

**STRIVING FOR THE INFINITE ?  
THE MORESQUE AT THE TIME OF FRANCIS I AND HENRY VIII**

by

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## ABSTRACT

The *Tales of the Alhambra* by Washington Irving still capture the contemporary imagination. The arabesque with its cumulative rhythmic effect and the total coverage of the decorative field is a dominant feature of ornament in the Alhambra in Granada. As 'moresque' the stylized interlaced foliage pattern becomes part of European ornament up to the level of complete absorption. The introductory essay searches for the origins and the development of the arabesque and follows some major routes into the canon of European ornament. Also, some differences in meaning and function of Islamic and European ornament are explored. The court of Francis I and Henry VIII as important Renaissance artistic centres are taken as examples to show the dissemination of the moresque across Europe. The fourteen exhibits illustrate the application and the appropriation of the arabesque in various media and for various purposes. The journey starts in the Alhambra, follows Diego de Çaias to France and England, goes from Damascus to Venice with damascened vessels on board. There the 'pockets' are filled with (pattern) books bound in morocco leather and the way of Tagliente and Pellegrin to France is reiterated. Finally, the patterns are traced at the court of Henry VIII. The exhibits show that besides fulfilling a particular function and having a certain meaning ornament is endowed with the property of carrying beauty and providing pleasure.

'If to the Infinite you want to stride

Just walk in the Finite to every side.'

(J. W. von Goethe, *Gedichte und Epen I*,

*Alterswerke, Sprüche I*, 4)

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## I. INTRODUCTION: MORESQUE OR ARABESQUE ?

The term 'arabesque' is generally used to describe stylized interlaced foliage patterns. As 'moresque' they became a major element in European ornament in the first half of the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Some authors use the term *mauresques* or *Moorish tracery*, a term derived from the Moors, Muslims living in North Africa and Southern Spain, while in the sixteenth century the motif was designated in Italian as *rabesche* or *arabesche*, in French as *moresques* and *damasquinures*, and in Latin as *maurusias*. The top of the confusion was reached in the eighteenth century, when the *Encyclopédie* defined the word 'arabesque' essentially as the *grotesque*<sup>1</sup>. The origins of the 'moresque' are found in Islamic art where the Arabic term *tawriq* implies that the description of the term 'arabesque' is restricted to foliage; it is preserved in *ataurique*, a term used by Spanish authors to designate the genuine 'arabesque' as understood by Riegl<sup>2</sup>. The term 'arabesque' is a European, not an Arabic, word dating perhaps to the fifteenth or sixteenth century when Renaissance artists used Islamic designs for book ornament and decorative bookbindings<sup>3</sup>. In Hispano-Mauresque art from the tenth century the arabesque predominates almost to the exclusion of other ornamental forms<sup>4</sup>, and from Islamic Spain it found its way in the late fifteenth century to the Christian countries.

Also, the moresque was absorbed in the mainstream of European design via Venice where at the end of the fifteenth century damascened and engraved metalwork, a technique originating in Mesopotamia, Persia and Syria, was densely decorated with such ornament. The patterns were sometimes referred to as 'damascins'<sup>5</sup>.

Tagliente's *Opera Nuova*, Venice 1527, and Zoppino's *Esemplario di Lavori*, first edition 1529, sixth edition 1539, both intended as pattern books for needlework included moresques. An unknown artist called Master f working in Venice during the 1520s and 1530s assembled moresques described as suitable for painters, rug weavers, needleworkers,

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<sup>1</sup> Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, New York, London, Paris, 1994, p. 278

<sup>2</sup> Kühnel, E., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Leiden, London, 1960, vol. i, 'arabesque', Riegl, A., *Stilfragen*, Berlin, 1893; Kain, E. (trans. by), *Problems of Style*, Princeton, 1992, chapter 4

<sup>3</sup> Turner, J. (ed. by), *The Dictionary of Art*, London 1996, vol. ii, 'arabesque'

<sup>4</sup> Kühnel, E., *Die Arabeske*, Graz, 1977, p. 10

<sup>5</sup> Lewis, P., Darley, G., *Dictionary of Ornament*, London, 1986, p. 35

goldsmiths, stonecutters and glass engravers. He described his patterns as laurel leaves in the manner of the Persians, Assyrians, Arabs, Egyptians, Indians, Turks and Greeks<sup>6</sup>. Once part of the canon of European ornament the abstract curving foliage from the East was combined with Western formal and symmetrical bandwork or strapwork. Over the centuries the word has been used to describe various winding vegetal decoration and meandering themes in music. The term 'arabesque' is properly applied only to Islamic vegetal motifs<sup>7</sup>.

Alois Riegl was the first to elaborate the principal features of the arabesque: the geometrization of the tendrils, the particular vegetal elements used, the two-dimensional palmettes or the acanthus half leaves of antiquity or their Byzantine derivatives, the infinite rapport and the relationship between the tendrils and blossom motifs becoming integral, embedded portions of the tendrils<sup>8</sup>.

According to Riegl, the motifs in arabesque ornament are not descended directly from the more severely stylized Greek palmette but from the naturalistic version found in Hellenistic and Roman art<sup>9</sup>. In arabesque ornament the individual tendrils are allowed to intersect and cut through one another repeatedly. At regular intervals within the overall pattern, they create enclosed polygonal compartments with curved sides containing the internal flower tendrils, thus obtaining a more independent and important status in comparison to the blossom motifs<sup>10</sup>. The desire to emancipate the palmette had been central to the evolutionary process behind the tendril ornament of classical antiquity. The goal of Greek artists had been to reinvigorate palmette tendrils, Islamic artists had striven to schematize them into geometric abstraction<sup>11</sup>. The blossoms that are embedded and treated in an unnaturalistic manner are mainly the half palmettes and the bifurcating tendrils<sup>12</sup>.

The arabesque is found in all the regions that converted to Islam over the centuries: North Africa with Lower Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and Persia, the provinces of the Roman Empire, regions that were familiar with the formal vocabulary of Greco-Roman art.

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<sup>6</sup> Lewis, P., Darley, G., *Dictionary of Ornament*, op. cit., p. 35

<sup>7</sup> Turner, J. (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, op. cit., vol. ii, 'arabesque'

<sup>8</sup> Riegl, A., *Problems of Style*, op. cit., p. 267

<sup>9</sup> Idem, *Problems of Style*, op. cit., p. 233

<sup>10</sup> Idem, *Problems of Style*, op. cit., p. 234

<sup>11</sup> Idem, *Problems of Style*, op. cit., p. 235

<sup>12</sup> Idem, *Problems of Style*, op. cit., p. 239

Riegl emphasizes that, since the vegetal tendril ornament became once more the most important decorative element during the Middle Ages in the same geographic areas, the later ornament must have depended on what preceded it.

Therefore, the development of vegetal ornament can be divided in three main periods: the formative one (seventh to early tenth century), the period of ornamental integration (tenth to thirteenth century) and the final phases (fourteenth to seventeenth century). During the first centuries, the variety of naturalistically rendered acanthus and vine scrolls is derived from Late Antique and ancient Iranian and other eastern civilizations. At the same time there occur palmettes, half- and wing palmettes and vine leaves with smooth contours and flat surfaces which make space for additional ornamentation. The latter are particularly common in ninth- to tenth-century Mesopotamian and Iranian architectural ornament and ceramics<sup>13</sup>. From this vegetal decoration developed the bevelled style in Greater Mesopotamia in the early ninth century. The art of Samarra is regarded as a turning point in Islamic art because of the transformation and integration of floral and other plant elements into compact and complex patterns (ill. 1). Spain was the only area that retained to a certain extent Syrian-Umayyad stylistic features and plant motifs. There is a relationship between the marble panels of the mihrab of the Great Mosque of Cordoba, the plant ornaments and rosettes of the eastern facade of Mshatta and several of the carved wooden panels of the minbar of the Great Mosque of Qairawan (ill. 2, 3, 4)<sup>14</sup>. On the illustrated Umayyad ivory casket the plant motifs are deeply carved and the feathery leaves are folded over being plastically rendered instead of being flattened out (ill. 5). By the end of the tenth century and during the eleventh, the fully developed arabesque begins to appear in different media and in a variety of forms. By the twelfth to thirteenth century, the arabesque appears in nearly all artistic media in a variety of elaborations, such as a large terracotta brick excavated at Ghazni with a relatively simple arabesque reminiscent of Samarra Style B carvings (ill. 6)<sup>15</sup>. The infinite character of the arabesque created by constantly merging and separating stalks, palmettes and other plant elements is further enhanced in patterns which combine vegetal motifs with different types of arches,

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<sup>13</sup> Baer, E., Islamic Ornament, Edinburgh, 1998, p.7

<sup>14</sup> Eadem, Islamic Ornament, op. cit., p. 15

<sup>15</sup> Eadem, Islamic Ornament, op. cit., p. 15

arcades or linked star-medallions. These geometric motifs form a kind of basic grid which interweaves with the arabesque, enriches its character and stresses its fluidity (ill. 7). The evolution of the arabesque culminates in Asia Minor in the mid- and late thirteenth century. As a result of the Mongol invasion and new trade and other contacts with China, more and more floral motifs of Far Eastern origin, like lotus plants and leaves, peonies and different composite flowers begin to appear in the vegetal repertoire during the third period. The earliest Chinese-inspired floral motifs seem to occur on ceramics (ill. 8)<sup>16</sup>. Several pieces of Mamluk silk illustrate the lavish use of Chinese floral motifs in fourteenth-century textiles. Iran and Central Asia were not the only countries to copy and incorporate Chinese floral ornaments into their artistic vocabulary. Trade relations with Mediterranean countries like Syria, Egypt and Turkey brought about a change of taste tending towards more exotic, organically growing vegetal motifs which, just as in Iran, were borrowed from Chinese porcelain and other imported goods (ill. 9)<sup>17</sup>. But Chinese flowers and plants never completely ousted or supplanted the arabesque. Moreover, instead of understanding the arabesque simply as a form, it could be considered as an idea<sup>18</sup>. Grabar's aim is to know how to interpret this phenomenon and whether a negative meaning should be attributed to it as an expression of the rejection of other forms, or a positive one as the expression of certain ideas on the reality of the visible world. Thus, Grabar looks at the nature of ornamentation in general more than Riegl does, but acknowledges the validity of his definition of the arabesque in *Stilfragen*<sup>19</sup>. According to Grabar, the uniqueness of the arabesque was almost never in the radical invention of new forms, but rather in the way of treating forms. Therefore it is more an idea, a "structure", or a mode than it is a style. However, he applies the term 'arabesque' to early Islamic ornament as it was applied during the Italian Renaissance for its much later successors<sup>20</sup>. Developing Riegl's ideas, Kühnel stresses the cumulative rhythmic effect, the total coverage of the decorative field and the renouncement from plastic effects<sup>21</sup>. As with other tendrils

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<sup>16</sup> Eadem, *Islamic Ornament*, op. cit., p. 20

<sup>17</sup> Eadem, *Islamic Ornament*, op. cit., p. 24; see Rawson, J., *The Lotus and the Dragon*, London, 1984, chapter 5, 'Chinese Motifs in Iranian and Turkish Art'

<sup>18</sup> Grabar, O., *The Formation of Islamic Art*, New Haven, London, 1987, p. 193

<sup>19</sup> Idem, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, op. cit., p. 211

<sup>20</sup> Idem, *The Formation of Islamic Art*, op. cit., p. 193

<sup>21</sup> Kühnel, E., *Die Arabeske*, op. cit., pp. 6, 11

ornament, the main elements of the arabesque are the leaves and the stalk. The leaves may be flat or curved, pointed, round or rolled, smooth or rough, feathered or pierced, but never isolated and always joined to the stalk for which it serves as an adjunct or a terminal. The stalk itself may be undulating, spiral or interlaced, going through the leaf or issuing again from it, but always connected with it<sup>22</sup>.

In this context, the term 'arabesque' is used for the stylized variant of the Islamic (vegetal) arabesque. The cumulative rhythmic effect and the total coverage of the decorative field are characteristic features. As 'moresque' it becomes part of European ornament and appears in France and England in the early sixteenth century.

## II. ORNAMENT

### 1. Function and meaning of Islamic ornament:

In order to understand the function and meaning of ornament in the muslim and the western world it is necessary, firstly, to define ornament in general. It is a decorative device applied or incorporated as embellishment. Ornament and pattern are not essential to the structure of an object but they can emphasize or disguise structural elements and they can fulfill an iconographic role. Ornament is both functional and contextual in relating one thing to another<sup>23</sup>. A study of ornament does not only provide information about the aesthetics of the society applying it but also about contemporary social and political values<sup>24</sup>. Ornament is endowed with the property of carrying beauty and of providing pleasure<sup>25</sup>.

A proper understanding of the meaning of Islamic ornament can only be reached by studying the formal and technical aspects as well as considering the regional, social and religious differences of the people who created the decoration. As in medieval times, today ornament is interpreted in different ways. Kühnel stresses the decorative character of the arabesque and insists that it lacks any symbolic value<sup>26</sup>. For Ardalan and Bakhtiar, arabesques recreate through 'Nature the cosmic process of the Creator', and the infinity of

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<sup>22</sup> Idem, *Die Arabeske*, op. cit., p. 6

<sup>23</sup> Snodin, M., Howard, M., *Ornament*, New Haven, London, 1996, p. 11

<sup>24</sup> Turner, J. (ed. by), *The Dictionary of Art*, op. cit., vol. xxiii, 'ornament and pattern', p.531

<sup>25</sup> Grabar, O., *The Mediation of Ornament*, op. cit., p. 226

<sup>26</sup> Kühnel, E., *Die Arabeske*, op. cit., pp. 7, 8

the arabesque is compared by them to the 'manifold forms and patterns of the Creator'. "The arabesque constitutes a simultaneous space-time synthesis in which the action of cyclical patterns on a geometric base coalesces in ascending spirals of spiritual realization"<sup>27</sup>. Gombrich is very reluctant to accept 'religious symbolic connotations' because Islam stresses the overriding power of Allah, whose omnipotence totally exceeds human thought and calculation. The search for meaning is combined with the tendency of looking for some principle of unity among all manifestations of a culture or period<sup>28</sup>. Piotrovsky ascribes similar meanings to the arabesque as Ardalan and Bakhtiar: to delight the eye and hint at general spiritual representations and basic beliefs. Thus, it expresses the eternal movement and multiplicity of form<sup>29</sup>. According to Piotrovsky, in Islam every work of art is assessed in relation to a religious world view. There is (in theory) no division between the temporal and the spiritual. On the other hand, religious and political practice requires an artistic formulation. Ornamentation, which is by its very nature endless, is a perfect vehicle to illustrate the existence of one God 'without whom there is no God, and to whom there is none equal'<sup>30</sup>.

Although some ornaments were meant to communicate certain ideas, the main function of ornament is to embellish the surface and to express ideas of beauty and aesthetic concepts, using forms, materials and techniques fashionable at the time. Connected with vegetal motifs are ideas of welfare, be it in this or the other world. In this sense flowers may be the most common visual expression for the earthly but also for the celestial Garden of Paradise<sup>31</sup>. According to Grabar, vegetation suggests or evokes life. Without representing life, it provides a sense of growth and movement. Often art had to tame those life forces, by geometry for instance. But it always burst out, for vegetation or nature is at the same time the most common and most recalcitrant of all intermediaries<sup>32</sup>. According to Grabar, all the transformations of nature are psychologically and visually related to each other and

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<sup>27</sup> Ardalan, N., Bakhtiar, L., The Sense of Unity, Chicago, London, 1973, p. 45; Baer, E., Islamic Ornament, op. cit., p. 89

<sup>28</sup> Gombrich, E., The Sense of Order, London, 1984, p. 225

<sup>29</sup> Piotrovsky, M., 'Monotheism and Ornamentation', Earthly beauty, Heavenly art, (exhibition catalogue), Amsterdam, 1999, pp. 30, 26

<sup>30</sup> Idem, 'Monotheism and Ornamentation', op. cit., p. 26; 'Iconoclasm', op. cit., p. 35

<sup>31</sup> Turner, J. (ed. by), The Dictionary of Art, op. cit., vol. xxiii, 'ornament and pattern', p.561

<sup>32</sup> Grabar, O., The Mediation of Ornament, op. cit., p. 224

in their use they form an intermediary zone between use or viewer and work of art. Also, certain ways of handling and showing nature are intermediaries in the perception and understanding of visual forms<sup>33</sup>.

Therefore, the issue is not in the identification of a motif, but in the sensory reactions to order and plan or to a perpetual circular motion, to dark colours, to a festival of lines, to contrasts between colours - in short, to a translation of the vegetal world of the design into definitions of being or of becoming, not to a transfer of forms from one arbitrary code to the even more arbitrary code of speech<sup>34</sup>. The designs themselves fulfill their purpose if they lead the viewer or the user to behave in some way or other towards the object.

## 2. A new approach to ornament:

A new approach to ornament which gradually transformed its character and gave it its distinctive marks was already apparent in early Islamic art. Islam was always strongly based on the proclamation of the Word and of the divine Message, and it developed a relatively small number of religious or pious signs<sup>35</sup>. The integration of epigraphy into the overall decorative programme is a feature of Islamic ornament. Inscriptions were not only a means of information but also a vehicle of decoration. One characteristic is the transformation of subsidiary motifs and designs into the main decorative theme. Another feature associated with Islamic ornament is geometry. As a matrix into which other forms are interwoven, as a means to create coherence and infinity and as a device factor in the creation of overall patterns it fulfills several functions which are equally applicable to the arabesque. The richness and variability stems from subdivisions and linear extensions of the geometric network. Additionally, the continuous interlocking and overlapping of forms bring about new sub-units and shapes. Ettinghausen suggests that closeness was associated with pleasantness and richly planted gardens affected the taste and aesthetic attitude of Muslims. Sumptuousness means wealth and beauty is expressed by plenty<sup>36</sup>. Ettinghausen further suggests the architecture of densely populated Near Eastern cities as an explanation

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<sup>33</sup> Idem, *The Mediation of Ornament*, op. cit., p. 202

<sup>34</sup> Idem, *The Mediation of Ornament*, op. cit., p. 219

<sup>35</sup> Idem, *The Mediation of Ornament*, op. cit., p. 214, footnote 27

<sup>36</sup> Turner, J. (ed. by), *The Dictionary of Art*, op. cit., vol. xxiii, 'ornament and pattern', p.563

for the tendency in Islamic art to completely fill the surface with ornament, the *horror vacui*. Gombrich calls it the *amor infiniti*, the love of the infinite aiming at surmounting all constraints<sup>37</sup>. The compactness of living and working quarters was apparently not regarded as a deficiency but was regarded as a way of life, increasing the sense of community and security, and creating the precondition for fulfilling the basic requirements of religious, educational and social experiences<sup>38</sup>. Thus, the luxurious growth of ornaments in art, especially when based on vegetal motifs, has a specific and positive association.

### 3. Mobility of ornament:

Designs were frequently transmitted from one medium to another in the Islamic and in the Western world. This can be explained by a 'yearning for embellishment'. A second explanation is the impact of tradition and the availability of materials. A third explanation is the obsession in Islamic civilization with textiles, expressed in the use of textiles to decorate objects and buildings. According to Golombek the quantity of terminology for textiles is significant and tells a great deal about the movement of textiles as objects of trade, the cash-in-hand, negotiable anywhere in the world<sup>39</sup>. Since many garments were worn simultaneously the development of many terms may have been stimulated. Colour-consciousness is another aspect of this obsession with textiles and the size of the textile vocabulary is partly due to a heightened sensitivity to colour and patterns<sup>40</sup>. Textiles could reflect social values and codes of behaviour, but they might also be actual tools of the social system, reflecting the bearer's public and private state<sup>41</sup>. Wealth was measured in terms of textile possessions. Additionally, textile furnishings were important for indoor and outdoor living. The royal precincts were totally draped and spread with textiles according to seasonal changes and representational purposes. Golombek describes the development of interlace as parallel to an increasing interest in more complex geometric compositions in

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<sup>37</sup> Gombrich, E., *The Sense of Order*, London, 1984, p. 82

<sup>38</sup> Ettinghausen, R., 'The Taming of the Horror Vacui in Islamic Art', *Islamic Art and Archeology*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 1305-1309, p. 1308

<sup>39</sup> Golombek, L., 'The Draped Universe of Islam', *Content and Context of Visual Arts in the Islamic World*, Pennsylvania University Park, London, 1988, pp. 25-49, pp. 26, 33

<sup>40</sup> Eadem, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-49, p. 34

<sup>41</sup> Eadem, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-49, pp. 28, 30

the early history of Islamic ornament<sup>42</sup>. In the tenth-eleventh century interlace dominates, providing a means of penetrating two-dimensional space and opening the way for the development of the multilevel arabesque, which Ettinghausen compares with 'polyphonic music'<sup>43</sup>. Thus, the origin of the preference for interlace may be found in the "textile mentality". The preeminence of textiles also explains why different media share the same decorative treatment which is also observable in European ornament.

