

NORTH ITALIAN IVORIES IN THE MUSEO
CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY

BY

DONALD DREW EGBERT



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Pl. 167





1. Plaques of Peter and Andrew. Museo Cristiano, nos. 604 and 605



4. Wood relief of St. Donatus. Cathedral, Murano (Planiscig)



2. Leaf of a diptych. British Museum, no. 395 (Dalton)



3. Detail of a triptych by Master Paolo dated 1333. Galleria, Vicenza (Testi)

NORTH ITALIAN GOTHIC IVORIES IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO OF THE VATICAN LIBRARY¹

BY DONALD DREW EGBERT

IN THE Museo Cristiano of the Vatican are some thirty-five Gothic ivories. There are several of these which show distinct evidence for a North Italian origin, and in the present article sixteen ivories which offer the clearest indication of such a provenance will be considered. Because of the comparative age of the collection in the Vatican Library, which was founded in 1756 and to which Pius IX (d. 1878) was the last great donor, the question of forgeries is almost negligible. It was only during the latter part of the nineteenth century, after several exhibitions of ivory carving offered to forgers unusual opportunity for studying original ivories, particularly of the Gothic period, that successful counterfeiting began to be frequent.

The importance of the Gothic ivories in the history of art is due to the large number remaining, which makes them one of the best sources for the study of the art of the fourteenth century, the century that produced the greatest flowering of the craft of ivory cutting in Gothic times. The great difficulty of cataloguing the Gothic ivories in the Vatican or in any other collection, lies in the fact that no one has as yet succeeded in making a general and consistent division by ateliers or even by countries. Until 1924, when Raymond Koechlin published his *Les ivoires gothiques français*, there was no real corpus of the material, and even Koechlin has limited himself almost solely to French ivories. However, he considers nearly all Gothic ivories to be French in provenance, and the ivories antedating the end of the fourteenth century which he will admit as other than French are very few indeed. For the great majority he believes Paris to have been the center since the only documents as yet discovered that relate to French ivory cutting in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries refer to Paris.

Koechlin admits² that some foreign ateliers must have copied or imitated French ivories and that these imitations are difficult to distinguish from the original, so difficult in fact, that when confronted with specific problems of this sort, he decides nearly always for a French provenance. France undoubtedly was the source of inspiration for Gothic art throughout Europe, at least in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Yet, for the purposes of art history, one is no more justified in calling French these imitations of French

¹ *Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library*, edited by C. R. Morey and Baldwin Smith, No. 5.

² R. Koechlin, *Les ivoires gothiques français* (Paris, 1924), vol. I, p. 4.

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ivories made by foreign workmen in foreign countries than one is justified in calling Greek a Roman statue in the Greek manner.

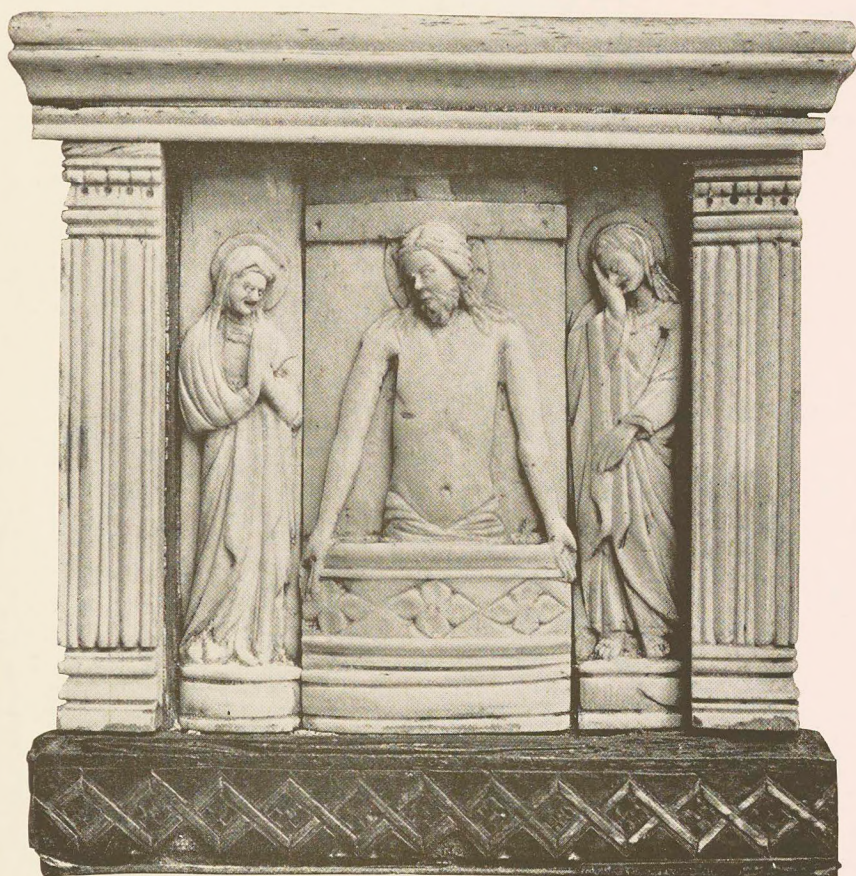
The few exceptional pieces of the fourteenth century which Koechlin will definitely admit as non-French he assigns mostly to England. It is manifestly unlikely that there should be so small a number of English ivories as Koechlin claims, particularly as the admitted few are of a very high order of workmanship. To Flanders and Germany he assigns almost none of the earlier Gothic ivories, yet it seems again most unlikely that Flanders and Germany should adopt and imitate from France everything else Gothic, — the arts of building, sculpture, stained glass, and illumination, — and yet neglect ivory cutting so whole heartedly.¹

It is true that at the end of the fourteenth century Koechlin is forced to admit that French ivory cutting began to suffer a considerable decline and that two foreign influences became paramount, North Italian and Flemish in origin. But in view of the fact that the Hundred Years' War began as early as 1337, it would seem reasonable to suppose that French ivory carving, like the other arts of the time, suffered somewhat of a set-back earlier in the century owing to a partial curtailment of the raw ivory supply if to nothing else. And such early disastrous defeats as Crécy and Poitiers can hardly have helped the market for such a luxury as carved ivory, in spite of the fact that documents showing the existence of some ivory carvers at this time in Paris are extant. The Flemish and Italian predominance in ivory carving, which Koechlin admits to some extent only in the fifteenth century, was, there is reason to believe, in full sway by the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The Italian influence which Koechlin admits in the fifteenth century was that of a North Italian family of ivory cutters called the Embriachi, in whose workshops at Venice are known to have been done certain pieces for the Visconti of Milan. These Italian ivories, which will be discussed in more detail later, generally offer a distinctive feature in the use of bone instead of ivory. This necessitated the use of many small, assembled parts, as bone is difficult to obtain in pieces as large as elephant tusks. By 1400 the Embriachi apparently were exporting their work all over Europe.

Even before the Italian influence of the Embriachi and other Italian craftsmen and artists was spreading north, the Flemish strain with its realistic types and heavy drapery began to filter south. The great meeting place and

¹ It would seem that M. Koechlin's undoubted and thorough knowledge of French Gothic art is so great that, in the case of foreign works based on French models, he discerns so clearly the French elements as to miss entirely the craftsman's local stylistic mannerisms. Because he sees only the French characteristics, Koechlin accordingly calls a given imitation, French, and attempts to group it with other pieces perhaps copied from the same type of French model but of an entirely different provenance, only to be confused by the diversity of styles. Thus, in his way, M. Koechlin represents an unintentional counter-reaction toward calling nearly all Gothic ivories French that is almost as complete as the tendency, which he laments, of the nineteenth century to call them all Italian.

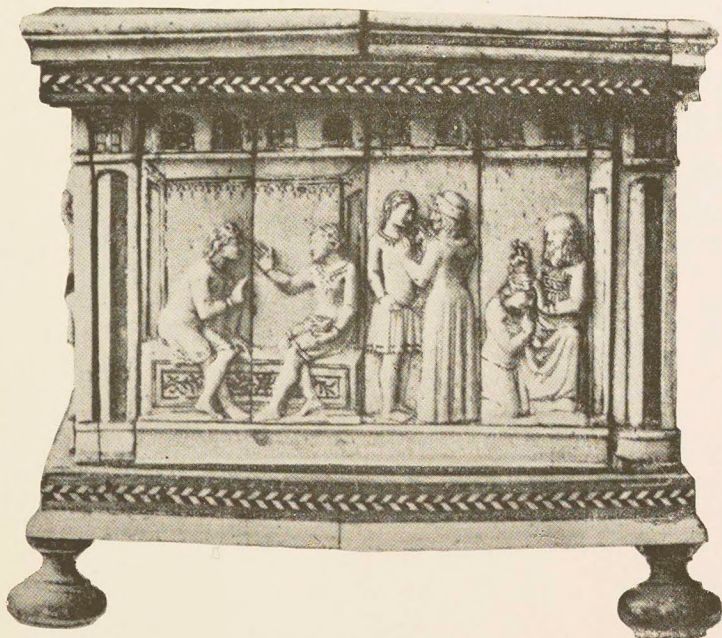


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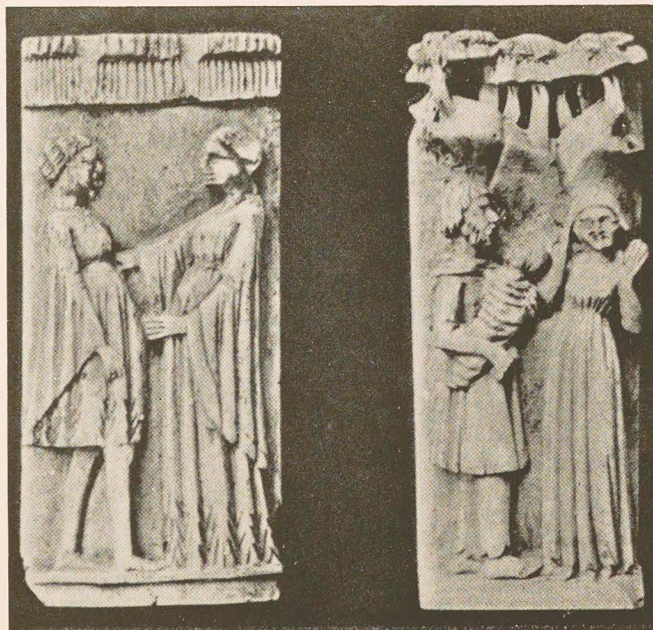


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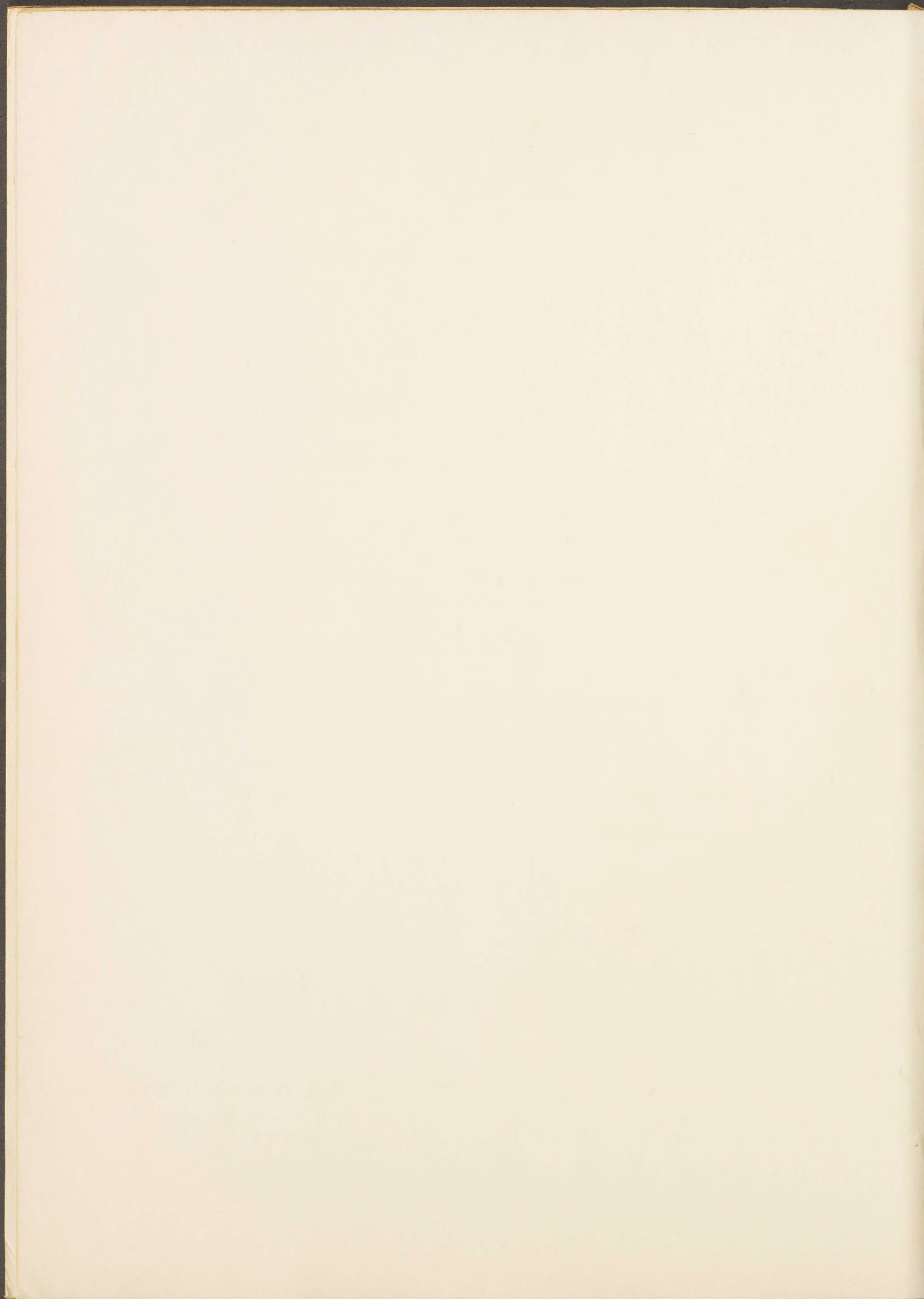
Embriachi shrines representing the "Man of Sorrows." Museo Cristiano, nos. 612 and 613



7. Embriachi casket. Museum of Industrial Art, Rome (von Schlosser)



8. Embriachi fragments. Schnütgen Collection, Cologne (Witte)



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melting pot of these two strains was in North Italy, particularly in Lombardy, and from there the resultant "international style" spread over the continent of Europe. Within the international style the Flemish element was naturally stronger in the North and the Italian in the South, with varying local mixtures in between. The question is immensely complicated by problems of Northern artists in Italy, and so forth, and the international character of the style makes the determination of exact provenances almost impossible in many cases.

Of the Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano (and the term "ivory" will be used to include carved bone), a large number seem to be North Italian in provenance, and it is some of these that will be considered in this article. For simplicity of discussion the North Italian ivories will be somewhat arbitrarily divided into two groups: those which are distinctively Italian in style, and those produced by Italian craftsmen working more or less on the basis of Transalpine models. In order to make clear the stylistic characteristics which are peculiar to North Italy, great emphasis will be laid on the distinctive qualities inherent in the ivories carved by the Embriachi and related ateliers, as the North Italian provenance of such pieces is hardly disputed. The presence of the same stylistic mannerisms will then be used as an important basis for assigning an Italian origin to ivories which are less typically Italian and in which the craftsmen were attempting to imitate Northern models.¹

GROUP I

IVORIES TYPICALLY NORTH ITALIAN IN STYLE

1. PLAQUES OF ST. PETER AND ST. ANDREW, nos. 604 and 605² (Fig. 1).

The two bone plaques representing Peter and Andrew,³ nos. 604 and 605 respectively (Fig. 1), offer every evidence of North Italian provenance in material, technique, and iconography. The material, bone, was a favorite one in North Italy in Gothic times, while ivory was used almost exclusively north of the Alps.

The technique of these two pieces is very similar to that of an ivory in the British Museum⁴ (Fig. 2), a leaf of a diptych with Sts. Anthony and Francis represented beneath a trilobed Gothic arch. Dalton gives the piece as Italian

¹ Except in the case of ivories not included by Koechlin in his descriptive catalogue (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II), space will not be taken here to describe the iconography of each piece scene by scene. Only those scenes will be mentioned which offer evidence for a particular provenance or date.

² These numbers are the object numbers in the Museo Cristiano.

³ These were published in R. Kanzler, *Avori della biblioteca Vaticana* (Rome, 1903), Pl. 10, nos. 1(36) and 5(40). Peter and Andrew are identified not only by their names, *S. Petrus* and *S. Andreas*, gilded on the background beside their heads, but also by the attributes of the key and papal tiara for Peter, and the cross for Andrew.

⁴ Published by O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum* (London, 1909), no. 395, p. 135.

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work of the late fourteenth century. St. Anthony, who is identified by the attributes of the pig, the bell, and the T-headed staff, as well as by the T on his shoulder¹ (a frequent attribute of the Saint in North Italian painting²), is, as we shall see, a favorite subject on Italian Gothic ivories.

Eastern influence is shown by the London ivory in the use of imitation Cufic ornament on the robes as well as in the decorative and vertical lettering of the saints' names in the Byzantine manner though in Latin characters. The flatness and verticality of the figures is a Byzantine feature which persists throughout North Italian Gothic art (as will be found in the work of the Embriachi). On the other hand, the twisted columns of the architectural frame with the caps and bases of equal height are typical of Italian Gothic architecture. Finally, the hinge slits cut obliquely into the corner of the edge of the ivory and the holes for pins running diagonally into the face of the ivory at right angles to the slits, represent a method of hinging characteristic of Gothic ivories north of the Alps rather than in Italy.

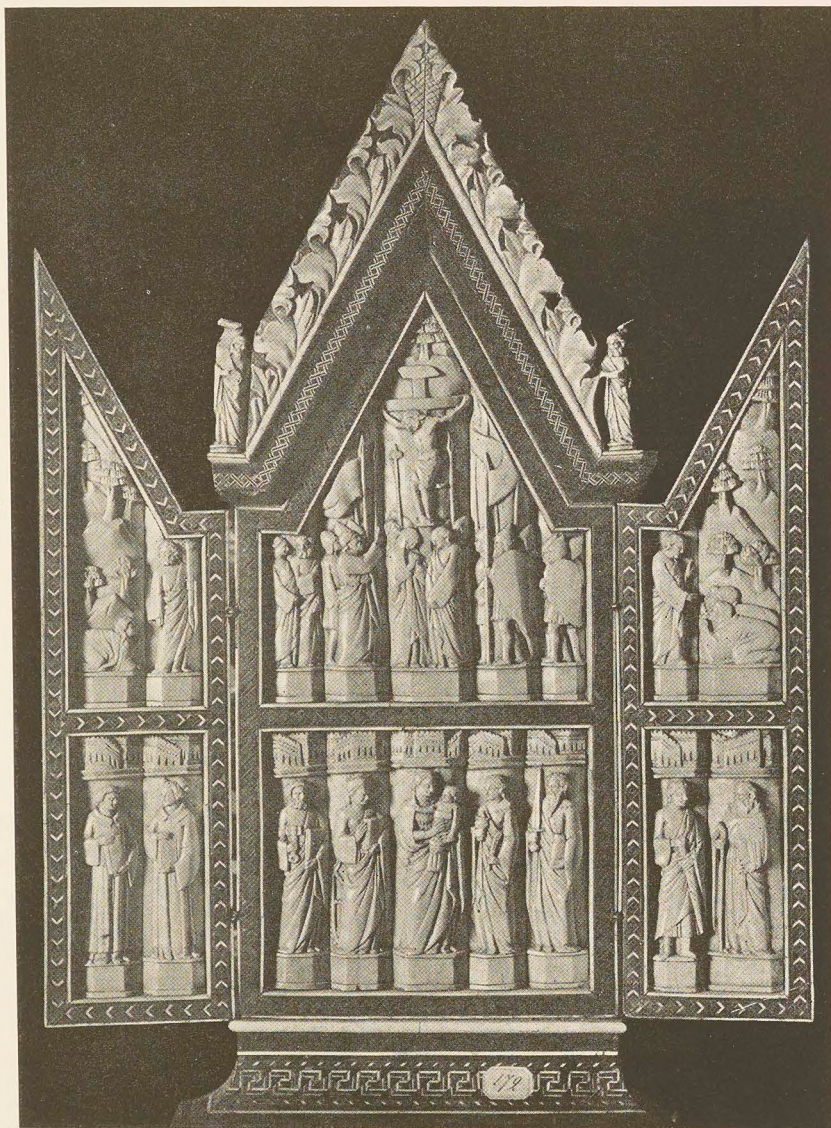
Because of this mixture of oriental, Italian Gothic, and Transalpine Gothic elements, Venice would seem a most logical place of origin for the ivory. This is borne out by the resemblance of the London piece to certain early Venetian paintings such as a triptych in the Vicenza Gallery (Fig. 3) by Master Paolo signed and dated 1333.³ Even though it must be admitted that the technique of ivory carving always lagged behind that of the major arts, the resemblance of the ivory to such a painting would make a date in the first half of the fourteenth century seem more reasonable than Dalton's late fourteenth-century dating.

A Venetian provenance for both the ivory of the British Museum and the plaques of the Vatican is further supported by several points of technique and iconography in the Vatican plaques (Fig. 1) themselves. As on the ivory of the British Museum, the figures of the saints here have the Byzantine verticality and stiffness of the figures combined with a smattering of Gothic architecture in the frame. The imitation of Cufic ornament is similar to that on the British Museum leaf, as is also the handling of drapery, particularly on the Peter. The smoothness of the drapery over the upper part of the body, and its tendency to develop into regular, vertical folds which break sharply and evenly around the bottom as they hit the ground, are characteristics that are found throughout the drapery technique of North Italian Gothic art. A tendency to make a sharp and deep cutting of the edge of the jaw or beard so that it seems to jut far over the neck, is also a consistent feature of North Italian sculpture that is seen here on the Peter.

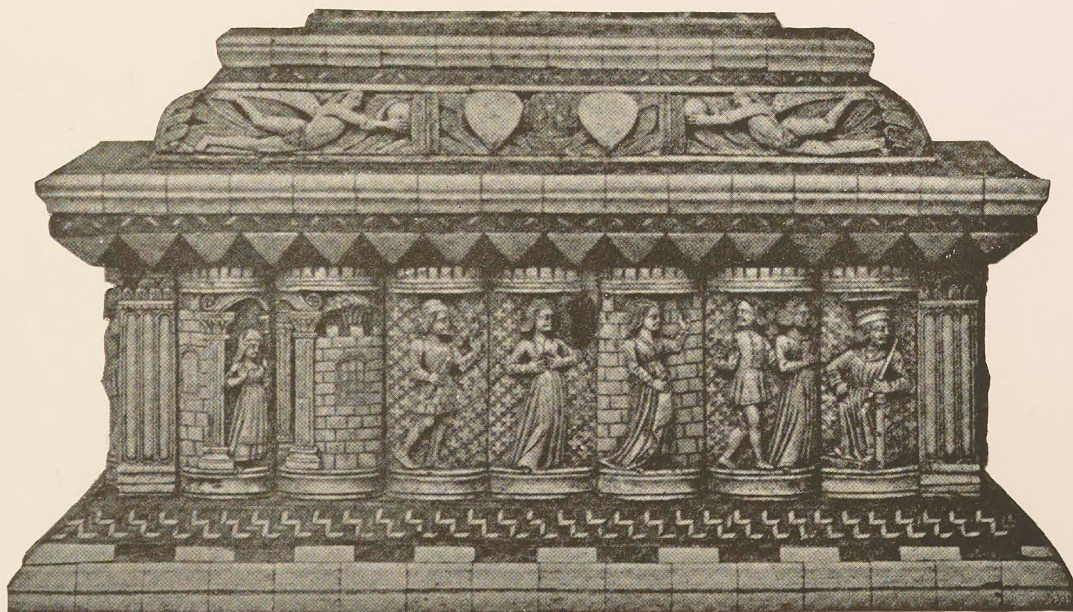
¹ The T on the shoulder of Anthony is possibly but a formalization of the T-headed staff which served him on his wanderings in the desert.

