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ŠAHOVSKA GARNITURA *CHESSE SET FROM*
IZ MUZEJA MIMARA *THE MIMARA MUSEUM*



Krešimir Juraga

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ŠAHOVSKA GARNITURA
IZ MUZEJA MIMARA

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ŠAHOVSKA GARNITURA *CHESSESET FROM*
IZ MUZEJA MIMARA *THE MIMARA MUSEUM*

Krešimir Juraga

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U Zbirci bjelokosti Muzeja Mimara, čuva se garnitura za šah (sl. 1) koja se sastoji od igraće ploče i potpune skupine od 32 šahovske figure. Ovaj zbirni muzejski predmet u fundus muzeja ušao je kao francuski rad XVI. stoljeća, no šahovske figure i igraća ploča nisu nastali kao set te im se vrijeme i mjesto nastanka razlikuju.

Rana povijest šaha, kao i njegov nastanak, još su obavijestili legendama koje spominje i David Shenk u prvom poglavlju knjige *The Immortal Game*. Njihovom analizom zaključuje kako je šah bio „prilagodljiva platforma pjesnicima, filozofima i drugim intelektualcima za istraživanje i prezentaciju širokog spektra složenih ideja na vizualan i uvjerljiv način“.¹ Iako točno mjesto nastanka šaha nije utvrđeno, sigurno je da se razvio u Aziji,² a najraniji sačuvani pisani izvori o šahu potječu iz razdoblja širenja igre u Perziju u VII. stoljeću. Nakon invazije Perzije, šah su ubrzo prihvatili Arapi. Njihovim je posredstvom šah stigao na obale Mediterana i sjever Afrike odakle se od IX. stoljeća proširio prvo jugom Europe, a zatim i cijelim kontinentom.³ Dolaskom u Europu dolazi do promjena u nazivima i oblikovanju figura koje odražavaju i promjene u simbolici samoga šaha. Dok je šah u perzijskoj i arapskoj tradiciji snažno obilježen simbolikom rata, u Europi on poprima i drugi oblik puno bliži onome koji je okruživao srednjovjekovne europske vladare – onaj dvorskoga života. Pritom je kroz najveću promjenu prošla figura savjetnika (vezira) koja je postala kraljica,⁴ najsnažnija figura u igri.

In the Ivory Collection of the Mimara Museum, a chess set (fig. 1) consisting of a games board and a complete group of 32 chess pieces is preserved. This museum item entered the holdings as a French work of the 16th century, however the chess pieces and the board were not created as a set, and the time and place of their creation are different.

*The early history of chess, as well as its origin, are still shrouded in legends mentioned by David Shenk in the first chapter of the book *The Immortal Game*. In his analysis of these legends Shenk concludes that chess was “a customizable platform for poets, philosophers and other intellectuals to explore and present a wide array of complex ideas in a visual and compelling way”.¹ Although the exact place of origin of chess has not been determined, it is certain that it developed in Asia,² and the earliest surviving written sources on chess come from the period when the game spread to Persia in the 7th century. After the invasion of Persia, chess was quickly taken on by the Arabs, through whom it arrived on the shores of the Mediterranean and North Africa, from where since the 9th century it spread first to the south of Europe, and then to the entire continent.³ With its arrival in Europe, changes occurred in names and design of the pieces, which also reflect changes in the symbolism of chess itself. While chess in the Persian and Arab traditions is strongly marked by the symbolism of war, in Europe it takes on another form much closer to the environment of medieval European rulers – that of court life. At the same time, the piece of the advisor (vizier) went through*



the biggest change, becoming the queen,⁴ the most powerful piece in the game.

Early chess sets have not been preserved, only individual pieces of figural or abstract design are known to us. From the 12th century in Europe, figural sets were developed, the design of which was not conditioned by changes in the game itself, but followed changes prompted by reflections on chess, chess literature, and the development of small sculptures.⁵ As small sculptures, richly carved or turned figural as

Rani šahovski setovi nisu sačuvani, već su nam poznate samo pojedinačne figuralno ili apstraktno oblikovane figure. U Europi se od XII. stoljeća razvijaju figuralni setovi čije oblikovanje nije uvjetovano promjenama u samoj igri već prati promjene potaknute promišljanjima o šahu, šahovskom literaturom te razvojem sitne plastike.⁵ Kao sitna plastika, bogato rezbareni ili tokareni figuralni, ali i apstraktni setovi, često bi postali dijelovi *Kunstammera* kao cijenjeni kolekcionarski predmeti, dok su za igranje



korištene jednostavnije figure. Sredinom XIX. stoljeća razvoj šahovskih turnira potaknuo je standardizaciju figura.⁶

ŠAHOVSKE FIGURE

Šahovske figure iz Muzeja Mimara izradene su od bjelokosti s dobro očuvanom polikromijom prevladavajuće plave i crvene boje, kojima se razlikuju suprotstavljene strane. Fi-

1. Šahovska garnitura, figure: Francuska, početak XIX. st., ploča: sjeverna Italija, kraj XV. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452/1-33
Chess set, pieces: France, beginning of 19th c., board: northern Italy, end of 15th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452/1-33



2. Par plavih pješaka, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Pair of blue pawns, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452



3. Par crvenih pješaka, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Pair of red pawns, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

well as abstract sets, they would often become parts of the Kunstkammer as prized collectors' items, while simpler pieces were used for playing. In the middle of the 19th century, the development of chess tournaments encouraged the standardization of pieces.⁶

CHESS PIECES

The chess pieces from the Mimara Museum are made of ivory with a well-preserved polychromy of predominant blue and red that distinguish the opposing sides. The pieces are

gure su visoke između 7 i 11 cm te počivaju na profiliranim pravokutnim bazama zaobljenih kutova. Figure pješaka (sl. 2, sl. 3) oblikovane su poput vojnika koji su na plavoj strani oboružani oklopima i šljemovima te mušketama, dok na crvenoj strani nose odore i kape te su oboružani helebardama. Figure topova (sl. 4, sl. 5) oblika su vitkih kula, na plavoj strani kružnoga tlocrta i zaključenih stožastim krovom, dok su one na crvenoj strani pravokutnog tlocrta i zaključene kruništem.

