

Júlia Papp (ed.)

**ENGRAVING,  
PLASTER CAST, PHOTOGRAPH**

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*Chapters from the History of Artwork Reproduction*



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*Chapters from the History of Artwork Reproduction*



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## THE “UNICORN GROUP”: THE POSSENTI SADDLE AND ITS NINETEENTH- CENTURY COPIES

### INTRODUCTION\*

It is a relatively well-known fact that the creation of late medieval bone saddles can be connected to one restricted period: most of them were produced in the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> However, it is lesser known that these special objects had a second golden age in the nineteenth century, when most of them were part of the rich collections of aristocrats throughout Europe, and even copies were created after them. The popularity of and growing interest in these special items are demonstrated by the emergence of a copy group consisting of five copies made after the so-called Possenti Saddle. This second blossoming of bone saddles is completely missing from scholarship. Only one article from 1938, by Paul Post, assembles and examines all the known copies of this object group, calling it the “Einhorngruppe”, after the prominent unicorn carving on the left side of the saddles.<sup>2</sup>

Initially, my aim in this paper was to present solely the nineteenth-century copy group of the Possenti Saddle. However, during my research, I faced new challenges in connection with the Possenti Saddle itself, which

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\* I would like to thank Anna Botterell (Sporting Collection, Rode), Tobias Capwell (Wallace Collection, London), Christine Duvauchelle (Musée de l'Armée, Paris) and Sven Lüken (Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin) for providing all the available information about the saddle copies (or one-time saddle copies) of their collections, which was an essential help to my research.

1 For the most recent catalogue of the bone saddles, see SOMOGYVÁRI 2017.

2 POST 1938.



Fig. 1  
*The Possenti  
 Saddle (left side)*

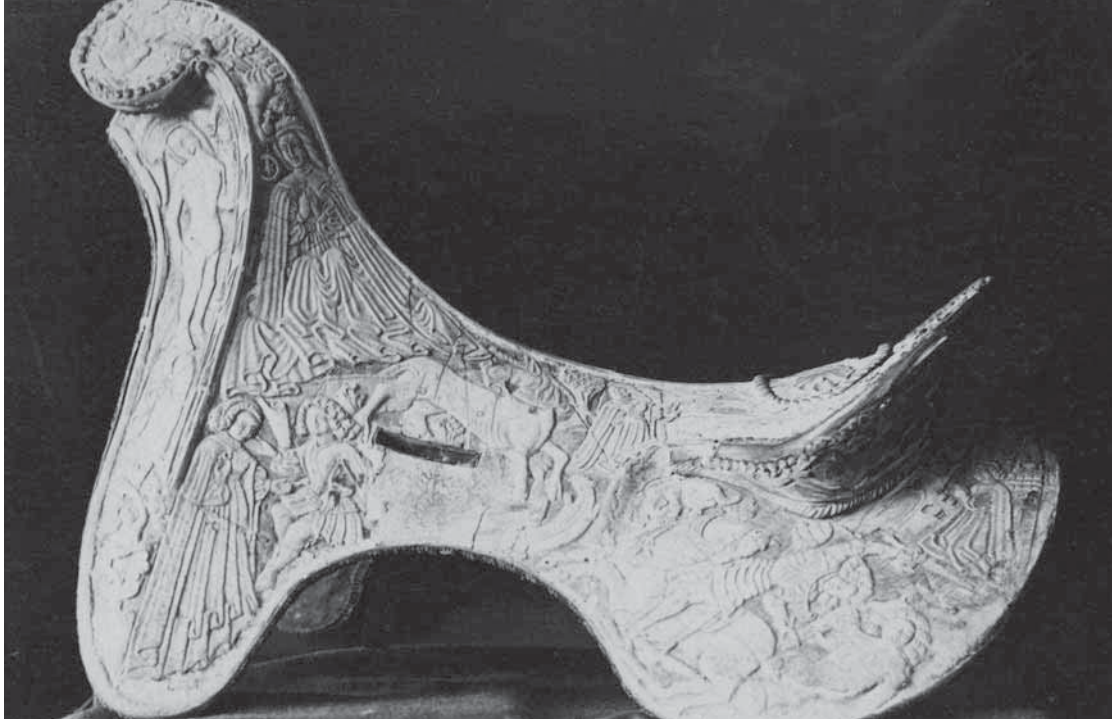
largely affected the direction of the research. Since the copies cannot be discussed without the object history of the “original”, I also included it in this paper.

Accordingly, the paper is divided into two main parts: in the first part, I concentrate on the issues connected to the Possenti Saddle, while the second part discusses the main problems of the copies and their relation to each other. A catalogue containing the provenance and a brief description of the discussed saddles is in the Appendix.

## I. THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE POSSENTI SADDLE

Several uncertainties and errors arise in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century written sources and historiography about the Possenti Saddle (Fig. 1). It was long regarded as a fake product in historiography.<sup>3</sup> The first scholar who debated its authenticity was probably Stephen V. Grancsay, the Curator of the Arms and Armor Department of The

<sup>3</sup> Because of that, I have also regarded it as a fake product in my MA thesis, categorizing it among the copies. See SOMOGYVÁRI, 2017, 149., no. 25.



Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1929–64, who claimed, “it is now considered to be modern”, although he did not quote any references.<sup>4</sup> Paul Post, curator of the Zeughaus in Berlin, mentions Grancsay’s report in his article of 1938, adding a personal note that he never received an answer from Grancsay concerning why he deemed it a forgery.<sup>5</sup> After Grancsay’s statement, however, in historiography the Possenti Saddle was regarded as a fake product.<sup>6</sup> In spite of this, according to the museum’s latest opinion in 2012, it dates from c. 1450.<sup>7</sup>

Apart from regarding it as a forgery, Grancsay also claimed that the Possenti Saddle was confused with a similar one, which differs from it in certain details (Fig. 2).<sup>8</sup> According to him, this other saddle was once in the Possenti Collection, then in the collection of Marchese D... in Milan, and thereafter in the Aicholz Collection in Vienna.<sup>9</sup> Paul Post also

Fig. 2  
*The “Aicholz  
Saddle”*

4 GRANC SAY 1937, 92.

5 POST 1938, 47.

6 VERÓ 2006, 278., no. 17.

7 See Gothic Ivories Project “Saddle (selle); known as the ‘Possenti Saddle’” PURL [http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/16934086\\_d30e72dc.html](http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/16934086_d30e72dc.html)

8 GRANC SAY 1937, 92–93.

9 GRANC SAY 1937, 92–93.



acknowledges the existence of this copy of the Possenti Saddle, calling it the “Aicholz Saddle” and integrating it into his list of other copies.<sup>10</sup> However, the provenance and detailed examination of the carvings of the Possenti Saddle reveal that these scholars were on the wrong track in this question.