² For an example see R. van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague), vol. VII, p. 316.

³ According to L. Testi, *La storia della pittura veneziana* (Bergamo, 1909-1915) vol. I, p. 189.



9. Embriachi triptych. National Museum, Florence (Alinari phot.)



10. Embriachi casket. Collection of Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este, Vienna (von Schlosser)



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The stylized foliate ornament in the peaks of the gables of the two Vatican plaques offers evidence both toward a Venetian provenance and toward a date, for it is very much like the painted ornament on a wooden relief of St. Donatus (Fig. 4), dated 1310,¹ which is in the Cathedral of Murano. The papal tiara with one crown worn by Peter gives only an additional bit of evidence toward a fairly early date for the ivory, as the second crown on the tiara was first adopted late in the lifetime of Boniface VIII who died in 1303.² This is further supported by the use of a Latin cross with Andrew, for the X cross, commonly known as "Saint Andrew's cross" dates only from about 1400, after which date it rapidly supplanted the Latin cross as an attribute of Andrew.³

The single-crowned tiara and the Latin cross, then, could hardly belong to a period much later than 1300. As the ornament and other features resemble Venetian work of the early fourteenth century, a date in the first half of the fourteenth century may be safely assigned to these two Venetian pieces.

2 AND 3. TWO "KISSES OF PEACE" OF "EMBRIACHI" WORKMANSHIP REPRESENTING THE "MAN OF SORROWS," nos. 612 and 613 (Figs. 5 and 6).

The two "kisses of peace"⁴ in the Museo Cristiano, nos. 612 and 613⁵ (Figs. 5 and 6), both depict the suffering Christ with John and the Virgin on either side of the sarcophagus. They are typical of the technique known as "Certosini" or "Embriachi" work. The term "Embriachi" refers, as has been said, to an atelier, or rather a factory, for the production of carved ivory of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in Venice, the head of which is known by documents to have been a certain Baldasarre Embriachi. This Embriachi⁶ was a banker and agent of the Visconti of Milan as well as a sculptor. Baldasarre did a portable altar and two caskets for the Certosa of Pavia at the behest of the Visconti in the last decade of the fourteenth century. As these particular pieces were for many years the best-known products

¹ According to L. Planiscig, "Geschichte der venezianischen Skulptur im XIV. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der kunsth. Samml. des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, vol. XXXIII, pp. 49-51.

² E. Müntz, *La tiare pontificale du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Lille, 1897), p. 14.

³ According to C. Cahier, *Caractéristiques des saints* (Paris, 1867), p. 288, the St. Andrew's cross "does not seem to go back earlier than the fourteenth century." An interesting example which shows how the X cross of Andrew might have developed from the ordinary Latin cross with arms of unequal length at right angles, is a fragment of stone sculpture in the Louvre, illustrated in *Annuaire des musées nationaux*, 1928, Pl. IX. This shows a figure of Andrew holding a Latin cross but in a slanting position so that it forms an X.

⁴ A "kiss of peace," or pax, is the object kissed by the priest in the celebration of the mass and then presented by the acolyte to all officiating ecclesiastics and to the congregation.

⁵ Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9, no. 10(35), and Pl. 10, no. 10(45).

⁶ The two most important articles in the bibliography of the Embriachi are: (1) H. Semper, "Über ein italienisches Beintriptychon des XIV. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Ferdinandeums*, vols. XL-XLII (1896-1898), p. 147; (2) J. von Schlosser, "Die Werkstatt der Embriachi in Venedig," *Jahrbuch der kunsth. Samml. des allerh. Kaiserhauses*, vol. XX, p. 220.

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of the atelier, this kind of work with frames of wood inlaid with bone or ivory became known as "Certosini" work. Von Schlosser in his excellent article on the Embriachi distinguished two subdivisions in the atelier — one in the last half of the fourteenth century under Baldassarre, the other a closely related group under a certain Antonio Embriachi, a kinsman of uncertain relationship, who worked in the fifteenth century. Von Schlosser believes apparently that this Embriachi factory was the only one to produce these objects and he accounts for the very evident differences in hands by the mass production which necessitated many workmen within one atelier. It may very well be that sooner or later records will be discovered to show that this type of work was produced by different ateliers throughout North Italy, but as yet only the Embriachi are documented.

The Embriachi work is distinguished first of all by its material, bone. Bone, rather than ivory, was by all odds the more favored material in North Italy in contrast to the regions north of the Alps. This use of bone, which in its raw form comes in smaller pieces than does ivory, necessitated the use of many small units which, ordinarily, are assembled within a frame. In the typical Embriachi work the pieces of bone are set vertically with but one or, occasionally, two figures to a piece, and only very rarely does a single figure overlap from one piece of bone to the next. The figures, because of the narrowness of the bone sections, are of necessity static and vertical. As is very frequent in North Italian art, they are often very tall with tiny heads and with a surprising lack of relation in scale between different figures in the same scene. This extreme tallness, which, incidentally, seems to be a heritage from Byzantine art, is much less marked than usual in the two Vatican pieces.

Besides the long proportions, the figure style of Embriachi work has other very definite characteristics. The figures are ordinarily rendered in a relief that has a flatness of surface with sharply profiled outlines and in which an effect of depth is produced by occasional sharp and deep cutting to give deep shadows. The sharp line of the jaw with a deep shadow beneath, which gives to each head the effect of being set well in front of the neck, is a characteristic that will be seen on other North Italian ivories. The drapery is ordinarily rendered by vertical and parallel folds giving a corrugated effect to the skirts. Sometimes these folds are smoothly rounded as on the figure at the lower left of an Embriachi triptych in the National Museum in Florence (Fig. 9), or on the female figure, Rebecca, in the illustration of the casket in the Museum of Industrial Art in Rome (Fig. 7). The drapery is more often rendered, however, by slashing cuts as on the Museo Cristiano piece, no. 613 (Fig. 6), and on some fragments from the Schnütgen Collection ¹ (Fig. 8). The figure style of the Embriachi is very generally marked by its inability to render curves or

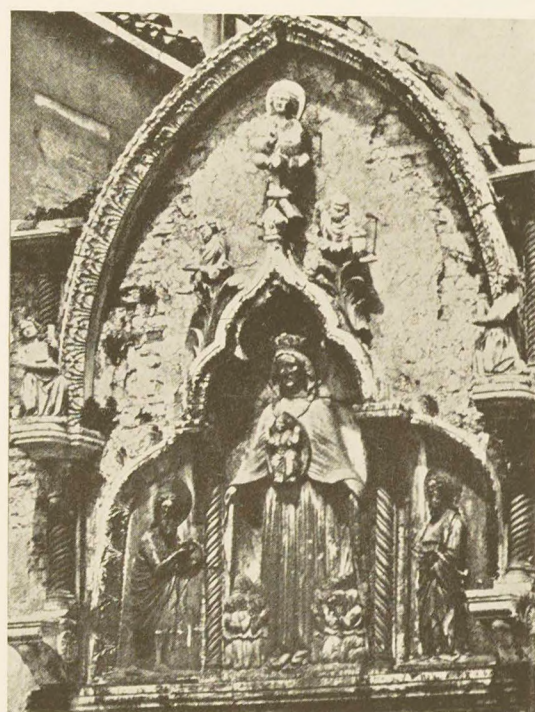
¹ Published by F. Witte, *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Cöln* (Cologne, 1912), Pl. 86.



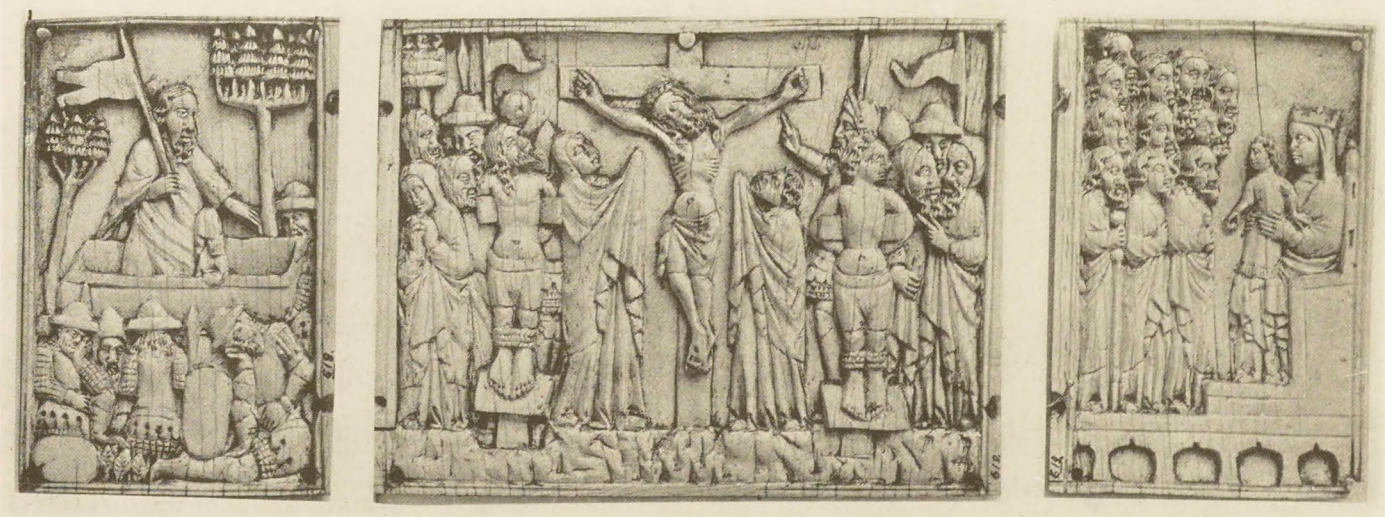
11. Diptych. Innes Collection (Burlington Catalogue, 1923)



12. Triptych. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)



13. Stone relief. Abbazia della Misericordia, Venice (Planiscig)



14. Triptych. Museo Cristiano, no. 619

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rounded surfaces of any sort. The result is not only a stiffness of articulation that accentuates the verticality of the figures, but usually an appearance of having been executed in a whittling, slashing technique with a knife for the sole tool. There are occasional exceptions, however, as exemplified by the smoothly rounded folds on the casket at Rome already mentioned (Fig. 7). It is customary for the drapery to break sharply in an even line around the bottom of the skirt as it hits the ground, a mannerism that will be found in the other North Italian arts at this time.

The frame of no. 613, which is made of brown and orange wood inlaid with white and green bone, is typical of the frames used by the atelier both in technique and in color. The pilasters that frame the sides of no. 612 are like those which frame the caskets of von Schlosser's second or "Antonio Embriachi" group. However, the figures on the Vatican ivory are more static than was customary in this second group of the Embriachi atelier and in this respect the piece is more like the ivories of the first division. Pilasters that are similar in the alternation of two small reeds with one large one are to be found on a casket of the second group (Fig. 10) published by von Schlosser as in the collection of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand von Österreich-Este at Vienna.¹ This casket, which in the main depicts the story of Susanna and the Elders but which also has a few extraneous plaques from some other casket, shows in the background the same diaper leaf or flower pattern that is seen on the sarcophagi of both of the Vatican pieces.

As to the date of the two ivories in the Vatican, they are probably almost contemporaneous though certainly not by the same hand. It would seem that they are *retardataire* examples of the style, combining as they do, features of both main divisions of von Schlosser's atelier. Hence an advanced date in the fifteenth century is made likely. Such a dating is further supported by the fact that the "Man of Sorrows" with Christ standing in the sarcophagus so that only the upper part of His body is visible, was frequently represented during the later *Quattrocento* in the art of North Italy, as the paintings of the Venetian Giovanni Bellini and the sculpture of Matteo Civitale of Lucca show.

4. AN IVORY TRIPTYCH REPRESENTING THE RESURRECTION, THE CRUCIFIXION, AND THE ADORATION OF THE APOSTLES, no. 619 (Fig. 14).

The ivory triptych in the Museo Cristiano, no. 619² (Fig. 14), bears a close stylistic resemblance to several other ivories most of which, at one time or another, have been described as of Italian workmanship. As we shall see, there is reason to believe that these pieces are the product of an atelier working either in Venice or under strong Venetian influence.

¹ Von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, no. 123.

² Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 18, no. 3(67). This ivory has an inscription on the back that seems to read *cavisi* (?).

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The most typical member of the group and the one that serves best as a center around which to group the others, is a diptych in the Innes Collection (Fig. 11) which has been published in the catalogue (1923) of the Burlington Fine Arts Club,¹ where it is given as Italian work of the early fifteenth century. The wings of the diptych are, however, incorrectly called plaques "perhaps from a casket" in spite of the hinge holes in which, as was the case also in the Vatican triptych, interlocking loops of wire were set to be held in place by spreading the ends of the wire on the back of the ivory. This wire-loop method of hinging is the one also found on Embriachi polyptychs (see Fig. 9) and seems to be the type most generally used in Italy. On the other hand, north of the Alps true hinges with the flanges inserted in a slot cut diagonally in the corner of the edge of the ivory and held by pins driven diagonally in the face of the piece and at right angles to the flange, were ordinarily employed² (see Fig. 43).

The left wing of the Innes diptych shows the Madonna and Child and four saints. To the left are St. Anthony Abbot and St. Catherine of Alexandria, while to the right are shown St. James Major and a bishop who may represent St. Nicholas because of the three tangent circles on his shoulder, possibly intended for the three golden apples or purses which are his attributes. On the right wing of the diptych are carved the Flagellation and the Crucifixion.

In the Madonna and Saints several points are to be noted. The hanging behind the Madonna is a favorite characteristic in the representations of her in North Italian painting, particularly in Venice, a point well illustrated by several of the Madonnas of Giovanni Bellini. The treatment of the beard of St. Anthony, with its curving, opposed strands, follows a formula also frequent in North Italian painting, a good example of which is the beard of the St. Jerome on the Bologna altarpiece of Bartolommeo and Antonio Vivarini (Fig. 15), fifteenth-century Muranese painters and rivals of Giovanni Bellini. The staff held by St. James, with round knobs at the top and bottom of the handle and a third knob just above the point, is a pilgrim's staff of a type that will be found on other ivories of this group. The treatment of the beard of St. Nicholas (?) and of the hair on the Child, in which a round knob serves for each little curl, is frequently found in North Italian painting and is a formula which seems to have been derived from Byzantine art, being frequent on the Byzantine caskets. The eye technique, such as is seen on the Madonna, in which the eyeball protrudes strongly and is slit or drilled, is a mannerism found on the other members of the group, though here it is enhanced by the painting of the iris.

¹ Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Carvings in Ivory* (London, 1923), no. 167, p. 94.

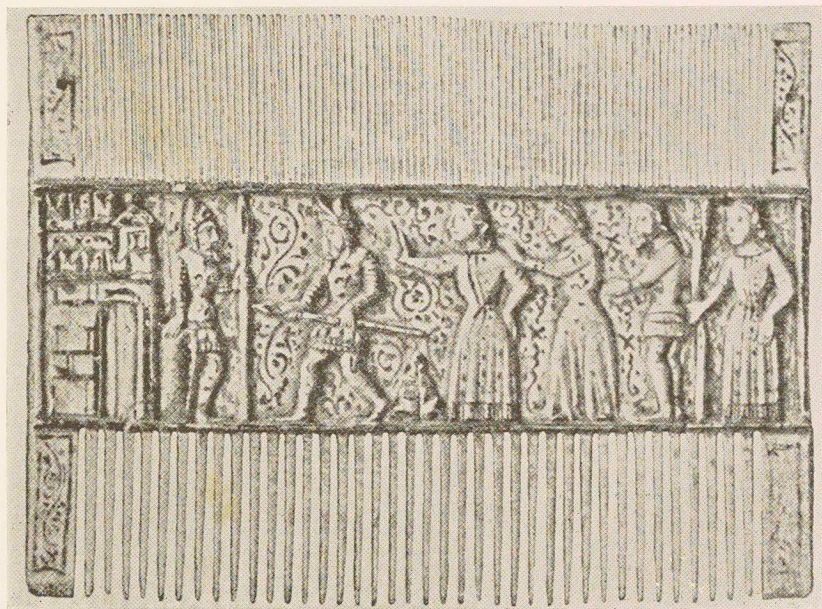
² The "diagonal pin" method of hinging may well have had its prototype in the hinges used on certain Byzantine polyptychs such as the famous Harbaville triptych in the Louvre, which has somewhat similar diagonal pins.



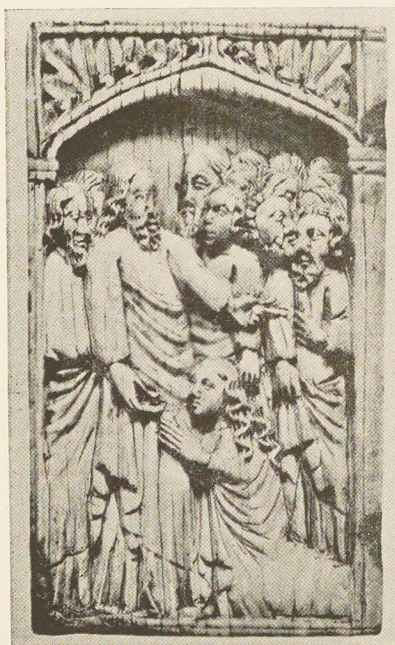
15. Detail. Altarpiece by Bartolommeo and Antonio Vivarini. Pinacoteca, Bologna (Testi)



16. Detail. Embriachi casket in the Cluny Museum (von Schlosser)



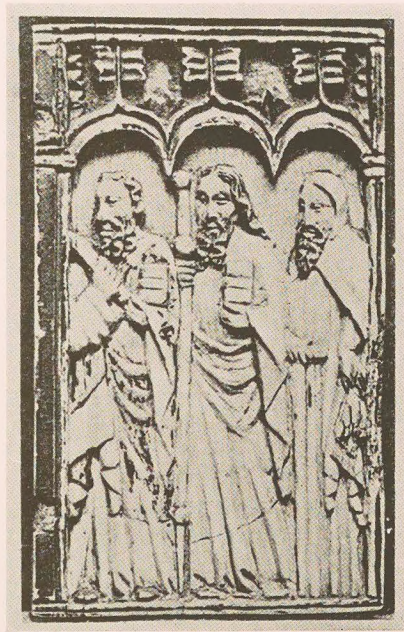
17. Comb. Bargello (von Schlosser)



18. Leaf of a diptych. British Museum, no. 389 (Dalton)



19. Leaf of a diptych. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Vöge)



20. Leaf of a diptych. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (Koechlin)



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The stars in the background of the right leaf of the Innes diptych recall the similar use of stars in the German School of Cologne, found occasionally also in North Italian painting,¹ very possibly through German influence. In the Crucifixion, the over-foreshortened feet of Christ cut squarely off across the toes is a feature that will be found on other ivories to which I would give a North Italian provenance, notably the pax of the Crucifixion in the Vatican (Fig. 51). The peculiar square fleurons carved on the flat arch over the Crucifixion of the Innes piece are to be found also on several related ivories to be discussed.

Before proceeding to consider the other ivories which I place in the same group with the Innes diptych, it will be well to discuss further the evidence offered by the Innes piece for a Venetian provenance or at least for an origin not far from Venice. Such an origin is supported by the resemblance of the style of the Innes diptych to that of more definitely Venetian pieces — the plaques of Peter and Andrew in the Vatican, an ivory triptych in the Metropolitan Museum, and also the products of the Embriachi workshops which, as we have seen, were located in Venice.

The style of the Innes diptych in several respects reminds one of the plaques of Peter and Andrew (Fig. 1) in the Museo Cristiano to which a probable Venetian provenance has already been given in this article. In the first place the little painted arabesques of formalized Oriental foliate ornament in the spandrels of the Innes ivory are similar to those already noted on the Vatican plaques and on the wood relief at Murano (Fig. 4). Also the bands of painted ornament placed well above the edge of the skirts of St. Anthony and St. Nicholas on the diptych recall the similar location of the bands on the Peter and Andrew. Finally, as was pointed out in the Burlington Catalogue, the Innes diptych is almost identical in style with that leaf of a diptych in the British Museum representing Sts. Anthony and Francis (Fig. 2) to which we so closely compared the plaques of Peter and Andrew in the Vatican.

The style and decoration of the Innes ivory is also quite similar to that of an Italian triptych in the Metropolitan Museum² (Fig. 12). This ivory is typically Venetian in the use of little half-figures growing out of the crockets

¹ A North Italian example is the Santa Lucia altarpiece at Rovigo by Quirizio da Murano, fifteenth-century Muranese painter (see Testi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 519).

² The iconography of this piece reading down each wing and beginning at the left is as follows:

- (1) Left wing: (a) St. Lawrence (in gable). (b) Crucifixion. (c) Unknown bishop with St. Catherine of Siena(?).
- (2) Central wing: (a) The Annunciation (in gable). A peculiarity to be noted is the fact that the angel is carved without wings, though there is a bare possibility that these may have been originally supplied with paint. The omission of angels' wings is a peculiarity that is Italian and German rather than French. In Germany wingless angels are to be found in Rhenish enamels of the twelfth century (see J. Braun, *Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst der vorgotischen Zeit*, vol. II, Pls. 92-96, p. 17). (b) Left side: Sts. Peter, John the Baptist, Catherine of Alexandria. (c) Center: The Madonna and Child. (d) Right side: Sts. Paul, James Major (?), Onofrio, or possibly the Magdalen.
- (3) Right wing: (a) St. Lucy (in gable). (b) St. Francis and St. Clara. (c) St. Christopher and St. Anthony.

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on the raking gable, a feature frequently found in Venetian monumental sculpture as, for example, a relief at the Abbazia della Misericordia (Fig. 13) the architecture of which is that of the second half of the fourteenth century.¹ Another example is the tomb of Michele Morosini in SS. Giovanni e Paolo, also in Venice.² A possible dating *a quo* for the Metropolitan ivory may be offered by the female saint who is represented holding a crucifix on the lower left wing, for this may be St. Catherine of Siena who was canonized in 1461. However, as such a date would seem too late for the piece, I hesitate to recognize her in this figure, which particularly well displays the flatness of the lower part of the body and the corrugation of the drapery which is so like that of the Embriachi work (see Fig. 8). Among the other Venetian characteristics of the Metropolitan triptych is the central ogee arch which possesses those complicated double curves so typical of Venetian Gothic architecture.³

Perhaps the best evidence for proving the North Italian origin of the Innes diptych and its group is the many stylistic resemblances which it bears to the products of the workshops of the Embriachi in Venice. The point has already been made that the hinge holes of the Innes ivory show that the original hinges were of the wire-loop type found on Embriachi polyptychs, and also to be found on the Venetian triptych in the Metropolitan (Fig. 12). The Embriachi casket in the Museum of Industrial Art in Rome⁴ (Fig. 7), already mentioned in another connection, shows similar gilded foliate decorations and the skirt of Rebecca, the central female figure of the illustration, displays the usual Italian corrugated drapery folds to be found on the figures of St. Anthony and St. Nicholas (?) and particularly on the flagellants of the Innes diptych. This sort of drapery is also to be found on a group of ivories classified by von Schlosser either as forgeries or as related to the work of the Embriachi.⁵ An example of this group, for which no real evidence to prove its members forgeries has been given, is a comb in the Bargello (Fig. 17). When we come to discuss the Vatican triptych (Fig. 14), we shall find the corrugated drapery once more, though in a somewhat different and more sharply cut form.

