

A BISHOP'S CROZIER
FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE ARIZONA STATE MUSEUM:
AN ESSAY IN ITS IDENTIFICATION

by
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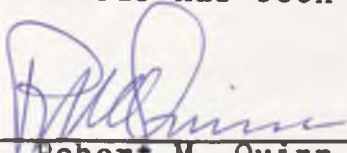
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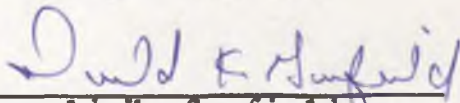
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PREFACE

In May of 1965 an ivory bishop's crozier was given to the Arizona State Museum by Miss Francis Budlong. I became aware of this artifact at the time I was ready to start work on my master's thesis in Art History. No research had been done on the crozier. My purpose in undertaking a study of it has been to provide the Museum staff with information which will increase their knowledge and appreciation of this specific object in their collection. The ultimate goal which I set for myself was to try to establish the crozier's date and place of origin.

I have been able to conclude this project with more decisive results than I had even hoped for. It would not have been possible without the resources of the University of Arizona Library. Through the kind offices of the Inter-Library Loan Department I was able to gain access to many obscure sources without which the research could not have been done. I had the encouragement of my two advising professors, Dr. Robert Quinn and Mr. Donald Garfield and the cooperation of Dr. Raymond Thompson and his staff at the Arizona State Museum. I am also indebted to those who corresponded with me: Danielle Gaborit of the Louvre, Richard Randall of the Walters Art Gallery, Francois Avril

of the Biblioteque Nationale and G. Viallenfond of the Musee Ancien Eveche in Evreux.

I am grateful to Ms. Helga Tiewes for providing me with many excellent photographs to work with. I am grateful to Dr. Walter Burkby for the X-rays which he took of the crozier for me. I also thank Dr. Henri Servin for translating some of my correspondence into French, Dr. Richard Jensen for doing some Latin translation for me and Ms. Tiewes for helping me with some German translation.

My special thanks go to Miss Eleanor Spencer, whose interest in the project set the wheels in motion which led to its final conclusion. I have also been greatly helped by the advice and interest shown by a number of friends. I could not have accomplished any of this however without the help and encouragement of my husband and family.

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ABSTRACT

The Arizona State Museum has in its collection a Gothic style bishop's crozier. The crozier is of carved ivory and includes a section painted with a miniature of the Ascent to Calvary. Through an examination of its style and iconography, the crozier is found to be a forgery. The sources of both the carving and painting are discussed in detail. The painting is identified as coming from the workshop of the Spanish Forger. This establishes the date of the crozier as late nineteenth or early twentieth century. The crozier is compared to other related ivory forgeries. The method of its construction is examined with the aid of radiography.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The subject of the following study is the bishop's crozier in the collection of the Arizona State Museum, cat. no. E-6337 a & b, (Fig. 1). Little or nothing was known about the provenance, date or authenticity of the object. The research for this thesis undertook to provide as thorough a body of information as possible about the crozier. For purposes of convenience, the piece under consideration is referred to as the Budlong crozier.

Background History of Croziers

The Budlong crozier falls under one of four types of staffs which served to symbolize the office and authority of bishops, abbots and abbesses. The earliest type of baculus appears to have been a short staff, topped with a ball, a small cross or some other ornament. A second and more common staff carried by bishops was the tau staff. The tau was abandoned in the West by the twelfth century, although its use continued in the East. A third form was a short staff, terminating in a simple curve, much like a walking stick. Irish staffs were of this type. It was from this form that the typical crozier, with its inward turning



Fig. 1. The Budlong Crozier Exhibited at the Arizona State Museum, 1965.

hook, developed in the tenth century. By the thirteenth century this fourth form of staff had superseded all others for use in the West. The Budlong crozier is typical of this type of staff.

The configuration of croziers was related to the shepherd's crook. An important early literary document from the twelfth century states that "because bishops are the shepherds of the Lord's flocks, as Moses and the apostles were, they bear the staff in their custody."¹

A typical crozier of the fourth type was composed of three principal parts: the volute, the socket and the staff (Fig. 2). The volute was usually decorated. From the eleventh century the serpent played an important part in this decoration. It also became the custom for the volute to enclose a religious scene. By the beginning of the twelfth century, the joints between the various sections of the crozier took the form of well defined knops. In the fourteenth century the knop between the volute and the socket developed into an elaborate little Gothic tempietto. Most often the staff was simply a long wooden stick with a metal tip but at other times it was decorated. Occasionally it was composed of six or eight sections joined by knops (Fig. 3).

1. Honorii Augustodunensis, Opera Omnia: Ex Codicibus Mss. et Editis Nunc Primum in Unum Collecta, accurante J.-P. Migne, in Patrologiae Latinae, 172 (Turnholti, Belgium: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1844), p. 610.

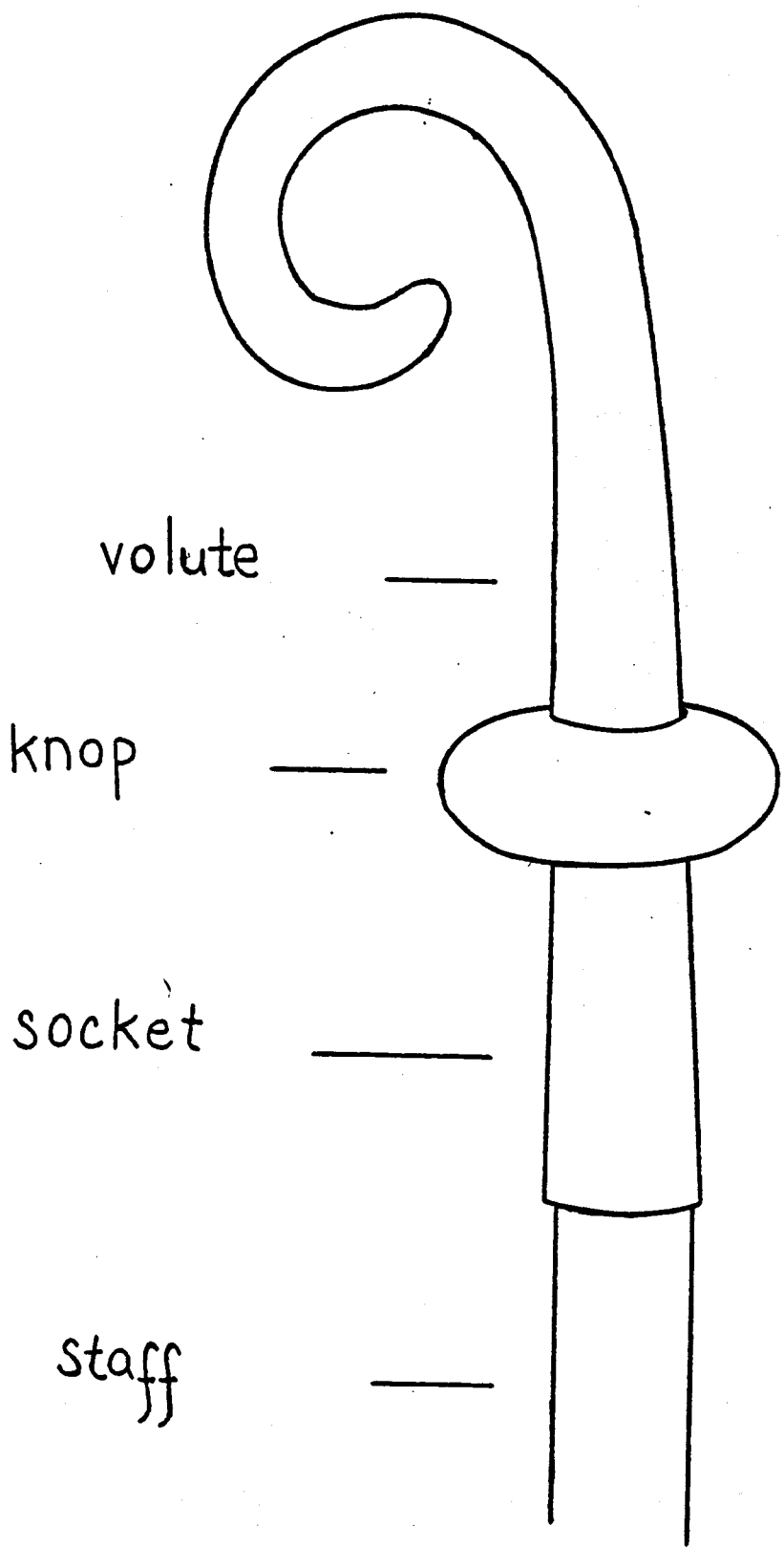


Fig. 2. A Schematic Drawing of a Crozier

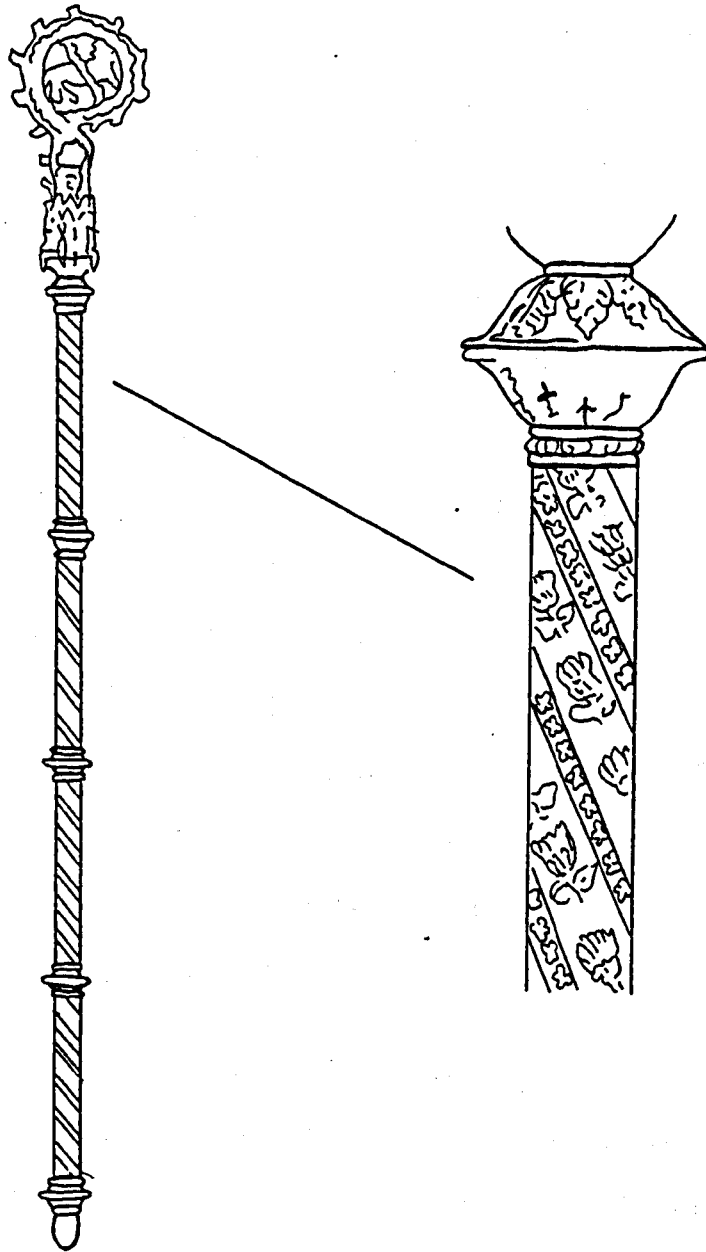


Fig. 3. A Sectioned Crozier Staff with a Spiral Layout, after Martin

A variety of materials were used in croziers: wood, horn, ivory, crystal, silver, gold, copper and bone. Symbolism infused every aspect of a medieval crozier. The extent to which this was carried can be observed in the remarks of Honorius in the twelfth century on the materials used for croziers. He said that the bone from which the volute was made, symbolized the hardness of the Law. It was incised or carved "since through the hardness of the Law the hardness of sinners is repressed." The wood of the staff represented the gentleness of the Gospel "since from the Tree of Life, which is Christ, doctrine is formed and the people are given the strength of oak." The precious material of the knop signified the divinity of Christ. This connected the bone section to the wood because "the Old Law is attached to the New Law by means of the divinity of Christ." The decorated top, according to Honorius, signified the Kingdom of Heaven. The sharp iron point at the bottom represented the Last Judgement.²

