

Melis Taner

**ACCOMPANYING THE MAGI: CLOSENESS AND DISTANCE
IN LATE MEDIEVAL CENTRAL EUROPEAN “ADORATIONS
OF THE MAGI”**

MA Thesis in Medieval Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2007

**ACCOMPANYING THE MAGI: CLOSENESS AND DISTANCE IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY
CENTRAL EUROPEAN ADORATION OF THE MAGI**

By

Melis Taner

(Turkey)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the Master of Arts degree in Medieval Studies

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU

Chair, Examination Committee

Thesis Supervisor

Examiner

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I, the undersigned, Melis Taner, candidate for the MA degree in Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 25 May 2007

Signature

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Melis Taner	1
MA Thesis in Medieval Studies.....	1
Signature	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	1
TABLE OF CONTENTS	i
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	i
LIST OF IMAGES	ii
I. THE STORY OF THE MAGI.....	1
II. IMAGES OF THE KINGS	8
III. THE ENTOURAGE: ACCOMPANYING FIGURES AND OBJECTS.....	39
IV. THE “JOURNEYS” OF THE MAGI THROUGH ISTRIA	48
V. THE STORY OF THE MAGI: COMBINING CLOSENESS AND DISTANCE.....	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY	68
APPENDIX A.....	73
APPENDIX B	lxxxiii
APPENDIX C	lxxxiv

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BMC</i>	<i>The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Historia Trium Regum</i>
<i>IMAREAL</i>	<i>Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit</i>
<i>JAAC</i>	<i>The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism</i>
<i>JSAH</i>	<i>Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians</i>
<i>JWC</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
<i>LCI</i>	<i>Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie</i>
<i>MMAB</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>

LIST OF IMAGES

1. Table showing the frequencies of images that depict a Magus with a turban or earring or include a black Magus
2. Insiptiens (fool), Vincent of Kastav, 1474, Beram (Croatia) The Church of the Virgin Mary. Image reproduced from Fučić, Branko. *Vincent von Kastav*. Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1992
3. The Last Rest of Christ, The Last Rest of Christ, Lower Austria, 1495, Brno, Mährische Galerie , Image Number: 012998
4. Flagellation, Jörg Breu the Older, 1501, Herzogenburg (Lower Austria) Stiftsgalerie, Image Number:000806
5. Adoration, Adoration, Leonhard Beck, 1515, Augsburg (Germany) Staatsgalerie im Schaezler-Palais, Image Number: 015766
6. Adoration, Jörg Breu the Older, 1501, Herzogenburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie, Image number: 000808
7. Adoration, Carinthian, first half of fifteenth century, Klagenfurt (Carinthia) Diözesanmuseum, Image Number: 001108
8. Adoration, Rueland Frueauf the Older, c.1491, Austrian, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie, Image Number: 002345
9. Burning of the Damned (in the Last Judgement) Torcello, 12th Century, Image reproduced from Dymaxion Web,
<http://www.dymaxionweb.com/dymaxionweb/Torcello-thumb.JPG>
10. Ecce Homo, Master of the Schotten Altar, Vienna, 1475, Vienna, Schottenstift, Image Number:000319
11. Adoration, Master of the Schotten Altar, Austrian, c.1475, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie, Image number: 000685
12. Ecce Homo, detail, earring
13. Adoration, detail, earring
14. Adoration, Austrian, The Habsburg Court Painter, c.1370, Innsbruck (Tyrol) Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Image Number: 002018
15. Adoration, Austrian, c.1410, Vienna, Diözesanmuseum, Image Number: 001837
16. Adoration, Master of Wilten, Tyrolian, c.1420, Innsbruck (Tyrol) Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, Image Number: 002005
17. Adoration, Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c.1500, Los Angeles, J.P.Getty Museum, Image reproduced from:
<http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=900&handle=1i>
18. Adoration, Master Theodoric, Bohemian, c.1360, Karlštejn (Czech Republic) Chapel of the Holy Cross, Image Number: 013261
19. Adoration, detail showing Sigismund of Luxemburg, Benozzo Gozzoli, Italian, 1459, Florence Medici Chapel, Image reproduced from:
http://paradoxplace.com/Perspectives/Italian%20Images/Montages/Firenze/Capella_dei_Magi.htm
20. Sigismund of Luxemburg, Vienna, 1420s, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Image reproduced from:Exhibition Catalogue, *Sigismund of Luxemburg: Art and Culture, 1387-1437* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 18 March-18 June 2006; Luxembourg, Musée National D'Histoire et D'Art, 13 July-15 october 2006).
21. Adoration, Habsburg Master, Nikolaus Reiser, Tyrolian, c.1500, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie, Image number: 000823

22. Adoration, detail, Maximilian I
23. Adoration, detail, Frederick III
24. Adoration, Bernard Strigel, German, sixteenth century, Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*. Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982.
25. Adoration, Martin Schaffner, German, 1512, Nuremberg, National Museum Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*. Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982.
26. Adoration, Master of Mariapfarr, Austrian, c. 1500, Salzburg, Mariapfarr, Image number: 000072
27. Adoration, Master of St. Severin, late fifteenth century, Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*. Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982.
28. Adoration, German, c.1460, Nördlingen (Germany) Stadtmuseum, Image Number: 004696
29. Adoration, detail, flags
30. Adoration, Vienna, c. 1490, Klosterneuburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie, Image number: 000050
31. Adoration, South Tyrolian, second half of fifteenth century, Dietenheim (South Tyrol), Image Number: 003780
32. Adoration, detail showing camels, Slovakian, c.1375, Kraskovo (Slovakia), Image Number: 012544
33. Adoration, Lombardian, c.1425, Morter (South Tyrol) St. Stephan in Obermontani, Image Number: 002994
34. Adoration, detail, monkey
35. The Three Magi with Ss. Cosmas and Damian, John of Kastav, 1490, Hrastovlje (Slovenia) The Church of the Holy Trinity, Image Number: 009878
36. Adoration, detail, John of Kastav, Slovenian, 1490, Hrastovlje (Slovenia) Church of the Holy Trinity, Image Number: 009861
37. Adoration, detail showing the journey
38. Adoration, detail, peasant carrying eggs
39. Adoration, detail, wild men
40. Adoration, detail, farting peasant
41. Adoration, detail, goitered man
42. Adam and Eve at Work, John of Kastav, 1490, Hrastovlje (Slovenia) The Church of the Holy Trinity, Image Number: 009829
43. Adoration, John of Kastav, Slovenian, 1490, Gradisce pri Divaci (Slovenia) Church of St. Helena, Image Number: 010819
44. Adoration, detail, bending peasant
45. Adoration, detail, wild man
46. Adoration, detail, pelican
47. Adoration, detail, stork and fox
48. Adoration, detail showing the stork and the fox, Vincent of Kastav, Istrian, 1474, Beram (Croatia), Church of the Virgin Mary, Image reproduced from: Fučić, Branko. *Vincent von Kastav*. Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1992.
49. Adoration, detail, hunter
50. Adoration, detail, reindeer

51. Adoration, Botticelli, Italian, c.1475, London, National Gallery, Image reproduced from: <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/largeImage?workNumber=NG1033&collectionPublisherSection=work>
52. Adoration, detail, peacock

I. THE STORY OF THE MAGI

...When they had come to the place where the prophet was born, the youngest of the three kings went in all alone to see the child. He found that he was like himself, for he seemed to be of his own age and appearance. And he came out full of wonder. Then in went the second, who was a man of middle age. And to him also the childe seemed, as it had seemed to the other, to be of his own age and appearance. And he came out quite dumbfounded. Then in went the third, who was of riper years: and to him it also happened as it had to the other two. And he came out deep in thought. When the three kings were all together, each told the others what he had seen. And they were much amazed and resolved that they would all go in together. So in they went, all three together and came before the child and saw him in his real likeness and of his real age; for he was only thirteen days old. Then they worshipped him and offered him the gold, the frankincense, and the myrrh...¹

So writes Marco Polo, in his *Travels*, about the legend of the three Magi who had come to worship the Infant Christ. As multifaceted as the newborn Christ seemed to the dumbfounded Magi, so is the story of the Magi, the basis of which is given in the Gospel according to Matthew, 2:1-12. The Gospel account tells of the “wise men from the east” coming to Jerusalem to find and worship the King of the Jews. The “wise men” are summoned by Herod who sends them to Bethlehem to report back to him as to who this King of the Jews is. They then travel to Bethlehem led by a star, and having found the Virgin and child, bring forth their gifts of “gold and frankincense and myrrh.”² Being forewarned in a dream not to report back to Herod but to go back to their lands a different way, they depart.

¹ Marco Polo, *The Travels*, tr. Ronald Latham (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1958), 59. Also see A.V. Williams Jackson, “The Magi in Marco Polo and the Cities in Persia from Which They Came to Worship the Infant Christ” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 26 (1905): 79-83; Peter Jackson, “Marco Polo and his *Travels*,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 61, No.1 (1998): 82-101.

² Matthew 2:11, King James Version.

The basis of the legend of the three Magi, whose iconographic depictions found favour quite early on,³ remains reticent about the descriptions of the Magi, their names or in fact how many they were. Perhaps, however, it is the reticence of the Gospel account that has led to a mushrooming of commentaries as well as secular works such as travelers' accounts that did not fail to include the lands of the Magi in their itineraries.⁴

Textual sources were quite early to associate the Magi with kings and as early as the third century, Tertullian makes the connection between the Magi as kings and Psalm 71/72:9/10,⁵ which follows as:

The kings of Tarshish and of the isles shall bring presents: the kings of Sheba and Saba shall offer their gifts.⁶

Such a typology seemed to gain favour among other theologians⁷ but it was only in the twelfth century that the Magi were depicted as kings in the visual arts.⁸ The number of the Magi/Kings was set to three by Origen on account of the gifts they brought;⁹ they were later on given names;¹⁰ and were even thought to "signify the three parts of the world, Asia, Africa, Europe."¹¹

Early Christian representations of the Magi found body in Roman catacombs from the early fourth century until mid-fifth century.¹² These early representations

³ See Richard Trexler, *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 22 (Henceforth, Trexler, *Journey*).

⁴ See Marco Polo, *Travels*; Sir John Mandeville, *Travels*, tr. Jean d'Outremeuse (Suffolk: Richard, Clay and Sons, 1919); Peter Jackson, *The Mission of William Rubruck: His Journey to the Court of the Great Khan Möngke, 1253-1255* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1990).

⁵ See, Paul Kaplan, *The Rise of the Black Magus in Western Art* (Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1983), 22 (Henceforth, Kaplan, *Black Magus*); Hugo Kehrer, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige in Literatur und Kunst* (Leipzig: Verlag von E.A. Seemann, 1908; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1976), 13 (Henceforth, Kehrer, *Drei Könige*); Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie* (Freiburg: Herder, 1994), 536 (Henceforth, Kirschbaum, *LCI*).

⁶ Psalm 72:10 in the King James Version, Psalm 71:9 in the Vulgate

⁷ Kaplan mentions St. Ceasarius of Arles among those who supported the idea of Magi being kings.

⁸ Kaplan, *Black Magus*, 21.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Trexler, *Journey*, 38.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid. 22

depicted the Magi almost identically and in a procession, much in the manner of a “diplomatic” affair, “toward Jesus and his mother” and “not in a static state before them.”¹³ Soon afterwards, the Magi found their way to the hems of the Byzantine Empress Theodora’s cloak in a mosaic scene from Ravenna.¹⁴ From the twelfth century onwards, they were the main actors of liturgical plays. In the later Middle ages, the Magi were humble kings solemnly worshipping the Infant Christ whilst presenting their gifts; or they were kings in a rich cavalcade on the journey to Bethlehem.

Different elements from the story of the Magi could be picked out for representation. Otto Heinrich von Bockelberg identifies at least six scenes from the story of the Magi that were represented. These are: the announcement of the birth of Jesus in a dream to the Magi, usually a very early representation; the journey of the Magi from the east; the enquiry of the Magi by Herod; the adoration itself; the Magi’s dream not to return to Herod, a very seldomly represented topic¹⁵; and the return of the Magi, also a very seldom representation.¹⁶

Scholarly Interests

It is perhaps the malleability of the story of the Magi that led to different interpretations and developments within the story and its representations. The popularity of the Magi in art and literature from its conception to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also brought about a rising interest in scholarship. Hugo

¹³ Ibid. 23.

¹⁴ For a detailed account of the functions of the representation of the Magi within the iconographic programme of the mosaics of Ravenna, see Trexler, *Journey*.

¹⁵ A rare example from the twelfth century, a stone carving from the Cathedral of Pécs shows the three Magi in bed, dreaming, being warned by an angel not to go back to Herod.

¹⁶ Otto Heinrich von Bockelberg, “Das Morgenländische in der Anbetung der Könige, ein Beitrag zu ihrer Ikonographie,” in *Deutschland-Italien: Beiträge zu den Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Norden und Süden: Festschrift für Wilhelm Waetzoldt zu seinem 60. Geburtstage 21. Februar 1940* (Berlin: G.Grote’sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1941): 92.

Kehrer's seminal study¹⁷ on the three Magi in art and literature follows the development of the Magi story from Mithraism and early Christian texts to references to the Magi in the liturgy in the Orient and the Occident, and to the nomenclature of the Magi, Magi plays, and popular beliefs about the Magi. It also deals with the iconography of the Magi, from early examples in catacombs to the beginning of the sixteenth century. Richard Trexler in his study, *The Journey of the Magi*,¹⁸ begins with early representations of the Magi and in what contexts the story of the Magi came to be adopted, from a tradition of gift giving to the Roman banquet. He continues with the development and changes in the representation of the Magi story, not only in the visual arts but also in magi plays and liturgical plays in the twelfth century. On the inclusion of the black king, Paul Kaplan's study, *The Rise of the Black Magus*¹⁹ can be emphasized. Rab Hatfield, in his study on the "Compagnia de' Magi"²⁰ deals with the Magi pageants in fourteenth and fifteenth century and observes how the Medici family's fascination with the Magi is portrayed. The interest with the Magi also found flesh in a 1982 Exhibition in Cologne, *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*.²¹

The Magi and Their Way Through Central Europe

The various previous scholarship, their emphasis on the different aspects of the Magi story, their representations in different geographical areas and different periods sparked my interest in not only the developments in the representations of the legend of the Magi, but also in the different meanings that can be loaded on the Magi

¹⁷Kehrer, *Drei Könige*. The 1976 reprint contains in one volume the 1908 volume which concentrates on literature and the 1909 volume which concentrates on art.

¹⁸Trexler, *Journey*.

¹⁹Paul Kaplan, *Black Magus*.

²⁰Rab Hatfield, "Compagnia de' Magi" *JWCI* 33 (1970): 107-161 (Henceforth, Hatfield, *Compagnia*).

²¹*Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung* Exhibition Catalogue (Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982) (Henceforth, *Darstellung und Verehrung*).

story or the ways the Magi story can be expanded to suit different needs. One area, in particular, sparked my interest, with regards to the visual representations of the Magi story: that of Central Europe. The area as a whole in the late middle ages and the Renaissance was in close contact with other parts of Europe. In the fourteenth century, the court of Charles IV, kept close relations with France, being a member of the House of Luxemburg.²² Matthias Corvinus of Hungary was in close relations with the Ottoman Empire, as well as Italy and Germany, summoning many artists and architects from the latter two.²³ Sigismund of Luxemburg too had close ties with Italy. In Austria and Hungary there were also German influences in this period. The regions of Istria and South Tyrol were in close contact with the art of Italy. The region of Central Europe presents a lively image of intercultural exchanges and various artistic influences, both from Germany and Italy. Thomas DaKosta Kaufmann writes: “Indeed, from the fifteenth century onwards, there developed in Central Europe the possibility of a pluralistic, plural society that was open to many different impulses.”²⁴ Fifteenth century art in Central Europe thus presents the opportunity for exploring these different impulses. The Magi story itself, with its many different branches allows for lively and variegated representations that, in the plurality of influences both regionally and contextually, offer a fascinating source basis.

The very subject of the legend of the three Magi and its representations in the form of the “Adoration of the Magi” and the “Journey of the Magi” imply a certain sense of distance and closeness.²⁵ The Magi, as told in the account of the Evangelist,

²²Thomas DaKosta Kaufmann, *Court, Cloister&City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450-1800* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995) (Henceforth, DaKosta Kaufmann, *Court*).

²³Ibid. 31.

²⁴Ibid. 25.

²⁵ For an account of distance and closeness in religious paintings of the late middle ages, see Gerhard Jaritz, “Nähe und Distanz als Gebrauchsfunktion spätmittelalterlicher religiöser Bilder” in *Frömmigkeit*

are “wise men from the east” coming to worship the Western King. The idea of legitimacy within the context of the Magi story finds its representation in late medieval Central Europe in giving the Magi “oriental” qualities that suggest a spatial distance within the representation to match the ideological distance of the Magi story. The “Adoration” images, however, also portray a certain familiar social stratum of royalty as the Magi are equated with kings. In a number of “Journeys of the Magi” the entourage is accompanied by familiar, sometimes humorous figures that the beholder may have known out of his own life. The present study will, thus, attempt to weave through these different ideas of distance and closeness, both within the subject matter of the “Adoration of the Magi” and within the iconography of the works themselves.

