OLD AND NEW.
DIVINE REVELATION IN THE SALERNO IVORIES

by Kathrin Müller

Considered one of the outstanding artworks of the High Middle Ages, the so-called Salerno ivories still pose many challenges to art-historical research. While the uniqueness and high quality of this narrative cycle with scenes from the Old and New Testaments (figs. 1–14) is undisputable, fundamental questions regarding its making and meaning have yet to be solved.[1] On the one hand, there is no other high medieval ensemble of ivory panels as multipartite and well-preserved. Almost all of the thirty-eight extant plaques featuring narrative scenes are in the safekeeping of the Museo Diocesano of Salerno, along with one fragmentary piece, smaller panels bearing male busts, and fragments of an ornamental framework.[2] The earliest documentary evidence of the ivories' presence in Salerno dates from the early sixteenth century, when they were listed in the cathedral inventories for the first time. The only highly plausible assumption these scant facts allow for, however, is that the cycle was originally designed for Salerno cathedral, which was consecrated in 1084.[3] Who commissioned them, when and where they were carved, of what geographical and cultural origin the artists were, how the panels were arranged, and on what kind of liturgical object — an antependium or a *dossale*, a throne, reliquary or the door of the iconostasis:[4] due to the absence of further (written) sources, such crucial questions very insistently pose the problem of the appropriate methods and approaches, a circumstance which is surely one of the reasons why they are still open to debate. Within the commonly assumed time-frame for the dating of the ivories, spanning roughly from the later eleventh to the mid-twelfth century, three somewhat more specific sets of dates, names and places have emerged for these ivories: the last quarter of the eleventh century, when the consecration of Salerno cathedral could have prompted Archbishop Alfanus (1058–1085) to commission such a carefully devised and cost-intensive cycle, or, secondly, the years 1121 to 1136, with Romuald I as archbishop of Salerno and donor of the ivories. The third possibility is the period around 1140, when William of Ravenna — who had assumed the archbishopric of Salerno in 1137 — might have ordered the panels for his refurnishing of the cathedral's altar, documented for the same year. While all of these scenarios are generally accompanied by the supposition that the ivories were carved by a workshop already firmly established in either Salerno or Amalfi, or artists summoned there especially for that purpose, the panels' twelfth-century origin in a Sicilian or Levantine workshop with an affiliation to the Norman court or close monastic bonds has recently been reconsidered.[5] However this debate might be decided, the setting has to account for two important characteristics of the cycle — namely, on the one hand, the conceptual elaborateness with which it envisions and narrates the Old and New Testaments and, on the other hand, its heterogeneity in terms of iconography and style. While important studies such as the monographs by Antonio Braca[6] and Robert Bergman[7] have comprehensively shown how the Salerno ivories conflate elements that pertain to early Christian, Byzantine and Islamic as well as Western Romanesque and Anglo-Saxon art, very little research has been done on the cycle's narrative modes and more specific theological implications.[8] Admittedly, such an undertaking is hampered by the lack of information on the panels' function, arrangement and visibility. However, the cycle exhibits formal characteristics that are distinct enough to be recognizable as unique features and analysed in their intentions.

One such characteristic motif is the anthropomorphic God, that is, Christ as the Creator-Logos who appears not only in the Creation sequence but also in fourteen of the twenty-five post-expulsion scenes. While traditional iconography would have permitted a simple hand as an

1 The Spirit over the waters and the separation of light and darkness, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

2 The creation of plants and trees and the creation of the sun, moon, and stars, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

abbreviation for God, in the Salerno cycle efforts have been taken to carve the full- or half-length figure of God, notwithstanding the horizontal arrangement of the Old Testament plates and thus the necessity of working against the grain of the ivory. Although increasingly considered to be an idiosyncratic — even programmatic — feature of the Salerno ivories[9], this decision to have the figure of God reappear on the panels with Cain, Noah, Abraham and Moses has hitherto been questioned almost solely in terms of iconography and style. It cannot, however, be con-

3a, b The creation of birds and fish and the creation of animals, plaques from the Salerno ivories. Budapest, Iparművészeti Múzeum; New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

4 The sacrifice of Cain and Abel and the murder of Abel with the condemnation of Cain, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art.

vincingly explained as an adaptation of an existing formula, for the following reasons: firstly, the motif can neither be fully deduced from the tradition of narrative biblical pictorial cycles — for which the miniatures in the fifth-century Byzantine *Cotton Genesis* manuscript have long been considered of paradigmatic importance[10] — nor (as will be recapitulated in greater detail later on) was it employed in a similar manner in a rather heterogeneous group of eleventh- and twelfth-century cycles that allegedly stem from the same kind of (manuscript) imagery. Moreover,

5 God commands Noah to construct the ark and the construction of the ark, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

6 God closes the door of the ark and the dove returns to the ark, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

in the Salerno cycle this particular mode of representing God bears consequences not only for the Old Testament sequence but for the entire cycle. As a matter of fact, it is closely tied to yet another insufficiently investigated element of the ivories, namely their differing compositional and narrative modes for the Old and New Testament respectively. Here it should be pointed out that the distinction made between the two by the use of horizontally organized panels for the Old and vertical panels for the New Testament is only the first and most conspicuous indication that the two sub-cycles were devised differently. Furthermore, in the former, the figure of the

7 God orders Noah to leave the ark and a sacrifice by Noah, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

8 God and Noah establish the covenant and the making of wine, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

anthropomorphic God helps to establish an essentially dialogic order. In some instances, the focus on the confrontation — as well as communication — between God and one of the patriarchs leads to vivid gestures, but dispenses with narrative details, so that the identification of the scenes becomes unclear (figs. 9–11).[11] By contrast, most of the New Testament plaques are rich in figures as well as detail[12], and show Christ participating in actions involving several people, objects and even various places (fig. 14). Like the half- or full-length anthropomorphic God in the post-expulsion scenes, this differentiation between the two Testaments cannot be traced

9 God commands Abraham to leave Haran and Sarah and Lot in Abraham's house, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

10 God speaks to Abraham and Abraham and Sarah before the Pharaoh, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

back to earlier or contemporary models. Moreover, the systematic realization of distinct visual vocabularies indicates that these vocabularies are not merely a by-product of the different hands involved in the series' carving. Rather, the "sentimento scultorio arcaico" Ferdinando Bologna ascribed to the main master of the Old Testament panels — that is, the style of his carving: "assoluto, lapidario e quasi senza ornato" — has to be understood as a conceptual decision made specifically for the Salerno cycle.[13]

Taking the motif of the anthropomorphic God as a salient feature, this paper investigates the modes of visual narration used for the depiction of the Old Testament events and the implications of those modes for the cycle as a whole. Though it benefits strongly from the results of the

11 God and Abraham at an altar, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst.

12 The sacrifice of Isaac and God blesses Abraham, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

previous, primarily iconographical, studies, the paper aims at shifting the focus of the analysis to the visual capacities and purposes inherent to the Salerno ivories, and thus tries to avoid one of the pitfalls of pure iconography: "Even in recent research, the obsession with deducing [formal elements of an artwork from earlier examples] — the general benefit of which is beyond dispute — sometimes leads us to overlook the fact that the preserved objects bear witness first and foremost to themselves and not to their assumed precursors, and that correspondingly they raise questions regarding their own specific meaning."[14] If the Salerno ivories are perceived as a visual system in its own right, it becomes obvious that the cycle embodies a theological concept that, not surprisingly, lends emphasis to typological and Christological thinking, though in a rather

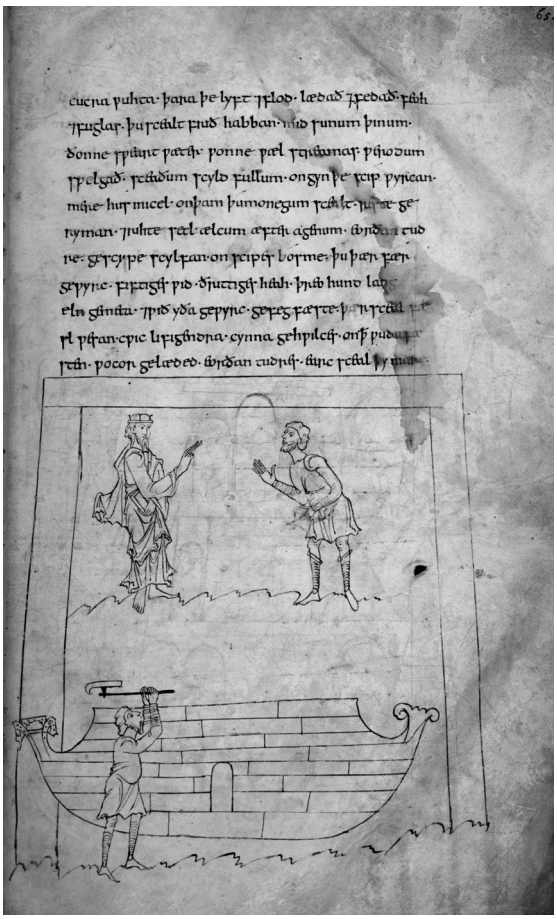
13 The miracle of the serpent and the miracle of the withered hand, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

14 Christ and the Samaritan woman, the resurrection of Lazarus and the entry into Jerusalem, plaque from the Salerno ivories. Salerno, Museo Diocesano.