### Provenance

In 1904 The Metropolitan Museum of Art bought the glamorous armour collection of Charles Maurice Camille de Talleyrand-Périgord, Duc de Dino. The purchase, worth \$ 400,000 was published in the New York Times with a half-page illustration containing the most prominent items in the collection.<sup>11</sup> This illustration includes two “ivory saddles”, one of which can be identified as the Possenti Saddle.<sup>12</sup> Before selling it to the MET, the Duc de Dino presented his whole collection in a comprehensive catalogue, where these two saddles also appeared.<sup>13</sup> According to a report about the acquisitions of the Duc de Dino, these two saddles were purchased in Vienna by the Bachereau firm, Dino’s main agent and supplier, around 1895.<sup>14</sup> The Possenti Saddle cannot be traced further back than this point, although the “Aicholz Saddle” comes into the picture instead. In 1894, Julius von Schlosser assembled all the bone saddles he knew of that time in his article, comprising 20 items.<sup>15</sup> Saddle no. 10, from the collection of Miller von Aichholz (1835–1919) in Vienna, which is illustrated with a drawing by J. G. Fahrnbauer (made after a photograph by J. Löwy), presents an item similar to the Possenti Saddle, with some differences in its details.<sup>16</sup> Schlosser mentions in the paper that it was bought in Milan.<sup>17</sup> A saddle with the same details appears in the sale catalogue of Marchese D... in 1888, under no. 35, although the photo of

<sup>10</sup> POST 1938, 46–47.

<sup>11</sup> Duc de Dino 1904, 11.

<sup>12</sup> The other saddle is the “Tratzberg Saddle” (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 04.3.249). Until the twentieth century, the bone saddles were generally considered as ivory products, however the material of the panels are made of bone and staghorn. See SOMOGYVÁRI 2017, 7.

<sup>13</sup> COSSON 1901, 49., no. E. 6, pls. 20–21.

<sup>14</sup> A letter from 4 August 1895 reports that Dino had recently acquired his second bone saddle in Vienna for 23,000 francs, although it is not clear to which one he was referring. PYHRR 2012, 189., 192., 212. (note 54.).

<sup>15</sup> SCHLOSSER 1894, 260–294.

<sup>16</sup> SCHLOSSER 1894, 266–267., no. 10.

<sup>17</sup> SCHLOSSER 1894, 267., no. 10.

the saddle is reversed.<sup>18</sup> The earliest traceable owner of the saddle is Girolamo Possenti de Fabriano: the saddle appears in the catalogue of his collection from 1880, under no. 93, illustrated with an archive photo.<sup>19</sup> A source from 1841 about a papal visit to the Possenti Collection mentions a saddle that can be identified with this one, testifying that it spent at least 40 years in the collection before it was sold.<sup>20</sup>

As is manifest from the provenance, the common point of the Possenti Saddle and the Aicholz Saddle is their period in Vienna: the former can be traced only from this point, while the latter vanishes from that same time. It is known from Schlosser’s article that the Aicholz Saddle was still in the Aicholz collection in 1894, and the Duc de Dino bought his saddle around 1895.<sup>21</sup> This common point of the two saddles suggests that the Aicholz Saddle and the Possenti Saddle are identical, while the different details of the two objects can be explained by the possibility of a major restoration, executed during its time in the collection of the Duc de Dino. To support this hypothesis and to clarify once and for all the contradictions connected to the Possenti Saddle, it could be useful to present a close comparative analysis of the surfaces of its two states.

## Comparison

Since all that survives of the earlier “state” of the Possenti Saddle are archive photos from the nineteenth-century catalogues and the drawing by J. G. Fahrnbauer, identifying the tiny details is particularly challenging.<sup>22</sup>

18 Catalogo 1888, 4. no. 35. Pl. II.

19 DURA – DELANGE 1880, no. 93. It is accompanied with another bone saddle (no. 94), however its current location is unknown. According to a report called “Fanfulla” dedicated to the sale in 12 April 1880, the saddle was bought by a certain Parisian antiquarian, Signor Mosle for 92,000 lira. The purchaser of the other saddle (22,000 lira) was Stefano Bourgeois. However, the two saddles appear together again in the collection of Marchese D... in 1888. VARESE 2005, 759.; 773–774.; 781. (note 39.).

20 A report about the visit of the Pope Gregory XVI tells the story that the saddle accidentally fell to the floor but luckily was not damaged. Roma, Archivio Massimo: Camillo Vittorio Massimo, Descrizione del viaggio a Fabriano del Pontefice Gregorio XVI nel 1841. VARESE 2014, 1–2.

21 SCHLOSSER 1894, 266–267.; PYHR 2012, 212. (note 54.).

22 It is important to note that this comparison was only made of reproductions. Since I have not had the possibility to see the Possenti Saddle in the MET, and I also could not get any information yet about its earlier technical analysis, the only way I could do the comparison was to use the official photos of the MET. Therefore, I regard these conclusions as only preliminary, as I intend to make an autopsy soon to strengthen my argument and make further conclusions. For the comparison, I used a photo of the MET which is the most similar in perspective to the archive photo. However, since



Figs. 3-4  
 Comparison I-II:  
 left and right side,  
 The Possenti  
 Saddle

Integrating the nineteenth-century copies helps to overcome this difficulty, since most of them follow the earlier state of the saddle in the differentiating details. Therefore, in cases when the archive photos and the drawing were not enough for a precise comparison, I also used the copies as a help.

There are four main parts of the saddle which differ in the two reproductions. The field around the slots on each side, several little slices in the lower right field depicting the story of St. George, and a circular field on the cantles (Figs. 3-4).

