The Front Panels of Maximian's Chair, Ravenna

— Style and Composition

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Introduction

In the Archiepiscopal Museum in Ravenna there is a chair generally known as Maximian's Cathedra or archiepiscopal chair (fig. 1). The Chair is covered overall with a number of ivory relief panels, which may be divided into four groups: i) the panels on the inner and outer faces of the chair-back, depicting scenes from the life of Christ; ii) those on the sides, depicting scenes from the life of Joseph of the Old Testament; iii) those on the front representing five standing saints; iv) and the parts with ornamental motifs. In this paper, I shall concentrate my discussion upon the front panels of the Chair (fig. 2).

The five figures of saints adorning the front of the Chair are carved in relief on one oblong composite panel. Skillfully fashioned, the five panels are jointed together side by side into a rectangular tableau 53 cm (2) wide by 27 cm high. They are surrounded and sustained by two vertical legs of the Chair and two horizontal frames. The saint on the central panel, identified as St. John the Baptist, wears a long tunic and a kind of fur mantle. He raises his right hand in a blessing gesture, and holds a disc depicting the Lamb of God in his left hand. The other saints are
generally believed to be the four evangelists. They wear long tunics and himations, and each holds in his veiled left hand a large codex with a cross. With the other hand they touch the codex or make a gesture of blessing. The five figures are juxtaposed in a row at regular intervals and carefully arranged symmetrically, not placed haphazardly. The four figures are flanking the central figure on the axis, and slightly turned towards him. John the Baptist alone is pictured en face. The compositional unity of the figures is emphasized by the frame surrounding the rectangular tableau. This tableau stands out amidst the more shadowy ornamental motifs surrounding it.

I. Style

The style of the front panels of Maximian’s Chair has been the subject of considerable attention, giving rise to various subsequent interpretations. Some of these recognize the manifested classical tradition on the front panels of the Chair. This point is not completely irrelevant, but is not perhaps sufficiently consummate in itself. Several ivory works of the Theodosian period, around the beginning of the fifth century, are also often explained as still reflecting the Hellenistic and classical traditions. But there is an obvious distinction between the figures on the front panels and, for instance, the figure of a priestess on a leaf of the diptych of Symmachi at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. The figure of the priestess is characterized by its artificial classicism. The figures on the front panels, on the contrary, share none of her retrospective nature.

Some scholars have explained that the classical nature of the front
panels is a product of the powerful artistic movement in the Justinianic period. This explanation is more convincing, and I believe that the front panels of the Chair did owe much to ivories generally attributed to this period; however I do not feel such an attribution is sufficient in its own right, and this is a point I intend to pursue further here.

It is generally accepted that the closest stylistic parallel to the front panels of the Chair is a leaf of an ivory diptych representing Christ, St. Peter and St. Paul at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Dahlem (fig. 3, left). This is a suitable starting point for my discussion, since the similarities between this diptych and the front panels of the Chair are so marked that some scholars conclude that they are the works of the same artist. Careful observation, however, indicates stylistic differences as well as similarities.

It is certainly true that there are several resemblances that may affirm the close relationship between them. Firstly, the modelling and proportion of the figures on both works are highly naturalistic, if not actually faultless. These two works also share a refinement and elaboration in the general execution, and skill in geometric and decorative details. Secondly, there is an obvious similarity in the physiognomies of the figures; the face of John the Baptist on the front panels and that of Christ on the Berlin diptych bear a distinct resemblance to each other. Both have centrally-parted long hair falling loosely in waves on both shoulders, prominent ears, long moustaches, side-whiskers and pointed beards covering the lower half of the face. Likeness are also apparent between the saint on the right hand of John the Baptist and that on
Christ's left hand (presumably Paul), and between the saint on the extreme left end of the front panels and that on Christ's right hand (presumably Peter). Paul and his 'pseudo-twin' are both characterized by their long, rather aged faces, long pointed beards and thin hair. Peter and the latter saint both have wide jowls covered with heavy, crispy beard and whiskers, stout necks, and thin hair. And thirdly, the architectural motifs on these two works resemble each other: on both works an arch-motif, consisting of rows of beads and dentils and supported by two fluted columns with Corinthian capitals, is placed behind the figure. A conch is placed in the arch.

