



CULTURE AND NATURE: THE EUROPEAN HERITAGE OF  
SHEEP FARMING AND PASTORAL LIFE

## RESEARCH THEME 9: PASTORAL LIFE IN ART

### SYNTHESIS RESEARCH REPORT

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<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	<b>PAGE</b>
1. INTRODUCTION	4
2. PRIMITIVE SOCIETY	5
3. THE SHEEP IN THE EUROPEAN SCENE	8
4. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE LAMB	9
4.1 Pre Christian (Old Testament) symbolism	9
4.2 Christian (New Testament) symbolism and the lamb	10
4.3 The Lamb as a symbol or accessory figure in Catholic iconography	11
4.4 The Good Shepherd and the Good Shepherdess	11
4.5 The lamb as an attribute of saints	13
5. PRE – HISTORIC AND ANCIENT HISTORICAL PERIODS	16
5.1 Greece	16
5.2 Bulgaria	21
5.3 Poland	29
5.4 Hungary	31
6. THE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY - BYZANTINE ART (Greece and Bulgaria)	32
6.1 Sheepskin (shepherds' attire)	33
6.2 The Nativity	33
6.3 Allegories – zodiac signs	34
7. ART IN THE LOWER MIDDLE AGES: Sheep as a religious symbol	35
7.1 France	35
7.2 Hungary	44
7.3 U.K. – Medieval Anglo Saxon Art	46
7.4 Poland	47
7.5 Estonia Gothic art - 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	50
8. THE RENAISSANCE	51
8.1 France: Technical innovation and iconographic continuity	51
8.2 Poland: the so-called Agnuski	52
9. The 17 <sup>th</sup> century	54
9.1 France: religion and decoration	54
10. The 18 <sup>th</sup> century	57
10.1 France: Pastoral imagination and scientific realism	57

10.2 Hungary: Art works depicting activities of sheep-breeding in the 18 <sup>th</sup> century	64
10.3 U.K.	64
11. The 19 <sup>th</sup> century in Europe	65
11.1 U.K.: The Victorian period	65
11.2 France: The 19 <sup>th</sup> c., back to the land	67
11.3 Hungary	75
11.4 Bulgaria	76
12. The 20 <sup>th</sup> CENTURY	77
12.1 Bulgaria	77
12.2 Poland	85
12.3 France	91
12.4 Hungary	95
12.5 Estonia	100
12.6 Greece	112
12.7 U.K.	118
13. CONCLUSION	119
14. LITERATURE	120

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Art has been a form of very strong human expression since time immemorial. It has been a powerful means of visual expression throughout all the periods of individual human and social development from ancient through late medieval, modern and contemporary eras with their ideological and aesthetic platforms. The journey through the pre-history and history of the countries dealt with in narrative form herein (Greece, France, the UK, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Estonia) and the examples of various idol sculptures and ceramics, mural and icon painting, secular painting and graphic arts, sculptures and installations, which are also included herein, are connected with the investigation of the objective, which is to trace the mention and depiction of the lamb and sheep in secular art or religious works through the centuries. Through this narrative and these examples it is sought to trace how the changes in the social framework set different schools of art and trends and how the symbolic presentation - with a focus on visual arts - of the ram's or sheep's images retains its basic characteristics to-date.

Sheep as a theme have found themselves in art in many forms, often with strong symbolic overtones. Since sheep feature in religious texts, especially Christian writings as a metaphor for Jesus, it is only to be expected that they should form a motif, especially when art mostly served a religious purpose.

The portrayal of the sheep, ram, lamb and mutton is frequently encountered in all facets of art in the western world from antiquity right up to our days.

The characteristic appearance of the animal is depicted in bucolic scenes, in environmentalist portrayals, in mythological narratives as an allegorical holy entity, or as a reference to multiple symbolisms which are given to the animal.

The most important area in depictions in Christian iconography is identified with the figures of both, the lamb and the shepherd. They appear in both a concrete, realistic way, playing a complementing role, and in an allegoric, symbolic form with deeper meanings. For close to two millenia the Christian idea offered a relatively stable and permanent base of comparison showing a homogeneous and general use of images in thought content, as well as in symbolic and metaphoric expression.

In the arts representing religious ideas, Jesus, the saints and Biblical scenes have been depicted according to strict regulations and respecting the rules of iconography in the arts, often considering the text of the Old and New Testament and the comments on them. The animal (the lamb or the ram) appears in different ways. It can be in the centre of an image, or by itself. It may be an important symbol of a Biblical scene, or be a participant of the scene. Sheep were pictured even without any symbolic value in Christian iconographic art works.

The symbolic presence of the lamb has widespread depictions. The sheep play an important role in different religions not only in Europe but world wide. Therefore, the presentation of convergence in this field may contribute to the dialogue and

reconciliation of religions, since the sheep or lamb are important parts of the Christian, Jewish and Islamic cultures and faiths at the same time.

Another field has to be added to the study of this theme: the depictions of sheep and lamb or of their shepherd without any symbolic contents, outside the sacral art. These pictures show an idyllic, realistic atmosphere. The sheep are normally no more than accessory figures, mere illustrations of the landscape and contributions to the idyllic scenery. However, there are cases when the animal is the artist's main inspirer and being the main subject, it is in the focus of the art work.

## **2. PRIMITIVE SOCIETY**

Carving sheep bones and depicting animals as art- works and decorating everyday objects with them was already a widespread practice in ancient times. Additionally, the symbolic nature of the display of the lamb or sheep has existed from early times, thus, its depiction spread very fast. The early portrayal of the lamb or the shepherd appeared carved on stone or shaped with clay while the depiction on canvass followed in Europe in the centuries after the Renaissance.

Sheep, ewes, goats and ducks as such, only appeared in the Neolithic period, the physical changes due to the new domestication of these animals were indeed one of the indicators of this great change in culture. Notwithstanding this, wild species of goat, close to animals which were later domesticated, are not absent from Palaeolithic art whether on walls or on objects.

Among the large herbivores of the Palaeolithic period which were painted on cave walls, where humans lived amongst the bison or horses, it is not rare to come across ibexes with horns which are particularly well painted, as can found in the black chamber of the Grotte de Niaux (Ariège). This chamber, an immense room situated 800 m. from the grotto's entrance, shows, among one hundred animal paintings, ibexes, represented either by simple lines, or full body, dating back 13000 years.



*Ibex, Niaux Caves, Ariège, 15 000 BC*

One can also see ibexes painted in Lascaux, in the Dordogne (dating 18000 years ago approx.), or in relief as on the limestone blocks coming from the Roc-de - Serres site in the Charente (dating 18000 years ago). One of these blocks shows two ibexes head to head as if in combat.



*Deux bouquetins affrontés, about 18 000 BC, limestone, 0.68 x 1.08 x 0.19 m. Sit: two ibexes head to head; original site: shelter in the Roc-de-Serres, Hautes-Alpes, kept at: musée d'archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye.*

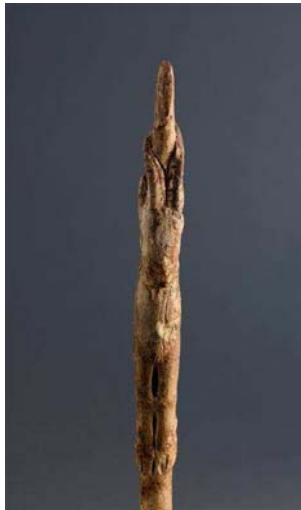
This depiction illustrates the theme of an animal fight, a theme which is widespread around prehistoric Mediterranean. These fight scenes show just as much the strength of the animals as the balance of nature to which these animals contribute. These fights also evoke the rutting period, since reproduction is also related to the conservation of the immediate natural surroundings of man, to which he has adapted his way of life. The rut of the ibexes is indeed explicitly evoked in the Bourdois shelter in the Roc- aux- Sorciers (Vienne). One can see on the graven wall (around 14000 years old), a painting showing five males, one female and two young animals.



*Frise des bouquetins, sheltered at Bourdois, Roc-aux-Sorciers, Vienne, 14 000 BC*

If some males have raised tails, one of them is putting this part of its anatomy on its buttocks, a sign of rutting. This position of the tail mirrors that of the female whose tail is placed horizontally in a sign of the same capacity for reproduction. This possibly explains why the vulva of the animal is clearly shown, a rare depiction in wall art. The presence of two young animals also evokes reproduction.

Ibexes are also present on object art from the Palaeolithic period, not only on objects whose functions are known to us, such as the throwing device called "from the ibex" originating in the Mas-d'Azil (Ariège), dating between 17000 and 11000 years BC.



*Propulseur au bouquetin, 17000-11000 BC, reindeer wood, 0.265x0.021x0.017m. Provenance : the Mas-d'Azil, Ariège. Conservation : musée d'archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye. © RMN / Thierry Le Mage*

But also on more mysterious objects, such as the fragment of rib coming from the Richard cave (Mayenne), which shows a finely engraved ornament with heads and backs of ibexes, probably created in the upper Magdalenian period, between 15500 and 14000 BC.



*Fragment de côte. Frise de bouquetins gravés. Upper Magdalenian period, bone, 0.175x0.030x0.013m. Provenance : Grotte Richard, Mayenne ; Conservation : musée national de Préhistoire, Les Eyzies-de-Tayac. © RMN / Franck Raux.*

Even before domestication, goats occupied an important place in artistic and mental re- presentation of the world by the first men present in the territory which would later become

France. Animals represented by men participate in mythical stories which decorate grottoes, support the world's balance, denote the force of nature both physical strength in a fight and reproductive force.

In the course of the successive great historical periods, sheep and goats were curiously less often represented, as if their domestication reduced interest in representing them. In Gaul in the Neolithic period, during the metal ages, and even in the upper Middle Ages, images of sheep became rare. This is all the more surprising as ancient Mediterranean art is full of evocations of pastoral life and work in the fields, both in literature as well as in the visual arts.

Rams have indeed a ritual function, since they may be sacrificed.

### 3. THE SHEEP IN THE EUROPEAN SCENE

Europe has a great number of landscapes and variations of climate which have since pre - historic times, influenced man's ways of life. Obligated to adapt to their environments, men developed various agricultural systems to ensure their survival. Many animal species were domesticated, among them sheep and goats which formed and still form the basis of the staple food of some groups of humans. Men have always taken advantage of all the produce the animals could give: meat, milk, wool, skin and also their droppings which, in the form of manure, enabled the enrichment of the land and the cultivation of crops. The importance of animals, in Europe and elsewhere, in the relationship between man and nature is without a doubt the starting point of numerous representations of animals, both mental and artistic, which can be traced back to the remotest origins.

Sheep are a symbol of Nature and the way in which they are treated evolved in different eras, in accordance with the relationship which man had with his environment. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, animals were a passive witness of the love of shepherds, demonstrating a desire by intellectuals to go back to nature, without necessarily understanding it, since the animals seemed to be looking after themselves, with no need for any care by humans. At the same time, drawing craftsmen and engravers immortalised the experiments of scientists who attempted to approach nature in a rational fashion. This rigorous work on animals lasted throughout the following centuries. What should perhaps be seen here, more than in the pastoral, are the beginnings of a more methodical study of human societies which enabled artists in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to approach rural life with a desire to represent the tough reality of every day life. This approach lasted until the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whereas in the Industrial Revolution, the traditional society and agriculture, which characterises it disappear. Some artists started to use images of sheep, to evoke the phantom of an eternally harmonious relationship between man and nature.

Even today, animals are burdened with various connotations which are particularly noticeable in advertising which target town dwellers far removed from animals. Sheep can be a symbol of authenticity, of naturalness as depicted time and again in advertising campaigns for dairy products. But sheep can also be a symbol of stupidity as in the sheep of the Middle Ages, which could not see the divine. Furthermore, a derogatory view of the human masses is reflected by expressions which refer to the masses flocking like sheep.

Sheep are therefore animals which have many interpretations and whose image can be used in various contexts.

Sheep were domesticated about 10000 years ago. The presence of the sheep and, more generally, of the caprine animals has been systematic and extensive over the centuries. From the ancient to the modern rendering in pictorial form, the depictions are varied because the figure of the mythical ram alive or in the form of the fleece, have never ceased to constitute a source of inspiration of the artists. In various



depictions of elements from nature, the flora and fauna, we encounter the presence of caprine animals.

This is common in Minoan art in various techniques such as that of the monumental frescoes, the miniature art, the art of creation of silver ware or golden artefacts, and in pottery and sculpture of classical Greece, in the symbolic representations of Christian art, in folk art and words of recent times to our days.

Fundamentally, the sheep's figure appears from the very first expressions of artistic creation or handicraft from the dawn of human civilisation right up to our era, an era of polymedia.