#### 4. Function and meaning of European ornament:

To understand the function and meaning of the 'arabesque', or more precisely the 'moresque', in European ornament at the time of Francis I and Henry VIII, it is necessary to place the application of this particular ornament within the broader phenomenon of exoticism. It derives from many different impulses, including trade and imperial conquest<sup>44</sup>. In addition, since the Renaissance, 'exotic artefacts' helped designers to find new ways of expression and free themselves from containing and enframing classical ornament. At the level of complete absorption, the moresque motifs of the Near East pushed Renaissance pattern towards a new level of complexity<sup>45</sup>. There were two major periods during which Muslim decorative arts and painting had an impact on the arts of Europe: the eleventh to the thirteenth century, the Crusades, and from the end of the fifteenth century throughout the sixteenth century. During the period of the Renaissance a new freedom of spirit and a new world-awareness overcame old prejudices. It was 'a sporadic digestive process' in which certain patterns were incorporated in the general canon of European ornament, losing their identity. The West particularly appreciated the patterns, such as animal designs and their organizational schemes as found on medieval textiles (ill. 10), as well as the arabesque and knot designs which fascinated the Renaissance artist in its ability to decorate flat surfaces with appealing patterns (ill. 11a-c)<sup>46</sup>. Also the intellectual climate of the period, the love of puzzle and pun, is a possible reason for the fascination that the arabesque

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<sup>42</sup> Eadem, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-49, p. 35

<sup>43</sup> Eadem, 'The Draped Universe of Islam', *loc. cit.*, pp. 25-49, p. 36; Ettinghausen, R., 'The Taming of the Horror Vacui in Islamic Art', *loc. cit.*, pp. 1305-1309, p. 1308

<sup>44</sup> Snodin, M., Howard, M., *Ornament*, op. cit., p. 181

<sup>45</sup> Snodin, M., Howard, M., *Ornament*, op. cit., p. 182

<sup>46</sup> Ettinghausen, R., 'The Impact of Muslim Decorative Arts and Painting on the Arts of Europe', *Islamic Art and Archeology*, Berlin, 1984, pp. 1074-1119, pp. 1095, 1096

exerted. The importance of the designs for Islamic metalwork for instance, must have fitted in the criteria of Albertian decorum as well as provided references to cosmology.

Astronomy and astrology were the passion of the sixteenth century. The planetary associations of the metal bowls are unambiguous in Islamic terms<sup>47</sup>.

One major difference between the Islamic and the Western world is the fact that when encountering the European moresque, for the first time names are connected with this specific ornament. The nature of the arabesque in Islamic art is anonymous. Names connected with the development of the arabesque would contradict its predominant aim: the liberation from the transience of earthly boundries<sup>48</sup>. In European ornament, the moresque was used for aims in this world: the display of a cosmopolitan outlook, education, wealth and influence.

### III. THE MORESQUE IN FRANCE

Examples of Islamic design and ornament had long been known to Europeans through trade relations in goods all over the Mediterranean, and especially between Italian mercantile states (notably Venice) and Islamic cultures in the Near East, Egypt and Spain. Venetians and other traders lived and had warehouses abroad. In Spain a mixed community allowed Islamic decorative elements to appear on Christian and Jewish buildings and artefacts. The moresque was introduced into France via two different routes: Spain and Italy.

1. Regular commerce and diplomatic relations with the Iberian Peninsula brought Spanish objects to France and explains in fifteenth century inventories, such as that of King René of Sicily, drawn up in Angers in 1471, fabrics, boxes, and other containers made of damascened metal and of leather "à l'ouvrage de moresque", or "façon d'Espagne"<sup>49</sup>. The technique of damascening seems to have survived during the Middle Ages only in the East. In the early sixteenth century, it was reintroduced in the West and became extremely

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<sup>47</sup> Auld, S. 'Master Mahmud: Objects fit for a prince', *Arte Veneziana e Arte Islamica*, Venezia, 1989, pp. 185-201, p. 190

<sup>48</sup> Kühnel, E., *Die Arabeske*, op. cit., pp. 12, 30; Even if the names of Islamic artists are known in some cases, almost nothing else can be discovered. Auld, S., 'Master Mahmud: Objects fit for a prince', *loc. cit.*, pp. 185-201, p. 185

<sup>49</sup> Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., p. 287

fashionable from 1540 onwards, especially for the decoration of arms and armour. One of its sources was Spain, where the art of damascening was practised by the Moors and acquired by the Christian conquerors<sup>50</sup>. The technique of damascening was favoured at the court of the Nasrid kings in Granada. The craftsman Diego de Çaias, the "maker of damascened swords", disseminated the moresque by his skill to the court of Francis I and Henry VIII (cat. 2, ill. 12). He is documented at the court of Francis I from 1535. His career subsequently took him to England to the court of Henry VIII and Edward VI.

Spanish metal objects inspired the development of the moresque in France more than glazed pottery. Nevertheless, Hispano-Moresque earthenware is the ultimate source of inspiration and technical skills leading to the flowering of maiolica, faience and delft throughout Europe. According to Gruber, one reason is that the formal vocabulary used in Iberian glazed pottery was considerably less refined<sup>51</sup>. Looking at Hispano-Moresque earthenware, this argument is soon disproved. Maybe the later Italian maiolica under Renaissance influence suited the French taste more than the Spanish wares. The emergence of the Arabo-Berber civilization in Spain at the beginning of the eighth century was to create a mixture of indigenous and Roman techniques with North African and oriental influences. Out of this mixture would be developed the ceramics of the Islamic epoch, within a new political and cultural entity known as al-Andalus. In the caliphal period al-Andalus would embrace almost the entire Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands, but at the end of the fifteenth century, it would encompass only the Nasrid kingdom<sup>52</sup>. During the Islamic period glazes were the most important technical resource. Lustre was a substitute for the gold and silver vessels proscribed by the Qur'an. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Nasrid ceramics appeared. These represent the last and perhaps the most splendid state of al-Andalus production. Nasrid ceramic art culminated with the production of the great jars, the so-called Alhambra vases, in lustre and blue (cat. 1) or lustre alone (ill. 13). Because of their size and their decoration they were famous at the time

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<sup>50</sup> Blair, C., 'A Royal Swordsmith and Damascener: Diego de Çaias', Metropolitan Museum Journal 3, New York, 1970, pp. 149-189, pp. 152, 153

<sup>51</sup> Gruber, A., The History of Decorative Arts, op. cit., p. 287

<sup>52</sup> Rosselló Bordoy, G., 'The Ceramics of al-Andalus', Al-Andalus, (exhibition catalogue), New York, 1992, pp. 97-103, p. 97

and exported to such faraway places as Cairo<sup>53</sup>. The exhibited vase is decorated with finely stylized arabesques in blue and gold. The production of such ornament in pottery decorated with lustre, intended only for display, is a measure of the wealth of the society at the time and its high regard for lustreware<sup>54</sup>. Many armorial pieces with identifiable Italian arms exist which indicate a considerable traffic in lustre wares between the kingdom of Naples, which was ruled during the fifteenth century by the kings of Aragon, and Tuscany<sup>55</sup>. In the 1440s, tiles from Valencia were used to build a new castle at Naples for Alfonso of Aragon, a reminder that one major route taken by Islamic influence on Italy was through the south, coming from Spain.

2. In Italy plates, platters, bowls, ewers and military accessories brought back from the East by Venetian merchants prompted the development of a European taste for moresque designs. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, a significant influence on the Italian decorative arts was discernible. In metalworking, the moresque was often associated with the technique of damascening, a term derived from Damascus, one of the most important centres for the production. This technique spread from Persia during the twelfth century to Syria in the following and was taken up by Egypt under the reign of the Mameluk sultans (1250-1517)<sup>56</sup>.

It is no longer generally accepted that Muslim or Saracen artists had established workshops in Venice, because the Venetian guild system would have prevented this. However, Auld suggests the possibility of non-Christians working on Serenissima territory (perhaps in Dalmatia)<sup>57</sup>. One indication for the environment in which the artists worked is whether they signed their work or stayed anonymous according to the anonymous character of Muslim art. Since the ewer in the exhibition (cat. 3) is not signed, it might have been fabricated in the Middle East for export to the West in accordance with specifications as to

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<sup>53</sup> Idem, 'The Ceramics of al-Andalus', op. cit., pp. 97-103, p. 102

<sup>54</sup> Cooper, E., A History of World Pottery, London, 1988, p. 88

<sup>55</sup> Morley-Fletcher, H., McIlroy, R., Christie's Pictorial History of European Pottery, Oxford, 1984, p. 11

<sup>56</sup> Gruber, A., The History of Decorative Arts, op. cit., p. 279

<sup>57</sup> Auld, S., 'Master Mahmud: Objects fit for a prince', loc. cit., pp. 185-201, p. 186; Allan, J., 'Venetian-Saracenic Metalwork: the problems of provenance', Arte Veneziana e Arte Islamica, pp. 167-183, pp. 167, 168

shape and ornament provided by Venetian purchasers. The presence of Venetian coats of arms on many damascened metalwork objects can be explained by the close commercial and diplomatic relations<sup>58</sup>. In letters dated between 1508 and 1511, Lorenzo da Pavia, the commercial and artistic agent for Isabella d'Este, the duchess of Mantua, refers to several trips to Damascus and to galleys from Alexandria, the port from which Cairo shipped its products; he also discusses the artistic quality of certain older pieces, superior in his estimation to that of more contemporary objects intended for the export market. The damascened copper box in illustration 14 is signed "Zain ad-Din, son of Master Umar, metalworker" in a discreeter way than a similar box and cover in the Courtauld Institute. Zayn al-Din is closely associated stylistically with Master Mahmud, the artist of the Courtauld box. Because of the discreet way of signing it could be accepted that the first box was produced in a Muslim environment, probably Persia or Syria<sup>59</sup>.

Florence followed Venice in the taste for the *moresque* and in the fifteenth century, the grand dukes of Tuscany, especially Piero di Cosimo de' Medici (1416-69) and Lorenzo (1449-92), assembled a large collection of Islamic objects. It included some 160 pieces grouped together in the inventory under the rubric *Richordo delle chose da Domascho*. There were basins, candle holders, perfume burners, boxes and vases, all designated *alla domaschina* or *turchesi*, sometimes even as *moreschi*. The attraction of these objects must have lain in the workmanship, the exoticism of design, inscription and the various metals. The fascination with their exotic nature is demonstrated by their presence in the princely *Wunderkammer*. European craftsmen soon learned the technique known as *all'azzimina*, being the Venetian form of *agemina*, coming from *al-'ajem*, the Arabic term meaning "non-Arab"<sup>60</sup>. Between 1525 and 1553, the Negroli brothers in Milan reached mastery in the luxury production sought after from Amsterdam to Malta (compare cat. 4). Also, Milanese armor with Italian *moresques* was found at every European court and was much appreciated in France<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>58</sup> Ward, R., 'Metallarbeiten der Mamluken-Zeit, hergestellt für den Export nach Europa', *Europa und der Orient 800-1900*, (exhibition catalogue), Berlin, 1989, pp. 202-209, p. 206

<sup>59</sup> Auld, S. 'Master Mahmud: Objects fit for a prince', *loc. cit.*, pp. 185-201, p. 186; Gambier-Parry Collection, Courtauld Institute, London, Cat. No. 79, brass engraved and inlaid with silver, D. 15, 6 cm, H. 7, 6 cm; Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., p. 283

<sup>60</sup> Auld, S., 'Master Mahmud: Objects fit for a prince', *loc. cit.*, pp. 185-201, pp. 187, 188

<sup>61</sup> Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., p. 291

In addition to the importance of Venice as a centre of trade with the East, it was the principal centre of the book trade in Europe. Thereby, information about new patterns were disseminated via pattern-books, decorated title-pages and bindings of Venetian books. Knotted strapwork or stylized vegetal stems formed the structure of the Near Eastern patterns that were imitated by Europeans during the sixteenth century. Often they were combined with moresques becoming fully integrated with the knotwork to form a single type of ornament that was quickly adopted all over Europe (compare cat. 3)<sup>62</sup>. Most books at the time were sold sewn into paper covers, and the purchaser could then have the book bound according to his wishes and at his own expense. Venetian binders quite often bound books for important private libraries in Germany and France or for wealthy foreign patrons temporarily resident in Venice. At the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century, the most beautiful bindings of Aldus Manutius were covered with stamped moresques (ill. 17).

The assimilation of the moresque into the Italian ornamental vocabulary took place as "embroidery patterns" in ornamental prints, which along with bindings and damascened objects were the primary instruments for disseminating the motif throughout Europe<sup>63</sup>. The first set of embroidery patterns including the moresque was Giovanni Antonio Tagliente's *Opera nuova che insegna alle Donne a cusire, a racamare...*, published in 1527. For the application in European ornament certain elements from the richly decorated damascened metalwork had to be chosen. Tagliente preferred the frieze configurations and adapted them in his collections of ornament. The paintings of Cima da Conegliano (c. 1469-c.1517), Vittore Carpaccio (c. 1465-1525) and Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* from 1504 feature clothing in which such designs were used (ill. 18a-c). Only few examples of embroidered moresques have survived because of the fragility of the supporting fabric and the practice of burning outmoded embroideries and tapestries to recover any gold and silver used in their fabrication.

Ornamentalists recast the motifs hoping to make them more consistent with European taste. Nicolo d'Aristotile, known as Zoppino, reissued a number of Tagliente's designs in a

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<sup>62</sup> Thornton, P., *Form and Decoration*, London, 1998, p. 31

<sup>63</sup> Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., p. 284

set of prints published in Venice in 1529 and entitled *Esemplario di lavori*. In 1530 Giovanni Andrea Vavassore included some designs by a Master f in his collection *Corona di Racammi*, which in turn was partly copied by Alessandro Paganino's *Libro de Rechami*, published around 1532<sup>64</sup>. Thus, reprinting and plagiarism was widespread and impossible to control.

The use of the moresque was not restricted to textiles. Architectural decors, furniture designs and musical instruments were equally decorated. Certain Italian pottery workshops depicted the moresque on their platters, plates, and floor tiles, such as on the destroyed maiolica paving of the Vatican Loggie, their design known through a drawing by Francesco La Vega, or the floor tiles manufactured in Deruta according to an ornamental engraving by Master f (ill. 19a, b). As indicated above, the Italian maiolica production was influenced by Hispano-Moresque lustre pottery via Mallorca.

3. The moresque was disseminated in France by Francisque Pellegrin's *La Fleur de la science de pourtraicture et patrons de broderie façon arabique et italique*, Paris 1530, and the unknown master G.J..

Francisque Pellegrin's designs were inspired by Islamic models and Italian adaptations (ill. 20). The Florentine arrived in France around 1525-28. In 1533 the royal account book mentions one "Dominicque de Rota, de Venise, ouvrier en moresque". He was one of the first Italian artists summoned by Francis I and between 1534 - 1536 Pellegrin collaborated with Rosso Fiorentino on the Grand Gallery at Fontainebleau. Pellegrin's collection of more than sixty woodcuts disseminated the moresque in France and England. In 1546 Jérôme de Gormont reissued it with commentaries. Pellegrin's tracery designs were inspired by Moorish objects from the Medici collection in Florence as well as by prints and other works produced in Venice<sup>65</sup>.

Pellegrin's models were intended for embroidery, but adaptable for the use on frames of paintings and on Limoges enamels (ill. 21) as well as Saint-Porchaire pottery in combina-

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<sup>64</sup> Byrne, J. S., 'Patterns by Master f', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, vol. 14, New York, 1979, pp. 103-138; pp. 106, 107 for the question of the identity of Master f.

<sup>65</sup> Idem, *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., p. 287

tion with other designs (cat. 8). The frame of the *Portrait of Guy Chabot, Baron of Jarnac*, by Léonard Limosin was inspired by a print from Pellegrin's *La Fleur de la Science ...*, plate 27. On the Saint-Porchaire ewer (cat. 8) stylized and abstract ornamental elements are contrasted with three-dimensional hybrid creatures. The moresques friezes were inspired by models by Francisque Pellegrin. The patterns were used for more than one object and are very close to stamped and gilded friezes on contemporary French bindings imitating Italian examples, such as the cover of a binding of the *Opera* of Aristotle by Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1495. These designs entered France via Venice and Milan. Jean Grolier, treasurer of France and receiver general in Milan, purchased Milanese bindings and commissioned some from Aldus Manutius in Venice. He gave an important impulse for gilt-bindings in France<sup>66</sup>. Claude de Picques introduced the azurés irons with trefoil motifs in France, probably working for Henri II in 1539 and Jean Grolier, possibly Anne de Montmorency, according to Pellegrin's designs. The relationship between bibliophiles, binders and gilders played an important part in the choice of decoration and composition<sup>67</sup>. The arabesque decoration on the cover of Dante's *L'Inferno* executed in a workshop in Milan for Jean Grolier, 1519, is very similar to the one on Manutius' *Opera* of Aristotle (ill. 22a, 17a).

French bindings became even more refined with the import of morocco leather from the Levant, starting in 1536. A binding from the workshop at Fontainebleau depicting moresques and the salamander of Francis I indicates the assimilation of Italian influences (cat. 6). The designs were stamped with azurés on the covers and the Moorish florets lightened by hatchings. This new technique influenced goldsmiths and armorers who adapted the moresques developments for their purposes. Alternating rinceaux and moresques mixed with interlace form the borders of *La Metamorphose d'Ovide figurée*. In 1557, the designs were created by Bernard Salomon (1520-1561) who worked for Jean de Tournes, a sixteenth century printer based in the second most important publishing centre after Paris, Lyon. Salomon's *Biblia Sacra*, published by Jean de Tournes in 1554, includes the New Testament and the Apocalypse decorated with capitals and vertical bands

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<sup>66</sup> Delange-Bazin, E., 'Lambris de la bibliothèque d'Écouen', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, Paris, 1981, pp. 252-263, p. 258

<sup>67</sup> Eadem, 'Lambris de la bibliothèque d'Écouen', *loc. cit.*, pp. 252-263, p. 259

featuring moresques (ill. 23). Some of Salomon's designs remind of work by Diego de Çaias, others are variations of Pellegrin's designs.

Also inspired by Pellegrin's designs are the gilded motifs in the library of the connétable de Montmorency at Écouen (cat. 7, ill. 20). Anne de Montmorency was one of the most important bibliophiles of his time and a collector of Saint-Porchaire pottery. The moresques on the walnut panels include all the variations of this motif found in Pellegrin's *La Fleur de la Science* ...<sup>68</sup>. The library at Écouen proves that the moresque was established in France before the accession of Henri II. This is further indicated by a portrait of Francis I by Clouet. The white satin dress of Francis I in the portrait is embellished with black velour bands decorated with embroidered, golden moresques (cat. 9). The fashion of black velour was introduced from Spain. Dating from 1527, the portrait predates Pellegrin's collection of designs. Therefore, Pellegrin did not introduce the moresque into France, but his collection of designs disseminated the pattern and assimilated it into the French ornamental vocabulary. The colour scheme of black with gold-embroidery resembles the effects on book-bindings as well as the golden moresques on the walnut paneling in the library at Écouen.

