Art and Symbolism
in   Medieval   Europe

edited by
Guy De Boe & Frans Verhaeghe

I.A.P. Rapporten

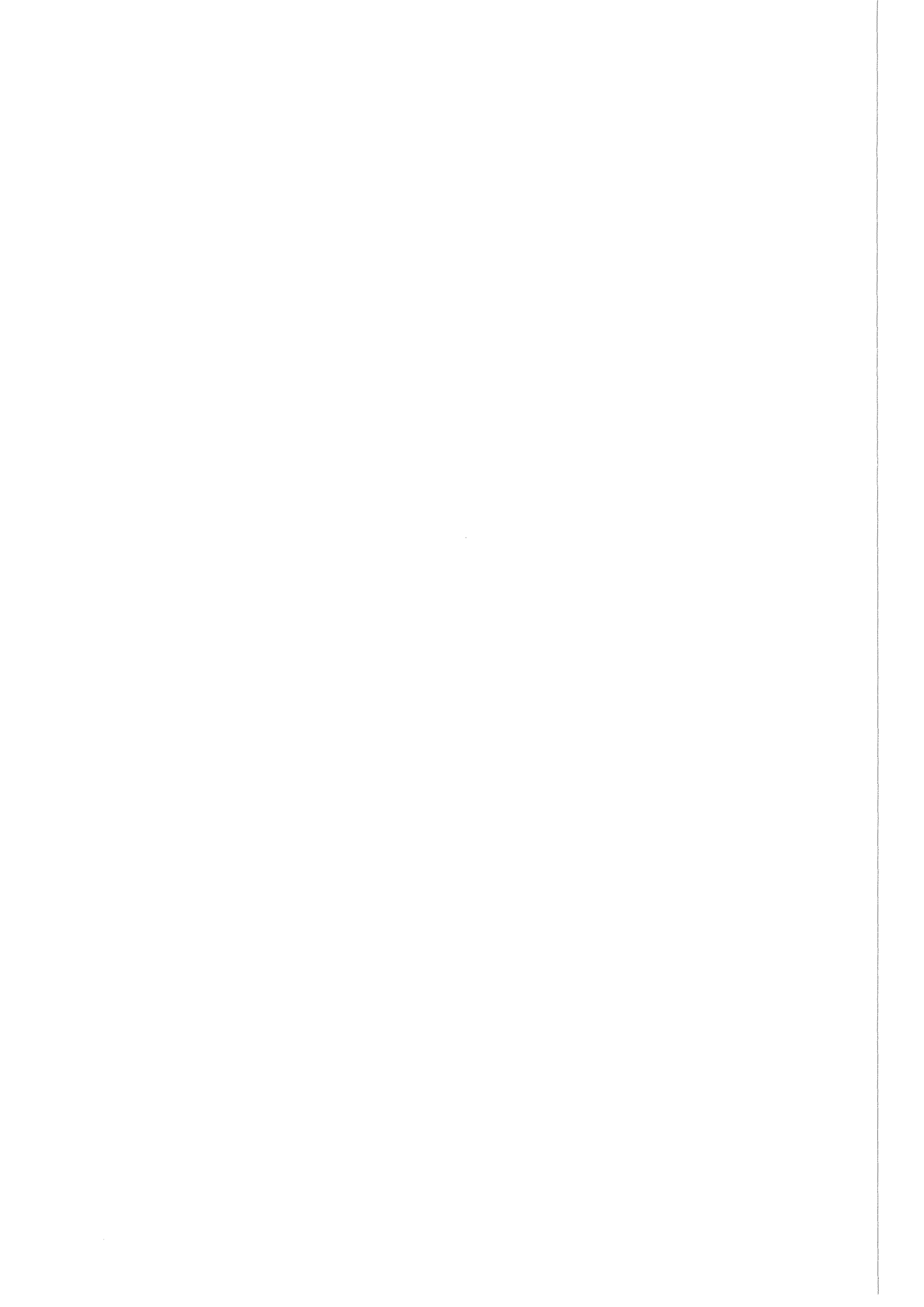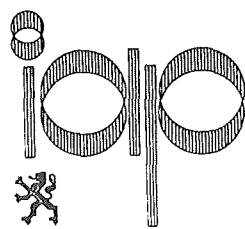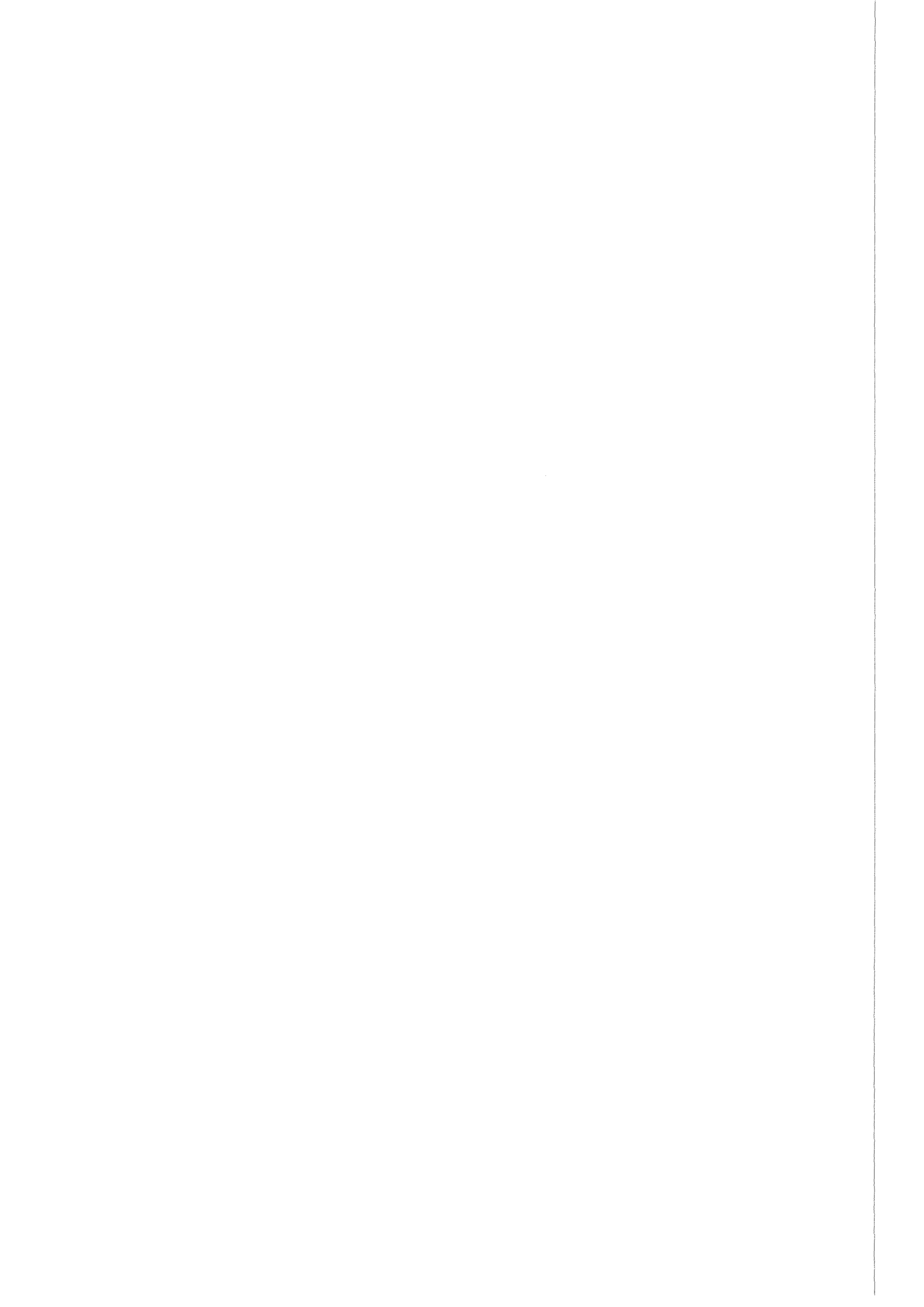uitgegeven door / edited by

Prof. Dr. Guy De Boe

Art and Symbolism

in Medieval Europe

Papers of the 'Medieval Europe Brugge 1997' Conference
Volume 5

edited by
Guy De Boe & Frans Verhaeghe

was organized by
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fut organisée par
wurde veranstaltet von

Märit Gaimster
Hubert De Witte

Preface

Art and symbolism pervade most if not all fields of interest to medieval and later archaeologists and in a number of countries, the history of medieval art and architecture was in fact one of the many fathers of the archaeological study of medieval times. This old link between the different disciplines has lost nothing of its attraction, particularly as archaeological fieldwork continues to turn up new evidence which contributes significantly to the history of art and architecture. One could reasonably argue that with the exception of the so-called fine – and mainly pictorial – arts and segments of the study of art and architecture on the basis of written sources, archaeology is instrumental in renewing our understanding of the medieval and later perceptions of many different forms of art and architecture. This is certainly the case where all kinds of smaller art works, major and minor buildings, the broad range of decorative artwork and the more common and often somewhat humbler decorated objects are concerned.

Symbolism is – almost by definition – closely linked with the concept of art and with the intricate problems of detecting, identifying and explaining specific meanings in art objects and decorations. It is therefore reasonable to join the two notions, as they also were on the occasion of the first MEDIEVAL EUROPE conference in York in 1992.

Again – and as with the other themes discussed at the Brugge conference – the subject of art and symbolism cannot readily be divorced from the many other concerns of medieval and later archaeology. Notwithstanding the fact that on the whole and for all sorts of reasons European medieval and later archaeology professes regrettably little systematic interest in less tangible issues such as hidden meanings and all kinds of symbolisms, we should not forget that all material objects always have many different meanings depending on their functions, uses and context. Therefore, symbolism – particularly in the sense of

social strategies – is also present in other sections (and volumes) of the MEDIEVAL EUROPE BRUGGE 1997 conference and notably in sections 07 (Material Culture) and 10 (Method and Theory). Similarly, a wealth of information on architectural aspects of all kinds of buildings (castles, religious buildings such as churches, cathedrals and monasteries), urban and rural buildings, etc.) is included in the contributions presented within the context of the other sections (notable sections 01, 02, 03, 04 and 11) of the Brugge conference. This in itself sufficiently illustrates the need for bringing together the information related to some many aspects of the medieval and later worlds and societies, which was one of the basic philosophies of the York and Brugge MEDIEVAL EUROPE conferences.

For sheer practical reasons, however, a number of contributions presented on the occasion of the international conference on medieval and later archaeology MEDIEVAL EUROPE BRUGGE 1997 which took place in Brugge, Belgium, on 1 through 4 October 1997, have been grouped in section 05 under the general heading *Art and symbolism - Art et symbolismes - Kunst und Symbolik - Kunst en symbolisme.* The section was organized by Märit Gaimster (United Kingdom) and Hubert De Witte (Urban Archaeology Service, Brugge, Belgium). Taking into account the notion 'symbolism', a special workshop on pilgrim badges was organized within the context of this section by A.M. Koldewey (Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands). The contributions brought together within the context of section 05 concerned subjects more explicitly and directly related to issues involving art and symbolism.

The present volume offers a collection of pre-printed papers, a number of which were presented orally and debated during the sessions of section 05. Unfortunately, quite a few contributors to this section

did not submit a text in time for inclusion in the present volume while other colleagues could not attend and present their contribution. In addition, the diversity of the contributions All this explains why the general structure and the contents of the present volume do not conform in all details to the programme of the conference.

The present volume has been organized keeping in mind both the complexity of the subject and the general lines of the structure of section 05 of the conference as originally proposed by the organizers. The high degree of diversity of subjects discussed by the authors and speakers made the task of grouping the contributions quite a difficult one, but taking into account a delicate balance between the main thrust of the individual papers and the type(s) of objects considered, This means that the contributions in the present volume have more or less been grouped according to the following topics:

- a first series of papers concerns the secular use of art and includes contributions on the Bayeux Tapestry, aspects of the interior decoration of a French manor, aspect of profane culture in sculpture and a post-medieval garden.
- A number of contributions have been grouped under the general heading 'aspects of style' and consider broader issues such as the perception of early medieval art, several aspects (mainly early) medieval

decoration on metalwork and jewelry, and aspects of medieval sculpture.
- The role of symbolic meanings linked with art, buildings and decorated objects – generally within the framework of religion and belief – is emphasized in three papers brought together in a section titled 'symbols in action'.
- Finally, the papers related to pilgrim badges and presented within the context of the special workshop on these objects and their meanings are grouped under the heading 'sacred and profane badges', which was also the title of the workshop.

Of necessity, the papers are rather short and the volume of course does not do total justice to the many excavations and the wealth of other types of research work where art and symbolism constitute basic issues or are of direct or indirect importance. Nor does it provide a complete overview of the results attained and knowledge acquired. Nevertheless, the 20 papers included in the present volume provide a good idea of the potential of this particular field of research, emphasizing at the same time the complexity of the subject. This is even more true when the volume is considered within the context of the other volumes in the present series and when the reader takes into account that art and symbolism are also very much present – directly or indirectly – in these other volumes.

Frans Verhaeghe & Guy De Boe

Cyril Hart

The Canterbury contribution to the Bayeux Tapestry

ADAM AND EVE IN THE GARDEN
GENESIS III, 7: And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew they were naked.
GENESIS III, 8: And Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God among the trees of the garden.

OE HEXATEUCH fol. 7v

BAYEUX TAPESTRY p. 73 (last scene, lower border)

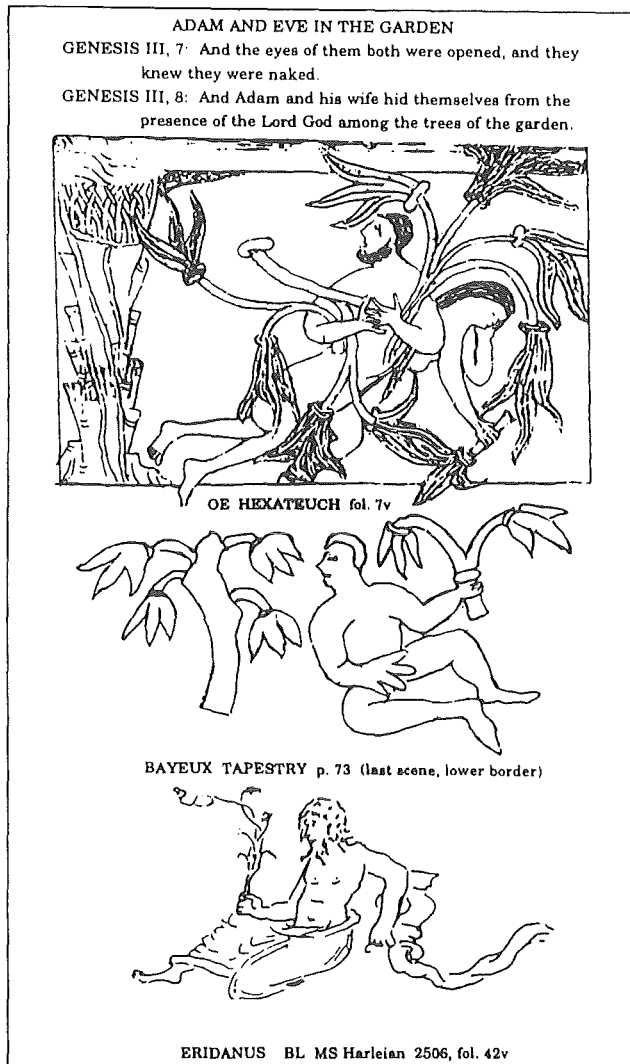ERIDANUS BL MS Harleian 2506, fol. 42v

Fig.1.

In spite of considerable research and a voluminous international literature, there is still no general consensus as to the precise date and place of composition of the Bayeux Tapestry.[1] I think that most scholars on both sides of the Channel would now agree that it was designed and executed between 1067 and 1082 somewhere in Southern England, under the patronage of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, who was given the earldom of Kent by his half-brother William the Conqueror soon after the battle of Hastings.[2] However even this vague consensus is far from complete; for example, a recent claim locates the creation of the Tapestry at Bayeux itself.[3]

In this paper I put forward the view that the art-historical evidence for the design and manufacture of the Tapestry at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury is now so extensive and formidable that such a provenance should be taken as an established fact. The evidence accompanies my paper as a series of line drawings, in which *motifs* from surviving early illuminated manuscripts are compared with corresponding scenes copied from the Tapestry. Since the Tapestry scenes undoubtedly originated as line drawings of some kind (possibly charcoal), this method of comparison is more helpful than one using photographic facsimiles. I shall concentrate on those themes (several of them newly-discovered) which are most useful for establishing my thesis, leaving the bulk of the identities found by previous scholars to speak for themselves in the line illustrations.

[1] For the bibliography to 1988, see S.A. BROWN & M. HERREN, *The Bayeux Tapestry: History and Bibliography*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988. The edition used here is *The Bayeux Tapestry, the Complete Tapestry in Colour*, ed. D.M. WILSON, Phaidon Press, London, 1985, quoted by page number.

[2] A strong case for the creation of the Tapestry at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury in 1067 x 1082 was put by N.P. BROOKS, The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 1, 1978, 1-34, but this was admittedly no more than a reasonable assumption at that time.

[3] A book now selling world-wide in French, German and English carries the following foreword: 'The prevailing opinion has hitherto been that the Tapestry was made by an English workshop in conquered England. By meticulous and detailed scrutiny of the Tapestry itself, and by reassessing the entire historical and artistic context, Wolfgang Grape, a student of the famous scholars Otto Pächt and Otto Demus, has succeeded in revising this view. In a brilliantly argued exposition, as vivid as a historical novel, he establishes that the Bayeux Tapestry originated in Bayeux itself.' W. GRAPE, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, Prestel-Verlag, Munich-New York, 1994.

Fig. 2.

BT 70 (FINAL SCENE)

OE HEXATEUCH

f. 126r.　　　　　(INCOMPLETE)

BALAAM AND HIS ASS

PLAITED SILVER WIRE SCOURGE
FROM THE TREWHIDDLE HOARD
c. 870 A.D.

After: D.M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Metalwork*
(London, British Museum, 1964)

Fig. 3.

OE HEXATEUCH

SKIRTS

f. 5v

f. 6r

f. 3r

f. 6v

BL MS Cott. Tib. B. v　Calendar

f. 22r

f. 48v

f. 141r

f. 60r　　　　　　f. 141v

BL MS Cott Cleopatra CVIII f. 27
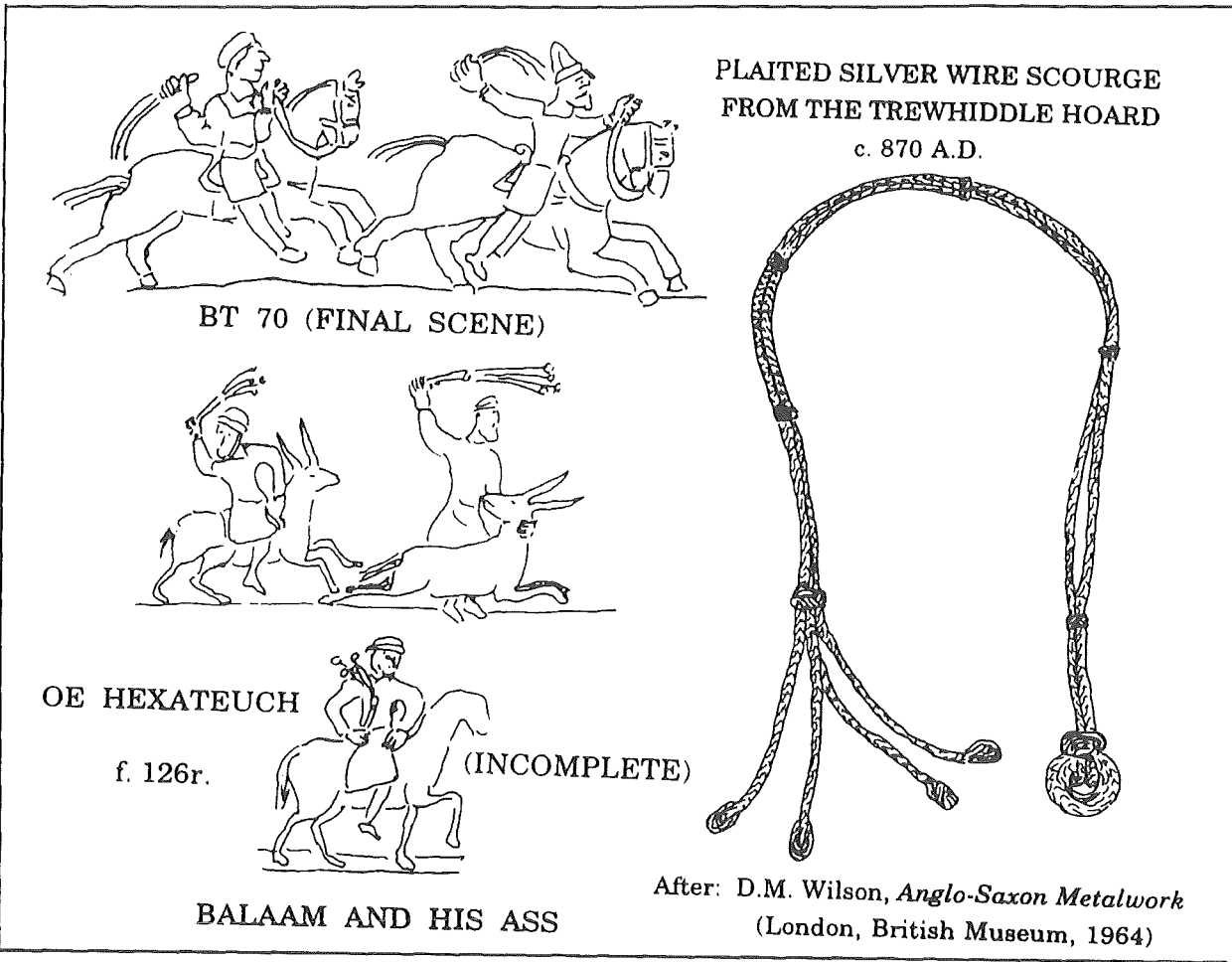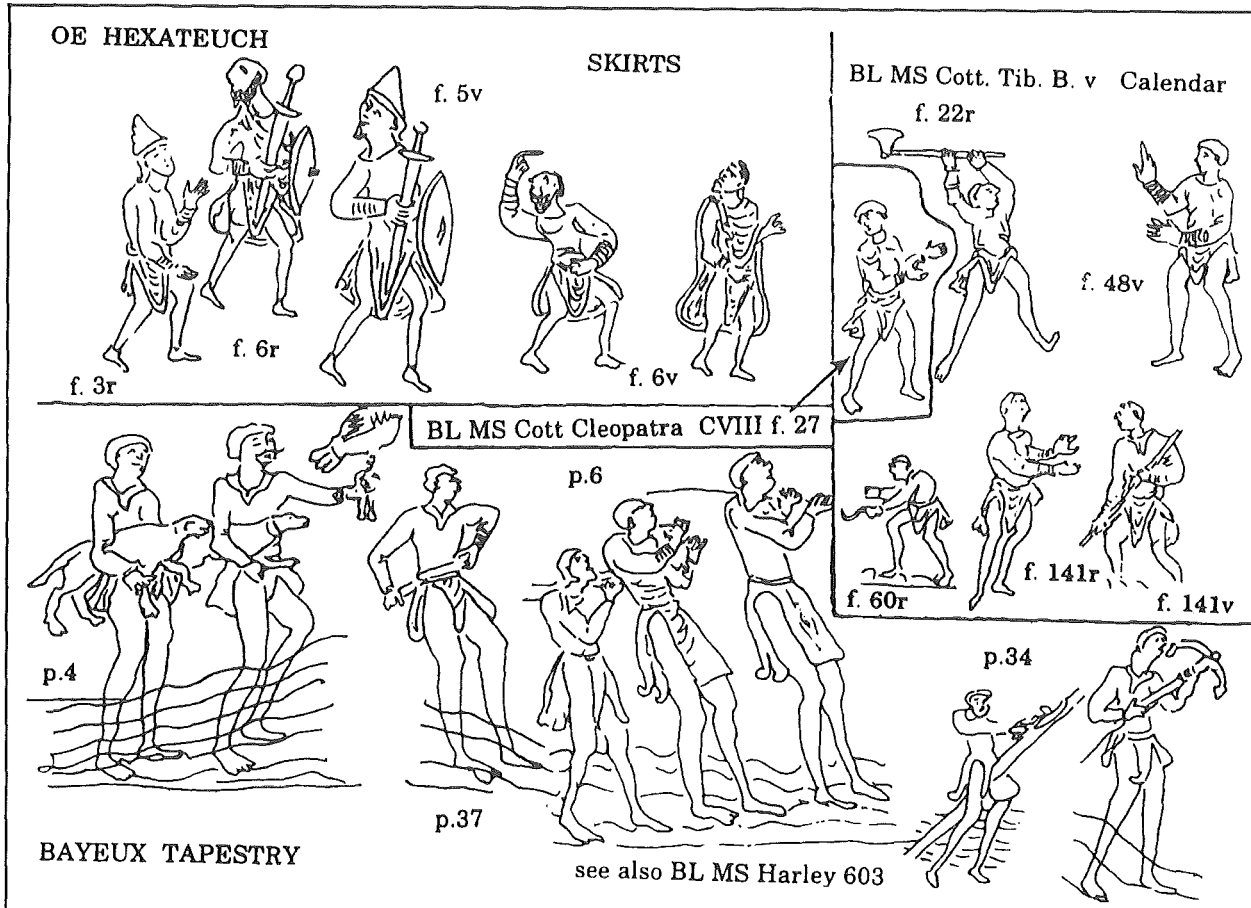
p.6

p.4

p.37

p.34

BAYEUX TAPESTRY

see also BL MS Harley 603

The evidence is presented in three parts, each being derived from known Canterbury texts:

1. The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch. BL Cotton Claudius B. iv.[4]

2. An Illustrated Anglo-Saxon Miscellany. BL Cotton Tiberius B.v. Part I.[5]

3. Various other texts from both Canterbury houses (listed below).

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[4] Ed. C.R. DODWELL & P. CLEMOES, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch. British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile,* Vol. XVIII, Copenhagen, 1974. Using a microfilm, I have embarked on a systematic search to

Fig. 4.

SLAUGHTER

BT 45

OE Hexateuch f. 29v

Fig. 5.

SLINGING

BT 11

Hexateuch fol. 26v

Fig. 6.

DECAPITATION

OE HEXATEUCH 152 v.

BT 70

Fig. 7.

BL Cotton Tiberius B.v. fol. 80v

BL Cotton Vitellus A. xv. fol. 101v

BT 15

BT 14

CAMELS

HEXATEUCH fol. 48·

Fig. 8.

Hexateuch fol. 29v

BT 50

TORCHES

BT 23

Fig. 9.

f. 59r
Pharoah

fol. 11v
Enoch's wife

f. 11r
Jared

f. 12r
Methusaleh

f.12r Lamech

f. 11r
Malaleel

OE HEXATEUCH

BAYEUX
TAPESTRY
p. 30

ЬIC: DEFVNCTVS EST

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR

Fig. 12.

FIGUREHEADS ON BOATS

fol. 14v

fol. 14r

HEXATEUCH

fol. 15r

p. 41

p. 40

p. 42

p. 43

p. 42

p. 5

p. 26

p. 43

p. 5

GENESIS
(Poem)
Christ Church
Canterbury
fol. 66r

BAYEUX TAPESTRY

The Hexateuch

This is a copy of the earliest Anglo-Saxon translation of the first six books of the Bible, made at St Augustine's Abbey towards the middle of the eleventh century, and kept there until the Reformation. Altogether there are over 550 contemporary pictorial illustrations, all by a single artist but many left unfinished. Professor Dodwell made the point that in each case 'the artist was composing his own picture to conform to the Old English text in front of him, complete with its own idiosyncracies'.[6] The collection is therefore unique.

As will be seen from Figures 1-14 below, the artist of the Bayeux Tapestry utilised many illustrations from the *Hexateuch,* which was indeed his ma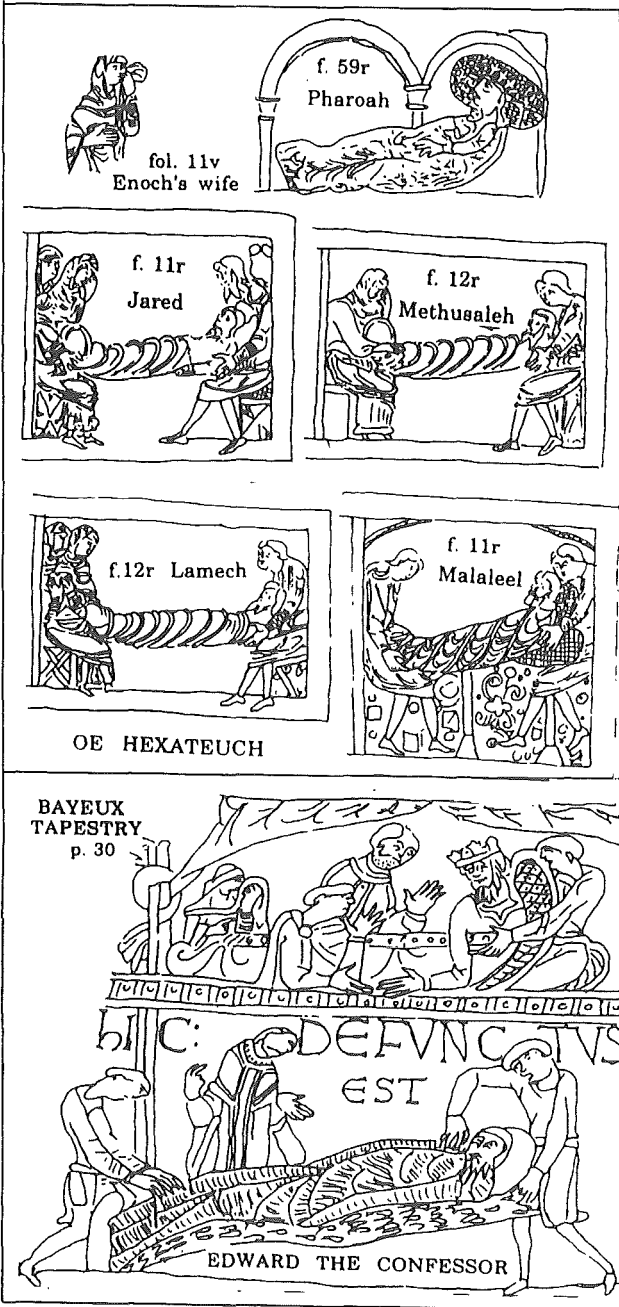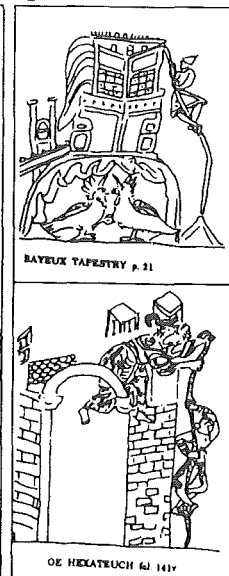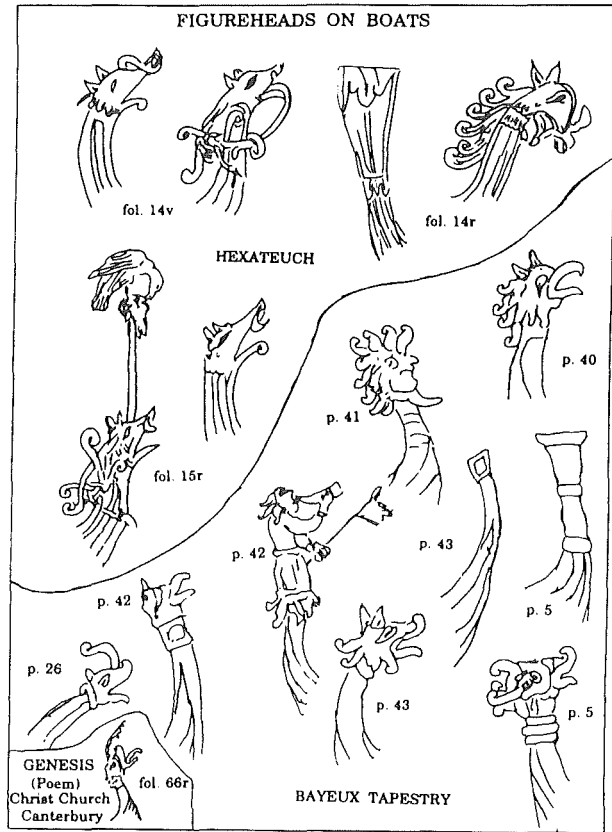in manuscript source. I have time and space here to refer to only three examples. The first is the extraordinary scene of a naked man, hiding from the pursuing Normans after the English defeat at Hastings (Fig. 1). This is undoubtedly based on the picture of Adam and Eve hiding their nakedness from God in the Garden of Eden which appears on folio 7v of the *Hexateuch.* Note in the Tapestry version the position of the man's left hand. Note too the plant or branch of a tree held in his other hand. This was taken by the artist from a second exemplar, the figure of Eridanus, a river god in classical times, which illustrates a copy of Cicero's *Aratea* known to have been made at Christ Church, Canterbury *c.* 1050 (see below). I suggest that

Fig. 10.

BT 18

BL Cotton Tiberius B v 1. fol. 6r

Oxford Bodleian 614 fol. 44v

BL Cotton Tiberius B.v. calendar

HEXATEUCH fol. 28v

SUTTON HOO CAULDRON

Fig.11.

BAYEUX TAPESTRY p. 31
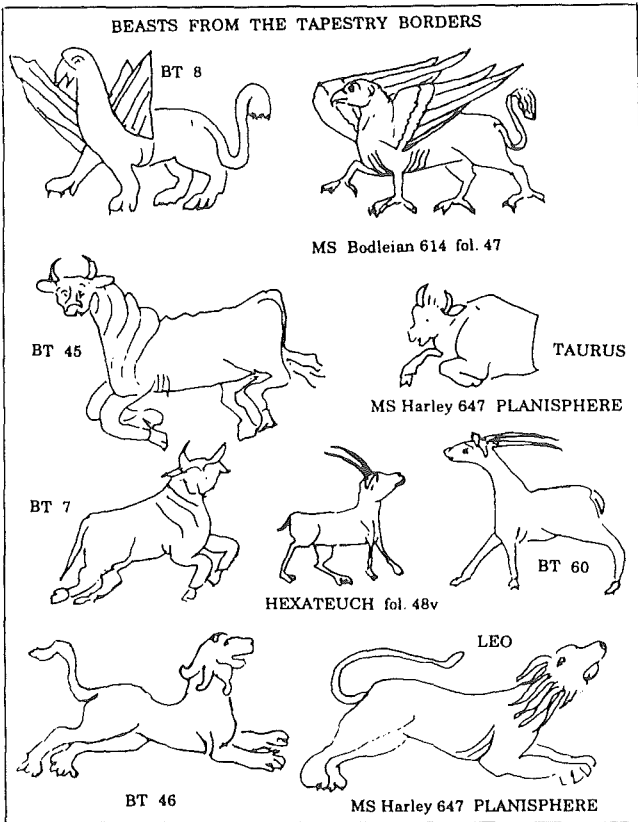
BT 46

BT 47

OE HEXATEUCH fol. 141v

Fig. 13.

the combination of *motifs* from books belonging to two different Canterbury monastic libraries to form a single picture makes it highly likely that this Tapestry scene was locally designed.

Immediately above this picture in the Tapestry is a representation of two Englishmen fleeing from the Normans on horseback (Fig. 2). They are urging their horses to greater speed with most peculiar whips, each ending in three strands. Three such 'whips' occur in pictures in the *Hexateuch*, illustrating another well-known biblical story, in which the priest Balaam uses a rod to flog his ass (*Numbers* xx, 23-30). Here the whips have four strands, each ending in a small ringlet. The artist of the *Hexateuch* has taken for his exemplar a plaited silver wire scourge of the type used by monks in self-flagellation. An excellently preserved contemporary specimen survives from the Trewhiddle hoard. Not only are these two sets of pictures in the *Hexateuch* and the Tapestry unique; I am not aware of any other early medieval represent-ation of such scourges, nor of horsemen using whips of any sort. Horsewhips do not seem to have come into use until the sixteenth century. Before that time, simple sticks may have sufficed. To my mind, even

Fig. 14.
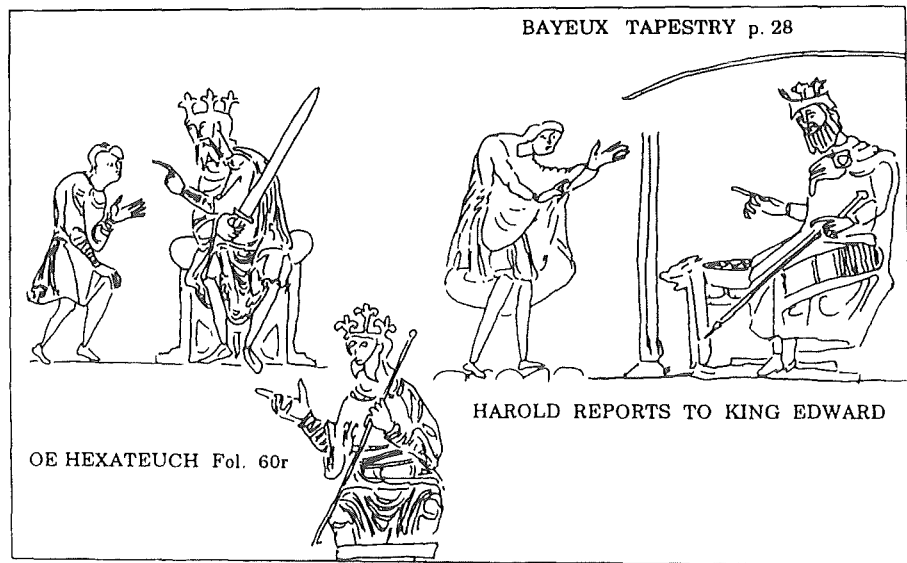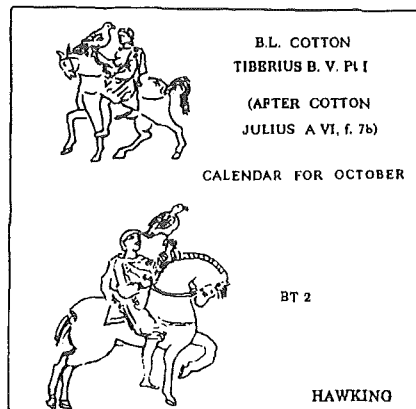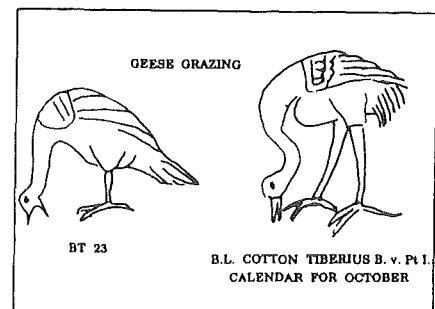
establish the full extent of the influence of the *Hexateuch* on the Tapestry. My initial impression is that at least one third of the total number of *motifs* and whole scenes in the Tapestry depend to some degree on the *Hexateuch* illustrations for their design.

[5] Ed. P. MC GURK, D.N. DUMVILLE, M.R. GODDEN & A. KNOCK, *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscel-lany. British Library Cotton Tiberius B.v. Part I, together with leaves from British Library Cotton Nero D. II. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile*, Vol. XXI, Copenhagen, 1983.

[6] DODWELL, *op. cit.*, 71. Apart from the Bayeux Tapestry itself, there is no evidence that any of these illustrations were ever copied in the medieval period. The unfinished ones certainly remained uncopied.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

PISCES

BT 19

BT 33

only Harleian 2506 has line
running from mouth to mouth

(Cott. Tib. C i,
fol. 22r and
Cott. Tib. B v
are similar)

BL Harleian 647 fol. 3r

Fig. 19.

CENTAURUS

BL HARLEY 647 Planisphere

BT 20

Fig. 20.

ARA

BL MS Harleian
2506 fol. 43v

BT 26

Fig. 18.

HUNTING DOGS

SIRIUS

BT 2

BL Cotton Tiberius B.v. fol. 42v
(similarly, fol. 47r)

BT 13 (lower border)

BL Harleian 2506 fol 41r
(similarly, fol. 44v)

Fig. 21.

BL Cotton Tiberius B v, fol 42r

BL 54

BL 6

BL Harleian 2506 fol. 41v

LEPUS

if they are considered in isolation the drawings in Figure 2 confirm beyond reasonable doubt that the Tapestry was produced at St Augustine's, and that one of its exemplars was the Old English *Hexateuch*.

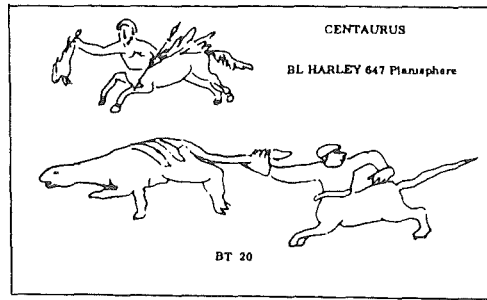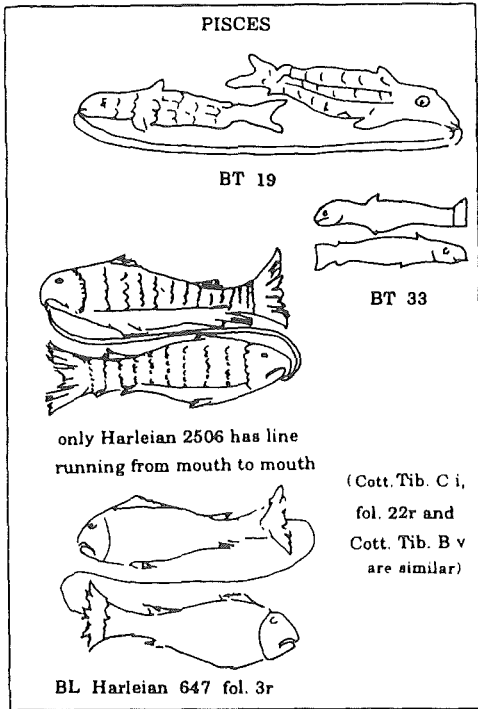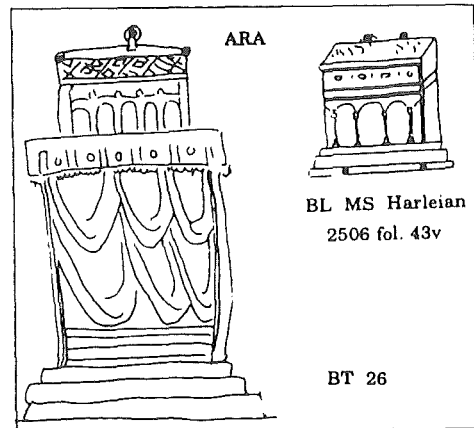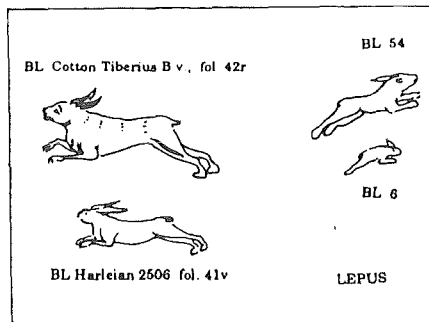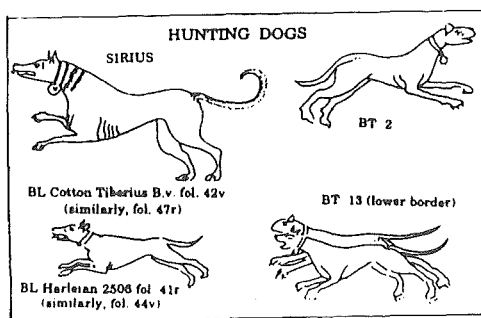Thirdly, the Master of the Bayeux Tapestry used a number of *Hexateuch* illustrations of the deaths of Old Testament monarchs to create his great deathbed scene of Edward the Confessor (Fig. 9). The Confessor's trefoil crown copies that worn in death by Pharoah; a retainer supports him on a cushion similar to that of King Malaleel; his wife weeps at the foot of the bed just as the wife of King Jared, using part of her veil to wipe her eyes after the fashion of the wife

of Enoch. Edward's shroud, leaving the head exposed, is also copied from this series of illustrations. As with the picture of the naked man in hiding (Fig. 1), the Bayeux Tapestry Master often drew upon more than one exemplar for each of his illustrations. All were taken from codices kept in the monastic libraries of Christ Church and St Augustine's.[7]

The Canterbury *Miscellany*

This famous and very varied collection of texts probably reached Canterbury from S.W. Wessex c.

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[7] Both Canterbury scriptoria housed renowned schools of illumination, which reached their apogee around the end of the tenth century; see C.R. DODWELL, *The Canterbury School of Illumination*, Cambridge, 1954. The tradition of the St Augustine's school was the earlier. For the passage of books, scribes and illuminators between the libraries and scriptoria of Christ Church and St Augustine's, see a series of papers from

1957-71 by T.A.M. Bishop listed in an extended study by R. GAMESON, Manuscript Art at Christ Church, Canterbury in the generation after St Dunstan, in: *St Dunstan, his Life, Times and Cult*, edd. N. RAMSAY, M. SPARKS & T. TATTON-BROWN, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1992, 187-220. Much work remains to be done before the relationship between the two centres may be fully appreciated.

990 and was acquired by Battle Abbey early in the twelfth century. While at Canterbury, three picture cycles of mid-eleventh century date were added to the Codex, turning it into one of the most lavishly illustrated of all secular manuscripts surviving from the early Middle Ages. All are by the same artist, working very probably at the scriptorium of Christ Church cathedral, where monks were then cloistered. They will now be described in turn.

A.   *The Calendar Series*

A set of twelve elongated scenes, each heading a monthly calendar, represent the labours of the months and are mostly agricultural in content. There are twelve accompanying medallions showing the signs of

Fig. 22.

BEASTS FROM THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

COETUS

BL HARLEIAN 647

BL COTTON TIBERIUS C VI, f. 16

Fig. 23.

A LOOK-OUT

MS Oxford,
Bodl. Tanner 10
fol. 54

OE BEDE
First half of
tenth century
fol. 115v

p. 12

BAYEUX TAPESTRY

the zodiac. The dependence on these illustrations by the Bayeux Tapestry Master appears in numerous scenes throughout the Tapestry, a few of which are shown in Figures 3, 10, 15 and 16 below. These examples are by no means exhaustive; in particular, the ploughing scene at p. 10 of the lower border of the Tapestry, and the wagon on the same page, are clearly derived from an exemplar close to the Christ Church calendar illustrations. Representations of trees throughout the calendar are copied very closely in the Tapestry, and one remarkable scene involving the use of a sieve as in the December calendar is discussed below.

B.   *The Marvels of the East*

I have not found any example from this series of illustrations in Cotton Tiberius B.v. pt I being copied directly in the Tapestry. However the upper border of pp. 11-12 of the Tapestry shows two unique figures of centaurs with outstretched arms and long hair, which seem to be related iconographically to a particular form of *Homodubii* appearing on fol. 102v of the copy of the OE translation of the *Marvels of the East* entered in Cotton Vitellius A. xv, the famous Beo-

Fig. 28.
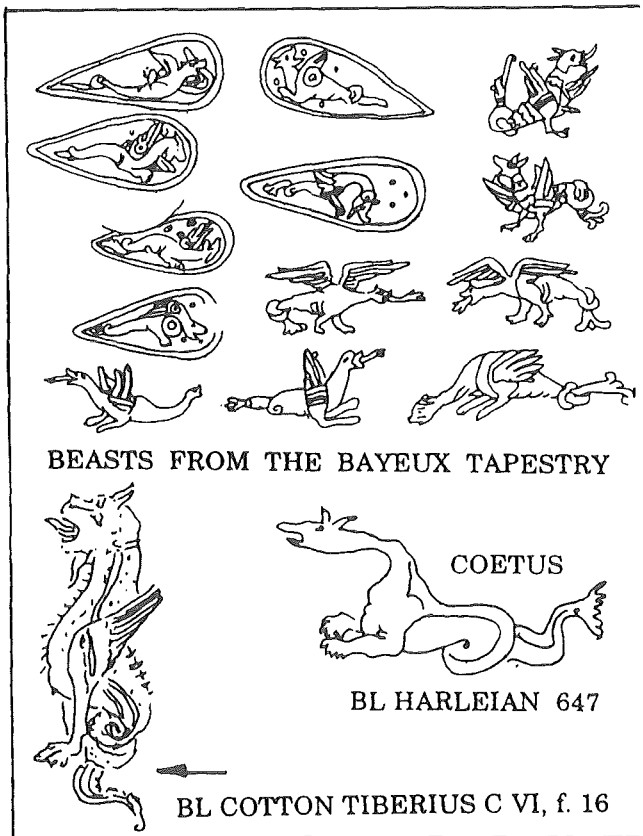

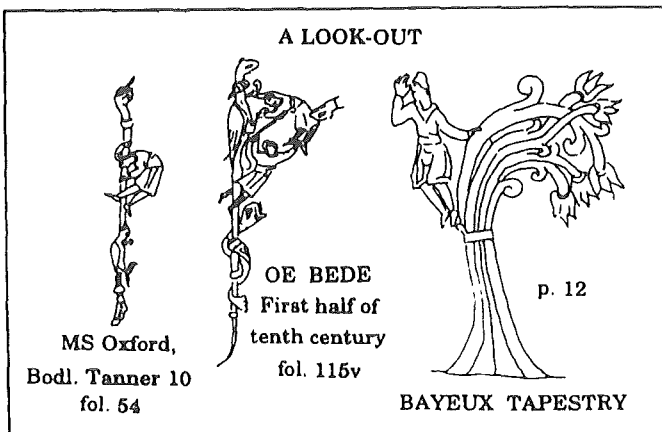HEXATEUCH fol. 57v

BT 48

Fig. 29.

MS Cambridge CCC 286 fol. 125r
St Augustine's Gospels 6th century
Kept at St Augustine's, Canterbury

BT 48

Fig. 30.

Circular pavilion
Harley Psalter
BL Harley 603 fol. 1v
Canterbury, c 1000

BT 11
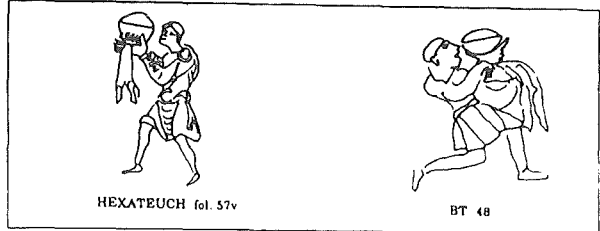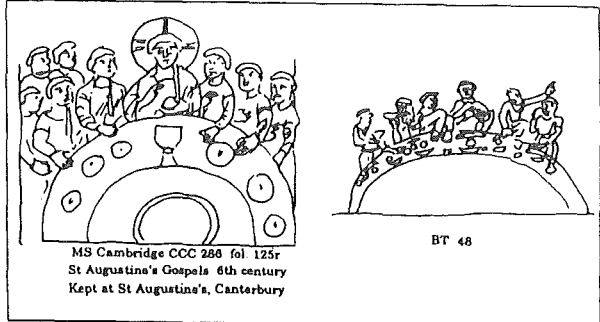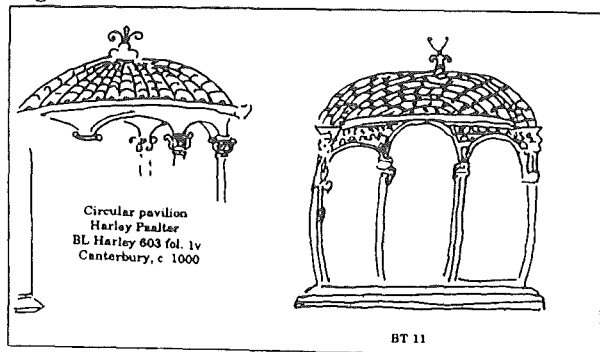
wulf Manuscript (see Fig. 27). This dates to the end of the tenth century but unfortunately its provenance remains unestablished. The appearance of these figures in the Tapestry hints at a possible Canterbury association of the Beowulf Manuscript soon after the Norman Conquest.

C. *Cicero's verse translation of Aratus*

Aratus is a star catalogue of antique origin, in which the illustrations represent named constellations. Apart from the copy in the Canterbury *Miscellany*, the two versions of this illustrated text with which we are concerned are BL Harley 647 and BL Harley 2506. Harley 647 is a Continental manuscript which was completed at St Augustine's Canterbury in the late tenth century and remained there subsequently. It provided an exemplar for the Canterbury *Miscellany*.

Harley 2506 was written at a similar date by Fleury and English scribes; its illustrations are by English artists but its pre-Conquest provenance has not been established. There is no doubt that a series of illustrations in the Bayeux Tapestry were copied from one or more of these texts. I have shown some of them in Figures 1, 13, 17- 22, 24 below, but this list is far from complete. Note the rings attached to the collars of the hunting dogs in Figure 18, to take leashes. In some cases (particularly Figures 19 and 24) the BT exemplar appears to be Harley 647. Nearly all the figures within the oblong Norman shields of the Tapestry may derive ultimately from the Harley 647 *Coetus*. In other cases (notably Figures 17 and 20) the Tapestry item is closer to that of Harley 2506. The most interesting example is the reliquary on p. 26 of the Tapestry, where the three small circular dots on its

Fig. 24.

BAYEUX TAPESTRY p. 73

RULE OF ST BENEDICT c. 1050
CANTERBURY, CHRIST CHURCH

BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii fol. 117v

last figure (incomplete)

SERPENTARIUS

HYMNAL c. 1050
CANTERBURY, CHRIST CHURCH

MS Durham Cathedral B iii. 32, fol. 56v

PLANISPHERE
BL Harleian 647

Fig. 25.

BEAR BAITING

Lower half of Initial B
MS Arundel 91, fol. 47v

BT 12 (lower border)

Fig. 26.

'LABOUR'

PRUDENTIUS
BL Cotton Cleopatra
C. viii, fol. 27

BAYEUX TAPESTRY
p. 45

BL Cotton Tiberius B.v.

Calendar for December

Fig. 27.

BL Cotton Vit. A xv fol. 102v

OE MARVELS OF THE EAST

HOMODUBII

BT 12
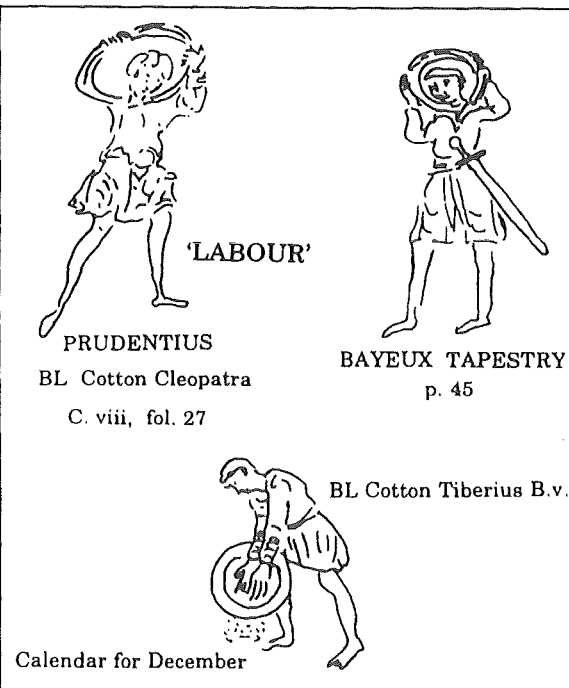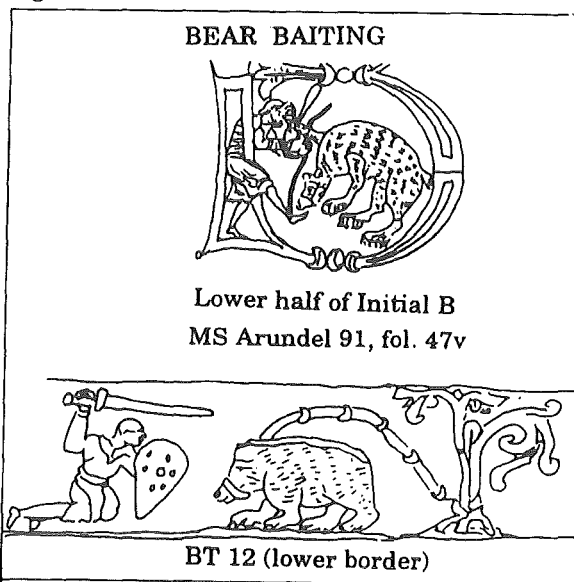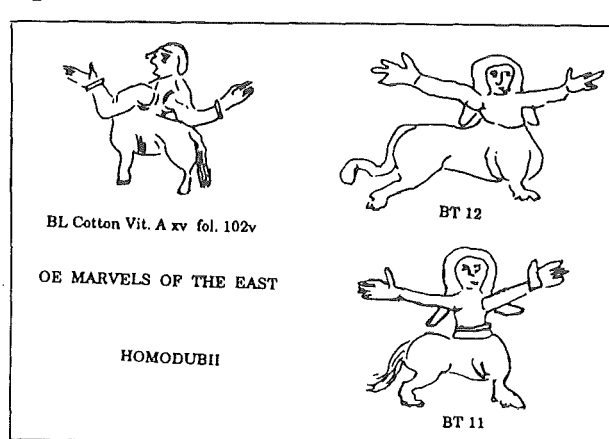
BT 11

upper border represent stars in the Aratus illustration of the constellation *Ara*. A great deal more research into these concordances is desirable.

Various other Canterbury Manuscripts

The Master of the Bayeux Tapestry owed contribution to several other Canterbury codices for his exemplars. I will mention only four of them. The representation of Odo blessing food at a meal before Hastings is likely to depend on the Last Supper scene in the St Augustine's Gospels (Fig. 29).[8] Bernstein drew attention to the appearance in the Tapestry of an exotic classical pavilion which seems to have been copied from the Harley Psalter (Fig. 30).[9] The Cædmon Manuscript (Oxford, Junius 11 (5123)) shows on fol. 66r a figurehead on a boat with a peculiar upward extension sprouting from its nose, just as in the Tapestry (Fig. 12). Finally, the Cleopatra *Pruden-*

tius depicts an allegorical figure of 'Labour' carrying a burden which is misrepresented as a sieve in the Tapestry, influenced no doubt by the sieve used for winnowing in the calendar for December in the Canterbury *Miscellany* (Fig. 26).[10]

Conclusion

From the time of Francis Wormald's 1954 paper which first suggested stylistic influences from Canterbury manuscripts,[11] scholars have been rightly cautious in ascribing the design and execution of the Bayeux Tapestry to a Canterbury artist. Now, after nearly half a century of further research, the evidence for such an attribution is overwhelming. The quality of work of this anonymous illustrator is such that he may fairly be called the Master of the Bayeux Tapestry.

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[8] BROOKS, Authority, 16-17.

[9] D. BERNSTEIN, *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry*, London, 1986, 42, 44.

[10] The Tapestry figure has been described mistakenly by previous commentators as carrying a coil of rope. Representations of standard *motifs* such as torches, figureheads on ships, and skirts hitched up to the waist, run throughout the

productions of both Canterbury houses and are reproduced at many places in the Tapestry (Figures 3, 8, 12).

[11] F. WORMALD, The Bayeux Tapestry: Style and Design, in: *The Bayeux Tapestry*, ed. F. STENTON, London, 1954, 25-36; repr. in *F. Wormald, Collected Writings I. Studies in Medieval Art from the Sixth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. J.J.G. ALEXANDER, T. BROWN & J. GIBBS, Oxford, 1984, 139-152.
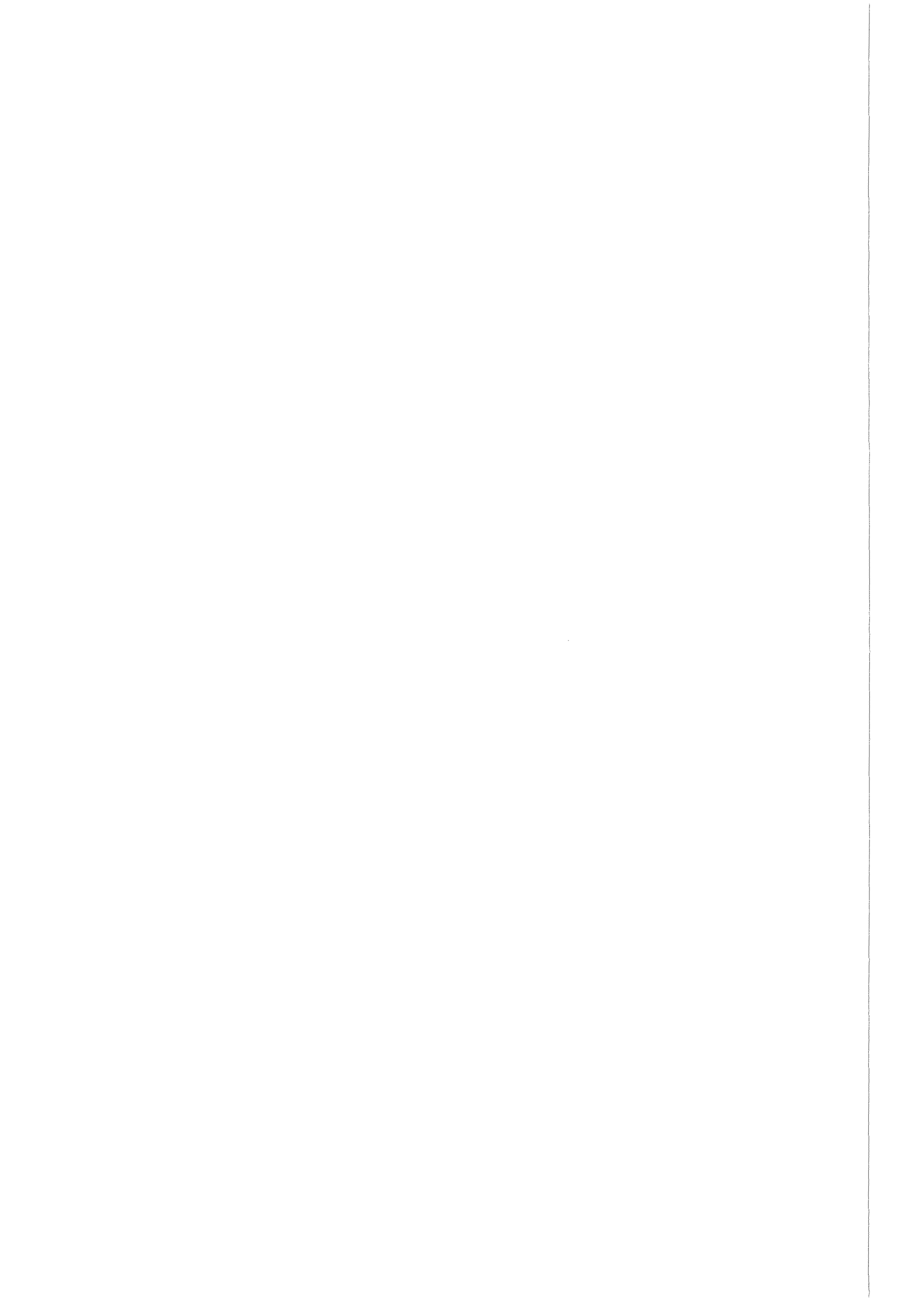
Brian Gilmour & Ian Tyers

Courtrai Chest: relic or recent.
Reassessment and further work: an interim report

Introduction

A particularly interesting and unusual object was discovered by chance on an Oxfordshire farm earlier this century. It has been known in England as the Courtrai chest since the identification of the deeply carved scenes on the front panels with the Battle of Courtrai of 1302 (Fig 1). In Belgium it is known both as the Courtrai chest but perhaps more commonly as the Oxford chest (e.g. Verbruggen 1977, 151). Although well known to a few people, the relative obscurity of this object is probably largely because it has very rarely been on public view since it was discovered and moved to where it now is, in the Warden's Lodgings at New College, Oxford.

Finding and initial identification

This chest is reported to have been discovered in a barn of Manor Farm at Stanton St John near Oxford, a property which had been in the possession of New College since the 16th Century (Hayter 1977, 123). It is said to have been found by Warden Spooner during an inspection of college properties in July 1905 and to have been bought from one of the college's copyhold tenants, William Harris, in exchange for writing off £50 rent arrears (ffoulkes 1912, 25; ffoulkes 1914, 113). Nothing more is known of the background to the chest although it was apparently in William Harris' farmhouse some 60 years earlier, ie c 1 850 (ffoulkes 1914,113). The exact date of the finding of the chest may be slightly less certain, as a brass plate inside the lid records that it was not acquired until December 1905.

By 1909 the scenes shown on the front panels of the chest were identified by Charles Oman as representing different stages in the sequence of events covering the Battle of Courtrai which was fought in July 1302, between the Flemish urban militia and the occupying French army (Oman 1924, 114, n1). Charles ffoulkes subsequently carried out a more thorough study of the scenes shown on the front panels, and this resulted in the identification of the main events plus many details such as the basic identification of some of the guilds whose banners are shown, plus distinctive details of some of the armour and weapons and included some aspects of the heraldry (ffoulkes 1914, 113-128 & Pl. XIV).

Apart from identifying much of what was shown on the front panels ffoulkes also noted in passing that some of the original design was likely to be missing on either side as a result of the carved front panels having been shortened on either side, to remove damaged portions. Apart from this ffoulkes appears to have paid very little attention to what might have happened to the chest later on. Although he made little further comment on the style or possible history of the chest as an object, ffoulkes describes it as being of a 'corn-bin type' type and suggested that the carver of the panels may have come from Ypres, a possibility that has since been discounted.

Physical description

The condition of the chest when it was discovered is unknown and, apart from any repolishing that may have been done, no obvious repairs seem to have been carried since. When viewed from in front the chest appears rectangular and measures 102.5 cm in width by 73 cm high (not including the fairly modern base on which it usually sits). In plan and side views the chest is rather less regular in shape. The back is almost 3 cm shorter than the front so that in plan the body of the chest is actually trapezoidal in shape although this is less obvious as the lid has been made more rectangular. More odd looking is the side view which shows the chest to be roughly rhomboidal in shape in this direction, with both front and back panels sloping backwards from top to bottom, although the slope of the front panel is much less steep and therefore less noticeable than that at the rear. At its base the chest measures approximately 50.5 cm front to back whereas near the top the depth of the chest is approximately 53 cm.
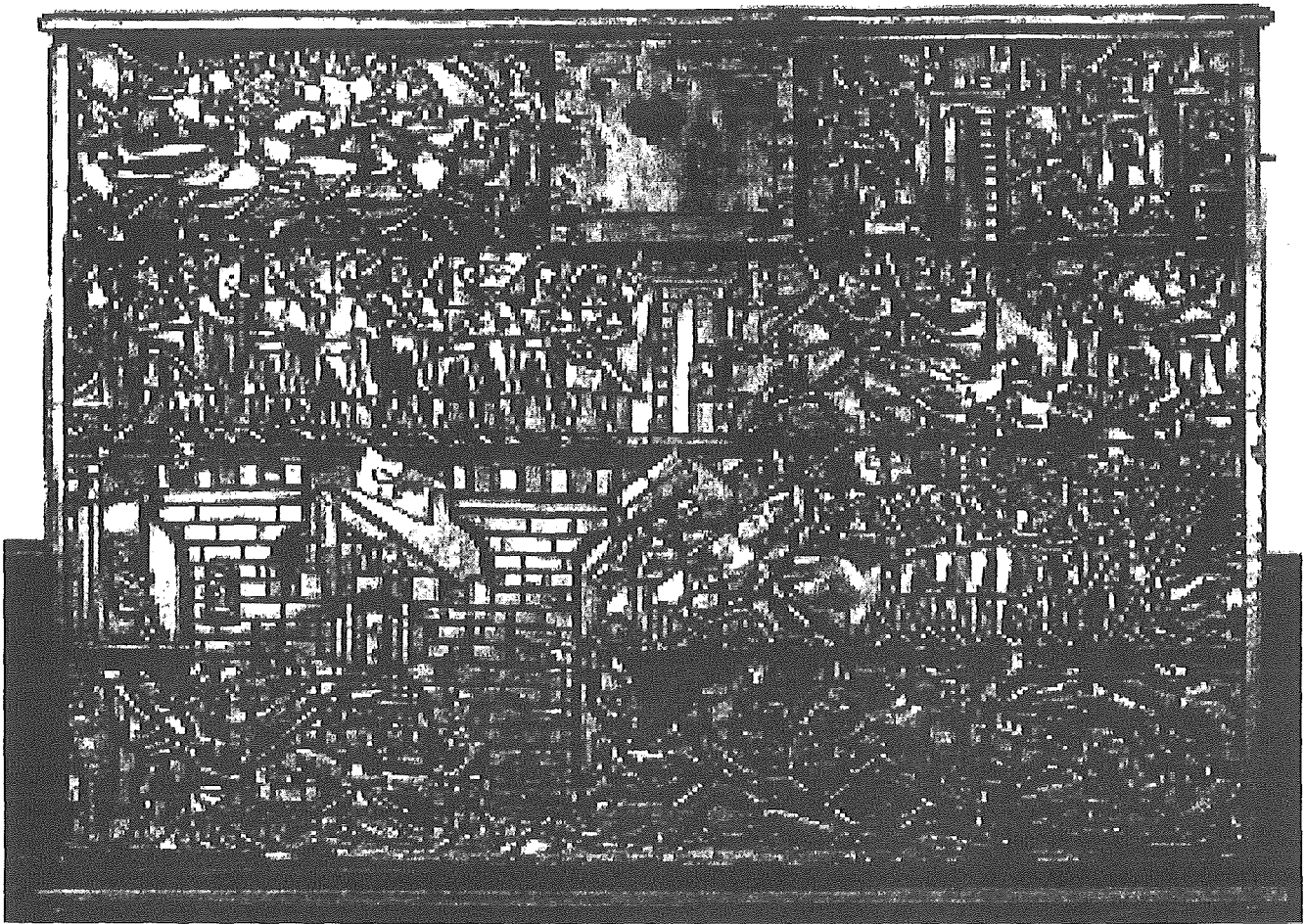
Fig. 1. - *The Courtrai Chest, front view.*

When it was found the only access into the chest was from the top, the main part of the lid of which was hinged near the back. Although the front panels had been nailed to the sides the presence of ring hinges between both the two front panels and between the lowermost panel and the base must soon have suggested the possibility that front panels might once have been able fold down to give access from the front. The front remained nailed to the sides until 1978 when these nails were removed to allow the front panels to be dated by dendrochronological analysis at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology in Oxford (Fletcher 1978). Since then it has been possible to fold down the front panel in two stages, allowing it to be laid flat on the ground (if the chest is removed from its separate, fairly modern base). When upright the lowermost of the two hinged front boards is held in place by plain hooks, one at either end, which fix onto plain iron loops attached to the side boards.

In addition to the ring hinges and hooks (and corresponding iron loops in the side panels) there were various other pieces of ironwork on the chest and these have previously been described and listed (Geddes 1978). Possibly the most striking of these is the plain rectangular iron lock plate with what appears to be a matching hasp plus strap which was fixed to the underside of the lid (Fig 2). The hasp is of a distinctive form which ends in an oval shape with a projecting square tab, a style which was common in c 1600, an example of which in the Victoria & Albert Museum is dated by inscription to 1605 (Geddes 1978). A row of 6 irregularly shaped and rather crude looking iron plates or straps were fixed to the back of the lower front carved board, apparently as a repair where this had cracked along the base of the uppermost of two similar grooves along the back of the board, these grooves being secondary features seemingly related to the insertion of 2 separate false bases. This repair must post-date the removal of any such false bases.

The opening part of the lid was attached to a narrower, fixed board by two round fishtail strap hinges which extended rather awkwardly beyond the back edge and had been bent at right angles and the ends fixed to the upper back panel. The ring hinges, which enabled the front panel to be folded down, were made of looped pieces of iron, the ends of which projected through the wooden panels and were bent back against the rear face of the boards to form clawlike cramps. Handles had been attached to the side panels and
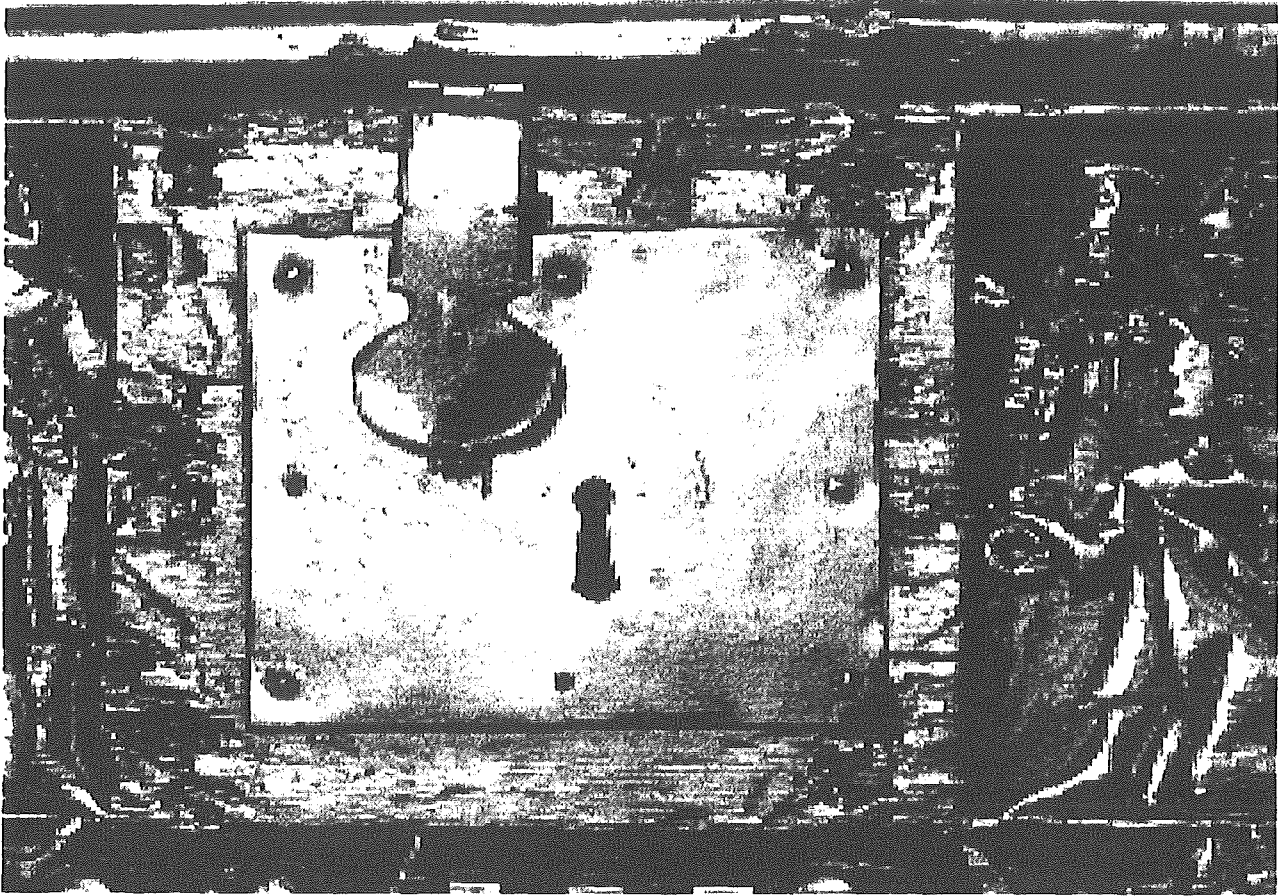
Fig. 2. - *The Courtrai Chest, detail of the present hasp, asymmetrically placed lock-plate and fixing holes likely to belong to an earlier, bigger lock-plate.*

these were fixed to the side panels with similar claw-like cramps to those forming the inner ends of the ring hinges used on the front panels. Various iron nails had been used to fix the main body of the chest together and at least some of these would appear to have been added as subsequent repairs. Similar strap hinges and ring hinges have been found on other chests of the 16th or 17th centuries (Conybeare 1991, 221).