However, further than the notions dissipated by the young lamb, which are purity, tenderness, softness, the multitude of its symbolisms, starting from its figure which has replaced pictorially even Christ himself, or his disciples, the mythological scenes, the allegories, the sanctimonious part of pastoral life, there is an aesthetic quest associated with the figure of the sheep. This has occupied so many generations of artists and it has never ceased to appear right up to our time, which is dominated by a plethora of information and pictures, which have completely changed our aesthetic and visual values. In the long run the sheep and its products remain vital and particularly loved and useful in our routine and everyday life. They form an integral part of our domesticity as well as a visual representation of facets of our culture and civilisation.

## **4. THE SYMBOLISM OF THE LAMB**

### **4.1 Pre Christian (Old Testament) symbolism**

The lamb (Greek *amnos*, Latin *agnus*) is the symbol of innocence, of submissiveness, of an attitude to endure defencelessness with resignation. The lamb is the most important sacrificial animal in the Exodus (*Exodus 12,1-20*). It is the symbol of kindness in Hosea (*4,16*), in Jeremiah "the gentle lamb led to the slaughter" (*11,19*), it stands for patience in Isaiah (*53,7*), and for joy in the Psalms and in the Book of Wisdom (*113,4*).

In the Jewish practice before Christianity the lamb was not only known as a symbol but rather as a real sacrificial animal. It is mentioned first in the Old Testament (*Genesis 4,1-4*) as the sacrifice of Abel. His, the first shepherd's offering was appealing to God. By the time of the New Testament the hostility between nomadic shepherds and settled peasants lost importance and the divergence between Cain and Abel got an ethicoreligious accent. Abel has become the prototype of Christian martyrs (*Matthew 23,35; Luk 11,50*) and a pre-figuration of Christ (*Hebrews 12,24*). Abel's sacrifice and death were frequent subjects of depictions; Cain and Abel were painted on Hungary's oldest medieval fresco on the crypt's vault of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. church in Feldebrő, Hungary. Abel's body is half destroyed, only the lower part of his face

can be seen. He wears a blue cloak and red undergarment. In his right hand – covered by a cloth, as it was the habit in the Middle Ages – is a lamb.

A ram as well as sheep are often depicted in presentations of the sacrifice by Abraham and of other scenes of his life. The ram – whose horns are caught in a bush – to be sacrificed by

Abraham instead of his son, Isaac is the pre-figuration of Christ who died on the cross, wearing a crown of thorns on his head (*Genesis 22,13*) following the interpretation of St. August. Abraham's attributes in cathedral sculptures are the child Isaac, the sacrificial knife and the ram. The ram's presentation in paintings or sculptures cannot be considered as usual. The focus is on Isaac, on Abraham and on the angel, who stops Abraham's hand. Károly Ferenczy's famous painting in Hungary depicts only these three figures. His compatriot, József Molnár, however, painted sheep as well on his picture with the title *Abraham's Departure*.

#### **4.2 Christian (New Testament) symbolism and the lamb**

The New Testament refers to those Christians as lambs, who know Jesus' voice (*John 10*). In the Revelation, the Lamb acts already on its own. Sitting on a throne (22,1), it opens the book (6,1; 8,1), leads the flock as its shepherd (7,14) and invites to a wedding. Its iconography is mainly based on the visions in the Revelation. Thus, it was depicted as sitting on a throne, standing on the mountain in the Garden of Eden, surrounded by the aureole of the Cross or with the monogram of Christ; further with the rivers of Eden springing under his feet, as the Lord of the new world (with stars in the background referring to the new Creation).

In ecclesiastical art the Lamb appears as a symbol of Christ. In this context it often appears in ecclesiastical art as an element of decoration of a temple, e.g. in keystones of vaults. The most popular form of the Lamb of God is the Easter lamb, which symbolizes Christ's sacrifice and the redemption of humanity.

Cultures around the world commonly regard the goat as an exceptionally sexually lustful animal, very verile, and thus perfectly symbolizing the powers of life and fertility. This starting point of the goat symbol is clearly visible in Eastern and Central European folk beliefs. (Kolczyński 1996). In many regions in Poland the figure of the goat is present in carol traditions, where a goat, a *turoń* (bull) and a *podkoziółek* (sub-goat) appear.

The Lamb as a *symbol of Christ* cannot be identified with the sheep represented in other pictures. The Lamb is always the symbol of Christ the Victorious. Therefore, it is depicted with horns, a symbol of strength and power. Its head is usually turned back, probably to give the impression that the Lamb looks back to his followers.

Focusing on Christ's life, first the most popular and well-known portrayal, the *Lamb of God* (in Latin: *Agnus Dei*) must be dealt with. This name of Jesus refers to the sacrifice on the Cross. St. John the Baptist calls Jesus by this name, predicting his

fate that he should shed blood for the salvation of his believers like his pre-figuration, the Easter Lamb (*John 1,29*).

The Lamb as the Messiah was depicted already in the Early Christian art. By the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the symbol absorbed the spirit of the Apocalypse. The Lamb has become the symbol of Christ as he appears in heavenly glory, having defeated his enemies, in fact the *Maiestas Domini*. The independent framework of this symbol, being separated from the environment made it suitable to be inserted anywhere in unchanged form.

The composition is simple: the Lamb with aureole, drawn from the side, lifts one leg and holds a cross or a victory banner decorated with the Cross. The representation has become very popular among the Reformed and its importance was definitely increased by the fact that the puritanism of Luther's followers had a limiting effect standing against the picture cult in the Baroque era. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century on *Agnus Dei* has its place also in the arms of the Reformed Church.

#### **4.3 The Lamb as a symbol or accessory figure in Catholic iconography**

The Nativity depictions occasionally show sheep and lambs. Especially those paintings, where beside the Holy Family the Angel appears in the distance to bring the shepherds the good news of great joy: the birth of the Messiah. The panel of the triptych from Szepeshely, dated from the years 1480-1490 in the collection of the Hungarian National Gallery is an example.

The Baroque pillar of the Virgin in Sopron in Hungary, which had been carved in 1745 by the sculptors Jakob Schletterer from Vienna and Tóbiás Hauch and Lőrinc Eisenkölbl from Sopron, depicts scenes from Mary's life, and one of them is the Adoration of the Shepherds.

On the epitaph of extraordinary beauty, of Petronella Gelethfy (†1600), wife of Jób Zmeskál in the catholic church of Berzevice, in Hungary the triumph of the resurrected Christ is seen: the triumphal car is pulled by two lambs, the name of the four Evangelists is written on its wheels. The Bible concordance by Péter Perényi has an illustration, which depicts the blessed ones standing among lambs. The Graphic Department of the Museum of Fine Arts houses a copperplate by Hirschvogel with the title: *Resurrection, the Righteous ones*. Opposite to them are the damned in company of he-goats.

#### **4.4 The Good Shepherd and the Good Shepherdess**

The metaphoric depiction of Jesus Christ is the Good Shepherd. His forerunners in the Old Testament are Moses, David and the true prophets; furthermore, Jehovah himself cares for his people as a good shepherd. Following Jesus the Good Shepherd „lays down his life for the sheep” and gives his life's blood for them; he is

the Good Shepherd of the extreme times. The role of the Good Shepherd was taken over by Peter and the twelve apostles and the function was handed over to the bishops. That is why the bishop's crook serves as their emblem. The lamb depicted together with the Good Shepherd may have different meanings: it can stand for the penitent, for the recovered lamb and for the saved soul.

The Good Shepherd carrying the recovered lamb on his shoulder is one of the most important Christ symbols in the Early Christian art. This motif borrowed from the shepherd's life serves as a symbol of the Garden of Eden too; the lambs grazing next to their shepherd evoke the souls who find peace next to Christ after their death.

The Good Shepherd is a frequent motif to be found in baptisteries, it decorates fonts, being a symbol of Christ who welcomes in his Church the child to be baptised. The first example of the motif is identified in Dura- Europos. The motif is often depicted on confessionals, where it stands for Christ remitting sins - He who is looking for the lost lamb, recovering and carrying it home- or on pulpits as symbol of Christ, the teacher, holding a roll in his hand. A very popular subject of devotional pictures in the late Middle Ages (*Luk 15, 4-6*): the Good Shepherd happily carries on his shoulders the recovered lamb and saves him from peril. This figure is seen on the altar of Good Shepherd in the St. Jacob church in Lőcse, in Hungary, commissioned by the parish priest of Lőcse, István Györfy in 1696.

Excellent sculptures of the Good Shepherd have been made up to the present. A beautiful example is the bronze sculpture of the Hungarian Jenő Kerényi, a master of small plastic art and of sculptures in public places. He finished his Good Shepherd (Peace) in 1974, the year before his death. The work of his compatriot István Madarassy merits mention as well. He exhibited his sculpture of the Good Shepherd (sculpture in red copper) in the IV. At the Contemporary Christian iconographic biennale in 2008, the subject of the exhibition was Christ's parables.

The archaic type of the Christ iconography is Jesus the Good Shepherd, but the version with Mary – a product of the Rococo taste- is also known: the apologetic spirit of the Tridentium (the Council of Trent) inspires this rare type of the Virgin in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Good Shepherdess takes again into her graces her lost but repentant lamb. The threatening, bloodthirsty wolf also appears often on the pictures – the Virgin keeps him away with her shepherd's crook. There is another extraordinary, very rare variety of the subject: the Virgin Mary – in the guise of a hunter - protects her sheep from the enemy. Similarly to the function of the guardian angel, Mary, the divine shepherdess protects her devotees thrown in the way of temptations. The idea is not new: the patriarch of Constantinople, St. Germanos told in one of his speeches: "Hail Mary, God's fruitful hill! You graze the Lamb of God who took upon himself the world's sins and frailties".

The spirit of the Franciscan and Piarist orders played an important role in the propagation of the new type of function attributed to Mary – as several relics remained in Hungary witness to it. The copperplate engraving of Joseph Jäger made

in Nagyszombat follows faithfully the painting in the summer refectory of the Piarist College of the church Maria Treu in Vienna. (The copperplate is in a private collection). Except for the angels playing above Mary's shepherd hat and for the Eye of Providence, this painting could have served as a model for the painting of the Good Shepherdess in the Mirbach palace. Johann Christoph Winkler's painting (in a private collection) and two pictures of the Procopius collection in the Museum for Applied Arts in Budapest have a different composition: one is a painting on parchment with the inscription "Protectrix Bona", the other one is a coloured copperplate with the inscription "Pastor Bona".

The Good Shepherdess in a gold cartouche on the altarpiece of Nativity in the Piarist church in Kecskemét, Hungary is depicted: she is holding a shepherd's crook in her right hand and hugs the recovered lamb with her left. A sitting Bona Pastrix is depicted on the balustrade of the pulpit in the former Franciscan church in Simontornya. Her most representative depiction is in the St. Nicolas church in Szliácsfürdő in the same country: the gilded, painted wooden relief shows the Good Shepherdess in intermediary function, while she is protecting three of her lambs and crushing the head of the beast with her left foot.

#### **4.5 The lamb as an attribute of saints**

The lamb is often met as an attribute of holy persons. It is well known in the company of the prophets Abel and Amos, of St. John the Baptist, St. Agnes of Rome and Montepulciano, of St. Andrew Corsini, St. Colette, of St. Joachim, the pope St. Colman and of St. Wendelin. Some well known depictions from the territory of historic Hungary follow hereafter. These are of course only a few examples of a very long list.

Following the legend, *St. Agnes* was twelve years old when the Roman Governor's son asked her to marry him. Since she had made a promise to become Jesus' spouse, she refused the young man who accused her of being a Christian and brought her to his father, the Governor. First he sent her to a place of sin, then she was condemned to the stake and when the fire did not harm her, she was beheaded. After her death she appeared in front of her parents in the company of saints and held a lamb in her arms. Her attribute, the lamb – called *agnus* in Latin - refers to her name. We read about her legend in the *Érdy-codex* and in medieval calendars in Hungary.

