French Gothic Ivories and the Composanto, Pisa: Crosscurrents in Late Gothic Art

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CROSSCURRENTS IN THE MID-TRECENTO
FRENCH MEDIEVAL IVORIES AND
THE CAMPOSANTO, PISA

BY
PENNY HOWELL JOLLY

RECENTLY, Richard Randall convincingly argued that a group of nine French ivories was produced between 1340 and 1360 in a Parisian or North French workshop, which he names the Atelier of the Boxes. Particularly impressive and original in the group, according to Randall, is the treatment of the landscape, “which rises at a steep angle from the viewer, [so] the villages and castles are shown in artificial perspective”; this is so remarkable that he believes it “sets these ivories apart from the more usual productions of the fourteenth century”. While not finding any specific narrative in the ivories, he notes that the group consistently includes “scenes of lovers, trysts, wildmen, and gallant actions”, and must have appealed “to a public familiar with the traditions of romance manuscripts”. Further, as he describes, a number of the ivories depict hermits in a variety of postures and roles: e.g., one reads (fig. 4a), a woman kneels contritely before another (fig. 5), and in a third ivory (fig. 3), two women brandishing clubs threaten a pair of hermits (or the same hermit shown twice), causing the horrified men to retreat to a wilderness abode.

I propose that the source for these two features—the remarkable landscape and the particular interest in hermits—is the series of frescoes that originally lined a corner section of the walls of the Camposanto in Pisa and includes the famous Triumph of Death (fig. 1). A comparison of these and the ivories produced by the Atelier of the Boxes will further confirm what scholars have proposed regarding fourteenth century French artists from Jean Pucelle through the great Franco-Flemish illuminators of the International Gothic Style: Italian Trecento art was a rich source for these late Gothic artists, both in terms of their striving for naturalism and their interest in innovative iconography. While this was a two-way street—for French Gothic art of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century was one of several important sources for these Italian innovators, including the artist of the Triumph of Death—the motifs discussed here originated in the Italo-Byzantine milieu of Tuscany.

The cycle of frescoes at the cemetery in Pisa includes seven large paintings, four that concern the death and rebirth of Christ, and three that reflect upon the frailty of human life on earth and its final consequences: the Triumph of Death (fig. 1), a Last Judgment and Inferno, and the Anchoresses in the Wilderness (fig. 2). A considerable controversy has spanned the last three decades concerning their authorship and dating, and now the consensus of scholars firmly dates the frescoes in the decade of 1330-1340, preceding the Black Death rather than following it. However, my purpose is not to offer new insights into the questions of attribution and dating of this group of frescoes, but rather to demonstrate how these frescoes contributed both stylistically and thematically to the
French late Gothic artists of the Atelier of the Boxes.

Of the three frescoes which depict flesh's frailty and its consequent reward or punishment, *The Triumph of Death* (fig. 1) is the most complex compositionally and establishes the major themes found and elaborated upon in the remaining two. Its monumental composition, arranged within a continuous landscape, is divided into four parts. First, our attention is drawn to the lower right corner by the large figure of a female hag wielding a huge scythe. She is Death, swooping towards a group of ten genteelly amorous ladies and gentlemen sitting in a lush garden. They play musical instruments and converse quietly, while one lady pats a lap dog and two male companions hold hunting falcons. Absorbed in themselves, these well-dressed folk appear oblivious to the immediacy of their fate. The second part of the fresco, further to the left, depicts a pile of corpses, with angels and devils pulling souls from the dead's mouths and carrying them off either towards the joys of Heaven (in the adjacent *Last Judgment and Inferno*) or to a makeshift Hell in the center of the *Triumph* fresco itself. Ironically, eight elderly and sick cripples — located behind and below the figure of Death, next to the corpses — try unsuccessfully to gain her attention. They crave liberation from pain and suffering, but the Grim Reaper ignores them in favor of the unsuspecting pleasure seekers in the garden.

