VIII.—*On Two Medieval Bronze Bowls in the British Museum.* By O. M. Dalton, *Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

Read 19th January 1922.

Bronze bowls engraved[1] in the interior with figure subjects during the Romanesque period are relatively numerous. But those with associated scenes or consecutive stories are few, and it is to this class that the two examples described in this paper belong, one having scenes derived from a Christian legend, the other subjects from classical mythology. The first, found in London, was formerly in the collection of Mr. W. Ransom of Hitchin;[2] the second, brought up from the bed of the Severn very nearly a century ago, was presented by Sir James Agg Gardner, M.P., in 1920. We may begin with the example containing the Christian legend, the story of St. Thomas the Apostle.

I.

The St. Thomas bowl.

The bowl (fig. 1) is large and deep,[3] of quite a different form from the shallow and smaller type represented by the second example, which in shape approximates to that of the well-known gemellions made at Limoges.

Three other bronze bowls engraved with the legend of St. Thomas are known, two found together in the course of the nineteenth century at Bethlehem,[4]

[1] The process by which the decoration was produced is generally considered to be engraving or punching by means of metal tools, and in what follows all bowls of the class will, for convenience, be described as engraved. But it will be seen that a recent theory supposes the lines not to have been incised but bitten by acid (p. 158). The theory is, however, strenuously contested, and this affords an additional reason for retaining the usual adjective.

[2] It was presented to the Museum by Mr. F. Ransom in 1915. It has been considerably damaged, and is in places restored near the edge; but though parts of the inscription have been lost, the figure subjects remain intact. It is believed to have been found in the Thames.

[3] Diameter 13 in.: depth, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.

[4] Discovered with a number of other medieval objects (a crozier, candlesticks, etc.) in a basement under the medieval part of the monastery near the Church of the Nativity, now occupied by the Franciscans. For information with regard to this find, made in the second half of the nineteenth century, I am indebted to that well-known archeologist the R. P. Vincent, of the École Biblique de St.-Étienne, Jerusalem. For further information, and for excellent photographs of the Bethlehem

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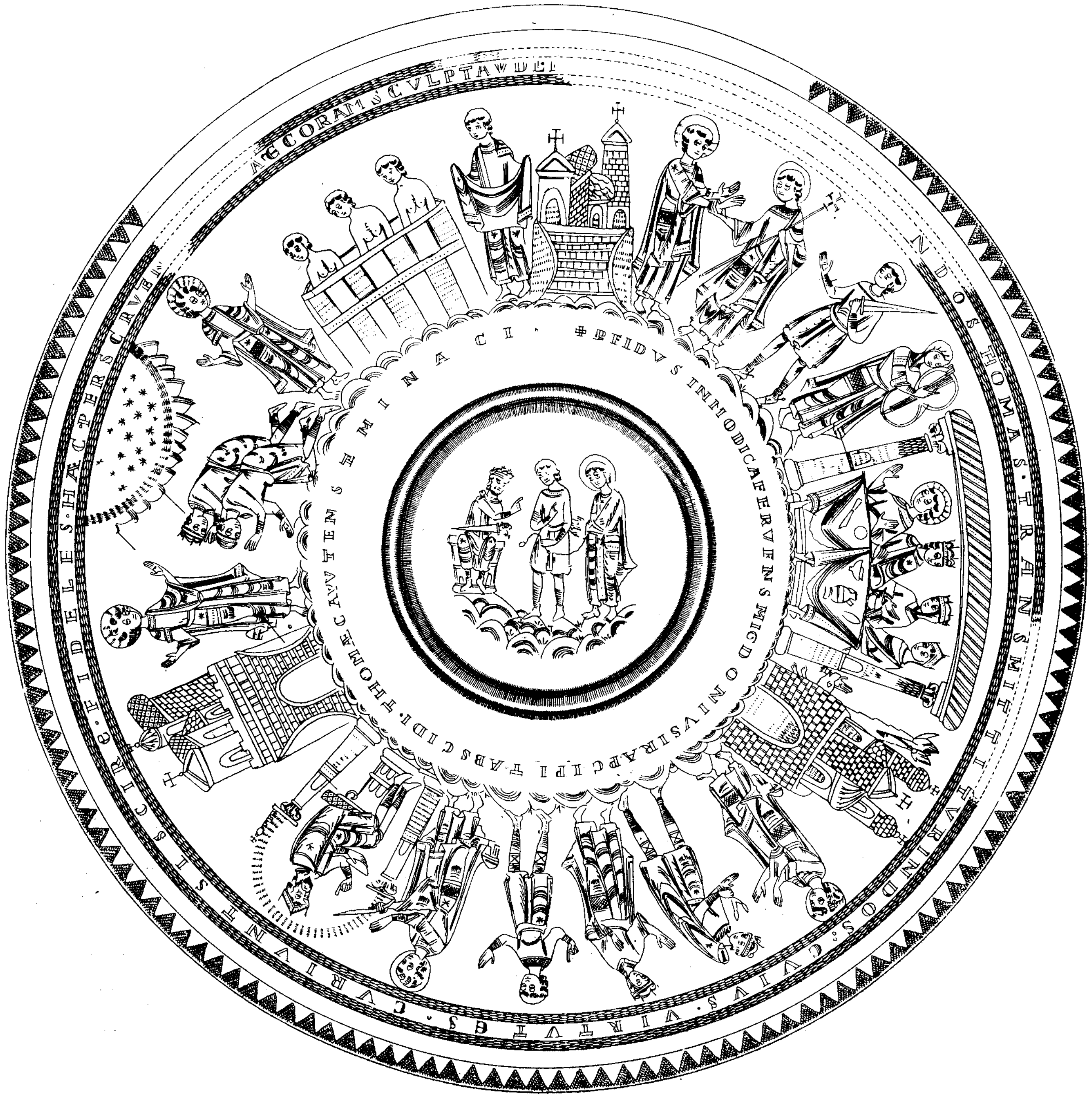

Fig. 1. The St. Thomas Bowl.

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Fig. 2. Scenes from the St. Thomas Bowl in the Louvre, Paris.

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one acquired in recent times by the Louvre. Two selections of subjects from the Legend are represented by these four bowls. The two Bethlehem bowls each illustrate one of these; the British Museum and Louvre examples again one each, so that the selection upon our specimen corresponds, though not in every minute detail, to that upon one Bethlehem bowl, the selection upon the Louvre example to that on the other.[1] It will be seen from the illustrations that the style of all the Bethlehem bowls is easy and graceful, the lines having the certainty and freedom which mark the work of an accomplished draughtsman.

The story of St. Thomas, as represented by the scenes upon these bowls, agrees in general with the version in the Golden Legend,[2] but since the bowls themselves are of earlier date than the Legend, the sources are necessarily older, and are probably the same in substance as those upon which the compiler of the Legend himself had to draw. The most important of these sources were the *Liber de Miraculis Beati Thomae*, attributed either to Gregory of Tours, or some one of his time, that is to say to the second half of the sixth century, and the later *Passio Sancti Thomae*, which incorporates many additions and embellishments due to medieval fancy. The *Liber de Miraculis* is the oldest Western source; the original sources are in Greek and Syriac, and date from the fourth century.[3]

bowls, I have to thank the R. P. Orfali, of the Bethlehem monastery, who was so good as to bring the photographs personally to London during a recent visit to England. The Bethlehem bowls (cf. pl. xxxv) will be published by M. Camille Enlart in one of the volumes of his *Manuel d'archéologie française*, and perhaps in his *L'Art des Croisés*: they were described by him at a meeting of the *Société nationale des Antiquaires français* on 15th November 1922. They will be permanently exhibited in the Museum now being organized by the Franciscans.

[1] The bowl at the Louvre is of the larger type, in this corresponding to our example. The style is also closely similar. But differences in the method of execution suggest that it is not by the same hand; the lines are often slightly zigzagged or waved, while those on our bowl are not so treated. The subjects in the Louvre bowl are partly reproduced in fig. 2, and are from photographs kindly sent by our Honorary Fellow M. J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, who described the bowl in the *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1906, pp. 394–400, though without illustration.

[2] The story as represented at a later time during the Gothic period, in sculpture, on stained glass and elsewhere, is probably based on the Golden Legend. In glass it occurs in the choir windows of Chartres, Bourges, and Tours; in sculpture, it is best seen on the tympanum of the north portal at Semur (E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*, pp. 354–5, and at Poitiers (Mâle, *L'Art rel. du XIIe siècle*, p. 301).

[3] The Greek version was first completely published by M. Bonnet (*Supplementum Codicis Apocryphi* I: *Acta Thomae*, Leipzig, 1903), and has been translated by E. Hennecke, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen*, 1904, pp. 480 ff. The Syrian version is perhaps earlier and was certainly not written after the fourth century (W. Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*, 1871; F. C. Burkitt, *Journ. Theological Studies*, p. 280). Some have held that the 'Acts' of this apostle were first composed towards the middle of the third century in Edessa, in which city the body of St. Thomas is said to have been finally buried; in any case the *Acta* are strongly influenced by Syrian Gnostic ideas. Before the collection and publication of these Acts, which recount the apostle's journey to India and martyrdom there, earlier unwritten tradition, current in the time of Origen, made Thomas preach in Parthia, and die a natural death in Edessa. The *Liber de Miraculis Beati Thomae Apostoli*, mentioned above as the oldest Latin source, is published

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After this brief mention of the sources, we may turn at once to the inscriptions and the series of episodes engraved in the interior of the bowl.