She is depicted in the fine arts as a young, noble girl with long hair, accompanied by a lamb, together with a sword, a crown and the stake. Her pictures on Gothic panels are still to be seen on the triptychs in the churches in *Alsóbajom* (Boian 1490), *Arnótfalva* (Emaus, Arnutovce 1485), *Bártfa* (two versions 1450, 1460), *Csikcsatószeg* (Četatuia 1530), *Dubrava* (Dubrava Liptovská 1510), *Hervartó* (Hervartov 1460), *Héthárs* (Lipany 1520), *Kassa* (1470), *Késmárk* (1493), *Nagyjeszen* (Horne Jaseno), *Nagylomnic* (Lomnica 1495), *Palocsa* (Plavec 1500), *Szentjakabfalu* (Jakub 1480) and *Sztankahermány* (Hermanovce 1510). The statue

of St. Agnes from *Szentjakabfalu* (1490) is kept in the museum of Besztercebánya, all of them in Hungary. Her wooden sculpture is among the *Virgines Capitaes in Kisszeben* (Sabinov) on the altar of the Annunciation (1510). The panel in the Christian Museum in Esztergom is the work of a master from Cologne made at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The infant Jesus slips a ring on Agnes' finger; the saint can be identified thanks to the lamb at her side. Angels play festive music above their heads. The origin of the painting is open to doubt: it might have been part of the Ipolyi collection in Nagyvárád – at least its catalogue refers to this. The person of the painter is uncertain, earlier he was supposed to be a painter from Utrecht. The picture painted by the circle of Karel Škréta (1610-1674) shows a young woman as St. Agnes, with a lamb in her arms. This painting can be visited in the permanent exhibition of the Hungarian National Gallery.

Jesus' forerunner is *St. John the Baptist*, the son of the priest Zacharias and of Elisabeth. Portraits normally show him clad in furry garments with leather belt typical for the prophet Elias. His attribute is the cross with a banner, the lamb often lying or standing on a book or lying at his feet.

He is seldom the subject of medieval frescoes; we know some fragments from Trencsén and Vizsoly. He is more often depicted on panels. Well known examples are in the Hungarian churches in the following towns and villages: *Bakabánya* (Altar of Mary, 1480), *Bártfa* (Altar of St. Andrew, 1440), *Felsőerdőfalva* (1490, today in the church of Our Lady in Buda), *Frics* (1500), *Kassa* (Altar of the Visitation, 1516), *Liptószentmiklós* (Altar of Mary, 1470), *Lőcse* (Altar of Vir dolorum, 1476), *Ludrófalva* (1510), *Muzsna* (1521), *Nagydisznód* (1525), *Rádós* (1520), *Szászbogács* (1518), *Szepeshely* (1470), *Szepesszombat* (1516), *Turdossin* (1450), *Zsidve* (1508). We see him in cycles on Gothic triptychs: one of them is on the main altar of St. John the Baptist from Kisszeben (1500, in the Hungarian National Gallery). We know an exceptionally beautiful painting on the altar of the four St. Johns (the Baptist, the Evangelist, the Merciful, and the Chrysostom) dating from 1520 in the St. Jacob church of Lőcse in Renaissance style. The altar's painting cycle is the work of Master Paul of Lőcse.

Gothic wooden sculptures are known in churches in *Bakabánya* (1484), *Kisóc* (1380), *Lándok* (1500), *Lőcse* (Altar of Catherin, 1420), *Szepeshely* (1478) and *Szlatvin* (1500). Outstanding Baroque frescoes represent St. John the Baptist in the church of the Premonstrant order in *Jászó*, painted by Lukács Kracker (1763). We see his pictures on the ceiling paintings in Heves and on the frescos in the Pauline order in *Felsőelefánti* (1775, Johann Bergl). A sculpture of St. John the Baptist – in the scene when baptising Christ - decorates normally the Baroque baptismal fonts.

A frequent type of depiction is the group consisting of Mary with the infant Jesus and of St. John the Baptist with a lamp at his side. Furthermore, the work of an unknown Middle-European sculptor from the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is exhibited in the permanent exhibition of the Hungarian National Gallery, as well as the remarkable painting of Gábor Melegh with the title: *Mary with the infant Jesus and John* (1827).

St. Wendelin, God's most beloved shepherd, was an Irish nobleman according to his legend. In his youth he retired from wealth and rank into solitude. Later he settled down in the environs of Trier and lived as a hermit doing penance, making a living as a swineherd.

From the 14<sup>th</sup> century he was depicted as an abbot. At the height of his veneration, around 1500, and later, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the paintings showed him as the patron of domestic animals, clad in the usual garment of medieval or Baroque shepherds: knee-breeches, short cloak, broad-brimmed hat, outfitted with shepherd's pouch and crook. Animals are lying at his feet: frequently a lamb, or a pig, a cow, a horse or a dog. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onward he is holding a rosary because he used to pray while he tended to his flock.

German settlers from the regions of the Danube and the Rhine came to deserted areas in historic Hungary after the Turkish occupation. In this period the saint's veneration flourished the second time there. At the same time, after 1773, the merino sheep spread in Hungary. This sheep needed different care, and mainly German, and to a lesser extent Moravian shepherds came with their sheep to Hungary and brought along the cult of their popular saint. This is an indirect proof of the fact that in 18<sup>th</sup> century Hungary, wherever traces of St. Wendelin's veneration are encountered, sheep husbandry was also present. In the Csallóköz region, however, this is proved thanks to the research of József Liszka. The Catholic Church also propagated the cult of the saint, mainly the bishop of Veszprém, Márton Padányi Bíró (1696-1763). A remarkably big number of churches are consecrated to St. Wendelin in the diocese of Veszprém.<sup>1</sup>

The oldest relics of the cult of St. Wendelin are in Western Hungary, in Transdanubia. His Rococo statue was erected in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the church of Újkér. Another old relic, a votive painting, where he is depicted together with St. Lenard, was offered by the catholic inhabitants of Kőszeg to the miraculous Virgin of Rőjt during the cattle plague in 1746. Éva Gulyás collected information about 67 sculptures of the saint in public places in Hungary. József Liszka proved the unique popularity of the saint in the Kisalföld region in Slovakia, counting 53 statues on public places.

It is typical for the depictions found in Transdanubia that the saint appears in the company of other saints fulfilling a similar function: he is escorted by St. Lenard, the patron saint of animals, St. Sebastian (guardian saint against the plague), St. Donat and St. Florian. The villages with German inhabitants around Buda and in the Pilis liked erecting the saint's Rococo and Baroque statues on their altars (Budakeszi, Budaörs, Törökbálint, Zsámbék, Solymár, Úröm etc.). The saint is also venerated in the villages with German inhabitants in the Southern Transdanubia: Wendelin is the patron saint in Attala, his statue decorates the altar in the church. The villages

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<sup>1</sup> A list of churches consecrated to St. Wendelin: article on Wendelin in MKL. The statue of the saint was honoured in a procession after the high mass in these villages.  
<http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/V/Vendel.html>

Döbrököz and Csikóstöttös erected a statue of St. Wendelin at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as did the German inhabitants of Báticasék, Várdomb and Villány.

It is remarkable that the figure of St. Wendelin is clad as a peasant typical for the region near the river Rhine and his statues show the characteristics of Baroque and Rococo style in Transdanubia, while in Eastern Hungary he appears rather as a Hungarian shepherd clad in typical garments, wearing a shepherd's hat, a Hungarian shepherd's fur, a calabash, a wooden canteen covered with horse- skin and a satchel slang over his shoulder, a shepherd's crook in his hand – typical outfits of the Hungarian shepherd – and his sheep lying at his feet. Huge numbers of examples of such "folkloric" representation among the Palots population of the counties Heves and Nógrád and in the great regions of Jászság and Kiskunság of the Great Hungarian Plain are observed. The most striking relics are preserved in the region of Jászság. His exceptionally beautiful statue stands in Nagykáta, and people used to say here: "St. Wendelin guards the fields, a little lamb is at his side".

Beside the sculptures in churches and on the roadsides, St. Wendelin's figure is the subject of some folk paintings on glass known from the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Transdanubia (the area of Sopron, Zala County), in Vác and among the Palots population (North-eastern Hungary). Endre Csatkai mentions that, according to the catalogue of the Museum of Vác, there was a glass painting of St. Wendelin, although this painting depicts St. Lenard, since the veneration of St. Wendelin had not spread widely in Hungary before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

## **5. PRE – HISTORIC AND ANCIENT HISTORICAL PERIODS**

### **5.1 Greece**

The lamb or goat, appear in Greece from pre-historic times. The first depictions of wild goats appear in Minoan times in Crete, as early as the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC and throughout the life of that civilisation (3400 - 1200 BC), on stone seals, stone relief vases, on idols made of faience, in metal craft, on items crafted in silver and gold, in depictions on vases, on sarcophagi and on frescoes. The sheep and the ram frequently appear in dog led hunting scenes (with the appearance of identifiable animals such as the Cretan wild goat – kri - kri or ibex - and the Cretan tracer dog), in depictions of sacrificial rituals, in the shepherds' every day life, but also as solitary figures. Here, special mention must be made of the sacred goat Amalthea, which is said to have nursed King Minos as a baby and which is depicted on Minoan stone seals.

Furthermore, one of the oldest and best known examples of depiction of the ritual of the sacrifice of animals in Minoan Times, is the painted chest of 1400 BC found in Aghia Triada in Crete. The narrative mood of the creator gives us details of the ritual, such as the musical accompaniment, the collection of the blood, the moment of the



sacrifice of a bull, but also the lambs which await their turn to be sacrificed in honour of the great goddess.



*Statue of the golden goat, Thera, 17th century BC*

Four legged domesticated sheep faced animals also appear in the pre-historic frescoes at Akrotiri in Thera, which are dated in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. BC.



*jar (painted ceramic), Ancient Greek art, Middle Cycladic period around 1600 BC, Akrotiri, Thera Prehistoric Period Museum (AKP 4854).*

Texts which were formulated in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC (1250 - 1200) on clay slates found at the Mycenaean Palace in Pylos, make the earliest reference to sheep flocks in ideograms, where the schematic depiction of the ram or the billy goat, the goat or the female sheep is noticeable. The method of rearing sheep and rams, the names of the shepherds and other information connected with pastoral life, are also given.

A range of Mycenaean vase pottery appeared at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC in Cyprus, with a rich décor in bucolic themes, which the cognoscenti named “bucolic style”, due to the rich bucolic scenes which are depicted, with scenes of grazing oxen, goats, sheep etc.

Depictions of caprine animals also appear on burial chests, as is the case with a burial chest in Tanagra, Boeotia, which shows a hunter in between two big goats and evidently countless caprine animals, brandishing his sword in the process of the hunt (dated ca. 1350 - 1180 BC).

In addition to the depiction of the sheep in the naturalist representations of Minoan and Mycenaean art, their depiction also appears systematically on vessels of the classical and roman periods.

There is a plethora of representations of the pastoral life, in various scenes which yield detailed evidence about all the activities involved and ranging from grazing and milking to the shepherd playing music with his flute etc. and also many references to mythological scenes. For example, the god Dionysus appears in Greek pottery dressed in sheepskin.

An important part of the Greek Mythology is concerned with the voyage of the Argonauts, which has as its main incentive the discovery and conquest of new territories and, crucially, the search for and discovery of gold. However, behind the incentives, the mythology narrates Jason's voyage in the Black Sea, so that he may bring back home to Greece the golden fleece, with the human speech, the very same one on whose back Frixos and Elli fled to the far away land of Kolchis, with only Frixos arriving there safely.

The picture of the golden fleece in the holy vestige where it was kept, as well as in all the other mythological depictions was particularly popular in ancient Greek and roman pottery. To this end the following are selectively mentioned below:

A. The red figure vessel creation of the potter Douris in the 5<sup>th</sup> c. (480 - 470 BC), which was uncovered at Cerveteri in Etruria and is being exhibited in the Vatican at the Gregoriano Trusco Museum (Jason being regurgitated by the snake which guards the Golden Fleece - centre, hanging on the tree-, Athena stands to the right).



*Attic red-figure kylix by Douris (painted ceramic), circa 480 BC, Vatican Museum*

B. The exquisite red figure crater, which is kept in the Louvre and dates back to the 4<sup>th</sup> c. (340 - 330 BC) (Jason bringing the Golden Fleece to Pelias; a winged victory prepares to crown him with a wreath). Side A from an Apulian red - figure calyx crater, 340 - 330 BC.



*Apulian red - figure calyx crater, 340 – 330 BC, Louvre, Department of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Antiquities, Sully wing, room 44*

C. The red figure lykithos, which is kept at the University of Bochum in Germany and which depicts Jason holding the Golden Fleece with the dragon in the middle facing Medea.

