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and David Beringer*

BRUCE CHANDLER

CLARE VINCENT

The Tumuli at Sé Girdan

A Preliminary Report

OSCAR WHITE MUSCARELLA

Associate Curator of Ancient Near Eastern Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

ON AUGUST 25, 1936, Sir Aurel Stein completed a six-day excavation on the mound called Dinkha Tepe, situated in the Ushnu valley in northwestern Iran, and moved his camp about three miles to the east across the Gadar River to a location near the modern village of Cheshmé Göl. There he examined "a curious succession of conical mounds stretching in a straight line at short intervals, known as Seh Gird." Stein first thought that the mounds might be "a series of burial tumuli." After examining them and finding them to be composed of a hard gravel, the same type of soil found in the adjacent area, he concluded that they were "natural."¹ The mounds were, therefore, not excavated, and Stein moved his camp to another area.²

In the summer of 1966, the writer and Robert H. Dyson, Jr., accompanied by several members of the

Hasanlu Project excavating at Dinkha Tepe, visited the mounds and concluded that they were in fact tumuli and not natural formations. At that time nine tumuli were counted; in 1968 a total of eleven were recorded.³

The tumuli lie about five kilometers east of Dinkha Tepe and may be seen with the naked eye from that mound. They were built about one kilometer below and west of the foothills that form the eastern boundary of the valley. The most important site recognized in the immediate area is a recently discovered Urartian city located at a place in the same foothills now called Qalatgah, just slightly to the northeast (Figure 1).⁴ That site is known today in the area for a pair of magnificent springs that gush from the rocks and irrigate the fields below. All the tumuli are clearly

1. Sir Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London, 1940) pp. 376 ff.

2. Stein, *Old Routes*, p. 377. An old landlord from Cheshmé Göl told us that he remembered "a fat elderly American" (i.e. someone who spoke English) who came to the area with an Indian and his wife about 30 years ago after excavating at Dinkha. He also claimed that the Indian found two vessels in one of the tumuli. It would seem that these vessels must actually have come from one of the tepes sounded in the area by Stein (e.g. Stein, *Old Routes*, p. 377). Tumuli G and H show unmistakable signs of having been excavated to a limited extent, and they are probably the ones tested by Stein. However, two or three other tumuli also show signs of excavation, *infra*.

3. Tumulus K, the eleventh recorded in 1968, was recognized

as a tumulus by Christopher Hamlin while he was planning the site.

4. Qalatgah means "place of the fortress." The site was first visited by the author, Agha Z. Rahmatian, and two members of the staff, Christopher and Carol Hamlin, on August 31, 1968. We were guided by a local landlord who promised to show us the place where an inscribed stele was allegedly found in 1967. A major stretch of Urartian-type walls, Toprakkale-type pottery (highly polished red ware), and Iron III Iranian sherds were discovered. A second trip a week later led to the discovery of an Urartian inscription on a building stone and an Urartian stone stamp-cylinder seal. Collectively, the evidence suggests that Qalatgah is an Urartian site.



FIGURE 1

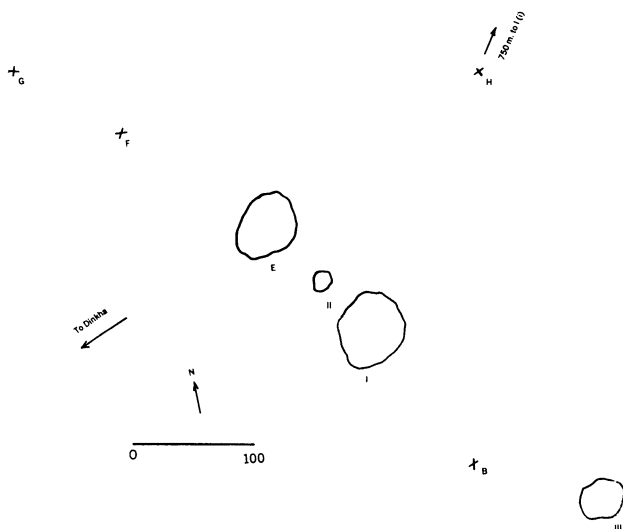
Tumuli I, E, and F, before excavation, right to left. Qalatgah lies to the left of and above the cluster of trees in the right background

visible from Qalatgah and also from the modern Nagadeh-Ushnu road, which passes just below at the base of the hills. The village of Cheshmé Göl lies about half a kilometer to the northwest of the tumuli.

In 1968 the Hasanlu Project, under the joint sponsorship of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and The Metropolitan Museum of

FIGURE 2

Plan of Sé Girdan showing Tumuli A to H. Four tumuli, A, C, D, and E, have been planned



Art, began a second campaign at Dinkha Tepe.⁵ Permission was generously granted by the Iranian Department of Antiquities to conduct a sondage at Sé Girdan. The aim of the sondage was to study the tumuli: the way they were constructed, the type of tombs they contained, and any evidence as to their date or the identity of the people who built them. No Iranian tumuli of the type found at Sé Girdan have hitherto been excavated or published. Any information provided by the sondage was certain, therefore, to be of some significance and interest in the study of the ancient history of Iran.

The area of the necropolis was first surveyed, and four tumuli were measured; the short time at our disposal precluded the measurement of the other seven tumuli. The letters A to K were assigned to the tumuli for the purpose of field identification; as they were selected for excavation, Roman numerals were assigned. Seven of the tumuli lie roughly in a straight line oriented northwest-southeast, extending over a distance of 600 meters (Figure 2). The four other tumuli lie to the north and northeast in no apparent order. Tumulus I (i) is 750 meters northeast of Tumulus H; Tumulus K is isolated about one kilometer east of Tumulus I (i), just off the modern road. A large, a medium, and a small tumulus were chosen for examination. In two of these tumuli, II and III (D and A), tombs were discovered and recorded, while in the other, I (C), excavation had to be suspended before a tomb could be located.

The main problem faced by the excavators was that the area surrounding each tumulus was part of a cultivated pea field. The excavated earth from all three

5. For a report on the first campaign, see R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Dinkha Tepe," in "Survey of Excavations in Iran During 1965-66," *Iran* 5 (1967) pp. 136 ff.; Oscar White Muscarella, "Excavations at Dinkha Tepe, 1966," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 25 (1966) pp. 16 ff.

The 1968 campaign was codirected by the author and Professor Robert H. Dyson, Jr. The author directed the work at Sé Girdan. He was ably assisted by Mr. Christopher L. Hamlin, who planned the site and contoured Tumuli I, II, III, and E; Mrs. Carol Hamlin, who excavated and planned Tumulus II; Miss Elizabeth Stone, who contoured Tumulus III; and Mr. Arthur Smith, who was the photographer. Agha Z. Rahmatian was our most cooperative inspector, who helped us in many ways. Agha Nozar Supheri was, as always, our right hand in all matters. Our foreman, Beshir, deserves much credit and thanks for his intelligence, honesty, and help, both to his Kurdish- and Turkish-speaking workers and to the excavation staff; through his endeavors we were able to accomplish much work in little time.



FIGURE 3
Tumulus II, partially excavated, in the foreground; Tumulus I in the background. Note the pea field and the dumps

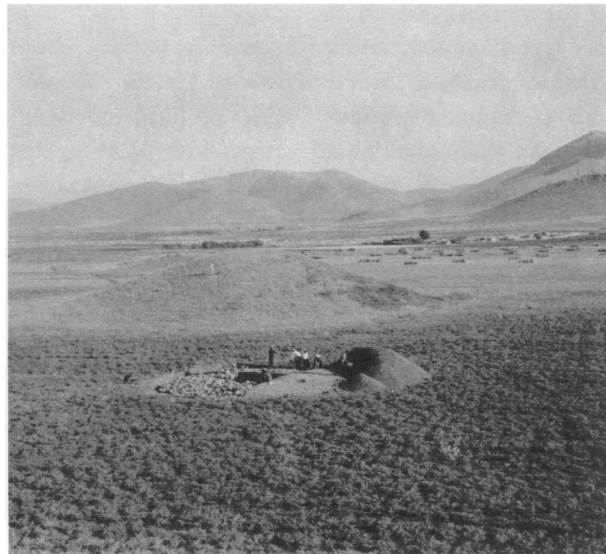


FIGURE 4
Tumulus II, during excavation, and Tumulus E. Cheshmé Göl may be seen in the upper right background. Photograph taken from the top of Tumulus I

tumuli had, therefore, to be deposited on their peripheries and on the unexcavated sections (Figures 3, 4). Moreover, because the pea field encroached on the tumuli, we were in no instance able to excavate the original outer border.

TUMULUS I

This is the largest tumulus at Sé Girdan (Figures 1, 2, 5): its height is 8.25 meters; its diameter, limited by an irrigation ditch and the pea field, measures about 60–65 meters. Figures 6, 7, 11 show the present border of the tumulus and the pea field. The tumulus was divided into quadrants using compass directions as dividing lines. The northwest quadrant was further subdivided into two sections, and the southern section was excavated. While excavation progressed in the main cut, four narrow test trenches were excavated around the tumulus (Figure 5).

The upper part of the tumulus fill was composed of a mixture of gravel and earth, characterized by masses of small pebbles (1 in Figure 7). Below this level the fill was composed of hard and firmly packed clay in combination with small pebbles, but not in the same

quantity as in the upper level (2 in Figure 7). After we reached this level, which continued until we suspended digging, work proceeded very slowly.⁶ A color change was noticed in the clay at a certain point, and there was also a lens of clay, but otherwise nothing distinctive about the density and composition of the clay could be detected (2A, 2B, and 2C in Figure 7). The color change may represent only different sources for the clay.

After some days of digging, vertical cleavages were noticed in the north–south scarp; the faces of some of these cleavages had a southeast, others a northeast, orientation penetrating into the undug scarp. At first it was assumed that these cleavages represented the drying and cracking of the clay in the sun, but soon other cleavages were noticed in the surface of the clay in the main cut. Work ceased for several days while these cleavage lines were cleaned and recorded. It was soon evident in the main cut that a series of roughly concentric circular units were present (Figures 7, 8, 9, 10), and moreover, the cleavages joined neatly with some

6. Each of the four strong pickmen found it necessary to strike the clay four to six times before a section could be removed. The clay seems to have been packed in while still wet.

of the vertical ones in the north-south scarp. Other cleavage lines were noticed in addition to the circular ones: longitudinal lines that divided the circular units into partitioned sections. Some of these partition-cleavage lines also joined neatly with some in the north-south scarp, thus explaining the different angles observed there for the vertical cleavages. Examination of the cleavages showed that there was a grain pattern on all the faces cleaned, indicating that wood fences, stockade-like, had at one time served to contain the clay and left their impressions upon it.

Valuable information is thereby supplied to us relating to the techniques employed in the erection of the tumulus. The builders first established roughly circular

FIGURE 5 Plan of Tumulus I

areas by means of wood fencing, and they subsequently subdivided these areas into irregular sections by means of wood partitions. After the spaces so divided were filled with clay, it would seem that all wood fences and partitions were removed, as no traces of such wood (other than the imprints) were found. Except for the change of color recognized in the scarp, no horizontal lines were visible; moreover, the vertical cleavages in the scarp uniformly pass through the area of the color change. We must, therefore, assume either that the fences and partitions were fairly high or that they were

FIGURE 6
Section of test trench 1, Tumulus I

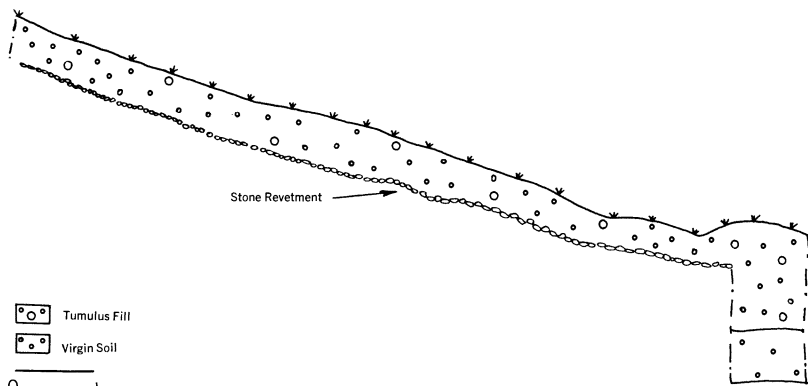
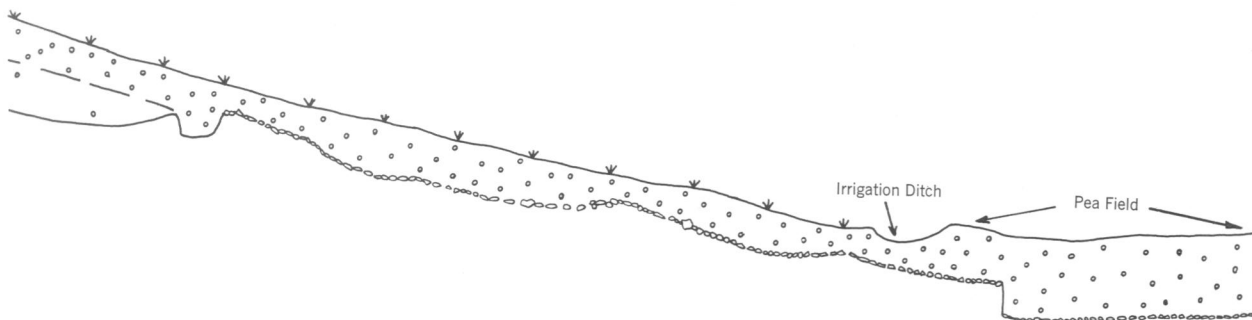
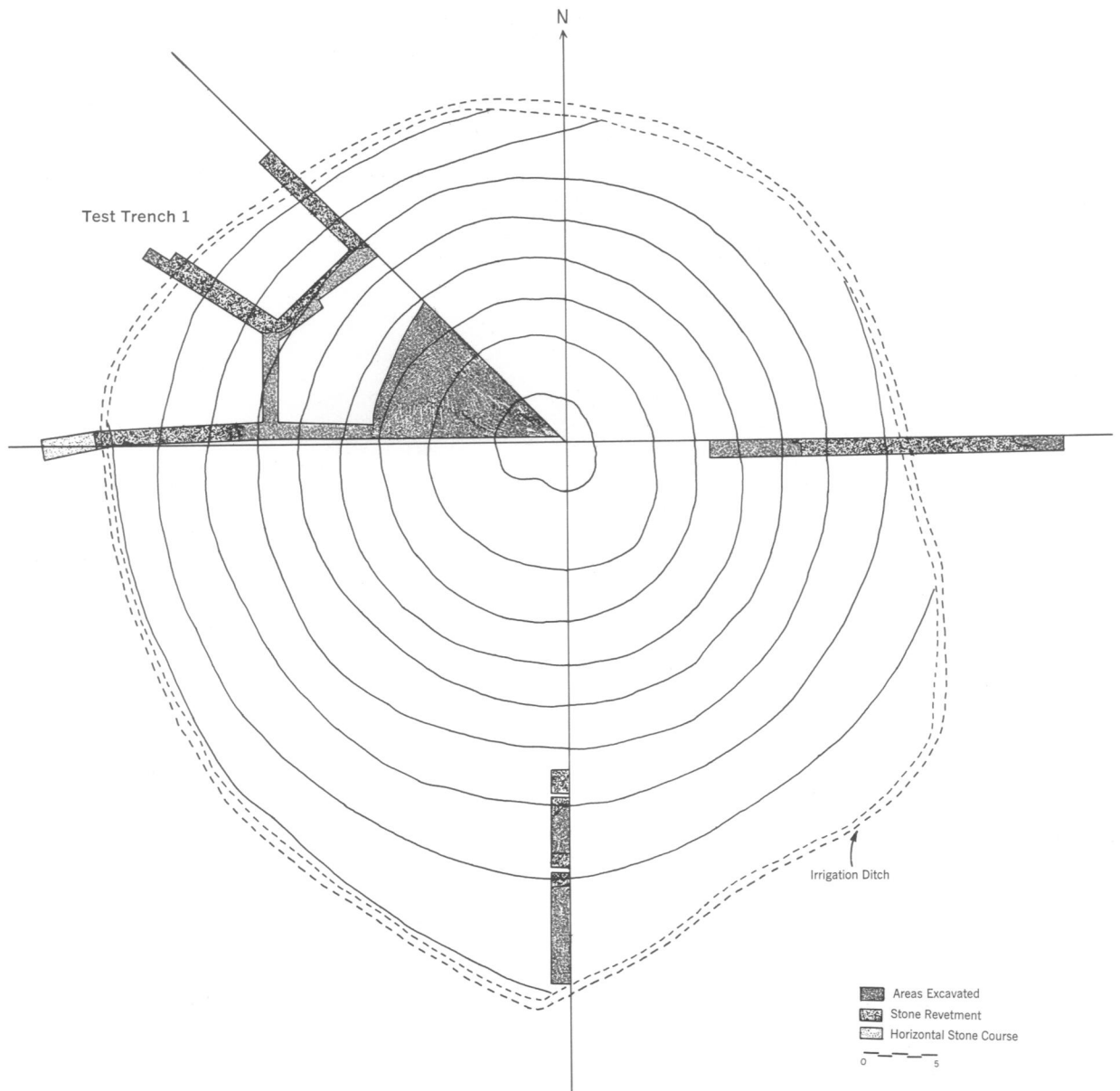


FIGURE 7
East-west section of the northwest quadrant, Tumulus I



Gravel, Earth
Clay
Cleavages



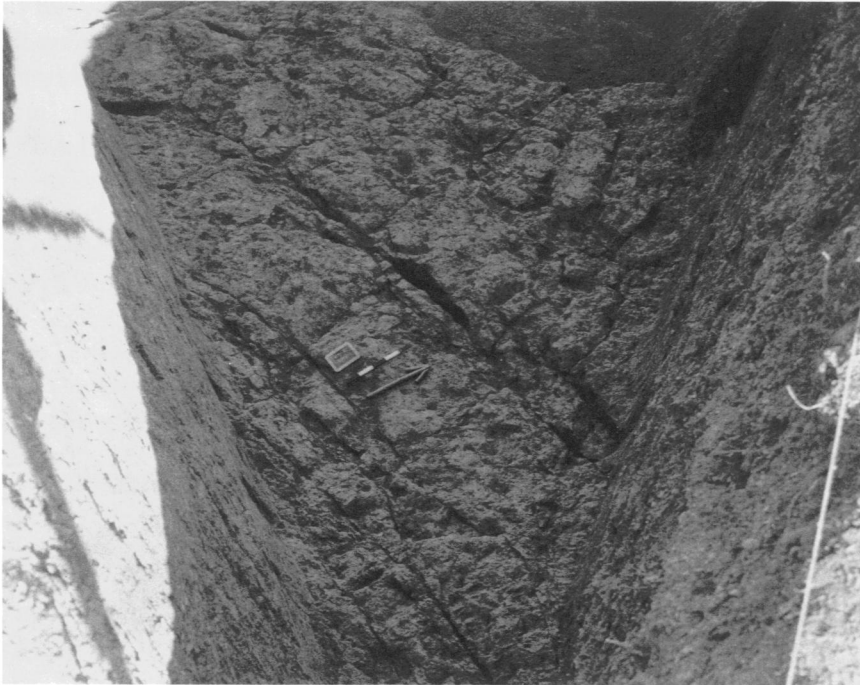


FIGURE 8
Circular cleavages in the
surface of the main cut,
Tumulus I. Photograph taken
from the top center of the
tumulus

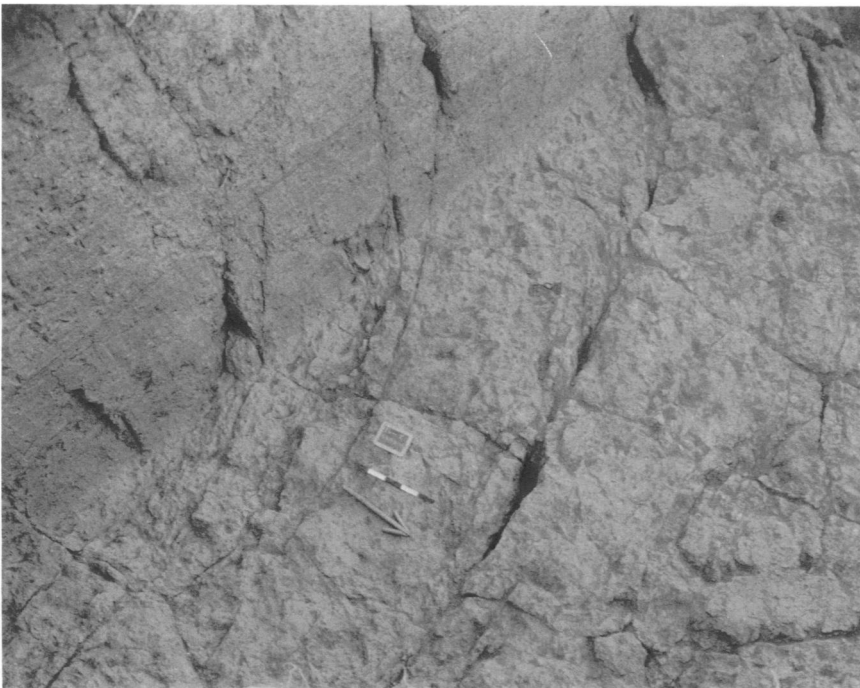


FIGURE 9
Cleavages in the east-west
section and on the surface of the
main cut, Tumulus I



FIGURE 10
Plan of cleavages in the main cut, Tumulus I



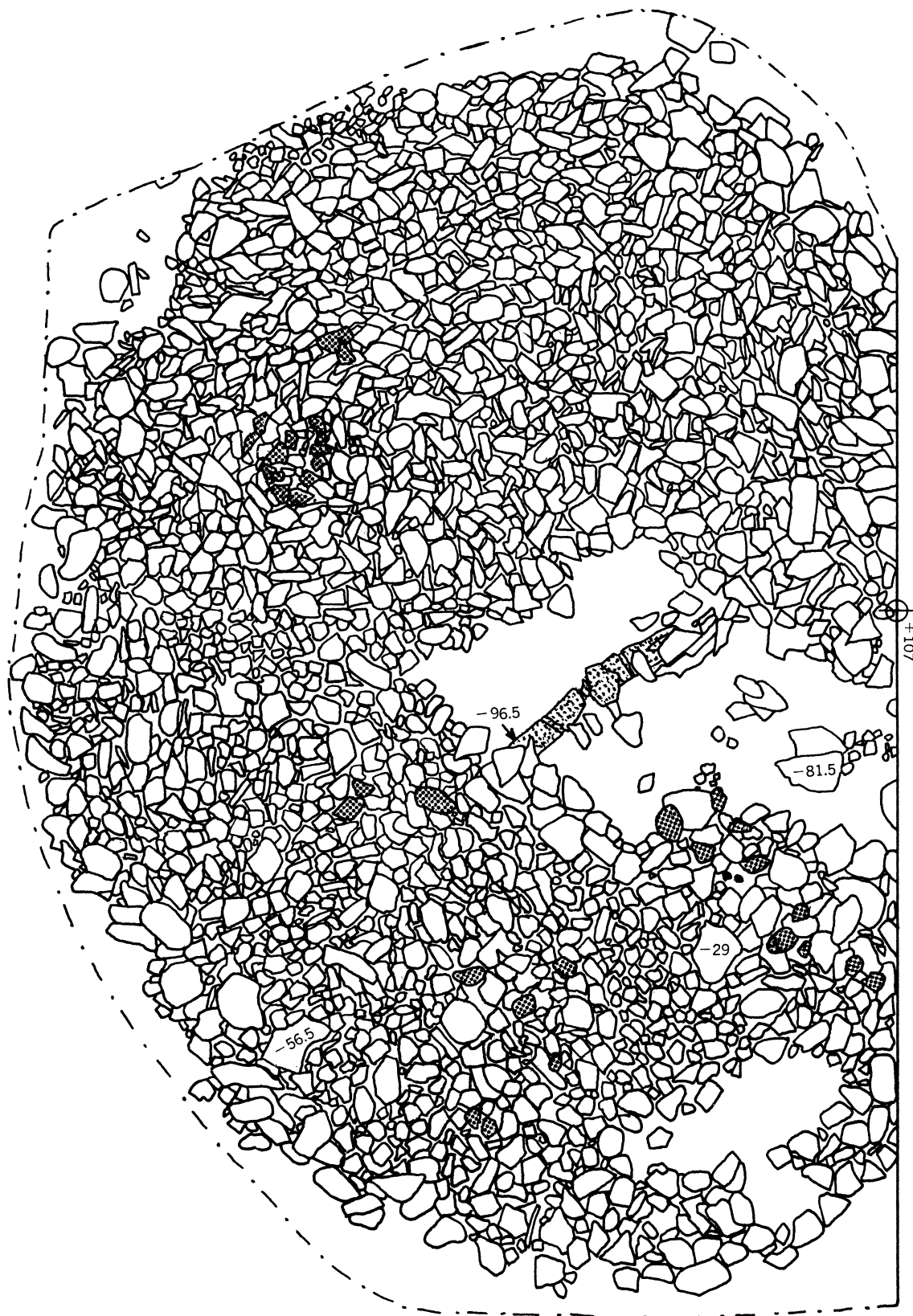
FIGURE 11
Stone revetment as seen in test trench 1, Tumulus I, looking down the slope with the pea field in the background

continuously raised after a given amount and level of clay had been deposited. We do not know at this stage of the excavation whether or not the cleavage lines continue to the base of the tumulus.

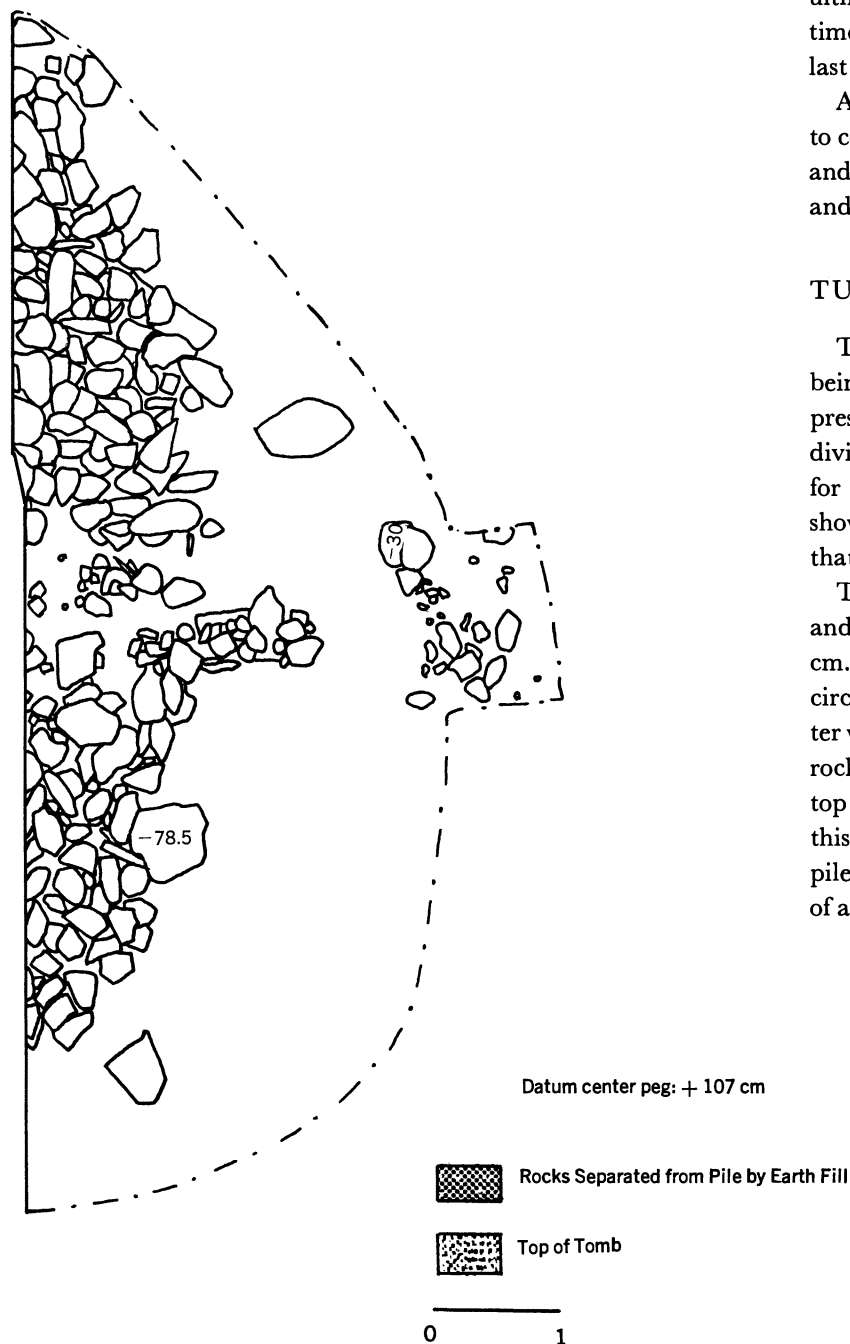
A long trench was dug extending from the outer limit of the main cut to a point slightly beyond the present periphery of the base of the tumulus (Figures 5, 7). In this trench a neatly laid and compact sloping layer of small stones, 1 to 3 cm. in diameter, was encountered at irregular depths of from 40 to 60 cm. below the surface. The stone layer was only one or two courses thick and extended from a point near the present base up the slope for a length of 10.5 meters, ending in an irregular line. At a depth of about 40 cm. below the lower edge of the stones another layer of

neatly laid small stones was encountered, this time, however, laid horizontally (Figure 7, lower right); where it begins and ends could not be established.

Each of the four test trenches excavated around the tumulus yielded the same layer of small stones sloping up the sides (Figures 5, 6, 11). The depth of the stones was irregular within each trench and also with respect to the other trenches, and the length of the sloping stone layer in each trench was not uniform. Gaps in the stones of test trench 4 could be explained either as the result of stone robbing (though there is no evidence of this on the surface), or by assuming that the builders began to run out of stones when they reached this part of the tumulus and proceeded to pile the stones at random. In one of the four test trenches, number 3, a



N



horizontal course of stones was found below the sloping course.

It is certain, therefore, that Tumulus I was encircled by a sloping revetment of small stones neatly laid below the surface of the tumulus but at an irregular height. This revetment was apparently built with the view to further protecting the tomb, already covered with a mass of hard clay. The form of the tumulus ultimately desired apparently did not develop until the time when this revetment was covered with gravel, the last stage in the construction.

Although we did not discover a tomb, it may be safe to conclude, on the evidence collected from Tumuli II and III (*infra*), that it exists in the southwest quadrant and that it will be away from the center of the tumulus.

TUMULUS II

This is the smallest of the tumuli excavated in 1968, being about 47 cm. in height and about 14 meters in preserved diameter (Figures 3, 4). The mound was divided into quadrants, and the southwest one chosen for initial excavation. The surface of the tumulus showed remains of recent hearths, but no other features that might suggest disturbance were noticed.

The fill was very shallow and was composed of gravel and gray-brown earth. At a depth of from 10 cm. to 30 cm., at different parts of the quadrant, portions of a circular pile of rubble stones 10 cm. to 30 cm. in diameter were uncovered. In two areas there were gaps in the rock pile, and below the larger gap we encountered the top of a well-built stone wall and a section of another; this turned out to be the tomb. At this stage the rock pile was completely excavated (Figure 12). It consists of a round mound of stones several courses thick at the

FIGURE 12
Plan of Tumulus II showing the tomb area
and the rock pile overlay

center and diminishing to one or two courses at the edges. The center of the rock pile was not under the center of the tumulus but was actually some meters to the west. The tomb was placed at the center of the rock pile.

Gaps in the rock pile noticed early in the excavation made it evident that the tomb had been plundered: one gap in the southwest area seems to indicate an abortive attempt; the large gap in the area directly over the tomb represents a successful one. The stones scattered in this area, and extending beyond the rock pile, at a higher level, represent debris from the robbers' trench, which was apparently dug from the east. This trench was subsequently refilled with the same gravel and earth that covers the rest of the tumulus. There was no evidence of the robbers' trench in the north-south balk despite the fact that there is a break in the line of stones. This could indicate that the robbing occurred soon after the completion of the tumulus and that the refill had consolidated with the undisturbed fill in the course of time. Nothing on the surface of the tumulus gave any hint that plundering had occurred, which further suggests that the robbery took place in antiquity. Several of the other tumuli in the necropolis (I, III, F, G, and H) have noticeable hollow depressions that indicate relatively recent attempts at excavation. The depressions in two of these, F and G, represent the soundings of Stein, according to some local inhabitants.

In the excavation of the tomb, the rubble stones of the overlying rock pile were removed, and the south and east tomb walls were freed from earth and rubble. The tomb (Figures 13-16) is built of neatly cut large flat stones, set into a thick mud mortar layer. The same mud used in the mortar was also applied as a plaster to the outside walls of the tomb. The walls form a rectangular structure one stone thick and about 1.5 meters by 3.1 meters. Around the top (except on the robbed south side) the flat stones are bordered by additional large flat stones, which are themselves bordered by rubble stones. On the three sides not disturbed by the robbers, the depth of the tomb is preserved fully to a height of 1.2 meters. There is no evidence to suggest of what material the roof was constructed.⁷

7. A wood roof could have been employed over the stone tomb, cf. M. Gimbutas, *Bronze Age Cultures in Central and Eastern Europe* (The Hague, 1965) p. 284.

Below the walls to a depth of about one meter the tomb was filled with rubble stones mixed with gravel and earth. Either these stones were thrown in by the robbers or they fell in from the disturbed pile above. Under this rubble fill, a layer of well-packed pebbles and some fist-sized stones were encountered, apparent-

FIGURE 13

Tomb of Tumulus II during excavation



FIGURE 14

Tomb of Tumulus II after excavation



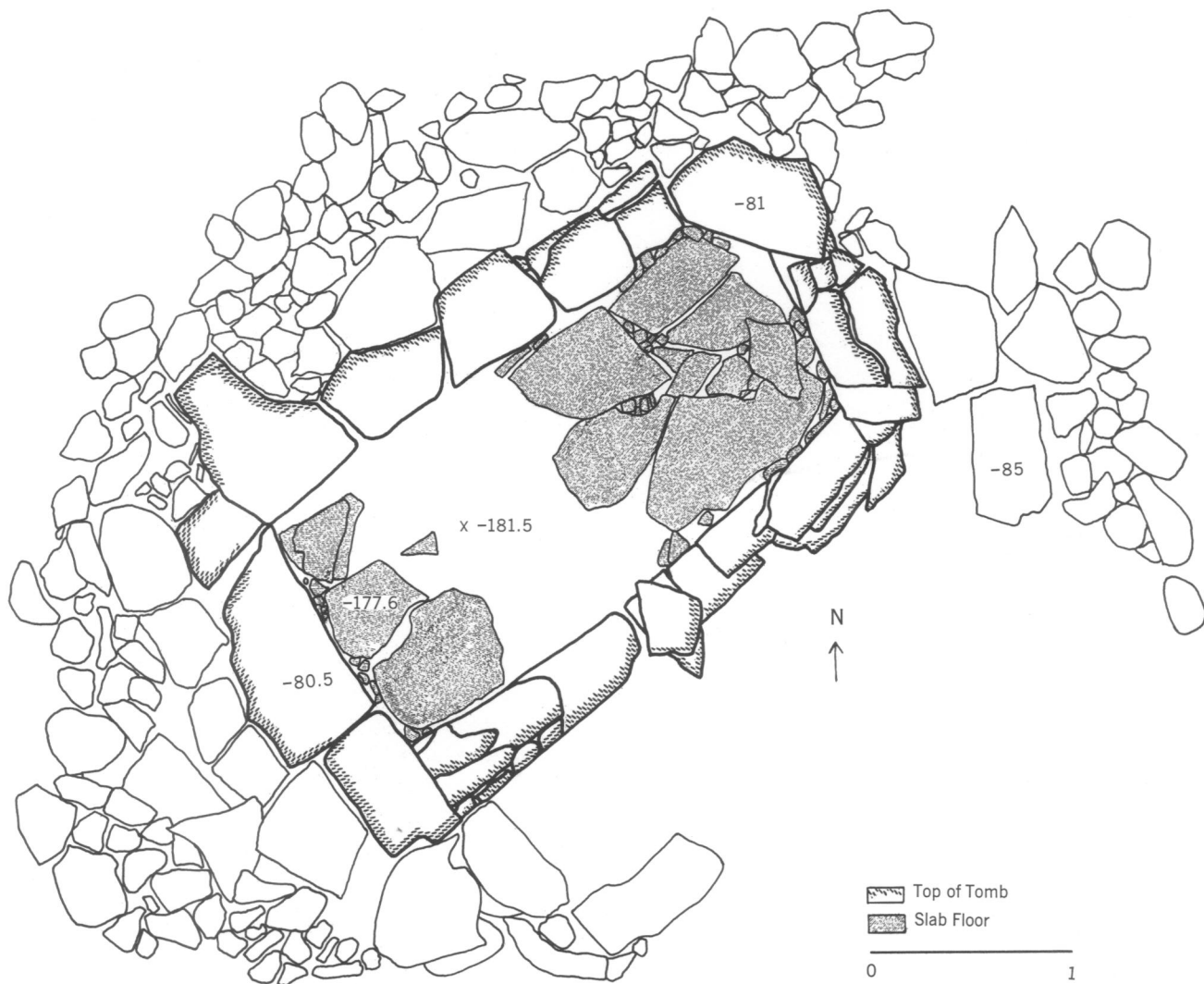
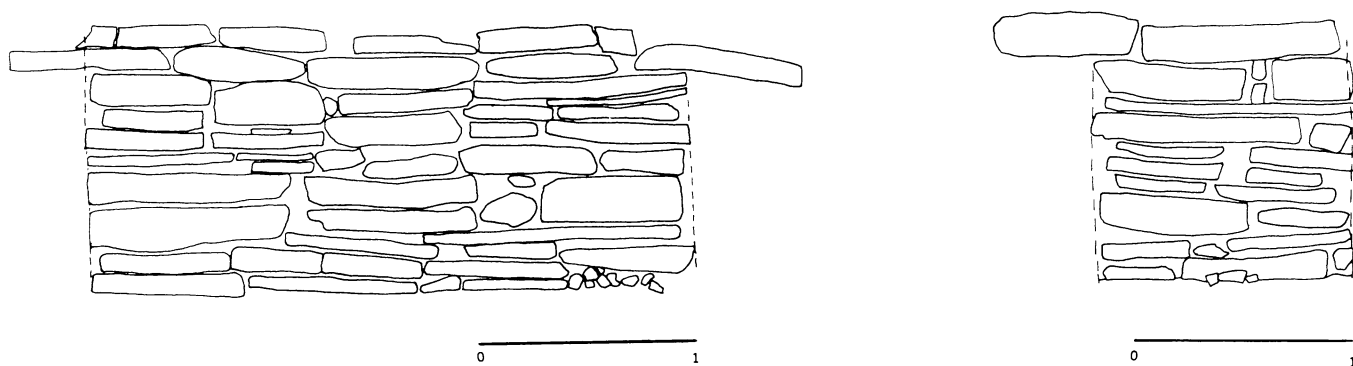


FIGURE 15 Plan of the tomb, Tumulus II (Datum: +107)

FIGURE 16 Sections of the tomb, north and west walls, Tumulus II



ly representing a deliberate packing. Among the pebbles were two thin lenses of fine gray ash whose origin remains a mystery. Under the packing was the tomb floor proper, constructed of large flat stones of the same type used in the walls. The center of the tomb floor contained no slabs but only a smooth and hard gravel surface spotted with red stains, samples of which were collected. A test trench dug 25 cm. into this surface demonstrated that it was virgin soil. It may well be that the pebble packing rather than the partially slabbed floor served as the surface on which the dead person was placed, and that the slabs were missing in the original tomb construction.

Attempts were made to find out whether a tomb pit had been dug, but no evidence of one was found. Sections were cut at both the north and south ends of the tomb area, and no pit lines could be recognized. The present surface of the valley is 2 meters above the stone floor of the tomb, and it would indeed be possible to assume that a pit had been dug for the tomb. Perhaps, since the gravel used as fill was of very much the same consistency as the neighboring virgin soil, the outlines of the pit have been obscured.

The contents of the tomb consisted of a few small bone fragments in very poor condition, found in the northwest corner at a depth of 40 cm. from the top of the wall, and a small, nondescript disc-shaped shell bead. A small, coarse sherd was found below the rock pile overlying the northeast corner of the tomb, but it unfortunately yields no information.

Three sherds, each incised with part of a triangle, were found in three areas of the tumulus fill, in each case just beyond the circular rock pile. We will return to a discussion of these sherds shortly.

It may be seen from the plans and photographs that Tumulus II has not been completely excavated. It would therefore be premature to arrive at a negative conclusion concerning the presence of a circular stone revetment, as was excavated in both Tumulus I and Tumulus III. The tomb area and the overlying circular rock pile have been cleared, but not the outer areas of the tumulus. Perhaps during a future season conditions in the pea field will allow a test trench to be dug in a search for a revetment.

TUMULUS III

Tumulus III was selected for excavation because it represents a medium-sized example, being 3 meters in height and about 35 meters in preserved diameter (Figure 17). Whereas Tumuli I and II were apparently never cultivated, Tumulus III had been plowed and therefore blended into the surrounding pea field. After the tumulus was divided into quadrants, the southeast section was decided upon for initial excavation. The fill throughout was solid clay mixed with a few pebbles. Aside from the upper area, which had been softened by plowing, this clay was quite hard and compactly laid down. No horizontal lines were visible in the balk, nor were there any cleavages such as those recognized in Tumulus I (Figure 18).

Approximately 50 cm. below the surface around the outer perimeter of the tumulus, a section of a sloping ring of rubble stones one or two courses thick and of varying sizes was uncovered (Figures 18, 19, 20). The ring is about 5.75 to 6 meters in width (measured horizontally) and seems to have served as a revetment. Although many stones are missing as a result of plowing, there is no evidence of plundering. A test trench was cut into the north slope of the tumulus (Figure 17) and a sloping stone surface thereby uncovered, indicating that the revetment encircled the tumulus in the same manner as recorded in Tumulus I.

Some 2.5 meters below the center of the tumulus a small section of a rubble rock pile was encountered. The outer border of the pile was one stone thick, and the pile increased in depth toward its center, thus forming a low mound; the outer edge, which was curved, indicated that the pile was round in form (Figures 19, 21). The rock pile rested on a well-made floor of clay, smooth and hard, only part of which could be cleared. Since it was evident that the center of the rock pile was located in the southwest quadrant, a trench extension was made in that direction; another extension was made to the north to expose more of the rock pile and to allow extra room for excavating the tomb.

A hollow dome in the clay over a depression in the stones 1.1 meters deep indicated clearly that the rock pile had collapsed into the tomb chamber. When this area was cleared, the top of a grave pit completely filled with fallen rubble stones was revealed. Powdery remains and small fragments of wood, which apparent-

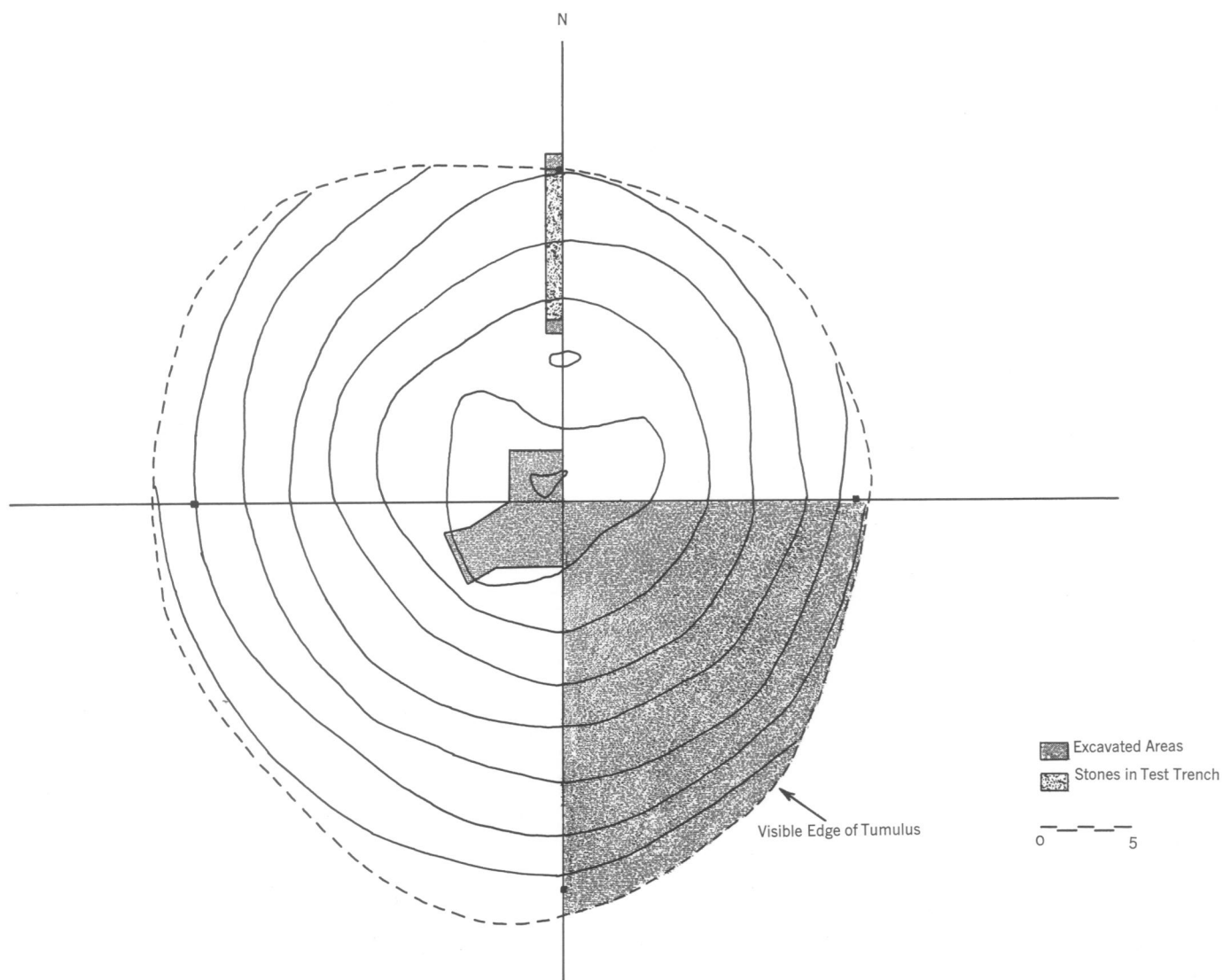


FIGURE 17 Plan of Tumulus III

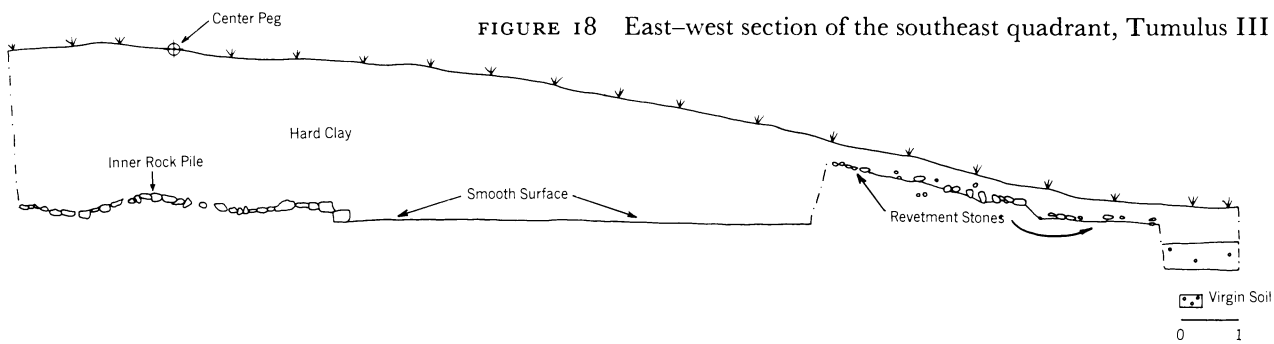


FIGURE 18 East-west section of the southeast quadrant, Tumulus III



FIGURE 19
Plan of Tumulus III showing excavated areas: circular stone revetment, inner rock pile, and tomb area



FIGURE 20

The excavated southeast quadrant of Tumulus III with the outer stone revetment in the foreground and the inner rock pile just above it in the center



FIGURE 21

Inner rock pile, Tumulus III

ly belonged to the now decayed roof, were also recovered mixed with the rubble. No rubble stones found in the area could have served as a roof for the grave pit.

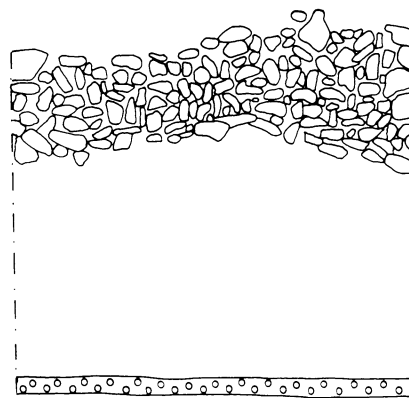
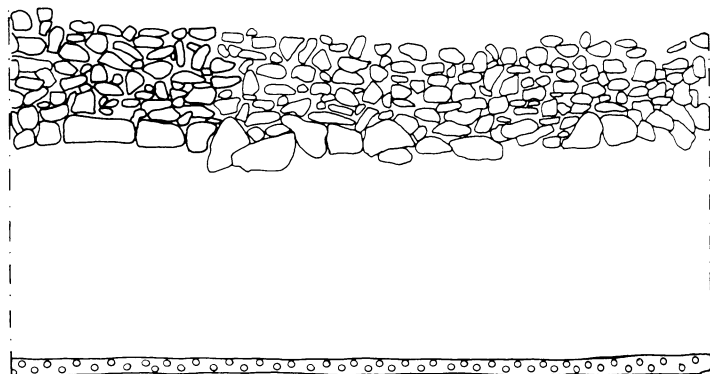
The grave pit was a neatly excavated rectangular area 2 meters wide, 3.5 meters long, and 1.2 meters deep. The walls sloped outward slightly and were coated with a thin mud plaster. The level gravel floor of the pit was carefully covered with a layer of small pebbles

to a depth of 7–8 cm. (Figure 22). Excavation into the gravel floor showed it to be virgin soil.

On the pebble surface was found the badly crushed skeleton of an adult male (Figures 23, 24). It lay on its side with the head facing southeast and the legs drawn up in a contracted position. The left arm was awkwardly positioned under the right arm, and the back was twisted. The original position of the skeleton may have been distorted by the rubble collapse, but the place-

FIGURE 22

South and west sections of the tomb pit, Tumulus III



••• Pebble Floor

0 1

••• Pebble Floor

0 1

FIGURES 25, 26, 27

Stone whetstone-scepter, Tumulus III. Iran
Bastan Museum, Tehran

FIGURE 23
Plan of the tomb, Tumulus III

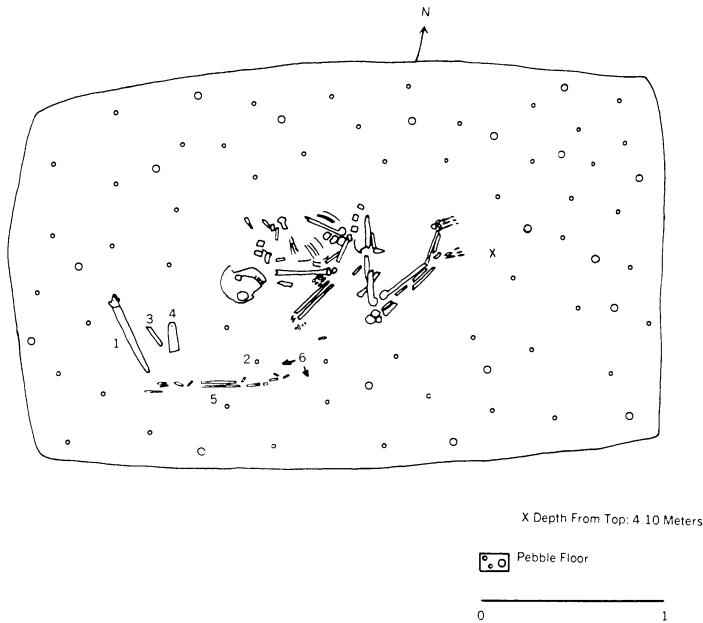


FIGURE 24
Skeleton on the floor of the tomb pit, Tumulus III



ment of the arms seems surely to have been original. All bones of the skeleton were completely covered with a deep red color, specimens of which have been taken for analysis.

The following objects were found on the pebble floor beside the skeleton and clustered in an area to the west and northwest of the head (Figures 23, 24):

1. A perfectly preserved whetstone-like object terminating in a feline's head. The stone is finely grained and very smooth so that if it is a whetstone it does not appear to have been used; perhaps it served as a baton or scepter. Length 37 cm., diameter 3.2 cm. (Figures 25, 26, 27).

2. A very fragmentary silver drinking vessel, the metal of which was in excellent condition when found (Figure 28 for a reconstructed drawing; Figure 23, 2 in plan).

3. A bronze knife blade with the remains of a plaited material adhering to one side. Length 12.8 cm., greatest width 1.8 cm.

4. A bronze celt, also with the remains of a plaited material adhering to one side. Both the knife and the celt may have been resting on this material, as fragments of it were recovered underneath both objects. Length 13.4 cm., width 5.1–3.5 cm. (Figure 29).

5. Two long silver rods, very fragmentary. They were made by rolling silver plate in the manner of a scroll.

6. Many small beads of gold, stone, and paste. They are all plain and are round or rectangular in shape. The beads were recovered near the right hand; none were found near the neck (Figure 23, 6 in plan).

Picked up in the tumulus fill were a few sherds of coarse ware, a few sherds decorated with incised wavy lines of second-millennium type, and three small and fragmentary human bones. All these objects could have been inadvertently deposited along with the clay.

The building of the tumulus may be reconstructed as follows: An area in the field was leveled and smoothed to a neat, hard surface. Into this surface a rectangular

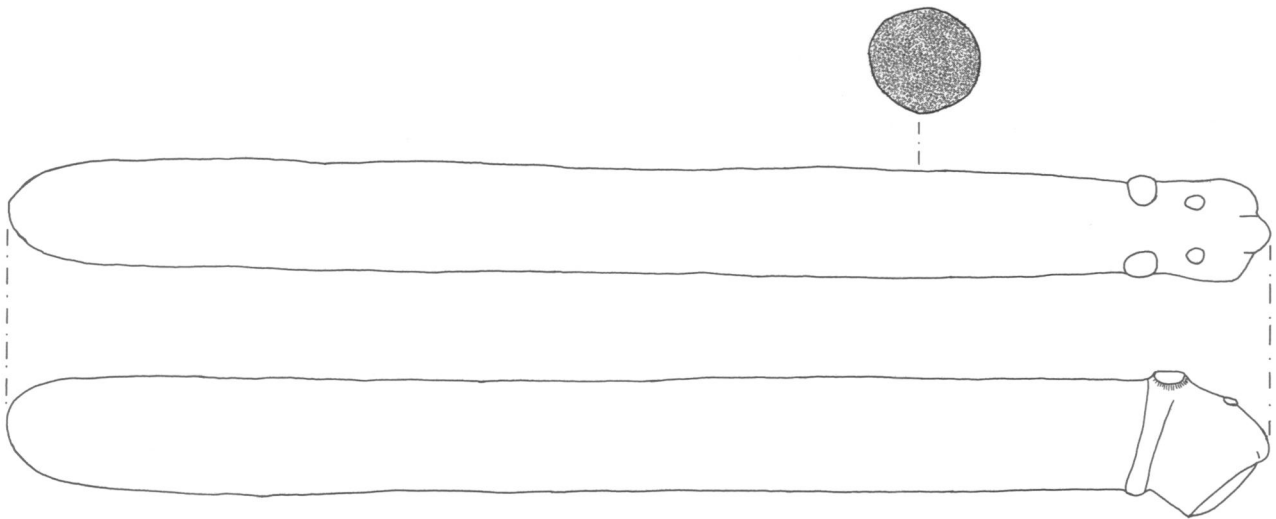
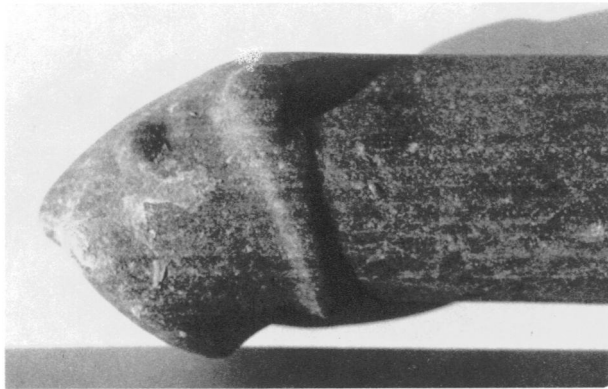
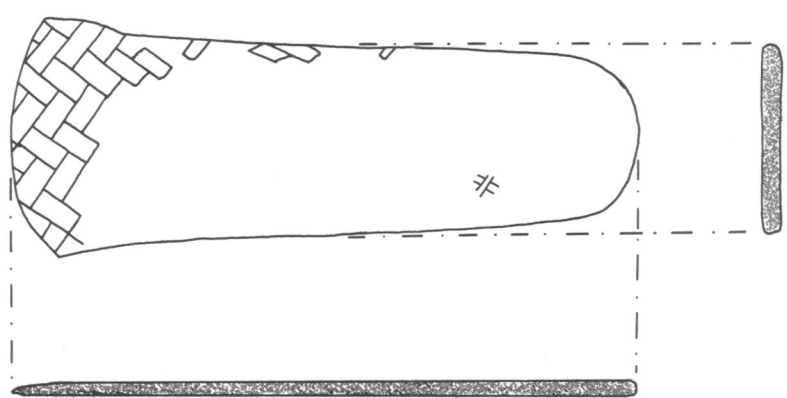
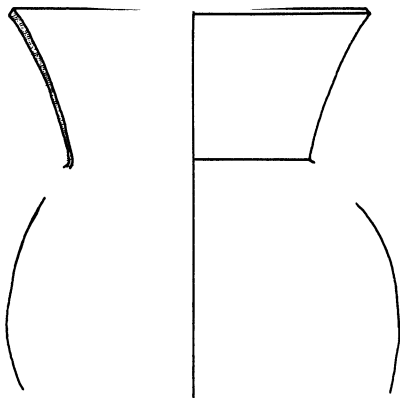


FIGURE 28
Reconstructed drawing of a silver vessel, Tumulus III. Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran

FIGURE 29
Bronze celt blade, Tumulus III. Iran Bastan Museum, Tehran



pit was dug, floored with pebbles, and lined with plaster. After the deposition of the body and of the objects, wood beams or logs were placed over the pit, and a carefully laid mound of stones was placed over the closed tomb, which was kept under the center of the rock pile. Following this stage came the laying down of the clay, in which the center of the rock pile and tomb were kept away from the center of the tumulus. No stones or wood remains that might have served as a marker for the center of the tumulus were found.⁸ At a certain stage, near the completion of the tumulus, a sloping, encircling stone revetment was built. Following this stage, more clay was dumped in order to cover the revetment and to create the shape desired for the tumulus. None of the evidence suggests that wood fences or partitions were employed in the construction.

SUMMARY

Tumuli II and III share certain features: each of their tombs was situated away from the center of the overlying tumulus; each tomb was built into a pit (not absolutely certain for II); each tomb had a pebble floor; and each tomb was covered by a mound of rubble stones. Until a trench is cut into the outer area of Tumulus II, we are not in a position to conclude that it had a stone revetment like Tumulus III, but this is very probable. The major difference between the two

tumuli, aside from size, is that II contained a well-built stone tomb whereas III contained only a simple pit as the grave chamber. Whether this fact may be interpreted as reflecting a difference in wealth between those who were buried in the tomb or a chronological gap between the erection of the tumuli cannot yet be established.⁹

A feature Tumulus I shares with Tumulus III is the stone revetment. With respect to the unique technique used in the construction of Tumulus I (wood fencing), one may presume that the relatively small size of Tumuli II and III precluded such an elaborate system.

Tumuli whose construction exactly parallels that of the tumuli at Sé Girdan do not come readily to mind. Particular features of the construction, however, are paralleled in various areas of the ancient world, extending from England to Russia, and possibly beyond.¹⁰

The placement of the tomb away from the center of the tumulus is a characteristic feature of Phrygian and Lydian tumuli in Anatolia beginning in the eighth century B.C. and continuing for several centuries.

Phrygian tumuli excavated at Ankara, Gordion, and Kerkenes Dag, with rare exceptions, have a grave chamber off-center.¹¹ The Phrygian tumuli usually also have a grave pit into which a tomb was placed; they sometimes have a pebble floor; and they almost always have either rubble stones placed around the tomb in the pit or, more commonly, a rock pile covering the tomb pit. In at least one Phrygian tumulus, one of those excavated by Makridi at Ankara, there is evidence that fences or partitions were erected to help in the orderly

8. Such markers were found within some Phrygian tumuli: G. and A. Koerte, *Gordion Ergebnisse der Ausgrabung im Jahre 1900 (Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Institut, Ergänzungsheft V; Berlin, 1904) p. 39*; R. S. Young, "Gordion 1956: Preliminary Report," *American Journal of Archaeology* 61 (1957) p. 325 (Tumulus P); *idem*, "The Gordion Campaign of 1959: Preliminary Report," *AJA* 64 (1960) p. 228 (Tumulus W).

9. The low height of Tumulus II might have resulted to some extent from the plundering activity, but there is no conclusive evidence that it was ever as high as Tumulus III.

10. A fragment from the Stele of the Vultures of Eannatum, now in the Louvre, has a scene that could represent the erection of a tumulus over a mass burial. Two men carry earth up a ladder or slope in order to cover a group of dead men, the defeated enemy. The fact that they are climbing seems to preclude the suggestion that we are witnessing a regular inhumation burial. However, there is at present no known tumulus burial from the Mesopotamian area of this time, or indeed later. For a drawing of the fragment and a suggestion that the scene does represent the erection of

a tumulus, see G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldaea and Assyria* (New York, 1884) pp. 177 ff., fig. 93.

11. Ankara: M. Schede in *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1930, col. 480; T. Özgüç and M. Akok, "Die Ausgrabungen an zwei Tumuli auf dem Mausoleumshügel bei Ankara," *Bulleten* 11 (1947) p. 59, where the excavators' statement that the tomb of Tumulus 1 was directly under the "Gipfel" seems contradicted by fig. 5; on p. 69 they state that the tomb of Tumulus 2 was "unter der Mitte des Hügels . . ." Gordion: Koerte, *Gordion*, pp. 99, 105, 139 ff. (Tumuli IV, II, V); the Koertes specifically state, p. 40, that the tomb was under the center of Tumulus III, which appears to be an exception at Gordion; R. S. Young in various preliminary reports: *AJA* 61 (1957) p. 325 (Tumulus P); *AJA* 64 (1960) p. 228 (Tumulus W); *AJA* 62 (1958) p. 147 (Tumulus MM); *Bulletin of the University Museum* 16 (1951) p. 11, pl. v (Tumulus G); *Archaeology* 3 (1950) p. 200, fig. 7 (Tumulus B); *AJA* 70 (1966) pp. 267 ff. (Tumuli X and Y). Kerkenes Dag: E. Schmidt, "Test Excavations in the City of Kerkenes Dag," *American Journal of Semitic Languages* 45 (1929) pp. 250 ff.

dumping of earth fill.¹² In the case of this particular example, the partition walls were constructed of stones and were left in place as the fill rose (cf. Salamis, *infra*).

None of the Phrygian tumuli have an outer stone revetment, and this seems to be the only important structural difference between these tumuli and those at Sé Girdan. Another difference is that in Phrygian tumuli the tombs are usually constructed of wood, but this may only reflect ecological differences between Anatolia and western Iran.

Several Lydian tumuli excavated in the region of Sardis also have the tomb placed off-center, a feature, incidentally, that one may interpret as an example of Lydia's cultural dependence on Phrygia.¹³ In some tumuli there is also a pile of rubble stones placed over the tomb. While there is no evidence of a stone rubble revetment in the tumuli at Sardis, the elaborate stone wall found in the large tumulus called Karniyarik Tepe may actually be related in some manner to the type known at Sé Girdan.

Still another area where there are tombs placed off-center is on the island of Cyprus at the necropolis at Salamis, recently excavated by V. Karageorghis.¹⁴ One of the tumuli, called Tomb 77, is a fourth-century B.C. cenotaph. The pyre, with its contents and covering rock pile, was excavated intact only because it was missed by grave robbers who had tunneled straight for the center of the tumulus and thereby missed their goal. In addition to these parallels with Sé Girdan, the tomb off-center and the overlying rock pile, there is another feature of some importance: thin stone rubble walls were found that radiated out from the center of the tumulus, dividing the area into sections in order to

facilitate the orderly dumping in of the earth fill. This employment of stone partitions was also recorded in Tumulus 3 of the same necropolis.

Some European tumuli also present interesting parallels to those at Sé Girdan. Tumuli of the second millennium B.C. excavated in the western Ukraine, the Baltic area, and central Europe often have a tomb pit that is covered with a pile of rubble stones. In addition, some have a simple stone ring encircling the tumulus at the base.¹⁵ These stone rings do not seem to have functioned as a revetment, as we suggested stone rings did at Sé Girdan, but the same general idea—an encircling of the tumulus with stones—seems to be in evidence. And it is this feature that particularly relates the Sé Girdan tumuli to those known in Europe. An important difference may be seen in the fact that it was normal for a European tumulus to have a tomb built directly under its center.

One tumulus known to me from England that has a feature recognized at Sé Girdan is a long barrow at Skendleby in Lincolnshire. Its excavation produced evidence that upright wood posts and fences were employed in its construction. The system of partitioning, or dividing areas into units, was also recorded.¹⁶ This technique is the same as that employed in Tumulus I, and, as already discussed, in tumuli from Ankara and Cyprus.

Tumuli in the Altai area do not present direct parallels with those at Sé Girdan in that many are actually rock cairns rather than earth tumuli. The rock pile covering the tomb pit was itself the tumulus and was usually centered over the tomb below.¹⁷

An outer ring of stones surrounding a centrally

12. H. H. von der Osten, *Explorations in Central Anatolia Season of 1926*, *Oriental Institute Publication*, V (Chicago, 1929) pp. 48 ff., fig. 78; M. Schede in *AA* 1930, cols. 479 ff., fig. 23; M. Forrer in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient Gesellschaft* 65 (1927) abb. 20 with caption.

13. Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Lycia* (New York, 1892) p. 262, fig. 159, p. 270; H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, I (Leyden, 1922) p. 10; G. M. A. Hanfmann, "The Fifth Campaign at Sardis (1962)," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 170 (1963) p. 56, fig. 39; *idem*, "The Ninth Campaign at Sardis (1966)," *BASOR* 186 (1967) p. 39, fig. 25, pp. 42 ff.; on p. 47 there is mention of a tumulus called Cambaz Tepe that has a tomb placed under the center. For a brief discussion of Phrygian influence on Lydia see Oscar White Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae from Gordion* (London, 1967) p. 44, notes 30, 31.

14. V. Karageorghis, "Chronique des Fouilles en Chypre,"

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 90 (1966) p. 377 (Tomb 77); *BCH* 89 (1965) p. 283 (Tomb 3, seventh century B.C.).

15. Gimbutas, *Bronze Age Cultures*, pp. 285, 308, 319 ff., 420, 460, figs. 190, 212, 219, 273, 301. Parenthetically I would mention in this context the "tumulus" covering the House of Tiles at Lerna. A circle of stones surrounded the earth mound, and a layer of stones covered its surface. No burial was found, but the construction is certainly similar to that employed in grave tumuli: *Hesperia* 25 (1956) p. 150, fig. 3, pp. 165 ff., fig. 5.

16. C. W. Phillips, "The Excavation of the Giant's Hills Long Barrow, Skendleby, Lincolnshire," *Archaeologia* 85 (1936) pp. 60 ff., fig. 7 on p. 61, and pl. XXI, fig. 2.

17. M. R. Giaznov and E. A. Golomshtok, "The Pazirik Burial at Altai," *AJA* 37 (1933) pp. 32 ff., fig. 1; K. Jettmar, *Art of the Steppes* (New York, 1964) pp. 120 ff., fig. 105.

positioned tomb is fairly common in the Caucasus region.¹⁸ These stones, however, form a simple ring and not a revetment, and as such may be more closely related to European tumuli. I am told that some of the tumuli ruthlessly plundered in the Ardebil area in recent years have an outer ring of stones like those in the Caucasus.

The objects recovered from the rubble-filled tomb at Sé Girdan do not yield as much information about culture and chronology as one would wish; especially lacking is pottery. Nevertheless, certain general comments may be set down. The silver drinking vessel, although badly crushed, can be partially reconstructed on paper (Figure 28) and has several parallels at Ziwiye belonging to the Iron III period, there not earlier than the late eighth century B.C. and continuing through the late seventh century B.C.¹⁹ The knife and celt, however, are not distinctive enough to allow them to be placed chronologically with any certainty.

The most important object from the tomb, and the only one completely preserved, is the feline-headed whetstone-scepter. The head of the feline is stylized and simple in execution, and seems to be pre-Achaemenid in style. Whetstones, often with detachable metal animal heads, are known from the Achaemenian period and earlier.²⁰ A few whetstones of a similar but smaller type are reported from the Minusinsk area in Russia. These have animal heads and were made in one piece. Tallgren states that they are difficult to date.²¹ I would tentatively suggest a pre-Achaemenid

date for the whetstone-scepter found in Tumulus III.

The few sherds with incised triangles found in the fill of Tumulus II (Figure 30) may fit within the Iron III period, perhaps late eighth to early sixth century B.C. Painted and incised triangles were common motifs in that period (hence Iron III's original field name "Triangle Ware Period") at such sites as Hasanlu, Susa, Ziwiye, and Zendan, and at sites in the Caucasus.²² Recently there have appeared on the antiquities market vessels with incised triangular decoration allegedly coming from northwest Iran (Figure 31); these also seem to belong to the Iron III period.²³

Sherds and other material found in the fill of a tumulus do not date its construction except in the form of an *ante quem non* date,²⁴ that is to say, the objects may be interpreted as either contemporary with the erection of the tumulus (a workman scattered a pot he accidentally broke) or earlier than the erection of the tumulus (the material was inadvertently scooped up by workers while they gathered clay for the fill). If I am correct in attributing the sherds to the Iron III period, then Tumulus II and, I would suggest, also the others are either Iron III or later in date. The Sé Girdan tumuli remind us strongly of the Phrygian and Lydian examples of the eighth through the sixth centuries B.C., the silver vessel has Iron III parallels, and the whetstone appears to be pre-Achaemenian in style—these three factors do suggest that we would be on the right track in tentatively dating the construction of the tumuli as seventh or sixth century B.C.

18. J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse* (Paris, 1896) p. 43, fig. 45; H. de Morgan, "Recherches au Talyche Persan," *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires* 8 (Paris, 1905) pp. 256 ff., figs. 339–342, p. 260, fig. 346, p. 262, figs. 347, 348, etc. For similar types of tombs in Italy see A. Minto, *Marsiliana D'Albagna* (Florence, 1921) pp. 22 ff., 30 ff., fig. 2, pl. vi.

19. T. Cuyler Young, Jr., "A Comparative Ceramic Chronology for Western Iran, 1500–500 B.C.," *Iran* 3 (1965) p. 60, fig. 4, no. 10. There are examples from Ziwiye still unpublished.

20. *7000 Ans d'Art en Iran* (Paris, 1961) no. 689; R. Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1964) p. 67, figs. 84–86; A. Godard, *Bronzes du Luristan* (Paris, 1931) pls. xi, xii, an example from Susa and others from Luristan. In this context compare a "door socket" made of a finely grained stone with a stylized ram's head at one end, found at Hasanlu, dated to the ninth century, R. H. Dyson, "Treasures From Hasanlu . . .," *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 30, 1961, p. 536, fig. 12. The scepters discussed by D. Berciu, "A Zoomorphic 'Sceptre' Discovered in the People's Republic of Bulgaria . . .," *Dacia* 6 (1962) pp. 397 ff., may be relat-

ed to but are not of the same type as the one from Sé Girdan. For this last reference I wish to thank Professor T. Sulimirski.

21. A. M. Tallgren, "Some North Eurasian Sculptures," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* 12 (1938) p. 119, fig. 8a, b, p. 126.

22. R. Ghirshman, *Village Perse-Achéménid*, MDP 36 (Paris, 1954) pl. xxxi, GS. 863, pl. xxxiii, GS. 3; Young, "Comparative Ceramic Chronology," pp. 68 ff., p. 56, fig. 2; R. H. Dyson, Jr., "Problems of Protohistoric Iran as Seen from Hasanlu," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 24 (1965) pp. 204 ff., figs. 7, 9, 10, 11, 13; *idem*, "Iran, 1956," *Bull. Univ. Mus.* 21 (1957) p. 36, fig. 27; W. Kleiss and R. M. Boehmer, "Die Ausgrabungen auf dem Zendan-i-Suleiman," *AA* 1965, cols. 763 ff., figs. 74–76; J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique au Caucase* (Paris, 1889) p. 148, fig. 155, p. 151, fig. 162, p. 155, fig. 170. (I am not unaware of the fact that the sherds from Tumulus II could be second millennium in date.)

23. See also *Trésors de l'Ancien Iran*, Musée Rath (Geneva, 1966) no. 672, fig. 64. Many others are to be seen in dealers' shops.

24. Muscarella, *Phrygian Fibulae*, p. 7; Karageorghis, *BCH* 90 (1966) p. 377.

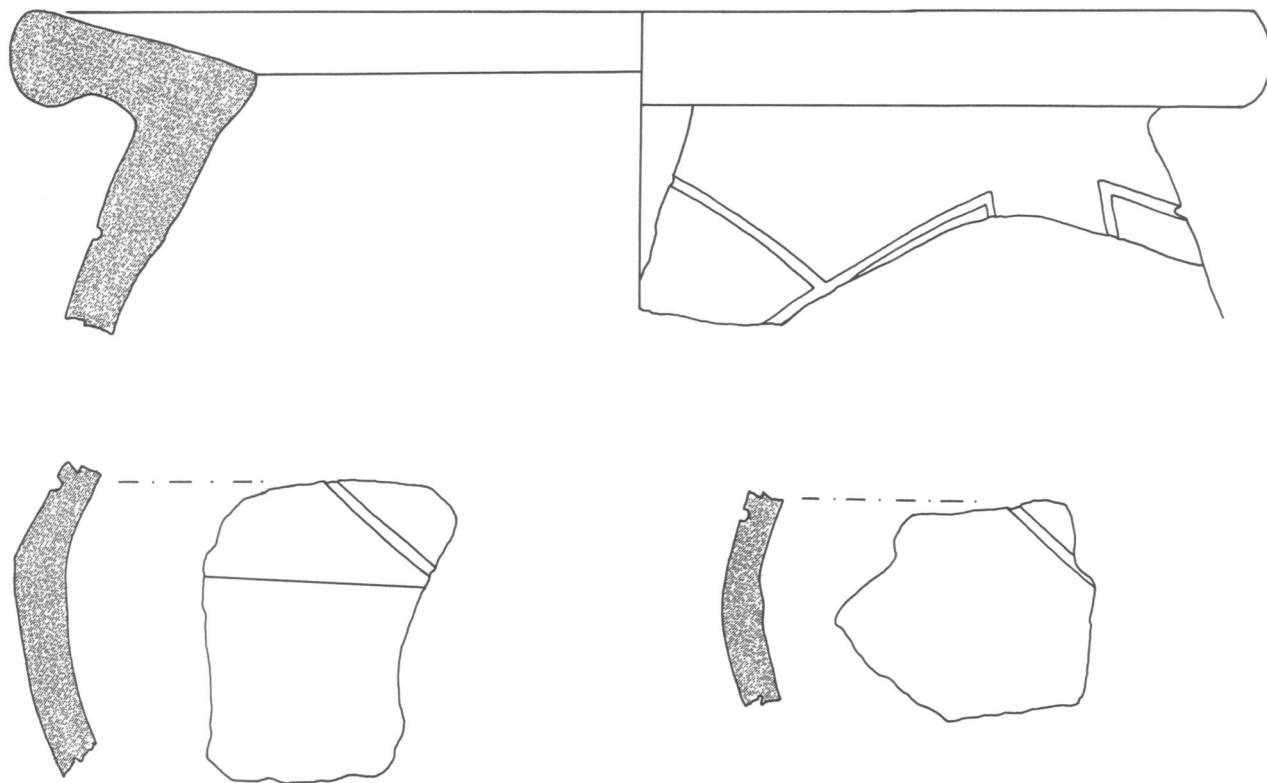
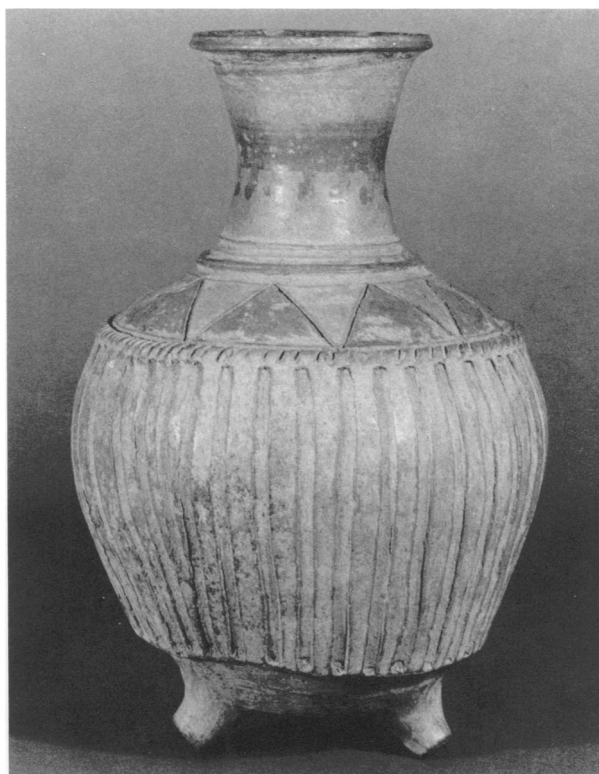


FIGURE 30
Sherds from the fill of Tumulus II

A preliminary report cannot be more definite, and C-14 samples are still to be collected and evaluated. Another season's work might supply the much-desired pottery needed to arrive at a stronger conclusion. One of the problems, in addition to chronology, that requires further research is that of the location in the Ushnu valley of the settlement occupied by the people who buried their dead at Sé Girdan. Another related problem, one of some importance, is concerned with the cultural identification of the tumuli builders: were they, for example, Medes or Scythians, or still another people?

FIGURE 31
Vessel with incised triangular decoration, Iran, VII–VI century B.C. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 66.202



Euboean Black-figure in New York

DIETRICH VON BOTHMER

Curator of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

PAINTED VASES continue to be the most plentiful and the best-known class of Greek antiquities. Their very number and their good preservation, even when broken into fragments, present opportunities for detailed study not afforded by bronzes, which, owing to corrosion and being melted down, have so shrunk in number as to be hardly representative; marble sculptures have suffered a similar fate. Paintings on wood or walls have perhaps suffered most, with the result that nothing is left of the great Greek painters except their names and the stories of their fame.

Almost all the painted Greek vases that exist in hundreds of collections, private and public, on all continents, are classified, dated, and attributed with a precision that is the envy of other disciplines. Most of them were made in Attica, which in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. not only surpassed its neighbors and rivals in sheer numerical output, but must also have completely discouraged any profitable competition. But this ascendancy did not come about overnight. In the sixth century many local schools of vase-painting flourished, of which the Corinthian, the Chalcidian, and the Laconian are the best known. These non-Attic schools of vase-painting owe their recognition not so much to excavations of pottery kilns in their native lands as to the evidence of inscriptions on the vases themselves—all written in distinctive alphabets and dialects—and to subsequent stylistic comparisons, based both on shapes and the figure style. Technical

observations, such as the color and quality of the clay and glaze, and even spectrographic analyses, have established useful criteria that can be profitably employed.

Many other local schools, however, have not been recognized so convincingly. The bulk of East Greek pottery, though recognized as different from Attic, Corinthian, Laconian, and Chalcidian, has not fared so well. Guided chiefly by its prevalence in certain excavated sites, much of it is attributed to the island of Rhodes, but the role played by the great cities on the coast of Asia Minor has not as yet emerged with any clarity. Moreover, the diffusion of certain wares all over the Mediterranean, owing to exportation, adds another difficulty, and it must be remembered that until the second quarter of the nineteenth century even Attic vases were called Etruscan, merely because they were first discovered in quantity in the tombs of Etruria. Local vases that for one reason or another were never exported are therefore easier to spot, and landlocked Boeotia, for example, had its local pottery identified once Boeotian sites were excavated, even though Boeotian vases are hardly ever inscribed. But other local schools of vase-painting have led a rather shadowy existence, and one of them, the Eretrian or Euboean, should perhaps be the most rewarding among the neglected wares.

That vases were made in Eretria, one of the principal towns on Euboea, has been known for some time. The

first excavations in Eretria go back to 1897,¹ and the earliest publication of Eretrian vases occurred in 1901.² Then, for almost forty years, no further work was done on this ware until D. A. Amyx, during a year's stay in Greece, collected material for a dissertation on Eretrian, which, however, has remained unpublished. In a brief article published in 1941,³ he listed fourteen vases as surely Eretrian. There the matter rested until John Boardman and A. D. Ure, in a series of articles, presented much new material, proposed classifications, and made many new attributions.⁴

Several of the vases now called Eretrian (or, more cautiously, Euboean) had previously been considered as Attic. As has long been recognized, the dependence of Eretrian potters and painters on Attic vases tends to put many products on the border. Only the emergence of certain stylistic features can help to determine on which side of the border these more doubtful vases belong. Over the years, many vases in the Museum have quietly shifted locations and are now exhibited as Euboean or Eretrian. To present them is the aim of the current study, and it is hoped that these newcomers will in turn suggest other candidates, and thus help to fill the rather spotty and partially empty canvas.

I begin with a neck-amphora: Acc. no. 06.1021.35. A, *Cat. Vente Drouot*, 11-14 mai 1903, pl. 1, 4; A. Sambon, *Collection Canessa* (Paris, 1904) pl. 1, 22; ph. R.I. 2319. On the neck, concentric circles between wriggly lines. A, between cocks, man and young herald; B, between sirens, man with caduceus. Said to be from Capua (Figures 1, 2). The figures between animals or monsters on this neck-amphora were compared by Amyx⁵ with those on an amphora of type B at Harvard (Figures 3, 4).⁶ I take the two to be by the same hand, a painter whom Beazley⁷ calls the Painter of Harvard 2271. While the shape, and even the scheme of

decoration, are not without parallels in Attic black-figure, the clay and glaze of the New York neck-amphora are definitely not Attic. The profusion of white details on the cocks points to Eretria. The Harvard amphora has clusters of three dots in the lower register of the ivy band that surmounts the panel on the reverse. The Eretrian predilection for clusters of dots has already been observed.⁸ A star-rosette of eight rays and eight dots forms a filling ornament between the two warriors on the obverse of the Harvard amphora. This ornament links the Harvard amphora with a hydria in Reading,⁹ which Mrs. Ure has already claimed for Eretria, though Beazley had taken it to be Attic and attributed it to the Painter of Vatican 309.¹⁰ More recently he has said that it is "perhaps not by the painter himself."¹¹ The same star as on the Reading vase occurs three times on the shoulder of a large hydria in the collection of Dr. Peter Ludwig in Aachen.¹² The bull and the laver on the Aachen hydria in turn are close to the same subject on a lekythos from Olbia in Leningrad,¹³ which Mrs. Ure has independently given to a Euboean workshop.¹⁴

Another neck-amphora that is closely connected with the vases in New York, Harvard, Reading, and Aachen is Boulogne 104. The palmette-lotus festoon on the neck is, of course, dependent on the Attic formula, save that there is a bar or ring in the upright connecting each palmette and each lotus. The composition on the obverse, a duel over the body of a fallen warrior, flanked by a woman (or goddess) and a man on each side, is likewise taken over from the repertory of Attic vase-painters, but the horizontal hems of the mantles, a little below the level of the knees, is not Attic and can best be paralleled in the onlookers that flank the frontal chariot on Dr. Ludwig's hydria. The reverse of the Boulogne neck-amphora shows two men holding

1. By the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of K. Kourouniotes.

2. M. Laurent, *Arkhaiologike Ephemeris* 1901, pp. 183-187.

3. *American Journal of Archaeology* 45 (1941) pp. 64 ff.

