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The Soul in Ninth-Century Byzantine Art: Innovative Iconography and The Dilemma of Resurrection

DEBORAH MARKOW

Ninth-century Byzantine manuscripts are often the source of new and inventive iconography. This study will examine three innovative examples in ninth-century Byzantine illumination in which a reduced-size human figure is used as the image of the Christian soul: first, in the Bosom of Abraham; second, in the aftermath of Abel's murder; and third, in the Resurrection of Lazarus. It will continue with an investigation of the origin of the image of the Christian soul as a reduced-size human figure and will show that the small-sized soul does not appear abruptly in the ninth century but can be found earlier in a heretofore unrecognized Early Christian depiction of the afterlife.

Jewish literature first mentions the Bosom of Abraham as the final resting place of the just.[1] It is then taken up by the New Testament in the parable of Lazarus and Dives, in which the rich man is condemned at death to perdition and the poor man is transported to the Bosom of Abraham.[2] But Christian writers reinterpreted the Bosom of Abraham. To some it became a place of interim repose rather than a final resting place.[3] Then, too, Christian exegesis modified the meaning of the translation of Lazarus in a significant way. It became a spiritual act in which the soul was the object of posthumous rewards.[4]

The earliest extant illustration of a soul in the Bosom of Abraham occurs in a late ninth-century manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (fig. 1).[5] Here the parable of Lazarus and Dives is used as an illustration of a homily on the

This article was developed from a talk given at the Byzantine Studies Conference in October, 1982. I would like to thank Dr. Sarah Wilk for her editorial assistance and constant encouragement in its preparation.

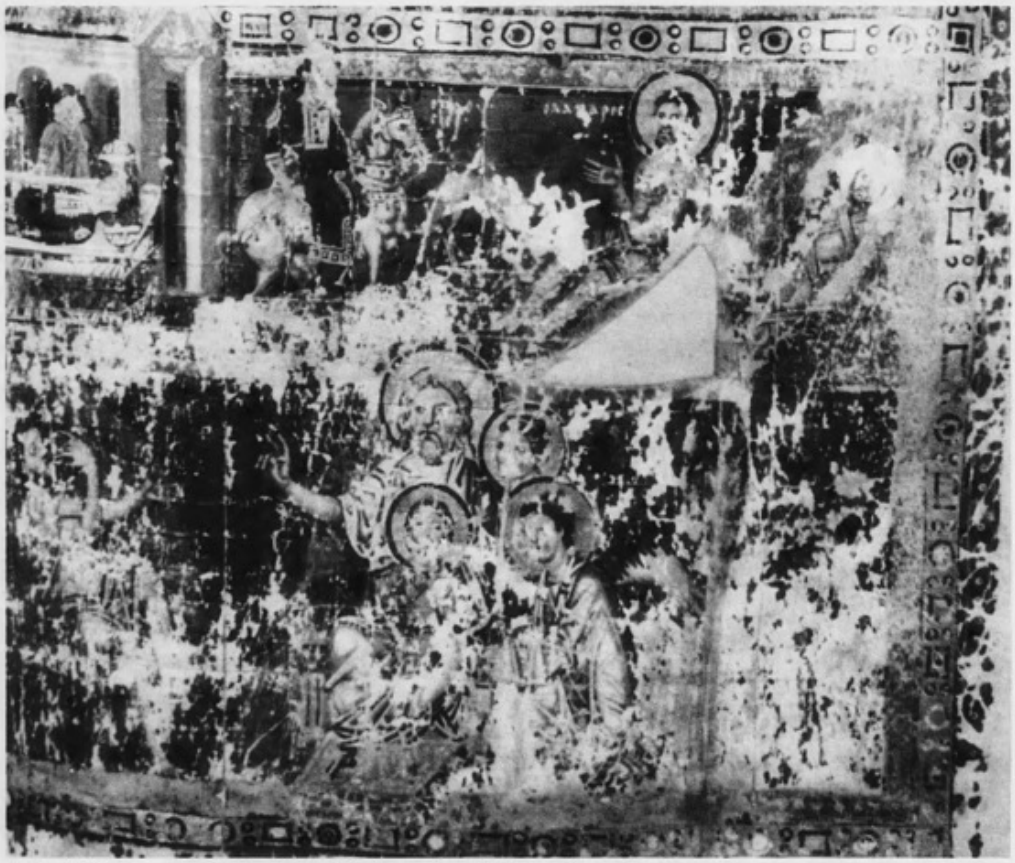
[1] For a discussion of the Bosom of Abraham and its history as a refuge in the afterlife see J. Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans le prière pour les morts,* Louvain, 1971, 137-149; esp. 137, note 1, where Jewish sources are cited. See also *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament,* III, 1938, 824-826.

[2] Luke XVI:19-31.

[3] It was in the Bosom of Abraham that the souls of the unsainted faithful awaited resurrection and their entrance to Paradise. See discussion in Ntedika, 140-146. The distinctions and the relationship between the Bosom of Abraham, Paradise, and the Kingdom of Heaven are not clearly defined in the early Church. "Eam itaque regionem, sinum dice Abrahae, esti non caelestem, sublimiorem tamen inferis, interim refrigerium praebere animabus iustorum. . . ." Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem,* IV, 34, 13. *Corpus christianorum series latina,* I, 1953, 638.

[4] Gregory of Nyssa, in the late fourth century, explained the parable in non-physical terms because it would otherwise contradict the doctrine of the non-material character of the soul after death. J. Pelikan, *The Finality of Jesus Christ in an Age of Universal History,* London, 1965, 21. "Cum enim corpora essent in sepulcris, anima vero neque in corpore esset, neque ex partibus constaret, difficile fuerit narrationis structuram, prout protinus ac prima fronte intelligitur, ad veritatem accommadare, nisi quis singulatim quaeque verba a corpore traducat ad cam quae mente percipitur speculationem . . . ." Gregory of Nyssa, *De anima et resurrectione, P.G.,* 46:79D.

[5] S. derNersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* XVI, 1962, 197-228. For a more specific discussion of the iconography of the parable of Lazarus, see R. Hamman, "Lazarus in Heaven," *Burlington Magazine,* LXIII, 1933, 3-10; E. Rosenthal, "Abraham and Lazarus; Iconographical Considerations of a Medieval Book Painting," *Pacific Art Review,* IV, 1945-46, 7-23.



1. Soul of Lazarus in the Bosom of Abraham from the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, 875. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510, fol. 149r

love of the poor. Lazarus' body is seen wrapped for burial in the upper register while below the patriarch Abraham, flanked by two angels, holds the soul of Lazarus on his lap.

Visual precedents for this new iconography may be found in earlier salvatory themes; one such theme is found in an eighth-century painting of an angel who holds three small figures identified as the three Hebrews protected from a fiery furnace, and a second example appears in a Gallo-Roman statuette of an enthroned goddess who holds two small figures on her lap much as Abraham holds Lazarus' soul.[6] However, the image of the Bosom of Abraham as a metaphor for the salvation of the soul is not found before its depiction in this Byzantine manuscript dating from 875.

In the West, the image of the soul in the Bosom of Abraham does not appear until a century later when it occurs in the Aachen Gospel Book of Otto III.[7] In its western interpretation this image serves as an illustration of the parable itself.

[6] The eighth-century painting from Baouit is illustrated in the *Larousse Encyclopedia of Byzantine and Medieval Art,* revised edition, Feltham, England, 1968, ill. 138. The Gallo-Roman statuette is in the collection of the Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, unpublished photograph.

[7] See A. Böckler, "Die Reichenauer Buchmalerei," *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau,* II, Munich, 1925, 985, where he ascribes contemporary Byzantine influence to this manuscript, an idea supported by this example of the Bosom of Abraham. A western forerunner of this image of a soul under the protection of a representative of the Lord can be seen on the ivory book cover of Charles the Bald where the small, dressed soul of the psalmist sits on the lap of an angel who fights off two menacing lions. See D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen-age,* Fribourg, Switzerland, 1978, ill. 75, discussed on page 188, including recent bibliography.

2. The aftermath of Abel's murder, ninth century. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 923, fol. 69r

3. Greek black-figure vase with the image of the soul of Patroclus in the aftermath of his death, fifth century. London, British Museum

A second image that is found for the first time in a ninth-century Byzantine manuscript is the depiction of the aftermath of Abel's murder as seen on folio 69r of Paris gr.923 (fig. 2).[8] The small figure who gestures imploringly was described by Weitzmann as Abel's soul atop his burial mound and by Sherman as the personification of the voice of Abel.[9] However, two pieces of information weigh the evidence in favor of Weitzmann's opinion. First, the extra-biblical story, a Jewish legend that deals with the immediate aftermath of Abel's death, specifically cites a problem omitted in Genesis: the posthumous plight of Abel's soul.[10] The legend says that, "....the soul of Abel denounced the murderer, for she could find rest nowhere. She could neither soar heavenward, nor abide in the grave with her body, for no human soul had done either before."[11]

Secondly, in favor of Weitzmann's identification, there is the tradition that originated in Greek art of images of vengeful, wrathful, and malcontent souls, some of whom cry out atop their tombs.[12] For example, there is the soul of Patroclus in illustrations of the aftermath of his death (fig. 3).[13] The heroic Patroclus was killed in battle, but his body was not properly buried. The vase paintings show his soul imploring Achilles to avenge his death as Hector's body is dragged by a team of horses.[14] There is no evidence that the Byzantine artist would have known the Greek vase paintings, but the wronged Greek soul atop its tomb provides a strong iconographical parallel to this Byzantine biblical soul.

Despite what appears to be a possible precedent in this example, I feel that the ninth-century diminutive image of the Christian soul should not be directly related to the diminutive images of pagan souls.[15] A direct relationship between the pagan *eidolon* and this image of the Christian soul found in the ninth century seems too simplistic for several reasons. First, there are three figure types known to us as an *eidolon* in pagan art: a small-bodied, unwinged figure; a small-bodied, winged figure; and a stick figure with wings.[16] The Christian soul is only similar to the first type, which is probably the least common.[17]

[8] K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus graecus 923,* Princeton, 1979, ill. of Genesis IV, 9-12.

[9] Weitzmann, 36, says that the image can be explained in terms of Jewish legends, but R. E. Sherman is more literal and holds to the figure a direct visualization of verse 10, "The voice of my brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground." See her "Observations on the Iconography of the Ripoll Bible," *Rutgers Art Review,* II, 1981, 7-8.

[10] This legend was cited by Sherman, 8, note 19, but apparently was not seen as significant in terms of this illustration.

[11] L. Ginzburg, *The Legends of the Jews,* trans. H. Szold, I, Philadelphia, 1968, 110.

[12] Cumont sees the tomb as the last dwelling place of the departed who would abide there peacefully if satisfied, and would not seek to avenge himself. F. Cumont, *After-life in Roman Paganism,* New Haven, 1922, 3. In Greece in post-Homeric times, the burial of the dead takes on a religious duty for the same reason it had earlier: the need for the soul to find rest. E. Rohde, *Psyche, The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks,* London, 1925, 163.

[13] A group of illustrations of the death of Patroclus has been studied by K. P. Stähler, *Grab und Psyche das Patroclos,* Münster, 1967.

[14] See Homer's *Iliad,* trans. R. Lattimore, Chicago, 1962, 352-74; Chapters 16 and 17.

[15] For an opposing view see Weitzmann, 36, where he notes only that the image fits the classical tradition of the *eidolon,* the image of the dead person in reduced size that leaves the corpse's mouth.

[16] The small-bodied, unwinged figure of a pagan soul is seen in fig. 3, above. However, images of the soul in other Greek illustrations of this legend use a small-bodied, winged figure, see Stähler, ill. 2, 4, 5, 8, *et al.,* and pages 33-36 for a discussion of the origin and development of these small-sized souls. Examples of the wraith-like, winged soul abound on fifth-century B.C. white lekythoi; see D. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi,* Oxford, 1975, ill. 39.4 and P. E. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting,* London, 1962, ill. 201.

[17] The similarity between the two small-bodied, unwinged figures cannot be denied, but John Martin, for one, doubts that the Christian image descends directly from the pagan example. He declines, however, to offer an alternative derivation. John Martin, *Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus,* Princeton, 1954, 29, note 12. "It is doubtful, however, that the motif had a continuous existence in pictorial art from antiquity onward."

4. Resurrection of Lazarus from Pantocrator 61, ninth century. Mt. Athos, fol. 29r

Furthermore, as I intend to show, the reduced-size Christian soul has a meaning that is intrinsically Christian despite any figural analogies between this Christian image and one classical pagan type of *eidolon*. The ninth-century Christian soul, in fact, the Christian image of the small, clothed soul in general, will be shown to derive most directly from an Early Christian idea of a soul rather than from any possible pagan precedents. To demonstrate both the truly Christian meaning and the Early Christian derivation of the reduced-size soul in the ninth century, it is necessary to digress briefly and mention some of the ideas associated with the concept of resurrection in the first millenium of Christianity. Only then is it possible to understand the meaning of the images as we see them today, and only then can the artistic precedents be seen for the third innovative Byzantine image to be discussed here — a depiction of the Resurrection of Lazarus (fig. 4).

In the early centuries of the Church there appear to have been several interpretations of resurrection.[18] Some Christians apparently saw it as a new spiritual creation, as seen on the so-called dogmatic sarcophagus.[19] Others believed that resurrection was a rising of the physical body which then would be reunited with the soul.[20] This less spiritual conception of resurrection was the opinion that prevailed.[21]

Despite such differences, the Resurrection of Lazarus has been a constant example in Christian art of the power of Christ to effect a resurrection.[22] However, the Resurrection of Lazarus, as depicted in Mt. Athos, Panocrator 61, adds to our understanding of resurrection as it existed in the ninth century. Here, probably for the first time, the soul of Lazarus is present at the resurrection of his body (fig. 4).[23] As is usual, Christ stands before the body of Lazarus, revealed in his tomb as erect and wrapped for burial.[24] But the standard Early Christian image has been embellished by the inclusion of two witnesses seen struggling with the door they have removed from the mausoleum. To their left is a box-like structure often used in Byzantine art as the symbol for the lower world, but further enriched here by the figure of Hades, a large man with round, bear-like ears.[25] He holds two souls in his clutches while a third, identified as a soul in the manuscript, is seen near the burial chamber in which Lazarus stands.[26]

The depiction of the Resurrection of Lazarus seems to reflect the idea that since the soul is necessary for life, it must rejoin the body in order that the body live again. This depiction is visually in accord with the belief that the earthly body and the spiritual soul will be reunited at the resurrection and will appear before God. This idea is not unique to the ninth century, as historians of theology have

[18] "....a material and earthly picture of the resurrection existed in tension with a more spiritual and heavenly picture." J. M. Hick, *Death and Eternal Life,* New York, 1976, 182-183. See also M. E. Dahl, *The Resurrection of the Body,* London, 1962, 18.

[19] See D. Markow, "Some Born-again Christians of the Fourth Century," *Art Bulletin,* LXIII, 1981, 650-655, for the idea that some Early Christian sarcophagi bear depictions of a spiritual rather than a bodily resurrection.

[20] "....et eumdem exspectantibus adventum Domini, et eamdem salutem totius hominis, id est animae et corporis sustinentibus." Irenaeus, *Contra Haereses,* 5, 20, 1; *P.G.,* 7, 1177. "....congruentissima scilicet Deo destinatio judicii: de cujus dispositione dispicias, an utrique substantiae humanae dijudicandae censura divina praesideat, tam animae quam et carni." Tertullian, *De resurrectione carnis, P.L.,* 2, 812-814. J. N. D. Kelly has written that because of Gnostic spiritual beliefs, writers such as Ireneaus and Tertullian were careful to include both body and soul in their discussions of salvation. *Early Christian Doctrines,* London, 1958, 468.

[21] For a discussion of the reasons for the second-century orthodox Christian rejection of the Gnostic spiritual belief in resurrection see E. Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels,* New York, Vintage ed., 1981, 7-12. In the third century the teachings of Origen once again developed the more spiritual ideas about resurrection, but the later fathers identify the risen body with the natural body. See discussion of these developments in Kelly, 474-479.

[22] E. Mâle, "La Résurrection de Lazare dans l'art," *La Revue des arts,* I, 1951, 44-52.

[23] This image is described by S. Dufrenne, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen-age,* Paris, 1966, 23.

[24] For some of the many Early Christian examples of the resurrection of Lazarus see J. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi,* Rome, 1929, ill. III:4; IX:3; LXV:5; LXXXVI:3; LXXXXI; LXXXXVI; CIX:7; CXI:1; *et al.*

[25] Early Christian and early Byzantine art do not appear to have representations of Hell. The earliest Christian subject to involve a depiction of Hades or the lower world of the spirits is the Anastasis, or Christ's Descent, the earliest extant images of which are Syrian and date from the early eighth century. They use the human-like personification of Hades upon whom Christ stands to represent His triumph over the underworld. Later images add burial chambers, sarcophagi, or mausolea from which the Old Testament patriarchs arise. This conflates the idea of resurrection with the event of Christ's descent, a concurrence that is probably intended. See discussion of Hell under Anastasis in G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst,* Gütersloh, III, 1971, 44-45 and A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis,* (Ph.D. dissertation, N.Y.U.), 1982, unavailable to me at the time of this writing.

[26] See Dufrenne, 23.

5. Scene of Resurrection from an Early Christian sarcophagus, early fourth century. Florence, Museo Archeologico (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico)
6. Scene of Resurrection from an Early Christian sarcophagus, early fourth century. Arles, Musèe Lapidaire d'art chrétien—Fernand Benoit

shown.[27] Nor is such an image peculiar to ninth-century art. It is found later in an eleventh-century Byzantine psalter and will now be shown to have precedents in the funerary art of the fourth century.[28]

The reunion of our earthly body and our spiritual soul is depicted in a scene on three unusual sarcophagi from the fourth century.[29] Each contains multiple images, among them scenes that detail Christ's power to resurrect. On the Florentine and Arlesian examples (figs. 5 and 6), there is a scene of the resurrection of the

[27] In his study on the doctrines of Gregory the Great, McClain has shown that late in the sixth century Gregory held that our beatitude would increase at the resurrection because of the reunion of body and soul. Gregory the Great, *Moralium in Job,* 9, 11, 17; *P.L.,* 75:816 C-D, as cited in J. P. McClain, *The Doctrine of Heaven in the writings of St. Gregory the Great,* (Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic University), 1956, 78.

[28] The Byzantine psalter is Br. Mus. Add. 19352, dated 1066. On fol. 31v there is a depiction of the soul of Lazarus ascending on a light beam that has created a path from the hulking figure of Hades below, to the figure of Christ next to the tomb of Lazarus above. Illustrated in S. derNersessian, *Illustrations des Psautiers grecs du moyen-age,* II, Paris, 1970, fig. 53.

[29] For earlier literature on these three sarcophagi in Arles, Florence, and Rome, respectively, see Wilpert, *Sarcofagi,* I, 40. The Arlesian sarcophagus is ill. 38.2; the one in San Sebastiano in Rome, not illustrated in this article, is ill. 40. The example in Florence was the last to be discovered; see D. Levi, "Sarcofago cristiano renvenuto a Firenze nel grato dell'Arno," *Bollettino d'arte,* XXVII, 1933, 386-388, including a discussion of the previous literature on this type.

daughter of Jairus, who is shown arising from her sickbed; on the sarcophagus in Rome (not illustrated here), is the familiar resurrection of Lazarus.

However, the scene that sets these sarcophagi apart is the one that involves an enthroned figure who is surrounded by three pairs of figures: two who stand in the background, two who cover their faces, and two, smaller in size, who kneel in the foreground. The scene does not accurately fit any biblical event. It has been called Christ bidding farewell to his apostles despite the fact that only six are present, and the two who cover their eyes are behaving strangely for apostles.[30] These two figures, it has been said, are penitent.[31] They are crying into their handkerchiefs in grief. But this is not in keeping with apostolic behavior, nor with the Early Christian optimistic outlook that held that salvation was assured to those who believe.[32] It seems more like an interpretation based upon a later, more pessimistic outlook, one that placed much emphasis upon penance.[33]

I would like to suggest instead that this is a scene of resurrection; not a biblical event like the Lazarus and daughter of Jairus resurrections, but a vision of the future resurrection when the earthly body and the spiritual soul will be reunited and brought before the throne of God. That this is a scene of resurrection will be made clearer by an analysis of the figures in the scene itself.

The central enthroned figure should be understood to be Christ. On each sarcophagus He appears several times, depicted similarly. He holds a scroll in His left hand, symbolic of His law to which the Christian must remain faithful.

The two large figures who stand behind the throne do not appear to be participating in the events before the throne. They are more like the witnesses who attend the miracles of Christ (see the resurrection of the daughter of Jairus in figs. 5 and 6), or the figures who accompany the *orant* on many Early Christian sarcophagi.[34] They are either apostles or angels without wings.[35] For the purposes of

[30] The sarcophagus is labelled "Les Adieux du Christ" by the museum in Arles. F. Gerke suggests that this is a preaching scene with Christ between six apostles. "Der neugefunde altchristliche Friessarkophag im Museo Archeologica zu Florenz und das Problem der Entwicklung der ältesten christlichen Friessarkophag," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte,* LIV, 1935, 29. W. N. Schumacher, "Eine römische Apsiskomposition," *Römische Quartalsschrift,* LIV, 1959, 156, note 92, rejects the idea that this is a teaching scene and suggests instead that this is a scene of Maiestas.

[31] The suggestion that these figures are weeping and covering their faces in grief was made by Levi, 386. It has also been said that penance is indicated by the gesture of the small figures in *proskenysis* on the Arlesian sarcophagus. *Proskenysis,* however, was an act of homage, not one of penance. For discussion see G. Francastel, *Le Droit du trône; un problème de pré-éminence dans l'art chrétien d'occident du IV au XII siècle,* Paris, 1973, 45; also A. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhof," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archeologischen Instituts, Röm. Abt.,* XLIX, 1934, 48-49.

[32] John V:24-29, promises that he who listens and believes will have eternal life and will incur no sentence of judgment.

[33] Only after the sixth century is Christian confidence in salvation shaken. Intimations of the risks involved in the future life indicate "that the age-old confidence has been undermined. The people of God are less assured of divine mercy...." P. Ariès, *The Hour of our Death,* trans. H. Weaver, New York, 1981, 151. Penance, too, is known only from the sixth century. P. Anciaux, *Le Théologie du sacrement de Pénitence au XII siècle,* Louvain, 1948, 9, note 1.

[34] For examples of *orants* with apostles on Early Christian sarcophagi see Wilpert, ill. LXIII:4; LXXXI:4; LXXXXIX:1, 5; CX:1,2, *et al.*

[35] There is a continuing argument in the literature about the identity of the witnessing figures at thrones and the accompanying figures of *orants.* Gerke believed that these figures are Peter and Paul. "Die Wandmalerein der Petrus-Paulus Katakombe in Pécs," *Neue Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte des 1. Jahrtausends,* I-II, 1954, 178. Stommel and DeBruyne agree. E. Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik,* Bonn, 1954, 38-41;

the argument here, they could be either, for both would be in heaven and both could be at the throne of God.