D. Another vessel depicts Frixos holding the ram still alive, with Aeetes and his daughter, Frixos' wife.

The same much loved pictorial mythical theme is often seen in sculpted stone form. The mythical golden fleeced ram decorated a metope in the Doric frieze, (from the cycle of the Argonaut Campaign), on the monopteral Treasure of the Sicyonians. This frieze dates back to 560 BC and it is considered an outstanding example of the renown in antiquity archaic art school of Sicyon, where the painting character with the precisely defined outline and the detail of the facial features achieves prominence over plasticity. The mural metopes with their long and narrow shape and their once striking colours gave the impression of paintings on canvass



*Metopes of porous stone with decoration in relief. The Monopteros of the Sikyonians  
Excavated at Delphi, ca. 570 - ca. 550 BC, Delphi Archaeological Museum*

The creations in silver and gold which are kept at the Tbilisi Museum, are also noteworthy. They are inspired by the myth. They are articles and ornaments found in holy buildings and tombs of ancient Kolchis, present day Georgia. These jewels or statuettes are dated in the 5<sup>th</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and they are noted for the influence and counter influence between the ancient Greek world and the wider area of ancient

Kolchis. Here, it is worth mentioning a golden head jewel of pierced and granulated technique, which was found at Vani and depicts a ram surrounded by newborn rams.

Another mythological scene, which is encountered in murals as well as in ancient pottery, is the escape from Polyphemus, of Odysseus' men, clasped under the sheep of the Cyclops. A characteristic example is the attic black figure columned crater made of clay, with a depiction of Odysseus escaping from Polyphemus' cave, at the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (dated circa 510 BC).

The same depiction, of Odysseus or someone of his comrades coming out of Polyphemus' cave strapped on the sheep's belly, is immortalised in cast copper suffix (suffixes were nailed onto the surface of some utensil or piece of furniture). This particular item comes from a Peloponnesian workshop and it is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum in Athens. It is dated in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Just like all the mythological moments, the story of the Cyclops - shepherd has been immortalised by modern artists as well, an example being the self-taught Theophilos, one of many artists dealing with this theme through the centuries.

The subject of the sacrifice of the lamb appears again in the classical era in narrative paintings by iconographers of vases, as we have seen in Minoan art and so many Greek vases depict scenes of sacrifice of sheep, even by deities or half-gods as offerings to the gods in celebration of a victory. A fine example is the characteristic depiction on a Panathenian amphora which shows the scene of the goddess Athena victorious over the god Poseidon on the matter of who would be the protector of the city of Athens, with Kekrops preparing to sacrifice a little lamb.

One more mythological depiction, in which a combined sheep and human being figure is shown, is the one of Pan the protector of shepherds in antiquity. His figure was very widely used in art, in particular during the roman era, as shown by the frescoes and sculptures of Pompey, now kept at the Naples Archaeological Museum, this being well known the world over. Pan's figure of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, which is exhibited in the roman section of the National Museum, Rome - Palazzo alle Terme is characteristic. Pavement mosaic with the head of Pan. Roman artwork, Antonine period, 138–192 AD. From a villa in Genazzano which may have belonged to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

Pan was the protector of the reproduction of caprine animals in ancient Greece. His figure was half human half animal - like. He had hoofs and on occasion a goat's face with horns. This is how he appears on vases and in mosaics in later periods.

Naturally, the use of Pan's face and figure as a model lover was particularly widespread in ancient sculpture. One of the most characteristic relevant works of art is the sculpture dated circa 100 BC, which comes from Delos, the House of the Poseidoniasts, and which depicts Pan, Aphroditi (Venus) and Eros (Cupid) in Parian white marble which today is exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. (n°3335).

**Carnos**, an ithyphallic fertilising pastoral goat -faced god of the Peloponnesians, protector of fertility, who gave his name to the carnival from the fertilising rituals which he organised, preoccupied the ancient visual artists. He appears in classical and roman vase painting alone or in a crowd in procession which leads to a ceremony of disguised people who are wearing or holding goat like masks. The very same masks appear even today in ceremonial happenings during the dodecameron or the carnival in various parts of Greece from the Peloponnese right up to Thrace.

During the Roman period there were visual representations of sacrifices in mosaics. One such scene of the sacrifice of three animals (bull, boar and ram), is depicted in the mosaics of a roman villa in the village of Scala in Cefallonia, dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c AD.

At the same time, the depictions of solitary lambs are frequently encountered in the mosaics as well as the floors of Christian homes, a particular example being that of the floor of a house of the 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD which is exhibited in the Museum of Amfissa. Here, the elaborate geometric décor includes a hare, one lamb and other animals.

Karnas, Shepherd, the patron of fertility, kriomorfos,  
ithifallikos God of the Peloponnesians



## 5.2 Bulgaria

Objects of art which present images of sheep, shepherds and pastoral scenes hold an important place in the overall thematic repertoire of Bulgarian art, including the art, developed in the lands in antiquity, which now constitute Bulgaria.

	<p><b>Ingot</b>, copper, weight 26.2 kg, 16<sup>th</sup> – 12<sup>th</sup> c. BC., Chernozem village, Elhovo  During the Late Bronze Age metal ingots in the form of stretched skin served as a medium of exchange (praemonetary form) similar to real leather.  Photo: Nikolai Genov  for all pictures in the First part</p>
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Pictures of rams in ancient stock breeding society are connected with cult practices and power. The art here exists in and through ritual requisite i.e. it is the most heavily loaded with symbolism and magical power. The ram as a zoomorphic image of the sun appears in idol sculpture, painting, ceramics, as an architectural element as well as in the ancient statues and decorations.

The earliest images of the ram found in today's Bulgaria are made of clay and gold and date from the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> up to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. The zoomorphic figurines can be divided into two groups.

The first group includes three-dimensional shaped bodies of sheep/lambs/goats; some of them carefully shaped and representing realistically the main features of the animal, emphasising the horns in particular. Others represent summarised models and were possibly intended for certain ritual practices and/or as substitutes of real sacrificial animals. The second group consists of images of animals on cult objects - altars and models of temples. Thus their use as the main blood sacrifice for the gods is once again highlighted.

The first centres of producing economy in the Balkans, including the territory of modern Bulgaria, appeared in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Their inhabitants were the autochthonous population as well as tribes, bearers of the overall completed Neolithic complex, who had migrated from Anatolia via the Aegean Sea. The analysis of osteological material from exhaustively researched villages indicates that in some areas the small herds of sheep or cattle have existed - a fact that may suggest a specialisation in livestock breeding.



**Head of a ram**  
Clay, 6 mil. BC, Kurilo village, Sofia



**Altar with head of a goat**  
Clay 5 millenium BC, Captain Dimitrievo village, Plovdiv





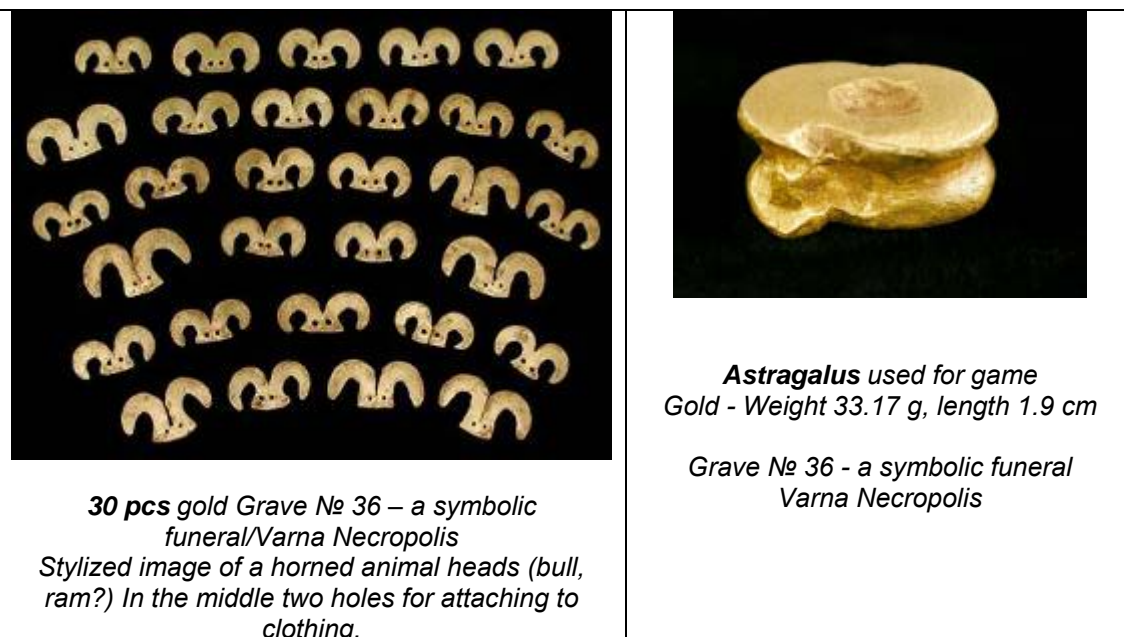
Ancient literature also contains data according to which cattle, sheep and goats as well as horses were kept in Thrace. Homer, Pseudo- Aristotle, Athenaeus, Pindar and Ovid mention the quality of cattle and sheep breeds. Homer says that Ifidamas, son of Antenor from Thrace, promised his wife 100 cows, 1000 goats and countless sheep. Xenophon reports that the Thracian dynast Seuthes II gave him 600 oxen and 4000 sheep. Athenaeus notes that the dowry given by the Thracian king Cotys I included many herds of cattle and white horses. Apparently, social position was determined in antiquity primarily by the ownership of flocks. Their types and the acquisition of herds was one of the value - tests both for gods and heroes or rulers.

The shepherd and sheep theme has permanent and centuries' - old presence in art in the Bulgarian lands. Associated with religious practices, rituals and folklore and literary texts, it appears in art on ritual objects and architectural elements in antiquity, in the sculpture of the Roman Empire, in the Byzantine frescoes and icons in the Middle Ages, to pass in nostalgically idealized works from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, revealing the roots of the industrializing society. In the period of socialism and the so called "socialist realism" the theme is reflected in documentaries and photo reports, in graphics and paintings, in sculptures and decorative panels of wool. For the post-socialist period, the most characteristic phenomenon is the emergence of ideologically engaged installations, events of great public resonance, which clearly relate to the process of building civil society in Bulgaria.

The leadership associated with the ram constantly fits the image of the ruler. The heads of rams found in grave 36 of the Varna Chalcolithic necropolis (end of the 5<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC) are applications, sewn on the garment of the elder/priest in order to emphasize his functions as guarantor of the welfare of the socium.

In subsequent ages the image of the ram is not common in the art of the Thracians. The objects, however, on which it was depicted, are associated exclusively with the ruler's ritual and priestly functions. First, the bronze axes must be mentioned –

sceptres - amulets, dated between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC. The axe was not merely a weapon; it was a tool for the king-priest's sacrificial performance. The animals depicted on the axes are real - bulls, rams, goats, deer - arranged in hierarchy, they present aspects of the ritual offerings.



In the classical and Hellenistic periods the image of the ram, represented as a sacred and sacrificial animal is found on precious gold and silver vessels used in the ritual (the rhyton from the Panagyurishte treasure, the rhyton from the Dalakova mound, jug № 162 from the Rogozen treasure) and others. These are masterpieces of the ancient art executed with finesse and unique association of the authentic image of nature and its symbolic potential.

The third group of objects on which the ram is frequently represented includes metal mounts, decorations on horse trappings. Placed on the horse of kings /aristocrats /warriors these images again marked the political, economic and ideological status of the ruler and the functions performed by him.

#### Belief and Rituals - *The ram as a sacred animal/mythological character*

The ancient stock- breeders valued the ram for its leadership qualities, perseverance, desire for dominance and fertility. These characteristics define its place in the cosmogony of the ancient societies – it occupies the middle area of the space, i.e. it acts as a mediator between worlds, between humans and gods, between this world and “afterlife”.





*Skifos - Silver gilt, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC./ Necropolis to Strelcha*



*Jug, silver/ end of 6<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC / Treasure from Rogozen, Vratsa*



*Patera - Bronze, the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.  
Kosmatka mound, Shipka.*



*Forehead plate of horse-trappings  
Silver mid- 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC/ Starosel village,  
Plovdiv*

This position is decisive for the transformation of the ram/lamb/sheep into classical sacrificial animals. The understanding of the ram/goat as a sacred animal associated with the sun and the idea of divine male principle is evidenced by numerous clay

figurines found in settlements from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods in Bulgaria and in the Balkan Peninsula.

### ***The ram/sheep as a sacrificial animal***

“In Indo-Iranian practice, in which the Thracian fully fits, the sacred chain = man = horse = bull = ram = goat is formed by replacement of the main victim, the man, but in descending order... The ram and its fleece are designed for royal ritual acts and bear features of Orphic gifts, while the goat, the zoomorphic symbol of the phallic inception/principle is loaded with features of Dionysian religion”. (Fol A.1991:88).

The remains of sacrificed rams/ewes/lambs were found in different sites, which bestow the determination of their role in the performance of various rituals.