Figure lovaca iz Muzeja Mimara (sl. 6, sl. 7) oblikovane su u francuskoj tradiciji: poput dvorskih luda koje u rukama nose *marotte*⁷ i isukane bodeže. Na plavoj strani, kukuljice lovaca su jednostavne, s našivenim zvoncima na dijelu koji prekriva ramena, dok su kukuljice luda na crvenoj strani bez zvonaca i završavaju „magarećim ušima“. Preteča lovca, figura slona (perz. *pil*, ar. *al-fil*) u Europi je izgubila svoje izvorno ratno značenje. U Francuskoj se ona prema fonetskoj sličnosti s arapskim nazivom počela nazivati *fou*, odnosno, luda.⁸ Ovu promjenu u nazivu slijedila je i promjena u oblikovanju same figure koja se u francuskim setovima često prikazuje s iscerenom grimasom ili poput dvorske lude. U engleskome jeziku, s druge strane, figura lovca nazvana je *bishop* (biskup) prema „rogatom“ obliku stilizirane figure slona u kojoj su srednjovjekovni igrači prepoznali biskupovu mitru.

Figure skakača (sl. 8, sl. 9) oblikovane su poput konjanika u punom oklopu koji je obojen sivom bojom, kao i kod plavih pješaka. Plavi skakači prikazani su kao turnirski jahači, sa spuštenim vizirima kaciga i naoružani turnirskim kopljima, dok su crveni skakači naoružani isukanim mačevima, a njihove kacige nemaju vizire. Pokrivači konja plave strane ukrašeni su kružnim medaljonima sa slovom F, moguće u čast francuskoga kralja François, koji je prikazan kao plavi kralj u setu.

Na podnožju baze jednoga od plavih skakača nalazi se natpis P.vs BonT's sti Ao. D. MDXLII. Temeljem ovoga natpisa set je na aukciji u Amsterdamu 1954. godine ponuđen kao rad Pierra Bontempsa iz 1542. godine.⁹ Pierre Bontemps (oko 1505./10. – oko 1570.)¹⁰ bio je francuski kipar koji je djelovao u krugu Francesca Primaticcia na uređenju dvorca

Fontainebleau između 1536. i 1555. godine. Suradio je na izradi skulptura za grobnicu kralja François I. i izradio urnu za kraljevo srce (između 1549. i 1552.), te na izradi grobnice Charlesa de Maignya i admirala Philippea de Chabota. Godine 1561. preobratio se na protestantizam i pobjegao iz Pariza. Od 1566. godine, kada se seli u Verneuil-sur-Oise, gubi mu se svaki trag. Kako su Bontempsova najznačajnija djela grobni spomenici te nije poznato da je oblikovao sitnu plastiku, njegova povezanost sa šahovskim figurama iz Muzeja Mimara nije vjerojatna.

Plavi kralj i kraljica (sl. 10) prikazuju francuskoga kralja François I. (1494. – 1547.) i njegovu drugu suprugu Leonor od Austrije (1498. – 1558.). Likovne predloške ovim figurama možemo pronaći u crtežima iz zbirke François-Rogera de Gaignièresa (1642. – 1715.), francuskoga antikvara i kolekcionara. U Gaignièresovoj zbirci našli su se brojni dokumenti, slike i grafike, kao i ilustracije niza predmeta i spomenika koje je sa svojim pomoćnicima Barthélemyjem Rémyjem i Louisom Boudanom radio na terenu diljem Francuske.¹¹ Značajan dio zbirke čine crteži s prikazima osoba u povijesnoj odjeći, radeni prema nadgrobnim spomenicima, vitrajima, portretima i minijaturama. Među njima nalaze se i prikazi kralja François I. i Leonor od Austrije, sačuvani u svescima NA-21-FOL i OA-21-FOL, u Odjelu za grafiku i fotografiju Bibliothèque nationale de France. Grafički prikazi kraljevskoga para u povijesnoj odjeći XVI. stoljeća vjerno su preneseni u figure. Kralj je odjeven u dublet širokoga ovratnika i rukava preko kojega je prebačen ogrtač, a na glavi nosi kapu s perom. Lijevu ruku polaže na opasani mač, a desna ruka koja je spuštена uz tijelo i pridržava rukavice, odmak je od crteža. Kraljica je odjevena u zvonoliku haljinu s lađastim ovratnikom te bogatim vanjskim rukavima. U rukama nosi žezlo koje se ne javlja na crtežu i zbog kojega je pismo s crteža prebacila u lijevu ruku. Obje su figure sužene u odnosu na crteže, kako bi se bolje prilagodile smještaju na ploču. Na figurama je dobro sačuvana polikromija plave, zelene, žute i smeđe boje.

Crveni kralj (sl. 11) prikazuje engleskoga kralja Henryja VIII. (1491. – 1547.) te pokazuje sličnosti u portretu kralja i oblikovanju odjeće s kopijama portreta Hansa Holbeina



4. Plavi topovi, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Blue rooks, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452



5. Crveni topovi, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Red rooks, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

between 7 and 11 cm tall and rest on rectangular bases with rounded corners. The pawn pieces (fig. 2, fig. 3) are shaped like infantry, on the blue side armed with a suit of armour and helmets and muskets, while on the red side they wear uniforms and caps and are armed with halberds. The rook pieces (fig. 4, fig. 5) are



6. Plavi lovci, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Blue bishops, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452



7. Crveni lovci, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Red bishops, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

shaped like slender towers, on the blue side they are of a circular layout and closed with a conical roof, while those are on the red side are of a rectangular layout and crenelated.

The pieces of the bishops from the Mimara Museum set (fig. 6, fig. 7) are shaped in the French tradition: like court jesters carrying marottes⁷ and drawn daggers in their

Mlađega.¹² Kralj je odjeven u dublet visokoga ovratnika, koji seže do koljena i preko kojega je prebačen ogrtač podstavljen krznom, dok na glavi nosi kapu s perom, a oko ramena širok lanac. Kao i na portretu, figura kralja u desnoj ruci drži rukavice, dok lijevom pridržava mač, za razliku od portreta na kojem pridržava bodež. Iako se kralj Henry ženio šest puta, kraljica u ovome setu (sl. 11) najviše sličnosti pokazuje s portretima njegove kćeri, Mary I. (1516. – 1558.), kraljice Engleske. Sličnosti su izražene u oblikovanju odjeće. Kraljica je odjevena u zvonoliku haljinu s visokim ovratnikom ispod kojeg se nazire košulja. Bogati, široki rukavi podstavljeni su krznom. Na glavi nosi varijantu francuske kape s dugim velom. U lijevoj ruci drži žezlo, dok desnom pridržava veliki privjesak, koji se može vidjeti i na portretima Anthonisa Mora i Hansa Ewortha.¹³ Oblikovanjem je slična figuri kraljice Mary iz francuskoga seta iz zbirke Melson Keats, datiranoga u kraj XVIII. stoljeća.¹⁴ Figure koje su zrcalno simetrične povezuje slično držanje, žezlo u jednoj ruci te privjesak koji pridržavaju drugom rukom. Moguće je da su setovi iz Muzeja Mimara i zbirke Melson Keats nastali u istoj radionici.