The two large figures before the throne who cover their faces with cloths are, I believe, human bodies created as part of God's creation of the earth and now resurrected bodily into heaven. They are covering their eyes because the Old Testament clearly states that man cannot see God: "Thou canst not see my face, for man shall not see me and live."[36]

Despite the apparent clarity of the verse from Exodus, the question of whether man would see God at the resurrection was controversial in the Early Christian period. St. Augustine at first held with the Old Testament stricture and concluded that even at the resurrection we would be unable to see God.[37] However, later he wrote that because our eyes would be transformed and glorified, it might be possible to see God.[38] The issue was still open for debate in the fourth century, so these figures with their covered eyes could well be a mid-fourth-century depiction of two risen earthly bodies.

However, there was no question that the just soul would see God at the resurrection.[39] The two small figures in devotion before the throne of God do not need to cover their eyes. They are the spiritual creation of God, the reduced-size Christian soul under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

This is the new image of the soul that appears in Christian art in the fourth century, and its reduced size has a specifically Christian meaning; it symbolizes the receipt of the Holy Spirit. Elsewhere I have shown that the small Christ in depictions of His baptism, and the small spiritual resurrected men and women, such as those on the dogmatic sarcophagus, and the small figures of those miraculously cured by Christ on fourth-century reliefs, denote by their small size the presence of the Holy Spirit.[40] The Holy Spirit was the gift of baptism, the creative energy of God that would be given to our souls at the resurrection and the power through which Christ performed miracles.

L. DeBruyne, "Les 'Lois' de l'art paléochrétien comme instrument herméneutique," *Rivista di archeologia cristiana,* XXXV, 1963, 83. However, J. Engemann and M. Sotomayer see these standing and accompanying figures as angels, J. Engemann, "Zu den Dreifaltigkeitsdarstellungen der frühchristlichen Kunst: Gab es im 4. Jahrhundert. Anthropomorphisch Trinitatsbilder?" *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* XIX, 1976, 159. M. Sotomayer, "Notas sobre la Orante y sur acompanantes en el arte paleocristiano," *Analecta sacra terraconensia,* XXXIV, 1959, 5-20. For the wingless, Early Christian angel see G. Berefelt, *A Study of the Winged Angel,* Stockholm, 1965, 16. For the purposes of my discussion there does not seem to be any need to decide between angels and apostles, but on the basis of the conclusions reached by Danielou it would appear that angelic function is more apt for both the figures with the *orant* and the witnesses at the resurrection. J. Danielou, *The Angels and their Mission,* trans. D. Heimann, Westminster, Maryland, 1957, *passim.*

[36] Exodus 33:20.

[37] "Ad hoc enim fide corda nostra mundantur, quia nobis fidei merces visio Dei promittitur. Quae si per corporis oculos erit, frustra ad eam percipiendam sanctorum animus exercetur: imo vero tam perverse sentiens animus non in se exercetur, sed totus in carne est." St. Augustine, *Epistolarum,* XCII:6; *P.L.,* 33, 320.

[38] "Et videbit omnis homo Christum Dei: qui utique in corpore visus est, et in corpore videbitur, quando vivos et mortuos judicabit.... In carne mea videbo Deum." St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei,* XXIX, 4; *P.L.,* 41, 799.

[39] The only divergence of opinion concerned the beatific vision prior to the resurrection. See McClain, 16-17.

[40] Markow, 652-653.

Thus, it seems probable that this new fourth-century image of the Christian soul is reduced in size to symbolize the presence of the Holy Spirit, in keeping with the new iconographic convention that appears in Christian art at that time. The figure, therefore, is only fully understandable in Christian terms and within this specific iconographic convention. For that reason, rather than see the small-size soul as an adaptation from pagan art where reduced size can often connote reduced importance, it should probably be viewed as the representation of a new and wholly Christian idea of the soul, immortal only through the power of the Holy Spirit whose presence is symbolized by the reduced size of the figure.[41] It is also set apart from the small, unwinged soul of pagan art because there, the seemingly similar image of a small soul with bent knees is meant to depict a soul in rapid flight (fig. 3), their usual state in pagan belief.[42] On the other hand, in Christian art (see fig. 4), this position has a different meaning because it probably derives from figures of the type on the Arlesian sarcophagus (fig. 5) where the soul kneels in obeisance to God.

The kneeling soul appears to have migrated from its fourth-century servitude to God to the ninth-century ascent from Hades, and the soul in *proskenysis,* such as the one on the sarcophagus in Arles (fig. 6), reappears in a mid-eighth century Italo-Byzantine fresco of the martyrdom of St. Erasmus in which the beatified soul seems to float in mid-air as it ascends towards the hand of God.[43] This reduced-size, clothed figure is, for several centuries, the image of the soul that appears in both the East and West. Its appearance in these ninth-century Byzantine manuscripts is neither novel nor surprising, but the ways in which it was used by the ninth-century Byzantine artist have given us a chance to see into the traditions and the thought of the ninth-century Byzantine mind.

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[41] Immortality was not innate to the Christian soul as it was to the Platonic soul, for example. Immortality was a gift from Christ, received from the Holy Spirit via Baptism in the Church. Immortality and the salvation of the individual soul was guaranteed by the sacrament of Baptism. D. R. Bultmann, *History of Eschatology,* Edinburgh, 1957, 51-52.

[42] The running position of the legs is the only characteristic that sets the small, unwinged figure apart as the image of the soul in pagan art. This was pointed out by Felton in his study of Greek representations of the afterlife. He sees it as an artistic convention meant to depict rapid motion long seen as characteristic of the soul. W. Felton, *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jahrhunderts v. Christ,* Munich, 1975, 42-43.

[43] The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus in S. Maria della Lata, Rome, is illustrated in J. Wilpert, *Die römischen und malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts,* IV, Freiburg i.B., 1924, pl. 191; discussed in II, 999-1000.

A Reconstruction of Cimabue's Lost 1301 Altarpiece for the Hospital of Saint Clare in Pisa

ELIZABETH AYER

In 1301 the great dugento painter Cimabue was commissioned to do an elaborate altarpiece for the Hospital of Saint Clare in Pisa. The commission, dated November first, survives; however, the painting is lost,[1] apparently at such an early date that none of the older chroniclers ever described it.[2] The commission has always been of great interest because of its thoroughness and specificity in describing all aspects of the altarpiece and especially because it mentions a predella. However, despite the fact that the document is so complete, the many reconstructions put forth for the lost altarpiece have little in common visually and have great difficulty meeting the many requirements of the commission document. The commission required that the painting be as wide as an altar and include the divine, majestic Virgin Mary, auxiliary figures including angels, apostles, and other saints, a silver cross, scenes, columns, and a predella. Previous reconstructions based on the commission document have always relied on personal and idiosyncratic interpretations of the document wording. Based on a recent reinterpretation of the commission, I propose to reconstruct the altarpiece so that it properly reflects its dugento heritage.

[1] I received kind help in my translation of the commission document from both Mr. Albert Booth of the Pingry School and Dr. Palmer Bovie of Douglass College. Any errors of translation are, of course, my own.

There are actually two documents related to this commission. The first and considerably longer document is the commission discussed in this paper. The second, dated November 11, 1302, is a record of partial payment. Throughout the paper I have used the date 1301 which is a modern translation of the medieval Pisan calendar. The documents can be found in the state archives in Pisa under volume 12 of the Hospital of Saint Clare, nos. 29 and 30. They are published in G. Fontana, *Due documenti inediti riguardanti Cimabue,* Pisa 1878, and L. Tanfani-Centofanti, *Notizie di artisti tratte dai documenti pisani,* Pisa 1897, 119.

"Magister Cenni dictus Cimabu pictor condam Pepi di Florentina, de populo sancti Ambrosii, et Iohannes dictus Nuchulus pictor que moratur Pisis in Cappella sancti Nicoli et filius Apparecchiati de Luca, et quilibet eorum in solidum per solemnem stipulationem convenerunt et promiserunt fratri Henrico magistro dicti hospitalis pro dicto hospitali recipienti quod hinc ad unum annum proxime venturum eorum manibus propriis facient pingere et laborabunt tabulam unam (cum) colonnellis, tabernaculis et predula pictam storiis divine maestatis beate Marie Virginis, apostolorum, angelorum et aliis figuris et picturis de quibus videbitur et placuerit ipsi magistro vel alteri persone legiptime pro dicto hospitali, et unam crucem depicta *(sic)* de argento deaurato ponendam ad tabernaculum de medio dicte tabule. Que picture maestatis divine beate Marie Virginis et apostolorum et aliorum sanctorum fiende in colonnellis et predula dicte tabule et planis tabule fiant et fieri debeant de bono et de puro auro floreni, et alie picture fiende in dicta tabula a colonnellis sursum in tabernaculis et angelis pasis et scorniciatis fiant et fieri debeant per eos, ut dictum est, de bono argento deaurato; ponendam super altari maiori sancti Spiritus ecclesie sancte Clare dicti hospitalis in ea longitudine qua est dictum altare et in ea altitudine de qua videbitur ipsi magistro vel alteri persone pro dicto hospitali. Et quod ipsam tabulam, sic factam et pictam ut dictum est, omnibus eorum expensis ponet super dictum altare fixam et firmam ut ipsi magistro videbitur expedire pro infrascripto salario . . . Actum Pisis in loco dicti hospitalis, presentibus Puccio filio Guidonis Henriconis notarii de cappella sancte Marie maioris et Puccio vinario filio Coscii vinarii de sancto Blasio in ponte testibus ad hec rogatis mcccij, indictione xv, ipso die kalendarum novenbris.

[2] It is possible that the painting was never done. However, other paintings have also been lost without a trace, notably Duccio's altarpiece for the Chapel of the Nove and the altarpiece for the main altar of the lower church of San Francesco in Assisi.

1. Shop of Cimabue, *Enthroned Madonna and Child,* late thirteenth century. Paris, Louvre

2. Late follower of Guido da Siena, *Saint Francis,* c.1310. Siena, Pinacoteca

Were it not for the mention of the predella in the commission, the altarpiece would probably have been discussed less frequently and have found its way into fewer footnotes. But it is just at this moment, 1301-02, that two famous artists, Cimabue and Duccio, are paid for painting predellas, the first mention of that soon to be popular form. A predella, which increases an altarpiece's height and visibility, also provides a sturdy wooden base for it and enlarges the area available for scenes and figures. Duccio's commission was for the Chapel of the Nove in the Town Hall of Siena and was dated December 4, 1302, putting it within a year of Cimabue's commission. Both artists probably spent part of 1302 working on these altarpieces with predellas; today neither altarpiece survives. There are no extant pictorial predellas from the dugento and much speculation centers on the sudden appearance, or so it seems, of the predella simultaneously in the workshops of two such famous and different artists. There have been reconstructions of both altarpieces. Although little debate remains concerning the probable form of Duccio's altarpiece,[3] numerous reconstructions of Cimabue's altarpiece have been

[3] J.H. Stubblebine, "Duccio's *Maestà* of 1302 for the Chapel of the Nove," *Art Quarterly,* 1972, 239-268. See also C. Brandi, *Duccio,* Florence, 1951, 82-83.

postulated with little real progress being made. Preiser listed two possibilities for the lost work, Hager reconstructed the altarpiece, while Ragghianti claimed to have found the lost work.[4]

Ragghianti believed that the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* from the Shop of Cimabue in the Louvre is the lost altarpiece (fig. 1). The panel does contain a majestic Virgin and angels, both of which are stipulated by the commission. However, Preiser argued against the hypothesis by questioning the omission of the columns, tabernacle, and painted cross, all of which he said are mentioned in the commission. While I concur with Preiser that this shape does not permit the complexities of figure and format inherent in the wording of the commission, I disagree with his dismissal of Ragghianti's method. Ragghianti's basic premise of looking to Cimabue's own work for a shape is valid and sound.

Preiser's first reconstruction used the shape and layout of a St. Francis panel in the Siena Pinacoteca by a late follower of Guido da Siena (fig. 2), dated by Stubblebine to c.1310.[5] Preiser said that the columns and arches fulfilled part of the commission and he called the gable at the top of the painting a tabernacle so that it would also fit with the commission. This hypothesis is wrong for several reasons. First, where is the cross which is mentioned in the commission? The commission also asks for a painting as wide as an altar; surely this panel, which is only 2.3 x 1.1 meters, would not be wide enough for most altars, and a Virgin and Child with many auxiliary figures certainly would be an awkward choice of subject matter for so narrow a panel. Finally, Preiser is most unconvincing in his argument that the gable atop the *St. Francis* is the tabernacle mentioned in the commission. Garrison defines a tabernacle as "a simple panel to which doors or shutters have been added."[6] While a tabernacle can have a triangular projection or gable at the top, it can also be a simple rectangular shape. Therefore, contrary to Preiser's interpretation, the word tabernacle refers not to a gabled pediment, but to the physical addition of shutters to the central panel of an altarpiece. Used in this manner the word tabernacle also implies a small, even portable, altarpiece used for private devotion.

Thus, the *St. Francis* fits almost none of the commission requirements. In addition, its style is derived not from Cimabue but from the shop of Guido da Siena. The *St. Francis,* then, has nothing to do either iconographically or stylistically with Cimabue's lost altarpiece, nor can it be considered a valid reflection of any Cimabuesque altarpiece.

Preiser next discussed the *Badia Altarpiece* from Giotto's shop now in the Uffizi (fig. 3). Preiser wanted to see in Giotto's choice of shapes for the *Badia Altarpiece* a reflection of a lost Cimabue polyptych. There is no visual evidence whatsoever for this connection. Preiser supported this reconstruction by interpreting the words *"a colonellis sursam in tabernaculis"* to mean that the altarpiece ended at the top in a series of gables. As will be shown later, this was an obscure interpretation of the phrase "the columns rise over the tabernacle."

[4] H. Hager, *Die Anfange des italienischen Altarbildes,* Munich, 1962, 113f. A. Preiser, *Das Entstehen und die Entwicklung der Predella in der italienischen Malerei,* Hildesheim, 1973, 200-202. C. Ragghianti, *Pittura del Dugento a Firenze,* Florence, 1955, 110.

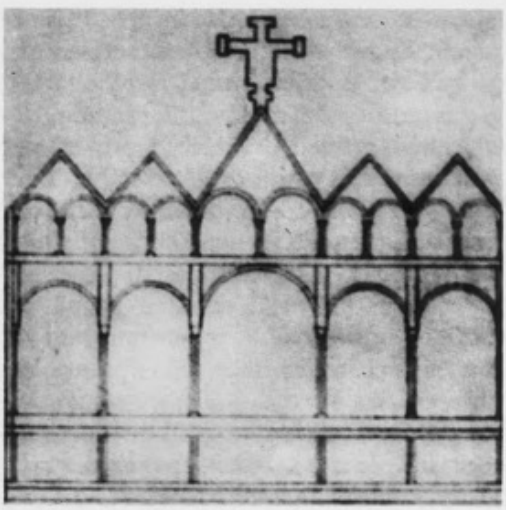
[5] J.H. Stubblebine, *Guido da Siena,* Princeton, 1964, 107-109.

[6] E.B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting,* Florence, 1949, 109.

3. Shop of Giotto, *Badia Altarpiece*, 1301-02. Florence, Uffizi

It is clear that Preiser failed to elucidate the mystery of the lost altarpiece's form. His reconstructions are based on convoluted interpretations of the commission document as well as on the use of non-Cimabuesque models.

The final reconstruction is Hager's elaborate example (fig. 4) based on Simone Martini's 1320 *Pisa Polyptych* and Meo da Siena's polyptych of about the same time. Again, Hager's personal interpretation of the document hypothesizes a plethora of elements for an altarpiece which was done at a time when such visual complexity had hardly begun. Hager chose the polyptych shape because the commission calls for the painting to be as wide as an altar. Hager, like Preiser, interpreted the word *tabernaculis* to mean a series of gable shapes atop the panel. Hager capped the central gable with a cross. This unknown juxtaposition is top-heavy and



4. H. Hager, Reconstruction of Cimabue's lost 1301 altarpiece

5. Giuliano da Rimini, *Enthroned Madonna and Child,* 1307. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum

awkward. He further confused the cross-tabernacle issue by stating that the background of the gables could be silver, rather than, as the document clearly states, that the cross be gilded with silver, *"et unam crucem depicta de argento deaurato ponendam ad tabernaculum."* Hager has pulled together progressive and much later examples of polyptychs to formulate this shape. In my judgment, the late dates and Sienese origins of the examples disqualify them. His polyptych shape is too complex and, with a painted cross atop it, too bizarre for 1301 and the shop of the old dugento master, Cimabue.

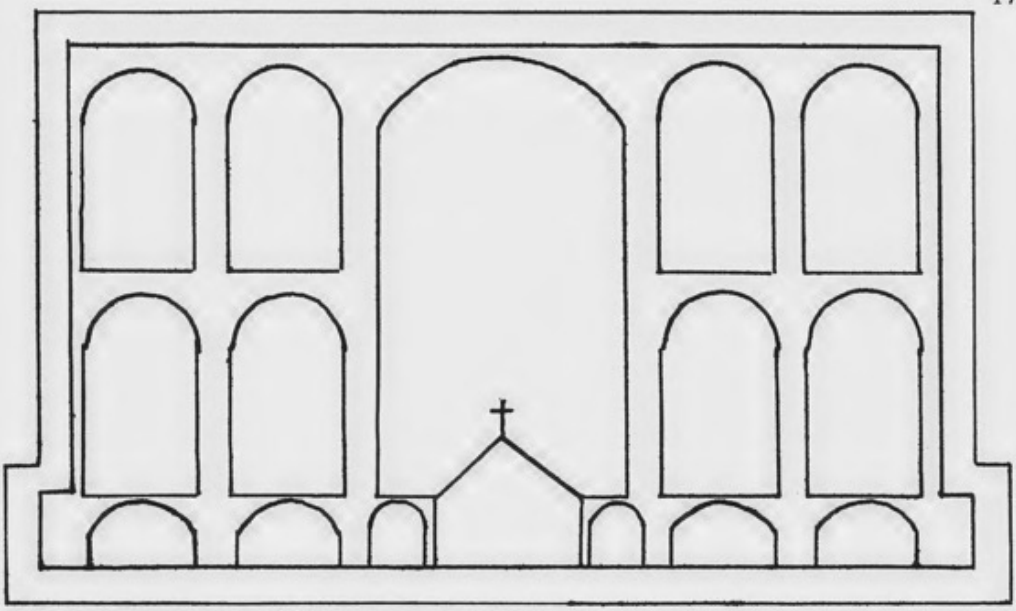
There is only one panel painting securely attributed to Cimabue, the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* in the Uffizi, formerly in the church of Santa Trinita. The painting is a gabled rectangle as is the *Enthroned Madonna and Child* (fig. 1) in the Louvre from the shop of Cimabue. Stubblebine has hypothesized an earlier lost Cimabue panel which used a simple rectangular shape for the enthroned Madonna and Child.[7] With such a paucity of evidence about Cimabue's panel shapes, it is difficult to state firmly what his preferences were. However, certain conclusions can be reached. Nowhere in Cimabue's work, or in his shop, do we see the complexities of gabled polyptychs like Meliore da Toscano's 1271 example.[8] Neither in Cimabue's work nor in the dugento do we see a series of superimposed shapes as in later trecento polyptychs. In 1301, Cimabue was an old man and it is audacious to suppose that at such an early trecento date he prophesied much later panel developments. It is cautious and sensible to assume that he would have used a known dugento shape as he did in his other panel paintings.

A recent reinterpretation of the 1301 commission suggests a proper reconstruction of Cimabue's lost altarpiece. Stubblebine has interpreted the word *tabernaculis* to mean the actual altar tabernacle that held the Host.[9] This tabernacle would then be capped with a cross. The word *tabernaculis,* then, does not refer to the

[7] Stubblebine, *Guido,* 8-9.

[8] Meliore's polyptych with half-length figures is further disqualified because scholars seem to agree that the commission called for full-length figures. See especially Hager, 193, note 97.

[9] The new interpretation of the translation of *tabernaculis* was suggested to me by Dr. Stubblebine.



6. E. Ayer, Reconstruction of Cimabue's lost 1301 altarpiece

panel's shape as previous scholars thought. Gone now is the need for an elaborate superstructure. Gone also is the confusion about what in the painting was supposed to be silver. The tabernacle would sit on the altar at the middle of the painting or perhaps, as it was originally in Lorenzo Monaco's 1414 *Coronation of the Virgin,* attached to the lower portion of the painting. Due to this clarification, the visual and structural complexities of trecento altarpieces are no longer necessary to satisfy the commission. It is now possible to use a simpler dugento altarpiece shape, a shape which would probably also have been Cimabue's choice.

An *Enthroned Madonna and Child* by Giuliano da Rimini dated on the painting 1307 in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston seems to fit almost all the commission criteria (fig. 5). The panel is a simple rectangle, a popular dugento shape. There is a prominent enthroned Madonna and Child with an apostle, various saints, and small angels. It could easily have had a predella and would be, at 1.6 x 3 meters, as wide as an altar. There are columns separating the saints and, if there were a tabernacle at the lower edge of the painting, the columns would be, as specified, over the tabernacle. The shape and formal layout of the Giuliano da Rimini panel may give a fairly accurate reflection of what the lost Cimabue altarpiece looked like (fig. 6). It is difficult to imagine any other dugento panel shape that would fit the contractual requirements so completely. This is a simple and straightforward solution that, in spite of its 1301 date, is essentially dugento in conception.

Cimabue's altarpiece effectively ends the use of dugento altarpiece shapes. The fourteenth century ushered in new artists and styles both in Siena with Duccio's shop and in Florence with Giotto and his shop. The art of the dugento began to look simple and old fashioned and was replaced with new and more complex altarpieces. It is not, however, to these new altarpieces that we must look for evidence of Cimabue's altarpiece; like the master himself, we must look to contemporary and older examples.

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A Program of Altarpieces for the Siena Cathedral

KAVIN M. FREDERICK

For my father on his seventieth birthday

The cathedral of Siena underwent extensive reconstruction during the first half of the fourteenth century.[1] The amplification of the choir and the transepts forced the relocation of the existing chapels situated around the high altar, including those of the four patron saints of Siena: St. Savinus, St. Ansanus, St. Victor, and St. Crescentius.[2] These chapels, moreover, received new altarpieces, the existence of which is documented by literary evidence and substantiated in three cases by extant sections. The altarpiece of San Vittorio is lost or unrecognized; the Sant' Ansano altarpiece, however, has been identified as the *Annunciation* by Simone Martini, signed and dated 1333 (fig. 1).[3] Likewise, the center panels of the

A shorter version of this paper was presented as part of *A Symposium on the History of Art* at the Frick Collection in April, 1981. I would like to thank Professor James H. Stubblebine who advised this study from its inception in his seminar, *Problems in Early Italian Painting* (Rutgers University, Spring 1980). Also thanks to Professor Lotte Brand Philip for pointing out to me the cycle of altarpieces for the chapels of the Siena Cathedral.