Analyzing Central European Visual Representations

For this study, I have mainly used the Database “REALonline” of the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.²⁶ The database contains nearly twenty-thousand images with an emphasis on panel paintings and frescoes from Central Europe, from the early fourteenth to the late sixteenth centuries. It concentrates on images from present day Austria, Hungary, Transylvania, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Bavaria, South Tyrol and Slovenia. Dealing with these areas has proved to be an exciting and legitimate enterprise of comparative analysis of late medieval visual culture. The use of panel paintings, altarpieces and frescoes implies a certain broad viewership, being mainly in the public space of the church. The size, the distance and closeness of the work itself will prove crucial in presenting their meaning of the work.

im Mittelalter: Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksforme, ed. Klaus Schreiner (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), 331-346.

²⁶The online version of the database, REALonline, can be reached at the following link: <http://www.imareal.oeaw.ac.at/realonline>.

My study incorporates a sample of two hundred works depicting the “Adoration of the Magi” and the “Journey of the Magi,” with seventy-three frescoes and one hundred and twenty-seven panel paintings from Central Europe as well as additional comparative German and Italian works. My choices for the sample were limited by the subject matter, that is the “Adoration” and “Journey” images, the survival of works, and the selection of the database itself. I will employ a comparative approach to the topic, in terms of time, place, and context. The first part of the study deals with the image of the kings themselves. It begins with oriental kings, that is, with the increasing orientalizing influences in the depiction of the “Adoration of the Magi,” with an emphasis on material culture. From the land of the oriental kings, it moves to the realm of the “real” kings, that is, with an emphasis on ruler portraits in the “Adoration of the Magi.” The second part of the study moves from the realm of the kings to that of their retinue, the animals they bring, the flags and banners they carry, etc. In line with this representation of the retinue of the kings, special emphasis will be given at the end to a detailed analysis of Istrian frescoes of the “Journey” scene which show specific aspects of the mentioned phenomenon of distance and closeness.

II. IMAGES OF THE KINGS

Orientalisms and Fascination

John Mc Kenzie, in his work *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* writes that Orientalism, at its conception, meant the “British *policy* in India, representing a conservative and romantic approach not only utilising the languages and laws of both Muslim and Hindu India, but also desiring the preservation of allegedly traditional social relations.”²⁷ The term later on also came to denote a genre of painting. In light of Edward Said’s influential work, “Orientalism,”²⁸ it came to adopt a more complex meaning, that was no longer a policy or a study on or of the Orient, but a discourse through which one viewed oneself through the other. While Said’s work and its critics originate from a colonial or post-colonial context, the medieval views of the Orient can provide valuable insights into the ergonomics of proximity and distancing. It is perhaps more appropriate, thus, to speak of “orientalisms,” rather than “orientalism,” a term that itself has come to carry certain meanings and a certain time frame and social and political context.

Following Edward Said’s “Orientalism,” the issue has attracted much interest in the last three decades. Gyan Prakash suggests the “relentless transgression of boundaries drawn by disciplines of knowledge and imperial governance” for the existence and more importantly, prevalence, of orientalism.²⁹ Indeed, the constant relation between the West and the East prompts a mutual observance as well as its visual, literary and aural offsprings. The aim of this analysis is not to trace the roots of a certain “oriental” imagery or to find its evidence in Central Europe. Rather, it deals with the reflection of an idea, a reflection that is materialized in the form of panel paintings and frescoes in a public space, and a reflection that takes as its

²⁷ John Mc Kenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), xii.

²⁸ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

²⁹ Gyan Prakash. “Orientalism Now,” *History and Theory* 34. No.3 (1995): 199-212.

example one specific subject, the “Adoration of the Magi.” The legend that has the Magi originate from distant lands plays into this fascination and a certain fascination surrounding the Magi couples with the fascination surrounding the Orient around the fifteenth century, with many “Adoration” paintings mushrooming in Europe.

Inter-cultural contacts in the form of trade relations, pilgrimages and diplomatic relations, sometimes amicable, sometimes not so amicable, formed the grounds for a reciprocal view of the “other.” Certain periods gave rise to a heightened interest in other cultures, like the *Turquerie* of the eighteenth century or the *Japonisme* of the 1860s; the fourteenth and especially the fifteenth centuries saw the rise of an interest in the Orient.

Leonardo Olschki points out the murky relationship between the fascination with the Orient, orientalism and its influence on art and warns the scholar of “overstating” the influence of orientalism on the art of the Italian Renaissance.³⁰ The increasing reflection of the Orient on the art of the fifteenth century, however, begs further consideration and must be approached with a certain wariness that sees it as what it is, a representation. Another point of caution is presented by Oleg Grabar in his comments on the 1989 Berlin Exhibition on “Europe and the Orient.” He writes that “The relationship [between Europe and the Orient] is presumed, even perhaps demonstrated, at least as a one-way movement from East to West, but it is never clear whether we are dealing with something important or with peculiar freaks of history.”³¹ This brings the question: can fascination be a freak of history? I believe fascination with the other, despite the fact that the term has been used rather freely and has recently received increasing attention in scholarship, is an inevitable result of cohabitation and mutual observance. It is perhaps rather the reflection of that

³⁰ Leonardo Olschki, “Asiatic Exoticism in the Art of the Early Renaissance” *The Art Bulletin* 26. No.2 (1944): 95-106, 99.

³¹ Oleg Grabar, “Europe and the Orient: An Ideologically Charged Exhibition,” *Muqarnas* 7 (1990): 2.

fascination, or interest, to put it mildly, which frequently appears in similar ways that seems to present a certain trend on this mutual observance.

The Language of Garments and Accessories

More concrete than the two-mile thick porridge border of the Land of Cockaigne and the elusive kingdom of Prester John, the Orient was an object of fascination in the Later middle ages. The land of Cockaigne, incredible as it was with its rainfall of grated cheese and pancake tiled houses and roasted pigs roaming around,³² was believed, or at least hoped to be somewhere “out there,” as was the marvelous kingdom of Prester John. The Orient was a closer endeavour that found its way to many travel accounts. The ever-present fashion for pilgrimage and the growing trade relations forged a network that “meant that few localities in Europe lacked direct contact with individuals who had personally traveled considerable distances.”³³ While accounts of travelers must be taken with a grain of salt, their stories, speckled with hyperbole and borrowings from other accounts, they partake of a fascination with the “exotic,” and also point to an increasing interest in observation and reporting.

Hermann Goetz argues that Orientals were commonly depicted in the Italian and Netherlandish art of the late fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries and that Muslims were the obvious choice in the depiction of men who had not yet converted to Christianity for the men living at the end of the middle ages, “who had not yet obtained a clear idea of the Greeks and Romans through the rediscovery of the antique world, and who before the period of the great sea voyages to America and the Indian

³² See Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

³³ Margaret Wade Labarge, *Medieval Travelers: The Rich and the Restless* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1982).

Ocean, hardly knew any pagan peoples.”³⁴ Goetz’s suggestion seems to provide only a cursory explanation for the increase in the depiction of orientals in the art of the fifteenth century. The “Adoration” images, at the very least, by virtue of the fact that the Magi were held to be “wise men from the East” offered the perfect opportunity to depict “orientals.” However, to run through this phenomenon with such an answer does not do justice to the plethora of works that portray men in turbans or rich brocades with oriental designs. The contexts within which they appear must also be taken into account.

The fear and fascination³⁵ surrounding the image of the oriental had both negative and positive connotations. Josef Krása, in his introduction to the “Travels of Sir John Mandeville” writes that “The lands described by Mandeville in the first chapters of the *Travels* were becoming focal points of extreme peril for Europe of the early fifteenth century.”³⁶ The fifteenth century, with the rise of the Ottoman Empire, brought Europe face to face with a power that steadily grew on European territory, and while the Ottomans were to be feared as ferocious heathens, “certain Turkish qualities and objects were adopted.”³⁷ These objects of material culture, such as swords, carpets and textiles thus acquired positive connotations, “making their way into the upper classes of Western society”³⁸ so much so that when Matthias Corvinus was receiving the ambassador of Ferrara, Caesar Valentini, he dressed up in a Turkish kaftan.³⁹

Exchange of gifts as well as trade and diplomatic relations presented a

³⁴ Hermann Goetz, “Oriental Types and Scenes in Renaissance and Baroque Painting-I,” *The BMC* 73, No. 425 (1938): 50.

³⁵ See Gerhard Jaritz, “Fear and Fascination: Late Medieval German Perceptions of the Turks Revisited” *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 46 (2002): 40-48 (Henceforth, Jaritz, *Fear and Fascination*).

³⁶ Josef Krása, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville: A Manuscript in the British Library*, tr. Peter Kussi (New York: George Braziller, 1983).

³⁷ Gerhard Jaritz, *Fear and Fascination*, 40-48.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 41.

³⁹ Vera Gervers, *The Influence of Otoman Turkish Textiles and Costume in Eastern Europe* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1982), 12.

reciprocal view of the “other” and left traces of that view in the art of the fifteenth century. The trade channels from the Ottoman Empire to the Balkans brought many oriental goods throughout the fourteenth century, but it was only after 1453, with the increasing economic stability of the Ottoman Empire, that trade with the Balkans and the West increased.⁴⁰ One example with regards to the trade of rugs can show the intensive trade relations between the Ottoman Empire and Hungary from the second half of the fifteenth century. Ferenc Batári points to the taxbook of vigesimal levies of the town of Brassó, in which between the dates January 7 to November 16, 1503, customs clearance of five hundred rugs had been entered.⁴¹

The relations between the Ottoman Empire and the West cannot be singled out, however, as a direct influence for the representation of such material culture on the art of the fifteenth century, for just as Mandeville’s account is now held to be fictional, one need not, in effect, see an oriental or see elements of oriental material culture in order to be able to depict them. Still, a certain hint of relations between, not only the Ottoman Empire but the Byzantine Empire, and other cultures, must remain in the background of this fear and fascination. I agree with David Blanks and Michael Frassetto who argue that “the encounter with the Muslim other was elemental to the shaping of the Western world view” and that “This was especially true during those centuries that began with the crusades and ended with the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire.”⁴²

⁴⁰ Ibid. 3

⁴¹ Ferenc Batári, *500 év Oszmán-Török Szőnyegművészete* (Five Hundred Years in the Art of Ottoman-Turkish Carpet Making) (Budapest : Fine Arts Museum, 1986), 18.

Also see Halil Inalcik, “Turkish Carpets: Trade and Patronage” in *In Praise of God: Anatolian Rugs in Transylvanian Churches 1500-1700*, Exhibition Catalogue 2007 (Istanbul: Sabanci University Sakip Sabanci Museum), 25-31; Volkmar Gantzhorn, *Oriental Carpets: Their Iconology and Iconography from Earliest Times to the 18th Century* (Cologne: Taschen Verlag, 1998); Walter Denny, “Les Textiles et Tapis d’Orient à Venise” in *Venise et L’Orient 828-1797* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 174-191; Frances Morris, “Velvets from Italy and Asia Minor,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 12, No.3 (1917): 68-70.

⁴² David Blanks and M.Frassetto, *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe:*

In the case of the “Adoration of the Magi” I want to argue that the depiction of orientals or the other was a means of legitimizing the rule of Christ as King and was essential to the story of the Magi. Within the context of the “Adoration of the Magi” paintings, a certain understanding of the “other” is present, in that the Magi are represented as kings from a distant land, other than one’s own land. However, I suggest to use the term “fascination” as opposed to a certain sense of “othering,” especially within the context of the fifteenth century “Adoration of the Magi” paintings, since the changes in the portrayal of the three Magi from particularly around the second half of the fifteenth century, point to not only the depiction of an “other” but spring from a fascination that is particular to the period in question. Reflections of a fascination, with the Orient, as also with the Magi story, are to be analyzed through the depictions of material culture, that figure as signs and symbols,⁴³ in the context of the “Adoration of the Magi.” Several such elements appear in the “Adoration” images throughout the fifteenth century. These are: the turban, the earring, flags with oriental designs, in addition to the inclusion of a black king. These elements or oriental “things” give the outer appearance of the Orient which is transmitted through certain objects and qualities.

The table below summarizes the frequencies of such objects and qualities that appear in the paintings depicting the “Adoration of the Magi,” each of which will be analyzed in the following (fig.1).

Perception of Other (New York: St.Martin’s Press, 1999), 2.

⁴³For an in-depth account of material culture and especially costumes as symbols, see Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) (Henceforth, Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*); For an introduction into Orientalist painting in Europe in the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, see Catarina Schmidt Arcangeli, “La Peinture “Orientaliste” à Venise de XVe au XVIIe siècle” in *Venise et L’Orient 828-1797* (Paris: Gallimard, 2006), 120-139 (Henceforth, Arcangeli, *La Peinture*); Joyce Kubiski, “Orientalizing Costume in Early Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Painting (Cité des Dames Master, Limbourg Brothers, Boucicaut Master, and Bedford Master),” *Gesta* 40. No.2 (2001): 161-180.

DATE	IMAGES CONTAINING A MAGUS WITH A TURBAN	IMAGES CONTAINING A BLACK MAGUS	IMAGES WITH A MAGUS WEARING AN EARRING	TOTAL OF ANALYZED IMAGES ⁴⁴
1375-1400		2		15
1401-1425	3	2		20
1426-1450	11	4	1	24
1451-1475	12	17	7	37
1476-1500	31	34	11	48
1501-1525	14	23	6	27

Fig. 1.

The figures above show, from 1375 to 1525, in twenty-five year periods, the frequencies of total works of the sample, and how many of the works depict a Magus or Magi with a turban, how many include a black Magus and how many depict a Magus wearing an earring.

The Turban:

While some elements of Orientalism can be discerned in the art of the fifteenth century, generally in the representation of material culture, paintings of the “Adoration of the Magi” provide ample material for depicting the fascination with the Orient and the exotic, as well as allowing for an “imaginary” means of travel. In terms of material culture in the pictorial representation of Central European art in the fifteenth century, the most prominent clue to a reference to the Orient is the turban. The turban has negative and positive connotations and it is from the context of the work that one can gather an idea as to how the turban is displayed. Ruth Mellinkoff, in her study on the *Outcasts* suggests that “since all signs contain the possibility of ambiguity, both positive and negative meanings must be discussed.”⁴⁵

In an age when external beauty was very much in line with internal morals,⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Images from 1375 to 1525 add up to 171, and the rest are from before 1375 and after 1525.

⁴⁵ Mellinkoff, *Outcasts*, LII.

⁴⁶ External and earthly beauty, however, have been widely challenged by Thomas Aquinas, St. Bernard and Boethius among others who contemplated on the importance of internal beauty and the “transience

pictorial depiction of beauty and ugliness became one way of representing quite “abstract ideas of moral degeneracy, perversity, godlessness, demonic allegiance and a whole host of other characteristics regularly attributed to the various enemies of Christianity.”⁴⁷ The fresco of a wrinkled man, with white, blind eyes and corn spikes for hair (fig.2) greets the visitors to the Church of Mary in Beram, to warn against godlessness, for the godless is blind and sees not the truth.⁴⁸



Fig.2 Insipiens, App.B, 1

While long, blond, curly hair was a sign of high status and male beauty,⁴⁹ ugliness was associated with darkness, unproportioned body parts, warts on faces, big noses or

of earthly beauty” and earthly pleasures. For a discussion of external and internal beauty as seen in the Middle ages, see Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 8-9. For body and outward appearance and behaviour, see Thomas E.A.Dale, “Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa,” *The Art Bulletin* 83, No.3 (2001): 402-436.

⁴⁷ Debra Higgs Strickland, Saracens, *Demons and Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton:Princeton University Press 2003), 8 (Henceforth, Strickland, *Demons*).

⁴⁸ Branko Fučić, *Vincent von Kastav*. (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1992). 29.

⁴⁹ On the depiction of male beauty in the fifteenth century, see Gerhard Jaritz, “Young, Rich and Beautiful: The Visualization of Male Beauty in the Late Middle ages” in *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways. Festschrift in Honour of Janos M. Bak* (Budapest: CEU Press, 1999), 61-77.

Literary sources provide a more explicit description of beauty and the relation of beauty with status and morals. Wernher der Gartenaere’s twelfth century poem “Meier Helmbrecht” provides one such example of beauty and rank, in this case of a world up-side down, where a youthful peasant by the name of Helmbrecht claims his beautiful, curly, blond hair and his richly ornamented and dearly bought garments are unfit for farmwork. See C.H.Bell, *Peasant Life in Old German Epics: Meier Helmbrecht and Der Arme Heinrich* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931).

grimaces. Ugliness in the form of such darkness or grimaces, or in some cases, multi-coloured costumes and pointed shoes suggest a lack of morals. Debra Higgs Strickland writes that “Enemies of the Medieval Church not only followed the wrong religion; they were also literally ugly as sin.”⁵⁰

In particular, the turban is one of the most important objects of such a discourse. The turban as negative imagery becomes either a part of ugliness or a more direct association of heathens that lack morals or are in sin. In a 1490 panel painting from Brno, (fig.3) the “Last Rest” of Christ is depicted. A man wearing a turban is leering at him, his mouth agape. The darkness and ugliness of the two men contrast greatly with the pallour and solemn acceptance of Christ and the Virgin Mary.