On the other hand, there are also differences in style between these two works. The figures on the front panels of the Chair appear to be a little rougher than those on the Berlin diptych, which are in fact more elaborate and refined. The front panels are impressive in their simple directness, while the Berlin diptych impresses us with its delicate elegance. The whole frame of the Berlin diptych is intricately crammed with various motifs such as a curtain hung from a rod and a throne with cushion and footstool, all of which are richly decorated with ornamental patterns and small motifs like lion's heads on the throne. The arch motif on the Berlin diptych, which is considerably similar to that on the front panels, is also more decorative with cymae and small beads. On the Berlin diptych minute figures of the personifications of the sun and moon are placed in the spandrels, while simple acanthus motifs occupy this position of the front panels of the Chair. Here also the ground below the arch motif behind the human figures is left blank. The front panels of the Chair are free from the abundance of motifs of the Berlin diptych. It
is terse simplicity that dominates the entire expression of the front panels of the Chair.

A comparison between the front panels and the Berlin diptych thus demonstrates two distinctive aspects of the style of the front panels. I shall now proceed to ivory works which seem to be related to the front panels and to the Berlin diptych, in order to throw more light upon one of these aspects.

An imperial five-part diptych known as the Barberini diptych at the Louvre (fig. 4) has also been frequently regarded as a parallel to Maximian’s Chair. Some have concluded so by comparing the lower part of the Barberini diptych with the Joseph panels of the Chair. But I should like to note the middle and upper part of this diptych. These parts of the Barberini diptych present excellent artfulness and elaboration, and also to be noted are the exuberances and throng of small motifs. The naturalistic rendering is less successfully attained by a man on horseback, who seems somehow frozen in spite of his dynamic posture and whose figure is proportioned badly. The youthful and noble face of this man, however, has something common to that of the archangels attending the Virgin on the leaf of the Berlin diptych (fig. 3, right), especially in the carving technique of the eyes.

Such detailed embellishment may also be seen in the representation of an archangel on a leaf of an ivory diptych at the British Museum (fig. 5). The archangel is more fully modelled and proportioned, and the drapery of his garment is evidently more masterly than that on the front panels of the Chair and the Berlin diptych. The oval face has affinities
with the angel on Mary’s right on the Berlin diptych, yet is more vivid and animated. The architectural motif behind the figure belongs to the same type as that on the front panels and the Berlin diptych, but is far more lavishly and minutely decorated. In the spandrels are rosette motifs. The conch is attached with a small cross on its hinge and a wreath with a ribbon.

Finally, in this regard, I turn to another diptych representing a muse and a poet at the Cathedral Treasury in Monza. The ‘arch’ architectural motif is again used. It basically belongs to the type of the front panels and the Berlin diptych, but varies in the way that it implies a complex treatment of space and depth. The two human figures are adroitly and proficiently carved, though the figure of the poet is rendered in an odd, flattened shape. The general elegance here is so deliberate as to be virtually manneristic.

It would be possible to classify these ivory works into a certain group, presumably derived in some measure from the imperial court of Justinian. The sophisticated and aristocratic style of this group, however, is not the product of the Justinianic period exclusively. Previous ivory artifacts of the fifth and early sixth centuries are already beginning to show some of this aristocratic aspect.

A consular diptych of Anastasius at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig. 6) seems stylistically quite different from that group of ivories. The body is flattened and lacks corporeality. The figure does not appear to be properly seated on the throne. Yet we cannot overlook that the aristocratic aspect is already seen on this diptych. The refinement
and accomplishment in its execution is outstanding. The whole surface of the diptych is filled with small and decorative patterns.