4. J. Boardman, *Annual of the British School at Athens* 47 (1952) pp. 1-48, *BSA* 52 (1957) pp. 1-29; A. D. Ure, *BSA* 55 (1960) pp. 211-217, *BSA* 58 (1963) pp. 14-19, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 6 (1959) pp. 1-5, *BICS* 12 (1965) pp. 22-25, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 80 (1960) pp. 160-167, *JHS* 82 (1962) pp. 138-140.

5. *AJA* 46 (1942) p. 576.

6. 2271; *CVA*, pl. 7, 1.

7. *Paralipomena*, p. 50.

8. *JHS* 82 (1962) p. 139.

9. 51.1.2; *Archaeological Reports* 1962-1963, p. 57, fig. 4.

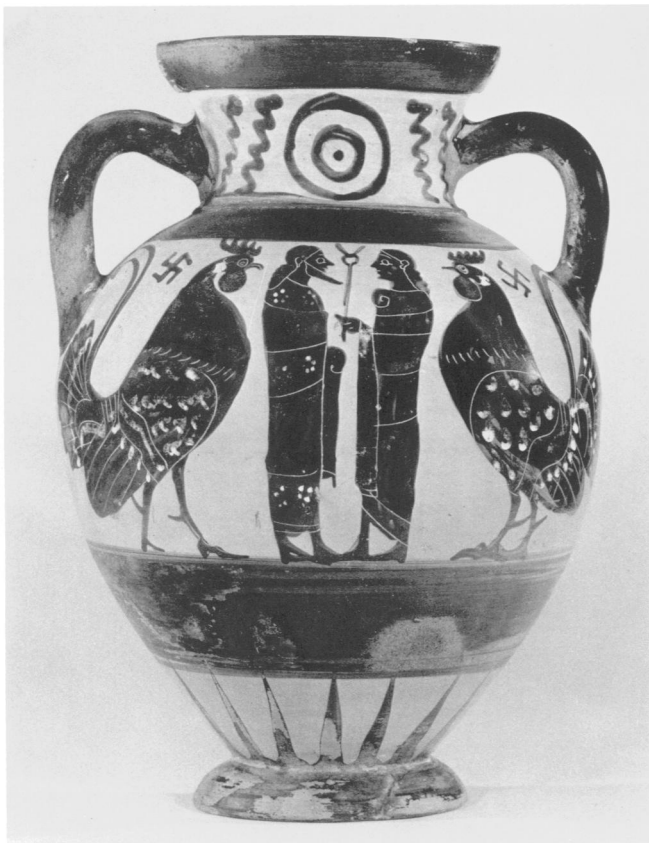
10. *ABV*, p. 121, no. 5.

11. *Paralipomena*, p. 50.

12. R. Lullies, *Griechische Kunstwerke, Sammlung Ludwig (Aachener Kunstblätter* 37 [1968]) pp. 33-34, no. 14.

13. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1912, col. 360, fig. 50; *Arkheologichni pam'yatki URSS* 7 (1958) p. 116, fig. 1.

14. *JHS* 82 (1962) p. 139.



FIGURES 1, 2

Neck-amphora. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 06.1021.35

FIGURES 3, 4

Details of an amphora. Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, 2271, Haynes Bequest



spears, between two sphinxes that avert their heads. Among the filling ornaments are two dot-cluster rosettes and two wedge-shaped lotuses.

Now, these lotus-wedges, tucked so neatly between the wings and the backs of the sphinxes, filling ornaments in the narrow sense of the word, turn up on the shoulder of a hydria in Manchester, found in Veii in 1842, attributed by Charlton to the Lydos-Sakonides Group, and selected by Beazley as the namepiece of the Atalanta Group in his chapter on "Nearchos and Others."¹⁵ In shape this hydria is halfway between those with a round body and the shoulder type. In appearance it is heavy. The pictures are set in panels without ornamental frames, save for the red and black tongues below the junction of neck and shoulder. The

FIGURE 5
Neck-amphora. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 13.75, gift of W. S. Bigelow



FIGURE 6
Hydria. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, X.21.3 (G.R. 525)

oddest feature of this hydria is the total absence of rays above the foot, even though a zone has been left reserved, almost as if rays were intended and then forgotten. Such blank zones are otherwise completely unknown in Attic black-figure¹⁶ and make one wonder. Measured against the background of Attic black-figure, this hydria in Manchester is unorthodox in potting and scheme of decoration and should, therefore, be accommodated somewhere outside Attica. The vase is very dirty and the published illustrations are dim, but the figures are surely by the same hand as the neck-amphora in Boulogne, with which it shares, in addition to the wedge-shaped lotuses, the dot-clusters.

These six vases are, if not all by the same painter, at least related and contemporary. An unnumbered

15. G. Micali, *Monumenti inediti* (Florence, 1844) pl. 41; Charlton, *AJA* 48 (1944) p. 253; *ABV*, p. 91, no. 3.

16. They also occur in the neck-amphorae of Beazley's Group of Rodin 152 (*ABV*, p. 591), a group now augmented by Mrs. Ure and considered by her as Euboean (*BICS* 12 [1965] p. 23).



FIGURE 7
Hydria. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Rogers Fund, 68.11.40

FIGURE 8
Dipinto underneath the foot of the hydria shown
in Figure 7



amphora in the Louvre is less talented. Obverse and reverse are given to an expressionless grouping of a woman between two men. The panels are surmounted by spade-shaped ivy leaves that lack the character of the ivy frames of Harvard 2271. The limp style of the figures recurs on vases of other shapes, notably lekythoi, that for other reasons can be associated with Eretria. Likewise non-Attic, and probably Eretrian, is a neck-amphora in Florence.¹⁷ Here the shape adheres less to the Attic models, and the ornaments, while composed of elements common in Attic black-figure, are arranged in a distinctly non-Attic manner.¹⁸ This neck-amphora is somewhat later than the vases mentioned above and

presupposes an acquaintance with the immediate forerunners of Exekias. Lastly a small neck-amphora in Boston (Figure 5) that has already been proposed for consideration by Amyx:¹⁹ it has recently been cleaned, and it can no longer be accepted as Attic; the drawing of the lotuses, coupled with the liberal use of added white, does indeed suggest Eretria as the home for this small vase.

From amphorae we turn to hydriai. There are two in New York: X.21.3 (G.R.525). Arthur Hoeber, *The Treasures of The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1899) p. 44 (ill.); *Shapes of Greek Vases* (New York, 1922) p. 11 (ill.). On the shoulder, tongues and sigmas. On the body, youth on horseback between two men (Figure 6).

68.11.40. On the shoulder, black and red ivy leaves. On the body, eagle between two sphinxes. Height 22.7 cm. (Figures 7, 8).

Of these two hydriai the first was called Chalcidian by Langlotz during his visit to New York in September 1925. Later, however, he attributed it to the workshop of Würzburg 458 (Figure 9).²⁰ The other hydria is a newcomer and has not been published or mentioned before.

17. 3777; L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* (Paris, 1955) pl. 76, 1.

18. For the palmette-lotus cross compare the ornament on the Eretrian lekane in Reading (*BICS* 12 [1965] pl. 3, 1).

19. 13.75. Amyx, *AJA* 45 (1941) p. 69, note 38.

20. Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg (Munich, 1932) pp. 87-88, no. 458, pl. 122.



FIGURE 9
Detail of an amphora. Martin von Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg, 458

Eretrian hydriai are rather common. The earliest imitate the round-bodied Attic type popular in the "Tyrrhenian" group and the circle of Nearchos. Here the figure decoration is in several zones, but consists exclusively of animals and monsters, with ivy and tongues as the principal ornaments.²¹ Next comes a group of early shoulder-hydriai that take their inspiration from Lydos and his circle. It consists of the hydriai in Reading and Manchester, already mentioned, the two in Mykonos and Montpellier that precede the former in *ABV*,²² the hydria in Aachen, likewise discussed above, and a fragment in the Louvre,²³ augmented by one in Toulouse. On all six the shoulder panel is given over to animals or monsters. A later offshoot of this early group is less dependent on Attic models for the shape. Its members are:

1. Leyden I 1958/1.1. On the shoulder, siren between two cocks. On the body, warrior greaving in the company of Athena and two onlookers (man and boy).
2. Florence (no. missing). On the shoulder, siren between two cocks. On the body, woman between two fighting warriors.
3. London market (*Cat. Sotheby, June 27, 1955*, no. 88). On the shoulder, siren between two cocks. On the body, Dionysos between satyrs and maenads.
4. Athens market (Martinos). On the shoulder, swan and hen. On the body, standing boy between seated youth and seated man.
5. Athens, Pavlos Kanellopoulos. On the shoulder, swan between two lions. On the body, youth and lion.
6. Rhodes 10593. *Clara Rhodes* III (Rhodes, 1929) p. 183, fig. 177 and pl. 100; *CVA* pl. 4, 2 and pl. 5. On the shoulder, hen between two cocks. On the body, seated god between two winged women (Iris?). Put by Beazley near the Painter of the Nicosia Olpe (*Paralipomena*, p. 196).

All of these hydriai are rather small. Nos. 1–5 have a special foot in two or more degrees. In style of drawing nos. 1–3 go together and may be by the same hand. The panel on the body is always framed by ivy on the

sides. In addition, no. 6 has a floral predella of upright buds with dots in the interstices. No. 5 has several dot-clusters of the type associated with Eretrian.

There remain several hydriai that do not form a class or a group but are connected by the syntax: here the shoulder bears a floral pattern.

I. With buds or lotuses on the shoulder

1. Once Paris market, Feuarent. Running woman between two lions. Haspels, *ABL*, p. 16 (there attributed to the Dolphin Group); Beazley, *ABV*, p. 458.
2. Heidelberg 252. *CVA*, pl. 39, 1. Running boy between two men. Beazley, *Paralipomena*, p. 199 (there related to the Dolphin Group).
3. Paestum. *Notizie degli Scavi* 1951, p. 139, fig. 4. Youth on horseback between man and youth.
4. Louvre E 734. Running boy between youth and man.
5. Toronto 939.10.20. Two women under one cloak between two youths.
6. Louvre S 3999. Woman between two youths.
7. Athens 1146. Ph. A.I. NM 3748; *AJA* 45 (1941) p. 65, figs. 1–2. Gorgo.
8. Reading 51.iv.8. Cock and swan. Attributed by Beazley to the Dolphin Group, *ABV*, p. 458, no. 25.
9. Reading (ex Tarporley, Marshall Brooks; *Cat. Sotheby, May 14, 1946*, no. 13). Woman between two youths. Related by Beazley to the Dolphin Group, *Paralipomena*, p. 199.

II. With ivy on the shoulder

10. Taranto. Swan and panther.
11. New York. 68.11.40. Eagle between sphinxes.
12. Athens market (Roussos). Two panthers.
13. Athens, British School. *BSA* 58 (1963) pl. 2, 2. Two women.
14. Stockholm 43. Warrior between two youths.
15. San Simeon 5707 (SSW 10084). Three warriors and two youths.

III. Other patterns

16. Mykonos 1118. On the shoulder, palmette between buds. On the body, upright palmette-lotus.
17. Athens 17876. *CVA* III H g, pl. 17, 2–4. On the shoulder, dots, hanging lotuses, and palmettes. On the body, palmette-lotus cross.
18. New York. X.21.3 (described above).

21. Once Paris, Morin-Jean (Morin-Jean, *Le dessin des animaux en Grèce* [Paris, 1911] p. 121, fig. 138); Louvre E 694 (*ABV*, p. 104, no. 128); Louvre C 11031 and C 11032.

22. *ABV*, p. 121, nos. 3–4.

23. C 10644; *CVA* III H e, pl. 132, 1 (without the Toulouse fragment).

19. Mykonos 1041. On the shoulder, patterns as on no. 18. On the body, two sirens and dot-clusters.

Most of these hydriai are quite small, ranging in height from 10.5 cm. (no. 13) to 24.3 cm. (no. 2). Several among them are attributed or related to the Dolphin Group (nos. 1, 2, 8, 9), so named after the leaping dolphins on the shoulders of some lekythoi. The Dolphin Group and the Dolphin Class of lekythoi were first assembled by Miss Haspels.²⁴ In *ABV* Beazley made several additions,²⁵ and in his *Paralipomena*,²⁶ before making further additions, Beazley acknowledges that many of the vases in this group have now been shown to be Euboean.

As the volume of known Euboean or Eretrian vases grows, it will be easier to recognize different hands. For the moment the rough groupings have to suffice, and the distinction at present is more often between careful and shoddy, early and late, than between painters with fancy names. Thus the Feuadent hydria (no. 1 above) and the sphinx hydria in New York (no. 11 above) go together in quality and time, are by the same potter, and may be painted by the same hand. The hydria in Heidelberg (no. 2 above) could also be by the same potter, but is not by the same hand. Louvre E 734 (no. 4 above) is by the same hand as the unnumbered Louvre amphora mentioned above. The other Louvre hydria (no. 6 above) shares some details in drawing, notably the filling ornaments of ivy leaves, with the hydria in Paestum (no. 3 above) and should still be reckoned as early. The hydriai in Stockholm and San Simeon (nos. 14 and 15 above) are quite late and would even be accepted as poor Attic were it not for the shape and scheme of decoration. The Toronto hydria (no. 5 above) seems to be a hasty work in the tradition of the Heidelberg hydria (no. 2 above), but it cannot even be attributed to the same potter. The Athens hydria (no. 7 above) has already been put in a stylistic context by Amyx;²⁷ it, too, is rather poor. This listing of Eretrian hydriai could be considerably increased if the black-figured vases now in Mykonos were published. My own notes, taken in 1950, are not only far from

complete, but also antedate my interest in, or for that matter recognition of, what I now take to be Eretrian.

Lekythoi, as is to be expected, are very common. There are seven representative examples in New York:

1. Joseph V. Noble Collection, lent to the Museum (L.68.134). Deianeira shape. *Hesperia Art Bulletin* 42, no. 9. Attributed by Beazley to the Painter of Munich 1842 (*Paralipomena*, p. 197). Vintage with satyrs, a maenad, and Dionysos (Figure 10).

FIGURE 10

Lekythos. Collection of Joseph V. Noble, Maplewood, New Jersey



24. *ABL*, pp. 14–16, 28, 193–194.

25. *ABV*, pp. 457–458.

26. *Paralipomena*, p. 198.

27. *AJA* 45 (1941) pp. 64 ff.

2. 41.162.36. Sub-Deianeira shape. *CVA*, pl. 2, 15. Attributed by Miss Haspels to the Dolphin Group (*ABL*, p. 28) and recognized as Euboean by Mrs. Ure (*JHS* 82 [1962] p. 140). Heraldic lions with their heads averted, dot-clusters (Figure 11).

3. 57.12.11. Sub-Deianeira shape. Woman with wreath between two youths (Figure 12).

4. Walter C. Baker Collection, once lent to the Museum (S.L.59.199.77). *Cat. Vente Drouot, 11 juin 1925*, pl. 6, no. 101; Haspels, *ABL*, p. 29; Beazley, *ABV*, p. 698, addendum to p. 459, and p. 716, addendum to p. 698; A. D. Ure in *JHS* 80 (1960) p. 164; D. von Bothmer, *Ancient Art from New York Private Collections* (New

York, 1961) pp. 50–51, no. 195, pls. 65, 69; A. D. Ure, *JHS* 82 (1962) p. 140. Young horseman between a striding and a running youth (Figure 13).

5. Jan Mitchell Collection, lent to the Museum (L.63.21.3). *Sammlung A. Ruesch, Auktion Galerie Fischer, Luzern, September 1–2, 1936*, pl. 1, no. 2; *Cat. Parke-Bernet, April 5, 1963*, no. 8. On the shoulder, hounds chasing a hare into a trap. On the body, two women between two mounted youths (Figures 14–17).

6. Antony G. Lykiardopoulos Collection, lent to the Museum (L.62.81). On the shoulder, buds. On the body, hanging palmettes and lotuses (Figure 18).

7. 30.115.27. On the shoulder, palmette between

FIGURE 11

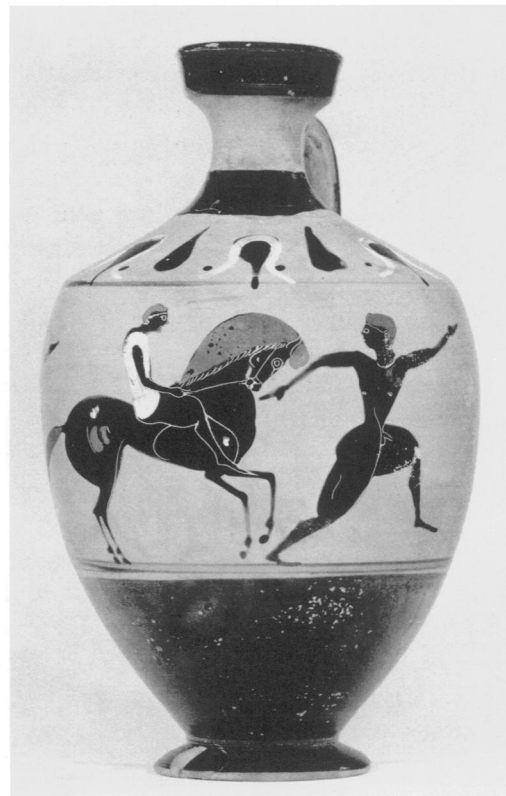
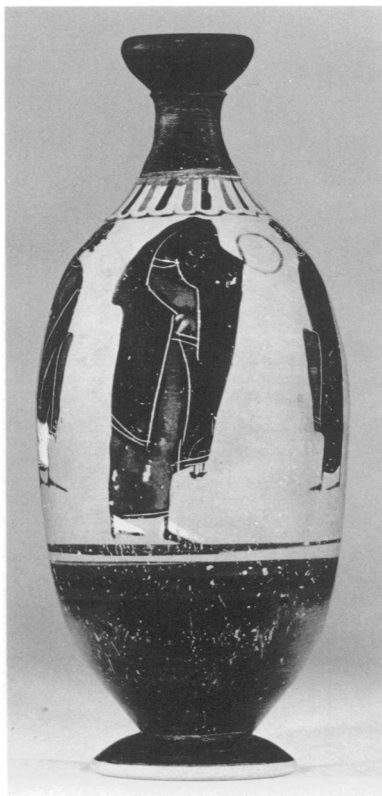
Lekythos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 41.162.36

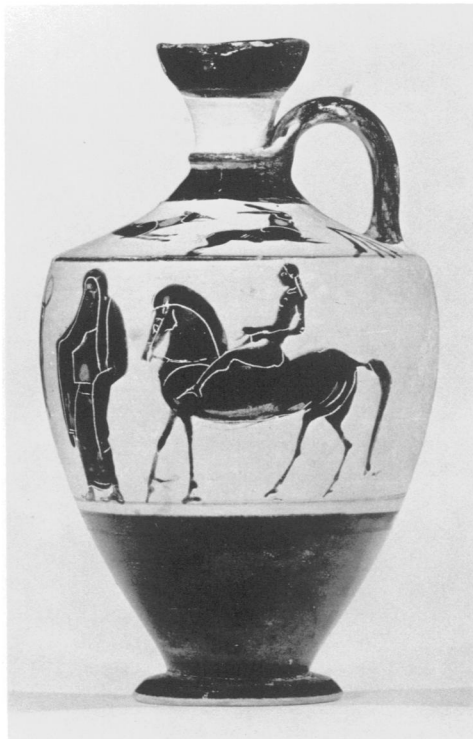
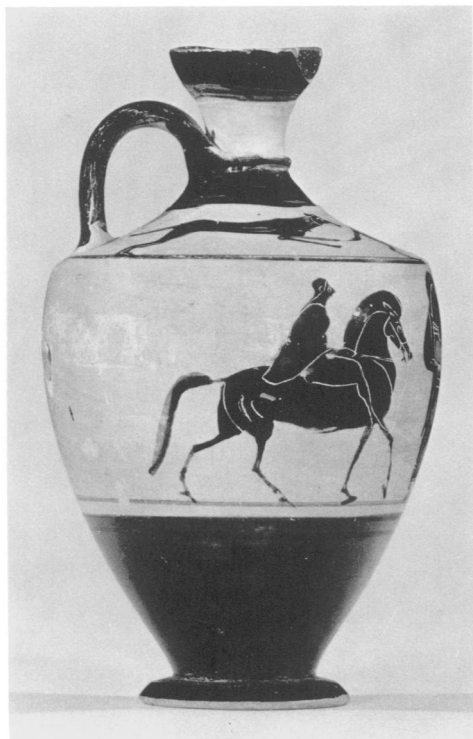
FIGURE 12

Lekythos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Ernest Brummer, 57.12.11

FIGURE 13

Lekythos. Collection of Walter C. Baker, New York





FIGURES 14-16
Lekythos. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Jan Mitchell, New York

FIGURE 17
Detail of the lekythos shown in Figures 14-16



FIGURE 18
Lekythos. Collection of Antony G. Lykiardopoulos, New York

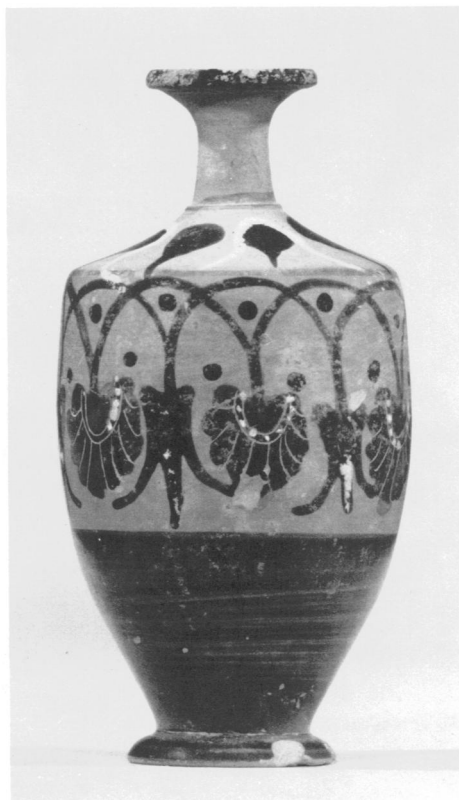




FIGURE 19
Lekythos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, be-
quest of Theodore M. Davis, 30.115.27



FIGURES 20, 21
Details of the lekythos shown in Figure 19

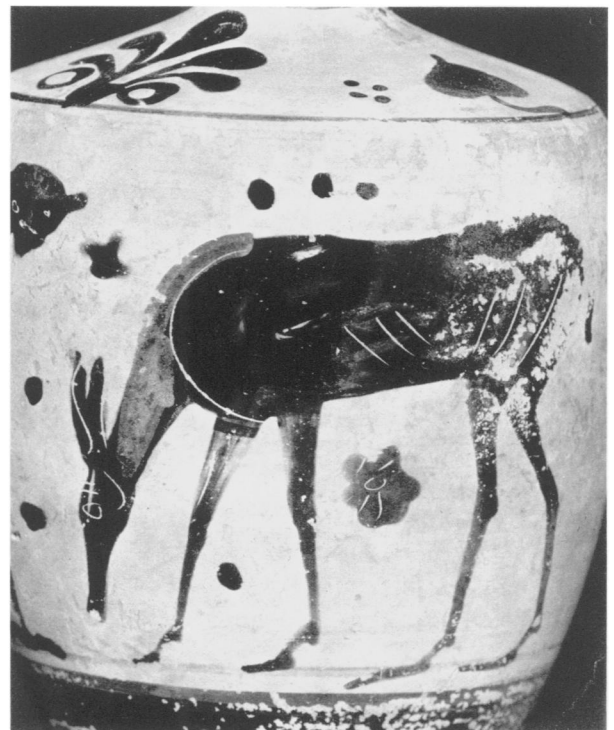




FIGURE 22
Lekythos. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1913.109, Stoddard Collection



FIGURES 23, 24
Lekythos. Hanover, Kestner Museum, 1966.21



dot-clusters and ivy leaves. On the body, panther and deer (Figures 19–21).

These seven lekythoi are a fair cross section of what happens to Attic standards of shape and design in a foreign country. To an uncritical eye, all could, and most of them did, indeed, pass for Attic. The Deianeira lekythos owned by Mr. Noble (no. 1 above) is by the Painter of Munich 1842, the chief artist of the Blackneck Class, a class to which no. 3 above also belongs. In these two lekythoi the base is rather pinched and the profile of the lower body is an inverted ogee, features that can also be seen in Miss Haspels's nos. 2, 8, and 20 (Figure 22), and in Beazley's numbers 4, 5, and 7, all Blacknecks, as well as in Athens 497, related by Miss Haspels to her Blackneck Class.²⁸ The inverted ogee is perhaps borrowed from such Attic *cylinder* lekythoi as Paris, Cab. Méd. 277.²⁹ In scheme of decoration all the Deianeira and sub-Deianeira lekythoi by the Painter of Munich 1842 or related to him share in the same conventions: the picture is set in a panel surmounted by tongues. In the more ambitious examples³⁰ the panels are framed on the sides and above by double lines; others have single lines instead, as no. 1 above; and some, like the lekythos no. 3 above, dispense with them altogether. The Blackneck Class has, in point of drawing, some connections with the Dolphin Group, and it remains to be seen whether the entire class should not be removed from Attica and assigned to Euboea.

The other sub-Deianeira lekythos in New York (no. 2 above) is in shape very close to the Attic prototypes. Here a Euboean attribution is based exclusively on the style of drawing. Miss Haspels had already put it with a lekythos in Chalcis,³¹ and Beazley³² had seen the close connection with the Feuardent hydria, mentioned earlier. They are, in fact, by the same hand, and as all three vases are part of the Dolphin Group, the stylistic comparisons encourage us to claim the *entire* Dolphin Group for Euboea. The favorite shape of this group is the shoulder-lekythos: to the eighteen given by Miss

Haspels,³³ Beazley added twenty-two in *ABV*³⁴ and another six in *Paralipomena*.³⁵ The lekythos lent by Mr. Lykiardopoulos (no. 6 above) is a typical example. The bulbous buds on the shoulder, capped by a white arching line to suggest the petals of a lotus flower, are perhaps the most characteristic Euboean convention for this floral ornament and have already been encountered on the small hydria in the Louvre discussed earlier. This lekythos goes with nos. 8–12 in Miss Haspels's list³⁶ and with nos. 17 and 18 in Beazley's.³⁷ The shoulder ornament links this lekythos with the one in Mr. Baker's collection (no. 4 above), which is connected by its ornament with the Dolphin Group. Most of the lekythoi of the Group proper are devoid of human beings. Beazley has noted that the Baker lekythos is near one formerly in the Trau collection³⁸ that has a komos of a woman and two boys, and I had claimed a lekythos in Rostock³⁹ to be by the same hand as the Baker lekythos; Mrs. Ure has now associated the Baker lekythos with a lekane in Amsterdam.⁴⁰ She later⁴¹ spoke of a group that she proposes to deal with more fully.

Mr. Mitchell's lekythos (no. 5 above) is also related to the Dolphin Group. The hounds on the shoulder that pursue a hare are not too far from the shoulder scene of the lekythos once in David M. Robinson's collection,⁴² now added by Beazley to the Dolphin Group,⁴³ while the two women on the body resemble in their odd stance the women on the lekythos from Hermione, in Heidelberg, the name-piece of Beazley's Hermione Group.⁴⁴ For the rather crude trap set up for the hare, compare the more elaborate structure on the lekythos Boston 08.291, the name-piece of the Painter of Boston 08.291.⁴⁵

The last lekythos in New York that I propose to assign to Euboea (no. 7 above) came to the Museum in 1915 in the bequest of Theodore M. Davis, but in over fifty years of continuous exhibition it has never been attributed. This would be exceptional for an Attic vase, especially a black-figured lekythos, but it begins to

28. *ABL*, p. 27.

29. *ABL*, pl. 2, 2.

30. E.g., Louvre F 182 (*ABL*, p. 195, no. 1).

31. 569 (*JHS* 82 [1962] pl. 10, 1–2).

32. *ABV*, p. 458.

33. *ABL*, pp. 193–194.

34. *ABV*, pp. 457–458.

35. *Paralipomena*, p. 198.

36. *ABL*, p. 193.

37. *ABV*, p. 457.

38. *ABV*, p. 698 (now Basle, Robert Hess).

39. *ABV*, p. 716; *AA* 1918, col. 126.

40. *JHS* 80 (1960) pl. 11, 3 and pl. 12, 1–3.

41. *JHS* 82 (1962) p. 140.

42. *AJA* 60 (1956) pl. 2, 8–9.

43. *Paralipomena*, p. 198, no. 3 bis.

44. *ABV*, p. 456, no. 1.

45. *ABV*, p. 92; *Antike Kunst* 12 (1969) pl. 4, 1–4.

make sense once we realize that the vase is not Attic. In shape it resembles the Attic lekythoi of the Phanyllis Class,⁴⁶ but the shoulder decoration—an upright palmette between two ivy leaves—is rare in Attic: Miss Haspels gives but six examples.⁴⁷ What gives the clew as to the probable place of origin of this lekythos is the pair of dot-clusters on the shoulder, a pattern that we have come to associate with Euboean vases. Also in favor of a Euboean origin is the white T that marks the eyebrows and the nose of the panther, a simplified rendering of the more careful white markings encountered on the neck-amphora in Boston (Figure 5). If the lekythos in New York can be reckoned as Eretrian (or at least Euboean), so should its mate, a lekythos recently acquired by Hanover (Figures 23, 24), which may count as a replica.

It would be narrow in the extreme merely to propose some vases in New York as candidates for the ever-growing body of Euboean without applying some of the arguments here advanced to some other vases outside New York and not yet considered non-Attic. In the case of the lekythoi there are several prospects, not by themselves forming a group:

1. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1913. 110. Haspels, *ABL*, p. 21, with bibliography. On the shoulder, palmette flanked by lotuses, dot-clusters, a panther, and a lion. On the body, Herakles and Kyknos, between two onlookers. Exceptionally large (height 32 cm.) (Figures 25–29).

2. Munich 1843 (J.1115). On the shoulder, palmette, dot-cluster, two buds. On the body, eight boys. The mouth is lost. Height, as preserved, 23.8 cm.

3. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 48.201. On the shoulder, palmette-lotus between dot-rosettes and panthers. On the body, departure of warriors.

4. Washington, Corcoran Gallery of Art, W. A. Clark Collection, 26.663. On the shoulder, buds. On the body, two heraldic sphinxes, dot-rosette, and dot-circle. The pictures are in panels (Figure 30).

5. Louvre, n.n. On the shoulder, swan between two hens. On the body, rider between two onlookers. Proto-cylinder; the base and foot are missing.

6. London 1927.4-12.4, from Lake Copais. On the

shoulder, buds and blobs. On the body, youth mounted on goat between two archers. Height 13.9 cm.

7. Athens, Agora, P. 15430. *Hesperia* 20 (1951) pl. 43, a, 2. On the shoulder, buds and blobs. On the body, woman between two youths facing a similar trio. Related by Beazley to the Dolphin Group (*Paralipomena*, p. 199).

8. Basle Market (M.M.) *Hesperia Art Bulletin* 4, no. 44. On the shoulder, buds and blobs. On the body, gorgoneion, to which are attached the protomai of a lion and of a horse. Height 15 cm.

9. London market (*Cat. Sotheby, April 29, 1963*, no. 176). On the shoulder (in silhouette), hen between hanging buds. On the body, rider between two warriors. Height 7½ inches.

10. Zurich market (Arete). On the shoulder, upright ivy leaf. On the body, cock between two sphinxes. Height 14 cm.

11. London market (*Cat. Sotheby, October 18, 1965*, no. 203). On the shoulder, buds. On the body, cock (or hen) and swan. Height 7½ inches.

12. Paris, Mrs. L. V. Schneider. On the shoulder, buds. On the body, two heraldic lions.

13. Athens market (Vitalis). On the shoulder, buds. On the body, swan.

14. Athens market (Roussos). Replica of no. 13.

15. Athens, Pavlos Kanellopoulos. On the shoulder, buds. On the body, two pairs of a woman and a man, and another woman.

16. Budapest 64.15. On the shoulder, buds. On the body, cock and panther. Assigned to the Dolphin Class by Szilágyi. The mouth is missing. Height 9.8 cm.

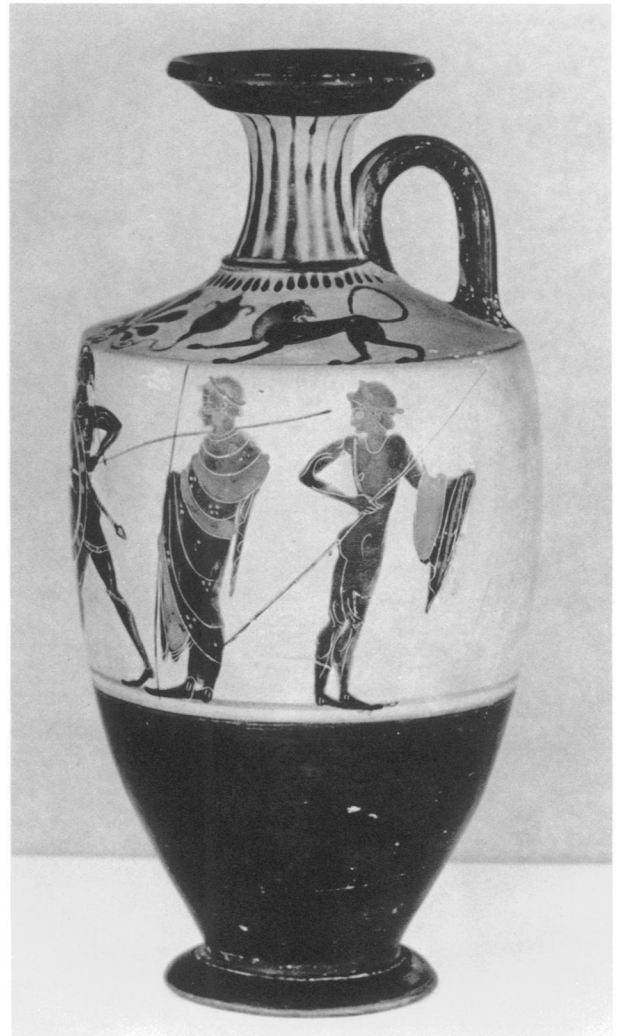
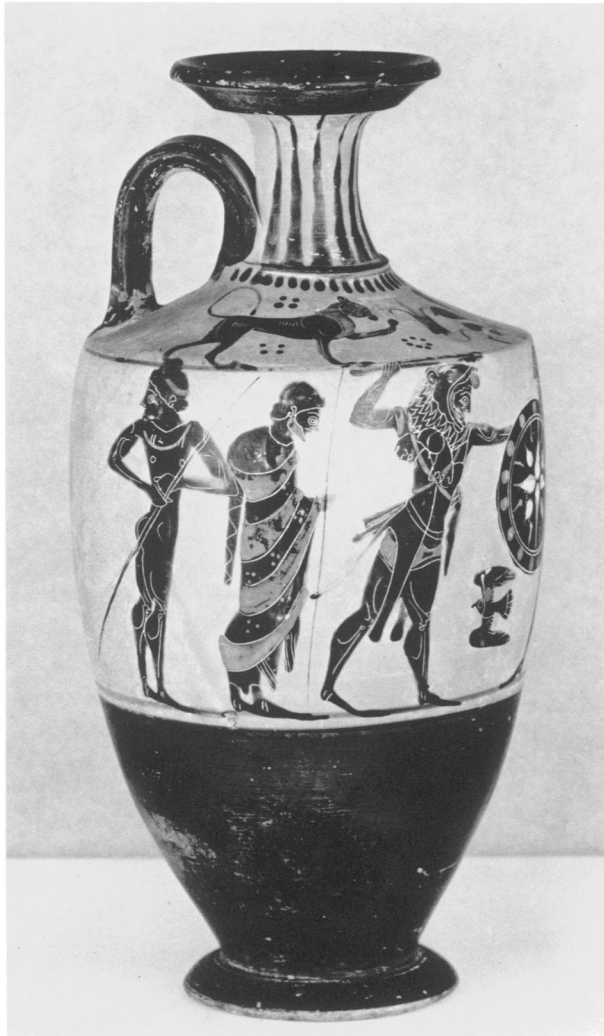
Earliest of these is the proto-cylinder in the Louvre (no. 5). In shape it imitates the proto-cylinders decorated by the Painter of London B 31.⁴⁸ The connection with what is now held to be Euboean is proved by the convention of the added white details in the animals of the shoulder. The clumsiness (as opposed to mere haste) in the drawing of the figures on the body rules out Attic. The panel-lekythos in Washington (no. 4) is paralleled in Attic by lekythoi attributed to the Elbows Out Painter⁴⁹ as far as the scheme of decoration goes. The drip-ring on the neck, however, absent in the

46. *ABL*, pp. 64–65; *ABV*, pp. 463–466.

47. *ABL*, pp. 17, 67.

48. *ABL*, p. 452.

49. *ABV*, p. 249, nos. 14–16.





FIGURES 25-27
Lekythos. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, 1913.110, Stoddard Collection

FIGURES 28-29
Details of the lekythos shown in Figure 25

FIGURE 30
Lekythos. Washington, D.C., W. A. Clark Collection of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, A 26.663

Attic examples just cited, shows that the potter of the Washington lekythos was inspired by other models. The lekythoi in New Haven, Munich, and Baltimore (nos. 1-3) are connected through the decoration of the shoulder, which evokes the Phanyllis Class of Attic lekythoi. The Yale lekythos (no. 1) is the most ambitious; the Baltimore lekythos (no. 3) is very rustic; and the one in Munich (no. 2) is perhaps the latest. No two of these three are by the same hand. Nos. 6-8 share the same ornament for the shoulder. The provenance of no. 6 raises the possibility of a Boeotian workshop, rather than a Euboean one, but, on the other hand, the connection of no. 7 with the Dolphin Group again points to Euboea. Nos. 11-14 and no. 16 are members of the Dolphin Group. The lack of incisions on the shoulder of no. 9 should be counted as a Euboean



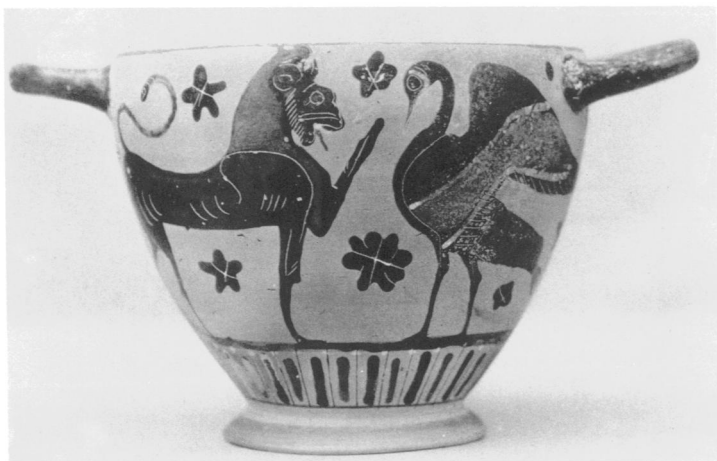


FIGURE 31
Skyphos. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Fletcher Fund, 24.97.94

FIGURE 32
Underside of the skyphos shown in Figure 31



feature.⁵⁰ The treatment of the stemless bud above the saddle of the cock on no. 10 strikes me as Euboean. Lastly, the Kanellopoulos lekythos (no. 15): the shape is quite unusual, with mouth, neck, and shoulder not articulated ceramically, and the figures are very quaint. The white petals of the buds on the shoulder and the odd disregard for the ground line in the figures are very Euboean.

The other shapes, as is to be expected, are not so well represented in New York. Mrs. Ure has shown that some lekanai only superficially resemble the typical Boeotian vases of that shape and should be counted as Euboean.⁵¹ Among the drinking cups none has as yet been claimed for Euboea, though such a transfer may be proposed for Heidelberg 283 (*CVA*, pl. 43, 7), Potenza (ph. R.I. 66.1038), once Matsch (*CVA*, pl. 4, 4, 6, and 8), and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 48.222. Of the skyphoi one particularly striking example is in New York:

Acc. no. 24.97.94. On each side, lion and swan. Under one handle, waterbird. On the underside of the base, swan (Figures 31, 32). Attributed by Beazley⁵² to the Dolphin Group and compared with an unpublished lekythos in the Benachi collection.⁵³ This skyphos is of Corinthian type, and the shape as well as the decoration were at one time considered Corinthian.⁵⁴ The appearance of a figure in the tondo on the underside of the base is, of course, unexpected, though known from Corinthian.⁵⁵ In an Attic skyphos such a detail would be almost incongruous: in Euboean, which did not really develop shapes and schemes of decoration but adapted what was on hand, it is less astonishing.

Similar consideration of shape and decoration have led me to assign to Euboea a plate: Walter Bareiss Collection, lent to the Metropolitan Museum (L.68.145). On the rim, ivy wreath. In the tondo, Iris above a snake (Figures 33, 34).

Though it lacks the telltale lotuses with white sepals, so prominent on the rims of the plates in Delos and the Louvre,⁵⁶ in drawing the winged figure is close to the

50. See *BICS* 6 (1959) pp. 1 ff.

51. *JHS* 80 (1960) pp. 160 ff.

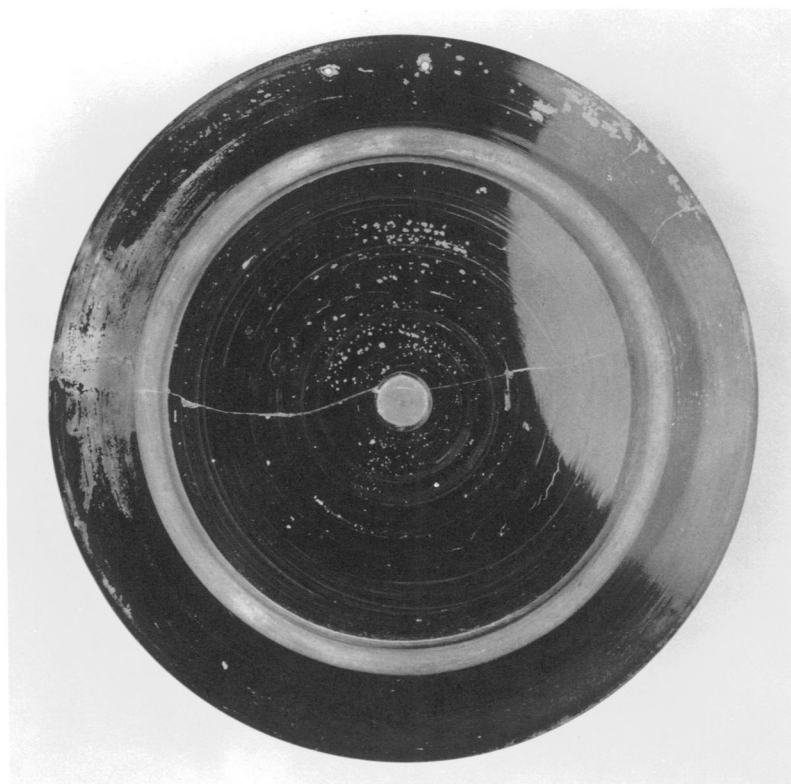
52. *ABV*, p. 459, no. 27.

53. *ABV*, p. 458, no. 20.

54. *BMMA* 20 (1925) p. 297.

55. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford, 1931) p. 309, nos. 941–942.

56. Put together by Boardman (*BSA* 52 [1957] p. 19 and pl. 6, a).



FIGURES 33, 34
Plate. Collection of Walter Bareiss,
Greenwich, Connecticut

winged figures on the other two plates. The underside is completely glazed, save for the base ring and a tiny circular depression in the center. The glaze and shape of the plate differ from the Attic examples.

This concludes, at least for the moment, the account of Eretrian or Euboean black-figure in New York. As a derivative art, it can never claim to rival the styles of its more popular and more forceful neighbors, especially Corinth and Attica, but it would be unfair if Euboean lost out on the recognition of its identity, merely because so little of it is known and so much of what is left is considered unimportant.⁵⁷ The very secondary character of its ceramic art poses a problem to scholars. The small number of vases that can be considered makes the task more arduous. But the lessons learned from a thorough study of Corinthian and Attic can be applied with profit to other styles. If the

new excavations in Eretria conducted by a team of Greek and Swiss scholars were centered on the Eretrian necropolis, the results of such a dig would soon establish as a fact what up to now is largely guesswork. As these excavations, however, move into a different, ceramically less rewarding direction, such painstaking gleanings as those here outlined will have to do for some time to come.

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 ph. R.I.—Rome, German Institute, photograph.

A Literary Aspect of the Bury St. Edmunds Cross

SABRINA LONGLAND

*Former Research Assistant, Department of Medieval Art and
The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE INTEGRATION of religious art and literature found expression in unlimited ways during the Middle Ages. A good example of the harmonious combination of poetry and pictures is the beautiful ninth-century Utrecht Psalter,¹ where we see the simplest of the many ways of combination, namely the illustration, alongside the words, of the events described in the Psalms. A more subtle and involved fusion was the application on works of art of particular and unusual texts chosen for their instructive meaning. The curious Latin distich that is carved in majuscules down the sides of the late twelfth-century² ivory cross in the Cloisters Collection (Figures 1, 2), belongs in this category:

CHAM RIDET DUM NUDA VIDET PUDIBUNDA PARENTIS
IUDEI RISERE DEI PENAM MOR[IENTIS]

(Cham laughed when he saw the shameful nakedness of his parent;

The Jews laughed at the pain of the dying God.)

This inscription is intriguing for three reasons. First, although the ultimate source appears to be obscure,

the first half of the verse is recorded as having existed in slightly altered form on a now-destroyed choir screen of roughly the same date as the cross; this is the only other known example of its occurrence on a work of art. Second, the complete couplet is found, with small changes in the wording but not in the basic structure, in numerous medieval texts of varying date; through most of these texts it can be traced to a single author, who, however, still does not represent the earliest stage of its use. The third cause for the singular interest of the inscription lies in its content: a study of the Christian writings from which it derived, and of the texts that actually contain it, shows that medieval theologians found an allegory, and also several moral meanings, in the scene of Noah's drunkenness to which it alludes.

The remarkable fact that a verse extremely close to the first line of the cross inscription once existed on the painted choir screen, made around 1181, in the abbey church at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, has been a strong reason for attributing the cross to that monastery.³ The

1. Utrecht, University Library MS. 32.

2. The most plausible date is the decade 1180–1190. See Thomas P. F. Hoving, "The Bury St. Edmunds Cross," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 22 (1964) pp. 317–340, especially p. 339.

3. Hoving, "Bury Cross," p. 338.

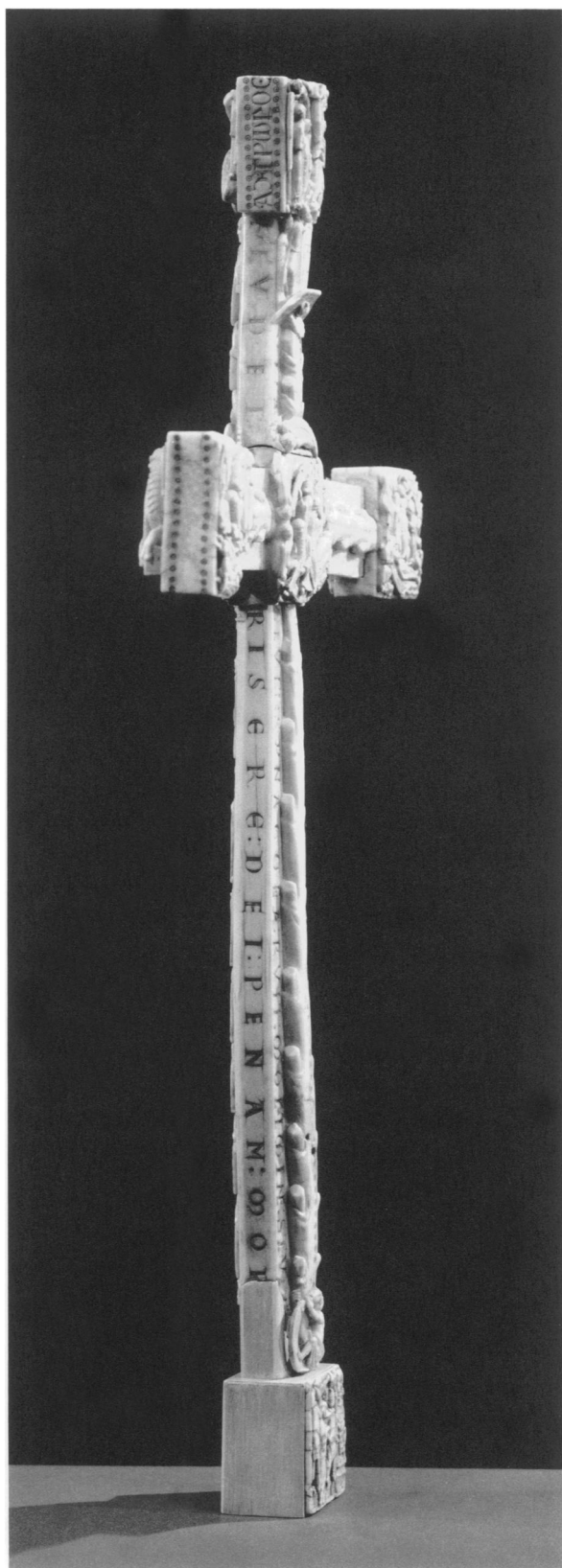
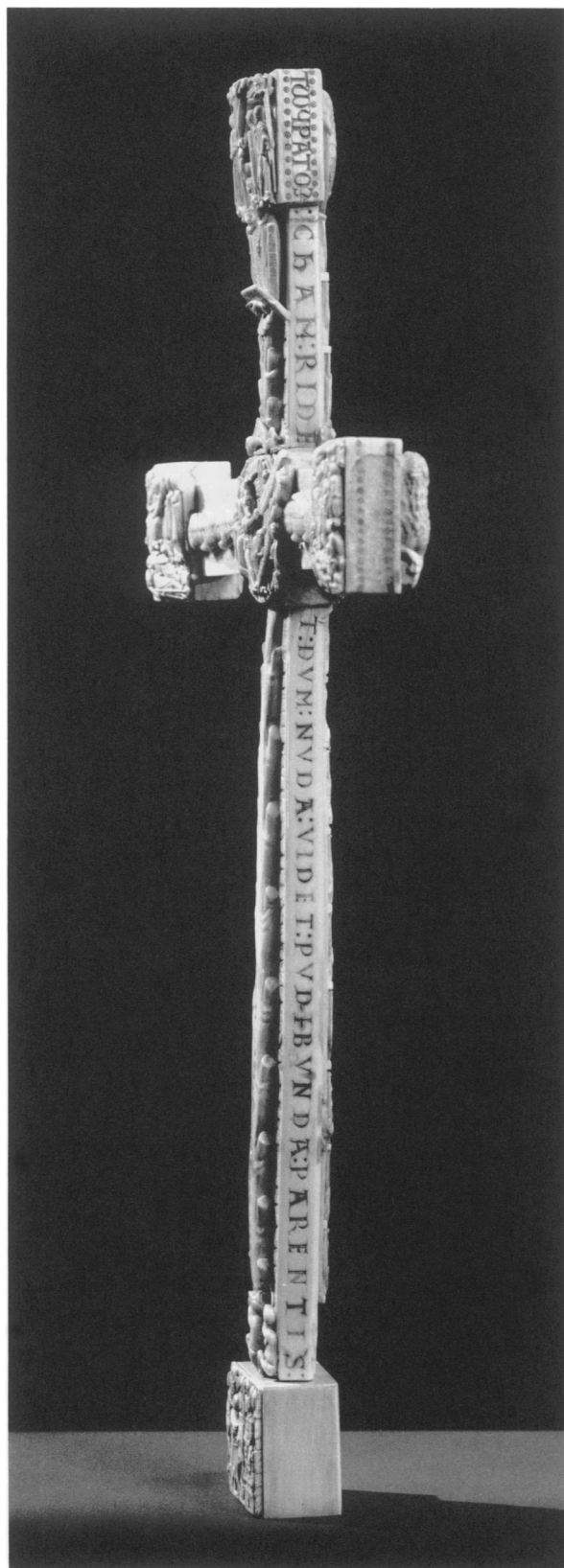


FIGURE 1

Cross, English, probably about 1180–1190. Walrus ivory, 22½ × 14¼ inches. Side view from the right, showing the first line of the *Cham ridet* inscription on the shaft sides. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 63.12 and 63.127

FIGURE 2

Side view of the Cloisters cross from the left, showing the second line of the inscription on the shaft sides

verse, which reads “Cham dum nuda videt patris genitalia ridet,”⁴ is found in a manuscript written for the Abbey of St. Edmund, which left the abbey library at the Dissolution and is now Arundel MS. XXX in the College of Arms, London (Figure 3). Among the miscellaneous contents of this volume,⁵ all copied down in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is a mass of verses and inscriptions, which some industrious person transcribed, probably around 1300, from decoration schemes in various English churches. Most of these verses were copied from stained-glass windows, altarpieces, tapestries, sculptures, and wall paintings in the abbey church and the conventual buildings at Bury. They were studied and described in detail by the late Montague Rhodes James,⁶ who considered that the list of ninety Genesis subjects headed *in choro et circa*, found on folios 211 verso–212 verso, represents the set of scenes and verses that was put together for the decoration of the choir screen.⁷ Each subject in the list is described by a leonine hexameter like the one quoted above (Figure 3); it is the seventeenth verse in the set, and falls between one on Noah’s vintage and one on the Tower of Babel.⁸

The actual choir screen or *pulpitum*, almost certainly

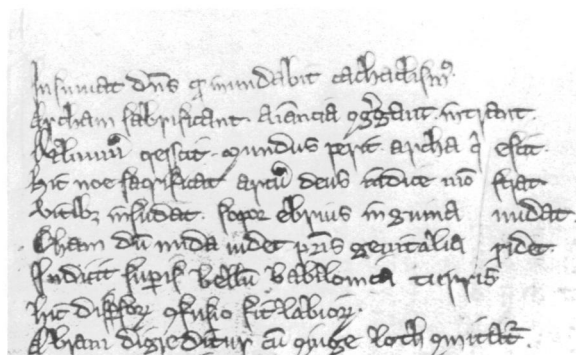


FIGURE 3

Leonine hexameters, lines 12–20 of a set of ninety verses based on Genesis. In a volume from Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, copied about 1300. Thought to be the “elegiac verses” arranged by Abbot Samson for his painted choir in 1181. College of Arms, London, Arundel MS. XXX, detail of fol. 212 recto. By permission of the Chapter of the College of Arms

of stone, was built by Hugo the Sacrist about 1180.⁹ M. R. James thought that, as well as separating the choir from the nave, it must have extended east to enclose the choir itself on the north and south (see below). It was destroyed or fell into ruin, along with the church, after the dissolution of the monastery in 1539; fortunately Jocelin of Brakelond, who entered the convent of Bury in 1173, tells us about its adornment in his famous *Chronicle*. He writes: “In diebus illis chorus noster fuit erectus, Samsone procurante, historias picture ordinante, et versus elegiacos dictante.” (“In those days our choir was built under the direction of Samson, who arranged the painted stories from the Bible and composed the elegiac verses.”)¹⁰

4. “When Cham sees the naked genitals of his father he laughs.”

5. The MS. is described by W. H. Black, *Catalogue of the Arundel Manuscripts in the Library of the College of Arms* (1829, privately printed) pp. 44–57. Also by Antonia Gransden, ed. and trans., *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds 1212–1301* (London, 1964) pp. xxxviii–xlii.

6. M. R. James, “On the Abbey Church of S. Edmund at Bury,” *Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 8vo Publications*, no. 28 (1895) pp. 126–127, 131, 186–203.

7. James, “S. Edmund at Bury,” pp. 130–132, 202.

8. Verse 16: “Vitibus insudat. Sopor ebrius inguina nudat.” (“He toils at the vines. Drunken sleep lays bare his loins.”) Verse

18: “Indicit superis bellum Babilonica turris.” (“The tower of Babel declares war on the gods.”)

9. The rood, or crucifix, which surmounted the screen, and its accompanying figures were also put up by Hugo. See James, “S. Edmund at Bury,” p. 130; also p. 153: “. . . dominus Hugo sacrista . . . Pulpitum in ecclesia aedificavit, magna cruce erecta, cum imaginibus . . . Marie et S. Johannis sibi allaterantibus.” Extract from *Gesta Sacristarum (Memorials of St. Edmund’s Abbey)*, ed. T. Arnold, Rolls Series (1890–1896) II, p. 289.

10. *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. & trans. H. E. Butler (Oxford, 1949) p. 9 and note 2.

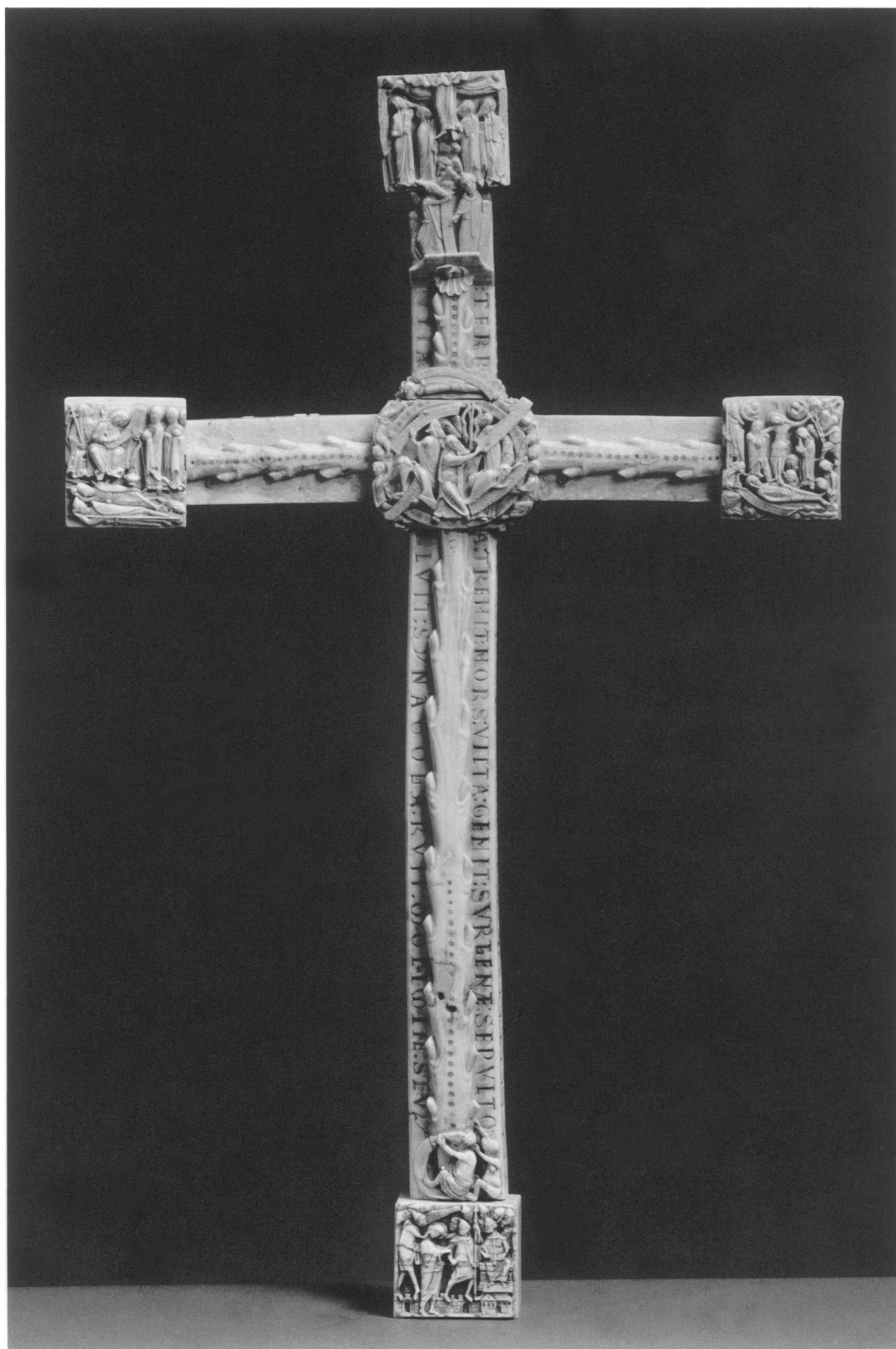


FIGURE 4

Front view of the Cloisters cross, showing the *Terra tremit* inscription on the front of the shaft

"In those days" refers to 1181, the year of vacancy between Abbot Hugh's death in November 1180 and Samson's election in late February 1182. Before becoming abbot at the age of forty-seven (he was born around 1135), the energetic and forcible Samson was the sub-sacrist, and as such was in charge of the workmen (*magister super operarios*). He continued to rule the abbey as abbot until his death in 1214; it is most likely, therefore, that he did at least select the "elegiac verses" that Jocelin speaks of, but whether Jocelin is correct in saying that he actually wrote them is arguable and will be discussed below.

M. R. James believed that the Arundel verses did accompany Samson's paintings and that they decorated the north and south outer wall of the extended choir screen (or more aptly, the choir enclosure), forming a backing to the choir stalls. Further, he was "inclined to believe" that the verses do represent Samson's work, despite the fact that they are leonine hexameters, whereas Jocelin calls them, "elegiac verses."

In addition to describing an elegiac couplet (a dactylic hexameter and a pentameter), the term *elegiac* can also be used to refer to verses that are mournful in character (from the Greek *elegos*, "mournful poem"), or to mean simply "poetic." It is doubtful whether Jocelin the chronicler, who was a delightful but somewhat naïve writer and storyteller rather than a great scholar, was using the word in any strict sense beyond meaning poetic verses of a serious nature. These the Arundel verses certainly are, describing ninety subjects from the Book of Genesis that adorned the most sacred part of the church, the choir. We can thus accept them as Jocelin's "elegiac verses." The important question remains. Would Samson (or anyone) have composed them and the cross distich as well? It should be mentioned at this point that there is another couplet with the same meter and rhyme scheme¹¹ inscribed in majuscules down the front of the Cloisters cross (Figure 4):

11. Dactylic hexameters with two-syllabled internal and tail rhymes. The tail rhyme was a strictly medieval practice; both it and the internal rhyme of two syllables were used from the eleventh century onward.

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
TERRA TREMIT MORS VICTA GEMIT SURGENTE
— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
SEPULTO

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
VITA CLUIT SYNAGOGA RUIT MOLIMINE STULT[O].

(Earth trembles, and defeated death moans as He that was buried arises;
Life hears herself called while the Synagogue falls by its own foolish efforts.)¹²

Both couplets were obviously either composed or chosen by the same man:

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
CHAM RIDET DUM NUDA VIDET PUDIBUNDA PARENTIS
— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
IUDEI RISERE DEI PENAM MOR[IENTIS].

Whoever the author was, he used the same meter as the monk Bernard of Morlas in his long satirical poem *De Contemptu Mundi*, as well as a similar (but not identical) triple rhyme scheme. Two famous quotations from Bernard's poem are:

— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus.
— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —
ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille supremus.

Urbs Syon aurea, patria lactea, cive decora.
omne cor obruis, omnibus obstruis, et cor et ora.

Bernard lived at Cluny in the time of Abbot Peter the Venerable (died 1142), to whom he dedicated the poem. This dedication contains several revealing comments. Bernard says that he is writing in verse because it will appeal to people more than prose, and moreover, that rhymes are easier to remember and therefore to learn from. He also refers to his achievement in having composed such a long poem in such a difficult meter, and admits that he could not have done it without divine inspiration. His pride was justifiable: he had written some three thousand dactylic hexameter lines, which rhyme in pairs with two-syllabled end rhymes,

12. I have so far been unable to trace this inscription.

and in which there are internal rhymes after the second and fourth dactyls in each line—*a a b, c c b*. Bernard's internal rhyme differs from that on the Cloisters cross in one important way: the feet divisions are also word divisions, and this makes it possible to divide the one line into three separate lines. This would never happen in classical poetry and tends to make the reading monotonous. The ivory-cross lines are far more classical.¹³

Few medieval poets besides Bernard combined dactylic hexameters with the triple division of interior and final rhymes. Marbod of Rennes (1035–about 1123) used the construction in a poem on the Virgin Mary:

– ∪ ∪ | – – | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪
 Stella maris, quae sola paris sine coniuge prolem,
 – ∪ ∪ | – | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪
 iustitiae clarum specie super omnia solem,

His younger contemporary Hildebert of Lavardin (died 1133) is said to have used it, but sparingly. Peter the Venerable also did in his “Rhythmus in laude Salvatoris”; perhaps he was copying Bernard, but the result was even more monotonous in spite of the dramatic content.

In the Arundel manuscript verse the order of the words has been changed round, and *genitalia*, a five-syllabled word, has been substituted for the four-syllabled *pudibunda*. To avoid incorrect scansion of the
 – – – – –
 verse, however, *patris* has been used instead of *parentis*:

– – – – – | – ∪ ∪ | – – | – ∪ ∪ | – ∪ ∪ | – –
 Cham dum nuda videt patris genitalia ridet.

This is the only example of the verse I know of that has *patris* and not *parentis*.

Jocelin says¹⁴ that Abbot Samson “was eloquent both in French and Latin, having regard rather to the sense of what he had to say than to ornaments of speech,”

and that he “used to preach in English to the people, but in the speech of Norfolk, where he was born and bred . . .,” but that he “seemed . . . to love the active life more than the contemplative; he had more praise for good obedientaries than for good cloister monks; and rarely did he approve of any man solely for his knowledge of literature, unless he were also wise in worldly affairs.” There is more in the same vein, such as the telling remark that Samson “hated wordy fellows.” All of Jocelin’s description serves to give us a picture of a man who, although he was well educated and had a versatile mind with erudition at his command, was not addicted to scholarship as an end in itself. He saw fit to concentrate on active administration rather than on academic pursuits.¹⁵ Such an abbot was needed, since the Abbey of St. Edmund, although greatly venerated as the ancient shrine of a royal Saxon martyr, was famed more for its material wealth and kingly patronage than for ascetic and spiritual zeal. The affairs of the abbey demanded constant attention from its abbot,¹⁶ who was moreover a great feudal overlord managing the whole town of Bury St. Edmunds as well as the Liberty, an estate of eight and a half hundreds.¹⁷

Samson would have known quite well how to compose verse; poetry was studied in the monastery and cathedral schools, and textbooks on poetical composition were in vogue by at least 1175. Even so, a man such as the one Jocelin describes, when he needed a set of verses to accompany his Genesis scenes round the choir, might well look around for inspiration in various books, such as miscellaneous verse collections or Bible commentaries with marginal annotations, rather than construct all ninety leonine hexameters from scratch.

It is unlikely that the same person wrote both groups of verses, since the Arundel line is clearly an imitation. There are three possibilities. One is that the author of the Arundel rhyme (Samson) derived his line from the cross couplet, which he had seen or knew of, and fiddled about with the word order to fit it to his own scheme. An alternative is that the designers of both

13. Mr. Christopher Hohler of The Courtauld Institute of Art first drew my attention to the parallels between the meter and rhyme of the Cluny verses and those on the ivory-cross shaft. On Bernard of Morlas, see F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1966) pp. 315–318 and notes. I am grateful to Mr. Brian Cook of the British Museum for technical criticism of the rhyme schemes that I have discussed.

14. *Jocelin*, p. 40.

15. David Knowles, *Saints and Scholars* (Cambridge, 1962) pp. 64–69, makes this point in his portrait of Samson. See also Gransden, *Bury Chronicle*, p. xiv.

16. Gransden, *Bury Chronicle*, pp. xxix–xxx.

17. *Jocelin* (Intro.) pp. xxiv–xxvi.

the choir screen and the cross had recourse to a common text that contained the whole couplet. Strength is given to this theory by the fact that the only two monuments on which the verse is found are datable within the same decade (1180–1190), the one verified as a Bury creation, the other having certain connections with Bury. The third possibility, which is the most feasible on the evidence I hope to show, is that the couplet was already in circulation by about 1180, and that it was to be found in more than one text. The following attempt to determine the extent to which it was absorbed into the current Latin literature of the period 1180–1190 can at best be partial.

The scene of the drunkenness of Noah and his son Cham's disrespect for him appears in Genesis 9: 20–27:

Coepitque Noe vir agricola exercere terram, et plantavit vineam; bibensque vinum inebriatus est et nudatus in tabernaculo suo. Quod cum vidisset Cham pater Chanaan, verenda scilicet patris sui esse nudata, nuntiavit duobus fratribus suis foras. At vero Sem et Japheth pallium imposuerunt humeris patris sui: faciesque eorum aversae erant, et patris virilia non viderunt. Evigilans autem Noe ex vino, cum didicisset quae fecerat ei filius suus minor, ait: Maledictus Chanaan, servus servorum erit fratribus suis. Dixitque: Benedictus Dominus Deus Sem, sit Chanaan servus ejus. Dilatet Deus Japheth, et habitet in tabernaculis Sem, sitque Chanaan servus ejus.¹⁸

Noah's drunkenness, portrayed in two to five scenes, was an integral part of most Byzantine Old Testament picture cycles. As such, it illustrated a sacred Bible story and had no typological or allegorical meaning. Some fine examples are the early sixth-century Vienna Genesis,¹⁹ where it is shown in two scenes, the mosaics

at St. Mark's, Venice (about 1200), where it is in five, and the twelfth-century Sicilian mosaic cycles at Monreale and Palermo. At Monreale the accompanying inscription reads: HIC OSTENDIT CAM VERENDA PATR(IS) FR(ATR)IBUS. In the Cappella Palatina at Palermo it is almost identical, with the addition of the names CHAM SEM IAPHET NOE (Figure 5).²⁰ The story is also included in the Octateuch manuscript cycles, where it is illustrated in four scenes. They are the Vintage, Noah Drinking, Noah's Drunkenness and Cham's Disrespect, and Noah Cursing Cham's Descendants.²¹

The scene of Noah and Cham occurs in several Romanesque Genesis cycles. Two instances are in the frescoed nave vault at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe in Poitou and on one of the later panels of the bronze doors at San Zeno, Verona (mid-twelfth century). The painted choir enclosure at Bury belonged in this category, of course, as the leonine verse in Arundel XXX (Figure 3) is strictly a caption to an Old Testament scene: no typology is involved.

The prefiguration of the New Testament in the Old was frequently referred to by the writers of the Gospels, both in their own narratives and in the words of Christ;²² it was also alluded to by Saint Paul.²³ This mysterious plan of fulfillment was expounded and elaborated in an increasingly grandiose way by the early Fathers of the Church,²⁴ and a flood of patristic literature resulted. The events in Genesis were considered particularly significant symbols of Christ's life and Passion, apart from their consequence as the beginning of history. Beryl Smalley²⁵ remarks that Genesis was one of the four books on which a choice of commentaries was usually possessed by a really good,

18. "And Noe, a husbandman, began to till the ground, and planted a vineyard. And drinking of the wine was made drunk, and was uncovered in his tent. Which when Cham the father of Chanaan had seen, to wit, that his father's nakedness was uncovered, he told it to his two brethren without. But Sem and Japheth put a cloak upon their shoulders, and going backward covered the nakedness of their father: and their faces were turned away, and they saw not their father's nakedness. And Noe awakening from the wine, when he had learned what his younger son had done to him, he said: Cursed be Chanaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said: Blessed be the Lord God of Sem; be Chanaan his servant. May God enlarge Japheth, and may he dwell in the tents of Sem; and Chanaan be his servant." (Gen. 9:20–27) All Bible passages quoted in English in this article are from the Douay-Rheims Version (1941 ed.).

19. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. theol. graec. 31, fol. III, 6.

20. Otto Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London, 1949) p. 67, note 175; p. 169, note 439; pls. 32 A, 102.

21. Vatican, Cod. gr. 747, eleventh century; Vatican, Cod. gr. 746, Istanbul, Seraglio Cod. 8, Smyrna, Evangelical School Cod. A.1 (burnt 1923), all twelfth century. For ill. of the scene in the Smyrna Octateuch see D.-C. Hesselung, *Miniatures de l'Octateuche Grec de Smyrne in Codices Graeci et Latini*, Supplementum VI (Leyden, 1909) figs. 36–37.

22. Matt. 5:17; 13:35; 27:35. Luke 21:22; 24:44.

23. Rom. 1:2. I Cor. 15:3–4. II Cor. 3:13–16.

24. Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, chap. 1.

25. Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, p. 38.

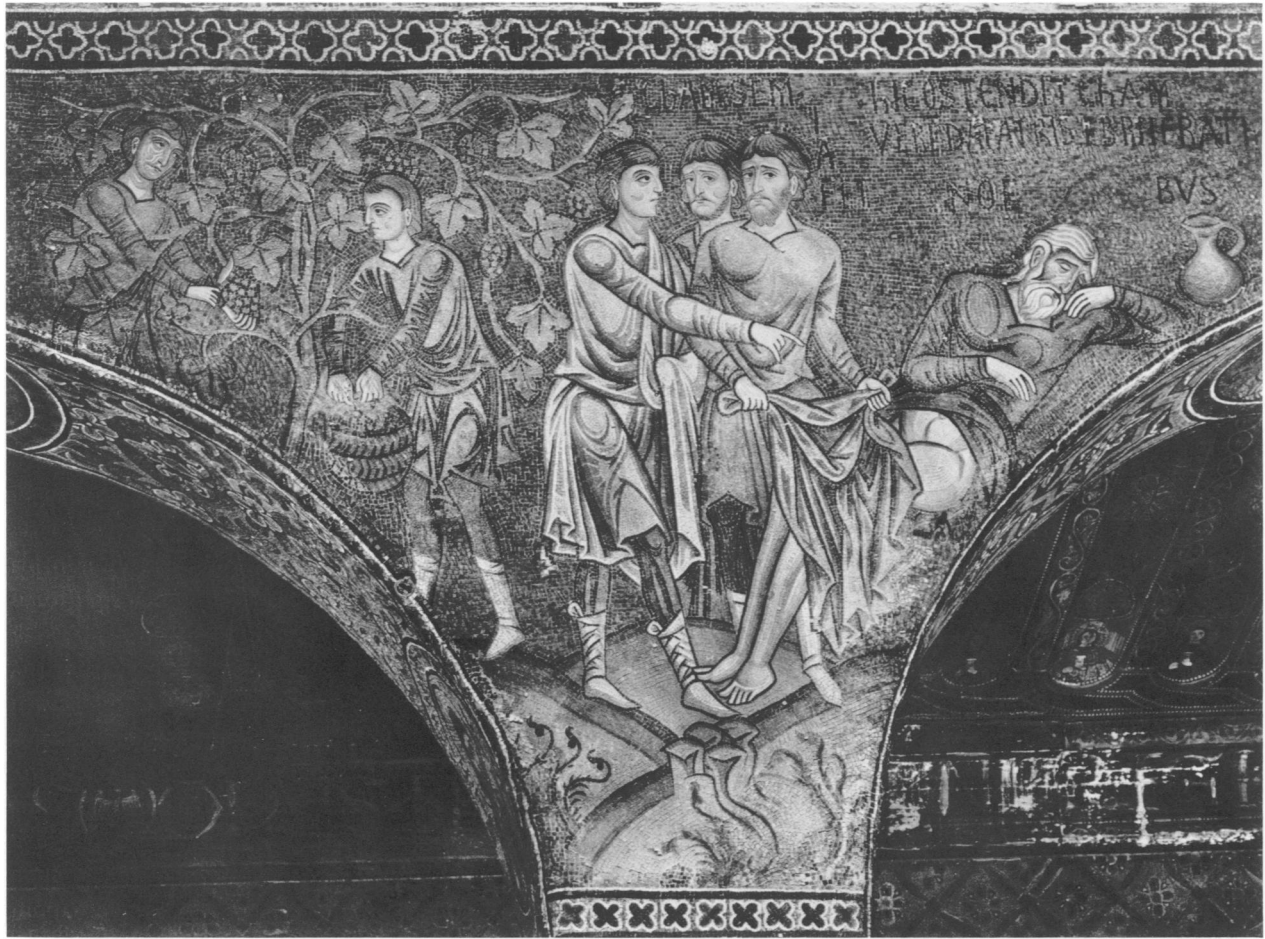


FIGURE 5
Noah's Vintage and Drunkenness. Part of a Genesis cycle on the nave wall of Monreale Cathedral. Mosaic, last quarter of the XII century (Photo: Alinari)

up-to-date monastic library at the turn of the ninth century. The idea that Noah was a type for Christ and his son Cham a type for the Jews was developed in Christian literature from the earliest writers onward and soon grew into an allegory. A survey of this development reveals a wealth of interpretations and comments, which provided the literary background for the emergence of the *Cham ridet* proverb—if it may so be called—sometime during the second part of the twelfth century.

The contents of the first two chapters of book 16 of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (written 413–426) dem-

onstrate to what lengths the Fathers took their interpretations. Noah himself is considered prophetic: "His tilling of the vineyard, his drunkenness by its fruit, his nakedness while he slept and the other events recorded here are all heavy with prophetic meanings and shrouded in mysteries."²⁶ In chapter 2 Augustine expounds the matter. He asks, "Who can . . . intelligently consider these events, without recognizing them fulfilled in Christ?" He continues by saying that Cham means "hot" (*calidus*) and signifies "the tribe of heretics, hot with the spirit of impatience. . . ." He adds to this the fact that hypocrites—those who call themselves

26. *P.L.*, XLI, col. 477. I have used my own translations for all Latin passages except those acknowledged in notes 10 and 18. For Augustine on Gen. 9:20–27 the reader is referred also to

St. Augustine, The City of God against the Pagans, ed. E. M. Sanford and W. M. Green, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) V, pp. 3–15.

Christians but lead bad lives—can also be figured by Cham, Noah's middle son, "for Christ's passion, which was indicated by that man's nakedness, is at once proclaimed by their hypocrite's profession, and disgraced by their wicked deeds." Further on he interprets Noah's vineyard as the house of Israel:

. . . from the very vineyard, that is, from the people of Israel, came the flesh and blood which he took on that he might suffer for us. He was drunken, means that he suffered, and he was naked, that his weakness was visible. . . . Now as to the fact that the Bible adds . . . in his house, that is a polite way of revealing that Christ was to suffer death on the cross at the hands of his own people, the members of his own flesh and blood, namely the Jews.

Augustine may have taken the idea that Noah's drunkenness was a foreshadowing of the Crucifixion from St. Cyprian, because in *De Doctrina Christiana* he comments on a particular passage on this subject from the writings of Cyprian.²⁷

The indexes of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* reveal an abundance of references to the Noah-Cham story and its hidden meaning, but like any other such biblical type and allegory it cannot be given an exact chronology and was clearly a widespread notion among the early Christian Fathers and commentators. For instance, it turns up with deeper, more obscure definitions in the lyrical writings of Ephraem the Syrian, who lived about 306–373 and appears to have written exclusively in Syriac.

The precise words of the Vulgate text, *Cham . . . nuntiavit*, were soon altered to mean that he not only announced Noah's shame but also jeered at it. Cyprian says *denotata*, which means "point out" or "mark out."²⁸ Augustine writes that "Cham . . . betrayed

[*prodiderat*] his father's nakedness."²⁹ In his celebrated *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*, which took place about A.D. 135, Justin Martyr said, "the son who laughed [*irriserat*] at his naked father."³⁰ Procopius of Gaza wrote in the early sixth century and drew on extracts from earlier exegetes. After an exceedingly lengthy discussion of Genesis 9, he suggests that "we dwell a little on an allegory. . . . Cham is the type of the Jewish people who mocked [*illusit*] Christ hanging from the Cross."³¹

Isidore of Seville—who was archbishop of that town for thirty-six years (600–636)—is more specific in his *Allegoriae quaedam Sacrae Scripturae*³² and his *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum*.³³ In the latter the evidence of Augustine is very evident; in fact, certain sentences are direct extracts.³⁴ Isidore disregarded the *nuntiavit* of the Vulgate text except as an afterthought³⁵ and wasted no words in explaining the point: "Cham laughed [*derisit*] on seeing the nakedness, which is the passion of Christ, and the Jews mocked [*subsannaverunt*] on seeing the death of Christ."³⁶

Isidore's writings were very influential and widely read by other medieval authors; every monastic library would have wanted to own copies of his works.³⁷ The great theologian and abbot of Fulda, Rabanus Maurus (766 or 784–856), repeats entire passages on the subject from Isidore's *Quaestiones* in his *Commentaria in Genesim*,³⁸ and particularly in the *De universo*, where he includes the sentence quoted above.³⁹ Once the idea of the allegory took root, it was repeated and added to in the writings of every commentator, sometimes in a rather long and tedious way. Remigius of Auxerre said in the early tenth century: "Cham in truth signifies the heretics, wherefore he is well interpreted as crafty [*calidus*]. For the heretics are cunning, not from wisdom

27. *De Doctrina Christiana*, lib. iv, cap. 21; *P.L.*, XXXIV, col. 111. Augustine refers to, and quotes from (almost verbatim), Cyprian's *Epistola LXIII, Ad Caeciliam de Sacramento Dominici Calicis*, part 3. Cyprian's original text is in *P.L.*, IV, col. 375.

28. *Epistola LXIII*, part 3; *P.L.*, IV, col. 375. According to Etienne Baluze's note on this printed by Migne (col. 376), *denotata* is synonymous in this context with *denudata* or "revealed."

29. *De Civitate Dei*, xvi, 1.

30. *Dialogus cum Tryphone Judaeo*, chap. 13, *P.G.*, VI, col. 795 (from Migne's Latin trans. of the Greek).

31. *Commentarii in Genesim*, ix, *P.G.*, LXXXVII, cols. 306–307 (from the Latin).

32. *P.L.*, LXXXIII, col. 103.

33. *Quaestiones in Vet. Test.*, In Genesim, viii, *P.L.*, LXXXIII, cols. 235–237.

34. *Quaestiones*, viii, parts 1–6, 11. The comments are based closely on Augustine's *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*, lib. xii, cap. 23, *P.L.*, XLII, col. 266.

35. *Quaestiones*, viii, part 6; *P.L.*, LXXXIII, col. 236.

36. *Quaestiones*, viii, part 4; *P.L.*, LXXXIII, col. 235.

37. The lists of surviving books known to have come from English medieval libraries mention an *Isidorus* again and again. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries*.

38. Lib. ii, cap. ix, *P.L.*, CVII, col. 525.

39. *De universo libri XXII*, lib. ii, cap. 1, *P.L.*, CXI, col. 34.

but from malice, because they seek to deceive the honest people of the Church.”⁴⁰

Out of an immense choice of twelfth-century authors, the reader is referred particularly to Richard of St. Victor and to Peter Comestor. Richard was a pupil of the famous Hugh, who was director of studies at the wealthy and intensely scholarly abbey of St. Victor in Paris from 1133 until his death in 1141. Hugh taught that *lectio divina*, the study of the Scriptures, should be divided into three approaches: the literal or historical and the allegorical to attain knowledge, and the figurative to attain virtue. The *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum* were printed in Migne under Hugh’s name, but as a doubtful work in the Appendix; they are now established as the work of Richard⁴¹ and certainly reflect Hugh’s insistence on both biblical allegory and moral meaning. “Noah . . .” writes Richard,

foreshadows Christ who fulfilled the Decalogue Law. . . . Unhappy Cham signifies the faithless Jewish people who derided him, saying “He saved others: himself he cannot save. If he be the king of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him”;⁴² Sem is the Apostles and certain disciples and those Jews who believed, and Japeth who covered the shame [*verenda*] of his parent with a cloak indicates the people of the Gentiles converted to the faith. . . . Wherefore Chanaan the son of Cham shall be punished with a curse, and thus so will the descendants of the Jews be damned by their own curse.