[1] For information on the history of the cathedral of Siena, see V. Lusini, *Il Duomo di Siena,* I, 1911; E. Carli, *Vetrata Duccesca,* Milan, 1956; J. White, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1250-1400,* Baltimore, Maryland, 1966; and E. Carli, *Il Duoma di Siena,* Siena, 1979. In 1316, under Camaino di Crescentino, work had begun on a new baptistry. This was to provide new substructures for a two-bay extension of the choir above. By 1322, however, the project was considered unsatisfactory, and a commission of experts, headed by Lorenzo Maitani, was summoned for advice. Their report (reproduced in White, *Art and Architecture,* 165) strongly warned not to continue with the present construction, citing numerous structural and aesthetic shortcomings. Despite these objections as well as a further recommendation that a wholly new building should be undertaken, the Opera del Duomo pressed forward with the new extensions. In 1339, a second and truly ambitious plan was put into effect. The authorities entrusted the scheme to Lando di Pietro, who died the following year and was succeeded as capomaestro by Giovanni d' Agostino. Intended as a cathedral of tremendous proportions, the projected structure was to incorporate the church of 1339 as its choir and transept. The outlines of this structure are still visible in the ground plan of the present building. Cf. Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 41; and White, *Art and Architecture,* 167, fig. 14(B).

[2] In short but informative discussions, Lusini *(Duomo di Siena,* 256-261) and P. Bacci ("Il Pittore Mattia Preti a Siena," *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* n.s. II, 1931, 2-3) disclose the identity and the location of the chapels of the patron saints of Siena, as well as the other major altars of the Duomo in the fourteenth century (see fig. 7). Located in the north transept arm, the chapel of San Savino stood close to the present monument of Pius III, flanking to the east the altar of San Sebastiano. The chapel of San Crescenzio, on the other hand, was in the south transept arm, facing directly opposite the San Savino altar. Likewise, the chapels of Sant' Ansano and San Vittorio stood opposite each other in the new lateral extensions of the choir. Situated in the north end of the choir, the former was located diagonally to the east of the chapel of San Savino—the same position that it occupies today. The latter, positioned in the south end of the choir, was in the same spatial relation to the San Crescenzio altar.

The *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiae Senensis,* dated 1215, identifies the five "altaria superiora," located in the cathedral before the reconstruction of the choir and transept. The altars were dedicated to St. John the Baptist, St. Michael the Archangel, St. Ansanus, St. Crescentius, and St. Savinus and St. Victor together, "cuius [of St. Victor] caput in Ecclesia nostra est in altare S. Savini." Cf. Carli, *Duomo di Siena,* 15. Earlier Carli *(Vetrata Duccesca,* 47) maintained that the last altar was dedicated only to St. Savinus and not jointly to St. Savinus and St. Victor.

[3] The Annunciation is signed: SYMON MARTINI ET LIPPUS MEMMI DE SENIS ME PINXERUNT ANNO DOMINI MCCCXXXIII, see G. Paccagnini, *Simone Martini,* London, 1957, 165; L. Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze: I dipinti toscani del secolo XIV,* Rome, 1965, 149; and M.C. Gozzoli and G. Contini, *L'opera completa di Simone Martini,* Milan, 1970, 97.

The earliest reports record the altarpiece in the Duomo of Siena, see L. Ghiberti, *I Commentari* (c. 1452-1455), ed. J. Schlosser, I, Berlin, 1912, 42, 145, note 5; *Anonimo Fiorentino, Il codice Magliabechiano*

1. Simone Martini, *Annunciation* (Sant' Ansano Altarpiece), 1333. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari/Editorial Photocolor Archives)

(1537-1542), ed. K. Frey, Berlin, 1892, 84; reprint, Gregg International Publishers Limited, Farnborough, Hants, England, 1969; and G. Vasari, *Le vite de più excellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori* ... (1568), ed. G. Milanese, I, Florence, 1878, 548. G. Della Valle *(Lettere senesi ... sopra le belle arti,* II, Rome, 1785, 83, 111-112; photoreprint, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1973), who recorded the altarpiece in the Church of Sant' Ansano in Castelvecchio, transcribed the inscription of the frame and attributed to Simone Martini the figures of St. Margaret and the Angel, and to Lippo Memmi, the figures of the Virgin and St. Ansanus. For a further discussion of the attribution of the painting, see Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze,* 150. Moreover, Milanesi (in *Vite,* 548, note 3) identified the *Annunciation* with the Sant' Ansano altarpiece. He also published two documents of payment to Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi: "1333. Ancho ciij lire xiiij sol: al maestro Simone dipintore, e per lui a maestro Lippo i quali .... (la carta è lacera)" — "Ancho ccxij lire, iij sol: e vij den: al mastro Lippo, dipentore, i quali ebe in 70 fiorini d'oro per l'adornamento de la cholone, ciuori e ciercini de la tavola di sancto Sano;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1333, filza 45, reg. n.° 3.* G. Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell' arte senese,* I, 1854-1855, 218. Cf. Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 237, note 5. J. Labarte *(L'église cathédrale de Sienne et son trésor d' apres un inventaire de 1467,* Paris, 1868, 21) also identified the altarpiece, publishing (in French) the 1467 inventory description of the chapel of Sant' Ansano. (see note 25, note 17). This identification was accepted in all the subsequent studies of the altarpiece. See, for example, A. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana,* V, Milan, 1907, 615-619; J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy,* ed. L. Douglas, III, London, 1908, 48-49; and R. Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting,* II, The Hague, 1924, 232-233. Bacci published a third payment account to "Lipo dipintore," dated December, 1333: "Anco j lib., ij sol. i quali si diero a Lipo dipintore per feri che si misero ne la tauola di santo Sano;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1333, filza 45, reg. n.° 3, f. 49.* P. Bacci, *Fonti e commenti per la storia dell' arte senese,* Siena, 1944, 169-170.

2. Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin* (San Savino Altarpiece), 1342. Siena, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo

San Savino and the San Crescenzio altarpieces, both signed and dated 1342,[4] have been identified. Pietro Lorenzetti's *Birth of the Virgin* was the centerpiece of the San Savino altarpiece, whereas Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Presentation of the Christ Child in the Temple,* or rather, as identified by Van Os,[5] the *Purification of the Virgin,* was the center panel of the San Crescenzio altarpiece (figs. 2 and 3).[6]

[4] The *Birth of the Virgin* is signed: PETRUS LAURENTII. DE SENIS. ME PINXIT. MCCCXLII, see Sinabaldi, *Lorenzetti,* 171; and Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti,* 127.

The *Purification of the Virgin* is signed: AMBROSIUS LAURENTII DE SENIS FECIT OPUS ANNO DOMINI MCCCXLII, see Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze,* 164; and Sinabaldi, *Lorenzetti,* 188.

[5] According to H.W. van Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei, 1300-1450,* 's Gravenhage, 1969, 3, note 2, Ambrogio's painting was referred to as "la tavolo di S. Crescenzio" (cf. Milanesi, *Documenti,* I, 196) in the documents of payment, whereas it was called the *Purification of the Virgin* in most of the inventory descriptions. He also pointed out that the iconographical "irregularities" of Ambrogio's central panel explains that the altarpiece was intended for the feast of the Purification, and in no way should the scene be interpreted as the Circumcision. See Bacci, *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 3. The Circumcision was of little interest to the fourteenth century; in the liturgy the narrative of the Circumcision was added to the text of the feast of the Purification of the Virgin. Van Os further argued that it is not justified to doubt the panel's original location in the Duomo, based on iconographical grounds. See E. Borsook, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti,* Florence, 1966, 35. For him, therefore, it is the inventory documents, the original location, and the unique iconography of the centerpiece that suggests the title of the *Purification of the Virgin.*

[6] Mons. Fabio Chigi first recorded Pietro's *Birth of the Virgin* on "l'altare privilegiato" in the Duomo of Siena. See P. Bacci, "L'elenco delle pitture, sculture e architetture di Siena, complialato nel 1625-26 da Mons. Fabio Chigi poi Alessandro VII-secundo il ms Chigiano I. I. 11," *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* n.s. X, 1939, 297-337. In 1785, Della Valle *(Lettere senesi,* II, 209), citing Landi, mentioned that the *Birth of the Virgin,* which was displayed

3. Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Purification of the Virgin* (San Crescenzio Altarpiece), 1342. Florence, Uffizi

For more than one hundred years scholars have written exhaustively about each of these works by Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti. Scant consideration, however, has been given to the relationship between the altarpieces as they were seen in their original setting. Weigelt is the first to mention an association between altarpieces; he recognized Ambrogio's *Purification of the Virgin* (fig. 3) as the center

at that time in a room occupied by a "Distillatore," belonged to the first altar of the Congrega del Duomo. Cf. *Memorie intorno alle pitture, statue ed altre opere che si ritrovano nel Tempio della Cattedrale di Siena lasciate scritte dal sig. Alfonso del sig. Pomplio Landi l'anno 1655, raccolte dall' ill. mo sig. Claudio Bargagli, Rettore dell' Opera, l'anno 1718* (Siena, Biblioteca Communale di Siena, ms. C II 30); Milanesi, in *Vite,* 471, note 2; and G. Sinibaldi, *I Lorenzetti,* Siena, 1933, 171. The Congrega del Duomo, or as it was also known, the Congregazione de SS. Pietro e Paolo, employed the old altar of San Savino before it was demolished together with the San Sebastiano altar and replaced with two grand altars in 1645 by m.° Antonio di Carlo Fancelli da Pietrasanta. Cf. Bacci, *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 1.

Milanesi *(Documenti,* I, 194) published two documents of payment for the "tavola di sancto Savino:" "1335. Ancho lib: LXXXX a maestro Petro Lorenzi dipegnatore, i quali li demo in trenta fior: d'oro per la prima paga de la dipignitura de la tavola di sancto Savino, che die avere"—"Anco 1 lib. a maestro Ciecho de la gramatica che trasse la storia di sancto Savino in volgare, per farla ne la tavola;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, (I.° luglio 1335- I.° gennajo 1336), filza 45, reg. n.° 4, ff. 52v, 58v.* Cf. P. Bacci, *Dipinti inediti e sconosciuti di Pietro Lorenzetti, Bernardo Daddi etc. in Siena e nel contrado,* Siena, 1939, 90-91; and Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 237, note 4. He, likewise, recorded the *Birth of the Virgin* in the sacristy of the Duomo of Siena, but failed to recognize Pietro's panel as the centerpiece of the San Savino retable. The *Birth of the Virgin* and the San Savino altarpiece were also presented as separate works by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Painting in Italy,* 97-98. Labarte, *(L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 22, note 1), however, correctly identified the *Birth of the Virgin* with the San Savino altarpiece, noting the retable was commissioned in 1335 and finished in 1342. For nearly sixty-five years, nonetheless,

panel of the San Crescenzio altarpiece, and accepted its commission for the cathedral as a counterpart to Simone's *Annunciation* (fig. 1).[7]

Unfortunately, for more than thirty-five years no scholars explored further the association between these two works. In 1969, however, Van Os considered the association between the *Purification of the Virgin* and the *Annunciation,* as well as the relationship of these paintings to Pietro's *Birth of the Virgin.* He argued that these works were part of a "deliberate plan," in which a series of seven altarpieces was commissioned for the cathedral of Siena in honor of the Virgin, to whom the city was dedicated. He believed that the work on this "plan" continued for more than one hundred years, and that it had begun by July, 1329, the date of a document of payment to Simone Martini for his work on the panel of Sant' Ansano.[8] Each retable, moreover, according to Van Os, was executed with respect to a common scheme: the center panels of Mariological feasts were flanked on either side by a saint.[9] Although Van Os' hypothesis about the "deliberate plan" is convincing, there remain numerous questions pertaining to the date, the iconographic program, and the number of works included in this series of altarpieces.

scholars continued to pass along the erroneous claims concerning the altarpiece of San Savino until, in 1931, Bacci *(Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 2) published the 1429 cathedral inventory describing the retable of San Savino. Cf. Sinabaldi, *Lorenzetti,* 247. The identity of the center panel of the altarpiece is substantiated further by the inventory account of 1446, published by Bacci, *Dipinti inediti e sconosciuti,* 166-167 (see 25, notes 18, 19).

Unlike Pietro's panel, the first record of the *Purification of the Virgin* is in the Duomo of Siena. See Ghiberti, *Commentari,* 42, 145, note 8; and *Anonimo Magliabechiano, 83. Vasari (Vite,* 165), on the other hand, mentioned the panel "in Siena allo spedaletto che si chiama Monna Agnese." Della Valle *(Lettere senesi,* II, 225-226), likewise, mentioned the painting in a room of the monastery of Mona Agnese. More important, however, he referred to Landi's description of "la storia della purificazione della Vergine" that was in the Duomo on the altar dedicated to San Crescenzio. Della Valle, *Lettere senesi,* II, 216-217. Unfortunately, Milanesi made no mention of Della Valle's text when he published five documents of payment for "la tavola di San Crescenzio:" "1339. Ancho a mastro Ambruogio Lorenzetti per parte di quello che di avere per la dipentura de la tavola di San Crescenzo, in trenta fiorini d'oro L. LXXXXV. sol: x"—"Anco xlviiij lib: xij sol: ii den: i quali pagho a maestro Paolo Bindi, per facitura la predella de la tavola di San Crescenzo e per lo legname che bisogno per essa predella"—"1340. Ancho a maestro Ambruogio Lorenzetti, per parte di quello che die avere per la dipentura la tavola di San Crescenzio, in trenta fiorini d'oro, cioè L. LXXXXV. sol x" — "Ancho a maestro Ambruogio Lorenzi, dipentore, per parte di denari die avere per la dipentura la tavola di San Crescenzo, in trenta fiorini d'oro, come apare nel libro de le memorie de' fatti di detta tavola" — "Ancho paghamo al maestro Pavolo Bindi, maestro di lengniame, per la predella e per le colone de la tavola di San Cresciento (sic) la quale dipegnie el maestro Ambruogio Lorenzi; quaranta e due lib: nove sol: e due den:;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1339-1340, filza 45, reg. n.° 4.* Milanesi, *Documenti,* I, 196. Also see Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 195, 237 note 4; and G. Rowley, *Ambrogio Lorenzetti,* I, Princeton, New Jersey, 1958, 131.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle *(Painting in Italy,* 116) also listed the *Purification of the Virgin* and the San Crescenzio altarpiece as separate works. They maintained that the latter was completed in 1340 for the Duomo, whereas the former was painted two years later for the Spedaletto of Mona Agnese at Siena. In contrast, Venturi, referring to the payment entries of 1339, recognized the *Purification of the Virgin* as the centerpiece of the panel of San Crescenzio. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte,* 712. Bacci *(Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 3, note 2) confirmed this identification, publishing the 1429 and 1458 inventory descriptions of the chapel of San Crescenzio (see 25, notes 21, 22). Cf. Sinabaldi, *Lorenzetti,* 247.

[7] C.H. Weigelt, *Sienese Painting of the Trecento,* Florence, 1930, 55, 90, note 101. Weigelt argues that the "ceremonial nature" of Ambrogio's panel implies the painting's commission for the cathedral of Siena.

[8] Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6.

[9] Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6-7. Van Os pointed out that the altarpieces of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti provided a new prototype for the polyptych in Siena. Cf. I. Hueck, review of "Marias Demut und

So far scholars have avoided any critical examination of Van Os' proposed series of retables. Such a study undertaken by this author led to the conclusion that the program included four rather than seven altarpieces; specifically, it consisted of the retables dedicated to the patron saints of Siena. Their iconographical format substantiates them as a distinct group, excluding from the series three additional works mentioned by Van Os. Furthermore, the four altarpieces were painted in the fourteenth century: the "plan" did not continue for more than one hundred years, but was completed in little more than two decades, around 1351. The panels' original location in the cathedral explains the relationship of the centerpieces, suggesting further an affinity between the retables and Duccio's *Maestà*. In this paper the author proposes to demonstrate the above conclusion with the help of extant visual and literary evidence.

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Van Os published neither the 1329 document of payment nor cited the references in which this source is found. Neither Milanesi, Lusini, nor Bacci, moreover, mention a 1329 document of payment to Simone for his work on the Sant' Ansano altarpiece. Perhaps Van Os mistakenly referred to a document of 11 August 1329, in which the painter received twenty-five soldi for a picture of two angels, intended for the altar of the Nove: "Item 1 lib: v sol: magistro Simoni, pictori, pro pictura duorum Angelettorum, qui stant ad altare dominorum Novem."[10] Nevertheless, a second document, dated July, 1329, records the name of "Duccio, the woodworker," who was compensated for panels and other wood, used for the altarpiece of Sant' Ansano:

> Ancho iiij ll. iiij s. a Duccio maestro del legniame da sa' Martino, e' quali suono per tavole ed altro legniame per la tavole di santo Sano.[11]

First published by Lusini in 1911, the 1329 payment to "Duccio" is the earliest written notice of the retable, preceding by more than four years any mention of the painters, Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi.[12] Bacci, who subsequently publish-

Verherrlichung in der sienesischen Malerei, 1300-1450," by H.W. van Os, *Art Bulletin,* LIII, 1971, 116-117. Referring to the 1335 payment to "Maestro Ciecho della gramatica" for translating the story of St. Savinus into the vernacular (see 21 note 6), Van Os speculated that the San Savino altarpiece was designed originally as a traditional type of saint's panel, in which a frontal, full-length standing figure is flanked to the left and right by compartments containing scenes from the life and death of the saint. He cited, for example, the St. Humilitas altarpiece of about 1341, attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti. For the St. Humilitas altarpiece, see Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze,* 153-157, pls. 109a-m. The origin of the altarpiece type in Italy is discussed in E.B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index,* Florence, 1949, 149-155, figs. 393-411; H. Hellmut, *Die Anfänge der italienischen Altarbildes,* Munich, 1962, 91-100, pls. 122-138; and J.H. Stubblebine, "Byzantine Influence in Thirteenth Century Italian Panel Painting," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers,* XX, 1966, 92-93.

[10] *Biblioteca Pubblica di Siena, Entrata e Uscita della Biccherna, 1329, n.° 163, f. 14v,* published by Milanesi, *Documenti,* I, 218. Cf. Gozzoli and Contini, *L'opera completa,* 83. Also see Venturi, *Storia dell' arte,* 615; and Paccagnini, *Simone Martini,* 94. The author saw neither this document nor any of the other documents cited in this study.

[11] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1329, f. 19,* published by Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 237 note 6.

[12] For the extant documents of payment to Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, (see 19 note 3).

ed the extant literary evidence concerning the altarpiece, curiously omitted the 1329 account; however, he published a separate but similar entry, dated July, 1333, in which the same woodworker is again compensated for materials supplied for the Sant' Ansano altarpiece:

> Anco iiij lib., xiiij sol. a Ducio maestro del lengniame da Samoreci [S. Maurizio] i quali fuoro per tavole ed altro lengniame per la tauola di santo Sano.[13]

Likewise, in November, 1333, the cathedral book of debit and credit records the final payment to "Duccio," for panels used in the same retable:

> Anco ij lib. v sol. i quali si diero al Maestro Duccio de lengniame per tavole che s'adoperaro a la tauola di sancto Sano.[14]

Presented in chronological order, the records of payment to "Duccio" briefly outline his continued involvement with the "tauola di santo Sano." The entry of November, 1333, indeed the last payment to the woodworker, is one of the last documents concerned with the completion of the retable. The payment of July, 1329, on the other hand, is the earliest mention of the name of "Duccio," as well as the first written evidence for the commission of this work. As such, the initial payment to "Duccio, the woodworker," rather than to Simone Martini, is the earliest surviving document for the "plan" of the whole series.

The cathedral inventories of the fifteenth century indicate that the works of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti shared a common iconographic format. Although the present form of Simone's altarpiece is a nineteenth-century fabrication,[15] the arrangement of the central panel and the two saints wings reflects the original scheme of the Sant' Ansano altarpiece, described by the Operaio, Cristofano di Filigi, in the cathedral inventory of 20 October 1458:

> Uno altare colla Tauola dipenta con Annunctiata di Nostra Donna et due altre fichure dal lato, cioè sancto Sano et sancta Margarita. . . .[16]

[13] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1333, filza 45, reg. n.° 3, f. 20,* published by Bacci, *Fonti e commenti,* 168-169.

[14] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1333, filza 45, reg. n.° 3, f. 44,* published by Bacci, *Fonti e commenti,* 169.

[15] According to Cämmerer-George, the entire frame — from the base with the inscription, up to the four medallions with bust-length prophets—is a work of the end of the nineteenth century. M. Cämmerer-George, *Die Rahmung der toskanischen Altarbilder im Trecento,* Strasbourg, 1966, 153, 222 note 541. Also see E. Bock, *Florentinisch und venezianische bilderrahmen aus der gotik und renaissance,* Munich, 1902, 18; L. Douglas, *History of Siena,* New York, II, 336; Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting,* 233 note 1; and Paccagnini, *Simone Martini,* 165.

[16] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1458, n.° 510, f. 25,* published by Bacci, *Fonti e commenti,* 166-167. Bacci, likewise, published the 1429 inventory account. However, the description of the Sant' Ansano altarpiece omits the names of the figures on the side panels: "Una tauola con figura dell' Annunziatione di Nostra Donna, piane, con due altre figure per lato. . . ." *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1429, n.° 510, f. 16.* Bacci, *Fonti e commenti,* 165-166.

A similar description also occurs in the cathedral account of 1467, published (in French) by Labarte in 1868: "Un autel dont le tableau peint représente l'Annonciation, avec saint Sano d'un côté, et de l'autre sainte Marguerite. . . ."[17]

The San Savino altarpiece also included panels painted with the images of saints. The 1429 inventory account documents the identities of two saints as well as their probable location to left and right of the center panel:

> . . . .la tavola d'essa figura [Santo Savino] e santo Bartalomeo, co' la figura in mezo di santa Anna e la natività di nostra Donna. . . .[18]

The inventory of 1446 describes the altarpiece of San Savino in a similar mode: ". . . .tauola della Natività di Nostra Donna, con due figure dal lato s. Savino da una parte e s. Bartalomeo dall' altra."[19] A third inventory, recorded in 1467, includes an entry that describes the San Savino altarpiece and enumerates other marvelous decorations on and around the altar.[20]

The inclusion of saints in the San Crescenzio altarpiece is mentioned in the cathedral inventory of 1429: "La cappella di Santo Crescienzio con una tavola d'altare dipenta dell' oferta di Cristo a Santo Simione e altre figure di Santi dal lato."[21] A second and more thorough description is cited in the inventory account of 1458:

> . . . .uno altare con tavola dipenta con la Circun[ci]sione di Nostro Singniore et dal lato con due fishure, cioè, Sancto Crescientio et l'altra di Santo Michelangniolo. . . .[22]

Although the shape of the saints' panels is disputable, they probably represented full-length standing figures as in Simone's Annunciation altarpiece (fig. 1).[23] Preiser proposed this hypothesis for his reconstruction of the altarpiece of San

[17] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1467,* published (in French) by Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 21.

[18] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1429, n.° 510, f. 17,* published in part by Bacci, *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 2. Cf. Bacci, *Dipinti inedite e sconosciuti,* 91.

[19] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1446, n.° 510,* published in part by Bacci, *Dipinti inedite e sconosciuti,* 91.

[20] "Un autel avec (un tableau) de la Nativité de Notre-Dame et deux figures aux côtés; et chapelle de marbre ornée de plusiers travaux, et dessus figures dorées et les armoiries sculptées de la commune de Sienne et de l'OEuvre; courtines de valescio azuré; degrés de marbre; deux chandeliers ronds de fer pour les cierges; sur le côté de l'autel, une suite de stalles avec huit siéges en bois de noyer;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1467,* published (in French) by Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 22. Cf. Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6 note 7.

[21] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1429, n.° 510,* published in part by Bacci, *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 3 note 2.