Fig.3 The Last Rest, App.B, 2

The turban, the open, gaping mouth, the grimaces, the darkness of skin, the

⁵⁰ Strickland, *Demons*, 29.

colours of the costumes are depicted frequently in “Flagellation” and “Crucifixion” scenes, among others, that figure heathens or enemies of Christ and Christian faith, and a certain amount of torture involved in the image. The facial expressions, perhaps in some cases the crooked noses or warts on faces evoke a sense of impurity and this is contrasted with the immaculacy and the whiteness and serenity of the holy figures. In terms of costumes, striped, checkered, shabby costumes in the case of a 1501 “Flagellation” scene by Jörg Breu the Older (fig.4), also denote a sense of lack of morals. The turban again plays an important role here. Pilate, standing on the left and watching the flagellation, wears a rather fantastic version of it.



Figure 4 Flagellation, App. B, 3

Michel Pastoureau suggests that “in general, garments that were multi-coloured, striped, checkered or featured strong colour contrasts were prohibited, being considered improper for the good Christian.”⁵¹ These strong colour contrasts or checkered costumes were, however, used to distinguish the outcast since they could

⁵¹ Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of a Colour* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 88.

attract the eye.⁵² Among these different implications of ugliness and lack of morals, the turban took up its place rather late, in particular, from the first half of the fifteenth century.

While checkered costumes may imply the outcast, the turban also indicates a “difference.” The context dependence of such signs as the turban, however, indicates for what purpose a sign of “difference” is used. “The essence of the Magi story” that positions the Magi as exotic outsiders to “legitimate the Western king, Jesus”⁵³ allows for a more positive depiction of Eastern elements, such as the turban, the kaftan or the scimitar. The 1515 “Adoration” (fig.5) by Leonard Back depicts the youngest king in an elaborate turban and flamboyant garment, playing into the interest with the Orient as well as giving the kings an exotic flair.



Fig.5 Adoration, App.A, 111

Here the turban becomes a part of a distancing, that is to say, the elements that represent the oriental Kings become one way of representing them as the other. Richard Trexler points out, however, to the need to “domesticate” the exotic Magi,

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Trexler, *Journey*, 95.

which suggests the depiction of a certain well-established set of gestures, forms and positions in their imagery. Within the context of the “Adoration” story, the Magi, thus, manage to retain their “exoticism” whilst being internalized through their qualities that prompt emulation.⁵⁴ They are recognizable as noble kings, as persons of a certain social stratum. They are also recognizable as kings from a “distant” land.

From around the first quarter of the fifteenth century, there is an increase in the inclusion of the turban as an element of distancing within the context of the “Adoration of the Magi” in Central European panel paintings and frescoes. While from 1401 to 1425, fifteen percent of the paintings in the sample depict a Magus with a turban, the rate increases to forty-six percent in the period from 1426 to 1450. In the next period, from 1451 to 1475, thirty-two percent of the works show a Magus with a turban. From 1476 to 1500, sixty-five percent of the works depict a Magus wearing a turban and from 1501 to 1525, fifty-two percent of the works have a Magus wearing a turban. Orientalizing influences as implied by the turban in the “Adorations” are increasing in the fifteenth-century with particular emphasis in its second half and the beginning of the sixteenth-century.

The Black King:

The land of Prester John was one of fabled wealth. Legends of the fourteenth century moved his place of origin to Ethiopia,⁵⁵ thus making him a black monarch and facilitating the representation of a black king.⁵⁶ Marco Polo, in his *Travels*, described Prester John’s land called Tenduc, thus:

⁵⁴ The depiction of real kings as Magi, Ambrose’s suggestions of “imitating the magi,” as well as epiphany processions point to the fascination with the figure of the Magus. The twelfth-century Old French epic poem “Coronation of Louis” does not fail to include the magi, in the form of Guillaume d’Orange’s prayer for protection against the “Turk.” See Joan Ferrante, *Guillaume d’Orange: Four Twelfth-Century French Epics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

Nor are travelers like Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville reticent about the Magi, going into detail about their names, their places of origin and the gifts they bring.

⁵⁵ See Kaplan, *Black Magus*, 46-62. Also see Charles Nowell, “The Historical Prester John,” *Speculum* 28. No.3 (1953): 435-445.

⁵⁶ Richard Trexler, *Journey*. 103.

This province produces lapis lazuli in plenty and of good quality, besides excellent camlets of camel hair. The inhabitants live by stock-rearing and agriculture. There is also a certain amount of commerce and industry. The rulers, as I have said, are Christians; but there are also many idolaters and Mahometans. There is also a class of men called *Argon*, that is to say “half-breeds” who are born of a blend of the two stocks native to Tenduc, the idolaters and the Mahometans. They are a handsome race, more so than the other natives, besides being more intelligent and more businesslike. It is in this province that Prester John had his chief residence when he was lord of the Tartars and of all these neighbouring provinces and kingdoms; and it is here that his descendants still live.⁵⁷

The image of a black, Christian ruler, who was also thought to be a descendent of the Magi⁵⁸, and whose land was in the “East” as were the lands of the Magi, was important in the development of the depiction of a black Magus in “Adoration” images.

Frank Schaer, in his critical edition of the 1425 English translation of a late fourteenth century text, the *Historia Trium Regum* (Henceforth *HTR*) by John of Hildesheim, notes that this text is the first explicit reference to a black Magus.⁵⁹ John of Hildesheim, in describing the offerings of the three Magi, writes:

...And Iaspar, kyng of Thars and of the yle of Egrisculle, which offrid to our Lord myrre, was in person moost of hem, an Ethiopie and blak, whereof seith the prophet, Coram illo procident Ethiopes et inimici eius terram lingent; venient ad te qui detrahebant tibi, et adorabant vestigia pedum tuorum...⁶⁰

References to a black king can also be found in Sir John Mandeville’s *Travels* where he writes: “The south part is called Mauritania, and the folk of this part are blacker than of the east part...In this land of Ethiopia is the city of Saba, of which one of the

⁵⁷ Marco Polo, *Travels*, 106.

⁵⁸ See Kaplan, *Black Magus*, 58-62. Sir John Mandeville, in his *Travels* also points to the Christian nature of Prester John and writes: “This emperour prestre joĥn whan he goth into bataylle a □enst ony othȝer lord, he hatȝ no baneres born before him but he hatȝ .iiij. crosses of goldfyn grete and hy, full of precious stones” in Mandeville, *Travels*, 182.

⁵⁹ Frank Schaer, *The Three Kings of Cologne* (Heidelberg, C.Winter, 2000), 26.

⁶⁰ Ibid. 69.

three kings that offered til our Lord was king.”⁶¹ Paul Kaplan suggests that the texts of Sir John Mandeville and the *HTR*, both of which were widely popular and circulated in the Middle ages, were “essential to the development of this character [the black king] in the visual arts during the late fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth” since there were no examples of a black King before 1360.⁶²

In addition to widely circulated texts that talk of a black King, as well as the legend surrounding Prester John, Paul Kaplan mentions a third source for the insemination of the figure of the black Magus/King. This, he suggests, is the artistic patronage of Emperor Charles IV. As King of Bohemia, King of Italy and the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles IV was not only interested in an iconography that depicted himself as ruler of a “universal dominion,” in line with Hohenstaufen iconography,⁶³ but also in the figure of the Magi. Paul Kaplan notes that St. Maurice for whom Charles IV had a special affinity, depicted as black, appears in Bohemia “painted just before 1367 in the Chapel of the Holy Cross at Karlštejn by the great master Theodoric.”⁶⁴ Kaplan suggests that this may have precipitated the inclusion of a black Magus elsewhere in the later decades. Kaplan suggests that the inclusion of a black Magus in these depictions might imply the “immense variety of human peoples, all of whom are offered spiritual salvation” and who, under Charles, are also offered “the benefits of a just rule on earth.”⁶⁵

The image of the black Magus quickly spread in the following decades. In the sample of panel paintings and frescoes in Central Europe, ten percent of the paintings executed from 1401 to 1425 include a black Magus. From 1426 to 1450, seventeen

⁶¹ In Kaplan, *Black Magus*, 19.

⁶² Ibid. 19.

⁶³ See Paul Kaplan, “Black Africans in Hohenstaufen Iconography,” *Gesta* 26.No.1 (1987).

⁶⁴ Paul Kaplan, *Black Magus*, 77.

⁶⁵ Ibid. 89.

percent depict a black Magus, whereas the rate goes up to forty-six percent in the period from 1451 to 1475; seventy-one percent in the period from 1476 to 1500; and eight-five percent in the period from 1501 to 1525. By the mid fifteenth-century the image of the black Magus was quite well-established in Central Europe.

In an “Adoration” scene (fig.6) by Breu Jörg the Older, a black king, wearing a tight, multi-coloured and striped outfit and an elaborate turban is depicted on the left of the Virgin Mary and the Infant Christ, who are flanked by the middle-aged Magus attentively looking at the child, while the old Magus is kneeling at his feet, kissing his hands. The short tunic, the tight and multi-coloured hose, are quite typical in most of the “Adoration” images of the young king and in courtly settings and did not have a negative connotation as in the “Flagellation” scenes. It is most often the youngest king who is adorned with this short, mostly ornate, dress, and it is again most often the youngest king who is depicted as black. Thus the “black” found its share of the fascination with the Orient and with the exotic, with something that is distant and could be brought closer, though to a safe distance, to the safe distance of pictures.



Fig.6 Adoration, App.A, 22

The Earring:

Another element that plays into the fascination with the exotic is the earring.⁶⁶ In the “Adoration of the Magi” it is always this young, black king that is depicted as wearing an earring. Together with the shorter dress, the earring became a distinguishing factor that also emphasized the “exoticism” of the king. While prejudice against earrings was deeply rooted with the Romans’ association of pierced ears with “Arabs” and later depictions of men burning in hell wearing earrings,⁶⁷ the use of earrings in this case again play into the idea of Orientalism and exoticism.

The earliest examples of a Magus wearing an earring are from 1450 onwards. A winged altar from Carinthia (fig.7), from the second half of the fifteenth century depicts the three Magi presenting their gifts to the Infant Christ. One of the Magi is a Moor and wears a round earring.

⁶⁶ For a study of the men’s earring in art, see Leopold Schmidt, *Der Männerohrring im Volksschmuck und Volksglauben* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, 1947) (Henceforth, Schmidt, *Männerohrring*).

⁶⁷ Trexler, *Journey*. 104.



Fig.7 Adoration, App.A, 30



Fig.8 Adoration, App.A, 53

Another winged altar by Rueland Frueauf the Older (fig.8) from 1490 shows a young, black Magus in a sleek, white, knee-length, costume with puffed shoulder pads, an elaborate turban on his head and wearing a golden earring. From 1450 onwards and especially between 1475 and 1500, there is an increase in the depiction of a Magus or a black attendant to the Magi wearing an earring. Leopold Schmidt points to earlier examples of the depiction of earrings, for example in the “Torments of the Damned” (fig.9) scene in the “Last Judgement” mosaic from Torcello, Venice, but writes that these are individual examples⁶⁸ and figure in a different context. Among the burning heads of the damned, some with turbans, some with earrings, the depiction of such elements is inevitably pejorative.

⁶⁸ Schmidt, *Männerohrring*, 24.



Fig.9 Burning of the Damned, App.B, 5

In the case of the Magi, the presence of earrings, follows the development of the black King and plays into the fascination with the exotic.



Fig.10 Ecce Homo, App.B, 6



Fig.11 Adoration, App.A, 18

Two paintings from 1469 (figs.10,11) by the Master of the Schottenaltar, the “Ecce Homo” scene from the Passion of Christ, and the “Adoration of the Magi,” portray the

different meanings an earring might have had in different contexts. In the presentation of a scourged Christ by Pilate, a priest in a green costume has an earring and looks at Christ as he is taken out before the mocking public. In the “Adoration of the Magi” the youngest, black Magus is depicted in a short, flamboyant garment and a tight hose and also has an earring. He stands on the right of the Virgin counterbalancing the figure of Joseph on the left while the older King and the middle-aged King kneel before Mary and the Infant Christ. The young, black King, with his short costume, and his earring, standing apart from the two older Magi brings in a different element of distance, that is distance within the realms of the Oriental kings, a distance that is portrayed in age and in dress.



Fig.12 Ecce Homo,detail



Fig.13 Adoration, detail

The Ages of the Kings:

While earlier painters like the Habsburg court painter (fig.14) may have chosen to put as few differences as possible to the three Magi, dressing them in long

red cloaks, presenting their gifts to the Virgin Mary lying on a mat with the Infant Christ next to her, throughout the fifteenth century the costumes and appearance of the Magi took on more elaborate guises.



Fig.14 Adoration, App.A,48

In this 1370 panel painting, the three Magi and the Virgin and Child are seen from a higher viewpoint, possibly in an attempt to depict both the Virgin and Child lying in bed without the kneeling dies of the three Magi obstructing the view. But here, the three Magi are depicted in identical costumes and crowns and are worshipping the Infant Christ in a similar gesture and are almost impossible to distinguish from one another. Only the King on the left seems to be a little different because of his white hair.

Trexler argues that in earlier paintings, instead of a nominal trilogy, that is of the *three* Kings, there is more of a duality in the appearance of the Magi.⁶⁹ That is to say, there seems to be a distinction between “old” and “young,” but not a significant

⁶⁹ Richard Trexler, *Journey*, 104.

difference between the old Magus and the middle-aged Magus, except perhaps longer or shorter facial hair or sometimes more of a similarity between the middle-aged Magus and the young Magus in opposition to the old Magus.⁷⁰

While still in the beginning of the fifteenth century the paintings from Central Europe like a 1405 panel painting (figs.15.) from Vienna, or a 1415 panel painting from Tyrol (fig.16) present the Magi in almost identical ways, wearing long, simple, usually modestly coloured robes and with crowns on their heads or sometimes holding their crowns in their hands or placing them on the ground, from the third decade of the fifteenth century onwards, there was a change in the costume of the kings, using the short and tight fashionable garments for the young king, a conservative festive ruler's gown for the old king and often a compromise between the two for the middle aged king.



Fig.15 Adoration, App.A,40



Fig.16 Adoration, App.A,46

The short garments of the youngest Magus, as in the “Adoration” by Breu Jörg the Older or the Master of the Schottenaltar, suggest this difference in the ages of the

⁷⁰ Ibid., 96.

Magi, as can also be observed, for example, in Marco Polo's account of the legend.⁷¹ Some scholars emphasized that these short garments of the young king may also suggest youthful folly. Rembrandt Duits gives the examples of Benozzo Gozzoli's "Procession of the Magi" where Piero il Gottoso is depicted in a short, brocaded dress, whereas his father Cosimo de Medici is depicted in "a long gown of black voided velvet," implying "a princely gesture of modesty."⁷² While shorter garments may be the fashion of the period, mostly followed by the youth, especially when coupled with the black Magus, the short and most often richly decorated garment may imply narcissism in line with youthful folly and perhaps even "the abiding evil of being young or black."⁷³ While there may be individual examples where a sense of evil or heresy is implied within the costumes of the Magi, as Yona Pinson⁷⁴ has argued with regards to some Netherlandish paintings, and Lotte Philip⁷⁵ has argued with regards to Bosch's "Epiphany," these examples remain the exception. Shortness of the dress is more closely related to the ages of the Magi than innuendos of sin and heresy within the iconography. The difference in the ages of the Magi, that is, the young, black King with an earring, and a short, richly brocaded costume, the middle-aged King usually dressed in a longer costume and the old King, usually in a long garment with his headgear placed on the ground in veneration, portray the different and distant lands of the Magi who had travelled to Bethlehem to worship the King of the Jews. The young, black King with an earring, and a short, richly brocaded

⁷¹See Trexler, *Journey*.

That the three Magi were thought to be old, middle-aged and young, can be discerned in earlier examples of medieval drama., See Theodore Göllner, "The Three-part Gospel Reading and the Medieval Magi Play," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, No.1 (1971): 51-62 (Henceforth, Göllner, *Magi Play*).

⁷²Rembrandt Duits, "Figured Riches: The Value of Gold Brocades in Fifteenth-century Florentine Painting," *JWC* 62 (1999): 60-92.,74.

⁷³*Ibid.*, 107.

⁷⁴ Yona Pinson, "Connotations of Sin and Heresy in the Figure of the Black King in Some Northern Renaissance Adorations" *Artibus et Historiae* 17, No.34 (1996): 159-175 (Henceforth, Pinson, *Sin and Heresy*).

⁷⁵ Lotte Philip, "The Prado Epiphany by Jerome Bosch," *The Art Bulletin* 35, No.4 (1953): 267-193.

costume, the middle-aged King usually dressed a longer costume, and the old king, usually with a long garment and with his headgear placed on the ground in veneration, portray the different and distant lands of the Magi who had travelled to Bethlehem to worship the King of the Jews.