The rich high-relief decoration motifs, as observed on the Barberini diptych, are noticed again on ivory panels at the Bargello in Florence and the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. These panels are both thought to have been central sections from imperial five-part diptychs of ca. 500. Though the treatment of the figures is quite different from that of the Barberini diptych, these three works have the same kind of sumptuousness, which I suspect may have been somewhat of a requirement for an imperial bestowment.

In addition, there is a tendency toward naturalistic rendering of human figures on a consular diptych at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and on another at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (fig. 7).

To sum up, the aristocratic aspect was anticipated in the ivory artifacts of the fifth and early sixth centuries, and followed up in ivories of the Justinianic period — in the process considerbly influencing the front panels of Maximian’s Chair.

Let us now look at another area of appraisal — the forcefulness and expression of the front panels.

This aspect can be seen, for example, on an ivory panel representing St. Paul at the Musée Cluny in Paris (fig. 8 ) and a five-part diptych at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is not really feasible that these ivories were executed together with those aristocratic group of ivory works. The refinement and elaborateness of the ‘aristocratic’ ivories are almost entirely removed from these works. The body of Christ is
strangely distorted at its centre. The shoulders and chest of Paul on the
Musée Cluny panel are reduced to an insubstantially flat form. The
architectural motif on this panel is of a similar type to the front panels
and the Berlin diptych, but the arch is lacking a part of the springing,
and the fluting of the columns look more like coiled ribbons. A kind of
roughness and clumsiness pervades these works. But nonetheless these
two artifacts are undoubtedly related to the front panels of the Chair in
their physiognomy. These ivories, moreover, present the expressive
directness in an oddly exaggerated manner.

It indeed is quite a problem to make out what kind of workshops they
are to be attributed to. It is also difficult to fill out the relationship be-
tween these ivories and the front panels of Maximian’s Chair. But I tem-
porarily assume that the expressive aspect of the front panels of the
Chair, as well as the unique facial type of John the Baptist, told upon
these ivories which are thought to be the products of less proficient
workshops.

II. Composition

As mentioned in the Introduction of this paper, the five figures of the
saints on the front panels are not conceived as separate and individual
terities, but are readily perceived to have been visualized as a group.

C. Cecchelli and G. W. Morath, authors of monographs on Max-
imian’s Chair, have also noted this characteristic unity of the five fig-
ures. Cecchelli discusses the careful disposition of the figures, while
Morath looks at the front panels in terms of their composition.
Interestingly enough, both come to the same conclusion: that the front panels of the Chair was influenced by that of 'sarcofaghi “asiatici”' or 'Säulensarkophagen'. Cecchelli cites several examples as the basis for this, including a sarcophagus at the Church of S. Francesco in Ravenna (fig. 9) and one at the Basilica of S. Nicola in Bari. Morath gives no specific composition of figures juxtaposed in niches under an arcade with conches, which both the front panels and Asiatic sarcophagi have in common. In addition, they both infer that the artist of the front panels of the Chair aimed at attainment of Hellenistic style and atmosphere by adopting the form of the Asiatic sarcophagi that the authors believe embodies the tradition of antique works.

Their conclusion, however, is not completely convincing; for instance, although there are a few sarcophagi with form and appearance somewhat alike to the front panels of Maximian’s Chair, they cannot be regarded as typical and representative of the sarcophagi from Ravenna and Constantinople. In fact, these sarcophagi vary so widely in typology that we cannot consider that the Asiatic sarcophagi were so highly esteemed as to provide the sole inspiration for the front panels. Secondly, it is now obvious that a close and necessary relationship between early Byzantine ivories and sarcophagi in general cannot be wholly accepted. Hence, the assumptions of Cecchelli and Morath are lacking in an important premise for the alleged parallelism. Cecchelli attempts to prove that it was possible for the artist of Maximian’s Chair to have had access to this particular type of sarcophagus. But even if he successfully explains this access, he does not provide a reason why the artist of the Chair should have looked for precedents only in the Asiatic
sarcophagi. The difference in material and function between the cathedra and sarcophagus cannot, moreover, be disregarded in order to demonstrate such a relationship, yet there is no reference to this point in their books.