U Francuskoj su se proizvodili figuralni, ali i apstraktni šahovski setovi od bjelokosti. Za setove iz Dieppea karakteristične su figure oblikovane poput bisti na bazama u obliku balustara, a skakači su ponekad oblikovani poput morskih konjića. Mackett-Beeson navodi kako su radionice u Parizu i Dieppeu proizvodile fino rezbarene figuralne setove u bjelokosti, koji su bili bogato oslikani, a jedan prikazani pariški set s početka XIX. stoljeća svojim figurama rezbarenim u bjelokosti s dobro očuvanom polikromijom plave i crvene boje, podsjeća na set iz Muzeja Mimara.¹⁵ Šahovski setovi od bjelokosti obično imaju samo jednu stranu obojenu, ili čak i obje strane u prirodnoj boji, no francuska specifičnost su polikromirani setovi u kojima su obje strane obojene.¹⁶ Porijeklo figura iz Mimarine zbirke tako bi trebalo smjestiti u neku od francuskih radionica, moguće pariških, s početka XIX. stoljeća.

Šahovski setovi u kojima se na suprotstavljenim stranama susreću francuski kralj François I. i engleski kralj Henry VIII. često se nazivaju setovima *Polja zlatne tkani-*



ne, prema povijesnome susretu dvojice kraljeva 1520. godine.¹⁷ Početkom XVI. stoljeća, širenje posjeda i utjecaja dinastije Habsburg dovelo je do njezina dugotrajnog suparništva s francuskom krunom. U tim okolnostima, Engleska je postala važan potencijalni saveznik objema stranama, pa je tako susret francuskoga i engleskoga kralja održan između Ardresa u Francuskoj i Guinesa, tada dijela engleskoga kraljevstva, trebao ojačati francusko-engleske veze. Međutim, šatori od zlatne tkanine po kojoj je susret kasnije dobio ime, gozbe, viteški turniri i natjecanja za zabavu okupljenoga plemstva te impresivni iskazi bogatstva i moći, čiji je cilj bio pokazati nadmoć jednoga kralja nad drugim, nisu ispunili svoju svrhu

8. Plavi skakači, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Blue knights, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

hands. On the blue side, the jesters' hoods are simple, with bells sewn on the part that covers the shoulders, while the hoods of the jesters on the red side are without the bells and are topped with "donkey ears". The forerunner of the bishop, the elephant piece (Pers. pil. Ar. al-fil) lost its original military meaning in Europe. In France, due to the phonetic similarity with the Arabic name, it began to be called tou, that is, the fool.⁸ This change in the name was followed by a change in the design of the piece itself, which in French sets is often shown with a grimace or like a court jester. In English, on the other hand, this piece is called bishop after the "horned" shape of the stylized elephant figure in which medieval players recognized the bishop's miter.

The pieces of the knights (fig. 8, fig. 9) are shaped like horsemen in full armor which is

9. Crveni skakači, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452

Red knights, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

painted gray, the same as in the blue pawns. The blue knights are shown as tournament riders, with lowered helmet visors and armed with jousting lances, while the red knights are armed with drawn swords and their helmets have no visors. The horse covers of the blue side are decorated with circular medallions with the letter F, possibly in honor of King François of France, who is depicted as the blue king in the set.

At the bottom of the base of one of the blue knights is the inscription P.us Boni's sti Ao. D. MDXLII. Based on this inscription, the set was offered at an auction in Amsterdam in 1954 as a work by Pierre Bontemps from 1542⁹ Pierre Bontemps (c. 1505/10 – c.

1570)¹⁰ was a French sculptor who worked in the circle of Francesco Primaticcio on the decoration of the Fontainebleau castle between 1536 and 1555. He collaborated in the creation of sculptures for the tomb of King François I and made the urn for the king's heart (between 1549 and 1552) as well as participated in the creation of the tomb of Charles de Maigny and Admiral Philippe de Chabot. In 1561, he converted to Protestantism and fled Paris. From 1566, when he moved to Verneuil-sur-Oise, all traces of him were lost. As Bontemps' most important works are funerary monuments and since it has not been known that he created small sculptures, his connection with the chess pieces from the Mimara Museum is unlikely.

The blue king and queen (fig. 10) depict the French king François I (1494 – 1547) and his second wife Eleanor of Austria (1498 – 1558). Artistic templates for these pieces can be found in drawings from the collection of François-Roger de Gaignières (1642 – 1715), a French antiquarian and collector. Gaignières' collection includes numerous documents, paintings and prints, as well as illustrations of a series of objects and monuments that he worked on across France with his assistants Barthélemy Rémy and Louis Boudan.¹¹ A significant part of the collection consists of drawings depicting people in historical clothing, based on tombstones, stained glass windows, portraits and miniatures. Among them are the depictions of François I and Eleanor of Austria preserved in volumes NA-21-FOL and OA-21-FOL, in the Department of Graphics and Photography of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Graphic representations of the royal couple in historical clothing of the 16th century have been faithfully reproduced in the pieces. The king is dressed in a doublet with a wide collar and sleeves over which a cloak is draped, and on his head he wears a cap with a feather. He rests his left hand on the belted sword, and the right hand, which is lowered to the body and holds the gloves is a departure from the drawing. The queen is dressed in a bell-shaped dress with a boat neck and rich outer sleeves. In her hands she carries a scepter that does not appear in the drawing and because of which she transferred the letter from the drawing to her left hand. Both pieces are narrowed compared to the drawings, in order to better adapt to the placement on the board. The polychromy of blue, green, yellow and brown colors is well preserved on the pieces.

osiguravanja savezništva dvaju kraljevstava. Engleska i Francuska ubrzo su ponovno nastavile svoje dugotrajno suparništvo čiji začeci sežu u XII. stoljeće.

Kraljevi Henry i François bili su oličjenje renesansnoga vladara: obrazovani, energični i željni dokazivanja svojih ratnih sposobnosti. Njihovi sukobi rezultat su politike ravnoteže moći na europskome kontinentu, koja je u ranom XVI. stoljeću došla do izražaja u nizu Talijanskih ratova. Henry je trenutnu političku situaciju pokušao iskoristiti kako bi ojačao engleski položaj na političkoj karti Europe, pri čemu su mu želja za ponavljanjem vojnih uspjeha svojih prethodnika i engleske pretenzije na francusku krunu bile dodatna motivacija za sukobe s Françoisom. Rivalstvo dvaju kraljeva ilustrira i anegdota iz susreta na Polju zlatne tkanine, koja opisuje kako je Henry, suprotno protokolu koji je trebao spriječiti sučeljavanje dvaju kraljeva u natjecanjima koja su bila dio susreta, izazvao Françoisu na hrvački meč u kojem je francuski kralj lako pobijedio.