Round the upper part, under the rim, are three hexameters, forming a continuous line, but here printed one under the other in order that they may be recognized as verses:

[AD CONVERTE]NDOS THOMAS TRANSMITTITVR INDOS
CVIVS VIRTVTES CVPIVNT SI SCIRE FIDELES
HAEC PERSCRVTEN[TVR QV]AE CORAM SCVLPTA VIDE[NTVR]

Round the central medallion are two more hexameters:

ꝑFIDVS INMODICA FERVENS MIGDONIVS IRA
P̄CIPIT ABSCIDI THOMAE CAPVT ENSE MINACI.[1]

These verses recur on the bowl with a corresponding series of subjects at Bethlehem. The name Migdonius is a mistake for Misdaeus (Mazdai) of the legend, and seems due to a confusion on the part of the person who provided the craftsman with his copy. He transfers to the king in a masculine form the name of a lady, Mygdonia, who plays a part in the story (see below, p. 139).

The following is a detailed description of the scenes in their order.

The first shows our Lord carrying a long cross, taking St. Thomas by the hand in order to deliver him to Abbān, an envoy sent by Gondofar (Gondopharnes), who required a skilled constructor to build him a palace. The buildings

by Bonnet in the same volume as the Greek *Acta*, as also is the later *Passio Sancti Thomae Apostoli*, described by Bonnet, as *opusculum mixtum ex actorum quibusdam fragmentis aliisque narratiunculis et commentatiunculis satis ineptis*. The version in the Golden Legend derives many episodes from the *Passio*. Internal evidence assigns the *Acta* of St. Thomas to the School of Bardesanes. In spite of extensive Catholic revision, they form one of the most interesting monuments of Syriac Gnosticism. The Parthian and Indian missions of St. Thomas rest upon less sure foundations than his connexion with Edessa (cf. F. C. Burkitt, as above, i, 280, ii, 94, and his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*). But the visit of the apostle to Parthia and India is possible. Gondopharnes, the first of the 'Indian kings' to whom he is said to have come, is an historical ruler who represented the Parthian power in Seistan and Kandahar, the Kabul Valley and North Western India; his reign began in A.D. 19, and had not ended in A.D. 45. The identity of 'Misdaeus' (Mazdai), the second king visited, under whom St. Thomas suffered martyrdom, is less certain; he may possibly have been Abdagases, viceroy of Gondopharnes in Seistan. See E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. i, 1922, pp. 576–80.

[1] The legends on the bowl in the Louvre, and on the Bethlehem example with the same subjects are as follows. Round the upper part:

Fulget apostolicis hec pelvis compta triumphis
Adtestans Thomam fidei meruisse coronam
Collum pro Domino flectentem sanguine fuso.

Round the central medallion, which represents the saint's entombment:

Cum fletu plebis doctore carer(e) dolentis
Corpus apostolicum ducitur ad tumulum.

In the above the abbreviations have been supplied and irregularities corrected.

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are supposed to represent Caesarea, according to the legend the scene of the action. Abbān, described in the early Greek version as a merchant acting as the messenger of his royal master, is here, in accordance with medieval notions of an envoy, given spurs and a sword. Next in order we see the wedding feast of the king's daughter at Andrapolis, a city at which St. Thomas and Abbān arrive upon their journey; this scene closely follows the fourth-century story, the only variation being that the girl standing on the left is playing a stringed instrument instead of a flute. The king is seated at table with St. Thomas on his right, his daughter and the bridegroom on his left. On the extreme right, just beyond the column, is the head of a dog, holding in the jaws a human hand. The legend tells that St. Thomas and Abbān, upon entering the city, were at once invited to the feast. At table the saint sits with downcast eyes, refusing to eat or drink. The musician, a Jewish girl, recognizes him as her compatriot and sings in Hebrew, but the king's butler is so incensed by this abstinence that he strikes the offending guest in the face. St. Thomas is indignant, and says to him: 'My God may forgive thee this deed in the next world, but in this world he will show a sign, and forthwith I shall see the hand that smote me carried in the mouth of a dog.'[1] Shortly afterwards the butler, going out to draw water, is fallen upon by a lion, and a black dog brings his right hand to the royal table. This was a popular scene in the later Middle Ages. In representations of the Gothic period we see the Jewish flute-player standing on her head in front of the table to divert the guests, as dancers are often represented, the dog appearing a little beyond her. The episode is derived from the early legend, and aroused the ire of St. Augustine,[2] who criticized the stories of St. Thomas for their unchristian and non-moral episodes.

The story goes on to say that the Jewish girl having explained how the saint had foretold this disaster in the Hebrew language, the king regards his guest with veneration, and asks his blessing on the bride and bridegroom. It is accorded, and the bridegroom, conducting the saint to the door, finds a palm-branch with dates upon it in his hand;[3] in the night Christ appears in a vision to the newly married, and enjoins on them continence, and the abandonment of worldly things. According to the later versions of the story the bridegroom, under the name of Dionysius, became a bishop, the bride, as Pelagia, a nun and martyr. On the bowl we see the saint before a church blessing the newly-

[1] Greek *Acta*, § 6 (Bonnet, p. 7). The incident is repeated in the *De Miraculis*, the *Passio*, and the Golden Legend.

[2] *Contra Faustum*, xxii, ch. 79 (in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, xlii, col. 452). St. Augustine traced the unchristian tendencies to Manichean influence.

[3] The dates are not mentioned either in the Greek *Acta* or in the *De Miraculis*, but occur in the *Passio* and the Golden Legend.

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ONE OF THE TWO ST. THOMAS BOWLS AT BETHLEHEM

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1923

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married couple; the bridegroom holds in his hand a forked branch with a fruit on each limb, the design suggesting that the artist was unfamiliar with the date-palm.

The interpretation of the next scene is not certain, but it may well represent St. Thomas as architect, explaining to King Gondopharnes his plan for the projected palace. The king holds a bowl, perhaps containing gems or gold, as payment; the apostle has in his hand some instrument which may relate to his assumed profession. The figure with raised hands behind may be Abbān, though he has neither spurs nor sword. The legend relates that the king agreed with St. Thomas for the erection of a palace, and went away for a long time, leaving him a large sum of money. The saint carried out no building works, but distributed the money amongst the poor.[1]

The next scene illustrates an episode also occurring during St. Thomas's stay in the kingdom of Gondopharnes. It seems to represent one of the later interpolations in the story and not to be derived from the Greek *Acta* or from the *De Miraculis*. The apostle asks that there may be an assembly of the whole people. A great multitude of the sick and infirm come together, for whom St. Thomas makes intercession. The *Passio* continues thus: 'And when those who had already received his teaching said "Amen", there descended on them a blinding light, so that they seemed to have been struck by lightning. And all, with the apostle, lay prostrate for the space of about half-an-hour. Then the apostle rising up, cried aloud, saying: "Arise, for my Lord Jesus Christ is come as the lightning, and He shall make you whole." Then they all arose healed, and glorified God and Thomas his apostle.'[2] On the bowl we see the blinding light as a segment of the sky with stars and issuing rays. The people are represented by two kneeling persons, apparently royal.[3]

The last of the scenes round the sides of the bowl shows the apostle standing by a large font in which are three female figures: on the opposite side is a maid holding a cloth or towel.

This scene probably represents the baptism of the family or court of Misdaeus, described as king of 'India Superior', beyond the country of Gondopharnes. St. Thomas is stated to have baptized several persons of note: Mygdonia, wife of Charisius, a relative of the king; Tertia, the queen, and others;

[1] Greek *Acta*, 17 (ed. Bonnet, p. 14 f.); *De Miraculis* (Bonnet, p. 102); *Passio* (ed. Bonnet, p. 140); Golden Legend. How the Saint escapes the difficulty when the king returns and finds nothing done may be read in all the sources.

[2] *Passio* (ed. Bonnet, pp. 143–5). The episode is repeated in the Golden Legend.

[3] In the corresponding scene on the Bethlehem bowl they both wear obvious crowns; the descending light is replaced by a large bird flying down. On the second Bethlehem bowl, however, just such a starry segment as that of the present scene, but with an angel emerging from it, marks the subject of the saint's decapitation.

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but it is not clear that they were all baptized together: this is probably a convenient abridgement on the part of the artist. The large font for immersion should be noted.[1]

In the centre of the bowl we see Thomas led bound before King Misdaeus, whose wrath he has incurred by persuading the queen Mygdonia and others to renounce all conjugal relations.[2]

It has been already mentioned that as regards the treatment of their subjects the four St. Thomas bowls form two pairs, the examples in the British Museum and the Louvre each agreeing in the main with one of the two at Bethlehem, and differing from each other. But neither in the scenes nor in the inscriptions is the agreement perfect; there is no exact reproduction. Thus in the bowl at Bethlehem corresponding to ours, the forms of individual letters may differ from the corresponding letters on the British Museum example, while the additional words: FIDES KARITAS are prefixed to the first of the Latin verses.[3] Similarly in the case of the episodes from the legend; though some of the scenes agree, details in more than one case are different: the saint holds a book while blessing Dionysius and Pelagia; instead of the *coruscatio* in the sky, in the scene representing the healing of the multitude, a large bird, as already noted, flies down holding some object in its beak; in the baptismal scene, there are four figures in the font in place of three.

