



# Bow Jewels of the Golden Age: In Fashion in the Low Countries

# • MONIQUE RAKHORST\* •

ery few seventeenth-century bow jewels survive anywhere in the world, and the Rijksmuseum holds one of the finest examples (figs. 1a-b).1 At 9.5 centimetres wide and 7.7 centimetres high, it is a relatively large piece that must have been worn with considerable pride by its original owner. Set in the gold bow are no fewer than a hundred and thirty-eight table-cut rubies and thirty-one large natural pearls.2 In the centre is a large pearl of around a centimetre across, surrounded by a circlet of fifteen small seed pearls.<sup>3</sup> The bow is catalogued in the collection as a brooch, because the eyes on the back could be used to sew it to a garment. Underneath, it has a small pendant ornament set with seven pearls and six rubies and the whole piece is enamelled. The material, the manufacture and the shape indicate that it was made in the seventeenth century. There are no records of the original owner, the place it was made or when it was made. This is generally also true of the other extant bow jewels. The strong resemblance to a number of ornament prints has often led to the suggestion that the Rijksmuseum's bow brooch, and bow jewellery in general, was a French concept that came about in the late sixteen-fifties or early sixties.4 Seventeenth-century Dutch portraits and inventories tell a different story, however. The bow jewel set

Figs. 1a-b
Bow Brooch (front
and back), France (?),
the Netherlands (?),
c. 1650-75.
Gold, enamel,
pearls, rubies,
7.7 x 9.8 x 1.8 cm
(actual size).
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. 8K-1961-3.

with pearls and precious stones was part of the fashion scene in the Netherlands many years before that.

# Development of the Bow

The bow jewel developed in the seventeenth century, but the idea for it did not suddenly appear out of a clear blue sky. Fabric bows had been familiar adornments in Europe for years. There are portraits which show that in the second half of the sixteenth century bows that were on the borderline between costume and jewellery were already being worn in Europe. In the Portrait of Jane Dormer painted by Antonio Moro around 1558, for instance, the Duchess (1538-1612) has numerous small red ribbon bows attached to her bodice, with a gold ornament set with a pearl or gemstone in the centre of each (fig. 2). In the Armada portraits of Elizabeth I (1533-1603), Queen of England and Ireland, painted around 1588, she likewise wears fabric bows secured with precious stones set in gold (fig. 3).5 At the time, these loose bows attached to the costume with stones in the centre were seen and described as buttons.6 Buttons, with or without (fabric) bows, were usually part of a set.

Buttons like this appear on the inventory of Marie de' Medici (1575-1642), wife of the French king Henry IV, which dates from 1609-10. A summary of her precious buttons lists, for instance,





Fig. 2
Detail of ANTONIO
MORO, Jane Dormer,
Duchess of Feria (?),
c. 1558.
Oil on canvas,
95 x 76 cm.
Madrid, Museo
Nacional del Prado,
inv. no. P02115.

Fig. 3
Detail of
ANONYMOUS, Queen
Elizabeth 1, England,
c. 1588.
Oil on panel,
97.8 x 72.4 cm.
London, National
Portrait Gallery,
inv. no. NPG 541.

Fig. 4
Detail of
EVERT CRIJNSZ
VAN DER MAES,
Portrait of Maria
van Voorst van
Doorwerth, 1608.
Oil on panel,
108 x 79 cm.
Voorschoten,
Stichting
Duivenvoorde,
inv. no. DVS00005.

a set of eighteen 'noeudz' (meaning either knots or bows relating to the shape in this context), each with a pearl button in the centre surrounded by twenty diamonds. These buttons gradually went out of fashion, but the fabric bow remained. Around the turn of the century, bows or ribbons were increasingly used to hang a jewel from. In the 1608 Portrait of Maria van Voorst van Doorwerth, for example, she wears a pendant on a red ribbon bow (fig. 4).



In the second half of the seventeenth century ribbon bows became ever larger, sometimes with a jewel, sometimes without. In a portrait painted around 1665, Madame de Sévigné wears a large black fabric bow with a jewel in the centre (fig. 5).9 During the seventeenth century the bow shape was also integrated into the jewel itself. Strings of pearls were shaped into a bow, and gold mounts in the form of double loops were set with precious stones, creating pieces of jewellery in their own right.10 The fashion was not confined to women; men wore bow jewels too, as we learn from a letter written by Adriaen van der Goes (1619-1686) in 1672. He wrote: 'The Count of Montery gave Mr Pelintz a splendid hat and a diamond bow worth ten thousand guilders', while a portrait of a portrait of a Knight of the Order of Santiago (fig. 6), painted in around 1665, shows him wearing two bow jewels on his chest.11





Fig. 6
Detail of
JUAN CARREÑO
DE MIRANDA,
Portrait of a Knight
of the Order of
Santiago, ca. 1665.
Oil on canvas,
210 x 109 cm.
Madrid, Lazaro
Galdiano Museum,
inv. no. 4051.

Fig. 5
Detail of
CLAUDE LEFEBVRE,
Portrait of Marquise
de Sévigné, c. 1665.
Oil on canvas,
81.2 x 65 cm.
Paris, Musée
Carnavalet.
Photo: © RMN-Grand
Palais / Agence Bulloz

#### **Ornament Prints**

The chief reason why the bow jewel is frequently described as a French concept in the existing literature is the resemblance to French prints of around 1660 made by Gilles Légaré (1617-1663) and François Lefebvre (active from c. 1635). On 7 December 1662, Gilles Légaré received the French king's permission to have his designs engraved and printed in Paris, including his print of two bow jewels (fig. 7).

