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THE PUNISHMENT OF LICINIUS CRASSUS AND OTHER EXEMPLA IUSTITIAE AT ARTHUR'S COURT IN GDAŃSK IN THE CONTEXT OF NETHERLANDISH, GERMAN AND ITALIAN ART*



In 1601 Anton Möller (*circa* 1565-1611) was commissioned to paint a large picture on canvas, above the Judges' Bench in Arthur's Court, depicting the *Last Judgement* (fig. 1). With this masterpiece the iconographical programme for the first bay in this magnificent edifice, carefully constructed over the years, came to its conclusion¹. The painting, which reaches up to the pointed arch of the vaulting, once crowned a frieze of five small panels placed above the bench in 1588 depicting: *Moses as Lawgiver*, *Virtues Inspiring Justice*², *Allegory of Good Judgement*, *The Calumny of Apelles* and *The Flood*³. Unfortunately, as with the canvas of the *Last Judgement*, all but one of these panels (*Virtues Inspiring Justice*) perished during World War II. However, in

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1 H. Ehrenberg, *Anton Möller, der Maler von Danzig*, "Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft" (1918), 11, pp. 181-190. See also *Dwór Artusa w Gdańsku. Sztuka i sztuka konserwacji*, ed. T. Grzybkowska, Warszawa-Gdańsk 2004, with earlier bibliography.

2 This panel is usually referred to as the *Respect of the Virtues before Justice*, however the inscription to be seen in it is as follows: *Iura fori legesque vigent ubi iura tuetur* [?]. *Aurea virtutum copula et acta regit*. Thus the virtues do indeed seem to inspire Justice.

3 H. Ehrenberg, *op.cit.*, pp. 184-185. See also R. Foerster, *Die Verleumdung des Apelles in der Renaissance (Dritter Artikel)*, "Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen" (1894), 15, pp. 27-40, fig. on p. 35.

the last five years, using pre-war photographs and by analyzing the colour patterns to be found in Möller's preserved works, it has been possible to digitally reconstruct the large painting on a 1:1 scale. Such a reconstruction is also planned in respect of the four small panel paintings which are lost; thus the original "aura" (to use Walter Benjamin's well-known term) of this part of Arthur's Court will soon be recreated to some degree. The digital reconstruction will also include one of the most interesting panels ever produced for Arthur's Court, the panel with *The Calumny of Apelles*⁴.

This paper, however, deals mainly with an analysis of the other cycle produced in 1568 which, like the aforementioned one, originally consisted of at least five small panels. It is located on the opposite wall, above the City Counsellors' Bench (until 1530 known as the Bench of the Brotherhood of Three Kings) just beneath Vredeman de Vries's large *Orpheus* (fig. 2)⁵. As in the case of the paintings above the Judges' Bench, they depict judicial themes both from the Bible and classical subjects: *The Justice of Zaleucus of Locri*, *The Judgement of Solomon*, *The Judgement of Cambyses*, *Christ and the Adulterous Woman* and the so-called *Punishment of Licinius Crassus*⁶. Like Vredeman de Vries's *Orpheus*, the first of these panels perished during World War II and is known only from pre-war photographs. Whereas de Vries's canvas has recently been reconstructed digitally, the place which was once occupied by the painting depicting the *Justice of Zaleucus* is still empty⁷. Luckily enough, four other paintings portraying personifications of *Diligentia*, *Prudentia*, *Veritas* and *Clementia*, which are placed between the narrative panels, have all been preserved.

Despite the unusual combination of subjects in these five panels, they have not, so far, been studied in depth. This is partly due to the fact that the

4 R. Foerster, op.cit.; J.M. Massing, *Du texte à l'image. La Calomnie d'Apelle et son Iconographie*, Strasbourg 1990, pp. 388-389, fig. on p. 391. See also D. Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles. A Study in the Humanist Tradition*, New Haven - London 1981, p. 118.

5 E. Iwanoyko, *Gdański okres Hansa Vredemana de Vries. Studium na temat cyklu malarskiego z ratusza w Gdańsku*, Poznań 1963, pp. 148-158. See also Juliusz Chrościcki's paper in: *Dwór Artusa w Gdańsku. Sztuka i sztuka konserwacji*, fig. on p. 129.

6 Next to this bench, by the window, originally there were two more judicial scenes, one was to have depicted the *Bestrafung des Eli und seiner Söhne*, the other the *Urteil Alexanders*; their existence is hinted at in some written sources, see R. Kahsnitz, *Gerechtigkeitsbilder*, in: *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum, II, Rom-Freiburg 1970, cols. 138-139. Alexander the Great was also represented in one of the paintings produced for the Red Room of the City's Town Hall, see: T. Grzybkowska, *Zwischen Kunst und Politik. Der Rote Saal des Rechtstädtische Rathaus in Danzig*, Warschau 2003, pp. 42 and 94. For other paintings with judicial themes in Gdańsk's Town Hall see K. Gronowicz, *Der Danziger Gemäldezyklus von Hans Vredeman de Vries*, in: *Hans Vredeman de Vries und die Renaissance im Norden*, ed. H. Borggreffe a.o., München 2002, pp. 153-158.

7 See: *Dwór Artusa w Gdańsku. Sztuka i sztuka konserwacji*, passim.

preserved panels were returned to their original place only some five years ago (after World War II they were housed in the Gdańsk National Museum). Paul Simson's *Der Artushof in Danzig und seine Bruderschaften, die Banken* published in 1900 is, to this day, the only monograph on Arthur's Court and its decoration⁸. Based on written sources, it presents the history of the building, its function as a social meeting place and general observations on the decoration of all the benches. However, the book is, now very outdated. Moreover it gives no references to written sources for most of the subject matter or comparisons with other European cycles of *exempla iustitiae*. Since Simson's monograph, the entire cycle (or selected paintings) has occasionally been mentioned in academic publications, but usually only in passing and without any new significant additions being made⁹, so it does deserve a new study. Now, after the many years of conservation and reconstruction work at Arthur's Court, such a study is at last possible. This paper, however, is no more than a preliminary outline of a complex problem, the details of which require further investigation.

ARTHUR'S COURT AND ITS FUNCTION

In the early modern period, Gdańsk was one of the richest cities and ports of the Baltic coast. Although it belonged to Catholic Poland, it was in fact an autonomous, free republic inhabited mostly by Protestants of German and Flemish origin¹⁰. It controlled about 80 percent of Poland's foreign trade and after the mid-16th century became the most important trading city in Central and Eastern Europe¹¹. Traditionally involved in commercial and cultural relations with the Netherlands, the city attracted German, Dutch and Flemish artists, although the impact of Italian, particularly Venetian, art was also discernible. Arthur's Court (*Curia Regis Artus*), whose origins had some connection with the Arthurian legend, was the second most important secular building in the city after the Town Hall or Rathaus. It was built around 1350 by the Brotherhood of Saint George as a social meeting place for wealthy citizens and foreign visitors¹². In 1481 the City Council undertook the rebuilding of the edifice giving it the form of a three-nave hall with stellar

8 P. Simson, *Der Artushof in Danzig und seine Bruderschaften, die Banken*, Danzig 1900.

9 See for instance R. Kahsnitz, *Gerechtigkeitsbilder*, col. 138.

10 See E. Cieślak, Cz. Biernat, *History of Gdańsk*, trans. by B. Blaim, G.M. Hyde, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 103-181.

11 M. Bogucka, *Polish Towns between the 16th and 18th Centuries*, in: *A Republic of Nobles. Studies in Polish History to 1864*, ed. J.K. Fedorowicz, Cambridge 1982, pp. 135-153, esp. p. 138 ff.

12 P. Paszkiewicz, *Arthur's Court and its Social and Cultural Origin*, "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki" XLVII (1986), pp. 203-212.

vaulting supported on four slender pillars. Between the end of the 15th and the first quarter of the 17th centuries both the façade and the interior received their lavish and highly sophisticated decoration¹³. This was due to the munificence and the artistic aspirations of the confraternities or trade corporations who had their designated seats (the so-called benches) in Arthur's Court, as well as to the generosity of the City Council. Many of the works of art filling the interior and the façade refer to the subject of Justice. The statue of the Archangel Michael with a sword and scales, together with statues of Scipio Africanus, Themistocles, Camillus and Judas Maccabeus are to be seen on the façade above the main entrance. As in the paintings in the first bay of the interior which depict several scenes of both human and divine judgements, they portray *exempla virtutis* and *exempla iustitiae* which were to be followed not only by the members of the magistrate but also by all the citizens of, and visitors to, Gdańsk and Arthur's Court¹⁴. All the paintings have inscriptions in Latin identifying the characters represented. To some degree they also reflected the high standard of education in the city in which the Grammar School was founded in 1558 and the Gymnasium Academicum some twenty years later.

From written sources it is known that from the 1530s until the beginning of the 18th century Arthur's Court not only served as a meeting place for the guilds and trades but also as a court of justice¹⁵. In this period the Bench of the Fraternities of Three Kings was mostly used by the City Counsellors and was usually called the City Counsellors' Bench¹⁶. The City Council commissioned the beautiful intarsia panelling and the paintings, which were addressed first and foremost to the judges and their assistants.