We shall return later to the St. Thomas bowls, when we come to consider the whole class of engraved bowls in their relation to each other and to the art of their time.

II.

The Cadmus bowl.[4]

This bowl (fig. 3) was brought up from the bed of the Severn on 11th June 1824 during the construction of a pier of the Haw Bridge between Tewkesbury and Gloucester. About a month later (July 9th) a second bowl of the same size

[1] Baptism by immersion in large tub—or vase-like fonts—is represented in the art of the twelfth century. See below, p. 154.

[2] For the final events at the court of Misdaeus, see the Greek *Acta* (Bonnet, pp. 55 ff.), the *De Miraculis* (*ibid.*, pp. 104 ff.), the *Passio* (*ibid.*, pp. 147 ff.), and the Golden Legend. On the Louvre basin, and its parallel at Bethlehem, the decapitation of the saint with a sword is shown.

[3] The introduction of these words should be noted in connexion with the group of engraved bowls with the Virtues and Vices, where the figure of Charity is especially prominent (cf. p. 150 below).

[4] The name is given for brevity in reference; it is derived from the figure in the centre of the bowl. The diameter of the bowl is $10\frac{1}{4}$ in., its depth $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. It was first acquired by the keeper of the Ferry House, Haw Passage. It next belonged to Mr. James Ballinger, landlord of the Haw Bridge Inn, after whose death it was sold, its last possessor being Sir James Agg Gardner. The Scylla bowl was brought by Mr. Jer. Hawkins, from the finder, Ben Jones. At the sale of Mr. Hawkins's

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Fig. 3. The Cadmus Bowl.

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and ornamented with similar mythological scenes in a corresponding disposition was discovered close to the same spot; this will be alluded to as the Scylla bowl, because it has for central subject Scylla cutting off the hair of Minos.

Mr. Counsel's description of the Cadmus bowl in the *Gloucester Journal* is not without interest. We should infer that he was primarily an epigraphist, for he practically confines himself to the lettering. A friend, the Rev. T. D. Fosbrooke, gave him a useful hint which might have led him to the truth, but unfortunately an epigraphic fancy inclined him towards the Tudor period. He did, however, note the fact that the Haw belonged to the Priory of Deerhurst, which down to 1250 was subject to the Abbey of St. Denis, but afterwards to Tewkesbury Abbey. This is a circumstance which may well have affected the history of the bowls; they may have belonged to the priory. To Mr. Wilks the Tudor attribution appears 'very sattisfactory'. Two letters, dating apparently from 1866, and preserved in the British Museum, show that about that time a Mr. Patterson was interested in the Scylla bowl. One is written to him by a Mr. J. Scott Porter, who after making a really useful suggestion with regard to the hexameter surrounding the central subject of Scylla, strays from the truth in the opposite direction to that taken by Mr. Counsel. Whereas that gentleman makes the date more than 300 years too late, and calls the Cadmus bowl a wassail bowl, Mr. Porter puts its companion a round 1,000 years too early, and brings it into connexion with pagan ritual. For him it is a sacred dish employed in the festivals of Ceres. He places it not later than A.D. 200, but thinks it might well be much older, and might even have come to Britain as an antique from Gaul or Italy. He, like Mr. Counsel, had a clue to the truth and missed it. He notices the very medieval type of the crowns represented. 'I cannot conceal my surprise', he says, 'that the form of the royal crown

effects after his death, it was purchased by a Cheltenham bookseller named Williams, from whom it was acquired by Mr. Lawrence. Both bowls have been exhibited at meetings of the Society, and briefly described in *Proceedings*, the Scylla bowl by Mr. W. L. Lawrence, F.S.A., in 1860, when the Director, Mr. (afterwards Sir) A. W. Franks gave the description (*2nd Series*, i, p. 235); the Cadmus bowl, again by Mr. Lawrence, in 1873, when it was already in possession of Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Agg Gardner (*ibid.*, v, p. 444), a short account being given by Mr. Knight Watson. Brief and unscientific descriptions had appeared in 1824 and 1825 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XCIV, ii, p. 164; XCV, i, pp. 417 and 605. No illustration was published in *Proceedings* of either bowl; hitherto the only published representations have been a small and poor woodcut of the Scylla bowl in the *Monthly Magazine*, 1825, p. 218, and a larger lithograph of the same object, issued in the year of the discovery by Clark & Co., of Birchin Lane, Cornhill, and engraved by F. Whishaw. Engravings of both bowls were made by W. Macarty, apparently at South Kensington, in the second half of the nineteenth century, but they do not seem to have been published: the copper plates are in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. The Cadmus bowl is described at length in a curious MS. note-book of a Mr. Wilks, written in 1827. The description is partly based on an article by Mr. G. W. Counsel in the *Gloucester Journal* of 19th July 1824, but includes diverse interpretations by various learned antiquaries of the day. The note-book is in the British Museum.

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resembles so closely the mediaeval; but perhaps other antiquaries may be able to remove this difficulty.' Such errors in interpretation, however, are venial enough at a time when the comparative study of medieval art had hardly begun. Caspar Orelli himself, as Mr. Franks reminds us, included the inscriptions of the Scylla bowl in his *Inscriptionum Latinarum Selectarum Collectio.*[1] No doubt he had not personally seen the bowl, and some friend in England sent him a copy of the verses; still, he was a Latinist, and it is strange that he should apparently have accepted as Roman a set of debased hexameters of which the medieval construction seems obvious. But it was perhaps not so unnatural even for the learned of those days to go astray on the difficult ground of early medieval use of classical sources. In the twenties of last century scholarship had not begun to take such matters very seriously. With all the advantages gained for us by the medieval research carried on during the last hundred years, it still remains difficult to date these bowls with precision. The presumed mistakes of our predecessors are therefore set down here, not in a critical spirit, but to illustrate the level at which medieval studies remained until exact methods were applied in this field of inquiry.

The subjects of the Cadmus bowl are disposed in six medallions representing the Birth and Labours of Hercules, engraved on the inner sides, and surrounding the central medallion in which Cadmus is seen writing at a desk much as an Evangelist might appear in an early medieval MS. All the medallions are, as it were, framed by circular inscriptions in capitals, each forming a rude hexameter. Round Cadmus himself we read:

+CADAMVS GRECORVM SRUTATVR GRAMATA PRIMVM.

In the first of the medallions of the Hercules series we see Alcmena recumbent upon a bed, beside which are two female figures, one holding the swathed infant:

+MAXIMVS ALCHMENA LICET INDIGNANTE NOVERCA.

Next to this is the strangling of the serpents sent by Juno. The infant Hercules lies in a cot grappling with the snakes, while two female figures stand near:

+EDITVS ALCIDES INMISSOS STRAGVLAT ANGVES.

Next comes the slaying of the dragon which guarded the apples of the Hesperides; the hero wields his club and wears his lion skin:

ALCIDE VIGILEM SOPIVIT CLAVA DRACONEM.[2]

[1] Zürich, 1828, ii, no. 4311. The inscription is described as that of a bronze vessel: *vasis aerei figurati reperti in alveo fluminis Sabrinae in Britannia.* Cf. also *Bulletin des Sciences historiques,* Nov. 1827, p. 370.

[2] For other examples of this subject cf. pp. 152-3. An early medieval bronze bowl in the British Museum, presented by Mr. Soden Smith in 1884, is very rudely engraved with a similar scene.

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After this we find two Labours mentioned in a verse surrounding the representation of only one. Geryon, the three-headed monster, is seen in the guise of a king with one head only.[1] The last three words of the verse allude to the legend that Iolaus helped Hercules to burn away eight of the hydra's heads:

GEREONIS POMPĀ RAPIT ET CONBVSSERAT IDRAM.

We next see the defeat of Cacus in the form of a mild-looking bearded man with a bald forehead. As in the last case, a second unrepresented Labour, the overthrow of Cerberus, is worked into the single verse:

CACVS CESSIT EI SVCCVMBIT IANITOR ORCI.

Lastly, we have the death of the hero, enveloped in the flames of the garment sent him by Deianira:

INCENDEBAT EVM MERETRIX DEIDANIRA VIVVM.

The spaces between the medallions are filled by seraphim, types which are frequent enough in Romanesque art, and might have served to prevent the Roman attribution suggested by some at and after the time of discovery.

The Scylla bowl has exactly the same disposition of six medallions, each enclosed in a border formed by a hexameter descriptive of the scene. Here, in the central medallion, is Scylla, daughter of Nisus of Megara, who fell in love with Minos, besieger of her father's city. She cuts off the purple lock on the crown of Nisus's head on which his life depends, seeking thereby to purchase the favour of Minos. Nisus is seen on a bed, behind which stands Scylla holding in one hand shears, in the other the lock of hair:

SCILLA METENS CRINEM MERCATUR CRIMINE (MINO).