The *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor, probably written between 1164 and 1178 while he was chancellor of the University of Paris, rapidly became a prescribed text for theology students and one of the most widely read, translated, and annotated works on the Bible in the Middle Ages. It is a sacred history condensing the Old Testament, the Gospels, and Acts, and embellished with allegorical comments and explanations. On the account of Noah and Cham from Genesis 9, Peter does not have anything special to add to the expositions of his predecessors and contemporaries; in fact, he says

a great deal less.⁴³ He alters, and adds to, the Vulgate text of verse 22: “Sed cum Cham verenda patris vidisset nudata, *irridens*, nuntiavit hoc fratribus,” and further on explains that Cham is referred to in verse 24 as the youngest son when in fact he was the middle one, because he is less worthy: “Potest dici minor, id est indignior.”

The anonymous scribe who copied the *Historia* in the manuscript Vatican lat. 1973 in the late twelfth century must have felt that Peter’s text needed enriching, for he annotated it with couplets and marginal *postillae*. In the bottom margin of folio 14 verso, underneath the standard passage on Genesis 9:20, is written (Figure 6):

Versiculus

Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis
Judei risere dei penam patientis.⁴⁴

Apart from the ivory cross, this is the earliest example of the complete couplet known to me, albeit *membra* (“limbs”) has been substituted for *pudibunda*, *detecta* (“uncovered”) for *nuda*, and *patientis* (“suffering”) for *morientis*; this wording will be found to be the most usual form of the couplet. I shall comment later on this alteration of the wording. Since the *Historia* was such an important set book in the theological schools, lecture courses were given on it,⁴⁵ and annotation of its text was a normal development. Unfortunately the provenance of this manuscript is not known, and it cannot be given a more specific date than late twelfth century. All that can be said at this point is that the couplet was apparently known in literary circles by that time.

By far the most remarkable discovery concerning this Latin distich is that it forms part of the standard, unabridged text of a particular sermon by the satirical English writer Odo of Cheriton, who lived from about 1185 to 1247.⁴⁶ The sermon belongs to his earliest set of homilies, the *Sermones Dominicales*, or Sunday Sermons,

40. *Commentarius in Genesim*, ix; P.L., CXXXI, cols. 78–79.

41. *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, lib. 1, cap. xvii; P.L., CLXXV, cols. 643–644. On Richard’s authorship of the *Allegoriae*, see Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, p. 98, note 5; p. 106, note 1.

42. Matt. 27:42.

43. *Historia Scholastica*, Liber Genesis, cap. xxxvi; P.L., CXC VIII, col. 1087.

44. My first reference to the couplet in Vat. lat. 1973 came from Hans Walther, *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfänge mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen, 1959) no. 2674. See also *Codices Vaticani Latini III, Codd. 1461–2059* (Rome, 1912) p. 381: “*Historia Scholastica cum scholiis*” (“with notes”).

45. Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, pp. 178–179, 200.

46. Friend, “Cheriton.”

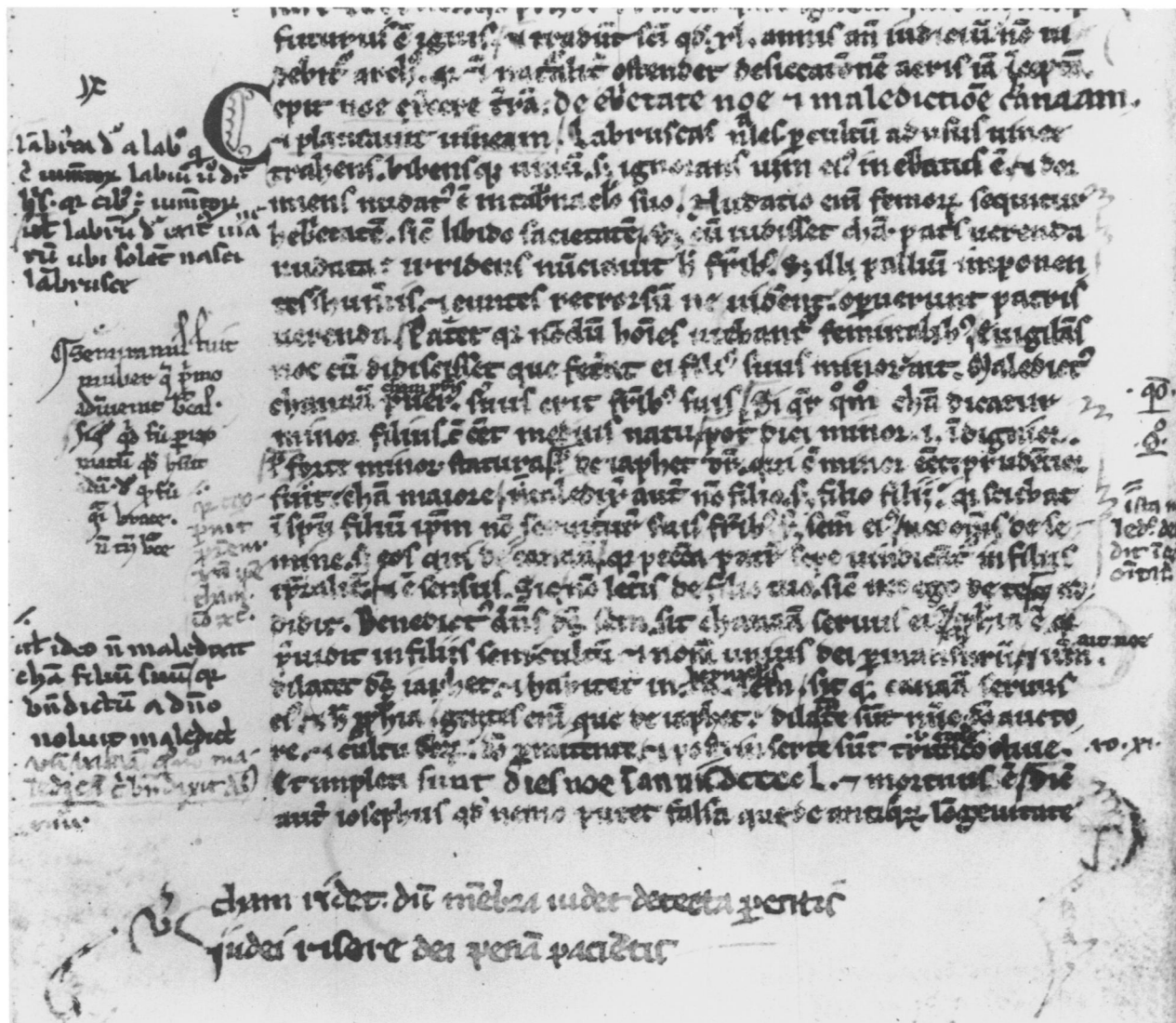


FIGURE 6

Petrus Comestor, *Historia Scholastica* with marginal notes. Part of a page, showing discussion of Genesis 9:20–29, and the *Cham ridet* couplet in the bottom margin. Copied late XII century. Biblioteca Apostolica, Vatican City, Vatican. lat. 1973, fol. 14 verso

which are on the Gospel readings for the *temporale* calendar of the ecclesiastical year. They were finished by Odo on December 31, 1219. It must be stressed that although this date comes thirty years or more after that suggested for the Cloisters cross (the decade 1180–1190, see note 2), Odo was probably collecting material in Paris for the sermons by 1210 or earlier (see below, p. 59). Obviously he took the couplet from an earlier source; the year 1219 and the name of Odo offer the

only base from which to pursue this source.⁴⁷ I know of fifteen examples of the verse in texts; nine of these are in copies of Odo's *Sermones Dominicales*. Since five of the others are in anonymous works, including the annotation in the Vatican *Historia Scholastica* described above, and since Odo's source has only suggested itself,

47. Samson of Bury St. Edmunds cannot be termed an author on the basis of the Arundel XXX hexameter, as it is so clearly an imitation.

I am not certain exactly when and from where the first borrowing took place. Although the Vatican manuscript is undoubtedly the earliest of all the text examples, it is of no help in our search for an author, as the annotations are at present still anonymous. On this account, the present article contains many speculations and does not offer a solution to the problem. It is important and interesting, nevertheless, to follow these conjectures and the evidence on which they are based, since—in addition to the intrinsic fascination of the texts themselves—it will show how complex and how rapid the diffusion of literary sayings, verses, and the like really was in the Middle Ages. What is certain is that something as small as a two-line verse is more likely to have been disseminated through texts than through one or even two works of art, particularly when it appears in several texts of different natures.

It has been said of the spirited homilist Odo of Cheriton: “The effect of his work is yet to be explored: He is a source for the collections of *exempla* of the later Middle Ages. He opens for us a new field in which to trace the motifs of the literature of France, Spain and England.”⁴⁸ It is hoped that the following exploration of a single, specialized aspect of Odo’s earliest sermons may contribute in a small way to this project, as well as to the solution of the riddle of the ivory-cross inscription. It is also hoped that light may be thrown in general on the way in which literary motifs were passed around from one work to another in the Middle Ages, specifically during that great era of scholastic output, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The only way to attempt to trace the verse is to examine all the manuscripts that contain it, to date them, and to determine their provenance as closely as possible. The first manuscript of the *Sermones Dominicales* to be discussed here is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 16506. It was written in the thirteenth century,

FIGURE 7

Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones Dominicales*. Text of the last page of the Sermon on Luke 2:42–52 (sermon 12 in this set), showing the section *De obedientia laycorum* with the *Cham ridet* couplet: lines 31–33. Copied XIII century, after 1235. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, lat. 16506, fol. 141 recto

but not before 1235 (see below, note 49), in what is probably an Italian hand. This script, with the exception of the first three folios, is neat and legible. The book is a collection of sermons by different authors, some of them anonymous, but it does include four works by Odo: our *Sermones Dominicales de tempore* on folios 123–218, the Treatise on the Passion, which was also an early work (before or about 1219), the *Sermones de Festis* (after 1225), and the *Summa de Poenitentia*, which was not composed until after 1235.⁴⁹

Halfway down the left column of folio 141 recto is the couplet (Figure 7):

Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis
Iudei risere dei penas patientis.⁵⁰

The wording is identical to that of the example in Vatican lat. 1973, excepting the variation of *penas* for *penam*. The passage in which the couplet occurs is the last part of the sermon for the first Sunday after Circumcision, which in this set is the twelfth sermon, placed between that for the Feast of the Circumcision and that for the Epiphany. The sermon itself begins on folio 140 recto with the words based on Luke 2:42–43, “Cum factus esset Iesus xii annorum, ascendentibus illis Iherusalimam secundum consuetudinem diei festi, consumatisque diebus cum redirent remansit puer Iesus in Iherusalimam et cetera.”⁵¹ The length of the

48. Friend, “Cheriton,” p. 641.

49. Friend, “Cheriton,” p. 657. B.N. lat. 16506 cannot therefore have been copied before 1235.

50. Walther, *Versanfänge*, no. 2674. The book is briefly described by Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits latins conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale sous les nos. 8823–18613* (Paris, 1863–1871) IV, *Inventaire des manuscrits de la Sorbonne conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les nos. 15176–16718 du fonds latin* (Paris, 1870) p. 63. A detailed description is in B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, V (Paris, 1892) pp. 162–171, although the couplet is not mentioned. See also Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 133–135.

51. The text for the sermon is Luke 2:42–52. Because it is split up and discussed one line at a time throughout the sermon, the translation of the whole is given here for the reader’s easy reference: “And when he was twelve years old, they going up into Jerusalem, according to the custom of the feast, And having fulfilled the days, when they returned, the child Jesus remained in Jerusalem. And his parents knew it not. And thinking that he was in the company, they came a day’s journey and sought him among their kinsfolks and acquaintance. And not finding him, they returned into Jerusalem, seeking him. And it came to pass that, after three days, they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, hearing them and asking them questions. And all

[illegible]

eunt debet ostendi de terra iherosol. q. ar. c. 19
 cōseruabat omnia ūba. h. g. 1. cor. suo. ideo
 memorat rēsondebat. ut cū ip̄s p̄dicande seu
 scribende in carnisaloni ad ueniente. iusticie
 per ip̄o ut gesta sūt uniuēla polly. explicare
 vñ ba. iugo hlo. cōpauit. scdm. 3. ego flos campy
 rila. conual. q. cum ip̄s fuit doctria clausa
 tenuit. cū ip̄s fuit cāquā folia eripandē. na
 tuumē. xpi. 1. cor. que an. 1. post natuūm
 gesta sunt discipuli iacit de clauit. Seq.
 v. i. p̄ficiebat. era. 1. sa. apd. dñi. 1. hoiet
 ueritatem una lapidē fuit fūg. d. iacent in
 uno matris sūt sedent ad dextera d. parris.
 hñ. 1. ere. Noui facies dñi sup. tē. mulier ē
 cūdabre uirū. vñ. ap̄llat. p̄ter. p̄mōdūne
 teuent. teie. quā. in. hū. uero. h. ad. p̄ficiebat
 f. sapiens. quū. ad. p̄fessionē. facit. p̄ficie
 bar. eā. q̄nā. ad. hōmū. op̄mōne. fuit. f.
 que. eam. p̄ficat. 1. nō. semp. p̄fic. fuit. nos
 p̄fic. de. uerū. in. uirū. donec. uideam. dñi
 dō. uisio. q. cū. p̄fic. uirū. 1. regnat. 1. ē.

nephiaphania domini. cyathus. ij. —
 vray natus est alio in bethleem iudea i
 diebus hodiis regis. eorum magi ab oriente
 uen. iho. dicent. Ipsi est qui natus est
 rex iudee. Ipsi dms bethlam ei9 i o. uenit
 mul cu munerib9. a. eu. Magi illi nō fuer
 malefici. sed sapientes caldeei. et ut dicit
 de gene balaam i succellores doctrine ei9.
 paterat aut balaam ut in manu legatur. qd
 egeretur stella ei9 in mod9 i cōfurger uga
 ei9 ist. et egeretur dux ei9 mod9. Magi illi
 genat ut credo p gen sei ipe aliqm nomib9
 munt p stella designatū. aduerit ad munt
 ut cū munerib9 ueniret nouā regē adorare
 et ut de sup domo daretur que fuit aialia ue
 locissima equinet. xij. die arriuit xpi.
 qd stella pmo apparuit bethleem ueniretur
 a xpm cum munerib9. adoraret. Et omnia
 illos. Item in hoc iisu. Gaspar macedon hic.
 balaam ille fuit. Uenient qd i xpm alius
 urbi in iudea capd fuit. ipam pmo ut de
 nauerit pū in querebat intrauerunt
 pncipes at sacerdoti. et scē p michē. pphā
 a xps natus erit cognouit. Michas
 dicit. In bethleem carna pū et in mli
 bul iuda. cyath. dē. Et quia quā minima
 est in p. ij. ad hoc dicendū qd michas
 mlti9 sequitur quia mei natus est creator
 omnium. qd ostendū qd pnti. itam sē

whole sermon is 2¼ pages. It is divided into six sections, the last two of which are concerned with obedience. The second to last division is introduced by the words “Sequitur de obedientia,” and opens with the line “Et erat subditus illis, suis parentibus. Unde monemur quod simus prelati et maioribus nostris obedientes.” (“And he was subject to them, his parents. From which we learn that we must obey our prelates and superiors.”)

The sixth and last section expounds the theme of obedience and is headed in red ink: “de obedientia laycorum et hys qui prelati detrahunt” (“Concerning the obedience of laymen and those who slander prelates”). Here follows a translation of about half the passage, down to and including the *Cham ridet* couplet and the comments that go with it:⁵²

Certain laymen are disobedient to prelates and priests, for which see Hosea [4:4]: For thy people are as they that contradict the priests. In the Apocalypse [16:2]: The first angel poured out his vial upon the earth. And there fell a sore and grievous wound among men who had the character of the beast. The beast is the devil, the character of the beast is pride. This sign is borne by those who, through pride, oppose the doctors of the church who preach God’s commandments. Likewise the character of the devil is impenitence for as much as the spirit of the devil arrives and will not leave; as Job says [41:15]: Their hearts shall be as hard as a smith’s anvil so that they cannot repent. Accordingly, those who persevere impenitent and unreformed have the character of the devil. Very many people even die in a

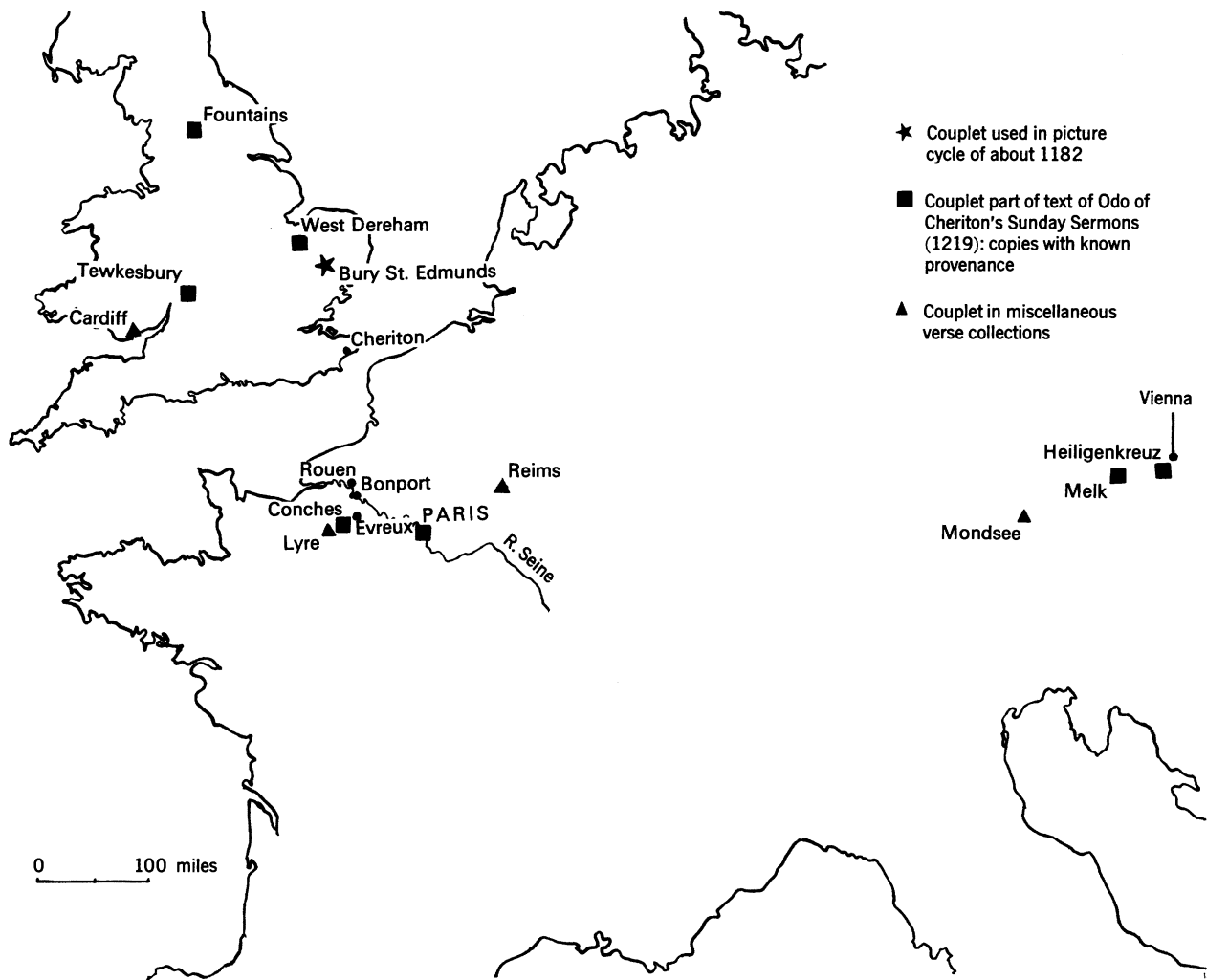
that heard him were astonished at his wisdom and his answers. And seeing him, they wondered. And his mother said to him: Son, why hast thou done so to us? Behold thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing. And he said to them: How is it that you sought me? Did you not know that I must be about my father’s business? And they understood not the word that he spoke unto them. And he went down with them and came to Nazareth and was subject to them. And his mother kept all these words in her heart. And Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace with God and men.”

52. “Quidam layci prelati et sacerdotibus sunt inobedientes de quibus Osee 4. [In some MSS. there is a reference to Amos instead of Hosea.] Populus enim tuus sicut his qui contra dicunt sacerdoti. In apocalypsi effudit primus angelus filiam [fialam] suam in terram et factum est vulnus seivissimum ac pessimum in homines qui habebant caracterem bestie. Bestia est diabolus, caracter bestie est superbia. Hoc signaculum portant qui doctoribus ecclesie mandata dei praedicantibus per superbiam resistunt. Item caracter diaboli est inpenitentiam quoniam diaboli est spiritus vadens et non rediens. Et ut dicit Iob. Indurantur quasi malleatores incus ut penitere non possint. Caracterem ergo diaboli

state of hatred or envy. Or they fight God, refusing to repent of pride and lust [*luxuria*]. Just so Julian the Apostate, who throughout his life did not cease to persecute God in his followers. When he was mortally wounded by the soldier . . . he lay on the ground in his own blood, and shaking his fist against God in heaven he cast himself down, saying: Jesus, thou has conquered, Jesus, thou has conquered. . . . Like this are those people who slander their prelates, and if they perceive the shame of their shepherd, who is a spiritual father, immediately they publish it to their brothers, not realizing that Canaan was cursed in his children because his father, when he saw the shame of his father Noah, laughed and told his brothers. And the children and deeds of such people who are the spiritual sons, and who slander superiors, are cursed by God. Of this kind, indeed similar, are the Jews deriding Christ. Whence is employed: Cham laughs when he sees the uncovered limbs of his parent; the Jews laugh at the pain of the suffering God. Sem and Japheth deserved a blessing because they clothed the shame. Thus God blesses those laymen who cover up or excuse the sins of their superiors, unless perchance they are publicly known, seeing that the subdued ass reproved Balaam, who is the prelate.

In the explicit of the *Sermones Dominicales* in Paris, B.N. lat. 16506 (folio 218), it says: “Complectum est hoc opus anno ab incarnatione Domini M^oCC^oXIX^o pridie kalendas Ianuarii a Magistro Odes ad laudem ipsius qui est alpha et Ω”; on the same page the prologue says that “Ego Odo de Cirentonia, doctor ecclesiae minimus” (“I, Odo of Cheriton, the least important doctor of the church”), wrote the work. From this

habent qui inpenitentes et incorrigibiles perseverant. Plerique etiam in morte de odio sive invidia vel superbia seu luxuria penitere nolentes deum inpuignant, sicut Iulianus apostata qui cum in vita sua deum in membris persequi non cessaret. Cum a milite . . . letaliter esset vulneratus, iacens in terra sanguinem proprium cum manu contra deum in altum proiecit dicens: Iesu vicisti, Iesu vicisti. . . . Huiusmodi sunt proni ut prelati suis detrahant, et si viderint verenda pastoris qui est pater spiritualis, statim superbis [*fratribus* in at least seven other MSS.] suis publicant, non advertentes quod maledictus est Canaan in filiis suis quia pater eius videns verenda patris sui Noe irrisit, et fratribus nunciavit. et filii et opera talium que [qui] sunt filii spirituales maledicti sunt a domino qui detrahunt prelato. Huiusmodi enim similes sunt iudeis deridentibus Christum. Unde versus Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis; Iudei risere dei penas patientis. Sem et Iaphet quia cohoperuerunt verenda benedictionem meruerunt. Sic layci benedicantur a domino qui peccata prelatorum tegunt vel excusant nisi forsitan notorium fuerint [*sint* in some MSS.] quoniam asinus subditus reprehendit Balaam [*idest prelatum* in at least eight other MSS.]”



Map showing the distribution of various examples of the *Cham ridet* couplet from about 1180 to the first half of the XIV century

we can infer that by December 31, 1219, Odo had fulfilled the requirements for a doctorate in theology at the University of Paris: namely, that he was about thirty-five years old and that he had studied for a minimum of eight years after completing his Master of Arts degree.⁵³

He was born sometime between 1180 and 1190 at Cheriton near Folkestone in Kent (see Map) and was at least twenty years old in 1210, since he is mentioned as *Magister Odo* in the Pipe Roll for that year. This title of *Magister* can only refer to a Master of Arts degree at that date, but it does mean that he had a license to

teach (*licentia docendi*) and belonged to the guild of masters by then. Bulaeus listed him as being at the University of Paris in 1200, but this source cannot be relied upon.⁵⁴ Albert C. Friend has shown, however, that Odo was studying in Paris before 1210, for he borrowed heavily in his early works from Prévostin of Cremona, who was chancellor of the university from 1206 to 1209, and from lecture material (later put into the *Ars Concionandi*) of Peter of Capua (de Mora), who was regent in theology from 1201 to 1219.⁵⁵

We may conclude from all this that Odo must have

53. Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, I (Oxford, 1936) p. 472.

54. C. E. Bulaeus (Du Boulay), *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis a Carolo M. ad nostra tempora* (Paris, 1665) p. 758.

55. Friend, "Cheriton," p. 647.

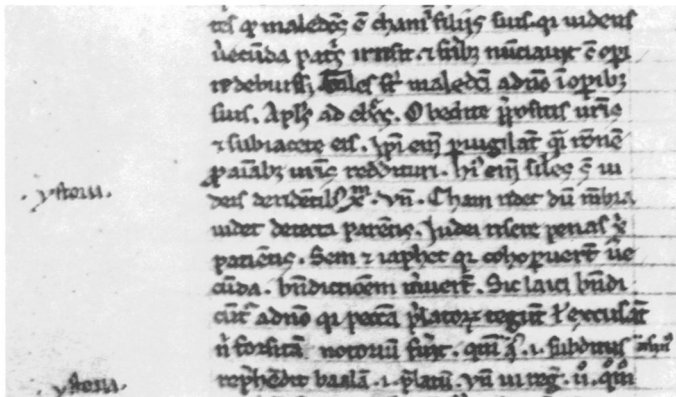


FIGURE 2
Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones Dominicales*. Detail of the passage containing the *Cham ridet* couplet. XIII century. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, lat. 2593, fol. 29 verso

worked on the *Sermones Dominicales* while based on Paris, for at least eight years before 1219. Paris, B.N. lat. 16506 was given to the library of the Sorbonne by one of its masters before the year 1338,⁵⁶ which suggests that it had never left the city.

The distribution of the Sunday Sermons appears to have been fairly rapid, for a considerable number of thirteenth-century copies exist in libraries in France and England, at least four each in Austria and Germany, and one each in Spain and Portugal. In some cases there is evidence that the manuscripts have been in these countries since the thirteenth century. Either the Sermons introduced the *Cham ridet* distich to scribes in these places, because it turns up in other texts of contemporary or slightly later date, or it was already known independently.

There are three other unabridged copies of the *Sermones Dominicales* in the Bibliothèque Nationale:

56. "Iste liber sermonum est pauperum magistrorum domus de Sorbonio, ex legato magistri Johannis de Gonessia, quondam socii domus." See Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, p. 135; Léopold Delisle, *Histoire générale de Paris. Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III (Paris, 1881) p. 48: "Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne. Catalogue général de l'année 1338."

57. In MS. 2593 it is on fol. 29 verso; MS. 698, fol. 20 recto; MS. 2459, fol. 49 recto. An abridged copy, Paris, B.N. lat. 12418, does not contain the passage "Quidam layci . . ." and consequently does not contain the *Cham ridet* couplet. I have been unable to locate the only printed edition of the *Dominicales*, published under the title *Flores Sermonum ac Evangeliorum Dominicalium excellentis-*

Paris, B.N. lat. 2593, 698, and 2459. All three contain the *Cham ridet* couplet,⁵⁷ though the sermon in which it falls is not always used for the same Sunday. The text of the reading on the obedience and behavior of laymen is slightly fuller in 2593 and 2459, where a few sentences have been added,⁵⁸ than in 16506, but the wording of the *Cham ridet* verse is the same, except in 2593, where it reads (Figure 8):

Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis.
Iudei risere penas Christi patientis.

The scribe no doubt thought *Christi* was more appropriate than the usual *dei*, but he made a mistake with the quantity of *penas*: the second line does not scan correctly.

Manuscript 698 is the only one of the three with a known provenance. It belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter at Conches in the diocese of Évreux in Normandy (see Map);⁵⁹ both it and 2593 were written in the thirteenth century. The third manuscript, 2459, was probably written in the late thirteenth, perhaps in France; in the seventeenth century it entered the private library of Louis XIV's minister Colbert (died 1683).⁶⁰

It is of special interest that at some point before 1219 Odo visited the Cistercian Abbey of Notre-Dame at Bonport, situated on a branch of the River Seine about nine miles south of Rouen in Normandy (see Map). Like St. Peter at Conches, it belongs to the diocese of Évreux. The house of Bonport is sure to have aroused the curiosity of a traveling English scholar in the early years of the thirteenth century, since it was founded personally by Richard the Lionhearted in or around 1190: while out hunting and trying to cross the river he had made a vow, and after landing safely he founded the monastery close by in fulfillment of his promise.

simi Magistri Odonis Cancellarii Parrhiensis, ed. F. Mathieu Makerel or Macherel, printed in Paris, 1520, by J. Badius Ascensius. Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 141–142, says there are sixty-five sermons, much abridged, as is indicated by the title *Flores*.

58. See Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 141–142.

59. Opposite fol. 108 verso: "Iste liber est de abbatia de Conchis."

60. For B.N. lat. 698, see Ph. Lauer, *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, I (Paris, 1939) p. 243; Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 127–128. For 2593, see *Catalogue général*, II (1940) p. 536; Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 130–132. For 2459, see *Catalogue général*, II, p. 468; Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 128–130.

Bonport Abbey was also a daughter house of Notre-Dame du Val in the diocese of Paris, which ran several houses for students from the University of Paris. We do not know how long Odo sojourned at Bonport, but seeing that he left his own Gospel book behind with his name in it, together with a record of a debt owed to him by the abbey (see below), one could hazard a guess of several weeks at the very least. Bonport flourished during the reigns of Philip Augustus (1180–1223) and Saint Louis (1226–1270).

Nostra Boni Portus domus est velut omnibus ortus,
Deliciis plenus, plane redolens et amenus,
Mellifluus totus, Domino coeli bene notus;
Hic nichil est fellis, sed plurima copia mellis,

wrote the monk Geoffroy du Jardin in a poem to another monk at Vaucelles. The contents of this poem and the list of theological books originally belonging to the abbey, which were also taken by Colbert, indicate a well-lettered establishment.⁶¹

It cannot be coincidence that we find the *Cham ridet* couplet in an early thirteenth-century collection of anonymous verses, compiled at the Abbey of Notre-Dame at Lyre, Normandy. Lyre is about thirty-five miles south of Bonport and only a few miles west of St. Peter at Conches, where the B.N. lat. 698 copy of Odo's *Sermones Dominicales* came from (see Map). The volume containing the verses is now MS. A. 452 in the Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen.⁶² It consists mostly of sermons, but from folio 241 verso to 242 verso there are 198 lines of Latin verse, nearly all in rhyming couplets. On folio 242 verso, two-thirds of the way down column one, and between two other couplets, is written (Figure 9):

61. On Bonport and its library, see L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I (Paris, 1868) pp. 534–543. Also E. Deville, "Les Manuscrits de l'Ancienne Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye de Bonport," *Revue des Bibliothèques* 16 (1906) pp. 319–321; 17 (1907). The abbey church, built 1200–1225, has almost disappeared, but some of the conventual buildings remain, see reference in Friend, "Cheriton," p. 648, note 65.

62. I owe this reference to the kind help of the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris, in 1965. For Rouen, municipale A. 452, see Henri Omont, "Rouen," in *Catalogue général des manuscrits bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*. I (1886) p. 131. A note on the last page of the MS. says: "Hunc

Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis
Iudei risere dei penam morientis.

The first line is the same as in the annotated *Historia Scholastica* and Odo's Sunday Sermons on the Gospels; the second has *morientis* instead of *patientis*, and *penam*, like the Cloisters cross.

This book is dated twelfth–thirteenth century by Henri Omont in the *Catalogue Général*. It cannot have been copied before the 1180s, because fragments from Peter Riga's versified Bible, the *Aurora*, are included (folio 231). There is also a passage commonly ascribed to John of Garland on folio 241 recto; if it is by him, the *terminus post quem* would be 1195–1200, since he was born in 1180 and did not even come to Paris until 1195.

It seems to me that the proximity of the abbeys at Bonport, which Odo visited, Conches, which owned a set of his *Dominicales*, and Lyre, which owned a book of miscellaneous verses containing the couplet, points to an obvious borrowing on one side or the other. All three abbeys belong to the diocese of Évreux. If Rouen A. 452 dates from the early years of the thirteenth century, Odo could have discovered the couplet and copied it down, along with other material that he was collecting; although many of his fables and anecdotes are original, he was also a great borrower, particularly of verses. This was pointed out by Léopold Hervieux in his study of the *Fables*.⁶³ Or the borrowing worked the other way round. An inmate of Lyre heard Odo's sermon preached in the neighborhood, or saw a copy of it, and took the couplet down for his collection of leonine verses. It must also be remembered that the Paris, B.N. lat. 698 copy of the *Dominicales* came from the Abbey of Conches in the diocese of Évreux, to which diocese Bonport belonged, and that Conches itself is only thirty-six miles southwest of Rouen.

librum in parte scripsit et in parte scribi fecit Johannes monachus Lirensis et indigena." According to Omont, this Johannes probably wrote fols. 5–45 only, and the first eight lines of fol. 46 recto. On the eve of the Revolution, the abbey of Lyre lent some its MSS. to the abbey of Saint-Ouen in Rouen (I am grateful to Madame Dupic, Director of the Bibliothèque municipale, Rouen, for telling me this in 1965), and thus MS. A. 452 came to the Bibliothèque from Saint-Ouen.

63. *Fabulistes*, pp. 126–127. I am most grateful to Professor Albert C. Friend of the College of the City of New York for telling me that the *Cham ridet* verse does not occur in any of Odo's other works.

In uis audit: sit sentina sermo. in auit.
 Ad p[ro]p[ri]a: uerbu[m] pat[er]e: cito factu[m].
 In caro mortu[m]. die de putredine uermis.
 In ho[m]i[n]e die puluis. q[uo]d p[ro]dest. gla[ria] carnis.
 Cur miser inanis: q[ui] p[ro]dest sup[er]bie.
 Dulce q[uo]d est. q[uo]d est. memor esto q[uo]d morietis.
 In cinere uulsi p[ro]st. morte[m] regredieris.
 Despice q[uo]d seculi. cognosce n[ost]ra rationis.
 A n[on] leges nescis humane aditionis.
 Corp[us] humo fit. corp[us] semine. semine. sanguis. lan-
 guine. corp[us]. sic ho[m]i[n]is corp[us] maris. gressu[m] in alio.
 Corpore: Sic ho[m]i[n]is corp[us] tre p[ro]p[ri]a. in alio.
 Cade[n]s: Sic ho[m]i[n]is corp[us] de tra[m]a. creatur.
 Cade[n]s: Sic ho[m]i[n]is corp[us] in tra[m]a. redierit.
 Ergo tristi ho[m]i[n]e uere rationis habena.
 Cui animu[m] q[uo]d tuu[m] indu fugiendo refrena.
 Sic tibi p[ro]p[ri]a n[on] a[n]i[m]a. uicere uita.
 Q[uo]d uelut celat. in cruce. x[rist]i. reuelat.
 C[on]fido p[ro]p[ri]a. cu[m] deus occubuit.
 Q[uo]d x[rist]i late. p[ro]p[ri]a. sanguis. uita.
 Quo lau[us] g[ra]t[ia]. plens cecilia munda.
 In cruce d[omi]n[u]s. de cruce. lat[us]. p[ro]p[ri]a.
 Plenitudo. an[te] p[ro]p[ri]a. g[ra]t[ia]. uita.
 Non sine fraude. sua n[on] n[on] i[n]plendo. m[en]s.
 Principi uoru[m] n[on] e[st] d[omi]no famulandi.
 S[ed] calor e[st] m[en]s. inuiste depoplandi.
 Intra m[en]s. p[ro]p[ri]a. laura m[en]s.
 Sic cadit hic. p[ro]p[ri]a. p[ro]p[ri]a. p[ro]p[ri]a.
 Ecce cruce[m] longu[m]. latu[m]. sublim[e] p[ro]p[ri]a.
 Virtutu[m] sp[irit]us. q[ui] notat. et notant.
 Longu[m] constant[er]. latu[m] designat amante[m].
 Spem notat. alta q[uo]d p[ro]p[ri]a. nota. ima fide.
 Q[uo]d ham[us] uideri d[omi]n[u]m. uideri delecta p[ro]p[ri]a.
 Uideri uideri dei. pena[m] m[en]s.
 Q[uo]d h[ic] h[ic] delictis. hac re cruce[m] arte redemi.
 Facit infirmi d[omi]n[u]m. morte[m] morte[m] p[ro]p[ri]a.
 Soluo q[uo]d n[on] rapui. n[on] ductus ad anam.
 Q[uo]d n[on] peccati. peccati p[ro]p[ri]a. p[ro]p[ri]a.
 G[ra]t[ia] mandato p[ro]p[ri]a. forma fide.
 Res signa. m[en]s. uita. c[on]sona r[ati]o.
 D[omi]n[u]s. flagella. m[en]s. p[ro]p[ri]a. lancea p[ro]p[ri]a.
 fenna. p[ro]p[ri]a. n[on] m[en]s. r[ati]o.
 Q[uo]d obsequi d[omi]n[u]m. odio p[ro]p[ri]a. amore.
 Opprob[ri]a. lauda. p[ro]p[ri]a. fide.

FIGURE 9

Part of a collection of Latin verses, compiled probably about 1200 or early XIII century, at Lyre Abbey, Normandy. The *Cham ridet* couplet is on lines 34–35. Bibliothèque Municipale, Rouen, MS. A. 452, fol. 242 verso

It is disappointing that in Odo's Gospel book from Bonport (see above, p. 61), now Paris B.N. lat. 295,⁶⁴ the *Cham ridet* verse does not appear either in the interlinear gloss, or among the marginal notes, which must be in Odo's own hand, since many of them are material that appears in the *Dominicales* and the Treatise on the Passion.⁶⁵ In fact, there are no marginal comments at all on Luke 2:42–52 (folios 14 recto–15 recto), except for three short lines at the lower left of 14 verso.

Still in northern France, we now move to Reims. A volume of miscellaneous *vitae*, sermons, and verses from the chapter library of the cathedral of Notre-Dame at Reims contains a couplet identical to the one on the sides of the ivory cross. The book belonged to the cathedral until the Revolution and is now MS. 1275 in the Bibliothèque municipale, Reims. It is dated late thirteenth century by W. Wattenbach in his detailed description of the verses and letters in the volume.⁶⁶

On folio 188 verso, as part of an extensive collection of poetical works that starts on folio 129, the *Cham ridet* couplet appears at the end of an eight-line stanza of rhyming proverbs. The opening couplet is the only other one that has an internal double rhyme (Figure 10):

Nobilitas quam non probitas regit atque tuetur,
Lapsa iacet nullique placet, quia parva videtur.
Vir bene vestitus pro vestibus esse peritus
Creditor a mille quamvis ydiota sit ille.
Si careat veste nec sit vestitus honeste,
Nullius est laudis, quamvis sciat omne quod audis.
Cham ridet, dum nuda videt pudibunda parentis:
Iudei risere dei penam morientis.

This is the only example I know of where the wording is exactly the same as on the cross.

The source and early use of the couplet cannot be traced simply through its existence in Odo's Sunday Sermons and in two miscellaneous verse collections, which were all in northern France in the thirteenth

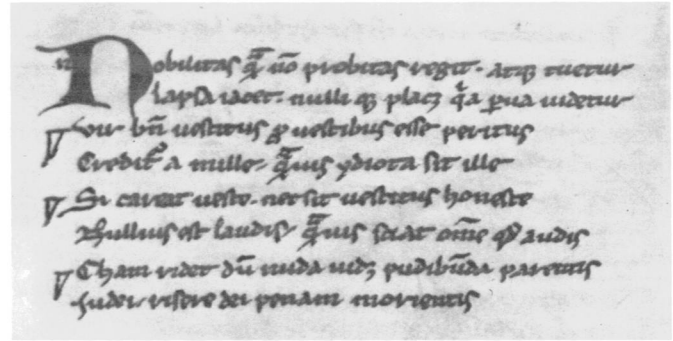


FIGURE 10

Miscellaneous Latin proverbs, including the *Cham ridet* couplet. Part of a large compilation of verse, in a volume from Reims Cathedral. Compiled late XIII century. Bibliothèque Municipale, Reims, MS. 1275, detail of fol. 188 verso

century. But since the same coincidence occurs probably in Austria and without doubt in England, one can place some significance on it in each case and assume direct connections.

The verse appears to have become known in Austria through Odo's Sermons. The main body of Codex 1365 in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna (folios 4–48), is the *Summa* of the French theologian Guilelmus Altissiodorensis, or William of Auxerre, who died in 1231. The remainder consists of various additions, probably in different hands, and includes a collection of leonine verses on folios 83 verso–84 verso, in which we find our distich (Figure 11).⁶⁷ The whole manuscript was copied in the first half of the fourteenth

64. Lauer, *Catalogue général*, I, p. 106. It contains the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John. On fol. 1: "Iste liber est magistri O[donis]. Domus Boni Portus debet magistro Odoni XVII solidos et VII denarios de parisis. Si non venerit magister Odo, totum sit pro anima sua." On fol. 160 verso in a thirteenth-century hand: "Iste liber est Boni Portus."

65. Friend, "Cheriton," p. 648. Deville, "Manuscripts de Bonport," 17 (1907) p. 134, seems to have confused the folios that do and do not have *notes marginales*; he has also omitted to mention many of these notes.

66. W. Wattenbach, "Beschreibung einer Handschrift der Stadtbibliothek zu Reims," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 18 (1892–1893) 16, pp. 493–526, especially p. 513. There is a reference to Wattenbach's transcription of the couplet in Walther, *Versanfänge*, no. 2674.

67. Hans Walther, *Lateinische Sprichwörter und Sentenzen des Mittelalters in alphabetischer Anordnung*, I (Göttingen, 1963) no. 2710.

century; it originally belonged to the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter and St. Michael at Mondsee, Upper Austria, which was abolished in 1791.⁶⁸

The collection of verses, which is described in the *Tabulae Codicum* of 1864 as “including maxims on moral subjects,” begins at the top of folio 83 verso:

Non confert ulla regnum celeste gugulla⁶⁹
Ni mens sit pura non prodest regula dura.
Ante deum testis mens est non aspera vestis.
Prelati temere credunt sibi cuncta licere.
Est prelatura nunc dulcis amara futura.
Post carnis iura ligat hanc sententia dura.
Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis
Iudei risere dei penas patientis.

and so on, with various other epigrams. The opening lines, which precede the *Cham ridet* verse, are moralizing proverbs directed toward complacent monks, thus: “Any cowl [*cuculla*] does not get one to the heavenly kingdom.” This suggests that the compiler of the “poem” took the couplet from the passage in Odo’s sermon on remiss prelates. The wording of the verse is also the same in both, including *penas* for *penam*. Corruption of the clergy was a favorite topic with Odo, who although not in orders himself, as a *doctor ecclesiae* saw fit to instruct and censure members of the clergy by means of numerous *exempla* in his writings.

There are two thirteenth-century copies of Odo’s *Sermones Dominicales* in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Codex 1579 and Codex 2164. I have not been able to examine the texts of either, nor does Hervieux say whether they contain the abridged or the complete versions of the Sermons.⁷⁰ It would be in-

teresting to know their provenance, and also that of two other sets of the Sunday Sermons that are in the monastery libraries at Melk and Heiligenkreuz in Austria (see Map).⁷¹ It is not unlikely that both the latter books have been in their present homes since the thirteenth century. One can certainly say that the existence in Austria of four surviving copies of the *Dominicales*, all written in the thirteenth century, suggests that they were known and read in Austrian monasteries within fifty years of Odo’s death (1247). This seems to me an obvious explanation for the occurrence of the *Cham ridet* couplet in the fourteenth-century volume from Mondsee.

Odo certainly returned to England during the later years of his life, for in 1232–1233 he inherited the estate of his father, William of Cheriton; there are subsequent mentions of his name in the Pipe Rolls concerning a tax debt on his property, which was not cleared up until 1245–1246, the year before he died.⁷²

It is clear that his Sunday Sermons on the Gospels were popular, in a modest way, in England during the thirteenth century. There are twelve known copies at present in English libraries, only one of which (Winchester College MS. 11) is as late as the fifteenth century; from this one can guess that once there were more. We are grateful to the “king’s antiquary,” John Leland (1506?–1552), for telling us in his *Collectanea* that among the books he saw at the Benedictine Abbey of Our Lady at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire, was an *Odonis de Siritono Sermones*.⁷³ We can assume with reasonable justification from the following evidence that the book Leland saw contained the Sunday Sermons on the Gospels: A manuscript from a Welsh cell of Tewkesbury—almost certainly the small Priory

68. I am grateful to Dr. Gerhard Schmidt for his kindness in 1965 in looking at Vienna, Cod. 1365 for me. On this MS. see Michael Denis, *Codices Manuscripti Theologici Bibliothecae Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini Aliarumque occidentis linguarum* (Vienna, 1793–1799) II, 2, cols. 1271–1274. Also *Tabulae Codicum manuscriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum*, I (Vienna, 1864) p. 229.

69. Walther, *Versanfänge*, no. 11994, lists this *incipit*; he entitles it “De monachis” and gives a reference to Vienna, Cod. 1365.

70. *Fabulistes*, pp. 140–141. Cod. 1579 contains only the *Dominicales* (192 fols.); Cod. 2164 has two other works not by Odo, followed by the *Dominicales* on fols. 46–198 verso.

71. Listed by J.-Th. Welter, *L’Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927) p. 129; Melk, Stifts-

bibliothek MS. 249; Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek MS. 134. There are also two copies of Odo’s *Dominicales* in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich. Cod. lat. 2637 is late thirteenth century and contains only the Sermons; the scribe wrote his name at the end, “Qui me scribebat Purchardus nomen habebat.” See Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, p. 136. Cod. lat. 19491 is dated thirteenth century, see Friend, “Cheriton,” p. 657, note 109. I have not seen the texts of either MS., nor do I at present know their provenance.

72. Friend, “Cheriton,” p. 649, note 73, pp. 650–652.

73. Quoted in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II (London, 1849) p. 59. Leland made most of his notes on antiquities in the libraries of English cathedrals, abbeys, etc., between 1534 and 1543.

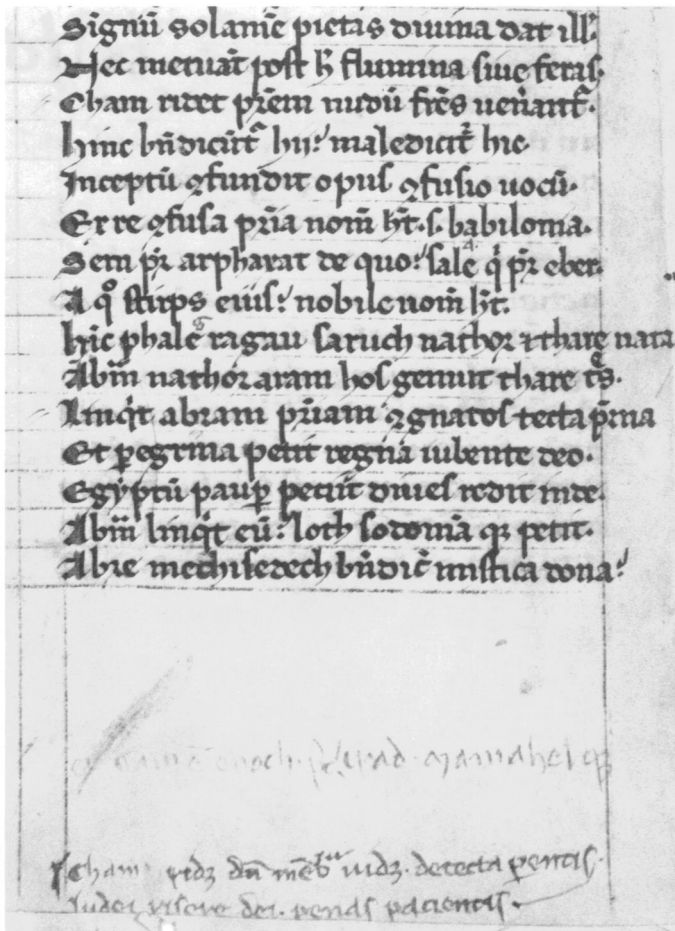


FIGURE 12

Extract from a Biblical poem, showing the verses on Genesis 9, and the *Cham ridet* couplet as a marginal note. Written probably at Cardiff Priory, Wales, early xiv century. British Museum, London, Royal MS. 6 B. XI, detail of fol. 54 verso

folio 54 verso, nearly running off the page, is the *Cham ridet* couplet:

Cham ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis
Iudei risere dei penas patientis.

It is one of four marginal additions to the text of the poem on Genesis and refers to lines 32–33 in column two:

Cham ridet patrem nudum fratres venerantur
Hic benedicantur his maledicitur hic.
(Cham laughs at his naked father, the brothers
venerate
Henceforth they are blessed, he is cursed.)

The second relevant part of B.M. Royal 6 B. XI tells us the provenance of the manuscript: it is a chronicle of English history from 1066 to 1268, which indicates that the book belonged to, and presumably was written for, a Welsh house connected with Tewkesbury Abbey. Up to 1248 it is a shortened recension of the Tewkesbury Annals; from 1246 to 1268 it is independent and deals specially with the Welsh marches, Cardiff and Llandaff.⁷⁵ Since there is proof that Cardiff Priory, which is in the diocese of Llandaff, was attached to Tewkesbury,⁷⁶ one can believe that the book came from Cardiff.⁷⁷ In 1404 Owen Glyndwr burnt the

of Our Lady at Cardiff, Glamorganshire—contains the *Cham ridet* distich as a marginal note in a biblical poem of approximately 682 elegiac couplets (Figure 12). This volume is now British Museum, Royal MS. 6 B. XI. It consists of many different theological and historical works, which were rearranged in the fifteenth century; the two that concern us were both written in the early fourteenth. The first is the poem.⁷⁴ At the bottom of

74. George F. Warner and Julius P. Gilson, *British Museum. Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, I (London, 1921) p. 139, article 7: "Biblia in versibus" (so the later colophon): poem . . . containing Bible history and allegoriae. Brief prose preface: 'Ut historie veteris et novi testamenti postquam eas didiceris memorie tue firmius inhereant . . . hoc metricum tibi mitto compendium in quo tamquam in speculo historias breviter comprehensas inspicere poteris.' Begins: 'Ante dies omnes mundi fuit omnis in uno.'

75. Fols. 105–108, 112. Warner & Gilson, *Royal and King's Collections*, I, p. 140, article 13.

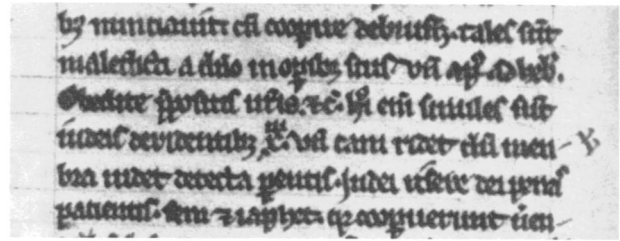
76. A Norman lord, Robert Fitz Haimon (died 1107), re-established the monastery of Tewkesbury with lands and possessions before 1102; he then gave to that abbey the following: "In

Wales the parish church of St. Mary in the borough of Cardiff, with one carucate of land; the chapel of the castle of Cardiff . . . the tithes of all the revenues of the churches and their possessions from Cardiff." Extract from the second Charter of Henry I to Tewkesbury Abbey, 1106; printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, II, p. 66. See also *Monasticon*, IV, p. 632.

77. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 48, lists the MS. as from Cardiff on the evidence of its contents, with a query at the end of the entry. It came to the Royal Library after 1698 from the MS. collection of the antiquary John Theyer of Gloucestershire (1597–1673), who got many of his books from monastic libraries in the west of England. Theyer Sale Catalogue, 1678, (unprinted, B.M. Royal MS. Appendix 70) no. 48. See Warner & Gilson, *Royal & King's Collections*, I, pp. xxvi, xxxiii, xxxix.

FIGURE 13

Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones Dominicales*. Detail of the passage containing the *Cham ridet* couplet, showing a preceding sentence different from that in Figure 7. From West Dereham Abbey, Norfolk. XIII century. University Library, Cambridge, MS. Kk. I. 11, fol. 32 verso



town of Cardiff and the priory with it. It was never restored, but we do know that its possessions remained with Tewkesbury until the Dissolution.⁷⁸

From all accounts Cardiff Priory appears never to have been more than a minor establishment or independent of its great mother house;⁷⁹ domestic connections, however unimportant, were thus certainly maintained, and books like sets of sermons could have been borrowed by the prior and his few monks. The most that can be said is that circumstances point to a sequence from the existence of Odo's *Sermones Dominicales* at Tewkesbury, to the appearance of the *Cham ridet* couplet in an early fourteenth-century poem written for a small cell of Tewkesbury no further than fifty-seven miles away, and moreover, isolated from England (see Map). It is indeed truly remarkable that Leland saw and mentioned Odo's Sermons at all, because out of the library of a once great abbey he only noted five books, including the Sermons; whether he saw more but did not record them I do not know. The *Odonis de Siritono* that he did see has long since vanished—destroyed or hidden somewhere in obscurity. All we know about the fate of Tewkesbury Library at the Dissolution is that its contents passed into the hands of one Sir John Whittington, together with the church, cloisters, and other of the buildings.⁸⁰ Neil Ker⁸¹ lists twelve volumes known to him that belonged to the abbey, ten of which are manuscripts; none of them is Odo's Sermons.

There were of course copies of the *Sermones Dominicales* to be found in other English monastic libraries in

the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but in view of the remoteness of Cardiff and its dependence on Tewkesbury, it is unlikely that the borrowing came from any of them.

Of the five copies in England that I have seen, only one (British Museum, Egerton MS. 2890) has the abridged version of the sermon "Cum factus esset . . ." and therefore omits the homily on the obedience of lay folk altogether. Of the other four manuscripts, one is from West Dereham in Norfolk, one is from Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, and two belonged to colleges in Oxford and Cambridge by the early 1400s, so it is possible that they had never left England.

The thirteenth-century volume from the Abbey of Our Lady at West Dereham is now MS. K k. I. 11 in the University Library, Cambridge.⁸² This house was founded in 1188 for the Premonstratensians, or "White Canons," as a cell of Welbeck Abbey in Nottinghamshire, which had been established by 1154. The manuscript cannot have been written before the early 1240s, because it contains the *Summa de Penitencia* (after 1235), the *Sermones de Festis*, and the *Sermones Dominicales* in a revised version with cross references, which Odo probably made toward the end of his life.⁸³ The immediate passage in which the *Cham ridet* verse occurs on folio 32 verso (Figure 13) differs slightly from the text of Paris, B.N. lat. 16506, given on page 58; in fact I have found it so far in at least three variations. ". . . Cham was cursed in his children because on seeing his father's shame he laughed and told his brothers, when he ought to have concealed it. Such people are

78. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, II, p. 87.

79. See Austin Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087–1216* (Oxford, 1951) p. 295, on the role of the Church in the Anglo-Norman occupation of Wales: "It was a common practice of the invaders [in this case Robert Fitz Haimon] to grant a piece of the occupied land to a religious house in England . . . which would then plant on this land a cell of its own with a prior and one or two monks; e.g. Tewkesbury had a cell at Cardiff."

80. H. J. L. J. Massé, *The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury* (London, 1911) pp. 14–15.

81. *Medieval Libraries*, p. 188.

82. Note on flyleaf at beginning has "Derham." See *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, III (Cambridge, 1858) p. 570. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 57, lists the book as West Dereham, Odo Cheritonensis, s.xiii ?

83. Friend, "Cheriton," p. 657.

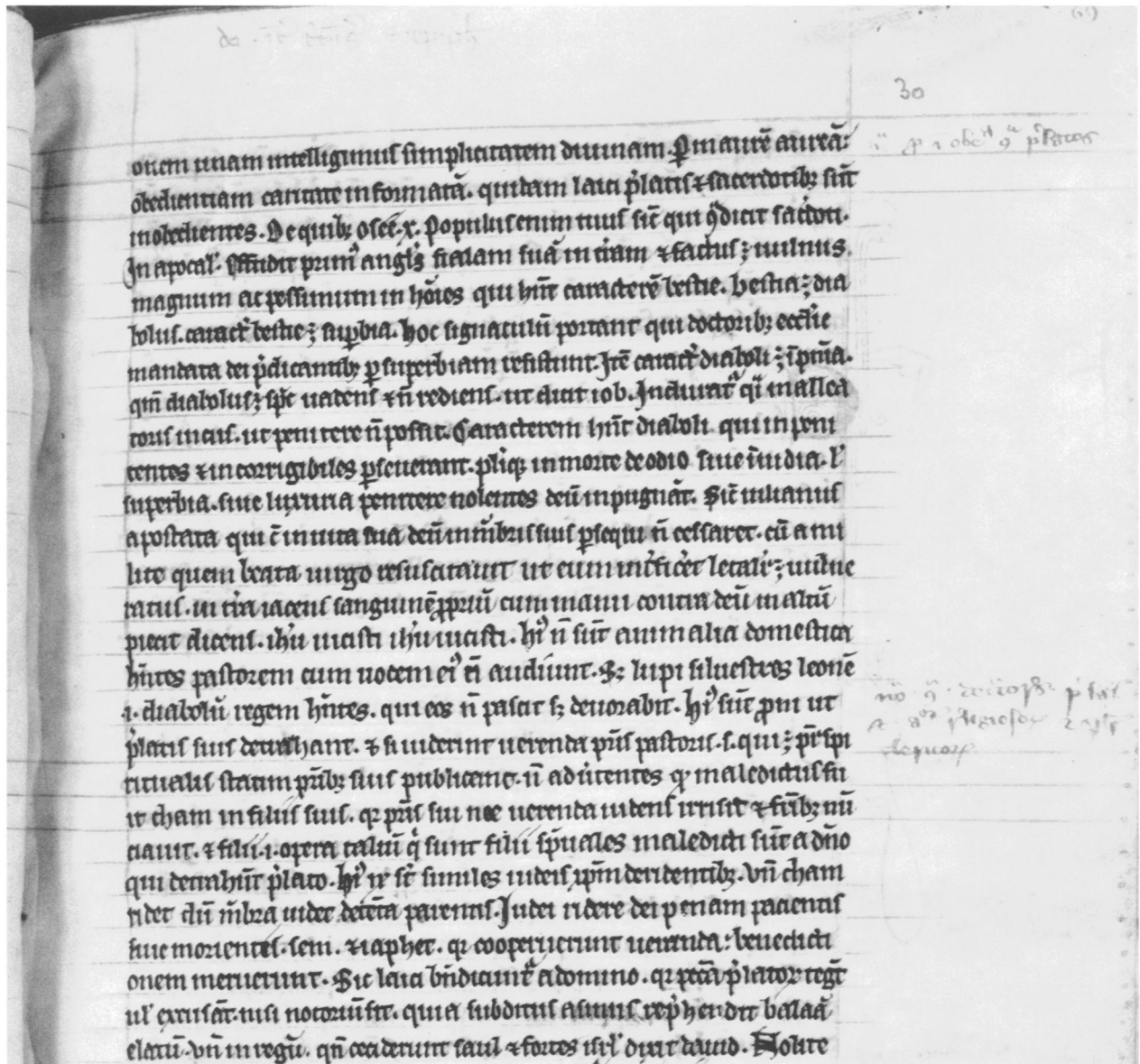


FIGURE 14

Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones Dominicales*. Passage on the Obedience of Laymen from the Sermon on Luke 2:42–52, showing the *Cham ridet* couplet: lines 22–24. Middle of the XIII century. Peterhouse College, Cambridge, MS. 109, fol. 30 recto

cursed by God in their works. Whence the Apostle to the Hebrews: Obey your prelates. . . .⁸⁴ Indeed like this are the Jews deriding Christ. . . .”

Either the scribe who copied the text of the *Dominicales* in Cambridge, Peterhouse MS. 109, must have

used his poetic imagination on folio 30 recto and given *morientis* as an alternative to *patientis*, or he knew of the couplet anyway and that it could be written both ways, for he wrote the second line like this: “Iudei ridere dei penam patientis huc morientis” (Figure 14). The book

is mid-thirteenth century, and may be English, since it belonged to the Library of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, by 1418 at the latest.⁸⁵

A similar case is Oxford, Balliol MS. 38, which is again a thirteenth-century volume containing Odo's Sunday Sermons on the Gospels (folios 1–82 verso) and other works by him. A flyleaf at the back says that the book was given to the library of Balliol by a Master William Lambard of that college, who is known to have died by September 1414.⁸⁶

The last example of the *Cham ridet* couplet that I have noted in English copies of the *Sermones Dominicales* is in British Museum, Arundel MS. 231, a two-volume book that was written for the Cistercian Abbey of Our Lady at Fountains, near Ripon in Yorkshire, in the early fourteenth century.⁸⁷ The manuscript is rather late to belong in the present discussion, but it is interesting because the sermons are a conflation of those of Odo of Cheriton, Jean of Abbeville (died 1237), and Roger of Sarum—probably he who was bishop of Bath and Wells from 1244 to 1247. The joint sermons are entitled “moral expositions” both near the beginning⁸⁸ and in the colophon;⁸⁹ they contain continuous *exempla* that are based mostly on Odo's sermons, combined with long theological passages taken from Jean of Abbeville and

Roger of Sarum.⁹⁰ Thus the sermon “Cum factus esset Ihesus annorum xii . . .” is unusually long, covering 14½ pages on folios 85 recto–92 recto. J. A. Herbert notes only two *exempla* in the sermon;⁹¹ neither of them is connected with the *Cham ridet* couplet on folio 91 verso, which is in fact indicated by the word “Ex[emplum]” in the margin (Figure 15).

We have seen from his text (above, p. 58) that Odo of Cheriton employed the *Cham ridet* couplet as part of an *exemplum* or short, moralized anecdote in his sermon on Luke 2:42–52. In some of the manuscripts the medieval scribe has brought this point to our attention by making a note next to the couplet in the margin. In Paris, B.N. lat. 2593, it is named “ystoria” (Figure 8), and the story of Julian the Apostate that is told a few lines earlier is called “Exemplum.” In Paris, B.N. lat. 2459, it is simply described, in red ink, as “Cham”; in B.M. Arundel 231 it is marked “Ex[emplum]”; and in a copy of the *Dominicales* in the Escorial, Cod. O. II. 7, it is entitled, inside a neatly drawn box, “Cam et fratribus suis” (Figure 16).⁹² Doubtless there are other similar notations in copies of the Sermons that I have not seen.

G. R. Owst has pointed out⁹³ that there seems to have been no strong distinction to medieval homilists

84. Heb. 13:17: “Obedite praepositis vestris, et subiaceat eis. Ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri.” (“Obey your prelates and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls.”) Cf. Paris, B.N. lat. 2593, fol. 29 verso, col. 1, lines 28–32 (Figure 8). The same as B.N. lat. 16506 are: B.N. lat. 698; Cambridge, Peterhouse 109; Oxford, Balliol 38; Escorial O. II. 7 (see below for the last three).

85. It is no. 137 in the Old Catalogue of Peterhouse Library, which was compiled in 1418; see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse* (Cambridge, 1899) pp. 9, 126–127.

86. “Item lego istum librum aule de Balliolo ad catenandum in libraria,” and “Istum librum legavit Mr. Willelmus Lambard quondam magister Collegii Ballioli Oxon' librarie dicti Collegii catenandum. . . .” See R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford, 1963) pp. 27–28; Lambard is in A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II (Oxford, 1958) p. 1086.

87. Vol. I, fol. 1: “Liber sancte Marie de Fontibus” with fifteenth-century pressmark. Vol. II, end: “Johannes de Munkegate de Eboraco clericus, procurator religiosorum virorum dominorum Abbatis et conventus Monasterii de Fontibus, scripsit hunc librum.” See J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III (London, 1910, reprint 1962) pp. 57–78, for a full description of the MS. Also Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 88.

88. Fol. 13: “Incipiunt morales exposiciones in evvangeliis Dominicalibus per totum annum.”

89. Vol. II, fol. 229 verso: “Expliciunt morales exposiciones Magistri Johannis de Abbatis villa, Magistri eciam Odonis de Cancia, et Magistri Rogeri de Sarisbiria in unum compacte, super evangelia dominicalia per totum annum.”

90. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, p. 58.

91. *Catalogue of Romances*, III, p. 59. Fol. 90 verso: Devil tempts Abbot to make new rules, so as to entrap the monks; fol. 91: Monk says he is dead to the world. Neither of them is in Hervieux, *Fabulistes*.

92. Escorial, O. II. 7 is thirteenth century; provenance unknown except that it may have come from the library of the Conde-Duque de Olivares; see Guillermo Antolín, *Catálogo de los Códices Latinos de la Real Biblioteca del Escorial*, III (Madrid, 1913) pp. 198–204. It was probably copied in Spain, since Odo went there at some point in his life; Friend, “Cheriton,” pp. 654–655. The wording of the couplet on fol. 36 verso is the same as in the other copies of the *Dominicales* that we have looked at:

Cam ridet dum membra videt detecta parentis

Iudei risere dei penas patientis.

The scribe has inserted the word *Versus* in red ink next to the right-hand edge of the column, with the result that it inadvertently splits *detecta*, hence *de versus tecta*.

93. G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford, 1966, reprint) pp. 151–152.

et peccata in hominibus qui hunc characterem vestire. (Bestia est diabolus) cuius character
 est superbia. Hoc signum patet qui doctoribus etiam mandata dei
 dicuntur et superbia resistunt. Ita etiam diabolus est in penitentia qui
 diabolus spiritus uadens et non res. In Job xlv. Induratus est quasi malleatus
 non tamen suum penitentem non possit. Characterem ergo diabolus habet qui in penitentibus
 sunt et incorrigibiles persistunt. plerique et in morte de odio sue tui
 diabolus ut superbia aut luxuria penitentem nolentes. Deum impugnare sicut filia
 mus apostata. O in tu in uita sua deum in membris suis persequi non
 cessaret et a multis que bona uirgo resistit ut ipse melleum cum
 uulnere leuiter ac sanguinem suum et deum suum in aequum perire
 dicens. Huiusmodi ista nazarene inasti. **Ch** non sunt animalia domestica
 hircos pastorem cum uocem eius non audiret et lupi filiosque diabolus
 regem hircos qui eos non pascit et deuorabit. Huiusmodi oues sunt
 subditi qui placatus suos deserunt et uident uenda pastorem que
 per palis statum filius suus publicanus non aditentes per maledictionem
 patris sui non incipit carere quoniam uident uenda patris non tunc
 et deus et filius inuenerunt. **Hi** filii spirituales ut carnales talia opera
 hircos maledicti sunt a domino similes et uideis esse deinde deinde christum
Ch non uidet dominum in ira uidet decem pentas. Iudei
 uide de penas pauperum. Item uide et iaphet qui operatur uenda
 patris benedictionem inuenit. Sic laici etiam benedicti a domino qui per
 placem tegunt ut excusant si forte fuit nocuum nam et asina resp
 hendit Balaam. i. placem que tunc subditi sunt. De huius dauid in y.
 et l. de morte saul et ionathae dicit. Nolite nutrire in eodem. i.
 me laicos ne forte exultent filii in diuitiis. i. mali et caduca
 non sunt ierusalem ne forte ex aliquo corum uideat. Item dauid in
 y. et y. gratias egit uiris tales et laicos quia resplicunt ossa ierosolima
 ut. i. absconderunt peritiam placem. Sic et illi gratias reddet qui uenda
 patrem operunt. **Le** eum constantem dixisse si ipse oculis uidisset
 sacerdotem dei ut monachum firmantem dauidem manum applicarem
 et cooperum eum ne ab aliquo uideretur. De iudencia et sacerdotibus

De iudencia ad p
 iacob

Ch

per am aliam
 no deage

FIGURE 15

Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones Dominicales and Exempla*. Extract from Sermon 15, showing the *Cham ridet* couplet, marked out as an *exemplum*. From Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire. Early xiv century. British Museum, Arundel MS. 231, vol. I, fol. 91 verso

between “example” (*exemplum*), “narration” (*narratio* or *historia*), “figure” (*parabola*), and other such terms, with the exception of the “fable,” which generally dealt with animals. We may therefore accept that the various marginal titles for the couplet in any copy of Odo’s Sunday Sermons were purely alternative names for the commonest type of sermon-illustration—the *exemplum*.

The *exemplum* came into use toward the end of the twelfth century with the growth of popular preaching, and it soon became a typical feature of the medieval sermon.⁹⁴ It could be historical or fictitious, religious or secular, taken from ancient or contemporary sources.⁹⁵

This brings me to the question of where Odo found the *Cham ridet* distich. Hervieux spoke of his liberal use of verses throughout his sermons, and lamented the fact that Odo never tells us where he took them from.⁹⁶ The distinctive meter and rhyme scheme of the couplet, which are similar to those used by Bernard of Morlas at Cluny, place its composition somewhere in the mid-twelfth century; its appearance in altered form on the Bury choir enclosure around 1181, but in full on the Cloisters cross and in the Vatican *Historia Scholastica*, strongly suggests that it was known to several compilers of miscellaneous verse collections by about 1180. It does in fact turn up in lecture material that was being delivered to theology students at Paris at some point between 1180 and 1206, probably from shortly after 1180 onward.

The university at Paris was flourishing by the years 1150–1170; it grew from the three schools of the collegiate church of Ste. Geneviève, the abbey of canons regular at St. Victor, and the cathedral of Notre Dame. The theology faculty itself was well established by the middle of the century. The basic texts after the Bible were the *Glossa Ordinaria*, compiled probably by Anselm of Laon (died 1117) and his pupils, Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, finished in 1152, and by about 1176, Petrus Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*. The teaching system was as follows: the master read out the text and commented on it, while the students took notes. A

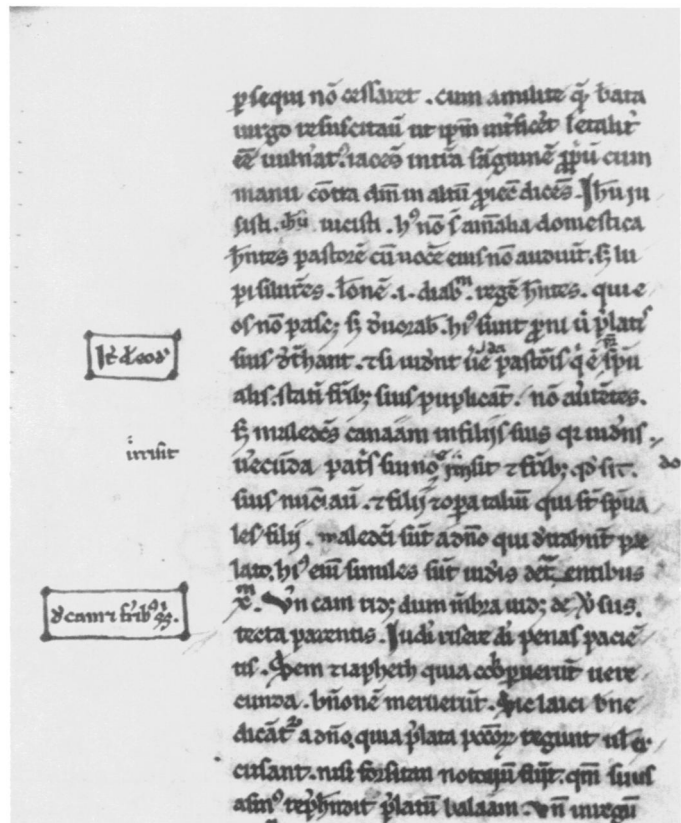


FIGURE 16

Odo of Cheriton, *Sermones Dominicales*. Detail from Sermon 12 of the passage containing the *Cham ridet* couplet. Probably copied in Spain. XIII century. Biblioteca del Escorial, Madrid, Cod. lat. O. II, 7, fol. 36 verso

word must be said on these lecture notes, since Odo very likely picked up the *Cham ridet* verse through this medium: either he could have taken it directly from the master into his own notes, or indirectly from another student’s report (*reportatio*) of a lecture missed or given at an earlier date. Beryl Smalley defines the medieval *reportatio* method and discusses its place in the university classrooms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with

94. See Welter, *L’Exemplum*, part I, chap. 2.

95. Owst, *Literature & Pulpit*, p. 149.

96. Hervieux, *Fabulistes*, pp. 123–124, 126: “. . . c’est chez eux [poètes latins du moyen âge] surtout qu’il puise les vers dont il émaille ses sermons. Malheureusement il s’abstient d’en indiquer la provenance. Toutefois, comme en grande partie ils sont ryth-

miques ou léonins, et quelquefois même parés du double ornement de la rime ordinaire et de la rime léonine, en un mot construits dans les conditions particulièrement chères aux poètes du XII^e siècle, on peut supposer que ses citations sont le plus souvent extraites de poètes latins dont il était presque le contemporain.”

particular reference to theology at Paris.⁹⁷ A *reportatio* was made by a pupil during the lecture, and although it often needed correcting and filling in, it was not re-worked; this made it distinct from lecture notes, which had to be written up, and from the straightforward dictation of a work to a stenographer. Moreover, once a *reportatio* had been approved by the master, it was circulated; rare examples do even exist of two individual reports of the same lecture.

A. C. Friend, the authority on Odo's works, has found that he probably studied under Prévostin of Cremona and Peter of Capua; he also borrowed much material for notes in his Gospel book (Paris, B.N. lat. 295) from the writings of Peter the Chanter, Prévostin, and Stephen Langton.⁹⁸

Peter the Chanter (so called from his office of *Cantor* at Notre-Dame) died in 1197. His best-known work is the *Verbum Abbreviatum*, the only one of his writings that has so far been printed.⁹⁹ It is an ethical treatise introduced by Peter in Chapter I with the title "Contra superfluitatem et prolixitatem glossarum et inutilium quaestionum" ("Against the superfluity and tedious length of glosses and futile questions"). Among the numerous instructions that he dictates on moral questions and rules of behavior, there are certain passages concerning the conduct of prelates and obedience, where one would hope to find material that occurs in the final section of Odo's Sermon on Luke 2:42–52, in particular verse 51: "et erat subditus illis."¹⁰⁰ However, there is nothing. Peter quotes frequently from the Bible, from classical poets, and from the Church Fathers, usually acknowledging his sources. He does not acknowledge any contemporary sources, following the normal medieval practice.¹⁰¹

Stephen Langton (died 1228) taught theology at Paris for more than twenty years before 1206, when he settled in Rome. That he was highly thought of and

renowned as a doctor both in the liberal arts and in theology is attested to by remarks in a letter of 1207 from Innocent III to King John.¹⁰²

The work by Langton in which one might expect to find the *Cham ridet* couplet—his *Glossa in Historiam Scholasticam*—does not contain it either in the earlier version of before 1187, or in the later, fuller version of 1193. Nevertheless, the later *Glossa* does have some specific comments on the moral lesson that Langton's students were intended to deduce from the scene of Noah's drunkenness: these comments may well have been among the material collected by Odo for the *Cham exemplum*. Langton says: "Concerning the drunkenness of Noah and the malediction of Cham. . . the brothers Sem, the eldest, and Iapheth, the youngest, covered the shame of [their] father: from this we learn . . . that we must not reveal the sins of [our] prelates."¹⁰³

This particular moral interpretation of Genesis 9: 20–27 was not new: Richard of St. Victor (died 1173) devoted a chapter to it in the *Allegoriae*, following his allegorical analysis of the scene.¹⁰⁴ He writes:

Noah signifies the prelates, who when they govern well are fathers of just as many sons as they are rulers of the righteous; who when they plant the vine, build the Church, and when they are drunk from its wine are, full of human weakness, glorying in the progress of their virtues and the prosperity of their rule. . . . And when their shame is uncovered, a want of self-restraint is revealed . . . either through any amount of ostentation, or through worthless wealth, or in short, through the course of human nature. But Cham laughs at the shame, just as the sinners [*reprobi*] who when they see the excesses [caused] by weak nature of any of the prelates tear them with wicked speeches and do not cease to mock. But Sem, that is, the good contemplatives . . . and Iapheth, that is, the good active people . . . take pains to conceal and excuse the weaknesses of the prelates, just as when they cover up the shame of their

97. Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, pp. 200–208, in chap. 5, "Masters of the Sacred Page: The Comestor, The Chanter Stephen Langton," pp. 196–263.

98. Friend, "Cheriton," pp. 647–648.

99. *P.L.*, CCV, cols. 23–370. Peter also wrote exegetical works; Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, p. 197, note 4, says: "No comprehensive study of the manuscripts of the . . . Chanter's glosses exists."

100. Chap. LVI, "De officio praelatorum"; LVII, "Contra negligentiam praelatorum"; also LVIII, LIX, LX, LXI, and LXVI, all on prelates. Chap. CXII, "De obedientia."

101. Smalley, *Bible in Middle Ages*, pp. 179–180.

102. May 1207. Printed with English trans. in *Selected Letters of Innocent III concerning England (1198–1216)*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Simple (New York, 1953), p. 87.

103. "De ebrietate et maledictione Caym. . . . [venientibus] fratribus sem maiori et iaphet minori coopuerunt verenda patris per hoc docemur . . . peccata praelatorum non revelare." Paris, B.N. lat. 14. 414 (from St. Victor, Paris), fol. 118 recto. The MS. is listed in P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie à Paris au XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1933) no. 104.

104. See above, p. 54.

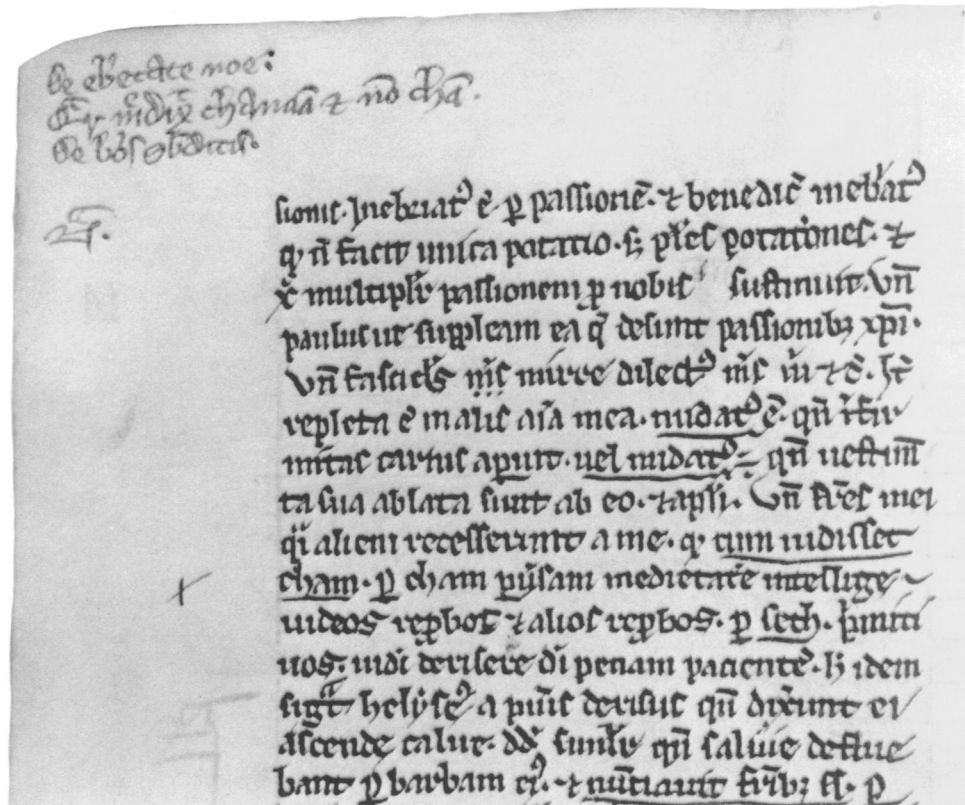


FIGURE 17

Stephen Langton, *Postillae super Genesim*. Extract from the allegorical exposition of Genesis 9:20–27, showing the second line of the *Cham ridet* couplet. Copied XIII century. British Museum, Royal MS. 2. E. XII, fol. 25 verso

father. . . . Noah therefore [signifies] the prelates, Cham the sinners [*reprobi*], Sem and Japheth the chosen, both active and contemplative.¹⁰⁵

Langton's commentaries on the Bible were given as lectures to the Paris theology students during the period 1180–1200. They contain many *exempla*. Beryl Smalley has pointed out with reference to the *exempla* in the Old Testament commentaries, however, that those drawn from Scripture, legend, and classical antiquity are so numerous that they are indistinguishable from passing allusions.¹⁰⁶ For this reason she has listed and identified with *exempla* found in other authors (including Odo of Cheriton and Jacques de Vitry) only those stories that are not taken from the above three sources.

The second verse of the *Cham ridet* couplet does appear, however, in the text of Langton's *Postillae super*

Genesim (Figure 17).¹⁰⁷ The commentary on Noah and Cham covers some 2½ columns: first the *allegoria* is discussed, then the *moralitas*—these two words being written in red ink in the margin. The context in which the verse occurs is that of the *allegoria*, and the text on folio 25 verso (column 1) is as follows: “. . . quod cum vidisset Cham. Per Cham . . . medietate intelligitur iudeos reprobos et alios reprobos post Seth. Permitti [?] vos iudei derisere dei penam patientis. Hoc idem significatur Helyseus a pueris derisus. . . .”

105. *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum*, Lib. 1, cap. xviii; P.L., CLXXV, col. 644.

106. Beryl Smalley, “Exempla in the Commentaries of Stephen Langton,” *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 17 (1933) pp. 121–129, especially p. 123 and note 1.

107. I have so far only looked at one copy of the *Postillae super Genesim*: British Museum, Royal MS. 2. E. XII, fols. 9 recto–60 recto (new foliation). The MS. is described briefly by Warner & Gilson, *Royal and King's Collections*, I, pp. 64–65.

Langton certainly wrote his Commentary on Genesis during his professorship at Paris, which lasted from about 1180 to 1206, the year in which he was made a cardinal by Innocent III. We can be fairly sure that he started his Old Testament glosses with Genesis, which would mean that he probably completed at least a first version soon after 1180 and was then using it for lectures.¹⁰⁸ The particular copy of the *Postillae super Genesim* that I have used for the above quotation is dated thirteenth century, and it has been suggested that it belonged to St. Alban's Abbey, since there is a reference to an owner who was a monk from nearby Watford.¹⁰⁹ This seems to me a rather doubtful attribution for the manuscript's provenance, but at any rate it was probably copied in England. There are extant in European libraries a considerable number of copies of the work, and it can be presumed to have become rapidly known once it had been used in theology lectures.

There are undoubtedly other examples of the *Cham ridet* couplet, either complete or just one line of it, to be found in Genesis commentaries and in miscellaneous verse collections dating from the last quarter of the twelfth century through the thirteenth. Its occurrence in a work by Stephen Langton, written at Paris probably shortly after 1180, is evidence enough that it was in circulation by about that year.