13 P. Simson, op.cit., pp. 148-201; *Dwór Artusa w Gdańsku. Sztuka i sztuka konserwacji*, passim.

14 See: F.C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. A Handbook of Medieval Religious Themes*, Helsinki 1969; idem, *Exempla in the Decline*, "Traditio" XVIII (1962), pp. 407-417; C. Delcorno, *Exemplum e letteratura*, Bologna 1989; J.D. Lyons, *Exemplum: the Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy*, Princeton 1989; M.E. Hazard, *Renaissance Aesthetic Values: "Example for Example"*, "Art Quarterly" II (1979), pp. 1-36; T. Hampton, *Writing from History. The Rhetoric of Exemplarity in Renaissance Literature*, Ithaca-London 1990; E.R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by W.R. Trask, Princeton 1990, pp. 57-61. See the visual arts: R. Guerrini, *Studi su Valerio Massimo*, Pisa 1981; E. McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, Corpus Rubenianum, XIII, 1-2, London 1997.

15 P. Simson, op.cit., passim. For iconographical programmes of the court rooms see K. Simon, *Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder*, Frankfurt am Main 1948, passim; W. Schild, *Bilder von Recht und Gerechtigkeit*, Köln 1995, pp. 200-216. See also S. Helliesen, *Thronus Iustitiae. A Series of Pictures of Justice by Joachim Wtewaël*, "Oud Holland" (1977), 91, pp. 232-266.

16 P. Simson, op.cit., pp. 181-185.

The author of this highly original cycle of paintings remains anonymous. Their style, which is characterized by elongated linear forms and barely descriptive Mannerist colours, has some analogies in the Netherlandish and German art of the third quarter of the 16th century. This aspect of my research is still in progress and will, therefore, not be discussed here. I intend to approach the carefully constructed iconographical programme for the the City Counsellors' Bench in a traditional way, trying to clarify the iconography and to put it in the context of the judicial cycles produced in the late Middle Ages and the early Renaissance in the Netherlands, Germany and Italy.

THE JUSTICE OF ZALEUCUS

We should start our investigations of the five exemplary scenes placed above the Jury of City Counsellors' Bench with the first panel on the left depicting *The Justice of Zaleucus* which, unfortunately, is known only from a pre-war photograph of rather poor quality (fig. 3). The main literary source of the story is Valerius Maximus. As is well-known his *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* (*Memorable Doings and Sayings*), written in the first half of the 1st century A.D., was widely read both in the middle ages and the early modern period¹⁷. Valerius Maximus was also widely read in Poland and at the beginning of the 17th century several chapters were translated into Polish¹⁸. The stories from *Memorable Doings and Sayings* are often referred to in what was once a famous book by Wawrzyniec Goślicki (Laurentius Goslicius), first published in Venice in 1568; thus in the same year in which Arthur's Court was adorned with the five exemplary stories in question¹⁹. Valerius recounts not only the story of Zaleucus (Seleucus) but also that of Cambyses. The chapter *De severitate* – in which the former story is to be found – begins as follows: “The heart must

17 See: *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds, Oxford 1983, pp. 428-430; D.M. Schullian, *Valerius Maximus*, in: *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, V, eds. F.E. Cranz, P.O. Kristeller, Washington 1984, pp. 288-403; R. Guerrini, op.cit. See also M. Fleck, *Untersuchungen zu den Exempla des Valerius Maximus*, Marburg am Lahn 1974; Laurentius Goslicius, *De optimo senatore libri duo*, ed. M. Korolko, Kraków 2000.

18 See Walery Maxym, *O dziejach y powieściach pamięci godnych ksiąg dziewięć*, trans. by A. Wargocki, Kraków 1609.

19 Laurentius Goslicius, op.cit. The book was translated into English as early as in 1598, and then in 1607 and 1733, see T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *The Senator of Wawrzyniec Goślicki and the Elizabethan Counsellor*, in: *The Polish Renaissance in its European Context*, ed. S. Fiszman, Bloomington-Indianapolis 1988, pp. 258-277; eadem, *The Boring and the Magnetic: A Case Study in Translation, Censorship and Political Manipulation*, in: *Studies in English and American Literature and Language. In Memory of Jerzy Strzetelski*, eds. I. Przemecka, Z. Mazur, Kraków 1995, pp. 211-224. See also Wawrzyniec Grzymała Gosliski, *The Accomplished Senator*, trans. by W. Oldiworth, Miami 1992.

arm itself with hardness while acts of harsh, grim severity are related [...]"²⁰. The story of the lawgiver who lived in the 7th century B.C. reads: "Nothing could be braver than the following examples of justice. Zaleucus protected the city of Locri with very salutary and useful laws. His son was convicted on a charge of adultery and according to a law constituted by Zaleucus himself was due to lose both eyes. The whole community wished to spare the young man the necessity of punishment in honour of his father. For some time Zaleucus resisted, but in the end, overborne by the people's entreaties, he first gouged out one of his eyes, then one of his son's, leaving the faculty of sight to them both. Thus he rendered to the law a due measure of retribution, by admirable balance of equity dividing himself between compassionate father and just lawgiver (*Facta et Dicta...*, VI, 5)"²¹.

The judgement, which was to have taken place in the Greek colony of Epizephyrian Locri in southern Italy, is also recounted in the *Gesta Romanorum*, a compendium of *exempla* written in the first half of the 14th century in Latin and rapidly made available in vernacular translations all over Europe. The author recounts the events told by Valerius adding, however, some minor details; thus the violated woman is a virgin, her mother a widow, who address Zaleucus (whom she calls "Emperor"): "Your only son has dishonoured my daughter; command him to be punished"²². In turn Goslicius (Goslicki) says the following: "For there is nothing the People are more Inquisitive after, or look more narrowly into, than the Lives of their Superiors; and they Endeavour to Conform thereto, as to a Written Law. When Seleuchus had passed a Decree against Adultery, condemning those who were taken in it, to lose Both their Eyes, and his own Son was afterwards found Guilty of this Crime; though the Whole City interposed, and desired that the Punishment might be Remitted, yet he would by no means consent thereto, but lost One Eye himself, and took another from his Son, whereby he chose rather to be Punctual in the Observation of the Laws, than to set his People a Precedent for Disobedience, and for bringing the Stricture and Authority of the Laws into Contempt: For he looked upon what the Law commands, to be of much greater Force and Weight, than the Commands, of a Single Prince or Potentate"²³.

Despite the rather poor quality of the photograph of the lost Gdańsk panel it is still possible to recognize the two main scenes portrayed in it. On

20 Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, trans. by D.R. Shackleton Bailey, London 2000, pp. 28-29 (VI, 3).

21 Ibidem, pp. 64-65.

22 *Tales of the Monks from the Gesta Romanorum*, trans. by Ch. Swan, Binghampton 1928, pp. 67-68.

23 Wawrzyniec Grzymała Gosliski, op.cit., p. 237.

the left we can see the executioners, one is putting out the eye of an old man with a dagger while the other is holding his left arm. The inscription SELEUCUS, visible beneath the feet of the man being blinded, identifies the just lawgiver. On the right, in the foreground, his son, the rapist, is portrayed in the grasp of another group of executioners. One more scene is visible on the far right depicting the rape. Both – Zaleucus and his son, as well as some of the men executing the judgement, are dressed as of Roman soldiers and thus the painting, to some degree, presents itself as a story from classical antiquity.

The *Justice of Zaleucus* was quite popular both in Italian and Northern European art²⁴. It is to be found, among others, in the frescoes produced by Raphael in the Stanza della Segnatura²⁵ and on an agate bowl dated 1536, now in the Schatzkammer of the Residenz in Munich (fig. 11). In the first of these Zaleucus is pointing with his finger to his eye which is to be put out, whereas on the second both the merciful father and his son are shown being blinded²⁶. The same events are depicted on a bronze plaquette from the second quarter of the 16th century, now in the National Museum in Nuremberg²⁷. In the case of Beccafumi's famous fresco executed *circa* 1530 in the Sala del Consiglio of the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, the just lawgiver has already lost his eye while an executioner is about to put out the eye of his son with a curved dagger²⁸. The young rapist has fallen to his knees and crossed his arms on his chest in a gesture of submission to the judge²⁹. A small scene placed in the upper right hand corner of the fresco depicts the scene of the rape. A somewhat similar composition adorns a tapestry produced in the years 1581-1586 for the canopy of the great hall of Kronborg Castle in Denmark³⁰. Here, however,

24 H. van der Velden, *Cambyses For Example: the Origins and Function of an exemplum iustitiae in the Netherlandish Art of the Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, "Simiolus" (XXIII) 1995, 1, pp. 5-39, fig. 21; E. McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, pp. 35-47, with earlier bibliography.

25 M. Clayton, *Raphael and His Circle. Drawings from Windsor Castle*, London 1999, pp. 76-79.

26 L. Konečný, "Speculum iustitiae, Norimberk 1536", Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis. Facultas Philosophica: Philosophica-Aestetica 23, Historia Artium, IV, Olomouc 2002, pp. 281-286, fig. 81.

