

The Seven Shields of Behaim: New Evidence

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AMONG THE MOST treasured possessions of the Arms and Armor Department are the “seven shields of Behaim” (Figures 1–7),¹ a group of fifteenth-century wooden shields painted with the arms of the Nuremberg patrician family Behaim von Schwarzbach: *per pale of gules and argent, overall a bend wavy sinister sable*, including their crest: *a falcon argent, gorged with a crown sable*; the helmet mantlings are red, lined white (Figures 8, 9).² The group consists of four tournament targes with *bouches*, cutouts originally designed as lance rests (Figure 10),³ and three pavises, oblong shields with a hollowed vertical midridge used by lightly armed cavalymen as well as by swordsmen fighting on foot (Figure 11).⁴

Made of wood covered with leather, the knightly shield in use from the twelfth to the fourteenth century was triangular in shape. It covered the knight's entire left side when he was on horseback and displayed his identifying heraldic cognizances. With plate armor fully developed by the last quarter of the fourteenth century, this shield became obsolete; but a different type, the targe, of more or less rectangular outline with a *bouche*, was adopted for the chivalrous sport of jousting. Interestingly, while the triangular shield was painted with the knight's arms alone, it became customary that a targe be decorated with his entire heraldic achievement, which included helmet, crest, mantling, and often also supporter figures.

Even after battle shields were phased out, heraldic shields retained their value as status symbols. Consequently, the moneyed city aristocracies of bankers and merchants, to whom the Behaim family belonged, strove to acquire these prestigious trappings.

By tradition, after his death a knight who had been a donor or patron of an abbey, monastery, or parish would have his shield hung up in church as his memorial. Most of the about three score knightly

shields and targes preserved owe their survival to this custom. It was customary for some patrician families of Nuremberg to place such memorial shields in their family chapels. In time this developed into an art form in its own right, the *Totenschilde*, painted or sculpted armorial achievements that often also included the wife's coat of arms.⁵

A group of shields like these seven with the Behaim arms is unique in any museum's holdings, as was pointed out by the Arms and Armor Department's founder and first curator, Bashford Dean, at their acquisition in 1925. As there are numbers up to nine painted on the backs of the Museum's seven shields, there originally must have been at least two more in the group. One of these still belonged to the Behaim family in 1926.⁶

Although there was never any question as to the antiquity of the shields, it was recognized at the time of their acquisition that the armorial achievements they displayed were overpaintings of later times, a fact not unusual with medieval shields. Indeed, it can be recognized now that the style of the arms, especially of the helmets, is obviously based on the archaizing heraldic woodcuts published in Jost Amman's *Wappen- und Stammbuch* of 1589⁷ (Figures 12, 13). The stylized form of tournament helm for the German joust (*Stechhelm*), pierced with large and highly impractical breaths in the form of crosses at each side, that appears in the Amman woodcut is repeated on the Behaim shields. This evidence alone indicates that the Behaim arms were added in the late sixteenth century at the very earliest.

The shields appeared on the art market in the early 1920s, belonging to a gremium of dealers in Munich and Lucerne,⁸ who in turn seem to have acquired them directly from the Behaim family.⁹ The shields had first been seen by Dean at the dealer Julius Böhler's establishment in Munich in the summer of 1923, and he arranged to have them shipped to the Museum that autumn so as to propose their purchase. The acquisition, however, was to be one of Dean's most difficult. When the shields

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Figure 1. Tournament targe with the arms of the Nuremberg patrician family Behaim von Schwarzbach and supporter figure. German, third quarter of 15th century. Wood, covered with leather, linen, and gesso, painted, 56 x 40.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.1



Figure 2. Tournament targe with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach (in reverse) and supporter figure. German, mid-15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 48 x 43 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.2



Figure 3. Pavise with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and Volckamer (on auxiliary shield). German, 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 57 x 42 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.3



Figure 4. Pavise with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and Wilhelmsdorf (on auxiliary shield). German, 15th century. Wood, covered with leather, canvas, and gesso, painted, 66.7 x 48.3 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.4



Figure 5. Tournament targe with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach. German, second half of 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 51 x 40.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.5



Figure 6. Tournament targe with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and supporter figure. German, second half of 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 53.5 x 45.5 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.6



Figure 7. Pavise with the arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach and Roemer (on auxiliary shield). German, 15th century. Wood, covered with leather and gesso, painted, 48.3 x 33 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Florence Blumenthal, 1925, 25.26.7

Figures 1–7 show the shields before the restoration begun in 1990.



Figure 8. Albrecht Dürer.
Arms of Michael IV Behaim
(1473–1522). Woodcut.
German (Nuremberg),
1518–20



Figure 9. Albrecht Dürer.
Woodblock, coat of arms for
the Behaim family. New York,
The Pierpont Morgan Library
(photo: The Pierpont Morgan
Library)

arrived in New York, they turned out to be much dirtier and more discolored than Dean remembered. Photographs taken at the time (see, for example, Figures 16, 22, 27, 38) indicate that their decoration was almost invisible through the grime and dark varnish. Dean found little support for the acquisition of the shields, and his proposal was turned down. Fully convinced of their importance for the Museum's collection, Dean paid for the shields himself and undertook to have them cleaned before bringing them again before the Purchasing Committee. Only in January of 1925, after months of conservation, were the newly restored and greatly transformed shields acquired by the Museum.

For the restoration of the shields, Dean turned to the Museum's paintings conservator Stanley Rowland. Using both solvents and mechanical means, Rowland investigated the paint layers, which he

found to be more numerous than had previously been imagined. On several shields, the "windows" he opened revealed earlier painted designs and heraldic arms quite unrelated to those of the Behaim, which Dean considered original to the fifteenth-century date of the shields. Uncovering the underlying layers would have meant losing the Behaim arms, so Dean had the windows overpainted. The sole exception is the pavise, acc. no. 25.26.3, in which a small rectangular area of exposed surface in the upper sinister corner was left uncovered (Figure 3). Rowland cleaned away the dirt and varnish and retouched the decoration. The restored surfaces are those seen in the Museum's record photographs used from 1925 until 1990 (Figures 1–7). Rowland's restoration of the shields is documented in a series of photographs taken in the Museum between September 1924 and January 1925, some of

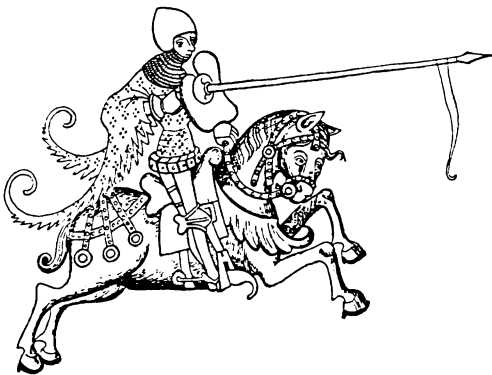


Figure 10. Charging knight, with lance resting in the *bouche* of his targe. After illustration, dated 1400, by Michael Althaymer, Augsburg. From *Der Renner*, by Hugo von Trimberg, ca. 1300. Stockholm, Royal Library; Inv. Vu 74



Figure 11. Hans Burgkmair. Group of swordsmen with "Bohemian" pavises. Woodcut from *Triumph of Maximilian*. German (Augsburg), ca. 1515. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

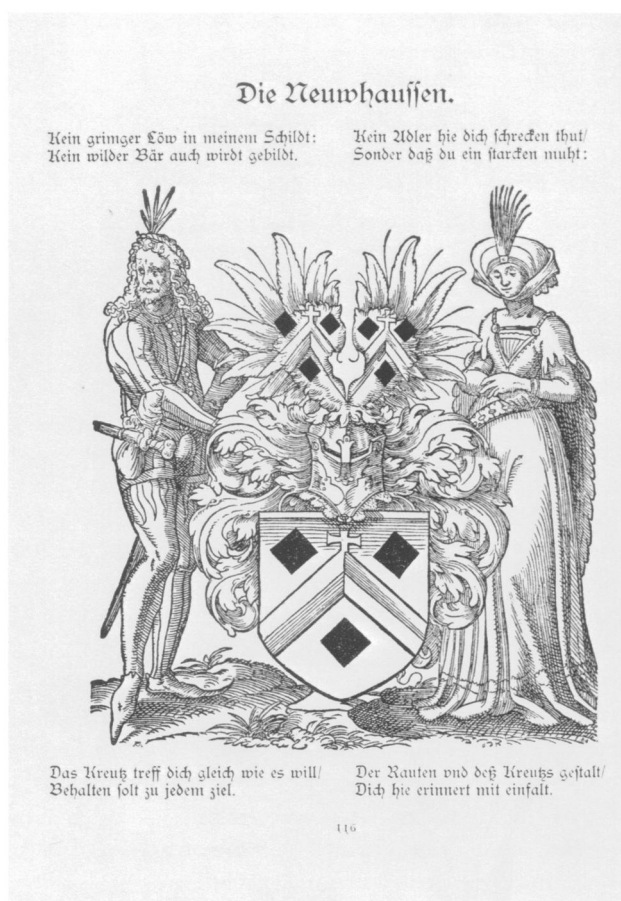


Figure 12. Jost Amman. Arms of the Neuhaussen family, with a pair of supporter figures. Woodcut from *Wappen- und Stammbuch*, Frankfurt, 1589



Figure 13. Jost Amman. Arms of the Held family, with “canting” supporter figure (*Held* = “hero”). Woodcut from *Wappen- und Stammbuch*, Frankfurt, 1589

which are reproduced here, and in a written report submitted to Bashford Dean and deposited in the files of the Department of Arms and Armor.¹⁰

It was not until 1985, in preparation for “Gothic Art in Nuremberg,”¹¹ a Metropolitan Museum exhibition in which the Behaim shields were to be displayed, that the shields were first X-rayed. The X-rays confirmed Rowland’s earlier observations that some of the designs and armorial bearings were quite different from those now visible. Some preliminary observations as to the underlying designs based on these X-rays were reported by the author of this article in the catalogue of that exhibition. Finally, in 1990, during preparations for the reinstallation of the Arms and Armor galleries, it was decided to renew the efforts to restore the Behaim shields and to recover, if possible, some of the earlier late-medieval painted surfaces.¹² This delicate work was undertaken by Christel Faltermeier and

Rudolf Meyer, independent conservators who had previously worked for many years at the Museum, and continued over three winters (1990–92); the project was funded in part with a generous grant provided by Ronald S. Lauder. The results of the campaign were nothing short of spectacular.

