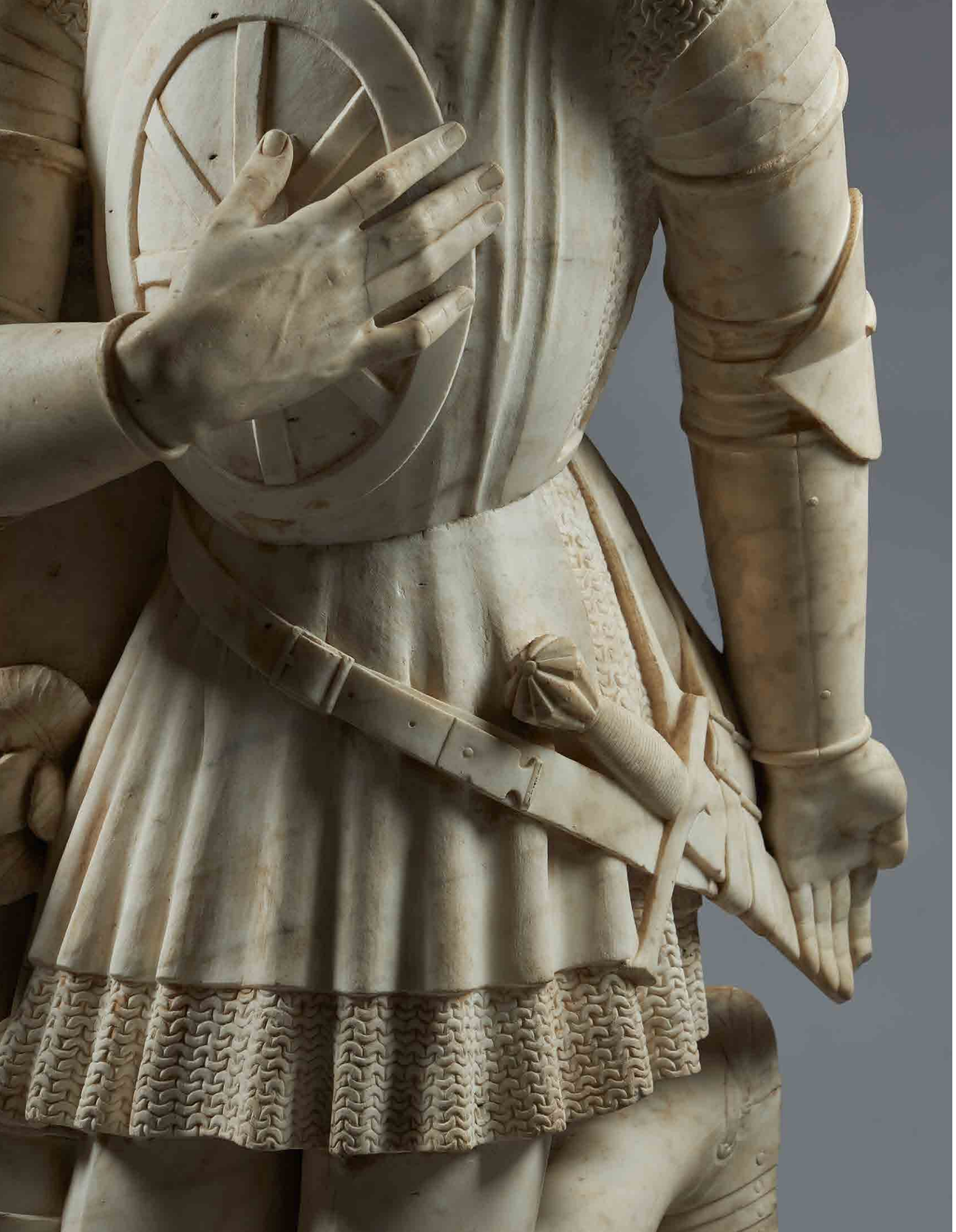
THE MEDIEVAL BODY



THE MEDIEVAL BODY

21 January - 12 March 2022

SAM FOGG

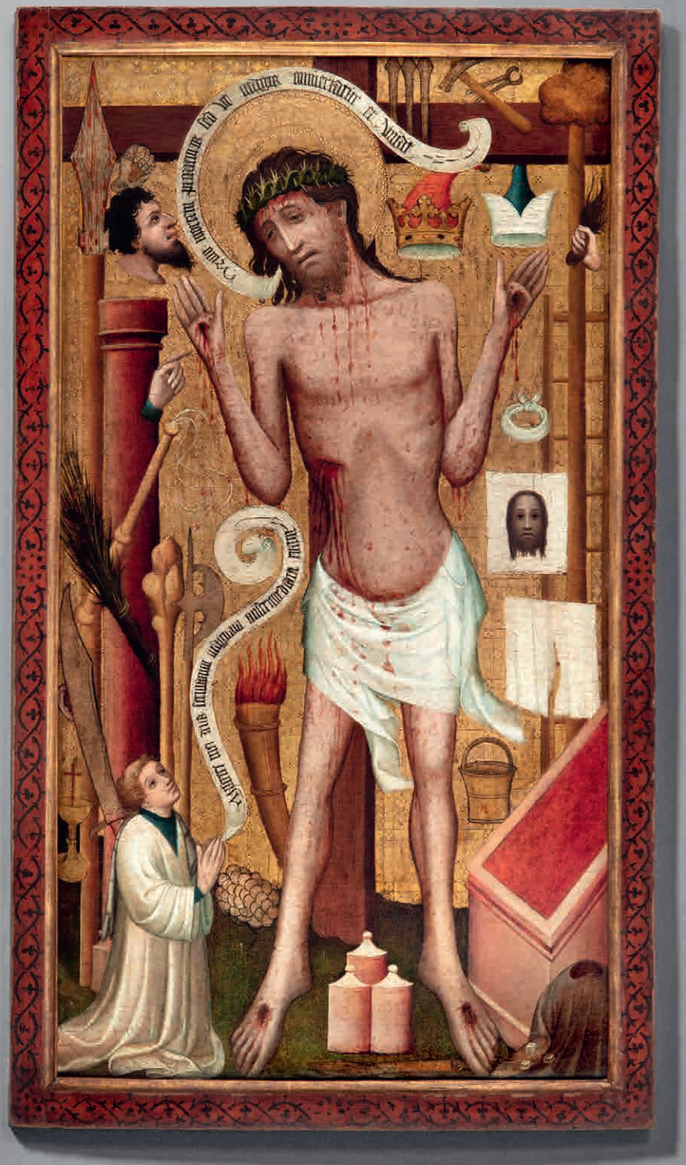
LUHRING
AUGUSTINE

Introduction

According to medieval thinkers, there was an important duality that existed in every human being – the body and the soul. The body was thought to be flesh, mortal, and corrupt, while the soul was immaterial, perpetual, and linked to God. Some female mystics of the Middle Ages, however, dismissed the separation of body and soul. They viewed the body as an instrument, with which to express the condition of the soul, thus rejecting the notion that the body should be associated exclusively with sin and corruption. Disagreements raged with the body a battleground. The intimate connection between the body and the soul, whether in life or in death, led to the worship of saints' body parts, which were enshrined in lavish reliquaries and chapels in order to underscore their divinity. The churches that housed these sacred bodies were also described with corporeal terms - their cruciform shape mirroring the crucified body of Christ and their interiors often described as the womb of the Virgin Mary.

In art, the medieval body was constantly in flux – trapped between idealism and disfigurement. While the early Middle Ages reserved representations of suffering bodies to the margins of their world, the later Middle Ages displayed wounded bodies in the most central spaces of public life. The crucified body of Christ, wounded and bleeding, assumed the most important position as it was displayed on altars, in processions and on the exteriors of churches. While seemingly gruesome to us today, these images communicated hope and redemption to the medieval viewer by visually linking the physical with the divine.

This exhibition draws on these references, bringing together a group of artworks that tell a unique story about the body as both a physical entity and a recognisable metaphor. Included is a monumental architectural drawing of a sacrament house, attributed to Lorenz Lechler and his workshop, which was designed to ostentatiously display and stage the transubstantiated body of Christ. The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian by Jörg Lederer gives prominence to the late medieval trend of displaying a suffering human body at the altar, while the Man of Sorrows by the Master of the Holy Kinship communicates the duality of the self, representing a body both dead and alive, human and God. Spanning a period of a thousand years, these works bring us much closer to an understanding that the body in medieval art always had a purpose, despite our own assumptions about its profanity or sanctity.



1 A large belt buckle inlaid with garnets

Visigothic Spain
c. 540 - 560

13.4 x 6.1 x 2.6 cm / 5.3 x 2.4 x 1 in.; Copper alloy with garnets, glass and cuttlefish bone supported by gold foils

Provenance
S. Benzaquen Family, Gibraltar, 1960s;
Private Collection, New York, by 1981

Exhibited
Museo National in Mexico City, 1993
The Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, September 11-November 9, 1992.

Published
Spain: A Heritage Rediscovered BC 300- AD 711, New York, 1992, no. 159

1, For differing interpretations see Anthony Ray, *Spanish Pottery 1248-1898,* London, V&A Publications, 2000, p. 401; and The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, New Series, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Summer, 1970), pp. 20-32, p. 22.

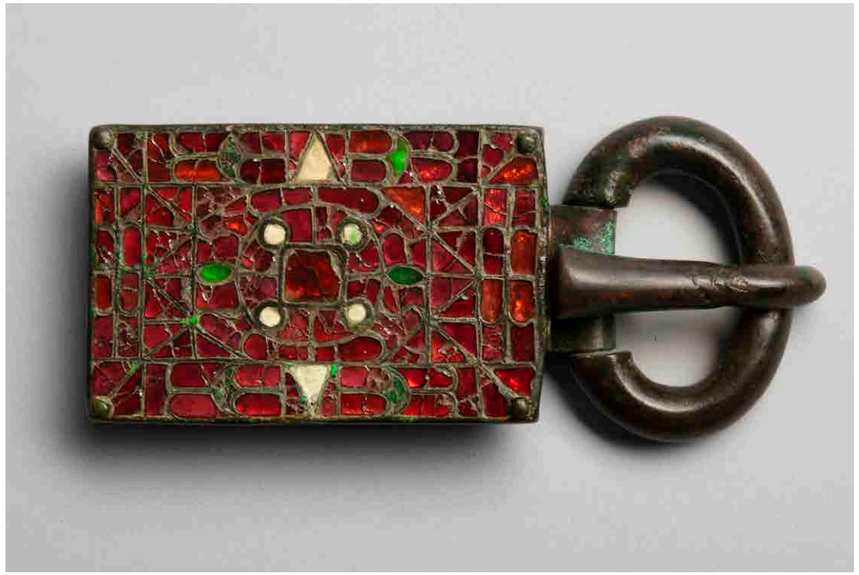


Fig.1 (**above**)
Inlaid belt buckle
Visigothic Spain
c. 550-600
1364 x 6 x 2.9 cm; Copper alloy with garnets, glass, lapis lazuli, and cuttlefish bone.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv.

20072001

2 A group of Merovingian brooches from the collection of the Comtesse de Béhague (1870-1939)

Pair of bird brooches

Merovingian
mid-6th century AD

3.3 x 1.8 cm / 1.3 x 0.7 in., silver, gilding, garnet

Provenance
Comtesse Martine- Said to be from Witternesse (Pas-de-Calais); Marie-Octavie Pol de Béhague (1870-1939), Paris; thence by descent to Marquis Jean-Louis Hubert de Ganay (1922-2013); Robin Symes

Published
Froehner, W. 1905: *Collection de la comtesse* R. De Béarn, Premier Cahier, Paris, p.20, pl. IV, 16 – 17 (fig. 1).

Thiry, G. 1939: *Die Vogelfibeln der Germanischen Völkerwanderungszeit*, Rheinische Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte, Band III, Bonn, p. 113, pl. 20, no. 475.

Sotheby's Monaco, 5 December 1987, *Antiquités et Objets d'Art*: Collection de Martine, Comtesse de Béhague, Provenant de la Succession du Marquis de Ganay, pp. 31 – 2, lot 49.

Christie's London, *Antiquities,* 7 July 2021, auction 19875, lot 79.

Related Literature
Adams, N. 2014: *Bright Lights in the Dark Ages, Early Medieval Ornaments from the Eugene and Claire Eddy Thaw Collection*, The J. Pierpont Morgan Museum and Library, New York.

Adams, N. 2015, "Between Myth and Reality: Hunter and prey in Early Anglo-Saxon Art", in *Representations of Beasts in Early Medieval England and Scandinavia,* M.D.J. Bintley and T.T.J. Williams (eds), Anglo-Saxon Studies 29, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, pp. 13-52.

Arrhenius, B. 1985: *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery, Emergence and Social Implications,* Stockholm, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitet Akademien, Stockholm.

Art in the Dark Ages in Europe, c. 400-1000 A.D., Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1930, Oxford and London.

The small brooches, cast as birds of prey in profile, are highlighted with garnet inlays in raised cells for their eyes and tails. Raised oval bosses mark the centres of their bodies; these are worked with concentric zig-zag grooves around ring and dot motifs on stems in the centres. The upper surfaces are defined by chip-carving with the ridges defining the beaks, necks, wings, talons and tails defined by stitched stamp work. The garnet plates, roughly chipped around the edges, are set on crosshatched foils. The hinges and catchplates are preserved on the reverses with corroded remains of the original iron pins. The brooches are a close pair, differing only in small details, such as the shape of the mouldings on the neck.

Small brooches like these (called Kleinfibeln in the German literature) were popular throughout the 6th century in the territories controlled by the Merovingian Franks. They were worn as part of a suite of personal jewellery that included bow fibulae and sometimes disc brooches. These variants of bird brooches with a small upper wing, body boss and talon are known as Vorges type, after a site in Aisne in northern France, with finds recorded in the Charente and Pas-de-Calais as well as in the Rhineland.[1] This distribution would support the published provenance of the Béhague pair from a grave at Witternesse (Pas-de-Calais).[2]

Brooches of Vorges type are found in graves dated dated to Phase 5 (ca. 520-555) in the chronology of southern German graves[3] and comparable brooches found in England likewise appear in burials from the middle decades of the 6th century.[4] In fact, one of the few other brooches with oval bosses came from a grave at Bifrons in Kent.[5] As the Vorges type generally had plain rectangular bosses on the bodies these brooches may have come from a single workshop, although the elaborate interior decoration of the Béhague pair is unique.

1, Werner 1961, pp. 43, 60-61, Taf. 41, nos. 213-4, Fundlist 8, Karte 8 (Typ Vorges). These generally had a rectangular boss on the body, cf. Thiry 1939, Taf. 19.

2, Froehner 1905, p. 20, pl. IV, 16-17; Thiry 1939, p. 113, Taf. 20, no. 475. See appendix.

3, Koch 2001, pp. 46, 55 (Heidelberg-Kirchheim, Heuau grave 56, 75-6 (Code X26), SD-Phase 5 (ca 520-555) or early phase SD-Phase 6 (ca 555-590).

4 , Parfitt and Brugmann 1997, pp. 100, 130, 166, fig. 23, Mill Hill grave 25a, Kentish phase III (530/40 – 560/70). These were imports from the Continent, evidence of contacts and trade across the English Channel.

5 ,Thiry 1939, p. 113, no. 476, Bifrons grave 41. Another brooch with an oval centre was found at Nesles (Pas-de-Calais)(Thiry, loc. cit, no. 477).

These little profile birds with their fierce beaks descended from the eagle brooches made in the 5th century AD for the various 'barbarian' groups whose political confederations were established on the borders of the Western Roman Empire. They may initially have alluded to Roman imperial eagles, thus signaling allegiance to the empire or to Roman culture. High-status women wore eagle brooches and men displayed birds of prey on their purses and saddles. As some 5th-early 6th century examples also had the central part of the body emphasized with a raised oval boss, it is clear such élite brooches were the models for these.

Although these little eagles are traditionally shown upright, some excavated examples were pinned horizontally, thus depicting the birds in flight. In the course of the 6th century, images of eagles, particularly when depicted with a fish in their talons, were associated with Christian symbolism and beliefs. [6]

Author: Debra Noel Adams

Fig. 1 Froehner 19051988.305a, b

6, Adams 2015, pp. 30-41.

Cloisonné disc brooch

Merovingian
mid-6th century AD

4 cm / 1.6 in. (diameter) gold, garnet, cement, copper alloy

Provenance
Comtesse Martine-Marie-Octavie Pol de Béhague (1870-1939), Paris; thence by descent to Marquis Jean-Louis Hubert de Ganay (1922-2013); Robin Symes

Published
Art in the Dark Ages in Europe, c. 400-1000 A.D., Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1930, Oxford and London, Case N, p. 74, no.28.

Rupp, H. 1937: *Die Herkunft der Zelleneinlage und die Almandinscheibenfibeln* im Rheinland, Rheinische Forschungen zur Vorgeschichte, Band 2, Bonn, p. 62 & 75, pl.11.6.

Sotheby's Monaco, 5 December 1987, Antiquités et Objets d'Art: Collection de Martine, Comtesse de Béhague, Provenant de la Succession du Marquis de Ganay, pp. 29-30, lor 41.

Christie's London, *Antiquities*, 7 July 2021, auction 19875, lot 79.

Related Literature
Adams, N. 2014: *Bright Lights in the Dark Ages, Early Medieval Ornaments from the Eugene and Claire Eddy Thaw Collection,* The J. Pierpont Morgan Museum and Library, New York.

Adams, N. 2015, "Between Myth and Reality: Hunter and prey in Early Anglo-Saxon Art", in *Representations of Beasts in Early Medieval England and Scandinavia*, M.D.J. Bintley and T.T.J. Williams (eds), Anglo-Saxon Studies 29, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, pp. 13-52.

Arrhenius, B. 1985: *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery, Emergence and Social Implications,* Stockholm, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitet Akademien, Stockholm.

The cellwork of the brooch is arranged in three zones around the centre. The widest is divided into seven segments, each with a stepped half cross. Seven further cells of this shape are arranged along the border of the outermost zone, with curved cells to either side. The third zone consists of trapezoids and the centre features a X-cross with semi-circular cells at the tips of the arms. A twisted beaded wire disguises the junction between the basal sheet of the cellwork and the backing plate. All of the original inlays are lost but hardened white paste survives in 33 of the cells. The hinge and catchplate are preserved on the reverse. The former, mounted on a gold strip, retains remnants of the original sprung pin in copper alloy. The latter is elaborately decorated with three beaded wires to the closed side bent and arched over the tip, together with strands of very worn beaded wires wrapped around the catch itself. There are several holes in the backing plate to the sides of these pin fittings, also visible from the front side where the inlays are missing

This brooch was published, but not reproduced, in the 1930 Burlington House catalogue[1] and it is not clear when, where or from whom the Comtesse acquired the piece.[2] As it was not featured in her 1905 catalogue, it may have been acquired after that date. The Comtesse not only bought from dealers in Paris and Europebut also on her travels, sailing the Mediterranean, and indeed the world, on her private yacht, Nirvana.[3]

1, Art in the Dark Ages 1930, Case N, p. 74, no. 28. Although the brooch is continental in origin, the accompanying remark in the catalogue – that it resembled Kentish workmanship of ca AD 600 – is not completely inaccurate.

2, Cloisonné brooches were certainly available on the art market at the time. Another brooch of this same class published by Rupp (1937, pp. 75-6, tav. XXI,1) was originally in the possession of an English antiquarian, G. Carmichael, who then sold it to a Parisian antiquarian (Paroli in Bernacchia et al. 1995, p. 296).

3, The boat, a two-masted screw steamer built in Glasgow in 1904, sailed under the patronage of the French and Austro-Hungarian governments but was requisitioned during World War I, then given in reparation to the Italians where it served as the Prime Minister's yacht. It was eventually torpedoed and sunk in World War II outside Taranto.

The brooch originally would have been set with garnet plates, intricately notched to fit into the interlocking cloisonné cells. The stones would have been placed directly against reflective gold foils with the depth of the cells filled up with a putty-like cement to secure the sandwich of components. The remnants of cement on this brooch are presumably original.

Cloisonné disc brooches were a fundamental component of a well-to-do woman's parure in the 6th century. These very elaborate disc brooches with intricately cut 'stepped' garnets appear towards the end of the overall cloisonné series; a comparable example excavated at Schretzheim Grave 513 (Dillingen an der Donau) can be dated to ca. 565-590/600. The wire decoration of the catchplate on the reverse of the latter brooch is very similar to the Behague brooch, and like ours, it is missing its inlays. In addition to the brooch, the woman in this grave was buried with two different bow fibulae and a necklace of millefiori glass and amethyst beads.

Disc brooches of this type were also worn by the Langobards, a Germanic tribe from the Elbe in northern Europe who invaded Italy in AD 568 from their power base in Pannonia. In fact a brooch found in a Langobardic grave at Belluno, Italy (Fig. 1) gives us a good idea of the original appearance of the Béhague and Schretzheim brooches. This piece has lost many, but not all, of its garnet plates.

We cannot determine why the garnets are missing on this brooch. The stability of the sandwich of components in garnet cloisonné can be affected not only by the soundness of the pastes, but also by the chemistry of the soil and burial conditions. As this piece was presumably discovered in the late 19th or early 20th century, the stones may simply have not been recovered from the ground. There are, however, other brooches from the same series with empty cellwork and this has been taken as evidence of interruptions in the supplies of garnet from India to the West.

Author: Debra Noel Adams

Fig.1

4, Such brooches (Vielitz 2003, Gruppe H) are known as einzelligen Scheibenfibeln (fine-celled disc brooches). This brooch is classed as an H2 brooch. Like the pair of Merovingian disc brooches from the Béhague collection, this piece was also mis-identified by Rupp (1937, pp. 59, 75, Taf. XI, 6) as being from Cesena in Italy.

5, Koch 1977, pp. 24-5, Gr. 513, Stufe 3 (ca. 565-590/600); Koch 2001. pp. 61, 79, Abb. 17, Code X31 (SD-Phase 7 ca 580-600). Viellitiz (2003, pp. 80-81, Abb. 27) dates these ca 560/70-600/610, but suggests the majority were made ca 580-600.

6, Arrhenius 1985. pp. 152, 208, no. BM 14, fig. 69. The brooch is now in the British Museum (reg. no. AF.529). See also a comparable brooch from Castel Trosino tomb 168 (Bernacchia et al. 1995, pp. 293, 295-6, fig. 237). The Comtesse owned another Langobardic brooch (Sotheby's Monaco, lot 40), now in the British Museum (reg. no. 1989,0906.1).

7, Von Freeden 2000. A Group H1 brooch from Hüfingen (Baden-Württemberg) grave 268, for example, upon examination showed no sign of ever having been inlaid and was from modern excavation that did not recover any inlays from the soil.

Pair of cloisonné disc brooches

Merovingian
last decades of the 6th century AD

4 cm / 1.6 in. (diameter) gold, garnet
Diam: 3.9 cm

Provenance
Witternesse (Pas-de-Calais);
Comtesse Martine-Marie-Octavie Pol de Béhague (1870-1939), Paris; thence by descent to Marquis Jean-Louis Hubert de Ganay (1922-2013); Robin Symes.

Published
Froehner, W. 1905: *Collection de la comtesse* R. De Béarn, Premier Cahier, Paris, p.20, pl. IV, 16 – 17 (Fig. 1)

Art in the Dark Ages in Europe, c. 400-1000 A.D., Catalogue of an Exhibition held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1930, Oxford and London, p. 73, no. 24 – 25.

Coche de la Ferté, E. 1962: *Antique Jewellery from the second to the eighth century* A.D., Hallwag, Berne, pl. XIX.

Sotheby's Monaco, 5 December 1987, *Antiquités et Objets d'Art: Collection de Martine, Comtesse de Béhague, Provenant de la Succession du Marquis de Ganay,* pp. 33, lot. 51.

Christie's London, *Antiquities,* 7 July 2021, auction 19875, lot 79.

Vielitz, K: 2003: *Die Granatscheibenfibeln der Merowingerzeit,* Europe médiévale, Éditions Monique Mergoil, Montagnac, p. 88, 200, no. 1142/1143.

Related Literature
Adams, N. 2014: *Bright Lights in the Dark Ages, Early Medieval Ornaments from the Eugene and Claire Eddy Thaw Collection,* The J. Pierpont Morgan Museum and Library, New York.

Adams, N. 2015, "Between Myth and Reality: Hunter and prey in Early Anglo-Saxon Art", in *Representations of Beasts in Early Medieval England and Scandinavia,* M.D.J. Bintley and T.T.J. Williams (eds), Anglo-Saxon Studies 29, Boydell and Brewer, Woodbridge, pp. 13-52.

Arrhenius, B. 1985: *Merovingian Garnet Jewellery, Emergence and Social Implications*, Stockholm, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitet Akademien, Stockholm.

The cloisonné brooches are composed of flat garnets set directly on boxed waffle foils over beds of cement. The concentric cellwork has two outer zones set with trapezoidal garnet plates, the outermost with semicircular cells at the cardinal points. The centres are slightly bossed and feature quatrefoil garnet plates. The. Beaded wire disguises the junctions of the cellwork sheets with the backing plates. The brooches were fastened by means of sprung pins on the reverse, with the coiled spring and a portion of the iron pin preserved on the reverse of one. Each catchplate is decorated with a twisted wire arranged in serpentine loops; these are set between applied grooved strips. One brooch is lacking three trapezoidal plates in the outer zone; the other is lacking four trapezoidal garnets and one semi-circular inlay.

These famous disc brooches were amongst the first cloisonné objects introduced to the wider public when their then owner, Martine, Comtesse de Béhague, lent them to the first major exhibition of 'Dark Age' art held at Burlington House in London in 1930. The brooches were published in 1905 as coming from a rich grave at Witternesse, a small village in the Pas-de-Calais[1], but in this exhibition they were identified as 'Gothic'.[2] Modern archaeology has shown that such brooches were in fact worn in the territories controlled by the Merovingian Empire, essentially modern France, Germany and the Low Countries.

Disc brooches decorated with garnet inlays were a key component of female dress styles from the late 5th to the mid-7th century. Made in many sizes and styles, they were worn by royalty, the élite and wealthier members of society. We know from excavated examples that larger brooches like these were used to fasten outer garments like fine cloaks or shawls. They were largely manufactured in workshops along the Rhine and in southern Germany.[3] Cloisonné disc brooches have been studied and classified in detail and the cellwork design, foils and size of the Béhague brooches belong to a type found in graves dated ca 580-620;[4] it is likely this pair was produced in the last decades of the 6th century.

Many disc brooches display overt Christian imagery[5] but it is difficult to judge whether quatrefoil plates like those in the centre of our brooches were meant to be seen as crosses. Quatrefoil garnet plates and ornaments were in use before Christianity became widespread,[6] and the shape was a common central motif on brooches of other classes from the period.[7]

Both the goldworking and garnet preparation on the Béhague disc brooches are of excellent quality. Boxed waffle foils were amongst the most complicated to produce and have been documented on other high-status jewellery of the period, such as the rectangular buckles found in the royal Anglo-Saxon burial at Sutton Hoo.[8] It is interesting to note that other design elements of the brooches, such as the wider cell walls around the raised central zones, also appear on the Sutton Hoo regalia.[9] Whatever the social standing of their owner may have been, these features attest to the original value and status of the brooches.

Author: Debra Noel Adams

Fig. 1 Froehner 19051988.305a, b

1, Froehner 1905, p. 13. This is not impossible but cannot be confirmed (see appendix).

2, Art of the Dark Ages 1930, frontispiece, no. 23, Case N, p. 73, nos 25-6. A subsequent scholarly catalogue of disc brooches (Rupp 1937, p. 59, Taf 11,4.5) falsely identified them Ostrogothic from Cesena, Italy. It is not clear why Rupp didn't follow the provenance given by Froehner in 1905.

3, Arrhenius 1984, pp. 188-93.

4, Vielitz 2003, p. 74, Gruppe C, Typ C6.10.

5, Vielitz 2003, 123-4, Abb. 55.

6, Adams 2014, pp. 76-7.

7, Arrhenius 1984, pp. 66, 71, fig. 69; Vielitz 2003, Abb. 106, 109, 116, Gruppen A, F, H.

8, Bruce-Mitford 1978, p. 448, B1-2, fig. 319, e-1. h

9 Notably on the 'dummy' buckle (Bruce-Mitford 1978, pp. 473-81) and purse-lid (op. cit., pp. 487-52).

3 A cup with lions' heads emitting flowering rinceaux

Description and Technique
The quality of this astonishing silver-gilt drinking bowl is of the absolute first rank, and its frenetic mass of animal and vegetal decoration a feast for the eyes. It was created in several stages, using extraordinarily challenging and time-consuming metalworking techniques. First, a single sheet of thickly-cast silver was 'raised' by hammering and shaping over a convex mould in order to create its rotund form, before a thinner band of metal was applied to form a rim. After this, its elaborate decoration was created using a technique evocative of champlevé, in which the main motifs of the design are left in reserve and the background around them carved or engraved down into the cast and shaped metal in order to create depth and encourage the interplay of highlights and shadows. The design itself consists of a continuous frieze that fully encircles the body of the bowl. It is divided into four sections by anthropomorphic lion's heads cast in high relief and applied to the vessel's shoulder at four equally-spaced points, which preside over a fantastical display of foliage meticulously engraved by hand into its rotund body. The beasts' wild, mustached faces are encircled by manes formed from tangled clumps of hair, and each head incorporates piercing eyes picked out using small, half-round cobalt glass beads, set into the eye sockets and held in place by eyelids 'rubbed over' each bead in the

England
c. 1180

7 x 15 cm / 2.5 x 5.9 in. (height x diameter); cast, chased, gilded and tooled silver with inlaid blue glass eyes. The gilding almost completely preserved save for some rubbing to the highpoint details and an uneven band of wear to the rim, presumably caused by a now missing lid of some form. A small triangular section of the vessel's rim cut or sheared away now infilled with a removable fillet. Several of the lion's eyes smashed or missing. A silver plug hammered into the wall of the vessel from both sides below one of the lion's heads, presumably to fill an early puncture. Dents to the lower body suggestive of impact damage, perhaps while buried or when the vessel was dropped. The foot missing.

Provenance
Collection of Michailas Percovas (1918-2001), Vilnius, Lithuania, acquired c. 1970s;
By descent to his grandson, Vadim Lichtenshayn until 2018

manner of a jewelry setting. All four faces are shown with opened mouths, baring a row of broad upper teeth as they disgorge pairs of *rinceaux* – a type of slender vine tendril – that in each case fall straight down the vessel's body in parallel and then split near its base into two addorsed vines. Each vine is textured along one side with fine beaded detailing, and spirals inwards three times before terminating in a large and fantastical downward-growing flower head dripping with fern fronds, berry clusters and fanciful petal forms. Each spiralling *rinceau* overlaps its adjacent counterpart in the style of a Venn diagram, slicing nested circles into lanceolate ovals whose legibility and visual balance is ingeniously maintained by interweaving each pair of vine spirals so that no one *rinceau* motif dominates over any other. An impression of infinite natural abundance is suggested not only by the subtle sway of the two large flower heads sprouting from each pair of *rinceaux* (as though they are jostling for space and light), but also in the appearance of a third, central flower head that emerges at the interstice of each pair, as if the vines' very proximity to one another is enough to instigate new growth. Smaller foliate sprays sprout from the outermost spiral of each vine and fill the unused spandrels of space created beneath. The whole design is framed above by a continuous row of short, fluted dentil mouldings that support a plain upper rim, which flares inwards slightly to aid in locating a cover, now missing but evidenced by a band of wear to the gilding around the rim's outer circumference where it must have rubbed repeatedly with use. A plain, circular field covering the base of the vessel must once have been used to fix in place a supporting foot of some kind (also now lost). An ungilded area of silver at the centre of this circle indicates where the missing foot would have been soldered or adhered in place, though the loss of this attachment has revealed a single compass-point depression that offers a fascinating glimpse into the object's design and execution. Three rivets passed through this plain circular base may once have been used to mount a boss or roundel of some form at the centre of the cup's interior.

Fig. 1 (**top**)
'Dune cup 1'
England, Angevin or Rhineland
Last quarter 12th century
Hammered silver, nielloed and gilded
Stockholm, Museum of National Antiquities (Statens Historiska **Museum**), **Inv. 6849:9**

Fig. 2 (**below**)
'Dune cup 2'
Probably English
Second quarter 12th century
Hammered and gilded silver
Stockholm, Museum of National Antiquities (Statens Historiska Museum), Inv. 6849:9

Scarcity and Context

This newly resurfaced drinking vessel belongs to a vanishingly rare class of secular Romanesque metalwork known from a tiny handful of related examples, and its uncompromising use of materials a statement of wealth and status synonymous with the very highest echelons of late twelfth-century society. Although medieval writers such as Theophilus hint at the supremacy of the goldsmith in the Middle Ages, fewer than a dozen precious metalwork drinking vessels have come down to us, with only a few other extant objects, such as silver spoons, providing any form of wider comparative material. Throughout the Middle Ages, drinking cups were produced right across Europe for the use of church and table, but only a handful are known today in any material.[1] The most usual type would have been those made from wood, and some have survived in environments and conditions favourable to their preservation. As for those made of precious metals, they are only known through fortuitous finds of treasure hoards, hidden by owners who never had the opportunity of recovering them.[2] Some are clearly identifiable as liturgical ciboria, expressly intended to hold Communion wine during the Mass. Far fewer with secular ornament like our, suggestive of a non-religious function, have survived. This is in no small part because secular plate from the period was afforded little of the institutional protection that – for some parts of their history at least – church objects have enjoyed.[3]

Our vessel fits into a group of related examples now split between the world's great museum collections, a number of which have come to light in the modern period. Key to our understanding of the development of these precious-metal drinking vessels was the finding of the Dune Treasure in the autumn of 1881, a hoard of twelfth- to fourteenth-century silver excavated at Dune in Dalhem Parish, Gotland. Four drinking cups formed the centrepiece of the hoard (figs. 1-4), of which two in particular are thought to be of English origin (figs. 2-3) and one, 'Dune cup 3', most likely intended for secular use (fig. 3). This latter vessel is unique in incorporating inscriptions that name not only its maker, Simon, but also a patron called Zalognev. Neil Stratford persuasively argued in favour of Simon's identification as an English goldsmith, and Paul Williamson has more recently proposed that it may have been made in Visby, in the context of the rich trade network that existed between Gotland and Russia, and which we now understand more and more was being fueled by English artisans.[4] It is believed that the Dune Treasure was buried by a wealthy layman forced to hide his possessions during the Danish invasion of Gotland in 1361, but who was either killed or died before being able to recover them (a notion supported by the date range of the objects uncovered in the hoard).[5] Another cup

Fig. 3 (**above**)
'Dune cup 3'
England
Last quarter 12th century
Hammered and gilded silver
Stockholm, Museum of National Antiquities (Statens Historiska Museum)

Fig. 4 (**below**)
'Dune cup 4'
England
First quarter 13th century
Hammered and gilded silver
Stockholm, Museum of National Antiquities (Statens Historiska Museum)

1, Stratford, 'Metalwork', in George Zarnecki, Janet Holt, and Tristram Holland, eds, English Romanesque Art 1066-1200, Exh. Cat., London, 1984, pp. 232, 235.

