

# Modelled on print – ivory diptych with scenes of the *Nativity of Christ* and the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Princes Czartoryski Collection

modus

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In the nineteenth century, art collectors worldwide were fascinated with mediaeval art. Thanks to their acquisitions, it was possible to preserve – and later to study – a considerable number of rare pieces of art from the period. At that time, many of those medieval works obtained their first, often rather amateurish, coverages. Among the collectors were Polish prince Władysław Czartoryski (1828–1894) and his sister countess Izabela (Iza) Działyńska (1830–1899), then living in Paris, France, the grandchildren and heirs of princess Izabela of Fleming Czartoryska (1746–1835), who was the founder of the Czartoryski collection in Puławy.<sup>1</sup> Brother and sister were both brought up in the spirit of patriotic collecting, although only Władysław Czartoryski, who in 1876 established the Museum in Kraków, saw its educational and commemorative value. He aimed to preserve and expand the inherited part of the collection, but he also sought to complement it with pieces of art previously lacking therefrom, and to create representative, educational groups of works of art of each kind.<sup>2</sup> The respect for his grandmother's collection was clearly visible, even in some of his own purchases,<sup>3</sup> however most of his acquisitions

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1 The collection in the Czartoryski family residence in Puławy, near Lublin, Poland, was established by princess Izabela Czartoryska at the end of the eighteenth century. Following Czartoryska's death, the collection was inherited by her eldest son, prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski, who, due to the political reasons (especially his support of the November Uprising in 1830), had to leave Poland and move the collection to Hôtel Lambert in Paris, France. His younger son, Władysław Czartoryski was the actual founder of the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Kraków in 1876. See also: *Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Zbiory Czartoryskich: historia i wybór zabytków*, M. Rostkowski (ed.), Warszawa 1978, pp. 36–37.

2 Countess Działyńska called her grandmother's collection *un charnier* – which could be translated as “the dumpster” or “the morgue”, see: Z. Karczewska-Markiewicz, *Panna lodowata*, Poznań 1973, p. 61. See also: R. Bobrow, *Izabela Działyńska i jej kolekcja d'objects d'art du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, in: *Życie sztukę. Gołuchów Izabeli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej* (exhibition catalogue, National Museum in Poznań, May 2018–August 2018), Poznań 2018, p. 192; D. Gorzelany, *Ekspozycja a koncepcja kolekcjonerska. Casus Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich*, in: *Muzeum a pamięć – forma, produkcja, miejsce*, T.F. de Rosset, E. Bednarz Doiczmanowa, A. Tołysz (eds.) Warszawa 2018, p. 159.

3 An example of Władysław's will that can be construed as a continuation of his grandmother's collection could be his probable purchase of the Turkish tent, thought to have been used by

differed from those made by Izabela Czartoryska.<sup>4</sup> In contrast to his sister, countess Działyńska, whose collection and meaning behind it are now quite well recognized,<sup>5</sup> we do not know exactly how prince Władysław made his choices to purchase particular works of art. His profile (or “personality”) as an art collector was unfortunately never properly analysed, and should be the case for broader studies in the future.<sup>6</sup> Just like his sister, prince Władysław bought mainly pieces of ancient art,<sup>7</sup> he was also a connoisseur of medieval and early renaissance Italian paintings (the so-called *primitifs italiens*).<sup>8</sup> Aside from that, prince Czartoryski purchased champlevé enamels from the Limoges workshops, renaissance Italian, and Spanish pottery, but more importantly, he was responsible for the creation of the museum’s medieval ivories collection. His mostly Parisian purchases are the core of today’s Princes Czartoryski collection. However, the diversity of that collection tells us that Władysław acquired the ivories rather randomly, and it is quite possible that he aimed to create a representative collection of ivories of each type. Countess Działyńska and her brother made their acquisitions from the famous art dealers of the times. They also bought some pieces during auctions and sales,<sup>9</sup> with the help of the most respected and recognized experts on medieval and antique art such as archaeologists Léon de Laborde, Jean de Witte, and Henri Hoffman, as well as

the Turks during the Vienna Siege in 1683, see: B. Biedrońska-Słotowa, *Ottoman tent from Prince Czartoryski’s collection. A new look at an old tradition*, “Art of the Orient”, 6, 2017, pp. 156–165.

- 4 In subject literature, we find information that prince Władysław Czartoryski had a negative opinion on his grandmother’s collection and that it could have affected him as an art collector, see: A. Zamoyski, *Paryż*, in: *Muzeum Czartoryskich. Historia i zbiory*, Kraków 1998, p. 116. However, I believe that this was not a case, since the surviving daily diaries written by the Princes Czartoryski Museum custodians show that the prince took great care of the collection he inherited. Isabela’s purchases were regularly subjected to conservation procedures and repaired when needed. His different approach to collecting was the effect of his Parisian upbringing and the times he lived in, when the romantic aspect of the object built on the anecdote was less important than its artistic value. See: T.F. de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1819. Między “skarbnicą narodową” a galerią sztuki*, Toruń 2005.
- 5 Countess Izabela Działyńska’s collecting interests were often addressed by the scholars, however her brothers’ purposes are yet to be established, see: T. Jakimowicz, *Od kolekcji “curio-sités artistiques” ku muzeum*, “Studia Muzealne. Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu”, 12, 1982, pp. 15–73; I. Gluszek, *Jan i Izabela Działyńscy – kolekcjonerzy sztuki antycznej*, in: *Życie sztuką. Gołuchów Izabeli z Czartoryskich Działyńskiej* (exhibition catalogue, National Museum in Poznań, May 2018 – August 2018), Poznań 2018, pp. 62–71.
- 6 K. Moczulska, *Kontakty Władysława Czartoryskiego z antykwariuszem Mariuszem Panayiotisem Tano*, “Studia Archeologiczne”, 1, 1981, pp. 159–169; J. Pezda, *Przeszłość przyszłości: historia zbiorów rodzinnych opowiedziana przez Władysława Czartoryskiego*, “Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie”, 58, 2013, pp. 105–131; A. Andrzejewska-Zajac, *Kolekcja włoskich prymitywów księcia Władysława Czartoryskiego na tle europejskim*, in: *Virtus et Splendor. Sztuka w życiu Włochów XIV–XVII w. Wystawa ze zbiorów Fundacji xx. Czartoryskich* (exhibition catalogue, National Museum in Gdańsk, December 2013 – March 2014), Gdańsk 2014, pp. 33–43.
- 7 D. Gorzelany-Nowak, *Czartoryski & Torlona. A Collection of Roman Marble Statues in the Princes Czartoryski Museum*, “Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization”, 23, 2019, pp. 243–256.
- 8 A. Andrzejewska-Zajac, *Kolekcja włoskich prymitywów księcia Władysława Czartoryskiego na tle europejskim*, in: *Virtus et Splendor. Sztuka w życiu Włochów XIV–XVII w. Wystawa ze zbiorów Fundacji xx. Czartoryskich* (exhibition catalogue, National Museum in Gdańsk, December 2013 – March 2014), Gdańsk 2014, p. 35.
- 9 One of the ivories in the collection, a mirror cover with the scene of the *Crucifixion* (inventory no. MNK XIII-1274) was bought by the Czartoryski in 1891 from a private collector in Cologne, see: F. Kirchweyer, *Gothic and Late Medieval Ivories From the Collection of Clemens Wenceslaus Count of Renesse-Breidbach*, in: *Gothic Ivory Sculpture. Content and Context*, C. Yvard (ed.), London 2017, pp. 94–110. See also: <[http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/Bo41AA60\\_b612aa6a.html](http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/Bo41AA60_b612aa6a.html)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

the Louvre custodians Wilhelm Froenher and Émile Molinier,<sup>10</sup> as we can learn from Iza's notes and inventories.<sup>11</sup> Thanks to prince Czartoryski, the current museum has a heterogeneous, varied and, considering lack of medieval ivories in other Polish collections, a rather impressive compilation, which is a great testimony to the Czartoryskis' fascination. Most of the works have never been discussed and are not recognized by the wider audience, even though nearly all of them were included in the 2010 Gothic Ivories Project database, and some of them are on display in the Princes Czartoryski Museum permanent exhibition. The collection includes sixteen pieces, dating from the end of the thirteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Among them are two statuettes of the Virgin with Child carved in round, one dice cup; one mirror cover; one head of the crozier; one *appliqué* of the seated *Virgin with Child* (fixed to the cover of a thirteenth-century Latin Bible in the nineteenth century);<sup>12</sup> three parts of the wings of the tabernacle (a gabled polyptych); one right leaf of a diptych; another four diptychs; fragments of an openwork panel (possibly of the casket); and a casket and two panels from the Embriachi workshop. Some of those pieces are truly outstanding works in ivory (one of the figurines of Madonna with Child might be a good example – lately linked to the so-called Kremsmünster diptych workshop).<sup>13</sup> Some of these remain quite a mystery due to their unusual iconography, such as the dice cup with the scenes from an unrecognized romance.<sup>14</sup> There are also specimens, which are very interesting due to their unusual form and genesis of their style. This latter group includes an ivory diptych with scenes of *Nativity of Christ* and the *Adoration of the Magi* (inventory no. MNK XIII-1583) (see: Fig. 1). This piece of art has not been an object of discussion for researchers so far. This could probably be explained by the difficulties in classifying the style of the work, which differs from the other ivories in the Princes Czartoryski Museum. It is also rather interesting in the context of religious practices such as private devotion – small, portable ivory diptychs with the scenes from the life of Christ (and especially Christ's Passion) from the moment of their broader appearance, and particularly in the middle of the fourteenth century, when they flourished, were an immensely