Apart from being off-centre, an obvious feature of the iron lock plate is that it is too small for the plain space left for the lock plate in the top edge of the upper carved front board, and appears to be part of a lock which has replaced a larger lock plate, the fixing holes of which can be seen on either side. The present lock plate masks a slot which still contains a small iron bar possibly belonging to the earlier (?original) lock.

The boards forming the front and back panels of the chest were all quite thick and were made of straight, close-grained oak which had been radially split, giving a distinctive tapering profile in section. By contrast the side panels were made of much thinner, parallel-faced, sawn oak boards which consisted of quite different oak with a much more uneven and less close-grain structure. The boards forming the lid

were similar to those used for the side panels whereas a single board, possibly of elm of a similar thickness and again parallel faced, was used for the base.

It is clear that the boards forming the back panel are joined together with small wooden pegs which can be seen through narrow gaps between the boards. A very similar arrangement of wooden pegs appears once to have been used to join the two wide boards forming the carved front panel. The peg holes can still be seen although the pegs no longer survive, and would in any case have to have been removed or broken off before these front boards would fold up and down following the fitting of the ring hinges. One of the peg holes only partly survives in section at one end of the upper front board, which provides a clear indication that these boards were once longer and supports the suggestion made by ffoulkes that the front panel was once wider and has been shortened at both sides. The plain panel left for the original lock-plate is not now centrally placed which also suggests that the front boards may have had more cut off one end than the other.

Unless this chest was cleverly put together as a fake it is fairly obvious that it has been rebuilt, at least partially, using reclaimed parts from an earlier

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chest, before being subsequently altered and repaired. This is suggested by the suspected shortening of the front boards, the liklihood that these originally formed part of a fixed panel, the apparent replacement of the lock and the overall style of the chest in its present form. Reconstruction is also suggested by the use of non-matching wooden boards, only those at the front and back being typical of medieval radially split planks, the rest of the chest being made of much narrower, parallel faced boards which Fletcher suggested were consistent with the reconstruction date of about 1600 suggested by the style of the iron hasp (Fletcher 1978, 18).

Evidence and arguments over dating

There can be no doubt that even if the front panel was carved soon after the Courtrai battle of 1302, there is no way that the chest can be in its original state unless it it has been concocted as a fake more recently. Although ffoulkes did not say that the complete chest was original (and, in fact, indicates the opposite by suggesting that the front panel had been shortened) this seems to have been assumed in 1927 when the chest was included in an exhibition of Flemish and Belgian art at the Royal Academy, the catalogue for which describes it as 'beyond doubt the oldest of all the present exhibits' (Marijnissen 1978, 3). The front panels have continued to be quoted as a more-or-less contemporary record of the events that occurred at Courtrai in 1302 (e.g. Verbruggen 1952 and 1978, 151 & Pl. 5; and Nicolle 1995, 161).

It is clear that by the early 1950's there was considerable controversy in Belgium about the authenticity of the chest, and more particularly whether the front panels were a 19th century forgery. Doubts about the authenticity of the carvings of the front panel came out in separate reports in 1952, in one of which Viaene (the editor of the journal *Biekorf*) suggested that the chest might well be a product of what was described as the modem Bruges antiquities industry, and that it was no older than 1860 and more likely to have been made after 1880. In a book review of the same year Scheerder objected to the uncritical acceptance (by Verbruggen in his then very recent book *The Battle of the Golden Spurs)* of the front panel of the chest as iconographic material, although authenticity was defended by an archivist, de Smet, in another short article in the same year (Marijnissen 1978, 4, note 6).

This controversy must have simmered on in Belgium until July 1977 when the chest was displayed in Courtrai. At the time the general opinion would appear to have been in favour of the chest, or at least of a 14th century date for the carving of the front panel,

as the City of Courtrai were attempting to raise the proposed purchase price of £1 m (12 million francs) placed on the chest (De Moor 1978). This price was based on a valuation made by Sothebys and seems very high for what at best appears to be a damaged 14th century carved panel incorporated into a later chest, which would seem to suggest a rather uncritical appraisal of the chest when it was valued.

Before the chest went on display it was examined for a few days in the scientific department of the Royal Institute for National Art Heritage, in Brussels. This enabled only a fairly brief study of the chest to be made although this included X-ray examination and the analysis of traces of reddish pigment trapped in the lowermost recesses of the carved panels. The conclusion of this study was that not only was the chest not an original object of the 14th century, but that it was a later 19th fake of a pastiche type, including the front panel, and echoed the earlier suggestion that it was probably put together in Bruges (Marijnissen 1978). This conclusion was based largely on the relatively crude construction of the chest plus stylistic objections to the carved scenes on the front panel.

Additional scientific results of this study were largely restricted to the identification of the pigment as lead minium which was claimed to be much more likely to be indicative of a 19th century date as it was commonly used to produce fake antique patination during this period, and that it would have been much less likely to have been used in the 14th century (Marijnissen 1978). This seems a suspect objection as different varieties of red lead minium have been found to be common medieval pigments (Fitzhugh 1986), and miniatures even take their name from the use of this pigment (Bussotti *et al.* 1997).

Although Marijnissen dismissed the chest as a later 19th century fake 'botched together from recovered material', he also suggested that the only possible dates for the carving of the front panel were in the 14th or the 19th centuries, the intervening period being excluded for 'plenty of technical and art-historical reasons'. Marijnissen objected to the overall rather crude style of the carvings, as well as to certain specific details such as the style of the monks habit on the left of the panel, and the whole scene on the lower left, showing the stripping of the dead French knights which he said was not to be expected in the 14th century, but which he suggested was modelled much more recently on a scene from the well known 11th century embroidery, the Bayeux tapestry. Despite his dismissal of this chest as a 19th century forgery there do seem to have been some nagging doubts in Marijnissen's mind about the front panel of which he says that 'strict iconographic and heraldic analyses
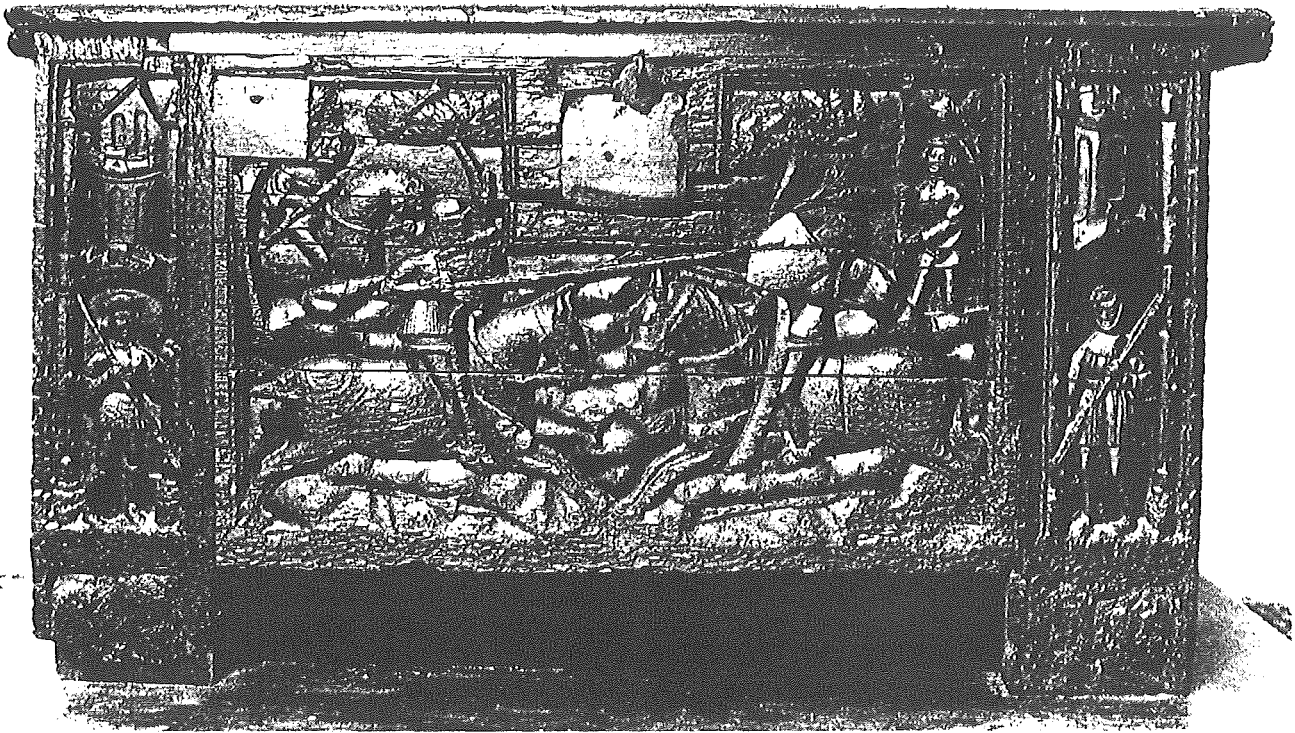
Fig. 3. - *The Harty Chest, showing knights jousting and related scenes.*

may well provide some arguments in favour; possibly even those few surprising details which no forger could have known' (Marijnissen 1978, 11).

Included as an addition to Marijnissen's account was a report of the dendrochronological work carried out at the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology in 1978 after the chest had been returned to England (Fletcher 1978, 18-21). The end grain of both front boards was examined (once the nails previously preventing the front panel being opened had been removed) but this report included only the combined results for both ends of the upper board which yielded a total of 274 rings with a date sequence of 970-1243 AD. Allowing for the absence of sapwood and whatever heartwood might be missing, Fletcher estimated that the tree from which this board came could not have been felled before about 1270 AD. He reports (based on his own work) that intervals of about 50 years 'between the latest ring and the date of use are general for Westminster chests of the period'.

This dating sequence was achieved by matching the combined results for the upper board with two sets of reference curves, firstly the reference curve built up from chests in Westminster Abbey and, secondly the Central German oak reference curve for the period 832-1960 AD. Fletcher accepted ffoulke's conclusion that the front panel was carved in Flanders soon after 1302 and himself concludes that these dendrchronological results provide independent evid-

ence that the carved board examined would have been used soon after the battle. He also suggests that certain differences in 'signatures' between the tree ring sequence of the panel and the Westminster and German curves are consistent with the panel coming from a tree grown somewhere in or near Flanders, geographically between SE England and Hesse (Fletcher 1978, 19). The presence of a large knot distorted the ring sequence of the lower board and consequently this was not used in this report although it was later reported as having a sequence of 234 rings and dated to 983-1216 AD (Hall 1987, 106; Fletcher & Tapper 1984, 122-3).

As mentioned above, Fletcher's 1978 report (20-21, Appendix A) included a brief report on the ironwork by Dr Jane Geddes in which she dated the hasp of the secondary lock to *c* 1600. Fletcher concluded from this, as well as his own results, that ffoulke's was correct in deducing that the front panel was carved in Flanders, and formed a more-or-less contemporary record of the events of 1302 but was subsequently incorporated as part of a new chest made in about 1600. He also suggested that comparison with the carved panels on two chests of about 1300 (one in the Musée de Cluny, Paris, and the other a Westphalian chest now in Berlin) indicates that the front panel of the Courtrai chest had been shortened by about 30 cm on each side. Fletcher went on to give what he regarded as a feasable subsequent history for the chest:

'The history of the period from 1302 to 1600 sug-
gests that when the French occupied Courtrai in
1382, they found the scenes of their earlier defeat
depicted on the original chest, distasteful and ordered
it to be destroyed. Though the chest was doubtless
broken up, this central panel might well have been
hidden and so preserved. Much later, perhaps when
Elizabeth I was providing military help to enable the
Netherlands to resist the overlordship of the Span-
iards in the middle 1580's, its existence could have
come to the attention of a member of her army sta-
tioned there. It is feasible to suggest in such circum-
stances [that] it was brought to England and used for
making a domestic chest of the type then in much
demand. Again much later, and sometime before c
1850, the panel was roughly nailed to the sides of the
chest which passed into use as a corn bin on the farm
at Stanton St John leased by New College, Oxford.'
(Fletcher 1978, 19).

Although there seems to be no basis for this rather
fanciful reconstruction of what might have happened
to the chest after the early 14th century, Fletcher's
dendrochronological dating results for the front panel
clearly indicate a later 13th or early 14th century date
for the front boards. This, together with his and ffoul-
kes' observations on the rest of the chest, including
the stylistic dating of the hasp form the basis of what
seems to be a quite reasonable suggestion, that a cut
down carved panel from an earlier chest was incorp-
orated into the present chest in about 1600. More sur-
prising is that the reports by Fletcher and Geddes
should have been added to the end of Marijnissen's
report without there being any additional comment
on their content, particularly since this directly con-
tradicts Marijnissen's own main conclusion that the
whole chest, including the front panel is likely to be
a later 19th century forgery.

This contradiction was pointed out soon after-
wards in a very detailed study of the chest (entitled
The Oxford Chest) in which all Marijnissen's objec-
tions were examined (and rejected), and which looked
carefully at the construction and style of the chest as
well as thoroughly investigating the iconographic and
heraldic details shown on the front panel (Dewilde *et
al.* 1980). The authors countered one of Marijnissen's
most basic worries, that the style of the front panel
had no obvious parallels, by illustrating (Fig. 18, p.
190) a 1361 seal of the Bruges guild of cabinet makers
which shows a representation of a wooden chest with
a decorated front divided in much the same way into
horizontal strips.

The seal shows a hutch form of chest with boards
projecting downwards, on either side of the main
cantral part, so as to form the feet of the chest, al-

though the decoration is shown running right from
one side to the other. The plain area for a comparat-
ively large lock-plate and what seems a disproport-
ionately long hasp are also clearly visible. This over-
all form of chest (if not the strip cartoon style of carv-
ing) can be found in complete surviving examples of
14th century Flemish chests, two very similar exam-
ples of which both have deeply carved front panels
although these are divided into three parts (Porter
1979, 135).

One of these is in Ypres cathedral and features St
George slaying the dragon whereas the chest in Harty
church on the Isle of Sheppey, in Kent, shows knights
jousting (Fig 3). These main scenes are carved on
horizontal boards and each case are flanked by much
narrower subsidiary scenes carved into single, vert-
ical boards which project further downwards to form
the front feet of the chest, a design which gives the
hutch-like appearance. The Ypres chest also has a
long hasp, similar to that shown on the 14th century
Bruges seal, and also the lock-plate more-or-less cov-
ers the space left for it in the uncarved area which, in
both these chests, is very symmetrically placed in the
centre of the top of the design. The hasp and lock of
the Harty chest have not survived.

If the carved panel of the Courtrai chest really is
the surviving part of the main front panel from an
early 14th century chest, then some idea of its possi-
ble original form can be guaged from the illustration
on the Bruges seal as well as surviving chests such as
those from Ypres and Harty. There is, however, little
point in speculating further on the possible appear-
ance of the original chest until the authenticity (or
otherwise) of this front panel can be established bey-
ond reasonable doubt which in this case requires both
the scientific and art historical evidence to be suffic-
iently detailed and convincing to answer any linger-
ing doubts. Fortunately, in the different scenes making
up the carved front panel of the Courtrai chest there
is so much detail shown that can be examined for
anything inconsistent with an early 14th century date
that it should be possible to make a good case for or
against this carved panel on art historical grounds
alone. This would be almost impossible without detail-
ed and extensive access mainly to Flemish archives
and relevant late medieval illustrative sources, such
as miniatures, decorated objects and so on.

We are fortunate that the Belgian authors of The
Oxford Chest have carried out an exhaustive study
which went far beyond the already quite detailed de-
scription given by ffoulkes in 1914, with the addition
of much art historical evidence supporting an early
14th century date for the carving of this panel
(Dewilde *et al* 1980, 165-256). It appears that much
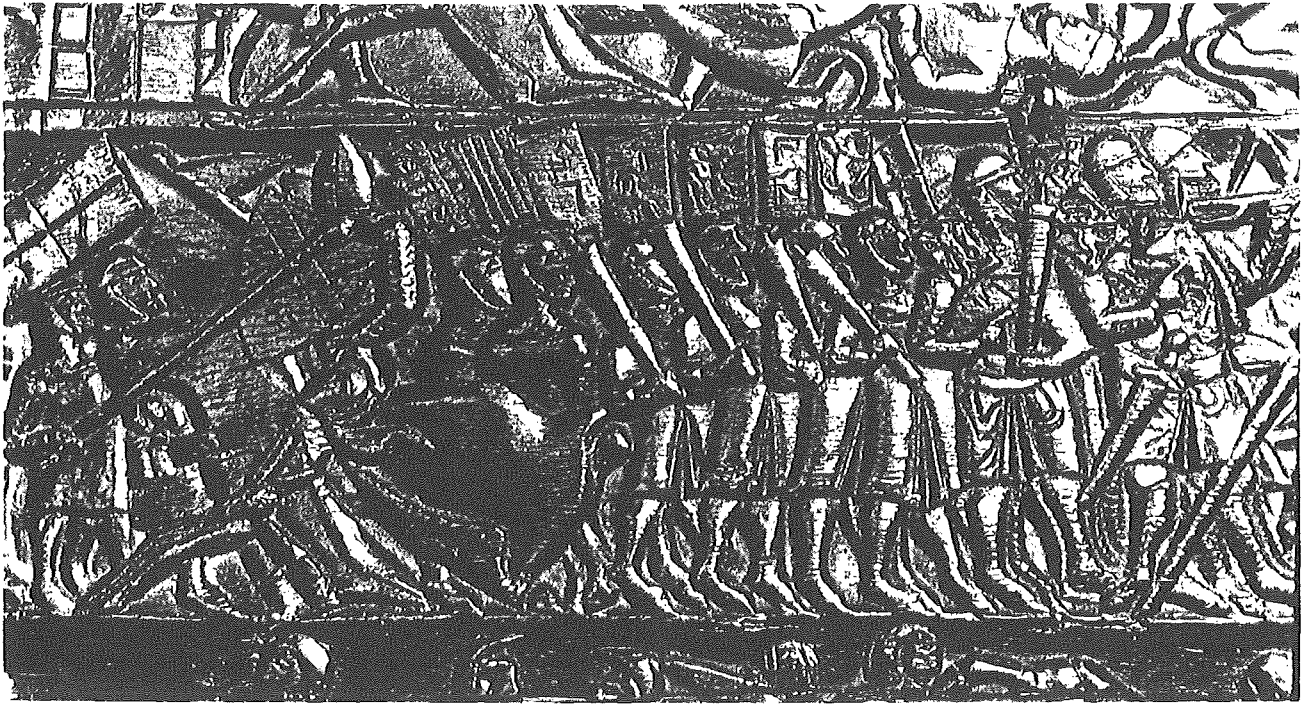of the art historical evidence given in this study –

Fig. 4. - *The Courtrai Chest, detailed view of scene 5, lower, centre right of front panel .*

much of which has entailed very detailed icono-
graphic and heraldic research would not have been
available a faker in the early part of this century.
Given the great amount of identifiable detail shown
it seems almost inconceivable that someone trying to
invent these scenes in the later 19th century (as sug-
gested by Marijnissen and others) could have done so
without making at least some identifiable anachron-
istic mistakes and yet the evidence given in the Ox-
ford Chest convincingly argues this to be the case.

However unlikely, it be argued that there is still a
possibility that this degree of accuracy of detail could
have been achieved by one or more academically able
researcher/forgers in the later 19th century. Once the
results of dendrochronological analysis of the front
panel became known, Fletcher's estimate of the boards
actually being used in the early 14th century seems
have been accepted, although it was then suggested
that this dating of the wood did not demonstrate the
antiquity of the carving and simply meant that old
boards had been used (de Moor 1978, 20-21). The
liklihood that uncarved old boards of exactly the right
date would have been available to a later 19th century
faker seems extremely small, especially given that
there was no known method of dating wood at that
time and so a faker would need to have been extra-
ordinarily fortunate in his choice of old wood to get
the dating as accurate as this. Even nowadays it is
hard to see a faker being able to achieve this.

Fletcher and Tapper also produced a dendrochro-
nological date range for the lower of the two front

boards on the Courtrai chest although this was not
quoted until the publication of the results of further
scientific dating work on the top board. Drillings
were taken separately from near the latest and earli-
est rings showing on the end grain of the top board
and these were dated using the small-sample,
accellerator mass spectrometry (AMS) method of
radiocarbon 14 age determination, which was car-
ried out in 1985, again at the University of Oxford,
Research Laboratory for Archaeology (Hall 1987,
104-107). The idea behind this further dating work
was to test the earlier dendrochronological results,
and although Fletcher previously did not to give the
results for the lower board, 234 rings were counted
and dated to 983-1216. There is a good overall
measure of agreement between the two dating meth-
ods for the top board although the AMS results ap-
pear to be a few years later than expected (Hall
1987, 106-107).

Although the AMS radiocarbon dating generally
supported the tree-ring dates given by Fletcher, this
still left the origin of the wood unclear, as no clear
match had been achieved with either the English or
German reference curves, and Fletcher did not spec-
ify what he meant by certain differences in 'signa-
tures' between the ring sequence of the panel and that
of these reference curves being consistent with the
panel coming from the intermediate area of Flanders.
Since Fletcher and Tapper carried out their dendro-
chronological study a much more complete series of
reference curves has been built up together with other

improvements in the technique. With this in mind, it was decided as part of the present study of the chest, that these same front boards should be re-submitted to tree-ring analysis both to test the reliability of Fletcher's results, and attempt, more convincingly, to determine the origin of the oak used for this panel.

Only the top board was successfully dated although this proved more of a problem than expected, at least until it finally proved possible to match the ring sequence to an existing tree-ring reference curve, which in this case turned out to be one from southern Sweden. The results also indicate that Fletcher's dates may be a bit too early, although it still seems highly likely that this board was used in the early part of the 14th century. One other consequence of this adjustment in the treering dating for the front panel is that the agreement between tree-ring and AMS radiocarbon dates is now about as close as can be expected. This work is still in progress and will be more fully reported as and when the results are ready. It is clear, however, that the wood for the front panel of the Courtrai chest did not come from anywhere near Flanders, as Fletcher rather unconvincingly tried to suggest. Even before being subjected to tree-ring dating, a narrow but very straight-grained oak, such as is used in this board, now would be suspected as a late medieval export from the Baltic area. This dating plus the fact that the wood for this panel comes from southern Sweden are clear indications that it predates the period from nearer the mid 14th century when the cartel operated by the Hanseatic League was at its height, during which time most straight-grained oak for panels and the like, is usually found to have come from the eastern Baltic region.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to mention more than briefly what is shown in the 7 individual scenes carved on the front panel of the Courtrai chest or the detail that can be interpreted from them. The events shown have been identified as covering the days before, during and after 11th July, 1302 when the actual battle was fought on the marshy ground outside the walls of Courtrai, and which resulted in a disastrous defeat for the French army. A good description of the main events, based partly on a contemporary accounts, was given by ffoulkes (1914, 113-128) and, as already stated, a very detailed discussion of the art-historical detail shown is given in The Oxford Chest (Dewilde et al 1980). Apart from the great mass of iconographic and heraldic detail which seems to be depicted accurately on the front panel, the few mistakes in some of the details which do occur (such as meaningless roundals shown on one or more shields, and the single fleur-de-lys where many should have been shown on the banner of the French garrison inside Courtrai) are the kind of casual mistakes or short-cuts that might be expected from a contemporary carver. Not only do there not seem to be the kind of anachronistic mistakes which are difficult to avoid when creating a detailed and complex pictorial representation of a series of historical events such as this, but rather the opposite seems to be true and some of the detail has turned out to be unexpectedly consistent with changing stylistic or chronological details.

Marijnissen suggested that one of the main sources of inspiration for the front panel was likely to have been a series of wall paintings discovered in 1846 in a former medieval chapel in Ghent known as the Leugemeete (or 'liar' because the time shown on its clock was always wrong!), then in use as a brewery depot which was demolished in 1911 (Marijnissen 1987, 9-10). These wall paintings, dated to the mid 14th century, show various representations of the Ghent militia details some of which, while similar to examples shown on the front panel of the Courtrai chest, seem to be stylistically later. For instance the style of decorated ailettes (shoulder guards) shown, complete with heraldic details on the front panel went out of fashion by c 1330 and do not feature on the Leugemeete frescoes. These frescoes show the Ghent militiamen wearing slightly, but distinctly conical helmets whereas those on the carved panel are hemispherical. In particular, the form of iron-shod spiked club, the goedendag, shown in quantity on the frescoes is distinctly longer and narrower than those shown on the carved panel, the shorter, wider form being earlier by comparison with examples shown in stained glass windows (Dewilde et al 1980,

The extent of the detail on the front panel can be judged from scene 5 (right, lower centre) in which the leaders of the Flemish militia, Guy of Namur and William of Jülich, can be identified by their decorated ailettes (shoulder guards) and other details (Fig. 4). Also shown on this scene is the escutcheon of the Flemish (national) leader, Pieter de Coninc, and the banners of several Flemish craft guilds which can be identified (left to right) as representing the guilds of brokers (simplified to 2 pales by the use of 4 vertical lines), masons (set sqare and trowel), and the smiths (hammer and horseshoe). To the right of these are several more banners. The next shows a lion, possibly the banner of Flanders, then comes the banner of the carpenters guild (axe and set square), next to which is a banner showing another lion, identifiable by a fleur-de-lys on its shoulder, as that of William of Jülich. The next banner shows a cross engrailed, identifiable either as representing Henry of Lontzen (Marshal of Bruges) or the crossbowmen. Finally another lion banner (partly masked by a ring hinge) is this time identifiable by the (just visible) bendlet

engrailed as belonging to Guy of Namur (Dewilde *et al* 1980).

The identity of the mounted knight charging into the Flemish ranks in scene 3 (right, upper centre) has only recently been narrowed down to John the Merciless, son of the Count of Hinault, who is shown carrying the Flemish coat of arms because of his claim to the county of Flanders (Putseys pers. comm.). In scene 6 (left, lower) the Flemish militiamen shown covering the gate to the Courtrai garrison are shown wearing tunics marked with a simple patriarchal cross (with 2 cross bars), which was the symbol for Ypres only until sometime later in the 14th century when this was merged with other heraldic devices as is shown on Albrecht de Vriendt's *Victorious Return of the warriors of Bruges after the Battle of the Spurs in 1302.* This was part of a set of murals commissioned as part of the restoration of Bruges City Hall of 1889-1905, murals which contain various examples of just the kind of anachronistic mistakes that might be expected from any would-be faker of the period (Dewilde 1980).

There seems to be a good measure of agreement that the carved panel of the Courtrai chest originated in Bruges even if Marijnissen and others think it was carved in the later 19th century and Dewilde and colleagues have assembled a great deal of art-historical evidence in favour of its having been carved soon after the events of 1302. The scientific dating evidence indicates the early 14th century as the likely time when the boards were used. A combination of art-historical and scientific factors provides what seems to be an almost overwhelming case for the front panel being a genuine surviving fragment from the front of an early 14th century chest. The present hasp, handles as well as the different hinges used and the overall form of the chest as it now is, would appear to date from about the early 17th century. It is unknown who might have commissioned a chest decorated like this originally but there seems at least a slight possibility that it came to England quite early on, perhaps brought over by a member of the St John family, John de St John having been summoned for service in Flanders in 1297 (White, GH 1982, 324-5). If so, it could have remained and been reconstructed locally in Stanton St John, part of the surviving manor house of which dates to the beginning of the 14th century. Work on this chest is continuing and will be reported in due course.

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Un manoir péri-urbain et son décor peint du XIVesiècle

Cette communication est le résultat d'un long travail de recherche collectif qui verra son aboutissement dans la publication d'un ouvrage complet qui paraîtra probablement l"année prochaine[1]. Le texte présenté ici est un résumé du chapitre 4 "Le carrousel avant Paris, le Moyen Age avant la ville – Un manoir péri-urbain du XIVes."

1 Introduction

Les restes d'une demeure péri-urbaine du XIVes. ont été mis au jour dans la partie S.-E. du site, sous l'ancienne place du Carrousel.

Construit sur le bourrelet alluvial en bordure de Seine, l'édifice occupe un point culminant. Vers le sud il domine directement le fleuve et le chemin sur berge le longeant. Vers le nord, le versant naturel en pente douce a été accentué par la dépression locale provoquée par l'extraction de limon à l'époque romaine.

Les maçonneries sont dérasées sous les niveaux de sols et les fondations sont très souvent récupérées. Seuls subsistaient quelques tronçons de murs, les tranchées de récupération comblées de débris divers et les aménagements souterrains. Ce mauvais état de conservation résulte de la construction de l'enceinte urbaine dans la seconde moitié du XIVes. Située sur le tracé de cette dernière, la bâtisse est détruite pour faire place au nouvel ouvrage défensif. Son emplacement est recouvert en grande partie par les terres accumulées pour la construction du rempart et par un chemin longeant son piétement. D'autres destructions sont provoquées par des constructions élevées à cet endroit durant les Temps modernes. Les plus anciennes remontent au XVIes. et appartiennent à une extension du clos de la Petite Bretagne. Les constructions qui ont occasionné le plus de dégâts sont celles de l'hôtel de Warin- Beringhen, datées des XVIIe et XVIIIes. Toute la partie occidentale de la zone fouillée a été profondément terrassée pour l'établissement de plusieurs caves, alignées sur le mur d'escarpe de l'enceinte. Enfin, les travaux du Grand Louvre, en 1986, ont entraîné de nouvelles destructions, cer-

tainement les plus importantes. La pose d'un collecteur d'égout et l'installation d'une centrale à béton ont complètement perturbé les parties centrale et orientale de la zone, jusqu'alors épargnées.

2 Description et chronologie

Le plan d'ensemble de la demeure est incomplet (fig.1). De nombreuses incertitudes subsistent et la restitution reste largement hypothétique. Le bâti présente une disposition en "U", comprenant trois corps de bâtiment disposés autour d'une cour (IV) ouverte au sud, vers la Seine (fig. 2). Le premier bâtiment (I), à l'ouest, est orienté N.-S.; le second, au nord (II), est orienté E.-O. Les perturbations modernes ne permettent plus de savoir si ces deux corps de bâtiment étaient ou non indépendants. Un troisième ensemble de constructions, à l'E., se rattache au second et lui est perpendiculaire, il constitue une aile orientale (III).

Le corps de bâtiment occidental (I)

Il comprend une vaste pièce rectangulaire, une fosse d'aisances accolée au nord et une construction quadrangulaire, ajoutée tardivement.

Le plan de cette construction, conservée sur une largeur de 7,50m et sur une longueur de 16m, reste incomplet; seules subsistent ses limites occidentales (F8) et septentrionales (F7).

Ces éléments permettent deux reconstitutions différentes. Soit une vaste salle, large de 10m peut-être et longue d'au moins 16m, divisée en deux nefs, comprenant quatre travées minimum. Sa superficie devait atteindre environ 160m², soit une galerie couverte sur arcades, large de 5m et d'une superficie moitié moindre.

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[1] Van Ossel P. (dir.), *Grand Louvre (Paris) - Les jardins du Carrousel - De la campagne à la ville: formation d'un espace urbain*, DAF, Paris, à paraître.
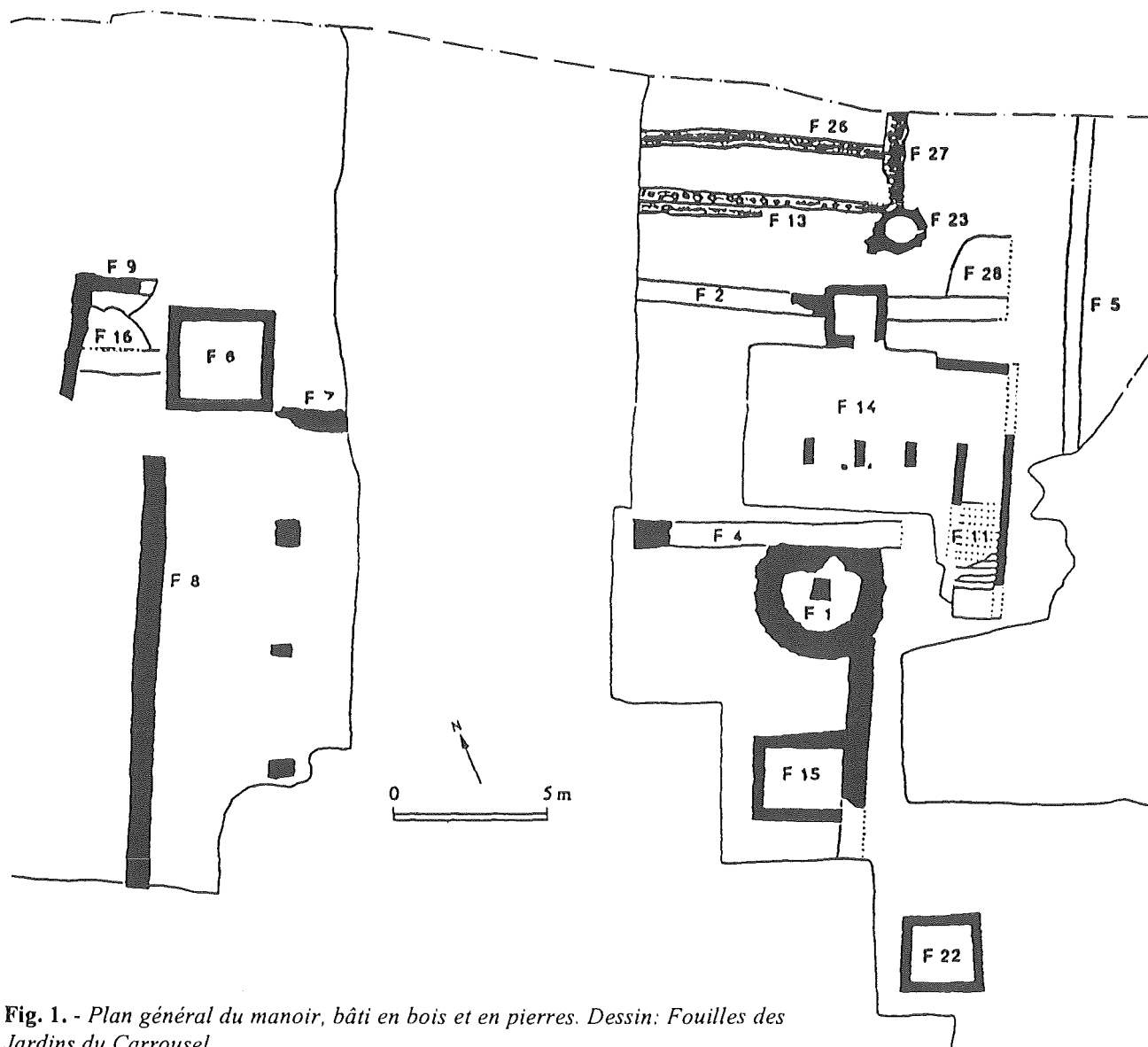
Fig. 1. - *Plan général du manoir, bâti en bois et en pierres. Dessin: Fouilles des Jardins du Carrousel.*

La construction peut être datée de la première moitié du XIVe s. par un petit lot de céramique trouvé dans la tranchée de fondation du mur F7.

Le bâtiment I possède, à son extrémité nord, une structure enterrée (F6) de forme quadrangulaire, mesurant 3,50m sur 4,30m. Elle est profonde de 3,60m et recouverte par une voûte en plein cintre. Les murs ne sont conservés que sur les quatre ou cinq assises inférieures, faites de moellons calcaires liés indifféremment au plâtre ou au limon. Chaînés et parementés, ils sont enduits de plâtre. La poussée des terres a provoqué une forte déformation des parois, bombées vers l'intérieur de la structure.

Un lit de sable d'assainissement et une couche de matière organique tapissant le fond permettent d'identifier clairement une fosse d'aisances. Un cône de déjection, encore visible contre le mur sud, indique l'emplacement d'un conduit de chute placé contre le mur nord du corps de bâtiment I.

A l'extérieur de F6 se trouvent deux fosses en pleine terre. Leur lien avec la fosse d'aisances n'a pu être mis en évidence.

Ces deux fosses sont recoupées par l'adjonction de deux murs perpendiculaires. Chaînés dans l'angle N.-O., ils délimitent un espace quadrangulaire, légèrement désaxé par rapport aux autres constructions du corps de bâtiment occidental (F9) et ouvert vers le sud. La fonction de cet aménagement est difficile à déterminer, en l'absence de niveaux d'occupation conservés.

Corps de bâtiment nord (II)

Les restes du corps de bâtiment septentrional se composent d'un mur de façade (F2) flanqué d'un escalier hors œuvre, du mur (F4) formant la façade arrière de l'édifice et d'une vaste cave[2] (F14). L'em-

prise minimale du bâtiment peut donc être estimée à 102 m².

La vaste cave (F14), située à l'extrémité orientale du corps de logis septentrional, occupe environ la moitié de sa surface. Ce sous-sol se compose d'une pièce rectangulaire (9m x 5,50m) contre laquelle sont greffés, au nord, un appendice carré (2m x 2m) et, dans l'angle S.-E., un escalier (F11). La profondeur conservée est de 2,60m. Lors de la destruction, l'ensemble a fait l'objet d'une récupération massive, mais incomplète, épargnant les murs et les voûtes de la partie orientale. Le sol, conservé de façon très lacunaire et stérile, ne subsiste que sous la forme de lambeaux en plâtre damé, installés directement sur les graviers. Ce sol n'a livré aucun matériel.

L'accès à la cave se fait par un escalier droit à une volée (F11), large de 2m. Celui-ci est voûté en berceau incliné en plein cintre, sauf à l'intersection avec le berceau longitudinal de la cave, où la voûte forme une arête. Dix marches ont été récupérées presque en totalité et seuls restent les radiers de plâtre des deux marches supérieures. L'escalier débouche dans le corps de bâtiment oriental de la demeure.

La cave est divisée en deux parties distinctes: une grande salle rectangulaire ("nef") au nord (8,20m x 2,50m) et quatre petits espaces ("bas-côtés") au sud (2m x 1,30m). La subdivision de l'espace est matérialisée au sol par des piles rectangulaires (0,82m x 0,36m), conservées sur 0,50m de hauteur et placées à intervalles réguliers de 1,25m à 1,30m. Celles-ci supportent les retombées des voûtes. La "nef" est couverte d'un unique berceau longitudinal voûté en plein cintre, tandis que les "bas-côtés" sud sont vraisemblablement couverts chacun par un berceau transversal (N.-S.).

La cave et son annexe septentrionale ne possèdent pas de fondations. Les murs, larges de 0,40m, sont installés à même le sol naturel, constitué de lits de sables et graviers.

Une porte large de 0,60m donne accès à l'annexe, mesurant 2m de côté. Sa construction est particulièrement soignée: les murs sont élevés en grandes pierres calcaires assisées, liées au plâtre et localement au limon. Le sol, contrairement à celui de la pièce principale de la cave, est en plâtre lissé.

Les murs de la cave sont en moyen appareil. Les pierres de taille calcaires qui forment leur parement sont parfois brettelées en oblique. Elles sont dis-
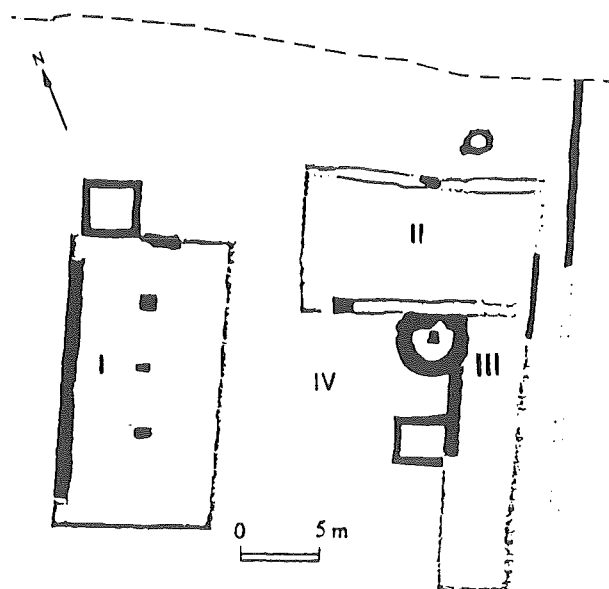

Fig. 2. - *Plan masse restitué. Dessin: Fouilles des Jardins du Carrousel.*

posées en assises régulières de hauteur variable (de 0,25m à 0,30m). Les joints, beurrés au plâtre, exceptionnellement au mortier de chaux, ne dépassent pas 2cm d'épaisseur. La même qualité de construction caractérise la voûte, avec néanmoins quelques particularités. D'une part, la hauteur des assises est plus petite au sommet de la voûte qu'à la base; d'autre part, la qualité du joint varie en fonction du liant utilisé. Ceux de plâtre sont plutôt dégueulants, ceux de mortier sont beurrés.

La majorité des moellons des voûtes portent des marques incisées ou tracées en gris (crayon ou mine de plomb). Elles sont situées sur l'intrados de la voûte de la pièce centrale, sur le berceau du couloir et sur le berceau rampant de l'escalier. Deux groupes peuvent être distingués: les signes affectant un seul moellon et ceux débordant sur plusieurs assises, donc postérieurs à la mise en place des claveaux. Les marques répertoriées sont des séries de un à quatre traits parallèles, des cercles, des losanges ou des "alpha". Aucune organisation rigoureuse n'a été mise en évidence.

Un escalier à vis hors œuvre, accolé dans l'angle des murs F2 et F25, atteste l'existence d'au moins un étage. Son plan est circulaire, sauf au nord où la fondation est tronquée pour s'aligner sur le mur F4. La vis est fondée sur un noyau central, constitué d'un dé calcaire de 0,70m de côté.

Le corps de bâtiment oriental (III)

L'existence d'un corps de bâtiment oriental est assurée, malgré sa destruction presque totale. Il forme une aile assez étroite (5m), longue d'au moins

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² Par commodité, le terme de cave, plus neutre et utilisé dans son acceptation moderne de pièce souterraine, est préféré aux termes de "celliers" ou de "salle-basse", dont l'usage dans les sources écrites et la fonction connaissent une évolution dépassant l'objet de cette publication.

14,60m, fermant la cour vers l'est. Il est limité à l'ouest par un mur de façade (F25), appuyé contre l'escalier hors œuvre. L'escalier de la cave débouche dans cette aile, qui renferme aussi une fosse d'aisances (F22) à son extrémité méridionale. Elle a été retrouvée dans un état de conservation remarquable, avec sa voûte presque complète et le conduit d'écoulement qui la traverse encore en place. C'est une construction carrée de 2,55m de côté et de 3,35m de profondeur sous voûte, élevée en moellons calcaires de petites dimensions, disposés en assises irrégulières. Le liant est indifféremment du plâtre ou du limon. L'ensemble, murs et voûte, est construit de manière identique et revêtu d'un enduit de plâtre lissé. Le conduit d'écoulement (0,46m x 0,50m), construit en petits moellons de plâtre, se trouve dans l'angle N.-E. de la voûte. Il est enduit de plâtre lissé.

Un premier dépôt organique au fond de la structure résulte de son utilisation, datée par la céramique du milieu du XIVes. Après son remblaiement lors de la destruction du manoir, cette fosse d'aisances fut réutilisée aux XVe et XVIes.

Les installations de service

Des structures de service rejetées de part et d'autre des corps de bâtiment complètent le plan de cette résidence péri-urbaine. Elles comprennent un puits, creusé au nord du logis septentrional et un puisard, construit dans la cour, contre le mur F25 du corps de bâtiment oriental.

Le puits (F23) est isolé. Son diamètre maximum externe est de 1,70m, son ouverture interne de 1m. Sa profondeur est d'environ 6m. Le parement est construit en moellons calcaires ébauchés, de dimensions moyennes, disposés sans agencement particulier et liés au plâtre, du moins dans sa partie supérieure. La couche de fond n'a révélé que peu de mobilier, quelques os, des tuiles et de la céramique.

Accolé au mur de façade de l'aile orientale (F25), dans la cour, se trouve un puisard (F15) de 3,15m sur 3m et de 2,30m de profondeur, sous voûte. Cette structure n'a pu être fouillée complètement, car elle a été retrouvée comblée de béton. Les observations se sont limitées à la face externe du mur ouest et au dégagement du fond. Seuls quelques restes du canal d'écoulement en pierres ont été observés sur le fond. La faible quantité de mobilier et la petite taille des objets, trouvés dans la couche d'utilisation, montrent qu'il s'agit bien d'un puisard, daté par la céramique du milieu du XIVes. Quelques graines sauvages, mais aussi d'orge et de seigle reflètent sans doute davantage le milieu rural environnant que la consommation de ses habitants (de Moulins 1991, 149 et 151).

Quelques éléments d'une construction en bois ont été observés immédiatement au nord du logis. La relation chronologique entre les deux ensembles n'est pas certaine. Seule la tranchée de fondation du puits maçonné (F23) recoupe les vestiges en bois, mais rien n'assure que ce puits ait été creusé en même temps que la demeure. Ils ont fort bien pu fonctionner conjointement.

Cette combinaison suggère une construction sur sablières basses (en bois) ou sur solins dans lesquels des poteaux en bois verticaux sont maintenus. L'identification de la structure est impossible en raison du caractère très partiel du plan.

3 Les limites parcellaires

La demeure est limitée à l'est par un mur d'orientation N.-S. (F5), conservé uniquement au nord de la zone fouillée. Plus étroit (0,60m) que les fondations de la demeure, il ne correspond guère à un mur porteur. Une interprétation comme mur parcellaire est vraisemblable, même s'il n'a pas été découvert dans la partie sud de l'aire fouillée.

A environ 86m à l'ouest de la limite parcellaire F5, un second mur (F25), mal conservé, a été repéré sous la forme de deux tronçons d'environ 0,60m de large. Sa nature, sa situation sous la levée de terre des défenses avancées, ainsi que les quelques tessons du XIVes. découverts dans les fondations, permettent vraisemblablement de le rattacher aux rares éléments constitutifs du paysage de cette époque. Il peut matérialiser la limite occidentale de la demeure.

4 La destruction du manoir

La démolition de la demeure est radicale. Les bâtiments sont dérasés et les matériaux réutilisables sont systématiquement récupérés. Ceci explique le petit nombre de moellons, de pierres de taille et d'éléments de couverture retrouvés. Le plâtre, non récupérable, domine en revanche largement parmi les gravats de démolition. C'est à cette occasion que la cave fut comblée avec du sable, du limon et de nombreux fragments de peintures murales. Une monnaie de JeanII le Bon émise entre 1355 et 1357, trouvée dans le comblement de la cave, fournit un *terminus post quem* pour cette démolition.

C'est manifestement la construction de l'enceinte urbaine, dans la seconde moitié du XIVes., qui a nécessité la destruction du manoir, situé sur le tracé du nouvel ouvrage. Ses restes sont recouverts en grande partie par le rempart de terre et le chemin qui le longe. Seule son extrémité orientale est épargnée

par l'emprise de la fortification. Ce dernier emplacement est à nouveau bâti à partir du XVIes.

5 Les peintures murales

Contexte

La découverte majeure dans le manoir est certainement l'important ensemble de fragments de peintures murales trouvé principalement dans la cave (F14) du corps de bâtiment septentrional (II). Après la récupération des matériaux, celle-ci est comblée par environ 180m³ de remblais. Rejetés pêle-mêle et mélangés à d'autres débris de construction, les enduits peints constituent une part importante du comblement (environ 50m³). Aucun ordre n'apparaît dans la disposition des fragments et des éléments appartenant à des décors différents sont mêlés les uns aux autres.

L'abondance des fragments permet un remontage, au moins partiel des décors et apporte des renseignements sur l'architecture des bâtiments grâce aux diverses formes des plaques d'enduit (angles, voûtains, etc.).

La présentation de cet ensemble exceptionnel reste provisoire, car il est actuellement toujours en cours de remontage et d'étude. La variété des motifs permet d'affirmer que les fragments appartiennent aux décors de plusieurs salles, mais sans pouvoir préciser de quelle partie de la demeure ils proviennent. La richesse du décor, la variété du répertoire figuré, les éléments de scènes historiées, le soin dans le rendu des motifs en font un ensemble de qualité certaine.

Technique picturale

Les décors sont peints sur plâtre mêlé de sable et de petits fragments de charbons de bois. Une charge de petits moellons calcaires ou de fragments de tuiles est ajoutée, principalement pour l'ébauche des éléments architectoniques en relief. Des plaques ou des tiges en fer sont noyées dans le support, particulièrement dans des éléments d'angle. A première analyse, il ne s'agit pas d'éléments raidisseurs, mais plutôt de raccords entre deux blocs. Dans plusieurs cas, des morceaux d'enduits peints sont mêlés au support, indiquant par là le réemploi partiel d'un revêtement antérieur détruit.

La technique picturale est difficile à déterminer, en l'état actuel des analyses. Certains pigments semblent pris dans la masse, mais une technique *a fresco* paraît peu vraisemblable. Les analyses préliminaires[3] ont certes révélé la présence de chaux, mais à un taux

si bas qu'elle peut provenir du calcaire contenu dans le support et non de la carbonatation des pigments dans l'enduit.

A ces données s'ajoutent les observations faites lors du nettoyage des fragments. Aucun support spécifique pour la peinture n'a été remarqué. De manière générale, on ne distingue pas les couches successives de plâtre. Par endroits, une couche d'enduit de 5mm d'épaisseur environ, portant la peinture, peut être observée sur une surface déjà lissée. Cette particularité résulte vraisemblablement des propriétés techniques du plâtre, qui provoque un amalgame des différentes couches d'enduit.

Plusieurs hypothèses peuvent être émises pour expliquer la peinture: écrasement de la surface ou ajout d'un lait, par exemple. La première possibilité consiste à écraser la surface encore humide de façon à dégager une surface lisse pour que les pigments puissent adhérer. Selon la seconde hypothèse, l'ajout d'un lait, contenant souvent de la chaux, permet de réhumidifier une surface trop sèche et favorise ainsi l'adhérence de la peinture au support. Ces techniques peuvent être utilisées conjointement sur une même paroi, peut-être en fonction de la difficulté d'exécution du décor ou de l'accessibilité de la paroi à peindre.

La gamme des couleurs utilisées comprend du gris, du noir, du blanc, des ocres jaunes, orangés et rouges, des bruns, du bleu et un vert kaki. Qualité et conservation ne sont pas égales. Certaines couleurs sont fragiles, surtout le beige et le bleu. D'autres (le bleu et celle des fleurs de lys) sont presque totalement effacées, sans que le phénomène soit pour autant généralisé. Ce mauvais état de conservation est dû à une usure naturelle des peintures sur les murs, mais aussi aux conditions d'enfouissement.

L'observation détaillée des fragments polychromes lors du nettoyage et quelques remontages ont permis de les classer (au moins dans un premier temps) en une dizaine de types.

Visages
Dans l'état actuel du remontage, deux visages humains seulement ont été identifiés. Traités de manière très différente, ils restent toujours isolés et ne peuvent être rattachés à aucun décor. Le premier fragment montre un personnage barbu, vu de face et
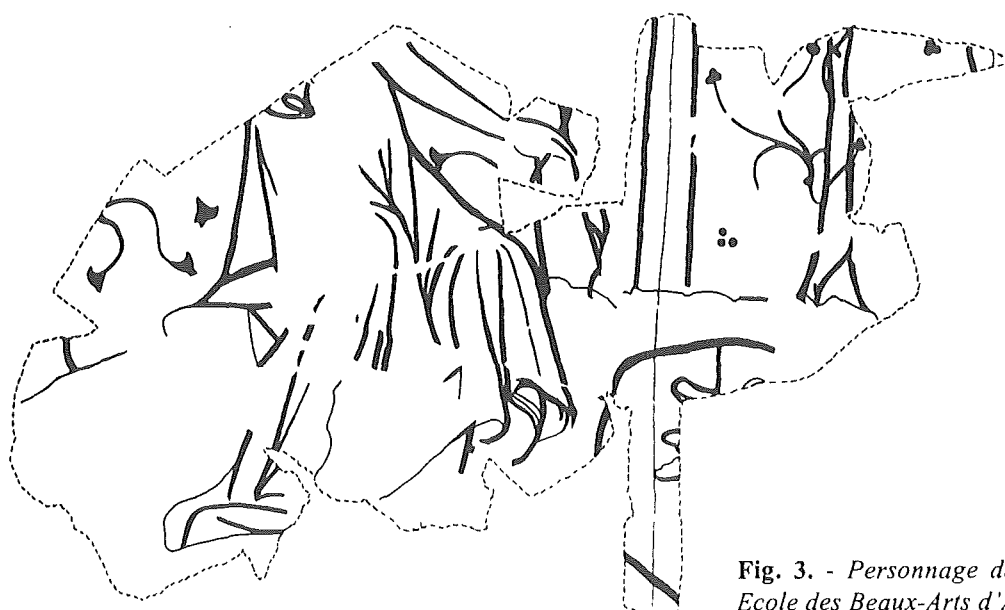

Fig. 3. - *Personnage dans la végétation. Dessin: Ecole des Beaux-Arts d'Avignon.*

dessiné en brun sur un fond ocre. Un trait rouge souligne la lèvre supérieure de la bouche. Le second personnage, vu de profil à gauche, apparaît en blanc, cerné de larges traits noirs sur un fond rouge. Une main est visible, mais sa position demeure incertaine.

Personnage dans la végétation (fig. 3)
Le remontage, encore très partiel, permet pourtant de comprendre ce décor. Il représente un personnage féminin, habillé d'une robe rouge sur un fond de végétation. La figure semble assise, le bras droit tendu vers un tronc d'arbre. La manche est peinte en gris, les plis et godets de la robe en noir. Un des godets suit un tracé préparatoire incisé. Aux pieds du personnage, vers la droite de l'ensemble reconstitué, une masse circulaire est représentée en blanc, cernée de noir, avec un motif indéterminé de couleur jaune au milieu. La végétation apparaît sur un fond ocre jaune. Celle-ci comprend des troncs et des branches d'arbres, en gris-blanc, cernés de noir, entre lesquels s'enroulent des petites tiges rouges. Celles-ci s'achèvent soit par une fleur à corolle campaniforme, soit par une fleurette à trois pétales. Une moulure à chanfrein double, dont la fonction paraît plus décorative qu'architecturale, traverse verticalement le décor et le partage en deux secteurs. A sa gauche, se trouvent les fleurs à corolle campaniforme et à droite, celles à trois pétales.

Chevaux
Une tête de cheval, vue de profil, est représentée sur un fond de quadrillage, peut-être un treillage. Longue de 12cm et large à l'encolure de 8cm, elle est dessinée en jaune et brun avec des rehauts de blanc dans la crinière et dans l'œil. Le treillage apparaît sur fond gris kaki; la couleur est difficile à déterminer dans la

mesure où il peut s'agir d'une altération des pigments. Les brins entrelacés du treillis (alternance de traits noir-jaune-rouge-noir) délimitent des rectangles, larges de 4cm et longs de 10cm au moins. Un ensemble de onze fragments pourrait se rattacher à une autre représentation de cheval (fig. 4), peint en blanc et cerné de noir sur un fond ocre-jaune. L'interprétation de ce dessin est encore incertaine. Si cheval il y a, il serait plus grand que nature (largeur de l'encolure= 48cm, hauteur totale= 86cm, longueur de la tête= 80cm). Le fond est parsemé de boules blanches, auxquelles un croissant rouge donne du relief. Ce motif est présent sur de nombreux fragments.

Arcature à pinacle
Ce fragment présente une arcature et un pinacle gothiques à bourgeons, dessinés d'un trait sûr, en noir, gris et brun sur un fond ocre jaune.

Inscription peinte
Un fragment, isolé à ce jour, porte trois lettres d'une inscription, peinte en noir sur fond jaune. Celle-ci semble contemporaine de la peinture et non postérieure comme le sont les nombreux graffiti retrouvés.

Végétation, arbres
D'autres enduits représentent une végétation sur fond ocre jaune. Certains fragments ont pu être associés à un autre décor grâce au remontage. Des angles présentent sur une face les motifs de végétation et sur l'autre le décor géométrique "tapis de quadrilobes bordé d'une bande florale". La position et l'orientation des motifs évoquent l'ornementation d'un manteau de cheminée. Mais rien ne permet de dire quel décor occupe la place privilégiée au-dessus du foyer. Le feuillage des arbres est rendu de manière très

stylisée par une masse circulaire noire, dont le pourtour est parfois festonné pour évoquer des feuilles.

Etoiles bleues

Ce décor est constitué d'un semis d'étoiles bleues à cœur rouge, sur un fond ocre-jaune. Les étoiles, à six branches, sont tracées de manière très nette; elles ont sans doute été peintes au pochoir. Un remontage partiel a montré une distance d'environ 18cm entre deux étoiles.

Losanges et motifs héraldiques[4]

D'assez nombreux fragments appartiennent manifestement à un même ensemble. Le schéma décoratif de base, répété selon un mode qui n'a pas encore pu être établi, oppose par la pointe deux losanges, reliés par un disque rouge au centre surchargé en blanc. Les losanges, fermement enlevés sur un fond blanc par un trait noir, sont alternativement occupés par deux blasons. Le premier a d'abord été peint d'une sous-couche grise, puis recouvert d'un bleu franc mais très inégalement conservé; le champ est semé de fleurs de lys héraldiques, dont seule la silhouette se distingue, la couleur d'origine ayant disparu. Il s'agit des armes de France. Le second blason comporte une bordure rouge orangé, encadrant des bandes alternativement jaunes, couleur toujours bien conservée, et blanches ou bleues; un examen attentif montre que le blanc (le plâtre en réalité) n'apparaît que là où le bleu d'origine est tombé. Compte tenu des pigments disponibles au moment de la réalisation et de leur altération aujourd'hui, ce blason semble donc pouvoir se lire "bandé d'or et d'azur de six pièces, à bordure de gueules", ce qui correspond à l'écu dit de "Bourgogne ancien", porté par cette maison ducale au XIVes. Dans les espaces laissés vides entre les losanges, on a rapidement tracé en rouge un motif floral très stylisé, formé de deux pétales évasés; certaines tiges sont rehaussées de feuilles beige très clair, négatif vraisemblable d'une couleur disparue, dont le contour polylobé évoque celui des feuilles de chêne.

Certains losanges armoriés viennent buter contre une bordure également à motifs héraldiques. Des traits noirs délimitent des demi-losanges, encadrés de triangles plus petits. Ces derniers font apparaître, en noir sur fond blanc, des "mouchetures d'hermines". Elles pourraient évoquer le blason "d'hermine plain" adopté par le duc de Bretagne en 1316 (Pastoureau

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4   L'identification des blasons a été réalisée par Madame Léonelli (Conservateur des antiquités et objets d'art du Vaucluse) et confirmée par Monsieur Popoff (Conservateur en chef, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département des monnaies, médailles et antiques).

Fig. 4. - *Encolure de cheval. Dessin: Ecole des Beaux-Arts d'Avignon. Echelle 1/10ème.*

1979, 184). Les demi-losanges sont timbrés d'une fleur de lys sur fond gris bleu, mais ici l'écu est brisé par une petite bande componée rouge, blanc, rouge. Sous une forme condensée, car habituellement l'écu est "semé de fleurs de lys sans nombre", il semble s'agir des armes du comte d'Evreux, "de France au bâton componé de gueules et d'argent, brochant sur le tout".

Plusieurs des fragments portant ce décor présentent une surface légèrement incurvée; ils pourraient être des éléments de plafond ou, plus précisément, d'entrevous de plâtre peint, entre deux solives. La présence de ruptures parfaitement rectilignes dans le support et dans le décor, de sortes d'encoches pouvant correspondre à une poutraison, confortent cette hypothèse.

Un même système de couvrement, combinant solives laissées apparentes et petits berceaux longitudinaux de plâtre, est visible à la tour Ferrande de Pernes-les-Fontaines (Vaucluse), sur deux étages superposés. Tous ces décors sont datés de la dernière décennie du XIIIes (Deschamps & Thibout 1963, 233; Didier 1990).

Réseau de quadrilobes et trompe-l'œil

La paroi est recouverte d'un fond jaune rempli de petits rinceaux bruns, sur lequel un entrelacs noir dessine des quadrilobes. Les intersections sont soulignées d'un nœud noir, au cœur rouge. Les brins de l'entrelacs sont figurés par un filet noir, doublé de traits plus fins, alternativement brun d'un côté et gris de l'autre. Au centre des quadrilobes s'inscrit un motif floral, assez élaboré, sur fond blanc. D'un cœur

brun rouge en forme de marguerite, sortent de petites tiges à fleurs dont le calice rose orangé est entouré de pétales bleus. Des feuilles simples, dessinées en beige, remplissent le motif. Au-dessus du réseau de quadrilobes règne une frise kaki et noire, constituée en alternance de demi-cercles noirs sur un fond vert kaki ou inversement. Le haut de la paroi est orné d'un décor complexe, en trompe-l'œil, figurant des petites arcatures à caissons (en noir sur un fond orangé) sur des modillons vus en perspective. Le dessin est préparé par un tracé incisé, au moins pour les modillons et les fonds des arcades. La gamme de couleurs comprend des gris de tonalités différentes. Cette ornementation a été observée sur différentes parties architecturales (cloisons, ébrasements, arcs ou angles) de la demeure.

Ces trompe-l'œil architecturaux utilisés comme bordures, pour séparer des registres ou pour souligner l'ouverture d'un arc, s'observent dans l'enluminure parisienne du deuxième quart du XIVes. (Léonelli 1994, 41) avec la même opposition de couleur qu'au manoir du Carrousel, orange noir, pour ombrer le caissonage des arcatures. Les frises architectoniques ne sont pas employées seules: dans une des salles de la livrée Ceccano, elles surmontent, comme dans le manoir parisien, un tapis de quadrilobes sur fond jaune clair.

Quadrilobes bordé d'une bande florale

Ce décor est peint sur un fond rouge, décoré de petites fleurs noires à feuilles bleues. Il est constitué d'un tapis de quadrilobes noirs, cernés de filets jaunes et noirs, réunis par des nœuds blancs. Il est limité par une bordure horizontale de fleurs à pétales bleus et à calice orangé, dessinées sur un fond noir. Le bleu, pigment fragile, a disparu sur la plupart d'entre elles. Les remontages effectués à ce jour permettent de penser que ce décor occupe un emplacement particulier. Les nombreux angles constituent une arête forcément de biais, ceci en raison de la lecture du motif. Cette ornementation pourrait décorer un manteau de cheminée. Ce même principe de décoration existe au château de Farcheville (Essonne), vers 1304, où une frise décorative avec scènes historiées fait le tour de la pièce (DiMattéo & Lablaude 1989, 75-80).

Carrés orange et kaki

Ce motif montre une alternance de carrés orange et kaki, imitant peut-être des cubes en perspective.

Graffiti

Une vingtaine de graffiti ont été repérés à ce jour. Ils représentent un poisson, un double cercle incisé, des cercles sécants, trois inscriptions non déchiffrées, une fleur de lys dans un écu, un dé, etc.

Les fragments de peinture découverts ne recouvraient pas seulement les murs et les plafonds, mais aussi les éléments architecturaux constituant l'ossature de la demeure. Des ébrasements en plein cintre appartiennent à des portes à des fenêtres, ou placards. L'un d'eux, d'une ouverture de 0,75m, est accolé à une poutre large de 0,40m environ, formant un linteau. Ce dernier est peint en gris et recouvert par un quadrilobe du même type que celui associé au décor en trompe-l'œil. Ce même décor de quadrilobes recouvre un fragment d'un large ébrasement de porte ou de fenêtre. Un chapiteau pyramidal engagé, dont seul subsiste le tailloir, est peint uniformément en rouge.

D'autres éléments participent vraisemblablement à l'architecture intérieure des salles ou au compartimentage du décor peint. Ce sont principalement des moulures ou colonnettes polygonales, peintes partiellement en rouge qui constituent peut-être des éléments de fenêtres géminées.

6 Le manoir, son architecture et sa place dans le paysage péri-urbain de Paris au XIVe s

La connaissance de cette demeure est certes lacunaire. Les carences de la documentation archéologique laissent de nombreuses questions ouvertes. Des données élémentaires, comme les dimensions complètes des bâtiments, manquent totalement. Pourtant, il est possible de se faire une certaine idée de leur élévation à partir de leur plan et de leur disposition, des matériaux utilisés et des quelques fragments d'architecture retrouvés. L'étude des peintures murales apporte des compléments significatifs.

Les trois corps de bâtiments entourent une cour qui s'ouvre vers la Seine. Ils occupent une position éminente, dont leur disposition tire pleinement parti. Le logis s'ouvre en fond de cour; il est bordé de part et d'autre par deux ailes à l'architecture très différente. L'ensemble s'étend sur un espace d'au moins 1000 m², dont 350 m² environ sont bâtis.

Le bâtiment occidental occupe manifestement une place privilégiée dans le manoir, quelle que soit sa restitution. Les bases de piliers centraux suggèrent deux possibilités de couvertures: soit une voûte en pierre, soit une charpente en bois. La première ne permet pas de préciser quel type de voûtement était utilisé: berceaux longitudinaux ou transversaux, voûtes d'arêtes ou d'ogives. Plusieurs hypothèses sont envisageables. Celle d'une voûte d'arêtes ou d'ogives à quatre quartiers de 3,50m de côté correspondrait peut-être mieux à la relative légèreté de la structure de la construction. Un chapiteau d'angle engagé en plâtre, peint en rouge, découvert dans le

remblai de la cave du bâtiment II, trouverait ici sa place, pour autant qu'il provienne du bâtiment I. La charpente, seconde possibilité, est envisageable selon des techniques différentes.

Le bâtiment possède-t-il un étage? La question reste sans réponse.

Le corps de logis est installé au-dessus d'une cave, totalement enterrée et occupant la moitié environ de l'emprise de l'édifice. La qualité de ce sous-sol, voûté de berceaux longitudinaux et transversaux, suggère un bâtiment de belle allure. La façade tournée vers la Seine est flanquée d'un escalier à vis hors œuvre formant tourelle. L'existence d'au moins un étage est ainsi formellement assurée. La solidité des fondations en permet davantage. L'existence d'un étage implique également celle d'un comble sous charpente. La belle largeur du logis peut être soulignée. Avec ses 8,50m, elle se situe dans la moyenne supérieure des manoirs normands et bretons du bas Moyen Age (Mignot & Chatenet [dir.] 1993, 72; Benoit-Cattin 1990, 3). Davantage peut-être que la longueur, la largeur a des implications financières, car elle conditionne la taille des poutres et nécessite des arbres plus gros, donc plus chers car plus rares.

Enfin, le bâtiment oriental forme une aile plus étroite, mais ses fondations sont aussi solides que celles du logis auquel il est rattaché. L'escalier d'angle permet d'envisager un étage sur cette aile.

Les matériaux utilisés dans la construction et les peintures murales offrent un complément précieux pour l'analyse architecturale.

Les murs extérieurs sont manifestement élevés en pierres de taille. Un moellon en calcaire massif, retrouvé dans la cave du logis, est recouvert sur une de ses faces par un enduit peint peu épais (2 à 5 cm), appartenant à l'ensemble des tapis de quadrilobes couvrant les parois. Cet exemple demeure unique, en raison de la récupération systématique des moellons calcaires lors de la destruction. Il montre pourtant de façon claire qu'une partie au moins des murs sont élevés en matériaux de qualité.

Le plâtre occupe une place particulière dans la construction du manoir. Il est utilisé comme liant, dans la réalisation des enduits muraux et même pour la fabrication de petits moellons taillés directement dans la masse. Des éléments architecturaux, parfois de grandes dimensions comme des arcs ou des chapiteaux engagés, sont entièrement réalisés dans ce matériau, chargé alors de débris divers pour assurer une meilleure solidité. L'abondante utilisation du plâtre s'explique par la présence de nombreuses carrières de gypse près de Paris et par la facilité de sa mise en œuvre (Roux 1973, 176; Pomerol & Feugueur 1986, 24 et 37).

Une architecture sur armature de bois, parfaitement envisageable à cette époque, n'est pas confirmée par l'étude des revers des fragments d'enduits. Les nombreuses empreintes interprétées dans un premier temps comme des négatifs de bois sont en réalité des marques de raclage entre deux couches de plâtre. Seules les empreintes relevées sur les fragments appartenant à l'ensemble des losanges armoriés sont liées à une armature de bois d'un plafond. Des vides de section quadrangulaire sont présents sur le revers du décor comme dans la bordure. A ce jour, aucun fragment ne peut être attribué à une voûte.

La majeure partie des enduits peints appartient à des cloisons intérieures. Les deux faces opposées des fragments sont planes et lisses, parfois peintes sur les deux côtés. Aucune trace au sol ne subsiste de ces cloisons, en raison de l'absence évidente de fondation. Seules les peintures permettent donc de savoir que le logis (au minimum 100m² au sol) est subdivisé en pièces distinctes. Ses parois sont rythmées par des moulures ou colonnettes polygonales, ainsi que par de nombreuses ouvertures, dont les fragments d'enduit peint offrent le témoignage.

Les parois intérieures sont revêtues d'un décor peint recouvrant aussi divers aménagements (placard, cheminées, ébrasements de fenêtres, portes, niches...), fréquents dans les demeures de cette époque (Mignot & Chatenet [dir.] 1993, 70-84). Quelques indices laissent penser que la peinture ne se limite pas aux pièces. En effet, certains ébrasements sont peints sur trois faces, voire davantage pour les éléments plus complexes. Si l'on pouvait démontrer qu'ils appartiennent à des fenêtres, cela prouverait que la polychromie s'étendait aussi en façade.

A quel type de demeure correspondent ces restes? L'ampleur du plan d'ensemble, la superficie des corps de logis, la présence d'un escalier à vis et ses dimensions, le choix des matériaux de construction et la facture soignée de la cave, auxquels s'ajoute le répertoire élaboré du décor peint en font une résidence de qualité, très vraisemblablement patricienne. Les godets en grès du Beauvaisis, la tasse polychrome de style "très décoré", ainsi que les fragments de vitrail et de verre coloré à l'étain, suggèrent aussi un milieu de qualité, bien que de tels indices doivent être utilisés avec prudence. Sa situation périphérique, en dehors de la "commune clôture" édifiée par Philippe Auguste, identifie sans conteste la demeure des jardins du Carrousel à une de ces maisons des champs (Viollet le Duc 1864, 300) bâties aux abords immédiats de la ville ou plus exactement, dans ce cas, à l'ombre du château royal du Louvre, distant de 300 m. Comme pour bien d'autres manoirs, la proximité immédiate de la rivière a exercé un rôle dans le choix du site.

Le décor peint se démarque des peintures contemporaines, sans présenter toutefois une qualité exceptionnelle. Dans l'état actuel des remontages, les grandes scènes historiées sont peu nombreuses, limitées peut-être au manteau d'une cheminée. Encore faut-il tenir compte de la probable disparition de certaines surfaces peintes. Il est frappant de voir la mollesse du tracé de certains quadrilobes, leur absence de similitude et le caractère approximatif de leur juxtaposition et de leur jonction. Ailleurs, aussi bien dans le domaine royal, sur les parois de la chapelle de Farcheville (Di Mattéo & Lablaude 1989, 76) que dans le midi où les décors de ce type sont conservés en plus grand nombre, à Avignon ou à Montpellier, la régularité et la géométrisation des schémas de construction des décors couvrants s'imposent au premier regard et facilitent les reconstitutions (Sournia & Vayssettes 1991, 169). Cependant, les peintures du manoir des jardins du Carrousel se signalent par la vivacité de certains coloris (le bleu des pétales de fleurs, l'orange et le brique), la rareté de certains tons (le vert kaki). Mais si en d'autres lieux la gamme est aujourd'hui plus éteinte, moins contrastée, peut-être est-ce seulement dû à des conditions de conservation différentes. On peut remarquer la prépondérance, en nombre de fragments d'enduit peint, des fonds ocre jaune clair, aussi bien pour les décors figurés (personnages, chevaux, végétation) que pour plusieurs motifs décoratifs. Sur l'ensemble du territoire français, cette couleur de fond est très usitée au XIVes., mais la plupart du temps elle ne porte que des faux-appareils. Ces derniers constituent, pour les édifices civils aussi bien que religieux, et partout, le type de revêtement le plus fréquent: leur absence totale dans le manoir parisien n'en est que plus notable.

Les éléments de plafond peint à motifs héraldiques renvoient directement à un exemple comparable, mais un peu plus récent (seconde moitié du XIVe s.) et avec des étoiles au lieu des hermines, découvert dans la salle d'apparat de la cour des Archidiacres à Metz (Brunella *et al.* 1988, 55-56). Entre tous, l'élément le plus remarquable est celui de la frise de petites arcatures supportées par des modillons vus de biais.

Peut-on dater plus précisément le manoir? Sa destruction ne soulève guère de problèmes. Elle est avec certitude postérieure à 1355-1357, comme l'indique la monnaie de Jean II découverte dans le remblai comblant la cave; elle est aussi antérieure au rempart de terre des fortifications, édifié à partir de 1366. En revanche, l'origine et l'évolution éventuelle du manoir sont plus malaisées à retracer. Le seul contexte de construction conservé (la tranchée de fondation F7) permet de dater le bâtiment I de la première moitié du XIVe s., sans autre précision. Mais cette

datation ne peut être généralisée à l'ensemble des bâtiments. Toute la difficulté est de savoir si le manoir forme un ensemble homogène ou s'il est le résultat de transformations successives. Plusieurs éléments tendent à privilégier cette dernière hypothèse: le puits F23 est postérieur au bâti de bois, le mur F9 coupe des fosses en pleine terre F16, le mur occidental F25 du corps de bâtiment III vient se greffer sur l'escalier à vis F1, des cloisons ou des murets sont construits avec des résidus de parois peintes noyées dans la masse. De son côté, le rendu différent des deux visages peints suggère peut-être aussi une différence chronologique, sinon artistique. Autant l'un se rattache encore à la peinture de la fin du XIIIes., de même que l'arcature à pinacle et bourgeons; autant l'autre, caractérisé par une vue de profil et un tracé souligné à grands traits, se rapproche de l'art du milieu du XIVes. On le constate, les indices d'une évolution architecturale sont nombreux. L'ampleur des transformations et leur chronologie restent toutefois inconnues.

Le mobilier n'apporte guère de précisions supplémentaires. A l'exception du lot provenant de la fondation F7, tous les ensembles de céramique sont homogènes, quel que soit le contexte (occupation ou destruction) et sont datés globalement du milieu du XIVes. Manifestement, les témoins matériels ne couvrent pas toute la durée d'occupation du manoir et illustrent surtout sa dernière phase d'occupation.