2, Aron Andersson, Mediaeval Drinking Bowls of Silver Found in Sweden, Kungliga Vitterhets, historie och antikvitets akademien, 1983, p. 1.

3, Andersson, 1983, p. 1; Stratford, in Exh. Cat., London, 1984, p. 235.

4, Paul Williamson, The Wyvern Collection: Medieval and Renaissance Enamels and Other Works of Art, London, 2021, p. 41.

5, The Dune Treasure was unearthed in a wooden box found half a foot below ground level, a depth suggestive of a hasty or unplanned burial. It is believed to have been hidden at some point after 1351 (the date of minting of a coin found as part of the treasure) and has thus been connected with the Danish invasion of Gotland in 1361.

closely connected to the Dune vessels is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 5). In addition to this group, three enamelled cups, known respectively as the Warwick, Balfour, and Morgan ciboria, are preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum and the Pierpont Morgan Library, and are thought to have been produced in England during the third quarter of the twelfth century but by an artist of Mosan origin.[6] A much-damaged cover of a drinking cup is held in the British Museum, and a tiny number of plainer examples (likely to have been of German or Scandinavian manufacture) have also been excavated in European hoards (for which, see Andersson, 1983). In recent decades, a small handful of similar vessels also thought to be of English or Scandinavian origin have emerged onto the art market, several of which are now in the Wyvern Collection, London (fig. 6).[7]

There is little consensus on which of these vessels was made for secular or religious use, and with few exceptions they are broken, badly abraded, or missing key components or elements of decoration. In almost all cases, however, they tend to be very broad, generally quite shallow, and have rotund, convex bodies. Since these features would have necessitated a steady, two-handed grip and careful use so as not to spill the vessels' contents when full, it is possible, perhaps even likely, that they were adopted in order to encourage their bearers to adopt a formal and unhurried attitude, and that such vessels formed the centrepieces of ritualized communal drinking ceremonies.

Localisation and Dating

Although there is little concrete evidence (besides either documented or reputed find spots) to help reconstruct the origins and genesis of any of these precious metal drinking vessels, several of them have been attributed to English craftsmen either through their inscriptions (as with the goldsmith Simon mentioned above), or on the basis of stylistic links to contemporary English manuscript illumination. The same is true of our example, which displays some of the most compelling parallels to English manuscripts from the second half of the twelfth century that exist among the surviving corpus of vessels. Masterpieces including in particular the Winchester and 'Second Winchester' bibles and the Hunterian Psalter, as well as the contemporary Munich Golden Psalter, illuminated during a period spanning a little beyond the third quarter of the twelfth century, all incorporate inhabited and historiated initials that are governed by the same scheme as our bowl, with lions' heads disgorging dense interlaces of *rinceaux* and flower sprays from their gaping mouths (figs. 7-10). While similar decorative schema developed across the arts produced at this date in other European regions as well, the

Fig 5 (**above**)
Bowl of a Drinking Cup
England or Scandinavia
Late twelfth century
7.9 x 17.5 cm; Gilded silver
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1947, inv. 47.101.31

Fig 6 (**below**)
Bowl of a Drinking Cup
Northern England or Scandinavia (Gotland?)
Second half of the twelfth century
7 x 17.5 cm; Gilded silver
London, The Wyvern Collection, inv. 2403

Fig 7a (**right**)
The initial "S", Prologue to the Book of Jonah, from the Winchester Bible
c. 1150-1180
Winchester, Cathedral Library

6, For a discussion of these ciboria see Stratford, in Exh. Cat., London, 1984, pp. 263-5; Stratford, 'Three English romanesque enamelled ciboria', in The Burlington magazine, vol. 126 (1984), pp. 204-216.

7, Williamson 2021, pp. 30-41.

Fig 7b (**left**)
Comparison of the overlapping, interlaced rinceaux in the Winchester Bible and on our bowl

two Winchester Bibles (c. 1150-1180/6) have some of the most compelling similarities to our bowl's decoration, especially in relation to flowerhead designs that extend well beyond the naturalistic into stylized and fanciful orchid-like concoctions on a comparable scale. The same models employed in the illumination of the two Winchester bibles may even have served as the model for our bowl (or vice versa), since identical paired *rinceaux* motifs – each one spiralling inwards three times before terminating in a large sprouting flower and overlapping its counterpart in an interlaced Venn diagram formation – appear in its pages on at least one occasion (fig. 7b). Both bibles also include two-dimensional renderings of the same type of beaded mouldings that decorate the vine tendrils on our bowl, a feature

Fig 8 (**below**)
Detail from the Second Winchester Bible
England, Winchester
University of Oxford, Bodleain Libraries, MS Auct. E, infra 2, fol. 2r

reprised in places on the Hunterian Psalter as well (fig. 10).
Also in favour of English workmanship are the stylistic and technical links our vessel offers to others from the surviving group, particularly the example produced by the goldsmith Simon and discovered in the Dune Treasure (see fig. 3) with its figures leaping through flowering *rinceaux* swirls. While the imagery of the two vessels diverges somewhat, they share large parts of their decorative formulae. Also closely related are the two parcel-gilded cups in New York and the Wyvern Collection in London (figs. 5-6), which incorporate within their decorated friezes the same fluted dentil mouldings that enclose the upper boundary of our cup's engraved decoration. The attention paid to such a detail and the consistency of its treatment across all three vessels strongly suggests a shared artistic outlook. Similarly ornate flowerheads to those punctuating our vessel also adorn the Balfour ciborium in the V&A, though there embellished with enamelling (fig. 12).

A more unusual feature of our drinking bowl, and one that sets it apart from most of the others in the group in both quality and technique, is its reliance on a form of decoration created by engraving the background of the design down into the body of the metal and leaving the decorative motifs in relief. This approach diverges from almost all of the other vessels, which tend to have engraving introduced in linear patterns that enliven an otherwise flat or repoussé-modelled surface. A comparable approach does nevertheless define champlevé-enamelled decoration, of the kind utilized

Fig 9 (**above**)
Miniature incorporating Beatus Initial, from the Hunterian Psalter
England

Fig. 10 (**below**)
Inhabited initial C (Psalm 97), from the Hunterian Psalter
England
c.1170
Glasgow University Library, MS. Hunter U.3.2 (229), fol.125v

on the Warwick, Balfour and Morgan ciboria. This technical approach may therefore suggest that our goldsmith was active in a workshop also specializing in enamelling. An identical technique was also used in the decoration of a famous and much-published mirror valve now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which has been dated in the surrounding scholarship to the last two decades of the twelfth century, and which may

8, Exh. Cat., London, 1984, no. 255, p. 252.

well have been made in the same workshop as our drinking bowl (fig. 13). [8]

The reemergence of the present drinking bowl is thus a moment of the utmost significance for the scholarship surrounding these precious early vessels, not least since its uncompromising use of materials and its clear visual and technical refinement make it without doubt one of the very finest of its type to have come down to us. The many parallels which exist between its repeating patterns of spiralling *rinceaux* and large, intricate flowerheads and English manuscript illumination of the years around 1170-80 allow us to locate it quite firmly within that period of artistic invention, and most likely to an English goldsmith's workshop.

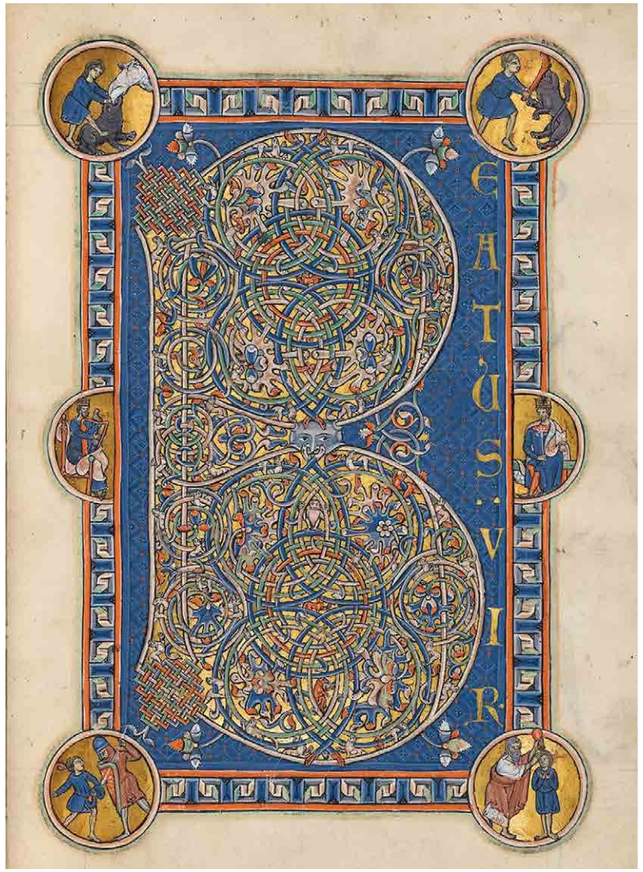


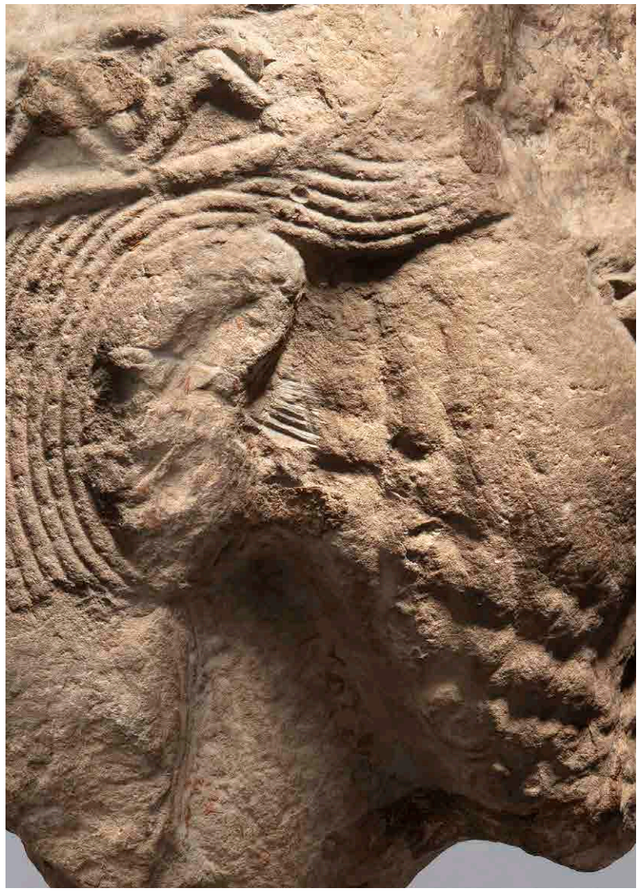
Fig. 11
The opening of Psalm 1 ('Beatus Vir') from the Munich Golden Psalter
Oxford
c. 1200
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, fol.31r

Fig. 12
Detail of the Balfour ciborium showing elaborate flower heads sprouting among the enamelled decoration
England
c. 1150-1175
London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. M.1:1, 2-1981

Fig. 13
Valve of a Mirror Case
British
c. 1180-1200
11.1 x 0.9 cm; Gilded bronze
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1947, inv. 47.101.47

4 Head of an African King

A Romanesque grimacing head, carved with a frightful expression and stylised hair. The head wears a rounded crown decorated by incisions, which separate into wedges at the top. The rim of the crown is decorated by a band with zig-zags. Neither royal nor ecclesiastical, the headdress is analogous to the crowns worn by early Gothic figures identified in scholarship as Old Testament prophets.[1] The stylised hair of the sculpture is parted down the centre and is tucked behind the ears. The large, almond shaped eyes have drilled pupils and prominent lids, which are pinched at the inner corners. The most striking feature of this sculpture is the grimace – a dramatically downturned and opened lips, revealing a set of defined teeth. Although there is no facial hair above the lips, the chin is covered by a thick beard composed of tubular strands. This, along with the relatively wide nose, suggests that the head might be a representation of someone of non-European race. The detailed carving at the top of the head as well as its size suggest that this was once a full figure, and the unfinished back is evidence that the sculpture was not meant to be viewed in the round. The roughness of the right side of the sculpture and the position of the strip of uncarved surface on the back suggests that the sculpture is meant to be viewed from a three-quarter view – perhaps because it was meant to have been communicating with another figure to its left.
The style of this head is generally representative of late Romanesque



Southern France
c. 1120 - 50

32 x 19 x 22cm / 12.6 x 7.5 x 8.5 in.; limestone, probably from a church portal

Provenance
Wooden mount made in Paris by the Japanese cabinetmaker Kichizô Inagaki (1876-1951), Paris, (incised with his monogram);
With Charles Ratton, Paris, 1949;
with Louis Manteau, Brussels, 1957;
Gustaaf Vanderhaegen, Ghent;
thence by descent in his family

Related literature
Dectot, Xavier. ed. *Sculptures des XIe-XIIe siecles: Romanet premier art gotique: catalogue*/ Musee National du Moyen Age-Thermes de Cluny. Paris, 2005.

Little, Chuck. *Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Sculpture.* Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York, 2006.

Higgs Strickland, Debra. *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*. Princeton, 2003.

1, Chuck Little, Set in Stone: The Face in Medieval Sculpture (Metropolitan Museum of Art: New York, 2006), 84. See also Xavier Dectot, ed. Sculptures des XIe-XIIe siecles: Romanet premier art gotique: catalogue/ Musee National du Moyen Age-Thermes de Cluny. (Paris, 2005), 69.

sculpture and it can be linked to early 12th century architectural sculpture from Southern France. One close comparison is the relief depicting the Temptation of Christ, now in the Glencairn Museum (fig. 1). The devil's expression and the carving of the eyes on both figures finds parallels with our sculpture. The grimace of the devil, however, is to be expected here. On our sculpture, such an expression is a unique occurrence, especially as the style of the headdress and the size of the head is consistent with portal figures. Although teeth are not unusual on Romanesque portals, they are mostly present on smaller figures such as devils or other monstrous creatures. They appear on corbels or on column swallowing capitals. Prophets, who wear this type of headdress, however, are always depicted with serene facial expressions, staring into space whilst holding back any kind of emotion.

It has been suggested in mid-century descriptions that this head may have been a figure of a soldier. Perhaps this identification may be taken one step further to identify this figure as a Saracen or a Mongol soldier. This would potentially explain the shape of the headdress, which in its association with prophets may actually symbolise a ruler from the east, as well as the wide nose, the coarse beard and the grimace. In her book *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art*, Debra Higgs Strickland explains that eastern men were known in the Middle Ages collectively as the Monstrous Races. 'Medieval Christians broadened the spectrum of Them to include not just the monstrous men of the East, but any living non-Christian, local or distant.' [2] And it was in the era of the Crusades that there was an acceleration in the production of negative imagery of those from the East. Although most examples of this survive in manuscripts, they are also present in stone, stained-glass, metalwork and ivory (fig. 2-3). One example in stone is the famous capital showing a battle between a Saracen and a crusader knight comes from the exterior of the Palacio Real de los Reyes de Navarra, where the Saracen is depicted with a large head, a wide nose and a grimace (fig. 4). Grimacing and wearing Eastern headdresses, these figures are sometimes depicted as hybrids – the head of a human but the body of an animal – but almost always as a threat. Although the context of this head is still a mystery, thinking about the portrayal of race and the 'Other' in Medieval Art might allow us closer to identifying it.

Fig. 1
Temptation of Christ
French Pyranees, Collegiate Church of Saint-Gaudens
Glencairn's Medieval Gallery (09.SP.25a,b)
12th century
1988.305a, b

Fig.2
Manticore
England, Salisbury
c. 1240
Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 764, fol. 25
1988.305a, b

Fig. 3
Richard the Lionhart and Saladin
Luttrell Psalter
1335-40
Manuscript (Add. MS 42130)
British Library, London

Fig. 4
Capital from the Exterior
Spain, Palacio Real de los Reyes de Navarra
c. 1200

2, Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval* Art (Princeton, 2003), p.7.

5 Italo-Byzantine column with acanthus and images of Apostles

This column with carved acanthus and apostles in low relief represents a rare example of the dense decorative character of Romanesque church furnishings and it belongs to a group of column fragments that are thought to have come from a church furnishing in Venice. The column is carved with an elegant design of acanthus and crosses, occupying a geometrically arranged interlace pattern. The skilful carving of the acanthus patterns is dramatized by the diversity present here. The column's interlace patterns with acanthus are interrupted in three places by decorative bands. At the top, there is a narrow band with diagonally leaning foliage, and at the bottom, there is a thicker band of floppy acanthus. In the middle of the structure, a thick band of bust length apostles decorates the column. The apostles stand against large halos, some holding books while others gesture with their hands. They are interspersed with large vivid flowers. The column sits on a simple base with folate frills at the corners between its two mouldings. The base appears to be of a similar date; however, we cannot rule out that it might have been united with the column at a later date.

Italy, Venice (?)
c. 1180 - 1200

146 x 24.5 x 24.5 cm / 57.5 x 9.7 x 9.7 in.; marble, probably from a ciborium

Provenance
Collection of Philip Whiteway, son of Lord Whiteway, Cimiez, Nice, before 1940.

Related Literature
Cahn, Walter and Seidel, Linda, Romanesque sculpture in American collections, Vol. I, New England Museums, New York, 1979, p. 55, no. VI, 2.

Williamson, Paul. Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture. Victoria & Albert Museum, London 1983, pp. 62, 3.

Fig. 4
Cloister Columns
Sicily, Benedictine Cloister at Monreale
Second half of the 12th century

While the column draws inspiration from Byzantine sculpture, such as the cloister columns from the Benedictine Cloister at Monreale (fig. 1), it belongs to a group of columns that are now housed in the Smith College Museum of Art, the V&A and in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (fig. 2 - 3). The column in the Smith College Museum of Art is the most similar to our example and it also features four apostles around its central band. Two of the apostles are clearly identifiable by their attributes as Saint Peter and Saint Paul, allowing us to assume that the haloed figures on our column are apostles as well. This small group of columns can also be compared with the marble column from the V&A Museum, which is thought to originate in the now demolished Church of San Salvatore on the Island of Murano (fig. 3). The carved capital is decorated by a thick band in the centre with bust length figures of apostles in roundels. Although details of this column suggest that it does not come from the same object as our piece, it is clear that this style proliferated in Venice at this time and it is possible that our column comes from the same building. Paul Williamson also noted that these columns are related to two capitals in the Bode Museum which are thought to come from the church of San Salvatore.[1] It is thought that the columns in this group originally formed a part of a ciborium or another church furnishing, such as a chancel screen.

Fig. 2 (**Right**)
Column from a ciborium
Italy, Venice
c.1200
Smith College Museum of Art No. 1960 TR892

Fig. 3 (**below**)
Column
Italy, Venice, Possibly from San Salvatore
c.1200
V&A A.1-1961

1, Paul Williamson, Catalogue of Romanesque Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum (London, 1983), 62-63.

6 A Cockerel

Germany, Lower Saxony
Second half 13th century

7.7 x 3.2 x 12 cm; hollow (lost-wax) cast, chased, engraved and punched copper alloy with a deep brown patina. A central drilled hole, presumably used for fixing the candlestick in place, runs through the upper and lower sections of the body. The proper right leg restored below the hock, and a small fill on the tip of the beak. The central sickle feather of the tail broken at the tip. A sprue hole on the bird's rump.

Provenance
Private collection, Massif Central, France

Related literature
Michael Brandt ed., *Bild und Bestie; Hildesheimer Bronzen der Stauferzeit*, Exh. Cat (Hildesheim, 2008)

P. Barnet, P. Dandridge, *Lions, Dragons and other Beasts, Aquamanilia of the Middle Ages, Vessels for Church and Table*, Exh. Cat (New York, 2006)

Michael Hütt, *Aquamanilien; Gebrauch und Form* (Mainz am Rhein, 1993)

Ursula Mende, *Die Mittelalterlichen Bronzen im Germanischen Nationalmuseum*, Nürnberg, 2013

This diminutive cast-bronze cockerel stands proudly in full crow, its weight carefully balanced over its delicately modelled talons. The bird's head, with its tooled comb and wattle standing proud from the skull, is turned subtly to the left as it crows, giving it a dynamic and naturalistic sense of action further emphasised by the angling of its legs as if paused in mid-stride. A cape of sharply backswept feathers modelled in low relief enclose the neck above a bare breast, and overlap the bird's wings, which are represented with a pronounced wing bow and a combination of engraved and modelled feathers. The large, elegant feathers of the down-swept tail are separated from the wings and body by a saddle of smaller feathers encircling the back. The feet have three toes, a claw extending from the reverse, and a spur below the hock joint. The bird's underside is smoothly modelled without feathers.

The defining features of this strutting cockerel place its creation in the second half of the thirteenth century, when the famed bronze casters of Hildesheim in Lower Saxony led the technological and aesthetic advancement of the artform. Large free-standing monuments such as the eagle lectern of the c.1230s in Hildesheim Cathedral (fig. 1) brilliantly elucidate how the Hildesheim bronze casters' and their sculptor collaborators had developed an acute sense of anatomical verism, and an attentiveness towards naturalistic balance, with animals and birds carefully poised over their feet in a thoroughly believable pose. Following the example of the Hildesheim lectern, key documents of this approach to verism, weighting and balance are a series of cockerel aquamaniles thought to have been produced in the region toward the end of the thirteenth century.[1] The example now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New York is modelled so as to balance perfectly over its claws, and just like our much smaller bird it has a similarly opened beak, with the same hooked

Fig. 1
The Hildesheim 'Eagle Lectern'
Lower Saxony, Hildesheim
c. 1230-40
57.5 cm (height); cast, chased, engraved and punched copper alloy
Hildesheim Cathedral

1, Alternatively dated in the surrounding scholarship to the second half of the 13th century or c. 1300; see Ursula Mende, Die mittelalterlichen Bronzen im Germanischen Nationalmuseum: Bestandskatalog, Nuremberg,

Fig. 2
Cockerel aquamanile
Germany, Lower Saxony
Second half 13th century
25.2 x 10.5 x 24.7 cm; cast, chased, engraved and punched copper alloy
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 1989.292

upper section, as well as comparably arranged wattles and comb (fig. 2). A similarly conceived dove aquamanile, also standing over its feet and with its head and neck positioned in an identical manner to our bird is in the Kolumba Museum in Cologne.[2] Two other surviving cockerel aquamaniles (in Frankfurt and Nuremberg respectively: see figs. 3-4) also have elements of this approach, though both are supported in three places by way of their tail feathers or projecting struts respectively. Technically, the presence of a sprue hole in the rear feathers of our bird is especially analogous to the Nuremberg vessel, suggesting a similar approach to the founding process in spite of differences in scale.

These parallels all serve to highlight the question of function. While larger cockerel aquamaniles clearly served as vessels for pouring water and potentially also other liquids, our bird has no apparent place or capacity in this context, despite its opened beak and the piercing through to the interior of the casting visible at the back of the mouth. The drill holes

Fig. 3
Cockerel aquamanile
Germany, Lower Saxony
Second half 13th century
cast, chased, engraved and punched copper alloy
Frankfurt am Main, Museum Angewandte Kunst, inv. WMF 1

2, Otto Falke and Erich Meyer, Romanische Leuchter und Gefässe: Giessgefässe der Gotik, Berlin, 1983, p. 101, fig. 232

present in the top of the body (bordering the saddle feathers just behind the cape) and on its underside suggest that the figure was attached by way of a pin or screw to a larger object, perhaps a base of some form, and that it supported a superstructure of some form on its back. Such features are in fact absolutely typical for cast copper alloy candlesticks and candle 'feet' of the period, which were often assembled from multiple parts held together by a central column, stem, or pin. The diminutive scale of our cockerel also serves to bolster such a reconstruction, being closely analogous to a number of surviving anthropomorphic and zoomorphic candlesticks cast in thirteenth-century Hildesheim. Of these, the famous *drachenleuchten* or dragon lights preserved in museums around the world offer direct parallels, particularly in their approach to engraved surface detail (fig. 5). The language of the tooling used on our cockerel, with small circular or 'ball-point' punches texturizing the comb and wattle, and engraved linear elements enlivening the various feather motifs over the body, all accord closely to the techniques and decoration of Hildesheim metalwork at this time, both larger aquamaniles and the variously sized *drachenleuchten*[3]. It would appear, however, that our cockerel is the only surviving example of its type and iconography, making it a unique document in the story of Hildesheim metalwork of the thirteenth century.

3, cf. horse and rider aquamaniles dated to c. 1225-50 and now in the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen, inv. nos. D 333/1974 and D 334/1974, illustrated in Michael Brandt ed., Bild und Bestie: Hildesheimer Bronzen der Stauferzeit, Regensburg, 2008 p. 203, abb. 12-20. See also a number of Hildesheim-type dragon candlesticks with feathers engraved in an identical manner to those on our cockerel, illustrated in pp. 73-79.

Fig. 4
Cockerel aquamanile
Lower Saxony
13th century
22.5 x 21.8 cm; cast, chased, engraved and punched copper alloy
Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. KG490

Fig. 5
Candlestick in the form of a dragon disgorging a knight
Lower Saxony, Hildesheim
c. 1250
27.7 x 28 cm; cast, chased, engraved and punched copper alloy
Stuttgart, Landesmuseum Württemberg, inv. 9462

19944

7 Two monumental lions with carving on reverse from a 2nd century Roman triumphal arch

Central Italy
c. 1200 - 1250

58 x 92 x 30cm / 22.8 x 36 x 11.8 in. (lion with carving on reverse); 60 x 85 x 29cm / 23.5 x 33.5 x 11.4 in.; metamorphic limestone; originally from the entrance to a church

Provenance
Private collection, Montegiorgio, Ascoli Piceno, Italy, by 1902; Filomeni collection, Ascoli Piceno; Stefano Faenza collection, Ascoli Piceno, acquired from the above in 2003.

These two monumental stylobate lions are carved in a recumbent pose, their backs supporting bases that would have originally carried columns. The faces of the lions are abstracted, carved with slightly open mouths. Their eyes are deeply drilled and may have originally been filled with glass. The manes of the two lions differ: even though both are composed of stylised locks that extend over their shoulders and chest, one of them is composed of tighter, shorter locks, the other has longer, smoother waves. One of the lions is carved on the reverse with a Roman relief, evidence of the stone's reuse during the Middle Ages. This carving includes shields overlapping one another, strongly suggesting that they represent trophies from a battle (fig. 1). The lions were created as pedestals for freestanding columns supporting a superstructure, such as a portal. Judging by the fact that their backs were not meant to be seen, they were almost certainly placed along a wall.

Stylistically analogous sculptures survive at Verona Cathedral, Teramo Cathedral and in the Collegiate Church of San Quirico d'Orcia (figs. 2 - 4). The abstracted facial features, stylized manes and relief-like forms all find parallels with our sculpture, supporting a localization to central Italy and a dating to the first half of the 13th century. The pattern of reuse present on our sculpture is commonly found in Italy, where an abundance of architectural material remained from their Roman past. Such reuse was both practical and symbolic, as is the case in the Cathedral of Pisa or in Teramo Cathedral, where stones were taken from the nearby Roman Theatre (fig. 1). The fact that these stones are displayed to flaunt the Roman reliefs and not hide them sends an ideological message. In Teramo, the Roman relief, which triumphantly displayed booty, is now itself displayed as booty on the exterior of the cathedral.

Fig. 1 (**left**)
Relief sculpture from Teramo Cathedral
Italy, Abruzzo, Teramo

Fig. 2 (**above**)
Stylobate Lion
Italy, Collegiate Church of San Quirico d'Orcia
Early 13th century

Lions, without doubt the most widely depicted animals in Romanesque sculpture, were drawn from a broad spectrum of liturgical, textual, and visual sources. The menacing lions framing a large number of church portals were intended to banish the evil influences from the church. Often guarding the throne of King Solomon, lions could be imbued with apotropaic and judicial symbolism. As Adalbert Erler pointed out, the lion can frequently be interpreted as an image of justice and jurisdiction in the Middle Ages, a fact that is illustrated by the frequent use of lion imagery in the decoration of royal and episcopal thrones.[1] In Rome, the link between leonine imagery and the city's jurisdiction was articulated from at least the 10th century on

1, Adalbert Erler, Das *Strassburger Münster Im Rechtsleben Des Mittelalters.* (Frankfurt am Main: V. *Klostermann*, 1954), 19; Dirk *Jäckel, Der Herrscher Als Löwe : Ursprung Und Gebrauch Eines Politischen Symbols Im Früh- Und Hochmittelalter (Köln: Böhlau*, 2006).

the Capitoline Hill. Here, an ancient statue of a lion sinking its teeth into a horse, located now in the Capitoline Museum, stood on the terrace in front of the Senatorial Palace, and represented Rome's secular authority. It was in front of this statue that capital punishments were announced by the Senate and often carried out, mimicking – while iconographically contrasting – the role of the She-Wolf statue, which stood for papal power in the Lateran precinct.[2] The lion was the symbol of Rome until the 15th century and live lions were even kept in cages on the Capitoline hill to 'embody the living image of the city's political authority.'[3]

Fig. 3
Lion from Teramo Cathedral
Italy, Abruzzo
c.1200

Fig. 4
Lion from Teramo Cathedral
Italy, Abruzzo
c.1200

2, Cristina Mazzoni, She-Wolf: The Story of a Roman Icon (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 49.

3, Mazzoni, She-Wolf, 50.

8 Manuscript leaf with two scenes: a couple discussing legalities with lawyers, and two lovers in a bed from a Decretum Gratiani

Southern France, Toulouse (?)
c.1320

42.5 x 29 cm / 16.7 x 11.4 in.; ink, pigments and gilding on parchment, from a copy of Gratian's Decretals

Provenance
Private collection, Germany; McCarthy collection, London, since 2006

Published:
Kidd, Peter. *The McCarthy Collection: French Miniatures* (London, 2021), pp. 235 – 243..

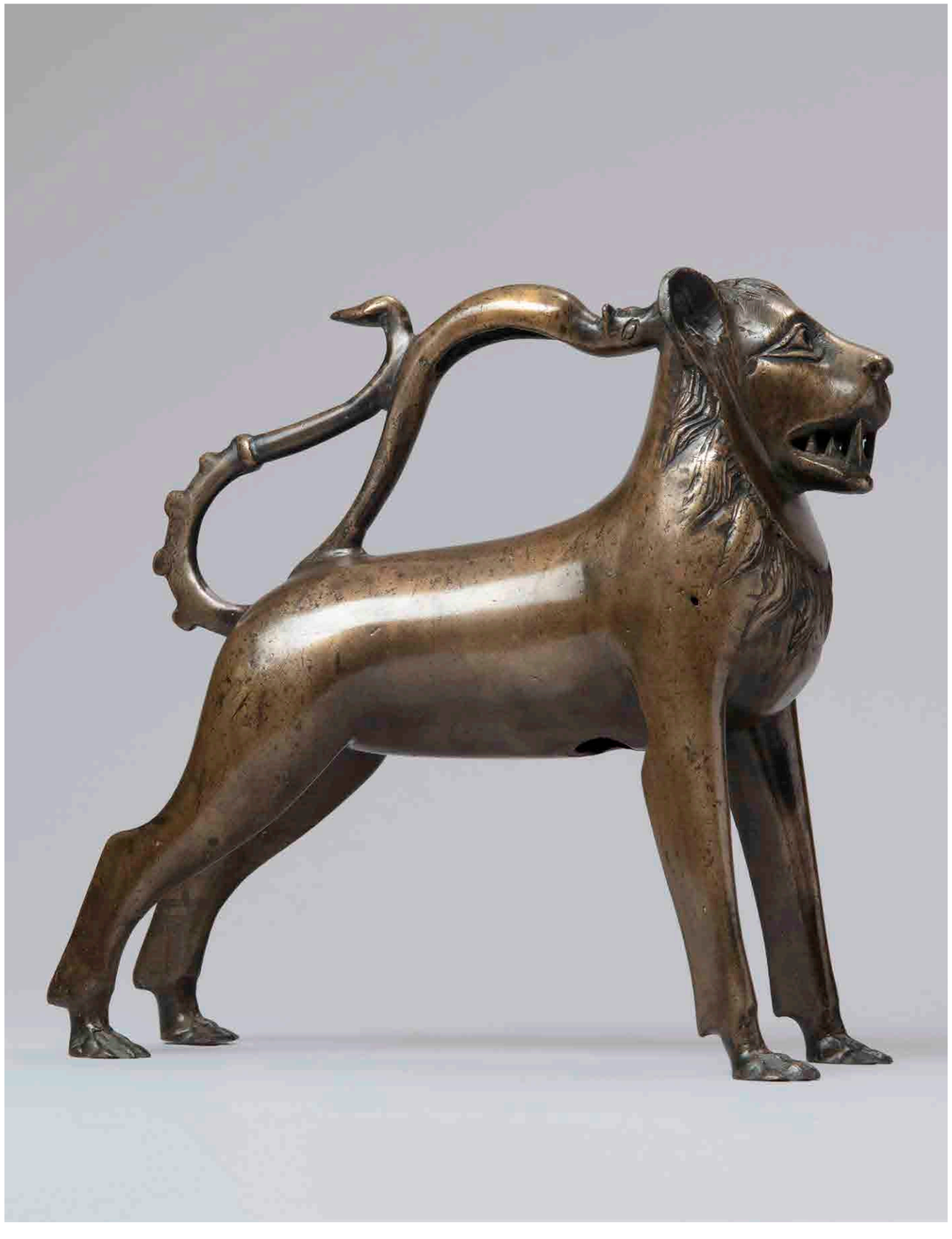
This manuscript leaf with a couple discussing legalities and two lovers in a bed comes from a *Decretum Gratiani,* a legal textbook written in the first half of the 12th century by a jurist known as Gratian. The textbook remained an essential source of cannon law until the early 20th century and this particular leaf recounts a complicated case XXXIII, in which a wife seeks divorce. Her husband became impotent, leading the wife to take a lover, whom she married. When the husband regained potency, he claimed the wife back, only to take the vow of celibacy without the wife's permission. Gratian outlines the various legal dilemmas of this case, making suggestions how it should be handled and citing various theological authorities to back up his claims.

