to which I will refer in what follows.
2. Thomas Mathews provides an excellent discussion of the relationship between illuminated manuscripts and the Armenian “world view” in his article “The Art of the Armenian Manuscript,” in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. T. Mathews and R. S. Wieck (New York, 1994), 38–53, esp. 39.
3. Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” in *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard, vol. 2 of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (Philadelphia, 1962), 630–59; and *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945)—a study old but not yet replaced.
4. This advantage is frequently mentioned, but representative is Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” 650. On imagery moving from the East to Cilicia, see D. Kouymjian, “Chinese Motifs in Thirteenth-Century Armenian Art: The Mongol Connection,” in *Beyond the Legacy of Genghis Khan*, ed. L. Komaroff (Leiden, 2006), 301–24.
5. In what follows I will use “Frank” to label the Latin Christians that settled in the eastern Mediterranean during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as it is the term adopted by local inhabitants to refer to this large group of westerners with different origins; I use “crusader” only when I am referring to members of that specific military endeavor.
6. The most comprehensive and concise discussion of relevant primary sources is provided by Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” 630–31.

7. See, most recently, *Byzantium, 330–1453*, ed. R. Cormack and M. Vasilake (London, 2008).
8. In C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission* (New York, 1955), 118–20; Evans also discusses Rubruck’s mission and stay in Cilicia in her dissertation, “Manuscript Illumination,” 109–10 and in her article, “Armenian Art Looks West: T’oros Roslin’s Zeyt’un Gospels,” in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, ed. T. Mathews and R. S. Wieck (New York, 1998), 106–7. Evans suggests the Franciscan missionary school in Acre as a context for cultural exchange as well, “Manuscript Illumination,” 110. A related assessment of Rubruck’s impact on artistic traditions in this area, albeit on those of the Mongols, can be found in Marianna Shreve Simpson’s article “Manuscripts and Mongols: Some Documented and Speculative Moments in East-West/Muslim-Christian Relations,” *French Historical Studies* 30 (2007): 351–94, esp. 361–72.
9. Excellent summaries of this region during this specific historical period include Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia”; T. S. R. Boase, *The Cilician Kingdom of Armenia* (New York, 1978); C. Mutafian, *La Cilicie au carrefour des empires*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1988); idem, *Le royaume arménien de Cilicie: XIIe–XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1993); N. G. Garsoian, “The History of Armenia,” in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1–23; D. Bundy, “The Syriac and Armenian Christian Responses to the Islamification of the Mongols,” in *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, ed. J. V. Tolan (New York, 1996), esp. 37–42, and J. G. Ghazarian, *The Armenian Kingdom in Cilicia during the Crusades* (Richmond, Surrey, 2000). To gain a broader historical perspective, and thereby better appreciate the kinds of anxieties peculiar to this culture, see Father K. H. Maksoudian, “Clergy and Laity in Medieval Armenia,” in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, 31–38, and “The Religion of Armenia,” in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 24–37.
10. P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of Cilician Armenia* (New York, 1962), 84. For a synopsis of the coinage evidence for this forced tribute under the Seljuks, see A. D. Stewart, *The Armenian Kingdom and the Mamluks* (Leiden, 2001), 43 and n. 2.
11. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (New York, 1969), 48–49.
12. From *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* (ca. 1306–20), cited by Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” 657–58.
13. From Boase, “Ecclesiastical Art in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria: Mosaic, Painting, and Minor Arts,” in *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. W. Hazard, vol. 4 of *A History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton (Madison, 1977), 137. For more examples of similar colophon content, see A. K. Sanjian, *Colophons of Armenian Manuscripts, 1301–1480: A Source for Middle Eastern History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), 3 and 30.
14. See, for example, Maksoudian, “Clergy and Laity” and Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 90–92.

15. Evans, "Manuscript Illumination"; "Armenian Art Looks West: T'oros Roslin's Zeyt'un Gospels," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, 103–14, and "Cilician Manuscript Illumination: The Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Centuries," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, 66–83. For a discussion of western influences on the Armenian text, with passing reference to broader cultural effects, see J. M. Alexanian, "The Armenian Gospel Text from the Fifth through the Fourteenth Centuries," in *Medieval Armenian Culture*, ed. T. J. Samuelian and M. E. Stone (Chico, Calif., 1984), 387–89.
16. For these miniatures, see Der Nersessian, *Walters*, fig. 104 (Mocking of Christ) and fig. 77 (Wise and Foolish Virgins); on their western origin, see eadem, 18, and Evans, "Manuscript Illumination," 114 and 108–9 (respectively).
17. On the Acre Frankish or "crusader" style, see H. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Oxford, 1957), 69; and K. Weitzmann, "Thirteenth Century Crusader Icons on Mount Sinai," *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963), 189. For good comparisons, see the *Te igitur* miniature in the Perugia Missal, made in Acre, ca. 1250 (Biblioteca Capitolare, ms 6, fol. 183) and the fresco cycle in the St. Francis Chapel (Constantinople, 1240s), which has the benefit of showing, too, the itinerancy of the Frankish artist, in Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, pl. 58a, or J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), supplementary CD fig. 77; and C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, ed., *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings* (Mainz, 1997), pl. 161, respectively.
18. Der Nersessian, *Walters*, 15–19, and *The Armenians*, 138–54.
19. Although it does not seem to have always been intended to function as a "story"; see, for example, A. W. Carr, "Icon-Tact: Byzantium and the Art of Cilician Armenia," in *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Art, Religion, and Society*, 74–76.
20. S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative* (Doornspijk, 1984), esp. 73 and H. Kessler, "The Icon in the Narrative," in *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art* (Philadelphia, 2000), 1–28; esp. 1. Of the many excellent sources on art and narrative, I mention Ringbom and Kessler specifically because their discussions are particularly relevant to mine. William Loerke's work on the unique appeal and value of narrative is also especially rich: "'Real Presence' in Early Christian Art," in *Monasticism and the Arts*, ed. T. G. Verdon (Syracuse, 1984), 29–51.
21. Loerke, "'Real Presence,'" 30.
22. See, for example, Der Nersessian, *Walters*, figs. 71 and 117 (feeding), 65 and 68 (healing), 119 and 133 (accusing).
23. On particularly relevant examples of narrative in Byzantine contexts, see N. Ševčenko, "The *Vita* Icon and the Painter as Hagiographer," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 149–65, and Carr, "Reading Styles of Use: The Rockefeller McCormick New Testament and Christian *Kalām*," *Réalités byzantines* 14 (*Donations et donateurs dans l'empire byzantin*, ed. J.-M. Spieser and E. Yota) (forthcoming); or one of the many publications on the Joshua Roll. The scenes around the Canon Tables of the Rabbula Gospels (Syria, sixth century) also make a particularly nice comparison, even if early; I thank Henry Maguire for reminding me of them. I am also grateful to Annemarie Carr for allowing me to look at an early draft of her article on the Rockefeller McCormick New Testament.
24. The Arsenal Old Testament, now in Paris (Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, ms 5211) was made in Acre ca. 1250 and is well reproduced in D. H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1998); for the Moralized Bible, see J. Lowden, *The Making of the Bibles Moralises* (University Park, Pa., 2000).
25. There are striking iconographic similarities between the Harley manuscript (ca. 1220; London, British Library, ms 1527) and Roslin's work; see Evans, "Manuscript Illumination," 108–10 and 118–20 and "Cilician Manuscript Illumination," 74–76.
26. Excellent reproductions of which can be found in Der Nersessian, *Walters*, pl. D (Nativity) and figs. 112 (Presentation), 64 (Baptism), 97 (Entry), 96 (Transfiguration), 83 (Crucifixion), 84 (Descent), and 121 (Ascension). The Walters Art Museum is in the process of creating a digital facsimile of this manuscript.
27. *Ibid.*, fig. 85. There is no thoroughgoing linearity to the pictorial cycle in a Gospel Book, since the same story is told four different times. This, however, is an issue for another time, as it in no way affects the argument presented here.
28. Both Thomas Mathews and Kurt Weitzmann identify features such as these as belonging to the Far East; Mathews, "The Art of the Armenian Manuscript," 52 and Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966), 63.
29. To emphasize the status of this particular miniature within the cycle as a whole, let me add that the other half-page miniature is the Nativity. There are, of course, also a number of full-page illuminations in the Walters Gospel Book. However, these scenes all belong to the "feast cycle" and their size, accordingly, is based on convention, not design.
30. Der Nersessian, *Walters*, 22.
31. All translations of the Armenian come from Der Nersessian, *Walters*.
32. My thanks to Henry Maguire for pointing out this striking comparison.
33. The quoted sections represent the translation from the Armenian provided by Der Nersessian (*Walters*, 12 and 23); I have used the English Standard Version of the Bible, indicated by brackets, to fill out the passages. A sentiment similar to that expressed on this folio, also conveyed by way of new design, is found in the Last Judgment scene. The innovation in this instance is largely the introduction of the Foolish Virgins, who appear locked out of

heaven in the miniature's left margin. Accordingly, the message seems directed at a very different audience—the inconstant of faith. Although it is possible that a single Wise Virgin, meant to stand for the group, is pictured in Paradise with Abraham, as suggested by Der Nersessian, *Walters*, 20; for a reproduction, see fig. 80.

34. Because of the rich Armenian colophon tradition, we usually know the names of individuals involved in the production of manuscripts. And, while we do not have a complete picture of thirteenth-century manuscript usage, we do know from the content and language of colophons that these objects were responsible for perpetuating the memory of their “creators” (scribes, illuminators, patrons. . .) when read, which at the very least assumes continual usage and implies a constant audience. On this, see Sanjian, *Colophons*, 9 and 12–19. For a summary of this part of the Walters manuscript's colophon and the names of individuals listed, see Der Nersessian, *Walters*, 11.
35. On this text and its author, see R. Thomson, “The Historical Compilation of Vardan Arewelci,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 43

(1989): 125–226; the section of text quoted here is from pages 223–24. Incidentally, Katholikos Konstandin I was the patron of the majority of Roslin's manuscripts.

36. I am not the first to notice these specific contemporary details; see, for example, Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*, 150, and Evans, “Manuscript Illumination,” 110–12. On Frankish courtly influences, see Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” 650–51 (without references), and Evans, “Manuscript Illumination,” 24–25.
37. For an excellent discussion of Armenian colophons, see Sanjian, *Colophons*, 1–41.
38. G. I. Hovsepian, *Colophons of Manuscripts* (in Armenian) (Antilias, 1951), cols. 261 and 265, from Der Nersessian, “The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia,” 634.
39. From Boase, “Ecclesiastical Art,” 137.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.: Purchase, F1950.3: fig. 2; The Walters Art Museum: figs. 1, 3–8.

THE GRANDMONTINE REDEMPTION OF WALTERS 44.22

AUDREY SCANLAN-TELLER

One of the most splendid examples of Limoges enamels in the Walters Art Museum is Walters 44.22, a gilded copper enamel purchased by Henry Walters in Paris in 1927 (fig. 1).¹ This large and beautiful work depicts a veiled woman, resplendent in gold and worked in relief, hovering above a blue enamel background interspersed with golden flowering vine-scrolls and gilded borders. In the 1990s, the enamel's authenticity was questioned, and it was removed from view. However, in 2005, the Division of Conservation and Technical Research at the Walters Art Museum closely examined this enamel, its construction, and the composition of its glass, copper, and gilding and determined it to be an authentic early thirteenth-century work. Building on the 2005 technical examination, this present study examines the unusual iconographic elements of this enamel in light of other late twelfth-century and early thirteenth-century Limoges enamels and contextual textual evidence to suggest this enamel was made in Limoges for the Order of Grandmont.

Measuring 26.4 × 16.5 × 3.5 cm, Walters 44.22 is composed of three pieces: a gilded copper three-quarter-length figure worked in repoussé relief; a gilded copper halo; and a flat, T-shaped background plaque filled with blue champlevé enamel and a flowering vine scroll in gilded reserve with twenty-two attachment holes along its borders. The gilded figure in relief depicts a female saint, her holiness suggested by her halo. Her hair is covered with a maphorion, hemmed with blue and dark crimson-colored glass cabochons. Her round face has finely shaped features, and two small black glass cabochons enliven her eyes. Dressed in a cloak and a long-sleeved pleated under-tunic, she emerges from a golden cloud, engraved with sinuous lines. She raises the open palm of her right hand. In her left hand she holds an object that resembles a rectangular box with a domed lid. The object is

engraved to suggest precious ornaments, including bands of pearls, gilded scales, and almond-shaped cabochons.

The identification of the figure on the basis of the attribute in her hand caused scholars to question the authenticity of this enamel. Prior to the 1960s, the figure was identified as the Virgin Mary in catalogue descriptions and collection literature. From the 1960s through the 1990s, she was identified as Mary Magdalene holding an unguent jar.² In the 1990s, three features—the unusual container depicted in the woman's hands, the high finish of the enamel's workmanship, and the enamel's unusually large size—caused museum curators to question the authenticity of the enamel, and it was removed from view.³

In 2005, the Division of Conservation and Technical Research at the Walters Art Museum closely examined this panel. The conservators swiveled the appliqué figure and found a copper silhouette behind. Such silhouettes resulted from medieval metalworkers' efforts to reduce the amount of costly glass needed in their work, especially since the area behind an appliqué figure would not be seen.⁴ The technical analysis conducted by Mark Wypyski at the Metropolitan Museum of Art on the composition of the enamel, copper, and gilding of Walters 44.22 removed any doubts regarding its authenticity. According to the test results, the enamel was made from ground Roman glass and dated no later than the early thirteenth century.⁵

With the enamel's medieval manufacture now a certainty, a reexamination of it as an authentic medieval work is in order. The T-shape of the back panel suggests it was a terminal arm of a cross. Indeed, as Geneviève François surmised, the holes along the border of the back plate would allow the panel to be fixed to a cross-shaped wooden core and, together with other enamel plaques, constitute the



Fig. 1. French (Limoges), ca. 1210–20. Cross Fragment of the Mourning Virgin. Champlevé enamel on copper with gilding and glass. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters, 1927 (44.22)

copper and enamel decoration of a monumental Limoges composite cross.⁶ This plaque appears to have been attached to a cross with a transom arm approximately four feet in length and an upright six to seven feet high. Although no Limoges cross of this size survives, the historical record attests to their existence. Among the medieval possessions of the Abbey of Grandmont listed in an inventory made in 1771 was a monumental cross of wood covered in yellow enamel having an upright measuring nine feet high and a transom four feet across.⁷

The fact that this fragment was made to be attached as a terminal for the right arm of a cross strengthens the plausibility that this figure should be identified as the Virgin Mary rather than Mary Magdalene. According to the exhaustive surveys of Limoges crosses by Geneviève François, only the Virgin Mary is represented on the right transom terminals of all known composite crosses depicting the Crucifixion made by Limoges enamellers.⁸ Like the Virgin Mary on a number of Limoges crosses, the female figure on this cross-arm fragment is depicted as rising from a cloud.⁹ The inclusion of the clouds in the context of the Crucifixion is likely a reference to the Sign of the Cross recalled in Revelations 1:7 “Behold, he is coming with the clouds, and every eye shall see him, everyone who pierced him; and all the tribes of the earth will wail on account of him.”¹⁰

The domed vessel shown held in the hands of Mary on Walters 44.22 is an unusual attribute but not an entirely unique one. The Virgin Mary is shown at the Crucifixion holding a narrow domed lidded container on a ninth-century Carolingian gemstone, now in London, and on an eleventh-century Ottonian book cover, now in Paris.¹¹ Two other thirteenth-century Limoges enamels show Mary carrying a dome or cone-shaped lidded vessel as she stands at the Crucifixion of her son. One is a detached book cover in St. Petersburg (Hermitage Museum, Φ 2954), and the other is bound as the front cover of an eleventh-century Evangeliary from Bescançon, now in Paris (Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 107). On the St. Petersburg example, the Virgin holds a dome-lidded container that terminates in a knob and is decorated with banding, pearls, and arcades or arched openings (fig. 2).¹² Like the vessel represented on the St. Petersburg book cover, that on the Walters enamel has a domed lid engraved with arched openings, a knob suggested by a trinity of engraved circles, and a body decorated with engraved borders simulating bands of pearls, scales, and

lozenge patterns. The second thirteenth-century Limoges comparison, the Paris book cover, displays a vessel in the Virgin’s hands engraved with a round knob at the top, a conical lid ornamented by simulated pearls and two round protrusions along the rim possibly representing a hasp and hinges, and a cylindrical body decorated with tiers of arcades and bordered by plain and pearl-encrusted bands (fig. 3).¹³ The object held by Mary on the Walters cross-fragment is boxlike with a domed lid rather than cylindrical with a conical lid as in the Paris example. However, the objects on the Walters cross-fragment and Paris book cover are similarly proportioned relative to the figure holding them, and the boxes are decorated with engraved arcades and simulated pearl banding.

The containers in these Crucifixion scenes, with their gilded and ornamented exteriors, resemble the vessels carried by the Holy Women at the Tomb and the treasure boxes containing myrrh and frankincense carried by the Three Magi in scenes of the Adoration of the Christ Child on late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Limoges enamels. Compare, for example, the container in the Virgin’s hands on the Walters cross-arm with those in the hands of the Holy Women at the Tomb on a Limoges tabernacle in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.100.184) (fig. 4).¹⁴ The Holy Woman at the right on the New York tabernacle holds a golden dome-lidded vessel of similar proportion to that in the hands of the Virgin on the Walters cross-arm. Similar vessels are represented in scenes of the Adoration of the Christ Child as, for example, the lidded containers in the hands of two Magi on a late twelfth-century Limoges enamel panel from the retable of the main altar at Grandmont, now in Paris (Musée national du Moyen Age, Cl 956 b) (fig. 5).¹⁵ The vessels’ shape, proportion, and exterior ornament suggesting banding and cabochons resemble those of the container shown in the hands of the Virgin on the Walters cross-arm.

The vessels represented in the Holy Women at the Tomb and Adoration of the Magi share the common function of boxes designed to hold precious spices including myrrh and frankincense.¹⁶ In the Old Testament, myrrh was the primary ingredient in the unction that sanctified for the Lord’s service the Tabernacle, the Ark of the Testament, the altars of incense and implements, and priests.¹⁷ In the New Testament, Christ received myrrh in the bitter drink at his Crucifixion and was anointed with myrrh and aloe at his burial.¹⁸ In the Old Testament, frankincense was burned



Fig. 2. French (Limoges), ca. 1210–20. Book cover with the Crucifixion, detail. St. Petersburg, The Hermitage Museum (Φ2954)

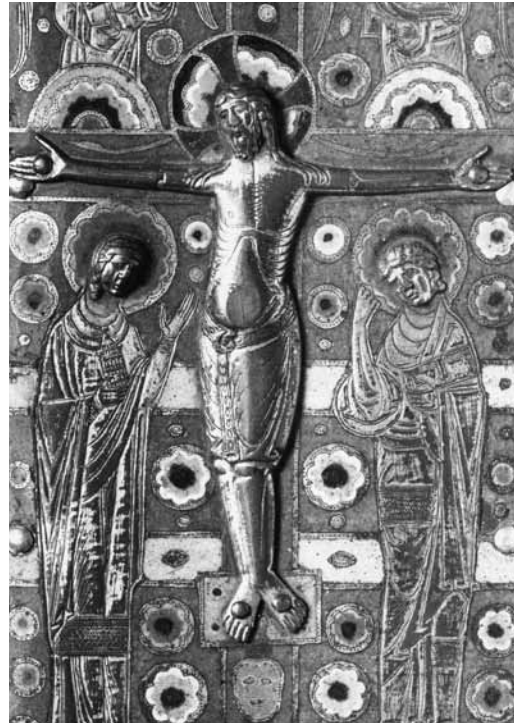


Fig. 3. French (Limoges), 13th century. Book cover with the Crucifixion, detail. Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (MS 107)



Fig. 4. French (Limoges), ca. 1200–1210. Tabernacle: side panel with the Holy Women at the Tomb, detail. Champlevé enamel on copper with gilding. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of George Blumenthal, 1941 (41.100.184)



Fig. 5. French (Limoges), 3rd quarter, 12th century. Altar plaque with the Adoration of the Magi from the Abbey of Grandmont, detail. Champlevé enamel on copper with gilding. Paris, Musée national du Moyen Age (Cl 956 b)

at the altar and signified a sacrificial offering to the Lord.¹⁹ Pope Gregory I (pope from 590 to 604) associated the gifts of myrrh and frankincense at the Epiphany of the Three Magi with Christ's Crucifixion. According to Gregory, the Magi worshiped Christ and foretold Christ's human mortality by their gift of myrrh and Christ's divinity by their gift of the frankincense.²⁰ Twelfth-century theologians Honorius Augustodunensis (ca. 1080–ca. 1156) and Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153) envision Mary, in her guise as the bride in the Song of Solomon, as holding myrrh in her hands or a bundle between her breasts to represent Christ and his suffering and death on the Cross. In his mid-twelfth century commentary on the Song of Solomon 1:12, "A bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me, he shall abide between my breasts," Honorius Augustodunensis explained that the bundle of myrrh described in the psalm signifies to the bride, identified as Mary, the bitter death endured by Christ.²¹ Honorius noted the healing properties attributed to myrrh and linked them with Christ, explaining that myrrh signified the bitter death of Christ who carried mankind's infirmities, cured them, and banished them from the foulness of sin.²² Honorius equated myrrh's bitterness with both the Passion of Christ and the hardship that Mary endured as a witness to her son's death on the cross; he described how the Beloved, understood to be Christ, was nard at his incarnation, was myrrh at his passion, sustained bitter death before her, and endured suffering the bitterness of mankind.²³ In an earlier twelfth-century text, the *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*, Honorius was even more direct: "fasciculus myrrhae dilectus meus mihi. Tunc erat quand in cruce coram ea pendebat"; "a bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me. That is when he was hanging on the cross in her presence."²⁴ In his explanation of the Song of Solomon 5:5, Honorius interpreted Mary, as the bride with her hands and fingers dripping with the choicest myrrh, as a model of mortification.²⁵ The myrrh in her hands is interpreted by Honorius as manifesting her zeal, which imitates the forbearance of Christ, the likeness of the death of Christ, and teaches the way of salvation.²⁶ Bernard of Clairvaux, in his *Sermones* on the Song of Songs described myrrh as a bitter herb symbolizing the burdensome harshness of afflictions.²⁷ He recalled the passage from the Song of Solomon 1:12 and linked it to the experiences of Mary, who gave birth to Christ and witnessed the suffering of his Passion.²⁸ He urged his brothers to emulate Mary, and advised that they, like her, place their bundle of myrrh, their

life's tribulations, before them where their trials might offer a source of inspiration and comfort to them:

Dear brothers, you too must gather this delectable bunch for yourselves, you must place it in the very center of your bosom where it will protect all the avenues to your heart . . . always make sure it is ahead of you where your eyes can see it, for if you bear it without smelling it the burden will weigh you down and the fragrance will not lift you up. . . . If you carry him where your eyes can rest on him you will find the sight of his afflictions will make your burdens lighter.²⁹

Such contemporary expressions of Marian devotion may be the basis for the representations of the Virgin Mary in mourning at the Crucifixion holding a vessel of myrrh and frankincense before her as seen on the Walters cross-arm and the thirteenth-century Limoges enamel book covers now in St. Petersburg and Paris.

The Walters Mourning Virgin may not be the only surviving fragment from what was once a monumental Limoges cross. An enamel identified as a cross-base now in London (Victoria and Albert Museum, M.40-1945) has borders decorated with a highly unusual pattern of leaflet-sprouting pseudo-kufic characters left in gilded reserve against a background of hatched and dashed engraved lines that are virtually identical to those on the Walters cross arm (fig. 6). This pseudo-kufic pattern is common to these two panels but is not found on other Limoges enamels. The blue champlevé enamel backgrounds on both panels have similarly composed vine scrolls in gilded reserve that wind upward, bifurcate, and curl into irislike blossoms made up of scalloped petals, serrated leaflets and cross-hatched single buds. While the Walters panel measures a slightly larger 26.5 × 16.5 cm to the Victoria and Albert panel's 13 × 23.1 cm, the two are close enough in size to have come from the same monumental cross.³⁰

The Victoria and Albert cross-base depicts the Resurrection of the Dead. Three low-relief figures of nude men are individually attached to the background panel of blue champlevé enamel and gilded vine scrolls. The men are shown stepping out from their colorful enameled sarcophagi. The two flanking figures still hold the lids of their tombs in their hands, while the central figure raises his hands in joyful prayer. The plaque bears an inscription in black enamel that reads "PROPOSITO FIXO CRVCIFIXVS CV[M] CRVCIFIXO."



Fig. 6. French (Limoges), 1st half 13th century. Plaque with the Resurrection of the Dead. Champlevé enamel on copper with gilding. London, The Victoria and Albert Museum, M.104-1945.