The skill of leatherworking acquired in bookbinding was used in various applications. The casket, which might have served as a model for a larger chest, is made of painted leather decorated with moresques very similar to engravings by Androuet du Cerceau (cat. 5, ill. 24). In 1563, a collection of designs entitled *Livre contenant passement de moresques tres utile a toutes gens exerçant ledict art* and attributed to Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (1510/12-after 1584) was published. It features stylized moorish leaf forms, but when star configurations in these patterns depict points or clusters, they most likely are attributable to a Master JG. Jean Gourmont, a printmaker from Lyon created designs for platters, locks and dagger sheaths. Several designs by Androuet du Cerceau also appear, in more elaborate form, in a collection published in Zürich in 1549 and are attributed to Peter Flötner. Thus, the patterns cannot be ascribed with certainty to either of the two possible authors

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<sup>68</sup> Delange-Bazin, E., 'Lambris de la bibliothèque d'Écouen', *loc. cit.*, pp. 252-263, pp. 256, 257

(ill. 25)<sup>69</sup>. By this time, pattern-books had disseminated the moresques across Europe. Pellegrin combined angular interlacing bandwork with thin foliate stems. This form of moresque became a standard motif in sixteenth century European ornament and was joined up with the heavy three-dimensional strapwork decorating the Palace of Fontainebleau in the 1530s. The resulting hybrid, developed in the second half of the sixteenth century, combined the foliage-animated straps and lively invention of the Islamic model with strapwork, producing a form of the grotesque which lay behind much European decoration for the next 250 years. Although the Islamic elements in the new form had completely lost their exotic charge they were the key to the development of the anti-classical rococo style about a hundred years later<sup>70</sup>.

#### IV. THE MORESQUE IN ENGLAND

Tagliente's set echoed the arrival of embroidered interlace in fashionable Italian dress. The idea was taken up in France. Coming via Spain and Italy into the canon of European ornament, from the court of Francis I at Fontainebleau it was already 'half the way' to England.

1. The moresque was introduced to the English court by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497-1543). He knew Islamic motifs from his trip to Lombardy in 1517, his contacts with publishing houses in Basel and the School of Fontainebleau engravings. Holbein's portraits of Henry VIII and his court show a dense display of silks, carpets and moresque-patterned clothes. These textiles represent the most intense application of Islamic and Islamic-derived ornament before the nineteenth century<sup>71</sup>. Holbein was known as the 'King's Painter' by 1536. His portrait of Henry VIII from the same year displays embroidered moreques on the doublet and sleeves of the jacket (see cat. 11). Probably, Holbein's small-format portrait of Henry VIII was intended for Francis I as indicated by the fact that it is not painted on the back, i.e. not as a foldable diptych, and resembles portraits of the French king, barely waist-length format with a clear and emphatic outline giving the figure a strong and firm

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<sup>69</sup> Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., p. 288; Delange-Bazin, E., 'Lambris de la bibliothèque d'Écouen', *loc. cit.*, pp. 252-263, footnote 35

<sup>70</sup> Snodin, M., Howard, M., *Ornament*, op. cit., p. 198

<sup>71</sup> Snodin, M., Howard, M., *Ornament*, op. cit., p. 197

character. Francis' I portrait by Clouet, measuring 96 x 74 cm, is an exception (cat. 9). By giving an artistically exceptional portrait to the French king which resembled portraits of the king, particularly reminding of Francis' I portrait adorning the *Ratification of the Treaty of Amiens*, Henry could demonstrate his superiority (ill. 26 )<sup>72</sup>.

Also, Henry bought predominantly foreign materials for the garments of the royal household: Italian silks, linen from the Low Countries, furs from the merchants of the Steelyard. He also bought finished garments such as a doublet and hose 'of white silk and gold knit' and a set of crimson and gold. When import licences were granted they were conditional upon the King having 'first sight and choice of the goods'<sup>73</sup>. While the clothes of his household were black, tawny, and russet, many of his clothes were purple, crimson or black or coloured cloth of gold or silver, colours with strong royal connotations. By wearing a doublet with moresque ornament Henry could show that he was a fashionable Renaissance prince. As in the "Draped Universe" of Islam, textiles could be tools of the social system, reflecting the bearer's public and private state. At Henry's court magnificence as opposed to luxury was displayed. Magnificence was interpreted as an Aristotelian virtue and therefore was acceptable, whereas luxury or 'luxuria' was equated with lust. However, visually and financially there would have been almost no difference between magnificence and luxury. The difference is a moral or philosophical one<sup>74</sup>. But in the sixteenth century, the visual impression was as important as it is today. Holbein created an imposing image of the King in sumptuous dress. Thereby, Henry VIII succeeded in presenting himself as equal to Charles V and Francis I.

Dress was an important tool of (self-) promotion and a dangerous one. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, was arrested for treason on 2 December 1546. Several accusations were brought against him. Evidence included his dress in a sumptuous and Italianate style. One of the accusations of his trial was the wearing of foreign clothes, such as on the portrait exhibited (cat. 14). By 1637 important visitors of Arundel (*Annales*, 1647) were being told that this

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<sup>72</sup>Buck, S., *Master of German Art Hans Holbein*, Cologne, 1999, p. 120

<sup>73</sup> Hayward, M., 'Luxury or Magnificence? Dress at the Court of Henry VIII', *Costume*, London, 1996, no. 30, pp. 37-46, p. 40

<sup>74</sup> Eadem, 'Luxury or Magnificence? Dress at the Court of Henry VIII', *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-46, p. 37

very picture was the one that caused Surrey's downfall<sup>75</sup>. Henry Howard had violated the fourth sumptuary act stating that dukes and marquises could wear cloth of gold only in their doublets and sleeveless coats 'and in none other garments'. Howard was merely an earl and a gown was defined as 'outermost apparel'. He was executed on 19 January 1547<sup>76</sup>. His case bears many similarities with that brought against the Duke of Buckingham twenty-five years earlier. Thus, within the court and his household, Henry VIII could control the dress of his immediate entourage by direct personal intervention to reflect his favour or lack of it and to promote himself.

The textiles were backed up by a wide range of other objects also decorated with moresques, including jewellery, silver and other metalwork, such as the designs for a metalwork book-cover and the end of a jewellery casket (cat.13). In that respect the application of the moresque in England and France seems to be very similar. The motif appears in a variety of media. Hans Holbein also created a series of designs for vases and cups produced in 1530-40, such as those of a jug with narrow spout and a jug decorated with moresques engraved by Wenzel Hollar (ill. 28). The graceful leaf forms on the jug are as important as the elegant trajectories of their tendrils. In 1536, Holbein designed a gold goblet intended for Jane Seymour decorated with moresques (cat. 12). The goblet was later melted down as many other silver objects.

2. In addition, Thomas Geminius based many of the designs in his *Morysse and Damaschin Renewed and Encreased very profitable for goldsmythes and Embroideras*, the first English collection of ornamental prints, on prints by Androuet du Cerceau. It was published for the second time in London in 1548<sup>77</sup>. Thomas Geminius must have had an Italian connection, for his surname might derive from *ageminus*. In Venice the craftsmen executing damascened work were called *ageministi*. Geminius' origins must lie in a world of total familiarity with moresques and damascening<sup>78</sup>.

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<sup>75</sup> Letter from 31.3.1987 by Malcom Rogers in the NPG file of no. 5291

<sup>76</sup> Hayward, M., 'Luxury or Magnificence? Dress at the Court of Henry VIII', *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-46, pp. 43, 44

<sup>77</sup> Lewis, P., Darley, G., *Dictionary of Ornament*, op. cit., p. 35

<sup>78</sup> Thornton, P., *Form and Decoration*, op. cit., p. 33; Auld, S., 'Master Mahmud: Objects fit for a prince', *loc. cit.*, pp. 185-201, fn 75; Evans, J., *A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180-1900*, New York, 1975, p. 170, associates the name of Thomas Geminius with 'algeminus', pointing out that he was an engraver on steel.

## V. CONCLUSION

The question remains whether the impact of Muslim decorative arts and painting on the arts of Europe, particularly France and England, was more than just a fashion. Some claim that the arabesque was a 'European fashion' for a short time<sup>79</sup>. Although artists such as Leonardo, Dürer and Holbein were fascinated by this pattern, it had only enriched European ornament and at times given it a special flavour. An ambivalent attitude, preoccupation with the physical world on the one hand and the mannerist spirit of 'not being averse to the promotion of ornament' on the other hand, helped to assimilate the moresque, but it rendered this motif less successful in the long run than grotesques and rinceaux<sup>80</sup>.

According to Ettinghausen, the arts of the West would have taken the same direction and come to the same conclusions (with the possible exception of Rembrandt and Delacroix) without the encounter with the Near East<sup>81</sup>. The Islamic forms did not appeal to deeper emotions. But, the lack of a specifically Muslim iconography or overt religious symbolism, which would have been offensive to the Christian mind, was a reason for the assimilation of the arabesque in the first place<sup>82</sup>. Finally, a different approach to the artefact in the East, exemplified by the Oriental carpet, and extended to a different spirit based on the Christian faith was a reason that the arabesque could not develop 'roots' in Western art. The attitude of the West towards Eastern objects is highlighted by the impact of the political reality in the years following the Battle of Lepanto in 1571<sup>83</sup>. The artistic influence diminished with the political power.

However, the arabesque reappeared during the history of Western art more than once. It was the key to the development of the rococo style in France. By the late seventeenth century, the arabesque even fell out of use in Islamic art because Baroque vegetal forms were imported. In the nineteenth century, with the rise of Western interest in Islamic arts

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<sup>79</sup> Kühnel, E., *Die Arabeske*, op. cit., p. 5

<sup>80</sup> Gruber, A., *The History of Decorative Arts*, op. cit., pp. 277, 284

<sup>81</sup> Ettinghausen, R., 'The Impact of Muslim Decorative Arts and Painting on the Arts of Europe', *loc. cit.*, pp. 1074-1119, p. 1096

<sup>82</sup> Idem, 'The Impact of Muslim Decorative Arts and Painting on the Arts of Europe', *loc. cit.*, pp. 1074-1119, p. 1076

<sup>83</sup> Idem, 'The Impact of Muslim Decorative Arts and Painting on the Arts of Europe', *loc. cit.*, pp. 1074-1119, p. 1097

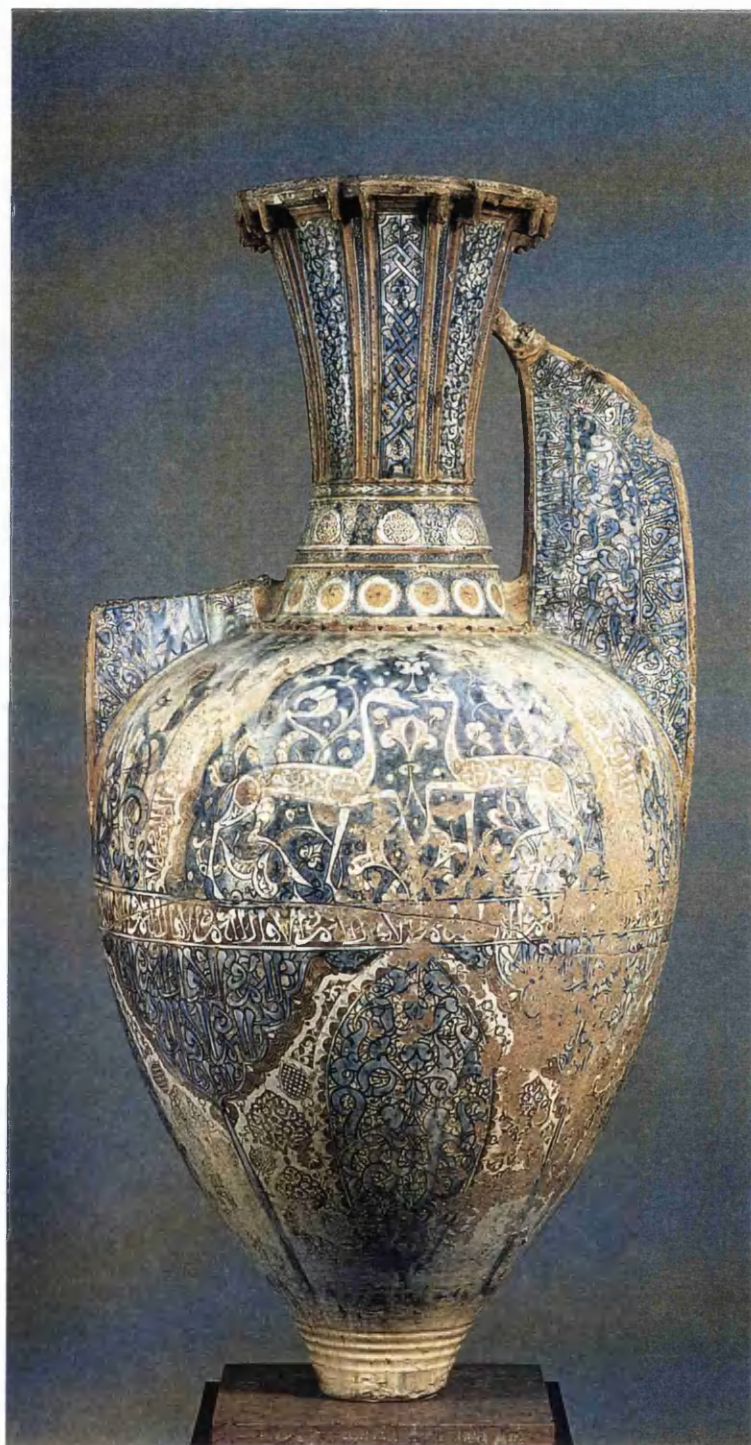
and crafts, traditional techniques and motifs, including the arabesque, were revived. The fascination with the exotic remains till the present day. Once source of Art Nouveau, Islamic art features in a current exhibition entitled "Noble Dreams - Wicked Pleasures" (Williamstown/USA until April 2001) displaying Western dreams of 1001 nights. Thus, the arabesque has become part of European ornament up to the level of complete absorption and the striving for the infinite remains:

"Wer sich selbst und andere kennt  
wird auch hier erkennen  
Orient und Okzident  
sind nicht mehr zu trennen"<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>84</sup> Goethe, J. W. von, 'West-östlicher Divan', Johann Wolfgang von Goethe Werke, Hamburger Ausgabe, 14 vols., Gedichte und Epen II, Aus dem Nachlass, München, 1982, vol. ii, p. 121

## CATALOGUE



1. **Alhambra Vase**, Nasrid period, mid-14th or 15th century  
glazed and painted earthenware with cobalt and lustre, H. 135 cm  
Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán, Granada, 290

## 1. Alhambra Vase

Nasrid period, mid-14th or 15th century

glazed and painted earthenware with cobalt and lustre

H. 135 cm

Museo Nacional de Arte Hispanomusulmán, Granada

290

The amphora-shaped body with one remaining 'winged' handle is decorated with horizontal bands relieved by diagonal elements covering three main parts of the vase - the neck, the handles and the body. The colour scheme is gold lustre with cobalt blue. The golden central band with cursive inscriptions in reserve is complemented by diagonal elements that frame a pattern of curvilinear and rectilinear forms. The upper zone of the best-preserved side of the vase is adorned with two confronted striding gazelles in a semicircle of plant motifs in gold on a blue ground, set against a blue background embellished with golden arabesques. The central motif is enclosed by a semicircular band in gold bearing the same reserved inscription that appears in the central band. The legible inscription in Grenadine cursive reads: good fortune and prosperity. Between this ephigraph and the handles are rectangular areas decorated with blue floral patterns and gold tendrils. The lower half of the design is a combination of ovals and triangles in blue, set off by gold bands with vegetal motifs. The same inscription appears again in gold, arranged in parallel lines and outlined in blue. The other side of the vase is a chromatic reversal, particularly in the ephigraph, of the first side.

Two bands mark the juncture of the body and the neck. The lower one is blue with large circles in white and gold, the upper is embellished with gold foliage interrupted by oval medallions in gold and white. Alternating vertical panels of floral patterns and blue and gold arabesques adorn the neck to the festooned lip of the jar. The inscription on the body of the vase is repeated around the edge of each side of the remaining handle, framing a central triangular space filled with foliage in blue against gold tendrils.

The Alhambra vase was probably produced in sections in a mould. The cobalt-blue decoration was usually painted directly on the raw clay and penetrated the glaze from below when the piece was fired. The areas to be painted in lustre had to be foreseen, for the lustre painting was not added until later. The techniques that produced lustre, green, manganese, and cobalt blue ware originated in Byzantium, Persia and China. Cobalt oxide was introduced from Syria.

The combination of gold, white and cobalt blue on this vase represents the characteristic colour scheme of the Nasrid period, indicated by pottery fragments in the Alhambra museum. However, among complete examples this Granada vase is an exception. With its gold and blue colour and vertical and horizontal decorative scheme it can be contrasted with the purely golden Alhambra vase in ill. 13. That Alhambra vase belongs to a series of

vases decorated with horizontal bands. Its most direct parallels are at the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, the Carthusian monastery in Jérez, and the Galleria Regionale della Sicilia in Palermo (New York 1992, no. 110). A chronology for the vases can be established on the basis of epigraphical evidence. The Saint-Petersburg vase displays an unevolved Granadine Kufic-style inscription closest to the writing on the Palermo vase. This may predate the inscriptions on the vessels at the Valencia de Don Juan and at the Jérez monastery. Thus, the Granada vase dates to the mid-fourteenth or early fifteenth century. This ware was not only widely distributed but also quickly imitated by Valencian potters. Ceramic centres were Málaga and possibly Almería as well as Granada. Imitations in the Christian world were produced especially in Valencia<sup>85</sup>.

*Provenance:* Washington Irving refers to 'amphoras' in his *Tales of the Alhambra*, one of the first written accounts of Alhambra vases. Some vases were saved as 'filling material' for the vaults of the monastery in Jérez.

*Literature:* New York 1992, no. 112, 111; Rosselló Bordoy, 1992, pp. 97-103; Caiger-Smith, 1973, p. 74; Irving, 1986, p. 127

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<sup>85</sup> Rosselló Bordoy, G., 'The Ceramics of al-Andalus', *Al-Andalus*, New York 1992, pp. 97-103, p. 101



2. Rapier, possibly by Diego de Çaias, c. 1540,  
damascened iron, H. 112 cm, Musée de l'Armée, Paris, J. 70

## 2. Rapier

possibly by Diego de Çaias, c. 1540

damascened iron

H. 112 cm

Musée de l'Armée, Paris

J. 70

The hilt of the rapier including the grip is of iron damascened in gold with moresques and decorative Kufic inscriptions against a ground that is now russet. The rapier is with an early form of complex guard.

The damascened decoration was achieved by hatching or stroking across the iron with a cutting knife, then thrusting gold wire forcibly into the hatches or strokes and covering the broader areas with threads laid so closely together that they seemingly form pieces of foil. The treatment of the technique appears to be flexible and fluid.

In the late fourteenth century, as a result of the practice of hooking the forefinger over one arm (quillon) of the cross, a small semicircular guard was added at the base of one side of the blade. During the second half of the fifteenth century, two such guards were introduced, to which a curved knuckle-bar was sometimes added. From c. 1500 it was increasingly the practice for men to wear a sword as part of their everyday dress. By the 1520s this had become normal all over Europe, and, until the second half of the eighteenth century, the wearing of a sword came to be regarded as a badge of gentility. Possibly, this had started in the Iberian Peninsula in the 1430s and the Spanish term *espada ropera* first recorded in 1468, refers to a sword used for wearing regularly with a civilian dress, being dress accessory as well as weapon, decorative as well as functional.