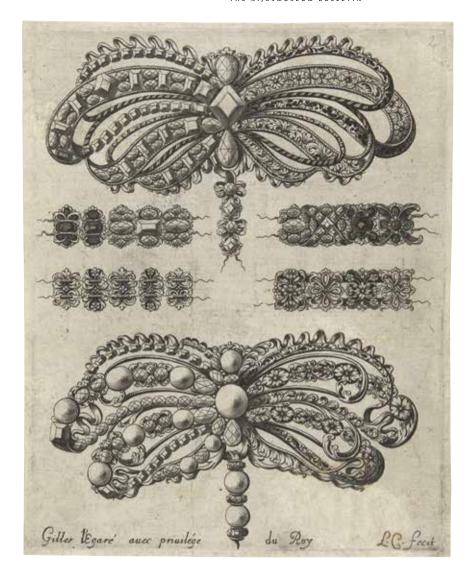


Fig. 7
GILLES LÉGARÉ,
LOUIS COSSIN
(printmaker),
Six Jewels: Brooches
and Chains, 1663.
Engraving,
150 x 117 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1956-436;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

On the title page of his 1663 Livre des Ouvrages d'Orfevrerie, Légaré is described as goldsmith to King Louis XIV (1638-1715). The set consists of six or eight sheets, depending on the state, and includes designs for seals, rings, necklaces, bracelets, pendants and medallions for miniatures, as well as bows. There are rose-cut and table-cut gemstones, pearls and patterns for the enamelling.<sup>14</sup>

The second print in the set is of two bows, one above the other. The one at the top is set with gemstones and the one below with pearls and gemstones. Between the two are four designs for chain links. The illustration of each bow is also divided vertically: the front of each jewel is shown on the left, with the enamel pattern – small floral motifs – for the backs on the right. The bow shape also occurs in other engravings in the set. Bows decorate the tops of several pendants and brooches, and form part of the chains. In 1917 the early twentieth-century art historian and jewellery collector Joan Evans published an article on Gilles Légaré, which has lost none of its relevance, in which she described him

BOW IEWELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE: IN EASHION IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

as the most famous jewellery designer in the age of Louis XIV. She writes that he came up with new ideas for jewellery because he was able to build on the knowledge of his French predecessors, who perfected enamelling, and the Dutch, who introduced the rose cut to Paris. His prints and pattern books were very influential, but despite his fame there are only a few jewels that can be attributed to him with certainty.<sup>15</sup>

We know less about François Lefebvre, but he too made two designs for bows that were published by permission of the French king. <sup>16</sup> They came out in Paris in 1657 as part of a set of twelve prints.<sup>17</sup> The Rijksmuseum has the third, unnumbered edition of 1665, which was published under the title Livre Nouveau de toutes sortes d'ouurages d'Orfeuries receuillies des Meilleurs ouuriers de ce temps et se vendent chez Baltasar Moncornet ruë St. Jacques à la belle croix. vis à vis St Yves.<sup>18</sup> The set includes designs for pendants, brooches, watch cases, medallions for miniatures and the two bows. One of the designs features double loops set with pearls and rose-cut gemstones, above a view of Rouen (fig. 8). The other is for a

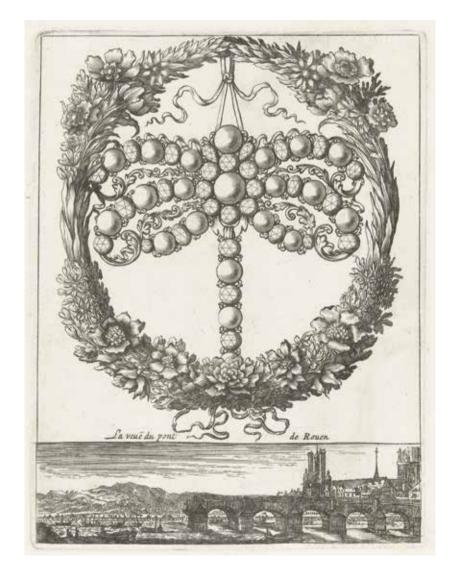


Fig. 8 FRANÇOIS LEFEBVRE, BALTHAZAR MONCORNET (printmaker), Bow Jewel in a Cartouche; below: View of Rouen, 1665. Engraving, 173 x 133 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1961-93; purchased with the support of the F.G. Waller-Fonds.



Fig. 9
FRANÇOIS LEFEBVRE,
BALTHAZAR
MONCORNET
(printmaker),
Bow Jewel in a
Cartouche, 1665.
Engraving,
136 x 130 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. RP-P-1956-431;
purchased with
the support of the
F.G. Waller-Fonds.

bow with loops set with rose-cut and table-cut precious stones from which two seals hang. 19 The inscription 'Saint Denis en France' can still be seen in the version in the Rijksmuseum, but the bottom margin with the view has been cut off (fig. 9). Légaré's designs are similar in many ways to Lefebvre's prints, published six years earlier, but there are differences, too. The loops do not hang quite as low, there is no design for enamelling, and the pearls and precious stones alternate

in a different pattern from Lefebvre's work.

It is highly likely that the prints by Légaré and Lefebvre circulated in Europe, including the Dutch Republic, from the sixteen-sixties onwards.<sup>20</sup> Légaré's bow jewels, for instance, were the direct inspiration for a drawing done by a Spanish jeweller at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> Jewels like these also appear in portraits of members of the European aristocracy painted in the second half of the century.

BOW JEWELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE: IN FASHION IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

Copies of Lefebvre's bow designs were certainly published, reversed, by Daniel de Lafeuille (1640-1709) in Amsterdam after 1683.<sup>22</sup> De Lafeuille was a French Huguenot who had fled to free, prosperous Amsterdam.<sup>23</sup> At the end of the seventeenth century he engraved and published several sets of prints in Amsterdam with titles in both Dutch and French.<sup>24</sup> The copies of Lefebvre's bow designs were combined in one print in the 'Nieuw Goutsmits Boeck'.<sup>25</sup>

#### Enamel

Enamelling the back of jewels became popular in the seventeenth century, as we can see from the bow brooch in the Rijksmuseum and Légaré's prints.26 A new technique, probably invented around 1630 by the Frenchman Jean 1 Toutin (1578-1644), made it possible to apply enamel to an object freehand.<sup>27</sup> After this, many jewels were decorated with floral motifs on a light ground.28 On the back of the Rijksmuseum's brooch, for instance, there is a colourful pattern of tulips in orange, red, green and blue (fig. 1b). The pattern does not correspond to the refined motifs in Légaré's prints (see fig. 7), but it is consistent with some English and Dutch miniatures made in the second half of the century on which we find similar tulips.29 Dutch seventeenthcentury estate inventories frequently list pieces as having 'blommerant' – floral – enamelling.30 However, the bow jewels that were found in these sources, to which we shall return later, are not described thus. This does not necessarily mean that there was no enamel decoration on them, since the descriptions of objects in these sources were often short and concise.31 We know that enamellers were active in the Republic from a number of sources, including a 'statement concerning the invention of enamelling on copper' drawn up in Amsterdam in 1631.32 It can be deduced from this document that artisans who worked with enamel were closely allied to the goldsmiths.