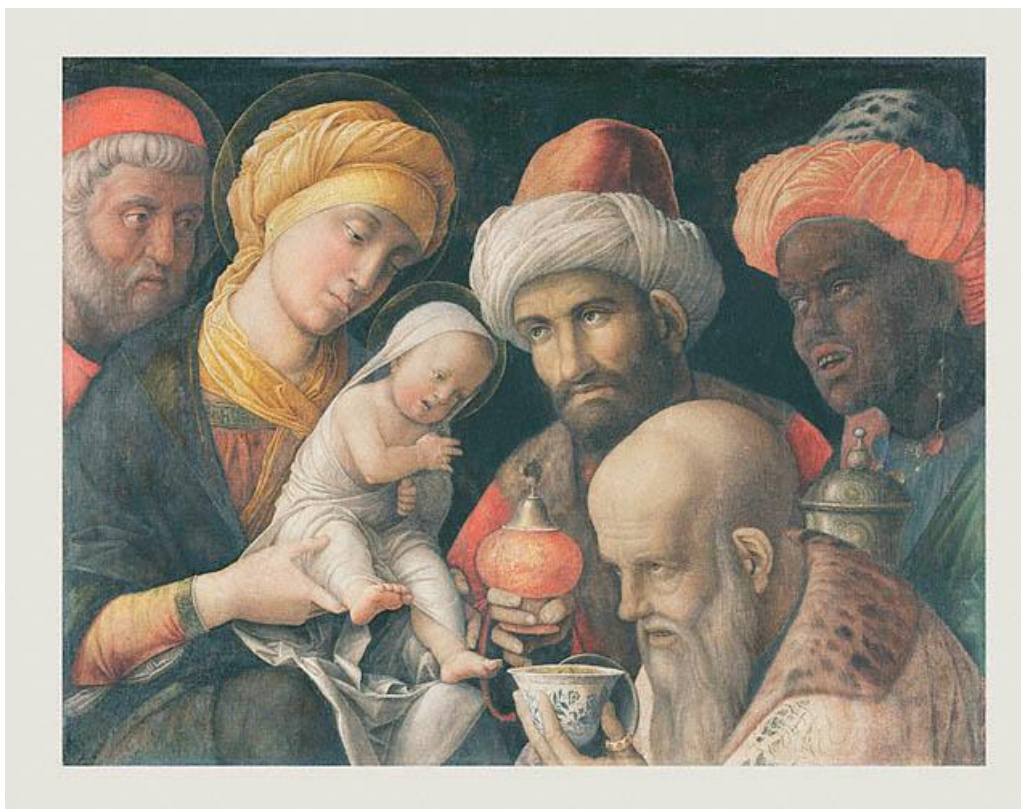


Fig.17 Adoration, App.A, 208

Perhaps Andrea Mantegna's 1495 "Adoration of the Magi" (fig.17) embodies all that is imagined as oriental: a blue-white china porcelain cup presented by the oldest King, the middle-aged king wearing a turban and presenting a cup, possibly of pre-Islamic Persian origin,⁷⁶ and the youngest, black king adorned with a red turban and earring; the realm of the earthly, oriental kings juxtaposed to the realm of the Western King.

The "real" Kings

From the aura of exoticism of the Kings from distant lands, one also encounters in the "Adoration of the Magi," images of familiarity in the form of rulers'

⁷⁶ Arcangeli, *La Peinture*.

portraits. After the translation of the relics of the Magi from Milan to Cologne in 1164⁷⁷ and the succession struggles following the death of Henry VI, with the inclusion of Otto IV of the Welf family into the shrine of the Magi as the fourth king, the importance surrounding Cologne and the three Magi increased.⁷⁸ Julien of Vézelay's (c.1080-1160) take on the Magi's reverence of the Infant Christ, by "falling down and adoring him" urged him to exclaim in his Epiphany sermon, "You, do the same."⁷⁹ The Magi were earthly rulers and their veneration of the King of the Jews was an important example to be followed. As such, the portrayal of earthly rulers as one of the Magi suggested a certain political statement. One early example is an "Adoration of the Magi" from the North-east window recess in the Chapel of the Holy Cross within the Great Tower in Karlštejn Castle. There (fig.18), the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Bohemia, Charles IV, is depicted as the third Magus.



Fig.18 Adoration, App.A,83

The architectural and pictorial programme of Karlštejn Castle as a whole sheds more light into the depiction of Charles IV as a Magus. While there are remaining

⁷⁷ The relics of the three Kings were a gift to archbishop of Cologne, Rainald von Dassel, by Frederick Barbarossa. See, Trexler, *Journey*, 78.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 79.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 69.

questions concerning the function of the castle,⁸⁰ “the programme of artistic glorification supports the view that Charles IV founded Karlštejn for purposes of state, envisaging a distinctly political role for it.”⁸¹ On the second floor of the imperial palace, where “all social life was concentrated,”⁸² according to written records, a “Genealogy of the Luxemburgs”⁸³ was painted. In the “Genealogy” scene personages from the mythical past, from Biblical and Christian stories were depicted and among the many, the Magi also found their place.⁸⁴ The reference to the Magi in the imperial palace, the “Adoration of the Magi” in the Great Tower, where Charles IV figured as the third Magus, and in connection with the latter, an “Adoration of the Four and Twenty Elders” opposite the “Adoration of the Magi” in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, point to Charles IV’s interest with the Holy Kings. Charles IV, as one of the Magi, not only presented himself as “above other mortals”⁸⁵ but also “hopes for salvation on Judgement Day.”⁸⁶ Charles IV was also depicted as the middle-aged King of an “Adoration” in an illuminated manuscript, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library.⁸⁷

Another ruler who was depicted as a Magus is Charles IV’s son, Sigismund of Luxemburg. Sigismund’s chronicler, Eberhard Windecke mentions two portraits of

⁸⁰ See František Kavka, “The Role and Function of Karlštejn Castle as Documented in Records from the Reign of Charles IV” in *Magister Theodoricus: Court Painter to Emperor Charles IV, The Pictorial Decoration of the Shrines at Karlštejn Castle*. ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague: The National Gallery in Prague, Collection of Old Masters, 1998): 16-28 (Henceforth, Fajt, *Magister Theodoricus*)/

⁸¹ Ibid., 18.

⁸² Vlasta Dvořáková, *Gothic Mural Painting in Bohemia and Moravia, 1300-1378* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 53 (Henceforth, Dvořáková, *Gothic Mural Painting*).

⁸³ Jaromír Homolka mentions that several sources provide information on the now lost Genealogy. These are Edmund de Dynter’s chronicle, sixteenth century copies of the Genealogy and a late sixteenth century “report on the Renovation of the Karlštejn Castle.” See Jaromír Homolka, “The Pictorial Decoration of the Palace and Lesser Tower of Karlštejn Castle” in Fajt, *Magister Theodoricus*, 50.

⁸⁴ Dvořáková, *Gothic Mural Painting*, 55.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Jiří Fajt, Jan Royt, “The Pictorial Decoration of the Great Tower at Karlštejn Castle” in Fajt, *Magister Theodoricus*: 108-205, 180.

⁸⁷ Annamarie Graf, *Herrscherporträts in Dreikönigs Darstellungen im 15. Jahrhundert* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, Unpublished Diss., 1988), 108 (Henceforth, Graf, *Herrscherporträts*).

Sigismund in Mainz: one in the cloister of the monastery of Our Lady Margaret, depicted as one of the Magi, and another in the cloister of the Fransiscan monastery, where Sigismund is depicted as King David.⁸⁸ Another possible crypto-portrait is presented by Elfriede Regina Knauer⁸⁹, who points to a “Journey of the Magi” scene on the south wall of the choir of St.Anne’s church in Augsburg, where in a scene depicting the “Meeting of the Magi,”⁹⁰ the image of the oldest king is thought to be a portrait of Sigismund, where Sigismund’s two-week sojourn in Augsburg on the way back from the Council of Constanz may have been the inspiration for such a representation.⁹¹ Emperor Sigismund also found his way into the “Journey of the Magi” of Benozzo Gozzoli on the walls of the Medici Chapel. Here (fig.19) he is depicted among other rulers’ portraits, like that of John VIII Palaeologus, Piero il Gottoso and Cosimo de Medici.⁹² The long, white, undulating beard and the hat/crown with an upturned brim reminds one of Sigismund’s portrait, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (fig.20).⁹³

⁸⁸ The buildings are, however, no longer standing. Ibid., 115.

⁸⁹ Annemarie Graf mentions the findings of Elfriede Regina Knauer in her dissertation. Graf, *Herrscherporträts*, 115.

⁹⁰ The meeting of the Magi is first described by John of Hildesheim in the *HTR*, 63: “And whan the too kyngis Melchior&Baltasar in thes too places restyd in the tyme of the derkenes of that cloude, than a lytil and a litil the cloude and þe derkenesse assendid fro hem. But yet the stere apperid noght. And whan thei sawe þat they were eche of hem, vnware of othir, with his cumpany ny the cite, they toke þan forthe her way. And whan they were fallyn both into þe threwey byside þe mount of Caluarie, than Iaspar, kyng of Thars and of the yle of Egrisculle, with his cumpany come fallng on hem. And so the three glorious Kynges with her cumpanyes and cariages ech from his lond and kyngdom by his speciall wey in this threwey thus mette togidir.”

⁹¹ Graf, *Herrscherporträts*, 115.

⁹² For a study on the functions of the “Journey of the Magi” in the Medici Chapel in line with recently reviewed letters from Gozzoli to Piero de’ Medici and from Roberto Martelli to the latter, see, Roger Crum, “Roberto Martelli, The Council of Florence, and the Medici Chapel,” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (1996): 403-417. Also see Rab Hatfield, “Some Unknown Descriptions of the Medici Palace in 1459” *The Art Bulletin* 52. No. 3 (1970): 232-249.

⁹³ For a study on Emperor Sigismund’s portraits see Allan Braham, “The Emperor Sigismund and the Santa Maria Maggiore Altar-Piece,” *BMC* 122. No.923 (1980):106-112; Gustina Scaglia, “An Allegorical Portrait of Emperor Sigismund by Mariano Taccola of Siena,” *JWCI* 31 (1968):428-434; George Szábo, “Emperor Sigismund with St.Sigismund and St.Ladislaus: Notes on a Fifteenth-century Austrian Drawing” *Master Drawings* 5. No.1 (1967): 24-31.



Fig.19 Adoration,detail,App.A,129

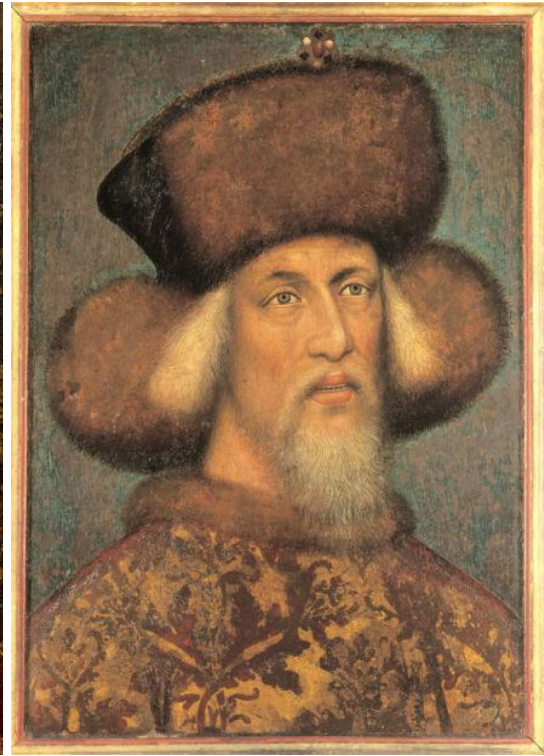


Fig.20 Emperor Sigismund, App.B,7

Nicolas of Bari, one of the intellectuals at the court of Emperor Frederick II formed the link between the three Magi and three generations of rulers, Frederick Barbarossa, Henry VI and Frederick II himself.⁹⁴

A Central European image shows another attempt at a visual reconciliation: In a fragment of a winged altarpiece by the Habsburg Master (fig.21) both Frederick III and his son, Maximilian I, are depicted.

⁹⁴ Trexler, *Journey*.82.



Fig.21 Adoration, App.A,23



Fig.22 Adoration,detail, Maximilian I

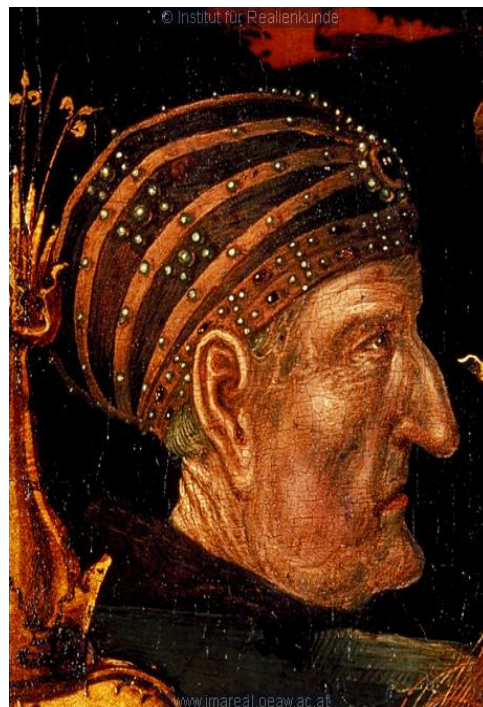


Fig.23 Adoration, detail, Frederick III

Maximilian I (fig.22) is represented as the young King, clad in a long, gold brocaded garment with fur-lined cuffs and neckline. It is not hard to identify this figure as Maximilian I with his shoulder-length hair and prominent nose. In this painting, dated most probably to 1495, but certainly before 1508⁹⁵, Frederick III (fig.23) is already dead and seen behind Maximilian I, wearing an elaborate hat. Both Frederick III's and Maximilian I's fascination with the cult of the Magi, their crypto-portraits, together or alone,⁹⁶ and their visits to Cologne point to a deeper interest in the three Magi. Three eye-witness accounts briefly tell of Frederick III's visit to the Cathedral in Cologne in the June of 1442.⁹⁷ In addition to shorter visits with his father, Maximilian I, in 1494, paid a longer, personal devotional visit to Cologne and the

⁹⁵ Annamarie Graf argues that with an open lily crown as Maximilian I is wearing, the painting must have been executed before 1508, when he was crowned Roman Emperor Elect. Graf, *Herrscherporträts*, 123.

⁹⁶ See, Graf, *Herrscherporträts*, 124-135.

⁹⁷ Hugo Stehkämper, "Könige und Heilige Drei Könige" in *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung* (Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982): 41 (Henceforth, Stehkämper, *Könige*). See Brigitte Corley, *Painting and Patronage in Cologne, 1300-1500* (Begijnhof: Brepols, 2000).

Frederick II, after his coronation in 1215 in Aachen, visited Cologne, after which visits to the Cathedral of Cologne became routine. See, Trexler, *Journey*, 79.

shrine of the Magi.⁹⁸



Fig.24 Adoration, App.A,92



Fig.25 Adoration, App.A, 93

⁹⁸ Ibid.,42.

A 1507-1597 winged altarpiece by Bernhard Strigel, (fig.24) depicts on the inner right wing the “Adoration of the Magi” where Maximilian I is depicted as the middle-aged Magus. Another resemblance is found in the figure of the middle-aged King in Martin Schaffner’s 1512 work (fig.25), now in the National Museum in Nuremberg.⁹⁹

The several representations of both Maximilian I and Frederick III, of which some have been included above as examples, point to not only a personal veneration of the three Magi, but also a political statement, that *they* are the select ones among the earthly rulers to worship the King of the Jews. The “imitation” of the Magi, in the representation of rulers’ portraits as Holy Kings, had taken on a different guise. It was no longer an imitation in terms of acting like the Magi, in veneration, in the presentation of gifts, etc., but an impersonation of the Magi, whereby the “impersonator” distances himself from the others.

⁹⁹ Stehkämper, *Könige*, 43.

III. THE ENTOURAGE: ACCOMPANYING FIGURES AND OBJECTS

While rulers' portraits within the "Adoration of the Magi" presented a distance between the ruler represented and "all others," the image of the "real" King was also a more or less familiar sight, one that could be recognized, at the very least as a person of a certain social standing. The images of "oriental" kings also presented a recognizable image of a person of a certain social standing, but their garments and appearance brought another layer of distance, that is of far-away lands and the rulers of these far-away lands. Specific objects and signs within the entourage of the Magi also represented such orientaling influences.