It is clear, however, that Langton did not compose the couplet. Whoever did used the harsher wording of *nuda*, *pudibunda*, and *morientis*, found on the Cloisters cross and partly in the Bury choir (*nuda* and *genitalia*). This harsh wording would appear to have been fairly rapidly suppressed, since in Langton's commentary of the 1180s *patientis* replaces *morientis*, and in the annotated Vatican *Historia Scholastica* of the end of the twelfth century the words are already the gentler alternatives found in Odo's sermon, in the versified Bible from

Cardiff, and in the verse collection from Mondsee: *detecta*, *membra*, and *patientis*. The more caustic, first version evidently lingered or had already found its way into some books before it could be changed, hence the Lyre volume of the late twelfth–early thirteenth century (Rouen MS. A. 452), which has *morientis*, and the late thirteenth-century book from Reims Cathedral (Figure 10), which has wording identical to that on the ivory cross. The scribe of Peterhouse MS. 109 (Figure 14) was evidently aware of the harsher variant, since he put *patientis huc morientis*.

It is not impossible that Langton himself altered the wording in the early 1180s; *Deus moriens*, the concept of God actually dying, would certainly have been considered heretical. *Deus patiens*, the suffering God, was a more fitting choice.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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108. See G. Lacombe and B. Smalley, "Studies on the Commentaries of Stephen Langton," *Archives d'Histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 5 (1930) pp. 5–266, especially pp. 127–131, on the order in which he composed his Old Testament glosses. The complicated question of whether Langton glossed the Old Testament twice is discussed here at length.

109. Warner and Gilson, *Royal and King's Collections*, I, p. 65. At the bottom of fol. 9: "Annulae fratris Willelmi de Watford anno primo coronacionis regis E[dwardi]" (Edward III? A.D. 1327). Royal MS. 2. E. XII is nevertheless not in Ker, *Medieval Libraries*.

Stained-Glass Windows from the Carmelite Church at Boppard-am-Rhein

A Reconstruction of the Glazing Program of the North Nave

JANE HAYWARD

Associate Curator at The Cloisters, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

"NOT LONG AGO, Berlin and the Royal Institute of Stained Glass lost, in the choir windows of the early Carmelite church at Boppard, a national art treasure of the first rank, the like of which will surely never again appear. Even the highest influence of the Crown Prince and the enthusiastic recommendation of the Minister of Culture could not, within the space of more than two years, persuade the government to provide the very modest amount [of money] needed to acquire this imposing monument of German art. They [the windows] are now in Paris, which, except for England, is the only refuge for such great works of art, the property of Friedrich Spitzer, founder, collector, and owner of the very famous private museum of antiquities of Christian art. Thus, what could not be attained by Berlin over a period of more than two years has now been achieved by a private person."¹

This bitter commentary of 1877 on the attitude of the Prussian government toward its national cultural heritage also records the last time when virtually all

the remains of a glazing program of unique artistic significance were exhibited collectively. At Friedrich Spitzer's death, little more than a decade later, these stained-glass windows, up until then so fortunately preserved, were dismantled, placed on the auction block, and sold piecemeal without, in most cases, even a purchase record. In the years that followed, most of the Boppard fragments changed hands many times, and in the process their identity was forgotten. Only those few pieces acquired for public collections survived with an established provenance. By the twentieth century,

FIGURE 1

Mary in the Ährenkleid with Two Bishop Saints, the upper portion of a window originally in the Carmelite church at Boppard-am-Rhein, 1440–1446. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 37.52.1–3 (Photo: Taylor and Dull)

FIGURE 2

Saints Catherine, Dorothea, and Barbara, the lower portion of the same window as Figure 1. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, 37.52.4–6

1. Excerpted from *Archiv für Kirchliche Baukunst und Kirchenschmuck* (Berlin, 1877) II, pp. 42–43. The complete text of this and other documents relating to the history of the Boppard windows are published in Hans Wentzel, "Unbekannte mittelalterliche Glasmalereien der Burrell Collection zu Glasgow (3. Teil)," *Pantheon* 19 (1961) pp. 240–243.





the “national art treasure” once lost to Berlin was virtually lost to posterity as well.

The recent rediscoveries of so much of this glass after so long a time in so many parts of the world are, therefore, little short of astonishing. Renewed scholarly interest in the Boppard glass has led to the recovery of fragments, panels, and even parts of windows long hidden in museum storerooms and private collections. Archives, auction catalogues, and dealers’ records have yielded information on the history and location of still other pieces. The search has not always been successful, for it has inevitably resulted in the revealing of losses as well as in discoveries. Some of the glass is now known to have been destroyed; other panels, though presumed to exist, have still not been traced. Publication of this research has contributed new bibliography on windows that had hardly been mentioned in the literature on stained glass for nearly fifty years.² These new notices understandably stress matters of identification,³ the compilation of examples and historical data, and the reassembly of various windows.⁴ Because of the extensive documentation and cataloguing that



FIGURE 3

The Carmelite church at Boppard-am-Rhein, view of the north wall of the north nave, begun in 1439

have resulted from these investigations, it is now possible to reassess the glazing program at Boppard and to consider its more fundamental problems of style and meaning, as well as the unity that is embodied in its artistic concept.

2. Among the more recent publications on the stained-glass windows of Boppard are Hans Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” pp. 240–249; James J. Rorimer, “New Acquisitions for The Cloisters,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 33 (1938) pp. 12–14 of section II of May issue; *idem*, *The Cloisters, The Building and the Collection of Medieval Art in Fort Tryon Park*, 3rd ed. (New York, 1963) pp. 156–158; William Wells, “Some Notes on the Stained Glass in the Burrell Collection in the Glasgow Art Gallery,” *Journal of the British Society of Master Glasspainters* 12 (1959) pp. 277–279; *idem*, *Stained and Painted Glass, Burrell Collection*, catalogue (Glasgow, 1965) pp. 58, 65–67, nos. 201, 202, 222, and 224; *idem*, *Stained and Painted Heraldic Glass, Burrell Collection*, catalogue (Glasgow, 1962) pp. 60–61, no. 261; *idem*, “Stained Glass from Boppard-on-Rhine in the Burrell Collection,” *Scottish Art Review* 10 (1966) pp. 22–25; Gerhard Bott, *Glasmalerei um 800–1900 im Hessischen Landesmuseum in Darmstadt*, text volume (Frankfurt-am-Main, in preparation) nos. 100–102, plate volume, ed. Suzanne Beeh-Lustenberger (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1967) pls. 100–102; *Das Schnütgen-Museum, eine Auswahl*, ed. Hermann Schnitzler (Cologne, 1961) p. 58. To these published works should be added: Diedrich Rentsch, *Mitteldeutsche Glasmalerei der Hochgotik*, unpublished paper for a seminar in art history at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, 1952; Dr. Rentsch’s forthcoming volume of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, Germany IV, Rhineland*; and a paper I read before the College Art Association in January 1968, “Stained Glass from the North Nave of the Carmelite Church of Boppard-am-Rhein.”

3. Two sources have been used in the identification of most of the Boppard glass: (1) The catalogue of the Spitzer Collection, *La Collection Spitzer, Antiquité, Moyen-Age, Renaissance*, Protat Frères,

Macon, 1891, II, pp. 73–75, nos. 1953–1961, and the Spitzer sale catalogue, *Catalogue des Objets d’Art composant l’importante et précieuse Collection Spitzer*, Paris, April 17–June 16, 1893, “Vitraux,” pp. 65–66, nos. 1953–1961, “Supplément,” pp. 269–271, nos. 3349–3369. (2) Heinrich Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien* (Düsseldorf, 1912) I, pl. xviii, fig. 400; (Düsseldorf, 1921) II, figs. 418–421. In this comprehensive and still authoritative work, the author reproduces six half-windows from Boppard taken from previously unpublished photographs made during the time when the glass was undergoing restoration at the Königliche Institut für Glasmalerei in Berlin prior to its acquisition by Spitzer.

4. Hans Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 244, was the first to recognize that a number preceded by a letter, painted upon most of the Boppard panels, could be interpreted as part of an assembly key. According to his theory, the numbers represented the order in which the panels were placed in the aperture, and the letters represented the windows to which the panels belonged. The numbers (1–42) run consecutively from the bottom to the top of each lancet and the letters (A–E, thus far discovered) indicate to which of five windows the panels belonged. Wentzel also believed that these designations were added to the glass at the time, or after, the glass was first removed from the church. Since the two panels from the window now at The Cloisters (Figure 1, third lancet, third and fifth registers) that were entirely remade in the nineteenth century bear these designations in exactly the same style of calligraphy as that on the original pieces, it is probable that they were inscribed on the glass at the time of its restoration in Berlin. These numbers, therefore, while not an infallible guide to the original order of the windows, are useful in identifying the glass owned by Spitzer.

The Carmelite church at Boppard, now stripped of all its medieval stained glass, is an unprepossessing structure, severe if not ungainly in appearance, and deprived even of the accent of a portal on its western facade. Among the few embellishments of its exterior are the splendidly carved, flamboyant traceries that adorn the apertures of its north wall (Figure 3). These great triple-light transom windows produce in the interior of the church a zone of light that stretches more than thirty feet from the sill level to the crowning of the vaults. This northern portion of the church (Figure 4), an addition to the original building, was begun in 1439 and consecrated in 1444.⁵ The earlier structure, completed in the previous century, was a spacious single-aisled hall church with a choir terminating in a polygonal apse. Apparently the windows of the choir had been glazed, for an account of 1856 mentions the removal of ancient stained glass from the apse in 1847.⁶ It is, perhaps, this reference to the choir glass that has led to subsequent confusion regarding the original location in the church of those windows bought by Friedrich Spitzer. The writers of most accounts, including the author of the archive quoted above, have assumed that this glass came from the choir of the earlier portion of the church.⁷ But the individual lights of the choir are some six inches narrower than those of the north nave and correspondingly narrower than any of the panels known to have been in the Spitzer collection. These panels, in contrast, agree in height and width, as well as in the double disposition of the lancets (three over three), with the dimensions and arrangement of the transom windows of the north nave. In addition, the dedication date, 1444, appears on one of the Spitzer panels that is now in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 9). The windows acquired by Friedrich Spitzer were, therefore, those of the north nave—the

same windows that had first been purchased and removed from the church by Count, later Prince, Pückler in 1818.⁸

The series of circumstances resulting in the loss of this stained glass by the Carmelite convent began with the Napoleonic invasion of the Rhineland and the ensuing secularization of the monasteries. As the property of the town of Boppard, these windows were removed by the count after he had agreed to pay an insignificant purchase price and to replace the colored glass in the church with blank glazing. According to accounts written at the time of the Spitzer purchase, Count Hermann Pückler acquired five windows, including the so-called Imperial Window, which is described at length, one with biblical scenes, a long series of Rhenish bishops, and the Throne of Solomon.⁹ The count had intended to use this glass in the family chapel of his estate at Muskau on the Polish border, but the plans for this ambitious project were never completed. Upon his death in 1871, only one half-window had been installed in the Pückler mortuary chapel, and the others were still packed in cases stored on the estate. Count Pückler-Branitz, the heir, then sent the remaining four and one-half windows to Berlin for restoration at the Royal Institute for Stained Glass and subsequently sold them to Spitzer.¹⁰ Presumably, Friedrich Spitzer at that time acquired all of the stained glass that had existed in the north addition to the Carmelite church at Boppard in 1818 with the exception of the half-window that remained at Muskau.

In terms of elaborateness and complexity, the glazing program of the north nave is in no way comparable to other known cycles of decoration in Carmelite convents of the fifteenth century in the Rhineland. The geographically nearest example, the wall paintings in

5. August Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften über Christliche Kunst* (Leipzig, 1856) p. 420, discusses the north building; see also Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 288. The document recording the consecration of the north building at Boppard, apparently overlooked by those interested in the problem, still exists in a copy preserved in the archives at the Trier Stadtbibliothek, ms. 1694/328, "Des Klosters Boppard Ordinis Carmelitarum Archivium" (no. 370) 8vo., pp. 117–119 (see Appendix B, document quoted in full).

6. Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften*, p. 420.

7. Documents quoted in Wentzel, "Unbekannte Glas-

malereien," pp. 240–243. Wentzel himself, following Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 228, concludes that the windows are those of the north building. Hermann Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des Königlichen Kunstgewerbemuseums in Berlin* (Berlin, 1913) I, p. 42, Wells, *Scottish Art Review*, p. 25, and others believe them to come from the choir.

8. The documents relating to the removal of the glass are quoted in Wentzel, "Unbekannte Glasmalereien," pp. 240–243.

9. *Archiv für Kirchliche Baukunst*, pp. 42–43.

10. Reichensperger, *Vermischte Schriften*, pp. 420–421.

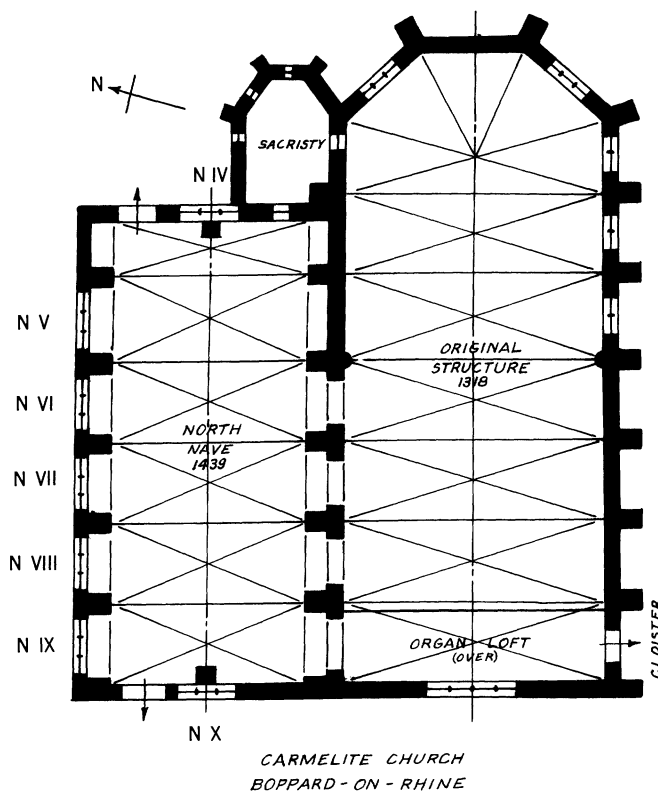


FIGURE 4
Plan of the church (bays numbered in accordance
with the standard established for *Corpus Vitrearum
Medii Aevi*)

the Carmelite church in Mainz, dating from the 1430s, are, with the exception of a Triumph of Christ painted in the choir vault, essentially historical or narrative representations.¹¹ Special circumstances, therefore, must have prompted the highly sophisticated symbolism inherent in the Boppard windows. Certainly the unique position held by the Carmelite convent in the fifteenth century in the town itself is relevant to the problem of reconstructing the glazing program. Boppard was one of the smaller Carmelite foundations, in which there were seldom more than twelve regular clergy and a handful of lay brothers. But contrary to usual practice among the houses in the Lower German province, its church served as the parish church for the town, for nearby Simmern, and for other neighboring communities.¹² This meant that the Boppard pastorate included a large congregation who supported the work of the church and the diocese with its contributions.

Whether the need for the new addition in 1439 resulted from an increase in parish obligations or from an influx of communicants eager to save their souls in view of an impending outbreak of plague,¹³ the record of the consecration is clearly also a plea for funds to complete the work. This document,¹⁴ dated January 6, 1444, is in the form of a letter addressed to the archbishop of Trier by Gerhard, titular bishop of Salona, who officiated at the ceremony. In it the bishop states that he has consecrated a large, newly constructed part of the church and a new altar in honor of St. Stephen, proto-martyr, the ten thousand martyrs, the eleven thousand virgins, and Saints Anthony of the Holy Cross, Catherine, Mary Magdalene, Felix, and Adauctus. The relics of these saints, he continues, have been placed in the altar. He further informs the archbishop that since the Church is accustomed to granting forgiveness and indulgences so that more people will seek absolution and thus merit salvation, he has granted to those who are penitent and who perform certain specified acts of piety forty days of indulgence. He concludes that he has granted the same indulgences to all those who have provided or bequeathed of their riches for vestments for the priests, furnishings for the altar, or the fabric as well as the ornamentation and lighting of the building.

This latter portion of the document provides additional information of importance to the reconstruction of the glazing program. The mention of donations for the "fabric" or architecture indicates that though the building was in usable condition, it was not yet fully completed at the time of the dedication. Presumably, also, the reference to "a new altar" meant the one in the new nave rather than a reconsecration of the main altar

11. Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik* (Berlin, 1938) III, pp. 138–141.

12. Heinrich Koch, *Die Karmelitenklöster der Niederdeutschen Provinz* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1889) pp. 34–37.

13. A particularly severe recurrence of the plague struck western Germany in the years 1438–1439.

14. Trier, Stadtbibliothek, ms. 1694/328, pp. 117–119. The document (see Appendix B) is transcribed from the only existing copy, made at Boppard in 1694. This, together with copies of some of the other records relating to the early foundation, survived a fire that soon afterward destroyed the originals. The document, addressed to Archbishop Jacob (von Sierk), enumerates the feasts to be observed, including "all those feasts of the Glorious Virgin Mary," in order that indulgences be granted, as well as specific furnishings required for the church.

already existing in the old choir.¹⁵ Furthermore, the impressive list of relics placed within the altar as well as the granting of indulgences to those who would provide both for the furnishings and the ornamentation and lighting of the church undoubtedly reflects an attempt to secure major donations for the embellishment of the new structure, including its stained-glass windows.

In its administration of a parish church, the convent at Boppard was under the direction both of the archbishop of Trier, in whose diocese it was located, and of the provincial of the Lower German Carmelite province at Cologne. This dual allegiance was an advantage in the new glazing program, particularly since the archbishop, Jacob von Sierk, was through his mother a member of the Beyer von Boppard family, the influential imperial administrators of the district.¹⁶ Petrus de Nova Ecclesia, the provincial at Cologne, had attended the Council of Basel from 1434 on and with other Carmelites there had defended the idea of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary.¹⁷ In addition, the brothers attached to the convent itself during the period of the new construction were unusually distinguished scholars,¹⁸ drawn there, in all probability, by its renowned library. The combination of these unique and fortunate circumstances explains not only why the donors were so prominent, but also why the

plan of the new windows in the north nave was so outstanding.

The new structure (Figure 4), built to the west of the existing sacristy along the north wall of the older church,¹⁹ served both as an additional nave and as a separate parish chapel with its own altar and entrances opening directly onto the street. The old and new parts of the nave were joined by the removal of the masonry between the buttresses of the original north wall. In its present, and probably original, state, the north nave is composed of six rectangular vaulted bays. With the exception of the bay occupying the east end of the nave, which is shallower than the others and contains the altar, each is lighted from the north by a triple-lancet transom window. There is an additional double aperture on the west wall above the door. Each of the six individual lights within each window is comprised of seven superimposed panels of glass, or registers, and terminates in a trefoil arch (Figures 21–25). The east bay has a single triple-light aperture of ten registers (Figure 28), set higher in the wall to clear the eave line of the adjoining sacristy. All of these windows are surmounted by elaborate tracery that once contained stained glass, but no record describing it has ever been found. Five of the seven apertures in the north nave are designed with a larger trefoil termination in the

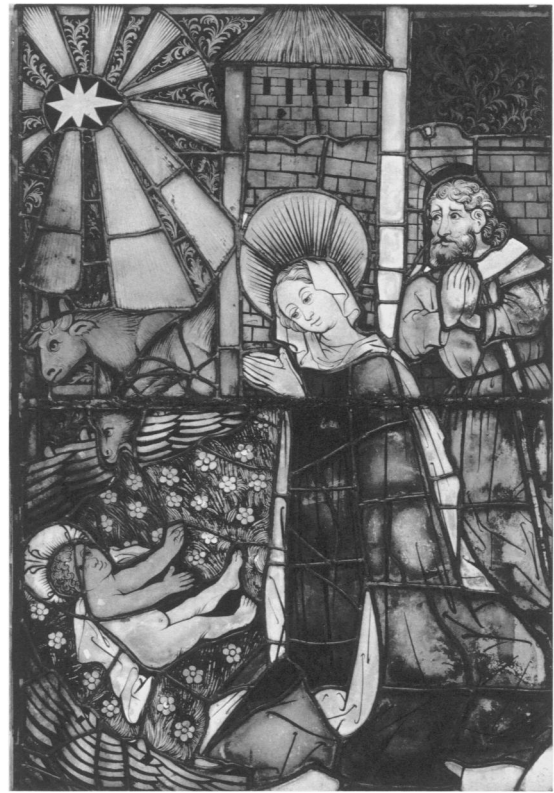
15. Christian von Stromberg, *Denkwürdiger und nützlicher Rhein Antiquarius, Mittelrhein* (Coblenz, 1856) V, part 2, p. 516, states that the new structure was begun in 1439 but that the church was not vaulted until 1455. Therefore, considerably more than the construction of the new nave was undertaken in this campaign. This included a complete renovation of the west part of the original church, including the walling-in of the original west portal (the only original public entrance to the church), the construction of a new organ loft and window above it, and finally, the revaulting of the original nave. It seems obvious, therefore, that the new north nave with its new public entrance was completed or partially completed by 1444 and that services for the laity were conducted there while the original church was being renovated.

16. Wilhelm Kisky, *Die Domkapitel der geistlichen Kurfürsten* (Weimar, 1906) pp. 188–189, gives brief notations on the life of this remarkable prelate. Educated at Heidelberg, he served as canon at Trier, Metz, Utrecht, Würzburg, and Liège and as papal chamberlain and notary before becoming archbishop of Trier in 1439. His election actually took place in 1430 by a vote of the canons, but he was deposed by Pope Eugenius IV because of his adherence to the Council of Basel and his support of the opposition pope. His deposition had no effect, as he had the firm support of the German electors and the emperor. He proved to be an able administrator and with Nicholas of Cusa founded the University of Trier.

17. Koch, *Die Karmelitenklöster*, p. 154.

18. The index of the Carmelites of the Lower German province given in Koch, *Die Karmelitenklöster*, pp. 131–158, traces the movements and positions of the various members of the order. See especially pp. 137, 139, 142–143, 154–155. Some of those who probably influenced the iconographic plan of the new windows are worthy of mention: Petrus Tinctorus, who had served as prior of Mainz and Cologne, was prior of Boppard from 1439 to 1442. He was succeeded at Boppard by Petrus Merboide, who had earlier served in various capacities at Trier, Cologne, Worms, and Frankfurt. Henricus Molitoris, lector at Boppard from 1438 to 1442, was attached to the University of Cologne at the time of his lectorship; he had studied at Oxford and was prior of Strasbourg before coming to Boppard. Joannes de Casselis had studied in Cologne and in England and received a degree in philosophy at Oxford; he was lector at Boppard between 1437 and 1442, after which he became magister general at Padua. Joannes de Dumo, iunior, had studied logic and philosophy at Cologne and was informant at Boppard in 1440. Joannes Gladeatores of Boppard had been prior of Speyer, Frankfurt, and Boppard before returning to the last to serve as master of the rule from 1439 to 1442.

19. Frankfurt Stadtarchiv, *Karmelitenbücher*, ms. 5, “Visitationbuch des Provinzials Hermann von Neuss von 1370 bis 1388,” copy by Seger Pawls, gives the date of the building of the new sacristy as 1388–1389.



FIGURES 5–8

The Visitation, Nativity, Deposition, and Entombment from the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard, 1444. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Leland Fund, 13.64.1–4

upper central light. The exceptions are the west window and bay n VIII (see plan, Figure 4), where all three lights culminate in cusped arches of equal size. This difference in the design of the trefoils, in addition to identifications made on the basis of the numbering system inscribed on the Boppard glass by the restorers in Berlin and the description of it contained in the Spitzer sale catalogue and the archives, provides the basis upon which the position and relationship of the windows of the north nave can be reconstructed.

Only one of the original seven windows from this glazing program still exists in its entirety. Now at The Cloisters, it is composed of six lancets, each containing

20. Acc. nos. 37.52.1–6. Panels bear designations B 1–42, though not all are still legible. Exhibited: Spitzer Collection, Paris, 1878–1893; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1936–1937. Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 43, fig. 69; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, II, pp. 274–275, figs. 419–420; Rorimer, *The Cloisters*, fig. 79; Emile Molinier, “Les Vitraux,” *La Collection Spitzer* (Paris, 1891) III, pp. 120–125, figs. 7–9, pl. 1. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 1953–1955 and 1959–1961.

21. Acc. no. M596, acquired 1893. Panels marked C 1–7, 15–21, 29–35. Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, pl. xviii; Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 41, fig. 67; M. Hartig, “Die hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen und die deutsche Kunst,” *Die Christliche Kunst* 27 (1930–1931) pl. 197, fig. 204. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3355–3357.

22. Reg. no. 45.489, acquired 1939. Panels marked C 22–28. Exhibited: McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1951. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 422, fig. 4; Wells, *Glass, Burrell Collection*, no. 222, pls. p. 65. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3365. Ex coll. Robert Goelet, Newport.

23. Reg. no. 45.485, acquired 1938. Panels marked E 3–7, 17–21, 31–35. Exhibited: McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1951. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 245, fig. 6; Wells, “Stained Glass from Boppard,” pl. p. 23; Wells, *Glass, Burrell Collection*, no. 224, pl. p. 67. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3352–3354, the figure of Jesse excluded. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst, New York. Another panel, showing donors and their arms (Figure 25, bottom central register), may also come from this window. It is also in the Burrell Collection and was formerly attached to those panels in the collection from the Ten Commandments window. Reg. no. 45.498, acquired 1948. No marking on panel. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 243, pl. 5; Wells, *Heraldic Glass, Burrell Collection*, no. 261, pl. p. 60. Not included in Spitzer sale catalogue. Ex coll.: William Randolph Hearst, New York; Robert Goelet.

a large single figure placed above an armorial panel or small scene (Figures 1, 2).²⁰ The lower half of another window, with scenes illustrating the Ten Commandments, is in the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne (Figure 14),²¹ and seven panels from the upper half have recently been discovered in the Burrell Collection in Glasgow (Figures 15, 31).²² All but six panels of still another half-window are in Glasgow (Figure 10);²³ from the same window are eight panels now in the

FIGURE 9

The Three Marys Beneath the Cross, part of the Crucifixion from the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard, dated 1444. The Detroit Institute of Arts

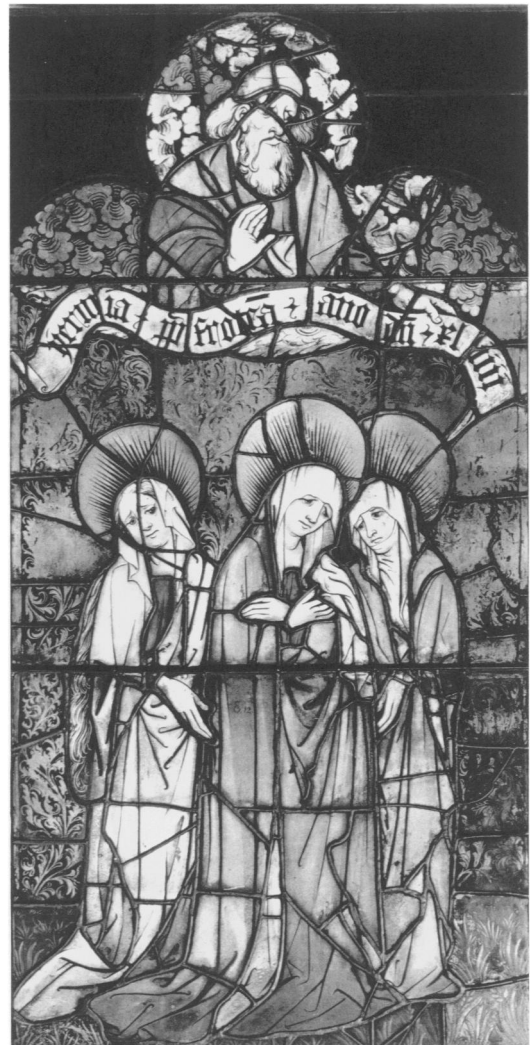




FIGURE 10

The Resurrection, Christ before Pilate, Annunciation, Appearance to Peter, Agony in the Garden, and Birth of the Virgin from the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard, 1444. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

Metropolitan Museum (Figures 5–8),²⁴ three in the Detroit Institute of Arts (Figure 9),²⁵ and four in a private collection in Zürich (Figure 25, lower four panels of upper left lancet),²⁶ and three are still unlocated, though rumored to be in a private collection in America (Figure 25, second register).²⁷ The remains of a fourth window, of great importance since it is inscribed with the dates of the glazing program, 1440–1446,²⁸ are now divided as follows: the De Young Museum in San Francisco has six panels (Figure 11);²⁹ the Burrell Collection has twelve panels (Figures 12, 13);³⁰ a New York private collector owns three panels showing the Virgin (Figure 22);³¹ and three more, the canopy above the Virgin, were last known to be in the United States.³² Half of a fifth window (Figure 16),³³ missing only the three donor panels, was formerly in the collection of William Randolph Hearst; it was

destroyed by fire while in transit in 1957, but two of the donor panels, one possibly from the upper half of the window, are now in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Figures 17, 18).³⁴ What has been considered to be half of another window, showing the Throne of Solomon (Figure 19),³⁵ which was retained by Count Pückler, met an equally tragic fate when the Schloss Park at Muskau was completely obliterated in the bombing of 1945. Fortunately, two additional panels that once belonged to this window have survived and are now in Darmstadt (Figure 20).³⁶ Nine additional panels, four of which have been located, are known to be in this country. They include three kneeling donors, each two panels in height, and three armorials.³⁷ Until these panels can be examined, their location in the glazing program can only be surmised.

With respect to its donation, the most important

24. Acc. nos. 13.64.1–4. Panels marked E 22–25, 36–39, but not all of these numbers are still legible. Exhibited: Charles Gallery, New York, 1913. Maurice Drake, *The Grosvenor Thomas Collection of Ancient Stained Glass* (New York, 1913) I, p. 44, nos. 224–227. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3358 and 3360, the scenes of St. John and Longinus and the Crucifixion excluded. Ex coll. Roy Grosvenor Thomas, London.

25. Acc. no. 40.52, acquired 1940. Panels marked E 12–14. Joseph L. Fischer, “Drei Süddeutsche Glasgemälde aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts,” *Zeitschrift für Alte und Neue Glasmalerei* (1913) pl. opp. p. 49; Paul Frankl, “Das Passionsfenster im Berner Münster und der Glasmaler Hans Acker von Ulm,” *Anzeiger für Schweizerische Altertumskunde*, NF 40 (1938) p. 242. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3359, last scene mentioned only. Ex coll. A. Huber, Zürich.

26. Fischer, *Zeitschrift*, pl. opp. p. 49; Frankl, “Das Passionsfenster,” p. 242. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3359, the Three Marys excluded. Ex coll.: A. Huber; Bodmer Brothers, Zürich.

27. *Art Objects and Furnishings from the William Randolph Hearst Collection*, catalogue, Hammer Galleries, New York, 1941, p. 136, no. 541–10. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3352–3354, figure of Jesse only. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst.

28. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 244, recognized and translated the inscription “(begon) nen in dem Jahr da man zahlt MCCCC/XL, und in dem (Jahr) vollbracht (die) Fenster XLVI.” (“Begun in the year reckoned as 1440, and the window completed in the year 46”) (Figures 12, 13). The beginning of the inscription, which should have appeared in the lancet now in San Francisco (Figure 11), is lost, but the meaning of the surviving part seems obvious.

29. Acquired 1934. Panels marked A 8–13. “Stained Glass, Tapestries, Metalwork, Ceramics, Furniture and Textiles,” *M. H. De Young Museum Handbook* (San Francisco, n.d.) p. 215. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 3367. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst.

30. Reg. no. 45.487, acquired 1939. Panels marked A 21–29, 34–39. Exhibited: McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, 1951. Wentzel, “Unbekannte Glasmalereien,” p. 241, figs. 2–3; Wells, *Glass, Burrell Collection*, p. 58, nos. 201–202. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3368–3369. Ex coll. William Randolph Hearst.

31. Exhibited: Spitzer Collection, Paris, 1878–1893. Panels marked A 16–18. Molinier, “Les Vitraux,” *Spitzer*, III, pl. II; Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 44, fig. 71; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, II, p. 275, fig. 421; *Collection of Mrs. Stanley Grafton Mortimer and Others*, catalogue (New York, 1948) p. 39, no. 162; Wells, “Stained Glass from Boppard,” pl. p. 22. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 1957, panels 2–4. Ex coll.: Robert Goelet; James Montlor, New York.

32. The architectural canopy belonging to the previous item. See note 31 for publications except for Wells. Spitzer sale catalogue no. 1957, upper part. Ex coll.: Robert Goelet; W. E. Cotter, New York.

33. Panels marked D. *Katalog der Kunstsachen und Antiquitäten des VI bis XIX Jahrhunderts, Collection Bourgeois Frères* (Cologne, 1904) no. 330, pl. opp. p. 68; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, II, p. 274, fig. 418; *Hearst Collection*, catalogue (New York, 1943) p. 136, nos. 540–7, 540–8, 540–9. Spitzer sale catalogue nos. 3349–3351. Ex coll.: Caspar Bourgeois, Cologne; William Randolph Hearst.

34. No numbers are marked on these panels, and they do not appear in the Spitzer catalogue. *Glasmalerei im Darmstadt*, II, nos. 100–101.

35. Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 41, fig. 66; Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 232, fig. 400; Heinrich Kolb, *Glasmalereien des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Stuttgart, 1884–1889) pls. 58–59.

36. No numbers are marked on these panels, and they do not appear in the Spitzer catalogue. *Glasmalerei im Darmstadt*, II, no. 102.

37. As far as is known, these panels have never been published. They are noted in the Spitzer sale catalogue, nos. 3361–3363; also in *Collection of Mrs. Mortimer*, pp. 38–40, nos. 161, 164–166. Ex coll. Robert Goelet. Four of the panels, the donors in Spitzer nos. 3362–3363, are now in a private collection in Detroit. The whereabouts of the other panels, including a kneeling bishop, two panels high, and three armorials showing dual coats of arms with helmed crests, arms with lion supporters, and an angel supporting three shields, are presently unknown.

window of the series is that illustrating the Ten Commandments, as it bears the imperial arms and was probably a gift of Emperor Albrecht II (Figure 14).³⁸ These insignia, which are inscribed twice on the glass, must have been accorded a prominent position in the church. Since the window was double with an enlarged lobe in the upper central trefoil, it could not have been placed either in the single aperture above the altar or in the western bay with its smaller trilobed termination. The only other place of importance in the nave that would also correspond to the composition of the Imperial Window is the central bay (n VII) of the north wall. It was probably in this location, therefore, that the glass was originally set.

Inasmuch as the window given by the Piermont family and now divided between Glasgow and San Francisco (Figure 22) is inscribed with the dates of the glazing program, 1440–1446, it must have been the last of the series to be installed. According to the account of the consecration,³⁹ only a part of the new addition was completed by 1444, and that portion included the altar. Since the inscription on this window records that the glazing began in 1440, some of the windows were already in place by the time of dedication. Presumably they were those in the eastern portion of the nave in the vicinity of the altar. The western part of the new building and the major alterations to the adjacent wall of the existing church, such as the walling-in of the main portal previously used by the laity and, above it, the construction of the new organ loft, must have been completed after the consecration. The inscribed window, therefore, must have been the one placed in the western aperture of the new nave (bay n X). Unfortunately, the trefoil of the upper central lancet, which would have offered proof of location for the glass, is missing.⁴⁰

If the Piermont window was originally situated in the western bay, then the Cloisters window (Figure 23) could only have occupied the second opening (n VIII) on the north wall. All of its six lancets terminate in cusped arches of equal size and would only fit the stone moldings of the second bay of the nave. This window is unique in another respect, for all but two of the remaining panels from the other Boppard windows appear to be the work of one master, while the glass of the Cloisters window seems to be the work of a second master (see Appendix A). Other glass from the north

FIGURE 11

The Archangel Michael from the Piermont window from Boppard, 1440–1446. M. H. De Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco

FIGURES 12, 13

Saint Cunibert and a Bishop Saint, with an inscription dating the glazing program, from the Piermont window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

nave that was also attributable to this second hand has since been destroyed. This was the so-called Bourgeois window (Figure 24), which was until recently in the Hearst collection.⁴¹ As both these windows appear to have been of similar design, with a large single figure in each lancet, they were probably planned as pendants to flank the Ten Commandments on the north wall. The remains of the window bought at the Spitzer sale by Caspar Bourgeois, therefore, probably occupied bay n VI.

The panels illustrating scenes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin placed above the reclining Jesse (Figure 25),⁴² one of which bears the date 1444, were

38. The left and right lancets of the upper tier are lost and are known only from descriptions in the archives (see note 9 *supra*) and items 3364 and 3366 in the Spitzer catalogue. The French writer of the catalogue was obviously unaware of the subject of the window and of the meaning of the inscriptions on each of the panels but does mention pinnacles surmounted by musical angels. His descriptions, therefore, do not help in the identification of the scenes. The more detailed account in the archives mentions the scenes of the Ten Commandments as surrounding the Virgin and as being surmounted by architectural pinnacles with musical angels.

39. See p. 80, *supra*, and note 14.

40. Also missing from this window are the two lower flanking lancets, which contained the figures of St. George and St. Quirinus as well as the donors, Cuno von Piermont, his wife, Margaretha von Schönenberg, and their five children.

41. Nothing is known about the upper half of this window with the possible exception of one of the donor panels from it now in Darmstadt (Figure 18). The nearly complete lower half of the window was destroyed in 1957 after it had been purchased for a private collection in California.

42. Apart from the donor panels, one of which is possibly that now in the Burrell Collection showing Siegfried von Gelnhausen and his wife, the only missing parts of this window are two scenes described in the Spitzer sale catalogue, nos. 3358 and 3360, as St. John and Longinus and the Crucifixion.



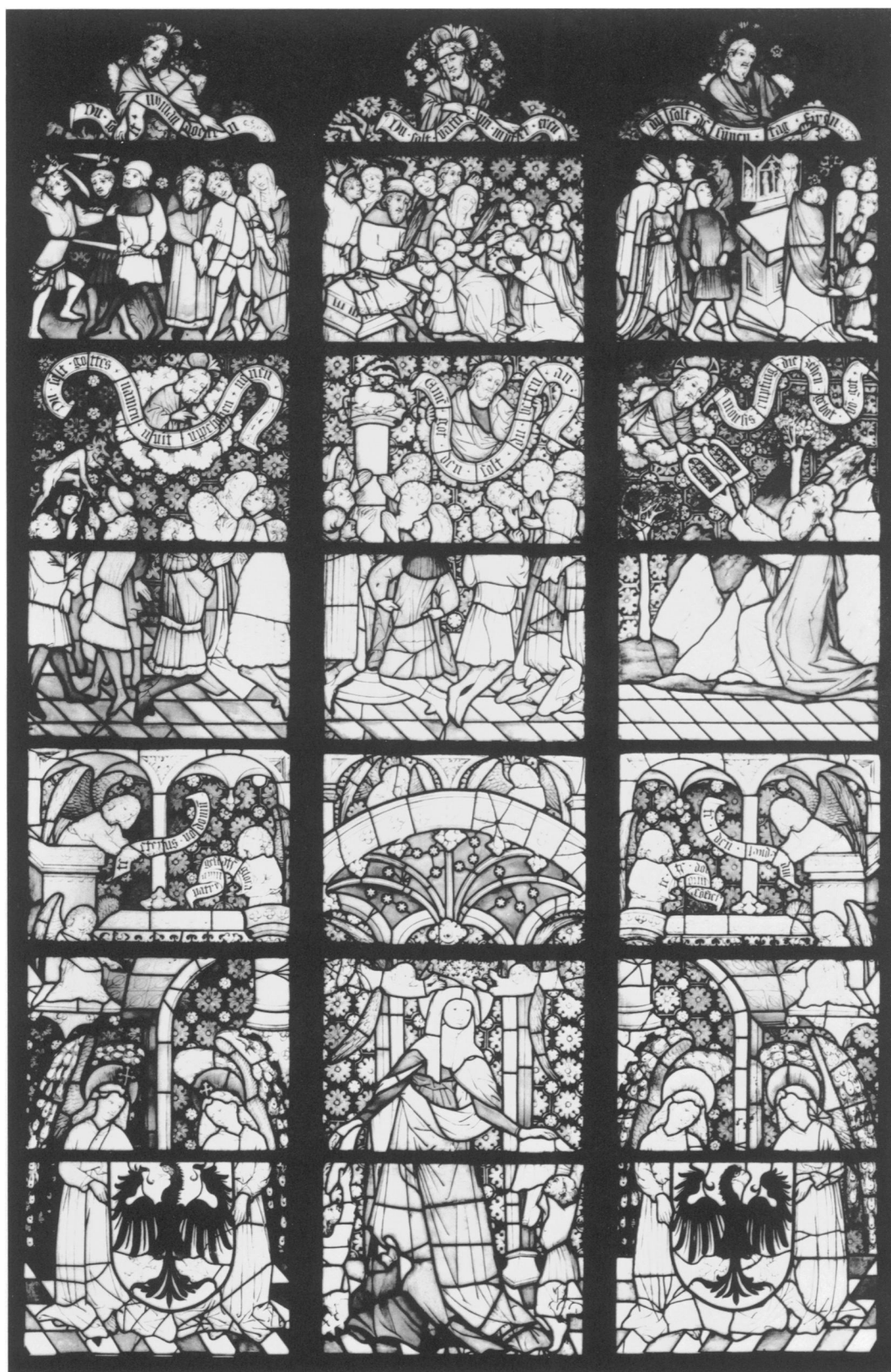


FIGURE 14

Saint Elizabeth of Hungary and six of the commandments from the Ten Commandments window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Schnütgen Museum, Cologne

FIGURE 15

Madonna Crowned by Angels from the Ten Commandments window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum



presumably installed soon after the dedication of the new altar on January 6 of that year. As they were designed to fit one of the double apertures and were not set until four years after the glazing program had begun, the panels were probably placed in bay n IX, the westernmost opening in the north wall. The time lag of two years between the installation of this and the west window was probably due to the amount of construction still not completed in the western part of the church. The nine half-windows that, according to the account contained in the archives of 1877,⁴³ were acquired by Friedrich Spitzer can therefore be reconstructed within five double apertures on the north and west walls of the nave. Only one half-window, the upper portion of bay n VI, is not accounted for and, since Pückler purchased all the glass, was already missing at the time when he removed the glass from the church.

The panels that once filled the other two bays, the one above the altar on the east wall and the double aperture (n V) adjacent to it on the north wall, present problems in the reconstruction. The only other glass mentioned specifically as to subject in the archival accounts is the destroyed Throne of Solomon, which remained at Muskau. From drawings and photographs, such as that shown in Figure 19, it would appear that the compositional arrangement of this window differed perceptibly from others in the nave. Though the dimensions and shapes of its three lancets correspond to those of the other half-windows, its subject is iconographically incomplete. According to the description given in II Chronicles (9: 17–19), there were six steps to Solomon's throne. In the Boppard version, however, only three steps are shown, and yet the design of the support with its descending arcades clearly indicates that more were intended. Among all the windows from the north nave, the Throne of Solomon alone provides no natural break in composition to accommodate the tracery bar of the transom. Because of this difference in design, the Throne of Solomon may well have been the partial remains of the east window, the only single aperture in the nave. Within the three lancets of this opening, composed of ten rather than seven registers each, the remaining steps of the throne could have been shown.

43. *Archiv für Kirchliche Baukunst*, pp. 42–43.



FIGURE 16

Saints James the Greater, Norbert, and Gerhart from the Bourgeois window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Formerly in the collection of William Randolph Hearst (destroyed, 1957), after Bourgeois Frères catalogue

FIGURES 17, 18

Saints James the Greater and John and Saint Agatha with Donors from the Bourgeois window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt



of bay n V, on the north wall, the transom, with its cusped arches, would have created an awkward break in the composition and a serious iconographic problem. The few remaining pieces that, according to this reconstruction of the glazing program, can be assigned to this latter bay are so fragmentary that their original order in the window is impossible to determine. These fragments depend for their significance upon their relationship to the iconographic program of the north nave. It is within this context that the theme of this last window can be reconstructed.

A single, all-encompassing idea or theme united all



Three items not mentioned in the archives but identified in the Spitzer catalogue as from Boppard may have some bearing upon this problem.⁴⁴ According to their dimensions, each piece was composed of three panels. A later notice describes them more fully as: “Three kneeling donors within arched niches against a background of floral trellises and tessellations.”⁴⁵ The descriptions of the backgrounds are very similar to those in the arcades of the throne supports. The dimensions of these three pieces, moreover, correspond exactly to those of the three missing panels in each of the lancets of the eastern aperture. Were the Throne of Solomon, on the contrary, to have been placed in the upper half

44. Spitzer sale catalogue, nos. 3361–3363.

45. *Collection of Mrs. Mortimer*, pp. 38–40, nos. 161, 164–166.

of the stained-glass windows designed for the north nave of the Carmelite church at Boppard. Whether depicting figures of saints or relating biblical histories, each bay had within it as a connecting link an image of the Virgin Mary. It was in praise of her as “Virgin Mother,” “Queen of Heaven,” “Instrument of Redemption,” and “the Church Incorruptible and Free from Sin” that the iconographic program was devised. These themes unfolded one after another, beginning with the Incarnation at the western end of the north wall and progressing eastward to the altar, culminating finally on the west wall above the door, so that the faithful, leaving the church, carried with them the promise of redemption in the Apocalyptic Vision. This celebration of the Triumph of the Virgin, in the hymns

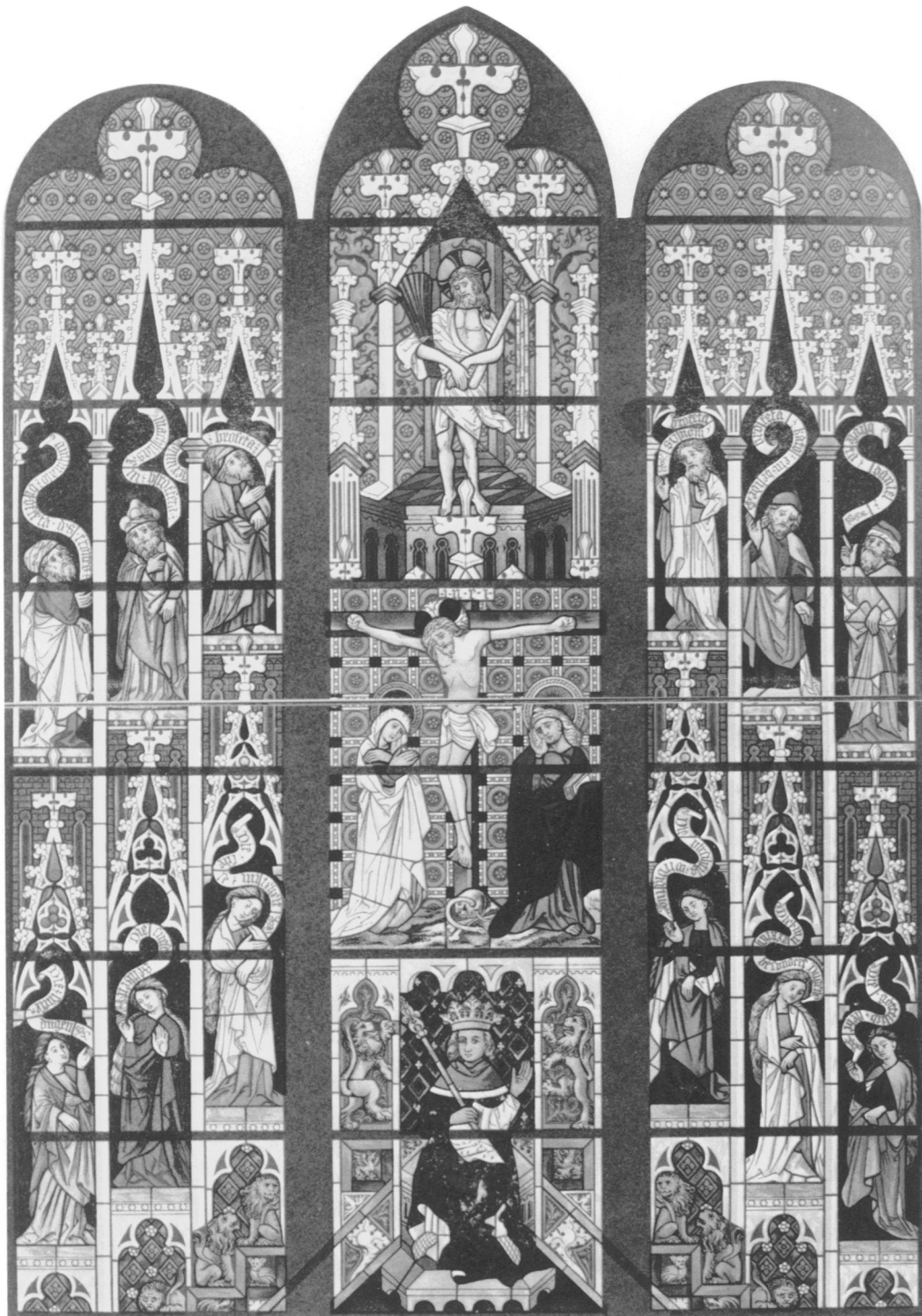


FIGURE 19
Throne of Solomon window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Formerly in Muskau (destroyed, 1945), after Kolb

sung in her honor and in the litanies that recorded her titles, was not new to the liturgy of the fifteenth century, nor to its art. No single monastic order was more faithful to the service of the Virgin or more zealous in the promotion of her cult than were the Carmelites. The order was dedicated to her, and the Carmelites sought recognition and affirmation at the Council of Basel of her singular condition as having been immaculately conceived.

Among the strongest of the Carmelite provinces on the continent of Europe was that of Lower Germany, including within its borders the three powerful ecclesiastical electorates of the Empire. Its strength lay in these political affiliations, for it tended to support the emperor against a weakened papacy. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most powerful of the noble families of these dioceses were also *Domherrn* of the cathedrals, or that they should have affirmed their support of the Carmelites through donations. The convent at Boppard held a particularly advantageous position at the start of its new building program. The archbishop of Trier was of local origin, and the newly elected Hapsburg emperor, Albrecht II, was not only royal canon at Cologne, but also apparently interested in the Carmelite order.⁴⁶ The royal, noble, and ecclesiastical arms that emblazoned the windows at Boppard attest to the effective relationships, both secular and ecclesiastical, enjoyed by that small but not insignificant foundation.

The formulation of the iconographic program for the windows was, in all probability, the work of the monks themselves. The distinguished group of monastic scholars in residence at the convent at the time was eminently qualified to undertake the task. Whether the program was the work of a single monastic philosopher, such as Joannes de Casselis or Henricus Molitoris, or a combined effort,⁴⁷ the results were unique not only for stained glass but for art in general. Only one other example of Carmelite art of the mid-fifteenth century approaches these windows in the complexity of its symbolism. This is the so-called Albrecht Altar, given by Emperor Albrecht II to the Carmelite church of the

46. It was Albrecht II who gave the altarpiece to the Carmelite church of the Nine Choirs of Angels in Vienna. Wilhelm Suida, *Österreichs Malerei in der Zeit Erzherzog Ernst des Eisernen und König Albrecht II* (Vienna, 1926) pls. ff. p. 64.

47. See note 18, *supra*.



FIGURE 20

Virgin from the Throne of Solomon window from Boppard, 1440–1446. Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

Nine Choirs of Angels in Vienna, and now in Klosterneuburg. The altar is a literal representation of the litanies of the Virgin in sixteen scenes with the invocations and responses written upon scrolls. The altarpiece (1438–1440) is important to the Boppard problem not only as an example of Carmelite art dating from exactly the same time as the beginning of the glazing program and given by one of the donors of the glass, but also as a depiction of an established litany to the Virgin in use at the time within the order. But the iconography of the windows at Boppard is far more subtle and complex than that of the altar.

The cycle begins with the Tree of Jesse, assumed to have occupied the first aperture (n IX) on the north wall. An examination of the reconstructed arrange-

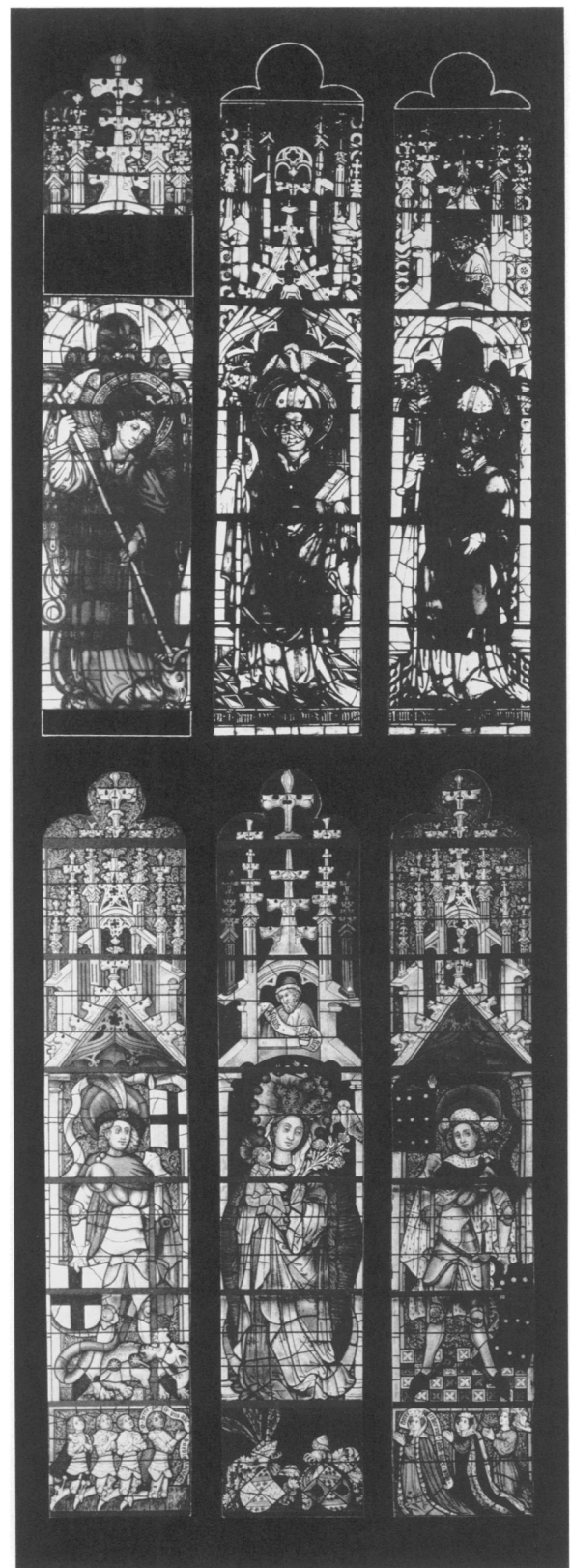
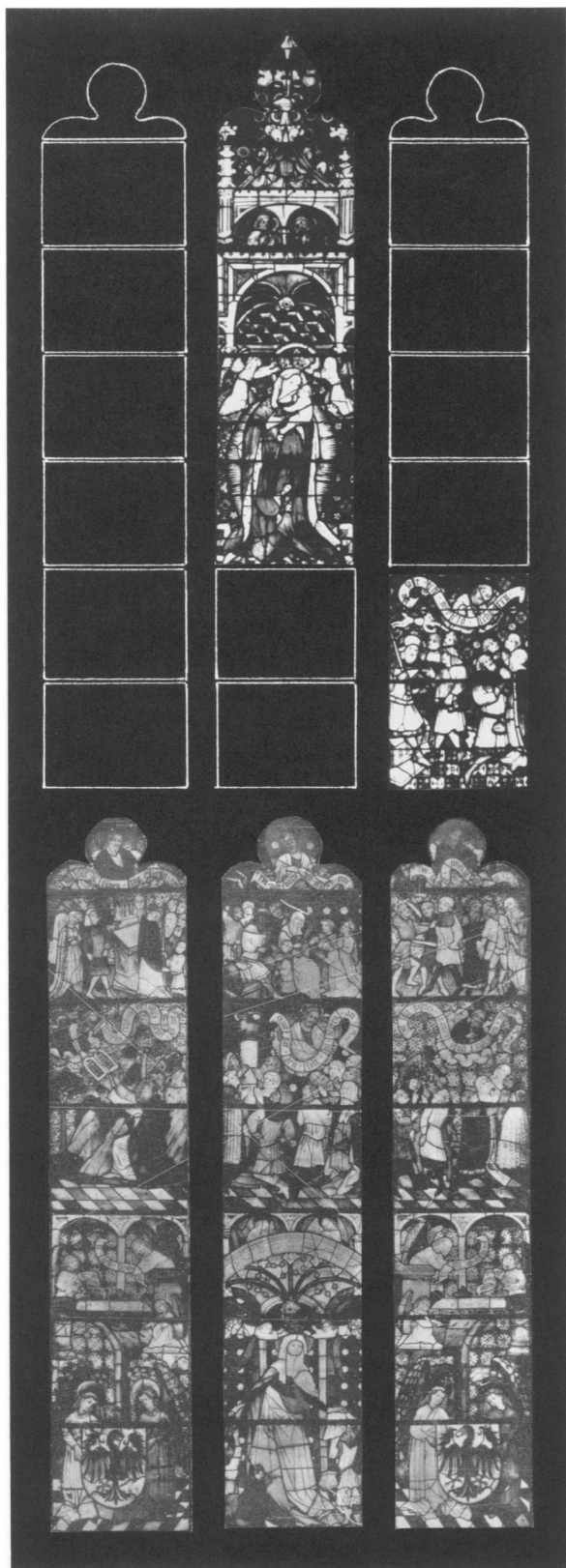


FIGURE 21

Reconstruction of the Ten Commandments window from Boppard with the Burrell Madonna and the Ninth Commandment restored to their original locations in the upper portion of window

FIGURE 22

Reconstruction of the Piermont window from Boppard with the De Young and Burrell Saints restored to their original locations in the upper tier above the lost panels in the lower half of the window

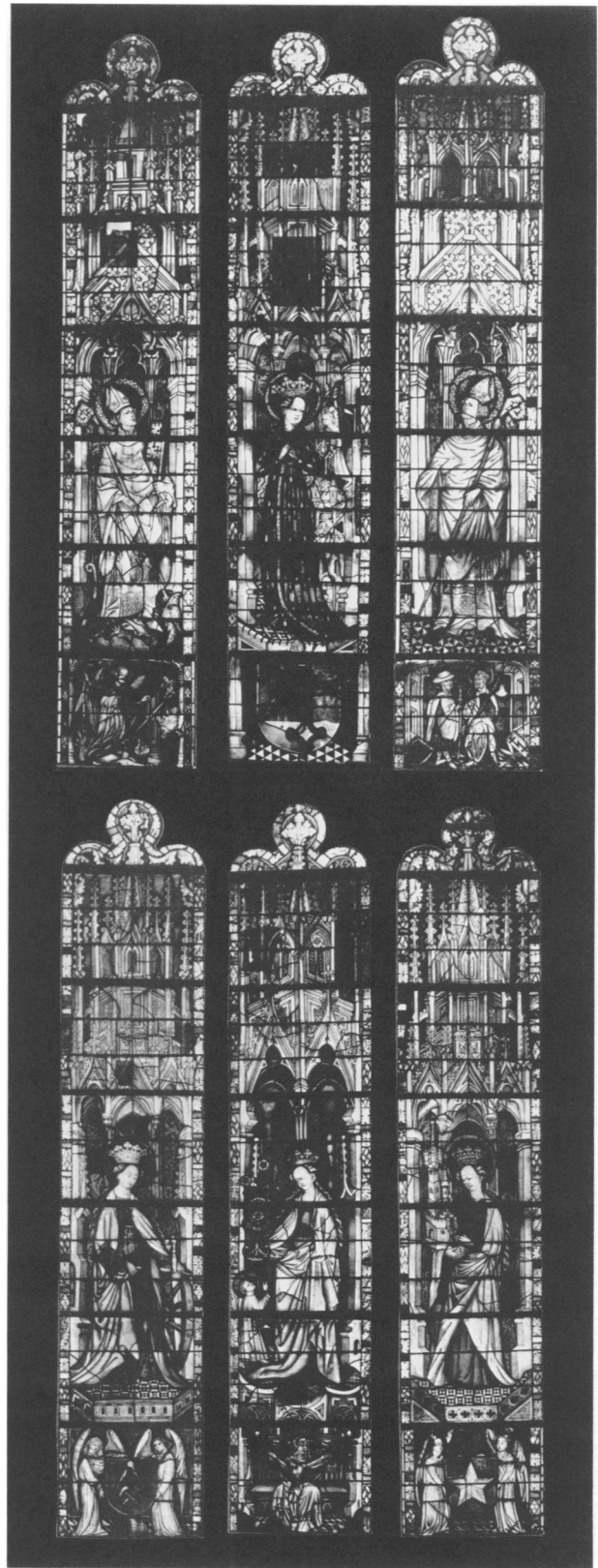
ment of the scenes (Figure 25) within the window presents an immediate contradiction of the usual practice in the Middle Ages. Normally a stained-glass window is read upward from left to right, or, less frequently, across by registers. The Tree of Jesse obeys none of these rules, and its deviation is a direct result of its iconographic intent. Above the lowest register, containing portraits of the donors, Siegfried von Gelnhausen and his wife,⁴⁸ the reclining figure of Jesse stretches across the three lights of the window. On the left and reading upward are scenes from the Passion, beginning with the Agony in the Garden, continuing across the top, where the Crucifixion, now in part lost, occupied the upper three registers of all three lancets, and then downward on the right, ending with Christ's Appearance to Peter. Although this arrangement is rare in stained glass, it is not without precedent, for a window at Zofingen in Switzerland (Figure 26), dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century and related by Beer to Upper Rhenish art,⁴⁹ has the Crucifixion similarly placed at the top. All of the Passion scenes in the Boppard window are set against blue backgrounds, while the scenes from the life of Mary in the

48. This panel, formerly attached to the Madonna from the Ten Commandments window, has been arbitrarily placed here on the basis of its damask ground. Members of the von Gelnhausen family were later *Domherrn* at Mainz.

49. Ellen J. Beer, *CVMA, Switzerland III, Die Glasmalereien der Schweiz aus dem 14 und 15 Jahrhundert* (Basel, 1965) pp. 112–114.

FIGURE 23

Reconstruction of the Cloisters window from Boppard showing the original double-tiered arrangement of the lancets



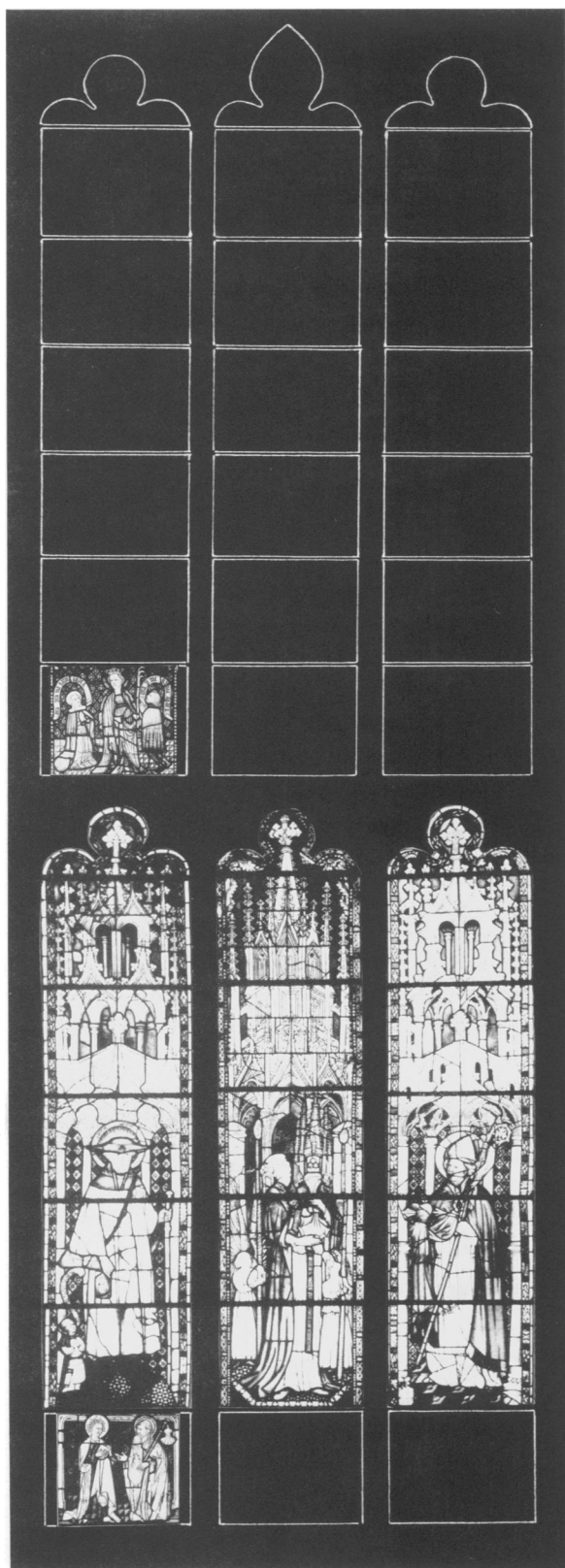


FIGURE 24

Reconstruction of the Bourgeois window from Boppard with the addition of panels from Darmstadt

center are set against red.⁵⁰ The shift in color not only provides the key to the original composition but also to its iconography, for the scenes from the life of the Virgin, beginning with her Birth and terminating with the Nativity, become, essentially, the trunk of the tree that issues from Jesse.

The identification of Mary with the tree occurred as early as the eighth century when she was described by Paul Winfrid of Aquileia as "Tree of Jesse exempt from the knots of sin."⁵¹ The Crucifixion at the top of the tree in place of the more usual Christ crowned by the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit or the Ascension (in the case of the *Bibelfenster* type prevalent in Germany in the thirteenth century) is a double reference not only to Mary as ancestress but also to the fact that it was she who produced the fruit of salvation, Christ, who would redeem mankind through His sacrifice.⁵² Further confirmation of the life of Mary as the tree of Jesse is provided in the Annunciation scene (Figure 10), where the usual vase of lilies, symbol of the Virgin's purity, is replaced by a small tree planted in a tub. This symbol, though rare, is not unknown in Upper Rhenish art.⁵³ The tree of Jesse, habitually represented in the stained glass of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century as an illustration of Christ's gene-

50. The restorers in Berlin had, according to the numbering of the scenes, reconstructed this window as a narrative cycle of the life of Christ, placing the scenes from the life of the Virgin in the left-hand lancet and ignoring the recumbent Jesse as the key to the arrangement.

51. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina* (Paris, 1844-1867) XCV, p. 567.

52. On the origin of the relationship of Mary as the Tree of Jesse and the significance of the Crucifixion as its fruit, see Mirella d'Acona, *The Iconography of the Immaculate Conception in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance* (New York, 1957) p. 50.

53. An Upper Rhenish painting in the Reinhart Collection in Winterthur includes the same iconographic symbol. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Cambridge, 1958) I, pl. 22, 50. I. Futterer, "Zur Malerei des frühen XV Jahrhunderts im Elsass," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 49 (1928) p. 187, fig. 8, attributes this to an Italian prototype, which in all probability accounts for the Italianate pruning of the potted tree in the foreground of the scene.

FIGURE 25

Reconstruction of the Tree of Jesse window from Boppard with the hypothetical inclusion of the Burrell panel showing donors and their arms in the lowest register

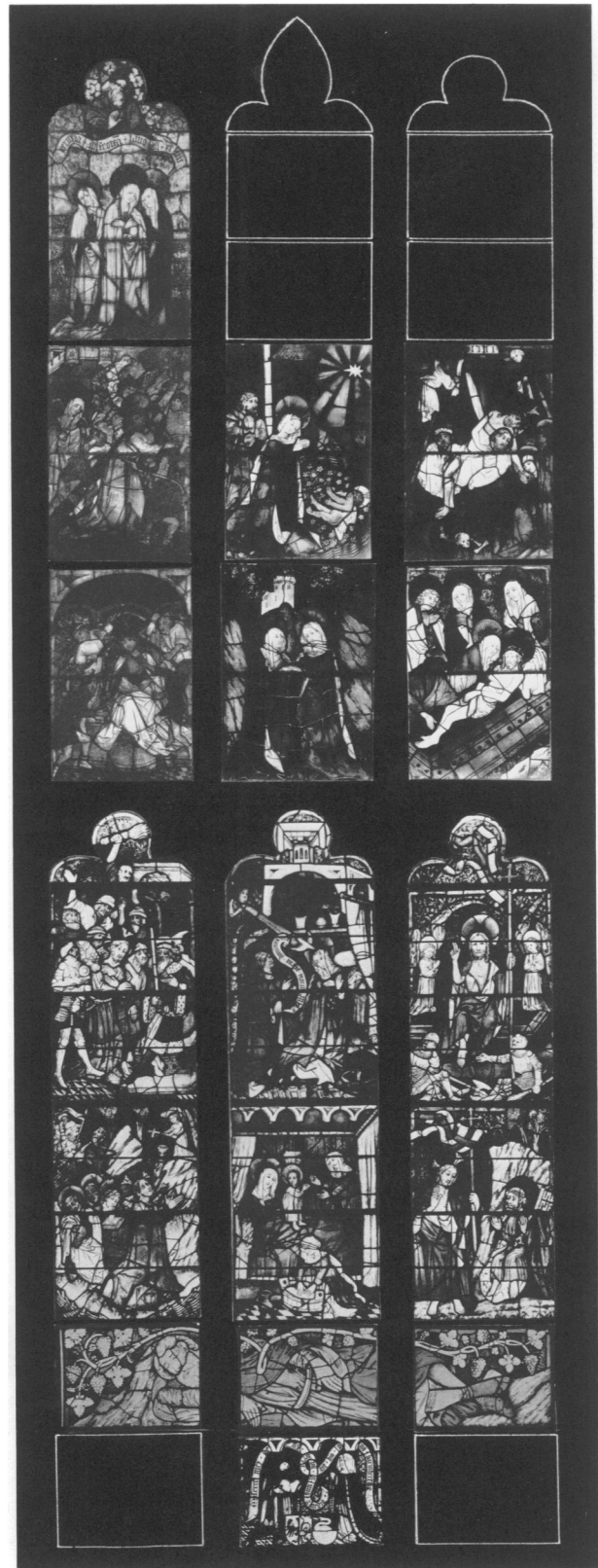
alogy,⁵⁴ underwent a distinct change in Germany in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. The ancestors seated upon the branches of the tree were replaced by scenes from the life of Christ. Eventually, the figure of Jesse was omitted altogether, and only the vine framing the scenes remained as a reminder of the original symbolism.⁵⁵ By the later fourteenth century, the *Bibelfenster* itself had disappeared as a type. The revival of the tree of Jesse window in Germanic art of the mid-fifteenth century brought with it new iconographic implications; while there was in a sense a reversion to the thirteenth-century type, the Christological sequences were replaced by a life of the Virgin from her Birth to her Coronation, as seen in a window at Vieux Thann (Figure 27).⁵⁶

The Jesse window at Boppard, however, must not be construed as a forerunner of this type of Marian-Jesse tree, for in no case do these later renditions juxtapose scenes from the Passion. Rather, the symbolism at Boppard should be considered in another context. As “exempted from the knots of sin,” the Virgin Mary as the tree of Jesse also implies her Immaculate Conception—that idea so staunchly defended by the Carmelites at the Council of Basel. When considered from this point of view, the four scenes from the life of the Virgin, her Birth as already exempt from original sin and the Annunciation of the Incarnation (Figure 10), the Visitation, or her recognition as Mother of the Incarnate, and the Nativity of the Incarnate (Figures 5, 6) cannot be interpreted as other than a lineal substantiation of her immaculacy. There is added proof that this window was meant as more than the mere recording of the life of Christ in that the

54. Arthur Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London, 1934) pp. 112–125.

55. On the development of the Jesse Tree and *Bibelfenster*, see Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, pp. 102–108.

56. In addition to the Jesse window of 1466 at Vieux Thann, there is the so-called *Bibelfenster* of 1451 in the choir of Berne Minster, where in place of the prophets at the sides of the original iconographic type of Jesse tree there are typological scenes. See Luc Mojon, *Das Berner Münster* (Basel, 1960) pp. 270–273.



vine growing from Jesse's side is restricted to the scene in which he appears and does not proliferate into the panels above. Thus, Mary Immaculate is here represented as the graft of the green tree that will bear the fruit of the Redeemer of mankind.

The theme of the next window (Figure 23), set originally in bay n VIII, again centers about the Virgin. On the lower level (Figure 2) are three of the capital virgin saints of the Christian Church: Catherine with her attributes of the sword and the wheel, Dorothea accompanied by the Christ Child, who presents her with a basket of roses from the heavenly garden, and Barbara holding her tower. In the upper level (Figure 1) St. Servatius,⁵⁷ bishop of Tongres, holds the key presented to him by the pope in recognition of his fight against the Arian heresies, symbolized by the dragon that he tramples beneath his feet and transfixes with his pastoral staff. Opposite him is another bishop saint, unidentified by attribute but in all probability St. Lambert,⁵⁸ by virtue of the small scene at the base of the lancet, the meaning of which will be discussed later. In the central light is the Virgin Mary dressed in the corn robe or *Ährenkleid* (Figure 38). The origin of this iconographic type stems from the early renditions of the litanies of the Virgin and from the monastic poets, who likened her to a field of grain nourishing mankind with the bread of life referred to in the Bible.⁵⁹ The image of the *Ährenkleid* is that of the young Mary before the Annunciation and during the period of her service in the temple. In most versions of the theme, she is shown either in a church or before an altar.⁶⁰ In association with the eucharistic implications is, once again, a reference to her immaculate nature as the predestined Mother of God. Early in its history, the *Ährenkleid* type became a votive symbol, which accounts for the presence in the window of the prisoner in the tower, who according to legend was visited by the Virgin, given a wreath of roses, and promised release. The wreath of three roses, offered to the Virgin in this window by the angel, is not only a trinitarian

symbol but also a reference to her mercy upon mankind.

In all of the windows from Boppard, there is an interrelationship of meaning among the lancets. In this case, the three roses that branch from St. Dorothea's basket again suggest the trinity, repeated a second time in the *Gnadenstuhl* in the small scene below her. The "mercy seat" trinity refers back to the *Ährenkleid* as a symbol of charity. Beneath the figure of St. Servatius, St. Michael weighing souls and trampling the symbol of evil suggests again the bishop's fight against heresy. Beneath the figure of St. Lambert are two pilgrim saints. One of them is St. James. The other is probably St. Hubert,⁶¹ who according to legend succeeded St. Lambert as bishop of Liège when the pope was informed in a dream that St. Lambert had died and that his successor, who proved to be St. Hubert, was at that time in Rome on a pilgrimage. Beneath the figure of St. Catherine are the arms of the coopers' guild, of which she was patron, and beneath St. Barbara, the arms of the City of Maastricht, former capital of the diocese of Liège. Below the Virgin are the ecclesiastical arms of the bishop of Liège, while the "house marks" in the St. Hubert scene may well be those of cloth merchants of the same city. As to the reason for the presence in the Carmelite church at Boppard of a window that appears to have been given by the diocese of Liège, it must be recalled that the archbishop of Trier, Jacob von Sierk, not only was of a Boppard family but also had been called from Liège, where he had been a canon until shortly before his election. Once again in this window the immaculacy of the Virgin Mary is affirmed by her representation as the Madonna in the *Ährenkleid* and also by its implications as a symbol of mercy.

In the Ten Commandments window (Figure 21), reconstructed in bay n VII, St. Elizabeth of Hungary in the lower tier (Figure 14) and the Virgin in the upper central light (Figure 15) are surrounded by representations of the commandments, each identified by an

57. Died 384. Mentioned by Gregory of Tours, his life was written by Heriger, abbot of Lobbes, late tenth or early eleventh century. *Acta Sanctorum*, May 3, pp. 215–216.

58. Died 705. First life written by Stephanus, bishop of Liège. Migne, *PL*, CXXXII, pp. 643–660.

59. Elizabeth's answer at the Visitation, "Blessed is the fruit of thy womb" (Luke 1:42), and the words of Jesus, "I am the bread of life" (John 6:35). On the iconography of the *Ährenkleid* Madon-

na, its origin and development as a type, see Wilhelm Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der Mittelalterlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1926) pp. 144–145, and especially Rudolf Berliner, "Zur Sinnesdeutung der Ährenmadonna," *Die Christliche Kunst* 26 (1929–1930) pp. 97–121.

60. See Berliner, "Zur Ährenmadonna," pls. pp. 101, 107.

61. Died 727. His life in *Acta Sanctorum*, November 1, pp. 829–831.

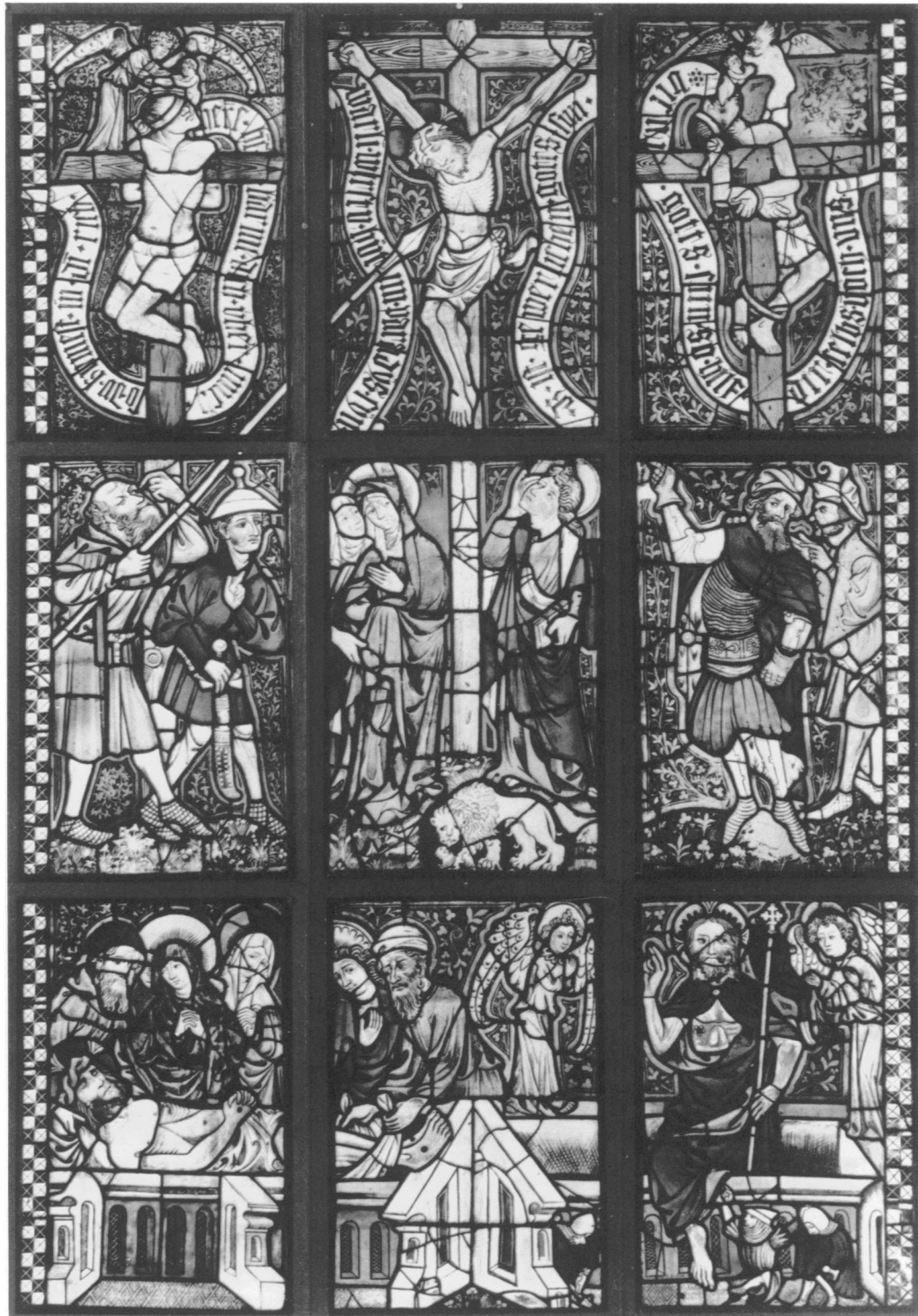


FIGURE 26
Crucifixion window, early xv century. Church of St. Mauritius, Zofingen (Photo: Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Aargau)



FIGURE 27

Detail of the Tree of Jesse window with scenes from the life of the Virgin, 1466. Parish church, Vieux Thann

inscription.⁶² Moses Receiving the Tablets of the Law, in the lower portion of the window, begins the sequence. The scenes are arranged laterally in rows, with the first six commandments in the lower half of the window. The first and second are combined into a single two-panel scene, but each of the other five occupies its own two panels. In the upper tier, only the Ninth Commandment (Figure 31) remains, but the sequence is such that the cycle must have concluded with an additional

scene to fill the space in the right-hand lancet above the ninth law of Moses.

In the lower portion of the central lancet, St. Elizabeth is shown giving alms to the poor and being crowned by two angels. Flanking her are the imperial arms displayed twice by angel supporters. In arcades above the escutcheons other angels display scrolls upon which are written texts from the Ambrosian hymns of praise.⁶³ The donors of the window were in all proba-

62. The inscriptions on the existing panels, reading from left to right and upward, are as follows: "Mousis empfang die zehen Gebot vo Got" ("Moses receives the Ten Commandments from God"); "Eine Got den solt du betten an" ("One God must thou worship"); "Du solt Gottes Namen nit veppelichen" ("Thou must not call God's name in vain"); "Du solt de Sunen Tag firen" ("Thou must observe the Sabbath day"); "Du solt Vatter un Muter eren" ("Thou must honor thy father and mother"); "Du solt Nyman doeten" ("Thou must kill no one"); "Du solt kein Meyeid schwören" ("Thou must swear no perjury"). The second commandment, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven

image," is implied in the left-hand portion of the scene illustrating the first commandment where a group of people are engaged in idol worship.

63. The inscriptions are as follows: "Te Deum laudamus." "Te Dominum confitemur." "Te eternus ouus Dominus." "Gestatemus gloria Deus patrus." Ch. Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, II (*Extrait des Analecta Bollandiana*) (Louvain, 1892) p. 642, no. 20086. The actual attribution of these hymns to St. Ambrose, with the exception of the *Te Deum*, is doubtful. I am indebted to Miss Bonnie Young of The Cloisters for this information.

