IMAGES OF CHARITY, CONFLICT, AND KINGSHIP:
THE ICONOGRAPHY OF A PAIR OF CRUSADER IVORIES

by

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A pair of mid-twelfth-century ivory plaques, carved in Jerusalem, and now in the British Library, are important both as the only known twelfth-century Crusader ivories, and as the one-time covers of Queen Melisende's Psalter (London, B.L. Egerton MS 1139; 1131-1143) -- the most complete and lavishly illuminated manuscript to have survived from the first Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187).

Iconographically, the ivories are unique. On the front cover are two main sequences: scenes from the life of David, and images of the major Virtues and Vices -- cycles which are not usually portrayed in juxtaposition. On the back cover, a third major cycle, in which a king performs the six Acts of Mercy, is also noteworthy -- both for its unique association with the other two cycles, and for the number of its individual scenes, which makes it unrivalled among earlier or contemporary mercy cycles, in the completeness of its adherence to its textual source. This thesis is concerned with the textual and pictorial origins of these distinctive groups of images.

Chapter II identifies the major and subordinate textual sources of the ivories' iconography, thus demonstrating the primarily narrative function of the images. The covers are also pictorially expressive of three themes -- charity, conflict, and
kingship -- which, together, are conceptually related to the ideal and actuality of Davidic kingship in twelfth-century Jerusalem. Chapter III considers the specific artistic sources of the imagery, citing iconographically-comparable examples from Jerusalem and elsewhere. The ivories are found to have pictorial affinities with some contemporary manuscripts from Byzantium and Western Europe, and in this, they typify the dual artistic tradition that was the hallmark of the Jerusalem scriptorium in the mid-twelfth century. The ivories also depict several decorative motifs, characteristic of the local artistic tradition. The presence of such motifs not only confirms the previously-established Jerusalem provenance of the ivories, but also becomes a means of differentiating between the two artists who carved them. Chapter IV briefly considers problems, mentioned in, or related to the concerns of, the two preceding chapters. Questions of style, dating, and patronage are somewhat elaborated, and suggestions are made for follow-up research.

In explaining the narrative and thematic significance of their iconography, and in detailing their relationship to Byzantine, Western, and local artistic traditions, this study demonstrates that the ivory covers of the Melisende Psalter are both conceptually and pictorially characteristic of their time and place of origin.
CONTENTS

ABSTRACT ........................................ ii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS .............................. vi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ................................ xiii
CHAPTER I.  INTRODUCTION .......................... 1
    The general art historical importance of the ivories; a brief survey of scholarship on the ivories; the purposes and scope of this study.

CHAPTER II.  THE NARRATIVE AND HISTORICAL MEANING OF THE IVORIES' ICONOGRAPHY ................. 10
    Description of the ivories; the David cycle; the Virtues and Vices cycle; the Acts of Mercy cycle; the minor cycles; unusual aspects of the iconography; the major textual source of the iconographic programme; the secondary textual source; the themes of the iconographic programme; the contemporary significance of the themes and images

CHAPTER III.  THE IVORIES AND THE JERUSALEM Scriptorium IN THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY ............... 45
    The Jerusalem scriptorium, 1130-1150; the ivories and the Psalter; the ivories and the twofold artistic tradition of the Jerusalem scriptorium; the twofold tradition and the problem of the ivories' models; the Byzantine models; the Western models; the English influence in the Jerusalem scriptorium, 1130-1150; the ivories' local motifs; the ivories' artists

CHAPTER IV.  RELATED CONCERNS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE STUDY .......................... 83
    Conclusion

iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure


2. Front cover. (British Library photograph)

3. Back cover. (British Library photograph)

4 a. Diagram showing major measurements of the front cover.
   b. Diagram showing major measurements of the back cover.

5 a. Front cover. Diagram of compositional parallels with the back cover.
   b. Back cover. Diagram of compositional parallels with the front cover.

6. The Tree of Virtues. De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus. Second quarter, 12th century. Salzburg, Studienbibliothek, MS Sign. V.I.H. 162, folio 76r. (From Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art, Pl. XLI-67)

7 a. Rosette motif. Melisende Psalter. Jerusalem, 1131-43. London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139, folio 23v. (Detail of Fig. 14a, after Buchthal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, Pl. 13a)
   b. Rosette motif. Front cover. (Detail from Fig. 2)

8 a. Beadwork motif. Melisende Psalter, folio 23v. (Detail of Fig. 14a, after Buchthal, Pl. 13a)
   b. Beadwork motif. Front cover, lower left corner. (Detail from Fig. 2)

9 a. Bird. Melisende Psalter, folio 23v. (After Buchthal, Pl. 13a)
   b. Bird. Front cover, lower frame. (Detail from Fig. 2)
Figure

c. Bird. Melisende Psalter, folio 89v. (After Buchthal, Pl. 15b)

d. Bird. Back cover, lower-right interstice. (Detail from Fig. 3)

10 a. Knotwork. Detail of an initial E. Melisende Psalter, folio 106v. (After Buchthal, Pl. 16a)

b. Knotwork. Front cover, right frame. (Detail from Fig. 2)

11 a. "Rope" motif. Melisende Psalter, folio 46v. (From Buchthal, Pl. 14a)

b. "Rope" motif. Back cover, lower-right corner. (Detail from Fig. 3)

12 a. Trefoil motif. Melisende Psalter, folio 74v. (From Buchthal, Pl. 15a)

b. Trefoil motif. Back cover, right frame. (Detail from Fig. 3)

13 a. Letters. Melisende Psalter, folio 89v. (After Buchthal, Pl. 15b)

b. Letters. Front cover, top-left, bottom-left, and top-right medallions.

14 a. David as Musician. Beatus Initial. Melisende Psalter, folio 23v. (After Buchthal, Pl. 13a)

b. David as Musician. Front cover, bottom-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

15. David as Musician. Augustinus. Canterbury, ca 1070-1100. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 5 26, folio 1. (From Dodwell, The Canterbury School of Illumination, Pl. 10b)

Figure

b. David as Musician. Enlarged detail from Fig. 16a.

17 a. Virtues vanquish Pride. Hortus Deliciarum. Germany, 1159-80. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 13002, folio 199v. (From Cames, Allégories et Symboles dans l'Hortus Deliciarum, Pl. XXXII-50.)

b. Fortitudo defeats Avaritia. Front cover, lower-centre interstice. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

18 a. Initial E. Bible. England, ca 1170. Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.1, Vol. III, folio 131v. (From Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts, Fig. 282)

b. David and Goliath. Front cover, centre-left medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


19 a. Anointing of David. Initial D. Psalter. England, ca 1170. Durham, Cathedral Library, A.II.9, folio 63. (From Kauffmann, Fig. 283)

b. Anointing of David. Front cover, upper-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

c. Decorative motif. Detail of the initial to I Kings. Winchester Bible. Winchester, third quarter, 12th century. Winchester Cathedral Library unnumbered MS, folio 88r. (After, Oakeshott, Sigena, p. 84)

20 a. Ornamental border. Detail of the Tree of Jesse Window, Chartres Cathedral. Ca 1154. (After Watson, Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse, Pl. 26)

b. Ornamental border. Front cover, right and left frame. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

c. Decorative motif. Detail of the initial to I Kings. Winchester Bible. Winchester, third quarter, 12th century. Winchester Cathedral Library unnumbered MS, folio 88r. (After, Oakeshott, Sigena, p. 84)


b. Trefoil motif. Back cover, left frame. (Detail from a British Library photograph)
Figure


b. Corner ornament. Back cover, top-left, top-right, and bottom-right corners. (Details from Fig. 3)

c. Marginal ornament. Initial I. Gospels. Canterbury, ca 1140-50. London, British Library, Royal MS I.B.XI, folio 114. (From Kauffmann, Fig. 172)


27. Inhabited scrollwork. Arm from a stool. Ivory. Winchester, mid-12th century. Florence, Museo Nazionale. (From Beckwith, Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England, Fig. 168)

28 a. Crozier. Enamel-work. England, ca 1175. Florence, Bargello, Carrand Collection. (From Cahier, Nouveaux Mêlanges d'Archeologie, d'Histoire, et de Litterature, vol. 4, Fig. 84)

b. Virtues overcoming Vices. David rescuing a Lamb. Detail of Crozier shown in Fig. 28a. (From Swarzenski, Monuments of Romanesque Art, Pl. 196)

b. Feeding the Hungry. Back cover, top-left medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


b. Giving Drink to the Thirsty. Back cover, top-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


b. Love of the Poor. Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzen. Byzantine, 14th century, from a 10th century model. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS gr. 543, folio 310v. (From Omont, Pl. CXXV)

c. Giving Shelter to the Homeless. Back cover, centre-left medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


b. Clothing the Naked. Back cover, centre-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


b. Comforting the Sick. Back cover, bottom-left medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

Figure

b. Visiting the Imprisoned. Back cover, bottom-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


b. Penitence of David. Front cover, bottom-left medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

36 a. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Melisende Psalter, folio 3r. (From Buchthal, Pl. 3a)

b. David and Ahimelech. Front cover, centre-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

37 a. Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Sermons. Byzantine-Cassinese, 11th century. Monte Cassino, MS 98, folio 111v. (From Salmi, Italian Miniatures, Fig. 3)

b. David and Ahimelech. Back cover, centre-right medallion. (Detail from a British Library photograph)


b. Largitas. Front cover, bottom-centre interstice. (Detail from a British Library photograph)

c. Fides slays Discordia. St. Albans Prudentius, folio 28v. (After Saunders, English Illumination, Pl. 34a)


b. David as Musician. Front cover, bottom-right medallion. (British Library photograph)


Figure

42 a. English harp. 12th or 13th century. (After Galpin, Old English Instruments of Music, Fig. 1)

b. Front cover. Detail of bottom-right medallion showing English harp. (Detail from Fig. 2)

43 a. Knotwork motif. Fragment of a royal tomb. Jerusalem, late 12th century. (From Jacoby, "The Tomb of Baldwin V," Gesta 18 (1979):3-14, Fig. 6a)

b. Knotwork motif. Front cover, right frame. (Detail from Fig. 2)

c. Knotwork motif. Back cover, left frame. (Detail from Fig. 3)

44 a. Grape motif. Sculpted ornament on a royal tomb fragment. Jerusalem, late 12th century. (From Jacoby, Fig. 4)

b. Grape motif. Front cover, upper frame. (Detail from Fig. 2)

c. Grape motif. Back cover, upper frame. (Detail from Fig. 3)


b. Spiral rosettes. Back cover, medallion joinings. (Detail from Fig. 3)

c. Spiral rosettes. Sculpted ornament on a royal tomb fragment. Jerusalem, late 12th century. (From Jacoby, Fig. 11)

46 a. Diamond and bead motif. Western portal, southern facade, Holy Sepulchre Church. Jerusalem, ca 1150. (From Kenaan, Pl. 58d)

b. Diamond and bead motif. Front cover, lower third, left side. (Detail from Fig. 2)
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The British Library has a pair of carved ivory plaques, made in Jerusalem during the time of the first Latin Kingdom (1099-1187). ¹ The ivories date to the middle of the twelfth century, and were designed for the cover of a Psalter (London, British Library, Egerton MS 1139), made for Melisende, queen of Jerusalem between 1131 and 1152. The more recent history of the ivories is largely unknown. ² There is no record of their location or usage until the eighteenth century, by which time they were in the possession of the Grande Chartreuse at Grenoble. ³ In the early nineteenth century, they were owned by a Dr. Commermont of Lyons, who, in 1845, sold them, along with the Psalter, to the British Museum. Today, in the interests of conservation and effective display, manuscript and covers are no longer bound together: the Psalter is contained in a brown leather binding, while the ivories, exhibited nearby, are preserved in separate plexiglass casings (Fig. 1). ⁴
The General Art Historical Importance of the Ivories

Broadly speaking, the ivories' art historical significance is double-based: It rests upon their singular position amongst known examples of Crusader art, and, as well, upon certain unique features of their iconography. First of all, within the context of Crusader art, the ivories are important as the covers of the Melisende Psalter -- the most complete and lavishly illuminated manuscript to have survived from twelfth-century Latin Jerusalem. As manuscript covers, they are also among the relatively few examples of Crusader decorative art. Moreover, they are the only known twelfth-century Crusader ivories, and as such, comprise the whole of existing evidence which shows that ivory carving was among the arts practiced in Jerusalem during the time of the first Latin Kingdom. Of interest for this reason alone, the ivories are, nevertheless, noteworthy also for a pictorial richness and variety that is unsurpassed amongst contemporary ivories from both Byzantium and the West. Each plaque depicts several figures in various poses, as well as animals, birds, fruit, flowers, and a range of non-representational decorative motifs. Finally, the pair of covers is also unique with regard to its iconographic cycles. On the front cover (Fig. 2) are two sequences: scenes from the life of David, and images of the major Virtues and Vices -- cycles which are not usually portrayed in juxtaposition. The third major cycle, portrayed on the back cover (Fig. 3), is comprised of six scenes, in each of
which, a king performs a merciful deed. This cycle too is noteworthy, for, in the number of its scenes, and hence, in the completeness of its adherence to its textual source, it is unrivalled among other earlier or contemporary mercy cycles.8

In view of the ivories' singular position with respect to both twelfth-century Crusader art and medieval iconography in general, it is not surprising that, in the years since their 1845 acquisition by the British Museum, they have attracted the attention of a number of art historians.

A Brief Survey of Scholarship on the Ivories

A short description of the pair of covers was first published in 1846, by A. du Sommerard, in a general survey of medieval art.9 Some years later, in the monumental Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archéologie, d'Histoire, et de Littérature, Father C. Cahier provided a lengthier discussion of the ivories, one in which he thoroughly described their iconography, and identified some of its associated problems.10 Although occasionally inaccurate, and in some respects dated, Cahier's 1874 work remains amongst the most thorough pieces of scholarship on the ivories to date.11 Several other nineteenth-century archeologists and art historians also studied the ivories, but, for the most part, their findings only duplicated, rather than augmented, those of Cahier.12

Widespread scholarly interest in the ivories continued into the first part of the twentieth century, and they are mentioned,
or described briefly, in a number of surveys and catalogues. Of the work done on the ivories during the first three decades of this century, that of O.M. Dalton was the most prolific. Between 1909 and 1925, he published the ivories three times: once as part of a catalogue, and subsequently, in two large survey works. For the most part, Dalton only reiterated existing information, but he is noteworthy for having suggested an additional source of stylistic influence, one that was previously unsuspected, and which is still plausible today. In the 1930's, references to the ivories began to appear in a wider variety of writings. In 1934, Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann included the covers in their large study of Byzantine ivories, while two years later, J. Strzygowski noted the resemblance between one of the ivories' decorative motifs and that of some royal tombs in Jerusalem. The ivories were also part of T.S.R. Boase's 1938 article on the arts in the Latin Kingdom, and they were mentioned as well, in 1939, by Adolph Katzenellenbogen, in his Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art.

Since 1939, the ivories have received very little additional scholarly attention. In this regard, the 1940's represent a complete hiatus, while in the 1950's, they were accorded only brief mention in a few diverse works. In the 1960's, however, the ivories were included in two important German works: Frauke Steenbock's survey of medieval bookbinding, and Hugo Steger's comprehensive study of the iconography of King David as
Musician. Neither Steenbock nor Steger provides an exhaustive treatment of the ivories, but their respective works are the most significant recent contributions to the subject. The past decade has yielded no new information on the ivories: There are only summaries of previous research, contained in a few general histories of the kingdom, while the latest work to include the ivories, a 1977 survey of Crusader art, does not discuss them at length.

It will have been noted that, to date, scholarship relating directly to the ivory covers has only been incidental to work on other larger topics: Crusader art in general, ivories, iconography, bookbinding, and manuscripts. That is, until now, the ivories have never been the subject of an article or other type of monographical study. Thus, to compensate, at least in part, for what has been a deficiency in the literature on these important ivories, is the general aim of this paper. Its more specific aims, as well as its main focus, are described below.

The Purposes and Scope of this Study

At the beginning of this chapter, mention was made of the ivories' iconographic variety and uniqueness, two qualities which seem to merit a detailed study. For the most part, iconographic research-to-date has not progressed beyond basic identification of the covers' main scenes and brief references to their more apparent textual sources. Thus, the major task of this study will be to provide a more in-depth iconographic
analysis of the ivories. This analysis will incorporate the results of previous scholarship, but will also, more completely than ever before, examine the pictorial cycles, both separately and in conjunction with one another; relate these cycles to the ivories' major, as well as their subordinate, textual sources; identify examples of comparable imagery; and make suggestions regarding possible models.

Chapter II will begin by describing the appearance and general visual effect of the iconographic programme as a whole. Next will be presented the accumulated findings of previous scholarship. Specifically, this will entail identifying the images, transcribing their Latin labels, and quoting, or referring to, their most obvious textual sources -- the Psalms, the New Testament, and the Psychomachia. In the course of presenting this information, the unusual and/or problematic features of the iconography will be noted, and any existing theories in this regard considered. Having thus supplied the necessary background data, Chapter II will concentrate on the achievement of its main aim -- the explication of the combined narrative, thematic, and historical significance of the iconographic programme. Through the matching of imagery and texts, it will become clear that, with the exception of the purely decorative border motifs, each image on both ivories is part of a single pictorial narrative. As will be demonstrated, the story -- the Psychomachian fight between good and evil -- begins at the top of the front cover, progresses across and downward, and, through
certain iconographic linking devices, continues and concludes on the back cover. This interpretation of the ivories as continuous narrative is original to this study, and can be shown to explain most of the ivories' iconographic idiosyncracies, which have puzzled scholars in the past. Those remaining unusual images and picture-text discrepancies, for which the narrative does not account, can be largely explained by reference to another text, one not previously recognized as having any bearing on the ivories' imagery: This text is an early twelfth-century treatise on the conflict between spirituality and carnal pleasures -- a subject having clear thematic affinities with the Psychomachian opposition of Virtues and Vices.21

In conjunction with their story-telling function, the ivories are also pictorially expressive of three interrelated themes: charity, conflict, and kingship. The first two of these themes are emphasized in the Psychomachia, and all three are recurring motifs throughout the Psalms. However, as will be shown, these themes had a broader basis, and arose also out of a set of contemporary concerns, whose focus was the idea of the regnum Davidicum -- Davidic monarchy. In delimiting this conceptual and historical framework for the ivories, a variety of sources will be used. In this regard, passing reference can be made here to an important contemporary history -- that of William, a twelfth-century bishop of Tyre.

After establishing a general narrative, conceptual, and historical context for the ivories, this study will next
consider their more specific iconographic origins. Chapter III, accordingly, will cite works, from Jerusalem and elsewhere, which are iconographically comparable to the ivories; in addition, it will make suggestions regarding possible models, and will identify the more important artistic influences that helped to determine the character of the iconographic programme. Several ideas and hypotheses relating to these concerns will be presented for the first time. In considering the ivories' specific iconographic origins, Chapter III will have an additional purpose: the highlighting of the particular artistic milieu that produced the ivories -- Jerusalem's Holy Sepulchre scriptorium. This discussion of the scriptorium will devote some attention to Crusader illumination, as well as to other art forms which, like manuscripts and the ivories, were made in the scriptorium, or, which were locally-made nearby, and hence, were subject to similar artistic influences.

Chapter IV, the final chapter of this paper, will make reference to certain problems which are related to the key iconographic findings to be presented in Chapters II and III. These problems include the stylistic origins and affinities of the ivories, their exact date, and the identity of their patron. Chapter IV's discussion of these concerns will not be lengthy, since style, dating, and patronage are topics which are only on the periphery of this paper's main focus. However, where necessary and appropriate, these problems will be somewhat elaborated, and if warranted, suggestions will be made with regard to possible directions for further research.
Despite these side issues, the overriding concern of this study is iconographic, and within this area of concentration, the intention is threefold: to explain the narrative and thematic significance of the ivories' imagery; to identify its sources, first textual, then pictorial; and lastly, to place the ivories into their particular geographic, temporal, and artistic context. This, in brief, defines the scope of the following discussion.
CHAPTER II

THE NARRATIVE AND HISTORICAL MEANING
OF THE IVORIES' ICONOGRAPHY

The iconographic programme of the ivories has a twofold significance. It is first of all narrative: its separate cycles and their component images are juxtaposed in such a way that they illustrate a single text from beginning to end. The narrative evokes certain themes which have parallels in contemporary thought and concerns. In this sense, the iconography is also historical: through its imagery and associated themes, it reflects facets of the most important institution of twelfth-century Latin Jerusalem -- the monarchy.