The story of the Magi, their journey and meeting with Herod, the "Massacre of the Innocents" in the following, presented a lively scene for drama. The presence of the three Magi also gave way for a polyphonic rendering of the Gospel.¹⁰⁰ Following liturgical plays and Magi drama within the Church from the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century, there was a change in the fifteenth century. The Magi plays increasingly moved beyond the confines of the church and found their way to streets.¹⁰¹ This may have developed in line with John of Hildesheim's rendering of the story of the Magi, where the Magi travel with a rich cavalcade, or because of increasing discomfort with priests and clergy acting as Magi, or even the inclusion of the "Massacre of the Innocents."¹⁰² From 1200 to 1500, outdoor pageants "enacting the journey of the Magi" were gaining in popularity.¹⁰³ In particular, in the fifteenth century, "Adoration of the Magi" scenes came to include "Journey" scenes, or a rich cavalcade in tow, in what Kerher calls the, "Schauspiel-Typus."¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Göllner, *Magi Play*, 51-62.

¹⁰¹ Kehrher, *Drei Könige*, 272.

¹⁰² One critic, Gerhoh of Reichersberg, argued "that the immoral parts actors played, especially those of Herod and his courtiers, in fact matched the actors' own immoral reality." in Trexler, *Journey*, 72.

¹⁰³ Ibid.76. Also see Hatfield, *Compagnia*.

¹⁰⁴ See "Der Schauspiel-Typus im Deutschen Quattrocento" in Kehrher, *Drei Könige*, 270-280.

Flags

In a representation of a cavalcade, the Magi being from distant lands, flags or standards also come to be included. In this 1490 “Adoration of the Magi” by the Master of Mariapfarr (fig.26), the three Magi are depicted in the foreground, presenting their gifts to the Infant Christ. In the background, a man in a turban announces the arrival of the kings by blowing a horn. Behind him other men of the retinue are peering out to witness the event. They are carrying three flags representing the three Magi. Two are gold coloured flags and one is a dark blue flag with a crescent and stars, reminiscent of Oriental flags.



Fig.26 Adoration, App.A,3

While the crescent and star were among commonly depicted symbols on Byzantine banners, the identification of the crescent and star with Islam was made only after the

Ottomans had taken over power.¹⁰⁵



Fig.27 Adoration, App.A,91

A late fifteenth, early sixteenth-century painting by the Master of St. Severin (fig.27) depicts the enthroned Virgin Mary with the Infant Christ on her lap, in a central position, around whom are the three Magi in veneration. The retinue of the Magi, on both sides, carry their arms on standards. The arms of the Magi imply their status and as early as the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the arms of the Holy Kings are more or less set to a golden crescent and star on a blue background, a black man carrying a standard on a gold background, and gold stars on a blue background or simply a blue background.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ William Ridgeway, "The Origins of the Turkish Crescent," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 38 (1908): 241-258, 241. Also see Sir Thomas Arnold, "Symbolism and Islam," *BMC* 53 (1928): 154-156, 155.

¹⁰⁶ Heiko Steuer, "Die Heiligen Drei Könige und das Wappen der Stadt Köln," in *Darstellung und Verehrung*, 101.



Fig.28 Adoration, App.A,103



Fig.29 detail

In this 1455 winged altarpiece from Nuremberg (fig.29) the banners of the three Magi carried by their entourage can be observed. The Magi themselves are in the foreground and following them is a rich cavalcade, moving from the upper right corner of the painting, from what seems to be a townscape. The standards of the Magi with their arms, their large retinue taking off from Jerusalem in the far distance to

arrive in Bethlehem present a dramatic scene, where the retinue, as well as the attributes of the retinue and those of the Kings, portray a sense of the “distant lands.”

The realm of the Orient, as crowded, as rich and as earthly as it is, has broken away from its initial distance through the approaching and worshipping Kings. Michael Wiemers points out that in Benozzo Gozzoli’s “Journey of the Magi” a larger tree separates the “sphere of the kings” from that of their retinues.¹⁰⁷ In these images as well, another layer of distance is imposed on the distant lands of the Orient. While the Kings, through their garments, their turbans or earrings, could present a sense of distance, that is the actors’ distance, the retinue of the kings, with their flags, with the animals they bring create another layer of distance in the realm of the Orient: the observer’s distance.

Animals:

And neuere toke þey herborow ne restyng in no toun by night ne by day, but they, her peple, and all her bestis without mete or drink abode till they come to Bedlem.¹⁰⁸

The 1425 English translation of the *HTR* describes the journey of the Magi and how each, “unware of othir”¹⁰⁹ travelled from their lands, without feeling the need to eat or drink anything for the duration of their journey, to find and worship the newborn. The three kings, most often thought to be patron saints for pilgrims and travelers,¹¹⁰ in John of Hildesheim’s rendition of the legend, travel with a large retinue.

While in the iconography of the “Nativity” and the “Adoration of the Magi” the ass and the ox found their place quite early, from the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries monkeys and camels began to be included in the “Adorations,” especially in

¹⁰⁷ Michael Wiemers, “Zur Funktion und Bedeutung eines Antikenzitats auf Benozzo Gozzolis Fresko ‘Der Zug der Könige’” *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 50 (1987): 441-467, 447.

¹⁰⁸ *HTR.*, 62.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹¹⁰ Kehr, *Drei Könige*, 78. Kehr mentions that the three kings were also thought to be patron saints of the sick and the epileptic. See “Die Heiligen Drei Könige im Volksglauben des Mittelalters” in *Drei Könige*, 75-82.

scenes that include the journey of the Magi with their retinues. A 1485 winged altar from Klosterneuburg (fig.30) shows Virgin Mary in a dark green velvet cloak, with the Infant Christ in his swaddling clothes, seated in front of an altar table. A half-broken arch separates the Virgin Mary and the three kings from what looks to be an interior, with urns and spoons and pans on shelves and benches, while Joseph ponderingly stands between a pillar and a wall separating the entourage from the domain of the Holy Family. Men on horses and camels line the walls, observing from a distance the Magi presenting their gifts to the Infant Christ.



Fig.30 Adoration, App.A,2

They represent the retinue of the three Kings, a great cavalcade of horses and camels, some men wearing helmets, some turbans, some carrying flags studded with stars and a crescent moon. In this panel painting, the realm of the Orient is depicted in all its splendour and imagined attributes: the flags, the men in turbans, the camels.

The architectural elements and the composition separate the imagined Orient to a safe distance, which the three Kings have crossed over to present their gifts and to acknowledge the rule of the Western King.



Fig.31 Adoration, App.A, 148

A 1450 fresco scene from South Tyrol (fig.31) also depicts horses and camels in the retinue of the Magi. A sense of *horror vacui* dominates the painting with a host of soldiers with spiked helmets flocking to see the Magi, the Kings of the East, worship the Infant Christ. A long, serpentine neck and head of a camel emerges from behind a brownish hill. Next to it are two more camels, more or less disguised behind the hills.

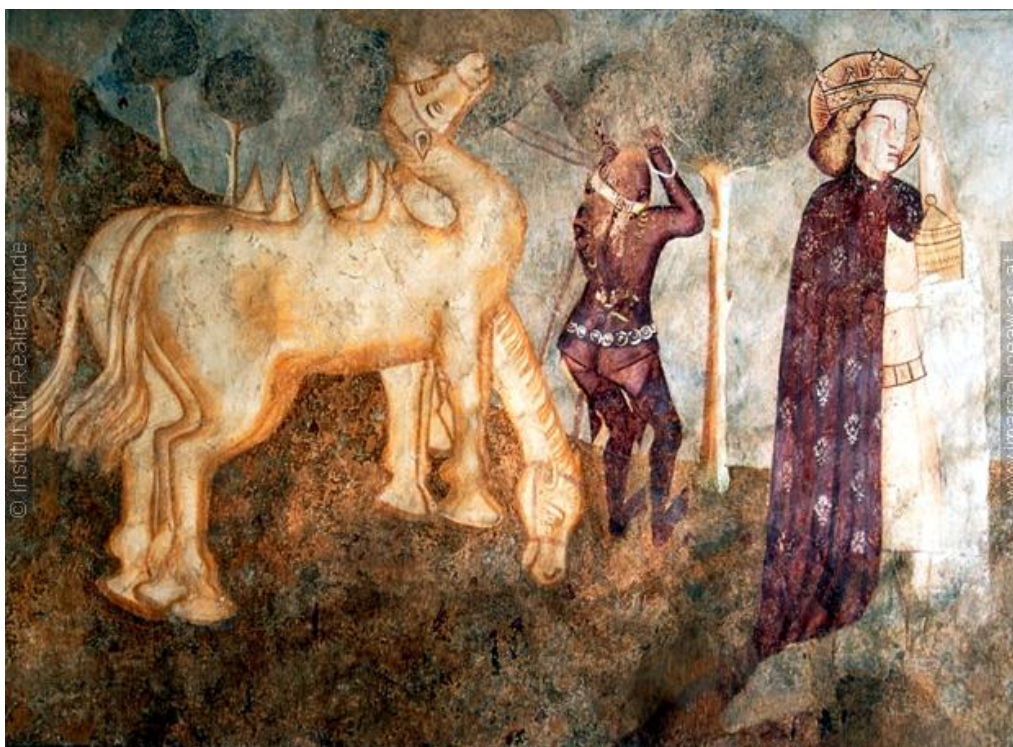


Fig.32 Adoration detail, App.A,187

An earlier example of camels in the “Adoration” scenes is given in a 1370 fresco from Upper Hungary, in Kraskovo (fig.32), present day Slovakia. In this fresco the kings are depicted on their journey to Bethlehem, with two camels with triangular humps in tow, an example of an imagined exoticism.

The 1420 fresco scene depicting the “Adoration of the Magi” (fig.33) from South Tyrol in the Church of St. Stephan in Obermontani, shows on the right side, the Virgin in a stable, with the Infant Christ on her lap, reaching out to the gift the oldest king is presenting. The other two kings stand close to the oldest king, waiting to present their gifts. On the left side, the retinue of the Magi is depicted in the distance. A monkey seated on a mule, goaded by a man and followed by a white dog is in the train of the retinue. Lotte Philip mentions that “entertainers with a monkey and a mule” are quite common in the train of the Magi.¹¹¹ Here too, in the “Adoration” scene, coupled with the large retinue of the Magi, the monkey (fig.34) finds its place in a central position, much in the manner of a Magi pageant that proceeded through

¹¹¹Lotte Philip, “The Prado Epiphany by Jerome Bosch,” *The Art Bulletin* 34, No.4 (1953): 267-293.

Milan in 1336 “with apes, baboons and diverse kinds of animals.”¹¹²



Fig.34 Adoration, App.A, 144



Fig.34 detail

It is common for “Journey of the Magi” scenes that animals like horses, camels and monkeys are increasingly depicted. The scenes become more crowded, with a large retinue in tow, reminiscent of Magi paegants, in what Hugo Kehrer calls the “Schauspiel-Typus.”¹¹³ The increasingly crowded images find their way into large walls in churches or private chapels, like Benozzo Gozzoli’s rendering of the “Journey of the Magi” in the Medici Chapel, or the interiors of Istrian and Carniolan churches.

¹¹²Hatfield, *Compagnia*.

¹¹³Kehrer, *Drei Könige*.

IV. THE “JOURNEYS” OF THE MAGI THROUGH ISTRIA

The region of Istria, caught between Italian, German and Austrian influence in the Middle ages, presents a fascinating area of artistic production. The large-scale frescoes depicting the “Journey of the Magi” in Italy are echoed within the church interiors in small villages of Istria. From the realm of spectacle and exoticism, the “Schauspiel-Typus” of fifteenth-century “Journey of the Magi” representations take on a different guise in the southern parts of Central Europe, particularly in Istria. Several village churches from Istria and Carniola depict “Journey” scenes on a large scale. These include the Church of Ss.Primus and Felicianus in Sveti Primos, the Church of St.Radegund in Sredna vas Prisencu, and the Church of St. Nicholas in Mace¹¹⁴. In addition to these, three fifteenth century depictions of the “Journey of the Magi” from the Church of Holy Trinity in Hrastovlje (Istria, present day Slovenia), the Church of St.Helena from Gradisce pri Divaci (Istria, present day Slovenia), and the Church of the Virgin Mary in Beram (Istria, present day Croatia) present a unique approach to the subject. The fresco programme at Hrastovlje and Gradisce pri Divaci are executed by John of Kastav in 1490 and the latter by Vincent of Kastav in 1474, and all three show similarities in style and approach to the subject of the “Adoration.”

The church of the Holy Trinity in the small village of Hrastovlje itself is unique in terms of its architecture. Its thick walls disguise the two lateral niches on the church's eastern portion, with the central apse “semi-circular on the inside, the external masonry polygonal in form.”¹¹⁵ The small, three-aisled church is situated in the Slovenian region of Istria and is protected by surrounding walls, built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to fend the church against the Ottoman attacks, the whole structure denoted as a “castrum” in a Latin inscription from 1581, when it was

¹¹⁴ All three are in present day Slovenia.

¹¹⁵ Marijan Zadnikar, “Romanesque Architecture in Slovenia,” *JSAH* 28, No.2, (1969): 109.

bought by a Leander Zarotus, a physician “belonging to the German aristocratic family of Neuhauser.”¹¹⁶ The interior of the church is completely covered with frescoes, the “Journey” and “Adoration of the Magi” scenes adorning the whole north wall of the church. The central apse of the church depicts the twelve apostles and in the northern lateral apse, the three Magi are depicted (fig.35), enthroned between Ss. Cosmas and Damian. Marijan Zadnikar argued that this representation of the three Magi is unique to the Church as the Magi are usually depicted in “Adoration” scenes, kneeling before the Virgin and Child.¹¹⁷ Here, they take the centre stage and are depicted as kings, with crowns on their heads, seated on a throne, holding their gifts, with the oldest king in the middle, the middle-aged king on his right and the youngest on his left.



Fig.35 The Three Kings with Ss.Cosmas and Damian, App.B,8

Zadnikar suggested that there was an altar in this northern lateral apse and that the fresco of the three kings served as the altarpiece. He supported this argument by

¹¹⁶Marijan Zadnikar, *Hrastovlje: Romanska Arhitektura in Gotske Freske*. Ljubljana: (1988): 175. Henceforth, Zadnikar, *Hrastovlje*.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 25.

pointing to two inscriptions carved in the plaster on the northern wall next to the apse, one from 1561 in Glagolitic, and one from 1633 in Latin. The first says, “Here are the masses of the three kings” and the second one, *ADi 27 zugno 1633 Dicto messa su altar della epiphania* (On June 27, 1633, I celebrated the mass at the altar of the Epiphany).¹¹⁸ He also suggested that the Magi held a special importance in Istria, with a large number of people travelling to Cologne to visit their relics each year.¹¹⁹ This could explain their central position in the decoration of the Church. Unique as such a depiction of the three Magi is, this is not, as said, the only place that they are portrayed in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Hrastovlje. The complete northern wall of the Church depicts from west to east the “Journey of the Magi”(fig.36), ending on the eastern portion with the “Adoration of the Magi,” in Bethlehem.



Fig.36, Journey,detail, App.A,197

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 24.



Fig.37 Journey, detail

In this large scale depiction, the Magi, with a rich cavalcade, set out for their journey on the western portion of the wall, in procession towards Mary seated on a throne, with the Infant Christ on her lap, in front of the stable, from which an ox and ass peer out. Above the stable, in the background, an angel hovers above a little hill, holding a phylactery banner, announcing the birth of the Messiah to shepherds, an element of the story taken from Luke 2:8-17. In the far distance and throughout the depiction of the Journey and Adoration, a townscape can be observed. What is extraordinary in this image is the depiction of a number of figures who can be recognized as peasants, hunters, and wild men.



Fig.38,Peasant,Journey,detail



Fig.39 Wild men,Journey,detail

A peasant (fig.38), with a long, crooked nose, wearing a short green garment carries in one hand a weaved basket of eggs, in the other, a cane which supports his bag of dead hens, whose necks are drooping out from the bag. Following the peasants are two wild men (fig.39), one holding a club, the other a crossbow, both wearing long animal hair clothes, reminiscent of wild men in Schembart parades.¹²⁰

¹²⁰Samuel Kinser, in his article "Presentation and Representation: Carnival at Nuremberg, 1450-1550," *Representations* 13 (1986): 1-41, deals with the changing attitudes towards carnivals and gives the example of a certain dance of the butchers and the runners who take part in the carnival as the butchers' protectors, as being exempt from censure. In the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century, these protectors, disguised in masks run to clear the way for the butchers' dance, hence the name Schembartläufer, "masked runner." The author argues, in line with iconographic examples, that in the following years others came to be included among these masked runners, including "figures with furry bodies and mismatched heads: a bird-headed, bell-ringing monster; a goat-headed fellow trotting along; a furry wildwoman carrying a naked child; a wildman carrying an uprooted tree over one shoulder and a person tied to it."

For the image of the wild man as a literary and folkloric figure, also see, Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1999),158 (Henceforth, Freedman, *Peasant*); Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).

Two other figures are in front of him (fig.40), carrying hares on sticks and spears thrown over one shoulder. While a dog runs after the man, hoping to catch the hare the man, whose lower body is naked apart from knee length socks and shoes, given to flatulence, points to the man in front of him, who in turn, questioningly points towards himself.