Now that distinct resemblances have been pointed out between the Innes diptych as the key piece of a group on the one hand, and Venetian ivories

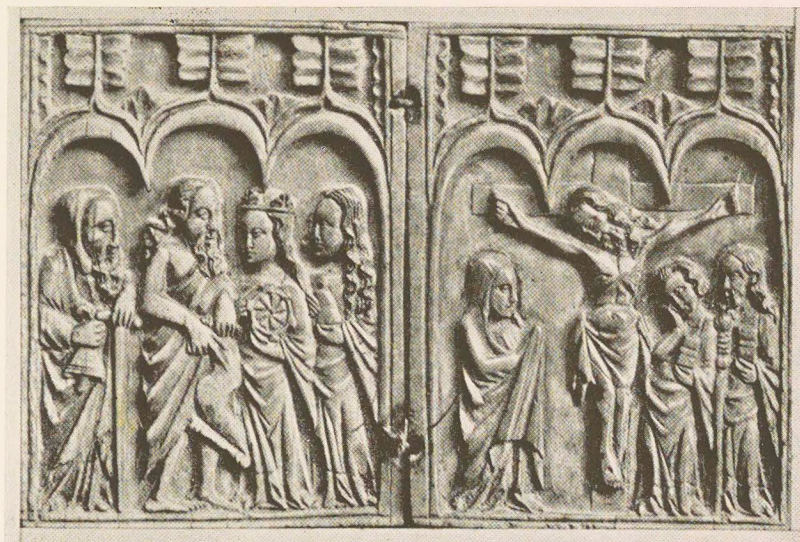
¹ According to Planiscig, *op. cit.*, p.158.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 160, p. 207.

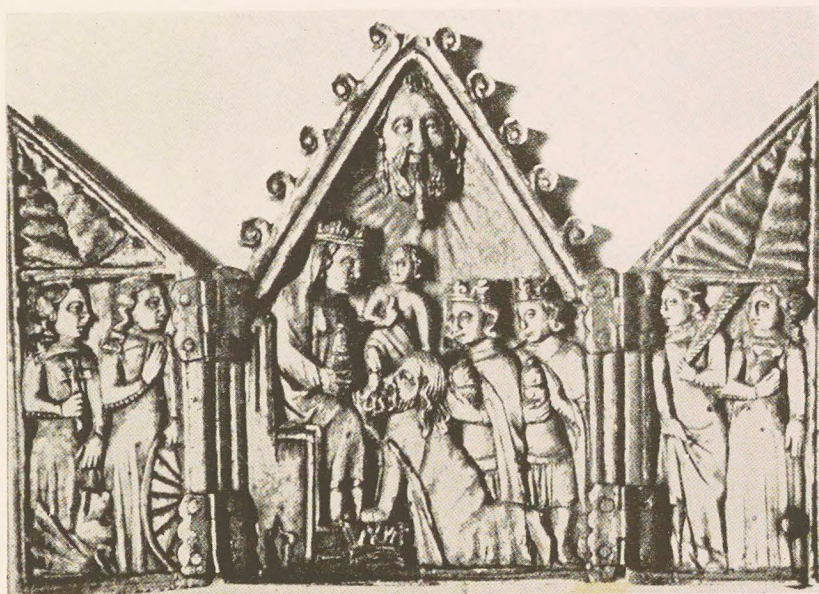
³ There is another ivory in the Metropolitan Museum, a plaque with a single figure, no. 17.190.259, which displays an ogee arch identical in form with that of the triptych. The plaque is also probably Venetian in provenance.

⁴ The illustration given shows only one end with scenes from the story of Jacob and Esau.

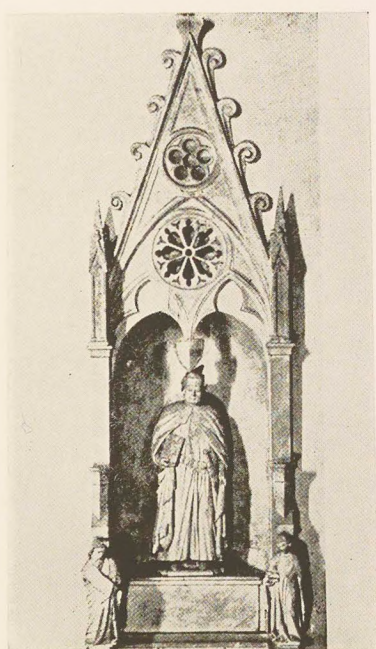
⁵ Von Schlosser is inclined to believe that this group is made up of modern forgeries (see von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, pp. 251, 252), but he offers no proof to this effect and admits that he thinks rather than knows these pieces to be false. In view of the fact that one of the group, a casket in Berlin (see W. Vöge, *Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Die Elfenbeinbildwerke* [Berlin, 1900], no. 150), was acquired by the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in 1844, the suspicion of forgery seems to be highly unjustified.



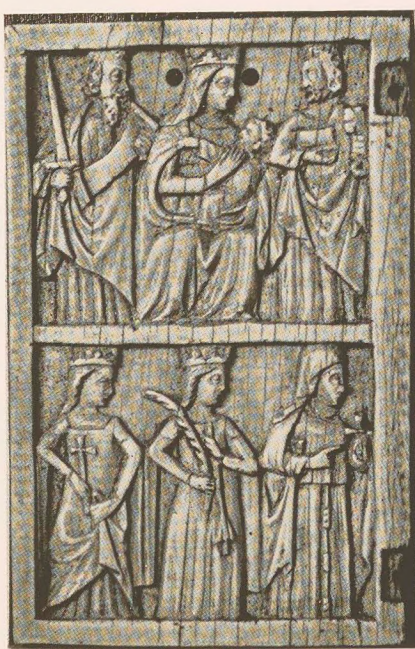
21. Diptych. Schnütgen Collection, Cologne (Witte)



22. Triptych. Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum, Vienna (Kehrer)



23. Tomb. Cathedral, Casole
(A. Venturi)



24. Leaf of a diptych. National
Museum, Munich (Berliner)



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such as the Vatican plaques of Peter and Andrew, the Metropolitan triptych, and various Embriachi pieces on the other, the ivories which center directly around the Innes diptych can be discussed. For them as for the Innes piece a provenance not far from Venice and a date of the first half of the fifteenth century is probable.

In the Burlington Catalogue of 1923, the triptych in the Museo Cristiano, no. 619 (Fig. 14), was one of the ivories mentioned as related to the Innes piece. The Vatican ivory represents the three scenes of the Resurrection, the Crucifixion, and, an unusual scene, the Adoration of the Apostles. As on the Innes diptych the hinges which linked the three leaves together were of the Italian wire-loop type and a fragment of one of the loops still remains in the hinge hole on the upper right side of the central leaf.

In the Resurrection, the long, pointed trees with their formalized horizontal divisions are a distinctive feature that is very well paralleled by Embriachi trees as found on a casket in the Cluny Museum (Fig. 16), though I have been able to find no parallel for the extraordinary candelabrum arrangement. The casket in the Cluny is placed by von Schlosser in the early fifteenth century, a period to which the costumes of the soldiers on the Vatican triptych seem to belong. A form of fringe like that on the shirts of the sleeping soldiers in the Resurrection is to be found on the Bargello comb (Fig. 17) and on the other ivories which go with it. Von Schlosser has stated that the costumes on these pieces are those of the late *Trecento*. The Bargello comb also shows a visored helmet identical with that worn by the Centurion in the Crucifixion of the Vatican ivory. The helmets with encircling flanges, much like the modern American trench helmet, that are to be found on most of the soldiers in the Resurrection scene of the Vatican piece, are, however, of a fifteenth-century type.¹ This combination of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century elements would seem to date the piece in the early fifteenth century.

The use of leaves projecting vertically from the ground, as in the Resurrection of the Vatican ivory, is an old Italo-Byzantine formula that is found also on the Bargello comb, though the leaf there is of a different variety. A similar sort of leaf, though in this case on a tree, is to be seen on an ivory mirror case in the British Museum (Fig. 26), which is given by Dalton as Italian work of the late fourteenth century.²

In the Crucifixion of the Vatican triptych the crucified Christ is very similar to that of the Innes ivory and the Jews strongly recall the St. Anthony of the Innes piece. The pennons in the background are paralleled both in form and in technique of cutting by those on fragments of two combs in the British

¹ A similar helmet in the Museo Bardini in Florence is illustrated in *Dedalo* (1925-26), p. 169, as a product of the fifteenth century.

² Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 415, Pl. 90, p. 142.

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Museum (Fig. 30) which Dalton calls Italian work of the late fourteenth century¹ and which also show helmets of the types worn by the Centurion in the Crucifixion and by the second soldier from the left in the Resurrection of the Vatican ivory; they also have, like the Bargello comb, the V-notched or "La Scala" battlement, a favorite Italian form. The pennon is to be found on a third Italian ivory, a comb in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 29).

Besides the Vatican triptych I would place in the group directly centered around the Innes piece an ivory in the British Museum (Fig. 18). This, which is probably the leaf of a diptych, represents the Woman Taken in Adultery and at the Museum is given as German work of the late fourteenth century² though it would seem to be by the same hand as the Vatican triptych, so similar is the style.³

In the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is a fragment with St. Anthony and a Madonna represented thereon⁴ (Fig. 19) the style of which is extremely like that of the Innes diptych. In the museum catalogue Vöge has suggested a fifteenth-century date and tentatively ascribed a Spanish provenance to the piece. He wrongly says that the piece was probably part of a casket, for the usual hinge holes show it to have been originally the leaf of a diptych or triptych. The names of the figures, *S. ANTONIUS* and *MATER DEI*, are inscribed around their heads. The arcades over the figures are like those of the left wing of the Innes ivory in lacking capitals at the juncture of the arches. The throne of the Madonna is like that of the Innes piece, while the St. Anthony offers a further good example of the corrugated North Italian drapery.

A fifth member of the group, a plaque in the Nuremberg Museum which was originally the right leaf of a diptych, represents three saints — Bartholomew, James the Greater, and the favorite Anthony Abbot⁵ (Fig. 20). The hinge holes, though at present filled in, indicate the original wire hinges, and again the drapery is vertical and corrugated. At the Museum the piece is called Italian work of the fourteenth century, which is too early a date. Koechlin more correctly calls it an Italian ivory of the fifteenth century and aptly characterizes its style as representative of a decayed Giottesque tradition.⁶

There is a diptych published in the catalogue of the Schnütgen Collection at Cologne⁷ (Fig. 21), which also must be placed with the Innes and Vatican

¹ Dalton, *op. cit.*, nos. 413 and 414, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, no. 389, Pl. 53, p. 132.

³ Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *op. cit.*, (1923), no. 168, mentions as very similar to the Woman Taken in Adultery, an Adoration of the Magi in the possession of the Earl of Crawford, of which I have seen no reproduction. This is called Italian work of the beginning of the fifteenth century, an attribution which coincides with that given to the group in this article.

⁴ Vöge, *op. cit.*, no. 154, Pl. 36.

⁵ W. Josephi, *Kataloge des germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1910), p. 366, no. 635.

⁶ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 349, note 1, also Pl. 173, no. 985-D.

⁷ F. Witte, *op. cit.*, Pl. 84, no. 11.



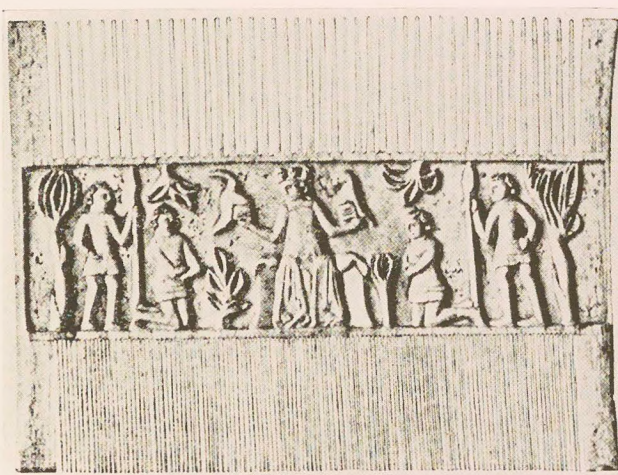
25. Mirror case. Museo Cristiano, no. 626



26. Mirror case. British Museum, no. 415 (Dalton)



27. Mirror case. Germanic Museum, Nuremberg (Koechlin)



28. Comb. Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum, Vienna (von Schlosser)



a



b

29. Fragment of a comb. Metropolitan Museum (Museum phot.)



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ivories. Witte has published this, which came from an old private collection in Magdeburg, as Saxon (?) work of the sixteenth century. The left wing shows St. Anthony Abbot, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine of Alexandria, and the Magdalen. On the right wing is the Crucifixion with the Virgin, St. John, and St. James Major shown at either side of the cross. Here again we see the square fleurons already found on two other ivories in the group, the Innes and Nuremberg pieces (Figs. 11 and 20), and here also is to be noticed the absence of capitals where the arches meet. The wire hinges are not the original ones as Witte states, for each hinge at present consists of but one loop of wire instead of the two interlocking loops that should be used.

A seventh example which offers evidence of being the product of the same atelier is a triptych in the Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum in Vienna (Fig. 22). It has been published by Kehrer¹ as Germano-Italian work of about 1390. His date seems to be a little too early and probably does not take into account the fact that ivory cutting has always tended to lag behind the other arts. On the left wing of the triptych are represented St. Margaret and St. Catherine. The center panel shows the Adoration of the Magi (which reads from right to left instead of the more usual left to right), with God the Father in the sky and the Holy Ghost apparently issuing from his mouth.² On the right wing are carved an unknown saint and the Magdalen. The Magdalen's skirt shows the Italian drapery formula and the crockets on the central gable are of a type to be found in Italian Gothic architecture and sculpture (see Fig. 23). The present hinges are not, however, the usual Italian wire loops.

In Munich is the wing of a diptych with the Madonna and five saints represented in two registers³ (Fig. 24) that appears to be a very crude example of the stylistic manner of the preceding ivories. It may be that the piece is the product of some provincial imitation of the style. The saints represented flanking the Madonna are Paul and Peter, and in the lower row are three female saints, Helena, Ursula, and Clara. The drapery formula and the eye technique are those of the group which has been centered around the Innes diptych.

The fact that five out of the eight of the group are at present in Germany or Austria (several of them having been known in those countries at least since the early part of the nineteenth century) may perhaps be best explained by

¹ H. Kehrer, *Die heiligen drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig, 1909), vol. II, p. 164.

² This rare use of God the Father and the Holy Ghost in connection with the Adoration of the Magi is also to be seen in a fifteenth-century Venetian painting ascribed to various artists and illustrated in Testi, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 324. The feature of the Holy Ghost partially in the mouth of the Father is frequently found in representations of the Trinity in Germany and is sometimes found in North Italy. It is, however, very rare in France. A North Italian example of this is to be found on a Bellinesque triptych in the Museo Civico at Venice, illustrated in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (1913), Pt. II, p. 195.

³ Given by R. Berliner, *Die Bildwerke des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums*, IV Abteilung, no. 76, p. 28, as Italian work of the second half of the fifteenth century.

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assuming a North Italian, or more exactly a Venetian, carver or carvers working in Germany or Austria in the early fifteenth century. Another explanation might be that these ivories were made in Venice at that time to be exported to Germany. At any rate, a Venetian provenance of one sort or another certainly best accounts for the style of this group of ivories.¹

5. A MIRROR CASE REPRESENTING THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS, no. 626 (Fig. 25).

There are several ivories, mostly isolated examples, that have much in common with the preceding group and with the Embriachi ivories but which cannot be given as the product of a single atelier. Several of these have already been mentioned as showing parallels with the Innes diptych and the ivories that belong with it. The mirror case in the Museo Cristiano, no. 626² (Fig. 25), has many characteristics in common with nearly all these other North Italian ivories though not by the same hand or from the same workshop as any one of them. This mirror case, on which is represented the Massacre of the Innocents, is called by Koechlin a work of the decayed Embriachi tradition³ though, as we shall see, the costumes show it to be of about the date when the atelier of the Embriachi was still in its prime, in other words, early in the fifteenth century. The heavy acanthus leaves on top of the flat, non-Gothic gable are derived from a classic form, and that particular leaf which is used as a space filler to the right of the right-hand column has the veins rendered with the same method of double lines that is used in the acanthus leaves above the "Man of Sorrows" on the Vatican piece in the Embriachi style, no. 613 (Fig. 6). The style of the mirror case also has in common with the work of the Embriachi an inability on the part of the craftsman to carve curves.

Among the other North Italian ivories that have much in common with the Vatican mirror are two mirror cases of courtly subject, one in the British Museum⁴ (Fig. 26) and another in the Germanic Museum at Nuremberg⁵ (Fig. 27), the first of which is dated by Dalton as late fourteenth century, and the second by Josephi about 1400. Both ivories are rightly called Italian. The

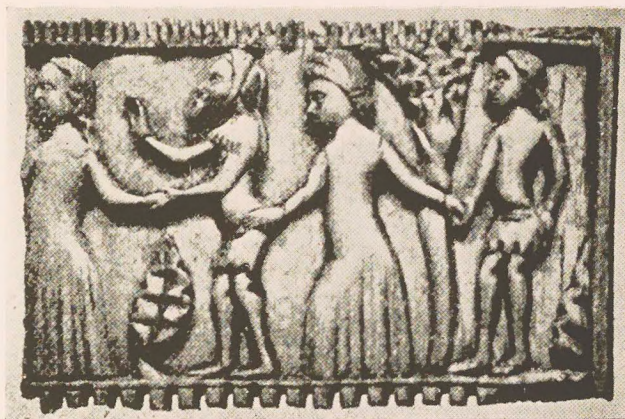
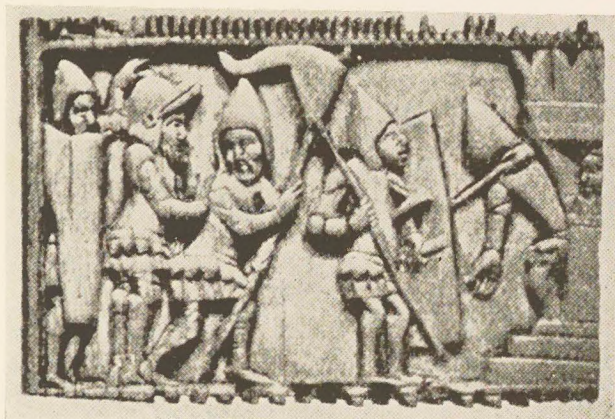
¹ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 349, note 1, has made a fairly complete assemblage of the group. He mentions the Nuremberg leaf, the Berlin fragment, the British Museum Woman Taken in Adultery, the Schnütgen diptych, the Innes diptych, and the plaque in the Lord Crawford Collection. He fails to mention as members of the group the Vatican triptych, the Vienna triptych, and the Munich leaf. He also would include as products of the same atelier, a diptych in the Cluny representing Four Saints, and a Baptism of Christ in the Hunziker Collection in Paris, of which I have been able to secure no photographs. The plaque in Berlin representing St. George and the Dragon (Vöge, *op. cit.*, no. 126, Pl. 34), which Koechlin includes in the same group, bears no relation to the group, except that the plaque also is Italian. An ivory very close to the St. George, however, that is not mentioned by Koechlin, is a plaque published in *Les Arts* (Aug., 1909), p. 7, at that time in the Piet-Lataudrie Collection. This plaque is given as representing a prophet, though more probably it is intended to be an evangelist without his symbol.

² Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 9, no. 7 (33).

³ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 413.

⁴ Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 415, Pl. 90.

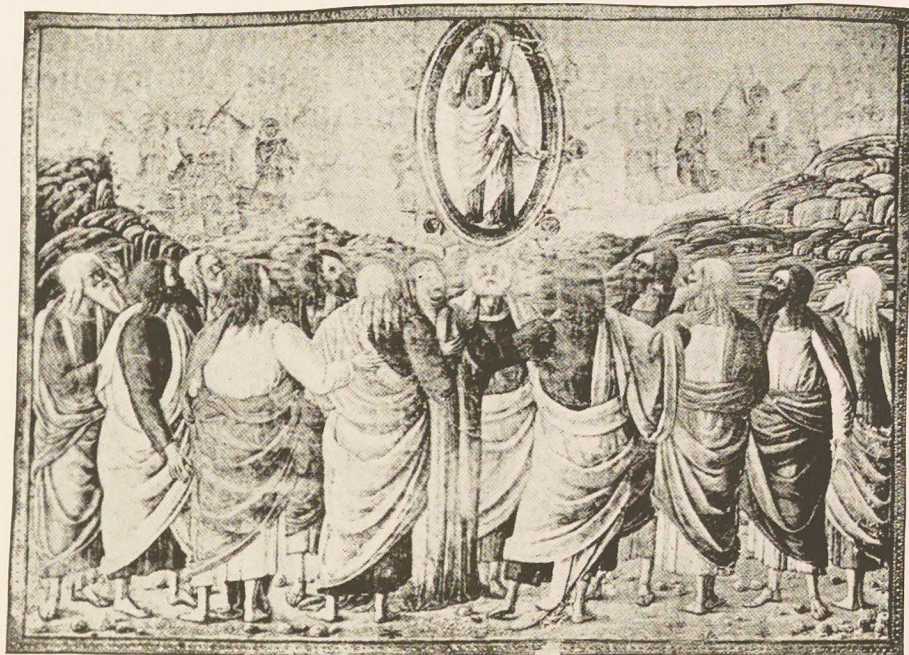
⁵ Josephi, *op. cit.*, no. 641, p. 368.



30. Fragments of combs. British Museum, nos. 413 and 414 (Dalton)



31. Plaque. Museo Cristiano, no. 757



32. Ascension scene from an illuminated missal.
Cathedral, Mantua (d'Ancona)



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male costumes, which have a shirt bordered with a saw-tooth edging and held in place by a broad belt set low on the hips, are found on the Vatican mirror as well as on the other two examples. Similar costumes are to be found on the Bargello comb (Fig. 17) and other ivories which von Schlosser groups with it in his article on the Embriachi. As has been said, von Schlosser is somewhat inclined to believe them forgeries without being able to adduce any real evidence to prove their falsity. An ivory which von Schlosser believes is a product of the same Embriachesque workshop that produced the Bargello comb, is a comb in the Kunsthistorisches Hof-Museum in Vienna representing the unusual subject of a queen who offers a helmet to a kneeling knight on each side of her. This last comb, because of its perfect condition, caused much of the suspicion felt by von Schlosser toward the group. However, with it must be placed the fragment of a comb in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 29) which has the same subject and the style of which is apparently beyond question. Very similar in style to this are two fragments of combs in the British Museum (Fig. 30) which Dalton calls Italian works of the late fourteenth century.¹ These also display the same costumes and the V-notched, "La Scala" battlements, which were not used outside of Italy to any extent.