10 K. Kłudkiewicz, *Wybór i konieczność. Kolekcje polskiej arystokracji w Wielkopolsce na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, Poznań 2016, pp. 71–73. The effect of those consultations were the catalogues of the Gołuchów and Hôtel Lambert collections, see: W. Froehner, *Collections du château de Gouchów. L'orfèvrerie, décrite par W. Froehner avec 22 planches en couleurs*, Paris 1897, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6243623s>> (accessed on 1.12.2021); É. Molinier, *Collections du chateau de Goluchow: objets d'art du moyen age et de la renaissance*, Paris 1903, <<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6243586z>> (accessed on 1.12.2021); J. de Witte, *Description d'Antiquités conservées à l'Hôtel Lambert*, Paris 1886.

11 T. Jakimowicz, *Od kolekcji*, pp. 15–73.

12 The *appliqué* is kept in the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków, see: E. Musialik, *Gotycka figurka z kości słoniowej w oprawie Biblii łacińskiej (ms. Czart. 2387III) w kolekcji Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich*, "Rozprawy Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie", 10, 2017, pp. 9–32.

13 E. Musialik, *O dwóch rzeźbach Marii z Dzieciątkiem z kości słoniowej w zbiorach krakowskich. Przyczynek do działalności tzw. warsztatu dyptyku z Kremsmünster*, in: *Claritas et consonantia. Funkcje, formy i znaczenia w sztuce średniowiecza. Księga poświęcona pamięci Kingi Szczepkowskiej-Naliwajek w dziesiątą rocznicę śmierci*, M. Jakubek-Raczkowska, J. Raczkowski (eds.), Toruń and Warsaw 2017, pp. 215–233. See also: M. Tomasi, *Made in Cologne. New perspectives on the Kremsmünster workshop*, in: *Gothic Ivory Sculpture. Content and Context*, C. Yvard (ed.), London 2017, pp. 30–46.

14 National Museum in Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Museum (Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich, further: MNK MKCZ), inventory no. MNK XIII-1589. Recent consultation with Mrs Elisabeth Antoine-Konig from the Louvre indicates that the cup is most likely a very well executed nineteenth-century forgery.





1. Diptych with the scenes of the *Nativity of Christ* and the *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1500, ivory, metal, 14.5 × 18.5 cm, National Museum in Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Museum. Photo by National Museum in Kraków photo studio

popular media, and their iconography and style were changing along with the prototypes they followed, such as monumental and funerary sculpture, illuminated manuscripts, etc. This diptych certainly can be viewed as an example of a work used for such practices. In this study, I would like to place the diptych within its artistic and iconographical tradition, as well as present it as the work of art that is somewhat typical for its period. Later ivories were rarely viewed as the mirror of new artistic tendencies.

The state of research and the basic facts on the history of the diptych are considerably lacking, incomplete. Most likely the piece was acquired for the Czartoryski collection before 1868, while the collection was held in the Hôtel Lambert in Paris (located on Île-Saint-Louis), the Czartoryskis' residence during their political emigration. The diptych was mentioned twice between 1868<sup>15</sup> and 1869, in two catalogues of the collection, written by prince Władysław Czartoryski himself. In the first inventory it was listed as the "Diptyque flamande – naissance de n.d." The second mentions it under the category of "ivoires flamandes" (Flemish ivories), no. 3: "Diptyque. Naissance de n.d."<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know whom the diptych was purchased from.<sup>17</sup> In the 1870s, the diptych and some other ivories

15 The Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków (Biblioteka xx. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, further: BCzart.), MS 12318, *Spis zbiorów starożytności i sztuki w Hotelu Lambert 1868/69*, ręką księcia Władysława spisany, p. 112.

16 Kraków, BCzart, MS 12309, *Collection Czartoryski Catalogue*, p. 205.

17 Quite possibly it was one of the art dealers who also sold ivories to countess Działyńska, for example Émile Barre, see: T. Jakimowicz, *Od kolekcji*, pp. 60–66. There are some mentions of the ivories in the receipts from the 1860s and 1870s but unfortunately in most cases the ivories,

were probably already sent to Kraków or Sieniawa, because the inventory of the Hôtel Lambert from 1877 does not mention this work.<sup>18</sup> The ivory was later listed (as no. 410), in the *Inwentarz Przemysłu Artystycznego* [Inventory of the Artistic Craft] from the 1880s, initiated by Leon Bentkowski (1823–1889), the custodian of the Czartoryski Museum at the time.<sup>19</sup> The author recognised the iconography of the work and dated it quite broadly as any time within the sixteenth century. The last published reference of the work is a note dedicated to the diptych in the Gothic Ivories Project, an online database initiated by the Courtauld Institute in London. In the brief information provided by the Czartoryski Museum, we read that the work should be dated to the end of the fifteenth century and associated with a Netherlandish workshop.<sup>20</sup> The diptych was also mentioned in a catalogue of the Gothic ivories in Polish collections, which was the subject of my master's thesis.<sup>21</sup> The rather unusual style of the diptych has prompted a broader discussion and development of some of the themes brought up in my previous work.

The diptych, measuring about 14.5 × 18.5 cm, was made using the relief technique. The condition of the work is exceptionally good, and the surface is only slightly cracked. During the last conservation in 2013, it was thoroughly cleaned. At the top of the wings there are small, perfectly round drilled holes, which in all probability could have served the purpose of separate display in the nineteenth century. According to the conservators at the National Museum in Kraków, the hinges connecting the wings were most likely added later, probably also in the nineteenth century, which is confirmed by the modern-looking hook fastening.<sup>22</sup> The back of the diptych is flat and smooth; on the right wing there are two stickers with old inventory numbers.

On the left wing of the diptych, the *Nativity of Jesus Christ* is presented (see: Fig. 2). The Holy Family is shown on the main plan, in a stable built as two pillars supporting a thatched roof and surrounded by a woven fence. Mary and Joseph are kneeling; between them, a naked baby Jesus is lying on a piece of fabric from his mother's dress. Behind the Holy Family, an ox and a donkey are looking down at the scene. Above the stable, two angels are floating; another angel holding a scroll is appearing to three shepherds seated on the hill. The physiognomic features of the characters, considering the size of the ivory, are highly diverse and individualised. Mary has a full, round face, a small, perky nose, almond-shaped eyes, and long, sleek hair combed back over the high forehead. The baby has a chubby face and short curls. The face of Joseph, partly covered with a short, curly beard, is

as well as the enamels, were treated collectively, as a whole group, without any hints suggesting their iconography, style, or the provenance, see: Kraków, BCzart, MS 12296, *Nabytki przedmiotów muzealnych*. Paryż 1867–1869.

18 Kraków BCzart, MS 12319, *Objects de la collection restes a Paris*, spisany przez Władysława Czartoryskiego. The ivories still left in Paris are listed on p. 79.

19 Kraków, BCzart, MS 12773 1, *Inwentarz Przemysłu Artystycznego*. Muzealne różne, no. 410, p. 45.

20 <[http://gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/D8883E2E\\_7c015dee.html](http://gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/D8883E2E_7c015dee.html)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

21 E. Musiałik, *Średniowieczne wyroby z kości słoniowej w zbiorach polskich* [unpublished master's thesis written under the supervision of professor Marek Walczak], Art History Institute, Jagiellonian University, Kraków 2018.