For practical reasons the four shields that showed the most substantial underpainting in the X-ray pictures were selected to be cleaned first. These were one of the three pavises, acc. no. 25.26.3 (Figure 3), and three of the four targes, acc. nos. 25.26.1, .5 and .6 (Figures 1, 5, 6). The fourth targe, acc. no. 25.26.2 (Figure 2), and the two other pavises, acc. nos. 25.26.4 and .7 (Figures 4, 7), were cleaned and spot-tested, but it was decided not to give them full attention at that time. The two pavises have up to five layers of paint, which makes their X-ray pictures extremely difficult to interpret.

The X-ray examination of targe acc. no. 25.26.2



Figure 14. X-ray photograph of targe 25.26.2 in Figure 2

revealed that the supporter figure of a young man in a long gown and a silver headband with a single egret feather had been much more elaborately attired originally, with a turban of twisted strands of pearls and a much larger plume (Figures 2, 14). This peculiar headdress might even indicate that this youth was originally a Moor. Moors were very popular in medieval German iconography¹³ and especially in Nuremberg, where several of the most important and influential families—such as the Tucher, Haller, Holzschuher, Pommer, Schedel, and Dürer—have Moors in their arms and crests. Under X-ray examination there also appears an earlier, but unidentifiable, shield leaning the opposite way from the present one. However, the difficulty of removing this particular overpaint and the deterioration of the underlying layers discouraged further exploration.

I. The first shield to be treated, pavise acc. no. 25.26.3, showed the full Behaim arms on a brown-black background with a silver border, a wavy cloud-

band outlined in black. In the lower sinister corner was a small secondary shield with the arms of the Nuremberg patricians Volckamer: *per fess, argent and azure, in chief a halved wheel gules, in base a fleur de lis argent* (Figures 3, 15).¹⁴ Varnish and grime had so darkened the surface that its white and blue colors appeared as yellow and black (Figure 16).

The body of the shield is of wood, about half an inch (1.3 cm) thick, and covered with leather on both sides. The covering of the back is made from two pieces stitched together in a traverse seam. The front of the shield is gessoed and painted; the back is covered with several layers of brown oil-based paint (Figure 17). The T-shaped handgrip of wood and leather is still in place; at the top of the mid-ridge channel is a suspension strap of corded leather. Eight other holes, possibly for an earlier and different arrangement of handgrip straps, are visible.¹⁵ A numeral “1” in white oil paint, now light brown through discolored varnishing, is in the upper left-hand corner; a numeral “3” is scratched, upside down, into the leather of the lower left-hand side.

Rowland observed before beginning his restoration of the pavise that it was “in a fairly good condition but quite black.” A small square window was made in the border of the upper sinister corner, and “a German Gothic inscription in beautifully proportioned letters” was found underneath the present silver border. However, since uncovering this underlying border would interfere with the Be-



Figure 15. Berthold Volckamer and Lamprecht Gross in jousting gear at the *Gesellenstechen*, February 28, 1446. Watercolor drawing from a *Turnierbuch*. German (Nuremberg), ca. 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



Figure 16. Targe 25.26.3 in Figure 3, photographed in 1924 before restoration



Figure 17. Targe 25.26.3, reverse



Figure 18. Targe 25.26.3 during restoration (February 1991)



Figure 19. Targe 25.26.3 with its original design fully uncovered (March 1991)

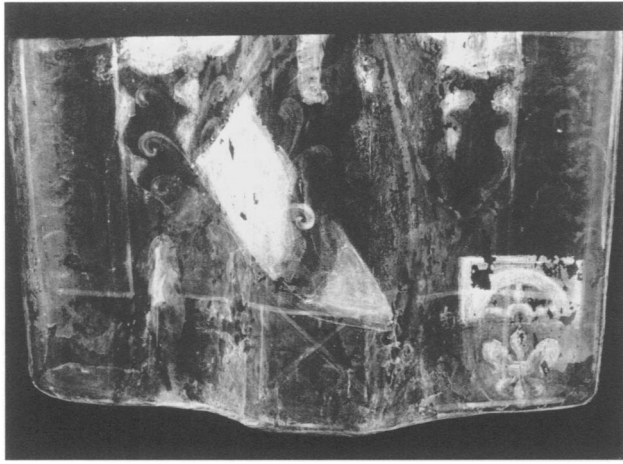


Figure 20. X-ray photograph (detail of the lower half) taken in 1985 of targe 25.26.3

haim achievement, it was decided to stop further exploration and to leave the Behaim arms in place.

The X-ray photographs of 1985 revealed the underlying wide border with what looked like a geometrical design, as well as a pattern of elegant floral swirls in the central panel (Figure 20). After removal of the overpaint of the Behaim arms, the underlying border with its inscriptions and enhancements of corner rosettes and four panels of St. Andrew's crosses with small inserted fleurs-de-lis was uncovered. The inscriptions are yellow on a faded brown background and consist of the Gothic letters "nmr" repeated twelve times. What remains unclear is whether these mysterious letters are the initials of a motto, a pious invocation, or just a decorative pseudo-inscription (Figures 18, 19).¹⁶

On the central panel of the shield the outline of a rampant feline came to light during restoration; strangely, the creature is facing to sinister, quite against conventional heraldic custom.¹⁷ It also was discovered that originally the entire surface of this animal figure and of the quatrefoils in the corners had been covered with molded relief appliques, probably gilded or painted,¹⁸ which have since fallen off.

The feline is surrounded by floral scrolls; two of them are sprouting from the bottom of the panel under the animal's paws, but the third scroll emerges from its open maw. This is likely to identify the feline as a panther, an animal having, according to the Bestiary, such a melodious belch and sweet breath that it attracted animals to be swallowed.¹⁹ The panther's "sweet breath" is conventionally rep-

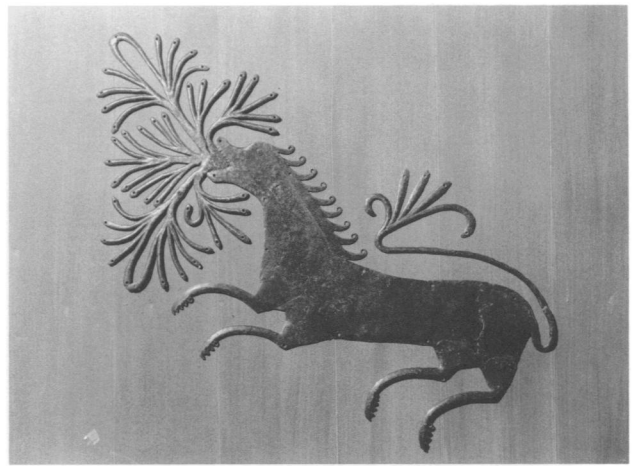


Figure 21. Panther, iron door mounting from the church of St.-Léonard-de-Noblat (Haute-Vienne). French, 11th–12th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection, 1947, 47.101.82

resented as puffs of smoke or as flames. A very close parallel to the figure on this shield are the panthers of the iron door mountings from St.-Léonard-de-Noblat at The Cloisters, though admittedly they are from a much earlier period (Figure 21).²⁰

II. The second shield treated, and still only partly restored, is acc. no. 25.26.6 (Figures 6 and 22), one of the four tournament targes. The outline is almost square, with strongly rounded corners and a vestigial *bouche* indenting its dexter edge. Deeply concave in its middle section, it has three parallel longitudinal ridges and one traverse ridge crossing them just above the *bouche*.²¹ The three longitudinal ridges are carved out of the front face of the shield; the back surface is left flat. There are two large brackets and three small staples remaining on the back, mounts for the now vanished handgrips. The paired brackets are a unique feature, seemingly an afterthought designed to secure the targe directly to the jousting's breastplate. Most likely the breastplate bore a set of corresponding staples and the attachment was made by a drop pin.²² The number "6" is painted a little to the left of the pair of large brackets (Figure 23). The body of the shield is of wood, about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch (1 cm) thick, its thickness increasing to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch (2 cm) at the ridges. The wood is covered front and back with pigskin; the front is primed with gesso and painted on the uppermost layer with oil paint. A large modern steel plate is screwed to the lower left edge on the back, apparently to reinforce a break in the wood.