The appearance of Kufic inscriptions on a weapon of Western type indicates a Spanish origin, while the fact that the sword is in a collection incorporating much of the old French armory suggests a possible connection with the court of Francis I. Possibly, the rapier was manufactured by Diego de Çaias, a Spanish swordsmith and damascener, who is first recorded in a list of wages of the members of the household of the king's sons in 1535 as "Diego de Çaias, faiseur d'espées". However, there is not an animated landscape depicted and the moresques, though similar to those on the mace of Henry II (ill. 12), represent a motif too widely used at the time to provide evidence for a definite attribution to de Çaias. He was forced to leave France at the outbreak of war between France and the Holy Roman Empire and is recorded in England in the following year 1542 working for Henry VIII. There is a possibility that the rapier was made by Diego de Çaias for Francis I himself or Henry II as dauphin. Thus, the rapier is datable to about 1540.

Connected objects include a mace for Henry II of France, signed by Diego de Çaias, probably 1536-1542, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 04.3.59, mace of Henry II of France, by Diego de Çaias, Musée de l'Armée, Paris, K. 50 (ill. 12), and a

woodknife of Henry VIII of England by Diego de Çaias, 1544, Collection of Her Majesty The Queen, Windsor Castle (Blair, 1970, p. 158, fig. 10; p. 167, fig. 30, 31).

*Provenance:* First definitely recorded in catalogue of the Musée de l'Armée collection in 1845.

*Literature:* Blair, 1970, p. 166, fig. 29; Gruber, 1994, p. 309



3. Ewer, Venice, c. 1560,  
brass engraved and damascened in silver, H. 26 cm, Dm. 9, 9 cm (Base),  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, M 31 - 1946

### 3. Ewer

Venice, c. 1560

brass engraved and damascened in silver

H. 26 cm, Dm. 9, 9 cm (Base)

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

M 31 - 1946

The vase shaped body with a pronounced spout, indented lip and volute shaped handle, tapering towards a round convex base. The whole surface of the ewer is decorated with arabesques, bandwork and three-leaved palmettes in three horizontal zones corresponding with the body, the neck and the spout. The background is decorated with minute volutes. Bandwork and arabesques are damascened in silver.

The metal is cut into with a graver and other tools proper for engraving on metal, then the dovetail-shaped incisions, or notches, are filled up with thick silver or gold wire. Here this second technique of damascening has been used, as opposed to the rapier, possibly by Diego de Çaias who used the first, probably less time consuming and, in the treatment of designs, more flexible technique (cat. 2). The technique of damascening was imported into Venice from the Levant, originating in Damascus. The shape of the ewer is typical of Italian work from the second half of the sixteenth century (except for the handle dating from the nineteenth century). The decoration is Middle Eastern. Therefore, it might have been produced by an European artist trained in Muslim workshops or in the Middle East, in Damascus or Egypt, in accordance with Venetian specifications.

There is some wear to the damascened silver arabesques and bandwork.

The ewer has been restored, probably in the nineteenth century, when in the middle of the body some copper has been inserted and a brass bulge was added between body and base. The base is fastened to the body with a screw. The handle dates from the nineteenth century bearing traces from soldering it to the body.

A brass engraved and silver damascened dish, Victoria and Albert Museum, Inv. no. 2061-11855, with similar decoration is one related object. The shape of this ewer is later found in pottery, such as Saint-Porchaire ceramics (compare description cat. 8).

*Provenance:* Gift of Dr. W. L. Hildburgh in 1946.

*Literature:* Berlin 1989, no. 4/105, p. 209



**4. Small chest** or Box for writing implements, Milan,  
third quarter of the sixteenth century, iron damascened in gold and silver,  
H. 8, 5, W. 23, D. 15, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 4527 - 1858

#### 4. Small chest or

Box for writing implements

Milan, third quarter of the sixteenth century

iron damascened in gold and silver

H. 8, W. 23, D. 15

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

4527 - 1858

The small, rectangular chest on little bun-feet with gold-accentuated corners is decorated with various patterns: angular curvilinear filaments alternate with supple foliate networks or moresques on all four sides and form a frame on the cover. The central rectangle depicts a landscape with houses, trees and a river to the left. The design on the inside of the cover is more foliate. The chest contains square boxes for ink pots and an oblong one for pens. The chest is damascened in gold and silver. The decoration on the cover is close to the moresque decoration on a small chest in damascened metal from the Louvre bearing the arms of Cosimo de' Medici and Eleanora di Toledo, dating it between 1539 and 1562 (ill. 15). On both chests vestigial leaf and branch elements form pointed oval shapes that violate the symmetry associated with Islamic ornament. Therefore, both chests have a Western rather than a Middle Eastern origin. The chest from the Louvre is from Milan or Florence, whereas the exhibited chest has been attributed to a Milanese workshop on stylistic grounds, bearing witness to the inventiveness of Milanese craftsmen. The decoration differs from that of the Negrolì and Piccinino workshops, such as the small chest attributed to Lucio Piccinino, Milan, c. 1560 (ill. 16). On the present chest leaf and branch elements are predominant as opposed to grotesques and two central medallions depicting Pan and Amor on the Piccinino chest. Therefore, the decoration of this chest is closer to the Islamic origins of the arabesque than the mannerist decoration on the Piccinino chest.

The chest might have been used for writing implements.

*Provenance:* Bought by the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1858.

*Literature:* Syndram, 1990, no. 8; Gruber, 1994, p. 310; Wiewelhove, 1999, p. 30



5. **Casket**, France, second half of the sixteenth century,  
wood covered with gilt-leather, H. 22 cm, W. 37, 5 cm, D. 18, 5 cm,  
Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, Inv. no. 1973, 354

## 5. Casket

France, second half of the sixteenth century

wood covered with gilt-leather

H. 22 cm, W. 37, 5 cm, D. 18, 5 cm

Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin

Inv. no. 1973, 354

The wooden core of this chest is covered with gilt- and tempera painted, dark brown leather. The design is architectural in conception. The 'dome' is carried by Atlantean and Caryatid figures made of cement and gilded. Thus, the front and back are subdivided by the figures in three rectangular fields, the sides in two fields. The Atlases and Caryatids enhance the rectangular fields decorated with moresques.

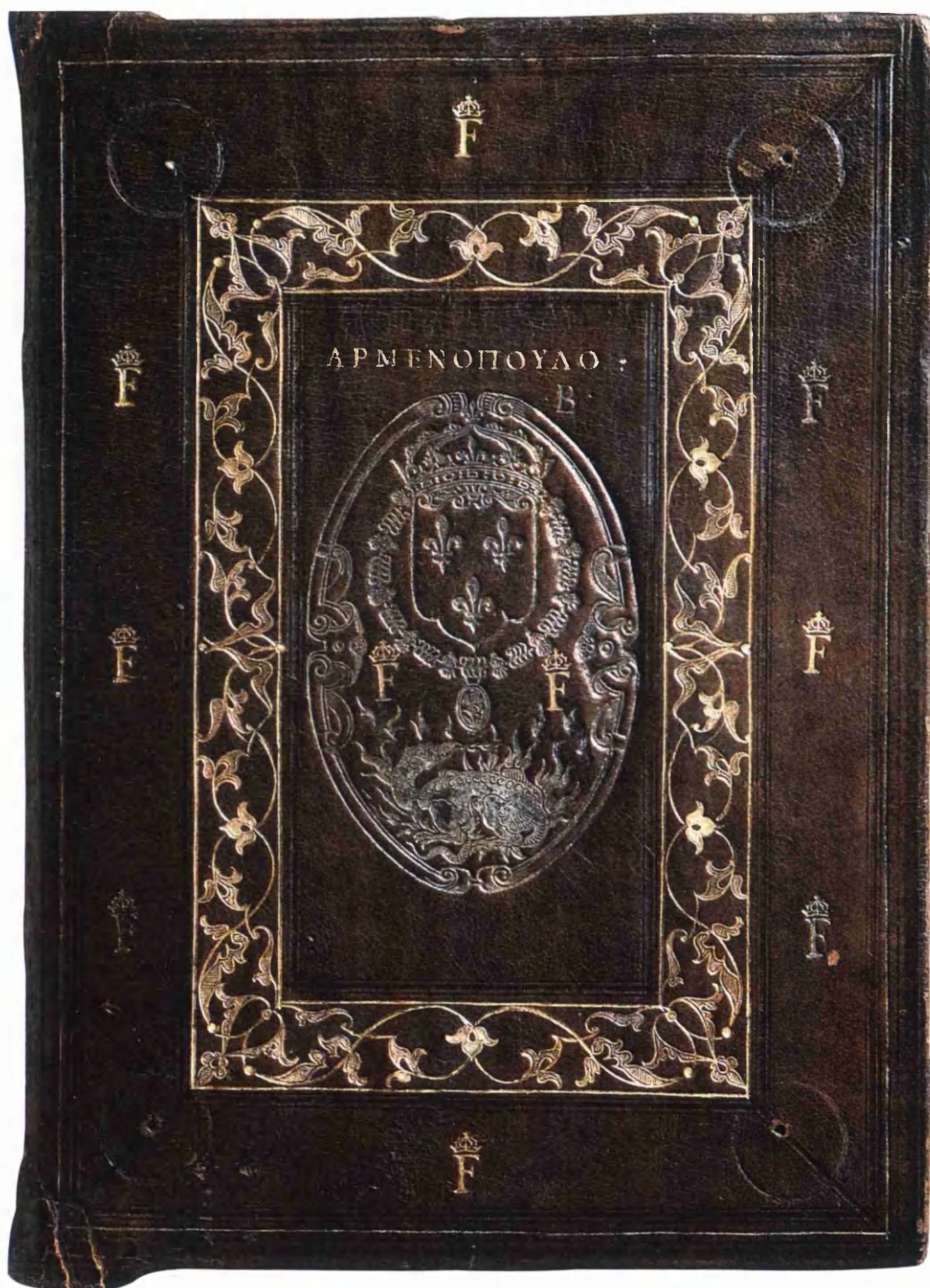
The stamped patterns, the motifs heightened with gold and white, resemble compositions by Androuet du Cerceau. The engraving from the *Livre contenant passement de moresques* ... features two designs of moresques in pyramidal configurations appropriate for various uses (Ill. 24). The moresques on the dome are very similar to the ones on the bottom of the composition which is narrowed towards the top. Thereby, the application of the design to various objects of metal- or leatherwork is demonstrated.

This chest is a late example of gold painted on leather, a technique widely practiced in Italy during the early sixteenth century. The brass lock with bandwork decoration dates the chest to the second half of the sixteenth century.

Probably, this was a model for a bigger chest, possibly in the tradition of the cassone, marriage chests.

*Provenance:* Unknown; recorded in the collection of the Hohenzollernmuseum, Berlin; according to information by Mrs. Mühlbacher, Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, the chest came into the collection during or after World War II.

*Literature:* Berlin, 1988, no. 32



33

**6. Binding**, workshop of Fontainebleau, 1546, stamped and gilt morocco leather, 300 x 220 mm, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Inv. no. ?, 122 from the private library of Francis I

## 6. Binding

workshop of Fontainebleau, 1546

stamped and gilt morocco leather

300 x 220 mm

Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Inv. no. ?, 122 from the private library of Francis I

The manuscript: Constantin Harmenopoulos. [Greek] *Handbook of civil law*, Italy or Greece: fifteenth century. Mss, grec 1361

Paper, 207 f., tooled wooden covers, gilt and chased with the initials of Francis I, traces of four clasps, of pins and fittings.

Gilt title and silver edges: ARMENOPOULOS. .B. [Greek]

The brown morocco leather binding is decorated with a central medallion depicting the arms of Francis I and the salamander within a rectangular moresque frame and the crowned initial F appearing once on top and bottom and three times on either side of the moresque frame.

The decoration was stamped on the leather with hot irons and gilded. With the exception of one pair of irons, all the azurés-irons used at Fontainebleau are recorded in a catalogue by Nixon. Some imperfections of the execution indicate a rapid production. However, the composition is very original. One possible explanation is the intervention of an experienced gilder during the formative years of the workshop at Fontainebleau. Probably, the crowned F was executed by a different hand which explains some stylistic differences.

The type of decoration dates the binding to the initial phase of the workshop at Fontainebleau. The catalogue of Fontainebleau records five manuscripts by Constantin Harmenopoulos, a sixth was acquired in 1552. The present example is in a good condition with some restauration executed with the same paper as the protecting pages. The volume features a number "122" which corresponds with the inventory system of the private library of Francis I. The text was edited in Paris by Wechel from 1540.

Similar designs appear some years later, such as on a binding with the arms of Henry II from 1547-48, Paris, 1999, no. 45 (ill. 20b), and another binding depicting these arms from 1548, Paris, 1999, no. 47a (ill. 20c).

*Provenance*: Francis I; Bibliothèque royale de Fontainebleau II 62 (cuir marron/vermillon); Paris no. ?

*Literature*: Paris, 1999, no. 33



**7. Panel**, library of the connétable Anne de Montmorency, 1541-1547  
walnut (bois de noyer), 57 x 27 cm, Musée national de la Renaissance, Écouen,  
Inv. no. CL 11799,

## 7. Panel

library of the connétable Anne de Montmorency

1541-1547

walnut (bois de noyer)

57 x 27 cm

Musée national de la Renaissance, Écouen,

Inv. no. CL 11799,

This panel is one example of the decoration preserved from the library of the connétable Anne de Montmorency at the château d'Écouen. It is a rectangular walnut panel featuring moresque patterns hand-painted in gold. The panels are discernable according to their size. A moulding surrounds the decoration.

In the library several varieties of moresques were used, some of them dense and others quite open, all arranged symmetrically around a central vertical axis.

The decoration was commissioned by the connétable as indicated by the heraldic elements including eaglets, impaled swords and the motto "Aplanos" (without mistake, on the direct way) in greek or latin script around which the moresques are arranged.

The design is influenced by Pellegrin, as well as by prints by Androuet du Cerceau and/or Flötner published in the 1540s. Since the moresque patterns have been adapted to a large surface and not just to a frame or a small portion of the entire surface, the panels are exceptional. Pellegrin suggested this sort of adaptation in his book *La Fleur de la Science de Portraicture ...*, 1530.

There are two different monograms in the library: A and M from Anne and Madeleine, his wife, as well as A D M. The reading of Anne Duc de Montmorency is possible, it is also possible that the connétable celebrated his Duchée-Prairie. But numerous examples, such as H D V and H D B for Henri de Valois and Henri de Bourbon at the lighthouse of Cordouan dismiss a later date of the panels for the library of Écouen and make the simple reading as Anne de Montmorency very likely.

Lacking contradicting archival information or archeological finds, it is accepted that the connétable finished his library during the time of his disgrace between 1541 and 1547, stressing the cultural importance of his retreat. The terminus ante quem is the accession of Henry II in 1547.

*Provenance:* Library of the connétable Anne de Montmorency, château d'Écouen; Musée de Cluny since the end of the nineteenth century sixteen panels; Musée des Arts décoratifs, received from the Grande Chancellerie de la Légion d'Honneur ten panels as a gift; known panels of the same series back at the south wing of the château since 1977-80.

*Literature:* Gruber, 1994, p. 337; Delange-Bazin, 1981, pp.252-263; Oursel, 1994, p. 13; Dossier de l'Art, no. 40, 1997, p. 13

Initially, the plan was to exhibit one panel. Research at the château at Écouen showed that the known panels are reinstalled since 1977-80. Therefore, it is not possible to exhibit any one panel outside the château. Instead of giving up the plan of showing this unique interior decoration, I was enticed to include a representation of the complete interior, i.e. three walls with 'lambris' (including some plain wooden panels as replacements for missing adorned ones) in the proposed exhibition. Given the importance of the ensemble for the exhibition concept, it seems appropriate to use new media and simulate the space of the library based on photographs. I am suggesting a flat screen on the wall where the panel would have been situated. Using a simulation software such as Quick Time VR, the visitor could walk inside the library by means of an interface (mouse, joystick) focussing on details 'à volonté'. Clicking on the intertwined A D M monogramme for example, further information about the history of Écouen and the connétable, Pellegrin's *La Fleur de la Science* ... and the application of the moresque across various media could be explored. Thus, the unique library at Écouen would be virtually accessible providing information about connected exhibits such as the Saint-Porchaire ewer (cat. 8).



8. **Ewer**, between 1545 and 1558, Saint-Porchaire pottery, H. 19 cm  
Musée national de la Renaissance, Écouen, Ec 83

## 8. Ewer

between 1545 and 1558

Saint-Porchaire pottery

H. 19 cm

Musée national de la Renaissance, Écouen

Ec 83

The horizontal zones of black ornament on the body consist of bands of touching circles, each with a short horizontal dash where each meets the next one alternating with moresques. Two wide central bands of moresques are brown. The ewer is decorated with a handle in the form of a satyr and a reptile spout. Traces of brown and green, copper containing wash, remain. The foot is circular, articulated with ridges into horizontal zones of decoration including a quatrefoil band; the vessel rests on three curling scrolls of simple strapwork and gadroons.

The moresques were essentially derived from Pellegrin's *La Fleur de la science ...*, Paris 1530. As indicated by the shape of certain Saint-Porchaire pieces, such as the ewer in the Musée du Louvre, OA 10589, the artists of Saint-Porchaire pottery were probably in contact with metalworkers (compare cat. 3). Decorative patterns of moresques and arabesques imported from the Islamic world were associated with bookbindings such as those for Jean Grolier and for the royal library of Francis I and Henry II in the 1540 and 1550s, wooden panels and furniture, such as in the library in the Château d'Écouen (cat. 7). The Saint-Porchaire ware was probably manufactured in or near Paris, rather than at the village of Saint-Porchaire. By 1842 some pieces were described as 'faïence de Henri II' because the emblems of the French king and his wife Catherine de Medici, together with those of Diane de Poitiers appear on more than one example. At least two pieces, a salt in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York and a cup in the possession of the Rothschild family are decorated with a salamander, the personal device of Francis I, who died in 1547; assuming that they are genuine and "unimproved", they are likely to have been produced before 1547. On the basis of stylistic parallels, a date range between about 1510, when the Montmorency-Laval family took over the lordship of Bressuire and 1570/75 has been suggested. Heraldic evidence suggests a period from 1525 to 1570<sup>86</sup>. This particular ewer bears on the back of the reptile forming the spout the arms of Françoise de Brosse, from 1545 to his death in 1558 wife of the Grand Ecuyer Claude Gouffier, seigneur d'Oiron. In addition, these arms link the ewer to the workshop of Palissy where a corresponding mould was found. Possibly, Claude Gouffier commissioned a 'grotte rustique' from Palissy. The technical skill involved explains the small number of pieces produced, over seventy recorded, and why from the sixteenth century they were considered as luxury objects.

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<sup>86</sup> Wilson, T., 'Saint-Porchaire', *Western Decorative Arts*, 2 vols., Washington, 1993, vol. i, p. 246; 247, footnote 24

*Provenance:* Debruge-Duménil (sale Paris, 1850, no. 35, sold for 500 Fr.), purchased by Monsieur Roussel; purchased by 1861 by Sir Anthony de Rothschild, Bt. [died 1876], London, for 500 Fr. (sale Sotheby's, London, 25 June 1931); purchased by Walter S.M.Burns, Harfield, Hertfordshire; Countess of Béarn; Marquis de Ganay; Comtesse de Béhague (sale Sotheby's Monaco, 5 December 1987, no. 295, sold for 2,886,000 Fr.); purchased 1987 by the Musée national de la Renaissance.

*Literature:* Delange no. 34; Barbour, Sturman, Vandiver, 1993, Technical Appendix II; Washington, 1996, no. 13; Écouen, 1997, no. 22



9. **Portrait of François I**, 1494-1547, attributed to Jean Clouet, 1527  
oil on poplar, 96 x 74 cm, Musée du Louvre, Inv. no. 3256

## 9. Portrait of François I, 1494-1547

attributed to Jean Clouet, 1527

oil on poplar

96 x 74 cm

Musée du Louvre

Inv. no. 3256

On the half-length portrait Francis I turns his head slightly to the right, but looks directly at the viewer. He is wearing a black bonnet embellished with jewels and white feathers, a white satin dress adorned with black velour bands decorated with moresques. Around the neck the order of Saint-Michel. The left hand is placed over the guard of a sword, the right hand holds a brown leather glove. Both hands rest on a balustrade covered with green velvet. The background is adorned with a dark red fabric decorated with vegetal ornament and coronets.