Not surprisingly, given their dual narrative/historical significance, the ivories are visually complex. As such, they warrant a detailed description.

Description of the Ivories

Both ivories are rich in figural and animal imagery, which is, in each case, contained in an elaborate ornamental border. Of the two, the front cover (Fig. 2) is pictorially the more complex, illustrating two major cycles -- the life of David in the medallions, and the Psychomachia of Prudentius in the
interstices -- and one minor cycle, consisting of the female personifications of four virtues, each of which occupies one of the inner corners of the ivory. The back cover (Fig. 3) depicts only two cycles: the major one, the Acts of Mercy, is contained in the medallions, while a minor one, comprised of animals and birds, occupies the interstices and inner corners. On both ivories, Latin inscriptions help to identify the textual source of each cycle.

Despite their pictorial differences, the ivories display a marked consistency in dimensions and composition. The front cover measures 5 5/8 x 8 1/2 inches, while the dimensions of the back are 5 5/8 x 8 5/8 inches. The 1/8th inch discrepancy in the lengthwise measurement is accounted for by the dimensions of the decorative borders, which measure 1/16th inch wider at the top and bottom of the back cover (Figs. 4a and 4b). Apart from this exception, the ivories' measurements are remarkably uniform. For example, the diameters of the medallions on both covers are, for the most part, identical, and in no instance, are they at variance more than a fraction of an inch (Figs. 4a and 4b). On each ivory, the six medallions interlock with one another to form three horizontal rows of two medallions each. Every one of the twelve medallions contains two or more figures, and in so far as differing subject matter permits, there is a degree of compositional uniformity within individual medallions. Most noticeable in this regard, are the two centre medallions of each ivory (Figs. 5a and 5b). On both ivories, the interstices
formed by the medallions are similarly uniform in size with regard to their counterparts on the other ivory. In all cases, the measurements of corresponding long axes show only minor variations (Figs. 4a and 4b). Although the scenes portrayed in the interstices are different on each cover -- one showing figures, the other, animals and birds -- the two sets of imagery are expressively consistent with one another. The two pairs of struggling animals in the centre interstices of the back cover are similar, in mood and degree of action, to the battling figures in the corresponding spaces of the front cover. In terms of expressive consistency, the remaining interstices are less directly comparable. However, it can be noted that they are similar in evidencing an impulse to alter shapes to conform to available space. As a result, the images in the interstices, despite their essential dissimilarity, acquire a certain congruence of shape that adds to the overall compositional uniformity of the ivories. In this regard, the most striking example is that of the corner interstices of each ivory. On the back cover, note how the general shape of the corner-birds, and their head-positions relative to the surrounding space, resemble the corresponding forms and head-positions of the human figures portrayed in the corners of the front cover (Figs. 5a and 5b). Similar, although less obvious, correspondences can also be noted among the birds and the figures in the outer-side interstices of both ivories (Figs. 5a and 5b).

The animal and figural imagery is complemented by more purely ornamental elements which, with respect to usage and
arrangement, are, for the most part, consistent on both ivories. Each cover is bordered by a wide decorative frame, the main motif of which is a scrollwork design of grapes and foliage. On the back cover, a single instance of interlace, in the middle of the left frame, is the only interruption in the otherwise continuous and largely consistent pattern. The design of the front cover frame is somewhat more elaborate. Here, on the top and bottom, the dominant motif is inhabited by birds and fishes, while the scrollwork on the sides has been interwoven with sets of interlace, two in the left frame, and three in the right. Both covers have subordinate decoration -- a diamond-and-bead pattern on the front, and a rope-like motif on the back -- which is conceived as a continuum that simultaneously frames the medallions and acts as an inner border. On each cover, four evenly-spaced rosettes complete the decorative programme, and, as with the main and subordinate frames, there is a slight variation between front and back, indicating a conscious and consistent artistic impulse to achieve unity without monotony. The only element that does not have a counterpart is the narrow beadwork border around the main frame of the front cover. The absence of this motif on the other ivory is apparently due to the fact that the back cover was never quite finished. Clear evidence of its incomplete state can be seen in the ornamental border, where it can be noted that, in the lower-middle and top-right segments, a beadwork motif, subordinate to the main scroll, abruptly terminates. Its unfinished condition does not seriously detract
from the general effect of the back cover, nor does this dis­crepancy between the two ivories mar their overall compositional and decorative unity. In general, the covers are remarkable for the skill of their carving, their wealth of detail, and for the way in which both ornamental and figural design-elements complement, but do not overwhelm, one another.²

Existing literature on the ivories has not recognized that their visual uniformity reinforces their narrative and thematic continuity. The remainder of this chapter will detail the means and sources of this continuity. The hypothesis to be presented is that the five distinct cycles which comprise the ivories' iconographic programme are thematically related, and thus, function as component parts of one complete narrative, based primarily on one textual source. This source, the fifth-century Psychomachia of Prudentius, has never before been acknowledged as the textual basis for the ivories' entire iconographic programme.³ Before explaining precisely how seemingly unrelated sets of imagery interwork to tell the story of the fight for man's soul, clarity requires a brief description of, and identification of textual sources for, each of the three major component cycles.⁴

The David Cycle

The main cycle on the front cover is, as might be expected on a Psalter, composed of scenes from the life of David. Proceeding from left to right, and top to bottom, the medallions
illustrate the following episodes recorded in the books of Samuel:

- David rescues a lamb from a lion and bear (I Samuel 17:34-36).
- Samuel annoints David at Bethlehem (I Samuel 16:4 and 13).
- David meets Goliath (I Samuel 18:48-50).
- David receives the sword of Goliath from the priest, Ahimelech, while Doeg, Saul's servant, looks on (I Samuel 21:3-9).

In accordance with the instructions of the prophet, Gad, David repents, builds an altar, and makes offerings of peace to God, while an angel looks on (II Samuel 24:17-18 and 25).

David, accompanied by four other musicians, makes music in praise of God.

Previous writers on the ivories have not explicitly identified the textual source for the last medallion, in which are portrayed David and his musicians. Thus, it can be noted for the first time here that the scene is seemingly a composite of three different texts: II Samuel 22:50, which refers to David's singing of praises to God, I Chronicles 13:8, 15:19, and 16:42, which together describe the instruments and name the musicians; and finally, the text that most forcibly recalls the ivories' function as Psalter covers, Psalm 150:1, 3 and 4:

> Praise ye the Lord.../ with the sound of the trumpet:... with the psaltery and harp./ Praise him with the timbrel... with stringed instruments and organs.

The above identification of persons, events and textual sources was facilitated by Latin inscriptions naming the main figures, animals, and objects contained in each medallion. Again
proceeding from left to right, top to bottom, the inscriptions in the front cover medallions are as follows:

DAVID LEO URS' AGN'
SAMUEL UNGITUR DAVID BETHLEEM
DAVID GOLIAS
DAVID ABIMEL'C DOEG
DAVID EGO PECCAVI ALTARE PPH GD (Propheta Gad) CONSTRUE ALTARE DNO (inscribed on Gad's scroll)
ETAN IDITUN ASAPH EMAN. 7

Similar kinds of inscriptional clues also aid in the identification of the scenes and textual sources of the ivories' other cycles.

The Virtues and Vices Cycle

This second cycle occupies the interstices of the front-cover medallions, and illustrates the struggle between virtue and vice, both of which are depicted in the form of female personifications. On the basis of the inscriptions, the combatants can be identified as follows:

Faith (FIDES) - Idolatry (IDOLAT[R]A)
Chastity (PUDICITIA) - Lust (LIBIDO)
Humility (HUMILITAS) and Hope (SPES) - Pride (SUP[BR]B[I]A)
Patience (PATIENCIA) - Anger (IRA)
Moderation (SOBRIETAS) - Extravagance (LUXURIA)
Courage, Strength (FORTITUDO) - Greed (AVARITIA)
Concord (CO[N]CORDIA) - Discord (DISCORDIA);
and alone at the bottom, is Largesse (LARGITAS).
This cycle derives directly, and almost exclusively, from the *Psychomachia.* Sequentially, from centre-top to centre-bottom, and from left to right, the front cover unfolds the story of the fight for man's soul, in much the same way as it was conceived by Prudentius himself:

Faith first takes the field to face... Worship-of-the-Old-Gods... and smites her foe's head down....

Next to step forth... is the maiden Chastity... with a sword-thrust... pierces the... throat of that... filthy Lust....

Lo, mild Long-Suffering was standing with staid countenance... while wild passion fires Wrath to slay herself....

Lowliness had gathered for war... to meet Pride in her madness.... As she hesitates, her faithful comrade Hope comes to her side, holds out to her the sword of vengeance.... [Lowliness] bends the neck, severs the head....

Soberness opens up a way... whereby the temptress Indulgence, for all her great train, shall pay the penalty... Soberness... drives the stone to smash the breath passage in the midst of the face....

Good Works dashes in.... Like a thunderbolt to Avarice was the sight of the invincible Virtue.... The victor presses hard on her with knee and foot, stabs her through the ribs....

Then kindly Peace... banishes war.... stopped her speech and blocked the passage of her voice with a javelin, driving its hard point through the foul tongue.

It can be noted that, in their portrayal of the *Psychomachia,* the scenes on the ivory occasionally diverge from the text. The resultant picture-text discrepancies -- the reversed positions of Patiencia-Ira and Humilitas-Spes-Superbia, the isolation of Largitas, and the introduction of Portitudo -- will be further detailed and explained subsequent to describing the remaining cycles.
The Acts of Mercy Cycle

The third major cycle of the ivories is contained in the medallions on the back cover. This group of images illustrates a New Testament text, Matthew 25:35 and 36:

For I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in:

Naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me.

The ivories images occur in the same sequence, and thus, from top to bottom, left to right, the medallions depict:

Feeding the hungry (ESURIVI ET DEDISTIS M[I] I MANDUCARE)

Giving drink to the thirsty (SITIVI ET DEDISTIS MICHI BIBERE)

Providing shelter for the homeless (HOSPES ET COLLEGISTIS ME)

Clothing the naked (NUDUS ET COOPERVISTIS ME)

Comforting the sick (INFIRMUS ET VISITASTIS ME)

Visiting the imprisoned (IN CARCERE ET VENISTIS AD ME).

From the jewelled costume, the crown, and the throne in the upper medallions, it can be noted that the figure that performs these acts is a king. Katzenellenbogen identifies this king as David. In support of this view, it can be noted that the facial features of the figure are like those of David, as portrayed in the last two medallions on the front cover. Additional supportive evidence is provided by the costume, which is that of a contemporary Byzantine emperor: In Byzantine manuscripts of
the eleventh century and later, David is represented as a type of the emperor, and is shown in imperial dress. Finally, I have found that there is also a textual basis for identifying the merciful king with David: I Chronicles 16:3 says:

And he [David] dealt to every one of Israel, both man and woman, to every one a loaf of bread, and a good piece of flesh, and a flagon of wine.

Thus, the Acts of Mercy cycle fulfills two functions: First, as noted by other scholars, it illustrates the text from Matthew; secondly, it is my belief that it also continues the story of David. A similar use of one cycle to illustrate two texts also occurs with regard to the David cycle on the front cover. As will be shown, this kind of "double-duty" imagery is a key, and previously unrecognized, characteristic of the ivories, and as such, must be explored further in a subsequent section of this chapter. At this point, there are yet to be described the two remaining groups of images.

The Minor Cycles

The first of these cycles consists of four female figures, one in each of the inner corners of the front cover. As with the other cycles, inscriptions make basic identification a straightforward process:

Generosity (BONITAS) (top-left)
Kindness (BENIGNITAS) (top-right)
Happiness (BEATITUDO) (bottom-left)
Joy (LETICIA) (bottom-right).
The textual source for the inclusion of these figures is less obvious. The four Virtues are not mentioned in the *Psychomachia*, nor are they ever associated with Davidic imagery.

The textual source for the animal/bird cycle on the back cover is also obscure. An additional difficulty is the lack of paleographic clues. Only the bird at the top, Herodius, is named by inscription (HERODIUS). Even so, precise identification is not possible, for, in the medieval bestiaries, the term is variously associated with the coot, the heron, and the stork. An added source of confusion is the fact that *herodius* is synonymous, and was often used interchangeably, with another Latin term, *fulica* (alternate spelling: *fulcia*). On the basis of the *fulica* synonym, Cahier suggested that Herodius was a rebus for Fulk, the third king of Latin Jerusalem (1131-1143), and that, therefore, the Acts of Mercy medallions contain portrayals of this contemporary king. Cahier's theory has proved very popular, and has been repeated frequently by later writers on the ivories. The accuracy or inaccuracy of the theory cannot be definitively established. However, in either case, it has proven a distraction from the central problem -- the textual source of Herodius, and its relationship to the overall iconographic programme. For this reason, I would now like to make two suggestions regarding the textual derivation of Herodius: First, there is a text, which uses the term, *fulica*, rather than *herodius*, but which otherwise seems thematically appropriate to both the David cycle and the Acts of Mercy. Philippe de Thaun,
in a poem written ca 1120, uses *fulica* as a symbol of the saintly man, who, like King David, leads an honourable life:

Fulica.../ Saint hom signifie
Ki onestement vit,
Issi cum David dit....

Although the poet did not specifically mention Acts of Mercy, presumably, he and his contemporaries understood such deeds as inherent aspects of "living honourably." In any case, the concept of honour is not incongruent with that of mercy. Another possible textual source, one which actually uses the word, *herodius*, is a tract by Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141), in which he associates *herodius* with those special people who live a virtuous life through the performance of good works:

Bene ergo in herodio... electorum persona significatur, qui... multa virtus bonae actionis suppetit, quae illos in superna sustollit.

Although both texts are thematically related to the Acts of Mercy, the relationship is more explicitly expressed in the latter text. This, in conjunction with the actual use of the word, *herodius*, points to Hugh of St. Victor as the more likely source for the inclusion of Herodius in the ivories' iconographic programme. Other findings, to be presented at a further point in this chapter, tend to support this view.

Identification of the other birds and animals in this cycle is not possible. Medieval depictions of animals bear little relationship to modern perceptions of these images. In their portrayals of birds and animals, medieval artists found it
difficult to differentiate among species. For example, what looks like a dog to the modern eye, might have been intended to represent a wolf, a lion, or a bear. Moreover, modern perceptions of images are not uniform. For instance, Cahier identifies the animal in the centre-bottom interstice as an antelope; Dalton calls it a hare. Such a discrepancy indicates that further theorizing in this regard is best avoided. Thus, with the exception of Herodius, the animals must remain unidentified. Nonetheless, it will become clear that these images relate thematically to the other cycles, and that they are crucial to the completion of the ivories' overall iconographic programme.

Unusual Aspects of the Iconography

Each of the three major cycles described above has at least one unique or exceptional feature which cannot be readily explained through textual references, or by comparisons with earlier or contemporary art. In the David cycle, five of the six scenes can be traced to earlier Bible or Psalter illustrations. One scene, however, appears to be unprecedented, and there is no obvious reason for its inclusion on the ivories. This is the scene contained in the middle-right medallion, in which Ahimelech presents David with the sword of Goliath. As far as I can determine, there is no similar scene to be found in any illustrated medieval Bible or Psalter from either Byzantium or the West. The scene may, therefore, be unique to this one
David cycle, and, since there is no evidence to contradict this view, the reason for the scene's inclusion will be considered further in the following section of this chapter.  

Similarly, as noted previously, the Virtues and Vices cycle is not without unusual features. First of all, the group comprised of Humilitas-Spes-Superbia, and the Patiencia-Ira pair, are out of sequence. In the *Psychomachia*, Patiencia and Ira appear before Humilitas, Spes, and Superbia. No other complete Psychomachian cycle shows such a discrepancy. Also unique are both the separation of Largitas and Avaritia, invariably paired in other examples of Psychomachian iconography, and the associated insertion of Fortitudo.  

Beyond the unusual aspects separately evidenced by this and the David cycle, the fact that the two series are juxtaposed is, in itself, noteworthy. As far as I know, there is no iconographic parallel in any work of art produced before 1175, and after this date, there is only one comparable example.  

Finally, with regard to the Acts of Mercy cycle, the unusual feature -- the resemblance of the merciful king to David -- has already been noted. The textual source cited at that point (I Chron. 16:3) is evidence that the resemblance was intentional, and was, I believe, meant to show the typological relationship between Old Testament largesse and New Testament mercy. However, it should be recalled that this particular Acts of Mercy cycle is one which, in terms of completeness, was never, before or subsequently, paralleled.
exceptional as well, is the cycle's association with the David and Psychomachian cycles of the front cover: there is no extant example in which any kind of Acts of Mercy imagery occurs in conjunction with either a Davidic or a Psychomachian cycle. The drawing of an Old Testament–New Testament parallel does not, in itself, seem sufficient reason to create an unusually extensive cycle containing several new images, when other more traditional iconography (scenes from the life of Christ, for example) would have served. Why, therefore, this unique cycle was deemed necessary to the overall iconographic programme of the ivories, is, as yet, an unanswered question. Both the answer to this question, and the means of resolving the problem of the unusual iconography of the front cover, are to be found through a close reading of Prudentius' *Psychomachia.*

The Major Textual Source of the Iconographic Programme

It has been noted previously, in this study and elsewhere, that the Virtue-Vice cycle on the front-cover ivory closely follows the text of the *Psychomachia.* What has never been recognized is the dependency of the entire iconographic programme -- all cycles, both covers -- on this same text. Accordingly, it is the major hypothesis of the following discussion that the ivories' imagery evidences a close picture-text relationship with the *Psychomachia*, and that this relationship is at the root of the iconographic variations described
above. It will be argued that, explicitly and implicitly, David is a recurring motif in the *Psychomachia* and thus, can be viewed as a metaphor for the Psychomachian battle. It will be further contended that the two main cycles on the front cover were specifically conceived to depict this metaphor, and that both, therefore, are, in effect, illustrations of the same narrative. The creation of this visual metaphor necessitated not only the unusual juxtapositioning of the two cycles, but also the previously-noted changes in, or additions to, standard Davidic and Psychomachian iconography. This metaphor does not include the isolated figure of Largitas, nor does it apply to the Acts of Mercy cycle. These images are, however, part of the narrative, and essential as the means of bringing it to its conclusion.

In the course of its story-action, the *Psychomachia* makes two explicit references to David. The first of these occurs immediately after the victory of Humilitas over Superbia. In her moralizing epilogue to this event, Spes says:

> We have seen how Goliath, terrible as he was... fell... by a weak hand....

Clearly, the literary metaphor associates David with humility, and Goliath with pride. In order for the visual metaphor to do the same, the Humilitas-Spes-Superbia group had to be placed adjacent to the David and Goliath medallion. This positioning was effected through the moving of the Patiencia-Ira pair, and resulted in the minor picture-text disjunction noted in the previous section. The second reference to David occurs at a
later point in the Psychomachian action. Immediately prior to her defeat of Luxuria, Sobrietas invokes the name of "the renowned David," and, a few lines further on, cries:

Repent, I beseech you by the fear of the high God...  

The corresponding visual metaphor is clear: Sobrietas has advocated repentance, and in the adjacent medallion, David repents. The above instances of a Davidic-Psychomachian thematic correlation represent the extent of explicit textual parallels in this regard. However, there seems little doubt that the literary metaphor has been extended on the ivories, and that each of the David medallions has been included, and positioned, in order to complement an adjacent Psychomachian scene. Consider, for example, the Fides-Idolatria pair, in the centre-top interstice, and its two flanking medallions. In the top-left medallion, are a lion, a bear, and a lamb, the latter traditionally a symbol of sacrifice. Together, these images relate conceptually to Prudentius' description of Idolatria, the personification of pagan religions and their rites of sacrifice:

... that mouth that was sated with the blood of beasts....