Les peintures offrent des perspectives plus intéressantes. D'une manière générale, elles trouvent leurs meilleurs parallèles dans des constructions réparties dans le temps entre la fin du XIIIes. et le milieu du XIVes., mais ne permettent pas de resserrer davantage la fourchette chronologique. Tous les motifs décoratifs employés ont une longue durée d'utilisation, de même que les schémas de construction qui les relient entre eux. Les motifs historiés se révèlent trop fragmentaires ou trop usés pour fonder une analyse stylistique. Les motifs héraldiques peints constituent en revanche un des indices les plus sûrs pour dater les peintures, voire pour identifier le cercle auquel se rattache son commanditaire.

L'étude des sources historiques permet de situer cet ensemble dans la topographie parisienne. Au XIVes., ce secteur périphérique de la ville se partage entre la "Couture l'Evêque", vaste domaine agricole de 42 arpents 3 quartiers, l'hôpital et le jardin des Quinze-Vingts, le manoir et le clos de la Petite Bretagne, un autre manoir, des pièces de terres mal définies et un artisanat de tuiles.

L'hospice des Quinze-Vingts, fondé vers 1254 par Saint Louis, est bien localisé. Il occupe un terrain le long du chemin de Roule – actuelle rue Saint-Honoré

–, à hauteur de l'actuelle place du théâtre Français. Le clos de la Petite Bretagne, vaste domaine attesté depuis le XIIes., se situe entre le chemin de berge de la Seine et l'hôpital des Quinze-Vingts. Les limites occidentales de la Petite Bretagne et de l'hôpital des Quinze-Vingt. forment un axe rectiligne N.-S. depuis le chemin de Roule vers la Seine[5].

Le second manoir appartient en 1309 à un certain Ernoult de la Haute-Maison, comme l'apprend un acte d'acensement conservé dans le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Paris (Berty 1866, t. 1, 285-286). Il est racheté avant 1316 par Pierre des Essarts (Guérard 1850, t. III, 232), personnage très connu de l'entourage royal, anobli en 1320 (Cazelles 1965 et 1972, 108-109, 219-220). Pierre des Essarts le possède certainement encore en 1342. En effet, dans un acte daté de la veille de la Trinité de cette année (archives des Quinze-Vingt, liasse 306), il fait don à la congrégation des aveugles du clos de 42 arpents qu'il avait acheté jadis à Ernoult de la Haute-Maison en même temps que son manoir. Toutefois, Pierre des Essarts prend soin de préciser qu'il ne sera pas tenu de condamner le portail qui sépare son "hostel des tuileries" dudit clos[6]. Cette clause particulière semble indiquer qu'il garde la propriété de son hôtel, peut-être jusqu'à sa mort de la peste en 1349. La destinée du manoir après 1342 est imprécise. Sans doute est-il inclus dans la difficile succession de Pierre des Essarts et est-il passé avec les autres biens de ce dernier dans le patrimoine de Robert de Lorris en 1354 (Cazelles 1972, 285-289).

Ces sources permettent de localiser ce second manoir à l'ouest du clos de la Petite Bretagne, au sud de la propriété des Quinze-Vingts et à l'est des tuileries. La limite sud n'est pas indiquée, mais il s'agit vraisemblablement du chemin de Seine. Cette locali-

sation est corroborée par un passage des Lettres Royaux de juillet 1385 (archives de Quinze-Vingt, liasse 306) qui permet de fixer le jardin potager des Quinze-Vingt entre l'hospice royal et le clos de la Petite Bretagne à l'est, le clos "qui jadis fu feu Pierre des Essarts"et les tuileries au sud, un mur de clôture allant des tuileries jusqu'au chemin de Roule à l'ouest et, enfin, ce même chemin au nord.

Les vestiges correspondent à cette situation. La confrontation des sources archéologiques et historiques fait apparaître une coïncidence entre l'emplacement d'un manoir détruit entre 1355 et 1366 et une parcelle dont on peut suivre les mutations successives entre 1309 et 1342.

Peut-on aller plus loin et préciser à quel propriétaire attribuer la construction du manoir et – plus déterminant peut-être – la réalisation des peintures murales?[7]. L'archéologie ne permet pas de dater la construction du manoir et l'étude des sources historiques ne révèle pas davantage quand celui-ci a été édifié. Le remontage et l'étude des peintures ne sont pas suffisamment avancés pour apporter des réponses définitives, même si les motifs héraldiques et le trompe-l'œil architectural renvoient à l'entourage royal. Inutile, dès lors, de solliciter davantage la documentation disponible en l'état.

L'intérêt du manoir dépasse pourtant largement ces questions. La révélation d'un ensemble résidentiel péri-urbain, la qualité de son agencement et de son décor, les comparaisons multiples qu'ils autorisent, sont autant d'apports significatifs à la connaissance de l'architecture civile du bas Moyen Age.

Il est aussi le dernier avatar de la longue histoire rurale de ce secteur du Louvre. Par ses liens avec l'enceinte urbaine, il constitue le pivot autour duquel s'articule l'évolution passée et ultérieure du site.

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[5] Lettres Royaux de juillet 1385, archives des Quinze-Vingt, liasse 306. D'autres documents plus récents précisent d'ailleurs explicitement que le clos de la Petite Bretagne tient à l'ouest aux fortifications de la ville, élevées à l'emplacement de notre manoir (Berty 1866, 80).

[6] L'acte de 1309 et celui de 1342 apportent aussi un beau témoignage des activités agricoles qui caractérisent un domaine manorial du bas Moyen Age, même proche d'une ville. Résidence et terres cultivées sont étroitement liées et, dans le cas présent, c'est un portail qui matérialise ce lien. L'acte d'acensement de 1309 fait d'ailleurs obligation à Ernoult "d"améliorer la terre" de l'ancienne couture l'évêque qu'il prend en cens. En 1342, le don de Pierre des Essarts a pour effet de dissocier le manoir du domaine agricole.

[7] Les historiens de la peinture médiévale savent que les commandes sont passées en fonction d'un calendrier et de circonstances qui ne doivent rien au hasard. Dans le cas de l'habitation civile, le décor peut être réalisé soit dans la foulée de la construction, soit à l'occasion d'un événement familial (réception, mariage, ...). Ces deux possibilités sont également envisageables pour le manoir des jardins du Carrousel: soit les peintures ont couvert les murs dès la construction de la demeure, soit est-ce pour marquer une date de la vie privée de son occupant (s'il s'agit de Pierre des Essarts, on pourrait penser à son anoblissement en 1320) que celui-ci a voulu enjoliver son cadre de vie et manifester à travers les allusions héraldiques du décor la reconnaissance qu'il éprouvait envers ses protecteurs.
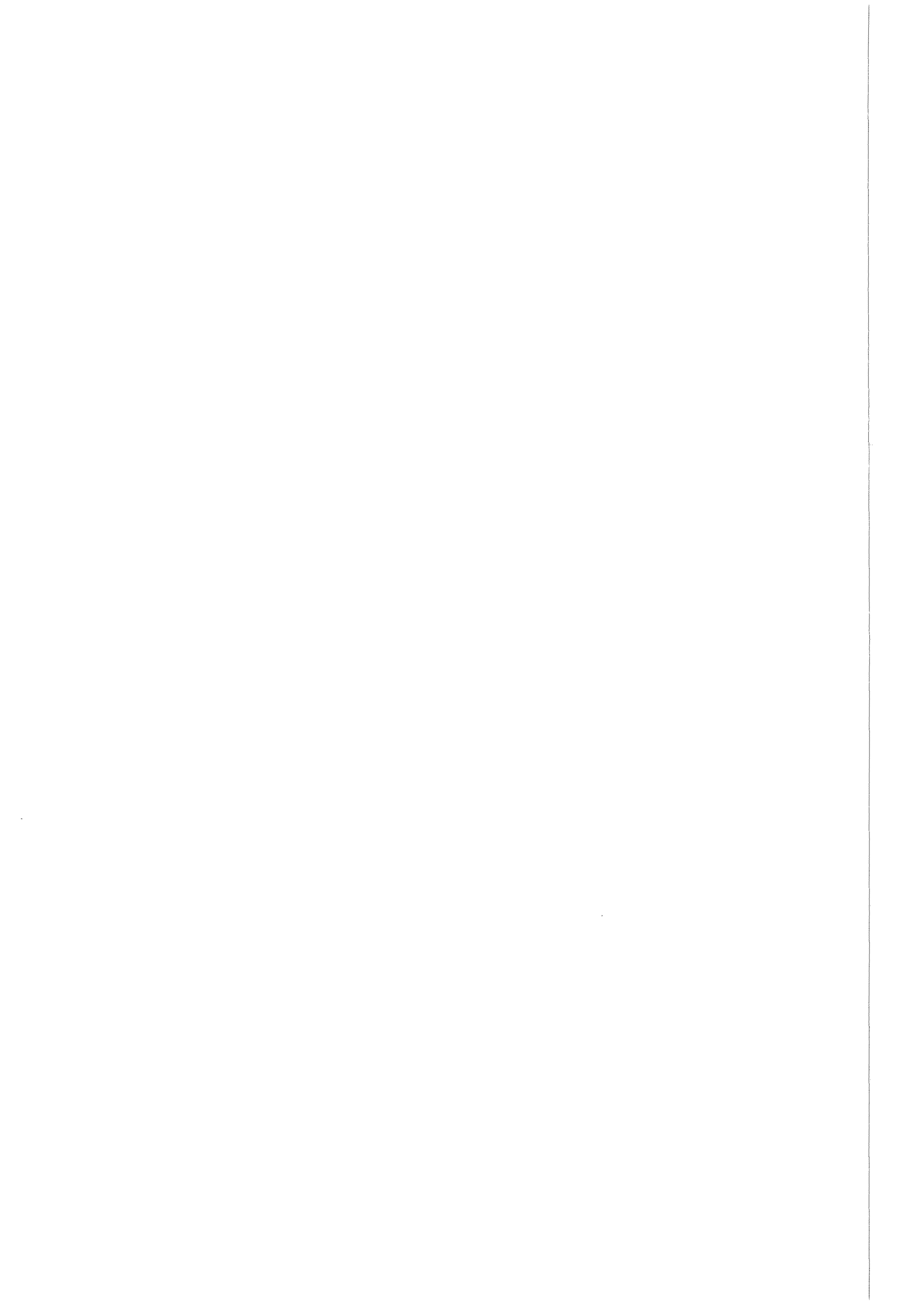
Christiane Prigent

La sculpture profane comme manifestation de la culture laïque dans les édifices religieux: l'exemple de la Bretagne aux XVe et XVIe siècles

Introduction

Au cours des siècles, des voix se sont élevées dans l'Eglise pour condamner les fantaisies dans l'art sacré: en vain! En effet, les diatribes de saint Bernard[1], d'Aelred de Rievaux et d'autres auteurs influencés par la mystique cistercienne[2] n'ont jamais arrêté durablement les représentations monstrueuses ou ludiques qu'elles prétendaient condamner. Ainsi les travaux portant sur les modillons des églises romanes[3], sur les *marginalia* des manuscrits gothiques[4] ont révélé l'existence de thèmes laïques bien avant l'époque que nous nous proposons d'étudier, les XVe et XVIe siècles en Bretagne[5]. Dans cette province, par rapport à ce que l'on observe dans d'autres régions pour la même période, les Flandres par exemple[6], la proportion de sujets dits profanes est assez faible. Il faut cependant résister à la facilité d'une opposition entre profane et religieux qui paraît étrangère aux mentalités médiévales.

Ces sculptures profanes occupent des emplacements précis dans les édifices religieux. A l'extérieur on les recense principalement sur les pignons et les corniches. Tout un monde étrange se détache des murs: il peut aller d'animaux (à l'église de Pencran, les gargouilles offrent des formes variées: un lion, un monstre marin, un sanglier et un ours muselé) à un Adam impudique face à une Eve qui l'est à peine moins (chapelle des Trois-Fontaines en Gouézec), en passant par des fous coiffés de bonnets à grelots, des moines à la face réjouie et des personnages énigmatiques. A l'intérieur, les chapiteaux, les consoles et les sablières qui reçoivent la charpente le long des murs ont été ornés d'une décoration placée à hauteur du regard. Parmi les motifs religieux se logent des scènes de la vie quotidienne – les labours au Tréhou, la chasse à courre à Grâces-Guingamp –, auxquelles se mêlent des monstres apocalyptiques, des figures humaines dans des positions insolites, des sujets triviaux qui peuvent confiner à l'indécence. C'est surtout dans les miséricordes des stalles (cathédrales de Saint-Pol-de-Léon et de Tréguier) que les artistes se sont livrés à une débauche de formes.

1 La vie quotidienne à l'assaut du sacré

La société civile prend une place grandissante dans l'art religieux des XVe et XVIe siècles. Des scènes de la vie courante sont ainsi évoquées: charmante comme cette jeune mère qui allaite son enfant, pendant qu'elle écarte, en le tirant par la queue, un petit chien envahissant, à l'église de Gueltas. L'iconographie ne témoigne pas du seul bonheur conjugal mais d'autres sortes de félicité: à l'église de La Méaugon, un homme entre deux âges semble tiraillé entre une plantureuse matrone (son épouse?) et une mince jouvencelle. L'image du couple c'est aussi la dispute qui se règle à coup de battoir, sur l'archivolte du porche de l'église Saint-Armel en Ploërmel. Le sculpteur de la miséricorde de Saint-Pol a préféré montrer l'issue du combat: un homme et une femme adossés, se tenant par la main mais s'écartant le plus loin possible, illustrerait la désunion. Les trois ordres de la société voisinent sur une sablière de la nef de l'église de Guengat: se suivent d'est en ouest le curé

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[1]   A. FRACHEBOUD, Saint-Bernard est-il le seul dans son attitude face aux oeuvres d'art?, *Collectanea Ordinis Cistercensium Reformatorum*, 1953, 113-130.

[2]   L. PRESSOUYRE, Saint Bernard to saint Francis: monastic ideals and iconographic programs in the cloisters, *Gesta. International center of Medieval art* XII, 1975, 71-92.

[3]   N. KENAAN-KEDAR, Les modillons de Saintonge et du Poitou comme manifestations de la culture laïque, *Les cahiers de civilisation médiévale* XXIX, 1986, 311-330.

[4]   L. RANDALL, *Images in the margin of gothic manuscripts*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of Carlifornia Press, 1966.

[5]   C. PRIGENT, *Pouvoir ducal, religion et production artistique en Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1992.

[6]   L. MAETERLINCK, *Le genre satirique, fantastique et licencieux dans la sculpture flamande et wallonne,* Paris, Schemit, 1910.
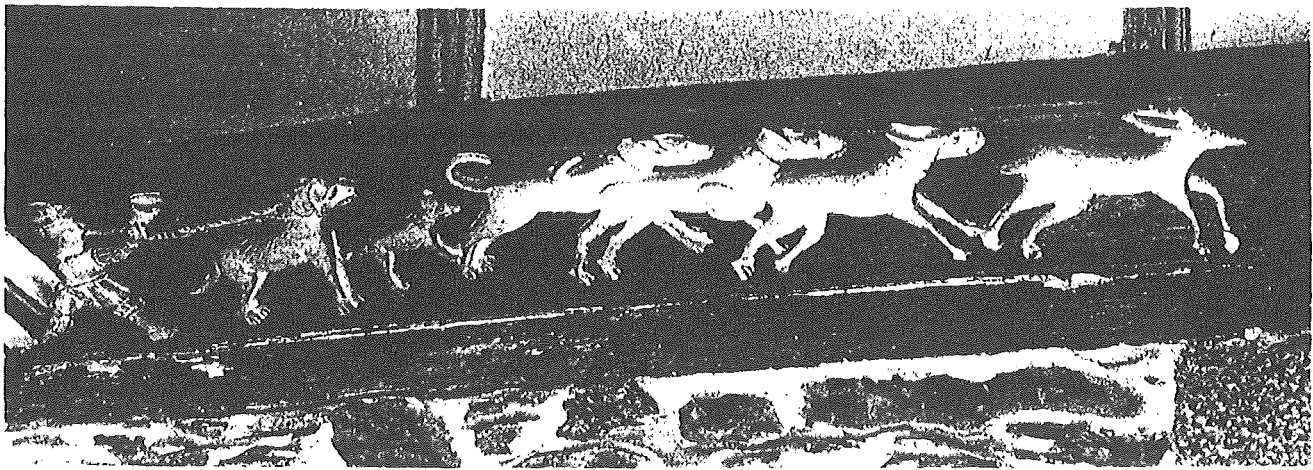
Fig. 1. - *Lézardrieux: église.*

reconnaissable à son calice et à son bréviaire, le noble à son épée pendant le long de son côté, et un couple de paysans affairés à mettre un tonneau en perce.

En règle générale, les classes sociales sont présentées séparément. Dans l'église de Lambour en Pont-l'Abbé se faisaient face un chevalier arborant un écu sur une sablière, une dame et son page sculptés en haut-relief sur les blochets des angles du transept vers l'ouest. Les nobles consacraient une grande partie de leur temps à la chasse [7]: témoignent de cette activité les chasses à courre relevées dans des sablières comme à Lézardrieux où une meute de chiens poursuit un cerf, tandis que, un peu en arrière, un homme à pied, tenant un chien en laisse, sonne du cor (fig. 1). Puis s'avancent, sur des chevaux, le seigneur et sa dame, séparés par un piqueur. Parmi les divertissements, la musique était fort appréciée de la noblesse: placée entre un joueur de guitare et un flûtiste, une femme pince les cordes d'une harpe, sur la sablière sud de la nef de la chapelle du Loc en Saint-Avé. Le petit chien couché sur sa robe est un auditeur attentif, à moins que les charmes de la mélodie ne l'aient endormi.

Les sculpteurs nous livrent des représentations des classes laborieuses: assis autour d'une table, des banquiers sont occupés à compter leur argent et à transcrire les recettes dans de volumineux registres (sablière conservée au musée de l'Evêché à Quimper). Sur une frise de la nef de l'église de Saint-Thomas de Landerneau (importante cité toilière à l'époque qui nous concerne), brandissant de grands ciseaux, un drapier court après des voleurs qui se sont

emparés d'un sac volumineux, contenant probablement ses économies. Souvenir du temps où le fer était exploité aux environs de la ville de Tréguier [8], le mineur figuré sur une miséricorde de la cathédrale est rendu avec beaucoup de réalisme: son casque dans une main et dans l'autre une sorte de hache pour extraire le minerai.

Conservées pour la plupart dans les paroisses rurales et maritimes (les édifices urbains ayant été détruits ou restaurés), les sablières insistent sur la vie de leurs populations: les labours avec la reproduction fidèle d'une charrue comportant un soc en bois, un versoir et deux mancherons, utilisée jusqu'au XIXe siècle (églises de La Roche-Maurice, du Tréhou et à la chapelle Sainte-Marie du Menez-Hom en Plomodiern). A peine la culture de l'artichaut fut-elle introduite dans le Léon, au début du XVIe siècle [9], que les agriculteurs durent faire face à un parasite. Il est là sur une miséricorde de la cathédrale, sorte de gros ver grossi par l'imagination populaire, tandis qu'armé d'un bâton un paysan va le détruire. Autour de Douarnenez, port sardinier, on distingue des scènes de pêche: sur le mur extérieur du chevet de l'église de Pont-Croix, trois marins sont placés dans un bâteau environné de poissons. Des ports de Kerity-Penmarc'h et de Roscoff partaient pour de longs voyages des bateaux reproduits avec fidélité dans le granite des monuments: une caraque – trois-mâts de haut-bord fort répandu au XVIe siècle – sur la façade occidentale des églises de Penmarc'h et de Roscoff (fig. 2); des caravelles sur celles de Poullan, Audierne...

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[7] Près de chaque grand château, s'étaient regroupés des artisans – fabricants de filets, de nasses et de "tramailx" – qui fabriquaient armes et pièges indispensables à la capture des animaux (J.P. LEGUAY, La noblesse bretonne, in: *Fastes et malheurs de la Bretagne ducale*, Rennes, Ouest-France Université, 1982, 284.

[8] A. DE LA BORDERIE, *Histoire municipale de Tréguier. Documents inédits des XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1894, 56.
[9] D. & H. KRAUS, *Le monde caché des miséricordes,* New York/Londres, 1976 (traduction Paris, Les éditions de l'Amateur, 1986, 97).

Fig. 2. - *Roscoff: église parois-siale.*
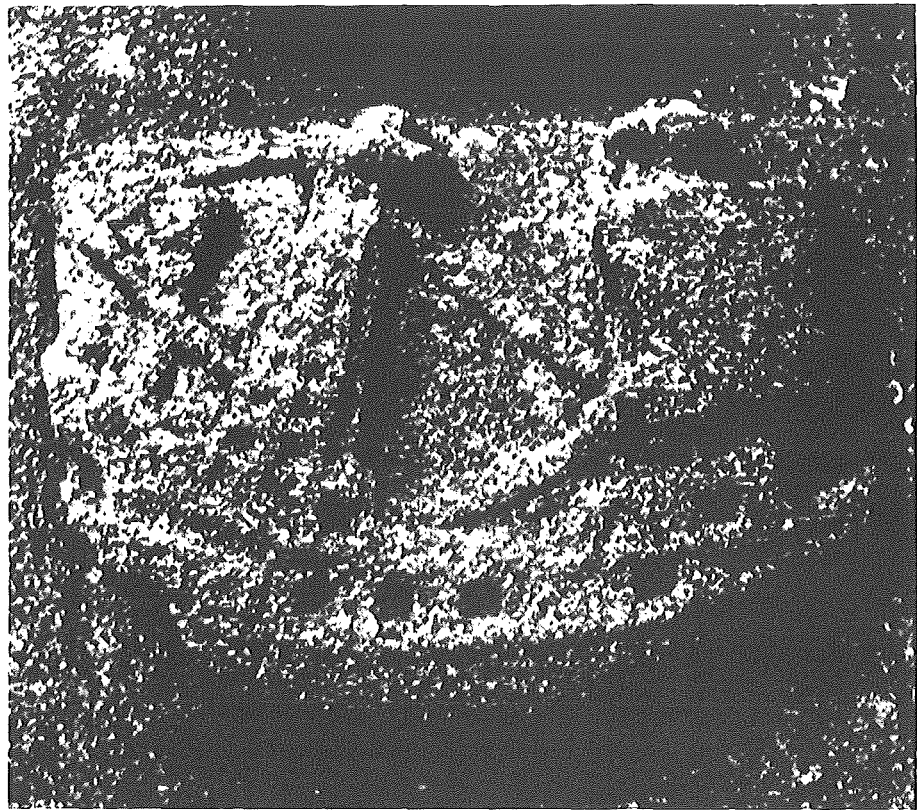
Musique et danse entraînent toutes les classes de la société. Comme l'Eglise a, de tout temps, manifesté une certaine méfiance à l'égard de la musique populaire, les instruments sont souvent confiés à des animaux, voire des créatures diaboliques. On ne peut qu'être frappé par la prédominance du cochon dans la ménagerie musicale: il joue de la cornemuse sur la façade de l'église Saint-Armel en Ploërmel, et à côté d'une de ses congénères qui file, sur une sablière de la chapelle Blanche en Theix.

Les clercs jugeaient la danse d'inspiration démoniaque. D'aspect repoussant, un démon mène au son de sa cornemuse des danseurs regroupés en une chaîne serrée, sur une sablière de la chapelle Saint-Sébastien du Faouët.

L'esprit du mardi-gras est présent avec la part belle faite aux acrobates et aux jongleurs [10] dont on sait qu'ils se produisaient le jour des fêtes patronales [11]. Que d'audace et d'originalité dans l'interprétation du réel: des hommes aux membres désarticulés décorent plusieurs miséricordes de la cathédrale de Tréguier. Les personnages masculins qui, dans ces mêmes miséricordes, arborent des bonnets à longues oreilles

sont-ils des évocations de la "fête des fous", tout comme l'homme encapuchonné brandissant une marotte qui accueille le visiteur à l'entrée du porche de l'église de Pluguffan?

D'autres divertissements ont été identifiés: le jeu de bâton – l'épisode s'insérant avec bonheur dans l'étroitesse des sablières de la chapelle Saint-Fiacre du Faouët et du collatéral sud de l'église de La Roche-Maurice où les deux adversaires sont symétriquement allongés de part et d'autre du bâton auquel ils s'agrippent avec force –; le jeu de la crosse auquel s'adonne un des acteurs de l'Annonce aux bergers sur le piédroit du porche de l'église de La Martyre.

2 Thèmes littéraires et culture populaire

Parmi les grands thèmes dont se sont inspirés les artistes, la légende de Merlin [12] constitue un des cycles en vogue pendant tout le Moyen Age. Dans l'église Saint-Pierre à Saint-Pol-de-Léon, l'une des trois peintures murales découvertes au-dessus des arcades de la nef montrait "Satan assis de face, au milieu des flam-

[10] C. PRIGENT, Représentations sculptées de danseurs et de jongleurs comme manifestations de la culture laïque dans les édifices religieux, à l'époque romane et à l'époque gothique, *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* LXXI, 1993, 279-313.

[11] G. MINOIS, L'administration paroissiale dans le Trégor au

XVe siècle, *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation des Côtes-du-Nord* CVII, 1978, 58-76.

[12] Faisant partie des Romans de la Table Ronde, la légende de Merlin fut popularisée par l'*Histoire des rois légendaires de Grande-Bretagne*, rédigée au XIIe siècle par Geoffroy de Monmouth.
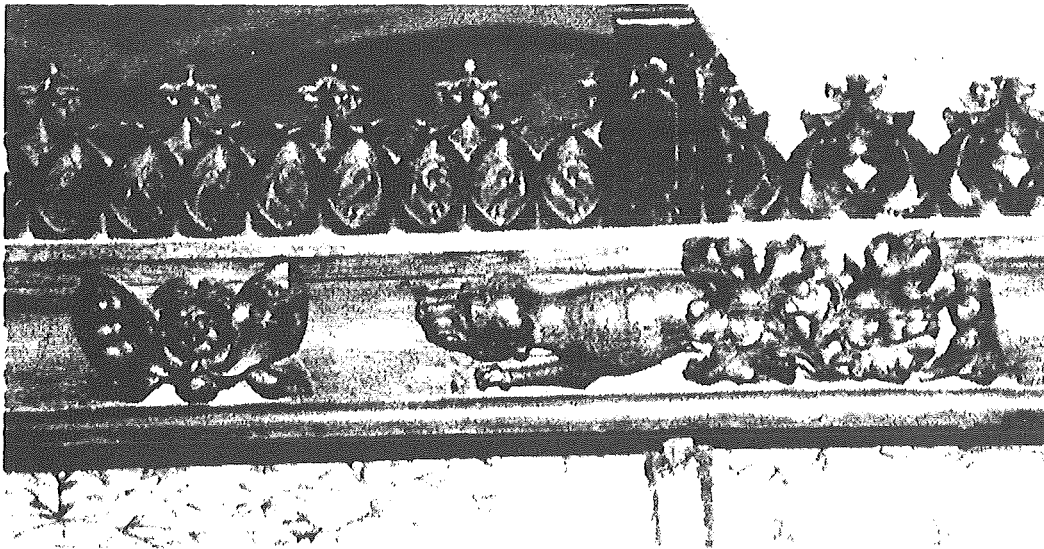
mes, les mains ou plutôt les griffes posées sur les genoux; les articulations sont formées de têtes de serpent. Au-dessus de la tête couronnée se voit une représentation de l'Enfer... Un jeune guerrier, le front ceint de fleurs, en armure... se tient au-dessus des flammes, une épée suspendue au-dessus de sa tête" [13]. On constate des analogies entre le Satan breton et un autre Satan contenu dans une enluminure du XVe siècle, mettant en scène le grand concile des diables décidant de la naissance de l'antéchrist Merlin [14].

Pareillement issue des romans arthuriens, la sirène abonde dans la sculpture. A Plourivo, elle tient dans sa main droite un miroir dans lequel se reflète un navire, soulignant ses liens avec Morgane, la fée des eaux et soeur du roi Arthur. Avec ses longs cheveux dénoués sur les épaules, son abdomen recouvert d'algues et sa queue enroulée en spirale, une sirène se détache du pignon de l'ossuaire de Sizun.

Une partie de l'iconographie profane trouve son origine dans les contes et les fabliaux. Un épisode que les imagiers ont apprécié est la harangue du renard aux poules extraite du *Roman de renart*. Sur une miséricorde des stalles de la chapelle de Brandivy en Grandchamp, provenant de l'abbaye de Lanvaux, Goupil est en chaire; massées au-dessous, des gallinacées l'écoutent dévotement. Lassé de son rôle de prédicateur, il a jeté bas le masque sur la miséricorde voisine où on le voit s'éloigner, une poule entre les dents.

En fait l'art des sculpteurs s'inspire plus modestement des dictons qui attestent la richesse de la culture orale des sociétés rurales. En empruntant le porche méridional pour pénétrer dans l'église de Lampaul-Guimiliau, le visiteur plonge la main dans un bénitier sur lequel des diables dont la queue trempe dans l'eau bénite semblent saisis de convulsions: rappel du dicton "le diable s'agite dans un bénitier".

Un autre aspect de la culture résulte de la visualisation de proverbes. Un homme se tapant sur les cuisses sur la façade nord de l'église Saint-Nonna de Penmarc'h serait la traduction littérale du proverbe: "c'est trop tard de frapper sur sa cuisse, quand le pet est lâché" [15] – c'est-à-dire: rien ne sert de regretter ce qui est fait. "Il y a trop de chiens après l'os" est exprimé sur un chapiteau de l'église de Runan par deux chiens se disputant un os.

A celui qui ignore les signes du clan, les images peuvent se révéler hermétiques. Sur une sablière de l'église de Guengat court un lièvre blanc – en breton *guen gad* –, jeu de mot sur le nom de la paroisse. Plus loin un sanglier poursuit un renard: allusion aux deux seigneurs prééminenciers – Guengat dont les armes sont meublées de hures de sanglier, et Saint Alouarn (*al louarn*, signifiant le renard).

3 Motifs décoratifs: allégories ou symboles?

Faut-il chercher une explication à tous les motifs? Certains ne sont-ils pas d'ordre purement décoratif comme ces animaux fantastiques qui se mêlent à des têtes humaines et à des oiseaux sur les consoles et les dais des niches des apôtres sous le porche de l'église de Landivisiau?

[13]   P. DE COURCY, Les peintures murales de l'église Saint-Pierre de Léon, *Bulletin de l'Association bretonne*, 1879, 98-102.

[14]   Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 96, f° 61 v°.
[15]   L.F. SAUVE, Proverbes et dictons de Basse-Bretagne, *Revue celtique* I/III, 1891, 401-413, n° 134.
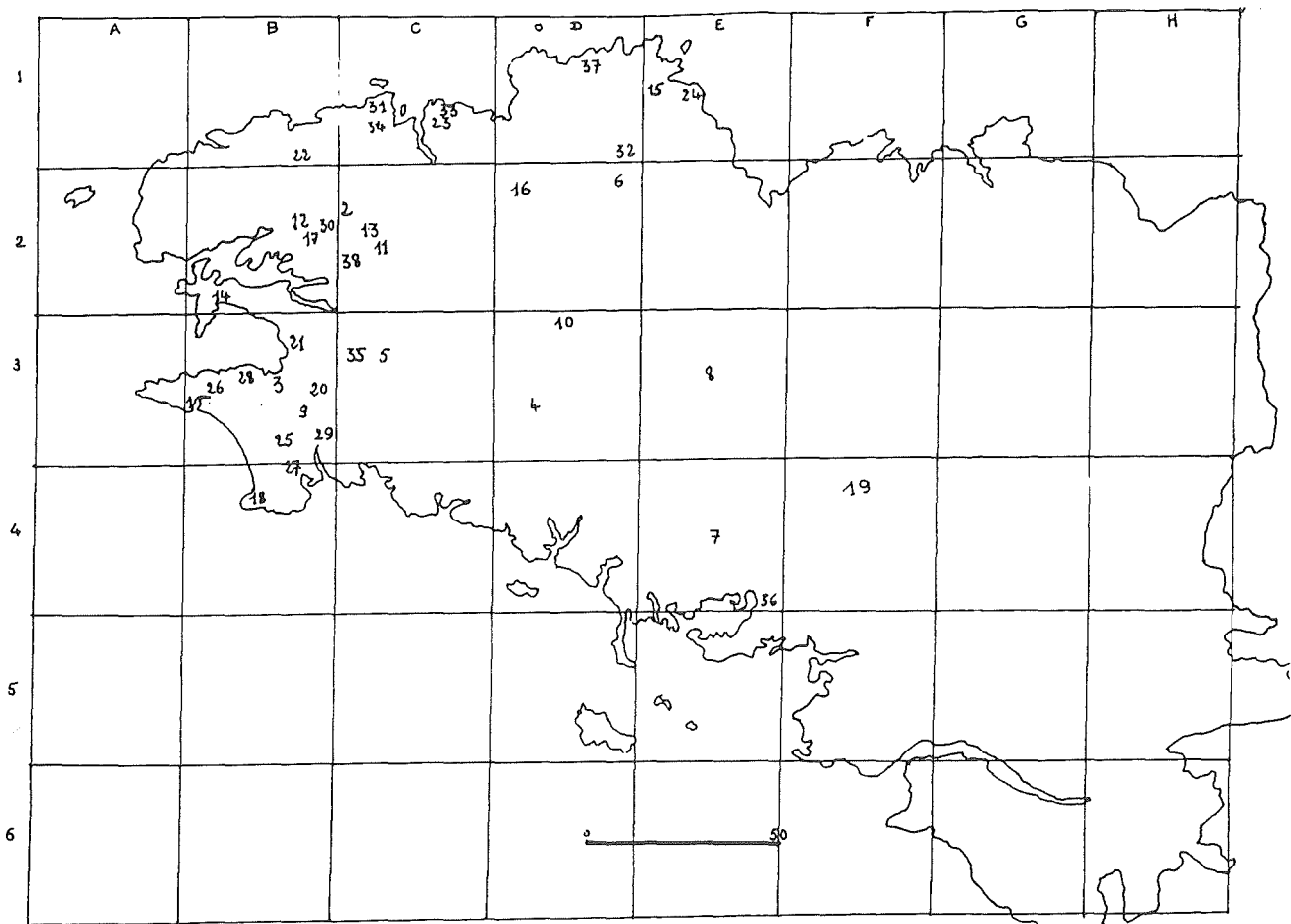
Fig. 4. - *Carte des lieux cités.*

Audierne	1 B3	Lanvéoc	14 D3	Pont-l'Abbé	27 B3
Bodilis	2 C2	Lézardrieux	15 E1	Poullan	28 B3
Douarnenez	3 B3	Loguivy-Plougras	16 D2	Quimper	29 B3
Le Faouët	4 D3	Pencran	17 B2	La Roche-Maurice	30 B2
Gouézec	5 C3	Penmarc'h	18 B4	Roscoff	31 C1
Grâces-Guingamp	6 D2	Ploërmel	19 F4	Runan	32 D1
Grandchamp	7 E4	Plogonnec	20 B3	Saint-Jean-du-Doigt	33 C1
Gueltas	8 E3	Plomodiern	21 B3	Saint-Pol-de-Léon	34 C1
Guengat	9 B3	Ploubezre	22 B1	Saint-Ségal	35 C3
Kergrist-Moëlou	10 D3	Plougasnou	23 C1	Theix	36 E4
Lampaul-Guimiliau	11 B2	Plourivo	24 E1	Tréguier	37 D1
Landerneau	12 B2	Pluguffan	25 B3	Le Tréhou	38 C2
Landivisiau	13 C2	Pont-Croix	26 B3		

La végétation prête à l'art du temps sa richesse ornementale. Grappes de raisin et feuilles de vigne envahissent les sablières de la chapelle latérale dans l'église de Saint-Jean-du-Doigt. Dans celles des églises de Ploubezre, Plougasnou, Bodilis... le sculpteur a emprunté à la flore marine l'enroulement de ses goëmons.

Le Moyen Age a aimé l'animal. Si on lui confère des postures forcées, il peut se loger partout. Dans les miséricordes des stalles de Tréguier on reste étonné de l'abondant répertoire d'animaux fabuleux aux variantes anatomiques très accusées. Les artistes ont témoigné d'une curiosité vive pour les animaux loin-tains: un éléphant que flanque une girafe sur la sablière de la chapelle Saint-pierre de Plogonnec; un dromadaire sur le pignon de la chapelle de Keroué en Loguivy-Plougras; un singe sur une miséricorde de Saint-Pol, et voisinant avec un chien, un aigle, un sphinx et un lion sur le mur du chevet de l'église de Kergrist-Moëlou.

Parmi les animaux domestiques, le chien arrive en tête (fig. 3). Il se rue sur un lièvre dont il est séparé par des feuillages, sur la frise de couronnement des stalles de la cathédrale de Saint-Pol; allongé, le museau entre ses pattes, il trône au-dessus du porche de

l'église de Lanvéoc. Iconographie bucolique à l'image de la nature toute proche: un lapin grignote une feuille de salade sur un accoudoir des stalles de Tréguier.

La grande majorité des sculptures animalières seraient restées résolument innocentes, n'eut-été la polysémie des Bestiaires.

Conclusion

Ce serait une erreur de croire que ces figures se sont introduites dans les édifices religieux à la faveur de l'indifférence des clercs. Lorsqu'en 1508, les chanoines de Tréguier commandèrent de nouvelles stalles pour décorer le choeur de leur cathédrale, ils précisèrent dans le contrat: "y aura des bouillons pendantz taillés à feillages et grimasses jusques à remplissement de l'eupvre là où il appartiendra..." [16].

Ne peut-on pourtant déceler une intention didactique dans cette iconographie? Entre les sabots des chevaux des labours de Plomodiern s'est glissé un minuscule personnage masculin: allusion à la légende des laboureurs punis pour s'être moqués de la Sainte Famille fuyant les persécutions d'Hérode?

Montrer le mal pour mieux le condamner: ainsi s'expliquerait la présence de péchés capitaux – la paresse sous les traits d'un moine endormi, l'envie sous ceux d'un homme rappelant à lui un chien qui ronge un os (sablière de la chapelle du Loc en saint-Avé); la luxure illustrée par un jeune homme qui entraîne doucement par la main une jeune fille (jubé de la chapelle Saint-Fiacre du Faouët). De même la représentation des fêtes villageoises ne constituaient-elles pas une mise en garde contre des péchés comme la luxure, l'ivrognerie...?

Reste-t-il malgré tout un sens à découvrir dans certaines images, comme semble nous l'indiquer le chien au bas du pignon de la chapelle des Trois-Fontaines en Gouézec, affairé à briser un os pour en extraire ce que Rabelais nommerait la "substantifique moëlle"? Que signifient, en effet, ces douze visages lunaires, successivement empreints de tristesse et de joie, sculptés en bas-relief, trois par côté, sur le socle du calvaire de la chapelle Saint-Sébastien en Saint-Ségal, stylistiquement très proches de ceux de la croix du cimetière de Bodilis? Le sculpteur a-t-il voulu symboliser l'année par le socle, les saisons par les quatre parois et les mois par les douze faces rondes? – une autre manière de rythmer le temps annuel que par les signes du zodiaque, associés aux activités des mois sur la sablière sud de l'église de Runan.

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[16] A. DE BARTHÉLEMY, *Mélanges historiques et archéologiques sur la Bretagne,* Paris, 1856, vol. II, 111-121.

Geoff Potter

Eagle House, Wimbledon Village, London:
The excavation of an early 17th century garden

Introduction

Archaeological investigation to the rear of Eagle House, a Jacobean property of *c*.1613 located within Wimbledon Village, south-west London, took place between May 1991 and January 1992. This formed part of a larger area examined by staff from the Museum of London, and followed planning consent for redevelopment of the site.

Investigation within an area just over 40 m² revealed a formal garden plan and associated terrace, both evidently contemporary with the construction of Eagle House. The main feature of the garden was a parterre, containing a series of gravel and sand paths. These formed a rectangle, divided by diagonal and longitudinal paths and containing clay-lined bedding pits. Facing the house was the terrace, originally retained by brickwork and with steps at one end.

A brief record was made of subsequent garden development. There was also some evidence for earlier activity, including several features of early medieval date (AD 1050-1150).

Location

Eagle House is located at the top of Wimbledon Hill, just to the north of the historic Village and close to extensive areas of open land which form Wimbledon Common (TQ 239712). Although generally steep-sided the Hill is capped by a plateau of High Level Terrace sands and gravels, with the underlying clays only exposed where the ground drops away.

The redevelopment site consisted of two adjoining plots, to the west fronting onto Marryat Road and to the east occupying a large part of the former rear garden of Eagle House. The latter, an area of about 0.26 hectares, is outlined on Fig 1 and forms the subject of this paper.

Archaeological and historical background

Wimbledon Common has produced some Palaeolithic and Mesolithic material, whilst prehistoric settlement is represented by the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age earthwork known as Caesar's Camp (about 1.3 km to the west of Eagle House).

The area has produced few Roman finds, but there is some documentary and archaeological evidence for later Saxon activity (Milward 1983, 7; Potter 1993, 128). A relative dearth of later medieval finds may reflect economic change in the post-Conquest period, and perhaps a shift in settlement to the lower ground of the Wandle Valley.

By the later 16th century Wimbledon Village was well established, and included amongst its inhabitants several notable families, in particular the Cecils. In the 1580s Sir Thomas Cecil built a new and very substantial manor house; now lost, this lay some 800m north-east of Eagle House (Higham 1962).

Another prominent local family was that of Robert Bell, the builder of Eagle House. A local landowner, Bell was also a successful merchant and was active in the development of overseas trade through the East India Company. Between *c*.1606-11 he was also retained by Robert Cecil (first Earl of Salisbury and brother of Thomas) during the construction of Hatfield House and gardens in Hertfordshire (Stone 1956, 108-109, 125). In this capacity Bell carried out various transactions, including the supply of Caen stone.

Of particular note is a letter written by Bell in 1609 concerning arrangements for the garden at Hatfield. He reports on his discussions with one *Bartholomewe the gardener* and with the Earl's gardener (Mountain Jennings), noting that *we did determine of a plott to be drawn ... wch I think will doe very well* (Hatfield House archive, Box U/72). In subsequent correspondence Bell appears as a possible supplier of vines for the estate (PRO. State Papers Dom. JacI.61/50). It is possible that he was also involved in works at Wimbledon House: Robert Smythson's plan of 1609 depicts a *great Orchard ... now in Plantinge* (Higham 1962, 26; Strong 1979, 60-61).

Eagle House

Eagle House was built about 1613; the exact date is uncertain, although it was described in 1617 as a *fayre new howse* (Jackson 1903, 12). Despite later alteration and addition the house retains the essentials of its original design (Fig 2). The ground plan covered about 19m by 11m; there were three main floors, each with a large central room flanked by smaller rooms and a staircase on either side. The house was of brick, finished externally with Caen stone for the lower windows and quoins. Above the third floor were several bedrooms with gables built into the roof, three at the front and rear and two on each side.

There is evidence that Eagle House replaced earlier buildings (Milward 1989, 33). No trace of these was found in excavation, although an infilled ditch may represent a property boundary.

The archaeological investigation

The initial evaluation consisted of four trenches, with the largest (32 m by 3 m) to the rear of Eagle House. The positive results here led to the implementation of further archaeological measures, including two phases of excavation, a watching brief during redevelopment and preservation *in situ*. The final trench layout consisted of a number of separate and adjoining trenches within a plot some 42 m², and covered a total area of about 660 square metres (Fig 2).

The further work to the rear of Eagle House was undertaken specifically to expose the main elements of a Jacobean formal garden. The garden surface was generally found at a depth of 0.40 m to 0.50 m below present ground level, although on the raised terrace this figure was frequently no more than 0.20m. Deposits overlying the historic garden consisted of a well graded mid to darker brown subsoil and topsoil.

The principal garden features were separated from the underlying natural sand and gravel by about 0.40 m of rather stony mid-brown silty sand. In the area of the terrace made ground was much deeper (0.80 m to 1.50 m), and several large sections were removed by machine.

The results: Prehistoric to Medieval

The investigation produced a very small quantity of residual struck flint. There was also one sherd of probable Roman pottery from a post-medieval context.

Evidence for medieval activity included several linear features of early medieval date (*c.*1050-1150)

to the west of Eagle House. Within the area of historic garden there were at least two later medieval pits (*c.*1270-1500), plus three linear features which were not positively dated. Most medieval pottery occurred residually within later garden contexts (notably the terrace embankment), although probably derived from earlier activity on the site.

The 16th century

Only one conclusively post-medieval feature predated the garden development. This was a north-south ditch, originally about 1 m deep by 3 m wide and possibly a property boundary. The ditch was traced for about 22 m, southwards from below the west end of the terrace and following the line of the later garden wall (Fig 9). Excavation produced some pottery, the latest dated to post 1600. Both the date and alignment of the ditch indicate that it closely predated the garden, although its fills were apparently cut by the adjacent wall construction.

The Jacobean formal garden

Investigation to the rear of Eagle House revealed the principal elements of the formal garden. These are shown in Fig 3 an in conjectural reconstruction in Fig 4. For simplicity the following text and the illustrations treat the garden as orientated north to south, although the true axis lies more nearly north-east to south-west.

The garden consisted principally of a parterre marked out by a series of gravel and sand paths. The basis of the design was a rectangle, some 21 m by 15 m, which was bisected by a central north-south path and by two diagonals. The layout was not exactly symmetrical, notably to the east where the path was offset by about 2 m. Flanking the central rectangle were further north-south paths which lay roughly in line with the gable ends of the original house.

To the north of the parterre was a raised terrace, originally retained by brickwork and with a gravel path just to the south. Steps towards the eastern end of the terrace explain the lack of symmetry in the main design, in that the paths on this side of the parterre were constructed primarily as an approach to the terrace. The paths on the western side of the garden possibly mirror this approach, although the extent of the outer two is uncertain.

To the west the garden was enclosed by a brick wall, with a gateway just to the south of the terrace. Immediately inside the gateway were areas of mortar, probably as a base for paving. There was no sign of
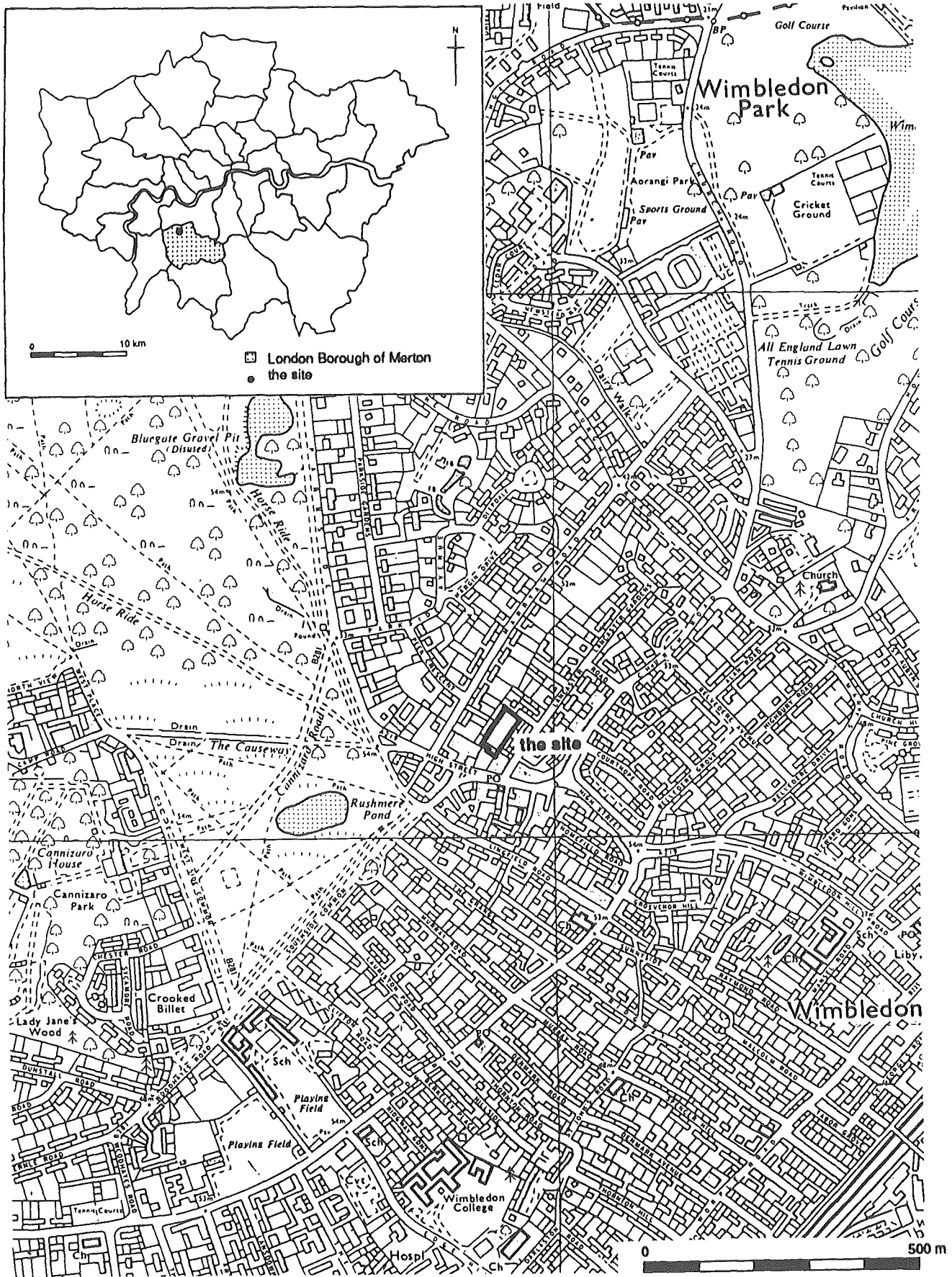
Fig 1. - *Site location; inset showing position within Greater London.*

an original wall on the eastern side of the garden: the corresponding area was apparently occupied by a north-south gravel path, with the fairly recent (19th century) brick boundary wall immediately to the east.
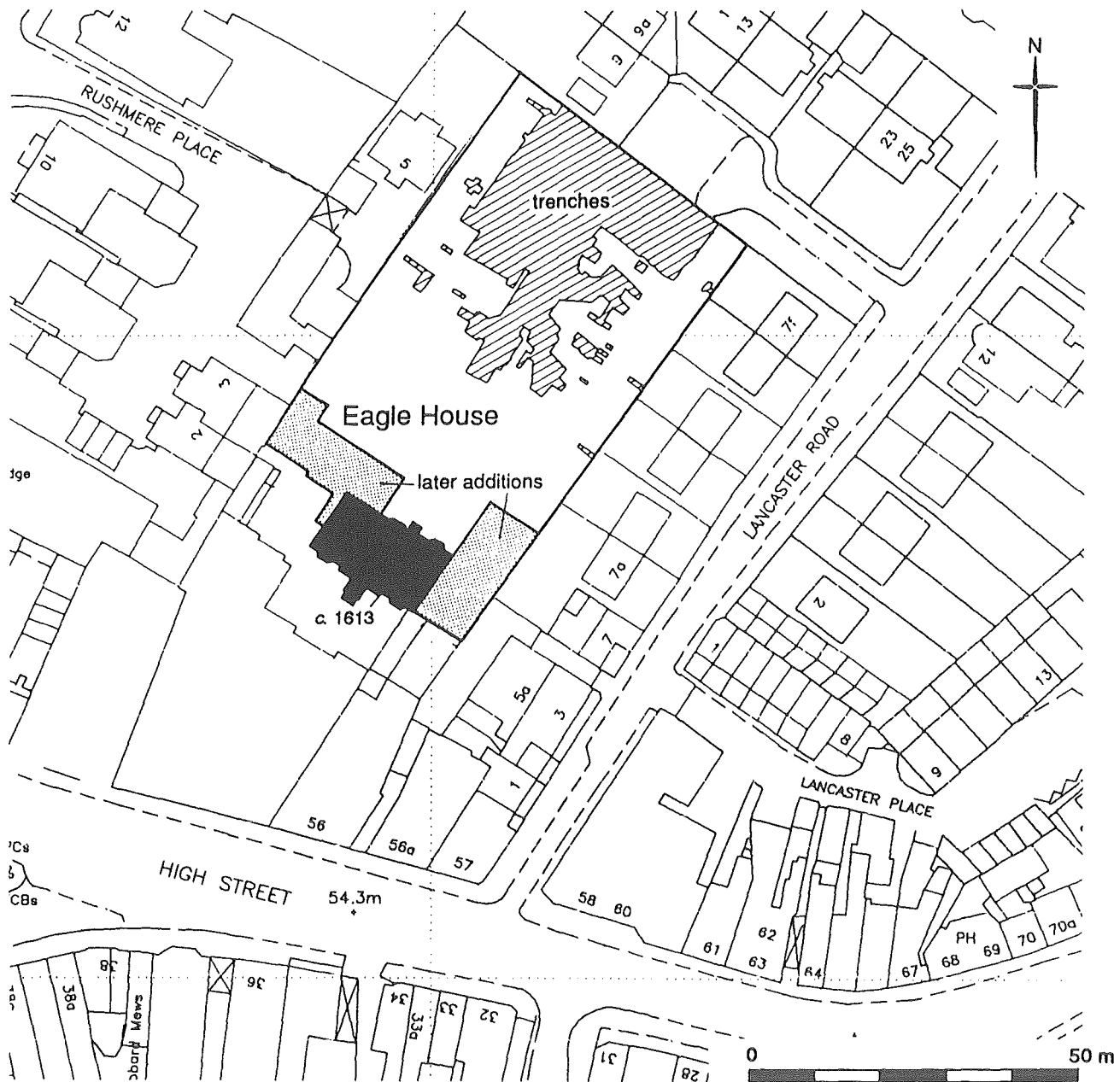
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**Fig 2.** - *Eagle House, site outline and archaeological trenches.*

The construction of the garden and terrace is assumed to be contemporary with that of Eagle House (*c*.1613), a conclusion supported by finds evidence (mainly pottery dating to post 1600). The garden design is also consistent with an early 17th century date, and extensive investigation did not produce any evidence for earlier development.

Details of the excavated garden: the paths and bedding areas

Although the parterre is considered to form a single event the paths within it varied considerably in size and appearance. Width was from about 0.45 m to

1.35 m, reducing to *c*.0.65 m to 0.90 m within the central rectangle. Depth averaged 0.08 m to 0.20 m, and – except where very shallow – paths were clearly cut into the underlying ground (Fig 5). All the paths were of similar composition, although ranging from orange sandy gravel to mid-brown gravely sand very similar to the surrounding surface. In general the paths within the central and northern parts of the garden were best defined, whilst those to the east and west were less obvious (though also less fully excavated). In some areas paths could not be established although otherwise likely (such as the westernmost path, which was well defined to the north but disappeared after about 5 m). Elsewhere – as on the eastern edge of the garden – a path was assumed to be

Fig 3. - *Plan of the formal garden as excavated.*

drain

gravel and sand paths

brickwork

clay-lined bedding areas

planting pits

0   25 m
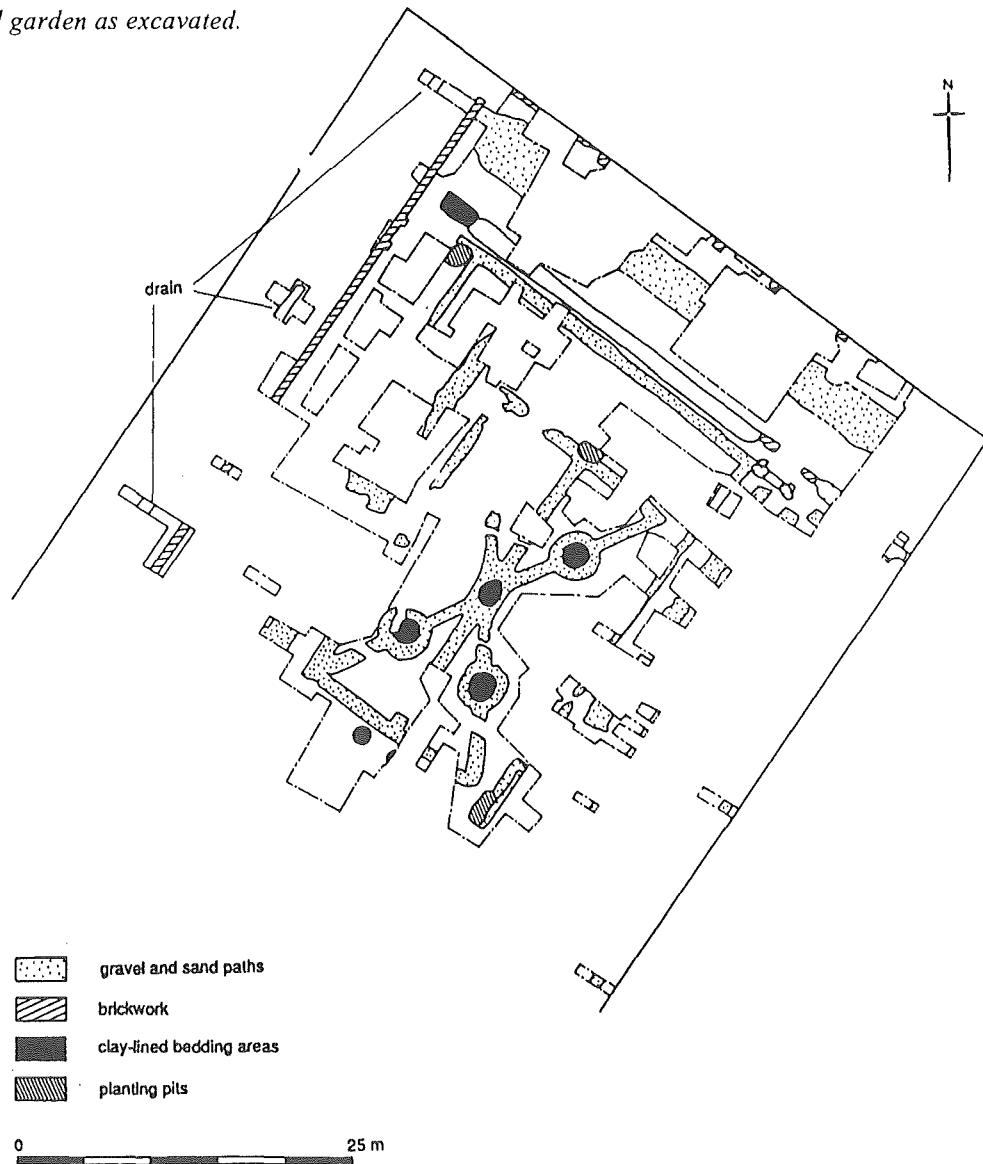
continuous on the basis of quite limited investigation. No evidence was found for path edging, although it is possible that bedding areas were delineated by plants such as box or rosemary (Anthony 1991, 23).

Within the centre of the parterre each diagonal path contained a circular bedding pit about 1.50 m in diameter. Three of these pits survived more or less intact, plus a central and slightly smaller oval bed. The north-west quadrant had been heavily disturbed but presumably contained a similar feature, as tentatively indicated by the extant southern section of path.

Each of the extant bedding pits was lined with a layer of yellow clay up to 0.13 m thick, presumably to enhance moisture retention and to prevent leaching of nutrients. The maximum depth of overlying soil varied from 0.12 m to 0.30 m, which may also indicate different planting arrangements (Fig 5b & c). It is likely that the postulated north-western bed was of similar form, although now lost. However, there were

two further pits on the southern boundary of the parterre and flanking its central axis. These appeared to be of similar size (*c*.1.20 m diameter) and to form part of the original design. The western pit was fully excavated and at its base contained a double layer of clay interleaved with sandy silt (Fig 5a).

Towards the south-east corner of the parterre was a probable planting pit, 1.90 m by 1.50 m in plan and 0.55 m deep (although unlined). This was overlaid at its eastern end by a north-south gravel path, so presumably forming part of the original design. It is also possible that a second pit lies just to the east, flanking the easternmost of the three paths on this side of the garden.

A more extensive bedding trench was found at the northern edge of the parterre, occupying the area between the terrace wall and adjacent path except where broken by the steps (Fig 8). In the absence of dating or other evidence this is also assumed to form an original feature.
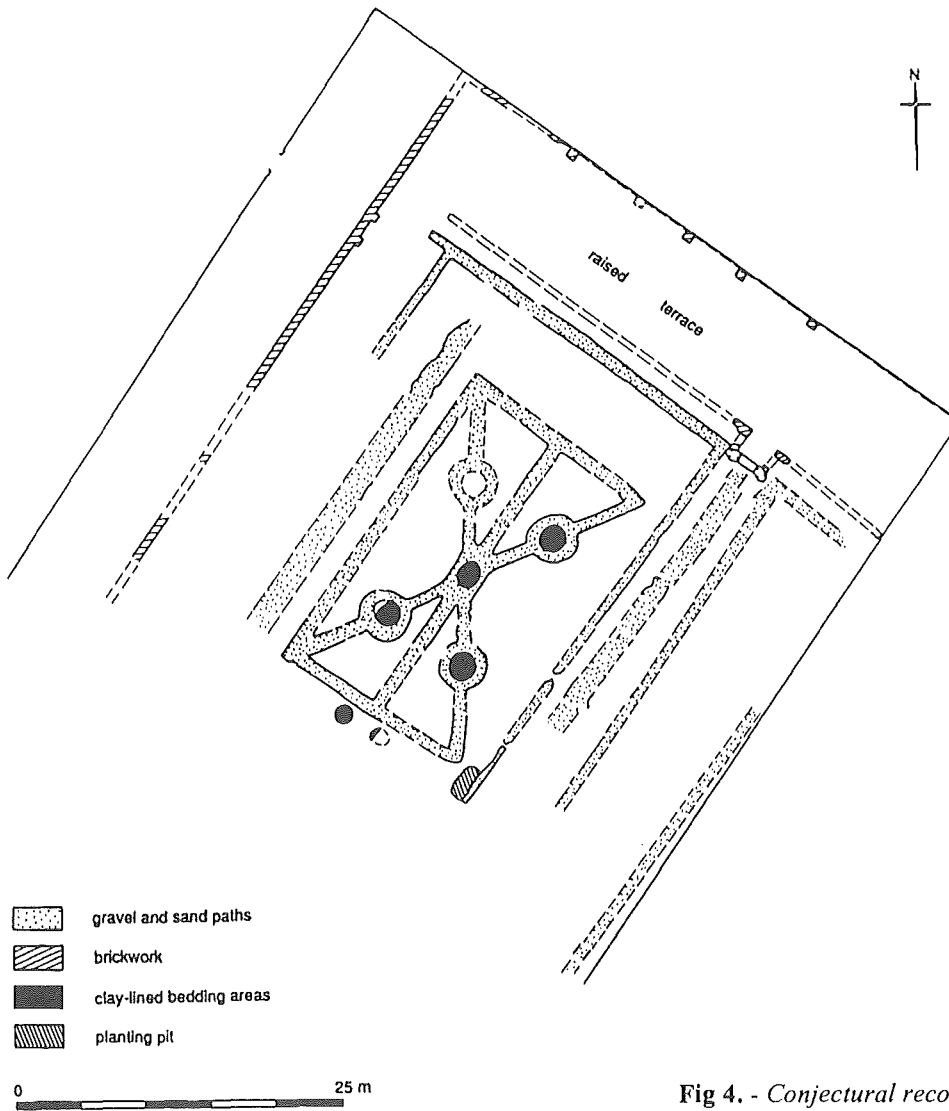
gravel and sand paths

brickwork

clay-lined bedding areas

planting pit

0   25 m

Fig 4. - *Conjectural reconstruction of the formal garden.*

The terrace

To the north of the parterre and facing the house was the terrace. Prior to excavation this formed an overgrown bank about 0.80 m in height, extending more or less the width of the site.

The original terrace measured about 8 m to 8.50 m front to back, widening slightly to the east. It was constructed between brick retaining walls, and would have stood about 1.10 m above the adjacent parterre. However, excavation of its central and eastern sections revealed a construction level some 0.35 m below the contemporary surface, presumably a result of the removal of topsoil for use elsewhere in the garden (Fig 6). This feature probably extends to other areas, although it was not present at the western end of the terrace (Fig 7).

The southern terrace wall was almost wholly robbed out, although its overall length was established at 32.8 m. To the east there were two extant sections of brick wall, either side of a gap which

marked the position of steps onto the terrace. At the points at which it was removed the brickwork was no more than 0.40 m wide, demonstrating the extent to which the wall line had been overcut by robbing (Fig 8). The wall alignment also appears to have changed slightly to the east of the steps, which partly explains the widening of the terrace noted above. The two sections of *in situ* wall survived to a height of about 0.40 m (five courses), and in addition to brickwork included a few fragments of Caen stone and one larger block of Kentish ragstone.

It is clear from the eastern and western ends of the robber trench that there was no continuous wall around the terrace. To the east the trench fell just inside the site and below the later (19th century) north-south boundary wall. However, to the west the robber stopped short of the original western boundary by some 3.5m, and in this area the wall was replaced by a sloping bank. Further evidence is provided by a single course of brickwork 1.10 m in length, set into the bank on a line with the original wall and
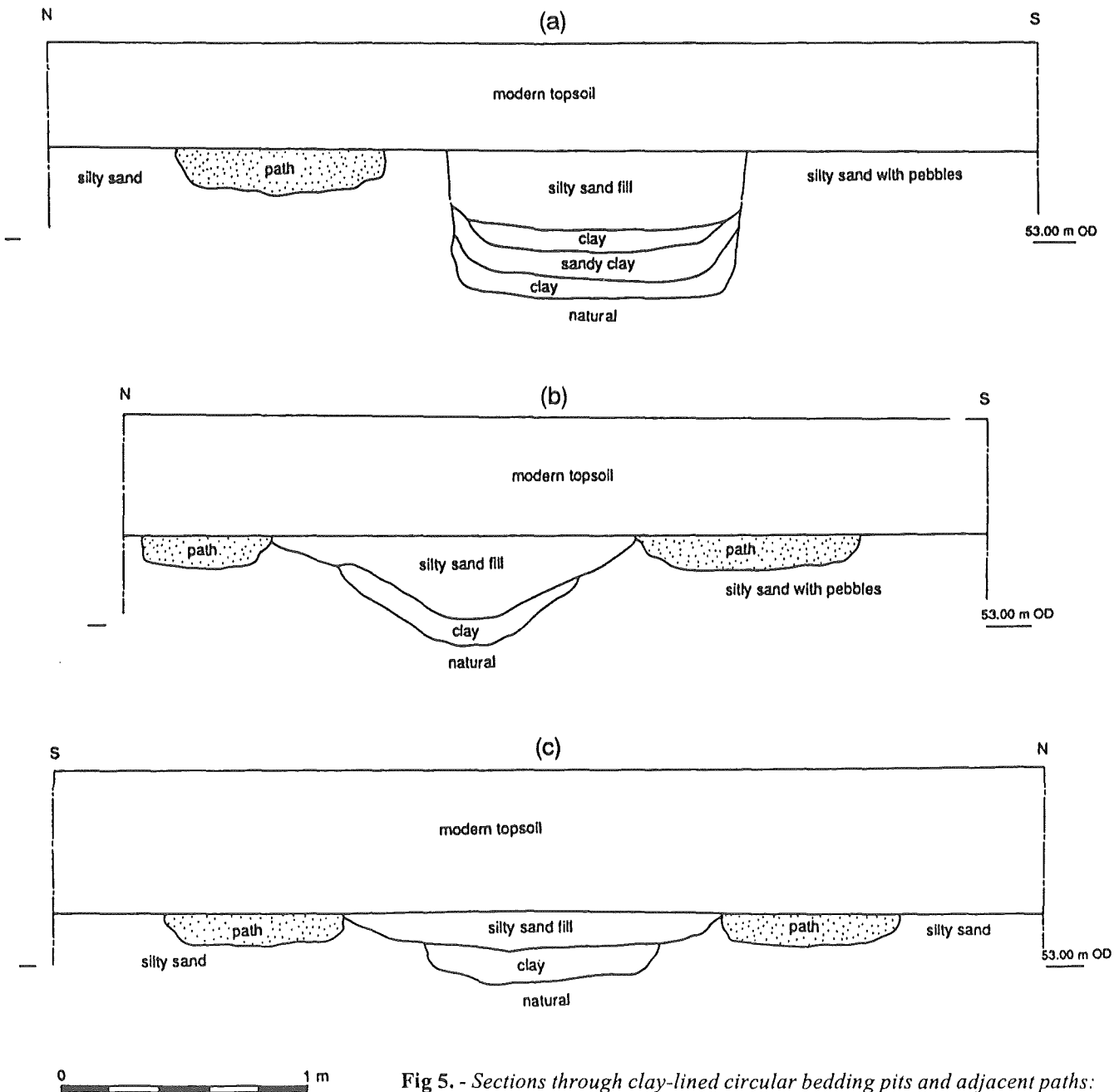
50

N (a) S

modern topsoil

silty sand

path

silty sand fill

silty sand with pebbles

clay

sandy clay

clay

natural

53.00 m OD

N (b) S

modern topsoil

path

silty sand fill

path

silty sand with pebbles

clay

natural

53.00 m OD

S (c) N

modern topsoil

path

silty sand fill

path

silty sand

silty sand

clay

natural

53.00 m OD

0 _____ 1 m

Fig 5. - *Sections through clay-lined circular bedding pits and adjacent paths:*
a) *on the southern edge of the parterre, flanking the central axis*
b) *the south-west quadrant of the parterre*
c) *the north-east quadrant of the parterre.*

exactly midway between this and the boundary wall to the west (Fig 7). It is possible that this supported a trellis or other timberwork between the two walls, similar to the structures which appear in earlier and contemporary illustration (*eg.*, Harvey 1990, 108).

To the north of the terrace the lower part of the original retaining wall survived, with up to eight courses plus two of rubble foundation. This was directly overlaid by the present (19th century) garden wall, although investigation at one point gave a probable width of 0.48 m. Adjoining the inside face of the original wall were at least four brick bases. Each of these was nearly 0.60 m wide and measured 0.40 m

to 0.58 m front to back, with up to thirteen courses (0.90 m) of extant brickwork (Fig 6). Three of the bases were more or less equidistantly spaced and located on the projected central line and gable ends of the original house. The fourth fell between the central and eastern bases, and it is likely that a further remains unexcavated to the west (Fig 4). It also possible that at least two other bases lie towards the corners of the terrace.

The excavated bases had been partially robbed, to some 0.60 m to 1 m below contemporary ground level. There is no direct evidence for their function, although as they lie *inside* the retaining wall they
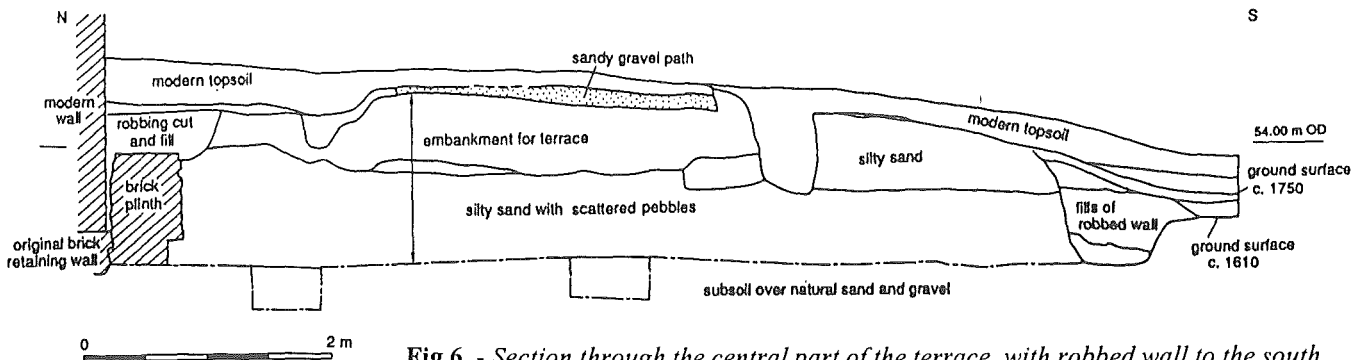
Fig 6. - *Section through the central part of the terrace, with robbed wall to the south.*

cannot be buttresses. It is most likely that the bases originally formed the foundation for some decorative feature, perhaps a series of urns or statues.

On the top of the terrace investigation revealed a broad gravel path. However, this may represent a later addition and is discussed in more detail below. There was also some indication of a gravel path immediately behind the western part of the south terrace wall, which had subsequently slumped over the robber trench. It is possible that the terrace was originally grassed, in similar form to that subsequently recorded at Wimbledon House (SAC 1871, 120). In the latter example this was supplemented by a row of lime trees (which also appear on Smythson's plan of 1609), although there was no evidence for a such a feature at Eagle House.

The original position of the terrace steps was marked not only a gap in the southern wall, but also by a projecting arrangement of two shallow robber trenches, a small section of brickwork and two post pits (Fig 8). The most likely reconstruction would give six steps, each tread 0.30 m wide and each riser 0.18 m high. The last step would be level with the top of the terrace and flush with the south face of the retaining wall. The foot of the steps was flanked by post pits, each of which apparently held substantial timbers some 0.36 m by 0.40 m in cross-section. These may have supported an arch or similar, although contemporary evidence also suggests free-standing painted wooden posts bearing heraldic emblems or figures (*eg.*, Strong 1979, 35-6; a modern reconstruction is illustrated in Anthony 1991, 78).

Drainage

The underlying sands and gravels produced a well-drained soil, precluding the need for devices such as the deeply cut paths which are recorded elsewhere (*eg.*, Taylor 1988, 47). Nor was there any evidence for fountains or other water features, perhaps also a product of Eagle House's hilltop location.

However, on the western side of the garden were two features of interest, both apparently contemporary with the original construction (Fig 9). A small brick and tile drain ran northwards inside the garden for at least 22 m, before turning to the west and exiting below the gateway in the western wall. Although not conclusively established it is likely that the drain then discharged into a second and larger brick arched drain running from south to north, parallel with and some 2 m outside the wall.

The Eagle House estate

The formal garden formed one component of the estate attached to Eagle House. This was not particularly large, especially when first established; in 1617 it is recorded that adjoining the house were three acres (*c.*1.2 hectares) of copyhold, plus a small area of freehold next to the kitchen garden (Jackson 1891, 159-60).

There are few other details of the estate layout. The area between the formal garden and house (some 40 m) may have contained a bowling green; certainly observations here during the watching brief did not reveal any evidence for paths or other garden features. There is reference to an orchard (Milward 1989, 33), which may have been sited to the north of the terrace (as in Smythson's 1609 plan of Wimbledon House). Arrangements on either side of the formal garden are uncertain, although at a much later date a kitchen garden is shown to the east (Jackson 1891, 150), whilst stables and other ancillary buildings lay to the west.