# **Bow Jewels in France**

Its resemblance to French ornament prints has meant that the bow brooch in the Rijksmuseum's collection is often considered a French design in the existing literature.<sup>33</sup> It is possible to research when bow jewels were worn in France through contemporary sources and portraits. Although portraits were not always painted from life, they are an important source in studying jewellery fashions. Paintings can tell us who was wearing a particular type of jewel and when. This information can be regarded as reliable if the details are corroborated by other contemporary sources. Anne of Austria (1601-1666), wife of King Louis XIII, for instance, wears bows set with diamonds in portraits painted by and after Henri (1603-1677) and Charles (1604-1693) Beaubrun. In a portrait dating from the sixteen-sixties, the queen is pictured with diamond bows on her sleeves and one at her breast (fig. 10). In a second portrait she wears a diamond bow with a jewelled crucifix hanging from it (fig. 11).34 Confirmation of the fact that these bow jewels were not the invention of French portraitists and the royal house did indeed own pieces of this kind is found in a 1655 French report of Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini's (1598-1680) visit to Paris. That year, at the invitation of Louis XIV, Bernini was asked to make a design for the east wing of the Louvre, and while he was there had an opportunity to see the jewels belonging to the king and queen. One piece after another was arranged on a table - countless necklaces, brooches, earrings, hairpins and 'noeuds de galants'.35 In the 1690 Dictionnaire Universel by Antoine Furetière (1619-1688), written twenty-five years after the journal, we find that the French word nœud was indeed used to refer to jewellery with gemstones that imitated ribbon bows.<sup>36</sup> In 1710, the Dutchman Pieter Marin (1667-1718) who was an author and French teacher, lists the same word in his dictionary, including un noeud de perles, translated into Dutch





Fig. 10
Detail of a painting
after CHARLES and
HENRI BEAUBRUN,
Portrait of Anne of
Austria in Royal
Costume, с. 1660.
Innsbruck, Hofburg.
внö / photo: Bunge

Fig. 11 Detail of CHARLES and HENRI BEAUBRUN (studio of), Portrait of Anne of Austria, Queen of France, c. 1660-70. Oil on canvas, 58 x 74 cm. Blois, Musée communal du château (Musée des Beaux-Arts, château royal de Blois), inv. no. 872.3.5. © Château royal de Blois / photo F. Lauginie

as a 'paerel-strik' (pearl bow) and un noeud de Diamants, translated as a 'diamanten-strik or Diamant-boot' (diamond bow or diamond pendant).<sup>37</sup> From these sources it becomes clear that the bow jewel was described as a 'noeud' in French and a 'strik' in Dutch. During this research no sources were found suggesting that bow jewels were being worn in France before the sixteen-sixties.

## Amalia's Bow Jewels

In France, as we have seen, ornament prints of bows set with pearls and precious stones were published in 1657 and 1663, and the French royal house owned such pieces in that period. Various Dutch sources reveal, however, that the bow jewel did not originate in France around 1660 – it had been part of the fashion scene in the Low Countries twenty to thirty years earlier.

An inventory of the property of Amalia of Solms-Braunfels (1602-1675), wife of Prince Frederick Henry of Orange (1584-1647), shows that the princess owned several bow jewels in 1640.<sup>38</sup> It lists jewellery, silver and gold to a total value of 292,972 Holland pounds.<sup>39</sup> At that time, Amalia owned no fewer than four jewels described as 'bows', including a valuable piece worth ten thousand Holland pounds. It was set with fifty-one diamond *dicksteenen* with the largest diamond – six carats – in the centre.<sup>40</sup> The other three items listed were a pair of bows to be worn on the sleeves, one to go in the hair and one set with emeralds; they are described as follows:

Two bows on the arm in which are 80 diamonds, 8 rose-cut, the others are small dunsteentgens,41 worth 4,000:0:0: A round bow for the head in which are 60 diamonds, mostly dicksteenen, worth 1,000:0:0: This and the two arm bows above have no central stone A bow in which are 19 emeralds and 42 small diamonds, worth 500:0:0:42

It is quite possible that Amalia had owned these bow jewels for some years, for they were being sold by jewellers in Antwerp in the early sixteen thirties.<sup>43</sup> Three diamond bows appear on a 1633 inventory listing the property and stock of Jan Herck (1593-1660), a prosperous jeweller and silversmith.



Fig. 12a

Detail of GERRIT

VAN HONTHORST,

Double Portrait of

Frederick Henry

and Amalia of SolmsBraunfels, c. 1637-38.

Oil on canvas,

213.2 x 201.7 cm.

The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 104.

He is known to have travelled to the Republic for his business. There is also a record of a gold bow in which diamonds could be set in the shop of goldsmith and jeweller Nicolaas de Foreest (1593-1635) in 1635.44

Amalia was not pictured with her diamond bows, but in several portraits she wears a bow set with pearls that can probably be found indirectly in the inventory. In the Double Portrait of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms-Braunfels, the princess wears a large pearl bow (figs. 12a-b).45 The image was painted around 1637-38 by Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1656), who had just been appointed court painter. The Prince and Princess of Orange are shown full length: Frederick Henryis dressed in armour and wears the Order of the Garter. Amalia stands on his left in a black gown with a décolletage inspired by French fashion.<sup>46</sup> At her breast the princess wears a pearl bow with double loops that is part of – or forms the end of – a string of pearls that runs from shoulder to shoulder.<sup>47</sup> In the portrait it is possible to count a hundred and eighty pearls of equal size around her waist and wrists, and around her lace

collar. If we include the pearls that are not visible, but must be concealed behind her wrists and waist, the total is around two hundred and fifty.<sup>48</sup> In the 1640 inventory loose pearls are listed according to number, size and value, such as 'two hundred and fifty-four pearls of about 3 carats worth 130 each', which had a combined value of 33,020 Holland pounds.<sup>49</sup> Taken together, these loose pearls have the highest value of

Fig. 12b
Detail of the pearls
on Amalia's dress
(fig. 12a).





Fig. 13
THOMAS CLETSCHER,
Album of Drawings
and Notes by the
Jeweller, 1625-47.
Watercolour and
ink, 183 x 240 x 24 mm
(closed).
Rotterdam,
Museum Boijmans
Van Beuningen,
inv. no. Mvs 1/21 (PK).
Photo: Studio Tromp,
Rotterdam

the jewels on the list. It is likely that these are the pearls we see in the portrait, that they were restrung appropriately for each costume and that the bow was made from them.