Thus, because of their position on the ivories, the lion and bear became symbols of Idolatria, while the lamb represents the sacrificial offering. The top-right medallion is also thematically consistent with the Psychomachian account of the encounter between Fides and Idolatria. In this scene, David is shown being anointed, an image which, at the time of the ivories' carving, had long been associated with kingship. The royal
connations of this image make it an appropriate complement to the adjacent Psychomachian scene, for, upon defeating Idolatria, Fides

... crowns her brave comrades... and bids them clothe themselves in flaming purple.38

Thus, by visual association, David becomes one of Fides' "brave comrades:" In the lion and bear medallion, he assists in the vanquishing of Idolatria, and in the Anointment scene, he receives his appropriate reward. The metaphorical relationship between the David and Goliath medallion and the Humilitas-Superbia scene has already been described. However, it should be added that, in the Psychomachia, Pudicitia plays a peripheral role in the encounter between Humilitas and Superbia: She is taunted by Superbia, just as David was "disdained" by Goliath.39 Hence, the placement of Pudicitia-Libido on the other side of the David-Goliath medallion is both consistent with the story-line of the text, and contributes to the visual metaphor. Concern for the preservation of the integrity of the metaphor also seems to have been the motivation for the inclusion of the unusual David-Ahimelech scene. The Patiencia-Ira pair does not have any thematic affinities with anointing -- its only other adjacent Davidic image. Thus, the continuation of the metaphor is dependent on the pictorial content of the centre-right medallion. This realization must have posed something of a problem for the inventor of the visual metaphor, for, in the Psychomachia, the Patiencia-Ira pair is associated with Job and his sufferings.40
Moreover, there is no clear typological relationship between Job and David which might have suggested the particular Davidic episode to portray in this medallion. The scene finally chosen was an effective compromise, for, an image of David receiving the sword of Goliath is not only the natural continuation of the David and Goliath scene, it is also thematically congruent with Patiencia's words upon her victory over Ira:

We have overcome a proud Vice with our wonted virtue....  

Through association of ideas and images, "proud Vice" can be construed as a reference to Goliath, and "wonted virtue" associated with the humility of David. Progressing downward on the ivory, the next set of interstices continues and concludes the battle, while accordingly, the remaining medallions complete the Davidic-Psychomachian metaphor. The thematic congruence between the Sobrietas-Luxuria pair and the scene of David's repentance has already been detailed. Only the metaphorical function of the last medallion-scene remains to be described. The image of David and his musicians is juxtaposed to the portrayal of Concordia's defeat of Discordia. This visual relating of musical harmony to the harmony of concord has a firm textual basis, for, as described in the *Psychomachia*,

... when the race of Vices was subdued, the Virtue's holy songs rang out in sweet melodious psalms.

The Fortitudo-Avaritia pair does not seem to participate in the visual metaphor just described. However, it can be noted that there are numerous precedents for associating Fortitudo with
David, and that, in addition, they share the lion as an attribute. Although the creator of the iconographic programme may have had these associations in mind, they are not the main basis for the inclusion of Fortitudo on the front-cover ivory. Thus, a detailed explanation in this regard will be given in an ensuing section of this chapter.

Since, at this point, the chief aim is to detail the relationship between the ivories' images and the text of the Psycho-machia, the crucial problem is not the introduction of Fortitudo, who does not appear in the poem. Rather, it is the isolation of Largitas, to whom there are several textual references, which must now be considered. In this regard, it should be noted that, in the Middle Ages, Largitas, both as word and image, was closely associated, and used interchangeably, with Caritas (charity). Thus, it appears that the isolating of Largitas, in the centre-bottom interstice, was effected as a means of continuing the Psychomachian narrative, for, the story does not end with the conclusion of the battle. Rather, it continues for several more lines to describe the newly-won state of peace. A great deal of emphasis is placed on the maintenance of that peace, and that maintenance depends on charity:

But the nation's peace depends on good will between its citizens in field and town.

As the poem progresses, peace is not only dependent on charity, but it actually becomes charity:

It (peace) is not puffed up with pride, it feels no jealous envy of a brother; it endures all things with long-suffering, believes all things.
In addition to advancing the Psychomachian story-line, the isolated figure of Largitas also provides the narrative link between the front cover and the back. That is, the image of Largitas is the pictorial introduction to the Psychomachian theme of charity, a theme which is developed further by the images on the back cover. In this regard, reference may be made again to the bird, Herodius. When this image was first discussed in this paper, two possible textual sources were noted. One in particular, that of Hugh of St. Victor, links the bird with good works.

In light of the close word-picture relationship of Psychomachia and ivories, it seems clear that the image was indeed intended to be understood as a symbol of charity. As such, Herodius becomes part of the Psychomachian narrative, and provides the conceptual nexus between Largitas, on the front cover, and the Acts of Mercy, on the back. In the Middle Ages, mercy, or Misericordia, both as image and idea, was, like Largitas, synonomous with Caritas. Thus, the six scenes of the Acts of Mercy cycle together comprise the pictorial culmination of the Psychomachian theme of charity. The introduction of a king as the dispenser of this charity is also appropriate to Psychomachian narrative, for, towards the end of the poem, the literary imagery acquires royal connations:

Here mighty Wisdom sits enthroned and from her high court sets in order all the government of her realm, meditating in her heart ways to safeguard mankind.

The king on the ivories is contemplative Wisdom's active counterpart: He has risen from his throne, and is safeguarding his subjects through the performance of charitable deeds.
The *Psychomachia* is also the textual source for the remaining bird and animal imagery on the back cover. Although they have never before been recognized as such, the struggling animals and the static birds are not only expressively consistent with the idea of Psychomachian battle and its peaceful aftermath, they are also, more specifically, the pictorial version of Prudentius' own words:

... the snow-white doves... know... when.... the wolf with his gory jaws... carries on his bloody murders by devouring the lambs.

Prudentius used this kind of imagery as a metaphor for the dual nature of man, and it is on this theme, that the poem ends. Thus, on the ivory, the bird and animal imagery is the visual means by which the narrative is brought to its conclusion. In this regard, the fighting animals, placed as they are to contrast visually, expressively, and conceptually with the Acts of Mercy, are particularly appropriate as an illustration of Prudentius' final thoughts:

Savage war rages hotly, rages within our bones, and man's two-sided nature is in an uproar of rebellion.... Light and darkness with their opposing spirits are at war, and our two-fold being inspires powers at variance with each other, until Christ our God comes to our aid....

Although the *Psychomachia* is clearly the textual source of the major components of the ivories' iconographic programme, it does not contain even a vague reference to Fortitudo, the armoured figure introduced as Largitas' substitute in the battle with Avaritia. Similarly, the presence of the four single Virtues -- Bonitas, Benignitas, Beatitudo, and Leticia -- in the
corners of the front cover, is also inexplicable by reference to the *Psychomachia*. This indicates that another text must have been used in the planning of the iconographic programme.

**The Secondary Textual Source**

It will be recalled that the Herodius-image on the back-cover ivory was apparently based on a tract by Hugh of St. Victor (1097-1141). I have also found that, to a much greater extent, another work by the same theologian and writer, was used as a complement for the main text, the *Psychomachia*. This other textual source, Hugh's treatise entitled *De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus*, makes use of the image of two opposing armies as a means of characterising the duality of human nature. However, unlike Prudentius' poem, it does not sustain the metaphor. Instead, it schematizes the components of man's soul through the use of two main images: the Tree of Vice and the Tree of Virtue. It is the latter image, with its associated concepts, that bears on the front cover's iconography. At the roots of Hugh's tree, is Humilitas, at its top, Caritas. Since the ivory's main aim was the portraying of the *Psychomachia*, its imagery, with Largitas (Caritas) at the bottom, and Humilitas near the top, is essentially a pictorial inversion of Hugh's system. Because of this inversion, the ivories' relationship to Hugh's text is not immediately obvious, and this is perhaps the reason why, until now, it has not been recognized as
the textual source of some of the ivories' seemingly idiosyncratic iconographic features.

Although, visually, neither of the ivories resembles the usual depictions of Hugh's system of virtues (Fig. 6), the front cover represents several of his major concepts in one form or another. As already noted, Hugh's system is founded upon Humilitas, depicted on the ivory in the centre interstice, second from the top. Next in importance, according to his ranking, are the three theological virtues, all of which are also represented on the ivories: Fides, at the top, Spes with Humilitas, and Largitas (Caritas) at the bottom. The four cardinal virtues also figure prominently in Hugh's treatise -- hence, the otherwise-unexplained presence of Fortitudo on the ivories. The remaining cardinal virtues -- Temperantia (Temperance), Justitia (Justice), and Prudentia (Prudence) are not specifically depicted. However, given the medieval tendency toward interchanging conceptually related ideas and images, I suggest that some of the Psychomachian virtues were understood as conceptually related to the cardinal virtues. For example, in Hugh's treatise, Sobrietas derives from, and is, therefore, an aspect of Temperantia.56 Elsewhere, he equates Justitia and Concordia.57 The remaining cardinal virtue, Prudentia, is seemingly not part of the iconography of the front cover. Its absence does not invalidate Hugh of St. Victor's treatise as a secondary textual source of the ivory's images, for medieval artists were not normally rigid in their adherence to textual
sources. They invariably altered the word-picture relationship to suit the compositional and thematic demands of their art. For example, in compiling and illustrating the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 13002; ca 1159-1180), Herrad of Landsberg used both the *Psychomachia* and *De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus*, but in so doing, regrouped the Virtues and Vices, omitted some, and added others, to conform to her particular artistic purposes. This predilection toward iconographic modification on the part of medieval artists may explain the presence of Leticia and Beatitudo in the lower corners of the ivory. The inventor of the iconographic programme perhaps simply deemed them appropriate thematic complements to the nearby figure of Largitas. It is also possible that they are loosely based on Hugh of St. Victor's treatise, for, among his designated aspects of Prudentia, is Alacritas (Joy), a concept roughly synonymous with both Leticia (Joy) and Beatitudo (Happiness). If so, then the "missing" cardinal virtue, Prudentia is accounted for -- represented on the ivory through a conceptual association with Leticia and Beatitudo. The remaining two single Virtues, in the top corners, have a more secure textual basis. Hugh of St. Victor specifically mentions Benignitas (Kindness) as an aspect of Caritas. Bonitas (Generosity), although not explicitly named, represents a nearly identical concept, and can be presumed to have derived from the same source.
Undeniably, there are discrepancies between the ivory's images and Hugh of St. Victor's text. Nonetheless, his treatise satisfactorily accounts for the presence of Fortitudo. If it does so to a lesser extent with regard to the four corner Virtues, it does at least provide a partial explanation for their inclusion, and, in addition, represents a challenge to the old theory that these figures are purely ornamental — conceived only to fill extraneous space. Finally, it can also be noted that, since the main theme of De Fructibus Carnis et Spiritus is the conflicting aspects of human nature, the treatise is a wholly appropriate textual complement to the Psychomachia. It is also, through its placement of Caritas at the visual and conceptual apex of the system of virtues, consistent with one of the ivories' three main themes.

The Themes of the Iconographic Programme

The ivories' programme of images was apparently planned with two aims in view. The first, as described above, was the closest-possible conformance to its two textual sources. The second was the emphasis of three dominant themes — charity, war, and kingship. The first of these themes, charity, is expressed by several of the ivories' images. On the front cover, Benignitas and Bonitas are aspects of, and conceptually related to, charity. Largitas, in accordance with the demands of the Psychomachian narrative, stands alone, thus helping to emphasize
the cognate concept, charity. On the second ivory, the pictorial emphasis of the theme is carried further: Herodius, the bird of good works, overlooks the performance of six charitable acts. On both ivories, a second theme, that of war or conflict, acts as a counterpoint to the charity motif. On the front cover, the battling Virtues and Vices contrast with the static, isolated figure of Largitas, while on the other ivory, the violent animal scenes of the interstices provide a similar contrast to the benevolent imagery of the medallions. The two ivories also show a third theme, that of kingship. The medallions on the front cover portray King David, while those on the back portray another figure who is also clearly a king. Previously in this chapter, there was cited evidence which suggests that this figure was intended to portray David: His facial resemblance to the mature David of the two lower front-cover medallions, his imperial costume, similar to that worn by David in some Byzantine Psalters, and the text of I Chronicles 16:3, which associates David with merciful acts, together indicate that the king on the back cover must be identified with the Biblical king. However, as will be shown, in twelfth-century Latin Jerusalem, the concept of Davidic kingship was a central aspect of contemporary kingship. Thus, it is possible that the merciful king was, to some degree, meant to be a pictorial reference to an ideal of contemporary kingship. This possibility invites some reconsideration of the problem of the figure's identity: Perhaps, in addition to being a portrayal of David, the merciful king was
also meant to be associated with an actual king of Jerusalem. In pursuing this hypothesis, reference must be made to certain historical data, and thus, the possibilities regarding the additional, twelfth-century identity of the depicted figure will be explored in the final section of this chapter, in which, an attempt will be made to determine the contemporary significance of the ivories.

With regard to the present discussion, it remains to be noted that the main themes of the ivories are also to be found as recurring motifs throughout the Psalms. In her study of the iconography of charity, Maria von Thadden has cited five Psalms that incorporate the notion of charity: Psalms 25:16 and 18; 33:19; 41:1 and 2; 72:12 and 13; and 112:5 and 9. To this list should be added Psalms 37:21 and 26; 40:17; and 132:15 in which David says:

... I will satisfy her [Zion's] poor with bread. The theme of struggle is implicit in a majority of the Psalms, in which there are numerous references to the Psalmist's enemies. In this regard, Psalms 2, 4, 7, 14, 31, 45, 69, etc. can be cited. Other Psalms -- 3, 18, 27, 35, and 54 to 59 -- are more specifically evocative of armed combat, and in one Psalm belonging to this group, Psalm 41:1 and 2, the themes of charity and conflict become linked through the idea of deliverance from the enemy, a thematic connection, not inconsistent with the contrasting images of charity and struggle on the back-cover ivory:
Blessed is he that considereth the poor:
the Lord will deliver him in time of
trouble.../ Will preserve him and keep
him alive; and... thou wilt not deliver
him unto the will of his enemies.

The ivories' third theme, kingship, is also an important motif
of the Psalms. J.H. Eaton has identified thirty-two royal
Psalms, expressive of the duties, privileges, and religious
obligations of kingship; he cites as well twenty-one other
Psalms which also have royal connotations in conjunction with
other themes. Several of the royal Psalms -- 3, 4, 7, 27, 35,
57, and 59, for example -- combine the theme of kingship with
images of war, thus indicating the king's role as military
leader, and providing an additional textual basis for the juxta-
positioning on the ivories of the battle of the Virtues and
Vices, with scenes from the life of King David. Finally, there
is one Psalm, 72, not cited by Eaton as royal, but which must be
considered as such, for it contains several references to the
king, and to his charitable obligations:

Give the King thy judgements, O God, .../ He shall judge the poor of the people, He
shall save the children of the needy, and
shall break in pieces the oppressor.../ He
shall deliver the needy... the poor also,
and him that hath no helper.

This additional royal Psalm, embodying as it does the two themes
of kingship and charity, forcibly recalls the ivories: King
David adjacent to Largitas on one, a king doing charitable acts
on the other. With their shared themes of charity, conflict
and kingship, the pair of ivories and the Book of Psalms
together comprise an almost-unparallelled example of the thematic correlation of manuscript-text and cover-decoration. Until now, because of previous inattention to image-text relationships, this correlation has gone unremarked. It has also not been noted before that the ivories' three themes are, to some degree, historically, as well as textually, based.

The Contemporary Significance of the Themes and Images

In a previous section of this chapter, note was taken of the Byzantine imperial dress of the king on the back-cover medallions. At that point in the discussion, it was also noted that some Byzantine manuscripts of the late eleventh century contain portrayals of David in similar attire. Thus, by reason of his dress and his facial resemblance to the front-cover David, the merciful king must in part be understood as a version of Byzantine Davidic iconography. However, I believe that this borrowed image of an imperial type of David also had a more specifically local and contemporary significance, and that the Byzantine costume can be construed as a literal portrayal of the actual mode of dress of the twelfth-century kings of Latin Jerusalem. It is well-documented that the Frankish rulers of Jerusalem adopted Byzantine customs and modes of dress. However, more than this practice, the ivory's depictions of royal Byzantine attire are, as Joshua Prawer notes, "an expression of the... inclination on the part of Jerusalem royalty to
imitate the greatest Christian ruler." In this predilection, the kings of Jerusalem were not alone. Western European rulers, both those before, and those contemporary with, the kings of Jerusalem, had used Byzantine-style costuming as one means of emulating the powerful rulers of Eastern Christendom. The example most directly comparable to the Jerusalem kings are the Norman rulers of Sicily, frequently portrayed in elaborate Byzantine regal dress.

Thus, despite its derivation from Byzantine Davidic iconography, the merciful king's contemporary costume does not conclusively establish the figure as a simple portrayal of David. It remains possible that the Acts of Mercy medallions were partly inspired by the deeds and physical appearance of an actual king of Jerusalem. Assuming for the moment that such is the case, Cahier's theory regarding the meaning of Herodius may now be recalled. As noted previously, he postulated that Herodius, as a synonym for Fulica, was a rebus for Fulk, king of Jerusalem between 1131 and 1143. The tracing of the probable textual source of Herodius does not necessarily rule out this theory, and in this regard, it is interesting to note that the historian William of Tyre describes Fulk as "a ruddy man, like David," adding too that he was also "most generous " in "works of piety and the giving of alms." The dating range of the ivories also allows for another possibility as subject of the Acts of Mercy medallions: Fulk's son, Baldwin III, ruler between 1143 and 1162. As recorded by William of Tyre, Baldwin's physical appearance is consistent with that of the figure on the ivory:
He had straight... hair and wore a rather full beard on cheeks and chin. He was of somewhat full habit, although he could not be called fleshy.... his whole appearance was so superior by reason of... his innate kingly majesty. In addition, like his father, Baldwin was known for his piety and generosity. However, unlike Fulk, Baldwin had in fact performed at least one notable act of mercy -- the release of the imprisoned Patriarch of Antioch in 1160. Finally, there was also a specific reason to associate Baldwin with David: he was the first Latin king of Jerusalem able to claim the distinction of being born, like the Biblical king himself, in the Holy Land.

The weight of the evidence perhaps indicates that the subject of the Acts of Mercy medallions, if an actual historical figure, was Baldwin III. However, this cannot be conclusively established and King Fulk must also be regarded as an equally plausible alternative. In either case, the specific identification of the merciful king is problematic, for any attempt to do so must inevitably be weakened by the visual and textual evidence supporting the identification of the figure as King David. Since no one has yet considered these two theories about the king's identity in conjunction with one another, a third, compromise theory has, up to now, been overlooked. It seems very probable that the figure is an intentional pastiche. His face identifies him as David, his dress as a king of more recent date. He is, thus, both Biblical and contemporary, and as such, embodies the Latin Kingdom's concept of kingship. The
first Latin kings of Jerusalem were Franks, and, at the centre of the Frankish monarchical institution, was the notion of Davidic kingship. Since the time of Pepin, Frankish monarchs had thought of themselves as second Davids, and with the conquest of Jerusalem, the association had become more than just symbolic. Now, in actuality, the Frankish kings ruled the land of David in the City of David, as had their Biblical predecessor. Thus, it is not surprising to find portrayals of David on one ivory in conjunction with a pictorial literalisation of medieval Davidic kingship on the other. There is, in fact, a precedent for such a dual depiction in Frankish art of the Carolingian era. On f.215 v, of the mid-9th-century Bible of Count Vivian (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 1), King David is given the crown and facial features of Charles the Bald, thus drawing a visual parallel between David and his Carolingian counterpart. This example points to an interesting possibility with regard to the ivories: Perhaps, the merciful king of the back cover is not a composite figure, as suggested above. Rather, as in the Vivian Bible, the reverse may be true, and, King David was assigned the facial features of a contemporary ruler of the new Frankish State. There is no additional evidence that allows for a definitive choice between the two possibilities, and ultimately, it makes little difference, for, in either case, the intent would have been the same: the portrayal of the regnum Davidicum of the Latin kings of Jerusalem.