Like the Vatican triptych (Fig. 14) and its related ivories, all these mirrors and combs have in common the Italianate corrugation of drapery. They all show the same sort of protruding eye and a similar stylization of foliage. Furthermore, they display not only similar details of costume but the same figure style with its stiff verticality extended even to figures in action that relates them at once to the Vatican triptych and its fellows and at the same time to the school of the Embriachi. Because of these common characteristics a provenance is bespoken that, if not Venetian, cannot be far from Venice; while, on the basis of the costumes, the ivories can be dated about 1400.

6. PLAQUE OF FOUR APOSTLES BENEATH ARCADES, no. 757 (Fig. 31).

The Vatican plaque with four apostles beneath arcades,² no. 757 (Fig. 31), is called by Koechlin French work of the late fifteenth century; he names the apostles from left to right as Sts. Bartholomew, Matthew, Matthias, and Simon. The first figure Koechlin calls Bartholomew probably because he believes that the apostle holds a flaying knife. However, the object that the saint holds is more probably a fish, in which case Simon the Apostle is intended. In calling the third saint Matthias, because of the attribute of the pike-staff, Koechlin is probably correct. The second saint, with the attribute of the T-square, might be either Jude, Matthew, Thomas, or Matthias, but we have already given the third apostle as Matthias. As between Matthew, Thomas, and Jude, Jude would seem the most likely because of the fact that

¹ Dalton, *op. cit.*, nos. 413, 414, p. 142.

² Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 965.

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this saint is facing Simon. The last apostle holds a saw, the attribute of either Simon (as he is identified by Koechlin), or James the Less. If the one with the fish is Simon, as we have said, this one would be James the Less. Koechlin calls the ivory a plaque from a casket, which is probable.

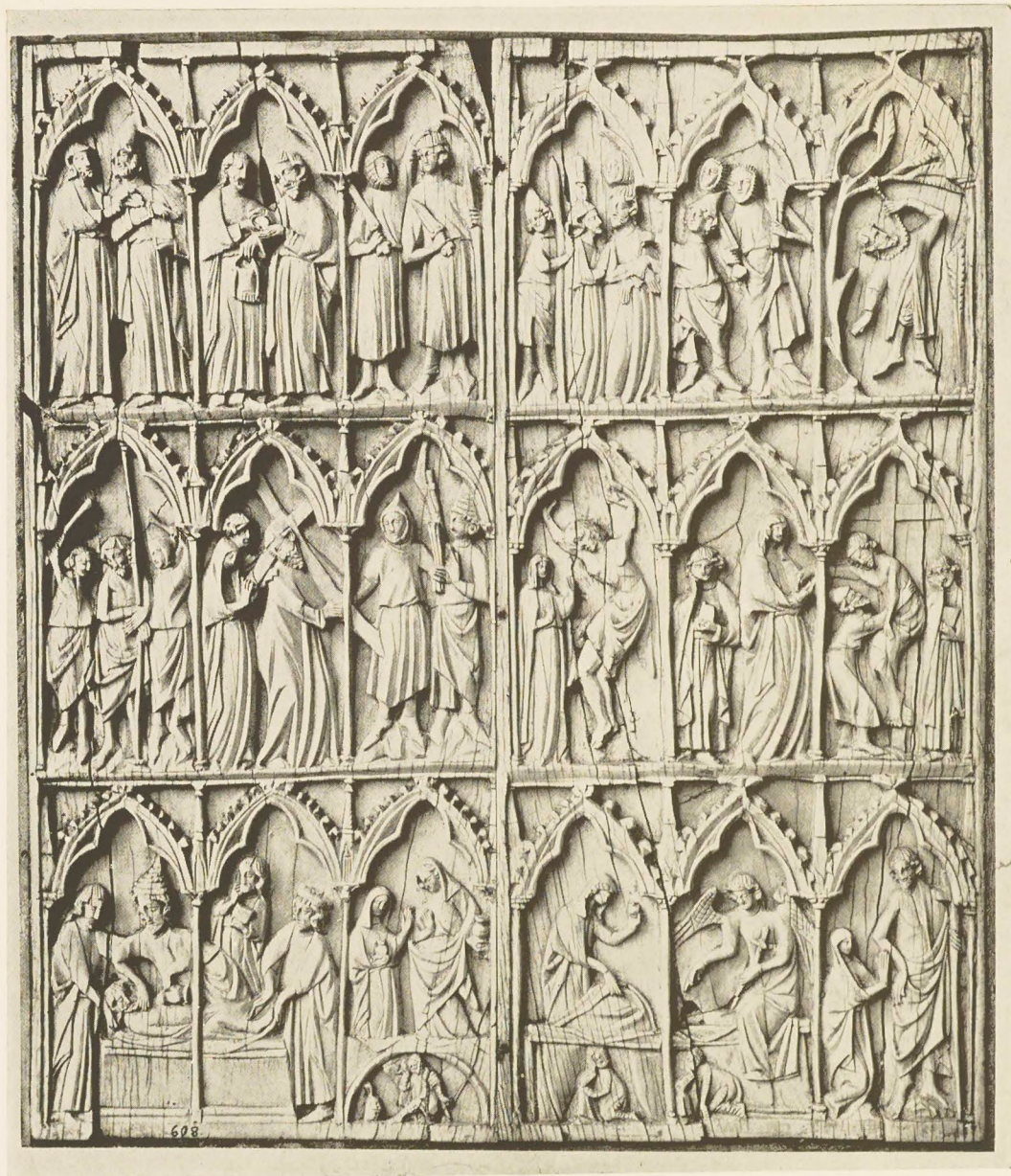
Peculiarities to be noted in the architectural frame and background are the cross-hatched ground, the unusual capitals with what seem to be stilt-blocks on top, the bases with their broad stone-joints, and the rendering of the trefoils in the spandrels by almond-shaped piercings. As to the figures, perhaps the most prominent features are the jutting chin with the crisp straight line of jaw and beard, and the rendering of the hair in straight and parallel ridges. The general flatness of the figures and the method of rendering the drapery, particularly the huge, even folds of the underskirts, are distinctive points.

This ivory is, in all probability, Italian work from the northern part of Italy in spite of Koechlin's attribution to France. I have been unable to find any ivories that are very close to it in workmanship. Nevertheless, it compares well in style with an Ascension scene from an illuminated missal in Mantua Cathedral (Fig. 32) done by Girolamo da Cremona¹ about 1440-1450. In this scene we see the same type of jutting chin with its sharp, straight line of the jaw. The costumes of the apostles are identical with those on the ivory — similar heavy cloaks partially thrown over the shoulders and partially covering the parallel folds of the straight-hanging, ankle-length skirts. The rendering of the hair on the ivory seems like a reduction by the impotent hand of the ivory carver of the separated curly locks so meticulously rendered by the miniaturist.

Among other evidences pointing toward an Italian provenance is, first of all, the use of carved haloes with the apostles, a feature not customary in the French and German sculpture and ivory cutting of the same date. This sort of carved halo with an incised line near the edge is identical with those on the Virgin and St. John in one of the Vatican "Embriachi" pieces (Fig. 6). More than anything else, however, the material, bone, bespeaks an Italian provenance, for bone, as we have seen in considering the Embriachi work, was the favorite material of North Italy, and was much less frequently employed north of the Alps.

The ivory certainly dates in the *Quattrocento* since the cross-hatched backgrounds on ivories, very possibly the result of the influence of engraving, were particularly popular in the fifteenth century. The monument which has offered the best parallel, the miniature at Mantua, has been assigned to a period about 1440-1450, which indicates that Koechlin's dating in the late fifteenth century is possibly somewhat too late for the ivory.

¹ According to P. d'Ancona, *La miniature italienne du X^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 1925), pp. 52, 53, and Fig. 64, Pl. 48.



33. Diptych. Museo Cristiano, no. 608



a



b

34. Bolognese miniatures from the Cod. Edili 97. Laurentian Library, Florence (d'Ancona)

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GROUP II

SOME NORTH ITALIAN IVORIES THAT IMITATE TRANSALPINE MODELS

There will be less dispute over the assignment of an Italian provenance to the ivories thus far considered than over those yet to be discussed. The inherent North Italian qualities and characteristics have been quite evident in most of the above ivories because the craftsman was not attempting to imitate closely a foreign model. I have dealt with these previous pieces at considerable length in an effort to make clear their inherent Italian characteristics in order that those qualities might be the more easily detected in the following Gothic ivories, which I believe were made by Italian workmen in imitation of French or German models. As has already been mentioned, M. Koechlin in his corpus of French Gothic ivories, tends to call French all imitations of the French ivories. But even in a very close copy, the Italian carver is likely to betray himself by falling into traditional Italian mannerisms. He will often slip into Italian drapery formulas, use the Italian wire hinges, lengthen out his figures, and keep them vertical and static in the Byzantine and Embriachesque manner.

The two great currents of Northern influence which flowed into Italy in the Gothic centuries came, first, from France and, secondly, from Flanders and Germany. French influence in North Italy was strongest in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, in other words during that period when the Gothic style was spreading all over Europe from its source in the Île-de-France. In the thirteenth century were built such Italian churches in the new Gothic manner as Vercelli, Casamari, Fossanova, and San Francesco at Assisi. The close relation of French and Italian painting in the early fourteenth century is a commonplace of art history, as is also the reciprocal influence exerted by Simone Martini, the great Siennese, and the other painters who worked for the popes at Avignon. In the minor arts, notably in illumination, the influence of France on Italy was very strong and French models were often carefully copied. D'Ancona has discussed at some length a school of illumination of the late thirteenth century in Bologna which worked in the French manner and at the head of which he would place a certain Oderisi of Gubbio.¹ This Oderisi was mentioned by Dante as one of those in the first circle of Purgatory who had sinned in pride:

*"Oh," diss' io lui, "non se' tu Oderisi
L'onor d'Agobbio e l'onor di quell'arte
Che alluminare e chiamata in Parisi?"*

No signed works by Oderisi are left. There are, however, several illuminated judicial and ecclesiastical manuscripts of a kind that well fits Dante's

¹ P. d'Ancona, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18, and also an article in *Dedalo* (1921-22), pp. 89-100, by the same author.

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description of the sort of work which must have been produced by Oderisi and his School (see Fig. 34). Not only do the illuminations betray a mixture of French and Bolognese elements but the text itself shows a combination of script most of which is distinctively Bolognese with some elements that are definitely French. Indeed, so French in appearance are some of the manuscripts that they have occasionally been considered to be the product of French artists working in Italy. But, as d'Ancona has pointed out, there are too many Bolognese characteristics, such as the greater part of the script and the distinctive Bolognese red and turquoise-blue color, for these manuscripts to be the work of French hands. It is much more reasonable to suppose with d'Ancona that these works are the product of a Bolognese school which drew its inspiration from France. The French element should not be so surprising in a great university town which drew a large number of students from France; in fact, one of the few surviving documents relating to Oderisi speaks of him in relation to three French students.

During the fourteenth century, France was enmeshed in the Hundred Years, War, and as one result thereof Flemish and German artisans began to secure unrivalled supremacy in Europe. The French influence in North Italy was largely superseded by German, to be revived somewhat with the advent of Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I in Italy at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

Following the spread of Flemish and Germanic art and artists throughout Europe and particularly owing to their meeting with Italian influences in North Italy, the "international style" developed in the second half of the fourteenth century. That German artists and sculptors worked throughout Italy is shown by a considerable amount of documentary evidence. The difference between the German and Flemish qualities on the one hand, and those indigenous to North Italy on the other, are particularly difficult to distinguish because of their common Byzantine heritage which, in the case of Germanic art, had entered in the time of the Ottonian emperors, whereas the influence of Byzantine art in North Italy was strongest in the thirteenth century. This common heritage of the two main factors in the "international style" as it appears in North Italy makes the problem of the determination of provenances particularly difficult, complicated as it is by the interchange of artists between the different countries during the period. A specific symptom of the Northern factor in Italian style in ivories of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is the influence thereon of metal and wood engraving. The graver's technique, at home in Germany, had great influence on the arts of illumination and ivory cutting.¹ To its influence is probably due the cross-hatching of the background in so many of the late Gothic ivories.

¹ The influence of engraving on ivory cutting is mentioned by von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 259.



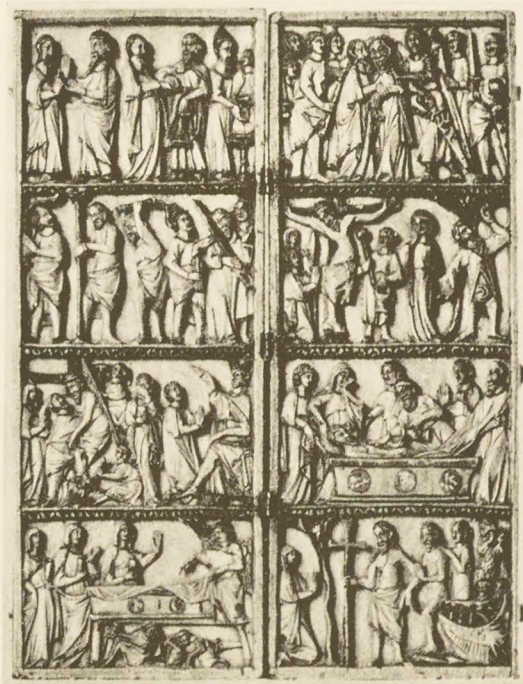
35. Fresco. SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome
(van Marle)



36. Bolognese miniature. Vatican Library,
lat. 2534



37. Polyptych. Metropolitan Museum
(Museum phot.)



38. Diptych. Formerly in the Antocolsky
Collection, Paris (Antocolsky Catalogue)



39. Casket cover. Baboin Collection, Lyon (Koechlin)

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1. DIPTYCH WITH SCENES OF THE PASSION, no. 608 (Fig. 33).

One of the earlier Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano which I believe to be North Italian under the influence of a Transalpine model is the diptych with scenes of the Passion of Christ, no. 608¹ (Fig. 33). Koechlin, though he points out that this piece shows the influence of the group of ivories which he centers around the diptych supposed to have come from the treasure of St.-Jean-des-Vignes at Soissons and now in the Victoria and Albert Museum,² includes the Vatican ivory in another group which he makes up of all diptychs with rosette ornament. These "rosette" ivories he is careful to say are not all the products of one distinct atelier. Digby Wyatt long ago wrongly ascribed all Gothic ivories decorated with roses to England. Some few are definitely English, as Koechlin admits, but he claims the great majority for France. He rightly points out that similar roses can be found in French stone carving and stained glass. But, as a matter of fact, the rosette motive is a form of decoration that was used throughout Europe in the Gothic period and no provenance can be reasonably based on such a universal form.

Koechlin subdivides his "rosette" group into two parts, a subdivision that merely further complicates a group of doubtful value. The first part he calls the "picturesque" division — those in which comic or genre details are included in various scenes. The second he calls the "tragic" group because the ivories which he includes in this seem to him to possess dramatic sentiment that is lacking in the first subdivision.

The Vatican ivory, no. 608 (Fig. 33), Koechlin places in his second or "tragic" group of the "rosette" diptychs.³ This ivory itself does not have the rose decorations, but several ivories similar in style do possess them. The layout of scenes and the order of reading are the same as in many of the ivories in Koechlin's "Atelier of Soissons," named after a piece supposed to have come from the treasure of St.-Jean-des-Vignes in that city. Besides this apparently Transalpine influence, there are, as we shall see, decided parallels between the Vatican diptych and Italian works, particularly the ivories produced by the atelier of the Embriachi. This combination of Northern and Italian elements would make North Italy, the great stylistic melting pot, the most likely place

¹ Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 15, no. 1(61), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 271. Koechlin calls the ivory French.

² Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 38.

³ This "rosette" group with its "tragic" and "genre" subdivisions is an amorphous classification; many of the members of it have stylistically nothing in common with one another. The many varieties of style in fourteenth-century ivory cutting which cause Koechlin so much confusion when he attempts to form ateliers on a basis of an all-French provenance, are much more easily explained on the grounds of local schools of ivory cutters all over Europe that imitated models originated in France. All Europe in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was imitating the style of the Île-de-France in the arts of building, monumental sculpture, stained glass, and illumination, with varying amounts of local originality. It would seem but reasonable to suppose that the same thing took place in the craft of ivory cutting.

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of origin. Thus I believe the Vatican ivory, no. 608 (Fig. 33), to be North Italian in workmanship, and I would date it in the early fourteenth century rather than in the middle of the century as Koechlin would have it.¹

There are many peculiarities to be explained on this Vatican ivory. In the first place, it is at present mounted on a wooden backing and frame which is not original. Nevertheless, it shows no indication whatsoever of having been hinged as a diptych though Koechlin calls it such. If it was a diptych, as it may well have been, it must have been set in a frame and the hinges attached to the frame, which immediately recalls the Embriachi technique of mounting bone or ivory plaques within a wooden frame.

Iconographically there are many unusual points. The gesture of Judas before the High Priest in the upper left corner of the ivory, with two fingers of the one hand laid on the palm of the other, is not usual and will be seen on an ivory in the Sulzbach Collection (Fig. 40) that bears other resemblances to this one. The scenes tend to lap from one plaque over to the next² as may be seen in the Arrest of Christ and the Holy Women at the Tomb. In the Arrest of Christ, one of the two soldiers on the left plaque lays his hand on the head of the other in a gesture that I have been unable to interpret. In the Bearing of the Cross, the soldier on the middle register who carries the three nails (or possibly the three stakes to fasten the cross) is fairly unusual iconographically though found on several of the ivories that I classify with this. The fact that there is no cross depicted in the Crucifixion other than two small pieces for the hands, is probably due to the scraping away of the cross at an early date, as it is properly shown in the neighboring scene of the Deposition. The Holy Woman who raises the shroud at the sepulchre is unusual as is the absence of the tree in the Noli Me Tangere.

The figure style of the ivory is distinctive in the crudeness and yet effective sharpness of the cutting, which reminds one of the slashing Embriachi technique. The tendency toward very long figures with tiny heads, as for example the Virgin in the Crucifixion scene, we have already found to be a very frequent characteristic in North Italian art and one that probably derives from the Byzantine. The verticality and the static quality of the figures as well as the lack of relation in scale between figures in the same scene, are much more typical of North Italy than of France, in the fourteenth century. All these characteristics, including the sharpness of the drapery, are to be found to some extent in that Bolognese school of illumination in the French manner

¹ I date it early in the century because it seems to me that its layout is imitating that of ivories such as many of those which Koechlin includes in his "Atelier of Soissons" and which he reasonably dates at the end of the thirteenth century.

² This overlapping of scenes from one plaque to the next is also occasionally found in some of the members of Koechlin's "Atelier of Soissons," for example, the separation of Church and Synagogue on a diptych in the Wallace Collection (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 35).



40. Diptych. Sulzbach Collection, Paris (Archives Photographiques)



41. Leaves of a diptych. Cabinet des Estampes and Cluny Museum, Paris (Koechlin)

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which d'Ancona places in the late thirteenth century (Fig. 34). The formulas for rendering hair with a bang on the forehead in the miniatures are quite similar to those of the ivory, and both the miniatures and the ivory display the broad, sharply bent curl over the ear, which is in turn quite like some of the Embriachi work (see Fig. 8). On one of the miniatures is found the separation of one part of the scene from the rest by means of a semicircular frame just as on the ivory the soldiers at the tomb are separated from the rest of the scene of the Resurrection.

The use of a single leaf to represent a tree or shrub, as in the leaf to the right of the Suicide of Judas, is a Byzantine formula that we have already found on North Italian ivories though with a different sort of leaf (Figs. 17 and 30). Hats like that of the soldier in the Arrest of Christ to the extreme left of the top register are to be found in an Italo-Byzantine painting representing scenes from the life of St. Sylvester in SS. Quattro Coronati at Rome (Fig. 35) dated 1246.¹ As for the pointed turban with flat spirals worn both by a soldier in the Bearing of the Cross and by Nicodemus in the Entombment, the earliest example of this which I know in other arts is in a Bolognese miniature dating not long after 1350² (Fig. 36, upper right). The only example I happen to know of exactly this sort of headdress north of the Alps is the miniature of a manuscript of Livy which cannot be dated much before 1400, given by Byvanck³ as probably French work.

On some of the pinnacles between the gables of the Vatican ivory, particularly on those of the two lower registers, it will be noticed that crockets are rendered by faint downward and inward notches. This is a method of rendering crockets that is found on the central gable of an ivory tabernacle in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 37), rightly given by the Museum as Italian, though Koechlin⁴ as usual would give it as French.⁵ It is manifestly unlikely that any Virgin so much in the style of Giovanni Pisano should be of French workmanship; it is therefore significant that the Vatican and Metropolitan pieces have in common the occasional elongation of figures; compare, for example, the Magdalen of the Noli Me Tangere of the Vatican ivory with the Elizabeth in the Visitation of the left outer wing of the New York tabernacle.

Very similar in style to the Vatican diptych is a diptych in the Sulzbach Collection in Paris⁶ (Fig. 40). The same slashed effect with sharp, vertical drapery is here visible and the figures possess the same variation of scale within the scene, though most of them except the Magdalen, the Holy

¹ According to van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 424.

² According to Erbach di Fuerstenau, *La miniatura bolognese nel trecento*, *L'Arte* (1911), p. 110, Fig. 4.

³ A. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures* (Paris, 1924), Pl. 12, p. 29.

⁴ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 149.

⁵ It is true that this method of rendering crockets is not entirely peculiar to Italy being occasionally found on other ivories such as the diptych at Kremsmünster (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 824).

⁶ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 265 bis.

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Women at the Tomb, and the figure coming out of Hell, lack the small heads and elongated proportions. The order of reading is the same, and so are the subjects for the most part, with the addition in the Sulzbach diptych of the scene of Pilate Washing His Hands (?) and likewise of Nicodemus in the Descent from the Cross.¹ In the Holy Women at the Tomb, the sarcophagus is prolonged so that it also does duty in the Resurrection. The *Noli Me Tangere* here has two trees in the background, in contrast to the unusual lack of trees in the same scene on the Vatican diptych. The trees, particularly those of the *Noli Me Tangere*, are quite similar to those on the Metropolitan fragment of a comb (Fig. 29), which has already been given as North Italian.

A diptych that was formerly in the Antocolsky Collection in Paris² (Fig. 38) is in many respects similar to the Sulzbach diptych though less crude in technique.³ This Antocolsky piece has several peculiarities in iconography one of which is the placing of the Suicide of Judas after the Crucifixion. At the right of the next lowest register of the left wing is a scene which Koechlin was unable to decipher but which is very evidently Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate to request the body of Christ. The Pilate here is very different from the figure on the upper right of the left wing which Koechlin identifies as Pilate in the Washing of the Hands. As such a scene would be out of order before the Arrest of Christ it is more probable that the figure represents a priest who is part of the Payment of Judas rather than Pilate. In the Descent from the Cross is seen the man on the ladder, a feature which comes into France only later, and then, as Mâle points out,⁴ as an importation from Italy.