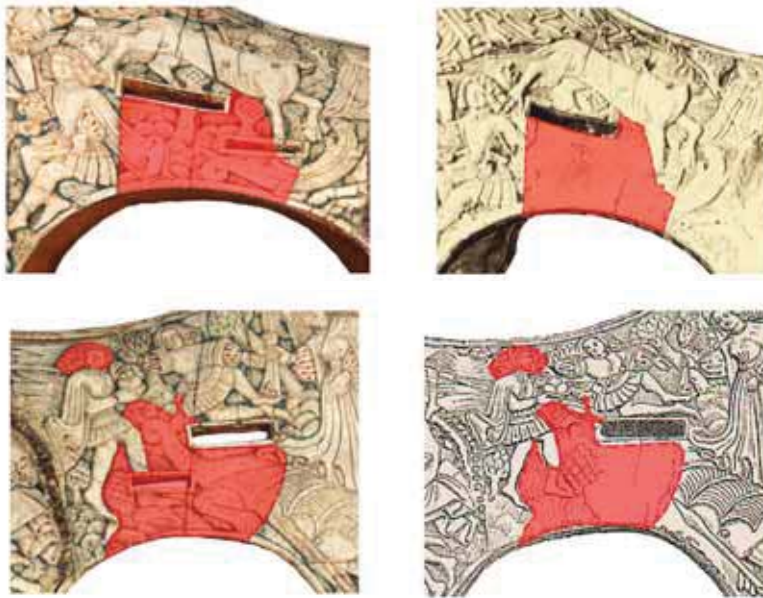
#### *The areas around the slots*

On the left side of the saddle in its old state, the field under the unicorn is largely fragmented, unlike the modern version (Fig. 5). The tail of the lizard-like animal and the long, windblown sleeve of the courtier are only depicted in its present state, while on the earlier one these details are unfinished or vestigial, as they are on most of the copies.

Another important part of this field is closely connected to the practical usage of the saddles. On most of the late medieval bone saddles

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it is not exactly the same view, I attempted to apply the markings accordingly. See The Metropolitan Museum of Art "Parade Saddle", PURL <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/21991>



Figs. 5-6  
*Comparison III-IV: left and right side (detail), The Possenti Saddle*

there are two squared slots on each side.<sup>23</sup> The stirrup leathers and the girth were connected to the saddle and the horse through these slots. In the present state of the Possenti Saddle, both slots appear, while in its old state the second squared slot is not finished, and only an indication of it can be seen. This fragmented second slot applies to all the copies as well.

The comparison of the correspondent field on the other side of the saddle is more problematic, since there is no surviving photo of the earlier state, only the drawing (Fig. 6). One thing, however, can be declared with certainty: there are no traces at all of the lower slot in the earlier state or on the copies.

<sup>23</sup> There is only one slot on the Batthyány Saddle (Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Inv. Nr. 55.3117), the Rhédey Saddle (Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Inv. Nr. 55.3118), the Saddle of Ladislaus Posthumus (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Hofjagd- und Rüstammer, Inv. Nr. A 64), and the two saddles in Stockholm (Livrustkammaren, Inv. Nr. 29512 (25:32); Nordiska museet, Inv. Nr. NM.0031425). There is no slot on the saddle of Ercole d'Este (Modena, Galleria Estense, Inv. Nr. 2461). In the case of the Jankovich Saddle (Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Inv. Nr. 55.3119) there is one slot marked but not cut out. On the saddle of Glasgow (Glasgow, Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Inv. Nr. E 1939.65.bx) there are two slots, but only the lower slot is cut out. See SOMOGYVÁRI 2017, 115., no. 7; 119., no. 9; 143., no. 22; 147., no. 24; 117., no. 8; 125., no. 12.



Fig. 7

*The Possenti  
Saddle (left side,  
detail)*

Luckily, on this part of the present state of the Possenti Saddle, traces of the restoration carried out around 1901-1904 can be easily identified through the different colour of the bone plates (Fig. 7). This piece includes the hind legs and rounded tail of the dragon, the space between the courtier's two legs, and the second slot. Additionally, the lighter colour of the head of the courtier on the left is also eye-catching. In the drawing and on the copies, this courtier wears a *chaperon*, while in the current state of the saddle he is bare-headed and has long curls, which indicates that the head of the courtier was also replaced during the restoration.

#### *The field of St. George*

This field depicting the dragon-slaying episode was probably heavily restored, which is clearly visible by comparing the Possenti Saddle with its earlier state and the copies (Fig. 8). There are four slices in the field under the cantle which are different in the two photos. These pieces, which were surely replaced during the restoration carried out when the saddle was in the collection of the Duc de Dino, can be identified and marked through the discrepancies. Furthermore, the colour of the bone is also slightly different in these fields (Fig. 9). Based on this, the following parts can be determined as a result of the restoration: an irregular trigonal piece next to the praying princess, the head and the upper body of the dragon, and the hind legs of the horse. Since this part of the archive photo is not clearly visible, the drawing and the similarly executed identical part of the copies (especially the Paris copy) can be involved in the analysis (Fig. 10). On these, the most surprising element is that instead of the dragon, a naked young man is carved. Furthermore, the jaw of the dragon on the Possenti Saddle, into which St. George stabs one of his swords, looks like an unidentifiable object on the pre-restored version and the copies. The sword

Fig. 8

*Comparison V:  
left side (detail)  
The Possenti  
Saddle*





is held by both St. George and the naked young man, although the arm of the latter is anatomically shortened. There are other tiny inconsistencies in this field, both in the drawing and on the copies, such as a bush-like item under the horse's tail, and the bricks behind the naked man.

Astonishingly, these observations imply that the dragon in the current state of the Possenti Saddle is only the result of the restoration, and that the original carving was of a naked young man. However, representing a nude man along with St. George on horseback as he strikes him with his sword is entirely inappropriate in late medieval iconography. By the fifteenth century, a relatively specific iconography of the dragon-slaying episode had established itself in European art containing some obligatory elements. These include St. George in a central position, normally on horseback, while a praying princess can be seen on her knees in the background. She is often accompanied by a lamb, and at the very back, a castle is visible with a royal couple looking out of the window. The scene is set in a natural environment in most cases.<sup>24</sup> The only example of St. George defeating a human instead of a dragon is a silver icon from the eleventh century, and there are no other instances representing this part of the story.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the dragon scene was not part of the original story, and the pictorial representation probably emerged in the Byzantine art of the twelfth century, from where it spread to Western Europe.<sup>26</sup>

Fig. 9  
*St. George and  
the Dragon on  
the Possenti  
Saddle*

Fig. 10  
*St. George and  
the Naked Man  
on the Paris Copy*

24 I discuss the St. George iconography of the bone saddles including the Possenti Saddle in the context of the fifteenth century Central European iconography in a paper: SOMOGYVÁRI 2021.