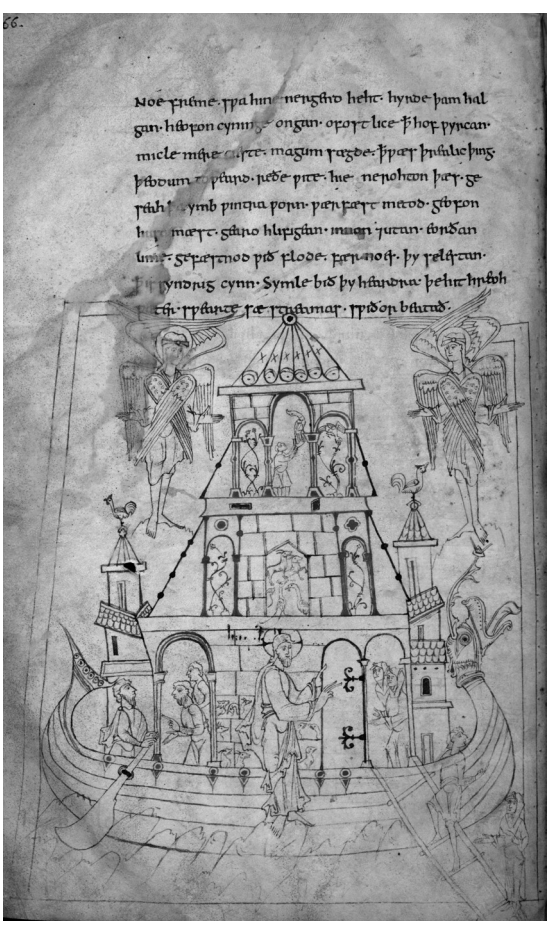
15 The Spirit over the waters; the creation of plants and trees and the creation of the sun, moon, and stars; the creation of animals. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, pp. 6–7.

particular way. This paper shows that the Old Testament cycle is concerned with the relevance of the patriarchs' demonstrations of faith for the Christian narrative of salvation and thus with the relationship between the covenants God established in the Old Testament and the New Covenant enacted by Christ. In some respects, the following discussion of the cycle pursues the same interests as Elizabeth C. Corey's recent analysis of the plaque showing *God and Abraham at an altar* (fig. 11).[15] However, Corey's argument that the covenant scenes may visualize the Normans' understanding of their rule in Southern Italy seems to me to take two assumptions far too much for granted. The first of these is that Robert Guiscard was the donor of the ivory cycle, the second that an Old Testament pictorial cycle easily offered its protagonists for political exploitation — despite the fact that there are no site-specific or formal aspects providing visual substantiation for a link between Abraham and a Norman ruler. Rather than constricting the meaning of the Salerno ivories, this paper highlights the complexity of their theological implications.

In the Old Testament cycle with its nineteen extant panels, not only is the figure of the anthropomorphic God repeated, but an entire compositional scheme. Apart from the five scenes showing *The sacrifice of Cain and Abel* (fig. 4), *God orders Noah to leave the ark* and *A sacrifice*

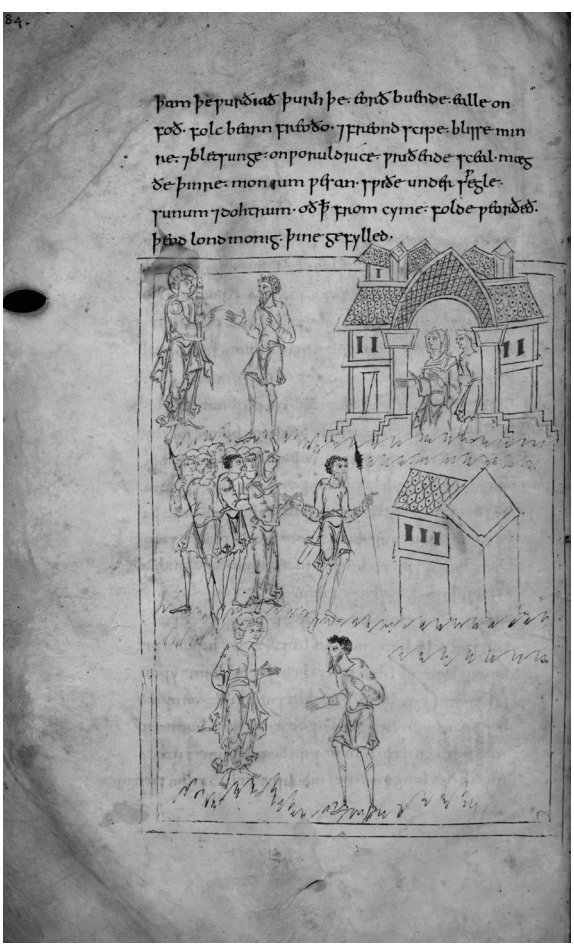


16 God commands Noah to construct the ark and the construction of the ark. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 65.



17 God closes the door of the ark. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 66.

by Noah (fig. 7), *The sacrifice of Isaac* (fig. 12) and *Moses at the burning bush* with either the half-length figure of God or his hand reaching down from a circular fragment of heaven, there are nine scenes in which the God of the Creation sequence reappears (figs. 5, 6, and 8–13). Depicted in full length and three-quarter profile from head to toe, he is standing on the left-hand side of the scene, facing the action in front of him, holding his left hand with the scroll to his body and raising his rather massive right arm and hand to perform a gesture of allocution over the figures facing him. However striking the similarity with the Creation panels, differences are immediately apparent as well. In the scenes with the patriarchs, due care has been exercised to avoid bodily contact. While at the beginning God's hand overlaps the wing of an angel (fig. 1), reaches out into the first trees and into the heaven of the fixed stars (fig. 2), and even touches one of the ducks (fig. 3), among the following scenes there is only one in which he is actually interfering and, significantly enough, it is when he is closing the ark (fig. 6). In this panel, the ark towers like a wall very firmly marking a physical boundary between God and its occupants. God's act of closing confirms this detachment, while at the same time his allocution and intense gaze leave no doubt that this act in fact expresses a strong bond. The same features characterize the other scenes, among which those showing a confrontation between God and one of the patriarchs radiate a particular intensity (figs. 5 and 9–13). The interaction between the figures attracts



18 God commands Abraham to leave Haran, Abraham arrives in Kanaan, God speaks to Abraham. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11, p. 84.

19 The creation of the heavens and the earth; the creation of the plants and trees; the creation of the sun, moon, and stars. London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius B.iv, fols. 2v–3r.

the beholder's full attention and is obviously the topic of these scenes. Again, gazes and bodily gestures forge a bond between God and man and it is through them that both enter into a very focused and vivid relationship. At the same time, the carefully retained voids between the hand of God and the hand of Noah, the head of Abraham, and the hand of Moses, respectively, establish firm demarcations and indicate insuperable segregation. Consequently, God's outstretched arm and intense gaze also have a spatial function that is, more specifically, that of assigning spaces and determining distances. Divine control is further expressed in God's consistently unchanged pose as contrasted with the manifold, at times affective, bodily reactions of the patriarchs. In a second scene, in which God changes his pose slightly, his bent right hand serves as an even stronger indication of spatial boundaries (fig. 9).

To sum up this first investigation of the Salerno Old Testament cycle, three components of its visual order are of primary importance: firstly, the frequent reappearance of the full-length figure of God, secondly, the inclusion of this figure within a compositional scheme that conspicuously resembles the scheme of the Creation panels while, thirdly, manifesting a subtle but at the same time explicit transformation of this Creation scheme in a formula for dialogic confrontation.

In the comparison with other tenth- to twelfth-century miniature and fresco cycles featuring the anthropomorphic God, only this motif and the expressive gestures can be identified as common

features. Both Bergman and Braca have pointed to these examples and iconographical similarities, stressing that the inclusion of the full-length Creator was not an invention of the Salerno carvers but prompted by a source eventually common to all of these cycles.[16] At the same time, however, the deviations and distinct traits of the Salerno ivories have been overlooked somewhat in the process. As a matter of fact, neither the ivories' reutilization of a specific formal scheme nor the transformation of that scheme for the post-expulsion scenes can be retraced in any of these cycles. In the Junius 11 manuscript in the Bodleian Library also known as Cædmon manuscript or Cædmon paraphrase, containing parts of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel in Old English verse and possibly written and illustrated in Canterbury in the second half of the tenth century, neither are the striking circular subdivisions of the first Genesis drawings employed again, nor is there any other consistent compositional model for the following episodes (figs. 15–18).[17] As is evident in the scene *God commands Noah to construct the ark* (fig. 16), however, in this manuscript there is an interest in depicting the immediate, dialogical contact between God and the patriarchs in a manner comparable to what we find in the Salerno ivories. Similar scenes reoccur, for example on the pages depicting God and Abraham, drawn by a different artist (fig. 18). However, due to the proximity of the surrounding episodes, these confrontations are perceived as stages in a course of action and do not develop particularly strong intensity.[18] The stern, composed quality of the Salerno ivories is even more striking in the comparison with the miniatures in manuscript

20 God commands Noah to construct the ark and the construction of the ark; God speaks to Noah; the ark of Noah. London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius B.iv, fols. 13v–14r.

21 God commands Noah to construct the ark. Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, church of Saints Savin and Cyprian, nave.

Cotton Claudius B.iv in the British Library, an ambitiously illuminated Old English Hexateuch (whose text is also referred to as Ælfric paraphrase) dating from the second quarter of the eleventh century and possibly likewise originating in Canterbury.[19] The Genesis cycle features a rather agitated figure of God, and in the ark scenes God and Noah seem to be in dispute with one another (figs. 19, 20). In this case, the imagery might be explained by the wording of the text, as Benjamin C. Withers explains: "In the narratives of Adam, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, God is an active subject of the Old English verbs (he walks, talks, acts) and a physical presence in the [respective] illustrations in Claudius B.iv as he personally interacts with the patriarchs."[20] A comparably vivid interaction can be seen in the Genesis and Exodus frescoes in the nave of the abbey church of Saints Savin and Cyprian in Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe near Poitiers dating from around 1100.[21] Again, no especial position or pose has been assigned to the full-length God, nor any distinction made between divine and human movement or gestures (figs. 21, 22). Moreover, given the close proximity between God and man in some of the scenes, the notion that they do not encounter one another on equal terms is expressed merely by God's size and his halo.[22]

The supposition that a distinct formal conceptualization underlies the Salerno ivories is implied not only by these comparisons. On the contrary, it gains further plausibility if seen as corresponding to similar schematization efforts undertaken in other roughly contemporary narrative cycles. As will become apparent, however, the reasons behind such efforts are case-specific and cannot be easily applied to the Salerno cycle. In the Cotton Claudius B.iv manuscript, for instance, the artist decided to employ a conspicuously uniform composition for an entirely different series of episodes with the patriarchs, namely their passing away.[23] The miniatures have a tripartite structure and show the covered corpse in the middle, being born by groups of figures

22 God speaks to Noah and his family who have left the ark. Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, church of Saints Savin and Cyprian, nave.