Fig.40 Journey,detail

While peasants dance about in the far distance in Bosch's Prado "Epiphany," such a scene from a rather roguish representation of the "daily life" of peasants in an "Adoration" scene is unparalleled. The fresco scene moves from the realm of the town to the central scene, that is, the realm of the kings, where the kings and their retinue, in a courtly manner travel towards the Virgin Mary and Child. From the realm of courtly procession, one moves to the realm of peasants prone to flatulence.

Zadnikar suggested that the peasants carry eggs and hens and hares so that the kings and their retinue would not go hungry on their journey¹²¹, pointing to the inevitable need for peasants. Paul Freedman begins his study on “Images of the Medieval Peasant” with a quote from “The First Nobleman”, a late-fifteenth century German poem which follows as such:

Who would produce for us the wheat
And also the good wine
By which we are often gladdened?¹²²

Freedman argues that while peasants did not form a marginal group as did the Saracens, or lepers, for example, they were held in contempt, most often associated with animals and manure and the fields they ploughed.¹²³ Still, as much as they were held in contempt, they were also deemed necessary to “produce the wheat” and the “good wine.”

The physicality of the earthy peasants, their roguishness, and an element of comic surrounding them, bordering on the grotesque¹²⁴, is mirrored in this fresco with their crooked noses and short dresses that barely conceal their private parts, as opposed to the blond curly haired men of the kings’ retinue, or the kings themselves in their fur-lined cloaks. Mikhail Bakhtin understands the “artistic logic of the grotesque image” as that which “ignores the closed, smooth and impenetrable surfaces of the body and retains only its excrescences (sprouts, buds) and orifices, only that which leads beyond the body’s limited space into the body’s depths.”¹²⁵ Here one reaches from the depths of the body to its sprouts (fig.41).

¹²¹ Zadnikar, *Hrastovlje*, 48.

¹²² Freedman, *Peasant*, 15.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 150-156.

¹²⁴ On the grotesque, see Geoffrey Harpham, “The Grotesque: First Principles,” *JAAC* 34. No.4 (1976): 461-468 (Henceforth, Harpham, *Grotesque*). On the limits of the grotesque, or the quasi-grotesque, see Peter Fingesten, “Delimitating the Concept of the Grotesque,” *JAAC* 42. No.4 (1984): 419-426 (Henceforth, Fingesten, *Delimitating Grotesque*).

¹²⁵ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984), 317.



Fig.41 Journey, detail

Geoffrey Harpham writes:

To the artist, the grotesque represents a partial liberation from representationalism, a chance to create his own forms-- a prerogative usually reserved for others. The opportunity to fashion new Adams, monstrous to the multitude merely for their novelty, can be a cause of what Baudelaire analyzed as “pure joy” to the artist. According to Baudelaire, other forms of comic expression appeal to man's satanic impulse to rise over others, to laugh at their misfortunes. We laugh at the grotesque, however, in astonishment at the artist's boldness, daring or ingenuity.¹²⁶

Other scenes from the Church in Hrastovlje, such as that of Adam and Eve after the Fall suggest more or a naturalism in their portrayal. After their expulsion

¹²⁶Harpham, *Grotesque*, 463.

from Paradise, Adam is forced to manual labour and Eve is punished with the pains of childbirth (Gen. 3:16-19). In the upper half of the vault along the nave, scenes from the life of Adam and Eve are depicted. In the scene after their fall (fig.42) Adam is depicted as tilling the soil while Eve, with Cain and Abel suckling at her breasts, spins yarn, which Cain and Abel are holding for her. In the hut behind them, a pot over the fire is heating up.



Fig.42 Adam and Eve, App.B,9

Zadnikar suggests this image, with such details, illustrates “the life of a common Istrian man in the Middle ages.”¹²⁷ The peasants of the “Adoration” scene, however, harken to Baudelaire's idea of “pure joy” for the artist in his witty depiction of a comic element that is perhaps only “quasi-grotesque.”¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Zadnikar, *Hrastovlje*, 178.

¹²⁸ See Fingesten, *Delimitating Grotesque*, 421.

The “Journey of the Magi” (fig.43) by the same artist, John of Kastav, in the Church of St.Helena from Gradisce pri Divaci partake of that “pure joy” of the artist in astonishing the viewer at his boldness.



Fig.43 Journey, App.A,198



Fig.44 Journey, detail



Fig.45 Wild man, Journey, detail



Fig.46 Pelican, Journey, detail

In the “Journey” and “Adoration” scene depicted on the northern wall of the Church of St.Helena in Gradisce pri Divaci, the Magi begin their journey depicted on the western portion of the wall and continue on their way to Bethlehem to the sound of trumpets in their retinue. Fools and jongleurs in their red costumes and fool’s caps entertain them on the way, a courtly procession in effect. In the lower part of the

fresco scene, below the legs of the horses hunters and peasants roam. One man in a red and green garment and naked from the waist down has bent over, while another follows him (fig.44). Below the fools and hunters there is the domain of the animals; stags and bear cubs, dogs and hares run around in the lush foliage, while hunters blow their horns. These are animals that one knows, one encounters. However, in this lower part of the fresco scene one can see on the eastern portion, below the throne of Virgin Mary, a pelican (fig.46), with its chicks, whom it is reviving with her own blood. Hugh of Fouillooy, in his twelfth century *Aviarium* writes:

The pelican is an Egyptian bird, living in the wilderness of the river Nile. This bird is reported to kill its chicks with its beak and to weep over them for three days. After three days it pierces itself with its beak, and sprinkles the chicks with its blood. And thus those whom it killed, it restores by a revitalizing aspersion of blood. In a spiritual sense the pelican signifies christ, Egypt and the world. The pelican lives in the wilderness because Christ alone deemed it worthy to be born of a virgin without union with a man. Furthermore the wilderness of the pelican signifies that the life of Christ is free from sin. This bird kills its chicks with its beak, because by the discourse of the sermon He converts nonbelievers. The bird continues to weep over its chicks, because when christ revived lazarus he wept compassionately (John 11:33,35) and thus after three days the pelican revives the chicks with its own blood, because christ saves the redeemed with his own blood.¹²⁹

In this “Adoration of the Magi” the pelican, therefore, signifies the virgin birth of Christ, as well as his resurrection after three days, and perhaps the conversion of the pagan kings into Christianity.

Next to this is a scene from Aesop (fig.47), depicting the story of the fox and the stork, of which the second part is here portrayed, with the stork having invited the fox for dinner and serving it in a long necked cup, after the fox’s attempt at serving dinner in a wide bowl from which the stork could not drink. A similar scene is depicted in the “Adoration” from Beram (fig.48) an earlier work from 1474 by Vincent of Kastav.

¹²⁹ *Hugh of Fouillooy’s Aviarium* ed.Tr.Willene Clark (Binghampton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1992), 170 (Henceforth, Fouillooy, *Aviarium*).

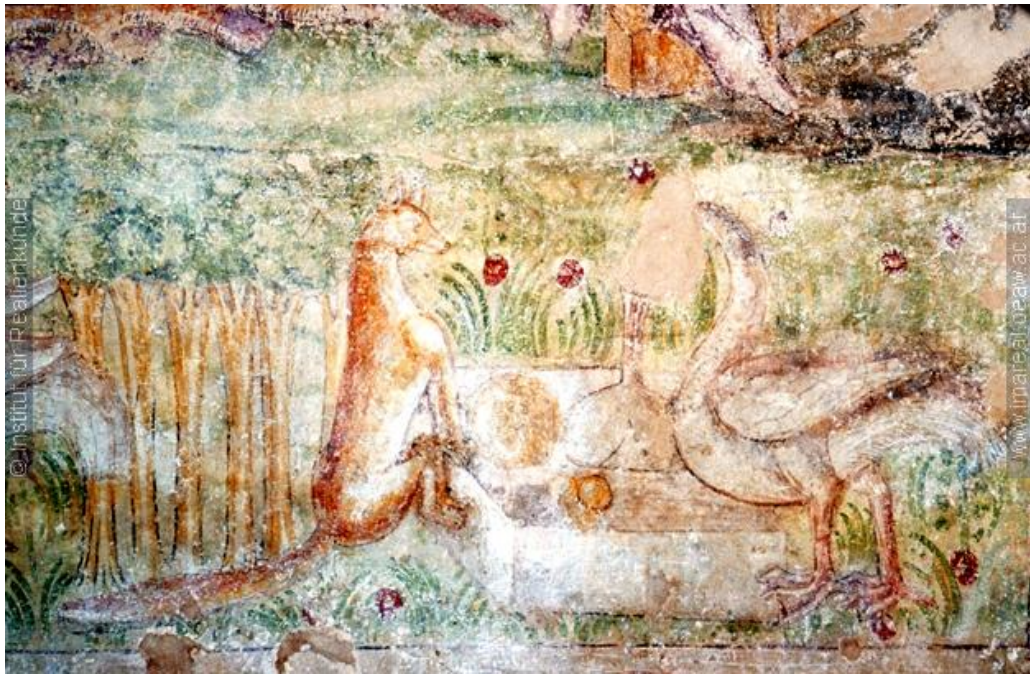


Fig.47 Fox and Stork, Journey, detail



Fig.48 Fox and Stork, Journey, detail, App.A,71



Fig.49 Journey, detail



Fig.50 Journey, detail

The Church of the Virgin Mary in Beram is a single nave church, with a painted wooden ceiling. A Latin inscription¹³⁰ above the side entrance states that the work was done by Vincent of Kastav in the year 1474 for the community of Beram. In composition, the “Journey” scenes from all three churches are similar. They are cover the North wall completely and proceed from the western to the eastern side as the Magi depart from Jerusalem to Bethlehem on their horses, accompanied by their retinue. Below, at eye level, are those that are not a part of the retinue but accompany the Magi, perhaps even wanting to be a part of the story. These enthusiasts include in Hrastovlje and Gradisce pri Divaci, wild men, hunters, peasants, fools. Here, in Beram (fig.49,50) we mainly encounter hunters and animals. What is interesting is the inclusion of a similar fox and stork imagery. On the east portion of the wall, the Virgin Mary is seated and the three Kings present their gifts, while an attendant of the older Magus stands back. Next to the attendant is the image from the tales of Aesop, the fox and the stork, and an image of a peacock. Hugh of Fouilloy writes with references to the peacock:

For solomon’s navy once in three years went across the sea to Tharsis, and brought from thence gold, and silver and elephants’ teeth and apes and peacocks (3 kings 10:22)

¹³⁰In honore· domini· nostri· Y· kristi· amen· ac· gloriose· virginis· matris· mariae· ac· nomine· sanctorum· · omnium· fecit· hoc· opus· dipingere· comunitas· bermw· ex(pensis) fraternitatis· beate· mariae· virgini· hoc· pinxit· magister· vicencius· (d)e kastua· et· conplivit· mense· novembris· die· octo· post· martini· anno· domini· millesimo· quadrecentissimo· septuagesimo· quarto· gr· in Brano Fučić, *Vincent von Kastav* (Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1992), 22.

Tharsis is interpreted as the exploration of joy. Now there is joy of the present time, and there is joy of the future. The joy of the present life is enclosed by a limit but the joy of the future is in no way bound by a limit. Grief and sadness succeed the joy of the present life but neither grief nor sadness follows the joy of the future. The joy of the present world is to be elevated by honors, to enjoy temporal things for the moment, to overflow with abundance of kindred, and to delight in their presences. When anyone is deprived of the honors, robbed of possessions, when one of his friends dies, then grief follows. Therefore this joy is always mixed with sadness. The fleet of Solomon is sent once in three years across the sea to Tharsis. Solomon's fleet is the virtue of confession. In this fleet we are carried through the sea of this world, lest we be drowned. Therefore the fleet is sent to Tharsis which fleet is said to bring back from there gold and silver, the tusks of elephants, monkeys, and peacocks. There is said to be gold and silver in Tharsis, that is men famous for wisdom, skilled in eloquence, who, while they call upon and search out the joy of the present world, know themselves and while they come from Tharsis to Jerusalem with the fleet of Solomon, in the presence of the church, they are made purer through confession.

The fleet also carried monkeys and peacocks, that is the mockers and sensualists, so that those who in Tharsis were mockers and sensualists might live a humble life in the peace of conversion. The fleet of Solomon also carried tusks of elephants, that is, the disparagers among the proud. For while they detract with words from the good deeds of simple folk, it is as if they gnawed the latter's bones with their flesh.

While the peacock lives in Tharsis it designates sensualists, but when it is brought to Jerusalem by the fleet, it is a symbol of the sermons of the teachers.¹³¹

The reference to Tharsis and the journey from Tharsis to Jerusalem, as well as the peace of conversion, deem the peacock a fitting inclusion into the "Journey of the Magi." In a c.1470 tondo (fig.51) depicting the "Adoration of the Magi" Botticelli, there also is a peacock.

¹³¹ Fouilloy, *Aviaryum*, 245-252.



Photo © The National Gallery, London.

Fig.51 Adoration, App.A, 205



Fig.52 Adoration,detail

The three village churches give a central role to the story of the Magi, portraying their “Journey” and “Adoration” on the whole of the north wall. The Church of the Holy Trinity places them among Ss.Cosmas and Damian. The Church of the Virgin Mary places them in the “Massacre of the Innocents,” trying to save the babies. In all three village churches, figures that can be recognized as peasants, hunters, wild men, fools, take part at eye level in the “Journey.” These are figures that one may recognize as one’s farting neighbour who sheepishly tries to blame it on

someone else. The image of the familiar, if somewhat humorous, at times bordering on the grotesque, brings the story closer to the viewer in these village churches, that is the viewer, through the image of the familiar can imagine being a part of the procession. What seems close and familiar, and perhaps too intimate, like the farting peasant, may in fact have a different meaning. Donald McGrady writes, with regards to Cervantes' *Don Quixote* that when the mounts of Don Quixote and Sancho whinny and break wind, they take it as a good omen. McGrady further suggests that references to flatulence as a good omen can be observed in Aesop's *Lupi Infortunium* where "a wolf interprets his early-morning flatulence as a sign of good luck."¹³² In the case of John of Kastav's Hrastovlje "Journey," considering that his fresco scene in Gradisce pri Divaci included a rendition from Aesop, the flatulence of the peasant might be a reference to Aesop, under a humorous guise. What seems to be familiar then, may have deeper references that different viewers may grasp.

Similarly, within the realm of the familiar one also recognizes animals: hens, hares, boars, dogs, etc. These are, again, creatures one encountered in daily life. There are, however, other animals, such as the pelican and the peacock that one does not necessarily find familiar.

A certain message is sent across to the viewer, that one can recognize oneself in the "Journey." Animals like the pelican and the stork that have religious connotations or the fox and the stork that have connections with Aesop's fables present another layer of meaning and another message involved. Such deeper connotations imply a different kind of understanding and familiarity, one that is rather selective. That is, one who already *is* familiar with the story of the pelican, the

¹³² Donald McGrady, "The *Sospiros* of Sancho's Donkey," *MLN* 88, No.2 (1973):335-337, 336.

peacock or the fox and the stork, can recognize these elements as they are and in their functions within the story.

From the lower layers of the paintings, one moves into the centre-stage of the “Journey” where the Magi travel on their steeds, accompanied by their attendants. The images of the Holy Kings and their retinue, their fools and entertainers, their attendants, portray a different kind of familiarity, albeit one that is juxtaposed to the roguish peasants and the wild men. The “Journeys” in these churches thus aim for a highest level of participation, where everyone could find something to associate himself with.

V. THE STORY OF THE MAGI: COMBINING CLOSENESS AND DISTANCE

While the legend of the Magi seems clear and systematic, with several set representations of the “Adoration” and the “Journey” scenes, there are different levels to the story with regards to function and perception. There is a certain, initial religious message involved. The story of the Magi, soon after its conception, came to be associated with the “manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles,” the earthly rulers’ acceptance of spiritual authority, as well as the pagan’s recognition of Christianity.¹³³ As such the image gained a certain popularity, which, in the fifteenth century, in particular, took on different guises.

To the religious context and message a political message was added. To be *like* a Holy King, or to “imitate” the Magi, no longer involved acting virtuously and humbly, in venerating Christ, but added another, more physical layer in rulers’ portraits as a Holy King. Adorning the walls of private palaces or adorning rich panel paintings, a ruler’s portrait as a Magus, was a political statement, that put him above other earthly rulers, as a ruler worthy of personally witnessing the rule of Christ. While the ruler had to be recognized to some extent as himself, he also had to be recognized as King, and as a Holy King, deemed worthy of venerating the Infant Christ. Such depictions, especially popular in Central Europe, put a certain distance between the viewer and the depicted. They were, in effect, self-representations, that inherently involved in its psyche a sense of distancing.

Another example of a discourse of closeness and distance was found in the orient, which in the fifteenth-century itself was a point of influence in Central Europe. Real or imagined, the image of the oriental was an offshoot of fear and fascination.

¹³³ Pinson, *Sin and Heresy*, 159.

The orient, too, allowed for a certain self-representation by juxtaposing the lands and peoples of the orient with those of the familiar.