Further left, the *Triumph* depicts two additional scenes. Below, a second group of ten ladies and gentlemen, accompanied by two striding servants and dogs, enjoy equestrian adventures and the hunt. Their frolicks are interrupted, however, when they suddenly encounter three open coffins containing bodies in different states of decomposition. A hermit monk, St. Macarius, confronts the party of hunters and gestures towards the scroll he holds, indicating that the warning inscribed on it is intended for them. Macarius and the winding path behind him provide the transition to the final section of the fresco, the upper left-hand corner, a quiet locale inhabited by a series of anchoritic monks who have chosen the eremitical way of life. Sharing their craggily wilderness with a variety of animals, one sits before a church and reads,
while another milks a doe. Leading a simple existence, close to God, these hermits clearly contrast with the more chaotic mood of most of the rest of the fresco.

The fresco of *The Anchorites in the Wilderness* (fig. 2), crowded with figures and architectural structures, thematically and stylistically expands upon the upper left corner of the *Triumph* fresco. In a continuous, high-horizoned landscape are juxtaposed episodes from the lives of numerous hermit saints, many of them identifiable. Generally the stories involve wild beasts that become tame for these holy men and women, miraculous appearances of food or water in hostile environments, and various devils outwitted by these simple followers of God. The stories unfold along what appears to be the slope of a broad hillside, where the various levels are linked by natural stone “stairways”, a compositional device which is a hallmark of this Italian Master’s style, appearing in both the *Triumph* and the *Anchorites*: in the former, St. Macarius stands at the bottom of just such a formation, while in the latter, several such stairways help the viewer to move from episode to episode and level to level within the complex space. The ivory carver’s device of separating figures by including a rocky outcropping is also found in the earlier *Triumph*;
such a formation divides the begging cripples at
the bottom center from the hunting party emerg­
ing from behind it. Trees and rocks create a varied
topographical setting for the obliquely arranged
hermit cell and lively figures in the ivory, as they
do in the Camposanto frescoes. Finally, the small
cell at the upper left in the ivory, which moves
obliquely down the slope, corresponds architec­
turally and spatially to the similarly located cell in
the Triumph, as well as to several in the Anchorites.

Other of the Atelier of the Boxes ivories similarly display their figures, trees and architecture
dispersed along a hillside. The mirror case
(Florence, Uffizi; fig. 5) showing lovers in a land­
scape before a town includes, in the upper part
of its continuous landscape, a hermit seated or
standing before his wilderness hut, while a female
kneels in prayer before him. This posture of con­
trition and the spatial relationship between the
two figures depicted along the slope of the land­
scape repeats a frequent formula of the Thebaid
fresco: for example, in the two figures of Paul
and Anthony at the uppermost left corner, in the
scene of Mary of Egypt receiving communion im­
mediately below them, and at the center top where
Christ gestures towards a supplicating Anthony.
This sophisticated use of the sloping landscape,
quite foreign to contemporary French manuscript
and ivory traditions, developed among the Italian
mural painters and has here spread to the smaller­
scale arts.

Other motifs also correspond. For example, the
top panel of the ivory box in the Walters Art Gal­
lery (fig. 4a) shows a figure of a bearded hermit
reading before the doorway of his cell, very sim­
ilar to the hermit in the upper left of the Pisa
Triumph, hunched over and peering intently at his
text while seated before his hut. The lady of the
couple seated in the foreground of the bottom
panel (fig. 4b) cradles a small dog in her left arm.
While lap dogs are relatively common in French
late Gothic ivories, the cradling posture used in
the ivory is identical to that in the Triumph’s
scene of the hunting party, where the woman on
horseback closest to St. Macarius protectively en­
circles her dog with her left arm. The couple in
the background of that same ivory includes a
figure, identified by Randall as an “older woman
with a fanciful hood”8, who makes advances
towards and exchanges glances with her youthful
male companion. A similarly dramatic exchange
of glances occurs between the two figures behind
the woman plucking the psaltery in the Triumph’s
garden scene. Scenes of confrontation appear in
both the Thebaid fresco and the ivory mirror case
(fig. 3): in the ivory, women harass the hermits
with clubs, while in the uppermost section of the
fresco, just to left of center, a hermit with a spear
chases away a devil in the form of a woman.