The Budlong Crozier

The bishop's crozier in the collection of the Arizona State Museum was the gift of Miss Francis Budlong "In loving memory of Jessy Margaret Wilson Budlong." The donor could not provide documentation on the crozier except that it had been purchased by her father from

2. Honorii Augustodunensis, p. 610.

T. M. Davis when he bought Mr. Davis's house. She indicated that the piece had been in her family for about seventy-five years. The crozier was received by the Museum on May 13, 1965.

Inquiry was made of three prominent art historians by the museum shortly after acquisition of the crozier.³ They gave their impressions of the crozier based on photographs. Their remarks were necessarily superficial but they pointed up the enigmatic nature of the crozier's identification. Italy, Spain and France were proposed as its place of origin, its date anywhere from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. They pointed out the possibility that the crozier was a copy or pastiche. One of the basic questions to be answered then, dealt with its authenticity.

The crozier was received in two sections because one of the junctions had broken away. It was therefore catalogued under part "a" and part "b". Section "a" consists of a carved ivory volute, section "b" of a painted ivory cylinder. The crozier is executed in the Gothic style. There exists, however, an inconsistency between its two sections. The painting is clearly in the style of the International Gothic, or turn of the fourteenth-fifteenth

3. J. G. Beckwith, Victoria and Albert Museum; Colin Eisler, New York University; Robert Quinn, University of Arizona. A summary of their remarks can be found on the Arizona State Museum catalogue card # E-6337.

century. The style of carving, however, appears to be earlier. This could be explained in several ways: the painting could have been a later addition; the carving could have been conservative; or the piece could be a pastiche intended to look as if it had been made in the Middle Ages. As the study progressed, many inconsistencies came to light. In the end it was concluded that the crozier was a forgery made in the late nineteenth century. The conclusive evidence to support this was the identification of the forger's workshop from which the painted section came.

Forgers do not work in creative isolation. They draw their images from authentic objects, photographs and engraved illustrations. They need to have some knowledge of iconography. They do not have the mentality of the age from which their forged piece supposedly comes, therefore they make mistakes. They must have technical knowledge as well. In order to fool the collector and the expert, they must recreate the character of early pigments, materials and techniques.

We will examine the Budlong crozier first in light of the sources upon which the forger drew for its design and secondly, in light of his handling of techniques and materials. As the crozier is in two parts and each part deals largely with different sources and different techniques, they will be considered separately.

CHAPTER II

SECTION "A" OF THE CROZIER

Section "a" consists of the upper portion of the crozier, including the volute, socket and two knops (Fig. 4). The overall length of this portion is 356mm.

Description

The shaft of the volute curves gracefully back on itself and ends in the head of a dragon. The dragon's head is characterized by prominent eyes and ears. The shaft is decorated toward the base with a foliated scroll. At the end toward the dragon's head it is decorated with a reticulated scale design. The two designs are separated by an inscription reading AVE MARIA GRAPLEM, incised into an area at the top of the volute. The decoration and inscription are repeated on both sides. The spine of the shaft is cusped with small dentils which form the dorsal of the dragon. From the base of the shaft, a branch springs upward and is grasped in the mouth of the dragon. The curve of the volute encloses a scene of the Annunciation. The Angel Annunciate steps forward, the toe of his left foot on the branch, his right foot on the head of the dragon. He extends his left arm while his right hand holds a scroll. A flowering twig on the branch separates the figure of the



Fig. 4. Volute, Section a, of the Budlong Crozier.

angel from that of the Virgin. The Virgin is crowned. She stands facing the Angel, her left hand raised and her right hand holding a book. At the base of the shaft, where it joins the uppermost knop, is a ring of palmettes. This knop is carved at top and bottom with a row of alternating rosettes and foliage, bordered on one side with a thin rope design. Between these two rows is a band decorated with an undulating ribbon against a background of fine cross-hatching.

The socket consists of a cylinder of ivory against which three figures are carved in low relief: an old man, crowned and bearded and holding a scroll; a young man, bare-headed, holding a book; and a female figure, crowned and holding a jar. Each figure is set under a pointed arch and against a diapered background. Beneath the feet of each is a cylindrical platform. Between each is a snake, head down, tail curled beneath the knop. The snakes are in high relief and undercut. Their sides are decorated with hatching and their backs with cross-hatching.

At the bottom of the socket is another knop. It is also decorated at top and bottom with a row of rosettes and foliage. This time, however, the rows are separated by a band of lattice-like reticulation.

Sources

The volute is largely copied from a thirteenth century Limoges crozier done in copper enamel. Limoges, the capitol of Limousin, had been famous since Roman days

for its gold and silverwork. In the first half of the twelfth century a school of enameling developed, linked to the traditions of the centers of the Meuse and the Lower Rhine. This school continued into the fourteenth century. At first the work was done in monastic workshops. By the late twelfth and early thirteenth century these had been replaced by lay industries. Large quantities of liturgical objects in champlevé copper enamel were produced. Many croziers from these workshops still exist. Duplicates and triplicates of the same patterns have survived.

The Limoges croziers are of an easily recognizable style (Fig. 5a, b). The design and iconographic vocabulary tended to be limited. In the early Limoges croziers a three or five petalled flower sprang from the end of the curl of the volute, spreading out to fill the whole space. The type which was popular in the late thirteenth century emphasized the serpentine quality of the volute. The spiral often terminated in the head of a serpent or dragon. The crook was decorated with a reticulated, scalework pattern or with foliated scrollwork, or with a combination of the two. The volute enclosed a figure scene. A limited number of subjects were used, the most popular being St. Michael and the Dragon and the Annunciation. These croziers almost always had three snakes applied, head down, at equal distances around the side of the socket.



a. Early Style, Floral



b. Late Style, Figural
St. Michael

Fig. 5. Thirteenth Century Limoges Croziers

Marquet de Vasselot records six Limoges examples of the prototype of the Budlong crozier.⁴ No other pattern has survived in such a large quantity. Two of these prototype croziers are in positions of prominence, one in the Walters Art Gallery and one in the Louvre (Fig. 6). The design of these is identical. The two are distinguishable, however, by small details of execution. Most significant to us is the shape of the heads of the serpents on the socket. On the Walters piece the snakes are snub-nosed while on the Louvre crozier their noses are elongated and the modelling of the heads and eyes is handled with great detail. The snakes on the Budlong crozier copy those of the Louvre very closely. I believe it is safe to assume that the Louvre crozier was the actual model used by the forger.

The Louvre acquired its crozier in 1828.⁵ Whether it was on exhibition at the time that the forger was active, or whether he had other access to it, is not known. There were also numerous publications between 1853 and 1916 which included illustrations of it.⁶ The details which the Budlong crozier copies however, are so exact that we know they could not have been done from a published drawing, since such drawings are always misleading. This can easily be

4. Jean Joseph Marquet de Vasselot, Les crosses limousines du XIII^e siècle (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie, 1941), p. 233-237.

5. Marquet de Vasselot, p. 234.

6. Marquet de Vasselot, p. 234.



a. Louvre Crozier



b. Walters Crozier

Fig. 6. Prototypes of the Budlong Crozier

illustrated by comparing the Louvre crozier with a drawing of it published in 1856 by Barraud and Martin in their work on Pastoral Staves.⁷ Looking first at the configuration of the heads of the applied serpents, the drawing exaggerates them in a way which is not copied by the forger. Neither is the cross-hatching on their backs reproduced in the drawing. This is true also of the cross-hatching behind the rosettes on the upper knop as well as on the tips of the adjacent buds. The form of the leaves of these buds is more closely duplicated between the original and the Budlong copy than it is in the drawing. The inscription is miscopied in the drawing. The last word reads PLA instead of PLEM as in the original and on the Budlong crozier.⁸ I nonetheless believe it very possible that the forger may have been familiar with this publication on pastoral staves as will be mentioned later, although it could not have been his primary source for the Budlong crozier.

We have established with reasonable certainty that the forger used either the original or a photograph of the Louvre crozier as his model. He however made a number of changes and additions to his creation. He copied the shaft

7. Arthur Martin, "Le baton pastoral" in Melanges d'archaeologie, IV (Paris: Poussielgue-Rusand, 1856), fig. 105, p. 230.

8. Marquet de Vasselot, p. 234, also misquotes this inscription. He says that it reads "Ave Maria: Gra: Plena." The color reproduction in Isa Belli Barsali, European Enamels (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1969), fig. 27, p. 69, clearly shows that it reads "Ave Maria: Gra: Plem."

of the volute in every detail: the placement and use of the foliate and reticulate designs, the dentil cusping, the dragon's head biting the branch, including its bulgy-eyed character, the inscription, and the ring of palmettes. He portrayed the Annunciation in the center of the volute. Although the style and iconography differ, the position of the figures is essentially the same. The knop was closely copied except for the undulating ribbon introduced into the central band. The stones in the centers of the rosettes were replaced by a flower center carved into the ivory. The snakes on the socket conform in every way except that the ears were minimized and the tails more tightly curled. On the socket of the Louvre crozier, the space between the serpents was filled with a foliated scroll. Placement of figures in this area by the forger was totally innovative and must come from another source.

The main differences between the forgery and its model can be found in certain aspects of the portrayal of the Annunciation, in the human figures added to the socket and in the addition of a second knop at the base of the socket.