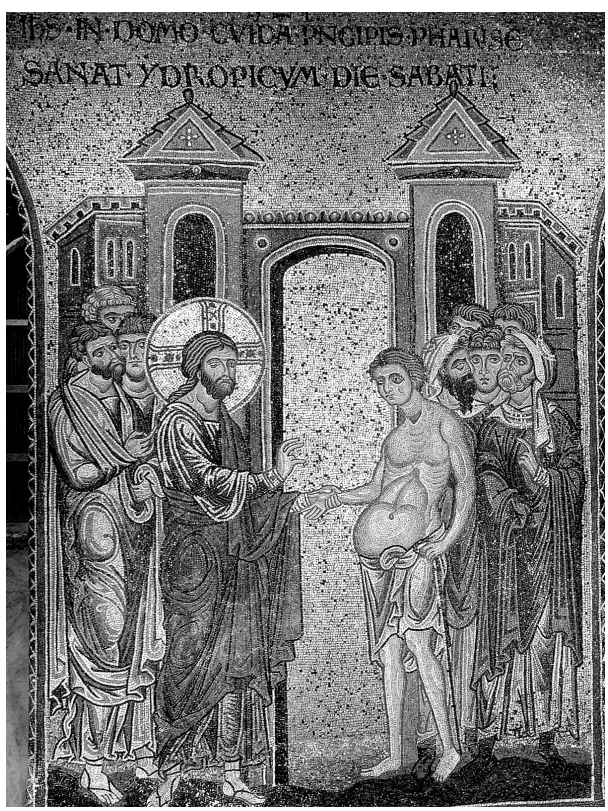
on either side. According to Withers, this visual schema conforms to the text, that is, its recurring formulaic account of the deaths and the genealogical sequence they lead to.[24] Hence, in this case the imagery parallels the uniform manner in which the narration proceeds. Due to the absence of an accompanying text, there is no such possibility of deducing the formal means applied in the Salerno ivories. If compared with the Genesis text of the Vulgate, it appears that, for the panels, a coherent scheme has been given to quite different episodes that have no formulaic textual structure in common. Moreover, in two instances the biblical account has been changed in order to create a specific series of images. On one of the plaques, it is God and not the angel who appears at the sacrifice of Isaac and establishes the covenant with Abraham (fig. 12).[25]

Whereas among the many miniatures in Cotton Claudius B.iv very few are linked by uniformity, there is a cycle of cupola mosaics that even exceeds the Salerno panels in the consistency with which they employ a particular compositional scheme. This cycle, however, does not contain episodes from the Old Testament. Rather, the north dome mosaics of San Marco in Venice show five miracle scenes from the life of Saint John the Evangelist with a frontal figure of the orant saint forming the beginning and end of the series (fig. 23). Dating from the first half, probably the first quarter, of the twelfth century, the work is in all likelihood the earliest extant cycle dedicated to this saint. According to Otto Demus and his unequalled description, "from whatever source the theological advisors of the designers of the San Marco cycle might have drawn their inspiration, it is quite clear that the narrative was given a thoroughly new redaction, in accordance with the principles of cupola decoration".[26] Demus points out the limited number of episodes, their reduction to the essentials and the elimination of all accessories irrelevant to the narrative, such as architectural or landscape motifs. Accordingly, the scenes are composed almost exclusively

23 Five miracle scenes from the life of Saint John the Evangelist. Venice, San Marco, north dome.

of stereotypical and uniform figures. Moreover, these figures are always arranged in a tripartite scheme with Saint John on one side, a group of bystanders or witnesses on the other side, and the person or object the miracle is worked upon in the middle.[27] In sum, Demus stresses both the formal uniformity and the narrative self-sufficiency of the five episodes. However, in a manner not unlike the Salerno ivories, the "extreme parsimony of the setting makes the scenes somewhat enigmatic, almost rebus-like".[28] Hence, the compositional regularity as well as the reductive narrative scheme devised for this cycle of cupola mosaics give validity to the claim that not only the conspicuous conformity but also the narrative barrenness of some of the post-expulsion panels in Salerno could be the result of decisions made deliberately for this cycle as well. Needless to say, however, Demus' approach of citing the requirements of the setting as a means of explaining these formal decisions cannot be applied to the Salerno panels simply because it is unclear what kind of liturgical object they constituted.

To a far greater extent than Demus in his description of the Saint John the Evangelist cupola cycle in San Marco, Thomas Dittelbach assigns significance to the site in his analysis of the mosaics of the cathedral of Monreale (1166–1177).[29] He claims that the mosaic decoration was devised according to a rhetorical concept that emphasized the hierarchy and different functions of the spatial sections of the cathedral's interior and took their respective audiences into account. Accordingly, the overall programme is composed of distinct parts which each have their own formal characteristics. The cycle in the aisles, for instance, employs a "dialectic", or "antithetical" scheme for the scenes depicting Christ's acts of healing and miracles (fig. 24) in which Christ — figuring prominently and easily recognizable in his blue garb in the foreground — and a person facing him gesture towards each other in such a way that the gestures become the main vehicle of the visual narrative.[30] In this respect, the mosaics are comparable to the post-expulsion panels of the Salerno ivories showing God and one of the patriarchs (figs. 5, 9–13). In Monreale, however, the gestures are far more conspicuous: the mosaics have a tripartite structure in which the gestures establish a proper middle section where the figures or movements on either side come together. This structure is of particular importance to Dittelbach's argument because it is considered dialectic, that is, a means of showing how proposition and counterproposition converge in synthesis, the latter being the act of healing or miracle performed through the gesture. As for



24 The healing of the man sick with dropsy. Monreale, cathedral, southern aisle.

the reasons behind the use of this type of schematization, Dittelbach refers to the audience in the aisles, that is, the *populus* or laymen — a socially as well as culturally heterogeneous group in twelfth-century Sicily. On the one hand, Dittelbach argues mainly from the perspective of the programme's devisers and assumes that the recurrent use of such a clear-cut composition was supposed to facilitate the understanding of Christian beliefs even for new converts to this faith. On the other hand, he rather surprisingly considers himself capable of taking the position of the multicultural *populus* and declares that the concept was doomed to failure: the composition, with its focus on gestures, was probably an effective way of conveying the historical sense but would hardly have revealed any of the other exegetical dimensions of Christ's ministry.[31] For this critical attitude towards the mosaics' effectiveness, however, there is no cogent documentary evidence whatsoever. In other words, it is quite astonishing that the author works out an elaborate interpretation of the mosaics' conceptualization according to dialectic principles, only to claim that this conceptualization was inadequately and ineffectively applied to at least some of those mosaics.[32] In fact, the representation of the gestures undermines Dittelbach's rigid pattern. Although on the one hand their ostentatious position within the composition is surely to be understood as an indication that these gestures are meaningful, on the other hand it draws the attention to the *manner* in which Christ acts — i.e. speaks and touches — and less to the *result* of the act. As seen in the mosaic, all those who raise their hands to Christ — the lepers, the man with the withered hand, the man sick with dropsy, the lame, and the blind — are still showing the signs of their physical infirmity. While the inscriptions refer to the miraculous transformations with such terms as *curat* and *sanat*, in the visual representation emphasis is placed on how Christ and the needy encounter and respond to each other.

Whereas the benefit gained from describing high medieval visual narrative cycles according to rhetorical or dialectic categories thus remains questionable, the astute attention Dittelbach pays to the composition of the healing and miracle mosaics in Monreale helps us to discern the special nature of the ivories depicting God and the patriarchs in the Salerno cycle.[33] Here, rather than bringing together gestures that imply something unseen, the impact of God's allocution is actually shown in most cases, and his words trigger a certain range of different kinds of emotion and behaviour — fear (figs. 4 and 13, left) and, possibly, astonishment (figs. 13, right, and 5)[34], as well as obedience (figs. 6, 7, and 12, left)[35] and submission (figs. 8, 12, right). In particular the obedient and submissive gestures represent unrestrained faith in God's authority and justness.[36] Not unlike the Creation scenes, the post-expulsion episodes thus make the impact of God's words visible: his act of speaking creates the world; his commandments and promises determine the way his people act. By interlarding the Old Testament cycle with the God-patriarch scenes, therefore, this part of the Salerno ivories demonstrates not only that the world originates from God's omnipotence and will, but also that the history of salvation proceeds solely through divine directives. More precisely, the history of what succeeded the expulsion, as related in the Old Testament, is shown as resulting from the covenant God established with his people by speaking to the patriarchs.[37] The latter become discernible as those eligible for direct — though at the same time firmly restricted — contact with God. Moreover, since God's unchanging appearance is of a serial nature, it is the patriarchs' ways of acting that draw special attention. The most conspicuous, and therefore the most important, aspects of these scenes is God's sovereignty and the submissiveness of the patriarchs.

One reason for this visual emphasis on the patriarchs' obedience is perhaps revealed by viewing the Salerno ivories in the light of the eleventh- and early twelfth-century church reform movement and, more precisely, the controversy over the lay investiture, with pope Gregory VII (1073–1085) and King Henry IV (1056–1106; emperor from 1084) as its most prominent protagonists.[38] Ursula Nilgen has argued that supporters of the German king also employed visual devices to show the clerical competencies of Old Testament rulers such as Moses and Salomon.