The face of this shield was painted with the Be-



Figure 22. Condition of targe 25.26.6 in Figure 6 in 1924, before restoration



Figure 23. Targe 25.26.6, reverse



Figure 24. Record photograph of test probing for underlying layers of targe 25.26.6, September 1924

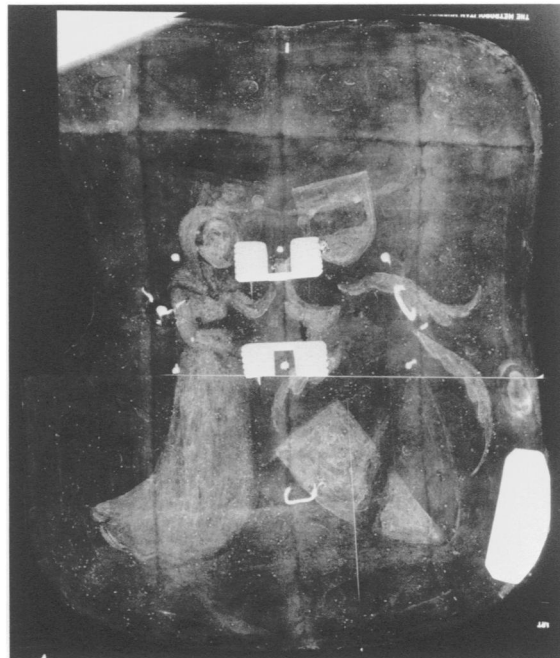


Figure 25. X-ray photograph taken in 1985 of targe 25.26.6, showing earlier escutcheons painted over

haim achievement and a supporter figure of a woman in a high-girt red dress and a wimple of dingy white, all on a drab brown background and surrounded by a plain black border. During the restoration campaign conducted in the autumn of 1924 an underlying black background was uncovered; it was found to be filled with foliate scrollwork in white and silver powder and was bordered by an elaborate cloud-band in silver (Figure 24). The scrollwork and cloud-band were improved upon in the course of this restoration work and were left in the condition shown in Figure 6.

Rowland's tests established that, in all, there were four different layers of paint, and below the two uppermost layers two small armorial shields were found side by side. The charge on one was "a monkey rampant, gardant, reversed," and that on the other "a black porcupine statant." Although these escutcheons were generally well preserved, it was considered too hazardous to sacrifice what was thought to be an original fifteenth-century design with the Behaim arms for the dubious gain of a possibly deteriorated lower surface. As a result, the two little shields were covered up again.

The X-ray picture (Figure 25) confirmed the test findings of 1924, which had shown that the Behaim arms including the supporter figure were overpaints, with the woman's head and the falcon crest overlapping the pair of earlier escutcheons. Consequently, during the recent restorations these two small shields that had been found and temporarily uncovered in 1924 were carefully resurrected once more. The existing background was left undisturbed, but the falcon crest of the Behaims was sacrificed in order to expose the entire escutcheon on the sinister side. The arms on these paired shields turned out to be those of two important families, the Ketzels and the Igelbrechts, of Nuremberg and Augsburg (Figure 26).

The Ketzel arms are: *sable, a monkey argent seated on a mound or, holding in his paw a ball or*, and those of the Igelbrecht family: *argent, a hedgehog sable with three apples or stuck on its spines*. Both of these arms are canting. Long-tailed monkeys of the family Cercopithecidae are called *Meerkatzen* in German, indicating an animal from beyond the seas (*Meer* means "ocean") that climbs trees like a cat (*Katze*). Likewise, the hedgehog (*Igel*) is an obvious and fitting device for Igelbrecht.

In German heraldry, shields arranged side by side like these are customary for a married couple, with the husband's arms in the dexter position and reversed, facing the wife's "for *courtoisie*." Records



Figure 26. Record photograph (detail) taken in 1992 of targe 25.26.6, showing the Ketzel and Igelbrecht escutcheons uncovered

kindly supplied by the Nuremberg Staatsarchiv show that Heinrich Ketzel the Elder (d. 1438), *Grosskaufmann*, who was originally from Augsburg but had moved to Nuremberg in 1422 and was a citizen by 1435/36, had married Anna Igelbrecht at Augsburg in 1391.²³ These arms would have been added after his death, as a memorial, but at an unknown date.

III. The third shield to be restored was acc. no. 25.26.5 (Figures 5 and 27), a tournament targe of highly unusual, almost eccentric shape; Bashford Dean in his 1925 *Bulletin* article described it as suggesting "nothing less than the palmate antler of a moose." In outline it is almost oval, with a deep *bouche*, a V-cut upper edge, and a continuously scalloped rim. On its face two curved ridges converge strongly toward the midridge. These ridges are not carved from the body itself, as were those on targe acc. no. 25.26.6 (just discussed); instead, they appear to be molded in gesso.

The body of the shield is half an inch (1.5 cm) thick and is covered front and back with leather (possibly pigskin) (Figure 28). All that remains of the now missing handgrips are one bracket, one fragmentary mount, and two large rivets. The numeral "8" is painted in faded oil paint below the V-cut; a numeral "5" is scratched into the leather a little lower. In the tests made in 1924 it was found that the front was primed in a highly unusual technique with gesso containing a layer of tiny pieces of broken glass, both green and clear.



Figure 27. Targe 25.26.5 in Figure 5, photographed in 1924, before restoration

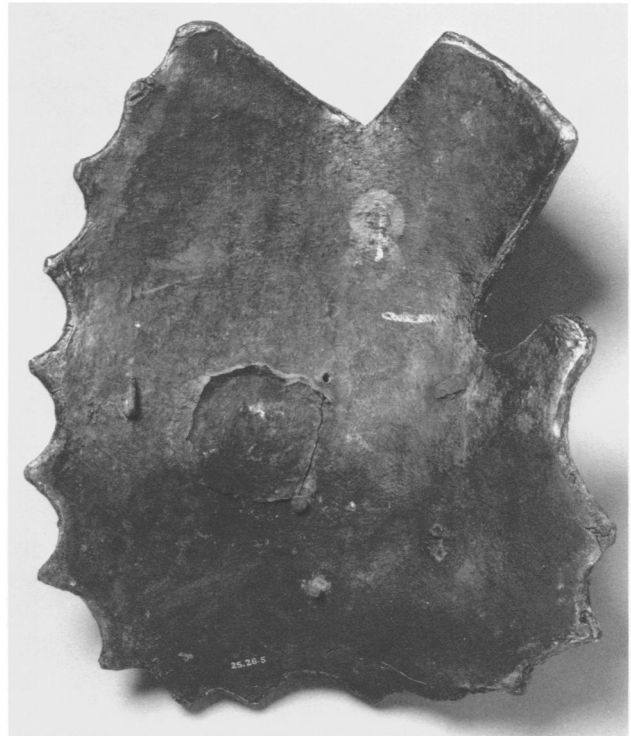


Figure 28. Reverse side of targe 25.26.5



Figure 29. Condition of targe 25.26.5 after initial restoration, September 1924



Figure 30. Targe 25.26.5 in January 1925, during restoration; part of underlying layer (globular blossom, near second cusp of edge) exposed

This shield was the only one displaying the full Behaim arms without a supporter figure or an auxiliary escutcheon. The discolored and much blistered outer coat of paint (Figure 27) was initially cleaned in September 1924 (Figure 29). Further work was done later that year, which ascertained that there were several layers of earlier decorations underneath the surface, including a circular flower on the shield's proper left (sinister) edge (Figure 30). Further exploration was stopped and the exposed lower paint layers covered over.

On X-ray photographs one could see a pair of small escutcheons similar to the Ketzels-Igelbrecht shields on the previously described targe, acc. no. 25.26.6 (Figure 31). Very faint traces in the dexter shield did look like a tiny hand holding a ball, which could indicate another *Meerkatze* of the Ketzels; the shield on the distaff side showed more clearly two concentric circles as a charge (tentatively identified as the arms of the patrician family Koler: *gules, a ring argent*). Immediately to its right appeared what looked like a spray of three flowers.²⁴

Careful probing into the layers of paint uncov-

ered the two small shields, and, indeed, the shield on the dexter side bears the Ketzels arms with the *Meerkatze*; the one on the sinister shows, as already expected, the arms of Koler: *gules, a ring argent*. These shields were painted on a layer halved *mi-parti*, with the Ketzels shield on a bright coral-red background, and the Koler shield on a field boldly striped with white, dark green, white, and dark red (Figure 32). The division of the *mi-parti* design is located at the geometric midpoint of the shield, to the left of the midridge.

The red half of the shield bears what at first glance looks like decorative scrollwork, but what is actually four vertically aligned capital letters—A, G, V, and F—executed in fancifully elaborate calligraphy. The letters presumably stand for a motto or the name of the owner. If the latter, the third letter should probably be interpreted as an abbreviation of *von*, the German prefix to an aristocratic title. The shield with the Ketzels arms overlaps part of the second letter, G, indicating that the two little shields were added later to the letters and the stripes.