At the time of the ivories' creation, Frankish Davidic kingship had long been associated with charity: Among the
articles of Charlemagne's imperial court, was one which stressed the king's obligation to practise charity and hospitality, while a later document, the *Via Regia* (ca 830) described charity as the kingly virtue. This traditional association was seemingly perpetuated in the Latin Kingdom, for, in his biographical sketches of the Jerusalem monarchs of the first half of the twelfth century, William of Tyre notes the "benevolent works" of Baldwin II, the alms-giving of Fulk, the generosity of Melisende, and the "tender-hearted liberality" of Baldwin III. This royal largesse, an obligation dictated by the semi-religious character of Davidic kingship is reflected by the ivories' adjacent images of Largitas and King David, and by the medallions in which a Davidic king performs merciful acts.

The concept of Davidic kingship, as it was understood in the Latin Kingdom, is also closely bound up with the ivories' third theme, conflict. The images of combat or struggle in the interstices of both ivories are reminders that twelfth-century Jerusalem existed in a state of constant military conflict. Accordingly, the kingdom's survival was largely dependent upon effective warfare and defence, and thus, the first duty of a king was that of military leadership. In carrying out this duty, the Jerusalem kings had an example in their Biblical counterpart, for David was not only a priest-king with spiritual obligations, such as the dispensing of charity -- he was also a warrior-king. As such, he must have been viewed as the archetypal model upon which the Davidic kings patterned
themselves. Thus, despite his non-military charitable activities, the king in the Acts of Mercy medallions through his visual and conceptual association with David, must have been additionally understood as representing a warrior-king, one who could, like David, subdue the kind of hostile forces symbolised by the adjacent images of the fighting animals. 86

From the standpoint of twelfth-century Jerusalem, the ivories had three broad functions. First of all, they served to illustrate four separate texts: the Book of Samuel, Hugh of St. Victor's treatise, the Psychomachia, and a portion of the Gospels of Matthew; secondly and simultaneously, they told the complete story of one of these texts, the Psychomachia; and lastly, they expressed pictorially three recurring themes of the Psalms -- charity, conflict, and kingship. These themes were not only textually-based, but were related also to the actual religious-military role of the current king. Because of this relationship, the ivories can be said to have a fourth, strictly modern function: From a twentieth-century perspective, they are a means by which can be highlighted significant aspects of the concept of kingship in twelfth-century Jerusalem.
CHAPTER III
THE IVORIES AND THE JERUSALEM Scriptorium
IN THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY

In conjunction with explaining the narrative significance of their iconographic programme, this study has, thus far, established a broad conceptual and historical framework for the ivories. It now remains to relate them to their more specific context — the Jerusalem scriptorium in the mid-twelfth century. In accomplishing this aim, a necessary first step is a brief description of the scriptorium, its history, and the kinds of art that it produced. For the most part, such information is provided by Hugo Buchthal's 1957 study of Crusader illumination.\(^1\) This study, which is the definitive work on the scriptorium, concentrates on manuscript painting, and thus does not mention the ivories.\(^2\) Similarly, those who have written on the ivories have not extensively considered general conditions in the scriptorium at the time that the ivories were carved. Thus, in examining the ivories with particular regard to the scriptorium in which they were made, this chapter will be filling a gap in existing research. Specifically, the following discussion will include an iconographic comparison of ivories and Psalter, an examination of the ivories in relation to the
artistic traditions of the scriptorium, a consideration of possible iconographic models, and in this regard, the presentation of a new hypothesis. Finally, the purely local characteristics of the ivories will be identified, and the information applied to the task of differentiating between the ivories' two creators. An incidental result of this new contextual approach to the ivories will be a temporally-focused view of the scriptorium, one which should, in a small way, complement Buchthal's study: While the latter scans the entire nine-decade history of the scriptorium, this chapter will highlight two of those decades -- the years between 1130 and 1150, the period when the ivories were produced.

The Jerusalem Scriptorium, 1130-1150

Using historical and liturgical data, Buchthal determined that, from approximately 1125 to the fall of the kingdom in 1187, an active scriptorium was part of the Augustinian monastery attached to the Holy Sepulchre Church. This scriptorium, Buchthal feels, was certainly the largest, and in all likelihood, the only one in Jerusalem. By the 1130's, it was functioning largely under royal patronage, and thus, Buchthal describes its major output -- illuminated manuscripts -- as "first and foremost an exclusive court art." He was able, on liturgical and/or stylistic grounds to identify seven extant examples of this court art: the Melisende Psalter, a Sacramentary, two Missals,
a Gospel of St. John, and two complete Gospel-books. Of these, three, besides the Psalter (1131-1143), belong to the twenty-year period in question: the Gospel of St. John (1130-1135), the Sacramentary (ca 1140), and one of the Missals (Paris, Bib. Nat., lat. 12056; ca 1140). In addition, in a 1966 study, Kurt Weitzmann assigned a group of twelfth- and thirteenth-century Mount Sinai icons to the Jerusalem scriptorium. According to Weitzmann's dating, two of these icons belong to the period under discussion here. Thus, through Weitzmann's, and to a much greater extent, Buchthal's work, an overall picture of the early-middle years of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium has emerged: Between 1130 and 1150, the scriptorium enjoyed royal patronage and was, therefore, an active and important artistic centre.

In terms of completeness, iconographic richness, and artistic quality, the scriptorium's outstanding product from the mid-1100's, in fact, from the entire twelfth century, is the Melisende Psalter (Figs. 7a-14a, and 36a). The manuscript takes its name from Queen Melisende, wife of Fulk, mother of Baldwin III, and joint-ruler of the kingdom from 1131 to 1152. In his appendices to Buchthal's study, Francis Wormald discusses the paleographic and liturgical evidence that points to Melisende as the most likely patron of the Psalter: Its calendar contains the names of her parents; the prayers were written for the use of a noble woman of high rank. Melisende was perhaps the most important patron of the scriptorium in the
years between 1130 and 1150, for there is a possibility that
the Psalter was not the only work of art that she commissioned
during this period. William of Tyre writes of the many gifts
that the queen presented to the Church. Among them, he notes,
were:

sacred vessels of gold and silver [as well as] many addi-
tional gifts such as chalices, books, and other ornaments. 14

Perhaps these gifts were Western European imports. However,
Weitzmann's study of Jerusalem-made icons has made it clear that,
in Melisende's time, manuscripts were not the only products of
the scriptorium. Thus, it is possible that some of the unspe-
cified "other ornaments," mentioned by William, were of local
manufacture, made in the atelier that enjoyed the queen's
patronage -- the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium. It is possible
too that, among these "other ornaments," were the ivory covers
of the Melisende Psalter. 15

The Ivories and the Psalter

Through their function as its cover, the ivories are linked
to the 1131-1143 dating of the Melisende Psalter, and, with
certainty, to its place of origin -- the Holy Sepulchre scrip-
torium. Although this connection has been made throughout the
literature on the ivories, 16 no one has, up to now, recognized
that there is an additional empirical basis for assigning
ivories and Psalter both to the same scriptorium. 17 Thus, the
following discussion will detail a number of iconographic
correspondences between ivories and Psalter, correspondences which, considered together, leave no doubt that the ivories were made in the same specific artistic milieu that produced the manuscript they once covered.

The majority of iconographic parallels between ivories and Psalter are in the form of certain decorative motifs common to both manuscript and covers. In the Psalter, these motifs occur primarily in the ornamental initials to the Psalms. Among the manuscript's other three pictorial cycles, only the frames of the New Testament series contain a few additional correspondences. More specifically, in its use of a rosette medallion, beading, and ornamental birds, the Psalter Beatus initial has parallels in aspects of the ivories' decorative programme (Figs. 7-9). A second initial, an ornamental E has a knotwork motif identical to those in the main border of the front cover (Figs. 10a and 10b); another a large D, is framed with the same rope-like motif that defines the back-cover medallions (Figs. 11a and 11b); yet another ornamental D contains a trefoil motif reminiscent of the three-point acanthus that repeats around the back-cover's main frame (Figs. 12a and 12b). Finally, versions of this last motif are often found in the frames of several of the New Testament miniatures (Figs. 12c-12j). In addition to overlooking the above-noted correspondences between ivories and Psalter, previous scholars have also not remarked upon the similarity of the lettering. On both ivories, the Latin uncials comprising the inscriptions correspond almost exactly to the
formation of the smaller decorative capitals on the initial pages of the Psalter. This paleographic similarity is most apparent in the A's, R's, T's, V's, and in the impartial use of both the vertical Roman E and a cursive version of the same letter (Figs. 13a and 13b). Presumably, other, more subtle, correspondences of the kind exist among the letters of the ivories and the Psalter. The detailing of these, however, requires the expertise of a paleographer, and here, therefore, no more can authoritatively be said on this subject. However, the broad paleographic comparisons that have been made lend support to the overall premise that the ivories and Psalter contain visual parallels, among letters as well as images, in a number that precludes coincidence.

Finally, there remains to be mentioned what is perhaps the most striking of the iconographic correspondences between ivories and Psalter, and one which has never been pointed out in any previous study of covers or manuscript. This correspondence is between two similar portrayals of King David as Musician: one in the lower half of the Beatus initial of the Psalter and the other in the lower-right medallion of the front-cover ivory (Figs. 14a and 14b). In each instance, King David's seated figure is turned sideways, the body in near-profile and only the head presented in three-quarter view. My research indicates that, in the twelfth century and earlier, David and other royal or holy personages were usually depicted in frontal or three-quarter positions. The near-profile David
as Musician is unknown in Byzantine art and almost unparalleled in the art of the West, as both Byzantine and Western artists tended to use the full three-quarter or frontal view for these portrayals. Apart from those of the Psalter and the ivories, there are only two other known instances of the near-profile David motif. One, which occurs in an early twelfth-century manuscript from Canterbury (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 5 26, f. 1; Fig. 15), was noted by Buchthal as an analogy to the David of the Beatus initial; the other, previously unrecognized, is found in a late twelfth-century French manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian, MS Canon. Pat. Lat. 217, f. 3; Figs. 16a and 16b). The unusual portrayals of David, on the ivories and in the Psalter, suggest that these two Davids were the work of one hand. Such a suggestion is supported by stylistic details: a round circle in the beard of each figure, their almost identical ears and crowns, and the similar treatment of hair and draperies. However, a dissimilar treatment of the eyes, mouth, and hands argues against one artist having done both portrayals. What seems more likely is that two artists -- one an illuminator, one a carver -- worked from a common model. The specific identification and provenance of this model will be considered in an ensuing section of this chapter. For present purposes, it is sufficient to note that the Psalter and the ivories are not only linked functionally, through their relationship as book and cover, but also visually, through certain shared iconographic features. Of greatest importance to this
study, is the fact that this dual functional-visual relationship provides nearly-conclusive evidence that the ivories, like the Psalter, were made in the Jerusalem scriptorium around the middle of the twelfth century, and that, therefore, they, like the Psalter, reflect the kinds of artistic influences current there between 1130 and 1150.

The Ivories and the Twofold Artistic Tradition of the Jerusalem Scriptorium

In their 1934 survey of Byzantine ivory carvings, Adolph Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann noted that the ivories' imagery derived partly from the artistic traditions of Byzantium and partly from those of the West -- a duality that could only occur outside of Byzantium in a place where Eastern and Western influences converged. Such a place, they suggested, was twelfth-century Jerusalem. Buchthal showed further that, within the overall artistic sphere of the first Latin kingdom, a major nucleus for the mingling of Western and Byzantine traditions was the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium in the middle years of the twelfth century. The result of this mingling was a new "synthetic" tradition, one that derived from prior traditions of both East and West, yet was distinct from either.

With its Byzantinizing New Testament miniatures and saints' portraits, and its Western-style calendar and initials, the Melisende Psalter exemplifies this new scriptorium tradition. So too do its ivory covers. The concensus view expressed in
the most recent (post-1920) literature on the ivories is that, within the duality of artistic tradition that the imagery displays, the Western element predominates. Without, for the moment, confronting the problem of identifying the ivories' specific models, the dominance of the Western tradition can be demonstrated by reference to a variety of iconographic features, their general origins, and their usage, prior to and during the twelfth century.

Apart from the Latin inscriptions on both ivories, the most apparent "westernisms" occur on the front cover. First, most scholars writing on the ivories have noticed the depictions of Western armour and weaponry. In the David and Goliath medallion, and in the two centre interstices adjoining it, Goliath, Superbia, and Fortitudo wear armour and helmets, and use weapons and shields, which are all essentially contemporary Western European in appearance. Of those who have noted this Western armour, only Dalton has cited comparable armoured figures in a contemporary Western example: the St. Alban's Prudentius (London, B.L., Cotton MS Titus D.XVI; ca 1120). However, numerous other Western manuscripts of the twelfth century contain portrayals of armour and weaponry close to those of the ivory. Particularly striking are the resemblances between Fortitudo and the armed Virtues of the Hortus Deliciarum in Munich (Figs. 17a and 17b) and between Goliath's shield and those shown in an E initial from a late twelfth-century manuscript from Durham (Figs. 18a and 18b). The second,
specifically Western characteristic of the front cover occurs in the top-right medallion. In this scene, Samuel anoints a kneeling figure of David. It has not been previously noted, with regard to the ivories, that the kneeling David is an exclusively Western convention, whereas, in Byzantine Anointment scenes, David invariably stands. Also, Western, is the position of the horn of anointment, held with the wide end downward — Byzantine portrayals show the horn in the reverse position, wide end upward. Figures 19a and 19c show a typical Western scene of Anointment and a contrasting Byzantine depiction of the same episode. Like the kneeling Anointment, a third, distinctively Western aspect of the front cover has also, until now, gone unremarked: the alternating knotwork and acanthus motif that comprises the vertical sides of the main frame. Earlier scholars regarded this ornament as Byzantine, while later scholars have simply ignored it to concentrate on the figural motifs. However, the markedly Western character of this ornament becomes clear when it is compared with the ornamental border around the Tree of Jesse window in Chartres Cathedral (ca 1150; Figs. 20a and 20b). In addition, a second, perhaps closer, parallel comes from England in the form of an ornamental initial in the Winchester Bible (third quarter of the twelfth century; Fig. 20c).

Less clear, are the origins and geographic affinities of the ornament contained in the main frame of the back cover. Nonetheless, I believe that the back cover's major border-motifs
could have been of Western derivation. For example, although trefoil border-motifs are most frequently seem as part of Byzantine ornament, there are also Western versions by the twelfth century (Fig. 21a). In addition, the beading of the outer trefoils is a decorative device that is particularly associated with English ivories of the first half of the twelfth century. The corner ornament of the back-cover frame is also difficult to place, but as figures 22a to 22c show, it appears to have marked Western affinities.

Of equally mixed lineage and usage, is the main compositional device of each ivory -- the interlocking medallions. The motif originated in the East, was in common use in Byzantine art by the sixth century, and continued to be used during the twelfth. However, I have observed that this same motif was used extensively in the late twelfth-century Norman Sicilian mosaics of Monreale (Fig. 23), and that it had also reached the West by the twelfth century, and can be found in the art of England and the Continent (Fig. 24). Thus, it is difficult to say whether the use of the interlocking medallions on the ivories is a direct manifestation of the original Byzantine tradition, or whether it derived from a Western or Siculo-Byzantine version of the same motif. Although no definite pronouncements can be made in this regard, there is some additional evidence that suggests that the ivories' interlocking medallions should be regarded as a Western feature. On the back cover, the medallions occur in conjunction with a set of bird and
animal imagery. Similar examples of the juxtaposition of these two kinds of images occur frequently in the non-Christian art of the West, specifically in the ivory carvings of tenth- and eleventh-century Moorish Spain (Fig. 25). This similarity between the covers and Moorish ivories was first noted by Dalton. He did not, however, mention any comparable examples from the Christian West. Thus, it can be noted here that such examples did exist and may have been the source of the animals and the medallions on the back cover. Figure 26, for instance, shows a tenth-century ivory from Northern France which combines interlocking medallions with interstitial animal imagery. Finally, the bird imagery on the back cover may have an additional link with the West, for, in the details of its carving, and in its placement among twining acanthus, it is not unlike a carved ivory arm of a mid-twelfth-century chair from Winchester (Fig. 27).

Having pinpointed the more obvious Western aspects of the ivories, as well as such probable "westernisms" as the combination of animal imagery and medallions, it now remains to note the purely Byzantine features. In this regard, the medallions of the back cover contain the major example: the Byzantine royal costume of the king, which has already been discussed in the previous chapter of this paper. In addition, Dalton has noted that, in the upper two medallions, the throne from which the king has risen is like those portrayed in Byzantine art. Similarly, the essentially Western iconography of the front
cover is not without its Byzantine elements. In contrast to the back cover, however, these elements are minor and not readily apparent. Only Steenbock has thus far noted that the scaled plate armour of Fortitudo and Superbia is ultimately of Byzantine origin. However since the helmets worn by these figures are Western, and since their overall appearance is also markedly Western, it is doubtful whether this feature of the ivories' imagery can be properly termed, "Byzantine." At most, what it seems to be is a Western "hybrid" of the Byzantine tradition of depicting armoured warriors. These "hybrids" occur frequently in twelfth-century Western European art, and the greatest probability is that the ivories were patterned after one such example. Thus, with respect to the readily observable iconographic features mentioned in this segment of the discussion, the Byzantine aspect of the twofold scriptorium tradition is subordinate to the Western elements. However, as will next be demonstrated, it is by no means a negligible factor in determining the kinds of models upon which the ivories' iconographic cycles were based.