27 Ibidem, p. 284, fig. 85.

28 R. Guerrini, op.cit., fig. 15; M. Jenkins, *The Iconography of the Hall of the Consistory in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena*, "Art Bulletin" (LIV) 1972, 1, pp. 430-451, fig. 24; Beccafumi. *Catalogo della mostra*, ed. L. Bellosi, Milano 1990, fig. 18, p. 630 ff.

29 For the symbolism of this gesture see M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture*, Cambridge 1987, pp. 72-87.

30 M. Mackeprang, S.F. Christensen, *Kronborgtapeterne*, København 1950, pp. 104-105, fig. 32. I am very grateful to Hugo Johannsen from the Nationalmuseet in Copenhagen who kindly informed me about this tapestry and provided me with photocopies of the book quoted in this note.

the rapist is seated on a chair with his hands tied behind his back. Three other scenes represented on the canopy show the *Judgement of Alexander the Great*, the *Justice of Cambyses* and the *Justice of Trajan*³¹.

THE JUDGEMENT OF SOLOMON

The next panel in the cycle depicts *The Judgement of Solomon* which, after *The Last Judgement*, was the most important subject to be found in the iconographic programmes of Medieval and Renaissance courtrooms (fig. 4)³². The tale includes all the elements of a perfect judicial story: a touching human drama, a horrifying crisis and a satisfying conclusion. Its main literary source was, of course, the First Book of Kings (III, 16-28) as is confirmed by the inscription on Solomon's throne which dominates the centre of the composition. Another possible literary source may have been the *Antiquitates iudaicae* of Josephus Flavius (VIII, 2, 2). His work, which was immensely popular and frequently illustrated in the 15th and 16th centuries, relates the biblical story as follows: "And when no one could see what judgement to give, but all were mentally blinded, as by a riddle, in finding a solution, the king alone devised the following plan: he ordered both the dead and the living child to be brought, and then sent for one of the bodyguards and ordered him to draw his sword and cut both children in half, in order that either woman might take half of the dead child and half of the living child. Thereupon all the people secretly made fun of the king as of a boy. But meanwhile the woman who had demanded the child and was its true mother cried out that they should not do this but should give the child over to the other woman as if it were hers, for she would be content to have it alive and only look at it, even if it should seem to be another's, while the other woman was prepared to see it divided and even asked that she herself be put to torture. Thereupon the king, recognized that the words of either were prompted by her true sentiments, adjudged the child to the one who cried out, holding that she was really its mother, and condemned the other for her wickedness both in having killed her own son and in being anxious to see her friend's child destroyed. This the multitude considered a great sign and proof of the king's prudence

31 For the iconography of the *Justice of Trajan* see – S. Settis, *Traiano a Hearst Castle*, "I Tatti Studies" (1995), 6, pp. 31-82, with earlier bibliography.

32 U. Lederle-Grieger, *Gerechtigkeitsdarstellungen in deutschen und niederländischen Rathhäusern*, diss., Heidelberg 1937, p. 9 f.; K. Simon, *Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder*, p. 17 f.; W. Schild, *Das Urteil des Königs Salomon*, in: *Strafgerichtsbarkeit. Festschrift für Arthur Kaufmann*, Heidelberg 1993, pp. 281-297. See also J. Miziołek, "Exempla" di giustizia. Tre tavole di cassone di Alvise Donati, "Arte Lombarda" CXXXII (2001), pp. 72-89; idem, *The Queen of Sheba and Solomon on some Early-Renaissance Cassone Panels a Pastiglia Dorata*, "Antichità Viva" XXXVI (1997), 4, pp. 6-23.

and wisdom, and from that day on hearkened to him as to one possessed of a godlike understanding”³³.

The ruler who is seated on a throne in the centre among soldiers and other witnesses to the event has just rendered his judgement: “Divide the living child in two, and give half to the one mother, and half to the other”. He is pointing with his right hand to one of his servants who is holding a sword, or rather a formidable sabre, in his right hand and the living baby in his left. Next to him is kneeling a woman, most probably the “good” mother who is trying to stop the order from being executed, while the second woman who is shown on the opposite side is the mother of the dead child lying at the foot of the king’s throne whose head is being sniffed at by a dog.

The composition of the panel recalls to many Medieval and Renaissance representations of the theme, with Solomon sitting on the left, on the right, or in the middle of the scene, while the servant is about to execute his order. Such representations decorate not only the pages of illuminated Bibles, church and baptistery walls, but also public buildings such as Town Halls, jewellery caskets and even *cassoni* or marriage chests. One of the latter, produced in Milan by Alvise Donati at the beginning of the 16th century is in the Lanckoroński Collection, since 1994 housed in the Wawel Royal Castle in Kraków³⁴. Sometimes representations of *The Judgement of Solomon* can be found on the façade of the Town Halls in Nuremberg (see below), and in Venice, where in the middle of the 15th century, Bartolomeo Buon executed his famous relief for the Doges’ Palace³⁵. In several representations from the 14th and 16th centuries, Solomon is the central figure in fairly crowded compositions such as the mural in the Palazzo della Raggione in Padua³⁶, and a box decorated with white *gesso* in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London³⁷. Some representations produced both in Northern European and Italian art include inscriptions. A case in point is to be found in the cycle of frescoes from the middle of the 15th century, in the Town Hall of Lucignano near Siena; the inscription over the large figure of the king of Israel reads: SALOMON REX – IUDEX SAPIENS – IUDEX INSIPIENS (sic!)³⁸. Thus, Solomon also often

33 Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities*, V-VIII, trans. by H.St.J. Thackeray, R. Marcus, London 1934, pp. 587-589.

34 J. Miziolek, “*Exempla*” di giustizia, pp. 74-75, fig. 2.

35 W. Wolters, *La scultura veneziana gotica (1300-1460)*, Venezia 1976, I, p. 120, II, figs. 813-820.

36 E. Frojmović, *Giotto’s Allegories of Justice and the Commune in the Palazzo della Ragione in Padua: a Reconstruction*, “Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes” (1996), 59, pp. 24-47, esp. pp. 30-31 and fig. 8.

37 P.M. de Winter, *A Little-Known Creation of Renaissance Decorative Arts: the White Lead Pastiglia Box*, “Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell’Arte” (1984), 14, pp. 9-42, fig. 36, p. 13.

38 M.M. Donato, *Un ciclo pittorico ad Asciano (Siena), Palazzo Pubblico e l’iconografia “Politica” alla fine del medioevo*, “Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa” (1988),

served as an example of wisdom and justice in secular art. This biblical scene appears together with a depiction of the *Judgement of Zaleucus*, among others, on the agate bowl from Munich (fig. 11). There are other judicial scenes on the bowl, including the *Justice of Cambyses*, which occupies the central position in the Gdańsk cycle.

THE JUSTICE OF CAMBYSES

As Hugo van der Velden demonstrated ten years ago, the justice of Cambyses, a Persian king who lived in the 6th century B.C. was one of the most widespread subjects in the iconographical programmes of courtrooms in the Netherlands and in Germany³⁹. The story is told with grisly succinctness by Herodotus, Valerius Maximus, and, in the Middle Ages, in *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais, and the *Gesta Romanorum*. Herodotus tells the story as follows: "Otanès's father Sisamnes had been one of the royal judges; Cambyses had cut his throat and flayed all his skin because he had been bribed to give an unjust judgement; and he had then cut leather strips of the skin which had been torn away and covered therewith the seat whereon Sisamnes had sat to give judgement; which having done, Cambyses appointed the son of this slain and flayed Sisamnes to be judge in his place, admonishing him to remember whose was the judgement-seat whereon he sat"⁴⁰.

Valerius Maximus' version (*Facta et dicta...*, VI, 4) is even shorter: "Cambyses's severity was unusual. He flayed the skin from a certain corrupt judge and had it stretched over a chair on which he ordered the man's son to sit when passing judgement. He was a king and a barbarian and by the horrible and novel punishment of a judge he sought to make sure that no judge could be bribed in the future"⁴¹.

The most famous depiction of the story is that by Gerard David who represents it on two panels now in the Groeninge Museum in Bruges: the first shows the arrest of the corrupt judge while the other depicts the actual flaying⁴². The Gdańsk version has three scenes (fig. 5); two of them are on the left side

18, p. 1211 and n. 288; cf. E. Ermengard Hlawitschka-Roth, *Die 'uomini famosi' der Sala di Udienza im Palazzo Comunale zu Lucignano*, Köln 2003, pp. 70-72, figs. 39-40.

39 H. van der Velden, *Cambyses For Example*, pp. 5-39, fig. 21. See also E. McGrath, *Rubens: Subjects from History*, pp. 38-46.

40 Herodotus, *History*, III, trans. by A.D. Godley, London 1971, pp. 26-27 (V, 25). See also H. van der Velden, *Cambyses For Example*, pp. 7-8.

41 Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings*, pp. 42-43.