The stylistic and thematic links between the
Pisan frescoes and the French ivories are evident,
yet the question of the direction of influence is
complicated by the fact that art historians have
already recognized the influence of slightly ear­
erly French Gothic works, including ivories, on
the Pisa cycle. I believe that what we have here
is a situation involving “crosscurrents”. Scholars
agree that two sections of the Triumph of Death
fresco originated in French literature and art. The story of “The Three Living and the Three Dead”, the basis for the fresco’s hunting party scene, originated in French poetry by the second half of the thirteenth century before becoming popular in Italy in the fourteenth. The fresco’s love garden scene, with its dallying couples, elegant in dress and sporting falcons, was certainly inspired by illustrated French romances, either manuscripts or possibly ivories similar to those produced by the Atelier of the Boxes, yet carved several decades earlier. Thus the similarity in pose and type between the couple seated below the putti in the fresco’s garden scene and several of the couples in the ivories (figs. 4a, 4b, and 5) probably is due to similar French models for them all.

Yet it is also true that the French ivories reveal knowledge of the new Tuscan developments which make it likely that a Parisian artist from the Atelier of the Boxes, or one whose work was available to the ivory atelier, travelled to Pisa and made drawings after sections of the Pisan frescoes. Possibly his attention initially was caught by the familiar French themes included within the Triumph of Death, yet two other features clearly impressed him: the remarkably expansive landscape, not to be found anywhere else in European art at this time, and the evident interest in the theme of penitent hermits.

Tuscany in the early Trecento was a center both for the development of landscape painting as well as a focal point for interest in the new theme of
the penitent hermit in the wilderness; in some works of art these two concerns are even conflated. The Pisa Camposanto frescoes demonstrate such a confluence, as do two predella panels from Pietro Lorenzetti's 1329 Altarpiece for the Church of the Carmine in Siena; the French ivories under discussion are early Northern examples combining these two features. Art historians generally associate the dramatic developments in landscape depiction with the Sienese school, changes initiated by Duccio and furthered by his pupils, particularly Pietro and Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The painter of the Pisan frescoes, working during the 1330's and so contemporary with the Lorenzetti, is also innovative, e.g., in his use of an expansive landscape with its characteristic "stairway" convention. The French ivory carvers of the mid-fourteenth century certainly drew upon these Tuscan developments.

It is also possible that the Atelier of the Boxes' extended use of hermit figures was inspired by Tuscan works. Scenes of hermits working and meditating in their wilderness abodes, the so-called "Thebaid" landscape, were newly introduced into European art c. 1300, and Tuscany was one of the first centers to develop the theme; the Sienese predella and the Pisan frescoes are among the earliest examples extant. In Tuscany, it was the religious milieu which encouraged these depictions, and Ellen Caliman and others have demonstrated the particular importance of Pisa for the creation of the textual sources which inspired these scenes. These accounts, which glorify the cremitical existence and condemn the world of vanities, include the writings and preaching of Fra Domenico Cavalca and other acerbic Dominicans, several of whom lived and worked in Pisa in the first half of the fourteenth century. When artists then sought visual inspiration for depicting these penitent heroes in the wilderness, they turned to Byzantine manuscripts - probably a now-lost cycle of the illustrated lives of the Desert Fathers - and to a specific type of Byzantine panel painting of the Dormition of Ephraim. Although scholars are now finding exceptional examples of the theme in Northern Europe in the early fourteenth century, it is in Trecento Italy that the theme is most extensively treated, and in Tuscany that the most innovative landscape settings are created. While hermits are stock characters within the French romances, e.g., in the early thirteenth century Queste del S. Graal, the heroes Perceval, Gawain, Bors and Lancelot all turn to hermits for enlightenment in interpreting dreams and the odd events that befall them, their role in the visual arts was small and not particularly noteworthy. Landscape scenes with hermits living exemplary lives are not found in the romance tradition.