Another ivory that must be the product of the same atelier which produced the Vatican, Sulzbach, and Antocolsky pieces is a coffer with scenes of the Passion in the Baboin Collection in Lyon⁵ (Fig. 39). This is particularly close to the Vatican ivory in the architectural framework of its cover, particularly in the unusual finials at the tops of the arches, which spread out against the top moulding. The leaves on the outside of the arches are in the form of large, flat acanthus leaves rather than the usual Gothic crockets which are found crudely rendered on the Vatican ivory. The colonnettes on the casket are so placed that the scenes deploy behind them as if inside a colonnade, and such is the arrangement on the Vatican piece also. This is rare in Gothic ivories since the colonnettes usually separate one scene from another. A striking

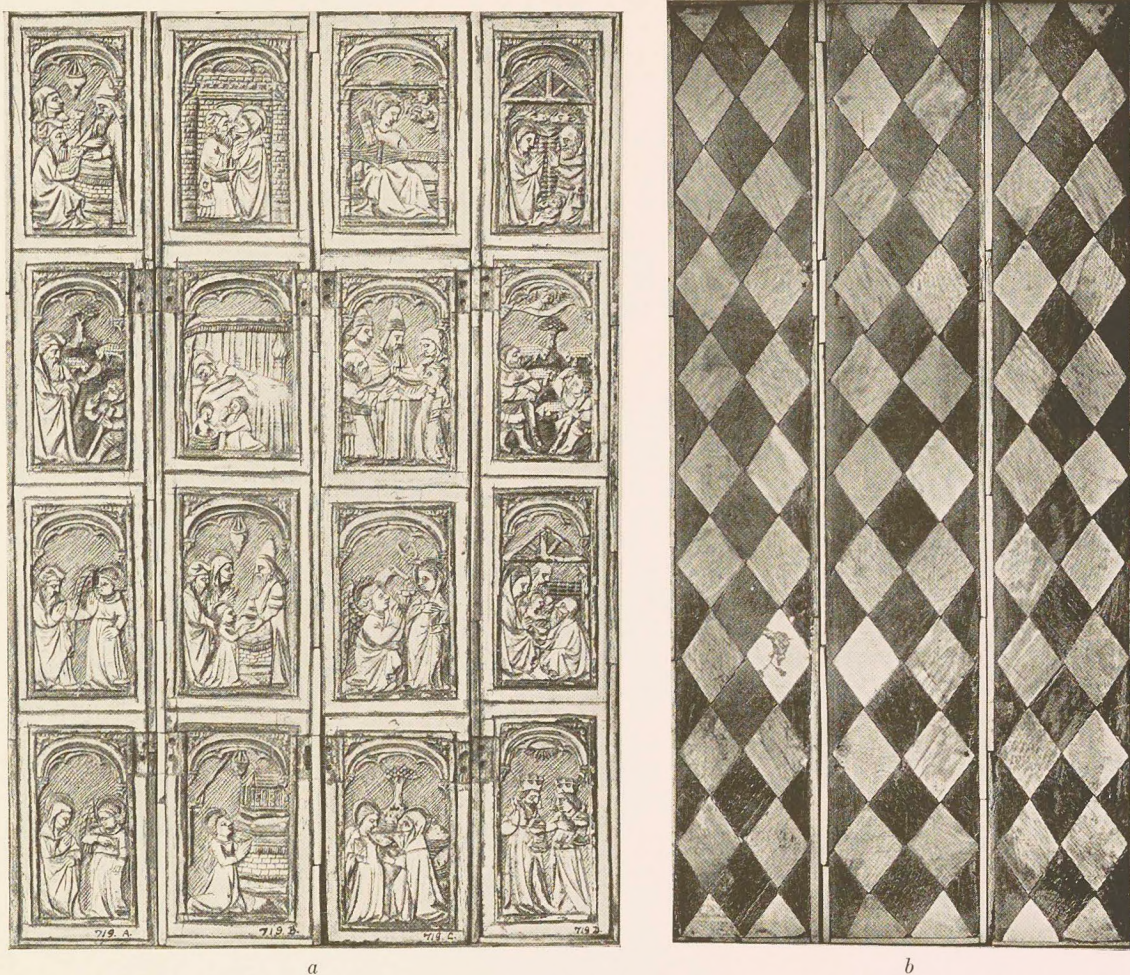
¹ The style and arrangement of this scene as well as the presence of Nicodemus bring to mind the very similar representation of the Descent from the Cross on many ivories of Koechlin's "Soissons" group.

² Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 265 *ter.*

³ It also bears resemblance in its figure style to certain members of the "Soissons" atelier, notably the wing formerly in the Spitzer collection, described but not illustrated by Koechlin *op. cit.*, no. 40. The Antocolsky diptych, then, seems to form a sort of link between certain members of the "Soissons" group and the group to which the Vatican and Sulzbach diptychs belong.

⁴ E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen-âge*, pp. 13, 25.

⁵ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 272.



42. Four leaves of a tabernacle. Museo Cristiano, no. 719 (Not all of rear is shown)



43. Tabernacle. Musée des Hospices Civils, Bruges (Archives Photographiques)



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identity is found in the halberd¹ borne by the soldier in the Carrying of the Cross, visible on both the Vatican and Baboin examples.

In the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris and in the Cluny are two separate wings of diptychs which Koechlin believes belonged together originally² (Fig. 41). At any rate they are both certainly very close to the Vatican diptych. These wings show the rose decoration which reappears on the Antocolsky diptych and which led Koechlin to place all these ivories in his "rosette" group. It displays all the stylistic characteristics of its atelier, the long figures, the tiny heads, and the distinctive hair treatment. The row of Apostles on the middle register of the left wing affords perhaps the best example in this atelier of the vertical "corrugated" drapery that we have found to be so frequent in North Italy. They also serve to demonstrate very well the straight line of the jaw and beard that also juts sideways far outward from the neck, characteristics that have been pointed out in the Embriachi ivories (page 174).

The evidence from style and from some details of iconography points, then, toward a North Italian provenance for these pieces. The iconography, except for the man on the ladder in the Descent from the Cross of the Antocolsky ivory, is not particularly un-French, but that is to be expected in ivories presumably under the influence of French models. As for the date of these ivories, it is probable that they were produced about 1325.³

2. IVORIES WITH CROSS-HATCHED BACKGROUNDS IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO.⁴

- a. FOUR WINGS OF A TABERNACLE WITH SCENES OF THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN, no. 719 (Fig. 42).
- b. A PAX REPRESENTING THE CRUCIFIXION, no. 630 (Fig. 51).
- c. A PLAQUE OF ST. CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, no. 684 (Fig. 54).
- d. A PLAQUE OF CHRIST AND THE PILGRIMS TO EMMAUS, no. 638 (Fig. 55).

Ivories of this nature with cross-hatched backgrounds are the center of a particularly hot dispute as to their place of origin. Koechlin, as we have seen, claims for France nearly all of the Gothic ivories except those definitely of the type produced by the atelier of the Embriachi in Venice. He clings as long as possible to the theory that Paris was the great center of ivory cutting, though in respect to these later ivories he admits that Dalton, who gives North France or Flanders for the provenance of many of them, may possibly be

¹ A halberd of the same type as that on the Vatican ivory is illustrated in one of the frescos of the Upper Church at Assisi published by van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 479.

² Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 265.

³ I have not attempted to discuss all the ivories of similar style that are mentioned by Koechlin, but only those which, in my estimation, offer the best evidence for an Italian provenance.

⁴ One ivory with cross-hatched background, no. 757 (Fig. 31), has already been considered.

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right. He refuses to admit the assignment of many disputed ivories to North Italy, where Molinier and von Schlosser have placed them because of certain features of style that seem undeniably in character with the Embriachi style. Molinier would place them in Tyrol or Piedmont, while von Schlosser believes in Reggio or the *Hinterland* of Venice.

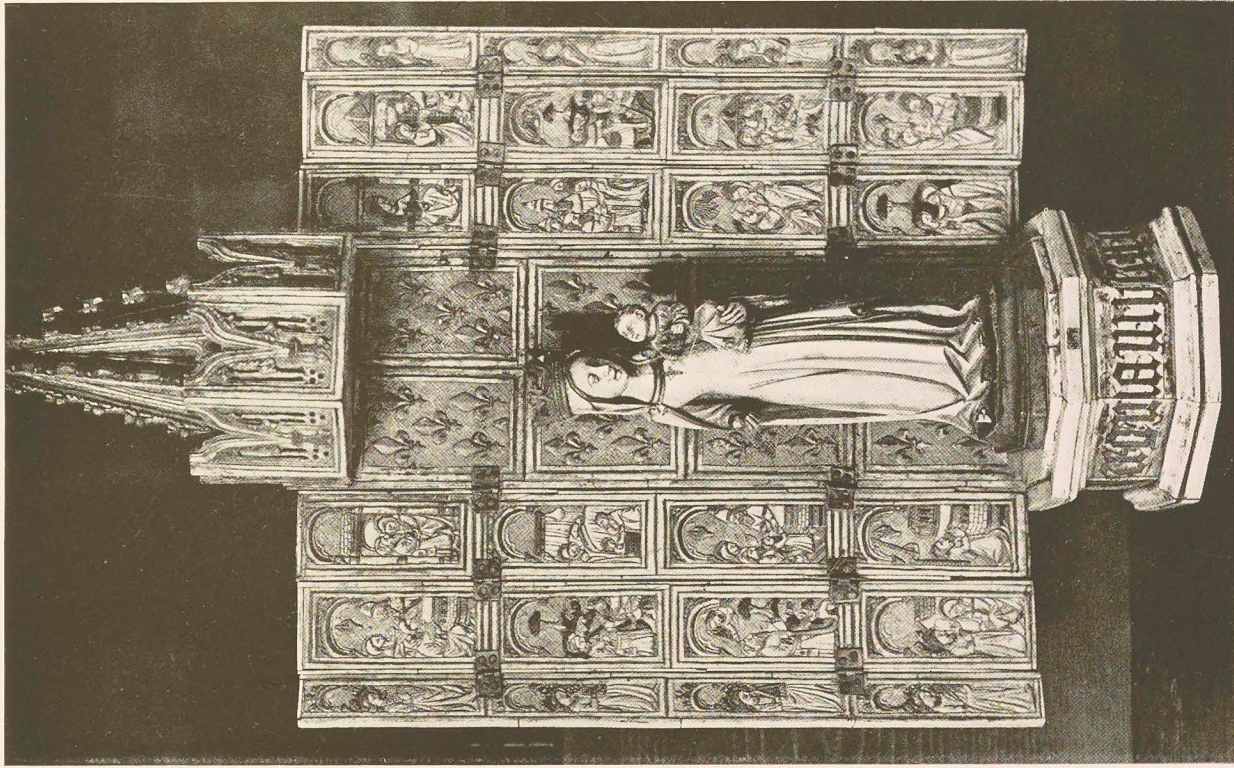
Thus the two general centers that have been given most consistently for these ivories are North Italy and Flanders; and each side of the controversy can adduce convincing examples. I hope to offer evidence indicating that both are right and that ivories of this sort are for the most part to be attributed to Flanders and Germany as one principal center and to North Italy as the other. The North Italian examples (among which I include all the Vatican cross-hatched ivories), if not executed by Flemish workmen, were at any rate strongly influenced by the Flemish element in the "international style."

The ivories with cross-hatched backgrounds are, for the most part, tabernacles, caskets, combs, or "kisses of peace." Of the seven tabernacles cited by Koechlin,¹ I would regard only one as definitely Flemish. This is a tabernacle in the Musée des Hospices Civils at Bruges (Fig. 43) which represents scenes of the life of the Virgin. It is dated by Koechlin² in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the date which seems best suited to the heavy and flat ogee arches above the scenes. These architectural features are typical of late Flemish Flamboyant, and the snub-nosed, flat-faced figures with turban hair are those of Flemish art at the end of the fifteenth century.

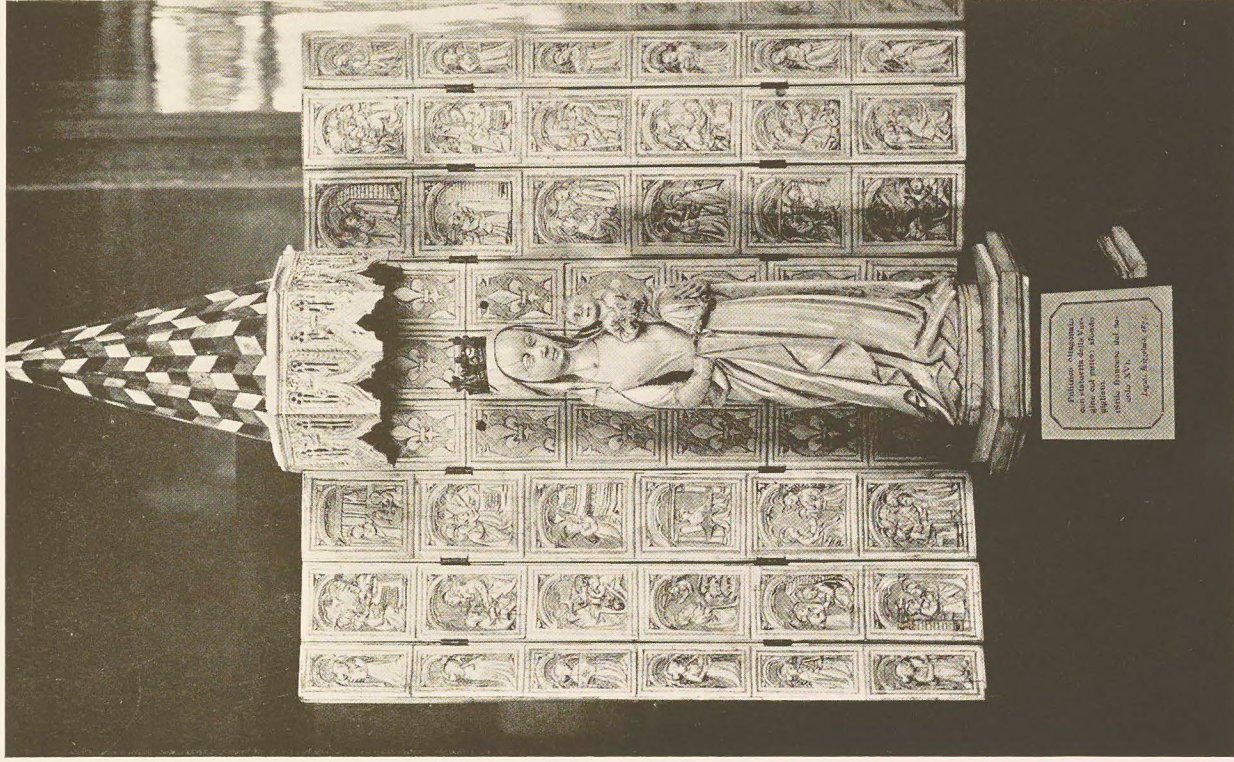
There are many points to be noted for contrast with the other tabernacles. In the first place, the hinges are of the type with diagonal pins which are customary in Northern ivories. This tabernacle is the only one which has scenes on the backs of the wings as well as on the front, a feature much more common in Flemish folding polyptychs than in Italian. The order of reading on the front of the wings, the only part of which I have a photograph, is from top to bottom on the left side, and from bottom to top on the right. The central Virgin of this tabernacle is seated and the background behind the Virgin is decorated with a lozenge pattern which betrays the influence of Italian intarsia work. The decorative use of letters in geometric, all-over pattern is a feature common enough in the North but found little or not at all in Italy. There are several scenes represented which are not to be found on the other tabernacles of this type — the Death and Coronation of the Virgin, and on the back, the Adoration of the Instruments of the Passion by two angels, which Koechlin says is the only occurrence of this scene in the ivories. On the back also are the rare Christ among the Doctors, and Christ Appearing to St. Peter in the Grotto. The center plaque on the back is covered with black

¹ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, nos. 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, and one at Cremona mentioned under 950.

² *Ibid.*, no. 946.



44. Tabernacle. Archaeological Museum, Milan
(Archives Photographiques)



45. Tabernacle. Archaeological Museum, Milan
(Archives Photographiques)



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and white checkerboard inlay. The figure style of the ivory is realistic in rendering with a technique characterized by a relief of considerable projection and rounded rather than flat.

Of the six remaining tabernacles listed by Koechlin, five seem to be very closely related to one another and I believe them to be North Italian, probably Milanese, in provenance. At the Archaeological Museum in Milan is a tabernacle ¹ (Fig. 44) similar in layout to the Bruges ivory with the exception of the addition of a wing on either side necessitated by the use of an octagonal base for the Madonna. In contrast to the Bruges tabernacle there are no scenes on the backs of the wings, the entire back being covered with green and white lozenges of ivory or bone. We have already seen in regard to the Vatican ivories of Embriachi technique that the use of green and white ivory was a favorite form of decoration.² Furthermore, the arrangement of scenes on individual plaques set end to end in a frame is also like the Embriachi work; more so here than in the case of the Bruges ivory, the plaques of which are set in an armature with horizontal bars as well as vertical.

The Virgin in this Milan ivory is standing and the background behind her is made up of plaques assembled as in the side wings but carved with fleurs-de-lys on a cross-hatched ground. Though Koechlin mentions in reference to this ivory the fact that certain other ivories with similar background seem to be forgeries, he is forced to admit that the tabernacles with this decoration are, for the most part at least, genuine. These fleurs-de-lys, which are found on all the tabernacles that I include in my Italian group, Koechlin says may be the lilies of France carved on pieces made in France for export, or, says he, they may represent the chastity of the Virgin. But the lilies can easily be accounted for in Milan at the very end of the fifteenth century by the fact that in the last decade of that century, Louis XII of France conquered Milan and held it for fifteen years, having derived a claim to Milan from Valentina Visconti, daughter of Gian Galeazzo, who had married Louis of Orléans in 1378. It must be remembered, too, that the lilies of France had been officially conferred on Milan as early as 1394.³ Fleur-de-lys decoration is to be found on the base of the great ivory, or rather, bone altarpiece in the Certosa of Pavia, known to have been done at the very end of the fourteenth century by Baldassarre Embriachi himself.

The wings of the Milan tabernacle are not hinged with the French or Northern diagonal slots and pins but with a new and simpler flat variety which is found on four out of five of my Italian group. Also unlike the Bruges

¹ Published by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 947, and like all the rest of my Italian group, given by him as French. He rightly mentions that the canopy over the Virgin has been reversed.

² This combination of green and white is mentioned by von Schlosser, *op. cit.*, p. 238, as the favorite color combination of the Embriachi.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

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tabernacle is the fact that the scenes on the wings in this group invariably read from top to bottom. On the Milan ivory in place of the heavy ogee arches, round arches are used, though two of my Italian group do have ogee arches. There are more scenes on the tabernacle in Milan than on that at Bruges, and the extra scenes are devoted mainly to the story of Anna and Joachim. One of the new scenes shows the Virgin spinning in the temple, a representation that occurs on all but one of the tabernacles which seem to be North Italian.

The technique of cutting is much cruder and more summary than on the Bruges example. The relief is flatter and the rendering is reduced to formulas as much as possible. The standing Madonna, though quite Flemish in facial type, is very Italian as to drapery, particularly in respect to the smoothness of rendering over the shoulders and the sharp break as the skirt hits the ground, so different from the heavier but smoother flow of the Flemish drapery.

Very similar to the tabernacle just discussed is another tabernacle that was presented to the same museum in Milan as early as 1875 (Fig. 45). This differs from the other only in such small details as five registers instead of four¹ and in the possession of an intarsia cone on the central canopy which Koechlin believes is modern. The hinges are of a different type from those on the other tabernacle in the same museum (Fig. 44), but nevertheless they do not have the Northern diagonal pins that are found on the Bruges tabernacle.

Very similar to the two tabernacles in Milan are the four wings from a tabernacle in the Museo Cristiano, no. 719² (Fig. 42), of which the style, the order of reading, the architectural decoration are all like those of the Milan pieces.³ Traces of hinges show that it was hinged like the first tabernacle at Milan (Fig. 44) and like this piece the Vatican wings employ the green and white lozenge inlay on the back. The various formulas for hair and trees which are found throughout the tabernacles seem to be part of an international style which can be found in examples of other arts in Italy as well as elsewhere.

In the treasure of Monza Cathedral is a tabernacle that is of the same flat-relief technique as the ivories of my Italian group already discussed (Fig. 46). It is also similar to them in the method of hinging, in the wings made up of

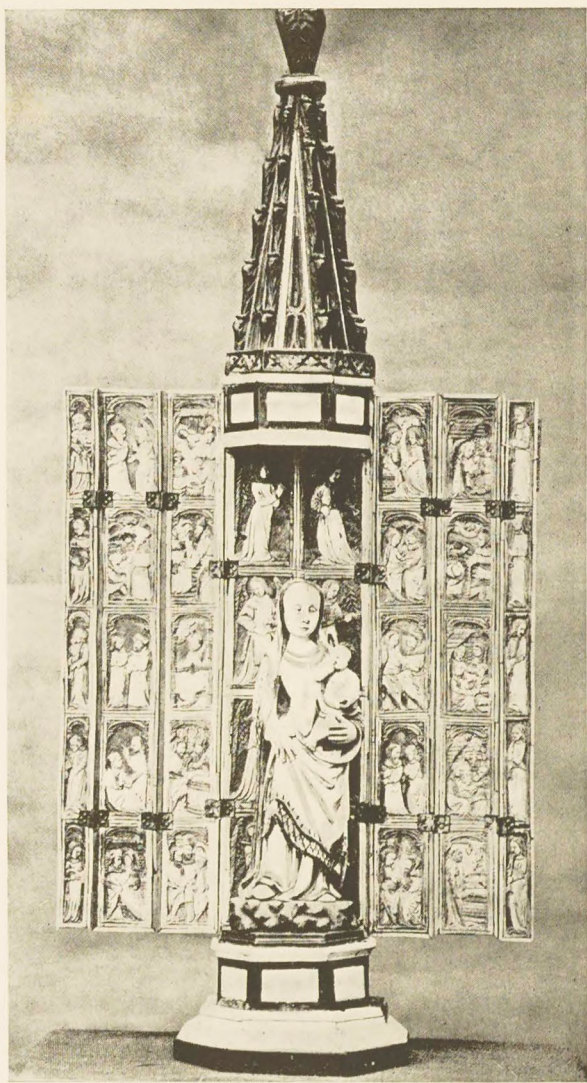
¹ Among the new scenes resulting from the use of an extra register is one which represents the Virgin being fed in the Temple by an angel. Another shows the Virgin after her betrothal, followed by an old man and approaching a house. This subject, which is a very rare one for ivories, represents to Koechlin the Virgin after her marriage approaching the house of Joseph, a subject which he says is to be found on the tapestries of Beaune. The old man with the Virgin in the scene as depicted on the ivory does not seem to be Joseph, however, for the figure wears a head-dress of some sort and is not represented bald, as is St. Joseph in every other representation of him on the ivory. Possibly the scene represented is the same one as in Giotto's fresco in the Arena Chapel at Padua, which, van Marle has pointed out (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 62), probably does not represent the Virgin entering the house of Joseph, but rather the Virgin returning to the house of her parents in accordance with the Golden Legend.

² Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 22, no. 1 (82), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 951.