There is only one verbatim parallel to this inscription, found in the *Notitia Historica in S. Stephanum* as recorded from now-lost Grandmont sources and published in 1715 by Denis de Sainte-Marthe, a Benedictine monk, priest, and historian from Saint Mauris.³¹ The phrase comes from a line of verse about St. Stephen of Muret, an ascetic hermit monk and the founder of the Order of Grandmont, who was canonized as a saint in 1189 by Pope Clement III.³² Stephen established a small community of hermits at Muret, about 12 miles from Limoges, between 1076 and 1078. Following his death on 8 February 1124, the community moved to nearby Grandmont and built a monastery, which remained the mother house of the order until its suppression in 1772.

The verse source for the inscription on the Victoria and Albert cross-base commemorates the sacrificial life and death of St. Stephen and the heavenly journey of his soul. It reads:

Nimbosus luces jam Februus egerat octo,
 Lucifluus Stephani cum spiritus astra petivit,
 Anno milleno centeno bis quoque deno.
 Adjuncto quarto, regno caelo sibi parto.
Proposito fixo crucifixus cum Crucifixo,
 Christo servivit Stephanus per quem modo vivat.³³

The February storm had spent now eight days,
 The glory of Stephen when his soul sought the stars,
 In the year one thousand, one hundred, twice ten,
 adding four,
 When his soul acquired the heavenly kingdom.
By fixed design, crucified with the Crucified,
 Stephen served Christ through the manner he lived.³⁴

Stephanus and *crucifixus* are both in the nominative case and are the subject of the two excerpted lines. The *Crucifixo* referred to in the ablative singular with the preposition *cum* is clearly a reference to Christ. In this verse, St. Stephen is described as being crucified with Christ, only it is Stephen's eremitical way of life that is his crucifixion.

A similar comparison between the acceptance of monastic life and Christ's acceptance of the Crucifixion is expressed in the *Liber de Doctrina*, or *Book of Maxims*, written around 1156 under the fourth prior of Grandmont, Stephen Liciac, who codified the Rule of the Order of Grandmont and compiled the *Book of Maxims*, an anthology of the ideas and teachings of Stephen of Muret, to offer spiritual inspiration and guidance to the clerics and lay brothers of the order.³⁵ In the first chapter, a potential novice seeking to join the

order is advised of the hardships of monastic life in language that explicitly evokes the Crucifixion:

Jesus Christ affirms in the Gospel, “Let whoever wants to come after me take up their cross and follow me.” Our own shepherd, Stephen, spoke in a similar fashion to those whom he received in the novitiate . . . before granting him admittance he would reply:

Brother, how are you going to be able to bear this burden you wish to put upon yourself? Look upon the cross. It is often hard to remain upon it. If you come here, you will be nailed upon it. . . .³⁶

Stephen offered the potential novice the opportunity to join another monastery with impressive buildings, delicate food, and great expanses of land. He says of his own community, “Here you will find only poverty and the Cross.”³⁷

As we have just seen, the Victoria and Albert cross-base bears an inscription concerning Grandmont’s founder, St. Stephen of Muret. The chosen text drew a parallel between Stephen’s acceptance of an eremitic life and Christ’s acceptance of the Crucifixion. Stephen was “crucified with the Crucified,” just as the monks who entered Grandmont would be “nailed” upon the cross, expected to live the austere life of poverty and prayer following the Rule of the Gospel.³⁸ The Victoria and Albert cross-base must have been attached to a cross designed for an audience of clerics and lay brothers in St. Stephen’s foundation, the Order of Grandmont.

The Walters cross-arm, with the border design and reserve vine scroll nearly identical to the patterns on the Victoria and Albert cross-base, may have belonged to the same cross, and if so, would therefore also have been made for the Order of Grandmont. The Walters Mourning Virgin would have been affixed to the right arm of this cross, where she presumably was paired with St. John as a witness and intercessory figure at Christ’s Crucifixion. The Virgin, holding her vessel of precious spices of myrrh and frankincense, might remind the brothers of Christ’s suffering death on the Cross and present to them a model of patience and endurance that they could follow in their own lives. The life-size cross itself would remind Grandmontine monks of Christ’s sacrifice. The inscription might recall St. Stephen of Muret, his sacrifice and dedication to the monastic life, and might have led the individual brother to reflect on his own sacrifice and dedication to the order. The representation

of the Resurrection of the Dead on the cross-base would remind the supplicant at the foot of the cross of the redemption that awaited the faithful at Judgment Day. According to his *Maxims*, Stephen interpreted representations of the Crucifixion thus:

Why is it that Adam is sometimes put at the foot of the cross in paintings of the Crucifixion? He stands for all the good people who were waiting in the netherworld until Jesus’s death would set them free. And greatly did it please Adam that this was at last accomplished; thus he is pictured waving his hands about for joy, in the direction of the Lord upon the cross. The Mother of God and Saint John the Evangelist, however, who stand nearby, are painted with mournful looks; for them, the Passion (for all its saving effects) could give no pleasure whatsoever.³⁹

Representations of the cross were of primary importance within the Grandmontine monastery. While the Grandmontine monks and lay-brothers desired to live in poverty, they were generously supported both by the Plantagenets, King Henry II, and his son Richard I, and the Capetian kings, Louis VII and Philip II Augustus, from the mid-twelfth century onward into the thirteenth.⁴⁰ The mother house at Grandmont turned to the local artists, the enameled of Limoges, to provide the liturgical objects, crosses, and reliquaries required by the mother and daughter houses. Crosses were the most venerated objects within Grandmontine cells. According to the *Institutio* of Grandmont, written before 1170, the first rule instructs a brother who passes before a cross that he is bound by law to kneel before it, and if he is a priest, he is to say to himself in his heart, “Blessed are you, God, who has redeemed me.”⁴¹ At Grandmont, crosses were the only objects to receive such a display of respect until the early thirteenth century, when the altar and reliquaries were deemed worthy to receive similar honor under revised monastic practice.⁴² As we have seen from the 1771 inventory taken at Grandmont, at least one monumental cross decorated in enamel belonged to Grandmont itself. While the inscriptions and figures decorating the base of the monumental cross as described in the 1771 inventory suggest it was not the same cross on which the Walters and Victoria and Albert plaques were attached, it nevertheless demonstrates that such large-scale crosses were made for and displayed at Grandmont.

The association between the Walters Mourning Virgin as a product made by Limoges enamellers for Grandmont is further strengthened by the resemblance between it and other works made for the Abbey of Grandmont, especially a series of plaques depicting Christ's apostles believed to have been made before 1231 for the main altar of the abbey church at Grandmont. This altar was destroyed to be used for scrap metal in 1790, but several enamels escaped this fate and now belong to collections in New York, St. Petersburg, Paris, and Florence.⁴³ As it has been reconstructed by scholars from inventories taken at Grandmont from the late-fifteenth through eighteenth centuries, the main altar at Grandmont had a retable decorated with scenes from the Old and New Testaments, from the life of Christ, and from the life of St. Stephen of Muret, which is thought to have been installed around the time of the elevation and translation of Stephen's relics in 1189.⁴⁴ The altar itself had a frontal of gilded copper enamel, made between 1189 and before 1231, displaying figures of Christ, the four evangelists and the twelve apostles with St. Martial, the first bishop of Limoges, included as the thirteenth apostle, all figured in relief against a blue enamel background and embellished by gemstones.⁴⁵

A comparison between the Walters cross-arm and the enamel plaque representing the apostle James the Greater (Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.190.123) shows similar large appliqué figures, finely made in repoussé and exquisitely finished with chasing, engraving, and polished gilding (fig. 7). Both are similarly constructed with the figure in relief, the background panel, and a separately worked halo attached to the figure or the background plate. The figures have haloes ornamented with a narrow radiating petal-like design formed by engraved lines and edged with engraved cross-hatching. Both gilded appliqué figures are attached to a background of blue *champlevé* enamel filled with golden winding *rincaux* sprouting curling tendrils and great irislike flowers with fluted, twisting petals. The flowers on the St. James panel are filled with enamel rather than left in reserve as on the Walters panel, but their overall design is strikingly similar. Both St. James and the Walters Virgin have eyes and collars set with glass cabochons. Black cabochons inserts create their shining eyes, while the collar of Saint James is set with blue- and turquoise-colored cabochons; those on the Walters Virgin are crimson and blue. While there are stylistic differences between the figures of St. James and the Walters Virgin, seen most notably in the greater relief



Fig. 7. French (Limoges), ca. 1231. The Apostle Saint James the Greater. *Champlevé* enamel on copper with gilding, turquoise, cabochons. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan (17.190.123).

given to the drapery folds on the garments of St. James, both figures have a similar expressive and monumental quality. Both share a delicacy of finish marking the finest work of Limoges enamellers.

The Walters cross-arm representing the Mourning Virgin has gone from faux to fabulous in two decades. In the 1990s, its authenticity was too suspect even to exhibit. Since then, technical studies of the manufacture proved it to be an authentic medieval work, dating no later than 1220. The enamel clearly represents the Virgin Mary and once adorned the right arm of a life-sized Limoges cross. Although its size and iconography is unusual, it is not without parallel. Other similarly monumental Limoges crosses are documented in monastic inventories. Other thirteenth-century Limoges Crucifixion scenes show the Virgin holding a domed vessel

like that in the hands of the Walters Mourning Virgin. The vessel resembles those used for myrrh and frankincense, spices used to sanctify sacrificial offerings and to anoint the dead, which in the context of the Crucifixion, underscores the sanctity of Christ's sacrificial offering of his mortal life upon the Cross and the enduring patience of his mother, Mary, who witnessed his suffering. The Walters cross-arm has nearly identical border and vine-scroll patterns and a similar size to a cross-base in the Victoria and Albert Museum, making it highly likely that the two panels came from the same large-scale cross. While the Walters cross-arm has only its exceptional workmanship to indicate it was made for an important client, the Victoria and Albert cross-base bears an inscription linking it with Stephen of Muret and plausibly to a great cross made for the Order of Grandmont. From faux to fabulous, our Mourning Virgin is redeemed.

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NOTES

Biblical citations are to the Douay-Rheims Bible.

1. According to the current curatorial object reports, Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, acc. no. 44.22, may have belonged to the Chappée Collection of Le Mans; it was purchased by the Paris antiquities auction house Brimo de Laroussilhe and was sold by Henri Daguerre, an agent for Brimo de Laroussilhe, to Henry Walters in 1927; Henry Walters bequeathed the work, together with the rest of his collection, to the Walters Art Gallery in 1931. É. Bertrand, *Émaux limousins du moyen âge* (Paris, 1995), 8, published a pre-1927 photograph of a Brimo de Laroussilhe display including Walters 44.22 among the collected objects. In addition to Bertrand's 1995 publication, Walters 44.22 has been briefly discussed by K. Hoffman, *The Year 1200: A Centennial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, exh. cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art (1970), cat. no. 165, 159; A. Welch, *Calligraphy in the Arts of the Muslim World* (Austin, 1979), 68; and G. François, "Répertoire typologique des croix de l'Évre de Limoges 1190–1215," *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique du Limousin* 121 (1993): 107.
2. Walters 44.22 is titled "Mary Magdalene" in Welch, *Calligraphy*, 68 and in the conservation laboratory reports by Meg Craft and Terry Weisser, 13 November 1979, and Yunhui Mao, 9 August 1999, in the Walters Art Museum curatorial files, accession no.

- 44.22. R. W. Lightbrown to Richard Randall, 30 September 1969, Walters Art Museum curatorial files, acc. no. 44.22, preferred to identify the figure as a lamenting Virgin rather than Mary Magdalene as favored by Randall.
3. Gary Vikan, personal communication, 7 May 2010.
4. According to *Limousin Enamels of the Middle Ages: Correze, Creuse, Haute-Vienne*, trans. J. Rabb (Limoges, 1995), 10. In every case on enamels made in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when a head or figure was applied to the enamel, the copper surface over which a head or figure was placed bears an unglilded silhouette outline of the element to be applied.
5. M. Wypyski, 19 January 2006 laboratory report, Walters Art Museum conservation files, acc. no. 44.22.
6. Regarding composite crosses, see François, "Répertoire typologique," 92 and 107.
7. G. François-Souchal, "Les émaux de Grandmont au XIIe siècle," *Bulletin Monumental* 121 (1963): 56, cited the inventory dated 20 April 1771 by Martial de Lepine, who described a large enamel cross "neuf [sic] pieds de longueur et la croisée quatre pieds" jammed into the entry of the abbey's library.
8. François, "Répertoire typologique," 92 and 107.
9. See P. Thoby, *Les croix limousines* (Paris, 1953), nos. 32, 58, 59, 61, 65, and 90. These include two crosses in Baltimore, Walters Art Museum (acc. nos. 44.108 and 44.76); London, (Victoria and Albert, no. 748-1891) and Haute-Vienne, Menussac Parish Church. See also B. D. Boehm and E. Taburet-Delahaye, eds., *Enamels of Limoges, 1100–1350*, exh. cat., Paris, Musée du Louvre (New York, 1996), pp. 132–33, no. 26, for New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 71.190.773.
10. Revelations 1:7
11. Regarding the Carolingian gemstone, see G. Kornbluth, *Engraved Gems of the Carolingian Empire* (University Park, Pa., 1995), 89–94, figs. 14-6, 14-7, and 14-8. London, British Museum, Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities, inv. no. 67-7-5.14, is a rock crystal gemstone engraved with a Crucifixion scene made at Metz in the second-quarter to mid-ninth century. As Kornbluth explains, Mary signifies Ecclesia and is paired with John, who represents Synagoga by means of his covered face and the attributes of a pitcher representing the bitter gall drink given to Christ. Regarding the Ottonian book cover, see A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser VIII.–XI. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1970), 2:27, no. 48, pl. 15. This eleventh-century ivory book cover is now Paris, Musée national du Moyen Age, inv. Cl. 13064.
12. B. D. Boehm, personal communication of 1 February 2007, suggested this parallel.
13. Photograph in Walters Art Museum curatorial files, acc. no. 44.22.

14. Regarding New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 41.100.84, see B. D. Boehm, “Two Tabernacles,” in Boehm and Taburet-Delahaye, *Enamels of Limoges*, 251–53.
15. See G. François, “Plaques from the Main Altar of Grandmont,” in Boehm and Taburet-Delahaye, *Enamels of Limoges*, pp. 215–17, no. 57.
16. The Magi brought gold, frankincense, and myrrh according to Matthew 2:11, and the Holy Women brought spices to anoint the body of Jesus according to Mark 16:1 and Luke 23:56–24:1.
17. Exodus 30:23–31
18. Mark 15:23 and John 19:39–40
19. See, for example, Exodus 30:34, Leviticus 2:1–2, 2:15–16, 6:15 and 24:7
20. Pope Gregory I, *Homiliae in Evangelia* 10:6, “thus vero in Dei sacrificium ponebatur, myrrha autem mortuorum corpora condiuntur. Eum ergo magi quem adorant etiam mysticis muneribus praedicant, auro regem, thure Deum, myrrha mortalem.”
21. Song of Solomon 1:12; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio in cantica canticorum*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 172 (Paris, 1854), col. 377.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid.*
24. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum Beatae Mariae*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina* 172 (Paris 1854), col. 501; Honorius Augustodunensis, *The Seal of Blessed Mary*, trans. A. Carr, Peregrina Translation Series 18 (Toronto, 1991), 56.
25. Song of Solomon 5:5; Honorius Augustodunensis, *Sigillum*, col. 509 and Honorius Augustodunensis, *Seal*, 70–71.
26. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Expositio*, col. 436.
27. Bernard of Clairvaux, *The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*, 3: *On the Song of Songs II*, trans. K. Walsh, Cistercian Fathers Series 7 (Kalamazoo, 1983), Sermon 43:4–5.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. Randall first made this suggestion in the late 1960s. Lightbrown (to Randall, 30 September 1969), agreed with Randall’s suggestion that the two enamels likely came from the same cross, “as you say, evidently the two were fragments of what must have been an enormous and important cross.”
31. Denis de Saint-Marthe, *Gallia christiana nova*, vol. 2 (Paris: 1715), 646; republished by J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 204 (Paris: 1855), col. 997.
32. Regarding Stephen of Muret and the Order of Grandmont, see C. Hutchinson, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, Cistercian Studies Series no. 118 (Kalamazoo, 1989).
33. J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 204, col. 997.
34. Author’s translation.
35. Stephen Liciac, *Liber de doctrina* in J. Becquet, ed., *Scriptores Ordinis Grandimontensis*, vol. 8, *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnholt, 1968), 3–68; and Stephen Liciac, *Maxims of Stephen of Muret*, trans. D. van Doel, Cistercian Studies Series no. 177 (Kalamazoo, 2002).
36. Liciac, *Maxims* 1:1.
37. Liciac, *Maxims* 1:3.
38. Liciac, *Maxims* prologue and 1: 3–11.
39. Liciac, *Maxims* 55:2.
40. Hutchinson, *Hermit Monks*, 93–147.
41. *Institutio*, in Becquet, *Scriptores*, 514–15.
42. *Institutio retractata* 1, in Becquet, *Scriptores*, 526.
43. See B. D. Boehm and W. Wixom, “Apostles of Grandmont,” in Boehm and Taburet-Delahaye, *Enamels of Limoges*, 218–22. The Grandmont enamels include St. Matthew (Paris, Musée du Louvre, MR 2650), St. James the Greater (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.190.123), St. Phillip (St. Petersburg, Hermitage Museum, Ø194), St. Paul (Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, OD 1239[1]), St. Thomas (Paris, Musée du Petit Palais, OD 1239[2]), and St. Martial (Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Inv. 649).
44. G. François, “Plaques from the Main Altar at Grandmont,” in Boehm and Taburet-Delahaye, *Enamels of Limoges*, 215–17; J.-R. Gaborit, “L’autel majeur de Grandmont,” *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 19 (1976): 231–46; François-Souchal, “Les émaux,” 123–26.
45. François-Souchal, “Les émaux,” 123–26.

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SALADIN AND THE REMEMBRANCE OF CRUSADE IN A WALTERS *HISTOIRE D'OUTREMER*

RICHARD A. LESON

A manuscript in the Walters Art Museum of the French translation of William of Tyre's famous chronicle, the *Histoire d'Outremer* (w.142), is a remarkable witness to the persistent French interest in crusade during the fourteenth century.¹ Its fifteenth-century calfskin binding is decorated with tooled fleur-de-lis designs, a response, Lilian Randall remarked, to "patriotic fervor for French heroes of the Crusades," which "ran high among successive owners and audiences exposed to the contents of Walters 142."² Unusual for manuscripts of the *Histoire*, w.142 is composed of two portions joined to create a single history. Jaroslav Folda, who conducted the most extensive research on w.142, dates these to around 1300 and 1340.³ The two portions are referred to here, following Folda, as w.142(1) and w.142(2).⁴ W.142(1), made in Paris or the Ile-de-France, contains the French translation of William's work, covering events from 1095 to 1184 (fols. 1–236r).⁵ As Folda showed, w.142(1) exhibits unusual iconographic fidelity to *Histoire* manuscripts made several decades earlier in crusader Acre, perhaps the result of its makers' consultation of materials brought to France by pilgrims before the fall of the last crusader stronghold in 1291. Thus w.142(1), a descendant of authentic "crusader art," is a poignant expression of French zeal for reclamation of the Holy Land.⁶ No doubt the loss of Acre, followed by the canonization of St. Louis in 1297, contributed to the surge in French production of *Histoire* manuscripts during the last decade of the thirteenth century to which w.142(1) bears witness.⁷

A similar surge in *Histoire* production occurred in Paris four decades later, when, by Folda's reckoning, w.142(2) was attached to w.142(1).⁸ Differentiated by a later script, the presence of rubrics, and illuminated with panel miniatures as opposed to historiated initials, w.142(2) was devised to bring

the historical account of the crusades closer to the present. Its text is a grouping of "continuations" to William's chronicle covering the period 1185 to 1261, an assemblage found in some twelve *Histoire* manuscripts known collectively as the "Rothelin group."⁹ The w.142(2) continuations include an adaptation of the independent chronicle known as the *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier* for the period 1185 to 1232 (fols. 237v–293r), followed by the text known as the "Rothelin continuation," covering the period 1229 to 1261 (fols. 293v–334r), which lends its name to the group.¹⁰ Within the Rothelin group, w.142(2) belongs to a subset of mid-fourteenth-century manuscripts with Parisian provenance that received unusually dense, lengthy illustration programs, prompting Folda to categorize them as "expanded cycles."¹¹ Little work has been done to explain the sudden spike in production of densely illuminated Rothelin group *Histoire* manuscripts in mid-fourteenth-century Paris, and w.142(2) is particularly worthy of further inquiry, as it boasts what Folda called the "most interesting and representative set of illustrations for the continuations."¹² In this essay, therefore, I seek to provide a succinct account of w.142(2)'s production. Due to its close relationship to the earliest member of the "expanded cycle" manuscripts (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 22495), I situate w.142(2) in the orbit of the royal court during the reign of Philip VI of Valois (1328–50).¹³ Next, I concentrate on important thematic and iconographic differences between the BNF fr. 22495 and the w.142(2) cycles, in particular the disparate visual treatments of Saladin. Finally, I consider how the portrayal of Saladin in w.142(2) illustrates an emerging value for the crusader past that conditioned "patriotic fervor" in the larger context of France's ongoing conflict with England.

THE PATRONAGE OF W.142(2)

Critical to the study of W.142(2) are similarities to the earlier *Histoire* manuscript, BNF fr. 22495, dated by colophon to 1337. Production of BNF fr. 22495 was surely motivated by preparations for a crusade in the grand tradition of St. Louis. Maureen Quigley has grouped BNF fr. 22495 with several crusade-themed manuscripts probably designed or commissioned by members of the court in support of the crusade project of Philip VI, a policy that occupied the king for most of the 1330s.¹⁴ I take Quigley's argument one step further: the expansive pictorial content and attendant expense of BNF fr. 22495 should not preclude the king's direct involvement as recipient or even patron. Inclusion of a colophon dating the text's completion to 1337—a rarity among *Histoire* manuscripts—might reflect a scribal self-consciousness or pride motivated by the special circumstance of royal patronage.¹⁵ In addition, employment of the abridged *Ernoult* / Rothelin assemblage rather than alternative variants of the continuations suggests royal tastes: the Rothelin was the fullest available account of St. Louis's first crusade, a narrative with obvious attraction for the saint-king's great-grandson.¹⁶ BNF fr. 22495 is also a product of the Fauvel Master, who, as Mary and Richard Rouse discussed, specialized in copiously illustrated vernacular texts for the consumption of the royal court.¹⁷ In addition to two full-page frontispiece paintings by the Fauvel Master, BNF fr. 22495 includes ninety-one panel miniatures, a number unprecedented in earlier *Histoire* production. To expedite completion of this enormous cycle, the Fauvel Master relied on a frequent collaborator, the illuminator Richard de Montbaston, another painter whose work is associated with royal patronage.¹⁸

A connection between BNF fr. 22495 and Philip's crusade project, however, must acknowledge that the manuscript was produced amid the collapse of the king's policy. Scribal work likely started in 1335 or 1336, at which time political tensions between France and England had already forced Philip to reduce funding for the crusade. March of 1336 saw the withdrawal of Benedict XII's support for the crusade on the grounds of escalating tensions between Philip and Edward III, and the end of that year saw cessation of French tithing in support of the crusade. Faced with these setbacks, as Christopher Tyerman has shown, Philip continued naïvely to cling to his crusade ambitions until May of 1337, when war was declared on England.¹⁹ By early 1338,

when BNF fr. 22495 was painted and bound, the crusade objectives that motivated its creation were compromised; the finished manuscript would represent Philip's unfulfilled hopes. Nonetheless, crusade remained a major component of French royal identity, and BNF fr. 22495 helped to generate subsequent "expanded cycle" manuscripts.

Sometime in the 1340s, BNF fr. 22495 factored heavily in production of W.142(2). As Folda showed, comparison of the twenty-four subjects that illustrate the continuation of BNF fr. 22495 with the twenty-seven in W.142(2) reveals no fewer than twenty-one instances of overlap.²⁰ Given the disparate content of the continuation cycles in the corpus of *Histoire* manuscripts, twenty-one shared subjects is unlikely to be coincidental. In fact, with the exception of BNF fr. 22495, W.142(2), and the somewhat related BNF fr. 22497 of ca. 1350, continuation portions of the "expanded cycle" manuscripts receive comparatively less pictorial attention, casting into greater relief the special status of these pictorially related codices.²¹ Since BNF fr. 22495 was probably not the textual exemplar employed by the scribe of W.142(2), alternative explanations must be sought for the pictorial overlap.²² My suggestion, therefore, is that BNF fr. 22495 was examined in order to determine appropriate locations for miniatures in a new *Histoire*, and that a rubric list used for the earlier manuscript—marked to indicate those rubrics that should receive illustration—was supplied to the W.142(2) scribe.²³ Thus, it was largely the BNF fr. 22495 rubric choices that dictated subjects for illustration in W.142(2).²⁴ The access that such an operation required—as well as the impressive number of miniatures ordered for W.142(2)—indicates that the manuscript was made for an affluent member of the court, perhaps a royal or one of the many proponents of crusade who had encouraged Philip's policies in the 1330s. In light of the many similarities, the few differences between the subjects selected for illustration in BNF fr. 22495 and W.142(2) demand closer scrutiny.