The lavishly illuminated miniature in the upper left part of the leaf depicts a crenelated building with two pointed arches within. Inside the architectural framework is a standing cleric, his arms gesticulating, acting as a judge between the husband and wife, who stand on one side, and two lawyers, who stand on the other. While the husband raises his hands in embarrassment, the wife smiles and points to an arched space in the lower part of this scene, which illustrates two lovers in a bed. Below this scene is a historiated initial with a blue hybrid creature wearing a red hood and holding a large disk.

The leaf belongs to a group of leaves that come from an extravagant manuscript written in Toulouse, which was a major centre for the study of law. It is believed that 42 miniatures would have been included in the original manuscript and out of this number, more than half have been published. They are kept in both private and public collections, including MS McClean 201.7 at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Y1040 at the Princeton Art Museum, Inv. 1926.245 at the Cleveland Museum of Art (fig. 1).

Fig. 1
Aquamanile in the form of a lion
Germany, Nuremberg
c. 1400
MET 1994.244

9 Aquamanile in the form of a lion



A tall lion aquamanile standing erect, feet apart, head lifted with a zoomorphic handle on its back. The lion has a whole in the mouth for pouring water and a cavity on the crown of the head for filling. The lion's mane, his eyes, and details of the handle are incised. Stylistically, the aquamanile can be compared to a group that was carved in the middle of the 14th century in an important workshop that emerged in Nuremberg. The present example can be compared to the lion aquamanile in the Metropolitan Museum of Art or the aquamanile of Samson and the lion in the Robert Lehman Collection (figs. 1 – 2).

Germany, Nuremberg
c. 1350

27 x 25.5 x 11 cm / 10.5 x 10 x 4.3 in.; hollow cast copper alloy

Provenance
Private European collection (purchased in Burgundy, 1990s)

Related literature
O. von Falke and E. Meyer, *Romanische Leuchter and Gefäße, Gießgefäße der Gotik*, Berlin 1935, no. 333, 331 and 368.

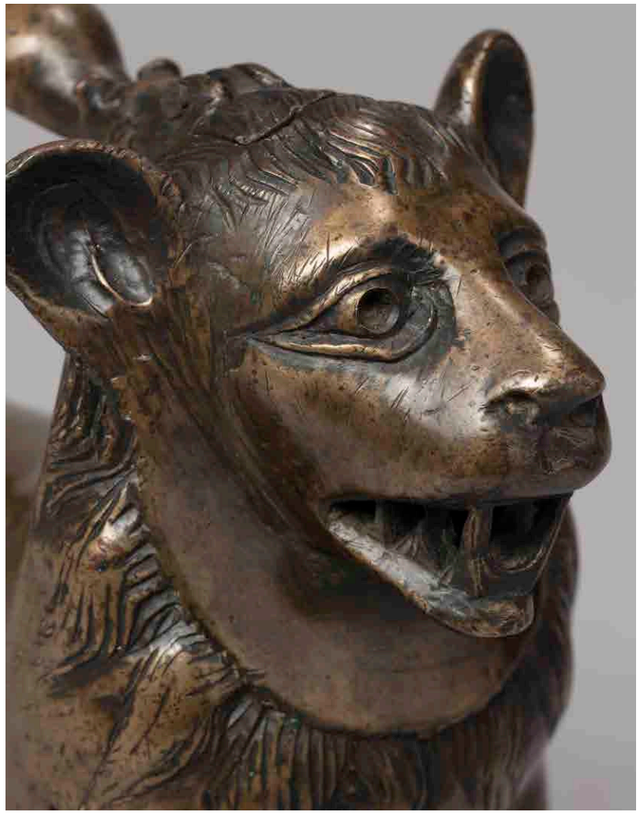
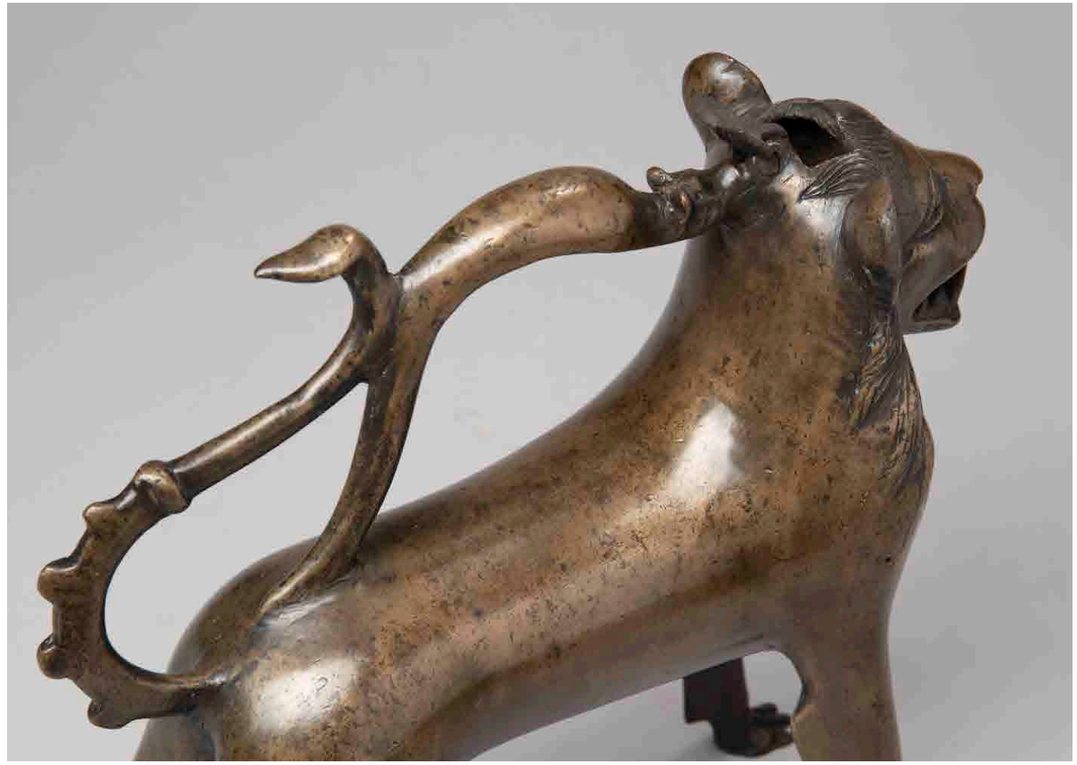


Fig. 1 (**above**)
Aquamanile in the form of a lion
Germany, Nuremberg
c. 1400
MET 1994.244

Fig. 2 (**below**)
Samson and the Lion
Late 14th century
Germany
Robert Lehman Collection, 1975.1412

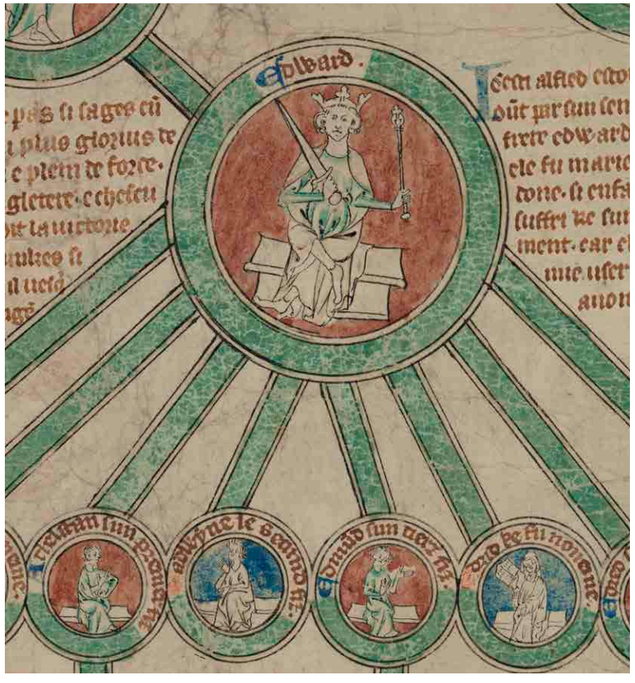
Aquamanilia, from the Latin for aqua (water) and manus (hand), are a form of human- or animal-shaped bronze vessel, made between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries across northern Europe, and used during the medieval period for hand washing ceremonies, in both domestic and liturgical contexts. They remain the earliest known examples of hollow bronze casting in Europe, and utilised the lost wax process to create an evenly moulded, thin, and smooth surface to the material, completely watertight and highly durable. They range in size, shape, and style, and with the exception of those examples that incorporate spigots in order to allow the vessels to remain stationary during use, most aquamanilia would have necessitated a loaded and complex ceremony between two or more parties, in which the hands are washed by another participant as part of a social or liturgical ritual.



10

The early-fourteenth century artist of the Chaworth Roll, one of the most richly decorated genealogical rolls of the Kings of England to have been produced in this country, can be confidently associated with the Circle of the Master of the Queen Mary Psalter (London, British Library MS Royal 2 B VII). The artist can be identified with one of the Hands of the so-called Queen Mary Apocalypse (London, British Library Royal MS 19 B XV). The sharp chin and downward turning eyebrows of the portrait of Edward I from the Chaworth Roll may be compared with similar figures such as *The Angel with the Book* from the Apocalypse (f.17). The quirky drawing of limbs and vivacious gestures seen in the figure preening himself with comb and mirror in the Wheel of Fortune scene – warned that however much he tries to groom himself it will be all for nothing – may also be compared with the earthier drawing found in a manuscript made for the London Fishmonger Andrew Horn. (London, Corporation of London, Liber Horn). This Manuscript was executed by the same group of artists in London which suggests that the roll was also made there. Another roll of the Kings of England in the Bodleian Library Oxford (MS French d. 1 (R)), displays miniatures by other artists associated with the Liber Custumarum of the City of London (London, British Library Cotton MS Claudius D II etc) and may well be a copy of this roll. It also provides valuable dating evidence for all these manuscripts to the period c. 1321-1327.

The continuation of the Roll is equally interesting because it can be dated after 1399 and before 1413 during the reign of Henry IV. The stately figures of Edward III and his sons, dressed in fashionable clothes of the c. 1400-1410 period, are close to the style of the Master of the Life of St. Edward added to fourteenth-century Apocalypse (Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.10.2), in the first years of the fifteenth century. The Life of Edward has been closely associated with Westminster Abbey and this would certainly suggest that the Roll remained in London.



England, in Anglo-Norman and French
1321-7, with additions between 1399 and 1413

642 x 24.5 cm / 252.7 x 9.6 in.; ink and pigments on nine joined sheets of lined parchment

Provenance
Believed to have been commissioned by Thomas Chaworth of Wiverton (1290-1347), c. 1320s;
By decent in the Chaworth Musters family until 1988;
Robert Holden Ltd, London, 1988;
Sam Fogg Ltd, London, 1989, where acquired by;
Martin Schoyen collection, Norway, MS 250;
Deaccessioned in 2013 and sold through Sam Fogg Ltd to;
McCarthy collection, London

Published
E. W. Godwin, 'A Very Curious Genealogical Roll of the Kings of England', in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd Series, X (1883-85), pp. 197-9

Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths, eds, *English Manuscript Studies* 1100-1700, Vol. 3, London 1992, pp. 272-273, 279-280, 282, 284

Jeremy Griffiths, 'Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection Copied or Owned in the British Isles before 1700', in *English Manuscript Studies* 1100-1700, ed. Peter Beal and Jeremy Griffiths, 5, London, 1995, pp. 36-42, MS 250

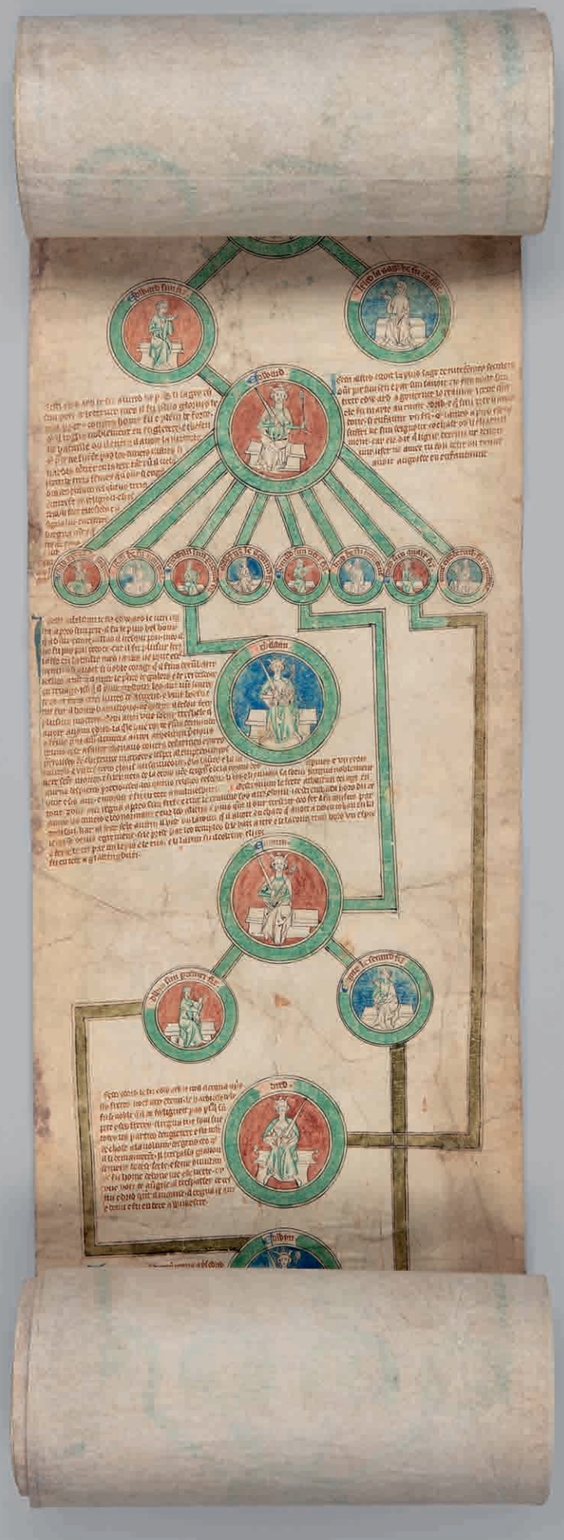
Olivier de Laborderie, 'Les généalogies des rois d'Angleterre sur rouleaux manuscrits (milieu XIIIe siècle): Conception, diffusion et fonctions', in *La généalogie entre science et passion*, ed. Tiphaine Barthelemy and Marie-Claude Pingaud, Paris, 1997, pp. 185-193

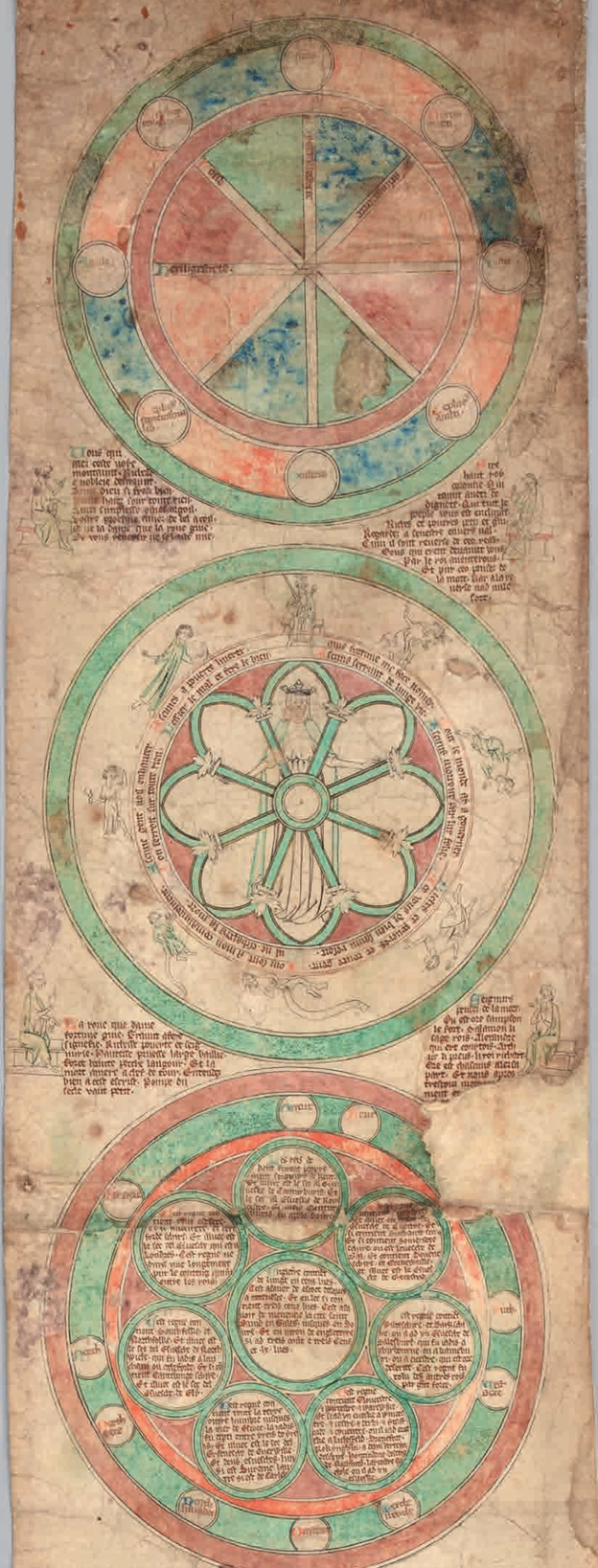
Alixe Bovey, The Chaworth Roll: A Fourteenth-Century Genealogy of the Kings of England, London, 2005

Olivier de Laborderie, 'The First Manuals of English History: Two Late Thirteenth-century Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England in the Royal Collection' in *The Electronic British Library Journal 4* (2014)

Peter Kidd, *The McCarthy Collection, Vol. II: Spanish, English, Flemish and Central European Miniatures*, London, 2019, no. 15, pp. 76-81.

Exhibited
First brought to scholarly attention in 1885, when presented by E. W. Godwin to the Society of Antiquaries, London;
Conference of European National Librarians, Oslo, September 1994;
European medieval manuscripts from The Schøyen Collection, University of Oslo. Domus Bibliotheca, 6-15 May 1996

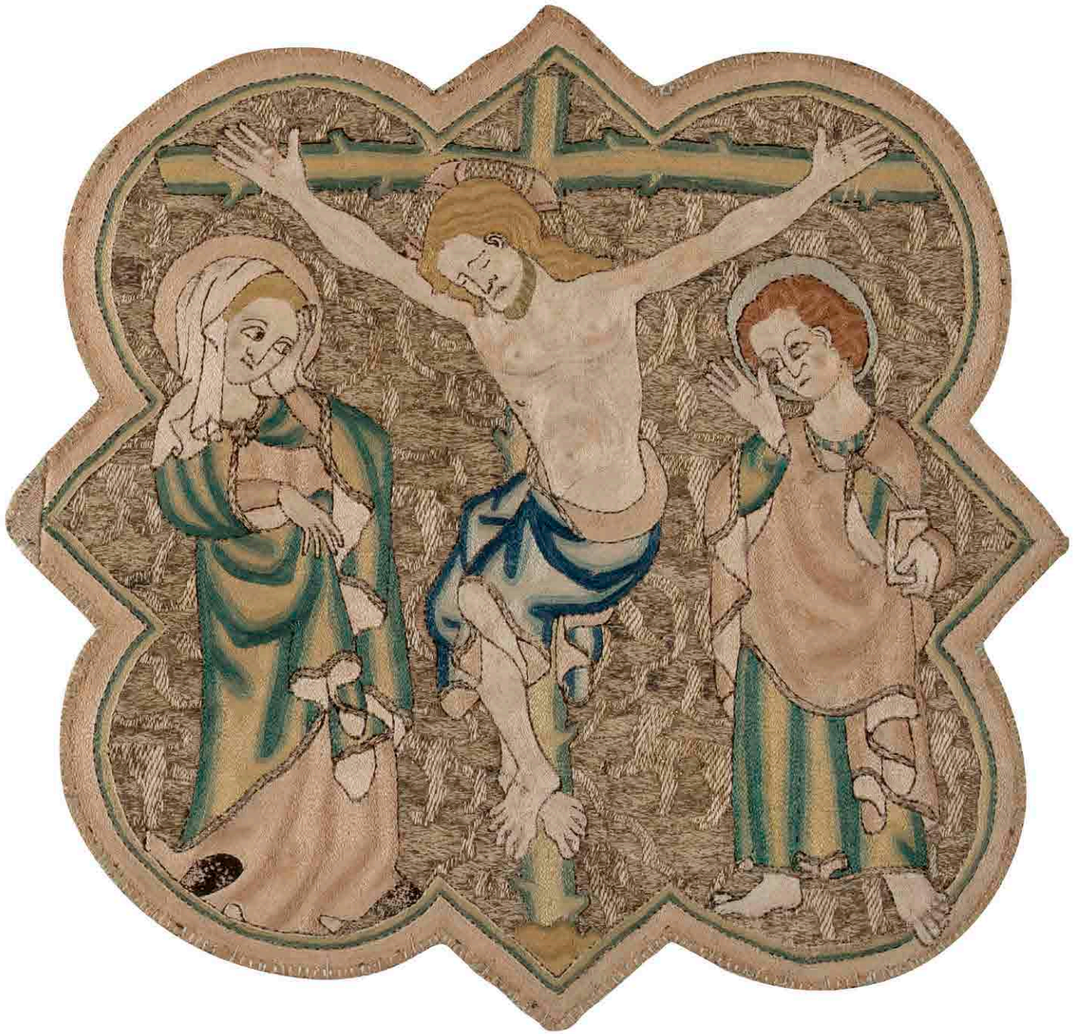

Edward
Edmund
Edward


Edward

11 The Berkeley Purse

Opus Anglicanum

The Crucifixion and The Coronation of the Virgin



These quatrefoil silk-work panels represent one of the greatest moments in the history of English embroidery. They were executed in the first half of the fourteenth century and originally joined together in the form of a single rectangular panel that, when folded, became the cover panels of a burse, a form of liturgical purse used to carry the corporal cloth to and from the altar, as well as to ceremonially cover the host and chalice. Only one embroidered English burse panel of this date is known to survive in a more complete state, and is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (fig. 2). Alongside that example, which will be discussed further below, are a group of three other dismembered panels with broadly comparable format and treatment, all of which also reside at the V&A (figs. 3-5). The panels under discussion here represent not only the finest medieval English embroidery remaining in private hands, but after their relative in the V&A, the most complete and well-preserved burse of its date anywhere in the world.

Description and Iconography

Two, almost identically sized cusped quatrefoil panels, each consisting of a figurative scene backed by densely laid rows of gold thread couched into place to suggest a damascene pattern of repeating barbed quatrefoils interspersed with heraldic lions. On the first of the two panels, the Crucifixion fills the space to its very edges. It is shown with all ancillary or marginal decoration removed, so that our focus is solely placed on Christ, the Virgin to his right, and Saint John to his left. Christ's body hangs low on a green cross that fills the entire height and width of the space available, and still displaying the cut ends of lopped branches on its two arms. The saviour's legs buckle and crumple under his weight, while a vivid blue loin cloth covers his midriff in lyrical swags of material. The Virgin, clad in a green mantle worn over a red dress, holds her left hand up to her face in a visible moment of grief. Echoing her on the opposite side of her son is Saint John, who wears a red mantle over a green full-length garment. His right hand is raised but held away from his face as if to direct our gaze up to Christ, while his left supports a small book. On the second panel, the crowned figure of Christ is shown seated in majesty on a low bench decorated with arcaded tracery. He wears a blue garment with a red mantle pinned across the chest by a small quatrefoil clasp. His left hand rests on a sphere symbolizing the Earth and the Heavens, while his right is raised high in the sign of the Benediction and gestures simultaneously towards his mother, who is seated to our left and turns her body towards her son. She too is crowned, representing her status as Queen of Heaven, a role further evoked by the green mantle lined with ermine that she wears over her red dress. Both panels are framed by a thin cusped quatrefoil border composed of parallel fictive mouldings that are 'shaded' by differently coloured silks.

Fig.2
A burse panel with the Crucifixion and Coronation of the Virgin
England
c. 1320-30
29 x 22.5 cm; Embroidery in silver-gilt thread and coloured silks in underside couching and split stitch, with laid and couched work, on linen.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. T.62-1936

England
c. 1320-30

25.1 x 25.9 cm / 10 x 10.1 in. (Coronation), 24.7 x 26 cm / 9.7 x 10.2 in. (Crucifixion); Embroidery of silver-gilt thread and coloured silks in underside couching and split stitch, with laid and couched work, on linen. Some strengthening to the throne in the scene of the Coronation, undertaken in laid and couched orange silk threads. The eyes of the Virgin in the scene of the Coronation slightly strengthened.

Provenance
Robert Valentine Berkeley (1853-1940), The Berkeley Collection, Spetchley Park, by 1905, and by descent until 2019 (see fig. 1)

Published:
Exhibition of English embroidery executed prior to the middle of the XVI century, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1905, No. 2, p. 61, pl. xvi (in colour)

'Spetchley Park -I. Worcestershire, The Seat of Mr. R. V. Berkeley', Country Life, 8 July 1916, p. 45, illustrated in the Drawing Room

Grace Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery,* Oxford, 1938, p.155, no.83

David Sylvester, 'Through the Eye of a Needle', in *Sunday Times Magazine*, 22 December 1963, illustrated

Michael A. Michael ed., *The Age of Opus Anglicanum,* London and Turnhout, 2016, pp. 97 and 111

Clare Brown ed., *English Medieval Embroidery 'Opus Anglicanum',* Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1 October 2016-5 February 2017, Exhibition Catalogue, New Haven and London, 2016, No. 40, Burse, England, 1320-1330 (Victoria and Albert Museum London, mus. no. T.62-1936), p.181

Exhibited
English Embroidery, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1905, lent by R.V. Berkeley, Esq.

Mediaeval Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1930, No. 202

British Art, Royal Academy, 1934, No. 5

Commemorative Exhibition of the Art Treasures of the Midlands, City of Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, 1934, p. 105, No. 421; lent by R.G.W. Berkeley, Esq.

Origin, Context and Significance

English medieval embroidery of this type is commonly described by the Latin term *opus anglicanum*, a name that has been found in a number of early records and inventories that describe a form of embroidery made in English workshops from the twelfth to early sixteenth centuries. *Opus anglicanum* formed one of medieval England's greatest contributions to international cultural exchange during the whole medieval period, with lavishly embroidered copes and other liturgical fabrics being among the gifts presented to continental Europe's church and Cathedral treasuries by popes, kings, and the nobility. While these have been preserved in relatively good numbers in the continent's treasuries, almost nothing survived the destruction wreaked during the Reformation and the later Civil War in England itself.

While too-often placed in the margins of medieval art history, opus anglicanum has been treated to relatively stable interest during the modern period, punctuated by seminal studies undertaken by Grace Christie in 1938 and Donald King in 1963, the latter accompanying a major survey show at the Victoria and Albert Museum. More recently however, the field has seen an overdue revival due in large part to the groundbreaking exhibition *English Medieval Embroidery: Opus Anglicanum*, again held at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which houses the world's finest collection of medieval English embroideries in a single institution.

Fig.1
The present panels on display in the drawing room at Spetchley Park

It is now believed that the compositional patterns used for our panels and a small number of closely related embroideries were developed by the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and that their designs persisted across panel painting, manuscript production, and *opus anglicanum* into the middle of the fourteenth. A characteristic feature is the 'lopped branch' or 'rough-hewn' cross visible on our scene of the Crucifixion, which had in fact entered the iconographic lexicon of English art before the Norman Conquest. Its use could be seen as an evocation of the verdant cross, reference to which is made is the Book of Genesis (2: 9) which describes a Tree of Life growing alongside the Tree of Knowledge in the Garden of Eden. While the Tree of Knowledge brought about the Fall of mankind, the ever-verdant Tree of Life was believed to offer its redemption. This developed early in Christian theology into a more complex theory in which the salvific power of the Tree of Life became synonymous with the cross on which Christ was crucified; in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus for instance, believed to have been written in the fourth century, Christ descends into Limbo to liberate the dead, and as he takes Adam's hand announces, 'Come with me all you who have suffered death through the tree which [Adam] touched. For behold I raise you all up again through the tree of the cross.'[1]

Fig.3
Two panels, depicting the Annunciation and female saints
England
c. 1335-45
25.5 x 27.5 cm and 27.7 x 28.2 cm; Embroidery in silver-gilt and silver thread and coloured silks in underside couching and split stitch, with a little raised work, on silk velvet with an interlayer of silk in plain weave.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. T.1&2-1940

1, Evelyn Thomas 'Reflections on the Development of English Medieval Embroidery c. 1275-1350', in Michael A. Michael ed., The Age of Opus Anglicanum, London and Turnhout, 2016, pp. 187-216, p. 97.

Burses, a type of ceremonial purse for use during the Mass, sustained heavy use as objects that were inherently intended to be handled, manipulated, and used to cover the communion wine on the high altar. Many must have been produced, but from the period ours dates to, almost none remain, and we must rely on the early inventories taken of church treasuries to form an understanding of how such objects were viewed and valued. Surviving thirteenth-century and later records of the treasuries at St. Paul's Cathedral, Canterbury, Exeter and the Vatican, all record burses embroidered or otherwise decorated with scenes which, like ours, allude to Christ's sacrifice and his glory in heaven, and help to attest to the high status given to these precious objects. As noted in the introduction to this study, surviving examples of burse panels themselves can be counted on the fingers of a single hand. Of these, the most direct parallel for our two panels can be drawn to an intact and uncut version in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, which utilizes the same imagery as ours on each of its two halves, against the same gold background of heraldic lions in quatrefoils, and with the same cusped quatrefoil devices used to frame each scene (fig. 2). Subtle differences suggest that the artists responsible were able to adapt their colour palette, figure patterns, and arrangement of drapery folds to suit the needs of their client and of their overall design, but otherwise the two examples match so closely with one another in format, stylistic treatment, quality and execution, that they must surely originate in a single workshop or from the hands of extremely close collaborators. Other survivals, including the famous Syon Cope, which has been dated to c. 1310-20 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. T.83-1864), incorporate similar compositions, and it has therefore been suggested that the same scenes were adapted for use on different objects within the same workshop or group of workshops.

With the onset of the Black Death in 1349, and its devastation of almost all of Europe's densely populated cities, a number of traditional artforms underwent rapid decline, almost overnight. *Opus anglicanum* is believed to have been one such specialism, with a watershed moment occurring around the middle of the century from which it never recovered. For such an exquisite example of English embroidery to survive from the golden period of its production before this terrible sea-change, and in such breath-taking condition, is nothing short of a miracle.

Fig. 4
Burse panel showing the Crucifixion
England
c. 1310-40
24.5 x 25.5 cm; Embroidery in silk and silver-gilt thread in split stitch and underside couching.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. T.344-1920

Fig. 5
Burse panel showing the Crucifixion
England
c. 1290-1320
29 x 22.5 cm; Embroidery on linen with coloured silks in split stitch with a patterned background in couched work of gilt thread.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. T.56 to H-1913

12 A Monumental ‘Beautiful Madonna’ (Schöne Madonna)

Kingdom of Bohemia

This monumental Schöne Madonna stands on a crescent moon, supporting the Christ Child with her left hand. Although the body of the Madonna is noticeably vertical, there is a delicate ‘c’ curve visible in her posture. The curvature is accentuated by her cloak, which seems to be pulled to one side by the foot of the Christ Child. Gilded on the outside and blue on the inside, her cloak falls to her feet in heavy v-shaped folds and it is fastened at the collar with a floral brooch. The wavy hair of the Virgin is covered by a folded veil of the type that is commonly found on the Schöne Madonnas, falling delicately around her round face. The indent at the top of her head is undoubtedly an indication that she would have originally been

Kingdom of Bohemia
c. 1420 - 1440

175 x 50 x 24 cm / 68.9 x 19.7 x 9.4 in.; polychromy and gilding on poplar

Provenance
Private Kunstkammer Collection, Austria;
Acquired in Austria c. 1950s or 1960s in Austria.

Related Literature

Bartlová, Milena. *Mistr Týnské kalvárie: Český sochař doby husitské*. Prague, 2004.

Boehm, Barbara Drake, and Jiri Fajt, eds. Prague, *The Crown of Bohemia*, 1347–1437. New York, 2005.

Ivo Hlobil, Marek Perůtka (eds.). *Od gotiky k renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550*. Vol. 3, Olomouc, 1999.

Legner, Anton. (ed.), *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst under dem Luxemburgern*, exh. cat. Kunsthalle Köln, Cologne, 1978.

Pächt, Otto. *Europäische Kunst um 1400. Achte Ausstellung unter den Auspizien der Europarates*, exh. cat. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1962.

decorated by a large crown. The naked Christ Child sits upright with his legs crossed, staring into the distance. His hair is composed of tight curls that lie flatly on his head, creating a pattern that is often seen in Bohemia at this time. Th faces of both the Virgin and Christ are reminiscent of icons, with highly arched eyebrows, long narrow noses and delicate mouths.
The figure stands quite firmly within the oeuvre of the so-called Beautiful Style (Schöne Stil), which emerged in the middle of the 14th century in Prague. Schöne Madonnen, or Beautiful Madonnas, are perhaps the best-known exponents of the 'International Gothic' a term coined by Otto Pächt in 1962 to describe a style that emerged in Europe around 1400 (fig. 1). At the cradle of the 'International Gothic' movement stood Prague, the capital of the Holy Roman Empire from 1355, and Emperor Charles IV, one of the most strong-minded patrons of art in 14th century Europe. Charles brought to Prague relics, artworks and artists from all corners of Europe, including Italy, France and Germany. Most notable among these were Peter Parler, the German master mason of Prague Cathedral, and Master Theodoric, the painter responsible for the decoration of the Holy Cross Chapel at Karlštejn Castle. Scholars agree that it was this concentration of artists, both local and foreign, that caused the birth of this new style in Prague.