An obvious correspondence exists between the Annunciations on the Louvre and Budlong croziers. However, the forger made important changes in iconography and style which point to the use of an additional model.

Annunciations were of two basic types.⁹ In the earlier, the Angel was the active force, the divine messenger. The Virgin's role was passive, that of a hesitant human. As the cult of Mary grew in importance, their roles were reversed. The Angel became merely a modest celestial ambassador, kneeling before the future Queen of Heaven.

In the Annunciation on the Louvre crozier (Fig. 6a), the Angel, poised in action, strains forward on his left leg, the right leg pushing back against the shaft of the volute. The index finger of his right hand is raised to indicate that he is speaking. The Virgin stands before him with her left hand raised, fearful of what she hears. With her right hand she holds a book against her chest.¹⁰ Clearly this representation is of the earlier type.

On the Budlong crozier the figures are in the same positions, with slight modifications (Fig. 7). The Angel again strides forward, this time with his right leg. His manner, however, is less dynamic. His left foot rests on the branch, instead of the shaft of the volute. He extends his left arm forward. A scroll in his right hand symbolizes his message. The Virgin maintains her standing position, facing the Angel, but no longer appears fearful. She

9. Louis Reau, Iconographie de l'art chretien (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957), II. pt. 2, 174.

10. Richard Randall, Walters Art Gallery, correspondence, October 5, 1978.



Fig. 7. Details of the Annunciation, Budlong Crozier

extends her left hand in communication. Her right hand holds a book. A crown is on her head. The Virgin has assumed a more dominant nature and is depicted as the Queen of Heaven.

The Coronation of Mary supposedly took place at her Assumption. However, she is often shown crowned, most commonly in depictions of Virgin and Child. These representations are more devotional than narrative. Showing her crowned at the time of the Annunciation is unusual but not unknown. One of the earliest representations of this iconography is a Byzantine example of the fifth century. In the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore she is crowned with a circlet of precious stones.¹¹ The book held by the Virgin is traditional in western art after the end of the thirteenth century. As recorded by Pseudo-Bonaventura, she was shown meditating on the prophecy of Isaiah.¹²

The scroll which the Angel holds is often depicted in scenes of the Annunciation. When the message is indicated on it, it is similar to that inscribed at the top of the volute. The Angel's greeting as recorded in Luke 1:28 was "Ave gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus." The usual inscription as it appears in medieval art is "Ave Maria gratia plena," or a further expansion of that.

11. Adolfo Venturi, La Madonna (Milan: U. Hoepli, 1900), p. 138.

12. Reau, II, pt. 2, 180 and Gertrud Schiller, Iconography of Christian Art (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1971), I, 42.

The peculiar contraction used on the Budlong crozier, "Ave Maria Gra Plem," is not a mistake made by the forger. It appears in the same way on all six prototypes. Marquet de Vasselot records this in the catalogue included in his book on Limousin croziers.¹³ (See footnote 8 of this paper.)

The lily is almost always included in representations of the Annunciation. On the Budlong crozier it grows on a twig of the branch which springs from the base of the volute. It forms a tripartate flower between the figures of the Angel and the Virgin. The lily indicates the Virgin's purity. Its triple nature is symbolic of the Trinity.¹⁴ On the Louvre crozier the flower is formed of three lobes, reminiscent of the fleur-de-lis. This configuration is usual in the Limoges pieces. The lily of the Budlong crozier, however, is represented as three flowers on a single stem. This is a very common way for the lily to appear in Gothic and Renaissance art. However, the forger has given the blossoms a strangely bulbous contour instead of the usual bell-like form. They appear more like rosebuds than lilies. Although the rose was also a Marian symbol, it never substituted for the lily in the Annunciation.

It is not only the iconography which differs but the figure style as well. The figures on the Budlong crozier

13. Marquet de Vasselot, nos. 65-68, p. 233-237.

14. Fredrick Roth Webber, Church Symbolism (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1971), p. 176.

are executed in a more plastic manner than those on the Louvre crozier. The human form is more evident and the drapery less stylized. The difference in material and technique are not fully responsible. The medieval French figure style, as it appears in ivory, can be seen in the croziers of the fourteenth century (Fig. 8). There is a kinship of grace and elegance with the thirteenth century style of the Limoges metal pieces. This typically French quality is lacking in the forger's figures. It is apparent that he had another model, perhaps either German or Italian.

One Annunciation group which bears a remarkable resemblance to the figures on the Budlong crozier is from Bamberg Cathedral (Fig. 9). A number of parallels are evident: The Virgin's crown and veil; her upraised hand, although it is the right instead of the left; the zigzag ripple of the drapery at the hem of her garment; and the position of the Angel's left arm. The Bamberg Angel's left hand holds his robe. The Budlong Angel's left hand rests on the tip of the lily, in conformity with the Louvre model. The forger therefore sent the drapery across the front of the figure and tucked it awkwardly into the crook of the Angel's right arm. The scroll occupies a central position in the Bamberg composition. The forger introduced the scroll into the crozier by having the Angel hold it in his right hand. The most telling comparison, however, is in the treatment of the Angel's hair, including the circlet worn in it.



Fig. 8. Fourteenth Century Ivory Crozier, French



Fig. 9. Stone Relief of the Annunciation, Bamberg Cathedral

Although these similarities exist, there is no proof that the Bamberg group was indeed used as a model by our forger. The probability, however, seems very strong.

Before going on to a discussion of the socket, it may be well to conclude the consideration of the volute with a discussion of the iconography of the dragon. The reptiles depicted on Limoges croziers are variously referred to in the literature as dragons, lizards, snakes and serpents. It was the concept they represented and not the species, which was important. In medieval symbolism the serpent sometimes stood for good and sometimes for evil.¹⁵ The volutes of some croziers consisted only of a simple scroll terminating in the head of a serpent. When used alone the serpent signified Christ. This iconography stemmed from the parallel established between the serpent raised by Moses in the desert to save the Hebrew people (Numbers 21: 8-9) and Christ raised on the cross for the salvation of all mankind (John 3: 14-15). When used with other elements, however, it took on an entirely different meaning.

The serpent symbolism led to an interesting development and combination of floral and animal motifs based on two stories about Aaron from the Old Testament. Aaron was the first high priest of the Old Dispensation. He was considered the prefiguration of Christ, the sovereign priest of the New

15. Marquet de Vasselot, p. 26.

Dispensation.¹⁶ It is not surprising that the symbolism on the bishop's crozier should evolve around him.

It is recorded that God caused Aaron's rod to flower, "the buds swelling it had bloomed blossoms, which spreading the leaves, were formed into almonds."¹⁷ Figure 4a illustrates a Limoges crozier of the large floral type popular in the late twelfth to mid-thirteenth century based on this incident.

At another time Moses told Aaron that when Pharoah asked a miracle of him, he was to throw down his rod and it would become a serpent. Aaron did so. Pharoah's magicians did the same and their rods also became serpents. The rod of Aaron, however, swallowed up the rods of the magicians.¹⁸ This iconography is also illustrated in figure 4a.

In the late thirteenth century the large floral design was no longer used in Limoges croziers. Instead the volute encircled some kind of historiation. However, the animal and floral motifs persisted. These were combined in every imaginable way. There were those croziers where the volute was foliated and ended in a serpent's head; those where the volute was reticulated and ended in a leafy tip; those where the tip was a bud but reminiscent in shape of

16. Dictionnaire de théologie catholique (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1930), I, p. 1, 1.

17. Numbers 17: 5-8.

18. Exodus 7: 8-12.

the serpent's head; those where foliage issued from the serpent's mouth; those where the serpent was seen swallowing smaller serpents. Sometimes the spine of the volute was lined with sharp serrated dentils and sometimes with rounded, bud-like cusps. Unfortunately, it is not possible to date most of the croziers accurately enough to determine whether there was a pattern of evolution in the designs. Probably the two elements, the serpent and the leaf, were used in different combinations simply for the sake of variety. The Louvre crozier is based mainly on the serpentine aspect of the iconography. However both the scale pattern and the leaf pattern are used on the shaft of the volute. The Budlong crozier copies these two aspects as has been described.

Often, when combined with the subjects of the historiations, the serpent was seen to signify the forces of evil overcome by the forces of good. St. Michael was the most popular subject depicted (Fig. 5b). Sometimes he fought a second serpent enclosed in the volute with him. The second most popular subject used was the Annunciation. In the case of the Louvre and Budlong croziers, the Angel crushes the head of the serpent under his foot. At the same time the serpent is trying to destroy the Tree of Life. The Annunciation was the announcement of the Incarnation and the final victory over evil.

We can now proceed to the iconography of the socket. On the Louvre crozier the foliated scrollwork on the volute

is continued on the socket. Three small serpents were applied to the socket, stretching from top to bottom, heads downward. These snakes were a common characteristic of the Limoges croziers after the middle of the thirteenth century.¹⁹ Marquet de Vasselot saw their vanquished attitude as representing the defeat of evil.²⁰ The fact that a similar motif was used for the three-footed stands for crosses, dating from the same period,²¹ supports this idea. Used on croziers, these snakes could have had the added significance of a reference to the rods of Pharaoh's magicians.

A more unusual type is seen in the example in the Cathedral of Toledo.²² On this piece, the snakes are replaced by three elongated figures. On the socket of the Budlong crozier there are also three figures. They replace not the snakes but the foliated scrollwork between the snakes. The forger's source for this idea was probably not a thirteenth century crozier such as the one from Toledo. It was probably one of the fourteenth century croziers which so often included figures standing in the niches of their architectural knops.

19. Marquet de Vasselot, p. 12.

20. Marquet de Vasselot, p. 65.

21. Ernest Rupin, L'oeuvre de Limoges (Paris: A. Picard, 1890), figs. 375, 376, 377, 378.

22. Marquet de Vasselot, no. 164.

On the Budlong crozier the figures are carved in low relief against the cylinder of the socket. Each figure is placed in an architectural setting similar to a trefoil arcade. The central arch is straight sided instead of curved. If it were not for this strange variation, the composition would not be unusual. It recurs continually in Gothic architecture, triptychs and paintings. The ground behind the figures is incised with a diaper pattern reminiscent of backgrounds used in manuscript illumination. Figures beneath trefoil arcades, against patterned backgrounds, are also found on metal reliquaries such as the Mary Reliquary in the Cathedral of Tournai. The source of the figures on the Budlong crozier, however, is most probably architectural. The round pedestals on which the figures stand give them the appearance of statuary.