SALADIN IN W.142(2)

Initially, the rubrics that receive illustrations in both the continuation portion of BNF fr. 22495 and in W.142(2) proceed in lockstep, with the result that the subjects of the first four miniatures in each manuscript agree. For the text that follows, however (corresponding to fols. 233r–240r in BNF fr. 22495 and fols. 246v–255r in W.142(2)), the former

includes only two miniatures to the latter's five; this is to say that more rubrics receive illustrations. This is w.142(2)'s most emphatic departure from its predecessor. The focus of the abridged *Ernoul* text at this point is the 1187 battle of Hattin and the loss of Jerusalem to Saladin.²⁵ Clearly, the available rubrics for these events were searched for references to Saladin, as four of the five w.142(2) miniatures concern the sultan's deeds.²⁶ Pictorial disparity between the manuscripts is further underscored by Saladin's absence from the two BNF fr. 22495 miniatures for this portion of the chronicle, while in w.142(2) he appears six times in the space of four miniatures. The subjects of the new miniatures are almost entirely unprecedented in *Histoire* illumination. Events include Saladin accepting King Guy's surrender, executing the infamous Reynauld de Châtillon, accepting the surrender of Tiberias (fol. 247r); negotiating terms with Balian d'Ibelin for Jerusalem's surrender (fol. 249r); releasing ransomed Christian captives and Jerusalem's poor (fol. 251v); and encountering a knight outside of Tripoli (fol. 255r). The first five images portray Saladin as a French monarch administering justice; on fol. 251v, he is seated on the familiar *sella curulis*, or French coronation chair, holding



Fig. 1. *Histoire d'Outremer*. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.142, fol. 251v

a scepter topped with a fleur-de-lis (fig. 1). Such a transformation is not extraordinary; Saladin is identically imagined in BNF fr. 22495.²⁷ More unusual is the last miniature in this sequence, where Saladin confronts a famous crusader at the siege of Tyre, a subject unique among all *Histoire* manuscripts.²⁸ The abridged *Ernoul* describes how the Christian knights defending Tyre were championed by a Spaniard who bore arms *vert*; impressed by this warrior, Saladin offered him riches in the hope that he might convert to Islam.²⁹ To equal the splendid green knight, the w.142(2) painter depicted Saladin in the trappings of knighthood and fashioned for him a distinctive, albeit fictional heraldry. Saladin's shield, *ailettes*, and horse caparisons are brown charged, according to Folda, with "an orange chevron and censers argent, semé" (fig. 2).³⁰ The heraldic tincture of brown was not common in French heraldry until later in the fourteenth century; here, along with Saladin's grayish flesh tint, it serves as a marker of alterity.³¹ More curious is Saladin's heraldry; if indeed his emblem is a "censer," he bears a device occasionally found in later French heraldry. It is equally possible, however, that this object had some sort of humorous or even negative connotation like the fantastic devices assigned to Saracen warriors in



Fig. 2. *Histoire d'Outremer*. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.142, fol. 255r



Fig. 3. *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 781, fol. 100r

BNF fr. 22495.³² In any event, when compared with other images of Saracens that stress ethnic alterity and spiritual corruption—for instance, the famous marginal vignette in the Luttrell Psalter of a fictional joust between Saladin and Richard I, in which the former is figured as a monstrous, blue-skinned demon carrying a shield emblazoned with a profile Ethiopian head—the Saladin of w.142(2) is a decidedly more neutral representation.³³

A general parallel for Saladin's knightly appearance and diminished alterity is supplied by the *chanson de geste* tradition, in which the countenance and martial prowess of Saracen champions are occasionally described in terms identical to those employed for Christian knights; such valorization, according to Deborah Higgs Strickland, was necessary so that "Christian victory [would] be all the more glorious."³⁴ Certainly the Saladin of w.142(2) agrees with this trope, but an even better explanation for his appearance is furnished by those traditions that evidently arose in response to the magnanimous behavior of the historical Saladin. Christian chroniclers, at pains to account for virtue in a Saracen, inducted Saladin into the chivalric brotherhood.³⁵ Of such traditions, the best known has its origins in the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century *Itinerarium*



Fig. 4. *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 770, fol. 327v

Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi and is repeated later in the independent *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, where the claim was that the youthful Saladin was dubbed knight by the crusader Humphrey of Toron.³⁶ The same tradition informed the early thirteenth-century *Ordene de chevalerie*, where it is Hugh of Tiberias who does the honors. Both the poetic and prose versions of the *Ordre* were collected with or interpolated into other crusader histories, including the abridged *Ernoul* and the chronicle known as the *Estoires d'Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*.³⁷ These texts contributed to Saladin's renowned largesse and *courtoisie*. In late thirteenth-century manuscripts containing these texts, the earliest images of the knightly Saladin appear. In one crusade compilation containing the abridged *Ernoul* and an incomplete prose *Ordre* (BNF fr. 781), for example, Saladin is depicted as a king on horseback about to enter Jerusalem, his red tunic and horse caparisons charged with golden crescents (fig. 3). More remarkable is an image in an *Estoires d'Outremer* with interpolated prose *Ordre* (BNF fr. 770). In the text of the *Ordre* itself, Saladin is depicted following his dubbing by Hugh of Tiberias. He wears a crown and rides a horse surprisingly caparisoned with arms that, but for a canton, resemble French royal heraldry (fig. 4).



Fig. 5. *Histoire d'Outremer*. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.142, fol. 259r

The w.142(2) painter, tasked with illustrating the abridged *Ernouf*, probably knew such depictions. Just as important for the painter, however, were the rubrics. Further along in the text, a rubric cued the painter's recollection of another famous example of Saladin's chivalric conduct.

In that portion of the abridged *Ernouf* dedicated to the Third Crusade in w.142(2), Saladin makes a seventh,

final appearance, once more on horseback and bearing his invented heraldry, but now facing Richard I (fig. 5). Richard, on foot, is accompanied by eleven knights who display their shields before them. This miniature bears similarities, heretofore unnoted, to the *Pas Saladin*, an influential epic poem of the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century.³⁸ The poem was inspired by a historical event: Richard's recapture of Jaffa from Saladin in 1192.³⁹ No doubt the w.142(2) painter was provoked to recall the poem by the accompanying rubric, which describes the battle at Jaffa as "le pas Saladin."⁴⁰ In the poem, Philip Augustus and eleven knights, including Richard, prevent Saladin's army from passing through a narrow defile near Acre.⁴¹ Perched on a high rock above the fray, a Saracen spy identifies the knights by their heraldry and reports their names to Saladin. Salient aspects of the miniature agree with the poem, including the diminutive spy who kneels before Saladin and gestures as if speaking. A central, slender tower represents the city, while the defile is suggested by a knight at the left who scales the steep terrain. Finally, the shields of Richard's followers bear faint heraldic devices, confirmation of the painter's attendance to this defining aspect of the story. Philip Augustus's absence may reflect variations of the *Pas Saladin* in which the French king directed the action from afar.⁴² Similar elements, including the tower, the spy, the king followed by eleven knights on foot, and Saladin and his followers on horseback, are also found on the rear panels of a carved ivory casket in the Winnipeg Art Gallery, a work of ca. 1340–60 (fig. 6). The subject of the casket, Roger Loomis showed, is the *Pas*



Fig. 6. Ivory casket with romance scenes. Winnipeg, Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery, G-73-60.

Saladin.⁴³ The casket's arrangement of the crusaders into distinct groups, some with visors lifted and turning to face one another, resembles the figural groupings in the w.142(2) composition, as does the alignment of the knights' shields with the picture plane. Miniature and ivory together attest to a standardized pictorial tradition, one alluded to in the opening lines of the poem:

It is a great delight to recall
the knights who guarded the pass
against the king Salehadin,
of twelve courtly princes
who enjoyed such great renown.
They are painted in many great halls,
to better behold their countenances;
Many valiant men find looking upon
the remembrance [of these men] very beautiful.⁴⁴

Inventories—for example, a 1375–76 account of payment to one “Loys, le pointre” for his mural of “le Pas Saladin” in the castle of Valenciennes, Hainault—confirm the existence of such a visual tradition, and at least one example of a wall painting survives.⁴⁵ The subject appears among a series of late-fourteenth century frescoes in the Bishop's Palace in Colle val d'Elsa, near Sienna. There, the same elements appear: the knights on foot, the tower or castle, and Saladin approaching on horseback.⁴⁶ The knights likewise face one another, visors lifted, while Saladin and his followers, as in w.142(2), are nearly indistinguishable from Christian knights.⁴⁷ Miniature, casket, and fresco thus attest to an iconographic tradition for the poem. The miniature's visual allusion, furthermore, confirms the painter's engagement with the larger tradition of the chivalric and knightly Saladin; readers familiar with the poem could remember the references to Saladin's chivalric past, including his knighting by Hugh of Tiberias. Indeed, the *Pas Saladin* concludes with Saladin's refusal to engage the French champions in battle on account of his reverence for the institution of chivalry.⁴⁸

SALADIN AND THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

At this point, the w.142(2) miniature cycle is once more in step with BNF fr. 22495, but the corollary miniature by the Fauvel Master omits Saladin and the spy, and limits Richard's companions to six anonymous knights on horseback; in other words, the subject is not the *Pas Saladin*. Cumulatively,

the few, intermittent appearances of Saladin elsewhere in BNF fr. 22495 and the Fauvel Master's other *Histoire*, BNF fr. 9083, present him as a generic exemplar of negative royal conduct engaged in actions detrimental to Christendom.⁴⁹ In contrast, the w.142(2) Saladin cycle, its coherence strengthened by repeated heraldry, is rich with intertextual references to Saladin's chivalric character. In part, these differences result from workshop methods; for BNF fr. 22495, the Fauvel Master and Richard de Montbaston were granted only a “fragmented perception of the text” (each was assigned individual quires for illumination and relied on stock visual formulae), whereas the w.142(2) painter was afforded an opportunity to craft individually an entire pictorial cycle, the narrative integrity of which could be bolstered through use of repeated heraldic decoration.⁵⁰ Yet as Mark Cruse recently observed, conspicuous, repetitive heraldic display also served to forge visual links between pictorial narrative cycles in illuminated manuscripts and the pageantry of actual performances, tournaments, and jousts in which fictional arms were assigned to historical heroes and villains.⁵¹ The *Pas Saladin*, famously, was the subject of at least one such performance, recorded in Froissart's description of an outdoor staging in honor of the arrival of Isabelle of Bavaria in Paris for her wedding to Charles VI in 1389.⁵² No doubt the *Pas Saladin*'s spectacle of knightly vigor recommended its performance in honor of the marriage.⁵³

Charles VI's taste for the *Pas Saladin*, however, was doubtlessly formed by his father's understanding of the political utility of the French crusader tradition. The 1389 performance echoed Charles V's famous staging of the 1099 capture of Jerusalem, held to honor the visit of the Holy Roman Emperor to Paris in 1378. As Anne D. Hedeman suggested, the 1378 crusade performance was part of a campaign to persuade the emperor of the righteous position of the French in the conflict with England.⁵⁴ No doubt a golden seal decorated with the *Pas Saladin*, mentioned in a 1379 inventory of Charles V's possessions, embodied similar royal convictions.⁵⁵ For royal father and son, appeal of the *Pas Saladin* lay in its assertion of France's preeminent status as the greatest crusading nation, a claim that turned in part upon the defeat of the most famous and respected crusader antagonist. The same assertion of French superiority maintained French moral authority in military affairs, a pressing matter in the conflict with England.⁵⁶ It is important to note, in this respect, that Froissart's account of the 1389

performance of the *Pas Saladin* describes Richard appearing in his capacity as vassal of the French king; the actor knelt before Philip Augustus, who appeared in an elevated position, and asked his permission to lead the companions against Saladin.⁵⁷

To apply the political context of the late fourteenth century to Saladin imagery made for the court of Philip VI is to indulge in hindsight. Yet W.142(2)'s extraordinary imagery certainly heralds specific strategies for the remembrance of crusade, pictorial and performed, that would find expression in the French royal court in ensuing decades. The Saladin cycle, and in particular the miniature of the *Pas Saladin*, represent a subtle movement toward the sort of justificatory crusade rhetoric employed by the French court against England during the height of the Hundred Years' War. With the cycle, we recognize the earliest intervention of this particular visual tradition into the *Histoire d'Outremer*, arguably the most important chronicle of the crusader past available in fourteenth-century France. That such an intervention coincides with the beginning of the Hundred Years' War suggests the increasingly critical and justificatory function that crusade performance would serve in sustaining the righteousness of the French cause and boosting patriotic fervor in the conflict with England. The worn leaves of W.142 confirm its significant contribution to this fervor. As Randall observed, "like other popular secular texts, Walters 142 was extensively used for reading aloud, so much so that many of its leaves eventually required mending."⁵⁸ Such wear and tear likewise necessitated the manuscript's rebinding in the fifteenth century, when, fittingly, it was enclosed in its handsome calfskin decorated with the fleur-de-lis.

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NOTES

The work of Jaroslav Folda is the foundation of all study of the illuminated *Histoire d'Outremer*; I am particularly grateful to him for generously sharing his thoughts on this essay. This paper has also benefited from the comments of Kathryn Gerry, Lisa Mahoney, and the two anonymous readers. Michelle Bolduc kindly helped me with Old French translations. For references to works on the textual and pictorial traditions associated with Saladin, I owe thanks to Keith Busby, C. Jean Campbell, Peter Edbury, Massimiliano Gaggero, and Shelly Maclaren.

1. *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*, ed. R. C. Huygens, 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum, continuatio Medieualis 63 (Turnhout, 1986). The chronicle describes events from 1095 to 1184. The original French translation was evidently made in the early thirteenth century; fifty-one manuscripts of the French survive, most with illuminations. On variant recensions, see P. W. Edbury, "The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*: The Manuscript Tradition," *Crusades* 6 (2007): 69–105 (the *Histoire d'Outremer* is the text known as the *Eracles*). There are two editions: *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conquete de la terre d'Outremer*, *RHC Oc.* 1 (1844); and *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: Texte français du XIIIe siècle*, ed. P. Paris, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879–80). For W.142, see L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 1: *France: 875–1420* (Baltimore, 1989), no. 53, 133–38, with bibliography.
2. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1:137.
3. These dates are based largely on iconographic and stylistic relationships with other manuscripts. J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d'Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), 155; "The Illustrations in Manuscripts of the History of Outremer by William of Tyre," PhD. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1968, 3 vols., 1:445.
4. Folda, "Illustrations," 1:283–84.
5. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 155–58; Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1:133, 136. Peter Edbury recently argued that the W.142(1) text is close to the *ur*-text of the French translation. "French Translation," esp. 73–75. W.142(2)'s source may have been an illuminated manuscript from the earliest stages of the text's transmission that predated the extant Acre codices.
6. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 155–58. By "crusader art," I follow Folda's well-known definition. On the influence of Acre *Histoire* manuscripts in France, see *ibid.*, 117–58. Most *Histoire* manuscripts produced after 1291 are indigenous French products with only vague connections to works produced in or associated directly with Acre.
7. For the immediate effects of Louis's canonization on crusader fervor, see M. C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 2008), esp. chap. 2, "Constructing the Cult."
8. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination*, 155.
9. The variant "continuations" of William of Tyre's chronicle were edited in 1859 by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 2. Edbury and Massimiliano Gaggero are preparing a new edition of the continuations to replace *RHC Oc.* 2. The Rothelin continuation text, which distinguishes the Rothelin group *Histoire* manuscripts, is named for the abbé Rothelin, a former

- owner of an important member of the group, BNF fr. 9083 (discussed below).
10. On the Rothelin group, see Edbury's groupings and discussion in "French Translation," esp. 76, 91, and below. Randall (*Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1:133), notes that the abridged *Ernoul* text in w.142(2) (a common continuation variant) resembles the "g" recension given in *RHC Oc.* 2: 6–379, but also is similar to the "Lyon Eracles," for which see M. R. Morgan, *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)*, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades 14 (Paris, 1982). For the independent *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* itself, see the edition by L. de Mas-Latrie for the Société de l'histoire de France (Paris, 1871), also superseded by a new edition from Edbury and Gaggero (forthcoming). For the remainder of the w.142(2) continuation texts, the Rothelin Continuation proper, *RHC Oc.* 2:489–639; M. R. Morgan, "The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre," in *Outremer: Studies Presented to Joshua Prawer* (Jerusalem, 1982), 244–57. Assemblage of these continuation texts dates to ca. 1261–1290s.
 11. In addition to w.142(2), BNF fr. 9083 (ca. 1325–50); BNF fr. 22495 (1337); BNF fr. 22496–97 (ca. 1350); BNF fr. 352 (ca. 1350); and BNF fr. 24209 (before 1353). For a discussion of illustrations in these manuscripts, see Folda, "Illustrations," 1:402–53, esp. 442 ff., where workshops are proposed.
 12. Folda, "Illustrations," 1:425.
 13. Here, I build on Folda's observation ("Illustrations," 1:449): "in the roughly thirty years surrounding 1350 we find a sudden flourishing of the demand and production of William of Tyre manuscripts. The opening of hostilities in what was to become the Hundred Years' War and attendant interest in the French military tradition may particularly explain the newly stimulated interest in the *History of Outremer*." See also Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1:137.
 14. M. Quigley, "Romantic Geography and the Crusades: British Library Royal MS. 19 D 1," *Peregrinations*, 2 nos. 3–4 (2009): 53–76. See also R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 2000), 1:244–47.
 15. The colophon (fol. 300r) dates completion to 21 December 1337. Illumination was probably finished in 1338. Folda, "Illustrations," 1:404.
 16. Morgan, "Rothelin Continuation," 251–52. As Morgan proposed, preference for the Rothelin continuation over other variants emerged because it "offered a more readable narrative," peppered with chivalric, romantic anecdotes. In the case of the Parisian members of the Rothelin group, however, the account of Louis' crusade in the Rothelin continuation may have been a decisive factor, as these manuscripts were likely made for the royal court. This observation was offered by one of the anonymous readers of this essay.
 17. On the Fauvel Master, see Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1: 203–33. Named for his work on the famous *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript of ca. 1320 (BNF fr. 146), this painter was the most prolific illuminator of the day. BNF fr. 9083 in its entirety, and most of BNF fr. 22495, represent his work.
 18. Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1:213, 249, 253, 380 n. 88; 2:199. The Fauvel Master was lead painter, as he contributed two frontispiece miniatures and the majority of the smaller panel miniatures. Both painters' contributions are characterized by repetitious appearances of monumental rulers, figures to which a royal viewer might relate. The grand frontispiece (fol. 1r) depicts a king—probably William of Tyre's royal patron, Amaury of Jerusalem (r. 1163–74)—reading from a manuscript. See Folda, "Illustrations," 2:177. Scenes from the lives of Abraham, Moses, and Christ follow, providing biblical sanction to William's history of holy war. Throughout, numerous formulaic scenes of mounted combat between Christian knights and turbaned Saracens contextualize crusader history as an encounter with foreign enemies, visually structuring an epic past populated by models of royal conduct and recalling earlier articulations of royal crusader rhetoric like the Sainte-Chapelle. Folda ("Illustrations," 1:418), furthermore, noted the special pictorial emphasis that BNF fr. 22495 accords the first kings of Jerusalem.
 19. C. J. Tyerman, "Philip VI and the Recovery of the Holy Land," *English Historical Review* 100 (1985): 25–52, esp. 45–52.
 20. Folda proposed that the cycles were derived from a common model. See "Illustrations," 1:445, 467 n 71.
 21. The continuation portions of BNF fr. 9083, fr. 352, and fr. 24209, for example, contain, respectively, nine, one, and five panel miniatures.
 22. See Morgan, "Rothelin Continuation," 246. The two manuscripts belong in the same group within the Rothelin recension, but the text of w.142(2) does not appear to be a copy of that in BNF fr. 22495. I am grateful to Massimiliano Gaggero for sharing his thoughts on this matter.
 23. As the Rouses discussed, illuminators charged by the miniature. Since lengthy rubric lists offered a patron or designer more options for illustration, they contained the promise of greater profits. A list's consultation by scribes, patrons, or overseers allowed for customization and the expediting of a commission. Once rubric preferences were determined, *lemmata* added to the list or a marked-up textual exemplar could indicate where in the text the rubric belonged, at which point necessary space for desired miniatures could be planned. Such a scenario maintained with the "expanded cycle" manuscripts: similar rubrics appear in all manuscripts of the Rothelin group (Edbury, "French Translation," 91), with the earliest and fullest examples in BNF fr. 22495 and BNF fr. 9083. See Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts*

- and *Their Makers*, 1:248–53. Creation of the original rubric list found in the “expanded cycles” was no doubt connected to the prodigious output of the Fauvel Master, a likelihood supported by the full set of numbered chapter incipits that prefaces BNF fr. 9083 (fols. 1–11). The date of BNF fr. 9083 is uncertain; Folda placed it around 1340. Pictorially, BNF fr. 9083 is a more modest production: of the nine miniatures for its continuation cycle, only four accord with BNF fr. 22495. See Folda, “Illustrations,” 1:410, 418; 2:176–217. That BNF fr. 22495 and BNF fr. 9083 best reflect the original rubrics is suggested by the fact that w.142(2), the manuscript closest in date, omits rubrics found in the Fauvel manuscripts or substantially abbreviates the texts.
24. Several compositions for unusual subject matter, for example the illustrations of Archbishop Heraclius’s poisoning of William of Tyre found in BNF fr. 22495 (fol. 232v) and w.142(2) (fol. 246r), are remarkably similar.
 25. Mas-Latrie, *Chronique d’Ernoul*, 167–238.
 26. The fifth miniature (fol. 253v), illustrates the report to the pope of Jerusalem’s loss to Saladin.
 27. In BNF fr. 22495, fol. 215v (Saladin takes Christian hostages at Damietta). In BNF fr. 9083, fol. 263v (accepts the surrender of Ascalon) and fol. 269r (prepares the defense of Acre, his alterity signaled by dark flesh tones).
 28. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1:137.
 29. Mas-Latrie, *Chronique d’Ernoul*, 236–38.
 30. Folda, “Illustrations,” 1:433.
 31. J. Gage, *Colour and Culture: Practice and Meaning from Antiquity to Abstraction* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1993), 83.
 32. Strickland cites BNF fr. 22495 in her discussion of pejorative heraldic devices assigned to Saracens in *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton and Oxford, 2003), 180–82. Saracen warriors in BNF fr. 22495 bear arms decorated with crescents and profile Ethiopian heads. Such devices are not found in w.142(2), but Saladin’s arms do compare favorably with those on a heart-shaped shield carried by a horseman in Saladin’s retinue on the side of a carved oak chest in the Musée de Cluny, Paris. This chest, a nineteenth-century copy of a fourteenth-century ivory casket, is decorated with scenes from the short epic poem known as the *Pas Saladin*, a subject that also figures in the decoration of w.142(2), as discussed below. Might the “censer” actually be a purse, a cordial, or a perfume bottle? A purse might make sense, given the proposition that Saladin makes to the *chevalier vert*. Certainly there is an element of humor here, for another member of Saladin’s retinue on the chest carries a shield emblazoned with a toad. For a discussion of the chest, see R. S. Loomis, “The *Pas Saladin* in Art and Heraldry,” in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle da Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton, 1954), 83–91. On fictional Saracenic heraldry, see also Fanny Caroff, “Différencier, caractériser, avertir: Les armoiries imaginaires attribuées au monde musulman,” *Médiévales* 19, no. 38 (2000): 137–47, with numerous references to BNF fr. 22495.
 33. On the Luttrell Psalter vignette, see R. S. Loomis, “Richard Coeur de Lion and the Pas Saladin in Medieval Art,” *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* 30 (1915): 516–17; also Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 82, 178–79. In the Luttrell Psalter (ca. 1320–40), Saladin’s blue flesh, crooked nose, and shield charged with a profile Ethiopian head confirm his evil character.
 34. Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews*, 182.
 35. M. Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography*, *Studies in Comparative Literature* 34 (Lampeter, Wales, 2000), 83.
 36. *Ibid.*, 8, 67–68. This allusion, found in that section of the independent *Ernoul* chronicling events of 1167, does not appear in the abridged version of w.142(2).
 37. For the poetic *Ordre*, see K. Busby, ed., *Raoul de Hodenc: “Le Roman des Eles.” The anonymous “Ordene de Chevalerie,”* *Utrecht Publications in General and Comparative Literature* 17 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, 1983), esp. 92, where Busby dates the poem to around 1220. For the prose, see H. Kjellman, “Les rédactions en prose de l’*Ordre de chevalerie*,” *Studier i modern språkvetenskap* 7 (1920): 137–77. For the *Estoires*, see M. Jubb, ed., *Estoires d’Outremer et de la naissance Salehadin*, *Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies* 4 (London, 1990).
 38. F. E. Lodeman, ed. “Le Pas Saladin,” *Modern Language Notes* 12, cols. 21–34, 84–96, 209–29, 273–81. The date is Lodeman’s. See also Jubb, *Legend*, 134–41.
 39. See Mas-Latrie, *Chronique d’Ernoul*, 278, for a description of this action.
 40. The rubric reads, “et ce fu ci le pas salehadin.” The poem itself is not interpolated into the abridged *Ernoul* text of w.142(2). The author of the original rubrics, reading the chronicle text, must have made the association with the events described in the poem.
 41. The action of the poem thus echoes the *Chanson de Roland*. Lodeman, “Pas Saladin,” cols. 21, 22. For a discussion of the knights’ identities, see *ibid.*; see also, R. S. Loomis’s discussion of the poem as depicted on the Cluny chest, a nineteenth-century copy of a medieval object (on this chest see above, note 32), in “*Pas Saladin*,” 84–86. As Loomis notes, the majority of the heroes were Flemish knights. Along with Richard, their presence suggests the author’s sympathies with the Franco-Flemish region.
 42. Lodeman, “Pas Saladin,” cols. 23, 24. In Froissart’s account of the famous performance of the *Pas Saladin*, Richard alone leads the action after securing Philip’s permission (see below).
 43. Loomis, “*Pas Saladin*,” 86–87. Formerly Lord Gort collection; now Winnipeg Art Gallery, item G-73-60. See J. Bugslag, “A ‘Lost’ Ivory Casket in the Gort Collection at the Winnipeg Art