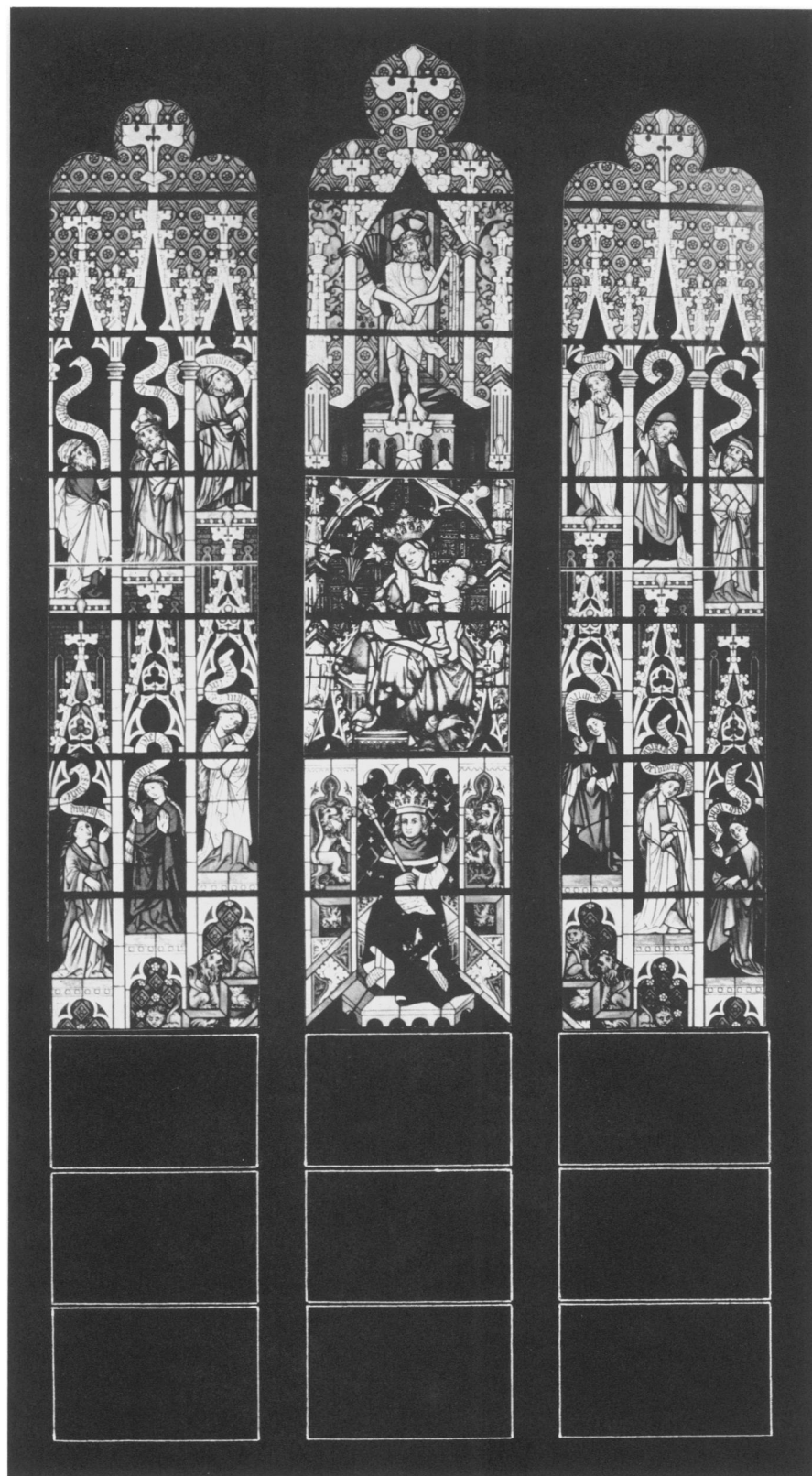


FIGURE 28
Reconstruction of the
Throne of Solomon window
from Boppard with the
Virgin from Darmstadt in-
cluded. The Man of Sorrows
is probably a restoration

bility Albrecht II, first of the Hapsburg line, and his wife, Elizabeth of Luxemburg, who was the daughter and heiress of the previous German emperor, Sigismund, which may account for the double imperial arms. The window, like the altar in Vienna, was probably given by the royal couple shortly before Albrecht's untimely death in the summer of 1439, and the commission realized by his widow.⁶⁴ In any case, it is her patron, St. Elizabeth of Thuringia, queen of Hungary, who appears as the central figure in the lower part of the window.

The central figure in the upper portion of the window is again the Virgin Mary, this time holding her infant Son in her arms. The Virgin is richly dressed in an ermine-lined robe and is being crowned by two angels. She is the *Madonna im Strahlenkranz*, surrounded by a rayed glory with the downward-pointing crescent moon lying beneath her feet. But she is not presented here as the Apocalyptic Vision, for the stars about her head are absent. Instead, she offers an apple to her divine Son. In this representation, therefore, Mary appears as the new Eve offering the fruit of redemption to her Son as the second Adam.⁶⁵ Within this context, she is crowned by the angels as the Church that offers salvation to mankind. Mary as the Church symbolizes the new law surrounded by the commandments of the old. The missing tenth scene, therefore, must have had a reference to the giving of the new law, perhaps the Pentecost, just as the scene of Moses receiving the tablets symbolized the giving of the old. The relationship between the crowning of Mary and the crowning of St. Elizabeth can also be established, for the saint, though frequently shown wearing her royal diadem while performing her charity, is not often shown in the process of being crowned, especially by angels. The crowning of St. Elizabeth has, therefore, a dual meaning in that both her sainthood and her status as the royal patroness are thus recognized.⁶⁶ The coronation

of Mary invests her as the Church with ecclesiastical authority, while St. Elizabeth as royal patroness receives royal sovereignty or temporal power. The identification of the Virgin Mary as the new Eve has been quoted as another manifestation of her Immaculate Conception.⁶⁷

The meaning of the fourth window (Figure 24), with St. Norbert as its central figure, as reconstructed in bay n VI, can only be conjectured on the basis of the evidence offered in the remaining panels. Three single figures occupy the lower lights (Figure 16). St. James the Greater, in his pilgrim's garb, with an unidentified suppliant kneeling at his feet, occupies the first lancet. St. Norbert, not yet canonized at the time, is represented in the central light; he holds a monstrance, within which the host is represented by three wafers,⁶⁸ and he is accompanied by two angel acolytes carrying burning tapers. The third lancet contains the figure of St. Gerhard dressed in bishop's robes and holding his attribute, the heart pierced by an arrow.⁶⁹ The theme unifying these three figures and the reason that they, like the three virgin saints, Catherine, Barbara, and Dorothea, are shown together in the company of the Virgin,⁷⁰ is that each of them is known as an apostle. St. James the Greater assumes preeminence as the first of the apostles called by Christ. St. Norbert, by virtue of his triumph over the Sacramentarian heresy, was known as the Apostle of Antwerp. St. Gerhard was protomartyr and apostle to Hungary. The apostolic theme is continued in the small scene below the figure of St. James where the Saint is shown again, this time accompanied by the apostle John (Figure 17). Though the donors of this glass are unknown or at least unidentified by any specific attribute, it is interesting to note that each of the three apostle saints had associations with Eastern Europe. Like St. Gerhard the protomartyr, St. James the Greater is related to Hungary in that his miraculous appearance on a white

64. On the circumstances surrounding the donation of the Albrecht Altar and its donors, see Wilhelm Suida, "The Madonna in Armor," *Parnassus* (December 1939) pp. 4-7.

65. See Barbara Chabrowc, "Iconography of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choir Screen," *Gesta* 6 (1967) p. 36, on Mary as the new Eve and its interpretation by St. Bernard.

66. The position of St. Elizabeth as royal patron is discussed in Michael Hartig, "Die Hl. Elisabeth von Thüringen und die Deutsche Kunst," *Die Christliche Kunst* 27 (1930-1931) pp. 193-206.

67. D'Ancona, *Iconography of the Immaculate Conception*, pp. 35-36.

68. St. Norbert, founder of the Premonstratensian order, was not canonized until 1582. His life is in *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Scriptores* (Hanover, 1826-1896) XII, pp. 670-703.

69. The legend of St. Gerhard is recorded in Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum* (Antwerp, 1680) II in fol., pp. 672-674.

70. Early litanies to the Virgin call her, "Holy Mary, Splendor of Virgins and Example of Chastity." On the history of the Marian litanies see Angelo de Santi, "Per la storia delle Litane lauretane," *Civiltà Cattolica* (November 1909) pp. 302-313.

horse riding to battle against the Moors, is duplicated in the legend of King Ladislaus, Hungarian patron saint, and his similar defense of his own country. St. Norbert was patron saint of Prague. The introduction of these particular saints in the window at Boppard may have further associations with the emperor Albrecht II, who was originally King of Hungary and of Bohemia, titles that were passed on to his posthumous son, Ladislaus. Albrecht himself died defending Hungary against the Turks.

The reconstruction of the upper portion of the window poses a problem, for the only remaining panel is the small scene of St. Agatha, identified by inscription, with two donors (Figure 18). If, as in the case of St. James on the lower tier, the figure of St. Agatha was repeated in the upper lancet, then her pendant was in all probability St. Lucy.⁷¹ Both these saints are mentioned in the consecration document among those warranting special devotion.⁷² Given this group of accompanying figures, it is possible to postulate the Marian type that would have occupied the center light. In the Albrecht Altar, previously mentioned as based upon the Marian litanies, the panel representing the Virgin among the apostles shows her standing before a large rosebush.⁷³ The rose, one of the oldest liturgical

symbols, is identified both with Mary's virginity and, in its redness, with her redemptive love and that of Christ. St. Bernard himself wrote a sermon utilizing the theme,⁷⁴ and the rose garden or arbor, particularly in German art, became a symbol of Mary's chastity. Were the Virgin in the rose arbor to have been used here, it would not only have continued the theme of Mary's immaculate nature and been consistent with German symbolism of the period, but also it would have served as a unifying theme for the two virgin martyrs, Agatha and Lucy. One of the earliest litanies to the Virgin, written at the end of the twelfth century, gives to her the title of "Rose of Martyrs."⁷⁵ The idea of redemption symbolized by the rose would also have united it with the Eucharist in the monstrance held by St. Norbert and with the attributes of the two virgin martyrs.⁷⁶

Both Oidtmann and Schmitz have claimed that the Crucifixion and the Man of Sorrows (Figure 19) from the destroyed Throne of Solomon were, in fact, from another window.⁷⁷ Iconographic evidence would tend to support this theory, for the inclusion of either type in representations of the throne is rare.⁷⁸ If these two scenes were not originally a part of this window, they could not have been other than fragments from the lost

71. St. Agatha and St. Lucy, both virgin martyrs of Sicilian origin, are often associated by virtue of the similarity of the tortures they suffered during their martyrdoms, because of the latter's devotion to the former, and by reason of their attributes, each of which is carried by the saint displayed upon a plate. On the attributes of these two saints, see Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art chrétien* (Paris, 1958) III, part 1, p. 30, part 2, pp. 834-835.

72. See note 14, *supra*.

73. Wolfgang Pauker, *Katalog der Kunstsammlungen des Stiftes Klosterneuburg* (Klosterneuburg, 1937) pp. 60-61.

74. Roman Breviary, nocturn on October 7, taken from a Sermon of St. Bernard: "Maria rosa fuit candida per virginitatem, rubicunda per caritatem, candida carne, rubicunda mente; candida virtutem sectando, rubicundo vitia calcando; candida affectum purificando, rubicundo carnem mortificando; candida Deum diligendo, rubicundo proximo compatiendo."

75. From a codex in the Library at Mainz. See de Santi, "Litanic lauretane," pp. 302-313. The rose, when combined with the Marian symbol of virginity of the enclosed garden, became the rose garden or the rose arbor.

76. The repetition of variants of a given symbol that is characteristic of the Boppard glass makes both these saints a plausible inclusion in this particular window. St. Agatha's attribute, her severed breasts, have by curious transformation become associated with bread, and both these saints have as their second attribute a candle, thereby permitting a relationship with the symbolism of

the angel acolytes in the St. Norbert panel below. Réau, *Iconographie*, III, part 1, p. 30, part 2, pp. 834-835.

77. Oidtmann, *Rheinische Glasmalereien*, I, p. 233; Schmitz, *Glasgemälde in Berlin*, I, p. 42.

78. Probably the earliest inclusion of the Crucifixion in the Throne of Solomon iconography is in the fourteenth-century *Miracles of the Virgin* by Gauthier de Coincy, Paris, Bib. Nat. nouv. acq. fr. 24541. Reproduced as the frontispiece of Henri Focillon, *Le Peintre des Miracles de Notre-Dame* (Paris, 1950). But as Francis Wormald, "The Throne of Solomon and St. Edward's Chair," *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) I, p. 536, has rightly observed, the vase placed immediately below the figure of the Virgin may indicate that she is the *Vasa Electionis* rather than the *Sedes Sapientiae*. The chief example in the medium of stained glass is the so-called "Painter's Window" in Freiburg Minster; see Fritz Geiges, *Der Mittelalterliche Fensterschmuck des Freiburger Münster* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931) p. 213. In this example, also, the iconography differs from that of Rabanus Maurus's description. In neither of these examples, or in any others known to me, is the Man of Sorrows included. Moreover, the Man of Sorrows in the Boppard version holds the rods and the scourge, but the other symbols of the Passion that should have surrounded Him are absent. In place of the cross, etc., a curious leafy vine, not the grape vine as a eucharistic symbol, acts as the background for His figure, an additional reason for supposing that the figure of Christ was extracted from its original place and "restored" in the gable of the throne.

glazing of bay n V, the easternmost aperture of the north wall. Judging by the scale of these panels, the window from which they came must, like the Tree of Jesse, have been composed of small scenes.

Within the iconographic scheme of the glazing program at Boppard, one theme is conspicuously absent. In none of the windows is there recorded a complete narrative cycle of the life of the Virgin including the legend of her Dormition and Coronation. This sequence was not only enormously popular during the later Middle Ages but also furnished important proof of her Immaculate Conception.⁷⁹ The Coronation of the Virgin as “Queen of Heaven” and “Bride of Christ” implies that Mary triumphed over death. Since, according to the early writers, death was the direct result of original sin, then Mary’s triumph over death meant that she was exempt from sin.⁸⁰ The cycle of the life of the Virgin usually includes the Infancy, then skips to the Crucifixion, continues with the Ascension, Pentecost, the sequence of the Dormition, and finally, as Mary’s greatest triumph, her Coronation.⁸¹ Not infrequently, the Man of Sorrows is included (Figure 29). It was probably this aspect of Marian symbolism, therefore, that was included in the lost window at Boppard.

The Throne of Solomon (Figure 28), as reconstructed in the aperture (bay n IV) on the east wall, follows in its arrangement II Chronicles 9: 17–19, as enlarged upon by Rabanus Maurus.⁸² A number of representations of the theme exist both in painting and in

stained glass, but none is more iconographically complete than that from Boppard.⁸³ Flanking the enthroned Solomon are the two lions in the stays that personify, according to Rabanus Maurus, the Angel Gabriel and St. John the Evangelist. The two lions on each of the six steps on each side of the throne represent the twelve apostles, and above them are the six virtues, solitude, modesty, prudence, virginity, humility, and obedience, that were contained in Mary’s answer at the Annunciation. Above this are the six prophets who amplify by their words the Virgin’s virtues.⁸⁴ Enthroned and crowned above Solomon is the Madonna (Figure 20) holding the Christ Child who extends his hands toward the three lilies his mother holds, another trinitarian symbol. The representation in the window follows closely the oldest known description of the throne, contained in a Paris manuscript of the second half of the thirteenth century,⁸⁵ with the exception that the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit in the manuscript have been replaced by the Man of Sorrows. The incongruity of this image, as well as the instability of the pose of the figure in its architectural setting, suggests that this portion of the window had been inserted during a restoration and that it replaced a more suitable iconographic symbol. This window is known to have been tampered with, for the Virgin, now in Darmstadt, was replaced by the Crucifixion (Figure 19) at some time in its history.⁸⁶ Mary as the *Sedes Sapientiae*, the seat of wisdom or the throne the Father has prepared for his Son,⁸⁷ again implies her immaculate

79. See d’Ancona, *The Immaculate Conception*, pp. 28–32, especially p. 29, note 67, where examples of the Coronation that also include Marian symbols from the Litany are given. Cf. Réau, *Iconographie*, II, part 2, p. 79, who compares these symbols, the *Arma Virginis*, with the Passion symbols, the *Arma Christi*. The examples of the symbols from the Litany shown with the Coronation are all of earlier date, and it would be hazardous to suggest that such a juxtaposition occurred at Boppard; however, it would not have been the only instance in the glazing program where an old type was revived within a new context.

80. Eadmer of Clare developed this theory in his treatise, *De conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, ed. Thurston (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1904).

81. Examples of this sequence are frequent in the stained glass of the German lands of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For Austrian examples see Eva Frodl-Craft, *CVMA, Austria I, Die mittelalterlichen Glasgemälde in Wien* (Vienna, 1962) p. 88, pls. 148–161, for the sequence in Maria im Gestade in Vienna. In Switzerland, remains of a Marian cycle of the third quarter of the fifteenth century from Bourguillon are now in the Basel Historisches Museum; see Beer, *CVMA, Switzerland III*, pl. 173. Most important of all for comparison with Boppard are the remains from a Life of

Mary c. 1440, from the church of Partenheim, now in Darmstadt (Figure 33); see *Glasmalerei in Darmstadt*, catalogue, ed. Beeh-Lustenburger, pls. 106–127. This glass is the work of a Mainz master and bears a close relationship in style to Boppard. (See Appendix A and compare Figure 33 with Figures 18 and 30).

82. Quoted in Wormald, *The Throne of Solomon*, p. 534.

83. The closest examples iconographically are those at Augsburg Cathedral, 1330–1340, Elisabeth von Witzleben, *Farbwunder deutscher Glasmalerei aus dem Mittelalter* (Augsburg, 1967) pl. xxvii, and at the Dominican church at Colmar, Paul Stintzi, *L’Eglise des Dominicains* (Munich and Zurich, 1967) cover, of comparable date but very much restored.

84. In the Boppard Throne most of the prophets are merely identified by their names, and many are illegible. Among them are Micha, Jeremiah, Moses, and Daniel.

85. Paris, Bibl. Nat., ms. Fr. 9220, *Verger de Soulas*.

86. It is possible that Count Pückler himself had the substitutions made as more suitable for the window of his mortuary chapel.

87. From the *Bible Moralisee*, Oxford Bodl. ms. 270b, fol. 164 “Thronus Solomonis signat thronum quem pater filis disposuit scilicet beatam virginem.”

nature as conceived by God from the beginning of time.

The final window in the series, as placed in bay n X (Figure 22), above the west door, is again composed of large single figures. It was a donation of Cuno von Piermont and his wife, Margarethe von Schönenberg, who with their five children appear in the lowest register.⁸⁸ Cuno's own reputation as a knight may have influenced the presence of the warrior saints George and Quirinus, who flank the figure of the Virgin in the lower half of the window. In the upper tier, the Archangel Michael (Figure 11) impales the dragon of evil with his lance in the left-hand lancet; Cuno's patron, St. Cunibert (Figure 12) with his attribute, the dove of the Holy Spirit, appears in the central light; and an unidentified bishop saint (Figure 13) is placed in the right-hand lancet. Just as the saints represented in the *Ährenkleid* window were associated with Liège, the saints in this window were those particularly venerated in Cologne, capital of the Carmelite province of Lower Germany. St. Cunibert, after serving as archdeacon of Trier, was elevated to the See of Cologne, where he is credited with having discovered the relics of St. Ursula.⁸⁹ This miracle occurred while Archbishop Cunibert was saying mass. A dove descended and alighted first upon his shoulder and then upon a tomb, which proved to be that of St. Ursula. The unidentified bishop is, in all probability, St. Severinus, archbishop of Cologne and patron saint of Boppard.⁹⁰ St. Severinus is usually shown with his crozier and sometimes with a model of the church he founded at Cologne. St. Michael, the patron saint of warriors, has a chapel dedicated to him in the cathedral of Cologne, while churches under the patronage of both St. George and St. Quirinus existed in the ecclesiastical city from early in the Middle Ages.

The Virgin appears in this window as the Woman of the Apocalypse, "clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars" (Revelation 12:1), the type destined in the sixteenth century to represent the Immaculate Conception. Long before this time, however, this particular iconography, used to illustrate triumph over sin, began to be associated with Mary Immaculate, and the Christ Child, held in her arms, provided the reason for her immaculacy.⁹¹ In the Boppard version, additional proof of meaning is provided by the presence both of the figure of Isaiah, placed in the niche above the

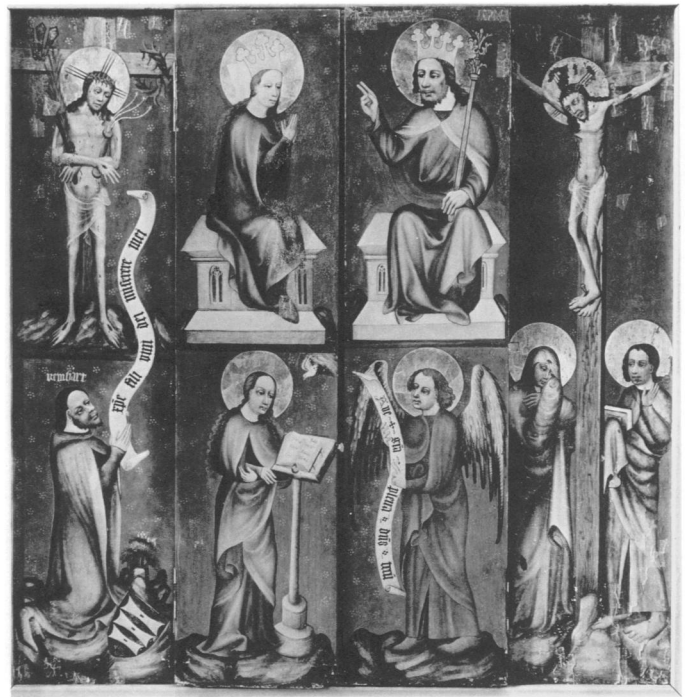


FIGURE 29

Bohemian master, Coronation of the Virgin altarpiece from Muhlhausen in Swabia, dated 1385. Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart

Virgin's head, and of St. Michael. The passage in Revelation continues (12:7, 9): "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon. . . . And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan . . . was cast out into the earth. . . ." Since Eve, tempted by the serpent, committed original sin upon earth, the inference is that Mary, created before this and in the mind of God from the beginning of time, was exempt from sin. The presence both of St. Michael and of Mary as the Apocalyptic Vision in the Boppard window proves that her image is that of the Immaculate Conception.

88. Cuno von Piermont's son Heinrich, who appears in the panel with his father, was listed among the *Domherren* of Trier, as was his own son Cuno. The family was also *Reichministerialen*. See Kisky, *Die Domkapitel*, pp. 164, 166, 185.

89. Died c. 663. His life is given in Laurentius Surius, *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (Cologne, 1575) VI, pp. 273–276.

90. His life is given in Surius, *De probatis sanctorum*, (1574) pp. 920–927.

91. See d'Ancona, *The Immaculate Conception*, p. 28.

But, as is usual in this glass, there is a second meaning that unifies the various parts of the window. The Christ Child stretches his hands toward a branch of three white roses held in the hand of his mother and upon which perches the dove of the Holy Spirit. The rose, both as a Marian symbol and as an indicator of divine love and sacrifice, has already been discussed in relation to the Boppard windows.⁹² But in this particular instance the presence of the dove on the three-branched rose is a reference to the conferring upon Mary of divine grace through the descent of the Holy Spirit proceeding from both the Father and the Son.⁹³ It is for this reason that the Christ Child stretches his arms toward the dove, and Mary's special relationship to the three persons of the Trinity is expressed by the three-branched rose that she holds in her hand. The same symbol of the dove with the figure of St. Cunibert in the zone above is not only an attribute but also symbolic of the state of grace conferred upon the bishop in his performance of the mass during which the miracle took place.

The complex symbolism inherent in the stained glass

92. See note 74, *supra*.

93. The question of the Trinity as discussed at the Council of Basel involved the emanation of the Holy Spirit. It is extensively discussed by Don Denny, "The Trinity in Enguerrand Quarton's 'Coronation of the Virgin,'" *Art Bulletin* 45 (1963) pp. 50-51. An interesting comparison is provided by the *Gnadenstuhl* window at Cologne, only a few years earlier in date, where the Apocalyptic Madonna is juxtaposed with the Trinity. The Madonna, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 39), has been recently identified by Dr. Herbert Rode as the one from this window. She is presented as the Apocalyptic Vision in relation to the Trinity, from which her immaculate nature may be inferred, and for added emphasis her Coronation is also included. The window is discussed by Dr. Rode, "Das Gnadenstuhlfenster im Kölner Dom," *Kölner Domblatt* 18-19 (1960) pp. 107-120. The Trinity is shown in pls. 68 and 70.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the combined collections of medieval stained glass at the Metropolitan Museum and The Cloisters are fifty panels from the Carmelite church of Boppard-am-Rhein. This is not only the largest group of examples from any single monument in these collections but also the largest concentration of Boppard stained glass anywhere in the world. I would like to thank Frau Suzanne Beeh-Lustenberger of the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt, Mr. Francis Robinson, Curator of Medieval Art at the Detroit Institute of Arts, Mr.

at Boppard was the result both of the special devotional emphasis of the Carmelite order and of theological ideas of the time relating to this emphasis. Two major themes were developed within the program. Of paramount importance was the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, patroness of the order. The question had been introduced for debate at the Council of Basel in 1439 and had been accorded official sanction, strongly supported by the German clergy in attendance. The second theme, that of the Trinity, was also an issue at the council in its attempt to reconcile the eastern and western divisions of the Church. But the Trinity as a symbol at Boppard was introduced into the windows in the special context of its relationship to the Virgin. The content expressing these themes was drawn from many sources, from the German mystics, from the Marian litanies, from the works of the monastic writers, and from Church doctrine. Neither of these themes in itself was unusual, but the manner of their presentation, the subtle interrelationship of elements, and the combination and repetition of motifs to form a total, unified expression had probably never been attempted in precisely the same manner or on such a scale before. Perhaps such a program as this could only have been realized within the special intellectual climate of mysticism that pervaded the lower Rhineland provinces in the late Middle Ages. Perhaps, also, the particular emphasis placed upon these iconographic themes could only have been conceived by a comparatively young religious community that had neither inherited nor been influenced by a long artistic tradition. The reasons assume minor importance when these windows are considered as an aesthetic achievement, remarkable for their harmony of meaning and medium and for their unity of program and design.

William Wells, Curator of the Burrell Collection in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, and Professor Hans Wentzel of the Technische Hochschule in Stuttgart, all of whom have supplied photographs and shared with me their own information on the glass. I am most grateful also to Miss Nancy Sheiry, former Assistant at The Cloisters, for her research on the history and activities of the Carmelites in fifteenth-century Germany.

Appendix A: Style

A DETAILED discussion of the style of the glass at Boppard, and the relationships and origins of the two workshops that produced it, will appear in the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi, United States I, Medieval Stained Glass in the United States of America*. Since the establishment of two rather than a single atelier for the glazing plays an important part in the reconstruction of the program, it is necessary to summarize style characteristics and differences inherent in the two hands. The presence of the two workshops does not imply that the overall design and execution of the windows was not under the direction of a master glazier or that a large part of the work was not expressly his own creation. His personal style is distinct and unmistakably different from that of the painter who, as head of the second workshop, served as his associate. Both glass painters were undoubtedly from the Rhineland, perhaps coming to Boppard by way of Mainz, the closest center for the production of stained glass, but the qualities that distinguish their individual styles were neither Middle Rhenish nor of similar origin.

In the work of each of them are characteristics common to one or the other of the two great foyers of Rhenish art during the latter part of the Middle Ages. The style of the master glazier exhibits traits common to stained glass and panel painting of the Upper Rhine, a vigorous tradition centering around Strasbourg, reaching north into the Saar Valley and south by way of Alsace and Baden into Switzerland, but having its origins in contacts with Bohemia by way of Austria and Lake Constance. Equally distinguishable in the work of the assistant master are characteristics peculiar to the art of Cologne, a style much more confined geographically but having its roots in French court art and the latter's special manifestations in Flemish painting.

Distinguishing stylistic features of the glass attributed to the master glazier include the settings of his windows (Figures 21, 22, 25, 28). None of the lancets have borders, a tendency notable in contemporary glass in the vast area influenced by the Upper Rhine and seen at Setting on the Saar (compare Figures 10 and 30),

in the choir of Berne Minster, and at such other locations in Switzerland as Zofingen, where the present border is a later addition (Figure 26), and Staufberg (Beer, *CVMA, Switzerland III*, pl. 107). There are few remaining examples from Strasbourg except for fragments from the Dominican church, which have been dated about 1417 (Victor Beyer, "La Verrière du Jugement Dernier à l'Ancienne Eglise des Dominicains de Strasbourg," *Hommage à Hans Haug* [Strasbourg, 1967] pp. 33-44). But these, as well as earlier glass at the Dominican church at Colmar, at Niederhaslach, and at Saint-Pierre-le-Vieux and the Cathedral in Strasbourg itself, serve to indicate that this tendency, which was absent at Cologne, had pervaded the whole region of the Upper Rhine. The architectural settings designed by the master are composed of massive forms with boldly projecting canopies embellished by bulbous crockets and finials. Similarly heavy forms distinguish the architecture in windows at Berne and at Setting. One of the most remarkable qualities of the work of this glazier is his love of ornament, a characteristic traceable perhaps to the fourteenth-century glass at Cologne. The wide variety of types and variations on a particular motif in such examples as the Solomon window is an exceptional characteristic of his work. The figures painted by this master (Figures 5-10) are short and stocky with heavy, expressive facial features and lively gestures similar to those found in all of the contemporary Upper Rhenish examples (compare Figures 31 and 32) and also to those of the master from Mainz who worked at Partenheim (Figure 33). The drapery in which the figures are enveloped hangs from their bodies in weighty, sagging folds gathered in rippling, complex bunches or falling to crumpled, jagged edges (Figures 11-13, 15). The origin of this drapery style is better compared to the *Knitterstil* of Upper Rhenish painting, as seen, for example, in the work of the master of the Staufen Altar (compare Figures 34 and 35), than to contemporary glass painting, which did not give up the older soft style until a decade later.

The work of his associate is much more closely allied to the prevailing style of Cologne as exhibited by the



FIGURE 30
 Christ before Pilate, Agony in the Garden, Annunciation, and Flight into Egypt from the Life of Christ window, c. 1435–1440. Church of the *Vierzehn Nothelfer*, Setting



FIGURE 31
Ninth Commandment from the Ten Commandments window from Boppard. Burrell Collection, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

Gnadenstuhl window (Figure 37). His figure style is somewhat more linear than that of the *Gnadenstuhl* master (compare Figures 38 and 39), approaching the schematic drawing of the Mainz master of Partenheim, particularly in the small scenes that may have been the work of an assistant (compare Figures 18 and 33). The slender, elongated figures enveloped in soft, trailing drapery and placed under soaring canopies of delicate tracery that were drawn by this second glazier

FIGURE 32
Detail from the Ten Commandments window, c. 1440. Church of St. Theobald, Thann





FIGURE 33
Assumption of the Virgin from the parish church
of Partenheim, Rheinhessen, *c.* 1440. Hessisches
Landesmuseum, Darmstadt

FIGURE 34
Detail from the Nativity from the Tree of Jesse
window from Boppard. The Metropolitan Mu-
seum of Art, Leland Fund

FIGURE 35
Upper Rhenish master, Birth of Christ, detail
from the altarpiece from Staufien, *c.* 1430–1440.
Augustinermuseum, Freiburg im Breisgau
(Photo: Karl Alber, Freiburg)

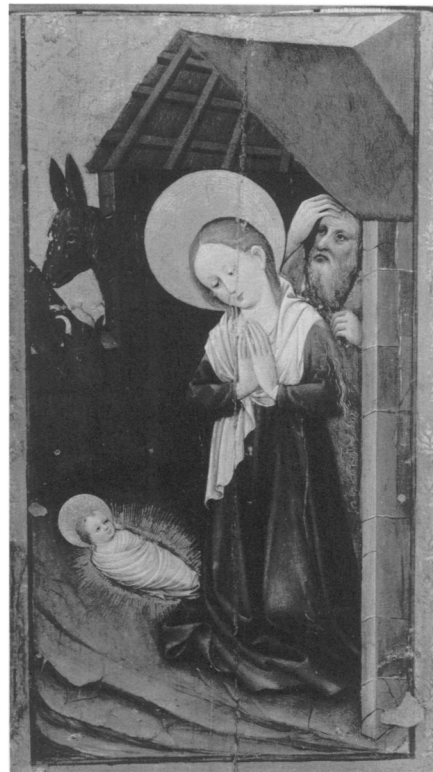


FIGURE 36
St. Dorothea, detail from the Cloisters
window from Boppard

FIGURE 37
Christ from a Coronation of the Virgin
from the *Gnadenstuhl* window, c. 1420–
1430. Originally from the church of the
Augustinian Canons, Cologne, now in
the cathedral

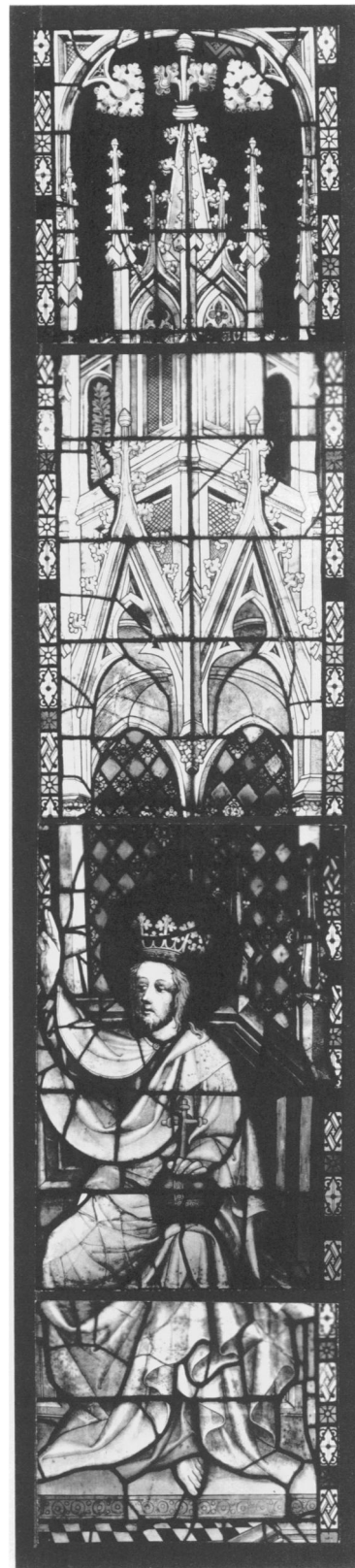




FIGURE 38
Virgin in the *Ährenkleid*, detail from the Cloisters window from Boppard (Photo: Taylor and Dull)



FIGURE 39
Madonna, detail from the *Gnadenstuhl* window, c. 1420–1430, originally from church of the Augustinian Canons, Cologne. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George D. Pratt, 41.170.93a

of Boppard are much more in keeping with the style of the *Gnadenstuhl* master and with Cologne painting stemming from the school of the Veronica Master (compare Figures 36, 37, and 40). Like his Cologne contemporaries, the associate master of Boppard enclosed his lancets in narrow borders. The backgrounds of his windows are composed of a single type of ornament, either a foliate or diaper design, also found in glass from Cologne. In contrast to the brilliant color that is characteristic of the master glazier's work and of Upper Rhenish glass in general, the windows of Cologne and those of the associate master at Boppard show a marked preference for grisaille, both in drapery and in flesh tones.

The work of the two masters responsible for the

glazing of the north nave of the Carmelite church indicates that they stemmed from very different stylistic traditions. Each of these traditions dominated its sphere of western Germany during the later Middle Ages, and each had its effect upon the art of the Middle Rhine as witnessed in the glass painting of the period (Figure 33). That both these local styles could affect one or the other of the masters at Boppard is not, therefore, surprising. In the work of the associate, the style of the older generation at Cologne dominated. The master glazier, on the other hand, aware of new ideas generated in the south, was a true innovator in stained glass, and his work at Boppard marked the first appearance in that medium of a new style, the *Knitterstil*.



FIGURE 40
Master of St. Veronica, St. Catherine and St. Elizabeth of Hungary, first quarter of the xv century, from the church of the Teutonic Order of St. Catherine, Cologne. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg

Appendix B: Transcript of the Document

ANNO 1444 VI Ianuarii Gerhardus Episcopus Salonen-
sis suffraganeus Trevirensis magnam partem ecclesiae
Carmelitanarum Boppardiae una cum novo altari
consecravit et cum impositione, reliquiarum et conces-
sione indulgentiarum, ut sequitur.

Nos Gerhardus, miseratione divina et Apolosticae
Sedis gratia ep(iscop)us Salonen-sis, rever(endiss)imi in
Ch(rist)o Patris et [Domini] D(omi)ni Iacobi eadem
miseratione Archiepiscopi Trevirensis in Pontificalibus
Vicarius Generalis, universis et singulis Christi fidelibus
salutem in D(omi)no sempiternam. Pia mater Ec-
clesia, de animarum salute sollicita devotione, per
quaedam munera spiritualia remissiones vel et indul-
gentias mutare consuevit ad debitum famulatum Deo
et honorem sacris Christianis aedibus impendendum,
ut quanto crebrius illuc confluit populus Christianus
devotae salvationis gratiam implorando, tanto celerius
delictorum suorum veniam et gaudia consequi mere-
antur aeterna. Et quia in oppido Boppardiensi in
Monasterio Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte
Carmelo magnam partem de novo constructam ec-
clesiae consecravimus una cum novo altare in honorem
sanctorum Stephani prothomartyris, decem Millium
Martyrum, undecim Millium Virginum, Anthonii
S(anc)tae Crucis ac Catharinae, Mariae Magdalенаe,
Foelicis et Adaucti, de quorum reliquiis in eodem est
reconditum debita cum reverentia pro ut decuit.
Omnibus igitur vere poenitentibus, confessis et con-
tritis, qui in dedicationis festo dicti altaris vel in festis
Domini nostri Jesu Christi vel Natalis Domini,
Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, die Cinerum, Palmarum,
die Coenae parasceves, Paschae, Asensionis, Phente-
costes, Trinitatis, Corporis Christi, omnibus diebus
Dominicis, sextis feriis, sabbatinis diebus, quolibet festo
gloriosae Virginis Mariae, diebus Beati Joannis Bap-
tistae, Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ac aliorum
Apostolorum, quattuor Evangelistarum, quattuor
Doctorum et per omnes octavas, diebus quoque
Beatorum Stephani, Laurentii, Vincentii atque Geor-
gii, Beatorum quoque Nicolai, Martini, et Briccii,

Beatarum quoque Catharinae, Margarethae, Bar-
barae, Dorotheae, Agathae, Luciae, Caeciliae, et
Agnētis Virginum, Beatarum quoque Elisabeth, Hed-
wigis, et Agnae* Viduarum, et Sancti Michaelis, in
festo omnium Sanctorum, et in Commemoratione
animarum, et in dictorum festorum octavis, et in festo
Patronorum, vel causa devotionis aut peregrinationis
dictum altare accesserint annuatim vel qui ibidem
elevatum Corpus et Sanguinem Domini Nostri Jesu
Christi infra missarum solemnias flexis genibus ora-
verint, aut qui ad libros, codices, albas, casulas, vel alia
huiusmodi indumenta et praeparamenta sacerdotum
et altare, vel qui ad fabricam, ornamenta, luminaria, et
alia ad dictum altare necessaria intuitu divino manus
suas porrexerint adiutrices, aut qui in sano corpore
aut in fine vitae suae praefatum altare quidquid
suarum legaverint facultatum, quotiescumque prae-
missa vel aliquid fecerint praemissorum, Nos de
omnipotentis Dei misericordia et Beatorum Petri et
Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, XL dies
indulgentiarum de inimicis eis poenitentiis miseri-
corder in Domino relaxamus.

In cuius omnium robur et testimonium duximus
nostri pontificalis sigilli praesentia muniri. Datum
Confluentiae, duodecima die Mensis Ianuarii, anno
Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadagesimo
quarto iuxta stylum Trevirensem.

(Locus Sigilli)

Pro copia cum originali suo probe collationata et
concordante, ego Ioannes Heinen sacris, apostolica et
imperiali, auctoritatibus publicis iuratus et approbatus
notarius, subscripsi et subsignavi ita.

29 festis: festorum ms.

40 Briccii: Bruccii ms.

53 et alia ad: et ad alia ms.

61 inimicis: inimitis ms.

64 sigilli: sigillo ms.

* Probably Elnae or Helena, who is usually included among
the Holy Widows in German hagiography of the period. She ap-
pears with Elizabeth and Hedwig in the Albrecht Altar.

Strange Musical Instruments in the Madrid Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci

EMANUEL WINTERNITZ

Curator of Musical Instruments, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE SENSATIONAL reappearance at the National Library in Madrid in February 1967 of two of Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks, comprising some 700 pages in all, has substantially enlarged our knowledge of his research and thought in many fields and his activities in the realms of art, science, and applied technology.¹

It is not generally known that Leonardo da Vinci was deeply involved in music, not only as an admired performer, improviser, and teacher, but in many areas of research, such as acoustics, musical aesthetics, and the invention of numerous ingenious musical instruments.² And even if the notebooks in which he jotted down all these thoughts and inventions had been lost, his intensive concern with the phenomenon of music would be revealed by his profound definition of music as "figuratione delle cose invisibili." The Madrid notebooks contain only two pages devoted to musical instruments, and although two pages are not very much, they add considerably to our comprehension of Leonardo's restless, indefatigable mind, so overwhelmed by new ideas, associations, and technological

imagination that he could cope with this onslaught only by jotting down passing thoughts, often so sketchily that important details, which he evidently took for granted, are neither delineated nor explained in his comments.

Folio 75 verso shows in the upper right corner (Figure 1) a bell with a wide rim and no clapper inside. Two hammers strike the rim from opposite sides. To the left of the bell there is a mechanism including what seems to be a set of four keys operating on a tracker action that in its turn controls four levers that end in oval heads. In my opinion these heads must be dampers. The accompanying text says: "Una medesima campana parranno essere quattro campane. Tasti d'organo, con la campana ferma e battuta da due martelli. Ed avrà mutazione di voci, a similitudine dell'organo."³

Acoustically important in this explanation are the statements that the bell is firm, neither swinging nor equipped with a clapper in the manner of a church bell, and that it produces "a change of tones," which

1. A complete transcription of the text of the Madrid notebooks and an English translation have been announced by McGraw-Hill.

2. See Emanuel Winternitz, "Keyboards for Wind Instruments Invented by Leonardo da Vinci," *Raccolta Vinciana* 20 (1964) pp. 69–82, "Leonardo's Invention of the Viola Organista," *Raccolta Vinciana* 20 (1964) pp. 1–46, "Melodic, Chordal and Other Drums Invented by Leonardo da Vinci," *Raccolta Vinciana* 20 (1964) pp. 47–67, "Leonardo da Vinci," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, XIII (Kassel, 1966) cols. 1664–1667, "Anatomy the Teacher—

On the Impact of Leonardo's Anatomical Research on His Musical and Other Machines," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 3, no. 4 (August 1967) pp. 234–247, "The Role of Music in Leonardo da Vinci's Paragone," *Collected Papers in Memory of Alfred Schutz* (University of California, Santa Cruz, in press).

3. "One and the same bell will appear to be four bells. Organ keys, with the bell stationary and beaten by two hammers. It will have a change of tones comparable to that of an organ."

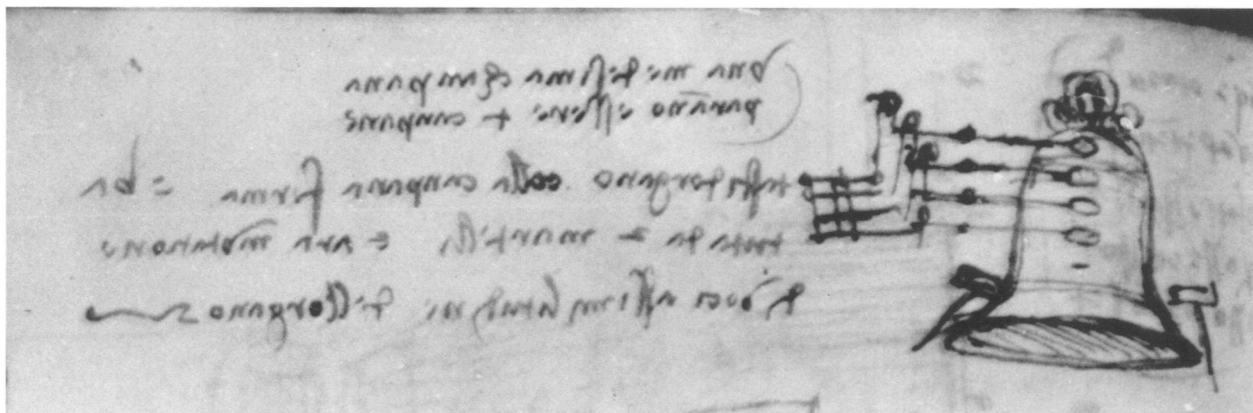


FIGURE 1

Bell with damper mechanism. MS. 8936, fol. 75 verso, National Library, Madrid

is in all probability one of pitch, not of timbre.⁴ Thus, Leonardo must have believed that the upper section of the bell has ring-shaped areas that produce tones of different pitch if they are slightly muted when the rim is set into vibration by the hammers. I must, however, sadly add that my own experiments with smaller and medium-sized bells in the Metropolitan Museum's collection brought no conclusive results.

Hermann von Helmholtz, in his famous book *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen* . . . , did not rule out at least the possibility of areas of a bell producing tones of different pitch.⁵ Anyhow, it is interesting that Leonardo, here, as in many other of his musical inventions,

4. Theoretically the change of tones could also mean change of timbre; but this is not likely, since a difference between these four kinds of timbre would be small, and also because Leonardo insists that his invention enables the bell to do the job of four bells, implying probably the effect of a carillon.

5. *Die Lehre von den Tonempfindungen als Physiologische Grundlage für die Theorie der Musik*, 4th ed. (Braunschweig, 1877) p. 125. "Der stärkste Ton ist nicht der tiefste; der Kessel der Glocken, angeschlagen, giebt tiefere Töne als der Schallring, letzterer dagegen die lautesten. Uebrigens sind auch wohl noch andere Schwingungsformen der Glocke möglich, wobei sich Knotenkreise bilden, die dem Rande parallel sind, diese scheinen aber schwer zu entstehen, und sind noch nicht untersucht."

6. Winternitz, "Drums."

7. The page is headed "De strumenti armonici." Then follows the text: "Per piva, sia fatto il tramezzo del mantice .a., fermo alla cintura. Ed il .b. sia fermo con il braccio, il quale braccio poi, muovendosi in dentro ed in fuori, aprirà e serrerà il mantice, al bisogno, cioè quando il mantice .n. aprirà, il mantice .m. serrerà. E quando .m. aprirà, .n. serrerà. E così il vento sarà continuo."

tried to obtain from one instrument what could normally only be produced by several or a whole set of instruments. Among the other examples are his drums, drawn in the *Codice Arundel*, folio 175 recto, which permit a change of pitch while being beaten and can therefore produce a whole series of tones without an interruption in the playing.⁶

On folio 76 recto (Figure 2), the first of the sketches (Figure 3) represents a wind instrument; two pipes point into the air, a third one points down. They all emerge from a contraption that is, beyond doubt, a bellows. The three pipes give the instrument a superficial similarity to a bagpipe in that they resemble its chanter (the melody pipe) and its drones. And indeed, Leonardo begins his verbal description⁷ with the explanation that the new bellows used here are made "per piva." The word *piva* means, or at least can mean, "bagpipe."

Leonardo was, of course, very familiar with an instrument as popular as the bagpipe (Figure 4). In Manuscript M, folio 4 verso, he shows a bagpipe squeezed by a vise (Figure 5). Among the drawings at Windsor Castle there is a sketch (no. 12585) showing a bagpipe man on horseback (Figure 6). This drawing has often been misinterpreted.

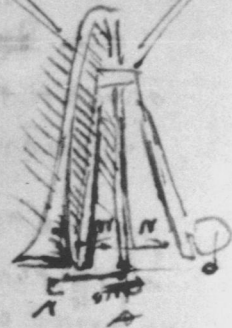
Bernard Berenson describes the figure as a "boar-

FIGURE 2

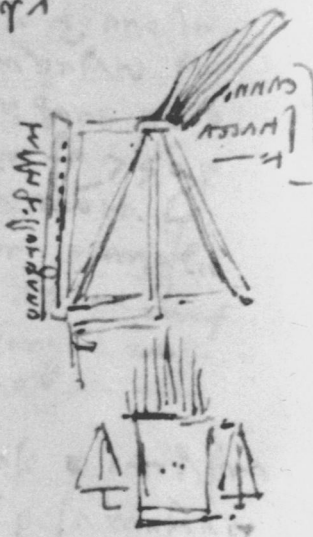
Page from MS. 8936, fol. 76 recto, National Library, Madrid

ΠΡΩΤΗ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ

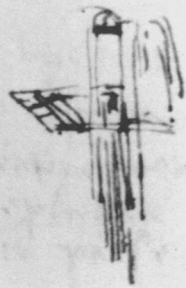
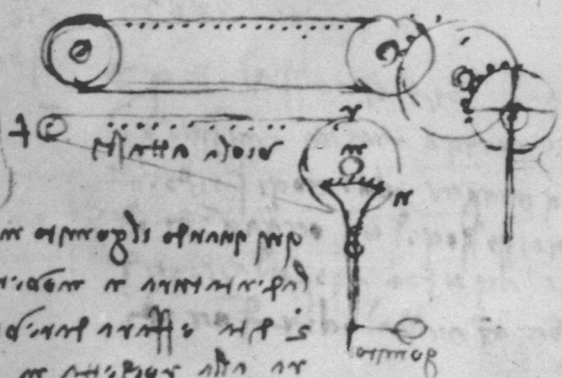
Ἡ πρώτη καταστάσις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς
 μηχανῆς. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ
 ἀρχῇ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ
 τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ. ὅπου τὸ
 πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ
 ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ
 ὑψίστῃ. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ
 ἀρχῇ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ
 τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ.



Ἡ δεύτερη καταστάσις ἐστὶν ἡ μεσότης
 τῆς μηχανῆς. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐν
 τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ
 τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ
 ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ
 ἀρχῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ.



Ἡ τρίτη καταστάσις ἐστὶν ἡ ἐσχάτη
 τῆς μηχανῆς. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐν
 τῇ ὑψίστῃ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ
 τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ
 ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ
 μέσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ.



Ἡ τέταρτη καταστάσις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ
 τῆς μηχανῆς. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ ἐστὶν ἐν
 τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ
 τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ. ὅπου τὸ πῦρ
 ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ
 μέσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἀέριον ἐν τῇ ὑψίστῃ.

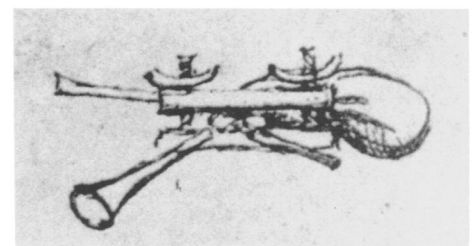


FIGURE 3
Musical instrument with bellows and three tubes (triple trumpet?).
Detail of Figure 2

FIGURE 4
Bagpipe, showing blowpipe, chanter, and drone, played by the angel in the center of the left group. Detail from a fresco of the Glorification of St. Francis, school of Giotto. Church of San Francesco al Prato, Pistoia



FIGURE 5
Allegory, bagpipe in a vise. MS. M, fol. 4 verso, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris



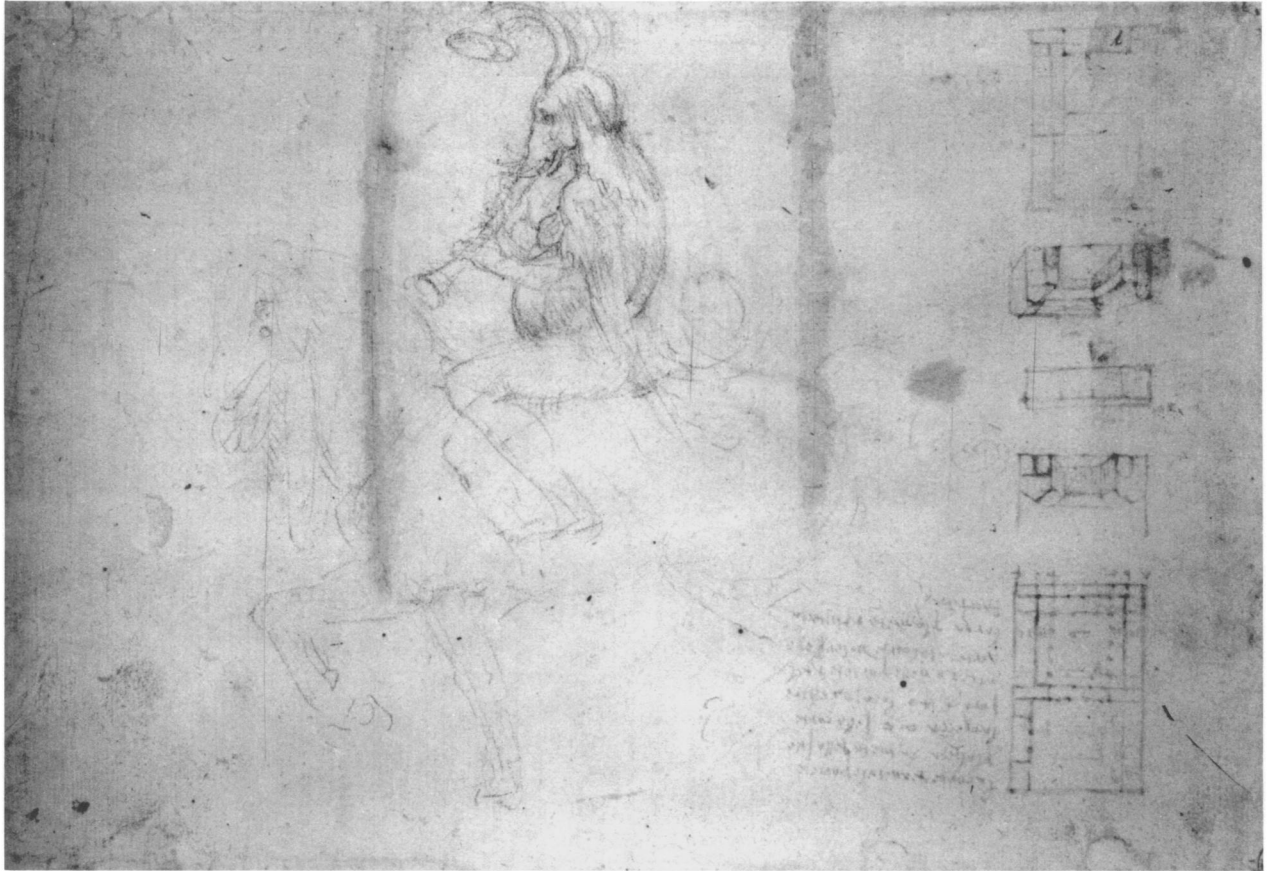


FIGURE 6

Costume for a man masquerading as a bagpipe, from the drawings of Leonardo da Vinci at Windsor Castle, 12585 recto. Reproduced by the gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II

headed man on horseback, playing on a horn (probably for a masquerade and possibly the one of Galeazzo da San Severino in January, 1491)."⁸ Gerolamo Calvi calls the sketch an allegory;⁹ Woldemar von Seidlitz describes the figure as a monster on horseback playing a clarinet;¹⁰ and Edmondo Solmi calls the creature a figure on horseback who sounds a reed pipe with his own nose.¹¹ Heinrich Bodmer identifies the monster as *omo salvatico* without further explanation.¹² Sir Kenneth Clark interprets the drawing as follows: "A masquer-

ader seated on a horse, which is walking in profile to left. He wears a head like an elephant, with long ears like bat's wings, a curly horn like a gramophone, and a trunk, on which he is playing as if it were a flute. He also appears to have a pot belly, and a curly tail."¹³ No mention is made of a bagpipe. Giuseppina Fumagalli, in a very interesting article, reviews the earlier interpretations and declares, with cogent and elaborate reasons, that our bagpipe man is one of the *omini salvatici*.¹⁴

8. *Drawings of the Florentine Painters* (New York, 1903) p. 62.

9. *Un'allegoria di Leonardo* (Milan, 1904) p. 482.

10. "I disegni di Leonardo da Vinci a Windsor," *L'Arte* 14 (1911) p. 286.

11. "La politica di Lodovico il Moro nei simboli di Leonardo," *Scritti varii di erudizione e di critica in onore di R. Renier* (Turin, 1912) pp. 71-72.

12. *Leonardo* (Stuttgart, 1931) p. 203.

13. *Catalogue of Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (New York and Cambridge, 1935) p. 99.

14. "Gli Omini Salvatici di Leonardo," *Raccolta Vinciana* 18 (1960) pp. 129-157.



FIGURE 7

Fama with quadruple trumpet in a tapestry depicting the Triumph of Fame, North French or Flemish, xvi century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of George D. Pratt, 41.167.2

Actually the rider masquerades as a bagpipe, his belly, or rather his whole upper body, forming the bag, and the continuance of his nose, the chanter. A large drone pipe appears over his head. There can be no doubt that this amusing disguise was drawn for a procession or similar entertainment.

To return to the sketch in the Madrid notebook, the

bellows shown there is indeed ingenious—it consists of two sections arranged to the left and right of an immovable dividing wall. If the right section is pushed against the wall, the air enclosed is compressed and pushed toward the pipes; at the same time, the left section is automatically expanded, inhaling air. This kind of automatically synchronized, alternating breath-

ing is an improvement—or at least a simplification—of the conventional two alternating bellows, which were ordinarily used in Leonardo's time and long thereafter for organs and, of course, for many extramusical purposes, such as the blacksmith's forge and metal-smelting furnaces, and which had to be pumped by two people or two motor impulses.

Leonardo's accompanying explanation reads as if this contraption had occurred to him as a new invention. In fact, I do not know of earlier examples of this type of bellows in texts or illustrations. Perhaps it worked best in small sizes, while for smelting and other industrial purposes the arrangement of two alternating large, separate bellows proved more practical.

At the end of his explanatory text, Leonardo claims that his new bellows produces "continuous wind." This claim, of course, has to be taken with a certain reserve. There is, first, the inevitable dead point when, one of the bellows sections having reached its maximum volume and the other its minimum expansion, the pumping action goes into reverse. This imparts to the pipes a moment of silence, which, however short, is just as noticeable as the pauses between the upstroke and the downstroke of a fiddle bow, or when the player of a concertina turns from the expanding phase to the compressing phase, or vice versa.¹⁵

Quite apart from this dead moment of silence, we have to bear in mind the fact that the wind stops immediately when the bellows action stops. This is not the case with the bagpipe. The sounding pipes of a bagpipe are supplied with wind by a bag, made of the skin of an animal. This flexible wind reservoir is filled with air either from the player's mouth by means of a blowpipe or, in later specimens, such as the musette of the eighteenth century, from a pair of bellows.¹⁶ A bag of this type supplies wind for some time, even after the player has ceased to breathe into the blowpipe or to pump the bellows with his arm. In this way, a real

continuity of sound is achieved.¹⁷ Such a bag is missing in Leonardo's contraption.

Furthermore, another essential feature of the bagpipe is missing: the chanter or melody pipe, which is a reed pipe equipped with finger holes. These are stopped by the fingers of the player to produce the melody, while the larger drone pipes supply the continuous humming bass. Normally, the chanter has a shape different from that of the drones. In Leonardo's sketch, only the pipe on the left pointing down is approximately in the position of a bagpipe chanter, but it has the same shape as the other two pipes and, more important, does not show the faintest trace of finger holes. Therefore, Leonardo's contraption is certainly not a bagpipe, and if he calls it *piva*, he uses this word not as an equivalent for *cornemusa* or *zampogna*, both common names for bagpipes, but in its original meaning, that is, *pipa*, "pipe" or "pipe instrument."

What then is our instrument? Since there are only three tubes—not enough for a scale or melody—and since there is not even machinery for selecting or alternating single tones, we can only assume that three simultaneous tones of different pitch formed a chord, in all probability a triad. The tubes would then be trumpets rather than reed pipes, and the whole machine would be not an instrument designed to play actual music, but possibly a gadget created to sound a three-voice signal as a kind of fanfare. One recalls the manifold activities of Leonardo as an organizer of fêtes, processions, and stage entertainments. Perhaps our musical gadget served as a hidden machine that produced fanfares easily to accompany the appearance of allegorical figures, such as Fama or Gloria, who, by long iconological tradition, had trumpets or even multiple trumpets. Just as one example, I might mention the beautiful quadruple trumpet in the hands of Fama (Figure 7) in one of the early sixteenth-century tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum, representing

15. How much Leonardo was aware of the mechanical limitations of bellows is clear from an observation he made in quite a different realm: "If flies produced with their mouths the sound that can be heard when they fly, they would need a great pair of bellows for lungs in order to produce a wind so strong and long, and then there would be a long silence in order to draw into themselves an equal volume of air; therefore, where there was a long duration there would be a long intermission." Codice Arundel 263, fol. 257 recto, British Museum.

16. The blowpipe, unbecoming to a lady's cheeks, was replaced by a dainty little bellows attached to her wrists. This was the case in the elegant and lavishly decorated musette, the fashionable bagpipe of the perfumed pseudo-shepherdesses in the *fêtes champêtres* of Versailles and Fontainebleau.

17. For the evolution and mechanism of bagpipes, including those of Leonardo's time, see E. Winternitz, "Bagpipes and Hurdy-Gurdies in their Social Setting," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 2 (1943) pp. 56–83.

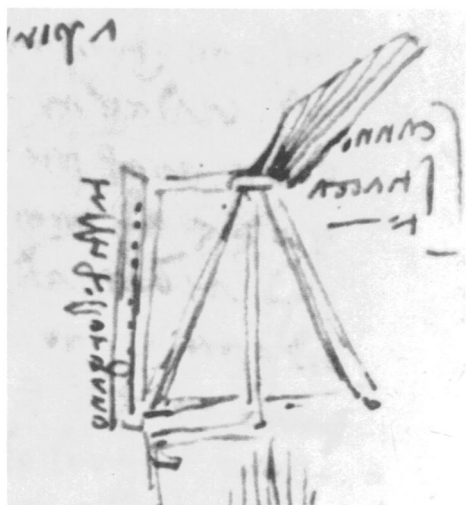


FIGURE 8
Set of pipes worked by a bellows. Detail of Figure 2

the Triumph of Fame over Death, one of the numerous illustrations of Petrarch's *trionfi* in Leonardo's time.¹⁸

Leonardo must have been more impressed with his new bellows than with the whole triple trumpet machine, for in the next two drawings he applied it to a small set of organ pipes and even to a large chamber organ.

The sketch of the portable organ (Figure 8) bears two inscriptions: on the left, *tasti dell'organo* ("keys of the organ"); and on the upper right, *canne stacciate* ("flat pipes"). As the text on the left reveals,¹⁹ they are made of wood (*righe*) or cardboard (*carta*). Six pipes can be distinguished—a strange number, too many for a chord and too few for a scale, though the sketch may, of course, be only a hasty suggestion.

An indispensable element of an organ, the one by which the single keys open up and shut off the access of the wind to the single pipes, is not indicated at all. Here again Leonardo may not have taken the trouble, as so often happened in his quick embodiments of passing ideas, to include technical details that he took for granted.

The combination of organ pipes and bellows recalls immediately the construction of an *organetto*, an im-



FIGURE 9
Positive organ with alternating bellows, from the Unicorn Tapestries, about 1500. Cluny Museum, Paris

mensely popular and practical instrument used in Leonardo's time and for centuries before. We may, therefore, cast a quick glance at various types of *organetti*, concentrating on the question of bellows. If we disregard the larger instruments, which were played on a table and which required the use of both hands on the keyboard and therefore an extra person to operate the alternating bellows at the back (Figure 9), we find the following arrangements used in *organetti*: one small bellows beneath the wind-chest, operated by the player's left hand (Figure 10); a single large bellows at the back of the wind-chest operated by the player's left hand while his right hand pressed the keys with the fingers in a position that would strike a later

18. See James J. Rorimer, "The Triumphs of Fame and Time," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35 (1940) pp. 242–244.

19. "Organi di canne schiacciate fatti di righe o di carta."



FIGURE 10

Angel musician playing an *organetto*, detail, Florence, xiv century. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence (photo: Alinari)

musician as very awkward (Figure 11); two small alternating bellows at the back of the wind-chest, operated by the player's left hand (Figure 12).

In all these small instruments, where the single or alternating bellows had to be worked by one hand, there was an inevitable pause in the wind supply, and therefore in the music, between the movements of the bellows. However, as the fingers on the keys could play only melodic lines without substantial chords, the pause caused by the bellows mechanism was not more noticeable than that of an experienced singer breathing

FIGURE 11

Angel playing an *organetto* with a large single bellows on the back of the instrument. Detail of the organ panels from Nájera by Hans Memling, c. 1465. Art Museum, Antwerp



FIGURE 12

Angels, one of whom plays an *organetto* with two alternating bellows. Relief by Agostino di Duccio, c. 1460. Rimini Cathedral



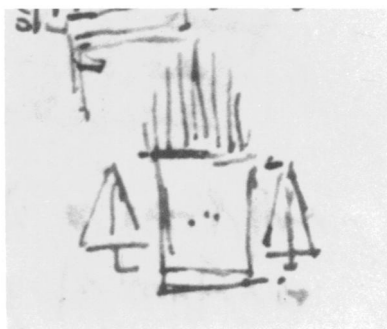
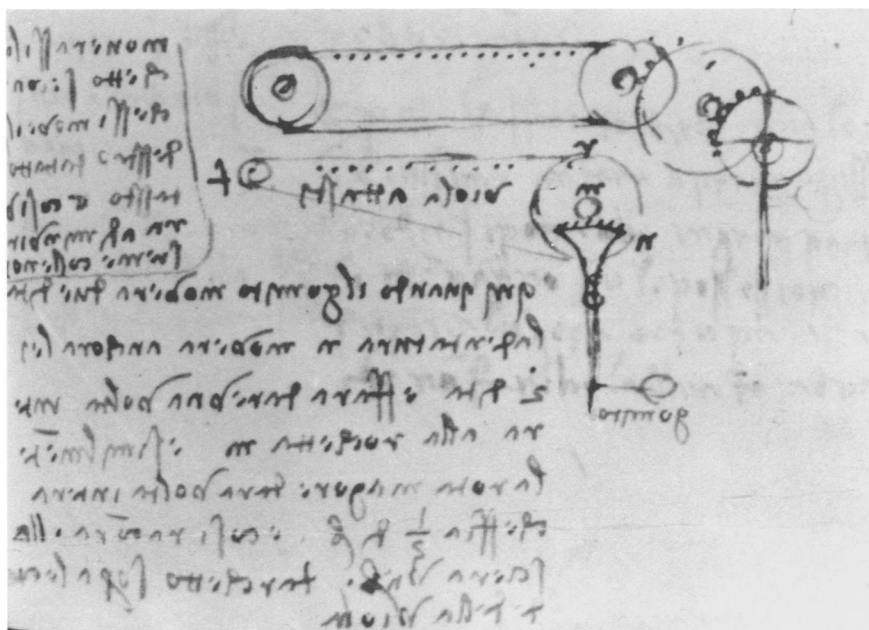


FIGURE 13
Chamber organ with flanking bellows. Detail of Figure 2

FIGURE 14
Two different devices for moving an unending bow of a *viola-organista*.
Detail of Figure 2



in the middle of a phrase. Still, the wind-chest, essential to every *organetto*, must have helped somewhat to bridge these pauses, although it did not have the flexibility of the bag in the bagpipe as a wind reservoir.

At any rate, our sketch does not include any visible wind-chest. Thus the wind supply depended exclusively on the action of Leonardo's special bellows, which, however, as we have already pointed out, immediately stops providing air when pumping ceases. One possibility that would justify the new bellows remains. The sketch shows a little curve at the lower left corner of the bellows. If this indicates a handle, it was perhaps worked with the elbow (*con gomito*), thus leaving both hands free for the keyboard, an achievement that would indeed have meant notable progress if we as-

sume that this instrument was supposed to have many more pipes than the six delineated.

Even more problematic is the small sketch of a chamber organ (Figure 13) flanked by two bellows evidently of the same construction as those in the two upper sketches. The big box from which the pipes arise contains, of course, the inevitable wind-chest that, in every pipe organ, guarantees an even wind pressure and continuous sound just as the bag does in the bagpipe. Therefore, the application of Leonardo's special bellows to this organ makes little sense. Any simple conventional bellows would do just as well.

The operation by *gomito* mentioned earlier may have captured Leonardo's mind to such a degree that he proceeded to extend this playing technique to string

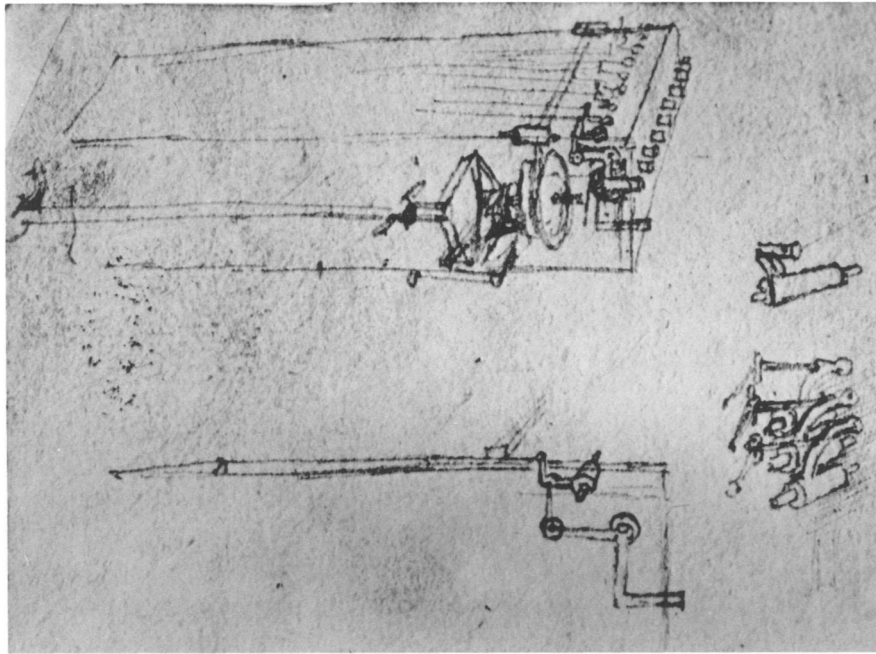


FIGURE 15

Sketch for a *viola-organista* with a cross section of the playing mechanism and two details of the devices for pressing strings against the unending bow. MS. H, fol. 45 verso. Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris

instruments. In two sketches at the bottom of the page (Figure 14) he delineated schematically string instruments, of which at least one is operated by an elbow action, again possibly in order to free both hands for the keyboard. Enigmatic as these instruments appear at first glance, their interpretation is easy if one recalls Leonardo's profound interest in the *viola-organista*, a complex instrument that permitted the bowing of many strings through the control of a keyboard, and therefore allowed ten fingers to produce the tone of a whole little orchestra of viols. Leonardo designed many different and elaborate models of this instrument; four of them appear in the Codice Atlantico, folio 218 recto-c, four others in Manuscript H at the Institut de France, folios 28 verso, 28 recto, 45 verso, and 46 recto.²⁰ In early models the friction of the strings was achieved by a mechanical bow traveling sideways, back and forth over the strings or a revolving wheel, as in a hurdy-gurdy (*ghironda*). In later models he turned to the device of a friction belt made of horsehair as an endless bow (*archetto*). The most practical and detailed model appears in the sketch in Manuscript H, folio 45 verso (Figure 15).

Anyone looking at this sketch will easily realize the link with the sketches in the Madrid manuscript, if he

recognizes that the sixteen dots marked in a horizontal line in our upper sketch are nothing other than cross sections of the strings shown in Figure 15. Over these strings moves the endless bow supported on the left and right by two rotating wheels. In other words, the upper sketch in the Madrid notebooks (Figure 14), is a schematic front view of the instrument shown from the side in the illustration in Manuscript H, folio 45 verso. The latter sketch also shows clearly a keyboard, or rather a set of frontal push buttons, which by means of a tracker action, move little circular loops that grasp the strings in order to draw them against the moving *archetto*, which then sets them vibrating.

In the upper sketch in Figure 14 we see two interacting cogwheels moving the right wheel of the two that support the *archetto*. The cogwheels in turn must receive their impulse from some motor, the player or his assistant. The aforementioned sketches in Manuscript H and one in Manuscript B, folio 50 verso, show motors for driving the *archetto*.

The lower sketch differs from the upper one in several respects: It indicates only eleven dots for strings; beneath the dots is written *viola a tasti* ("keyed viol"). The left wheel is much smaller, and above all, the device for driving the right wheel is different: instead of two cogwheels, here only a segment of one is visible; it is operated by a lever with a handle inscribed

20. See Winternitz, "Viola-Organista."

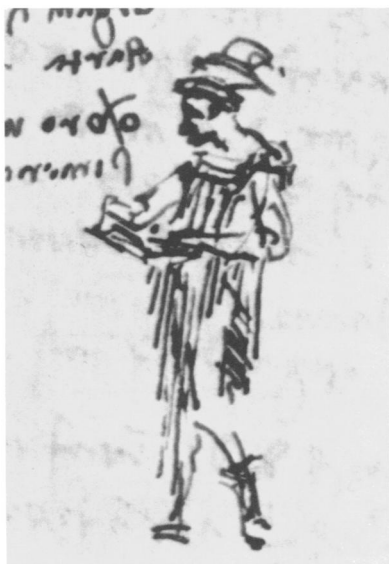


FIGURE 16
Youthful musician in fancy garb. Detail of Figure 2

gomito. The use of this wheel segment does not permit a continuous movement of the *archetto* in one direction but facilitates only a forward and backward movement comparable to that of the actual bow of a viol or any other bowed instrument. All these features point to a smaller and simpler version of the *viola-organista*, and possibly to a portable version. If *gomito*²¹ here means not a movable part of the mechanism but the human elbow, then both hands would be free to operate the keys or push buttons, and this would constitute a substantial advantage over the hurdy-gurdy, in which the keys—a very small number for that matter—are operated by one hand, while the other works the crank to turn the friction wheel.

21. The text to the left and beneath the upper and lower sketch reads: "Moverassi l'archetto secondo che si muove il braccio destro da tasto a tasto e così vorrà a diminuire insieme colle note." "Qui, quando il gomito muoverà due dita, la dentatura .n. muoverà ancora lei due dita. E farà dare una volta intera, alla rochetta .m. E, similmente, la ruota maggiore darà volta intera, che sarà un terzo di braccio. E così raccoglierà e lascerà un braccio di archetto, sopra le corde della viola." This text is largely cryptic because of the repeated use of some ambiguous terms. When *gomito* is used, it can mean the human elbow or certain parts of machines. In the same way, the term *braccio* can stand for the human arm as well as for a unit of measurement.

We have not yet commented on the charming little figure jotted down with a few rapid strokes in the center of the page (Figure 16). Unfortunately the instrument played by this youth is not recognizable; it might be the little organ shown in the sketch to the right of his head, or the viola mentioned twice in the text. In any case, he is a musician in fancy garb; his three-tiered hat,²² short pleated tunic with square neck, and shepherd buskins characterize him as a participant in a masquerade or stage entertainment.

His exotic appearance may provide the clue for the interpretation of all the instruments shown on this page, except for the small chamber organ with the flanking bellows. Evidently these instruments are conceived not for the performance of serious music but as contraptions for fêtes,²³ stage entertainments, or one of the colorful masquerades whose organization and artistic preparation were among the duties of the courtier Leonardo. There are many more sketches of instruments in Leonardo's other notebooks that must have served similar purposes.

The results of our interpretation, then, are comparatively meager as far as the musical importance of these machines is concerned. However, they are interesting in another way; they show Leonardo's restless, quick imagination at work, leaping by rapid association from one idea to the next. The triplet trumpet begets the idea of a new kind of simplified bellows with automatic synchronization; these bellows are applied to a small set of organ pipes, and even to a massive, positive organ. Then fantasy takes another turn: just as the bellows can be operated by the elbow in wind instruments, an equivalent simple playing method *con gomito* may be applied to string instruments, and so a smaller portable version of the *viola-organista* is born.

22. My colleague at the Metropolitan Museum, Dr. Olga Raggio, Curator of Western European Arts, has kindly led my attention to the fact that similar hats occur in the embroideries after designs by Pollaiuolo in the Museo dell' Opera del Duomo in Florence. See Sascha Schwabacher, *Die Stickereien nach Entwurfen des Antonio Pollaiuolo in der Opera di S. Maria del Fiore zu Florenz* (Strassburg, 1911) especially pls. xix, xxxi. The designs for the biblical scenes depicted there may also have been used for or inspired by the performances of sacred plays.

23. See E. Winternitz, "Instruments de Musique étranges chez Filippino Lippi, Piero di Cosimo et Lorenzo Costa," *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, I (Paris, 1956) pp. 379-395.

The Twelve Ages of Man

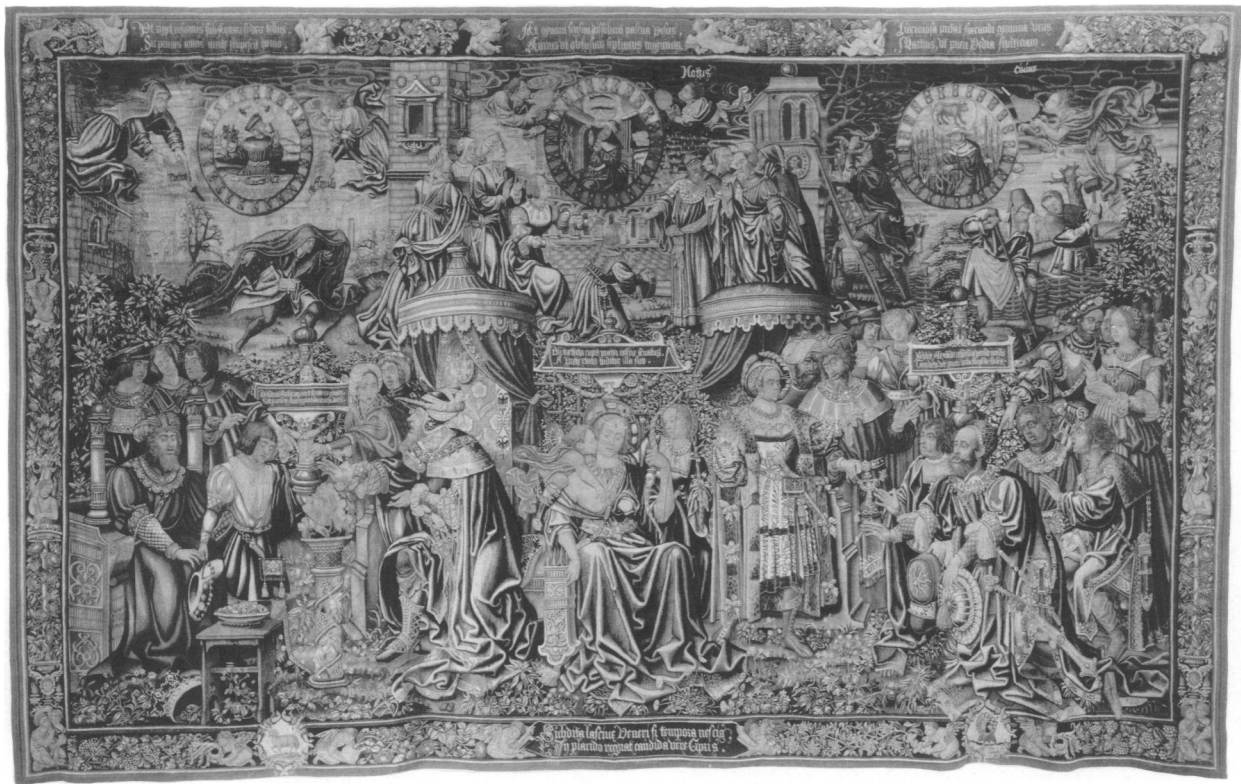
A Further Study of a Set of Early Sixteenth-Century Flemish Tapestries

EDITH A. STANDEN

Associate Curator of Western European Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

FIGURE 1

The Twelve Ages of Man: Spring. Wool and silk tapestry, Flemish (Brussels), about 1520. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift (with tapestries in Figures 2, 3, 4) of the Hearst Foundation, in memory of William Randolph Hearst, 53.221.1



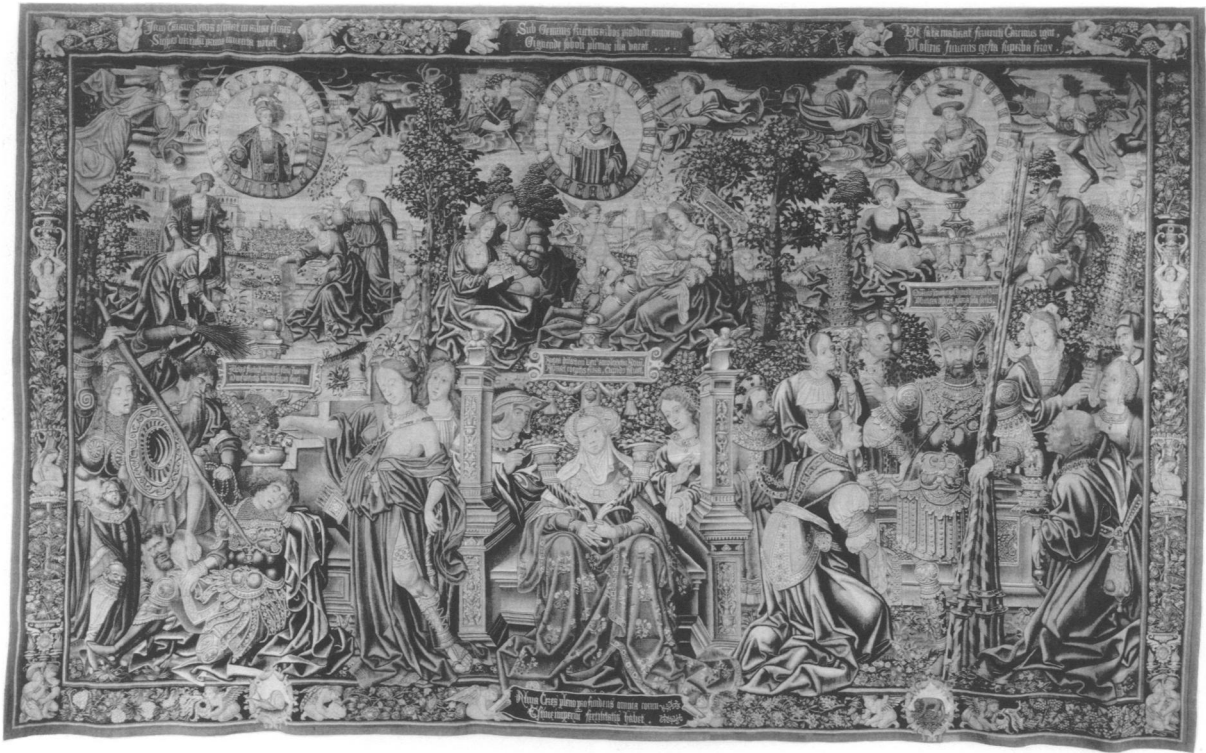


FIGURE 2 The Twelve Ages of Man: Summer. 53.221.2

IN 1953 the Hearst Foundation gave the Metropolitan Museum, in memory of William Randolph Hearst, a set of four large early sixteenth-century Flemish tapestries (Figures 1–4). Their fine quality indicates that they were made in Brussels, but nothing is known of their history until they were acquired by Mr. Hearst, probably before 1930.¹ The set was given the name of the Twelve Ages of Man, and a brief description was published in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*.² Further study has shown that the iconographical complexity of the set can be connected with humanist learning in the Netherlands in the early sixteenth century; it has also brought out the unusual position the set holds in the history of Flemish tapestry.

It has long been a commonplace that the sets of large tapestries made in France and Flanders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are the equivalent of the frescoes that cover the walls of great halls in Italy; they are the monumental pictorial art of the north. Large tapestries were not usually commissioned as individual hangings, but as “chambers,” complete coverings for the walls of a room.³ This often enormous square footage gave the same scope to storytelling, allegory, and symbolism as did the walls of churches or great rooms in the south, and the “author” of a tapestry set could develop his ideas in the same expansive way as his counterpart in Italy. The “chambers” that have survived as wholes from the late fifteenth and early six-

1. They are recorded in the Marillier File in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, as sold by P. W. French & Co. to Mr. Hearst, two of them having previously belonged to Lionel Harris. Mr. Harris was the agent for French in Spain, and the tapestries were almost certainly acquired there. (This information was kindly provided by Mr. Milton Samuels.)