On the right side of the cloister doorway at the Cathedral of Burgos are two statues beneath a trefoil arch (Fig. 10). The statues stand on pedestals. The figure on the left represents King David. He is depicted as an older man, bearded, crowned and holding a scroll. His head is tipped slightly to the right and forward. The crowned male figure on the socket of the Budlong crozier is almost identical (Fig. 11). It was prophesied that Christ would come from the House of David. The person of David was commonly associated with the Annunciation. He is so shown in the Burgos portal. The two figures on the opposite side

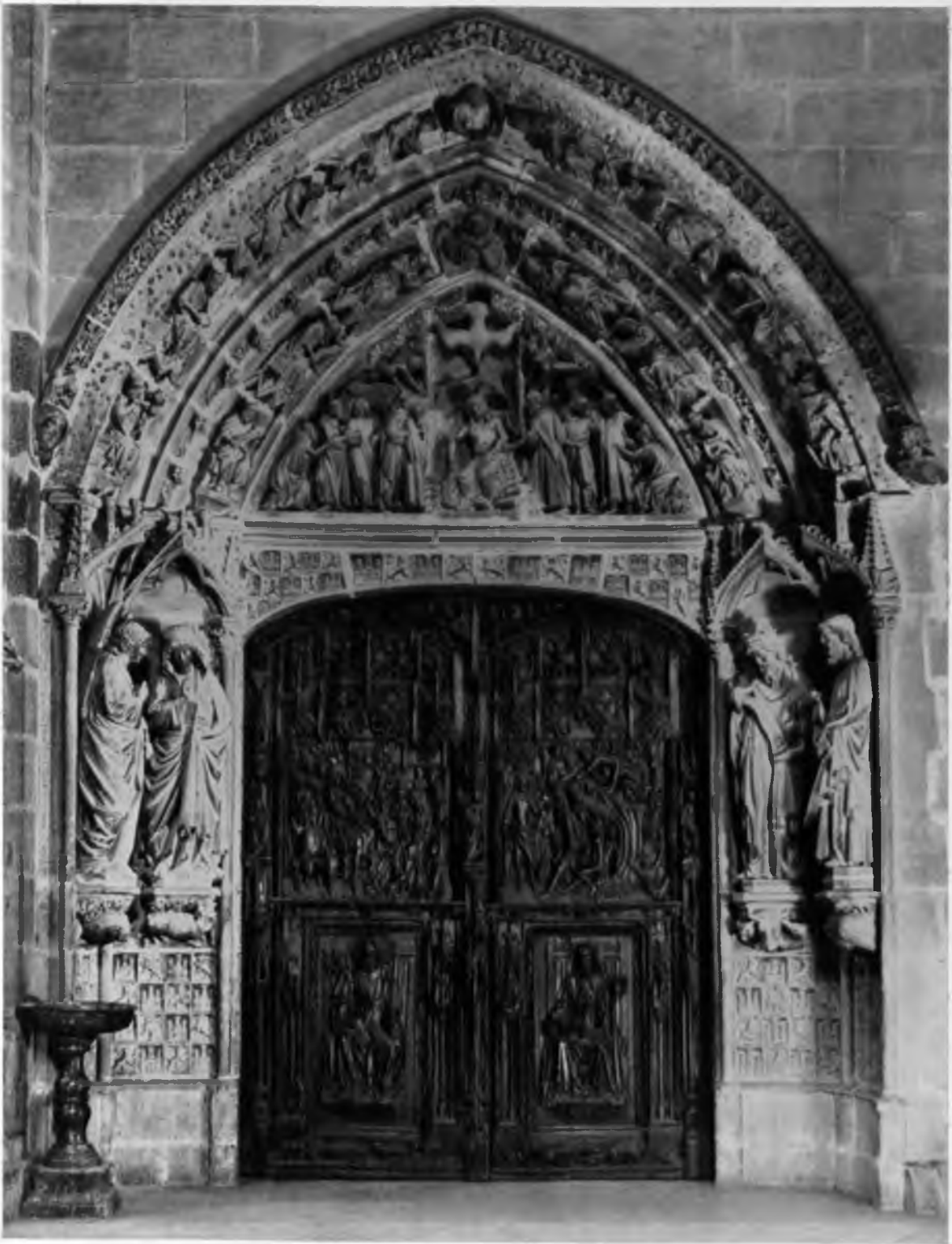


Fig. 10. Portal Figures, Burgos Cathedral



Fig. 11. Three Views of the Socket, Budlong Crozier

of the doorway are the Virgin and Gabriel. We can safely assume that the figure on the Budlong crozier was intended to be David. Its source was probably a sculpture such as that at Burgos.

The crowned female figure on the socket (Fig. 11) is harder to identify. She stands, her head turned to her left, her left hand upraised and her right hand holding a jar. This figure is most likely derived from a depiction of Esther. Esther was much favored in Christian art in the Middle Ages because of the Marian significance attributed to her by the theologians. Her crowning by Assuerus was considered a prefiguration of the coronation of the Virgin. Her intervention with the king was symbolic of Mary as mediatrix.²³ It is unlikely that the forger would have been familiar enough with medieval iconography to know of this association without some model as his guide. The model would probably have been associated with David as well as the figures of the Annunciation. As yet I have been unable to locate such a model.

The third figure is puzzling. He is shown as young, beardless and holding a book (Fig. 11). In every way he appears like the standard configuration of St. John the Evangelist. John, however, does not fit into the iconographic scheme. Isaiah, who prophesied the coming of Christ,

23. Reau, II, pt. 1, p. 336.

is often shown in the context of the Annunciation. He usually holds a book or a scroll but he is always depicted as old and bearded. He is seen standing next to David at Burgos (Fig. 10). The forger was probably not trying to create an iconographic program. The question here is what model he used. Did he find this third figure associated somewhere with David and Esther? If not, perhaps he lifted it from a scene of the Passion. St. John was consistently associated with the Virgin in that context.

The third change made by the forger was the addition of a knop at the base of the socket. The staff ordinarily fitted directly up into the socket without the need for a transitional knop. Such knops were not unknown however. A Limoges example is pictured by Watts in his Catalogue.²⁴ This crozier depicts the Annunciation in its volute. It differs considerably from the Budlong crozier in iconography and in decoration however. I am not suggesting that it in any way served as a model for our crozier. It does have a staff in four sections however. A sectioned staff would require a knop at the base of the socket in order for the crozier as a whole to look right. This is borne out by the above example. The Budlong crozier required just such a knop as a transition between section "a" and section "b".

24. William Walter Watts, Catalogue of Pastoral Staves (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1924), no. 6.

The design for this knop was adapted from the upper knop. The main change was the wide lattice-like band around the middle. Limoges knops were of a few fairly standard types. They usually had a narrow band around the middle. The band was left plain, finely hatched or cross-hatched, or set with small stones. Never, as far as I know, was a lattice pattern like that on the Budlong crozier used. Limoges knops will be discussed further in the chapter on section "b".

We have identified the primary source of section "a" as a crozier in the Louvre and have examined in detail the use of this model. We have recognized the fact that the forger also drew from other sources and have investigated various areas in which he might have found models. In so doing, certain inconsistencies of style and iconography have become apparent.

CHAPTER III

SECTION "B" OF THE CROZIER

Section "b" of the Budlong crozier (Fig. 12) consists of an ivory cylinder 195mm long and 27mm in diameter. It is painted with a miniature scene. There is a carved ivory knop at the lower end. The total length is 233mm. The knop has a threaded hole in the bottom which is 23mm in diameter and 35mm deep.

The Knop

The decoration of the knop is in three bands (Fig. 13). The design appears to take into consideration certain motifs used on the upper knop of the volute. The middle band is separated from those on either side by two narrow girdles, one smooth and the other in a rope-like pattern. These are more coarsely executed than their counterparts on the upper knop. The top band is decorated with a circlet of chevrons against a cross-hatched background. This is possibly a crude adaptation of the undulating ribbon on the upper knop. The lower band consists of a strip of cross-hatching with a line of dentils below it. The middle band is carved in fairly high relief with animal figures. Two birds, facing each



Fig. 12. Painted Cylinder, Section b, of the Budlong Crozier



Fig. 13. Details of the Lower Knob, Budlong Crozier

other, are eating from a bowl. To the right of them a dog-like creature paws the air. Its head is turned back over its shoulder and a serpent issues from its mouth. The serpent, in turn, bites at the tail of an ox. Next is a prancing lion. Last another canine is seated, looking back over his shoulder toward the birds. A stalk of foliage separates each animal from the one next to it.

This knop is totally unlike any knop in the Limoges tradition. The Limoges knops were of a limited number of types. The earlier ones were slightly more varied than the later ones. They were decorated with such motifs as scrolls of foliage, rosettes and star-shaped flowers, full and half figures, and simple or embellished vertical grooving. The later knops were almost exclusively of two types. One was the rosette and foliage design found on the Louvre crozier. The most popular, however, consisted of two friezes of interlaced dragons (Fig. 5b). This type, except for being animal in character, has nothing in common with the knop of section "b". The animals on the Budlong knop have a Romanesque character and may stem from some model of that period. The source has not yet been found.

The Staff

Section "b" was probably intended to represent a part of the crozier's staff. The staffs of croziers did not often survive. Possibly so few still exist because

they were not highly valued. They were not usually ornamented or made of precious materials. Most often they were simple shafts of wood with a metal tip. Some ornamented staffs have been preserved, however. A crozier from the Abbey of Lys has a staff made up of eight crystal cylinders separated by knops of precious stone.²⁵ Martin illustrated two significant examples of staffs. One was segmented and decorated with a spiraling design.²⁶ On it, thin bands of tiny flowerettes alternated with wider bands of thistles (Fig. 3). On the Budlong crozier, wide bands of historiated were separated by three thin red lines. The middle line was embellished with flower-like dots. The second staff²⁷ belonged to an ivory volute which contained a scene of the Magi before the Virgin and Child. The staff was made of boxwood. It was carved with scenes from the Gospel, arranged in horizontal bands. Since Martin's work was published in 1856, it is entirely possible that it was a source known to the forger. He could have gleaned ideas from it, although there is no real evidence of this. He could, in the above examples, have found precedents for 1. a sectioned staff, 2. a spiraling composition and 3. depiction of a biblical scene.

25. Martin, p. 236.

26. Martin, p. 237.

27. Martin, p. 211 and fig. 82.

I know of no crozier that had a decorative section, other than the staff, attached below its socket. The forger therefore probably intended section "b" to represent a portion of the staff. Once again he presents us with inconsistencies. Two things suggest that this would not have been an ordinary segmented staff. First, the knob was made with a large threaded socket in its base. Because of the coarseness of the thread, it appears as if it was intended to receive a wooden shaft. I know of no evidence among authentic croziers of a two part staff such as this. Secondly, if the staff were made in the customary manner, it would have consisted of four to eight segments. Each would have illustrated some part of the same story. The painting on the Budlong crozier illustrates the Ascent to Calvary. The spiraling composition is uniquely suited to the subject matter of that scene. Other episodes from the life of Christ would not have been easily adapted to the sinuous composition. We can assume from this evidence that the painted section was conceived as a single unit. Did the forger know of a crozier staff made in this manner or was he innovating? Why did he decide to add this painted section in the first place? We can only assume that he felt it necessary to further enrich the ivory.