- Gallery,” *RACAR, revue d’art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 22, nos. 1–2 (2007): 5–18, esp. 15 where the casket is dated to 1340–60. I follow Bugslag’s dating for the casket; he proposes non-Parisian origins. I am grateful to Winnipeg chief curator Helen Delacretaz for the reference to Bugslag’s essay.
44. Lodeman, “Pas Saladin,” col. 84. My thanks to Michelle Bolduc for her assistance with the translation of this text.
- Del recorder est grans solas
 De cheaus qui garderent le pas
 Contre le roy Salehadin;
 Des douzes prinzes palasin
 Qui tant furent de grant renon.
 En mainte sale les point on,
 Pour miex vëoir leur contentance;
 Moult est bele la remembrance
 A regarder a maint pseudome. (ll. 1–9)
45. For records of the visual tradition, see Loomis, “*Pas Saladin*,” 84–88. As Loomis noted (*ibid.*, 84), the poem indicates that such a tradition was in place as early as 1300.
46. I am grateful to Shelley Maclaren for sharing her work on these little-known frescos, “‘Flowers of Speech’ and ‘Lovely Love Stories’ in the Palazzo Galganetti,” a paper presented at the annual conference of the Renaissance Society of America, San Francisco, California, 23–25 March 2006.
47. An image of part of the fresco is reproduced in E. L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1967), pl. 1.
48. Jubb, *Legend of Saladin* 138–39. Lodeman, “Pas Saladin,” col. 94, ll. 514–24.
49. See above, note 27.
50. Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers*, 1:251.
51. M. Cruse, “Costuming the Past: Heraldry in Illustrations of the *Roman d’Alexandre* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Bodley 264),” *Gesta* 45, no. 1 (2006): 43–59. Around 1300 manuscript illuminators began to experiment with the repetitive application of heraldry as a means to enhance the visual integrity and legibility of narrative image cycles. Cruse’s study of recurring fictional heraldry in the opulent *Roman d’Alexandre* of 1344 (Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms Bodley 264) offers an example analogous to (if much more opulent than) w.142(2); in both cases, the consistent use of fictional heraldry grafts a chivalric veneer onto the past, establishing continuity between historical examples of heroic behavior and contemporary chivalric display.
52. See L. H. Loomis, “Dramatics in the Royal Palace, Paris, 1378, 1389, and Chaucer’s ‘Tregetoures,’” *Speculum* 33, no. 2 (1958): 242–55, esp. 251–52.
53. That the story belonged to romantic contexts is indicated by the Winnipeg casket—an object probably conceived as a marriage present—and the fresco in the Colle val d’Elsa, where it appears alongside romantic themes. In a related vein, see C. Baskins, “Scenes from a Marriage: Hospitality and Commerce in Boccaccio’s Tale of Saladin and Torello,” in *The Medieval Marriage Scene: Prudence, Passion, Policy*, ed. S. Roush and C. Baskins (Tempe, Ariz., 2005), 81–99.
54. A. D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes Chroniques de France 1274–1422* (Berkeley, 1991), 128–33.
55. Loomis, “*Pas Saladin*,” 88.
56. Hedeman, *Royal Image*, 131–32.
57. Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 14: *Chroniques, 1389–1392*, ed. K. de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1872), 8–9. The English no doubt chose to highlight Richard’s role in the poem and in art: the 1376 testament of the Black Prince mentions a tapestry decorated with the *Pas Saladin* left to the future Richard II. See Loomis, “*Pas Saladin*,” 88. That the narrative was easily manipulated to suit the needs of particular audiences is also suggested by the Colle val d’Elsa fresco, in which one of the heroes is labeled “the count of Savoy,” perhaps a reference to Count Amadeus III, who died on crusade in 1148, or even Amadeus VII, the “Green Count,” who in 1366 retook Gallipoli from the Ottomans. Maclaren, as above, note 46.
58. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1:137.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: figs. 3, 4; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2, 5; The Collection of the Winnipeg Art Gallery: fig. 6

SURVEYING DAMAGE IN THE WALTERS ROSE (W.143)

BEATRICE RADDEN KEEFE

Demonic figures and other evildoers can often be found defaced or more generally damaged in medieval illuminations of different texts, as is the devil stealing John's pen case in a Walters book of hours (w.287) (fig. 1).¹ Here, above the words beginning John's Gospel, areas of dark paint from the devil's head and chest have flaked away, the apparent result of focused rubbing or touching by a hand (or several hands) wanting to remove the figure of the devil but also careful to preserve the writing Evangelist in the center and the surrounding landscape of Patmos. This example of intentional damage is but one of many. Others of particular interest can be found in the Anglo-Saxon Tiberius Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.vi), with the lion-headed dragon about to be speared by Michael (fol. 16v) as well as the contorted devil trampled by Christ in the Harrowing of Hell miniature (fol. 101v), each pierced several times with a sharp instrument that has cut through the parchment; and there is also the Carolingian Vatican Terence (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3868), in which the masked faces of Charinus, Byrria, and Pamphilus (fol. 8r) in a scene from the comedy *Andria*, and the masked faces of Thraso and Gnatho (fol. 23v) in a scene from *Eunuchus*, have been almost entirely rubbed away while their peaked hairstyles were preserved.²

Violent, damaging attacks on art objects and artifacts are so widespread as to seem natural, human responses.³ Indeed, their history is long and varied. Yet only rarely is this kind of damage analyzed in more general art historical studies or even noted in otherwise detailed codicological descriptions.⁴ This is clearly due to the difficulties of identification, and probably also to uncertain, imprecise, or wanting terminology. Distinguishing natural deterioration or accidental damage from destructive human acts is often not possible, and when it is, we seem to lack a good

range of descriptive terms beyond loose, rather unhelpful catch-alls like “effaced,” “rubbed,” and “abraded.” When they are mentioned, such acts are usually attributed to and then quickly dismissed as indications of late medieval piety or superstition.



Fig. 1. Master of the Harvard Hannibal (French, active ca. 1410–40). Book of Hours, 1420–30, detail. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters, before 1931 (w.287), fol. 14

But appeal to either piety or superstition to explain this type of damage leaves us with a complex array of questions. Pious or superstitious acts might be as habituated and casual as knocking on wood. In contrast, they might indicate either a thought-out response, stemming from didactic motives, for instance (warning, protecting, censoring), or perhaps simply an impulsive expression of emotional abhorrence. Piety and superstition as blanket explanations, then, are vague to the point of unhelpful, although pious and superstitious elements were often clearly involved in some way. So attributing such acts to the umbrella categories of piety or superstition seems to ignore the wide range of possible—potentially coexisting, and not always reasoned—motivations. Still, how many of these can be determined from the signs of damage alone is questionable. For instance, what evidence seems to reveal emotional responses to a visually upsetting scene? And what would lead a viewer to selectively deface a figure or figures rather than wholly remove them from a scene? Finally, how would obviously intentional damage as opposed to natural deterioration have affected the way the scene was then understood, and the manuscript treated, by subsequent medieval viewers?

In a manuscript containing the *Roman de la Rose* poem followed by several other poetical works and short texts in Old French (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 897), what was once a couple in bed representing the forging of new humanity (fol. 87r) has been almost entirely and rather messily rubbed or scraped away, while above this, a bust of Christ in clouds raising his hand in blessing remains entirely untouched and in fine condition.⁵ For some viewers, it would have been clear what had been removed (from the text alone or from knowledge of other, similar miniatures), and this damage was likely found telling, and possibly also entertaining, with Christ now blessing nothing but a large, smudged abrasion (only a hammer and what looks to be some of a pillow on an orange bed cover are visible within the damaged area). Two later scenes in this *Rose* manuscript (on fols. 119r and 120v), the last of Lover in bed beside a rosebush, have been similarly treated and their figures totally expunged.⁶ When, after this *Rose* was copied in Arras in 1369 by a notary of the court, Jehanz Desirés, the damage occurred (by 1628 it was held by St. Vaast in that city), is not only a question for this manuscript, but for the mostly undateable instances of purposeful damage. Accepting that some examples are certainly medieval, however, requires

us to understand a setting in which devotional acts led to similar though unintentional damage, from the repeated touching or kissing of illuminations.⁷ This was also a time when punishing attacks of defacement on flesh and blood people did take place, as Valentin Groebner's recent work has explored; people's faces were taken to reveal their moral character, and damage to them or just simply ugliness, an indication of sinfulness.⁸ We also cannot rule out the possibility that commonly found damage to images of partly and entirely naked or copulating figures was in some way connected to sexual arousal, titillation, and perhaps also involved humor (and evoke the well-known bas-de-page scene in another fourteenth-century *Roman de la Rose* in which a nun pulls a man by his genitals, which have been rubbed away).⁹ Of course both sexuality and humor are notoriously difficult to analyze from across cultural difference, and we must attempt if at all possible not to impose our particular values, notions of sexuality, and senses of humor, onto medieval viewers. Moreover it is likely that the meaning of these damaging acts would have changed when carried out in private or in more public spheres, which evidence of patterns of use in and the handling of manuscripts will allow us to further discover.¹⁰

This paper surveys damage to w.143, the Walters *Roman de la Rose*, with the aim of more fully describing its present state, and of setting out the preliminaries for further study and better identification of medieval and later alterations to manuscripts. The following work sets aside several important, but more thoroughly examined, aspects related to a wider analysis of purposeful damage, in particular, late medieval attitudes and policies of iconoclasm, and theories about sight and the effects of vision.¹¹ Emphasis here will be on apparently personal, and more idiosyncratic, responses to a single text.

This *Rose* manuscript in the Walters presents us with challenges both to identification and interpretation, for it shows a great deal of natural damage, resulting from how it was made, as well as basic and commonly found wear and tear, together with what are possibly—but, as I will argue, not certainly—instances of intentional damage beneath two replacement sketches. There are also two marginal scenes, added at a later time, as well as edits made and notes added to its text. Such a mix in one work should help us to refine terms, better identify damage of various kinds, and go some way toward resolving what can be said of the interests of

certain readers of w.143. It is true that extending any of the latter findings to other *Roman de la Rose* manuscripts will be limited given the individual and unique patterns of use involved. But the many *Rose* manuscripts that survive (roughly 320 in total) do allow for several useful comparisons, for example, in potentially enabling us to identify a scene damaged beyond recognition, or to identify the natural deterioration of pigments in manuscripts produced by the same artist or groups of artists working together.

Recent accessibility to digital surrogates of a large number of these works afforded by the *Roman de la Rose* digital library should also be noted here, as the site (<http://roman-delarose.org>) can provide invaluable aid, and most of the *Rose* illuminations discussed but not reproduced in this essay are to be found in the many digital facsimiles.

Roman de la Rose manuscripts like w.143 are particularly suited to such a study not only because of their vernacular text and secular and profane themes. This complex and often rather confusing allegorical poem was still being edited and subject to literary attacks long after it was completed, although no formal criticism seems to have directly addressed its illustration. (The critics Jean Gerson and Christine de Pizan do demand that *Rose* manuscripts be burned!) These debates and the ongoing controversy were largely directed toward the poem's references to obscene words and its negative portrayal of women. But some of the controversy must also be attributed to its multivalent personifications, including that of False Seeming, who is actually evil, but often does not appear to be or to act so, a character who clearly provoked much anxiety and even anger, and who the author Jean de Meun first introduces (at line 10,437) and then finds it necessary to justify and explain further in a later passage (15,213–30).¹² Such personifications might have enabled a more personal and individual reading of, and a more nuanced response to, manuscripts of the poem. Whatever other ways its secular status may have altered how the *Rose* text was approached, its many seemingly ambiguous characters, and two very different sections written separately by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, would seem to invite more idiosyncratic receptions than the simpler, for the most part wholly evil, character of the devil we find in religious works. While the physical attributes of devils (hairy bodies, horns, gaping mouths) and other evildoers would have been recognizable even to a viewer ignorant of the text being illustrated, the evildoers in *Rose* manuscripts, the vices

beginning with Hate, Villainy, and Covetousness described at the start of Guillaume's section, for instance, or those that try to prevent the lover's union with the rose (such as Danger), are not always so easily identifiable by their visual traits alone. And more generally, the profane content of the poem, and likely also its popularity, might have encouraged an open and freer range of reactions and attitudes, possibly even a more casual handling of *Rose* manuscripts.

Such ideas have particular relevance in light of recent studies, including one based on a *Rose* manuscript now in Cambridge (University Library, Gg.4.6), which suggests that rather than being read straight through, the poem was treated more as an anthology of passages and tags.¹³ Another study (using a densitometer to measure levels of dirt and grime on different leaves) examines which particular sections of manuscripts, all of them religious works, mostly books of hours, were more heavily used, and both approaches may prove helpful as we come to grapple with the range of unknowns in w.143.¹⁴

Made in the first half of the fourteenth century, the Walters *Rose* is a manuscript of 143 folios, which now measure 289 × 205 mm.¹⁵ Its frontispiece, taking up a space of twenty lines of text on folio 1r (fig. 2), is a good deal larger than the forty-one single-column miniatures (of between seven and twelve lines) that come after it, illustrating both the poem of Guillaume de Lorris (fols. 1r–28r) and Jean de Meun's continuation (fols. 28r–143r). The Walters manuscript has been linked to a number of others containing the *Rose* poem, a few with similar frontispieces (like Chantilly, Musée Condé, 664), and some with cycles of miniatures done in a close style (including Düsseldorf, Bibliothek der Staatlichen Kunstakademie, A.B.142; Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, 10032; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.503; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 802). Its miniatures were first thought to be produced by several artists, with one repeating a scene (on fol. 29r) painted by another earlier on in the book (on fol. 21r);¹⁶ but they have more recently been attributed to the output of the artist we have come to know as Jeanne de Montbaston, an illuminator living and working in Paris. (Jeanne seems to have worked alongside her husband, Richard, until his death in around 1353, when she took charge of the workshop.)¹⁷ In many ways, w.143 is quite typical of the large (and still growing) number of manuscripts attributed to this pair (Jeanne and Richard, working both together and separately), and also to various



Fig. 2. Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *Roman de la Rose*, mid-14th century. Parchment with ink, paint, and gold. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, acquired by Henry Walters, after 1894 (w.143), fol. 1r

other Paris bookmakers putting out illustrated copies of the poem of roughly comparable quality and, presumably, cost (many have an equivalent number of miniatures), with similar layouts and much the same imagery.¹⁸

Before it was purchased by Henry Walters, some time between the years 1895 and 1931, the provenance of this book is unclear.¹⁹ It bears no telltale names of previous owners. And yet it does show numerous markings of past readers: there are small stains on many folios, minor corrections to the text (including a basic fix to interchanged lines on fol. 69v, and a line written in the margin of fol. 62r, skipped by the original scribe), notes written alongside and within it, and a fair number of *nota* marks and *maniculae* in margins (the first *manicula* is on fol. 30v and the last on fol. 141v, at the very end of the work). The notes often seem to be simply a finding device, giving names of speaking characters in the nearby text, but there are several longer ones, some of them now indecipherable, in both French and Latin, including part of a line from Ovid in the top left margin of fol. 89v ([. . .]erentoculos erudiere) and the end of a Phaedrus fable in the top left margin of folio 119v ([. . .]se credit creditur [. . .] miser). The frequent *nota* marks and *maniculae* direct attention to single lines as well as to longer passages. None of these additions seems to relate to any miniatures. Such elements can be found throughout the text and from sight alone, short of a densitometer analysis, no part of w.143 looks put to more use than any other. Parts of an interpolated passage on Christian love (on fols. 30v and 31r) have been struck out with a number of diagonal strokes done in brown ink, though these left the text still entirely readable. We cannot know exactly when many of these signs of use, like the various stains and this editing, were made. Still, the *nota* marks and *maniculae* are quite probably late medieval, written by several different hands, suggesting it would be possible to trace one reader's or even a number of readers' progress through the text, and of course these written responses must be examined in conjunction with any alteration to be found. What should be mentioned before leaving this more general description is that the parchment leaves of w.143 were neither well prepared nor carefully selected, suggesting there were time-saving and cost-saving measures in the book's production. This evidence also indicates why some of its miniatures are so badly damaged: when parchment is of mediocre or poor quality, pigments and even inks do not adhere properly. Finally, recent conservation efforts at the Walters have been

limited to the application of a consolidant, a dilute solution of leaf gelatin, to the miniatures, which have not otherwise been treated, at least in recent years.²⁰

The several miniatures in this *Rose* showing less damage than others and no signs of deliberate alteration form the basis for our visual comparison. One of these is on folio 4v (fig. 3), a portrait of Poverty, with little of the flaking and friable paints found elsewhere in w.143. The next scene, of the characters Lover and Idleness outside the walls of the garden of love, is also in relatively fine condition, though some of the gilt background has worn away, leaving the grayish bole underneath visible in certain areas. Many other scenes have far greater damage, most of which appears entirely random, and caused by normal, often seen, wear and tear, such as on folio 19v, with Fair Welcome and Lover standing against a patterned background, where small patches of pigment have gone from the figures and their surround, and smudging has also occurred. In a second example, this one not entirely natural deterioration but still seemingly accidental, the damage on folio 24v extends beyond the miniature depicting the characters Jealousy and Fair Welcome to the text and appears to have been caused by moisture; here, the lines beneath the miniature, including the flourished initial (this should be an L) with which they begin, are badly smudged and so mostly illegible.



Fig. 3. w.143, fol. 4v, detail

Due to its exposed position and size, the quadripartite frontispiece might be expected to have suffered extra accidental damage. Yet this first scene shows no greater damage than several later ones, although the miniature itself has lost quite a bit of paint, and five of the six roundel busts of unknown figures (according to Randall, from top to bottom, a cleric, three bearded men, a young woman or man, and a bearded man), in the foliate bar border have been severely damaged, possibly by hands touching the right and lower margin to read or turn the page. What leads us away from attributing purposeful damage here is that some paint remains on each of the busts, as do the gilt backgrounds, and the surrounding quatrefoil roundels, in rose and blue. It is possible to assume that a hand intent on removing this border would have caused more damage than we find here, and this is only confirmed by comparisons with other frontispieces that show basic wear and tear, as so many of them do (the bar border and opening miniature of the *Rose*, Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 3338, also considered the work of Jeanne de Montbaston, have similar damage).

Some ambiguity accompanies a fourth damaged miniature of the Walters *Rose*: a scene of Jealous Husband pulling his wife's hair and raising a club to beat her as Lover (perhaps trying to restrain Jealous Husband) and Reason, look on (fig. 4; fol. 62v). In an otherwise mostly intact miniature, the face and hands of Jealous Husband, as well as the weapon he holds, show damage, with most features of Jealous Husband, including the eyes and nose, entirely gone, possibly resulting from someone's abhorrence of this violence. Further cases of similar damage to this very scene in different *Rose* manuscripts (one can be found on fol. 69v of Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 12595), as well as to violent scenes in other texts, might support this interpretation. Similarly, the many instances of clearly purposeful damage to scenes of embracing lovers, both in *Rose* manuscripts and many other texts, might encourage us to view as purposeful the poor state of a later miniature in w.143 (fol. 105v), in which a naked man and woman lie together in bed, their arms around each other. But again, extensive damage to other, seemingly inconsequential parts of this scene, including the bed curtain and geometric pattern of the background, do not allow for such a conclusion. If these were clear examples of purposeful damage, they would suggest a reader (or readers) distressed by images of violence and sexuality, or possibly even the misogyny of the text being illustrated, which so

greatly disturbed Christine de Pizan and others in the early years of the fifteenth century. Still, the overall flaking of the chemically unstable white lead as well as the smudging of highly water-soluble carbon black in this manuscript, and the fact that only small parts of these faces are missing and that the backgrounds and the blue and rose frames also show losses, certainly direct us toward judging this damage as accidental. It also cautions us away from building arguments about responses based on what are assumed to have been late medieval readers' sensibilities. We must resist the desire to come to any firm conclusions not borne out by the evidence of the manuscript as a whole, and recognize the difference between what is ultimately unknowable and what is presently unknown.

Moving now to folio 69v of w.143, the original features of False Seeming, who is dressed in a Dominican habit, have been lost, later to be replaced, not entirely skillfully (fig. 5). The miniature includes, from left to right, a woman, standing beside a tonsured man in Franciscan garb representing Forced Abstinence, then False Seeming, and finally the God of Love; it depicts a passage of text in which False Seeming is first introduced as a deceitful hypocrite who steals hearts and betrays with his religious habit. We can perhaps easily understand what might bring a reader of this description, which comes just above the miniature, to deface False Seeming here. In one hypothesis, a reader expresses his displeasure not for the illustration itself but for the duplicitous figure characterized in the nearby text. Yet the evidence of damage in other miniatures, together with the small losses to the other three heads in this very scene, suggests that this again is entirely natural, and not done by a finger or any sharp instrument, both of which likely would have made more damage to the surrounding area. This last point becomes especially apparent if we consider the actual size of these miniatures and of individual heads within them (about half the size of the tip of a finger), something that is often easy to forget when working from a high-quality digital image.

It bears noting that lines concerning False Seeming, and his actual speeches, have not been edited or omitted from this text, as they were in some manuscripts (in Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 15963 and Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686, for example).²¹ Quite the contrary: w.143 contains an extra passage not found in all *Rose* copies, beginning on folio 74v, several folios after this one, in which False Seeming speaks, mainly about confession.



Fig. 4. w.143, fol. 62v, detail

Beneath the scene on folio 69v, added to the lower margin, is a woman in red, kneeling with her back turned before a Dominican (or a figure dressed as one), hood obscuring his face, seated in a round-backed chair. Her right hand seems to be in his lap, while he in turn holds her at the waist, as they perform a sex act instead of confession. Similar anti-fraternal imagery can be found elsewhere in manuscripts and various other objects in different media. When and by whom this (now somewhat abraded) scene was added is not known, but it must surely have been inspired by the Dominican habit of False Seeming in the miniature just above. The stock character of False Seeming, found in other medieval literary works including an earlier Rutebeuf poem, is not always dressed as a Dominican in other scenes, even in manuscripts thought to be illuminated by Jeanne de Montbaston (in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 802, he is clothed as a Franciscan in three miniatures, on fols. 80v, 81v, and 83r, while in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.503, he is again a Dominican, on fol. 79v, in a scene nearly identical to that in w.143). He can appear at times in secular clothes, in the garb of different religious orders, or as a pilgrim. As his name and descriptions suggest, he is a chameleon figure who uses religious garb to deceive. This addition seems quite likely to be some kind of visual comment, probably a satirical



Fig. 5. w.143, fol. 69v, detail

one, involving mendicant abuses of power, and also their right to hear confession (granted to Dominicans in 1282), the subject of the interpolated passage.²² It expands on the text and the rather unexciting stock miniature above, giving the viewer a better idea of False Seeming's real nature.

We might conclude that the marginal image—judged by Lilian Randall to have been added not long after the date of the manuscript—is meant to represent False Seeming once again.²³ And yet it is also true that this addition is reminiscent of scenes in other texts, most of them seemingly humorous, in which different religious figures can be seen violating their vows of chastity in a variety of ways. Thus, we are left to contemplate whether this scene was added as a pointed, violent attack on the abuses of Dominicans, or indeed of a particular Dominican, or more as a humorous bit of marginalia, as can be found in other manuscripts, including those with the *Rose* poem, such as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 25526.

The replacement drawing of False Seeming's face follows an original, of course, but whether it was made before, after, or at the time the marginal scene was added is another issue. Some evidence for their contemporaneity might be suggested by the similar yellowish paint (possibly ochre) used to draw in the tonsure above and the chair below, but this must once

again be a tentative conclusion, especially since the redrawn features of False Seeming look to be in a lighter ink than the darker color used for the marginal scene.