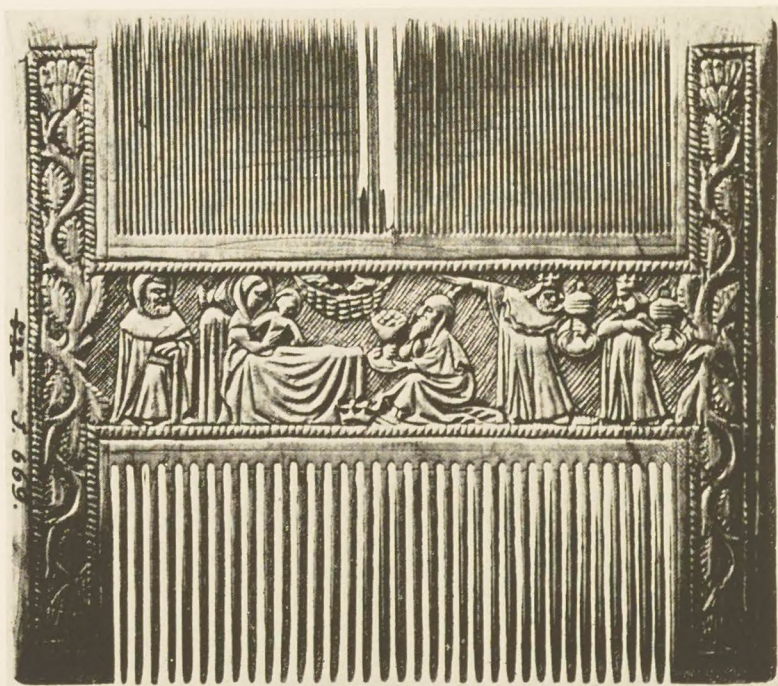
³ In iconography a new feature is the combination of the scene of the Virgin Spinning in the Temple and the scene which represents an angel bringing food to her, into a single representation.



46. Tabernacle. Cathedral, Monza
(Barbier de Montault, *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1902, p. 225)



47. Tabernacle. Grand Duke of Baden Collection,
Karlsruhe (Rosenberg, *Exposition de Carlsruhe*, 1881)



48. Comb. Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Vöge)

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plaques assembled end to end, in the scenes represented, and in the use of lilies on the center background. It differs only in its architecture — in the employment of heavy ogee arches which are quite like those of the Bruges tabernacle but whose occurrence in Milan is not unduly surprising, witness their free use on the Cathedral. Koechlin mentions that in the Museum of Cremona there is a tabernacle analogous to that at Monza.

In the collection of the Grand Duke of Baden at Karlsruhe is a tabernacle (Fig. 47) which seems to form a transition between the Flemish group, as represented by the Bruges tabernacle, and the Italian group. In technique its relief is neither so flat as that of the Milanese ivories nor so roundly projecting as that of the Bruges piece. The type of hinging is the same as that of the majority of the Italian pieces and the order of reading is the same, but the lilies of the central background are lacking.

The present location of Gothic ivories is of minor importance in determining the place of origin save when it supports other evidence from style, technique, or iconography. But it is worth while noting that all of my Italian group are at present in Italy and, with the exception of the Vatican piece, all of them are at present in Milanese territory. Two are at Milan itself, one is at Monza, and a fourth is located at Cremona. On the other hand, the tabernacle of Bruges, which is so definitely Flemish in style, is, of course, at present in Flanders; while the tabernacle of Karlsruhe, combining as it does the characteristics of both groups, is geographically located half way between the two main centers.

Among the objects such as combs, coffers, and "kisses of peace" which cannot be separated from the ateliers that produced the tabernacles just discussed, there are several which offer evidence that they were carved in Italy. For example, in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum is a comb¹ (Fig. 48) representing on one side the Adoration of the Magi and on the other the Annunciation. This comb was purchased in Italy. Though the faces conform to the international Flemish types, certain bits of the drapery handling, such as that on the head of the Virgin's bed, have the vertical corrugated folds so frequently found already on definitely Italian work. The type of rinceau on the ends of the comb, variations of which were doubtless used all over Europe at this time, can be very well paralleled in Italian arts and crafts on pottery and other objects.²

Vöge, in his catalogue of the ivories in the Kaiser Friedrich, gives this piece as North Italian. Molinier, in his catalogue of the ivories in the Louvre, calls

¹ Published by Vöge, *op. cit.*, Pl. 38, no. 151, and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1156.

² Compare the border of the circular dish of *sgraffiato* ware illustrated in the Catalogue of the Wallace Collection (Furniture, Marbles, etc.), 1910, Pl. 11, opposite p. 43. A Milanese example of the same rinceau is to be found in Malaguzzi-Valeri, *La corte di Ludovico il Moro* (Milan, 1913), vol. I, p. 368.

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a similar piece North Italian work.¹ Finally, the iconography of the Adoration of the Magi with the Virgin represented on a bed is distinctly not French.² In reference to a similar representation of this scene on certain openwork ivories (cf. Fig. 56), Koechlin is puzzled by this iconography which he says is English, though he believes it was imitated in France.³ It is indeed found on English alabasters and embroidery, but it occurs most frequently in Germany. Kehrer⁴ makes a separate group of this type for which there are many German examples. Except for a Burgundian example palpably under Flemish influence, he cites no examples as truly French save an ivory formerly in the Oppenheim Collection in Cologne and now in the Metropolitan Museum. For this ivory I shall later give further evidence of a German origin (Fig. 56).

Kehrer also points out, rather too dubiously, the possible derivation of this type of Adoration from that which he calls the "Syrian-Byzantine Collective Type," in which the Adoration scene is combined with the Nativity so that the Virgin is reclining as she receives the Adoration. This compound type of the Nativity is frequent in Italy.⁵ In Milan, the German type of Epiphany seems to have been sometimes used as in a miniature of the Ambrosiana at Milan.⁶ Thus the iconography as represented on the Berlin comb seems to be most popular in Germany though occasionally used in North Italy through German influence.

There are several coffers, too, that cannot be separated from the Italian tabernacles and which in turn offer distinct evidence for an Italian provenance. One of these is in the Museo Civico at Turin⁷ (Fig. 49). Not only does this have the cross-hatched background, but it also uses the same technique as the Milanese tabernacles in the employment of several small plaques juxtaposed within a frame. The cover of this particular coffer shows animals and hunting scenes of which the formulas for rendering trees and hair are the same as on the tabernacles. The representation of grass in clumps by scratch lines is a mannerism frequently met with in North Italy. Hunting scenes were a favorite subject in Lombard illumination of the fifteenth century,⁸ and excellent parallels for the animal scenes and technique of this coffer cover are to be found in a sketchbook at Venice (Fig. 50), which has been called by

¹ E. Molinier, *Musée du Louvre, Catalogue des ivoires* (Paris, 1906), no. 130.

² The only French example I happen to know that shows the Virgin on the bed in the Adoration of the Magi, is a twelfth-century relief on St. Pierre, Moissac.

³ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 862. The fact that 862 bears an inscription in French does not prevent a North Italian provenance as French was the court language at Milan and was largely used in Piedmont also at this time.

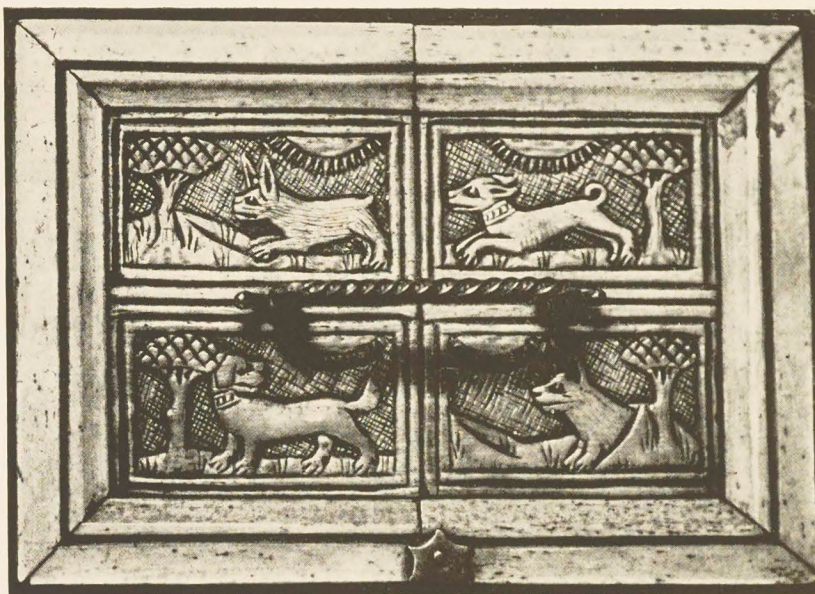
⁴ H. Kehrer, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 217.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 81 ff., and van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 541; vol. III, p. 187; vol. IV, p. 290.

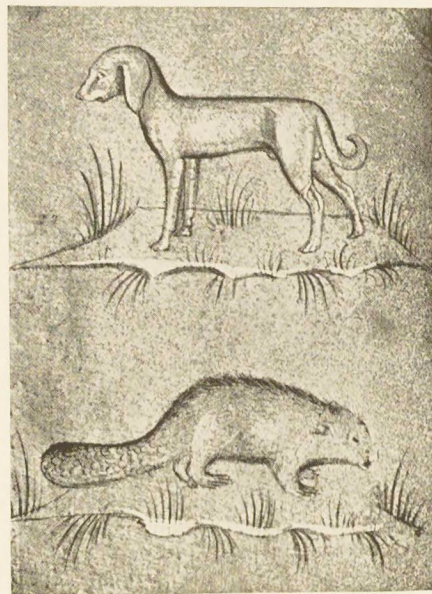
⁶ This manuscript, Bibl. Ambrosiana, MS. L. 58 sup., has been given as Milanese by Pietro Toesca, *La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia* (Milan, 1912), p. 205, Fig. 152.

⁷ Given by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 1323, as French.

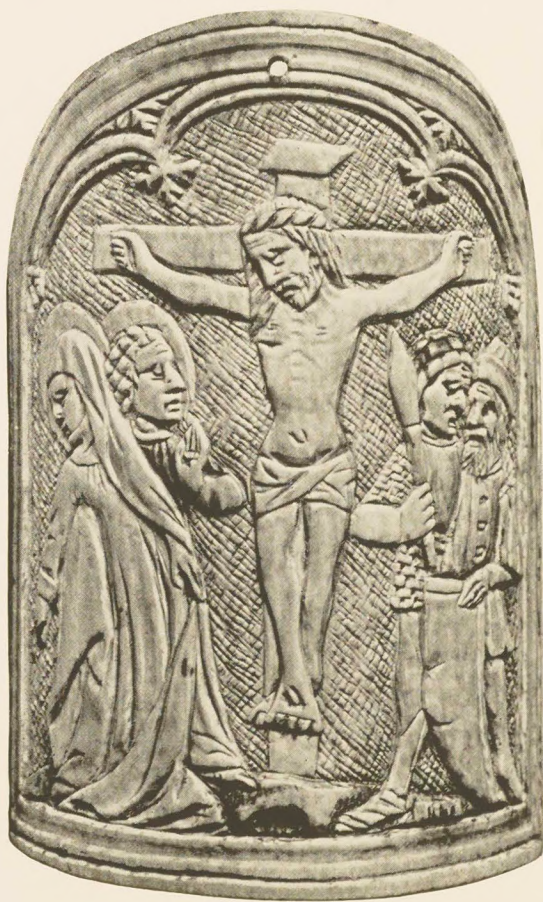
⁸ See Toesca, *op. cit.*, pp. 407 ff.



49. Coffer. Museo Civico, Turin
(Archives Photographiques)



50. Drawing from a fifteenth century
Lombard sketchbook. Accademia, Venice
(van Marle)



51. Pax. Museo Cristiano, no. 630



52. Pax. British Museum, no. 324 (Dalton)

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van Marle¹ Lombard work of the beginning of the fifteenth century. This shows similar animals and similar rendering of grass.

Among the ivories in the Vatican which are similar in technique to the Italian tabernacles is a pax, no. 630² (Fig. 51) representing the Crucifixion. The "kisses of peace," like the tabernacles, show evidence of either Flemish,³ or North Italian provenance, without a great deal of difference between them save in the greater flatness of relief of the North Italian examples. The flatness of the Vatican pax appears North Italian rather than Flemish. In the British Museum is a pax of the same subject (Fig. 52) which, though given by Dalton⁴ as Flemish, seems to me to be likewise North Italian, not only in its flatness but in its combination of a fifteenth-century figure style with a type of architecture that in France or Flanders would bespeak the thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The Christ is quite similar to that on the Vatican pax, particularly in such details as the extremely foreshortened feet and in the rendering of eyes by a projecting triangle to indicate the upper eyelid.

In the Museo Civico in Turin is a pax representing the Madonna and Child⁵ (Fig. 53) which has an architectural decoration of foliated cusps on the arch similar to that of the Vatican Crucifixion. Though the relief is somewhat higher on the Turin ivory, the throne of the Madonna is of a proto-Renaissance type and quite Italian. The Madonna herself recalls those of the tabernacles in style.

Very similar to the Virgins of the Turin pax and of one of the Milanese tabernacles (Fig. 44) is a plaque in the Museo Cristiano, no. 684⁶ (Fig. 54), representing, in three-quarter length, St. Catherine of Alexandria. Because of its stylistic resemblances to these other ivories I include the St. Catherine here even though it lacks the cross-hatching in the background. It possesses the same facial type with domical forehead, swollen cheek, and puffy eyelids that is found on the other two ivories. The cloak and the crown of St. Catherine are like those worn by the Virgin of the Turin pax, and the smooth wooden quality of the torso recalls the Madonna of the tabernacle. The use of a crescent moon, customarily reserved for the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, may have appeared to the artist the simplest method of ending a three-quarter figure.

¹ Van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. VII, pp. 113-117.

² Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10, no. 8(43), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 901. Koechlin gives it as French.

³ A pax that is probably North French in the Flemish style is that in the Louvre (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 932, Pl. 161), representing the Virgin between two saints, with the name at the bottom, *Hanry Lerdanoi*. This pax came to the Louvre from the church of Saponay, Aisne, and while of the same general international style as the "kisses of peace" which I give as North Italian, is differentiated by the greater projection of the relief, by the greater feeling for the mass of the bodies, and by the smoother flow of the drapery.

⁴ Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 324, Pl. 73.

⁵ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 921.

⁶ Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10, no. 9(44).

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The last ivory in the Vatican with a cross-hatched background is a plaque, no. 638¹ (Fig. 55), representing Christ and the Pilgrims to Emmaus. This plaque was probably part of either a tabernacle or a casket. The heavy ogee arches are like both those on the Bruges tabernacle (Fig. 43) and those on the tabernacle at Monza (Fig. 46). The tracery decorations in the spandrels, however, seem a misunderstood imitation of the sort of ornament found in the spandrels of the Bruges tabernacle. The low relief and the heavy corrugation of the folds of drapery on the first apostle offer strong evidence for an Italian provenance. Like most of the other ivories with cross-hatched background, this plaque probably dates in the late fifteenth century.

3. OPENWORK PLAQUES FROM A COFFER WITH SCENES OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST, nos. 618 and 636 (Fig. 58).

The openwork plaques in the Museo Cristiano, nos. 618 A and B, and 636 A, B, and C² (Fig. 58), all probably come from the same coffer though done apparently by two different hands. Some of the plaques are missing and those that do remain seem to have been the two sides (618 A and B, and 636 A and B) and one end (636 C) of a casket, the plaques of which were once probably backed with cloth. Though the indented dots on the dividing bars may have been marks to aid in assembling the casket, I have been unable to work out any scheme of reconstruction by means of them.

A large number of openwork ivories have survived and though they display several different styles, there are certain features of iconography common to most of them that would seem to indicate one general center of production for the majority. Koechlin feels that the common features are English. He gives a few of the ivories as actually English and for the rest he is somewhat uncertain, but is inclined to think them French under English influence. The ivories in the British Museum which belong to this group are given by Dalton as North French or Flemish. With these openwork ivories must be included many non-openwork pieces of various sorts which display the same styles.

Of the two openwork ivories which Koechlin definitely gives as English, one is in the Metropolitan (Fig. 56) and the other is in the British Museum.³ Both of them are diptychs with scenes of the life of Christ and of the Virgin.⁴ The features on which Koechlin bases his attribution to England are archi-

¹ Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10, no. 11(46).

² Published by Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 19, nos. 3(70), 4(71), 5(72), 6(73), 7(74), and by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 167.

³ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, nos. 875, 876; vol. I, pp. 326-327.

⁴ Not to be separated from these two ivories is a coffer with profane subjects of which fragments are in various museums — the Victoria and Albert, the Metropolitan, and the National Museum at Florence. It is published by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1280.



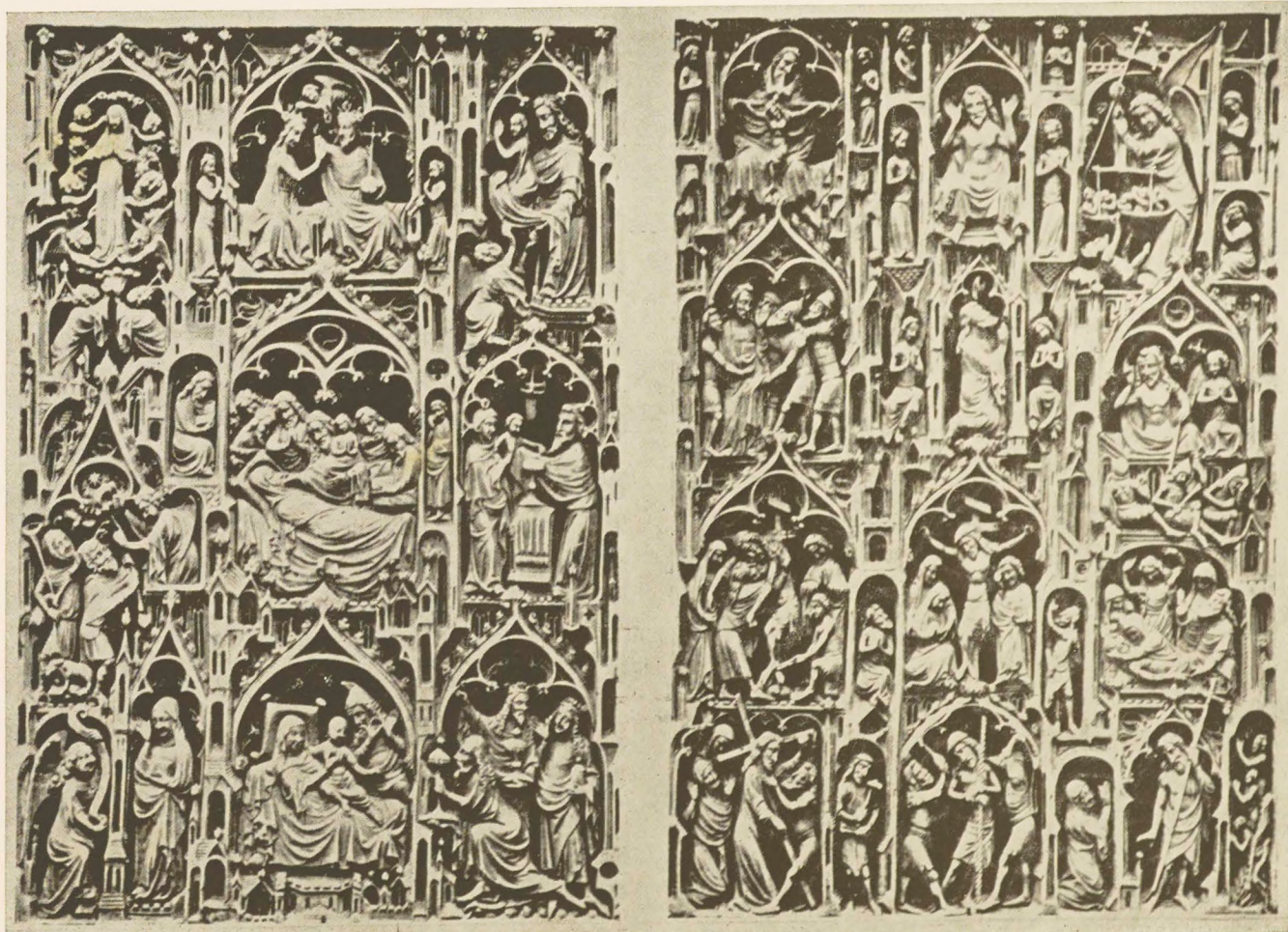
53. Pax. Museo Civico, Turin
(Koechlin)



54. Plaque representing St. Catherine.
Museo Cristiano, no. 684



55. Plaque of the Pilgrims to
Emmaus. Museo Cristiano, no. 638



56. Openwork diptych. Metropolitan Museum (Longhurst)

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tectural or iconographic. The architectural features which seem to him English are the ogee arch and the decorative crenellation, the latter of which, as he rightly points out, is extremely rare in France. Some of the openwork ivories display a third feature which he says is due to English influence, the use of the twisted column. The main iconographic characteristic that Koechlin considers to be English is the representation of the Virgin on a bed in the Adoration of the Magi.¹

All these features in these particular ivories are, to my mind, either German or North Italian under very strong German influence. Miss Longhurst, in her discussion of the pieces,² gives them as English but mentions that F. E. Howard has pointed out certain German characteristics in the architecture. The elaborate Flamboyant architecture is indeed typical of German and Germano-Italian work of the fifteenth century, such as Milan Cathedral in which ogee arches are plentiful. The twisted and ribboned column is to be found more often in Italy than anywhere else, and as for the decorative crenellation, it is not limited to England by any means, but is frequently found in German and Italian metalwork of the late Gothic period. A good Italian example of architectural forms similar to those of the ivories and of the use of the decorative battlement is the *ostensorio* from Voghera, now in the Museo Communale at Milan and dated 1406³ (Fig. 57). On the other hand, the ogee arches are not typical of English Gothic architecture of any date in the fifteenth century to which these ivories could be assigned. The period of the greatest use of the ogee arch in England was the so-called Decorated Period, and after 1377 (the date given by Bannister-Fletcher for the beginning of the Rectilinear style), the four-center arch tended to supplant the ogee arch. Though comparatively isolated examples of the ogee arch are found throughout the Rectilinear style, there is nothing rectilinear about the architecture of these ivories. The iconography is in many respects in agreement with that of ivories which we have already given as Italian. As for the iconographic representation of the Virgin on the bed in the Adoration of the Magi, we have already mentioned in relation to the comb in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Fig. 48), which has other evidences for an Italian provenance, that this iconography is most frequently found in Germany and sometimes in Milanese work as well as in England. The diptych of the Metropolitan Museum

¹ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 325.

² Miss M. Longhurst, *English Ivories* (London, 1926), p. 56. She illustrates them on pages 163 and 164 with the titles transposed.

³ Malaguzzi-Valeri, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 277.

For other Italian examples of the decorative crenellation see A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. IV-B, Figs. 758, 768, 769. The last of these also shows the twisted column. German examples of the crenellations are to be found in G. Dehio, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1923), vol. II, p. 145, and in H. Lüer, *Geschichte der Metallkunst* (Stuttgart, 1904), vol. I, pp. 360, 368. They are found also on an ivory in Münster, given as German by Koechlin (*op. cit.*, Pl. 204, no. 1243A, discussed in vol. I, p. 454).