Most compellingly, she referred to a miniature in the *Pantheon Bible* dating from the beginning of the twelfth century, in which Moses is dressed as a king when anointing Aaron and his sons.[39] Accordingly, such imagery was supposed to function as a means of legitimizing the contemporary sovereign's codetermination in clerical matters. Seen in this context, the Salerno ivories take a contrary stance, employing Noah, Abraham and Moses exclusively as examples of unquestioning obedience to God and his commands without the slightest reference to their status as leaders or rulers. Moreover, the cycle's unusual insistence on altar scenes with Noah making a sacrifice or Abraham listening to God (figs. 7, 10–12) may be explained in this context as well.[40] Arguing against the practice of simony and citing figures such as Cain and Balaam who acted in God's disfavour, church reformer Humbert of Silva Candida (ca. 1000–1061) also endeavoured to ascribe the priestly powers of Noah and Abraham to their devoutness: "Only their piety conferred this undoubtedly sacerdotal prerogative upon the fathers *ante legem*, so that they built altars for God and offered sacrifices just like the priests *sub lege*, such as Noah, Melchizedek, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the blessed Job."[41] Correspondingly, the ivory panels indicate the non-presumptuous character of the patriarchs' sacerdotal acts by showing how either God accepts the offering (fig. 7) or Abraham meets God face to face without fear (figs. 10, 11, in comparison to fig. 4).

Such a focus might have pleased both archbishop Alfanus of Salerno, a staunch supporter of the papal church reform movement, and Gregory VII, who spent nearly the entire last year of his life in exile in Salerno and consecrated the cathedral a few weeks after his arrival from Rome with Robert Guiscard (ca. 1015–1085), the Norman duke of Apulia, Calabria, and Sicily. In the belief that, with his elevation to the papacy, he had been called upon by God to act in imitation of the Old Testament prophets and strive for the *libertas ecclesiae*, from the early years of his pontificate onward Gregory equated obedience towards the pope with obedience towards God and denounced disrespect of papal authority as an offence against divine will.[42] One specific purpose of the Old Testament cycle of the Salerno ivories — with its reductive narrative scheme highlighting divine vocation and the awe and humility evoked by it — could thus have been to provide imagery that would help to strengthen and legitimize the papal claims. The patriarchs would then have functioned as role models not only for the pope, but also for every beholder wanting to learn the proper attitude towards God — as well as towards the pope as his representative on earth.

There is a biblical foundation for such an *imitatio antiquorum patrum* to which Yvonne Labande-Mailfert also referred when she mentioned the importance attached to the patriarchs in the frescoes in Saint-Savin (figs. 21, 22).[43] In the eleventh chapter of the "Epistola ad Hebraeos" which medieval theologians believed to have been written by the apostle Paul, and which admonishes (Jewish) Christians to adhere to their (new) faith, the audience is reminded of the strength of the *fides seniorum*. Employing a specific syntax by placing the words "by faith" (*fide*) at the beginning of the sentences, the author relates several Old Testament events: "By faith Noah, being warned by God concerning events as yet unseen, in reverent fear constructed an ark for the saving of his household. […] By faith Abraham obeyed when he was called to go out to a place that he was to receive as an inheritance. And he went out, not knowing where he was going."[44] On the one hand, the scenes on the ivory panels seem to have a strong affinity to these words since they also employ a particular formal scheme in order to emphasize the *fides seniorum* and, above all, indicate that the patriarchs obey God without pondering the consequences. It is the elimination of further narrative elements from the scenes, the omission of all things that will be affected by God's commandment, and the intense relationship between the gestures that convey this impression of the patriarchs' immediate and unconditional compliance. On the other hand, however, there seem to exist no further visual or textual sources signifying a renewed interest in the "Epistola ad Hebraeos" in theological circles that could be convincingly linked with the

Salerno ivories.[45] Both chronologically and geographically, the writings of Bruno the Carthusian (ca. 1030–1101) — who, not unlike Gregory VII, reached Salerno in 1090 as a refugee from Rome along with pope Urban II (1088–1099), albeit left again soon and founded Santa Maria dell'Eremo in Calabria in 1091/92 — come closest to fulfilling the requirements of such sources. The commentary on "Hebrews" attributed to him, however, presumably dates back to a much earlier period in his life, namely his years as a student and *magister* at the cathedral school of Reims, that is, to the 1050s.[46] On the one hand, the idea of an *imitatio patrum* can be retraced in this text when Bruno states: "For if anyone contemplates Abraham, how he possessed glory through the merit of his faith, he can hope similarly for himself that if he imitates Abraham by means of his faith, just like him, he will […] possess glory through his faith."[47] On the other hand, however, for reasons inherent to both "Hebrews" and, accordingly, the commentaries by Bruno and subsequent theologians of the twelfth century[48], these texts are not very readily applicable to the Old Testament cycle of the Salerno ivories. There is a clear notion that the "Epistola ad Hebraeos" was written for a specific group and that, by consequence, also the *multa veterum exempla* were supposed to appeal to specific addressees, namely Jewish Christians who believed in Christ but also practiced the Law in order to achieve salvation.[49] Since the letter's main objective was to argue in favour of the eminence of Christ and the uselessness of the Law, the series with the faithful *patres Judaeorum*[50] in chapter eleven not only provided well-known examples intended to illustrate proper faith in God.[51] What is more, this chapter also served to show that the Old Testament, its promises, commandments and faithful deeds had found their true meaning in Christ. This becomes explicit when Bruno describes Paul's attitude towards the Jewish Christians: "It is just as if he said: My authority does not compel you, yet pay close attention to the authorities of your Law and prophets and from this Law and the prophets you will understand that in Christ the Law ended."[52] Seen in this typological light, there is something preliminary and incomplete about the patriarchs' demonstrations of faith. However exemplary their devoutness might have been, they did not attain what they had hoped for: "And all these, though approved of through the testimony of their faith, did not receive what was promised […], since God had provided something better for us, that apart from us they should not be made perfect."[53] The sacrifices offered by Noah and Abraham, the law received by Moses — "Hebrews" makes explicitly clear that Christ superseded all such assignments. If, then, references to this specific biblical text were of any relevance to the concept of the Salerno ivories, could they have actually led to an understanding of the God-patriarch scenes as undisputable *exempla* of proper faith appealing for an *imitatio patrum*? Would not "Hebrews'" notion of the 'historicity' and incompleteness of the patriarchs' relation to God have interfered with such an understanding and the search for role models? The question is thus whether this interpretation of the Old Testament panels should be modified or whether the link between the ivories and the thinking exposed in, and with regard to, "Hebrews" should be reconsidered. The following reconsideration of the entire cycle, that is, both the Old and New Testament cycles will show that, in the Salerno cycle, the patriarchs are embedded in typological and Christological concepts.

In the Salerno cycle, the most conspicuous indication of a Christological understanding of the Old Testament is of course the representation of God in the Creation and post-expulsion episodes. His youth makes him recognizable as Christ-Logos, all the more so because the Christ in the New Testament panels is portrayed in a similar way, his crossed halo being the only systemic difference (fig. 14). While efforts to Christianize the Old Testament date back to the second century[54], it again became a matter of particular concern to theologians (and artists) associated with the church reform movement, as has been pointed out, for instance, by Nino Zchomelidse in her analysis of the unusual fresco showing *Moses at the burning bush* in the church of Santa Maria Immacolata at Ceri (ca. 1100) with its image of a full-length Christ.[55] On the one hand, the use of early Christian iconographies and techniques — and, more specifically, the reference to Old

25 Christ and the Samaritan woman. Sant'Angelo in Formis, southern nave wall.

St. Peter's by decorating the naves with narrative Old and New Testament cycles in churches in Rome and its surroundings from the twelfth century onwards[56] — helped to establish a reformist understanding of the church that strove for ideals of the early church.[57] On the other hand, Zchomelidse's complex discussion of the Moses fresco in Ceri also implies the more general conclusion that Christological references in Old Testament scenes were intended to make the unity of both Testaments even more explicit. Correspondingly, the ambition to assimilate the Creator-Logos and Christ formally is also clearly perceivable — albeit not systematically implemented — in the fresco cycle of Sant'Angelo in Formis commissioned by Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino between 1072 and 1087.[58] Although the Creation frescoes in the upper register of the south wall of the aisle have not survived and thus cannot be used for purposes of comparison, the scenes in the lowest register of the southern nave wall (i.e. originally in the direct vicinity of the Creation frescoes) showing *Christ and the Samaritan woman* (fig. 25) and *The woman taken in adultery*, respectively, with Christ seated on a globe and turning his upper body sidewards, nevertheless refer very obviously to the iconography of the Creation.[59]

In the Salerno cycle, however, the identification of Christ with the Creator-Logos is not further confirmed in the layout of the panels since there are only very few — namely three — scenes in which the speaking Christ stands alone on the left and thus very closely resembles his counterpart in the Creation scenes.[60] On all the other New Testament plaques he is either closely surrounded by other figures or seen frontally. Hence, the ambition to differentiate between the Old and New Testaments and to tell or visualize their stories by different means clearly pre-

dominates. Each sub-cycle was devised according to distinct formal principles. They provided for the representation of the Christ-Logos, on the one hand, as an untouchable and omnipotent God who revealed himself exclusively to a very small number of chosen men and, on the other hand, of the incarnated Christ, who acted in the midst of the human world. The Salerno ivories thus show that the New Testament represented a change in the conception of divine revelation. Despite its intensity, the covenantal relationship established between God and man in the Old Testament was transformed and exceeded with the advent of Christ, that is, by God's revelation among men. Taken as a whole, the cycle demonstrates not only the unity of the two Testaments. Rather, by establishing formal differences between them, it makes visible the supersession of the Old by the New Testament.

Given this specific Christological and typological focus of the Salerno cycle, in what way did it intend for the patriarchs, with their vivid gestures of emotion and devotion, to be appreciated? A systematic study of Christian writings that comment on God's covenant with the patriarchs and the commandments of the Old Testament, that is also on God's covenant with Israel and the Jewish Law, would prove helpful in this respect. The strong increase of such writings — particularly the "Adversus-Judaeos" treatises and related works with anti-Jewish polemic — from the eleventh century onwards indicates how concerned Christian theology was with the role that Jews and Judaism played in its narrative of salvation.[61] However, searches for correspondences between the ivory cycle and such written sources should not be carried out on the assumption that the ivories were based on a single text. Rather, in the same manner in which the ivories conflated elements stemming from different iconographies, they presumably also combined several aspects of a broader theological discourse. At the end of this paper, however, only few suggestions leading in this direction can be made.