The Twofold Tradition and the Problem of the Ivories' Models

In considering the question of the exact pictorial source for the ivories' three major iconographic cycles -- the David sequence, the Psychomachia, and the Acts of Mercy -- a number of works having some iconographic affinities with the ivories has
been discovered. Previous scholars have seen that, of this group, the example whose imagery most resembles that of the ivories is an English crozier, now in the Bargello in Florence (Figs. 28a and 28b). This example of late twelfth-century Winchester enamel-work portrays the following scenes from the life of David:

- David rescuing a lamb from a lion
- David's anointment
- David's meeting with Goliath
- David beheading Goliath

Above this cycle, on the upper shaft of the crozier, the following pairs of Virtues and Vices are represented:

- Fides-Idolatria
- Pudicitia-Libido
- Caritas-Invidia
- Sobrietas-Luxuria
- Largitas-Avaritia
- Concordia-Rancor

Because of the presence of both Largitas and Caritas in the above group, I believe that the iconography of the crozier, like that of the ivories, stresses the theme of charity. However, the crozier differs from the ivories in that it does not show a single continuous narrative, nor does it contain images comparable to those in the back cover's Acts of Mercy cycle. For these reasons, and because neither its David nor its Psychomachian scenes, are completely consistent with the corresponding
cycles on the ivories, the crozier cannot be considered as a possible model for the ivories. As far as I can determine, among works of art that do contain Acts of Mercy cycles, or mercy-related imagery, a converse situation exists: none of these examples portrays such scenes in conjunction with either Psychomachian or Davidic imagery.43

Thus, it seems that there can be no single source for the ivories' imagery, and that its iconographic programme was compiled from at least three (one for each cycle), and possibly more, models. This assumption is borne out by Buchthal's study of the Melisende Psalter, in which he determined that the manuscript's pictorial cycles were based on a variety of models used simultaneously.44 In line with the dual tradition of the Jerusalem scriptorium, Buchthal further ascertained that some of these models were Byzantine and others were from the Latin West.45 On the basis of these findings, and given the presence of both Byzantine and Western elements in the ivories' iconography, there can be little doubt that the ivories' imagery too is the result of a simultaneous use of both Byzantine and Western models. In this, the ivories, like the Psalter typify the twofold tradition that was current in the scriptorium during the middle years of the twelfth century.
On the back-cover ivory, the king's Byzantine dress, the Byzantine throne in the two upper medallions, and the Byzantine architecture in the left-centre medallion clearly point to the use of a Byzantine model for the Acts of Mercy cycle. This model was not, I believe, copied exactly, for, as far as I can determine, the ivory has the earliest depictions of a royal figure performing Acts of Mercy. There are, however, contemporary Byzantine manuscripts in which is depicted a merciful saint. For example, two twelfth-century Gregory of Nazianzen manuscripts contain some scenes in which the Saint performs Acts of Mercy. A few of these cycles correspond closely to the ivory's iconography, but of these, none compares in terms of number of images portrayed. Thus, while it is possible, as figures 30a and 31b show, that a Gregory of Nazianzen manuscript was the model for one or two of the ivories' mercy scenes, the remainder of images in these medallions must have been adapted from another kind of cycle. In a footnote to his article on a twelfth-century Gregory manuscript (Cod. Sinai Gr. 339), Jeffrey Anderson said that the ultimate source of the mercy scenes in this manuscript was likely one of Christ's healing scenes. With regard to possible models for the ivories, this comment led to further research into Byzantine portrayals of Christ's miracles. The result of this research is the following hypothesis: The Acts of Mercy images on the back cover were adapted
directly from one extensive, or possibly two smaller, Byzantine Christological cycles. Standard New Testament imagery could have been adapted to suit the specific pictorial requirements of the iconographic programme of the back-cover ivory. As figures 29 to 34 show, in most instances, the only alterations necessary were the removal of extraneous figures and the transformation of Christ's costume into Byzantine imperial dress. Thus, the Miracle of the Loaves became the Feeding of the Hungry (Fig. 29); the addition of a pitcher and bowl transformed a scene of Christ preaching into Giving Drink to the Thirsty (Fig. 30); with certain omissions, Christ teaching, or some comparable scene, became Sheltering the Homeless (Fig. 31); a miraculous appearance of Christ, by the simple addition of some folds of drapery, became Clothing the Naked (Fig. 32); and finally, any number of healing scenes converted readily to both Comforting the Sick (Fig. 33) and Visiting the Imprisoned (Fig. 34). To illustrate these points, the figures just cited compare the ivories to a variety of manuscripts: a thirteenth-century Gospels (Mt. Athos, Iviron, Cod. 5; Figs. 29a, 31a, and 34a), a twelfth-century Gregory manuscript (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS gr 550; Fig. 30a), a ninth-century Gregory manuscript (Paris, Bib. Nat. MS gr. 510; Figs. 30c and 33a), and an eleventh-century Lec- tionary (Mt. Athos, Dionysiou, Cod. 587; Fig. 32a). However, on the basis of Buchthal's findings, it is possible to make a more specific suggestion regarding the models for the Acts of Mercy medallions. Buchthal found that the New Testament cycle
in the Melisende Psalter corresponds most closely to illustrations in eleventh-century Gospels and Gospel-lectionaries from Constantinople. He concluded, therefore, that such a manuscript was the model for this section of the Psalter. As the closest extant example of the type of the now-lost model for the Psalter, Buchthal cited an eleventh-century Lectionary from Mount Athos (Dionysiou cod. 587). This same manuscript also has iconographic parallels with the Acts of Mercy medallions (Figs. 32a and 32b). Thus, in view of Buchthal's findings regarding the models for the Psalter's New Testament cycle, and given, therefore, the presence of this model in the Jerusalem scriptorium at the time of the ivories' creation, it is the conclusion of this paper that the Acts of Mercy on the back cover ivory were adapted from the Miracles of Christ cycle in an eleventh-century Byzantine Gospel-book or Lectionary, possibly the same manuscript used by one of the illuminators of the Melisende Psalter.

In addition to one or more Gospel-books, the scriptorium's collection of illustrated Byzantine manuscripts must also have included either a Gregory manuscript or a Psalter. That such was the case is indicated by the presence in the David cycle of a Repentance scene (Fig. 2, lower-left medallion). In Byzantine Psalters and Gregory Manuscripts of the ninth to the twelfth century, images of David repenting are not uncommon. One such image from a ninth-century Gregory manuscript (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS gr. 510, f. 143v) is illustrated in this paper (Fig.
35a). One other of the David medallions is also, in all probability, based on a Byzantine model. This is the scene in which David receives the sword of Goliath from the priest Ahimelech (Fig. 2, centre-right medallion). Although there does not seem to be an exact pictorial parallel in any extant Byzantine Psalters, this should occasion no particular surprise since, as Chapter II of this study demonstrated, this unusual scene was, in a sense, a "last-minute" insertion, necessary for the continuation of the Psychomachian-Davidic metaphor. This interest in metaphorical integrity, in conjunction with the lack of an exact iconographic prototype, suggests that the Ahimelech medallion, like the Acts of Mercy images was adapted from some common traditional image. In this regard, I believe that the most likely possibility is a Presentation of Christ scene. As the comparison in figure 36 shows, the only major alterations needed to effect the transformation are the substitution of a sword for the Christ-Child, and the elimination of any extraneous figures. Since the Melisende Psalter New Testament cycle contains a Presentation miniature, modelled, according to Buchthal (see note 51), on a comparable Byzantine image, there is no doubt that the scriptorium had in its possession at least one Byzantine Presentation scene. In fact, there is sufficient visual congruence between the Ahimelech medallion and the Psalter's Presentation scene (Figs. 36a and 36b) to warrant suggesting that the two images had a common model -- the same eleventh-century Gospels manuscript described above: The poses
of the figures are fairly close, and the two altars are similar. Interesting too, is the fact that the medallion is also iconographically close to another Byzantinizing Presentation scene, one which comes from southern Italy (Fig. 37a). This resemblance admits the possibility that the common model for the Psalter Presentation and the medallion was a similar example, perhaps also from Italy. This possibility is nominally supported by the fact that Buchthal's findings indicate that the model for the frames of the initial pages, and for their black and gold lettering, was also Italian.\textsuperscript{56}

Thus, with regard to the ivories' iconographic models, the Byzantine facet of the scriptorium's two-fold tradition is a key factor, accounting for the Acts of Mercy cycle in its entirety, and for a significant portion of the David sequence. The other David medallions, as well as the Psychomachian cycle, derive from the second aspect of the scriptorium tradition, and thus, it is among Western examples that the ivories' remaining pictorial sources are found.

\textbf{The Western Models}

The Psychomachian imagery of the front cover has long been known to be exclusively Western.\textsuperscript{57} There are no known Byzantine Psychomachian cycles, and where Virtues and Vices are used to illustrate other kinds of Byzantine texts, these illustrations usually show male figures, rather than the female
personifications of Psychomachian cycles. In the Medieval West, by contrast, Psychomachian imagery of the type seen on the ivories was prevalent in both monumental art and manuscripts. Of the latter, Helen Woodruff has listed twenty extant examples, done between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries, and containing as little as two, and as many as ninety, illustrations. These surviving manuscripts must represent only a small fraction of the original number of illustrated Psychomachian manuscripts, for, according to Woodruff, Prudentius' poem was first illustrated in the fifth century. Thus, by the twelfth century, illustrated Psychomachias both of earlier and contemporary date, must have proliferated in the Latin West, and presumably, at least one such manuscript was a standard item in most moderate-to-large scriptoria. One illustrated Psychomachian manuscript is known to have been in Jerusalem by the mid-1030's. This is an early eleventh-century French copy, brought to Jerusalem between 1028 and 1034 by the historian Ademar of Chabanas. Although it is possible that this manuscript was in the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium when the ivories were carved, it is not iconographically close enough to the ivories to be considered a possible model. However, its documented presence in Jerusalem prior to the twelfth century increases the likelihood that there were other such manuscripts in the city, and in its scriptorium, by the mid-1100's. One of these manuscripts must have been the model for the Virtue and Vice cycle on the front-cover ivory. Beyond this, no more
specific pronouncement can be made. However, it can be noted that the extant Psychomachian manuscript that is chronologically the closest to the ivories is, not surprisingly, also iconographically the closest. This manuscript, the St. Albans Prudentius (London, B.L., Cotton MS Titus D.XVI), was illuminated ca 1120 by the master of the St. Albans Psalter. The most striking iconographic affinity between this manuscript and the front cover's Virtue-Vice cycle is the occurrence in both of an isolated frontal figure of Largitas/Caritas, shown with arms outstretched (Figs. 38a and 38b). Since the St. Albans Prudentius is the only known manuscript to contain an isolated Caritas figure, and since it is also the only known post-Conquest English Psychomachia, it is possible that, in the twelfth century, this image was a specifically English feature. If so, then the most likely model for the front cover's Psychomachian cycle was an illustrated English Psychomachia, not unlike the St. Albans Prudentius. In further support of this view, it can be noted that the ivory's Virtue-Vice cycle and the St. Albans Prudentius show similar idiosyncracies in the costuming of the figures. In more typical examples, the dress of the Virtues and Vices is either consistently antique gowns, or consistently, contemporary armour. In the St. Albans manuscript, some Virtues are in antique dress (as seen in Fig. 38c), while others wear contemporary chain mail and helmets. As the following table details, the Virtues and Vices on the ivories also show an inconsistency of costuming:
Finally, with regard to the question of the provenance of the ivory's Psychomachian model, it can be noted that there is evidence, to be detailed presently, which indicates that, amongst the scriptorium's manuscript collection, there was a preponderance of English examples. Beyond this evidence, the peculiarities of costuming, and the unusual isolation of Largitas, there are no other indications of the specific geographic origin — English or otherwise — of the front cover's Psychomachian model.

Although the exact provenance of the Psychomachian prototype must remain largely a matter for speculation, there can be little doubt about its mode of adaptation. Because of the small size of the ivory cover, the artist who carved the Virtue-Vice cycle worked under distinct spatial limitations. As a result, he had to find a means of abbreviating the usually extensive Psychomachian pictorial cycle without, at the same time, destroying the narrative sense. He solved this problem by

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Virtue</th>
<th>Costume</th>
<th>Vice</th>
<th>Costume</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fides</td>
<td>Gown, no headwear</td>
<td>Idolatria</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pudicitia</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
<td>Libido</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spes</td>
<td>Gown, no headwear</td>
<td>Ira</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patencia</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
<td>Luxuria</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobrietas</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
<td>Avaritia</td>
<td>Gown, no headwear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortitudo</td>
<td>Armour, helmet</td>
<td>Discordia</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concordia</td>
<td>Gown, helmet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Largitas</td>
<td>Gown, no headwear</td>
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illustrating only the climax of any given episode. The resultant reduction in imagery conformed to the spatial restrictions of the ivory, while the choice of main events for portrayal kept the narrative sequence intact. As the closest surviving parallel to the ivory's Virtue-Vice cycle, the St. Albans Prudentius is useful for the purpose of detailing the process of iconographic reduction. The table on page 69 provides a comparative summary of the two cycles. By a selective use of the most dramatically effective images, the artist of the ivory's Virtue-Vice cycle reduced a more typical cycle of thirty to forty scenes to a mere eight, without, in the process, sacrificing any of the original narrative or thematic content. In this respect, the isolation of Largitas was a particularly effective device, for, by standing alone, the figure not only represents the narrative aftermath of the battle-proper, but also, by providing a visual transition to the back cover, emphasizes the ultimate climax of the Psychomachia -- the triumph of Charity.

With regard to the front cover's Psychomachian model, two questions were considered: What was the model? and, How precisely was it used? The latter question was necessitated by the exacting narrative requirements of the cycle and by the obvious spatial limitations of the ivory's interstices. In contrast, neither of these restrictions is particularly applicable to the David medallions. First of all, relative to the individual Psychomachian scenes, the Davidic scenes -- possibly
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Episode as Described in the Text</th>
<th>Corresponding Image on the Ivory</th>
<th>Number of Illustrations per Episode in the St. Albans Prudentius</th>
<th>Numerical Positions and Descriptions of the St. Albans Scenes Closest to Those on the Ivory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The meeting and battle of Faith and Idolatry. The defeat of Idolatry.</td>
<td>Fides chokes Idolatria</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scene 3: Fides conquers Idolatria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The encounter of Chastity and Lust. The extinguishing of Lust.</td>
<td>Pudicitia stabs Libido</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Scene 3: Pudicitia spears Libido.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patience's meeting with Wrath. Wrath's suicide.</td>
<td>Patiencia watches as Ira stabs herself</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Scene 5: Ira falls on her own sword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humility, with the help of Hope, defeats Pride.</td>
<td>Humilitas and Spes behead Superbia</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Scene 5: Humilitas beheads Superbia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sobriety contends with, and overcomes, Indulgence.</td>
<td>Sobrietas smashes the face of Luxuria</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Scene 5: Sobrietas throws a stone at Luxuria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greed attempts to take over man's soul. Generosity fights with, and kills Greed.</td>
<td>Fortitudo spears Avaritia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scene 3: Largitas stabs Avaritia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faith and Concord confront, and defeat, Discord.</td>
<td>Concordia stabs Discordia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Scene 3: Humilitas speaks Discordia. (Fig. 38c).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace and Charity unite and triumph.</td>
<td>Largitas stands alone</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Scene 3: Caritas is seated alone on a tribunal. (Fig. 38a).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
because of the greater familiarity of their images and textual source -- are, for the most part, self-contained semantic units. That is, their individual comprehensibility is not necessarily dependent on their conformance to a larger narrative framework. Thus, in choosing from the Davidic images at his disposal, the artist's main restriction was the Psychomachian-Davidic metaphor. Within this restraint, he had flexibility in the choice of scenes, since the Psychomachia is specific only in its mention of the David and Goliath episode; in addition, he could, but did not have to, present the scenes in a narrative chronology. In fact, he did not do so: In the story of David, the anointment occurs before the rescue of the lamb. Secondly, as working spaces, the medallions are larger and less awkwardly-shaped than the interstices. For this reason, there was less need for the kind of drastic iconographic reduction that characterised the artist's use of his Psychomachian model. Thus, as a less complex artistic problem than the Psychomachian cycle, the David sequence does not require a detailed consideration of how the model was used. It seems clear that, once chosen, the Davidic scenes (with the exception of the unusual Ahimelech medallion, discussed above) were mainly copied directly from the models with little or no alteration. Thus, in addressing the problem of the pictorial source of the remaining medallions, the major question to be considered is that regarding the type and provenance of the model.

As was the case with the Virtue and Vice cycle, there is no known manuscript that is a likely possibility as the specific
model for even one of the David medallions. Manuscripts with iconographic parallels to one or more of the medallions do exist, but these parallels are, for the most part, fairly general, and only indicate the type of model used, rather than its precise identity. As an example, reference can be made to the bottom-right medallion (Fig. 39b), in which are depicted David and his Musicians. In the West, since at least as early as the eighth century, such scenes had been most frequently used as the frontispieces to illustrated Psalters. Thus, as Dalton observed, the presence of this image in the David sequence suggests that the model for the four medallions in question here was an illustrated Psalter from Western Europe. But, beyond this, certain of this medallion's iconographic details, when considered together, give support to a more specific hypothesis: the model for four of the six Davidic scenes -- the Rescue of the Lamb, David's Anointing, David and Goliath, David and his Musicians -- was an illustrated Psalter, created in England, possibly in the late eleventh, but more probably, in the early twelfth century. This hypothesis of mine owes a great deal to the research of Hugo Steger, for it was he who first compiled much of the necessary supportive data. Steger's study, *David Rex et Propheta*, focuses on Western European representations of David and his Musicians, in manuscripts primarily, but also in other art forms. In analysing the ivory's version of this scene, he noted the presence of a dove (perched on David's shoulder) as an unusual iconographic
detail. He also noted that this same feature figured in comparable scenes in two eleventh-century English Psalters, one made in Winchester, now in London (B.L., Cotton MS Tiberius C VI, f. 30v, 1041-1066) and the other now at Cambridge (U. Lib., Cod. Ff. I, 23, f. 4v). To Steger's list, I can add three other examples of portrayals of the dove motif with King David as Musician. The first of these examples occurs in a Canterbury manuscript, ca 1100 (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 5 26, f. 1; Fig. 15), while the other two are both found in the St. Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, St. Godehard's Treasury, unnumbered MS, pp. 56 and 72; Fig. 39a). Figure 40, showing the Beatus Initial of the Winchester Psalter, does not properly belong to this list, since the portrayal is of David writing. However, the image is striking in its closeness to the front cover medallion with respect to both David's pose and the position of the dove near his right shoulder. As far as I know, there are no comparable examples from outside of England, and thus, it can be concluded that the dove-motif, as seen in the front-cover medallion, was a typically, if not exclusively, English feature. To a somewhat lesser degree, the same can be said of the triple-arch-motif that provides the setting for David and the other musicians (Fig. 39b). Steger noted the presence of this motif on the ivory and in several English manuscripts: the above-mentioned eleventh-century Psalter at Cambridge (U. Lib., Cod. Ff. I, 23, f. 4v; ca 1060; Fig. 41); the Shaftesbury Psalter, mid-twelfth-century (London, B.L.,
Lansdowne MS 383 f. 15v); and the Westminster Psalter, late twelfth-century (London, B.L., Royal MS 2 A xxii). Steger also cites a few additional examples from other Western European locales, but since the greatest preponderance of examples is from England, it is not unreasonable to assume that the triple-arch-motif in portrayals of David as Musician is another particularly English iconographic trait. Additional evidence favouring the English provenance of the model is provided by one of the musical instruments portrayed in the medallion (Fig. 42b). Steger has noted that the figure just to the right of David plays an English harp. A comparison of figures 42a and 42b bear out Steger's identification of the harp, and show the striking degree of accuracy with which the ivory carver depicted this English instrument. Finally, the probable English provenance of the model for this, and by extension, for the other three medallions in question, is given further credence by the fact that there is evidence which indicates that, within the total Western contribution to the dual scriptorium tradition, the dominant factor was English.

The English Influence in the Jerusalem Scriptorium, 1130-1150

In his study of Crusader illumination, Buchthal remarked upon the strong English influences current in the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium during the middle 1100's. Because of the predominance of such influences, the front-cover ivory was not the
only product of the scriptorium to exhibit distinctively English features. Further evidence of the presence and importance of English artistic traditions in the scriptorium at this time is provided by the Melisende Psalter. Buchthal has noted that this key work of the period contains a variety of typically English elements. Among these are: the extensive cycle of full-page frontispiece miniatures, a Western feature popular mainly in England; the inhabited scrolls of the large initial letters, also seen in English ivories and manuscripts of the early twelfth century; and the mask-head joining of the bows of the Beatus initial, a favoured construction of corresponding initials in post-Conquest English manuscripts. In addition, although Buchthal does not so note, the Zodiac medallions of the Psalter's calendar also appear English: The figures contained in them are markedly similar to figures in the medallions that decorate a comparable full-page initial S in the ca 1135 Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi MS 2, f. 1v). Finally, Buchthal and Wormald have shown that the Psalter's calendar clearly points to Winchester as the specific locale where the calendar was originally composed. (Among the listing of predominantly-English saints, is Saint Edburga who is particularly associated with Winchester. The calendar also refers to the local Winchester feast that celebrated the translation of the Saint's relics.)

Various other contemporary products of the scriptorium also give evidence of the prevalence of the English influence
in that artistic milieu. For example, Buchthal observed that the Holy Sepulchre's Sacramentary (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, D.7.3.) and Missal (Paris, Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. 12056), both illuminated a few years prior to the Psalter, contain examples of English-style inhabited scrollwork. In addition, Weitzmann published an icon painted in the scriptorium in the first half of the twelfth century, which depicts an image of Christ that is striking in its similarity to the Christ-figure shown in the Tree of Jesse folio of the Shaftesbury Psalter (London, B.L. Lansdowne MS 383, f. 15r). The scriptorium did not long remain a self-contained nucleus of English artistic influence, but became, as well, the means of spreading that influence over the wider artistic sphere of Latin Jerusalem. As an example, reference can be made to the eastern lintel of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and particularly to its English-style scriptures, for which, as L.Y. Rahmani believes, the pattern books were the early twelfth-century English illuminated manuscripts in the possession of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium. Buchthal and others have speculated on the exact reason for the apparent presence of so many English manuscripts in the scriptorium at this time, and there is general concurrence on this point: two Englishmen, William, prior of the scriptorium to 1133, and Ralph, chancellor, in the 40's, to Melisende and Baldwin III, most likely imported English models, and encouraged their use in the Holy Sepulchre's workshop. However, these models were not always used exclusively. This is true for the ivories,
which, as I have shown, were also based on Byzantine models. It now remains to point out that, in addition to their English and Byzantine elements, they also contain a number of other iconographic details specifically associated with twelfth-century Latin Jerusalem.