The Beautiful Style was distinguished by 'a new gracefulness in its human figures, by the unreal, almost fairy-tale atmosphere in which these figures moved, by a drapery style that combined sculptural fullness with sinuous elegance, and by a distinct fondness for ornament and decorative effects.'[1] Nevertheless, the style was not uniform and had many guises, which evolved over several decades. The present Beautiful Madonna, for example, fits within the circle of the Master of the Týn Calvary, responsible for the enthroned Virgin and Child in the Týn Church (fig. 2). Flourishing at the time of the Hussite Wars, his style deviates somewhat from the early aesthetics of the Schöne Stil in that the figures are much more serious and tranquil. The drapery is still ethereal and soft but much more clearly defined. The Christ Child is also no longer an unruly baby struggling in the arms of the sculpture of the Madonna (fig. 1). Rather he sits motionless and looks forward, harking back to a much earlier iconography (fig. 2). And these characteristics are also found in our example.

While the style of our figure finds strong parallels with Prague sculpture of the early 15th century, it can also be closely compared to examples in other parts of the Bohemian Kingdom, such as Moravia or Silesia. Testifying to the apparent diffusion of this style from the capital to other regions of the kingdom, the Virgin from Morašice creates a particularly compelling comparison (fig. 3). While the facial features of the two sculptures are not made in the same manner, their upright stance, the drapery patterns of their robes and the half-moons that they stand on are remarkably analogous. The facial features of our sculpture are most unusual in that the Virgin has a particularly long and narrow nose, icon-like eyes, and a gaze directed forward into the distance. Reminiscent of Byzantine icons, this style was present in many panel paintings produced in Prague around

Fig.1
Master of the Krumlov Madonna – follower
Virgin and Child
Bohemia
c.1400
NGP P 226

Fig.2
Master of the Týn Calvary
Virgin and Child,
Czech Republic, Prague, Týn Church
c.1430

1, Gerhard Schmidt, 'The Beautiful Style,' in Prague: The Crown of Bohemia (New York, 2005), 105.

1400, which had clear Italo-Byzantine influences. The facial features of our sculpture can also be compared to the so-called the Cappucine Cycle, which includes Christ, the Virgin Mary and the 12 apostles (fig. 5). The style of the faces in this cycle has been called angular and harsh; it is comparable to Byzantine prototypes and deviated from the facial features in early Beautiful Style figures.

The monumentality of this figure and its exceptional quality suggest that it was not only made for an important foundation but also that its master intimately followed the latest artistic developments in Prague.

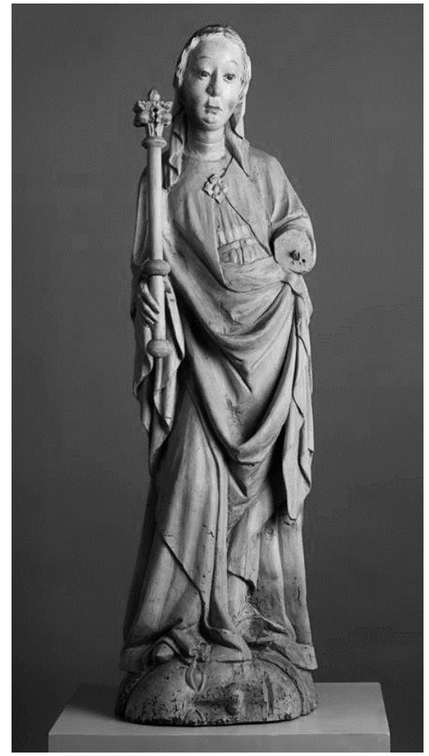
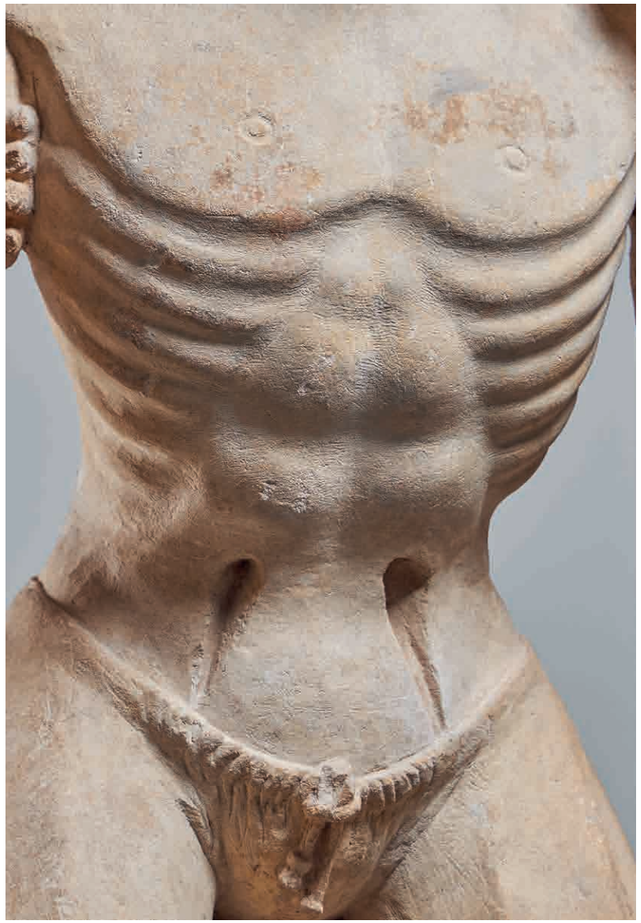


Fig.3
Madonna from Morašice
c.1430-40
Moravian Gallery Z2700
Czech Republic, Morašice

Fig.4
Saint John the Evangelist from the Capuccine Cycle
Bohemia, Prague
c.1420-40
Prague, National Gallery

13 Saint Quentin being tormented

A monumental limestone carving showing Saint Quentin tormented by two guards. The saint sits on a stone bench naked save for a slip over his loins, his shins shackled by ropes attached to rods (a method of bonding that ensured the most discomfort to the victim). His well-defined and muscular stomach bears the marks of two spikes, which would originally have been shown sticking out of his abdomen in front of him and were most likely forged from iron. The two tormentors flank him on either side, both holding his upper arms with one hand and using their other to hammer spikes into his neck. Like those originally attached to his stomach, these would have been made of metal but are now lost. Saint Quentin is rendered as a young man with short cropped hair, his face benignly acquiescing to his torture. By comparison, his tormentors have pugnacious faces, contorted and accentuated by the energy of their brutal actions. They



are both dressed in long fur-lined coats tied at the waist with belts, and wear voluminous chaperons on their heads. The left figure's right stocking has fallen down on his calf muscle, adding to this somewhat farcical nature of the image and simultaneously drawing our attention to the knotted rods

France, Picardy, Amiens (?)
c. 1420 - 1430

100 x 87 x 22 cm / 39.4 x 34.3 x 8.7 in; limestone with traces of early polychromy, bonded fractures include waist of the saint, upper part of saint's left and right arms, ground and lower legs of right tormentor, left lower leg of left tormentor, missing parts include: the ends of the hat of the tormentor on the left side, right hand of the same figure, left hand of left tormentor, both hammers they would have held and the four spikes digging into the saints neck and stomach, both hands of the saint; otherwise good condition and a remarkable survival.

Provenance
Collection of Jacqueline Boccador, Paris, prior to 1974

Published
Jacqueline Boccador, *Statuaire Médiévale en France de 1400 à 1530, Vol. 1,* Zoug, 1974, front cover and fig. 34, p. 48.

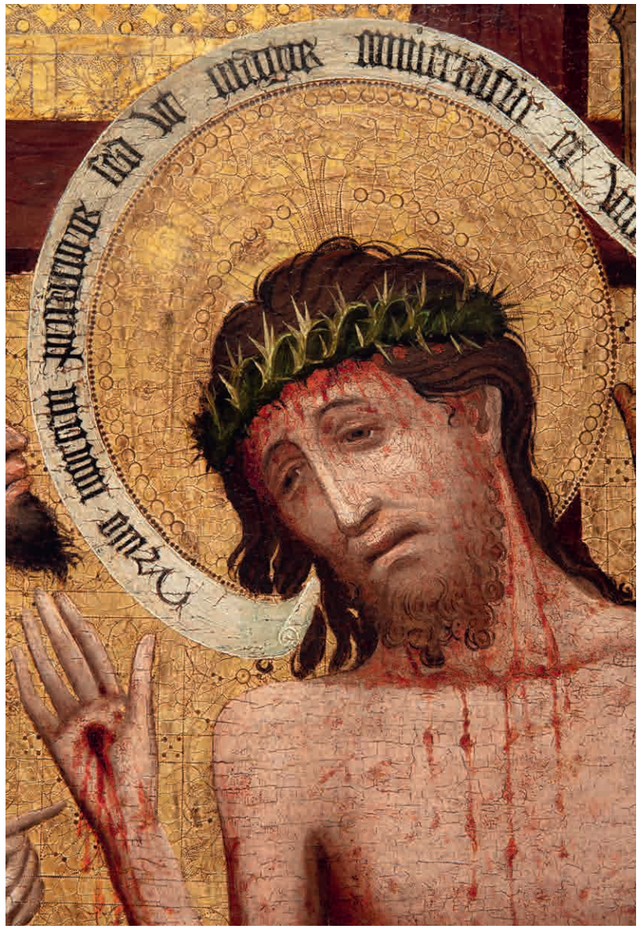
that cut across the victim's shins directly adjacent to it.

Saint Quentin was the patron saint of Amiens. He was a Roman Christian who came to evangelize the region of Picardy in northern France and was martyred in Augusta, giving rise to a new town which was named after him in the Aisne department in Picardy. Being hammered with spikes/nails was a form of torture particular to this saint. There are various miniatures from Amiens which show the saint having nails driven into his neck, and it became a standard iconography for Amiens to show the saint sitting between two torturers.

The low-waisted tunics of the tormentors first appear in French and Flemish fashion during the first third of the fifteenth century, and can be particularly seen in the van Eyck brothers' Ghent Altarpiece, completed between 1427 and 1432 (Cathedral of Saint Bavo, Ghent). However, this type of image in large-scale, carved form, is almost entirely unrepresented amongst the surviving fragments of early fifteenth-century Medieval sculpture. A similarly conceived (but somewhat later) figure group, also with a central victim flanked by two tormentors, is preserved in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (illustrated in F. Baron, *Musée du Louvre; Sculpture Française, I: Moyen Âge,* Paris, 1996, p. 182). The scale and frontal design of this magnificent sculpture indicate that it was most likely carved for a private chapel.

14 The Master of the Holy Kinship (c.1410 – 40)
Christ as the Man of Sorrows, accompanied by a kneeling Donor

This commanding image of the Man of Sorrows is argued to be the most important work of the so-called Master of the Holy Kinship, encompassing the spirit of Late Gothic panel painting in early fifteenth century Cologne[1]. Standing in the centre, the figure of Christ wears only a loincloth and a crown of thorns, his feet apart and his hands raised to show his stigmata. Blood pours from his wound across his forehead, chest and stomach. Elongated and lean, Christ is set against a richly gilded background crowded with instruments of the Passion. The largest of these is the cross behind the figure of Christ, the hefty nails symbolising those that were used to crucify his body on it. On the bottom right is the empty tomb and on the left is the column to which Christ was tied when he was lashed. The large spear covered in Christ's blood represents the lance used to pierce his side and the thirty silver coins on the ground are those that Judas received to betray Christ. On the lower right edge are also the dice used by the soldiers to gamble for his robe and the two floating hats represent the crown of Herod and the hat of Pilate. The face of Christ is also present on the so-called Veil of Veronica, which the saint used to wipe the sweat and blood of Christ on the road to Calvary. The objects floating around Christ are juxtaposed with his calm yet emotionally charged stance. His icon-like



Germany, Cologne
c. 1410 – 1440

120 x 64 cm / 47.2 x 25.2 in.; oil and gilding on panel; a loss near the tip of the spear at the top left corner of the painting has been replaced; minor touching up throughout

Provenance
Heinz Kisters Collection, Kreutzlingen; thence by descent until 2018.

Published
Alfred Stange, *Die deutsche Tafelbilder vor Dürer,* I, Munich, 1967, No. 44 (As Veronica Master).

Anna-Elisabeth Theuerkauff-Liederwald, Mittelalterliche Bronze- und Messinggefässe: Eimer, Kannen, Lavabokessel, Berlin, 1988, p. 126, fig. 13.

Julien Chapuis, *Stefan Lochner: Image Making in Fifteenth-Century* Cologne, Turnhout, 2004, p.217.

P. Pieper. 'Zum Werd des Meisters der hl. Veronika,' in *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Cologne, 1970 (as Veronika Master).

Frank Gunter Zehnder, *Katalog der Altkölner Malerei,* Cologne, 1990, p. 327 (as Master of the Holy Kinship).

Frank Gunter Zehnder, *Stefan Lochner Meister zu Köln,* Cologne, 1993, p. 308, No. 39 (as Master of the Holy Kinship).

1, Frank Gunter Zehnder, Stefan Lochner Meister zu Köln (Cologne, 1993), p. 308.

face, which is full of grief, is characterised by an elongated, straight nose, a small mouth and deeply furrowed brows. His lean body is accentuated by pointed feet, that are characteristic of the so-called International Style of painting. A scroll outlines Christ's halo, stating '*nullo mortem peccatoris ut magis conuertatur et uiuat*' (I do not desire the death of the sinner, but rather that he change his ways and live,) denotes his sacrifice for mankind. A clerical patron in prayer kneels at the bottom of the scene with a further inscription emanating from his clasped hands, stating *'miserere mei deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam*' (Psalm 50, Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy.)

The iconography of the Man of Sorrows was extremely popular in the later Middle Ages. A contemplative image, it derived from a combination of sources, including the vision of Saint Gregory, the Byzantine image known as the I*mago Pietatis* and the iconography of the Ecce Homo. *'Ecce Homo*' or 'Behold the Man', are the words uttered by Pilate while presenting Christ to the crowd, bound and crowned with thorns after the flagellation and mocking (John 19:5). The image also reflected the vision that appeared to Saint Gregory (c. 540 – 604) during mass as he prayed to convince an unbeliever of the doctrine of transubstantiation. As he raised the eucharistic bread with his hands, a vision of Christ as Man of Sorrows appeared before him on the altar together with the instruments of the Passion. In our panel, however, we are not presented with a scene but rather a meditative image of the sorrowful Christ. These types of images reflected the new private devotional practices that had arisen in Europe since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, urging the layman to envision and intimately associate with Christ's physical torments during the Passion. This approach, first put forward by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, was subsequently promoted by the Franciscans, by theologians such as Ludolph of Saxony and Saint Bonaventura, and then by the proponents of the *Devotio Moderna*[2] . Images such as this were to support these individual meditations.

Fig.1
Master of the Holy Kinship
Holy Kinship Altar
Germany, Cologne
c.1420
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum &
Fondation Corboud

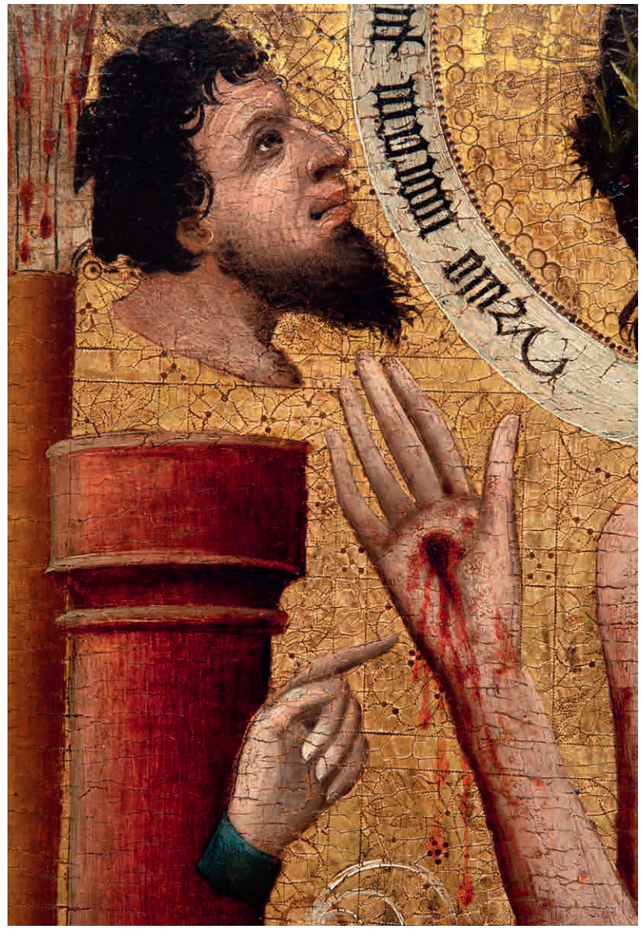
Fig.2
Master of the Holy Kinship
Holy Kinship Altar (closed)
Germany, Cologne
c.1420
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum &
Fondation Corboud

Fig.3
Master of Saint Veronica
Crucifixion
Germany, Cologne
c.1400-1420
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum &
Fondation Corboud

2, For an overview of the spiritual environment and its fostering of the diptych production: Hand, Metzger & Spronk (2006), pp 2-3 and p 50; Wolff (1989), pp 114-120.

One of the wealthiest cities in the Holy Roman Empire at this time, Cologne attracted accomplished artists to train and work there in the early 15th century. The Master of the Holy Kinship, also referred to as the elder, was one of the most established artists in Cologne at this time and it is believed that he led a large workshop there. Called a 'powerful artistic voice in the early decades of the 15th century,' his style fits well with the art produced in Cologne at this time, combining a soft airy mode of painting lavished with a graceful Gothic character. His name derives from his most famous work, The Holy Kinship Altarpiece (fig. 1), which is a winged altar probably made for the St. Heribert Hospital in Cologne and which includes a painting of the Man of Sorrows on one of the exterior wings (fig. 2). The use of colours, the configuration of the bodies and the composition of the painting finds close comparisons to our example. Although nothing more is known about his life, the Master of the Holy Kinship's style reveals that he must have worked alongside the Saint Veronica Master, to whom our painting has also been attributed in the past. Also active in Cologne, the Veronica Master is known for his panel paintings of Saint Veronica in the National Gallery in London and the Crucifixion in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum (fig. 3 - 4). The icon-like faces of his subjects and the softness of his lines also find many parallels with the figure of Christ in our painting.

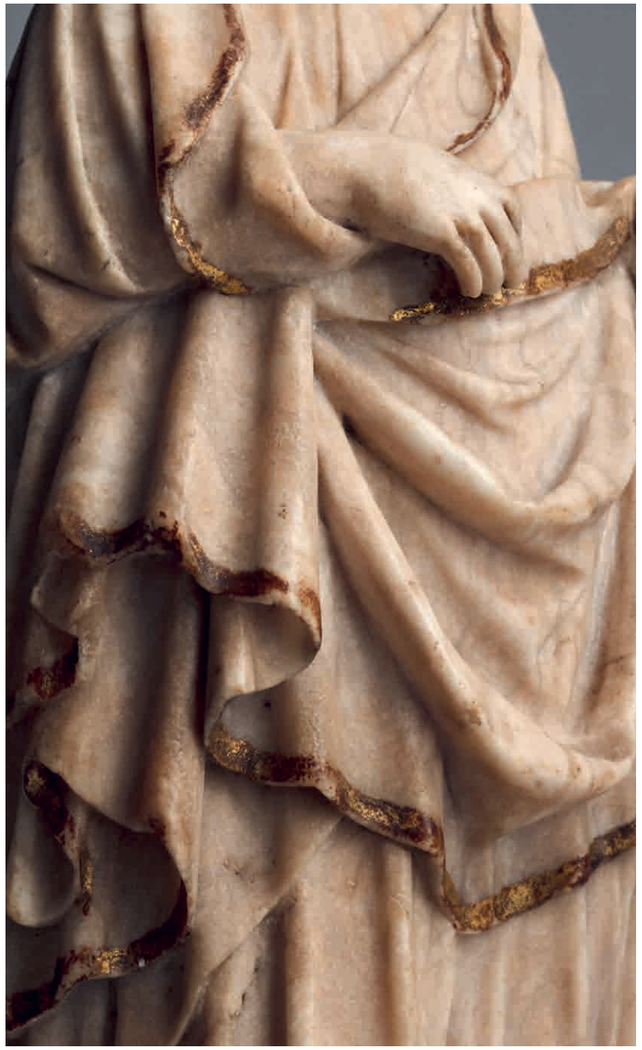
Fig.4
Saint Veronica Master
Saint Veronica
Germany, Cologne
Early 15th century
National Gallery, London



15 A pair of alabaster standing Apostles, carved for the high altar of Saint-Omer Cathedral

Description and Iconography

A pair of carved Apostles or saint figures standing in full-length garments and voluminous mantles whose material enshrouds their raised left hands in each case, and falls in pooling folds over the integrally carved polygonal bases beneath their feet. They show two men at different ages – the elder of the two has a balding pate and curling locks of hair that sprout around the sides of his head and terminate at level of his neck. His long, bifid beard falls over his mantle to the top of his chest, and a series of finely incised wrinkles arc across his forehead and encircle his eye sockets, while angular bags of skin hang below his eyes in a visible sign of age. His more youthful counterpart has a chiselled, cleanly shaven jawline and a full head of hair that erupts in a mass of thick corkscrew locks.



Southern Netherlands or Northern France
c. 1430 (probably 1429)

Bearded Apostle: 23.7 x 9.3 x 5.8 cm / 9.3 x 3.7 x 2.3 in.
Clean-shaven Apostle (Saint John): 23.7 x 10.2 x 5.9 cm / 9.3 x 4 x 2.32 in.
Both figures are carved from the same cream-coloured alabaster with pale veining and inclusions, with the remains of selective polychromy to the faces and gilding on the visible hemlines of their clothing. Some minor surface abrasion and ship losses in places. Both figures missing their attributes.

Provenance
Collection of Augustin Ozenfant (1834-1894), Lille, acquired 1864;
Thence by descent to Chanoine Paul Bernard, Lille, until 1962;
Dr. Albert Habart, Calais, until 1971;
Julius Böhler, Munich;
Collection of David and Louise Carter, New Haven, acquired from the above in 1973

Published
E. van Drivel, L'Exposition de Lille: études sur les objets d'art religieux ieunis à Lille en 1874, Arras, 1876, p. 135, nos. 554 and 555

Rhein und Maas, Exh. Cat., Cologne, 1972 (Böhler advert)
John Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands*, Exh. Cat., Ghent, 1994, p. 327

Exhibited
Exposition d'objets d'art religieux, Lille, l'Hôtel de l'ancienne Préfecture du Nord, 14 June – 13 July 1874, nos. 554 and 555

Related Literature
Georg Swarzenski, 'Deutsche Alabasterplastik des 15 Jahrhunderts', in *Staedel Jahrbuch* 1, Frankfurt, 1921, fig. 112, no. XXXIII, b, 24

Anton Legner, *'Der Alabasteraltar aus Rimini'*, in *Staedel* Jahrbuch 2, 1968, pp. 101-169

Kunst um 1400 am Mittelrhein, Exh. Cat., Liebieghaus Museum, Frankfurt am Main, 1975

Paul Williamson, *Northern Gothic sculpture 1200-1450*, London, 1988, pp. 187-191, no. 54

William Wixom, ed. *Mirror of the Medieval World,* Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1999

Kim Woods, 'The Master of Rimini and the tradition of alabaster carving in the early fifteenth-century *Netherlands', in Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 62, 2012, pp. 56-83

Timothy Potts, 'Recent acquisitions (2013–16) at The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles', in *The Burlington Magazine,* March 2017, No. 1368, Vol. CLIX

Kim Woods, *Cut in Alabaster: A Material of Sculpture and its European Traditions 1330-1530*, Belgium, 2018, pp. 93-122

Both men raise their left hands to support objects that are now missing, and which would originally have identified them for late-medieval viewers. Conventions prescribing the manner in which the twelve Disciples of Jesus – also known as the Apostles who spread the Word of God following Christ's death – were portrayed by late-medieval artists allow us to suggest with some surety that the younger of the two figures is identifiable as John, one of the few Disciples routinely depicted with a youthful, cleanshaven visage. His sharp and beardless jaw and mid-length hairstyle accord well with this identification, as do comparisons with another surviving figure of Saint John on the contemporaneously carved Rimini Altar in Frankfurt (to be discussed further below). The identity of his older counterpart is less easy to define, though it is possible that he was originally intended to represent Saint Paul, who along with Saint Peter is commonly depicted with a balding pate.

History, Function and Context

In 1994 John Steyaert republished a document of 1429 which describes the commissioning of a now lost figurative altarpiece by the canon Gauthier Ponche for the main altar of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Saint-Omer. Its text mentions that the altarpiece was carved from alabaster ('notabilem tabulam imaginibus alabastrinis') with gilded ('deauratis') elements. A later document of 1609 explicitly refers to the same altarpiece as having twelve figures of apostles ('XII apostolorum'). Although no central narrative component was described in either document, it seems likely as Steyaert surmised that these figures were made to accompany an existing figural group depicting the Calvary, which had apparently been set up at an earlier date behind the same altar table, not least since the altarpiece is described as having been not only made ('fieri') but also adapted ('a[da?]ptari') in the original 1429 document.

No such altarpiece survives, but in 1840 four alabaster Apostles (two which are identifiable by their attributes as Bartholomew and Andrew, see figs. 1-4) identical in material, facture, style, and proportions to our pair appeared in the collection of a local Abbot in the town of Saint-Omer.[1] Clearly carved by a master sculptor working in alabaster, they are now in the collection of the Musée Sandelin in Saint-Omer. Our two figures resurfaced just two decades later in 1864, at which point residing in the collection of Augustin Ozenfant in Lille some 70 kilometers from Saint-Omer. To this group can also be added a figure of Saint John the Baptist, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 5). It is of identical proportions and closely related stylistic treatment to our figures, and also shares the same provenance from the mid-1860s (and so likely before this date as well) until its sale from the Habart collection in Calais in 1971. Another single figure preserved in the collection of the Saint John's Hospital Museum in Bruges has recently been connected with the New York[2] saint as well. Given these historical, stylistic,

1, John Steyaert, *Late Gothic Sculpture: The Burgundian Netherlands,* Exh. Cat., Ghent, 1994, p. 327.

2, Kim Woods, *Cut in Alabaster: A Material of Sculpture and its European Traditions 1330-1530,* Turnhout, 2018, p. 110.

Fig.1 (**above**)
Saint Bartholomew
24 cm; alabaster
Saint-Omer, Musée Sandelin, inv. 2911.4
Photograph: Ph. Beurtheret

Fig.2 (**below**)
Saint Philip
23.5 cm; alabaster
Saint-Omer, Musée Sandelin, inv. 2911.2
Photograph: Ph. Beurtheret

proportional and material links, it would seem likely that the New York Saint John and the Bruges Apostle figure share their genesis with our pair, and that in turn all four come from the same altarpiece as the four now in the Saint-Omer museum, making an ensemble of eight surviving figures from a possible original group of twelve. Furthermore, although we cannot be categorically certain without further documentary evidence, it seems almost beyond doubt that the four figures which resurfaced in Saint-Omer in 1840 must have come from the alabaster altarpiece carved for the Cathedral of that town, and that by connection our pair and the New York and Bruges figures likewise originate from the same retable.

Reconstructing the appearance of the retable to which this group of figures once belonged is problematic, although we do of course have the example of the famous Rimini altarpiece at the Liebieghaus in Frankfurt (discussed further below) to help us (fig. 6). Most obvious is the connection between our figure of Saint John and the same figure in Frankfurt, which share their youthful characteristics to an extent (fig. 7). Like the Frankfurt Saint John, our figure is likely to have occupied a position close to the central (Calvary) group and, as if underscoring this possibility, he looks emphatically to our left as though to engage with another scene. That our figures may have functioned in a similar context to the Frankfurt group is further suggested by the presence of single, slightly tapering dowel holes drilled vertically up into their bases. This makes clear that they were once located by way of a fixing pin to a larger structure or framework, perhaps a carved wooden retable carcass of the type widespread across Europe during the fifteenth century. Comparable holes are visible on a number of the other surviving figures from the so-called 'Rimini' group, and suggest that the workshop had a standard way of preparing its products for mounting, regardless of whether the support to which they were to be attached was created at the same time, or alternatively upon the figures' arrival at their final destination. A point in favour of the latter, which would have demanded a certain flexibility in regards to the figures' positioning and display, is suggested by the fact that our figures are fully worked in the round, a characteristic closely aligned with almost all of the other surviving figures from the same workshop.

Attribution

The stylistic treatment of our figures, with their characteristic spiralling locks of hair and their concentrated mass of fine drapery folds, as well as their execution from a pale but highly figured and veined type of alabaster, are clear evidence that they were produced in the workshop of an artist known since the late 1920s as the 'Master of Rimini'. This provisional name was originally coined by the great German art historian Georg Swarzenski (1876-1957), who in 1913 purchased the so-called Rimini Altar for the Liebieghaus, a dedicated sculpture museum which he had helped to establish in Frankfurt four years previous. The altarpiece in question, which takes the form of a 'crowded Crucifixion' showing Christ crucified between the two thieves and accompanied at the feet of the three crosses by the Roman soldiers, Longinus, the grieving Virgin and her counterpart Saint John, as well as the twelve apostles or Disciples of Christ, once decorated the Franciscan church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Covignano, near Rimini.

Fig.3 (**above**)
A bearded apostle
22.7 cm; alabaster
Saint-Omer, Musée Sandelin, inv. 2911.1
Photograph: Ph. Beurtheret

Fig.4 (**below**)
A bearded apostle
23 cm; alabaster
Saint-Omer, Musée Sandelin, inv. 2911.3
Photograph: Ph. Beurtheret

In his first article on the altarpiece, Swarzenski attempted to demonstrate that its carver, the so-called 'Master of Rimini', could be identified with the documented sculptor Master Gusmin, an artist he thought trained in Cologne but worked in Italy, and is documented in texts of the mid-fifteenth century including Lorenzo Ghiberti's Commentarii as having died between around 1415 and 1420[3]. In response, and owing to a misreading of the surviving documents, Walter Paatz suggested that the artist instead worked in northern France[4], while more recently Anton Legner, Paul Williamson, Monique Blanc and Kim Woods have all argued convincingly for a Netherlandish localisation[5].

It is clear from what survives of the sculptor's oeuvre that he operated a workshop whose heyday lasted from the early 1420s into the mid-1440s, and whose products were exported right across Europe - to Silesia, France, Italy, Savoy - finding currency among the highest echelons of society[6]. The fact that his key surviving works were found in Italy - a place famously rich with marble deposits and sculpture - speaks to the demand for his talents and for the material with which he worked. Indeed, the Frankfurt Crucifixion Altar was in all likelihood commissioned by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, while another prominent Italian noble family, the Borromini, ordered an altarpiece from the same workshop for their church on Isola Bella in Lago Maggiore. Recently, Kim Woods has connected the artist tentatively with Gillis de Backere, *a tailleur d'ymaiges d'albastre* (alabaster carver) recorded as working for Philip the Good in 1436 on a tomb monument to the duke's first wife Michèle de Valois (d. 1422) in Ghent[7]. Such an important commission implies that de Backere had already had a fruitful and feted career, so we may reconstruct his activities at least back into the 1420s. He seems to have died by 1443, when the sculptor Tydeman Maes took over the carving of Michèle's tomb. Though the identification is tentative - de Backere remains the only documented alabaster specialist in the southern Netherlands in the fifteenth century and so risks being burdened with the full weight of the surviving material evidence - Woods has convincingly showed that he was well placed, both chronologically and geographically, to undertake works of this nature using alabaster imported into the Low Countries via its western sea ports. Regardless of his precise identity, his style is so closely connected with the artistic language developed in part by contemporary painters working in the southern Netherlands, especially Rogier van der Weyden, the Master of Flémalle, and Jan van Eyck, that it seems clear it was in that region that he worked. Indeed, we now believe that the sculptor must have been acquainted with the latter since a number of corresponding motifs appear in their respective works[8].

Fig.5 (**above**)
Saint John the Baptist
c. 1420-25
24.1 cm; alabaster
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Cloisters Collection, inv. 1995.412

Fig.6 (**below**)
The Master of Rimini and workshop
The Rimini Altar
Southern Netherlands
c. 1430
total height 225 cm; alabaster with traces of polychromy

3, Georg Swarzenski: 'Der Kölner Meister bei Ghiberti', in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1926–27, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 22–42.

4, Walter Paatz, 'Stammbaum der gotischen Alabasterskulptur 1516-1442', in *Festschrift fur Hans Kauff-mann*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 127-35.

5, Anton Legner, 'Der Alabasteraltar aus Rimini', in *Staedel Jahrbuch* 2, 1968, pp. 101-169; Paul Williamson, *Netherlandish Sculpture* 1450-1550, London, 2002, p. 64; Monique Blanc, Retables: *la collection du Musée des Arts Décoratifs*, Paris, 1998, pp. 117-9; Kim Woods, 'The Master of Rimini and the tradition of alabaster carving in the early fifteenth-century Netherlands' in *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* 2012, Vol. 62, 2012, pp. 56-83.

6, For export see Woods, 2012, p. 67.

7, Ibid., pp. 73-5.

8, Woods, 2018, p. 120.

It must be conceded that the artistic identity described as the Master of Rimini is problematic and enigmatic, for several reasons. First, the corpus of surviving sculptures grouped around the artist are of considerable diversity, both in terms of quality and stylistic treatment, indicating that we are dealing not with a single artist but with a group of connected sculptors working closely with one another over a long period of time, with (we assume) the most accomplished among them leading a dedicated workshop. To put this into relief, the gnomon by which all other attributions are judged, the Rimini Altar itself, is now understood to be the work of several sculptors, with whole figures attributable to differing hands. Our understanding of the Master's identity is also complicated by the fact that no works in other media have ever been convincingly attributed to them, meaning that while alabaster may indeed have been their primary conduit of artistic production, we are forced by lack of evidence to reconstruct an oeuvre in which it formed the only material they were able or trained to worked with, which we know from other artistic identities of the middle Ages (Tilman Riemenschneider for example) was often far from the truth. Nevertheless, it is absolutely clear that the Rimini workshop fruitfully and repeatedly keyed into the historic prestige that alabaster held since at least the 14th century, capitalizing on what Woods has described as the material's elevated 'social allure'. We must think of the workshop therefore as a perfect marriage of skill and ingenuity.

The patterns of both of our figures' draperies closely echo those of several of the figures on the Master of Rimini's eponymous Crucifixion Altar in Frankfurt, and since they also utilize the same highly-figured form of alabaster, we can be certain that they were carved not only with recourse to the Master's workshop models, but also as a result of contact with the same stone merchant, importer or agent (further suggesting that our artist much have operated within close geographical proximity to the Master's workshop). Yet the stylistic treatment of our figures' facial types and physiognomies is sufficiently divergent to those on the Frankfurt Altar to make clear their execution by another highly-skilled and fully resolved sculptor, and that we must re-evaluate the as-yet unshaken primacy given to the so-called Master of Rimini in light of these astonishing survivals.