In places where the paint of the stripes had flaked

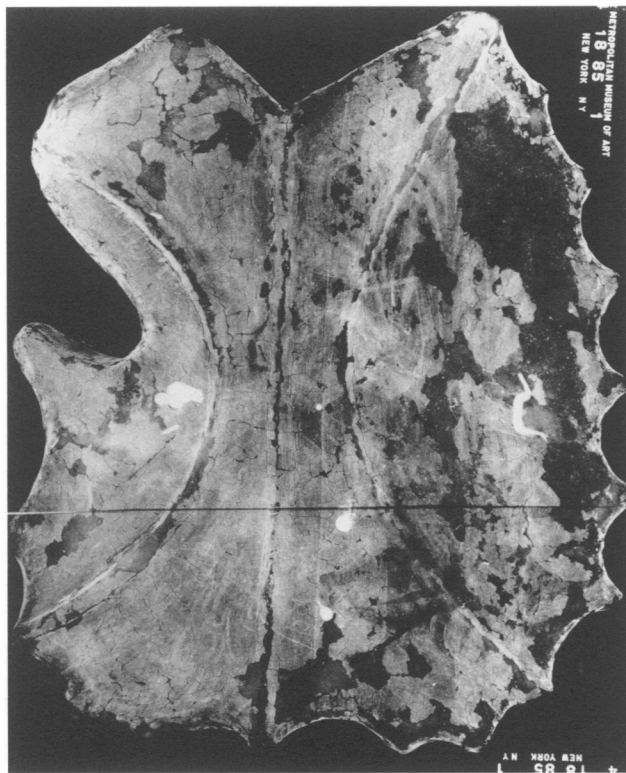


Figure 31. X-ray photograph of targe 25.26.5 taken in 1985

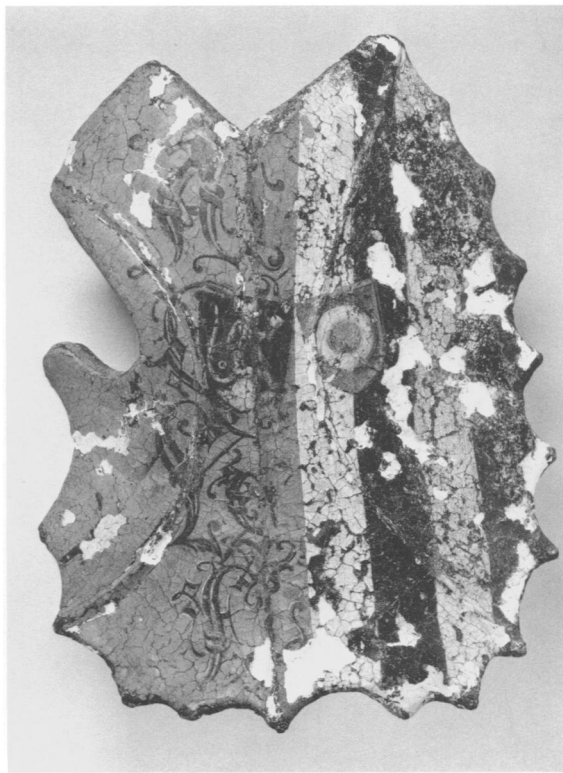


Figure 32. Targe 25.26.5 in January 1992, during restoration, with calligraphy and stripes of the second layer and the superimposed escutcheons of Ketzels and Koler uncovered

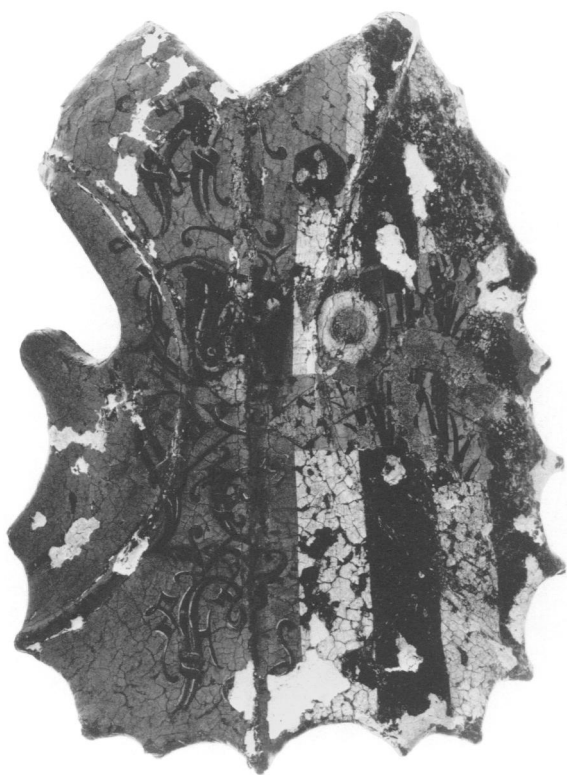


Figure 33. Targe 25.26.5 in February 1992, during restoration, with part of the spray of flowers and the bandscroll of the lowermost layer exposed. Note that the globular blossom (see Figure 30) found in 1925 is now missing; it was apparently lost in the earlier tests when solvents were used

off it was evident that there was yet earlier decoration below. Exploration of this layer—what seems, in fact, to be the earliest layer—showed that the red background extended across the entire surface of the targe and that underneath the stripes was the sprig of flowers that had been partially uncovered by Rowland in the earlier restoration campaign (Figure 33). The flowers were clearly visible in the X-rays.

The flowers, consisting of three blue globular blossoms atop green thorned stems, are probably meant to represent a member of the thistle family, *Eryngium*, called *Mannestreu* (“man’s fidelity”) in German. It is a love symbol, best known from Albrecht Dürer’s early self-portrait of 1493, where as a bridegroom he holds a sprig of mannestreu in his hand.²⁵ Overlapping the stems is a gold-colored bandscroll inscribed with the capital letter “W” repeated three times²⁶ (Figure 34). This enigmatic initial may be that of the shield’s owner, or perhaps of

his true love, or possibly a motto such as *Werd, was will* (“Come what may”). It is worth noting that the bandscroll extends across the entire sinister half of the shield, up to the midridge, beyond stripes that define the left half in the later *mi-parti* layer. This more natural division of the irregularly shaped shield area is undoubtedly the original one.

This floral design, which used a variety of glazes to achieve a three-dimensional effect, is not only the oldest but also undoubtedly the finest of the painted layers on the shield. Its fragmentary state of preservation left little hope, however, that the original design could be successfully restored. To expose it would have meant losing not only the striking *mi-parti* design with its stripes and letters but also the Ketzell and Koler shields, which are essential for the documentation of the shield’s history. It was therefore decided to make a photographic record of the layer and to cover it again, leaving the *mi-parti* design intact (Figure 35). Alas, these excruciating decisions about which strata to retain and which to sacrifice are the same in all excavations, ever since Schliemann dug at Troy.

The Ketzell-Koler marriage shields afford a dating for that phase of the decoration: Lucas Ketzell (1441–1485), a grandson of Heinrich Ketzell the Elder and Anna Igelbrecht, and a *Grosskaufmann* at Nuremberg like his grandsire, was a member of the City Council from 1468 up to his death. In 1467 he married Magdalena Koler (d. 1484), daughter of the councillor Hanns Koler “mit dem Bart” (1403–1474) and his wife, Barbara Österreicher (d. 1491).²⁷



Figure 34. Detail of Figure 33, showing bandscroll with triple “W” inscribed



Figure 35. Targe 25.26.5 after restoration

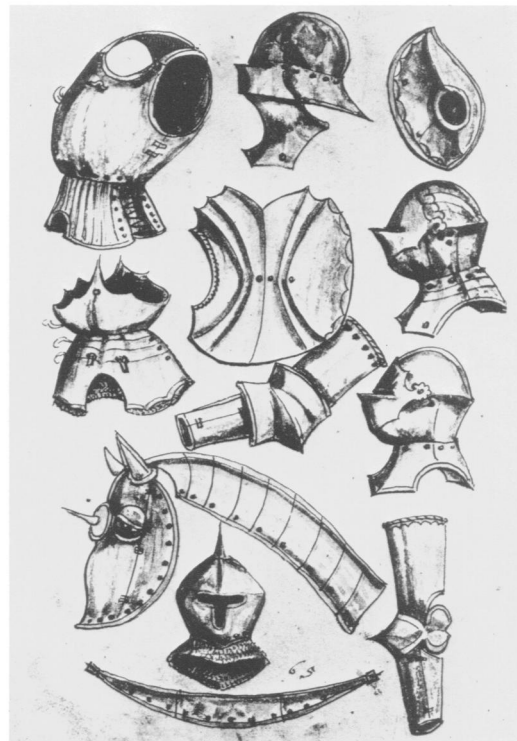


Figure 36. Page from the so-called *Thun Sketchbook* (now lost). Pictorial record of the work of the armorer Lorenz Helmschmid, Augsburg, ca. 1480

The little shields were probably added shortly after Lucas Ketzels death, when the shield was painted as a memorial.

A date in the last third of the fifteenth century fits in nicely with the shape of the targe itself, which is generally similar to a tournament targe illustrated in the so-called *Thun Sketchbook* of about 1480 (Figure 36).²⁸ The style of the four calligraphic letters is close to a woodcut alphabet of before 1490 (Figure 37)²⁹ and also resembles two calligraphic monograms in Michael Wolgemut's *Portrait of a Young Man with a Carnation*, dated 1486, now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, 41.1.³⁰

It would seem then that the second, *mi-parti* layer and the third, Ketzels-Koler layer date close to one another, the *mi-parti* layer shortly before and the Ketzels-Koler shields shortly after 1485, the date of Lucas Ketzels death. The first layer probably dates not too long before them, given the form of the shield. This would suggest that the shield was repainted at least three times during the second half of the fifteenth century, an indication that it may have changed ownership, perhaps through forfeiture in a tournament.

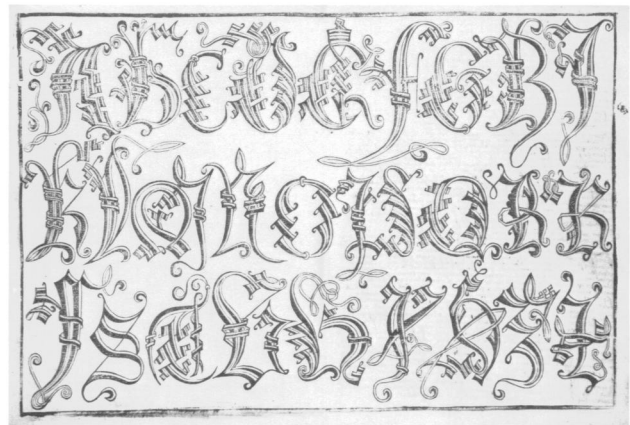


Figure 37. Calligraphic alphabet, woodcut. German, before 1490. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection, 1943.3.698 (photo: National Gallery of Art)

IV. The last "Behaim" shield to be treated, and the one that yielded the biggest surprise, is acc. no. 25.26.1 (Figures 1 and 38). It too is a tournament targe with *bouche*; its elegant outline flaring out at its upper and lower edges was in fashion during the second half of the fifteenth century. Its body is

deeply concave, but it turns convex just below its upper edge to accommodate the jousting's shoulder in braced position; it is strengthened by three longitudinal ridges. The outer ridges follow the outline of the shield, where the ridges meet the edges these are scalloped—engrailed at the top edge and invected at the base.