25 RICHES 2000, 150.

26 Ana Maria GRUIA, *Religious Representations on Stove Tiles from the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary*. PhD diss., Central European University, 2009. PURL <https://sierra.ceu.edu/record=b1138386>

Based on the comparison between the earlier and the restored state of the saddle, we can assume either that the early twentieth-century restorer was much more aware of this late medieval iconography than the medieval master, or that the Possenti Saddle was already restored in an earlier period than the nineteenth century. If the former is true, the figure can be interpreted as a bathing nude, which appears on many other saddles as well.<sup>27</sup> However, the nude man of the Possenti Saddle shows more similarities to a manuscript illumination depicting the bath of Tristan.<sup>28</sup> In spite of this, one should not ignore the fact that the right hand of the figure is disproportionately short, and other elements also lack any consistency. Therefore, another explanation for the nude young man can be that the saddle was already restored in an earlier period, and initially a different dragon was carved here.

#### *Circular emblem on the cantles*

The last major difference, unlike in the other cases, appears only in the earlier state and on most of the copies, but not in the present state. This circular emblem-like motif once decorated the centre area connecting the two rounded cantles on the Possenti Saddle. Since no reproductions survived from the earlier state of the top view of the saddle, its appearance



Fig. 11  
*The cantles  
of the ex-Sporting*

<sup>27</sup> SOMOGYVÁRI 2017, 34–35.

<sup>28</sup> BnF 623, fol 37, c. 1494. I am grateful for Ágnes Szabó for drawing my attention to this iconographical parallel.



Fig. 12  
*The cantles of the  
 Possenti Saddle*

can be appropriately observed only from the copies. On the erstwhile Sporting Copy it is clearly visible that the emblem depicts a bow-like item in a circle (Fig. 11). This emblem in the archive photo of the Possenti Saddle seems as though it was probably fringed with the same metal studs that border the whole saddle (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, in the present state of the Possenti Saddle it is not possible to identify the place where this additional element was once located (Fig. 12).

These observations clearly confirm the hypothesis set up after the provenance history, showing that the Possenti Saddle was intensely restored during its time in the collection of the Duc de Dino. Unfortunately this restoration – similarly to other items listed there – was not documented in Cosson’s catalogue.<sup>29</sup> The artistic quality of the restored parts, as well as the appropriate application of late medieval iconography when replacing the iconographically inappropriate naked young man with a figure of the dragon, suggest that the restorer was an expert. This “scientific restoration” was probably an art-trade ruse, carried out in order to increase the price of the Possenti Saddle on the art market. Nevertheless, the earlier, more fragmented – and apparently more authentic – carvings of the Possenti Saddle persisted in the surface of its nineteenth-century copies.

<sup>29</sup> COSSON 1901, 49., no. E. 6, pls. 20–21; PYHRR 2012, 204.



## II. THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY COPIES OF THE POSSENTI SADDLE

There are five copies of the Possenti Saddle which can be distinguished in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century written and pictorial sources, though only two of them have survived in collections and can be traced to the present day. In the nineteenth century, the copies occurred in different aristocratic collections especially in Western Europe, changing owners relatively often.<sup>30</sup>

The copies of the Possenti-Saddle known today are the following:

- » The saddle copy in the Musée de l'Armée, Paris, 3485 I; G546ROB (Appendix no. 2.)
- » The "Berliner Sattel" (current location unknown) (Appendix no. 3.)
- » The saddle copy in the Wallace Collection, Inv. Nr. A 415 (Appendix no. 4.)
- » The saddle copy once in the Sporting collection (current location unknown) (Appendix no. 5.)
- » The saddle copy once in the Peucker Collection (current location unknown) (Appendix no. 6.)<sup>31</sup>

### Relations between the Copies

In most cases, the copies share the same features of the carvings, while at the same time they can differ remarkably in shape. While the Paris Copy and the "Berliner Sattel" follow the Possenti Saddle in shape, the Wallace Copy and the erstwhile Sporting Copy are much squattier. Furthermore, on both sides of the Wallace Copy, a half-rounded, horizontal element emerges under the pommel, which heavily affects the carvings as well. The different shapes and the diverse materials they were made of suggest that the copies were probably produced in different workshops.

Concerning the carvings, it was already noted in connection with the analysis of the Possenti Saddle that most of the copies follow the old, pre-restored version of the Possenti Saddle. However, there are some significant differences on the Paris Copy compared to the others. These differences include the fields around the slots on both sides and the

<sup>30</sup> For the provenance of the copies, see Appendix.

<sup>31</sup> J. G. Mann refers to the existence of a sixth copy as well, which was once in the Pitt-Rivers Collection. I have enquired about the existence of this copy from the Pitt-Rivers Collection, however I have not received information about it yet. MANN 1962, 230.



emblem on the cantles. With regard to the areas around the slots, for example, while the other copies are fragmented, as in the original state of the Possenti Saddle, the carver of the Paris Copy completed the unfinished figures of these sections. These completions, however, are not identical to today's state of the Possenti Saddle. On the left side of the Paris Copy, the tail of the lizard is relatively thin, and the windblown mantle of the courtier is completed in an individual way (Fig. 15). In line with this, on the right side, the tail of the dragon is carved, although it is rounded in a different way than on the Possenti Saddle (Fig. 16). The greatest difference of this copy compared to the other ones is the circular emblem-like motif, which is completely missing on the cantles of the Paris Copy, and because of that, this part is more similar to the present state of the Possenti Saddle (Fig. 1). Furthermore, instead of the emblem, there is a fleur-de-lys made of the same material as the edges of the saddle: gilt copper (Fig. 15).<sup>32</sup> The replacement of the Renaissance emblem with a fleur-de-lys motif can be explained by the possibility that this copy was made for a French nobleman, and the copier was aware that the former, bow-like emblem probably represented someone else in the past.<sup>33</sup>

Figs. 13-14  
*The Paris Copy*  
(left and right  
side)

Fig. 15  
*The cantles of  
the Paris Copy*



32 In the documentation of the Musée de l'Armée it is also indicated that the fleur-de-lys can refer to a French prince. I am grateful for Christine Duvauchelle for providing me this information.