22 All the information on the conservation and the condition of the diptych was given to me by Mrs Małgorzata Pisulińska and Mrs Elżbieta Kuraś, conservators in the Decorative Arts Conservation Workshop at the National Museum in Kraków, for which I am very thankful.





2. Left wing of the diptych – *Nativity of Christ*, ca. 1500, ivory, metal, 7 × 18.5 cm, National Museum in Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Museum. Photo by National Museum in Kraków photo studio

the other two are standing behind him, facing each other. In the background, a procession of servants and squires on horses and three shepherds sitting in a clearing are shown. The faces and clothing of Mary, Christ, Joseph, and the shepherds show a strong resemblance to those on the left wing, although the faces and costumes of the kings are presented less consistently. The kneeling Magus has an elongated face with a high forehead, a long chin and shoulder-length, sleek hair. He is dressed in a long robe, with a hooded cape, adorned with decorative embroidery on the left sleeve. The king standing behind the kneeling Magus is shown *en-trois-quatre*. He is holding a *pyx* and has a full face with chubby, smooth cheeks without stubble. He wears a wanderer's short robe, which consists of a tunic with a slit at the back and a heavily folded coat. He wears hose and high-laced shoes with a folded upper edge. The outfit is complemented by an elongated hat with a decorated rolled-up brim (or perhaps a crown), and a tassel hanging from its top. The last of the three Magi, standing in the middle of the composition, also holds a *pyx* in his hands. He has a short, neatly trimmed beard, and shoulder-length hair. He wears a similar travel robe with long sleeves, girdled with a thin belt and a slit on his left leg. He has a short cape adorned with a large tassel hanging from its front, and his head is protected by a high cap with an upturned brim. All the men forming the procession have similar travel outfits. The shepherds are dressed in the same way as those shown on the left side of the diptych, in short tunics and hoods.

elongated, with accentuated eyelids and eyebrows. His mouth has a frowning expression, its corners turned downwards. Joseph's hair is parted on top of his head; shoulder-length, it is forming a neat lock hidden beneath his hood. In his left hand he is holding a staff, and in his right, a lit candle. Mary and Joseph are dressed similarly: in long, heavily draped robes forming rather stiff U- and V-shaped folds. The facial features of the shepherds and angels, although shown from afar, are also quite diverse. The wings of the angels are carefully sculpted, with detailed, accentuated feathers. The shepherds are dressed in long pants and tunics with hooded coats draped over their shoulders and hats. In their hands, they hold shepherds' staffs and bundles. The angels wear trailing robes, heavily folded and elongated at the feet.

On the right wing of the diptych, the *Adoration of the Magi* is shown (see: Fig. 3) – this scene is composed similarly to that on the left wing. Mary is sitting upright, holding a naked Christ, who is sitting on her lap, and making a gesture of a blessing. Joseph is standing directly behind them, under the roof of the stable, which has a big hole in it revealing the roof truss. One of the kings is kneeling down;

As mentioned before, so far the diptych has not been a subject of extended research. The reason for this might be the fact that this particular ivory is quite difficult to classify, and that at first glance it does not fit into any stylistic tradition typical of medieval ivories. Instead, it resembles an enamelled or a painted work due to its “piled up” composition and rather detailed features of the characters such as accentuated brows, hair, eyelids, and eyes with visible pupils. The lack of architectural decoration, a considerably larger number of figures or details, the more correct attempt at showing perspective and landscape, and finally, the diversity and historical accuracy in the depiction of costumes (especially in the *Adoration of the Magi* scene) indicate that the work falls within the artistic tendencies characteristic of late Gothic art, or even of the early Northern European Renaissance. At the end of the fourteenth century, ivories lost some of their earlier quality, which in the literature is associated with various geopolitical crises. At that time, Europe’s strong commercial relationship with Africa began to weaken,<sup>23</sup> whereas epidemics of infectious diseases and natural disasters decimating the population became more frequent. How-

ever, the ivory trade did not stop completely. This material was still used, albeit not in all their works, in the circle of the Italian Embriachi workshop (active first in Florence, and then in Venice).<sup>24</sup> Their somewhat stiff and conservative style of figures clashed with the new, more naturalistic tendencies developing in Northern and Central Europe.<sup>25</sup> The Embriachi workshops were well recognized due to their accessibility and the lower prices they offered, but the Northern European workshops still functioned, produced, and developed new iconography well into the fifteenth century. However, these workshops and artistic centres have definitely received less recognition than the earlier ones, which had been studied much more carefully since the beginning of twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> Many researchers dismissed



3. Right wing of the diptych – *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1500, ivory, metal, 7 × 18.5 cm, National Museum in Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Museum. Photo by National Museum in Kraków photo studio

23 S. Guérin, *Avorio d'ogni ragione: the supply of elephant ivory to northern Europe in the Gothic era*, “Journal of Medieval History”, 36, 2010, pp. 156–174. See also: A. Cutler, *The craft in ivory*, Washington 1995.

24 P. Williamson, G. Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings 1200–1550*, London 2014, vol. 2, pp. 780–781; M. Tomasi, *Monumenti d'avorio. I dossali degli Embriachi e i loro committenti*, Pisa 2010.

25 P. Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe*, London 2006, p. 280.

26 In his opus magnum, Raymond Koechlin (*Les ivoires gothiques français*, vol. 1–3, Paris 1924) attempted to divide similar groups of ivories into the particular workshops, for example *l'atelier du diptyque de Kremsmunster* or *l'atelier du diptyque dit du trésor de Soissons*. Since then, many of the works were attributed to different workshops or artists, but his general classification was the first complex one and is, in some cases, still relevant today.



the later ivories by deeming them mass-produced, and their style “dry”.<sup>27</sup> Even in a newer literature some were considered nineteenth-century forgeries due to their “suspiciously modern” or unusual compositions.<sup>28</sup>

Fortunately, the interest in the late medieval ivories has been gradually rising, and lately some of the most interesting examples were a topic of broader studies. The most relevant research on this subject is included in the articles of Catherine Yvard<sup>29</sup> and Ingmar Reesing.<sup>30</sup> Yvard’s article is particularly important to my considerations.<sup>31</sup> She distinguished a group of ivory works, the style of which can be linked to Parisian illuminated manuscripts from the fifteenth century, especially those produced by the master of *Grandes Heures de Rohan*.<sup>32</sup> However that was not at all a new phenomenon. As early as in the beginning of the fourteenth century, the compositions and details of ivories were closely related to those of illuminated manuscripts – many similarities occur especially between the secular manuscripts and ivories.<sup>33</sup> An ivory casket panel in New York<sup>34</sup> might be a good example of that – its architectural decoration and outfits of the characters strongly resemble the architecture and the courtiers visible in some miniatures in the manuscript of Guillaume de Machaut’s *Le Remède de Fortune*, painted by the Master of the *Le Remède de Fortune* ca. 1350.<sup>35</sup> In the fourteenth century, we observe some cases of illuminators working as painters on decorating ivories, applying polychromies, sometimes even the whole painted figural and ornamental decoration.<sup>36</sup> The ivory booklet in London,<sup>37</sup> made entirely of elephant tusk with painted-on decoration, is an example of such practices.<sup>38</sup> It is dated between 1330 and 1340

27 P. Williamson, *An Introduction to Medieval Ivory Carvings*, London 1982, p. 19.

28 Charles Little (*The art of Gothic ivories: studies at the crossroads*, “Sculpture Journal”, 23, 2014, No. 1, pp. 22–23) mentions a case of some ivories that were considered a forgery produced in the nineteenth century. However due to the radiocarbon tests, now we know that those ivories should be in fact dated to the fifteenth century.

29 C. Yvard, *Translated images: from Print to Ivory in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century*, in: *Gothic Ivory Sculpture: Content and context*, eadem (ed.), London 2017, pp. 57–67.

30 I. Reesing, *From ivory to pipeclay: The reproduction of late medieval sculpture in Lower Countries*, “Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art”, 67, 2017, issue 1, pp. 256–285.

31 Yvard’s text was prepared for a conference that was extremely important for research on medieval ivory works (*Gothic Ivory Sculpture. Old Questions, New Directions*, London, 23–24 March 2012), see: <[http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/stories/yvard\\_news/yvard\\_news02.html](http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/stories/yvard_news/yvard_news02.html)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

32 Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris (further: BNF), Ms. Lat. 9471.