[22] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1458, n.° 510,* published in part by Bacci, *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* 1931, 3 note 2. For the identification of the central scene as the Circumcision, see above 21 note 4.

[23] Weigelt *(Sienese Painting,* 90 note 101) believed that the San Crescenzio altarpiece had two half-figures of saints on each side panel.

Savino.[24] He suggested that the saints' panels were identical in shape and size to the lateral panels of the *Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 2). Similarly, the San Crescenzio altarpieces probably included full-length standing saints. These panels, however, were probably shorter than the side sections of the center panel, due to the pronounced vertical format of the centerpiece.

The records seem quite clear on another point: the relative positions of the saints in the altarpieces. Like St. Ansanus, St. Savinus and St. Crescentius were the titular saints of the chapels. As such, they merited the traditional position of honor to the viewer's left; that is, of course, to the right of the central images, in this case the *Birth of the Virgin* and the *Purification of the Virgin.*[25] St. Bartholomew and St. Michael, therefore, must have been situated to the viewer's right, as is, indeed, St. Margaret.[26]

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In addition to the three works just discussed, Van Os included four later altarpieces in the series: Paolo di Giovanni Fei's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (fig. 4), painted around 1398; the *Nativity* by Andrea di Bartolo, executed for the chapel of San Vittorio in 1405; the *Assumption of the Virgin,* painted in 1389; and Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow* (fig. 5), which was commissioned on 25 March 1430.[27] When the visual or literary evidence of each work is considered, however, only the altarpiece for the chapel of San Vittorio can be considered as part of the "plan."

The first work of this later group that Van Os considered as part of the series is the *Assumption of the Virgin* by Bartolo di Fredi, Luca di Tommè and Andrea di Bartolo, painted in 1389 for the shoemakers' guild.[28] Unfortunately, the altarpiece is

[24] A. Preiser, *Das Entstehen und die Entwicklung der Predella in der italienischen Malerei,* Hildesheim and New York, 298, 421, fig. 297c. Preiser pointed out that Cämmerer-George *(Rahmung der toskanischen Altarbilder,* 155) correctly mentioned that the original form of Pietro's altarpiece was the same as Simone's *Annunciation,* but she did not suggest that the saints' panels were identical to the lateral sections of the *Birth of the Virgin.* The author wishes to thank Professor Lotte Brand Philip for bringing this source to his attention.

[25] Van Os *(Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6) pointed out that the altarpieces were executed according to a common scheme, in which the centerpieces are flanked on either side by the titular saint of the chapel and another saint. He did not specify, however, that the titular saint was located in the position of honor to the viewer's left.

[26] Although the identity of St. Margaret is clearly indicated in the inventory documents of 1458 and 1467 (see above 6), scholars have also referred to this female saint as "Giustina," "Giuletta," and "Massima." See Paccagnini, *Simone Martini,* 165; G. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints in Tuscan Painting,* Florence, 1952, cols. 733-734; and Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze,* 150.

[27] Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6.

[28] Milanesi *(Documenti,* I, 28-29; II, 36) published the documents of payment to the three painters: "1389. 25 Aprile. Maestro Lucha e compagni dipintori ebero contanti in loro mani, tutti e tre presenti, fiorini otto per fare la tavola de' calzolai;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Memoriale di Domenico Venturini, 1389, segnato D. 10. ff. 89v, 90v*—"1389. Aprile 15. Maestro Luca di Tommè et maestro Bartalo di Fredi et Andrea suo figliuolo, dipentori, dieno avere a di 15 Aprile 1389, ciento trenta fiorini d'oro, in questo modo e termine: ora al presente, otto fiorini d'oro e per santa Maria di Settembre prossima che viene, vinti e quatro fior: d'oro e mezo: dipoi de la detta festa a iiij mesi, debba avere trenta e due fior: d'oro e mezo: e cosi l'altre due paghe di iiij mesi in quatro mesi, 32 fior: d'oro e mezo, che sarà la somma di 130 fior: d'oro. E questi denari lo' promettemmo per l'Università de' Calzolari, per una tavola debbono dipingniare, de la loro capella di Duomo;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Libro Nero, 1389, f. 109.* Cf. Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 260, 321 note 69. The latter also published the documents concerning the acquisition of the chapel by the "arte dei Calzolari." Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 260, 320 note 67.

4. Paolo di Giovanni Fei, *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple,* c.1398. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection

now lost, but a description of the chapel in the cathedral inventory of 1467 mentions it:

> Un autel avec un grand tableau représentant une belle Assomption de Notre-Dame, avec quatre figures à ses côtés....[29]

This scant description merely discloses that the altarpiece represented a beautiful scene of the Assumption of the Virgin in addition to four other figures, whose identities are unknown. It may be inferred from this account, however, that the Assumption panel was in the center, and that it was flanked by four figures. These figures were presumably placed in a balanced composition; that is, with two figures

[29] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1467,* published (in French) by Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 23-24.

in a separate panel on either side of the centerpiece.[30] Since it consisted of four lateral figures in contrast to the two figures of the other altarpieces, this retable of the shoemakers' guild must be excluded from the series because it does not conform to the format suggested by Van Os.

Similarly, the "tavola di sancto Piero e sancto Pavolo," of which Paolo di Giovanni Fei's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* (fig. 4) is the only extant section, does not appear to fulfill the schematic requirements of the series.[31] The earliest known description of it occurs in the cathedral inventory of 1429:

> La Cappella di Santo Piero cor una tauola dipenta di santo Piero e santo Pavolo e in mezo l' Offerta di Nostra Donna....[32]

Although there is a marked similarity between this account and the description of the San Savino altarpiece from the same year, a significant change occurs in the inventory document of 1458:

> Uno altare con tauola dipenta colla Ripresentationi al Tempio di Nostra Donna et di sancto Pietro et di sancto Pavolo et di più altri sancti e sancte....[33]

The same description also occurs in the inventory account of 1467. Here again, the recorder mentions the figures of many other male and female saints in addition to St. Peter and St. Paul:

> Un autel avec tableau peint représentant la présentation de Notre-Dame au temple, avec saint Pierre, saint Paul et plusieurs autres saints....[34]

[30] This balanced compositional design occurs frequently in Sienese and Florentine altarpieces of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, for example: Bartolo di Fredi (with assistance), *Assumption of the Virgin and Saints,* Boston, Fine Arts Museum no. 83. 175, see Marle, *Italian Schools of Painting,* II, 494 fig. 320; Paolo di Giovanni Fei, *Birth of the Virgin,* Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale no. 116, see P. Torriti, *La pinacoteca nazionale di Siena,* Genoa, 1977, 179, figs. 199-200; Bartolo di Fredi, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints,* Perugia, Galleria nazionale dell' Umbria no. 88, see F. Santi, *Galleria nazionale dell' Umbria,* Rome, 1969, 127-128 no. 79, fig. 102; Master of the Arte della Lana, *Madonna giving the Holy Girdle to St. Thomas with Saints,* Florence, Galleria dell' Accademia no. 8578, see R. Fremantle, *Florentine Gothic Painters,* London, 1975, 328, fig. 678; and Giovanni dal Ponte, *Annunciation with Saints,* Rosano (Pontassieve), SS. Annunziata, see Fremantle, *Gothic Painters,* 362, fig. 741.

[31] Lusini maintained that the altarpiece had already been started in 1392, based on the evidence of a document of payment to Bartolo di Fredi: "A Bartolo di maestro Fredi, dipentore, fior: vinti, libre ciento vintidue, soldi sei auti per peze d'oro e d'ariento e den: contanti e denari paghati per lui in più volte .... Queste chose auto per la tavola di san Piero che fa;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Libro del Camarlingo, 1392, f. 56.* Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 261, 321 note 72. Also see Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 24 note 2. This hypothesis was refuted by M. Mallory, *The Sienese Painter Paolo di Giovanni Fei* (c.1345-1411), New York, 1976, 126-128.

For a record of payment to Paolo di Giovanni Fei, see Milanesi, *Documenti,* I, 37: "1398. A Pavolo di giovanni Fei dipintore firoini cinquanta d'oro per la tavola di sancto piero e sancto pavolo, per sua fatiga e colori per pato fecie l'operaio cho' lui;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1398, n.° 7, f. 64.* Also see Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 321 note 73.

[32] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1429, n.° 510, f. 17v,* published in part by Bacci, *Dipinti inedite e sconosciuti,* 171.

[33] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1458, n.° 510, f. 26,* published in part by Bacci, *Dipinti inedite e sconosciuti,* 171.

[34] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1467,* published (in French) by Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 24, Cf. Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6 note 7.

Whereas the position of "santo Piero e santo Pavolo" is specified in the inventory of 1429, the location of the other saints, mentioned in both the 1458 and 1467 inventory accounts, is disputable. Bacci, who first published the 1458 inventory document in 1939, suggested that the "sancti e sancte" probably adorned the supporting pilasters of the altarpiece, as in Paolo di Giovanni Fei's own polyptych, painted for the Church of Sant' Andreino presso Serre de Rapolano.[35] Mallory repeated Bacci's suggestion, and further proposed that the other saints were in the predella.[36] It is also possible, however, that all of the saints were in single panels, arranged on either side of the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple.*[37] Such a complex compositional arrangement would appear to have developed from the scheme employed in the altarpiece of the shoemakers' guild, and in Paolo di Giovanni Fei's own *Birth of the Virgin* of around 1380-90. The inclusion of "più altri sancti e sancte," therefore, precludes the "tavola di sancto Piero e sancto Pavolo" from the series of altarpieces.

The third additional altarpiece proposed by Van Os was Sassetta's retable of the *Madonna of the Snow* (fig. 5), commissioned for the altar of the chapel of San Bonifazio.[38] Unlike the two previous altarpieces, it has no figures on either side of the main panel. In its present state, it represents the theme of the Virgin of the Snow proper, in which the enthroned Madonna is accompanied by two angels carrying snowballs. The Madonna is also flanked on either side by four saints: St. Peter, St. John the Baptist, St. Paul, and St. Francis of Assisi. Six panels of the story of the Miracle of the Snow appear below in the predella. No studies of this

[35] The polyptych (Siena, Pinacoteca nazionale no. 300) is signed: "Paulu Iovanne..." The center panel represents the Madonna and Child enthroned with Saints, including (from left to right) St. John the Baptist, St. Andrew, St. Francis, and St. Daniel. In the right pilaster there are three standing saints: St. Agnes, St. Margaret, and St. Catherine of Alexandria. Likewise, in the left pilaster, there are also three standing saints: St. Nicholas, St. Bartholomew, and St. James. Bacci, *Dipinti inedite e sconosciuti,* 171, 179-185, pls. (for chapter 5) 1-6.

[36] Mallory, *Paolo di Giovanni Fei,* 171, 236-237, figs. 60-63. Although Carli does not attempt to locate the "più altri sancti e sancte" on the polyptych, he seems doubtful about their location in the predella. Carli, *Duomo di Siena,* 85.

[37] In addition to numerous scenes of the Assumption of the Virgin and the Coronation of the Virgin this compositional arrangement appears frequently in other themes, for example: Giovanni del Biondo, *Annunciation with Saints,* Florence, Galleria dell' Accademia no. 8606, see Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Firenze,* 120-121 no. 80, fig. 80; Master of S. Martino a Mensola, *Madonna and Child with Saints,* Florence, S. Martino a Mensola, see Fremantle, *Gothic Painters,* 278, fig. 565; Giovanni dal Ponte, *Ascension of St. John and Saints,* London, National Gallery no. 580, see London, *National Gallery Catalogues, Earlier Italian Schools* (Plates), I, London and New York, 1953, pl. 195; Bicci di Lorenzo, *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine with Saints,* Perugia, Galleria nazionale dell' Umbria no. 79, see Santi, *Galleria nazionale dell' Umbria,* 123-128, fig. 102; and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini and shop, *Crucifixion with St. Francis adoring and Saints,* Florence, Galleria dell' Accademia no. 3152, see Marcucci, *Gallerie nazionali di Frienze,* 111-112 no. 70, fig. 69.

[38] Lusini *(Duomo di Siena,* 256) mentioned that the chapel of S. Bonifazio was also entitled the Madonna delle Grazie rather than the Madonna della Neve. He located the former in the third bay of the right side-aisle of the nave, whereas the latter was situated between the campanile and the column of the crossing arch in the adjacent bay to the west. Based on fifteenth-century inventory documents of the Cathedral, Carli *(Duomo di Siena,* 80, 115) pointed out furthermore that Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow* did not go on the altar of San Bonifazio but on the altar of the Madonna della Neve, located along the wall of the campanile near the small altar of San Jacopo Interciso.

5. Sassetta, *Madonna of the Snow Altarpiece,* c.1430. Florence, Uffizi, Gift of Contini-Bonacossi

work mention any lateral panels painted with figures of saints.[39] Such figures, furthermore, were not in the document of commission, which stated that the painting should represent:

> Virginis Marie cum Christo Yhesu filio suo in brachiis suis, sancti Francisci seraphici, sancti Petri, sancti Pauli, et sancti Iohannis Baptiste cum Salvatore a capite virginis Marie et predellam cum quinque storiis sante Marie de Nive.[40]

[39] See G. de Nicola, "Sassetta Between 1423 and 1433—II," *Burlington Magazine,* XXIII, 1913, 276-283; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta,* London, 1939; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Sienese Quattrocento Painting,* Oxford and London, 1947; and E. Carli, *Sassetta e il Maestro dell' Osservanza,* Milan, 1957.

[40] *Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Nunziatura Veneta n. 16192.* This document of commission together with several accounts of payment to Sassetta were transcribed by M.H. Laurent, "Documenti Vaticani intorno alla *Madonna della Neve* del Sassetta," *Bullettino senese di storia patria,* n.s. VI, 260-266. Cf. Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta,* 25, 44 note 58; and Nicola, *Burlington Magazine,* 278 note 5. The altarpiece was commissioned of Sassetta by Madonna Ludovica, daughter of Francesco Vanni Bertini and widow of Turini di Matteo—a former operaio of the Duomo.

The absence of these figures is further substantiated by the cathedral inventory of 31 December 1435:

> Laltare di santa Maria della nieue alato ala porta del perdono si laltare suui la tauola dipenta messa a oro di nostra donna et altri santi col miracolo della nieue con predella dappiei. . . .[41]

No document concerning this altarpiece mentions any saints in lateral panels, whereas such saints are recorded in the inventories of the San Savino, San Crescenzio, and Sant' Ansano altarpieces.

In contrast to the three altarpieces just discussed, the fourth panel that Van Os proposed, the altarpiece of San Vittorio, has many similarities to the retables of San Savino, San Crescenzio, and Sant' Ansano. Here again, the altarpiece is now lost or unrecognized,[42] but a description of it is recorded in the 1467 inventory account of the chapel of San Vittorio:

> Un autel avec tableau peint de la Nativité du Christ et deux figures aux côtés. . . .[43]

Despite the brief account of this work, it is certain that the center panel represented a narrative, which was flanked on either side by the figure of a saint; one of these figures, furthermore, was the titular saint of the chapel. Since the work shares the same format of the altarpieces of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti, the saints were probably full-length standing figures as in the Sant' Ansano altarpiece (fig. 1). St. Victor, moreover, was undoubtedly on the left side of the centerpiece, in the place of honor.

The San Vittorio altarpiece was further linked to the paintings of Simone Martini and the Lorenzetti by an even more important similarity. The figure presumed to have been on the left was not only the titular saint of the chapel but also the fourth, and final, patron saint of Siena. It may be noted here that the four patron saints of Siena are depicted as a distinct group on Duccio's *Maestà,* where they kneel in the foreground of the main scene of the enthroned Madonna (fig. 6).

The altarpiece of San Vittorio is especially significant because it was painted in the middle of the fourteenth century. Like Labarte,[44] Van Os believed that Andrea di Bartolo executed this retable,[45] and he further maintained that its *Nativity* is preserved in a "fairly accurate copy" by Giovanni di Paolo, datable between 1450 and 1455.[46] Although Van Os cited no documents for this work, he ascribed a date

[41] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1435 n.° 510,* f. 19, transcribed by Nicola, *Burlington Magazine,* 283 note 8. Cf. Pope-Hennessy, *Sassetta,* 51 note 63.

[42] The author will present a partial reconstruction of the San Vittorio altarpiece in a subsequent study.

[43] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Inv. 1467,* published (in French) by Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 21.

[44] Labarte, *L'église cathédrale de Sienne,* 21 note 4.

[45] Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6 (see above).

[46] H.W. van Os, "Giovanni di Paolo's Pizzicaiuolo Altarpiece," *Art Bulletin,* LIII, 1971, 297, 299 fig. 23. The *Nativity* (Musée de Cherbourg) by Giovanni di Paolo is the central panel of a triptych, which includes two, standing male saints on the sides, see *De Giotto à Bellini,* exh. cat., Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris, May-July, 1956, 59-60 no. 84; pl. 35.

of 1405, the year in which the painter was commissioned to work in the chapel of San Vittorio.[47] The wording of the document of commission to Andrea di Bartolo, however, indicates that the commission is not for an altarpiece but for the painting of the chapel walls with the story of St. Victor, for which the artist was paid in January, 1406.[48] The San Vittorio altarpiece described in the inventory account of 1467, therefore, was commissioned before 1405, and indeed, in a document of payment of May, 1351, "master Giovanni di Goro, the woodworker," was paid for his work on the panel of San Vittorio:

> Ancho diemo a m.° Giovanni di Goro del legname, trenta e quattro fiorini d'oro fattura civori e cercini e colonine di legname per la tavola del santo Vettorio, addi XXVII di maggio.[49]

A second account from January, 1361 further substantiates the existence of this altarpiece:

> A m.° Meio diemo quattro ll. per tre di che istette a scoficare e a schomettare la tavola di santo Vettorio e a richomettarlo quando si mutò dal crocifisso.[50]

The chapel of San Vittorio, therefore, included an altarpiece before Andrea di Bartolo's work was commissioned in 1405, thus anticipating the date proposed by Van Os by around fifty years.

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In contrast to the series proposed by Van Os, the inclusion of the San Vittorio altarpiece within the "plan" completes this cycle of four retables, as well as establishing an earlier date for the entire program.

The iconographical program of the central panels substantiates further that these altarpieces were intended as a distinct group. Whereas the Birth of the Virgin, the Annunciation, and the Purification of the Virgin are all major Mariological feasts, the Nativity is the most prominent feast in Christ's Infancy cycle. The altarpiece of San Vittorio, therefore, seems out of place in this series. A closer look at the retables in their original setting, however, may resolve this problem.

[47] The document of commission, dated 27 March 1405, was published by Milanesi, *Documenti,* II, 26: ". . . . alogano a maestro Andrea di Bartolo di Fredi dipentore, la chapella di sancto Vettorio, et racconciare la volta d'essa capella, a dipengniare la storia di Sancto Vettorio en essa chapella. . . ." *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Libro Nero, 1405, n.° 17, f. 12v.* Cf. Kaftal, *Iconography of the Saints,* col. 1016 note 5.

[48] The 1406 document of payment to Andrea di Bartolo was published by Milanesi, *Documenti,* I, 41-42: "Maestro Andrea di Bartolo di maestro Fredi, dipentore die avere a di. . . di genaio fiorini settanta d'oro sanessi, i quali so' per dipignitura de la chapella di santo vittorio di sua fadigha;" *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Libro Rosso Debitori e Creditori, 1406, f. 188v.*

[49] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1350-1351,* published by Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 257, 317 note 38.

[50] *Archivio dell' Opera del Duomo di Siena, Entrata e Uscita, 1360-1361, n.° 8, f. 65v,* published by Lusini, *Duomo di Siena,* 257, 317 note 38.

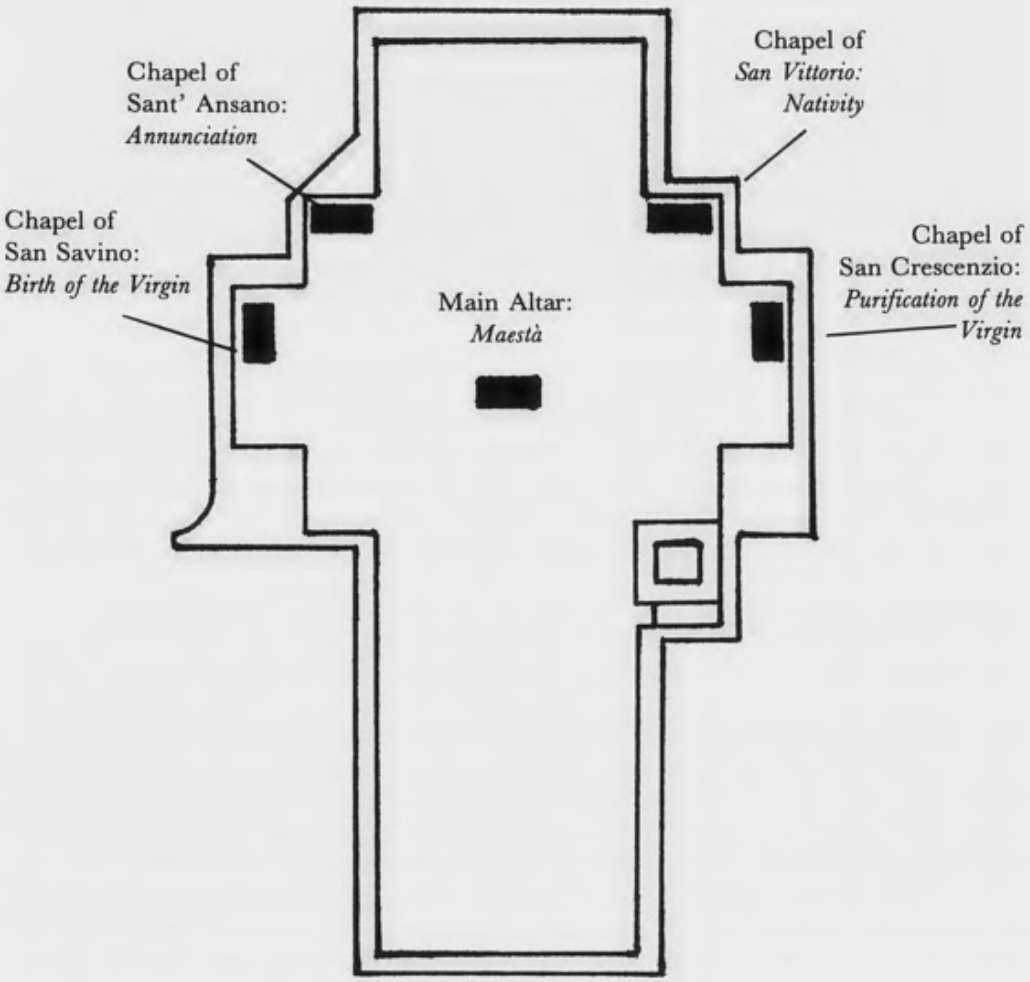
6. Duccio, *Enthroned Madonna* from the *Maestá,* c.1308-11. Siena, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo

As mentioned above, the chapels of the four patron saints were among those found in the new fourteenth-century extensions of the cathedral.[51] Situated on the altar of San Savino, the *Birth of the Virgin* (fig. 2) was located in the north transept, beside the altar of San Sebastiano. Directly opposite this work in the south transept, the *Purification of the Virgin* (fig. 3) stood on the altar of San Crescenzio, situated beside the altar of the Crocifisso. Likewise, the *Annunciation* (fig. 1) and the *Nativity* were situated opposite each other on the altars of San Ansano and San Vittorio, placed within the new lateral extensions of the choir (see fig. 7). Although this arrangement seems to separate the altarpieces into two distinct pairs, these works actually form a chronological sequence in the life of the Virgin that suggests they were meant to be seen together. From left to right, beginning with the altarpiece of San Savino, the order of the series reads: the *Birth of the Virgin,* the *Annunciation,* the *Nativity,* and finally, the *Purification of the Virgin.* This chronological arrangement seems to indicate that the grouping was intentional and that the theme of the Nativity was an integral part of the initial scheme.