2. Edith A. Standen, “The Twelve Ages of Man,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 12 (1954) pp. 241–248.

3. Jan Grauls, “Een caemer tapisserie. Een kleine bijdrage tot de studie der terminologie van de Vlaamse tapijtkunst,” *Wetenschappelijke Tijdingen* 18 (1958) pp. 177–191. The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives *chambering* as the earlier English word, with a quotation from 1480: “Chambering of tapicery white and greene.” *Chamber*, in the sense of “the hangings or furniture of a chamber,” is not recorded before 1612: “To unfold this tapestry, and to hang up the whole chamber of it.”

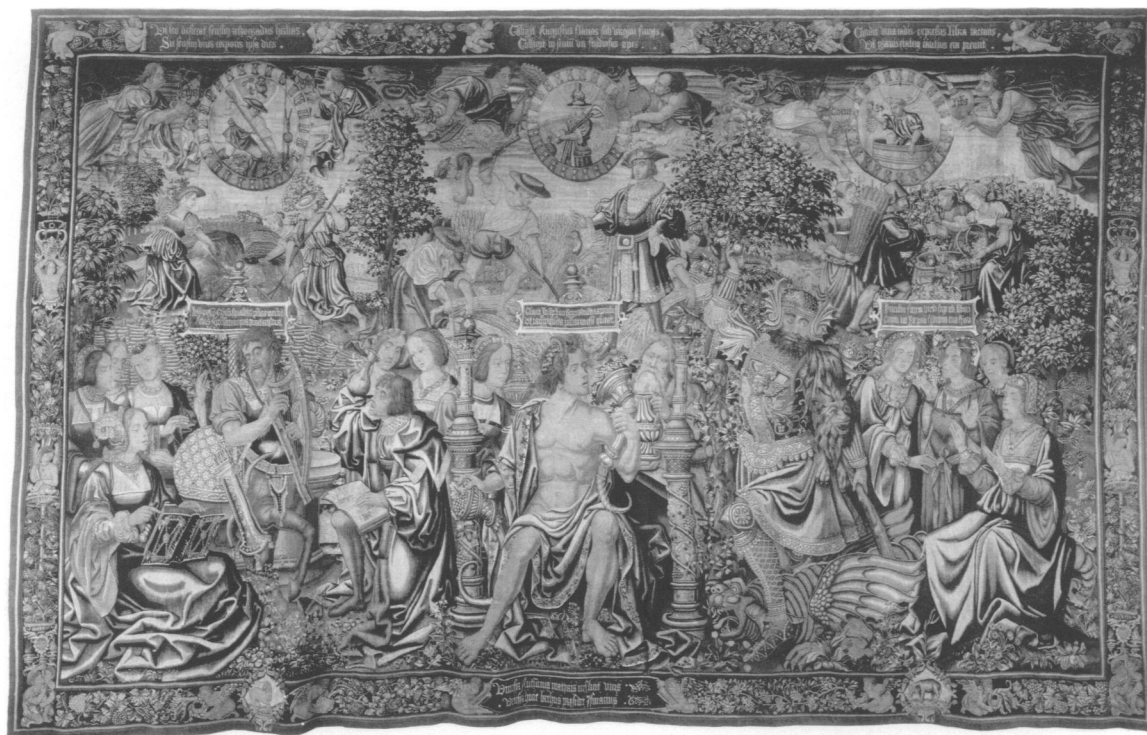
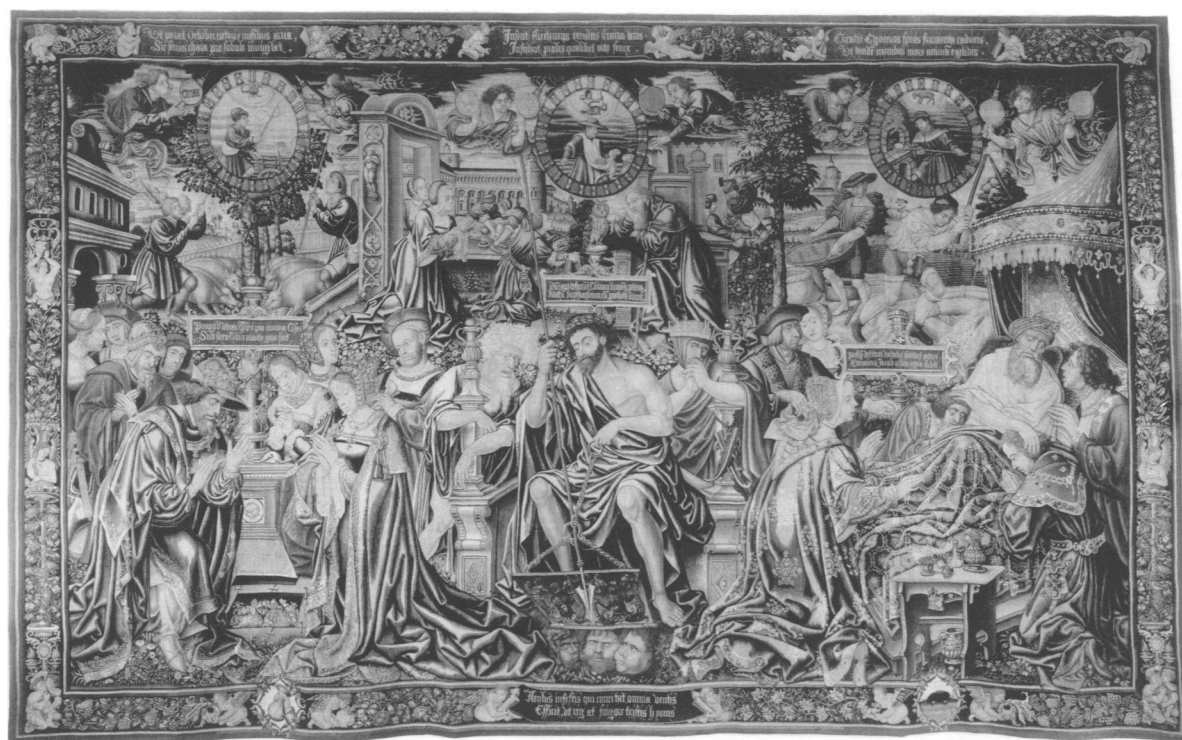


FIGURE 3 The Twelve Ages of Man: Autumn. 53.221.3

FIGURE 4 The Twelve Ages of Man: Winter. 53.221.4



teenth centuries are mostly still medieval in subject matter. Their stories are either Christian or romances; if classical, they are the fairy-tale versions of the Middle Ages. Even sets of Triumphs, derived from Petrarch, end with the triumph of Eternity, or of the Church. But the Twelve Ages set is, as will be shown, almost totally lacking in references to Christianity, and its ethos is quite unchristian. Some of its classical stories are not the medieval versions but have been taken from the original sources. In these respects, it is an extremely unusual work of art.

The four hangings that make up the Twelve Ages are a complete "chamber," though a comparatively small one. Each piece is 14 feet 6–7 inches high, and the widths vary from 23 feet 6 inches to 24 feet. It is probable that this is not the *editio princeps*; there is no metal thread, and some left-handed actions⁴ suggest that the cartoons were originally prepared for the *haute-lisse* loom and inadequately redrawn for *basse-lisse* weaving, which reverses the design. The color scheme, typical of Brussels weaving at this time, is dominated by the strong blues, reds, and greens used for the robes of the principal figures, with conspicuous highlights of white on blue, pink on red, and yellow on green. The ground of the borders is dark blue; the scrolls red, with white lettering, except for those in the lower borders, which are blue. The outer border is red and has no city or maker's marks. The weave is quite fine, with 16–18 warps to an inch (6–8 to a centimeter).

Each tapestry illustrates a single season of three months as well as three ages in the life of man. In the center is a classical deity, with two attendants, who is identified and related to the season in a Latin elegiac distich written on a scroll in the lower border. A bird perches above each deity. The remainder of the tapestry consists of three vertical sections, each illustrating

a month of the year and an age in the life of man. Inscriptions in the upper borders connect the months with the ages. Each section has at the top a roundel framed with twenty-four hourglasses, containing a sign of the zodiac and a figure symbolizing a month, flanked by winds. Below the two outer roundels on each tapestry (and, on the fourth tapestry, also below the center roundel) is a representation of an occupation of the month. Below each occupation, as well as between the central roundel and the deity, is a story that illustrates the age of man with which the section is concerned; an inscription gives a clue, more or less cryptic, to the story and its connection with the age. The only so-far unexplained items are the two medallions in the lower border of each tapestry that show an animal, a bird, or, in one instance, an object, though they may each echo a quality of the scene above, such as the peacock reflecting Alexander's splendor or the snail, Hercules's torpor.

The inscriptions make it clear that the main subject of the set is the life of man, correlated with the months; life is taken to consist of twelve ages, each six years long, the first being the equivalent of January. But the set also represents the seasons, starting with spring; the inscriptions describing the deity who rules each season are not concerned with the life of man. The resulting disconcerting lack of consistency between the season and the months of which it is apparently composed could have been avoided if the year and the spring had been depicted as beginning in March.⁵ In Brabant at this time the new year was dated from Easter.⁶ January may have been chosen for the first month on the tapestries because it opens the ecclesiastical year and so appears at the beginning of the calendar in Books of Hours and other religious works, but perhaps the knowledge that it came first in ancient Rome had some influence on the "author." No attempt has been made to harmonize this idea with the contradictory one that spring is the first season of the year.⁷

THE DEITIES OF THE SEASONS

Spring (Figure 5) is represented by Venus. The inscription states:

Subdita lascive Veneri si tempora nescis,

In placido regnat candida vere Cypris.

(If thou knowest not the season ruled by wanton Venus, the radiant Cyprian reigns in tranquil spring.)

4. Moses, Pharaoh's daughter, Alexander, and several laborers in the first tapestry. This carelessness was apparently noticed and corrected in the other three.

5. Spring in the church calendar began in March on the Festival of the Chair of St. Peter. William H. Hinkle, "The Cosmic and Terrestrial Cycles on the Virgin Portal of Notre Dame," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967) p. 287, note 7.

6. A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia, e Calendario Perpetuo* (Milan, 1930) p. 17.

7. Another instance of this anomaly is a Florentine miniature of 1293 in the Biblioteca Laurenziana showing Primavera as January, February, and March; Estas as April, May, and June; etc. Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie de l'Art profane*, II (The Hague, 1932) p. 314, fig. 361.



FIGURE 5 The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Spring. Venus

The goddess is accompanied by Cupid and a young woman holding a leafy branch, who may be Voluptas.⁸ Spring has been the season of Venus since antiquity.⁹ Except that she has what are apparently a bow and quiver of her own (Cupid has a small quiver and her bow would be too big for him), her appearance has nothing unusual about it. The bird perched on the frame of the inscription above her is probably intended to be a swallow, a symbol of the season when it reappears in Europe.¹⁰

Ceres (Figure 10) is the usual deity of summer.¹¹ Her verse reads:

Alma Ceres pleno profundens omnia cornu
Estive imperiū fertilitatis habet.

(Fostering Ceres, pouring out all things from her full horn, holds dominion over summer fertility.)

The man and the young woman on either side of the goddess cannot be identified as mythological figures, nor is the green parrot perched above connected with her or with the season of summer.¹² The flowers scattered so conspicuously over her dress (no other figure wears a costume decorated with what are presumably embroidered motifs like these) are pansies, English daisies, and, probably, forget-me-nots, rather than the poppies, cornflowers, and ears of wheat proper to Ceres.¹³

An explication for these anomalies is suggested by the pearls on the hem of the dress: Ceres here stands for

Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands from 1507 to 1530.¹⁴ Pearls (*margaritae*) and daisies (*marguerites*) were naturally her symbols, and pansies (*pensées*) also decorated objects she owned.¹⁵ The pansies and, perhaps, the forget-me-nots (Dutch: *vergeet-mij-nietjen*) are tokens of her undying devotion to her dead husband.¹⁶ She owned a green parrot celebrated in verse by her “secrétaire, indiciare et historiographe,” Jean Lemaire de Belges, as “l’Amant vert.”¹⁷ Ceres in the tapestry is not a portrait of Margaret, though the regent was always portrayed, in her later years, with her neck and shoulders entirely concealed and with a head covering passing under the chin. But the man beside the goddess certainly resembles Jean II Carondelet (1469–1544), a member of the regent’s Privy Council at Malines (Figure 11).¹⁸ Possibly the shields held by the winged putti on the uprights of the throne, which are not found with the other deities, were intended to bear Margaret’s arms.

Bacchus (Figure 14) is again the normal deity for autumn.¹⁹ His inscription reads:

Vinifer Autūnus maturis influit uvis.

Vnifer [for Vinifer] huic Iachus presidet
Ismarius.

(Autumn, the wine-bringer, abounds in ripe grapes. Ismarian Iachus, the wine-bringer, presides over it.)

To call Bacchus “Ismarian Iachus” is in accordance

8. Jean Lemaire de Belges, the contemporary Flemish poet, described Venus in his *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye*, Book I, Chapter XXII, as accompanied by “Son filz Cupido . . . et Volupté sa fille.” *Oeuvres*, ed. J. Stecher, I (Louvain, 1882) p. 242.

9. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, II, col. 316, s.v. “Quatre person- nages.”

10. Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuria Quatuor*, III (Mainz, 1668 [first ed. 1595]) no. LXXXVI.

11. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, II, col. 316.

12. The parrot was associated with the Virgin in the Middle Ages and with eloquence in the Renaissance. E. K. J. Reznick, “De reconstructie van ‘t’Altaer van S. Lucas’ van Marten van Heemskerck,” *Oud Holland* 70 (1955) pp. 239–242.

13. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, II, col. 300, s.v. “Pavot.”

14. This identification was suggested by Dr. Jane de Iongh.

15. Among these were “une petite salière fete en manière de panier, semé de feulaige et pensées”; “une autre mestier de bois noir, garniz de XIII fermiletz d’argent doré, où est sur ung chacun une marguerite, avec quatre soleiz et sur iceulx une marguerite”; “ung reloge [horloge] rond, de leton doré, le cadrant d’esmail bleu, au milieu d’icelluy une marguerite de de [sic] coste une pensée esmailée.” H. Michelant, *Inventaire des Vaisselles, Joyaux,*

Tapisseries, Peintures, Livres et Manuscrits de Marguerite d’Autriche (Brussels, 1870) pp. 96, 100, 101.

16. A painting by Hans von Kulmbach in the Metropolitan Museum, acc. no. 17.190.21, shows a young man on one side and a girl making a wreath of forget-me-nots on the other, with the inscription, “Ich pint mit vergis mein nit” (“I bind with forget-me-nots”). Claus Virch, *The Artist and the Animal*, exhibition catalogue, Knoedler, New York, 1968, no. 20.

17. The chief figure in the May miniature of the Grimani Breviary in the San Marco Library, Venice, has been identified as Margaret; a woman in her suite carries a green parrot. The unusually large number of pansies, daisies, and pearls in the borders of this manuscript has been taken to indicate that the book was made for her. Maria Gräfin Lanckorońska, *Die christlich-humanistische Symbolsprache und deren Bedeutung in zwei Gebetbüchern des frühen 16. Jahrhunderts* (Baden-Baden, 1958) pp. 94, 98.

18. This identification was suggested by Professor H. L. C. Jaffé. Carondelet is said to appear in the January miniature of the Grimani Breviary. Lanckorońska, *Symbolsprache*, p. 93.

19. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, II, col. 316; I, col. 120, s.v. “Corne d’Abondance,” for Bacchus as god of autumn and the cornucopia as an attribute of autumn.

with classical usage; *Iaccus* was employed by Virgil and other writers as a synonym for Bacchus and “Ismarian” to mean Thracian.²⁰ The god is shown as he is described in the *De deorum imaginibus libellus*, except that he is not riding on a tiger.²¹ This work is a compilation of earlier texts made about 1400,²² which served as an iconographical manual for the late Middle Ages and the early humanists.²³ To a modern eye, the only unusual feature in the tapestry is the pair of ram’s horns that Bacchus wears, but he is described as horned by several classical authors, including Ovid,²⁴ and specifically as having ram’s horns by Diodorus Siculus.²⁵ His attendants are presumably a Bacchante and Silenus, though both seem completely sober.

The usual deity for winter is Boreas,²⁶ but, perhaps because he appears as a wind in the December section of this tapestry, he is here replaced by Aeolus (Figure 21).²⁷ The inscription reads:

Aeolus infestis qui concitat omnia ventis
Efficit, ut rig[e]at frigore tristis hyems.
(Aeolus, who shakes everything with his hostile
winds, causes dismal winter to freeze with cold.)

The two figures on either side of the god seem to be personifications, which are rare in these tapestries; the old man with the mass of white hair could represent Snow, the other, crowned with icicles and with skates hanging beside him, Frost. Aeolus holds a fantastic feathered javelin,²⁸ which might symbolize the speed of

the winds, three of whom puff their cheeks in a cave below. The owl above the god stands for death or sleep, both appropriate to the season.²⁹

The verses describing the deities are, like the others on the tapestries, good imitations of classical Latin poetry. The basic idea of briefly characterizing the four seasons in verse goes back to Ovid,³⁰ though his seasons are personifications, not deities, but it is possible that the sixteenth-century writer had a more recent model. The relationship between the tapestry verses and the following lines seems too close to be accidental:

Vere Venus gaudet florentibus aurea sertis.
Flava Ceres aestatis habet sua tempore regna.
Uvifero autumno summa est tibi, Bacche, potestas.
Imperium saevis hiberno frigore ventis.

This quatrain is one of a set written by the “Twelve Scholastic Poets” about 1200 on the theme of the seasons as described by Ovid; the author of these lines was known as Euphorbus.³¹ One manuscript reads *vinifer* as the first word of the third line, bringing it even closer to the tapestry verse.

THE WINDS

Sixteen of the twenty-three figures at the top of the tapestries who carry bellows or fans are named. January has Trasecas and Aquilo; February, Notus; March, Circius; April, Subsolanus and Zephyrus;

20. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. “Iakchos,” “Ismaros.”

21. “De Baccho . . . Erat enim imago sua facie muliebri, pectore nudo, capite cornuto, vitibusque coronato, qui super tigride equitabat.” Albricus Philosophus, “De deorum imaginibus libellus,” in *Auctores Mythographi Latini*, ed. Augustinus van Staveren (Leyden and Amsterdam, 1742) pp. 926, 927, no. xix.

22. Hans Liebeschütz, “Fulgentius Metaforalis, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Mythologie im Mittelalter,” *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* (1926) pp. 58–64, 123.

23. Jean Seznac, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York, 1953) p. 179.

24. *Artis Amatoria*, III, 348: “Insignis cornu Bacche.”

25. Diodorus of Sicily, trans. C. H. Oldfather (Cambridge and London, 1935) pp. 325, 326, Book III, 73. Diodorus distinguishes three gods called Dionysus; the second, the son of Ammon and Amaltheia, had ram’s horns like his father.

26. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, II, col. 316.

27. There are later instances of Aeolus in this role. Ripa gives Vulcan as the deity of winter, but says that the scene can also be represented by Aeolus with the winds. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Rome, 1603 [first ed. 1593]) s.v. “Stagioni.” An engraving after

Martin de Vos (1532–1603) shows him as *Hyems*, holding the bridle with which he restrained the winds. A. J. B. Wace. *The Sheldon Tapestry Weavers and their Work* (Oxford, 1928) pl. LX.

28. It appears in a shortened form as the weapon directed by the female centaur ridden by Venus at the winged woman on a unicorn in the first tapestry of the *Moralidades* set in the Spanish National Collection (Bordeaux exhibition, no. 14) and is frequently found in sixteenth-century Tournai tapestries. J. P. Asselberghs, *La Tapisserie tournaisienne au XVI^e Siècle* (Tournai, 1968) nos. 3, 5, 6, 13.

29. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, I, cols. 96, 97, s.v. “Chouette.”

30. Verque novum stabat cinctum florente corona,
stabat nuda Aestas et spicea sarta gerebat,
stabat et Autumnus calcatis sordidus uvis,
et glacialis Hiems canos hirsuta capillos.

Metamorphoses, II, 27–30.

31. *Anthologia Veterum Latinorum Epigrammatum et Poematum*, I, ed. P. Burmannus and H. Meyerus (Leipzig, 1835) pp. xxxvi, 150, 181, no. 496. For the “proto-humanism” of the twelfth century, of which these poems are part, see Erwin Panofsky, *Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art* (Stockholm, 1960) pp. 68–81.

June, Flora and Eurus; July, Ethesias and Auster; September, Corus and Libs; October, Cecias and Volturnus; December, Boreas and Ornithias. The figures for May, August, and November are not named. All of these except Flora are forms of Greek or Latin names of the winds, which, with two exceptions, are found in Isidore of Seville's *De Natura Rerum*; ³² his nomenclature was usually adopted in the Middle Ages. ³³ The others, the Ethesian, July winds, and Ornithias, a December wind, are mentioned by Pliny; he says the Ethesian are the northeast winds that blow for thirty days after the rise of the Dog Star on July 17, and Ornithias is a midwinter wind. ³⁴ Winds that Pliny names as prevalent in certain seasons are placed in suitable months on the tapestries, namely, Zephyrus, a spring wind, in April; Auster, a summer wind, in July; Corus, an autumn wind, in September; and Aquilo, a winter wind, in January.

The only unexpected name is Flora, given to a masculine June wind. This is presumably a mistake made by the tapestry designer or weaver. The name should probably have been placed beside the female figure with a fan on the right of the May roundel, who extends a flowering branch toward Venus and Adonis below; the verse describing this couple includes the words "Aspirat coeptis Flora." Her comrade wind should perhaps have been Zephir, her husband, ³⁵ but

his name is given to one of the April winds. The combination of signs of the zodiac and winds had been made by the third century A.D.; ³⁶ Pliny wrote that the winds were perhaps caused "by the continuous motion of the world and the impact of the stars traveling in the opposite direction." ³⁷

THE MONTHS

In almost every instance, the small figures in the roundels, or the occupations of the months below them, or both, are in agreement with the Latin inscription in the border above them that links the month with an age in the life of man. They are almost always of standard type and, like the figures used for the signs of the zodiac, find their closest parallels in early sixteenth-century calendar illustrations of the Ghent-Bruges school of manuscript illumination. ³⁸ Many of these, most notably the Grimani Breviary, have been associated with Gerard Horenbout and Simon Bening. ³⁹ The tapestry figures are also like the woodcuts of the *Kalendrier des Bergiers*, ⁴⁰ the book that, as will be discussed later, may have suggested the basic plan of the tapestries. The December illustration of the *Kalendrier* (Figure 17) shows the occupations of knocking down acorns for swine and killing a pig very much as they appear on the October and November sections of the last tapestry in the set (Figures 16, 21). ⁴¹

32. Ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXXIII (Paris, 1850) cols. 1006–1008.

33. Arthur Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, I (New York, 1917) p. 368.

34. *Naturalis Historia*, Book II, XLVII, 124, 125, 133, 134. These two winds are not included in Dürer's armillary sphere of 1525, which gives twenty-four names of winds, all (except Hellespontius) in Isidore of Seville; none of Pliny's winds not in Isidore of Seville are given by Dürer. Willi Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1946) p. 333.

35. Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 195–206. Flora, properly feminine and holding a leafy branch, is seen on one side of the figure marked PHOEDVS (*sic*) in the Fortune tapestry of the *Honores* set in the Spanish National Collection; on the other side is a flying male figure, wearing a wreath and holding a bellows marked ZEPHIJRVS. The group occupies the upper corner of the dexter, or fortunate, side of the tapestry. Bordeaux exhibition, no. 12.

36. *Isis* 23 (1935) p. 253.

37. *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, I (Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1938) p. 257.

38. Published examples of these calendars include the *Hortulus Animae* in the Austrian National Library (Cod. Bibl. Pal. Vindob. 2706) and a Book of Hours by the same hand in the Bavarian State Library (Cod. lat. 28345). These show many resemblances to the

tapestries, both in the scenes illustrated and in the actual figures. Other related calendar illustrations in Books of Hours in Munich (Cod. lat. 23250, 23637, 28346) have been reproduced in the series *Alte Kalenderbilder in farbiger Wiedergabe*, ed. Georg Leidinger (Munich). Morgan Library manuscripts M52, 307, 399, 451, and 813 can also be compared.

39. Friedrich Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1925) pp. 119–132, 139–149; J. Duverger, "Gerard Horenbout, 1465?–1540, Hofschilder van Margareta van Oosterrijk," *Kunst* 1 (1930) p. 82; Friedrich Winkler, "Neuentdeckte Altniederländer II: Gerard Horenbout," *Pantheon* 31 (1943) pp. 55–64; Paul Wescher, "Sanders and Simon Bening and Gerard Horenbout," *Art Quarterly* 9 (1946) pp. 190–210.

40. *Le Grand Calendrier des Bergiers von Jean Belot, Genf 1497* (Berne, 1920). This facsimile of an exact copy of a Paris edition of 1496 includes the calendar illustrations, which do not appear in all editions, and so proves that they were available when the tapestries were designed.

41. The rows of trees and of pigs are remarkably alike. It is not, however, suggested that one work must have been copied from the other, as such scenes are extremely standardized. It will be noticed that the *Kalendrier* illustration is lettered "Decembre" but bears the zodiac signs for October and November.

January (Figure 6) is unusual; Janus feasting in the roundel is normal, but a man running in a drenching rain, which pours from a waterspout, has not been found elsewhere. The storm is not in accordance with the verse for the month, which speaks of the earth as frozen, and, though it suits the sign of the zodiac Aquarius, it would here be more appropriate in February, where the inscription mentions a thaw. Rain is, in fact, falling on the right side of the February roundel (Figure 7). March (Figure 8), by an out-and-out mistake, has a bull instead of a ram as its sign of the zodiac, but the man on a ladder pruning a tree fits the statement in the verse that "March prunes the rank sprouts." This activity, as well as the man in the roundel, a knife between his teeth, tying up vines, are found in the manuscripts,⁴² but the fence-maker is a less usual figure. Gardening in April (Figure 9) suits the "abundant flowers" mentioned in the verse, and the music-making couple of May (Figure 10) are related both to the Venus and Adonis of the story and to the "leisure to beget offspring" of the inscription. The man in the May roundel has the crown and scepter of a king, recalling the *Kalendrier* lines, "Je suis le franc roy de l'année, Je suis le may. . . ." Sheep are sheared in June (Figure 12), when the weather turns warm "with burning heat," and hay is made in July (Figure 13), when the Lion "dries up the grass." In August (Figure 14), grain is reaped, the "golden fruits" gathered under the Virgin, and the vintage scenes of September (Figure 15) show the "crushed grapes" of the verse. The man in the October roundel (Figure 16) is guiding a

plow, an activity more often found in September, but agreeing here with the words, "October prepares the fields for future crops." In November (Figure 21), the roundel figure "sows seed," as the Archer is said to do, but, most extraordinarily, threshing and winnowing are being carried on outdoors in December (Figure 22). These tasks are never shown being performed in the open so late in the year,⁴³ and it will be noticed that the landscape is still summery, with trees in full leaf. The activity was needed to harmonize with the story of the last age of man; the inscription says that the grain is shaken from the ears just as life is finally driven out of the body.

The tapestry designer was clearly quite at home with the winds and the months and took some pains to select from the copious repertoire available to him the motifs that would accord with the verses he had been told to include. The situation was very different when he turned to the stories that were to illustrate not the months, but the ages of man.

THE STORIES

The twelve Latin distichs in the upper borders relate each month to six years in the life of man; those in the centers of the tapestries each give an instance of the characteristic quality or achievement of an age, which is illustrated by an appropriate story. It is these stories that constitute the originality of the set, and they will therefore be examined in more detail than the, on the whole, conventional scenes used for the months.

42. Munich Cod. lat. 28346 and 23250. Also in the Breviary of the Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp.

43. Threshing is being done inside a barn in November in Morgan M52 and M307.

FIGURE 6

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Spring. January, the Test of Moses

January (Figure 6)

Upper border inscription:

Ut riget informis sub Aquari sydere tellus,
Sic primis annis mente stupescit homo.
(As the formless earth freezes under the constellation of the Water-bearer, so man is benumbed in mind in his first years.)

Center inscription:

Disciderat Moses raptam de fronte coronam.
Sed puerū insontem prunula morsa docet.
(Moses had broken the crown stolen from [Pharaoh's] brow, but the bite of a burning coal shows the boy innocent.)

The story of the Test of Moses, chosen to illustrate the lack of intelligence in children under seven, is found in many early Hebrew and Arabic sources. The version shown here is that in which the child Moses, having taken Pharaoh's crown, threw it on the floor and broke it. The crown, with two finials missing, leans against an upright of the table in the foreground. To find out

whether his act was one of malice or of mere playfulness, Moses was offered two bowls, one containing jewels, the other, burning coals; he took a coal, demonstrating his babyish irresponsibility, and was pardoned. This is a Jewish version of the twelfth century or earlier, also found in Herman de Valenciennes's biblical poem written in 1190, but it is not the one most widely known in the Christian world. The usual story omits the bowl of jewels; it was used by Petrus Comestor, quoting Josephus, in his *Scholastica Historia super Novum Testamentum* (written before 1176),⁴⁴ and taken into the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* in the fourteenth century as one of the Old Dispensation parallels to the Flight into Egypt.⁴⁵ The Giorgionesque painting in the Uffizi illustrates the version with two bowls,⁴⁶ and correctly shows Moses as still a baby. He is a tiny child on a late medieval tapestry of the subject in the Metropolitan Museum.⁴⁷ The designer of the Twelve Ages has made him a sturdy lad, far too old for such a piece of stupidity, and much of an age with the hero of the February story, who is between six and twelve.

44. Ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXC VIII (Paris, 1855) col. 1144.

45. Edgar Breitenbach, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis* (Strasbourg, 1930) pp. 144, 145; G. L. Hamilton, "La source d'une épisode de Baudouin de Sebourc," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 36 (1912) pp. 129–159, giving all versions of the story.

46. Lionello Venturi, *Giorgione e il Giorgionismo* (Milan, 1913) pp. 249–251, pl. LXII. Two pieces of majolica showing the same version are known. Guy de Tervarent, "Enquête sur le sujet des

majoliques," *Kunstmuseets Årsskrift* 37 (1951) pp. 37–41. A mid-sixteenth century painting of the subject in a Belgian private collection is said to show rubies and burning coals together in one bowl. Simone Bergmans, "Episodes de la vie de Moïse, attribués à Hans Eworth," *Revue belge d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Art* 26 (1957) p. 202.

47. Acc. no. 53.59.1. George Leland Hunter, *The Practical Book of Tapestries* (Philadelphia and London, 1925) p. 63, as "Joseph spurning Pharaoh's crown," in the Thomas W. Lamont collection.



FIGURE 7

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Spring. February, the Story of Papirius, Venus

February (Figure 7)

Upper border inscription:

At gemini sensim dissolunt [dissolvunt] pascua
Pisces,

Annus ut obtusum septimus ingenium.

(But the twin Fishes gradually thaw out the meadows, as does the seventh year the dull mind.)

This is the verse that shows each age to be six years long, adding up to seventy-two—reasonably close to the biblical threescore and ten.

Center inscription:

Dū tractata cupit mater rescire senatus.

A Pretextato luditur illa suo.

(When the mother wishes to know what has been discussed in the Senate, her boy, in his youthful *toga praetextata*, deludes her.)

The story, illustrating growing intelligence in a boy between six and twelve, is found in Aulus Gellius,⁴⁸ from whom it was taken by Macrobius.⁴⁹ Papirius, while still young enough to be wearing the purple-

bordered toga of a youth, went with his father to hear an important debate in the Senate. Later, his mother insisted on knowing what had been discussed, which, of course, was not something he could reveal to a woman. Accordingly he told her that the matter under consideration had been whether it would be better for the state to allow two wives to one husband or two husbands to one wife. The excited mother gathered her friends and went with them to the Senate to beg that they might have two husbands apiece rather than share their husbands with others. The senators were dumbfounded by this request until Papirius explained what he had done. He was then greatly praised for his loyalty and ingenuity. The moment of explanation is seen on the tapestry.

This story was known in the Middle Ages, being included in the fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum*, where it is said to have been taken from Macrobius; it is given an allegorical meaning, the boy representing someone of pure life, his father a prelate, and his mother the world.⁵⁰ No other instances of its use in art have been located.

48. *Noctes Atticae*, I, xxiii, said to have been taken from Marcus Cato's speech to the soldiers against Galba. This story was identified by Dr. Phyllis Ackerman.

49. *Saturnalia*, I, vi, 18–26.

50. *Gesta Romanorum*, trans. Charles Swan (London, n.d.) pp. 271, 272, Tale CXXVI. J. Th. Welter, *L'exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1927) pp. 369–374.



FIGURE 8

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Spring.
March, Alexander and the Persian Envoys

March (Figure 8)

Upper border inscription:

Luxuriosa putat foecundi germina veris
Martius, ut pueri Pedia stulticiam.

(March prunes the rank sprouts of fecund spring,
as Education does the foolishness of a boy.)

Center inscription:

Reddit Alexāder respōsū a perside missis
Tam docte, ut pueri verba stupēda forēt.

(Alexander replied so skillfully to the Persian envoys that they were astounded by the words of the boy.)

The story of Alexander's intelligent conversation with the Persian envoys, which has been chosen to illustrate the advantages of education to a youth between twelve and eighteen, is taken from Plutarch's *Lives*. Here it is related that Alexander

once entertained the envoys from the Persian king who came during Philip's absence, and associated with them freely. He won upon them by his friendliness, and by asking no childish or trivial questions, but by enquiring about the length of the roads and the character of the journey into the interior, about the king himself, what sort of a warrior he was, and what the prowess and might of the Persians. The envoys were therefore astonished and regarded the much-talked-of ability of Philip as nothing compared with his son's eager disposition to do great things.⁵¹

The incident is accepted as historical,⁵² but it does not occur in other ancient authors, and the related story in Pseudo-Callisthenes⁵³ and the medieval Alexander

romance tells how Alexander, during the lifetime of his father, refused to pay tribute to some satraps of Darius. It is not known to have been used in works of art.

The bearded man in a turban standing beside Alexander may represent his tutor, Aristotle; he appears, apparently advising Alexander, in the late Gothic tapestries of the Triumph of Fame in the Metropolitan Museum, the Austrian National Collection, and elsewhere.⁵⁴ He would be appropriate here, as the verse implies that it was Alexander's education, rather than his natural ability, that enabled him to impress the envoys. On the hem of "Aristotle's" robe are the letters AOEM, the only inscription of its type to be found on the tapestries. The interpretation of such inscriptions as weavers' or designers' signatures is often extremely doubtful, and it is at least possible that these letters represent a garbled form of the name Aristotle; they could also refer to the artist Jan van Roome or to Michel, called de Moer, thought to be a weaver.⁵⁵ The representation of the envoys kneeling, as if in supplication, shows that the designer did not in the least understand the story or its pertinence.

The fact that the anecdote is found only in Plutarch is of importance in assessing the learning of the "author" of the tapestry scheme; the *Lives* were not known in Western Europe until the fifteenth century, when translations into Latin were made in Italy. The first printed edition was not published until 1517. Plutarch was greatly admired by humanists in both southern and northern countries, Erasmus being particularly devoted to him.⁵⁶

51. Loeb Classical Library ed., trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge, Mass., 1958) p. 235.

52. W. W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (Cambridge, 1948) p. 1.

53. *The Life of Alexander of Macedon*, trans. Elizabeth Hazelton Haight (New York, 1955) p. 29.

54. Acc. no. 41.167.2. J. J. Rorimer, "The Triumphs of Fame and Time," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 35 (1940) p. 242, fig. 1; Ludwig Baldass, *Die Wiener Gobelinsammlung* (Vienna, 1920) p. 2, pl. 4.

55. The letters MOER appear twice on the border of a man's robe in a David and Bathsheba tapestry in the Spanish National

Collection and have been associated with Michel de Moer, who became a citizen of Brussels in 1501. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Les Tapisseries de l'Hôtel de Ville de Bruxelles* (Antwerp, 1944) no. 1. It has been suggested that the very individual-looking person bearing the name could be a portrait, "soit le peintre qui a traité le carton, soit le licier." Bordeaux exhibition, no. 1. It is in the first tapestry of the Twelve Ages that most of the left-handed gestures appear, suggesting an imperfectly reversed cartoon; MEOA, or Meor, is thus as likely as AOEM, or Roem.

56. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Plutarchos."



FIGURE 9

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Summer.
April, the Choice of Hercules

April (Figure 9)

Upper border inscription:

Jam Taurus letos ostētat in arbore flores.
Sic spes virtutū prima iuventa notat.
(Now the Bull displays abundant flowers on the
tree. So early youth shows hopes of virtues.)

Center inscription:

Alcides statuit prime sub flore Juvente
Dure virtutis inclyta signa sequi.
(Alcides in the flower of his early youth decided to
follow the glorious standards of hard Virtue.)

This inscription has been distorted by repairs to the
tapestry; the reading of the later version in Paris has
been used.

Nature having thawed the frozen understanding of
the child and education pruned it into intelligence, the
young man between eighteen and twenty-four himself
decides to follow Virtue. The famous story of the
Choice of Hercules is used as an illustration. Hercules,
apparently in a dream, is called to choose between
Minerva, who strikes him with her long, blunt spear,
and Venus, who holds a circlet and a rose-branch over
his head. Behind him, a hideous satyr is bound and
chastised by a bearded man, the group symbolizing the
conquest of luxury by discipline and indicating what
Hercules's choice will be. A very similar pair are
central figures in the Vice panel of the *Honores* tapestry

set in the Spanish National Collection,⁵⁷ where the
satyr is marked VICIV and his punisher VRTS; the
head of the satyr, with his long curved horns and huge
ears, is very similar in both tapestries.

Classical representations of the story have been
claimed;⁵⁸ it was related in the fourth century A.D. by
St. Basil⁵⁹ and known to Petrarch.⁶⁰ But it was not illus-
trated in Western Europe until the second half of the
fifteenth century. The classical story did not say that
Hercules was asleep when he made his choice between
virtus and *voluptas*; this detail was added by the Italian
humanists, especially Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and was
used in an illustration to Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera*
Navis (Basel, 1497).⁶¹ The Latin *argumentum* of Brant's
book calls Hercules "Alcides," as does the tapestry
inscription, though the German poem has "hercles."⁶²
The embodiment of Vice and Virtue as the goddesses
Venus and Minerva came later and was possibly influ-
enced by the story of the Judgment of Paris; Venus is
Vice in a play on the subject by Martin van Dorp of
Louvain, written between 1509 and 1514, and both
deities appear in another by Benedict Schwalbe
(Chelidonius), given in Vienna in 1515.⁶³ No pictorial
version of the story showing both goddesses has been
found, however, of an earlier date than the tapestry.
The flowers held by Venus are standard symbols of
voluptas or *luxuria*,⁶⁴ and the fact that they are roses
reminds us that there are thorns among the leaves and
blossoms.⁶⁵

57. Viusto de Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices de la Corona de España* (Madrid, 1903) pl. 39. Another example in Glasgow also shows the satyr with the inscription VICIV. "New Burrell acquisitions," *Scottish Art Review* 7 (1959) p. 2.

58. Ch. Picard, "Nouvelles remarques sur l'Apologue de Prodicos: Héraclès entre le Vice et la Vertu," *Revue archéologique* 42 (1953) pp. 10-41.

59. In his sermon, "To adolescents, how they can benefit from pagan books." Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, XXXI, col. 574; Welter, *L'Exemplum*, p. 12, note 4; Theodor E. Mommsen, "Petrarch and the story of the Choice of Hercules," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1953) p. 188.

60. Mommsen, "Petrarch," pp. 171-192.

61. Dieter Wuttke, *Die Histori Herculis des Nürnberger Humanisten und Freundes der Gebrüder Vischer, Pangratz Bernhaubt gen. Schwenter* (Cologne, 1964) pp. 120-125.

62. Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Berlin, 1930) pp. 41, 53, 59.

63. Panofsky, *Hercules*, p. 85.

64. Julius S. Held, "Flora, Goddess and Courtesan," *De Artibus Opuscula XL, Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (New York, 1961) p. 202.

65. De Tervarent, *Attributs*, II, col. 324, s.v. "Rose."



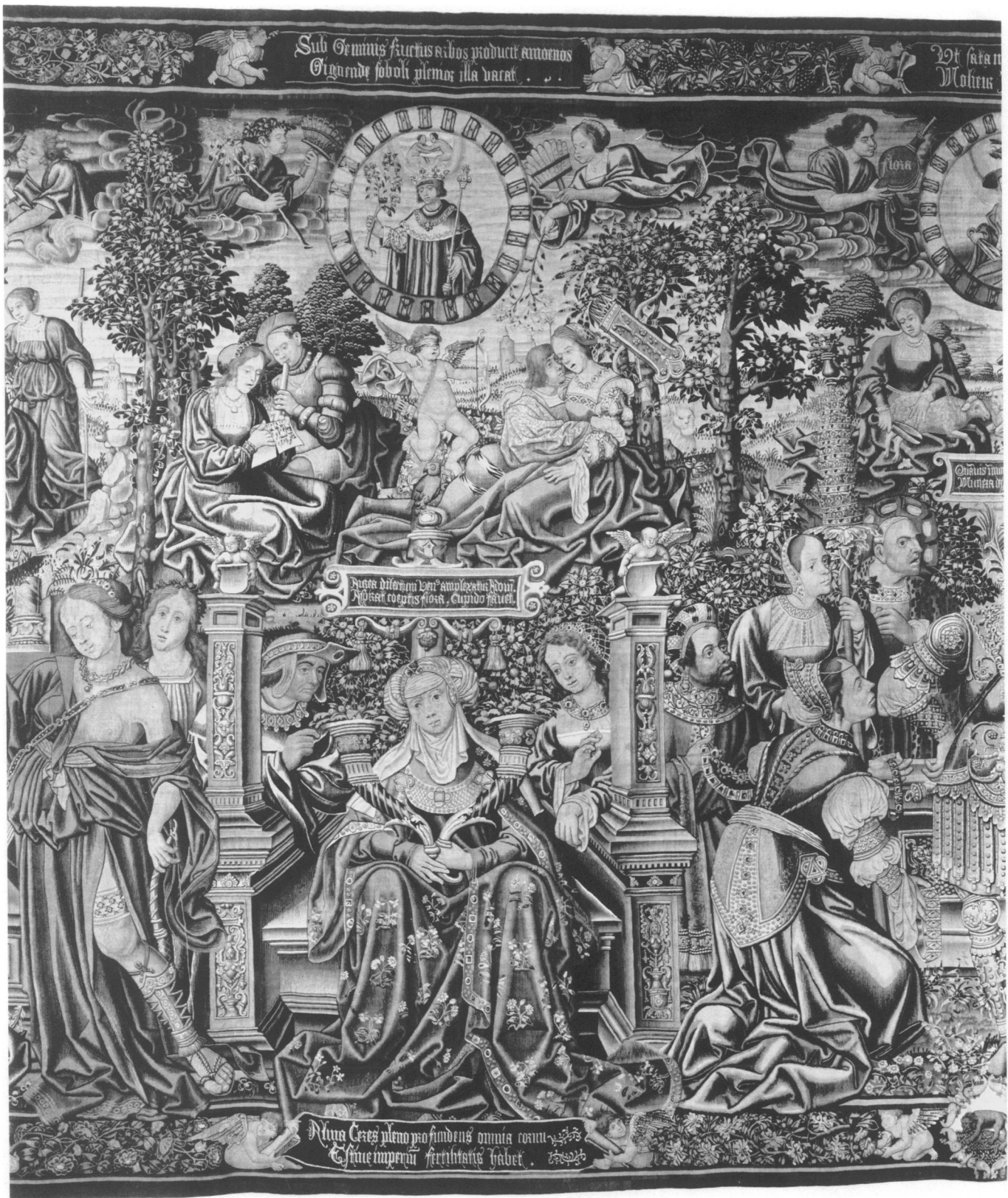


FIGURE 10

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Summer.
May, Venus and Adonis, Ceres

May (Figure 10)

Upper border inscription:

Sub Geminis fructus arbor producit amoenos
Gignende soboli plenior illa vacat.
(Under the Twins the tree produces pleasant fruit.
Riper youth has leisure to beget offspring.)

Center inscription:

Aurea dilectum Ven' amplexatur Adoni.
Aspirat coeptis flora, Cupido favet.
(Golden Venus embraces the beloved Adonis.
Flora assists the undertaking, Cupid is favorable.)

The couple on the right are Venus and Adonis; the female above with a fan who reaches down to them with a leafy bough is presumably Flora, and blindfold Cupid aims an arrow at them.⁶⁶ The bow and arrows hung on a tree are very like those held by Venus in the first tapestry and in the Choice of Hercules scene; on the far side of the tree, the head of a wild beast, perhaps a lion, is just visible, though it certainly does not resemble the boar that killed Adonis.

66. A similar blindfold Cupid has shot an arrow into the breast of the woman riding on a unicorn in the first tapestry of the *Moralidades* set in the Spanish National Collection. Bordeaux exhibition, no. 14.

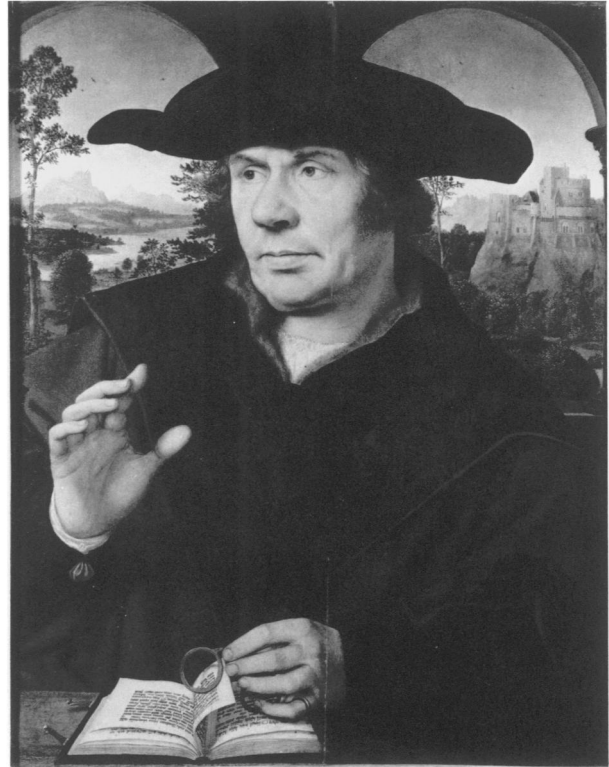


FIGURE 11

Portrait of a Man, believed to be Jean Carondelet,
by Quentin Massys. Oil on panel. Städelsches
Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main

FIGURE 12

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Summer.
June, Curius Dentatus and the Samnites

June (Figure 12)

Upper border inscription:

Ut sata maturat ferventi Carcinus igne,
Molie[t]ur Juvenis gesta superba ferox.
(As the Crab ripens the crops with burning heat,
the wild youth will undertake proud deeds.)

The connection between the two lines is not clear; it probably is based on a pun between *ferventi* and *ferox*.⁶⁷

Center inscription:

Quāvis innumeras Curius devicerat Urbes
Munera despexit. gloria sola satis.
(Although Curius had conquered innumerable
cities, he disdained gifts. Glory alone was enough.)

The anecdote illustrating the high-mindedness of Marcus Curius Dentatus is told by many classical authors. All of them describe him as cooking turnips

on his hearth at the moment when he was accosted by the Samnite ambassadors and proceeded to refuse their bribes with contempt.⁶⁸ The designer of the tapestry had clearly not the slightest knowledge of the story he was to illustrate beyond the fact that a victorious hero was to be shown refusing rich gifts. It seems unlikely that he even understood the Latin; the lances held by Curius, some broken, may represent the enemies he had conquered, but they are hardly appropriate symbols for cities, and the Samnite delegation would scarcely have included women. A contemporaneous representation of the subject by Holbein, a wall painting formerly in the Great Council chamber of the Basel town hall and known from a nineteenth-century copy, shows Curius kneeling by a hearth with the turnips lying on it; the scheme for the paintings in this room is believed to have been devised by the Basel humanist Beatus Rhenanus, who evidently gave more detailed instructions, or had, in Holbein, a better-educated artist.⁶⁹

67. This connection was pointed out by Miss M. J. Milne.

68. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Curius."

69. Paul Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein* (New York, 1950) p. 276, no. 171, fig. 50.

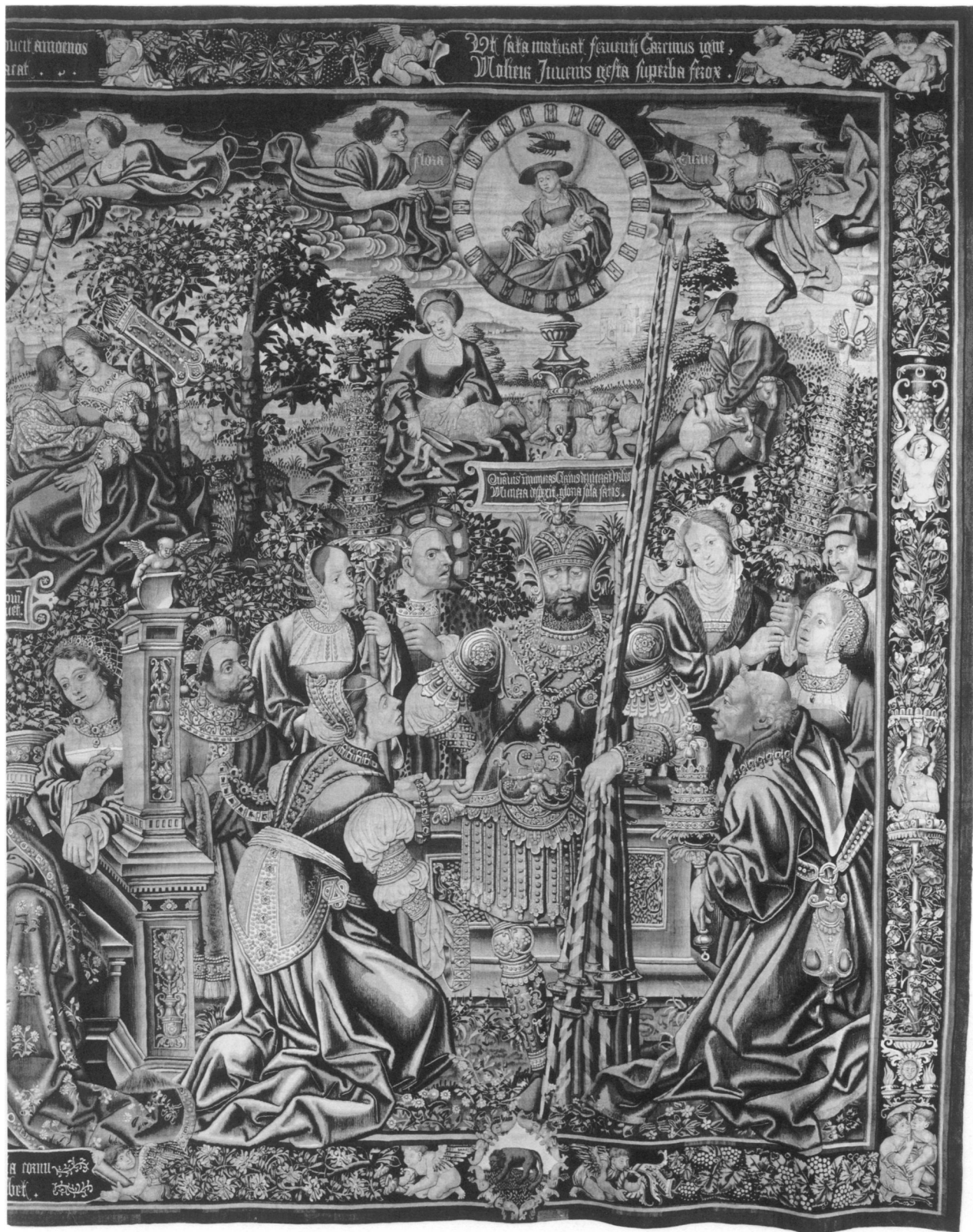


FIGURE 13

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Autumn. July,
the Education of Aesculapius

July (Figure 13)

Upper border inscription:

Ut Leo desiccat sensim retrogradus herbas,
Sic sensim vires corporis ipsa dies.
(As the Lion, retrograding, gradually dries the
grass, so does time itself gradually diminish bodily
strength.)

Center inscription:

Herbipotēs Chirō. squalētes pellere morbos
Natus Apollineus quaque arte docet.
(Chiron, skilled in herbs, teaches the art by which
the son of Apollo can drive out squalid diseases.)

This inscription has been distorted by repairs; the reading has been taken from the later version of the tapestry in Saragossa.

Man, at thirty-six, is now halfway through his life. The story chosen to illustrate the years between thirty-six and forty-two is found in Ovid⁷⁰ and various Greek authors. Aesculapius, son of Apollo and Coronis, was

taken from his mother's womb by his father after the god had killed her for her infidelity. Apollo gave the child to the centaur Chiron to be educated. The women in the scene may be meant to be Chiron's wife and daughters, though he is not recorded as having had more than three.⁷¹ His quiver and small Gothic harp⁷² refer to his fame as an archer and musician. The urinal held by Aesculapius is his usual attribute,⁷³ indicating the knowledge of medicine that he learned from Chiron. Apollo handing over the baby Aesculapius to the centaur is the subject of an Ovid illustration (1589/1590) by Hendrik Goltzius,⁷⁴ but no representation of Aesculapius as a youth, learning his craft, has been identified.

The clue to the problem of why this story was chosen may lie in the word *retrogradus*, describing the apparent movement of the zodiacal sign during the month. The ascending ages of man are over; the journey from now on is downhill. Illness becomes a normal part of life, unless driven out by a doctor, who knows his herbal remedies; *herbas* in the first verse is echoed in the adjective applied to Chiron, *herbipotentēs*.

70. *Metamorphoses*, II, 542–675.

71. Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Chiron."

72. An identical harp is played by Arion in the Fortune tapestry of the *Honores* set in the Spanish National Collection. Bordeaux exhibition, no. 12.

73. Fritz Saxl and Hans Meier, *Verzeichnis astrologischer und mythologischer illustrierter Handschriften des lateinischen Mittelalters. III. Handschriften in englischen Bibliotheken*, I (London, 1953) p. 180.

74. Eugène Dutuit, *Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes*, IV (Paris, 1884) p. 466, no. 15 (65).



FIGURE 14

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Autumn.
August, Joseph Overseeing the Harvest, Bacchus

August (Figure 14)

Upper border inscription:

Coligit [for colligit] Augustus flavas sub virgine
fruges,

Colligit in seniū vir studiosus opes.
(August gathers golden fruits under the Virgin;
the diligent man gathers riches for his old age.)

Center inscription:

Curat Josephus famis advētura pericla
Ut jam prelecta pellere messe queat.
(Joseph sees to it that he may be able to rout the
coming perils of famine with already selected
crops.)

Like the May story of Venus and Adonis, the scene showing Joseph as overseer of the harvest serves both as an occupation of the month and as an illustration of the activity that should prevail in the years between forty-

two and forty-eight. Joseph wears the gold chain that Pharaoh gave him before he put him in charge of storing a fifth part of the seven years' good harvests against the seven lean years that were to follow.⁷⁵ No representations of this scene have been located, though Joseph supervising the storage of the grain has been illustrated.⁷⁶

The method of reaping grain shown on the tapestry is one that was used in the Low Countries. The cutting implement is a scythe, which shears, rather than a sickle, which cuts, and the large end plate acts as a counterweight.⁷⁷ The tool in the reaper's left hand, here looking like a short stick, has in reality a curved blade at right angles to the handle. It is clearly pictured in a tapestry in the Chicago Art Institute and in the July miniature of the Grimani Breviary.⁷⁸ The August miniatures of the Ghent-Bruges manuscripts also usually show this method of reaping.

75. *Genesis* 41: 42, 46–49.

76. Meyer Schapiro, "The Joseph scenes on the Maximianus Throne in Ravenna," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 40 (1952) pp. 27–38, fig. 2.

77. Axel Steensberg, *Ancient Harvesting Implements* (Copenhagen, 1943) pp. 205, 206, 213.

78. Scato de Vries and Sal. Morpurgo, *Il Breviario Grimani*, I (Leiden and New York, 1904) pl. 13.

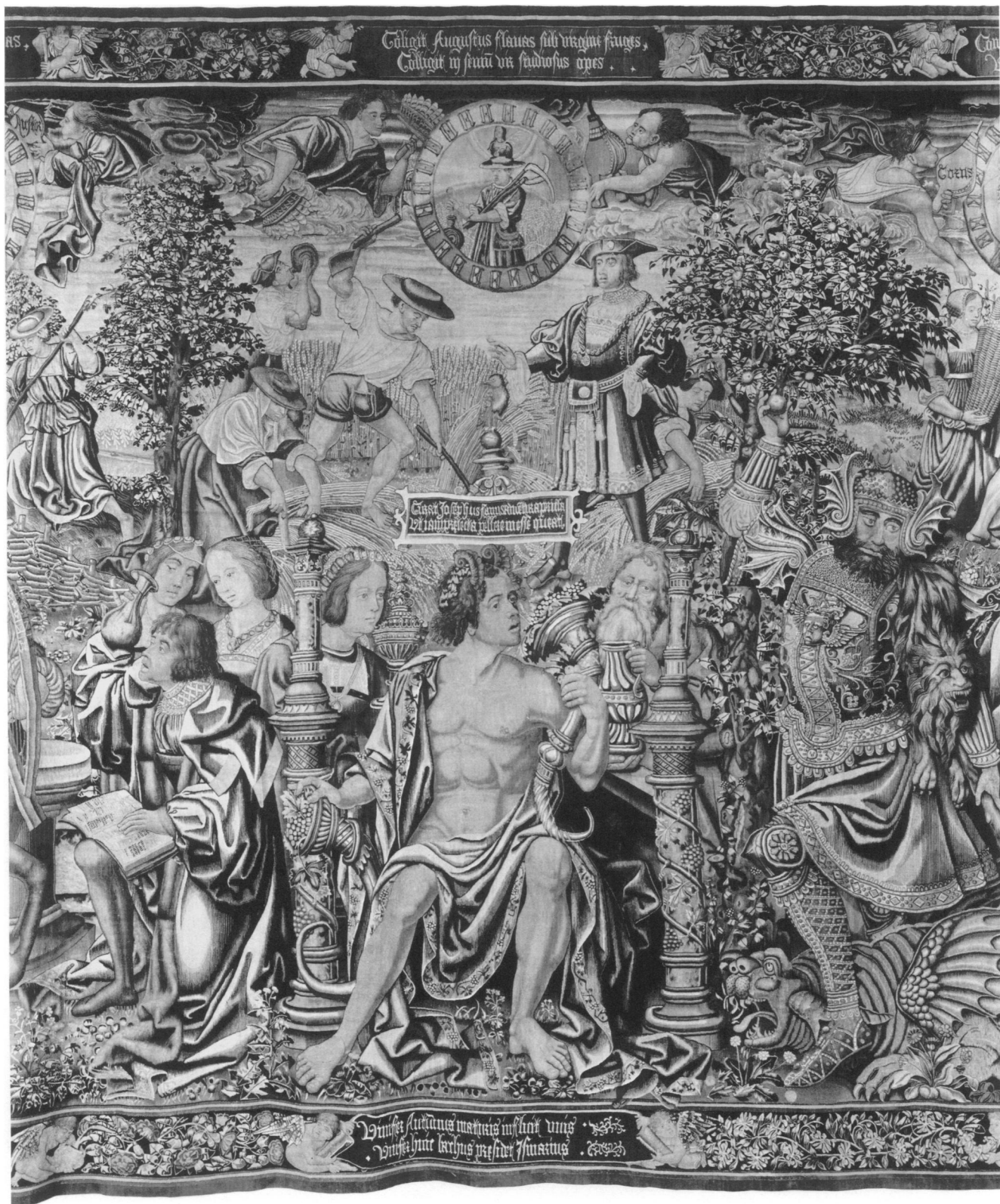


FIGURE 15

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Autumn.
September, Hercules Gathering the Apples of the
Hesperides

September (Figure 15)

Upper border inscription:

Condit vina cadis expressis Libra racemis,
Ut gravis etatem cautius era premit.
(The Scales store wine in jars after the grapes have
been crushed, as a man burdened with years more
carefully hoards his money.)

Center inscription:

Herculeo finem victo serpente labori
Carpta dat Hesperii splendida cura chori.
(The serpent having been vanquished, the splen-
did charge of the Hesperian chorus is plucked, and
puts an end to the labors of Hercules.)⁷⁹

The years from forty-eight to fifty-four are regarded as the last in which achievements are possible. There are several versions of the Labor of Hercules that consisted of his obtaining some of the golden apples of the Hesperides; the tapestry shows him plucking the apples himself, after having overcome the dragon that guarded the tree, while four Hesperides look on. It is highly significant that the Labor is described as the last. Even in antiquity it was not always in this position, and the Middle Ages did not distinguish between the twelve tasks Hercules performed for Eurystheus and his other heroic deeds; the obtaining of the golden apples could be placed anywhere among them. A euhemeristic version was given by Raoul Lefèvre in his *Recueil des*

Hystoires de Troie, written in 1464, in which the apples have become sheep.⁸⁰ A tapestry of 1476–1488, probably made in Tournai, is inscribed: “Comment Hercules alla par mer en Esperie et comment il conquist l’isle aux motons, vainqui Philotes et occist son compaignon.” It shows Hercules and Theseus in a boat, Hercules killing Philoctetes, a giant, and Atlas’s two daughters weeping.⁸¹ But modern scholars consider that originally the apples were the fruit of the tree of life and gave immortality to those who ate them; plucking them therefore was a fitting climax to Hercules’s life on earth and a prelude to his deification.⁸² It is probable that the tapestry “author” was following Diodorus Siculus’s fourth book, of which a Latin translation was published in Bologna in 1472:

The last Labour which Hercules undertook was the bringing back of the golden apples of the Hesperides. . . . With regard to these apples there is disagreement among the writers of myths, and some say that there were golden apples in certain gardens of the Hesperides in Libya, where they were guarded without ceasing by a most formidable dragon, whereas others assert that the Hesperides possessed flocks of sheep which excelled in beauty and were therefore called for their beauty, as the poets might do, “golden apples” [a pun on the Greek words for *sheep* and *apple*]. . . . At any rate, Hercules slew the guardian of the apples, and after he had duly brought them to Eurystheus and had in this wise finished his Labours he waited to receive the gift of immortality, even as Apollo had prophesied to him.⁸³

79. This translation was kindly provided by Dr. Erwin Panofsky.

80. Marc René Jung, *Hercule dans la Littérature française du XVI^e Siècle* (Geneva, 1966) pp. 11–19.

81. Jacques Bacri, “L’Histoire d’Hercule, tapisserie du Musée des Gobelins,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 12 (1934) pp. 204–211, fig. 3 (in the Bacri Collection). The life of Hercules was one of the most popular subjects for medieval tapestries. The fourteenth-century French poet, Eustache Deschamps, describing the preparations

Alcmene made for her husband’s return, says that she hung the walls with “Draps faiz de l’histoire de Troye, Mainte bataille et mainte proye Des faiz d’Erculès et Jason.” *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1893) p. 214. Her tapestries thus showed the deeds of the son who was to be conceived that night.

82. Panofsky, *Hercules*, pp. 145–147; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. “Hesperiden.”

83. Diodorus of Sicily, trans. C. H. Oldfather (Cambridge, 1935) p. 427, Book IV, 26.

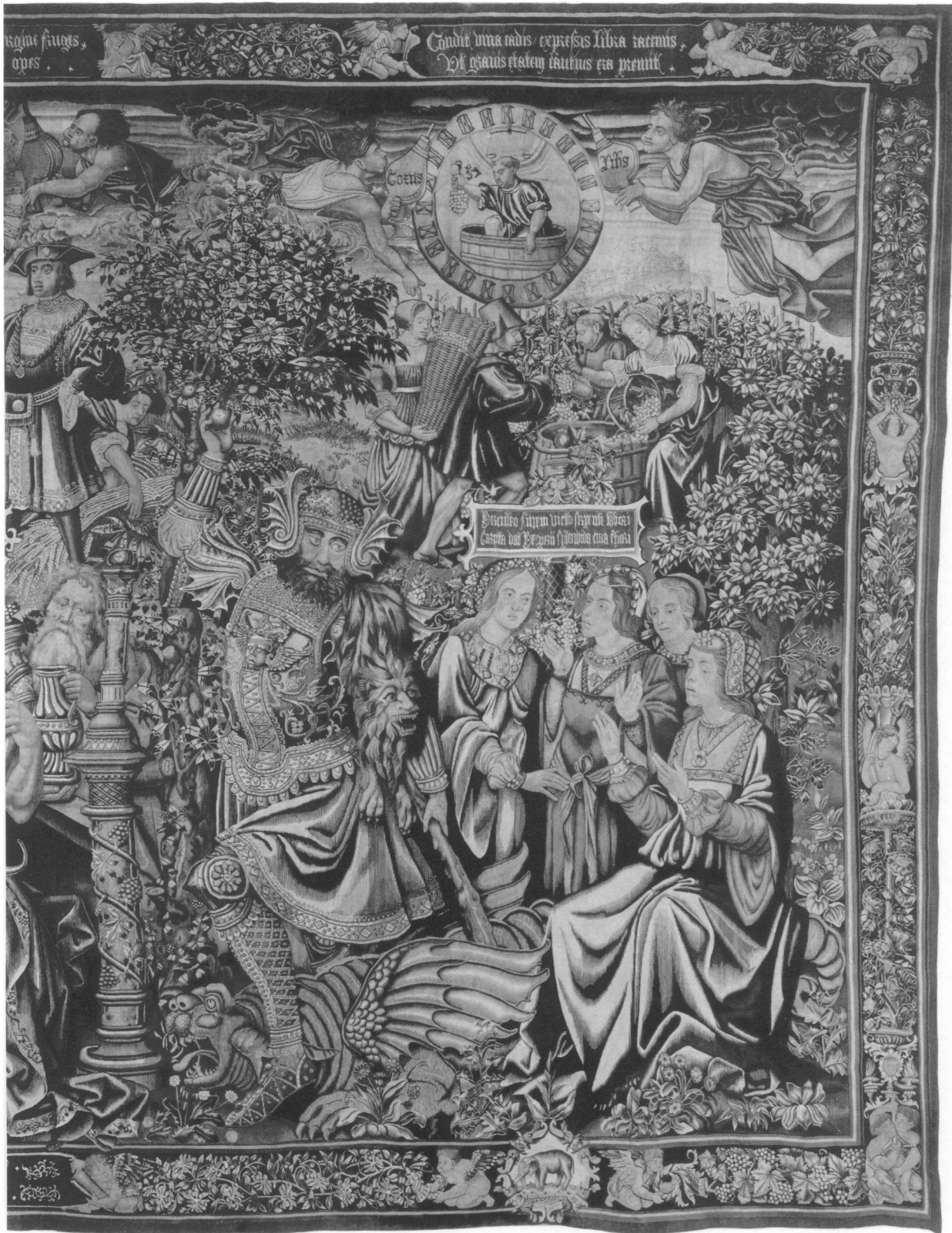




FIGURE 16

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Winter.
October, Tiberius II Discovering a Treasure

October (Figure 16)

Upper border inscription:

Ut parat October creturis messibus arva,
Sic senior chara pro sobole invigilat.

(As October prepares the fields for future crops,
so the older man is vigilant on behalf of his be-
loved offspring.)

Center inscription:

Pauperib' dederas Tyberi pia munera Cesar
Sub saxo Tyberi reddita gaza fuit.

(Thou, Tiberius Caesar, hadst given charitable
gifts to the poor: a treasure under a stone was
given [thee] in return, Tiberius.)

The connection between the verses is hard to discern,
especially as Tiberius gave the treasure he uncovered
to the poor, instead of keeping it for his offspring. Pos-
sibly the link is that the earth is dug up by the plow and
the treasure was found underground.

The story of the emperor Tiberius II (578–582) dis-
covering a treasure is told by Gregory of Tours.⁸⁴ The
emperor gave large sums to the poor from the riches
amassed by his predecessor, Justin, and for this he was
rewarded:

For while walking through the palace he saw in the
pavement of the building a marble slab on which the
cross of the Lord was carved, and said "With Thy cross,
Lord, we protect our forehead and our breast, and lo!
we are treading the cross under foot." And forthwith
he ordered it removed.

84. *Historia Francorum*, V, 19. The identification of the story and
the location of the relevant passage were made by Miss M. J.
Milne, who also supplied the translation. The book exists in many
manuscripts, including several now in Brussels and Leyden, but it
was not printed until 1522 in Paris. Gabriel Monod, *Etudes
critiques sur les Sources de l'Histoire mérovingienne*, Bibliothèque de
l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes, VIII (Paris, 1872) pp. 49–51, 55.



FIGURE 17

Labors of a Month. Woodcut from the *Kalendrier
des Bergiers*. Reprint, 1925, after edition of N. Le
Rouge, Troyes, 1529 (?)

FIGURE 18

Portrait of an Emperor. Woodcut from *The
Nuremberg Chronicle*, 1493. The Metropolitan Mu-
seum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.36.145





FIGURE 19

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Winter. The Empress of Byzantium

Two other slabs with crosses were found under the first one, but when the last was taken up,

they found a great treasure, consisting of more than a hundred thousand pounds of gold. With the gold that was taken out he supplied the poor even more liberally than he had been accustomed to; nor did the Lord make him lack anything because of his good will.

No other representations of this story have been found.

Now that the age of sixty has been reached, the “author” has taken a story from Christian history; the cross on the stone that concealed the treasure and those on the emperor’s crown and the empress’ necklace are the only unmistakable Christian symbols in the entire set of tapestries. The presence of the empress, presumably either Tiberius’s wife or the consort of Justin (Figure 19), is not indicated in the text. She bears a strong resemblance to Margaret of Austria (Figure 20) and, like Ceres in the Summer panel, wears a robe decorated with pearls. The head of Tiberius is derived eventually from Pisanello’s medal of John VIII Palaeologus, emperor of Byzantium, who came to Italy in 1438. The tall hat, turned up at the back, with a huge peak (also turned up on the medal) appears on both medal and tapestry, but the imperial crown worn over it was not recorded by Pisanello. It is, however, seen on a later version of his medal in the Louvre⁸⁵ and in a woodcut in the Nürnberg Chronicle of 1493 (Figure 18).⁸⁶ This is called Mahomet, the Turkish Emperor, but is clearly taken from the Pisanello medal. The tiny dragons on the borders of Tiberius’s robe in the tapestry appear on Policrates’s garment in the Fortune panel of the *Honores* set in the Spanish National Collection.⁸⁷

85. Aloïs Heiss, *Les Médailleurs de la Renaissance*, I (Paris, 1881) p. 10; Roberto Weiss, *Pisanello’s Medallion of the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus* (London, 1966) p. 19.

86. F. Lippman, “Unbeschriebene Blätter des XV. bis XVI. Jahrhunderts in Kuperferstichkabinet, 2. Männliches Bildniss: ‘El Gran Turco,’” *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 2 (1881), pp. 217, 218.

87. Bordeaux exhibition, no. 12.



FIGURE 20

Margaret of Austria as Mary Magdalen, attributed to Bernard van Orley. Oil on panel. Bayer. Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich

FIGURE 21

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Winter. November, Tobit Instructing Tobias, Aeolus

November (Figure 21)

Upper border inscription:

Insertit Arcitenens excultis semina terris.

Instituit proles [perhaps for prolem]⁸⁸
qualibet arte senex.

(The Archer sows seed in the cultivated earth:
the old man instructs his offspring in all arts.)

Center inscription:

Dū iam deficerēt Tobian lumēq. pedesq,

Natū Sophrosynen cū pietate docet.

(When his eyesight and his feet had failed Tobias
[i.e., Tobit], he taught his son prudence and duti-
fulness.)

The author shows his knowledge of Greek in the form *Tobian* (Latin *Tobiam*) and the word *Sophrosynen* for prudence.

The book of Tobit in the *Apocrypha* describes how he was blinded by sparrows' dung falling into his eyes, and though it is less clear that he was also lame, he is de-

scribed on one occasion as stumbling. In the scene shown, he is giving good advice to his son Tobias before sending him to Medea.⁸⁹ There is no indication in the Bible that Tobit's wife, Anna, was present. The choice of this episode in the story of Tobit is so unusual (it has not been found elsewhere) that it is not surprising that the later version of the tapestry in Saragossa shows a quite different one: Tobias and the angel approaching the blind Tobit. This, of course, makes nonsense of the inscription. The slaughtering scenes in the background are occupations of the month. The artist has repeated the figure of Papirius in the February scene for Tobias, which is hardly reasonable, as Papirius should be a boy under twelve, whereas Tobias was a young man of marriageable age.

88. Miss Milne has suggested that the plural *proles* may possibly have been used because it occurs in Columella, *Res Rustica*, X, 163, where transplanted plants are spoken of as earth's "stepchildren," *privignas proles* (accusative plural).

89. *Tobit* 2:10; 11:10; 4:3–19.



FIGURE 22

The Twelve Ages of Man: detail of Winter. December, Jacob Blessing Joseph's sons

December (Figure 22)

Upper border inscription:

Excudit Egoceros spicis frumenta caducis.

Ut tandē membris mors animā e gelidis.

(The Goat shakes the grain from the fallen ears:
so does death at last drive life from cold limbs.)

The Greek *Egoceros* has been used for the Latin *Capricornus*.

Center inscription:

Postq̄ destituit Vitalis spiritus artus,

Emoriens Jacob celica regna subit.

(When the breath of life left his limbs, dying
Jacob ascended to the heavenly kingdom.)

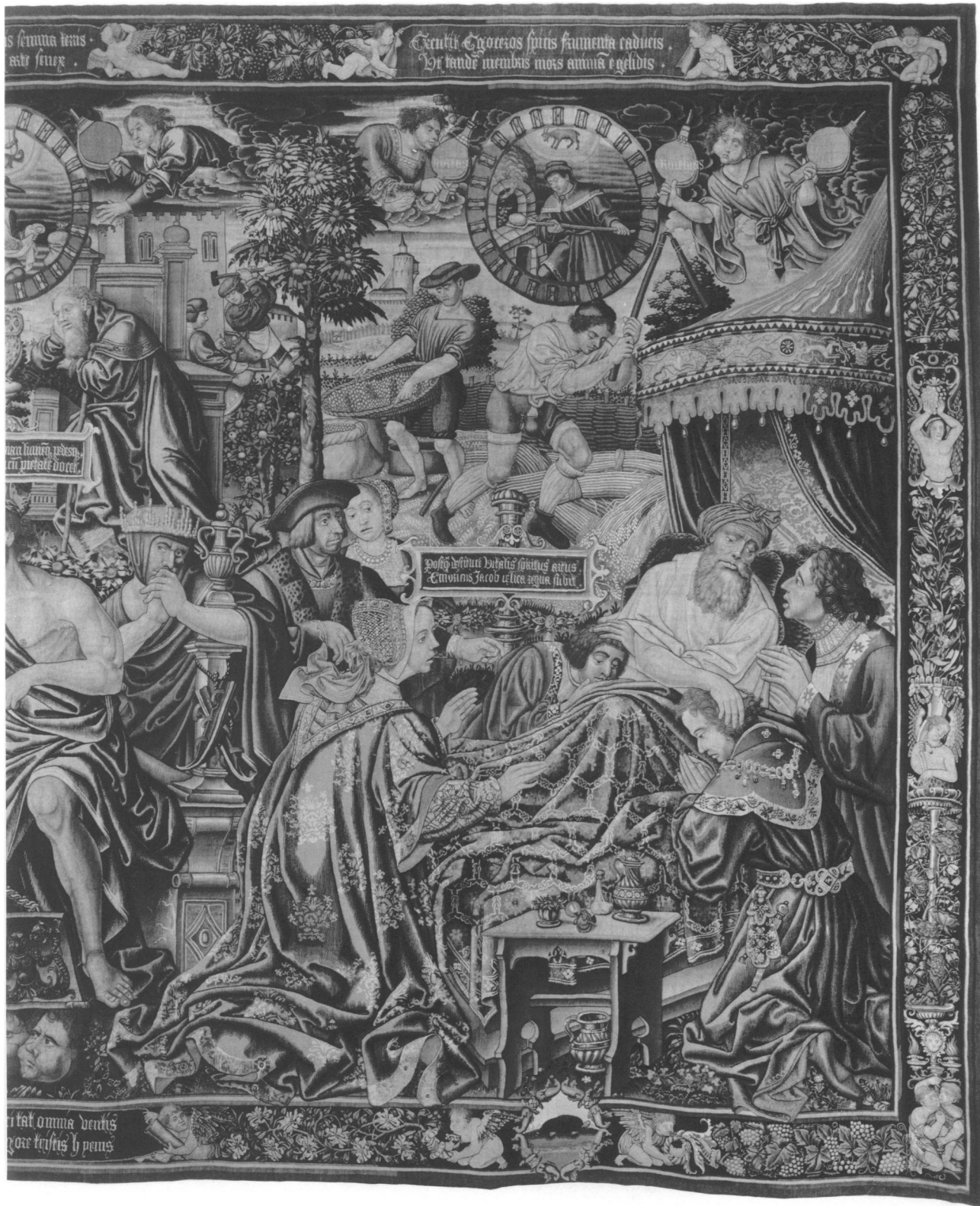
Jacob is shown on his deathbed, blessing the sons of Joseph; the woman kneeling at the foot of the bed is presumably Asenath, Joseph's wife. From an early date, Manasseh, the older son, was identified with the Old Covenant, Ephraim with the New, and Jacob was shown with crossed arms, as here, though not specifically so described in the Bible; the gesture was taken as a symbol of the Crucifixion.⁹⁰ Such an interpretation of

the scene on the tapestry is hardly possible, given the lack of Christian ideas in the whole set, but a reminiscence of it may be the grapevine ornament on Ephraim's cape. The pomegranate on the table is the only clear instance of "disguised symbolism" in the tapestries; an indication of immortality in antiquity, it was used from the later Middle Ages as a symbol of hope in the Resurrection or of the Resurrection of Christ.⁹¹ The statement in the inscription, however, that Jacob went to heaven directly from his deathbed is scarcely orthodox, as the patriarchs were believed to have been in hell until rescued by Christ in the period between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection.

At seventy-two years of age, the life of man is over. He was born foolish, acquired intelligence, was educated, chose virtue, begat offspring, preferred glory to riches, cared for his health, accumulated wealth for his old age and his children, educated them, and died. Similarly, in the course of a year, the earth has been frozen, thawed out, and cultivated; has given birth, first to flowers, then to crops and fruit; its riches have been gathered and processed; and new seeds have been planted. The two parallel cycles are complete.

90. Wolfgang Stechow, "Jacob blessing the sons of Joseph," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 23 (1943) pp. 193–208.

91. Hans Aurenhammer, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* (Vienna, 1961) s.v. "Apfel."



OTHER VERSIONS

With such a complicated scenario, it is not surprising that comparatively few other versions of the designs are known. But the master weaver, having on hand an expensive set of cartoons, would certainly have wanted to make something of them.⁹² One set that has survived is in the Museo de Tapices del Cabildo Metropolitano in Saragossa. It consists of twelve pieces, each with the same, or a very similar, story, connected with the same month, and having a Latin distich, in Roman script, which is generally the same as the central distich on the Metropolitan Museum tapestries. As the upper border inscription for each month is missing, the connection of the sign of the zodiac and the occupation of the month with the main action, the illustration of an age in the life of man, is tenuous indeed, and sometimes nonexistent. The designs have been remade in a later style, and the Brussels mark B.B. indicates a date after 1528. The set was given to the Cathedral of Saragossa by Archbishop Don Andrés Santos.⁹³

Other individual tapestries have been recorded, all later in date than the Metropolitan Museum set. A fragment showing Alexander and the Persian envoys was in a Bourgeois Frères sale in Cologne, October 19–27, 1904, no. 1374, and reappeared in a Frederick Müller Sale in Amsterdam in 1916. No. 1375 in the Cologne sale was another fragment, showing part of the Aesculapius scene, almost the entire figure of Bacchus (fully clothed), and the inscription of the Joseph scene. Another two pieces were owned by Lionel Harris in 1930; two mutilated fragments in his possession are said to have been “completed and made good” and “sold to Randolph Hearst.”⁹⁴ Part of the

March and April sections are seen on a tapestry in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, in a much altered version.⁹⁵ The Curius Dentatus cartoon is the basis of a horizontal tapestry in the Milwaukee Art Institute.⁹⁶ It has the Brussels mark. A tapestry with adaptations of the November and December sections was in the Henry Symons sale, Clarke’s Art Rooms, New York, February 8, 1922; all five inscriptions are present. In 1933 it was owned by P. W. French and Co.;⁹⁷ it was sold at the Galerie Moderne, Brussels, May 6–7, 1963, no. 1191.

A very curious adaptation of some of the scenes and forms of the Twelve Ages is seen in two Tournai tapestries in the Dijon museum.⁹⁸ One has Bacchus in the center, flanked by Marcus Curius and Hercules and the dragon; the apple tree has disappeared, so that Hercules is holding up a stone instead of plucking a fruit. In the other, the central deity has acquired a snake and a mirror, the attributes of Prudence.⁹⁹ The scenes at the sides are a much-altered version of the Test of Moses, transformed into Joseph interpreting Pharaoh’s dream, and a rather close rendering of Tiberius discovering a treasure. Various occupations of the months, usually not the ones that accord with the stories, are illustrated in the upper parts of the tapestries. There are inscriptions in French, and many of the characters have names. Certainly neither the original cartoons nor the scenario can have been available to the designer and weaver of these tapestries. One receives the impression that they must have been based on rough notes and sketches made from a set of the Twelve Ages, some details (such as the crowns *en broche* offered to Marcus Curius) being carefully recorded, others entirely omitted.

92. It has been suggested that an *editio princeps* may have preceded the set under discussion. Since 1476, Brussels weavers had been legally obligated to obtain their cartoons from members of the painters’ guild when anything more than fabrics, trees, animals, ships, and plants were needed. Alphonse Wauters, *Les Tapisseries bruxelloises* (Brussels, 1878) p. 48.

93. Eduard Estella, *Museo de Tapices del Cabildo Metropolitano* (Saragossa, 1948) nos. 65–67 (January, October, and August described); José María Monserrat and Manuel Abizanda, *Los Tapices de Zaragoza* (Saragossa, 1917) p. 47, no. 36 (July); Francisco Abbad Ríos, *Catálogo monumental de España, Zaragoza, II* (Madrid, 1957) pls. 214–225 (February–July, September–December). The tapestries are horizontal and thus figures have had to be added on either side, but the main actors in each scene are for the most part very similar to those on the Metropolitan Museum set. A mark resembling a pair of spectacles, or two cherries on a stalk, may be a

version of the town mark of Oudenaarde. Heinrich Göbel, *Wandteppiche, I. Teil, Die Niederlande, I* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 18 of reproductions of marks.

94. Information from the Marillier File.

95. *Le XVI^e Siècle européen*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, 1966, no. 21, ill.

96. Ex-Barbarini, Ffoulke, Hearst Collections. Charles M. Ffoulke, *The Ffoulke Collection of Tapestries* (New York, 1913) p. 44, ill.

97. “Tapestries lent by French and Company,” *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 22 (1933) p. 139.

98. Asselberghs, *Tapiserie tournaisienne*, nos. 14, 15. The empress in the Tiberius scene is given the name Placella, though Tiberius’s wife was actually called Anastasia.