The targe's body is of wood, about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch (1 cm) thick. Its front is covered with linen and primed with gesso; its back is covered with leather. On the back, three staples and one triangular mount held by three nails are the remnants of the handgrips; a rope sling crudely bundled together is in place, evidently attached at one time for hanging the targe against a wall (Figure 39). The triangular mount is incomplete; it must originally have had a downward-pointing hook to anchor one end of the *guige*, the strap passed around the neck of the jousting holding the targe in correct braced position. A targe of almost identical shape, bearing the arms of the landgraves of Hesse, formerly in the church of St. Elisabeth at Marburg, has this hook still in place (Figure 40).³¹

A hole in the center of the targe, perhaps caused by a lance thrust or—more prosaically—by a stout nail, when it was “hung high up,” is plugged with a wooden peg. The numeral “9” is painted in faded white oil paint on the very worm-eaten leather covering of the back; another numeral, “4,” is scratched upside down below the center of the shield. To the left of the *bouche*, where it would be directly in front of the jousting's face when he held the shield in braced position, are faint traces of an image of St. Christopher carrying the Christ child (Figure 41). According to a medieval belief, not totally extinct even today, looking at a St. Christopher icon would protect one from harmful danger and sudden death for that day.³²

Prior to restoration, the face of the targe was painted a dark brown with an inch-wide black border. The full arms of Behaim on the sinister side were accompanied on the dexter by a supporter figure, a nun in a somber habit with white wimple and girt with a penitent's chain. The cautious explorations done by Rowland late in 1924 found no traces of earlier decoration underneath the top layer of paint, although three lower strata—one black, one light brown, and one of silver leaf “in a beautiful state of preservation”—were identified. At this stage, recorded in a photograph of December 1924 (Figure 42), it was decided that these layers must have been applied simply as the base for the Behaim arms. The silvered ground was then cov-



Figure 38. Targe 25.26.1 in 1924, before restoration



Figure 39. Reverse of targe 25.26.1

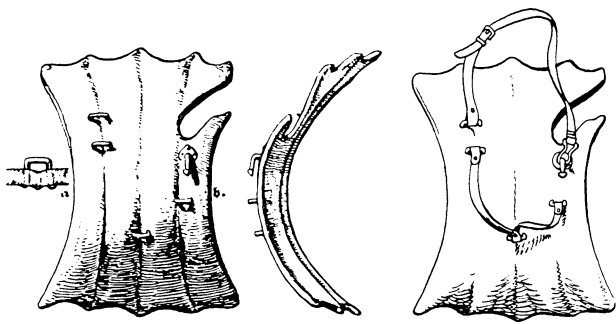


Figure 40. Reverse of the tournament targe of a Landgrave of Hesse, formerly in St. Elisabeth's church, Marburg, now in the Universitätsmuseum, Marburg, with reconstruction of shield straps



Figure 41. Detail of reverse of targe 25.26.1, showing the St. Christopher icon

ered up again. The X-ray photographs taken in 1985, on the other hand, did show that the supporter figure originally was somewhat differently rendered and that the underlying armorial shield also bore a very different charge (Figures 43, 44). Patiently uncovering the lower layers one square millimeter at a time, the conservators found that the second and third layers, with earlier versions of the Behaim arms and the supporter figure, had deteriorated to a degree that there was not enough of their designs left to be worth preserving.

For instance, in the second to last layer there appeared a piece of a leafy garland draped along the *bouche*, and not much else (Figure 45). The lowermost layer, however, the design painted directly on the silver leaf, showed that the "nun's" black gown was originally green and that the original armorial achievement was not that of the Behaim family (Figure 46).

The supporter figure emerged as an elegantly attired damsel, with a white veil over her blond, thickly braided and coiled hair. She wears a green gown with its sleeves cut so tight after the dictates of the latest fashion of the mid-fifteenth century that they had to be laced up way above the elbows. With her left hand she gracefully scoops up her trailing skirt, while her right hand lightly grasps one of the foliate strips of the flowing mantling of the armorial achievement. Next to her on the other side is a bandscroll inscribed in partly erased Gothic lettering: *hab mych als [i]ch [b]in . . . [a]lsche w. . .* This might read as: *Hab mich als ich bin, [du fa]lsche W[elt]* [Take me as I am, thou false world].

Surprisingly, the now uncovered original armorial achievement is not one of a Nuremberg patrician family but that of the Franconian *Reichsritter* von Gottsmann: *Or, a demi-ibex sable* (Figure 47).³³



Figure 42. Targe 25.26.1 in December 1924, during restoration



Figure 43. X-ray photograph (detail) of targe 25.26.1

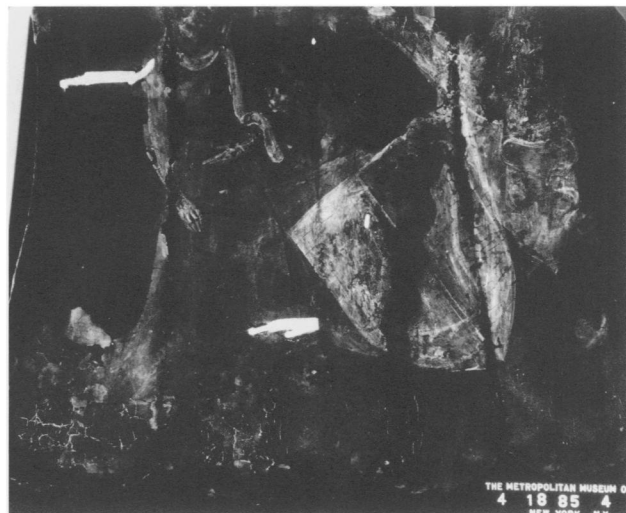


Figure 44. X-ray photograph (detail) of targe 25.26.1



Figure 45. Targe 25.26.1 in January 1991, showing restoration in progress. Note the leafy garland at the *bouche*, part of an intermediate layer of decoration, and the presence of two shields bearing different arms



Figure 46. Targe 25.26.1, with the Gottsmann arms fully restored



Figure 47. The Gottsmann arms, from *Johann Siebmachers Grosses und Allgemeines Wappenbuch*, Nuremberg, 1605

As it is often found in German heraldry, the crest repeats the figure in the shield, and the body of such a figure blends into the mantling, which therefore repeats the colors of the arms; in this case it is black with yellow lining. The helmet is drawn in outline only, with some hatchings, but the steel color of the helmet itself is provided by the silver leaf of the background.

Helmets with grilled visors like this were for *Kolbenturnier*, the *baston* course tournament fought not with lances but with clubs or blunted swords. In this course the goal was not to unhorse an opponent but to knock off his helmet crest, which called for more skill and horsemanship than in the straight-on run of the joust. *Kolbenturnier* was a privileged form of tournament, and thus the grilled-visor helmet became a mark of old nobility in heraldry.³⁴ By contrast, the *Stechhelm* (called by Victorian antiquarians “frog-mouthed helmet”) that was used in the joust with blunted lances was adopted as the *bürgerliche* helmet by the upward-moving bourgeoisie, such as the rich patricians of imperial free cities such as Nuremberg and Augsburg.

Although there is no doubt about the identity of the coat of arms, it is not as easy (as in the cases of the targes with the Ketzelschilde) to determine to which individual Gottsmann family member this targe can be assigned.³⁵ The holdings of the Gottsmann family were in a general area ten to twenty miles north of Nuremberg. Albeit the Gottsmanns were *Reichsritter* (knights of the Empire), i.e., their *Rittergut* (knight’s holding) and castle, Forth, was an independently held feudal territory directly under the emperor, they also held fiefs as vassals of the prince-bishops of Bamberg and of the margraves of Brandenburg-Culmbach. Furthermore, they had to share the jurisdiction for some holdings with the city of Nuremberg (Figure 48).³⁶

These sometimes conflicting loyalties could easily lead to problems. One of the Gottsmann castles, Büg, was actually burned out by the Nurembergers in 1449, during one of those internecine *Fehden* (feuds) that accompanied the rise of the cities and the decline of the landed gentry in the fifteenth century. Another one of their castles, Thurn, near Forchheim, was a fief of the prince-bishops of Bamberg. As early as 1348 Thurn is recorded as a possession of the Gottsmanns, and throughout the fifteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth the main branch of the family called itself von Gottsmann zu Thurn.³⁷

In spite of their status as *Reichsritter*, the earlier family history of the Gottsmanns, in the fifteenth century, is far from clear, and sources are sparse and sometimes contradictory. In 1399 a Konrad von