Suparništvo Engleske (od 1707. godine Velike Britanije) i Francuske, vrhunac je doseglo krajem XVIII. i početkom XIX. stoljeća kada se u sukobe uključuju i njihove kolonije. Uspon post-revolucionarne Francuske pod Napoleonovom vladavinom zaprijetio je europskoj ravnoteži moći, a u suprotstavljanju francuskoj dominaciji istaknula se Velika Britanija koja se našla ugroženom ne samo prijjetnjom francuske invazije Britanskoga otočja već i zbog prijjetnje koju je Francuska predstavljala rastućem britanskom kolonijalnom carstvu i trgovini.

U francuskim šahovskim setovima toga vremena očituju se odrazi političkog i društvenog trenutka. Šahovski set koji prikazuje sukob Egipćana i Asiraca nastaje kao reakcija na francusko osvajanje Egipta, setovi s temama iz francuske povijesti ukazuju na razvoj zanimanja za vlastitu povijest,¹⁸ a početkom XIX. stoljeća nastaje i cijeli niz setova u kojima se Napoleon (1769. – 1821.) suprotstavlja svojim povijesnim suparnicima, među ostalima britanskome kralju, admiralu Nelsonu, pruskome kralju, ali i, zanimljivo, francuskome kralju Henriju IV. (1553. – 1610.). Anakronizmi u šahovskim setovima nisu rijetkost, a Hans i Barbara Holländer napominju kako se uz prikaze raspoz-



10. Plavi kralj i kraljica, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452
Blue king and queen, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

The red king (fig. 11) depicts the English King Henry VIII (1491 – 1547) and shows similarities in the portrait of the king and the design of the clothes with copies of portraits by Hans Holbein the Younger.¹² The king is dressed in a doublet with a high collar that reaches to the knees and over which a cloak is draped lined with fur, while he wears a cap with a feather on his head and a wide chain around his shoulders. As in the portrait, the figure of the king holds gloves in his right hand, while he holds a sword in his left, unlike in the portrait in which he holds a dagger. Although King Henry married six times, the queen in this set (fig. 11) shows most similarities with the portraits of his daughter, Mary I (1516 – 1558), Queen of England. The similarities are expressed in the design of the clothes. The queen is dressed



11. Crveni kralj i kraljica, Francuska, početak XIX. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452
Red king and queen, France, beginning of 19th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

natljivih vojski s portretima vojskovođa na šahovskim figurama, koji se javljaju tek u kasnom XVIII. stoljeću kada se razvojem promišljanja o povijesti veća pažnja posvećuje povijesno točnim prikazima, istovremeno javlja i sve veći broj anakronističkih setova u kojima se sukobljavaju ličnosti koje nisu živjele u isto vrijeme.¹⁹

Divljenje prema prošlosti, koje se u Francuskoj razvija krajem XVIII. i početkom XIX. stoljeća, Eveline Deneer opisuje kao „izraz želje za povratkom predrevolucionarnim vrijednostima rojalizma i katolicizma“.²⁰ Novi „trubadurski stil“ inspiraciju je crpio u francuskoj srednjovjekovnoj i renesansnoj povijesti, povezujući u svojoj anegdotalnoj

in a bell-shaped dress with a high collar, under which a shirt can be seen. Rich, wide sleeves are lined with fur. On her head she wears a variant of the French cap with a long veil. In her left hand she holds a scepter, while in her right she holds a large pendant, which can also be seen in the portraits of Anthony Mor and Hans Eworth.¹³ It is similar to the figure of Queen Mary from the French set from the Melson Keats collection, dated to the end of the 18th century.¹⁴ The pieces, which are mirror-symmetrical, are connected by a similar posture, a scepter in one hand and a pendant held by the other hand. It is possible that the sets from the Mimara Museum and the Melson Keats collection were created in the same workshop.

Figural as well as abstract ivory chess sets were produced in France. Dieppe sets are characterized by pieces shaped like busts on baluster-shaped bases, and knights are sometimes shaped like seahorses. Mackett-Beeson states that workshops in Paris and Dieppe produced finely carved ivory figural sets that were richly painted, and one Paris set from the beginning of the 19th century, with its pieces carved in ivory with well-preserved polychromy of blue and red colors, resembles a set from the Mimara Museum.¹⁵ Ivory chess sets usually have only one side painted, or even both sides in natural color, but polychrome sets in which both sides are painted are a French characteristic. The origin of the figures from Mimara's collection should thus be placed in one of the French workshops, possibly in Paris, from the beginning of the 19th century.

Chess sets in which the French King François I and the English King Henry VIII meet on opposing sides are often called Field of the Cloth of Gold sets, after the historic meeting of the two kings in 1520.¹⁷ At the beginning of the 16th century the expansion of dominions and influence of the House of Habsburg led to a long-lasting conflict with the French Monarchy. In these circumstances England became an important potential ally to both sides, so the summit between the French and English kings held between Ardres in France and Guines, then part of the Kingdom of England, was meant to strengthen the Anglo-French relations. Tents of gold cloth, for which the summit was later named, feasts, jousts and competitions for the enjoyment of the gathered nobility, as well as impressive displays of wealth and power, whose goal was to demonstrate the superiority of one king over the other, however, did not fulfill their intended purpose of securing an alliance between the two kingdoms. On the contrary, England and France soon continued their long-lasting rivalry that started back in the 12th century.

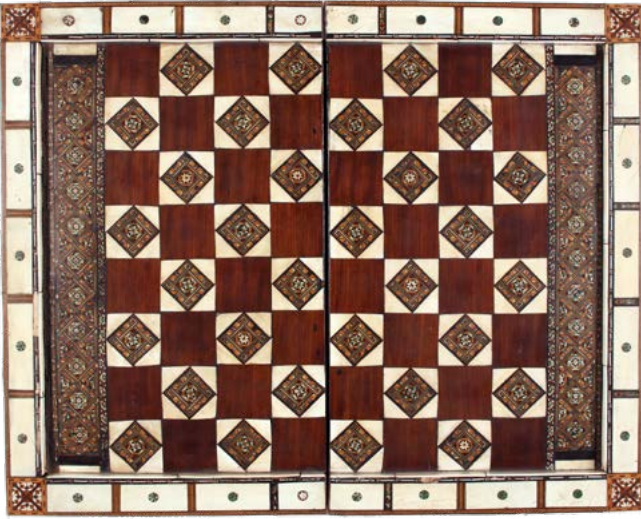
Kings Henry and François were the epitomes of the Renaissance prince: well-educated, energetic and eager to prove their martial prowess. Their conflicts were a result of the politics of balance of power in Europe, which expressed itself in the early 16th century in a series of Italian wars. Henry tried to use the current political climate to strengthen England's position on the political map of Europe,