It was in the figure of the familiar that the viewer could find a morsel to identify with. The familiar in juxtaposition with the distant suggested differences in status, in area, etc. While a sense of identification too was important to the story of the Magi, distancing the Magi within recognizable limits was crucial to the essence of the story. In terms of a discourse of distance and closeness, that the Magi story asked for, the region of Central Europe provided fascination source material. In the fifteenth century in particular, it was an area influenced by the Ottomans, by the Germans and the Italians. A fascination of the distant, as well as a fascination with different levels of closeness suggests a fascination of contrasts, increasing the value and effect of the message..These different influences added to the variety of interpretations of the Magi story, proving to be an exciting endeavour.

However, for the sake of brevity and coherence, this study concentrated mainly on one region and a further look into the dynamics of other areas and influences may prove to be fruitful. It is also worth noting that it is not only the Magi story but many other fields of visual culture that show such levels, patterns and differences, and different examples of visual culture, in terms of comparative contextual analysis may shed light on the many meanings one can reap from a certain image.

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APPENDIX A¹³⁴

Austria:

1. Image number: 000024, Adoration, Vienna, winged altarpiece, c.1465, Klosterneuburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie
2. Image number: 00050, Adoration, Vienna, winged altarpiece, 1490, Klosterneuburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie
3. Image number: 000072, Adoration, Master of Mariapfarr, winged altarpiece, c. 1500, Mariapfarr (Salzburg), parish church
4. Image number: 000161, Adoration, Vienna, winged altarpiece, c. 1500, Braunau (Upper Austria), parish church
5. Image number: 000183, Adoration, Upper Austrian, winged altarpiece, 1488, Eferding (Upper Austria), Stadtmuseum
6. Image number: 000195, Adoration, Upper Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1495, Pesenbach (Upper Austria), Filial church
7. Image number: 000206, Adoration, Upper Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1495, Kremsmünster (Upper Austria), Stiftsgalerie
8. Image number: 000216, Adoration, Upper Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1485, Kremsmünster (Upper Austria), Stiftsgalerie
9. Image number: 000222, Adoration, Upper Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1495, Kremsmünster (Upper Austria), Stiftsgalerie
10. Image number: 000268, Adoration, Master of the Eggelsberger Altar, winged altarpiece, 1481, Linz (Upper Austria), Schloßmuseum
11. Image number: 000321, Adoration, Upper Austrian, winged altarpiece, c. 1480, Kirchdorf an der Krems (Upper Austria), Parish church
12. Image number: 000530, Adoration, Master of the Halleiner Altar, winged altarpiece, c. 1440, Salzburg, Museum Carolino Augusteum
13. Image number: 000547, Adoration, Master of the Werfener Altar, winged altarpiece c.1430, Salzburg, Museum Carolino Augusteum
14. Image number: 000594, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1375, Neukirchen am Ostrong (Lower Austria), Parish church
15. Image number: 000652, Adoration, Master of the Krainburger Altar, winged altarpiece, c. 1500, Graz (Styria) Landesmuseum Joanneum
16. Image number: 000664, Adoration, Styrian, winged altarpiece, c.1485, Graz (Styria) Landesmuseum Joanneum
17. Image number: 000676, Adoration, Master of the Gedersdorfer Altars, winged altarpiece, c.1515, Herzogenburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie
18. Image number: 000685, Adoration, Master of the Schotten Altar, winged altarpiece, c.1475, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie

¹³⁴ Appendix A lists all the “Adoration” and “Journey” images from the twelfth century to the first quarter of the sixteenth century from the REALonline database of the *Institut für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, as well as material that is not within the database.

I have listed the images alphabetically with regards to their provenance, which is given in terms of present day country names. The image number relates to the number in the database from which the image can be accessed.

The entries denote respectively the subject, author (if known), artistic provenance, where it is kept and image number.

19. Image number: 000717, Adoration, Leonhard of Brixen, panel painting, c.1455, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie
20. Image number: 000735, Adoration, Master of the Friedrich Altar, panel painting, c.1440, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie
21. Image number: 000771, Adoration, Lower Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1455, Herzogenburg (Lower Austrian), Stiftsgalerie
22. Image number: 000808, Adoration, Jörg Breu the Older, winged altarpiece, 1501, Herzogenburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie
23. Image number: 000823, Adoration, Habsburg Master, Nikolaus Reiser, winged altarpiece, c.1500, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie
24. Image Number: 000877, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, c. 1500, Mosham (Salzburg), castle chapel
25. Image number: 000899, Adoration, Master of the Fastentuch, winged altarpiece, c.1465, Steiermark (Styria), Stiftsgalerie
26. Image number: 000909, Adoration, Konrad of Friesach, winged altarpiece, c.1455, Steiermark (Styria), Stiftskirche
27. Image number: 000989, Adoration, Konrad of Friesach, winged altarpiece, c.1460, Friesach (Carinthia), Stadtmuseum
28. Image number: 001061, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, c.1505, Wolfsberg (Carinthia), parish church
29. Image number: 001084, Adoration, winged altarpiece, 1449, Bad Aussee (Styria), Hospital Church
30. Image number: 001108, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, first half of fifteenth century, Klagenfurt (Carinthia), Diözesanmuseum
31. Image number: 001150, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, 1519, Klagenfurt (Carinthia) Diözesanmuseum
32. Image number: 001153, Adoration, Marx Reichlich, winged altarpiece, c.1505, Hall (Tyrol), Stadtmuseum
33. Image number: 001246, Adoration, Styrian, winged altarpiece, 1503, Graz (Styria), Diözesanmuseum
34. Image number: 001313, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, c.1515, Klagenfurt (Carinthia), Landesmuseum
35. Image number: 001492, Adoration, Lower Austrian, winged altarpiece, second half of fifteenth century, Seitenstetten (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie
36. Image number: 001494, Adoration, Upper Austrian, predella, c.1500, Seitenstetten (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie
37. Image number: 001662, Adoration, Master of the Schotten Altar Workshop, winged altarpiece, c.1490, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie
38. Image number: 001772, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, c.1495, Vorderberg (Carinthia), Vicarage
39. Image number: 001810, Adoration, Thomas of Villach, fresco, c.1465, Gerlamoos (Carinthia), parish church
40. Image number: 001837, Adoration, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1410, Vienna, Diözesanmuseum
41. Image number: 001879, Adoration, Styrian, 1524, St. Lorenzen at Murau (Styria), parish church
42. Image number: 001905, Adoration, Tyrolian, winged altarpiece, c.1510, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
43. Image number: 001917, Adoration, Tyrolian, winged altarpiece, 1505, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum

44. Image number: 001945, Adoration, Marx Reichlich, winged altarpiece, c.1505, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
45. Image number: 001946, Adoration, Workshop of Leonhard of Brixen, panel painting, c.1480, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
46. Image number: 002005, Adoration, Master of Wilten, panel painting, c.1420, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
47. Image number: 002014, Adoration, Marx Reichlich, panel painting, 1489, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
48. Image number: 002018, Adoration, Austrian, Habsburg Court Painter, winged altarpiece, c.1370, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
49. Image number: 002111, Adoration, Swabian, winged altarpiece, second half of fifteenth century, Innsbruck (Tyrol), Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum
50. Image number: 002160, Adoration, Leonhard Amberger, 1524, St. Marein bei Knittelfeld (Styria), parish church
51. Image number: 002169, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, c.1505, Bad Kleinkirchheim (Carinthia), Filial church St.Catherine im Bade
52. Image number: 002319, Adoration, Lower Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1500, St.Pölten, Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Dauerleihgabe des Kunsthistorischen Museums Wien
53. Image number: 002345, Adoration, Rueland Frueauf the Older, winged altarpiece, c.1491, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie
54. Image number: 003812, Adoration, Lower Austrian, winged altarpiece, 1507, Grafenegg (Lower Austria), Castle chapel
55. Image number: 003815, Adoration, Lower Austrian, winged altarpiece, 1503, Grafenegg (Lower Austria), Castle chapel
56. Image number: 009256, Adoration, Master of the Friedrich Altar, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1440, Vienna, Österreichische Galerie
57. Image number: 009264, Adoration, Carinthian, winged altarpiece, c.1505, Friesach (Carinthia), Teutonic Church
58. Image number: 011087, Adoration, Swabian, winged altarpiece, 1510, Flauring (Tyrol), vicarage
59. Image number: 011193, Adoration, Danube School, fresco, c.1520, Eggenburg, parish church
60. Image number: 011202, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1500, Herzogenburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsmuseum
61. Image number: 011207, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1410, Horn (Lower Austria), Höbarth-Museum
62. Image number: 011213, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1375, Litschau (Lower Austria), parish church
63. Image number: 011216, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1345, Maigen (Lower Austria), parish church
64. Image number: 011221, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1300, Mödling (Lower Austria), Charnel House St.Pantaleon
65. Image number: 011232, Adoration, Lower Austrian, fresco, c.1340, Oberdürnbach (Lower Austria), parish church
66. Image number: 011248, Adoration, Upper Italian, fresco, c.1405, Ofenbach (Lower Austria), parish church
67. Image number: 011304, Adoration, Austrian, fresco, fifteenth century, St.Wolfgang (Lower Austria), parish church

- 68. Image number: 011321, Adoration, Upper Italian, fresco, c.1365, Ulmerfeld (Lower Austria), Castle chapel
- 69. Image number: 011360, Adoration, Lower Austria, fresco, c.1350, Weitra (Lower Austria), Hospital Church
- 70. Image number: 014196, Adoration, Master of the Presentation, panel painting, c.1430, Lower Austria, Stiftssammlungen

Croatia:

- 71. Adoration/Journey, Vincent of Kastav, Istrian, 1474, Beram (Istria), Church of the Virgin Mary, Image reproduced from: Fučić, Branko. *Vincent von Kastav*. Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1992.

Czech Republic:

- 72. Image number: 012921, Adoration, Bohemian, fresco, thirteenth century, Dobruška, Presbytery
- 73. Image number: 012940, Adoration, Bohemian, fresco, c.1390, Záblatí, Sacristy
- 74. Image number: 012949, Adoration, Bohemian, panel painting, c.1420, Hluboká nad Vltavou, Alšova Jimočeská Gallery
- 75. Image number: 012973, Adoration, Bohemian, panel painting, c.1420, Hluboká nad Vltavou, Alšova Jimočeská Gallery
- 76. Image number: 012980, Adoration, Bohemian, winged altarpiece, c.1520, Hluboká nad Vltavou, Alšova Jimočeská Gallery
- 77. Image number: 013045, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, c.1475, Busau, Castle of the Teutonic Order
- 78. Image number: 013057, Adoration, Master of the Linzer Crucifixion, panel painting, c.1425, Opava, Slezské Zemské Museum
- 79. Image number: 013091, Adoration, Moravian, fresco, c.1130, Znojmo, St.Catherine's Church
- 80. Image number: 013146, Adoration, Moravian, fresco, c.1365, Dalečín, Church
- 81. Image number: 013154, Adoration, Moravian, fresco, c.1360, Drásov, Church of the Holy Cross
- 82. Image number: 013184, Adoration, Bohemian, fresco, c.1320, Sevětin, St.Nicholas Church
- 83. Image number: 013261, Adoration, Master Theodoric, fresco, c.1360, Karlštejn, Chapel of the Holy Cross
- 84. Image number: 013304, Adoration, Master of the Veprnice Altar, panel painting, c.1490, Průhonice, Church of the Nativity
- 85. Image number: 013324, Adoration, Bohemian, fresco, c.1390, Libis, St.Jacob
- 86. Image number: 013340, Adoration, Bohemian, fresco, c.1370, Sázava, Chapter house
- 87. Image number: 013364, Adoration, Master of the Emmaus Cycle, fresco, c.1360, Prague, Emmaus Monastery
- 88. Image number: 013402, Adoration, fresco, thirteenth century, Prague, Church of St.Lawrence
- 89. Image number: 014544, Adoration, Bohemian, panel painting, c.1380, Jindřichov Hradec, Castle museum

90. Image number: 014553, Adoration, Bohemian, fresco, c.1510, Jindrichov Hradec Minorite Church

Germany:

91. Adoration, Master of St. Severin, late fifteenth century, Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*. Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982.
92. Adoration, Bernard Strigel, German, sixteenth century, Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*. Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982.
93. Adoration, Martin Schaffner, German, 1512, Nuremberg, National Museum Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue *Die Heiligen Drei Könige: Darstellung und Verehrung*. Cologne: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in der Josef-Haubrich-Kunsthalle, 1982.
94. Image number: 000536, Adoration, Master of the Weildorfer Altar, winged altarpiece, c.1435, Freising (Bavaria), convent St. Klara
95. Image number: 000580, Adoration, Master of the Barmherzigkeiten, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c. 1470, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung
96. Image Number: 000601, Adoration, Master of the Laufener High Altar, Austrian, winged altarpiece, 1467, Laufen (Bavaria), Parish church
97. Image number: 004640, Adoration, Frueauf workshop, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Passau (Bavaria)
98. Image number: 004649, Adoration, Master of the Eggelsberger Altar, winged altarpiece, c.1470, Passau (Bavaria), Veste Oberhaus
99. Image number: 004653, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, c.1485, Passau (Bavaria), Veste Oberhaus
100. Image Number: 004656, Adoration, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Passau (Bavaria), Veste Oberhaus
101. Image number: 004679, Adoration, South German, winged altarpiece, 1462, Friedrich Herlin, Nördlingen (Bavaria) Stadtmuseum
102. Image number: 004685, Adoration, South German, winged altarpiece, 1459, Friedrich Herlin, Nördlingen (Bavaria) Stadtmuseum
103. Image number: 004696, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, c.1460, Nördlingen (Bavaria) Stadtmuseum
104. Image Number: 004935, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, c.1450, Freising (Bavaria) Diözesanmuseum
105. Image number: 004950, Adoration, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Freising (Bavaria) Diözesanmuseum
106. Image Number: 009241, Adoration, German, c.1470, (Bavaria), Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum
107. Image number: 009242, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, last quarter of fifteenth century, (Bavaria) Nuremberg Germanisches Nationalmuseum
108. Image Number: 009283, Adoration, Austrian, c.1425, Berlin Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
109. Image number: 015450, Adoration, Swabian, fresco, c.1525, Lauingen (Bavaria) Parish church St. Martin

110. Image number: 015615, Adoration, German, predella, c.1515, Augsburg (Bavaria) Cathedral of the Visitation
111. Image number: 015766, Adoration, Leonhard Beck, panel painting, 1515, Augsburg (Bavaria) Staatsgalerie im Schaezler-Palais
112. Image number: 015768, Adoration, Master of the Landsberg Birth of Christ, German, panel painting, c.1465, Augsburg (Bavaria) Staatsgalerie im Schaezler-Palais
113. Image number: 015927, Adoration, Hans Strigel the Older, German, fresco, c.1445, Gestratz (Bavaria) St.Gall
114. Image number: 015593, Adoration, Jörg Stocker, winged altarpiece, c.1450, Augsburg (Bavaria) Cathedral of the Visitation
115. Image number: 015976, Adoration, Hans Strigel the Older, German, c.1442, Zell (Bavaria) St.Stephen, St.Alban and St.Batholomew
116. Image number: 016433, Adoration, Swabian, fresco, c.1375, Lamerdingen (Bavaria) St.Martin
117. Image number: 016958, Adoration, German, fresco, c.1425, Vornbach (Bavaria) St.Martin's Church
118. Image number: 017038, Adoration, German, fresco, c.1290, Oberndorf (Bavaria) Church of the Assumption
119. Image number: 017057, Adoration, German, fresco, c.1410, Einmuss (Bavaria) Church of the Virgin Mary
120. Image number: 17274, Adoration, German, winged altarpiece, c.1465, Markt Ortenburg (Bavaria) Evangelical Lutheran Church
121. Image number: 017461, Adoration, German, predella, c.1520, Schalding (Bavaria) parish church of St.Salvadore
122. Image number: 017705, Adoration, German, fresco, c.1500, Altdorf (Bavaria) Church of the Visitation

Hungary:

123. Image number: 008176, Adoration, Hungarian, winged altarpiece, c.1445, Esztergom, Christian Museum
124. Image number: 008189, Adoration, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1440, Esztergom, Christian Museum
125. Image number: 013468, Adoration, Hungarian, fresco, fifteenth century, Vizsoly, Reformation church
126. Image number: 013471, Adoration, Hungarian, fresco, c.1425, Szentsimon, Church of Saint Simon
127. Image number: 013517, Adoration, Johannes Aquila, Hungarian, fresco, 1378, Velemer, Roman Catholic Church
128. Image number: 013547, Adoration, Hungarian, fresco, c.1405, Köszeg, St.Jacob's Church

Italy:

129. Adoration, Benozzo Gozzoli, Italian, 1459, Florence Medici Chapel, Image reproduced from:
[http://paradoxplace.com/Perspectives/Italian%20Images/Montages/Firenze/Cappella dei Magi.htm](http://paradoxplace.com/Perspectives/Italian%20Images/Montages/Firenze/Cappella%20dei%20Magi.htm)