33 More detailed study on this topic was conducted by Gerhardt Schmidt (*Die Wiener “Herzogs-werkstatt” und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas*, in: *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister*, idem [ed.], Vienna, Böhlau, 1992, pp. 142–174, especially p. 159). See also: F. Avril, *Un moment méconnu de l’enluminure française: le règne de Jean le Bon*, “Archeologia”, 162, 1982, pp. 24–31; D. Leo, *Authorial presence in the illuminated Machaut manuscripts* [unpublished PhD thesis], New York University, Institute of Fine Arts, 2005; Ch. T. Little, *The art of Gothic ivories*, pp. 13–29.

34 Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (further: Met), inventory no. 17.190.194. It is dated ca. 1400 – 1425, see: <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464151>> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

35 Paris, BNF, Ms. Fr. 1586, fol. 51, see: Ch. T. Little, *The art of Gothic ivories*, p. 24.

36 C. Yvard, *Translated Images*, p. 57.

37 Victoria & Albert Museum in London (further: V&A), inventory no. 11-1872.

38 Similar works have not survived in a large number – there are also writing tablets with painted decorations in New York (Met, inventory no. 1982.60.399) dating back to 1300 – carving, and 1320–1325 – painting, see: P. Williamson, G. Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, vol. 1, pp. 353–354. See also: C. Yvard, *Gothic ivories and their owners: an overview*, in: *A Reservoir of Ideas: Essays in Honour of Paul Williamson*, G. Davies, E. Townsend (eds.), London 2017, pp. 194, 202 (appendix no. 37).



and attributed to a Cologne workshop.<sup>39</sup> Unfortunately, there is no later evidence of illuminators decorating ivories, or perhaps it is yet to be discovered.

The appearance and fast popularisation of engravings, which were a much more convenient and “handy” medium, gradually displaced illuminated manuscripts as formal and stylistic inspirations for late medieval ivories. Émile Mâle<sup>40</sup> and Richard Randall<sup>41</sup> pointed to the printed versions of the *Pauperum Bible* and *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, as well as sacred-themed engravings,<sup>42</sup> as *sui generis* prototypes for the ivories, just as the illuminated manuscripts before them. There are many examples of late medieval ivories copying the compositions of the engravings by the artists such as Martin Schongauer or Master E.S. Prints from the workshop of Master E.S. dating from around 1450–1467 were especially popular. The ivories that followed their model depicted scenes from the life of Virgin Mary and Christ – *Christ Carrying the Cross*,<sup>43</sup> the *Annunciation*<sup>44</sup> and the *Adoration of the Magi*.<sup>45</sup> There are at least three surviving ivory medallions<sup>46</sup> almost exactly reproducing the last two mentioned compositions.<sup>47</sup> One of the medallions depicting the *Annunciation* in the Cleveland Museum of Art (see: Fig. 4), linked to the Middle Rhenish workshop, even bears an engraved atelier signature, reminiscent of a watermark, on its back.<sup>48</sup> Belonging to the same group is the ivory diptych in Historisches Museum in Basel, dated ca. 1470–1500.<sup>49</sup> The scenes of the *Annunciation* and the *Nativity* therein were also based on the Master E.S. engravings.<sup>50</sup> Another popular artist, whose engravings were frequently used as models for the ivories,



4. Medallion with the scene of the *Annunciation*, ca. 1470, ivory, 10.2 cm, Cleveland Museum of Art. Photo by Cleveland Museum of Art

and a triptych with painted wings in Lyon (Musée des Beaux-Arts, inventory no. L 422), dated between 1270–1300. For more information, see: *Images in Ivory. Precious Objects of the Gothic Age* (exhibition catalogue, Detroit Institute of Art, 9 March – 11 May 1997, Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, 22 June–31 August 1997), P. Barnet (ed.), Detroit, Mich. – Princeton N.J. 1997, p. 59, fig. IV-10.

39 P. Williamson, G. Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, vol. 1, pp. 352–357.

40 É. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France*, Paris 1908, p. 242.

41 R. Randall Jr., *Masterpieces of Ivory at the Walters Art Gallery*, New York 1985, cat. no. 356.

42 Ch. Vivet-Peclet, *Le Baiser de paix de Noirétable*, “Bulletin de la Diana”, 66, 2007, No. 1, pp. 67–92.

43 R. Randall Jr., *The Golden Age of Ivory: Gothic Ivory Carvings in North American Collections*, New York 1993, cat. no. 170.

44 Ibidem, p. 15, fig. 6.

45 Ibidem, p. 116. See also: H. Huth, *Ein verlorener Stich des Meisters E. S.*, in: *Festschrift Adolph Goldschmidt, zu seinem Siebzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 74–79.

46 The Cleveland Museum of Art, inventory no. 17.7; The Honolulu Academy of Arts, inventory no. 1167.1; V&A, inventory no. A.41-1923.

47 R. Randall, *The Golden Age of Ivory*, p. 115, fig. 170, p. 116, fig. 171.

48 Ibidem, p. 116, fig. 171.

49 *Spätmittelalter am Oberrhein: Alltag, Handwerk und Handel 1350–1525* (exhibition catalogue, Badisches Landesmuseum, 29 September 2001 – 3 February 2002), Karlsruhe, 2001, no. 203, p. 112.

50 Historisches Museum Basel, inventory no. 1956.115.



5. Left wing of the diptych with the scene of *Saint George slaying the dragon*, 1440–1470, ivory, 4.8 × 7.7 cm, Princeton University Art Museum. Photo by Princeton University Art Museum

6. Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint George and the Dragon*, ca. 1432–1435, oil on panel, 14.3 × 10.5 cm, National Gallery of Art in Washington. Photo by National Gallery of Art



was Israhel van Meckenem. His *Madonna of the Rosary* (or *Virgin of the Rosary*), ca. 1480,<sup>51</sup> inspired the ivory plaque, now in Museo Nazionale del Bargello<sup>52</sup> and the *pax* in the parish church in Noirétable (France, dep. Loire).<sup>53</sup> The compositions of the ivories follow closely the arrangements of the engravings, with perhaps just a few changes in the layout determined mostly by the differences in the medium and size. Engravings were the most replicated models for the fifteenth and sixteenth century ivories but certainly not the only ones. Richard Randall also pointed out that many such ivories were products of Dutch origin, attributed primarily to Utrecht workshops, and were modelled on panel painting, especially that of Jan van Eyck.<sup>54</sup> On the left wing of the diptych in Princeton,<sup>55</sup> *Saint George killing the dragon* is presented (see: Fig. 5). This image copies directly the composition of the lost picture painted by Jan van Eyck, known from its copy by Rogier van der Weyden, kept today in National Gallery in Washington (see: Fig. 6).<sup>56</sup> In Toronto,

51 Art Institute of Chicago (further: AIC), inventory no. 1956.836, see: <<https://www.artic.edu/artworks/3752/the-madonna-of-the-rosary>> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

52 Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence (further: MNB), inventory no. 156 Carrand. The plaque was recently dated ca. 1500–1530 and attributed to the Flemish or Netherlandish workshop, see: I. Ciseri, *Gli avori del Museo Nazionale del Bargello*, Firenze 2018, pp. 366–368.

53 Parish church in Noirétable, see: <[http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/56E64FAB\\_86adf5a8.html](http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/56E64FAB_86adf5a8.html)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

54 R. Randall Jr., *Dutch Ivories of the Fifteenth Century*, “Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek”, 45, 1994, p. 128.

55 Princeton University Art Museum, inventory no. Y1956-136.

56 National Gallery of Art in Washington DC, inventory no. 1966.11.





there is a sculptural group of the *Adoration of the Magi* (see: Fig. 7),<sup>57</sup> installed into the *pax*, which can be linked to a painting in Karlsruhe. It was made by the Master of the Salem Altar around 1500 in addition to the Upper Rhenish *Adoration of the Magi* in papier-maché (polychromed and gilded) from around 1470–1480, now in New York (see: Fig. 8).<sup>58</sup> The examples presented above indicate that the ivories could have drawn not only on mobile patterns, such as illuminated paintings or leaflets, but also on panel painting, or even on other less popular artistic techniques.