In his "Expositio in Pentateuchum", Bruno of Segni (1048–1123; bishop of Segni from 1079/80) — some of whose writings were of relevance to the iconography of the frescoes at Ceri, as has been demonstrated by Zchomelidse[62] — legitimizes the offering made by Noah after the flood (fig. 7): "[…] therefore, it was necessary to offer a *holocaustum* from all existing animals to God because to the same degree He had been offended by all of them, their sacrifice appeased him. Only, however, man was not offered in this sacrifice, because he was left over, in order that Christ in His time would be sacrificed as the true Lamb that takes away the sins of the world."[63] Though referring to the Christological dimension within this episode, Bruno nevertheless attests the appropriateness of the carnal sacrifice in the context of the biblical account. In one of the following episodes, namely when God commands Abraham to leave Haran (fig. 9), the patriarch functions as an *exemplum* for the Christians. According to Bruno, Abraham was not allowed to stay in the same place for very long, "[…] in order that we easily understand, because we are pilgrims in this world and have no lasting city, but we seek the city that is to come".[64] It is possible that the partially hidden and inaccessible city behind the ledge of the hill on the ivory panel alludes to this idea of pilgrimage to a *civitas* that cannot yet be reached. The *exemplum* offered by Abraham at this point in Bruno of Segni's "Expositio in Pentateuchum" differs substantially from the model he serves as in Bruno the Carthusian's commentary on "Hebrews" 11.[65] While the latter recommends Abraham's faith as a persuasive attitude, the former calls for a non-individual pattern of Christian life. However, Bruno of Segni's Christian alliance with the patriarchs and sympathetic tone ceases when he is commenting on Moses and his plea to God for a visible sign in order to convince his people that the Lord had appeared to him (Exod. 4:1): "The disbelief of Moses is assigned to the entire people. For in himself he showed how hard and always disbelieving this people was. They would not believe without a sign, because the Jews ask for signs […]. Since he himself was convinced that he held a staff, he was frightened when in the next moment it was turned into a serpent. […] Thus let him, who does not want to believe in the words, believe in the sign."[66] In a relentless and almost aggres-

sive tone, Bruno projects traditional stereotypes of the disbelief, stubbornness and blindness of the Jews[67] onto the behaviour of Moses, who in this episode is portrayed as a rather negative figure. Such polemics may have become established in the corresponding scene of the Salerno cycle (fig. 13) with its surprisingly agitated, fearful Moses, who seems to crown his misbehaviour by trying to run away from God. Without any doubt, this emotional reaction emphasises the miracle performed by God. The question remains, however, if this representation could also be understood as a critique of Moses.[68] A comparison might support the latter view: unlike the uncontrolled and youthful Moses, Abraham and Noah appear dignified and stern. Hence one could suppose that, within the Old Testament cycle, a distinction is drawn between the universal covenant God made with Noah after the flood and His eternal covenant with Abraham and his descendents on the one hand, and the Mosaic covenant that constituted both the religion of Israel and Israel as a nation on the other.[69] From a Christian point of view, a notion closely tied to this distinction is the one most prominently expounded in the letters of the apostle Paul: that only the two first covenants still endure while the Mosaic covenant was abrogated by Christ.[70] Is this concept embodied in the Salerno ivories? Undeniably, further research is necessary to reach a more profound understanding of the representation of the covenants within the context of the overall cycle.

Though it ends with many questions, this paper also offers some conclusions. Among the Old Testament cycles likewise depicting an anthropomorphic post-expulsion God as well as the cycles embracing both Testaments and related in some way to the papal church reform movement, the Salerno ivories hold a singular position. Unlike any other example, they enhance the typological and Christological dimension, on the one hand by showing the unity of all times in the figure of the Christ-Logos, and on the other hand by distinguishing the character of divine revelation before and after the Incarnation by formal means. Most conspicuous is the reductive scheme devised for the dialogical confrontation between God and Noah, Abraham, and Moses, in which special intensity is given to the gestures of the patriarchs. An explanation of this formal device, that is, an interpretation of these peculiar representations of the patriarchs' attitudes towards God, turns out to be difficult to find, since such an explanation would have to comply with the theological implications of the overall cycle. That is why the rather simplistic assumption that the Old Testament cycle provides a series of *exempla* of proper faith and obedience towards God appears unsustainable. It ignores the fact that the overall cycle alludes to the tentative quality of this kind of distant and restricted relation to God. The Salerno ivories are a visual expression of how the history of salvation entered a new phase with the advent of the New Testament and Christ as a human being amidst human beings. For a better understanding of the cycle's theological concept, it thus seems necessary to investigate in greater depth the relationship between the ivories and contemporary Christian notions of the Old and New Covenant, the place of Jews and Judaism in the history of salvation, and the distinctions between Christians and Jews. While the sources referred to in this paper suggest a dating of the Salerno ivories to the end of the eleventh century, such a systematic endeavour would not only help to both date and locate the Salerno ivories more precisely, but also add new aspects to our knowledge of the variety of programmatic concerns of 'reformist' artistic production.

NOTES

[1] For a summary of the state of research, starting with the first references dating from the sixteenth century, cf. *Stefano De Mieri*, Per una fortuna critica degli avori di Salerno, in: L'enigma degli avori medievali da Amalfi a Salerno, exhibition Salerno, cat. ed. by *Ferdinando Bologna*, Pozzuoli 2008, I, pp. 99–131. The desideratum for new approaches governs *Francesca Dell'Acqua*, "Il grande foglio del mare". Gli avori di Salerno e il mediterraneo medievale, in: Rassegna storica salernitana, N. S., XXVI, 2008, pp. 103–124. It also provided the impetus for the international workshop "Gli avori 'amalfitani'/'salernitani' e l'arte nel mediterraneo medievale", held in Amalfi in December 2009 (URL: http://www.khi.fi.it/pdf/c20091211.pdf [26.07.2010]). This article is based on a paper given at that workshop, whose participants I wish to thank for their questions and comments. I am particularly grateful to Beat Brenk and Herbert L. Kessler, who also read a draft of this article.

[2] All panels and pieces as well as related ivories are reproduced in the catalogue of the recent exhibition in the Museo Diocesano: L'enigma degli avori (n. 1), II.

[3] For a survey on the art and architecture of Salerno cathedral cf. *Valentino Pace*, La cattedrale di Salerno. Committenza programma e valenze ideologiche di un monumento di fine XI secolo nell'Italia meridionale, in: Desiderio di Montecassino e l'arte della riforma gregoriana, ed. *Faustino Avagliano*, Montecassino 1997, pp. 189–230.

[4] A review of the various speculations regarding the original function and arrangement of the panels is provided by *Maria Carlì*, Sull'assetto originario degli avori di Salerno. Storia delle testimonianze e delle supposizioni, in: L'enigma degli avori (n. 1), I, pp. 133–153.

[5] *Dell'Acqua* (n. 1), pp. 109–115, esp. p. 113. For the Egyptian traits of the Salerno ivories cf. also *Herbert L. Kessler*, "Byzantine art and the West". Forty years after the Athens exhibition and Dumbarton Oaks symposium, in: Medioevo mediterraneo. L'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam, proceedings ed. by *Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, Milan 2007, pp. 57–72, here pp. 68–69.

[6] *Antonio Braca*, Gli avori medievali del Museo Diocesano di Salerno, Salerno 1994.

[7] *Robert P. Bergman*, The Salerno ivories. Ars sacra from Medieval Amalfi, Cambridge (Mass.)/London 1980.

[8] *Dell'Acqua* (n. 1), pp. 116–119 ("I modi della narrazione") is far too restrained.

[9] "Un *unicum* dal punto di vista iconografico, per la presenza dell'Eterno giovane in contrasto con il testo biblico contemplante l'Angelo del Signore quale interlocutore del patriarca; la presenza non richiesta di Dio a figura intera, in questa [il *Sacrificio di Isacco*/la *Benedizione di Abramo*] e nelle altre storie del Vecchio Testamento successive alla *Cacciata dal Paradiso terrestre*, si conferma una delle più significative costanti iconiche di carattere programmatico, sintomo di una volontà — anche sotto il rispetto formale — tesa a dare maggior risalto ai protagonisti del racconto sacro, piuttosto che limitarsi a descrivere la scena nel suo complesso" (L'enigma degli avori [n. 1], II, no. 26, p. 304 [*Paola Valisi*]).

[10] Recently, Herbert L. Kessler has raised basic questions about the value of the endeavour to create a 'recension' of works that presumably derive from the *Cotton Genesis*. *Idem*, The Cotton Genesis and Creation in the San Marco mosaics, in: Cahiers archéologiques: fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Age, CIII, 2011, pp. 17–32. For the older position cf. *Kurt Weitzmann/Herbert L. Kessler*, The Cotton Genesis. British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.VI, Princeton 1986, pp. 22–23. Given the predilection for showing the hand of God appearing from a heavenly segment in the miniatures of the *Cotton Genesis*, the claim that the presence of the full-length figure of God after the expulsion in the scenes of the Salerno ivories finds compelling parallels in the reconstructed manuscript is incomprehensible. The authors themselves seem to weaken their point by stating (p. 37): "More usually in C[otton] G[enesis], the deity was only symbolized, through a hand emerging from a cloud."

[11] For the scenes that have proved to be most difficult to identify, cf. L'enigma degli avori (n. 1), II, no. 23 (*God commands Abraham to leave Haran*), pp. 298–299; no. 24 (*God speaks to Abraham*), pp. 300–301 (both by *Paola Valisi*); *Bergman* (n. 7), pp. 34–35 (*God and Abraham at an altar*).

[12] With regard to the extent of their detail, Émile Bertaux distinguished the New Testament panels not from the Old Testament cycle but from Byzantine ivories: "Cependant la profusion des détails qui embarrassent les scènes évangéliques contraste avec la claire sobriété des petits reliefs byzantins du XI^{e} et du XII^{e} siècle" (*idem*, L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. De la fin de l'Empire Romain à la conquête de Charles d'Anjou, Paris 1903, p. 434).