33 Documentation of the Musée de l'Armée provided by Christine Duvauchelle; Post 1938, 46.

Table  
Relations

| SADDLE                              | MATERIAL OF THE PANELS | St. George and the... | MOTIFS   |   |                                |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|--|---|--------------------------------|
|                                     |                        |                       | Left side mantle of the courtier + second slot | Right side tail of the dragon + second slot | Circular emblem on the cantles |
| The Possenti Saddle (App. no. 1.)   | bone                   | dragon (restored)     | ✓  | ✓   | x                              |
| The Paris Copy (App. no. 2.)        | pearwood               | naked man             | ✓  | ✓   | x<br>fleur-de-lys              |
| The “Berliner Sattel” (App. no. 3.) | pearwood               | naked man             | x  | x   | ✓                              |
| The Wallace Copy (App. no. 4.)      | gesso                  | naked man             | x  | x   | ✓                              |
| The ex-Sporting Copy (App. no. 5.)  | gesso                  | naked man             | x  | x   | ✓                              |
| The ex-Peucker Copy (App. no. 6.)   | boxwood (?)            | naked man             | ?  | ?   | x <sup>34</sup>                |

Although there are no two identical copies, some relations can be identified between them. The panels of the Paris Copy and the “Berliner Sattel”, the most similar copies in shape to the Possenti Saddle, were made of the same material (pearwood), which suggests that they could have been made by the same copier. In the case of the “Berliner Sattel”, however, the carver only copied the original saddle and did not attempt to improve its look by augmenting the fragmented parts, unlike the carver of the Paris Copy, who made these completions. In fact, the above discussed details of the Paris Copy separate it from the other copies to such an extent that it is very probable that it was made by another hand than the rest of the copies.

In the case of two other saddles, however, it is much more likely that they were made by the same hand: both the panels on the saddle tree of the Wallace Copy and the ex-Sporting Copy were made of gesso, and they also share similarities in their general character form. On the basis of this, the idea that they were made by the same master is a credible proposition.

### Copies or forgeries?

Discussing nineteenth-century copies raises an important question, namely whether they were made purely to reproduce the original or to

34 Only a rough drawing remained of this copy from the nineteenth century, therefore the details are not visible either.

deceive. In the nineteenth-century sources, almost all the copies were regarded as authentic late medieval items. The Paris Copy appears in the Album of Napoleon III as a fourteenth-century item, while Schlosser and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc date it to the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>35</sup> The Wallace Copy was considered a fifteenth-century, North Italian work in the beginning of the twentieth century, and it was identified as a forgery only in 1962 by J. G. Mann.<sup>36</sup>

The unusual technique and raw material of the carved panels of the copies, which significantly differ from late medieval saddles, offer a solution concerning the original intention of the production in the case of two copies. fifteenth-century bone saddles were made using a unique technic, namely that the saddle tree, with a beechwood base, was covered with leather, while the bone panels were mounted with bone rivets, or in some cases were glued onto the base. The materials of the panels were cattle bone and antler.<sup>37</sup> As opposed to the originals, the materials of the copies are quite diverse (see: Table). In most cases the saddle tree was made following the same method as the original, but was covered with plates made of other materials. The panels of the Paris Copy and the “Berliner Sattel”, for example, are made of pearwood, while the copy formerly in the Peucker collection was allegedly covered with boxwood.<sup>38</sup> The material covering the saddle tree of the Wallace Copy and the Sporting Copy was gesso.<sup>39</sup> J. G. Mann, who first identified the Wallace Copy as a forgery, emphasises the choice of the particular and astonishing material, underlining that the gesso was painted to a colour imitating ivory.<sup>40</sup> The use of cheaper materials on the nineteenth-century copies can be one good argument for regarding these copies as deliberate forgeries.

The issue of authenticity appears in the case of the other copies as well. According to Sven Lützen, curator of the Armour Collection at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, the “Berliner Sattel” could have come from the atelier of “Erich Kahlert und Söhne” in Berlin, which was a prominent workshop of forged reproductions, with whom Paul Post and

35 PENGUILLY L'HARIDON 1867, 27, no. 67; SCHLOSSER 1894, 265., no. 5; VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1872, 447.

36 LAKING – COSSON – CRIPPS-DAY 1920, 175.; MANN 1962, 230.

37 SOMOGYVÁRI 2017, 7.

38 GRANCSAY 1937, 92. (note 7.); POST 1938, 47.

39 In the nineteenth century, a copy was made after the Trivulzio Saddle as well (New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 40.66). This saddle copy, similarly to the original, is covered with bone panels. Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung, Inv. Nr. 5.56.79 See Courtauld Institute of Art, Gothic Ivories Project “Saddle”, PURL [http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/B7F11733\\_884974a9.html](http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/B7F11733_884974a9.html)

40 MANN 1962, 230.

the Zeughaus made a lot of deals. Although there is no trace of the saddle copy in their catalogue, knowing that the Zeughaus and Post were their regular customers, it is possible that the copy came from a forgery atelier such as this one.<sup>41</sup>

Although these hints suggest that the original intention of some of the copies was to deceive, the case of the Paris Copy offers another solution to the question. The fact that the carver of the Paris Copy not only copied, but attempted to augment the fragmented parts, and even personalised it by removing the emblem and adding the fleur-de-lys, suggests that his main aim was not to make a forgery, but to transform the original into a copy personalised for its owner.

There is another case which testifies that there was a demand for copies for another reason than falsification in the nineteenth century, which was specifically to make official copies of other late-medieval bone saddles. In 1887 the president of the Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs in Paris requested permission to have copies made of two bone saddles of Florence (now in the Museo Bargello).<sup>42</sup> Ultimately Enrico Ridolfi, deputy director of the Royal Galleries, declined this request for conservation reasons; he did not want the object to suffer any potential damage during the casting process.<sup>43</sup>

### Time of production

Although the migration of the copies in the second half of the nineteenth century can be traced in many cases, there are no sources about their time of production. The copy whose provenance can be traced back the earliest is the one formerly in the Peucker collection, in 1854. The Paris and Wallace copies can be traced back to 1864 and 1865, respectively.<sup>44</sup> This implies that the copies could have been produced in the first half/middle of the century. Fortunately, as already noted, a source from 1841 testifies that the Possenti Saddle was already in the prominent ivory collection of Count Possenti at that time, which was so famous that it was praised by contemporaries as early as 1809, and even visited by the

41 I am grateful to Sven Lüken, curator of the armor collection at the Deutsches Historisches Museum, for this information. SCHEDELMANN 1940.

42 Florence, Museo Nazionale, Bargello, Inv.Nr. 2831 Av. 15 and Inv. Nr. 2832 Av. 3. See SOMOGYVÁRI 2017, 121., no. 10; 145., no. 23.