Catherine Yvard in her study focused mainly on the activity of the versatile artist called the Master of the Very Small Hours of Anne of Brittany (*Maître des Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*), also known as the Master of the Unicorn Hunt (*Maître de la Chasse à la Licorne*). The so-called *Horae ad usum Romanum* of Anne of Brittany, dated 1497–1498,<sup>59</sup> is a work associated with this illuminator as well. The artist was once identified as Philipp Pigouchet,<sup>60</sup> but more recently – and more likely – as Jean d'Ypres,<sup>61</sup> who was active in Paris between

7. The *Adoration of the Magi* group, remounted as a *pax*, ca. 1450, ivory and metal-work, 22.7 × 13 × 8.7 cm, The Thomson Collection, Art Gallery of Ontario. Photo by J. Cherry after: J. Lowden, *Medieval Ivories and works of art*, Ontario 2008, pp. 110–111

8. *Adoration of the Magi*, 1470–1480, cartapesta (papier maché) with polychromy and gilding, 29 × 22.4 × 4.5 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

57 Art Gallery of Ontario in Toronto, inventory no. 29120, see: J. Lowden, J. Cherry, *Medieval ivories and works of art: the Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario*, Ontario 2008, p. 110.

58 Met, inventory no. 2016.438, see: J. Höfler, *Der Meister E.S.: Ein Kapitel europäischer Kunst des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 2007, p. 172, no. 12, fig. 69.

59 BNF, Ms. Lat. 3120.

60 P. Williamson, G. Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, vol. 1, pp. 404–405.

61 N. Reynaud, F. Avril, *Les Manuscrits à Peintures en France 1440–1520*, Paris 1993, pp. 265–270. Jean d'Ypres was a son of another illuminator, Colin d'Amiens, known as the Master of Coëtivy,





9. *Pax* with the scene of the *Dormition of the Virgin Mary*, ca. 1480–1500, ivory, 12.7 × 21.3 cm, Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Photo by Rijksmuseum-Stichting

10. *Pax* with *Saint Roch*, end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, ivory, 9.5 × 15 cm, Museo Correr in Venice. Photo after: C. Yvard, *Translated images: from Print to Ivory in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century*, in: *Gothic Ivory Sculpture: Content and context*, eadem (ed.), London 2017, pp. 57–67



1496 and 1508.<sup>62</sup> He was a skilled painter and engraver but also practised in various fields of decorative arts, such as gold, silver, and enamel.<sup>63</sup> He is thought to be the author of a series of engravings (metalcuts) for the popular book of hours (*Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis ad usum Romanum*), specifically their earliest edition, dated precisely on 22 May 1496, printed by Simon Vestre (or Vostre).<sup>64</sup> In museum collections all over the world, several other copies of this manuscript have survived, including a single copy at the Princes Czartoryski Library in Kraków.<sup>65</sup> Yvard and Reesing, distinguished a fairly large group of ivories, the compositions of which follow closely the images illustrating the manuscript. The most duplicated composition from the Hours were the scenes of the *Dormition of Mary* (see: Fig. 9),<sup>66</sup> and of the *Crucifixion*, shown on the whole series

see: Ph. Lorentz, *La peinture à Paris au xv<sup>e</sup> siècle: un bilan (1904–2004)*, in: *Primitifs français. Découvertes et redécouvertes* (exhibition catalogue, Louvre, February–May 2004), D. Thiébaud (ed.), Paris 2004, p. 86–107.

<sup>62</sup> Ph. Lorentz, *La peinture à Paris*, pp. 86–107.

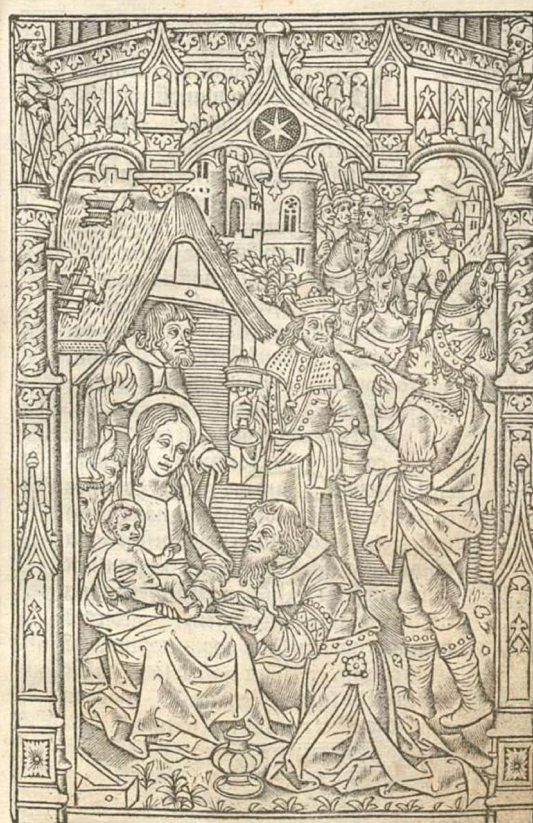
<sup>63</sup> C. Yvard, *Translated images*, p. 58.

<sup>64</sup> I. Nettekoven, *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose der Sainte Chapelle und die Pariser Buchkunst um 1500*, Brepols 2004, p. 120. The copy of *Horae ad usum Romanum* by Simon Vostre is held (and fully digitalized) in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München, Inc.c.a. 247 g, <[http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00074437/image\\_1](http://daten.digital-sammlungen.de/bsb00074437/image_1)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

<sup>65</sup> BCzart, MS 308 II Inc. A copy in BCzart (dating to 1498) is also digitalized and available via <<http://mbc.malopolska.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=2813&dirids=1>> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

<sup>66</sup> The *paxes* in Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (further: RM), inventory no. BK-2003-6, and in Gandur Foundation in Geneva, inventory no. FGA-AD-BA-116.





E.iii.

of *paxes*, modelled on another metalcut by Jean d'Ypres,<sup>67</sup> the most interesting of those currently exhibited in Turin<sup>68</sup> and in Liverpool.<sup>69</sup> One of the most popular and replicated woodcuts depicting the silhouette of Saint Roch and an angel presenting his plague wound, also served as a model for a group of ivory *paxes*, for example those held in Museo Correr in Venice (see: Fig. 10).<sup>70</sup> Not only the full-paged engravings inspired the ivory carvers. The varied silhouettes of the Sibyls – the female prophets shown on the border illustrations from Wolfgang Hopyl's and Narcisse Bruno's *in-octavo* book of hours<sup>71</sup> appeared also on the surface of the *pyx*, now in Musée Thomas Henry in Cherbourg, while the scene of preparing for a game of "kick foot" in a tilt yard from another incunabulum (1514) was shown on the comb, in the collection of Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.<sup>72</sup> For the analysis of the Kraków diptych, two engravings from the series by Jean d'Ypres for Simon Vestre are important – the *Nativity of Christ*<sup>73</sup> and the *Adoration of the Magi*<sup>74</sup> (see: Fig. 11, 12). Our ivory quite

11. Jean d'Ypres for Simon Vestre, *Nativity of Christ*, *Horae ad usum Romanum*, fol. d8r, 22 May 1496, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Photo by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

12. Jean d'Ypres for Simon Vestre, *Adoration of the Magi*, *Horae ad usum Romanum*, fol. e4r, 22 May 1496, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich. Photo by Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

67 Library of Congress in Washington DC (further: LC), inventory no. Incun. 1500 BX2080. A2, fol. 118v.

68 Turin, Palazzo Madama – Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, inventory no. 131/AV.

69 Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, inventory no. M8031.

70 Museo Correr in Venice (further: MC), inventory no. Cl. XVII n. 7.

71 LC, Rosenwald 451, fol. M5r, see: C. Yvard, *Translated images*, p. 60; I. Nettekoven, *Der Meister der Apokalypsenrose der Sainte Chapelle*, p. 124, no. 15, fig. 233.

72 Walters Art Museum, inventory no. 71.266

73 Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (further: BSB), Inc.c.a. 247 g, fol. d8r.