[13] Of the three main hands at work in the Salerno ivories as distinguished by Bologna, one can supposedly be detected in the panels of the Old Testament cycle. *Ferdinando Bologna*, Opere d'arte nel Salernitano dal XII al XVIII secolo, Naples 1955, pp. 13–19, here pp. 14 and 15.

[14] *Ulrich Rehm*, Wieviel Zeit haben die Bilder? Franz Wickhoff und die kunsthistorische Erzählforschung, in: Wiener Schule. Erinnerungen und Perspektiven, Wiener Jb. für Kgesch., LIII, 2004, pp. 161–189, here 169: "Die Fixierung auf das Ableiten — dessen grundsätzlicher Erkenntnisgewinn außer Frage steht — läßt bis

in die jüngere Forschungsliteratur hinein gelegentlich übersehen, daß die tatsächlich erhaltenen Objekte zunächst einmal vor allem sich selbst und nicht ihre vermeintlichen Vorbilder bezeugen, und daß sie dementsprechend die Frage nach der ihnen eigenen spezifischen Aussage aufwerfen."

[15] *Elizabeth C. Corey*, The purposeful patron. Political covenant in the Salerno ivories, in: Viator, XL, 2009, 2, pp. 55–92.

[16] *Bergman* (n. 7), pp. 25, 31–33, 41–42, 45–46; *Braca* (n. 6), pp. 54–55. While Bergman sees cogent correspondences between the Salerno ivories and the miniatures in the Old English manuscripts (and then ends with the hypothesis that they can all be traced back to an early Christian miniature cycle, probably of Roman origin), Braca argues in favour of the former's stronger affinity with the frescoes in Saint-Savin.

[17] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11 (Canterbury, Christ Church?, ca. 960/990). The assumption that the seventh-century poet Cædmon is the author of the translations has since been disproved. The manuscript is accessible online: URL: http://image.ox.ac.uk/show?collection=bodleian&manuscript=msjunius11 (09.08.10). For the dating, cf. *Leslie Lockett*, An integrated re-examination of the dating of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius 11, in: Anglo-Saxon England, XXXI, 2002, pp. 141–173 and plates I–IV. Cf. also *Catherine E. Karkov*, Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England. Narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript, Cambridge 2001. The author criticizes a bias of the iconographical research on this manuscript that, on the whole, also characterizes the studies of the Salerno ivories: "Source study, in other words, continues to fragment this manuscript by failing to consider the poems and drawings as part of a coherent whole" (*ibidem*, p. 6). This mainly refers to the Ph. D. dissertations by *Herbert R. Broderick*, The iconographic and compositional sources of the drawings in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11 (Columbia University, New York, 1978), Ann Arbor 1981, and *Thomas H. Ohlgren*, The illustrations of the Cædmonian Genesis as a guide to the interpretation of the text (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1969, unpublished). Cf. also the more general criticism of the practice of deducing narrative pictorial cycles in Western Genesis manuscripts from the miniatures in the Byzantine Cotton Genesis by *John Lowden*, Concerning the Cotton Genesis and other illuminated manuscripts of Genesis, in: Gesta, XXXI, 1992, pp. 40–53.

[18] This is confirmed by Karkov's description of the drawings' style: "Their [both artist's] figures are energetic, portrayed in active poses and with expressive gestures, all of which help to convey a sense of narrative within and between pictures" (*Karkov* [n. 17], p. 33).

[19] London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius B.iv (Canterbury, St Augustine's?, ca. 1025/1050). Only parts of the vernacular prose translation are by Ælfric (940/45?–1010?), abbot of Eynsham after 1005. Cf. The *Old English Heptateuch* and Ælfric's *Libellus de veteri testamento et novo*, ed. *Richard Marsden*, Oxford 2008, I; *Benjamin C. Withers*, The illustrated Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B.iv. The frontier of seeing and reading in Anglo-Saxon England, London 2007. Withers' book contains a CD-ROM with reproductions of all 156 folios with approximately 400 framed miniatures. Cf. also: The Old English illustrated Hexateuch. British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV, ed. *Charles R. Dodwell/Peter Clemoes*, Copenhagen 1974.

[20] *Withers* (n. 19), p. 20. For the status of the Old English text as a guide for the illuminator(s), cf. also p. 89; for the figure of the Creator, p. 385, n. 117: "Weitzmann and Kessler consider the depiction of the active figure of the Creator as one of the hallmarks of the Cotton Genesis iconographical tradition. I would suggest that the inclusion of the figure of God as an active figure in the story can have more to do with the desire of the artist to stress God's role as a protagonist, as a principal subject and main focus of the action, than with a proposed line of iconographical descent." Cf. *Weitzmann/Kessler* (n. 10), p. 25. Further miniatures and their reliance on the text are discussed by *Rebecca Barnhouse*, Pictorial responses to textual variations in the illustrated Old English Hexateuch, in: Manuscripta, XLII, 1997, pp. 67–87.

[21] Saint-Savin. L'abbaye et ses peintures murales, ed. *Robert Favreau*, Poitiers 1999; for a description of the frescoes see pp. 117–136 (*Yves Christe*). Christe writes on p. 134: "La présence répétée de la figure entière du Christ […] ne s'explique cependant pas par le seul recours à un modèle particulier, où ceci n'apparaît pas avec une telle insistance. Elle est propre au cycle de Saint-Savin et reflète sans doute une intention doctrinale." The author does not, however, further investigate this presumed intention. Of the single-line inscriptions referring to the lower scenes, only fragments are legible today; most likely, they essentially served as an aid in identifying the scenes and did not add any further meaning to the visual representation; see *Robert Favreau*, Les inscriptions de l'église de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, in: Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, XIX, 1976, pp. 9–37, here 31–32. Cf. also *Jérôme Baschet*, Ornementation et structure narrative dans les peintures de la nef de Saint-Savin, in: Le rôle de l'ornement dans la peinture murale du Moyen Age, conference Saint-Lizier 1995, proceedings ed. by *John Ottaway*, Poitiers 1997, pp. 165–176 and plates XLIII–XLVI; *Yvonne Labande-Mailfert*, Le cycle de l'Ancien Testament à Saint-Savin, in: Revue d'histoire de la spiritualité, L, 1974, pp. 369–395 (reprinted in: *eadem*, Études d'iconographie romane et d'histoire de l'art, Poitiers 1982); *George Henderson*, The sources of the Genesis cycle at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, in: The Journal of the British Archaeological Association, XXVI, 1963, pp. 11–26 and plates IV–XIV.

[22] The number of both the similarities and the dissimilarities increase when the Salerno cycle is compared to the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo showing scenes of the Old Testament (dated between ca. 1150 and 1171), in which the half- to full-length figure of God reappears twice beneath scenes from the Creation showing the same figure (*Creation of the plants / Noah leaves the ark*; *God discovers Adam and Eve hiding after the fall / God commands Abraham to sacrifice Isaac*). However, this phenomenon occurs too rarely in this huge cycle to be interpreted as bearing any specific significance. For the ties between the mosaics and the Salerno ivories cf. *Herbert L. Kessler*, I mosaici della navata centrale, in: La Cappella Palatina a Palermo, III: Testi. Saggi, ed. *Beat Brenk*, Modena 2010, pp. 113–124, here pp. 116–118. Cf. also the 'political' interpretation of the Palatina's entire programme by *Eve Borsook*, Messages in mosaic. The royal programmes of Norman Sicily (1130–1187), Oxford 1990, here pp. 31–33.

[23] Cf., for instance, London, British Library, MS. Cotton Claudius B.iv, fols. 10v, 11r–v, 12r, 18r, 19v, 20v.

[24] "Like the Latin it translates, the Old English text tells us the same unchanging story in which each patriarch's life conforms to a formulaic verbal construction '*x* begat *y*, then *x* produced other sons and daughters; then *x* died'" (*Withers* [n. 19], p. 202). Cf. also above, n. 20, and *Mary C. Olson*, Fair and varied forms. Visual textuality in Medieval illuminated manuscripts, New York/London 2003, pp. 101–102. Olson identifies a second scheme in the (unfinished) miniatures showing battle scenes between the Israelites and Canaanite nations (Josh. 10:28–43) in the last section of the manuscript.

[25] Gen. 22:11 and 15–18. Cf. *Bergman* (n. 7), pp. 36–37, and *Braca* (n. 6), pp. 57–58.

[26] *Otto Demus*, The mosaics of San Marco in Venice, Chicago/London 1984, I, 1, pp. 84–93, here p. 89.

[27] The five scenes shown are: *The raising of Drusiana*; *The raising of Stacteus*; *The destruction of the temple of Diana*; *The poison test*; *The resuscitation of the two poisoned men with the conversion of the witnesses*. *Ibidem*, p. 86.

[28] *Ibidem*, p. 89. Cf. also above, n. 11.

[29] *Thomas Dittelbach*, Rex imago Christi. Der Dom von Monreale. Bildsprachen und Zeremoniell in Mosaikkunst und Architektur, Wiesbaden 2003. For the dating cf. p. 127.

[30] For the "dialektische, 'antithetische' Erzählstruktur", cf. *ibidem*, pp. 209–210; for the status of the gesture, also pp. 191 and 252; for the "serielle Wiederholung der Gewandfigur Christi" in the aisles, pp. 187–188.

[31] *Ibidem*, esp. pp. 242–254, here p. 252: "Die spezifische Bildsprache der Heil- und Wunderszenen in Monreale entsprach nur bis zu einem bestimmten Grad dem Erfahrungsschatz der zeitgenössischen Betrachter, weshalb die Entschlüsselung der Zeichen und Gesten, wie sie das Programm vorsah, nicht auf allen Sinnebenen gelingen konnte."

[32] Such as *The healing of the man sick with dropsy* (fig. 24) and *The curing of the woman bent by the spirit of infirmity*. *Ibidem*, pp. 245–247.