Round the sides of the bowl two medallions represent the story of Ganymede: his seizure by the eagle, and his service in Olympus as cupbearer of the gods:

1. ARMIGER ECCE IOVIS GANIMEDĒ SVSTVLIT ALIS
2. PORRIGAT VT CIATOS DIS CONVIVĀTIBVS APTO(S).

The two next medallions treat the story of Eurydice in a similar way: Proserpine orders the release of Eurydice; Death snatches back Eurydice as she follows Orpheus to the upper world:

1. LEGIBVS INFERNI MOTIS PROSERPINA REDDI
2. EVRIDICEN IVSSIT SED EAM MORS ATRA REDVXIT.

The last two scenes present the story of Triptolemus, son of Ceres. The goddess gives instructions to her son; from his seat astride of the dragon he scatters seed around him:

1. MATER LARGA CERES MISERATA FAME PEREVNTES
2. TRIPTOLOMI MANIBUS COMMISIT SEMINIS VSVS.

[1] Geryon was regarded as a king (see below, p. 148, n. 3).

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Between the medallions, seraphim are seen as in the previous example. The two bowls are so nearly related in the arrangement of their subjects, in the character of the inscribed verses, and in their general style that they must have a common source. They may even have been used together, as were the gemellions of Limoges.

These bowls from the Severn are not the only examples deriving their subjects from the pagan classics. A near parallel is afforded by the bowl with scenes from the life of Achilles in the Cabinet des Médailles at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[1] Here the subjects, with the exception of that in the centre, are not in medallions, but in compartments divided by columns above which the inscriptions are placed; but the style is closely similar, both generally, and in certain details,[2] and the descriptive legends are also in medieval hexameters. The subjects are based, directly or indirectly, upon the *Achilleis* of Statius, actual phrases from the poem being incorporated. It can hardly be doubted that the Achilles bowl was made in the same region and under the same influences as those found in the Severn. Another example with classical subjects, in the Historical Museum at Frankfort-on-the-Main, is engraved with scenes from the life of Myrrha, the mother of Adonis, again surrounded by legends forming enclosing circles, as on the Severn examples;[3] several bowls with biblical scenes are treated in the same way, and only to be distinguished by the character of their subjects. To these reference will be made below (p. 149).

No surprise need be expressed at the appearance of pagan classical stories in medieval objects of art dating from the Romanesque period, for the classical studies pursued from the days of Cassiodorus through Carolingian times, never wholly intermitted, were revived in the eleventh century, and flourished through-

[1] M. Prou, *Gazette archéologique*, 1886, pp. 38 ff., and pl. v; E. Molinier, *Histoire des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, IV, *L'Orfèvrerie*, pp. 172. The scenes with their inscriptions are as follows: Chiron teaching the young Achilles: *Heroum laudes cantant Chiron et Achilles.* Thetis, dreading the conscription of Achilles for the Trojan war, carries him off in a car drawn by gryphons to King Lycomedes: *Ecce soporantem Thetis deportat Achillem.* Thetis introduces Achilles, dressed as a girl, to Lycomedes and his daughters: *Hanc tibi comendo germanam rector Achillis.* Ulysses sent to detect Achilles, discovers him by a trick: *Artibus Ulixis dum proditus esset Achilles.* Lycomedes begs Achilles to remain, but he follows the signal for departure: *Discindit vestes quia toto in pectore Troia est.* Before leaving he confesses his love for Deidamia, and asks her hand: *Te rogo pro venia cum supplice Deidamia.* Lastly, in the centre of the bowl, the sailing of Achilles for Troy: *Abripitur terris in otho stidente* (*notho stridente*) *propinquis.*

[2] The curiously ugly profiles of several women; the convention used to represent the eyes; the treatment of hands; the type of the dragons drawing the car of Achilles; the 'mushroom' tree near Chiron, etc.

[3] A. Wormstall, in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, x, p. 249, 250. A. Kisa, *ibid.*, xviii, 1905, p. 368. Not having seen the bowl for a long time, I cannot say whether it is characterized by the same style.

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out the twelfth.[1] Though Ovid was not always regarded with favour by the Church, his poems were exceedingly popular, especially the *Metamorphoses*.[2] But Virgil and Statius were also favourites, and both had their *scholia*, with which the monastic scholar was familiar. Collections of mythological tales, made by professed mythographers such as Fulgentius, were the inspiration of medieval writers like John of Salisbury (*c.* 1110–89), who illustrated philosophical themes by classical tales interpreted in an allegorical sense.[3] The rise of religious philosophy, indeed, instead of destroying mythology, gave it new life. The moralizing of myths had begun at an earlier date. Fulgentius, whose exact date is uncertain, but who was still in a more or less direct connexion with antiquity, himself gave a moral explanation to the tales, and in this he was followed by three mythographers whose MSS. are at the Vatican, the two earlier being of Carolingian date, the third, and most informative, writing towards the twelfth century.[4] We may particularly note, with reference to the Cadmus bowl, that this author moralizes the Life and Labours of Hercules, and that he and his predecessors make allusion to artistic representation of classical

[1] Priscian, Boethius, and the early *scholia* to Virgil and Statius maintained the tradition, and in the later middle ages our own Chaucer drew upon such sources. For the survival of classical studies in the middle ages see J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Cambridge, 1903, ch. xxxii: 'The survival of the Latin classics'; O. Gruppe, *Geschichte der classischen Mythologie*, supplement to Roscher's *Lexikon*; G. H. Bode, *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres, Romae nuper repertae*, 1834; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts*, 1891, and *Gesch. der lateinischen Litteratur des Mittelalters* in Ivan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ix, 1911; F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, 1847; Ampère, *Hist. litt. de la France avant le XIIe siècle*, iii, ch. xxii, p. 457. R. Dernedde, *Ueber die den altfranzösischen Dichtern bekannten epischen Stoffe aus dem Altertum*, 1887, is chiefly concerned with the Gothic period.

[2] He seems to have been at one time banished from the schools, except in the form of a book of excerpts. The middle ages probably had Commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* (Gruppe, as above, p. 2). Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich (d. 1119), had a dream warning him to renounce the reading and imitation of Ovid (Sandys, p. 595). But in the twelfth century the *Metamorphoses* became a school book, and an acquaintance with Ovid a necessity for the cultured. His works, indeed, were treated almost as a kind of pagan bible (Gruppe, p. 16).

[3] To John of Salisbury the *Aeneid* was an illustration of practical philosophy. In the same way, Bernard Sylvester of Tours (*c.* 1150) saw in the *Aeneid* an allegory of human life, Aeneas representing the human soul. Bernard was able to read the whole Platonic philosophy into the classical myths (Gruppe, p. 15). The *Ars Amoris* of Ovid was moralized for the reading of nuns (Sandys, as above, p. 615). Sandys also draws attention to the fact that Dante in his *Convito*, regards Ovid as susceptible of allegorical interpretation (ii, 1; iv, 25, 27, 28).

[4] Bode, as above. The ninth century was a great period for mythography. Theodulf the Visigoth (d. 821), Dunchad and Johannes Scotus, two Irishmen, and Remigius of Auxerre, their pupil, are all of this age, and all see a secret meaning in the old mythological stories. The Third Vatican Mythographer, sometimes called Albericus, also wrote a work styled *Poetarius*, or *Libellus de imaginibus deorum*.

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myths.[1] It is of interest to observe that England seems to have taken a rather prominent part in the study of mythology and in its allegorization. The Third Mythographer, whether rightly named Albericus or not, was held by Gruppe to have been in all probability English;[2] and when mythological studies were applied to philosophy, we find English names prominently associated with them. Baldwin (born in Exeter, bishop of Worcester 1180, d. 1190) wrote a *De Mythologia*, and John of Salisbury, who died at Chartres in 1180, has been already noted as learned in this kind. One of the oldest moralized editions of Ovid, the *Integumenta super Ovidii Metamorphoses*, appeared under the name of Johannes Anglicus. But the monasteries in the valleys of the Rhine and Meuse, the region surrounding the old Carolingian capital of Aix-la-Chapelle, were especially famous for their scholarship and their study of the Latin authors. Here the classical tradition was most firmly established;[3] here, too, were many centres famous for the practice of the arts (see below, p. 156).

From the above it will be sufficiently clear that the use of themes from classical mythology such as we see upon the Cadmus and Scylla bowls, was quite common in the centuries preceding the rise of Gothic art. The juxtaposition of subjects having no very obvious connexion with each other may, in some cases, perhaps be explained by their derivation from mythographic manuals where episodes were assembled without much regard for logic or system.[4] But generally there was more method than at first meets the eye, and the treatment

[1] They seem to refer especially to MS. illumination (we may recall the mythological detail in the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrade of Landsperg), but the existence of such objects as these bowls shows that the stories were illustrated in other media. Cf. also F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, 1847, pp. 26, 33, 242. The frequency of pagan motives on mosaic pavements of the Romanesque period in Italy has long been remarked (E. Müntz, *Études iconographiques et archéologiques sur les mosaïques chrétiennes de l'Italie*, 1874–84, nos. III and IV); it is in curious contrast with the usage in the case of surviving mural mosaic, which is nearly always religious. At Pavia, we have Theseus slaying the Minotaur, balanced by David slaying Goliath, both scenes accompanied by Leonine hexameters. Theseus was a favourite subject, occurring in other churches, and was clearly employed in a moralizing sense. In the cathedral of Pesaro we see the rape of Helen. Several of the Italian mosaics are illustrated by E. Aus'm Weerth, *Der Mosaikboden in S. Gereon zu Cöln*, Bonn, 1873, and by Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, iii, pp. 420 ff., figs. 396 ff., but the German instances given by Aus'm Weerth show that such subjects were popular north of the Alps. The field of Romanesque sculpture yields examples enough of classical figures: to quote but one instance, Hercules with the Nemean lion is seen in relief on the cathedral of Borgo San Donnino; minor sculpture on ivory should also repay examination from this point of view. Among examples in textile fabrics, we may notice Hercules killing the dragon on the gold-embroidered mantle of the Emperor Henry II in Bamberg Cathedral, with its legend: *Hercules serpentem occidit aurea mala servantem.* On this mantle, dating from the early eleventh century, are also the signs of the Zodiac and several constellations, some of which, e.g. Andromeda, are rendered by classical types (Bock, *Kleinodien des heiligen römischen Reichs*, pl. xli).