There is an inscription at the back on a plate below Louis-Philippe: François Ier Roi de France, fils de Charles d'Orléans, comte d'Angoulême et de Louise de Savoie: né à Cognac le 12 septembre 1494, marié le 14 mai 1514 à Claude de France, fille aînée de Louis XII, Roi de France et d'Anne de Bretagne sa seconde femme: 2e en juillet 1530 à Éléonore d'Autriche, sœur de Charles-Quint et veuve d'Emmanuel, Roi de Portugal: morte en Château de Rambouillet le 31 mars 1545.

The painting is in an overall good condition, there is only some wear at the lower border. Some parts are repainted, particularly the hair and the beard might have been retouched. This type of portrait is very similar to the portrait of Henry VIII (cat. 11). Only the size of 96 x 74 cm is unusual for a time when the likenesses of kings were exchanged as diplomatic gifts. His face is inspired by a preparatory drawing at Chantilly.

The attribution to Jean Clouet and the date have been widely discussed. According to Mellen, Adhémar attributes the portrait to Pellegrin who had used the drawing of Francis I at Chantilly as model. The predominance of the costume is explained by the fact that Pellegrin was embroiderer. However, most authors attribute the portrait to Clouet or, as Sterling according to Mellen, to the workshop of Clouet. The importance of the portrait as the first psychological portrait at Fontainebleau in the sixteenth century has been stressed. This idea is definitely attributed to Jean Clouet. The artist must have known the art of Leonardo da Vinci and Holbein.

*Provenance:* Fontainebleau, royal collection until 1837: the painting is described for the first time by the Père Dan, *Trésor des Merveilles de Fontainebleau* (1642), 138, and in 1731, Abbé Guilbert writes "qu'il était encore accroché au-dessus de la porte du Cabinet de la Chambre de la Reine"; Versailles, royal collection 1837-48; since 1848 Louvre.

*Literature:* Mellen, 1971, no. 141, frontispice pl. 43; Paris, 1972, no. 53; Compin, Roquebert, 1986, p. 141; Gowing, 1994, p. 204; Scaillièrez, 1996



10. **Henry VIII**, 1491-1547, attributed to Hans Eworth, after Hans Holbein  
mid-16th century, oil on wood panel, 216 x 123 cm  
Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection, 231

**10. Henry VIII, 1491-1547**

attributed to Hans Eworth, after Hans Holbein

mid-16th century

oil on wood panel

216 x 123 cm

Chatsworth, The Devonshire Collection

231

On this full-length portrait Henry VIII is dressed in a mantle embroidered with interlace patterns and stands in front of a tapestry adorned with moresques, perhaps derived from German prints. Such motifs appear in a series of portraits of members of the court of Henry VIII, such as on the portrait of Edward VI, Prince of Wales, 1547, wearing a doublet with moresques. The design on the floor of Henry's portrait consists of star configurations filled with patterns recalling Hispano-Moresque silks and Turkish carpets. These Eastern patterns were imitated in Europe according to designs compiled by Francisque Pellegrin and Androuet du Cerceau. In England these patterns were copied by Thomas Germinius. The source for this portrait is Holbein's 1537 dynastic group wall painting in the Privy Chamber of Whitehall Palace (the wall-painting was destroyed in a fire of 1698). The attribution of this portrait to Hans Eworth by Strong has been given by virtue of its closeness to a version at Trinity College, Cambridge. Thus, the painting can be dated to the mid-sixteenth century.

The portrait is in an overall good condition.

*Provenance:* unrecorded; first mentioned in the Devonshire collection in 1813, when it was recorded in a ms. catalogue of the paintings at Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London; may have been there earlier since Dodsley's 1761 published account on the pictures in Devonshire House in London and its Environs Describ'd is not all inclusive; placed in its present position in the Dining Room at Chatsworth in the late 1820s or early 1830s by the sixth Duke of Devonshire, who recorded it having come from Devonshire House in his Handbook in 1845, p. 53.

*Literature:* Gruber, 1994, p. 324, 325



11. Henry VIII, 1491-1547, after Hans Holbein, unknown artist, probably 17th century, oil on copper, 27,9 x 20 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, 157

## 11. Henry VIII, 1491-1547

after Hans Holbein, unknown artist

probably 17th century

oil on copper

27,9 x 20 cm

National Portrait Gallery, London

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On the half length portrait Henry VIII looks slightly to the right. He is wearing a black bonnet embellished with jewels and white feathers. Brown eyes, light brown moustache and beard. The monarch is wearing a white shirt with gold embroidered collar, a doublet and underjacket of cloth of silver adorned with puffs of gauze fastened by rubies mounted in gold. His jacket is made of crimson shot with gold and is embellished by a broad brown fur collar. The doublet and the sleeves of his jacket are embroidered with moresques in delicate gold thread. Henry VIII wears rings on both index fingers. The background of the portrait is black, the figure is lit from the front left.

This painting in the National Portrait Gallery is a copy of the only, apart from the Whitehall cartoon, certain surviving portrait by Holbein from life of Henry VIII now in the Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid. That portrait measures 28 x 20 cm and is painted with a blue background in oil on oak panel<sup>87</sup>. The portrait of Henry VIII corresponds largely to the figure in the Whitehall cartoon, showing the king in three-quarter profile. Both portraits are likely to have been based on a single, now lost portrait study by Holbein. Especially the heads on both pictures are very similar, the king's head on the cartoon is cut-out separately from the body, suggesting that even this head is an alternation from an earlier version<sup>88</sup>. However, on the half-length portrait the right arm is bent more sharply, moving it closer to the centre of the painting while the left hand is visible on the bottom right hand side. These changes make the king appear more severe because they create an axis of distance towards the viewer.

According to Rowlands, it seems likely that the Thyssen portrait was painted at the time of Henry's marriage to Jane Seymour, shortly after Anne Boleyn's execution on 19 May 1539. Holbein was also ordered to paint Anne's portrait at the time<sup>89</sup>. But, the portrait of Henry VIII was never joined to a wife portrait as a foldable diptych. The back of the panel is unpainted, thus not meant to be seen. Consequently, it was intended to be hung on a wall, possibly as a gift for Francis I. As was the practice at European courts at the time, the

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<sup>87</sup> Thus, in an exhibition the original version would preferably be exhibited. Because of first hand visual experience the London version is described here.

<sup>88</sup> Strong, 1969, p. 154

<sup>89</sup> Rowlands, 1985, p. 114

two monarchs would have exchanged portraits to show each other their magnificence<sup>90</sup>. Thus, the portrait probably dates from 1536/1537, when Holbein was known as 'King's Painter'.

The portrait has suffered from small paint losses which have been retouched at various periods. At the lower left the surface of the painting is uneven showing little bulges.

*Provenance:* Thomas Barrett (1698-1757) of Lee Priory; passed on the death of his son, Thomas, in 1803 to Thomas Barrett Brydges of Denton Court, his great nephew; first recorded at Denton Court when copied by George Perfect Harding (an example so inscribed sold at Christie's, 7 November 1961, lot 52); passed to his brother, Sir John William Egerton Bridges, Bt.; after his death sold at Christie's, 28 May 1859, lot 82; purchased from Henry Graves in 1863.

*Literature:* Strong, 1969, no. 157, 4027; London, 1983, p. 144; Rowlands, 1985, pp. 113, 114; Buck, 1999, p. 118

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<sup>90</sup> Buck, 1999, p. 118; London, 1983, p. 144



**12. (a) Preliminary Design**  
pen and black ink on paper  
drawing: 375 x 143 mm  
British Museum, London



**12. (b) Finished Design, Holbein, 1536**  
ink and wash on paper  
376 x 155 mm  
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

## 12. (a, b) Preliminary and Finished Designs for a cup for Jane Seymour

Hans Holbein, 1536

pen and black ink on paper; ink and wash on paper

drawing: 375 x 143 mm, sheet: 446 x 238 mm; drawing: 376 x 155 mm

British Museum, London; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

1848-11-25-9

The design was executed with pen and point of the brush and black ink on white paper, yellowed with age and surface dirt. There are a few spots of yellow paint scattered over the sheet. The paper was folded down the centre of the drawing by the artist to make an offset. Thus, the right hand side of the design has been produced where it mirrors the left. The drawing has been cut out around the subject and laid down on to brown paper. Where the right-hand tip of the rim of the cup joins its cover, the sheet has been made up as is indicated by a seam and the lighter colour of the paper there.

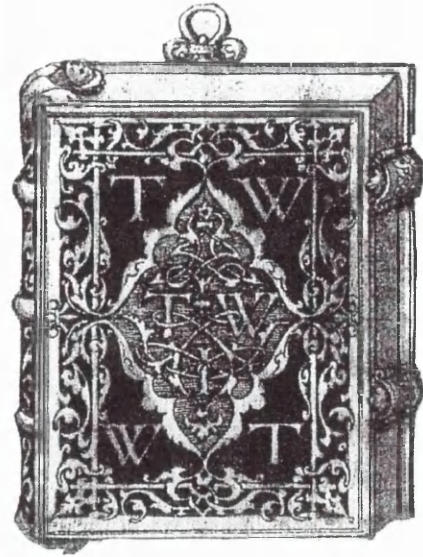
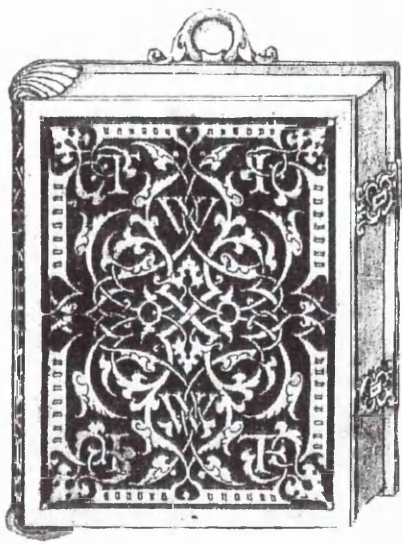
Inscribed by the artist with the brush in black ink on the lid, BOUND TO OBEY AND [SERVE], and on the foot, BOUND TO OBEY, the royal initials 'HI' tied by a lover's knot on the lower rim and, as a finial, an escutcheon for Jane Seymour's arms crowned.

The drawing in the British Museum is a preliminary drawing to the final version in the Ashmolean Museum. Holbein has made alterations to the cameo's head, the pipe blown by the left-hand siren and the pose of the upper right-hand putto incorporated in the finished drawing. The finished version is shown in a much more detailed form to which light washes of grey and pink have been added, heightened with gold. Also, the grey wash gives three-dimensionality to the final version which would have been presented to Henry VIII. In addition, the Queen's motto appears there in the rim of the central medallion.

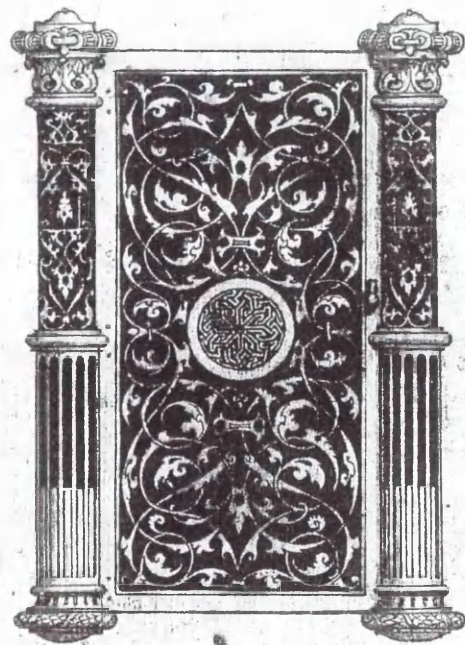
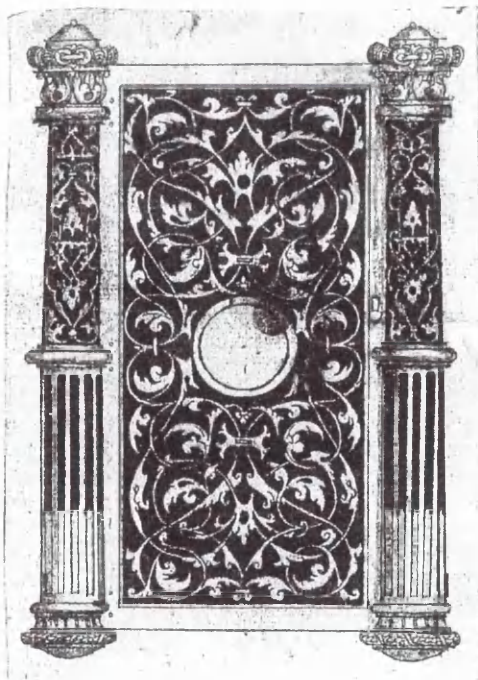
With the intertwined initials the motto appears as well in the decorations in the banqueting hall and at the entrance to the chapel at Hampton Court. The designs for the cup can be dated between the marriage of Henry VIII and Jane on 30 May 1536 and her death on 24 October at Hampton court after having given birth to Edward, later Edward VI. A cup corresponding to the design was made, possibly by Hans von Antwerpen, and features in the inventories of royal plate of 1574. Subsequently, the cup was taken to Holland by the Duke of Buckingham in October 1629 to be pawned, then melted down, and the gold sold to the Bank of Amsterdam.

*Provenance:* Sir T. Lawrence (L.2445); W. Beckford; Smith

*Literature:* London, 1988, no. 205; London, 1991, IX.14, p. 112-114



**13. (a, b) Design for a metalwork book-cover,**  
Hans Holbein, mid 1530s, pen and black ink with black, grey and yellow wash,  
79 x 59 mm, 81 x 60 mm, British Museum, London, 5308-8, 5308-10



**13. (c, d) Design for the end of a jewellery casket,**  
Hans Holbein, mid 1530s, pen and black ink with black and yellow wash,  
115 x 79 mm, 113 x 79 mm, British Museum, London, 5308-1, 5308-5

### 13. Design for a metalwork book-cover,

#### Design for the end of a jewellery casket

Hans Holbein, mid 1530s

pen and black ink with black, grey and yellow wash,

pen and black ink with black and yellow wash

79 x 59; 81 x 6 mm; 115 x 79; 113 x 79 mm

British Museum, London

5308-8, 5308-10, 5308-1, 5308-5

The two designs for girdle prayer books feature the initials 'IWT' within elaborate moresque decoration. They are probably alternatives for the same commission. On no. 12 (a), they are arranged in the upper half, TWI, and in the lower, IWT; on no. 12 (b), in the centre are TIW, while in the upper corners are TW, and in the lower, WT. These are the initials of the commissioners, the husband and wife who would carry the girdle prayer book.

The four designs are executed in pen and black ink with black, grey and yellow wash. All four designs are cut out, (a) and (b) right around the actual object drawn, (c) and (d) with a rim of about one centimetre around the object. They are laid down onto white paper, whereas the designs themselves are on white paper yellowed with age. Particularly on (c) and (d) there is some surface dirt. On (c) there is a big spot just off a central medallion and on (d) there is a spot on the lower rim parallel to a geometric star pattern.

The first two designs were intended for the use of goldsmiths in making covers for girdle prayer books. The covers would be executed in black enamel on gold, as for instance on the girdle book in the British Museum (ill. 27). Girdle prayer books were in fashion in the sixteenth century and this one was probably intended for the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt (1503-42). However, according to Rowlands, Marsham suggested that the initials might either stand for Thomas Wyatt Junior (beheaded, 1554), or for Thomas and Jane Wyatt, Sir Thomas Wyatt the younger having married Jane Hawste in 1537<sup>91</sup>. Since such a prayer book was meant to be carried by a woman, it is likely that the designs were produced at about the time of the marriage between Thomas and Jane Wyatt, in the mid 1530s.

These designs are linked to a metal cover of a prayer book belonging to the descendants of the Wyatt family, according to Rowlands published by Marsham but whereabouts unknown at present. That cover has been based directly on no. 12 (a) or on a derivation from it.

The designs for the end of a jewellery casket are alternatively designs for a casket with elaborate moresque ornament. The main difference is the geometric star pattern in the central medallion of the second version. The designs are linked by scale, technique and

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<sup>91</sup> London, 1988, p. 241

medium with the design for a metalwork book-cover. Like them they might have been executed for the Wyatt family.

*Provenance:* Sloane bequest, 1753

*Literature:* London, 1988, no. 207; London, 1991, no. VII.14



14. **Portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey**, unknown artist, c. 1550, oil on canvas, 222, 3 x 219, 7 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London, 5291

#### 14. Portrait of Henry Howard

Earl of Surrey

unknown artist, c. 1550

oil on canvas

222, 3 x 219, 7 cm

National Portrait Gallery, London

5291

In this full-length portrait the English poet, translator of the *Aeneid*, politician and soldier Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son of Thomas Howard, later third Duke of Norfolk, is dressed in a jacket adorned with *moresques*. He is standing beneath an arch inscribed with the year of his arrest in 1546. To the left of the arch a male supporter draped with a light green garment is holding an almond shaped red shield with three lions rampants and on the right of the arch an equally draped female supporter is holding a similar shield with three lions and fleurs-de-lys within a quartered shield. Thus, the architectural setting is *italienate-mannerist* in style. The style of the *moresques* on Howard's jacket resembles similar compositions in metalwork designs, such as the first design for the girdle prayer-book (cat. 13) or dress of members of the court of Henry VIII.

According to Catherine Macleod, the painting has more to do with an artist in the circle of Moroni than with William Scrots to whom the painting has been ascribed till recently<sup>92</sup>. It is possible that the painting was painted during Henry Howards lifetime, even if not, it is sixteenth century in date.

The unglazed canvas is secured into the frame with twelve brass fixing plates. Cotton duck cloth is attached to the reverse. The carved and gilt frame is in a good overall condition. The glue lined canvas is on an adjustable wooden stretcher. There is an obvious join across the centre of the original canvas and also across the centre of the lining canvas which has made an impression across the paint surface approximately 25 cm below the original canvas join. The lining is reasonably sound. The canvas is slightly slack overall with faint bulges at the top right hand corner. The original paint is very abraded in several areas such as the cloak of Henry Howard. There is an extensive overpaint in many parts, and extensive restoration along the centre join and along the bottom. These areas are clearly evident because they are thick and glossy compared with the original paint which is thinner and has a canvas weave texture. The varnish is discoloured. The uneven surface was improved a little with application of another varnish layer<sup>93</sup>. Examination with Infra-red vidicon revealed that the figures were originally undraped<sup>94</sup>.