If, indeed, the original program included the San Vittorio altarpiece, then the series was not finished in 1432, the date of completion of Sassetta's *Madonna of the Snow,* or even in 1405, which is the date Van Os cited for the San Vittorio altarpiece. Instead, it must have been finished around 1351, having taken only about twenty years to complete.

This early date of completion, moreover, further implies that the series of four altarpieces was commissioned as a separate program. Although independent of the later works proposed by Van Os, it is possible that the retables were intended to be understood in relation to Duccio's *Maestà* (fig. 6). Despite the new locations of their

[51] See above and note 2.



7. K. Frederick, Ground plan of the Siena Cathedral showing the location of the *Maestà,* and the altarpieces of San Savino, San Cresenzio, Sant' Ansano and San Vittorio

chapels, the saints' altarpieces remained close to the main altar, creating a visual unity in which the *Maestà* is embraced by the four altarpieces (fig. 7).[52] It should be mentioned again that the four patron saints of Siena are prominently displayed on the main panel of the enthroned Madonna. Their presence as intermediaries between the vision of the Queen of Heaven and the pious onlooker suggests that the retables served in a similar capacity. The iconography of the four smaller panels focuses on the life of the Virgin, emphasizing her role as the Mother of Christ.[53] As such, they may have been intended as "devotional images,"[54] whose function it was to unfold a sequence of select scenes relating to Mary's motherhood, upon which the Virgin's status as Queen of Heaven is merited.

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[52] Noting the high altar was the "focus of annual recurring events," White hypothesized that it was likely to have been set off towards the east end rather than being directly beneath the center of the dome. J. White, *Duccio, Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop,* New York, 1979, 99.

[53] According to Van Os the new type of altarpiece, displaying a Mariological feast in the center panel, was a manifestation of the new "religiousness" that developed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and had its literary counterpart in pious, popular writing rather than liturgical texts. Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 6-18.

[54] As used here, the words "devotional images" refer to the definition by S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative, (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A, Vol. 31),* Abo, 1965, 53: "The devotional image belongs to the domain of private piety where it is used as a recipient of prayer and benediction, or as an incentive and aid to meditation...." At the same time these altarpieces served a public function, marking the long established feasts of the church. Cf. Os, *Marias Demut und Verherrlichung,* 3-6; and Hueck, *Art Bulletin,* 117.

1. *Jahangir Looking at a Portrait of his Father Akbar.* Paris, Musée Guimet

The Emperor Jahangir and the Iconography of the Divine in Mughal Painting

GLENN D. LOWRY

Jalal-ud-Din Akbar, the third Mughal ruler of India, succumbed to a violent illness in 1605 after transforming most of the subcontinent from a series of disparate political entities into a single powerful empire. His eldest son Selim, who succeeded to the throne, took for himself the new title of Nur-ud-Din Jahangir (which can be translated as the "world seizer and light of faith"). The transferral of power from father to son, however, was frought with difficulties. For during the last five years of Akbar's life Jahangir was in open rebellion against his father. He seized the imperial fort at Allahabad, east of Delhi, in 1600 and two years later established an independent kingdom, striking coins in his own name, granting royal land to his followers, and assuming the title Shah.[1]

Between 1603 and 1605 at least two attempts were made to resolve the political antagonism that threatened to destroy the emperor's relationship with his son. The first reconciliation came in April, 1603 when Jahangir's grandmother persuaded him to return to Akbar's court at Agra.[2] There he was publicly forgiven and treated with kindness, but the tensions that divided the two were not overcome. The result of this was that after seven months the prince was again at Allahabad in defiance of his father's wishes. Twenty-four months later Jahangir returned to court in anticipation of Akbar's demise. This time, though, he was not only officially reprimanded but imprisoned for ten days.

As the emperor's health began to fail, plots and counterplots instigated by Jahangir and his rivals abounded at the Mughal court. Akbar, for obvious reasons, was reluctant to pass on his authority to his eldest son and desperately looked for a suitable heir. It was only during the very last moments of the emperor's life that Jahangir's accession was guaranteed.[3]

A miniature painting of *Jahangir Looking at a Portrait of his Father Akbar* (fig. 1) completed shortly after the emperor's struggle for power, now in the Musée Guimet, is the subject of this paper.[4] The conclusions that will be developed here concerning Jahangir's perception of himself as a divine ruler illuminate an aspect of imperial Mughal iconography that has only recently begun to be examined. Only two other studies that I know of even attempt to deal with this issue despite the fact that it is crucial to any understanding of the Mughals.[5]

I would like to thank Milo Cleveland Beach, Oleg Grabar, Nora Nercessian, and Henri Zerner for their many wise comments and invaluable help in the preparation of this paper.

[1] For a detailed discussion of Jahangir's rebellion, see Abu'l Fazl Allami, *Akbar-Nama,* trans. H. Beveridge, III, New Delhi, 1973, 1206-1262.

[2] Abu'l Fazl Allami, 122-123.

[3] Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir,* London, 1922, 72-78.

[4] Musée Guimet no. 3.676.B.

[5] See R. Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice," *De Artibus Opuscula XL: Essays in Honour of Erwin Panofsky,* ed. Millard Meiss, New York, 1961, and E. Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," *Islam in India, Studies and Commentaries,* I, 1982, 14-29.

2. Detail of fig. 1 (photo: author)

There are three inscriptions in Persian on the painting: on Akbar's orb, below Jahangir's hands, and on the margin of the page underneath the miniature. The first two inscriptions reveal that the painting shows Jahangir in his thirtieth year—that is, in 1598/99—and that the artists were Hashim and Nadir-uz-Zaman.[6] The third inscription states that the miniature depicts the "Venerated (or saintly) Jahangir Padshah looking at a portrait of the venerated Akbar, the late emperor."[7]

Although Jahangir is represented in this painting at the age of thirty, it is unlikely that the image was made much before 1614. No comparable work by either Hashim or Nadir-uz-Zaman exists prior to the second decade of the seventeenth century. Moreover, Nadir-uz-Zaman is a title that was probably bestowed on the artist Abu'l Hasan around 1614 and is never used earlier.[8]

The painting, which was made for a royal album intended for private use, shows Jahangir reverently holding and studying a picture of Akbar. The old

[6] Kalyan Krishna, "Problems of a Portrait of Jahangir in the Musée Guimet, Paris," *Chhavi,* Golden Jubilee volume, 1971, 392-393.

[7] Krishna, 342.

[8] The earliest textual reference to Abu'l Hasan's title comes from a passage of 1618 in the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri of Jahangir,* ed. H. Beveridge, trans. A. Rogers, II, New Delhi, 1968, 20. There are, however, several paintings inscribed to Nadir-uz-Zaman, such as the portrait of *Prince Khurram,* dated 1615-16, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, that suggest the artist may have received this title prior to 1618. Indeed, there is nothing in the actual passage of the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* indicating that it was only in 1618 that Abu'l Hasan was honored with the title of Nadir-uz-Zaman.

emperor appears in a plain white robe and turban and holds an orb in his left hand (fig. 2). He is seen standing behind a balcony—a typical Mughal convention for imperial portraiture—over which a lavish carpet with red and gold floral designs is draped.[9] A golden halo surrounds Akbar's head. Jahangir's disposition is similar to that of his father's. He wears a sumptuous robe that consists of a gold ground decorated with flowers and a blue collar ornamented with alternating six-pointed stars and medallions. Like Akbar, Jahangir is portrayed at a balcony covered by a carpet. However, instead of floral motifs, the emperor's textile is composed of a central medallion with two birds above and figures feasting in a garden below. Jahangir's head, too, is encircled by a golden nimbus.

The iconography of this painting consists of two interrelated elements that express the notion that the legitimacy of Jahangir's succession to his father's temporal powers rests on the fact that he alone shares Akbar's spiritual purity. The first aspect of this iconography, represented by the old emperor's orb—a standard image of imperial might—symbolizes the lawful transferral of government from father to son. While the meaning of this symbol is obvious it disguises the fact that, in reality, Jahangir was never formally invested.[10] Indeed, the prince's accession was challenged by his eldest son Khusrau, who rebelled against him in 1606 with the support of many of the late emperor's followers. Jahangir's coins of this period reflect his insecurity. Rather than containing the usual references to the prophet and his successors, as found on almost all other Muslim coins, they are simply inscribed with the legend "Jahangir Shah, Akbar Shah," as if the relationship between the two was in doubt.[11]

Jahangir, recognizing the irony of Khusrau's actions and the tenuousness of his own authority, tried to downplay his conflict with Akbar. He did this by blaming his advisors for his filial disloyalty. In the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* the emperor's memoirs, Jahangir states, for instance, that:

> Short-sighted men in Allahabad had urged me to rebel against my father. Their words were extremely unacceptable to me and disapproved by me. I know what sort of endurance a kingdom would have, the foundations of which were laid on hostility to a father.[12]

The second element of the painting's iconography is more complicated. It is symbolized by the emperors' haloes. The origin of this motif, which is made up of a series of radiating lines of varying length, is clear. It was borrowed from European prints of Christ and the apostles, such as Philip Galle's engraving of *Saint Matthew the Evangelist* (fig. 3), which was in India by 1587, brought to the Mughals by Jesuit

[9] For a late sixteenth-century use of this convention, see folio 113 of the *Akbar-Nama,* now in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

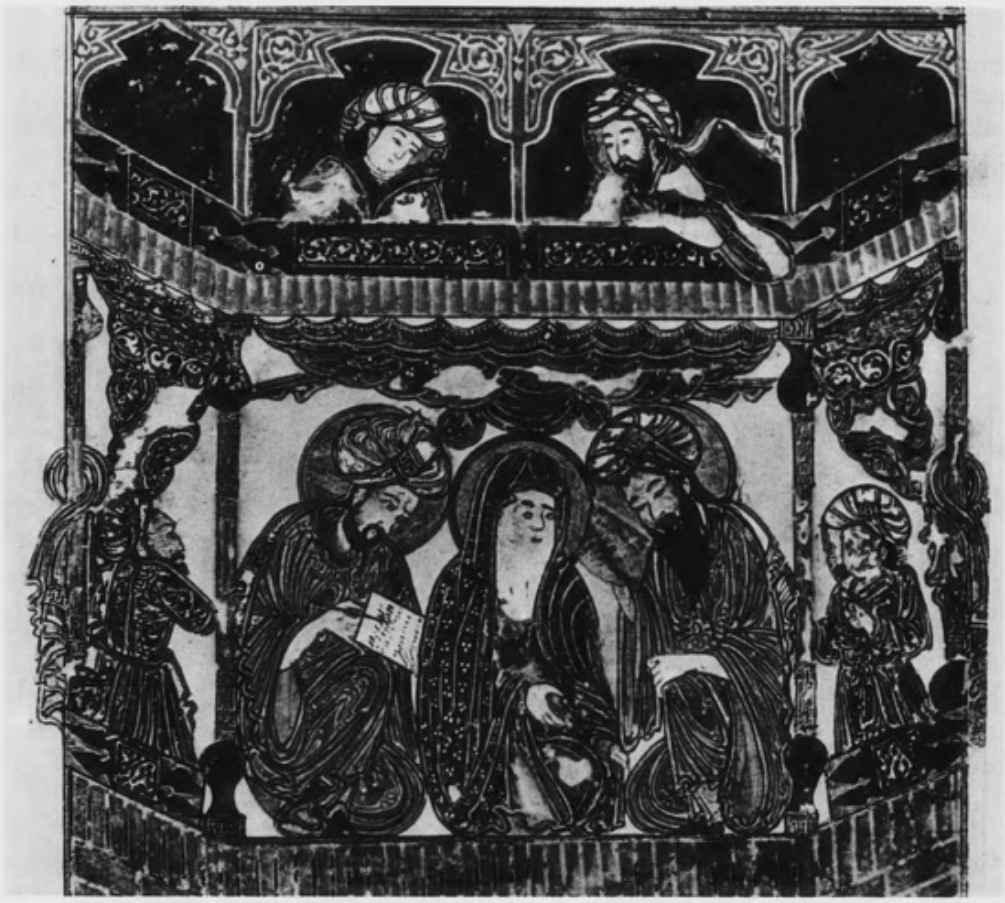
[10] It has been suggested by Prasad, *History of Jahangir,* 72-76, that Akbar did in fact indicate that Selim was to be his heir moments before his death. There is, however, almost no evidence to support this claim. None of the major Mughal chronicles, for example, mention any public proclamations of support for Selim by Akbar, nor are there specific references to an investiture in later texts.

[11] H. Nelson Wright, *Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India,* New Delhi, 1975, 64-68.

[12] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, 65.

3. Philip Galle after Martin van Heemskerk, *Saint Matthew the Evangelist,* engraving (from M.C. Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Das," *Archives of Asian Art,* XXX, 1976-77, 35)

4. *Christ and Jahangir,* c.1615. London, Chester Beatty Library (photo: Pieterse-Davison International)



5. Authors, Scribes, and Attendants from the *Rasa'il Ikhwan.* Istanbul, Library of the Suleymanie Mosque

missionaries.[13] A double portrait of *Jahangir and Christ* (fig. 4), c.1615, now in the Chester Beatty Library, clearly demonstrates that the sacred significance of the nimbuses in these prints was understood by the Mughals. In the painting both Jahangir and Christ are standing behind balconies, one above the other, with haloes around their heads. The emperor's nimbus, though, is much brighter than Christ's, emphasizing his special radiance and recalling the words of one of Jahangir's biographers: "By [his] breath he [Jahangir] is Christ the brightest moon. . . ."[14]

Nimbuses in Islamic art are not unique to the paintings of Jahangir. They appear, for example, in the images of thirteenth-century manuscripts such as the *Rasa'il Ikhwan* (fig. 5), now in Istanbul, as well as many later manuscripts.[15] In these works, though, haloes are used only for visual emphasis and are found on the heads of most of the figures, whereas in Mughal painting, they are reserved for

[13] Milo Cleveland Beach, "The Mughal Painter Kesu Das," *Archives of Asian Art,* XXX, 1976-77, 35-36.

[14] Mulla 'Abd al-Baqi Nahavandi, *Maāsir-i Rahīmī,* as quoted by Koch, "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors," 27.

[15] Haloes also appear in the *Kitab ad-Diryaq,* now in the National-bibliothek, Vienna (A.F. 9) attributed to the mid-thirteenth century, as well as the *Maqamat* of al-Hariri, now in the British Museum (Add. 22.111), c.1300.

members of the imperial family and are unknown prior to the reign of Jahangir. As such they can be interpreted as a visual equivalent of the Muslim notion that the ruler is "God's shadow on earth." Jahangir himself explains this in his memoirs. He writes, for instance, of his titles:

> An inspiration from the hidden world brought it into my mind that in as much as the business of kings is controlling the world; I should give myself the name of Jahangir [or worldseizer] and make my title of honour Nur-ud-Din [or light of faith], in as much as my sitting on the throne coincided with the rising of the sun on earth and of great light.[16]

The nimbuses in the Guimet painting, however, signify more than just royalty, for Akbar was regarded by his followers — and by Jahangir — as a saint and spiritual leader. Abu-l Fazl, the emperor's official biographer, records that:

> At the above mentioned time of everlasting auspiciousness, the novice with his turban in his hands, puts his head on the feet of his majesty.... His majesty, the chosen one of God, then stretches out his hand of favour, raises the suppliant, and replaces the turban on his head, meaning by these symbolical actions that he has raised up a man of pure intentions...who has now entered into real life.[17]

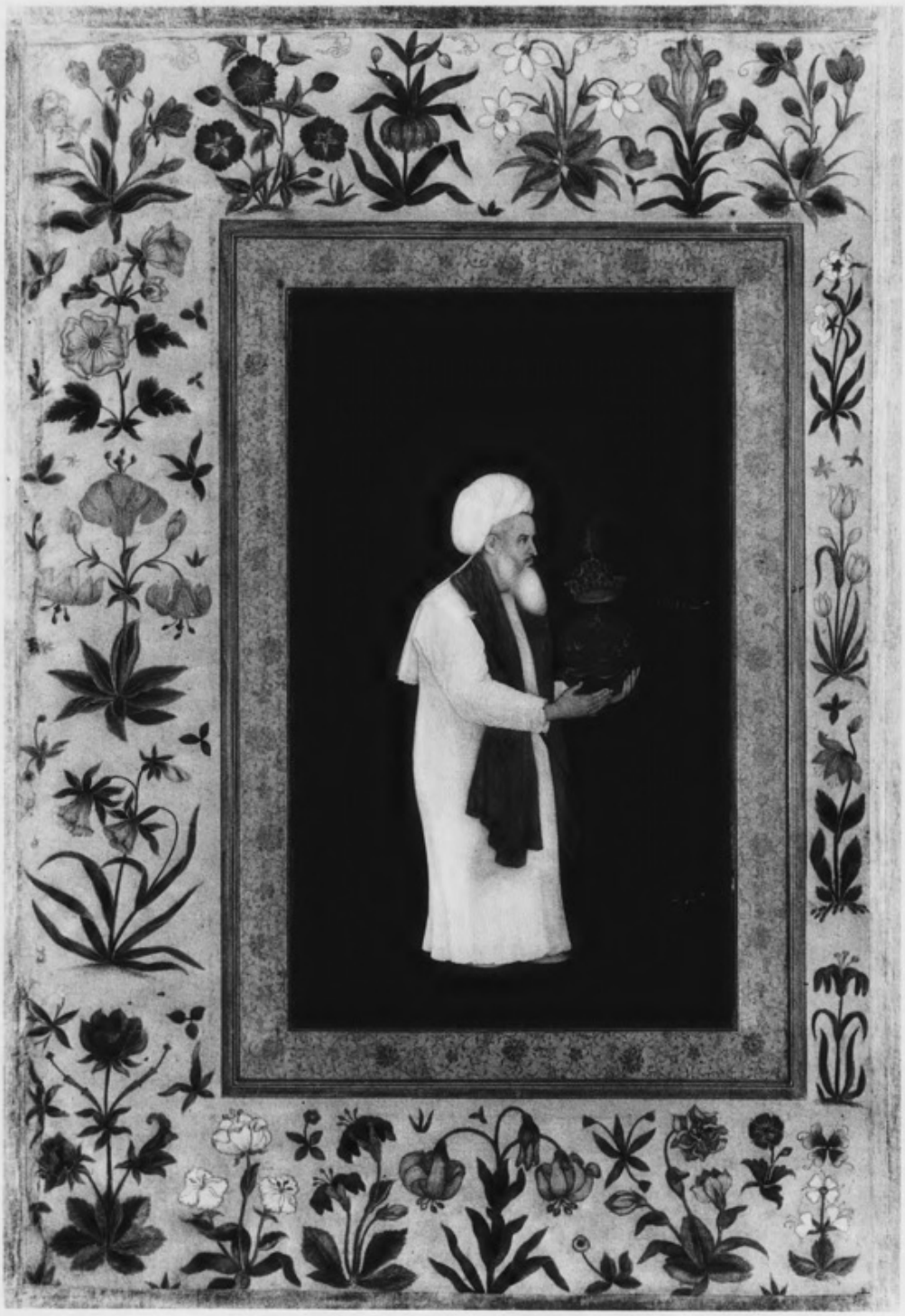
Faiyizi, one of Akbar's greatest poets, is even more explicit about the emperor's divinity. He states that, "If you wish to see the path of guidance as I have done, you will never see it without seeing the king,"[18] and "Thy old fashioned prostration is of no advantage to thee — see Akbar and you see God."[19]

In the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* Jahangir elaborates on these themes and writes of his father that "In his actions and movements he was not like people of this world, and the glory of God manifested itself in him."[20] In addition to describing Akbar in this manner, Jahangir refers to him on at least one occasion as, "My guide, that veritable qibla [direction of prayer] and visible deity."[21]

Akbar's sanctity in the painting under discussion is evinced not only by his halo but by the white of his simple robes and turban, for white is associated in the mystical literature of Islam with the soul's quest for enlightenment. Often, as can be seen in a portrait of a shaikh (fig. 6), c.1620, now in the Chester Beatty Library, it is used to denote the spiritual purity of holy men.

Jahangir also saw himself as sacrosanct.[22] In the *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri* he relates that just before the death of Selim-ud Din Chisti — the saint after whom he was named as a child — the mystic took his own turban from his head and placed it on Jahangir's, indicating that the prince was his spiritual heir.[23] This relationship is

[16] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, 3.
[17] *Ain-i Akbari,* trans. H. Blochmann, I, New Delhi, 1977, 174.
[18] *Ain-i Akbari,* 631.
[19] *Ain-i Akbari,* 632.
[20] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, 34.
[21] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, 65.
[22] Ettinghausen, 100-102.
[23] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* II, 70-71.



6. *Portrait of a Shaikh,* c.1620. London, Chester Beatty Library (photo: Pieterse-Davison International)

7. *Selim-ud-Din Chisti with the Young Prince Selim* from the *Berlin Album*, c.1610. West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek

8. Detail of Fig. 1 (photo: author)

evident in a painting (fig. 7), c.1610, from an album now in Berlin, that represents Jahangir as a prince studying with Selim-ud Din Chisti. Both Jahangir and the saint have nimbuses around their heads indicating their divine status.

The implications of this for the painting of *Jahangir Looking at a Portrait of his Father* are important. Jahangir's examination of Akbar's picture and their common

haloes demonstrate that in addition to the emperor's own natural powers he shares his father's saintliness. The inheritance of this quality distinguishes Jahangir from his political rivals for it is not only immutable but he alone possesses it. The inscription on the margin of the painting confirms this status. It identifies both Akbar and Jahangir by the term *hazrat* (saintly). What is extraordinary here is that the temporal elements in the painting, such as the orb, are almost entirely shunned by Jahangir who seems to prefer instead the sanctity given to him by the halo.

The turning away from the worldly towards the spiritual is further rendered explicit by the carpet that is draped over the side of Jahangir's balcony, directly below the emperor (fig. 8). Its imagery can be divided into two parts. On the one hand, the birds represent celestial creatures associated with the elevation of kings to heaven in the literature of the ancient Near East as well as the Islamic art of Iran.[24] On the other hand, the figures pouring libations and seated in a garden reflect the Muslim concept of paradise, described in the Qur'an as a garden where the blessed recline on couches and are served drinks from vessels of silver and crystal by immortal youths.[25] The paradisical aspects of this scene are reinforced by the central medallion of the carpet, which may represent an image of the revolving cosmos or the shield of heaven.[26] Although it is impossible to be certain about the significance of the medallion, its prominence clearly acts as a counterbalance to the circular shape of Akbar's orb so that on a visual level, at least, the two appear to be related.