[2] As above, p. 14.

[3] Sandys, as above, p. 613.

[4] For instance the popular *Fabulae* of Hyginus, to whom allusion has already been made.

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is really of the moralizing order. Thus a moral link may be found between the Labours of Hercules and the beneficent work of Cadmus; even the association of the deed of Scylla with the beneficent activities of Triptolemus may be justified by some subtle line of interpretation. The significance of Hercules is clear: he is the personification of *virtus* in the wide classical sense, of vigour and of all helpfulness;[1] the monsters and other opponents overthrown by him are forces of evil. The Third Mythographer even specifies the vices for which they stand. Thus Cacus (*κακός*, *malignus*) is the evil nature; Cerberus, earthliness and devouring greed. It is easy to perceive the symbolic meaning of Ceres and Triptolemus or of Orpheus; nor is the description of the apples of the Hesperides as the fruits of philosophy too far-fetched.[2] Sources for all the subjects on the bowls, in addition to the Labours,[3] are to be found in the books mentioned above. Cadmus appears in Hyginus among the *Rerum inventores primi*,[4] and the other subjects on the Scylla bowl are all found in the mythographers.[5]

Concluding this part of our subject, we may fairly say that the mythological scenes on the two Severn bowls are wholly in keeping with the period to which we believe these bowls to belong; they are no less congruous with Romanesque art than the 'Triumphs' of Petrarch, for example, with Italian art of the fifteenth century.

Relatively rare though the bowls with mythological subjects may be, they are not an isolated class; they are connected by many links with another small group in which scenes from the Bible are treated in exactly the same fashion, and disposed round the sides in a similar way. A bowl with the story of

[1] In mind as well as body: *constat enim Heraclem fuisse philosophum* (Servius). Atlas is said to have taught the hero astronomy; hence his labours correspond to the twelve zodiacal signs. The Labours are related in the twelfth book of the *Metamorphoses*, and, of course, by all the mythographers.

[2] Fulgentius refined on this simple idea by declaring that the three Hesperides, *Hesperis*, *Medusa*, and *Phaethusa*, signified respectively *intellectus*, *memoria*, and *facundia*.

[3] We detect, in connexion with the *immissos strangulat angues* of the scene in which the infant Hercules strangles the serpents, the phraseology already borrowed of the First Vatican Mythographer: *angues immissos ei novercalibus odiis* (nos. 50, 148). The story of Deianira and the shirt of Nessus is given by the same writer, no. 58. With reference to the appearance of Geryon as a king whose crown is taken from him, we may recall the fact that the Second Vatican Mythographer describes Geryon as King of the Balearic Isles (no. 152).

[4] *Fabula*, cclxxvii, where it is said of the introduction of letters: *Mercurius in Aegyptum primus detulisse dicitur, Cadmus in Graeciam*. Cf. A. von Staveren, *Auctores mythographi Latini*, 1742, p. 398. Cadmus is mentioned in the *Metamorphoses* for other reasons than his introduction of letters into Greece.

[5] Scylla and Nisus, *Vatican* I, no. 3; Ganymede, *ibid.*, no. 184, and *Vat.* III; the eagle is described as *armiger Iovis*, as on the bowl; Eurydice, *Vat.* I, no. 76, II, no. 44, III; Triptolemus, *Vat.* II, no. 98, I, no. 8, where winged 'serpents' are mentioned.

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Samson, now in the Kunstgewerbe-Museum at Cologne, formerly in the Scheffler collection at Vienna and the Lanna collection at Prague,[1] well illustrates the relationship, which is natural enough when we remember the ethical meaning conveyed by mythological motives. The scenes on the Cologne bowl, derived from the Book of Judges, are in medallions, framed, as in the case of the bowls from the Severn, in their own descriptive legends, which are in medieval hexameters of precisely the same character. By virtue of the analogy between the feats of Samson and those of Hercules, this example affords a particularly good transition between the bowls with classical and those with scriptural subjects. The two classes run into each other; in each case there is a 'morality' enforced by similar action. A second bowl with a Bible story is preserved at Trèves: it has the parable of the Good Samaritan,[2] the scenes being again enclosed in their own Latin legends. Another bowl in the Suermondt Museum at Aix-la-Chapelle has the story of St. Ursula, treated in a style presenting analogies to that of the Trèves example.[3] From these religious types we pass naturally to a group equally didactic in character, the subjects of which are derived from moral philosophy as presented by Christian writers from the time of Prudentius to that of the Scholastics, who fully recognized the virtue of great pagan thinkers like Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, and associated their doctrine with that of Holy Writ. This association is clearly enforced on two remarkable bowls, one in the church of St. Victor at Xanten, with *Sapientia* between SS. Peter and Paul, and the Seven Gifts of the Spirit, represented by figures of prophets;[4] and the somewhat similar example from Buer in Westphalia in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Münster in Westphalia with *Philosophia* in the centre, between Socrates and Plato, and round the interior, six wise men of antiquity, each having near him a small personification

[1] *Collection Lanna* (by J. Leisching), ii, 1911, no. 1236; Kölnischer Kunstgewerbe-Verein: *XXI. Jahresbericht des Kunstgewerbe-Museums der Stadt Köln für 1912*, pp. 14 ff.; Th. von Frimmel, *Ueber eine Bronzeschüssel, etc.: Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission für Erforschung . . . und Erhaltung von Baudenkmalen*, new series, xii, 1886, pp. 11 ff.; P. Clemen, *Die romanische Monumentalmalerei in den Rheinlanden*, 1916, p. 152. In the case of this bowl, the general character rather leads us to suspect a similarity in style to the Achilles bowl at Paris and to the Severn examples. The identical character of the verses can be more easily judged: *Votis natus erit qui Deus ipse sacravit, Ecce parit sterilis sic urgent iussa Tonantis. Brachia Samsonis domuerunt ora leonis. Hic alienigenae Samson copulatur amicae*, and four other verses of like construction.

[2] Aldenkirchen, *Drei liturgische Schüssel des Mittelalters*, in *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxv, 1883, pp. 54 ff.; *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 1905, p. 367.

[3] *Bonner Jahrbücher*, as above; *Zeitschrift*, as above, p. 366.

[4] J. Aldenkirchen, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, lxxv, 1883, p. 54, pl. iv; J. B. Béthune, *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, iv, ser. iv, p. 325, 1886. P. Clemen, *Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, i, p. 385; F. X. Kraus, *Die christlichen Inschriften der Rheinlande*, pt. ii; 1894, no. 630; A. Kisa, *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, xviii, 1905, p. 294.

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of the science which he represents.[1] The whole treatment finds a close analogy in a miniature of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, where we also see Philosophy with Socrates and Plato, here seated at desks, like Cadmus. Below the two greater philosophers are four other seated figures styled *poetae vel magi*; in arcades round the central subject are the Seven Liberal Arts.[2]

From examples of the above kind the passage is easy to the large series of bowls engraved with Virtues and Vices which have been studied at length by A. Kisa and others.[3] These bowls, with designs varying greatly in the number of figures and in the quality of the work, survive to the number of more than a hundred, and have been found not only in different parts of western Europe, but in especial numbers in East Prussia; it has been conjectured that their wide distribution is due to the activities of the Hansa League. Conspicuous among the Virtues, and often represented alone, is a crowned female figure holding up a disc in each hand.[4] This is probably Charity (*Caritas*), and it has been conjectured that the discs may represent the consecrated bread. It is interesting

[1] A. Wormstall, *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, x, 239 ff. Inscriptions on the bowl are based upon Cicero, Boethius, and Priscian.

[2] Ed. Straub and Keller, pl. xi *bis*; abundant inscriptions accompany the figures. The general arrangement, as in pls. xxii and xxiii, suggests that of a rose window, but the central subject surrounded by a ring of medallions or radiating compartments, has also recalled to one authority the disposition seen on the gilded glass disc of Early Christian times found at Cologne, and now in the British Museum (*Guide to Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*, 2nd ed., fig. 91); he supposes that the makers of the bowls may have copied some such an antique original, and thinks that we may have here an argument in favour of Cologne as a place of origin. It is true that a resemblance exists; but some such disposition is imposed by the very form of the object to be decorated, and we need not push the argument too far. Some bowls have a symmetrical arrangement of lobes surrounding a central medallion, or there may be two successive circles of lobes, lending the design a resemblance to an expanded flower; the lobed paten in the Guelf Treasure, associated with the name of St. Bernwardt of Hildesheim, may be recalled in this connexion (W. A. Neumann, *Der Reliquienschatz des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, 1891, p. 294, no. 65). The old radial disposition, with an arcade surrounding a central circle, survived the middle ages, and is found even on carpets (A. Prokop, *Der Teppichschatz im Besitze des Mährischen Gewerbe-Museums in Brünn* in *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Commission*, etc., new series, xiii, Vienna, 1887, p. vi, and fig.).