Changes in the formal garden

Subsequent to its construction a number of additions and alterations were made to the formal garden. These are not closely dated, although is likely that most took place during the second to third quarters of
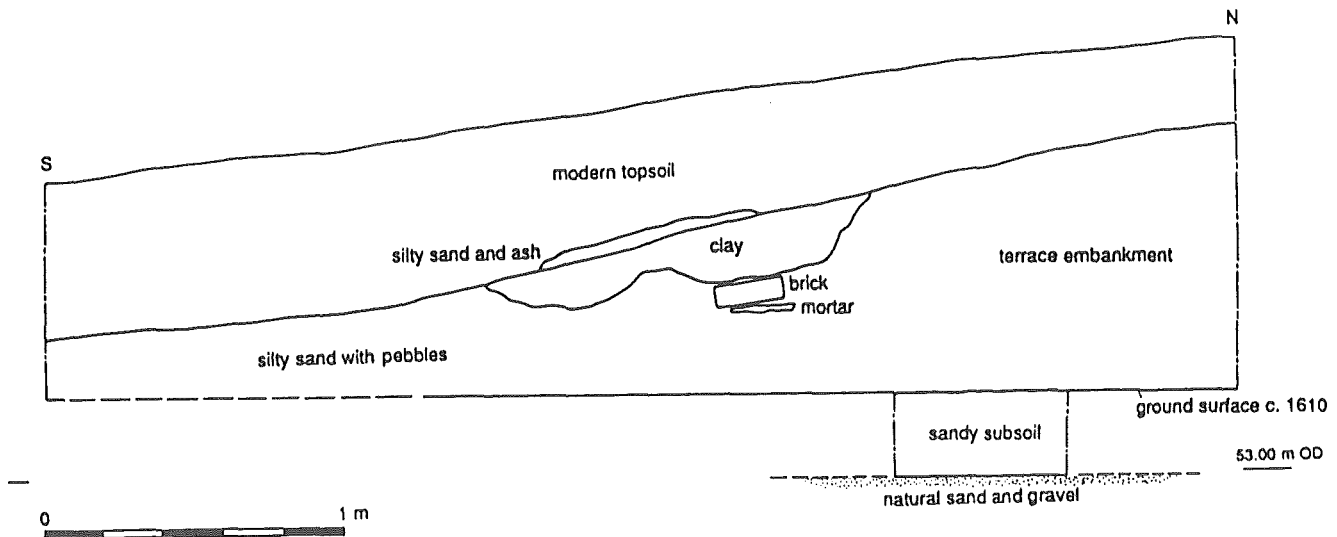
Fig 7. - *Section through the west end of the terrace, with later clay base for raised bedding area.*

the 16th century. The following changes in particular may be noted:

- Two planting pits were dug within the northern part of garden, in each case close to the junction of two paths. The first pit was located at the junction of the central and northern paths of the parterre, whilst the other lay to the north-west, at the western end of the path below the terrace (Fig 3). The pits were of similar size and shape, roughly circular and bowl-shaped in profile, c.1.10 m to 1.60 m in plan and up to 0.50 m deep. Both pits cut the adjacent paths, whilst that to the north-west was also overlapped by probable resurfacing. This fact, plus the location of the pits, leaves little doubt that they formed simple additions to the original layout.

- A third planting pit (not illustrated) was found immediately below the terrace. This had evidently been dug against the face of the extant wall, at a point midway between its western end and the terrace steps (and as such was subsequently truncated by robbing). However, the pit lay some 2 m to the west of the central axis of the formal garden, suggesting that it postdates this phase, and therefore may also be later than the features noted above.

- A large and more or less rectangular clay base, about 2 m by 1 m in plan, was found at the west end of the robbed out terrace wall. The clay was cut into the terrace embankment at the level of the historic garden, and presumably formed the base for a raised bedding area (Fig 7). The clay would enhance moisture retention, although there was no evidence (*eg.*, tile fragments or stakeholes) for a structure to retain the overlying soil. Probably the support was in the form of turf, wattling or timber planks secured at the corners. Such features appear at least from the later

15th century (*eg.*, Fleming & Gore 1979, 28; Harvey 1990, 116-17; Moorhouse in Brown 1991, 101). Similar clay bases, once again without obvious above-ground support, were also found in excavation of a nearby late 17th garden (Potter 1993, 131).

The secondary nature of the clay base was clearly indicated by an underlying and unrelated course of brick (see above), whilst a silty sand and ash layer immediately above produced a token dated to the third quarter of the 17th century (Boyne 1858, Cat. 1074). The western edge of the clay was also overlaid by short length of north-south gravel path (not illustrated), which may be contemporary in construction.

- As already noted, investigation revealed a broad sandy gravel path running along the top of the terrace (Figs 3 & 6). The date of this is uncertain, although it may well represent an addition to the garden. The path was cut into the original terrace embankment, but produced no datable finds and was overlaid by modern topsoil. Moreover, its width – at least 2.40 m – was closer to the 18th century path described below than to those of the early 17th century.

- The terrace steps underwent substantial alteration. A heavily mortared rubble base some 4.50 m in length by 0.80 m wide was constructed across the line of the earlier projecting arrangement, overlapping this to the east and west by up to 1m. From each end of this feature further brick bases some 0.70 m wide were laid to the north, partially replacing the adjacent sections of terrace wall and cutting about 1.50 m into the embankment behind. These developments produced a substantial three-sided foundation, c.4.50 m wide and 3 m deep. This clearly formed the base for a flight of steps, and may also have supported a standing structure.
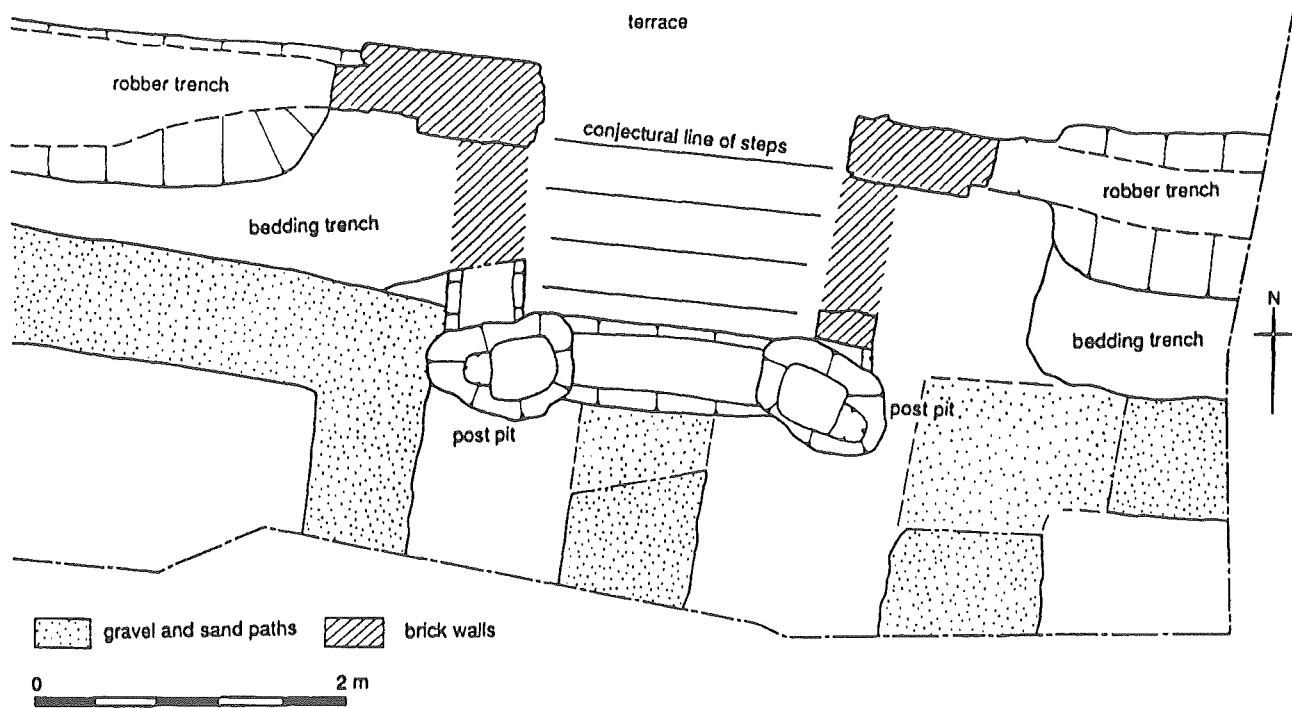
Fig 8. - *Plan showing the probable arrangement of the original terrace steps.*

Environmental evidence

A number of samples were taken from bedding pits and other parts of the historic garden. The well-drained and fairly acidic soil did not favour organic preservation, and examination produced no more than occasional fragments of bone and charcoal. Some bone was also recovered by hand, again relatively fragmentary and limited to common domesticated animals.

However, Robert Bell's earlier involvement at Hatfield hints at his knowledge of plants; hence his assurance in 1609 that the stock supplied would be *the best ... the lowe countryes can afford* (Hatfield archive, Box U/72). The planting arrangements were mainly handled by John Tradescant, and included visits to Flanders and France and acquisition of a number of rare species (Stone 1956, 125-26). Nevertheless, Bell's overseas interests (including an agent in Amsterdam) may have given him a role here, or at least access to the same markets.

The end of the formal garden

There is relatively little evidence to date the disappearance of the garden. It is possible that this took place in several stages from the late 17th century, and likely that some areas of brickwork outlived the associated parterre. A number of features can be identified in tracing this process:

- To the south of the terrace the Jacobean parterre was generally overlaid by an undifferentiated mid to darker brown garden soil. It may be that the whole area was initially grassed over, in a single event which sealed the historic garden.
- A significant change is denoted by the demolition and robbing of the south terrace wall (Fig 6). This took place in all areas except that of the rebuilt steps, consequently preserving a small part of the original wall. Backfill within the robbing trench included fragments of mortar, brick and tile and occasional Caen stone, whilst pottery and clay pipe give a date of *c.*1730-50. Removal of the wall may be contemporary with the demise of the garden as a whole, in that both the backfill and adjacent garden features were overlaid by an apparently contiguous soil horizon. However, it is quite possible that the parterre had already gone out of use.
- The north wall of the terrace and adjoining brick bases may also have been removed at this time. However, the survival of the lower courses of brickwork and the existence of a rebuild directly over suggest a separate and later event, perhaps necessitated by failure of the original.
- The west wall of the garden was demolished to below contemporary ground level, leaving a substantial section of brickwork *in situ*. In this case robbing proceeded from a level above that of the Jacobean garden, whist pottery finds indicate a later 18th century date. Cartographic evidence suggests that this event took place after 1740 (Rocque 1746), but
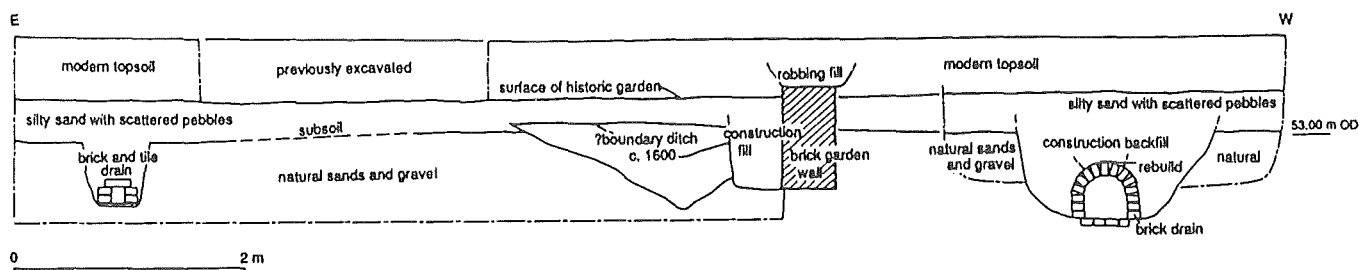
Fig 9. - *Section through the western garden wall and earlier ditch, with drains to east and west (c.6 m to south of gateway).*

certainly before the Tithe Survey of 1850. The most likely date is 1789 or shortly thereafter, when Eagle House became a school.

- Within the centre of the site investigation revealed a gravel path some 1.60 m wide. This was aligned north-south on the original central axis of the garden, but was separated from this by the soil horizon which sealed the robbed terrace wall to the north. The path was traced for over 11 m from just south of the terrace, and may well be that depicted in the 1740s (*ibid*).

The disappearance of the formal garden by the 1730s (if not earlier) accords with the contemporary change in ideas. This may be summarised as a new fashion for naturalised and more open gardens, which rapidly displaced the concept of formal design. The results of this were usually drastic and, at least in southern England, almost universal.

Conclusion

The archaeological investigation at Eagle House has provided an unprecedented opportunity to examine the physical evidence for a garden design otherwise very largely known from documentary sources.

The findings are of significance on several levels. Evidence for the formal garden complements the history of Eagle House itself. Moreover, this is a record not of a major estate but of the provincial residence of a wealthy merchant; as such it exemplifies a group once numerous, but today relatively scarce. Nor should the role of Robert Bell be overlooked, given his involvement in one of the great gardens of the period and his extensive overseas interests. Certainly he would have influenced the garden at Eagle House, and it is possible that he was directly responsible for its design and stocking.

Stylistically the Eagle House garden was inspired by Renaissance models of the later 15th to mid-16th century, and may well have contained plants familiar to these. However, the garden also embodied more recent concepts, notably the terrace overlooking a formal parterre and the architectural relationship bet-

ween garden and house, which define the Jacobean garden in Britain.

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"Was ist häßlich?" oder: Die Kunstgeschichte und ihr schwieriges Verhältnis zur frühmittelalterlichen Kunst

"Wir dürfen im allgemeinen annehmen, daß der Deutsche des Jahres 800 aufgeschlossener, anregbarer war als der des Jahres 300" (Georg Dehio, 1919).

"Von Haus aus war der Deutsche ein Zimmermann" (Wilhelm Luebke, 1890 u. 1927).

Seit die Kunstgeschichte als wissenschaftliches Fachgebiet in Deutschland besteht, tut sie sich schwer, ein angemessenes Verhältnis zur Kunst und zur Epoche des frühen Mittelalters zu gewinnen. Während sie sich intensiv und differenziert mit den sogenannten Hochphasen der europäischen Kultur, wie italienischer Renaissance, französischer Gotik oder deutschem Barock auseinandersetzt, weicht sie einer substanziellen Beschäftigung mit der frühmittelalterlichen Kunstepoche aus. Die Kunst der Merowinger und Langobarden, Sachsen, Angelsachsen und Thüringer wird nicht in gleicher Weise als 'Kunst' wahrgenommen. Das Frühmittelalter gilt in den Augen der meisten Fachkollegen immer noch als wenig attraktiv, als sperrig, spröde und unzugänglich. Die Quellen und Monumente treffen innerhalb des Faches kaum auf Aufmerksamkeit und Kunsthistoriker, die sich der Epoche widmen, sehen sich nach wie vor mit Unverständnis und Unkenntnis konfrontiert.

Ich stelle meinem Beitrag die These voran, daß diese Geringschätzung auf das Selbstverständnis und die Lage des Faches zurückweist. Indem die Kunstgeschichte sich der kritischen Selbstreflektion, der Auseinandersetzung mit den geistesgeschichtlichen und ideologischen Wurzeln der Disziplin verweigert, verschließt sie sich der Chance, das frühe Mittelalter als Geschichtsperiode wahrzunehmen, die, wie jede andere historische Epoche, für die Gegenwart rele-

vant ist. Sie nimmt sich damit zugleich die Möglichkeit zu einem fachimmanenten dynamischen Erneuerungsprozeß. Die Last überholter Ideologien und traditioneller Denkmuster wirkt sich im Fall "Frühmittelalter" besonders gravierend aus, denn, wie Otto Karl Werckmeister bereits 1971 bemerkte: "Eine geographisch, historisch und sozial ausgewogene Vorstellung von frühmittelalterlicher Kunst ist dadurch [durch ihre ideologische Vereinnahmung] bis heute verhindert worden."[1]

Ich möchte Ihnen darstellen, wie sich die deutschsprachige Kunstgeschichtsschreibung seit dem frühen 19. Jahrhundert in ihren Ansichten über frühmittelalterliche Kunst selber spiegelt, wie sie bis in die Gegenwart Artefakte den Kategorien "schön" oder "häßlich", "Kunst" oder "Kunstgewerbe", gut" oder "schlecht" zuordnet, wie sie also die erhaltenen Dokumente und Denkmäler zur Bestätigung und wissenschaftlichen Untermauerung ihres Welt- und Geschichtsbildes instrumentalisiert hat.

Nehmen wir ein Beispiel aus dem Bereich der Buchmalerei, jener Gattung frühmittelalterlicher Kunst, die zuerst, bereits zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts, von deutschen Kunstgelehrten beachtet und systematisch untersucht wurde.

Als 1839 der Berliner Kunstschriftsteller Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794-1868) die Königliche Bibliothek in Paris aufsuchte, um die dortigen Bestände merowingischer und karolingischer Handschriften zu studieren, urteilte er: "Alle abendländischen Denkmale machen gegen die gleichzeitigen, byzantinischen einen sehr rohen und barbarischen Eindruck."[2] Waagen beobachtete an den antropomorphen Darstellungen frühfränkischer Handschriften ein "Mißverhältnis der Körperteile", die unverhältnismäßig "großen Füße und Hände" und die "dicken Köpfe" und sah insgesamt eine "Roheit der Behandlung".[3] Waagens Nachfolger vermitteln uns ähnliche Vor-

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[1]   O.K. WERCKMEISTER, *Ende der Ästhetik*, Frankfurt a.M., 1971, 75.

[2]   G.F. WAAGEN, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, 3. Bd., Berlin, 1839, 244.

[3]   *Ibm*, 233.

stellungen. Sie konstruieren eine Kontinuität aus antikischen Traditionen, müssen dabei aber die Vorbilder schuldig bleiben. Wie beispielsweise Anton Springer (1825-1891), der sich in Deutschland als erster ausführlich den frühmittelalterlichen Sakramentaren widmete.[4] Eine ebenso weit verbreitete Tradition in der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung besteht darin, Kunstwerke auszugrenzen, indem man sie als "häßlich" und ungekonnt beschreibt und ihnen damit das Etikett "Kunst" grundsätzlich abspricht. Die Rezeption des sog. Sakramentars von Gellone (Paris, BN, ms. lat. 12048, um 780) zeigt, wie hartnäckig sich derart überkommene Vorurteile in der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung halten. Sie weist außerdem darauf, wie schwer es Kunsthistorikern, die sich mit frühmittelalterlicher Kunst beschäftigen, fällt, sich mit Kunst zu konfrontieren, die diskontinuierlich erscheint.[5]

Das Sakramentar von Gellone wurde in Deutschland durch französische Publikationen um 1890 bekannt.[6] Seine reiche und sehr ausdrucksstarke Buchmalerei veranlaßte die Kunstgeschichte zu zahlreichen Kommentaren, die beständig darauf abzielen, die künstlerischen Eigenschaften der Malereien abzuwerten. Woermann glaubte im Jahre 1905 ebenso wie Gutbrod, immerhin sechzig Jahre später, die schlechte Qualität der Bilder erkannt zu haben. Ersterer sah in der Handschrift einen "Provinzmaler" am Werk, der sich "versteigt [...]zu einer rohen Umrißzeichnung des Gekreuzigten zwischen Engeln und zu einer Wiedergabe der 'Sancta Maria' in Frauenkleidung."[7] Letzterer beobachtet an Hand einer weiblichen Figuration, die als Heilige Agathe bezeichnet ist (fol. 17v): "Die Darstellung des menschlichen Körpers ist noch sehr unbeholfen. Die Kontrastierung von Hüften und Brust mit der schmäleren Taille gelang nicht. Der Blick ist stumpf und starr; die Augenbrauen sind stark hoch- und nachgezogen, während die Augenwimpern wie Fransen die Augenlider einfassen. Das Gesicht wirkt wie für das Theater geschminkt."[8] Und noch 1966 erwähnt Wilhelm von den Steinen das Werk als Beispiel für "...die Barbarei in Schrift, Sprache, Kunst [, die] in sehr weiten

Kreisen noch mindestens bis zum Jahrhundertende [des 8. Jh.] hinreicht."[9] In dem Nachlaß Wilhelm Koehlers entdeckt man in einer Bemerkung, was ihn beim Anblick dieses 'untypischen' Kunstwerks bewegte: "Man hat den Eindruck, daß ein Mann, der nicht in einer bestimmten Schultradition steht und ungewöhnlich regsam und visuell begabt ist, *sich gehen läßt* und in seinen Initialen sozusagen Glossen *von höchst persönlicher Art* dem Text hinzufügt."[10] Koehler gibt hier den sicheren Posten des auf historischen Weitblick geschulten Forschers auf. Er läßt sich dazu hinreißen, einen ebenso distanzlosen wie aufschlußreichen Einblick in seine Vorstellungen von schöpferischer Produktivität zu gewähren. Seine Darstellung des Schreibers weist im Grunde nur auf seine eigene Unsicherheit gegenüber einem Kunstwerk, das seiner Weltanschauung nicht einzufügen ist. Koehlers Interpretation, wie die der anderen Kommentatoren, sind nicht nur Äußerungen, die eine voreingenommene Auffassung dokumentieren, sondern sie sind auch Ausdruck von Hilflosigkeit. Die Isolierung von Kunst ist für die Rezipienten unumgänglich, wenn das diskontinuierliche Kunstwerk mit Unangepaßtem und Grenzüberschreitendem konnotiert wird. Da es Fragen aufwirft und Verwirrung hervorruft, statt Antworten zu bieten oder Bekanntes zu bestätigen. Es wirkt bedrohlich und muß deshalb aus dem eigenen Gesichtsfeld wie aus der fachinternen Diskussion entfernt werden.

Einen produktiven Ausweg aus dieser problematischen Situation kann die moderne Kunsttheorie weisen: Das Sakramentar von Gellone erscheint im Sinne Umberto Ecos als ein 'offenes Kunstwerk'. Es liest sich als 'epistemologische Metapher' eines disparaten Zeitalters.[11] Gerade wegen seiner Disharmonien, wegen seines individuellen Charakters, der eine pluralistische Vielfalt mit widersprüchlichen semantischen und stilistischen Beziehungen widerspiegelt, entspricht es eben nicht einem systematisierten und komponierten Kosmos, vielmehr stellt es einen Reflex auf die bestehende Umbruchsituation dar. Diese Handschrift kann demnach geradezu als paradigmatisch für die Epoche angesehen werden. Sie ist ein sinn-

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[4]   A. SPRINGER, *Der Bilderschmuck in den Sacramentarien des frühen Mittelalters*, Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Classe der königlichen sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 11-1890, Leipzig, 1889, 346.

[5]   Zum Begriff der Diskontinuität s.: U. ECO, *Das offenen Kunstwerk*, Frankfurt a. M., 1990, 164-165.

[6]   Vgl.: W. LÜBKE, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart, 1890, 21-22; K. WOERMANN, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, Leipzig/Wien, 1900/05, Bd. 1, 193; A. SPRINGER, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte II: Frühchristliche Kunst und Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1919, 112.

[7]   K. WOERMANN, a.a.O., Bd. 2, 103.

[8]   J. GUTBROD, *Die Inititale der Handschriften des 8.-13. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1965, 75.

[9]   W. VON DEN STEINEN, in: W. BRAUNFELS (Hg.), *Karl der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, Düsseldorf, 1965-68, Bd. 2, 11.

[10]   W. KÖHLER, *Buchmalerei des frühen Mittelalters, Fragmente und Entwürfe aus dem Nachlaß*, hg. von F. MÜTHERICH & E. KITZINGER, München, 1972, 101 (Hervorhebungen, S.E.).

[11]   U. ECO, a.a.O.

bildhafter Ausdruck der historischen Situation. Ihre Isolation und Ausgrenzung führt unweigerlich zu Geschichtsverfälschung.

Ein frühmittelalterliches Denkmal, das nicht etwa ausgeschlossen, sondern umgekehrt kontinuierlich und mühsam, unter Zuhilfenahme von stilkritischen Umdeutungen, ideologisch vereinnahmt wurde, ist das Theoderich-Grabmal in Ravenna (um 520). Seine große Popularität seit den letzten Dekaden des 19. Jahrhunderts gründet sich nicht zuletzt auf Felix Dahns historischen Roman *Ein Kampf um Rom* von 1876, in dem der Ostgote Theoderich der Große eine Hauptrolle spielt. Das Buch erschien in demselben Jahr, als Richard Wagner die Erstaufführung seiner Oper *Ring des Nibelungen* in Bayreuth vorbereitete. Beide Werke verbindet eine Geschichtsauffassung, die man heute befremdlich finden wird, die damals jedoch genau den Nerv der geistigen Atmosphäre in Deutschland traf. Wagners wie Dahns Geschichtsdarstellung wird von Mythen bestimmt. "Es war eine schwüle Sommernacht des Jahres fünfhundertsechsundzwanzig nach Christus". Der Beginn von Dahns Roman macht nur allzu deutlich, wie er mit Stimmungen, Emotionen und dem Sagenhaften spielt, um sein Publikum zu gewinnen. Für Wagner ist Pathos und eine geistig aufgeladene Naturmetaphorik zentraler Bestandteil seiner Mythenbildung. Er äußert sich selbst bereits 1848 präzise dazu, welche Form der Geschichtsinterpretation er für die wahrhaftigere hält. "Die nackte Geschichte an und für sich bietet uns überhaupt nur selten, stets aber unvollkommen das für die Beurteilung der innersten (gleichsam instinktmäßigen) Beweggründe des rastlosen Drängens und Strebens ganzer Geschlechter und Völker genügende Material dar: wir müssen dies in der Religion und Sage suchen, wo wir es dann auch in den meisten Fällen mit überzeugender Bestimmtheit zu entdecken vermögen."[12] Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint die – zur selben Zeit ebenso mythisch überfrachtete – Beschäftigung mit dem Theoderich-Grabmal auf kunstwissenschaftlicher Seite kaum verwunderlich. In den nur drei Jahrzehnten um die Jahrhundertwende, also etwa zwischen 1880 und 1910 vollzog die deutsche Kunstgeschichtsschreibung eine

Neuzuschreibung des Denkmals. Während es beispielsweise noch von Oscar Mothes 1884 als in seinen Grundzügen von antiken, also römischen und byzantinischen Traditionen verhaftetes Bauwerk beschrieben wurde[13], sah es 1908 der Architekturhistoriker Albrecht Haupt als erwiesen an, daß das ravennatische Bauwerk germanischen Ursprungs sei.[14] Die Umdeutung gründete zum größten Teil auf der mythischen Verklärung des Germanischen, das durch die Theoderich-Legende an das Denkmal geknüpft war. Um dieser, auch unter damaligen Gelehrten, nicht vollständig überzeugenden Zuschreibung ein 'wissenschaftliches' Fundament zu geben, fand sich ein Element des Bauwerks, das den Mythos zu bestätigen schien. Der sogenannte Zangenfries, ein Schmuckelement, das die Kuppel gegenüber dem Baukörper absetzt, galt nun als Beleg für die germanische Herkunft des gesamten Bauwerks. Albrecht Haupt bestätigte durch seine prächtig und populistisch aufgemachten Veröffentlichungen diese Neuzuschreibung und bestärkte darüber hinaus die Rasse-Ideologie.[15] Der Zugriff durch die NS-Propaganda war also gut vorbereitet: Das Theoderich-Grabmal wurde von der nationalsozialistischen Kulturmaschinerie, seit der Jahrhundertwende durch die Kunstwissenschaften legitimiert, nach 1936 als erstes germanisches Bauwerk ideologisch ausgeschlachtet.[16]

Festzuhalten bleibt: Das Theoderich-Grabmal hat als identitätsstiftendes Monument für das Deutsche Reich nach 1871 und die nationalsozialistische Diktatur nach 1933 eine wichtige Rolle gespielt. Mit Hilfe der Kunstgeschichtsschreibung konsolidierte man in ihm für das junge deutsche Nationalgefühl eine historische Verwurzelung. Durch eine schleichende Umbewertung seiner charakteristischen Bestandteile wandelte sich das Bild des Kunstwerks von einem primär auf römische Vorbilder zurückgehendes, hin zu dem genuin ersten 'germanischen' steinernen Bauwerk. Daneben sah man mit dem Aufschwung historischer Mythologien und Geschichtserzählungen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts das Denkmal in einem neuen Licht. Zumal durch populäre Romane wie Felix Dahns *Ein Kampf um Rom* und Wagners *Ring des Nibelungen* ließ sich das Theoderich-Grab-

[12]   Richard Wagner, zitiert nach: L. GALL, Gegenwart und Mythos in Richard Wagners 'Ring', in: *Deutschlands Weg in die Moderne. Politik, Gesellschaft und Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert*, hg. von H. HARDTWIG & H.-H. BRANDT, München, 1993, 245.
[13]   O. MOTHES, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien*, Jena, 1884, 209.
[14]   A. HAUPT, Die äußere Gestalt des Grabmals Theoderichs zu Ravenna und die germanische Kunst, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur* 1, 1907/08, 44.

[15]   A. HAUPT, *Die älteste Kunst insbesondere die Baukunst der Germanen*, Berlin 1908. DERS., *Das Grabmal Theoderichs des Großen zu Ravenna*, Monumenta Germaniae Architectonica, Bd. 1, Leipzig, 1913.
[16]   Mehrfach in der Zeitschrift: *Germanen-Erbe. Monatsschrift für deutsche Vorgeschichte*, hg. v. H. REINERTH [Amtl. Organ des Reichsbundes für deutsche Vorgeschichte und die Hauptstelle Vorgeschichte des Beauftragten des Führers für die gesamte geistige und weltanschauliche Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP], 1.1936-6.1941.

mal nun als konkretes Zeichen sagenhafter 'germanischer' Vergangenheit lesen. Deutlicher als anderswo tritt an diesem Werk zutage, wie stark das Bedürfnis nach einer eigenen nationalen Identität in Deutschland war und wie dieses sich mit mythischen Vorstellungen und rassistischer Gesinnung vermischen konnte.

Weiterhin zeigt dieses Beispiel, daß zu der politisch-ideologisch motivierten Vereinnahmung eines Kunstwerkes die Loslösung vom konkreten Gegenstand gehört. Schleichend überlagern es Konnotationen, die historisch-mythische, imperialistische, chauvinistische, emotionale oder affirmative Funktionen der Interpreten transportieren. Die Voraussetzung für diese ideologische Inbesitznahme ist die angebliche Makellosigkeit des Kunstwerks. Individuelle Merkmale oder innere Widersprüche nehmen die Rezipienten im Kunstwerk nicht wahr, wenn es für sie propagierte Utopien in idealer Weise versinnbildlicht. Schließlich wirkt es nur identitätsbildend und herrschaftsstabilisierend, wenn es symbolhaft für etwas und nicht für sich allein steht.

Ein weiteres Beispiel.

Quantitativ betrachtet, bildet das Korpus frühmittelalterlicher Denkmäler die ornamentierte Kleinkunst aus Gräbern: Fibeln, Schnallen und Spangen. Von kunsthistorischer Seite findet dieser Denkmälerschatz, gerade wegen seines massenhaften Auftretens und seiner unspezifischen Erscheinungsform, vergleichsweise geringe und späte Beachtung. Es haftet dieser Kunstgattung etwas Profanes und Kunstgewerbliches an, im Gegensatz zu individuellen Kunstwerken aus mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken, wie illuminierten Handschriften, oder aus Kirchenschätzen, wie Monstranzen, Reliquiaren und Kelchen. Besonders nach 1945, als sich die deutsche Kunstgeschichte auf das sakrale und christliche Element des Frühmittelalters konzentrierte, führte dies dazu, daß der Fundus ornamentierter Kleinkunst in der kunsthistorischen Diskussion in Vergessenheit geriet. Bis heute wird er deshalb – unter Mißachtung gegenüber den Traditionen der Fachgeschichte – der Archäologie und der Vorgeschichte überlassen.

Die Kunstgeschichte verschloß sich hier einem bedeutenden Themengebiet, der Debatte um das Ornament, an der zahlreiche deutsche und deutsch-sprachige Kunsthistoriker um die Jahrhundertwende beteiligt waren. Schließlich erschienen damals die bis heute wegweisenden Untersuchungen von Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909), Alois Riegl (1858-1905), August Schmarsow (1853-1936), Bernhard Salin und Wilhelm Worringer (1881-1965), die entweder die frühmittelalterliche Grabkunst direkt miteinbeziehen oder sie mittelbar betreffen, weil die historische Epoche ihrer Entstehung angesprochen ist.[17] Bei allen Differenzierungen in der Betrachtungsweise und der Behandlung des Materials durch diese unterschiedlichen Verfasser charakterisierte die damalige Diskussion, daß die einzelnen Objekte oder Objektgruppen, die Kunstgattung oder deren kulturhistorisches Umfeld dabei keine Rolle spielten. Man interessierte sich statt dessen ausschließlich für das Formale, für das Dargestellte, für die Ornamentik.

Von epochaler Bedeutung für die Frühmittelalter-Rezeption war und bleibt bis heute Bernhard Salins Studie von 1904, die *Altgermanische Thierornamentik*.[18] Das Werk erregte damals gerade auch unter Kunsthistorikern großes Aufsehen und wurde dankbar aufgenommen. Es gehört bis heute zu den richtungsweisenden Arbeiten der archäologischen und kunsthistorischen Forschung über das frühe Mittelalter, jedoch ohne daß eine gründliche und kritische Revision stattgefunden hätte. Weder die Beweggründe für seine Entstehung noch seine Wirkung auf die Entwicklung der Wissenschaften wurden überprüft oder in Frage gestellt. Dabei führte die Untersuchung des schwedischen Archäologen zu einer folgenreichen Wendung in der europäischen Kunsttopographie: Erst Salins spektakuläre Studie ermöglichte es, der Anschauung Einhalt zu gebieten, daß das antik-mediterrane Kulturerbe auf alle kulturellen und künstlerischen Bereiche in Nordeuropa einwirkte. Sie setzte außerdem diesem bislang allgemein anerkannten kulturellen Nord-Süd-Gefälle ein neues und augenscheinlich überzeugendes Gedankengebäude entgegen. Sie hat deshalb auf Vertreter völkischer Positionen in den nordeuropäischen Ländern wie ein Akt der Befreiung gewirkt und fiel nicht zuletzt darum auf so fruchtbaren Boden.

Wie er gleich am Anfang seiner Untersuchung betont, beabsichtigt Salin, "dem nationalen Stilgefühl auf den Grund zu gehen".[19] Seine Material-

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[17] F. WICKHOFF, *Römische Kunst (Die Wiener Genesis)*, Wien, 1895; A. RIEGL, *Stilfragen. Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1893; DERS., *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie nach den Funden in Österreich-Ungarn im Zusammenhang mit der Gesamtentwicklung der bildenden Künste bei den Mittelmeervölkern*, Wien, 1901; A. SCHMARSOW, *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft am Übergang vom Altertum zum Mittelalter*, Leipzig/Berlin, 1905; B. SALIN, *Die alt-germanische Thierornamentik. Typologische Studie über germanische Metallgegenstände aus dem IV. bis IX. Jahrhundert, nebst einer Studie über irische Ornamentik*, Stockholm, 1904; W. WORRINGER, *Abstraktion und Einfühlung. Ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie*, München, 1987.

[18] B. SALIN, a.a.O.

[19] *Ibm.*, 3.

grundlage bildet dafür, wie sich viele von Ihnen erinnern werden, die sog. 'Fibel mit umgeschlagenen Fuß', die er aus über einhundertsiebzig europäischen Sammlungen zusammengestellt hat.[20] Diese Fibeln gelten, so Salin, aufgrund ihrer Ornamentik als prototypische künstlerische Äußerungen der 'Germanen', eben als Modelle der 'altgermanischen Tierornamentik'. Für Salin stand demnach fest, daß das Nationale mit dem, was er und viele andere für 'germanisch' hielten, übereinstimmt. Schon in dieser stillschweigend angenommenen Voraussetzung, der Anerkennung des nationalen Geschichtsmythos, liegt die Fragwürdigkeit der gesamten Salinschen Unternehmung begründet. Bereits die Auswahl des untersuchten Materials ist im Hinblick auf seine Absicht erfolgt: der Herausbildung einer eigenständigen nationalen Kulturentwicklung. Das Ergebnis seiner Studie kann also kaum überraschen, denn es ist durch seine Ausgangsposition bestimmt. Der Germanenmythos bildet die *conditio sine qua non* seiner Vorgehensweise.

Salins Untersuchung führte zu folgendem Schluß: Mit dem Ende der Kulturbewegungen bis zum 6. Jahrhundert müssen die künstlerischen Einwirkungen aus dem Süden Europas ihren Abschluß gefunden haben. Wobei auch schon zu Beginn der Entwicklung auf der Krim, die zunächst "halbrömische" Fibel von "germanischen" Händen umgeformt wurde, demnach also "germanischen" Ursprungs sei.[21] Treffend faßte Alois Riegl die Bedeutung der Salinschen Untersuchung zusammen. Seine Worte machen zugleich deutlich, wie stark das Bedürfnis war, sich von der überkommenen Vorstellung, dem Primat des antik-mediterranen Kulturraums, zu emanzipieren. "Die eigentliche Ausbildung der germanischen Thierornamentik erfolgt erst seit dem Ende des 5. Jahrhunderts. Der Norden hat jetzt gar nichts mehr vom Süden zu empfangen; er entfaltet nun seine Ornamentik ausschließlich nach den Bedürfnissen seines ureigenen germanischen Geschmackes."[22]

Salins Beitrag, hierin liegt seine wissenschafts- und geistesgeschichtliche Bedeutung, konstituierte zum erstenmal die langersehnte kulturelle Unabhängigkeit des Nordens vom Süden Europas und dies scheinbar wissenschaftlich fundiert und methodisch präzise. Sein Buch entsprach dem Ansinnen national und völkisch Gesinnter, die sich der wissenschaftlichen Bestätigung des Germanenmythos nun bedie-

nen und außerdem das künstlerisch 'Eigene' bestimmen konnten, um sich gegenüber den 'Anderen', den Fremden, abzugrenzen.

Die Anerkennung des 'Germanischen', also des nationalen Geschichtsmythos, ging in Deutschland nach der Reichsgründung von 1871 mit einer kontinuierlichen Aufwertung sog. germanischer Kunst einher. Kunsthistoriker leisteten einen bedeutenden Anteil an der wissenschaftlichen Legitimierung dieses Mythos', indem sie konkrete Kunstgegenstände zum Objekt seiner Aussage machten und ihn somit in die real und sinnlich erfaßbare Gegenwart übertrugen. Bis 1933 vollzog sich der Vereinnahmungsprozeß eines Korpus' frühmittelalterlicher Denkmäler im Dienste der nationalen Idee, der knapp einhundert Jahre zuvor höchstens zum "geübten Handwerk" (Franz Kugler, 1842) zählte. 'Germanisch', also 'deutsch' bezeichnete man im wesentlichen nun all jene Werke, die das sog. 'germanische Tierornament' aufwiesen. Die theoretische Grundlage dafür bildete Salins Studie. Dabei wurden historisch höchst relevante Faktoren wie Entstehungszeit, Herkunft oder Kunstgattung nicht berücksichtigt. Allein das Etikett 'germanisches Tierornament' genügte, um einen weit verstreuten, in jeder Beziehung tatsächlich disparaten Denkmälerschatz zusammenzufassen.

Bis 1945 war der Germanenmythos ein zentraler Bestandteil der Rezeptionsgeschichte frühmittelalterlicher Kunst in Deutschland. Die Kunstgeschichtsschreibung nahm erst nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkriegs eine Zäsur vor. Sie versuchte nun das 'Germanische' aus dem Frühmittelalter herauszulösen und führte stellvertretend den Mythos vom christlichen Abendland ein, wie die ersten Kunstausstellungen nach 1945 in Deutschland beweisen.[23] Auch die erste Kunsthistorikertagung nach 1945 in Deutschland, die 1948 in Brühl stattfand, wurde von dem Wunsch getragen, unbedingt den Bruch mit der ideologisch überfrachteten unheilvollen und nahen Vergangenheit herbeizuführen, zugleich aber dem Bedürfnis nach einer neuerlichen historischen Verwurzelung in der Geschichte nachzukommen.[24] Einerseits sollte vermieden werden, "Totes zu konservieren" und statt dessen beabsichtigte man "das Lebendige, das zu uns gehört, zu erhalten", andererseits sei die "Forderung des Tages" die "Besinnung auf unsere Ursprünge, damit wir zu uns selbst zurückfinden".[25] Man entsprach diesem Wunsch,

[20] *Ibm.*, VI-IX.
[21] *Ibm.*, 8-9.
[22] Rezension von A. RIEGL, in: *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* Nr. 3, 167, 1905, 231.
[23] *Ars Sacra. Kunst des frühen Mittelalters*, München, 1950; *Werdendes Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, Essen, 1956; *Karl der Grosse – Werk und Wirkung*, Aachen, 1965; *Rhein und Maas. Kunst und Kultur 800-1400*, Köln und Brüssel, 1972 u. a.
[24] Vgl. die Einführungsrede Herbert von Einems, in: *Kunstchronik* 1, 1948, Heft 10 (o.S.).
[25] *Ibm.*

einfach durch eine neue Begrifflichkeit: Was ehedem der Epoche des Heidnischen und 'Germanischen' zugeordnet wurde, stand nun unter dem Vorzeichen des Christlichen und 'Romanischen'.

Obgleich die deutsche Kunstgeschichte nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg die gemeinsamen christlichen Wurzeln Europas in einer vornationalen historischen Epoche herausstrich, half dies in der wissenschaftlichen Praxis nicht darüber hinweg, daß die eigene Wissenschaft seit ihren Anfängen das frühe Mittelalter dazu benutzt hatte, um deutsches Nationalbewußtsein zu befördern. Das Fach Kunstgeschichte wich damit zugleich nur dem profan-volkstümlichen und heidnischen Element in der frühmittelalterlichen Kultur aus, das mit dem 'Germanischen' seit Jahrzehnten verbunden worden war. Das frühe Mittelalter und die europäische Idee sahen Kunsthistoriker nun ausschließlich vor dem Hintergrund seiner christlich-lateinischen Überlieferung. Das vereinigende Band des Mythos' Abendland glaubten sie in der christlichen Religion gefunden zu haben. "Die Kunst zeugte nun für die Religion, wie einst für die Nation"[26], und die westdeutsche Kunstgeschichte suchte, was noch wenige Jahre zuvor nicht vorstellbar gewesen wäre, in der 'Ars Sacra' nach europäischer Identität im geschichtlichen Raum. Damit verschob sich zwar die Betrachtungsweise grundlegend, jedoch ohne daß eine Auseinandersetzung mit der im eigenen Fach geleisteten Forschung begonnen hätte.

Die ideologische Vereinnahmung des Frühmittelalters fand zu keiner Zeit, auch nicht während der des NS-Regimes, von allen Fachwissenschaftlern Unterstützung. Es gab Ausnahmen, nicht nur unter Kunsthistorikern, sondern auch in den angrenzenden Fachwissenschaften, die die frühmittelalterliche Geschichte unter einem ideologiefreien Blickwinkel betrachteten. Schon 1958 beschreibt der Sprachwissenschaftler Erich Auerbach die frühmittelalterliche Kulturperiode: "Es ist eine neue Lage, es sind neue Bedürfnisse, die einen neuen Ausdruckswillen schufen. Es handelt sich nicht nur und nicht wesentlich um den Verfall des alten, sondern um einen neuen, sogar um einen bewußt neuen Stil. (...) natürlich ist es wahr, daß das antike Stilgefühl aufhört als ein Ganzes zu wirken, und für geraume Zeit nur noch in seinen einzelnen Teilen fortlebt, wie die Steine eines zerstörten Bauwerks, die zu einem neuen Bau dienen

müssen; aber man muß auch versuchen, den neuen Bau als Neues und Ganzes zu sehen."[27] Auch aus der Geschichtsperspektive Walter Benjamins erhalten wir eine Anleitung dazu, alte Mythen und Ideologien zu überwinden. Es ist für das Verständnis der Geschichte demnach wichtig, "in jeder Epoche" zu versuchen, "die Überlieferung von neuem dem Konformismus abzugewinnen, der im Begriff steht, sie zu überwältigen."[28]

Ich möchte Ihnen den Versuch eines Kunstgelehrten schildern, der bereits im Jahre 1900 öffentlich dafür eintrat, die Kunst, wie Benjamin es formulierte, dem Konformismus in der Geschichte zu entreissen. Seine in der Kunstgeschichte wenig bekannten und unterschätzten Beobachtungen bilden einen interessanten theoretischen Ausgangspunkt, um die Kunst des Frühmittelalters unter neuen Vorzeichen zu diskutieren. Ich komme damit zugleich auf meinen Ausgangspunkt zurück.

Der Wiener Kunsthistoriker Franz Wickhoff (1853-1909) machte 1895 durch seine bis heute berühmte Veröffentlichung über die *Wiener Genesis* auf sich aufmerksam.[29] Es war ihm hier gelungen, aus alten Denkprinzipien herauszutreten und wertfreie Beschreibungen für Darstellungsarten zu finden, die andere als 'unklassisch' empfanden und die sie symptomatisch für kulturellen Verfall hielten. So entwickelte er den Begriff der "kontinuierenden" Darstellungsart, der es ermöglicht, eine Bildebene zu definieren, in der verschiedene zeitliche Stadien einer Geschichte nebeneinander gezeigt werden.[30] Ähnlich argumentierte er in Bezug auf den Geschichtsverlauf: Er erkannte an, daß parallel gegenläufige und widersprüchliche Tendenzen bei künstlerischen Entwicklungen die Geschichte bestimmen, daß es keine "geraden Linien" gibt, wie die "Schulmeister (...) uns gar zu gerne glauben machen (möchten, S.E.)".[31] Er lehnte die Ausschließlichkeit ab, mit der die horizontalen Grenzen zwischen den Epochen gezogen wurden. Statt dessen beschrieb er die Differenzen: "Es gab einen Entwicklungsgang in der antiken Kunst der römischen Kaiserzeit, und zwar auch einen aufsteigenden, nicht blos einen Niedergang wie man allenthalben glauben machen will..."[32]

Wickhoffs Frühwerk entstand in Zusammenarbeit mit Wilhelm Ritter von Hartel, der nicht nur als einer

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[26] H. BELTING, *Die Deutschen und ihre Kunst, ein schwieriges Erbe*, München, 1992, 52.

[27] E. AUERBACH, *Literatursprache und Publikum*, Bern, 1958, 67.

[28] W. BENJAMIN, Über den Begriff der Geschichte, in: DERS., *Illuminationen*, Frankfurt a.M., 1977, 253.

[29] F. WICKHOFF, a.a.O.

[30] F. WICKHOFF, *Gesammelte Schriften*, hg. v. M. DVORÁK, Bd. 3 (= F. WICKHOFF, *Römische Kunst (Die Wiener Genesis)*), Berlin, 1912-13, 10.

[31] *Ibm.*, 25.

[32] *Ibm.*, 18.

der führenden Altphilologen im damaligen Wien galt, sondern der sich auch als besonnener Verwaltungsfachmann hervorgetan hatte.[33] Als Sprachwissenschaftler besorgte er die kritische Textausgabe der *Wiener Genesis*, als Ministerialrat für Universitäten, liberaler Kultur- und Bildungspolitiker, setzte er sich für die moderne Kunst ein. Hartel war eine zentrale Figur im Streit um die Fakultätsbilder Gustav Klimts an der Wiener Universität, der 1900 die Wiener skandalisierte.[34] Franz Wickhoff spielte ebenfalls eine Hauptrolle bei den Auseinandersetzungen, da er sich gegen einen großen Teil der Professorenschaft aktiv auf die Seite der Klimtverteidiger stellte. Der Konflikt entzündete sich an der Darstellung von Klimts "Philosophie", die er nicht, wie die meisten Mitglieder des Lehrkörpers gehofft hatten, als "Allegorie, sondern als Symbol einer determinierten Menschheit" zeigte.[35] Die aufschlußreichen Worte Wickhoffs fielen am 9. Mai 1900. Vor der Philosophischen Gesellschaft der Universität fragte er provokativ: "Was ist häßlich?", um seinen Gegnern die Engstirnigkeit an Hand ihrer ästhetischen Kategorien vorzuhalten.[36] Er entwarf hier eine Argumentation, die weit über die der *Wiener Genesis* hinausgeht, alte ästhetische Normen nicht nur herausforderte, sondern letztlich revolutionierte.

Der Vorwurf der Gegner Klimts, zu dessen Sprachrohr sich der Philosophieprofessor Friedrich Jodl machte, galt, nach dem anfänglichen Unbehagen gegenüber der Darstellungsart der "Philosophie", nun der künstlerischen Qualität des Bildes[37] – einem bis heute verbreiteten Vorurteil, um Kunst zu diffamieren. Durch die Abwertung der Fähigkeiten Klimts versuchte er die Ausführung des Auftrags für die Deckengestaltung der Universitätsaula doch noch zu unterbinden. An dieser Stelle schritt Wickhoff mit seinem Vortrag ein.

Der zentrale Gedanke seiner Ausführungen gründete darauf, daß ästhetische Maßstäbe ursprünglich auf sexueller Orientierung beruhen. Die Kategorien von 'schön' und 'häßlich' seien im Grunde aus "Empfindungskomplexen" bei der Gattenwahl entstanden, wären also vom Instinkt dominiert. Die akademisch-reflektierende Kunstbetrachtung habe im Laufe der Zeit aber zu einer Entfremdung geführt, so daß der spontan-intuitive Zugang verschüttet sei.

Klimts Kunst erfordere jedoch gerade dieses "Nachempfinden" von Instinkthaftem.[38]

Wickhoffs Verteidigungsrede fällt in das selbe Jahr wie die erste Veröffentlichung Sigmund Freuds: Das Manuskript seiner *Traumdeutung* wurde 1899 abgeschlossen, die letzten Seiten gingen Anfang September in die Druckerei.[39] Ob Wickhoff zu diesem Zeitpunkt die Schrift Freuds bereits gelesen hatte, ist noch nicht erschlossen. Doch seine Haltung in dem Universitätsdisput legt eine Auseinandersetzung mit dessen Gedanken nahe.[40] Vielleicht ließ sich Einiges durch seinen früheren Koautor in Erfahrung bringen, denn es war Hartel, der sich für die Ernennung Freuds zum Professor einsetzte. Erst durch ihn war es Freud 1902 gelungen, öffentliche Reputation zu erlangen, auf die er bereits seit vier Jahren gehofft hatte.[41]

Während Wickhoff 1895 in der *Wiener Genesis* noch in der Position des beobachtend-reflektierenden Gelehrten verharrte, griff er in seinem aktuellen Beitrag weit voraus, indem er der Kunst als Ausdruck des Unbewußten und Triebhaften Anerkennung und sogar Vorrang gewährte. In demselben Maß wie Freud zum erstenmal bei seiner Selbstanalyse Träume als ernstzunehmende Quellen wissenschaftlicher Untersuchung ansah, erweiterte Wickhoff das Kunstverständnis um den Anteil, der zuvor, wie die Traumwelt, unbequem und beängstigend erschien, der Mißfallen hervorrief und große Ablehnung erzeugte.

Mit Hilfe der Kategorien von 'schön' und 'häßlich' ließ sich nach Wickhoff also nicht die Kunst von Klimt noch die jeder anderen Epoche qualifizieren. Sie stellen subjektive Äußerungen dar, die wie später sein berühmterer Fachkollege Alois Riegl bemerkte, höchstens auf den Geschmack des Betrachters weisen, denn: "Dieser Geschmack verlangt vom Kunstwerk Schönheit und Lebendigkeit..."[42]

Der Aufwertung frühmittelalterlicher Kunst, die sich Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in der deutschsprachigen Kunstgeschichtsschreibung abzeichnete, fügten die Wiener Kunsthistoriker Franz Wickhoff und Alois Riegl das erforderliche geschichtsphilosophische Fundament hinzu. Obgleich sie sich in ihren Veröffentlichungen auf die spätantike Kunst beschränkten und dadurch, wie vorangegangene Generationen von Kunstgelehrten, eine hierarchische

[33] C.E. SCHORSKE, *Wien, Geist und Gesellschaft im Fin de Siècle*, München, 1994, 223.

[34] *Ibm.*, 219.

[35] E. LACHNIT, *Kunstgeschichte und zeitgenössische Kunst. Das wissenschaftliche Verhältnis zum lebendigen Forschungsgegenstand am Beispiel der älteren Wiener Schule der Kunstgeschichte*, Phil. Diss. Masch. Schr., Wien, 1984, 66.

[36] *Ibm.*, 71.

[37] *Ibm.*, 68.

[38] *Ibm.*, 71-72.

[39] S. FREUD, *Die Traumdeutung*, Wien, 1900; C.E. SCHORSKE, a.a.O., 183.

[40] E. LACHNIT, a.a.O., 72.

[41] C.E. SCHORSKE, a.a.O., 230-231.

[42] A. RIEGL, *Die spätrömische Kunstindustrie...*, a.a.O., Darmstadt 1992, 10-11.

Ordnung von Kunst tradierten, die an die historisch-politische Geschichtsschreibung anknüpfte, setzten sie einen Prozeß in Gang, der die wertfreie Betrachtung der Epoche insgesamt erst ermöglichte. Die bis dahin unüberwindlich erscheinende Vorstellung von Verfall und Aufschwung in der Geschichte war erschüttert, so daß Raum für eine stärkere Differenzierung entstand. Differenzierung ist gleichzeitig das Kennzeichen der beginnenden Moderne. Der Zweifel, das Leiden, die Endlichkeit der Menschheit, die Erkenntnis, daß es ein unbewußtes, triebhaftes, irrationales und beängstigendes Leben, neben dem bewußten und einschätzbaren gibt, auch der Glaube an den Mythos, all das ist atmosphärischer Bestandteil des Wiener Fin de Siècle.

Vor diesem Hintergrund noch einmal nach der Kunst des Frühmittelalters zu fragen und ohne Rücksicht auf Gattungsunterschiede und eigene ästhetische Wert- und Vorurteile den gesamten Denkmälerschatz zu betrachten, das scheint ein sehr vielversprechendes Unternehmen. Sich der frühmittelalterlichen Kunst ohne die Last der alten Märchen und Mythen anzunehmen, wird sich als ein zukunftsweisendes Projekt herausstellen.

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Some technological aspects of fine metalworking in Gnezdovo: an analysis of the hoards from the Upper Dnieper region

The Gnezdovo settlements and cemeteries are located along the Upper Dnieper, in the region of Smolensk and date from the end of the 9th to the beginning of the 11th century. It has been suggested that Gnezdovo is the largest cemetery of medieval Europe, with 4000 burial mounds.

The large collection of artefacts found during the excavations since 1874 has become an important element in the discussions concerning the social and ethnic structure of this site and the character of this early urban centre, where intensive contacts between Rus' and Scandinavia, especially Sweden, developed in the Viking Age.

It is now generally agreed that Gnezdovo was linked with the guard of the Grand Prince of Kiev who exacted tribute in Upper Dnieper region. It would, however, be wrong to see the role of Gnezdovo in the history of Old Rus' exclusively in terms of the warriors' activities of the guard. Excavations at the settlement offer direct evidence for the production and working of iron, bone, pottery, jewellery and other goods. There is also some evidence for agricultural and long-distance trade activity (Avdusin 1969).

Gnezdovo has yielded splendid hoards of silver jewellery and coins. The first and the largest deposit was found accidentally in 1867; the last in 1993 in the settlement excavations The total number of Gnezdovo hoards is 7. Two of them, found during excavations in the settlement in 1973 and 1975, contain only coins (Arabic). Five deposits consist not only of minted silver but include considerable collections of jewellery of splendid quality, amongst them 100 complete objects with filigree and granulation. According to the Islamic, West-European and Indian coins, the Gnezdovo hoards containing filigree and granulation work can be dated to the second half of the 10th century.

We will focus on the extensive body of filigree and granulation jewellery from the Upper Dnieper region. It should be noted the main part of it belongs to the female ornaments. There are mostly temple-rings and different kinds of pendants (round, lunula-shaped and so-called 'kaptorga' items, beads and buttons).

Temple rings are the most characteristic item of Slav women's jewellery of the Middle Ages. In the Gnezdovo hoards, there are six objects with filigree and granulation. They are of the so-called 'Volhynian type', characterised by the elongated beads fixed in the lower part of the arch (Fig. 1). XRF and metallographic analyses established the high quality of the silver.

It is not necessary to go into a detailed description of the filigree and granulation techniques here. These have been examined and described by many researchers (Duczko 1985; Ogden 1994). Nevertheless, it should be noted every object is built up of 13 elements. Ten different manufacturing operations were required to prepare and assemble all components and details of the temple ring (drawing, stamping, working, soldering and others).

Two types of ornamental wire can be distinguished on the objects: plain ones with a round section and twisted ones with a round section. There are more than 2100 grains with an average size of 0.1 mm, but some are larger (0,8-2 mm).

The domed upper plates for the temple rings were produced by placing and hammering the patrix into the sheet of silver substrate.

Completely fitted patrices for the same temple rings were found in the chamber grave of the goldsmith from Peresopnica in Volhynia (Ukraine) (Korzuchina 1946). All the patrices are plane on one side (Fig. 1).
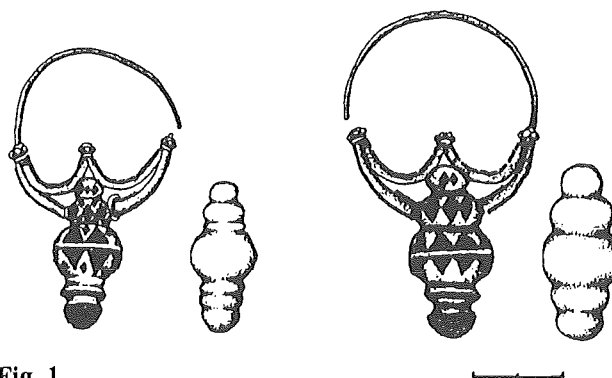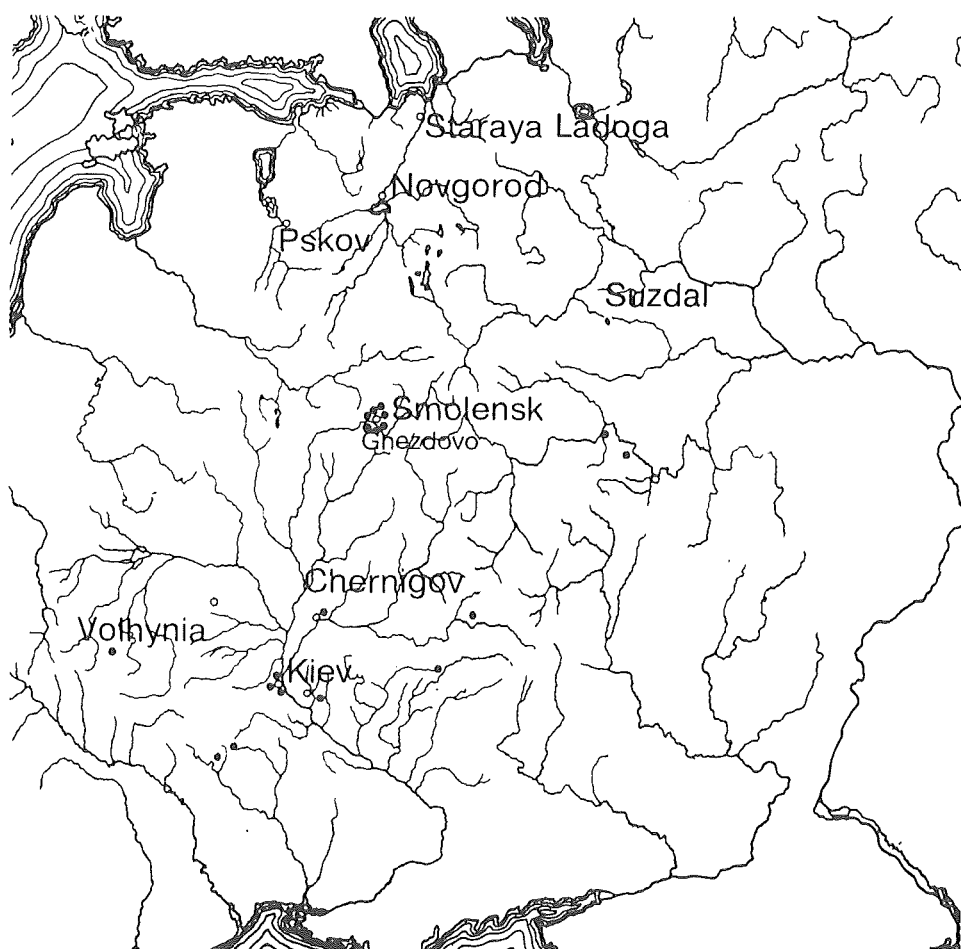

Fig. 1.

The distribution of the Russian Hoards dated to the 2nd half of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

Wires and grains were bonded to the substrate by soldering. Examination of the microstructure shows the specially annealed layer of metal between the grain and the substrate. It means the complete diffusion of applied solder when amalgam soldering was used. The metallic solder consists of gold, silver and mercury. The amalgam soldering process is very close to mercury gilding. It explains the very special gold-like colour of the temple ring surface.

These temple rings are very seldom encountered. There are 8 examples in the hoards from Gushcino near Chernigov (Korzukhina 1954) and Borshcevka (Volhynia), and 4 unprovenanced objects in museum collections. Some examples are known from outside Old Rus', among them the temple rings from Poland (Lisówek, Rzepin) and from Sweden (Torsta, Hälsingland; Rågåkra and Sandes, Gotland) (Duczko 1972).

The shape and the ornamentation of the Volhynian temple rings suggest that they originated in Great Moravia. To the list should be added four granulated temple rings belonging to different types of Late Moravian ornaments found during the excavations in the Gnezdovo settlement. The Volhanian type of decoration has the distinctive local features. The marked concentration of the ornaments and the stamps found

allow us to suggest the temple rings to be of local Volhynian origins.

The temple rings of this type are dated to the second half of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century. The grave from Peresopnica can be dated to the beginning of the 11th century.

Lunula pendants were found in 4 hoards from Gnezdovo. It is the most representative collection of Russian lunulae forms with 19 examples from hoards and 4 objects from the graves and the settlement.

All pendants consist of a crescent-shaped piece of sheet metal with a suspension loop formed of a folded strip (Fig. 2-4). The margins of the tube are decorated with a thick wire extending from the front to the reverse. This suggests that the wires act as reinforcements for the very thin substrate of the pendant (Duczko 1985). The bordering decoration consists of twisted a run-section wire. The field of decoration is covered with angular lines, lozenges or triangles in granulation. There are more than 2200 granules on the surface of the biggest pendants. The bosses of overlapping sheet metal are frequently applied in the centre, under the suspension loop and one in each corner. The tops of the bosses are often covered with wire and granules. The grave from Peresopninica
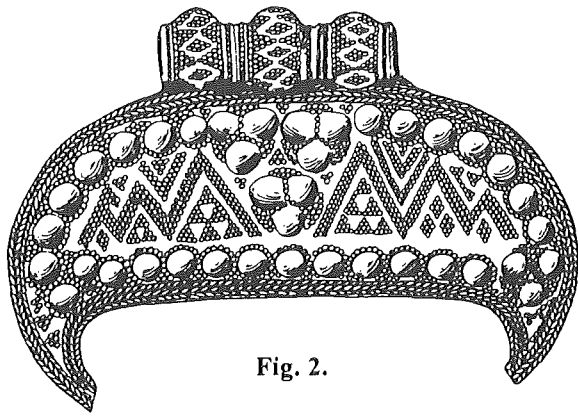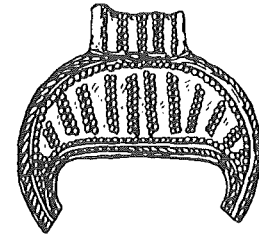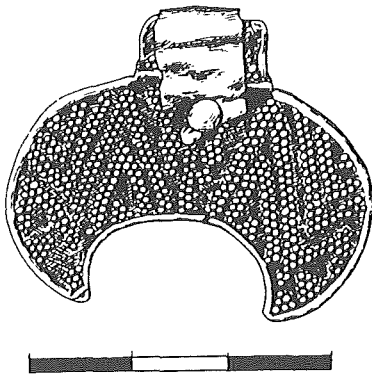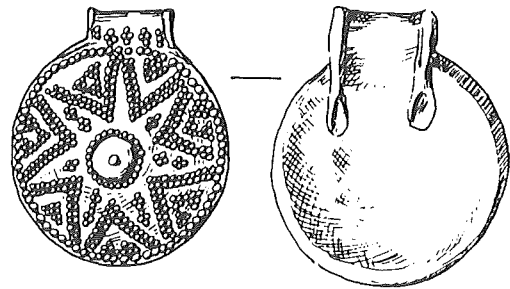
Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

mentioned earlier contained the special patrix for three combined bosses which frequently appear on the surface of lunula pendants (fig. 2).

XRF and metalographical examinations confirm the high quality of silver and the amalgam soldering. There is a distinctive zone of surface oxidation which can be formed following a heating to 600-700° C. This shows that the soldering was carried out under a high temperature.

The total number of the granulated lunula pendants in Russia is 40. The second concentration of lunula pendants is that of pendants from Polish hoards (61 examples). They mostly consist of hack silver but almost all Polish pendants are identical to Russian (Kiersnowscy 1959; Slaski & Tabaczynski 1959). Both groups are from the second half of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century. We may assume a local origin for the Polish and for the Russian finds. Volhynia has been considered as a centre of their manufacture (Korzuchina 1954). A total of 34 objects found in Scandinavia have been identified as Slavonic (Duczko 1985).

The manufacturing technique and the ornamentation of the next group of Slavonic pendants are very similar to those used for the lunula pendants. There are 6 **circular-convex** pendants from Gnezdovo hoards (fig. 5). They were constructed with two round-shaped pieces of sheet silver. One of these was flat, the other domed with a central boss made by the

impression of a special stamp. Outside Gnezdovo, convex pendants are very rare: two are known from northwestern Russian hoards and one from a grave (Vladimirskije kurgany, East-Northern Russia) dated to the 11th century. There are a few examples from Poland and Sweden. The most recent objects come from a hoard dated to the 12th century (Allmänninge, Gästrikland, Sweden).

One of the round pendants from the Gnezdovo hoards was made in simpler way using only a plane piece of sheet metal. Similar objects were found in the Gnezdovo cemetery (fig. 6). All round pendants with geometrical ornamentation doubtlessly belong to the class of Slavonic jewellery. It has been suggested that the temple ring with an identical ornamentation pattern from Pannonia (the 7th century) can be considered as a prototype (Duczko 1972). The common technological style typical for the Volhynian temple rings, lunulae, and convex and flat round pendants from the Gnezdovo hoards allow us to link the last ones with Volhynia.

The largest Gnezdovo hoard (1867) contained the unique type of ornament belonging to the **'kaptorga' pendants.** It is a trapeze-shaped box made of silver sheet with horizontal tubes in the upper and lower parts. Three animal heads embossed by pressing are set on the front surface. The pendant is covered with granulation triangles and made in an ornamental style characteristic for Volhynya (fig. 9). There are no

direct analogies for the Gnezdovo "kaptorga'. A group of similar objects occurs in finds from Poland, Moravia, Southern Sweden, Gotland, the Baltic States and Volga Bulgaria. The oldest hoard containing "kaptorga' is dated to the first half of the 10th century, the youngest to the middle of the 11th century.

A group of buttons consists of 8 objects. All of them have been constructed from two hemispherical embossed pieces with suspension holes. A small granulated boss and suspension loop are soldered to the margins of the holes. There are 6 examples decorated only with simple chains of granules (fig. 7); 2 examples are decorated with triangles of different sizes and with twisted wire soldered to the upper piece of the button (fig. 8).

Embossed granulated buttons occur in Moravia in the 9th-10th centuries. There are no direct analogies to the specimen from the Gnezdovo hoards. The closest parallels to the Gnezdovo buttons come from the Kopievski hoard (2nd half of the 10th century) near Kiev and the Denis hoard near Poltava (beginning of the 11th century).

Silver beads are the most frequent and varied group of ornaments. The Gnezdovo hoards have yielded 60 objects of this group. Some beads with filigree and granulation came from the excavations of the settlement and graves (5 objects).

Only one example belongs to the open-worked decorations. It was made of wire loops soldered together. The suspension holes are decorated with rings of plain, round section wires. Several big granules on the rings were set on intersections of the loops (fig. 17).

Open-worked beads are quite rare. Apart from Gnezdovo, they were found twice in Russian hoards dated to the first half of the 11th century. They occur more frequently as a component of the temple rings of western Slavonic types (fig. 18) in the hoards from Poland and Southern Sweden (Hårdh 1976).

The small group of bow-shaped beads consists of 3 objects. They are built of a small tube (with central bead), three curved, two-parts arms and two framing plaques and wire rings (fig. 16) The arms and central bead have a granulated surface.

Bow-shaped beads are quite rare. Apart from the specimens from Gnezdovo, 25 complete items and 12 different fragments are known. Most of them are dated to the second part of the 10th and the first half of the 11th century. They come from Gotlandic, central Swedish, Polish and Austro-Hungarian hoards and from Russian hoards and graves (Duczko 1980-82).

The discovery of a patrix for the production of arms for bow-shaped beads in the grave from Peresopnitca and their frequent occurrence in Volhynia and the Kiev region show that this was a central production aria (Korzuchina G. 1946).

There are 4 specimens with an oval shape separated by granulation lines from a field with triangles or angular rows. Similar beads are found in the hoards from Poland (Slaski 1959) and Gotland (Duczko 1972) and dated to the same period of time as objects from the Gnezdovo.

Spool-shaped and embossed beads are represented by 2 examples. They are characteristic of Slavonic jewellery and occur in finds from Bohemia, Pomerania, Schleswig and Sweden (24 examples) (Duczko 1985).
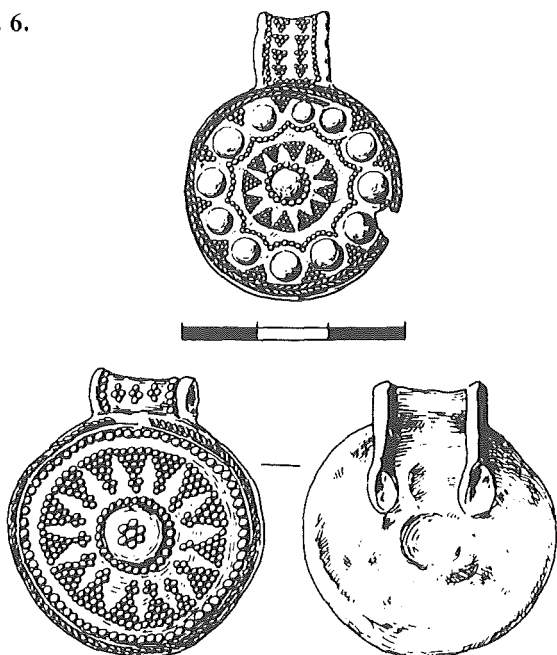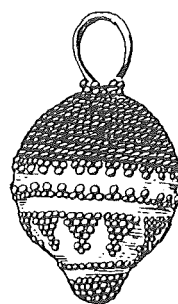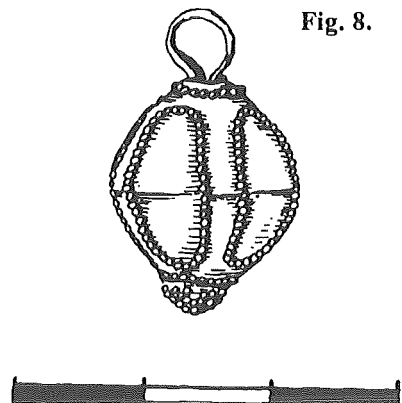
Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Spherical beads (31 examples) were constructed of two embossed pieces of sheet metal. Decorations are absent; the suspension holes are covered with a round flat wire. The same shape (more or less spherical) is characteristic of the large group of beads with different ornamental patterns (21 examples). Geometrical patterns (triangles and lozenges) decorated 13 objects. The reference material is provided by hoards from Poland and Gotland (Slaski 1959; Duczko 1972). One sample covered with rows of granules set in rings has analogies in Poland (Slaski 1959) and Gotland (Duczko 1972). The same ornamental detail occurs also on the beads of the temple rings and the buttons from Moravia. It also appeared on the Volynian temple rings (fig. 1).

There are beads with S-spiral filigree and granulation (7 samples). According to W. Duczko (1985), this type of beads has frequently been recovered in the hoards and graves of the Nordic countries, the Baltic states and Russia. They are linked with Scandinavian jewellery and date from the Middle Viking period.

The Scandinavian cultural area seems to be represented in the Gnezdovo hoards by the great variety of jewellery including 16 pendants with filigree and granulation. There are mostly so called 'disc-shaped pendants' of similar construction. Their suspension loops are formed with a flap of the substrate metal which has been folded over and was soldered to the back of the pendants. The main decorative motive is volutes (fig. 10-13). These are characteristic features of the Nordic pendants of the Viking period (Duczko 1985). There are many parallels in the Swedish, Danish and Polish find material (Hårdh 1976),

Fig. 9.

but the best parallels come from the graves from Gnezdovo, Vladimir, Jaroslavl, (Timerevo), Chernigov (Shestovica).

Two ornaments belong to the rare type of pendants with a central boss and whorl ornament. The surface of the objects is divided into 10 fields by 10 curved wires (fig. 14). The fields contain rings with granules. The central boss is covered with granules and surrounded by wire. On the reverse there is a
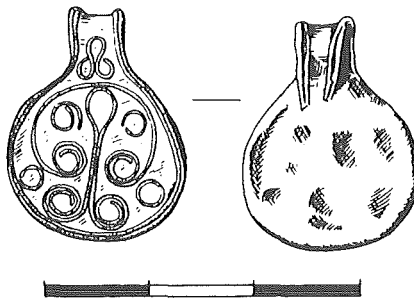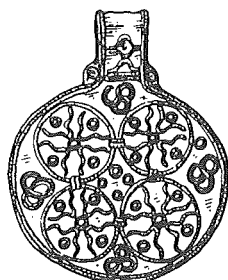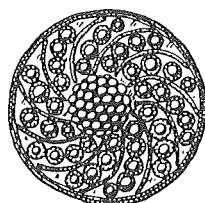
Fig. 10.

Fig. 11.

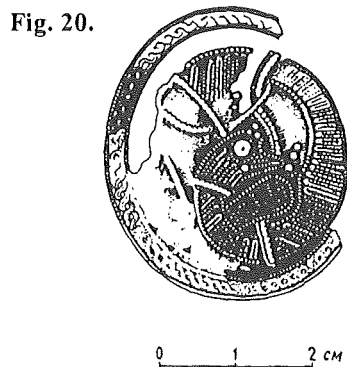Fig. 12.

Fig. 15.

Fig. 13.

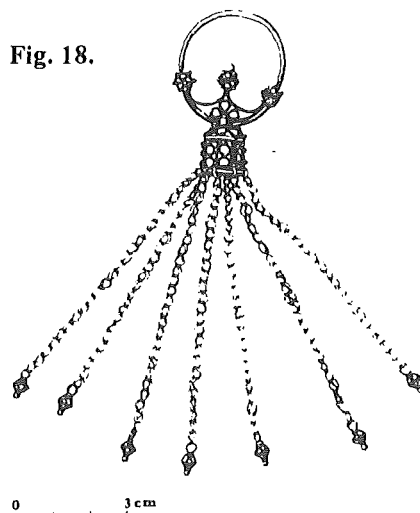Fig. 14.

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

Fig. 20.
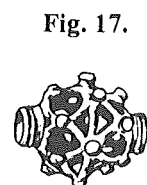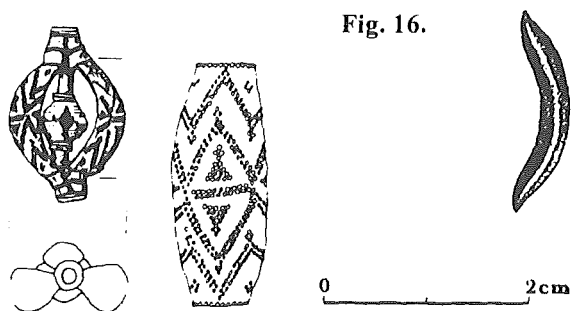
narrow piece of strip for suspension. There are 11 examples of disc-shaped pendants known from Sweden (hoards and graves), Denmark and East Prussia (Duczko 1985).