A number of points can be made about the meaning of this portrait. The first is that Jahangir consciously appropriates a motif from Christian imagery in order to render visible the sacred character of his rule, upon which his legitimacy hinged. The second is that, in doing this, Jahangir transforms the verbal metaphor of "God's shadow on earth" into an observable reality. Thus, by holding his father's portrait and sharing the latter's nimbus Jahangir asserts that the lawfulness of his rule is not simply a function of his temporal authority. He suggests instead that this authority is legitimized by the very divinity of his sacrosanct character, which transgresses all questions of political or temporal power. Finally, this image attempts to show that the conflict marring the last years of Jahangir's relationship with Akbar had been resolved by presenting the emperor as an admiring and worshipful son. A poem, written during the first years of Jahangir's reign, expresses the various attitudes of Jahangir towards his father presented in this discussion and reflected by the painting of *Jahangir Looking at a Portrait of his Father Akbar*:

> If the world illuminator had a son
> There would be no night; it would always be day
> For when his gold-crowned head was hidden
> His son would display his tiara peak
> Thanks that after such a father
> Such a son sits in his place.[27]

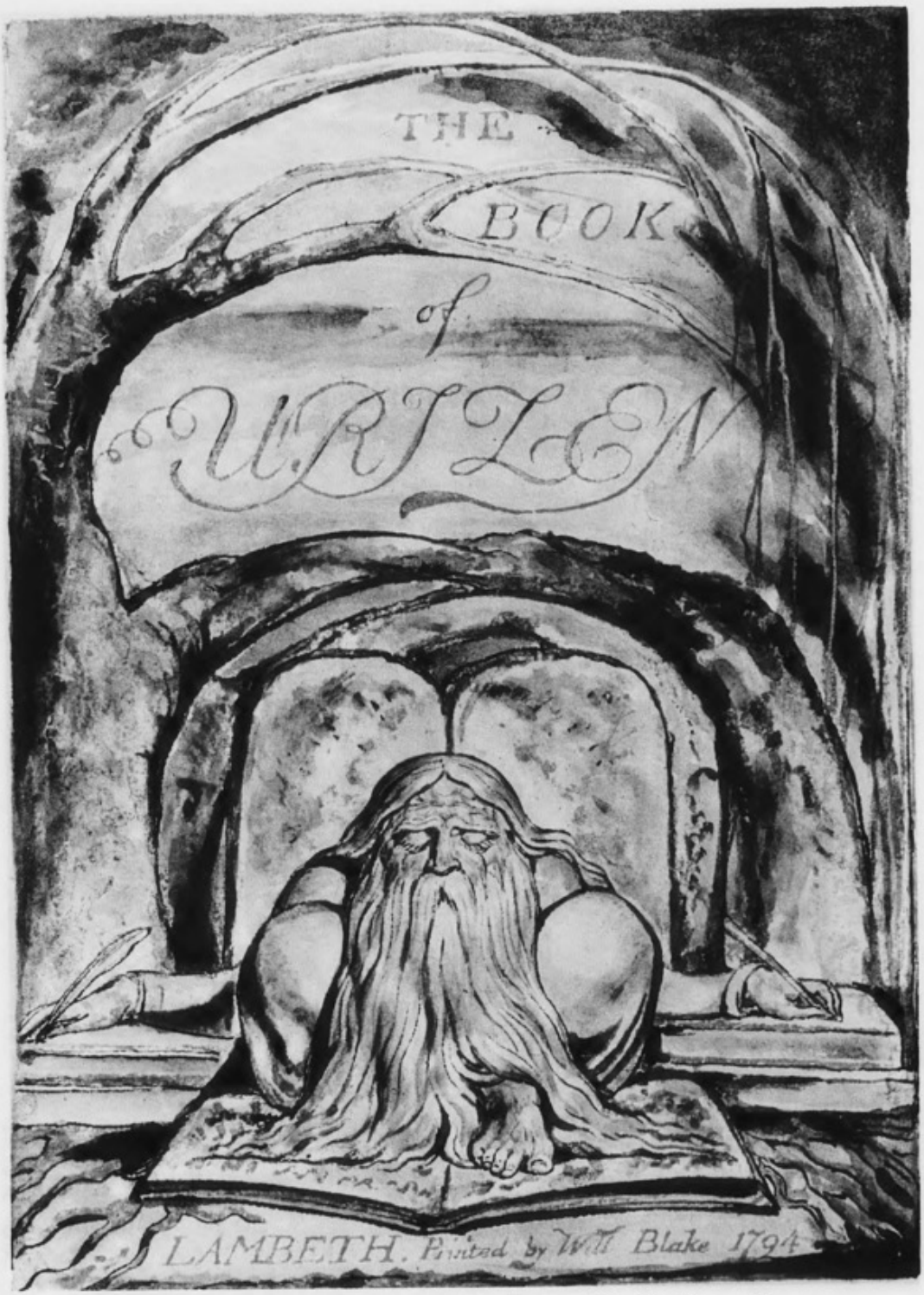
Harvard University

[24] E. Baer, *Sphinxes and Harpies in Medieval Islamic Art: An Iconographic Study,* Jerusalem, 1965, 54.

[25] *The Koran Interpreted,* trans. A.J. Arberry, New York, 1955, Surah 4:57; 47:15; 76:12-22. Also see A.S. Schimmel, "The Celestial Garden in Islam," *The Islamic Garden,* ed. E. MacDougall and R. Ettinghausen, Washington, 1976.

[26] H.P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World,* Oslo, 1953.

[27] *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri,* I, 141.



1. William Blake, Title page to *The Book of Urizen,* 1794. Washington, D.C., The Library of Congress

The 1795 Tate Gallery Prints and Blake's Poetic/Pictorial Aesthetics

DEREK J. VIDAL

For William Floyd, Jr. and Tim C. Moore

There is a conflict that arises between William Blake's condemnation of closed forms and his rejection of the Fallen human body, as reflected in his poetic aesthetics, on the one hand, and on the other, the glorification of the human body and his endorsement of bounding lines and forms, as reflected in his pictorial aesthetics. This contradiction is best exemplified in Blake's Tate Gallery color-print series of 1795.

In early works such as the *Songs of Innocence,* 1789, and *The Book of Thel,* 1789, well-defined, closed systems represented for Blake human/divine harmony (as in "The Divine Image"). However, much of Blake's work between 1793 and 1795 (especially *The Book of Urizen* and the Tate Gallery prints) indicates a radical shift in his poetic vision. Closed systems are no longer adequate forms to redeem the world and are thus viewed as constricting prisons. Quotidian life and the human body, once affirmed as beautiful, are now denounced. In Blake's poetic aesthetic, any kind of bounding line was usually identified with oppressive reason, the crippler of man's "Poetic Genius,"[1] prohibiting him from realizing his potential divinity. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* 1793, for example, Blake wrote: "Energy is the only life" and "Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy."[2] This is pictorially represented in the title-page to *The Book of Urizen,* 1794 (fig. 1). Urizen —the figure in Blakean mythology who is representative of oppressive reason and closed forms — is depicted as an aged, crouching patriarch, with long hair and a beard. This fetus-like configuration is repeated throughout Blake's visual oeuvre. The motif of enclosure, as it is reflected in Blake's writings, is graphically reinforced by the concave vaulted sky. We also find this curvilinear line in the eyebrows above Urizen's eyes: eyes imprisoned in a cavern of bone.[3] The picture itself is constructed upon a series of curvilinear lines. The stony tablets of the Law—rounded at the top,[4] the arched roof of the cave— a Platonic symbol of blinded vision, and the rhythmic line in the drooping willow branch, all underscore the iconographic environment of enclosure.

These are examples of Blake's rejection of closed systems and forms that bind man down. Yet, contrarily, Blake's visual art emphasizes clear, bounding lines

[1] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in *Blake—Complete Writings,* ed. Geoffrey Keynes, London, 1966, 153. All subsequent references to William Blake's work will be to this edition and will appear as the cited work followed by the page number.

[2] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* 149.

[3] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* 154: "If the doors of perception were cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, infinite.... For man has closed himself up, till he sees all things thro' narrow chinks of his cavern."

[4] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* 151: "Prisons are built with stones of Law, Brothels with bricks of Religion." This looks forward to Urizen's "One command, one joy, one desire; One curse, one weight, one measure/One King, one God, one Law," see *The Book of Urizen,* 224.

and tectonic compositions, with an attendant regard for the human body, either naked or fitted with clinging drapery. In the magnificent Tate Gallery color-prints, for instance, the human body—the epitome of a closed form—is glorified in a Michelangelesque fashion and dominates the compositional space at the expense of background architecture. In addition, these works employ tectonic means and rely strongly upon determinate bounding line. Tectonic compositions (in Wölfflin's sense of the term[5]) tend to be self-contained entitites bounded by apparent limits. In fact, these works are almost exclusively controlled by vertical and horizontal lines (or planes), which usually create simple, geometric, grid-like patterns. A linear style such as Blake's blends well with tectonic compositions because it employs a horizontal perspective in which objects or figures can be positioned on either well-defined planes or on a succession of well-defined planes.

Blake's pictorial style is the result of the experimentation with a variety of artistic practices of the late eighteenth century: the revival of interest in the Antique; the engravings of Gothic forms; the imitation of medieval illuminated manuscripts and the *Opus Anglicanum;* the depiction of historical scenes; the Royal Academy's advocacy of life-drawing; and the sentimental compositions of pastoral scenes after Stothard and Watteau. This experimentation produced a unique pictorial aesthetic based upon the following: simple geometric patterns, elongated figures, a de-emphasis of plastic modelling to yield planar surfaces, severe linear rhythms and tectonic compositions, bold outline above intense coloring, a delineation of musculature and the centrality of the human form.

These stylistic elements belong to an eighteenth-century neoclassical art that combines tendencies found in both the classical and Romantic traditions.[6] John Steegman has written of this style, "... this neo-Classic art is not antagonistic to, but complementary to, the Romantic and that taste for ten years before 1800 and twenty years after became increasingly a fusion of the two."[7] Blake's peers—George Cumberland, John Flaxman, and Henry Fuseli—encouraged him to incorporate this idiom into his pictorial and poetic aesthetics. Practitioners of this idiom turned to the examples of classical sculpture and of pure outline engraving, which found its historic precedent in Greek vase-painting. These compositions are reduced to utter simplicity and bold outline, with a minimal illusion of depth and recession. There is a continuous surface movement of linear rhythms and an emphasis on the human body, either naked or attired in clinging drapery.

With respect to his poetic aesthetics, however, Blake believed Vision or Imagination to be supreme: "Fable and Allegory are totally distinct & inferior kind of poetry. Vision or Imagination is a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really & Unchangeably."[8] According to one of Blake's earliest biographers, Alexander Gilchrist, Blake's first Vision was of "a tree filled with angels, bright angelic wings bespangling every bough like stars,"[9] which he experienced at the age of

[5] By tectonic compositions, I mean those whereby compositional form is "closed," as opposed to a-tectonic compositions, which are of an "open" form. See Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History: The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art History,* trans. M.D. Hottinger, London, 1932.

[6] Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box,* New York, 1956, 90.

[7] John Steegman, *The Rule of Taste,* New York, 1968, 141.

[8] *A Vision of the Last Judgement,* 604.

[9] Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Blake,* ed. Ruthven Todd, London, rev. ed., 1945, 7.

eight or ten on Peckham Rye. Gilchrist relates how, as an apprentice to the engraver James Basire, Blake saw a Vision of Christ and the Apostles in Westminster Abbey.[10] His friends were often dubious of his claim to visionary experiences. But Blake knew well the import behind these visions and the conversation over dinner between Isaiah and Ezekial in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* helps supply a clue to this:

> The Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel dined with me, and I asked them how they dared so roundly to assert that God spake to them; and whether they did not think at the time, that they would be misunderstood, & so be the cause of imposition.
>
> Isaiah answer'd, "I saw no God, nor heard any, in a finite organical perception; but my senses discovered the infinite in every thing, and as I was then perswaded, & remain confirmed, that the voice of honest indignation is the voice of God, I cared not for consequences but wrote."[11]

The entire purpose of Blake's art was spiritual. He sought Truth in the quotidian world, because he believed that reality was spiritual and art was "prophetic" insight into this reality. Via the Imagination, man could gain insight into reality and thus acquire knowledge of it. Here, Blake illustrates the extremes of the Romantic attitude toward creative Imagination.[12] For him, the Imagination functioned as a link with Infinite life. Man has so isolated himself from this Infinite life that he must be reconditioned—his doors of perception cleansed—in order to see things as they are, Infinite.[13] Hence, Blake's appointed task was:

> To open the Eternal Worlds, to open
> the immortal Eyes
> Of Man inwards into the Worlds of
> Thoughts, into Eternity
> Ever expanding in the Bosom of God,
> the Human Imagination.[14]

In Blake's poetic aesthetic, the human form is condemned because it is closed and divided from the Infinite. However, as we have already seen, pictorially the human form is emphasized and even glorified. The Tate Gallery color-prints of 1795 are the best articulation of this conflict between Blake's poetic and pictorial aesthetics. In this series the domination of Urizenic reason over the poetic Imagination is depicted, whereby all closed forms are explicitly associated with energy-denying reason. Yet, simultaneously, closed forms are employed, the human body dominates the compositional space, and constricting geometrical patterns abound.

[10] Gilchrist, 18. The works of the early seventeenth-century mystic, Jacob Behman, were available at this time and may, in part, account for Blake's early visions.

[11] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* 153.

[12] For an illuminating discussion of the role of Imagination during the Romantic period see Harold Osborne, *Aesthetics and Art Theory,* New York, 1970, chapter 8, "The Aesthetics of Romanticism," 192-225.

[13] *A Vision of the Last Judgement,* 611.

[14] *Jerusalem,* 623.

2. William Blake, *God (Elohim) Creating Adam,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery

Of the twelve Tate Gallery color-prints, the most likely one to open with is *God (Elohim) Creating Adam* (fig. 2). In Blake's *The Four Zoas,*[15] Elohim appears as the third of the seven eyes of God, sent by the Eternals to reawaken sleeping man: to teach him to look inward, instead of turning his "Eyes outward to Self, losing the Divine Vision," and to find history—human Imagination—within himself. Blake's version of the creation of man is depicted in negative terms, as a parody of Edenic creation; the serpent entwining Adam's legs symbolizes man's enslavement to the quotidian world and to his own finite body.[16] The winged Father-God is depicted as the Urizen figure-type, the father of legalistic religion, who prescribes a system that spawns passiveness, binding man to the wheel of time. Despite Blake's warnings about the negative consequences that follow from the transgression of selfhood and from enslavement to closed systems, he creates a tectonic composition, in which finite, human forms dominate. Blake frames these figures within the

[15] *The Four Zoas,* 351, (lines 400-401).

[16] The title-page of *Europe: A Prophecy* shows a huge serpent with the caption, "Thought chang'd the infinite to a serpent." It is reproduced in *Blake's Poetry and Design,* eds. Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant, New York, 1979, colorplate 18.

3. William Blake, *God Judging Adam,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery

fixed, constricting, bounding arc of the sun, a technique he uses to an even greater effect in *God Judging Adam* (fig. 3).

The next two prints deal with the Blakean Fall of man into selfhood and its immediate consequences. *God Judging Adam* seems to be complementary to *God Creating Adam.* Here, God—another vengeful Urizen figure-type—imposes his single Law of conformity upon Adam, who stands submissively before him transformed into an Urizen-like image. The Blakean Father-God figure is grandly seated upon a chariot drawn by the Horses of Instruction. The "flames of Eternal fury"[17] that entrap him are symbolic of Urizen's imposition of a Law that attempts to reduce the Infinite to finite, closed forms. This Law is written in the "Book of eternal brass"[18] that rests upon his lap. Importantly, the flames are confined to a fixed, bounding arc, which iconographically indicates the perversion of energy. Under Urizen's dominion, life-giving energy becomes an instrument of oppression, turned inward upon itself, all-devouring, rather than an instrument of the "Eternal Delight" that belongs to the poetic Imagination. The linearity and ver-

[17] *The Book of Urizen,* 225.

[18] *The Book of Urizen,* 224. The "Book of eternal brass" is a permutation of Urizen's stone tablets of the Law.

tical/horizontal grid-like patterns that are characteristic of tectonic compositions are here reinforced through the iconographic association of the Urizen figure-type and Adam (*i.e.,* the Urizenic mirror image): the horse's back, Adam's bowed head, and the stony tablet of the Law form a horizontal plane; and Adam's right leg, one of the horse's legs, and the Father-God figure's back form a vertical plane. *Satan Exulting over Eve* shows another winged figure hovering over a prostrate body trapped in the coital grip of a huge serpent. The composition encourages us to associate Satan and Eve with God and Adam of *God Creating Adam* both pictorially and thematically.

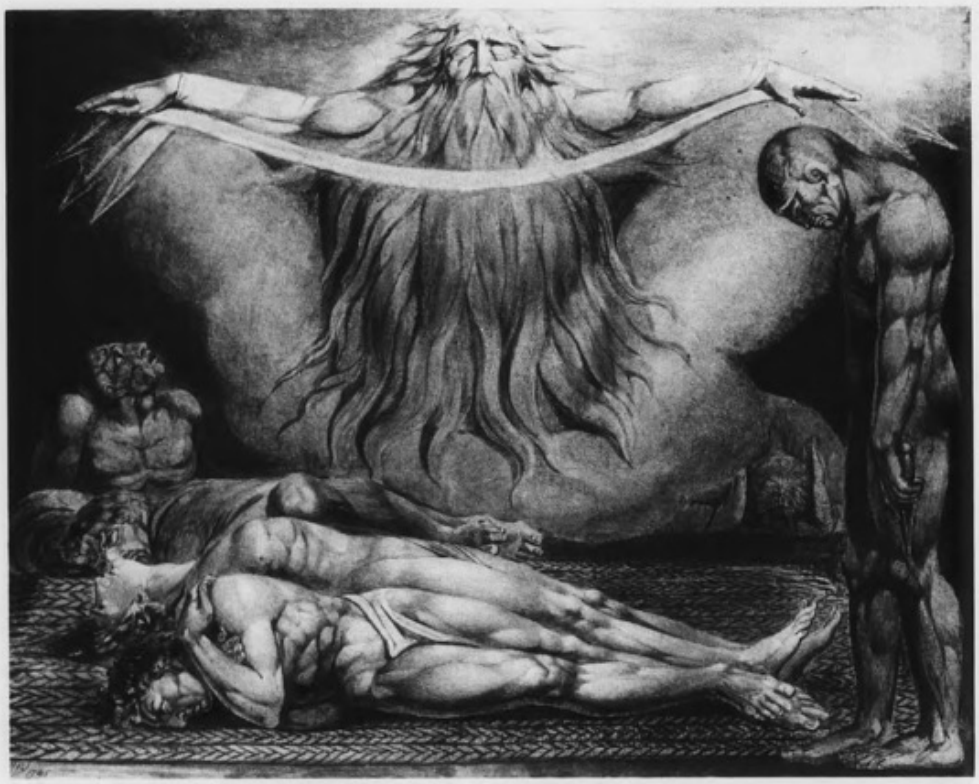
Lamech and his Two Wives (fig. 4) depicts the obscure biblical story found in Genesis (iv:23-24). It is clear from the print that the story's central theme—Lamech slaying a man—was what Blake used to illustrate the themes of death and murder resulting from the Fall of man's spirit into passivity. In this work, as in the previous ones, the finite, human form dominates the compositional space. Lamech turns in horror to look upon the body of the young man he has slain, while his wives cling together. Lamech is made to resemble the bearded Urizen figure-type, the patriarch of restrictive natural religion. The confining, geometric, grid-like patterns found in almost all of the other color-prints exist here as well: Adah, Zillah, and Lamech are gothicized to form vertical planes and the body of the slain man forms a horizontal plane. This simple pattern is interrupted only by the figures' flowing drapery, which exemplifies Blake's fondness for "flaming," undulating line.

The House of Death (fig. 5) is based upon a description of the leper-house in Milton's *Paradise Lost* (XI:477-95). In this epic, the archangel Michael points out to Adam the possible results of his disobedience to God: death, disease, and self-destruction. In this design, the Urizen figure-type presides over the scene of death. To show how limited Urizenic vision truly is, Blake now depicts this self-absorbed figure as blind Death, whose widespread arms unfold a legal scroll, another permutation of the "Book of eternal brass," and from whose fingers arrows of disease dart through the miasmic vapors. The brooding, vertical figure at the extreme right is an early version of Blake's Skofeld, who appears later in the print that introduces plate fifty-one of *Jerusalem.* This print was originally entitled *Vala, Hyle and Skofeld,*[19] Skofeld being the naked, drooping figure with binding chains dropping from wrists and ankles, symbolizing war and destruction. The Skofeld of *The House of Death* is not burdened with chains, but does carry a dagger, indicating his potential for violence either to others or to himself.[20] In the left background, a pestilence-ridden man raises himself to gaze at the blank expression of blind Death and to his right another figure lies with face hidden. John E. Grant has identified the three plague-strickened horizontal bodies as the Strong Man, the Beautiful Man, and the Ugly

[19] Reproduced in *The Blake Collection of W. Graham Robertson,* ed. Kerrison Preston, London, 1952, 255-256.

[20] See Anne Mellor, *Blake's Human Form Divine,* University of California Press, 1974, 160. She suggests that this figure is suicidal.

4. William Blake, *Lamech and his Two Wives,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery



5. William Blake, *The House of Death,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery

Man.[21] If he is correct, then Blake's reference to these figures in *A Descriptive Catalogue* applies:

> The Strong Man represents the human sublime. The Beautiful Man represents the human pathetic, which was in the wars of Eden divided into male and female. The Ugly Man represents the human reason. They were originally one man, who was fourfold; he was self-divided, and his real humanity slain on the stems of generation, and the form of the fourth was like the Son of God. How he became divided is a subject of great sublimity and pathos.[22]

This passage is concerned with the act of division. For Blake, division leads to a Fall from Eternity into the finite human body, and thus breeds more evil because it is in opposition to the unitive existence of Eden. This gives rise to all aspects of dualistic states: subject/object, masculine/feminine, self/ego. The geometric, grid-like patterns in this print are formed by the vertical planes created by Skofeld, the Urizen figure-type, and the body in the left background, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the horizontal planes created by the outstretched arms and the three smitten bodies upon the rug.

The concept of division, especially as it applies to Blake's human fourfold man, is important to the understanding of his poetic and pictorial aesthetics. For instance, in *The Book of Urizen,*[23] Urizen is chained and confined to a dark Void. Los, the "Eternal Prophet" or the Imaginative power, sees this and pities him. Los' feeling of natural pity leads to man's Fall from Eternity into the restricted form of the human body and to his division from his own feelings. For Blake, pity is evil because it divides the soul. From this division is born Los' emanation, Enitharmon, the figure identified in Blake's myth with pity and the feminine aspects of humanity such as jealousy and possessiveness. We will see how division functions in the Tate Gallery color-prints to follow.