[33] Cf. also the description of the six frescoes in the lowest register of the southern nave wall in Sant'Angelo in Formis (cf. below, n. 58) showing "Begegnungen Christi mit einem Menschen" by *Anita Moppert-Schmidt*, Die Fresken von S. Angelo in Formis, Zurich 1967, pp. 72–76, here p. 72.

[34] In the scene *God commands Noah to construct the ark* (fig. 5), Heinrich Wilhelm Schulz saw "Noah in grausenhafter Ehrfurcht" (*idem*, Denkmaeler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien, ed. *Ferdinand von Quast*, Dresden 1860, II, p. 298).

[35] Cf. also *Moses at the burning bush*.

[36] Less easy to decipher in this respect are the scenes *God in Babel*; *God commands Noah to leave Haran* (fig. 9); *God speaks to Abraham* (fig. 10); and *God and Abraham at an altar* (fig. 11).

[37] *Braca* (n. 6), p. 52, speaks of "una serie che rappresenta l'alleanza del Signore con l'umanità". For the Christian concept of the Old and the New Covenant, cf. *Jennifer A. Harris*, Enduring covenant in the Christian Middle Ages, in: Journal of Ecumenical Studies, XLIV, 2009, pp. 563–586; *Petrus J. Gräbe*, Der neue Bund in der frühchristlichen Literatur unter Berücksichtigung der alttestamentlich-jüdischen Voraussetzungen, Würzburg 2001. Cf. also *Corey* (n. 15), esp. pp. 79–84.

[38] The argument that the Salerno cycle is basically and essentially linked to the principles of the church reform movement has been most systematically set forth by *Braca* (n. 6), who writes on p. 144: "Senza ombra di dubbio il nostro ciclo appartiene a pieno titolo alla cultura del rinnovamento della Riforma gregoriana con i suoi accentuati richiami alla Antichità e l'esaltazione del progetto teologico […]."

[39] BAVR, MS. Vat. lat. 12958, fol. 60v. *Ursula Nilgen*, Bilder im Wettstreit zwischen 'Regnum' und 'Sacerdotium', in: Streit um Bilder. Von Byzanz bis Duchamp, ed. *Karl Möseneder*, Berlin 1997, pp. 27–47, here pp. 38–39. On p. 43, she calls the miniature a "Manifest der pro-kaiserlichen Partei". Nilgen also contrasts the representation of Salomon as a king in the Bible given by Henry IV to the convent of Hirsau in ca. 1071 (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 13001, fol. 25r) with the rather unusual Salomon in the garb of a prophet in the *Palatina Bible* (ca. 1060s or 1080/90?; BAVR, MS. Pal. lat. 4, fol. 10r). Cf. also *eadem*, Die Bildkünste Süditaliens und Roms im Zeitalter der Kirchenreform, in: Canossa 1077. Erschütterung der Welt. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Anfang der Romanik, exhibition Paderborn, cat. ed. *Christoph Stiegemann/Matthias Wemhoff*, Munich 2006, I, pp. 309–323, here p. 321.

[40] For "l'insistance sur le sacrifice [de Noé], le premier de l'histoire biblique" at Saint-Savin, cf. *Baschet* (n. 21), p. 168.

[41] "Quam nimirum sacerdotii praerogativam sola devotio patribus ante legem conferebat, ut velut sacerdotes sub lege altaria Domino edificarent et hostias offerrent, sicut Noe, Melchisedech, Abraham, Ysaac et Iacob et beatus Iob" (*Humbert of Silva Candida*, *Adversus simoniacos II* [*De pietate et impietate et de Cain et Balaam praesumptione*], 2, in: Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores, Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculis XI. et XII. conscripti, ed. *Ernst Dümmler et al.*, I, Hanover 1891, p. 141). For this quote cf. *Nilgen*, 1997 (n. 39), p. 42.

[42] *Christian Schneider*, Prophetisches Sacerdotium und heilsgeschichtliches Regnum im Dialog 1073–1077. Zur Geschichte Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV., Munich 1972, pp. 23–40 for Gregory's *imitatio prophetarum*, and pp. 118–123 for, more specifically, the prophet Samuel as a role model (cf. 1 Sam. 15:22–23) and the Pope's "Gehorsamstheologie" (p. 123). Not surprisingly, however, those arguing in the emperor's favour made identical use of this claim for *oboedientia*, now turned into "Königsgehorsam als Fundament der Wahrung der göttlichen Rechtsordnung" (pp. 167–168, here p. 167). Cf. also *Ian S. Robinson*, Authority and resistance in the investiture contest. The polemical literature of the Late Eleventh century, Manchester 1978, esp. pp. 17–24.

[43] *Labande-Mailfert* (n. 21), p. 243. Cf. also *Baschet* (n. 21), p. 167.

[44] "Fide Noe, responso accepto de his, quae adhuc non videbantur, reveritus aptavit arcam in salutem domus suae […]. Fide vocatus Abraham oboedivit in locum exire, quem accepturus erat in hereditatem; et exivit nesciens quo iret" (Heb. 11:7 and 8).

[45] For a survey of early Christian and medieval commentaries on "Hebrews", cf. *Ceslas Spicq*, L'Épître aux Hébreux, I: Introduction, Paris [2]1952, pp. 380–383; *Eduard Riggenbach*, Die ältesten lateinischen Kommentare zum Hebräerbrief. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Exegese und zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters (Historische Studien zum Hebräerbrief, I), Leipzig 1907. The first Latin commentary was written by Alcuin; cf. *Raffaele Savigni*, Le commentaire d'Alcuin sur l'Épître aux Hébreux et le thème du sacrifice, in: Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'ouest, CXI, 2004, pp. 245–267.

[46] *Bruno the Carthusian*, *Expositio in epistolas Pauli*, in: PL, CLIII, coll. 11–568, here 487–566. For the question of authorship and a list of twenty-two manuscripts of which eleven date from the twelfth and nine from either the twelfth or thirteenth century, cf. *Anselm Stoelen*, Les commentaires scripturaires attribués à Bruno le Chartreux, in: Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale, XXV, 1958, pp. 177–247. Cf. also *Kevin L. Hughes*, Constructing Antichrist. Paul, biblical commentary, and the development of doctrine in the Early Middle Ages, Washington (DC) 2005, pp. 192–194, for the dating of the commentary p. 193; *Huguette Taviani-Carozzi*, Saint Bruno en Calabre, entre politique normande et projet pontifical, in: Saint Bruno et sa postérité spirituelle, conference Paris 2001, proceedings ed. by *Alain Girard/Daniel Le Blévec/Nathalie Nabert*, Salzburg 2003, pp. 59–79.

[47] "Si quis enim considerat Abraham, quomodo merito fidei possedit gloriam, idem de se potest sperare quod, si per fidem imitabitur Abraham, sicut ille […] per fidem possidebit gloriam" (*Bruno the Carthusian* [n. 46], col. 550).

[48] Such as *Hervé de Bourg-Dieu*, *Commentaria in epistolas divi Pauli*, in: PL, CLXXXI, coll. 591–1692, here 1519–1692; and *Peter Lombard*, *Collectaneorum in Paulum continuatio*, in: PL, CXCII, coll. 9–520, here 399–520. The *Quaestiones et decisiones in epistolas d. Pauli*, in: PL, CLXXV, coll. 431–634, here 607–634, are no longer ascribed to Hugh of Saint Victor. The authorship remains unclear. Cf. *Rebecca Moore*, Jews and Christians in the life and thought of Hugh of St. Victor, Atlanta 1998, p. 78.

[49] "[…] et de Christo incarnationem, mortem, et resurrectionem, et caetera bene credebant; sed in eo plurimum errabant, quod circumcisionem, et quaedam legalia observabant; credentes sine his neminem posse salvari, et in hoc detrahentes eminentiae et fidei Christi" (*Bruno the Carthusian* [n. 46], coll. 488–489).

[50] Beginning with Abraham: "Nunc ad patres Judaeorum descendit, ostendens in eis et in prioribus omnem justitiam ex fide habuisse originem. Ille etiam qui merito fidei nunc vocatur Abraham […]" (*ibidem*, col. 552).

[51] "Est autem fides sperandarum substantia rerum, argumentum non apparentium. In hac enim testimonium consecuti sunt senes" (Heb. 11:1–2).

[52] "Quasi diceret: Nulla mea auctoritas vos compellit, sed attendite auctoritates legis vestrae et prophetarum, et ex ipsa lege et prophetis intelligetis in Christo fuisse finem legis" (*Bruno the Carthusian* [n. 46], col. 490).

[53] Bruno's whole sentence reads (cf. Heb. 11:39–40): "Et hi omnes probati testimonio fidei, non acceperunt repromissionem, id est repromissam haereditatem, Deo providente aliquid melius pro nobis, scilicet ut priores sancti non consummarentur in perfectione jucunditatis sine nobis" (*ibidem*, col. 555).

[54] A remarkably concise discussion of the Christian appropriation of the Old Testament by theologians of the second century is now provided by *Sebastian Moll*, Die christliche Eroberung des Alten Testaments, Berlin 2010. For the *Cotton Genesis*' "sophisticated Christian interpretation of the Old Testament", cf. *Weitzmann/Kessler* (n. 10), p. 37.

[55] *Nino M. Zchomelidse*, Das Bild im Busch. Zu Theorie und Ikonographie der alttestamentlichen Gottesvision im Mittelalter, in: Die Sichtbarkeit des Unsichtbaren. Zur Korrelation von Text und Bild im Wirkungskreis der Bibel, conference Tübingen 1999, proceedings ed. by *Bernd Janowski/Nino Zchomelidse*, Stuttgart 2003, pp. 165–189 and 273–283; for the "Christologisierung des Alten Testaments" pp. 185–188. As described by Zchomelidse, the representation of the Christ-Logos in the burning bush in Ceri differs in many respects from the anthropomorphic God reaching down from heaven in the respective Salerno panel. Instead of turning to Moses, the Christ in the fresco faces the beholder frontally. Moreover, the caption of the fresco — "(Deu)s est et homo quem sacra figurat imago" — reveals that in Ceri the scene is imbued with the discussion about image theory and the pictorial representation of God/Christ. Needless to say, I do not share Zchomelidse's impression of an "undifferenziert wirkende[n] Umgang mit dem Thema der Gotteserscheinung" (p. 170) in the Salerno ivories.