Two circular pendants from the Big Hoard of Gnezdovo are quite unique. The first has a construction which is typical for Scandinavian jewellery, a very special ornament with western affinities and a Gotlandic stepped motif (fig. 13). It occurs on the gold bracteates (Ringdome, Gotland) and on the silver circular pendant found in the famous woman burial at Aska (Östergötland, Sweden).

The second pendant is an obvious hybrid of Scandinavian and Slavonic art (fig. 15). It has the same construction as the Llanelli and convex pendants. The geometrical granulation on the suspension loop with straight double lines and triangles and lozenges of granules is characteristic for the Russian style. However, the fabrication technique is characteristic of Scandinavian art: it consists of pressing the upper sheet of metal in the die to form the main elements of the relief (a two-headed bird) which can be seen on the reverse. The shape and style of the bird and irregular granulation have many parallels in Scandinavian jewellery.

All the above-mentioned circular pendants are dated to the second half of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.

The material discussed in the present paper belongs to different manufacturing traditions. The

larger part of the jewellery has parallels in the Nordic and Slavonic materials.

W. Duczko thinks that the Slavonic filigree work from Eastern Europe can be divided into three geographical groups: Moravia-Bohemia, Volynien-Kiev and Poland-Elbeland (Duczko 1985). The material from Gnezdovo includes a few items of jewellery of the first groups but these occur mainly in the settlement. The largest part of the ornaments belongs to the Volhynian-Kiev group. The manufacture of the light filigree decorations in Volhynia is well-documented by their being markedly concentrated in this region and in the famous grave material from Peresopnitca.

It is clear that every group reflects oriental and Byzantine influences. The art of filigree and granulation had not been adopted directly from Byzantium. The origin of Moravian jewellery was connected with the Avars, who were the mediators between the Byzantium and Slavonic world (Duczko 1983). The appearance of Volhynian local group is connected with Moravian influences but reveals distinctive features.

Russian hoards with Volhynian jewellery were identified as a special chronological group by G.F. Korzuchina (map). The group consists of expensive women's ornaments which are stylistically unified. The owners belong to the upper strata of the Old Rus' society. The same ornaments are also present in the rich graves in Kiev, Chernigov and Gnezdovo, connected with the guard of the Grand Prince. It is difficult and even impossible to determine whether a

hoard was accumulated by trading or raiding, or is constituted by payments to a retainer. Some hoards represent the true jewellery of a family. More often, however, coins and ornaments were exchanged by traders. A very large part of the complete ornaments had the double function of being both a means of payment and jewellery. Some hoards contain the typical tools of the merchants' trade: scales and weights.

The hoards from Gnezdovo also contain a large proportion of Scandinavian filigree work brought to Gnezdovo by Scandinavians. Apart from a great variety of pendants, we should mention 3 examples of the round filigree brooches found in the graves and at the settlement (fig. 20)

There are no striking differences between Slavonic and Nordic manufacturing traditions. The differences are mainly of a stylistic nature. Sometimes, the styles and decorations have been mixed into one single pattern.

The most complex question concerns the identification of the ethnic background of the craftsmen who produced all these objects. However, the detailed study of the differences between these manufacturing traditions can lead us to the point where we will be able to distinguish the borderlines between the separate ethnic groups.

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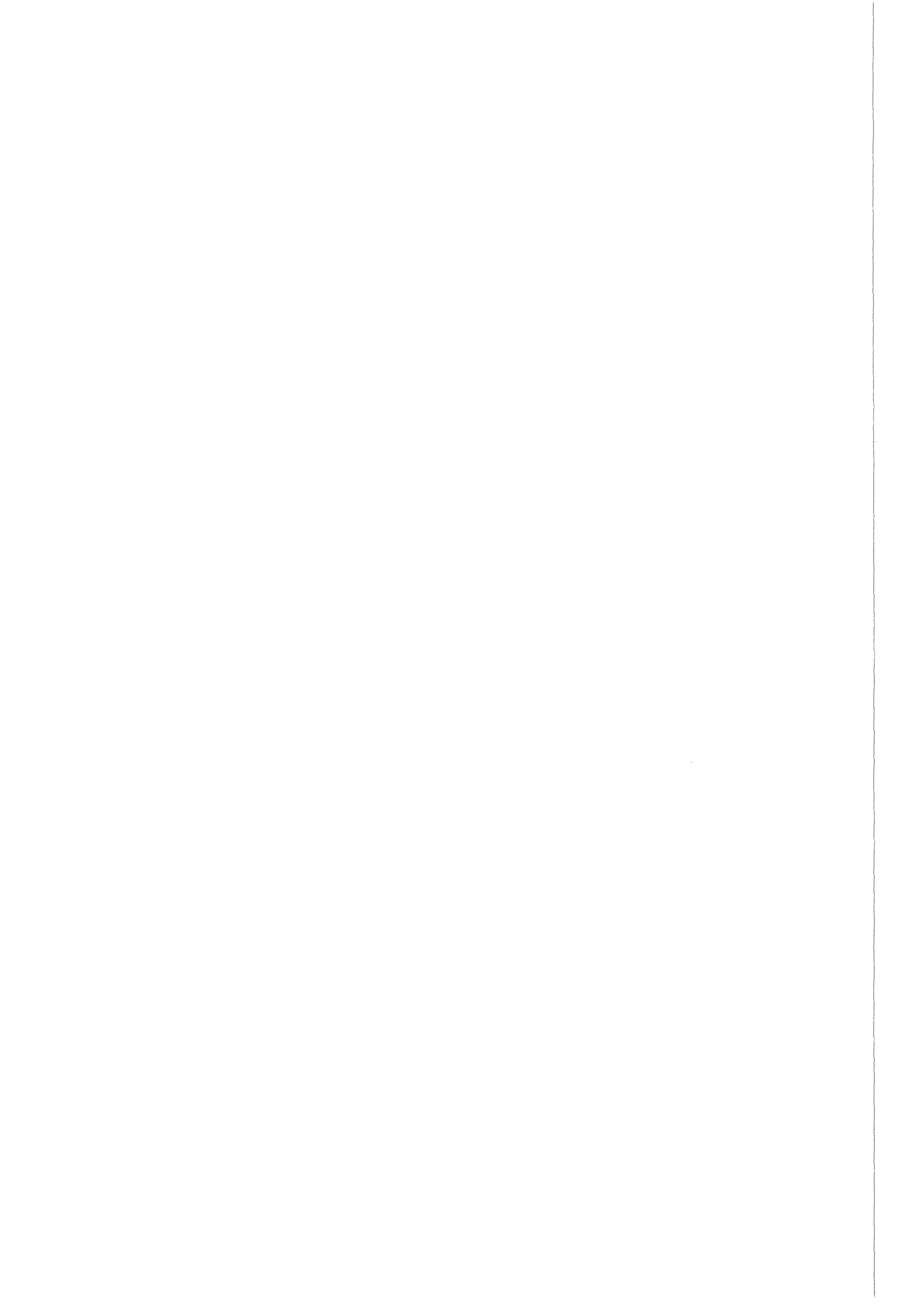
Jewellery, art and symbolism in Medieval Irish society

Abstract

The aesthetics of art and beauty, concepts of wealth and status, courtly love and the symbolism of religious beliefs can be approached through the study of Medieval jewellery and society in Ireland. The organisation of Anglo-Norman and Gaelic societies within a culturally divided island influenced the use, form and decoration of such items as ring brooches, finger rings, girdles and paternoster beads etc. Archaeological, historical and art historical studies of these items illustrate how some social groups deliberately portrayed themselves as part of a wider European culture. The following paper is based on a chapter from a forthcoming publication on Medieval ring brooches in Ireland (Deevy forthcoming).

Introduction

By the twelfth century, Ireland had already been moving towards the feudal socio-economic system common throughout western Europe, but this process was accelerated with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans after 1169 AD (O'Brien 1994). A manorial agricultural economy was established in the conquered areas, in which all land was owned by the lord but held for him by a hierarchy of nobles and peasants in return for dues in the form of money, goods, services and allegiance. Associated with European feudalism was chivalry, a series of ethical ideals representing Christian and military concepts of morality (Saul 1992, 6-7). This paper explores what insights the study of jewellery, in particular ring brooches, can contribute to our understanding of medieval society in Ireland.

Ring brooches were one of the most important items of medieval jewellery, worn by men and women across Europe, both as decorative ornaments and practical clothes fasteners. They can date from the late twelfth to the sixteenth centuries, although they were most popular in the thirteenth century. A ring brooch essentially consists of an open metal frame and a short pin, made of either gold or silver or of a copper alloy or lead alloy. They can be quite plain or simply decorated with engraved motifs such as the continuous chevrons and rocked tracer ornament on a ring brooch from Knowth, Co. Meath (Fig. 1: 1). They can also be highly decorated with gemstones set in collets as on the ring brooch from Marlborough Street, Dublin (Fig. 1: 2).

The distribution of ring brooches in Ireland shows a striking concentration in the areas controlled by the Anglo-Normans from the late twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, being particularly common in the north-east, east and south of the island (Fig. 2). The provenances of the majority of ring brooches also emphasize Anglo-Norman associations with most examples found in towns, rural fortifications, manorial settlements and the ecclesiastical foundations of the new religious orders. A few ring brooch finds from crannógs (artificial island settlements) may indicate that the Gaelic Irish had also adopted this form of jewellery.

A valuable source of information about medieval jewellery and clothing are contemporary depictions which survive in a variety of forms, including stone and brass effigies, incised grave slabs, architectural stone sculpture, wooden sculpture, decorated pottery, illustrated manuscripts, frescos, oil paintings and stained glass. These serve as a window in time through which many aspects of medieval life and technology can be studied (Unger 1991). The most important form of depictions surviving from medieval Ireland are stone effigies. Their value has already been shown in the study of the development of medieval clothes and armour (Dunlevy 1989; Hunt 1974). As far as I am aware there appear to be no surviving Irish medieval manuscripts with actual depictions of ring brooches. Such manuscripts from other European countries however have proved to be one of the most interesting sources of details especially for some of the 'lower' classes of medieval society. In particular, medieval Psalters and Books of Hours from Britain, France, Germany and the Low Countries typically
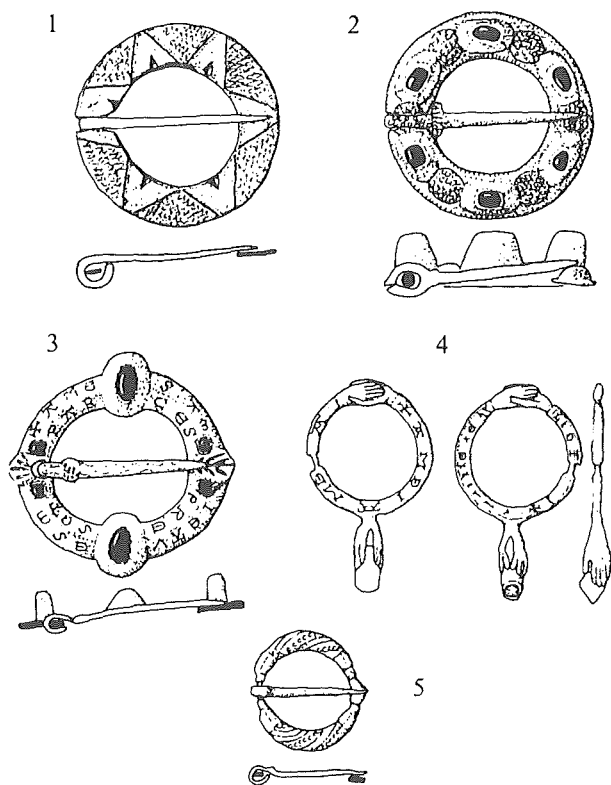
Fig. 1. - *Examples of Irish Medieval ring brooches.
1: Copper alloy brooch from Knowth, Co. Meath, 2: Gold brooch ith gems from Marlborough Street, Dublin, 3: Gold brooch with gems and inscription from Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, 4: Gold brooch with inscription and projecting hands clasping collet, Trim, Co. Meath, 5: Silver brooch with stylised sleeves and joined hands, unprovenanced.*

contain as incidental illustrated detail, a wealth of information on contemporary crafts, costume and every day activities.

Ring brooches are inextricably linked to the style of contemporary medieval dress as they primarily functioned as clothes fasteners. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries gowns worn by both men and women often had a slit at the neck enabling them to be pulled on over the head. The ring brooch served the practical function of closing this slit as illustrated for example by sculpted heads on the porch of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny city. The pin was thrust through the edges of the vertical split at the neck which first had to be pulled slightly through the frame so that the pin could be manoeuvrered through them. The result is that the pin is simply held in place against the opposite side of the frame by the drape of the fabric. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both men's and women's clothing became tighter and were usually fastened with buttons and laces. While the ring brooch was occasionally still worn with the looser style of dress, it was now more often seen fastening a cloak over the breast eg: 'Christ showing the five wounds' on a tomb chest in Gowran Co. Kil-

kenny. The ring brooch also performed additional practical tasks such as attaching items like purses, paternoster beads and aprons to the dress.

Ring brooches and jewellery as assets

'In an age without banks', collections of gold and silver coins, plate and jewellery 'represented bullion, and were assets easily realised in times of financial difficulty' (Campbell 1991, 108). Such collections are represented by British, German, French and Danish medieval coin hoards which have also contained jewellery. Many coin hoards were probably deposited for safety during political unrest or from fear in economic crises. A number of hoards have been associated with the Scottish Wars of Independence (Callendar 1924, 163). Two English fifteenth-century hoards from Fishpool, Nottinghamshire and the Thames river, London, may have been associated with the Wars of the Roses (Cherry 1973, 308; Hinton 1993, 328; Hinton 1982, 21). Religious persecution may also have resulted in a number of hastily deposited hoards not being retrieved. For example two fourteenth-century hoards, one from Colmar, France and another from Munster, Germany have been dated to periods when major Jewish pogroms occurred in those towns (Reynolds Brown 1992, 414). However hoards were probably also buried for safekeeping as savings in times of peace (Thompson 1956, xvi).

Many medieval Irish documentary references attest to the collection of large quantities of valuables including jewellery and clothing by the wealthy and of the need to safeguard them. In 1295, Silvester le Ercedekne accused Hugh Purcel, sheriff of Tipperary of breaking into his castle (of Dounhochil) and stealing from chests and coffers a large quantity of valuables including money, clothes, armour, plate, gold rings, precious stones, brooches, girdles woven with silk and other jewels (Mills 1905, 6). In the same year in County Waterford, Leopardus de Mareys accused two men of breaking into his house and taking from a chest money, jewels, gold, silver, bonds and cloth (Mills 1905, 67). In 1297 in Waterford Milanus Petri accused four men of having broken into the house of his lord, the parson of the church of Dungaruan, of having broken open a chest and of stealing money, brooches, rings, spoons, other jewels and bonds (Mills 1905, 128). In Dublin in 1306 Alex. de Kexeby accused his serving man Hugh de Stafford of having broken into his coffers and stealing brooches, rings and money (Mills 1914, 498). Such references show that wealthy people accumulated their own stocks of precious metal and gemstones as well as jewellery, coins and cloth. While precious metals and stones

Fig. 2. - *Distribution of medieval ring brooches in Ireland.*

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74 provenanced
66 unprovenanced

Dublin city, 26 brooches

Waterford city, 6 brooches

100 Km
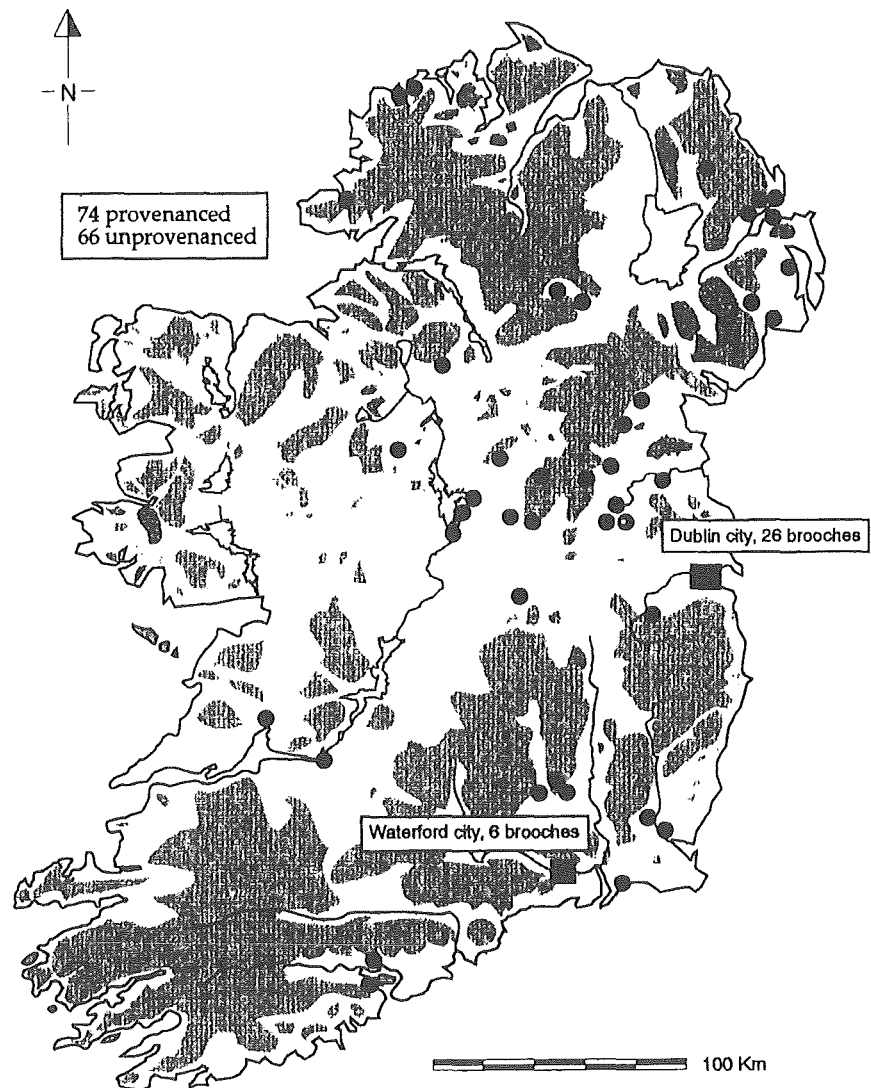
were kept as a reserve of valuables they were also collected in order to be converted into jewellery at a later date. When commissioning jewels, patrons were often expected to supply goldsmiths with gold, silver and gems, the raw materials of their trade (Campbell 1991, 117; Lightbown 1992, 33).

Jewellery was also pledged as security to obtain money advances. An inventory of the belongings of Ellen Stiward made in 1457 shows that she had 'a set of beads of one Agnes Broun with five rings and 1 brooch' pledged for 5s (Berry 1898, 2). An inventory of the goods of Hugh Galliane, citizen of Dublin made in 1474, show that he had one jewel belonging to the church of St. Patrick pledged with him for 10s (Berry 1898, 85). In 1474 Arlandton Ussher, a merchant in Dublin, had one gold ring as security for a loan of 3s 4d made to John Roche (Berry 1898, 92). In Dublin in 1299 Sibilla de Fulbourne was forced to take legal action in an attempt to retrieve her jewellery in the form of a girdle and ten gold rings which she had pledged as security for a loan of 40s and had since repaid (Mills 1905, 220).

The role of jewellery and clothing in medieval economics might also be reflected in some of the varied motives inspiring contemporary sumptuary laws. Frances Elizabeth Baldwin has suggested that on the one hand these laws endeavoured 'to encourage home industries and to discourage the buying of foreign goods', but they were also an 'attempt on the part of the sovereign to induce his people to save their money so that they might be able to help him out financially in times of need' (Baldwin 1926, 10).

Ring brooches, jewellery and social ostentation

'In a courtly world it was important to be seen to be richly accoutred' (Hinton 1993, 328). The following comments of Henry VI's son's tutor Sir John Fortescue in the fifteenth century would indicate that lavish display was not just important but was an 'essential attribute of kingship' (Scarisbrick 1994, 3):

'It shall need be that the King have such treasure as he ...... may buy him rich clothes, rich stones, and

Fig. 3. - *Sculpted head on the porch of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. (Photo M.B. Deevy).*

In the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a series of sumptuary laws were enacted throughout Europe which formally restricted the wearing of clothing and jewellery by law. In feudal Europe this legislation attempted to preserve the hierarchy of society by preventing members of the lower orders from dressing above their station. It was desired that any stranger should be able to tell by merely looking at ones dress to what rank in society one belonged (Baldwin 1926, 10). Such laws were often specifically aimed at the increasingly wealthy urban merchants. With their greater spending power wealthy bourgeoisie occasionally 'behaved like aristocratic consumers' in displaying and storing their wealth by buying plate and jewels (Dyer 1989, 205-207). For example the English sumptuary legislation of 1363 decreed that craftsmen and yeomen 'were forbidden to wear precious stones, cloth of silver, silk, girdles, knives, buttons, rings, brooches, chains etc of gold or silver...' (Baldwin 1926, 46-48). David Hinton suggests that these attempts to restrict the lesser knights and the bourgeoise might also reflect the insecurity of the aristocracy which was not always certain of its own tenure (1982, 21). On the contrary many Italian sumptuary laws have 'an anti-aristocratic flavour' and were used to promote 'republican virtue' (Hughes 1983, 74). While it is unclear how successful either of these attempts were, they illustrate medieval society's perception of the use of jewellery and clothing 'as a social mechanism for maintaining rank' (Hinton 1993, 328).

Those who had aspirations towards nobility, and could afford to, often imitated expensive jewellery with 'gold-coloured' copper alloys and glass stones. In the Irish corpus there are a number of copper alloy ring brooches which are identical in design to Irish gold and silver ring brooches. These may have been produced to imitate expensive jewellery for bourgeoisie consumers who could not quite afford precious metal or were forbidden from wearing it by law.

A thirteenth century French poem the *Dit du Mercier* illustrates how the the use of ring brooches, in the form of cheap imitations 'had reached a class that could not afford to have them of gold' (Evans 1952, 17). The poem is written as 'the sales-talk of a wandering pedlar' who describes the goods he carries in his basket (Lightbown 1992, 53):

> *'J'ai fermaillez d'archal dorez*
> *Et de laiton sorgentez*
> *Et tant les aim cux de laiton*
> *Sovent por argent le met on'.*

Which translates essentially as 'I have little brooches of gilt brass, and of silvered latten, and so fond are folk of latten, that often it is valued as silver' (Lightbown 1992, 53). A number of illustrated manuscripts include depictions of craftworker's apprentices wear-

other jewels and ornaments convenient to his state royal. ..... For if a King did not do so, he lived then not like his estate, but rather in misery and more in subjection than doth a private person.'

A perceived necessity for such ostentatious extravagance might explain successive generations of the English aristocracy's often huge expenditure on jewels. David Hinton cites a number of examples to illustrate this; in 1355, the Black Prince incurred a debt for jewels to a single merchant for £1,459 15s. 8d., while between 1351 and 1355 he spent £1,575 5s 5d. on building Kennington Palace. Similarly in 1501 Henry VII paid £14,000 to French jewellers when his heir's marriage was to be celebrated, in comparison he spent £20,000 between 1502 and 1509 on his chapel at Westminster Abbey (Hinton 1993, 327). The aristocracy were not the only consumers who used clothing and jewellery, to proclaim rank and wealth (Lightbown 1992, 79). Clothing was such 'an important expression of social rank' in the middle ages (Dyer 1989, 88), that it constituted 'a way of ordering human relations' (Hughes 1983, 88).

ing ring brooches such as that of a young blacksmith in the English Egerton manuscript (Unger pl. 40). Similarly stone sculptures such as those from the Maison de Musee, Rheims, France depict young musicians wearing ring brooches to fasten the slit in the neck of their garments. Such examples from contemporary literature and art emphasise that ring brooches were indeed worn by all levels of society.

Other copper alloy brooches appear to be deliberately simplified versions rather than imitations of gold and silver brooches. It may be that such brooches represent the taste of a more conservative element in society, who disapproved of extravagance in jewellery and dress, 'encouraged by medieval religious sentiment' which condemned vanity and ostentation, particularly in women (Lightbown 1992, 79). Indeed many sumptuary laws were probably partly motivated by 'sheer conservatism' and the belief 'that luxury and extravagance were in themselves wicked and harmful to the morals of the people' (Baldwin 1926, 10).

Ring brooches and jewellery as gifts

Jewellery and clothes were often given as gifts by royalty and wealthy nobles to their supporters. The wearing of such gifts indicated where ones loyalty and allegiances lay. The often numerous retinue of aristocratic households wore badges and liveries which identified their affiliation to a particular lord (Dyer 1989, 53). The expense of employing and maintaining men including many 'for whom there were no specific tasks' was justified by the benefits to the lord's image and standing in being surrounded by 'elegant companions' (Dyer 1989, 53). Particular symbols or devices usually worn in the form of badges were frequently also incorporated into other items of jewellery, including ring brooches. Such devices identified 'the spiritual, political or social allegiances or affiliations of the wearer' (Lightbown 1992, 188). A gold ring brooch from Manchester is decorated with open broom pod motifs. Broom was used as a device by various french nobles including Geoffrey of Anjou, the father of Henry II (Cherry 1983, 78).

In the light of the attitudes explicit in sumptuary laws, the giving of presents of expensive jewellery could be viewed as 'acknowledgement of the recipients' status' by their aristocratic donors (Hinton 1993, 328). The wider implications of sumptuary laws, which were designed, among other reasons to prevent the lower orders from wearing 'outrageous and excessive apparel' (Baldwin 1926, 47), were that 'the higher aristocracy ought to wear such things' (Dyer 1989, 88-89). Another important aspect of
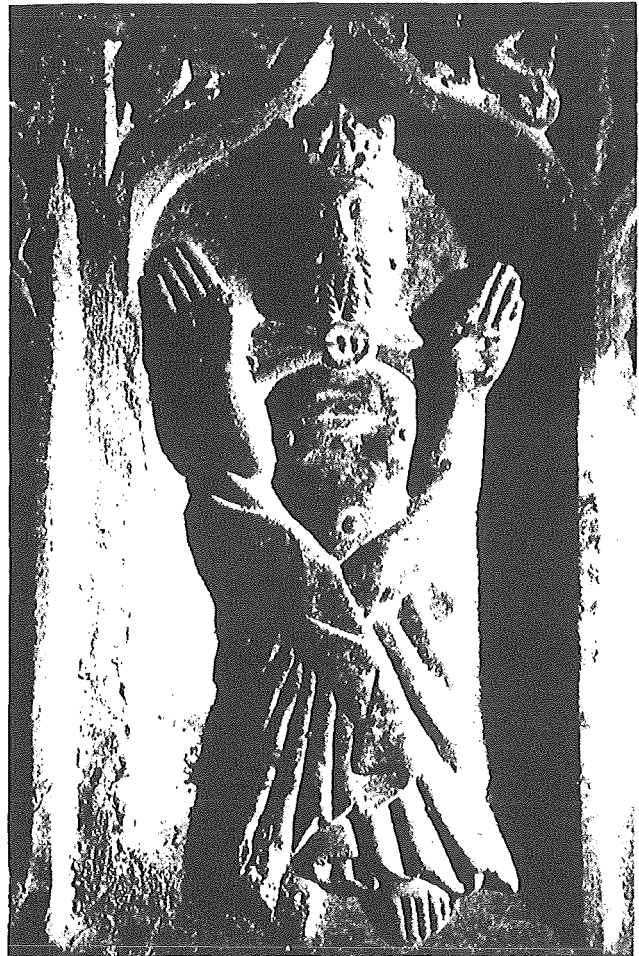
Fig. 4. - 'Christ showing the five wounds' from a tomb chest in Gowran, Co. Kilkenny. (Photo M.B. Deevy).

medieval gift-giving was the concept of reciprocity, in that it was accepted as being an incurred debt, to be requited with allegiance or a service (Hinton 1993, 328). A possible Irish example of this use of jewellery is recorded in the Calendar of Justiciary Rolls of Ireland in the year 1302. Isabella Cadel and Fynewell Seyuyn, her maid, were arrested and brought to gaol in Kildare for coming from the felons, the Gaelic Irish, of the mountains. Isabella admitted that she had been sent by her lord Dermot Odymsi to the mountains to speak with certain friends and confederates of his, and that she had brought with her from the mountains certain jewels sent as a gift to him. Their goods were confiscated including a 'silver brooch of the weight and value of one penny' (Mills 1905, 368).

Ring brooches in betrothal and love

Gifts of jewellery also played an important part in the highly ritualised l'amour courtois (courtly love).

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Ring brooches with the frame in the form of a heart are quite common throughout western Europe, although there are no examples in the Irish corpus. The inscriptions which decorate many circular ring brooches show that they too were commonly gifts between lovers. Four of the Irish ring brooches bear inscriptions which speak of love. An unprovenanced silver brooch, is inscribed AMOR VINCIT OMNIA (Love conquers all). The Prioress, in Geoffrey Chaucer's Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales,*, written in the fourteenth century also wore:

'..... *a broch of gold ful shene,*
On which was first i-writ a crowned A,
And after, amor vincit omnia. '

Love inscriptions in latin, such as this, were common, but they were more frequently written in French. This does not necessarily imply a French origin for such brooches as French was accepted as the language of chivalric love and gentility in medieval Europe. One Irish brooch is inscribed PAR AMUR FIN SUI DUNE (translation?) while a brooch from Enniscorthy, Co. Wexford, (Fig. 1.3) is inscribed AMES AMIE; AVES M PAR CES PRESET (By this gift you have the friend you love). A brooch from Trim, Co. Meath, (Fig. 1.4) is inscribed AMEI AMEA and SUI X E X EM ILI DAM which John Cherry has interpreted as possibly a corruption of IE SUIS EN LIEU D'UN AMI (1988, 147) (I am in place of a friend you love) which would again appear to indicate the gift of a lover.

The giving of jewellery to a bride on betrothal and marriage was an established custom throughout western Europe in the middle ages (Lightbown 1992, 72). These gifts most often took the form of finger rings and ring brooches. The exchange of gifts symbolised 'a pledge of conjugal affection' and fidelity on betrothal and marriage (Lightbown 1992, 183). The desire for fidelity from women by their suitors is seen to be quite determined in the following testimonies. In 1184 the poet Johannes de Hauville in his *Archithrenius* wrote (Lightbown 1992, 138):

'My bride shall wear a brooch – a witness to her modesty and a proof that hers will be a chaste bed. It will shut up her breast and thrust back any intruder, preventing its closed approach from gaping open and the entrance to her bosom from being cheapened by becoming a beaten path for any traveller, and an adulterous eye from tasting what delights the honourable caresses of a husband'.

That the role of the brooch was to ensure chastity by shutting up the breast is also conveyed by the thirteenth century French poet Robert de Blois in his poem of advice to women *Le Chastisment des Dames* quoted above (Lightbown 1992, 138). A similar sen-

timent is proclaimed by the inscription on a thirteenth century gold brooch from Writtle, Essex:

JEO SUI FERMAIL PUR GARDER SEIN
KE NUS VILEIN N'I METTE MEIN

This translates essentially as 'I am the brooch to guard the breast that no knave may put his hand thereon' (Cherry 1976, 140). A pledge of unbroken faith was also signified by the incorporation of two pairs of clasped hands into the already symbolic unbroken circle of the frame of the ring brooch (Lightbown 1992). Clasped hands brooches were common in Northern Europe, particularly in Germany were they were known as *hanntruwebrazen*, 'betrothal brooches' (for examples see Lightbown 1992, figs. 86-91; Steen Jensen *et al* 1992, 175).

This tradition is also represented by a number of the Irish brooches. A gold ring brooch from Trim, (Fig. 1.4) has one pair of clasped hands incorporated into the top of its frame. The French inscription on the frame of this brooch, as discussed above, which translates as 'I am in place of the friend you love' shows that it was certainly a lovers gift. Unlike any of the other European examples this brooch also has a pair of joined hands clasping a collet projecting from the frame. It is unclear whether the projecting joined hands, represented in a number of Irish brooches shared the same symbolism as the clasped hands of these betrothal brooches. However the combination of both the projecting joined hands and the clasped hands on the Trim brooch, may suggest that they did also signify eternal troth. An unprovenanced Irish silver brooch, (Fig. 1.5) has a highly stylized pair of joined rather than clasped hands incorporated into its frame. The hands join under the pin tip rather than at the top and bottom of the frame as in the clasped hands brooches or at the bottom as in the projecting hands brooches. The remainder of the frame, however represents stylized sleeves as seen on many German *hanntruebrazen* brooches.

Ring brooches and jewellery with amuletic and talismanic properties

In the middle ages precious gemstones were highly valued for their perceived amuletic properties as well as for their beauty and rarity. These beliefs were not the perogative of the uneducated superstitious masses but were very much entertained by the learned. Numerous medieval lapidaries (texts on gemstones), such as the *Book of Minerals* by the thirteenth century philosopher Albertus Magnus, dwelt mainly on the virtues of gems. The primary source for the medieval lore of precious stones was

the eleventh century poem the *Liber Lapidum* (Book of Stones) by Marbode the Bishop of Rennes. Marbodus's *Liber* was heavily based on similar work by classical writers such as Damigeron, Pliny and St. Isidore (Evans and Serjeantson 1933, xi; Armstrong 1973, 12). Gems valued for their amuletic qualities could be worn as charms in the form of pendants or mounted in finger rings or bracelets or they could be kept in special purses and worn on the dress often attached with brooches.

Prophylactic inscriptions designed to ward off harm were very common on medieval jewellery. These were usually in the form of religious names or formulae. In the thirteenth century, St. Thomas Aquinas debated in his *Summa Theologica* whether it was appropriate for people to wear the words of the gospels, as he feared that they were worn because of a belief in their magical rather than spiritual power. Such formulae often occurred in a bewilderingly abbreviated form. It is possible that many variations occur because of illiteracy on the part of the engraver. Some inscriptions, however appear to be deliberately cryptic. It may have been intentional to make inscriptions more mysterious thus increasing their 'magical qualities' in the superstitious medieval mind.

One Irish brooch has an example of what is probably a deliberately cryptic inscription. The bifaceted front face is divided into four sections. The inscription occurs alternately on the inner and outer facet around the frame. Although the letters on each of the four facets face alternately inwards and outwards, they must be read clockwise, beginning at the sign of the cross, even if upside down for the inscription to make sense. Thus it reads +AVEIMARIAG. Similarly the inscription on another Irish brooch 'ENYNAICARGAIRAMEVA+' is actually +AVE MARIA GRACIA NYNE when read backwards.

The Angelic Salutation 'Ave Maria Gratia Plena' (Hail Mary full of grace) was often used to invoke the protection of the Virgin. By the twelfth century adoration of the Virgin Mary had developed into a cult in the Western Church which was powerful enough to inspire a wave of church and cathedral building right across Europe (Frayling 1995, 57). A similar veneration of the Virgin in medieval Ireland is also indicated by the common use of devotional phrases on the Irish inscribed brooches. A silver brooch from Carrickfergus, Co. Antrim is inscribed with what has been interpreted as AVE MARIA GxP III, the last three letters indicating that the salutation should be repeated thrice (Anon 1857, 249). In other brooches the Salutation varies somewhat, such as +AVE(G?)V+AVEX and ISEUS MA(I?)RE HV.

The titulus IHESUS NAZARENUS REX IUDAEORUM (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews)

Fig. 5. - *St. Margaret of Antioch from a tomb chest in Jerpoint Abbey, Co. Kilkenny. (Photo M.B. Deevy).*

is a very common inscription on medieval ring brooches (Anon. 1860, 166). It often occurs in an abbreviated or blundered form (Callendar 1924, fig 3). The invocation of the cross was believed to be a defense from violent death or sudden harm (Saunders 1983, 146). A silver brooch from Trim, Co. Meath is inscribed on the front face with IHRNRI. An abbreviation of the titulus also occurs within the inscription on a gold ring brooch from Co. Monaghan '+IHSENAOIIP'CI', although the remainder of the inscription is unintelligible. The names of the Magi from the Orient do not occur in the story prophesied by Isaiah and told by Matthew in the Gospels. It was only in the early middle ages that they were named 'Caspar, Melchoir and Balthasar' (Schiller 1971, 94-96). Throughout medieval Europe the adoration of the three kings were believed to give protection from a number of illnesses, especially 'the falling sickness' (epilepsy), headache and fevers. They were also believed to protect one from the dangers of the road,

sudden death and sorcery and to assist in recovering lost property (Evans 1922, 125-126). This tradition can also be traced in the Irish ring brooches. The reverse face of a silver brooch from Trim, is inscribed with a version of the names of the three Magi IACPAR: MELCHAR: BALTICAR. In the medieval Corpus Christi pageant in Dublin, the goldsmiths acted as the three kings of Cologne 'riding worshipfully, with the offering and a star before them' (Clark and Refaussé 1993, 21).

Conclusion

Ring brooches were worn by men, women and children, from almost all classes of society, in many countries across Europe throughout the middle ages. At their most elemental they were dress accessories, in the form of simple and adaptable clothes fasteners. They were also jewellery worn for personal adornment to enhance the wearer's beauty. However the materials they were made from, their decoration and inscriptions and contemporary accounts all indicate the variety of symbolic values that they could be seen as expressing. Certain types would have been perceived as having amuletic qualities and were therefore worn to promote the wearer's health. As jewellery made of precious materials ring brooches would have served as financial assets which could be realised in times of need. The wearing of ring brooches must also be viewed in the light of the chivalric ideals of European medieval society. Both the financial capacity to acquire and the legal permission to wear jewellery of precious materials would have been important signifiers of wealth and rank. Imitative brooches of non-precious metals would have expressed one's desire to rise in the social hierarchy. They also served as symbols of personal social relations, either secretly in the context of courtly love or more openly between brides and grooms to be. Ring brooches which combined the roles of dress fastener and jewellery with that of the badge, blazoned political loyalties and allegiances. Among other things these insights clearly indicate that some elements of medieval Irish society saw themselves as being part of a wider European tradition.

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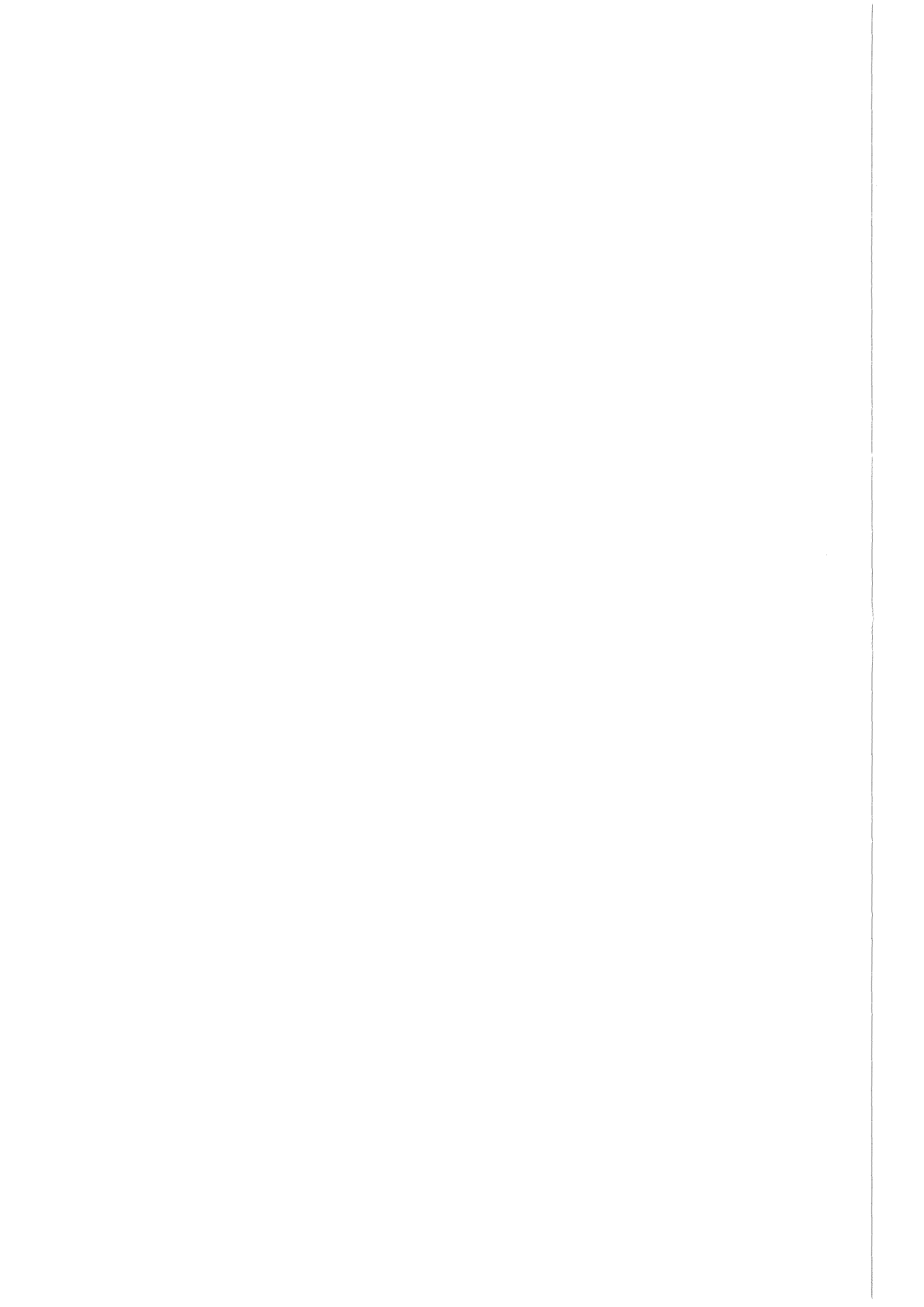
Karen Høilund Nielsen

"... writhe-hilted and serpent-marked ..."

"wreopenhilt ond wyrmfah" are the words used in the poem *Beowulf* for the hilt of the sword Beowulf used when he killed Grendel. It is also mentioned that it is a ring-sword. Ring-swords with serpent decoration are well known from archaeological finds, as are other artifacts (often with animal decoration) mentioned in *Beowulf* for use as precious gifts (weaponry and horse equipment), especially to successful retainers who earned their "spurs" by fighting for the king and other high-ranked persons.

Important phenomena in the early Medieval period are Style II and Style-II animals (Fig. 1). Style II is spread over large parts of Europe and many analyses and interpretations of it have appeared during the past century. Earlier studies concentrated primarily on the art-history, style development and diffusion. Good chronologies covering the entire distribution area have long been needed, but are getting closer now. Style II is an animal style, such as were known from the previous period; but how were the separate, sometimes surrealistic, animals transformed into the much more "realistic" animals of Style II in their very strict schemes? The origin has been interpreted as everything from a Scandinavian development of Style I to a product of a merger of Alamannic Style I with the Mediterranean Ribbon Style. Common to most of the interpretations is that they build on an analysis of an internal art-historian development of the styles. What, however, is suggested by a contextual study of the style?

Style II itself is most common in Denmark, Sweden and Finland where up to 15 % of the graves of a cemetery may contain Style II. The style is most widely used in southern Scandinavia, whereas the Swedish and Finnish finds are linked to chieftains and princely graves. There are further local variations which I shall not touch upon here (see Høilund Nielsen 1991; 1997; forthcoming a; forthcoming b). Though quite numerous, the finds from the Continent and Anglo-Saxon England are spread over en extremely large area and only in very few cases is there more than one grave containing Style II in a Continental cemetery. This means that Style-II

animals are actually rather uncommon outside Scandinavia; the style is something foreign.

The artistic quality in Scandinavia is quite high; the ornamentation is often very complicated and carved with a sure hand. In the Continental material, except for a few outstandingly well-made objects, a lot of the examples are artistically poor; some are of good technical quality, but still the Style-II animals were not always familiar enough to the artist for him to achieve the exquisite Scandinavian quality.

The Scandinavian development of Style II was subjected to chronological study at an early stage, and the relative sequence has been described in detail. The problem which is still not sufficiently resolved is the absolute dates. The starting-point for Style II varies from 525 to 565, although more and more scholars prefer an early date.

Due to recent decades of Continental research in Merovingian chronology it is now possible to divide the objects with Style-II animals from the Continent into chronological phases and thus to see a development. They seem not to appear before *c.* 565, and are consequently later than the Scandinavian Style-II animals. This would mean that Style-II animals were first introduced in Scandinavia and then spread to the Continent and England (see the maps on Fig. 2, 3 and 4 (England is not included)). The direction of diffusion is first to Austrasia (the East Frankish area) and Alamannia, and westwards to East Anglia. From Austrasia/Alamannia the style spreads to Lombard Italy and to Kent, and at a later stage to Burgundy. In East Anglia, Kent, Alamannia and Lombard Italy the style has a later, local development.

The direct archaeological context can be divided into two: object types, and physical context. The object-types on which the Style-II animals occur are initially parts of the weaponry, such as swords, sword-belts and horse-harnesses, just as described in *Beowulf*. Shortly afterwards the Style-II animals also appear on some brooch-types; on the Continent primarily on the Germanic bow-brooches. Later, especially in the later development of the style on the Continent, it spread to other object-types too, such as

crosses and shoe-buckles. In the case of both weaponry and brooches the chosen object usually itself expresses high status. Exceptions are a large number of brooches in southern Scandinavia which are plain rectangular bronze-brooches. On the Continent (and in England) the style is connected to high-quality objects, whereas in southern Scandinavia the scale is much broader. The physical context is most often graves or stray-finds probably from spoiled graves. From Denmark, however, a considerable amount of finds come from settlement areas (Jensen & Watt 1993; Høilund Nielsen & Vang Petersen 1993). These sites seem to represent settlements of central importance. The graves are in by far the majority of cases, be they in Scandinavia, England or on the Continent, rather rich graves, sometimes very rich graves. As the style often occurs on weaponry it also, of course, appears quite frequently in weapon-burials. It is, however, important that although the style is found in many weapon-burials, not all the weapon-burials of the same level contain Style-II animals.

Style II and Style-II animals are not spread equally over Europe; they are found in certain areas. Inside Scandinavia Style I is very diverse and on basis of other parts of the archaeological material it has been shown that in the 5th century Scandinavia consists of several rather small political units, whereas some time in the first half of the 6th century the various units in southern Scandinavia were united into one area and after that Style II appears and is uniform over a large area. In Sweden too, smaller areas merged together. At the end of the 6th century the Öland/Småland area changes from Swedish to southern Scandinavian material culture, and it is possible to demonstrate that there were attacks on the fortresses of Öland which were subsequently abandoned. Compared with the tight link between territorial conquest and comprehensive change in material culture connected with the expansion of the Frankish Empire, it seems reasonable to interpret the situation on Öland as a conquest.

The combination of ordinary and high-status Style II is only found in southern Scandinavia, whereas in Sweden and Finland only high status Style II is found. Outside Scandinavia the style is primarily found in East Anglia, Kent, Austrasia, Alamannia, Lombard Italy and the eastern part of the *Teilreiche* Burgundy. But – as shown by the chronological analysis – not at the same time. The Style-II animals appear in southern Scandinavia from probably second third of the 6th century onwards. In East Anglia they are found from the middle of the 6th century onwards and in Kent from second half of the 6th century and onwards. In Austrasia they are only found c. 565-610, whereas in Alamannia they occur from c. 565 on-

wards. Among the Lombards, except for few probably Austrasian objects, they are found from the early 7th century and onwards. Among the east Burgundians they are not found until the later part of the 7th century. From this it appears that the diffusion of Style-II animals cannot just be simple diffusion, but must be bound to certain circumstances in the upper levels of European Germanic society and linked to people represented by some of the weapon-graves of that upper part – but not all of them. The geographical distribution further shows that Style-II animals are linked to the Germanic peoples, and not the Roman or Romanised peoples. It is intriguing that the style did not flourish among the Neustrian (Western) Franks. In southern Scandinavia high-quality Style-II animals seem rather common and broadly used, whereas in Sweden and Finland they are linked to the uppermost elite and their weapon burials, and never to female equipment.

It seems possible that Style-II animals had a "function" related to external connections, high social status, warriorship, religion, the Germanic world, and changes in political territories (the formation of larger (political) territories; conquest).

The historical context cannot be equally clear in all areas and also depends profoundly on chronological understanding of the archaeological material.

For Austrasia, the period of Style-II animals is c. 565-610. Most occurrences are on weapon-equipment, especially sword-belts. The richer graves often contain material with some sort of Lombard connexion (the Lombards of the Middle Danube and Pannonia, before AD 568). A smaller number of women's brooches appear in the later part of the period. Most of the weaponry is from weapon-burials, but only from some of the weapon-burials, while weapon-burials in the neighbouring Neustria do not contain Style-II animals, although they do contain some of the same object types. A thorough examination of historical analyses of this period and area explains both an internal and external factionism and the Lombard connexion.

From 561 the son of Chlothar I, Sigibert I, took over in Austrasia and ruled the kingdom separately from the other Frankish kingdoms. His descendants ruled until 613. This Sigibert's name probably points to a past connexion with the Rhineland-Frankish royal family, or is an attempt to imitate it, probably for political reasons (Steuer 1980, 58, 102). The Rhineland-Franks belonged to another tribe than the Salian Franks that held power in the Frankish empire after 507.

For a long period to follow there was rivalry between Neustria in the west, where the Franks were
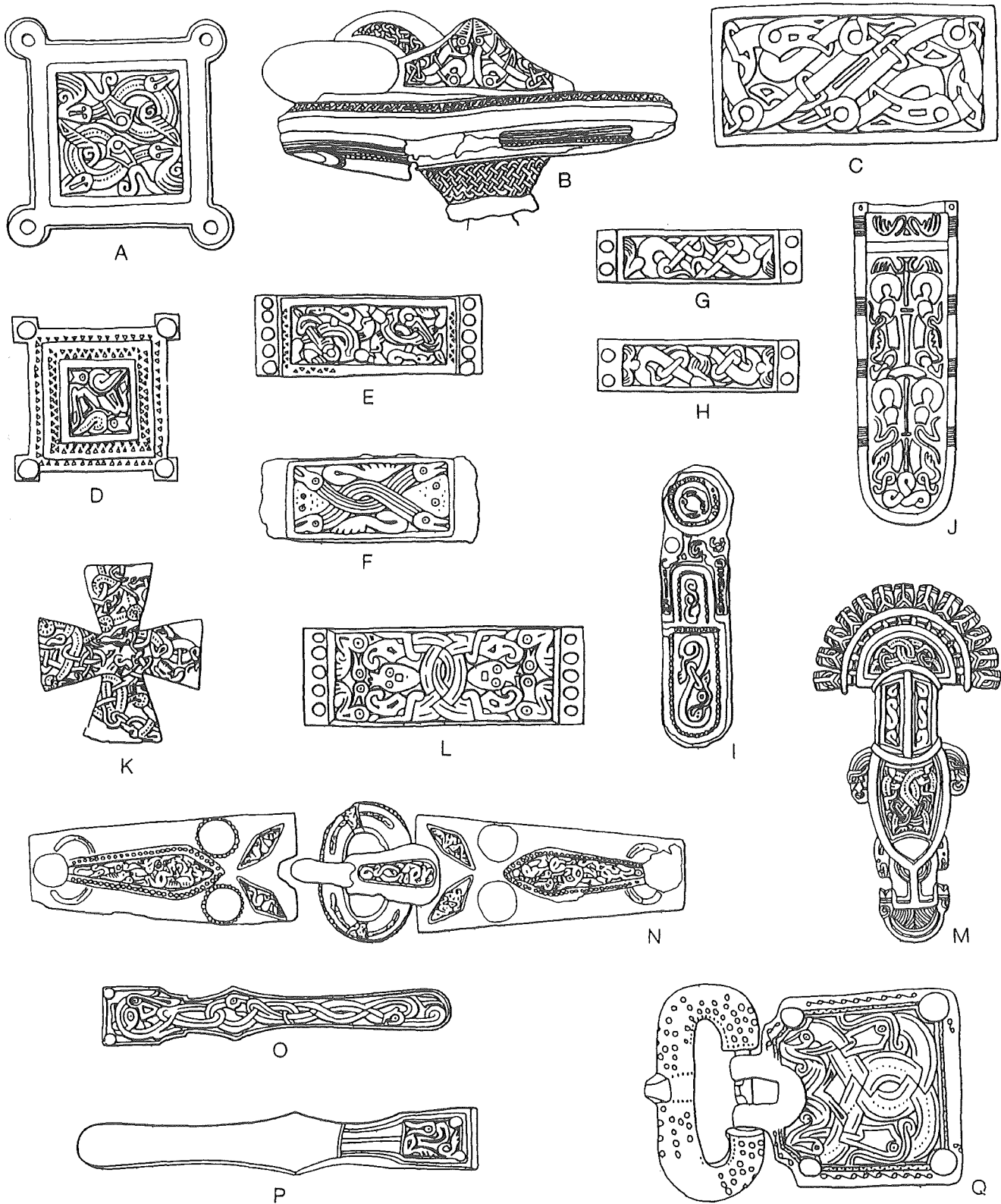
Fig. 1. - *Examples on objects decorated with Style-II animals. A: Mount for horse harness, unknown prov., Denmark. B: Pommes for ring-sword, Kyndby grave II, Sjælland. C: Rectangular brooch, unknown prov., Skåne. D: Mount for horse harness, Klepsau grave 6, Baden-Württemberg. E: Mount for sword-belt, Klepsau grave 6, Baden-Württemberg. F: Mount for sword-belt, Rödingen grave 266, Nordrhein-Westfalen. G-H: Mounts for horse harnesses, Niederstotzingen grave 9, Baden-Württemberg. I: Mount from multipart belt set, Donzdorf grave 75, Baden-Württemberg. J: Stocking-fittings, Nordendorf, Bayern. K: Gold-foil cross, Gualino, N.Italy. L: Mount for sword-belt, Nocera Umbra grave 27, Perugia. M: "Zonenknopffibula", Nocera Umbra grave 162, Perugia. N: Large buckle-set, Fétigny grave 5, Fribourg. O: Strap-end, Krefeld-Gellep grave 454, Nordrhein-Westfalen. P: Strap-end, Bartschendorf Burgwall, Brandenburg. Q: Buckle, Karden St. Kastor 70, Rheinland-Pfalz. (Drawings: Jørgen Mührmann-Lund)*

a dominant minority and highly romanised, and Austrasia in the east, which was heavily Germanic (James 1982, 30). That the relationship between Austrasia and Neustria-Burgundy was not always very good is illustrated by a series of episodes in the period 561-575, when the Austrasians under Sigibert made war against the Avars on the eastern frontier. At the same time Austrasia was attacked from behind by Sigibert's brother, Chilperic (Wood 1994, 89). Furthermore, from 575, when Sigibert I was assassinated, to 613, when Clothar II conquered Austrasia and brought it back under central control, the area was marked by recurrent wars and periods with minor kings. Both Childebert II (575-595) and Theudebert II (595-612) were minors when they came to power, and Theudebert was feeble-minded. This meant that various factions of the local aristocracy gained a great deal of power in this period (Halsall 1992, 277).

During the reign of Sigibert I, war was made against the immigrant Lombards in northern Italy. Sigibert I unsuccessfully attacked the area in 575 and his son, Childebert, campaigned against the Lombards for a period of seven years (584-591).

It is thus clear that factionism occurred in Austrasia and that the area was in clear opposition to Neustria. The Neustrians were romanised, whereas the leaders of Austrasia, in contrast, emphasized their Germanic heritage, some probably more than others.

Art may, in such circumstances, be used as propaganda for certain allegiances, and be used to legitimize a new ruling system. For Germanic Austrasia Style-II animals may be an obvious choice. Style II may have been the style either of the second Austrasian dynasty or of the Austrasian aristocracy; it may have been the symbolic expression of an attempt to detach Austrasia from Neustrian influence. In the long run they did not succeed, but when all men had changed to the Neustrian "uniform" again, the style was still found for a while on some of the women's brooches. Actually Animal Style reappeared about a century later during the early Carolingian period. The family to which Charlemagne belonged and who prepared the way for the Carolingian Empire came from Austrasia and the style on, for example, the riding equipment of the retainers and others was an Animal Style (Tassilo-chalice-style) (Wamers 1993).

There was a tradition of Lombard marriages in Austrasia already before 561. The Lombard king Waccho's daughter, Wisigarde, married Theudebert I in 537. This was part of an active Frankish policy of alliance. Theudebert's son by an earlier wife, Theudebald, married king Waccho's other daughter, Wuldetrada, in 540, and she later married first Chlothar I and subsequently (in the same year!) the Bavarian Garibald. Chlothar I's daughter, Chlodeswintha, was married in 555 to Alboin, the Lombard king. The latest marriage was between Theudebert II's daughter and the Lombard king Adaloald in 604 (Menghin 1985, 33, 41, 120; Störmer 1988, 142; Wood 1994, 166 ss.). This marriage was meant to seal an eternal peace between the two countries/peoples. There were thus several marital contracts between royal Austrasians and Lombards, mainly caused by the very active Frankish policy of alliance with the Lombards.

The relatively frequent occurrence of Lombard objects such as weaving-swords and pottery, and the very rich graves in Cologne, fit the evidence about numerous marriages between Austrasians and Lombards very well. Several other marriages may have found place and Lombards may also have come in the entourages of the royal brides.

However, at the time of the wars of Sigibert I and his successors in northern Italy there were apparently no marital connexions until the one in 604 sealing the peace. Lombard objects may, however, occur as a result of the campaigns in Italy between 575 and 591.

In Alamannia, Style-II animals first appear c. 565-610 in versions and on material closely related to Austrasia. A small number of very rich weapon and horseman's graves are spread over the area, clearly of high status, and distancing themselves from the other graves of the area. After c. 610 the style undergoes a local development. The style is now commonly found on horse-harnesses and stocking-fittings. These are primarily found in the middle and north-eastern part of Alamannia.

During the Austrasian dominion the Alamans took part in the wars against the Ostrogoths in Italy. Alamannian dukes sometimes even led these. In the later campaigns against the Lombards in northern Italy (in the later 6th century) Alamans were also included in the Austrasian armies (James 1988, 98, 106; Keller 1976, 6; Koch 1983, 220-22; Stein 1991, 58; Wood 1994, 67, 165).

It is to be expected that Frankish nobles had been in Alamannia on royal command from the 6th century, and in the early 7th century Alamannia was under strong, direct royal Austrasian influence. With one exception local dukes are not mentioned until after 630. After 630 the dukes were closely connected to the Austrasian court, they may even have been part of the Austrasian nobility. The power of the duke was based primarily in the southern part of the area (around the Bodensee) and on the left bank of the Rhine. The duke did not gain lands in the inner parts of Alamannia until early in the 8th century. Thus all of Alamannia was under Merovingian rule, but only the southern and western parts were institutionally fully incorporated within the empire (Keller 1976, 13-14, 25-26, 29-30; Keller 1981, 7, 9, 37).
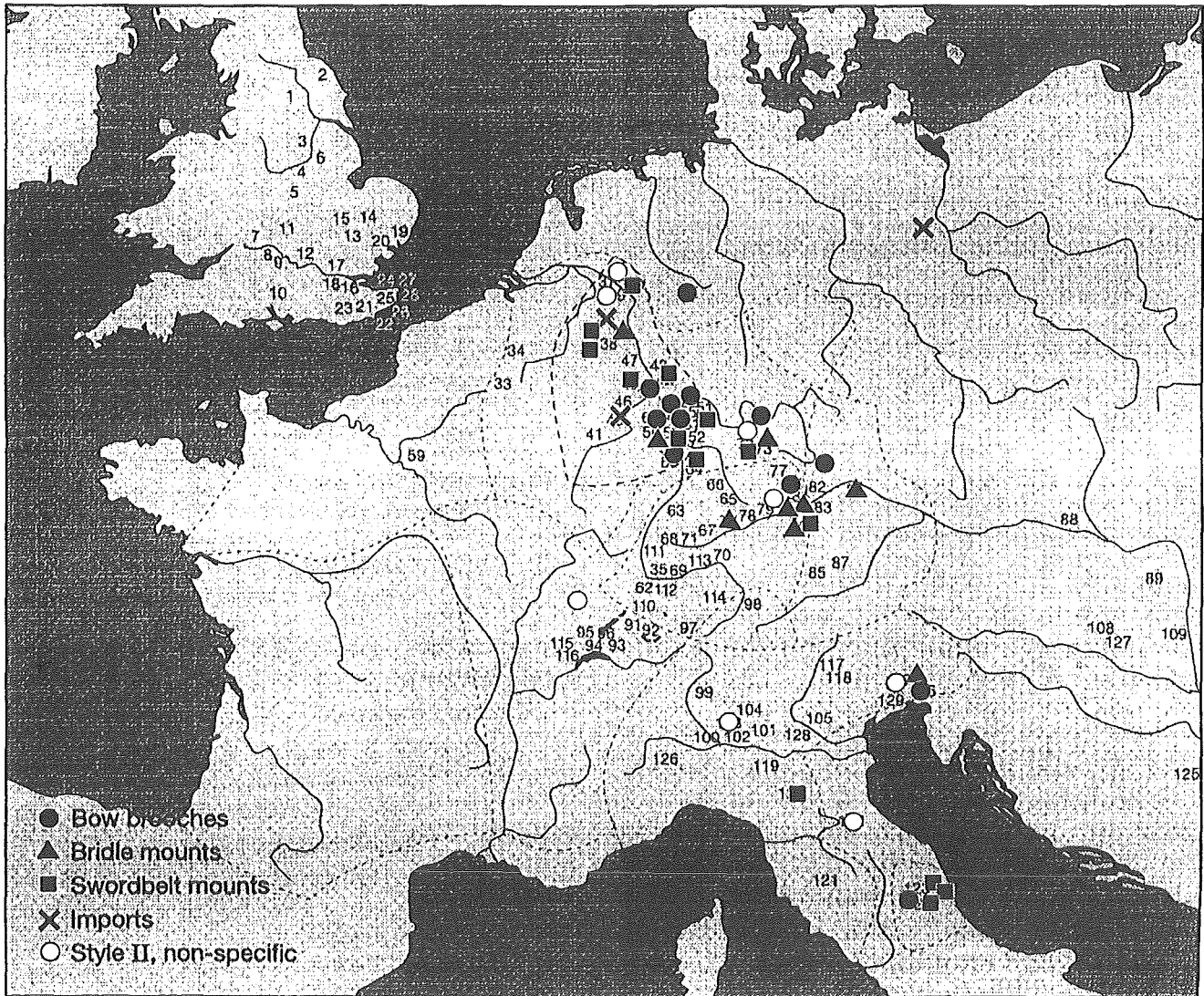
Fig. 2. - *The distribution of Style-II animals in Phase D, 565/80-610/30 (numbers refer to Høilund Nielsen forthcoming a). (Drawing: Jørgen Mührmann-Lund)*

The early finds consisting of very rich weapon-burials with horseman's equipment are probably connected with the Style-II horizon in Austrasia as a result of Austrasian rulership in Alamannia and their wars in northern Italy. They must represent either Austrasians or Alamans installed by the Austrasians. The Style-II animals, therefore, probably express the same idea as in Austrasia. The later, local, development of Style II is primarily seen in central and north-eastern Alamannia, which is outside the area that was part of the Frankish state-organisation. This phenomenon is not yet sufficiently thoroughly analysed for any conclusions.

In Lombard Italy, Style-II animals do not appear until after 610, although a small number of earlier objects are found, mostly weaponry and a few bow-brooches. These are, however, in respect of both type and decoration, very clearly linked to the Austrasian-Alamannic material and very different from the rest of the Lombard material, and probably reflect the

Austrasian-Lombard wars. The purely Lombard material consists of gold-foil crosses and a few large bow-brooches. The gold-foil crosses are found in the early and middle 7th century, but only some of them are decorated with Style-II animals (or Style I). Many are totally without animal style and instead decorated in a "Roman-Christian" Style. The large bow-brooches are mostly from Spoleto and concentrated in cemeteries with military status.

In the earlier 6th century the Lombards were situated along the middle Danube and in Pannonia, but after various wars, they migrated in 568 under king Alboin to Italy. In a short time the whole of northern Italy, Spoleto and Benevent were under Lombard control. Friaul in north-east Italy was especially well guarded (Menghin 1985, 32 *ss.*, 94 *ss.*, 98; Wickham 1981, 29-30).

In the period 574-584 there were no kings or central power, but a series of dukes, who, under no control at all, waged war on the Burgundians and the

Franks, partly supported by Byzantium. However Spoleto and Benevent were against Byzantium already at an early stage. Threats of destruction forced the Lombards to choose Authari as king in 584. He reformed domestic policy, subjugated the Lombard rebels and waged war against the Franks and the Byzantines. He succeeded in stabilising his power and persuaded the Bavarians to enter a defence-alliance against the Franks. To seal this he was married to the Bavarian princess Theodolinde (Menghin 1985, 104 *ss.*; Wickham 1981, 32; Wood 1994, 167-8).

In 590 the Lombards were attacked by both Byzantine and Frankish armies and were close to total defeat. However, on the defeat and murder of Authari in 590, his widow's subsequent marriage to Agilulf, who thus became king, and an acceptance of Frankish supremacy, the war was stopped. The Lombards had to pay a heavy tribute and as late as the 620's Lombards were enrolled in the Frankish armies on the same conditions as other tributary people (Wickham 1981, 32-3).

Agilulf imitated Byzantine conventions and ceremonies and used Roman advisors and ministers. Secundus of Non was one of these and he wrote the first version of the Lombard history (Wickham 1981, 33-4, 65).

After 614 the situation changed, and Lombard self-confidence against the Franks increased considerably. After Theudebert II's death in 612 the Franks stopped intervening so much in the Lombards' choice of kings. Attention was now concentrated on the organisation of religious (catholic) life, although a national-Lombard and Arian party still existed and later also produced candidates for the throne. The son of Agilulf and Theodolinde, Adaloald, proceeded with the religious policy and was the first real catholic king. In 626 he was dethroned and murdered for religious reasons. He was succeeded by Arioald (626-636), who represented the Arian and anti-Roman factions of Lombard society, and the same was the case during the reign of Rothari (636-652), who waged war against the Byzantine possessions in Italy. In the *Edictus Rothari* all the old Lombard customary laws were codified and a royal pedigree and the *Origo gentis Langobardorum* were also included – the second version of history of the Lombards (Menghin 1985, 9, 120-121, 136; 1988, 98; Wood 1994, 169).

After Rothari the situation changed. He was succeeded by Aripert (653-662), who belonged to the catholic party and worked for peaceful coexistence with Byzantium. In the following years there was a continuous alternation between the catholic pro-Roman party and the Arian nationalist party, with the latter in the ascendancy until 671 when Perctarit

(671-688) came to an agreement with Byzantium, and the Lombard policy of aggrandizement stopped, and the catholic faith became dominant (Menghin 1985, 136 *ss.*; Wickham 1981, 35).

Arioald, Rothari and later also Grimoald (662-671) were dukes who married the king's daughter and thus were made kings themselves. They associated with Lombard law whereas the descendants of the brother of Theodolinde (such as Aripert (653-661) and Perctarit (671-688)), who came from the Bavarian dynasty, sought connexions with Roman and Byzantine ceremonial and culture. Rothari followed the Lombard traditions strictly also in respect of legislation, and built on the tradition descending from Agilulf (Wickham 1981, 36-37).

Most of the population in Italy was ethnically Roman, whereas the Lombards only constituted a small, though, dominant group. The two populations slowly grew together, and at the end of the 8th century, cf. Paulus Diaconus, the Lombards gave up their hair and dress-style (Wickham 1981, 65-68).

Up to about 610, objects with Style-II animals are mostly of Austrasian/Alamannic origin, which is easily explained by the wars between the Franks and the Lombards, and by the subsequent Frankish supremacy. The bow-brooches appear in military cemeteries of Spoleto, a context which was very hostile to Byzantium already at an early stage – Byzantium had domains in the neighbouring areas and also intervened in the wars. Though there is much Roman influence on the jewellery, they kept their large Germanic bow-brooches during the nationalist ascendancy.

The gold-foil crosses with Style-II animals appeared in a period when the Lombards were freed from Frankish supremacy and in which religious, social, political and dynastical circumstances changed and factions existed. They were especially popular in the period of nationalist rule. That the crosses could have both different Germanic motifs and Roman motifs reflects the political situation in Lombard Italy.

In the Lombard case it also seems likely that Style II was the Germanic choice of "political" art against heavily Roman-influenced factions within their nation. Again it is used to legitimize the Germanic tradition.

For the entire Continental group of Style-II animals the archaeological and historical context places them in connexion with a group of the elite, more precisely with one of more factions competing for political power. The style is one way to try to legitimize a certain political orientation – in this case a Germanic one. We shall now try to discover why they chose Style-II animals, to see whether we can find an exact reason that is more distinct than just to
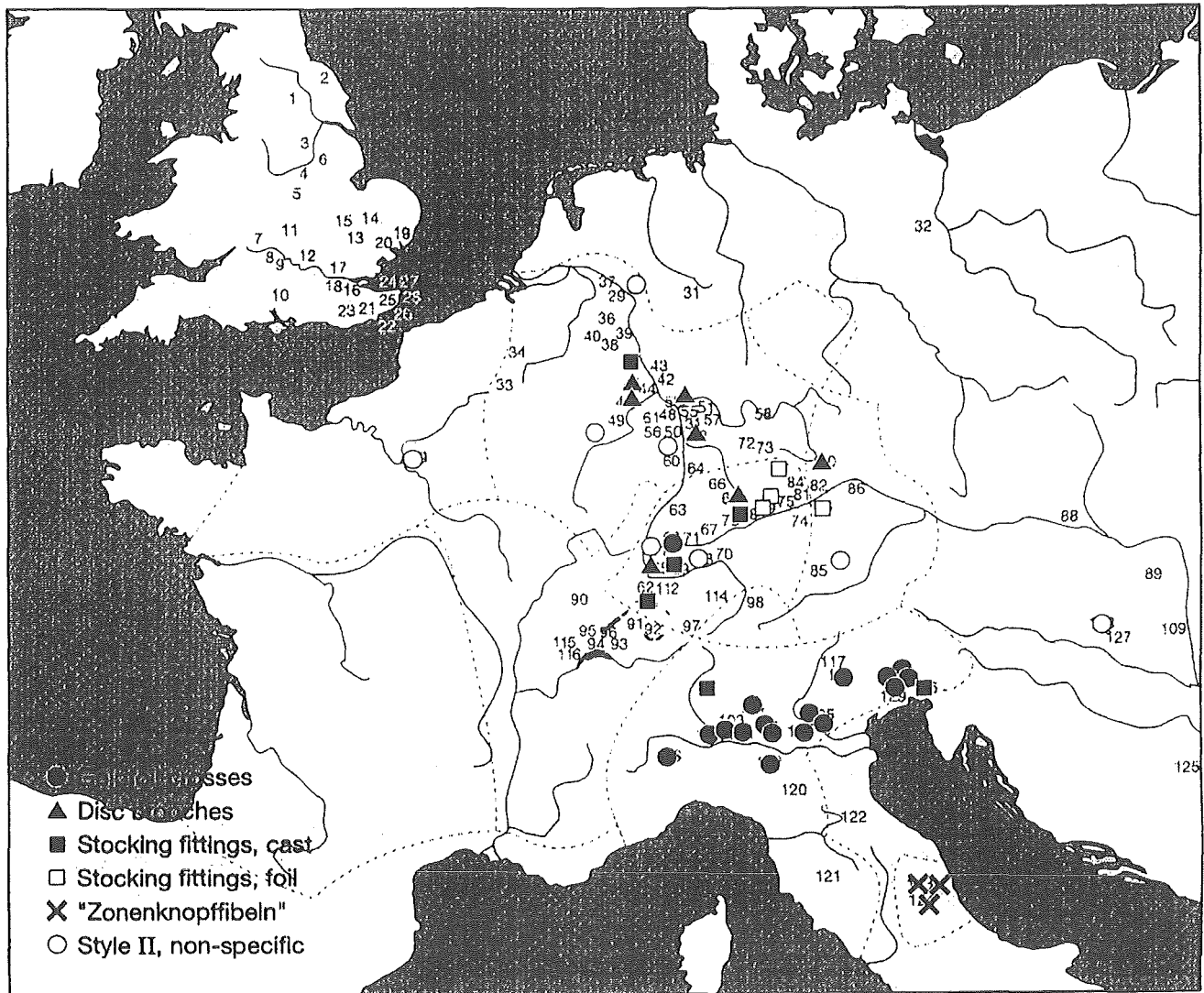
Fig. 3. - *The distribution of Style-II animals in Phase E, 610/30-640/50 (numbers refer to Høilund Nielsen forthcoming a). (Drawing: Jørgen Mührmann-Lund)*

be Germanic, for which they could as well have used Style I.

Myths of various sorts are of special interest in connexion with Lombardy, Kent, East Anglia and Burgundy. In most cases the myths are "histories" telling about the origins of the peoples and their migrations. They probably existed in some oral version before the written versions we know about. But the decision to write such things down is in itself a political and social manifestation, and perhaps this knowledge compared with the story of the myth may help us in our interpretations of the phenomenon under consideration here.

The Lombards had their history written down several times. The first version was ordered by Agilulf, around 600, and written by his Roman minister Secundus of Non and had the title *Succincta de langobardorum gestis historiola*: its contents we know only from quotations in other sources.

In the *Edictus Rothari* from the middle of the 7th century all the old Lombard customary laws were codified and the text also included a royal pedigree and the *Origo gentis Langobardorum*. This has survived, and from the introduction it is quite clear that it is written with the intention of preserving old traditions and using them in contemporary policy (see Menghin 1985, 9).

It is intriguing that there was so much interest in Lombard origins at the same time as Style-II animals appeared, which was in the period *c.* 610-650, and that the origin myth in both cases places the Lombards in Scandinavia. This is especially intriguing because, according to the archaeological sources, they must have left Scandinavia before the birth of Christ, as they are reported by classical sources to have been living by the lower Elbe very early in the 1st century (Menghin 1985, 15), – or the lower Elbe was part of Scandinavia! If there is a connexion between the use of Style-II animals and the deep interest in an origin

myth placing the origin of the Lombards in Scandinavia it may be suggested that Style-II animals were connected with the Scandinavian origin, that the style represents the myth.

The Kentish material is dominated by sword-belts and pendants. The oldest are from the second half of the 6th century, but it is not easy to attach the finds to a reliable absolute chronology yet. They often appear in rich grave contexts; some of them within supposedly royal cemeteries. The style seems closely related to Continental style, and with time developed into almost boneless animals, as also happens on the Continent.

The oldest known pedigree from Kent presents an Eormenric as the first named ruler – he lived in the later 6th century. His son was married to a Frankish princess and his own name may in fact indicate even earlier Frankish contacts (Brooks 1989, 64; Yorke 1990, 28). Furthermore, in the middle of the 6th century the Franks boasted of ruling *Brittia*, which must be some part of England (Wood 1994, 176). Some members of Kentish royal families were also in exile in the Frankish Empire. There was thus a range of contacts between Kent and the Frankish area that could be the background for the reception of the buckles of Frankish type and of Style II.

Of Kent's surviving migration myths, only Bede's version tells of the Kentish people's origin in Jutland. The migration should have happened in the middle of the 5th century, but the information is not written down until 731 and the Style-II animals appear in the later part of the 6th century. For the late 5th and early 6th centuries the large bow brooches and the gold bracteates of Scandinavian origin demonstrate a probable Scandinavian origin, but it is also interesting that Kent very early, from around 500, got Frankish brooches and buckles – seemingly through intensive contact. This does not fit with the origin myth, but fits very well with historical information as mentioned above.