The crux of Cecchelli's and Morath's inference lies in the combination of the arcade and juxtaposed figures, who are each placed in a niche between the columns. But when we compare, after Cecchelli, the front panels of the Chair with the Ravenna sarcophagus (fig. 9), a question arises as to whether the architectural motif on the front panels can really be regarded as of the same type as that on the Ravenna sarcophagus. On this sarcophagus, the springings of the neighbouring arches share single columns, and the arches are thus joined together in a true arcade. On the other hand, the arches on the front panels are supported by two columns apiece, on each component panel. They are not combined into an arcade, which is obvious by the abrupt margins along the vertical side of the wider panels, and the flutings on the neighbouring columns. We have already observed in the discussion on style that the motif of an arch supported by two columns is of the same type as that on the Berlin distych (fig. 3), the archangel panel (fig. 5) and so on. This motif is carved on each of the two leaves of the diptychs, while on the front panels of the Chair it is done on the five component panels. Therefore, as far as the planning of the architectural motif is concerned, it would be reasonable to think that the artist of the front panels of the Chair followed one of the prototypes peculiar to the ivory sculpture of the time; we have no reason to assume that the artist intended to imitate
the form or manner of the Asiatic sarcophagi.

The problem of the composition of the front panels, therefore, must be solved by another approach. I should like to point out the clear symmetry of this composition. As I have already stated, and as is repeatedly pointed out in previous studies, the five figures of the saints on the front panels are at once juxtaposed in a row and deliberately disposed in a symmetrical composition. This is an important characteristic of the composition of the front panels. John the Baptist on the central panel, who plays the part of the axis, stands \textit{en face}, though slightly swaying in \textit{contrapposto}. He holds a disc containing the Lamb of God, as though displaying it to those who confront the Chair. The four saints are flanking John from both sides. They do not stand fully frontal, but turn their bodies to him. Their hands, in gestures of blessing, are also directed toward the centre. The wider and narrower panels are alternated symmetrically. The figures on the narrower panels both seem to be carved in higher relief, and turn to the centre a little more markedly than other two on the wider panels at the right and left end. The symmetry of the figure composition concurs with that of the ornamental motif on the upper and lower horizontal frames.

This symmetrical composition can be compared with that of the apse mosaic of S. Vitale in Ravenna, a sarcophagus at S. Ambrogio in Milan (fig. 10) and others. On these works, the figures are arranged following the order of symmetry, and the central figure is seen in a frontal view. What this figure composition implies is unmistakable; it is the inferment of dignity, readily observable in various kinds of works.
Next let us turn to a more detailed approach to the role of this composition on the front panels of the Chair.

On the Berlin diptych (fig. 3), three human figures are represented on each leaf. Christ is attended from behind by Peter and Paul, and Mary, holding the Christ Child on her lap, is attended by two archangels. The appearance of this diptych has something in common with that of the front panels of the Chair. The frontality of the central figure and the symmetrical disposition of the figures on each leaf recall those features of the front panels. At the same time, there are dissimilarities as well. On the front panels the figures are juxtaposed in a row, and all saints are shown at full length. The attendant figures on the Berlin diptych are standing in the rear of the central figure, with only the upper half of their body visible over the shoulders of the central figure. The attendant figures turn themselves to the central figure in S-curved swaying postures, as is noticeable in the archangels on the Mary leaf.

Looking at several consular diptychs of the sixth century, we can understand that this figure composition of the Berlin diptych is derived from that of those others. The stance of the attendant figures and their setting behind the central figure is applied on the diptych of Areobindus at the Hermitage in Leningrad, the diptych of Clementinus at the Liverpool Museum and so on. Moreover, the swaying posture is featured on a diptych at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (fig. 7) and a diptych at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In short, the figure composition of the Berlin diptych is a clear relation of a form peculiar to consular diptychs of the early sixth century.