42 O. von Simson, *Gerard Davids Gerechtigkeitsbild und der spätmittelalterliche Humanismus*, in: *Festschrift W. Braunfels*, Tübingen 1977, pp. 349-356; H. van der Velden, *Cambyses Reconsidered: Gerard David's exemplum iustitiae for Bruges Town Hall, "Simiolus" XXIII (1995), 1, pp. 40-62.*

– on the forefront the flaying of the judge, which is labelled with the inscription *SISAMNES IUDEX EXCORIATUR*, and in the background the arrest of Sisamnes and perhaps also the bribery scene. The third and, at the same time, the main scene is on the right, that is Otanes being appointed the new judge. He is already seated on the chair covered with the skin which has been stripped from his father while the king who is standing by with a group of soldiers is instructing him. The new judge raises his left arm signifying acceptance of the ruler's decision. The scene is labelled: *CAMBISES REX PE[RSARUM]* and *FILIUS SISAMNIS*. Curiously enough, the soldier who is standing behind the king looks somewhat like Hercules; instead of a helmet he is wearing a lion's skin on his head.

On the agate bowl in Munich, referred to above, Cambyses is approaching the judge's seat with the skin on it and instructing Otanes who is standing on his left (fig. 11). On a Netherlandish drawing, after a lost painting from the beginning of the 16th century, we can see the skin of the corrupt judge hanging high over the throne already occupied by the new judge (fig. 6)⁴³. In the background on the left Otanes is being instructed in the impartial dispensation of justice, while on the other side his father being flayed. The original painting repeated in the drawing was made for the Town Hall in Hoorn.

At this point it is worth citing what Goslicius (Gosliski) has to say in his *De optimo senatore* about Cambyses and the unjust judge: "Among the statues and Pictures of the Ancients, Justice was represented as a Pure, Lovely, and Chaste Virgin, but with a Rough, Stern, and Formidable Aspect, Eyes Bright and Piercing, and Features full of Modesty; but at the same time Grave, Rigid, and Severe. The Design and Signification of which Image and Representation was plainly this, That every Judge ought to be of a Chaste and Incorrupt Mind, but of a Severe and Rigid Behaviour in Judgement, in Discernment Acute and Sharpsighted, Searching out and Prying into every thing, Grave and Steady, Constant and Inexorable. Chambyses, King of Persia, condemned an Unjust Judge to be Flay'd alive, and his Skin to be affixed to his Judgement Seat, that his Successors, by his Example, might learn to behave Faithfully and Uprightly, in the Execution of their Office. And here, by the way, the Good Senator ought to be put in Mind, that He, above all others, should be most Tenacious of Justice, because the Influence of his Example is of such Wide Extent, and because he is under Double Obligation to be Just, as well in the Enacting, as in the Executing of Laws for the People. It would be Notoriously to his Shame and Disgrace, if he should refuse Obedience to the Laws, of which he himself is the Maker and Keeper"⁴⁴.

43 H. van der Velden, *Cambyses For Example*, p. 18, fig. 7.

44 Wawrzyniec Grzymała Gosliski, *op.cit.*, p. 240.

CHRIST AND THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY

As the Evangelist John recounts (VIII, 2-11): the Pharisees once brought to Christ a woman who had been caught in the act of committing adultery. They said that, according to the Law of Moses, the woman should be stoned, but they asked Jesus what was his opinion. It should be remembered that the Roman authorities had deprived the Jews of the power to impose the death penalty, and the Pharisees were hoping to trap Jesus into an answer which would offend either their own or Roman Law. Christ bent down and wrote with his finger upon the ground and then uttered his famous sentence: "That one of you who is faultless shall throw the first stone". In the fourth painting of the cycle under examination we can see the moment when Christ bends over writing on the ground while some Pharisees lean forward trying to read (fig. 7). As in many other representations of this subject the woman has one breast bared, the usual attribute of the courtesan. It should also be noted that at her side there are two Roman soldiers. The small scene on the right seems to depict a woman (a courtesan?) embracing an old man. The inscription to be seen beneath it reads: *ABSOLUTIO MULIERIS ADULTERAE*.

Interesting comparative material for the panel under discussion is provided, among others, by the well-known frontispiece produced by Hans Sebald Beham for the second edition of Justinus Gobler's book *Der gerichtlich Prozess*, which was published in 1542⁴⁵. The etching shows six exemplary judgements – including the *Judgements of Solomon*, *Cambyeses*, *Zaleucus* and also the *Woman Taken in Adultery* (fig. 13). The last mentioned illustrates the same moment of the story as the Gdańsk panel, with Christ bent over, writing with his finger on the ground; as in the frontispiece of Gobler's book he is also shown on the left side of the composition. Thus, the frontispiece may have been one of the sources of inspiration for the painter, or his learned adviser.

THE PUNISHMENT OF LICINIUS CRASSUS

The last panel placed above the City Counsellors' Bench, usually referred to as the *Punishment of Licinius Crassus* (fig. 8), offers a scene of mockery. The inscription: *LICINIUS CRASSUS*, identifies the protagonist. This extremely rare subject, of which I know no other instance, makes the Gdańsk cycle highly original, if not unique⁴⁶. Licinius Crassus was a political partner of

45 R. Kahsnitz, op.cit., col. 138; H van der Velden, *Cambyeses For Example*, p. 24, fig. 14.

46 In a letter from the end of February 2005, Professor Elizabeth McGrath from the Warburg Institute wrote to me as follows: "Like you I have tried and failed to find precedents for Crassus. But I'll keep looking out for him". I was able to find only one representation of Crassus in the period we are interested in; it is to be found among miniatures by Francesco

Julius Caesar and Pompey; early on in his career he defeated Spartacus. About twenty years later, driven by extreme avarice, he attacked the Parthians without being properly prepared, and was defeated by them near Carrhae in 53 B.C. The *Oxford Classical Dictionary* reads as follows: "Crassus saw the key to success in wealth and a reputation for wealth. Neglecting his early military ability for too long, he finally found unarmed power insecure in the changed conditions of the late Republic and died before he could profit by the lesson. Had he been less unlucky in his war, he might well have played the decisive part in history which he had mapped out for himself"⁴⁷.

The aspect of his *gesta* depicted in Arthur's Court was unknown either to Valerius Maximus or to Plutarch who had much to say about him in one of his *Lives*. The horrifying event has to my knowledge been briefly described only by three authors that is Dio Cassius, Florus and Servius. In his *Roman History* Dio Cassius says: "And the Parthians, as some say, poured molten gold into his mouth in mockery; for though a man of vast wealth, he had set so great store by money as to pity those who could not support an enrolled legion from their own means, regarding them as poor men"⁴⁸.

In his short *History of Rome* Florus gives a slightly different and perhaps even more horrifying version of the story; however, he specifies that Crassus was already dead when the Parthians poured the molten gold into his mouth: "The head of Crassus was cut off and with his right hand was taken back to the king and treated with mockery which was not undeserved; for molten gold was poured into his gaping mouth, so that the dead and bloodless flesh of one whose heart had burned with lust for gold was itself burnt with gold"⁴⁹.

Servius, the late antique grammarian who lived *circa* 400 A.D., refers to the cruel death of Crassus in his commentary to the *Aeneid* (VII, 606): "PARTHOSQUE REPOSCERE SIGNA: this [Vergil] included in honour of Augustus in whose reign the standards which the triumvir Crassus had lost were recovered from the Parthians. Driven by his greed, he had embarked on war in defiance of the auspices and in the interdictions of the tribunes. He

d'Antonio del Chierico in Plutarch's *Vite* housed in the Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence (65.27, c. 95), see C. Filippini, *Plutarco istoriato: Le vite parallele nella miniatura italiana del Quattrocento*, in: *Biografia dipinta. Plutarco e l'arte del Rinascimento 1400-1550*, ed. R. Guerrini, La Spezia 2001, p. 171, pl. 77. However, what we see in the miniature is Crassus drinking wine from a big pitcher.

⁴⁷ *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. N.G.L. Hammond, H.H. Scullard, 8th ed., Oxford 1976, p. 295 with further bibliography. Also in Giuseppe Antonelli's book (*Crasso. Il banchiere di Roma*, Roma 1995, 1st ed. 1986) there is nothing about "the punishment of Crassus on the part of the Parthians". I did not have access to the books by B.A. Marshall, *Crassus: a Political Biography*, London 1977 and A.M. Ward, *M. Crassus and the Late Roman Republic*, Missouri 1977.

⁴⁸ Dio's, *Roman History*, III, trans. by H.B. Foster, London 1954, pp. 446-447 (XL, 27,3).

⁴⁹ Lucius Annaeus Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, London 1929, pp. 212-213 (I, 46).

was captured together with his son and killed by having molten gold poured into his mouth, gold for the love of which he had fought"⁵⁰.

Thus according to Servius, whose topic is the return by the Parthians in 20 B.C. of the legionary standards captured at the Battle of Carrhae (this scene decorates the cuirass of Augustus on the famous statue from Prima Porta, in the Vatican Museum)⁵¹, there is no doubt that Crassus's death was caused by the molten gold.