The final question to be addressed concerns the iconographical role of the hermits in relation to the lovers in both the Triumph of Death fresco and the French ivories. The meaning of the fresco is clear as the artist of the Triumph chose to enhance the opposing qualities of these two groups via their juxtaposition, and further emphasized their differences by uniting them within a composition based upon that of a typical Last Judgment, a scene traditionally governed by opposing dualities and composed according to hierarchical rules. While no figure of the judging Christ appears in the sky, angels and devils enact the traditional motif of separating the blessed from the damned, and the winged figure of Death herself substitutes compositionally for the Archangel Michael. Bodies of persons from all social classes chaotically litter the bottom of the fresco, a compositional arrangement which again recalls the traditional Last Judgment. The other major parts of a Last Judgment which routinely would be included are depictions of Heaven and Hell. As was already noted, the angels who successfully carry off souls - and there are but five blessed - carry them towards the scene of Heaven in the adjacent fresco, while the devils - there are ten damned - head for the fiery landscape towards the center of the Triumph. But the traditional locations for these two eternal places are still significant in the fresco: the picture's sacred upper right, the traditional location of Heaven, is here filled by the hermits in their wilderness landscape. Significantly, the traditional position of Hell to the
picture’s lower left is taken by the elegant figures of ten ladies and gentlemen enjoying all too well their ‘‘garden of vanity’’18. The message for these two groups is clear. The hermits, for whom earthly life consists of isolation in a threatening and difficult wilderness and where self-denial and penance are daily rituals, will reap their reward when they exchange this ‘‘Hell’’ on earth for the heavenly garden of Paradise after death. The vain group within the garden, on the other hand, who savor the sensual pleasures of life on earth, will trade in their delights for an afterlife of Hell. The two groups are located at opposite extremes compositionally in the fresco, just as the individuals will find themselves on opposing sides when Christ judges them. The actions of each group are set forth for the viewer as opposing moral choices, and, similar to a cycle of the Virtues and Vices, these figures of monks and pleasure-seekers become thematically unified because of their opposition.

The fate of the intermediary group of the hunting party, to the painting’s right between the garden and the wilderness, yet lower and therefore inferior to the hermits above them, is not yet determined, and it is this group with which viewers should identify as they confront, similarly shocked, the three rotting corpses. Macarius’s scroll confirms that there is still a chance for salvation, if only his warning will be heeded: *If your mind will be well aware, keeping here your view attentive, you will see vainglory vanquished and pride eliminated. And, again, you will realize this fate if you observe the law which is written*19.

The intent of the fresco is obvious. Like those in the hunting party, each viewer must make a choice.

It is difficult to know whether the French ivories, with their similar juxtaposition of contrasting figures of lovers and hermits, carry the same moralizing message as the cycle of frescoes at Pisa. Most problematical is the fact that the subject of the ivories is unclear. Scholars have found no specific romance sources for the scenes depicted20, and, indeed, a common *topos* of the romance texts seems to be males who consult or confront hermits rather than females, as in the ivories. Yet while all the scenes included by the Atelier of the Boxes – a hermit reading, someone kneeling in supplication before a hermit, active scenes of confrontation between women and hermits – do appear in the stories of the *Vitae Patrum* and the illustrations of the desert fathers, the tone of the ivories seems wrong. The mood of the ivories is far less damning and the focus more on the enjoyments of lovemaking and dalliance rather than self-denial. Partly this difference in mood is occasioned by the change of scale and context. The monumental Pisan frescoes are somber and impressive within their cemetery setting, and were routinely viewed by mourners during funerary processions21. The much smaller ivories, of course, would be used within domestic settings. While both mix themes of love and death, frivolity and penance, the ivories focus on the first of each of those pairings, and the frescoes on the second. Perhaps we are to read at least some of these small ivories as satire, for admittedly the Walters mirror case (fig. 3) could be interpreted.