74 BSB, Inc.c.a. 247 g, fol. e4r.





**13.** *Pax* with the scene of the *Nativity of Christ*, last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, ivory, gilding, 10 × 14 cm, Palazzo Madama – Museo Civico d'Arte Antica in Turin. Photo after: S. Castronovo, F. Crivello, M. Tomasi, *Collezioni del Museo Civico d'Arte Antica di Torino. Avori medievali*, Turin 2016, p. 217

As the example of the strong influence of d'Ypres engravings, Yvard also mentioned a silver, niello diptych in New York, dated around 1500<sup>78</sup> and attributed to the Parisian workshop,<sup>79</sup> repeating the scenes of the *Nativity* and the *Adoration of the Magi* (see: Fig. 14). Also in this case, the composition was not carefully repeated; there are some slight differences between the silverwork and the engraving as well as the ivory, especially in the formation of the folds of the robes, the lack of canopies or niches. The landscape was expanded in comparison to the ivory in Kraków – the buildings were added in the background, mainly in the scene of the *Adoration*. In both cases, the architectural decoration was reduced, but in the Kraków diptych the elements of the landscape were limited in favour of the foreground characters. Despite these differences, there is no doubt that both works share many similarities and were based on one prototype, which was the Jean d'Ypres engraving – maybe they even influenced one another. Almost all the ivories based on the d'Ypres works share the obvious similarities to their models – such as full, round faces, realistic features with visible pupils carved into the material, as well as heavy, rich folds of the outfit's fabrics. Most of the ivories, especially the *paxes*, also repeat the expanded architectural decoration visible on

accurately reproduces the printed compositions, except for the upper architectural decorations (gables), as well as the borders with the characters of the prophets, which were completely left out.<sup>75</sup> The artist copied very faithfully the layout of the characters (he changed only the positions of the shepherds), most of their outfits, physiognomies, and attributes, without adding any new, dominating elements. He even copied the hole in the roof of the stable. The faithfulness of the ivories to their engraved archetypes is clearly visible in every example – it is very likely that the sculptors could have worked with the available engravings, as well as other models. Yvard recalled a *pax* in Turin,<sup>76</sup> which also depicts the *Nativity* theme (see: Fig. 13) directly from the Jean d'Ypres metalcut,<sup>77</sup> but not as carefully or precisely as the diptych in Kraków. The figures are much rougher and the composition less developed, however in contrast to the Krakow diptych, the Turin piece was partly gilded – the gilding covered elements of architecture, hair, and Mary's halo.

75 There are some examples of the ivories that follow the compositions of Jean d'Ypres very closely, such as the plaque in the MNB, inventory no. 154 Carrand.

76 Palazzo Madama – Museo Civico d'Arte Antica in Turin, inventory no. 130/av.

77 C. Yvard, *Translated Images*, p. 59.

78 Ibidem, p. 59. See also: *Recent Acquisitions, A Selection: 1999–2000*, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin", 58, 2000, No. 2, p. 20.

79 Met, inventory no. 2000.152.





the engravings and/or the ornamental decorations of the bordures.<sup>80</sup> The diptych in Kraków differs from those rich layouts – its composition is more frugal and modest, as it was earlier pointed out. The features of the characters depicted on the leaves of the diptych are very similar to the engraved counterparts, and less similar to the other ivories mentioned above. The diptych in Kraków is completely unique due to subtler and lifelike features of the human figures. Its style resembles much more the delicate fashion of the niello diptych in New York or one of the many enamels, which were also quite often modelled on the Jean d'Ypres engravings, such as the plaque in Princes Czartoryski Museum, with the scene of the *Nativity*, dated rather broadly to the second half of the fifteenth century (see: Fig. 15).<sup>81</sup> The enamelled plaque almost entirely follows the main composition of the *Nativity* scene from a series of engravings made for Simon Vestre, with some slight additions and changes in the layout of the figures in the background. Ivory and enamel from Czartoryski collection share the same soft, almost liquid treatment of the hair and folds of the robes, mostly missing

**14.** Diptych with the scenes of the *Nativity of Christ* and the *Adoration of the Magi*, ca. 1500, silver, niello, gilt copper alloy, 13.9 × 20.8 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

80 A good example could be a plaque with the scene of the *Meeting of Saint Anne and Saint Joachim at the Golden Gate* in the MNB, inventory no. 154 C, see: I. Ciseri, *Gli Avori*, p. 363–366, cat. no. X. 4.

81 MNK MKCZ, inventory no. MNK XIII-1180, see: H. Fromowicz-Stillerowa, *Emalie malarskie z Limoges w zbiorach krakowskich*, PKHS III, Kraków 1923, p. 40. There are also two other plaques, less similar to the ivory diptych (inventory no. MNK XIII-1179 and MNK XIII-1180). One of the plaques (inventory no. MNK XIII-1179) is attributed to a Limoges artist Nardon Pénicaud, see: *Virtus et Splendor*, p. 119. Pénicaud often copied the compositions from prints, for example by Martin Schongauer; see the plaques with the scene of the *Annunciation* in the Met, ca. 1510–1520, inventory no. 14.40.698b, c.





15. Plaque with the scene of the *Nativity of Christ*, 1450–1500, enamel, gilded silver, 19.9 × 19.4 cm, National Museum in Kraków, Princes Czartoryski Museum. Photo by National Museum in Kraków photo studio

from the other ivories modelled on the engravings (their characteristic style seems to suggest production in the same artistic centre, most likely Netherlands). Another feature linking our ivory and the enamelled plaques is the lack of any architectural, expanded decoration of the borders. Similarities between later ivories and enamels were unfortunately never the subject of broader studies and should definitely be explored in the future. As early as in the middle of the thirteenth century there are some possible cases of ivories being produced in the same workshops as the monumental sculpture<sup>82</sup> – it is likely that enamels and ivories could have been manufactured by the same workshops, or maybe even the same artists in a similar manner.

As mentioned before, our diptych does not reveal many stylistic similarities to the other ivories, the compositions of which were based on the prints. However it shows some resemblance to the *pax* with the representation of *Saint Roch* in Museo Correr in Venice.<sup>83</sup> There are clear similarities between the depiction of the beard and the hair of Saint Roch and Saint Joseph, as well as two of the Magi in the *Adoration* scene – in both works, the saints' hair is slicked backed and divided into neat strands. Like the ivory in Kraków, the *pax* in Venice

82 Sarah Guérin (*An Ivory Virgin at the Metropolitan Museum, New York, in a Gothic sculptor's oeuvre*, "The Burlington Magazine", 154, 2012, No. 1311, pp. 400–401) suggests that the same artisans could be responsible for the production of ivory Virgins and stone tombs of king Robert the Pious and his wife, Constance of Arles, in the Saint-Denis abbey ca. 1260. The contemporary guild regulations allowed sculptors to work in various media.

83 MC, inventory no. Cl. xvii n.

was also modelled on a Parisian woodcut by Jean d'Ypres, from around 1490–1500.<sup>84</sup> One of the many engravings was glued to the bottom of a wooden lid of the so-called *coffret à estampe*,<sup>85</sup> dating to the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The first edition of Jean d'Ypres's engravings from 1496 is a *terminus ante quem* for a group of ivories repeating their compositions; however, these metalcuts and woodcuts became extremely popular and were widespread both as illustrations for printed books of hours and as individual cards. They spread all over the world and were reproduced for a long time after, even as late as the end of the sixteenth century, by Parisian engravers such as Thielman Kerver.<sup>86</sup> Some engravings were also used to decorate the *coffrets à estampe*, the purpose of which is still not certain. Perhaps they served as home- or portable altars, as pilgrim boxes or cases for liturgical books (especially missals).<sup>87</sup> *Coffrets à estampe* have survived to this day in large numbers (in all, about 130 examples), are consistent in their style, all dated between 1490 and 1510 and associated with French workshops operating between 1490 and 1550.<sup>88</sup> One of the *coffrets à estampe* with a coloured engraving showing the *Nativity* from the Jean d'Ypres series is currently exhibited in Chicago (see: Fig. 16).<sup>89</sup>

The number of surviving ivories following the compositions of the Jean d'Ypres series of engravings as well as the other printmakers, show the power of the print as an artistic medium. Most of those print-based ivories are small, devotional objects such as diptychs and *paxes* made to worship and touch from a close distance, preferably in the surroundings of the owner's room or a private chapel. The diptych in Kraków, which serves as the representation of this group, with certainty can be seen as an object of private devotion or "the medieval domestic devotion".<sup>90</sup> The production of those objects – relatively cheap, unlike the paintings or monumental



16. *Coffret à estampe* with the print with the scene of the *Nativity* on the cover, ca. 1490, wood, leather, iron, woodcut, 23.1 × 16.4 cm (woodcut); 22 × 33 × 15 cm (box), Art Institute of Chicago. Photo by Art Institute of Chicago

84 BNF, inventory no. Réserve EA-5 (O) - OBJET, see: I. Reesing, *From ivory to pipeclay*, p. 273.

85 M. Huynh, S. Lepape, *De la rencontre d'une image et d'une boîte: les coffrets à estampe*, "Revue des Musées de France", 2011, No. 4,1, pp. 37–50. S. Lepape, *When Assemblage Makes Sense: An Example of a Coffret à Estampe*, "Art in Print", 2, 2012, No. 4, pp. 9–14, <[https://artinprint.org/2014/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Art-in-Print\\_Vol\\_2-No\\_4.pdf](https://artinprint.org/2014/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/Art-in-Print_Vol_2-No_4.pdf)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

86 C. Yvard, *Translated Images*, p. 63.

87 M. Huynh, S. Lepape, *De la rencontre d'une image et d'une boîte*, pp. 37–50.

88 S. Lepape, *When Assemblage Makes Sense*.

89 AIC, inventory no. 2009.49.

90 J. Kolpacoff-Dean, *Medieval Domestic Devotion*, "History Compass", 11, 2013, Issue 1, pp. 65–76.





17. Relief with the *Man of Sorrows*, ca. 1500, ivory with paint and gilding, 8.6 × 6.5 × 1 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Photo by Metropolitan Museum of Art

Martin Schongauer.<sup>94</sup> The ivories based on the Jean d'Ypres works certainly fit into the same phenomenon.