Fig.7
The Master of Rimini and workshop
Detail of the Rimini Altar with Saint John (far left)

16 A micro-architectural custodia for the display

Condition

The condition of this tall micro-architectural tower is a fascinating contributor to its appearance and function, and as such is worth discussing in full. The tower's structure as it appears today has evidently undergone radical alteration at some point in its history, perhaps over the course of many years and during multiple programs of adaptation. The most visually pronounced of these has been the addition, in the modern period, of blue and green enamelled silver plates backed onto each of the window openings in imitation of stained-glass windows. The presence in these enamels of traces of chromium (not known in enamel production before the eighteenth century) and a high lead content (over 20% in areas analysed with pXRF) indicate that they are of modern manufacture. Each one is further ornamented by small five-pointed stars stamped from thin silver

Northern Spain
c. 1450, with feet adapted from a late fifteenth-century structure

44.7 x 22.8 x 17.6 cm / 17.6 x 9 x 6.9 in. The miniature figures each measure 3.7 cm tall. Gilded silver with cast, hammered, chased and engraved elements held together with silver and iron pins, with later silver window inserts of basse taille enamel in blue and green added in the modern period. The feet adapted from another object or a later addition of the same object

Provenance
Collection of Baron James de Rothschild (1878-1957);
His posthumous sale, 'Collection du Baron James de Rothschild', Palais Galliéra, 1st December 1966, lot 221;
Private collection, Austria, acquired from the above, and by descent until 2020

Markings
A single hallmark stamped into the fictive brickwork at the centre of one wall on the lowest level of the structure, apparently reading 'D...NG'

sheet, which were laid in rows on top of each enamel before being heated in the kiln to fuse them to the surface. The small pierced holes at the centre of each star suggest that they may in fact have been produced as spangles for use on embroidered textiles, but were requisitioned by the goldsmith in an ingenious moment of economical reuse. Other, more structural changes also seem to have occurred, perhaps in order to turn a grander but damaged object into a smaller, complete structure. Subtle areas of disturbance and a series of redundant pierced holes at the centre of each window's lintel on the second storey indicates that it has been altered from a previous iteration, and that it has perhaps lost additional decorative attachments. Additionally, it is likely that the hinged door let into the underside of the lowest register is not original to its construction, being the only element heavily formed by hammering rather than casting, and with a style of mount more consistent with 17th and 18th-century reliquaries. It is also rendered useless by its proximity to the underside of the feet, meaning it cannot be opened easily without completely upending the structure – perhaps an indication of a once taller structure that has been reduced in height? At the same time, the feet have all undergone some cutting to their inward faces, while two have assembly marks scratched into their bases, which do not appear to have any corresponding counterparts on the structure itself near their fixing points. Both details suggest that they were sawn from another object and repositioned to their present location. Their stylistic treatment also locates their execution more probably to a German workshop active towards the end of the fifteenth century, though their miniature figures are shown wearing a style of short over-garment popularized among the European nobility (particularly in the French and Italian courts) from the 1460s on. Since they reprise small enamelled plaques of identical facture to those in the structure above, it is possible that they were added at the same time, perhaps – it may be speculated – by a German goldsmith of the type known to have worked with the Rothschilds in the second half of the 19th century[1].

Description

This extraordinary construction takes the form of a hexagonal micro-architectural tower raised on six feet that are each decorated with gloved men (boxers?) standing within ornate niches embellished with clustered pinnacles. Above them, the tower is constructed over four levels that decrease in size from bottom to top, with a short pinnacle of simulated pantiles crowning the uppermost level and terminating in a foliated crocket. Each level is ornamented with six windows, each one consisting of a double lancet supporting a tracery quatrefoil. The two lowermost levels of the structure, also being the largest, each have hinged doors carefully and skillfully disguised as windows whose hinges are concealed among their traceried frameworks. Set into the underside of the structure is a hinged, hexagonal door, which when opened reveals a flanged ovoid compartment that must once have held a relic or large rock crystal cabochon but which is now empty.

Fig.1 (**above**)
Enrique de Arfe
The Arfe custodia
1515-23
Toledo,
Cathedral of Saint Mary

Fig.2 (**below**)
One of the largest and most visually splendid objects in the cathedral treasury in Vienna was the Saint Stephen custodia, pictured at centre-left in Matthaeus Heuperger's Wiener Heiltumsbuch, 1514
Vienna, Wienbibliothek, H 3284, fol. 10r

1, It is believed that a German or Austrian goldsmith working for the Rothschilds in the second half of the 19th century was responsible for the fantastical engraving added to a lidded beaker by Hans Greiff (active c. 1470-1516), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 50.7.1a, b; for which see departmental object file. I am sincerely grateful to Christine Brennan for allowing me access to this file in October 2018.

The ornate shape of our object and its capacity to hold relics and/or the sacred Host in several places together signify that it is very probably identifiable as a piece of a larger custodia, a tall construction (typically of several storeys), invented during the Middle Ages to act as a visual and material centrepiece during processions surrounding the Feast of Corpus Christi[2]. This feast, celebrating the Holy Sacrament, was first introduced by Pope Urban IV in 1264 and remains widely marked by a festive procession held on the first Thursday after Trinity. Custodia, therefore, have traditionally been made as appropriately rich displays of materials and at an extraordinary scale for what we usually think of metalwork pertaining to; the grandest of those to have come down to us from the later Middle Ages, the so-called *Arfe custodia* in Toledo, is over eight feet in height (fig. 1). Indeed, their creation necessitated vast amounts of raw material, so much so that in one edition of the *Quilatador*, his treatise on goldsmith's work, Enrique de Arfe's grandson Juan describes the manner in which his family had been forced to melt down 'infinite things of great age' in order to obtain enough silver and gold for reuse.[3]

Although not a Spanish invention, we know of over a hundred custodias surviving in Spain and the Spanish islands, and only one outside of that country, an example in the church at Ratibor which was in fact destroyed in the second world war. Others are, however, known to have been produced

Fig.3a (**above**)
One of the largest and most visually splendid objects in the cathedral treasury in Vienna was the Saint Stephen custodia, pictured at centre-left in Matthaeus Heuperger's Wiener Heiltumsbuch, 1514
Vienna, Wienbibliothek, H 3284, fol. 10r

Fig.3b (**below**)
Detail of the Ibiza Cathedral custodia

2, Carl Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith* 1430-1830, vol. 1 (text), London and New York, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1977, p. 322.

3, Charles Oman, *The Golden Age of Hispanic Silver 1400-1665*, London, 1968, p. xiii.

in northern European contexts, including one for the Cathedral of Saint Stephen in Vienna (fig. 2). In the scale of its components, the use of its window openings as access points to its interior, its shape and faceting, and the details of its fictive architectural structures (with decorated and flamboyant window traceries juxtaposed with straight-sided pediments) our example relates most closely to a custodia produced by Francesc Martí for the cathedral of Ibiza and dated 1399 (figs. 3a-b). The more energetically flamboyant nature of our version's architectural embellishments, which lack the austerity of Martí's design, suggest a date well into the middle of the fifteenth century, but nevertheless accord well with its overarching conception (and with other Spanish metalwork of the years after 1400; see figs. 4-5), and it thus seems highly likely that our goldsmith was working in the Kingdom of Valencia and was acquainted with this corpus and tradition of goldsmith's work.

Despite its fascinating modern interventions, this extraordinary tour-de-force of medieval goldsmith's work, inventiveness and ambition makes its re-emergence a moment of the utmost significance for our continued study of what scholars have defined as 'among the most striking objects ever made in Europe'.[4]

Fig.4 (**above**)
Detail from the reliquary of San Saturnino
1389
Pamplona, Paroquia de San Saturnino

Fig.5 (**below**)
Detail of a custodia
c. 1390-1400
88 cm (height), 126 cm (height with pedestal); gilded silver
Barcelona Cathedral Treasury

4, Carl Hernmarck, *The Art of the European Silversmith 1430-1830, vol. 1* (text), London and New York, Sotheby Parke Bernet, 1977, p. 322.

17 Paolo da Visso (active 1431-1482)
The Crucifixion

This intimate panel painting of the Crucifixion, with its unusual iconography, has been at the centre of scholarly debate since its first appearance in an early 20th century publication. It has since been attributed to Paolo da Visso, a 15th century painter from the Central Italian region of Le Marche. [1]

Silhouetted against an ornate golden background, the crucified Christ bows his head down to the scene below. The text on the scroll above Christ, "INRI" (I*esus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum*), visualises the sign placed on top of the Cross which reads: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews").[2] The agony of Christ's crucifixion is intensified through the intense red blood that pours from his wounds. Located below the Cross is an intimate scene between the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist. Kneeling at the foot of the Cross, Saint John is portrayed a beardless and graceful young man with tears elegantly rolling down his cheek, and delicate hands in prayer. In this profound scene, as John weeps, Mary reaches to hold the Saint's hand and brings her coat protectively around him. Behind this central image, kneeling and embracing the foot of the Cross is Saint Francis (c.1182-1226) dressed in the traditional Franciscan brown habit fastened with a white rope, looking upwards to Christ. The golden background includes intricate punchwork forming foliage and vegetal patterns, which glimmer and change under the reflection of light upon the surface. Encircling the outline of the painted of the Crucifixion and the landscape, the artist has created a punchwork border of cusped arches to provide a sense of separation between the two mediums. This detailed technique is also found in the halos of the saints. The juxtaposition of the painted surface and gold with its intricate details provides a dazzling effect for the viewer. Rather than form part of a public altarpiece, this painting was meant to be handled as a devotional object. This is suggested by its small scale and its reverse painted in imitation of porphyry. The unique presence of the inscription above the Virgin's head further emphasises that it was designed to be viewed up close.

A tool for contemplation, the iconography of this panel adds complexity to the otherwise straightforward scene, which depicts the final moment before the death of Christ. Kneeling and embracing the foot of the Cross is Saint Francis of Assisi dressed in the traditional Franciscan brown habit fastened with a white rope, looking towards Christ. Although out of place, the presence of Francis at the foot of the cross is not unusual in Italian art of this period, which often merges the story of the saint's life with the story of Christ's passion in order to emphasise his direct spiritual authority. This combination can also be seen in a painting by Ugolino di Nerio now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, suggesting a Franciscan context for this panel and ours (fig.1). The viewers of this moment are invited to witness this special union, which was given a special role in Dominican and Franciscan mysticism in the 14th and 15th centuries.

1, We would like to thank Dr Mauro Minardi for his help and guidance on this painting.

2, John 19:19

Italy, Le Marche
Mid-15th century

42 x 30.2 x 3 cm; tempera and gold on panel

Provenance
Sterbini Collection, Rome
Private collection, Switzerland

Published
Venturi, Adolfo. La galleria *Sterbini in Roma: saggio illustrativo* (Roma: Casa editrice de L'Arte. 1906), pp.86-89.

Zeri, Federico. *Diari di lavoro* 2 (Torino 1976, ried. in *Diario marchigiano*, 1948-1988), pp.51-54.

Related literature
Van Marle, Raimond. T*he Development of the Italian Schools of Painting. Volume 5*. Nijhof, 2017.

Gordon, Dillian. *The Fifteenth-Century Italian Paintings.* National Gallery: London, 2003.

Minardi, Mauro. *Lorenzo e Jacopo Salimbeni. Vicende e protagonisti della pittura tardogotica nelle Marche e in Umbria.* Olschki, 2008.

Zeri, Federico. *Diari di lavoro 2. Einaudi, 1976.*
Venturi, Adolfo. La galleria Sterbini in Roma: saggio illustrative. Rome: Casa editrice de L'Arte, 1906.

Fig. 1
Ugolino di Nerio
Crucifixion with St Francis of Assisi
14th century
Sienna, Pinacoteca Nazionale

The most unusual aspects of the iconography here, however, is an intimate scene located in the foreground. The Virgin Mary stands in front of Saint John the Evangelist who is portrayed with tears rolling down his cheek, as he kneels in prayer. In this profound scene, the Virgin reaches to hold the Saint's hand as he weeps, while she brings her coat protectively around him. The agony of the moment is intensified by the blood that pours from Christ' side and stops as it reaches two lines of text in red script, suggesting that the blood created these words. The Gothic text echoes Christ's last words on the Cross: Mulier ecce filius tuus, translated: 'Woman, behold your son'. In the most innovative way, the artist here visualises the moment when shortly before his last breath, Christ opened his eyes and sanctioned his favourite disciple, John, to his mother as a son, and accepted him into the divine family.

The style of our painting of the Crucifixion brings together characteristics of the 15th century high Gothic pictorial world from different Italian regions. The artist of this scene combined the most diverse trends in northern Italian painting at this time with traditional elements of central Italian art. The painting demonstrates stylistic connections to the Marche region in Italy, more specifically perhaps to the towns of Fabriano or San Severino. The style of artwork from the Marche region in the 15th century combined the playful high Gothic style of Lombardy, Visconti and Veneto with the elegance of the classical world of forms. The artist utilises decorative elements found within Lombard painting such as the vegetal punchwork motifs on the gilded background. Such decorative elements were learned by 15th-century artists whilst training in Veneto under masters such as Stefano da Verona (1374–1450) and Gentile da Fabriano (c.1370/85–1427). In fact, the golden background of our panel closely resembles the work of Stefano da Verona, specifically his Crucifixion (c.1400) currently at the MET (fig. 2). Here, Stefano da Verona similarly includes an exquisitely tooled repetition of thornless roses.

The atmospheric nature of the painting, with its contrasting mountainous landscape, dark foreground and bright golden background is also reminiscent of the milieu of the Gentile da Fabriano, who vividly painted such contrasting atmospheric lighting. There are also similarities in the design of the rocky landscape and the rich *millefleur* meadows, whose individual plants shine like golden wispy lights due to the incidence of light. This can also be seen in the work of Jacobello del Fiore (fl. c. 1400–1439), especially in his altarpiece depicting the life of Saint Lucy commissioned for Saint Lucy's Church in Fermo, a town in the region of Marche. In several of the scenes of Saint Lucy's life, including the depiction of Lucy burned at the stake, similarities can be observed in the plants which glimmer under the golden light (fig. 3).

Fig. 2 (**above**)
Stefano da Verona (Stefano di Giovanni d'Arbosio di Francia)
The Crucifixion
c.1400
Italy
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018.87

Fig. 3 (**below**)
Jacobello del Fiore
Detail from St. Lucy burned at the stake
c.1410
Pinacoteca Comunale, Fermo, Italy

Fig. 4 (**left**)
Bartolomeo di Tommaso
The Lamentation and the Entombment
c. 1445–50
MET 58.87.2

The attribution of this painting to Paolo da Visso was first suggested by Federico Zeri in the 1970s. Although the painting had first been attributed to Giovanni di Paolo in 1906 by Adolfo Venturi in La galleria Sterbini in Roma[3], Federico Zeri disputed this, proposing that the artist was Paolo da Visso (active. 1431-1482).[4] Paolo da Visso was originally from the small town of Aschio in the province of Macerata. Working during the last two quarters of the fifteenth century, Paolo's artworks were distributed between Le Marche and Umbria. He was a pupil of Bartolomeo di Tommaso da Foligno (c.1400-1453/54), who was a painter of the Umbrian School. Influences of Bartolomeo di Tommaso's work can be noted in our painting of the Crucifixion. For example, in The Lamentation and Entombment (fig. 4), we see a similar use of skin colour tones and hilly landscape.

Although Paolo da Visso's artworks are largely lost, we can illustrate two examples that share numerous characteristics with our Crucifixion painting. The first is a panel painting of the funeral of the Virgin (fig. 5) and the second an altarpiece of the Virgin and Child (fig. 6). Both works exhibit the same *millefleur* setting at the foreground of the image that is evident in the Crucifixion painting. When comparing the depiction of the Virgin's funeral with the Crucifixion scene, other similarities include the same rough setting with hills and patterned golden background, as well as comparable use of drapery which folds gently across the limbs of the figures. The likenesses between these paintings confirms that this Crucifixion painting is the work of Paolo da Visso during the mid-fifteenth century.
Fig. 5 Paolo da Visso, Funeral scene of the Virgin Mary, mid-15th century, Last known location: Trinity Fine Art, London 2009

A rare example of a work by the Marchigian-Umbrian painter Paolo da Visso, this impressive panel painting depicting Christ's suffering on the Cross eloquently expresses the grief of the Virgin and Saint John in a most unusual iconography. Set against an ornately punched golden background, the scene takes place in an other-worldly setting and together with the presence of St Francis, the iconography traverses geographic and historic boundaries in order to deliver its message of hope for a continued spiritual following. The intimate nature of both the scene depicted and the size of the panel painting demonstrates its function as a tool for private devotion and contemplation.

Fig. 5 (**below**)
Paolo da Visso, Funeral scene of the Virgin Mary, mid-15th century, Last known location: Trinity Fine Art, London 2009

Fig. 6 (**right**)
Paolo da Visso
The Virgin and Child
mid-15th century
Last known location, Christie's New York (11 January 1989, lot.130)

3, Adolfo Venturi, La galleria Sterbini in Roma: saggio illustrativo (Roma: Casa editrice de L'Arte. 1906), pp.86-89

4, Federico Zeri, Diari di lavoro 2 (Torino 1976, ried. in Diario marchigiano, 1948-1988), pp.51-54

18 An onyx cameo of King René of Anjou (1409 - 1480)

A prince of the blood and a brother-in-law of Charles VII of France, René of Anjou (1409-1480) was known by contemporaries as Le bon roi René (the good king René). Although he bore many impressive titles, including King of Naples and Sicily, Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence, Duke of Bar and Duke of Lorraine, he struggled with his own political affairs, finding himself more comfortable in the world of art. Born at the time of the Renaissance and personally fascinated with the humanist revivals happening in Italy, René was a celebrated patron of the arts. He boasted a large collection of manuscripts and precious gems, some of which he is known to have mounted and given away as gifts. Surviving account books from the court of René of Anjou give us a glimpse into his artistic patronage and even provide the names of some of the artists that worked for him, including Nicolas Froment (1435-1486) and Francesco Laurana (c. 1430-1502), who has been said to have brought the Italian Renaissance to the south of France. René's close contacts with Italy probably fuelled his interest in the art of glyptics. Classically influenced gem-engravers were encouraged in Italy early on in the 'wake of humanist learning and collecting of antiques.'[1] Artists like Botticelli, Veronese and Giovanni Bellini reproduced ancient cameos in some of their paintings, and plaster casts of ancient cameos were widely disseminated in Italy. In René 's court, we have evidence that at least two cameo artists worked for him, namely Jehan Saillart and Thomas Pigne. However, scholars agree that there would have been more than just these two glyptic artists present.

Astonishingly detailed, this rare portrait cameo of René of Anjou is one of only four known cameos depicting his likeness. The cameo is carved in two layers of onyx and while the creamy top layer is markedly thick to allow for detailed carving, the pinkish layer bellow is beautifully translucent due to its shallowness. René is depicted in profile, wearing a grooved hat with a skull-cap beneath, which is twisted by the pressure of the hat. His coat is lined with a fur collar. The distinctive portrait of the ruler is extremely naturalistic including his prominent chin, small nose and bushy sideburns. Delicately carved wrinkles frame his eye, his mouth and even his ear, while the sagging skin below his chin realistically portrays the aging flesh of its sitter.
Two other cameo images of René of Anjou depict the sitter in a similar way. The first, now in the British Museum, was formerly in the collection of Henry Howard, Fourth Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758) (fig. 1). Carved in three layers of sardonyx, this cameo also presents the sitter wearing a grooved hat, now with a feather, and a coat with a fur collar. Carved from a shallow piece of stone, this cameo has the effect of being incised rather than being treated like a three-dimensional object. Ormonde Maddock Dalton attributed the British Museum example to Thomas Pigne in 1915; however, this was at a time when no other cameo of René of Anjou was known to the author.[2] The second example is the René of Anjou cameo in the Ladrière Collection, which was once owned by Caroline Bonaparte (1782-1839) (fig. 2). This example is carved in three layers of sardonyx and here the portrait assumes a more corporeal nature. The final known cameo depicting René of Anjou is now in the Cabinet des Médailles de la Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fig. 3). This example depicts a much younger René with much less detail. These characteristics distance it from the group, yet its corporeal quality and deep carving possess some affinity with our example.

France
c. 1470

21 x 18 mm / 0.8 x 0.7 in (cameo); onyx, impeccable condition, set into a modern gold ring

Provenance
August Merklein Collection, Nuremberg (1865-1940); Thence by descent

Related Literature
d'Agnel (ed.), G. A. *Les Comptes du Roi René publiés d'après les originaux inédits conservés aux Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône*. Vol. I. Paris, 1908.

Forrer, L. *Biographical Dictioinary of Medallists*. Vol. IV. London, 1909.

Dalton, O. M. *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Periods in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum*. London, 1915.

Giard, J-B. 'Un camée du Roi René par Francesco Laurana', in *Trésors monétaires* I, Supplément II. Paris, 1989.

Gennaioli, R. *Le gemme dei Medici al Museo degli Argenti: Cammei e Intagli nelle collezioni di Palazzo Pitti*. Florence, 2007.

Scarisbrick, D. *The Art of Gem Engraving from Alexander the Great to Napoleon III*. Fukuoka, 2008.

Scarisbrick, D., C. Wagner and J. Boardman. *The Guy Ladrière Collection of Gems and Rings*. London, 2016.

1, Gordon Campbell (ed.), *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts* (Oxford University Press, 2006), 411.

2, Ormonde M. Dalton, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems of the Post-Classical Periods in the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography in the British Museum* (London, 1915).

Fig. 1
Cameo of René of Anjou
c. 1470
British Museum

Fig. 2
Cameo of René of Anjou
c. 1470
Guy Ladrière Collection,
Paris

Fig. 3
Cameo of René of Anjou
c. 1450-60
Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

The attribution of these cameos has long been a subject of interest; however, scholars agree that not enough evidence has been found to ascribe them to particular artists. What is more, the present example does not seem to be carved by the same hand as any of the other surviving examples, though it bears the most resemblance in style to the Ladrière cameo, which is the most corporeal of the three. The variations in style, however, can be explained by the fact that at least two cameo carvers (Jehan Saillart and Thomas Pigne) worked as at the court of René of Anjou. Although attempts have been made to attribute the cameos to them, the lack of evidence about any particular work by these artists makes those attributions speculative. It has also been suggested that these cameo portraits may have been based on the medals of René or on the marble bust of René, both made by Francesco Laurana, or on the painted portrait of René in the Matheron Diptych by Nicolas Froment, which was completed in 1480 (fig. 4).

Outside of René's court, our portrait can also be compared stylistically to a small group of Northern Italian cameos, which share with our example a more realistic treatment of facial features and a corporeal quality in the carving – suggesting perhaps that our cameo was carved by a Northern Italian artist working at the court of René of Anjou. For example, a cameo of Ludovico Sforza dated to the 1490s, is carved so that the white onyx stands in a substantially high relief, leaving a translucent pinkish layer beneath (fig. 5). The carving of the facial features, though slightly more idealised in Ludovico's case, are also analogous. Based on Vasari's account about a group of artists who engraved gems, this cameo has been attributed to Domen

Fig. 4
Nicolas Froment
René of Anjou, detail from
the Matheron Diptych
1480
Musée du Louvre, Paris

ico dei Cammei from Milan, who is cited in the account to have carved an intaglio portrait of Duke Ludovico Sforza on a ruby. As Ludovico probably also had more than one cameo artist working in his court, however, this attribution is also not definitive. A closer analysis can also be drawn with the cameo of Borso d'Este in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, dated to the 1460s (fig.6). In this example, again, the substantial depth of the portrait relief illustrates a similar treatment of the stone; however, this example is also carved with an attention to minute detail and with veristic facial features, which include an incredibly realistic portrayal of flesh.

Much like the example of Borso d'Este, our cameo is not an idealised image of the sitter but rather recognisable portrait of a man. This fascination with portraiture is not unusual as the 15th century has often been dubbed the century of the individual. Portraiture was on the rise and rulers found themselves experimenting with different ways to represent their identity. In previous centuries, heraldry was the primary vehicle to accomplish this but by the 15th century, rulers also experimented with portraiture, personal mottos and heraldic badges. In this example, we have a fusion of these types because cameos represent a wearable symbol, which would have been recognisable in court but which also showed a real likeness of the king.
The present cameo thus represents a major contribution to the existing corpus of contemporary hardstone depictions of the King, which exemplify the re-emergence of glyptic portraiture before the High Renaissance.

Fig. 5
Domenico dei Cammei
Cameo of Ludovico Sforza
Northern Italy
1490s
Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Antikensammlung, XII 485)

Fig. 6
Cameo of Borso d'Este
Northern Italy
c. 1460
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Antikensammlung, XII 1074)

19 The Coëtivy Master (active 1450-1485)

A Book of Hours, use of Paris, in Latin and French, illuminated manuscript on vellum

France, Paris or the Loire Valley
c. 1470s

112 x 82mm; ink, pigments and gold leaf on vellum in a late 16th-century Parisian dark brown morocco binding gilt à la fanfare, raised spine bands, metal catches (missing clasps, corners bumped, worn at hinges). 288 leaves.

Provenance
Sotheby's, 12 July 1971, lot 56, sold as 'The Property of a Gentleman'. Bought by Quaritch;
Arthur Haddaway (1901-1981): his sale, Christie's New York, 25 September 1981, lot 8. Purchased by Alexandre Rosenberg from H.P. Kraus on 11 January 1982;
Rosenberg collection, Ms 12.

Published
J. Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts 1420-1530*, New York and London, 1982, no 51.
F. Avril and N. Reynaud, *Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1460-1520*, 1993, p. 68.

Exhibited
The Last Flowering, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 18 November 1982 to 30 January 1983, no 51.

This intimate Book of Hours, with its nine full-page miniatures, nine historiated initials, many inhabited borders filled with plants, birds, angels and imaginative vignettes, and with fanciful pen flourishes and drolleries peppering its pages, was painted by the Coëtivy Master, the most important Parisian illuminator of the third quarter of the fifteenth century. Whereas his contemporaries such as Maître François and the chief associate of the Bedford Master worked exclusively as manuscript illuminators, the Coëtivy Master painted in a variety of formats; working for members of the royal family and court, he painted on wooden panels, designed stained-glass windows and tapestries, and illuminated manuscripts. He painted books of many different types, ranging from devotional manuscripts to secular works including the *Ancient History up to Caesar*, Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Augustine's *City of God*, and at least five copies of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*.

The Hours of the Virgin and the Office of the Dead are for the standard use of Paris; the Calendar and rest of the liturgy give no more definite indication of where these Hours were made. Plummer concludes that our manuscript was written in a centre in the Loire region, copying some uncommon textual model. Elsewhere in the manuscript, the very rare inclusion of Saints Fausta and Consortia in the Litany would suggest a connection to eastern France, while the inclusion, marked with an historiated initial, of a prayer to another virgin saint, St Avoye, might offer a further clue as to the original commission. Another Hours illuminated by a follower of the Coëtivy Master (with Les Enluminures, BOH 168) includes the same devotion to St Avoye.

Although his precise origins are unknown today, technical and stylistic similarities to artists active in the north of France suggest that the Coëtivy Master came from that area, perhaps Amiens. His name derives from a Book of Hours painted for the chamberlain of the French king Charles VII, Olivier de Coëtivy, and his wife, the king's daughter Marie de Valois (Vienna, ÖNB cod 1929). His illustrious clients included Louis XI's brother, Charles of France; his work adorned the great Parisian church of Saint-Séverin as well as the royal courts. Described as the third great painter of the French court with Jean Fouquet and Barthélemy d'Eyck, he has most recently been identified as Colin d'Amiens, recorded in Paris 1461-88. Colin's only documented work, a monumental stone Entombment group carved by Adrien Wincart in 1495-6 to his design, is compatible with the

oeuvre assembled for the Coëtivy Master but cannot conclusively prove the identification (F. Avril and N. Reynaud, Les manuscrits à peintures en France 1460-1520, 1993, pp.58-69; D. Thiébaut et al, Primitifs français, Découvertes et redécouvertes, 2004, pp.97-102).

Both Otto Pächt and Dagmar Thoss attribute the miniatures in our manuscript to the Coëtivy Master, though Plummer highlights the softer, 'less incisive' drawing, a darker and cooler palette, and a lack of certain characteristic Coëtivy types, such as 'the strong-jawed males with heads thrust forwards or the elegant, narrow-waisted ladies', in support of these Hours being painted by a close follower, perhaps the same hand who painted a manuscript sold at Sotheby's (12 December 1927, lot 8). Reynaud agrees that the hand in the aforementioned manuscripts is the same, but attributes both these small Books of Hours to the Master himself, perhaps with the assistance of his workshop; she considers them alongside the Rivoire Hours (Paris, BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 3114), painted by the Master in 1465-70, in which a more subtle, complex palette, featuring a dark olive green and more nuanced blues emerges alongside figures clad in very mannered draperies defined with very firm lines along their folds, dating both manuscripts to the following decade.

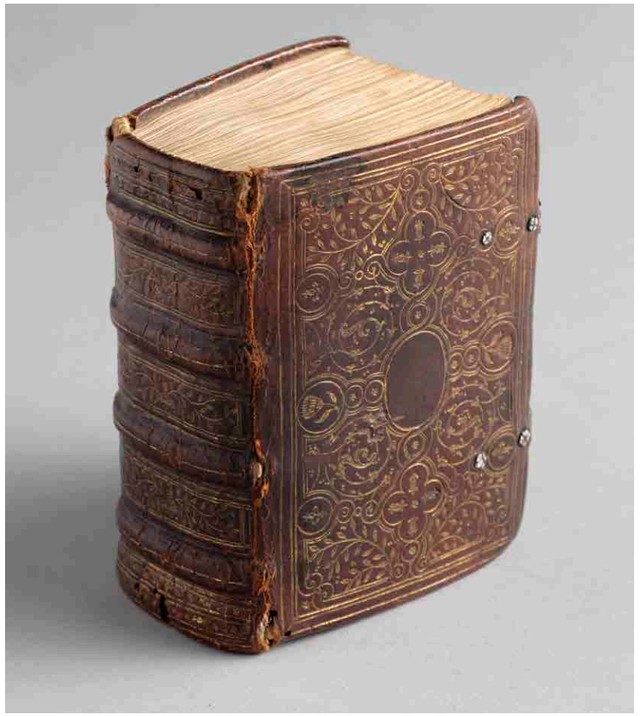
The miniatures in our Hours represent a development from the Master's earlier style; he continued to draw upon his stock of earlier patterns, but made the compositions increasingly complex, most often through the addition of atmospheric detail, both architectural and natural, to the landscape. Fruitful comparison may be made with a Book of Hours for the use of St John of Jerusalem, dated to c.1460 (BnF, ms lat.1400, f.24v, Avril and Reynaud pp.59-60): the Virgin and Child miniature that opens the Obsecro te in our Hours no longer depicts the Virgin suckling the Child in isolation on her canopied throne, but shows her in a colonnaded enclosure through whose columns a distant city can be glimpsed. Meanwhile, the Flight into Egypt is shown under night skies, the treetops on the horizon touched with yellow moonlight.

Our manuscript's borders without doubt exemplify some of the finest and most inventive work of the Coëtivy Master and his workshop: the page design allows ample space for the multiple marginal subjects painted by the Master to exist in pleasing rapport with the miniatures. Of particular note are the music-making angels with expressive pale faces, typical of the

Coëtivy Master's female and angelic subjects, that surround the Virgin and Child on f.23 and the small vignettes that appear in the bottom half of every border, save for that around David in Prayer (f.164), making imaginative reference to the miniature. In spite of a date of production in the 1470s, none of our borders feature the divided grounds with liquid gold that appear in the Rivoire Hours, one of the earliest Parisian examples of this style of border.

The subjects of the large miniatures are as follows: Virgin and Child f.23; Annunciation f.52; Annunciation to the Shepherds f.94; Presentation in the Temple f.105; Flight into Egypt f.112; Coronation of the Virgin f.127; David in Prayer f.164; Pentecost f.203; and Funeral Mass f.210.

The subjects of the historiated initials are as follows: St Luke writing f.16; St Matthew writing f.18; St Mark writing f.21; Virgin and Child f.29; Flagellation f.41; St Avoie receiving communion from the Virgin f.45v; Martyrdom of St Sebastian f.137; Trinity f.149v; and Death attacking a woman f.223.



Content
Ruled blank f.1; Calendar ff.2-13v; Gospel extracts f.14-22v (opening imperfectly); Obsecro Te ff.23-29; O intemerata ff.29-35v; Stabat mater ff.35v-41; Passion according to Luke ff.41-45; Prayer to Saint Avoie [Avoye], in French ff.45v-49; Seven verses of St Bernard ff.49-51; Hours of the Virgin, use of Paris ff.52-137; Office of St Sebastian ff.137-149; Suffrages ff.149v-163; Penitential Psalms and Litany ff.164-198v; Hours of the Cross ff.199-202v (opening imperfectly); Hours of the Holy Spirit ff.203-208; prayer to the Trinity ff.208-209v; Office of the Dead, use of Paris ff.210-287; ruled blank f.288.

20 Fernando Gallego (Salamanca, 1440-1507)

Triptych of the Virgin and Child with Saints Andrew, John, Catherine and Eustace

c. 1480

Central panel 67 x 44.8 x 2.8 cm / 26.4 x 17.6 x 1 in.; each wing 66.8 x 22.5 x 2.7 cm; Oil and gilding on softwood panels with original hinges and applied framing elements, imitation of porphyry on reverse

Provenance

Collection of Leo Spik, 1968;
Private collection, Berlin, 1968-2019;
Sold by the heirs through Leo Spik, Berlin, 3rd December 2020, lot 211

Published

Pilar Silva Maroto, 'Un nuevo tríptico de Fernando Gallego', Ars Magazine No. 47, July 2020, pp. 66-75

Condition

All three panels survive in exceptional condition, and even retain large vestiges of the original fictive porphyry decoration painted onto their exterior faces using a dark purple-red ochre base flecked with brilliant green, red and yellow. Lead soaps emitted by the paint medium over time have caused a number of pinprick losses in some areas. There are a few larger chip losses to the surface of the paint, mainly congregating around splits where they have occurred along knotty grain lines or at the joins between the supports and their applied framing elements, as well as to the area above Saint Andrew's opened book, and across the Virgin's knees, though all of these are localized and minor. A fine craquelure and a low level of abrasion has occurred across the paint surface consistent with the triptych's age. Mercifully, however, the delicate red glazing layers which coat the gilded backgrounds behind each figure, and in the case of Saint Eustace create fiery streaks that bisect the backdrop behind him as if it were a sky viewed at dawn or dusk, have been completely spared from the kinds of aggressive cleaning campaigns that have so badly denuded us of the painterly subtleties of a large number of late-medieval panel paintings over time.