The next miniature in w.143 is a few folios on (fig. 6). And here again we find the character of False Seeming dressed as a Dominican and standing between Forced Abstinence, dressed as a Franciscan, and the God of Love. In the margin below this scene on folio 72v, a large dog or wolf in a Dominican robe is followed by three smaller dogs or wolves. Above them, *Veni mecum* (come with me), has been written. Quite apparently done by the same hand as the marginal addition on folio 69v, the black color used for the animal's robe has deteriorated in much the same way. This marginal vignette has been taken as a visual equivalent of the wordplay or pun on Dominicans as *Domini canes* or dogs of God.²⁴ Yet not clear is how widespread this trope was in the late medieval period. Moreover, False Seeming's own description of himself is as outwardly a pitiable lamb but inwardly a ravening wolf (these lines are on fol. 78v of w.143), and so the addition to the lower margin of fol. 72v might be a reader's attempt to expose this deceit.²⁵

The miniature above illustrates the narrative following on from it in which the God of Love asks False Seeming how he is to be recognized, given his many disguises. In this miniature too, False Seeming's original features have been lost, while the same rather unskilled hand we found in the previous scene (fol. 69v) has redone some of his features in the same lighter grayish ink. (The two other figures are intact.) We might suppose this defacement a direct comment and visual attack on the character of False Seeming as found in the surrounding text where he boasts of his elusive identities. An attempt to ward off the alarming power of his changing presentation might then explain this particular damage.

And yet in the subsequent image, several folios later (fol. 81v), this character, once again dressed in Dominican garb, remains entirely untouched. This last folio is also without a marginal addition, as we found in the two previous examples. Thus, while w.143 has been thought by those who have recently examined the manuscript (myself included) to show evidence of intentional damage motivated by a reader's distress at the representation of False Seeming as a Dominican friar, it instead seems to show no more than natural damage to many folios and, importantly, the attempts of readers to both restore and embellish scenes involving the character of False Seeming.



Fig. 6. w.143, fol. 72v

Summing up, then, these folios in w.143 suggest the complexity and range of responses to the poem, even to its particular sections or characters, in this case False Seeming. The extent to which False Seeming was seen as dangerous and evil, humorous, intriguingly puzzling, or a combination of these, seems to have depended on the individual reader, and it is to these particular and idiosyncratic receptions that attention has been paid in the preceding pages. In terms of its damage, w.143 presents a real challenge, as we have discovered, and all judgments can at best be tentative ones. However, further work can be done on its present condition with the aid of modern technologies and also with the help of digitization. Broader conclusions—extending beyond w.143 to all *Rose* manuscripts available through digitization—allow us to draw inferences not previously available. For example, no single character has been regularly or systematically defaced or subject to damage across the many illustrated manuscripts of the *Rose* poem. Of the digitized *Rose* manuscripts, there are some left entirely untouched, and

in pristine condition, and others in which a great number of different characters and scenes seem to have been objected to and so at least partially removed.

In this paper, I hope to have shown the importance of exploring the uncertainties of damage to manuscripts, rather than simply ignoring or rushing past them, even if few positive conclusions result, and to have demonstrated the necessity of a refined vocabulary to talk about damage, with its many varied sources.

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NOTES

1. This paper has greatly benefited from the examination of w.143 by Abigail Quandt, head of book and paper conservation at the Walters Art Museum; I thank her for undertaking this and for her comments.
For w.287, see L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 2, part 1: *France, 1420–1540* (Baltimore, 1992), 10–16, no. 103.
2. For the Tiberius Psalter, which has other folios damaged in a similar way, see E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900–1066* (London, 1976), 115–17, no. 98; and for the Vatican Terence D. H. Wright, *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2006), 16, 41.
3. D. Freedberg, *Iconoclasts and Their Motives* (Montclair, 1985). Freedberg writes mainly about twentieth-century acts of “iconoclasm.” See also D. Freedberg, *The Power of Images: Studies in the History of Theory of Response* (Chicago 1989), 405–28.
4. The damage to the Tiberius Psalter is not mentioned in Temple’s catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (cited in note 2), for instance. Broader studies that include analysis of intentionally damaged manuscripts have been published, such as G. Bartholeyns, P.-O. Dittmar, and V. Jolivet, *Image et transgression au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2008), esp. chap. 5; and S. Hindman et al., *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age: Recovery and Reconstruction* (Evanston, 2001), 47–101.
5. Arras 897 is described in E. Langlois, *Les manuscrits du Roman de la Rose: Description et classement* (Lille and Paris, 1910), 110–16.
6. The damage to Arras 897 is discussed in M. T. McMunn, “Representations of the Erotic in Some Illustrated Manuscripts of the Roman de la Rose,” *Romance Languages Annual* 4 (1992): 125–30; and also in J. V. Fleming, *The Roman de la Rose: A Study in Allegory and Iconography* (Princeton, 1969), 136–37.
7. On the question of dating, see M. Camille, “Obscenity under Erasure: Censorship in Medieval Illuminated Manuscripts,” in *Obscenity: Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. J. Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), 139–54.
8. V. Groebner, *Defaced: The Visual Culture of Violence in the Middle Ages*, trans. P. Selwyn (New York, 2004), esp. chap. 3.
9. This manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 25526, and the scene is in the lower margin of folio 106r. For a discussion of its marginalia, see H. Braet, “Entre folie et raison: Les drôleries du ms. B.N. fr. 25526,” in *Risus Mediaevalis: Laughter in Medieval Literature and Art*, ed. Herman Braet et al. (Leuven, 2003), 43–74.
10. On the advent of more private reading habits, see P. Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading* (Stanford, 1997), 264–76.
11. Some recent books on these topics are J. L. Koerner, *The Reformation of the Image* (Chicago, 2004); *Images, Idolatry, and Iconoclasm in Late Medieval England: Textuality and the Visual Image*, ed. J. Dimmick, J. Simpson, and N. Zeeman (Oxford, 2002); S. Akbari, *Seeing through the Veil: Optical Theory and Medieval Allegory* (Toronto, 2004); *Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality, and Sight in Medieval Text and Image*, ed. R. Mills and E. Campbell (New York, 2004). For the objects themselves, there are the exhibition catalogues *Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Culture* (New York, 2006), and *Iconoclasm: Vie et mort de l’image médiévale* (Paris, 2001).
12. On Faus Semblant, see K. Brownlee, “The Problem of Faus Semblant: Language, History, and Truth in the Roman de la Rose,” in *The New Medievalism*, ed. M. S. Brownlee, K. Brownlee, and S. J. Nichols (Baltimore, 1991); G. Geltner, “Faux Semblants: Antifraternalism Reconsidered in Jean de Meun and Chaucer,” *Studies in Philology* 101 (2004): 357–80; and T. Adams, “Faus Semblant and the Psychology of Clerical Masculinity,” *Exemplaria* 23 (2011): 171–93. The names of characters in the poem follow those given in Randall’s catalogue. These line numbers are from the Lecoy edition of the poem.
13. M. Rouse “Keeping up Appearances: CUL Gg.4.6, Roman de la Rose,” in *Cambridge Illuminations: The Conference Papers*, ed. Stella Panayotova (London, 2007), 151–57.
14. K. M. Rudy, “Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, 2:1–2 (2010); www.jhna.org/index.php/past-issues/volume-2-issue-1-2/129-dirty-books
15. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 1: *France, 875–1420*, 173–76, no. 65.
16. A. Kuhn, “Die Illustrationen des Rosenromans,” *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 31 (1913): 1–166.
17. R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, 1999), I, 234–60, 387–93; II, 89–90, 126, 202–6.

18. For some comparable manuscripts, see A. Blamires and G. C. Holian, *The Romance of the Rose Illuminated: Manuscripts at the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth* (Tempe, 2002), 103–28.
19. There is some possibility it was bought from the Paris bookbinder and bookseller Léon Gruel.
20. Personal communication from Abigail Quandt; for more on the conservation of Walters manuscripts, see A. B. Quandt, “Recent Developments in the Conservation of Parchment Manuscripts,” *Paper Group Annual* 15 (1996): 99–115.
21. For more on this subject, see S. Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers* (Cambridge, 1993), 39–40.
22. T. Stinson, “Illumination and Interpretation: The Depiction and Reception of Faus Semblant in *Roman de la Rose* Manuscripts,” *Speculum* 87 (2012): 469–98.
23. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, I, 174. According to Randall, they were “added early,” and indeed the round-backed chair on which False Seeming sits on fol. 69v seems to be fifteenth-century in style.
24. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, I, 174.
25. J. Morton, “Wolves in Human Skin: Questions of Animal Appetite in Jean de Meun’s ‘Roman de la Rose,’” *Modern Language Review* 105 (2010): 976–97.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: The Walters Art Museum, figs. 2–6; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin, fig. 1

REVELATIONS IN RELIEF

AN ITALO-BYZANTINE PANEL WITH THE VIRGIN AND CHILD

ROSSITZA SCHROEDER

In his 1320 *Treatise of Perfection*, the Franciscan friar Ugo Panziera of Prato wrote about image-based devotions, during which meditations were aided by visual representations—more specifically, by gazing upon panel paintings. The highest form of contemplation, according to Panziera, is that in which Christ is incarnate and “in relief” (*rilevato*).¹ *Rilevato* means actual relief—a design protruding above a surface to which it is attached—but it had broader associations in the fourteenth century, describing the combinations of flavors in a meal or three-dimensionality in painting.² Only a few letters separate *rilevato* from *revelato*, which means “revealed” or “unveiled.”³ It is this latter possibility that I will explore here by presenting a previously unpublished Pisan panel, dating to the second half of the thirteenth century, in the medieval collection of the Walters Art Museum (fig. 1). While its subject—an enthroned Virgin and Child—is not unusual, its execution is uncommon, for the figures are done partially in relief.

The Walters painting is undoubtedly a copy of Coppo di Marcovaldo’s *Madonna del Bordone*, which exhibits a judicious blend of Byzantine and western medieval subject matter (fig. 2).⁴ The quintessential western cult statue of the enthroned Virgin and Child, known also as *Maestà*, is here merged seamlessly with the Eastern Orthodox icon; the panel is a visual heteroglossia,⁵ combining different media and iconographic traditions. Although there is a long tradition of low relief in medieval Italian painting, the Walters panel, while not of particularly high quality, engages a decidedly different approach. The frontality and stiffness that characterize most twelfth- and thirteenth-century relief panels, such as the twelfth-century crucifix in San Michele in Foro in Lucca or the early thirteenth-century Sienese *Madonna degli occhi grossi*,⁶ have been put aside here; Mary

comes to life, gently turning to the Child, while pinching his right foot. Furthermore, even though the medium of relief found its way into fresco painting, as in the Church of Santa Passera in Rome, where it was used to articulate the halos of sainted figures,⁷ it was frequently given secondary importance, its role similar to and very likely inspired by the metal revetments that typically adorned Byzantine icons from the twelfth century forward.⁸ Only in thirteenth-century painted crosses do we see an approach to the medium of relief similar to that in the Walters Madonna. In a crucifix dated to the first half of the century in the Museo Nazionale di San Mateo in Pisa, for example, Christ’s head is framed by a golden halo in relief that subsides toward his shoulders.⁹ Combined with the innovative use of the Byzantine-inspired iconography of *Christus patiens*, the medium of relief adds to the work’s material immediacy and sensual palpability. This article thus has a twofold purpose: to explore the multivalent interactions between the visual practices of Byzantium and medieval Italy within the context of the cross-fertilization of sculpture and painting; and to consider how these interactions brought about artistic forms similar to the panel discussed here.¹⁰

THE PANEL

The Walters Madonna is painted in tempera on a gabled wooden panel that recalls the pediment shrines used for displaying cult statues of the Virgin and Child.¹¹ The gabled form seems to have become popular in Tuscany in the last decades of the thirteenth century,¹² after Duccio used it for his *Rucellai Madonna* (ca. 1285) and Cimabue for his *Santa Trinità Madonna* (ca. 1290–1300).¹³ Unlike the rather large Tuscan Duecento images of the enthroned Madonna, the



Fig. 1. Pomarance Master (attr.). *Virgin and Child*, 1265–75. Tempera on panel. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, gift of Mrs. George L. Bell, 1967 (37.2533)

Walters panel is of modest size: without the frame, it is 61 cm wide, 75.4 cm high at the sides, and reaches 91.2 cm at the pinnacle of the gable.

The piece reveals multiple and heavy-handed interventions. The painting was framed and a metal hook was fixed to its back so that it could be suspended. Its frame is slightly raised and decorated with a stylized vegetal pattern on a brown background. At some point the painting was covered with a translucent varnish so as to even out and add unity, and perhaps the appearance of antiquity, to the surface.¹⁴ Some of the colors, and especially the lighter ones that accumulated dirt more visibly, are significantly altered today, to the point that it is uncertain, without formal technical



Fig. 2. Coppo di Marcovaldo (ca. 1225–ca. 1276). *Madonna del Bordone* (1261). Tempera on panel. Siena, Church of Santa Maria dei Servi

analysis, what colors were used for Mary's headscarf or for the cloth suspended on the back of the throne. The panel is unusual because the two figures are in partial relief, with their heads and limbs sculpted in gesso that rises about a centimeter above the surface. The relief subsides toward the lower half of the painting, where only Mary's purple-shod foot is in raised relief.

The composition is simple: a matronly Madonna sits on a high-backed throne supporting an oversized Child with her noticeably long-fingered, almost skeletal left hand. The tension in her fingers resonates with ideas similar to those expressed in the thirteenth-century *Lauds* by the Franciscan Jacopone da Todi: "You carry God within you, God and man / And the weight does not crush you."¹⁵ A luxurious whitish handkerchief embroidered on the bottom in gold and red unfolds below Christ, subtly foreshadowing the future grief of the Virgin at the sight of her dead son.¹⁶ The substitution of a white kerchief for the elaborate cloth seen beneath the Child in *Madonna del Bordone* is hardly a meaningless innovation: it signals a shift in devotional focus, for it is Mary's grief that is at the center of attention here, rather than the sacrifice of Christ, which was emphasized in Coppo's Siense panel.¹⁷ With her right hand the Virgin gently pinches the Child's right foot.¹⁸ Her whole body turns ever so slightly in the direction of Christ; her eyes, however, stare beyond the picture's plane, addressing a viewer who would have been standing or kneeling on her left. Mary's head is covered with a light-colored scarf trimmed with gold and decorated with flowers enclosed in medallions, interspersed with small diamond patterns. She is dressed as a northern European lady, with a blue cape over a red dress whose tight-fitting bodice is generously covered with golden striations.¹⁹ Her feet rest on a luxurious red pillow, its left half lavishly decorated with floral motifs in white. Mary's forehead, nose, and upper lip are articulated in a lighter color; the contrast is jarring, and may be a reaction of the paint to its immediate environment.

The Christ Child is proportionately larger than in other contemporaneous representations. His stout figure almost hovers on his mother's lap. He raises his right hand toward Mary in a blessing gesture, and in his left he holds a scroll, which very likely would have been red. His chubby legs are revealed up to the knees; he is clad in a short tunic and a cape clasped in the middle with a flower-shaped brooch, an element that subtly evokes the floral motifs on Mary's

headscarf. His hair is light brown and straight, although the jagged profile of the relief suggests curls. Christ's facial features, like those of his mother, are articulated with bold, light-colored brushstrokes.

The throne on which Mary sits has a pointed back that echoes the shape of the gabled panel. It is draped with a luxurious cloth decorated with a medallion pattern. Two pillows, one of which is done in very low relief, visibly sag under the figures' weight.²⁰ Triangular crenellations with alternating knobs adorn the upper frame of the throne, topped on both sides by a floral motif that resembles fleur-de-lis. An elaborate decoration with recessing panels encrusted with pearls adorns the throne's lower right half, where luxury motifs of various media are concentrated, including the textile and embroidery of the handkerchief and the weaving on the foot pillow. Undoubtedly all this was intended to provide a suitable backdrop for, perhaps even a devotional focus directed at, Mary's sculpted foot.²¹

The oversized Child, as well as Mary's stout figure, her distinctive long fingers, and embroidered handkerchief indicate that the Walters panel was probably painted by an artist frequently referred to as the Pomarance Master,²² active in the area of Pisa during the second half of the thirteenth century. His identity is rather enigmatic, and he has been variously associated with the Master of San Martino;²³ with Figliuccio, who worked in Volterra;²⁴ and with the painter of the *vita* icon of St. Nicholas in the Church of San Verano in Peccioli tentatively identified as Michele de Baldovino in the *Cimabue a Pisa* exhibition catalog.²⁵

The painting that provides the closest point of comparison for the Walters panel is today in the Church of St. John the Baptist in the small town of Pomarance (fig. 3). That panel is of a similar size (98 × 84 cm), but rectangular and has scenes from the life of Christ and John the Baptist painted on both sides in a format recognizable from contemporary *vita* icons.²⁶ Edward Garrison assigned to the same painter a triptych, today in the Church of the Madonna delle Grazie in the village of Montecerboli, with an enthroned Virgin and Child in the center and John the Baptist and John the Evangelist on the side panels. Mary has the same sweet countenance, with prominently blushing cheeks, as she does on the panel in Pomarance, but her clothing, which more resembles that of Byzantine Madonnas, and the smaller size of the Child, set this painting apart from the other two.²⁷ If Garrison is correct in attributing the triptych

to the Pomarance Master, this would lend support to the impression created by the Walters panel that the artist was intimately familiar with Byzantine pictorial idioms.

While the connection between Italian and Eastern Orthodox panel painting and manuscript illumination has been studied extensively,²⁸ the role of Byzantine relief icons in understanding hybrid works of art such as the Walters panel has been under-researched.²⁹ Recent studies of the powerful effect of luxury metal reliefs on the senses, and through them, on the intellectual perception of the divine, provide an important starting-point for thinking about medieval Italian relief icons in general and the Walters panel in particular.³⁰ Given that Ugo Panziera had spent part of his life in Franciscan missions in the Levant, is it mere coincidence that he talked about the role of relief in his writings on meditative stages?³¹ Is it possible that he had experienced first-hand the transformative effect of Byzantine relief icons? In considering the Walters panel, I would suggest that just like a veil placed before a holy image,³² the medium of relief provided a powerful stimulus that both revealed and concealed, encouraging contemplation of what might be hidden below.

ICONOGRAPHY BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

In both works attributed to him, the Pomarance Master closely referenced Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna del Bordone* (see fig. 2), retaining the distinctive foot-pinching gesture, and painting Mary as a western lady wearing a medallion-adorned white headscarf. He was nonetheless selective in appropriating Coppo's visual vocabulary, incorporating several alternate iconographic features considered essential for understanding the multivalent messages of the Sieneese Madonna. In the Walters panel, the artist changed the shape of the throne, did away with the eagles on Mary's veil, painted an unusual cloth on the back of the throne, and replaced the textile below the Child with an opulent kerchief. Instead of discussing the relationship between original and copy, however, I propose to consider the Walters image as a purposefully eclectic creation intended for a specific, albeit unknown, context. The artist blended imaginative quotations in the icon, using a well-known method that endowed a work of art, whether visual or literary, with points of reference and thus with meaning.³³ Two distinctive iconographic features of the Walters panel, originating in two different visual milieus and seamlessly blended to convey a uniform



Fig. 3. Pomarance Master. *Virgin and Child with Scenes from the Life of Christ and St. John the Baptist*, 1265–75. Pomarance, Church of San Giovanni Battista

message, warrant particular study: the decorative pattern on Mary's veil and on the cloth suspended from the back of the throne and the foot-pinching gesture.

The textile draped on the back of the throne displays a medallion pattern with two concentric circles framing a floral motif. The little white dots on the Walters cloth might well represent pearls, which were used in Byzantine liturgical textiles and bishops' garments.³⁴ The apparent taste for them is revealed on the bishop's costume of St. Nicholas in a thirteenth-century Pisan icon attributed to Michele di Baldovino, today in Peccioli.³⁵ The preference for pearl-encrusted medallion ornament is prominently attested also in the mid-thirteenth-century processional cross painted by Giunta Pisano now at Museo Nazionale di San Mateo in Pisa.³⁶ Here Christ's body is represented against the backdrop of a lavish medallion pattern that in its general outline resembles that of the cloth draped behind the Walters Virgin.

Quatrefoils enclosed in medallions also decorate the reverse of several champlé chasses produced in Limoges during the second half of the twelfth century, demonstrating that at least in the West this type of ornament was part of the visual lexicon of luxury, rather than associated with a particular medium.³⁷ Even though the medallion pattern might have been somewhat outdated and was frequently relegated to a border motif elsewhere, Duecento Pisan artists seem to have used it often as signifier both for luxury and, very likely, antiquity.

The medallion style, although out of fashion in the Byzantine East by the thirteenth century,³⁸ was employed by Italian producers of silks; more often, however, it enclosed faunal rather than floral motifs.³⁹ Eagles seem to have been favored in representations of medallion-patterned silks, and they figure prominently on the head cover of Coppo's *Madonna del Bordone*. While some scholars have interpreted

these emblems as indications of political affiliation with the imperial house of the Hohenstaufen, others considered them as a visualization of a religious metaphor of Mary as an eagle.⁴⁰ The prominence of the floral motif both on the veil of the Walters Madonna and on the back of the throne, associates her with flowers.⁴¹ The slightly raised profile of the floral motifs on Mary's headscarf adds a feeling of tactility, activating the senses and evoking the silky texture of flower petals, and perhaps even their association with human flesh.⁴² The correlation between the Virgin and flowers was an integral part of the visual practices of the Pisans, as the imagery on their seals and coins demonstrates. Thus, on an early fourteenth-century Pisan seal a full-length enthroned Mary is represented between blooming rose branches; on a late fourteenth-century Pisan coin a flower blooms beside the Virgin and Child.⁴³

Mary's curious gesture of pinching Christ's right foot further adds to the tactility of the Walters panel.⁴⁴ More often than not, the source of this gesture has been sought in the large corpus of Eastern Orthodox Virgins, who frequently touch the foot of the Child. In those, however, the touch is quite subtle, and never as intensely somatic as it is here.⁴⁵ Mary gently rests her hand on Christ's foot in a late tenth- or eleventh-century ivory icon at the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 4) and in a thirteenth-century fresco on Patmos.⁴⁶ The feet of the Christ Child figure prominently in the East, but the emphasis tends to be on the figure's heel or sole: thus in an early thirteenth-century Cypriot icon, Mary conspicuously grasps Christ's left heel;⁴⁷ in a fourteenth-century mosaic in the Constantinopolitan Chora Church, the Child exposes the bare sole of his upturned left foot.⁴⁸

Indeed, the pinching gesture used by the Pomarance Master and his predecessor, Coppo di Marcovaldo, seems to be unattested in Byzantine art.⁴⁹ It is in the West, and more specifically in thirteenth-century ivory or wood images of Mary with the Christ Child from France and Germany, that we encounter this precise gesture. For example, in a mid-thirteenth-century wooden statuette of an enthroned Virgin in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne, and in a nearly contemporary ivory in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5), Mary pinches the Child's right foot as he lifts his arm to caress her chin.⁵⁰ The two figures are thus represented exchanging intensely corporeal gestures that might have been inspired by the metaphors found in Solomon's *Song of Songs* or contemporary love poetry.⁵¹ Such

figures were frequently gilded or painted, or both, bringing them closer to the medium of painting.⁵² Given the portability of such images as well as the geographic proximity of their place of production to Tuscany, we should not ignore the possibility that precisely such statuettes provided the model for the pinching gesture found in Italian icons.⁵³

RELIEF AND REVELATIONS

Some scholars have considered the medium of relief in Tuscan icons an archaic feature, the utilization of which added purposeful *antiquitas* and thus *auctoritas* to the image through the association with venerable *Maestà* sculptures.⁵⁴ This may have been the intended effect underlying the use of relief in the Walters panel. Indeed, the rather antiquated look of the cloth suspended on the back of the throne with its distinctive and outdated medallion style supports such a line of thought.