Because of the circulation of graphic patterns, attribution of works modelled on them is extremely difficult. Some researchers were convinced of their northern French or Parisian,<sup>95</sup> northern Netherlandish,<sup>96</sup> Flemish,<sup>97</sup> or even Italian<sup>98</sup> provenance. Majority of those ivories are currently linked to the Netherlandish or Flemish workshops. The ivories from those regions were particularly receptive to the influence of prints coming from Paris at that time and prints from Simon Vestre's workshop were probably the most desirable and most often imitated.<sup>99</sup>

sculpture – was, as Reesing called it, a phenomenon typical for north-eastern Europe, especially in the Low Countries.<sup>91</sup> The prints' compositions were well known and recognized due to their number – it is possible that the person buying or ordering the ivory in the workshop was interested in the motifs that were recognizable and popular. In the fifteenth century a new middle class of city dwellers began to get richer and more influential. At the same time, the ivories stopped being such a big luxury, accessible only to the nobles and clergy, and they became much more affordable for the laity and pilgrims. The supply of ivory, which was temporarily cut in the late fourteenth century, flourished again due to the Portuguese merchants buying ivory from the suppliers in the West coast of Africa (known today as the Ivory Coast).<sup>92</sup> As Sarah Guérin pointed out, the new religious practices required new, suitable ivories such as plaques depicting the Man of Sorrows (see: Fig. 17),<sup>93</sup> many of which were based on the engravings by

91 I. Reesing, *From ivory to pipe clay*, s. 257.

92 S. Guérin, *Ivory Carving in the Gothic Era, Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries*, in: "Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History", 2000, <[http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/goiv/hd\\_goiv.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/goiv/hd_goiv.htm) (May 2010)> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

93 Met, inventory no. 1999.227.

94 P. Barnet, *An Ivory Relief of the Man of Sorrows in New York*, "The Sculpture Journal", 4, 2000, pp. 1–6, fig. 1, see: <<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/470346>> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

95 P. Williamson, G. Davies, *Medieval Ivory Carvings*, vol. 1, pp. 404–405.

96 F. Scholten, *Nederlandse ivoren pax uit de late middeleeuwen*, "Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum", 52, 2004, no. 1, pp. 3–23.

97 S. Castronovo, F. Crivello, M. Tomasi, *Avori medievali. Collezione del Museo Civico d'arte di Torino*, Savigliano 2016, cat. no. 54 and 55.

98 M. Gambier, *Una Città e il suo museo. Un secolo e mezzo di collezioni civiche veneziane*, Venice 1988, p. 81, no. I.129.

99 I. Reesing, *From ivory to pipeclay*, p. 272.

The evident popularity of the engravings, especially those showing the scenes from the life of Christ, could also point to the Low Countries as the origin of the diptych, as this is where the production of those small devotional pieces was very developed, and the engravings were certainly well known. Not only the engravings could be the direct source for the ivories though. The surviving, medieval clay moulds taken from the ivories based on known engravings suggest that the ivories could have been literarily mass-produced. In the Rijksmuseum there is such mould<sup>100</sup> taken from the ivory now in the British Museum,<sup>101</sup> as well as the original cast<sup>102</sup> taken from said mould. As Reesing explained, these terracotta pieces could have been held in the shops and served as models, and maybe even passed around, between the workshops, spreading the compositions throughout the Franco-Flemish region.<sup>103</sup> The case of the Princes Czartoryski diptych is especially puzzling due to the unprecedented faithfulness of the ivory to the engravings, as well as the niello diptych in New York and the other enamelled works, especially the one also in the Czartoryski collection. It is most likely that the ivory might have been manufactured in the Low Countries or even in Paris, which in the fifteenth century was still a major centre of the ivories' production. The popularity of the engravings designed by Jean d'Ypres for Simon Vostre in both of those artistic centres makes the attribution of the ivory particularly difficult. Even though the diptych in Kraków differs rather strongly from the other here mentioned ivories, attributed to the Netherlandish and Flemish workshops, the Low Countries remain the most probable place of production for our ivory. Simpler and subtler, less decorative composition of the diptych, might indicate that it had been produced in the workshop more acquainted with newly emerging renaissance tendencies. It seems that our ivory should be dated to the end of the fifteenth century (the *terminus ante quem* is the first, 1496 edition of the d'Ypres prints) or around 1500, after the niello diptych in Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>104</sup>

Ivories in the Polish collections can still be described as *terra incognita*. However the case of the diptych in the Princes Czartoryski Museum shows that the preserved, often forgotten or simply not yet recognized works of art can present some very complex questions and problems and should be an invitation to the broader, more profound studies. The topic of the diptych is still not exploited enough. More thorough research in the Princes Czartoryski Library could possibly tell us from whom the diptych was acquired, which would help further reconstruct the clique of Władysław's Czartoryski sellers, as well as shedding some light on the earlier history of the diptych.

<sup>100</sup> RM, inventory no. BK-2010-9-1. The work was discovered in Galgenveld in Leiden, ca. 1980.

It was dated ca. 1540, see: <<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/objects?q=terracotta+ivory&v=list&p=1&ps=10&st=Objects&ii=1#/BK-2010-9-1,1>> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

<sup>101</sup> The British Museum in London, inventory no. 1878,1101.34 (Dalton 326).

<sup>102</sup> RM, inventory no. BK-2010-9-2. Just as its moulded counterpart it was discovered in Galgenveld in Leiden, ca. 1980. It was dated ca. 1540, see: <<https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/search/object?q=terracotta+ivory&v=list&p=1&ps=10&st=Objects&ii=0#/BK-2010-9-2,0>> (accessed on 1.12.2021).

<sup>103</sup> I. Reesing, From ivory to pipeclay, pp. 260–261. In the RM there is also an ivory *pax* with the scene of the *Baptism of Christ* (inventory no. BK-2013-6). It shows resemblance to the terracotta mould and cast, as well as the *pax* in the British Museum.

<sup>104</sup> *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1999–2000*, p. 20.

## STRESZCZENIE

Wzorowany na rycinie – dyptyk z kości słoniowej ze scenami *Narodzenia Chrystusa* oraz *Pokłonu Trzech Króli* w kolekcji Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie Średniowieczne wyroby z kości słoniowej w zbiorach polskich nie były jak dotąd przedmiotem pogłębionych badań, ich obecność w literaturze przedmiotu ogranicza się do kilku monograficznych publikacji poświęconych najbardziej reprezentacyjnym dziełom oraz krótkich not w bazie *Gothic Ivories Project*. „Ivoirami” (jak nazywane są potocznie wyroby z kości) o średniowiecznej genezie, może się poszczycić jedynie kilka polskich muzeów i skarbców, a wśród nich Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie, posiadające największy w Polsce heterogeniczny zbiór tego typu zabytków. Tworzy go szesnaście obiektów, między innymi dwie pełnoplastyczne figurki Marii z Dzieciątkiem, krzywaśń pastorału, fragmenty polipytyku tabernakulowego oraz kilka dyptyków lub ich fragmentów. Wśród nich znajdują się prawdziwe arcydzieła rzeźby w kości słoniowej, wykonane w rozpoznanych warsztatach, między innymi *Madonna z Dzieciątkiem* łączona z *atelier* Mistrza dyptyku z Kremsmünster czy szkutuła z warsztatu rodziny Embriachich.