The negative aspect of pity, that which divides the soul, is the subject of the next two prints, *Pity* (fig. 6) and *Naomi Entreating Ruth.* The first print, based upon Shakespeare's description of pity in *Macbeth* (I:viii:21-26), shows Enitharmon in a corpse-like position upon a hilltop. From her side the "naked new-born babe" is snatched up by the "Couriers of the air" and borne off by two females, leaving behind the dead mother. Dividing the child from his mother is as horrid a deed as Macbeth's; both acts constitute murder. *Naomi Entreating Ruth* illustrates the biblical story of Ruth (i:2-17). Pity is shown to be part of the division of Ruth and Orpah. Since Blake depicts only women in this design, the association of pity with the female principle, as personified by Enitharmon, is underscored. The Fall into a finite, mathematical world which is identified with soul-dividing pity is compositionally reinforced in both prints. *Pity* is composed of horizontal planes; in *Naomi Entreating Ruth* vertical planes dominate.

Hecate (fig. 7) is usually thought to illustrate episodes from *Macbeth* and Puck's last speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* However, other than the depiction of

[21] John E. Grant, "You Can't Write About Blake's Pictures Like That," *Blake Studies,* I, Spring, 1969, 196.
[22] *A Descriptive Catalogue,* 573.
[23] *The Book of Urizen,* 230.

6. William Blake, *Pity,* c.1795. London, Tate Gallery

7. William Blake, *Hecate,* c.1795. London, Tate Gallery

some of the figures mentioned in the plays and the reference to "triple-Hecate's team," there is little resemblance between Shakespeare's texts and Blake's color-print. The Triple-Goddess Hecate is a conventional symbol of superstition, the Mother of Sorceries, who ruled in three capacities: as Cynthia in heaven, as Diana on earth, and as Proserpine in hell. Here she is shown as a large-limbed, black-haired woman, and on either side of her are her nude Twin Selves who form an Infernal Trinity. These Twins appear to grow into Hecate, sustaining her evil form. Hecate's separation into her Twin Selves is yet another variation on the theme of division as Blake identified it with Fallen man's submission to Urizenic restrictions upon the poetic Imagination. The clear association between Urizen and Hecate is iconographically represented in her crouched position, linking her with the Urizen of the title-page of *The Book of Urizen* (fig. 1). Her open-paged book is a form of Urizen's "Book of eternal brass."

The Good & Evil Angels Struggling for Possession of a Child (fig. 8) in part illustrates a passage in *The Four Zoas* (Night V):

> The groans of Enitharmon shake the skies, the lab'ring earth,
> Till from her heart rending his way, a terrible child sprang forth
> In thunder, smoke & sullen flames, & howlings & fury & blood.
>
> Soon as his burning Eyes were open'd on the Abyss,
> The horrid trumpets of the deep bellow'd with bitter blasts.
> The Enormous Demons woke & howl'd around the youthful new
> born King.
>
> So sung the Demons round red Orc & round faint Enitharmon.
> Sweat & blood stood on the limbs of Los in globes; his fiery Eyelids
> Faded; he rouz'd, he seiz'd the wonder in his hands & went
> Shudd'ring & weeping thro' the Gloom & down into the deeps.[24]

This passage and what is actually depicted in the print differ in the figure at the right, the Good Angel. Where we expect to see Enitharmon (as suggested by the passage and by the print's alternate title, *Los, Enitharmon and Orc),* we find instead a beautiful male nude. Presumably, the chained figure is Los and is representative of the restraint of the poetic Imagination by oppressive reason. Los is made to resemble the self-absorbed Urizen figure-type in *The House of Death,* with his blinded vision, outstretched arms, and sinister facial expression.

Nebuchadnezzar (fig. 9) originally appeared in reverse on plate twenty-four of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* bearing the caption, "One Law for the Lion & Ox is Oppression."[25] This clearly links him to Urizen. Like Urizen, the king is a slave to his five senses. He is symbolic of natural man, whose mind is formed solely by natural, sensuous impressions. The king is reduced to animality by his submission to a Law that views man as an abstract entity rather than a minute particular. From within, the trapped soul glares through Nebuchadnezzar's eyes, itself perverted. The limitations of Urizenic reason are compositionally shown in the claustrophobic square into which the huge king crawls. The relationship between

[24] *The Four Zoas,* 306-307.
[25] *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* 158.

8. William Blake, *The Good & Evil Angels Struggling for Possession of a Child,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery

9. William Blake, *Nebuchadnezzar,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery

10. William Blake, *Newton,* 1795. London, Tate Gallery

Nebuchadnezzar's physical proportions and the proportions of the composition suggest that this design is a companion to *Newton* (fig. 10).

Blake frequently referred to Newton as an exemplary figure of Urizenic reason, believing that his concept of a mechanical universe stifled the Imagination. In Blake's myth, the Imagination is dynamic and prolific and cannot be reduced to a finite, passive, fixed state. Newton is shown seated in some submerged underworld,[26] bending over a scroll. In his left hand, he is holding a pair of compasses,[27] which span the base of a triangle tangential to a semi-circle. *Newton* might have its origin in an aphorism in Blake's *There is No Natural Religion*: "He who sees the Infinite in all things sees God. He who sees the Ratio only sees himself only."[28] The figure here cannot see the Infinite because his attention is fixed downward; vision based upon reason is limited. This limitation is emphasized by the claustrophobic

[26] John Gage says that Newton "is presented in the darkness—in the 'dark chamber' which formed the setting for his optical instruments." See John Gage, "Blake's *Newton,*" *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXXIV, 1971, 373.

[27] Urizen, too, is shown holding compasses in the frontispiece to *Europe: A Prophecy,* better known as "The Ancient of Days," reproduced in Johnson and Grant, colorplate 17. Also, Urizen is submerged in the waters of materialism in one of the plates in *The Book of Urizen;* see Kenneth Clark, *The Romantic Rebellion,* London, 1973, 162.

[28] *There is No Natural Religion,* 98.

11. William Blake, *Christ Appearing to the Apostles after the Resurrection,* c.1795-1805. New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Yale University Art Gallery

environment of the composition, an objective correlative for Newton's (and Urizen's) mind. Geometric, closed patterns abound in this print. Note the triangle and semi-circle traced upon the unfolded scroll, the triangle formed by the pair of compasses, the triangular hillside, and the triangle created by Newton's head (the triangle's apex), his left arm, and legs. Newton's limited, narcissistic vision—he "sees himself only"—is represented graphically through these geometric motifs of enclosure. Yet, despite Blake's denouncement of closed forms and the Fallen human form in particular, the body of Newton is glorified and Michelangelesque.

The last print of the series, *Christ appearing to the Apostles* (fig. 11), illustrates Luke (xxiv: 36-40). A graceful, gothicized figure of Christ is surrounded by his apostles, who prostrate themselves as if He were an idol. Only one of them looks upon Him adoringly. Martin Butlin suggests that this design might be a counterpart to *The House of Death,* contrasting the wrathful God of the Old Testament with the merciful God of the New Testament.[29] Blake often incorporated the symbolism

[29] Martin Butlin, *The Paintings and Drawings of William Blake,* New Haven, 1981, 176.

associated with the right and left sides of the scriptural sheep and goats into his pictorial aesthetics. Tradition has it that the left side symbolizes the spiritual, and the right, the material. This convention applies here: the apostle who adores Christ is on His right side, whereas those who idolize Him are on His left. The right and left sections of the print create horizontal planes and the glorified figure of Christ and His admirer, vertical planes. The composition is fundamentally that of a closed equilateral triangle with Christ's head forming the apex.

Blake was an artist of the Infinite and denounced all finite forms, particularly the limited, Fallen human form. Contrarily, Blake imaged his pictorial designs with geometrical, closed forms, especially that of the human form glorified. The Tate Gallery color-print series of 1795 is an exemplification of this conflict. Blake depicted the domination of Urizenic reason over the Imagination and explicitly associated all geometrical, closed forms with the closed mind of Urizen; he denounced the human form because it had Fallen into the restricted, passive world of Urizenic Experience. Yet, simultaneously, Blake employed a tectonic visual style of composition based upon strict outline (after Cumberland, Flaxman, and Fuseli) in an attempt to imitate the pure outline engraving style of Greek vase-painting, and he created designs in which the human form is glorified and dominates the compositional space. By 1795, Blake had not yet resolved this dilemma. To confine the Imagination or energy within the limited, human form was evil—"He who can be bound down is No Genius. Genius cannot be Bound"[30]—but to expunge form altogether was also an evil, for it meant a dissipation of life-giving energy—"art is to find form, and to keep it."[31]

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[30] *Annotations To Reynolds, 472.*
[31] *A Descriptive Catalogue,* 573.

Spatial Definition in the Landscape Paintings of Martin Johnson Heade

ELIZABETH M. THOMPSON

Careful study of an unsigned landscape painting, formerly attributed to Martin Johnson Heade, reveals the lack of a previously unnoticed compositional device which can be used to distinguish authentic works by Heade. This addition to the connoisseurship of Heade should be considered valuable in light of the increasing importance attached to Heade as perhaps the major artist associated with the nineteenth-century American landscape style of Luminism. The style itself has been the focus of recent intensive study.[1] The painting under consideration here (fig. 1), called *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise,* carried an attribution to Heade which was considered dubious even before the painting was donated to its present owner, the Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University.[2]

The incorrect attribution is somewhat understandable given that the painting shares imagery typical of work by Heade. For example, *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* is a marsh view and Heade painted over one hundred marsh scenes. *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* also exhibits several stylistic elements, such as the handling of the paint, the treatment of the sky, and the shape and arrangement of objects within the picture, that are similar to those found in authentic Heade works. However, what is lacking in this work, when compared to known Heade paintings, is some miniature but articulated element in the far depths of the background to establish a clear sense of scale and deep spatial recession.

I would like to thank Professor Matthew Baigell and Professor Joan Marter for their guidance in the preparation of this essay. It grew out of a course with Professor Baigell in 1979 and, in an expanded version, was submitted to Rutgers University as my Master's paper in 1981. I would also like to express my gratitude to Jeffrey Wechsler, Curator of Painting and Sculpture, Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University, for his assistance from the onset of this project.

[1] The discussion of Luminism is currently engaging prominent American art historians, including Barbara Novak, Theodore Stebbins, and John Wilmerding. Novak refers to Heade as "one of the purest and most important Luminists," in her *American Painting of the Nineteenth Century,* New York, 1969, 104, and also devotes an entire chapter to Heade entitled "Haystacks and Light." Stebbins authored a monograph on Heade in 1975 and Wilmerding, and others, repeatedly refer to Heade's importance in the catalog that accompanied the massive exhibition entitled "American Light, The Luminist Movement 1850-1875," held at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. in 1980. See J. Wilmerding, ed., *American Light, The Luminist Movement 1850-1875,* exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1980.

[2] In a letter to the author dated December 11, 1979, regarding *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise,* Theodore Stebbins stated: "I don't believe it has much to do with Heade, aside from a superficial resemblance. The colors in the sky look something like Heade's and the central cloud with the bright edges recalls his work, but the composition isn't like his, and neither is the handling of the paint. I don't recall any picture in which Heade used five parallel bands of land and water, as you have in your picture, or such a prominent rowboat. It could, I guess, be a very much over-restored picture which started out as a Heade, or more likely, it might be by one of the Heade followers or imitators." Furthermore, Jeffrey Wechsler also had doubts about the painting when it was donated to Rutgers; as a nineteenth-century American landscape painting of some interest and quality, it was accepted into the collection.

1. *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise,* c.1880. New Brunswick, N.J., Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, Rutgers University (photo: Victor's Photography)

The Compositional Device

In all of Heade's known landscape paintings there is always a minute detail in the distance—a tiny speck of a figure, a cow, or a haycart—to define the spectator's position in the foreground, and to establish clearly the sense of vast, deep, expansive space. Numerous examples of Heade's use of this device can be found in landscape paintings spanning his entire career. An excellent early example is his *Cloudy Day, Rhode Island* (fig. 2), dated 1861. In this picture one sees a small man with a rake or hoe over his shoulder, a small boy, and a tiny dog, all placed within the middleground of the composition; far in the distance, next to the trees on the right, a cluster of tinier animals graze in the sun. The diminution in the size of the middleground and background figures is accurate, given the distance between them, and this change in scale serves to foster the believable illusion of deep receding space.

A seascape painted two years later, entitled *Twilight, Spouting Rock Beach* (fig. 3), also includes minute compositional elements. On the left, approximately in the middleground of the painting, are two tiny figures in a rowboat; in the expanse of water between these forms and the distant horizon is a small ship. On the horizon, the artist has painted an even tinier speck of a ship, less distinct, in the twilight. Again, the diminution in the size of the two ships serves to establish a sense of progressively deeper spatial planes. Specifically, the figures in the rowboat in the middleground are dark in tone and their silhouettes are clearly and crisply ar-

2. Martin Johnson Heade, *Cloudy Day, Rhode Island,* 1861. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. M. and M. Karolik Collection

3. Martin Johnson Heade, *Twilight, Spouting Rock Beach,* 1863. New York, private collection

ticulated; the ship behind them is painted in a lighter tonality and its details are not as clearly defined. The ship in the far distance on the horizon is even lighter in tone and therefore is barely visible, fading into the horizon. Here Heade has created a thoroughly believable illusion of deep space wherein one seems to be looking through a moist haze above the water at twilight.

4. Martin Johnson Heade, *Newburyport Marshes, Passing Storm,* c.1865-70. Brunswick, Maine, Bowdoin College Museum of Art

In Heade's *Newburyport Marshes: Passing Storm* (fig. 4), dated about 1865-70, there are numerous minute elements that again serve as indicators of spatial recession. Most notably, in the center of the picture, the artist has painted a tiny haycart drawn by a horse and a man walking behind it. These elements form a focal point of the picture, due to their central placement, and also because they are brightly illuminated by the sun behind the storm clouds. Heade has emphasized their importance within the composition, possibly because they represent man living in harmony with nature, but also because their size and presence help to define clearly the distance between the huge dark haystacks silhouetted in the foreground and the tiny trees placed against the sky in the background.

In *Newburyport Marshes* (fig. 5), dated about 1865-75, there are numerous minute elements scattered throughout the middleground and background. Again, their presence is emphasized by the lighting effects. In the middle distance a tiny figure is shown walking and an even smaller man behind him is raking. Both are placed in profile, and are sufficiently delineated to set them off from the landscape surrounding them. In the distance behind them, several haystacks of varying sizes are visible, and again Heade has used aerial perspective to distinguish the closer ones from those in the distance.

A final example to illustrate Heade's device of "minutiae in the distance" can be found in his *Sunset Marshes (Bringing in the Hay),* dated 1883 (fig. 6). Again the artist depicts a small horse-drawn haycart with a tiny man behind it, all seen in profile, brightly illuminated, and set off against the darker shadowed area behind them. The haystacks diminish in size and fade in tonality, thus serving to define the space within the composition.

5. Martin Johnson Heade, *Newburyport Marshes,* c.1865-75. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Maxim Karolik

6. Martin Johnson Heade, *Sunset Marshes (Bringing in the Hay),* 1883. Philadelphia, private collection

These few examples, spanning a period of twenty-two years within Heade's career, should illustrate my point about the presence of minute elements in Heade's landscape paintings. Not only are they used, the artist carefully controls their placement and arrangement so that they contribute to his desired spatial effects. Often these details are more brightly illuminated when compared to other elements within the picture, and frequently he chooses profile views, carefully delineating and silhouetting these figures against a background of contrasting tonality.

As mentioned earlier, there are no minute elements in *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* to promote the illusion of deep spatial recession. One might conclude that the picture is not finished, that Heade had not yet added the tiny diminutive elements in the middleground or background to establish the sense of scale and space. However, that argument fails when one realizes that in *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* there is no place to put them; there is no space broad enough to be occupied by a figure, an animal, a haycart, or the like. The second band of water is too narrow to carry effectively the silhouette of any element placed at the water's edge in the middleground, and there is not enough room on the land in the background to place even the tiniest element to establish Heade's sense of broad, open, distant space.

Furthermore, in addition to the absence of any minutiae in the distance, *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* is entirely too frontal and planar. In comparison to Heade's authenticated landscape paintings, everything in *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* seems pushed up to the front of the picture plane: cramped, closed, and tightly self-contained. Heade's sense of infinite space cannot be found here. In addition, there are numerous visual barriers within the composition that impede our ability to drift into the distance. The dark, thick band in the middleground bisects what could be an open expanse of water, and its juxtaposition between the two lighter areas of water also serves to break the visual flow, since the sharp dark/light contrast tends to anchor our attention in the foreground plane. Any sense of true spatial recession (as achieved through aerial perspective) is virtually denied here by the even, equal tonalities of the three dark bands. If, beyond the foreground plane, the middle area is supposed to recede in the distance and the background area is supposed to recede beyond that, then their tonalities should vary accordingly. Here the background area shares the same dark tonality as the supposed middleground and foreground. This equal, even darkness thus denies any sense of deep spatial recession.

One may conclude that Heade simply would not compose a picture this way. He would not chop the lower half of the canvas into five awkward and distracting horizontal bands. Nor would Heade depict the land mass in the supposedly distant background as sharing the same dark tonality as the land mass in the foreground plane.

Further Commentary

Several possibilities can be addressed in attempting to speculate on the authorship of this work. It is a difficult undertaking because Heade had few followers and the "influence of Heade's marsh pictures on other painters . . . appears to have been limited."[3] Furthermore, those few painters of marsh views who were influenced by Heade's pictures were, for the most part, centered in and around Boston and were painting marsh scenes during the 1860s and early 1870s. Therefore, one can deduce that they were probably inspired by Heade's Newburyport marsh views of the 1860s and not by his New Jersey marsh scenes of the mid-1870s and 1880s.

How, then, can this painting be accounted for? One possibility might be that it was executed by a New Jersey artist who painted marsh pictures during the 1880s or later; influenced by Heade's marsh scenes of the state, he may have sought to profit from the popularity of Heade's marsh views. However, an artist who would fit this description has not yet come to light.

Despite the fact that the composition and more specifically the spatial organization of the canvas are most unlike Heade's, the sky could have been painted by him. The coloring, the tonal gradations, the luminosity, the atmospheric effects, and most notably the brushstrokes on the clouds, all bear the mark of his hand.[4] Since it is known that Heade painted many marsh scenes in New Jersey and the picture was found there, perhaps the painting passed, in an unfinished state, into the hands of another artist. If this were the case it would not be an entirely unprecedented occurrence. In reference to a painting entitled *Marsh River with a Large Haystack* that appears in Theodore Stebbins' book on Heade, the author notes: "This is apparently a painting that Heade began in the 1870s and had not quite finished; the top of one haystack appears to have been retouched by another artist, who then presumably inscribed the picture in 1896."[5] The lower right corner of the canvas is inscribed: *M.J. Heade by J.S.* [*underland?*] *1896.* Of course *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise* bears no comparable inscription, but it, too, may have been started by Heade and later retouched or repainted by another artist. That artist would have been no doubt familiar with Heade's style and capable of mimicking certain specific Heade-like elements. But, the artist who brought this painting to its present state of completion lacked Heade's sense of space, and his ability to draw the spectator far beyond the confines of the frontal picture plane into a light-filled, airy, and seemingly infinite space. The artist, who here worked in Heade's manner, ultimately lacked his vision.

Rutgers University

[3] T. Stebbins, *The Life and Works of Martin Johnson Heade,* New Haven, 1975, 104.

[4] On February 28, 1980, with the permission of Ms. Dale Johnson at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, I was allowed to view Heade's *Jersey Meadows* of 1881 which was in storage at that time. Although *Jersey Meadows* does not display the same sunburst effect as *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise,* the colors in the sky are similar to those in the Rutgers painting. Moreover, the brushstrokes visible in the clouds are very much like those in *New Jersey Marshes at Sunrise.*

[5] Stebbins, *Life,* 281.

A Speculation on an Affinity between Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture* and Monet's Cathedrals

E.C. TEVIOTDALE

John Ruskin's architectural aesthetics and view of the Gothic expressed in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849; second edition, 1855) are, on the one hand, an amplification and continuation of Gothic Revival aesthetics and, on the other, a departure from it. Similarly, Monet's Rouen Cathedral series of 1892-95, while owing a certain debt to the nineteenth-century tradition of naturalistic landscape painting, displays a departure both from prior nineteenth-century paintings of Gothic architecture and from his earlier series. I hope to highlight here some of the differences between Gothic Revival aesthetics and Ruskinian aesthetics, specifically those that are reflected in nineteenth-century paintings of Gothic architecture.

In 1911, Wynford Dewhurst attempted to establish a connection between Ruskin's aesthetics and Monet, and reported Monet as having asked him in 1900, "Have you ever studied Ruskin?" I believe, as Monet's question suggests, that there is an affinity between Ruskin's *Seven Lamps* and Monet's Cathedrals much as there had been an affinity between Gothic Revival aesthetics and paintings antedating the Cathedrals.[1] Furthermore, I propose that the affinity between Ruskin's and Monet's outlooks is particularly evident with regard to those features of Ruskinian aesthetics that distinguish it from Gothic Revival aesthetics. There is no evidence that Monet had read the *Seven Lamps* before he began the Cathedrals although some excerpts were published in French before Monet went to Rouen.[2] I do not suggest that Monet approached the Cathedrals as a means of expressing Ruskinian aesthetics. Rather, I present the comparison as a potential clue for identifying an apparent change in Monet's sensibility during the 1890s.

Gothic Revival aesthetics as expressed in architectural treatises of the first half of the nineteenth century and in ecclesiastical periodicals stressed the essentially religious nature of architecture and the picturesque.[3] The religious nature of architecture as conceived by the Gothic Revivalist was associated with doctrine. He was convinced of a causal relationship of liturgy and doctrine to architecture. Similarly, with regard to architecture itself, the Gothic Revival theorist described a canon for design and construction that he believed to be appropriate or Christian which was

[1] Wynford Dewhurst, "What is Impressionism?," *Contemporary Review,* CIC, 1911, 296. Dewhurst proposes that "ninety percent of the theory of Impressionist painting is clearly and unmistakably embodied in one book alone of Ruskin's voluminous output, namely, in his 'Elements of Drawing.' "

[2] See J. Autret, *Ruskin and the French before Marcel Proust,* Geneva, 1965, for a compilation of the fragmentary translations.

[3] An annotated list of Gothic Revival literary sources is given in A. Addison, *Romanticism and the Gothic Revival,* New York, 1938, 160-169. See also the following for discussions of Gothic Revival aesthetics: K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival: An essay in the history of taste,* third ed., s.l., 1962; P. Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950,* Montreal, 1965; P. Frankle, *The Gothic: Literary sources and interpretations through eight centuries,* Princeton, 1960; G. Germann, *Gothic Revival in Europe and Britain: Sources, influences and ideas,* London, 1972; and N. Pevsner, *Some Architectural Writers of the Nineteenth Century,* Oxford, 1972.

to be followed by the practicing architect.[4] The notion of the picturesque derived, in large part, from the English fondness for making their gardens (the so-called English garden) like landscape paintings. The introduction of architecture among artificially established rocks and hills was intended to make a view more picturesque; that is, more like a landscape painting. These architectural elements were important because in order for a view to be picturesque, it not only had to be reminiscent of landscape painting, but also it had to invoke a series of associations comparable to those invoked by Poussin's and Claude's landscape paintings; they had to supply the framework for a narrative.[5] The concept of the picturesque was central to Gothic Revival aesthetics because the Gothic was considered essentially to be picturesque.[6] Consistent with its roots in landscape architecture, the picturesque was defined by the relationship of architecture to its landscape setting. Connected with the importance of the picturesque in Gothic Revival aesthetics was the de-emphasis of the façade because the most strikingly picturesque aspect of the Gothic is the variety of its silhouette. This "variety" is manifested in two ways: the asymmetry of the silhouette from a given viewpoint, and the change in silhouette as the viewer moves around the building. The façade is thus a form of deception to the Gothic Revivalist.[7]

Other aspects of Gothic Revival aesthetics included a concern for archaeology, the fundamental relationship between ornament and structure, and nationalism. A great part of the archaeological interest in the Gothic was the preoccupation of the Gothic Revival theorist with identifying the particular style of Gothic that should be emulated. This preoccupation consequently led to a preference for consistency of style; that is, if one style of the Gothic was to be emulated, then a successful Gothic or Gothic Revival building was one which consistently employed that style.[8] To the Gothic Revivalist, ornament was a necessary result of the structure of a building. This conservative view was accompanied by a quick condemnation of any ornament which was seen as unnecessary or profuse.[9] Nationalism in Gothic Revival aesthetics was expressed differently in England, France, and Germany but was markedly apparent in all three:[10] the English insisted that the Gothic was an English style; the French inaugurated a campaign to restore Gothic buildings; and

[4] This attitude is the guiding premise for A. Welby Pugin's *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture,* second ed., London, 1853, reprint 1969; see especially 56. For a concise discussion of the role of ecclesiology in the Gothic Revival, see Clark, 150-174.