43 Archivio Storico della Gallerie degli Uffizi, Florence. R.R. Gallerie, 1887m E, pos.9, ins.21.); CHIESI 2018, 328.

44 See Appendix no. 6, no. 2 and no. 4.

pope.<sup>45</sup> It is very probable, therefore, that the copies were made after the Possenti Saddle during its time in this illustrious ivory collection. However, this probability does not necessarily imply that the source of the copies was the original saddle. It is also possible that they were made after reproductions, which during that time were probably drawings and engravings. It is important to note that due to the three-dimensional character of the bone saddles, they could not have been reproduced entirely from reproductions of the two sides of the saddle. The slightly – or in the case of the Wallace Copy markedly – different shape of the copies can be explained by the possibility that they were made after reproductions. Furthermore, the differences on the front and back of the copies are even more eye-catching, although the St. George’s cross on the front of the pommel on the Possenti Saddle can be seen on three copies as well.<sup>46</sup> Whichever option is the truth, the existence of these copies clearly affirms the popularity of the Possenti Saddle in the first part of the nineteenth century.

## Conclusion

Collection catalogues, auction inventories, art reports: the media in which the items of the discussed “Unicorn group”, as well as other bone saddles, regularly appear in the nineteenth century. The frequent changes of ownership clearly testify that bone saddles became extremely popular during that time. Furthermore, the appearance of copies and forgeries also shows the growing interest in these special display objects. The fact that so many copies of the Possenti Saddle were made reflects that it was probably the best-known bone saddle kept in an illustrious ivory collection, which was easily accessible to the public in the nineteenth century.

Despite their adventurous life in the nineteenth century, when they were housed in rich aristocratic collections, the copies of the Possenti Saddle today are no longer at the centre of interest, but hidden away in private collections and museum repositories. Nevertheless, the unique group of copies of the Possenti Saddle serves as a document of the trade in art in nineteenth-century Europe. Therefore, this second blossoming of the bone saddles illustrates not only their popularity 500 years after their original production, but also gives a picture of the nineteenth-century aristocratic taste in collecting art.

<sup>45</sup> See VARESE 2014, 1–25.

<sup>46</sup> On the Paris Copy (App. no. 2.), the Wallace Copy (App. no. 4.) and the ex-Sporting Copy (App. no. 5.)

## APPENDIX

### Catalogue of the “Unicorn group”

#### 1. *The Possenti Saddle (Fig. 1)*

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. Nr. 04.3.250

**Provenance:** Part of the ivory collection of Girolamo Possenti de Fabriano by 1841, until 1 April 1880, when it was sold to a certain Signor Mosle for 92,000 lira.<sup>47</sup> It later appears in the collection of Marchese D..., Genoa on 28 May 1888.<sup>48</sup> The next known owner is Baron Eugen von Miller zu Aicholz from Vienna, who bought it from Milan.<sup>49</sup> The saddle was purchased probably from him by the Bachereau firm around 1895 on behalf of Charles Maurice Camille de Talleyrand-Périgord, Duc de Dino.<sup>50</sup> In 1904 the Metropolitan Museum of Art bought the saddle together with his armour collection.<sup>51</sup>

Made of a saddle tree covered with leather and carved bone panels with traces of polychromy. Some parts of the edges are decorated with metal studs, and the ornament on the back of the cantles was probably made of leather.

According to the museum’s opinion from 2012, it is German or Tyrolean, dated c. 1450.<sup>52</sup> A restoration was probably carried out between 1901–1904.

#### 2. *The Paris Copy (Figs. 13–15)*

Paris, Musée de l’Armée, 3485 I; G546ROB

**Provenance:** It was part of the Soltykoff Collection and probably sold with the whole collection to Napoleon III on 25 March 1861.<sup>53</sup> It appears in the album of the armour collection of Napoleon III in 1864 in Pierrefonds Castle.<sup>54</sup> In 1871 the saddle was transferred with the whole collection to the Musée de l’Artillerie, today the Musée de l’Armée.<sup>55</sup>

47 VARESE 2014, 2.; DURA – DELANGE 1880, no. 94.

48 Catalogo 1888, 4., no. 35. Pl. II.

49 SCHLOSSER 1894, 267., no. 10.

50 PYHRR 2012. 183–230., 189., 192., 212. (note 54.); COSSON 1901, 49., no. E. 6, pls. 20–21.

51 Duc de Dino 1904, 11.

52 Gothic Ivories Project “Saddle (selle); known as the ‘Possenti Saddle’” PURL [http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/16934086\\_d30e72dc.html](http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/16934086_d30e72dc.html)

53 Important collection 1861; VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1874.

54 POST 1938, 46. PENGUILLY L’HARIDON 1867, 27., no. 67.

55 POST 1938, 46.

This copy is the most similar in shape and carvings to the Possenti Saddle, but the panels are made of pearwood and the edges are covered with gilt copper, and are decorated with stripes and ornamental decorations in the different parts. Because of the similarity, the Paris Copy was regarded in historiography as a work by the same master as the Possenti Saddle.<sup>56</sup>

This is also the only copy which differs in its details from the pre-restored Possenti Saddle and the rest of the copies. The areas around the slots on the old version of the Possenti Saddle and the other copies are fragmented, whereas on the Paris Copy they are completed. Accordingly, on the left side, the tail of the lizard and the windblown mantle of the courtier are accomplished in individual ways (Fig. 13). In line with these, on the right side the tail of the dragon is carved, although it is rounded in a different way to that seen on the Possenti Saddle in its current state (Fig. 14). The greatest difference from the other copies and the old version of the Possenti Saddle is on the cantles: the emblem is replaced with a fleur-de-lys, which may refer to its former owner, who was probably a French nobleman (Fig. 15).<sup>57</sup>

In the Album of Napoleon III, it was listed as a saddle from the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>58</sup> Schlosser and Viollet-le-Duc dated it to the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>59</sup>

### 3. The “Berliner Sattel” (Fig. 16)

unknown location

**Provenance:** The saddle was offered to the Zeughaus in Berlin by an unknown art dealer from the city in 1937.<sup>60</sup> It went missing probably during the sack of the Zeughaus.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, only glass negatives and archive photos survive of this item, and its current location is unknown.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> NIOX 1917, 130.

<sup>57</sup> Documentation of the Musée de l’Armée provided by Christine Duvauchelle; POST 1938, 46.