The pigments are generally in excellent condition, and the red glazes covering the gilded backdrops behind each figure are astonishingly vivid and well preserved with the exception of that behind the Virgin on the central panel, which has discoloured somewhat to a russet brown. Over time, the lead white used so heavily across the entire composition has turned translucent in places, and has revealed parts of the underdrawing beneath.

The left wing is the only component to have sustained any structural damage, and has been repaired in what appear to be two separate campaigns of intervention. The wing's exposed, lefthand edge was evidently repaired initially with a section of timber either attacked by insect damage prior to use, or particularly susceptible to it, since the resultant bore holes and channels show strongly under x-radiography and are filled with gesso. In what would appear to be a second, and probably a much more recent campaign, the same wing's upper and lower left-hand corners were cut away and infilled with fillets shaped to reconstruct the missing mouldings of the frame. These were exposed during conservation undertaken by Peter Schade and Marie Louise Sauerberg in July 2021 and more sympathetically reintegrated to match the surrounding gilding and paint surface.

The hinges would originally have allowed the wings to open out flat and to close flush with one another over the central panel, but the convex bowing sustained by the latter over time has somewhat restricted the closing of each wing.

Materials and Technique

The painting's support consists of three sections - a large central panel and two narrower wings each equal to half the central panel's width - joined together with four original interlocking eye-hook hinges, two hammered through the timber on each of the central panel's vertical sides and two corresponding counterparts hammered into each wing's 'inner' vertical edge. All three sections are composed of a single plank of an unidentified softwood aligned with the woodgrain running vertically, and all three sections incorporate both applied and integrally carved framing elements on their interior faces. Simple, ogee mouldings enclose all four edges of each panel in long sections held in place using tapered iron nails and

carefully mitred at each join. Further mouldings of the same type were applied horizontally across each wing's centre line, dividing the paintable area into two equally sized fields. More complex are the triptych's integral mouldings, which are carved into the depths of the three boards and would have necessitated great control with the chisel, not least since large sections of their design had to be cut across the grain rather than with it. On each board they enclose the upper register of the painted fields, and consist of semicircular arches with large flower heads filling their spandrels and a series of regularly spaced cusps that sprout hawthorn-like leaf sprays down into the painted composition below.

A number of knots and inconsistencies in the grain are clearly visible under x-radiography. On the front face of the central panel close to its left-hand edge, a small rectangular fillet of timber skillfully let into the surrounding area appears to be an attempt on the part of the carpenter to negotiate the worst of these intrusions.

The panels were prepared with layers of gesso, onto which the composition was sketched out freehand in a dark, carbon-based liquid medium that shows up strongly using infrared reflectography (IRR) but can also be seen with the naked eye in places where it shows through thinner areas of the painted surface above (fig. 1).

Although the finality of the various figures' outlines, attributes, and main features would suggest recourse to pre-approved designs or workshop models, the underdrawing's bold, assured brush marks reveal the hand of a highly skilled artist carefully working up and adjusting elements of the design as they went. A number of subtle changes seem to have occurred at this early stage, particularly with respect to the positions of hands, feet, and faces. Saint John's proper right wrist was drawn and redrawn at least twice, apparently to reduce it in size somewhat, while a degree of flexibility was retained as to the final angles of Christ's finger tips, the size of his right foot and the position of its toes, and several elements of the various figures' complex drapery folds. A slightly different approach seems to have been taken on the left wing's lower scene with its depiction of a figure kneeling in a craggy landscape. Here the underdrawing would appear to have taken place in two distinct stages of activity, one using the same fluid brush work that informs the rest of the triptych's compositions, and another in an apparently drier and denser pigment that appears a very deep black under IRR (against the lighter charcoal-grey wash of the adjacent brushstrokes; see fig. 2).

The very fine lines of this second approach, which are of a consistent width but 'break' intermittently over the texture of the underlying gesso, suggest the use of a pen as opposed to the laden brush typical elsewhere on the object, and in places inform the paint layers above as though intended either as corrections, or to give emphasis, to the initial design.

Fig. 1
IRR image of the central panel with the underdrawing registering as dark linear marks.

Further evidence that our painter was not just drawing on fixed compositions but worked out elements of the design directly on the surface of the gesso can be found with respect to the faces of the Virgin and the figure of Saint Eustace on the left wing. The subtle turning of the Virgin's face to our right in something nearing a three-quarter profile, and the resultant effect of this movement on the positions and angles of her features, were deftly plotted by sweeping a single, curving brushstroke vertically through the head's central axis (fig. 3). This gnomon informed the central parting of her hair, the spacing of her eyes, and the positions of her brow line, the bridge of her nose and her mouth. No such treatment was deemed necessary for the Christ Child's features, or indeed those of three of the four accompanying saints, but Eustace's face was worked out with the same approach. Evidently considered with care, this decision may have significance for our understanding of the relationship between these two figures and the iconographic inflection of the composition as a whole, as will be explored further below.

The painting stages were executed, apparently without exception, using pigments suspended in an oil medium, while all the gilding, including that decorating the background of each figural scene, is mordant (presumed oil-based) gilding. As is typical of what we know concerning the creation of late-medieval panel paintings, the gilding was applied on top of the gesso but before the painting commenced, since in IRR it very clearly overlaps the former but runs beneath the latter in several places. The largely monochrome colour palette used in the execution of the composition relies heavily on a single pigment - lead white. All of the figures are depicted wearing predominantly white or off-white robes and with attributes or settings of a comparable tone, but there is also a selective use of green (most likely a resinous verdigris-based glaze since it has discoloured to a brownish hue over time) was used for the floor tiles on the central panel and the fictive marble or grass ledges on which the two saints on the right hand wing appear. The Virgin's robe is a very deep greenish blue, consistent in hue and texture with azurite, one of the most expensive pigments available to the medieval painter (this would be entirely appropriate for the iconographic importance of the Virgin and her traditional association with the colour). What are likely to be ochre pigments have been used alongside lead white to inflect the flesh tones of the Virgin and Child with warmth, although the smaller ancillary saints depicted on the wings are not given the same treatment. Finally, two different types of red pigment have been used to very different effect. A vivid vermillion red mixed with white provides the central scene with its pink floor tiles, while almost undiluted it was used to pick out the innermost moulding section of each scene's framing elements. Several translucent glazes using a pigment consistent with the properties associated with red lake coat the gilded backdrops in each scene.

Numerous adjustments were made to the composition of each of the triptych's figurative scenes during the painting stages of its execution. Alongside subtle changes to drapery folds and the positions of faces and hands, some of the more marked of these adjustments include the addition of glyphs and letterforms to the cut-away neckline of the Christ Child's white clothing, not incorporated into the underdrawing. The two strings of pearls worn by the Virgin are also apparently absent from the drawn design and were added only during the application of paint. The most dramatic instance of alteration, however, was the movement of the coat of arms from the right-hand side of the central scene to the left. A pair of escutcheons

Fig. 2
Detail under IRR of the left-hand wing's lower scene with the figure of Saint Hubert apparently sketched in place with differing concentrations or solutions of carbon-based ink, perhaps in two separate stages.

Fig. 3
Detail under IRR of the Virgin and Child showing the Virgin's face with its central vertical planning line.

seem in fact to have been underdrawn in both positions, in each case simply divided in half by central vertical lines suggestive of impaled designs. After apparently having been left in reserve even during the initial painting stages of the project (as X-Radiography reveals; see fig. 4), the righthand escutcheon was only later infilled and abandoned in favour of the single design visible today on the left of the composition.

Fig. 4
Close up details of the central panel showing the original plan for a coat of arms near the right-hand edge of the composition as initially planned in the underdrawing (left; IRR image) and initial painting stages (right; X-Radiograph)

Description and Iconography

At the centre of a small room enclosed on either side but giving on to a gilded backdrop by way of a square opening let into the far wall, the Virgin appears clothed in a deep blue dress decorated with gold embroidery, two strings of pearls encircling her neck, and a voluminous white mantle that falls over her shoulders and down to the ground in a dense and complex arrangement of buckling folds. She sits cradling the Christ Child, who wears a simple white garment embellished at the neck with letterforms. They appear to be elevated from the room's striking pink and green tiled floor by a low bench of some form, its construction obscured by the Virgin's draperies but its height implied by the clear, vertical delineation of her left shin under the fabric of her mantle. A cushion covered in cloth of gold and tasseled at its corners is just visible behind her garments at right. Both figures look towards one another, the Virgin lowering her head while her son looks up and raises both of his hands into the air, palm downwards, at the level of his stomach. The slightly awkward nature of his gesture suggests that our seeing both of his palms must have significance, most likely as a way of emphasizing the places through which the nails would be driven during his Crucifixion; as if to allude to this notion further, his legs are shown crossed, right over left, and his feet purposefully exposed to view. The front boundary of, or entrance to, the rather confined chamber in which the Virgin and Child appear, is suggested both by a short threshold cutting vertically through the floor tiles which run across the bottom of the scene, and by a delicate semicircular arch spanning the composition above the figure's heads. Carved to stand proud from the painted surface, fully gilded and integrated into the surrounding framework, and completed by heavy flowerhead ornaments punctuating its spandrels and leaf sprays sprouting from a series of regularly spaced cusps, it is a sort of pseudo-architectural foil for something more obdurate and concrete.[1] The only feature breaking with this compact spatial illusion is the single coat of arms painted at the scene's lower left corner and floating in space.

The central scene is bordered on both sides by wings whose painted surfaces are divided into two registers stacked one above the other and decorated in each case with similar carved and gilded mouldings to those framing the Virgin and Child but at a scale reduced to fit their smaller proportions. On both wings, and in each register, single saints appear in spaces backed by gold and accompanied in each case by an identifying attribute. At the top left Saint Andrew appears with the x-shaped cross on which he was crucified at the city of Patras (Patræ) in Achaea, in AD 60. According to legends developed by later written hagiographies of his life, Andrew apparently deemed himself unworthy to be crucified on the same type of cross as Jesus had been, and thus requested one of a different shape, resulting in the X or saltire cross now widely recognized as his key attribute. To his right on the opposite wing sits Saint John the Baptist as a young man, pointing with the forefinger of his right hand to a small lamb standing atop a book held in his left in a gesture that evokes his famous description of Christ; 'Ecce Agnus Dei' or *Behold the Lamb of God*. In the lower register directly below John is Catherine, who kneels on

1, A similar mechanism was utilized by Dieric Bouts on his two panels depicting the Justice of Emperor Otto III now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, there more rigorously integrated with the depicted foreshortening of the room in which the narrative takes place but similarly conceived to run in front of the painting, which continues (as in the pierced tracery elements of our triptych's frame) behind, and in spite of, the frame's carved mouldings.

the ground before an image of the spiked torture wheel to which she was purportedly tied when sentenced to death at the hands of the emperor Maxentius in the early fourth century. Opposite her on the left wing, and directly below Saint Andrew, is the only saint who does not appear on a narrow ledge but instead in a fully developed landscape whose tree-crested hillocks and rocky crags recede towards a deep red-streaked sky evocative of sunrise or sunset. He kneels in front of a stag, which stands facing him with a crucifix supported between its antlers. He can be identified as Saint Eustace (alternatively known as Hubert), who according to his Vita was out hunting when he saw this miraculous vision and converted to Christianity, immediately dismounting from his horse and kneeling on the ground to pray to the cross.

Perhaps the triptych's most striking feature is its muted colour palette, which is of a type often described as grisaille after the French word for grey - gris. Inspired both by the aesthetic innovations of manuscript illumination and its attendant art forms (monochromatic stained glass, for instance), and from the tradition of decorating church buildings with sombre, monochrome imagery during Lent, grisaille became an increasingly popular feature of late-medieval paintings during the fifteenth century. It was commonly used in the decoration of the exterior wings of large folding triptychs and polyptychs. This was partly because, if utilized well, it offers painted imagery the illusory appearance of having been carved from stone, and partly because it helped to emphasize the visual splendour, narrative richness, and typically redemptive iconographic scheme of an altarpiece's interior surfaces. Yet to find this language employed so heavily on the interior of a folding altarpiece is extraordinarily rare and highly atypical. It is especially intriguing in relation to our triptych's exterior surfaces, which are decorated with a narrow black outer border that, when fully opened, runs continuously around the ensemble's outermost edges and encircles a central field of deep purple-red vividly flecked with green, red and yellow. This form of decoration was a technique employed by painters in many parts of Europe to imitate porphyry, a dense stone of immense cultural and spiritual significance for medieval viewers. That a similar notion is likely to have informed our painter becomes clear when we consider that on the interior surfaces, only the figures of the Virgin and Child are given skin tones inflected with warmth, the result of which is both to draw our attention to their centrality and importance as 'activated' or vivified characters, and to cast the ancillary figures around them (as well as the stony ledges that three of the four saints appear on) and indeed the object as a whole as a kind of precious tablet carved from a variety of rare stones and selectively gilded to embellish its already rich use of materials. Could it represent the interests of the patron, or their artist, as part of an erudite visual play on novelty, expectation, and convention?

The identity of the patron

It does not seem mere coincidence that the actions of the Christ Child are directed towards the ensemble's lower left corner, and that the figure of Saint Eustace inhabiting this position on the left-hand wing's bottom register has a corresponding inward and upward action in the direction of the former. The reference to the Cross made by Christ's raised hands and crossed feet come into clearer focus in relation to Eustace's line of sight as he kneels to pray when we realize that they are in fact intended for his gaze, not just for ours as viewers. This symbolism crystallizes further with the placement of the crucifix-supporting stag, positioned to occupy the space directly between Eustace and the subject of his attention - Christ. That Eustace is picked out as having special significance within the wider scheme is also communicated by three further details. His appearance in a natural landscape is in direct contrast to the three other attendant saints, all of whom inhabit much plainer, shallow spaces backed with gold. He is the only figure to wear clothes that, unlike the archaicizing garments of all of the triptych's other figures, are uniquely depicted as fashionable examples of late fifteenth-century courtly attire. Along with this latter point, the coat of arms' prominent placement on the central panel in a position as close to the figure of Eustace as possible (such that its left edge touches the frame), suggests that we are either being invited to view him as a pseudo-portrait of the patron themself, or as a saint to whom that patron had particular devotion. As Pilar Silva Maroto has noted, this coat of arms takes a form similar to those of the Velasco and Quiñones families, both of which were Castilian dynasties of some importance during the later Middle Ages.[2] Sadly however, these arms remain to be accurately localized either to a family or a specific individual.

Attribution

When this astonishingly well preserved and newly rediscovered triptych was brought to wider scholarly attention in 2020, it was immediately recognized by the Prado curator Pilar Silva Maroto as an important work by the Castilian painter Fernando Gallego (c. 1440-1507). He was one of the key figures in the introduction of Flemish painterly fashions and innovations to the Iberian peninsula, and for the execution of our commission he very clearly adopted a distinctly Flemish aesthetic, particularly in relation to the folding triptych format and the sophisticated use of grisaille and material illusionism. Gallego's career has been reconstructed both from extant documentary evidence and on the basis of a group of three surviving works that all bear his signature: a Pietà of c. 1465-70 now in the Museo del Prado in Madrid (fig. 5), the triptych of the *Virgen de la rosa or Virgin of the Rose,* in the museum of Salamanca Cathedral (fig. 6), and the *Retablo de San Ildefonso* of 1480, in Zamora Cathedral (fig. 7). He is also known for collaborating with at least one other master painter on a monumental, multi-panelled retablo painted for the cathedral of the city (Ciudad) Rodrigo in the province of Salamanca, Spain, between the years 1480 and 1488, and after 1493.[3] All three of his signed works and those sections of the Ciudad Rodrigo altarpiece attributable to his hand offer numerous direct parallels to our commission, including in the anatomical and physiognomic stylization of their figures, the approach to details such as drapery patterns, embroidered hemline decorations, and the radiating halo format that he seems to have returned to on repeated occasions, as well as the carefully conceived spatial arrangements of their compositions, both in terms of naturalistic landscapes and confined compartments, rooms or niches. The latter feature is a particularly striking and defining feature of our triptych. For example, the bowl-like landscape in which Eustace kneels, with its jagged and overhanging rocky outcrop, reappears in a similar guise in the Madrid Pietà, while on his *Virgen de la rosa* he placed the central figures of the Virgin and Child in a shallow, round-topped space similar to that adopted on our triptych. Just as analogous is his method of cutting through

Fig. 5 (**above**)
Fernando Gallego
Pietà
c. 1465-1470
118 x 111 cm; mixed technique on pine panel
Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. P002998

Fig. 6 (**below**)
Fernando Gallego
The central panel of the triptych of the Virgen de la Rosa / Virgin of the rose
c. 1480
Salamanca Cathedral Museum

3, Amanda W. Dotseth, Barbara C. Anderson, and Mark A. Roglan eds, Fernando Gallego and his Workshop: The Altarpiece from Ciudad Rodrigo, Paintings from the Collection of the University of Arizona

2, Pilar Silva Maroto, *'Un nuevo tríptico de Fernando gallego', in Ars Magazine,* No. 47, July 2020, pp. 66-75, fn. 1.

the floor tiles closest to us in the central scene in a manner that suggests the figures appear just behind a near threshold or ledge, one whose front edge runs parallel to the lowest member of the painting's frame. He used the same device to very similar effect in a retable dedicated to Saint Catherine, which he painted for Salamanca Cathedral in 1499 and which is now in the Cathedral museum (fig. 8). It was clearly a successful device for the painter, since he deftly aligns and juxtaposes its illusionistic potential with the actual mouldings of his frames in several surviving works, several of which have a distinctive architectural language suggestive of doorframes or window embrasures. Closely related in this regard are the grisaille figure panels that border his San Ildefonso retable. They stand within shallow niche-like spaces below fictive architectural mouldings constructed to an almost identical design as that used for the cusped, half-round arches on our triptych (see fig. 7). From a technical perspective our triptych also aligns closely with Gallego's other surviving works. The use of glazes and the dominant palette of greens, blues, and pinks adopted on the afore-mentioned commissions recur on our triptych in markedly similar guise. We also know that Gallego favoured an oil mordant in the preparation and application of gilded decoration, as has been recently scrutinized assessed in relation to his treatment of the gilded areas of the *Retablo de San Ildefonso* for instance.[4] Indeed, every aspect of our triptych's execution, including the ample evidence provided by its meticulous underdrawings and visible for the first time thanks to a recent program of analysis undertaken at the Courtauld Institute of Art in 2021 using IRR, accords so closely with the work of that artist, that it can be attributed to his hand without reasonable doubt.

Fig. 7
Fernando Gallego
Retablo de San Ildefonso /
Retable of Saint Ildefonsus
1480
Zamora Cathedral

Fig. 8
Fernando Gallego
Retablo de Santa Catalina /
Retable of Saint Catherine
(central section)

4, Stefanos Kroustallis et. al., 'Gilding in Spanish panel painting from the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries', in Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies, September 2016, pp. 1-31, p. 16, https://www.researchgate.net/deref/http%3A%2F%2Fdx.doi.org%2F10.1080%2F17546559.2016.1230273 accessed December 2021.

21 Hans Greiff (active c. 1470, d. 1516)?

A monumental lidded cup with the figure of a courtier and three soldiers

Germany, Ingolstadt
c. 1470

55 cm / 21.7 in. (height) x 18.8 cm / 7.4 in; cast, hammered, chased, and gilded silver in four main sections (finial, lid, beaker, foot), with others (foliate crestings, soldier caryatids) respectively soldered or riveted in place.

Provenance
The Portland Collection, Welbeck Abbey, by 1854;
By descent until 2021

Published
Harcourt House 1854 inventory.

James Garrard, 'Catalogue of Gold and Silver Plate', 1893, no. 71.

E. Alfred Jones, *Catalogue of the Plate belonging to the Duke of Portland*, K.G., G.C.V.O. at Welbeck Abbey, London, The Saint Catherine Press, 1935, p. 12

Markings
A monogram 'HK' engraved into the base of one of the feet
Assembly marks by each of the three locating pins joining beaker to foot
At least 15 separate Assay scrape marks on the cover (visible on both the interior and exterior surfaces).

Condition
The miraculous nature of this grand lidded cup's survival is vividly underscored by the many separate Assay scrape marks visible on both surfaces of its lid, which attest to numerous valuations, some of which will very likely have been for the purpose of obtaining collateral against loans. The fact that the entire object has survived in something that clearly conforms very closely to its original appearance is no less remarkable. A number of alterations do however seem to have been effected, the most immediate of which is that the beaker and lid sections have both been regilded, perhaps more than once. The last time this is likely to have happened is prior to its purchase by the Duke of Portland before 1854.

The upper finial was at some point in its modern history coated in copper (a substrate commonly used to aid the regilding of silver) and regilded. A program of conservation work undertaken by Smith and Harris, London, in September-October 2021 removed both the top layer of gilding and the copper coating beneath, and exposed an almost complete layer of what appears to be very early or even original gilding. Historic breaks (some repaired with metal tabs) were repaired more sensitively, and the finial's four outward flaring leaf sprays repaired in places, with some areas of restoration to the interstitial bird motifs. One of the female figures decorating the gallery below these sprays has a replaced head and cornet headdress. The finial figure itself has been broken at the ankles and reattached, evidently on several occasions, since a large build-up of solder material around this area was removed to return the figure to his original posture and appearance. His original attribute has been lost and the lance and pennon (along with the octagonal architrave section bridging the join between finial and lid) are new additions.

The elaborate repeat-pattern foliate cresting encircling the lid has been removed and repinned on at least one occasion; several historic rivet holes punctuate the interior of the lid and have been filled. One section of the cresting has been broken and reattached, although there appear to be no missing elements.

The three soldier caryatids perhaps originally fitted with moveable[1] visors (evidence of the cheek section of one of these still surviving on one figure). The same figures' lances and shields have been replaced. Two holes punched through the metal supports below their feet suggest the attachment of now missing elements, perhaps earlier shields decorated with coats of arms.
A number of small losses to the delicate foliate decoration immediately adjacent to the base of the beaker. One leaf spray of the large branch design which covers the lower flaring concave moulding had become loose and has been pinned and soldered back into position.

The hanging boss mounted within the centre of the lid may once have been decorated with an enamelled coat of arms or guild emblems, now lost and replaced with a plain disc.

1, Such a visor survives on a knight finial figure probably produced in Basel between 1440 and 1460 and now in the Historisches Museum in Basel, for which see Timothy Husband, *The Treasury of Basel Cathedral*, Exh. Cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2001, no. 63, pp. 150-151.

Description
This extraordinarily grand and fully gilded cup and cover is among the largest and most impressive vessels of its type to have survived from the late Middle Ages. It consists of a tall, outward-flaring beaker gilded inside and out and strengthened around its rim with an applied band of quatrefoil blind tracery. It is covered by a large, removable lid of ogival form, which extends out and upwards from the rim of the beaker behind a tall band of foliate cresting, before coming together at its centre in the form of a slender cone. A large finial sprouts from the centre of the cone with alternating ornaments of leaf sprays and birds turned in three-quarter profile. Emerging from the centre of the finial is a short, crenellated platform on which a male figure stands with arms outstretched. He wears a circlet or diadem over his bob haircut and a short doublet cut with v-shaped pleated panels and slashed sleeves. Further, minutely scaled figures wearing similar costume stand on short foliated socles in four places around the finial's lower section. Their delicately delineated features and costume identify them as two male hawkers, and two courtly women with their hair in cornet headdresses. The beaker itself is joined by way of carefully hidden locating pins to a broad, circular base, profusely decorated with galleries of foliate cresting and encircled around a central concave moulding by a large leafy vine branch. The lower edge of the base is supported on the shoulders of three small statuettes depicting knights standing in full suits of armour, and further stabilized by thin supporting pilasters recessed behind each figure's back and engraved with leaf sprays. Each figure stands atop an octagonal socle, the faces of which are embellished with alternating sill- and bead mouldings. All of the beaker's decorative details vary in style and design depending on their function and position, but create a brilliantly unified whole when viewed together.

Context and Function
Lidded cups, beakers and other drinking vessels (as well as other decorative or non-functional metalwork table pieces typically known as nefs), were created by acutely-skilled master goldsmiths for the consumption of the very highest echelons of European society during the Middle Ages. They functioned in various ways - as ceremonial centrepieces and objects for collective use during feasts and other celebrations, as gifts for exchange

Fig. 1 (**left**)
The Brothers de Limbourg
Detail of the étrennes festival taking place in the January miniature of the Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry
c. 1412-1416, with later additions
22.5 x 13.6 cm ; ink, pigments and gold on vellum
Chantilly, Musée Condé, MS 65, fol. 1v

Fig. 2
A cup and cover
Augsburg?
c. 1480-1500
34.5 x 13.5 cm; gilded silver
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 614:1, 2-1872

Fig. 3
Hans Greiff
Covered Beaker
Germany, Bavaria, Ingolstadt
c. 1470
39.4 cm; silver, gilded silver and enamels
New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, inv. 50.7.2a, b

during choreographed social rituals including New Year's *étrennes* (fig. 1), as an artfully worked financial asset that could be easily liquidated, traded, cut up or reused as currency during times of emergency, and as potent and highly conspicuous displays of wealth. However, due to their astonishing material value, many such objects were melted down either soon after they were made (as famously happened to some 3000 precious-metal objects owned by Louis of Anjou (1339-1384) when he needed to fund a war effort) or during their later histories when they had long fallen out of fashion. As such, only a tiny percentage of secular goldsmith's work from the whole medieval period has survived, either fortuitously by dint of being lost or buried, or thanks to the arduous efforts of many generations of owners.

The present beaker is of a scale and opulence found primarily on wealthy German guild cups and other large ceremonial drinking vessels intended for communal use, and it is very likely that it was created in order to function in just such a context. Indeed, guilds were among the prime consumers of these objects, and a number of similar beakers with a provenance to, or marks associated with, rich guild groups have survived, including an example in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London that is thought to have been given by a member of the wealthy Fugger trading family to the Weaver's Guild in that city (fig. 2). Another lidded guild cup, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is of particularly similar form to our cup, and incorporates almost identically worked foliate sprays to those framing the upper and lower edges of the concave stand on our example (fig. 3). It has been attributed to the Ingolstadt goldsmith Hans Greiff based on his associations with a number of prominent figures, guilds, and organisations in the city. It is one of two beakers in the museum's collection which include the emblem of the fisherman's guild - a boat's rudder and fishing hook crossed - affixed centrally within the interiors of their covers (in 1498, the guild mounted the same motif on the guild house that they owned in the city of Ingolstadt). Given that a hanging boss identical in form to one of these beakers and encircled by the same style of coiled wire decoration hangs centrally from the interior of our cup's lid (fig. 4a-b), and its primary face shows evidence of reworking or repair, it seems highly likely that it too was once used to display a coat of arms, identifying emblems, or impresse in this way. This would have identified the beaker's owner(s), which were most likely to have been either a couple celebrating their marital alliance with an impressive gilded centrepiece, or a guild or confraternity who would have

Fig. 4a-b
A comparison of the decorative bosses hanging from the present cup's lid (top), and that of the beaker attributed to Hans Greiff in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 50.7.2a, b (bottom)

Fig. 5
Attributed to Hans Greiff
Covered beaker
Ingolstadt
c. 1470
29.2 x 13 cm; gilded silver
New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 17.190.615a, b

Fig. 6
Hans Greiff
Covered Beaker
Germany, Bavaria, Ingolstadt
c. 1470
36.5 cm; silver, gilded silver and enamels
New York, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, inv. 50.7.1a, b

used it for communal drinking and in other ceremonial festivities.

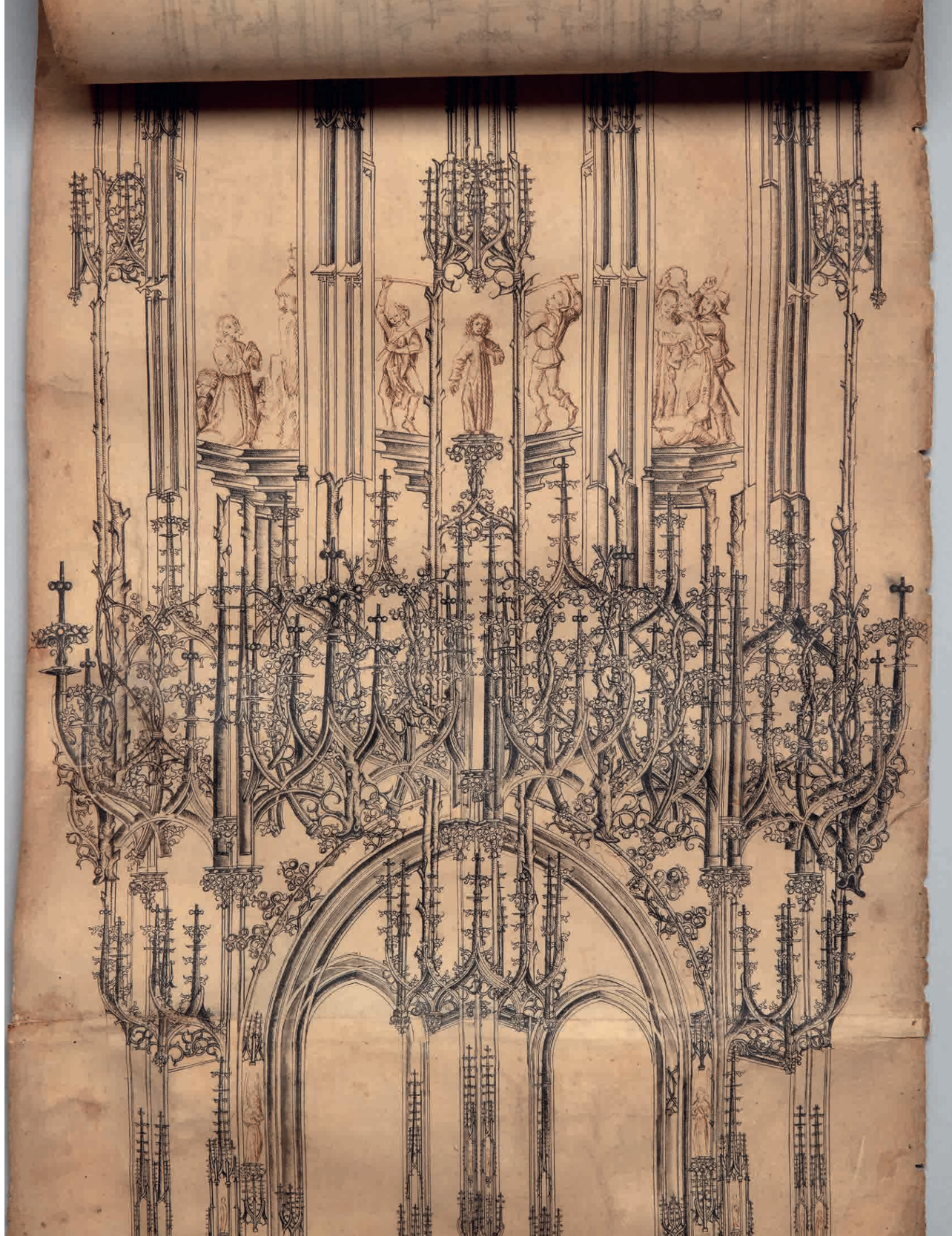
Localisation, Dating and Attribution
The numerous parallels in design, decoration, and manufacture that our beaker offers to a series of lidded cups and beakers attributed to Hans Greiff, of which several now reside in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, suggest a shared artistic idiom and a date in the 1470s, and may even identify our goldsmith as Greiff himself despite the lack of any hallmarks or stamps identifying the maker as such. Alongside the aforementioned cups Greiff is thought to have made for the Ingolstadt fisherman's guild, several others also preserved in New York are of such close formal, stylistic, and proportional characteristics that they suggest a goldsmith working with shared designs (figs. 5-8). Nevertheless, most drinking vessels of this type are far smaller than our example, with even the most ambitious of those attributed to Greiff himself being at least fifteen centimeters or more shorter. Vanishingly few are any larger, and just as lavish is the fact that our example is decorated not just in an aesthetic of partially gilded silver but with a surface that is completely covered in gilding, inside and out. Both features pick it out as among the most important and imposing of the surviving corpus of such beakers, and suggest that it was made for a patron or group of extraordinary wealth and social standing.

Fig. 7
A comparison of the trifid feet of the present beaker and two examples attributed to Hans Greiff in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 50.7.2a, b (middle) and 17.190.615a, b (bottom)

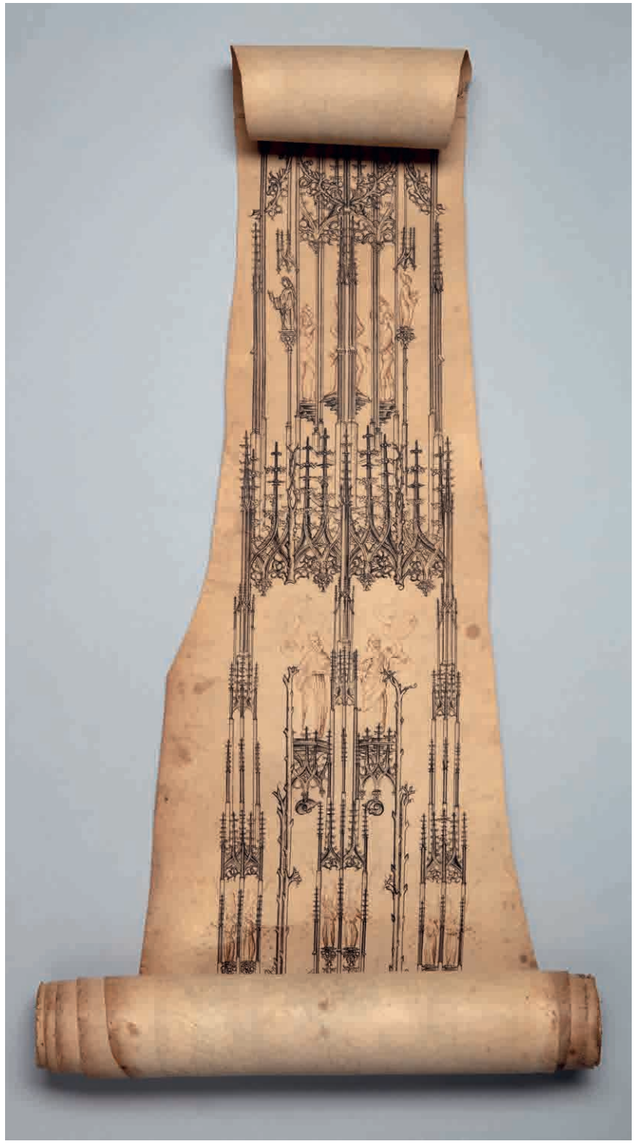
Fig. 8
A comparison of the trifid feet of the present beaker and two examples attributed to Hans Greiff in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 50.7.2a, b (middle) and 17.190.615a, b (bottom)

22 Lorenz Lechler (c.1460 – 1538) and workshop

Monumental Drawing for a Sacrament House



This micro-architectural design, depicting a sacrament house of enormous proportions, is the only surviving drawing by the celebrated German architect, Lorenz Lechler. Monumental sacrament houses of this type became popular in Germany in the later Middle Ages and would have been positioned in the choir of a church. Their function was to safely store the consecrated host, or the Body of Christ, resembling a macro-sculpted version of a monstrance. The sacrament house drawing was made at a time in the Middle Ages when patrons were thinking not only about the safekeeping of the eucharist but also about staging it for public consumption.