[5] Collins, 49-52.

[6] U. Price, *An Essay on the Picturesque as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful and on the use of studying Pictures, for the purpose of improving real Landscape,* London, 1794, 63ff quoted in Frankle, 440-441. See also Clark, 46-65 and Frankle, 428-442.

[7] Kenneth Clark put this rather strongly: "But to a good Gothic revivalist the façade was impossible, was the negation of all that he valued in medieval building. Reality, naturalness, variety, truth, all were sacrificed to a flat imposture," 215. See especially Pugin, 38-39.

[8] The English and Germans preferred the early fourteenth century, the French preferred the early thirteenth century. See Germann, 185.

[9] The fundamental relationship between ornament and structure is one of the two rules for design set forth by Pugin in the *True Principles* and the discussion of the topic occupies most of the second lecture of that work. See Pugin, 1 and 34-35.

[10] See Frankle, 680-686 and Germann, 183.

the Germans, determined to erect a national monument after the War of Liberation, concentrated on the completion of Cologne Cathedral as a symbol of the unity of "Religion, Fatherland, and Art."[11]

Paintings of Gothic architecture produced before Monet's Cathedrals share an affinity with Gothic Revival aesthetics. A stress on the essentially religious nature of architecture can be seen in paintings like Constable's *Salisbury Cathedral from the Meadows* (exhibited 1831, collection of Lord Ashton of Hyde) and Friedrich's *Vision der christlichen Kirche* (c.1820, private collection). The concern for archaeology can be seen in the choice of monuments of consistent style; for example, Corot's views of Mantes Cathedral and Constable's views of Salisbury Cathedral from the Bishop's grounds. And, virtually all representations of Gothic architecture painted before Monet's Cathedrals present the architecture within a landscape setting, corresponding to the Gothic Revivalist's concept of the picturesque.[12]

Monet's paintings of Gothic architecture antedating his work at Rouen in the 1890s equally reflect Gothic Revival aesthetics. These earlier paintings are consistent with the traditional notion of the picturesque. For example, *La Chapelle de Notre-Dame de Grâce, Honfleur* (W.35),[13] painted in 1864, depicts the small church in its rural setting. Monet painted *Saint-Germain-L'Auxerrois* in the spring of 1867 from the balcony of the Louvre (W.84). In this painting, the Gothic church is surrounded by urban architecture and a park. In addition, when Monet was at Rouen in 1872, he painted views of the Seine with boats. Two paintings, *Vue de Rouen* (W.217) and *La Seine à Rouen* (W.218), include the cathedral as a feature of the landscape.

The distinctions between Ruskin's views and those of the Gothic Revivalists are difficult to assess because Gothic Revival aesthetics are not entirely consistent from one source to another and Ruskin's debt to the ideas of the Gothic Revivalists is large. The pointing out of distinctions necessarily de-emphasizes the common elements. When Ruskin wrote the *Seven Lamps* he had probably read very little of the literature of the Gothic Revival.[14] He must have been familiar with A. Welby Pugin's staunch Catholicism, however, to which he reacted with vehement Protestantism in the *Seven Lamps*. That this Protestantism was more a reaction to the popery of Pugin than an integral part of his aesthetics is confirmed by his having removed the offending passages from the 1880 edition.[15] Furthermore, it is difficult to avoid misrepresenting Ruskin's ideas because he had a penchant for contradicting himself and, as Kenneth Clark has noted, for every passage from Ruskin there can be found a contradictory one.[16] Nevertheless, the distinctions between Gothic Revival aesthetics and Ruskinian aesthetics are real.

[11] Work on Cologne lasted from 1841 to 1880, although the decision to embark on the project had been made in 1814 or 1815. See Germann, 151-165.

[12] I present here only a few examples from the oeuvres of a few painters, but they are representative of paintings of Gothic architecture of the first half of the century.

[13] The abbreviations (W.35), (W.84), (W.217), and (W.218) correspond to illustrations in the *catalogue raisonné* regarding Monet's work. See Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet, Biographie et catalogue raisonné*, I, Paris, 1974.

[14] Clark, 194.

[15] J. Ruskin, *The Works of John Ruskin*, eds. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn, 39 vols., London, 1903-12, VIII: *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 15-17.

[16] Clark, 193 note.

Ruskinian aesthetics as expressed in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* differ from Gothic Revival aesthetics in that the religious nature of art is dependent on the personal morality of the architect rather than on doctrine. Also, the notion of the picturesque is transferred from the relationship of a building to its landscape setting to the ornament of the building itself, and the interest in archaeology, which, for the Gothic Revivalist, led to the preference for consistency of style, now results in a concern for empirical observation of the effect of light on architecture. Ornament, having gained the value of the picturesque, is unrestrained by structural considerations, and a cosmopolitan or international (as opposed to nationalistic) outlook is adopted. Ruskin also introduces the issue of the importance of color in architectural aesthetics.

Ruskin's *Seven Lamps* is divided into seven chapters or Lamps: the Lamp of Sacrifice (architecture takes into account the venerable and the beautiful, even if "unnecessary"); the Lamp of Truth (machine-made decoration and the deceptive use of materials is unacceptable); the Lamp of Power (increase in magnitude will endow architecture with a certain degree of nobility; the decoration of the Gothic depends on shadow for effect); the Lamp of Beauty (all beauty is founded on the laws of natural forms); the Lamp of Life (architecture must embrace boldness and irregularity and scorn refinement); the Lamp of Memory (the greatest glory of a building is its age; architecture must be built for perpetuity); and the Lamp of Obedience (there is no need to create a new style of architecture).

Ruskin's outlook in the *Seven Lamps* is decidedly international. He does not share the chauvinism of the Gothic Revivalists. In the preface to the first edition, Ruskin explains that while he makes reference to only a few buildings, he traveled throughout northern Italy, France, and England in order to study architecture in preparation for the book.[17] Ruskin considers Rouen a central monument and refers to Rouen frequently in the text of the *Seven Lamps*. He includes plates of drawings made at Rouen in the book.

In the preface to the second edition, Ruskin states one of the major tenets of the book: that good architecture will evoke feelings on the part of its viewer. Here he expresses an interest in the "character of emotions felt respecting various forms of good architecture."[18] This idea is noteworthy with respect to Monet's professed intentions while at Rouen. In a letter to Geffroy written from Rouen in 1893, Monet describes his feelings in trying to paint the cathedral:

> Je ne puis que répéter ceci: que plus je vais, plus j'ai de mal à rendre ce que je sens; et je me dis que celui qui dit avoir fini une toile est une terrible orgueilleux. Finir voulant dire complet, parfait, et je travaille à force sans avancer, cherchant, tâtonnant, sans aboutir à grand'chose, mais au point d'en être fatigué.[19]

[17] Ruskin, VIII, 5-6.

[18] Ruskin, VIII, 7.

[19] Gustave Geffroy, *Claude Monet,* 2 vols., Paris, 1924, II, 62; quoted in G. Seiberling, *Monet's Series* (Outstanding Dissertations in the Fine Arts), New York, 1981, 149.

Here Monet describes a complicated series of emotions; he is searching, groping, and feeling. The passage reveals a preoccupation with his emotional, as opposed to visual response to the cathedral.

Monet wrote to Durand-Ruel on April 13th, 1892:

> . . .Je suis absolument découragé et mécontent de ce que j'ai fait ici, j'ai voulu trop bien faire et suis arrivé à abîmer ce qui était bien.[20]

Monet still expressed anxiety over the Cathedrals after the first return to Giverny:

> Je suis rentré enfin à Giverny où je me repose, j'ai travaillé comme jamais, mais j'ai tant de peine aujourd'hui à arriver à ce que je voudrais.[21]

Monet's discouragement and pain over the Cathedrals is Ruskin's requisite for discovering truth: "Truth cannot be persisted in without pains; but it is worth them."[22]

Ruskin offers the following about the west façade at Rouen in the Lamp of Sacrifice:

> So generally the most delicate niche work and best mouldings of the French Gothic are in gates and low windows well within sight; although, it being the very spirit of that style to trust to its exuberance for effect, there is occasionally a burst upwards and blossoming unrestrainably to the sky, as in the pediment of the west front of Rouen, and in the recess of the rose window behind it, where there are some most elaborate flower-mouldings, all but invisible from below, and only adding a general enrichment to the deep shadows that relieve the shafts of the advanced pediment.[23]

Ruskin then explains what he finds unsuccessful at Rouen west; namely, that the rose window has been corrupted by Renaissance detail. He then returns to the subject of Rouen a few pages later:

> That gate I suppose to be the most exquisite piece of pure flamboyant work existing; for though I have spoken of the upper portions, especially the receding window, as degenerate, the gate itself is of a purer period, and has hardly any renaissance taint.[24]

While Ruskin refers to the purer style of the screen of Rouen west as compared with the rose window which is tainted by the Renaissance style, he does not seem to object to the eclectic nature of the façade as a whole.[25] It is only the intrusion of

[20] L. Venturi, *Les archives de l'impressionisme,* 2 vols., Paris, 1939, I, 344.

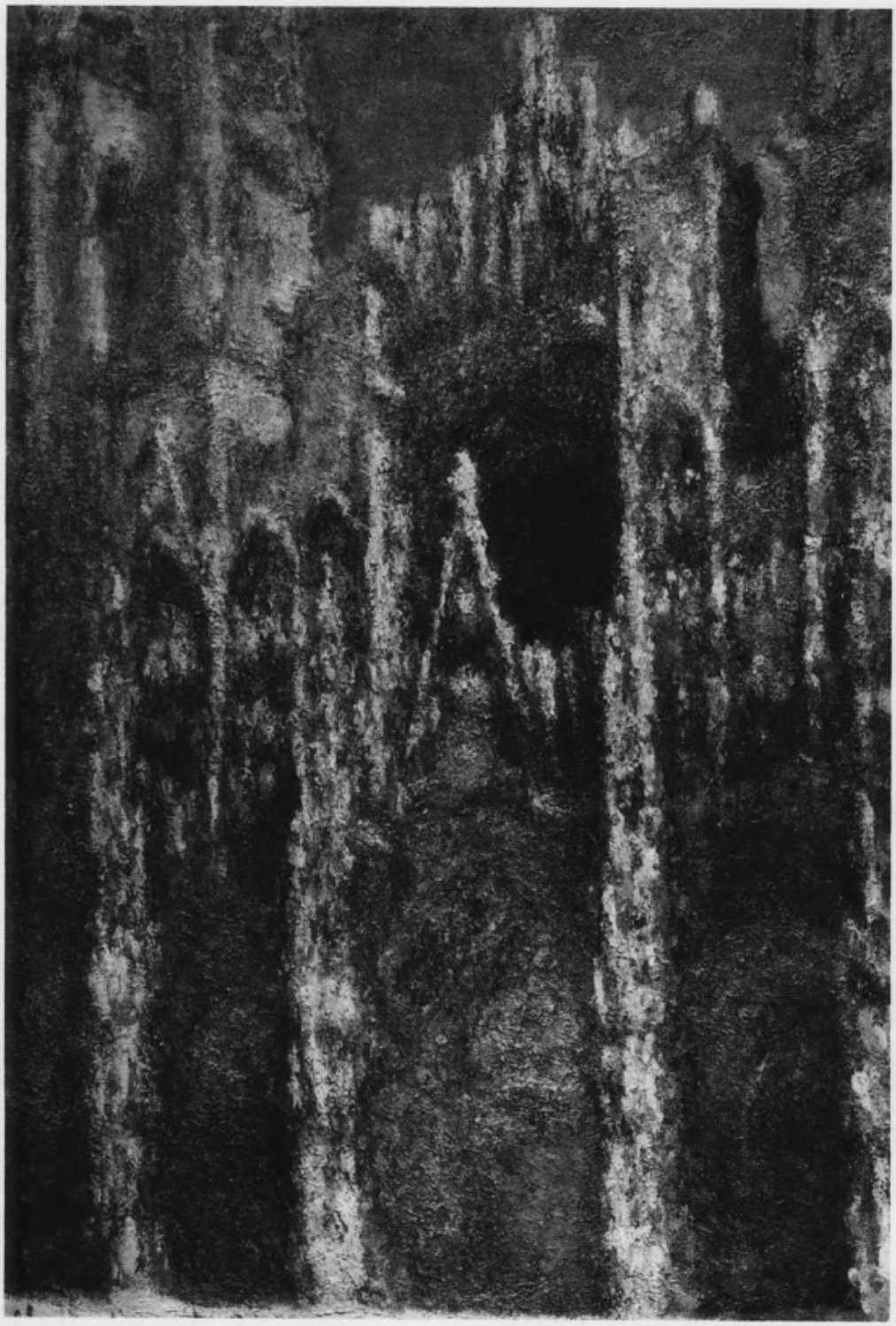
[21] Monet to Helleu, Giverny, 19 April 1893, quoted in Seiberling, 153.

[22] Ruskin, VIII, 56.

[23] Ruskin, VIII, 49.

[24] Ruskin, VIII, 52.

[25] The Romanesque cathedral at Rouen was largely destroyed by fire in 1200. The north-west tower, the Tour St. Romain, and the side doors of the west façade survived, the Tour St. Romain having been built in 1150 and the flanking doors between 1180 and 1190. The rose window was completed about 1400. The south-west tower, the Tour de Beurre, was built between 1485 and 1507, and finally the central portal was added in 1509. See P. Frankle, *Gothic Architecture,* trans. D. Pevsner, Baltimore, 1962, 84-85, 178-179.



Claude Monet, *Rouen Cathedral: Sunset,* 1894. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Juliana Cheney Edwards Collection. Bequest of Hannah Marcy Edwards in memory of her mother

what he believes to be Renaissance characteristics that he finds offensive. Ruskin is not interested in deciding exactly which Gothic style is the one to be emulated. He uses superlatives to describe the various Italian and English styles as well as that of the screen of Rouen west. Neither does Monet choose a monument of pure style for his series. The style does not matter to him as long as the architecture will incite a response in him.

It is significant that Ruskin discusses the façade at Rouen in such glowing terms here, for he does not acknowledge the Gothic Revival de-emphasis of the façade. The façade of a building can be (and he believes is in the case of Rouen) as inspiring as any other aspect. Ruskin's description of the pediment and gables of Rouen Cathedral is analogous to Monet's depictions. Most of Monet's Cathedral paintings include the pediment and gables that Ruskin found so admirable, and the paintings convey the spirit of Ruskin's description; they do burst upwards and blossom to the sky. The most readily identifiable feature of the architecture in Monet's paintings is that pediment. It is present both in the views which feature the Tour St. Romain and in those which do not.

Monet's Cathedrals differ from his earlier representations of Gothic architecture and from his earlier series both in appearance and in the artist's approach to his subject. The Cathedral series was the first of Monet's series for which "home" was not the place of the motif. The Haystacks were part of his environment at Giverny and the Poplars at Limetz, near Giverny. Monet already had decided to paint the cathedral when he left for Rouen and apparently intended to stay there for some time. Monet went to Rouen twice, first in the winter of 1892, and again in the winter of 1893. He had to secure lodgings and a place from which to paint while at Rouen.

The Cathedrals are further distinguished from the earlier series in that Monet worked for a long time on the group (from the winter of 1892 until 1895 when some of them were exhibited) and by the close interrelationship of the paintings themselves. The Haystacks and the Poplars were exhibited within a year of Monet's having begun work on them and at least some of the paintings in both series were completed before he returned to the studio. He did not spend the time on unifying the series that he would for the Cathedrals. Indeed, none of the Cathedrals seems to have been finished at Rouen; every one is dated after the second return to Giverny.[26]

Monet's unprecedented compelling interest in the Cathedrals is extensively documented in his letters. Never before had he written so much about his work.[27] The Cathedrals, thereby, differ from the earlier series in Monet's having so purposefully set out to paint an extended series of a single motif chosen before his departure, in his having chosen architecture without a landscape setting for his motif, in the consistency of viewpoint, in having been finished together in the studio away from the site, and in his having written so much about his work.

It is the change in the application of the concept of the picturesque and the corresponding acceptance of the façade, however, that are most important for

[26] See Seiberling, 84-187, for a discussion of the circumstances surrounding the painting of the Haystacks, Poplars, and Cathedrals.

[27] Seiberling, 136.

establishing the affinity between Ruskin's aesthetics and Monet's Cathedrals. Just as the traditional notion of the picturesque had been so important in establishing the affinity between Gothic Revival aesthetics and nineteenth-century paintings of Gothic architecture, the challenge to that tradition by both Ruskin and Monet most clearly establishes the similarity of their outlooks.

Ruskin presents two ideas essential to the picturesque: sublimity and parasitical sublimity.[28] He amplifies the concept of the sublime in the following manner:

> Of course all sublimity, as well as all beauty, is, in the simple etymological sense, picturesque, that is to say, fit to become the subject of a picture...[29]

According to Ruskin's definition, the picturesque is not dependent on traditional landscape. Rather than architecture deriving its picturesque quality from its setting, the picturesque is inherent in the architecture itself, assuming it is beautiful or sublime. The picturesque is not that which is like a picture but that which is worthy of becoming the subject of a picture. The façade, therefore, is no less picturesque than any other component of architecture. As for the means by which a building attains sublimity and beauty, Ruskin devotes much of the *Seven Lamps* to that topic. Beauty is derived, at least in part, from ornament and from its foundation in the laws of natural forms.[30] Furthermore, in his refutation of the Gothic Revival conservatism with respect to ornamentation in the Lamp of Sacrifice, Ruskin specifically cites Rouen's façade as an exquisite example of his premise:

> No limit; it is one of the affectations of architects to speak of overcharged ornament. Ornament cannot be overcharged if it be good, and is always overcharged when it is bad.[31]

In the Lamp of Truth, Ruskin discusses color in architecture:

> The true colours of architecture are those of natural stone, and I would fain see these taken advantage of to the full. Every variety of hue, from pale yellow to purple, passing through orange, red, and brown, is entirely at our command; nearly every kind of green and grey is also attainable; and with these, and pure white, what harmonies might we not achieve?[32]

Monet certainly does not attempt to achieve every harmony in the Cathedrals, at least in their finished state where there are distinct groups of blue, grey, and violet paintings. Over the course of the time that Monet worked on the series, however, even reds and oranges were used in the paintings, many of these colors now only visible in places where upper layers of paint have chipped off. During the years that Monet worked on the Cathedrals, both at Rouen and at Giverny, he experimented with many colors and combinations of colors.[33]

[28] Ruskin, VIII, 236.
[29] Ruskin, VIII, 236.
[30] See especially Ruskin, VIII, 141-142.
[31] Ruskin, VIII, 52.
[32] Ruskin, VIII, 80.
[33] Seiberling, 155-165.

Ruskin expresses his belief in the value of memory in the assessment of architecture at the opening of the Lamp of Power:

> In recalling the impressions we have received from the works of man, after a lapse of time long enough to involve in obscurity all but the most vivid, it often happens that we find a strange pre-eminence and durability in many upon whose strength we had little calculated, and that points of character which had escaped the detection of judgment, become developed under the waste of memory...[34]

Monet did not finish any of the Cathedrals at Rouen. He worked on them at Giverny in 1894 and 1895. His return to the paintings away from the site allowed him to experience the power of his motif which he could not estimate at the site. Ruskin believed that the impression of good architecture would be strengthened through memory. By the same token, Monet left the finishing of his paintings to his studio at Giverny nearly two years after the first work on them. There is ample evidence that some of the repainting done at Giverny completely changed the color scheme or time of day of the individual canvases.[35] Monet's Cathedrals are the manifestation of Monet's personal reaction to, memory of, and impression of the cathedral façade. His misery over their production was Ruskin's requisite pain to realizing truth.

The extent to which Monet was familiar with Ruskin's architectural aesthetics cannot be exactly determined. The first presentation of Ruskinian architectural aesthetics in French was published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of July 1st, 1860 in the form of a review by J. A. Milsand of the *Seven Lamps, The Stones of Venice,* the lectures on painting and architecture delivered at Edinburgh, and *The Two Paths.* The review is lengthy and includes quotations from the works reviewed translated into French as well as a discussion of Ruskin's aesthetics. It was followed in the August 15th, 1861 issue with a review by the same author of *Modern Painters.* These were published together in book form as *L'Esthétique anglaise, Étude sur M. John Ruskin.* Milsand's study does not concentrate on the *Seven Lamps.* He quotes more extensively from and discusses more fully *The Stones of Venice* and *Modern Painters.* However, the aspects of Ruskin's architectural aesthetics presented here in relationship to Monet's Cathedrals are not entirely absent from Milsand's work. He does point out Ruskin's definition of the religious nature of art as dependent on the personal morality of the architect rather than on doctrine. Milsand highlights Ruskin's emphasis on "sentiment" expressed by decoration without, however, dealing with Ruskin's redefinition of the picturesque. He does hint at Ruskin's concept of the picturesque by presenting his rejection of the traditional picturesque. He also discusses Ruskin's belief in the value of memory in the accumulation of impressions toward a realization of the power of a work of art. Throughout his essay, Milsand emphasizes the importance that Ruskin puts on the effect of art on the viewer.[36]

[34] Ruskin, VIII, 100.

[35] Seiberling, 155-159.

[36] J. A. Milsand, "Une nouvelle théorie de l'art en Angleterre," *Revue des Deux Mondes,* 1 July 1860.

Later discussions in French of Ruskin's architectural aesthetics do not appear until after Monet's work on the Cathedrals, although very soon after.[37] Dewhurst's account of his interview with Monet in 1900, in which Monet had asked him if he had read Ruskin, does not precisely establish whether Monet was familiar with Ruskinian aesthetics at the time he painted the Cathedrals. It does, however, establish that by 1900 Monet was enthusiastic about Ruskin. If Monet had been exposed to Ruskinian aesthetics before his work on the Cathedrals, he would have been attracted by it. Whether or not Monet's decision to go to Rouen was a direct result of such exposure, he may have been consciously aware of Ruskin's outlook on architecture and the Gothic as he painted at Rouen. In any case, the Cathedrals reflect the Ruskinian outlook.

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[37] See the bibliography in Autret, 130-131.