Description of the Painting

The painting on section "b" of the Budlong crozier was done on an ivory core. The ivory was first gilded and then painted with a scene of the Ascent to Calvary (Fig. 14 & 15). The composition starts at the bottom with the walls of Jerusalem. It spirals to the top where distant figures prepare two crosses at the summit. The sun is setting between the hills. An army of foot soldiers pours from the city gate. In the center of the procession Christ stoops beneath the burden of his cross. He is lead by a rope tied around his waist. Four female figures follow him. Soldiers, both mounted and on foot, accompany him along the ascending path. One of the mounted soldiers is distinguished by his gold armor. Figure 14 is a composite showing the spiral flattened out.

The Painter

Before continuing with a discussion of this section of the crozier, it would be well to introduce the painter. Any further discussion must involve his other works as well as his sources.

Inquiries were made in an attempt to trace the painter. The Pierpont Morgan Library was able to suggest his relationship to the workshop of the Spanish Forger. Contact was made at the time the Library was preparing a



Fig. 14. The Ascent to Calvary, Composite View, Budlong Crozier



Fig. 15. Three Views of the Painting on Section b,
Budlong Crozier

major exhibition of the Spanish Forger's work.²⁸ It was possible, therefore, for them to include the Budlong crozier both in the exhibition and in the catalogue.²⁹ The crozier was included in a section called "other related forgeries." It was assigned the number OP1.

The "Spanish Forger" was named by Belle da Costa Greene. Around 1930 she identified him as the author of a panel painting of the Betrothal of St. Ursula. The painting had formerly been attributed to Maestro Jorge Ingles who was active in Spain in the mid-fifteenth century.³⁰ She was later able to recognize other works with the same characteristics. The appellation makes it sound as if the forger had stronger connections with Spain than now appears warranted. Only two other panels, out of the forty-two considered in the Pierpont Morgan Catalogue, had ever been regarded as Spanish.³¹ In fact, the Spanish Forger's work combines divers stylistic elements: French, Flemish and Italian, as well as Spanish.³² The term

28. 19 May to 29 July, 1978.

29. William Voelkle, The Spanish Forger (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978).

30. Voelkle, p. 9.

31. Voelkle, p. 9.

32. Janet Backhouse, "The 'Spanish Forger'," The British Museum Quarterly, 33, 1-2 (1968), p. 68.

has come to mean, not the work of an individual but of a workshop.

Belle da Costa Greene was the first Director of The Pierpont Morgan Library. John Plummer and William Voelkle continued the Library's interest in assembling a list of the oeuvre of the Spanish Forger.³³ Greene's original list of fourteen has grown to over one hundred and fifty examples.³⁴ The examples share a common style. They are, however, not all by the same hand.

Sources for the Painting

William Voelkle has uncovered some of the sources used by the workshop. He says:

...nineteenth century illustrated Parisian publications were unquestionably his chief compositional, thematic, and, to some extent, stylistic sources. Of these publications the most important and frequently employed were five volumes on mediaeval and renaissance life and culture by Paul Lacroix (1860-1884).³⁵

33. William Voelkle is the present Associate Curator of Mediaeval and Renaissance Manuscripts.

34. Voelkle, p. 10.

35. Voelkle, p. 10. The five volumes of Lacroix are: Les arts au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, Paris, 1896; Moeurs, usages et costumes au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, Paris, 1871; Vie militaire et religieuse au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, Paris, 1873; Sciences et lettres au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, Paris, 1877; Louis XII et Anne de Bretagne, Paris, 1882.

I believe it is possible to demonstrate that the painter of the Ascent to Calvary on the Budlong crozier was indeed active in the Spanish Forger's workshop. Common sources can be identified. Also his relationship to a specific hand can be seen. There is an unfortunate drawback to this analysis however. When comparisons are made to the other forgeries, it is without the benefit of seeing the actual pieces. The illustrations in the Pierpont Morgan catalogue are numerous and for the most part quite clear. Few are in color however. Therefore, in comparing specific pieces, a very important ingredient is absent.

In early depictions of the Ascent to Calvary Simon of Cyrene was shown bearing the cross. About the turn of the eleventh-twelfth century, it became general for Christ to carry it himself. Early in the twelfth century the women and the city gate were included in the scene.³⁶ The women traditionally shown were the Virgin, Mary Cleophas, Mary Salome and Mary Magdalene. On the Budlong crozier the forger has shown the Virgin directly behind the Christ, accompanied by one of the other Marys. A small group of soldiers follows them. Next come the third Mary and Mary Magdalene, identified by her long hair. The forger did

36. Schiller, II. 80.

not include St. John who was usually shown next to the Virgin.

There are two other portrayals of Christ Bearing the Cross in the Pierpont Morgan catalogue. Both of these include the mythical figure of St. Veronica. She is holding the handkerchief with which she was said to have wiped the face of Christ and on which his likeness was miraculously left. This variation of the theme of the Bearing of the Cross and/or the Ascent to Calvary was introduced in the thirteenth century.³⁷ Examples from the Pierpont Morgan catalogue will be referred to by their catalogue numbers, preceded by (PM). The first, (PM)L7 (Fig. 16), is included by Voelkle as one of the Spanish Forger's works. The second, (PM)OM2.15 (Fig. 19), is one of a number of additions by a forger to an authentic manuscript (Figs. 17-22). Voelkle says:

Although Belle da Costa Greene thought these paintings resembled those by the Spanish Forger, and although they were attributed to him in the de Ricci Supplement, we believe these works may not be his, for their flat hard style and steely gold colors find no parallel in the Forger's work.³⁸

There is no question, however, that these two and the Budlong crozier all share a common source or sources. Figures 16 and 19 have in common: the motif of St.

37. Schiller, II. 78.

38. Voelkle, p. 65.



Fig. 16. Bearing of the Cross, Spanish Forger,
Voelkle L7



Fig. 17. Donors Praying to the Virgin and Child, Voelkle OM2.13



Fig. 18. Nativity, Voelkle OM2.14



Fig. 19. Bearing of the Cross,
Voelkle OM2.15



Fig. 20. Bathsheba at Her Bath,
Voelkle OM2.16



Fig. 21. Feeding of the Lepers,
Voelkle OM2.17



Fig. 22. Christ Driving Seven
Demons from Mary
Magdalene, Voelkle OM2.18

Veronica, the two crosses on the hill, the bit of architecture on the hill and the facial type of the soldiers. The crozier (Fig. 15) also has the two crosses. With Figure 19 it shares: the setting sun, the method of painting chain mail, the style of armor, the decorative detail of the surcoat and the facial expression of the Christ. Figure 16 and the crozier have a common model in Martin Schongauer's copper engraving of 1475 (Fig. 23). William M. Ivins, Jr. wrote of this engraving: "It may be said to have become an essential part of the stock of pictorial ideas of the late Gothic and Renaissance artists not only of Germany but of France and Italy... Other men mined in the quarry of its richness."³⁹ The mine had not run dry in modern times. The painter of Figure 16 used the figure standing back-to at the head of the cross. The painter of the crozier made use of the soldier on horseback shown back view. Both used the rock formation.

It is possible that the inclusion and placement of the mounted soldier following the cross on the crozier was inspired by this same source. He is singled out from the other soldiers by his gold armor. The turbaned rider following the cross in the engraving holds a parallel position. Who was Schongauer's rider intended to be?

39. William M. Ivins, Jr., "Schongauer's Christ Carrying the Cross," Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 30, no. 4 (April 1, 1935), p. 128.



Fig. 23. Christ Bearing the Cross, Schongauer

Perhaps Caiaphas or Joseph of Arimathea. The soldier on the crozier may have been intended to represent Pilate. One of the peculiarities of the forger's depiction is that he portrays only soldiers, rather than a mixed crowd. The horse ridden by "Pilate" was lifted from another source as will be discussed later.

The repetition of stock themes is one of the identifying marks of the Spanish Forger's workshop. One of the favorite was a crowd issuing from a city or a castle gate. This was a suitable motif to use in an Ascent to Calvary. It can be found in numerous scenes of Christ Bearing the Cross in both Southern and Northern art.⁴⁰ Lacroix's book, Moeurs, usages et costumes au moyen-âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, provided the forger with examples of walled cities and castles, as well as of gates and towers. Included is a view and plan of Jerusalem taken from a fifteenth century German woodcut (Fig. 24).⁴¹ It shows a series of battlemented walls and towers enclosing a city

40. Two well known examples illustrate the point: Simone Martini, The Road to Calvary, c. 1340, the Louvre; Paul de Limbourg, Christ Bearing the Cross from the Trés riches heures, fol. 147.

41. Paul Lacroix, Manners, Customs and Dress During the Middle Ages, and During the Renaissance Period, English ed. (London: Bickers and Son, 1880), fig. 365, p. 453. I can only assume this was also included in the original French edition.



Fig. 24. Jerusalem, Fifteenth Century Woodcut

in which numerous domes are visible. It is possible that the forger freely adapted this concept in his depiction of Jerusalem on the crozier. There he painted similar alternating walls and towers, behind which rise various domes and steeples. On the other hand, a city cluster, such as the one seen in Figure 16 was one of his standard motifs. In this he also combined battlemented towers and walls with a combination of domes and steeples.

The forger's method of working can be observed. The way he adapted architecture can be seen by comparing (PM)L62, The Triumphal Entry of a Princely Couple (Fig. 25), with its models from Lacroix (Fig. 26).⁴² He employed the characteristic combination of domes and towers. He also added Gothic windows, as he did on the side of the gate on the crozier. On the manuscript leaf he omitted the loophole seen in the Lacroix model. It is a detail he included on the crozier. I will later try to establish a connection between the painter of Figure 25 and the painter of the crozier on stylistic grounds.

The same two or three horses appear again and again in the forger's work. One is the quizzical looking creature at the center of the composition of the Adoration of the

42. Voelkle's source was Paul Lacroix, Moeurs, usages et costumes au moyen-âge et à l'époque de la renaissance, 6th ed. (Paris, 1878).



Fig. 25. Triumphal Entry of a Princely Couple,
the Spanish Forger, Voelkle L62



Fig. 26. Models for Composition and Other Details, from Lacroix

Magi, (PM)L63. Voelkle identifies the source of this composition in Lacroix's *Vie Militaire* (Fig. 27).⁴³ The same horse appears on the Budlong crozier ridden by the soldier in gold armor. The forger's favorite horse model, however, was from one of Lacroix's illustrations already cited in Figure 26. On the crozier this horse is seen prancing ahead of the Christ. It appears again in Figure 25, as well as in a large percentage of the forger's other depictions of horses.