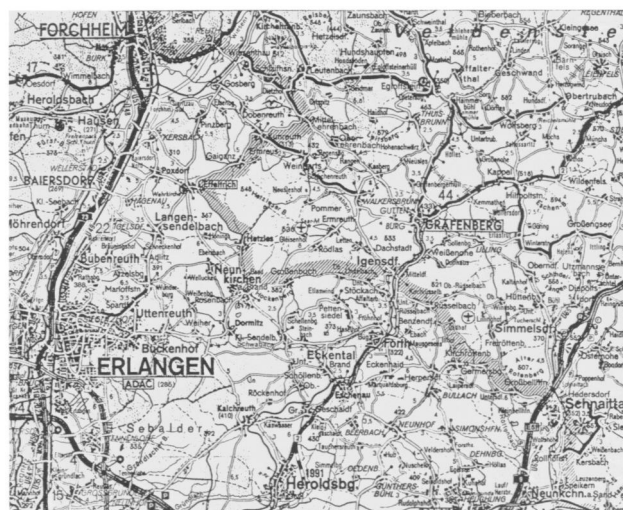


Figure 48. Map of the holdings of the Gottsmann family

Gottsmann is a part-owner of Thurn. Konrad's son Georg (Jörg) is recorded in 1406 and in 1430, but in 1422 a Livin von Gottsmann is mentioned as the sole owner of Thurn; according to other sources the owner was an Albrecht von Gottsmann. Shortly after, in 1436, "ein Gottsmann" took part in a tournament at Stuttgart, but it is not known whether this was Georg, the mysterious Livin, or the equally elusive Albrecht. About 1450 there is a record of Wolf (Wolfgang) von Gottsmann zu Thurn, supposedly the son of Georg, being married to Kuni-gunde Stiebar von Buttenheim. In the 1459 roll of arms compiled by the herald Hans Ingeram for Duke Albrecht VI of Austria, "der goczman" is listed as a member of the tourneying society in *der Fürspang von Franken* [of the Buckle in Franconia] (Figure 49).³⁸ Twenty years later, in 1479, "die Herren Gottsmänner" are jousting at a tournament at Würzburg. In 1481 Wolf von Gottsmann was at a tournament at Heidelberg and in 1486 at Bamberg. On both of these very prestigious occasions Wolf is listed under the jousters of the *löbliche gesellschaft im Eynhorn* [worshipful society of the Unicorn] of Franconia. On the other hand, in 1484, "ein Gotzmann" without any reference to any tourneying society is mentioned at a tournament at Ingolstadt.³⁹ Though Wolf von Gottsmann from 1488 to 1492 was a high-ranking official, *Schultheiss*, of Forchheim, a town belonging to the bishopric of Bamberg, in 1493 he was outlawed for his leading role in a local rebellion. His status as an outlaw, however, seems to have been only temporary, because in 1497 Duke Eberhard the Younger of Württemberg presented two castles, Grafeneck and Hoheneck, to Wolfgang Gottsmann, *Hofmeister* (seneschal) of the margravine Anna of Brandenburg-Culmbach, and in 1500 Wolf von Gottsmann *zum Thurn auf Büg und Lauffenberg*, seneschal of the margraves of Brandenburg-Culmbach, was entrusted by Emperor Maximilian with an important military command.⁴⁰

It is tempting to accept the colorful Wolf von Gottsmann zum Thurn, doughty joustier, stalwart campaigner, and rebel with a cause, as the original owner of targe acc. no. 25.26.1. But what has to be kept in mind is that the roll call of the 1479 tournament at Würzburg mentions "die Herren Gottsmänner," indicating that there were at least two participants with that name. Possibly Wolf's brother Ruprecht (d. 1504), who is recorded in 1478 to have bought the castle Rothenberg, might have been "the other Gottsmann" at this joust.⁴¹ The problem with assigning this tournament targe to Wolf von Gottsmann outright is in the amazing length of his sup-

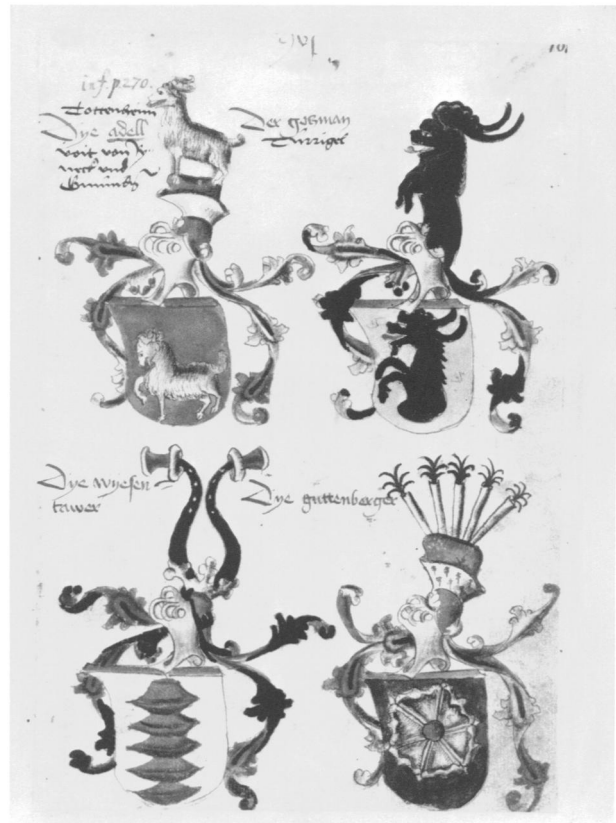


Figure 49. Page from the section *Die Gesellschaft in der Fürspang von Franken* [The Society of the Buckle in Franconia], fol. 9vj, roll of arms, dated 1459, by Hans Ingeram. Vienna, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Inv. Nr. A 2302 (photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum)

posed active life. His father, Georg, seems to have died at an unknown date after 1430. Wolf is mentioned as married about 1450, recorded by name at the tournaments of 1481 and 1486, outlawed in 1493, and as still in active military service in 1500, when he would have been at least seventy years of age.

In the roll of arms of 1459 with its members' lists of tourneying societies, the herald Hans Ingeram makes it a point to record "der goczman" in the singular, instead of the usual plural in referring to families, such as "die von Seckendorff, die Adell, die Wiesenthawer, die Guttenberger," and so on.⁴² This would indicate that there was only one member of the family Gottsmann *turnierfähig* (knighted and qualified for tournament participation) at that time. If this Gottsmann was Wolf, what about his brother Ruprecht, whom the *Geschlechts-Register* of 1737 lists as the firstborn?

It looks rather as if an entire generation dropped out of the Gottsmann pedigree in the middle of the fifteenth century. Could there have been *two* Gottsmanns named Wolf, father and son? In this case, Wolf I, the son of Georg born shortly before 1430 and married by 1450, would be the only *turnierfähig* adult in 1459, while his sons, Ruprecht and a putative Wolf II, were still infants. If born in the 1450s they would be ready for a jousting career in 1479 and the 1480s, and Wolf II would be in his prime for campaigning “in Kayserlichen Kriegs-Diensten” in 1500. Furthermore, in 1459, “der goczman” is listed as a member of the tourneying society “of the Buckle,” but at the 1481 and 1486 tournaments Wolf von Gottsmann was a member of the society “of the Unicorn.” This difference in memberships in prestigious societies strongly suggests that there were *two* Wolf Gottsmanns, father and son, and it would give us a clue as to the original ownership of this targe.

The tourneying society of the Buckle was founded in about 1355 by Emperor Charles IV (r. 1346–78), as the Brotherhood of Our Lady on the occasion of the foundation of the Frauenkirche in Nuremberg’s great market square, the Hauptmarkt, on the spot where the old synagogue had been razed after an appalling pogrom following the Black Death of 1348. The emperor donated to the new church a precious relic, the girdle of the Virgin Mary, and its buckle became the badge of this new knightly society. Annually, a fortnight after Easter Monday, a mass was held for the souls of the newly deceased members of the society, and their shields were hung up as memorials.⁴³ Therefore, the tournament targe of “der goczman,” who was a member of the Buckle society in 1459, would have been hung up in the Frauenkirche by the late fifteenth century. In 1590, during a renovation of the church, the memorial shields of the Buckle society were taken down. Apparently they were regarded as outmoded, since after the Reformation funeral services in the old rite were no longer held in the Frauenkirche. Most likely, any shield not claimed by the family concerned would have been sold or given away, and this seems to be why the Gottsmann targe came to be reused as a memorial for a member of the Behaim family.

All seven shields with the arms of Behaim are of fifteenth-century origin and were designed for combat, but they were eventually repainted for use as memorial shields. None of these shields seems to have been made originally for members of the Be-

haim family; two were at one time used as memorial shields for the Ketzler family, and one original owner was a *Reichsritter* von Gottsmann.

Presumably in the seventeenth or eighteenth century these shields were repainted with the Behaim arms, in memory of family members long dead and marriage alliances long past. Thus, though originally of quite diverse provenance, in time these shields by virtue of their uniform arms of Behaim became a truly “unique group.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For untiring help in supplying research material for this study I have to thank my friends and colleagues in the Arms and Armor Department, curator Stuart W. Pyhrr, associate curator Donald LaRocca, armorer Robert Carroll, and Ann Willard, assistant to the armorer; also Dr. Christian von Beaufort-Spontin, director, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer, Vienna, Roger F. Gardiner, University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario, Dr. Johannes Willers, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Dr. Beyerstedt, Staatsarchiv Nuremberg, konrektor Eugen Schöler, Schwabach, and especially Dipl.-Ing. Reinhard Gotsmann, Hamburg, who provided me with copious material from his own genealogical research. The entire project could not have materialized without the tremendous work, effort, and perseverance of Christel Faltermeier and Rudolf Meyer and the generosity of Ronald S. Lauder.

NOTES

1. Bashford Dean, “Seven Shields of Behaim,” *MMAB* 20 (1925) pp. 74–77, figs. 1–4; Helmut Nickel, “Five Shields from a Set of Seven, with the Family Arms of Behaim von Schwarzbach,” in *MMA, Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg: 1300–1550*, exh. cat. (New York, 1986) cat. no. 60, figs. 60a–60e, pp. 201–203.