Southwestern Germany
Dated 1502

323 x 36.5 cm / 127 x 14.4 in.; a design for a colossal architectural structure estimated to have been around 70 feet tall, in ink on four joined sheets of parchment, with around some 85 drawings for sculpted figures and scenes

Provenance
The Princely collection of Öttingen-Wallerstein, Harburg Castle, by c.1820;
acquired from the above in 2017

Inscriptions
'LAVRENTR LECHLER 1302 – MEIISTER DE CIRKALIS'

Our drawing consists of four sections of parchment – a material which suggests that it must have been made as a presentation drawing. The tabernacle is drawn over eleven levels, populated by an elaborate sculptural programme that contains biblical scenes and freestanding sculptures of saints. Each level is crowned by dense branch-work, or *Astwerk*, which is woven in between more sombre structural elements.

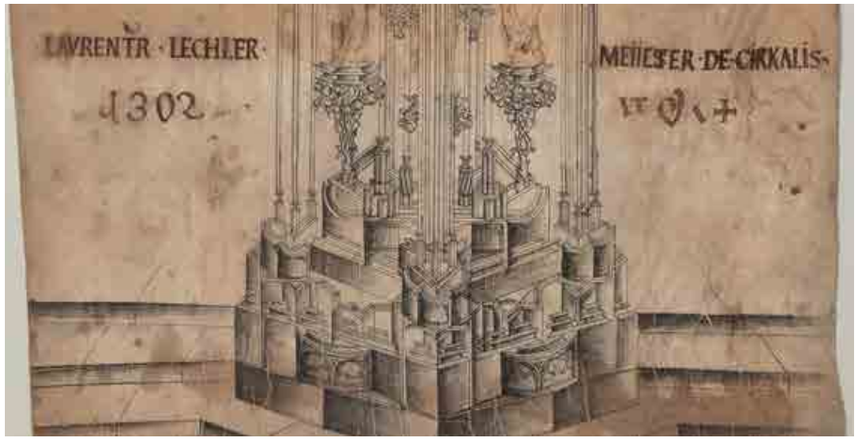


Fig. 1
Detail of the inscription on the lower part of the architectural drawing

The inscription near the base of the tabernacle, which dates the drawing to 1302 and which names Lorenz Lechler as its author, is estimated on palaeographical grounds to have been added in the first half of the 17th century (fig. 1). It is likely that this was copied from elsewhere, which would account for the mistakes in the date and in the spelling of Lechler's name. The date 1502 must have been mistranscribed as 1302 – an easy mistake since the Gothic number 5 and 3 can look very similar. The misspelling of Laurenz's first name as 'LAVRENTR' suggests that the shorthand for TZ (LAVRENTZ) was also misunderstood for the letter R. Furthermore, the mysterious symbols (masons' marks?) below MEIISTER DE CIRKALIS suggest that whoever copied this did not understand what they were looking at. We can therefore speculate that there might have been a damaged inscription attached to the lower part of the drawing, which was transcribed and discarded, or that this was copied from other paperwork kept with the drawing.

The tabernacle is designed, at least to some extent, as a three-dimensional structure and this is attested to by sculptures and corbels that are hiding behind some of the structural elements.[1] The detailed programme of sculptures here was added by at least two other artists and includes a large scene of the Last Supper above the corpus, where the Eucharist would have been kept. Among the other sculptures, two prophets with animated scrolls decorate the lower part of the drawing while two large prominently positioned holy knights guard the corpus (fig. 2). The two knights are among the most accomplished drawings, which suggests that the hand of a more skilled sculptor was chosen for this part of the structure. The unusual organisation of the iconography here is highlighted by the position of the Last Supper which comes after the Agony in the Garden and after the Arrest of Christ. Finally, at the top of the structure are two large figures of the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist, followed by a Man of Sorrows, who seems to have been drawn on top of another figure that had been rubbed out. Despite the order of these events, the iconography clearly spells out that this structure was built to ostentatiously display the transubstantiated body of Christ.

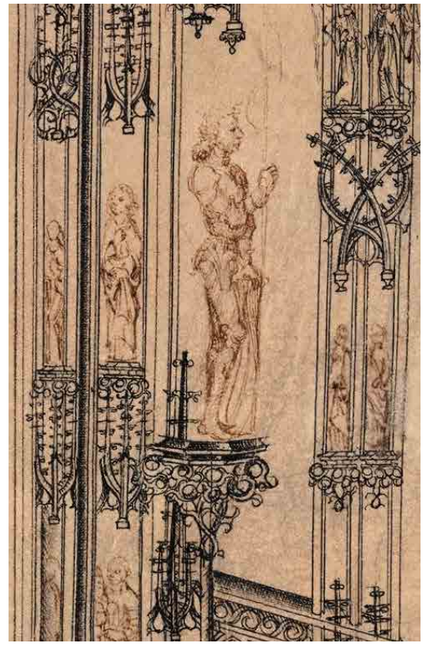
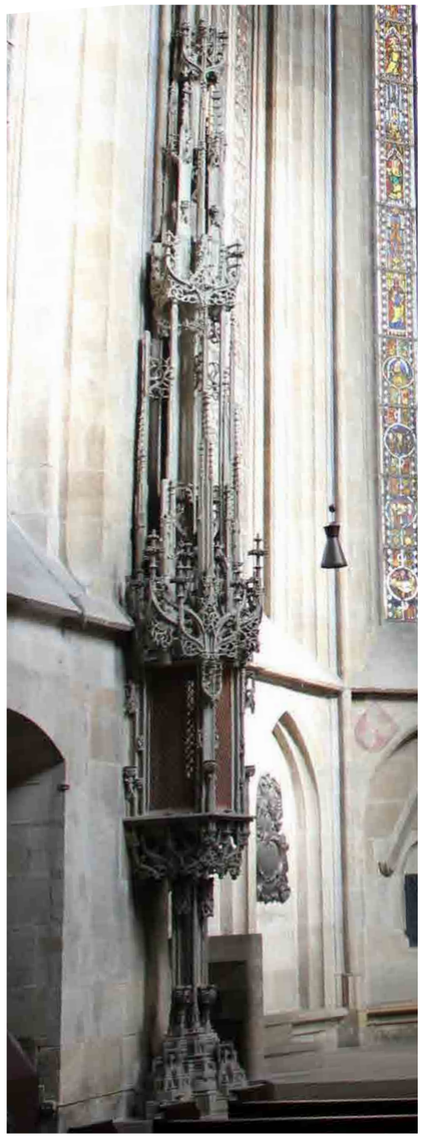


Fig. 2
Detail of a soldier from our tabernacle

1, Nevertheless, the structure would have still been attached to a wall. Due to its size, it would not be able to support itself otherwise.

Despite these unique characteristics, however, it has not been possible to determine what church this sacrament house was designed for or whether it was ever built. Still, it is clear that the design of the drawing takes inspiration from Germany's most famous Gothic sacrament houses – the Astwerk is closely related to the sacrament house by Lorenz Lechler in Esslingen while other structural elements reference the sacrament house by Adam Kraft in Nuremberg and the sacrament house by Moritz von Ensingen in Ulm Minster (fig. 3 – 5). The colossal size of the structure (as calculated by Robert Bork and Johann Josef Böker) and its elaborate design, however, are attempting to surpass its predecessors as one of the tallest and the most ornate of them all.[2]



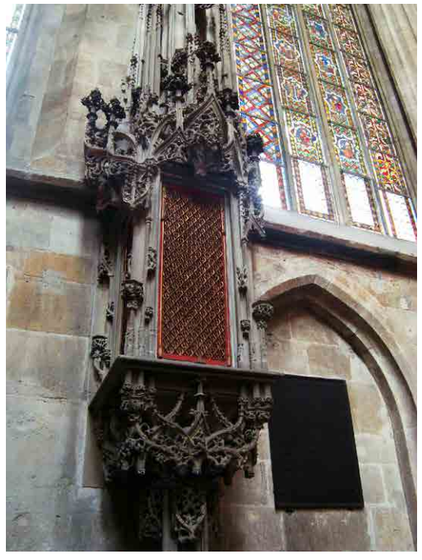


Fig. 3
Lorenz Lechler
Tabernacle details
1486-1489
Parish Church of Saint Dionys
Esslingen, Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany

2, Robert Bork, 'Designing the Regensburg Spire and Harburg Tabernacle: The Geometries of Two Great German Gothic Drawings,' in *Architectural Representations*, edited by Karl Kinsella, Hannah Bailey, and Daniel Thomas (Amsterdam: ARC Humanities Press, forthcoming 2022); Johann Josef Böker, 'Expertise on a late Gothic architectural drawing of a monumental tabernacle (Sakramentshaus) by Lorenz Lechler,' Unpublished paper (Karlsruhe, 2016).

Lorenz Lechler was probably born in Heidelberg sometime around 1460. He was a contemporary of Benedict Ried (1454-1534) and Anton Pilgram (1460 – 1515) and by 1489, he must have been an internationally recognised name because he was applying to join the workshop of Milan Cathedral.[3] A surviving letter from the city of Esslingen to Milan dated 25 August 1489 recommends Lechler for the role and attests to his work on the choir screen and sacrament house for the Church of Saint Dionysius in Esslingen (figs. 2 & 6). We do not know his whereabouts over the next 14 years, although it seems that Lechler did not get the job in Milan. In 1497, there is a Master Lorenz working at Speyer Cathedral and while it is unclear whether this is the same person, Lechler's presence there seems plausible, especially as he turns to work in Speyer about a decade later.[4] What's more, his connection to Speyer is also substantiated by the fact that his daughter Anna married a mason from Speyer just before 1500.[5] In 1503, Lechler was hired as the Baumeister (court architect) of the Elector

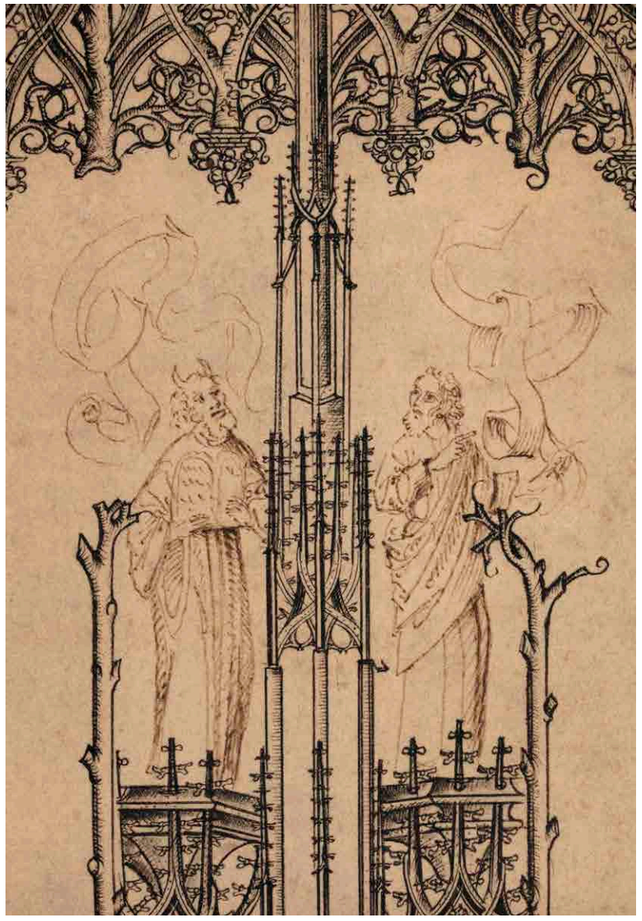


Fig. 4 (**above**)
Lorenz Lechler
Tabernacle foot
1486-89
Germany, Esslingen, Parish Church of Saint Dionys

Fig. 5 (**below**)
Adam Kraft
Detail of Sacrament House
1493-96
Germany, Nuremberg, Church of Saint Lorenz

3, For more on Lechler, see Anneliese Seeliger-Zeiss, *Lorenz Lechler von Heidelberg und sein Umkreis* (Heidelberg, 1967).

4, Anneliese Seeliger-Zeiss, "Lorenz Lechler," *in Neue deutsche Biographie,* Vol. 14 (Berlin, 1985), 29-30.

5, Hanns Hubach, 'Architectus Heidelbergensis Illustrissimo principi othoni Henrico: Materialien zur Biographie des Steinmetzen und Architekten Heinrich Gut,' in Kurfürst Ottheinrich und die humanistische Kultur in der Pfalz (Speyer, 2008), 160 – 167.

Palatine, Pfalsgraf Philipp, in Heidelberg where he evidently worked on the castle.[6] In 1509 he took over work on the Mount of Olives monument in the cloister of Speyer Cathedral, dated to 1504 - 1511 (fig. 8). Although we have little information about the people that Lechler would have worked with, we know that he worked with the sculptor Leinhart Seyfer (brother of Hans Seyfer) on the Mount of Olives in Speyer.[7] Moreover, we also know that he was connected to the workshop at Ulm Cathedral, where he almost certainly trained together with Burkhard Engelberg and Matthias Böblinger under the direction of Moritz von Ensingen, the designer of the sacrament house there.[8]

In 1516 Lechler wrote the famous Instructions, where he communicated his technical knowledge about Gothic structural design – knowledge that he would have amassed during his long career – to his son Moritz. Although the booklet has many issues related to clarity and organisation, it is one of the earliest architectural texts written by a mason.[9] The rarity of the booklet, which revealed the secrets of the Lodge, is attested to by the fact that it is one of only five such texts that have survived to us today from this period.[10] Illustrating the important status of a mason at this time, Lechler writes 'if you give proper attention to my teaching, you can meet the needs of your building patron and yourself, and not be despised as the ignorant one, for an honourable work glorifies its master, if it stands up.'[11] Since this sort of knowledge was usually transmitted orally from generation to generation, Lechler instructs 'his son Moritz to keep everything secret even from his brothers, if they do not become stonemasons.'[12] While the original copy of this treatise has not survived, it was copied by two authors in the late 16th century. The first of these was an anonymous Swiss writer from Bern active around 1600.[13] The other was Jacob Feucht von Andernach and his transcription was published in a collection of texts in the 19th century.[14]

Fig. 6 (**above**)
Lorenz Lechler
Choir Screen
1486-89
Germany, Esslingen, Church of Saint Dionysus

Fig. 7 (**below**)
Lorenz Lechler
Details of socles from the Esslingen Choir Screen
1486-89
Germany, Esslingen

Fig. 8
Annonymous
Ölberg
Germany, Speyer
Kunstsammlungen der Universität Göttingen, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. Nr. H 664

6, Anneliese Seeliger-Zeiss, *Lorenz Lechler von Heidelberg und sein Umkreis* (Heidelberg, 1967), 138 – 153.

7, Hanns Hubach, 'Hans Seyfer: Familie, Freunde, Kollegen,' in Hans *Seyfer: Bildhauer an Neckar und Rhein um 1500* (Heilbronn, 2002), 37-51.

8, Franz Bischoff, Burkhard Engelberg, *"Der vilkunstreiche Architector und der Statt Augspurg Wercke Meister" Burkhard Engelberg und die süddeutsche Architektur um 1500: Anmerkungen zur sozialen Stellung und Arbeitsweise spätgotischer Steinmetzen und Werkmeister (Schwäbische Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen,* 18), 354.

9, Lon R. Shelby and R. Mark, 'Late Gothic structural design in the 'instructions' of Lorenz Lechler,' in *The Engineering of Medieval Cathedrals,* ed. Lynn T.

10, The others include the so-called Sketch Book (*Musterbuch*) from Vienna (c.1450), the *Geometria Deutsch* by Hans Hösch (c.1472), the *Rectitude of Pinnacles by Matthias Roriczer* (1486), and the Geometrie by Schmuttermeyer (after 1486). See Paul Frankl, The Gothic Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries (Princeton, 1965), 145.

11, Shelby and Mark, 115.

12, Paul Frankl, *The Gothic Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1965), 152.

13, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Heid. Hs. 3858 https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/heidhs3858/0005 Ulrich Coenen, 'Die spätgotischen Werkmeisterbücher in Deutschland. Untersuchung und Edition der Lehrschriften für Entwurf und Ausführung von Sakralbauten' Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 35 (Munich, 1990).

14, Original survives in the Historisches Archiv, Cologne, Handschrift Wf. 276; published by August Reichensperger, *Vermichte Schriften über christliche Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856, pp. 133 – 155. A third fragment of the instructions was discovered and published by: Anneliese Seeliger-Zeiss, 'Studien zum Steinmetzbuch des Lorenz Lechler von 1516. Ein bisher unbekannt gebliebenes Fragment im Besitz der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe', in Architectura 12 (1982),

Comparative structures and attribution

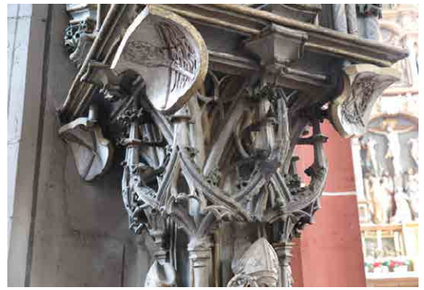
While we can firmly attribute only a handful of works to Lorenz Lechler, this drawing offers evidence of Lechler's prominence in late medieval Germany. The elaborate branch-work, or Astwerk, featured throughout the drawing as well as the complex design of the tabernacle's socle can be closely compared to the tabernacle that Lechler designed for Saint Dionysius in Esslingen. Standing at 12.2 metres and built in 1486 – 89, the tabernacle is located between the choir and the crossing of the church and attached to the wall (fig. 3 – 4). The organic nature of this type of architectural decoration started to become popular in Germany from the 1470s and by 1500, Astwerk had become extremely experimental and free – it was used by Tilman Riemenschneider in the elaborate architectural framework of his altarpieces and by Adam Kraft in his monumental sacrament house in Nuremberg (figs. 5). As Ethan Matt Kavaler has noted, Lechler's tabernacle in Esslingen is so wild that it 'represents a nature in need of order, in need of authority and salvation situated in the Host, which is preserved in the central shrine.'[15]

Our tabernacle, however, is not entirely composed of branch-work. Instead, it is interspersed with more sombre architectural ornament, such as the intersecting, hanging frieze on the first level. Calculated to be almost twice the size of the Esslingen example might explain the diverse architectural elements. Still, such a combination of vegetal and architectural elements is not an unusual relationship in late medieval architecture and it can even be seen in Lechler's Esslingen choir screen, which was built in 1486 – 89 (fig. 6). The simple, decorative framework around the arches, the bases of the piers and the traceried balustrade all find parallels with the details on our drawing (fig. 6 - 7). Compared to his sacrament house in the same church, the choir screen at Esslingen seems much more sombre, illustrating the breath and diversity of Lechler's work. These sombre elements are further illustrated in Lechler's design for the buttresses and the vault of the Mount of Olives in the cloister of Speyer Cathedral (fig. 8). He worked on the architectural framework of this monument together with the sculptor Lienhard Seyffer, after the death of his brother, Hans Seyffer.

The drawing can also be compared to other tabernacles, which have been linked with Lechler's workshop.[16] One example is the Walburg Abbey Church tabernacle, which stands at 9 metres and which has been dated to the last decade of the 15th century (fig. 9). Its complex socle supporting a group of large figures of saints as well as its four shields underneath the shrine, which are attached to shafts that have pierced the base of the shrine, all find parallels with our drawing as well as with the tabernacle from St Andrew's in Ochsenfurt, which is also associated with Lechler's circle (fig. 9 - 10). The way that the shafts pierce the shrine is a characteristic also present on Lechler's Esslingen tabernacle (fig. 1). The tabernacle in Baden-baden and Crailsheim are probably the closest comparisons as they incorporate more clarity around the branch-work, which is also bound in places by a fake rope (fig. 11 – 12).

Fig. 9 (**above**)
Circle of Lorenz Lechler
(Hans Böblinger from Esslingen?)
Tabernacle details
c.1490
Germany, Walbourg Abbey

Fig. 10 (**below**)
Circle of Lorenz Lechler
Detail of Shrine
c. 1499
10 metres (height)
Germany, Ochsenfurt



15, Matt Kavaler, 'Nature and the Chapel Vaults at Ingolstadt: Structuralist and Other Perspectives,' in The Art Bulletin Vol 87, No 2 (June 2005), 245.

16, For a comprehensive history of sacrament houses, see Achim Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and the Body of Christ*, c.1270 – 1600 (Turnhout, 2009).

Our drawing also finds a close affinity with a drawing now in a Private Collection in Stuttgart, attributed to Burkhard Engelberg (fig. 13). While the Stuttgart drawing is much smaller and less accomplished, the two drawings share the design of the Astwerk and the hanging intersecting arcade below the corpus.[17] While the attribution of the Stuttgart drawing to Engelberg is only stylistic and can been disputed, we know that Burkhard Engelberg worked on two other sacrament houses in the early 16th century: the tabernacle in St Moritz in Augsburg, begun in 1502 and created together with sculptors Gregor Erhart and Adolf Daucher, and the tabernacle in the parish church of Donauwörth, begun in 1503. While the Augsburg tabernacle does not survive, the information that survives about it gives us an insight into the practices of late medieval masons and explains why multiple artists may have been working on different elements of our drawing.

Localisation

Although it is difficult to speculate on the church for which this may have been designed, we believe that Lorenz Lechler was active in Speyer in 1502 and the structures that are attributed to him and his workshop are dotted around this area. This does not mean that the drawing was not intended for a project further afield – after all, Lechler applied for a position all the way in Milan in the late 1480s! As such, several proposals have been made for the church that this sacrament house was designed for. Johann Böker estimated the sacrament house to be 18 meters and argued that it may have been designed for the church of the Holy Spirit in Heidelberg. The sacrament house's size as calculated by Robert Bork narrows down the number of churches even further. Bork speculated whether this drawing may have been made for Cologne Cathedral: 'If the Harburg Last Supper was meant to have the same scale [as the Last Supper relief from a contemporary tabernacle originally in Cologne Cathedral and now housed in the Schnutgen Museum], then the depicted tabernacle would be 22m high, somewhat taller than the Cologne tabernacle as built. Even this impressive height estimate for the Harburg tabernacle may be conservative, since it would imply that some of the smallest figures on the edges of its corpus would be around 8 cm high, which is much smaller than one typically sees in comparable tabernacle sculptures. It seems clear, in any case, that the Harburg tabernacle was meant to be among the largest and most impressive of its type.'[18] The reason that Bork suggests Cologne Cathedral is that several fragments from the sacrament house, thought to have been sculpted by an artist from southern Germany around 1500 and housed in the Museum Schnütgen in Cologne, include similar iconography with a Last Supper and an Agony in the Garden. The Cologne tabernacle was destroyed in 1768 and very little information about it survives. While a Last Supper and an Agony in the Garden are not unusual scenes for a sacrament house, the broad similarity between the iconographies of our drawing and the Cologne tabernacle fragments in the Museum Schnütgen, 'deserves note, because it raises the possibility that the drawing might depict a preliminary proposal for the Cologne sacrament house, one of the few tabernacle projects of the era ambitious enough to require the stunning level of formal and structural elaboration seen in the drawing.'[19]

17, Published in Johann Josef Böker, Anne-Christine Brehm, Julian Hanschke and Jean-Sebastien Sauve, *Architektur der Gotik: Ulm und Donauraum* (Salzburg 2011), 194.

18, Bork, 'Designing the Regensburg Spire and Harburg Tabernacle,' forthcoming 2022.

19, Ibid. See also Anton Legner, "*Das sakramentshäuschen im Kölner Domchor,*" in Verschwundenes Inventarium: Der Skulpturenfund im Kölner Domchor, ed. Ulrike Bergmann (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1984), 61-78.

Fig. 11 (**right**)
Lorenz Lechler (and workshop)
Baden-baden

While Cologne Cathedral, where a tabernacle was commission in the early 16th century, presents one possibility, another might have been Speyer Cathedral, where Lechler was probably working while this drawing was commissioned. However, we have no information about the sacrament house that must have once existed there.

The prominence of the two saintly knights, who likely represent Saint George or Saint Moritz, on either side of the corpus might also offer clues about the dedication of the church for which this sacrament house was designed. Two possibilities are the church of Saint George in Nördlingen or Saint Moritz in Augsburg, where tabernacles were begun in the early part of the 16th century. As mentioned above, the Augsburg tabernacle was begun in 1502 by Burkhard Engelberg; however, it does not survive. The Nördlingen sacrament house, on the other hand, is attributed firmly to Stephan Weyrer and to sculptor Ulrich Creycz. Both of these locations are close to Harburg Castle, where this architectural drawing was found, but their final designs were not completed by Lechler. Lastly, Hans Hubach suggested that our sacrament house was made for St George's church in Kandel, where a sacrament house was built by a mason from Lechler's circle (possibly according to his designs).[20] While this tabernacle was destroyed in the 17th century after a raid by Croatian troops, it was thought to have been of 'architectural significance' by Protestant church wardens in the late 16th century. The height of the church here, however, would have limited the tabernacle to be only 11 meters which presents problems if this design was upheld. Still, what all these suggestions illustrate is just how fruitful this time period would have been for architects. Architectural drawings, such as this, would have thus allowed them to draw up a design of a structure and to leave it in the hands of other masons while they worked simultaneously on other buildings.

Provenance

The drawing was discovered by Dr. Günter Haegele, the head of special collections of Augsburg University Library, in 2017 when he visited the princely archive at Harburg Castle. He was in search of old catalogues and found the drawing – unboxed and rolled up in an old cupboard, which had not been opened for many years.

We can only speculate about further provenance, although it seems most likely that the drawing was bought by Fürst Ludwig of Öttingen-Wallerstein between 1810 and 1820. He was the last princely collector and a great admirer of all '*altdeutsche*' art objects: manuscripts, paintings, etc. When Ludwig Öttingen-Wallerstein fell into debt, he sold his famous collection of paintings to the Bavarian king Ludwig I around 1820 – this collection was to form the basis of the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, one of the world's great collections of late-medieval painting. Other paintings from the collection are now in the Royal Collection, the Victoria & Albert Museum, and in several North American collections. We assume that our drawing must have entered the Öttingen-Wallerstein collection before that sale as no other prince of Öttingen-Wallerstein after this time collected objects of this type.

Much of the rest of the collection was purchased by the Free State of Bavaria in 1980 and brought to the Augsburg University Library. Not included in the purchase was the so-called Öttingen library, i.e. the books directly related to the history of the princely house and the territory. These books, much like the drawing, remained at Harburg Castle. Copper engravings, art objects, etc. are also not at the Augsburg University Library; such material also continue to be at Harburg Castle (Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein archive).

Fig. 12
Lorenz Lechler and workshop
Crailsheim

Fig. 13
Architectural Drawing of a Sacrament House
Private Collection, Stuttgart

20, We would like to thank Dr Hans Hubach for looking at this drawing with us and for giving it so much thought.

23 The Death of the Virgin

The moment of the Virgin's dormition, or death, takes place as she lays in her deathbed, its bedclothes drawn up to her waist. She lies clothed in a long-sleeved nightdress and with her hair covered by a veil, but the peace and serenity of her final moments, communicated through her subtly smiling mouth and closed eyelids, is broken sharply by the crowd of Disciples who gather tightly around her bed, looking on. Several of the men raise their hands in gestures of prayer while their counterparts console them or looking on in stern-faced grief. Others hold objects used during liturgical ceremonies: a taper, which is being placed in the hands of the Virgin by John the Evangelist (identifiable by being the youngest man in the group); an incense burner, being swung by the long-haired Disciple on the far left on the bed; and a book, held open by the capped man at centre right. While all of the figures at first appear to direct their focus towards the Virgin, a single Disciple turns away to our right. He is shown cleanshaven, with a medieval headdress and open-sided tunic, and may be intended to represent a donor or the patron of the relief.

Fig. 1
Arnt von Zwolle and Jan van Halderen
Christ washing the feet of the Apostles
1490s
Kalkar, Sankt Nicolaikirche

The lyrical carving of the figures' hairstyles with their rhythmic design of long, repetitive curls arranged in symmetrical compositions, and the sharp, angular treatment of their cheeks and facial structure, are characteristic - almost hermetically so - features of wood sculpture carved in the Northern Rhenish city of Kalkar and the nearby town of Kleve (also spelt Cleves) in the years leading up to 1500. Situated in the far west of Germany, Kalkar was an important trading centre along the Rhine Valley, with links (both trade-related and artistically) to Nijmegen and the Dutch peninsula in the north-west during the later Middle Ages, and benefiting from the trade route down river to Cologne. Specifically, our relief relates closely to Netherlandish workshops' altarpieces still preserved in situ in the Church of St Nicolai in Kalkar, such as the God the Father figure from the Trinity Retable (B. Rommé et al., Gegen den Strom: *Meisterwerke niederrheinischer Skulptur in Zeiten der Reformation*, 1500-1550, Exh. Cat., Aachen, Berlin, 1996, p. 29, fig. 14) reliefs carved during the 1490s by Arnt van Zwolle (d. 1492; also called Arnt von Kalkar) and Jan van Halderen for the church's high altar (fig. 1), and smaller-scale stand-alone reliefs such as an example depicting the Crucifixion (fig. 2). Other works attributable to Arnt van Zwolle, such as the Lamentation relief he is believed to have carved for the Carthusian monastery at Roermond (now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), or the large-scale Saint Sebastian now in the Museum vor Schone Kunsten in Ghent, show a closely related figural style, with pronounced eyelids, tightly clipped jawlines and lips, and meticulously rhythmic locks of hair (fig. 3-4). The angular, crinkled drapery folds on our relief are equally analogous to the reliefs in Kalkar, and find another comparison in the oeuvre attributed to Master Tilman, a pupil of the Kalkar school who founded a workshop in Cologne. His relief with an angel in flight of c. 1490 now in the Schnütgen Museum, Cologne (inv. no. A 931; see fig. 5) provides especially eloquent parallels for our relief. It is also interesting to note that Master Tilman is the author of another celebrated Death of the Virgin group, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 1973.348), which highlights the importance of the subject in Lower Rhenish sculpture at the close of the fifteenth century.

Fig. 2 (**above**)
Crucifixion relief, detail
showing John the Evangelist
Last quarter 15th century
Kalkar, Sankt Nicolaikirche

Fig. 3 (**below**)
Arnt van Zwolle
The Lamentation
c. 1480
54cm × 40cm; oak
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum,
Inv. BK-1956-31

Fig. 4 (**above**)
Arnt van Zwolle
Saint Sebastian
c. 1480-90
Ghent, Museum vor Schone
Kunsten

Fig. 5 (**below**)
Arnt van Zwolle
Music-making Angel in Flight
c. 1480
61 x 60.5 x 5 cm; oak
Cologne, Schnütgen
Museum, Inv. A 931

24 Jörg Lederer (c. 1470-1550)
Saint Sebastian

Sebastian, the early Christian saint martyred in the third century during the reign of Emperor Diocletian, stands with his hands resting among the cut branches of a stocky tree. A lavish golden mantle lined with blue falls open around his body to reveal a bare chest and legs cruelly transpierced by arrows that leave blood running from his many wounds. He looks serenely down to our right as though oblivious to his own torture, with a smile delicately softening his facial features that is completely at odds with the reality of the scene we are witnessing.

The dramatic use of space, with limbs and draperies organised together into a cascading, diagonal composition, and the stylistic approach to surface texture - particularly so with the figure's mantle, which buckles into tight clusters of shallow, papery folds – are clear indicators that we are looking at the work of Jörg Lederer, the foremost late-Gothic sculptor of the Allgäu region of Upper Swabia. He is first documented on 22nd July 1499, when he registered as a sculptor in the citizens' book of Füssen, a town close

Southern Germany, Kaufbeuren
c. 1515-1520

116.84 x 76.2 x 38.1 cm / 46 x 30 x 15 in; limewood with gilding and polychromy. Retouching to losses on the mantle's blue lining. Historic splits to the timber in places, and restored losses to the toes of the proper right foot. A number of the arrows broken and missing.