The setting sun was undoubtedly a motif in the source for our three related depictions of Christ Bearing the Cross. There is perhaps some connection with the work of the Boucicaut Master. He made brilliant use of such a sun many times. The boucicaut Master was active in Paris c. 1400.⁴⁴ The time period is just that evoked by the painting on the crozier. It is not difficult to imagine that a work by the Boucicaut Master or one of his followers may have influenced the forger (Fig. 28). Meiss's volume on the Boucicaut Master does not illustrate such a model. He does refer, however, to several other depictions

43. Paul Lacroix, *Vie militaire et religieuse au moyen âge et à l'époque de la renaissance*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et Cie, 1873), fig. 198, p. 259.

44. Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Boucicaut Master* (London: Phaidon, 1968).



Fig. 27. Model for a Horse, from Lacroix



a. The Boucicaut Master



b. The Boucicaut Workshop

Fig. 28. Fifteenth Century Illuminations

of the Ascent to Calvary.⁴⁵ Perhaps the model is among these.

The precision and detail with which the painter of the crozier rendered the armor helps in establishing the date of his model. The armor represented is of the period of transition from mail to plate. For this reason the combination of parts can be dated with some degree of accuracy. The bascinet, or helmet, with the snub nosed visor was adopted at the close of the fourteenth century.⁴⁶ The camail, a chain mail collar protecting the neck, disappeared by the fifteenth century when it was replaced by plate.⁴⁷ The outer garment, a jupon or surcoat, was made of a layer of silk or velvet sewn over a firmer foundation of several layers of other material. It was sleeveless. Beginning in the reign of Charles V it was shortened to a length between the hips and knees. The surcoat was no longer used when plate armor was totally adopted around 1420.⁴⁸ The hauberk was a mail garment worn under the

45. Meiss, p. 96, Brit. Mus. Egerton 1070, fol 124v; p. 104 New York, Private Coll., fol. 138v; p. 127, Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 1161, fol. 168.

46. Charles Henry Ashdown, British and Foreign Arms and Armour (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1909), p. 171 and Viollet-Le-Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné du mobilier français de l'époque carlovingienne à la renaissance (Paris: Ernest Gründ, 1874), V, 248.

47. Viollet-Le-Duc, V, 248 and Ashdown, p. 176.

48. Ashdown, p. 167-168 and Viollet-Le-Duc, V, 288-289, 292.

surcoat. It extended about two inches below it. Banded mail was used in the earlier armor but chain mail was popular around 1380. At that time the hauberk also became sleeveless.⁴⁹ A peculiarity of this period was the elaborate hip-belt worn by the knights. It consisted of raised square or oblong brooches or roundels. This belt was adopted around 1340 and was not worn after 1420.⁵⁰ Completing the armor were the plated arm and leg guards, the gauntlets and the sollerets. The heart-shaped elbow guard was adopted between 1380 and 1400.⁵¹ The sollerets and epaulières were made of overlapping plates. The exaggeratedly pointed armor shoe was of an Italian style but was adopted in France at the end of the fourteenth century.⁵² The sword of the period generally had a wheel pommel with quillons which were either straight or drooping slightly toward the blade.⁵³

The armor on the crozier is shown in great detail and with great accuracy. It is unlikely that the painter would have known these details from his own knowledge. We can assume, therefore, that he had a model to copy.

49. Ashdown, p. 169.

50. Ashdown, p. 180 and Viollet-Le-Duc, V, 253-256.

51. Viollet-Le-Duc, V, 302.

52. Viollet-Le-Duc, V, 276.

53. Ashdown, p. 181-182.

Since the style of the armor can be dated between the years 1380 and 1420, we can further assume that the model must have been from around that date.

Distinguishing the Hand

It appears that there were numerous hands involved in the work identified as coming from the Spanish Forger's workshop. It is difficult however to pin them down. The broadly painted, chubby-faced style⁵⁴ is the most readily identifiable. However, as Voelkle suggests, this is possibly the late style of an artist whose earlier work is not as easily recognized. All the painters were eclectic and all relied heavily on the same source material. It is impossible to do more than to recognize the particular characteristics found in the crozier painting and see where those characteristics recur in other works.

An examination establishes the following things to look for: a certain facial type, drawn in a linear manner with little or no modeling, totally expressionless, almond shaped eyes drawn with a simple line and darkened pupil, two types of noses, one slightly hooked, the other upturned, a small pointed chin; an interest in the detail of costume, including certain conventions of decoration on fabric and embroidery; the rendering of chain mail by

54. Voelkle, p. 15.

flecks of light and the way of handling highlights on armor; the horse type, particularly the handling of mane and tail; nature and the environment, including the handling of mountains, trees and architecture.

The Pierpont Morgan catalogue has two major subdivisions: first paintings from the workshop of the Spanish Forger, then other related forgeries. The most important examples from the first category which relate stylistically to the crozier painter are seen in Figures 29-31. These three miniatures, (PM)M4.1-3, were added to a fifteenth century Book of Hours. They show the same figure style as the crozier, including characteristics of eyes, nose and chin. The armor is of the same style and handled in the same manner, including details of decoration, highlighting and chain mail. The white horse in (PM)M4.1 (Figure 29) is very much like the horses on the crozier. The drapery and architecture are also handled in a similar manner.

Many of the characteristics which we have seen in Figure 29 and the crozier can also be seen in Figure 25. The figure types and details of drapery and armor conform. All three show an interest in spatial recession. They successfully handle figures diminishing in the distance. The architecture portrayed on the crozier and in Figure 25 is a similar combination of tower types. Both Figures 25



Fig. 29. Crucifixion, the Spanish Forger, Voelkle M4.1



Fig. 30. Royal Cavalcade, the Spanish Forger, Voelkle M4.2



Fig. 31. Funeral of a King, the Spanish Forger, Voelkle M4.3

and 29 make use of the same decorative detail over the doorway. It is a detail not seen in their model (Fig. 26).

I would like to suggest that the examples just discussed represent a temporal development in the hand of one painter. The crozier would represent the earliest style, Figure 29 the middle, and Figure 25 the latest. I have placed them in this order because of what I see as an increasing degree of sophistication.

It appears to me that Figure 16 is also strongly related to the paintings just considered. It is obviously by a different hand. It is more forceful but in some ways less successful. Common sources were used as has already been discussed. The painter also combined similar architectural and landscape features. He was unsuccessful in creating the illusion of spatial depth although he used the same devices of diminution and the winding path. His facial types are similar although his handling was plastic rather than linear. I would suggest that he belongs to a second generation. Possibly he was the first forger's son.

It may be that the painter of Figures 17-22 was from a third but older generation. His hand is seen in the (PM)OM4 miniatures as well (Figs. 32-33). His Funeral of a King (Fig. 33) must have been familiar to the later painter of the same subject (PM)M4.3 (Fig. 31). The



Fig. 32. Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl, Voelkle OM4.1



Fig. 33. Funeral Procession of a King, Voelkle OM4.2

crozier has already established one connection between these two painters. The forger of Figures 17-22 and 32-33 was far less sophisticated than the others we have looked at. He may have begun the workshop, later known as the Spanish Forger's. The workshop probably was active for two or three generations. This would explain the discrepancies in palette which disturbed Voelkle,⁵⁵ without overlooking the stylistic and iconographic relationships.

One of the problems with any study of the forger's oeuvre is dating. Available documentation is vague. It is known, however, that the manuscript in Figures 17-22 was purchased by Richard Bennett of Manchester on December 31, 1895.⁵⁶ This is one of the earliest and firmest documentations available for any of the examples in the Pierpont Morgan catalogue. We know from it that the forger was active by 1895.

The crozier, as stated in the introduction, was purchased by Miss Budlong's father from T.M. Davis when he bought Mr. Davis's house. Miss Budlong said it had been in her family about seventy-five years.⁵⁷ Attempts have been made to establish the actual date when Mr. Budlong bought the Davis house. This would establish a foundation

55. Voelkle, fig. 136.

56. Voelkle, p. 65.

57. Arizona State Museum Files: Cat. # E-6337.

for the documentation. It has not been possible to contact either Miss Budlong or her family however. No clues have been found as yet which establish the location of the house. Miss Budlong's memory of how long the crozier had been in the family may have been exaggerated. It surely indicates, however, the probability of an early date. We might estimate that it was acquired sometime between 1890 and 1915. As this date would have been for the second owner, it indicates that the crozier was probably quite early in the production of the workshop.

None of the dates for the other pieces discussed in this paper give us any meaningful information to work with. Indeed, all that can be said is that the workshop was probably active from the early 1890s into the first two or three decades of the twentieth century.

The discussion of hands could be carried to much greater length. There are other examples which one might speculate belong to one or another of the painters involved in the workshop at one time or another. That, however, would be a study in itself and would be of no purpose to the project at hand. I believe, at least, that a definite relationship between the crozier painter and the Spanish Forger's workshop has been established. A possible identification of the hand of that painter has also been made.

CHAPTER IV

FORGERY

"The true art of fraud involves the intention to deceive, the attempt to pass a product of artistic character off as the work of a different hand or of a different period."⁵⁸ There are a number of types and degrees of forgery. It may involve adding a master's signature to a lesser work in order to increase its value. Or a forger may attempt to recreate a well known artist's style in hopes of passing his work off as an original. In other cases he might make a faithful copy of an actual piece, again, with the intention of selling it as an original. Another practice is to create a pastiche, a composition largely based on fragments or portions of existing works of art. The latter is what the crozier forger did, as has been demonstrated.

It is possible, of course, to create a piece "in the style of" with no intent to deceive. There were many "medieval" liturgical objects made for actual church use in the Gothic Revival of the nineteenth century. Several croziers from this era are illustrated in the Victoria and

58. Katherine C. Johnson, Fakes and Forgeries (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1973).

Albert Museum's volume on Victorian Church Art.⁵⁹ These pieces were made to imitate, not to deceive. This type of pastiche evokes another era. In no way is one tempted to think that it was actually made then. The artists, known by name and exhibiting in craft exhibitions, were creative craftsmen, not forgers.

We know that the Spanish Forger intended to deceive. He would not otherwise have gone to the trouble of adding miniatures to authentic manuscripts. This was the case with a fifteenth century Book of Hours (PM)M4, a sixteenth century Gradual (PM)M1 and another fifteenth century Book of Hours (PM)OM2.⁶⁰ Voelkle also documents that the forger used pages from an Italian Antiphonary of the fourteenth or fifteenth century for over half of the single leaves in the Pierpont Morgan compilation.⁶¹ The use of old pages was an ideal way to gain a look of antiquity. His use of modern pigments, however, could not escape detection under the scrutiny of modern technology.⁶² There is no doubt but that we are dealing with a workshop of forgers. If it has been sufficiently demonstrated that the creator of the Budlong crozier was connected in some

59. Victoria and Albert Museum, Victorian Church Art: Catalogue of an Exhibition, Nov. 1971-Jan. 1972 (London: 1971), figs. L6, M2, M7, N1.

60. Voelkle, pp. 39, 32, 65.

61. Voelkle, Appendix II, p. 75.

62. Voelkle, Appendix III, p. 76.

way with the same workshop, then it follows that the crozier was never intended as an innocent pastiche.