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*Fig. 5. – Figures Before a Town, ivory mirror case, French, fourteenth century. Florence, Uffizi. Hist. Museum.*
as a humorous scene with foolish and ineffectual hermits below — who are unable to defend themselves even against women! — and a voyeuristic one above. In any case, the change of scale, of setting and of function within the ivories creates a situation wherein these hermits do not appear to be the moral heroes that their brothers in the Pisan frescoes are.

Whatever the interpretation of these French ivories will finally be — moral exhortation, clerical satire, or stories from the French romances — it is certain that the impact of the Pisa frescoes was significant for the artist who introduced these Italian motifs to the Atelier of the Boxes. The Atelier altered the traditional French handling of these secular scenes by introducing new Tuscan landscape conventions and by expanding the hermit motif, demonstrating again the importance of Italian art for France in the fourteenth century.

P. H. J.

NOTES

I wish to thank Richard Randall for his generous loan of the photograph reproduced here as Figure 5.

2. Randall, 33.
4. Although both the frescoes and their underlying sinopie are still on display in the Camposanto, they have been moved from their original location. Originally both sets of frescoes began at the southeast corner of the Camposanto, those dealing with the life of Christ progressing on the east wall from right to left (the Crucifixion, the Redemption of the Holy Thieves, and the Ascension), and those dealing with mankind's fate moving along the south wall from left to right. For information on and illustrations of the entire cycle consult Mario Bucco and Licia Bertolini, Camposanto Monumentale di Pisa: Affreschi e Sinopie, Pisa, 1960; Alastair Smart, The Dawn of Italian Painting, Oxford, 1978, 116ff; and Barbara K. Dodge, Tradition, Innovation, and Technique in Tuscany Mural Painting: The Frescoes and Sinopie Attributed to Francesco Traini in the Camposanto in Pisa, Ph. D. Dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1978.
5. These problems have been heightened by the fact that the frescoes were badly burned in 1944 following a wartime bombing, and connoisseurs must now rely primarily upon photographs taken before that time. Old attributions to the stellar mid-Trecento painters Pietro Lorenzetti and Andrea and Nardo di Cione have been discarded in favor of attributions to lesser-known artists such as the Florentine Buonamico Buffalmacco or an anonymous Tuscan given the sobriquet “Master of the Triumph of Death”. Even Millard Meiss’s once-attractive thesis (in his important book, Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death: The Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century, Princeton, 1951, see especially Chapter 3) that Francesco Traini painted The Triumph of Death in the years following the Black Death of the summer of 1348 is rarely subscribed to today, and Meiss himself later abandoned his c. 1450 dating (“Notable Disturbances in the Classification of Tuscan Trecento Painting”. Burlington Magazine, CXIII, 1971, 178ff). However, an ongoing reassessment of Traini’s career and chronology may still allow for his authorship. Bucco and Bertolini, 46ff, summarize earlier opinions, while Haydon H.J. Maginnis updates the discussion in his “Introduction” to Millard Meiss, Francesco Traini, Washington, D.C., 1983, xi-xxiv. Joseph Polzer, “Aristotle, Muhammad and Nicholas V in Hell”, Art Bulletin, 46, 1964, 467 and n. 33 argues on the basis of historical and religious events that the frescoes date to the early 1330’s; Miklos Boskovits, Orcagna in 1357 — And In Other Times”, Burlington Magazine, 113, 1971, 224 and n. 22 would date them to the early 1340’s: Luciano Belloni, Buffalmacco e il Triumfo della Morte, Turin, 1974, 41ff, attributes the frescoes to Buffalmacco, and dates them before 1338; E. Broni, in “Problemi iconografici rimensi: Le storie dell’Anticristo in S. Maria in Portico Fuori”, Paragone, XXXVI/305, 1975, 15-23, elaborates upon Polzer’s historical connections, thus supporting a date in the 1330’s, and accepts the attribution to Buffalmacco. Wolfram Prinz, “Bemerkungen zu ‘‘Storia’’ im Triumph des Todes im Camposanto von Pisa”., Scritti di storia dell’arte in onore di Roberto Salvini, Florence, 1984, 203 also accepts the attribution to Buffalmacco; Hayden Maginnis, in his review of the Belloni text, Art Bulletin, LVIII, 1976, 126ff, rejects the attribution to Buffalmacco; Smart, Dawn of Italian Painting, 118ff, hesitates regarding the attribution to Buffalmacco, and opts for a “Master of the Triumph of Death”; Dodge, in her 1978 dissertation and in “The role of the sinopie in the Trecento cycle in the Camposanto, Pisa”, 24th International Congress of the History of Art, Bologna, Bologna, 1983, III, 125ff, on the basis of her exploration of the sinopie, return to Meiss’s attribution to Francesco Traini, but dates them to the 1330’s.