130. Image Number: 002357, Adoration, Hans Multscher, winged altarpiece, c.1459, Sterzing (South Tyrol) Städtisches Museum
131. Image number: 002364, Adoration, Hans of Bruneck, fresco, c.1405, Sterzing (South Tyrol) Hospital Church
132. Image number: 002521, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1425, Brixen (South Tyrol)
133. Image number: 002547, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1410, Brixen (South Tyrol)
134. Image number: 002555, Adoration, Workshop of Leonhard of Brixen, South Tyrol, fresco, c.1475, Brixen (South Tyrol),
135. Image number: 002565, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, second half of the fourteenth century, Neustift (South Tyrol) Chapel of St.Victor
136. Image number: 002648, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1400, Naturns (South Tyrol) Parish church, St. Proclus
137. Image number: 002667, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1420, Prad-Agums (South Tyrol) Filial church St.John
138. Image number: 002757, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, 1479, Lajener Ried (South Tyrol)
139. Image number: 002764, Adoration, South Tyrolian (Danube School), winged altarpiece, 1517, Villnöß (South Tyrol),
140. Image number: 002813, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1395, Kastelruth (South Tyrol), Parish church St.Valentine
141. Image number: 002836, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, fifteenth century, Unterplanitzing (South Tyrol), Parish church St.Leonard
142. Image number: 002844, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1425, Tramin (South Tyrol), Parish church St.Valentine at the Cemetery
143. Image number: 002917, Adoration, South Tyrolian, panel painting, c.1510, Scluderns (South Tyrol) Parish church
144. Image number: 002994, Adoration, Lombardian, fresco, c.1425, Morter (South Tyrol) St.Stephan in Obermontani
145. Image number: 003733, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1460, Niederolang (South Tyrol) Bildstock Straße nach Geiselsberg
146. Image number: 003734, Adoration, Marx Reichlich, panel painting, c.1500, Niederolang (South Tyrol)
147. Image number: 003775, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1450, Winnebach (South Tyrol) St.Silvester on the Alps
148. Image number: 003780, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, second half of fifteenth century, Dietenheim (South Tyrol)
149. Image number: 004309, Adoration, Leonard of Brixen, panel painting, c.1460, Bozen (South Tyrol) Museo Civico
150. Image Number: 004400, Adoration, South Tyrolian, winged altarpiece, c.1520, Meran (South Tyrol) Church of the Holy Ghost
151. Image number: 004411, Adoration, Master Wenzel, fresco, c.1415, Riffian (South Tyrol) Our Lady at the Cemetery
152. Image Number: 004417, Adoration, South Tyrolian, fresco, c.1500, Völlan (South Tyrol)
153. Image number: 004548, Adoration, South Tyrolian, winged altarpiece, 1435, Brixen (South Tyrol) Diözesanmuseum
154. Image number: 004573, Adoration, Hans Stockinger, fresco, 1403, Bozen (South Tyrol), St.Martin in Kampill

Poland:

- 155. Image number: 008231, Adoration, Polish, winged altarpiece, c.1390, Warsaw National Museum
- 156. Image Number: 008239, Adoration, Polish, tetrptychon, second half of fourteenth century, Warsaw National Museum

Romania:

- 157. Image number: 014795, Adoration, Romanian, fresco, fourteenth century, Ruganesti (Romania) Reform Church
- 158. Image number: 014811, Adoration, Romanian, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Brukenthal (Romania) Sibiu Museum
- 159. Image number:014868, Adoration, Romanian, winged altarpiece, 1518, Bogeschdorf (Romania), Church,
- 160. Image number: 014926, Adoration, Romanian, winged altarpiece, c.1490, Biertan, Evangelical Church
- 161. Image number:014954, Adoration, Romanian, winged altarpiece, 1470, Malincrav (Romania) Evangelical Church
- 162. Image number:014983, Adoration, Romanian, fresco, c.1395, Malincrav (Romania) Evangelical Church
- 163. Image number: 015034, Adoration, Romanian, winged altarpiece, 1520, Sorostin (Romania) church

Slovakia:

- 164. Image number: 011520, Adoration, Master of the Spisska Kapitula, winged altarpiece, c.1485, Bratislava, National Gallery
- 165. Image number: 011533, Adoration, Master of the Three Kings Altar of Paludzka, winged altarpiece, c.1520, Bratislava, National Gallery
- 166. Image number: 011544, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1455, Bratislava, National Gallery
- 167. Image number: 011561, Adoration, Master of the High Altar of Matejovce, winged altarpiece, c.1445, Bratislava, National Gallery
- 168. Image number: 011597, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1515, Martin (Slovakia) Nationa Museum
- 169. Image number: 011665, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1475, Kosice (Slovakia) St.Elizabeth's Cathedral
- 170. Image number: 011708, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1485, Levoca (Slovakia) Parish church of St.Jacob
- 171. Image number: 011824, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, 1499, Spisska Kapitula (Slovakia) Parish church
- 172. Image number: 011863, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1455, Bardejov (Slovakia) Parish church of St.Egidius
- 173. Image number: 011884, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1460, Bardejov (Slovakia) parish church of St.Egidius
- 174. Image number: 011958, Adoration/Journey, Slovakian, predella, c.1475, Levoca (Slovakia) Parish church of St.Jacob

175. Image number: 012072, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1470, Spisska Sobota (Slovakia) Parish church of St.George
176. Image number: 012107, Adoration, Master of the Georgenberg Antonius Legend, winged altarpiece, c.1500, Rakusy (Slovakia) Parish church
177. Image number: 012132, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1500, Lendak (Slovakia) Parish church of St.Nicholas
178. Image number: 012159, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1505, Kezmarok (Slovakia) Parish church of the Holy Cross
179. Image number: 012209, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Vlkova (Slovakia) Parish church
180. Image number: 012222, Adoration/Journey, Slovakian, fresco c.1370, Podolinec (Slovakia) Parish church
181. Image number: 012242, Adoration, Slovakian, fresco, c.1350, Ganovce (Slovakia) Parish church
182. Image number: 012261, Adoration, Slovakian, altarpiece, c.1540, Spissky Stvrtok (Slovakia) Parish church of St. Ladislav
183. Image number: 012324, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, 1526, Lipany (Slovakia) Church of St.Martin
184. Image Number: 012360, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1500, Presov (Slovakia) Church of St.Nicholas
185. Image number: 012442 Adoration, Slovakian, panel painting, c.1490, Kosice (Slovakia) Vychodoslovenské Múzeum
186. Image number: 012520, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1510, Chyzné (Slovakia) Church of the Virgin Mary
187. Image number: 012544, Adoration, Slovakian, fresco, c.1375, Kraskovo (Slovakia) Evangelical church
188. Image number: 012569, Adoration, Slovakian, fresco, 1415, Poniky (Slovakia) Fransiscan Church
189. Image number: 012652, Adoration, Slovakian, fresco, c.1375, Liptovsky Ondrej (Slovakia) Church of St.Andrew
190. Image number: 012660, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1475, Liptovsky Mikuláš (Slovakia) Church of St.Nicholas
191. Image number: 012681, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1510, Sliace (Slovakia) Church of St.Simon and St.Judas
192. Image number: 012771, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Smrecany (Slovakia) Church of the Virgin Mary
193. Image number: 012733, Adoration, Slovakian, fresco, c.1405, Luborec (Slovakia)
194. Image number: 012736, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1500, Ocová (Slovakia) All Saints' Churh
195. Image number: 12745, Adoration, Slovakian, winged altarpiece, c.1480, Mosovce (Slovakia) Church of the Holy Trinity
196. Image number: 012787, Adoration, Slovakian, panel painting, c.1510, Banská Stiavnica (Slovakia) Stadtmuseum

Slovenia:

197. Image number: 009861, Adoration/Journey, John of Kastav, Slovenian, fresco,1490, Hrastovlje (Slovenia) Church of the Holy Trinity

198. Image Number: 010819, Adoration/Journey, John of Kastav, Slovenian, fresco,1490, Gradisce pri Divaci (Slovenia) Church of St.Helena
199. Image Number: 009902, Adoration/Journey, Slovenian, fresco,1504, Sveti Primož (Slovenia) parish church of Ss.Primus and Felicianus
200. Image Number: 009986, Adoration/Journey, Slovenian, fresco,c.1350, Jezersko (Slovenia) parish church of St.Oswald
201. Image Number: 010653, Adoration/Journey, Slovenian, fresco,1467, Mace (Slovenia) parish church of St.Nicholas
202. Image Number: 010667, Adoration/Journey, Slovenian, fresco,1245, Turjak (Slovenia)
203. Image Number: 010803,Adoration/Journey, Slovenian, fresco,1440, Sredna van Prisencu (Slovenia) Parish church of St.Radegund
204. Image Number: 010939, Adoration/Journey, Slovenian, fresco,last quarter of fifteenth century, Vrzenec (Slovenia) Parish church of St.Kantianus

Tha United Kingdom:

205. Adoration, Botticelli, Italian, c.1475, London, National Gallery, Image reproduced from: <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/cgi-bin/WebObjects.dll/CollectionPublisher.woa/wa/largeImage?workNumber=NG1033&collectionPublisherSection=work>

The United States:

206. Image number:009296,Adoration, Conrad Laib, Swabian, panel painting, c.1450, Cleveland Museum of Art
207. Image number: 009297, Adoration, Austrian, winged altarpiece, c.1425, Cleveland Museum of Art
208. Adoration, Andrea Mantegna, Italian, c.1500, Los Angeles, J.P.Getty Museum, Image reproduced from: <http://www.getty.edu/art/gettyguide/artObjectDetails?artobj=900&handle=li>

APPENDIX B¹³⁵

1. Insipiens (fool), Vincent of Kastav, 1474, Beram (Croatia) The Church of the Virgin Mary. Image reproduced from Fučić, Branko. *Vincent von Kastav*. Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1992
2. The Last Rest of Christ, Lower Austria, 1495, Brno (Czech Republic) Mährische Galerie, Image Number: 012998
3. Flagellation, Jörg Breu the Older, 1501, Herzogenburg (Lower Austria), Stiftsgalerie, Image Number: 000806
4. Burning of the Damned (in the Last Judgement) Torcello, 12th Century, Image reproduced from Dymaxion Web, <http://www.dymaxionweb.com/dymaxionweb/Torcello-thumb.JPG>
5. Ecce Homo, Master of the Schotten Altar, Vienna, 1475, Schottenstift, Image Number: 000319
6. Sigismund of Luxemburg, Vienna, 1420S, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Image reproduced from: Exhibition Catalogue, *Sigismund of Luxemburg: Art and Culture, 1387-1437* (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum, 18 March-18 June 2006; Luxembourg, Musée National D'Histoire et D'Art, 13 July-15 october 2006).
7. The Three Magi with Ss. Cosmas and Damian, John of Kastav, 1490, Hrastovlje (Slovenia) The Church of the Holy Trinity, Image Number: 009878
8. Adam and Eve at Work, John of Kastav, 1490, Hrastovlje (Slovenia) The Church of the Holy Trinity, Image Number: 009829

¹³⁵ Appendix B lists all the comparative images. The entries follow the order they are found within the text.

APPENDIX C¹³⁶

NUMBER	T	T.O	T.M	T.Y	B	E	S.D.	Y	F	S	DATE
24	Y		X	X							1460
50					Y	Y	Y	X	Y	Y Att	1485
72	Y Att				Y	Y			Y		1495
161	Y		X	X	Y	Y	Y	X			1495
183	Y		X	X	Y			X			1488
195	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1490
206	Y		X				Y	X			1490
216	Y		X	X			Y	X			1480
222	Y	X		X	Y		Y	X			1490
268					Y		Y	X			1481
321	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1475
530	Y	X	X	X			Y	X			1425
536	Y			X							1430
547											1420
580							Y	X			1465
585					Y						1499
594											1370
601							Y	X			1467
652					Y		Y	X			1495
664	Y			X							1480
676					Y		Y	X			1510
685					Y	Y	Y	X	Y		1469
717											1450
735	Y			X			Y	X			1435
771							Y	X			1450
808			X	X	Y	Y	Y	X	Y		1501
823									Y		1495
877	Y			X			Y	X			1495
899							Y	X			1460
909							Y	X			1450
989											1455
1061					Y						1500
1084											1449
1108					Y	Y	Y	X			1450
1150					Y		Y	X			1519
1153							Y	X			1501
1246	Y		X		Y	Y	Y	X	Y		1503
1313	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1510
1492	Y			X			Y	X			1450
1494	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1497
1662	Y		X		Y	Y	Y	X			1485
1772	Y			X			Y	X			1490

¹³⁶ Appendix C shows a list of images of “Adoration of the Magi” and “Journey of the Magi” from the REALonline database, listed according to the image numbers given in the database. These show whether a particular image depicts a Magus wearing a turban, if so whether it is the oldest, the middle-aged, or the young that is wearing a turban. It also shows whether an image includes a black Magus, or a King wearing an earring, or a short dress, and if so, whether it is the youngest King that is wearing a short dress. It also shows whether the Magi or their attendants/retinue carry banners or flags or have scimitars at their sides. The images that do not portray any of these attributes or those that are badly damaged are included but they are left blank.

1810					Y Att						1460
1837					Y						1405
1879					Y						1524
1905					Y	Y					1505
1917					Y				Y		1505
1945	Y		X		Y	Y					1500
1946					Y		Y	X			1475
2005											1415
2014	Y			X	Y	Y Att	Y	X	Y		1489
2018											1370
2111							Y	X			1450
2160	Y			X	Y						1524
2169	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1500
2319	Y			X	Y	Y				Y	1495
2345	Y			X	Y	Y	Y	X			1490
2357							Y	X			1456
2364					Y Att				Y		1400
2521											1420
2547											1420
2555											1470
2565											1350
2648											1395
2667							Y	X			1415
2757											1479
2764					Y						1517
2813											1390
2836							Y	X			1400
2844											1420
2917	Y		X		Y						1500
2950											1400
2994	Y Ret				Y Ret						1420
3733	Y		X				Y	X			1455
3734	Y			X	Y Ret		Y	X		Y	1490
3775									Y		1445
3780	Y Att										1450
3812	Y		X	X	Y						1507
3815					Y	Y	Y	X			1503
4309											1455
4400					Y		Y	X		Y	1515
4414											1415
4417							Y (M)	X			1495
4548					Y		Y	X			1435
4573											1403
4640					Y	Y	Y	X			1475
4653							Y	X			1465
4656	Y			X	Y	Y					1480
4679	Y			X	Y	Y	Y	X			1475
4685					Y		Y	X			1462
4696	Y Att		X				Y	X	Y		1459
4935	Y Att								Y		1455

4950											1445
8176											1475
8189	Y			X			Y	X			1435
8231											1320
8239											1365
9241							Y	X			1465
9242	Y			X							1475
9256	Y			X			Y	X			1435
9264	Y			X	Y		Y (M)				1500
9283											1420
9296	Y		X	X			Y	X			1445
9297											1420
9861	Y Ret			X					Y		1490
9902	Y			X					Y		1504
9986											1345
10653					Y Att						1467
10667	Y		X						Y		1245
10803									Y		1440
10819									Y		1490
10939											1475
11087	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1510
11193											1515
11202							Y	X			1495
11207									Y		1405
11213											1370
11216											1340
11221											1295
11232											1335
11248											1400
11304											1400
11321											1360
11360											1345
11520	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1480
11533							Y	X			1515
11544											1450
11561											1440
11597					Y		Y	X			1510
11665					Y		Y	X			1470
11708	Y			X	Y	Y	Y	X			1476
11824					Y		Y	X			1499
11863	Y		X								1450
11884											1455
11958	Y				Y		Y	X	Y	Y	1470
12072											1465
12107					Y		Y	X			1495
12132					Y		Y	X			1495
12159											1500
12209					Y						1475
12222											1360
12242											1345
12360	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1495

12442											1480
12520					Y		Y	X			1500
12544											1370
12569											1415
12652											1370
12660					Y	Y	Y	X			1470
12681							Y	X			1500
12711	Y	X	X	X							1470
12733											1400
12736	Y	X		X	Y		Y	X			1490
12745	Y	X		X	Y		Y	X			1475
12787	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1500
12940											1385
12949											1415
12973	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1510
12980	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1515
13045	Y			X	Y	Y	Y	X			1470
13507											1420
13091											1125
13146											1360
13154											1355
13184											1315
13261											1355
13304	Y			X	Y						1485
13324											1385
13340											1365
13364											1355
13402											1200
13468											1400
13471											1420
13517					Y Att						1378
13547											1400
14196	Y			X							1425
14544											1375
14553	Y	X				Y	X				1500
14795					Y Att						1300
14811	Y		X								1475
14868	Y		X		Y		Y	X			1518
14926	Y			X	Y		Y	X			1480
14954	Y Att						Y	X			1460
14983											1380
15034	Y	X	X		Y						1520
15450					Y		Y	X			1520
15593	Y			X	Y	Y	Y	X			1430
15615					Y		Y	X	Y		1510
15766	Y			X	Y						1515
15768											1460
15927	Y			X	Y						1440
15976	Y		X								1442
16433											1370
16958											1420
17038											1280

17057											1400
17274							Y	X			1460
17461	Y			X	Y						1516
17705					Y						1490