Za pozyskanie większości ivoirów do kolekcji Czartoryskich odpowiedzialny był założyciel krakowskiego Muzeum – Władysław książę Czartoryski. Nieco w oderwaniu od wizji kolekcjonerskiej swojej babki, Izabeli z Flemingów Czartoryskiej, natomiast w nurcie dziewiętnastowiecznego kolekcjonerstwa, charakteryzującego się zamiłowaniem do obiektów średniowiecznego i renesansowego rzemiosła artystycznego, książę Władysław samodzielnie oraz z pomocą swoich doradców pozyskiwał włoską i hiszpańską majolikę, emalie z Limoges, a także ivoiry<sup>1</sup>. Zróżnicowanie tych ostatnich pod względem typu, funkcji oraz stylu świadczy o tym, że Władysław Czartoryski swoje zakupy czynił raczej przypadkowo, być może pragnąc stworzyć reprezentacyjną grupę różnych dzieł z kości. Kolekcjonerskie motywacje księcia nie zostały jednak jak dotąd dokładnie rozpoznane, w przeciwieństwie do zainteresowań jego siostry, hrabiny Izabeli Działyńskiej.

Jednym z dzieł w kolekcji Czartoryskich, któremu poświęcono do tej pory niewiele uwagi, jest mierzący 14,5 cm wysokości i 18,5 cm szerokości, dobrze zachowany dyptyk z rzeźbionymi scenami *Narodzenia Chrystusa* oraz *Adoracji Dzieciątka*. Podobnie jak w przypadku większości ivoirów w zbiorach Czartoryskich, data oraz miejsce nabycia obiektu nie są znane, jednak Władysław Czartoryski najprawdopodobniej zakupił go w Paryżu. Po raz pierwszy dzieło, określone jako „diptyque flamande”, jest wzmiankowane w inwentarzu Hotelu Lambert z 1868 roku<sup>2</sup>.

Nietypowy dla średniowiecznych ivoirów styl krakowskiego dyptyku był najprawdopodobniej jedną z przyczyn nikłego zainteresowania tym dziełem. W jego przypadku elementy architektoniczne (fiale, wimpergi, fryzy arkadkowe) zostały całkowicie wyeliminowane na korzyść bardziej rozbudowanych partii krajobrazowych. Pojawiły się również perspektywa oraz zróżnicowanie planów, a także fizjonomii i kostiumów postaci ukazanych na skrzydłach dyptyku, przede wszystkim w scenie *Adoracji Dzieciątka* (*Pokłonu Trzech Króli*). Wyżej wymienione cechy plasują dyptyk wśród wyrobów wpisujących się w nowe tendencje artystyczne rozwijające się w Europie Północnej i Środkowej w xv wieku, po pewnym regresie tego rodzaju wytwórczości pod koniec xiv stulecia, spowodowanym między innymi kryzysami geopolitycznymi. Do niedawna ivoiry powstające na przełomie epoki gotyku i renesansu

1 T.F. de Rosset, *Polskie kolekcje i zbiory artystyczne we Francji w latach 1795–1819. Między „skarbnicą narodową, a galerią sztuki*, Toruń 2005.

2 Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich (dalej: BCzart.), rkps 12318, Spis zbiorów starożytności i sztuki w Hotelu Lambert 1868/69, ręką księcia Władysława spisany, s. 112.



pozostawały słabo rozpoznane, często klasyfikowane jako „produkcja masowa” lub nawet dziewiętnastowieczne falsyfikaty ze względu na ilość detali i nietypowe kompozycje. Ostatnio w literaturze zaobserwować można stopniowy wzrost zainteresowania tymi dziełami. Zaczęto przyglądać się im w kontekście funkcji, którą mogły pełnić w praktykach dewocyjnych, ale także stylu, który inaczej niż w przypadku wyrobów z XIII lub XIV stulecia nie nawiązywał już niemal wyłącznie do rzeźby monumentalnej. W XV wieku pojawiają się ivoiry, które stylem przypominają rękopisy iluminowane, między innymi te autorstwa mistrza *Grandes Heures de Rohan*<sup>3</sup>. Gdy doszło do zmiany medium – rękopisy zostały zastąpione poręczniejszymi i tańszymi rycinami, te ostatnie także zaczęto wykorzystywać jako źródło i nośnik wzorów dla wyrobów z kości. Dzieła popularnych i znanych rytowników takich jak Israhel van Meckenem, Martin Schongauer lub Mistrz E.S. były szczególnie pożądane. W zbiorach muzealnych zachowało się wiele przykładów ivoirów, których kompozycje powielają niemalże dokładnie ryciny wspomnianych mistrzów. Twórcy rzeźby w kości sięgali nie tylko po wzory pochodzące z charakteryzujących się niewielkimi rozmiarami rycin i miniatur, czerpali także z malarstwa, czego przykładem jest grupa holenderskich ivoirów wykonanych najpewniej w Utrechcie, wzorowanych na obrazach Jana van Eycka.

Catherine Yvard wyodrębniła grupę obiektów z kości słoniowej bezpośrednio wzorowanych na dziełach, których autorem był najprawdopodobniej Mistrz Bardzo Małych Godzinek Anny Bretońskiej (*Maître des Très Petites Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*), działający pod koniec XV wieku. Artystę tego identyfikuje się ostatnio z Jeanem d'Ypres, aktywnym w Paryżu między 1496 a 1508 rokiem<sup>4</sup>. Oprócz przywołanego dzieła przypisuje mu się także autorstwo serii rycin do popularnych godzinek *Horae Beatae Mariae Virginis ad usum Romanum*, a konkretnie edycji datowanej na 22 maja 1496 roku, wykonanej na zamówienie paryskiego drukarza Simona Vostre (Vestre). Najpopularniejszymi z tej serii były ryciny wyobrażające sceny *Zaśnięcia Marii*, *Narodzin Chrystusa* oraz *Pokłonu Trzech Króli*. Najczęściej to właśnie te przedstawienia powielano na dziełach z kości słoniowej. W scenach ukazanych na skrzydłach krakowskiego dyptyku zostały odwzorowane kompozycje dwóch rycin z serii dla Simona Vostre, choć z pominięciem obecnych na rycinie elementów architektonicznych oraz postaci proroków. Ryciny Jeana d'Ypres musiały cieszyć się ogromną popularnością, gdyż wpłynęły nie tylko na rzeźbę z kości słoniowej, ale także na wyroby złotnicze, między innymi srebrny dyptyk dekorowany niellem w Metropolitan Museum of Art w Nowym Jorku oraz emalie, jak plakieta ze sceną *Narodzenia* w Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich (nr inw. MNK XIII-1180), datowana na drugą połowę XV wieku. Tę ostatnią z krakowskim dyptykiem łączy pewna oszczędność i prostota kompozycji oraz rezygnacja z dekoracji architektonicznych na rzecz pejzażu.

Inaczej niż dzieła z kości wzorowane na rycinach autorstwa Jeana d'Ypres, cechujące się wyraźnym podobieństwem do swoich pierwowzorów i najprawdopodobniej powstałe jeśli nie w jednej pracowni, to w bliskim, zapewne niderlandzkim kręgu warsztatowym, dyptyk w Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich charakteryzuje się subtelnym modelunkiem postaci. Ze względu na szybką i prostą cyrkulację wzorców, jakich dostarczały ryciny, a także wymienianie między warsztatami modeli dla ivoirów, przypisanie dyptyku konkretnemu środowisku artystycznemu jest bardzo trudne. Wydaje się jednak, że dzieło może być wytworem jednego z warsztatów w Paryżu, który w XV wieku był wciąż silnym ośrodkiem wytwarzania

3 G. Schmidt, *Die Wiener „Herzogswerkstatt” und die Kunst Nordwesteuropas*, w: *Gotische Bildwerke und ihre Meister*, red. G. Schmidt, Vienna–Böhlau, 1992, s. 142–174, zwł. s. 159.

4 C. Yvard, *Translated images: from Print to Ivory in the Late Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Century*, w: *Gothic Ivory Sculpture: Content and context*, red. eadem, London 2017, s. 57–67.

wyrobów z kości, lub jednej z pracowni niderlandzkich, szczególnie podatnych na wpływy płynące z francuskiej stolicy.

Przypadek dyptyku w Muzeum Książąt Czartoryskich pokazuje, że ivoiry w polskich zbiorach zasługują na szersze badania zarówno pod kątem stylu, jak i funkcji. Ważne wydaje się także pogłębienie w przyszłości wiedzy na temat różnych aspektów pozyskiwania podobnych obiektów przez kolekcjonerów, przede wszystkim polskich. ●