Among the ivory artifacts of the fifth and sixth centuries, some five-
part diptychs may offer some suggestions on the problem of the structure of the front panels of the Chair, and the technical premises on which the artist of the Chair was to depend. These five-part diptychs are interesting to deal with because of their unique format. The device of the format of the five-part diptych seems to have given some idea and skill to the artist of the front panels, namely, combining ivory panels of small size within a large framework. In addition, there are two characteristic features that the front panels and the five-part diptychs have in common: the juxtaposed combination of the vertical panels sustained by the horizontal frame-like panels at their upper and lower ends, and the disposition of the wider central panels and the narrower panels on its each side, although it does not explain the width of the outer two panels of the front panels of the Chair.

We have no extant examples of a five-part diptych showing the figure composition discussed above, and composed of panels each containing one standing figure. Supposing such five-part diptychs did exist in the sixth century — and it is not unlikely in my view — affinities between them and the front panels of the Chair could not be ignored.

The five-part diptych that is known as the bookcover of the so-called Lorsch Gospels at the Museo Sacro in Vatican and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (fig. 11) is a work of the Carolingian period, but not presumably planned and executed without a certain sixth-century Byzantine influence. We can see that this diptych shares some common characteristics with the front panels: the symmetrical disposition of the figures, the frontality of the central figure and the turning posture of the lateral figures, the motif of arches and columns be-
hind them, and the structure of the component panels under discussion now. This bookcover may give us an interesting inkling, if not actual evidence, as to the relation between the planning of the front panels of the Chair and the traditional manner and technique of the contemporaneous ivory five-part diptych.

Conclusion

We have thus observed the style and composition of the front panels of Maximian's Chair. Scholar have paid their attention only to the traditional aspects that the front panels yield. It is true that they owe much to the classicizing tradition of late Roman art. Stylistically the front panels are based on the classicism that was developed in the imperial court's ivory sculpture. The composition of the front panels is dependent upon a representation of dignity whose origin can be traced to the Constantinian period. The artist of the front panels made good use of technique peculiar to five-part ivory diptychs.

But I should emphasize again that the front panels of the Chair present a great deal of original and unprecedented aspects as well as traditional ones. Expressive, simple forcefulness was obtained in addition to the high level of classicistic style. A monumental composition was fully developed upon the traditional scheme and techniques of ivory sculpture.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace the trend of ivory sculpture in the subsequent period. A remote but interesting parallel to the front panels of Maximian's Chair, however, may be found among the works of the post-Iconoclastic period. Some ivory plaques of the eleventh century, depicting Christ, Mary and some of the apostles (fig. 12), have
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certain interesting affinities to the front panels: these affinities reside in a set of arch-shaped panels with one standing figure apiece, a terse simplicity in style, the frontality of the figure of Christ and the turning posture of the other figures, and so on. There is no doubt that these plaques were originally juxtaposed side by side, symmetrically with Christ placed on the axis. Of course, we have no evidence that testifies a relationship between these plaques and the front panels of the Chair. But is it not justifiable to assume that the front panels anticipate the form and style of the iconostasis of the post-Iconoclastic period?

Notes

1) The attribution of this chair to the Archbishop Maximian of Ravenna (546–556) is based on decipherment of the monogram on the front of the Chair. On the problem of the monogram, C. Cecchelli, La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avori romano-orientali (Rome, 1936–1944), pp. 33ff. For the sake of this attribution, the problem of the dating of this Chair was most satisfactorily solved. It is surely dated to the short span of term of his archiepiscopal office. G. Stričević assumes that the iconography of this Chair suggests post-Justinianic date. But this assumption is not based on thorough observation on important aspects of the Chair. See Stričević, "Iconography of the Ivory Cathedra in Ravenna," in Abstracts of Paper Third Annual Byzantine Studies Conference (New York, 1977), pp. 27ff.

2) On the size of the parts of the Chair, after Cecchelli, La cattedra di Massimiano, p. 47.