The author of the panel in Arthur's Court did his best to depict the atmosphere of an Oriental country since some of the characters represented are wearing the so-called Gordian cap or other semi-oriental robes. "The ruler of the country" – most probably king Orodes – seen under a canopy on the left side of the composition, has already given his order; to the right one of his servants – accompanied by soldiers and other witnesses of the event – is pouring molten gold into Crassus' mouth. It is difficult to ascertain whether he is already dead; he appears to be chained down, which suggests this is a torture being inflicted on a living person. There is still some molten gold in a pot seen in the centre of the scene. Despite the fact that the wretched Roman general is close to death (or is already dead) the group of people around him continue to mock him. A noble, elegantly dressed man or woman (the king's wife?) with the same sort of hat as the person next to her, is standing in front of Crassus and seems to be delivering a commentary concerning the greedy man.

At this point it is worth paying some attention to the iconography of the aforementioned panel depicting the *Calumny of Apelles* painted by Möller in 1588 above the Judge's Bench, which unfortunately perished during World War II and only known from some pre-war photographs and a drawing (fig. 10)⁵².

THE CALUMNY OF APELLES

Anton Möller, born *circa* 1565 in Königsberg, was a painter, draughtsman and woodcutter whose foremost inspiration in the early stages of his career

50 *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, II, rec. G. Thilo, H. Hagen, Lipsiae 1884, p. 171: *PARTHOSQUE REPOSCERE SIGNA hoc in honorem Augusti posuit, quo regnante a Parthis repetita sunt signa, quae Crassus trimvir perdiderat. Qui cum aviditate sua contra auspicia bellum suscepisset, interdicentibus tribunis plebis, captus cum filio est et necatus infuso in os auro, cuius amore pugnaverant.*

51 For Augustus's statue from Prima Porta and the scenes adorning the cuirass see D. Strong, *Roman Art* [The Pelican History of Art], Harmondsworth 1980, pp. 86-87, fig. 39; P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1997, fig. 148 a-b.

52 I have already dealt with this subject in a separate paper, see J. Miziolek, *Kalumnia Apellesa i inne exempla justitiae w Dworze Artusa w Gdańsku*, in: *Dwór Artusa w Gdańsku. Sztuka i sztuka konserwacji*, pp. 105-117. The drawing was reproduced in R. Foerster, op.cit.,

were Albrecht Dürer's engravings⁵³. In 1587 the young artist arrived in Gdańsk where a year later he was commissioned to paint the five narrative panels depicting the judicial scenes mentioned above including *The Calumny of Apelles*. In the mid-1580s he most probably worked for Rudolf II in Prague and between 1588 and 1590 he may also have visited Italy, the Netherlands and Nuremberg. After his return to Gdańsk he was regarded as the best painter in the City and its environs. Both German and Italian influences are to be found in his art; cases in point being his *Calumny of Apelles* and *The Last Judgement*. After the completion of the latter canvas in 1602 he produced ceiling pictures in the Town Hall of Toruń which, unfortunately, have been lost, as well as several large paintings in Gdańsk. He died in 1611⁵⁴.

Möller's *Calumny of Apelles* was placed as the second panel on the left (see fig. 1). The painting was one of many attempts to reconstruct the lost masterpiece by Apelles who was court painter to Alexander the Great. In European art these reconstructions have been discussed by, among others, David Cast, Jean Michel Massing and Stanley Meltzoff⁵⁵. Lucian's essay is a double ekphrasis in that it involves both a representation in words of an actual painting – Apelles' *Calumny* – and a discourse on the theme of the painting, slander, which, inspired by the *Calumny* (or his own description of it), Lucian assimilates to a painting (*Calumny*, vi). The discourse ends with the word "truth", just as Truth is the last figure to appear in the painting.

As Lucian has it, Apelles – whom, contrary to tradition, he associates not with Alexander the Great, but with one of the Ptolemies, presumably Ptolemy IV Philopator – narrowly escaped death, having been falsely accused, by an envious rival, of taking part in a conspiracy against the king⁵⁶. Ptolemy uncritically gave credence to the accusation, but was made to see its falseness. He repented, presenting Apelles with a hundred talents and his accuser for a slave. Apelles responded with an allegorical painting showing the operation of slander and its defeat.

and afterwards was republished by J.M. Massing, op.cit. A pre-war photograph of the panel is to be found in D. Cast, op.cit., p. 118 and fig. 29.

53 H.G. Gmelin, Möller, *Anton I*, in: *The Dictionary of Art*, XXI, London 1996, p. 820; T. Grzybkowska, *Złoty wiek malarstwa gdańskiego*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 138-157.

54 See W. Tomkiewicz, *Realizm w malarstwie gdańskim przełomu XVI i XVII wieku*, in: idem, *Pędzlem rozmaitym. Malarstwo okresu Wazów w Polsce*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 101-146.

55 D. Cast, op.cit.; J.M. Massing, op.cit.; S. Meltzoff, *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savonarola. Teologia Poetica and Painting from Boccaccio to Poliziano*, Firenze 1987, pp. 97-283. On the subject of the reconstruction of the lost painting by the famous Greek artist see also L. Faedo, *L'impronta delle parole. Due momenti della pittura di ricostruzione*, in: *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, vol. 2: *I generi e i temi ritrovati*, ed. S. Settis, Torino 1985, pp. 5-42.

56 Pliny the Elder (*Natural History*, XXXV, pp. 79-96), which is our main source for the works of Apelles makes no mention of the *Calumny*.

The modern fortuna of Lucian began in Italy in the 15th century, with the *Calumny* among the most popular of his works. It was translated into Latin at least four times – by Guarino Guarini (1480), Lapo da Castiglionchio the Younger (1434-1438), Francesco Griffolini (*circa* 1460), and an Anonymous (printed in 1494) and into Italian at least twice: by Nicolo' Leonicensi (before 1470) and Bartolomeo della Fonte (1472). The first printed edition is Nuremberg 1475 (Griffolini's version)⁵⁷. By 1551 it had appeared throughout Europe as many as 59 times, including several times in the original Greek⁵⁸. In Poland, Lucian was already being read in the early 16th century, among others by Bishop Piotr Tomicki⁵⁹. Between the 15th and the 19th century Apelles' *Calumny* was "imitated" on the strength of Lucian at least 70 times, among others by Botticelli, Mantegna, Rubens and Pussin⁶⁰.

In 1435 Leon Battista Alberti in his treatise *On Painting* encouraged artists to paint *The Calumny*, but the earliest "reconstructions" of the lost masterpiece were executed only in the third quarter of the 15th century. Alberti follows Lucian fairly closely: "In the painting there was a man with enormous ears sticking out, attended on each side by two women, Ignorance and Suspicion; from one side Calumny was approaching in the form of an attractive woman, but whose face seemed too well versed in cunning, and she was holding in her left hand a lighted torch, while with her right she was dragging by the hair a youth with his arms outstretched towards heaven. Leading her was another man, pale, ugly and fierce to look upon, whom you would rightly compare to those exhausted by long service in the field. They identified him correctly as Envy. There are two other women attendant on Calumny and busy arranging their mistress's dress; they are Treachery and Deceit. Behind them comes Repentance clad in mourning and rending her hair, and in her train chaste and modest Truth"⁶¹.

In his description (of which Alberti does not give all the finer details) Lucian says that the judge, that is "a man with enormous ears, almost like those of Midas"; he is seated "on the right"⁶². Thus it is probable that the source of Möller's painting was not Lucian's text but rather that of Alberti which does not say on which side the judge with the large ears is seated. As is easily discernible Möller's rendition was not faithful to Alberti's description either. He did, however, make sure that all the figures were easily identifiable,

57 See J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*, *passim*.

58 D. Marsh, *Lucian and the Latins. Humor and Humanism in the Early Renaissance*, Ann Arbor 1998.

59 *Acta Tomiciana*, XVI, ed. W. Pocięcha, Wrocław-Kraków-Poznań 1960, pp. 451-456.

60 See J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*

61 Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, trans. by C. Grayson, London 1991, pp. 88-89.

62 Lucian's text is to be found in J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*, p. 457.

which is also the case in the famous engraving by Jan Ziarnko (a Polish artist active in Paris at the beginning of the 17th century)⁶³, providing inscriptions which are placed above the heads or at the feet of all the *dramatis personae*: IGNORANTIA, SUSPITIO, LIVOR (Ignorance, Suspicion, Envy), CALUMNIA, INNOCENTIA, INVIDIA (Calumny, Innocence, Jealousy), MENDACIUM (Deceit), POENITENTIA, TEMP(US), VERITAS. What is unusual is that the Gdańsk personification of Calumny, seen walking in the company of LIVOR and INVIDIA (that is Envy and Deceit) looks more like a man than a woman, and that the slandered young man is not being pulled, as in Botticelli's famous panel at the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence but rather, as Alberti writes, "he is being led" with his hands together as if in prayer. Also Repentance is not standing but kneeling as if in the depths of despair. Her pose is clearly reminiscent of depictions of Melancholia. Möller's greatest innovation is, however, his portrayal of Veritas (Truth) who is soaring in the top right hand corner being carried by a winged old man – the personification of Tempus (Time). Some researchers have already tried to explain this very unusual depiction of VERITAS, but their arguments require further elucidation. The painting was also furnished with a longer inscription (an elegiac distich), which contains the following words:

NE PREMAT INNOCUAM SCELERATA
CALUMNIA CAUSAM
IUDICII PROCERES PICTA TABELLA
MONET.