The Ivories' Local Motifs

Since at least as early as the 1930's, when Goldschmidt and Weitzmann published their brief analysis of the ivories, the duality of artistic tradition in Latin Jerusalem has been recognized, and accepted as the fundamental characteristic of twelfth-century Crusader art. Without disputing this essentially accurate view of the Latin Kingdom and its art, a small body of recent scholarship has shown that there is another factor to be considered -- Jerusalem's local artistic tradition. This largely non-figural tradition was characterized by the frequent use of a set of motifs -- rosettes, spirals, beading, etc. -- most of which were known in both the East and the West by the twelfth-century, but which came to be particularly favoured in, and hence, characteristic of, Latin Jerusalem. This new line of research has, thus far, been confined to studies of church and tomb sculpture, and has not touched on such smaller-scale art forms as manuscripts and ivories. However, an examination of the ivory covers reveals the presence of these local motifs, most of which are simply miniature
versions of the sculptural ornament on contemporary tombs and churches.

Among those of the ivories' decorative elements that can be particularly associated with twelfth-century Latin Jerusalem, is the knotwork motif that occurs in both main frames: on the right side of the front cover, and at the left on the back (Figs. 43b and 43c). As noted previously, the same motif occurs also in the initial pages of the Melisende Psalter (Fig. 10a), and was particularly favoured for the decoration of the royal tombs of twelfth-century Jerusalem (Fig. 43a). Both ivories also show a second type of ornament used on tombs of the Latin Kings — the grape-like motif (Fig. 44a), seen in the upper portion of each main frame (Figs. 44b and 44c). Rosettes were also a popular form of ornamentation in Jerusalem at this time and no less than four different types can be found amongst the decoration of the ivories. The kind of rosette shown in Figure 7b is repeated four times on the front cover and occurs also in the Melisende Psalter (Fig. 7a). The lower frame of the same ivory (Fig. 2) contains a second variety of rosette: This multi-leaved square-shaped type, of which another version appears in the centre-right medallion of the back cover (Fig. 3) is an elaborated form of the four-sided square rosette which Weitzmann has noted on a Jerusalem-made icon. The back cover also depicts two other rosette-types: the five- or six-pointed star rosette (Fig. 3, lower frame), and the spiral (Fig. 45b). A variation of the former type can be seen on another Jerusalem
icon, while spiral rosettes identical to those of the ivory, comprise the frieze of Holy Sepulchre's southern facade, and occur also as ornament for the royal tombs (Figs. 45a and 45c). Even more typical of Latin Jerusalem is the diamond and bead pattern that forms the inner frame and defines the medallions of the front cover (Fig. 46b). It appears not only on the ivory and numerous icons, but can be seen as well, on a larger scale, amongst the sculpted ornaments of the Holy Sepulchre (Fig. 46a). It is, as Weitzmann points out, "one of the trade marks" of Crusader art. I have observed that a plain bead pattern was used lavishly on several of the icons published by Weitzmann. From this observation, I tentatively conclude that beadwork may also have been a characteristic motif of the art of Latin Jerusalem. Certainly it is abundant on the ivories, occurring in the frames of both ivories (Figs. 8b and 12b), and in most of the Acts of Mercy medallions on the back cover (Fig. 3). In addition, the three arches in the left David medallion are also decorated with a bead pattern (Fig. 39b). This use of beadwork as an architectural motif appears to be an innovation of the artists of Jerusalem, for it is without precedent in Byzantine art, and occurs rarely, if at all, in the art of the West.

The abundance of identifiable local Jerusalem motifs depicted on the ivories not only confirms their provenance -- it also contributes to a more complete view of the mid-twelfth-century Jerusalem scriptorium. It now seems clear that, at that time, a specifically local artistic tradition ran, like a
kind of connecting thread, through both the Byzantine and the Western facets of the dual scriptorium tradition. Moreover, the presence of these motifs on the ivories indicates the work of a local hand, which indication is, in turn, an aid to differentiating between the artists who carved the ivories.

The Ivories' Artists

There have been two main theories about the creator of the ivory covers. The earliest was that the artist was Byzantine. One such view took into account the Western features of the ivories, and included the suggestion that, because he was working for a Latin court, the Byzantine artist altered his style to suit the Western taste of his patrons. The second, and currently, widely-held theory is that the artist was an "orientalisch beeinflusster Abendländer." Although not essentially inaccurate, this theory is incomplete, if it assumes that only one artist worked on the ivories, an assumption which the visual evidence tends to contradict. When placed side by side, the two ivories do not need a very close scrutiny to show that they are the work of two different hands, one more skilled than the other. On examining the covers at the British Library, it became clear to me that the more expert artist, to be here designated by the letter "A," carved the entire front cover and perhaps part of the back -- the two upper medallions. The second artist, "B," was responsible for the remaining four
medallions, the rope-like border and the main frame of the back cover. I could not determine which hand carved the interstitial animals: They are skillfully done, which could indicate the hand of Artist A. However, it is also possible that Artist B was practised in the portrayal of animal and bird motifs, and that, as a "specialist" of this sort, he was less proficient in his representations of figural and vegetal imagery. Aside from the animals, fairly clear distinctions can be made with regard to the rest of the imagery: On the front cover, the decorative motifs in the main frames, and in the border around the medallions, show relative complexity, clear articulation, and overall delicacy of treatment. The corresponding back-cover ornament is also rendered with clarity, but it lacks the fine detail of the front cover, and evinces a slight heavy-handedness in the thickness of the vine scroll, the largeness of the grape-bunches, and the sporadic awkwardnesses in the medallions' borders. (See, for example, the segments near the top- and bottom-left corners, as well as those at most of the joinings.) Artist B also experienced some difficulties in the portrayal of human figures. In the lower four medallions, the figures are somewhat monotonously posed, have a stiff, block-like appearance, and, in most cases, coarse facial features. By contrast, the front-cover figures, done by Artist A, display a considerable degree of fluidity in the treatment of drapery, while at the same time, their poses are varied, their faces expressive. Artist A also appears to have carved the upper two medallions of the back
cover: Characteristic of his hand are the delicate ornamental detail of the thrones in both medallions, and of the king's robe in the left medallion. (Note especially, the minute scrollwork on the hem.) Also characteristic of A are the fluid complexity of the king's drapery in the right medallion and the facial variety seen in all of the figures in both medallions.

Apart from showing these general qualitative distinctions, the work of the two artists also differs in the use of local motifs. As noted in the previous section of this chapter, decorative elements that can be specifically associated with Latin Jerusalem occur on both covers. However, on the front cover, they are less apparent and more fully integrated with other elements. For example, the Jerusalem knotwork on the middle-right frame is placed in such a way that it functions as part of the English- or French-style acanthus-interlace motif. The other local features -- the rosettes, the diamond and bead pattern, the grapes -- are also subtly complementary to the other decorative motifs and the figural imagery. On the back cover, the local motifs are more in evidence as separate elements which stand out from among the other motifs: In particular, I noticed the largeness of the grape-pattern, the prominence of the spiral rosettes at the medallion joinings, the capricious presence of a square rosette in the centre-right medallion, and the use of a Jerusalem knotwork motif that bears little visual relationship to the rest of the frame's ornament. The differences in usage of Jerusalem motifs between front and back covers
is suggestive with regard to the geographical origins of the artists. On the front cover, the subordination of local elements to the remaining predominantly Western images indicates that Artist A was that "orientalisch beeinflusster Abendländer," referred to above. The prominence that Artist B accords to local motifs, and his apparent lack of ease in the portrayal of figures, suggests that he was native to Jerusalem, and trained in the primarily decorative, non-figural tradition of that locale.

The above discussion of the ivories' artists is the final topic of concern to this chapter. As indicated at its beginning, the chapter's consideration of the conditions, characteristics, and personalities associated with the Jerusalem scriptorium was doubly-intentioned: On the one hand, the aim was to focus on the scriptorium in a given time period, while on the other, the intent was to discover more about the origins of the ivories' iconography. What can be said now is that these two aims are not only related, they are virtually inseparable. For, as the combined creation of both a native and a Western European artist, and above all, as a pictorial compendium of Byzantine, Western, and local artistic traditions, the pair of ivory covers is nothing if not a microcosm of the cosmopolitan scriptorium of mid-twelfth-century Jerusalem.
CHAPTER IV

RELATED CONCERNS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE STUDY

Although concentrating on iconographic problems such as the meaning of the ivories' images, and the textual and pictorial origins of this imagery, Chapters II and III of this study at times skirted other related concerns. For example, in Chapter II the question of the identity of the Merciful King was raised, but, in the interest of chapter continuity and coherence, only briefly considered. It was speculated there that the figure may have been meant to be, at least partially, identified with a specific king, and two possibilities were mentioned: Fulk of Anjou (1131-1143) and Baldwin III (1143-1163). In both cases, the dates of reign coincide with the 1131-1143 dating of the ivories, and there is, as well, a possible textual basis (William of Tyre's history) for associating either with the figure on the ivory. Although there is no conclusive proof, the weight of historical and textual evidence seems to me to suggest that it is Baldwin III who is portrayed on the ivory. To the points already made in Chapter III -- Baldwin's physical resemblance to the depicted figure, his merciful rescue of the Patriarch of Antioch, his birth in the Holy Land -- it can be added that he, more than anyone else,
earned contemporary praise, as the embodiment of a variety of virtues, several of which are represented on the ivories. According to William of Tyre, Baldwin III was compassionate, generous, spiritual, patient, courteous, temperate and sober.¹ A more recent, and objective, historian, T.S.R. Boase, noted that Baldwin had some claim to being the most successful of the Jerusalem kings, mentioning the fact that he captured Ascalon, a military success which led to the agricultural development of the Plain of Sharon, and which, in turn, led to a period of unprecedented abundance in the kingdom.² Thus, in providing food for his subjects, Baldwin's military victory was, in a sense, an act of charity comparable to, and perhaps symbolised by, the merciful deeds shown on the ivory. William of Tyre also explicitly associates Baldwin with charity, noting that, upon reaching maturity, he "laid aside light conduct:"

\[\text{Thenceforward he [Baldwin] might say with the apostle, } \ldots \text{ when I became a man, I put away childish things.}\]

³ Baldwin was also known to have been "charitable" in his methods of warfare and would at times repair damages and supply food and protection to fortresses that had been under siege.⁴ However, there is also one known instance where he made what one modern historian describes as an "unforgivable attack" on some Turcoman shepherds to whom he had previously guaranteed royal safe-conduct.⁵ Thus, like his Biblical predecessor, Baldwin, the new David, was also a "royal sinner-saint," one who was as much capable of bloodshed as mercy.⁶ Although it tends to associate
Baldwin with the merciful king on the ivory, this historical evidence is suggestive only, and not conclusive, nor does it, in any way, preclude Fulk as the king portrayed. It is possible, however, that exhaustive research into contemporary documents and events would yield a sufficient factual basis for associating Baldwin more definitely with the king on the ivory. The findings presented here indicate that this might prove to be the case. Nonetheless, a document-search of this extent is beyond the scope of this paper, and thus, can only be proposed at this time as one potentially-productive line of follow-up research.

Related to the question of the merciful king's identity, is the problem of naming the ivories' patron. Once conclusively determined, the subject of the Acts of Mercy medallions would be indicated as the patron as well -- indicated, but not proven, for there is no logical reason why subject and patron should be one and the same. Thus, apart from each of the two most likely subjects of the medallions -- Fulk and Baldwin -- there are, at least in theory, other possible patrons. In practice, there is really only one. This is Queen Melisende, whose dates of reign (1131-1152), like those of Fulk and Baldwin, are consistent with the ivories' dates (1131-1143). Although there is nothing in the ivories' iconography that would specifically associate them with a patroness, rather than a patron, it is not improbable that it was the queen who commissioned the work. Of the three possibilities in this regard, she is the only one who is documented as having any interest in the arts. As noted previously,
there is a passage from William of Tyre's history that describes the many gifts that the queen made to the Church -- gifts which, presumably, she had had made in the Jerusalem scriptorium.  

Secondly, as Buchthal's and Wormald's findings clearly indicate, Melisende was the one who commissioned the Psalter which now bears her name. Thus, it would have been natural for her to commission a set of covers as well. The fact that both ivories show a king, rather than a queen, is not necessarily problematic, for, as the wife of Fulk and mother of Baldwin, she might, out of wifely, or motherly, love, or obligation, have chosen to commemorate her husband's, or son's reign, rather than her own. It should be noted that these speculations are not made with the intention of arguing that Melisende was the one who most likely commissioned the covers. On the basis of the scant existing evidence, she, Fulk, and Baldwin are equally plausible in this regard. Thus, like the uncertain identity of the figure on the back cover, the problem of the ivories' patron remains unresolved.

There is, at least, little doubt that the person who commissioned the ivories was one of Jerusalem's monarchs. First of all, the ivories are products of a scriptorium whose patronage was, according to Buchthal and others, predominantly royal. Other, observable, details are also indicative that the ivories' patron was royal. There are, for example, small circular depressions in the ornamental frames of the covers, and in the eyes of the figures, which indicate that the ivories were, or
were intended to be, encrusted with jewels.\textsuperscript{10} I also noticed traces of red paint in the incised inscriptions which suggests that they, and perhaps, some of the imagery on the ivories, were at one time gilded.\textsuperscript{11} In addition, the rich detail and lavish ornament of the ivories, as well as the correspondingly-high level of artistic skill and effort required to produce such an effect, also argue in favour of a royal patron. Together, such profuse expenditure of time and talent, and the use of valuable materials -- ivory, gold, gems -- point clearly to the covers having been originally a project commissioned by a royal personage. In fact, apart from the Church, there was probably no one other than the monarch who could afford art of the quality of the ivories, for the nobility and upper classes of Jerusalem were comfortable, but not immensely wealthy.\textsuperscript{12} Ultimately, it is perhaps the ivories' iconographic programme that provides the clearest indication that their patron was royal. Not only does it include portrayals of both the Biblical king, David, and another, possibly twelfth-century monarch, but contains, as well, numerous images of charity and conflict, visual scenes that were, both conceptually and actually, related to the institution and practice of kingship in twelfth-century Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{13}

In the same way that Chapter II touched peripherally on the question of patronage through its speculations regarding the merciful king, Chapter III at times verged on areas related to the problem of the style of the ivories. Comparisons of the ivories' specific decorative motifs to those found in the art of
Western Europe, Byzantium, and Jerusalem, and consideration of the artistic influences current in the scriptorium, were undertaken from a purely iconographic point of view. However, such concerns are also relevant to the problem of the style of the ivories. Although it has long been recognized and accepted that the ivories' style, like its iconography, is characterized by a mingling of Eastern and Western elements, no one has yet attempted an in-depth stylistic analysis, or undertaken to compile a set of examples of stylistically-comparable works of art. In accomplishing the latter task, should anyone wish to do so, the findings of this study might prove helpful as a starting point. For example, the Anglicizing iconographic characteristics of the Virtue-Vice cycle, and of the David as Musician medallion, suggest that Western stylistic comparisons, might first be profitably sought amongst examples of English art, particularly manuscripts and ivories. The iconographic parallels noted between the ivories and Melisende Psalter, and to a lesser extent, between the ivories and certain locally-made icons, indicate that other useful stylistic comparisons might arise from among other examples of Byzantinizing art. In this regard, the art of Norman Sicily, Southern Italy, and even Syria and Armenia might bear investigation. Finally, the presence of specific Jerusalem motifs on the ivories is an indication of the need to consider local tradition as a factor in the classification and description of their style, and thus, any future stylistic study of the ivories would have to entail
detailed comparisons with other extant examples of Jerusalem art.

Frequently, in examining works of art for which is lacking any kind of written documentation, questions of style inevitably become bound up with the problem of dating. Such might also prove true with regard to the ivories, for, thus far, they have only been dated by logical extension. That is, the date of the Melisende Psalter is 1131-1143; therefore, its covers presumably also date ca 1131-1143. Certainly, nothing in the findings of this study seriously challenge the accuracy of this dating, which has the concensus acceptance of scholars who have previously studied the ivories. However, it can be noted that, in the case of some of the iconographic comparisons made between the ivories and other art, some examples of the latter dated from ca 1150-1180. In this regard might be mentioned the Hortus Deliciarum (1159-1180), the Winchester Bible ornament (ca 1150-1170), the Chartres window border (ca 1155), and the Bargello crozier (ca 1175) (Figs. 17a, 20c, 20a, and 28). Thus, it is possible that detailed stylistic comparisons of the ivories to other works of art might suggest a slight re-dating of the ivories to either the latter end of the current dating range -- ca 1140-1150, instead of 1131-1143 -- or even, to the twenty years immediately following: ca 1145-1165. If a later dating could be stylistically established, this would, of course, mean that ivories and Psalter were not made concurrently -- a not unreasonable possibility. A new 1145-1165 dating range would
also bear on the question of patronage, indicating that Baldwin III was both the patron of the ivories and the subject of the Acts of Mercy medallions. At present, this idea is no more than speculation, its verification or contradiction dependent on the results of further research. Similarly, a detailed stylistic study of the ivories, and the associated possibility of their re-dating, are both problems for future investigation.

**Conclusion**

The immediate focus of this study has been, and remains, iconographic. For this reason, it has been possible to illuminate the most important, and in some instances, previously unnoticed aspects of the ivories' programme of images. It has become clear that each cycle has its own textual source or sources, but that each also contributes to the telling of one main story -- that of the fight for man's soul. The simultaneous Byzantine-Western derivation of the iconography, as well as its debt to local tradition are also now apparent -- as is the fact that both together are a reflection of the artistic influences current in the scriptorium at the time of the ivories' creation. And, finally, it is clear too that the ivory covers of the Melisende Psalter, with their images of charity, conflict, and kingship, belong securely to their temporal and geographic context: Mid-twelfth-century Jerusalem was a time and place
in which the ivories' three themes were more than literary concepts and carved images -- they were living concerns.
NOTES TO THE TEXT

Notes to Chapter I


2 For the basic information about to be detailed here, see, among others, C. Cahier, Nouveaux Mélanges d'Archeologie, d'Histoire et de Littérature, 4 vols. (Paris, 1874), 2:1; and Frauke Steenbock, Der Kirchliche Prachteinband in Frühen Mittelalter (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1965), p. 186.

3 I discovered that this French monastery had an early connection with a Jerusalem order, the Knights Templar. For details, see Appendix 1. Presumably, ivories and Psalter were brought to Grenoble by a Templar who loaned, or gave, or entrusted them to the monks of the Grande Chartreuse. They were probably stolen from the monastery during, or shortly after, the French Revolution (see Appendix 1). How they came into the possession of Dr. Commermont is not known.

4 For details regarding the separation of ivories, and binding, and for some information on conservation procedures, see Appendix 2.

5 Since it was a predominantly military state, the Latin Kingdom's main achievement in the arts was military architecture. For general overviews of Crusader art, see Boase, op. cit., pp. 96-124; idem, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom of

6 Cycles and their individual images are identified by their associated Latin inscriptions. For additional, and more detailed information, see Chap. II of this paper.

7 See Chap. III, p. 58f., this paper. For a brief comment, and a listing of the few comparable examples in this regard, see Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187. See also n. 44, Chap. III, for more detailed information.