7. Randell, 31ff., proposes that mid-fourteenth century French manuscripts, such as Guillaume de Machaut’s Remede de Fortune (Paris, B.N. Ms. fr. 1586), provided the innovative landscape conventions used by the Atelier of the Boxes, but they are much more simple and less ambitious than the Tuscan ones, and probably themselves have Italian influence. The innovative qualities of the Pisan landscapes have been discussed at length, particularly the manner in which they unite the multiple episodes found in their Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine sources into a single landscape. Among the more recent discussions, see Fronimovic and the interesting work by M. Tosti Cristiani, “Pescari e Tempi della Visione nel Trionfo della morte”, Critica d’Arte, LII, n. 16, 1988, 33-48 and “Voci dialoganti e’cora nella ‘umanam commedia’ del ‘Trionfo della Morte’”, Critica d’Arte, I.V, n. 19, 1989, 57-68, where she analyses the movement of the viewer’s gaze through the monumental fresco.

8. Randall, 32; but see a different interpretation in Images of Love and Death in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art, University of Michigan, Museum of Art, Exhibition Catalogue, November 21, 1975 – January 4, 1976, catalogue entry #75 by William R. Levit.

9. Dodge, Tradition, Innovation, 78, discusses the theme’s origins in France, as does Francois Avril, Manuscript Painting at the Court of France, New York, 1978, 74.

10. E. Doulfi, “Triumph des Todes”, Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, IV, 1881, 33, first noted the connections to French ivories, but these are also discussed by more recent scholars, e.g., Dodge, “The role of the sinopie”, n. 29, where she compares the fresco’s garden scene, with its lovers, dogs, and falcons, to earlier French ivories.


13. J. Hamburger, in a very interesting article, “The Use of Images in the Pastoral Care of Nuns: The Case of Heinrich Suso and the Dominicans”, Art Bulletin, LXXI, 1989, 20-46, especially 30ff, considers carefully the issue of the origins of images of the desert fathers during his discussion of Suso’s oratory at the Dominican church at Constance. He proposes that it was decorated with a now lost cycle of the desert fathers dating from the early fourteenth century. He also discusses the Franco-Flemish Rotshild Canticles of c. 1300 (New Haven, Yale University, Ms. 404) which contains at least twenty drawings based on the Vitae Patrum, and notes that no illuminated texts exist prior to that time (p. 32). See his forthcoming The Rotshild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland ca. 1300, Yale University Press, Hamburgh, 30, n. 73 lists the rare French 13th century examples of illustrations of the desert fathers with which he is familiar, but these, like the Rotshild Canticles, lack the extensive landscape settings of the slightly later Italian examples. The authenticity of the earliest Tuscan example of a Thebaids theme, the Sicenese Crawford Tabernacle (Edinburgh National Gallery of Scotland) of the late 13th century (see G. Achenbach, “An Early Italian Tabernacle”, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 25, 1944, 129ff.), has recently been questioned by Hans Belting (as reported in Fronimovic, 213, n. 28).