A) *Sacrifices for the gods*- finds from pit sanctuaries ranging over a very wide time span were discovered – between the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC - vessels, animal bones, jewellery, loom and spindle weights, mill stones and fragments from anthropomorphic and zoomorphic sculptures, cult tables. Skulls and skeletons of animals, mainly cattle and sheep /goats were found in some pits; also in pits dated in the Late Iron Age offerings of animals - horse, sheep/goat, dog – were uncovered. (Bachvarov K., Tonkova M. 2010:14 – 21).

B). *Sacrifices associated with the construction of a house*. Large fragments of pottery, coloured with red ochre in paste- on - paste technique and parts of the sacrificed animal – sheep/goat were placed as building offerings in the stone plinth foundation of the temple building in the settlement mound on the Big Island at Durankulak, near Dobrich (5<sup>th</sup> millennium BC). A herbivore's clay-moulded mug was mounted on the wall.

C) *Sacrifices in funeral rites*. Sacrifices of animals in the burial practices of the Thracians are tracked from the Neolithic Period to the Late Antiquity (6<sup>th</sup> millennium / 5<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC). During archaeological excavations, skeletons of whole animals or parts of them, were found in the burial structures. They were placed either in the grave, next to it or in the area immediately around the grave or in the mound itself. The analysis of the pooled observations on the animals sacrificed in the funeral rites of the Thracians indicates that these were mostly cattle, sheep/goats, domestic swine, poultry, and less frequently – game and fish. The uncovered remains of horses are related to the status of the buried – Thracian warrior/king or nobleman.

D) *Sacrifices of sheep products – milk, wool, astragalus (talus) bones and their employment in magical rites*. The symbolism of the garment made of sheepskin gives it a central place in the costume of the ancient aspirants and adepts. Textiles made of wool – like clothes or ribbons, were often mentioned as a binding element in the clothing of the participants in the religious rituals.

Spinning and weaving – main feminine activities – are always connected with the Great Mother Goddess (Gaea Mater). Therefore, spindles and/or loom weights were

offered as a sacrifice in her shrines and temples. Perhaps raw and processed wool was attached to them. Wool is one of the frequently used magical objects.

In the Balkans the game with astragalus bones is known through archaeological finds and written sources from prehistory to the present day. Astragalus bones of sheep/goat – unprocessed or with thinned sides or made of metal, glass, clay are often found in different sites – temples, shrines and cemeteries. They were used in magical and oracular game practices. The astragalus is also known as an ornamental element in the decoration of the tombs of Thracian aristocrats.

### ***Gods associated with sheep-breeding and herds***

Herodotus wrote about the Thracians that *“They celebrate only Ares, Dionysus and Artemis; separately from the other citizens their kings most honour Hermes among the gods, swear at him and say that they are descendants from Hermes”* (Herodotus, V, 7). And since Hermes was not only the god - mediator between humans and gods, between this and the next world, but also the protector of flocks, he bears also the epithets Kriophoros (“ram - bearer”) and Epimelius (“keeper of the flocks”).

The mention of Hermes as the god of the Thracian kings relates to the characteristics of the royal power in ancient Thrace. In Thracian society the king was also a priest and he was thought of as the son of the Sun and the Great Mother Goddess (Gaea Mater), born of their sacred marriage. He was the mediator between the people and the gods; he had to ensure the welfare of the country. This model of the ruler as mediator between the worlds was embodied in the images of mythical kings of the Thracians, such as Orpheus.

On the precious vessels found in aristocratic burials in Thrace, the image of Pan is frequently met as the patron of shepherds and herds, hunters and fishermen.

*The Good Shepherd* – the symbolic representation of Christ, was widespread in the early Christian art. The Good Shepherd is most often depicted as a young person, bearing a lamb on his shoulders. Sometimes he holds some shepherd’s attributes in his right hand – a shepherd’s crook, a vessel for milking and others. In some cases, the Good Shepherd is represented as Orpheus, playing the lyre among a flock of sheep.



**Rhyton with head of ram/** Gold, end of 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.  
Treasure of Panagyurishte - ritual service of nine  
gold vessels: Amphora - Rhiton, rhytons and phial.  
Total weight on 6100 g



**Rhyton with head of ram**  
Silver gilt, 390–375 BC.  
Topolchane village, Sliven



**Zoomorphic  
figurines** Clay  
6<sup>th</sup> millennium BC  
the tell of Karanovo,  
Stara Zagora district



**Temple – Tomb 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC**  
*Shoushmanets Mound,  
 Valley of the Kings -  
 Kazanlak  
 In the lobby - column  
 capital, shaped like  
 astragalus*



**Good Shepherd,**  
*marble  
 early 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC  
 Oryahovo, District Vratsa*

### 5.3 Poland

The oldest known images of sheep found in Poland, come from the period called the funnel beaker culture. The evidence related to these consists of a fully plastic cult sculpture of a ram originating from Jordanów (Lower Silesia province),



*A cult sculpture of a ram, Jordanów, Lower Silesia province, ok. 3400 p.n.e.; The Museum of Archeology subsidiary of The City Museum of Wrocław*

Fragments of a dish with handles in the shape of ram heads from Ćmielów (Świętokrzyskie province), (Hensel 1988). The basic occupation of the funnel beaker culture population was breeding farm animals and the glow - digging agriculture, -that is forests being burnt down to make room for arable land. At that time fortified settlements were also built, the main purpose of these was to protect animals. On the grounds of the excavations in Ćmielów, an estate for slaughter, where sheep/goats appear, was reconstructed (Hensel 1988).

Also, in the next thousand years sheep breeding played an important role in the territory which is now modern Poland. Research shows that in about 1000 BC in the Lusatian culture, in human settlements (southern Poland) animal breeding often dominated over agriculture. During the period of Roman influence (ca. 200 BC), breeding was still very important. Scissors for shearing, (the construction of which, in the main in fact does not differ from the modern scissors), were, among others, found in the Lubusko province, (Gąssowski 1985).

Sheep reached the territory of Poland in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC (Stefaniak 2001). The oldest objects portraying sheep date back to before 3000 BC. The first works depicting sheep were of a cult character (Hensel; 1988) and they emphasise the significance of these animals. Works created in the next centuries were of a similar character. A different symbolism of sheep in Polish art appeared only together with Christianity (Poland became Christian in 966). Sacral images were present in the next periods changing only stylistic features.

#### Sculpture in Poland in Pre-Historic times

The earliest sculptures, and at the same time the oldest works of Polish art, were created earlier than 3000 BC in the territory inhabited by people of the funnel beaker culture, the area of contemporary southern Poland (Hensel 1988).

In Jordanów (Silesia province) a totally plastic figure of a ram was discovered. In Ćmielów, among other finds, fragments of a dish with handles in the shape of ram heads were found. Both potsherds are connected with the southern part of the funnel beaker culture. Better moulding skills were a characteristic of it. Additionally, animal images, mainly oxen and rams, are more common. (Hensel 1988).

## **5.4 Hungary**

### **From Pre – historic times to the Roman period**

It is known that about 8000 years ago, during the time of the Körös culture, a great number of sheep was reared for unknown reasons in the marshlands of the Great Hungarian Plain, whose environment did not suit at all the needs of these animals. The population made most of its tools out of sheep-bones and it is remarkable that they did not even make use of the perennially utilized, cast deer-antlers. Here it is worth quoting as examples: Neolithic animal sculptures were found on the site of Mezőkövesd - Mocsolyás and Copper Age. Animal figures made of clay were preserved on the archaeological site of Pilismarót - Basaharc.

In the late period of the Roman Empire bucolic subjects, mainly shepherds' scenes, were very popular. A frequent topic of the frescoes was the shepherd grazing his flock in the peaceful landscape. The shepherd's work became the symbol of the peaceful, worry - free country life. Tranquillity and imperturbability were Epicure's motto and that is the reason why the figure of the shepherd evoked hedonic ideas. The figure of the shepherd carrying his lamb on his shoulders was often carved on sarcophagi, following older depictions of Hermes Kriophoros.

Hermes carried the souls of the deceased to the underworld; the lamb on his shoulder symbolizes the soul - and both together depict the idea of philanthropy. The lamb on these reliefs and sculptures is not the sacrificial animal but the salved creature. The bucolic scenes might have referred to the "felicitas temporum", the happy Golden Age and symbolically to the happiness after death. As far as known, neither subjects of this type, nor the depiction of the suovetaurilia ceremony are known in the territory of Pannonia.

A lion holding one paw on the head of a sheep has been found in a tomb in Dunaújváros - Intercisa. The carving of the object is made of limestone and it is in a greatly damaged state. It is kept in the Hungarian National Museum.

## 6. THE ERA OF CHRISTIANITY- BYZANTINE ART (Greece and Bulgaria)

### Pastoral life

Byzantine art has bequeathed many narrative scenes from pastoral life through decorated texts as well as miniatures in manuscripts. The earliest depictions of the proto- Christian years were definitely faithful copies of iconographic portrayals of antiquity.

A characteristic example is the exquisite work of art which is the silver tray depicting a shepherd, dated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, and kept in the Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.



*Statue of Orpheus as a good shepherd – Christ, 4<sup>th</sup> Century, Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (I.1 old forms - new symbols BCM: 000001)*

In Bulgaria, The popular in Catholicism portrayal of “Christ, the Good Shepherd”, carrying a lamb on his shoulders, has no significant place in Bulgarian churches in existence today.

More generally, relating to the portrayal of pastoral life in Byzantine art, Anagnostakis and Papamastorakis note that “a realistic interpretation of the flock and the livestock raising activities is frequently ascertained. For example, at Aghios Nikolaos Kakopetrias in Cyprus, goats with diverse hair are depicted, while at Platanistasa in Cyprus, sheep with black heads and thick tails are depicted, which are known in international bibliography as *tete - noire* or black face. The presence of milk bearing caprine animals indirectly points to the milk producing livestock breeding”.

Sheep usually appear in byzantine manuscripts, grazing free on plains or on the brows of low hills with the shepherd in a seated position and playing the flute or holding his stick, as in miniatures of the 11<sup>th</sup> century at the Agia Ekaterini Monastery in Mt. Sinai and as kept at the Paris Library, code 533, p.34, and in the 12<sup>th</sup> c. at the Esfigmenos Monastery and also in the Agios Panteleimon Monastery on Mt. Athos. Conversely, in the Oppianus “hunting matters”, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the sheep appear



in an enclosure (corral), while on frescoes of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, depicting the Nativity scene at Kurbinovo, portray the sheep in a circular enclosure (corral).

Scenes sheep being milked were a widespread topic from antiquity and right up to the byzantine era, since they are often seen on vases, mosaic floors, Coptic textiles, murals, in catacombs, on frescoes, mainly referring to bucolic life but also allegorically alluding to the shepherd – protector Christ.

### **6.1 Sheepskin (shepherds' attire)**

There is a continuation of depiction of the attire of the ancient shepherds as shown in vase pottery, on byzantine frescoes and depictions of bucolic life in manuscript miniatures.

A particular mention must be made, as far as byzantine iconography is concerned, of the depiction of John the Baptist, who, most of the time is seen wearing sheepskin in order for his ascetic life to be stressed. Furthermore, the shepherds in depictions of the Nativity Scene, are also wearing sheepskin, as will be mentioned hereunder.

### **6.2 The Nativity**

Scenes such as the Nativity in byzantine and post-byzantine iconography, within the framework of the austere and strict iconographic schedule, leave very few options to the painter to add various minute details, deriving from his own imagination. Thus, sheep are occasionally included in such depictions, which are grazing sometimes while at other times they are being milked.

In Bulgaria, the scene of the “Nativity” with the manger, the shepherd or the herdsmen, talking with Joseph, the earthly father of Christ – is one theme consistently staged both in icons and frescoes. For example, the presentations in monumental memorials of the monastic temple in Kremikovtzi (1493), in the monastery of Karlukovo (1602), in the Seslavitzi church building of the “St. Nicholas” monastery in Seslavitzi (1616), in the church of Dobar (1614) and the temple representation in the Rozhen monastery (1732) are attractive even today with the iconographic “liberties” and the variety of elements included in them.

Most of the creations which do not follow this austere schedule are dated in the post byzantine period and in this respect we quote the icon of the Nativity and the Adoration of the Magi (Three Wise Men) of the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century by Emmanuel Gianfurnaris (Benaki Museum), in which the sheep are painted next to the manger as well as next to the pensive Joseph.

### 6.3 Allegories – zodiac signs

One of the notionally most important subjects of early byzantine iconography is the depiction of the good shepherd, which we see in sculpture, as well as in miniature, but also in the monumental décor of churches. A whole range of sculptures with this subject is kept at the Byzantine Museum of Athens and in one of the depictions the flute player - shepherd Christ sits among the animals, as Orpheus used to do in the ancient iconographic prototypes.