Fig. 4. Byzantine, Constantinople. *Plaque with the Enthroned Mother of God* (the Stroganoff Ivory), 950–1025. Ivory. Cleveland Museum of Art, gift of J. H. Wade (1925.1293)

I should like to pursue a different possibility, however, considering relief as a feature intended to externalize and facilitate meditations on certain historical and theological realities pertinent to the Duecento and its Tuscan context. I will also consider the use of relief as forward-looking, bridging the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, when the images of Virgin and Child in relief proliferated.⁵⁵



Fig. 5. French. *Enthroned Virgin and Child*, ca. 1275–1300. Ivory with original paint. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan (17.190.296)

The Walters panel has never been publically displayed in the museum, but I recently had an opportunity to examine it, accompanied by members of the curatorial and conservation divisions at the museum. With a flashlight, we experimented with different viewing angles and lighting arrangements, and in the dimmed space of the storage area we saw the panel transformed before our eyes.⁵⁶ Under varying intensities of light the relief became more pronounced at times while at others it vanished; the bodies of the two figures could be stout and heavy, or partially disappear, veiled in darkness. Undoubtedly the flickering light of candles and oil lamps, much more so than the constant stream of light provided by the flashlight, would have even more strongly affected the surfaces of the icon, imbuing the figures with life. One can only imagine the effect if the panel were pristine and its colors revealed in their original glory. I suspect that the *chrysoigraphy* on Mary's and Christ's clothing, so dulled now, would have created a wavelike effect evoking the movement of heavy, luxurious textiles covering living bodies. The transformative effect that we observed was not very different in quality from the enlivening effects of candlelight on the golden face of a Byzantine Archangel Michael today in the treasury of San Marco in Venice.⁵⁷

Relief icons in Tuscany both pre- and postdate the Walters panel. As mentioned earlier, they have been almost universally considered a fusion of the wooden *Maestà* with the medium of painting.⁵⁸ Siena had one such image, the so-called *Madonna degli occhi grossi*, which probably adorned the high altar of the city's cathedral at least until 1261, and the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore in Florence had a large mixed-media panel with an enthroned Mary and Child sculpted in relief, made perhaps by Coppo di Marcovaldo.⁵⁹ Recent restorations have revealed this latter icon's bright colors, which resemble the opulence and sheen of precious metals. The tangibility of the sculpted relief is brought into sharper focus through its juxtaposition with the scenes of the Annunciation and the Women at the Tomb painted in the panel below. In these episodes the divine presence is only hinted at, its direct visualization virtually impossible. Or, conversely the divine absence in the paintings is an intense form of presence made manifest in the relief of Virgin and Child above. The tangibility of relief and its ability to convey presence was briefly discussed by Francesco Petrarca, who in the 1350s fell under the spell of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century relief tondo with St. Ambrose in the saint's eponymous

church at Milan. In a poetic outburst he recorded the sensual impact the image had on him: "I gaze upward at his statue . . . and often venerate it as if it were alive and breathing. This is not an insignificant reward for coming here, for the great authority of his face, the great dignity of his eyebrows and the great tranquility in his eyes are inexpressible; it lacks only a voice for one to see the living Ambrose."⁶⁰

In the Frankish East, the taste for sculptural effects is revealed in an enigmatic thirteenth-century panel of the so-called Virgin of the Carmelites produced in the Crusader Levant and today in Nicosia on Cyprus. The icon has a distinctive three-dimensionality, implying a cult statue or perhaps even a relief image like the one in Treviso,⁶¹ covered with shimmering gold leaf.⁶² Unlike the Romanesque *Maestàs*, Mary is not strictly frontal here, as she is actively engaged with the supplicants at her feet, unfurling her mantle to provide a protective cover for them.

It is precisely in this multicultural environment that a vita icon of St. George was produced in northwestern Greece in the thirteenth century.⁶³ Here the saint, sculpted in relief, instead of being strictly frontal, turns in three-quarter view to address a tiny image of Christ in the upper right corner on behalf of a female donor kneeling at his feet.⁶⁴ The frame with George's life and martyrdom is entirely painted, the juxtaposition of the two media resembling the panel of Mary and Christ in the Florentine Santa Maria Maggiore.

Iconographically closer to the Walters icon is the early fourteenth-century miraculous relief image of the Virgin and Child in the Church of St. John the Baptist in San Miniato.⁶⁵ Again, the frontality of the *Maestà* is cast aside. Here, the Virgin leans toward her Child in a manner seen on the Walters panel and its famous model by Coppo di Marcovaldo. The colors on this icon are, like those in the above-mentioned Florentine and Cypriot Madonnas, bright and saturated, implying the glitter of luxury metalwork. In this and other instances, I would like to suggest, the fusion of relief and two-dimensional painting was facilitated both by the transfer of a number of Byzantine relief icons to Italy, as well as by eastern and western metalwork, especially goldsmithing and enameling.⁶⁶

After 1204, when Constantinople fell to the Latins of the Fourth Crusade, a number of relief icons, made of marble or metal, together with other precious spoils, were taken to Venice. Their potency was quickly recognized, and some of them were integrated within the decoration of the main

church of the Republic of St. Mark and were gathered into the grand celebration of Venetian identity.⁶⁷ Others were incorporated into the liturgical ceremonial of the city's cathedral. Although there was no great influx of luxury Byzantine metalwork and relief icons into Tuscany, it is hard to imagine that the well-traveled Pisans, for example, had not experienced their awe-inspiring effect at first hand. The fact that in the middle of the fourteenth century the Sieneese purchased from the Venetians several Byzantine reliquaries that combined various forms of relief, such as repoussé metalwork and cloisonné enamel, suggests how appealing and authentic those idioms were to medieval Italians.⁶⁸ Paul Hetherington observed that these objects seem not to have exerted influence on the style of contemporaneous Italian art.⁶⁹ It is more likely, however, that it was the scintillating effect, rather than the specific style, that was pursued when metalwork of this kind was evoked. For example, we should not ignore the striking resemblance of the *chrysoigraphy* on the clothing of Mary and Christ on a number of Italian icons, including the Walters relief icon, to the golden striations formed by the cloisons of Byzantine enamels.

In pursuing the importance of metalwork for understanding the effect that a relief icon would have had on the audience, it is important also to adduce western examples. Indeed, to a degree, the raised parts of the Walters panel resemble the appliqué heads on Limousin enamel objects.⁷⁰ Some scholars have suggested that in Tuscany luxury metalwork in general and goldsmithing in particular might have given rise to a cross-pollination between painting and sculpture.⁷¹ In fact, one fifteenth-century source considered the art of the goldsmith the most representative example of pictorial eloquence. In his sermons on the Book of Haggai delivered in the cathedral church of Florence, Savonarola described an episode in which God took him to the workshop of a goldsmith in order to point out that the successful combination of painting and sculpture provided the best possible model for a preacher.⁷² Formed in relief, and glistening in the light of candles and lamps, a composition like the thirteenth-century golden *Maestà* in the Duomo in Pistoia⁷³ would take on a lifelike appearance, becoming a visual analogue to verbal images that would affect the audience.

The distinctive visual effect of the Walters panel was achieved through blending the authority of the painted panel with the sensuality of sculpture.⁷⁴ This aesthetic of tangibility, to use Lars Jones's expression, accords with thirteenth-century

theological concerns, ranging from the Church postulating the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist to the rise of devotional practices associated with the so-called New Mysticism.⁷⁵ The use of relief on the Walters panel might also be related to aspects of late medieval affective piety in which the relationship between Mary and her Child was especially emphasized and made apparent through the exchange of glances and/or deliberate gestures. But I think it was the mystery that mattered most. It was those parts not visible in the dim light of candles and oil lamps that would have activated the imagination of the viewer. The materiality of the image would have dissolved under a veil of darkness or the blinding shimmer of the golden background to facilitate the transition from corporeal to intellectual contemplation. Through interaction with its setting, the icon invited close scrutiny but it was never stale, commonplace, and mundane, or stable and fixed for that matter, for it was in a constant state of becoming. The shifting spectacle prevented the eye from concentrating on any particular part on the panel's surface, dispelling the common concern that its materiality might lead to idolatry. The flickering of lights simultaneously revealed and concealed parts of the panel, making it nearly impossible to grasp the image in its entirety, and engaging the mind in a sophisticated guessing game of awe and wonder.

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NOTES

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1. L. Jones, "Visio Divina? Donor Figures and Representations of Imagistic Devotion: The Copy of the 'Virgin of Bagnolo' in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence," in *Italian Panel Painting in the Duecento and the Trecento*, ed. V. Schmidt (New Haven and London, 2002), 44.

2. Jones, "Visio Divina" (note 1), 44; see also F. Quiviger, "Relief Is in the Mind: Observations on Renaissance Low Relief," in *Depth of Field: Relief Sculpture in Renaissance Italy*, ed. D. Cooper and M. Leino (Bern, 2007), 175–77.
3. Jones, "Visio Divina" (note 1), 44; Quiviger, "Relief Is in the Mind" (note 2), 176–77.
4. R. Corrie, "The Political Meaning of Coppo di Marcovaldo's Madonna and Child in Siena," *Gesta* 29 (1990): 61–75; eadem, "Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna del bordone* and the Meaning of the Bare-Legged Christ Child in Siena and the East," *Gesta* 35 (1996): 43–65; G. Mina, "Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna del Bordone*: Political Statement or Profession of Fate," in *Art, Politics, and Civic Religion in Central Italy, 1261–1352*, ed. J. Cannon and B. Williamson (Aldershot and Burlington, 2000), 237–93; M. Wilde, *Das unbekante Schlüsselwerk: Die Madonna del Bordone des Coppo di Marcovaldo in Siena* (Weimar, 2004).
5. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. M. Holquist, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Austin, 1981), 301–31.
6. M. Ciatti, "L'immagine antica' della Madonna di Santa Maria Maggiore: Problemi e risultati," in *L'immagine antica' della Madonna col Bambino di Santa Maria Maggiore: Studi e restauro*, ed. M. Ciatti and C. Frosinini (Florence, 2002), 22–23, figs. 1, 2.
7. G. Matthiæ, *Pittura romana del medioevo, secoli XI–XIV*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1988), 2:175.
8. On Byzantine revetments, see J. Durand, "Precious-Metal Icon Revetments," in *Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261–1557)*, ed. H. C. Evans (New York, 2007), 243–51; A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du Moyen Âge* (Venice, 1975); N. Ševčenko, "Vita Icons and 'Decorated Icons' of the Komnenian Period," in *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, ed. B. Davezac (Houston, 1992), 56–69.
9. M. Burrese and A. Caleca, eds., *Cimabue a Pisa: La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto* (Pisa, 2005), 109–13; for other examples, see *ibid.*, 116–21, 128–29, 136–41.
10. On the artistic exchange between Pisa and the East, see, M. Bacci, "Pisa e l'icona," in Burrese and Caleca, *Cimabue a Pisa* (note 9), 59–64; M. Boskovits, A. Labriola, V. Pace, and A. Tartuferi, "Officina pisana: Il XIII secolo," *Arte cristiana* 94 (2006): 185–90.
11. H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. E. Jephcott (Chicago and London, 1994), 389.
12. K. Krüger notes that in painting, the shape has a volume-producing effect that adds to the materiality of the image it frames. "Medium and Imagination: Aesthetic Aspects of Trecento Panel Painting," in *Italian Panel Painting in the Duecento and the Trecento*, ed. V. Schmidt (New Haven and London, 2002), 63–64.
13. E. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index* (Florence, 1949), 78; J. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena* (Princeton, 1964), 9.

14. I am very grateful to Eric Gordon, the head of painting conservation at the Walters Art Museum, for taking the time to discuss the condition of the panel with me.
15. Jacopone da Todi, *The Lauds*, trans. S. Hughes and E. Hughes (New York, Ramsey, and Toronto, 1982), 70.
16. In two of Giunta Pisano's crucifixes the Virgin raises to her eyes a white handkerchief that in its opulence and hint of golden embroidery resembles the one held by the Virgin in the Pomarance panel. See M. Boskovits, *The Origins of Florentine Painting, 1100–1270*, vol. 1, section I of *A Critical and Historical Corpus of Florentine Painting* (Florence, 1993), figs. 46–49. The cloth in Mary's hand resembles an eastern textile, like the thirteenth-century Egyptian (?) piece in the Museo del Duomo, Siena. See M. Ciatti, ed., *“Drappi, velluti, taffetà et altre cose”: Antichi tessuti a Siena e nel suo territorio* (Siena, 1994), 102.
17. On the sacrificial aspect of Christ Child in Coppo's panel, see Corrie, “Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna del bordone*” (note 4), 49–53.
18. J. Cannon, “Kissing the Virgin's Foot: *Adoratio* before the Madonna and Child Enacted, Depicted, Imagined,” *Studies in Iconography* 31 (2010): 10–15; Wilde, *Das unbekannte Schlüsselwerk* (note 4), 77–80.
19. Corrie, “Political Meaning” (note 4), 62.
20. The pillows might be a misunderstanding of the single four-tasseled cushion on which Coppo's Virgin sits. Two pillows appear, however, in other panels from the area of Pisa, as in an early fourteenth-century painting attributed to Deodato Orlandi (Burrese and Caleca, *Cimabue a Pisa* [note 9], 264), and two relief icons also from the early fourteenth century today in the Church of St. John the Baptist in San Miniato and in Museo di San Mateo in Pisa. See M. Bacci, “Le sculture lignee nel folklore religioso: Alcune considerazioni,” in *Scultura Lignea: Lucca, 1200–1425*, ed. C. Baracchini (Florence, 1995), 33, figs. 36–37. The double-pillowed throne originated in Byzantium, where it was prominently used for the famous ninth-century image of Mary in the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. See C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St Sophia in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), fig. 106.
21. Cannon, “Kissing the Virgin's Foot” (note 18).
22. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (note 13), 45; cf. Boskovits, *The Origins of Florentine Painting* (note 16), 82 n 154.
23. A. Garzelli, *Dall'icona al racconto: Pittori alle soglie di Cimabue. Un libro interrotto*, ed. F. Masi (Pisa, 2009), 73; for images of some of the works by the Master of San Martino, see Burrese and Caleca, *Cimabue a Pisa* (note 9), 157–69.
24. R. Bagemihl, “Some Thoughts about Grifo di Tancredi of Florence and a Little-Known Panel at Volterra,” *Arte cristiana* 87 (1999): 422.
25. Garzelli, *Dall'icona al racconto* (note 23), 73; Burrese and Caleca, *Cimabue a Pisa* (note 9), 184–85.
26. On the Pomarance panel, see Garzelli, *Dall'icona al racconto* (note 23), 73–76; J. Spinelli, *La parrocchiale di Pomarance* (Pomarance, 2002), 112–15; M. Burrese and A. Caleca, eds., *Volterra: d'oro e di pietra* (Pisa, 2006), 93–94. On vita icons, see P. Chattarjee, “Narrating Sanctity: The Narrative Icon in Byzantium and Italy” Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2007; N. Ševčenko, “Vita Icons and ‘Decorated Icons’” (note 8); eadem, “The Vita Icon and the Painter as a Hagiographer,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 149–65.
27. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting* (note 13), 111; Burrese and Caleca, *Volterra* (note 26) 94–95.
28. See, for example, Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (note 11), 337–48; A. Derbes and A. Neff, “Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere,” in Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (note 8), 449–61; V. Pace, “Modelli da Oriente nella pittura Duecentesca su tavola in Italia centrale,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 44 (2000): 19–43.
29. That Byzantine relief icons might have been a source for relief icons in Tuscany is briefly mentioned by Bacci, “Le sculture lignee” (note 20), 34; Ciatti, “L'immagine antica” (note 6), 23–25; S. McHam, “Now and Then: Recovering a Sense of Different Values,” in Cooper and Leino, *Depth of Field* (note 2), 334.
30. B. Pentcheva, “Moving Eyes: Surface and Shadow in the Byzantine Mixed-Media Relief Icon,” *RES* 55/56 (2009): 222–34; eadem, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa., 2010), 97–154.
31. Jones, “*Visio Divina*” (note 1), 53 n. 39. For one such image produced in the thirteenth century at the intersections of East and West, see V. Pace, “Una scultura di *maniera greca* nel Mediterraneo dei Franchi: l'icona della Madre di Dio con il Figlio nel Monastero della Visitazione di Treviso,” *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 44 (2007): 325–31; Pentcheva, “Moving Eyes” (note 30).
32. For veils concealing the holy and arousing curiosity and desire, see A. W. Carr, “Reflections on the Life of an Icon: The Eleousa of Kykkos,” *Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς μονής Κύκκου* 6 (2004): 103–4. For actual curtains suspended before images in medieval Italy, see V. Schmidt, “Curtains, *Revelatio*, and Pictorial Reality in Late Medieval and Renaissance Italy,” in *Weaving, Veiling, and Dressing: Textiles and Their Metaphors in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. K. Rudy and B. Baert (Turnhout, 2007), 191–213.
33. See E. Perry, “Rhetoric, Literary Criticism, and the Roman Aesthetics of Artistic Imitation,” in *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, ed. E. Gazda (Ann Arbor, 2002), 153–71; eadem, *The Aesthetics of Emulation in the Visual Arts of Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2005). For literary imitation in Renaissance Italy,

- see M. McLaughlin, *Literary Imitation in the Italian Renaissance: The Theory and Practice of Literary Imitation in Italy from Dante to Bembo* (Oxford, 1995), 11–21.
34. Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (note 8), 146 fig. 6.4, 307.
 35. Burrese and Caleca, *Cimabue a Pisa* (note 9), 182–83.
 36. *Ibid.*, 120–21.
 37. This type of decoration was apparently not inspired by textiles. See B. Boehm and E. Taburet-Delahaye, eds., *Enamels of Limoges, 1100–1350* (New York, 1996), 129, 135–36, 138.
 38. J. Trilling, *The Medallion Style: A Study in the Origins of Byzantine Taste* (New York and London, 1985).
 39. D. Degl'Innocenti, “Considerazioni storiche e tecniche sul tessuto del sacchetto-reliquiario dell'Madonna di Santa Maria Maggiore,” in Ciatti and Frosinini, *L'“immagine antica”* (note 6), 81.
 40. Corrie, “Political Meaning” (note 4), 65–67; Mina, “Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna*” (note 4), 252–56.
 41. R. Fulton, “The Virgin in the Garden; or, Why Flowers Make Better Prayers,” *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 4 (2004): 1–23. For other contemporary examples that visually equate Mary with flowers, see Evans, *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (note 8), 497–98; R. Oertel, “Ein toskanisches Madonnenbild um 1260,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 1 (1953): 9–36.
 42. Pentcheva, *Sensual Icon* (note 30), 121–54; Quiviger, “Relief Is in the Mind” (note 2).
 43. Burrese and Caleca, *Cimabue a Pisa* (note 9), 220, 223. Mary holds a rose in her hand on the 1266 seal of Siena; see Mina, “Coppo di Marcovaldo's *Madonna*” (note 4), fig. 6.6.
 44. Quiviger, “Relief Is in the Mind” (note 2), 178–82.
 45. The exception here is a type of Virgin identified by Chrysanthè Baltogianne (*Ειχόνες, Μητέρα Θεού Βρεφοκρατούσα στην Ενσάρκωση και το Πάθος* [Athens, 1994], 153–59, esp. 156–57) as *glykophilousa* (sweet-loving) or *tou pathous* (of the Passion), in which Mary firmly grasps the left hand of the Child as a prefiguration of the Deposition, in which she repeats the gesture. See also D. Mouriki, “Thirteenth-Century Icon Painting in Cyprus,” *The Griffon* 1–2 (1985–86): 28–29.
 46. Corrie, “Political Meaning” (note 4), fig. 2.
 47. D. Mouriki, “A Thirteenth-Century Icon with a Variant of Hodegetria in the Byzantine Museum of Athens,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987): 403–14.
 48. P. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (New York, 1966), 2: fig. 187.
 49. See, for example, M. Vassilaki, ed., *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art* (Milan, 2000).
 50. U. Bergmann and A. Legner, *Die Holzskulpturen des Mittelalters (1000–1400)* (Cologne, 1989), 174–75.
 51. On the importance of the *Song of Songs* in Tuscan representations of Mary and Christ, see M. Lavin and I. Lavin, *The Liturgy of Love: Images from the Song of Songs in the Arts of Cimabue, Michelangelo, and Rembrandt* (Lawrence, 2001), 4–47; M. Lavin, “Cimabue at Assisi: The Virgin, the ‘Song of Songs,’ and the Gift of Love,” in *The Art of the Franciscan Order in Italy*, ed. W. Cook (Leiden and Boston, 2005), 95–112. For Italian love poetry and its visual equivalent, see Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (note 11), 370–76.
 52. On colored statuettes, see M. Collareta, “From Color to Black and White, and Back Again: The Middle Ages and Early Modern Times,” in *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. R. Panzanelli (Los Angeles, 2008), 65–67.
 53. On the use of such statuettes as models for Giovanni Pisano, see M. Seidel, “Die Elfenbeinmadonna im Domschat zu Pisa: Studien zur Herkunft und Umbildung französischer Formen im Werk Giovanni Pisanos in der Epoche der Pistoiser Kanzel,” *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 16 (1972): 1–50.
 54. B. Brenk, “Ein florentinisches Kultbild und die roten Strümpfe der Engel: Archaismus versus Innovation,” in *Opus Tessellatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft. Festschrift für Peter Cornelius Claussen*, ed. K. Corsepisus et al. (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York, 2004), 297–98, Ciatti, “L'“immagine antica”” (note 6), 22.
 55. G. Johnson, “Art or Artifact? Madonna and Child Reliefs in the Early Renaissance,” in *The Sculpted Object, 1400–1700*, ed. S. Currie and P. Motture (Aldershot and Brookfield, 1997), 1–24.
 56. For this hands-on approach, see Pentcheva, *Sensual Icon* (note 30), 122–23. I thank Kathryn Gerry for taking the time to do this experiment with me.
 57. Cf. www.thesensualicon.com. For the awe-inspiring effect of chrysography, introduced into Italian painting by Coppo di Marcovaldo, see P. Hills, *The Light of Early Italian Painting* (New Haven and London, 1987), 25–28.
 58. Belting, *Likeness and Presence* (note 11), 387. For combining relief and painting, see P. Dent, “Contemplative Relief: Meditating on Christ through Sculptural Form in Early Trecento Italy,” in Cooper and Leino, *Depth of Field* (note 2), 41–69.
 59. For a mid-twelfth-century date for the Florentine panel, see the articles in Ciatti and Frosinini, *L'“immagine antica”* (note 6). M. Boskovits (“Ancora sulla *Madonna del Carmine* in Santa Maria Maggiore a Firenze,” in *Medioevo: Immagini e ideologie*, ed. A. C. Quintavalle [Milan, 2005], 302–12) argued for reassigning a thirteenth-century date to the icon. B. Brenk (“Ein florentinisches Kultbild” [note 54]) similarly maintained that a thirteenth-century date is more appropriate for the panel.

60. F. Petrarca, *Letters on Familiar Matters/Rerum familiarum libri IX–XVI*, trans. A. S. Bernardo, 3 vols. (Baltimore and London, 1982), 2:319. For a discussion of the passage, see M. J. Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge, 2005), 97; E. H. Wilkins, “On Petrarch’s Appreciation of Art,” *Speculum* 36 (1961): 299. I am very grateful to Maia Gahtan for bringing this passage to my attention.
61. See note 31 above.
62. J. Folda, “Image to Altarpiece in the Frankish East: Images of the Virgin and Child Enthroned,” in *Italian Panel Painting in the Duecento and the Trecento*, ed. V. Schmidt (New Haven and London, 2002), 135–38, fig. 12.
63. M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *Icons of the Byzantine Museum of Athens* (Athens, 1998), 26–31; G. Peers, *Sacred Shock: Framing Visual Experience in Byzantium* (University Park, Pa., 2004), 77–99, 160–66.
64. For the possibility that this is an icon of the famous wood relief with St. George in the eponymous church in Omorphokklesia in Greece, see N. Ševčenko, “The Representation of Donors and Holy Figures on Four Byzantine Icons,” *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας* 17 (1993–94): 158–60.
65. Bacci, “Le sculpture lignee” (note 20), 34, fig. 36; idem, “Pro remedio animae:” *Immagini sacre e pratiche devozionali in Italia centrale (secoli XIII e XIV)* (Pisa, 2000), 38–42, 452.
66. Ciatti, “L’immagine antica” (note 6), 22, 24. For a fourteenth-century relief icon in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, that might have been inspired by precious metalwork, see W. F. Volbach, “Venetian-Byzantine Works of Art in Rome,” *Art Bulletin* 29 (1947): 91–92.
67. C. Davis, *Byzantine Relief Icons in Venice and along the Adriatic Coast: Orants and Other Images of the Mother of God* (Munich, 2006), 4–22; H. Maguire, “The Aniketos Icon and the Display of Relics in the Decoration of San Marco,” in *San Marco, Byzantium, and the Myths of Venice*, eds. H. Maguire and R. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), 91–111.
68. P. Hetherington, “A Purchase of Byzantine Relics and Reliquaries in Fourteenth-Century Venice,” *Arte Veneta* 37 (1983): 1–38.
69. *Ibid.*, 30–31.
70. On appliqués in Limousin objects, see I. Biron, P. Dandridge, and M. T. Wypyski, “Techniques and Materials in Limoges Enamels,” in Boehm and Taburet-Delahaye, *Enamels of Limoges* (note 37), 52–53. On the fusion of painting and sculpture, see B. D. Boehm, “Opus Lemovicense: The Taste for and Diffusion of Limousin Enamels,” in *ibid.*, 41–42. For Limoges enamels in Italy, see *ibid.*, 44.
71. Ciatti, “L’immagine antica” (note 6), 23; M. Collareta, “Qualche coordinata per muoversi tra i materiali esposti,” in Burrelli and Calecca, *Cimabue a Pisa* (note 9), 95–96; G. Davis, “The Culture of Relief in Late Medieval Tuscany,” in *Depth of Field: The Place of Relief in the Time of Donatello*, ed. P. Curtis (Leeds, 2004), 13–17. Jannic Durand (“Precious-Metal Icon Revetments” [note 8], 245) has suggested, for example, that the extensive use of metal revetment in late Byzantium might have something to do with the concomitant interest in relief sculpture.
72. The passage is translated and discussed in N. Ben-Aryeh Debby, “The Preacher as Goldsmith: The Italian Preachers’ Use of the Visual Arts,” in *Preacher, Sermon, and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. Muessig (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2002), 127–28. See also R. W. Southern, ed., *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer* (Edinburgh, 1962), 38.
73. Collareta, “Qualche coordinata” (note 71), 96 fig. 4.
74. For sculptural effects purposefully sought in panel painting, see Folda, “Image to Altarpiece” (note 62), 134–35.
75. Jones, “Visio Divina” (note 1), 44–48; H. Van Os, *Sienese Altarpieces, 1215–1460*, 2 vols. (Groningen, 1984), 1:13–15.