2. The Behaim, though originally from Bohemia as their name indicates, belonged to the old patriciate of twenty families (before the 15th century); in 1681 they were made Barons of the Empire (*Reichsfreiherrn*) by Emperor Leopold.

The Behaim von Schwarzbach arms are “canting,” i.e., they are a pun on the name: the sable bend wavy represents a black (*schwarz*) brook (*Bach*). The bend sinister is not a mark of bastardy in Germany, as it would be in France and most other Western European countries. For Behaim the bend sinister is attested by woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer (Figures 8, 9) and by Jost Amman.

The bird of the crest is often referred to as an eagle, but its downturned wings are "in Falkenstellung."

J. Siebmachers *grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1884) II, pt. I (Bayern) p. 27, pl. 22; Willi Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1963) no. 207, ill., dates the woodblock 1509, and mentions on p. 29 that it is now in New York, but in 1897 it was still in the family archives of the Behaims; *Albrecht Dürer 1471–1971*, exh. cat., Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Nuremberg, 1971) cat. no. 30, p. 38, dates the block 1518–20 and gives its location as The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; Ottfried Neubecker, *Heraldry: Sources, Symbols and Meaning* (New York, 1976) p. 163, ill.

3. Lena Rangström, ed., *Riddarlek och Tornerspel: The Dream of Chivalry*, exh. cat., Livrustkammaren (Stockholm, 1992) cat. no. 21, ill. p. 59; H. Nickel, *Ullstein Wappenbuch* (Berlin, 1974) p. 28, ill.

4. Oblong shields with a hollowed midridge originated in the Baltic lands; they were known to Chaucer as "shields of Pruce," referring to Prussia. Their widespread use in the Hussite Wars of the 15th century established the name "Bohemian pavises." Wendelin Boeheim, *Handbuch der Waffenkunde* (Leipzig, 1890; reprint: *Waffenkunde*, Hildesheim, 1984) pp. 180–182, ill.; H. Nickel, "Die Grabplatte des Grosskomturs Kuno von Liebenstein zu Neumarkt in Westpreussen," *Festschrift Edwin Redslob zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1954) pp. 254–291, ill.; idem, "Der mittelalterliche Reiterschild des Abendlandes," Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität (Berlin, 1958) pp. 68–72, 96–98, fig. 72a; also published in *Der Herold: Vierteljahrsschrift für Heraldik, Genealogie und verwandte Wissenschaften* IV (Berlin, 1959–62); Vladimir Denkstein, "Pavézy českého typu," *Sborník Národního muzea*, ser. A, XVI (Prague, 1962) no. 4–5, ill., XVIII (1964) pls. 1, 16–18, 24–27, 30–38; idem, "Pavesen böhmischen Typs im Historischen Museum der Stadt Wien," *Sborník Prací Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University* (Brno, 1968) F 8, pp. 125–135, ill.

5. Kurt Pilz, "Der Totenschild in Nürnberg und seine deutschen Vorstufen," *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (Nuremberg, 1936–39) pp. 57–112, ill.

6. Personal correspondence of Bashford Dean, in 1926, with Reichsfreiin Franziska von Behaim refers to *one more* shield remaining in the possession of the family. In addition to the painted numbers, several shields have a different set of numbers (some upside down) scratched into the leather coverings of their backs.

7. Jost Amman, *Wappen- und Stammbuch* (Frankfurt, 1589; facsimile ed.: *Liebhaber-Bibliothek Alter Illustratoren*, Munich, 1893) pp. 88, 114, ill.

8. The dealers were Hof-Antiquar Julius Böhler, Munich, and his brother, J. W. Böhler, who together with F. Steinmeyer was a partner in The Lucerne Fine Arts Co., Ltd.

9. See note 6 above.

10. Stanley J. Rowland, "Restoration of the Behaim Shields," undated [1925], typed manuscript of ten numbered pages with an additional two typed manuscript pages entitled "Additional Notes on the Restoration of the Behaim Shields."

11. See note 1 above.

12. In the early 1960s a similar project was undertaken in Amsterdam; two rectangular shields, which at one time had been painted with nondescript designs for use as stage props, were

cleaned and 15th-century decorations were found. These were the city arms of Cologne: *ermine, on a chief gules three crowns or*, but it was discovered that there was yet another layer underneath. It was decided to clean off the less well preserved of the Cologne arms, and this sacrifice yielded a St. Andrew's cross between four fire steels, badges of the dukes of Burgundy. These charges established them as Burgundian archers' shields from Charles the Bold's futile siege of Neuss, 1473, captured and reused by the Cologne city-militia. See also J. B. Kist, "Twee vijftiende eeuwse Schilden in het Bezit van het Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap," in *Jaarverslagen Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap*, 1965/68 (Amsterdam, 1968); Florens Deuchler, ed., *Die Burgunderbeute und Werke burgundischer Hofkunst*, exh. cat., Bernisches Historisches Museum (Bern, 1969) cat. no. 108, ill.

13. The popularity of Moors was probably based on the belief that one of the most important knightly saints, St. Mauritius, was black. He was patron saint of infantry in Germany, on a par with St. George, patron of cavalry. Also thought to have been black was Balthazar, one of the Magi, or the Three Kings (whose three crowns are part of the city arms of Cologne, see note 12). Finally, the queen of Sheba was represented as a black woman and would have been the model for female Moors, as in the crest of Haller. See K. Pilz, "Totenschild," p. 86, fig. 9, p. 99, fig. 13; Gude Suckale-Redlefsen, *Mauritius: Der heilige Mohr/The Black St. Maurice* (Houston/Zurich, 1987); Rainer Kahsnitz, "Memorial Shield of Erhard Haller," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, cat. no. 61, pp. 203–204, fig. 61.

14. The Behaim arms together with the Volckamer shield are likely to commemorate Leonhard Behaim (1433–1486) and Kunigunde Volckamer (1433–1496), who married in 1455. A late-16th-century illustrated manuscript in the Museum's collections, 959.4 T 64, contains a pictorial record of Nuremberg *Gesellenstechen*, Shrovetide jousts, held between 1446 and 1561. Among the 39 participants of the 1446 tournament are Bertholdt Volckamer "to whom was given a ring as the second prize" (pl. 43) and Hanns Volckamer (pl. 59) (Figure 15). See B. Dean, "An Early Tournament Book," *MMAB* 17 (1922) no. 6; pp. 124–126, ill.; idem, "Seven Shields," p. 77, ill.

15. The T-shaped handgrips on "Bohemian pavises" were for use by fighters on foot. For cavalymen double straps for fist and forearm were more practical because they allowed easier handling of the reins.

16. Denkstein, "Pavézy" (1962) no. 4–5, ill.; (1964) pls. 24, 36; idem, "Pavesen," pp. 125–135, ill. Inscriptions, mostly of a religious-protective kind, are frequently found on "Bohemian" pavises, even those not actually "made in Bohemia." In the collections of the Arms and Armor Department is a small "Bohemian" pavise, acc. no. 29.158.596, with the image of St. George and the Dragon surmounted by an escutcheon with the arms of the dukes of Saxony as Archmarshals of the Empire. An inscription around the pavise's border reads: *hilf got du ewigs wort dem leib hier vnd der sel dort hilf riter sant iorg* [Help, God, Thou eternal word, the body here and the soul yonder; help, knight St. George].

17. Shields were borne on the left arm; therefore figures like lions, griffins, etc. should be facing to the dexter, i.e., forward, in attack position. One of the explanations for the figure on this shield facing to the sinister would be that it was "custom-made" for a left-handed fighter.

18. Examples of relief figures in gesso or as applied leather cutouts are found on the shields of Arnold von Brienz (Schweizer Landesmuseum, Zurich) and of a lord of Raron (Museum Valeria ob Sitten), as well as on several of the 13th-century shields from the church of St. Elisabeth, Marburg (now in the Universitätsmuseum, Marburg), and on the shield of the Black Prince (d. 1376) in Canterbury Cathedral. See F. Warnecke, *Die mittelalterlichen heraldischen Kampfschilde in der St. Elisabethkirche zu Marburg* (Berlin, 1884) pls. 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 11; H. Nickel, *Reiterschild* (1958) pp. 20–24, 27–56, ill. (also published in *Der Herold*, Bd. 4, Heft 6/7, 8/9 [1962]); idem, *Ullstein Wappenbuch*, p. 35, ill.; Christian Väterlein, Ursula Schneider, and Hans Klaiber, eds. *Die Zeit der Staufer*, exh. cat. Württembergisches Landesmuseum (Stuttgart, 1977) 4 vols.; cat. no. I, 315, pl. II, 154.

A mold for such relief decoration was discovered and identified by Bashford Dean in 1926 during the Museum's excavations of the ruins of Castle Montfort (also called Starkenberg), headquarters of the Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land from 1229 to 1266. See also B. Dean, "A Crusaders' Fortress in Palestine: A Report of Explorations Made by the Museum, 1926," *MMAB* (Sept. 1927) pt. 2, pp. 5–46, ill.; H. Nickel, "Some Heraldic Fragments Found at Castle Montfort/Starkenberg in 1926, and the Arms of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights," *MMJ* 24 (1989) pp. 35–46, ill.; idem, "Über das Hochmeisterwappen des Deutschen Ordens im Heiligen Lande," in *Der Herold*, 13, 4 (1990) pp. 97–108, ill.

19. T. H. White, *The Bestiary: A Book of Beasts* (New York, 1960; first ed. 1954) pp. 14–17, ill.; Richard H. Randall, Jr., *A Cloisters Bestiary*, MMA (New York, 1960) p. 9, ill.; J. L. Schrader, "A Medieval Bestiary," *MMAB* (Summer 1986) pp. 14, 15, ill.