14. Callman, “Thebaids Studies”, 4ff, where she emphasizes that the Pisa Anichorises is the earliest Tuscan example of the new theme, and links it to the Pisan religious milieu. See also Paul Watson, The Garden of Love in Tuscan Art of the Early Renaissance, Philadelphia, 1979, 52ff, particularly concerning the Dominican Bartolomeo da San Concordio, who died in Pisa in July of 1347; Achenbach, 136ff; and Maginnis in Meiss, Francesco Traini, 66ff, also discuss the Pisa milieu.


16. See note 13 above.

17. For example R.S. Loomis and T.H. Loomis, in their classic study, Arthurian Legends in Medieval Art, London and New York, 1938, do not discuss the hermit as a theme within their extensive discussion of the illustrated romances in European art up to 1500, and illustrate very few examples: figs. 217, 227, 266 (which shows Perceval confessing to a
hermit), of the late 13th and early 14th centuries, and 289 and 412, from the 15th century.

18. WATSON discusses this garden, 52ff., in his chapter on "Gardens of Vanity". See also Penny Howell JUDD, "Symbolic Landscape in The Triumph of Death: The Garden of Love and the Desert of Virtue", Politeia. 21, 1985, 27-42, for a fuller iconographical discussion, as well as the recent work by FRUZI (as in n. 6 above), TESTI CRISTI (as in n. 7 above), and K. KRÖGER, "Bildandacht und Bergeinsamkeit: Der Eremit als Rollenspieler in der städtischen Gesellschaft", in Malerei und Stadtikultur in der Danteczeit: Die Argumentation der Bilder, ed. H. Belting u. D. Blume, München, 1989, 187-200.

19. The inscriptions found within the paintings are heavily repainted and fragmentary. S. MORPURGO, in "Le Epigrafi Vulgari in Rima", L'Arte, II, 1899, 51-87, transcribed as much as was legible, but also discovered a manuscript from the second half of the fifteenth century (Venice, Bibl. Marciano cod. ii. 204, cl. IX) that is closely related to the Pisa inscriptions, and which he uses to complete the damaged texts. The Marciano manuscript reads, "Se vostra mente serra bene accorta/Tenendo qui la vostra vista fitta, /La vanagloria ci sara sconfitta/Et la superstia vederete morta./Et voi serrerete ancora di questa sorte! Or observate la legge che v'è scripta" (Morpurgo, 57). Giuseppe Faustini of Skidmore College assisted with the translation, for which I am grateful.

20. Besides the discussion and references cited in RANDALL, see the differing interpretations for the Walters Art Gallery ivories (entries # 71 and 75) proposed by LEVIN in the exhibition catalogue cited in n. 8 above; and in The International Style: The Arts in Europe Around 1400, Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1962, 109, # 111.

21. FROZI (as in n. 6 above), 201.

RÉSUMÉ: Influences réciproques au milieu du Trecento entre les ivoires médiévaux français et le Camposanto de Pise.

Un groupe d’ivoires français du Gotique tardif que Randall attribue à l’« Atelier des Boiles » (Paris ou Nord de la France, 1340-1360) est remarquable à la fois par son style, avec ses paysages larges à haute ligne d’horizon, et par son iconographie et son intérêt porté aux ermites. L’auteur donne pour origine à ces caractéristiques l’art toscan du Trecento et, plus particulièrement, les fresques du Triomphe de la Mort et des Anachorètes au désert peintes dans les années 1330 au Camposanto de Pise. Selon toute probabilité, un artiste français voyageant en Italie y dessina ces paysages abrupts, basculés sous un horizon élevé, aux escaliers rocheux et affleurements, édifices campés obliquement, ermites lisant, méditant ou affrontant des diables. Mais ces influences sont aussi à double sens: comme l’ont noté certains historiens, l’artiste inconnu qui peignit le Triomphe de la mort avait connaissance des romans français et de la représentation imagée d’histoires telles que "les trois Morts et les trois Vifs".