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THE ILLUMINATOR OF W.205

ROBERT SCHINDLER

Illuminated manuscripts that were produced in Bourges or at least for use in that diocese around the third quarter of the fifteenth century have never been properly examined. Those that survive show a stylistic variety that has so far been difficult to elucidate. Adding another, previously unknown, stylistic tendency or artist to the local production in that city, therefore, enriches our understanding of the matter as much as it complicates it. The case in question is a book of hours in Baltimore (Walters Art Museum, MS W.205), which has received no further attention beyond Lilian Randall's detailed description in her catalogue of the Walters' French and South Netherlandish manuscripts.¹ It is modest in size, measuring only 111 × 830 mm, but features forty-nine miniatures, each set in a full border with floral designs and drolleries. The selection of texts is standard. Noteworthy is the fully illustrated hours of the Cross, instead of one opening image, and one large miniature for each of the twenty-four suffrages. The hours were made for the use of Rome, the office of the dead is for the use of Bourges, and the litany features Bourges saints. A female suppliant is indicated in the *Obsecro Te*, and a prayer in Italian and Latin added in the late fifteenth or sixteenth century mentions the name *Baptistina*. Beyond that, the early provenance escapes us.

The style of W.205 is somewhat crude, and while distinct and easily recognizable, it has been difficult to contextualize (figs. 1, 2). Randall believed that it displayed affinities to manuscript illumination in Tours and Bourges, particularly to the so-called Masters of Morgan 96 and Morgan 366—more recently studied under the name Master of Jean Charpentier—and places the book within the wider context of Jean Fouquet's followers.² Randall also thought that W.205 reused compositions by Fouquet. The Madonna lactans on fol. 22, she noted, reflects Fouquet's version of this subject in his Hours of Étienne Chevalier, and the lamb that places its forelegs in the lap of a shepherdess (fig. 1) is also found

in a manuscript in Lyon that was once discussed as an early work by Fouquet.³ While neither the stylistic link nor the presumed compositional interdependence is sufficiently conclusive to localize the Walters' book with any certainty, these findings can now be substantiated and specified through comparisons with manuscripts in Paris and Los Angeles.

The first manuscript is a copy of Plautus's *Comedies*, today at the Bibliothèque nationale.⁴ The decoration of the Plautus manuscript is unfinished; only fols. 2r and 26r were executed (figs. 3, 4), introducing the texts of *Amphitruo* and *Asinaria*, respectively. The opening illustration to *Amphitruo* on fol. 2r shows multiple scenes simultaneously: in the center foreground of the miniature Jupiter appears to Alcmena disguised as her husband Amphitryon and seduces her; a scene on the left likely shows Alcmena, having just given birth to her two children, as they are presented by maids to their fathers, Amphitryon and Jupiter; Jupiter's son Mercury stands next to Amphitryon's slave Sosia on the right; and at the top, Amphitryon returns from battle on a ship in the distance. As in W.205, stiff, rather two-dimensional figures with odd proportions populate these scenes, while disguised landscapes are dominated by repetitive and formulaic trees and hills. A salient aspect of this style, as it appears in both manuscripts, is the reliance on drawing; distinctive contours set figures, architecture, and landscape apart. Barely any attention is paid to the characterization of different materials, whether fabric or stone. The palette, in accordance with the French tradition, consists predominantly of blues, reds, and greens, complemented by shades of brown and gray. Gold is used lavishly (and arbitrarily) for modeling drapery folds as well as for highlights on elements of the architecture and landscape.

According to its colophon, the Plautus was written in 1469 by Philibert Debest, canon of the cathedral of Bourges: "Hunc librum ego Philibertus Debest, canonicus Bituricensis, scripsi



et compleui in uigilia Ascensionis M.CCCC.LXIX.”⁵ Little is known about Debest. He wrote another copy of the *Comedies* made for Denis de Bar (†1517), whose ecclesiastical career began as a member of the chapter of Bourges cathedral and who subsequently became bishop of Saint-Papoul in 1468, of Tulle in 1472, and again of Saint-Papoul in 1495. Debest was also responsible for a copy of Juvenal’s *Satires*, which belonged to Jean Cœur (1421–1483), archbishop of Bourges and son of the famous Bourges merchant Jacques Cœur. Furthermore, Debest is thought to have been the scribe of Caesar’s *De bello gallico* written in 1461 for Charles of France, duke of Berry and younger son of King Charles VII.⁶ Conveniently, the provenance of all of these manuscripts points to Bourges, confirming Debest’s ties to this city.

The second manuscript is J. Paul Getty Museum, ms 68, datable to ca. 1465 (fig. 5). It contains two texts written in 1444 by the Italian humanist and later pope Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pius II): *The Tale of Two Lovers* and *The Misery of Courtiers*. This manuscript is remarkable for many reasons,



one of which is that it is the only surviving manuscript copy of both texts illustrated with a miniature cycle. Its eleven miniatures are by a very talented yet largely unknown artist named the Master of Enea Silvio Piccolomini after this volume.⁷ Significantly, three marginal figures in the border of fol. 23r of this manuscript are obviously based on the same pattern as three in the Walters’ hours: a roaring lion, whose tail bends forward between his hind legs, crouches in the lower-left corner of the border surrounding the Annunciation to the Shepherds (fig. 6). The same creature with slightly less detail, but also showing the odd position of the tail appears in mirror image in the border of the Getty manuscript (fig. 7). The green fantastic animal facing the lion obviously relates in the same way to the brown drollery in the lower-right corner of the Walters’ page, although the hind leg’s thigh has become a disproportionately large knee (compare figs. 6 and 7). In addition, the border of fol. 58r shows a man wielding a club or another such weapon over his head and carrying a shield in front of him. He seems to be charging an unseen enemy as he steps forward (fig. 8). Again in mirror image, this figure reappears in the Getty Piccolomini, where a sword replaces the club (fig. 9). A similar figure also features in the lower-left corner of the border surrounding the Entombment on fol. 103r of the Walters’ book, only here, like his counterpart in the Getty manuscript (fig. 10), he carries a sword. In all three cases the figures’ poses are nearly identical, suggesting that they are based on the same patterns.

The style of the charging man in the border of the Getty manuscript is different from that of its miniatures. This is particularly apparent in the palette, the use of marked contours in shades of the color enclosed (instead of black), the

Fig. 1 (opposite top left). Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.205, fol. 58r

Fig. 2 (opposite top right). The Walters Art Museum, w.205, fol. 103r

Fig. 3 (opposite bottom left). Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16234, fol. 2r

Fig. 4 (opposite bottom right). Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 16234, fol. 26r

Fig. 5 (left). Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, ms 68, fol. 23r



Fig. 6 (left). The Walters Art Museum, w.205, fol. 58r, detail.



Fig. 7 (right). The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 68, fol. 23r, detail

Fig. 8 (left). The Walters Art Museum, w.205, fol. 58r, detail



Fig. 9 (center). The J. Paul Getty Museum, MS 68, fol. 23r, detail



Fig. 10 (right). The Walters Art Museum, w.205, fol. 103r, detail



difficulty in conveying the correct anatomy, and relative lack of depth in the figures. In addition, all the borders seem to be by the same hand, except the one on fol. 1. Here, a different color scheme, a different arrangement of the acanthus branches, and a distinctly different painterly treatment of the individual floral details and drolleries set this border apart from all the others. It seems reasonable to assume that the main artist, i.e., the Piccolomini Master, painted this first border while the remaining borders were outsourced to another artist. Who this second artist is remains difficult to determine, but his style bears resemblance to that of the Walters' manuscript and the Plautus. Although it is doubtful that the illuminator of w.205 was himself called upon to collaborate on the Getty book—the hindleg of the drollery mentioned above and the left leg of the charging man testify to his fundamentally different understanding

of anatomy—his patterns were obviously accessible. A connection seems possible, because the Piccolomini manuscript was made for the same Charles of France who owned the previously mentioned *Caesar* attributed to Philibert Debest.⁸ Charles, who became duke of Berry in 1461, was born at the Royal chateau in Mehun-sur-Yèvre near Bourges, which remained his main residence until 1465. The Walters' book and the Getty Piccolomini may have, therefore, both been produced in Bourges.

In terms of style, certain similarities to the so-called Mamerot Master are worth mentioning.⁹ The Mamerot Master's tendency to stack landscape elements, especially round stones, and his extensive use of highlights resembles these features in the miniatures of w.205. Moreover, the affinities that Randall observed between the Madonna lactans in w.205 and Fouquet's composition from the Chevalier

Hours, mentioned earlier, are even more evident in a miniature by the Mamerot Master from a book of hours in the Huntington Library.¹⁰ Here, the position of the infant on Mary's lap is virtually identical. Judging from some thirty surviving manuscripts in the Mamerot style, he worked in Tours and Bourges or at least for a clientele based there, with a possible sojourn in Troyes.¹¹

With respect to the place of w.205 within the context of Bourges illumination, a few general remarks will have to suffice.¹² It seems that after the time of Jean, duke of Berry, manuscript production in Bourges—with few exceptions—did not flourish, unlike in other centers of the Loire Valley such as Angers or Poitiers.¹³ Even the presence of the so-called king of Bourges, Charles VII, did not lead to a significant increase of the local production. It was not until the patronage of Jacques Cœur around 1450 and of Charles of France during the first half of the 1460s that we can trace a number of artists working in this city. Much of their work seems lost, but it appears that stylistic heterogeneity and a strong foreign, Flemish influence are characteristic of their work. The most important illuminator before the appearance of Jean Colombe and his workshop at the end of the 1460s was unquestionably the Master of Charles de France, whose eponymous work is Charles's book of hours. Confused with Jean Fouquet by early scholars, he was either an immigrant from Flanders or trained in a Flemish style.¹⁴ And while the Walters illuminator might have known compositions by Fouquet, more interestingly, the motif of the lamb and the shepherdess reappears in a book of hours in private hands, painted by the Master of Charles of France.¹⁵ Fouquet, in turn, was the defining influence on Colombe, the Mamerot Master, and to a lesser extent also the Master of Jean Charpentier. The impact of Fouquet on w.205 on the other hand is much less apparent—in terms of quality, composition, and style. Grouping the Walters' book with the Paris Plautus and the Getty Piccolomini thus introduces yet another facet to our understanding of the production of illuminated manuscripts in Bourges during the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

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NOTES

1. For a comprehensive description, see L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, 3 vols. (Baltimore, 1989–97), II.2: 228–33.
2. *Ibid.*, 231–32. Randall recognizes stylistic variations within the book and suggests a possible workshop situation. For the Morgan Masters/the Master of Jean Charpentier, see F. Avril, “Manuscrits à peintures d’origine française à la Bibliothèque nationale de Vienne,” *Bulletin Monumental* 134 (1976): 329–38, esp. 335; J. Plummer and G. Clark, eds., *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530, from American Collections* (exh. cat., New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1982), 44–46, with w.205 briefly mentioned on p. 46; F. Avril and N. Reynaud, eds., *Les manuscrits à peintures en France, 1440–1520* (exh. cat., Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1993), 288–90; and C. Yvard, “Un livre d’heures inédit du XV^e siècle à la Chester Beatty Library de Dublin,” *Art de l’enluminure* 19 (2006–7): 2–65, esp. 19–20.
3. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (above, note 1), II.2: 231. For a reproduction of Fouquet's Madonna lactans, see F. Avril, ed., *Jean Fouquet: Peintre et enlumineur du XV^e siècle* (exh. cat., Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 2003), 197. The Lyon manuscript is Bibliothèque municipale, ms 6022, fol. 77v; see E. König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450: Der Jouvenel-Maler, der Maler des Genfer Boccaccio und die Anfänge Jean Fouquets* (Berlin 1982), 94–101, esp. 98–101, color pl. 5.
4. Lat. 16234. See M. Buonocore, ed., *Vedere i Classici: L'illustrazione libraria dei testi antichi dall' eta romana al tardo medioevo* (exh. cat., Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1996), 404–6; C. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, 7 vols. (Paris, 1959–81), 3:517, pl. CLXXXVI; J. Demarcq, “La relation texte-image,” in A. Zali, ed., *L'aventure des écritures: La page* (exh. cat., Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1997), 163–87, esp. 164 and 172.
5. Fol. 131. See Samaran and Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine*, 3:517.
6. The manuscripts are Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7893 (Plautus); lat. 17902 (Juvenal, a fragment from this manuscript is Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. C. 219.3; see É. Pellegrin, “Manuscrits de l’abbaye de Saint-Victor et d’anciens collèges de Paris à la Bibliothèque municipale de Berne, à la bibliothèque Vaticane et à Paris,” *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 103 [1942]: 69–98, esp. 90); lat. 5769 (Caesar). See Buonocore, *Vedere i Classici* (above, note 4), 404. (The Plautus is cited incorrectly therein as lat. 7993. François Avril kindly clarified this oversight in communication with the author.)
7. T. Kren, *French Illuminated Manuscripts in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 2007), xxii–xxiv, 89–93; S. Schwam-Baird, “The Letters of Lucretia and Euryalus in Text and Image: An

- Illuminated Manuscript of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's Story of Two Lovers," *Medieval Perspectives* 22 (2007): 176–202; E. König, "35 Stundenbücher aus Paris und den französischen Regionen im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert," *Leuchtendes Mittelalter* n.s. 6, cat. no. 8 (2009): 144–45; R. Schindler, "Das Manuskript 74 G 27 der Königlichen Bibliothek in Den Haag," in E. König, ed., *100 Bilder der Weisheit: Originalgetreue Faks.-Ed. der Bilderhandschrift Ms 74 G 27 der Königlichen Bibliothek der Niederlande in Den Haag* (Simbach am Inn, 2009), 108–48, esp. 116–18.
8. For a biography of Charles of France, see H. Stein, *Charles de France: Frère de Louis XI* (Paris, 1919). Apart from the Getty manuscript, the Piccolomini Master contributed three miniatures to a book of hours today in a private collection, in which he collaborated with an older artist from Rouen, and he was commissioned to illustrate a copy of Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea* apparently owned by Jacques d'Armagnac, duke of Nemours. See E. König, "Vom Heiligen Ludwig zum Sonnenkönig: 34 Werke der Französischen Buchmalerei aus Gotik, Renaissance und Barock," *Leuchtendes Mittelalter*, n.s. 3, cat. no. 15 (2000): 242–53 for the Rouen book of hours. The copy of *Epistre Othea* is The Hague, Royal Library, MS 74 G 27; see König, *100 Bilder der Weisheit* (above, note 7).
 9. Already mentioned in passing by Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (above, note 1), II.2: 232, who refers to the Yale Missal, New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 425, which was made for use in the diocese of Bourges. The artist is named after the copy of Sebastian Mamerot's *Histoire des neuf preux et des neuf preuses* today in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, cod. 2577–78, on which he collaborated with Jean Colombe. He is occasionally also called the Master of the Yale Missal.
 10. San Marino, California, Huntington Library, HM 1143, fol. 32. For a reproduction, see www.digital-scriptorium.org.
 11. For manuscripts by him, see Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France* (above, note 2), 152–55; Plummer and Clark, *The Last Flowering* (above, note 2), 50–53; and J. Stratford, "Un livre d'heures inconnu et le rayonnement de Jean Fouquet," *Revue de l'Art* 135 (2002): 93–105, esp. 94.
 12. For an account of manuscript illumination in Bourges in this period, see Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France* (above, note 2), 157–63, 325.
 13. See, for example, E. König, *Französische Buchmalerei um 1450* (above, note 3), and V. Day, "Manuscript Production in Fifteenth-Century Poitiers" (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1993).
 14. The origin of the Master of Charles of France is a matter of much discussion. For the Hours of Charles of France (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 473) and the artist, see Avril and Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France* (above, note 2), 160–62. Otto Pächt recognized the Annunciation in Clitheroe (Lancashire), Stonyhurst College, MS 38, fol. 40 as an early, pre-Italian work by Fouquet, see "Die Autorschaft des Gonella-Bildnisses," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 70 (1974): 39–88, esp. 82–85.
 15. See Sotheby's London, April 21, 1998, lot. 36. The shepherdess is in the border of fol. 63; see the auction catalogue for a reproduction. Other miniatures in the book can be attributed to the Master of the Échevinage of Rouen and the Master of the Geneva Boccaccio.
- PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS: Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris: figs. 3, 4; The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles: figs. 5, 7, 9; The Walters Art Museum, Susan Tobin: figs. 1, 2, 6, 8, 9

DIVINITY IN THE DETAILS

MINIATURIZATION AND MEDITATION IN A PASSION CYCLE BY JOHANNES WIERIX

BENJAMIN C. TILGHMAN

Although the collection of manuscripts at the Walters is best known for its illuminated manuscripts from medieval Europe, particularly books of hours, there are a great number of books that fall outside that geographical and temporal range, including several made in early modern Europe. Among these is w.722, a small book of drawings by Johannes Wierix (1549–ca. 1618).¹ Although published as an appendix item in Lilian Randall's catalog of Belgian manuscripts in the Walters, the volume has largely escaped scholarly notice, finding no mention in either of the two studies dedicated to Wierix's work as a draftsman.² The purpose of this essay is thus twofold: first, to bring to light a singular work by an important artist; and second, to consider it in the context of early modern devotional practice and in the process introduce some new thoughts about how art historians might approach the phenomenon of small art.

The book contains sixteen parchment leaves, each containing a single drawing of a scene from Christ's Passion in brown ink on its verso, starting with the Last Supper and ending with the Crucifixion; it appears to be in its original binding.³ The book is distinctive both in its size, only 83 mm by 103 mm, and in its orientation in landscape format, which gives the strong impression that this is not so much a manuscript as a volume of bound drawings. Framed blank spaces on the recto of each leaf seem at first glance to be spaces for a text of some sort, perhaps to be added later by

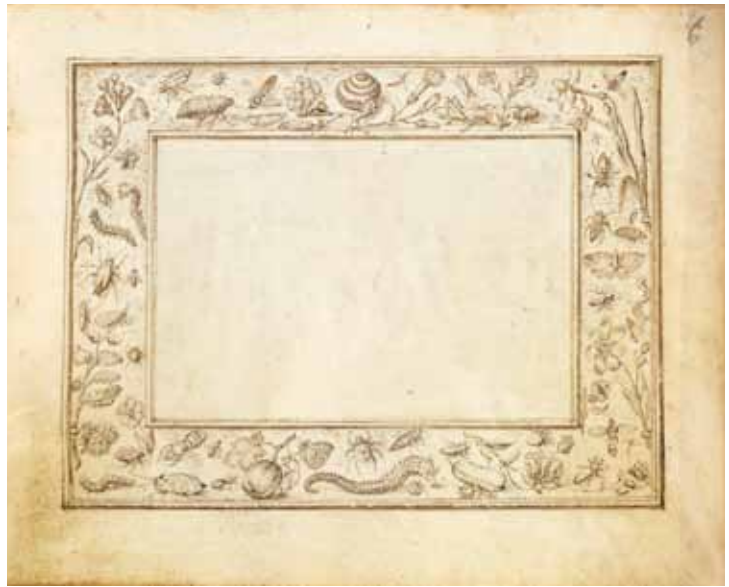


Fig. 1. Johannes Wierix, blank page with marginalia, from *Passion Cycle*, ca. 1590. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum (w.722, fol. 6r) (actual size)

a scribe or the subsequent owner (fig. 1). We might imagine that the images and missing text would have interacted in a manner similar to contemporary emblem books such as the *Humanae salutis monumenta* of Benito Arias Montanus, for which Wierix cut the plates.⁴ Books such as Montanus's, however, largely set the text on the left and the image on the right, whereas in the Walters volume, each opening has a Passion scene on the left and blank space on the right. More problematic is the fact that w.722 begins with a blank page, and ends with the scene of the Crucifixion facing the endleaves; perhaps the text on the recto of a leaf would introduce the image on its verso, but this, too, would have been an unusual arrangement for the time. The vellum is very thin, meaning that show-through would have been a problem, and the blank spaces show no ruling lines nor any other preparation for writing. It seems likely, therefore, that the volume was conceived as a picture book from the outset.

As a bound book, w.722 is singular among Wierix's surviving works. All but three of the two hundred and fifty or so drawings signed by or attributed to Wierix are preserved in albums or as loose leaves.⁵ Among his other drawings are several biblical series, including three sets of scenes from Genesis and five other Passion cycles, but they are preserved as loose leaves; it is not apparent whether these series were once bound together, as the Walters volume is, or always existed as separate leaves.⁶ Modern scholars have tended to treat

Fig. 2 (right). Wierix, Christ before Pilate, from Passion Cycle, w.722, fol. 8v

Fig. 3 (bottom). Jacob Hoefnagel (engraver) after Joris Hoefnagel, “Quid dignum tanto . . .,” from *Archetypa studiaque patris* (Frankfurt: n. p., 1592), engraving, 150 × 205 mm. London, British Museum, 1860,0310.4.42

Wierix’s drawings primarily as cabinet pieces, collected and admired in their time for their virtuoso displays of intricate detail and delicate craftsmanship. The Walters volume, I will argue, complicates that perception, and provides evidence that Wierix, while certainly concerned to flaunt his technical prowess, also conceived of his drawings as aids to meditation.

Perhaps the best indication of the artist’s own desire to flaunt his skills can be found in the margins, which are filled with delicate acanthus scrolls, devices, and naturalistic renderings of flowers, insects, and small animals. Many of these last items, such as the little mouse with its back to us below the scene of Christ before Pilate, were evidently copied directly from the *Archetypa studiaque patris*, engraved by Jacob Hoefnagel after drawings by his father, Joris (figs. 2, 3).⁷ By copying motifs out of a work that was famous in its own time for its striking technical achievement, Wierix is clearly making a statement about his own abilities. Virtuoso technique in an artwork, however, does not preclude meaning, and the Hoefnagels’ naturalistic renderings were often accompanied by quotations or distichs that set them firmly in the humanist tradition of emblemata.⁸ The verses at top on the page featuring the mouse come from Horace:

Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?
Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

(What will this promiser produce worthy of such jawing?
The mountains are in labor; and a ridiculous mouse
will be born.)⁹

In the context of Wierix’s drawing, we might take the mouse as a way of highlighting Pilate’s inflated sense of himself in presuming to judge the highest king. More broadly, garden imagery in paintings and in the margins of books has been linked directly to the meditative tradition, particularly as it pertains to devotional visionary texts, and such an association should also be considered here.¹⁰



Whether the primary purpose of the marginalia was to display the artist’s skill or to provide spiritual meaning, the subject matter of the book places it fully within the milieu of contemporary religious books, such as the *Humanae salutis monumenta*, printed books of hours, and most directly Jerome Nadal’s *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* for which Wierix also cut several plates.¹¹ The beauty and refinement of these works was seen not as an end in itself but as a means to fostering a deeper engagement with the spiritual matters they addressed. In his foreword to the *Adnotationes et meditationes*, Jacobus Ximinez argued for the necessity of including prints of the highest quality, so that

the elegance and the beauty of the workmanship together with the greatest sanctity and excellence of theme,



Fig. 4. Wierix, the Agony in the Garden, from Passion Cycle, w.722, fol. 3v

conjoined as well with the greatest piety of subject, should urge all to study and reflection by means of assiduous meditation; [therefore,] it was altogether necessary that several most excellent artificers apply themselves to so exceptional a task in order that the image of those very Gospels be new and seem to draw breath.¹²

Finely made art is thus a handmaiden of spiritual enlightenment, not only by attracting study through its beautiful form, but also by giving the subject matter greater immediacy and vitality.

The drawings in the Walters volume may have served not only to attract and encourage contemplation of the subject matter, but also to aid directly in the practice of that contemplation. Finely detailed drawings such as these engender in the beholder a desire to look at them carefully and attend to each constituent part. Such careful looking reflects the kind of meticulous visualization encouraged in devotional literature. Two late medieval texts in particular, the *Meditationes de vita Christi* of Pseudo-Bonaventure and the *De vita Christi* of Ludolph of Saxony, both widely read and cited into the early modern period, emphasize the importance of imagining the life of Christ in very fine detail.¹³ Ludolph, for example, regularly exhorts his readers to “vividly imagine yourself present,” and renders every scene through rich, sometimes voluminous, description. The rise of highly descriptive meditational literature in the later Middle Ages has long been associated with the anecdotal details that fill religious pictures



Fig. 5. Wierix, Crucifixion, from Passion Cycle, w.722, fol. 16v

in late medieval northern Europe, and these drawings may be seen as continuing that tradition.¹⁴ The rendering of the Agony of the Garden on folio 3v (fig. 4), for example, is rich with narrative texture. Christ’s stance conveys both apprehension and acceptance as he gazes upon the angel. The sleeping apostles are tenderly represented, but the sword in Peter’s hand foreshadows the conflict to come, as does the approaching troop of soldiers at center right. The landscape modulates from rolling meadow at right to dark woods and craggy rocks at left, offset by the billowing clouds surrounding the angel. The votary beholding the scene is thus encouraged to reflect on every last detail, ideally compelling himself to feel more deeply the conflicting emotions of the event.