<sup>58</sup> PENGUILLY L’HARIDON 1867, 27., no. 67.

<sup>59</sup> SCHLOSSER 1984, 265., no. 5; VIOLLET-LE-DUC 1872, 447., 449., fig. 16.

<sup>60</sup> POST 1938, 43.; According to Sven Lützen, it could come from the atelier of “Erich Kahlert und Söhne”. SCHEDELMANN 1940.

<sup>61</sup> I am grateful to Sven Lützen for this information.

<sup>62</sup> Deutsche Digitale Bibliothek, Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, Sattel (Fälschung) PURL <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/item/34NYH2OIEGZWZO2GAOTCI5HD4U5OXAYK>; POST, 1938, pls. 1–2.





Fig. 16  
The “Berliner  
Sattel”

The panels of the “Berliner Sattel”, as Post calls it, were made of pearwood, like those on the Paris Copy.<sup>63</sup> On this saddle the edges are covered with a semi-circular border, which echoes the circular forms of the studs on the Possenti Saddle.

Fig. 17  
The Wallace  
Copy (right side)

#### 4. The Wallace Copy (Fig. 17)

London, Wallace Collection, Inv. Nr. A 415

**Provenance:** The copy was in the collection of the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, who bought it from the French dealer Juste for 1600 franc in October 1866.<sup>64</sup> In August 1871 Sir Richard Wallace purchased the saddle with the whole collection.<sup>65</sup>

The Wallace Copy differs the most in shape from the original and the other copies: on the front part of each side, a rounded horizontal element emerges. This transformation has an effect on the illustrations as well. Because of this different shape, this saddle seems less well-proportioned and has a squattier impression. However, similarly to the “Berliner Sattel”, the edges are decorated with a stud-like, semi-circular border. The material covering the wooden base was made of gesso, which was probably intended to imitate ivory.<sup>66</sup> In the beginning of the twentieth century, it was regarded as a fifteenth-century, North Italian work.<sup>67</sup> It was identified as a forgery by J. G. Mann in 1962.<sup>68</sup>

63 POST 1938, 44.

64 MANN 1962, 230. Nieuwerkerke had acquired another saddle as well, which was – as opposed to this – original, and appears in his catalogue of the collection. See GALIDON 1868, 422., no. 203.

65 TABLER 1982.

66 MANN 1962, 230.

67 LAKING – COSSON – CRIPPS-DAY 1920, 175.

68 MANN 1962, 230.

5. *The ex-Sporting Copy (The saddle copy once in the Sporting collection – Fig. 18)*  
unknown location

**Provenance:** This copy appeared on the art market in 2008, at Bonhams, and was acquired by Anna Botterell from the Sporting Collection for £180. She sold it around 2011 to a collector from the US, who has since traded it with another collector. Its current location is unknown.<sup>69</sup>



Fig. 18  
*The ex-Sporting  
Copy (left side)*

This is the most fragmented copy of all. Similarly, to the Wallace Copy, the saddle tree is covered with carved gesso. Only some fragmentary traces suggest that the edges were decorated with a similar semi-circular metal border to the “Berliner Sattel” and the Wallace Copy. The use of the same raw material and the similar squat character suggest that it was made by the same copier as the Wallace Copy.

6. *The ex-Peucker Copy (The saddle copy once in the Peucker Collection – Fig. 19)*  
unknown location

**Provenance:** Part of the Peucker Collection until 1854.<sup>70</sup>

This is the copy about which we know the least, and many uncertainties arise in connection with it. Grancsay first referred to a copy made of

<sup>69</sup> I am grateful to Anna Botterell from the Sporting Collection, who provided me with this information.

<sup>70</sup> LE ROY 1854, no. 508, fig. 17.

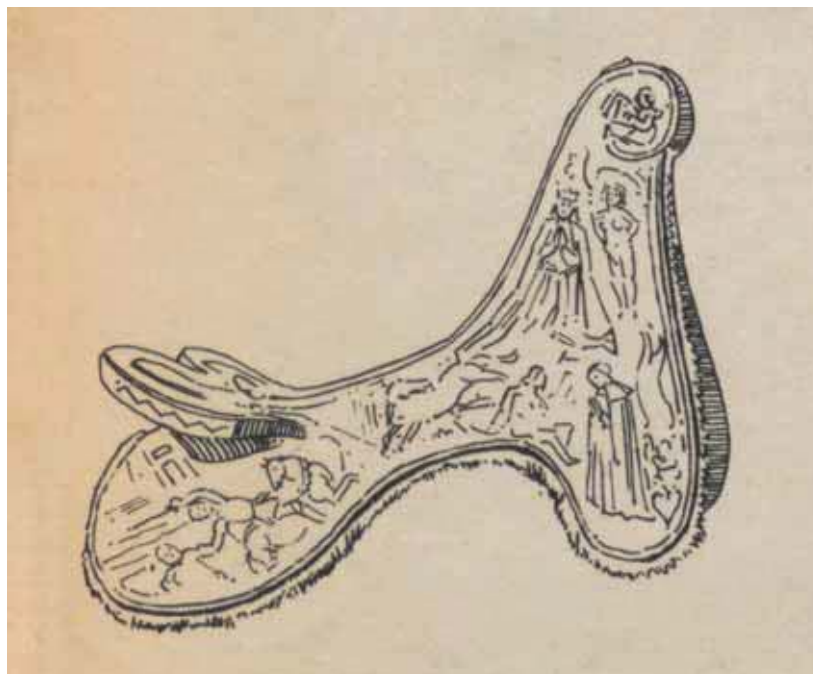


Fig. 19  
 Drawing of the  
 ex-Peucker Copy  
 (right side)

boxwood in the Peucker Collection.<sup>71</sup> Post also mentions it, although he cites a source where the material is described as bone and the provenance is identical to that of the Possenti Saddle.<sup>72</sup> Since only a rough drawing of this copy survived in the Peucker catalogue, it is not possible to make any certain conclusion about it.<sup>73</sup> However, the roughly drawn lily-like three-lobed motif on the cantle, together with the plain edges, may suggest that this is identical with the Paris Copy.

<sup>71</sup> GRANCSAY 1937, 92. (note 7).

<sup>72</sup> POST 1938, 47; CRIPPS-DAY 1925, 255., fig. 198.

<sup>73</sup> LE ROY 1854, no. 508, fig. 17.