In byzantine art, the depiction of the ram appeared in connection with the allegories of the seasons and the months. “The spring months, March and April, that is the zodiac signs of the Capricorn and Taurus, are depicted respectively as shepherds holding caprine animals or buckets containing milk, while Spring itself is depicted with a pastoral rod and two small buckets containing milk and cheese”, as mentioned indicatively by Elias Anagnostakis and Titos Papamastorakis, in their article under the title “Flute players in fields and milking men” («Αγραιοῦντες καὶ ἀμέλγοντες»). They characteristically refer to a floor mosaic of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD found at Zilten, Libya (hopefully, still in existence after the Armageddon in that country), which depicts the personification of spring. Furthermore, they refer to a mosaic floor at Argos in Greece, which depicts the personification of the months of March and April.

Relating to the zodiac sign of the Capricorn, the iconography of modern times or, further the contemporary iconography, are particularly rich and they progress by transfiguring themselves, while, at the same time retaining the basic characteristics of the animal as well as its vigour and strength, plus its arrogant style.

Additionally, again as far as the signs of the zodiac are concerned, the figure of the sheep appears in Chinese astrology and it is accompanied by the relevant picture. This is something which has attracted contemporary creators and it has featured in many modern creations.

In Bulgaria, medieval Eastern Orthodox fine art – icons, wall paintings and much less plastic creations-, reflects the image of Christ as the “shepherd of the faithful”. Widespread is also the belief of the innocent, willing self-sacrifice of the lamb to atone for the sins and salvation of mankind (Lamb of God, Boboshevo).

Invariably, two principles – worldly, profane and high, theological – intertwine in the Eastern Orthodox strictly canonical and less lively decoration of the temple walls. There is no binding iconography of the sheep represented in icons and wall paintings. The shepherd, however, is accurately depicted. All his clothing – *tzarvuli* (a kind of sandals) and *paputzi* with leggings to the knees, tight trousers (*poturi*), the hooded cloak (*yamurluk*) in two-colour wide stripes or turned out hair, the crook or just a long stick to guide the flock with – are constant elements in the representation of the shepherd. Wide brimmed hats are also sometimes portrayed absolutely precisely, as in many Italian Renaissance works – frescoes, sculptures and paintings.

 <p><i>Mural scene from "Nativity"</i> Kremikovski Monastery, 1493</p>	 <p><i>Mural painting "Nativity"</i> Rozhen Monastery, Central Church, 1732</p>	 <p><i>Mural painting "Nativity" Rozhen monastery 1732</i></p>
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The widespread notion that the church paintings are not the result of immediate impressions of “living life” but a rote scheme may be challenged when the shepherd from the Kremikovtzi frieze, representing the Childhood of Mary, is observed. There not only clothing but also the shepherd’s bearing suggest live accuracy. The very old shapes of the crook, as well as the *yamurluk* from the Rozhen monastery are similar examples. In some wall paintings and icons with the Nativity scene, the shepherd is featured with a pipe (*kaval*), probably because this musical instrument is more often an attribute of the shepherd’s craft. Often, mythological, folklore, deeply religious and ritual notions of different periods in time, are interwoven in these scenes. In this mix, the strict separating the historical and canonical church beliefs from the folklore and pagan ones is hardly the most correct approach to the works of the Middle Ages.

## 7. ART IN THE LOWER MIDDLE AGES - SHEEP AS A RELIGIOUS SYMBOL

### 7.1 France

#### Iconography of sheep in French art

The great art of the Middle Ages is, unquestionably, sculpture and in particular monumental sculpture, as Georges Duby stated. Medieval monumental sculpture, essentially dedicated to biblical or historical figures and allegories, leaves little room for sheep. There are, of course, as always, exceptions to the rule.

Thus, the musée des Augustins in Toulouse has a relief in marble from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which came from the St. Sernin basilica traditionally called *Le Signe du lion et le signe du belier*.



*Le Signe du lion, le signe du bélier, XIIth century, marble, 1.35x0.68x0.14m. Provenance : Basilique Saint-Sernin, Toulouse ; conservation : musée des Augustins, Toulouse. Photo : Daniel Martin.*

One can see two veiled women, one carrying a lion, the other a ram, but the scale of the proportions is not respected (the animals are too small compared to the human figures). Obviously, in 17<sup>th</sup> century art, naturalism is not in fashion and the semiotic of the work is primordial. The Latin inscription may be translated as "Sign of the Lion and the Sign of the Ram. This was made in the time of Julius Caesar" This work therefore alludes to the signs of the zodiac, recalling that the Middle Ages was not a dark age, that people continued to study astronomy and that Antiquity which was very recent, was still appreciated and partly taken as an example. It is this same astronomical context which is at the origin of representations of rams in the books of hours, each month being illustrated by its zodiac sign.

It is not however astronomy which permitted the development of sheep in French art, but, of course, the considerable development of religious images. Sheep appear in several biblical stories, from the Old and the New Testaments. The presence of the animal is therefore perfectly legitimate in representations of certain biblical scenes: Annonce aux bergers, Job perdant son troupeau, sacrifice d'Abraham, etc. (News given to the shepherds, Job losing his flock, Abraham's sacrifice etc.)

If, in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, it is the eastern Magi who come to recognize the divine nature of Christ, in St. Luke's Gospel, it is the shepherds who first of all pay homage to the Saviour. Just after the birth of Christ, an angel of the Lord appears to the shepherds, who are watching over their flocks by night. He announces the birth of Christ to the shepherds and the herdsmen go to the manger before disseminating the good news. The choice of the figure of the shepherd by the authors of the Gospels is probably connected to nomadism, imposed by transhumance, which facilitated exchanges between men of various origins and the spreading of the good news.

This story gives some representations of the animal in monumental sculpture. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the Chartres Cathedral, the lintel of the south door of the west face has a representation of the Nativity. On the right hand part of the lintel, three

shepherds with their sheep are being led by an angel, unfortunately now missing, towards the Nativity scene.



*La Nativité. L'Annonce aux bergers, XIIIth century Chartres Cathedral west face, door on south side, lintel*

The animals, hardly taller than the shin of the shepherds, are very small.

Nevertheless, the hierarchy of the flock is alluded to: the dog is in front of the ram, a male reproducer, which in turn precedes four animals with no horns, ewes or sheep. The animals are grazing, heads down, indifferent to the event, incapable of understanding the divine.

This relief is not an isolated case. In the Musée du Louvre, for example, there is a relief of this biblical story, which came from the Notre – Dame –de – la –Couldre (Deux-Sèvres), and older than the Chartres relief (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century).

The Annonce aux bergers is also shown in stained glass windows. It has its place e.g. in the representations of the life of Christ, as in the stained glass window in the church in Gercy (Aisnes) dating from, around 1230 and, therefore, contemporary with the reliefs cited above. Amongst the scenes represented, in a dense composition, two sheep, head to head, are accompanied by a dog looking at two shepherds sitting on green rocks, one of them with his head turned towards the angel, who appears at the top of the composition



*Vie du Christ : Annonce aux bergers. Circa 1230. Provenance : Gercy church; musée national du Moyen-Âge – Thermes de Cluny. © RMN / Franck Raux*

In illuminated manuscripts, three books, the Psautier d'Ingeburge du Danemark, queen of France



*L'Annonce aux bergers. La Présentation de Jésus au Temple dans Psautier d'Ingeburge de Danemark, reine de France, beginning of XIIIth century., 0.3x0.2m.*

Conservation : musée Condé, Chantilly. © RMN (Domaine de Chantilly) / René-Gabriel Ojéda.

the Heures de François de Guise



*Heures de François de Guise. L'Annonce aux bergers, XIVes., illuminated manuscript.*  
Conservation : musée Condé, Chantilly. © RMN (Domaine de Chantilly) / René-Gabriel Ojéda.

and Les Heures de la Vierge in Les Très riches heures du duc de Berry contain an illustration of the Annonce aux bergers.



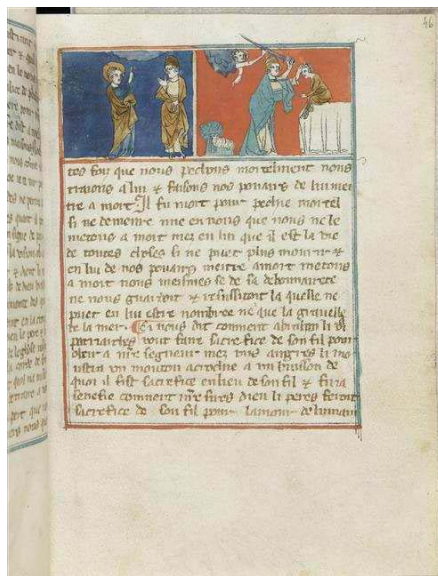


*Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry. Les heures de la Vierge : L'Annonce aux bergers, XVTH CENTURY., illuminated manuscript, 0.29x.021m.*

Conservation : Chantilly, Condé museum. © RMN (Domaine du Chantilly) / René-Gabriel Ojéda.

These works date respectively from the 18<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, and one can observe the evolution of painting during these three centuries, the arts of landscape and perspective developing remarkably from one image to another. Here, as in stone, the main concern of the sheep is food.

The Sacrifice d'Abraham is illustrated in several manuscripts amongst which in the 14<sup>th</sup> century; *Ci nous dit or Composition de la Sainte Ecriture*.



*Composition de la sainte écriture, ou le « Ci nous dit ». Dieu montre l'arc-en-ciel à Noé. Le Sacrifice d'Abraham., XIVth century., illuminated manuscript, 0.18x0.14 m. Condé museum, Chantilly. © RMN (Domaine de Chantilly) / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

One inevitably finds in these works a ram which the angel reveals to Abraham while he is getting ready to strike his son. The book quoted above also contains an

illustration of the Buisson ardent (burning bush). The right hand side of the work is taken up by Moses and the bush from which an angel's head emerges. As for the left hand side, it portrays sheep which are looking towards the left, as if they are indifferent to the happenings. The episode of the burning bush was not absent from contemporary churches (Laon or Chartres) where a link was made between this event and the New Testament. But the sheep were not represented in it.

Another motif recurring in medieval illuminations is the Lamb of God. The animal represents Christ according to the words of John the Baptist written by St. John in his Gospel (chapter I verse 29); "The next day John saw Jesus who came up to him, and he said: This is the lamb of God which takes away the sins of the world." These verses come from the Jewish tradition since, in the Jewish faith, a lamb was often sacrificed to purify sins just as Christ sacrificed himself for the sins of man. It appears, for example, numerous times in illuminated manuscripts of the *Histoire extraite de la Bible et Apocalypse*, created in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Maître des Médaillons. In folio 43, l'Agneau de Dieu (the Lamb of God) is at the centre of a composition surrounded by symbols of evangelists and the twenty-four old men of the Apocalypse.



*Maître des médaillons Histoire extraite de la Bible et Apocalypse. L'Agneau, les symboles des Evangiles et les vingt-quatre vieillards couronnés. XV<sup>th</sup> century, parchment, 0.313x0.220m. Conservation : Condé museum, Chantilly. © RMN (Domaine de Chantilly) / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

The image of the sheep here, is very far removed from the animal which is indifferent to the divine in the biblical scenes cited above.

Sheep are also part of numerous symbols, which allow identification of saints, including St. John the Baptist. A figure de dévotion (Musée national du Moyen – Âge - MNMA).





*Figurine de dévotion : saint Jean-Baptiste, sign of pilgrimage, 1st half of the XVTH century, pewter and lead, 0.067x0.021 m. Conservation : musée national du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny, Paris. © RMN / Jean-Gilles Berizzi.*

In pewter and moulded lead, dating from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, rather bare, 6cm. high, represents St. John the Baptist from the sheepskin which he is wearing over his legs, hanging down on both sides of the saint's body. This piece of clothing indeed became common at the end of the Middle Ages and replaced the former iconography of St. John the Baptist dressed in a camel haircloth tunic as were the anchorites. The saint is often accompanied by the animal which is very much alive, for example on the sculpture from Burgundy in gold-plated walnut, kept in the same museum and also dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> century.



*Saint Jean-Baptiste, XVes., gold-plated walnut, 0.46m. Provenance : Bourgogne ; Conservation : musée national du Moyen Âge – Thermes de Cluny, Paris. © RMN / Franck Raux.*

A lamb is sitting on a book which the saint is carrying on his arm.

The lamb also accompanies female figures such as St. Agnès. Although this is false from an etymological point of view, the saint and the animal were linked through the closeness of the sounds of their names. Consequently, the saint gains in importance, since she could be accompanied by the lamb of God itself, as in the *Coupe de sainte Agnès* (British Museum, London), a work in gold created in 1370 - 1380, where the life of the saint is represented in enamel on a golden background. After her successive martyrdoms, the saint is represented accompanied by a shrouded lamb, the symbol of Christ.