[3] *Die gravierten Metallschüsseln des XII. Jahrhunderts* in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst, XVIII*, 1905, pp. 227, 294, 365; E. Schwedeler-Meyer, *Die Darstellungen von Tugenden und Lastern an einem gravierten Bronzebecken des XII. Jahrhunderts*, in *Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für Erhaltung der geschichtlichen Denkmäler in Elsass*, Strassburg, 1897.

[4] As in the elaborate bowl at Aix-la-Chapelle (Kisa, p. 227). A good example in the British Museum, said to have come from Ghent, has the Vices only, as seated female figures holding up discs (?) in both hands; each is in a medallion with surrounding legend giving the name of three vices. Another bowl in the same collection has a central seated figure with four others round the sides in medallions; there are no inscriptions. This bowl was excavated at a depth of 10 ft. while digging the foundations of the London and Westminster Bank in Lothbury, City of London, about 1838, together with another bronze bowl, also in the Museum, with very rough figures of lions (?) under arcades round the sides (C. Roach Smith, *Archaeologia*, xxix, 1842, p. 368, pl. xxxix).

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to note that on Nicolas of Verdun's enamelled altar-piece at Klosterneuburg near Vienna a personification of KARITAS holds in one hand such a disc, and in the other an object resembling a flask.[1] It has been observed by Kisa that the bronze bowls with the different kinds of subjects (mythology, biblical history Virtues, and Vices) have sometimes been found together,[2] a fact confirming the belief that though some groups may be rather earlier than the rest, none is very far removed from the others in date. The occurrence of the words FIDES KARITAS at the beginning of the legend on one of the St. Thomas bowls at Bethlehem may point to some contact between the several types.

The uses to which these engraved bowls were applied were probably both secular and religious. The Cadmus and Scylla bowls, and their correlatives with classical subjects, as Mr. Franks suggested,[3] may have been equivalents of the well-known enamelled examples from Limoges, carried round between the courses at table, that the guests might cleanse their fingers;[4] as above noted, these two may have formed a pair, like the gemellions. Even bowls with allegorical figures, such as Virtues and Vices, may have been used for this purpose.[5] But such bowls as those with the legend of St. Thomas may have had a liturgical use; they may have served to contain the water in which the celebrant washed his hands at the altar.[6] The term 'liturgical bowls' or basins, which has been very generally adopted, may perhaps be accepted for a certain number. Some examples may have been used at the rite of baptism; the silver Cappenberg bowl (see below, p. 154) is thought to have been made for this purpose. In East Prussia some religious association is suggested by the fact that bowls with the Virtues in so many cases have been found on burial sites.[7] It is surmised that two bronze bowls belonging to a different category from those forming our subject, but at a date perhaps still earlier, may have served to contain the consecrated oil used at the dedication of churches;[8] this would in any case be a rare use, but the point at any rate deserves a passing mention.

[1] K. Drexler, *Der Verduner Altar*, Vienna, 1913, pl. xviii. The symbolism may perhaps relate to the food and drink which are among the first gifts of charity, rather than the elements of the Eucharist. In a bowl at Berlin, engraved with the Virtues and Vices, the centre is occupied by Humility, holding up a book in each hand (W. Vöge, vol. iv of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum catalogues; *Die deutschen Bildwerke*, etc., 1910, no. 464, and pl. iii).

[2] p. 370.

[3] *Proceedings*, 2nd ser., i, p. 237.

[4] It is interesting to note the occurrence of a spout on the edge of the 'Wisdom' bowl at Xanten (Kisa, p. 294; Aldenkirchen, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, Heft 75, 1883, p. 54).

[5] Perhaps first in monasteries (Schwedeler-Meyer, as above, p. 220).

[6] It has been already noted that the central figure in many Virtue and Vice bowls often holds disc-like objects in her raised hands, by some conjectured to represent wafers.

[7] Kisa, pp. 297 ff.

[8] These bowls, one found at Halle, the other near Fellin in Livonia, have in their centres embossed silver medallions representing an emperor, crowned and wearing a mantle fastened on one

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Various questions remain to be decided: the date of the St. Thomas group, and of the class represented by the Cadmus and Scylla bowls; the locality, or localities, in which they were probably made, and the method in which the subjects were executed.

If we admit relatively wide limits, there can be little doubt as to the date both of the two bowls with mythological scenes and that with the legend of St. Thomas: they all belong to the twelfth century. But in default of documentary evidence the minor works of art in the Romanesque period are always difficult to date within a few years. During the greater part of the century fashions in weapons and costume, the changes in which help us so much in the study of Gothic times, are more permanent, and epigraphy gives little aid; here too there was little significant and progressive change. M. Prou, in discussing the Achilles bowl, experienced the difficulty caused by this conservatism, but reached the general conclusion that the date of that example was not likely to be later than 1150. This is a conclusion which may be accepted without much reserve. Not only does the treatment and feeling of all these bowls accord with that of the earlier part of the century, but various details point to the same period. We may note, for instance, the hybrid tree form, with 'mushroom' top and plant-like leaves, occurring in the Slaying of the Dragon and of the Death of Hercules. This is a type found as early as the tenth century, lasting, indeed, to the thirteenth, but especially common in the earlier half of the twelfth.[1] The dragon twined round the

shoulder. On either side of the head are the letters of the name OTTO; the surrounding legend (incomplete in one example) is: HIERVSALEM VISIO PACIS. Four repoussé silver bands with floral scrolls radiate in each case from the centre medallion, the ground between them being engraved with ornament. See M. Sauerlandt, *Hallischer Kalender*, 1914, and J. Menadier, *Deutsche Münzen*, iii, 1895, for the Halle example, and, for that from Fellin, H. von Bruiningk, *Sitzungsberichte der Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands*, Riga, 1903, pp. 108, 159. Cf. also A. von Sallet, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, xv, 1887, p. 23. Von Bruiningk notes that the inscription represents the first words of the dedication hymn: *Urbs beata Hierusalem dicta pacis visio*, or (from the time of Urban VIII) *Coelestis urbs Ierusalem beata pacis visio*. He believes the bowl to date from the time of Otto the Great (936-73); and the style of the ornament makes this very probable. For information with regard to these two bowls I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Adolf Goldschmidt.

[1] The instances are very numerous. A good example is seen in the engraved portable altar by Roger of Helmershausen, dated 1118 (Falke and Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten*, pl. xi). We may note examples in English MSS., especially in the Psalter painted at St. Swithun's, Winchester, about the middle of the twelfth century (British Museum, Nero. C. 4, pp. 4, 7, 9, 18, 19, 23-24), and the great Bible of the same origin and approximately the same date now in the Chapter Library at Winchester. Among German examples we may mention the Admont Bible of about 1130, belonging to the Salzburg school (G. Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. xxix, fig. 99, xxxii, fig. 110); the Pericopes of St. Erentrud in a similar style (*ibid.*, pl. liv, fig. 169, lv, fig. 172). In Regensburg MSS. we see it in a Pericope book of the early twelfth century at Munich (Swarzenski, *Regensburger Buchmalerei*, pl. xxiv, fig. 60).

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tree has early twelfth-century characteristics,[1] and the scene as a whole recalls that on the embroidered mantle of the eleventh century, mentioned on p. 147, n. 1, or an ivory draughtsman in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[2] where a man armed with shield and sword stands on the left before a 'plant-tree' round which a serpent is twined. There is little armour of western type on either the St. Thomas bowls or those from the Severn, but the Achilles bowl at Paris shows warriors in pointed steel caps with and without nasals, mail coats, and kite-shaped shields.[3] Swords are of the straight cross-hilted type which is too common in the middle ages to aid us in our present purpose. Costume shows, for men of lower rank or engaged in active pursuits, short tunics, low boots slit at the sides, and sometimes hose. Persons of higher station wear long tunics and mantles fastened with brooches on the shoulder; the tunics, whether long or short, often have borders at the neck and wrists, while the long ones have bands of ornament crossing them lower down. The crowns worn by the royal persons are all of early type; some are of the gable or pediment shape which goes back long before the twelfth century;[4] others show three lobes, a form frequent in the Pericope book of St. Erentrud of the Salzburg school already mentioned as probably of the first half of the century.[5] The developed floriated crown of the Gothic period, but also occurring in the twelfth century, does not appear to be used. It may be specially noted that the crowns seen in the St. Thomas bowls, the style of which at first sight suggests a somewhat later date, are all of early forms. The hair is generally worn long by both sexes; a curious feature in the bowls from the Severn is the occurrence of the above-mentioned bald-headed type with pointed beard. The churches and other structures, the seats or thrones, tables, desks and musical instruments are types with which the

[1] It has even earlier affinities; cf. the type in the Bamberg Apocalypse of about A.D. 1000 (Wölfling, *Die Bamberger Apocalypse*, 1918, pl. xxvii, though here the monster has front legs).