[*The painted tables teaches judges that the criminal calumny should not frighten innocent matters*]. Before we return to the question of the depiction of VERITAS let us look at a few "reconstructions" of the *Calumny* which were executed in Italy and Germany, therefore in countries which Möller most probably visited. As already mentioned, he supposedly began his artistic career by copying the engravings of Albrecht Dürer and according to some scholars he could have also visited Nuremburg, Dürer's home town⁶⁴.

The authors of the earliest reconstructions of Apelles's lost masterpiece are Bartolomeo Fonizio (1472) and Benedetto Bordon (1494)⁶⁵. Both executed the works in the form of smallish miniatures one of which decorates the manuscript of Lucian's texts and the other in an incunabulum containing several of his dialogues. The first panel painting depicting *Calumny* was produced by Sandro Botticelli in 1495 for Antonio Segni. Despite its small format it is

63 For Ziarnko's engraving see *ibidem*, no. 24 A.a., pp. 386-388.

64 D. Cast, *op.cit.*, p. 118.

65 J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*, no. 1A and 3A, pp. 251-255.

undoubtedly the most famous rendering of Lucian's *ekphrasis* ever painted⁶⁶. In Fonzio's miniature the judge is seated to the right on a high pedestal, while in the background there is a kind of gate with three passages adorned sculptures, many reliefs and monochrome paintings. Botticelli's painting is very dramatic – the judge surrounded by Ignorance, Suspicion and Envy has an expression of anguish on his face, the innocent youth is not led but dragged on the ground by his hair, while Repentance dressed in a heavy, dark cloak is a rather terrifying figure. It is only the figure of Truth standing behind her, depicted as a beautiful, slender, naked woman pointing heavenwards that lends the painting a hint of optimism and hope. The painting, probably the most expressive of Botticelli's works, was to have been annotated with an inscription which we know of from Vasari:

INCRIMINATE NO MAN ON FALSE TESTIMONY
THIS IS THE WARNING MY LITTLE PICTURE GIVES TO THE KINGS
OF THE EARTH.

APELLES PRESENTED A SIMILAR PICTURE TO THE KING
OF EGYPT;
THE KING WAS WORTHY OF THE GIFT, AND THE GIFT WAS
WORTHY OF THE KING⁶⁷.

At the beginning of the 16th century another reconstruction of Apelles' work – this time in the form of a drawing – was executed by Andrea Mantegna⁶⁸. This composition is much calmer; and the judge is seated on the left, as in the miniature by Bordon and in the Gdańsk portrayal. Mantegna's composition was extremely popular among the artists of the subsequent centuries. Some of them, including Rembrandt, copied the whole composition, others, like Edward Burne-Jones, copied only some of the figures⁶⁹. Almost immediately after it had been drawn, Mantegna's composition was engraved by Girolamo Mocetto⁷⁰. As befitted a Venetian, the artist depicted the event at the front of one of the most famous churches in his town – SS. Giovanni e Paolo, next to which is the easily recognizable famous equestrian statue of Colleoni. Inscriptions identifying particular figures which are visible in Mantegna's drawing are much larger here and have been executed more distinctly. From that time on it became generally accepted to clearly identify with inscriptions all the figures

66 R. Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, II, London 1978, pp. 87-92.

67 Giorgio Vasari, *The Great Masters: Giotto, Botticelli, Leonardo, Raphael, Michelangelo, Titian*, trans. by G. Du C. de Vere, New York 1986, p. 82.

68 J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*, no. 6 A, pp. 264-265.

69 *Ibidem*, pp. 266-269.

70 D. Cast, *op.cit.*, fig. 6.

depicted in the reconstructions of *The Calumny* which is also the case in Dürer's drawing.

Dürer's "reconstruction" of Apelles's lost masterpiece is currently housed in the Albertina in Vienna, was executed when he was planning the decoration of the Great Hall of the Rathaus in Nuremburg in *circa* 1520. The painting based on this drawing was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1944⁷¹. In his version of *The Calumny*, the artist departs from *all'antica* – a style in which he was also well-versed. The rather stocky figures, dressed in heavy robes, are divided into several groups. Leading the first group which contains five people, nearest the judge are the innocent youth being led by the hair by a woman who is the personification of Calumny; the youth having fallen to his knees is lifting both hands upwards awaiting mercy. In the next group, consisting of four people identified by inscriptions, is a personification of Error, who appears neither in Lucian nor in Alberti. The scene has thus been expanded according to the artist's own invention or that of the author of the decorative programme for the Rathaus. The procession ends with Veritas wearing a hat with a large brim and flowing robes and wielding a sceptre in one hand and in the other an image of the sun – the well-known symbol of justice⁷².

In the mid-16th century Luca Penni produced another "reconstruction" of the *Calumny*, not preserved but known from an engraving executed in 1560 by Giorgio Ghisi⁷³. In signing his engraving he left it in no doubt as to who the author of the composition was. One of the inscriptions (on the throne) is: GEORGIUS GHISI MANT. FEC. 1560, whereas the other (on the cartouche) reads: LUCA PENIS. IN. This time the background to the event is, as in the Botticelli panel, monumental architecture. The scene is, however, rather different from all the depictions discussed; it is more compact and also includes a certain innovation. This is because Veritas does not close the procession but is being lifted upwards by a winged old man who is a personification of Tempus. The artist placed this group on the left hand side against one of the arcades. In his article of 1894, Foerster noticed that Möller in producing his version of *The Calumny*, in which Veritas is also being lifted upwards by Tempus, may have been inspired by Ghisi's engraving⁷⁴. Foerster also pointed out that Penni may have known the famous Latin distich on Tempus and Veritas; it reads as follows: "And finally the one (Veritas), about whom they

71 The circumstances surrounding this commission are well documented see: M. Mende, *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus*, I, Nürnberg 1979, pp. 68, 194-199, 204, figs. 69, 78, 80, 83; D. Cast, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-107, figs. 27-28; J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*, pp. 314-318, fig. 13B.

72 E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer and the Classical Antiquity*, in: *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, New York 1955, pp. 259-265.

73 J.M. Massing, *op.cit.*, no. 24 A and B, pp. 346-352.

74 R. Foerster, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

say that she is the daughter of Tempus brings into the light of day calumnies which are hidden”.

To date, the Gdańsk *Calumny* has not been the subject of any detailed research. No one has noticed that Penni's Veritas and Tempus are rather different from Möller's. Thus what was the model for the Gdańsk artist? One scholar has suggested that some of Möller's works were inspired by Domenico Ghirlandaio's frescoes in the Sassetti Chapel at Santa Trinità in Florence⁷⁵. If Möller had indeed visited Florence – which is not certain, so far – he could have also seen Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*. In fact this canvas dated *circa* 1485 shows two soaring winds on the left, who are drying the body of the goddess as she emerges from the waves⁷⁶. The way in which the Möller figures of Veritas and Tempus are represented is very close indeed to Botticelli's personifications of the Winds (fig. 9). Botticelli, in turn, borrowed the Winds from the famous Tazza Farnese, which belonged to Lorenzo de' Medici from *circa* 1480⁷⁷. It is worth noticing that the soaring figures depicted on the Tazza, became extremely popular and in time were also adapted, among others, by Piero di Cosimo and Raphael Santi⁷⁸.

Thus Möller's *Calumny* appears as an unusually interesting “reconstruction” of Apelles's masterpiece, which despite the painting's rather small format did not prevent the artist from introducing certain ambitious innovations: portraying the personification of Calumny as a man, adding the personification of Jealousy/Envy and the highly original group of Veritas and Tempus.

This brings to mind yet another supposition which could seem to be problematical, that is that the judge with his characteristic beard and head wear is reminiscent of King Stefan Batory (1576-1586). The monarch waged war against the wealthy city of Gdańsk at the end of the 1570s⁷⁹. Although the war was short-lived and an agreement was reached, Batory never gained the same popularity in Gdańsk as did, among others, Zygmunt III, Władysław IV (portraits of both these monarchs decorate the façade of Arthur's Court) and Jan III Sobieski. Maybe, therefore, in the small painting discussed here, he has been “repaid” by being shown as a judge who is surrounded by Ignorance and Suspicion. Of course, this requires further research and if it transpired that this were indeed the case, we would have a unique adaptation of an antique tale in European art.

75 T. Grzybkowska, *Złoty wiek malarstwa gdańskiego*, pp. 140-142.

76 R. Lightbown, *op.cit.*, I, pp. 85-89, II, pp. 64-65.

77 N. Dacos, A. Giuliano, U. Pannuti, *Il terrore di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, I: *Le gemme*, Firenze 1972, 43, fig. 42.

78 *Ibidem*, fig. 91-93, to the text on p. 149.

79 On the subject of the war see: E. Cieślak, *Cz. Biernat*, *op.cit.*, *passim*; S. Grzybowski, *Dzieje Polski i Litwy (1506-1648)*, Kraków 2000, pp. 192-195.