8 A similar remark was made by Steenbock, loc. cit. She also cited the ivories as the earliest known example of an Acts of Mercy cycle. In this she was mistaken: In the course of this study I came across an earlier, although less complete example -- an 11th-century panel from Italy, on which are depicted images of a saint performing Acts of Mercy: feeding the hungry, visiting the imprisoned, and clothing the naked. For an illustration, see D. Redig de Campos, "Eine bekannte Darstellung des jüngsten Gerichts aus dem Elften Jahrhundert," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 5 (1936): 127.


10 Amongst which, are the meaning of the bird, Herodius, on the top of the back cover, and the unusual sequence of the Virtue-Vice cycle. (Cahier, op. cit., 2:2-14.) Cahier's theories will be detailed at appropriate points in the second chapter of this paper.
11 Cahier made a key error in his observation of the Virtue-Vice cycle when he described the struggle between Avaritia and Largitas, op. cit., 2:9. He failed to note that the ivories actually depict Avaritia and Fortitudo together, while Largitas is portrayed singly. This is no small oversight since the separate portrayal of Largitas is the link between all of the ivories' iconographic cycles, and hence, is a major clue to their meaning. See Chap. II of this study.


15 That of Moorish Spain. See Byzantine Art and Archaeology, p. 233. Chap. III of this paper, section entitled, "The Ivories and the Twofold Artistic Tradition of the Jerusalem Scriptorium;" and fig. 25, this study.

16 A. Goldschmidt and Kurt Weitzmann, Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen (Berlin, 1934), 2:79-80; J. Strzygowski, "Ruins of the Tombs of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem," Speculum 11 (1936): 507. The motif in question is a knotwork pattern. See figs. 43a, 43b, and 43c, this study.


20 For summaries of previous research, see Boase, Kingdoms and Strongholds..., p. 103; Prawer, op. cit., pp. 462-66; and R.C. Smail, The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), pp. 165-66, and pl. 62. The 1977 survey of Crusader art, referred to in the text, is volume 4 of Setton, op. cit.: The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States, pp. 128, 139, and 288. For the complete citation, see n. 5, this chapter.)

21 The author of the treatise is Hugh of St. Victor. For further information, see Chapter II of this study, the section entitled, "The Secondary Textual Source." Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 10, briefly described the treatise in question, and from his description, I recognized possible parallels with the two ivories, which prompted me to examine the original Latin text. To a somewhat lesser extent, Von Thadden's study was also helpful in this regard. (See n. 55, Chap. II.)

Notes to Chapter II

1. The following description is based entirely on my own observations and measurements, made in the Manuscript Department of the British Library, June 1980. For other descriptions of the ivories, see Dalton, Catalogue, pp. 23-24; Goldschmidt, Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen, 2:79-80; Prawer, The Crusaders' Kingdom, pp. 463-65; and Steenbock, Kirchliche Prachteinband, pp. 186-88.

2. The decorative effect of the ivories may owe something to the rubies and turquoises with which they are studded. However, the gems were added in the nineteenth century (Maskell, Ivories, p. 119), and thus, cannot properly be considered as part of the decorative programme.


5. The textual sources cited for this and the other cycles represent my own attempt to identify the closest-possible picture-text correspondences. Unless otherwise specified, my own findings do not differ greatly from previous textual identifications. See, for example, Dalton, op. cit., pp. 22-4; Steenbock, op. cit., pp. 186-7; and Westwood, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories..., pp. 72-3.

6. Dalton, op. cit., p. 23, suggests the source by referring to the apocryphal Psalm 151.

7. The most complete information regarding the inscriptions associated with this and the other cycles portrayed on the ivories is to be found in Dalton, op. cit., pp. 22-4; and Westwood, op. cit., pp. 72-3.
8 Cahier, op. cit., 2:6-9; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187, have noted that the Virtue-Vice cycle closely follows Prudentius' text. However, neither they, nor anyone else, until now, has demonstrated this fact by quoting the relevant sections of text.

8 This last scene on the ivories is actually a composite of two episodes. In the text, Peace banishes war, but it is actually Faith who deals the death-blow to Discord. See the "Psychomachia," in Prudentius, 2 vols., trans. H.J. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1949), 1:323, lines 634-635; and 1:329, lines 714-716. For the preceding lines of text quoted, see ibid., 1:281, lines 22, 28 and 30; 283-85, lines 40, 41, 50, 51 and 86; 287-89, lines 110, 111 and 150; 293 and 299, lines 200 and 205, and lines 279-281 and 283; 307-09, lines 405-408 and 423-424; and 319-21, lines 574, 585-586, and 600-601.

The line numbers just cited are references to Thomson's English translation, which correlates closely to the Latin text on facing pages. Other line numbers, to be cited in subsequent notes, will also refer to Thomson's translation, which has been used consistently throughout this chapter.

10 For general comments on, and descriptions of this cycle, see Cahier, op. cit. 2:12-13; Dalton, op. cit., p. 24; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187.

11 In the thirteenth century, a seventh Act of Mercy, the Burial of the Dead, was conceived. See R. Freyhan, "Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century," Warburg and Courtauld Institutes Journal 11 (1948): 70, n. 2.

12 Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 60.

13 See, for example, two eleventh-century Byzantine manuscripts: the Theodore Psalter, ca 1066 (London, B.L., Additional MS 19352, ff. 19 and 97v), and a Psalter, dated 1059 (Rome, Vatican, gr. 752, f 82); both manuscripts are cited by Christopher Walter, Studies in Byzantine Iconography (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), "Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography" (XII), p. 172, and "The Significance of Unction in Byzantine Iconography" (XIII), pp. 62-65.

With regard to describing the costume as contemporary Byzantine, see n. 68, this chapter.

14 To my knowledge, this is the first time that the Chronicles passage has been cited with regard to the ivories' iconography.
15 English translations of the Latin inscriptions are based on information contained in R.E. Latham, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1975); and idem, Revised Medieval Latin Word List (London: Oxford University Press, for the British Academy, 1965). These dictionaries were used here because, as will become clear as the discussion progresses, it is important to know the medieval (as opposed to the classical) meaning of these corner inscriptions. See the section of this chapter entitled, "The Secondary Textual Source."

16 Florence McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina, 1960), p. 125 and p. 125, n. 74. A few early works that discuss the ivories completely overlook the bestiary connection of the word, and suggest that Herodius was the name of the artist. See, for example, the British Museum's Guide to the Manuscripts... of 1906, p. 146; and Clemen, op. cit., p. 166, n. 105.

17 Cahier, op. cit., 1:313; and McCulloch, op. cit., p. 125.


19 Among them, are Boase, "The Arts in the Latin Kingdom," p. 14; idem, Kingdoms and Strongholds of the Crusaders, p. 103; Dalton, op. cit., p. 26; Prawer, op. cit., p. 465; Smail, The Crusaders in Syria and the Holy Land, pp. 165-66; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187, who notes that the theory does not exclude other possibilities regarding the identity of the king.

20 Quoted in another context by Cahier, op. cit., 1:312.


24 An examination of contemporary bestiaries, in which the animals are named, failed to shed any light with regard to the animals on the ivories. I found no convincing comparisons.

25 Reallexikon der Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, s.v. "David," col. 1107; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 186. See also Chap. III of this paper, the section entitled, "The Western Models."
As yet, no art historian has confronted this problem. With regard to the David cycle as a whole, Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187, notes that, as a rule in medieval art, the Davidic scenes chosen were those which could be paralleled with events from the life of Christ. However, I have found no evidence, textual or pictorial, that would suggest that a specific David-Christ typology was intended to be represented in this instance.

For examples of the usual pairing of Avaritia-Largitas, see Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., pp. 9, n. 1; 11, n. 1; 18; 20, n. 5; 77; and passim. Only one other instance of an isolated Largitas figure has come to light in the course of this study: London, B.L. MS Cotton Titus D. XVI. (This was also noted by Von Thadden, Die Ikonographie der Caritas..., p. 42. However, this manuscript also shows the standard Avaritia-Largitas pairing and does not contain any portrayal of Fortitudo.

An English enamel crozier (ca 1175), now in the Bargello, Florence. See Fig. 28, and Chap. III, p. 58, of this study. In this example, however, neither of the two cycles are as complete as those depicted on the ivories.

I have no further evidence in support of this view, and thus, I make this suggestion somewhat tentatively.

Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187, and Chap. I, p. 3, of this paper.

The closest example in this regard is in a ca 1165 manuscript from Ratisbon (Munich, Staatsbibliothek Cod. lat. 13002). Folio 4r shows David in the same scene as a personification of Caritas. For an illustration, see Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., pl. XXXIII-55.

P. 17, this paper; Cahier, op. cit., 2:8; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187.

Prudentius, 1:299, lines 290-291; and 307, lines 385-386, and 394-395. These references were also noted by Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 9. He did not, however, perceive the extent of their application to the ivories.

Prudentius, 1:299, lines 290-291.


Ibid., 1:281, line 32.


Ibid., 1:295, line 239; I Samuel 17:42-3.

Prudentius, 1:291, lines 162-167.

Loc. cit., lines 154-155.

Ibid., 1:325, line 665. Cahier, op. cit., 2:9, also noted the appropriateness of juxtaposing Concordia with a scene of musical harmony. He did not, however, acknowledge the Psychomachian textual source.

For example, in the Vivian Bible frontispiece to Psalms (Paris, Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. I, f. 215). However, it should be noted that here, as in other comparable examples, this association is usually made in conjunction with the inclusion of the three other cardinal virtues: Prudentia, Temperantia, and Justitia. Where David is specifically associated with only one virtue, that virtue is usually humility. (See, for example, the manuscript cited in n. 31: in another scene on the same folio, David is portrayed with Humilitas.)

Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 60, n. 1; and p. 78, n. 1.

Ibid., p. 17, n. 2 and p. 83, n. 1; Von Thadden, op. cit., p. 47 and passim.

Prudentius, 1:333, lines 755-756.

Loc. cit., lines 779-780. Prudentius' paraphrase of verses from the "charity chapter" of the Bible (I Corinthians 13:4 and 7) is literally illustrated in the St. Albans Prudentius (B.L., Cotton MS Titus D. XVI), in which, on f. 29v, Concordia metamorphosizes into Caritas. This was noted by myself upon examination of the manuscript at the British Library, June 1980. I know of no published photograph of this image.

At the time of its creation, the David-as-Musician medallion may also have been understood as an additional narrative link between front and back covers: There is a text by St. Ambrose in which he speaks of the "fine melody of good works," and further on, of "a symphony of good works." (See "The Prayer of Job and David," in The Fathers of the Church, vol. 44: St. Ambrose: Seven Exegetical Works (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1972), pp. 419-20.) If this connection between musical harmony and charity was known to the inventor of the ivories' iconographic programme, then Largitas may also be part of the Davidic-Psychomachian metaphor described above.
49 Freyhan, op. cit., pp. 69-70; and Von Thadden, op. cit., p. 93.

50 Prudentius, 1:341, lines 874-877.

51 Both Cahier (op. cit., 2:14) and Dalton (op. cit., p. 26) regarded the birds and animals as mainly decorative. Other writers on the ivories have not considered the problem.

52 Prudentius, 1:335, lines 789-796.

53 Ibid., 1:343, lines 903-905, and 910-913. It is possible that, in addition to their narrative function, the animals and birds originally had some additional symbolic pur-
port. In the 1159-1180 Hortus Deliciarum (Munich, Staatsbiblio-
thek, Cod. lat. 13002), for example, the bear and wolf are the symbols of violence and rapacity, respectively. (See A. Straub and G. Keller, Hortus Deliciarum (Strasbourg, 1879-99; Eng. trans., ed. and trans. Aristide D. Caratzas, New Rochelle, N.Y.: Caratzas Brothers, 1977), p. 178. For additional, general information on animal symbolism, see Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 61; and McCulloch, op. cit., passim. Cahier, op. cit., 2:14, identifies the animal in the centre-bottom interstice as an antelope, symbol of Christ. However, it has been noted elsewhere in this paper (p. 21f) that identification of unlabelled medieval animal imagery is a purely subjective exercise. Thus, although Cahier's identification and symbolic interpretation of the animal depicted in what is, on the ivory, the last narrative position, would work well as an illustration of the line in the conclusion of the Psychomachia — "until Christ our God comes to our aid...." (Prudentius, 1:343, lines 912-914, quoted p. 31, this paper) -- his (Cahier's) hypothesis must be rejected for its lack of a secure evidential basis.

54 For general information on Hugh of St. Victor, I consulted The New Schatt-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, 1968 ed., s.v. "Hugo of St. Victor," by O. Zöckler; and Nomenclator Literarius Theologiae Catholicae, 1906 ed., 2: col. 81. Both of these sources note the impossibility of establishing a chronology for Hugh's writings. All that is known for certain is that he began writing before 1115, and continued to do so until his death in 1141. Zöckler and others are generally agreed that, in terms of the development of Western theology, Hugh of St. Victor was the most influential theologian of the twelfth century.

55 For general descriptions of the content of this treatise, see Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., pp. 10, and 66-7; and Von Thadden, op. cit., pp. 22-3. For the Latin text, see Migne, op. cit., 176: cols. 997-1010.
In a short tract cited in another context by Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., p. 41. (See also Migne, op. cit., 177: col. 623.) Actually, Hugh uses the word, Pax. However, as noted previously in this paper, congruent concepts were often used interchangeably in the Middle Ages. For additional comments in this regard, see Von Thadden, op. cit., pp. 42, 47.

See Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., pp. 10-11, and passim, for other similar examples in this regard. Similarly, in the iconography of the ambulatory capitals at Cluny, Justitia is added to the Fides-Spes-Caritas group. There is no apparent textual basis for this addition. See Kenneth J. Conant, "The Iconography and the Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals of Cluny," Speculum 5 (1930): 282.

Migne, op. cit., 176: col. 1002. For sources of the word meanings, see n. 15, this chapter.

Ibid., 176:1004; see also Von Thadden, op. cit., pp. 22-3.

This suggestion was made by Cahier, op. cit., 2:9. No one else has, until now, addressed themselves to the problem.

Von Thadden, op. cit., p. 45. I query her inclusion of Psalm 25:16 and 18 in this regard. These verses bear more on forgiveness than charity — undoubtedly, though, the two are related.

This and the other additions to Von Thadden's list are the result of my own reading of the Psalms.

For the source of this list, and for detailed comments on the texts, see J.H. Eaton, Kingship and the Psalms (London: SCM Press, 1976), p. 140f, and passim.

The first group consists of Psalms 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 17, 22, 23, 27, 28, 35, 40, 41, 57, 59, 61, 62, 63, 66, 69, 70, 71, 75, 89, 91, 92, 94, 108, 118, 138, 140, and 143. For above listing and explanatory comments, see Eaton, op. cit., pp. 27-64. Psalms more peripherally related to the theme of kingship are listed and discussed ibid., pp. 64-85.

Psalm 72:1, 4, and 12.

Steenbock, op. cit., p. 188, however, perceived an aspect of this iconographic unity when she described the manuscript and covers as interdependent in the sense that the former contains the text of the Psalms, the latter, images of the Psalmist.
The Byzantine costume of the king is frequently mentioned by writers on the ivories. See, for example, Dalton, op. cit., pp. 23-24; Prawer, op. cit., p. 465; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187. For general information regarding Byzantine imperial costume and its representation in art, and on coins, see Iohannis Spatharakis, The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976). The costumes shown on Byzantine coinage particularly resemble those portrayed on the ivory. See, for example, ibid., pl. 118.


Prawer, op. cit., p. 466.

P. 20, and n. 18, this chapter.

William of Tyre, A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea, 2:47. For other information on Fulk, see ibid., 2:47f passim; and Grousset, The Epic of the Crusades, p. 91f.

This, of course, is allowing for some flexibility in the 1131-1143 dating of the ivories.

William of Tyre, op. cit., 2:137. William's description of Fulk's physical appearance is less detailed (ibid., 2:47). However, as a comparatively recent arrival from Western Europe, Fulk probably observed the Frankish custom of shaving. (See Setton, op. cit., 4:22f for information regarding Western, as opposed to Oriental, customs of clothing and hair styles. For other information regarding Baldwin III, see ibid., 2:136f, 235f, and passim; see also Boase, Kingdoms and Strongholds..., p. 101f; Grousset, op. cit., p. 121f; and Runciman, op. cit., 2:233f.

William of Tyre, op. cit., loc. cit.
The date of this incident is approximate. The trouble between the prince and the Patriarch of Antioch began as early as 1143, and culminated in the imprisonment of the latter ca 1158-70. See ibid., 2:235, n. 1.

Grousset, op. cit., p. 121.

See p.18f, this paper.

La Monte, op. cit., pp. 303-04; Prawer, op. cit., p. 503.

For general information on Davidic kingship, see Kantorowicz, Laudes Regiae, The University of California Publications in History, vol. 33 (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 56-7 and 103-05; and idem, The King's Two Bodies, pp. 77 and 81. For more specific information regarding kingship in Latin Jerusalem, see La Monte, Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom..., p. 209; Prawer, op. cit., pp. 95 and 475; and Richard, op. cit., A:62-4.


William of Tyre, op. cit., 1:522, 2:47, 133, and 137.

For details, see passim, in any of the sources cited in n. 1, Chap. I.

Prawer, op. cit., p. 104. William of Tyre's History makes it clear that military prowess was regarded as the most important asset of an effective king. See ibid., 1:522; 2:47; 2:138; and passim.

In twelfth-century Jerusalem, a dual role, similar to that of the king, was also filled by the two military orders, the Hospitallers and the Templars (founded 1070 and 1120, respectively). These nobly-born warrior-monks fulfilled two functions: the military defense of the kingdom, and the care of its poor and ailing. Jacques de Vitry (active, late twelfth, early thirteenth centuries) referred to these orders as "lions at war, and gentle as lambs at home." (Quoted by La Monte in his article in Byzantion 15, p. 219.) A similar description could also be applied to the ideal of a contemporary king. For further information on the Knights Hospitaller and Templar, and on their role in the Latin Kingdom, see La Monte,
Feudal Monarchy..., Chap. 2; Munro, The Kingdom of the Crusaders, pp. 98-101; Prawer, op. cit., Chap. 14; Richard, op. cit., A:112f; and Runciman, op. cit., 2:156-9, 248-9, 312-17, 338-41, and passim. For a more detailed account of the early history of the Knights Hospitalier, see E.J. King, The Knights Hospitaliers in the Holy Land (London: Methuen, 1931), Chaps. 1-3.
Notes to Chapter III

1 Buchthal, Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. (See n. 5, Chap. I for complete citation.)

2 Except in the catalogue entry for the Psalter (ibid., p. 139), where Buchthal notes the ivories' existence and provides a brief bibliography.

3 1125-1187 and 1225-1250.


5 Ibid., p. xxx.

6 Ibid., p. 35. For further information on the scriptorium and its royal patronage, see ibid., p. 36f. Prawer, The Crusaders' Kingdom, p. 449, summarizes Buchthal's comments in this regard.

7 Buchthal, op. cit., p. 23f. The three manuscripts that are securely attributable to the scriptorium on liturgical grounds are the Melisende Psalter (London, B.L., Egerton MS 1139), the Sacramentary (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, D. 7. 3.), and one of the Missals (Paris, Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. 12056). Buchthal has assigned the four other manuscripts to the scriptorium on stylistic evidence only. These manuscripts are: the Gospel of St. John (Paris, Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. 9396), the Paris Gospels (Bib. Nat., Cod. lat. 276), the Rome Gospels (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5974), and the second Missal (Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, Vittorio Emanuele III VI G 11).

8 Buchthal's dating, op. cit., pp. 1, 14, and 24. The two Gospel-books are from the third quarter of the twelfth century; the Naples Missal dates ca 1190-1200. (Ibid., pp. 25 and 35.) The dating of the Psalter to the years between 1131 and 1143 depends on the manuscript's calendar, which records the death of Baldwin II in 1131, but does not record the next royal death, that of Fulk, in 1143. General paleographic evidence, supplied by Francis Wormald in an appendix to Buchthal's study, supports this dating. See ibid., pp. 1 and 135f.