As well as the loose pearls, the inventory also lists a pearl necklace worth 30,000 Holland pounds (or guilders). We know that this was purchased through Thomas Cletcher (1598-1666), a jeweller in The Hague, who sold it to Frederick Henry in 1635. The jeweller recorded the string in his notebook, with a drawing (fig. 13).50 Cletcher stated that it was made of twenty large, fine, new pearls from five to eleven carats and likewise gives a value of 30,000 guilders.51 This necklace corresponds with the one in the painting. In this portrait, in other words, Amalia probably shows us at least sixty thousand guilders' worth of pearls. The bow focuses attention on this magnificence and contrasts beautifully with her black gown.

Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia (1596-1662), the 'Winter Queen', was

also portrayed in The Hague with a pearl bow at her breast (fig. 14). According to an eye-witness, at Louise Christine van Solms-Braunfels's wedding in 1638, Elizabeth wore pearl bows on her sleeves, and her oldest daughter wore gemstone bows on her dress.52 Amalia had been a member of Elizabeth's court before her marriage to Frederick Henry, but the change in her status made the women rivals.53 Their efforts to outdo one another created a real court culture in The Hague for the first time. Bow jewels with pearls and precious stones were part of it. These pieces could be purchased from jewellers in the Low Countries as early as the early sixteen-thirties, and were in vogue at the court in The Hague during the final years of this decade.

## In the Republic

The women at court were not alone in wearing bow jewels – the aristocracy and the wealthy citizens in the Republic followed suit.<sup>54</sup> In 1655, for instance, the noblewoman Elisabeth van Lokhorst

Fig. 14
Detail of
GERARD VAN
HONTHORST,
Portrait of Elizabeth,
Queen of Bohemia, 1630.
Oil on canvas,
208.5 x 145.5 cm.
London, Government
Art Collection,
inv. no. 1264.
Photo: Crown ©
UK Government Art
Collection, March 2014

Fig. 15
ANONYMOUS,
Portrait of Anna
van Appeldoorn,
c. 1650-65.
Oil on panel,
75 x 60 cm.
Vaassen, Kasteel
Cannenburch,
Brantsen van de Zyp
Stichting, inv. no. 595.
Photo: Hans Wijninga

in Utrecht owned a bow jewel with thirty-one diamonds and a bow with nine large pearls. She also had 'ten pearl bows on flesh-coloured ribbon, each having a large button pearl in the centre'.55 These bows 'on' flesh-coloured ribbon are more difficult to interpret than the bows with diamonds and pearls. They may have been the sort of buttons with a ribbon bow described in the section about the development of the bow.<sup>56</sup> Bows with pearls – or strings of pearls in the shape of a bow - were worn on the bodice and in the hair. In her portrait of around 1650-65 Anna van Appeldoorn (d. 1665) is depicted with such a fashionable pearl bow on her head (fig. 15). Diamond versions did occur more often than pearl bows, as we know from portraits and inventories of wealthy citizens.57 The diamonds in the bows, in particular, were explicitly described in inventories because their value could mount up considerably. In 1661 Catharina van der Voort (1622-1674) of Amsterdam, who married the cloth merchant Pieter de la Court, owned a









Fig. 16
Detail of
CASPAR NETSCHER,
Portrait of Jacoba
Bicker, 1663.
Oil on panel,
51 x 36 cm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. SK-A-3978.

Fig. 17
GESINA TER BORCH,
Portrait of Petronella
de Waert, c. 1670.
Watercolour,
243 x 360 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. BI-1887-1463-88;
purchased with
the support of
the Vereniging
Rembrandt.

bow with thirty diamonds that was valued at 1,398.10 guilders.<sup>58</sup> It is described in detail in the inventory that accompanied Catharina's marriage settlement. The bow contained the following stones:

I stone weighing 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  grains, <sup>59</sup> worth f 350.00 8 stones of 2  $\frac{1}{2}$  grains at f 60.00 each f 480.00 10 stones of 2 grains at f 40.00 each f 400.00 II stones of 7 in the carat at f 7  $\frac{1}{2}$  each f 82.10 Paid for the gold and fabrication f 86.00

In 1672 an inventory drawn up for her husband again includes a diamond bow – this time with nineteen large and six small diamonds. This was probably the same bow, from which five of the eleven small stones were missing at that time. <sup>60</sup> On her death in 1659, Beatrix Ernst of Leiden owned a bow jewel with a relatively low value of 265 guilders, set with twenty quite small diamonds. <sup>61</sup> It was the number and size of the

diamonds that determined the value of a bow jewel.

The diamond bow was particularly popular among the bourgeoisie during the second half of the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic. Jacoba Bicker (1640-1695), wife of Pieter de Graeff, was painted in 1663 wearing the diamond bow she had received on her wedding day in her hair (fig. 16).62 Sometimes a number of bows were worn at the same time, as we see in the portrait of Petronella de Waert (1628-1709). Gerard ter Borch (1617-1681) painted her portrait in 1670 and his sister Gesina ter Borch (1633-1690) subsequently made a drawing of her (fig. 17).63 Petronella wears a diamond bow in the elaborate ringlets on either side of her head and a similar piece on her bodice. In Pieter Bernagie's De Belachchelijke Jonker of 1684 there is a line about 'bows on the head'. The mother in this farce complains that the distinctions between the social classes are no longer clear because of all the finery: 'I ask you, just look at the girls, could you tell them apart from burghers'

BOW JEWELS OF THE GOLDEN AGE: IN FASHION IN THE LOW COUNTRIES

daughters; do they not wear fine gold just as we do; bows on the head and rings, and chains and all?'64 In the last quarter of the century bow jewels continued to be in fashion. The inventory of the estate of Rijklof van Goens (1642-1687), one-time governor of Ceylon, drawn up in 1688, includes four diamond bows, one of them 'a large bow with a crown'. Leonard Winnincx (1616-1691) who also spent some time in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and then probably dealt in jewels, owned a bow with twenty-seven diamonds that was valued at five hundred and fifty guilders in 1691.65