20. H. Nickel, "The Iron Door Mountings from St.-Léonard-de-Noblat," *MMJ* 23 (1988) pp. 83–87, ill.

21. An example of practically identical shape is the targe from St. Mary's Church, Sigtuna, Sweden (now in the National Historical Museum, Stockholm). It is painted with the full arms of the Björnlar family and was used or reused as a funeral shield for Karl Laurentsson Björnlar, documented 1497–1504; Göran Tegner, "Begravningssköld, 1500-talets början—Funeral shield, beginning of the 16th century," entry 17, *Riddarlek och Tornerspel* pp. 55, 325, ill.

22. It has been suggested by A. V. B. Norman that these brackets were added to adapt this targe for *Rennen*, a joust with sharp lances popular in Germany and countries east of the Rhine; see A. V. B. Norman, *European Arms and Armour Supplement*, Wallace Collection Catalogues (London, 1986) no. A309, p. 93.

23. The second of the three sons of Heinrich Ketzler the Elder and Anna Igelbrecht, Endres Ketzler (1393–1466), married Margarethe Igelthaler. Her arms were also "canting": *argent, a hedgehog sable* (but without any apples).

24. Martin Gerlach, *Todtenschilder und Grabsteine* (Vienna, n.d.) pl. 39, fig. 2, epitaph of Heinrich Ketzler the Elder (d. 1438), with four badges of orders. One of his grandsons, Ulrich Ketzler, knight (1440–ca. 1484), displays no fewer than seventeen such membership badges on his epitaph (now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg); also Alexander Freiherr von Reitzenstein, *Rittertum und Ritterschaft* (Munich, 1972) p. 12, pl. 6; Neubecker, *Heraldry*, p. 218, ill.

25. Fedja Anzelewsky, *Albrecht Dürer: Das malerische Werk* (Berlin, 1971) pp. 118–119, pl. 9. The identification of the plant in modern times was made by Goethe in 1805. The plant mannes-treu appears also in Dürer's print "Das kleine Glück" [1495, n. d.], indicating luck in love; Walther L. Strauss, ed., *The Complete Engravings, Etchings and Drypoints of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1972) pp. 14–15, no. 7, ill.

26. It should be pointed out that on a stained-glass panel with a tournament scene, acc. no. 11.120.1, in The Cloisters Collection, one of the jousters bears a shield with a W surmounted by a crown; see Jane Hayward, "Two Quatrefoil Roundels, with Secular Scenes," in *Gothic and Renaissance Art in Nuremberg*, cat. no. 66, ill.

27. Theodor Aign, *Die Ketzler—ein Nürnberger Handelsherren- und Jerusalem-pilgergeschlecht* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1961) pp. 120–129. The family became extinct in 1588 with the death of Paulus Ketzler (1556–1588), "der Letzte seines Namens und Stammes." For this information I have to thank Dr. Beyerstedt, Staatsarchiv Nuremberg.

The Behaims, Volckamers (see note 10 above), and Kolers were among the twenty "old" patrician families of Nuremberg, while the Ketzlers, established in 1422, were relative newcomers. One Erckebrecht Koler took part in the *Gesellenstechen* in celebration of the wedding of Wilhelm Löffelholz and Kunigunde Baumgartner, February 28, 1446. He is shown with his full arms on pl. 45 of the illustrated manuscript *Turnierbuch*, 959.4 T 64, in the Museum's collections. (Both the Löffelholz and Baumgartner families were "new" patricians, admitted into this elitist group in 1440.) Another member of the family, Hieronymus Koler, a bona fide conquistador, took part in the [abortive] colonization of Venezuela by the Welser banking house, in 1535. (The Welser, too, were among the "new" patricians of 1440.) See Victor W. von Hagen, *The Golden Man: A Quest for El Dorado* (Farnborough, Hants, 1974) pp. 70–71.

28. Ortwin Gamber, "Der Turnierharnisch zur Zeit König Maximilians I. und das Thun'sche Skizzenbuch," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 53 (1957) pp. 33–70, ill.; Matthias Pfaffenbichler, *Medieval Craftsmen: Armourers* (London, 1992) p. 6, fig. 3.

29. Richard S. Field, *Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Metalcuts, from the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.* (Washington, D.C., n.d.) no. 284, ill. I have to thank Stuart W. Pyhrr for bringing this woodcut to my attention.

30. W. R. Valentiner, "A portrait by Dürer's master Michael Wolgemut," *The Detroit Institute of Arts Bulletin* 20 (1941) pp. 58ff., ill.; Peter Strieder, "Bildnis eines jungen Mannes," *Albrecht Dürer: 1471–1971*, p. 64, no. 100, ill.

31. Warnecke, *Kampfschilde*, pl. 14; Nickel, *Reiterschild*, pp. 62–66, figs. 68, a and b; idem, *Ullstein Wappenbuch*, p. 35, ill.

32. St. Christopher images are on some of the (once more than thirty) 14th-century *Setzschilder* from the town hall of Erfurt; one of them is now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg. The MMA acquired two (though without St. Christopher images) in 1922; B. Dean, "Ancient Shields from Erfurt," *MMAB* 18 (Jan. 1923) pp. 11–13, ill.

33. Gustav A. Seyler, "Abgestorbener Bayerischer Adel," in *J. Siebmachers grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1884) VI, 1; pp. 39–40, pl. 39.

34. O. Gamber, "Ritterspiele und Turnierrüstungen im Spätmittelalter, Joseph Fleckenstein, ed.," *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter: Beiträge zu einer vergleichenden Formen- und Verhaltensgeschichte des Rittertums* (Göttingen, 1985) pp. 513ff.; Lotte Kurras, *Turnierbuch der Kraichgauer Ritterschaft*, facsimile ed. with commentary, 2 vols. (Zurich, 1983) commentary, pp. 20ff.

It has been suggested by Gamber that the word "club" for an exclusive society could be based on the restricted membership in these privileged tournament societies with their cultivation of the baston course.

35. Eugen Schöler, "Historische Familienwappen in Franken," in *J. Siebmachers Grosses Wappenbuch* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1975) vol. F, p. 50, pl. 95, fig. 10; idem, *Fränkische Wappen erzählen Geschichte und Geschichten* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1992) p. 113, ill. Here it is mentioned as an example of *Wappensage* that in the 1611 funeral sermon for Hans Friedrich Gottsmann auf Neuhaus, Büg, Thurn und Brand, the family legend was repeated that the earliest documentation of the Gottsmann arms was from A.D. 310, when a Roman tribune Curius founded the city of Chur in Switzerland, to be administrated by the centurion Evandro (to be translated into German as *Gutmann*), a Roman nobleman who later immigrated to Germany and became the ancestor of the Gottsmanns. The city of Chur has an ibex as its civic arms, and the worthy Evandro/Gutmann was given half an ibex for his own.

36. A. Graf von und zu Egloffstein, *Schlösser und Burgen in Oberfranken* (Frankfurt, 1972) pp. 180–181, ill. (Thurn); *Bayerische Kunstdenkmale: Stadt und Landkreis Erlangen* (Munich, 1962) pp. 105, 110–113 (Büg and Forth).

37. Johann Gottfried Biedermann, *Geschlechts-Register der Reichs- Frey- unmittelbaren Ritterschaft Landes zu Francken* (Bamberg, 1747) table cccvi: "Von denen ausgestorbenen Herren Gottsmännern zum Thurn."

38. Charlotte Becher and Ortwin Gamber, *Die Wappenbücher Herzog Albrechts VI. von Österreich*, *Jahrbuch der Heraldisch-*

Genealogischen Gesellschaft ADLER, der ganzen Reihe dritte Folge, 12 (Vienna/Cologne/Graz, 1984/85) pl. 33 [164]; added in a different hand is the name *Turriegel*. Early sources claim that the Franconian family Türriegel (Dörriegel) von Riegelstein (1260–1611) had identical arms: *or, a demi-ibex sable*. A Heinrich Durriegel took part in the 1486 Bamberg tournament. On the other hand, the arms of Türriegel are also recorded as *argent, an ibex rampant sable* in the authoritative *Neu Wappenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1605) by Johann Siebmacher.

39. Georg Ruxner, *Anfang, vrsprung vnd herkommen des Thurniers inn Teutscher nation* (Simmern im Hunsrück, 1532) pp. clxxvi, cciii verso.

40. Biedermann, *Geschlechts-Register*, table cccvi; Otto von Alberti, Friedrich Freiherr von Gaisberg-Schocking, Theodor Schön and Adolf Statmann, "Württembergisches Adels- und Wappenbuch," in *J. Siebmachers Grosses Wappenbuch* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1975) vol. E, p. 239, fig. 845.

41. Ruprecht's main holdings were Büg, Forth, and Brand; he and his wife, another Kunigunde von Stiebar, with their seven sons and eight daughters, are portrayed on the donors' panels of the Schnitzaltar in St. Anna's Church, Forth, and on the surviving predella of a lost altar in the parish church of St. Michael, Neukirchen-am-Brand; see also *Bayerische Kunstdenkmale: Erlangen*, p. 102.

42. German medieval nobility used the names of their castles or other territorial possessions as family names. After centuries of use the predicate *von* ("of, from") came to be seen as a mark of nobility in itself, applied also in the rare cases where the family had a patronym—like Gottsmann—as its name. There were no strict rules about the use of the *von*; important families "whom everybody knew," e.g., Gottsmann often did not bother to use it.

43. Pilz, "Totenschild," pp. 76–77.