9 Weitzmann, "Icon Painting in the Crusader Kingdom," Dumbarton Oaks Papers 20 (1966): 49-83. These attributions are made on stylistic grounds, building, to some extent, upon Buchthal's findings regarding the style of the scriptorium. On this basis, Weitzmann has found three twelfth-century icons that he considers products of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium. (Op.
The remaining icons that he discusses all belong to the thirteenth century, and are not, therefore, of immediate concern to this discussion. In this regard, it can be noted in passing that only some icons of this later group were made in Jerusalem, as, by the thirteenth century, the major centre of artistic production was Acre. (Ibid., p. 56f.)

For Buchthal's discussion of this manuscript, see ibid., pp. 1-14. See also Wormald's comments in the Appendices, ibid., pp. 122-128, and 132-135.

She ruled with Fulk from 1131-1143, and with Baldwin until 1152. For historical background on these three rulers, see Boase, Kingdoms and Strongholds..., p. 101f; Grousset, The Epic of the Crusades, p. 91f; and for the main contemporary source of information on Melisende, see William of Tyre, History, 2:132f and passim.

Buchthal, op. cit., p. 1; and Wormald, ibid., pp. 122, 127, and 133.

William of Tyre, op. cit., 2:133-4.

Artists of the mid-twelfth century were not necessarily "specialists." Hugo of Bury St. Edmunds, for example, was a sculptor and metal-worker, as well as an illuminator. (David M. Robb, The Art of the Illuminated Manuscript (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1973), p. 197.) Thus, it is possible that the ivories were commissioned at the same time as the Psalter, and were worked on by one of the scriptorium's illuminators. In any case, it would not have been unusual for a scriptorium of this period to produce such ornamental work as the ivory covers.

For a sampling, see passim in Cahier, Nouveaux Mélanges..., 2:1-14; Dalton, Catalogue..., pp. 22-26; Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen 2:79f; and Steenbock, Kirchliche Prachteinband, pp. 186-88. See also Steger, David Rex et Propheta, p. 216.

Steenbock, op. cit., p. 188, is the only one of those cited in n. 16 who even begins to address the problem of comparing ivories and Psalter: She notes that there is no direct stylistic relationship between the manuscript and its covers.

The four cycles of the Psalter are: scenes from the Gospels, saints' portraits, signs of the Zodiac (in the calendar-section of the manuscript), and the decorated initials. Buchthal shows that each cycle was the work of a different hand, and derived from a different set of models. See op. cit., pp. xxxiii, 14, and passim.
Buchthal, *op. cit.*, p. 12, noted the motif in the Psalter, but not on the front-cover ivory.

For example, David as Musician is portrayed in three-quarter view in the Paris Psalter (Bib. Nat., MS gr. 139, f lv). For a reproduction, see Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter*, pl. I. (Complete citation in n. 17, Chap. I.) For a typical Western example of the frontal David, see fig. 39a, this paper.


Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen, 2:80. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann were not the first to recognize the two artistic strains in the ivories. This had been known, and expressed with varying degrees of emphasis, since the covers' initial publication by Du Sommerard. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann were, however, the first to relate this phenomenon in the ivories specifically to the comparable duality that characterized Jerusalem artistic endeavour in general.

*Miniature Painting...*, p. xxxii and passim.

For specific details on the Psalter, see *ibid.*, pp. 1-14. Steenbock, *op. cit.*, p. 188, describes the ivories as an almost unparallelled blending of Eastern and Western elements.


See, for example, Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, pp. 231-33; idem, *Catalogue...*, p. 25; and Prawer, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

Dalton, *Catalogue...*, p. 25. My own observations, made upon examining this manuscript at the British Library, confirmed that Dalton's comparison was apt, and that, in several places, this early twelfth-century manuscript showed armoured figures similar to those on the ivories. Specifically, I found parallels on folios 2v, 3r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v, and 26v. To my knowledge, no photographs of these particular folios have been published.

The kneeling David as a Western motif was recognized and noted by Meyer Schapiro in a different context. See p. 181 of his article, cited in n. 37, Chap. II, of this paper.
This distinction between Western and Byzantine Anointment iconography was pointed out by Christopher Walter in Studies in Byzantine Iconography (XIII), pp. 59-60; see also ibid., (XIII), figs. 1 and 2. I am grateful to my thesis advisor, Dr. Mary Morehart, for bringing Walter's remarks to my attention.

In addition to the examples illustrated in this paper, f. 3v of the Paris Psalter (Bib. Nat., MS gr. 139) can also be cited as an example of the typical Byzantine Anointment scene. (See Buchthal, The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter, pl. III, for a reproduction.) One of the earliest images of this type occurs on a silver plate from Constantinople, ca 630. (For a photograph, see Weitzmann, Age of Spirituality (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art and Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 476.) An additional example of the Western kneeling anointment can be seen on the recto of a leaf from the Winchester Bible (New York, Pierpoint Morgan Library 619). (See C.M. Kauffmann, Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190 (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), ill. 240, for a photograph.) It should also be noted in passing that, due to the influx of Byzantine models into the West by the twelfth century, standing Anointment scenes are not unknown in Western art of this period. In this regard, the standing David of the Morgan leaf verso, can be cited. (See Kauffmann, op. cit., ill. 241, for a reproduction.)

In Ivories, p. 119, Maskell's description of the ornament as "characteristic Byzantine work" typifies the earlier view, while Steenbock's brief, non-committal comments (op. cit., p. 186) exemplify the modern avoidance of the question of the ornament's derivation.

Buchthal, Miniature Painting..., p. 19.

The earliest example, that I have found, of interlocking medallions, used in conjunction with any imagery comparable to that of the ivories, is a fifth-century A.D. fresco from Bawit. In this work, three medallions interlock horizontally, and a bust of Hope is contained in the centre medallion. For a reproduction, see Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices..., pl. XV-30. For a sixth-century example of the medallion motif, see the diptych of Philoxenus, ca 525, pictured in Tardy (no initials given), Les Ivoires (Paris, n.d.), pl. 8. (U.B.C. library call no. for this book: NK 5825 T3.) A twelfth-century ivory shows four medallions, containing saints' portraits, joined to a larger central medallion depicting St. John. See Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archeology, fig. 142.

Idem, Catalogue..., p. 25.
35 Cahier, op. cit., 2:10, relates the birds and animals to the imagery in twelfth-century Western European bestiaries. My own comparisons in this regard have failed to produce any convincing parallels.

36 See p.39f. See also n. 68, Chap. II.


38 Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187. She inaccurately describes Goliath's shield as antique (ibid., loc. cit.). (Antique-style shields are commonly round. See next note.)

39 An instance of a depiction of a "hybrid" warrior occurs in the Hortus Deliciarum, f. 54v: Goliath wears contemporary chain mail and carries a round shield of the type seen in such fifth- and sixth-century manuscripts as the Ambrosian Iliad (Milan, Cod. F. 205, inf.), the Vatican Vergil (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225), and the Roman Vergil (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867). For a reproduction, see Straub and Keller, Hortus Deliciarum, pl. 16. (Complete citation: n. 53, Chap. II.)

40 In this regard, it can be noted that the earliest instance, that I have found, of the juxtapositioning of David with Virtues occurs in the Utrecht Psalter (ca 830). On f 26r, the illustration to Psalm 44 depicts King David in the company of the personifications of three unidentified virtues. (For a reproduction, see Kessler, The Illustrated Bibles from Tours, fig. 172.) Chronologically, the next comparable example is an image in the ca 1000 Bamberg Apocalypse (Staatsbib., Cod. A. II. 42). Folio 60r shows female personifications of virtues paired with Biblical examples. In the lower left corner, Penitence leads David by the arm. (For an illustration, see Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., pl. VI-14.) Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187, mistakenly cites this as the earliest juxtapositioning of David with a Virtue. (As noted above, the Utrecht Psalter contains an earlier example.) In another manuscript, the Hortus Deliciarum (Munich, Staatsbib., Cod. lat. 13002, ca 1165), David is placed near Charity in the upper register of f. 4r, and paired with Humility in a lower register of the same folio. (See Katzenellenbogen, op. cit., pl. XXXIII-55.) Because of its depiction of Caritas, this folio corresponds in a general thematic way to the ivories, whose imagery, as noted in Chap. II, emphasizes the theme of charity. Visually, however, there is no particular resemblance between the two works of art.

41 This comparison has been made previously by Cahier, op. cit., 2:6; Clemen, Die Romanische Monumentalmalerei..., p. 166; Dalton, Catalogue..., p. 25; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 187.

For details, see n. 46, below.

Miniature Painting..., p. xxxiii.

Ibid., p. 2.

A lack of appropriate Western possibilities also supports this view: In researching this paper, I found only two Western examples of mercy-related cycles: an eleventh-century wood panel from Rome and the ca 1160 Floreffe Bible (London, B.L., Additional MS 17738). Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 25, and Von Thadden, *op. cit.*, p. 47, have noted that the Floreffe Bible contains images of a woman feeding the hungry, of another woman comforting the imprisoned, and of a man clothing naked beggars. (I know of no reproduction of these images.) The other example, cited above with the Floreffe Bible, is one which previous scholars have overlooked as an iconographic comparison for the ivories. This is the wood panel from Rome, painted in the second half of the eleventh century. Its main theme is the Last Judgement, but part of one of the registers shows St. Stephen feeding the hungry, visiting the imprisoned, and clothing the naked. For additional information and illustrations, see the article by R. de Campos, cited in n. 8, Chap. I.

A cycle of saints' missions and healing scenes -- St. Peter's Raising of Tabitha, St. Bartholomew's Mission to the Indies, and St. Matthew's Mission to Ethiopia (described by Prawer, *op. cit.*, pp. 440-2) -- appear on the twelfth-century capitals of the Church of the Annunciation in Nazareth. Visually, these sculptures do not resemble any of the ivory's imagery, but I mention them here as the only local instance of the portrayal of mercy-related themes.

This is rather surprising since a related tradition, royal dispensation of largesse, goes back to Roman Imperial times, and was frequently portrayed on the coins of this period. For these early images on coinage, see Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1945), p. 16f.

(The earliest known instance of mercy-related iconography in Byzantine art is found in the Chludoff Psalter (Moscow, MS 129D; second half, ninth century). Von Thadden, Die Ikonographie der Caritas..., p. 46, noted that Psalm 37 of this manuscript is illustrated by an allegorical figure of Mercy.)

49 For the comment that led me into this direction of research, see Anderson "The Illustrations of Cod. Sinai Gr. 339," Art Bulletin 61 (June 1979): 183, n. 69a. (I also looked at Western New Testament cycles, but their scenes of healing and other miracles were not numerous enough to make a Western model for the Acts of Mercy a likely possibility.)

50 The use of a thirteenth-century Gospels for three comparisons (Figs. 29a, 31a, and 34a) does not invalidate the basic hypothesis. While Byzantine style, of no concern to this discussion, changed over the centuries, its iconography, the concern here, remained constant. See Henri Omont, Miniatures des Plus Anciens Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, 1929); S.M. Pelekanidis, The Treasures of Mount Athos, 2 vols., trans. Philip Sherrard (Athens, 1974); or any other standard compilation of Byzantine art.

51 Miniature Painting..., pp. 4 and 7.

52 Ibid., p. 7.

53 See also f 136v of the tenth-century Paris Psalter (Bib. Nat., MS gr. 139). A large reproduction can be found in Buchthal's, The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter, pl. VIII. For further information, see Ibid., p. 28, on which is a table listing the Byzantine manuscripts which contain an image of the repentant David. There are nineteen such examples. Buchthal also includes the ivory in this table.

54 As far as I am able to tell, there is no other extant example of this particular scene. No previous scholar has confronted the problem of the pictorial source of this scene, and thus, I have to rely on my own observations in this regard.

55 It should also be noted that the same changes to a comparable Western image would produce the same result. It is, therefore, possible that the model might have been a Western Presentation scene. However, although there is no evidence that specifically negates this other possibility, the sheer numerical preponderance of Byzantine Presentation scenes makes one such scene the most probable model for the Ahimelech medallion.

For details, see Helen Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," *Art Studies* 7 (1929): 36f.


For information on Psychomachian imagery in Western European frescoes and sculpture, see Jacques Houlet, *Les Combats des Vertus et des Vices: Les Psychomachies dans l'Art* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1969); Michel, *op. cit.*, n. 3, Chap. II; and Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, passim. Woodruff's article, cited in n. 62 above, is the most recent and complete source of information on illustrated Psychomachian manuscripts. Katzenellenbogen, *op. cit.*, passim, takes a broader approach, but is also very informative.

Woodruff, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Ibid., p. 48.

Ibid., p. 38.

Ibid., pls. 12, 40, 41, 82, 93, 104, 109, and 127.

Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 70. For further details, see Woodruff, *op. cit.*, pp. 47 and 66.

Von Thadden, *op. cit.*, p. 42.


Ibid., p. 35.

See n. 27, this chapter, for a listing of specific folios on which are depicted these armoured figures.

On the ivory, the costuming inconsistency goes beyond that seen in the St. Albans Prudentius. Specifically, as the table inserted in the text shows, the ivory has portrayals of three costume types: antique gowns, contemporary armour, and a hybrid of the first two, consisting of antique gowns worn with helmets. The St. Albans Prudentius contains depictions of two of the three costume types seen on the ivory: the figures in this manuscript wear either antique gowns or contemporary armour. As far as I can remember, the two types are never combined into one costume.
69 For descriptions of each scene in the St. Albans Prudentius, see Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

70 Kessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 96 and 101.

71 This view was also held by Clemen, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-7; and Dalton, *Catalogue...*, p. 25.

72 Steger's iconographic summary tables were especially useful in this regard. See David Rex et Propheta, p. 254f.

73 Ibid., Table 14, p. 259.

74 Steger, *op. cit.*, Table 15, p. 260.


76 Miniature Painting..., pp. 2 and 12.

77 For a reproduction of the Bible folio, see Kauffmann, *op. cit.*, ill. 148. The Psalter's zodiac medallions are illustrated in Buchthal, *op. cit.*, pls. 14c-h, and 15c-h.


80 Weitzmann, "Icon Painting...," pp. 52, 53, and figs. 1 and 3. See also Setton, *op. cit.*, 4:254.


Buchthal, op. cit., p. xxxiii, only briefly notes the existence of a "native tradition," but is not specific about the particular motifs, etc. that characterized it. His focus is the Byzantine-Western duality.

They would have been exactly side-by-side when the manuscript was opened fully.

See Jacoby, op. cit., and the article by Strzygowski, cited in n. 16, Chap. I.

Weitzmann, "Icon Painting..." p. 69, and fig. 41.

For an illustration of the star rosette on a thirteenth-century icon, see ibid., fig. 34.

Ibid., p. 81. For illustrations of the use of the motif on Jerusalem icons, see ibid., figs. 22, 23, 30, 67, and others.

For illustration of its abundant use on icons, see ibid., figs. 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 30, 61, and others.

In a different context, Weitzmann, ibid., p. 71, notes the lack of precedent in Byzantine art. My own researches have led to a similar conclusion with regard to Western art. I could find no example comparable to the ivory's studded arch motif in any earlier or contemporary Western European manuscript. For examples of its use in Crusader art, see ibid., fig. 2, showing a sculpted arch, part of a decorated capital in the twelfth-century Church of the Annunciation at Nazareth; and ibid., fig. 45, showing a beaded arch on a thirteenth century icon.

Maskell, Ivories, pp. 118-19; and the British Museum's 1906 Guide to the Manuscripts..., p. 146.

Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archeology, p. 233; idem, Catalogue..., p. 25; and idem, East Christian Art, p. 218.

This often-quoted phrase was first used by Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen, 2:80). The same idea has been repeated by Prawer, op. cit., p. 465; and Steenbock, op. cit., p. 188; see also Reallexikon der Deutschen Kunstgeschichte, s.v. "David," col. 1107.

Surprisingly, the readily-observable qualitative differences between the two covers has not been widely noted. They were first pointed out to me by my advisor for this paper, Dr. Mary Morehart. To my knowledge, the only previous art historian
to have postulated two artists for the ivories was Cahier, op. cit., 2:10. Cahier's interpretation of the visual evidence is slightly different than my own. He attributed the front cover to the more skillful hand, and the back, in its entirety to the other hand. As is detailed in the text of this chapter, I believe that the first artist also did a portion of the back cover.
Notes to Chapter IV


2. Boase, Kingdoms and Strongholds..., p. 110.

3. William of Tyre, op. cit., 2:275. William quoted the entire passage: Verse 11 of I Corinthians 13 -- the "charity chapter" of the Bible. Elsewhere, ibid., 2:139, but in a similar context, William says that Baldwin "put away childish things." Thus, by the practice of the virtues he atoned for the faults of earlier years." This associating of atonement or repentance with Baldwin provides another link between him and David, for the latter was often known and pictured as the repentant king. See note 6, below.

4. William of Tyre, op. cit., 2:273. This, of course, only applied to the fortresses belonging to the Franks.


6. In another context, the phrase, "royal sinner-saint," was used by F.P. Pickering to describe David. See Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (Coral Gables, Fla.: The University of Miami Press, 1970), p. 103.

7. See p. 48, this paper.

8. See n. 13, Chap. III.

9. See n. 6, Chap. III.

10. Not, of course, the same jewels currently adorning the ivories. See n. 2, Chap. II.

11. The use of a red-paint base coat on areas to be gilded was a Byzantine illumination technique, but one which was known in the West by the twelfth century. (For example, in the Winchester Bible, mid-late twelfth century, the gold was applied over a red base coat.)

12. In fact, from 1099 until 1163, the collective wealth of all the seigniers was small in comparison to the wealth of the Crown. (Prawer, op. cit., p. 105.)

13. In addition, it can be mentioned that any of the three possible royal patrons -- Fulk, Baldwin, Melisende -- would presumably have been capable of conceiving the iconographic programme, for Charles H. Haskins, in The Renaissance of the
Twelfth Century (New York: Meridian, 1976; originally published 1927), p. 260, notes that the rulers of Jerusalem were among the more educated monarchs of the twelfth century. Baldwin III, in particular, is described as such by William of Tyre, *op. cit.*, 2:138:

"Whatever leisure he (Baldwin) could snatch from his public duties he delighted to devote to reading. He particularly enjoyed listening to the reading of history and inquired with great diligence into the deeds and habits of the noblest kings and princes of former times. With men of letters and wise laymen he loved above all to converse."

Baldwin's interest in past kings is a suggestive point with regard to the ivories, for the inventor of their iconographic programme was clearly well-educated and interested in kings.

14 Of all the writers on the ivories, Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, 2:79f; and Steenbock, *Kirchliche Prachteinband...*, pp. 186-88, are the ones who have addressed themselves most directly to questions of style.


Westwood, J.O. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Fictile Ivories in the South Kensington Museum.* London, 1876.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES OF ILLUSTRATIONS


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Conservation of Ivory Binding.

The carved ivory plaques had been mounted on metal plates by sealing wax and these in turn were fitted into the leather binding and held in position by wax. The warping of the binding and ivories, not always in the same sense, had loosened things so that the ivory projected from the cover and was liable to damage by being scratched.

Repairs:

1. The ivories were easily removed with their metal back plates from the binding and the plates themselves came away easily from the ivory showing it to be of a frame-like structure made in two laminations, the decorated upper surface being frotted and held on the frame-work backing by ivory pegs. This ensemble had warped considerably and the first step was to fit the pieces back into their original positions where they were fixed by wax.

2. One cavity in the binding was cleaned out and a piece of relining canvas of suitable size laid in it by a relining wax mixture. The back of one ivory was covered by fine muslin using the same relining mixture and the two waxed surfaces, muslin and canvas were pressed into position whilst still tacky, the wax joint being perfected by the use of an electric iron applied to the inside of the cover.

3. In two places where the gap between the edge of the ivory and the leather binding was unduly great this was filled with a hard ivory-coloured wax.

I consider that the removal of the metal plates is to the advantage of the ivories.

(sgd.) H.J. Plenderleith.
Fig. 5
Fig. 10

Fig. 11
illumina mea: et fac mea quem timebo;
1) grannus illum. sedut in sin. ps. 48;
interam immo. traditur hebrais
Fig. 33


Fig. 34

 verschiedenen, ekklesischen Bildern.
Cythara anglica

Fig. 42
Fig. 46

a

b