It is not possible to assert a direct link between the appearance of Style-II animals and the Jutish origin myth as the date of the information in Bede is not preserved in sources older than 731. Other sources only talk about Angles or Saxons. There is, thus, no direct coincidence between the appearance of Style II and the Scandinavian origin myth for Kent on basis on the surviving sources. It cannot, therefore be proven that some sort of connexion existed in this case, whereby the style together with the myth was used to legitimize the Kentish kingdom in the later part of the 6th and early 7th centuries, even though the style is associated with royal burials and cemeteries.

The historically and archaeologically known connexion with France, therefore, remains the most plausible context for the appearance of Style II in Kent. The marriage between Æthelbert and the Frankish Bertha was probably intended to open the possibility of the conversion of Æthelbert via the Frankish court, which would have made him subordinate to Francia; he, however, opted for conversion through Rome (Yorke 1990, 29). To creation of further distance between Æthelbert and the Franks by legitimizing his rulership through a Jutish origin myth and through a Scandinavian style is an obvious interpretation in light of the Lombard example – even if the style was more influenced by the East Franks and not the Scandinavians.

The Anglian archaeological material is dominated by one find, the Sutton Hoo ship burial, but also objects from other graves at Sutton Hoo and other finds in East Anglia, South Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire are decorated with Style-II animals. All the objects of the oldest group are from Sutton Hoo and stylistic analysis suggests them to be southern Scandinavian imports. The shared stylistic elements of the following stages between the Anglian area and Kent indicates contacts between the two areas, but on the other hand the development is different. In the Anglian area focus is on the quadruped. This style finally develops into that found in the earliest manuscripts. We are looking for an explanation for a direct southern Scandinavian contact in the middle of the 6th century and a reason for a continuous development of this style in the late 6th and 7th centuries. The style has a high-status context.

Written sources are few and late (Yorke 1990, 58). *Beowulf* may only be used with reservations. The poem has been vehemently debated over the recent 150 years or so. I shall only conclude that there are two viewpoints to its dating: c. 700 and c. 1000. So far as I understand it, neither of the viewpoints can be conclusively proven (cf. Chase 1981). Seen from an archaeological point of view, however, the early date seems most interesting as the weaponry described in *Beowulf* only fits with the material culture from the 6th and 7th centuries. Therefore, a contribution like Sam Newton's is grist to the archaeologist's mill! If some of Newton's points are acceptable it will make a handful of the pieces of the puzzle fell into place for the archaeological interpretations. However, even with a dating to c. 1000 it will probably still inform us to some extent about traditions in the Anglo-Saxon population.

Newton suggests that *Beowulf* was produced in East Anglia in the pre-Viking period, not earlier than the middle of the 7th century, probably a bit later, and that it actually represents an earlier version of the history of the Scyldings than the one surviving in Norse sources. To Newton it seems clear that the poem
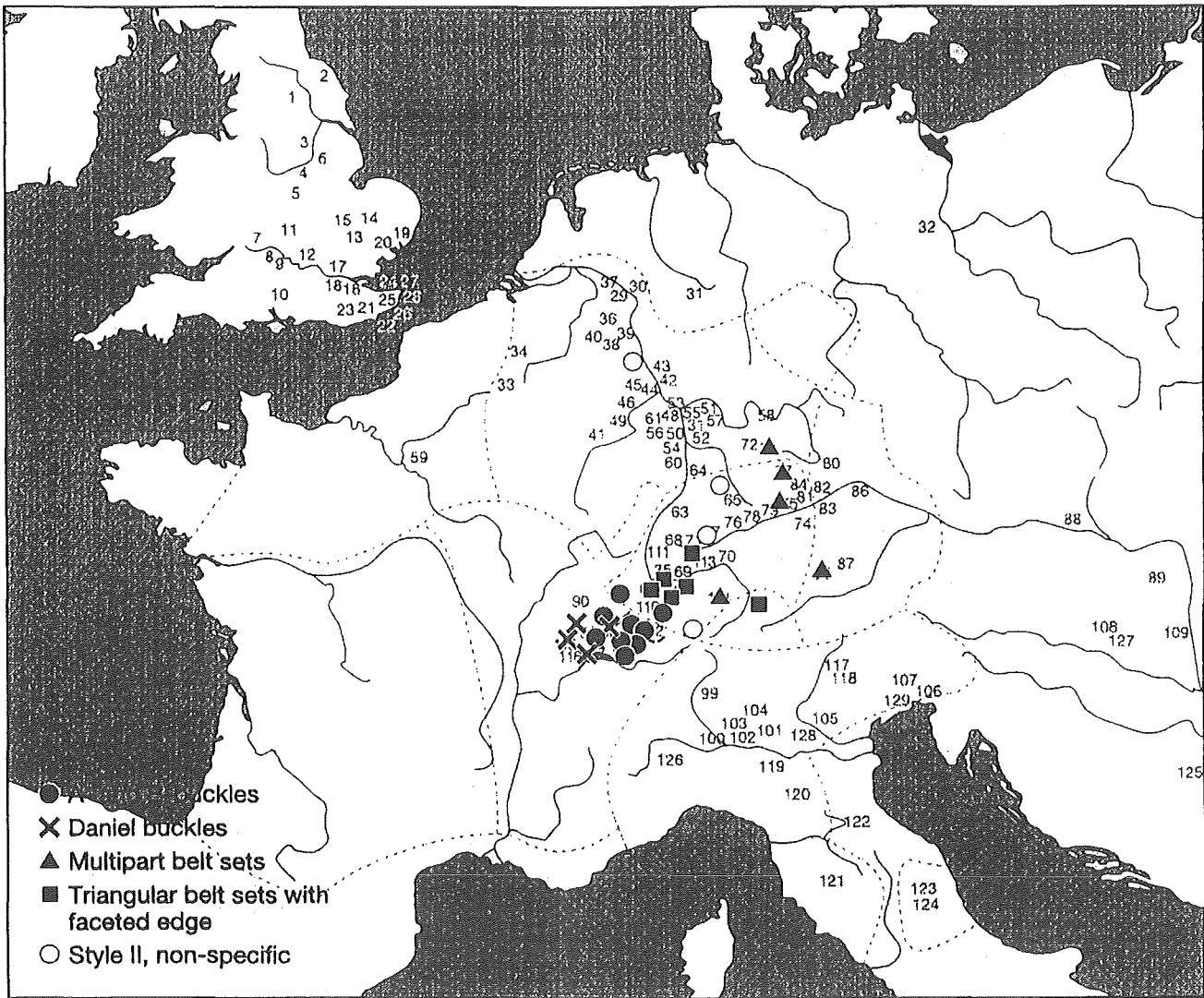
Fig. 4. - *The distribution of Style-II animals in Phase F, 640/50-670/80 (numbers refer to Høilund Nielsen forthcoming a). (Drawing: Jørgen Mührmann-Lund)*

was written in a time when the pagan burial rituals, such as barrows and cremations, and the mythological background, were still well-known. Those for whom the poem was presented were furthermore well aware of the situation in Denmark though not so well in respect of Norway and Sweden. The Scyldings are central to the poem, but the active characters are not entirely the same as those known from Scandinavia. No Hrodmund appears in the Norse sources, though one is mentioned in *Beowulf*. The legend of Scyld acts as a dynastic origin myth for the Danes. The Anglian interest in the Danes in *Beowulf* may be due to a claim by the Anglian aristocracy to be descendants of the Scyldings. Is that possible? According to Newton, Ælfwald's pedigree supports this. A Hrodmund appears in the more mythological part of Ælfwald's pedigree. Hrodmund's appearance may have been part of a royal, East Anglian myth of origin. Hrodmund may have been a Scylding gone to exile in East Anglia. Or he was imposed upon Scylding his-

tory to legitimize a Scylding origin for the East Anglian royal family, and thus their claim to be descendants of the Danish royal family.

In the light of this interpretation, where the East Anglian royal family either is of Scandinavian origin or at least claims to be so, Style II fits well into the picture. It suggests contact on a royal level with Scandinavia later than the original invasion, probably in the middle of the 6th century. In fact the style supports the theory of a Danish origin for the East Anglian royal family. As in the case of Kent, the direct chronological connexion of style and myth is uncertain and the applicability depends on the validity of Newton's argument.

Judged from the archaeological sources, the style here was probably used to legitimize the ruling family, but some of the material was imported direct from Scandinavian, and the connexion between the Anglian area and southern Scandinavia seems much more direct than in the Continental and Kentish

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cases. The development of Style II may build on an actual relationship and not just on old myths. Compared with the Lombard example it is likely that a myth, a "history" of origin, was attached to the style, whether it would be the one from *Beowulf* or another.

The archaeological material with Style-II animals in Burgundy suffers from a lack of thorough chronological investigation and from insufficient artefact associations, but the Style-II animals probably occur in the period 540/50-670/80. The objects with Style II are buckles with the counter plates of different shapes. The Style-II animals are growing away from the original concept – at a certain distance they are convincing, but on closer inspection the differences can be seen. Buckles with Style II occur primarily in the middle and eastern parts of the *Teilreiche* Burgundy. The buckles belong to the female dress and are a Roman tradition as a type, though their decoration is definitely Germanic.

From the second half of the 4th century down to the beginning of the 5th when they lived around Worms, the Burgundians were loyal Roman federates and proud of this connexion. They were attacked by the Huns and moved to Sepaudia north of Geneva where they were quickly assimilated and intermarried with the Roman population (Wood 1994, 8 *ss.*; Schwa 1979, 22). From 500 the Franks started attacking the Burgundians, often unsuccessfully in fact, until in 534 they conquered them; Burgundy then became one of the *Teilreiche* of the Frankish Empire and stayed that way until a coup against Chlothar II in 613 to get real Burgundian royal blood on the throne (Wood 1994, 34, 51-52, 145-146). After that Burgundians were still more independent, but there were internal factions, an old-Burgundian and a Franco-Burgundian (Ewig 1976, 192-193), and thus also basis for differences outside the political life.

It is hard to see an immediate reason for a population, probably containing both Romans and Burgundians and which had been adapted to Roman taste in both art and dress for a long time, suddenly to take up foreign elements in its art. It may be connected to the above mentioned political factions, but it is also intriguing that, probably at the beginning of the 8th century, written sources mention a Burgundian origin myth giving the Burgundians a Scandinavian origin. Historians from before 8th century see the Burgundians as being closely connected to the Romans (Wood 1994, 8, 34) and do not mention any Scandinavian origin. It is thus, probably, not only in the art that the signals are changed, but over a broader range. For some reason it suddenly became important to demonstrate a Scandinavian origin. It may thus be the same "anti-Roman" symbol as among the Austrasians and Lombards.

The comparison of the archaeological and historical sources suggests that the most likely interpretation of the style, compared with the anthropological and comparative examples, is as a sort of propaganda used to legitimize power – albeit not always successfully, as there are always more different styles competing. A comparison with the myths concentrates on a connexion between style and myth – a Scandinavian style and a Scandinavian origin myth. Compared to anthropological analyses it seems likely that the ornaments somehow maintained the common memory and history of an (illiterate) society. In a society which is only partly literate the picture memorising the myths will still be of utmost importance.

We are somewhat closer to the 'why' – as there seems to be a connexion between the Style-II animals and the emphasis on Scandinavian origin. But why is a Scandinavian origin so important?

Scandinavia has very few historical sources from the period in question – even myths and sagas are secondary in some way, either late or from different areas. Some sagas perhaps have parts going back to this period, but they are probably much changed, as a comparison between *Skjoldungesaga* and *Beowulf* may indicate.

The archaeological material indicates a change in territorial organisation in the beginning of the 6th century resulting in rather large units in southern Scandinavia, Central Sweden, Gotland, and probably still rather small chiefdoms in Norway and Finland. Style II appears shortly after this change, in southern Scandinavia on a broad social scale and in Sweden, Finland and on Gotland only on a high social level. Compared to analysis of production from the workshops on Helgö, Sweden, it seems likely that ordinary objects spread very little from the centre of production, whereas *de luxe* versions are spread to a much larger territory following personal contacts and in the periphery found in high-status burials. In this perspective it is most likely that the style was produced in southern Scandinavia which is also the only area with a continuous production, and that the Swedish, Finnish and Gotlandic finds may be seen as *de luxe* imports.

The question is which "function" the style may have had in southern Scandinavia. There was no competing style in southern Scandinavia and it appears just after the unification of the smaller territories of the previous period. The obvious interpretation is to see the style as legitimizing the new power in the area, but the style cannot in this case express a myth of Scandinavian origin. It seems more relevant to see the style as legitimizing the new power in the area: the art and symbol of the new ruler. Of course here too the style was linked to myths, although it is

still not clear which. A cautious suggestion may be to link it with Odin as a war-leader and his many animal shapes (Magnus 1995). That fits very well with its original occurrence on weaponry. Furthermore the style seems to have been important to the retainers of the southern Scandinavian king, as their equipment, probably given them by the king himself, was decorated with Style II (Høilund Nielsen forthcoming b).

The question to why Continental and English Germanic political factions chose Style-II animals in particular as legitimizing symbols can partly be answered by what happened in southern Scandinavia in the 6th century. Exactly in this century the area moved on from small kingdoms to a united area even threatening Francia (the attack by the Danish Hygelac – c. 516) and mentioned in foreign sources. Perhaps this is the "conquest" by the Danes where they finally came to dominate the confederated tribes of the area (see also Näsman 1993). If that is the case southern Scandinavia was a successful Germanic kingdom – a place with no Roman opposition. At the same time it was far enough away to serve as a breeding ground for all sorts of myths!

English revision: John Hines.

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Viking-Influenced Sculpture in North Wales: its Ornament and Context

The early Christian sculpture of Wales (Nash-Williams 1950) is perhaps not so well known as that from Ireland, Scotland or Anglo-Saxon England. In addition to the inscribed stones of the 5th to 7th centuries, there are a variety of simple cross-carved stones and also more complex monuments including large freestanding stone crosses. Probably the earliest of these crosses is the Pillar of Eliseg, a round-shafted cross of Mercian type datable to the early ninth century (Nash-Williams 1950, no 182). The majority of these crosses and other pieces of sculpture cluster round early medieval ecclesiastical sites of some importance, many of them monasteries, and because of the dearth of contemporary documents (Davies 1982, 198-218), they are used as a major source of evidence for the identification of such sites (Edwards & Lane 1992, 5-6).

In this paper I wish to examine two related groups of large freestanding stone crosses which have been found at or near the sites of Penmon (Anglesey) and Dyserth (Flintshire). Some of these are relatively well known, but three of them have only recently been discovered as illustrations in notebooks (*c* 1700) (BL Stowe MS 1023) of the famous Welsh antiquarian Edward Lhuyd and a fragment of one of these has subsequently been identified in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester. I will begin by considering the local context and function of these crosses. I will then examine aspects of their form, ornament, iconography and dating before discussing their broader context as evidence for Viking contacts and settlement around the Irish Sea.

Location

The church at Penmon, which is dedicated to the local saint Seiriol, is first documented in 971 when it was raided by the Vikings (Jones 1952, 8, 143). It is linked with Ynys Seiriol an offshore island hermitage (Thorpe 1978, 190). The crosses are the only definite early medieval archaeological evidence for Penmon. According to Lhuyd *c* 1700 Penmon 1 was standing

'a bowshot' to the west of the monastery (B L Stowe MS 1023, 99). It is not certain whether it had always been in this position (410m from the church), though an excavation in 1976 prior to movement of the cross inside the church found that it was located at the junction of two ancient field terraces which led the excavator to suggest that it might be (Smith 1980, 103). Penmon 2 and 3, the second of which is only recorded by Lhuyd (B L MS Stowe 1023, 97), came to light in the vicinity of the church. Penmon 4, a plain cross which is again only recorded by Lhuyd (B L MS Stowe 1023, 97), stood just over 1 km southwest of Penmon on or near the old parish boundary. A cross-base found in a stone-mason's yard in Beaumaris is also almost certainly from Penmon (Nash-Williams 1950, no 1).

The place-name Dyserth, like the Irish *disert*, comes from the Latin *desertum* meaning 'solitary place' and hence 'hermitage' or 'sanctuary' (*Geriadur Prifysgol Cymru* 1950-, col 1043; Royal Irish Academy 1983, col 142). The original dedication was to the Welsh saint Cwyfan (Morris 1909-11, I, 52) but at some point this was twinned and then superseded by the Irish saint Ffraid (Bridget) (Thomas 1906-13, I, 401-4022). Dyserth is first mentioned in 1086 in Domesday Book (Morgan 1978, FT2). As with Penmon, the only early medieval evidence is the sculpture. Dyserth 1 was first recorded by Edward Lhuyd as standing on the south side of the church (B L Stowe MS 1023, 158); he also suggests that it could have functioned as a cross denoting sanctuary (Welsh: *noddfa*) (Morris 1909-11, I, 52). The base of a second cross was discovered during church restoration in 1873-5 (Westwood 1876-9, 209). A third cross stands in a field some 7.3 km east of Dyserth and is almost certainly still *in situ* (Camden 1722, 91). It is known in Welsh as *Maen Achwyfan*, originally *Maen Machwyfan* which means 'the stone of Cwyfan's field'. This indicates that the cross is linked with Dyserth and this is supported by the fact that it stands on the old parish boundary between Dyserth and Whitford (Anon 1921, 408). The fourth cross, which appears to have been almost identical to *Maen*

Achwyfan and may also have acted as a boundary cross, was recorded by Edward Lhuyd (B L Stowe MS 1023, 152) in Meliden which is immediately to the north of Dyserth. On the strength of Lhuyd's sketch a fragment of the shaft of this cross may be identified in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester. This was acquired by the museum in the nineteenth century and no record of its findspot survives. As a result it has been thought, wrongly, to have come from Chester itself (Anon 1891, 118-120).

Therefore the crosses at Penmon and Dyserth are either located in the immediate vicinity of the church or at some distance away where they appear to be marking the boundary of church land. They very possibly also indicate the extent and different degrees of sanctuary within that land (Pryce 1993, 168-172). This may be compared with the crosses marking the extent of sanctuary at St Buryan, Cornwall (Cox 1911, 214-219), Hexham, Northumberland (Hall 1989, 426-7, 433-435) and also *termon* crosses in Ireland (Hamlin 1987, 139).

Form

The most distinctive feature of Penmon 1 and 2, Dyserth 1, *Maen Achwyfan* and Meliden is that they have crossheads with a continuous ring which overlies the cross arms and may therefore be described as circle-headed crosses. The cross within the ring has splayed arms with a central boss or roundel and the armpits are not pierced. The circle-head is a feature of Viking Age crosses and, apart from North Wales, two major regional groupings may be identified (Bailey 1980, 177-182), one in Cumbria, the other in Cheshire, with outliers in North Yorkshire, the Isle of Man (Kermode 1907, Pl 64) and Ireland (Harbison 1992, nos 5, 54, Figs 43-4, 132-146). Those at Penmon, with their plain rings and projecting cross arms, and in the case of Penmon 2 decorated armpits rather than cross arms, do not bear any close relationship to either of the main regional groups. However, the crosshead of *Maen Achwyfan* has splayed crossarms which do not project beyond the ring and circular cusps in the armpits. There is a cabled band decorating the ring on Face C. These features may be paralleled with the Cheshire group, for example the crosses at Neston and Woodchurch (Allen 1893, Pls XVII, 16, 17, XV, 20). Dyserth 1 also has links with the Cheshire group. The splayed arms project beyond the ring which on Face C is decorated with beading which may be compared with crossheads from Bromborough and St John's Chester, some of which, like Dyserth 1, also have cusps at the top of the shaft (Allen 1893, Pl XIII; Anon 1891, 113-115; Bu'Lock 1958, 6-9). However

the circle of Face A is decorated with plaitwork in the manner of the Cumbrian crosses. Dyserth 1 also has trefoil-shaped armpits formed by placing cusps on both the crossarms and the ring. Interestingly this feature is paralleled on some of the Cornish crosses, for example Quethiock (Langdon 1896, 398).

The shafts of Penmon 1 and 2 are rectangular in section and those of *Maen Achwyfan*, Meliden and Dyserth 1 are more slab-like; this is probably dictated by the stone. The structure of Penmon 1 is more complex than the others and there appears to be a stone missing between the crosshead and the top of the shaft (RCAHMW 1937, 123; Smith 1980, 101). There are two horizontal bands of mouldings, cabling and plaitwork on the shaft of Face A. These may be compared with a similar feature on Odd's Cross, Braddon in the Isle of Man (Kermode 1907, Pl LVIII). However, although they do not project, the best comparison would seem to be with circle-headed crosses with interlace-decorated collars at Rockcliffe (1) and Bromfield (2) in Cumbria (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ill 173-176, 539-542); there is also a collar on the Irish cross at Arboe, Co Tyrone (Harbison 1992, no 8, Figs 30-410).

Ornament

All these crosses are dominated by abstract ornament. Sometimes it is separated into different panels but in many cases the various patterns flow into each other and run the whole length of the shaft.

Borre Ring-chain
The shaft of Penmon 1 Face C is decorated with a length of characteristically Viking Borre-style ring-chain using a double strand. Although Lhuyd's drawing of Penmon 3 is poor, it seems to have a panel decorated in a similar manner, though the pattern may be the opposite way up. It is interesting to note that although versions of the Borre-style ring-chain are found on two of the Cumbrian circle-headed crosses, Dearham 1 and Muncaster 1 (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ills 252, 471), the chain points in the opposite direction to Penmon 1 (Bailey 1980, 217-218). In fact the Borre-style ring-chain on Penmon 1 may be compared more closely with the numerous examples on the Manx slabs and particularly with Truain's Cross, Bride and Grim's Cross, Michael (Kermode 1907, nos 92, 100) which both have a double strand ring-chain decorating the length of the cross shaft.

Plaitwork and Interlace
Plaitwork and/or interlaced knotwork are a feature of all the decorated crosses connected with Penmon and

Dyserth. The patterns, which are often poorly executed, are extremely limited: they consist of various types of plaitwork, triquetra knots, ringknots, patterns of interlocking loops and circles. A double or triple stand is sometimes employed. The plaitwork is too common both in Wales and elsewhere to be diagnostic. However some of the other patterns and motifs are Viking in inspiration. For example, the double ringknots on *Maen Achwyfan* Face A and Meliden Face A may be paralleled with those on the Cumbrian circle-headed crosses Bromfield (2) and Aspatria (1) (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ills 173, 31) and also on fragmentary (circlehead ?) crosses at Lancaster and Melling in Lancashire (Bailey 1980, 181), though the last three all have the addition of pellets. There is also a similar motif on one of the small circle-headed crosses from St John's Chester (Bu'Lock 1958, Fig III). The pellets in the interstices of the plaitwork on Dyserth 1 are also a Viking Age feature. The poorly executed interlocking loops on *Maen Achwyfan* Face A, which Nash-Williams suggested were a Viking feature, are similar to those on Carew (dated by inscription to 1033-5) and Nevern, Pembrokeshire (Nash-Williams 1950, nos 303, 360).

Frets
Fret patterns are used prolifically on all faces of Penmon 2. They are simple and repetitive but well executed despite the hardness of the stone. They consist of a variety of rectangular fret patterns made up of straight-line 'S', 'C' and 'Z' elements (Edwards 1987, 114-115) which sometimes terminate in animal heads. Those on the base of Penmon 1 Faces A and C are very weathered indeed but would seem to be similar. There is nothing distinctively Viking about such ornament and in fact a variety of fret patterns are found on sculpture throughout Wales. Rectangular fret patterns are also found on some Irish crosses, for example the Ballyogan Cross, Graiguenamanagh, Co. Kilkenny and on one of the fragments from Ferns, Co. Wexford (Harbison 1992, nos 101, 116, Figs 279, 311).

On the other monuments, in addition to square panels with diagonal frets, there are a variety of rectangular fret patterns made up of 'T' elements, as, for example, on the shafts of Penmon 1 Face B, *Maen Achwyfan* Face D, and Meliden Face D (Allen & Anderson 1903, II, 334-335). 'T' frets are a Viking-influenced feature and similar patterns are common on the Manx slabs, for example Treen Church, Nappin, Jurby (Kermode 1907, no 78). 'T' frets are also found on a grave cover from Lowther (7), Cumbria (Bailey & Cramp 1988, Ill 457), a cross shaft from Barton, Cheshire (Allen 1893, Pl I) and on some of the monuments from St John's Chester (Bu'Lock 1958, Fig III).

Iconography

On Face A of Penmon 1 there is a depiction of three figures. The central figure is shown face on. He has a halo and is wearing a three-quarter length cloak and a long robe. His arms are stretched out. On either side there is a second figure shown in profile facing him. Each has a dog-like head with a pointed ear, long snout and slightly open jaw but a human body clad in a cloak and a knee-length tunic. The scene may be identified as the Temptation of St Anthony as described in St Athanasius's *Life of St Anthony* when the saint was surrounded by hyenas sent by demons. This episode is relatively common on Irish sculpture, especially on the granite crosses of the Barrow Valley, such as Castledermot, Co. Carlow. The best parallel, however, is on the Market Cross, Kells, Co. Meath, where the figures are similarly attired to those on Penmon 1 but Anthony has a tonsure rather than a halo and the beasts are depicted as goats (Harbison 1992, I, 303-304, III, Fig 949). In Ireland the Temptation of St Anthony is often accompanied by related scenes, notably Saints Paul and Anthony breaking bread in the desert, and they are considered important exemplars of the eremitic life (Ó Carragáin 1988, 32). If the cross did once stand on a boundary the scene might also emphasise the protective function of such crosses.

There are two other figural scenes on Penmon 1 which are now so weathered that they are impossible to identify. Both appear to show men with animals.

The iconography on *Maen Achwyfan* is of a very different kind. On the shaft of Face C is a naked male figure shown face on. He has a pointed chin, bent knees and his feet point outwards. He holds a long staff in his right hand and a shorter one in his left. There is a sword sheath on his left hip. To his right is a curling strand which passes beneath his feet. This seems most likely to be a serpent. The rest of the panel is filled with a simple border of spiral shapes. There is a very similar figure in an identical position in Lhuyd's sketch of the shaft from Meliden (Face C). In addition on *Maen Achwyfan* Face B, which is now very weathered, a second figure may be discerned. He is shown face on wearing a short tunic, his arms held close to his body and with a sword in his right hand. There is a vertical shaft between his legs. Below him are various curling strands and then a quadruped shown in profile facing up the shaft. There may be a second animal on Face D. Similar animals are also shown by Lhuyd on Meliden Face B.

These figural representations would seem to be of Scandinavian mythological derivation. Episodes from Scandinavian mythology, for example scenes from the Sigurd Cycle and from Ragnarok, are well known on sculpture in Viking settled areas of northern

England and the Isle of Man (Bailey 1980, 101-142; Margeson 1983). However these are the only examples from Wales. It is therefore unfortunate that it is not possible to identify the figures on *Maen Achwyfan* or the stories from which they come. Indeed Susan Margeson (1983, 96-99) has specifically warned against making haphazard use of the literary sources to identify iconographical scenes because only a very small proportion of both have come down to us from this early period.

Dating

The crosses at Penmon and Dyserth therefore belong to a Viking milieu and in the absence of other evidence such as inscriptions (the meaning of the letters recorded by Lhuyd on Meliden is unclear) we are entirely dependent upon art-historical criteria for their dating. As we have seen they share the characteristic circle head with Viking period crosses in Cumbria and Cheshire but they also draw upon a variety of other sources from coastal areas around the Irish Sea. The Borre-style ring-chain on Penmon 1 is of Manx type and may therefore be of similar date, perhaps the mid tenth century (Wilson 1970-3, 6-8; 1983, 178-183) but the iconography shows Irish influence and may be drawing upon ninth-century models. Apart from the circle head, distinctive Viking-influenced elements are not apparent on Penmon 2 and the ornament appears more native and/or Irish inspired; it may also be of tenth-century date. *Maen Achwyfan* and Meliden are so similar that they must be by the same hand and approximately contemporary. The iconography seems to be drawing on a similar Viking background to that which inspired the Manx carvings and parallels have also been drawn with Viking-influenced crosses from Chester and the Wirral. A tenth- or early eleventh-century date seems likely. Nash-Williams (1950, 126) dated Dyserth 1 to the twelfth or thirteenth century because of the cusped circle-head and the poorly executed patterns. In the past the cross has also been wrongly linked with Einion the son of a local lord who was killed in the siege of Dyserth Castle in 1261 (Lloyd 1877, 197-198) and this may also have influenced his thinking. On the basis of parallels with the Cheshire crosses an eleventh-century date is much more likely.

Broader Context

In the early tenth century Viking leaders and their followers, including Hiberno-Norse and Manx elements, settled in Cumbria and western Cheshire. Their migration is well attested in the place-names as well as through sculpture and artefacts such as silver hoards and ringed pins (Wainwright 1948; Bailey 1980; Fellows-Jensen 1983, 48-50; Thacker 1987, 254-258; Graham-Campbell 1992). However archaeological evidence for their actual settlements remains elusive. It is also becoming increasingly clear that Viking contacts along the North Welsh coast were an integral part of those between Dublin, Chester and the Isle of Man and were not as peripheral as they were once considered (Loyn 1976, 21). Indeed, it has recently been argued that at least some permanent Viking settlement took place in Anglesey and Arfon in the north-west and Tegeingl in the north-east (Davies 1990, 51-55, Fig 6). Furthermore it is notable that the two groups of Viking-influenced crosses at Penmon and Dyserth come from these two areas where there is other significant evidence of Viking activity. Sculpture elsewhere in North Wales, apart from the cross at Corwen with its runic inscription (Moon 1978, 125-126), shows little Viking influence. Anglesey, and south-east Anglesey in particular where Penmon is located, has, in addition to the sculpture, considerable evidence for Viking settlement including place-names (Richards 1960; Jones and Roberts 1980), metalwork (Baynes 1928), a grave (Edwards 1995) and the newly discovered Viking settlement of tenth-century date currently being excavated at Llanbedrgoch (Redknap 1994; 1995). The evidence for Viking settlement in Tegeingl is less, a couple of place-names and a burial (Smith 1931-3), but it should be seen as an offshoot of that in west Cheshire and the Wirral. It is also interesting to note that the secondary dedication of Dyserth to St Ffraid (Bridget) may denote Hiberno-Norse influence. There are similar dedications to Bridget in Chester and West Kirby (Thacker 1987, 256, 258).

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The order and its interpretation in early medieval sculpture in Istria

1 Introduction

Having dealt with the medieval sculpture in Istria for several years now I realised that apart from the very traditional research work in that field, meaning description, selection, typology systematisation and analysis of the socio-cultural background of the sculpture, little was published on the problems of its formal and iconographic features. Not much of the contemporary multi-methodological approach has been used in dealing with the issues of our national history of art.

This paper is part of a study based on the stone architectural and liturgical sculpture that is in or once belonged to the different churches in Istria. In the Middle Ages sculpture was part of the strictly defined program of church decoration and adornment. Unfortunately, in studies as well as in documents, sculpture has rarely been considered as an individual item but more as part of the church adornment. We often find notices in the *Liber Pontificalis* of '*lapidibus*' which adorn churches as in the case of S. Maria Formosa in Pula of which the Ravennate archbishop Agnellus wrote in his *Liber Pontificalis*.[1]

Observations and questions about medieval sculpture in Istria inspired the analyses of and research on the factors and processes of creation of these works of art, particularly concerning the interpretation of their meaning(s). I tried, first, to identify and describe known designs and motifs, to systemise them, and to identify certain characteristics that could be defined as typical for each period although their appearance and use are applicable to other times or places. It has seemed to me that the experience and the knowledge of the same issues of other media and artistic traditions posed the question of the ornamental decoration as an unique concept of visual presentation which could be thus 'read' and understood.

The early medieval sculpture analysed here includes exclusively stone architectural and liturgical elements such as capitals, imposts, door and window frames, altars, ambos and chancel members, *i.e.* material that carries decoration.

This extensive body of early medieval sculpture in Istria represents the evidence of one of the most affluent periods of artistic activity in the peninsula. Rich in terms of stylistic and iconographic variants it constitutes an important link in the appearance and expansion of the European early medieval art.

Most of the sculptural material is concentrated along the western shores of the peninsula, primarily in the area of Porec and Pula. A large part of inland Istria has not been subjected to archaeological excavations so that a final map of the archaeological sites has not yet been compiled. We may, however, assume, that the forthcoming excavations will not change fundamentally the present knowledge of the historical as well as the artistic course of the peninsula.

The narrow coastal zone informs us on the origins of the early medieval art: the ancient artistic heritage and historically prerequisite conditions for the acceptance and development of the new artistic impulses. Towns on the coast were preservers of the old as well as promoters of the new, imported vocabulary. They were the place of the entire artistic creativity specially stone carving. On the other hand, the inland was affected by the process of 'barbarism' which resulted in deep social and cultural changes with the stagnation of the development of sculptural activity. Not before the 9th century would the inland areas be included in the process of intensive artistic creativity.

2 Historical context

Drawing general conclusions about a certain artistic period always implies artificial arrangement to some degree, but it is impossible to include all the 'irregularities' or differences in the study of such a vast and complex body of material. Therefore, I tried and collected as much relevant information as possible, selected relevant items and systematised them

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[1] *Codex Pontificalis ecclesiae ravennatis*, Introduced by A. TESTI-RASPONI, Bologna, 1922.

in a chronological scheme in order to provide a spatial and historical context as a necessary guide through the changes of the visual vocabulary of the medieval sculpture.

The analyses of the sculpture showed that the majority of fragments could chronologically be placed in three general periods.

1. The first period is characterised by Byzantine domination and by the development of coastal towns into important military, administrative and cultural centres.

The areas of Pula and Porec became the centres of the construction of the new churches as well as the centres of the production of liturgical and architectural sculpture. The most important construction sites were that of Santa Maria Formosa, a basilica founded by archbishop Maximianus of Ravenna as recorded in the *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, and the basilica of Eufrasius in Porec.[2]

A number of sculptural pieces, imported from the workshops of Asia Minor, with typical characteristics of early Byzantine sculpture that had become the pattern of decorative vocabulary, gave an impetus to the local stone carving (production).[3] Numerous among the preserved fragments are capitals located in urban centres[4] or Byzantine *castra* (Nezakcij, Brijuni), chancel panels and different fragments of architectural decoration (doorframes, *transenae*). Most of these are done in an enviable level of carving technique which implies the continuity of the local or regional sculpture workshops in Istria.[5] The sculptures display stylistic characteristics of the time: a late Antique decorative repertory in combination with early Christian symbolic imagery, limited to a number of schemes which were constantly repeated. However, an iconographic idiom was created which remained unchanged through decades, being just somewhat more restrained during the iconoclastic

period. Motifs were gradually transformed or abandoned but generally they remained constant. As the iconography was maintained throughout the early Middle Ages, in time, motifs became interchangeable with their symbolism.[6]

2. The second period is the period of the 7th and 8th centuries or the post-Justinian period. The Istrian peninsula, somehow separated from the rest of the eastern Adriatic coast, experienced a difficult political history in that time, after the decline of the Byzantine Empire in the western provinces. A complicated historical background combined with and followed by constant fear of war, plague and other diseases as well as of natural disasters, was the context in which the artistic activity lost its former quality. There is no more monumental building or important reconstruction or adornment of the churches. Most of the sculpture belonged to the existing churches and was produced as part of the new furnishing such as the examples from Pula's area. Istria remained open to the influences from other centres and to a growing importance of local production which resulted in the strong provincialism which can be observed in other Upper Adriatic regions that, for some time, remained outside the main streams of artistic development.[7] The 6th century in Istria represents the referential point in defining the artistic production of the 7th and 8th century which is often termed as the *interstage* or *transitional period*.

Most of the sculptural pieces of the post-Justinian period based their visual language on the morphological and iconographic terms of the former period with a slightly transformed interpretation of motifs and manifest differences in the technique of carving.

We can conclude that the ruling principle in the representing motifs is the principle of the early Christian art: a simple, purified form and direct trans-

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[2]   H.L. GONIN, *Excerpta Agnelliana*, Utrecht, 1933, 89. The standard references for the basilica of Canneto are: A. MORASSI, La chiesa di Santa Maria Formosa o di Canneto in Pola, *Bolletino d'arte*, luglio 1924; A. GNIRS, *Die Basilika Santa Maria Formosa oder del Canneto in Pola*, Mitteilungen der K.K Zentralkommission für Kunste und Historische Denkmale XXVIII, 1902; P. KANDLER, *Della Basilica di Santa Maria Formosa in Pola*, L'Istria 32, 1847.

[3]   For some more detailed information see A. TERRY, *The Sculpture at the Cathedral of Eufrasius in Porec*, and E. RUSSO, *Sculture del complesso Eufrasiano di Parenzo*. Both studies brought a catalogue of the sculpture and a discussion focusing mostly on the original location, function, material and problems of dating and provenance about which the authors disagree.

[4]   See A. SONJE, *Crkvena arhitektura zapadne Istre*, 1982, and *Bizant i crkveno graditeljstvo u Istri*, 1981.

[5]   See A. TERRY, *The Early Byzantine Sculpture at Grado. A Reconsideration*, Gesta 2, 1987. The author discusses the continuance of the regional (Upper Adriatic) workshop on the basis of some technical characteristics as well as the distinctive tripartite, so called 'Grado border' described as: '.. the central filet forms a trapezoid, the two flanking filets are identical, forming triangles with one very long and one short side.' (p. 98).

[6]   For more information on the iconography see C. SHEPPARD, Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs, *Art Bulletin* 51, 1969.

[7]   In her article on the special kind of border on the stone sculpture pieces, called 'Grado border', A. Terry discusses the existence of the regional workshop of artisans who operated in the Upper Adriatic area. She connected some stone pieces from Porec with the Grado group and established the link between Grado and Porec that she considers to be very significant. A. TERRY, *The Early Christian Sculpture at Grado. A Reconsideration*, Gesta 2, 1987.

mission of the concept and message so that the motif should be immediately recognised. Stylistic features did not change much and neither did the repertory of motifs. As a transitional stage this period reveals few alterations in sculptural language that would develop a full exuberance by the end of the eight century. It can not, however, be defined as the beginning of an 'aesthetic revolution' but it can be characterised by the term 'post-Justinian' which implies continuity as well as change of the visual language.[8]

3. The 9th and 10th centuries are rich in the production of stone sculpture. The centres of the artistic production were no longer exclusively coastal towns, where the new artistic impulses from the Carolingian world as well as from Venice were felt: the inland zone was also caught by the intensive christening process. Coastal towns were no longer superior but became the centres that gave impetus to the opening to the new *Kunstwollen* of the inland, even though they were suspicious of the new settlements as they lost lots of privileges in the process of changes within political and social life.

Secondly, the artistic production in towns concentrated on the reconstruction or new adornment of the old churches on the basis of a great tradition and a better economic situation.

In the coastal zone, therefore, sculpture represents part of the new adornment and decorative program, while the inland displays intensive building and sculptural activity as a result of the new historical conditions that were felt extremely strongly in Istria.[9]

Sculptural pieces of this period are examples of the 'new language' partially inaugurated due to the Carolingian supremacy. The new tendencies in the articulation of the stone surface were strongly felt. The developing process of linearity and non-figurative language in sculpture was completed by that time. Relief was reduced to a pure ornament with scattered foliate or animal figures with enfeebled iconographic messages. Most of the sculpture was done with interlace which became a clear, straightforward and uniform pattern for the 9th and 10th centuries. Within an overall framework, subtle variations were developed to such a degree that static

position and repetition were replaced by perpetual motion based on the *line* as the carrier of expression.

3 Formal and iconographic vocabulary of the sculpture from the 6th to the 8th century

The period of the 6th century is the period of the forming of the early medieval sculptural vocabulary and it is strongly based upon the ancient tradition. We can observe how the narrative and mimetic element is gradually omitted with the introduction of geometry and simple composition deprived of superfluous decoration. A number of chancel panels that had been imported or produced in local workshops demonstrate some general characteristics in the representation of the common motifs of Byzantine imagery. It is, first, a sloping border that is reminiscent of the ancient profilation, which encloses a plain and articulate composition subordinated to the strictly symmetrical mode of decoration. Within this group there are shifts in the surface-motif relation; a motif can be realised as a higher relief which through the contrast with the surface creates the effect of chiaroscuro, or a motif can be realised in a flat relief, as a drawing on the stone. It is, however, difficult to ascertain whether the difference in cutting is the result of differences in dating, provenance, workshop or individual taste.

The late Antique repertory (rosettes, meanders, stars, whirls, astragals, tendrils, etc.) are combined with the early Christian motifs (cross, chrismon, anchor, dove, dear, peacock, etc.) to compose images with an immediately communicated idea. Ideological acceptability is a prerequisite condition for this figurative image deprived of narration and therefore, reduced to a sign conceivable only to those who were 'initiated'. Figures, mostly animal, are given in basic shape without details but with accentuated parts of the body so as to be easily recognised. Modelling is refined and soft and there are still no signs of anatomic incorrectness or rustic details. The design reveals concordance between the centre and the lateral parts as well as between the individual motif and the whole, which is the basic rule of composition

[8] C.D. SHEPPARD considers the 7th and 8th centuries to be the period of 'aesthetic revolution' in the development of the early medieval sculpture in his work *Pre-Romanesque Sculpture: Evidence for the Cultural Evolution of the People of the Dalmatian Coast*. The author gives a chronological survey of the low-relief sculpture in Dalmatia including the Istrian group. He wrote: 'The seventh century saw the beginning of an aesthetic revolution. The symmetry of design, the over-all precision of technique, the

clarity and uniformity of organisation, all were subverted. It was an anti-classical movement, particularly in the West', *op. cit.*, 10.
[9] Research work on that subject was done mostly by Italian scholars at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century and is presented in several studies which provide a summary of the medieval Istrian history such as B. BENUSSI, *Nel medio evo*, 1897; C. CAMBI, *L'Istria*, 1905.

of the early Christian period. Strict symmetry that is prevailing becomes, to a certain degree, a prototype for the latter schemes as well as the source for the new principle of organising an image subject to the law of order. Simplicity of designs, lost spatiality and realism on the stone reliefs of 6th and 7th centuries were characteristic for the disinclination towards plasticity of that period. Everything was designed to achieve a quick and clear transmission of the symbolic meaning. The strictness of that 'new', symbolic art has limited the repertory of motifs and, therefore, avoided superfluous decorativeness.

When dealing with the significance of the Early Byzantine art it is necessary to understand some formal problems as parts of iconographic interpretations.

The first thing that we perceive is the symmetry of the design as well as the strictly centric composition. The accent of the composition is put on the centre of the composition (slab) with a dominant motif. Often the central motif is circular – inscribed crosses, chrisma, rosettes – dividing a surface into two regular parts/intervals. In the words of Gombrich, we talk about 'bilateral symmetry'[10] which is one of the most important visual effects in the creation of the impression of balance (order). Symmetry thus is a form favoured by our perceptual system, since the central axis offers a 'magnet to the eye' being the point of maximal information. Therefore, our eye is not pulled around the surface in a try to perceive all elements for the final 'picture' but is given a 'message' through the accent on the only on spot of the composition. The information presented on either side of the focal point may contribute to a better understanding but it may also be redundant.

The other element is the relation between relief and stone surface. Motifs are done mostly in low relief according to the principle of bi-dimensionality with lacking expressiveness of chiaroscuro which, according to Riegl, invites optical conception opposite to tactile one.[11] Between the motif and the background the relation of uniqueness is established in such a way that the background represents the equally valued element of the whole image.[12] The background is not merely a complement of the form necessary for the design but becomes an independent

element. To put it simply: the background itself becomes a space. It becomes an optical reality and possesses the significance of the ideal space. This is conceivable only with the maximal reduction of the figures in the design which liberate lots of empty space that now bears the symbolic representation of ideal space, or the celestial space as the spatial context for the symbolic figures. The same relation is established between the relief as a whole and individual figures. By means of contour line, simple and non-articulated, the 'figures' are isolated and have a special relation with their own backspace. The transition from tactile to optical conception is the result of the decadence of high relief and the diminishing of the role of chiaroscuro. This is connected with the role of light in the representation which is also reduced by the absolutely bi-dimensional conception of the surface.

The same principle of the spatial and composite conception is observed on the works of the 7th and 8th centuries. The reduced stone cutting activity displays the continuity of the late Antique tradition. We can, however, observe the reappearance of the element of decoration which will diminish the immediate symbolic value of the design as well as the strict symmetrical composition. These new tendencies were felt especially in the 8th century when geometrical and floral ornamentation increased on the decorative sculpture, as well as through the broadening of the iconographic repertory. These alterations in sculptural language would develop to a full exuberance by the end of 8th century.

4 Pre-Romanesque iconographic variants

The 9th and 10th centuries are, as we already mentioned, rich in the production of stone sculpture. Artistic impulses are felt mainly from Carolingian art but also from the new phase of Byzantine art.[13] On the sculpture we can observe the fully expressed deviation from the previous conception of image. The strict symmetry and rhythm were altered and exchanged for asymmetry and syncopation in the movement. A design is closed by a simple border notably thinner and usually single-filet. It limits the

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[10]   E. GOMBRICH, *The Sense of Order*, 1984, 126.

[11]   A. RIEGEL wrote: 'L'impressione e, come prima, quella di una superficie simmetrica, ma non si tratta piu di una superficie tattile, che score del tutto ininterrotta, oppure appena turbata da mezze ombre, bensi di una superficie ottica in cui tutte le cose vanno osservate da lontano': *Arte tardoromana*, 1959, 76.

[12]   'L'effeto artistico e dominato completamente dalla nuova relazione con lo spazio e col piano, cosi diversa da quella della

media eta imperiale, e che si esprime nel rimettere apparentemente in valore il piano di fondo', in A. RIEGEL, *Arte tardoromana*, 1959, 132.

[13]   The centre of this new phase in the Byzantine art became Venice in the 10th century and it is introduced in literature as 'deuterobyzantinism' by Haseloff, or as 'late Ravennate' or 'exarchate' art by Fiocco.

field formally but does not limit a design developed by subtle variations and perpetual motion which almost completely neglects centricity of composition. This modified the strictly significant and symbolic art of the 6th century, introducing the principle of decoration which reduced the direct symbolical meaning of visual sign. In that time composition is developed, usually by the combination of the basic geometrical patterns and intervals filled with foliate elements or animals. It is difficult to determine the relation between the symbolic and the purely decorative in this combination of motifs. In the iconographic 'reading' of the sculptural pieces the formal element is as important a feature.

Each decoration of the stone surface presupposes two distinct steps: framing and filling.[14] The first limits the field, the other organises the resultant space.

There are three tendencies in organising he field:
1. as a rhythmical sequence based on the translation of certain geometrical motifs horizontally – most usually one or more sequences of linked circles or 'pretzel' motif;
2. as a translation of certain geometrical patterns in a vertical way;
3. as an inscription of geometric patterns superimposed.

The first two principles could be called the 'serial order' of unlimited rhythmical sequences because they are based on the translation on the horizontal or vertical axis. The third one is a 'closed order' that accentuated the principle of a centric compositional scheme.

The creation of the interlaced decorative motif may be defined as the arranging of the elements by means of uniformity and difference. The group of motifs of equal shape and size are linked, juxtaposed or filled in with forms of different qualities (a row of circles against the diagonally structured interlace motif, for example). Assuming that the carving is of good quality, the arranging is rhythmically balanced while the initial module, the scheme, is symmetrical. Symmetry implies cohesion of the decoration and enables further division of the model to accomplish greater dynamics of the composition, better decorativeness or some iconographic qualities. In the rich net of the interlace we can easily observe the multilayered feature of the design as well as we can bare each example to its basic geometrical pattern or to its initial visual impulse.

In the process of the rhythmical arranging of motifs we can distinguish between:
a) simple sequence
b) alternating sequence
c) cross-linked sequence

Among the Istrian group of monuments, the most frequent sequence is the first configuration based on the simple and rhythmical sequence of motifs horizontally or vertically. Within this group we can differentiate between simpler or more complicated interlace which implies differences in stone-carving skill.[15] 'Istrian interlace' is very simple in its composition with the exception of a few more complicated combinations of interlace.

The combinations with pure interlace do not occur all that often in Istrian early medieval sculpture. More often we find a combination of geometric ornament with plant or animal figures. Few ornamental styles are entirely free from representational elements: plants, animals or humans.[16] The introduction of representational meanings poses different perceptual problems. The difference springs from the duality of our perception that is based on the sense of order and the sense of meaning. The first is a tendency to perceive the visible world reduced to schematic renderings by means of simplicity and to create the sense of order in the represented and perceived. The second enables us to identify elements that carry certain meaning. And here we always pose the question where geometrical motifs end and representational ones begin. We speak here of the difference between abstract and figurative design. Symbolic meanings assigned to different motifs (such as star shapes, vortices, rosettes etc.) vary in various styles.

5 In *lieu* of a conclusion

In early medieval art, the relation between sign and symbol is more complicated for, as we already stated, visual language became less mimetic and art became non-representational. We are concerned with a visual phenomenon or forms that are not directly perceptible. Therefore, we are dealing with visual signs that can hardly be understood as symbolic, but more as decoration or ornament.

During the early Middle Ages, Istrian sculpture created forms that are not mimetic representations and their meaning varied in as much as there is no way to demonstrate how these images were under-

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[14] For more see E. GOMBRICH, *op. cit.*, 1984, 75.
[15] In E. GOMBRICH's *The Sense of Order*, the author gives interesting examples of the studies of the interlace technique done on

the Celtic knotwork panels and some Persian decoration, pp. 84-86.
[16] E. GOMBRICH, *op. cit.*, 1984, 142.

stood in their time. According to Grabar two concepts of terms were attached.[17] The first is that of abstraction, the second that of ornament or decoration. Abstraction, being a mechanical process of simplification of the patterns, cannot therefore be an explanation. So, the ornamentation would be more logic explanation. When dealing with such works of art, which are independent (at least to our mind) of the subject matter, we consider all relevant information such as size of decoration, degree of relief, different kinds of motifs, location etc. Organisation, composition and hierarchy of importance in the use of motifs are important identifying elements. Defining this, we try to reveal the meaning of certain work of art and answer the question 'can ornament itself be the message that is communicated'. With plant ornaments or animals we are always on the edge of natural world: they are developed from the representation of nature and can be connected with representational elements. The use of nature is often iconographic in a very precise way. Trees and flowers are needed to identify a setting or to support an event (the setting of Paradise or Earth). It is easier to search for meaning, and it is more connotative than denotative. With the geometric type of decoration, the situation is somewhat different. We already stated that geometry was used rather frequently in the early medieval sculpture in Istria and it posed problems concerning its definition. It has often been stated that the ubiquity of geometry is not consistent and that it is usually found in the periphery of major cultural centres and in those cases where craft predominates over art.[18] Geometrical ornament or geometry in ornament is an organising principle, an instrument to compose surfaces. The way of organising the surface is also very important. Thus, the main characteristics of geometrical ornamentation such as symmetry, balance and order imply a certain sense of meaning. When there is the system of accentuating the centre, of isolating the individual motif, there is a greater probability that we can reach the sense of meaning through the hierarchy of representing motifs. But when dealing with repetition, we found that it devalues the motif and makes it more difficult for the meaning to be read. And perhaps that meaning is the communication through signs. We may say that any visual arrangement can function as a sign and that the interaction of these elements constitutes symbols. But as long as we are not able to define the patterns on the early medieval slabs as certain meaningful formulas we are forced to consider them as being decorations.

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[17] O. GRABAR, *The Mediation of Ornament,* 1992, 21.
[18] O. GRABAR, *op. cit.,* 1992, 129.

Jes Wienberg

Gotlandic Church Portals: Gender or Ritual?

Closed Portals

Why are the portals closed or missing? That is, why are the northern church portals sealed in most medieval churches in Scandinavia, or why did they disappear, while the southern portals continue as entrances into the church (fig 1)? Did the northern portals function as entrances for women and the southern portals as entrances for men? Does the blocking of the northern church portals expose a change in the relationship between men and women – or a change in religious rituals? When did the change occur? And are there regional differences?

Between Church and Churchyard

Over the last few years, architecture has gained new attention as a social and mental arena created by people, but at the same time, consciously and unconsciously, it has influenced and restrained the actions and thoughts of these people. Here the church with its house and burials stands as an example, where the relationship between people and between people and God is exhibited.

The medieval orders are apparently visible in the church architecture in the tripartition with the choir belonging to the priest, the nave belonging to the peasants or townsmen and the tower belonging to the aristocracy. Social differences can also be seen in the location of the graves, which, according to rank, can be separated in zones from the church building out to the periphery of the churchyard as it is known in Norwegian laws.

Even more distinct is the separation of gender both inside the church and outside in the cemetery. The nave was divided into two parts with men on the south side and women on the north side. In the southern part of the nave there was an altar dedicated to a male saint and in the northern part an altar dedicated to a female saint, frequently the Virgin Mary (Gilchrist 1994, 133 *ss.*). The division appears unmistakably after the Reformation, when the former wall-benches or free-standing benches were replaced by pews. During the service all had their defined seats, which we know from written sources and even from drawn plans. Men had their seats on the south side and women on the north side. A person's seat was furthermore defined by age and social rank. This tradition continued well into the 19th century (Gustafsson 1950).

A separation between men and women has also been documented in the churchyard. Men were buried south of the church and women north of the church (fig 2). The division is typical for Christian graves and occurs more or less consistently during the first centuries of Christianity in Scandinavia, from the 10th to the 13th century.

The separation in the churchyard according to gender has been connected to the corresponding division inside the church. The separation ends somewhere in the 13th century, but the date is not known for certain and might vary locally and regionally. The end of the separation is connected to a changed view of the relationship between men and women. Men obtained a more important role as head of the family, which was emphasised by the religious marriage. Women now were to be buried together with their men on the males' side of the church, the southern side. In the same period the northern side became associated with coldness, the evil and the devil (Vretemark 1992; Kieffer-Olsen 1993, 99 *ss.*; Nilsson 1994).
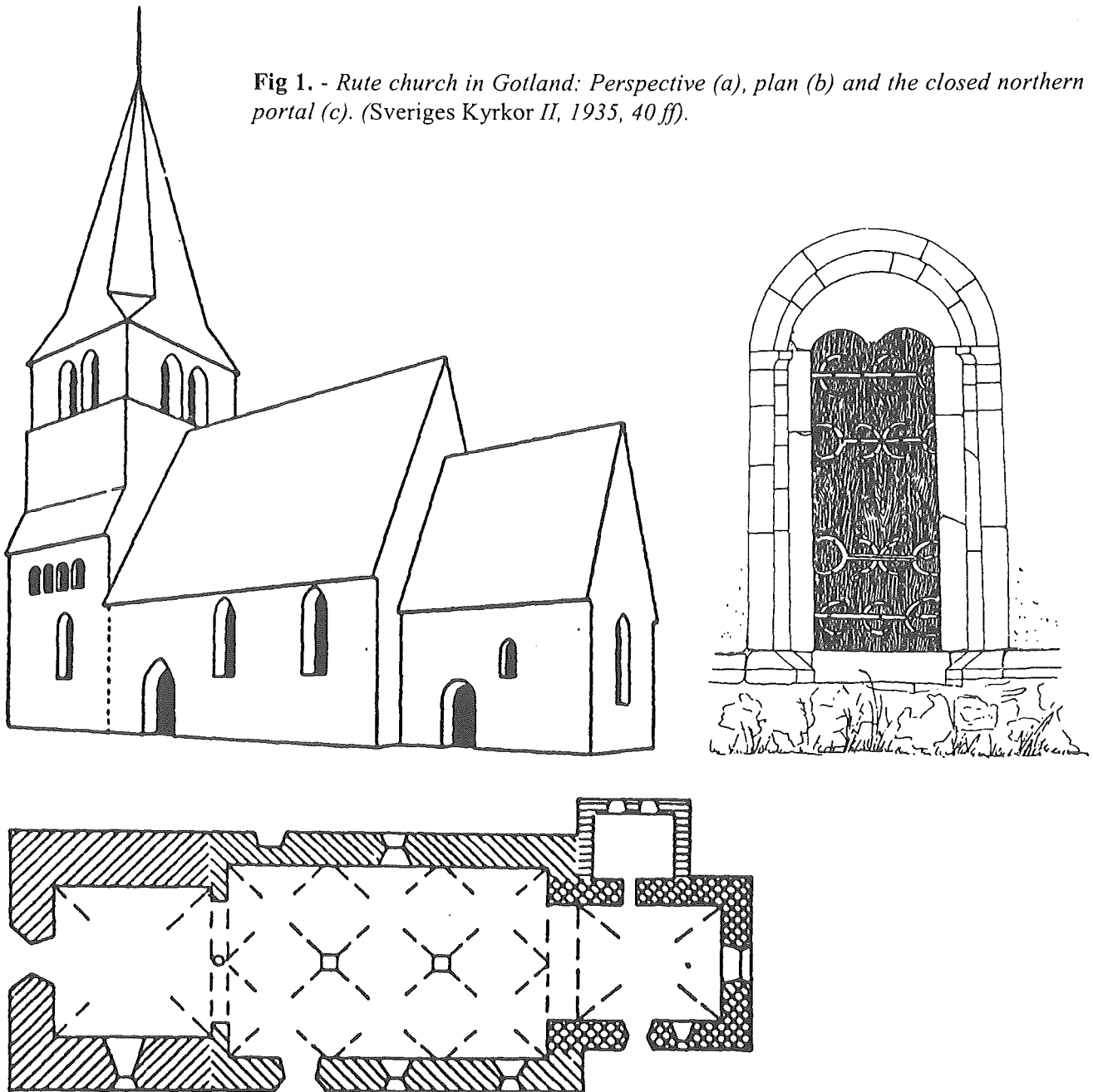
Church Portals

Attention has been paid to church portals especially in art historical studies. The portals have been described and analysed, as their elaboration could be of help in the definition of style, contacts and dating of the church. The portals have been used to divide buildings into groups of style or workshops. Style analysis has been one of the main methods of dating the architecture. However, the functions of the portals have seldom been discussed in research. The functions have been regarded as unproblematic.

The number and location of the portals vary within Scandinavia. Often there is a door to the choir from the south. In this way the priest had his own entrance, the 'priest's door' (Löija 1996). In Denmark there were normally two portals leading into the nave, one to the south and one to the north. The southern portal must have been the entrance of men and is called the 'men's door'. The northern portal must have been for women and are called "women's door". According to most of the literature, the northern portals were sealed or disappeared somewhere in the late Middle Ages about the same time as porches were erected in front of the southern portals. In the west part, through a tower, there would be an entrance for the owners or patrons of the church. In Norway and Sweden it was more common to have two portals leading into the nave, one from the south and one from the west, whereby the latter was the main entrance. Here the northern portal occurs only seldom (Mackeprang 1944, 60 ss.; 1948, 1 ss.; Cinthio & Blindheim 1964).

Alternatively there is a possibility that the function of the portals was primarily symbolic. The portal or door symbolized Christ, the entrance to Paradise. The portals could have been used for processions during church festivals, in connection with burials and maybe even every Sunday. In England the processions are well known; thus, for instance, the coffin was carried in through the northern portal and out through the southern portal. The north side of the church together with the northern portal are associated with the stories of the Old Testament and the south side and the southern portal with the New

Fig 1. - *Rute church in Gotland: Perspective (a), plan (b) and the closed northern portal (c). (*Sveriges Kyrkor *II, 1935, 40 ff).*
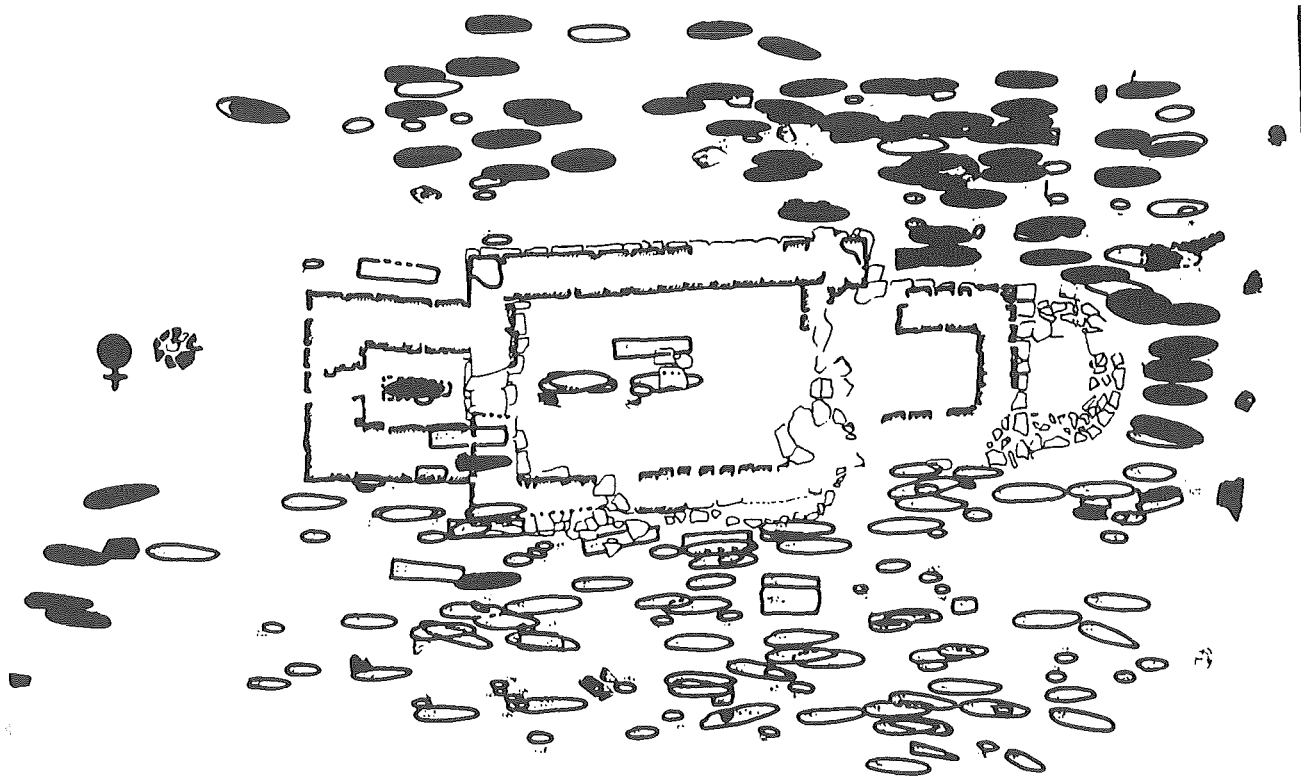
Fig 2. - *Västerhus church in Jämtland with a separation of graves according to gender (Gejvall 1960).*

Testament. The northern portal may have been blocked after the Reformation, when the Catholic processions disappeared (Johansson 1968; Holmberg 1990, 40 *ss*.; Christie & Christie 1993, 68).

A Gender Perspective

Medieval archaeology is not and has never been distinguished by any theoretical or methodological avant-gardisme. In the shadow of history and the written sources the discipline has been conservative and utmost cautious. Social and economic perspectives reached medieval archaeology far later than the archaeologies of other periods. Still a gender perspective has not had any major impact, apart from a few exceptions (Gilchrist 1993).

Would a gender perspective lead to the formulation of new questions or to the attaining of new results regarding the churches and in particular the portals? Could the occurrence of northern portals, so called "women's doors", contribute to the study of the relationship between men and women during the Middle Ages?

My starting-point and my expectations were quite clear: provided that the northern portal was a door for women, then the blocking of the door or its disappearance could help to determine when there was a transformation from gender separated graves into family graves. Local or regional variations in the sealing of the northern portals would unveil gender variations in time and space.

The church portals would be a good empirical starting point because they are often preserved, well-documented and might be dated by style. The same questions could be examined through archaeological excavations in churchyards, but for practical, economic and ethical reasons such investigations would probably be few. The chronological development and the geographical variation would be much easier to map using the many portals. Though the question remains whether the assumption is correct, that is, if the portals to the nave were really connected to a gender separation.

Gotlandic Church Portals

The medieval churches on the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea are well-preserved and well-documented. Furthermore, the many building phases could be dated within narrow limits with the help of architectural details, wall-paintings and dendrochronology (Sveriges Kyrkor; Roosval 1911; Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991; Bråthen 1995). The churches were continuously being rebuilt and enlarged from the first stone building about 1150 until about 1350, when the building activity came to an end. The architecture was
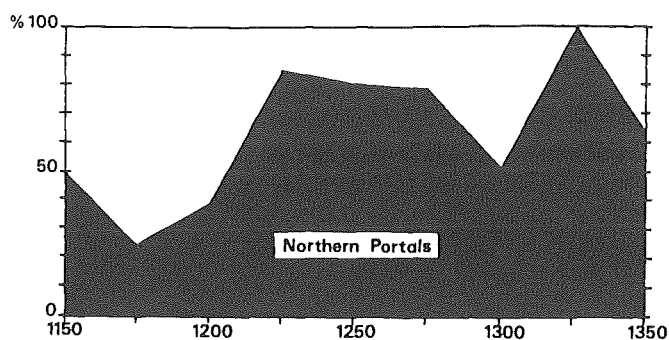
Fig 3. - *The presence of northern portals at churches in Gotland between 1150 and 1350. The investigation includes 99 churches. The northern portal might be situated in the nave (45) or in the tower (24) which is more or less integrated with the nave, but the statistical tendency is the same regardless of the exact location of the northern portal. The information on portals and datings are taken from the inventories "Sveriges Kyrkor" and Lagerlöf & Svahnström 1991.*

almost frozen so that today around 100 parish churches have been preserved. The island of Gotland would be an excellent place to analyse the chronological development regarding the portals, which here vary in size, form and decoration and have been commented upon in several studies (Roosval 1909; Lagerlöf 1992; Redelius 1992). Gotland is also a relevant area to investigate as several archaeological finds and excavations have shown that the northern side of the churchyards were used for women until the 13th century and then remained unused almost until today.

When were the northern portals sealed in Gotland or when did they disappear? The task is easy and I had expected to read a clear tendency in my statistics. I also expected the northern portals to disappear around 1225. But this proved not to be the case.

The southern portals steadily grew larger and more elaborated during the Middle Ages, but in fact the northern portals never disappeared (fig 3). Churches with and without northern portals existed side by side in Gotland from the very first stone buildings until the youngest building phases in the 14th century. So it is not possible to see any correlation between the blocking or disappearance of the northern portals and the stop of burials on the northern side of the churchyards.

Portals to Paradise?

Normally a scientist does not use paper or time at a conference to publish a rejected working hypothesis. The result of my little experiment was definitively negative, but it is still a surprise.

Maybe I ought to have been more cautious when regarding the northern portal as a special door for women, remembering churches as Västerhus i Jämtland where there was no northern portal, but where women were still buried on the northern side. The absence of motives on the portals associated with gender might also have been a warning against making fast conclusions. Wise after the event, I also found examples of gothic portals on the northern side of

churches all over Scandinavia. Information from the time of the sealing of the northern portals is scarce, but there are instances where portals were being blocked only *after* the Reformation, in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries (Koch 1983, 65). Still it has become a common opinion that the northern portal is a "women's door" and that it went out of use in the late Middle Ages.

Now more than ever it is relevant to throw some light on the functions of church portals. That is, why do different church designs – churches with and without a northern portal – occur in the same period? Why was there a growing focus on the southern side of the churches during the Middle Ages, so that this side achieves the greatest portals, the greatest windows and so that the porches are built at this side? Is this a result of a change in the relationship between men and women, a result of a 'patriarchalisation'?

To come closer to a solution it may be necessary to collect the very scattered information on portals and their functions. Variations within Scandinavia ought to be mapped to see the differences between countries and regions.

If the northern portal was not a special "women's door" the question is, what was it then? Furthermore it is no longer obvious that the church body reflects the three or four medieval orders. Instead the symbolic or ritual use of the portals will be in focus. But this kind of work is yet to come.

Invitation

This paper represents my preliminary reflections on church portals. I intend to continue my research and therefore I am interested in contacts with other medievalists, who know of the use and meaning of church portals during the Middle Ages or later. Please contact Jes Wienberg (Reader) at the address given below or by E-mail: Jes.Wienberg@ark.lu.se.

Translated with the help from
Birgitta Håkansson and Bodil Petersson

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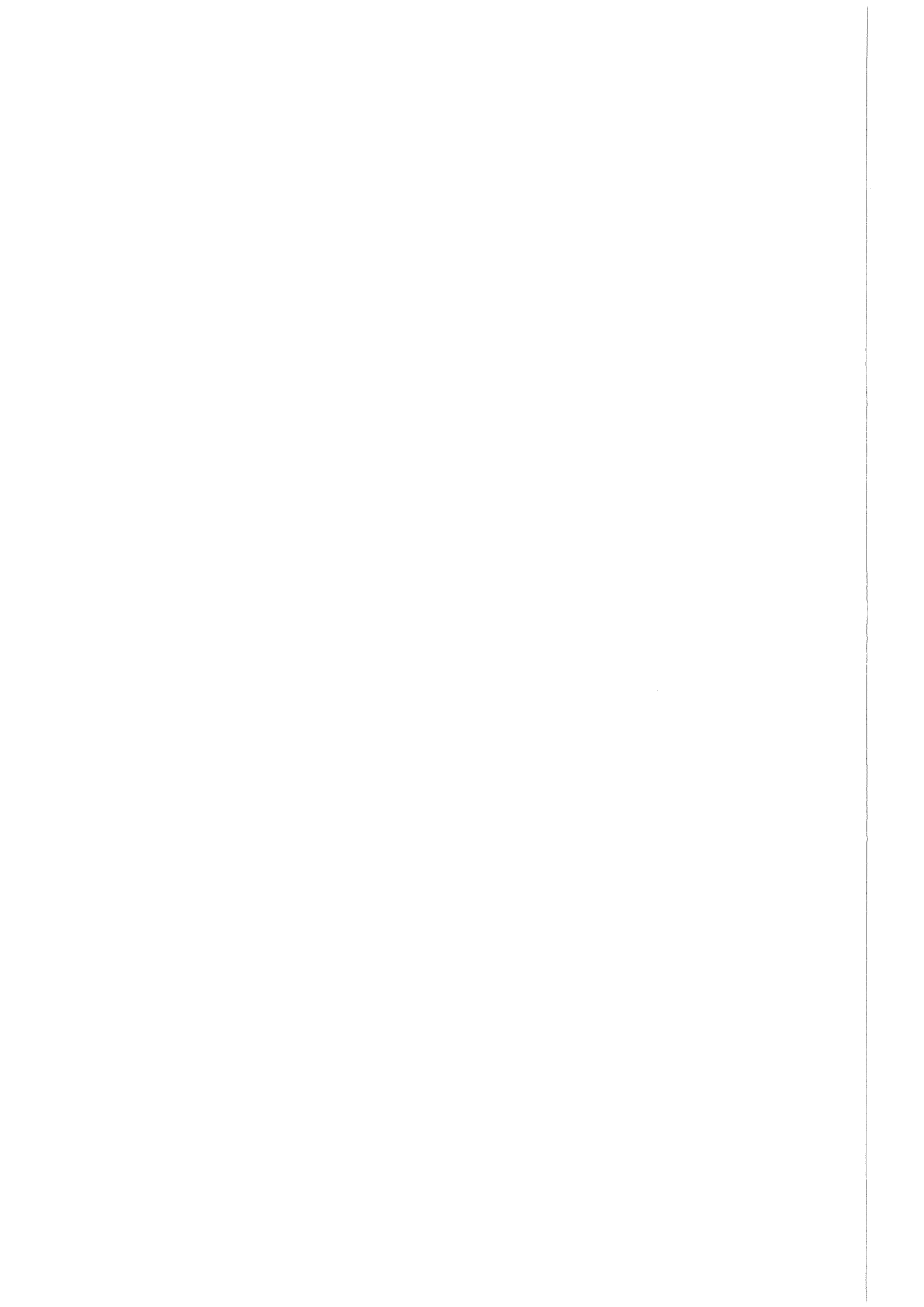
Veronica Murasheva

Warrior's Belts in the System of Early Medieval Cultural Values. Some Notes on the Adoption of a Socially Meaningful Cultural Element

Any material object being included in inter-human relations and ideological concepts could have been considered as an object with additional sign content. For example, a stone being laid on the boundary of two fields becomes a symbol of property. Such a feature is particularly closely related to elements of material culture. When things are incorporated in the semiotic system (ritual, etiquette) they are realized as signs: 'the semiotic statute of things reflects a concrete relation of 'signship' and 'thingship' and correspondingly a relation of symbolic and utilitarian functions' (Bayburin 1981, 216).

A belt is known as one of the most ancient components of dress. Some of the primitive tribes who did not use any clothes nevertheless still wore belts: 'belts of shame' designed to shield certain parts of the body, 'belts of hunger' used in hard and hungry times.

As a component of dress, a belt had a number of functions of an utilitarian, ritual and/or social nature; it also expressed a kind of ethnic self-consciousness. The study of the social functions of a belt is what the present report aims at. The study is based on material of the Ancient Rus which is used to consider these functions.

Any form of dress is always a reflection of the social position of its owner. There is, for instance, a Russian saying that 'one meets anybody by his clothes'. But different elements of clothes and attire appearing as signs have a different sign content. Certain details of clothes are known to be common for specific social groups whereas others are pertinent to a particular class or estate. Many peoples attached much importance to belts, the latter being objects of 'advanced' social significance. This is particularly true in the case of decorated belts (straps with metallic mounts). In the Early Middle Ages, these belts were very fashionable among warriors throughout the Euro-Asian steppes and in the adjacent territories. Decorated belts gained wide acceptance in Ancient Rus' in the 10th century and were found on sites related to the 'druzhina', the armed forces of the Russian princes. It must be pointed out

that in Russian history, the phase of the 9th to 11th centuries is interpreted as a peculiar stage of state formation. Certain extratribal social structures such as the 'druzhina' involved a number of socially meaningful cultural elements. The culture of the 'druzhina' was open to external influences and actively adopted many cultural attributes from neighbouring peoples. Simply decorated belts were presumably borrowed from Turkish nomads, the southern neighbours of the Russians. Some components of medieval dress such as shoulder-straps could have played a part as indicators of social status. Such a distinct system of signs could only have been developed in a society with an advanced hierarchic structure.

The decorated belt was not an invention of the Ancient Rus'. This is why we believe it to be better to discuss first of all and briefly the role of a belt within the cultural context of the peoples and states who were linked with Ancient Rus'. This approach is logical as decorated belts were adopted cultural elements in Ancient Rus'. The Byzantine sources provide us with the necessary evidence to assert that the belt was a kind of social indicator of a specifically high military rank (Sreznevsky 1895, 1340; Theophilactus Simocatta, 1957, 139).

In Persia, some components and decorative elements of dress belonged to a strict hierarchic system and were related to gifts from a Tsar. Thus, Procophy from Kessaria wrote: 'The Tsar took away from the defeated one his gold and pearl head cap as such a cap was a symbol of the highest rank after the Tsar. Nobody in Persia was allowed to wear any gold fingerings, belts or buckles if these decorations were not awards granted by the Tsar' (Prokophy from Kessaria 1876, 223-224).

In ancient and medieval China, the colour and decorations of the belt traditionally played the role of badges of rank for the aristocracy and officials; so the expression 'a cap and a belt' became an idiomatic designation for 'career' (Sychev & Sychev 1975, 36).

A complicated and definite sign system reflecting the social structure had been developed in the Arabian Caliphate. This system included belts as

well. The system of a state management of the Arabians began to form during the rule of the Abbasides and in Central Asia, under the Samanides (Bartold 1963, 255) it was finally converted into a form of advanced bureaucratic and military hierarchy. Nizam el-Mulk described the military carrier of a Turkish slave at the Samanide court mentioning the meaningful attributes corresponding to specific stages in the career: '... Habjib gave him a Turkish horse with harness. Two years later he could wear a special belt ('*karatchur*'), after four years of service he could have a better saddle with a bridle decorated with stars, a costly dress and a club; after five years he could wear parade clothes, after six years he could become a chief of marquee ('*visakbashi*'); his badge of rank was in the form of a cap made of black felt ...' (Bartold 1963, 286).