The Rijksmuseum holds what is perhaps the finest seventeenth-century bow jewel still in existence. Bow jewels – including this one – are regularly described in the existing literature as a French concept that emerged around 1660. This is chiefly because of the resemblance to French prints made by François Lefebvre in 1657 and Gilles Légaré in 1663. Seventeenth-century Dutch portraits and inventories tell a different story, however. Amalia of Solms- Braunfels already owned several diamond bows in 1640, and in the *Double Portrait of Frederick Henry* 

and Amalia of Solms-Braunfels of around 1637-38 the princess wears a pearl bow at her breast. Elizabeth of Bohemia is also known to have worn pearl bows in this period. Bow jewels could moreover be purchased from jewellers in the Low Countries in the early sixteen-thirties and at the end of the decade they were part of the fashion scene at court in The Hague. After this, the wealthy bourgeoisie in the Republic began to adorn themselves with these jewels. Documents and portraits confirm they were wearing them between 1651 and 1691. The bow jewel became popular in France around 1660, but the fashion did not start there - it began thirty years earlier in the Low Countries and remained popular for the whole century.66

ABSTRACT

The bow jewel in the Rijksmuseum collection is one of the finest examples of its kind. The provenance of this piece of jewellery is unclear, as is generally also true of the other extant bow jewels. The strong resemblance to a number of ornament prints has often led to the suggestion that the Rijksmuseum's bow brooch, and bow jewellery in general, was a French concept that came about in the late sixteen-fifties or early sixties, but seventeenth-century Dutch portraits and inventories indicate that in the Netherlands it was already a popular jewel by then. Bow jewels could be acquired from jewellers in the Low Countries in the early sixteen-thirties and at the end of the decade they were worn at court in The Hague. Princess Amalia of Solms-Braunfels owned several diamond bow jewels in 1640, and in a portrait made a few years earlier she wears a pearl bow on her dress. The aristocracy and the wealthy citizens in the Republic started following this example and the bows set with diamonds and pearls stayed in fashion throughout the rest of the century. The bow jewel was already in fashion in the Low Countries thirty years before it became in vogue in France.

NOTES

- \* This article was the result of the Rijksmuseum's JLL-DSM and Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship. The author would especially like to thank Volker Manuth, Marieke de Winkel, Pieter Roelofs and Suzanne van Leeuwen for their advice, comments and support.
- 1 The Rijksmuseum purchased the bow brooch from the Premsela and Hamburger gallery in Amsterdam for 9,500 guilders in 1961. There are also seventeenth-century bow jewels in the Museum of London: Ribbon Pendant, Cheapside Hoard, buried between 1640 and 1666, inv. no. A14100; Victoria and Albert Museum: Ornament. France c. 1650, inv. no. 322-1870; Bow Pendant, Western Europe, c. 1630-60, inv. no. m.94-1975; Earring, Italy, c. 1660, inv. no. 2824-1856; Necklace, Western Europe, c. 1660, inv. no. m.95-1909; Bodice Ornament, possibly Dutch, с. 1680-1700, inv. no. м.98-1975; Hungarian National Museum: Bow Ornaments, second half of the seventeenth century, inv. nos. Pig Jank 336, 49.1926 and 59.155.c; Museo Lázaro Galdiano: Bows (earrings or hair ornaments?), Spanish, late seventeenth century, inv. no. 4249; sale, London (Sotheby's), 9 July 1992, Bow Pendant, c. 1680, no. 317; sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 22-24 November 1984, Bodice Ornament, Hungarian, c. 1700, no. 1500; Private collection: Bow Pendant, c. 1660-70, in Marius van Dam et al., Tussen Kunst en Kitsch. 101 ontdekkingen, Zwolle 2015, pp. 44-45.
- 2 Suzanne van Leeuwen researched the materials and techniques used in the Rijksmuseum's bow brooch.
- 3 Seed pearls are the smallest kind of pearl. All the pearls in the bow brooch are pierced and secured to the setting with gold wire.
- 4 See e.g. E. Steingraber, Antique Jewellery:
  Its History in Europe from 800 to 1900,
  London 1957, p. 144; M.H. Gans, Juwelen
  en mensen. De geschiedenis van het bijou van
  1400 tot 1900, Amsterdam 1961, pp. 110-11;
  J. Evans, A History of Jewellery, 1100-1870,
  first edition, London 1953, pp. 158-61;
  P.E. Muller, Jewels in Spain, 1500-1800,
  New York 1972, pp. 133-34 (Bow jewels,
  according to the author, became fashionable
  in Spain from around 1680 following
  the French example); J. Babelon et al.,
  Les Orfèvres et l'orfèvrerie de Paris Au xVIIe
  Siècle, Paris 2011, p. 467.
- 5 J. Arnold, Queen Elizabeth's Wardrobe Unlock'd, Leeds 1988, pp. 17, 34, 269. The bows differ somewhat in the Armada portraits.
- 6 Gans 1961 (note 4), pp. 67-68, 401.

- 7 F.L. Bruel, 'Deux inventaires de bagues, iovaux, pierreries et dorures de la reine Marie de Médicis (1609 ou 1610)' in J. Schemit, Archives de L'Art Français. Recueil de Documents Inedits Publies Par La Societe de L'Histoire de L'art Français. Nouvelle Periode II (1907), p. 195: 'A dozen and a half buttons/bows [unclear], each with a button pearl surrounded by twenty diamonds table-cut or in a triangle.' ('Une douzaine et demie de noeudz ayans chacun une perle bouton au milieu et vingt diamens a chacun noeud tant en table que en triangle.') See e.g. also Robert Peake, Portrait of Elizabeth Stuart at the Age of Seven, 1603, London, National Maritime Museum, inv. no. BHC4237 and N. Akkerman (ed.), The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia. Volume 1, 1603-1631, Oxford 2015, p. 149 (letter no. 100). The letter, written in 1615, may contain a reference to the bow shaped buttons that can be seen in the portrait - 'rubie buttons' worth 'at the most but at 300 pounds'.
- 8 Evans 1953 (note 4), pp. 158-60.
- 9 At a later date bow jewels were also known as Sévignés after this Marquise de Sévigné.
- 10 See e.g. C. Phillips, Jewels and Jewellery, London 2008, pp. 52-53; H. Forsyth, The Cheapside Hoard: London's Lost Jewels, London 2013, p. 189: In 1910 the stock of a seventeenth-century jeweller was found in Cheapside; it included a bow. It was probably buried between 1640 and 1666. See also note 1.
- II 'De Heer Pelintz is door de Graeff van Montery begifticht met een kostelicken hoet en diamanten strick, waerdich tien duysent guldens.' W. van der Goes, Briefwisseling Tusschen de Gebroeders Van Der Goes (1659-1673), vol. 2, Amsterdam 1899, pp. 387-90.
- 12 In this article the spelling 'Lefebvre' is used in line with the ULAN at www.getty.edu.
- 13 M. Grivel, Le Commerce de l'estampe à Paris Au xvIIe Siècle, Geneva 1986, p. 421; P. Fuhring, Ornament Prints in the Rijksmuseum: The Seventeenth Century, vol. I, Amsterdam 2004, pp. 301-03. The Rijksmuseum holds prints from a numbered and an unnumbered state, for the bows see respectively RP-P-1956-435 and RP-P-1956-436.
- 14 For an explanation of seventeenth-century cuts see H. Tillander, *Diamond Cuts in Historic Jewellery* 1381-1910, London 1995, pp. 41-53. In the table cut, the point is cut away to create a flat plane. A rose-cut