naravi *genre* i historijsko slikarstvo pri čemu je posebna pažnja posvećena prikazima kostima. Rezbari šahovskih figura vjerojatno su bili upoznati sa slikama i grafikama u „trubadurskome stilu“,²¹ a šahovske figure svojim su složenim simbolizmom bile prikladan medij za „rekreaciju povijesti“ svojstvenu novoj modi. Posebno mjesto u repertoaru slikara „trubadurskoga stila“ našao je François I. koji je početkom XIX. stoljeća slavjen kao „otac književnosti i umjetnosti“.²² Janet Cox-Rearick navodi kako su slike s temom Françoisia I. uživale posebnu popularnost kod carice Josephine, ali i za Burbonske restauracije (1814./1815.–1830.).²³ Takva popularnost mogla se prenijeti i u medij šahovskih figura pri čemu odabir Henryja VIII. kao protivnika Françoisu I. možemo promatrati kao referencu na njihovo povijesno suparništvo koje odražava i političku klimu razdoblja u kojem su figure nastale.

U kontekstu englesko-francuskoga suparništva možemo promatrati i odabir figure kraljice na crvenoj (engleskoj) strani. Mary I. bila je kći Henryja VIII. i njegove prve supruge Katarine Aragonske te prva kraljica Engleske *suo iure* (po svome pravu). Suočena s protestantskim nasljedem svoga oca, za supruga je odabrala Felipea II., budućega španjolskog kralja, čime je Engleska uvučena u sukob s Francuskom koji je 1558. godine rezultirao francuskim osvajanjem Calaisa, posljednjega engleskog uporišta na europskome kontinentu. U nizu Henryjevih supruge, za figuru kraljice koja će ga pratiti na šahovskom polju odabrana je njegova kći koja je također sudjelovala u sukobu s Francuskom.

ŠAHOVSKA PLOČA

Šahovske ploče bile su luksuzni uporabni predmeti koji su se često izrađivali uz pripadajuće setove šahovskih figura, obično u odgovarajućem materijalu. Igraća ploča iz Muzeja Mimara pravokutnoga je oblika i sastavljena od dvije stranice povezane metalnim šarkama, koje zatvorene tvore kutiju za pohranu figura. Kada je otvorena, na ploči se s vanjske strane nalazi šahovsko polje, dok se na unutarnjoj strani nalazi polje za igru *backgammon*. Šahovsko polje (sl. 12) sastoji se od 32 crna polja od tamnoga drva te 32 bijela polja od bjelokosti s ukrasom u intarziji od različitih vrsta drva te



12. Igraća ploča (vanjska strana), sjeverna Italija, kraj XV. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452
Games board (outside), Northern Italy, end of 15th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

while his eagerness to repeat the military successes of his predecessors and English claims to the French Crown served as additional motivation for his conflicts with François. The rivalry between the two kings is illustrated in an anecdote from their meeting on the Field of the Cloth of Gold that recounts how, contrary to the protocol that was supposed to prevent the kings from facing each other in the competitions that were a part of the meeting, Henry decided to challenge François to a wrestling match, which the French king easily won.



The rivalry between England (from 1707 Great Britain) and France culminated at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries when conflicts spread to their colonies as well. The ascension of post-revolutionary France under Napoleon's rule threatened the European balance of power and Great Britain facing not only an invasion from the continent, but also a French

13. Igraća ploča (unutarnja strana), sjeverna Italija, kraj XV. st.; Muzej Mimara, Zagreb, inv. br. ATM 2452
Games board (inside), Northern Italy, end of 15th c.; Mimara Museum, Zagreb, Inv. no. ATM 2452

prirodne i zeleno obojene bjelokosti. Ukrasi su oblikovani poput romboidnih polja u čijim se središtima nalaze zvjezdasti motivi okruženi vrpcom koja u kutovima tvori uglate uške. Uz kraće stranice igrace ploče nalaze se trake s ponovljenim ukrasima s bijelih šahovskih polja. Ploča je obrubljena nizom pravokutnih polja od bjelokosti u prirodnoj boji u čijim su središtima stilizirani zvjezdasti motivi. U kutovima ruba ploče nalaze se kvadratna polja s intarzijama geometrijskoga uzorka izvedenima od različitih vrsta drva i bjelokosti. Na unutrašnjosti ploče (sl. 13) nalazi se polje za igru *backgammon* od bjelokosti s trokutastim poljima od tamnoga drva i zeleno obojene bjelokosti. Središnja trećina polja

threat to its growing colonial empire and trade, took central stage in opposing France.

French chess sets of the time reflect political and social circumstances. A chess set showing Egyptians versus Assyrians was made in reaction to the French conquest of Egypt. Sets with themes from the past show a growing interest in French history,¹⁸ and at the beginning of the 19th century series of sets were made that confronted Napoleon (1769–1821) with his contemporary rivals, among them the British king, admiral Nelson, the Prussian king and also, interestingly, the French king Henri IV (1553–1610). Anachronisms in chess sets are not a rarity. Hans and Barbara Hol-

länder remark that depictions of recognizable armies with portraits of military leaders on chess figures in the late 18th century (when increasing consideration of the past led to more attention being paid to historical accuracy) were followed by an increase in anachronistic sets that confront persons who were not alive at the same time.¹⁹

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, an admiration for the past developed in France, which Eveline Deneer described as "an expression of the wish to return to pre-Revolutionary values of royalism and Catholicism".²⁰ The new "troubadour style" drew inspiration from French medieval and Renaissance history, connecting in its anecdotal nature genre and historical painting, with special attention paid to depictions of costumes. Carvers of chess pieces were probably familiar with paintings and prints in the "troubadour style",²¹ and chess pieces with their complex symbolism were a suitable medium for the "recreation of history" characteristic of the new fashion. A special place in the repertoire of painters of the "troubadour style" was reserved for king François I, who, at the beginning of the 19th century, was celebrated as the "Father of letters and arts".²² Janet Cox-Rearick states that paintings depicting François I were very popular with the Empress Josephine, but also during the Bourbon Restoration (1814/1815–1830).²³ Such popularity could translate into the medium of chess figures while the choice of Henry VIII as an opponent to François I could be seen as a reference to their historical rivalry that also reflects the political climate of the period in which the figures were made.