Some Turkish peoples believed a belt to be a receptacle of the soul. The belt was not divorced from the living person and symbolized his bounds with all other individuals, being a sign of belonging to that society. The children began to wear belts only when they became grown-ups, when their parental links became closer and when they came under the sponsorship of the tribe. When they had achieved the rank of adult warriors, Young men began to wear a battle belt suited for arms. Such a belt was a sign of warrior maturity (Lipets 1984, 67). The archaeological sources support this. The study of the Khazar antiquities suggests that all men promoted to warriors were equipped with battle belts (Pletneva 1967, 164).

The decorated belt played a prominent role within the hierarchic award system of the Avars. In the case of the Avar antiquities, the Hungarian archaeologist D. Laszlo demonstrated convincingly that the material of belt mounts reflected the social rank of a person, while the number of mounts and pendants corresponded to the intratribe rank (Laszlo 1955, 176).

Written sources do not include any data on the role of belts in the society of the Ancient Rus' at the stage of state formation. Therefore, we can only take into account archaeological sources. We have chosen the following archaeological sites to study the problem:
1)   Gniozdovo – a complex of archaeological monuments situated along the Upper Dnieper near Smolensk, being the key site on the prominent 'road from the Varangians to the Greeks';
2)   three sites, located at the Upper riverhead near Yaroslavl' (Timerevo, Mikhailovskoye, Petrovskoye) and having yielded objects corresponding to '*druzhinas*';
3)   Birka – a classic site of the Viking Age in Sweden;
4)   the Izhorian plateau mounds situated in the Northern-Western Rus' in the territory of the recent Leningrad district.

Our selection is defined by the following criteria. Gniozdovo (10th century) and the mound groups of the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga area (late 9th century to early 11th century) comprise the largest number of finds of belt-fittings in the whole of the territory of the Ancient Rus'. Birka is a thoroughly studied and published site of the Viking Age (Arbman 1941; Arbman 1943). It is known that Vikings had historical links with the Ancient Rus'. Finally, the numerous mound groups on the Izhorian plateau excavated at the end of the 19th century belong to more recent burials of the 11th to 14th centuries but have yielded belt-fittings of the period when belts had already become rather rare. In this way, we may assume to be looking at a continuous chronological interval which provides us with the opportunity to compare our finds with materials representing the external areas.

The selected sources do, however, present a number of short-comings:
1)   for some finds, there is little or no documentation concerning the context. This particularly true for the Gniozdovo material from V.I. Sizov's (19th century) excavations where belt-mounts are very abundant. Therefore, it is impossible to reconstruct the complex.
2)   Some of Gniozdovo mounds were excavated twice: first by 'wells' or trenches in the 19th century, and later for complete elimination in the 20th century. Hence, the originally united archaeological complex could be subdivided.
3)   In addition, the present state of cremation studies makes it extremely difficult to identify belts within the group of finds of harness components which have also been decorated with metallic mounts.

All these factors lead to the limitation of the number of usable burials and make the conclusions less reliable. As a result of all this, we had to select 59 burials from the Gniozdovo complex, 71 burials from the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region, 27 from Birka and 104 from the Izhorian plateau.

The frequency of belt elements as a part of a burial stock is low in all studied sites, with the exception perhaps of the Gniozdovo complex and the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region where they make up 6.4 % and 9.6 % respectively (fig. 1) of all the excavated assemblages. In Birka and on the Izhorian plateau, the frequency of belt details is very low (2.3 % and 1.8 % respectively).

The number of metallic belt details is variable, so three types of belts are distinguished:
Type I: 'everyday' (utilitarian) belts which are decorated only with a buckle or with a buckle with rings bounding the separate parts of the strap.
Type II: belts with a buckle and a strap end.
Type III: decorated belts with a whole set of mounts, a buckle, a strap end and other details, some of them

appearing only sporadically. This particular type of belt type is of special interest to us.

The three types of belts do not occur with the same frequency (fig. 2). The decorated belt is most popular in the Gniozdovo complex (68 %) whereas in the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region, the 'everyday' belts and the decorated ones have nearly the same frequency (45 % and 51 %). The second type is the most characteristic one for Birka, whereas the decorated belt elements represent only 15 % of the relevant finds. These sites are contemporary and rather similar. We suppose that the low proportion of belts with metal mounts and especially of decorated belts in Birka could be explained simply by the fact that decorated belts were not popular clothing elements among Scandinavians. Among the few Birka belts, Type II (buckle and strap end) is the most widely spread. Precisely this type is extremely rare in the territory of the Ancient Rus' (5 % in the Gniozdovo complex, 4 % in the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region and 1 % on the Izhorian plateau).

The material from the Izhorian plateau is characterised by the rare occurrence of belt fragments, but the 'everyday' belt elements belonging to Type I are absolutely predominating. The abrupt reduction in number of decorated belts (17 %) in comparison with earlier archaeological sites is of special interest. The Izhorian plateau mounds are different from the Gniozdovo and the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga sites not only in terms of chronology but also in terms of social context.

Indeed, the Izhorian plateau burials have been interpreted as rural cemeteries in contrast to the Gniozdovo and the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga mounds which are included in the set of the so-called 'druzhina' sites. A few dozen of thousands of burial mounds, dating back to the 11th to 13th centuries, have survived. These are mainly rural cemeteries similar and contemporary to those from the Izhorian plateau.
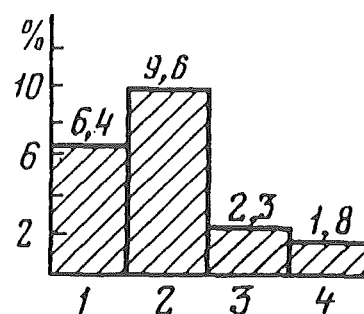

Fig. 1. - *Number of belt fittings in burials: 1) Gniozdovo, 2) Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region, 3) Birka, 4) Izhorian plateau.*

There are nearly 200 warriors' graves among them (Aleshkovski 1960, 88-90). But even among this small group decorated belts occurred only in 5 burials, which is less than 3 % of the warrior complex. Hence the joint data explains the decrease of the frequency of decorated belts among the members of the 'druzina'. Obviously, this phenomenon could also have been caused by the changes in ritual and ceremony in connection with the Christianisation. Everything allows us to suggest that the decorated belts became more and more unpopular among the 'druzhina' members.

The decorated belts started by being spread among the inhabitants of the peripheral areas of the Ancient Rus' State, especially in the region of mixed Slavonic-Finnish-Ugra populations (the Izhorian plateau and other sites). This is interpreted as being a result of the preservation of pagan ritual conservation in these regions (number of finds) as well as of different traditions of wearing belts and ornaments because these served as attributes not only men's but often of women's clothes.

Certain interesting conclusions could be made after consideration of the burial goods in the archaeological complexes containing components of belts. The list of objects compiled by using all the sites in

Fig. 2. - *Belt Types Distribution: 1) Gniozdovo, 2) Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region, 3) Birka, 4) Izhorian plateau.*
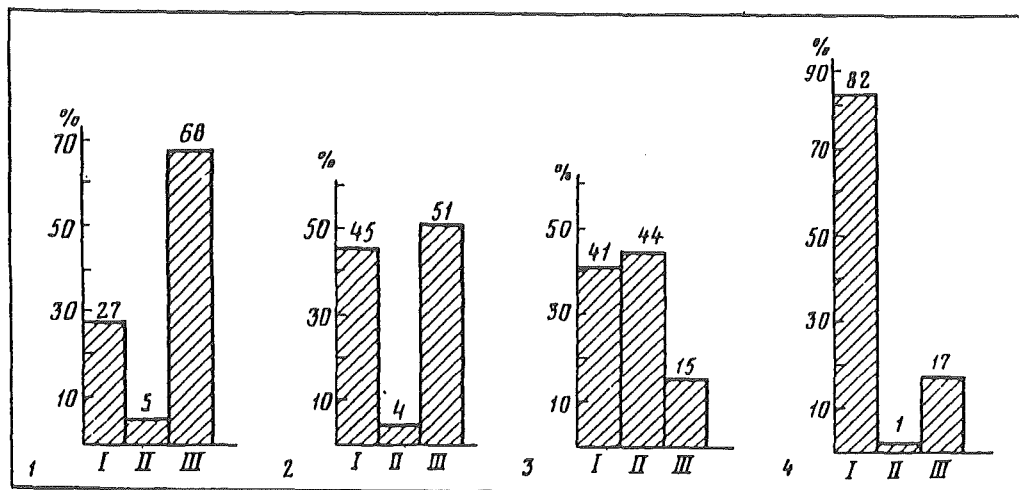
question turned out to be rather extensive. It included all objects which were found together with belts and represented by not less two examples twice in any site: 1) sword (or the chape of a scabbard); 2) arrow; 3) harness (shield, hauberk, helmet); 4) axe; 5) spear; 6) sacral knife; 7) components of a horse harness; 8) drinking-horn; 9) cauldron;10) trade equipment (weights, balance); 11) knife; 12) tools of handicraft; 13) needle; 14) blade; 15) strike-a-light; 16) wick case; 17) whetstone; 18) key; 19) comb; 20) ear-spoon; 21) female Scandinavian brooch (oval, round, equal-armed); 22) annular brooch (pin); 23) pen-annular brooch; 24) finger-ring; 25) bracelet; 26) pendant; 27) bell; 28) necklace; 29) buttons; 30) neck-ring; 31) temple-ring; 32) bag; 33) crampon; 34) coin; 35) rivet; 36) gaming pieces; 37) bucket; 38) pectoral cross; 39) ritual objects (clay paws, ring); 40) horn spike; 41) scythe-blade or sickle.

The correlation between elements of burial goods and types of belts is checked by the index c^2 and the degree of correlation is determined by index Q^* (Fedorov-Davidov 1987, 95-97).

The most distinctive and interesting picture was revealed after the processing the data for the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga mounds. The graph in fig. 3
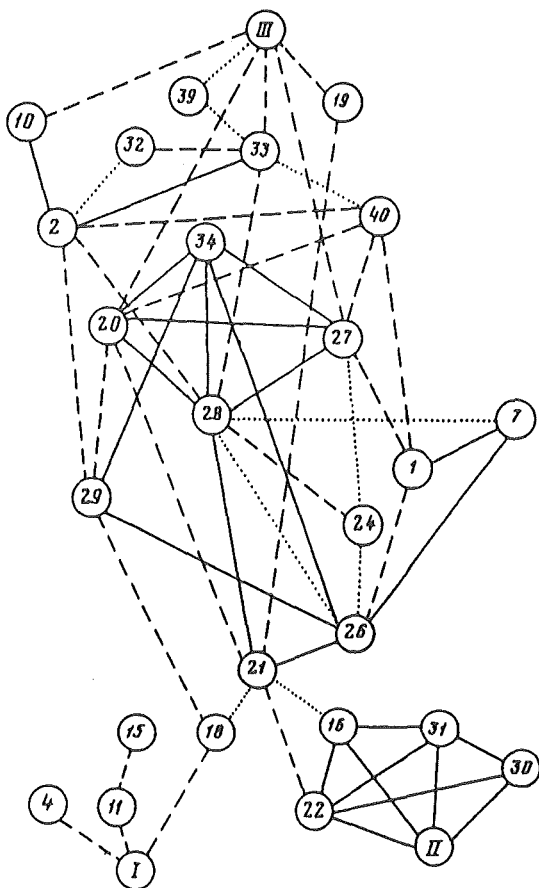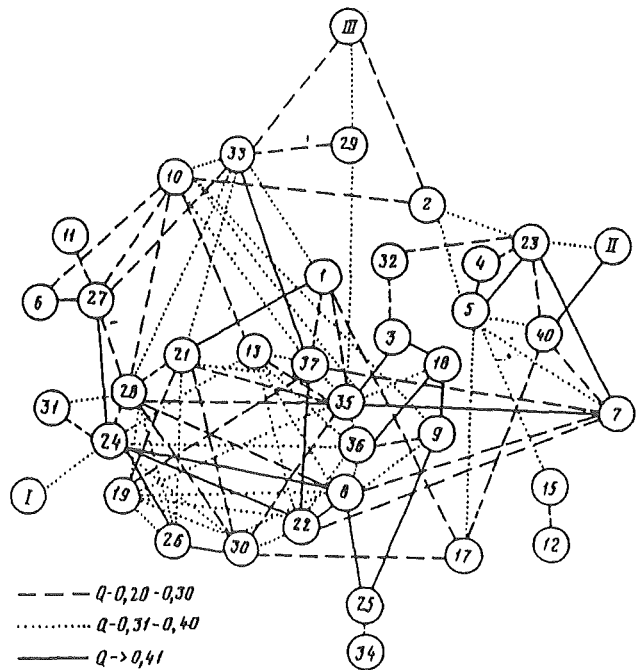

Fig. 4. - *Correlation of belt types and different categories of burial goods. Gniozdovo.*

reflects the grouping of the goods showing three masses, each of which is linked with one type of belt. A small number of objects is characteristic for burials with 'everyday' belts. Belts of Type I are linked with the axe (warrior object) and with key and knife (everyday objects). Belts of Type II are rare as we pointed out earlier. They are linked with a group of objects among which the Scandinavian ring-like brooch and the neck-ring are of special interest.

The largest group of burial goods is combined with the decorated belt. Warrior attributes were not closely linked with the latter. A high correlation index characterizes the trade stocks and decorated belt. It is worth pointing out that in the 10th century, a single person was often both a merchant and a warrior. Crampons also revealed close ties with the decorated belt. These objects are found mainly in 'druzhina' burials of the Kiev Rus' period and can also be considered social indicators (Kirpichnikov 1973, 80). All these links provide us with the necessary arguments for suggestions concerning the social position of at least some of the owners of decorated belts. The correlation of the Type III belt with the ear-spoon as an attribute of female goods within one group with ornaments (necklace, pendant, bell) is an illustration

Fig. 3. - *Correlation of belt types and different categories of burial goods. Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region.*

of the common presence of such belts in the double burials, the latter being also a social indicator.

The graph for the Gniozdovo complex shows no such clear relations (fig. 4). The most interesting links were revealed with regard to the Type III belt. The Russian archaeologist M. Aleshkovsky advanced an assumption concerning the hierarchy of warrior objects reflecting the social position. The hypothesis was based on the data in the Russian-Greek treaty of 945 as well as on the archaeological sources. In the 10th century, the arrow occupies the second position after the sword in this system and could possibly be attributed to the goods of the 'junior' members of the '*druzhina*' (Aleshkovsky 1960, 83). The correlation between the arrow and the decorated belt allows us to assume that it predominantly belonged to 'junior' members of the '*druzhina*'. It is interesting to emphasize the high correlation index of belts with buttons. The buttons could provide information on the type of dress type: 1-2 buttons are typical for a collar of a shirt whereas a find of more than 3 buttons could reveal the presence of a long and close-fitting jacket of an 'oriental' fashion (Arne 1914, 222; Zharnov 1991, 210). Buttons in association with a decorated belt were found in the Gniozdovo complex in 19 cases and in 6 of these, more than 3 buttons found. There was not a single case of '*kaftan*' (close-fitting jacket) button association with the other types of belt except for belts of Type III. Thus the decorated belt being an oriental adoption is observed to be linked with the 'oriental' fashion in dress. The decorated belt of the Gniozdovo is also connected with crampons as in the case of the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region.

In Birka, the belts of Types I and II did not show (fig. 5) any correlation with other objects belonging among the burial goods. The decorated belt revealed links with the spike and especially with buttons; its correlation with the buttons, which are a very special detail of an oriental fashion in dress, indicates the source of the penetration of belts of Type III in Sweden.

The graph illustrating the correlation of the types of belts with burial goods in the Izhorian plateau mounds (fig. 6) shows no correlation with any warrior objects. The decorated belts are linked only with the female set of ornaments comprising a pendant, a temple-ring as well as a necklace and a bracelet. Double burials which caused female ornaments to be incorporated in the correlations in the Yaroslavl' Upper Volga region and the Gniozdovo complex were not found on the Izhorian plateau. Hence, the decorated belt should be considered only as a detail of both male and female dress and cannot be considered a specific attribute of a warrior.
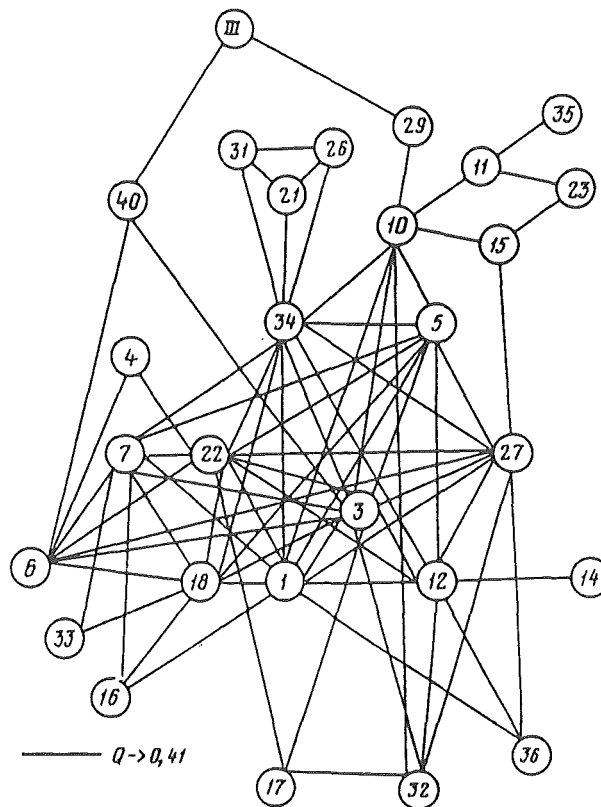

Fig. 5. - *Correlation of belt types and different categories of burial goods. Birka.*

Thus, the study of the archaeological sources shows that the decorated belts were predominant in the territory of Ancient Rus' in the 10th century. Possibly, this type of belt type was characteristic for a certain group of junior members of the '*druzhina*' of rather low social rank. Yet, the type is also found in the richest and largest tumuli of the 10th century. Therefore, we have no firm base to claim a fixed position of the decorated belt within the clearly outlined system of the social attributes.

The ancient Russian archaeological sources do not allow to find out whether the correlation links are similar to those of the Avar monuments considered. In the Avar burials the rank of a person is reflected in the material of the mounts (gold, silver, bronze) and the number of mounts and pendants is an indicator of intratribal rank (Laszlo *ibid.* 176). Such a phenomenon
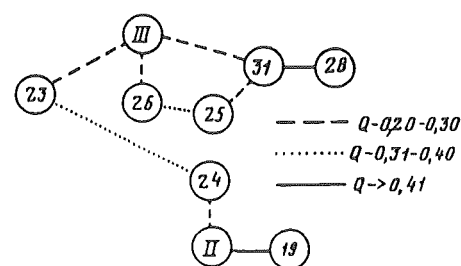

Fig. 6. - *Correlation of belt types and different categories of burial goods. Izhorian plateau.*

reflects a stable tribal social structure. In contrast to that of the Avar people, the social organization of the society of the Ancient Rus' in the 9th-11th centuries had already moved beyond the framework of a tribal hierarchy. It was a period of great social mobility reflected in the desire to attain high rank, to become part of specific social layer ('*druzhina*') and to include in the customs some socially meaningful attributes adopted from other territories. One of these attributes was the warrior's decorated belt. The archaeological sources of the 11th-13th centuries provide no evidence concerning the specific social position of this type of belt.

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The Angel and the Dragon:
two medallions from an early medieval hill-fort in Kalisz, Poland

"The past and future are the same monster biting its own tail"
René de Obaldia

Kalisz on the River Prosna was one of the most important points of the early Piast Polish state (Fig. 1). The antique tradition – that its name can be identified with the Kalisia mentioned by Ptolemy – is quite irrelevant here since, even if it were so, there is no proof of continued settlement.

Till 1233 the main Kalisz stronghold, the seat of lay and ecclesiastic power was in Zawodzie, at present a district of Kalisz. It was an important centre of settlement, production and trade. After 1233 the stronghold was moved elsewhere and in the middle of the 13th century a town was located there.

Archaeological excavations in Zawodzie (Fig. 2) were carried out in two stages by the Kalisz section of the Institute of History of Material Culture (at present Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology) of the Polish Academy of Science (Dabrowska 1964, 1968, 1971; Dabrowski 1962a, 1962b, 1976; Dabrowski & Gieysztor 1964; Baranowski & Gajewski 1991, 1992 – the first in depth publication of both fin).

Fortifications were discovered from at least three phases of expansion, from the 9th to the 13th centuries. Especially noteworthy are those which probably come from the period before the Piasts and which protected a tribal fortified settlement. Among settlements that have been precisely dated using the dendrochronological method it is one of the oldest in Poland, from the second half of the 9th c. (Baranowski & Krapiec 1996).

The most important discovery were the remains of a Romanesque church, mentioned in written sources – the collegiate church of St Paul from the middle of the 12th c. Its stone foundations rested on rows of wooden piles. Two objects found in the chancel were identified as the tombs of princes connected with Kalisz and known to have been buried in the church – of Mieszko III, the Old (from the eleventh generation of the Piasts, counting from the legendary representatives of the dynasty) and his son, also

Mieszko. Unfortunately the tombs had been robbed and devastated.

Within the outlines of the 12th century church archaeologists excavated the remains of foundations belonging to a small wooden-clay church, probably from the beginning of the 11th century.

These discoveries, and many others which cannot be mentioned here for lack of space, together with written records, place Kalisz among the main early medieval strongholds in Great Poland, the most important centres of the Piast state.

Excavations have also revealed thousands of small artefacts, mainly objects of everyday use and weapons. These are the type of finds which occurs in large amounts at all similar sites, but the Kalisz excavations provided some rare objects – fragments of stained glass windows, richly decorated stirrups, lead seals, weights, ornaments. There are few coins, though there was probably a ducal mint here at the end of the 12th century.

Two objects, to be discussed here, are of special interest.

In a trench in the central part of the stronghold, an area which served as the supply base when the Romanesque church was being built, in the filling of an early medieval pit, a small bronze disk was found with the picture of a winged figure (Fig. 3). This example of minor Romanesque art (26-28 mm in diameter, about 5 mm thick and weighing 16.06 g) shows a human figure sitting on a throne, with a pair of wings which look as if they have been stuck on. There is a halo around the head and the right hand is raised in a gesture of benediction while the left holds an object which is difficult to identify. Both elbows are resting on the arms of the throne and the legs are portrayed with the feet showing. The whole was composed in great detail with the upper part slightly larger than the lower.

Identification of the figure is difficult for lack of explicit attributes – the halo without a cross and the indistinct object in the left hand. The three most probable interpretations are the following. First of
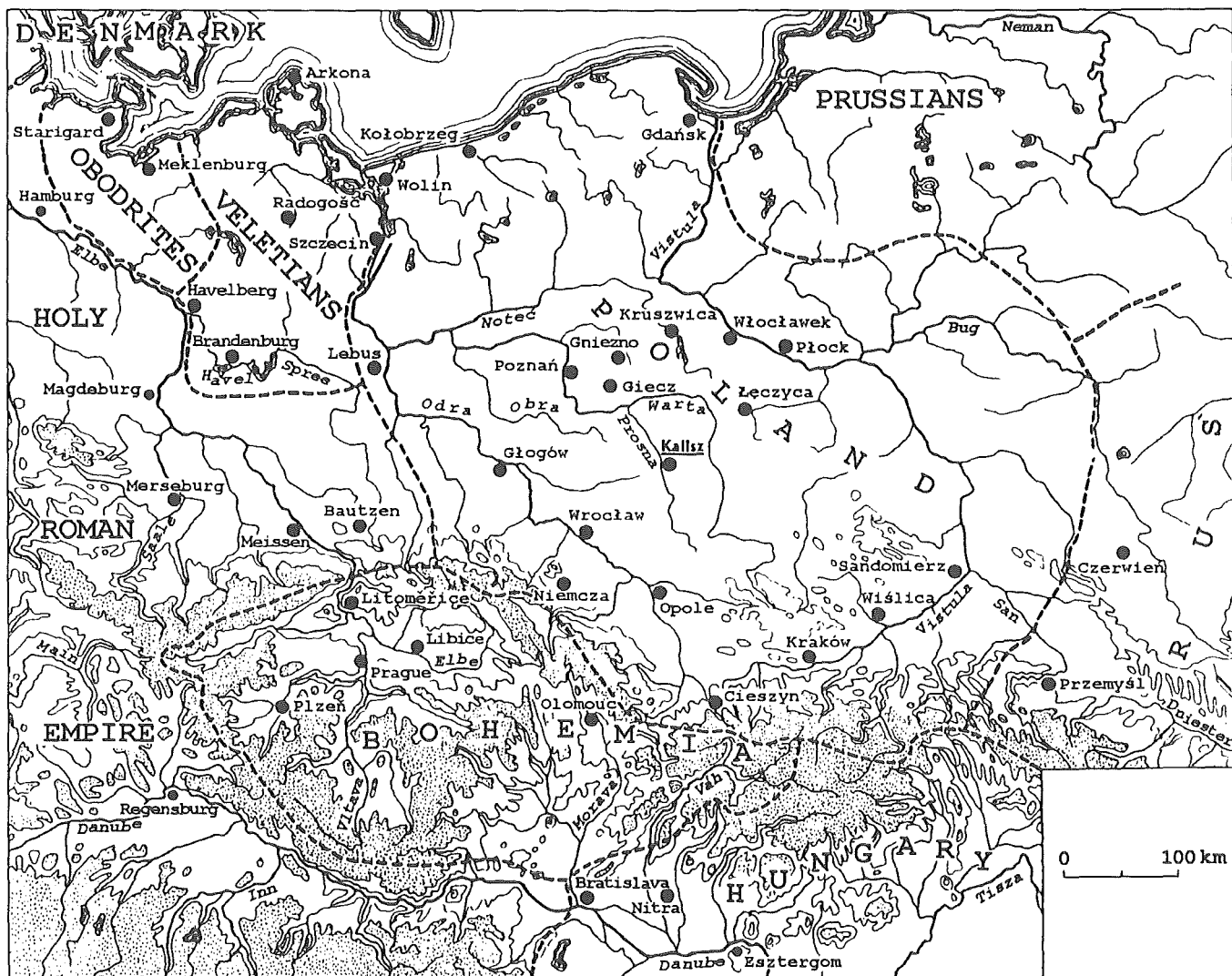
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Fig. 1. - *Poland in the 12th century. After L. Leciejewicz. The location of Kalisz is marked.*

all, the figure may be that of Christ, though rarely portrayed with wings and the halo without a cross. The stateliness of the image and the fact that the figure is seated on a throne (the object held is probably a book) supports this theory. A winged image of Christ can be seen on the north keystone of the transept in the Lady Mary's and St Florian's abbey church of the Cistercian Order in Wachock, from the first half of the 13th c. (Sztuka 1971, vol. 1, fig. 559). *"Maiestas Domini"* is a popular rendering in Romanesque art, sculpture and illuminations (see Dobrzeniecki 1973). The one from Kalisz resembles in form and style the sculpture in the medallion on the architrave of the left portal of the cathedral in Cremona (Quintavalle 1967, fig. 63) which was influenced by the workshop of master William who worked mostly in Modena. However the Cremona figure lacks wings and the Kalisz one a cross in the halo.

The second possibility is that the figure is Saint Matthew. In this case such attributes as a book and wings would be quite comprehensible. Such an ima-

ge is popular, especially in miniatures in books, on medallions on the covers of gospels, on the arms of crosses, among the zoo- and anthropomorphic symbols of the evangelists (see the figure of St Matthew, the Evangelist from the Gospel in the Kruszwica collegiate church, the cross with symbols of the four Evangelists from *"Predicationes"* in the Wawel Cathedral, the medallions on the cover of the "Anastasia Gospel" in Plock and the stauroteka in the Holy Cross Church in Leczyca or the images on the arms of the cross in the Corpus Christi Church in Cracow (Sztuka 1971, vol. 1, fig. 855, 1023, 1025-1028, 1106, 732; Dobrzeniecki 1973; also Surmann 1990). Many such medieval crosses come from Scandinavia where we can also find round, metal medallions, depicting the Evangelists and the Archangel Michael, attached to wooden crosses (Blindheim 1986a, 1986b).

Thirdly, because of the wings, we could assume that the figure on the disk from Kalisz is the Archangel Michael. In the 11-12th centuries the cult of Saint Michael was very strong in Poland. There were chur-

Fig. 2. - *The remains of the stronghold in Kalisz-Zawodzie, with excavation trenches marked.*

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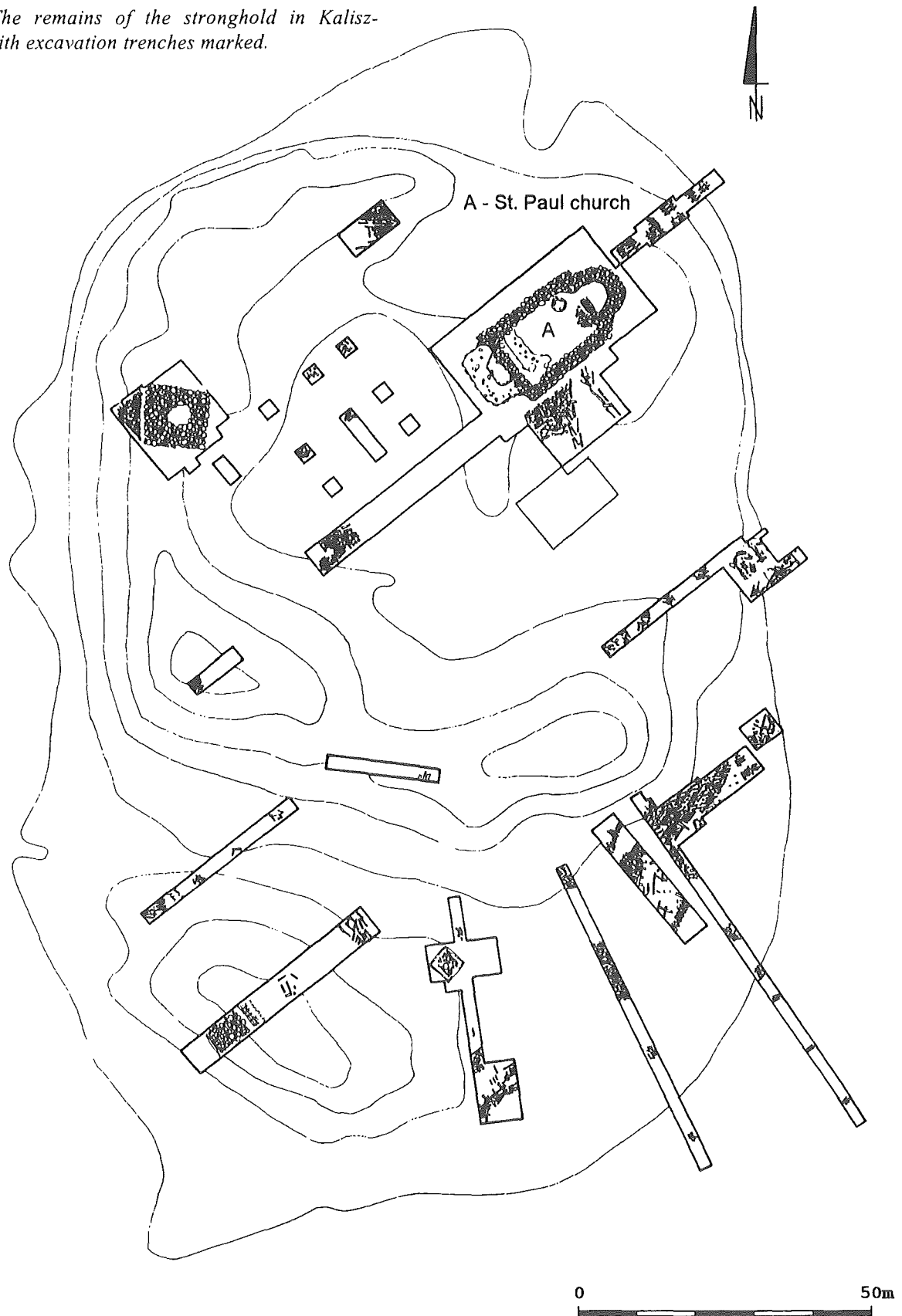
ches dedicated to him in Gniezno, Poznan, Wroclaw, Plock and Cracow. His cult was also strongly linked with Orthodox Ruthenia. The Archangel Gabriel should also be taken into account. One of his functions was snake-dragon slayer. Angels appeared on many Ruthenian seals (Janin 1970) but the Archangel Michael was usually equipped with appropriate attributes – usually a sword and scales (or disk) which are missing on the Kalisz find.
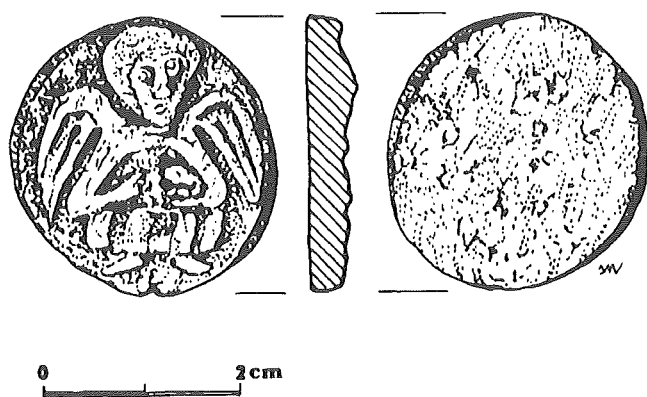
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Fig. 3. - *Kalisz-Zawodzie, remains of the stronghold. Bronze disk-medallion with image of winged figure (12th c.). Ill. S. Nowinska.*

In the same part of the stronghold, among the paving stones a lead disk was found decorated with a low relief of a monster (Fig. 4). The two artefacts were discovered less than four metres away from each other. The cultural context of the finds – pottery shards – suggest that they come from the 12th century.

The dragon on the lead plate (diameter 21.3 mm, thickness about 4 mm, weight 11.59 g) was created by combining elements of at least three animals. The head, with clearly depicted ears and eyes is that of a dog or wolf, the body, wings and paws (claws) are those of a bird of prey and the tail belongs to a reptile. The body of the beast, twisted backwards, to the right, forms a circle; the head is holding the tail in its mouth. The paws are marching forward, to the left and the tail is twice coiled, plaited through the wing and disappears in the mouth. The delicate and fairly low relief forms a neatly planned whole and a well-balanced composition with an inner symmetry in which the vertical axis is formed by one of the knots on the monster's tail and its wing.

The complex symbolism of the dragon can include: primeval Chaos defeated by God in the act of creation, the chthonic aspect connected with the inside of the Earth, death, fertility and also secret knowledge – the dragon appears as the guardian of this knowledge in the process of personality development, initiation-individuation, in the sense of C.G. Jung (Sadowska 1984).

Since the monster on the disk from Kalisz is holding its tail in its mouth, it clearly refers to the pair dragon – serpent, thus extending the range of symbolic meanings. The dragon biting its own tail is the legendary Ouroboros, the symbol of Gnostics and alchemists, known already to the Egyptians (the hieroglyph denoting the "world"). The Greeks pictured it in this manner, with the inscription "One is all" in the centre.

The cosmic nature of the serpent was depicted by the dark upper part of the body (dark earth) and light lower part with dark spots representing the sky and stars. The serpent was the symbol of the god Agathodaimon, who was by some considered a jealous and dangerous demon, while his serpent was an evil and pernicious dragon. Ouroboros was supposed to be responsible for conversions of matter such as its disintegration, union and the like.

The dragon symbolizes eternity. The duality of his "nature" results from the equivocal evaluation in categories of good and evil. "The outer darkness, that great dragon which holds its tail in its mouth is outside this world and surrounds the whole world" says the most famous of the Gnostic texts – "Pistis Sophia" ("Faith and Wisdom"). The closed serpent – dragon was the symbol of the beginning again, the closed cycle, the circle of existence, the continuous transformation of death into life and life into death. This is the meaning of the serpent's self-destruction. It kills itself with its poison and at the same time fertilizes itself. It is the symbolism of continuous rebirth and eternal returning (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982, 366-367, 416, 716, 868-869). Such a circular form is used to depict the main antagonistic opposites of Heaven and Earth, Good and Evil, Night and Day.

Dragons appear in all cultures, in different forms, but usually as the embodiment of evil, except in those rare instances when they are creatures doing good, as in the fertility rites of the Greeks and Romans. In the far east they were also attributed clearly positive functions (see Lexikon 515-524).

Dragons are made up of animals that are the natural enemies of man and so evoke dread and disgust. Most often they are identified with serpents. No wonder then that in the Bible the dragon, mainly as leviathan, plays a decidedly negative role. This role is shown most clearly in the 12th chapter of the Apocalypse of Saint John and in the Prophecy of Isaiah: "In that day the Lord with his sore and great and strong sword shall punish leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea" (Isa. 27,1). The dragon has an important place in Jewish symbolism. On Jewish tombstones it is sometimes depicted as a serpent eating its own tail, a symbol of the coming of the Messiah, when, according to the Talmud the just will consume the meat of this monster. It can also be found among the ornaments in synagogues.

Medieval authors, beginning with Isidor of Seville also present the dragon negatively. Honorius of Autun writes: *"Draco maximus serpentium est diabolus rex omnium malorum"*. Legends are full of dragons. In the Middle Ages, in western Europe it was consid-

ered in good tone to have a pond next to the castle with one's own dragon. The dragon often appeared as a battle sign on pennons, the bows of ships, etc. It sometimes symbolized the power of the ruler. The chronicler Gall Anonymous called Boleslaw Krzywousty a *"draco flammivomus"* (a fire-breathing dragon), using the epithet in a positive sense (Kürbisówna 1973).

The dragon appears sometimes alone and sometimes as the negative hero of a larger scene, as in the typical one with St George. "Together with centaurs, monsters, fantastic birds, monkeys, lions, dogs, wolves, goats, ravens and serpents it represented secret and evil forces (Kalinowski 1959, 124). Next to a winged dragon on a capital in Moissac, in France can be seen the inscription: *"Serpens anticus qui est diabolus"*.

The winged dragon appears in Anglo-Irish book illustrations towards the end of the 8th century, relating to the traditions of Hellenic-Sassanian, Byzantine-Pontian and Lombard art (Kalinowski 1959, 107). In our culture the dragon begins to appear in this form in the 12th century. The motif shows close ties with the fantastic creature called a *"senmurv"* (Bisi 1966) which has a long tradition, reaching back to Iranian art in the first millennium before Christ, and which came into west European art through Sassanian, Islamic and Byzantine art. An interesting study on the subject has recently been published (1994) by Catherine Vanderheyde.

Depictions of dragons, also of those eating their own tails, often appear in medieval art. We know them from La Charité-sur-Loire, Poitiers, Hildesheim (among others Baltrušajtis 1931 and 1955; Hamann 1939; Debidour 1961; Le Goff 1970). Similar motifs appear in medieval Ruthenian art (Bocarov 1984, 144, 147). Another familiar motif here is that of two serpents forming a circle and eating each other, a symbol of resurrection or the passing of the years, as in the church at Quedlinburg castle.

A good analogy for the Kalisz dragon can be seen on the capital of a half column in the Cathedral at Modena – if not the work of Master William himself (known from the inscription: *"Inter scultores quanto sis dignus onore – Claret scultura nunc Wiligelme tua"*) then from his workshop which existed at the turn of the 11th century (Quintavalle 1967, fig. 34).

In the cathedral in Mainz, to the right of the entrance to the east crypt there is a small element on the wall, a monster with his head turned backwards and with a dragon's tail. A similar creature (not biting its tail) is shown in the church of St-Pierre-de-la-Tour in Aulnay de Saintonge (12th c.) in the decoration around the window of the apsis (Atroshenko & J. Collins 1985, fig. 93).
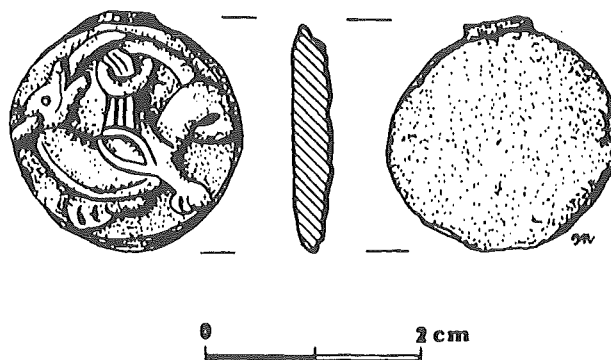

Fig. 4. - *Kalisz-Zawodzie, remains of stronghold. Lead disk-medallion depicting a winged dragon (12th c.). Ill. S. Nowinska.*

In Milan, in the church of St Ambrose there are beasts like the one from Kalisz, depicted on the capitals of the left row of columns in the open portico. In the portal of the right hand aisle there is a beautiful winged dragon with a straight tail (opposite a lion), which has been copied on the right side of the portico. The same dragon decorates the lintel of the second cathedral of St Waclaw on Wawel Hill, from the end of the 11th century (Sztuka 1971, vol. 1, fig. 441). Dragons are portrayed in the abbey church in Czerwinsk, around the main portal and in the church of the Lady Mary in Wislica, in the border of the paved floor. A beautiful picture of a dragon can be seen on a bronze belt buckle found above well no. 1, in the remains of the Leczycz stronghold, in a layer from the third phase of the stronghold, 12-13th c. (Abramowicz 1955, 337-338, Pl. 135:a).

Dragons are a popular decoration of manuscripts and as sculptures in buildings. Hundreds of images of strange creatures and scenes, among them a variety of dragons, appear in medallions ornamenting the walls of rich Venetian houses from the 11-13th centuries. Some of these depictions resemble the Kalisz disk both in form and style (Swiechowski, Rizzi & Hamann 1982).

The dragon was a typical animal of medieval bestiaries, works containing descriptions and illustrations of real and fantastic creatures, minerals and plants, based on the ancient Physiologus (known as the heavenly bestiary), whose origins reach back to even earlier models (Ameisenowa 1933).

The dragon appears on the denarii of Polish kings: Boleslaw Smialy, Wladyslaw Herman and Boleslaw Krzywousty and on many Styrian, Austrian, Silesian, Hungarian and German coins (Kiersnowski 1988, 406). Dragons appear on the Great Poland coins of Prince Mieszko III Stary. Most of the images on the brakteates of this ruler were taken from the border of the right wing door to Gniezno Cathedral (Kiers-

nowski 1978). The dragon from Kalisz also resembles these monsters – motifs: 17, and especially 44, placed in the very corner of the wing – a dragon with the head of a mammal, the body of a bird and the tail of a reptile is spitting out a stalk (Kalinowski 1959, fig. 70; Kepinski 1959, fig. 81). However, the analogy is not complete because of the coiled body.

We agree with the hypothesis (Kiersnowski 1978, 6-7, 11) that some of the depictions on the bracteates could have originated in the sculptures in St Paul's church in Kalisz, founded by Mieszko III Stary. This opinion is true in the case of the medallions found in the Kalisz stronghold but no decorative elements from the church were found during excavations to support it.

The image of a dragon brings to mind the medallions with signs of the Zodiac placed in the Romanesque portals of the Sacra di San Michele in Val di Susa, Italy or the church of St Magdelene in Vézelay, Burgundy (Cohen 1990).

Among the objects which medieval artists richly decorated were dice, usually made from horn or bone. Among the "...birds, lions, dogs, exotic animals, such as camels are legendary animals such as dragons, griffins, centaurs, mermaids, two-headed creatures, astrological symbols and topical cycles connected with the seasons..." (Kluge-Pinsker 1992, 62, catalogue no. 20, 24, 34, 35). Many of the known early medieval dice, especially for the popular game of backgammon (Roman *"tabula"* or *"ludus tabularum"*) are related in form and style of imagery to the Kalisz find, and some have the picture of a dragon (Kluge-Pinsker 1991, cat. no. B6 B8, B15).

In the 13th century the dragon was to be found on many seals, including the seals of two Kalisz princes: Przemyslaw and Boleslaw Pobozny. In heraldry at that time it represents positive features (it was also the emblem of Cracow province) but also still symbolizes evil defeated.

In spite of stylistic differences and different materials, both artefacts could have been part of a larger narrative scene. The enthroned celestial figure oppressing the devilish monster is one of such opposing pairs as God (Christ) – devil (dragon) or the Archangel Michael – dragon.

The disk with the "archangel" could also have served as a sort of matrix to make similar images in thin plate (like bracteate coins). There is also the possibility that the disk with a dragon had an apotropaic function – as an amulet frightening off evil powers. The material used to make the disk is very appropriate, since in alchemy lead is connected with darkness, Chaos and Satan.

Both finds vary the rich but rather monotonous array of artefacts discovered during excavations in Kalisz. Another interesting object found during the excavations was a Ruthenian-Byzantine lead seal with a figure of a saintly knight with spear (St Demetrius?) and the inscription :O AGIOC (...) on the obverse and a holy orant on the reverse – a lead cast 4.2 cm in diameter.

However, it seems most probable that the finds from Kalisz decorated the cover of a book, a case, a cross, a wine-cup, or some similar object or objects which have not survived. The finds fit well into the style of Romanesque art in the 12th century but their origin is difficult to determine at present with any precision.

(Translated by Alicja Petrus-Zagroba)

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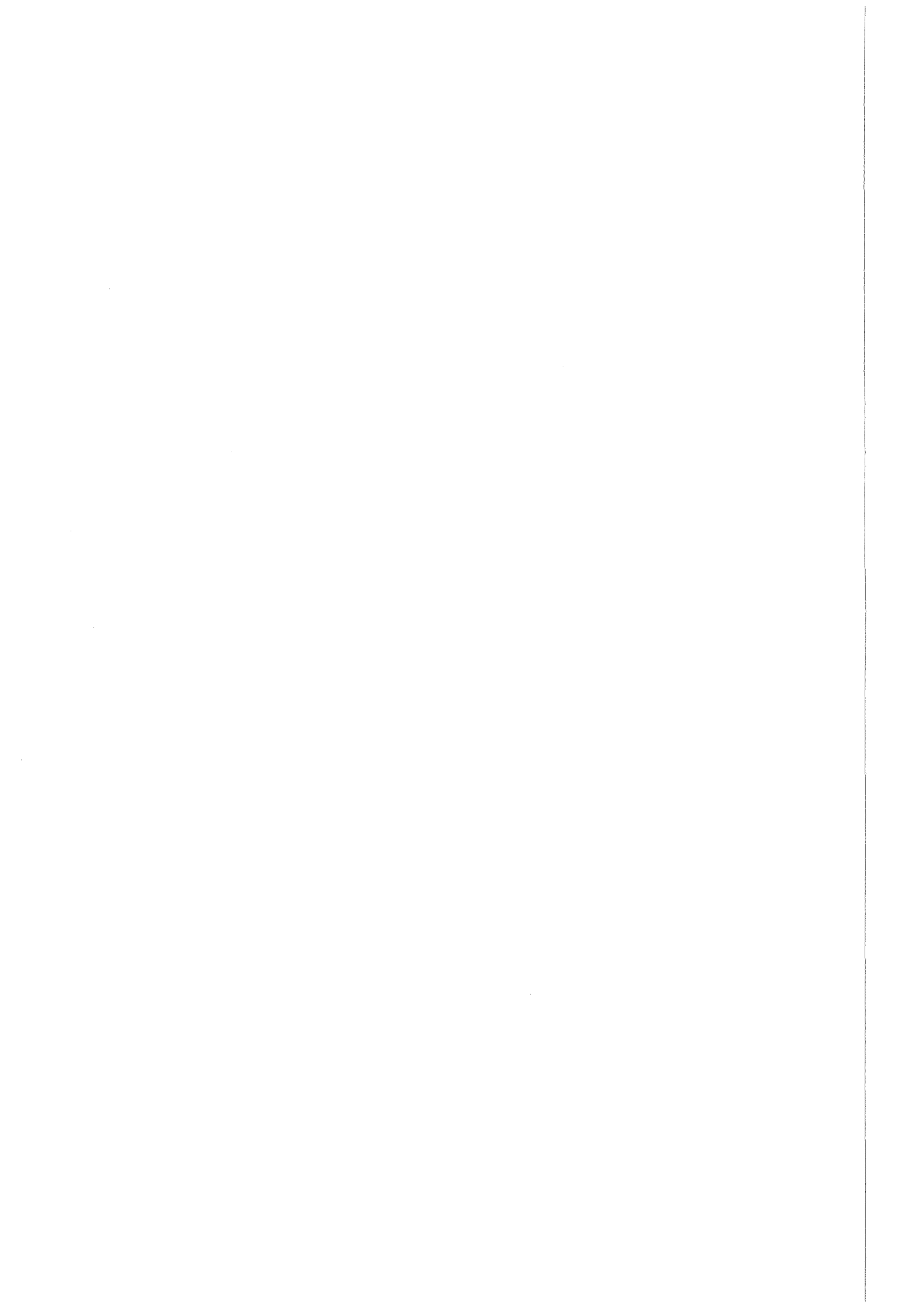
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Animal as a totem in ancient Armenia

The origins of respectful attitudes towards animals go back to remote times when hunting and fishing were the major, and sometimes the only, source of food. Examples of animal cults are obvious in the history of ancient civilizations and later periods, as well as being typical of primitive peoples and classes of culture.

Over the past century, tens of thousands of carvings have been discovered in almost all corners of the globe where man lived in the past and primitive hunting throve and herdsman ventured. The Armenian Plateau, the cradle of ancient civilization, houses many ancient original rock carvings. Of special interest are the many carvings discovered in the chains of Armenian mountains: these carvings store rich information about the customs of the people who are buried there, their wealth and the diversity of the animal world. Rock carvings are unique in their chronological range: occurring during the period of Middle and Late Neolithic, they lived on for thousand years (Martirosian 1971).

They also provide us with the opportunity to fully uncover many details of the ancient inhabitants linked with the historic past of the people that left the carvings behind. These carvings offer rich information on life of the old creatures once inhabiting our land.

For ages man has been showing an amazing persistence in depicting on rocks that part of reality he thought most vital – the world of animals. As a hunter – man or an artist – he knew all the ins and outs of their habits and features, all their behavioural patterns. Large 'canvasses of rock carvings' are a part of the reality reflecting widely varying subject. A great majority of works are animal figures shown singly, in pairs or in large groups. There are numerous scenes of hunting, animal catching, taming, hunting magic, ritual festivities.

The most vital, valuable and worshipped objects of hunting were known to be deer and goats. The evidence supporting the idea that these were the very animals most essential to people consists of bone remains found in burials in the vicinity of Lchashen village and in the coastal rocky zone around Lake Sevan.

In contemporary national perception, the goat has a rather bad reputation: it is wicked and lascivious. The demon is often considered to take the appearance of a goat. As the goat did not start to play a role in everyday life in the Middle Ages or even much earlier, it can be assumed that its symbolism came into being in a remote past when goat pictures were linked with ancient beliefs. In the previous century, a custom existed in Armenia: when a draught struck, the head of a goat was drenched with water to attract rain. The goat was not sold and was used as a sacrifice.

'Vishapaitz' is one of the images of the god Vahagn – the god of the sky, thunder and lightning. 'Aralezes' are very common in Armenian legends. They are half man, half animal: a snake, a goat, a dog, etc. The pagan notion of the goat as an animal destined to be sacrificed has entered Christianity as a remnant of the beliefs of earlier generations, as a memory.

Goats in various poses, either running or playing and chiefly in pairs, as well as male goats with fantastically constructed horns are very common in rock carvings in the Ghegham mountains. Out of 230 compositions in these mountains, 187 carvings depict goats. Bezoar goats are recorded as being predominant in the Sisian and Goris rock carvings. They are also abundant in western Armenia, near Adiaman (Martirosian 1971). Such extensive information about bezoar goats seems to suggest that it played a key role in the life of humans, being one of the creatures commonly hunted. Among the variety of animals, goats are depicted in a most realistic way. As a rule, the carvings are executed in a very scrupulous way and leave no doubt that ancient artists intended to depict the bezoar goat species in an exact way. Carvings of single individuals are rare; carvings of two, three and more goats are common. Goats are present almost in all compositions, both in a static posture and as large groups in action. It is worth noting that males are usually predominant, especially in single presentations. Females are present only in large compositions and as a rule, they are represented with

males or with kids. Goats are shown in a large variety of scenes: being hunted, hobbling, with entangled horns, as being herded to the pits, etc.

Carvings representing moufflons are rarer than those of goats. This is probably due to the fact that they are usually modelled directly in animal habitats, or in the vicinity of such habitats. Unlike goats, the moufflons mainly resorted to smoother areas. Realistic representations of the moufflons are rare in carvings. In the Gegham mountains, such realistic representations of moufflons are found only in 15 compositions with people, goats and other figures. One of the compositions shows a full but slightly stylized moufflon figure along with symbols of the sun, a bird, the moon, a floating bull and a snake. In the Ooghtasar rock carvings (in the Sisian region), 67 out of 342 known compositions were realistic and stylized representations of the moufflon. Carvings of the late IV - early III millennium B.C. are apparently realistic presentations of the animal. Carvings of later periods (late III - early II millenniums B.C.) clearly show a strong tendency to the schematic representation of the most typical and vital – in interpretative terms – feature of the moufflon, its head.

Apart from the bull, rams or sheep played a major role in the farming activities of the Caucasian population and neighbouring areas and they have been regarded as objects of worship since ancient times. They were represented on in altars, on rocks, in the form of miniature sculptures, in carvings of fireplaces and on ritual vessels. A large number of clay statuettes come from Jrahoveet and Mokhrabloor and show a rather realistic representation. Some scientists explain the cult of sheep as a means of protection against evil spirits. Obviously, the figures on fireplace-stands symbolize the protection of the family against evil spirits which are scared away by the smoke. The worship of sheep is certainly recorded in the shrine of Areech. This special cult is characterized by a large-scale representation of some sheep figures, unlike figures of other animals or people (Tiratzian 1988). The 3rd millennium is unique when it comes to finds of miniature sheep figures and twisted horn-shaped fireplace-stands or objects of worship. The worshipping of goats and sheep, which gradually grew more important in farming, is also evident in the finds from later periods.

Carvings of (wild) bulls are highly variable. They are represented as realistic figures of animals with large downwards curved horns as those of the wild ancestors, or with markedly short horns and a stout and heavy body as known from domestic cattle. Numerous carvings illustrate aurochs being tamed with a lasso or a club, injured by an arrow and being speared by a hunter; others show a hunter with a rope slung over the resisting beast.

The cult of the bull was lost in the remote past. Its source is likely to be looked for in the primitive context when man could constantly observe this wild and strong animal while hunting. Later, the cult of the bull developed with the first successes of agriculturists and stock-breeders. Meanwhile, the bull is the symbol of the main force of production, the fertility which is closely bound up with the fertile soil. This link became particularly close when the bull was initially used in husbandry.

Figures of bulls perpetuated in rock carvings fall into two separate groups. On the one hand, there are real earthly bulls shown in hunting scenes and harnessed to a plough or a cart; on the other hand, there are modified, sometimes fantastic figures with imaginary bodies and limb structures. Finally, there is a huge floating bull breathing water down on earth (Martirosian 1971). Among the rock carvings of giant dragons devoted to the cult of thunder and thunder storm there are carvings of bull heads, which breathe water.

A splendid example highlighting the cult of the bull once existed in ancient Armenia. It was a separate burial in the Adiaman area (western Armenia, today the eastern Anatolian area) named 'Armenian Apis'. Remains of bulls have been found in nearly all burials of the Bronze Age in Lchashen. The bull skeletons had been laid down next to four-wheeled carts, most likely suggesting their use as beasts of draught. The remains of bulls from later (early Iron Age) burials were identified as single thigh-bones found next to a dead man. Whatever the ritual signifies is yet to be studied, but that it was an object of worship is indisputable. Excavations of Bronze Age tombs are known to have included cases with burials of worshipped bulls and their bronze statuettes.

In the imagination of ancient man, increasing or sustaining a herd depended to a large extent on sacrificing these animals or offering their substitutes – figures representing bulls – to the gods. Obviously, the miniature bull figures had been specially made for worship ceremonies during which they were either burned in fire or buried instead of the real animals. Signs of bull worship are shown on altars and ritual vessels. Ancient historians asserted that around the temples of Anaheed, the goddess of fertility, there were herds of sacred bulls intended to be sacrificed (Kushnareva 1977). The Armenian chronicles retained the evidence that even in the early 20th century, Vani, Msho and other churches used to keep cows, bulls and oxen that were objects of worship for the whole nation.

The Armenian wedding ceremony had a ritual related with the bull worship. The bull would

solemnly be killed shortly before the wedding as its blood was thought to be fertile, and one of the groomsmen was supposed to mark a bloody red cross on the groom's forehead with his finger.

Carvings of aurochs are very frequent. Fossil remains of this animal have not been discovered until quite recently. The aurochs were modeled in a posture typical of the beast: attack. Sometimes, the auroch shown has short and thick horns, in other cases, it is a long-horned animal. The study of many auroch skeleton remains discovered over the past 5 years revealed that two races were present.

Elk is abundant in the Ghegham rock carvings. The existence of this animal in Armenia had been denied or was regarded as being dubious. But the elk remains excavated in a Yerevan cave, linked with carvings, and later findings in the Noyemberian area allow us to rightfully 'settle' the elk in our land.

It is also worth elaborating on the scenes related to magic depicted on rocks. The important aspect is the witchcraft used to provide an abundance of animals and help with successful hunts. There are frequent scenes of magic destruction of the animal, *i.e.* the final act of going through the complex ritual of hunting magic. Man – an ordinary hunter – also used to depict himself using special masks for this purpose or imitating animal habits while dancing; thus conjuring up a successful hunt and a desire to breed some of them. In daily life, man could not get an active hold over this natural process, therefore giving way to witchcraft known to have granted the fondest wishes of an ancient hunter.

All the nations of the North living in the taiga and tundra have a particular attitude towards the bear. The bear cult was spread among the nations in Siberia and in the Far East, and most likely also in the Caucasus where it was considered to be related to man. A clay statuette of bear of 33 cm high was found at the excavations of Poploz Castle (Armenia). The sculpture represents the figure of the huge animal standing on its back paws and with a large stylized head. Its front paws are crossed owing to which it gives the impression to be dancing (Yesaian 1980). The earliest sculpture representing a bear comes from the excavations of the early Eneolithic settlement Tekhut and is a clay figure which does not emphasize the single details of the head. A model from the cult area of N. Bayazet (Armenia) in the collection of the State Museum of Georgia shows two human figures with masks representing a bird and a bear. Moreover, until recently Armenians from Kharabakh worshipped the graves of bears.

Bird carvings are unique in terms of elegance and genuine artistic taste. Rock carvings of waterfowl – geese, ducks, swans, pelicans – occur frequently.

And this is not fortuitous. In old times, after all, Lake Sevan and the small altitudinal lakes used to house many of them. Birds, and particularly cranes, are depicted with other animals, often in ritual scenes. Some were reckoned by the ancient people to be ritual notions, others were assessed through observation of the unusual in terms of skills linked with time: the seasonal arrival and the disappearance of many birds in the fall were regarded as a mystery. An image of a wader is by no means casual. In the mythology of all the peoples concerned, it was reckoned to be an exponent of virtue.

Birds play a special and original role in the carvings. These are mainly rock carvings of waterfowls: geese, swans, ducks, pelicans. Cups, bowls and jugs of the 11th and 12th centuries abound with pictures of eagles, storks, pigeons. In the legend 'David Sasuntsi', the crow is a herald, a messenger of god; the cock is a wise bird, a herald of daylight which revives people from a temporary death-sleep, thus scaring away the spirits of disease. In Christianized myths, the cock is an abbot of St. George monastery. No caravan known to stop off on the way continued its voyage unless hearing its call. In the myths, the stork is a messenger of Ara Geghetsik, a guardian of the fields. According to ancient mythology two storks are symbols of the sun. In some myths, storks in the country and fields are people, the crop-growers. When time comes, they are expected to put on feathers and come to Armenia. Before their departure, they kill one of their nestlings sacrificing it to God. In the Armenian ethnography and folklore, swallows and cranes are birds which awaken Nature. On Armenian bronze belts, they symbolize the spring sun.

There are many carvings of eagles. That most proud, powerful and mighty king of birds was always seen as the symbol of power and might. In works of medieval art, the eagle is a permanent attribute of the Ruler of the Universe. In a number of cases, it has been stylized to the point that one can speculate on its possible link with heraldry: the head is either turned to the side, or, when shown *de face*, gives a bellicose and decisive look. Apparently, the eagle symbolizes a guardian and protector. In one of the myths, the name of the prince kin Artsrunid derives from the eagle ('artsiv'), which shields with its open wings a sleeping young man, the kin's ancestor, from sun and rain. The name of the Urartu god Artsibedini may also be related to Armenian 'artsiv' (eagle). In Greek myths, the eagle is a herald of Zeus; in the Armenian pantheon, Artsibedini is one of the symbols of the Haldi god and can be considered an eagle-like totem (Tiratzian 1988). The stone casket from Karmirbloor had a holy tree on it with a sunny winged disc overhead and saints standing on either side of the tree

(with wings and eagle-like heads). Bronze statuettes of eagles are known from Artashat, Aragats where the eagle is shown together with does and deer; carvings of eagles from the Sisian tomb and many other statuettes exemplify the 'local traditional style' of Hellenistic art in Armenia and reflect the symbols of ancient images and beliefs. Carvings of pigeons went down into the Christian religion as 'symbols of the holy spirit'. On medieval jugs and bowls, pigeons symbolize the immortal soul. One could surmise that the pigeon-lofts on house-roofs constitute a tribute to old beliefs linked with this bird.

The crane is a totem bird worshipped by the Armenian people. It is carved on ancient idols ('vishaps'), ceramics, miniature works and is associated with goodness. It is praised in legends and myths which give it a human soul.

A number of carved images known in the nation as 'vishap' have been found in Armenia. These are enormous *stelae* resembling either an enormous fish or tetrahedrons with relief figures of snakes or lizards, or decorated with scenes of bulls or oxen being sacrificed. In the Ghegham mountains, steppes and deserted areas, smoothly shaped boulders of up to 4 m. in length were discovered.

According to Mar and Smirnov 'these sculptures have been the statues of gods' – protectors of farming depicting religious notions bound up with the cattle-breeding cult, and, as Piotrovsky reckons, primitive totems.

The image of 'vishap' has been imprinted on Armenian folklore and legends. In fairy-tales, the 'vishap' is presented as an evil being, a monster of caves and mountainous streams that contradicts its initial image. Their cult or, at least, their mythical treatment survived through the ages. Carvings of 'vishaps' can be found on ornamental monuments, on jewellery and in cloth decoration up to the 19th century.

Traces of worship of the snake are observed in Caucasian archaeological monuments of the 5th and 4th millennium B.C. when among other symbols snakes are found on ceramics. Among the cult vessels from Metzamor, some are decorated with relief, showing a coiled sacred snake on their swelling surface. Frequently, the snake is edged with stripes symbolizing ears of wheat which emphasize that it is linked with fertility, with the protection of the wealth of grain. In combination with ornaments which symbolize the celestial, surface and ground water, the snake becomes the protector of the sacred animals of waters guaranteeing fertility, revival and eternity.

In the Bronze Age, the image of snake becomes the compound part of many symbolic compositions on waist-bands, swords, axes, pins and buckles. On all these items, the pictures of snakes guard against evil spirits, driving them away, and rewarding the bearer with strength, the ability to reproduce, etc.

The echoes of ancient representations turned out to be of great vitality. All the nations of the Caucasus preserve the legends and fairy-tales in which the snake is the main character. The snake has supernatural powers and can attract rain, preserve moisture, and protect the content of vessels. In some regions of Armenia, snakes were considered as totems and lived in houses, bringing happiness. It was customary to feed these snakes. Today, the presence of a snake in a cattle-shed or in a house is considered auspicious in some regions of the country: it is a good beginning, the snake being at the same time a patron and protector of the house.

To conclude, the ways of animal worship are so diverse that one cannot always cram them into a rigid classification frame. The number of examples we referred to can be increased and are more than enough to show man's yearning for nature, animal and plant world. This grey antiquity will be a subject of great content and interest for the future generation.

We can only guess at what the creators of the wonderful pictures, statuettes, sculptures and bronze belts have been influenced by, and at the meaning they gave to them.

As Paster used to say: 'Unhappy were those who were aware of everything'. Today, these objects are wonderful items, trophies of a past world that have lost their initial functions.

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Les enseignes du "Musée de Cluny"

En 1992, lors du congrès "Medieval Europe" de York, seules deux communications sur les enseignes médiévales (du Dr A. M. Koldeweij et de moi même) avaient été prononcées dans la section "Art & Symbolisme" parmi des études consacrées à la sculpture, à la peinture et au vitrail du Moyen Age. Dans le présent congrès de Bruges, les sept communications prévues sur les enseignes médiévales dans un atelier particulier (ou "workshop") révèlent un renouveau important de la recherche dans ce domaine.

Depuis 1992, de nouveaux travaux de recherche ont été publiés. Aux Pays-Bas, citons le catalogue de la collection H.J.E. van Beuningen par son collectionneur et A. M. Koldeweij[1], et en France, citons celui de la collection d'enseignes du musée national du Moyen Age[2].

Dans leurs publications, tous les chercheurs européens font continuellement référence aux enseignes de pèlerinage découvertes au XIXe siècle dans la Seine et conservées, depuis 1861, au musée national du Moyen Age, plus connu à l'étranger sous son ancien nom de "Musée de Cluny". Si les enseignes de Cluny tiennent une place importante dans l'historiographie des enseignes médiévales c'est parce qu'elles sont, avec celles de Londres, les premières à avoir été découvertes.

Ces enseignes parisiennes sont automatiquement, et légitimement, associées à la personnalité de leur découvreur, "l'antiquaire" parisien Arthur Forgeais (1822-1878). Notre dette à l'égard de ce pionnier dans l'étude des enseignes médiévales est grande: Forgeais recueillit les enseignes de la Seine, les nettoya, les identifia, les publia et les vendit en 1861 au musée de Cluny. Si les précieux recueils de Forgeais consacrés aux enseignes religieuses et profanes demeurent la base à toute recherche sur le sujet, il faut néanmoins reconnaître que certaines attributions ou datations y apparaissent discutables. Forgeais demandait l'indulgence à ses éventuels successeurs en rappelant qu'il "défrichait un terrain presque neuf". De plus, les ouvrages de l'amateur parisien ne font évidemment pas allusion aux enseignes acquises postérieurement par le musée. Par exemple, en 1909, le musée de

Cluny reçut par don la prestigieuse collection d'enseignes de Victor Gay. Egalement originaires de la Seine, ces objets avaient été achetés au préalable par Gay auprès de Forgeais.

Les enseignes de pèlerinage et les enseignes profanes du musée national du Moyen Age proviennent pour la quasi-totalité d'entre elles des fouilles de la Seine. Comme la plupart des fleuves des grandes métropoles d'Europe, la Seine fut l'objet, au milieu du siècle dernier, de grands travaux afin que celle-ci réponde aux nouvelles exigences économiques. En effet, en 1843, l'aménagement d'une ligne de chemin de fer entre Rouen et Paris risquait de faire perdre à Paris son monopole de premier port fluvial de France et le commerce risquait fortement de souffrir de cette rude concurence. Il fallait au plus vite aménager de véritables quais et détruire les vieux ponts pour laisser place à des constructions modernes qui faciliteraient la navigation des nouvelles et imposantes embarcations. Ces dernières ne pouvaient circuler aux abords de l'île de la Cité en raison de la faible profondeur de la Seine qui, à cet endroit, était fortement ensablée. Pour remédier à cet important obstacle, de longs et de gigantesques travaux de dragage ont été entrepris. Ce sont précisément ces travaux qui ont permis la découverte d'un grand nombre d'enseignes religieuses et profanes, et de nombreux autres objets de diverses époques, tous témoins de l'histoire de Paris.

Depuis le XIXe siècle, plusieurs hypothèses ont été émises pour tenter d'expliquer la présence des centaines d'enseignes dans les alluvions de la Seine. Pour Eugène Grésy, "antiquaire" du siècle dernier, les enseignes ont sans doute été jetées dans la Seine parce qu'elles étaient devenues inutiles à cause de

[1] VAN BEUNINGEN H.J.E. & KOLDEWEIJ A.M., *Heilig en Profaan. 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen*, Rotterdam Papers VIII. A Contribution to Medieval Archaeology, 1993.

[2] BRUNA D., *Les enseignes de pèlerinage et les enseignes profanes au musée national du Moyen Age - Thermes de Cluny*, Paris, éd. Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996, 384 p., 1000 ill.

leur état fragmentaire. L'hypothèse d'Arthur For-
geais, pionnier dans l'étude des enseignes médié-
vales, est certainement celle qui est la plus fréquem-
ment citée et reprise. Selon Forgeais, les enseignes
étaient fabriquées dans les modestes échoppes qui
bordaient les ponts de Paris. En s'écroulant, ces der-
niers auraient emporté dans leur chute les enseignes
et autres objets qui y étaient réalisés. Les études
récentes sur la fabrication et le commerce des ensei-
gnes médiévales ont infirmé l'hypothèse de Forgeais.
En effet, chaque sanctuaire coulait ses propres ensei-
gnes de pèlerinage si bien qu'il est exclu de croire
que Paris fut le centre de fabrication de souvenirs de
pèlerinage de la plupart des sanctuaires de l'Europe
occidentale et de certains lieux saints d'Orient. La
thèse de Forgeais est également fragilisée par des
découvertes postérieures à celles de la Seine durant la
seconde moitié du XIXe siècle et durant tout le XXe
siècle. En effet, des enseignes aux provenances les
plus diverses ont été mises au jour à Lyon, à Rouen,
à Orléans, à Saint-Denis, à Londres, à Namur, etc.

Aujourd'hui, s'il est difficile d'exclure l'idée selon
laquelle certaines enseignes ont pu être accidentelle-
ment perdues ou jetées parce que devenues ininté-
ressantes, il est admis qu'elles ont été délibérément
jetées dans la Seine, peut-être pour l'exaucement d'un
vœu.

C'est à Forgeais que l'on doit le réemploi du mot
"enseigne". Du latin *signum*, ce mot donna dans notre
langage courant les mots "signes", et "insignes" dont
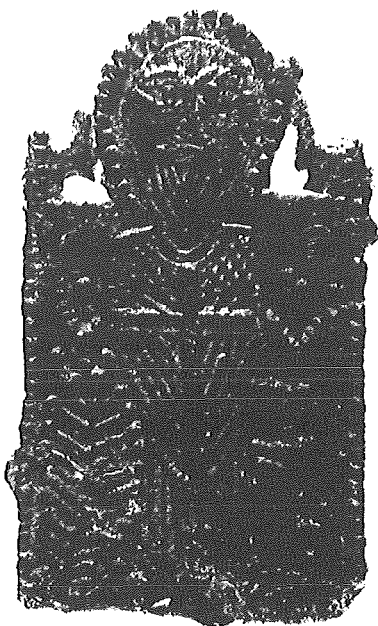les formes *signs* et *insignes* sont respectivement usi-

Fig. 1. - *Enseigne de pèlerinage Saint Gilles de Saint-
Gilles-du-Gard, XIIIe-XIVe siècle (Paris, Musée National
du Moyen Age).*

tés en anglais et en néerlandais. Outre sa forme latine,
le mot apparaît fréquemment en France dans les
textes médiévaux. Ainsi, à titre d'exemple, en 1425-
1426, dans les comptes de maison ducale de Bour-
gogne, il est mentionné que des *"enseignes de plonc
faictes en la reverance de Nostre Dame de Grace"*
ont été rapporté par Philippe III le Bon et sa cour.
Dans le contexte "médiévalisant" du XIXe siècle, le
mot enseigne est employé dès les premières études
sur le sujet.

C'est aussi par l'étude des textes que l'on sait que
les enseignes sont apparues au XIIe siècle. Cepen-
dant, il ne semble pas que d'aussi anciens exem-
plaires soient conservés à Cluny. C'est d'ailleurs une
affirmation bien délicate à définir lorsque l'on sait la
grande difficulté à dater ces objets. En effet, en tant
qu'objets d'art populaire, les enseignes de pèlerinage
ne répondent que très rarement à des critères stylisti-
ques établis. De plus, elles ont souvent été copiées
durant de longues périodes, parfois même durant
plusieurs siècles, faisant alors de la datation un exer-
cice particulièrement délicat.

Les enseignes de pèlerinage du musée national du
Moyen Age proviennent aussi bien des plus presti-
gieux sanctuaires de l'époque médiévale que des plus
modestes :
- Rocamadour, l'un des plus célèbres sanctuaires
mariaux du Moyen Age, est représenté au musée par
huit enseignes. Celles-ci sont parfaitement reconnais-
sables par leur forme ovoïde imitant celle des sceaux,
par leur immuable légende (Sigillum Beate Marie de
Rocamador) et par la représentation hiératique de la
Vierge en majesté. Si l'on sait, par son recueil de
miracles, que Rocamadour a diffusé des enseignes
depuis le milieu du XIIe siècle, celles conservées à
Cluny semblent appartenir aux XIIIe, XIVe et XVe
siècles.
- Etape importante des deux grands pèlerinages de
Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle et de Rome, le sanctu-
aire provençal de Saint-Gilles est représenté par une
seule enseigne reproduisant, en l'état actuel des
découvertes, un type singulier. Celui-ci adopte la for-
me d'une plaquette oblongue et montrant dans le
champ la figure du saint abbé au côté de la biche
emblématique.
- C'est aussi sous la forme d'une plaquette pleine,
de forme rectangulaire et au sommet crénélé que se
présentent les enseignes du célèbre sanctuaire de
Saint-Léonard-de-Noblat. Comme celles de Rocama-
dour et de Saint-Gilles, le lieu saint limousin connut
une grande notoriété grâce à sa situation privilégiée
sur le chemin de Saint-Jacques. La diffusion jusqu'en
Scandinavie des enseignes à l'image du saint libérant
un prisonnier révèle cette remarquable popularité.

Fig. 2. Enseigne de pèlerinage Saint Jean-Baptiste de Amiens, seconde moitié du XIVe siècle (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age).

D'autres grands sanctuaires français sont représentés dans les collections du musée national du Moyen Age. Citons, tout d'abord, celui du Puy-en-Velay dont l'enseigne rectangulaire sommée d'un pignon reproduit la célèbre Vierge Noire auvergnate.

Dix enseignes témoignent des dévotions vers la face de saint Jean-Baptiste conservée dans la cathédrale d'Amiens. Elles représentent toutes l'ostention du précieux plat-reliquaire, épisode tant apprécié des pèlerins.

Le sanctuaire de Boulogne-sur-Mer est l'un des plus représentés par ses souvenirs. En effet, quatorze enseignes, ampoules et sifflets reproduisent la célèbre arrivée miraculeuse de la Vierge sur un navire.

Sanctuaire de l'archange, le Mont-Saint-Michel est l'un des plus prestigieux lieux saints de la chrétienté occidentale. Au musée, au moins sept enseignes proviennent avec certitude de l'îlot normand. Datés des XIVe et XVe siècles, ces objets témoignent de la grande popularité de saint Michel à la fin du Moyen Age. A cette époque, il était devenu le nouveau protecteur de la monarchie dans les conflits de la guerre de Cent ans.

Les sanctuaires français ne sont pas seuls illustrés par leurs enseignes. Les découvertes de la Seine ont également permis la connaissance d'enseignes originaires de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, de Rome, de Jérusalem, de Nazareth, etc.