- diamond is a flat diamond with a number of facets.
- 15 J. Evans, 'Gilles Légaré and His Work', The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs 30 (1917), pp. 140-44. He is praised in the article for his enamelling, see e.g. a miniature by Jean Petitot, Catherine-Henriette d'Angennes, Comtesse d'Olonne, as Diana with enamel made by Gilles Légaré, Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 16 Grivel 1899 (note 13), pp. 173, 412, 418.
- 17 Catalogue de La Sirène, *Ornements Architecture*, Paris 1990, p. 828, A.
- 18 Lefebvre's name no longer appears in this edition. The title is also printed in German. See Fuhring 2004 (note 13), pp. 298-300. For the prints in the Rijksmuseum see inv. nos. RP-P-1961-93 and RP-P-1956-431.
- 19 In the fifth edition this is the fifth plate in the set, see e.g. B. Moncornet, Livre nouveau de toutes sortes d'ouurages d'orfeuries recueillies des meilleurs ouuriers de ce temps et se vendent chez Iean Moncornet, Paris/London 1665/1888 in the Rijksmuseum Research Library.
- 20 E.g. François Lefebvre, Daniel de Lafeuille (print maker), *Two Bow Jewels in a Cartouche*, after 1683. Engraving, 128 x 257 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-6320. Prints of bow designs were also published outside France, for instance in Nuremberg, see prints by Johann Heel in the Goldsmidts-Buchlein dated c. 1650-70, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. E.14-1929, and *Katalog der Ornamentstich-Sammlung der Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek Berlin*, Berlin 1936, p. 103 (no. 688).
- 21 Muller 1972 (note 4), p. 134. Bow jewels are found in a number of portraits of European aristocrats dating from the second half of the century: Sir Peter Lely, Portrait of Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705), c. 1663-65, London, The Royal Collection, inv. no. RCIN 401214; Miniature of King Frederick III (1609-1670), The Danish Royal Collection, Rosenborg Castle, inv. no. 5174; Juan Carreño de Miranda, Portrait of a Knight of the Order of Santiago, ca. 1665. Oil on canvas, 210 x 109 cm. Madrid, Lazaro Galdiano Museum, inv. no. 04051 (see fig. 6); Lazaro Galdiano Museum, inv. no. 04051; Francisco Rizi, Portrait of Marie Louise of Orléans (1662-1689), 1679, City Hall of Toledo, [no inv. no.]; attributed to Charles and Henri Beaubrun, Portrait of Marie-Therese of Austria (1638-1683), after 1675, Châteaux de Versailles, inv. no. MV 2159; Juan Carreno de Miranda, Portrait of Marie Louise of Orléans (1662-1689), c. 1684, Guadalupe, Real Monasterio.

- The dating and attribution are based on Fuhring 2004 (note 13), pp. 246-47.
- 23 F.D.O. Obreen, Notice Sur Daniel de Lafeuille, Graveur, Orfèvre, Horloger et Libraire à Amsterdam, [Amsterdam 1894].
- 24 Christiaan Kramm and Johann Wilhelm Kaiser, De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters, van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd, Amsterdam 1857, p. 485.
- 25 François Lefebvre, Daniel de Lafeuille (print maker), Two Bow Jewels in a Cartouche, after 1683. Engraving, 128 x 257 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-6320.
- 26 Enamel is glass coloured with different metal oxides that can be made opaque or transparent. The enamel on the back of the bow brooch in the Rijksmuseum was examined with x-ray fluorescence (xrf). The enamel has suffered some slight damage. There are some cracks, and damaged enamel has been filled in and retouched, particularly on the back.
- 27 Erika Speel, *Dictionary of Enamelling*, Aldershot 1998, p. 142.
- 28 D. Scarisbrick, 'De juweelkunst in de 17e eeuwse modelprenten' | '17th-century diamond jewellery and the ornamental print', in J. Walgrave et al., Een eeuw van schittering. Diamantjuwelen uit de 17de eeuw | A Sparkling Age. 17th-century diamond jewellery, Antwerp 1995, p. 29.
- 29 Evans 1953 (note 4), pp. 148-54.
- 30 See e.g. Utrecht Archives, Huis Zuilen 76, inv. no. 720, 1655, Inventory of the contents of Anna Elisabeth van Lokhorst's jewellery box: 'a watch case with floral enamel, ... a small floral ring' ('een horlogie cas blommerant geamailjeert, ... een cleyn blommarant ringsken'.) See also Gans 1961 (note 4), p. 111.
- 31 As the research largely rests on information obtained from portraits and inventories, enamel has not been taken into account during the study.
- 32 The original title: 'verklaring betreffende de uitvinding van het emailleren op koper'. J.G. Van Dillen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam*, vol. 2, The Hague 1933, p. 770. Supplementary research into these seventeenth-century artisans should reveal more about the enamelling of jewellery in the Netherlands.
- 33 See note 4, e.g. Babilon 2001 et al., p. 467.
  Internal records in the Rijksmuseum reveal
  that a Low Countries origin has been
  suspected for some time. The jewel is
  described in these documents as 'probably
  Low Countries, third quarter of the seven-