The choice of the figure of the red (English) queen could also be put in a context of Anglo-French rivalry. Mary I was the daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragon, as well as the first queen of England suo iure (in her own right). Faced with her father's Protestant legacy, she chose to marry Felipe II, the future King of Spain, which pulled England into a conflict with France resulting in the French siege of Calais, the last English stronghold on the European mainland. In a series of Henry's spouses, the figure chosen to accompany him on the chessboard as his queen was his daughter, who was also involved in a conflict with France.

izrađena je od tamnoga drva, a u njezinom se središtu na svakoj polovici ploče nalazi po jedan romboidni medaljon ukrašen zvjezdastim uzorkom. Rubovi unutarnje strane igraće ploče ukrašeni su geometrijskim uzorkom u drvu i bjelokosti u prirodnoj i zelenoj boji. Uzorak je izveden tako da stvara trodimenzionalan dojam niza naslaganih kvadara. U kutovima ploče ponavljaju se uzorci s bijelih šahovskih polja.

Šahovske ploče od drva, bjelokosti i kosti izrađivane su u tehnici intarzije na jugu Španjolske i sjeveru Italije. Dok španjolske i talijanske ploče pokazuju sličnosti u dekoraciji, koje otvaraju pitanje u kojem su se smjeru dekorativni utjecaji kretali, korištena tehnika intarzije svoj je izvor imala u islamskome svijetu. U Kordopskome kalifatu obrtnici su bogato ukrašene predmete izrađivali u tehnici intarzije zvanom *taracea*.²⁴ Ovom se tehnikom tanki komadići različitog drva, bjelokosti ili kosti (prirodne boje ili obojene), metala ili sedefa slažu u složene kaleidoskopske uzorke i zatim lijepe na drvenu podlogu. Komadići mozaika mogli su se izravno lijepiti na podlogu, što je karakteristično za ranije predmete,²⁵ ili prvo učvrstiti papirom ili kožom te zatim zalijepiti na podlogu. Jonathan Bloom navodi kako se ovakav način ukrašavanja javio već krajem IX. ili početkom X. stoljeća u Egiptu te je postao popularan diljem islamskoga svijeta,²⁶ a javlja se i u Italiji u XIV. stoljeću. Osim slaganjem pojedinačnih komadića mozaika, uzorci su se mogli slagati i lijepljenjem materijala za intarziju u prutove koji su se zatim rezali na tanke ploške i lijepili na podlogu, što je tehnika koja se koristila u Italiji, a u Španjolskoj od XVI. stoljeća.

Intarziju su obrtnici u al-Andalusu i sjevernoj Africi koristili od X. stoljeća, kada je ona upotrijebljena za dekoraciju minbara izrađenoga za proširenje Velike džamije u Córdoba pod omejidskim kalifom al-Hakamom II. (915. – 976.).²⁷ Za dinastija Almoravida i Almohada, dvorski obrtnici nastavili su izrađivati bogato ukrašene, većinom sakralne, ali i sekularne predmete. Šahovska ploča iz najsrijskoga razdoblja, kada središte proizvodnje postaje Granada, a za koje su karakteristični motivi osmerokutnih zvijezda, čuva se u Museo de la Alhambra u Granadi (inv. br. 3968), a nekoliko ploča našlo se na aukcijama.²⁸ Upotreba intarzije u izradi šahovskih ploča nastavila se i nakon

dovršetka rekonkiste krajem XV. stoljeća, o čemu nam svjedoče ploče iz Victoria and Albert Museuma u Londonu (inv. br. 7849-1861 i 154-1900) te ploča ponuđena na aukciji u Sotheby'su 6. srpnja 2017. (predmet 64) i ponovno 5. prosinca 2017. (predmet 36). Od XVI. stoljeća proizvodnju nastavljaju kršćanski obrtnici koristeći postojeće islamske dekorativne obrasce.

U Italiji se intarzija, poznata kao *certosina*, koristi od XIV. stoljeća za ukrašavanje kutija, škrinja i prijenosnih oltara, a na sjeveru Italije osobito je vezana uz radionice obitelji Embriachi.²⁹ U Kunstkammer Kunsthistorisches Museuma u Beču čuva se šahovska ploča nastala u Veneciji u XIV. stoljeću (inv. br. 168), ukrašena motivima osmerokutnih zvijezda, koji ukazuju na islamski utjecaj u talijanskoj proizvodnji. U kataloškom opisu igrace ploče iz Victoria and Albert Museuma (inv. br. 154-1900), datirane u XVI. stoljeće u Granadu, navodi se, međutim, kako bečka ploča otvara mogućnost da su igrace ploče u tehnici intarzije sjevernotalijanski luksuzni proizvodi koji su se u XVI. stoljeću lokalnom tehnikom kopirali na jugu Španjolske.³⁰

Paula Nuttall navodi kako su motivi na talijanskim primjercima, iako su ih talijanski obrtnici često preuzimali s islamskih uzora, manje složeni te precizniji, za razliku od španjolskih motiva koje karakteriziraju minuciozni i složeni detalji, često uz lagano iskrivljene prave kutove.³¹ Dok su španjolski obrtnici uz zvjezdaste motive često uključivali slikovite bukete cvijeća i florealne motive, talijanski obrtnici pokazali su veći interes za jasnije i preciznije geometrijske motive i poigravanje perspektivom. Ovaj interes za perspektivu vidljiv je na ukrasu ruba unutarnje strane ploče iz Muzeja Mimara, a možemo ga usporediti s motivima na pločama iz Kunsthistorisches Museuma (inv. br. 3725)³² i Metropolitan Museuma (inv. br. 2010.109.4) datiranima u kraj XV. stoljeća i u XV. stoljeće. Rub je ukrašen pločicama drva te bjelokosti u prirodnoj i zelenoj boji, složenih tako da tvore optičku iluziju niza kocaka, ili u slučaju ploče iz Muzeja Mimara, kvadara. Igrača ploča iz Muzeja Mimara gotovo je istovjetna ploči ponuđenoj na aukciji u Christie'su 1. travnja 2021. godine (predmet 9). Ploča je na temelju ukrasa koji tvori optičku iluziju trodimenzionalnosti te reljefnih portreta na šarkama, a koji su

GAMES BOARD

Chessboards were luxury utility items that were often made with accompanying sets of chess pieces, usually in a matching material. The games board from the Mimara Museum is rectangular in shape and consists of two sides connected by metal hinges, which when closed form a box in which pieces are stored. When open, the outer side makes a chessboard, while the backgammon board is on the inside. The chessboard (fig. 12) consists of 32 black squares made of dark wood and 32 white squares made of ivory with inlaid decoration of different types of wood and natural and green-stained ivory. The decorations are shaped like rhomboid fields in the centers of which there are star motifs surrounded by a ribbon forming angular folds in the corners. Along the shorter sides of the chessboard there are strips with decorations repeated from the white chess squares. The plate is bordered with a series of rectangular ivory fields in natural color, in the centers of which there are stylized star motifs. In the corners of the edge of the panel there are square fields with inlays of a geometric pattern made of different types of wood and ivory. On the inside of the board (fig. 13) there is an ivory backgammon field with triangular fields of dark wood and green-stained ivory. The central third of the field is made of dark wood, and in its center on each half of the board there is a rhomboid medallion decorated with a star pattern. The edges of the inside of the games board are decorated with a geometric pattern in wood and natural and green-stained ivory. The pattern is designed to create a three-dimensional impression of a series of stacked blocks. Patterns from white chess squares are repeated in the corners of the board.