[2] No. 374-1871. The 'tree' has no mushroom top but plant-like leaves and stems. For a similar scene cf. F. Piper, *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst*, 1847, p. 67. Ivory carvings and enamels of the twelfth century, notably those produced on the Meuse and Rhine, provide various details for comparison with the bronze bowls; for the secular subjects we may specially note the enamelled plaques formerly in the Llangattock collection, now in the collection Martin Le Roy (J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, *Catalogue*, i, nos. 9 and 10; H. P. Mitchell, *Burlington Magazine*, July 1919, pp. 34 ff.).

[3] The armour is closely similar in the great Bible in the Chapter Library at Winchester, already cited, probably written in the priory of St. Swithun in reign of Henry II and dating from *c.* 1150-60. (Photographs in the Victoria and Albert and British Museums, *MS. Facs. 39*; *Palaeographical Soc.*, 2nd ser., ii, pls. clxvi, clxvii; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Illuminated MSS.*, 1908, no. 106, pl. lxxviii). The scene in this MS. in which David attacks the bear (*MS. Facs. 39*, p. 14) has analogies with those on the Cadmus bowl in which Hercules attacks the dragon and Geryon, the club being of the same form.

[4] e.g. in the Bamberg Apocalypse (Wölfling, as above, pls. li and lii).

[5] Swarzenski, *Salzburger Buchmalerei*, pl. li, fig. 157, lvii, fig. 181, lviii, fig. 183, etc. This three-lobed type also continued into the second half of the century.

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student of Romanesque art is familiar. Another feature pointing to the twelfth century is the baptism by immersion in large tubs.[1] As far as it goes, though it is an uncertain aid, the epigraphy yields similar results. The lettering in works of industrial art seldom runs closely parallel with that of manuscripts; it is apt to lag behind. Frequently it may prefer to retain forms with the minimum of curves as long as it can, these being more suited for reproduction in hard materials; but it is probably true that in twelfth-century works of industrial art an increase in the number of uncial forms among Roman capitals is apt to mark a later period in the century.[2] On the great crown-light which hangs in the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, dating from *c.* 1160–70, the blending of the two kinds of letter is frequent and apparently capricious; the different forms of the same letter often occur in the same word, and the uncial forms are numerous. But this great corona, the work of the noted civilian goldsmith and bronze caster Wibert, would perhaps be in advance of such comparatively humble objects as our bowls, the lettering of which at an equal date might show less change. The Cadmus and Scylla bowls have very few uncials, they do not even use the rounded ϵ. In the St. Thomas bowls, on the other hand, ϵ is frequent, and ᘐ and h occur in uncial form. The ᘐ, with other uncials, is found upon the bowl in the museum at Weimar, known as the Cappenberg bowl from the fact that it was given by Frederic Barbarossa to Count Otto of Cappenberg, who acted as godfather at his baptism.[3] In the interior of this bowl, which is of silver, is engraved a baptismal scene, in a style which must be later than the date on which Frederic was baptized, with an accompanying legend describing Count Otto as the donor's *patrinus*.[4] The apparent discrepancy between the style of the engraved subject and the supposed date of the gift is explained by the hypothesis that the object was originally given as a plain bowl, and that when, shortly before his death in 1171, Count Otto presented it to the monastery of Cappenberg, he caused the memorable

[1] The baptismal scene in the Cappenberg bowl shows immersion of this kind, as does the scene on one side of the portable altar by Roger of Helmershausen, dated 1118 (Falke and Frauberger, as above, pl. xii). For examples in MSS. see Swarzenski, *Salzburger Malerei*, pl. xlix, figs. 150, 151, reproducing miniatures in the Erlangen, or Gumpert, Bible. Cf. É. Mâle, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, p. 125.

[2] The use of capitals and uncials together began in MSS. as early as Carolingian times.

[3] M. Rosenberg in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, 1890, pp. 366 ff.; A. Kisa, as above, p. 373; O. von Falke in Lehnert's *Illustrierte Kunstgeschichte*, i, p. 278. The bowl remained in the monastery of Cappenberg until its dissolution in 1803, when, after changing hands more than once, it was purchased by the Grand Duchess of Saxe-Weimar on the advice of no less a person than Goethe.

[4] The legend runs:

CESAR ET AVGVSTVS HEC OTTONI FREDERICVS
MVNERA PATRINO CONTVLIT ILLE D(E)O.

(Rosenberg, as above, p. 367).

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scene of the baptism with its descriptive legend to be added. There is enough conjecture in all this to reduce the value of the Cappenberg bowl as an aid in dating other examples; but assuming the fact that it was presented by Count Otto to the monastery at some time before 1171, we have a *terminus ad quem* for an example in which the style is relatively advanced, and has been compared to that on the crown-light at Aix-la-Chapelle. If such work was produced before the last quarter of the century,[1] an earlier date for the mass of the bronze bowls is certainly probable.

The absence of satisfactory illustrations adds greatly to the difficulty of grouping these bowls according to their style; they are not easy to photograph and troublesome to draw, with the result that, even of important examples, adequate reproductions are lacking. As good illustrations multiply, classification should make more rapid advance, and many more relationships should be established. Even now, thanks to the careful reproduction of the Achilles bowl in the *Gazette archéologique*, it is possible to bring the bowls from the Severn into relation with that interesting example,[2] while the photographs, and drawings from photographs, illustrating this paper show the affinities between the several bowls with the legend of St. Thomas. Again, groups may be established within the large class engraved with the Virtues and Vices.

The comparative material is fortunately supplemented in some degree by engraved metal-work on objects of different character and use which have been more freely illustrated, notably on the series of Rhenish portable altars dating from the close of the eleventh century onwards. The fine early example in the Martin Le Roy collection[3] shows that an accomplished engraved art was already in existence about the year 1100, and we have a whole series of portable altars dating from the twelfth century, including two by Roger of Helmershausen (p. 152, n. 1), which illustrate its progress to such admirable work as that of Wibert's crown-light at Aix (p. 154).[4] When we examine these remarkable achievements, we find less difficulty in believing that the St. Thomas bowls may themselves be earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, to which at first sight we might be disposed to assign them, and that the contrast between their fluent

[1] The accepted date is about 1166.

[2] Possibly the Myrrha bowl at Frankfort (p. 145) and the Samson bowl at Cologne (p. 149) may come from the same place of origin; without careful reproductions it is impossible to make comparisons.

[3] *Collection Martin Le Roy*, vol. i, by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot, no. 1, pl. i; the altar came from Ipplendorf.

[4] These twelfth-century portable altars are reproduced in the plates of von Falke and Frauberger's *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, 1904, pls. x–xiv, xxvii, xxviii, xxxi, lxxvii, etc. As noticed above (p. 153, n. 2), the enamels associated with the engraved work themselves offer comparative material, since they are reserved in the metal and their interior lines are engraved.

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style and the rude manner of the Severn bowls may be due less to separation in time than to production under different local influences.[1] It is to the region of the lower Rhine and the Meuse that such evidence as we now have seems to point as the chief home of this engraved work on metal. This was an area rich in monasteries in which all the arts were practised; it produced a series of great craftsmen, an Eilbert, a Frederic, a Godefroid de Claire, a Wibert, a Nicholas of Verdun, to whom we owe the astonishing enamels and metal sculpture now well known to students through illustrated publications.[2] The master craftsmen were at first monastic, working within their own monasteries; in time laymen entered the field, and gathering pupils about them, formed schools, often moving from city to city executing orders indifferently at home or abroad. But it was some time before the laymen lost touch with the monasteries; and sometimes, like Nicholas of Verdun in St. Pantaleon at Cologne, they took up permanent appointments in their walls, helping or directing the monastic workshop. Thus we find monastic and lay craftsmen in closest association, and the old custom of receiving the subjects and their descriptions from the more learned members of the religious houses still survived. We have already noticed that this region had a name for erudition (above, p. 147); and there is certainly an erudite character about the industrial art produced within its limits. The enamels of the Meuse and Rhine have long been contrasted with those of Limoges for their free employment of descriptive legends; their elaborate arrangement of biblical subjects by type and antitype, shows that directing minds, well versed in sacred lore, were always behind the craftsman, who carefully followed the prescribed design.[3] The portable altars, crosses, and other works of art in metal share this quality, with the rarer works bearing secular subjects. The existence of distinct centres working in metal in the region of the Meuse and Lower Rhine, and the migratory habits of many leading craftsmen, may sufficiently explain the great difference of style between the different groups. One monastery or town had better men than another; one clung more to old models and traditions, while another was more ready to adopt new ones; one had a genius for its master, another a mediocrity. It was as early as about 1100 that Roger of Helmershausen wrote,

[1] Though it is conceivable that such bowls might have been made in Palestine under the kingdom of Jerusalem, it is more likely that they were importations from Europe, like the objects with which they are said to have been found.

[2] These men and their pupils worked in various cities: Verdun, Dinant, Namur, Huy, Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne; any or all of these towns might well have produced such objects as engraved bowls.