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<sup>92</sup> Letter from 27 January 1997 by Catherine Macleod in the NPG file of no. 5291

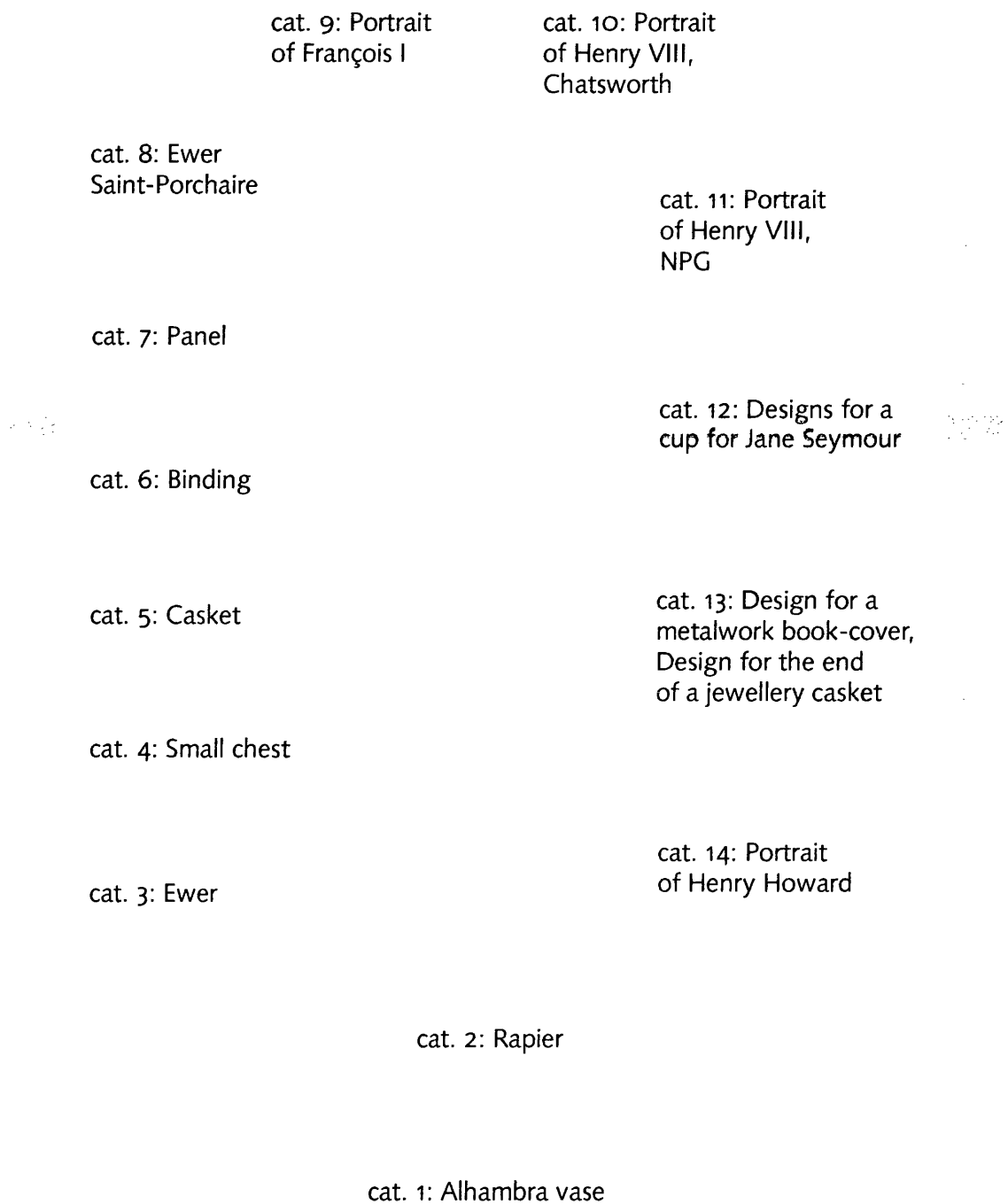
<sup>93</sup> NPG Loan Condition Report by Sophia Plender, 16.01.1996

<sup>94</sup> NPG Condition Report by Sophia Plender, 20.07.1995

Comparative works include a portrait-drawing of Henry Howard looking to the right on a pink priming with metalpoint and chalk, black, red and brown not by Holbein in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

*Provenance:* Recorded in 1637 in the collection of Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, and by inheritance to his daughter-in-law, Viscountess Stafford; bought at the Stafford House Sale, 1720 by Sir Robert Walpole who presented it to Thomas, eighth Duke of Norfolk, and by descent to the sixteenth Duke of Norfolk, accepted in lieu of death duties for the NPG for loan at Arundel Castle in 1980.

*Literature:* London, 1991; London, 1995; Parker, 1983, p. 58, ill. 83



Floor plan of the proposed exhibition

## Glossary:

### *al-Andalus*

Term appeared as early as 716 (A.H. 98) on bilingual coins as the translation of *Spania*, the Latin name for Spain. Possibly derived from the Berber name for the Vandals, who once lived on the Iberian Peninsula, or from an identification of the peninsula with the mythical Atlantis. Used to designate the areas of the peninsula under Islamic control. In the caliphal period it embraced the entire Iberian Peninsula and the Balearic Islands, but at the close of the fifteenth century it would encompass only the area under Nasrid rule.

### *arabesque*

Distinct kind of vegetal ornamentation based on intertwining leaf and flower motifs. In English interchangeable with *ataurique*, in Spanish (*arabesco*) considered a romantic term that refers to the ornamental effect of Islamic art. The infinite correspondence or 'infinite rapport', meaning the design can be extended indefinitely in any direction, marks it off as a category of design distinct from other vegetal decoration. The cumulative rhythmic effect and the total coverage of the decorative field are characteristic features.

### *ataurique*

Stylized intertwining vegetal ornamentation; see *arabesque*

### *azurés-irons*

Irons used to decorate leather by impressing heated brass tools through gold leaf into the leather. Technique of Islamic origin.

### *biscuit*

Ceramic ware fired once in a kiln, but not glazed.

### *caliph*

Supreme ruler in Islamic society, combining religious and political attributes of leadership. The term originally described the first successors to the Prophet Muhammad in the leadership of the community.

### *caliphal period*

The Umayyad Caliphate lasted from 929-1031 (A.H. 316-423). 'Abd al-Rahmān III reclaimed the Umayyads' right to the caliphate, declaring himself caliph in 929 (A.H. 316)

### *clay*

A viscous earth, consisting mainly of aluminium silicate. Derived from the decomposition of feldspatic rocks, mixed with water and made into a 'dough' which may be moulded into

any shape. When fired the clay hardens.

*brown clay* in Saint-Porchaire pottery contains potassium and iron as colourants.

#### *bandwork/strapwork*

Type of ornament composed of bands with the appearance of having been cut from leather or sheet metal, then twisted and rolled into fantastic shapes. It was popular in northern Europe c. 1535-1630 and again in the nineteenth century as part of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Revival styles.

#### *damascening*

There are two ways of damascening: firstly, with a cutting knife hatches or strokes are cut across the iron and then gold or silver wire is thrust forcibly into them, the broader areas being covered with threads laid so closely together that they seemingly form pieces of foil, or secondly, the metal is cut into with a graver and other tools proper for engraving on metal, then the dovetail-shaped incisions, or notches, are filled up with thick silver or gold wire.

#### *earthenware*

Vessels made of baked clay and fired at a relatively low temperature.

#### *glaze*

Vitreous composition used for glazing pottery. Often glaze is a thin solution of the same clay as the pot itself, frequently incorporating metallic oxides as impurities or deliberately added to give colour after firing.

#### *grotesque*

French term derived from the Italian grottesco, describing a type of European ornament composed of small, loosely connected motifs, including scrollwork, architectural elements, whimsical human figures and fantastic beasts, often organized vertically around a central axis.

#### *Hadith*

Saying of the Prophet recounted by his companions and transmitted orally during the early Islamic period.

#### *lead-glaze*

Composed of oxide of lead, sand, potash and salt.

#### *lustre*

White tin-glaze was applied to the biscuit fired vessel which was then fired for a second

time. The surface was decorated with designs in rich lustre, using silver for a golden and copper for a reddish colour. The Moorish lustres compounded chiefly of silver and gave a finished surface of yellow or amber, and if fired very low of greenish-brown. The oxides of the metals were dissolved in vinegar and mixed with ochre in a proportion of about one to four. Then they were painted on the fired glaze with a brush or feather, or a quill-pen, and fired at about 600-650° centigrade. When this temperature was reached, the air-inlets to the firechamber were almost closed and resinous brushwood (rosemary, juniper, etc.) was thrown into the fire to produce smoke (reducing conditions). That lasted for about an hour, thereafter the metallic oxides would have been reduced to the state of more or less pure metal, deposited on the glaze surface while it softened. Once the pottery was withdrawn from the kiln, the ochre was rubbed off the surface, revealing the lustre underneath.

*mihrab*

Recess, niche, or arch in the mosque indicating the qibla.

*minbar*

Pulpit

*Mozarabs*

Christians living under Muslim rule in al-Andalus.

*Mudejars*

Muslims living under Christian rule on the Iberian Peninsula. Mudejar also designates the arts that represent craft traditions begun under Islamic rule and continued under Christian patrons after the Christian conquest of an area.

*ornament print*

Prints intended neither to illustrate a narrative nor to serve a documentary purpose; images that depict things which are essentially two-dimensional in character and are either conceived for, or suited to, the decoration of a two-dimensional surface. Often used as an example for artisans to use in the same or a different material.

*qibla*

The direction of prayer, intended to be towards Mecca.

*rapier*

The term rapier, first recorded in a Scottish document of 1505, almost certainly derives from the Spanish term *espada ropera*, via the late fifteenth century French *épée rapière*. The rapier was essentially a civilian sword, designed for fencing.

### *Saint-Porchaire*

The coarse, kaolinitic clay with a high alumina content used in Saint-Porchaire bodies was selected because it shrinks little in drying. The vessels were possibly made in several sections, thrown on a wheel. Three-dimensional decorative or structural adornments were molded, sometimes enhanced freehand and attached. Patterns were created by applying a slab or "skin" into which a design had been stamped and filled with iron-coloured clay. Sometimes surfaces were decorated by stamping directly into the body, drawing freehand or tracing. A lead glaze was applied after the pieces were assembled. Since decorative attachment and stamped designs reappear on Saint-Porchaire pieces it is likely that a limited number of molds and stamps were in use. The pieces as a whole are rarely if ever exact duplicates.

### *tin-glaze*

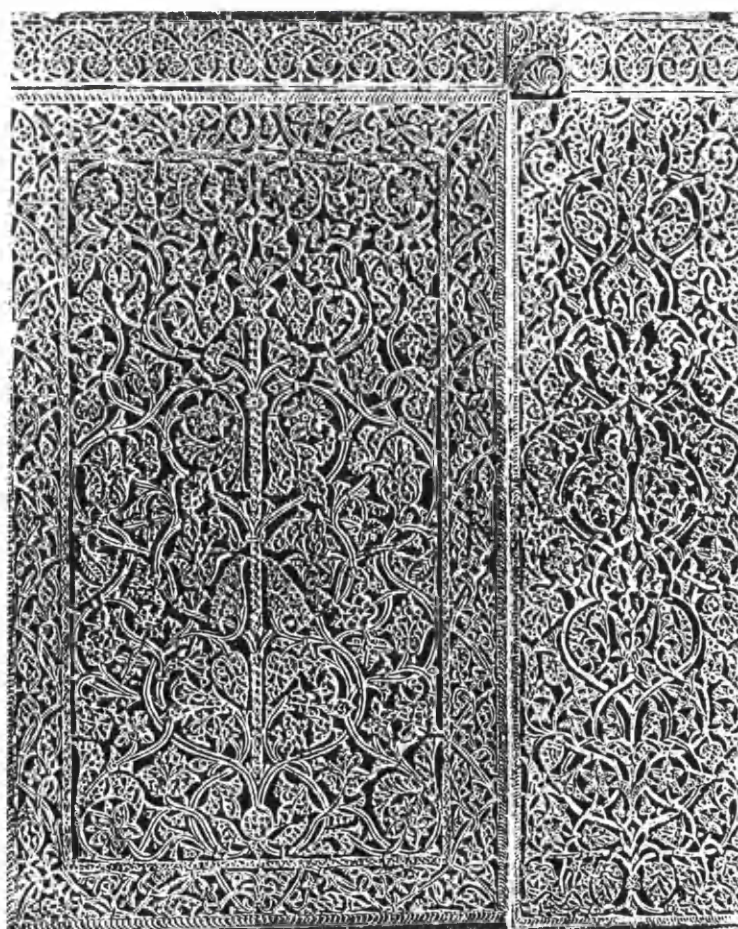
Lead-glaze made opaque by the addition of tin oxide. First European tin-glazed ware was made in Spain and exported via Mallorca to Italy where it was soon copied by Italian potters calling their production maiolica. Faenza achieved a great reputation for their production of maiolica which was exported all over Europe. In France it is called Faïence, in the Low Countries it was made at Delft, large quantities of which were imported into England and called English-delft.

### *tiraz*

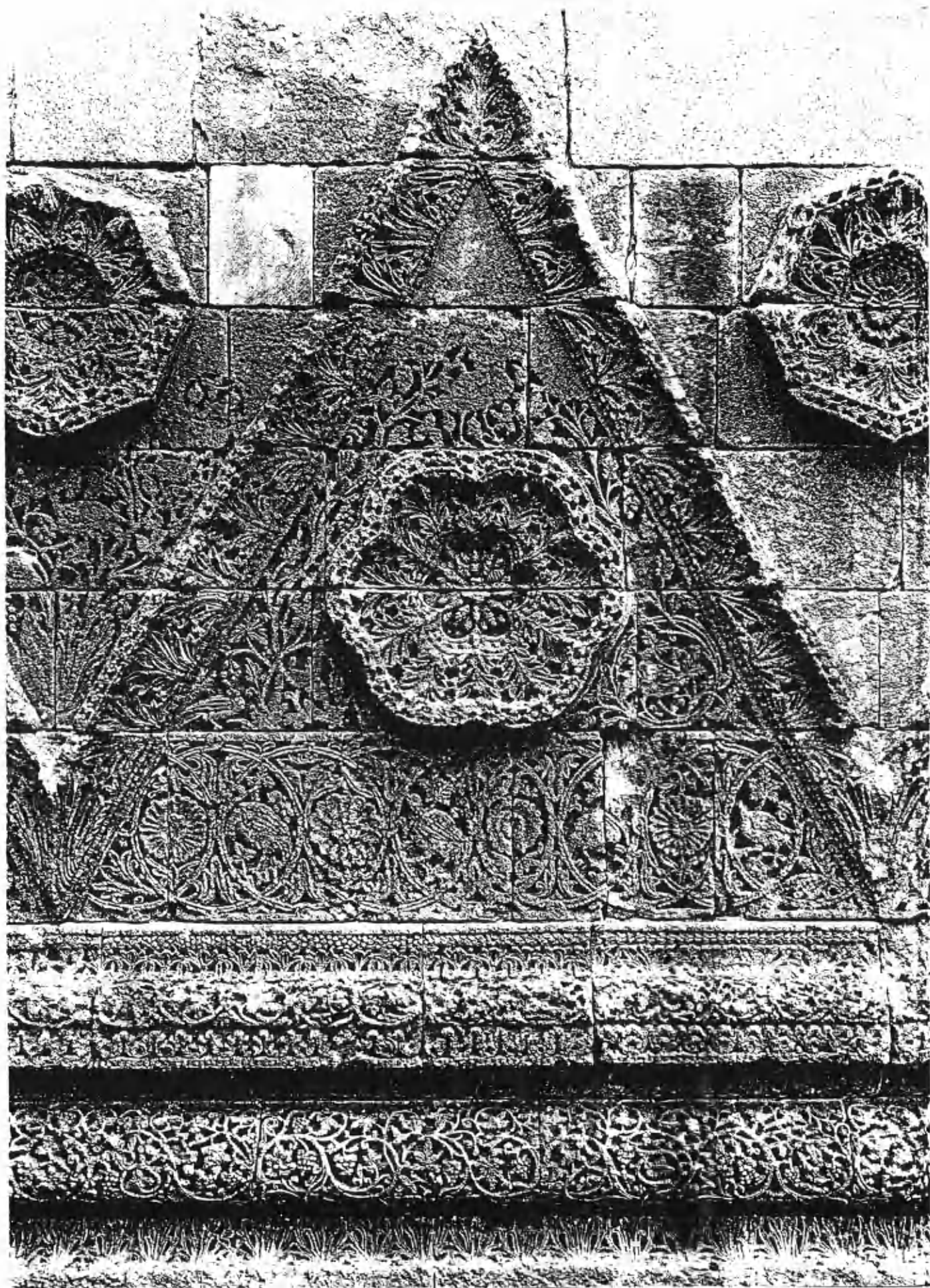
Royal textile manufactory; also the textiles produced there.



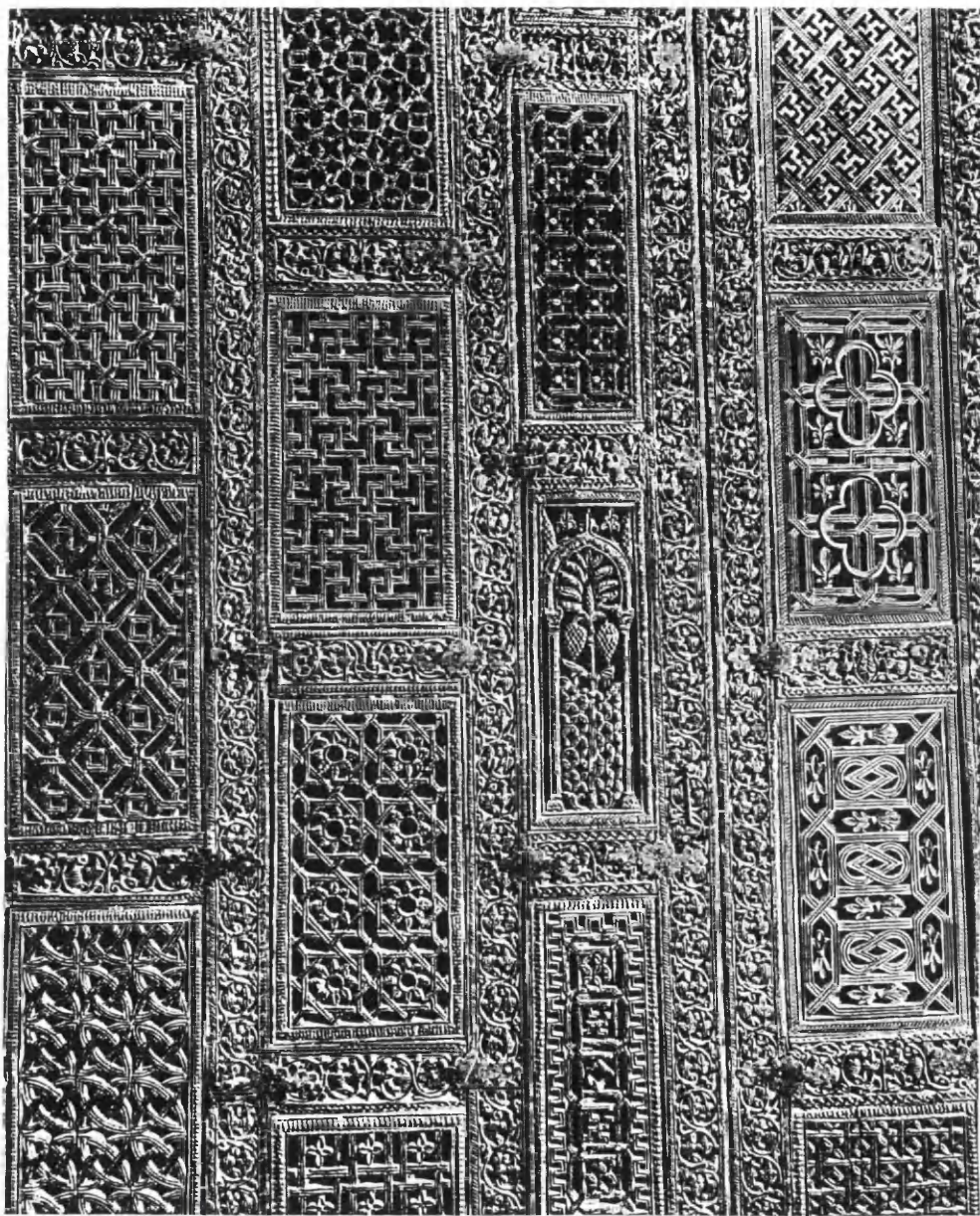
ill. 1: Bevelled style of Samarra, Iraq, palace of Balkuwara, stucco wall covering, early ninth century



ill. 2: Marble panel of mihrab of Great Mosque of Cordoba, c. 965



ill. 3: Plant ornaments and rosettes of the eastern facade of Mshatta, second quarter of eighth century, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Berlin



ill. 4: Carved wooden panel of minbar of the Great Mosque of Qairawan, ninth century