99. De Tervarent, *Attributs* II, col. 272, s.v. “Miroir,” cols. 340–342, s.v. “Serpent.”

PATRON, "AUTHOR,"
DESIGNER, WEAVER

Only internal evidence is available to indicate who may have commissioned, "devised," designed, and woven the tapestries, which, apart from the enigmatic letters on "Aristotle's" robe, bear no identifying marks or signatures. The compliments to Margaret of Austria in both the Ceres figure and the empress of Byzantium in the Tiberius story, and the double-headed eagles on the hangings of Pharaoh's throne, suggest a connection with the regent's court at Malines. The prominent place given to women when they are not essential to the action (the Samnite envoys, Chiron's companions, Tiberius's empress, Asenath) might also be a compliment to Margaret, though the Papirius story seems most inappropriate. It is highly unlikely that Margaret herself commissioned the *editio princeps*; lists exist of the tapestries she owned, and there is nothing like the Twelve Ages among them.¹⁰⁰ Perhaps some important member of her court, such as Carondelet, was the patron.

Rather more can be said about the "author," or, as he would have been called in English at the time, the "devisor." Such a person can be presumed to have been called on to provide ideas and, when needed, inscriptions for any elaborate work of art of the period. Thus Dirk Bouts painted his Justice pictures for the Rathaus at Louvain after Jan van Haeght, doctor of theology, had worked out the "materien en personagien van den Tafelen."¹⁰¹ Alexander Barclay, the poet and scholar, was asked "to devise histories and convenient raisons to florishe the buildings" about to be erected at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.¹⁰² The patron could, of course, be his own deviser; Thomas More, in his youth,

devised in his father's house in London, a goodly hanging of fine painted cloth, with nine pageants, and verses over every of those pageants: which verses expressed and declared, what the images in those pageants represented: and also in those pageants were painted, the things that the verses over them did (in effect) declare [spelling modernized].

The "pageants" represented a curious amalgamation of the Ages of Man and Petrarch's Triumphs; Manhood triumphed over Childhood, Love over Manhood, Age over Love, Death over Age, Fame over Death, Time over Fame, and Eternity over Time. The verses were in English, except for the ninth and last "pageant," which showed "a Poet sitting in a chayre," with a long inscription in Latin.¹⁰³

A deviser must have existed for every complicated set of tapestries. He is presumably the figure marked AVTHOR who wields his pen in his untidy library, his dog at his feet, in one corner of the *Infamia* panel of the *Honores* set in the Spanish National Collection.¹⁰⁴ In this instance, he has been identified as Jean Lemaire de Belges,¹⁰⁵ already mentioned as a poet and an official at the court of Margaret of Austria. Could the Twelve Ages also be his work? It does not seem possible, since the *Honores*, though more Renaissance in style, are far more medieval in spirit, with allegorical personifications of each Virtue, and other abstractions, instead of, for the most part, what, to a contemporary, would have been straightforward historical anecdotes, "convenient," or appropriate, to the Twelve Ages. The four mythical stories (two of Hercules, Venus and Adonis, Aesculapius) are as much illustrations as allegories. Though still today an admired poet in French, Jean Lemaire was not a scholar of profound learning, and he relied on late medieval compilations.¹⁰⁶ The Latin verses of the Twelve Ages and the variety of the sources for the stories would have been beyond his

100. André Ghislain Le Glay, *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilian Ier et de Marguerite d'Autriche* (Paris, 1839) p. 485.

101. Anna Maria Cetto, *Der Berner Traian-und Herkinbald Teppich* (Bern, 1966) p. 21; Wolfgang Schöne, *Dieric Bouts und seine Schule* (Berlin, 1938) pp. 243, 244 (quoting the Louvain city accounts for 1471).

102. Letter from Sir Nicholas Vaux to Cardinal Wolsey, April 10, 1520, quoted in Geoffrey Webb, "The Office of Devisor," *Fritz Saxl, 1890-1948. A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England* (London, 1957) p. 300.

103. *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, I (London, 1931) pp. 332-335.

104. Valencia de Don Juan, *Tapices*, p. 24.

105. Elias Tormo Monzo and Francisco J. Sanchez Cantón, *Los Tapices de la Casa del Rey N. S.* (Madrid, 1919) p. 54.

106. "Son labeur s'est limité à des enquêtes dans la bibliothèque des encyclopédies, des sommes, où les 'references' s'offraient à lui, abondantes et diverses, avec (à l'occasion) des tables détaillées, des index pour le diriger." Georges Doutrepoint, "Jean Lemaire de Belges et la Renaissance," *Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences morales et politiques, Mémoires* 32 (1934) p. 245.

grasp.¹⁰⁷ A detail that illustrates the gap between him and the unknown “author” is their different attitudes toward Hercules. In the tapestries, he is a hero, choosing Virtue rather than Vice and crowning a glorious career by plucking the apples of the Hesperides, but Lemaire, in his *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye*, followed the late fifteenth-century writer Annius de Viterbo in distinguishing three men called Hercules, and the Greek one to him was nothing but a “pyrate, larron et escumeur de mer, homme de tresmauvaise vie, et qui mourut meschamment.”¹⁰⁸

Thus, it seems probable that the “author” of the Twelve Ages must be looked for among the truly learned humanists of the Low Countries, and a candidate presents himself in the person of Jerome van Busleyden, or Hieronymus Buslidius (c. 1470–1517), of Malines, an ecclesiastical member of the regent’s Grand Council. Erasmus called him “omnium librorum emacissimus” and “utrius linguae callentissimus.”¹⁰⁹ He wrote Latin distichs that Thomas More compared to Virgil;¹¹⁰ one, to Margaret of Austria, is close in style and spirit to those of the tapestries:

Inter vernantes flores gemmasque nitentes
Margaris Augusti, gloria prima micat.¹¹¹

The windows in his house, which was completed in

1507/1508, showed the Triumphs, and a room was painted with stories from classical myth and history (Tantalus, Phaeton, Damocles, Mucius Scaevola) and from the Old Testament (Feast of Belshazzar). For these he wrote Latin verses.¹¹² His library contained Latin, Greek, and Hebrew books, including codices of Livy, Prudentius, Lucan,¹¹³ and Aulus Gellius.¹¹⁴ He owned a silver cup with a figure of Bacchus, a picture of “the Turk,”¹¹⁵ and tapestries showing Jeremiah, Alexander and Darius, Moses, the Annunciation, wild beasts, and verdure. One set is described in the inventory made after his death as representing Hercules;¹¹⁶ it would be agreeable to connect this with the Twelve Ages, but unfortunately it is described as measuring 30 ells (presumably running ells) and even scarcely 28¾ ells when it was sold at auction; as the Brabant ell was only .70 meter, either measurement is incompatible with four tapestries, each 24 feet wide. On the other hand, it is quite probable that this tapestry showed the Choice of Hercules; among Busleyden’s manuscripts were distichs entitled: “Hercules ambigentem qualem vivendi viam ingrederetur, virtus et voluptas compellant.”¹¹⁷ He wrote in 1514 to Martin Dorpius about the latter’s prose dialogue, “in quo Venus et Cupido omnes adhibent versutias; ut Herculem animi ancipitem in suam militiam invita Virtute perpellant.”¹¹⁸

107. The evidence already presented to show that the “author” was a widely-read scholar can be recapitulated here. He used a classical synonym for Bacchus (pp. 132–133); an obscure poem of about 1200 inspired his verses on the seasons (p. 133); he provided two names of winds found in Pliny, but not in the usual medieval reference books (p. 134); he used a less common version of the Test of Moses story (p. 136); he took his Alexander anecdote from Plutarch’s *Lives*, a work not known to the medieval compilers (p. 140); the Choice of Hercules was fashionable among humanists, and showing Minerva and Venus as Virtue and Vice was very up-to-date (p. 142); he knew that gathering the apples of the Hesperides was Hercules’s final labor (p. 152); he used Greek words in his Latin verses (pp. 158, 160), which, except for misprints, are correct imitations of classical originals.

108. Jung, *Hercule*, pp. 52, 53.

109. John Edwin Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, II (Cambridge, 1908) p. 212.

110. Henry de Vocht, *Jerome van Busleyden* (Turnhout, 1950) p. 64.

111. Felix Nève, *La Renaissance des Lettres et l’Essor de l’Erudition ancienne en Belgique* (Louvain, 1890) p. 108.

112. J. Bruyn, *Over het Voortleven der Middeleeuwen* (Amsterdam, 1961) pp. 5–9; J. Bruyn, “De Gedaanteverwisselingen van Damocles,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 15 (1964) pp. 53–56. The author states that the story of Damocles, though given in

Macrobius and Boethius, was not illustrated in the Middle Ages, though a distorted version, in which Damocles is described as the king’s brother, is found in the *Gesta Romanorum* and was used by Lucas van Leyden and other artists. Certain details of the mural paintings, which still exist, though in very poor condition, are comparable to the tapestries, notably the nude Venus with a large quiver in the Tantalus panel and the clothed flying figure with a bow, quiver, and huge arrows. Belshazzar wears a tall peaked hat with a crown around it, not unlike that worn by Tiberius.

113. De Vocht, *Busleyden*, pp. 62, 63.

114. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, Loeb ed. (London and New York, 1927) intro., p. xx.

115. “Een aensicht vanden turck.” De Vocht, *Busleyden*, pp. 66, 67, 106.

116. The entry reads: “Een van 30 ellen pronkte met het beeld van Hercules; op de vendutie kwam even wel uit dat het slechts van 28 ¾ ellen groot was en het werd voor 6 lb. II sc. 1 1/2 d. aan een liefhebber toegewezen.” Elza Foncke, “Aantekeningen betreffende Hieronymus van Busleyden,” *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 5 (1938) pp. 197, 198.

117. D. Roggen and E. Dhanens, “De Humanist Busleyden en de oorsprong van het Italianisme in de Nederlandse Kunst,” *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 13 (1951) p. 147.

118. Nève, *Renaissance*, pp. 179, 182.

Curiously enough, the fact that Busleyden died in 1517, about the time or even just before the tapestries probably were designed, is actually an argument in favor of his authorship, for it can be confidently stated that there was no close and continuing cooperation between the "devisor" and the artist; no one who understood the Latin verses could have approved of the way in which some of the stories, such as that of Curius Dentatus, were pictured.

The basic idea of the tapestry set, the correlation of the months and the ages of man, must, however, have been suggested by a nonclassical source. Four ages, corresponding with the seasons, are found in Ovid,¹¹⁹ and could be linked with the four elements, four humors, four winds, and other tetrads.¹²⁰ But the standard number of ages during the Middle Ages was six, as listed by Isidore of Seville; they are therefore seldom represented in early medieval art, as no parallels could be drawn between them and other qualities.¹²¹ But, in the mid-fourteenth century, a French poem, *Les douze mois figurez*, made the comparison between ages and months.¹²² This poem was absorbed into the *Kalendrier des Bergiers*, a compendium of useful knowledge of the late fifteenth century, of which many editions were printed. At much the same time, a shorter version of the poem was being used in some French manuscript and printed Books of Hours (Paris, Thielman Kerver), combined with miniatures or woodcuts illustrating the ages of man, quite literally and factually, from childhood play to a deathbed scene.¹²³ The idea does not seem to have been often used in art; the only other early instance that has been found is represented by two Flemish early sixteenth-century

glass roundels (from a set of twelve) in the Brussels Royal Museum.¹²⁴

The *Kalendrier*, however, was extremely popular (Margaret of Austria owned a copy),¹²⁵ and it seems probable that it, rather than a Book of Hours, provided the basic scheme for the tapestries. Generally speaking, the idea in each verse of the French poem has been picked up in the corresponding section of the tapestry and a story chosen to fit it; January "n'a ne force ne vertu" and the child of six "est sans nul bien savoir Ne force ne vertu avoir," corresponding to the Test of Moses; in June "Tous hommes sont de chaleur plains"; in July "se commence a passer La beaulté d'une creature"; in August "se doit adviser Combien qu'il a peu amassé Pour avoir repos en vieillesse"; in September, "Si l'homme n'a riens en sa grange Quant il y a cinquante quatre ans Jamais il n'y viendra a temps." The Latin verses on the tapestries are original (none of the others mentions the signs of the zodiac), but they and the stories chosen to illustrate them are sometimes closer to the *Kalendrier* poems than they are to the shorter versions in the Books of Hours. Thus, in April, the *Kalendrier* says, "L'herbe croist et l'arbre florit . . . a vingt et quatre ans Devient l'homme fort vertueux"; the Twelve Ages equivalent is "Jam Taurus letos ostentat in arbore flores,/Sic spes virtutum prima juvenia notat," and the story is Hercules choosing to follow Virtue; whereas the Hours poem says only "soubz cest aage est gay et joly l'homme/Plaisant aux dames courtois et amoureux," without mentioning flowers or virtue.¹²⁶ As has been mentioned, the occupations of the months are related to the *Kalendrier* illustrations, whereas the woodcuts of the Books of

119. *Metamorphoses*, XV, 199-213.

120. S. K. Heninger, Jr., "Some Renaissance Versions of the Pythagorean Tetrad," *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961) pp. 7-33.

121. Hinkle, "Cycles," p. 287.

122. J. Morawski, "Les Douze Mois Figurez," *Archivum Romanicum* 10 (1926) pp. 351-363.

123. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1925) pp. 303-306. An example of the manuscripts is a Book of Hours of Bourges use in the Morgan Library (M813). The activities of the twelve ages in the Kerver Books of Hours are January, playing; February, in school; March, hunting; April, lovemaking; May, riding with a sweetheart; June, marriage; July, having children; August, paying harvesters; September, begging; October, riches; November, sickness; December, death. The Morgan Library manuscript has similar subjects, including, for September,

an improvident man with an empty barn and barrels. The complete text of the poem is given in E. H. Langlois, *Essai sur la Calligraphie des Manuscrits* (Paris, 1841) pp. 132-143, together with Latin verses that provide advice about how to keep healthy in each month.

124. Jean Helbig, "L'introduction du style renaissance dans nos vitraux à l'époque austro-espagnole," *Bulletin des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* 9 (1937) p. 57. A nineteenth-century instance is *The Life of Man, symbolised by the months of the year in a series of illustrations by John Leighton, F.S.A.* (London, 1866).

125. Michelant, *Inventaire*, p. 57.

126. Hours quotations from Curt F. Bühler, "At thy golg first eut of the hous vlyse the saynge thus," *Studies in the Renaissance* 6 (1959) pp. 233, 234; *Kalendrier* quotations from reprint of 1493 ed., *The Kalendar and Compost of Shepherds* (London, 1931).



FIGURE 23

Design for a stained-glass roundel, attributed to Aerdt Ortkens. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum

Hours have no resemblance to the tapestries, except that they show the life of man divided into twelve ages of six years each.

It is merely a fanciful conjecture, but one can imagine a humanist, sitting in a well-stocked library, deciding, first, that there should be four tapestries, each showing the deity of a season; then, inspired perhaps by a copy of the *Kalendrier*, determining that each tapestry should illustrate three months and eighteen years; finally,

with much thought and consultation of books, settling on the stories that should illustrate each age.

Attributions of tapestry designs to individual artists and weavers, when no evidence, such as inscriptions, documents, or drawings, exists, are extremely uncertain. In the great mass of tapestries made between 1510 and 1520 in Brussels, there are three fixed points. One is the Legend of Herkenbald in the Brussels Royal Museum, documented as after a design by Jan van

Roome, with the full-scale cartoon by a Brussels painter called Philippe, woven by a Brussels weaver called Léon or Lyon, and finished in 1513. The second is a set of four tapestries, the Legend of Notre-Dame du Sablon, now in various locations, either begun or finished in 1518, and authoritatively attributed to Bernard van Orley.¹²⁷ In the third place, by 1516 some at least of Raphael's cartoons for the *Acts of the Apostles* had probably arrived in Brussels, and seven of the tapestries were in Rome by December 1519.¹²⁸ The Twelve Ages show no trace of the influence of the Raphael cartoons, and they are closer in style to Notre-Dame du Sablon than to Herkenbald. Bernard van Orley may well, indeed, have designed the Twelve Ages. He was a friend of Gilles van Busleyden, Jerome's brother, who came to the party Van Orley gave for Albrecht Dürer in 1520.¹²⁹ He is usually credited with the *Honores* and *Moralidades* sets in the Spanish National Collection;¹³⁰ details in both these sets have already been compared with passages in the Twelve Ages, and the white Gothic lettering on red scrolls is very similar in all three sets. The design of the Twelve Ages can be dated about 1516–1520; the set in the Metropolitan Museum was presumably woven before 1528, when it became obligatory to place the Brussels city mark on all large tapestries made there.

The most closely related set, however, is the Dido and Aeneas series at Hampton Court.¹³¹ Though the borders have classical ornamentation, similar in style to those of the Notre-Dame du Sablon set, the seated winged putti who hold the tablets with the inscriptions

are very like those on the Twelve Ages. Sergestus and Cloanthus, who kneel before Dido in the first tapestry of the series, are like the two foremost envoys in the Alexander scene, and Venus meeting Aeneas resembles Venus tempting Hercules. The designer of this set is not known, but it has been associated with the artist known as the Master of the Leipzig Cabinet, or Aerdts Ortkens, or, most recently, Adrian van den Houde.¹³² To this artistic personality have been attributed a group of drawings for stained glass and one, in the British Museum, for a tapestry showing the Rape of Helen and other scenes from the story of Troy; on the strength of this drawing, the Hampton Court tapestries have been associated with him.¹³³ The drawing shows the division into three vertical sections, with smaller scenes above and larger ones below, that is found on many Flemish tapestries of this period; the divisions between the upper scenes are marked by trees, as in the Summer and Autumn panels of the Twelve Ages. A detail of a bow and quiver hung on a tree in another drawing attributed to this artist, the Shepherd with a Nymph in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Figure 23),¹³⁴ is a reversed version (with the addition of a harp) of the bow and quiver in the Venus and Adonis scene (Figure 10). Adrian van den Houde has been considered to be "the original designer, though not the cartoonist," of the Nobility panel in the *Honores* tapestry set;¹³⁵ a number of resemblances between the Twelve Ages and this set have been mentioned.

It is not possible to attribute the Twelve Ages to this artist on the strength of a single detail, but tapestry

127. Marthe Crick-Kuntziger, *Catalogue des tapisseries, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles* (n.d. [1960]) nos. 12, 15, with extensive bibliographies.

128. John White and John Shearman, "Raphael's tapestries and their cartoons," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958) p. 194.

129. De Vocht, *Busleyden*, p. 20.

130. Dora Heinz, *Europäische Wandteppiche*, I (Brunswick, 1963) p. 183. The uncertainty of this attribution, however, is stressed by J. K. Steppe, "Vlaams tapijtwerk van de 16e eeuw in Spaans bezit," *Miscellanea Jozef Duverger*, II (Ghent, 1968) p. 734.

131. H. C. Marillier, *The Tapestries at Hampton Court*, revised ed. (London, 1962) pp. 24, 25, pls. 22–26.

132. Hilary Wayment, "A Rediscovered Master: Adrian van den Houde (c. 1459–1521) and the Malines/Brussels School. I. A Solution to the 'Ortkens' Problem," *Oud Holland* 82 (1967) pp. 172–202, with bibliography.

133. A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists . . . in the British Museum. V. Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the*

XV and XVI Centuries (London, 1932) p. 37, no. 1. "The series of the Aeneid at Hampton Court is perhaps from Ortkens' designs and may possibly have formed a complementary set [to a Troy series]." The drawing in Berlin, Callisto and Arcus before Jupiter's Throne, is much less certainly related to a tapestry. Elfried Bock and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die niederländischen Meister* (Frankfurt am Main, 1931) p. 46, pl. 40, no. 2323.

134. K. T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum*, I (Oxford, 1938) p. 27, no. 66, "Design for a roundel of stained glass." The author says that the subject is probably drawn from Virgil and describes another drawing as illustrating the second Eclogue; he mentions the Hampton Court tapestries as possible further evidence of the artist's treatment of Virgilian subjects. Wayment, "Adrian van den Houde," p. 180. The author attributes this drawing to a follower, whom he proposes to call Pseudo-Ortkens D.

135. Wayment, "Adrian van den Houde," p. 188.

specialists would be happy if another Flemish workshop producing tapestry designs in the early sixteenth century could be authenticated. Bernard van Orley's, though certainly substantial, would have been hard-pressed to have turned out, single-handed, the many enormous tapestry sets of the greatest intricacy and highest quality that were produced in Brussels in this period.

The visual impression given by the Twelve Ages is one of great confusion of styles, of an artist who, though he knew enough about drawing the nude to produce a very creditable Bacchus, had no idea how to cope with Venus and Adonis, and whose attempts to provide armor *all'antica* for Hercules and Marcus Curius are ludicrous. But as an historical document, an expression of the Renaissance spirit, the tapestries are remarkable. For here is Man the Hero, standing alone, the center of things, acquiring *virtus*, and therefore *gloria*, by his own free choice and by noble deeds, and finally ascending to the heavenly kingdom unaided. He is bound only to do the right thing at each stage in his life, and Venus and Adonis are held up as examples to him in his youth. Tiberius, it is true, is rewarded for an act of Christian reverence as well as for charity, but the spectator would not learn this from the Latin text or its illustration. There is no Christian thought in these tapestries. The contrast with another set, the Fall and Redemption of Man,¹³⁶ could not be more striking; in this set, perhaps little more than a decade earlier, Homo, or Everyman, is doomed by Adam's fall, attacked by Sins, helped (though ineffectively) by Virtues, and finally redeemed by the Incarnation and the Crucifixion. He is acted on throughout by named personifications; his free will cannot save him without Christ. The action is timeless; it is part of the whole Christian epic that runs from the Creation to the Last Judgment, but it takes place at any moment, in any human soul. The Twelve Ages show a life, not of Everyman, but of a hero, sharply divided into precise eras, each posing a challenge; though only in the Choice of Hercules are both right and wrong decisions indicated, almost every episode implies that another way, that of the man without *virtus*, would be possible. But man

can choose, and there is no indication that either God or Fortune can influence the consequences.

Perhaps even more unusual than the absence of Christian thought in the Twelve Ages is the lack of astrological allusions. Though the signs of the zodiac identify each month and their names are often used as synonyms for the months themselves, there is no indication that they have influence over anything except the temperature and the weather. The planets, so often all-powerful, each ruling his "children," do not appear at all. Man is indeed master of his fate. Even death, the inevitable end, is not pictured as horrifying; *celica regna* await the hero.

It is hard to think of another instance in the Netherlands of such an uncompromisingly humanistic and rational point of view in either literature or pictorial art. It is as far from Erasmus's position as from Luther's. In fact, the ethical climate in which such a statement could be made did not last long; the battle lines were about to be drawn and neither side would be able to tolerate freethinking. It was fortunate for the tapestries that their ideas were expressed obscurely and interpreted ineptly; when men would soon be so easily burned at the stake, wool and silk could hardly expect to be spared, unless their impieties were so thoroughly concealed as to be innocuous.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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136. Known in several versions. Adolph S. Cavallo, *Tapestries of Europe and of Colonial Peru in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1967) no. 24.

The Couchet Harpsichord in the Crosby Brown Collection

EDWIN M. RIPIN

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS occupy a unique place among the art objects preserved in museums. Although many are highly decorative pieces of furniture, they were originally valued primarily for musical reasons and often turn out to have been radically altered to satisfy new musical demands even when their external appearance has remained largely unchanged; in fact, the finer a surviving instrument is, the greater the likelihood that it will have been subjected to major rebuilding. It is for this reason that, while a number of lesser seventeenth-century violins have survived intact, virtually all the surviving Stradivarii were rebuilt in the nineteenth century when romantic music demanded a larger and more brilliant tone than they had originally been built to provide.

An instructive example of the way in which this point applies to keyboard instruments is provided by the well-known harpsichord in the Crosby Brown Collection of the Metropolitan Museum made by Johannes Couchet of Antwerp about 1650 (Figure 1). The instrument has two fifty-five-note keyboards with a range of four octaves and a fifth from FF (an octave below the bass clef) to high c. There are three sets of strings, two tuned in unison and one an octave higher, and four rows of jacks (Figure 2). Each of these rows, or registers, provides its own tone color. The front row, which is operated from the upper manual, plucks one set of unison strings very close to the nut (the bridge mounted on the pinblock), producing a bright, reedy,

and somewhat nasal tone. The remaining three rows are placed next to one another somewhat farther from the nut; the second row plucks the other set of unison strings, the third row plucks the octave strings, and the fourth row plucks the same strings as the front row. The jacks in the second row, which produce a somewhat rounder tone than those in the front row, have extensions at the back that reach down to the keys of the lower manual and thus are operated from both keyboards. The fourth row, which plucks at a point quite distant from the nut, produces a tone that is less bright but rather more full than the second row, forming a marked contrast with the tone produced by the close-plucking front row.

At the bottom, the jacks are guided by fixed racks set above the keys; at the top, there are movable guides set flush with the level of the pinblock and soundboard. When any one of these movable guides is shifted in one direction, the quills of its jacks are brought under the appropriate strings so that these strings will be plucked when the keys are depressed. Sliding a guide in the opposite direction moves its jacks away from the strings so that their quills will no longer touch them, and the register is silenced. The ends of the movable guides pass through the sides of the case, and the player engages or disengages the registers by pulling or pushing the protruding ends of the guides, the right-hand ends of which are equipped with knobs (Figure 3).

The four different tone colors provided by the four



FIGURE 1

Harpsichord by Johannes Couchet of Antwerp, about 1650. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments, 89.4.2363

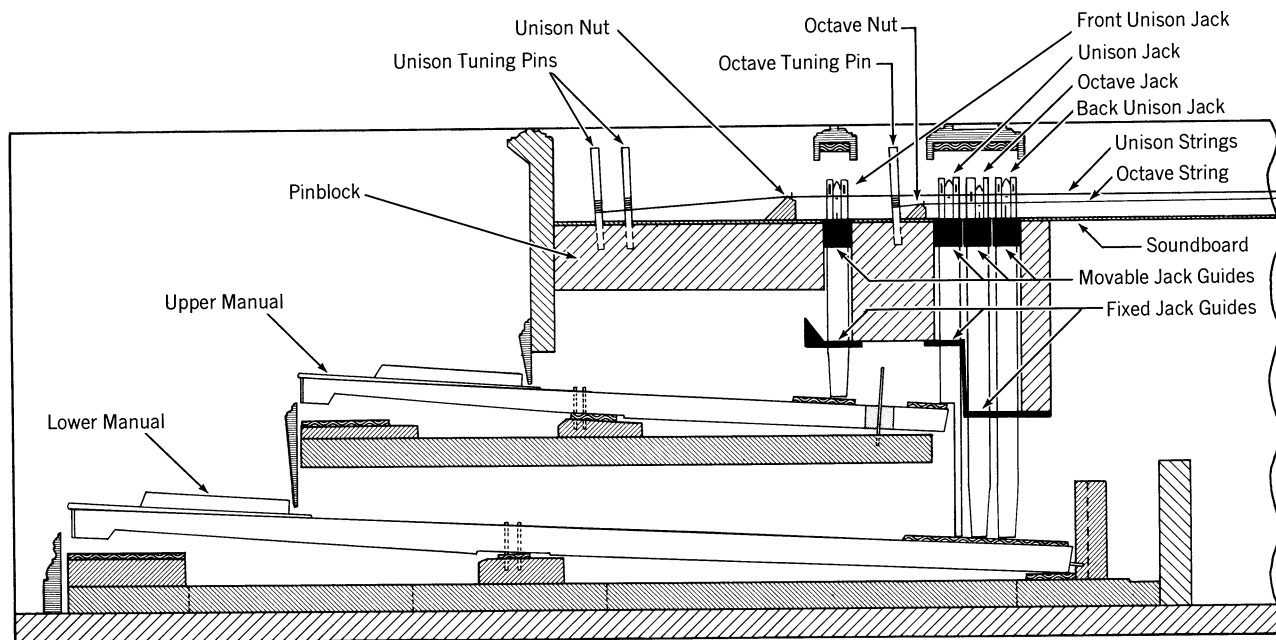


FIGURE 2
Longitudinal section of the Couchet
harpsichord at middle c (one-fourth
actual size)

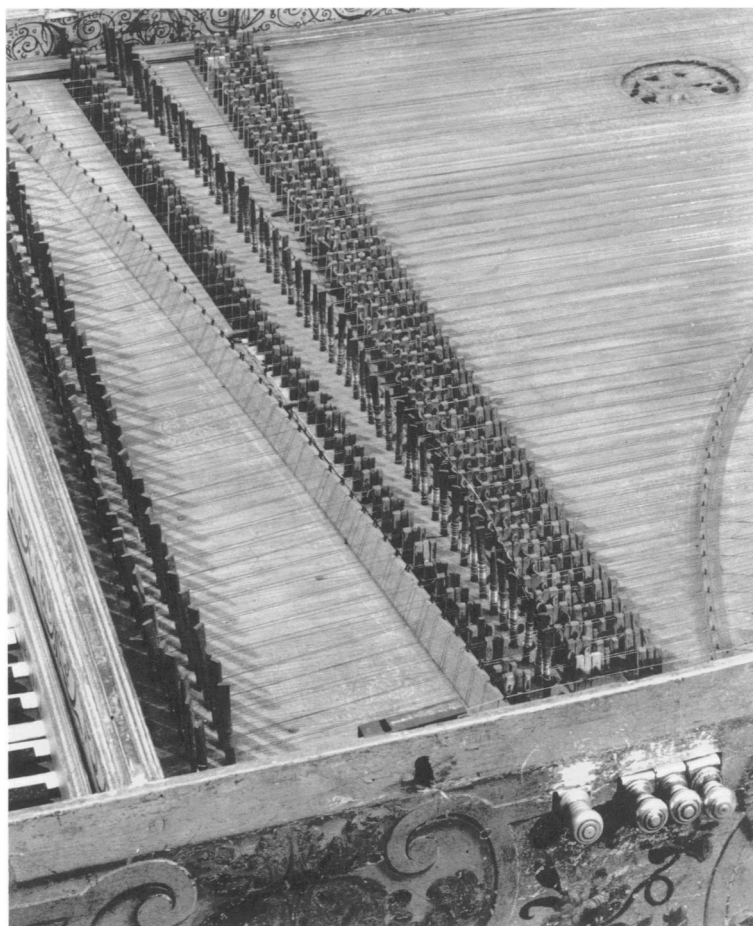
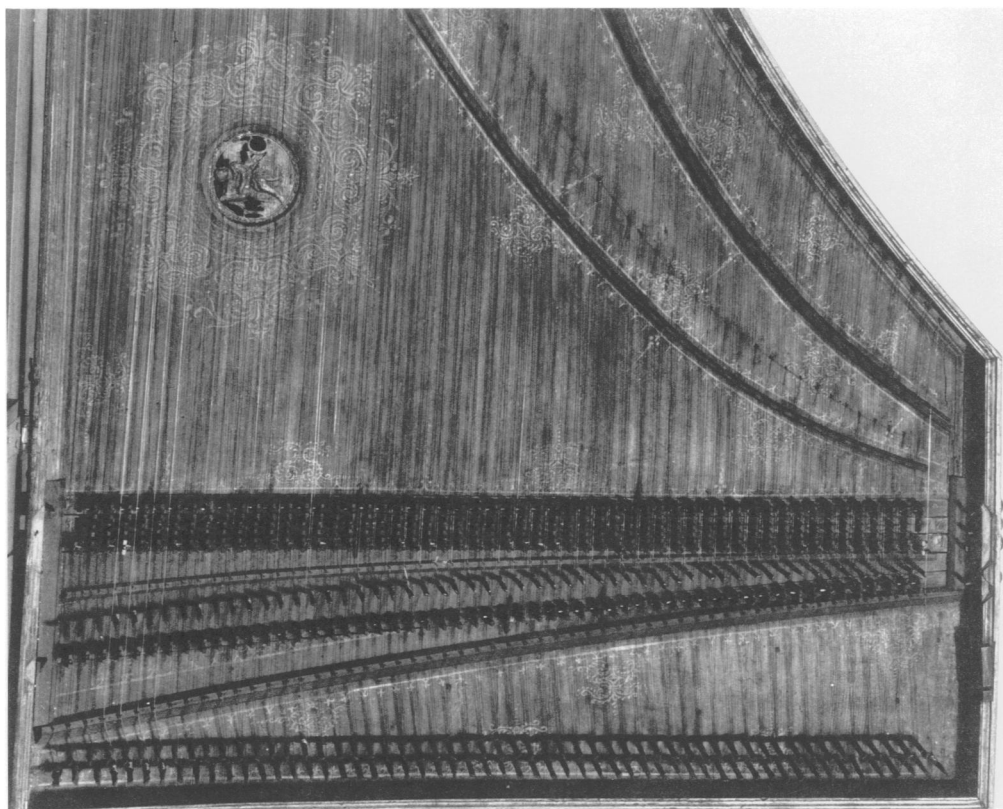


FIGURE 3
Jacks and guides of the Couchet
harpsichord

FIGURE 4
Pinblock and front
portion of the
soundboard



rows of jacks need not, of course, be used singly, and it is probable that the back three rows were usually used together to give a single unison register on the upper manual with the second unison and the octave in addition on the lower manual. (This arrangement gives the contrast in loudness between the two keyboards that is required for echo effects or in such compositions as Bach's *Italian Concerto*.) The number of combinations actually available is somewhat smaller than the theoretical maximum that four rows of jacks could provide because the front and back rows pluck the same strings. This means that the close-plucking register on the upper manual cannot be used when the back register is engaged, since the dampers of the back row of jacks will then be resting on the strings. Despite this limitation, the arrangement of jacks in the Museum's harpsichord is found in the harpsichords of such eighteenth-century Antwerp builders as Johann Daniel Dulcken. Furthermore, in the Museum's instrument there is an ingenious expedient for mitigating its disadvantages. The movable guides for the first and fourth rows of jacks are divided into two parts at middle c. The treble portions are controlled by knobs at the

right side of the case that are adjacent to those controlling the entire second and third rows, and the bass portions are controlled by extensions that pass through the long side of the case at the performer's left. This division of the two registers that are served by the same set of strings gives them some measure of independence, since it allows the performer to use one in the treble while using the other in the bass.

The outside of the instrument's case is decorated in simulated relief, with gray strapwork, colored flowers, and foliage on a gold ground. The existing lid must be a replacement, since there are no marks on it to correspond with those on the case that indicate that one of the three hinges was once 6 inches behind its present position. Arabesques in black on a gold ground appear inside the instrument on the rim of the case surrounding the soundboard and in the area surrounding the keyboards. The soundboard (Figure 4), which contains a gilded soundhole decoration consisting of an angel flanked by the maker's initials, is decorated with gold borders and arabesques. The elaborate stand utilizes decorative motifs drawn from those on the case, and the whole (except for the plain gray lid) forms a



FIGURE 5
Key well of the Couchet harpsichord with the keyboards removed

unified ensemble of great richness. The preservation of this decorative ensemble was clearly one of the principal aims of the skillful craftsman who, when the instrument was probably close to a hundred years old, undertook to make extensive alterations in it.

Only when the keyboards are removed does the extent of the changes become apparent. The first hint is the presence of two shaped blocks, attached to the inside of the case (Figure 5), that are completely hidden when the keyboards are in place and that now serve as supports for the upper manual. These blocks, set about 6 inches from the front of the instrument, are painted black and gold but in a different style from that of the arabesques surrounding the keyboards. These blocks must have stood at the ends of the instrument's original keyboard and are similar in shape and dimensions to end blocks found in unaltered seventeenth-century Flemish harpsichords. Immediately in front of the left-hand block there is a vertical joint in the long side of the instrument's case, which reveals that the case has been extended by 5 inches; the upper portion of this joint is largely hidden beneath the decoration now surrounding the keyboards, but the lower portion is clearly visible where the wood is unfinished behind the curvilinear blocks that flank the existing keyboards. Finally, the lower edge of the vertical board behind the keyboards has been cut away by about 2½ inches. There can be only one reason for

lengthening the front of a harpsichord case and increasing the vertical space above the keyboard, namely, to accommodate a second keyboard where there was only one before. Thus, the Museum's harpsichord must originally have been a single-manual instrument.

The rebuilder's task in enlarging the Museum's harpsichord to a two-manual instrument was vastly simplified by the fact that it was unusually wide and deep for an instrument having only a single keyboard. The normal Flemish single was about an inch shallower than the Museum's Couchet and about 6½ inches narrower, allowing for a keyboard range of only four octaves. When—as frequently occurred—such an instrument was converted to a double-manual instrument with an extended range, the case had to be widened by extending the right-hand end of the curved side, and it was often difficult to cram the second keyboard into the space below the pinblock. A harpsichord originally made by Couchet's son and now in the Gemeentemuseum in The Hague (Figure 6) clearly shows the extent of the work usually required.

FIGURE 6
Harpsichord by Petrus Johannes Couchet, Antwerp, 1668, enlarged from a single-manual instrument. The painted decoration on the lid reveals the harpsichord's original size. Gemeentemuseum, The Hague (Photo: Cor van Weele)



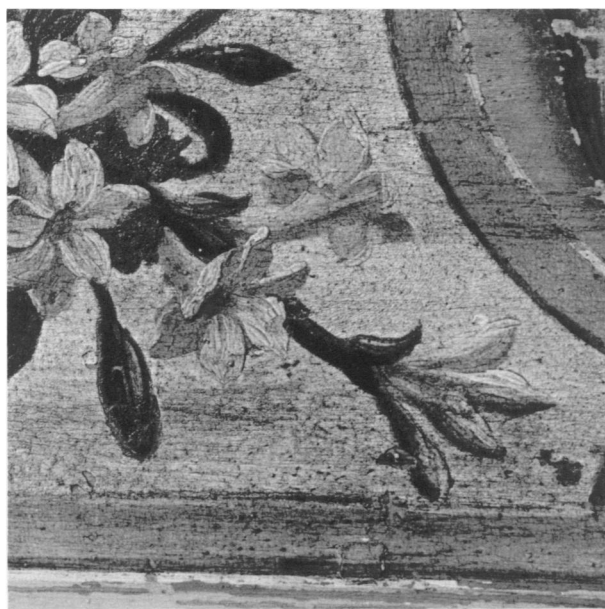
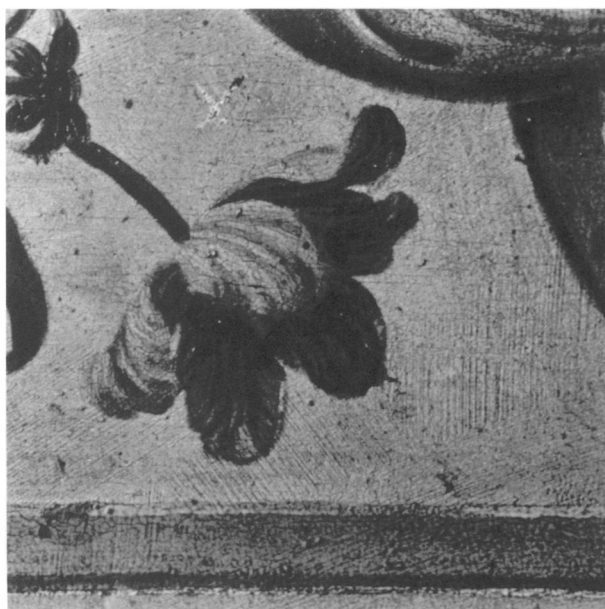
In contrast to such major surgery, the rebuilder of the Museum's instrument had only to extend the straight side of the case and make a new, longer side to go at the player's right. The short side of the Museum's harpsichord must, in fact, be new, since it shows no signs of having been lengthened as the long side was. However, the fact that the decoration of the outside of this new part of the case matches that of the original curved side does not cast any doubt on the assumption that the outside decoration as a whole is original. Careful comparison of the short side and the adjacent curved side reveals that the decoration was not applied by the same artist. The gray paint that underlies the gold differs slightly in color, and, more significantly, the gesso on which the gold is laid shows two types of treatment. In order to brighten the effect of the gold leaf, the gesso beneath it was lightly scored with a toothed scraper; on the curved side the scoring marks are in an overall random pattern with occasional overlaps (Figure 7), whereas those on the short side are strictly horizontal in the larger areas and strictly vertical in the smaller areas with no overlapping (Figure 8). The scoring on the gesso of the removable front board that hides the keys when the instrument is closed

matches that on the new short side, so this part, too, cannot be original. In fact, the use of decorative elements on the front board that differ from those on the rest of the instrument (compare Figures 9 and 10) suggests that the present front board was made at an even later date than the short side, perhaps at the same time as the existing lid. A clue to the form of the original front board is provided by an examination of the bottom of the instrument. A transverse board 5 inches wide was added at the front, as was required when the case was lengthened, but the wood immediately behind it shows the outlines of two strap hinges and the nail holes by means of which they were attached. The front board must originally have hung vertically at the player's knees when the instrument was open, like the board on the harpsichord shown in Figure 11.

Ordinarily the lengthening of a harpsichord required the building of a new, longer stand, or at least the making of a new upper frame to which the original legs could be attached. Happily this was not done with the Museum's harpsichord. The side members of the frame were lengthened at the front by attaching new wood by means of long scarf joints. On the exposed side, the extension was covered by the simple insertion

FIGURES 7, 8

Details of the decoration on the curved side and the short side of the Museum's harpsichord showing different scoring of the underlying gesso





FIGURES 9, 10
 Decoration on the curved side and front board

of a 5-inch length of carving that matched the original frieze (one of the joints in the frieze is clearly visible in Figure 1). In this way, the craftsman who rebuilt the instrument was able to save the original stand. Some doubt, however, must be cast on the branched serpentine stretcher that unites the legs near the floor. The large domed boss is centered between the two front pairs of legs, even though the distance between them was increased by 5 inches when the stand was lengthened. Accordingly, one must assume that either the boss itself or the curved pieces branching from it are not original.

The fact that the Museum's harpsichord in its original form was unusually large makes it somewhat difficult to establish by direct comparison with any other surviving instrument what its original musical resources were. The best clues are provided by examination of the keyboards and the pinblock. The most obvious feature of the keyboards is that they were made as a set by the same craftsman. Thus, neither of them can be Couchet's original single keyboard. Although they resemble typical Flemish seventeenth-century keyboards in the width of the keys and other details, the fact that the playing surfaces are covered



FIGURE 11
 Detail from *The Van Goyen Family*, by Jan Steen, about 1665–1667. William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Missouri

with ivory rather than bone points to their dating from the eighteenth century. In contrast to those of most original keyboards, the keys of the Museum's instrument are not straight but, rather, are cranked to the left (Figure 12). This indicates that one or more notes were added in the bass, the cranking being required to prevent the strings for the highest note from being placed too close to the right side of the case. Since the keyboards are still narrow enough to allow for end blocks at the sides, it is difficult to see how more than a single note could have been added to the instrument's range. This suggests that the Museum's harpsichord originally had a range of fifty-four notes, four octaves and a fourth, rather than the four octaves and a fifth it has now.

Of the possible fifty-four-note ranges the likeliest is GG to high c, a choice that is at least partly substantiated by the remains of letters written in ink behind the front row of tuning pins (Figure 13). The highest pin is marked *c*, and the pins for the lowest note are unmarked, as they would be if this note had been added at a later date. Unfortunately, the first two marked pins in the bass are designated *f* and *g* rather than *g* and *g*#, even though the marking appears to continue in regular chromatic order thereafter. Although Couchet is known to have built a harpsichord with a keyboard extending down to FF for Constantijn Huygens in 1648, it does not seem likely that the inked lettering accurately indicates the original tuning of the first two notes of the Museum's harpsichord. The arrangement of the keys that the lettering implies—three white keys in a row before the first black key—would not permit the keys to fit into the existing case unless they were cranked the way the existing keys are; and, as noted above, it is unusual for an original set of keys to be made in this way. On the contrary, it would seem more likely that the instrument's owner at some point after he had acquired it chose to retune Couchet's GG# and GG to the lower pitches indicated by the inked letters.

Even granting this hypothesis, the path to accepting an original range of GG to high c is not completely cleared. One of the most constant features of Flemish harpsichord-building is the length assigned to the treble strings. In all surviving examples, except for small ones obviously tuned to some pitch well above normal, the shorter string sounding the high c can be shown to have originally been nearly 7 inches long. In

the Museum's harpsichord this string is only 6¼ inches long, the length that one could ordinarily expect for the string sounding high d. Thus, if the range of the Museum's harpsichord was originally GG to high c, the instrument was probably built to be tuned to a pitch a whole tone higher than normal. Odd as this idea may seem in this day of standardized tunings, a letter of 1648 dealing with Couchet's work reveals that he made harpsichords specifically intended to be tuned a tone higher than the usual pitch, apparently for playing dance music and accompanying high voices.¹ The alternative possibility of the instrument's original range being AA to high d is refuted both by the inked lettering on the pinblock and by the fact that not a single example of a seventeenth-century Flemish harpsichord with an original keyboard starting on AA is known. Furthermore, a letter in the same series as that cited above specifically mentions harpsichords with keyboards starting on GG, describing them as “large *clavesinglen* with one full keyboard down to the octave of G sol re ut.”²

It is most unusual for a single-manual harpsichord, regardless of its range, to have four rows of jacks, normal seventeenth-century Flemish practice being to provide two or at most three rows. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the front, close-plucking, row of jacks on the Museum's harpsichord was not part of the original instrument. This row divides the pinblock into two portions. The front portion bears the tuning pins for the two sets of unison strings and the nut over which these strings pass. A smaller, triangular portion bears the tuning pins and nut for the octave strings. This part of the pinblock is thicker than the front portion and is not decorated with gold arabesques matching the soundboard as the front portion is. Finally, a gold line, which can be seen in Figure 4 running behind the unison nut,

1. “Now, as regards making the instrument two tones lower than that of Mrs. Swan, that can hardly be . . . On the other hand I can provide one of the natural tone of this country which is called *Chorista*, which happens to be one tone lower than that of Mrs. Swan's, used for ordinary voices, and the one of the same lady is good for voices singing high, and for the playing of allemandes and courantes.” Extract from a letter from Gaspard Duarte to Constantijn Huygens dated May 3, 1648. Trans. by Raymond Russell in *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* (London, 1959) p. 151.

2. Extract from a letter from Duarte to Huygens dated March 5, 1648. Trans. by Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord*, p. 150.



FIGURE 12
Upper keyboard of the Couchet harpsichord

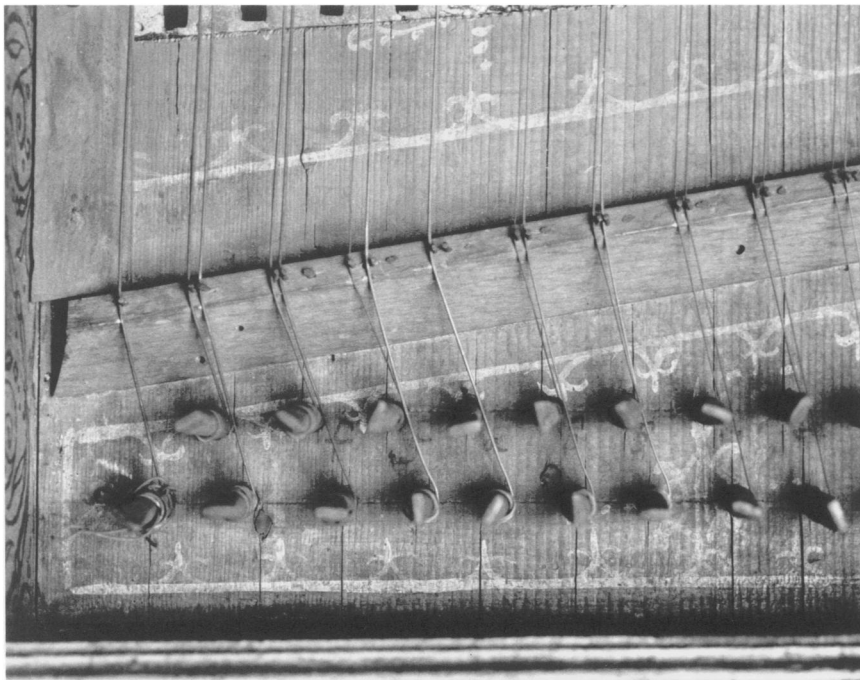


FIGURE 13
Bass end of the pinblock of the Couchet harpsichord

is cut off by the slot for the close-plucking jacks. Thus, the guide for this row and the section of pinblock behind it cannot be original, and the instrument must have once had the normal complement of only two or three rows of jacks.

That it had two rows rather than three may be deduced from the fact that there can originally have been only one set of unison strings in addition to the set of octave strings. Many of the holes for the back row of tuning pins are drilled right through the letters indicating tuning for the unison strings on the front row of pins. Accordingly, the back row of unison tuning pins and the strings they serve must have been installed

after the letters had been written on the pinblock, presumably at the time the harpsichord was enlarged from a one-manual instrument.

Additional evidence for there originally having been only one unison register is provided by the unison nut and soundboard bridge. Although the tuning pins for the added bass note were placed to the left of the preexisting pins, the rebuilder evidently felt that the new strings should not cross the bridge any closer to its end than the lowest original string. Accordingly, instead of merely adding new guide pins at the extreme end of the bridge, he repositioned all the strings in the lowest octave to permit the insertion of an additional

pair in the same space. This required repositioning all the guide pins at the bass end of the bridge, and the rebuilder neatly plugged all the old pinholes. These plugged holes do not occur in pairs as they would if the instrument had originally possessed two sets of unison strings, thus confirming the supposition that it must originally have had only one. Some repositioning of the guide pins on the nut was also required, and here, too (see Figure 13), the plugged holes do not occur in pairs.

The decoration on the front part of the pinblock provides one additional piece of information about the original musical resources of the Museum's instrument. In front of the unison nut there is a gold line corresponding to the one behind it that is interrupted by the slot for the close-plucking jacks. This line is only $\frac{1}{4}$ inch from the nut, whereas that behind the nut is $\frac{5}{8}$ inch away. Since such decorations are normally symmetrically placed and there is no sign that the nut was moved, a strip of wood $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide must originally have been placed behind the unison nut. Such battens were common on seventeenth-century Flemish harpsichords. They were fitted with pieces of soft buff leather, which came into contact with the strings when the batten was shifted, to provide a muted, pizzicato effect. The added row of close-plucking jacks comes too close to the nut in the treble for there to be room for such a batten, and this must be the reason why it was discarded when the instrument was rebuilt.

The rebuilding would appear to date from the eighteenth century. Aside from such clues as the use of ivory to cover the keys, there exists documentary evidence that the close-plucking register was unknown in Flanders before the eighteenth century, although it was known in Germany and England. In 1739 one Quirinus van Blankenburg described a method whereby in 1708 he rebuilt a harpsichord made in 1625 by Johannes Ruckers, Couchet's uncle. This rebuilding included the addition of a close-plucking register, and Blankenburg concludes his description of it thus: "by making such a spinet [register] within a two-manual

Ruckers harpsichord one could produce more than a dozen excellent variations of play (as is done by many registers in an organ); this has been unknown until our time."³ The rebuilder's highly successful effort to avoid producing any stylistic incongruity in those areas of decoration that he had to supply, notably the black arabesques surrounding the keyboards, which differ from those surrounding the soundboard, but echo the strapwork on the outside of the case, makes it impossible to arrive at a firm date for his work. In fact, the archaic and inconvenient arrangement for changing the registers, which requires that the performer reach around the sides of the case, and the absence of any signature or date on the new keyboards or on the jacks, suggest that the rebuilder wanted to have his work go unrecognized and wished the instrument to pass as an original two-manual harpsichord. Blankenburg⁴ makes it clear that unscrupulous craftsmen in the eighteenth century were engaged in this kind of counterfeiting, but if the Museum's instrument is an example of such work, it is far more skillful and successful than those against which Blankenburg warns at tedious length.

The Museum's harpsichord, originally a rare, extended-range single-manual instrument with two rows of jacks and buff register, is now to all intents and purposes a fine eighteenth-century double-manual instrument with four rows of jacks. However, unlike such Parisian rebuilders as Pascal Taskin, who completely redecorated older harpsichords and radically altered their musical character, the anonymous Flemish craftsman who undertook the alterations on the Museum's instrument succeeded in vastly augmenting its musical capabilities while preserving most of its original decoration intact. Even more important, because of the way in which the alteration was accomplished and the comparatively small amount of rebuilding that was required, the musical resources of the original seventeenth-century instrument were increased but not effaced. As a result, the instrument simultaneously documents Flemish practice of both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

3. Quirinus van Blankenburg, *Elementa musica*, p. 145. Trans. by Frank Hubbard in *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965) p. 239.

4. *Elementa musica*, pp. 144–145. Trans. by Hubbard, *Three Centuries of Harpsichord Making*, pp. 238–239.

La Glorification de l'Eucharistie de Rubens et les Carmes

P. JEAN DE LA CROIX, O.C.D.

Soignies, Belgium

IL N'EST PAS nécessaire de redire ici ce que l'on sait par ailleurs de l'esquisse que Rubens fit pour l'autel majeur des Grands Carmes d'Anvers (Figure 1).¹ Le tableau que l'on admire aujourd'hui au Metropolitan Museum porte généralement le titre de "The Triumph of Christ over Sin and Death," auquel on en a ajouté un second qui semble plus adéquat, "The Glorification of the Eucharist."² Au fait, notre propos serait d'évoquer ici les circonstances dans lesquelles le tableau a été exécuté et les raisons qui peuvent justifier sa composition très étudiée. C'est surtout en identifiant les saints qui figurent dans l'esquisse que l'œuvre apparaîtra, en ce second quart du XVIIe siècle, comme une prise de position très nette des Carmes au cours d'une longue et parfois violente polémique.

LE CONTEXTE HISTORIQUE

L'Ordre des Carmes prit naissance, dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle, sur la montagne du Carmel en

Palestine, célèbre par le séjour et le sacrifice du prophète Elie, qui y vécut au IXe siècle avant Jésus-Christ.³ Vers 1209, Saint Albert, patriarche de Jérusalem, leur donna une règle, et ils commencèrent bientôt à essaimer en Europe, où on trouve déjà des Carmes à Valenciennes (France) en 1235. A cause de leur insigne dévotion à Marie, on les appelait "les frères de Notre-Dame," mais ils n'avaient pas, à l'instar des Franciscains ou des Dominicains, un fondateur dont la notoriété pût égaler celle d'un François ou d'un Dominique.

C'est dans les Constitutions de l'Ordre de 1281, qu'on voit apparaître pour la première fois le thème élianique, où l'on expose que les Carmes se rattachent à Elie par les Pères de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament. Pendant trois siècles—du XIVE au XVIe—va s'élaborer chez les Carmes la doctrine de la succession héréditaire, selon laquelle Elie, neuf siècles avant Jésus-Christ, a vraiment fondé l'Ordre, si bien que les ermites du XIIe siècle sont les héritiers directs de cette

1. Editor's note: acc. no. 37.160.12; oil on wood; H. 28 in., W. 19 in. The known history of the panel is as follows: John Campbell, Fourth Duke of Argyll (until 1770; sale, Langford's, London, March 22, 1771, no. 71, as "The Ascension, Sketch," £80 or 90); ? John Pratt, Bayham Abbey, Sussex, 1771-1797; John Jeffreys Pratt, 1st Marquess Camden, Bayham Abbey, Lamberhurst, Kent (1797-1840; sale, Christie's, London, June 12, 1841, no. 65, as "Christ Triumphant," £44.2.0); Charles A. Bredel, London (1841-1851); the Misses Bredel, London (1851-1875; sale, Christie's, London, May 1, 1875, no. 123, as "Christ

Triumphant over Sin and Death," £430.0.0); [Grant, 1875]; Leopold II, King of the Belgians, Brussels (about 1875-1909); [F. Kleinberger & Co., Paris, 1909]; August de Ridder, Schöenberg (1909-1924; sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 2, 1924, no. 57, as "The Triumph of Christ over Death and Sin," Fr. 220,000.); [Pietro Stettiner, Rome, 1924]; Ogden Mills, New York (bequest, 1929, to The Metropolitan Museum of Art). c.v.

2. Rub. Am., p. 34.

3. Di. S.; *Les plus vieux textes du Carmel*, Collection *La vigne du Carmel* (Paris, 1944).

glorieuse lignée.⁴ On admettrait volontiers que les Carmes eussent affirmé leur appartenance spirituelle à Elie et on tient encore aujourd'hui à juste titre à se réclamer de son esprit et de son patronage dans l'Ordre, mais on reste confondu devant les assertions qu'ils apportèrent alors pour justifier leurs prétentions historiques.

Sans se lasser, ils répètent leurs arguments d'autorité, citent l'Écriture, échafaudent des raisonnements : un père a-t-il écrit quelque traité sur la vie monastique en citant Elie comme modèle, c'est certainement un Carme. Quelqu'un a-t-il été ermite, c'est un solitaire du Carmel. Un saint s'est-t-il signalé par son zèle à défendre les prérogatives de Marie, c'est certainement qu'il a été ou est encore moine au Carmel. On comprend qu'il connurent des contradicteurs.

Lorsque, vers 1370, le Carme Jean de Hildesheim écrit son *Defensorium*, il dit clairement dans son prologue que c'est pour répondre aux attaques de la malice et de l'envie, et il écrit son ouvrage sous la forme d'un dialogue entre un "detractor" et un "director."⁵ Vers le même temps, les Carmes ayant été attaqués au sujet de leur ancienneté, l'affaire fut déferée à l'Université de Cambridge, qui publia un décret favorable aux Carmes le 23 février 1374.⁶ Wyclif (mort en 1384), considéré comme un précurseur du protestantisme, combattit également l'antiquité de l'Ordre et fut réfuté par le Carme Thomas Waldensis.⁷ Le célèbre abbé bénédictin Trithemius (1462-1519) prit la défense des Carmes dans son livre *De ortu et progressu Ordinis . . . V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, publié d'abord à Mayence en 1494 et réédité plusieurs fois dans la suite, entr'autres à Anvers en 1576.⁸ Le Carme Thomas Bradley (mort en 1491), et le Bienheureux Carme Baptiste de Mantoue (mort en 1516), prirent aussi la défense de l'Ordre contre ses détracteurs.⁹

Toujours dans la même ligne, le *Speculum Ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum* de 1507 affirme la fondation par Elie et Elisée, et entr'autres choses, rapporte que Jean 44, évêque de Jérusalem, fut d'abord moine au Carmel, et qu'il donna en 412 à son disciple Caprasius une règle appelée "Institution des premiers moines." Dans le même *Speculum* on raconte aussi qu'en 418 Saint Cyrille, d'abord moine au Carmel et ensuite Patriarche d'Alexandrie, présida le Concile d'Ephèse, où la maternité divine de Marie fut proclamée. Ainsi, en

FIGURE I

La Glorification de L'Eucharistie, par Pierre Paul Rubens. Huile sur bois. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Ogden Mills, 37.160.12

introduisant petit à petit dans les Annales de leur famille religieuse une série de saints personnages de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, les Carmes en arriveront à dresser, surtout aux XVIe et XVIIe siècle, une nomenclature des gloires de l'Ordre, qui donne aujourd'hui le vertige.

Une escarmouche encore se rattache à la publication à Rome en 1593 du premier volume des *Annales Ecclesiastici* du Cardinal Baronius. Celui-ci y parle de "superstition juive au Mont Carmel," à propos de la visite qu'y fit Vespasien en l'an 71 pour y consulter les oracles du "dieu Carmel."¹⁰ Dans un petit livre rare, publié à Florence en 1595 (mais où l'auteur précise lui-même qu'il écrit le 29 octobre 1594), le Carme Pietro Lucio di Brussella, docteur en théologie, relève la chose et l'explique à sa façon : ce sont les Carmes que Vespasien est venu consulter au Mont Carmel, et ce haut-lieu, dit-il, n'était pas voué à la superstition, mais consacré au contraire à la prière et à la piété.¹¹ Dans le même ouvrage, Pietro Lucio affirme que Jean 44, patriarche de Jérusalem, ainsi que Cyrille d'Alexandrie, ont été Carmes avant d'accéder au pontificat.

Peu après, en 1595, Baronius publie à Rome le Tome VI des *Annales*. Parlant de Cyrille d'Alexandrie en 444, il rejette sans pitié sa qualité de Carme, ainsi que d'ailleurs celle de Jean 44. Citons le texte :

Nous ne pouvons pas ne pas rejeter la légende... selon laquelle le même Cyrille évêque d'Alexandrie aurait été moine du Mont Carmel; légende à laquelle Trithemius, avec une légèreté inqualifiable, accorde crédit.

Les contemporains de Cyrille, qui eux nous sont connus, ne soufflent pas le moindre mot de ce prétendu monachat. Quelle mention trouve-t-on d'ailleurs de

4. EL., pp. 34-81.

5. S. C., I, nos. 642 et sq.

6. S. C., I, no. 816.

7. S. C., I, nos. 2806 et sq.

8. S. C., I, nos. 1114 et 1188.

9. B. C., col. 829 et col. 231.

10. A. E., I (Rome, 1593) p. 688.

11. Pietro Lucio di Brussella, *Compendio storico* (Florence, 1595) p. 74.

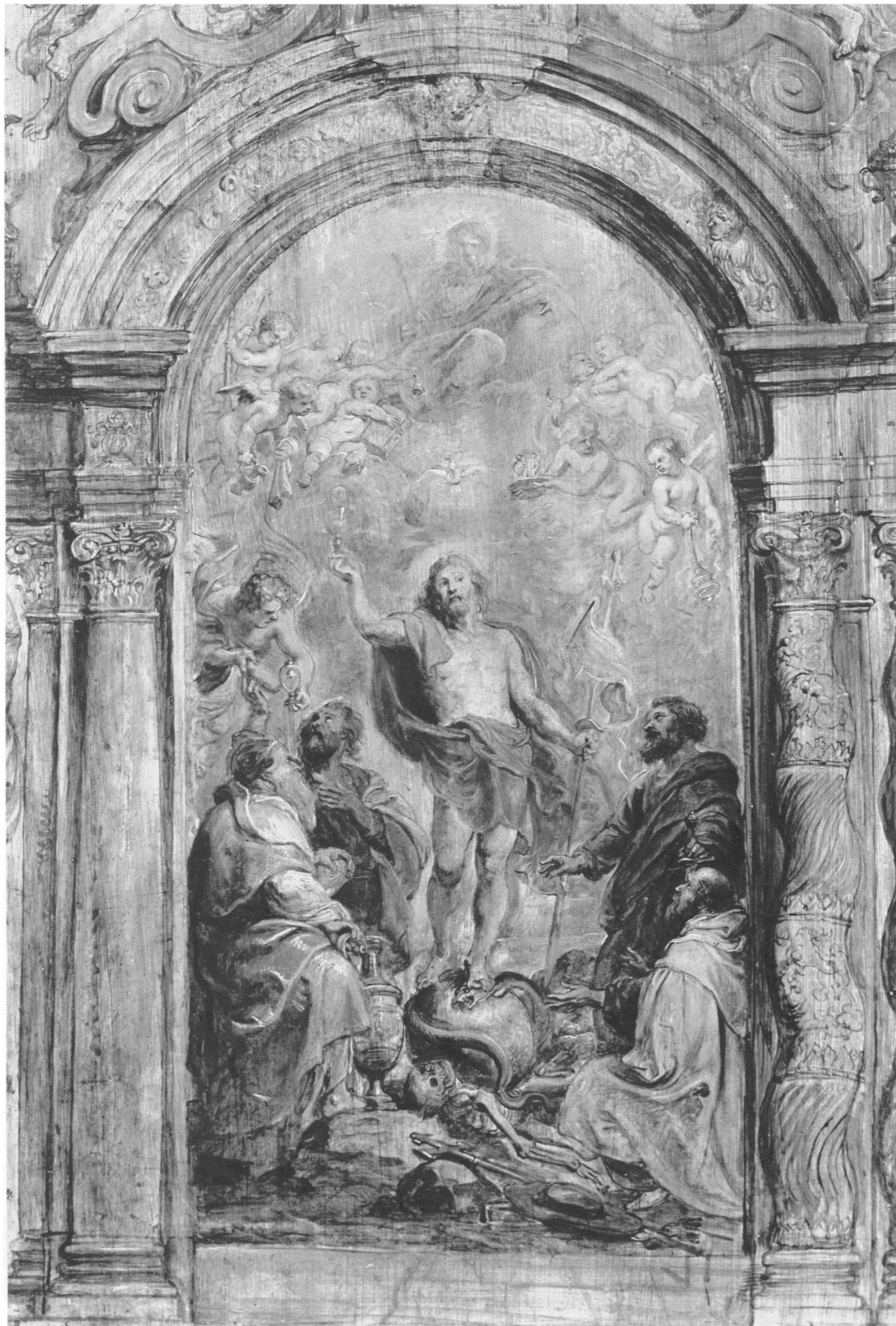




FIGURE 2

Détail du frontispice du *Dilucidario* . . . de Diego de Coria Maldonado, Cordoba, 1598, représentant le prophète Elie sur le Carmel et S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie portant l'habit des Carmes. Bibliothèque des Carmes déchaux, Gand

vie monastique au Carmel, chez les écrivains de ce temps? Si chez Jérôme, Palladius, Evagre, Cassien, Théodoret, Cyrille le moine, il est fréquemment fait mention de moines vivant en Palestine, absolument jamais par contre, il n'est parlé de carmes.

Il en va par conséquent de la fable du monachat de Cyrille au Carmel comme de cette autre qui la vaut, selon laquelle Jean [44] de Jérusalem, l'évêque origéniste, aurait été carme: elles s'évanouissent avec d'autant plus d'aisance qu'elles sont faites de vent. En vérité, le désir passionné d'antique noblesse pousse parfois les hommes à délirer."¹²

L'année suivante, en 1596, le même volume VI des *Annales* sortait des Presses de Plantin à Anvers et reproduisait avec la même rigueur le texte du Cardinal. On peut imaginer l'émotion des Carmes, et sans doute

celle des Carmes d'Anvers en particulier. De plus, en 1623, à Anvers encore, chez l'imprimeur Jan Cnobbaert, les *Annales* de Baronius paraissaient cette fois en langue flamande, ce qui leur assurait une plus large audience. Elles donnaient le texte cité plus haut, avec néanmoins cette différence symptomatique qu'on a supprimé la dernière phrase: "en vérité, le désir passionné d'antique noblesse pousse parfois les hommes à délirer."¹³ Sans doute, aura-t-on voulu éviter de trop froisser les Carmes fort estimés à Anvers depuis plus d'un siècle.¹⁴ C'est vers cette époque d'ailleurs que deux de leurs prieurs vénérés dont on parlera plus loin, Jean de la Court (mort en 1622), et Gaspar Rinckens (mort en 1625), donnèrent leur vie au service des pestiférés.¹⁵

A cette attaque du célèbre Cardinal, les Carmes et leurs amis réagirent vigoureusement un peu partout et pendant des années, dans de nombreux ouvrages, où souvent la gravure frontispice évoque éloquemment leurs traditions. En 1598, à Cordoue, Diego de Coria Maldonado publie son *Dilucidario* . . .,¹⁶ où il affirme la fondation des Carmes par Elie et le monachat carmélite de Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Au début de l'ouvrage, une gravure représente, aux pieds de la Vierge du Scapulaire, le prophète Elie sur le Carmel et à gauche S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie à genoux, portant l'habit des Carmes, le grand chapeau pendant sur le dos et la croix patriarchale en mains (Figure 2). En 1610, Aubertus Miraeus, chanoine d'Anvers, parle d'Elie, de Jean 44 et de Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans le sens des Carmes.¹⁷ Et ceux-ci se sentent d'autant plus forts que les Papes parlent comme eux,¹⁸ et approuvent en tout cas l'Office de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie comme celui d'un Carme.¹⁹

12. Traduction française reprise dans EL., p. 118.

13. A. E. (Anvers, 1623) p. 479.

14. La fondation officielle du couvent des Carmes d'Anvers remonte à 1493, mais on y trouve déjà des Carmes venant de Malines vers 1405. Cfr. Mon., "Antwerpen."

15. B. C., col. 829 et col. 541.

16. Diego de Coria Maldonado, *Dilucidario i demonstracion de las chronicas i antiedad del sacro Orden de la siempre Virgen Madre de Dios Santa Maria del Monte Carmelo* (Cordova, 1598) p. 400 et sq., et passim. L'auteur affirme également que S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie est le fondateur des premières moniales carmélites, p. 403.

17. Aubertus Miraeus, *Ordinis Carmelitani . . . origo atque incrementa* (Anvers, 1610) passim et p. 21.

18. EL., p. 110.

19. V. C., p. 211, no. 417. Chez les Carmes d'Angleterre, on trouve déjà la fête de Saint Cyrille d'Alexandrie au XIV^e siècle.

FIGURE 3

Le Père Gaspar Rinckens. Manuscrit No. 576,
Stadsarchief, Anvers

A Anvers même, de 1611 à 1621, paraissent trois petits livres apologétiques bien révélateurs, ayant pour auteurs trois Carmes, qui furent tout trois prieurs du couvent d'Anvers.

Le premier a pour auteur le P. Petrus Wastelius, qui jeune religieux et plein de zèle pour son Ordre, l'écrivit contre Baronius en 1611.²⁰ Sanderus affirme qu'il le fit avec tant d'à propos que dans cette controverse il parait avoir eu le dessus, et que Baronius lui-même s'il avait pu (il était mort en 1607), se fut certainement rétracté.²¹

Le second a été écrit par un Frère Mineur Joannes de Cartagena, mais traduit en flamand par le P. Gaspar Rinckens (Figure 3), sous-prieur des Carmes d'Anvers, en 1621.²² Il présente une gravure frontispice éloquente (Figure 4). Le chapitre VI de la deuxième



Au chapitre général de 1564, présidé par Saint Charles Borromée, protecteur de l'Ordre, on publie un calendrier pour tout l'Ordre, où on trouve au 28 janvier: "S. Cyrille, patriarche d'Alexandrie, de notre Ordre; double avec octave" (Cfr. S. C., II, pp. III et VI). Grégoire XIII, Sixte V, Paul V et Urbain VIII approuvèrent la leçon de l'office où on parle de S. Cyrille comme d'un Carme.

20. Petrus Wastelius, *Apologeticum pro Joannis Hierosolymitani Monachismo in Carmelo, et pro libro ejusdem de "Institutione primorum monachorum" in lege veteri exortorum et in nova perseverantium* (Bruxelles, 1611). En 1643, Petrus Wastelius devait éditer les deux gros volumes: *Joannis . . . Jerosolymorum Patriarchae XLIV Opera*, où il refute à nouveau Baronius. Il mourut à Alost en 1658; son épitaphe porte entr'autres: "Joannis Jerosolymitani contra Card. Baronium vindex et propugnator irregragabilis" (Cfr. B. C., col. 621). Les Petits Carmes ou Carmes Déchaux qui avaient fondé à Anvers en 1618, défendirent avec le même zèle l'antiquité de l'Ordre. Le provincial des Carmes déchaux d'Espagne écrivit un jour au P. Petrus Wastelius pour le féliciter d'être le premier défenseur de l'Ordre (Cfr. C. S. B., p. 272).

21. C. S. B., pp. 271-272.

22. Joannes de Cartagena, *Bewys des outheys der Orden van H. Moeder Godts Maria des Berghs Carmeli*, traduit par F. Gaspar Rinckens (Anvers, 1621).

FIGURE 4

Frontispice du *Bewys des Outheys* . . . par Joannes de Cartagena, traduit de l'original en latin par Gaspar Rinckens, Anvers, 1621. Bibliothèque des Carmes déchaux, Gand





FIGURE 5
Le Père Joannes de la Court. Manuscrit No. 576,
Stadsarchief, Anvers

partie est intitulé comme suit (nous traduisons du flamand) : “Ici on rejette l’affirmation de l’illustrissime Cardinal Baronius, prétendant que c’est Antoine qui a jeté les premiers fondements du monachisme.” Et le chapitre VII : “Ici on confirme comment Jean 44, patriarche de Jérusalem, a été vraiment moine dans l’Ordre des Carmes, comment il fut l’auteur d’un livre dédié à Caprasius sur l’Institution des premiers moines, et comment aussi Cyrille d’Alexandrie a été vraiment un Carme.”

Le troisième petit livre, édité en 1621, est l’œuvre du P. Joannes de la Court (Figure 5), dont Rubens fit le portrait (Figure 6), et qui fut prieur des Carmes d’Anvers de 1610 jusqu’à 1622, année de sa mort. L’image frontispice représente Elie, fondateur du Carmel (Figure 7). L’auteur y donne d’abord, en

flamand, le texte de “l’Institution des premiers moines,” puis, quoique sans le nommer, il réfute Baronius. “Jean 44, dit-il, est bien un Carme, auteur du livre (que nous traduisons ici) ; il n’a pas été origéniste comme certains l’ont prétendu sans raison. Ces derniers ont aussi osé écrire : ‘N’accordez aucun crédit à toutes ces fables qui racontent que Cyrille a été Carme, ainsi que l’origéniste Jean 44.’ ”²³ Sanderus dit que Jean de la Court écrivit ce livre pour que les Anversois puissent se documenter sur les origines et les développements de l’Ordre des Carmes, fondé par Elie.²⁴

23. Joannes de la Court, *Het Boeck Joannis den vierenveertichsten Bisschop ende Patriarch van Jerusalem . . .* (Anvers, 1621) pp. 154 et 155.

24. C. S. B., p. 270 : Il n’est pas possible de citer ici tous les ouvrages où les Carmes défendirent leurs traditions. Les anciennes bibliothèques de l’Ordre en ont pas mal et il est probable qu’une liste complète n’en a jamais été dressée.

FIGURE 6

Le Père Joannes de la Court, par Pierre Paul Rubens. Huile sur bois. Collection Lord Plunket, Londres



Ces préambules permettent de réaliser jusqu'à quel point les Carmes, et en particulier les Carmes d'Anvers, étaient sensibilisés à la question des origines de leur Ordre. Dans cette perspective, nous pourrions mieux déchiffrer et comprendre le tableau qu'ils commandèrent à Rubens pour leur maître-autel.

L'ESQUISSE DE RUBENS POUR LES CARMES D'ANVERS

La construction de l'église des Carmes d'Anvers fut commencée vers la fin du XVe siècle et ne vit son ultime achèvement que sous le priorat du P. Martinus vanden Venne, en 1645–1649. Mais nous savons que le maître-autel fut commencé, d'après le carton de Rubens, en 1637, et terminé avant Pâques de l'année 1638.²⁵ Sanderus, qui mourut en 1664, paraît bien être le plus ancien témoin oculaire connu de ce sanctuaire et de son maître-autel, qu'il décrit ainsi :

En cet endroit se dresse le maître-autel : on y accède par quatre degrés ; l'ensemble s'élève à une hauteur de 66 pieds, la largeur en est de 24. Le monument est vraiment grandiose, royal, majestueux. Il est entièrement en marbre, et vraiment l'on ne pourrait dire si c'est la richesse des matériaux ou la splendeur de l'art qui frappe davantage.

Il encadre un tableau qui représente un Christ Mystagogue, c'est à dire qui initie au mystère. Remarquable en est la composition, due à Rubens, encore que réalisée par un autre pinceau ; plus remarquable est la présentation du mystère, que l'on chercherait en vain ailleurs.

Quant aux assises qui supportent la table d'autel, elles présentent des bandes verdâtres de marbres variés, alternant avec des lignes de marbre blanc. Sur ce fond, se détachent, en marbre de Gênes, les armes du très noble Seigneur de Goddines, toparque de Cantecroy, Mortsel et autres lieux, ainsi que celles de sa charmante épouse, lesquels ont, pour cet ouvrage, dépensé de la façon la plus heureuse des milliers de florins.²⁶

Frans Baudouin, conservateur des Musées d'Histoire de l'Art de la ville d'Anvers, a bien voulu nous révéler l'existence d'une peinture identique à notre sujet, copie faite vraisemblablement vers la fin du XVIIe siècle. Cette peinture à l'huile sur toile, se trouve dans la collection privée de Monsieur Dominique Hertoghe à Anvers (Figure 8).

Un autre témoin de l'œuvre est le grand Carme

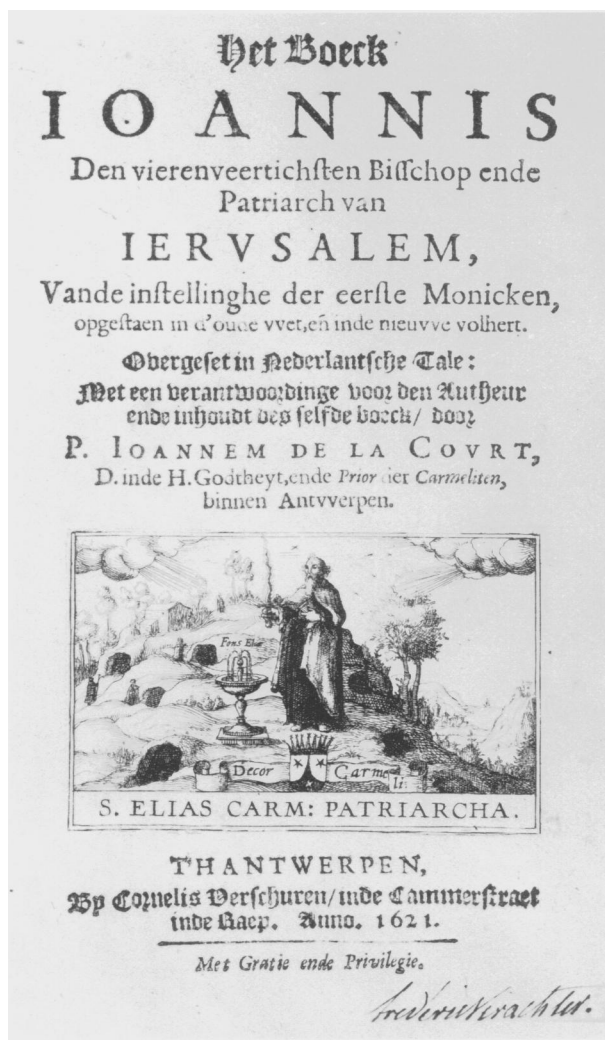


FIGURE 7

Frontispice de *Het Boeck Ioannis* . . . par le Père Joannes de la Court, Anvers, 1621, représentant le prophète Elie comme fondateur du Carmel. Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles

Norbertus a Sancta Juliana (dans le monde N. Hermans), né à Bruxelles en 1710 et mort au couvent d'Anvers en 1757.²⁷ Historien, prédicateur et poète, il a laissé plusieurs œuvres, dont un opuscule manuscrit : "Notitia succincta de ecclesia Carmelitarum Calceatorum Antverpiae," faisant partie de la documentation de feu le Dr. L. Burchard et se trouvant aujourd'hui au

25. N. S., p. 5.

26. C. S. B., pp. 250–252.

27. B. C., col. xxxix.



FIGURE 8

La Glorification de l'Eucharistie, copie d'après l'esquisse de Rubens. Huile sur toile. Collection D. Hertoghe, Anvers

Rubenianum à Anvers. Ce manuscrit présente trois écritures différentes: une première main est celle du P. Norbertus, qui décrit en latin l'église des Carmes d'Anvers; une seconde main a traduit ce texte latin en français en y ajoutant des notes, et ce texte français a été intercalé en regard du texte latin; une troisième main a écrit le titre au début: "Manuscript van Pater Norbertus a Sancta Juliana, L. V. Broeder alhier, alias Hermans, geb. te Brussel 26 Septembris 1710, geprof. 1 May 1729, Priester 18 December 1734." A la page 5, le P. Norbertus écrit, en latin:

Le maître-autel du chœur, tout de marbre, et consacré au Saint Sacrement, a été construit par Jean van Meldert, sculpteur,²⁸ sur le dessin de P. P. Rubens. C'est un présent de la très noble Dame Sybille van de

Berge, Dame de Cantecroy, Morselen et Edegem, douairière de noble Homme Philippe de Goddines, Seigneur des dits lieux, receveur général des Finances de Sa Majesté dans le quartier et ville d'Anvers [Figure 9]. Cet autel est haut de 54 pieds et large de 28. Il a été commencé en 1637 et achevé avant Pâques en l'an 1638. Il a coûté 6500 florins. Le tableau de cet autel représente Jésus-Christ, grand prêtre de la nouvelle loi et l'auteur de la sainte Eucharistie, entre Melchisédech, le prophète Elie, l'apôtre Saint Paul et Saint Cyrille, patriarche d'Alexandrie. Il a été peint par Gérard Seghers d'Anvers.²⁹ Les degrés de marbre ont été ordonnés par Henry Verbruggen d'Anvers, fameux sculpteur architecte,³⁰ qui a également exécuté le portail de marbre de la sacristie, sur lequel est représenté le prophète Elie nourri par les corbeaux.

Page 19, l'auteur de la traduction française écrit (après 1771):

Non seulement cet autel, mais le tableau même ont été exécutés sur le dessin et ordonnance de Rubens. Ce fait est certain, parce que dans mon dernier voyage en Angleterre en 1771, j'ai vu l'esquisse entière du projet, peint par Rubens, dans le cabinet du Duc d'Argyll, vendu publiquement après son décès, au mois de mars de cette année. Cette esquisse qui était assez terminée peinte sur bois, représentait un double projet, avec l'autel mipartie, de la forme qu'il a été exécuté, et d'une autre façon avec des colonnes torces [sic]; . . . au milieu se trouvait le tableau en petit, exactement comme il est en grand, légèrement mais spirituellement peint, et plus terminé que le reste. Ce morceau portait aux environs de quatre pieds de haut, sur deux à deux et demi de large. Il était parfaitement bien conservé et a été vendu 80 livres ou 90 livres.

28. Il s'agit sans doute de Hans van Mildert (158?-1638), sculpteur, qui travailla pour l'archiduc Albert et fut ami de Rubens. Cfr. Is. Leyssens, *Hans van Mildert. Gentsche Bydragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, VII (Anvers, 1941). Néanmoins, dans cette brochure, l'auteur ne parle pas du maître-autel des Carmes d'Anvers.

29. C'est donc Gérard Seghers qui a peint le grand tableau de l'autel, d'après l'esquisse de Rubens. Au sujet de Gérard Seghers, voir note 31.

30. Il y a ici une difficulté: Hendrik Frans Verbruggen est né en 1655 à Anvers et mort en 1724. Il fut doyen de la Gilde en 1689. Comment peut-on affirmer qu'il est l'auteur des degrés de marbre d'un autel construit en 1637-1638? Au fait, les degrés de marbre semblent bien avoir été exécutés non pas en même temps que l'autel, mais dans la suite, car l'auteur du manuscrit *Chronographia Sacra Carmeli Antuerpiensis*, qui écrit vers 1745, nous dit: "Afin cependant que cet admirable ensemble de marbre ne repose pas sur une base quelconque, on a ajouté tout récemment des degrés de marbre et un pavement blanc qui ravit le regard. Le tout a coûté 1664 florins" (Manuscrit K. 576 de Arch. V. A., pp. 13-14).



FIGURE 9

Armoiries de Philippe de Goddines. Manuscrit No. 576, Stadsarchief, Anvers

Le pied d'Anvers mesurant 27 ou 28 centimètres au XVIII^e siècle, cela fait environ 1.10 mètre sur 0.62 mètre. Ces dimensions sont supérieures à celles du panneau du Musée de New York, mais on sait qu'il a été coupé en haut et sur les côtés.