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(Fig. 56) in its representation of the Bearing of the Cross, shows a figure carrying the nails.¹ In the Coronation of the Virgin, it will be noticed that Christ holds a globe surmounted by a cross. The presence of this object in the Coronation is rare in Italy and France but is frequent in German and Austrian representations of the scene.² The frequency of its use in Germany may be due to the fact that the globe surmounted by a cross, long a Christian symbol, was particularly significant in Germany and Austria as one of the symbols, the *Reichsapfel*, borne by the emperors of the Holy Roman Empire.

In view of these peculiarities, the Metropolitan and British Museum diptychs would seem to me to be South German or Germano-Italian in origin. The Vatican plaques (Fig. 58) and ivories related to them have many of the iconographic features found on the two diptychs and I believe them to be more definitely North Italian but still under strong German influence. The technique of the openwork coffer of which the Vatican plaques were a part recalls that of the Embriachi work in the assembling of several plaques within a frame, as does the flatness and sharpness of the cutting, particularly apparent in the Christ of the Harrowing of Hell. In the architectural frame, the indication of cuspings in the arcading between the gables so that each little arch contains a hole drilled beneath to give the effect of cusps without completely cutting them is a mannerism that seems to be German and Italian. The fleurons of the gables, which spread out broadly against the mouldings above, are of a sort that we have found on other ivories given as Italian in this article (Fig. 39).

In the figure style, the rectilinear jaw, with its jutting angle, again recalls the Embriachi ivories. As for the costumes, the wadded jerkins on some of the soldiers, which Dalton in relation to a similar ivory in the British Museum³ (Fig. 60) compares to costumes in the Bedford Hours, are of a sort that are to be found in examples from all over Europe.⁴ The bulging chests of the figures, exemplified particularly well by the Adam in the Harrowing of Hell, also seems to have been an international fashion but particularly frequent in Milanese painting.⁵

In iconography, we have the scene of the Nailing to the Cross which, ac-

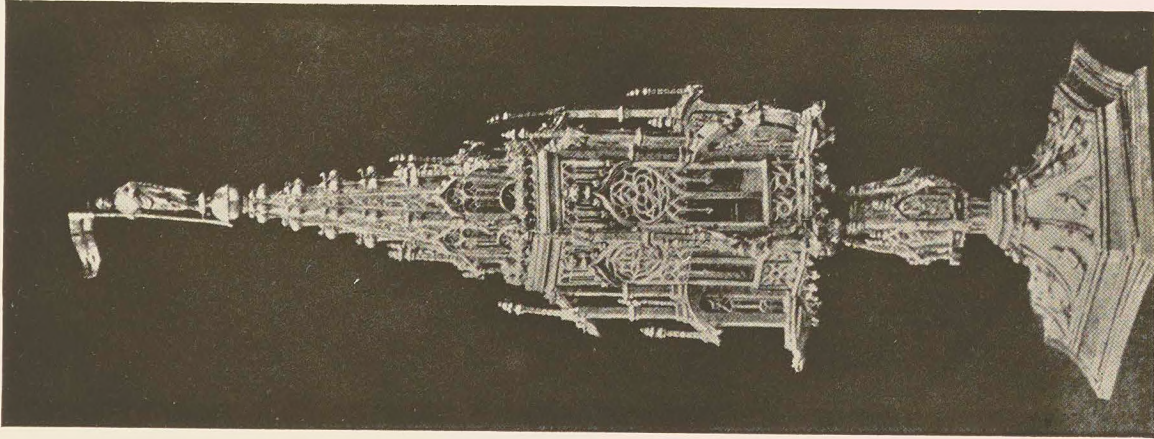
¹ This feature of the nails is also found on an openwork ivory, parts of which are in several collections, published by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 858. The same ivory shows the rare scene of Pilate Washing His Hands. The nails and the Pilate scene (?) are both found on a diptych in the Sulzbach Collection (Fig. 40) which I have already given as Italian.

² For German examples see W. Pinder, *Die deutsche Plastik des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1924), Pl. 80, and S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias in Deutschland* (Freiburg, 1909), p. 654, Fig. 287. A Milanese example is published in Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 467.

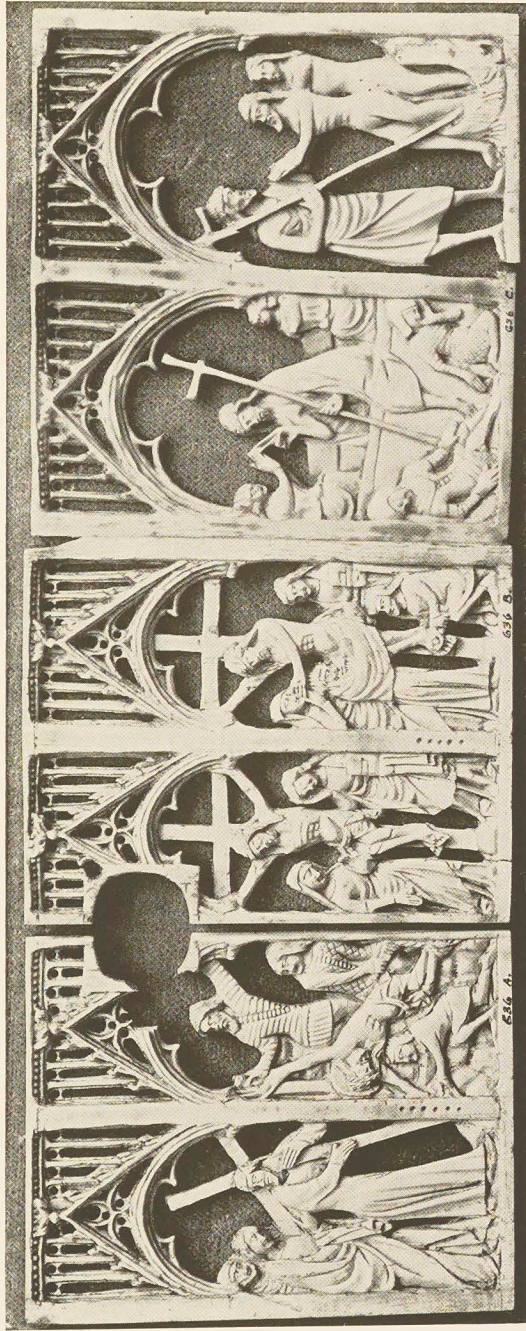
³ Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 314.

⁴ Italian examples are to be found in P. d'Ancona, *La miniature italienne*, (Brussels, 1925), Pls. 22 and 29.

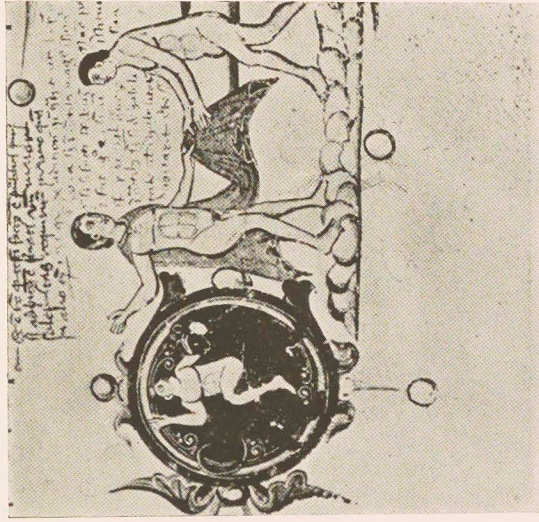
⁵ The bulging chests are found most often in the Milanese painting of the late *Trecento*. Good examples are the frescos in the oratories of Mocchirolo and Lentate (see Toesca, *op. cit.*, p. 252, Fig. 189; p. 255, Fig. 191).



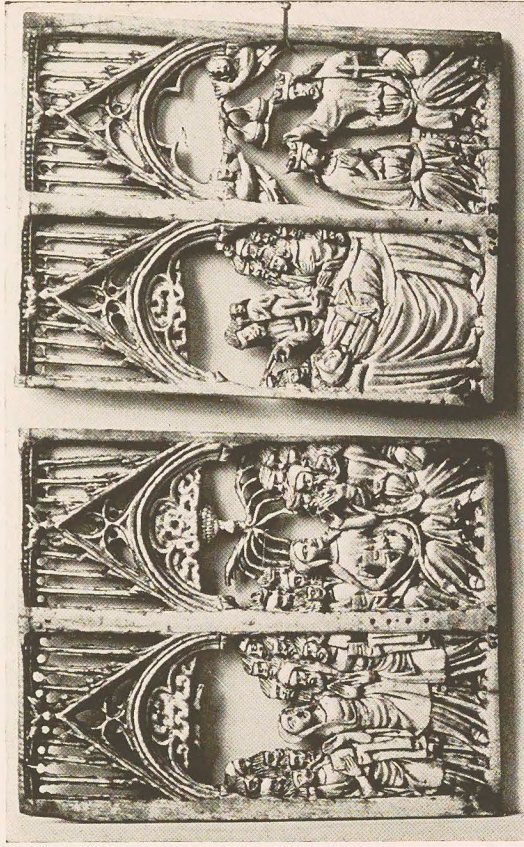
57. *Ostensorio* from Voghera.
Museo del Castello Sforzesco,
Milan (Malaguzzi Valeri)



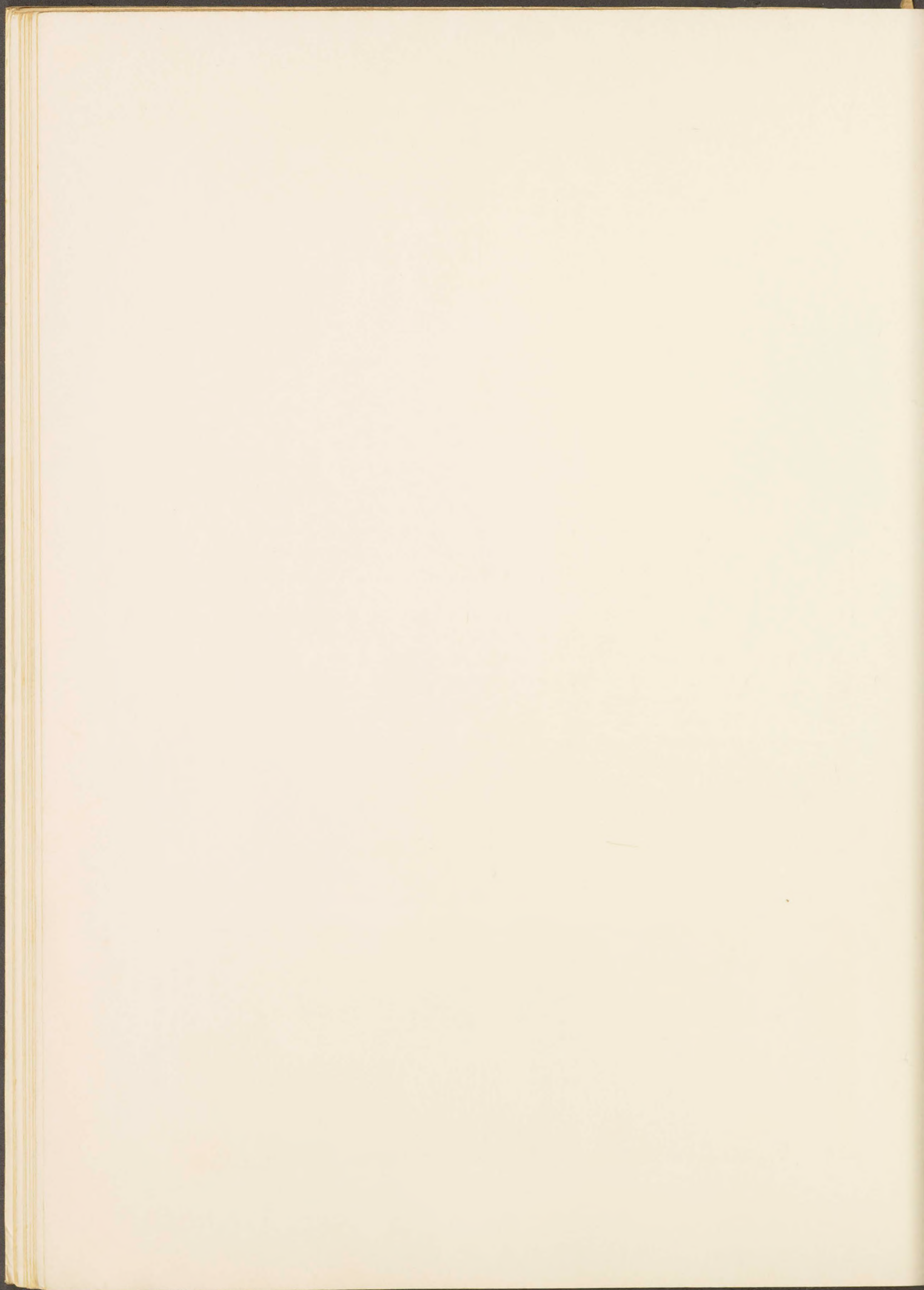
58a. Openwork plaques. Museo Cristiano, no. 636



59. Detail from ms. E. I. 8,
National Library, Turin
(d'Ancona)



58b. Openwork plaques. Museo Cristiano,
no. 618



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cording to Mâle,¹ came into France from Italy in the late Gothic period. It is much more frequently found in Italy than in France. As for the Coronation of the Virgin, it will be noticed that the Christ holds the globe surmounted by a cross, which, as we have seen, may represent the Holy Roman *Reichsapfel*.

A peculiarity of the atelier which produced these plaques is the rendering of the muscles of the belly by means of a square divided into four parts as on the Christ of the Crucifixion. This is a formula that is probably derived from Italo-Byzantine painting² examples of which are also to be found in Italian Gothic illumination (Fig. 59) and metal work.³

The other openwork ivories which are closest in style to the plaques in the Vatican also give evidence for an Italian provenance. The first of these is a plaque in the British Museum⁴ (Fig. 60) which originally was also probably a part of a coffer. The style of this is quite like that of the Vatican plaques, particularly of parts 618 A and B. The figures of the British Museum ivory are, however, somewhat less static. An iconographic feature to be noted here is the blindfolded Christ mocked by two soldiers. This type of the Mocking of Christ with a narrow band for the blindfold is rare in France and Germany⁵ but very frequent indeed in Italian late Gothic painting and illumination of the fifteenth century. An example from illumination (Fig. 61) is called by d'Ancona⁶ Ferrarese work and is attributed by him to Martino da Modena, who died in 1489.

There is another ivory of similar figure style that is also in the British Museum⁷ (Fig. 62). This originally was probably set in a frame to form the leaf of a diptych. Here we see in the Adoration of the Magi the Virgin lying on a bed, that favorite representation in Germany occasionally used in Italy which we have found on the comb in Berlin (Fig. 48) and on the openwork ivory in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 56).

A third openwork plaque in the British Museum⁸ (Fig. 63) is somewhat of the same figure style though it is not so close to the Vatican plaques as are

¹ Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

² The four-part belly is, however, considerably less stylized in Italo-Byzantine painting than it is here. For example see the Crucifixion in Aquileia Cathedral reproduced by L. Testi, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 26.

³ The illustration from illumination is taken from d'Ancona, *op. cit.*, Pl. 10. He dates it in the thirteenth century. A fifteenth-century example, not sharp enough for reproduction, is seen on the crucified Christ, Pl. 64 of the same book. An example of the four-part belly in metal work is to be found in Malaguzzi-Valeri, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 346, displayed on the enthroned figure at the right of the illustration.

⁴ Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 314. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 866. Dalton and Koechlin give this and the two following plaques in the British Museum as North French or Flemish.

⁵ On Northern ivories, the blindfold is usually a cloth wrapped around the entire head, for example see Koechlin *op. cit.*, no. 240, Pl. 63.

⁶ D'Ancona, *op. cit.*, p. 70, and Pl. 64. Another example is to be found in the same volume, Pl. 77.

⁷ Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 313. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 864. Given by Dalton as North French or Flemish and by Koechlin as North French.

⁸ Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 70, no. 315. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 873. Given by Dalton as North French or Flemish and by Koechlin as North French.

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the two others in the same Museum. The scene of the Agony in the Garden on this ivory has an iconographic peculiarity in the rare use of the chalice which here stands before Christ.¹ In the representation of the same scene on the twelfth-century doors at Spalato, Christ is shown holding the chalice. There are fourteenth-century Italian paintings and an engraving by Dürer in which an angel in the sky bears a chalice,² but I have found no example of the scene in French art in which the chalice appears at all. An exact parallel in which the chalice is placed on the ground before Christ as on the ivory, is offered by a representation of the scene in an Austrian painting of about 1400³ (Fig. 65), and I have found several other examples in German art. This ivory also seems to be Italian under very strong German influence. Some of the costumes on the British Museum ivory, such as those on the Flagellants, are like those that we have already found on Italian combs and mirrors dating about 1400 (see Figs. 25 and 26). In the Bearing of the Cross, a soldier holds the nails, a feature that we have seen on ivories that I have given as North Italian (Figs. 33, 40, 56). The Descent from the Cross has the detail of the man on the ladder which, according to Mâle, came into France from Italy in the fifteenth century.⁴

Of all the openwork ivories, the closest in style to that in the Museo Cristiano, with the possible exception of the ivories in the British Museum (Figs. 60 and 62), is an openwork coffer in the Gibbs Collection in Tyntesfield, Somerset⁵ (Fig. 64), known to have been in England since 1793. The technique is very close to that of the plaques in the Vatican and British Museum, though apparently somewhat later in date. Koechlin dates the piece in the late fourteenth century and mentions that it is similar in style to one of the ivories

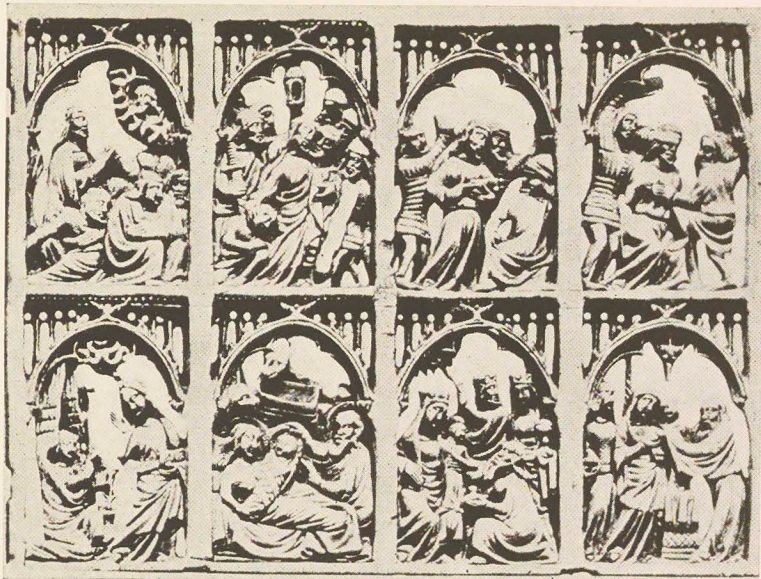
¹ Some openwork plaques in the Cluny Museum (Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, no. 874) are of identical workmanship with this British Museum ivory and here again the Christ in the Garden has a chalice on the ground before him. On these plaques, too, the Virgin is represented on a bed in the Adoration of the Magi, a feature that we have seen on other ivories in this group.

² For an example in fourteenth-century Italian painting see van Marle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 443. The Dürer engraving is published in *Klassiker der Kunst, IV, Dürer*, p. 135.

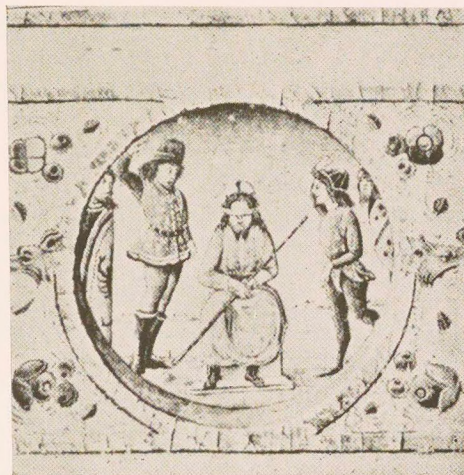
³ Illustrated in F. Kieslinger, *Gotische Glasmalerei in Österreich bis 1450*, Pl. 13, Fig. 2. For other examples that are German or under strong German influence, see: W. Vöge, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christlichen Epochen*, vol. IV, *Die deutsche Bildwerke* (Berlin, 1910), Pl. 30, no. 922; *Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, vol. XXVI, Heft 4, Pl. 14; H. Schmitz, *Die Glasgemälde des königlichen Kunstgewerbe-Museums in Berlin* (Berlin, 1913), p. 55.

⁴ E. Mâle, *L'art rel. de la fin du moyen-âge*, p. 25. This has also been found on the diptych formerly in the Antolsky collection (Fig. 38). Most of these iconographical peculiarities are to be found on various members of another group of openwork ivories which I believe also to be North Italian in provenance, probably Milanese because of their strong evidence of German influence. Among the important members of this group are the ivories given by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, nos. 857, 858, 860, 861, and probably 859. Another one, not mentioned by Koechlin, is a diptych in the Metropolitan Museum, no. 17.190.269, representing the Crucifixion and the Lamentation. The Lamentation is yet another Byzantine scene that was transmitted to the North *via* Italy, and that is more frequent in Italy than north of the Alps (Mâle, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 26.).

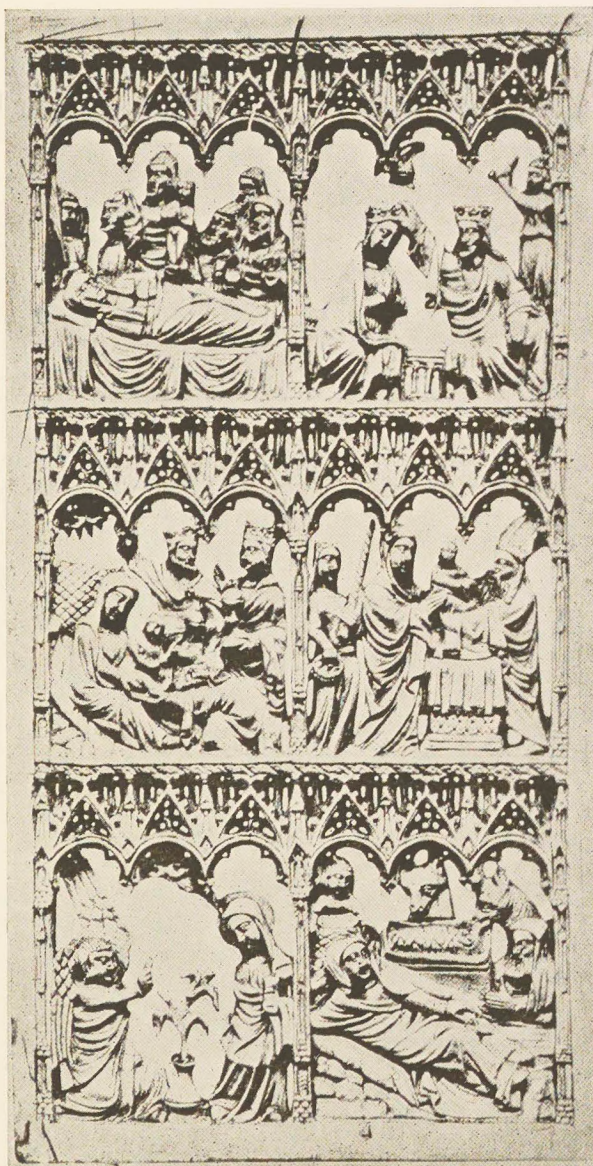
⁵ Published in the Burlington Fine Arts Club Catalogue, *op. cit.*, 1923, no. 141. Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1310 *bis*, gives it as French.