[56] *Herbert L. Kessler*, *Caput et speculum omnium ecclesiarum*. Old St. Peter's and church decoration in Medieval Latium, in: Italian church decoration of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance. Functions, forms and regional traditions, conference Florence, proceedings ed. by *William Tronzo*, Bologna 1989, pp. 119–146 and plates (reprinted in: *idem*, Old St. Peter's and church decoration in Medieval Italy, Spoleto 2002, pp. 45–74 and plates). As for the narrative cycle of the Salerno ivories (and the frescoes in Sant'Angelo in Formis, cf. below, n. 58), Kessler proposes very cautiously that the decoration of the atrium of Montecassino cathedral — which in turn could have been influenced by the imagery of Old St. Peter's — might have functioned as a model (*idem*, L'antica basilica di San Pietro come fonte e ispirazione per la decorazione delle chiese medievali, in: Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano, exhibition Rome, cat. ed. by *Maria Andaloro et al.*, Rome 1989, pp. 45–64, here p. 55; english translation in *idem*, Old St. Peter's and church decoration in Medieval Italy [see above], pp. 75–94 and plates). For the Roman ties of the ivories, cf. *Francesco Gandolfo*, La cattedra 'gregoriana' di Salerno, in: Boll. storico di Salerno e Principato Citra, II, 1984, pp. 5–29, here pp. 17–22.

[57] Here it should be stressed that recourse to early Christian traditions was only one specific effort of the artistic production connected with the Reform movement. Of the vast amount of literature on this topic, cf. in particular *Dorothy F. Glass*, The sculpture of Reform in North Italy, *ca* 1095–1130. History and patronage of Romanesque façades, Farnham/Burlington 2010; Canossa 1077 (n. 39), I and II; Roma e la Riforma gregoriana. Tradizioni e innovazioni artistiche (XI–XII secolo), conference Lausanne 2004, proceedings ed. by *Serena Romano/ Julie Enckell Julliard*, Rome 2007; *Robert Suckale*, Die Weltgerichtstafel aus dem römischen Frauenkonvent S. Maria in Campo Marzio als programmatisches Bild der einsetzenden Gregorianischen Kirchenreform, in *idem*, Das mittelalterliche Bild als Zeitzeuge. Sechs Studien, Berlin 2002, pp. 12–122; *Hélène Toubert*, Un art dirigé. Réforme grégorienne et iconographie, Paris 1990. For the possible ways in which the Salerno cycle reflected the concerns of the church Reform movement, cf. above, n. 38.

[58] Cf. mainly *eadem*, Didier du Mont-Cassin et l'art de la réforme grégorienne. L'iconographie de l'Ancien Testament à Sant'Angelo in Formis, in: Desiderio di Montecassino e l'arte della riforma gregoriana, ed. *Faustino Avagliano*, Montecassino 1997, pp. 17–105; *eadem* (n. 57), pp. 93–138; *Glenn Gunhouse*, The fresco decoration of Sant'Angelo in Formis (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1991).

[59] *Barbara Baert*, The image beyond the water. Christ and the Samaritan woman in Sant'Angelo in Formis (1072–1087), in: Arte Cristiana, XCII, 2004, pp. 237–247. Baert also refers to the third scene in the New Testament cycle depicting Christ sitting on a globe: it shows the widow's offering (Mark 12:41–44), but is located on the north wall of the nave, in the second register above the Crucifixion. Accordingly, in these three scenes emphasis is placed on the women's revelation of Christ as Creator-Logos and the unity of Father and Son. For the lost Genesis frescoes on the wall of the southern aisle, cf. *Gunhouse* (n. 58), pp. 63–66. In like manner, in the later mosaics of Monreale (cf. above, n. 29), the motif of the seated Creator-Logos has been slightly changed for the New Testament cycle but still offers clear analogies. For a discussion of a variant of this motif, namely the frontal representation of Christ on a sphere, which, however, does not belong to the iconography of Genesis, cf. *Mauro Della Valle*, Il Cristo assiso sul globo nella decorazione monumentale delle chiese di Roma nel Medioevo, in: Ecclesiae urbis, conference Rome 2000, proceedings ed. by *Federico Guidobaldi*, Vatican City 2002, III, pp. 1659–1684.

[60] *The calling of Peter and Andrew*; *Christ appears at Lake Tiberius*; *Christ appears at Bethany*. L'enigma degli avori (n. 1), II, no. 49, pp. 364–367; no. 56, pp. 392–395; no. 57, pp. 396–401 (*Maria Teresa Tancredi*).

[61] *Harris* (n. 37); *Jeremy Cohen*, Living letters of the law. Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity, Berkeley/ Los Angeles 1999; *Heinz Schreckenberg*, Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld (1.–11. Jh.), 4th rev. and expanded ed., Frankfurt am Main *et al.* 1999; *idem*, Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte (11.–13. Jh.), 3th expanded ed., Frankfurt am Main *et al.* 1997. Cf. also Kessler's interpretation of the last scene of the Old Testament cycle in the Cappella Palatina showing *Jacob wrestling with the angel* "come un'allegoria del trasferimento di sacralità dagli Ebrei ai Cristiani". *Kessler* (n. 22), pp. 5–6, here p. 5.

[62] *Nino M. Zchomelidse*, Santa Maria Immacolata in Ceri. Pittura sacra al tempo della riforma gregoriana, Rome 1996. Cf. also *Glass* (n. 57), pp. 174–176 and 183–184.

[63] "[…] ideo de omnibus mundis animantibus Deo offerri holocaustum necesse erat, quatenus qui cunctis offensus fuerat, cunctorum sacrificio placaretur. Solus autem homo hoc sacrificio non est immolatus, quia restabat, ut Christus suo tempore immolaretur verus Agnus, qui tollit peccata mundi" (*Bruno of Segni*, *Expositio in Pentateuchum*, in: PL, CLXIV, coll. 147-550, here col. 182). For other works of Bruno dealing with Jews and Judaism, cf. *Schreckenberg*, 1997 (n. 61), pp. 87–89.

[64] "[…] ut facile intelligamus quia peregrini sumus in hoc mundo, neque habemus hic manentem civitatem, sed futuram inquirimus" (*Bruno of Segni* [n. 63], col. 187. Cf. Heb. 13:14).

[65] Cf. above, n. 47.

[66] "Incredulitas Moysi ad totum populum refertur. In se enim ipse ostendit quam durus et semper incredulus ille populus fuerit. Non credent sine signis, quoniam Judaei signa petunt […]. Ipse enim confessus est se tenere virgam, quam mox in serpentem conversam expavit. […] Credat ergo signo, qui non vult credere verbis" (*Bruno of Segni* [n. 63], col. 239; cf. also coll. 240 and 366). Here it should be stressed that for Bruno of Segni and other reformers Moses could also function in an undeniably positive way as an *exemplum* of Old Testament law and priesthood. Cf. *Glass* (n. 57), pp. 175–176.

[67] Cf. *Schreckenberg*, 1999 (n. 61), esp. pp. 75–76 and 357 (Augustin).

[68] Correspondingly, in his "Sententiae" about church ornament, Bruno of Segni puts emphasis on both the special aptitude of images that show miracles and the openness of the imagery for multiple interpretations. Cf. *Herbert L. Kessler*, A Gregorian reform theory of art?, in: Roma e la Riforma gregoriana (n. 57), pp. 25–48.

[69] *Harris* (n. 37), p. 567; *Schreckenberg*, 1999 (n. 61), pp. 46–47. Cf. also *Corey* (n. 15), p. 79.

[70] Cf., for instance, the "Epistola ad Romanos". *Harris* (n. 37), esp. pp. 565–568.

RIASSUNTO

Il presente studio propone una nuova impostazione della ricerca sugli avori salernitani (tardo XI – metà XII secolo). Benché fonti per una ricostruzione della funzione e della disposizione nello spazio di questo ampio ciclo con scene dell'Antico e del Nuovo Testamento non vi siano, la narrazione iconografica si distingue tuttavia per particolari proprietà formali, che permettono di ipotizzare una specifica impostazione teologica. Una caratteristica importante è la rappresentazione di Dio come Cristo-Logos in forma di figura umana intera in vari episodi dell'Antico Testamento *dopo* la cacciata dal Paradiso terrestre. Questa figura divina è inoltre inserita in uno schema compositivo dialogico in cui Dio e uno dei Patriarchi vengono posti a confronto senza che vi sia contatto tra di loro. Particolarmente degni di nota sono a proposito anche i gesti dei Patriarchi, che esprimono devozione, ma anche forti emozioni. In tutt'altro modo vengono invece disposte le figure sulle tavolette del Nuovo Testamento: qui Cristo si trova spesso in mezzo alle altre figure, con cui interagisce in vari modi e viene continuamente in contatto fisico. Con la figura del Cristo-Logos gli avori salernitani non solo sottolineano l'unità di Antico e Nuovo Testamento: uno sguardo sull'intero ciclo indica anche che l'opera propone una differenziazione nella rivelazione di Dio prima e dopo l'Incarnazione. In base alla evidente provvisorietà della relazione veterotestamentaria tra Dio e l'uomo una interpretazione dei Patriarchi come *exempla* univoci per la vera fede si dimostra problematica. Per una definizione più esatta della differenza manifestantesi negli avori salernitani tra Antica e Nuova Alleanza, tra ebrei e cristiani, questo studio adduce singole voci dalla cerchia dei teologi impegnati nella riforma della Chiesa. Una ulteriore sistematica ricerca sotto questo aspetto potrebbe non solo fornire ulteriori indizi per una datazione e una localizzazione più esatte degli avori salernitani, ma anche ampliare la nostra conoscenza dei diversi orientamenti teologici di un'arte ispirata alla riforma ecclesiale.

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