3) This identification depends on an observation that they are four in number, and that each of them holds a codex with a cross on it. But there is nothing on the panels that evidently indicates their identity. The symbol of each of the evangelists is not depicted either. Cecchelli attempts to identify each evangelist by comparing them with several other representations of the evangelists, particularly observ-
ing their physiognomy. But his conjecture cannot be readily accepted, because, as he himself admits, 'l'incertezza typologica che si riscontra nelle rappresentazioni degli Evangelisti non permette alcuna deduzione sicura' (CECHELLI, La cattedra di Massimiano, p. 105). Also incomprehensive is that the physiognomies of the two figures on the Baptist's right are considerably similar to those of the attendant figures, probably St. Peter and St. Paul, on a diptych at the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Dahlem (fig. 3), which is supposed to be closely related to the front panels of the Chair. These four figures on the front panels may be representing the evangelists and symbolizing the archiepiscopal office of Maximian. But it may also be possible that they are representing the apostles, prophets of the Old Testament and the like.


11) Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 68.

12) Similar treatment of architrave is seen on some Carolingian ivories, e.g., an ivory plaque at the Museo del Castello in Triente (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 225) and an ivory plaque depicting the Annunciation at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (Ibid, Nr. 251).


14) Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 52.

15) On the dating of these two ivories, see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pp. 49f.; Weitzmann ed., *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 31f.


17) These two diptychs are generally attributed to the Consul Magnus (Constantinople, 518). This attribution is based on an assumption that three leaves of bone diptychs at the Hermitage in Leningrad, at the Public Museum in Liverpool and at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 24 bis.) are copies of these two diptychs, and that the inscription and the lower part were cut off from the two diptychs after the copies were made. But this assumption seems doubtful. I temporarily assume as follows: these two diptychs were issued by two different consuls or other high officials, and the face of the central figure on each of the two diptychs is the portrait of client of the diptych; the similarities between the two diptychs suggest that they were executed following one of the ready-made formulae of official diptychs; and the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale bearing the inscription of MAGNVS was executed copying one of these diptychs of this type. On this problem, also see Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, pp. 37f.; Delbrueck, *Consulardiptychen*, pp. 134ff.; G. Egger, “Zum Datierungsproblem in der spätantiken Kunst,” in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, Band 64 (1968), p. 84; Weitzmann ed., *Age of Spirituality*, p. 50.


22) Morath *Maximianskathedra*, p. 90.

23) Morath *Maximianskathedra*, p. 91. Also see Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano*, p. 100.


25) See note 19. Also see Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, p. 95. Here Kitzinger regards the scene of the front panels of the Chair as 'a sort of sacra conversazione.'

26) Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, fig. 156.

27) The origin of this symmetrical composition would be found in late Roman imperial art, e.g., the north frieze of Arch of Constantine in Rome, the base of the so-called Theodosius' obelisk in Istanbul with scenes of the Hippodrome, some diptychs including the diptych of Probianus at the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 68) and so on. On these works the dignity of the emperor and high officials is unmistakably visualized by means of the symmetry and the frontality of the main figure. By the fifth century, this composition had come to be applied to Christian imagery.

28) Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 11.

29) Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, Nr. 15.

30) See note 16.


32) K. Weitzmann suggests that these ivory plaques at the Staatliche Bibliothek in Bamberg and a fragment depicting Archangel Gabriel
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（大学院学生）
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2. Detail of fig. 1. The front panels of Maximian’s Chair. (KITZINGER, *Byzantine Art in the Making*.)


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Fig. 2. Detail of fig. 1. The front panels of Maximian's Chair.
Fig. 3. Ivory diptych. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen. Mid-sixth century.
Fig. 4. The so-called Barberini diptych. Paris, Louvre. First half of the sixth century.

Fig. 5. Leaf of an ivory diptych. London, British Museum. First half of the sixth century.

Fig. 6. Leaf of an ivory diptych. London, British Museum. First half of the sixth century.
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