[3] In his recent work, *L'Art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, 1922, M. Émile Mâle brings out a probable initiative of Suger in such a direction through the connexion of masters like Godefroid de Claire with St. Denis (p. 138).

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under his monastic name of Theophilus, a treatise upon the arts and crafts of his time the scope and thoroughness of which prove that, except in the use of mechanical appliances, the monastic craftsmen of his day would have little to learn from us; the activity of Nicholas of Verdun extends beyond the closing years of the century. In the industrial arts, as in others, the age cannot but excite our profound admiration. Molinier, an acute judge, in his book on medieval artistic metal-work, entitled the chapter dealing with this period 'The great century of the Middle Ages'.[1]

The conditions under which bowls have been actually found have not, so far as I am aware, helped to determine the place of manufacture; none seems to have been discovered on the site of workshops. Some have been found in or under old buildings, but this proves nothing in the case of objects of so portable a nature. The provenance of more than one example is given as Aix-la-Chapelle; one of these, engraved with two knights fighting, is still in that city;[2] another, with the story of St. Ursula, is at Cologne.[3] In the twelfth century both Aix and Cologne had a developed metal industry in connexion with the manufacture of works of art; but other cities in other regions perhaps enjoyed equal advantages. The nature of the alloys might be of some service if analyses had been made on an extensive scale; but in fact few examples have been analysed.[4] It is perhaps a point of some interest that in East Prussia, a district in which, as already mentioned, a large number of engraved bowls, chiefly with Virtues and Vices, have been found, one settlement, Guben, had been colonized from the Lower Rhine; a religious house in another place, Zottenburg, was founded from Arrouaise in Flanders.[5] But perhaps the activities of the Hansa merchants had most to do with the wide diffusion.[6]

Although the region above suggested may have been the main seat of

[1] *Histoire des arts industriels: L'Orfèvrerie religieuse et civile*, ch. v. M. Molinier saw an affinity between the well-known crozier-head in the Bargello at Florence, signed by *Frater Willelmus*, and the engraved bowls. The crozier is ascribed to the North-East of France, where there was a penetration of German and Flemish influence. Like a contemporary casket in the Cathedral of Troyes, the crozier bears the Virtues and Vices (Molinier, as above, p. 171).

[2] Kisa, as above, p. 368. The district of Aix is said to possess ores suitable for making bronze alloys (*ibid.*, p. 470).

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 366. We have seen that the Cappenberg bowl has been conjecturally attributed to Cologne.

[4] The bowl with the story of Myrrha at Frankfort is stated to contain twenty per cent. of zinc, and consequently to be made of brass (*Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, x, p. 250; Kisa, *ibid.*, xviii, p. 368).

[5] Kisa, as above, pp. 295, 297.

[6] Cf. J. Leisching, *Jahresbericht des Kunstgewerbemuseums der Stadt Cöln*, xxi, 1912, p. 16. The bowls with Virtues and Vices seem to form the latest group, examples of which were still made in the thirteenth century.

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manufacture, it need not be supposed that in an age so cosmopolitan as that of Romanesque art nothing was done beyond its borders. There must have been similar activity elsewhere, and in discussing possible centres of production, England should not be wholly left out of sight. The discovery of the bowls forming the subject of this paper in English rivers counts in itself for little, since portable objects travelled from country to country. But there are circumstances which give some weight to an English claim. There is, for example, the existence of such an object as the Gloucester candlestick, in itself sufficient evidence that high technical skill and creative power were present in English workshops.[1] There is the undisputed pre-eminence of English *scriptoria* in the production of illuminated manuscripts right down to the thirteenth century, and there is the excellence of the seal-matrices made in England. There is the further fact, noted above, that in the study of classical mythology and in its moralization monks of English birth possessed a recognized initiative and authority; the case of John of Salisbury will be remembered. The learning, no less than the skilled handicraft, was available on this side of the Channel. Such facts must not be forgotten when a really comprehensive study of these engraved bowls comes to be made.

We come now to the last question: the method by which the subjects and the ornament on these bowls were executed. The general view, expressed indeed in the very term 'engraved bowls', has always been that the work was done with metal tools. But recently Mr. C. Praetorius, F.S.A., who has a practical knowledge of working in metals, has expressed the opinion that the lines are not engraved but bitten. He states that to him they do not present the character of engraved lines, but have on the contrary the appearance of being produced by the action of acid. This acid, he thinks, may have been a fruit acid, such as white wine vinegar, with added salt; but the men who could gild copper and bronze so skilfully as the craftsmen of the twelfth century, must have been acquainted with sulphuric acid, by whatever name they may have called it; and nitric acid may have been known earlier than is commonly supposed. The acceptance of his view need by no means impugn the genuineness of the bowls, of which he is personally convinced.[2]

This opinion is not shared by others with a long familiarity with medieval examples of the metal-worker's craft, and the point, having once been raised, should be further investigated. The confirmation of so revolutionary a theory would affect not the bowls alone but many other examples of medieval engraving,

[1] Mr. Mitchell has usefully reminded us of this in connexion with the remarkable ivory recently discovered at St. Albans and now in the British Museum (*Burlington Magazine*, October, 1922, p. 176).

[2] It may be observed that the lines upon the St. Thomas bowl, when examined under a powerful microscope, showed the same characteristics as those upon the bowls from the Severn.

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for the same kind of line is found upon other classes of metal objects. To decide the question with finality would require a scientific examination of all these classes, and might be supplemented by research among early manuscripts dealing with chemistry, for mention of the use of acids. The difficulties raised by Mr. Praetorius's hypothesis might naturally tend to revive the view expressed by certain persons in 1824, that the Cadmus and Scylla bowls are ingenious forgeries. The opponent will say that if acids were commonly used for biting the lines in metal during the Romanesque period, Theophilus in his *Diversarum artium Schedula*[1] would have given a full description of the process. He will ask for documentary evidence to show that fruit or other acids were actually employed. We must leave at this point a problem which should receive the attention of those competent to deal with it, merely expressing the opinion that whatever the process, these bowls are the genuine work of the twelfth century.[2]

The objections raised on less tangible grounds by those not familiar with the illuminations, the ivory carvings and other works of art produced in the middle ages carry little weight. The apparent oddness of various details in the bowls from the Severn is not a serious argument, and we have already seen that for most of these details parallels can be found on works of art of which the authenticity is not questioned. The condemnation of the unfamiliar is a method which is least approved by those who have toiled farthest along the paths and bypaths of medieval research; not unnatural in 1824, it is behind the times in which we live to-day, with their infinitely wider field of comparison. If the Cadmus and Scylla bowls are false, they must either have been inventions or reproductions. On the former supposition we have to conceive the existence in 1824, when Romanesque art was hardly distinguished from Roman, of a specialist so versed both in the literature and the art of the Romanesque period as to produce, for his gain[3] or his diversion, whole sequences of figure subjects accompanied by metrical descriptive legends, and all so consistently in accord with medieval feeling and tradition that we, with the critical apparatus of modern times, are unable to detect any fatal blunder. We have to suppose either that

[1] Written at Paderborn in Germany about A. D. 1100 by a monk whose real name was probably Roger of Helmershausen, himself a great worker in metal, cf. above, p. 156. It may be admitted that the absence of such mention is an important point.

[2] The fact that the St. Ursula bowl in the Suermondt Museum at Aix-la-Chapelle has been reproduced in several examples in the nineteenth century (S. Beissel, *Gefälschte Kunstwerke*, p. 86, 1909), does not in any way weaken this conviction. In the case of the St. Ursula bowl, we have exact imitations of a known original.

[3] We have already seen that both bowls were locally sold to persons not in affluent circumstances; it was not until years after the discovery that they were acquired by well-to-do purchasers. A specialist of such enterprise as the hypothesis of falsification demands would have managed his business affairs with more astuteness.

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this pioneer in medieval scholarship was himself a craftsman, or that he employed a workman able forthwith to identify himself with the medieval spirit. So many improbabilities are here piled one on the other, that we need hardly pursue the first supposition farther, but may pass at once to the second: that the bowls merely copy originals. We may almost dispose of it by a simple question: where are the originals? It would be a somewhat remarkable thing if works of art, regarded in 1824 as of sufficient interest to inspire all this imitative labour, should have totally disappeared, while the reproductions alone survived; so remarkable, that plain minds may find it simpler to accept the facts of discovery as related.

This account of the engraved bronze bowls in the British Museum leaves unsolved essential problems connected with the large class of medieval bowls to which they belong. It has been written with a purpose less ambitious than that of reaching final conclusions. It is intended to make the Museum examples serviceable for the further comparative study which alone can decide the questions raised, and incidentally to bring into greater prominence objects in their present state[1] inconspicuous, and giving little idea of their exceptional interest for medieval studies. The problem as a whole remains imperfectly defined. Groups and single examples have still to be traced to certain places of manufacture; their date has yet to be determined with precision. In the above pages much is conjectural and subject to revision in the light of further knowledge. It has been merely suggested that, wherever made, the objects here particularly discussed saw the light in the first half of the twelfth century, or, at latest, not long after the year 1150, and the suggestion itself owes such force as it may possess to its general agreement with the conclusions of other writers.

[1] The bowls are thought by some to have been gilded, and some have supposed that the engraved lines may have been filled with a dark substance, so as to stand out effectively against the gilded ground.

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