While any art containing fine detail will attract sustained and careful looking, very small works, seeming both intimate and preternatural, call particular attention to the exquisite care required in their making. A curious thing about diminutive art, however, is that it often fails to deliver the great detail that seemed apparent at first glance.¹⁵ Just as, in Susan Stewart’s words, “language describing the miniature always displays the inadequacy of the verbal,” diminutive art also lays bare the limits of human skill at pictorial representation.¹⁶ When viewed very closely, diminutive art reveals itself to rely just as much—perhaps more—on the artist’s skill at evocation as it does on his skill at depiction. Most small works achieve their effect through a few deft strokes of the pen or daubs of paint that suffice to conjure the idea of an object. Consider the countenances of Christ

and others in the Crucifixion (fig. 5): the faces of the sorrowful but acceptant Virgin, the devoted John, and the curious multitude are suggested through just a few well-placed lines. The importance of the “beholder’s share” in all representational work of art has long been recognized, and is certainly not unique to diminutive scenes.¹⁷ What is particular to very small works is that they seem to promise much more than they are ultimately capable of delivering. A beholder, on taking a close look at what seems to be a perfectly rendered detail, cannot help but be made aware of the imaginative work he does to complete the image.¹⁸

The work required by the beholder in these scenes mirrors an important conceit of contemporary meditational tracts. Again and again in their writings, Pseudo-Bonaventure and Ludolph of Saxony insist that what they describe is not necessarily exactly what one should imagine, but is instead exemplary of how one *might* picture such events; ultimately, the reader should develop his or her own images. Reindert Falkenburg has examined the connection of contemporary meditative practice and the “beholder’s share” in early sixteenth-century panel paintings, but the link is also vividly evident in the miniatures found in several manuscripts associated with the Bellemare group.¹⁹ All of them present enigmatic and partial representations of biblical scenes, using both their own diminutive size and the even smaller scale of the illuminations to amplify the need for the beholder to reconstruct the scene in his mind’s eye. For example, w.446, a book of hours from about 1524, includes miniatures before each of the hours, but instead of the customary scenes of biblical figures and events, the beholder is confronted with an emblematic image, such as a torn fabric, through which can be glimpsed a hair shirt or a seraph holding a book (fig. 6).²⁰ At the top or top-right of each miniature are tiny figures, which, upon close inspection, reveal themselves to be those that usually preface the given prayer. For example, on folio 37v, we find a minute rendering of the Flight into Egypt. The scene is devoid of setting or context, and is so small that the figures can barely be discerned; it is only the context within the manuscript, and the familiar grouping of a figure in



Fig. 6. Bellemare Group, attr., Hair Shirt and Flight into Egypt, from a Book of Hours for the Use of Rome, ca. 1524. Ink, paint, and gold on parchment. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.446, fol. 37v (actual size)

blue riding an animal accompanied by another figure, that allows the beholder to identify it as such. The figures, then, must imaginatively be set within a landscape. The reverse case can be found in a related manuscript, measuring just 89 × 54 mm, in which the painted scenes are utterly devoid of figures. Here, the beholder is given the setting and must “think in” the holy personages.²¹

Two of Wierix’s drawings in the Walters volume indicate that he was concerned to activate the beholder’s imagination



Fig. 7 (above). Wierix, Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet, detail, from Passion Cycle, w.722, fol. 2v

Fig. 8 (right). Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet, detail, from Jerome Nadal, *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia* (Antwerp: M. Nutius, 1595), pl. 77. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, 92.193



by obscuring or withholding images. Consider first his rendering of the Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet (fig. 7), which features a tiny subsidiary scene visible through the doorway at top right. The subject of this scene is even harder to make out than those in w.446. The composition has close parallels to the corresponding engraving in Nadal's *Adnotationes et Meditationes*, from which Wierix seems to have derived several other scenes in the book (fig. 8). Many of the scenes in Nadal's book divide discrete narrative episodes by means of architecture, and Johannes apparently recognized the utility of this compositional device here. As opposed to Nadal's book, however, the scene through the doorway is barely visible in the Wierix version, even when viewed under magnification. A group of people sits around a table, and a few tiny lines radiating from the head of the person sitting at the far end of the table mark him as Jesus, although it should be noted that he is only occasionally depicted with a nimbus in the book. The vagueness of the scene is intriguing and wants identification, but, as has already been noted, this book contains no annotations or captions of any kind, so the beholder must infer the subject through context.²² On the previous folio, Christ and the disciples engage in excited conversation around the Paschal Lamb, and the succeeding folio features the Agony in the Garden. The Washing of the Feet appears only in John's Gospel, and is followed there by

Christ delivering a sermon to the disciples, so perhaps that is the scene in the background. In Nadal's narrative, however, the Washing of the Feet is followed by the institution of the Eucharist, and, since Wierix's book does not include that crucial scene anywhere else, it seems likely that that is what is depicted. Indeed, on close inspection, a chalice is just barely visible on the table, at the very limits of perceptibility.

A second reference to the limits of representation comes later in the book, in the scene of Christ on the Road to Calvary (fig. 9). Jesus, having stumbled, looks toward Veronica, who is holding a cloth. The Veronica Veil, made when Jesus pressed the cloth to his face and miraculously transferred his image onto it, was a paradigmatic example in physical form of spiritual vision, and was often cast as a representation of what the faithful would see when at last they beheld divinity face to face.²³ Here, Jesus's gaze is ambiguous—he may be looking out at the beholder or at the veil—and at first the moment is ambiguous as well, for it is unclear whether Veronica is offering the veil to Jesus or receiving it from him. On close inspection, however, the barest hint of the bottom of his beard is visible just under Veronica's arm.

In his preface to the *Adnotationes et Meditationes*, Nadal instructed his readers to think about the scenes before them “ex libera meditatione”—“by imaginative meditation”—and to personalize them to their own understanding.²⁴ This



Fig. 9. Wierix, Christ on the Road to Calvary, from Passion Cycle, w.722, fol. 14v

exhortation is both an echo of the earlier meditative tradition and a description of contemporary practice. As I have just noted, the beholder of Wierix's drawings is compelled to use his imagination on every page, but the obfuscation of two very potent images, the eucharistic wine and "vera icon" of Veronica's Veil, is particularly striking. The concealment of the Veronica Veil is unusual, and other instances where the veil is similarly obscured have also been interpreted as compelling beholders to rely on their mind's eye.²⁵ Similarly, the bread and wine of the Eucharist served throughout the late Middle Ages and early modern period as instances of theophany available to those who saw them elevated and displayed during the mass.²⁶ In the Wierix book, the beholder must create his own mental images of things that were understood to represent the real presence of Christ. A good example of this play between image and presence can be seen in the well-known print of the Mass of St. Gregory by Israhel van Meckenem, in which Christ's body obscures the representation of the Crucifixion in the altarpiece beyond, thus asserting the importance of real presence over images in devotion.²⁷ Significantly, Christ is situated on a vertical axis with the chalice at bottom and the Veronica at top, reinforcing the correlation of the two as equivalent theophanic objects. Peter Parshall has described how Meckenem's print, as well as others like it, is rooted in the early modern understanding of the *imago contrafacta*, an evidentiary image generated not by invention but out of

the real world.²⁸ By obscuring the two details that might be read as *contrafacta*, Wierix calls attention to the fact that the rest of the drawings are inventions. Wierix in fact marks himself as "inventor" on each of the drawings, and indeed specially emphasizes this point in the two scenes under consideration here, the only ones wherein his signature is centered; the juxtaposition of the artist's name with the moment of the Veronica being imprinted is particularly pointed.²⁹

It was often noted throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern era that the ultimate aim of the use of images in devotion should be to equip the votary for purely intellectual devotion, and that what redeemed images was their eventual failure.³⁰ Working with high detail on a very small scale, Wierix tests the human limits both of rendering and perceiving images and ultimately impresses upon the beholder the inevitability of such failure.

In something of a delightful paradox, drawings that evoke such wonder over their technical and artistic triumph can be seen to efface that achievement altogether.

If the apparent but somewhat illusory wealth of detail in Wierix's drawings thus serves to foster proper devotional practice, their very smallness shaped the beholder's experience in ways that could make the contemplative encounter more powerful and profound. In turning my attention to this phenomenological aspect of the book, I will now reflect on the embodied experience of looking through diminutive books and their texts and pictures, which can be seen to be particularly conducive to meditation.³¹

Looking at and reading a small book is a particular kind of activity. The difficulty of parsing text and image on such a scale, and simply of holding the book, means that one must remain very still. In addition, the tendency when beholding a diminutive book is to lean in and bring it close up to one's face so that it fills the field of vision, the better to read the writing, and discern the details of the pictures. In doing so, the body closes in on itself and becomes still, creating an interior space and generally shutting out the exterior world. The bodily stillness and mental concentration fostered by such a posture could be conducive to an absorptive experience.³² While this kind of absorption might, and has been, characterized as true of reading books of any kind, larger books still call for the beholder to move his head, and to keep the book at somewhat of a remove, whether on a table or in

one's lap.³³ Diminutive books, on the other hand, must be read and looked at with a bare minimum of movement. In a seeming contradiction, the embodied experience of looking at a miniature book is such that it can create the illusion of disembodiment for the votary, conjuring an experience that seems to be more purely of the eyes and the mind.³⁴ Simply through the way that they must be handled, diminutive books thus manipulate their readers into physically comporting themselves into a posture that is conducive to reflection and meditation.

Just as the diminutive book as an object elicits a particular kind of response from its beholder, the art within creates a viewing experience that may also serve to enrich the meditative experience. The activity of looking at and mentally moving through a tiny picture, particularly those images that incorporate a landscape or architectural space, can have the effect of altering one's perception of temporality, so that very brief periods of time may be experienced as much longer than they actually are. Recent research in the cognitive sciences has demonstrated a correlation between the relative scale of an image or architectural model and the subjective perception of time.³⁵ Generally, as a beholder inspects something on a small scale, particularly virtual spaces, he perceives time to move much more quickly than it in fact does, perhaps as fast as a ratio of six minutes perceived to every one minute actually elapsed.³⁶ Small images that depict complicated and richly inhabited spaces, such as the Agony in the Garden or Christ Washing the Apostles' Feet (figs. 4, 7), thus had the potential to make a votary feel that significantly more time had passed in the course of his reflections than actually had. In the context of religious devotions, such a disorienting experience could have felt mystically transportative, as though one had been removed from the course of earthly time and entered into a spiritual temporal realm. This effect would have been particularly profound in the context of books of hours, which mediated conceptions of time among daily, yearly, and Christian historical paradigms, or in later devotional sequences such as Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, which called for the votary to set aside long periods of time for spiritual work.³⁷

Especially small or tiny miniatures create not just the perception of alternate time, but an alternate space, as well. Leaning in to focus upon a miniature of the face of Christ such as that found in a book of hours of ca. 1500 (fig. 10), a pious Christian would have created an intimate place



Fig. 10. Christ, from a Book of Hours for the Use of Rome, ca. 1500–10. Ink, tempera, and gold on vellum. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.427, fol. 15v

inhabited only by herself and the object of her devotion, the better to form a real and personal connection with him.³⁸ Small architectural spaces serve to create intimate environments, both in domestic and in public architecture, and we can see the act of holding and reading a book as the creation of a temporary dwelling—mental and physical—for the votary and the object of devotion.³⁹ An association of smallness with intimacy and familiarity can also be perceived in the nearly universal linguistic tendency of using the diminutive forms of words as a sign of affection and close relationships, particularly in face-to-face oral communication: to conceive of someone in terms of smallness is to know that person well.⁴⁰ The connection between familiarity and diminution is one of the underlying reasons for the tradition of exchanging portrait miniatures, whether painted or photographed, between lovers.⁴¹ We see this relationship used to great effect in small portraits of holy figures, such as those by Simon Bening in the Walters' Stein Quadriptych, in which tight compositions within a compressed pictorial space create for the beholder an immediate intimacy with Christ and the Virgin (fig. 11).⁴² The particular focus in the Stein Quadriptych and in books of hours on the infancy



Fig. 11. Simon Bening and workshop, Scenes from the Life of the Virgin and the Infancy of Christ (the Stein Quadriptych), 1525–30. Paint and gold on vellum. Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, w.442, panel A

narrative is interesting in this regard, as intimate smallness is semantically connected with children and women both in language and in aesthetics.⁴³ The particular tenderness with which Bening, along with many other illuminators, rendered scenes of Mary and the infant Christ might thus be seen not only as reflecting the contemporary devotional interest in Mary and in Christ's early years, but also as capitalizing on the power of miniatures and scale to engender a greater feeling of intimacy with the subject. A compelling analogy in contemporary devotional writing is found in Henry Suso's (1300–66) sermon, "How he celebrated candlemas," which describes an encounter with the infant Christ:

He gazed into his pretty little eyes, he beheld his tiny little hands, he greeted his tender little mouth, and he touched the infant limbs of the heavenly treasure. And then he lifted up his eyes and exclaimed in his heart over the great miracle, *for the one who carries heaven is so great and yet so small . . .*⁴⁴

The smallness of the Christ-child is the source of initial delight for Suso, but the real wonder is that a nature so immense can be contained within such a diminutive form. Representations of Christ in miniature books would have bolstered this effect, both by exaggerating the smallness of his body, and perhaps also by inviting the beholder to contemplate the great wisdom and power encapsulated by the tiny book itself. Moreover, the experience of looking at such a book, of drawing it close until it fills the field of vision, so that it appears to become immense, and of feeling time stretch out into longer periods than actually have passed, also might have inspired reflections on paradoxes of scale, of vastness being seemingly encapsulated in miniature form. Within the Wierix volume, of course, the focus is on Christ as a full-grown man, not as an infant. But in miniaturizing his body in these drawings, the artist manages to emphasize another paradox, of the vulnerability of God in his incarnate form, and, by capitalizing on the feelings of intimacy engendered by the format, perhaps evoke in the votary a more tender response to his suffering.

Small art, though nearly ubiquitous in the arts of the world, continues to be largely ignored by art historians, both on an individual level and as a subgenre.⁴⁵ The reasons for this are several. Small works are often inexpensive, made in large numbers, and broadly consumed, and thus of less interest to a field that still organizes itself around major works;

the general neglect of netsuke would be an example of this prejudice. Those works of miniaturization that are of high quality and intrinsic value—such as Fabergé eggs—tend to be seen primarily as ostentatious displays of skill and luxury. The drawings by Wierix could be taken in this regard: we might imagine a wealthy patron who wished to own a cycle of Passion scenes that was not printed, but hand-drawn, and by one of the most technically achieved draftsmen of his day. I hope to have shown, however, that to view these drawings simply as showpieces is to underestimate not only their maker, but also their power.

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NOTES

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1. L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery, 3: Belgium, 1250–1530*, part 2 (Baltimore, 1989), app. 2, pp. 629–30. The Walters catalog entry states that the drawings were the work of Johannes along with his brother Hieronymus, presumably on the basis of the signature "H. W. Inventor" on folio 6v. In fact, Johannes sometimes signed with the initial "H." for "Hans," short for Johannes, and the book is entirely by his hand.
2. Z. van Ruyven-Zeman, "'Stuckxken met de penne': Drawings by the Engraver Johannes Wierix," *Master Drawings* 42:3 (Autumn 2004): 237–57; and Carl van de Velde, *Jan Wierix: The Creation and Early History of Man, 1607–8* (New York, 1990).
3. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 3: 629.
4. For an examination of the *Monumenta* as the first scriptural emblem book, see W. Melion, "Benedictus Arias Montanus and the Virtual Studio as a Meditative Place," in M. Cole and M. Pardo, eds., *Inventions of the Studio: Renaissance to Romanticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., and London, 2005), 73–107.
5. The exceptions are all to be found in a prayer book made for Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma: van Ruyven-Zeman, "'Stuckxken met de penne,'" 242.

6. Ibid.; van de Velde, *Creation and Early History of Man*, passim.
7. See T. W. Vignau-Schuurman, *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii, 1592: Natur, Dichtung und Wissenschaft in der Kunst um 1600 / Nature, Poetry and Science in Art around 1600* (Munich, 1994).
8. For a full discussion, T. W. Vignau-Schuurman, *Die emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels* (Leiden, 1969).
9. The verse below—"Parturiunt mures, nascetur terribilis mons/ Vidimus et culices magnos aequare gigantes"—is from the *Macaronea* of Tifi Odasi (Michele di Bartolomeo degli Odasi), and serves to amplify the satire of those who would presume themselves of great importance.
10. R. L. Falkenburg, *Fruit of Devotion: Mysticism and the Imagery of Love in Flemish Paintings of the Virgin and the Child, 1450–1550*, trans. Sammy Herman (Philadelphia, 1994); R. D. Hale, "'Taste and See, for God Is Sweet': Sensory Perception and Memory in Medieval Christian Mystical Experience," in *Vox Mystica: Essays on Medieval Mysticism in Honour of Professor Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. A. C. Bartlett, et al. (Cambridge, 1995), 3–14.
11. For a modern edition, see F. Homann, ed. and trans., Jerome Nadal, *Annotations and Meditations on the Liturgical Gospels, 2: The Passion Narratives* (Philadelphia, 2005). A good overview of sixteenth-century printed illustrated religious books, including Wierix's involvement in such projects, can be found in K. L. Bowen and D. Imhof, *Christopher Plantin and Engraved Book Illustrations in Sixteenth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, 2008).
12. W. Melion, "Artifice, Memory, and *Reformatio* in Hieronymous Natalis's *Adnotationes et Meditationes in Evangelia*," *Renaissance and Reformation* 22 (1998): 7.
13. Psuedo-Bonaventure, *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. M. Emmanuel (St Louis, 1934); M. Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian* (Washington, D.C., 1944); C. A. Conway, *The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centered on the Incarnation* (Salzburg, 1976).
14. J. H. Marrow, *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative* (Kortrijk, 1979). See also W. Melion, "Meditative Images and the Psychology of the Soul," in *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. R. Falkenburg, W. Melion, and T. M. Richardson (Turnhout, 2007).
15. Here and elsewhere in the essay, I use "diminutive" instead of the more common "miniature" because of the confusion arising from the use of the word also to refer to painted illustrations in manuscripts.
16. S. Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham, N.C., 1993), 52.
17. The phrase comes from E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (Princeton, 1969).
18. Within a different medium, this same effect is noted in R. Falkenburg, "Toys for the Soul: Prayer-Nuts and Pomanders in Late Medieval Devotion," in *A Sense of Heaven: Sixteenth-Century Boxwood Carvings for Private Devotion* (Leeds, 1999), 32–47.
19. R. Falkenburg, "Marginal Motifs in Early Flemish Landscape Painting," in *Herri met de Bles: Studies and Explorations in the World Landscape Tradition*, ed. N. Muller, J. Marrow, and B. Rosasco (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), 157–58. On the Bellemere group and related manuscripts, see the essays in *Prayers in Code: Books of Hours from Renaissance France*, ed. Martina Bagnoli, with contributions by Kathryn B. Gerry, Robert Schindler, and Abigail Quandt (Baltimore, 2009); and M. D. Orth, "Two Books of Hours for Jean Lallemand Le Jeune," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery*, 38 (1980): 70–93.
20. Bagnoli, *Prayers in Code*, 10–11, 68–69; Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, cat. 211, 540–49.
21. Bagnoli, *Prayers in Code*, 8, 64–66. I thank Rebecca Zorach for providing to me a draft version of a paper on this same manuscript.
22. This same activity is called for in viewing panel paintings. See Falkenburg, "Marginal Motifs."
23. On the Veronica, see, among others, *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, ed. H. L. Kessler and G. Wolf (Bologna, 1998); and G. Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel: Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance* (Munich, 2002).
24. W. Melion, "*Ex libera meditatione*: Visualizing the Sacrificial Christ in Jerónimo Nadal's 'Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels,'" in *The Passion of Christ*, ed. Marcia Kupfer (University Park, Pa., 2008), 91.
25. Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel*, 172–75. As with the Washing of the Feet, Wierix may have been inspired by the Carrying of the Cross in Nadal's *Adnotationes*, which also includes an ambiguous presentation of the veil.
26. See Wolf, *Schleier und Spiegel*, 65–86; M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).
27. F. Koreny and T. Falk, *Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings and Woodcuts*, vol. 24: *Israhel van Meckenem* (Amsterdam, 1986), no. 353.
28. P. Parshall, "*Imago contrafacta*: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554–79.
29. On Wierix's use of *inventor*, see J. Spicer, "The Role of 'Invention' in Art and Science at the Court of Rudolf II" *Studia Rudolphina* 5 (2005): 12–13.
30. B. L. Rothstein, *Sight and Spirituality in Early Netherlandish Painting* (New York, 2005), 56–57, 74–76; B. Scribner, "Popular Piety and Modes of Visual Perception in Late-Medieval and

- Reformation Germany,” *Journal of Religious History* 15 (1989): 448–69; C. Wood, “‘Curious Pictures’ and the Art of Description,” *Word & Image* 11 (1995): 332–52
31. In this I follow the tradition of the phenomenological interpretation of art, which has been inspired primarily by M. Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. C. Smith (New York, 1962). An excellent recent review of this strain of art historical interpretation is A. Boetzkes, “Phenomenology and Interpretation beyond the Flesh,” *Art History* 32 (2009): 690–711.
 32. In this stillness, the votary may have been imitating the spiritual rigidity of saints and other holy figures. See H. Maguire, *The Icons of Their Bodies: Saints and Their Images in Byzantium* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 84.
 33. For absorption in reading and in seeing, see M. Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago, 1980).
 34. On spiritual seeing in sixteenth-century Netherlandish art, see Rothstein, *Sight and Spirituality*. The aspiration to transcend one’s embodied experience and existence is a hallmark of Christian thought. For a critical take on this tradition and its hegemonic deployment in the Middle Ages, see S. F. Kruger, *The Spectral Jew: Conversion and Embodiment in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 2006).
 35. A. J. DeLong, “Phenomenological Space-Time: Toward an Experiential Relativity,” *Science* 213 (1981): 681–83; D. J. Bobko, P. Bobko, and M. A. Davis, “Effect of Visual Display Scale on Duration Estimates,” *Human Factors* 28 (1986), 153–58; C. T. Mitchell and R. Davis, “The Perception of Time in Scale Model Environments,” *Perception* 16 (1987): 5–16; and P. Zäch and P. Brugger, “Subjective Time in Near and Far Representational Space,” *Cognitive Behavioral Neurology* 21 (2008): 8–13.
 36. See DeLong, “Phenomenological Space-Time”; Bobko, Bobko, and Davis, “Effect of Visual Display Scale.”
 37. On concepts of time in books of hours, K. A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (London, 2003), 57–151.
 38. W.427, 101 × 70 mm; see Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 3 part 2: no. 290, pp. 480–86.
 39. G. Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. M. Jolas (Boston, 1969), 3–38
 40. D. Jurafsky, “Universal Tendencies in the Semantics of the Diminutive,” *Language* 72 (1996): 563.
 41. For sustained considerations of the creation of intimacy by miniature portraits, see P. Fumerton, “‘Secret’ Arts: Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets,” *Representations* 15 (1986): 57–97; and H. Grootenboer, “Treasuring the Gaze: Eye Miniature Portraits and the Intimacy of Vision,” *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006): 496–507.
 42. W.442, Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, 3 part 2, no. 298, pp. 539–48. The individual scenes in the Stein Quadriptych measure 68 × 52 mm, and may originally have been part of a prayer book; L. Ransom, “The Stein Quadriptych and the Pictorial *Vita Christi* Tradition in the Late Middle Ages,” lecture, Delaware Valley Medieval Association, Princeton, N.J., 11 December 2010. See also M. Kupfer-Tarasulo, “Innovation and Copy in the Stein Quadriptych of Simon Bening” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 42 (1979): 274–98. The classic discussion of the play of close-cropped imagery in narrative contexts is S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* 2d ed. (Doornspijk, 1984).
 43. On the linguistic connection, see Jurafsky, “Universal Tendencies,” 537–42; on the aesthetic relationships between women and smallness, see N. Schor, *Reading in Detail: Aesthetics and the Feminine* (New York, 1989); and A. Conway, *Private Interests: Women, Portraiture, and the Visual Culture of the English Novel, 1709–1791* (Toronto, 2010). The diminution of the feminine in many cultural traditions calls for further feminist critique; reference to it here should be seen not as an endorsement of the correlation, but simply a recognition that it is at play in these images.
 44. Emphasis added; quoted in U. Rublank, “Female Spirituality and the Infant Jesus in Late Medieval Dominican Convents,” *Gender and History* 6 (1994): 41.
 45. The single, and very important, exception to this is J. Mack, *The Art of Small Things* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007), which opens up several interesting avenues of research that deserve further study. The best recent survey of diminutive books is A. C. Bromer and J. I. Edison, *Miniature Books: Four Thousand Years of Tiny Treasures* (New York, 2007), which is an exhibition catalog aimed at a wide audience and conceived more as a survey than a critical assessment of the issues surrounding miniature books.

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