*La Coupe royale : Coupe de sainte Agnès. Circa 1370-1380, gold-enamelled sculpture, 0.236x0.178m. Conservation : The British Museum, London. © The British Museum, Londres, Dist. RMN / The trustees of the British Museum*

St. Marguerite, who derives her popularity from the fact that she helped women to give birth without pain, is often shown with a dragon by her side, an animal which ate her whilst she was praying and from which she escaped by piercing its belly with a crucifix which she had on her. Nevertheless, some works illustrate the modest origins of the saint who was a shepherdess before her conversion. Thus, the very beautiful illuminated manuscript by Jean Fouquet (1415-1481), *Sainte Marguerite et Olibrius* in the *Livre d'Heures d'Etienne Chevalier* (Musée du Louvre),



*Jean Fouquet (1420-1477/1481), Sainte Marguerite et Olibrius or Marguerite gardant les moutons in the « Suffrage des saints » du Livre d'Heure d'Etienne Chevalier. XVes., illumination, 0.09x0.12m. Conservation : Musée du Louvre, Paris.*

© RMN / Thierry Le Mage

Shows the saint humbly spinning, in a field, accompanied by other young girls and some sheep. In a well - executed landscape which owes more to the Renaissance than the Middle Ages, a number of horse riders arrive, including Olibrius, the Roman governor who persecuted the young girl after she refused to marry him. The image is surprising, since Jean Fouquet's art transcends the mere creation of an image of devotion, or an episode in life, which is reduced to a few iconographic items established as one usually finds. Here, the work is more like a picture of courtly art, characteristic of the international gothic period from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, during which profane art developed in the service of the many courts which shared European territory between them.

Sheep are not absent from such profane art.

The artists of the Middle Ages have also created several images of work in the fields, where caring for sheep, linked to the cycle of the seasons, naturally has its place. Thus, sheep can be represented on the pages of June or July as in *Les Très riches heures du duc de Berry* (Château de Chantilly – Oise) where the Limbourg brothers share the page of the month of July between wheat harvest and sheep shearing. A shepherd and shepherdess, shears in their hands, each hold a sheep between their knees to remove its wool.



*Pol, Jean et Hermann de Limbourg, Les Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry. Folio 7 : Le Calendrier. Le mois de juillet (détail). Circa 1440, illumination, 0.29x0.21m*

*Conservation : Condé museum, Chantilly. © RMN (Domaine de Chantilly) / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

Wool working can be shown on other works than illuminations. Thus, the Louvre collections have a Flemish tapestry made in what is now France, with the heraldic arms of Thomas Bohier, former Chamberlain of Charles VIII and of his wife Catherine Briçonnet. This tapestry dated circa 1500 is entitled *Le Travail de la laine*.



*Le Travail de la laine, circa 1500, wool and silk tapestry, 0.22x0.31m. Provenance : Serrant chateau (Maine-et-Loire) ; Conservation : musée du Louvre. © RMN / Jean Schormans*

On a thousand flower background, the figure of a shepherd stands up, his trade being shown by his crook. On either side, two women are sitting and working, one shearing, the other weaving. Flanders had an economic boom at the end of the Middle Ages, due to the independence of the cities. The wool trade and tapestry making (of wool too) were fundamental factors in this economic prosperity which explains this surprising tapestry entirely given over to the first stages of this textile business.

## 7.2 Hungary

In Hungary, in the Middle-Ages lambs were carved on capitals, although sacral themes were not neglected either. The corner fragment of a capital was found in Óbuda: the lamb and the leaved ornament are dated between 1150 and 1200. It is a fine, homogenous work. The body of the lamb is smooth, only its mouth is marked by a notch and its eye by two almond shaped notches. An older version of the motif is known from a capital in Pécs. A piece almost identical to the fragment from Óbuda had been used once in Esztergom, where a similar ornament in bigger size is present also in the so-called St. Stephan room.

The main entrances of medieval churches in Hungary show the richest figural decorations among external ornaments. This part of the church has to prepare the visitor to enter into God's house. Due to its meaning, the Lamb of God (Agnus Dei) is pre - destined to be placed in the representative decoration of Roman church gates fulfilling a missionary function. Beside the numerous examples abroad, large numbers of Hungarian ones can be enumerated; however their dating is almost impossible due to their simpler forms.

The earliest Agnus Dei tympanums known are in Szentmihályfa and Szeged, both from the mid 13<sup>th</sup> century. The southern gate of the abbey in Ják shows a victorious Lamb with Cross in a three lobbed arch. Hidden in rich foliage a pair of dragons biting in their wings fills the span. The tympanums above the southern gate of the church in

Ják served as a popular pattern for the local art: the spans of the graveyard chapel of Ják, of the church in Csempeszkopács and the relief in Nagysitke are more or less exact copies. A special Hungarian provincial variety of the Lamb of God tympanum developed in the time before the Mongol invasion: a lion appears in place of the lamb on the relief of the walled up span in the parish church in Zalaháshágy. This depiction is not unique: the tympanum of the walled up Romanesque gate of the church of Domonkosfa in Vas - county is also decorated by an animal with tasselled tail, thus by a lion. We can thus sum up as follows: the tympanum with the Lamb of God emerges in Hungary at the very beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century as a decoration on small churches in the countryside. The locations of the motif confirm that this type was implemented only in the local practice and cannot be traced back to the influence of any known Hungarian art centre. The victorious lamb can be seen also on the headstone of the Giselle chapel in Veszprém, where its left foreleg holds a banner with a Cross.

Agnus Dei is depicted on very different surfaces besides stone tympanums. The collection of the Museum of Applied Arts has a tablecloth for the Communion table from the Protestant church in Oltszem, dating from 1592. In the middle of the cloth in natural colour, the octagonal medallion shows the Holy Lamb with an inscription around it: „E[CCE] AGNUS DEI QUI TOLIS P[E]C [CATA] M[UN]D[UM]“. In the same collection another communion cloth from Besztercebánya made in 1683 shows Christ's symbol in the middle of a crown of leaves, decorated with two four-petalled flowers.

The religion even more so than other media may have contributed to the popularization of the image of Agnus Dei. The Lamb of God appears in pattern books in the 15<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries as one of the rare figural depictions. A cloth from a Spanish church shows almost the same lamb as the tablecloth, made in 1646 for the communion table of the church of Sajókaza or the filet-lace works embroidered by Orphan Kata Bethlen in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as concluded by Kincső Verebélyi.

Mention must be made here of the coats of arms, which bear Agnus Dei as a heraldic figure. An overview of the heraldic depictions of the lamb leads to the conclusion that it is quite a rare heraldic figure. Even Bárczay does not tell much about it: “Lamb (agnus, agneau, Lamm), easy to recognise because it is presented in a naturalistic way. The lamb shown with a cross is called Easter Lamb (agnus dei, agneau pascal, Osterlamm).” He mentions here one example, the coat of arms of Szalaházy, where a lamb, stepping forward with its right foreleg is placed in the lower part of the triangular shield, divided by fess.

The lamb's picture in coats of arms is limited in fact to two types: one is the mentioned Agnus Dei, the other one is a more or less realistic depiction of a lamb.

On studying first the depictions of Agnus Dei in the coats of arms of families, beautiful examples among the letters patent of nobility with coats of arms in the National Archives of Hungary are found. A beautifully blazoned work in Gothic style



presents the coat of arms of the family Bachvai Dempse, given by king Sigmund to Márton Bachvai Dempse to reward his services in Germany and in Basle. The coat of arms was donated to him and through him to his father, Balázs and his brother, Gergely on the 24<sup>th</sup> April 1434. The diploma does not contain the blazonry.

Nyulásziné points out that the shaping of the mantling is faulty from a heraldic point of view and considering the strict requirements, the realistic depiction of the lamb is also criticisable. "But we have to remark that the realistic depiction of the lamb, being the symbol of submissiveness to the Christian religion, as well as of human purity and honesty can disregard the rule of stylization for a better recognition, similar to the rare heraldic motif of the magpie in the coat of arms of the family Nagymihályi or the rooster in the coat of arms of the family Holy." No stylized form of depiction has evolved for rare heraldic figures unlike to regular heraldic animals (lion, griffin, eagle, pelican, crane, etc.). Another example is the beautifully blazoned coat of arms on a letter patent of nobility written in Vienna on the 31<sup>st</sup> August 1574, belonging to the family Nemesapáthi Zalay, otherwise called Tutor. The lamb turning to the right stands on green soil in the red field in the lower part of the triangular quarter. The lamb holds in its raised foreleg a golden cross, and each one of both the upper corners has a lily.

Among the coats of arms described by Károly Tagányi, the royal free boroughs Debrecen, Korpona and Kostajnica and the market towns of Bánffyhunyard, Bodrogheresztúr, Dernis, Újlak and Királydaróc have Agnus Dei as heraldic figure. Agnus Dei figures in the chief of the arms of Vizsoly and also in the arms of the town of Nagyrozvagy.

Beside the coats of arms, a coin of king Béla IV (1235-1270) has to be mentioned: an Agnus Dei is depicted on the obverse with the circular inscription „+REX · BELA · QVARTVS“ in a double circle.

### **7.3 U.K. - Medieval Anglo Saxon Art**

The secular picture cycle known as the 'Labours of the Months' is found in two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The earlier of the two (BL Cotton Julius A.vi) was written and illuminated probably at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century. The later of the two (BL Cotton Tiberius B. v) was written and illuminated probably at the Old Minster, Winchester, in the second quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The two cycles of pictures are clearly related closely to each other. It is possible that the compositions derive ultimately from a late classical model. Very similar picture cycles appear in many later mediaeval calendars. The illustrations for the month of May show sheep tending activities taking place.

Sheep appearing on stained glass in Medieval art In western cultures during the middle ages religion was the subject of most art. The art of stained glass painting, which may be seen in churches and cathedrals from mediaeval times to the present

day, often features sheep. Sheep are symbolic in the Christian religion and mythology and this symbolism is depicted in many beautiful stained glass windows.

Illuminated manuscripts. In the art of manuscript illumination of the Middle Ages sheep feature in many of these highly decorative volumes. A bestiary, as its name suggests, is a catalogue of beasts, although, sometimes plants and minerals were also included. Such volumes were popular in the middle ages. A bestiary includes a drawing or highly decorative illumination of each animal along with a short description of its attributes and behaviour. Included are all sorts of animals both real and imaginary, including sheep.

Bestiaries deal with the natural world, although the theme of religion still presents as the account of the emergence of life at this period and is still of course biblical.

Considered one of the best examples of illuminated manuscripts, the Aberdeen bestiary was written and illuminated circa 1200 AD. The book is lavishly illustrated and contains the biblical account of the creation story and gives short but non-scientific descriptions, some of which are surprisingly accurate while others are fanciful, along with a moral lesson. Concerning lambs, for example, the writer correctly observes that sheep are good mothers and a lamb recognises his or her mother's bleat from amongst thousands.

There are other manuscripts which also show aspects of the seasons or the agricultural year while others illustrate bible stories using figures and situations which are familiar to the people of the time, such as the shepherds receiving news of the birth of Jesus.

#### **7.4 Poland Medieval Art**

The tribe period and the period of the beginnings of Poland (7<sup>th</sup>-10<sup>th</sup> century), still have the continuation of the old traditions, such as agriculture and breeding. The significance of farm animals and their value can be seen in Slav beliefs. Despite the almost total lack of written sources, a lot of their basic assumptions survived over the centuries and found their reflection in folk culture. Deities connected with farm animals and their breeding are Weles and indirectly Mokosz (Szyjewski 2003).

In ecclesiastical art the lamb as a symbol of Christ appears in the 4<sup>th</sup> century in Poland, together with Christianity (after 966). In the 6<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> centuries it was popular to place the figure of a lamb at the crossing of the arms of a cross. It was forbidden by the Trullan Synod in 692 AD (Forstner 1990). This prohibition was repeated by Polish ecclesiastical legislation in 1621 at the Cracow Synod. However, it was popular to portray the Eucharistic Lamb which holds with its fore leg an arm of a cross with a flag. The head of the lamb which is turned back may be interpreted as the return to a new life. In this form it has become the main symbol of Easter. The lamb, with a wound in its side from which blood came out and into a chalice, started being depicted in the Middle Ages.