A major question remains to be answered. In the case of the Budlong crozier, are we dealing with two forgery workshops, one of ivory carvers and one of painters? Or were the two craftsmen working in the same workshop? The first seems the more likely.

Forging of medieval ivories was the vogue in the nineteenth century. It was carried on in Italy, France, Germany and Belgium. It was not uncommon for Limoges enamel designs to form the basis of faked medieval ivories. Three examples were studied by Graeven.⁶³ They probably all came from the same workshop, possibly in Aachen in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁴ The forger of these pieces handled his designs in a much more linear, less plastic, fashion than was used by our forger (Fig. 34).

Limoges designs inspired medieval ivory carvers as well. Koechlin mentions that an ivory crozier in the British Museum is based on the large floral type of Limoges crozier.⁶⁵ This piece was found in Peterborough Cathedral

63. Graeven, Hans. "Fragmente eines Siegburger Tragaltars im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover," Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 21 (1900).

64. Otto Pelka, Elfenbein (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt & Co., 1923), p. 381.

65. Raymond Koechlin, Les ivoires gothiques français (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1924), I, 268.



Fig. 34. Two Ivory Forgeries Based on Limoges Models

in a coffin believed to be that of Abbot Alexander, 1222-26.⁶⁶ Thus there is at least one authenticated example of a medieval ivory which copied a Limoges design.

The Musée Ancien Évêché in Évreux has a copy in ivory of a Limoges crozier (Fig. 35). Koechlin mentions this piece in a footnote.⁶⁷ The museum supplied me with a photograph. They had no information on it except that it was part of the Jouen collection. The Annunciation in the volute differs from that on the Louvre crozier. It is of a type very often used on Limoges croziers, however. The Évreux crozier may well be an exact copy of a crozier similar to that seen in Figure 36. The angularity of its execution betrays it as a modern piece.

It is quite understandable that two forgers, working in different media, decided to combine their talents. There is one other example of the Spanish Forger's painting on ivory. An ivory polyptych (Fig. 37) from the George A. Hearn collection is painted on the back (Fig. 38). The figures are in an extremely elongated, manneristic style which is characteristic of one of the hands seen in the workshop's oeuvre. The hand of that painter is not the same as on the crozier.

66. Ormonde Maddock Dalton, Catalogue of the Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era in the British Museum (London: British Museum, 1909), p. 91, pl. LXXX.

67. Koechlin, 268, n. 2.



Fig. 35. An Ivory Crozier from
Évreux



Fig. 36. A Limoges Crozier in
the Vatican



Fig. 37. Front of the Hearn Polyptych



Fig. 38. Painted Back of the Hearn Polyptych,
the Spanish Forger, Voelkle P35



Fig. 39. Model, for the Hearn Polyptych, in the Louvre

The polyptych was published in the catalogue of the Hearn collection in 1908,⁶⁸ which positively dates it prior to that time. This indicates a fairly early date in what is known of the Spanish Forger's work. It is consistent therefore with the time period when the crozier is assumed to have been produced. There is little evidence to indicate, however, whether the crozier was made by the same ivory forger, or even by his workshop. As far as can be seen from photographs only one relationship is apparent. The Magus furthest to the right, shown on the inner upper panel of the right hand wing of the polyptych (Fig. 37) is strikingly reminiscent of the figures on the socket of the crozier (Fig. 11). Morey⁶⁹ recognized the source of the polyptych as a well-known ivory of the fourteenth century in the Louvre (Fig. 39). This is another connection with the crozier. It is instructive to observe how much more closely the Magus figure resembles those on the crozier than it resembles the Magus on the original, lower left-hand panel of the left wing (Fig. 37).

The polyptych was copied in the same material as its model. It was less faithfully imitated however than the crozier imitated its metal prototype. In the polyptych the forger combined scenes from several of the original

68. The G. A. Hearn Collection of Carved Ivories (New York: Privately Printed, 1908).

69. Charles Rufus Morey, "Pseudo-Gothic Ivories in the Hearn Collection," American Journal of Archaeology, 23 (1919), p. 57.

panels and added others of his own. Morey calls some of his subjects "incoherent."⁷⁰ Morey also points out a discrepancy with the Pieta which the forger added to the pedestal. It is of a later style than the polyptych was supposed to be.⁷¹ Thus the forger made mistakes in both iconography and style which gave him away, just as was done on the crozier.

Another peculiarity of the polyptych is that the painting is of a secular nature. This is strange for the back of a tabernacle. This is not true of the crozier. The subject of the Ascent to Calvary is very well suited to the subject of the Annunciation. They both deal with the redemption of man and are often used in the same context.

We can assume that the basic idea for both the polyptych and the crozier must have come from the ivory carver. By asking the painter to collaborate with him, his intention could only have been to increase the appeal of the object in the market. One of the characteristics of a forgery is that it is made to appeal to contemporary tastes. When a perspective is gained, that superficiality exposes it for what it is.

70. *ibid.*

71. *ibid.*

CHAPTER V

TECHNIQUES AND MATERIALS

A study of the techniques and materials used in the creation of the Budlong crozier brings to light many interesting facts and from these facts certain assumptions can be made. This part of the study has been done with the aid of radiography and a binocular microscope.

The fact that the Budlong crozier was carved in ivory but was copied from an enameled metal model in the Louvre, allows for interesting comparisons between the two. We can ask in what aspects the ivory carver was controlled by his craft and in what ways he was influenced by the techniques used in his prototype.

The Model

The basic form of the Louvre crozier was cast in copper which was later gilded. It was cast in three separate pieces: the volute, including the figures; the knop, done in openwork; and the socket. The three serpents on the socket and the angel's wings were made separately and were riveted on. The palmette also appears to have been made as a separate piece.

The basic technique of decoration used on the Louvre crozier was *champlevé* (literally, raised plane)

enamel. This process involved removing the metal from the area of the design which was to be in color, so that a recess with straight sides and a flat bottom remained.⁷² This cavity was then filled with a paste made of soda, potassium silicates, silica and lead oxide.⁷³ It was then fired. The resulting enamel filled the recesses to the level of the original surface. The metal was usually gilded. The design therefore was a combination of gleaming metal and colored enamel. On the Louvre crozier, a golden scroll of leaves winds through a blue ground. On the upper half of the volute, blue scales shimmer in their gold outlines along the dragon's back. The lobes of the turquoise Annunciation lily are veined with golden tendrils. The turquoise color is repeated in the stones set in the centers of the rosettes on the knop and at the base of the palmettes. The words of the inscription AVE MARIA: GRA: PLEM, are red against a gold ground. Touches of red also accent the leaves of the socket.⁷⁴ Blue and turquoise were the most common colors used in Limoges enamels, particularly in the thirteenth century. Red was used sparingly.⁷⁵

72. Henry H. Cunynghame, European Enamels (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), p. 74.

73. Isa Belli Barsali, European Enamels (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1969), p. 8.

74. Barsali, color plate 27.

75. Vasselot, p. 10-11.

The decoration was completed with line work, detailing and texturing the metal areas. The feathers on the Angel's wings, as well as the details of the foliage, were engraved. The folds of the drapery were chased to emphasize their form. Textures were added to various areas by cross-hatched lines and by the use of a rocker burin, which left a deep series of tiny indentations.⁷⁶

The Ivory Copy

How did the ivory carver handle these various problems? Basically, carving involves the cutting away of material. This was done with rasps, gouges and saws. The work was finished with the aid of burins. Sandstone and chalk were used for polishing.⁷⁷ On the Budlong crozier the basic shaping of the knop, socket and painted cylinder was undoubtedly done on a lathe. This would have been true as well if it had been made in the middle ages.⁷⁸

Like its metal model, the ivory crozier was made in several parts as can be seen in the X-rays (Figs. 40, 41).

76. Richard Randall, Walters Art Gallery, correspondence, Oct. 5, 1978.

77. Geneviève van Bever, Les "tailleurs d'ivoire" de la renaissance au XIX^e siècle (Bruxelles: Editions du cercle d'art, 1946), p. 4.

78. A History of Technology, II: The Mediterranean Civilization and the Middle Ages, (ed. Charles Singer, E.J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and Trevor I. Williams (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1956), p. 232.



Fig. 40. X-Ray of the Budlong Crozier, Sections a and b



Fig. 41. X-Ray of Knops and Socket, Section a

It was put together with machine made gimlet-pointed wood screws. Their heads and sometimes their tips were sawn off. The patent date in America for a machine to make this type of screw was 1846.⁷⁹ Machine pointed screws are of approximately the same date in Europe. We know therefore that the crozier had to have been made after that date, unless, of course, the screws were later replacements.

The volute is of one solid piece, with the exception of the palmette ring at its base. This was made as a separate collar and was probably glued in place. Due to the difference in technique between carving and casting, there was no necessity to make the Angel's wings separately as was done on the original. As a concession to the fragile nature of ivory, however, the wings were designed to fall within the curve of the volute. In this way they were much more protected than they would have been if they overlapped it, as they did in the metal model. For the same reason the snakes' tails on the socket were made to curl tightly under the overhang of the knop.

The first knop is solid and is joined to the volute by means of a screw. It extends 9mm into each piece. The pointed end penetrates the volute. The flat end, from which the head has been cut off, is in the knop.

79. Henry C. Mercer, "The Dating of Old Houses," Bucks County Historical Society Papers, 5 (1923), p. 24-25.

The socket is hollow (Fig. 41). It is plugged at the top with a piece of ivory which is slightly tapered and which is 15mm thick. In the X-ray the plug appears to be threaded but the socket itself has no corresponding threads. Also, the plug does not appear to fit into the cavity very tightly, so possibly it is glued. The screw which joins the socket to the knop above it, penetrates the solid ivory of both the knop and of the plug in the socket to a depth of 9mm. The pointed end is in the plug.

There are two possible explanations for why the socket was hollowed out. The first is that the sockets of croziers were usually hollow as their very purpose was to socket the staff. This would not have been the case on the Budlong crozier however because of the additions below the socket. The noses of the snakes extend slightly below the bottom of the socket. It seems likely that the knop below, which protects them, was part of the original conception and not just a later addition. If the socket was originally hollowed out in order to hold a staff, why would the hole have been made to extend clear through the cylinder necessitating the addition of a plug in the upper end? There is no corresponding plug in the base of the socket. The knop below it is also constructed in a peculiar fashion. A cavity approximately 8mm deep was hollowed out of both the top and the bottom. The X-rays show a very fine threading on the sides of these cavities. Into each was

screwed a thin ivory disc 5mm thick. The blunt end of the screw which joins the knop to the socket is embedded 15mm into the knop. The screw passes through the disc and the cavity below it, and into the solid area of the knop. The pointed end appears in the X-ray to hang in space in the cavity of the socket. It penetrates it to a depth of 14mm. As there is nothing else holding the knop and socket together at this joint, we must assume that the cavity of the socket is filled with a substance of low density, such as wood, which would not show up in the X-ray.