Provenance
Österreichisches Galerie, Vienna (inventory # 5426), acquired 30th June 1921 for 10,000 Kronen;
Deaccessioned from the museum's collection in July 1922;
With Treuga AG, acquired from the above in July 1922;
Sold through Auktionshaus für Altertümer Glückselig, Vienna, 4th-5th May 1925, lot 64 (as South German, circa 1535), for 650 Schillings;
An Austrian Noble Collection;
With Blumka Gallery & Julius Böhler, New York and Starnberg;
Collection of Hester Diamond (1928-2020), acquired from the above in 2018

Published
A. Blumka, M. Combs and T. B. Husband, *A Newly Discovered Work by Jörg Lederer: St. Sebastian,* Blumka Gallery, New York, 2017

Fig. 1
Jörg Lederer
Bad Oberdorf Altarpiece
(Coronation of the Virgin with Saints John the Baptist and John the Evangelist)
1519
Hindelang, Bad Oberdorf, Filialkirche

to the Austrian border. Although nothing is known of his training, his approach suggests an acute familiarity with sculptural trends developed in the wealthy art-producing centres of Ulm and Augsburg, and especially their artists' innovative departure from the more rigid 'soft style' popular during the latter part of the fifteenth century and their move towards a far greater sense of naturalism. Excelling at the medium, Lederer established a flourishing workshop in the Imperial city of Kaufbeuren, south of Augsburg, at some point between 1500 and 1507. He was awarded some of the most important commissions of the period, creating altarpieces and other figurative sculpture for churches and other religious foundations right across Swabia, the Alps and South Tyrol. Nonetheless, only a small handful of his work has come down to us. His masterpiece, the *Coronation* altar from the central shrine of the parish church at Hindelang (now preserved at Bad Oberdorf), was carved in 1519, and brilliantly conveys the sculptor's ability to imbue figures with a vital and dynamic sense of movement (fig. 1). Its various components are both extraordinarily complex, with an astonishing mastery over spatial depth and foreshortening in relatively thin blocks of timber, and charged with a visual dynamism bordering on the theatrical. The figure of Saint John the Baptist to the left of Lederer's *Coronation* altar provides perhaps the strongest comparison among the artist's surviving works to our Saint Sebastian (fig. 2). The Baptist occupies a position on the altarpiece to the left of the three key figures grouped together in the scene of the Virgin's *coronation*, and directs our gaze towards this centre point through the dynamic twist of his body and the angled cascade of his draperies. Our figure of Saint Sebastian must have occupied the same position on another altarpiece of similar scale and grandeur, since he also turns to our right, and is of a comparable size, with a similarly abundant use of costly pigments and gold leaf in his polychromed decoration. Moreover, the Baptist's distinctive mass of tightly-wound hair coils grouped in a bob-like coif, and his carefully delineated anatomy (with fine crease-like wrinkles enhancing the bend of the limbs) are so strikingly analogous to our figure that the two must surely have been carved at a similar moment in the artist's career. And just like our Saint Sebastian, the Baptist's draperies and limbs offer dynamic counterpoints to each other's steeply-angled asymmetries and carefully choreographed spatial imbalances. Saint Sebastian even has similar angular folds of drapery to those of the Baptist, which in both cases alternate between broad sweeps of soft, parallel swags and compact areas of crumpled, papery folds. Lederer's design of the tree and its branches provides a similar balance to the Saint's right-leaning torso and to the delicate and balletic position of the right arm as it describes a semicircle over his head. On the other hand, his youthful facial features, with chiselled jawline and chin, fine nasal ridge, and comparatively narrow mouth, find closer parallels in the accompanying figure of Saint John the Evangelist on the right of the Hindelang Altar, and reappear again on a figure of Saint Florian carved by Lederer in c. 1517-1520 for an altarpiece in Latsch, South Tyrol (fig. 3). Other key works firmly attributed to Lederer's hand and offering strong formal and technical analogies to our saint are preserved at the Bode Museum in Berlin, the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, and the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich. Though we know none of the details surrounding its execution, or for which of Lederer's long-since dismembered and dispersed altarpieces it was carved, its survival in such remarkably intact condition is of the very utmost importance for our understanding of both the artist's career, and for the development of Swabian wood sculpture at the dawn of the German Renaissance.

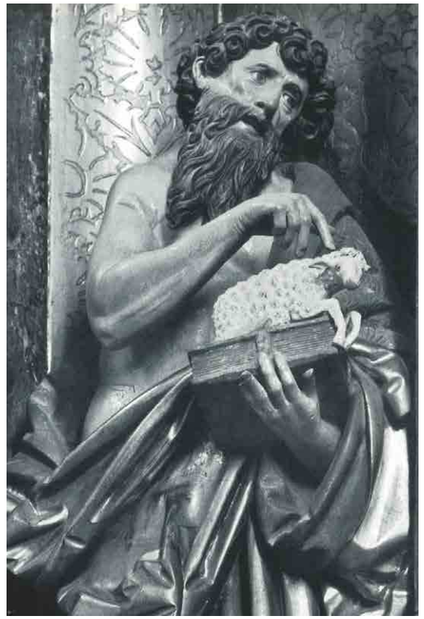


Fig. 2 (**above**)
Jörg Lederer
Saint John the Baptist, detail from the Bad Oberdorf Altarpiece
1519
Hindelang, Bad Oberdorf, Filialkirche

Fig. 3
Jörg Lederer
Saint Florian from the Spitalkirche at Latsch (left) and our figure of Saint Sebastian (right)
c. 1517-1520

25 An architectural monstrance with two saints

Description and Iconography
A large and fully gilded silver monstrance – a type of object used during liturgical ceremonies to display and protect the consecrated Host – in the form of a micro-architectural structure. It is ingeniously composed from a number of cast and repousséd elements that are all fixed together using a combination of hidden flanges, fixing pins, and soldered joins. Above a cusped, flaring base, a hexagonal stem decorated with traceried knops and winged seraphim rises up to a wide platform, on which two male saints stand on either side of a circular glass Host container framed within an ornate, open-sided aedicule. Fixed to the platform are four thin buttresses, which support a tripartite canopy terminating in short pinnacled structures directly above the Host container. Ornate repousséd foliage sprays decorate both the down-swept foot and an outward flaring section which supports the central platform. In each case, the forms of the vegetation are raised or embossed away from a recessed background surface meticulously tooled with a small circular punch to provide texture and depth. Shallower tooling also decorates the stem and a graver was used to provide the subtle, linear details that enliven the architectural superstructure. The two saints shown on either side of the central monstrance are represented as stocky, youthful men, their garments fully enlivened by gilding but their hands and faces carefully left ungilded to capture the distinction between skin and fabric. One wears an ornately decorated chasuble and mitre, and holds a crozier in his hand left hand while raising his right in the sign of the Benediction. His garb identifies him as an abbot, and though he does not have a halo he is very probably an abbot saint to whom either the patron, or more likely the intended foundation, held a particular veneration. His counterpart is also dressed in liturgical robes, this time a square-cut dalmatic with embroidered panels over the knees. His head is nimbed by a large, flat halo, and hanging round his neck is a millstone attached to a length of rope. Millstones were depicted during the later Middle Ages both as symbols of strength (Saint Christopher is occasionally represented carrying a millstone, for instance), and as symbols of martyrdom, since a number of early Christian saints were martyred by being drowned with the aid of a millstone tied round their necks or wrists. Once such saint, a deacon called Vincent of Saragossa, is most often portrayed with the cross on which he was tortured, but he is occasionally also shown beside a millstone (representing another moment in his persecution), such as in an altarpiece thought to have been painted by Perot Gascó in the 1530s or early 1540s for the chapel of La Mare de Déu in Borgonyà, Sant Vicenç de Torelló, and now preserved in the Museu Episcopal at Vic (fig. 1). As our saint is also shown in the robes of a deacon, it is very possible that he too represents Vincent of Saragossa, and that our monstrance was made for a Catalan site associated with the saint.

Fig. 1
Perot Gascó (attributed to)
Altarpiece of Saint Vincent, from the chapel of La Mare de Déu in Borgonyà, Sant Vicenç de Torelló
c. 1529-1546
209.5 x 194.5 cm; oil, tempera, and gilding on panel
Vic, Museu Episcopal, inv. MEV 955

Spain, Barcelona
c. 1520-1530

63 × 30 × 20.5cm / 24.8 × 11.8 × 8 in.; Cast, chased, repousséd and gilded silver with glass insert. The silver pins used to fix the components together replaced. Some later soldered repairs to failed fixing points. The central Host container very possibly replaced.

Provenance
Aristocratic French family collection, Paris, since c. 1890

Markings
Hallmarks with the letters 'BA' stamped in several places on the superstructure.

Context, Localisation and Date

As the container of what is known as the consecrated Host, which is believed by Christians to become the actual body of Christ during the Mass, and therefore to symbolize Christ's sacrifice for mankind on the Cross, the monstrance (from the Latin monstrare, "to show") was one of the most important liturgical objects for any medieval treasury. Typically crafted from precious metals and other rare materials, they are used at the altar table during religious ceremonies such as Mass to display the Host for the view of the priests, deacons, and congregation. They are also regularly processed, raised by the priest, or otherwise engaged and interacted with during the liturgy, making them not only symbolically important as bearers of the Host, but also performative objects that serve to draw the focus of the congregation and crystallize the Christian message. Our example is stamped in several places with a variant of the hallmark routinely used by Barcelonan goldsmiths during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Along with its stylistic and formal characteristics, including the use of coiled wire attached to the stem as decoration, its elaborate repousséd foliage designs, its cusped, splayed base, and its tripartite architectural canopy, this feature indicates that it must have been created in that city in the closing years of the Middle Ages. It can be compared with reliquaries and monstrances of similar format or design in the Rhode Island School of Design Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, several Catalan churches and museums, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, among other institutions (figs. 2-3). The Renaissance character of its winged seraphim and other aspects of its decoration suggest a date in the third decade of the sixteenth century, the last great moment of Catalan goldsmiths' work during the period.

Fig. 2 (**top**)
Architectural reliquary
Spain, Barcelona
c. 1500-1520
46 x 21 cm; gilded silver and glass
London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. M.289-1956

Fig. 3 (**right**)
Architectural monstrance
Spain, Barcelona
c. 1525
46.4 cm; gilded silver
Rhode Island School of Design, inv. 40.002

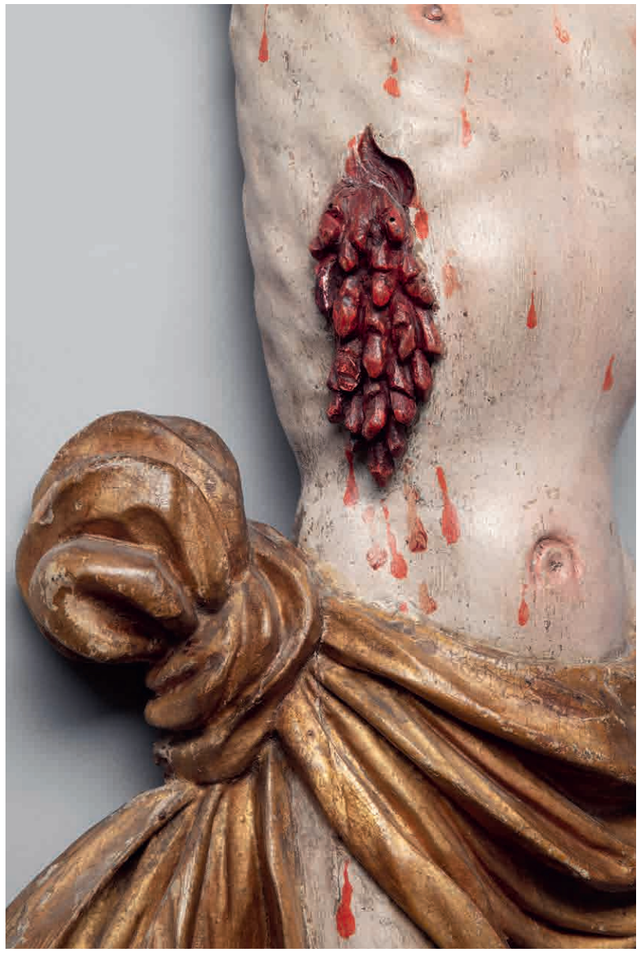
26 Crucified Christ

This gruesome depiction of the Crucified Christ, bleeding profusely from his wounds, was made for a Late Gothic church in Southern Germany. Christ's emaciated body is speckled with drops of blood as his skinny arms struggle to hold his weight. His neck appears strained as his head falls severely to the left. Long curls of hair cover his shoulders and a thick loincloth is tied at his side. The wounds at the site where his ribs were pierced and where his feet were nailed together spew large clusters of bloody flesh. A thick crown of thorns is placed upon his head, although this almost certainly replaces an earlier one. Often, as is the case here, the softwood used responded well to the kind of bold and energetic carving typified by our figure. Judging by its size, the sculpture would have been placed either over the altar in a smaller church or among a more complex configuration of sculptures, where it would have acted as a climax to a Passion cycle.

Germany, Upper Rhine
c. 1500-20

115 x 84 x 71 cm / 45 x 33 x 28 in; Softwood with gilding and polychromy. Surface wear and losses to paint throughout. Polychromy refreshed with some remainders of early paint. Minor worming (particularly evident on arms). Some age cracks including under proper right foot and heel of foot. Fingers on proper right hand appear to be restored. Crown replaced at a later date.

Provenance
Private Collection



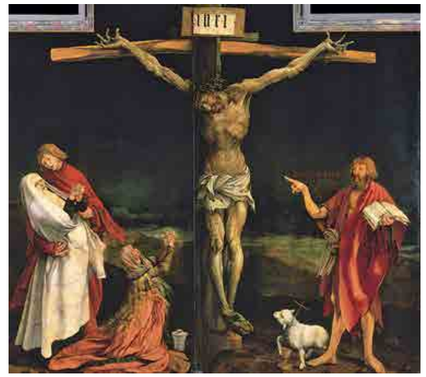
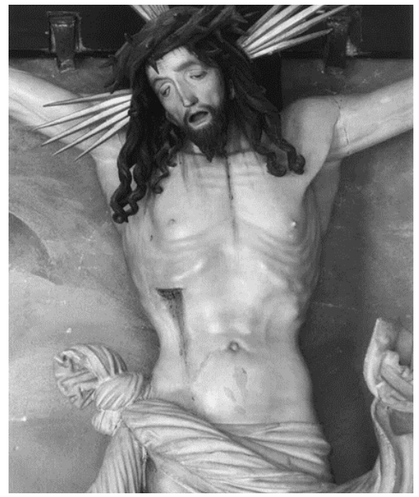


Fig. 1 (**above**)
Nikolaus of Haguenau and Matthias Grünewald
Isenheim Altarpiece (Detail)
1512 – 16
Germany, Isenheim
Alsace, Colmar, Unterlinden Museum

Fig. 2 (**below**)
Jörg Lederer
Crucified Christ
Germany, Serfaus Parish Church
c.1525



Figures of this type, carved with emphatically depicted wounds evoking the horrific nature of Christ's suffering on the cross, functioned as the most prominent religious images in the church. They were carved throughout the Middle Ages but it was in the late Middle Ages, especially after the Black Death, that they took on an ever more graphic demeanor. Such depictions also gained momentum following the popularity of the mystical revelations of Saint Bridget of Sweden, who claimed that Christ said to her in a vision that he received 5480 blows upon his body. Her accounts had a profound effect on the art of the later Middle Ages. One example is the celebrated Isenheim Altarpiece, made by Nikolaus of Haguenau and Matthias Grünewald in 1512 – 16, which embodies one of the most poignant depictions of the horrific agony suffered by Christ, his skin covered in sores and his body squirming with pain (fig. 1). Made contemporaneously with our sculpture, it is tempting to imagine that our sculptor may have known the altarpiece or other related artworks made in this region.

Similarities to late Gothic corpora surviving in churches across the Upper Rhine and Tyrol, and dateable to the years around 1500 - 1520, offer strong evidence for localizing and dating our example accordingly. Particularly compelling examples can be found in several churches in near Lake Constance, namely the sculpture made by Jörg Lederer in Serfaus and the Crucifix by the Master of the Holy Blood in Terenten (figs. 2 – 3). Further afield, the Crucifix attributed to Veit Stoss and dated to c. 1500 in Nuremberg Castle also presents certain close similarities (fig. 4).

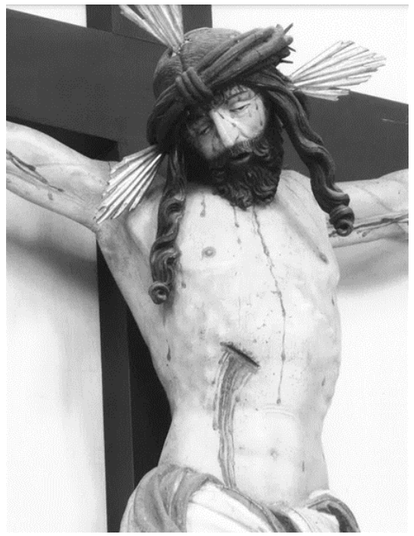


Fig. 3 (**above**)
Meister von Heiligenblut
Crucified Christ
Tyrol, Terenten Parish Church
c. 1520

Fig. 4 (**below**)
Veit Stoss
Crucified Christ
Germany, Nuremberg Castle
c. 1500

27 Giovanni della Robbia (1469-1529)
‘Giuditta ebrea’ Judith holding the head of Holofernes

This terracotta sculpture of Judith, dressed in a vivid, two-layered blue and yellow dress tied at the waist with a sash, stands with her right arm raised and her left gripping the decapitated head of Holofernes which hangs by her left thigh. She shifts her weight onto her right leg in elegant contrapposto, which serves to break the stasis of the figure and accentuates the S-curl of her arms. Her idealised face bears no expression as she confidently holds the head of a frowning Holofernes. Her name, ‘IVDIT HEBREA’ is painted in delicate serif majuscule on the hexagonal maroon and white base on which she stands.

The present figure is one of only six known versions to have survived from the workshop of Giovanni della Robbia (1469-1529), and the only one of this group in which the flesh areas are intentionally left unglazed, a decision that may have been taken in order to embellish these areas with cold paint following the firing of the surrounding glazes.[1] Other figures of the same composition firmly attributed to Giovanni are preserved in public collections including the Szépmûvészeti Múzeum in Budapest, The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 46.839) and the Brooklyn Museum, New York (fig. 1). Scholars have argued that Donatello’s Judith was a source of inspiration for this composition. However, according to Gentilini, Donatello’s lost Dovizia (Abundance) may have influenced Giovanni della Robbia who produced several statues of Dovizia, including a female figure similar to his Judith.[2] It has also been suggested that Ghiberti’s figure of Judith on the east doors of the baptistery in Florence may have been a source for the Detroit bronze statuette of Judith by Pallaiuolo (circa 1470) which in turn could have

Italy, Florence
c. 1520

62 x 25 x 17 cm / 24.4 x 9.8 x 6.7 in; tin-glazed terracotta, minor repairs to the base, including retouching to part of the letter ‘A’ in ‘EBREA’, and the raised right arm is a modern replacement. Otherwise in excellent condition. Apparently, none of the surviving versions of Judith (discussed below) preserves the original raised arm intact.

Provenance
Collection of Margarete Oppenheim, sold Julius Böhler 1936;
William Randolph Hearst, acquired at above sale for £500;
Restituted to the Oppenheim family in 2017;
Private Collection, Stuttgart

Published
Julius Böhler, *Sammlung Frau Margarete Oppenheim*, Sale Cat., Munich, 23 April – 15 May 1936, no. 722, fig. 47

Tschermak von. Seysenegg, “Die Judith von Giovanni della Robbia”, in *Keramos,* October, 1986, pp. 27-36, no. 114

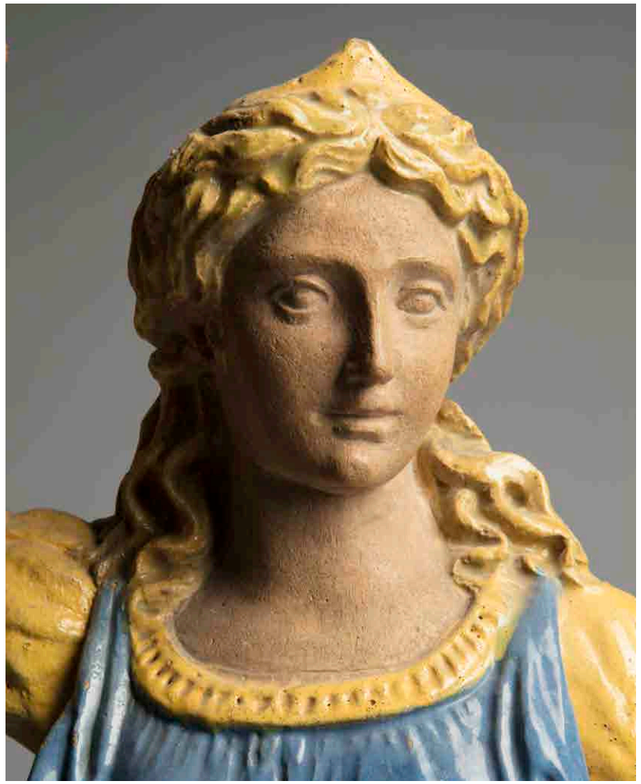


Fig. 1 (**below**)
Workshop of Giovanni della Robbia
Judith with the Head of Holofernes
Italy
Early 16th century
New York, Brooklyn Museum of Art, Inv. 19.114a-b

1, A. Marquand, Giovanni Della Robbia (Princeton, 1920).

2, G. Gentilini, I Della Robbia e l’“arte nuova” della scultura invertriata, Exh. Cat. (Florence, 1998), 114-115.

provided Giovanni della Robbia with the inspiration to produce his own version of this figure (fig. 2).

Giovanni della Robbia's famous, pioneering great uncle Luca della Robbia (1399/1400-1482) was among the most important and influential Renaissance sculptors working in Florence. In the second quarter of the 15th century, Luca della Robbia had developed the terracotta invetriata process by modelling terracotta and then glazing it in a variety of colours, or in white, often made to imitate marble. Luca employed his nephew Andrea della Robbia (1435-1525) who maintained the renowned studio after Luca's death. Giovanni, the most accomplished of Andrea's sons, took over the running of the workshop and seems to have been instrumental in its productivity even before the death of his father. He is distinguished, in part, for his use of polychromy and heightened colours including bright yellow, multiple shades of blue and green.

The story of Judith, an Old Testament heroine, is described in a deuterocanonical book called the Book of Judith (XIII, 7-8) but it was also a part of the Power of Women topos (or Weibermacht), which became popular in medieval and Renaissance art. The story takes place at a time when the Jewish people were held captive by the Assyrians. Judith, a beautiful and virtuous widow, plans to save Israel by sneaking into the Assyrian camp and killing their general, Holofernes. After successfully seducing him, Judith decapitates Holofernes while he sleeps in a drunken stupor. The theme of Judith and Holofernes became particularly popular in Renaissance Italy and was used to symbolize the triumph of humility over vice. Much like Delilah betraying Samson after promising her love to him, however, stories such as Judith and Holofernes, which belonged to the Weibermacht topos, had dual meanings. While symbolising strength in weakness, justice and humility, the stories were not always received with ease. For the church, they acted as reminders that women were evil and manipulative.[3] To many theologians, the topos of Judith and Holofernes demonstrated a medieval vision of the world 'upside down, [which was] "in violation of every officially sanctioned norm of female behavior that demanded the submission of the female to the male."'[4] Still, documentary evidence shows that gender affected the way that the Weibermacht topos were understood and interpreted. Christine de Pizan, a celebrated female poet and author, challenged the topos in the early 15th century, arguing that 'male writers perpetuated false notions about women.' [5]

Thermoluminescence analysis undertaken by Arcadia, Milan, in October 2015 has confirmed the authenticity and age of the piece.

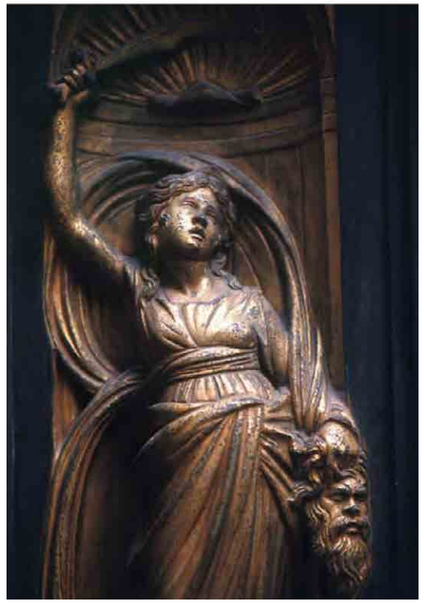


Fig. 2
Lorenzo Ghiberti
Judith from the Gates of Paradise
Italy, Florence, Baptistery
1425 - 1452

3, Diane Wolfthall, 'Review: Smith, Susan L., The Power of Women: A Tapas in

4, Ibid.

5, Ibid.

28 Giovanni da Nola (1478 - 1559)
Effigy of Riccardo Rota (d. 1392)

This image of a kneeling knight in armour is a funerary monument by the celebrated Renaissance sculptor Giovanni da Nola. Identified by an inscription on its base, the sculpture depicts Riccardo Rota and it is believed to have been commissioned by his descendant, Bernardino Rota. Carved on a monumental marble slab, the figure is portrayed in a style that is consistent with the traditions of tomb sculpture prevalent in mid-16th century Kingdom of Naples. His eyes wide open, the figure of Rota presses his right hand to his chest and looks ardently up to an image that would have originally accompanied the sculpture – perhaps the Virgin Mary. His helmet prominently displayed at his side, Rota wears full armour decorated with a large wheel on his chest - an emblem of the Rota family. The careful detailing of his delicate facial features and his lifelike hands flaunt the skills of the sculptor. The sculpture is believed to have been made for the new Rota Chapel in San Domenico Maggiore, which was built to become the family's principal burial site (fig. 1).

Italy, Naples, Rota Chapel in San Domenico Maggiore
c. 1540 - 1550

129 x 60 x 43 cm / 50.8 x 23.6 x 17 in.; marble

Inscription
VERA EFFIGIES CORPORIS MAGNIFICI / MILITIS / DOMINI RICCIARDI ROTA / QUI OBIIT AN. D. MCCCLXXXXII

Provenance
Sotheby's London, 7 December 1995, lot 74; Private Collection.

Exhibited
Tel Aviv Museum of Art, July 1997 - December 2019

Published
Yoni Ascher, 'Renaissance Commemoration in Naples: the Rota chapel in San Pietro a Mailla,' in *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 2000), pp. 190 - 209.
Yoni Ascher, 'Una scultura inedita di Giovanni da Nola' in *Napoli Nobilissima* III (2002), pp. 161 – 170.
Yoni Archer, '"Renovatio" and "Translatio" in Renaissance Naples: An Addendum to the Story of the Rota Chapels' in *Notes in the History of Art* , Vol. 25, No. 1 (Fall 2005), p. 33 - 42.

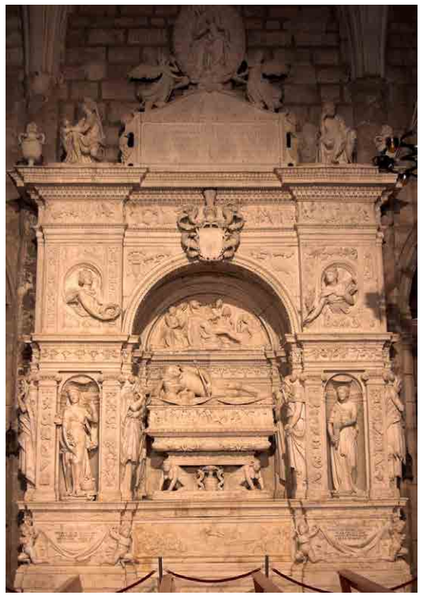


Fig. 1
Giovanni da Nola
Tomb of Ramon Folch de Cardona-Anglesola
Italy, Naples (now in Sant Nicolau de Bellpuig – dismantled and brought to Spain)
After 1522

The aesthetic of monumental funerary statuary in the Kingdom of Naples in this period was dominated in a monopolistic manner by the Neapolitan sculptor and architect Giovanni da Nola and his workshop. Known also as Giovanni Merliano, he was born in Nola as the son of a leather merchant. Training under Aniello del Fiore and Benedetto da Maiano, he became especially influenced by Michelangelo, whose work he studied closely in Rome when he was a young apprentice. Giovanni was responsible for numerous building foundations and intricate tomb monuments in Naples, where he spent his career, including the Palazzo Giusso, the sculpted reliefs on the Porta Capuana for the royal entry of Emperor Charles V in 1535, the tomb monument of Ramón de Cardona, and the tomb monument to Pedro Álvarez de Toledo (fig. 1 – 2). Many of the burial monuments attributed to Giovanni da Nola are composed of a complex configuration of architectural elements and a wealth of statuary, showing both holy individuals and portraits.

Similarly, our figure of Riccardo Rota would have been accompanied by an architectural framework and by other sculptures as a part of the new family chapel in the Dominican church of San Domenico Magiorre. The figure of Riccardo Rota, who died in 1382, was created as a retrospective effigy of one of the family's most prominent ancestors. Riccardo was a soldier at the time of Queen Giovanna I and he founded the first family burial chapel in the church of San Pietro a Maiella – a foundation favoured by King Robert and by Andrea of Hungary, the husband of Queen Giovanna. His military accomplishments gained him lands in Abruzzi and a 'place of honour in the local baronage'. The Rota family remained one of the most distinguished families in Naples and even though they never counted as one of its noble houses, they served the crown. Bernardino Rota, a poet and a renowned art patron in 16th century Naples, wanted to pay homage to his prominent ancestor when he began the new Rota chapel in San Domenico Maggiore. He had a foundation inscription created on the floor which stated that 'he continued what his ancestor Riccardo had begun elsewhere, namely in the old chapel in San Pietro a Maiella.' It is not known why the family burial site was moved to San Domenico but the importance of continuity was established here by memoria, which Bernardino translated from the old chapel to the new foundation – an act that had never occurred in Naples before. Retrospective images, such as this statue, played another large part in this *renovatio*. As noted by Yoni Ascher, the inscription on the bottom of this statue was given a particularly archaic lettering, in order 'to pay visual tribute to the ancestor who founded the family chapel in Naples, thereby enhancing the connection between the new chapel and the old one.' A large part of the inscription was also demonstrated to have been taken directly from Riccardo's sarcophagus, renewed by Bernardino's father in c.1516 and possibly copied from the original 14th century tomb monument, naming Riccardo as MAGNIFICI MILITIS – a magnificent knight. As such, this statue acted not only as homage to an ancestor but also as a reminder of the family's grandeur at a time when its fortune began to dwindle.

Fig. 2
Giovanni da Nola
Tomb Monument to Pedro Álvarez de Toledos
Italy, Naples, San Giacomo degli Spagnoli
1540 - 50

Fig. 3
San Domenico Maggiore and its Piazza in Naples

1, Yoni Ascher, 'Renaissance Commemoration in Naples: the Rota chapel in San Pietro a Mailla,' in Renaissance Studies, Vol. 14, No. 2 (June 2000), p. 192.

2, Ibid, p.191.

3, Ibid. p. 190.

4, Ibid, p. 200.

5, Yoni Archer, '"Renovatio" and "Translatio" in Renaissance Naples: An Addendum to the Story of the Rota Chapels' in Notes in the History of Art , Vol. 25, No. 1 (Fall 2005), p. 40.

29 The Pozzi Gospels

Painted and decorated by the artist Hakob Jughayets'i (c. 1550 - 1613)

Armenia, Keghi
1586

19.7 x 14.4 cm / 7.8 x 5.7 in.; paper with blind-stamped brown leather binding; 403 folios; with 46 full-page illuminations and numerous marginal miniatures

Provenance
Collection of Jean Pozzi (1884 - 1967), Paris

Published
Greenwood, Tim and Edda Vardanyan. *Hakob's Gospels: The Life and Work of an Armenian Artist of the Sixteenth Century.* London, 2006.

In the winter of 1586, Hakob Jughayets'i, one of Armenia's most celebrated illuminators, completed work on a Gospel book with an extensive and extraordinary programme of portraits, narrative miniatures and marginal figures. This inventive program is replete with narrative cycles drawn from the Old Testament and the Gospels. Included are portraits of the evangelists, an unusually beardless Christ and the Virgin Mary, as well as scenes of the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the seven days of Creation. In total, nearly a hundred miniatures decorate this work. Hakob's sparkling, vibrant palette, expressive wide-eyed figures, and iconographic inventiveness are at their most distinctive in this early phase of his career. The manuscript also reveals that this work was highly personal for Hakob, who signed it multiple times, adding various personal notes such as one that asks the reader to pray for his father, mother, sisters and brothers.

Hakob remarks that the manuscript was completed at 'a bitter time', a familiar expression found in many colophons. In this instance however it could be referring to his precarious personal circumstances, to the harshness of winter, or to the war that raged between the Safavid and Ottoman empires across Armenia during the 1580s. With a humility born of convention as much as conviction, Hakob also describes himself as 'the most useless of the servants of God' and the 'false-living deacon of Jugha'. 'Yet while these words may reflect the artist's state of mind, and hint at dissatisfaction with a peripatetic lifestyle during a period of unrest, they most assuredly do not do justice to the manuscript that he had created. Far from being poorly executed or tedious, the illuminations produced by the artist are striking, iconographically inventive, and beautiful.' [1]

The primitive expression of Hakob's characters, the fully decorated backgrounds, the scalloped arcades, the vivid and brilliant colors of the miniatures characterize the works of this painter. The gold backgrounds on the full page miniatures are almost entirely covered by figures and by various interposed patterns. Despite the profusion of these motifs, the scenes are well composed and the main subjects stand out clearly. The wide-eyed portraits of the Virgin Mary and Christ are otherworldly, depicted with large nimbi and on abstract gold backgrounds. This flair for abstraction is continued in the narrative scenes, where elongated naked bodies of some of the figures seem to possess no skeletons, as they slink among the intricate decorated patterns that float alongside them. Hakob's deliberate

1, Tim Greenwood and Edda Vardanyan, *Hakob's Gospels: The Life and Work of an Armenian Artist of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 2006), pp. 7.

rejection of perspective and naturalism demonstrates his knowledge and preference for the vitality of earlier generations of Armenian manuscript illuminators.

At the time that this manuscript was created, Hakob was itinerant, wandering from one centre to another. When passing through Erzerum on his way to Istanbul, Hakob tells us that he had met a priest, Astuatsatur, who had invited him to Keghi (modern Kiği, fifty miles south-west of Erzerum), and it is here, as Hakob explains, that he copied and illuminated the manuscript under the protection of a church. At the time, the Safavid and Ottoman states were at war, and Armenia became 'the principal theatre for their conflict.'[2] Armenian history can be seen in terms of periods of independence interleaved with longer spells under the dominion of neighbouring powers. If Armenia is one of the least understood regions of the Christian Orient, late medieval and early modern Armenia remains one of its least studied periods. Still, troughout these centuries, Armenian cultural traditions proved both resilient and distinctive. Hakob's illuminated manuscript reveals that Armenian art cannot be explained simply as a fusion of artistic influences from its powerful neighbours and conquerors but needs to be recognised as a separate tradition and assessed on its own terms.

2, Tim Greenwood and Edda Vardanyan, *Hakob's Gospels: The Life and Work of an Armenian Artist of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 2006), p. 8.

to accompany an exhibition by
Sam Fogg Ltd
Luhring Augustine

held at
531 West 24th Street, New York, NY 10011
21 January - 12 March 2022
www.luringaugustine.com

Catalogue texts
Jana Gajdošová
Matthew Reeves
with Debra Noel Adams

Photography
William Fulton
Barney Hindle