- teenth century, the pendant last quarter of the century. In the style of designs by Gilles Légaré'.
- 34 Her 1666 inventory does not provide confirmation that Anne of Austria personally owned such a jewel, see E.H. Grouchy, Inventaire après décès de la reine Anne d'Autriche (1666), Paris 1892. In H. Havard, Histoire de l'orfèvrerie française, Paris 1896, p. 390. there is a drawing of a bow jewel belonging to the queen. It may be by Paul Maréchal, see G. Bapst, Histoire des joyaux de la couronne de France, Paris 1889, p. 331.
- 35 P.F. Chantelou, Journal du voyage en France du cavalier Bernin, Paris 1885, p. 251. See also Bapst 1889 (note 34), p. 350.
- 36 A. Furetière, Dictionaire universel. contenant généralement tous les mots François, tant vieux que modernes, et les terme de toutes les sciences et des arts, vol. 1, The Hague/Rotterdam 1690, no page numbers: 'Bow ... like the bows of diamonds and precious stones in places where nothing but a simple agrafe is needed.' 'Galant ... They are also called Galants, bow ribbons used to adorn clothes, or the heads of men and women.' ('Noeud, ... même des noeuds de diamants & de pierreries aux endroits où il ne falloit que de simples agraffes'. 'Galant, ... 'On appelle aussi Galants, des rubans noües qui servent pour orner habits, ou la tette des hommes que des femmes [my italics].') In the current literature the bow jewel is described among other things as a 'noeud ou galant de corsage', see Babelon et al. 2011 (note 4), p. 467.
- 37 P. Marin, Dictionnaire Complet François & Hollandois, Amsterdam 1710, p. 755. The term boëte, also spelt boite, boiste or boot, refers in the first instance to the shape of a small box, miniature or watch case, see ibid., pp. 114-15 and Gans 1961 (note 4), pp. 118-20. The term was also used in the seventeenth century for a round or oval pendant. See also David Bailly, Portrait of Jacoba van Erp, c. 1638-40 (sale, C.F. Roos, 17 November 1908, no. 47), in which she wears a large round jewel on a ribbon bow. This may be the 'grote ronde diamantboot' referred to in Stadsarchief Amsterdam, notary Joost van der Ven inv. no. 1154, date 14 January 1664, vol. 31-167v, Jacoba van Erp's inventory.
- 38 With thanks to the Royal Archives (Koninklijk Huisarchief), inv. no. A14a-14, 28 April 1640, inventory of the gold, parcel gilt and silver ware of Her Highness, the Princess of Orange (Inventaris van de goude, silveré-vergulde ende silveré vassellen van Haere Hoocheyt mevrouwe de princesse van Orange). There is a transcript in S.W.A. Drossaers and

- T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, Inventarissen van de Inboedels in de Verblijven van de Oranjes En Daarmee Gelijk Te Stellen Stukken 1567-1795, first part, The Hague 1974, pp. 292-96. The inventory is valued in Holland pounds. For this unit of currency see H.E. Van Gelder, De Nederlandse munten, Utrecht 2002, p. 266. According to this work, a Holland pound was equal to a guilder. 39 See note 38.
- 40 A 'dicksteen' is a table-cut diamond. Bows were often constructed around a large central stone or pearl, see also the bow brooch in the Rijksmuseum. See note 38: '[9] A bow containing 51 diamond dicksteenen, the central stone weighs 6 carats, worth 10,000:0:0. With a rose hanging below in which are 8 diamonds of about 2 carats, the central one of 6 carats, together worth 12,000:0:0:'. ('[9] Een strick daerin comen 51 diamanten dicksteenen, de middelste steen weecht 6 caraet, waerdich 10.000:0: o. Met een roos daeronder aenhangende daerin staen 8 diamanten van ontrent 2 caraet, de middelsten van 6 caraet, waerdich tsaemen 12.000:0:0:').
- 41 A 'dunsteen' is a smaller (thinner) table-cut diamond.
- 42 'Twee stricken opden arm daerin comen 80 diamanten, 8 roosen, de andere zijn clevne dunsteentgens waerdich 4.000:0:0. Een ronde strick op het hooft daerin comen 60 diamanten, meest dicksteenen, waerdich 1.000:0:0. Dese met de twee bovenste armstricken sijn sonder middelsteen Een strick daerin comen 19 amerauden ende 42 cleyne diamantgens, waert 500:0:0.' See note 38.
- 43 Jewellers dealt in jewellery, and goldsmiths and silversmiths made jewellery. In practice the craft and the trade were often combined.
- 44 With thanks to Marlise Rijks for sending me these sources, see Stadsarchief Antwerpen, notary G. Le Rousseau inv. no. 2422 (1633) fol. 4or, Jan Hercke's inventory: 'A large bow with 107 diamonds no 18 set on 416 guilders. A large bow with 89 diamonds no 19 set on 268 guilders. A bow with 67 diamonds no 21 on 202 guilders' ('Eenen grooten strick met 107 diamanten no 18 geestt op 416 guls. Eenen groote strick met 89 diamanten no 19 geestt op 268 guls. Eenen strick met 67 diamanten no 21 op 202 guls.') Stadsarchief Antwerpen, notary G. Le Rousseau inv. no. 2424 (1635), fol. 528r, Nicolaas Forest's inventory: 'a gold bow ... in which to set diamonds ('een gouden strick ... diamanten inte setten noch'). These artisans were obliged to work in their