There is another possible explanation for the hollowing out of the socket. Perhaps the forger read in Martin that the sockets of croziers were often used as reliquaries.⁸⁰ Martin cites a crozier which bears an inscription indicating that it contains relics. I inquired of the Louvre whether they knew of any evidence of this practice. Danielle Gaborit, Curator of the Department of Art Objects, said in her reply: "I do not know of any ivory crozier which served as a reliquary; perhaps some croziers of precious metal might have been used for that purpose at some time. However, it could only have been very exceptional. I believe that a certain discretion is necessary today concerning the affirmations of Martin."⁸¹

80. Martin, p. 178.

81. Danielle Gaborit, Musée du Louvre, correspondence, December 21, 1977.

It has already been noted that the forger could have been familiar with Martin's publication. It may be that, having read Martin's remark about reliquaries, he decided to include this concept in his crozier. As I have pointed out, the cavity must have a wooden core. Perhaps it is only the lower end which has this core, leaving space at the upper end for the "reliquary." If this is the case, it may help to explain the reason that the plug at the upper end was made as it was, thick and tapered, in the manner of a cork.

Why did the forger bother with the detail of this reliquary, if that is indeed what it is? For the sake of authenticity? Yet he used modern screws to make his joins. When asked about how the ivory croziers were joined, M. Gaborit replied: "As far as can be judged, the system of joining the different elements is that of sockets and tenons, fitting the one into the other, the whole could then be consolidated with ivory pegs, never with screws, at least originally." Martin does not discuss the methods of joining. The forger may well have been ignorant of the way in which authentic croziers were held together. Common sense could have guided him to a fairly close approximation, however. We can only assume that he chose to use wood screws because they would not be seen.

Maskell points out that forgers often give themselves away in the minor particulars, "such as the

fashioning of hinges."⁸² Another case in which such a "minor particular" involved the use of screws is that of a very faithful copy of a Limoges crozier from the Abbey of Frontrevaud.⁸³ This crozier was exposed as a forgery partially because X-rays revealed that modern metal screws had been used to put it together. Perhaps the Budlong forger secretly hoped that someday his deception would be discovered and thereby his own cleverness recognized.

The joint between the second knop and the painted ivory cylinder was broken away when the museum received the crozier. One end of a screw can be seen protruding from the top of the cylinder. The cylinder is a solid piece of ivory. In the X-ray the nerve canal can be seen passing through the middle of it. The knop below it has a finely threaded disc in the top of it, in the same manner as the middle knop. At the bottom it has a very coarsely threaded cavity 23mm in diameter and 35mm deep. The screws at the top and bottom of the cylinder are very short and smaller in diameter than the other screws used in the crozier. They are cut off at both ends and only penetrate the ivory about 5 or 6mm.

82. Alfred Maskell, Ivories (Rutland, Vermont: Charles I. Tuttle Co., 1966), p. 484.

83. Museum Folkwang Essen, Fälschung und Forschung (Berlin: Preubischer Kulturbesitz, 1977), p. 54, #50.

It was mentioned earlier in this paper that the third and lowest knop might have been carved by a different hand from the rest of the crozier. It appears to be more crudely done. This may or may not be the fact. I believe we can say with some surety, however, that it was made in the same workshop as the others. The peculiarity of construction, whereby a disc was inserted in the end, was repeated in both the middle and the lower knops. This detail took considerable skill to execute. We can only assume that there must have been a reason behind doing it, although we cannot tell what it was.

In adapting the decoration of the ivory piece from its metal model, the Budlong carver worked in a manner natural to his material. He was able to retain the spirit of the original design, while at the same time translating it very effectively into another medium. The leafy scroll on the Budlong crozier, for instance, was plastically conceived. This is quite unlike the handling of the similar motif in Figure 34. In that case the forger was concerned with imitating the planar quality of his model and the compartmentalization of the enamel. On the ivory copy of a Limoges crozier at Évreux (Fig. 35) the carver imitated only the linear quality of the design. The rosettes and foliage on the upper knop of the Budlong crozier were sculpturally conceived. In order to retain the effect

achieved by the openwork in the metal model, the forger executed the design in quite high relief with some undercutting.

On the upper back of the dragon we see the closest approximation to the metalsmith's technique to be found on the Budlong crozier. Here the forger formed the scales in the same way that the metalsmith formed the compartments for his enamel. He carved out straight sided reservoirs. The difference in concept, of course, is that the compartments on the original were filled with enamel. They therefore formed a single plane with the reserved metal. In the ivory copy, the end result remained sculptural.

The figures in the volute do not resemble the model in technique at all. They were handled totally as a carver would naturally handle them. The crozier from Évreux (Fig. 35) makes an interesting contrast to this. Here the carver imitated the form of his model more conscientiously. The result was very linear but the spirit was somehow lost.

The decorative detailing on the Louvre crozier was executed with engraved lines and stippled lines made with a rocker burin. Our forger translated this into ivory with incised lines forming either hatching or cross-hatching. We find cross-hatching replacing the rocker burin technique on the knop and on the backs of the snakes. The inscription on the ivory piece was incised into a plain, reserved, ground. The ground of the enameled inscription

on the original was worked with a rocker burin into a horizontal hatching. The idea of a background of horizontal hatching was transferred by the ivory carver to the ground of the scrollwork on the lower half of the volute. On the original this area was filled with blue enamel.

The appearance of the Budlong crozier is that it is of some age. Maskell says that forgers artificially aged ivory by steeping it in tobacco or liquorice juices, or by burying it in dunghills.⁸⁴ Cracking and disintegration were imitated through the application of heat. What methods our forger used is not known. The color of the ivory is mellow. The recesses are filled with a patina of dirt and bits of paint and gilt. Certain areas are worn smooth. But the general condition of the piece appears too good. None of its delicate parts have been broken and cracking is at a minimum. The greatest damage apparent is where bits of paint have flaked off of the painting on section "b".

The signs of age are not always consistent with logic. More questions are raised by an analysis than are answered. Traces of paint and gilt are visible to the naked eye. These can be even more clearly seen under the binocular microscope. There is no doubt but that medieval ivories were both painted and gilded.⁸⁵ There is no

84. Maskell, p. 484.

85. Koechlin, p. 22.

contradiction in the forger's use of these. If the crozier was painted, however, why was almost all evidence of the paint removed? Traces of red and gilt are found on the head of the dragon, the lattice area, the Angel, Virgin and lily, the leafy scroll and the figures of the socket. This represents most of the areas which would have been metal on the original. Traces of blue paint are found on the background of the shaft of the volute, the ground behind the figures on the socket, along the backs of the snakes and around their eyes. These are most of the areas which contained blue enamel on the original.

A strange phenomenon shows up in the X-ray (Fig. 40) which I have not accounted for. A bright outline appears in certain areas, particularly defining the figures and the scales on the dragon. I am told this indicates the presence of metal which could be either lead or gold. Why do these concentrations exist? Other areas of gilding, which are visible to the eye, do not show up on the X-ray.

It would appear that the ivory crozier was painted in imitation of its Limoges model. What would have been exposed metal on the original, may have been gilded, over a red under-painting. The areas originally filled with enamel could have been painted blue. If the paint was applied and then rubbed off simply for the effect of antiquing, it would not have been necessary to follow the original color scheme. Perhaps the forger started out to

imitate the coloring of the original but did not like the way it looked. He therefore removed the paint, leaving only traces to give it an antique and mellow appearance. Another question which arises but cannot be answered is whether this paint was applied in the ivory workshop or in the miniature painter's workshop.

The miniature painting was deftly executed. We have concluded that it was done in the workshop of the Spanish Forger. The painting was done directly on the ivory. First the cylinder was gilded. On top of this were painted the three parallel spiraling lines which established the layout. Within this layout the figures were added with great skill. The painter effectively handled the problem of diminishing perspective at the top and the bottom. The linework was delicately executed. The palette was limited to red, blue, green, black and white. No scientific analyses of the paints have been made.

The crozier was skillfully rubbed to give it the soft contours of age and use. One area shows a particular amount of wear. At the nape of the neck of the three serpents on the socket there has been enough attrition to wear away the cross-hatching. The Louvre crozier has a smooth area in this same spot. It is not clear from the photograph whether it is the result of the design or of wear. We will assume that since the forger imitated it, it must have appeared as wear to him. Here is further

evidence that he must have been familiar with the actual piece or with a photograph and not just an engraving. These spots are not large enough to make us think that they were caused by the grasp of the bishop's hand. It was the custom, however, after the eleventh century, to tie a long napkin or "sudarium" to the crozier which was intended to absorb the moisture of the hand.⁸⁶ The sudarium is often shown in paintings and on tomb sculpture. Enlart says it was threaded through the crook in the serpents' tails on the Limoges croziers.⁸⁷ I do not know the basis of this assumption or whether the sudarium could have had anything to do with the wear on the snakes' necks.

We can say, in conclusion of this section on techniques and materials, that the carver and painter of the Budlong crozier were accomplished craftsmen. The carver was able to handle the technical aspects of the carving with great skill. He also translated the design from one medium to the other without losing its impact. We have also observed certain details in the construction for which we find no satisfactory explanation. It is not possible totally to get into the mind of the forger.

86. Herbert Norris, Church Vestments, Their Origin and Development (New York: Dutton & Co., 1950), p. 121.

87. Camille Enlart, Manuel d'archéologie française, III: Le costume (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1916), p. 360.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This study has established certain undeniable facts about the Budlong crozier. It has also entered into areas of speculation. These are interesting in the overall picture. They cannot be counted in the actual body of knowledge about the crozier, however, without further proof.

Two basic facts have been established.

1. The crozier is a pastiche. The primary source of its design was a thirteenth century Limoges crozier in the Louvre. Elements from other sources were added to the basic concept.

2. The miniature painting on the crozier was done in the workshop of the Spanish Forger. This has been established both iconographically and stylistically.

These two facts lead to the conclusion that the crozier is a forgery. This is borne out by the technical analysis.

At least two forgers were involved in the creation of the crozier, an ivory carver and a painter. The painter has been identified with a particular workshop. The identity of the carver is unknown.

The Spanish Forger was active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The crozier can therefore be dated during this period. The closest approximation which can be given at this time is between 1890 and 1915.

The Spanish Forger's workshop is thought to have been in Paris and the primary model for the crozier was in the Louvre. It is probable therefore that the crozier was made in Paris.

Although the Budlong crozier is a forgery, it is nevertheless a finely and cleverly executed piece. It has considerable beauty and appeal in its own right. The carving is highly proficient. The proportions are harmonious. The painting is jewel-like. Paintings by the Spanish Forger are now sought after by collectors. The crozier is an elegant asset to the collection of the Arizona State Museum. Its greatest value and interest, however, is historic. It can contribute to a larger study of the rampant practice of forging medieval art objects. In particular it can provide additional information about an identifiable workshop of forgers.

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