*Chessboards made of wood, ivory and bone were made in the inlay technique in the south of Spain and the north of Italy. While the Spanish and Italian boards show similarities in decoration, which raise the question of the direction in which the decorative influences moved, the inlay technique used had its source in the Islamic world. In the Cordoban Caliphate, artisans made richly decorated objects using the inlay technique called *taracea*.²⁴ With this technique, thin pieces of different wood, ivory or bone (natural or stained), metal or mother-of-pearl are arranged in complex kaleidoscopic patterns and then glued to a wooden base. Mosaic pieces could be glued directly to the substrate, which*

is characteristic of earlier objects,²⁵ or first fixed with paper or leather and then glued to the substrate. Jonathan Bloom states that this type of decoration appeared already at the end of the 9th century or at the beginning of the 10th century in Egypt and became popular throughout the Islamic world,²⁶ and it also appeared in Italy in the 14th century. In addition to stacking individual pieces of mosaic, the patterns could also be assembled by gluing the inlay material into rods that were then cut into thin slices and glued to the base, a technique that was used in Italy and in Spain from the 16th century.

Inlay technique has been used by artisans in al-Andalus and North Africa since the 10th century, when it was employed to decorate the minbar made for the expansion of the Great Mosque in Córdoba under the Caliph al-Hakam II (915–976).²⁷ For the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties, court craftsmen continued to make richly decorated, mostly sacral, but also secular objects. A chessboard from the Nasrid period, when Granada became the center of production, and which is characterized by octagonal star motifs, is kept in the Museo de la Alhambra in Granada (inv. no. 3968), and several boards have been found at auctions.²⁸ The use of inlay in the manufacture of chessboards continued after the completion of the Reconquista at the end of the 15th century, as evidenced by the game boards from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (inv. no. 7849-1861 and 154-1900) and the game board offered at auction at Sotheby's on July 6, 2017 (item 64) and again on December 5, 2017 (item 36). Since the 16th century, production has been continued by Christian craftsmen using existing Islamic decorative patterns.

In Italy, inlay technique, known as certosina, has been used since the 14th century for decorating boxes, chests and portable altars, and in the north of Italy it is particularly associated with the workshops of the Embriachi family.²⁹ In the Kunstkammer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, a chessboard created in Venice in the 14th century is preserved (inv. no. 168), decorated with motifs of octagonal stars, which indicate the Islamic influence in Italian production. The description of a game board from the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. no. 154-1900), dated to the 16th century in Granada, states, how-

povezani s talijanskim portretnim medaljama XV. stoljeća, datirana u XV. ili početak XVI. stoljeća, te naznačena kao djelo radionice Embriachi. S obzirom na navedene sličnosti, ploču iz Muzeja Mimara možemo odrediti kao sjevernotalijanski rad kraja XV. stoljeća.

Garnitura iz Muzeja Mimara zanimljiv je spoj fino rezbaranih i polikromiranih figura tipičnih za francusku proizvodnju, uparenih s igraćom pločom koja iako nastala na sjeveru Italije pokazuje bliskost s islamskim pločama s juga Španjolske. Zajedno čine lijep primjer luksuznih predmeta koji su, čak i ako se nisu aktivno koristili za igranje šaha, svoje mjesto našli kao kolekcionarski primjerci vrijedni divljenja.

ever, that the Viennese board opens the possibility that game boards in the technique of inlay are northern Italian luxury products that were copied in the 16th century in the south of Spain using local techniques.³⁰

Paula Nuttall states that the motifs on the Italian examples, although the Italian artisans often took them from Islamic models, are less complex and more precise, in contrast to the Spanish motifs, which are characterized by minute and complex details, often with slightly distorted right angles.³¹ While Spanish artisans often included picturesque flower bouquets and floral motifs in addition to star motifs, Italian artisans showed a greater interest in clearer and more precise geometric motifs and playing with perspective. This interest in perspective is obvious on the decoration of the edge on the inside of the board from the Mimara Museum, and we can compare this motive with examples from the Kunsthistorisches Museum (inv. no. 3725)³² and the Metropolitan Museum (inv. no. 2010.109.4) dated to the end of the 15th and 15th centuries, respectively. The motive is formed with inlays of wood and natural and green-stained ivory, arranged in such a way as to create the optical illusion of a series of cubes, or in the case of the board from the Mimara Museum, blocks. The games board from the Mimara Museum is almost identical to the games board offered at Christie's auction on April 1, 2021 (item 9). On the basis of decorations that create the optical illusion of three-dimensionality and relief portraits on the hinges, which are related to Italian portrait medals of the 15th century, this board is dated in the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century and indicated as the work of the Embriachi workshop. Considering the above-mentioned similarities, we can determine the board from the Mimara Museum as a Northern Italian work of the end of the 15th century.

The set from the Mimara Museum is an interesting combination of finely carved and polychrome pieces typical of French production, paired with a games board that, although created in the north of Italy, shows a closeness to Islamic boards from the south of Spain. Together they form a fine example of luxury items that, even if they were not actively used for playing chess, have found their place as admirable collectibles.

Notes:

Bilješke:

- ¹ Shenk 2007.
- ² See Sanvito 2000, p. 14. *The most widely spread theory places the origin of the game in India, but it is not universally accepted. See also Klopprogge 2007, p. 16 and Schafröth 2002, pp. 14–15.*
- ³ *Chess arrived to Russia via the eastern trade route across the Caspian Sea. A particularity of Russian chess sets are the rooks (ladya) depicted like ships and the queen (ferz) whose name was taken from the Persian-Arab nomenclature, and which until the 18th century was depicted as a male piece. Under the European influence it became female. More in: Linder 1994.*
- ⁴ *More about the appearance and development of the queen piece in: Yalom 2005.*
- ⁵ *Spielwelten der Kunst 1998, p. 28.*
- ⁶ *Thanks to a skillful marketing campaign, the Staunton set developed in the United Kingdom, which is today the most widespread standard chess set, stood out. More in: Williams 2000, pp. 58–61.*
- ⁷ *Marotte is the name for a type of staff or scepter with a carved head on top, which was often carried by court jesters.*
- ⁸ *This change was already noted in the 13th century. Holländer 2005, p. 54.*
- ⁹ *Collection M. Ante Mimara 1954, cat. no. 74.*
- ¹⁰ *More in: Bontemps, Pierre, in: Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, volume 12, pp. 620–621.*
- ¹¹ *More about the Gaignières collection on the website of the Collecta project (<https://www.collecta.fr/index.php?>).*
- ¹² *The portrait of King Henry VIII, painted in 1537 by Hans Holbein the Younger, was destroyed in a fire in 1698, but it is known from a number of copies.*
- ¹³ *The portraits of Anthonis Mor from Prado (inv. no. P002108) and Hans Eworth from the Society of Antiquaries of London (inv. no. LDSAL336) were created in 1554.*
- ¹⁴ *A set depicting the Spanish King Felipe II and Queen Mary, and the French King Henri II and Queen Catherine de' Medici is illustrated in Masterworks 2016, pp. 164–169.*
- ¹⁵ *Mackett-Beeson 1973, p. 14 and 16, Fig. 14. The aforementioned chess set depicting the conflict between the French and Native Americans is also shown in Dean, Brady 2010, p. 86, where it is marked as a French work of the 18th century.*
- ¹ Shenk 2007.
- ² Vidi Sanvito 2000., str. 14. Najprihvaćenija teorija smješta porijeklo igre u Indiju, no ona nije opće prihvaćena. Vidi također Klopprogge 2007., str. 16. i Schafröth 2002., str. 14–15.
- ³ U Rusiju je šah stigao istočnim trgovačkim putem preko Kaspijskoga jezera. Za ruske šahovske setove karakteristične su figure kula (*ladya*) prikazanih poput brodova te kraljice (*ferz*), čiji je naziv preuzet iz perzijsko-arapske nomenklature, a koje su se do XVIII. stoljeća prikazivale kao muške figure, nakon čega pod europskim utjecajem postaju ženske figure. Više u: Linder 1994.
- ⁴ Više o pojavi i razvoju figure kraljice u: Yalom 2005.
- ⁵ *Spielwelten der Kunst 1998., str. 28.*
- ⁶ Zahvaljujući vještoj marketinškoj kampanji, posebno se istaknuo Staunton set razvijen u Ujedinjenom Kraljevstvu, koji je danas najrašireniji standardni šahovski set. Više u: Williams 2000., str. 58–61.
- ⁷ *Marotte* je naziv za vrstu štapa ili žezla na čijem se vrhu nalazi rezbarena glava, a koje su često nosile dvorske lude.
- ⁸ Ova promjena zabilježena je već u XIII. stoljeću. Holländer 2005., str. 54.
- ⁹ Collection M. Ante Mimara 1954., kat. br. 74.
- ¹⁰ Više u: *Bontemps, Pierre*, u: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, svezak 12, str. 620–621.
- ¹¹ Više o Gaignièresovoj zbirci na mrežnim stranicama projekta *Collecta* (<https://www.collecta.fr/index.php?>).
- ¹² Portret kralja Henryja VIII. naslikao je 1537. godine Hans Holbein Mladi. Uništen je u požaru 1698. godine, no poznat je iz niza kopija.
- ¹³ Portreti Anthonisa Mora iz Prada (inv. br. P002108) i Hansa Ewortha iz Society of Antiquaries of London (inv. br. LDSAL336) nastali su 1554. godine.
- ¹⁴ Set koji prikazuje španjolskoga kralja Felipea II. i kraljicu Mary te francuskoga kralja Henryja II. i kraljicu Caterinu de' Medici ilustriran je u Masterworks 2016., str. 164–169.
- ¹⁵ Mackett-Beeson 1973., str. 14 i 16, sl. 14. Spomenuti šahovski set s prikazom sukoba Francuza i američkih domorodaca prikazan je i u Dean, Brady 2010., str. 86, gdje je označen kao francuski rad XVIII. stoljeća.

- ¹⁶ Mackett-Beeson states that German craftsmen produced sets for the market similar to French ones, but the German sets were never painted. Mackett-Beeson 1973, p. 12.
- ¹⁷ Sets with this theme are illustrated in Dean, Brady 2010, pp. 82–83; Masterworks 2016, pp. 170–173 and Wilkinson, McNab Dennis 1968, kat. br. 42.
- ¹⁸ Primjere ovakvih setova vidi u Dean, Brady 2010, str. 78, 84.
- ¹⁹ Spielwelten der Kunst 1998., str. 31–32.
- ²⁰ Deneer 2011., str. 219.
- ²¹ U seriji grafika Pierrea de la Mésangèrea *Galerie Française de femmes célèbres* iz 1827. godine nalazi se i prikaz Leonora od Austrije prema grafikama iz Gaignièresove zbirke (<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8470154w/f26.item>).
- ²² Kralj François I. prikazan je, među ostalim, na slikama Fleury-Richarda (*François Ier montre à Marguerite de Navarre, sa sœur, les vers qu'il vient d'écrire sur une vitre avec son diamant*, 1804.) i Ingresa (*Smrt Leonarda da Vincija*, 1818.).
- ²³ Cox-Rearick 1997., str. 217.
- ²⁴ Naziv *taracea*, koji se koristi u Španjolskoj, dolazi od arapske riječi *tarsi* (umetanje, intarzija), dok se u Italiji uvriježilo naziv *certosina* prema kartuzijanskom samostanu kraj Pavije (Certosa di Pavia) u kojemu se čuvaju brojni predmeti izrađeni u ovoj tehnici.
- ²⁵ Al-Andalus 1992., str. 362.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ Minbar je izrađen između 966. i 976. godine i uništen je u XVI. stoljeću, no poznat nam je iz književnih izvora. Ecker 2004., str. 162.
- ²⁸ U Christie'su 5. listopada 2010. (predmeti 162 i 163) i 27. travnja 2017. (predmet 48), te u Sotheby'su 24. listopada 2007. (predmet 158) i 7. listopada 2015. (predmet 322).
- ²⁹ Embriachi (Ebriachi, Obriachi ili Ubriachi) su firentinska obitelj rezbara i poduzetnika, aktivna u Veneciji između 1390. i 1430. godine. Specijalizirali su se za izradu predmeta od drva, bjelokosti i kosti tehnikom *certosina*, uz karakterističnu upotrebu intarzije i reljefa od rezbarene kosti. Više u: *Embriachi*, u: Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon, sv. 33, str. 442–444.
- ³⁰ Games Board and Accessories (<https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O134094/games-board-and-unknown/>, pristupljeno 11. kolovoza 2022.)
- ³¹ Nuttall 2010., str. 721.
- ³² Prikazana u Nuttall 2010., str. 720, sl. 13. i Spielwelten der Kunst 1998., str. 98–99, kat. br. 22.

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