- own homes, and objects for sale were stored all over the house, see M. Rijks, Catalysts of Knowledge: Artists' and Artisans' Collections in Early Modern Antwerp, Ghent 2016 (diss.), pp. 129, 132-36.
- 45 I. Groeneweg, 'Regenten in het zwart. Vroom en deftig?', Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek 46 (1995), pp. 198-251.
- 46 J.H. Der Kinderen-Besier, Spelevaart Der Mode. De Kledij Onzer Voorouders in de 17e Eeuw, Amsterdam 1950, p. 111.
- 47 The pearl bow appears in several portraits of Amalia based on this painting, see e.g. Gerard van Honthorst (studio of), *Portrait of Amalia of Solms*, c. 1637, The Hague, Haags Historisch Museum, inv. no. x20110001.
- 48 These are the pearls of the same size, not the smaller pearls in her hair and the large pear-shaped pearls.
- 49 'tweehondert vierenvijftich paerlen van ontrent 3 caraet, 't stuck waert 130,-' See note 38.
- 50 Gans (note 4), pp. 83-95.
- 51 'The largest are the best, are very fine and new pearls' ('de grootste sijn de beste, sijn heel schoon en nieuwe peerlen'). Cletcher probably meant that they were gleaming, milk-white pearls that had been recently fished up in Asian waters. See also an entry by this author in K. Corrigan et al. (eds.), Asia in Amsterdam: The Culture of Luxury in the Golden Age, Amsterdam 2015, pp. 172-73.
- 52 I. Groeneweg, 'Hof en stad. Het kostuum ten tijde van Frederik Hendrik en Amalia', in M. Keblusek and J. Zijlmans (eds.), Vorstelijk Vertoon: Aan Het Hof van Frederik Hendrik En Amalia, The Hague 1997, pp. 201-02; Relation de Ce Qui s'est Passé a La Haye ... Av Mariage de Monsievr de Brederode, et de Madamoyselle de Solms, The Hague 1638, p. 2. Here the bows are described as des noeuds sur les manches and des noeuds bouquets. Amalia's daughter Louise Henriette also owned 'a pendant with a bow in it, two large cabochon cut rubies surrounded by twenty-seven oriental rubies hard to value ('een boete met een strick daer in, 2 groote robijn balais cabasjon omstaende met 27 orientale robijnen niet wel te waerderen'), see Gans 1961 (note 4), p. 410.
- 53 Nadine Akkerman, Rivalen aan het Haagse Hof. Elizabeth Stuart 1596-1662 en Amalia von Solms 1602-1675, Venlo 2014, pp. 1-10. After the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, Frederick v and Elizabeth Stuart were banished. When Catholic troops marched on Prague, they fled to the Dutch Republic. Elizabeth lived in The Hague from 1621 to 1662.
- 54 In 1961 Gans noted that the ribbon bow or diamond bow with a diamond pendant

- appears frequently in Dutch portraits from 1640 onwards. He makes a connection between this observation, the popularity of the bow and a French sumptuary law that initially banned bows made of silver and gold braid in 1660, see Gans 1961 (note 4), p. 110. He states that he did not come across bow jewels like those in Légaré's print in Dutch portraits, p. 112. It is unlikely that the bow jewel was a response to the sumptuary law since such jewels were also forbidden, and they occurred in the Low Countries before the law was passed.
- 55 'tien peer[l]en stricken op incornaet lint ijder een groote knoppeerel int midden hebbende', Utrechts Archief, Huis Zuilen 76, inv. no. 720, 1655, inventory of the contents of Anna Elisabeth van Lokhorst's jewellery box: 'een strick met een ende dartig diamant fasetten', and 'een strick met negen groote knoppeerlen'. A button pearl is one that is flat on the bottom.
- 56 Buttons, with or without (fabric) bows, are part of a set, whereas the bow jewel is an independent separate object made of gold, pearls and/or gemstones.
- 57 The values of pearls and diamonds are difficult to compare, since both were available in many shapes and sizes. All the same, strings of large natural pearls appear to have been among the most costly possessions of ladies at court, as was also true of Amalia of Solms.
- 58 J.H. Kernkamp, 'Brieven uit de correspondentie van Pieter de la Court en zijn verwanten (1667-1683), Met bijlagen (1657-1685)', Bijdragen en mededelingen van het historisch genootschap 72, 1958, pp. 3-195 (inventory pp. 144-48). See in the collection of the Rijksmuseum inv. nos. SK-A-2243, 2244 for the couple's portraits.
- 59 '1 steen wegende 6 ½ greyn, waerdigh f 350.00. 8 steenen van 2½ greyn à f 60,'t stuck f 480.00. 10 steenen van 2 greyn à f 40,- 't stuck f 400:-:-. II steenen van 7 in't caraet à f 7½ 't stuck f 82:10:-. According to P. van Dam, Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie, vol. 2.2, The Hague 1932 (original 1693-1701), p. 823, in the seventeenth century one carat was equal to four grains or just over a fifth of a gram.
- 60 See Kernkamp 1958 (note 58), p. 138.
- 61 T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht,
  vol. v1a, Leiden 1986, p. 231. This represented
  a year's earnings for the average worker in
  the Republic, see M. Prak, Gouden Eeuw:
  Het Raadsel van de Republiek, third impression Nijmegen/Amsterdam 2004, p. 143.

- 62 With thanks to Dirk Jan Biemond for drawing my attention to the inventory: Stadsarchief Amsterdam, De Graeff Family Archive 76, property documents no. 604, 28 February 1662, 'Notitie van hetgeen mijn huysvrou voor ons huwelijck ... 11 april 1662, Notitie en staet van Juwelen, kleynodien ... 11 April 1662, eerst juwelen.' The documents include descriptions of 'a bow' and 'two poinsons [hairpins]' associated with the bow jewel. See also Dirk Jan Biemond, 'Historiestukken in Zilver. Penningen van Johannes Lutma Junior', Oud Holland (2014), no. 2/3, pp. 116-54, esp. p. 138.
- 63 See Alison MacNeil Kettering, Drawings from the Ter Borch Studio Estate, vol. 5, Catalogue of the Dutch Drawings in the Rijksprentenkabinet, The Hague 1988, p. 645.
- 64 'Ik bidje, let eens op de Meiden, Zoud gy ze konnen onderscheiden Van Burgers Dochters, draagen zy Niet van fyn goud, zo wel als wy, De strikken aan het Hoofd en Ringen, en Kettingen, en alle dingen?' P. Bernagie, De Belachchelijke Jonker. Kluchtspel, Amsterdam 1684, p. 5. These are bow jewels, since characters in the play talk about pearls, diamonds, gold, rings and necklaces. See also Gans 1961 (note 4), p. 112.
- 65 Gemeentearchief Delft, notarial archive, protocol no. 2329, document 101, fols. 68-70, notary Philips de Bries, 1 October 1688, Inventory of the property of Mr Rijklof van Goens and the Lady Catharina van Adrichem, and Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive 5075, notarial archive, inv. no. 5329, fols. 317-318, notary Casper IJpelaer, 17 June 1693, Inventory of Leonard Winnincx. With thanks to Frans Grijzenhout for alerting me to the inventory. See also F. Grijzenhout, 'Ferdinand Bol's "Portrait Historié" in the Hermitage: Identification and Interpretation', Simiolus 34 (2009/10), no. 1, pp. 33-49.
- 66 See also in the Rijksmuseum collection SK-C-367, SK-A-4062, BK-KOG-1458-B, SK-A-863 and SK-A-14I. The diamond bow remained fashionable in the eighteenth century, see e.g. Christian August Globig, Große Brustschleife aus dem Schmuck der Königinnen, 1782, Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, inv. no. VIII 36.

22 Detail of fig. 1a