Par leur large diffusion en Occident, toutes ces enseignes originaires de sanctuaires français ou étrangers de renom ont été également trouvées en grand nombre sur d'autres sites comme Rouen, Orléans, Londres, Nieuwlande (Pays-Bas).

Les enseignes de pèlerinage provenant de petits sanctuaires à la renommée locale constituent l'essentiel du matériel archéologique de la Seine. Ces objets ont le précieux avantage de sauver de l'oubli plusieurs lieux saints d'Ile-de-France, de Picardie ou d'Orléanais. Trop souvent oubliés dans l'historiographie des pèlerinages du Moyen Age, ces petites églises, qui ont aussi diffusées leurs propres enseignes, apparaissent comme les rares témoins matériels des dévotions populaires à la fin du Moyen Age. Il était en effet plus facile pour les Parisiens des XIVe et XVe siècles de se rendre à Saint-Fiacre-en-Brie, à Saint-Maur-des-Fossés ou à Saint-Leu-d'Esserent qu'à Rome ou à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. Ces églises étaient les sanctuaires des saints de la région, ceux que l'on invoquait à tout moment tant ils étaient familiers. De Paris, le pèlerinage vers ces églises s'effectuait lors d'une ou deux journées si bien qu'il apparaît plutôt comme une visite qu'un véritable pèlerinage.

Parmi la riche collection d'enseignes religieuses du musée national du Moyen Age, il existe un autre groupe tout aussi intéressant puisque leurs enseignes reproduisent fidèlement un reliquaire autrefois vénéré par plusieurs générations de pèlerins.

A titre d'exemple, deux enseignes reprennent le dessin du fameux chef-reliquaire de saint Denis conservé, jusqu'à sa destruction en 1793, dans la prestigieuse abbaye de Saint-Denis. La fidélité de l'enseigne de pèlerinage avec son modèle, connu par la gravure publiée par Dom M. Félibien en 1706, est saisissante. Le talentueux artisan qui réalisa le moule

Fig. 3. - Enseigne profane: Godefroy de Bouillon, début XVe siècle (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age).
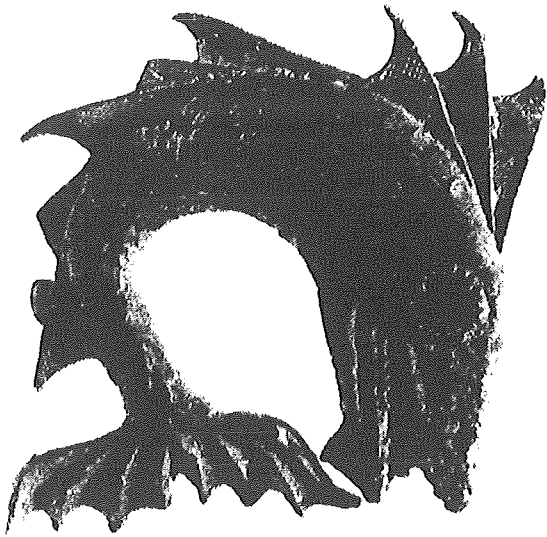
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Fig. 4. - *Enseigne du parti du Dauphin, début XVe siècle (Paris, Musée National du Moyen Age).*

de l'enseigne s'est appliqué à reproduire la prestigieuse pièce d'orfèvrerie dans ses moindres détails.

Cette fidélité est tout aussi appréciable par une enseigne provenant de Saint-Jacques-de Compostelle. Celle-ci reproduit le fameux reliquaire du chef de saint Jacques le Mineur encore vénéré dans la chapelle du trésor de la cathédrale.

Vraisemblablement coulée en des milliers d'exemplaires, l'enseigne au chef-reliquaire de saint Jacques le Mineur est connue par cet unique exemplaire. Parmi les nombreuses enseignes de pèlerinage connues par un seul exemplaire conservé au musée parisien, citons celle du saint Suaire de Lirey, aujourd'hui à Turin. Bien qu'incomplète, l'enseigne reproduit avec une remarquable précision le linceul, sur lequel apparaissent les faces pectorale et dorsale du corps du Christ, soutenu par deux ecclésiastiques. L'identification des écus armoriés qui ornent l'enseigne dans sa partie inférieure a permis d'attribuer l'enseigne à la collégiale de Lirey en Champagne.

Bien que moins nombreuses, les enseignes profanes sont elles aussi bien représentées au musée de Cluny. Comme dans toutes les grandes collections, celle du musée parisien comprend des pièces reproduisant des motifs et des légendes empruntés à l'amour courtois, des enseignes dites "érotiques" et un grand nombre de pièces restant à identifier.

Une absence surprend cependant. A la différence des collections anglaises, les enseignes de livrée n'apparaissent au musée national du Moyen Age. En Angleterre, cette catégorie d'enseignes est fort importante en nombre. Elle témoigne d'un phénomène politique et social propre à ce pays : le *bastard feudalism*. En effet, de humbles artisans se sont vus

attribuer des enseignes aux badges du roi et des princes. En France, la livrée était bien plus mesurée puisqu'elle était circonscrite aux membres des maisons royale ou princières.

A Cluny, il existe cependant un groupe d'enseignes dites politiques puisqu'elles ont été portées, au début du XVe siècle, par les Armagnacs (parti de Louis d'Orléans, puis de Bernard VII comte d'Armagnac) et par les Bourguignons (parti du duc de Bourgogne allié aux Anglais). Les unes qui prennent la forme d'un dauphin étaient sans doute arborées par les Armagnacs qui soutenaient le Dauphin, le futur Charles VII. Les autres montrent sur des targes les emblèmes de Jean sans Peur : saint André (patron de la Bourgogne et de sa maison ducale), le rabot et le niveau de maçon. Pendant les violences de la guerre civile entre les membres des deux factions opposées, ces enseignes servaient de signes de reconnaissance, de ralliement et de sauf-conduit.

D'autres enseignes du musée de Cluny témoignent des événements de la fin du Moyen Age. L'enseigne de Bertrand Du Guesclin, complétée par une gravure, a pu être arborée en 1380 à l'occasion des funérailles du célèbre connétable. Il est également probable que l'enseigne a été diffusée au début du XVe siècle lorsque la bravoure du valeureux et fidèle homme d'armes de Charles V fut exploitée pour provoquer chez le peuple des sentiments de "patriotisme" face à la nouvelle menace anglaise.

C'est sans doute pour ce même motif qu'une enseigne à l'effigie de Godefroy de Bouillon a été portée à cette même époque. En effet, au début du XVe siècle, on récupéra le courage et la fidélité de Godefroy de Bouillon pour en faire une figure de "patriote".

Ce bref aperçu a tenté de montrer la variété et la richesse de la collection d'enseignes du Musée de Cluny. Elle permet de tracer une topographie quasi complète des sanctuaires fréquentés au Moyen Age.

Les enseignes de la Seine, unies à celles des autres collections publiques et privées, apparaissent comme de véritables documents scientifiques, tant les elles apportent de précieuses informations sur les dévotions populaires, l'histoire locale et celle des mentalités.

A l'issue de la rencontre de Bruges, il est à souhaiter que le nouvel engouement pour ces objets aboutisse au corpus tant attendu.

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Sacred and profane: medieval mass-produced badges

Over the past twenty years, the use of metal detectors by officially employed archaeologists and by amateurs or treasure-seekers has yielded a host of small metal objects ranging from knife-handles to belt-fittings and from coins and seal stamps to buttons, brooches and thimbles. Secular and religious badges occupy a special place among these finds because of their frequency – such ornaments were obviously very much in fashion – and also of their imagery. Pilgrim badges and other devotional items, as well as and secular badges, display an extraordinarily wide range of subjects[1]. A special and relatively unknown but highly intriguing group of these 'popular ornaments' consists of the erotic brooches which have been unearthed in various places in North-West Europe[2]. In particular, metal-detector finds made in the Netherlands and Flanders over the past decennia include a surprisingly large amount of this spectacular material: more than 150 different erotic brooches from the Netherlands are currently known. Elsewhere, similar badges with lewd representations have equally surfaced.

In relative terms the number of erotic brooches found in the Netherlands probably tallies with the amount found in neighbouring countries, with the exception of England. Of the large quantities of religious and secular badges discovered in England,

very few have bawdy subject-matter. Those few, however, prove that the badges common in France, Germany and the Netherlands were not unknown on the other side of the Channel. London finds include a fragmentary ship and a complete one manned by a crew of phalluses, a winged phallic beast to which a bell is attached, an open pouch with a phallus and a large number of cock-and-hen badges. Examples of the latter have also been found in Salisbury, where brooches closely related to the sexual badges and representing a monkey urinating in a mortar, or a savage, have come to light[3].

The Frenchman Arthur Forgeais, who in the third quarter of the nineteenth century industriously collected pilgrim badges and similar objects dredged up from the Seine near Paris, made no mention of sexual badges in the books he published himself, but there is no doubt that he collected them! The *Musée de Cluny* in Paris still owns erotic brooches from Forgeais' collection; in 1866 the curious English author Thomas Wright published a handful of finds from the Seine which were certainly regarded as obscene at the time, including badges closely resembling or virtually identical with specimens found in the Netherlands[4]. The museum of decorative arts in Prague houses a collection of badges found in the Seine in the last century and purchased in 1894; they include

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[1] The most recent publications on late medieval, mass-produced badges, with an extensive bibliography: H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN, A.M. KOLDEWEIJ, *Heilig en profaan. 1000 Laatmiddeleeuwse Insignes uit de collectie H.J.E. van Beuningen*, Rotterdam Papers VIII, Cothen, 1993; A.M. KOLDEWEIJ & A. WILLEMSEN (eds), *Heilig en profaan. Laatmiddeleeuwse insignes in cultuurhistorisch perspectief*, Amsterdam, 1995; D. BRUNA, *Les enseignes de pèlerinage et les enseignes profanes au musée national du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1996. Important and/or earlier publications on the subject cited here: L. ANDERSSON, *Pilgrimsmärken och vallfart*, Lund Studies in Medieval Archaeology 7, Lund, 1989; A. FORGEAIS, *Notice sur des plombs historiés trouvés dans la Seine*, 5 Vols, Paris, 1862-1866. R.M. VAN HEERINGEN, A.M. KOLDEWEIJ & A.A.G. GAALMAN, *Heiligen uit de modder. In Zeeland gevonden pelgrimstekens*, Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën IV, Utrecht-Zutphen, 1987; M. MITCHINER, *Medieval Pilgrim & Secular Badges*, London, 1986; B. SPENCER, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Salisbury Museum Medieval Catalogue Part 2, Salisbury, 1990.
[2] H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN & A.M. KOLDEWEIJ, *o.c.*, cat. nos. 643, 635, 716, 597, 663, 622, 638, 652.
[3] M. MITCHINER, *o.c.*, 60, cat. no. 95 (phallus ship, unidentified fragment); 281, cat. no. x95 (John Auld collection, as 'ship with Thomas Becket'); 127, cat. no. 326 (winged phallus, 'brotherhood badge'); 216-217, cat. nos. 787-792 (cockerel kicking a hen, 'fighting cockerels'); 282 (figure urinating into a mortar, find-spot Salisbury). B. SPENCER, *o.c.*, 114, cat. nos. 213-214 (cockerel mating with a hen, with a comment on sexual badges); 115-116, nos. 216-218 (ape urinating into a mortar). Open pouch with phallus: Museum of London inv. no. 91.199.
[4] Th. WRIGHT, *The worship of the generative powers during the middle ages of Western Europe*, 1866. Reprint as vol. 2 in: R. PAYNE KNIGHT & TH. WRIGHT, *A History of Phallic Worship*, New York, 1992.

some of these sexual badges, notably the vulva pilgrim and the crowned and winged phallus[5]. Along with a large number of pilgrim badges dredged up from the Seine at Rouen, the Rouen *Musée des Antiquités* displays various erotic items in its showcases, without any comment. These three collections of badges from the Seine are evidence that the quantity of tin-lead alloy items of a salacious nature discovered there tallies with that of the Dutch finds. The published material tends to suggest otherwise, but the facts are quite different.

Because of recent finds, this material, rarely displayed in the past and virtually ignored in publications, has been attracting greater interest. Moreover, their large numbers suggests that the material may have played a more important part in late medieval imagination than has been assumed hitherto. By no means has the last word been said about the correct interpretation of these badges, which merit almost anthropological scrutiny and commentary. Malcolm Jones has given parallels and leads in various publications, and notably Jan Baptist Bedaux has endeavoured to explain the function of these sexual badges from a socio-biological angle[6]. Broadly speaking, it is appears to be hard – especially for the general public – to equate this material with 'our' direct antecedents, the late medieval, Christian world. Indeed, these erotica are frequently unacknowledged, or dubbed 'antique' or 'Roman'. An interesting instance of the latter misapprehension can be seen in the *Kunstgewerbemuseum* in Cologne. The 1976 catalogue of tin objects contains two badges in the form of winged phallic beasts, one with a bell attached, published as '*spätantik*', and the other a huge and unmistakably medieval phallus belonging to a man with a small dog and surrounded by an illegible banderole, described as a '*nicht identifizierbarer Gegenstand*'[7]. Nor does the recently published exhibition catalogue *Stadtluft, Hirsebrei und Bettelmönch* (Zürich-Stuttgart 1992) acknowledge the medieval erotic brooch. The text describes an unusual find as a 'naked female figure: she is obviously a

smith, in view of the fact that she is hammering an object on an anvil and standing in front of a blazing forge ...'[8]. This does scant justice to the object on the anvil, for what the unclothed female smith is forming from the incandescent metal is a winged phallus!

The archaeological conditions suggest the latter half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth as a likely date for the erotic brooches. Broadly speaking, we may assume that they were worn as amulets, a function corresponding to that of pilgrim souvenirs. Jan Baptist Bedaux emphasized this aspect in a article of 1987 with a markedly sociobiological approach, and recently elaborated on the subject (1993)[9]. There are other grounds as well for arguing that secular and in particular sexual badges were thought to ward off ill fortune and bring good luck, an assumption developed in a paper I presented in 1993 at Leuven, on the basis of illustrations in the margins of fol. v and 135v of the *Roman de la Rose*, *Bibliothèque Nationale*, ms. fr. 2556[10]. Some badges certainly demonstrate that in a certain sense the ostensibly very different objects were at least associated: a vulva attired like a pilgrim, with a pilgrim's hat, a pilgrim's rod – crowned with a phallus – and a rosary. Another badge is the acme of persiflage; the vulva pilgrim is wearing a phallic badge: '*Les extrêmes se touchent*'.

People from all walks of life sported these badges, brooches and pendants, those with profane as well as those with religious iconography. Whether cheap baubles or costly items of jewellery, they all possessed added value in the eyes of those who wore and beheld them. Then as now, status played an important role: such ornaments reflected the wearer's prosperity and social position. However, the meaning – overt or implicit, as explained – of ornaments, and thus of wearing them, was on a different level, and this implies the basic incorrectness of the term. The primary function of the 'ornament' was not ornamental, but apotropaic: it was supposed to avert evil and bring luck. In other words, these were all amulets in

[5] D. HEJDOVA *et al.*, *Středověké umělecké řemeslo* (exhib. cat.), Prague, 1986 - Únor, 1987, 24, cat. nos. 176, 174.

[6] M. JONES, The secular badges, in: H.J.E. VAN BEUNINGEN & A.M. KOLDEWEIJ, *o.c.*, 99-109 (with reference to earlier articles); J.B. BEDAUX, Laatmiddeleeuwse sexuele amuletten. Een sociobiologische benadering, in: J.B. BEDAUX & A.M. KOLDEWEIJ (eds), *Annus Quadriga Mundi. Opstellen over middeleeuwse kunst opgedragen aan prof. dr. Anna C. Esmeijer*, Clavis Kunsthistorische Monografieën VIII, Utrecht-Zutphen, 1989, 16-30; J.B. BEDAUX, Functie en betekenis van randdecoratie in middeleeuwse handschriften, in: *Kunstlicht* 14, 1993, 28-33; J.B. BEDAUX, Profane en sacrale amuletten, in: A.M. KOLDEWEIJ & A. WILLEMSEN (eds), *op.cit.* 1995, 26-35. M. JONES, Een andere kijk op

profane insignes, in: A.M. KOLDEWEIJ & A. WILLEMSEN (eds), *op.cit.* 1995, 64-74.

[7] H.-U. HAEDEKE, *Zinn*, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln, Cologne, 1976, 56, cat. nos. 9a-b and 74, cat. no. 67.

[8] *Stadtluft, Hirsebrei und Bettelmönch – Die Stadt um 1300*, Zürich-Stuttgart, 1992, 434-435.

[9] J.B. BEDAUX, *art.cit.* 1989; J.B. BEDAUX, *art.cit.* 1993.

[10] A.M. KOLDEWEIJ, A barefaced "Roman de la Rose" (Paris, B.N., ms. fr. 25526) and some late medieval mass-produced badges of a sexual nature, in: M. SMEYERS & B. CARDON, *Flanders in a European Perspective. Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and abroad (Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven, 7-10 September 1993)*, Leuven, 1995, 499-516.

the broadest sense, and they sometimes reflected very different aspects. For medieval man there was no essential difference between the primary function of religious and secular badges, nor between Christian and non-Christian ones. The 'language' of what we tend to see as erotic representations, and of the more anecdotal or secular symbolic representations, was different from that of religious depictions – Christian symbolism, saints and/or their attributes – but the ultimate meaning and assigned value was not.

Late medieval 'jewellery' – the perfect vehicle, then, for conveying meaning – can be a vital factor in answering a number of essential questions pertaining to the implications of visual historical material, to the language of images, to the functioning of the image and to dissemination in time and space of form, symbol and sign.

Virtually the only way to obtain that answer is to scrutinize material found in archaeological excavations. At a rough estimate some five thousand or even more intact or fragmentary pewter badges dating from the late twelfth to the mid-sixteenth century have been found in the northern and southern Low Countries. Considerably smaller but still relevant quantities have been unearthed in other North-West European countries. Further visual source material (notably painted or drawn) cannot offer such a survey or comprehensive picture in view of its intrinsically elite character and the relatively late period in which it was made, i.e. the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Future research will have to address the various aspects of the 'enseigne' in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance by consulting a wide range of source material. Especially the following itemized and of course interrelated themes will have to be considered[11]:

-   Individual interpretation and dating of 'enseignes'.
-   Examination of complexes of findings, the 'total picture' yielded by a location, a town, a region, correlated of course to the time-factor.
-   Geographical distribution: production centres and area of distribution. This can be defined with great accuracy in the case of pilgrim badges; pilgrim badges can probably serve as 'guide fossils' for related material.
-   Unique objects and mass-products. On the one hand occasional, luxury 'enseignes', produced as one-offs or in very small series, on the other hand badges made in large quantities for ordinary folk, and their interrelationship. Again, it is the pilgrim badges that supply clearly documented examples: precious unique objects fashioned for the elite, large series of mass-products for the common pilgrim (ranging from a few dozen a year to a peak in the fifteenth century, when tens of thousands of items were produced and sold every season).
-   Subject and imagery are the same for both unique objects and mass-products, but material and workmanship differ. A significant circumstance in terms of cultural history is that in this manner the same imagery was accessible to, and employed by, people in all walks of life. For example: the gold or silver coin-brooch reached the masses in the form of its cheap pewter equivalent; the rich bought pilgrim badges made of precious metals, while cast pewter versions were sold or given to the poor pilgrim.
-   This early mass-production, known from the late twelfth century onwards and apparently peaking in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, has hitherto unacknowledged consequences for the geographical distribution of visual themes.

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[11] This proposition was elaborated by J.B. BEDAUX, art.cit. 1989; J.B. BEDAUX, art.cit. 1993; J.B. BEDAUX, Profane en sacrale amuletten, in: A.M. KOLDEWEIJ & A. WILLEMSEN (eds), op.cit. 1995, 26-35.

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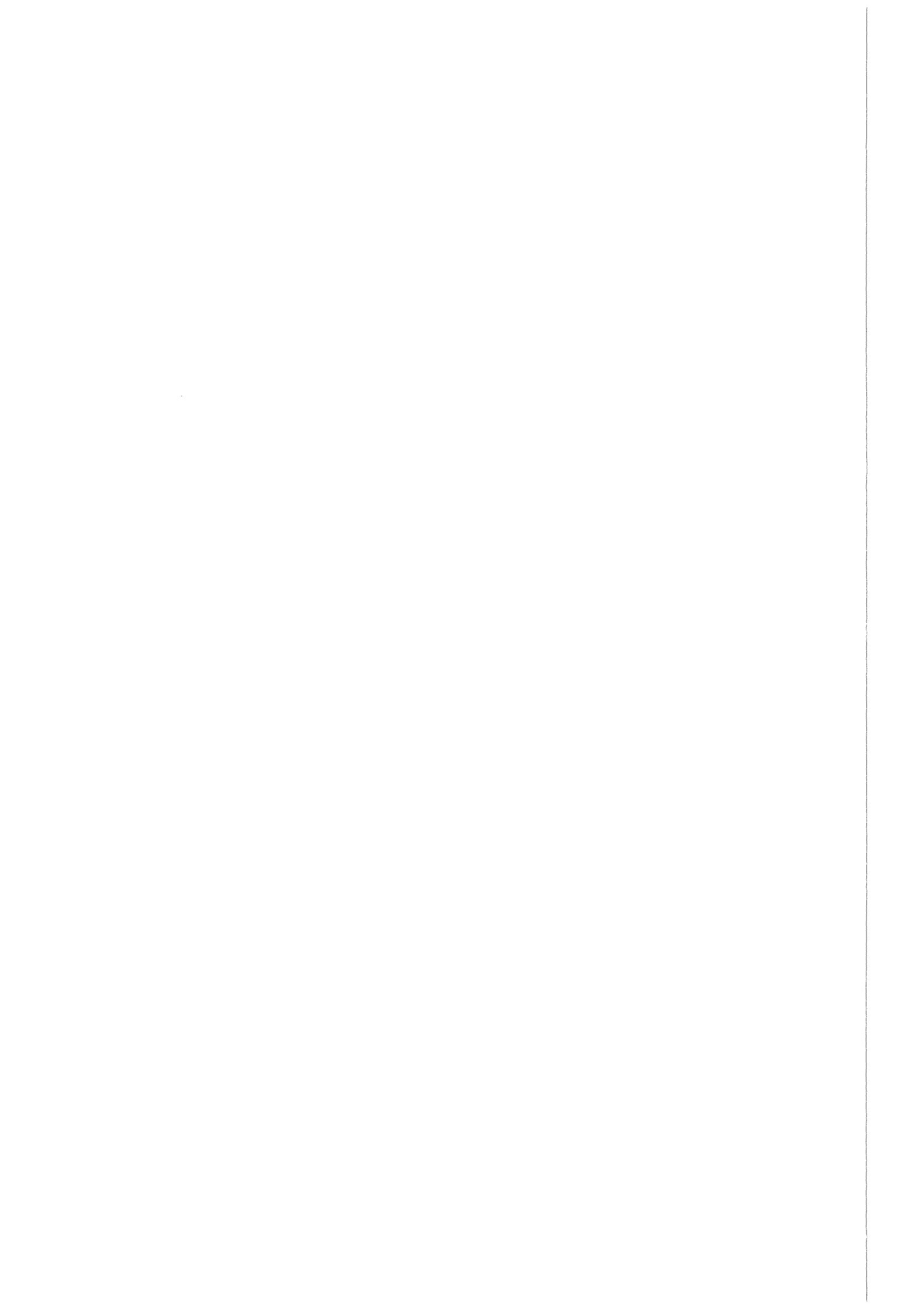
Katja Boertjes

Late Medieval Badges and other Pilgrims' Souvenirs excavated in Amsterdam

While carrying out fieldwork in the city centre of Amsterdam – which was started in the late fifties – a considerable number of medieval badges and related material have come to light. These tokens are from several pilgrimage centre and range in date from the late twelfth till the sixteenth century. Save a few exceptions, they are made of a tin-lead alloy, cast in moulds. Most of these excavated tokens are kept in the depot of the Archaeological Service (Archeologische Dienst) in Amsterdam, while another important part of the collection is owned privately by Mr. van Beuningen. In this contribution, an overall view of this fascinating collection will be given by means of some striking examples.

State of the question

Until now, pilgrims' badges that were excavated in Amsterdam have not been given the attention they deserve. The first article on these badges and cognates appeared in 1977, in a book that was published on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the research project. After a general account of badges and pilgrimages it is mentioned that up till then, seven badges have been found of which five can be traced. At that time, no badges from the pilgrimage centre in Amsterdam itself had yet been excavated, but a hypothesis on what they would have looked like was already presented.[1] Years later, these assumptions turned out to be quite accurate.

It was not until 1993 that a second work appeared in which badges from the Amsterdam subsoil were brought up. In it, van Beuningen and Koldeweij drew up an inventory of the former's private collection; 81 out of the 1036 badges they describe in this book are from Amsterdam – 35 religious and 46 secular specimens.[2]

Two years later the badges were again brought to attention in a paper by Jab Baart. This article appeared in a collection of lectures presented at a conference which was inspired on the above-mentioned book. In the paper, Baart discussed the question whether going on a pilgrimage to Amsterdam was of economic interest and in how far the medieval pilgrimages could be related to the fast rise and growth of the city. Moreover, he noted that the number of badges excavated in Amsterdam was so vast that they could actually be used as an historical source with its own power of expression as to pilgrimage.[3]

At the moment, a catalogue of the medieval badges and related material collected by the Museum for Religious Art *Het Catharijneconvent* in Utrecht and by the Archaeological Service of Amsterdam is being prepared.[4] In the academic year of 1996-97, a graduate project group of the university of Nijmegen has also been devoted to this subject. The project is still very much in progress and the present contribution will present the first results of the work.

Amsterdam, the 'Miraculous City'

Until the fourteenth century Amsterdam was a small settlement located at the Amstel estuary. In 1275, the place is mentioned for the first time in recorded history, when Floris V offered exemption from toll to Amsterdam – which was situated in the diocese Utrecht – in the county of Holland. Around 1300 the settlement was granted a town charter and from there on it developed from a small fishing village into a real trading centre. The port of Amsterdam played an important part as transit port. The population grew tremendously as well: while around 1400 the town hardly had 5,000 inhabitants, this number had increased to approximately 12,000 by the beginning of the sixteenth century.[5]

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[1] Baart *et al.* 1977.
[2] Van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993.
[3] Baart 1995.

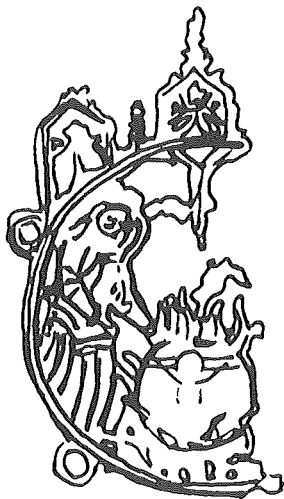[4] This publication is expected to be finished by 1998.
[5] Carasso 1985, 6-10.

Fig. 1. - *Badge (1400-1475), height 59 mm: The host miracle of Amsterdam (Amsterdam, Archaeological Depot).*

Due to the host miracle that took place in 1345, Amsterdam became known as the 'Miraculous City' (*Mirakelstad*). In the night of 15 to 16 March, a priest was called to administer the host to a man who was seriously ill. Shortly after this, the man was sick, and his caretakers threw the vomit with the consecrated host into the burning fireplace of the living room. When the next morning the host turned out to be floating in the fire – perfectly intact and immaculately white – one of the women put her hand into the fire to take it out. She managed to do this without getting burned.[6] Soon there was an influx of pilgrims
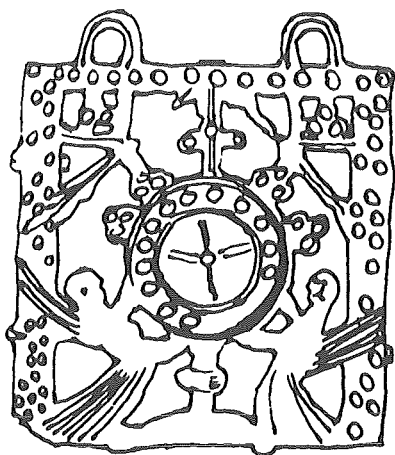
Fig. 2. - *Badge (1475-1525), height 47 mm: The host miracle of Amsterdam (Amsterdam, Archaeological Depot).*

into the '*Heilige Stede*', the house where the miracle had occurred. On the site, a chapel was built immediately; it was to be consecrated in 1347. The road leading to the chapel was improved and was named 'Holy Road' (*Heilige Weg*). The priest of the chapel was given permission by the bishop of Utrecht, Jan van Arkel, to display the miraculous host in a crystal monstrance. The chapel became an important place of pilgrimage. Besides the 'ordinary' pilgrims that visited the chapel, the *Heilige Stede* was also graced with the presence of emperor Maximilian in 1484 and emperor Charles V in 1540.[7] Although the chapel was torn down in 1908, it still attracts many pilgrims: every third Saturday in March, thousands of believers come to the city to hold a silent procession in commemoration of the miracle that took place here over 650 years ago.[8]

In the Middle Ages the flood of pilgrims must have been even larger. In massive crowds they drew to the chapel, where they were shown the miraculous host in the crystal monstrance. As a souvenir, the pilgrims could take home a badge on which the miracle was depicted. So far four different kinds of Amsterdam badges have been found, both in Amsterdam itself and in other cities such as Rotterdam, Schiedam and Enkhuizen.

As yet, only one example of the oldest type (Fig. 1) has been found, in the subsoil of the Rokin in Amsterdam. It is 59 mm high and is dated to the period between 1400 and 1475. Only the left part of the badge remains. It proves that the badge must have had a round shape. The main scene of the miracle is clearly represented: the woman takes the intact host out of the fire. The host is depicted in a very large scale to indicate that this object is the most important element in the story. The way the miracle is represented is almost similar to that on the central part of a wood carving made in 1518 by Jacob Corneliszoon van Oostsanen.[9]

Of the second type, eight examples of several sizes have been found in Amsterdam. This badge represents two angels holding an eucharistic monstrance with a host (Fig. 2). On top of the monstrance stands a cross. The presence of the angels emphasizes the miraculous aspect of the event. The basic shape of the token is square, while in most cases the edges are decorated with little balls in relief. On top there are two small loops with which the badge could be

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[6] The essence of this story was passed down in a charter from 1378 of the Dutch count Albrecht. This document is just a few years older than the elaborate description of the miracle in a song of almost 400 lines: '*Van den Sacramente van Aemsterdam*'. This song was written by the poet Willem van Hildegaerschberch for

the count's court about 1380. Margry 1988, 13 and 19. The complete lyrics were published in Sterck 1938, 195-200.

[7] Sterck 1938, 53, 90 and 117; Margry 1988, 30.

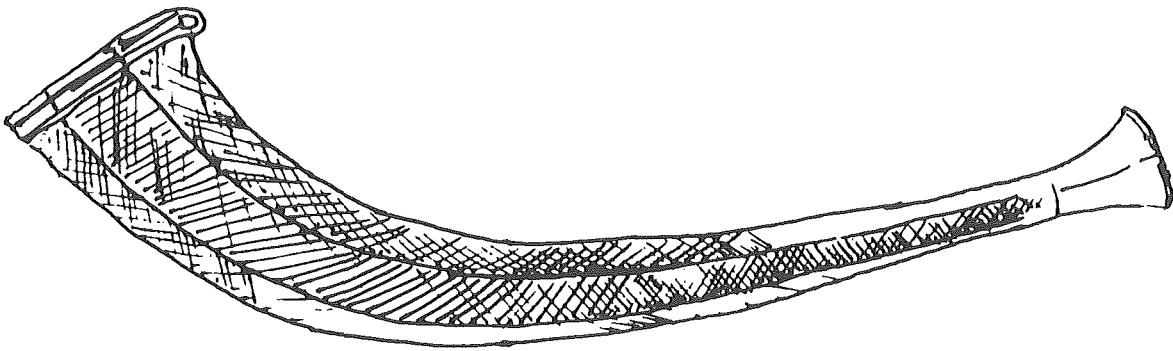[8] Carasso 1985, 12 and 25.

[9] Baart 1995, 92.

Fig. 3. - *Pilgrim's horn (1375-1425), 17/36 mm, width 183 mm (Private collection H.J.E. van Beuningen; inv. 1369).*

fixed to a hat or to clothes. This type was probably made between 1475 and 1525, as suggested by the archaeological context in which the badges were found.

Lastly, the two most recent types are dated to the sixteenth century. Of both types, only one example has been found in Amsterdam itself. The first badge is only 28 mm high and heart-shaped. Both sides are decorated with a depiction rimmed by small balls in relief. The front side again shows two angels holding a monstrance with a host. On the back the Virgin Mary is represented with the child Christ on her right arm. She is flanked by two high candles. On this badge the veneration of the Virgin and that of the host are combined. Baart remarks that besides the reference to the Amsterdam miracle, this is also proof of a general devoutness.[10]

The other badge is dated somewhat more precisely to the first part of the sixteenth century. It is 45 mm high and 38 mm wide. Van Beuningen and Koldeweij list this badge under the unidentified host miracles, but they do remark that it could be a souvenir from the *Heilige Stede* in Amsterdam.[11] This is very likely, as its representation also shows a host monstrance held by two angels. The same picture can be found on two other types of badges that were identified as pilgrims' tokens from the *Heilige Stede* in Amsterdam. The badge is shaped like an escutcheon and the sides are decorated with a geometrical motif. On top, a crown with a cross is depicted. The fastener is no longer there.

Pilgrims' Horns

Besides badges, other pilgrims' souvenirs have been found in Amsterdam, such as *ampullae*, little bells and pilgrims' horns. This last object, which the pilgrims used as a religious attribute and as an instrument, will be briefly discussed here. The pilgrim's horn is a trumpet-like wind instrument that could be

part of a pilgrim's outfit in north-western Europe in the late Middle Ages. These horns were usually made of baked clay, but as a cheap pilgrim's attribute they were also copied in metal. Those that were found in Amsterdam are all made of a tin-lead alloy. The pilgrims used the horn to express their enthusiasm at the showing of relics in the open air: amid the flourish of horns and loud cheers the relics were greeted.

Among the 81 medieval badges and related tokens from Amsterdam that are part of van Beuningen's private collection, there are two different examples of a pilgrim's horn.[12] Both are dated to the period between 1375 and 1425. Their origin is unknown. One horn is rather large and it has a little loop with which it could be fixed (Fig. 3). The other one is considerably smaller and is no longer complete. There is still part of an inscription on it, reading as '...RNES'.

The collection of the Archaeological Service does not only contain several pilgrims' horns, but also about ten metal whistles that could be worn as pendants. The inscription 'AVE MARIA' at the front of one of the whistles proves that, like the horns, they should be seen not only as implements but also as religious attributes. Both the date and the provenance of these whistles are unknown.

Theobald from Thann

Amsterdam has also yielded a large number of badges and related objects the place of origin of which can be traced because of inscriptions or of the iconography. This is the case with the badge of Saint Theobald from Thann, which turns out to be an important visual source for art-historical research. So far, the badge, which is owned by the Archaeological

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10   Baart 1995, 92.
11   Van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, 147 and fig. 140.
12   Van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, fig. 932 and 934.

Fig. 4. - *Badge (c. 1400), height 100 mm: Saint Theobald from Thann (Amsterdam, Archaeological Depot).*

Service in Amsterdam, is the only token of this saint excavated in Amsterdam (Fig. 4).[13] It is approximately 100 mm in height and is dated to about 1400. At that time the Saint-Thiébaut church in Thann, at the foot of the Vosges, was an important place of pilgrimage, visited by many pilgrims. At the sanctuary, a relic of the thumb of bishop Theobald is kept. We hardly know anything about the original reliquary sculpture of this saint which was worshipped by the pilgrims in those days. Today's statue dates from the first half of the sixteenth century. It shows a bishop standing up with two pilgrims at his feet. The two pilgrims date back to an older period; maybe they belonged to the old, possibly even to the first reliquary statue of the saint.[14]

The pilgrims who visited Thann could buy badges with a representation of Saint Theobald as a souvenir. The bishop is depicted frontally in his episcopal robes. He is seated on a folding chair that is decorated with an imaginative animal's head on both sides. His right hand is raised in a blessing gesture while in his left hand he holds a crosier. His mitre is supported by two angels placed on both sides. At Theobald's feet are two kneeling pilgrims in profile – a man on the left and a woman on the right. They are represented on a much smaller scale.

The recognizability of the representation on the badge had to be optimal for the pilgrim. For this reason it is likely that the depiction as described above was representative of the Saint-Thiébaut church in Thann, at least around 1400. However, although there are rather many representations of the bishop in today's church – but the sculptures are mainly dated sometime after 1400 – none of these is identical to the depiction of the saint shown on the badge. The specific representation that was associated with the pilgrims' centre in Thann around 1400 was probably lost in the course of time and was replaced by a newer one. The same goes for the old reliquary statue. This sculpture which was worshipped by the pilgrims could certainly have served as a model for the representation shown on the badge, as was not uncommon in places of pilgrimages. In that case, the badge would be an important visual source for the iconography of the lost reliquary statue. This way, the specific and original depiction of the saint has been saved thanks to the mass spread of pilgrims' badges.

Epilogue

The research concerning the badges and related tokens that have been found in Amsterdam is still in progress. Hundreds of badges have been excavated, but they have not been described in detail and the inventory has not yet been completed. However, even at this early stage it has become clear that the badges should not be studied in isolation but that they could be of great importance as a source for (art-)historical research.

Since the research into the badges which were found in Amsterdam is still in progress, other ideas which have not been mentioned in the present contribution will be discussed during the lecture at the congress. On that occasion, the latest results of the research will also be presented.

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[13] Elsewhere more examples of this badge have been found. Two fragments which were excavated in Dordrecht and in Rotterdam are part of the van Beuningen collection. Both are dated to the period between 1375 and 1425. Besides these, Kurt Köster has documented several bells showing a pilgrims' token from Thann with the same iconography as that of the type found in Amsterdam. The earliest specimen is dated to 1377; van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, 197, fig. 359 and 360. Moreover, a head of Theobaldus has been found in a monastery near Seehausen (northern Germany), which is identical in iconography to the one on the badge found in Amsterdam. Even the angels' hands on the mitre are clearly recognizable. In an article on pilgrims' badges found in this monastery, Jaitner and Kohn (1994, 103) erroneously claim that the head belonged to a badge of Sint Servatius from Maastricht.

[14] The sculptures of the bishop and the two pilgrims are dated to that period for stylistic reasons. See *Inventaire général ... Thann* 1980, 52, 171-172 and fig. 352.

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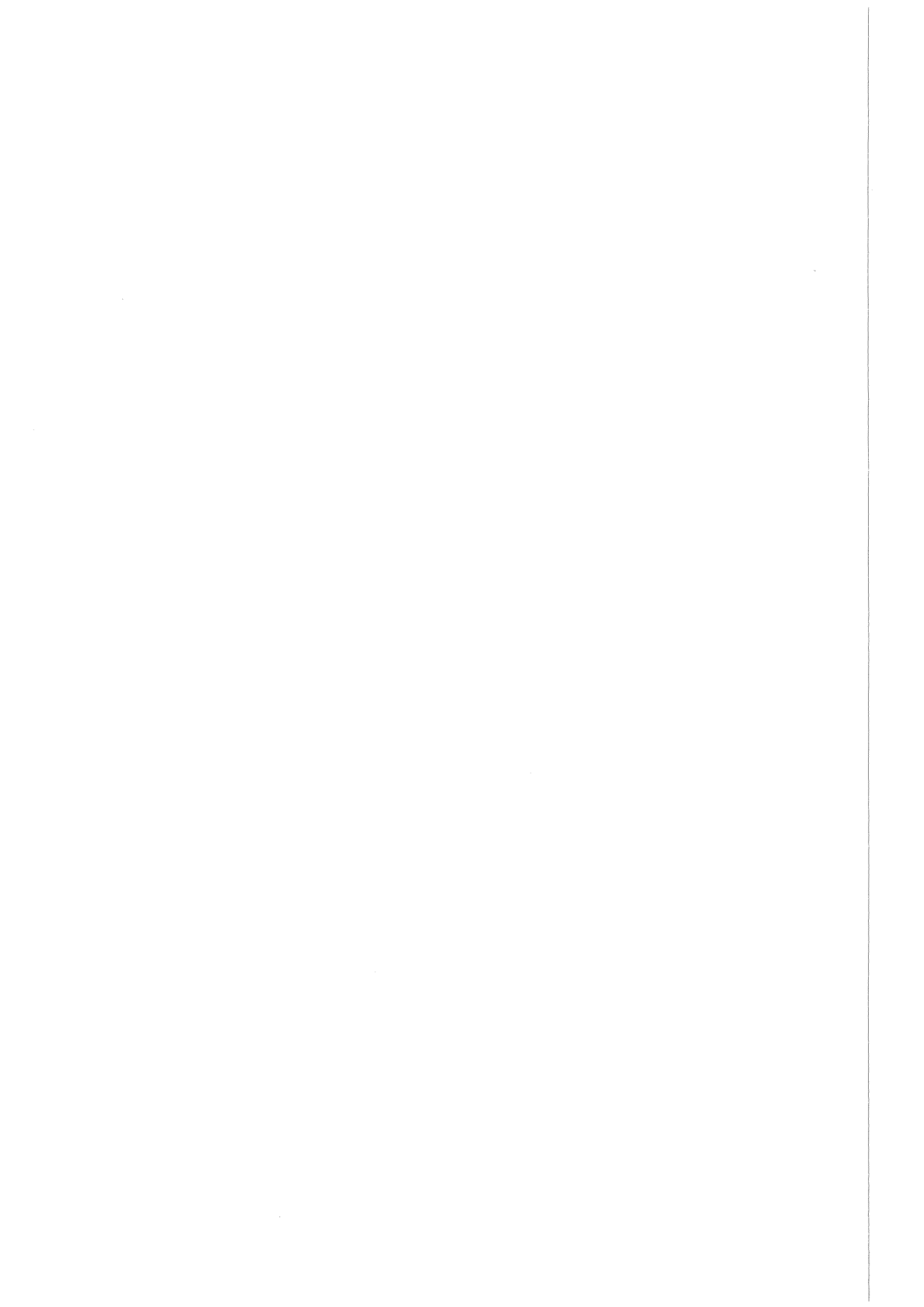
Marike de Kroon

Medieval pilgrim badges in the collection of the Museum for Religious Art: Het Catharijneconvent, Utrecht

The collection of devotional objects of Het Catharijneconvent contains 128 pilgrim badges. The research which the present lecture and contribution report on aims at making available the information embedded in the entire collection of pilgrim badges and other objects closely connected with these badges in possession of the museum. At this moment a combined catalogue of the collections of Het Catharijneconvent and of the Department of Archaeology of the city of Amsterdam, containing the pilgrim badges excavated in Amsterdam, is in preparation. This catalogue will be dealt with in another contribution in the present volume. Anticipating results of the research work, this paper presents a number of remarkable objects from the collection of Het Catharijneconvent.

The collection

For several years now, the museum has worked at expanding its collection of 'souvenirs from holy places' within the framework of popular devotion and pilgrimage. The present collection was built over the past twenty years by means of purchases from collectors/excavators and antique dealers. In 1988, the museum succeeded in acquiring two private collections, numbering over a hundred badges, *ampullae,* horns and other pilgrim-related objects. This important acquisition makes the collection of Het Catharijneconvent the largest public collection of pilgrim badges in the Netherlands[1]. The finest specimens are now exhibited permanently, while the less intact or damaged badges serve as objects for further study. The entire collection of badges will be incorporated in the forthcoming catalogue, which is still in preparation at this moment.

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[1]   *Jaarverslag Rijksmuseum Catharijneconvent 1988-1990,* 1988, 14.

Nieuwlande, Zeeland: an important location of finds

Unlike the badges excavated in the city of Amsterdam, the badges Het Catharijneconvent has acquired over the past years are not found at one single location, but derive from different sites. In some cases, the excavation site of a badge is unknown and cannot be identified. Like most badges found in the Netherlands, however, the greater part of the collection comes from the delta region in the Dutch province of Zeeland, and more specifically from the so-called 'flooded village' of Nieuwlande. This concerns, among others, the previously mentioned extensive collections purchased in 1988 from two private collectors, the brothers L. Hopstaken from Bergen op Zoom and M. Hopstaken from Roosendaal. The importance of these collections lies in the fact that nearly all of these badges were found at the same location, namely at or nearby Nieuwlande. Excavated by the Hopstaken brothers personally, all badges derive from one single determinable complex of finds and therefore they constitute an important historical source.

Nieuwlande is a former village in the so-called *'Verdronken Land van Zuid-Beveland'* (the 'drowned Land of Zuid-Beveland') in the delta of the river Oosterschelde. Nieuwlande emerged in the eleventh century and is mentioned for the first time in 1238 as 'Nova Terra'. Since 1242, Nieuwlande also appears as a parish in written sources. Up to now, little is known about the number of inhabitants or the growth of the population of the medieval settlement. Excavations have revealed the foundations of a church and remains of buildings. Furthermore, traces of a landing place have been found, which indicates that the site knew shipping traffic of some importance. Foundations of a mill have also been discovered. The size of the bricks and the excavated pottery have led to the conclusion that the village flourished from the last quarter of the fourteenth century up to its ruin in 1530-1532. During the flooding that took place in these years Nieuwlande was one of the settlements

that were swallowed by the sea, together with an area which for this reason is called the '*Verdronken Land*'. Scattered over the site of the former village, large quantities of pilgrim badges have been excavated; they come mainly from rubbish layers, ditches and areas that had been raised using waste material[2]. The territory of Nieuwlande and of other former medieval villages in the area was flooded time and again and as a result, the soil became saturated with salt water. Because of this, tin-leaden pilgrim badges have been preserved remarkably well. Since the early 1970s, this delta site has become increasingly popular with private excavators, among them the Hopstaken brothers. The fact that the vast delta was easily accessible at ebb-tide, contributed to a great extent to this popularity. In 1990, however, the Dutch government has scheduled parts of the Oosterschelde area as nature reserve to which all entrance is prohibited. Although these measures may keep away incompetent 'treasure hunters' with metal detectors, they also deny archaeologists and other scientific researchers the opportunity to discover new material.

Saint Michael

An example of a pilgrim badge that was found in Nieuwlande is the quite remarkable badge of the archangel Michael, which can be dated to the fourteenth century (inv.nr. RMCC m 299). In 1991 it was purchased from an antique dealer in Haarlem and added to the collection of the Catharijneconvent[3]. It shows the archangel Michael standing and holding a banner in his right hand. He is wearing long curly hair and is clothed in a long tunica with a girdle around his waist. The badge is unique because it consists of three different parts – lower body, upper body and wing – all three cast separately. The parts are held together by means of small rivet-like nails. With its length of 13.2 cm and width of 5.5 cm this badge is one of the largest known. In Great Britain, fragments of similar badges have been found, mainly wings, but no complete angels like this one[4]. Unfortunately there is very little information about the origin of this badge. Although the archangel Michael was worshipped in several places throughout medieval Europe, for instance Monte Gargano in Italy, the most likely source of this badge would be Mont Saint-Michel in Northern France. It was here that

Michael asked the bishop of Avranches in the year 708 to found a church in his honour on the mount Tombe, a rock surrounded by the sea, just off the coast of Normandy. A chapel was built and some relics of the archangel were brought over from Monte Gargano in Italy to the newly founded Mont Saint-Michel complex. In the late Middle Ages it became a popular shrine. The badges from Mont Saint-Michel usually show the winged archangel in armour, slaying the dragon beneath his feet with a sword and/or a lance[5].

An *ampulla* of La Sainte Larme, Vendôme

Another remarkable object within the collection is an *ampulla* which was purchased in 1986 from an art dealer in Amsterdam (inv. RMCC m 173). Although the location at which it was found is unknown, this pilgrim *ampulla* is special enough to justify its admission to the collection. It is a hollow container made of metal in which holy liquids from the shrine, like water or oil, could be taken home by the pilgrim. In this case the container is 7.2 cm long and 5 cm wide. It comes from the French village of Vendôme, approximately 65 kilometers south-west of Orléans. There, in the Benedictine abbey of the Holy Trinity, a relic of Christ was venerated intensively: the so-called '*Sainte Larme*', a holy tear, that was kept in an *ampulla* of polished crystal. According to legend, Christ shed this tear when he was on his way to visit the sick Lazarus and was told that the man had died (John 11:35). Lazarus' sisters, Martha and Mary, who accompanied Christ, also wept. Mary managed to catch one of the tears of Christ and preserved it carefully. Shortly before the middle of the thirteenth century the relic eventually ended up at the abbey of the Holy Trinity at Vendôme. Soon after this a lively pilgrimage to the abbey came into being. Each year on the Friday before Palm Sunday, the '*Vendredi du Lazare*', the holy tear was carried around in procession.

The acquired *ampulla* from Vendôme shows a round belly with an additional flat base and suspension loops at the base of the neck. Both sides of the belly are decorated with concentric circles. One side, presumably the reverse, has a decoration of a cross with equal arms and four little stars between them – a symbol of the five wounds of Christ. The obverse

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[2]   R.M. VAN HEERINGEN, De archeologische context van de Zeeuwse vondsten, in: Van Heeringen, Koldeweij & Gaalman 1987, 30.
[3]   Caron 1992, 3.

[4]   Mitchiner 1986, 96, nr. 218.
[5]   Van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, 181; Van Heeringen/ Koldeweij/Gaalman 1987, 94, nr. 20.
[6]   Forgeais 1865, 65-86.

shows a chalice surrounded by two burning candles. Above the chalice hovers a large drop: the holy tear. The border around this image contains an inscription, of which few letters are legible. In all likelihood it reads 'LACRIMA DEI'. Oxidation and damages have largely left the inscription illegible, but comparison with other Vendôme *ampullae* points in that direction. In 1865, Arthur Forgeais already distinguished five different types of La Sainte Larme-*ampullae*, one of which is depicted here (fig. 1). This *ampulla* was found in 1863 in the river Seine near the Pont Notre-Dame in Paris[6]. It shows an image that is similar to the representation on the *ampulla* of Het Catharijneconvent. On the basis of the reverse picture of the Holy Trinity, which refers to the abbey where the relic was kept, the Parisian *ampulla* can be dated to the sixteenth century. For the container from Het Catharijneconvent an earlier date seems more likely, namely the fifteenth century[7].

Saint Cunera of Rhenen

In 1992, a fine manuscript was added to the collection of the museum – again by means of a purchase. This so-called breviary of the Master of the Haarlem Bible, dated 1460-1470, belonged to the van Adrichem family of Haarlem (inv. RMCC hs 1). The fly leave contains not only a picture of the Vera Icon sewn to the page, but also another quite remarkable detail. On the page a print of a pilgrim badge is left behind. The silver badge which left its trace was also sewn to the page once and can be dated to the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The circular openwork badge has a diameter of 30 mm. It shows three female figures. The woman in the centre wears a crown on her head and a scarf around her neck. The other women each hold one end of the scarf in their hands.

Since 1855 there is a badge in the collection of the British Museum in London that is almost similar to the one whose print is in the breviary of Het Catharijneconvent. The London badge is also made of silver and has the same size. Although it is not known what the origin of the badge is, it cannot be concluded that the object derived from the Haarlem breviary. A comparison of the suspension loops of the badge and those seen in the print as well as the damages on the badge clearly demonstrates this[8]. Above the print in the breviary there is a hand-written inscription that reads 'Sancta Cunera'. The image that the badge printed on the page does indeed show a scene from the story of the holy Cunera. According to legend, this noble lady was one of the maidens that accompanied Ursula in the year 337 on her pilgrimage

Fig. 1 - Pilgrim *ampulla* from Vendôme, sixteenth century, found in the Seine at Paris, collection: unknown (drawing by A. Forgeais).

to Rome. When returning, the maidens were slain by the Huns near Cologne. Only Cunera was able to escape with the help from a heathen king, named Radboud. He took her to his palace in Rhenen. Cunera's loyal service to the king soon roused the anger and jealousy of the queen. One day, as Radboud went hunting, the queen took the opportunity to get rid of Cunera. Assisted by a servant, she strangled Cunera using a scarf. In memory of Cunera the king built a church, to which later the remains of Cunera were translated. A scarf, dating from late Antiquity and considered to be the cloth with which Cunera was strangled, was kept in the church as a relic. During the late Middle Ages the pilgrimage to this Cunera shrine increased rapidly. In the same period this was the case in many sanctuaries where local saints were venerated. The veneration of Cunera reached its highest point in the second half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth century. Both the breviary containing the print of the Cunera-badge and the lost badge itself can be dated to this flourishing period of the veneration of Cunera. The fact that different types of badges are known from this shrine, indicates the strong

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[7]   Koldeweij 1988, 13.

[8]   Van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, 64.

[9]   Van Beuningen & Koldeweij 1993, 64-68, 154.

interest for Rhenen as well as the large production of Cunera-badges that took place there[9].

Apart from the print of the badge the alleged strangulation scarf that was kept as a relic in Rhenen, also belongs to the collection of Het Catharijneconvent. This linen cloth is dated to the fifth or sixth century and is of Coptic origin. A badge of Cunera would be considered a welcome addition to these Cunera paraphernalia that are already part of the museum collection. Up until now, however, Het Catharijneconvent has not yet succeeded in acquiring such a badge, silver or otherwise.

Model of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem

Since 1992, a sixteenth century stone model of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem has been added to the collection (inv. RMCC m 314). This model, 13 cm high and 17 cm long and of Palestinian origin, is a miniature of the stone tomb in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, containing the grave of Christ. Large numbers of pilgrims have visited this chapel in the Holy Land. One of them must have brought back this model as a souvenir from the journey. It was excavated in fragments at the Eglantiersgracht in Amsterdam in 1991 by the Department of Archaeology of the city. The Amsterdams Historisch Museum has given the miniature chapel on loan to the collection of Het Catharijneconvent. The restored model is an example of a relatively inexpensive souvenir that medieval travellers, mostly pilgrims, used to bring home from their journeys. Thus it is another valuable addition to the varied collection of pilgrim badges and other objects of the Museum Het Catharijneconvent[10].

The examples of the collection that have been presented here are all part of the current research resulting in a catalogue of the entire collection of pilgrim-related objects. At this moment it is not clear to what extent this catalogue will be able to complete the picture that these pilgrim badges provide of the (late) medieval phenomenon of pilgrimage. The expectation is that at the time of the conference this question can be answered.

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Pilgrim Badges and Bells

In contrast to the archaeological material from excavations, we mostly have to search for old bells 'in the air'. Apart from some interesting objects in our museums, a number of medieval bells is still being used almost daily in church towers and municipal towers. The idea that relatively few bells have been preserved because many were lost due to disasters and wars is reason enough for an elaborate study of these objects which are so important for our cultural history. In the late Middle Ages, besides a decoration of floral design or pilgrims' badges, the name of the bell, the caster and the year of casting were very often inscribed in the text band. Thus bells appear to be important for cultural-historical research and an unexpected source for the study of pilgrim badges.

We may assume that each village needed at least one bell for sounding the time of day and for spreading the news. Numerous bells, however, were lost in disasters and wars. Town fires, lightning, defective suspension constructions and incorrect ringing, in addition to the Eighty-Years' war, the French and German occupations, are the causes of our having only a limited number of old bells. From the total number of bells which were cast in the Low Countries between the twelfth and mid-sixteenth century, only a relatively small number has survived until today.

Sunken and lost Bells

Bells in folk tales[1]

Powers which sometimes are beyond our imagination powers were often ascribed to bells. In many legends and folk tales they play the leading part. In most cases, these stories are about mysterious disappearances which took place in earlier centuries. In some cases, the bell was carried away by the devil, in others, the bell disappeared of its own free will in order to get away from Evil. If there is one kind of legend about bells which has become really popular in Europe, it is the story of a bell which, in some way, got into a pool, a sand-pit or a lake and which can still be heard on special occasions – most commonly at Christmas. In the Netherlands and in Flanders alone, there are more than 250 towns and villages where such legends are being told.[2]

Typical for these stories is the fact that the bells almost always land in some far-off place and that all efforts to salvage them are doomed to fail. Sometimes the bell is lifted from the deep, but at the very last moment black ravens come flying in and then, of course, the bell again disappears in the water.

In other cases, the salvaging attempt failed because someone had uttered some swear words; according to legend, this was often the case especially in Flanders!

The fact that a bell had not been consecrated might be a reason for its disappearance from the belfry. The devil himself eagerly and sardonically removed it and threw it in some pool or pit on its way to everlasting Hell.

Bells as a cultural-historical source

The devil or divine intervention were not the main reasons why bells disappeared. In times of war, it was quite common for bells to be requisitioned in order to cast cannons and cannon balls. A bell-caster temporarily became a cannon-caster. In Utrecht, the famous caster Geert van Wou also cast cannons. It is known that he also did some casting for the enemy. When he had to account for his actions in 1505, he claimed:

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[1] The information about sunken bells has been taken from, among other publications: P.J. MEERTENS, Verzonken klokken, in: *Alle klokken luiden*, Baarn, 1936; LEHR A., Klokken die in moerassen en poelen verdwenen en over klokken die zwijnen omhoog woelden, *Berichten uit het Nationaal Beiaardmuseum* nr. 8, Ashen, december 1993.

[2] Paepe E.J.J. de, Luidklokken in de volkscultuur, unpublished doctoral dissertation, VU Amsterdam, 1983.

Het weer waer, ick hadde voer heren ende steden bussen gegoten, dat weer myn ambacht, daer ick myn kost mede wan, myt clocken ende myt bussen toe gyeten[3].

In short, he tells us that casting bells and guns was his trade, his way of making a living.

In times of war, there was of course often a shortage of bronze and this was the main reason for requisitioning bells. It is likely that the people or the church wardens of the village of Heusden on the river Meuse buried a bell to prevent it from being desecrated as war material. In 1954, when central heating was being installed, a church bell was found under a Namur-stone floor in the vestry of the Dutch Reformed Church (in earlier times, the Roman Catholic Sint Catherine church) bearing the text MARIA : M : CCC : XXXIIII. During the religious conflicts in the sixteenth century, the bell was not meant to fall into the hands of the Reformers. And that was a good reason to bury it.

Only rarely, however, undamaged bells surface again because so many were lost in war or due to natural disasters: only fragments are left to us. In the tower museum of Mol, for instance, some pieces of bell bronze are kept, one fragment of which displays the text KAROLI V BE[N] with some foliage below the letter band; another piece shows the same ornamentation as well as an irregularly shaped plaquette, which features a figure with a palm branch, the head in a halo, a tower on the left and a column on the right. This figure is believed to represent Saint Barbara. The floral decoration and the text almost certainly tell us that in the past, Mol possessed a bell which was cast during the reign of emperor Charles V (1515-1556).

With the exception of some bell fragments found here and there, it is very rare for old church bells and carillon bells to be recovered. Fortunately, a number of medieval bells can still be heard almost daily in churches and urban towers, where they are part of a carillon or are still used to strike the hour. They are rung on festive days and funerals, for joy or sorrow. High up in the towers are the often enormous bronze monuments, invisible to most people, but favourite objects of study to a small group of interested persons. In the past, their sound was studied only sporadically, and neither did the outer side and the inscriptions constitute the object of scrutiny, whereas nowadays, the decorations are also studied more closely by using plaster casts and photographs from World War II.

The situation of World War II

The many photos, plaster casts and descriptions of 'late' bells from the Second World War, which are preserved in various museums, are useful material for bell research. A total of one hundred thousand bells was lost in Europe at the time. In Holland and Belgium, an inventory of the bells present was carried out before and during the war when, taking into consideration the possibility of confiscation, the authorities proceeded to register all the bells in the country. Eventually, the German Nazis carried away over 50 % of the original bells, after which the bronze disappeared into the melting furnaces, only to reappear as weapons to wage war. The oldest monumental bells, however, for the larger part remained in the towers.

The same thing happened in Germany. Many bells were moved to large warehouses, for instance in Hamburg. Here, more than 16000 bells were photographed, examined and charted systematically. The data gathered in this way were taken to the *Deutches Glockenarchiv* (*DGA*) at Nuremberg. Now it so happens that in some regions in Germany – more frequently than elsewhere – pilgrim badges were applied to bells. These bells were cast in the Rhine region, Thuringen, Hessen and Brandenburg in the late Middle Ages.

During the war, the pilgrim badges on the bells were not always recognized as such. Yet, in later years, photos of badges from the *DGA* were of great use to the German scholar Kurt Köster when he was collecting extensive and detailed documentation on this phenomenon. Köster's archive, containing the data on some 6500 pilgrim badges (over 1700 of them to be found on bells), is also preserved at Nuremberg in the archives of the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum*, where the *DGA* is also to be found.

Specific research related to pilgrim badges on bells was, however, carried out at an earlier time. In 1906, F. Uldall published a survey of medieval Danish bells with images of pilgrim badges, providing also dimensions and attributions[4]. He may be forgiven for not being always right: the ignorance prevalent at the time in this field must certainly have played a role in this.

At the beginning of this century, Paul Liebeskind also studied the pilgrim badges on bells – mostly Thuringen – but he took Uldall as his starting point, as he mentioned in his work of 1904[5]. Very little hap-

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[3]   *It was true, I had cast barrels (cannon) for lords and towns, it was my craft, with which I earned my living, to cast bells and cannons.* See also: LEHR A., *Beiaardkunst in de Lage Landen*,

Tielt, 1991.
[4]   ULDALL F., *Danmarks middelalderlige Kirkeklokker*, 1906, reprint 1982.

Group 1:

Group 2:

   type 1 •

   type 2 ⊙

   type 3 ○

pened in the next fifty years, until the time Köster started to work on pilgrim badges on bells.

Most likely, the indifference of many years resulted from the lack of knowledge concerning these objects of devotion. Hardly any importance was attached to original badges, which regularly emerged from the beds of the European rivers or which were found when urban areas were being renovated. At the time, people did not recognize the religious decorations. This led to wrong names and to some humoristic errors in those countries where far fewer badges were applied to bells than in the German areas mentioned above.

In most cases, the decorations were interpreted as a medal, a coin or a coat of arms. In the archives of the *Nationaal Carillonmuseum* at Asten, there is a badge portraying Saint Lucia which has in fact been described as a 'woman in a cottage'.

Pilgim Badges

Why badges were part of the casting process of bells

The reasons why these pilgrim badges were applied to the bells from the end of the fourteenth to the first quarter of the sixteenth century cannot be traced in written records and archives.

The most obvious reason for embedding them is the strong belief in the powers of these effigies. What was decisive – according to Köster – was in the first place the notion of the apotropaic effect of the badges on the bells themselves and secondly, the idea that they reinforced the potency of bells to avert thunder and lightning and all kinds of demons and evil. What Köster found to be most significant was the application of the badges in four directions[6]. To this must be added the fact that bells themselves already possessed tremendous powers. After being cast, they were consecrated, they were called after Christ, Mary or a saint, and they represented the voice of the Almighty as far as 'the ear could hear'. At the same time, when the bells were rung, all the healing powers of the pilgrim badges to further peace, health and fertility were scattered across the earth. To the medieval caster, the religious illustrations on the bells will have been of less importance as decorations; although this element should not be neglected, the content which these illustrations represented were far

[5]   LIEBESKIND P., Pilger- oder Wallfahrtszeichen auf Glocken, *Die Denkmalpflege* 6, 1904, 53-55; ID., *Die Denkmalpflege* 7, 1905, 117-120; 125-128.

[6]   KÖSTER K., Mittelalterliche Pilgerzeichen, *Themen zu einer*

more important. The badges were offered for sale –
as decoration or as amulets – everywhere and to the
casters – most of whom were travelling around – it was
easy to obtain and apply them to the wall of the bell.

Pilgrim badges during the casting process

In the course of the centuries, the casting process
of bells has hardly been subjected to change. Of
course, moulds have been adapted and technical ap-
pliances have been improved, but by and large the
casting process itself – which was described by,
among others, the 12th-century monk Theophile – is
still the same. In his *'De diversis artibus'*, Theophile
recorded the modelling in wax of the exterior of the
bell to be cast. This so-called 'false bell' had then to
be encased in clay. After the clay had dried and har-
dened, the wax was removed by heating it to melting
point. The clay mould, bearing the negative imprint
of the bell, was then put over another clay mould
which was shaped after the interior of the bell-to-be.
The empty space between these two clay moulds was
then filled with liquid bronze. The pilgrim badges
must have been embedded in the false bell by means
of this *'cire perdue'* method and must have remained
behind in the negative clay-mould when the wax had
been removed by means of heating. When the mould
was being filled, the lead and tin badges dissolved in
the bronze, which itself mainly consisted of copper
and tin. The more skilful the caster and the sharper
the relief of the badge, the more outlined and the bet-
ter recognizable the imprint of the badge. Any letter-
ing, small or large, on the tiny badges suffered se-
verely in this process.

Today, we owe the preservation and the know-
ledge of a great number of badges to the inclusion of
these religious ornamentations in the casting process.
This applies even to whole groups of devotional ob-
jects, of which nothing was known before.

Some of the badges on bells seem to have been at
the origin of devotional decorations of later date.
Brooches representing the Mother of God, Saint
Christopher and Christ carrying the cross may refer
explicitly to this.

Thanks to the preservation of the originals, how-
ever, badges on bells can also be examined and ex-
plained using a retrogressive approach.

As an example, the badge of Saint Odilia may be
discussed here; after interpretation, it led to new
questions.

Saint Odilia on West European bells

In his 1906 publication on medieval bells in Den-
mark, Uldall quite wrongly believed he recognized
Saint Walburga of Eichstatt in a picture of an abbess
on the bell of Uggerby[7]. As the text on the badge is
illegible, this identification must be considered erro-
neous, though this idea was not given up until 1990.
In that year, the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* in
Nuremberg published the picture of a badge with a
representation of an almost identical saint, on which
the text 's. otilia' was clearly visible. As the place of
pilgrimage, Kahsnitz referred to Odilienberg in the
Alsace region[8].

Though the name on it was not very clear, a badge
in the van Beuningen collection could be attributed
correctly thanks to the Nuremberg icon[9].

The museum at Nuremberg, like van Beuningen,
was ignorant of the bell in Uggerby. Köster was not,
though he, in turn, did not known of the original
badges, so that Walburga was found to be the saint on
the bell and Odilia the one on the original badge.

Research into bell decorations in the Netherlands
helped trace an Odilia badge to a bell in Swichum, a
magnified picture of which is to be seen in the *Natio-
naal Carillonmuseum* at Asten[10].

In the meantime, more badges showing a picture
of Odilia have been found and other images related to
pilgrimages and applied to bells together with this
lady-saint, are still being researched.

The Life of Saint Odilia

According to her legendary *vita*, Odilia von Hohen-
burg was born the daughter of Duke Aldarik and his
spouse Beresinde in the middle of the seventh cen-
tury. The joy of her birth was short-lived: the child
was blind and therefore renounced by her heathen
father. First, Odilia was brought up by a miller; later
she entered a convent in Besançon. In this place she
was baptized by a bishop and miraculously, her
blindness was cured by this Holy Sacrament. With

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*Ausstellung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums und das Adalbert
Stifter Vereins*, Zürich, 1984, 208.

[7] See note 5.

[8] KAHSNITZ R., Pilgerzeichen mit hl. Odilia, *Anzeiger des
Germanischen Nationalmuseums Nürnberg*, 1990, 175.

[9] BEUNINGEN H.J.E. VAN & KOLDEWEIJ A.M., *Heilig en Pro-
faan. 1000 Laat-middeleeuwse Insignes uit de Collectie H.J.E.
van Beuningen*, Rotterdam Papers VIII, 1993, Cothen, 182.

[10] LOON E. VAN & MOOSDIJK VAN DE, Pelgrimsinsignes op
middeleeuwse luidklokken, *Berichten uit het Nationaal Beiaard-
museum* nr. 12, 1995.

the help of her converted father, with whom Odilia had sought a reconciliation, she founded the convent of Hohenburg, which is now Odilienberg in the Alsace. When she died unexpectedly and without having received the Last Sacraments of the Dying, her fellow-nuns fervently prayed to God and all his saints. And again, a miracle happened: Odilia was resurrected. After this, she was given the last Holy Communion in the form of bread and wine, and then she passed away forever. Odilienberg developed into an important place of pilgrimage. Near Odilia's convent, a beneficial well sprang up where blind people and those who suffered from eye-diseases drank from the chalice which once belonged to this Holy Saint, and recovered as a result.

A closer look at the Odilia badges shows her in a standing position, dressed in a convent habit, surrounded by foliage, and holding a book and a chalice in her hands. Sometimes, eyes are rendered floating above this image. With the aid of Danish, Dutch and German researchers, one fragment and sixteen badges depicting this holy woman have so far been found in museums, private collections and on bells. With some variations the badges may be divided into two groups.

GROUP 1: frontal in an octagonal form
1. Thann (Alsatia) on the big Bourdon, caster Heinrich Peiger: cast in 1467
2. Worms Museum, original: undated
3. Worms Museum, original with four eyes: 1450-1475
4. Worms Museum, original with four eyes: 1450-1475
5. Gay collection, original with four eyes, (Seine discovery): 1450-1475

GROUP 2: Odilia in rectangular Gothic *aedicula*
type 1 (turned to the left)
6. Swichum (Friesland), bell by an anonymous caster: cast in 1438
7. Hoeningen (Neuss), bell by Herman von Alfter: cast in 1455
8. Dockweiler (Daun), bell by Paul von Udersdorf: cast in 1470
9. Uggerby (Denmark), bell by Johannes Henrici: cast in 1473
10. Kastellaun (Simmern), bell by Tilman von Hachenburg: cast in 1480
11. Bessingen (Holzminden), bell by an anonymous caster: 15th century

12. Siegen museum, bell by an anonymous caster: 15th century

type 2 (turned to the left with high foliage)
13. Nuremberg, original, NGM collection, found Mid Franken: 1400-1450
14. van Beuningen collection, original, found in Nieuwlande: 1400-1450
15. Riedheim (Günzburg), bell by Johann Fraedenberger: cast in 1445

type 3 (frontal presentation)
16. Drochtersen (Stade), bell by an anonymous caster: 15th century
17. Kann collection, fragment of the original (Trier): 15th century

Judging from this list, we are justified to conclude that Odilia badges were manufactured during the fifteenth century. Besides the fragment preserved in the Kann collection, ten of the other sixteen badges can be found on late medieval bells. Seven bear a casting year, thus dating these pilgrim badges; the oldest badge is the one on the bell of Swichum (1438), the most recent one that on a bell by Tilman von Hachenburg at Kastellaun (1480).

When we look at the map of Europe, the find-spots known so far appear to be far apart, indicating a widespread dispersal, though the number seventeen bears no relation to the number that may actually have been cast in the past. Three are of unknown origin.

Alsace-Lorraine as a region of pilgrimage

Besides Saint Odilia, Saint Theobald enjoyed considerable respect in the Alsace and far beyond. He was not only the focus for worship by sailors, but also offered protection against all sorts of disaster to true believers.

The so-called *Lübecker Quelle* are very important as a source for the history of pilgrimage in the Alsace. In 111 last wills, written between 1357 and 1470, citizens of Lübeck sent their heirs to Saint Theobald[11]. And that makes it understandable why so many Theobald badges were applied to so many bells. Next to Saint Odilia, this saint was cast in the same bell at:
- Swichum   caster is anonymous (1438)
- Thann   Peiger de Bale   (1467), also called Heinrich Peiger
- Uggerby   Johannes Henrici   (1473)
- Drochtersen   caster is anonymous (15th c.)

To get an idea of the medieval popularity of the Alsace-Lorraine as a region of pilgrimage, it is worth

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[11] It is often about promises made during one's life, but not possible to fulfill because of a sudden death.

consulting the so-called *Tomus Mircaculorum*, which mentions 215 entries of miraculous recoveries between 1405 and 1521. Numerous places of pilgrimage where miracles happened are mentioned here. Most of these took place in the Alsace, the Netherlands, Denmark and the North-German regions.

Looking at the evidence as a whole, the enormous appeal of the sanctuaries in the Alsace may be the reason why especially badges from this region were applied to bells. Whether the casters asked for the devotional objects to be brought to them or owned them themselves is not clear. Possibly, those who commissioned the bells provided the badges, although this is not very self-evident.

Another striking aspect is that on bells bearing pictures of Odilia and/or Theobald, we also find pilgrim badges of Christ carrying the cross. On the two bells which Tilman von Hachenburg cast for Kastellaun in 1480, Odilia is depicted on the large bell and the Crucifer on the other.

It is not yet fully clear from which place of pilgrimage this badge originates. A possible town of origin might be Wardenburg in Lower Saxony. On a bell from Groß-Ammensleben which depicts the Crucifer, the text on the lower edge of the badge reads 's.cruitz.erdeburch'. And one of the Lübeck last wills is said to refer to a pilgrimage to Wardenburg, which lies west of Bremen, on the route to the south.

Bells bearing badges of the two Alsatian saints Odilia and Theobald, and a Crucifer from a place of pilgrimage possibly in Northern Germany, might be a confirmation of the links between two distant regions.

The present state of research

In the basin of the rivers Meuse and Rhine, there are many bells bearing the imprints of pilgrim badges. In Germany, this was studied by – among others – Kurt Köster, in whose footsteps we see Jörg Poettgen, who has made some refreshing discoveries in the last decade. Andreas Haasis-Berner has now also been working for some time on pilgrim badges. The information on bells, which was collected during the war and which has been preserved so far, is to be found in the bell archives (*DGA*) of the *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* at Nuremberg, as well as in Köster's archive.

Outside present-day Germany, it seems to have been less common practice to cast pilgrim badges in bells. But they do occur and they are certainly worth looking for.

In the Netherlands and Belgium, information on bells is scattered among private and public institutions, and it is most unfortunate that no effort has been made to centralise the knowledge available. In the Netherlands, information on medieval bells and on the requisitioning of bells during the Second World War is available in the archives of *Monumentenzorg* (the Dutch Heritage Institute), of the National Carillonmuseum at Asten, of the Frisian Society, of the *Klokkenspelvereniging* (the Carillon Society) and of some private collections.

In Belgium things are not much different. In Brussels information on bells can only be found unlisted in the Research Institute for War-Time History[12]. The Mechlin archives contain documents of the Carillon School and documents of private researchers in the past.

The IRPA/KIK in Brussels has photos of Belgian art treasures, including those of bells[13]. In a slightly different form, the same situation applies to France. In short, no information has been centralised, though lots of documents are available for research.

It would be very useful if funds were made available to set up an easily accessible institution for bell research, which ought to go beyond our borders. In a modern Europe this should be a viable option.

Meanwhile, the bells keep ringing and the carillon players keep playing, though the great banning bell does not ring any more when a sentence is executed. The death penalty has been abolished in western Europe, banning people is a thing of the past, going on a pilgrimage is now a voluntary affair and a thief's hands are no longer cut off. The evening bell, telling the labouring people that their day's toil is over, that they can go home, and that the gates of the town will be closed, is not heard any more. And what about the storm bell, which was often also rung in case of fire? What about the Angelus bell, which invited the pious believers to say their prayers?

Are these only mere creations of nostalgic minds thinking about a romanticized past? Or do the many letters, descriptions, commissions and casting bills signify that bells were more than just a simple tool?

Let the bells speak for themselves, not only through their ringing, but especially by our scrutiny and study.

Elly van Loon-van de Moosdijk
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[12] Navorsings- en Studiecentrum voor de Geschiedenis van de Tweede Wereldoorlog, Residence Palace, Brussels.
[13] KIK-IRPA = Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium - Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique.

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