THE GDAŃSK PANELS WITH EXEMPLA IUSTITIAE IN THE CONTEXT
OF OTHER JUDICIAL CYCLES

Apart from the paintings, sculptures and tapestries depicting *exempla iustitiae* in Italy, the Netherlands and Denmark which have already been mentioned, there are some other cycles which are worth comparing with the Gdańsk panels. One of the most interesting of these once adorned the west façade of the Nuremberg Rathaus or Town Hall⁸⁰. The cycle was probably painted in 1521, possibly after drawings by Albrecht Dürer. Unfortunately the façade was demolished in 1619 and what the paintings looked like is known only from a simple 16th century drawing now at the Albertina, Vienna (fig. 12). However, it is still possible to identify most of the subjects. Starting on the left hand side there are: the *Story of Zaleucus*, the *Judgement of Solomon*, the *Justice of Cambyses*, the *Shooting at Fathers Corpse*⁸¹ and *Christ and the Adulterous Woman*. In turn, on the agate bowl from Munich, already referred to, there are, apart from *The Judgement of Solomon*, scenes depicting *The Justice of Zaleucus*, *The Justice of Cambyses* and also *Shooting at Father's Corpse* (fig. 11). It is also worth recording that Dürer (or a painter from his circle) also executed *The Calumny of Apelles* for the same Town Hall.

It is worth recording at this point that in the 16th century, scenes of judgement were also common themes in the art of North Italy. The most interesting of these were produced by Pordenone and Pomponio Amalteo in the communal palaces in Ceneda and Belluno. Unfortunately their cycles of frescoes have only been partially preserved; the themes and composition of these paintings are well known because of the preparatory drawings and etchings⁸². The cycle in the Palazzo del Consiglio dei Nobili in Belluno, dating from 1529, depicted the following scenes: *The Vestal Tuccia*, *The Judgement of T. Manlius Torquatus* and the so-called *Conspiracy of Catiline*⁸³. The cycle in the Loggia Municipale at Ceneda included: *The Judgement of Solomon*, *Judgement of Daniel* and the *Justice of Trajan*⁸⁴. One of the most developed cycle of judgement scenes (now dispersed) was executed by Antonio Campi of Cremona in 1549 in the

80 M. Mende, op.cit., pp. 432-435, fig. 188.

81 For this theme in the visual arts see J. Miziolek, "Exempla" di giustizia, pp. 72-88.

82 See: *Temi profani nell'Amalteo*, ed. C. Furlan, Spilimbergo 1980, passim. See also D. Fausti, *La giustizia rappresentata: iconografia da fonti bibliche e classiche*, "Quaderni del Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Antropologici sulla Cultura Antica", Siena 1994, pp. 25-51; C. Furlan, *Il Pordenone*, Milano 1988, pp. 185-198, 300 ff.

83 On the literary sources of these representations see: R. Guerrini, *Temi profani e fonti letterarie classiche tra Pordenone e Amalteo*, in: *Il Pordenone. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio*, ed. C. Furlan, Pordenone 1984, pp. 67-71.

84 *Temi profani nell'Amalteo*, loc.cit.; Ch.E. Cohen, *The Art of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone*, Cambridge 1996, figs. 700-708, to text on pp. 726-729.

Sala del Consiglio dei Giureconsulti della Loggia in Brescia and included the following scenes: *The Judgement of Solomon*, *the Justice of Trajan*, *Susannah and the Elders*, *The Judgement of Cambyses*, *The Judgement of Seleucos of Locri* and *The Judgement of T. Manlius Torquatus*⁸⁵.

CONCLUSION

Compared with other judicial cycles, the one produced for Arthur's Court in Gdańsk constitutes a very interesting and individual, albeit not quite unique iconographical programme conceived by a well-read adviser to the painter or the patron. Although inspired by a variety of literary sources, these panels acclaim wise and just judges, and proclaim the triumph of truth and virtue. Therefore, the scenes were appropriate for an edifice in which severe judgements were meted out. How such judgements were arranged can be seen on an etching executed in 1650, which accompanied Ludwig Knaust's song entitled *Gespräch zweier berühmter Jungfrauen* (fig. 14)⁸⁶. It refers to a true story in which the three sons of rich patricians of the city, namely Teofil Gitius, Gottfried Ibscher and Wilhelm Schroeder were sentenced to death. We can see them all from the back, wearing long coats, in the bottom left hand corner of the etching. They are standing in front of the judge who is seated on the bench placed by the window. Five members of the jury occupy the City Counsellors' Bench and are seated beneath the five aforementioned panels depicting exemplary judgements which, however, are not shown in the etching. Next to the three men on trial are two counsel for the defence. In the background, on the left are several dozen people who are witnessing the event. The other etching shows the preparations for the execution of the three men in front of Arthur's Court. From written sources it is known that not only the men depicted on the etchings were sentenced to death in the Gdańsk's courtroom, but it is also known that most of the executions were indeed carried out in front of Arthur's Court⁸⁷.

The following sentence can be found in the chronicle of the city of Nuremberg dated 1488: "The town hall was build under Ludwig and decorated with paintings of stories from Valerius Maximus, Plutarch and Aulus Gellius"⁸⁸. When in 1568 and 1588 the two cycles of judicial scenes were painted, one above the City Counsellors' Bench and the other above the Judges' Bench, the

85 D. Fausti (*La giustizia rappresentata*, pp. 25-51) discusses and reproduces the majority of these paintings.

86 A. Kurkowa, *Grafika ilustracyjna gdańskich druków okolicznościowych XVII*, Wrocław 1979, pp. 150-151, fig. 67.

87 M. Bogucka, *Życie w dawnym Gdańsku – wiek XVI-XVII*, Warszawa 1997, pp. 181-193.

88 H. van der Velden, *Cambyses For Example*, p. 16.

first Bay in Arthur's Court was adorned with two highly original cycles of exemplar images which derived not only from Valerius Maximus and Plutarch but also from Herodotus, Dio Cassius, Florus, Lucian and perhaps from Goslicius as well. These cycles thus reflect the high standard of education of the people who commissioned the paintings, who were most certainly mayors and counsellors of Gdańsk.

To conclude, it is worth recalling one sentence from Hugo van der Velden's important paper on *exempla iustitiae* in Netherlandish art. He says the following: "Almost all the representations of exemplary justice that graced the town halls in the 15th and 16th centuries have been removed in the course of time, which means that much information concerning their original function has been lost"⁸⁹. Despite the tragedy of war, the judiciary cycles in Arthur's Court are still *in situ*, even if incomplete. Furthermore, the one placed beneath Vredeman de Vries's *Orpheus* is exceptional if not unique not only because of the sophisticated selection of the subject matter but also because of the fact that over 80 percent of it has been preserved.

linguistic consultation: Anne-Marie Fabianowska and Christopher Ligota

89 Ibidem, p. 5.

two highly original cycles of
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 the number of education of
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from Hugo van der Velder's
 and the following:
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1. Digital reconstruction of Anton Möller's *Last Judgement* with remnants of the original cycle of small panels with judicial subjects underneath (after A. Firynowicz, Museum of History of the City of Gdańsk).



the window, five members
 and are seated beneath the
 judgements which, however,
 man on trial we two come
 are several dozen people
 Court. From within
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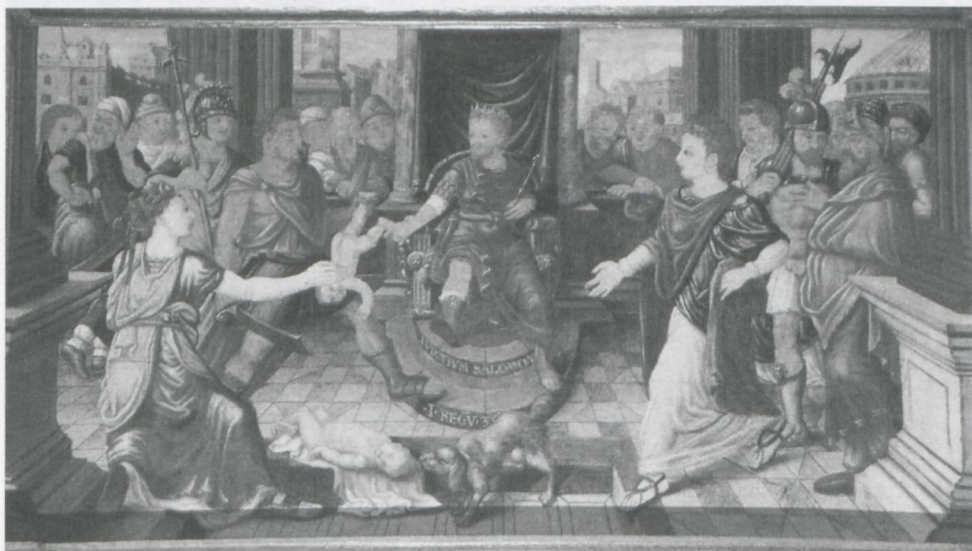
The following grants
 dated 1498. The town
 paintings of various
 When in 1578 and 1580
 above the City Councilors

2. Digital reconstruction of Vredeman de Vries's *Orpheus* with the original cycle of panels depicting judicial scenes and personifications (after Museum).