J. B. Descamps, dans son *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant*, livre édité en 1769, décrit notre autel (p. 180):

Le maître-autel de marbre, très grand et d'un assez bon goût d'architecture, a pour tableau, peint par G. Seghers (T. I, p. 386), une allégorie sainte: on voit Dieu le Père et le Saint Esprit dans le ciel et Jésus-Christ tenant d'une main sa croix, de l'autre un calice sur lequel est posée une hostie; Jésus-Christ, placé sur le globe, foule aux pieds un squelette et un serpent; dans le bas du tableau, on voit S. Pierre et d'autres saints; ce sujet est composé avec feu et génie, et bien dans la manière de Rubens pour le faire et pour la couleur.³¹

Un autre témoin du maître-autel est l'érudit J. van

der Sanden, qui vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle, écrit trois gros volumes, en vers, où il décrit les trésors d'art d'Anvers. Son témoignage est fort curieux, mais ne nous apprend rien de neuf.³²

Signalons aussi qu'on possède encore des dessins préliminaires que Rubens fit pour le tableau: un dessin faisant partie autrefois de la collection Charles A. de Burlet, à Berlin, représentant Melchisédech, Elie et le Christ;³³ un dessin conservé à l'Albertina de Vienne, représentant Melchisédech et Elie (Figure 10); un dessin conservé à l'Albertina de Vienne, représentant Paul, Cyrille et une sainte femme (Figure 11). Le grand graveur français Charles-Albert Waltner (1846–1925) fit une remarquable eau-forte du tableau en 1879 (Figure 12).³⁴

LA "LECTURE" DE L'ESQUISSE

Le contexte historique, l'audition des témoins, l'énumération des sources vont nous permettre enfin de "lire" l'esquisse de Rubens et de la comprendre. Celle-ci, on le sait, a été coupée au dessus et sur les côtés, et nous n'avons plus qu'une idée incomplète de l'œuvre. D'autre part, le grand tableau de Seghers, l'autel lui-même, l'église aussi, tout a disparu à la révolution.³⁵

Comme l'autel a été commencé en 1637 et terminé en 1638, l'esquisse est antérieure à 1637, et peut-être

31. La référence donnée dans ce texte, "T. I, p. 386," est relative à un autre ouvrage de J. B. Descamps, Vic., où on lit (pp. 387–388): "Ce peintre [G. Seghers] avait le caractère doux et aimable; il fut l'un des grands amis de Rubens et de van Dyck; la jalousie ne put jamais les séparer. . . . Il mourut à Anvers en 1651, âgé de 62 ans. . . . Un tableau d'autel de ce maître [G. Seghers] se remarque par sa singularité: il est si fort dans le goût de Rubens qu'on l'a cru de ce dernier; il orne le maître-autel des Carmes."

32. O. K., II, p. 190, où on lit:

Een gedenkstuk hier cierend den Choor der Carmelieten:
Waer het hoog autærstuk eerst voor de oog komt schieten;
Christus verresen staet, als Bruydegom der kerk,
In zegenpraël verbeld door Seghers konstryk werk.

Après ces quatre vers, l'auteur ajoute: "Dit groot autærstuk verbeldende des zalignaeker op den aersbol, verplettende de sonde en de dood, en vergeseld van veele Heyligen, is geschilderd door onsen voorgemelden Gerardus Seghers in de manier van den Ridder P. P. Rubens."

33. Cat., no. 79, collection Charles A. de Burlet, Berlin.

34. Cette eau-forte fut publiée dans *L'Art* 17 (1879) opp. p. 112.

35. S. J. B., p. 70 et sq.



FIGURE 10

Dessin préliminaire à l'esquisse par Rubens représentant probablement Melchisédech et Elie. Lavis sur fusain. Albertina, Vienne



FIGURE 11

Dessin préliminaire de Rubens représentant probablement Paul, Cyrille et une Sainte femme. Plume et encre, lavis, sur fusain. Albertina, Vienne

même de quelques années, sans qu'on puisse en dire la date exacte. Il arrive en effet qu'un projet soit antérieur de plusieurs années à l'exécution, car un autel de cette importance n'est pas peu de chose et il faut trouver des fonds pour le réaliser. Certains ont vu cette esquisse des années 1615-1618, mais, pour des raisons stylistiques, la majorité des auteurs la considère aujourd'hui comme ayant été peinte au moins dix ans plus tard, soit vers 1628. Est-ce le P. Gerardus Gerardi, qui fut prieur de 1627 à 1631 (et aussi de 1635 à 1637), qui demanda l'esquisse au maître? Serait-ce, en 1634, le prieur Charles Couvercelius, qui était lui-même artiste? Serait-ce même peut-être Jean de la Court, qui connaissait Rubens, puisque le maître fit son por-

trait avant 1622? On ne sait. En tout cas, la construction de l'autel fut commencée sous le priorat du célèbre P. Livinus Canisius (1637-1642), qui devait introduire en 1638 la Réforme religieuse dite "de Touraine" dans ce couvent et la mener à bien. D'autre part, puisque nous savons que ce n'est pas Rubens, mort en 1640, qui exécuta le grand tableau, mais bien G. Seghers, nous pouvons conjecturer que ce dernier artiste l'exécuta soit pour l'achèvement de l'autel en 1638, soit dans la suite. L'autel fut consacré sous le priorat du P. Petrus Wastelius (1742-1745), par l'évêque d'Anvers Gaspar Nemius.³⁶

36. Arch. E. A., *Manuscript Karmelieten Antwerpen*, 1-2, 28^{us} Prior.

L'ordonnance du tableau est claire. Comme on sait que le maître-autel était dédié au Saint Sacrement,³⁷ il est normal que les Carmes aient demandé à Rubens de célébrer dans son œuvre le mystère de l'autel.³⁸

Le Christ, debout sur le globe terrestre, tient de la main droite un calice surmonté d'une hostie, et de la gauche l'étendard de la croix ou labarum. Le Christ est représenté ici ressuscité et vivant, parce que l'Eucharistie est essentiellement sacrement de vie. "Celui qui mange ma chair et boit mon sang, dit Jésus, a la vie éternelle, et moi, je le ressusciterai au dernier jour." (Jean VI, 54.) C'est par l'Eucharistie que le chrétien peut triompher de la mort et du péché, représentés ici par un squelette et un serpent. Il y a donc un vrai rapport (que Leo van Puyvelde n'a pas vu en 1938) entre l'Eucharistie et la mort et le péché vaincus par elle. Néanmoins, cette victoire sur la mort et le péché ne constitue qu'un aspect partiel du tableau, ordonné entièrement à la louange de l'Eucharistie. C'est pourquoi, il serait plus logique de l'appeler définitivement "The Glorification of the Eucharist."

Ensuite, ce n'est pas par hasard, ou simplement pour meubler le registre supérieur, qu'apparaissent dans le ciel Dieu le Père assis dans les nuées et Dieu le Saint Esprit sous la forme d'une colombe. Toutes les œuvres de Dieu "ad extra" sont l'œuvre de la Trinité tout entière. Quand le Christ a institué l'Eucharistie, c'était la Trinité elle-même qui voulait ce sacrement pour les hommes.

On remarquera aussi que les angelots de la partie supérieure présentent les principaux objets nécessaires à la célébration : un cierge, une croix, une sonnette, une aiguère avec la serviette, un missel, des burettes et un encensoir. Mais c'est le Christ lui-même qui tient le calice et l'hostie, parce que c'est toujours lui qui offre et qui est offert.

Enfin, nous allons le voir, le choix des quatre personnages qui entourent le Christ a été fait avec beaucoup d'à propos et concourt à la cohérence de l'ensemble.

A l'extrême gauche, se trouve Melchisédech, le plus ancien prêtre connu, type du Messie-prêtre, qui en présence d'Abraham offrit un sacrifice de pain et de vin (Gen. XIV, 18). On le représente ici tenant un

37. N. S., p. 5.

38. Les Carmes avaient une dévotion spéciale pour le Saint Sacrement. Cfr. Di. S., p. 162.



FIGURE 12

La Glorification de l'Eucharistie, par Charles-Albert Waltner, 1846-1925. Eau forte d'après l'esquisse de Rubens. Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles

pain et une amphore de vin près de lui. Il porte sur la tête le "camauro," bonnet de pourpre bordé de duvet, coiffure réservée jadis au Pape, appelé à juste titre "souverain pontife."

A côté de Melchisédech, se tient le prophète Elie dans une scène caractéristique de sa vie : au prophète fatigué et découragé sous le genêt du désert, un ange apporte un pain et une ampoule d'eau. Alors, "il se leva, mangea et but, et avec la force de cette nourriture, il marcha quarante jours et quarante nuits jusqu'à la montagne de Dieu, l'Horeb" (I Rois XIX, 8). C'est la scène évoquée ici et qui est typiquement eucharistique, particulièrement dans l'iconographie

religieuse des Carmes au XVII^e siècle.³⁹ Cependant, on comprendra, après tout ce qui a été dit plus haut, que la présence d'Elie revêt ici un caractère nettement apologétique. Les Carmes d'Anvers veulent affirmer dans la peinture de leur maître-autel, comme ils l'avaient fait dans leurs écrits, qu'Elie est leur *fondeur*. Un souci semblable les poussait, lorsque dans la représentation de la Transfiguration du Christ, ils voulaient qu'Elie fut habillé en Carme, ainsi qu'on en a plusieurs exemples.⁴⁰ Nous savons aussi que dans la suite, dix tableaux relatifs à l'histoire des Carmes furent placés au dessus des confessionnaux de la même église; les sujets en sont connus et cinq d'entre eux soulignent l'antiquité de l'Ordre.⁴¹ De plus, des vitraux racontaient toute l'histoire d'Elie et d'Elisée. Toute cette démonstration en images devait frapper les visiteurs.⁴²

Les deux personnages de gauche étant de l'Ancien Testament, il était normal que les deux de droite fussent du Nouveau. Le premier près du Christ est S. Paul, avec son habituel attribut: l'épée. Saint Paul est un des premiers et des plus authentiques témoins de la célébration eucharistique: "Le calice de bénédiction que nous bénissons dit-il, n'est-il pas une communion au sang du Christ? Et le pain que nous rompons, n'est-il pas une communion au corps du Christ?" (I Cor. X, 16). De même, dans l'épître aux Hébreux, S. Paul développe une longue comparaison entre le sacerdoce de Melchisédech et celui de Jésus-Christ (Chap. V, VI et VII). Sa présence se justifie donc parfaitement.

Enfin, un moine en manteau blanc est agenouillé à l'extrême droite, les yeux tournés vers le Christ et les mains levées dans un geste d'admiration. Il est clair que c'est un Carme, vêtu de brun foncé et portant par dessus la bure l'ample manteau et le capuchon blanc. A ses pieds, il y a le grand chapeau de patriarche ou de

cardinal, et la crosse ou bâton pastoral d'archevêque se terminant par une croix. Détail important: par dessus le capuchon, il porte le pallium, bande de laine blanche, décorée de croix noires, qui repose sur les épaules et dont les extrémités pendent dans le dos et sur la poitrine. Le pallium est un ornement réservé au Pape, aux patriarches et aux archevêques. Même si nous n'avions pas le manuscrit d'Anvers, qui identifie le moine à genoux comme étant S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie,⁴³ on pourrait sans doute arriver à la même identification en cherchant le personnage qui réunit ces trois conditions: c'est un Carme, il porte le pallium des archevêques ou patriarches, et il a quelque chose à dire sur l'Eucharistie.

Ce ne peut être S. Albert de Louvain, ni le Cardinal Bellarmin, ni le Cardinal de Bérulle, qui n'ont pas été Carmes. Saint Albert, patriarche de Jérusalem, législateur de l'Ordre au XIII^e siècle, n'a pas été Carme non plus; sans doute, on raconte qu'il finit sa vie parmi les Carmes, mais sa présence ne serait guère explicable ici. Il en est de même pour S. Pierre-Thomas, Carme et patriarche, et pour S. Cyrille, patriarche de Jérusalem et soi-disant Carme, ce dernier peu honoré dans l'Ordre au XVII^e siècle.⁴⁴ Ce ne peut être S. André Corsini, évêque Carme, mais non archevêque ou patriarche. Ce ne peut être surtout S. Cyrille de Constantinople, qui fut troisième Général des Carmes, mais jamais archevêque ni patriarche.

Tout converge, au contraire, vers la figure de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Sans doute, historiquement, il ne fut jamais Carme, mais comme nous l'avons vu, les Carmes en avaient fait un des leurs, et nier cette appartenance à l'Ordre, c'était pour eux briser un chaînon de la succession héréditaire, inaugurée par Elie. C'était aussi rayer de leur famille, toute vouée à la

39. I. C., pp. 63-66 et passim. On trouvait également Elie proche de Melchisédech dans des copies d'après Rubens à l'église des Carmes Déchaux de Bruxelles. Cfr. I. C., pp. 71 et 72.

40. Signalons: Gravure de Diepenbeke, dans S. C., p. 102; Transfiguration, attr. à Gérard David, actuellement à l'église Notre Dame à Bruges; Transfiguration, Niccolò Fiorentino (XVI^e s.), "Catedral vieja" de Salamanque; Transfiguration, Miniature de G. van der Meire dans le *Breviarium Grimani*, aujourd'hui à la Biblioteca Marciana de Venise (XV^e s.); Transfiguration, dans le "Retablo del Espiritu Santo" à l'église de Manresa (Espagne); Transfiguration, tableau de J. B. Juppén (début XVII^e s.) à la Basilique S. Martin, à Liège.

41. N. S., p. 9, et I. C., p. 227. C'est peut-être le P. Martinus vanden Venne, prieur de 1652 à 1654, qui fit faire ces tableaux, car

Sanderus dit de lui: "Il fit faire l'orgue, les confessionnaux et décora l'église de la plus grande partie de ses tableaux" (C. S. B., p. 274).

42. N. S., pp. 13-18.

43. N. S., p. 5.

44. S. Cyrille de Jérusalem est inconnu dans tous les bréviaires de l'Ordre, manuscrits et imprimés. Son iconographie, comme Carme, est rare. Un tableau le représente au Museo de San Angel à Mexico, et un autre aux stalles des Grands Carmes de Osuna (Sevilla, Espagne). Il figure aussi, en seconde zone, dans la grande gravure de Diepenbeke "Decor Carmeli," alors que S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie s'y trouve en évidence parmi les saints majeurs de l'Ordre.

Vierge, celui qu'ils considéraient comme une de leurs gloires, puisqu'il avait proclamé Marie Mère de Dieu au Concile d'Ephèse. De plus, à ce même Concile, Cyrille avait condamné l'hérésie de Nestorius, qui voyait seulement dans l'Eucharistie la chair du Christ, mais non point celle, vivifiante, du Fils de Dieu incarné, comme l'enseigne l'Eglise. Les Carmes du XVII^e siècle savaient fort bien cela,⁴⁵ et en choisissant Cyrille d'Alexandrie pour figurer dans leur tableau, ils présentaient une des gloires de leur Ordre, affirmaient la succession ininterrompue des Carmes depuis Elie et, avec le patriarche, affirmaient leur foi dans l'hostie, au sommet d'un autel dédié au Saint Sacrement. Sans doute, Rubens avait une vaste culture religieuse et était capable, comme il le fit en d'autres occasions, de

composer une œuvre à la louange de l'Eucharistie, mais dans un cas spécial comme celui-ci, on peut conjecturer que les Carmes d'Anvers durent demander ou suggérer au maître la présence d'Elie et de Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans le tableau, pour y perpétuer le souvenir de leur glorieuse lignée.⁴⁶

Pendant des décades encore, les Carmes continuèrent par la plume et l'image,⁴⁷ à défendre leurs traditions. Mais les polémiques évoquées ici ne furent guère que des escarmouches en regard du conflit qui allait éclater en 1668 entre les Carmes et le célèbre jésuite bollandiste Papebroeck, et qui connaîtrait un tel paroxysme que le Pape Innocent XII, en 1696, dut interdire aux Carmes et aux Jésuites d'agiter encore cette question. Mais ceci est une autre histoire.

45. Cfr. S. C., I. no. 2588, où le Carme Daniel de la V. M. cite le texte de Cyrille d'Alexandrie: "... Ne pensez pas que cette chair de Fils d'Homme soit la chair d'un homme comme nous, (comment la chair d'un homme serait-elle vivifiante?); c'est la propre chair de Celui qui s'est fait et a été appelé Fils de l'Homme à cause de nous." Voir aussi les nos. 2586 et 2587.

46. Certains, qui avaient pourtant vu le texte du manuscrit N. S. du P. Norbertus ont cru à une erreur de l'auteur et ont opté pour Cyrille de Constantinople, qui fut troisième Général des Carmes vers 1221-1224. Il est clair que le P. Norbertus ne s'est pas trompé et que tout concourt à lui donner raison. Chose curieuse, au début du XV^e siècle, un Carme illustre Conrad de Aldendorp, qui fut évêque, avait déjà fait la même erreur: c'est lui qui composa l'office liturgique de S. Cyrille, où il mélange ce qui concerne Cyrille d'Alexandrie et Cyrille de Constantinople. Cfr. Benedictus Zimmerman, *Monumenta historica carmelitana* (1907) pp. 296 et sq.

47. On n'en finirait pas de dresser une liste des "images," par lesquelles les Carmes défendirent leurs traditions. L'iconographie de S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie, *comme Carme*, est fréquente dans l'Ordre. La liste suivante, non exhaustive, en donnera quelque idée:

Le saint seul:

- Petite gravure de S. Th. Sondermeyer (XVII^e s.).
- Petite gravure de Franciscus vanden Wyngaerde (XVII^e s.). Gand (Belgique). Eglise S. Etienne. Bas-relief de confessionnal, provenant des Grands Carmes de Gand (XVII^e s.).
- Jaén (Espagne). Sacristie des Carmélites déchaussées. Peinture (XVII^e s.).
- San Fernando (Cadix, Espagne). Sacristie des Carmes déchaux. Peinture (XVII^e s.).
- Antequera (Malaga, Espagne). Peinture des stalles au "coro alto" de l'ancienne église des Grands Carmes (XVII^e s.).
- Osuna (Sevilla, Espagne). Sculpture de Baltasar Hidalgo au retable du maître-autel de l'église des Grands Carmes (1728).
- Loano (Italie). Couvent des Carmes déchaux. Peinture (XVII^e s.).

Au Mexique: Pendentif peint aux coupes des églises des Carmes déchaux de San Luis Potosi (chapelle latérale), Quétéraro et peut-être Tenancingo.

Le saint avec Nestorius à ses pieds:

- Brugelette (Belgique). Eglise paroissiale. Peinture.
- Mexico (Mexique). Musée de San Angel. Peinture (XVIII^e s.).
- Toluca (Mexique). Couvent des Carmes déchaux. Peinture (XVIII^e s.).

Le saint au Concile d'Ephèse:

- Diepenbeke. Gravure pour le livre du P. Oliverius: *Lusthof* (1650).
- Paris (France). Sacristie des Carmes déchaux, rue de Vaugirard. Peinture.
- Sevilla (Espagne). Musée provincial. Francisco Meneses. Peinture (1701).

Le saint parmi d'autres saints de l'Ordre:

- Trois gravures de Diepenbeke: "Decor Carmeli" (XVII^e s.), Archives iconographiques des Carmes déchaux, Soignies;
- La fontaine d'Elie (XVII^e s.), Cabinet des Estampes, Paris;
- Le triomphe de Marie par le Carmel (XVII^e s.), Couvent des Carmes déchaux, Bruges.
- Th. Galle. Vine Carmeli (XVII^e s.). Cabinet des Estampes, Bruxelles.
- Corn. Schut (attribué à). Luites et triomphes du Carmel sous la protection de Marie. Grisaille (XVII^e s.). Couvent des Carmes déchaux, Bruxelles. Le même sujet se retrouve dans un tableau et une gravure conservés aux Carmélites déchaussées de Beaune (France), dans une peinture murale "Decor Carmeli" à l'église des Carmes déchaux de Cordoba (Espagne), et enfin dans une peinture en vente chez l'antiquaire Andres Moro Gonzales à Sevilla (Espagne).
- Celaya (Mexique). Couvent des Carmes déchaux. Cinq saints de l'Ordre des Carmes. Peinture (XVII^e s.).
- Paris (France). Peinture de la coupole de l'église des Carmes déchaux, rue de Vaugirard. W. Damery (XVII^e s.).
- Gand (Belgique). Couvent des Carmes déchaux. Le tableau du maître de la religion carmélitaine (XVII^e s.).

Avon (France). Couvent des Carmes déchaux. Ortus et progressus Ordinis Carmelitani. Peinture (XVIIe s.). Le même tableau se trouve au couvent des Carmes déchaux d'Avila (Espagne), dans une collection particulière à Mexico (Mexique), et enfin, en gravure, au Musée de San Angel à Mexico (Mexique).

Tarragona (Espagne). Eglise du Carmen. Tapisserie moderne d'Antonio Cervelo.

Sancti Ordinis Carmelitarum. Gravure d'après peinture de Jos. Gonnella (1914).

Tombetta (Vérone, Italie). Sanctuaire de Sainte Térèse de l'E. J. Apoteosi Carmelitana. Fresque (1931).

Carmeli Apotheosis. Gravure de Joseph Ferrer. Barcelona (Espagne) (1932).

Enfin, quoique son nom ne soit pas indiqué, il est probable que S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie est représenté dans les œuvres suivantes :

G. De Craeyer, Notre Dame du Mont Carmel, Tableau à l'église S. Martin, Alost (XVIIe s.).

Image frontispice du livre *Chronycke . . . der Orden . . . des Berghs Carmeli*, par Lezana (Anvers, 1666).

Image frontispice du livre *Vinea Carmeli* du P. Daniel a Virgine Maria (Anvers, 1662).

Image frontispice du livre *Menologium Carmelitarum*, par Petrus Thomas Saracenus (Bologne, 1627).

C. J. D'Heur, Vierge au manteau protecteur et Vigne du Carmel. Dessin (XVIIe s.). Musée Plantin, Anvers.

Celaya (Mexique). Eglise des Carmes déchaux. Le triomphe de la Vierge du Carmel, par Nicolas Rodriguez Xuarez (1699).

Cordoba (Espagne). Eglise des Carmes déchaux. Peinture murale représentant l'arbre du Carmel (XVII-XVIIIe s.).

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- S. C. — Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Speculum Carmelitanum*, I et II (Anvers, 1680).
- V. C. — Daniel a Virgine Maria, *Vinea Carmeli* (Anvers, 1662).
- B. C. — Cosma de Villiers, *Bibliotheca Carmelitana* (1752, réédité à Rome en 1927).
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- EL. — *Elie le prophète*, Collection *Etudes Carmélitaines*, II (Paris, 1956).
- I. C. — Cécile Emond, *L'iconographie carmélitaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux* (Bruxelles, 1961) I: Texte; II: Planches.
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- C. S. B. — Ant. Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, II (La Haye, 1727).
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- Vie. — J. B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais* (Paris, 1753).
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- Arch. E. A. — *Archives de l'Etat à Anvers*.
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- O. K. — J. van der Sanden, *Oud Konst Tooneel van Antwerpen*, II (manuscrit des Archives de la ville d'Anvers).
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Rubens's The Glorification of the Eucharist and the Carmelites

The article first explores the polemics and controversy regarding the origin of the Carmelite order that preceded the creation by Gerard Seghers of the now lost altarpiece for the church of the Grand Carmes in Antwerp and then explains the iconography of the oil sketch for it, painted by Rubens and now in the Metropolitan Museum.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The order of the Carmelites originated during the second half of the twelfth century on Mount Carmel in Palestine, where the prophet Elijah lived in the ninth century B.C. Around 1209, Saint Albert, patriarch of Jerusalem, gave to the hermits on Mount Carmel their rule, and soon afterward the order spread throughout Europe. Because of their deep devotion to the Virgin Mary the Carmelites were known as the "Brothers of Our Lady." Unlike the Franciscans or Dominicans, however, they did not have a founding father whose reputation could equal that of St. Francis or St. Dominic. In the Constitution of the order of 1281 is found for the first time the claim that the Carmelites are linked to Elijah through the Fathers of the Old and New Testament. For the next three hundred years the Carmelites elaborated on this doctrine of their hereditary succession, according to which it was Elijah who nine centuries before Christ founded the order, the hermits of the twelfth century being his direct descendants in this glorious lineage. While even today the Carmelites claim a spiritual link with Elijah and his patronage, it is amazing to see the assertions brought forth then to justify historically these pretensions. With their insistent claims the Carmelites easily invited contradiction. A number of attacks on these claims

regarding the historical origin of the order were published. Meanwhile, to strengthen their defense, the Carmelites added to their ancestry more and more names famous in religious history, such as John XLIV, bishop of Jerusalem, and St. Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria, both fifth-century figures who were supposedly Carmelites before they became bishops.

In the sixth volume of his *Annales ecclesiastici*, published in 1595 in Rome, Cardinal Borenius categorically rejected the Carmelite connections of both Cyril of Alexandria and John XLIV. This volume appeared in Antwerp in 1596, printed by Plantin. In 1623 it appeared again in Antwerp in a Flemish translation from which, however, a significant defamatory passage was deleted; evidently the publishers wanted to shield the Carmelites, who had been highly esteemed in Antwerp for more than a century, from overly severe criticism.

The attack of the famous Cardinal in his *Annales* prompted vigorous reaction from the Carmelites in various publications whose title pages often illustrate their ancient tradition. In his *Dilucidario* . . . (Cordoba, 1598) Diego de Coria Maldonado affirmed the foundation of the Carmelite order by Elijah and the Carmelite background of St. Cyril of Alexandria. In 1610, Aubertus Miraeus, canon of Antwerp, spoke of Elijah, John XLIV, and Cyril as Carmelites in his *Ordinis Carmelitani*. . . . The Carmelite case was strengthened by several popes, who accepted the claim that St. Cyril had been a Carmelite.

Between 1611 and 1621 three publications refuting Cardinal Borenius appeared in Antwerp, written by three Carmelite priors of the Antwerp convent, Petrus Wastelius, Gaspar Rinckens, who translated the Latin text of Joannes de Cartagena into Flemish, and Joannes

de la Court. All claim Elijah to be the founder and John XLIV and St. Cyril to be members of the Carmelite order.

The sensitive problem of the origin of the order offers the explanation of the iconography of the painting that the Carmelites commissioned from Rubens for their main altar.

THE RUBENS SKETCH FOR THE CARMELITES OF ANTWERP

The construction of the Carmelite church in Antwerp was begun toward the end of the fifteenth century but was completed only under Father Martinus vanden Venne, who was prior from 1645 to 1649. The main altar, based on Rubens's sketch, was started in 1637 and finished before Easter 1638. Sanderus (died 1664) gives a full description of the grandiose appearance of the marble altar, which was donated by Philippe de Goddines, whose arms appeared on the base of the altar. There also exists a Latin description of the Carmelite church in a manuscript by Norbertus a Sancta Juliana (1710–1757). This description provides more details and states that the marble altar dedicated to the Eucharist was built by the sculptor Jean van Meldert after a cartoon by Rubens and that the painting, executed by Gerard Seghers, showed Christ, high priest of the New Law and Originator of the Eucharist, between Melchizedek, the prophet Elijah, the apostle Paul, and St. Cyril of Alexandria. In an annotated French translation of Norbertus's manuscript the anonymous writer adds that, while on a trip to England in 1771, he saw the design of the main altar with its painting in the collection of the Duke of Argyll. He describes this sketch by Rubens as quite finished and painted on a panel; the altar is represented partly the way it was actually built and also with spiral columns. The measurements of the panel are given as 4 by 2 or 2½ feet. Since the foot in eighteenth-century Antwerp equaled about 27 or 28 centimeters, the dimensions were about 1.10 by 0.62 meters, considerably larger than those of the present panel. It was obviously later cut at the top and the sides. Further descriptions of the Antwerp altarpiece add nothing new. For the subsequent history of the Rubens sketch see footnote 1.

INTERPRETATION OF THE SKETCH

The Carmelite church in Antwerp, together with its main altar and the painting by Seghers, was destroyed in the Revolution. The sketch by Rubens must have been executed before the altar was begun in 1637; most specialists date it about 1628, but its exact date is uncertain. It could have been commissioned by a number of Carmelite priors, among them Jean de la Court, whose portrait Rubens painted before 1622.

Since the altar was dedicated to the Holy Eucharist, the theme of the picture is clear. Christ, standing on the terrestrial globe and holding a chalice surmounted by the Host in his right hand and the standard of the cross, or labarum, in his left, is shown resurrected and alive, because the Eucharist is essentially a sacrament of life. "He who would eat of my flesh and drink of my blood," says Jesus, "has eternal life and I shall resurrect him on the last day." (John 6:54.) Through the Eucharist the Christian can triumph over death and sin, represented here by a skeleton and a serpent. This victory, however, constitutes only one aspect of the painting, which was created entirely in praise of the Eucharist. In the sky filling the upper part appear God the Father and the dove of the Holy Ghost, whose presence demonstrates that the institution of the Eucharist was due to the Holy Trinity. While the cherubs hold the main objects used in the rite, Christ himself holds the chalice and the Host, for it is always he who offers and is offered. Finally, the four personages surrounding Christ were deliberately chosen and play a definite part in the whole scheme.

At the extreme left stands Melchizedek, the oldest known priest, who offered a sacrifice of bread and wine in the presence of Abraham (Gen. 14:18). He is shown holding a loaf of bread and an amphora of wine. On his head he wears the *camauro*, a purple cap bordered with down, once reserved exclusively for popes and called appropriately *Holy Father*. Next to Melchizedek the prophet Elijah is shown in a telling scene from his life: an angel is bringing him bread and water. With the help of this nourishment he walked forty days and forty nights up to the mountain of God, Mount Horeb (I Kings, 19:8). The eucharistic implication was particularly meaningful to the Carmelites, who were especially devoted to the Holy Sacrament. Moreover,

the presence of Elijah on their main altar served to affirm his role as their founder.

While the two figures on the left belong to the Old Testament, the two on the right are from the New Testament. Next to Christ stands St. Paul with the sword, his usual attribute. His presence here is fully justified in that he was one of the first to testify to the significance of the eucharistic rite (I Cor. 10:16). Furthermore, in his Epistle to the Hebrews he gives a long comparison between the priesthood of Melchizedek and that of Christ (Chaps. 5, 6, and 7). At the right, a monk is kneeling, his eyes turned to Christ, his hands raised in a gesture of admiration. Clothed in a dark brown habit and an ample white coat with cowl, he is clearly a Carmelite. At his feet lie the large hat of a patriarch or cardinal and the crozier of an archbishop. An important detail of his dress is the pallium, a white, woolen scarf, decorated with black crosses, which he wears on his shoulders over the cowl. The pallium is reserved for popes, patriarchs, and archbishops. Even without the identification given in Norbertus a Sancta Juliana's manuscript, one can

beyond doubt identify the figure with St. Cyril of Alexandria, for he is a Carmelite, he wears the pallium of an archbishop or patriarch, and he is connected with the Eucharist.

In the strict historical sense, St. Cyril of Alexandria probably never was a Carmelite. But the Carmelites had adopted him, as has been shown above, and for them to deny that he belonged to their order would have meant to break a link in the hereditary chain leading back to Elijah. It would have meant also to eliminate from the order, so firmly dedicated to the Virgin, a man whom they considered to be one of their glories, since he had proclaimed Mary the Mother of God at the Council of Ephesus. At the same council Cyril had condemned the heresy of Nestorius's views on the Eucharist. Aware of St. Cyril's stand, the Carmelites chose him to represent their faith in the Host in an altarpiece dedicated to the Holy Sacrament. One must assume that the Carmelites of Antwerp suggested to Rubens the inclusion of Elijah and St. Cyril in his composition in order to commemorate in the altarpiece their lineage.

CLAUS VIRCH

Manet's "Espada" and Marcantonio

BEATRICE FARWELL

Department of Art, The University of California at Santa Barbara

ENIGMA is a term not customarily associated with realist painters. Nevertheless, Edouard Manet's *Made-moiselle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada* (1862), in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Figure 1),¹ must be regarded as an enigmatic work. Before a Goyesque backdrop of a bullfighting scene stands the full-length figure of Victorine Meurend, Manet's favorite model in 1862 and for several years thereafter, dressed in Spanish male costume and posed as though for a photographer. The brilliantly and realistically rendered figure, obviously painted before the model, testifies to Manet's visual sensitivity and manual dexterity, but in its relation to the background scene violates the laws of linear perspective in a manner so obvious as to seem deliberate. Indeed, the artificiality of the whole arrangement, noted by critics in 1863 and frequently since, can best be interpreted as the result of a carefully constructed interplay of colors and values, responding more to abstract pictorial exigencies than to the visual experience of spatial relationships. Alternating bands of dark and light in the background serve to silhouette op-

posing values in the figure, isolating it in space, and even separating it from the presumed location of the dull-pink cape that the model holds so unprofessionally in her left hand. Color, however, mitigates this effect and shows the light pink in relief against its brown ground, even though the values are nearly identical in a black-and-white reproduction. Frontal lighting as well as silhouetting flattens the figure, and its relation to the background is rendered ambiguous not only by the false perspective, but also by the coinciding outlines of the model's back and the tail of the horse, a feature that paradoxically telescopes the space and affirms the supremacy of the picture plane over space illusion.

These peculiarities of spatial composition are well-known characteristics of Manet's early style. They have been more frequently noted in other works, particularly the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* and the *Olympia* of 1863 in the Louvre, for both of which Victorine Meurend also posed. It is these characteristics that have caused later critics to see Manet as a pioneer of flatness in modern art.² Manet himself apparently felt by 1864 that he had

1. C. Sterling and M. M. Salinger, *French Paintings, A Catalogue of the Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, III (New York, 1967) pp. 33–35. Manet made a pencil and wash drawing after the painting (Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence), probably in preparation for an etching (Marcel Guérin, *L'Oeuvre gravé de Manet* [Paris, 1944] no. 32), as the composition is reversed (Figure 2). The etching presents the figure facing to the left, as in the painting, though Mlle Victorine's eyes no longer look directly at the spectator (Figure 3). Manet's first published port-

folio of etchings came out in October of 1862. The etching after Mlle Victorine was included; therefore, the painting must have been completed by September at the latest. See the unpublished dissertation of Jean Collins Harris, *The Graphic Work of Edouard Manet*, Radcliffe College, 1961, p. 114, note 77, cat. no. 35.

2. For a perceptive discussion of Manet's art in relation to traditional perspective and to photography, see Anne Coffin Hanson, *Edouard Manet, 1832–1883*, exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1966, pp. 21–23.





FIGURE 2
Mademoiselle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada, by Edouard Manet. Pencil and wash drawing. Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, R.I.

gone too far, or taken the wrong route, with this space-collapsing impulse. After showing a large bullfighting scene in the Salon of that year to an outraged public, he cut the canvas in pieces. The surviving fragments are *The Dead Toreador*, from the foreground, now in the National Gallery in Washington, and a piece of the background known as *Bull-Fight*, in the Frick Collection in New York.

It was recognized in Manet's time that *The Dead Toreador* was derived directly from a North Italian

FIGURE 1
Mademoiselle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada, by Edouard Manet. Oil on canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection, 29.100.53



FIGURE 3
Mademoiselle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada, by Edouard Manet. Etching. The George A. Lucas Collection on permanent loan from The Maryland Institute, The Baltimore Museum of Art

painting of a dead soldier known as *Orlando Muerto*, which was then in the Pourtalès Collection in Paris and attributed to Velázquez, and which is now in the National Gallery in London.³ *Olympia's* dependence on Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, though obvious, was missed at the time.⁴ The derivation of the three principal figures of the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* from a group of river gods in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's lost *Judgment of Paris*, though known to Ernest Chesneau in 1864, was not widely recognized

3. See Gerald M. Ackerman, "Gérôme and Manet," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 70 (1967) pp. 163–176, for an interesting hypothesis, that this figure may have been derived from Gérôme's *Death of Caesar*. The problem of Manet's relation to academic painters of his time, such as Gérôme, has yet to be investigated.

4. See Theodore Reff, "The Meaning of Manet's *Olympia*," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 63 (1964) p. 114.

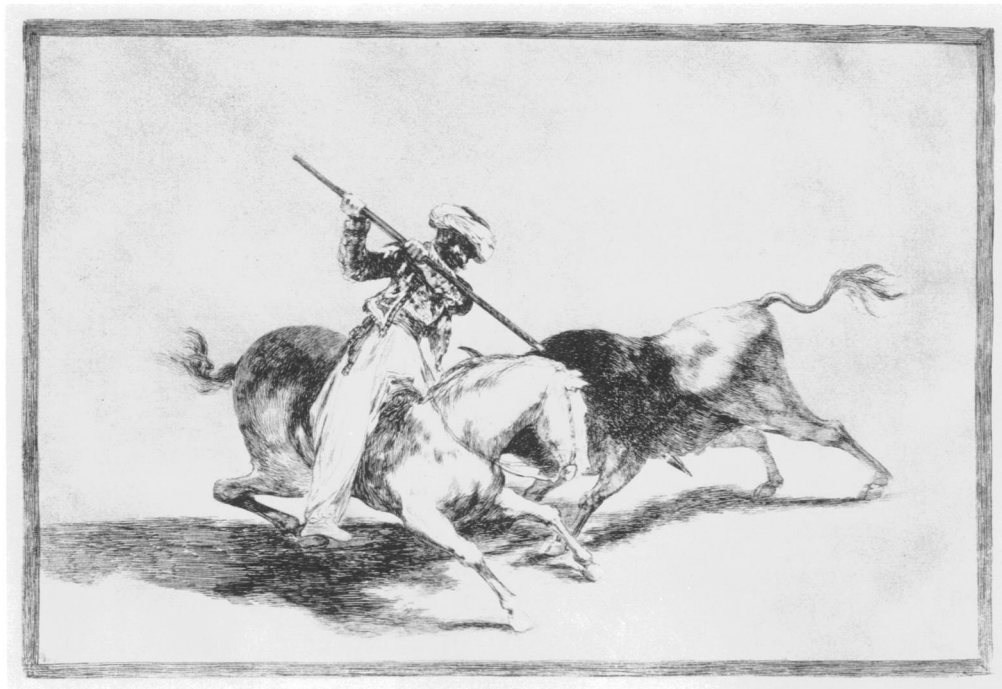


FIGURE 4

El animoso moro Gazul es el primero que lanceó toros en regla (The spirited Moor Gazul is the first to spear bulls according to rules), Plate 5 from the *Tauromaquia*, by Francisco Goya. D. 228 III, 1st edition. Etching and aquatint. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 21.19.5

until Gustav Pauli pointed it out in 1908.⁵ On the occasion of the great Manet centennial exhibition in 1932, a rash of articles in French periodicals revealed in Manet's early work an unsuspected frequency of borrowings of figures and motifs from paintings by old masters or engravings after them.⁶ A large enough number of additional examples has been discovered since 1932 to make unsafe any assumptions about the "realist" intentions in figural poses and arrangements in any work of Manet before 1865, even though he obviously painted them from known models in his

studio. There is a distinct connection between the borrowing of figural motifs and the peculiarities of Manet's spatial composition in that they imply a synthesized, and not a visually experienced, whole.

It seems that Mademoiselle Victorine in the Costume of an Espada is another case in point. It has long been known that the bullfighting action in the background is from the group in Plate 5 of the *Tauromaquia* by Goya (Figure 4), and that the barricade with its figures is freely derived from several other plates in the same series (Figures 5, 6).⁷ Manet's intense interest at this

5. Ernest Chesneau, *L'Art et les artistes modernes en France et en Angleterre* (Paris, 1864) p. 190; Gustav Pauli, "Raffael und Manet," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 1 (1908) p. 53.

6. See Germain Bazin, "Manet et la Tradition," *L'Amour de l'art* 13 (1932) pp. 153–163; Charles Sterling, "Manet et Rubens," *L'Amour de l'art* 13 (1932) p. 290; Christian Zervos, "Manet est-il un grand créateur?," *Cahiers d'art* 7 (1932) pp. 295–296, "A propos de Manet," *Cahiers d'art* 7 (1932) pp. 309–311.

7. Goya published his *Tauromaquia*, a series of 33 plates, in 1816. The first 12 plates were intended as illustrations for a text by Nicolas Fernández de Moratín on the origins and evolution of bullfighting originally published in 1777 (cf. Enrique Lafuente Ferrer, *Goya: Gravures et Lithographies, oeuvre complète* [Paris, 1961] p. xviii). In adapting the figures from pl. 5, Manet altered the costume of Goya's historical Moorish picador to conform with that of the more contemporary picador seen in later plates, and reversed his action to a left-handed thrust with his back to the spectator.

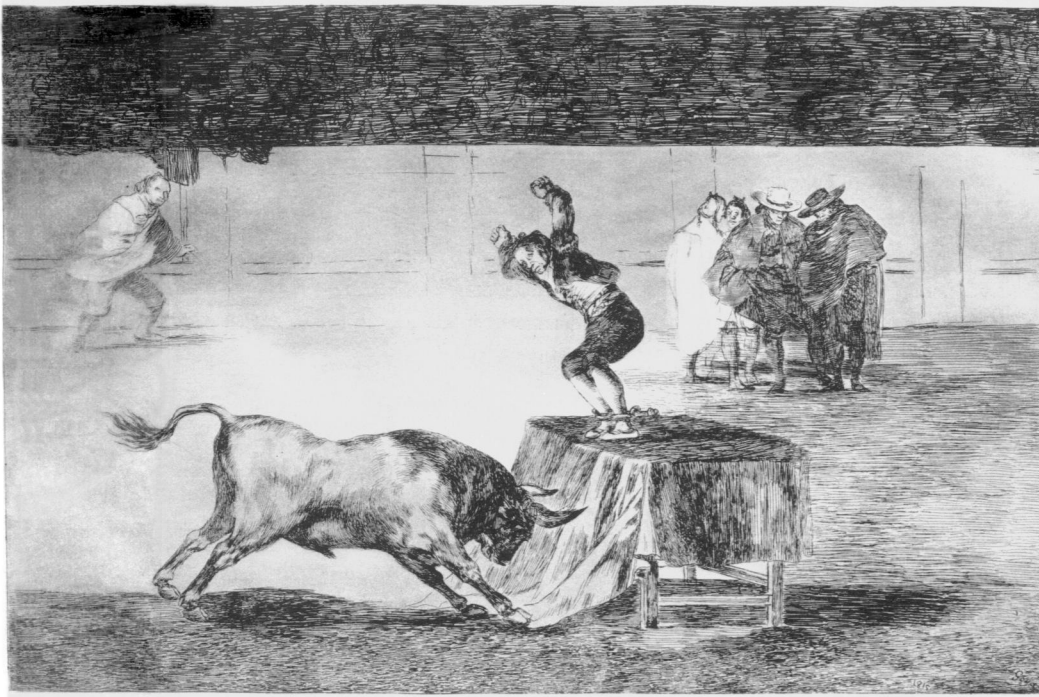


FIGURE 5
 Otra locura suya en la
 misma plaza (Another
 madness of his in the
 same bullring), Plate 19
 from the *Tauromaquia*,
 by Francisco Goya.
 D. 242 III, 1st edition.
 Etching and aquatint.
 The Metropolitan Mu-
 seum of Art, Rogers Fund,
 21.19.19

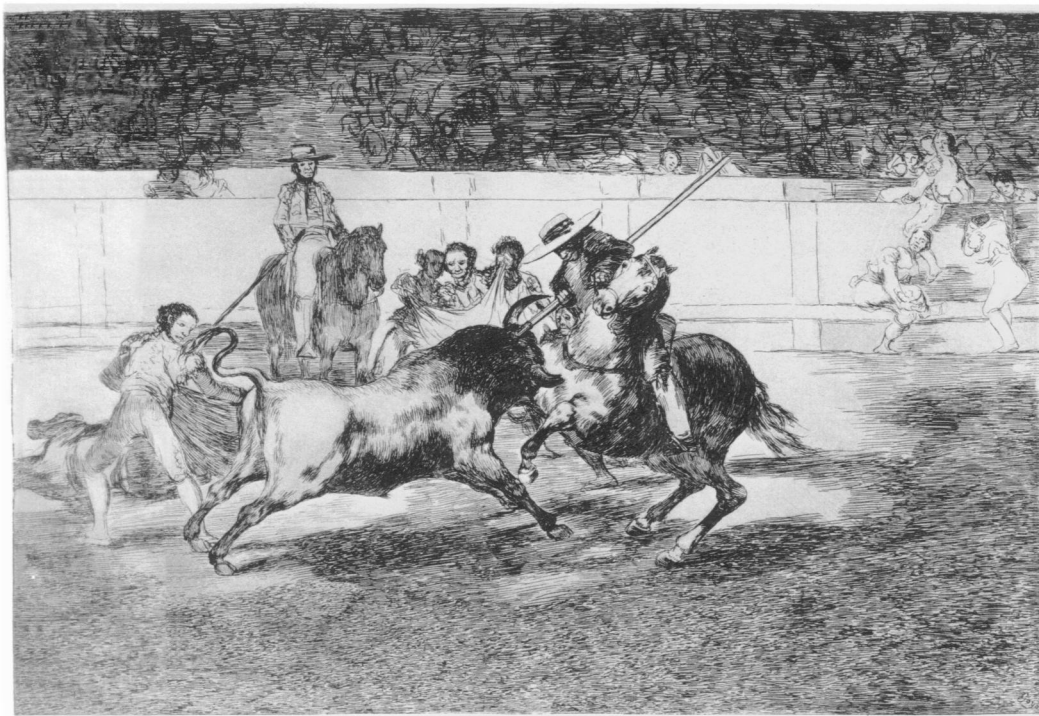


FIGURE 6
 El esforzado Rendon
 picando un toro, de cuya
 suerte murió en la plaza
 de Madrid (The brave
 Rendon stabbing a bull
 with the pic, the pass
 that caused his death in
 the ring at Madrid),
 Plate 28 from the
Tauromaquia, by Fran-
 cisco Goya. D. 251 III,
 1st edition. Etching and
 aquatint. The Metro-
 politan Museum of Art,
 Rogers Fund, 21.19.28

period not only in Spanish themes but also in the etching technique had led him to Goya's prints, and the *Tauromaquia* was the series best known outside of Spain at the time.⁸ Manet only came to know Goya's painting with any intimacy when he visited Spain in 1865. Now, through the recognition of a heretofore unsuspected source, the enigmatic pose of Victorine herself becomes understandable.

Manet's teacher, Thomas Couture, painter of *The Romans of the Decadence*, taught his pupils to look to the old masters of the painterly tradition—the Venetians, especially Veronese—to learn what great art is. He also recommended Raphael for “grace.”⁹ Though Manet's idea of “grace” differed substantially from that of his teacher, in the case of the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* he seems to have taken this advice literally. We now find he did the same for our picture, which was painted in the early fall of 1862 when he was also working on the notorious large composition that was to cause such a scandal at the Salon des Refusés the following year. I believe it can be postulated that the painter had found access to a group of engravings by Marcantonio, many of them thought to be after lost works of Raphael, and discovered in them a mine of possibilities for figures in his own compositions.¹⁰ Considering the many paintings in which he treats his audience to the direct, level gaze of Victorine Meurent, it would be entertaining to imagine, though perhaps impossible to prove, that Manet, fascinated with this aspect of Victorine's presence, looked for old-master poses that could exploit it. He found one such pose for the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* in Marcantonio's river nymph, and another for the picture now under consideration in the engraver's figure of Temperance from a series of allegorical figures representing the theological and cardinal virtues (Figure 7).

It is surprising, considering how well the source for the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* is known, that Marcantonio has been otherwise overlooked as a source for Manet. It has been more usual to seek sources among Venetian, Flemish, Spanish, and Dutch works because of Manet's

8. Lafuente Ferrari, *Goya*, p. xix.

9. Thomas Couture, *Méthode et entretiens d'atelier* (Paris, 1868) pp. 291–293.

10. I have found relationships between prints of Marcantonio and several early works of Manet besides the present one, and I am currently preparing these findings for publication.



FIGURE 7
Temperance, after Raphael, by Marcantonio Raimondi. B. XIV.295.390. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dick Fund, 26.50.1(72)

stylistic and technical affinity with these schools. But it is precisely the discrepancy between his painterly-realist handling and the artificiality of Victorine's posture that gives to the present painting its enigmatic quality. It is a quality present in many of Manet's early compositions, and one that contributed to the bafflement of his contemporaries when faced with pictures they saw as "meaningless."

The monumental work of Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, which attempts to document the entire world of old-master prints, was published in Leipzig between 1805 and 1854. While Manet was "discovering" Marcantonio, the gentleman scholar Henri Delaborde, curator of prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale, was probably already at work on his compilation of Marcantonio's oeuvre based on Bartsch, Passavant, and Ottley, with his own additions and emendations. Delaborde's book was not published until 1888. But in 1856 Delaborde reviewed for the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a recent publication consisting of photographic prints after the engravings of Marcantonio, one of several early attempts to use the new photographic medium for recording works of art.¹¹ Not only do these examples bear out the widespread interest in intaglio art at the time, but they also make it clear that the bulk of Marcantonio's oeuvre was available to Manet in some form or other, very probably within the confines of the Louvre or the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Delaborde lists the Temperance of Figure 7 as belonging to the first set of Virtues.¹² In a second series there is a variation of the figure (Figure 8), in a somewhat less attractive pose, but with both arms raised, instead of only one, to hold the bit and bridle that are the traditional attributes of this Virtue. In the first

11. Delaborde first mentioned this photographic record of Marcantonio in "La Gravure en France," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 15, 1853, p. 294, note 1, as the work of a M. Benjamin Delessert. His later review of several photographic works, including this one ("La Photographie et la Gravure," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, April 1, 1856, pp. 617-638), is far more extensive. In view of today's universal dependence on photography for recording works of art, it is ironic that Delaborde found this medium inferior to the time-honored hand engraving as a means of reproduction, though his arguments are thoughtful and persuasive in terms of his experience.

12. See Henri Delaborde, *Marc-Antoine Raimondi* (Paris, 1888) p. 187. Delaborde's predecessors attributed the drawings Marcantonio must have worked from to Raphael, but Delaborde believed they were made by Giulio Romano or some other pupil of Raphael.

FIGURE 8

Temperance, after Mantegna according to Bartsch, after the School of Raphael according to Delaborde, by Marcantonio Raimondi. B. XIV.286.376. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Whittelsey Fund, 49.97.133





FIGURE 9
Justice, after Raphael, by Marcantonio Raimondi. B. XIV.294.388. Engraving. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dick Fund, 26.50.1 (70)

series there is also a Justice (Figure 9), quite different in pose and movement, but brandishing a large sword in her right hand, while carrying half-hidden in her left the scales of her impartiality. Whether Manet, in seizing upon the essentials of the pose of the first Temperance, already saw Victorine as a sword-carrying bullfighter would be difficult to say. His subject certainly contradicts the iconography of Temperance, but it should not be forgotten that Manet was an outspoken enemy of historical and allegorical “content” in the old manner, even though he favored postures created under the aegis of the *beau idéal*. The most probable explanation is that he set out not to paint a bullfighter, but to paint Victorine Meurend in an arresting pose. I suspect it was not lack of interest in the iconographical implications, but rather a sly humor in the spirit of today’s pop artists, that produced in his mind the image of a Raphaelesque Victorine in the bullring. It is also conceivable that the Renaissance master’s treatment of clinging drapery, reduced to the hard engraved line, was suggestive of male attire, an effect particularly noticeable in the second Temperance, but present in all three of the prints.

Given Manet’s engagement with the fashion of *españolisme* at the time, his choice of a subject redolent of Goya has surprised no one. What is surprising is the idea of a lady bullfighter. It would be hard to envisage the russet-haired Victorine as an exotic Spanish *maja* in a mantilla, and it seems unlikely that Manet ever entertained such an idea for his essentially Parisian model. On the other hand, there is one female bullfighter in the Goya suite (No. 22, *La Pajuelera*), though her form there is anything but feminine. Manet had recently painted for Nadar a seductive portrait of the photographer’s mistress reclining in a pose recalling Goya’s *Maja Vestida* on a plum-colored Victorian sofa (1862, formerly in the Stephen C. Clark Collection, now in the Yale University Art Gallery, Figure 10). The model, whose name is not known, is dressed in cream-colored satin knee breeches, silk hose, and bolero, her black hair drawn into a plastered Spanish curl before her ear. Her costume, no less enigmatic than Victorine’s, could be related to the affectations of the “liberated” Second-Empire female following the example of George Sand and other *amazones*, but also, and more likely, to what seems to have been a chic flouting of the female image among some members of

FIGURE 10

Young Woman Reclining in Spanish Costume, by Edouard Manet. Oil on canvas. Yale University Art Gallery, bequest of Stephen Carlton Clark, B.A. 1903



the flourishing demimonde of the time by dressing in men's clothes.¹³ Possibly it could even refer back to Goya's association with the Duchess of Alba, who is said to have affected bullfighters' costume on occasion. These sociological implications of Victorine's role in our picture, however, go too far afield for proper treatment in this short study.

Manet kept Spanish costumes and other "props" in his atelier, and it can be seen in the Metropolitan Museum's galleries that the bolero, hat, and headscarf in our picture are the same as those in *The Spanish Singer* of 1860, a picture that won considerable praise and an honorable mention for Manet at the 1861 Salon.¹⁴ Victorine must have been a sizable girl, as the model for *The Spanish Singer* needed to roll back the cuffs of the bolero while she did not. The same bolero appears, well-fitted, in the painting of Manet's brother Gustave known as *A Young Man in the Costume of a Majo*, also in the Metropolitan's Manet gallery. Where a history painter of the time would have used these costumes in some plausible context (as Manet still did in 1860), Manet in 1862 used them to present quite frankly his perfectly recognizable and named female model in a scene painted so as to leave no doubt in the viewer's mind of the total artificiality of its construction.

Though he is usually classified as a realist, Manet's interest in depicting "modern life" had only found its first full expression about the time when he painted our

picture, in the brilliant *Music in the Tuileries* of 1862, now in the National Gallery, London. Even that work has been shown to be derived in its conception from popular prints of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, a source of imagery now under intensive investigation by more than one Manet scholar.¹⁵ What the painter did with Raphael's river gods in the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* had already been done in other pictures, including the one at hand. Similar modernization of old figures occurs in *La Nympe Surprise* (Museo de Bellas Artes, Buenos Aires) of 1861,¹⁶ and in *The Old Musician* (National Gallery, Washington) of 1862.¹⁷ An approach to this "method" had already been formulated in still earlier pictures, notably *Fishing in Saint-Ouen*, near Paris (Metropolitan Museum), of 1860/61,¹⁸ though in the earlier cases Manet reversed the chronology: contemporary people appear as old-master figures. Among the last of these is *A Boy with a Sword* (1861) in the Metropolitan Museum, in which Léon Koëlla-Leenhoff, the son of Manet's future wife, Suzanne Leenhoff, assumes the role of a seventeenth-century Spanish page boy.¹⁹ Beginning with *La Nympe Surprise*, old-master figures become modern people. And from that time forward, Manet's method was to pose a model in modern dress or undress in an approximation of the posture of the old-master prototype, while giving the whole picture an increasingly "modern" content.²⁰ The culmination of this

13. See Joanna Richardson, *The Courtesans* (Cleveland and New York, 1967). Photographs reproduced on pp. 109, 116, and 210 show famous courtesans of the 1850s and 1860s in male attire.

14. This correspondence was noted in 1910 by Emil Waldmann. See his "Französische Bilder in Amerikanischem Privatbesitz," *Kunst und Künstler* 9 (1910) p. 134. These costume items, with the singer's guitar, also appear as a still-life painting in the Musée Calvet at Aix-en-Provence. That composition was repeated in an etching intended, but not used, as the frontispiece of the portfolio of etchings Manet brought out in October of 1862.

15. See Nils Gösta Sandblad, *Manet: Three Studies in Artistic Conception* (Lund, Sweden, 1954) pp. 36–37, and for additional sources for *Music in the Tuileries*, A. G. Barskaya, "On Sources for the Early Work of Edouard Manet" (in Russian), *Works of the National Hermitage 8: Western European Art 3* (Leningrad and Moscow, 1964) pp. 109–123. On the subject of Manet and popular prints, see Hanson, *Manet*, especially p. 43; on Courbet in the same connection, Linda Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's *Meeting*: A Portrait of the Artist as a Wandering Jew," *Art Bulletin* 49 (1967) pp. 209–222.

16. See Sterling, "Manet et Rubens"; also Barskaya, "Sources," and by the same author, "Edouard Manet's Painting,

'Nymph and Satyr,' on Exhibition in Russia in 1861" (in Russian), Academia Republicii Populare Romine, *Omagiu lui George Oprescu cu prilejul împlinirii a 80 de ani* (Bucharest, 1961). An article I have written on "Manet's *La Nympe*" will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*.

17. See Alain de Leiris, "Manet, Gérault and Chrysippos," *Art Bulletin* 46 (1964) pp. 401–404.

18. See Bazin, "Manet et la Tradition," pp. 153–155.

19. Sterling and Salinger, *French Paintings*, III, p. 31, relate this painting to a work of Ribera. I believe it is also related to two early paintings by Manet, *The Spanish Cavaliers* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyons) and *Scene in a Spanish Studio* (Galerie Lorenceau, Paris), both of 1860. In the first, Léon Koëlla-Leenhoff appears as a page carrying a tray. The second has evidently been cut down, since part of a similar page boy appears at the left. He may have been carrying a tray like the first, or possibly the sword of one of the visitors, and may be presumed to have represented Léon Koëlla-Leenhoff also. See color reproduction in Hanson, *Manet*, frontispiece.

20. Nils Gösta Sandblad, *Three Studies*, p. 97, says of this development: "Manet, who, in his figure-compositions from around 1860, had still accepted the recognized subjects, even when he

trend is the great Olympia of 1863, as unabashedly displaying her source in Titian as she does her "modern" and realistically painted body.

The *beau idéal* is nowhere better demonstrated to be a departure from reality than in Manet's attempt to put a live human being into an idealized posture. The anatomically impossible stance of Marcantonio's Temperance requires the body to face in three different directions at once and to stand with both feet on the same groundline. Its fluid and graceful movement, enhanced by curving drapery, is immobilized and rendered less graceful by the nearest approximation Victorine could assume in her harshly silhouetted costume. For Temperance's bridle, Manet substituted the improbable cape, permitting its fall to provide some slight movement to mitigate the figure's relative immobility; perhaps he also saw in the flying folds of the scarf on her head a modern analogy to the wavy, flying locks of Marcantonio's elegant personification. Victorine's bland, individualized features assume a strangely new meaning in view of the prototype. One could almost believe that Manet took a dare from an artist or poet friend in creating this image: modern, chic, unlovely, enigmatic, and in the end poetic in its Baudelairean mysteriousness. It was during 1862 that Manet's friendship with the great poet was most intimate.

The discrepancy between the enigmatic quality of Manet's imagery and the realism of its execution has always been disconcerting to his critics, especially those who have seen in his art little more than a transition from realism to impressionism. To be sure, the living model was the heroine in his art, and it was the visual presence of the living model from which his inspiration as a painter sprang. It is in this that he was

a realist, more than in his subject matter or his method of composition, and it is this that he had in common with the younger impressionist generation, who understood best this particular element in his art. Spots of color, judiciously chosen and cunningly applied, form an equivalent of direct visual experience. The impressionists, however, applied this method to the entire composition of their canvases. Manet did not, until later in his career, and even then only in a qualified manner. His schooling was with the old masters, and he synthesized his compositions as they had done before him.

It has been fashionable since the 1930s to claim that Manet lacked imagination and therefore leaned on others for his pictorial ideas.²¹ The undeniable power and astringent freshness of his work had to be acknowledged, however, and to explain that power, critics have traditionally relied on the facility and the felicity with which Manet, a painter's painter, chose his colors and applied his paint. Much the same could be said for John Singer Sargent. But who would place these two at the same level of artistic achievement? It took thought, imagination, wit, and courage to risk a painting such as this one, and though it is less well known, I do not hesitate to place it in the same category of achievement as the *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* and the *Olympia*. Like them, once seen, it is unforgettable.

It was Degas who said to Daniel Halévy in 1912, "Oh, literature—writers—no, what's underneath is no one's business. There must be a certain mystery. Works of art must be left with some mystery about them."²² I submit in justification of this study that Manet's poetry remains mysterious enough to withstand all scholarly onslaughts and is just as pleasurable now as it was before the discovery of its source, if not more so.

made fun of their time-honoured conventions, had displayed, in his general approach to a new realism in 1862, a tendency similar to Vermeer, to resolve the conventions into charades. For example, he painted Victorine Meurent and his brother Eugène [*sic*] as Spaniards, but allowed them to keep their own identities, and even drew attention, in his titles, to the fact that these were costume-pieces."

21. This attitude is to be found in Jacques-Emile Blanche, *Manet* (London, 1925); Paul Colin, *Manet* (Paris, 1937); Michel Florisoone, *Manet* (Monaco, 1947); and Zervos, "Manet créateur" and "A propos de Manet."

22. Quoted in Daniel Halévy, *My Friend Degas*, trans. and ed. Mina Curtiss (Middletown, Conn., 1964) p. 109.

NOTES

A Knightly Sword with Presentation Inscriptions

HELMUT NICKEL

Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THOUGH INSCRIPTIONS on medieval swords are common enough, most of them have religious or magic protective meaning; presentation inscriptions are exceedingly rare.¹ The only example antedating the fifteenth century hitherto known is the famous poem on the blade of the sword of Konrad Schenk von Winterstetten in the Historische Museum in Dresden:

CHVNRAT . VIL . VERDER . SHENKE
HIEBI . DV . MIN . GEDENKE
VON . VINTERSTETEN . HOHGEMVT
LA . GANZ . DEHAINE . IISENHVT
(Konrad, most worthy cup-bearer,
with this you might remember me,
of Winterstetten, noble-spirited,
leave whole not a single iron hat.)

This engraved inscription in powerful Middle High German rhymes gives us the name of the receiver and his titles, by which it can be dated between 1214 and 1243. The sword is of gigantic dimensions with a total length of 141.6 cm. (55¾ inches), a blade length of 109.9 cm. (43¾ inches), and a weight of 4.352 kg. Though its hilt is evidently sixteenth-century work, its

blade might be the original one, since the tang has been lengthened to fit the present hilt. The donor of this presentation sword might have been either Emperor Friedrich II or his son Heinrich, with both of whom Konrad, as Imperial governor of Swabia and as the tutor of the young prince, was closely connected.²

Apparently the earliest presentation inscription of the fifteenth century is on the grip of the so-called Pearl Sword of the city of Bristol:

JON WELLIS OF LONDON GROC' & MEYR
TO BRISTOW GAVE THIS SWERD FEIR

referring to Sir John de Wells, grocer, and mayor of London in 1431.³

A sword in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1) might bear the only example of a presentation inscription from the fourteenth century. On the wide silver bands encircling its disc pommel is engraved and inlaid with niello the inscription "sunt . hic . etiam . sua . praemia . laudi," a quotation from Virgil's *Aeneid* (Figure 2).⁴ This phrase, "here, too, virtue has its due reward," clearly indicates that the sword was a gift. This seems to be confirmed by a set of inscriptions that

1. Rudolf Wegeli, "Inscripfen auf mittelalterlichen Schwertklingen," *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffenkunde* 3 (1904) pp. 177–183, 218–225, 261–268, 290–300.

2. Wegeli, "Inscripfen," p. 294; Erich Haenel, "Das Schwert Konrads von Winterstetten," *Mitteilungen aus den sächsischen Kunstsammlungen* 1912, pp. 1–12; Erich Haenel, *Kostbare Waffen aus der Dresdner Rüstammer* (Leipzig, 1923) p. 76, pl. 38 b; R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Archaeology of Weapons* (London, 1960) p. 219. Unfortunately the inscription given here is an incomprehensible misinterpretation. Heribert Seitz, *Blankwaffen I* (Braunschweig, 1965) p. 269, fig. 176.

3. Sir Guy Francis Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms through Seven Centuries*, II (London, 1920) pp. 322–323, fig. 699.

Other ceremonial swords with presentation inscriptions are the older sword of the city of York (Laking, *European Armour*, II, pp. 318–320, fig. 699) and the "King John" sword of King's Lynn (Laking, *European Armour*, II, pp. 328–329, fig. 706), but the first seems to be a later addition, and the other a pious fraud. The presumed presentation inscription *su mariti* on the so-called Sword of Leonard, Count of Gorizia, in the Historische Museum in Dresden (Erich Haenel, "Das Gonzaga-Schwert in der Dresdner Rüstammer," *Mitteilungen* 1916, pp. 66–80) is unfortunately a misreading of the motto IESV(S) MARI(A), written on an interlaced scroll.

4. Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 461. I should like to thank my colleague Brian F. Cook for the identification of the source.

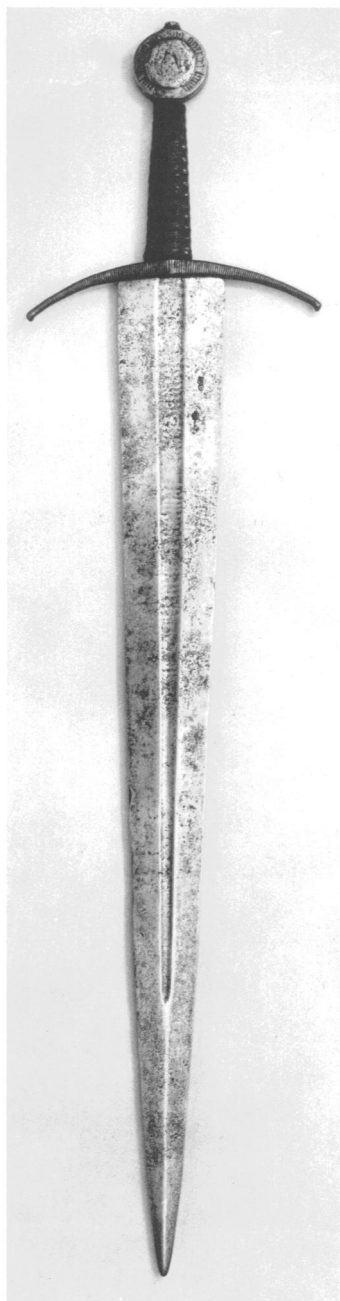


FIGURE 1
Knightly sword, c. 1400.
The Metropolitan Museum of
Art, the collection of Giovanni
P. Morosini, presented by his
daughter Giulia, 32.75.225

FIGURE 2
Detail of the Museum's sword



FIGURE 3
Inscription on the blade of the
sword

FIGURES 4, 5
Armorer's marks on the Metropolitan Museum's
sword



is etched on the groove of the blade, though unfortunately very much worn and only partly legible. By comparing the individual fragments of letters with their counterparts on the opposite side, it can be ascertained that the inscriptions on both sides are identical, and that they consist of five words each (Figure 3). The first word shows clearly only the letters *do* followed by seven strokes increasingly blurred toward the end; this could be *donum* = "gift," though, of course, *domini* as well. The second word is practically illegible; the third reads *tempor(e)?*. Of the fourth only the first half, *san(c)?*, can be deciphered, and the fifth and last one has nearly vanished, though it is tempting to interpret *sancta maria* into these fragments.

The Museum's sword is a fighting weapon of normal size and weight—its total length is 40¼ inches (102.3 cm.), its blade length 32 inches (81.3 cm.), and its weight 3 pounds 11 ounces. The only unusual aspects are the extraordinary width of the blade, 3½ inches (8.9 cm.), and the silver decoration on quillons and pommel. The blade is stamped with two armorer's marks on either side (Figures 4, 5), which are yet unidentified.⁵

The use of a classical quotation as a presentation inscription on the pommel of this sword does not necessarily hint at an Italian origin, and because of the cryptic shortness of the text we will probably forever be in the dark about the donor and receiver of this early presentation sword.⁶

5. Stephen V. Grancsay, "The Bequest of Giulia P. Morosini: Arms and Armor," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 34 (1939) p. 16, fig. 1; Ada Bruhn Hoffmeyer, *Middelalderens tveæggede Svaerd*, II (Copenhagen, 1954) p. 31, no. 92, pl. 28 b; R. Ewart Oakeshott, *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry* (London, 1965) pp. 52–53, pls. 15–16. These three sources give the erroneous reading "sunt hic etiam sua precunia laudi" ("here, too, are the heralds of his praise") for the inscription on the pommel.

6. It should be mentioned, though, that the shortened version, "sunt etiam praemia laudi," is the motto of the old Poitou family of de Beufvier. J. Dieltz, *Die Wahl- und Denksprüche* (Frankfurt, 1884) p. 317. Henri Jougla de Morenas, *Grand Armorial de France*, II (Paris, 1938) no. 4666.

Three Nürnberg Compassmacher

Hans Troschel the Elder, Hans Troschel the Younger, and David Beringer

BRUCE CHANDLER

Associate Professor of Mathematics, New York University

CLARE VINCENT

Assistant Curator of Western European Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THE DATING of four sundials in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art poses certain problems concerning the identification of their makers. The first two of these instruments (Figure 1) are signed "Hans Tröschel Nvrnberg" and "Hanns Troschel Anno 1620." The former bears the maker's stamp, a bird on a twig (Figure 2),¹ on the bottom of the lower leaf. It is undated, but a table of epacts on the lower leaf was usable during the years 1598–1610. The maker's mark on the latter dial, also to be found on the bottom of the lower leaf, is a six-pointed star (Figure 3). Hans Troschel's dates are given by Ernst Zinner as 1549–1612.² Zinner also mentions the existence of sundials signed and dated by a Hans Troschel between 1616 and 1631. To account for their dates, he conjectures that the former Hans's son Johannes, an engraver, known to have died in Rome in 1628, was the maker of these later instruments.³

As yet unpublished material in the Nürnberg Archives provides a solution to the problem of the

identity of the two Troschels.⁴ In the following list of significant items from the records in these Archives, it should be noted that *compassmacher* refers to membership in the craft in Nürnberg to which sundial makers usually belonged.

1578 October 4. Hans Tröschel, *compassmacher*, was made a burgher of Nürnberg.⁵

1579 January 4. The banns were proclaimed in the parish of St. Sebaldus for the marriage of Hans Trössl from Bamberg and Barbara Rottnerperger.⁶

1579 February 3. Hans Drossl, *compassmacher*, and Barbara Rottnerperger were married.⁷

1582 February 20. "Barbara Hans Troschin Compass-ten macherrin auff dem neuen haus in der Grenzgasse" died.⁸

1582 May 28. Hans Dröschel married Barbara Lienhard Kraus, or Krause.⁹

1. The choice of the bird on a twig probably derives from the name of the maker. Drossel, as Hans is often referred to in the Nürnberg Archives, means wood thrush in German.

2. Ernst Zinner, *Deutsche und Niederländische Astronomische Instrumente des 11. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1956) pp. 551–555.

3. For a biography of Johannes, or Hans, Troschel the printmaker, see the entry by Frederick Thöne for Hans Troschel in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, ed. Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, XXXIII (Leipzig, 1939) pp. 429–430.

4. We wish to thank Dr. L. Veit, Director of the Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, Dr. Otto Puchner, Director of the Staats-

archiv Nürnberg, and Dr. Werner Schultheiss, Director of the Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, for their kind cooperation in making the material in their respective archives available to us.

5. Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, *Amts und Standbuch*, no. 308, p. 105 verso.

6. Landeskirchliches Archiv Nürnberg, L. 47, *Verkündbuch von 1577–1580*, p. 128.

7. L. K. A., S. 22, *Trauenbuch, 1556–1586*, p. 130 verso.

8. L. K. A., L. 77, *Todtenbuch, II: 1578–1592*, p. 91.

9. L. K. A., L. 40, *Tomus Novus Matrimonialis Complectens Conjuges Dioecesi Lauren, 1557–1603*, p. 338.

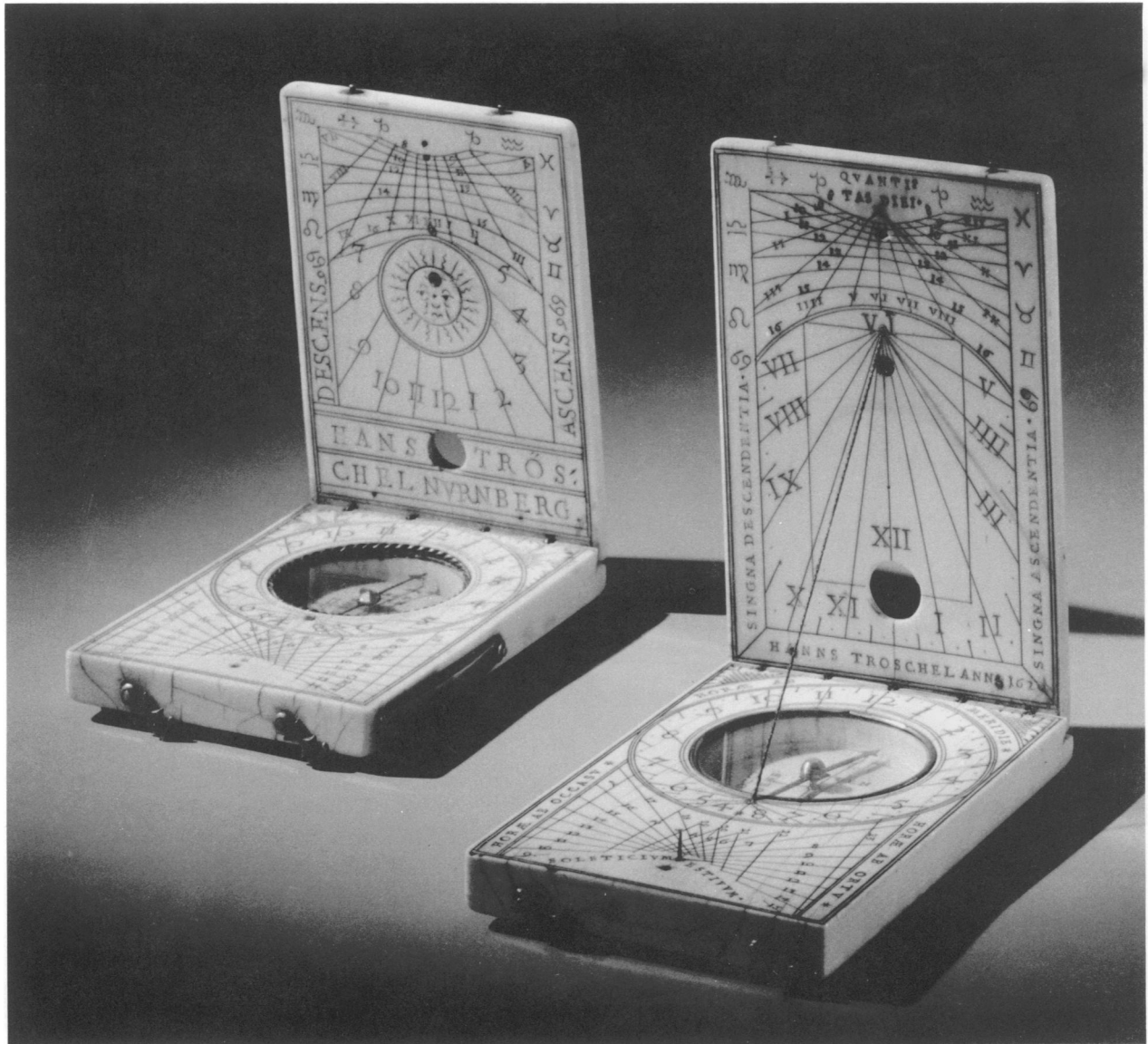


FIGURE I

Portable ivory diptych sundial by Hans Troschel the Elder (at left), German (Nürnberg), about 1598. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Stephen D. Tucker, 03.21.38. Portable ivory diptych sundial by Hans Troschel the Younger (at right), German (Nürnberg), dated 1620. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Stephen D. Tucker, 03.21.53



FIGURE 2

Details of the sundial at left in Figure 1, showing the name and maker's mark of Hans Troschel the Elder

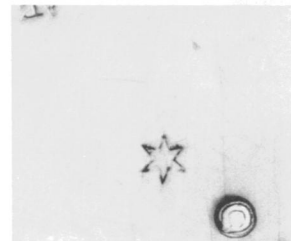


FIGURE 3

Details of the sundial at right in Figure 1, showing the name and maker's mark of Hans Troschel the Younger

- 1585 September 21. Hans Drossel and Barbara were parents of an infant Johannes.¹⁰
- 1599 January 16. Hanns Drössel and Barbara were parents of twins, Hanns and Anna.¹¹
- 1612 June 1. Hans Troschel died.¹²
- 1614 February 28. "Hans Drossel ein Compassmacher, Hansen Drossels Sohn" married Ursula Glatzman, daughter of Philip Glatzman.¹³
- 1618 Hans Troschel, *compassmacher*, bought a house in the Graser gasse in Nürnberg.¹⁴
- 1620 February. Hans Tröschel bought a house in the Ledergasse.¹⁵
- 1634 August 13. Frau Ursula, widow of Hanns Droschel, *compassmacher*, died.¹⁶

It is clear from these excerpts that there were two sundial makers named Hans Troschel. The older died in 1612. As one can see from Zinner's catalogue, he used a bird on a twig as his maker's mark. The majority of his surviving sundials bear this mark, and many are also dated.¹⁷ No dial marked with a bird is dated later than 1612, and no dial marked with a six-pointed star is dated earlier than 1612.

Hans Troschel the Younger, the sundial maker, was either the Johannes born in 1585, or the Hanns born in 1599.¹⁸ Frederick Thöne, author of the entry for the engraver in Thieme and Becker's *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, gives his birth date as 1585, but Thöne probably had no knowledge of the Hanns born

10. L. K. A., L. 3, *Taufbuch*, 1588–1600, p. 88.

11. L. K. A., L. 3, *Taufbuch*, 1588–1600, p. 283.

12. L. K. A., L. 78, *Das Dritte Todtenbuch*, 1592–1613, p. 349.

13. L. K. A., S. 41, *Secundus Tomus Novus Matrimonialis*, 1609–1664, p. 410.

14. Stadtarchiv Nürnberg, *Grundverbriefungsbücher*, 1600–1679, CXXX, p. 76 recto.

15. Stadtarchiv, *Grundverbriefungsbücher*, CXXXII, p. 9 verso.

16. L. K. A., L. 80, *Todtenbuch V*, 1631–1636, p. 133, no. 166.

17. Zinner, *Instrumente*, pp. 552–553.

18. It must be remembered that Hans is a shortened form of Johannes, and there might be some question, therefore, as to whether two living sons in the same family would have borne the names Hans and Johannes respectively. In the case of Hans Troschel's sons, the evidence that the sundial maker and the engraver were not the same person is strong. In the entry in

Allgemeines Lexikon, p. 430, Thöne documents an engraved portrait of Christian Matthias signed "Hanns Tröschel ad vivem delin. et sculp., Nör. 1622" and another of a bagpipe player and an old man signed "Joh. Troschel fecit Romae, 1627." Thöne says that the engraver died in Rome in 1628 and was buried there at S. Maria del Popolo. On the other hand, Zinner, *Instrumente*, p. 554, lists a surviving instrument signed and dated by Hans Troschel in 1628 and another signed "Hans Troschel Nuremberg 1631." In addition, L. K. A. records the birth of a daughter, Sibylla, to Hans Troschel, *compassmacher*, on October 23, 1628, (*Taufbuch*, L. 338). Clearly the engraver and the sundial maker were two different people. Finally, Thöne believes that the engraver's first work was an engraving of Emperor Maximilian's entrance into Nürnberg on July 3, 1612. If the engraving were contemporary with the event, the engraver could not have been born in 1599.



FIGURE 4

Portable diptych sundial of fruitwood and paper by David Beringer, German (Nürnberg), about 1777–1821. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Mrs. Paul R. Hays, in memory of Jacques B. Rice, 68.36

in 1599. There are slight difficulties in accepting 1599 as the year of the sundial maker's birth. If born in 1599, Hans would have been married at the age of fifteen. However, this age for marriage was certainly not unheard-of in the burgher class in seventeenth-century Germany.¹⁹ In addition, the Archives do not record the date when Hans became a master *compassmacher*. Because there exists an instrument signed

"Hans Troschel 1616,"²⁰ the latest he could have become master would have been in his seventeenth year. Although most apprentices became masters in the sundial makers' craft after the age of nineteen, the circumstance of the death of Hans Troschel the Elder in 1612 could have facilitated the younger Troschel's attainment of the master's position at an unusually early age.

The situation is still further complicated by the fact that the engraver is known to have signed his works both as Hans and as Johannes.¹⁸ Here the evidence rests. At any rate, a second Hans Troschel, son of the first, emerges as a *compassmacher* working independently from about 1616 until at least 1631. He died before August 1634. There is some evidence, although slight, that he was the Hans Troschel born in 1599. His mark, rarely recognized as such, is a six-pointed star.

The next problem concerns two sundials by David Beringer (Figures 4, 5). The first is a portable diptych sundial, bearing the printed signature "Verfertigt von David Beringer"; the second is a cube sundial marked simply "D. Beringer." Neither is dated, but stylistically neither appears to have been made much before 1800. Once more, records found in the Archives at Nürnberg are of assistance. The data concerning David Beringer follows:

- 1756 January 12. David born to Friedrich Beringer, ironsmith, and his wife Anna.²¹
- 1777 April 29. David Beringer was made a master *compassmacher* in Nürnberg.²²
- 1777 May 21. David Beringer, "Mechanicus auf Compass und Sonnenringmacher," son of Friedrich Beringer, ironsmith, married Anna Ottilia Hofmann, daughter of Johannes Hofmann, a Frenchman from Strasburg.²³
- 1798 David Beringer was a householder in the district of St. Lorenz (Lorenzseite) in Nürnberg.²⁴
- 1821 October 28. David Beringer, "Mechanicus und Compassmacher," 66 years old (*sic*), died of an accident.²⁵

19. For example, see Maximilian Bobinger, *Alt-Augsburger Kompassmacher* (Augsburg, 1966) p. 174, where the marriage of Jonas I Heckinger at fifteen is documented.

20. Zinner, *Instrumente*, p. 553.

21. L. K. A., S. 13, *Taufbuch*, 1749–1769, p. 304.

22. Stadtarchiv, *Rugamt 1, Meisterliste 1, 1700–1782*, p. 19.

23. L. K. A., S. 29, *Ehebuch*, 1755, p. 648.

24. Stadtarchiv, L. 1002, *Quartierliste*, 1798, p. 56.

25. L. K. A., L. 11, *Sterberegister*, 1810–1822, p. 175, no. 108.



FIGURE 5
Portable cube sundial of fruitwood and paper by David Beringer, German
(Nürnberg), about 1777–1821. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of
Mrs. Stephen D. Tucker, 03.21.8

In Zinner's catalogue, instruments said to have been made in 1725, 1736, and 1776 in places as various as Dieppe and Augsburg are given to David Beringer, "Mechaniker in Nürnberg."²⁶ Certainly these instruments are dated much too early to be the work of the David Beringer documented in the Nürnberg Archives. Furthermore, a number of cube dials signed "D. Beringer G. P. Seyfried" are given the date of 1736 by Zinner.²⁷ The Nürnberg *Meisterliste*, 1700–1782, lists Georg Paul Seyfried as a master *compassmacher* on November 26, 1776,²⁸ and there is no further mention of Seyfried in the Nürnberg Archives. It is evident that none of the cube dials signed "D. Beringer G. P. Seyfried" should be dated before 1777, when both Beringer and Seyfried were masters.

On the other hand, according to the records men-

tioned above, sundials similar in form to the cube dial in Figure 5, which bear the signature of Beringer, should be generally dated between 1777 and 1821. There is nothing in the Nürnberg Archives to indicate that Beringer's workshop continued after his death in 1821. Some evidence for more exact dating of the dials in this class may be suggested by their ornamental vocabulary. Thus, printed paper dials on some of the Beringer and Seyfried cube sundials are decorated with rococo scrolls,²⁹ which contrast sharply with the chaste neoclassical swags of the two instruments in Figures 4 and 5. Although there is no documentary basis for doing so, the Beringer and Seyfried sundials can on stylistic grounds be placed closer to 1777, while the two sundials in the Metropolitan Museum probably belong to a later phase of Beringer's career.

26. Zinner, *Instrumente*, p. 247.

27. Zinner, *Instrumente*, p. 247.

28. Stadtarchiv, *Rugamt 1, Meisterliste 1, 1700–1782*, p. 19.

29. For example, see the cube dial by Beringer and Seyfried in the collection of the Istituto e Museo di Storia della Scienza in Florence, illustrated in Henri Michel, *Instruments des sciences* (Paris, 1966) pl. 68. The biography of Beringer given by Michel is inaccurate.