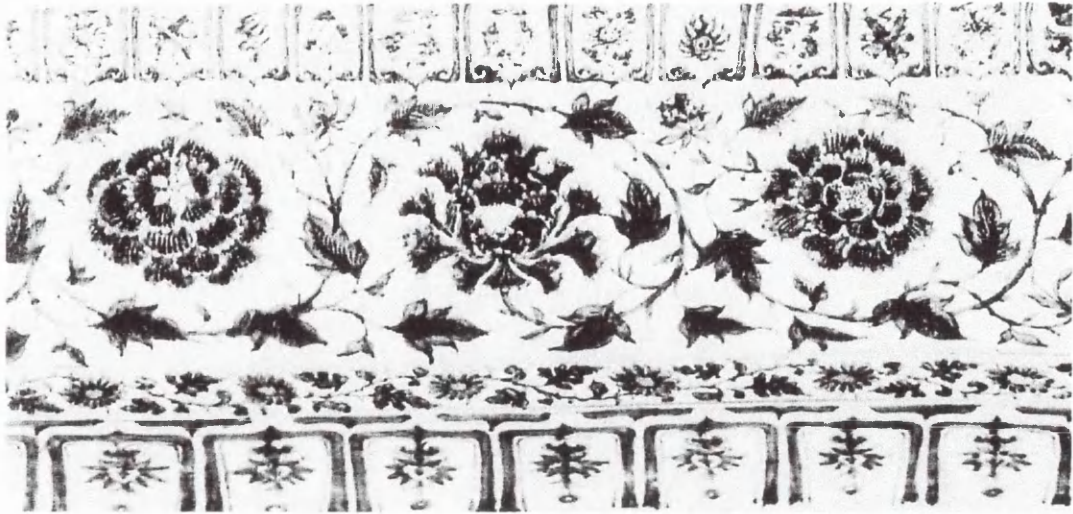
ill. 5: Deeply cut feathery leaves, Spanish-Umayyad ivory casket, c. 962,  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Inv.no. 301-1866



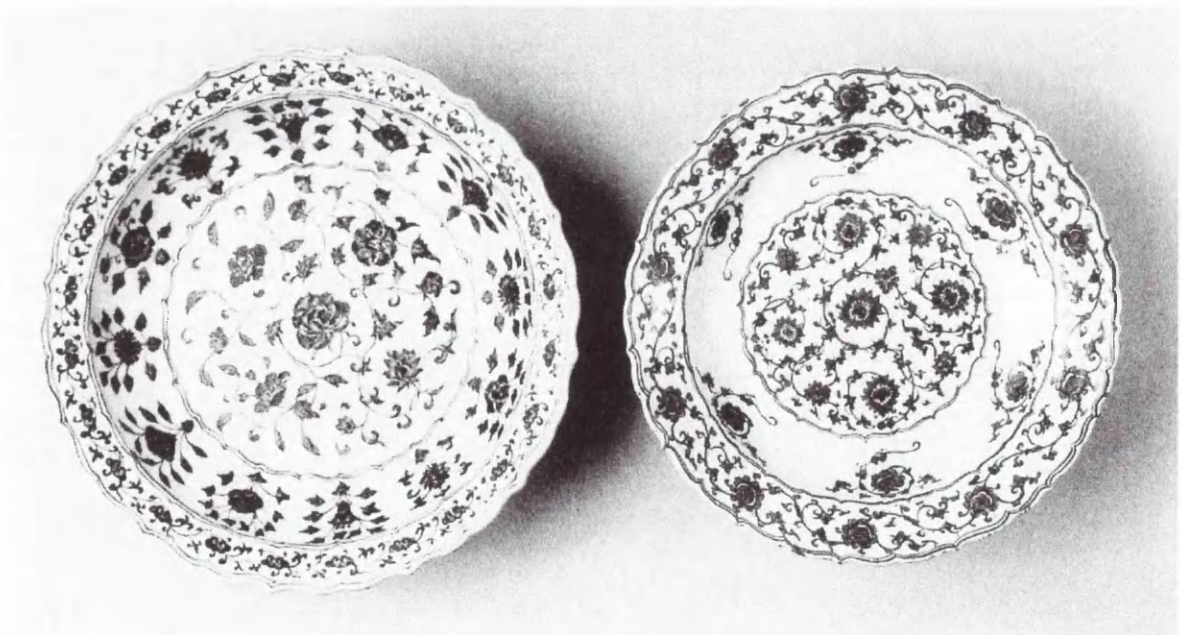
ill. 6: Arabesque-like ornament carved in brick from Ghazna, reminiscent of Samarra style B, twelfth century



ill. 7: Plant ornament spreading out under grid of trefoil arches, marble slab from Ghazna, twelfth century



ill. 8: Peony scroll from Chinese porcelain jar, Yuan Dynasty, fourteenth century, British Museum, London



ill. 9: Comparison of a Chinese and an Ottoman dish with similar flower scroll decoration:  
a: porcelain dish decorated in underglaze blue, China fifteenth century, diam. 35,8 cm, British Museum, London  
b: dish decorated in blue, Iznik, early sixteenth century, diam. 34,2 cm, British Museum, London



ill. 10: Silk compound twill fragment, found in a 1258 context in the Church of St. Sernin, Toulouse, but generally dated to the twelfth century Iberia. The Kufic inscription reads 'perfect blessings', Musée de Cluny, Paris, CL 12869



ill. 11a: Knotwork design, engraving after Leonardo da Vinci, c. 1495



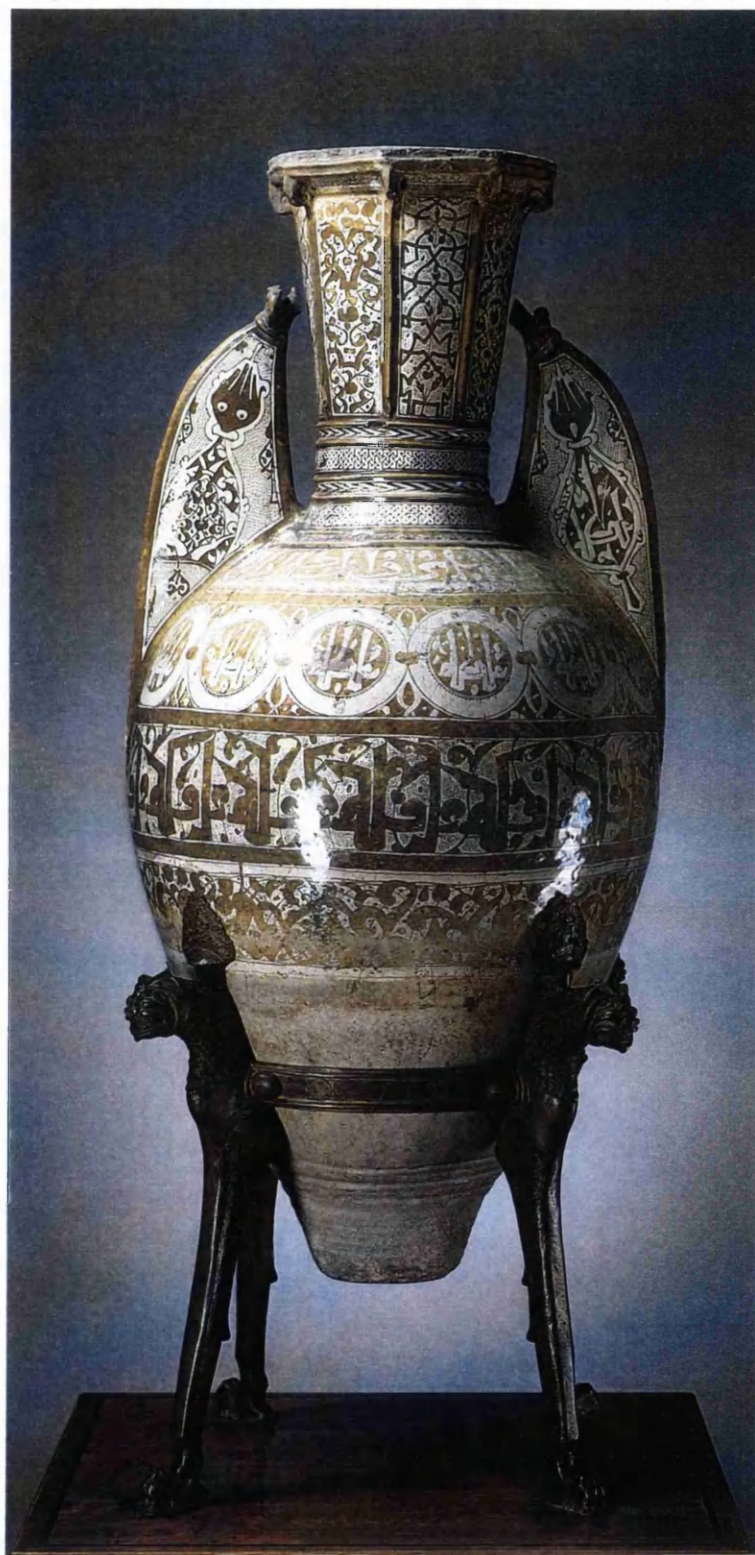
ill. 11b: Woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, 1507



ill. 11c: *The Concert*, Lorenzo Costa, oil on poplar, c. 1485-90, National Gallery, London, NG 2486

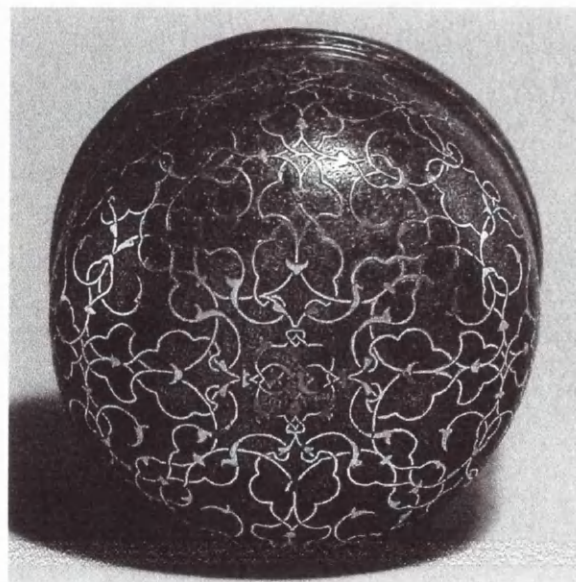
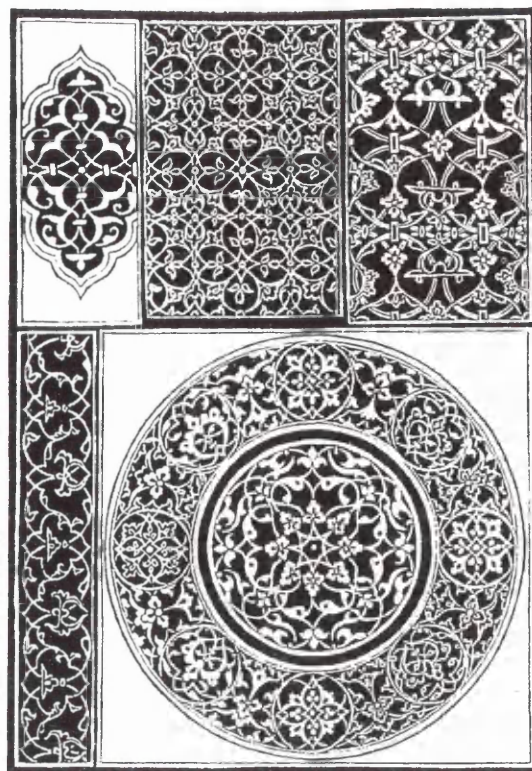


ill. 12: Mace of Henri II,  
by Diego de Çaias,  
probably 1536-1542,  
Musée de l'Armée, Paris,  
K.50



ill. 13: Alhambra Vase, Nasrid period, early fourteenth century, glazed and painted earthenware with lustre, 117 cm, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg, F 317

ill. 14a: Print from 'Esemplario di lavori', Zoppino, Venice, 1529, private collection



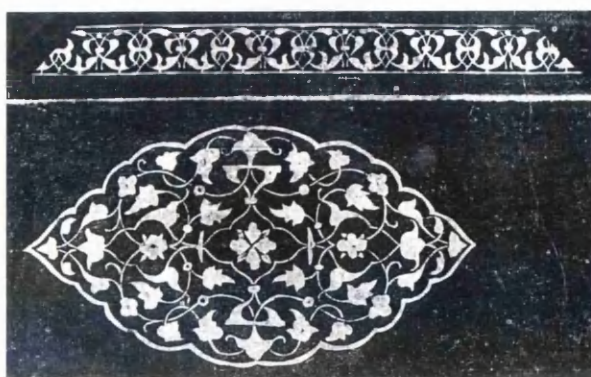
ill. 14b: Box, copper engraved and inlaid with silver, signed "Zain ad-Din, son of Master Umar, metalworker", probably from Persia or Syria, fifteenth century, private collection



ill. 15: Small chest, damascened metal, Milan or Florence, second quarter of the sixteenth century, Paris, Louvre



ill. 16: Small chest with grotesques decoration, iron chased, embossed, partly gilt and damascened, H. 19 cm, W. 29 cm, D. 15 cm, workshop of Lucio Piccinino, Milan, 1560, Museum Huelsmann, Bielefeld, Inv. no. H-I 300



ill. 17a: Cover of a binding of the *Opera* of Aristotle, gilded leather, published by Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1495, Escorial, Biblioteca del Real Monasterio  
 ill. 17b: Print from the *Opera nuova...*, Giovanni Antonio Tagliente, Venice, 1527, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



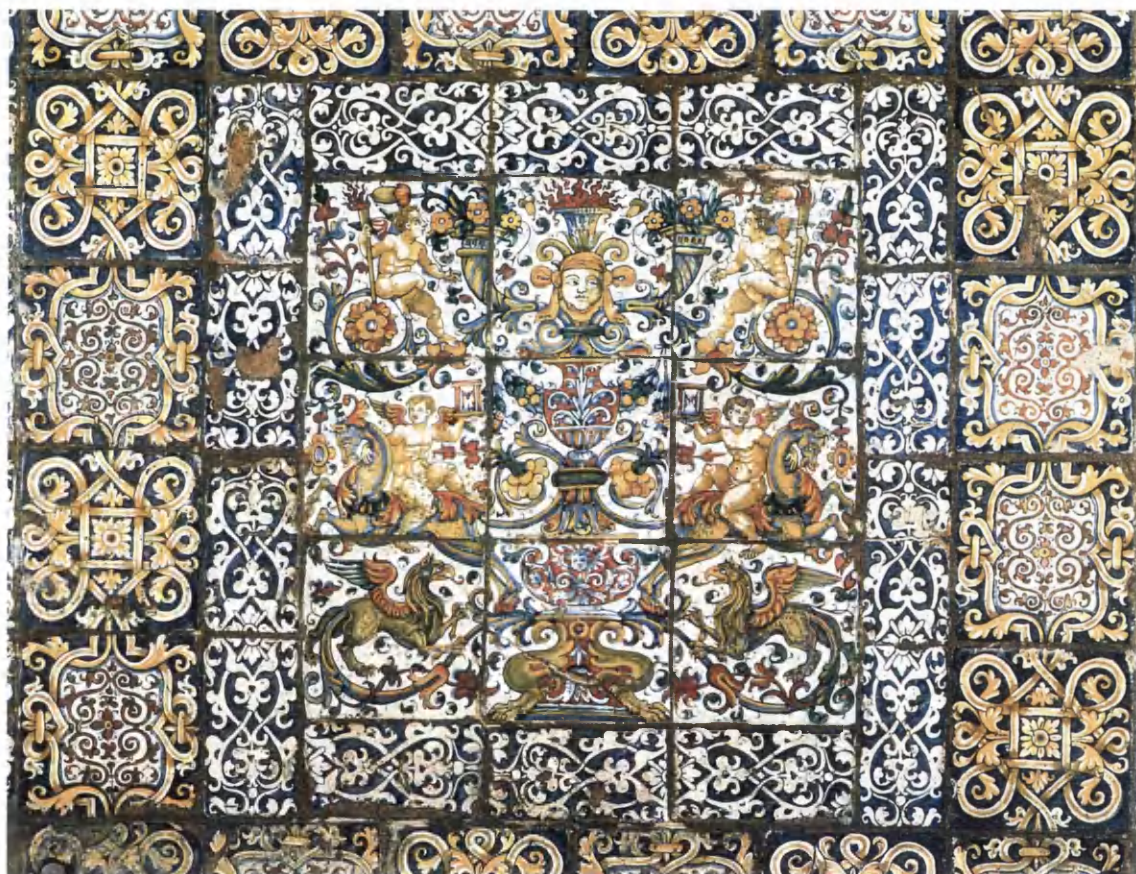
ill. 18a: *Christ among the Doctors*, distemper on wood, Cima da Conegliano, c. 1504-05, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw



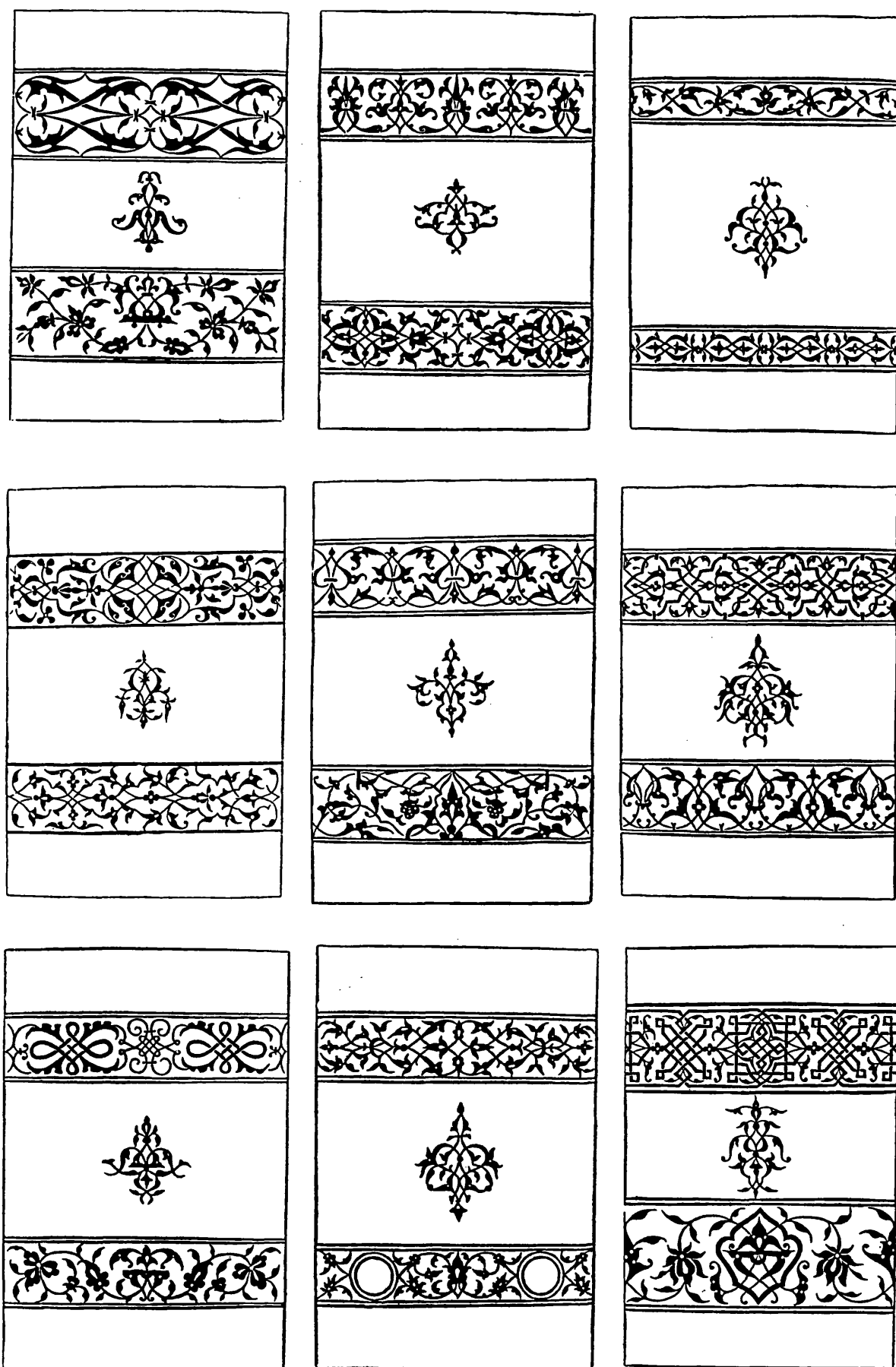
ill. 18b: *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, oil on canvas, Vittor Carpaccio, 1502, Scuola di San Giorgio degli Schiavoni, Venice



ill. 18c: *Marriage of the Virgin*, oil on wood, Raphael, 1504,  
Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan



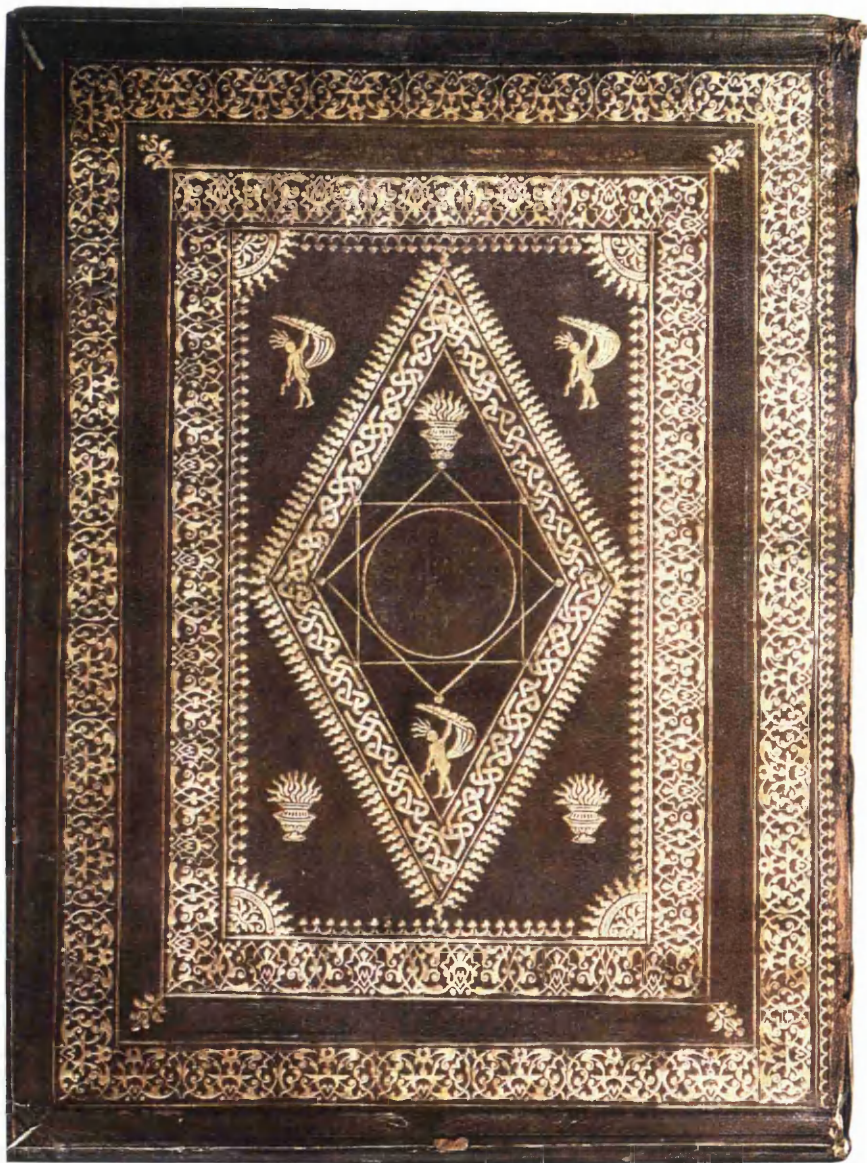
ill. 19a: Floor tiles, maiolica, Deruta, workshop of Giacomo Mancini, known as Il Frate, 1566, Santa Maria Maggiore, Spello;  
 ill. 19b: Ornamental engraving, Master f, 1520s, private collection



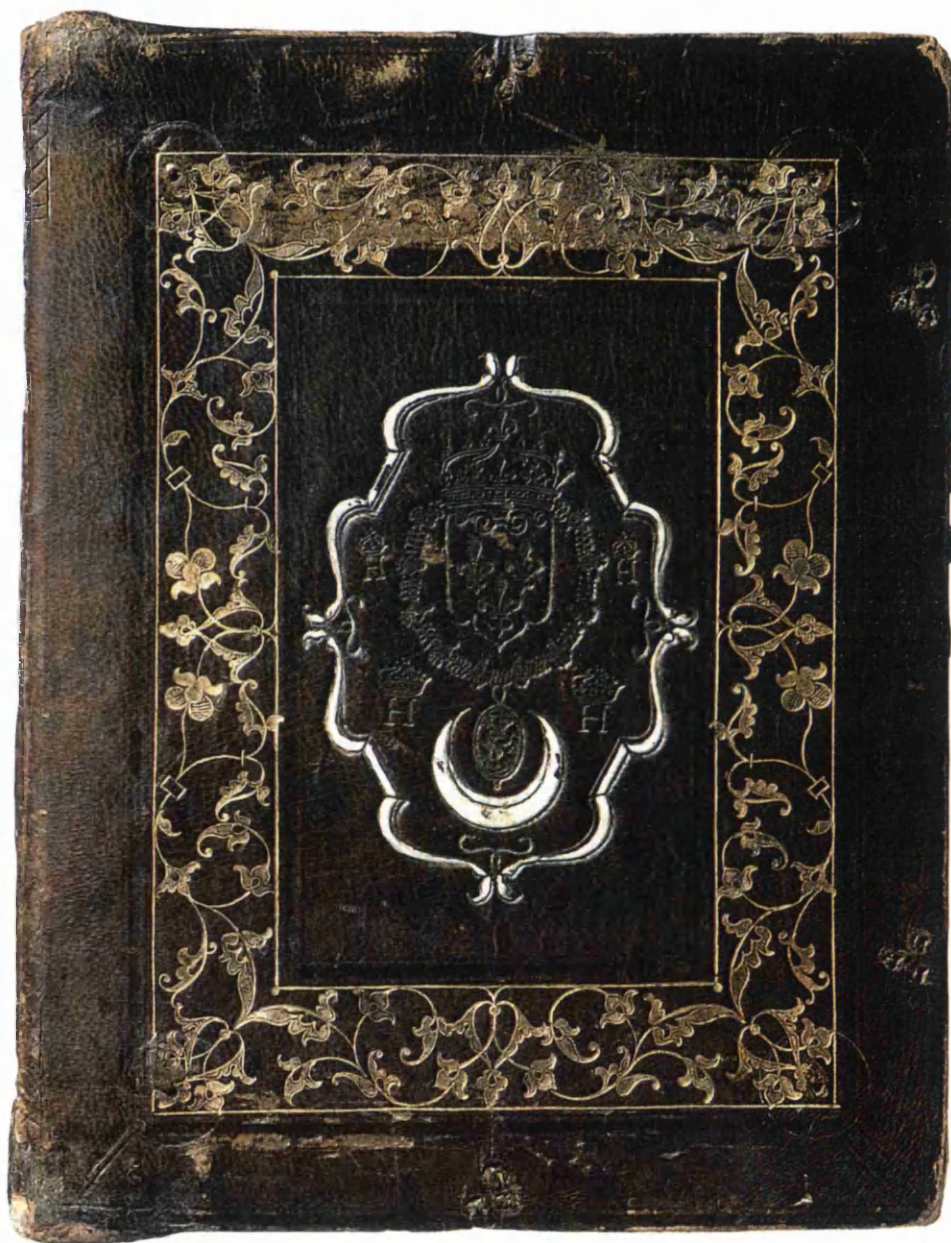
ill. 20: Prints from *La Fleur de la Science de Pourtraicture ...*, Francisque Pellegrin, Paris, 1530, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris



ill. 21: Portrait of Guy de Chabot, Baron of Jarnac, enameled copper,  
Léonard Limosin, second third of the sixteenth century, Frick Collection, New York

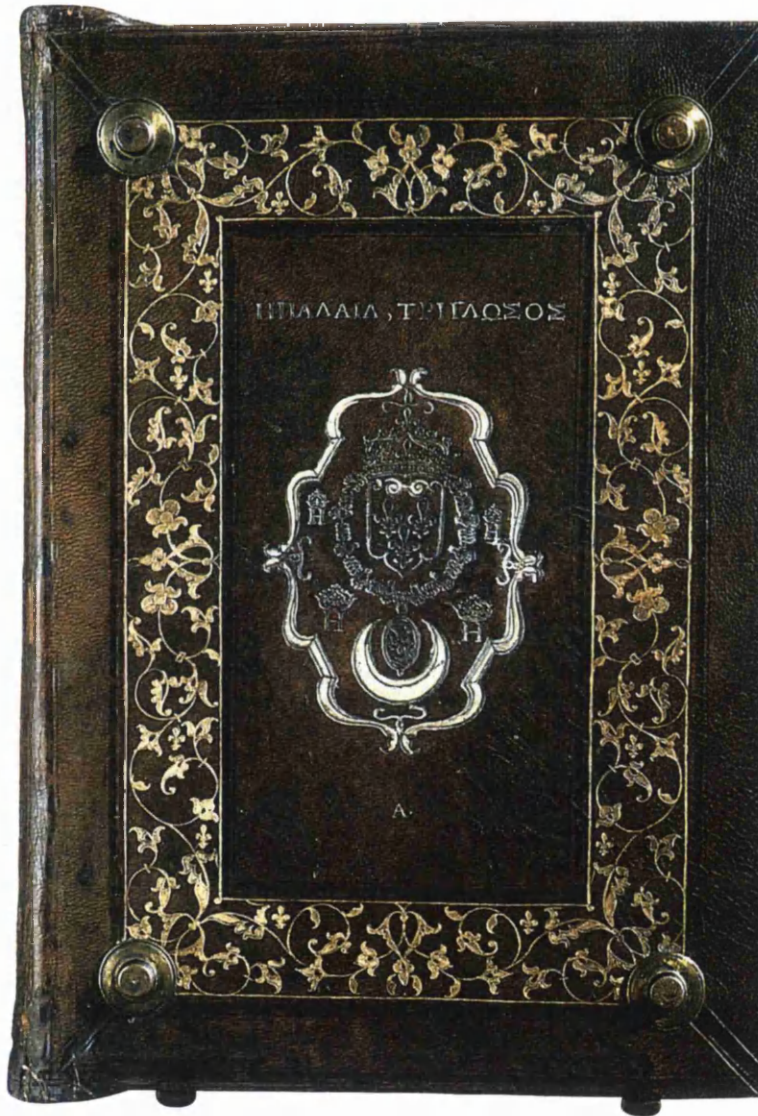


ill. 22a: Binding in brown morocco leather with stamped gilt arabesque decoration, Milan, workshop working for Jean Grolier, 1519, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



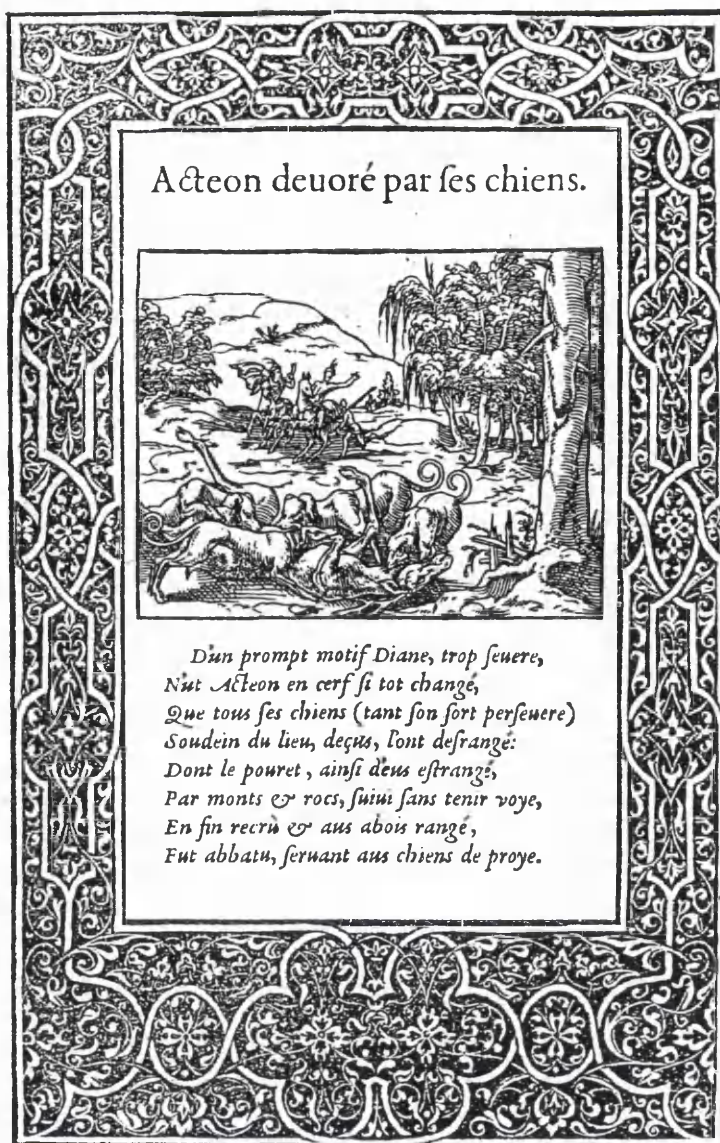
45

ill. 22b: Binding in brown morocco leather with stamped gilt moresque decoration, Fontainebleau, workshop for Henri II, 1547-48, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



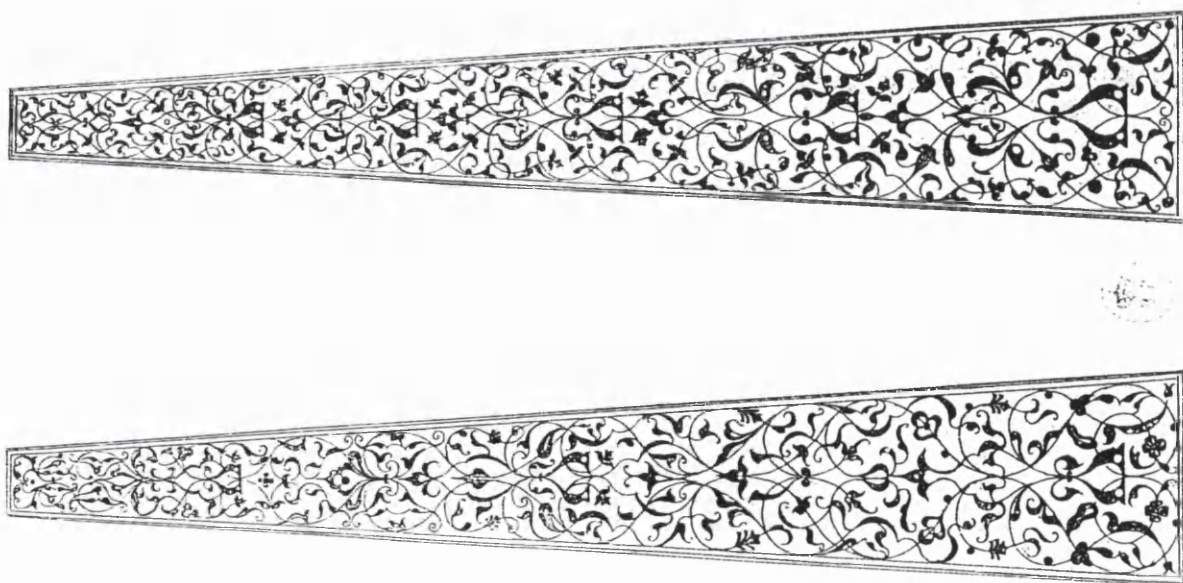
47 a

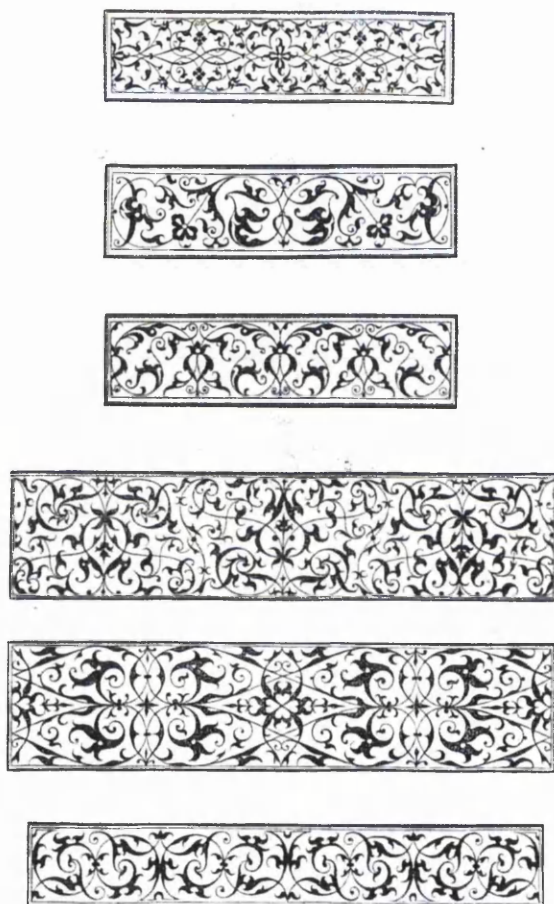
ill. 22c: Binding in brown morocco leather with stamped gilt moresque decoration, Fontainebleau, workshop for Henri II, 1548, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris



ill. 23: Page from  
*La Metamorphose*  
 d'Ovide figurée,  
 Bernard Salomon,  
 Lyon, 1557,  
 Bibliothèque Nationale,  
 Paris

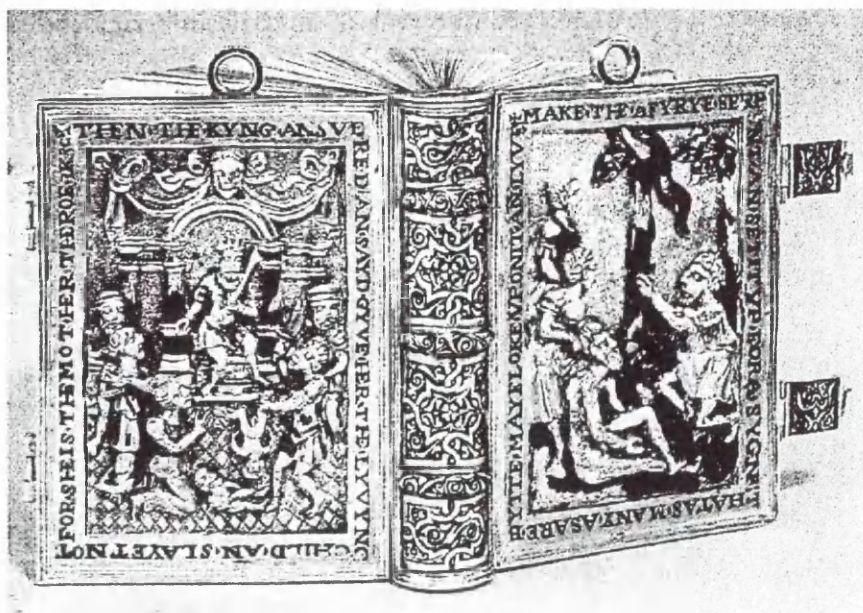
ill. 24: Engraving from the *Livre contenant passement de moresques...*, Jacques Androuet  
 du Cerceau, 1563, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





ill. 25: Woodcuts from *Imperatorum Romanorum ... imagines* (Images ... of the Roman emperors), attributed to Peter Flötner, Zürich, 1559, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris





ill. 27: Girdle Prayer Book, English, c. 1540, gold, embossed and enamelled, 64 ht, British Museum, London, 94.7-29.1



ill. 28: Designs by Hans Holbein the Younger, c. 1532-34, engraved by Wenzel Hollar, British Museum, London; Pennington 2637, 2634

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