3. Gdańsk artist, *The Justice of Zeleucus of Locri*, lost panel of the frieze above the so-called City Counsellors' Bench (known as the Bench of the Brotherhood of Three Kings until 1530), Gdańsk, Arthur's Court (after archive photograph of the Herder Institute in Marburg).



4. Gdańsk artist, *The Judgement of Solomon*, panel of a frieze above the so-called City Counsellors' Bench, Gdańsk, Arthur's Court (after Museum).



5. An artist from Gdańsk, *The Justice of Cambyses*, fragment of a frieze above the so-called City Counsellors' Bench, Gdańsk, Arthur's Court (after Museum).



6. Attributed to Jan Swart van Groningen, *The Judgement of Cambyses*, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (reproduced after H. van der Velden, *Cambyses For Example: the Origins and Function of an exemplum iustitiae in the Netherlandish Art of the Fifteenth Century*, "Simiolus" (XXIII) 1995, 1, pp. 5-39, fig. 7).



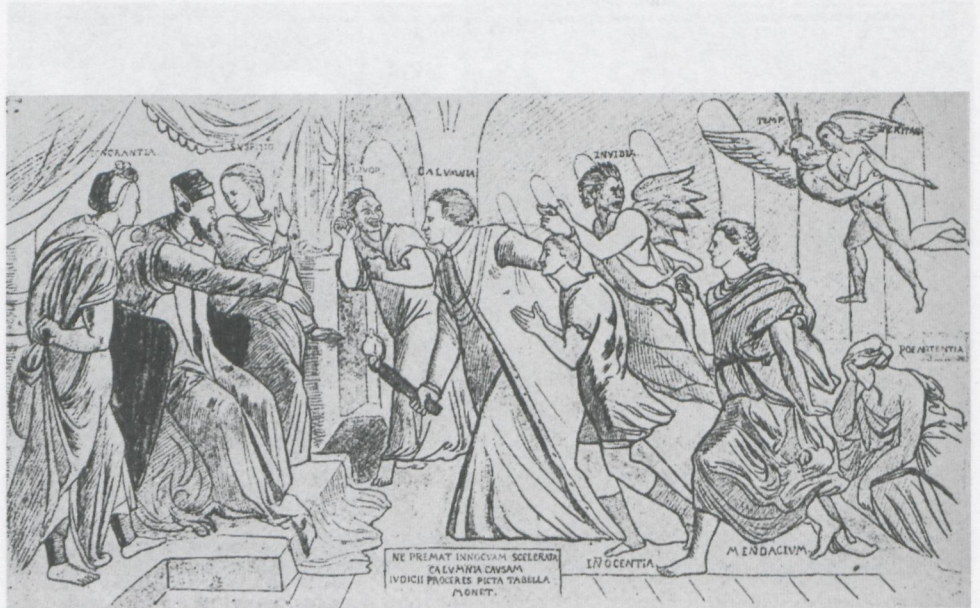
7. Gdańsk artist, Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery, panel of a frieze above the so-called City Counsellors' Bench, Gdańsk, Arthur's Court (after Museum).



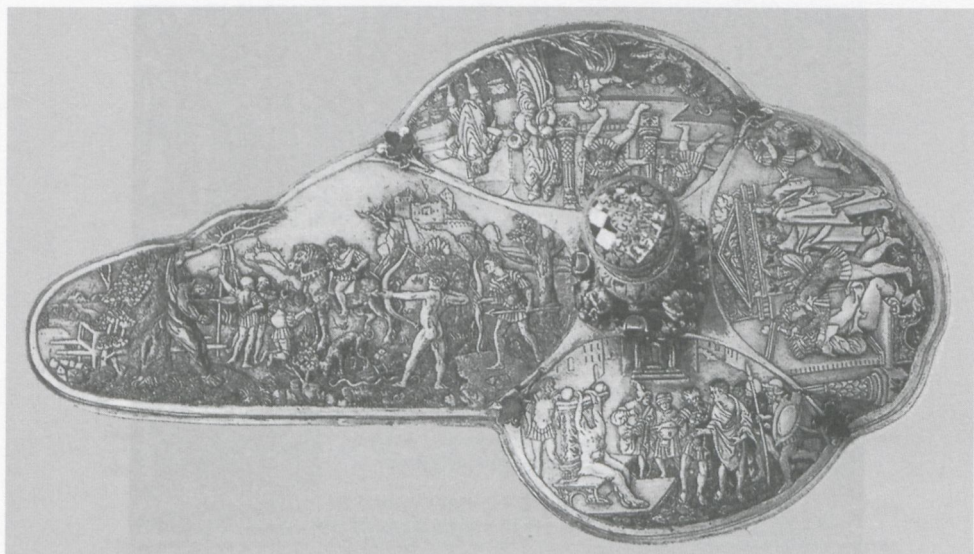
8. Gdańsk artist, The Punishment (Mockery) of Licinius Crassus, panel of a frieze above the so-called City Counsellors' Bench, Gdańsk, Arthur's Court (after Museum).



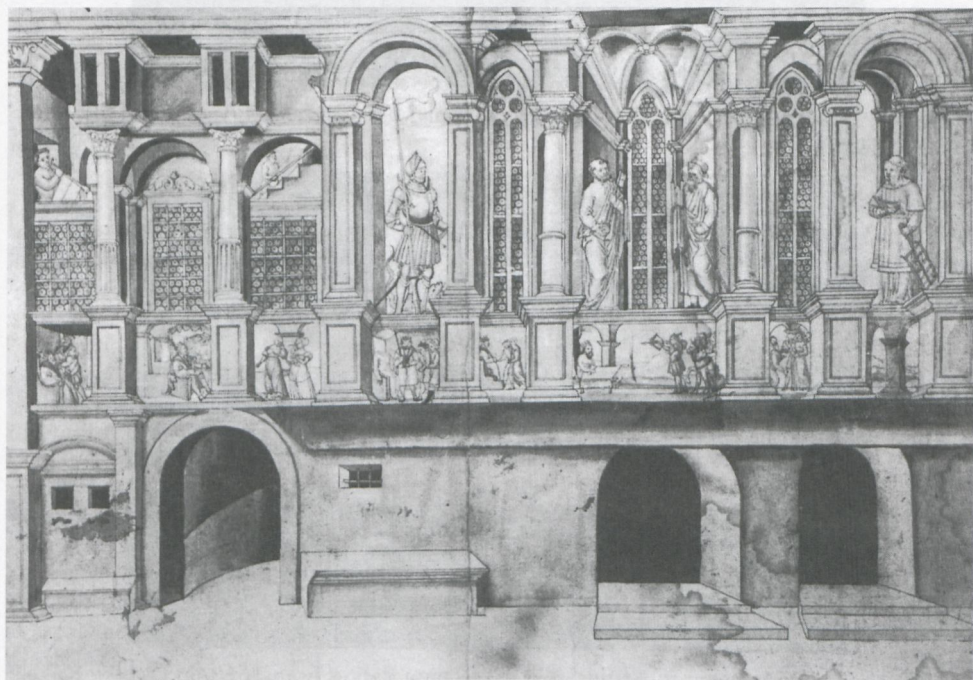
9. Botticelli, *Birth of Venus*, engraving by F. Jasiński, Warsaw, National Museum (after Museum).



10. *The Calumny of Apelles*, drawing after Anton Möller's painting (after Foerster 1894).



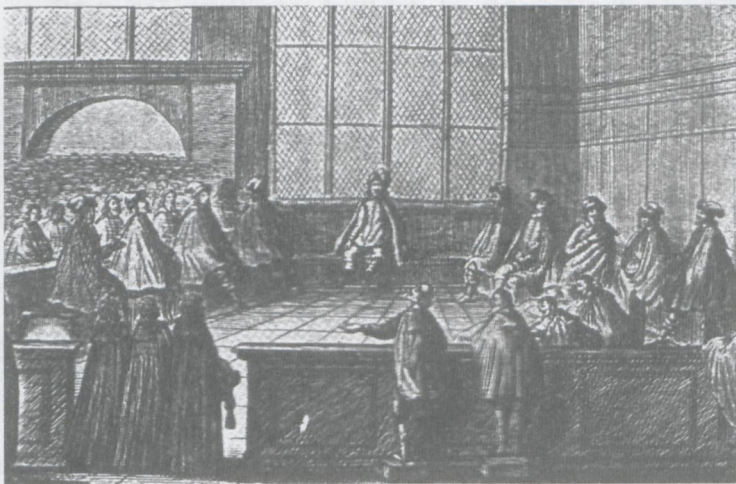
11. Agate Bowl with judicial scenes, Munich, Schatzkammer of the Residenz (after Konečný 2002).



12. West façade of the Nuremberg Town Hall, drawing, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (after Mende 1979).



13. Hans Sebald Beham, frontispiece in Justinus Gobler, *Der gerichtlich Prozess*, Frankfurt (after Kashnitz 1970).



14. The scene of judgement in Arthur's Court, etching dating from 1650, in Ludwig Knaust *Gespräch zweier berühmter Jungfrauen*, Gdańsk Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (after Kurkova 1979).