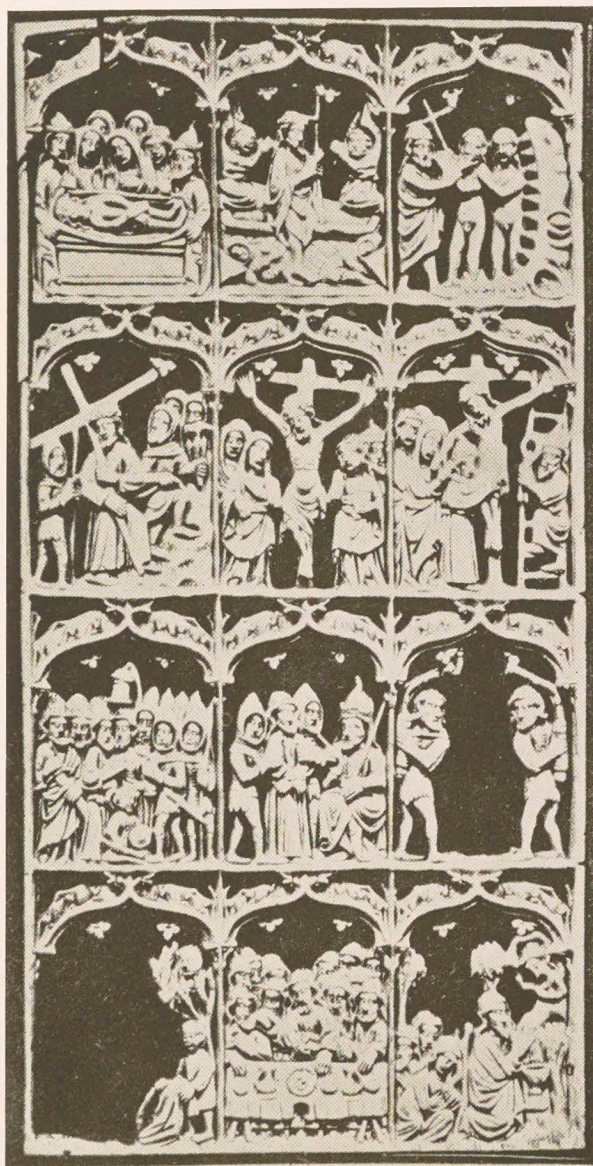
60. Openwork plaque. British Museum,
no. 314 (Dalton)



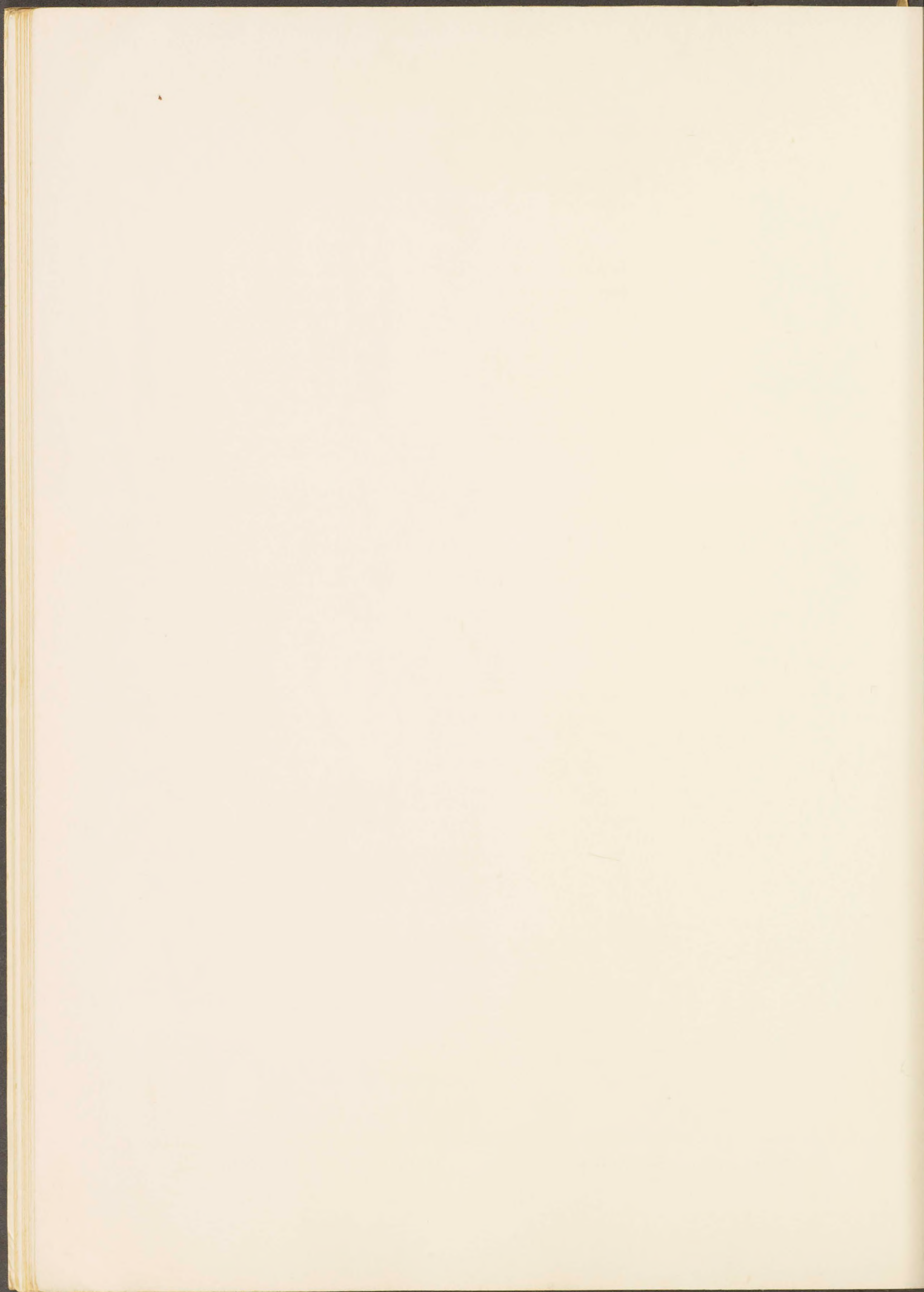
61. Detail from an illuminated missal.
Trivulzio Library, Milan, ms. 2165, (d'Ancona)



62. Openwork plaque. British Museum,
no. 313 (Dalton)



63. Openwork plaque. British Museum,
no. 315 (Dalton)



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in the British Museum, no. 313 (Fig. 62). The same snub-nosed facial types and the same sort of figures with bulging chests are found also on the Vatican plaques (Fig. 58) and on the plaque in the British Museum, no. 314 (Fig. 60). The costumes of many of the male figures of the Gibbs casket, with their jerkins belted low on the hips and with a row of buttons down the front, are much the same as that on the soldier asleep at the tomb in the Resurrection of the Vatican piece. The lumpy rendering of ground that appears on the Gibbs ivory is the same as in the representation of the Nailing to the Cross of the ivory in the Museo Cristiano.

When the casket was exhibited by the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1923, it was called French work of the late fourteenth century, the same attribution given the piece by Koechlin. I believe it to be North Italian work of almost the middle of the fifteenth century and a trifle later in date than the Vatican plaques and those of similar style in the British Museum. The subject depicted is the story of Matabruna, also known as the story of the Knight of the Swan. Koechlin mentions that there is an Embriachi fragment in the British Museum with the same subject, but he fails to note that von Schlosser, in his article on the Embriachi, lists no less than six Embriachi caskets with this subject. In other words, of the seven ivories representing the story of Matabruna known to me, six are definitely North Italian, which would make it likely that the seventh is also.¹

Closer to the Vatican plaques than any of the openwork pieces, are several ivories not in *ajouré* technique, mostly mirror cases. One of these is a mirror depicting the Crucifixion now in the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow² (Fig. 66), the central figures of which are very close to the corresponding figures of the same scene on the Vatican plaques. Here again is the atelier peculiarity of the "quadripartite" belly. Another atelier characteristic peculiar to the mirrors of the group is the use of an "antefixa" ornament on the point of each of the cusps around the central scene. A mirror in the British Museum³

¹ In other arts it is true that the subject of Matabruna is occasionally found outside of Italy. Nevertheless, though the story very possibly originated in Northern Europe, its representation in Northern art is comparatively rare. On the other hand, the subject was evidently a favorite one in Italy, as van Marle (*op. cit.*, vol. VII, p. 44) mentions its frequent occurrence on Italian *casconi* of the fifteenth century.

This is borne out by the figure style which, like that of the Vatican plaques, shows the jutting jaws and beards so like Embriachi work. There is a static quality about the figures on the casket, a lack of ability on the part of the craftsman to represent movement, which further recalls the work of the Embriachi. The bulging-chested figures and also the costumes of jerkins with belts placed low about the hips we have found to be frequent in North Italian work. The usual Embriachesque angularity and flatness of cutting are less noticeable on the Gibbs casket than on the plaques of the Museo Cristiano, but appear to a certain extent in the profiling of the legs of the male figures, while the drapery, particularly the heavy cloak of the king shown on the cover, displays the flatness of surface so like that of the Embriachi work.

² Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1116 *bis*. Of the same style as this is a double-faced plaque in the British Museum (Dalton, *op. cit.*, no. 352; it is mentioned by Koechlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, under no. 497).

³ Dalton, *op. cit.*, Pl. 90, no. 384; Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1115. Koechlin rightly compares the style of the Gibbs casket to this.

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(Fig. 67) representing some romantic subject shows the same sort of ornament. Though the style of this mirror is not so close to the Vatican plaques as is that of the Cracow mirror, it clearly displays the corrugated Italian drapery. Very similar in style to this is a third mirror in the Museo Civico at Bologna¹ (Fig. 68) which has an arrangement of scenes enclosed in circles unlike any other mirror case that I know. Here the Embriachesque effect is stronger in the verticality of the drapery folds, in the angularity of the cutting of the outlines, and again in the tightly fitting jerkins with belts worn low.

There are many other ivories of the same general style but lack of space prevents their consideration here. The style of all of them offers the same evidence for a North Italian provenance as has been found in the members of the group that have been discussed. The iconography of this group is, as we have seen, that of the fifteenth century, and a date early in that century in Italy is in best agreement with the details of costume.

4. AN UNFINISHED RELIEF OF A MADONNA AND FOUR SAINTS BENEATH CANOPIES, no. 602.

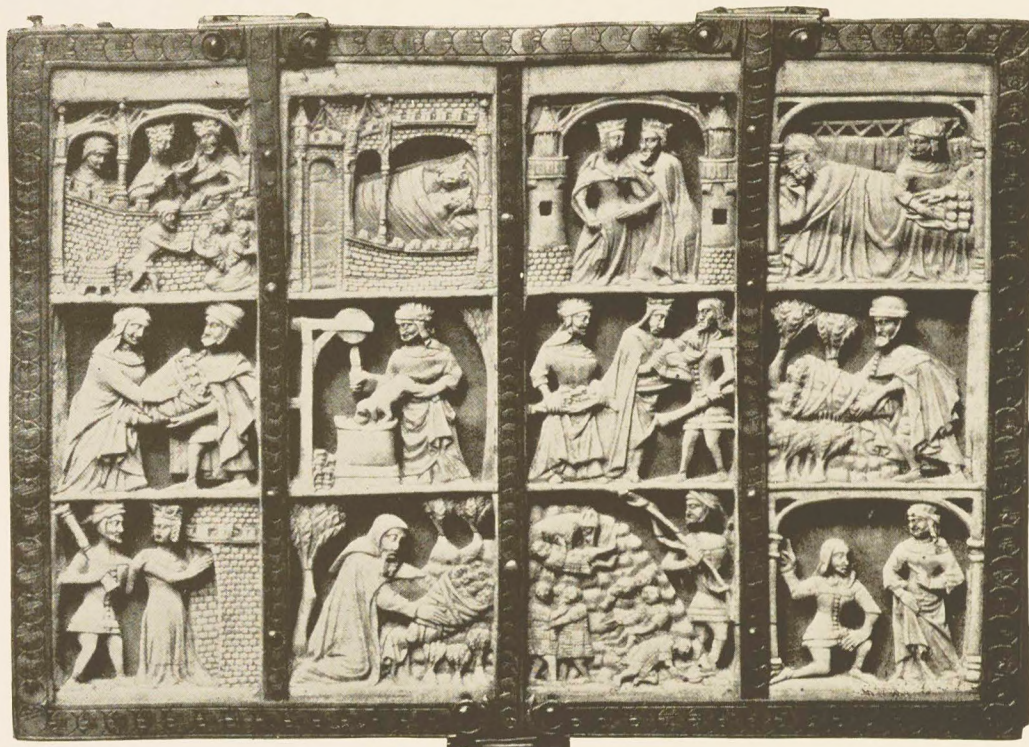
The unfinished ivory, no. 602² (Fig. 69), which represents the Virgin and Child with two saints on either side beneath canopies, appears stylistically to be a result of the spread of the Burgundian style over Europe. It displays little of the Embriachesque, North Italian character, and but for the fact that it can be proved iconographically to be an Italian ivory, one would perhaps give it as of Burgundian workmanship. The saints on the left side of the plaque are Paul and Petronius, and on the right, Michael and Peter. St. Paul is identified by his sword and book, St. Peter by his keys, and St. Michael by the scales which he holds and by the dragon which he tramples under foot.

The St. Petronius is the figure that definitely determines the provenance of the ivory, however, for he is the patron saint of Bologna and is identified by his bishop's costume and by the model of the town which he holds in his hand. Though there are several other bishops depicted with the model of a town, the one that St. Petronius carries is distinctive in its representation of the two towers of Bologna, the Garisenda and the Asinelli. On the altar of the church of San Francesco at Bologna, the work of the Masegne brothers, who were Venetian sculptors of the end of the fourteenth century, St. Petronius is thus represented³ (Fig. 70). The similarity between the towers of the city held by this St. Petronius and those of the model carried by the bishop of the Vatican ivory is evident, the only difference being that on the ivory they are

¹ Koechlin, *op. cit.*, no. 1113.

² Kanzler, *op. cit.*, Pl. 20, no. 4(78).

³ The figure on the altar has been identified as St. Petronius by Planiscig, *op. cit.*, p. 191.



64. Cover from an openwork casket. Gibbs Collection, Tyntesfield, England (Burlington Catalogue, 1923)



65. Austrian painting, about 1400 (Kieslinger)



66. Mirror case. Czartoryski Museum, Cracow (Koechlin)



67. Mirror case. British Museum, no. 384 (Dalton)



68. Mirror case. Museo Civico, Bologna (Koechlin)

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reversed in position. In other words, the ivory-cutter has represented a view of the city taken from the side opposite to that shown by the Masegne, which accounts for the absence of the city gate on the ivory model.

There is further evidence for an Italian provenance to support the iconographic attribution. In the first place, the use of Sts. Peter and Paul flanking the Virgin is rare in France, frequent in Italy. The ornament on the throne of the Virgin seems to be a rendering of Cosmatesque work. The angels supporting the crown over the Virgin are smaller in scale than those on the French ivories and they fly with a verve and swirl foreign to the French representations of them. The figure style of the St. Petronius, in contrast to the other figures, is particularly that of Northern Italy in its static quality, its proportions of tiny head and long, vertical body, and particularly in the drapery rendering that is smooth over the upper part of the body and falls in long, corrugated folds of the skirt to break in a sharp even line as it hits the ground.

The rest of the figures, on the other hand, are much more Franco-Flemish in style. Their squatness, their large heads, the drapery cascade down the front as well as the realistic representation of old age in Peter and Paul, are Burgundian rather than Italian. We have already seen in relation to late thirteenth-century illumination (see page 185) that Bologna, probably because of its great cosmopolitan university, was particularly open to Transalpine influences. Yet in other parts of Italy examples of style that is very Flemish in character sometimes appeared during the late Gothic. For example, a German sculptor, Piero di Giovanni Tedesco, worked on the Porta della Mandorla of Florence Cathedral from 1391 to 1397,¹ the same portal for which Donatello did two prophet statues between 1406 and 1408, surprisingly Flemish in style though with a certain refinement of feeling that is distinctly native.² On the Vatican ivory, too, there is a certain general refinement that would be inconsistent in the work of a Burgundian working in Burgundy. The fact that all the figures except the Petronius are quite Franco-Flemish can best be explained on the assumption of a follower of Northern style working in Bologna. For the Madonna, and for Peter, Paul, and Michael, he followed Northern formulas. The figure of Petronius, the local saint, would naturally impose the following of a Bolognese model with the peculiar result of an Italian stamp upon this figure, which gives it its marked contrast to the rest.

As for the date of the ivory, the *Quattrocento* is indicated by its general appearance. The unfinished canopy over the Virgin was to have been completed in the late Gothic style and hence in Italy the ivory must be earlier

¹ H. Kauffmann, "Florentiner Domplastik (zweiter Teil)," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1926, vol. XLVII, pp. 216 ff.

² The date for these statues is taken from M. Cruttwell, *Donatello* (London, 1911), p. 22.

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than 1500,¹ yet the individualization and realism of the faces is so great, and the premonition of the High Renaissance so visible in the figure of Petronius, that an early date in the fifteenth century is unlikely.

With this Bolognese ivory is completed the consideration of those Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano which offer the strongest evidence for a North Italian provenance. Basing the attribution to Italy on ivories that are definitely North Italian, particularly those produced by the atelier of the Embriachi, I have attempted to point out certain stylistic characteristics that seem to me peculiar to the art of that particular region. It might be well to end this article with a final brief summary of the most important of these characteristics.

The most obvious North Italian feature is the verticality and the static quality of the long thin figures with their tiny heads. This verticality of the figures is generally further accented by vertical folds of corrugated drapery that breaks sharply in an even line whenever it strikes the ground and that contrasts sharply with the flowing drapery of Northern Gothic. The small heads of the figures almost invariably display a sharp, straight cutting of the edge of the jaw and beard which gives to the heads the appearance of jutting out far over the neck. As to technique, the cutting of the ivories is generally very angular and thus very different from the suaver lines of Northern work. The relief is much flatter than in the North and the edges are marked by distinct outlines. The method of hinging the wings of the ivory polyptychs almost always differs from that of Transalpine work in the employment of wire loops instead of a flange, diagonally inserted and fixed with diagonal pins. All these technical points are supported iconographically by the presence of many scenes and elements which Mâle has cited as entering France from Byzantine iconography *via* Italy. But whereas this iconography entered France only at the end of the Gothic period, it existed in Italy throughout the Gothic centuries.

On the basis of these characteristics it seems to me that there is excellent reason for believing that a considerable number of Gothic ivories, many of them distinctly imitating the French manner, originated in Italy. In a later article the remainder of the Gothic ivories in the Museo Cristiano will be considered and in that article I hope, among other things, to isolate certain characteristics of Gothic ivory cutting which are caused by a German origin. In a later article will also be considered the Renaissance ivories in the Museo Cristiano.

¹ E. Begni, *The Vatican, Its History, Its Treasures* (New York, 1914), p. 417, dates this ivory in the sixteenth century — to my mind too late a date.

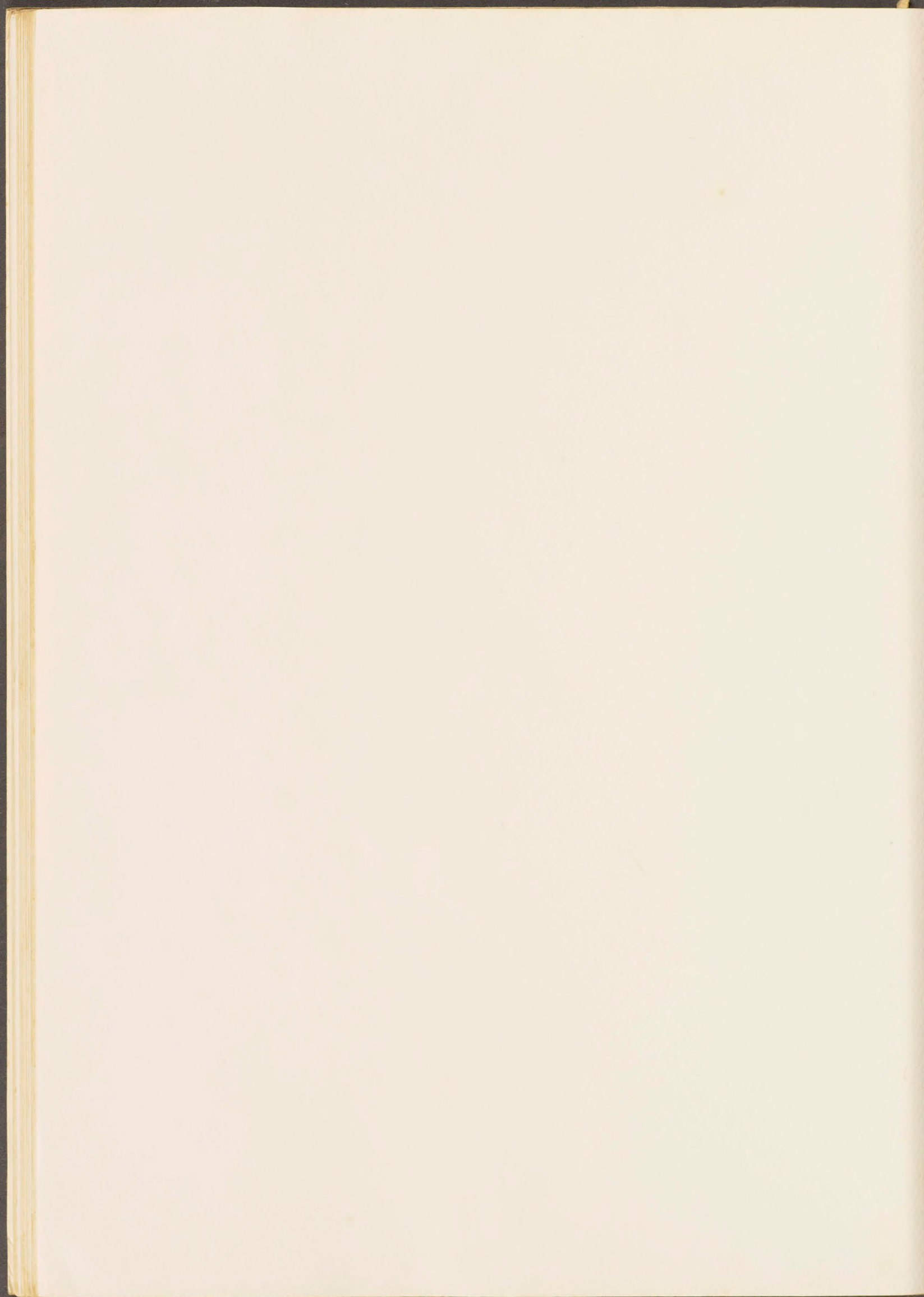


69. Unfinished relief representing the Madonna and Four Saints. Museo Cristiano, no. 602



70. Detail showing St. Petronius from the altar of San Francesco, Bologna. (Planiscig)





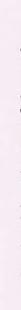
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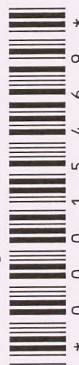
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