- Fig. 3 *Sigmund von Herberstein in Hungary*, woodcut after the engraving of Augustin Hirschvogel. In: *Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstein ... unter Kayser Friderichs Regierung im 1486. geporn ... dann in Ambtern biss in May dises 1561. Jars und seines Alters im 75. trewlich unnd fleissig gedient*. Vienna, 1561. (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár)
- Fig. 4 *Sigmund von Herberstein in Buda*, woodcut after the engraving of Augustin Hirschvogel. In: *Sigmund Freyherr zu Herberstein ... unter Kayser Friderichs Regierung im 1486. geporn ... dann in Ambtern biss in May dises 1561. Jars und seines Alters im 75. trewlich unnd fleissig gedient*. Vienna, 1561. (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár)
- Fig. 5 Augustin Hirschvogel, *Louis II*, engraving, 1546. In: Sigmund von HERBERSTEIN, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, Vienna, 1549
- Fig. 6 Hans Burgkmair the Elder, *Banathias*, woodcut for the *Genealogie of Maximilian I*, c. 1509–1512
- Fig. 7 Hans Burgkmair the Younger – Heinrich Vogtherr, The Herald of the Breuning Family Holding their Coat of Arms. Etching. In: *Augsburger Geschlechterbuch*, c. 1545–1547
- Fig. 8 Augustin Hirschvogel, *Map of Eastern Europe*, etching, c. 1548
- Fig. 9 Augustin Hirschvogel, *Louis II*, engravings, c. 1548
- Fig. 10 *Maximilian I, Charles V and Ferdinand I*, woodcut. In: *Sigismundi liberi baronis in Herberstein Neyperg et Guetenhag...* Vienna, 1558. (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár)
- Fig. 11 *Louis II, Christian II of Denmark, Sigismund I (the Old) of Poland, Sigismund II Augustus of Poland, Suleiman I and Vasili III*, woodcut. In: *Sigismundi liberi baronis in Herberstein Neyperg et Guetenhag...* Vienna, 1558. (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár)
- Fig. 12 “*Armīs Tydiden...*”, woodcut. In: Siegmund von HERBERSTEIN, *Pictura Variæ quæ Generosum ac Magnificum...* Vienna, 1560
- Fig. 13 *Louis II*, medallion, 1525. In: Sándor SZILÁGYI, *A magyar nemzet története. A Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora (1440–1526)*. Vol. IV. Budapest, Athenaeum, 1896, 459. (Drawing of Károly Cserna)
- Fig. 14 Tobias Stimmer, *Louis II*, woodcut. In: Pauli Iovii Novocomensis Episcopi Nucerinii *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium...* Basel, 1575
- Fig. 15 *Louis II*, tempera on ivory, 16<sup>th</sup> century, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest

#### Virág Somogyvári: The “Unicorn Group”: The Possenti Saddle and its Nineteenth-Century Copies

- Fig. 1 The Possenti Saddle (left side) © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 2 The “Aicholz Saddle”. Raffaele DURA – M. DELANGE, *Catalogue d’objets d’art et de curiosité, formant la collection de feu Mr. le Comte Girolamo Possenti de Fabriano: superbe collection d’ivoires, antiques, Byzantins, moyen-âge, XV, XVI, et XVII siècles, sculptures en bois, tableaux, dessins, bronzes et objets divers*. Rome, 1880, 12, no. 93.

- Fig. 3-4 Comparison I-II: left and right side, The Possenti Saddle © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The “Aicholz Saddle”. Raffaele DURA – M. DELANGE, *Catalogue d’objets d’art et de curiosité (...)* Rome, 1880, 12, no. 93.
- Fig. 5-6 Comparison III-IV: left and right side (detail), The Possenti Saddle. © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The “Aicholz Saddle”. Raffaele DURA – M. DELANGE, *Catalogue d’objets d’art et de curiosité (...)* Rome, 1880, 12, no. 93.
- Fig. 7 The Possenti Saddle (left side, detail) © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 8 Comparison V.: left side (detail). The Possenti Saddle © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The “Aicholz Saddle”. Raffaele DURA – M. DELANGE, *Catalogue d’objets d’art et de curiosité (...)* Rome, 1880, 12, no. 93.
- Fig. 9 Saint George and the Dragon on the Possenti Saddle © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 10 Saint George and the Naked Man on the Paris Copy © Paris – Musée de l’Armée, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Emilie Cambier
- Fig. 11 The cantles of the ex-Sporting Copy © Sporting Collection / Anne Botterell
- Fig. 12 The cantles of the Possenti Saddle © New York – The Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Fig. 13-14 The Paris Copy (left and right side) © Paris – Musée de l’Armée, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Emilie Cambier
- Fig. 15 The cantles of the Paris Copy © Paris – Musée de l’Armée, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais / Emilie Cambier
- Fig. 16 The “Berliner Sattel” (Left side). Paul POST, Falsche mittelalterliche Beinsättel. In: *Mitteilungen des Museen-Verbandes als Manuskript für die Mitglieder gedruckt und ausgegeben im Juli 1938*. 1938, fig. 2.
- Fig. 17 The Wallace Copy (right side) © The Wallace Collection
- Fig. 18 The ex-Sporting Copy (left side) © Sporting Collection / Anne Botterell
- Fig. 19 Drawing of the ex-Peucker Copy (right side). Henri LE ROY, *Catalogue Illustré D’armes Anciennes, Européennes Et Orientales, Du Temps Des Croisades, D’objets De Haute Antiquité, Tels Que: Armures Complètes, Casques Et Haumes, Boucliers Grecs Et Romains, Arbalètes, Hallebardes, Haches D’armes, Drapeaux, Épées, Glaives, Dagues, Armes À Feu, Etc., Etc. Provenant D’une Des Plus Riches Et Des Plus Belles Collections De Berlin ... [collection Peucker]*. Bruxelles: Slingeneyer, 1854, Pl. 6. fig.17.

#### Dr Helen Rufus-Ward: The Ivory in the Portrait: The Reproduction of Late Antique and Byzantine Ivories in the Nineteenth Century

- Fig. 1 John Harris, *Joseph Mayer in his Egyptian Museum*, 1856, oil on canvas, 275 × 153cm, Williamson Art Gallery and Museum, Birkenhead, Merseyside, England. Source: *Photograph Wirral Museums Service*
- Fig. 2 *Asclepius – Hygieia diptych*, John Brampton Philpot’s photograph, 1860s, Hungarian National Museum, Central Database and Informatics Department

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