An important object in the history of Polish art is the so called goblet of Włocławek. It is made of silver with traces of gilding and an engraved decoration. On the surface of the goblet there are eight scenes telling the story of the liberation of Israel from the Midians by Gideon, as well as the scene with the so - called Gideon's Fleece. The object dates back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century and, thus, it is one of the few monuments of Pre - Roman art in Poland. It was probably made in the territory of Suabia. (Skubiszewski 1965)

A valuable object connected with the Polish history of art, kept in the St. Petersburg's Hermitage, is the so-called Czerwieński Reliquary. It was probably made at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and imported from Limoges. The front side presents *Maiestas Domini*. The announcement of the Last Judgement is brought by the Apocalyptic Lamb, presented by two couples of Angels on the dome of the reliquary (Mroczo 1988).

The beginnings of statehood were described at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century by the Polish monk Wincenty Kadłubek in his *Kronika Poloniae* (Kadłubek; 2003). A story about a dragon, which terrorised the town of the legendary king Krak, in Cracow, appears for the first time in this chronicle. The king's sons (in another version it was the shoemaker Skuba), after failures in open fights, laid a trap by giving the beast a sheep's fur stuffed with sulphur. The monster ate this and then burst (having drunk the water of the Vistula) (Dynowska 1937)

This version of the legend appeared in the famous work of Sebastian Münster *Cosmography or description of countries of the world* (*Das erst buch der Cosmography oder welt beschreibung*) published in Münster in 1544. An engraving portraying a dragon, which is about to devour a lamb is portrayed there.

Previously, in the Roman period, the Lamb of God was eagerly presented on tympana of portals and in the late Middle Ages on keystones of vaults, e.g. the 13<sup>th</sup> century Post-Cisterian monastery complex in Koprzywnica (Świętokrzyskie province).

The Lamb of God is permanently present in the territorial heraldry as the crest of the Bishopric of Warmia (Kopiczko 2000). The crest shows the Lamb of God on a red background, which is bleeding into a chalice and holding a flag with its front leg. As early as in the 14<sup>th</sup> c. the image of the lamb was placed on the image stamp. The Lamb of God came into the town heraldry indirectly as St. John the Baptist's attribute and due to the noble coat of arms Junosza. Up until now the lamb is present in crests of such towns as Bobolice, Brok, Piwniczna Zdrój, Sulęcín, Zakroczym and others, and in the crest of the modern Warmińsko-mazurskie province.





*K. Sichulski, A Hutzul with sheep, oil on canvas, 1906; Museum Lubelskie in Lublin*

In Polish heraldry one may also come across a goat, among other things in the crest of the city of Lublin, which is the capital of the Lubelskie province. The goat climbing up a grapevine refers to the founder of the city – Julia, who, according to the chronicler Wincenty Kadłubek, came from the Julian dynasty (Turski 2011). The goat, in this, is a symbol of love and Christ. The red background signifies power and authority. The goat also appears in the crest of the following places: Kozy Commune (Province Silesia), Dwikozy Commune (Świętokrzyskie Province), Głucholazy town (Opolskie Province).

Goats are also a landmark of one of the largest Polish cities, the capital of Wielkopolska – Poznań. They are usually referred to as “The goats of Poznań”, because two goats fighting with their horns on the tower of the town hall in Poznań appear every day at noon. There is a legend about them. After a great fire in the city its inhabitants decided to rebuild the town hall. A special clock was ordered for the tower. A big feast was organized to celebrate the completion of the works and the wealthiest people of the city and its surroundings attended. The main course was supposed to be a roasted leg of some animal. An inexperienced cook, who was preparing the dish, left the meat unattended for a while. The meat fell into the fire and was burnt to cinders. The terrified boy ran to the meadows near the town and captured two goats which were grazing. He dragged them to the town hall with the intention of roasting them. The goats anticipating their destiny ran away to the tower and here they started fighting. This amused the viewers. The joyful guests forgave the cook for his negligence and in order to commemorate the event the clockmaker was ordered to make a special mechanism with the two fighting goats appearing at midday.

In successive centuries a sheep appears as a Lamb of God on keystones of vaults from the Middle Ages to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are some examples where the Apocalyptic Lamb is presented on a book with seven seals, as a fully plastic sculpture placed for example on a tabernacle.



Postcard published by Rzepkiewicz Brothers, A. Mickiewicz "Dziady", 1905-1913; Museum of Independence in Warsaw

## 7.5 Estonia Gothic art - 15<sup>th</sup> c.



Statue of John the Baptist on the winged altar of St. Nicholas' Church in Tallinn (the so-called Rode altar).



Gothic wood carving, painted wood, St. Nicholas' Church in Tallinn.

The winged altar that was completed in Hermen Rode's workshop in Lübeck between 1478 and 1481 and was then brought to Tallinn is a work of High Gothic art.

The main altar with its paintings and figures reflects the cult of Mary, i.e. the glorification of Virgin Mary that is characteristic of Catholicism. The main group is flanked on both sides by saints and apostles. The seventh figure from the left in the bottom row, with a white lamb in his hands, has been identified as John the Baptist.

## 8. THE RENAISSANCE

### 8.1 France: Technical innovation and iconographic continuity

In French art, the iconographic role of sheep does not change throughout the Renaissance.

It retains its iconographic function with some saints, the best known example is probably the misrepresented portrait of François Ier en saint Jean-Baptiste (François 1st as St. John the Baptist) painted by François Clouet (1481 -1541) in 1518 (Musée du Louvre) (fig.20).



*Jean Clouet, Portrait de François Ier en saint Jean-Baptiste, 1518, oil on wood, 0.96x0.79m. Conservation : musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

If the iconography changes little, the objects the art refers to, are not the same. The illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages give way to the new decorative art techniques of the Renaissance, among which painted enamels are in the forefront. One thus finds sheep not only on rectangular plaques but also on enamelled objects, such as water jugs or chandeliers. One can see, as in the Middle Ages, the Sacrifice of Abraham, or the burning bush, as well as the lamb symbolizing the sacrifice of Christ, as on the plaque of La Présentation au temple.



*Pierre Reymond workshop (active in 1537 – after 1584), La Présentation au temple, XVIth century, painted enamel, 0.22x0.16m. production Site: Limoges ; Conservation : musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen. © RMN / Stéphane Maréchalle.*

From the workshop of Pierre Reymond (active from 1537 to 1584). A discreet and peaceful lamb at the foot of the altar in the foreground and taking no part in the main action, evokes by its mere presence, the Child's destiny. Sheep being part of the decor of enamelled artefacts are often found in compositions which evoke art from Antiquity, a really fundamental reference during this time of renewal. A water jug from the same workshop, showing Joseph receiving the stewardship of Egypt, portrays a line of children on its top, one of which is sitting astride a ram, which recalls the processions in art decors from Antiquity, both in sculptures and ceramics (fig. 22).



*Pierre Reymond workshop (active from 1537 – after 1584), Aiguière. Joseph reçoit l'intendance d'Egypte (détail), 1554, painted enamel, grey painted, 0.30x0.11m. production Site : Limoges ; Conservation : musée du Louvre, Paris.*

© RMN / Jean-Gilles Berizzi.

## 8.2 Poland: Renaissance and Baroque

In the Renaissance, the so-called Agnuski (from the Latin *Agnus Dei*) imports from Rome were popular. Seemingly the first person who brought them to Poland was king Sigismund III Waza (Gloger 1900-1903). Agnuski – medallions made of wax with an image of the Lamb of God on one side and John the Baptist on the other-, were consecrated by the Pope. Cisterians, who lived in the St. Pudeziana Church Monastery in Rome, had a licence to produce agnuski (Forstner 1990). The popularity of these souvenirs in Poland increased so much that they started producing similar agnuski from alabaster, gold inlaid with stones, which were worn as jewels by rich ladies over a few centuries (Gloger 1900-1903).

Interesting drawings from printed books come from the era of the Renaissance. Hieronim Spiczyński's publication of 1542 deals with herbs and their properties, but it also contains a few pieces of advice useful for farms (Spiczyński 1542). This contains a lot of engravings, including some, which portray sheep and goats as well as herds with a shepherd. One of the illustrations, *Sheep on a pasture*, depicts a shepherd looking after a herd of sheep and goats. The shepherd is playing the bagpipe.



Il. 4. J. Wałach, *Landscape with Sheeps*, oil on canvas, 1957; Association name of artist Jana Wałach in Istebna

#### Scenes from pastoral life

Scenes presenting various activities connected with pastoral life appear in the 16<sup>th</sup> century publications of Hieronim Spiczyński (Spiczyński 1542) and Jakub Kazimierz Haur's of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. (Haur 1693), where pasture, watering or sheep in an enclosure are presented in drawings.

The name of St. Agnes derives from the Latin word *agnus*. Her inseparable attribute is a little lamb. Not only is it connected with her name but it is also connected with a legend which said that after her death, the holy virgin and martyr appeared with a white lamb for eight days (Zieliński 1959). It is worth mentioning St. Agnes's 17<sup>th</sup> century image in her church in Cracow. The lamb also appears in the company of John the Baptist and St. Francis, who is believed to have saved a few small lambs from death. A lamb also accompanies Christ as a symbol for believers but also for sinners, for whom Christ is the Good Shepherd. Such image appears, among others, on the walls of the church at the Premonstratensian Convent in Ibramowice (Małopolskie province) - a polychromy by Wilhelm Włoch of the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The Age of Enlightenment in Polish art, except for modest examples of sacral art, does not show many depictions of sheep. Nevertheless, the animal appears in works of the famous fable writer Ignacy Krasicki. He presents sheep as a figure for human shortcomings, such as stupidity or naivety.



## 9. THE 17<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### 9.1 France: religion and decoration

The Renaissance, through its taste for technical innovations, was a golden age for decorative arts. In the following century, great painting experienced a considerable development in France. It is the new favoured medium of images, but in similar iconographic frames to those of the Renaissance. One can, for instance, find sheep in the foreground of the *Présentation au temple* (1644) by Sébastien Bourdon (1616 - 1671).



*Sébastien Bourdon (1616-1671), La Présentation au Temple, 1644, oil on wood, 0.71x0.61m. Conservation : musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN / Jean-Gilles Berizzi.*

Another evocation of the future sacrifice of the Child. The images of the adoration of the shepherds show henceforth a lamb tied up, probably a gift to the Holy Family made by those shepherds and this, not only in the very classical composition, which calls on the heavenly works of Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674) but also in the more naturalistic approach of Jean Michelin (about 1616-1670).



*Philippe de Champaigne (1602-1674), L'Adoration des Bergers, XVIIth century, oil on canvas, 2.35x1.61m, Wallace Collection, London*

© The Wallace Collection, London, Dist. RMN / The trustees of the Wallace Collection.



*Jean Michelin (circa 1616-1670), Adoration des bergers, 1659, oil on canvas, 1x1.39m. Conservation : musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

Even though the works of the artist are full of exotic elements recalling the Holy Land, the peasants are represented in clothes of contemporary peasants, some of which are badly torn, even those of the Child who is wearing a jacket which is completely similar to those worn in the French countryside.

Sheep also accompany the Holy Family in numerous paintings. Even though religious art mainly developed in paintings, in fact sheep did not disappear from decorative art, quite the contrary. Sheep are included in decorative compositions using fanciful motifs from Antiquity, as on the glass panel from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Mars et la terre (musée national de la Renaissance, château d'Ecouen).



*Anonymous, Panneau de vitrerie civile à décor de grotesques : Mars et la Terre, XVI<sup>th</sup> century, stained glass. Production Site: Île-de-France ; Conservation ; musée national de la Renaissance, Ecouen. © RMN / Gérard Blot.*

The heads of rams become a recurring theme in decorative elements. They can decorate small objects as can be seen on the shoulders of the Gourde in multi-coloured enamel with a richness typical of the nièvre (musée du Louvre).



*Anonyme, Gourde, XVIIth century, polychrome earthenware pottery. Production Site: Nevers ; Conservation : musée du Louvre, Paris.*

© RMN / Jean-Gilles Berizzi.

The two rams' heads here surround the jug's neck where hybrid figures, similar to grotesque ones from the Renaissance, are developed.

The use of rams' heads in decorative sculpture in stone is another custom borrowed from Mediterranean antiquity. One can find them on many large stone vases which were used to decorate French gardens. Thus, rams integrate, even though they are only a detail, a fundamental element of French culture. In the château de Versailles, rams can often be found on these vases, set out as handles on the sides of the object, handles which cannot be used to carry such heavy objects. This can be found for instance on Le Vase du soleil, a work by Jean Drouilly (1641-1698), present in the Létone garden.



*Jean Drouilly (1641-1698), Vase du soleil, XVIIth century, marble, height : 2m., châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. RMN (Château de Versailles) / Rights reserved*



## 10. THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### 10.1 France: Pastoral imagination and scientific realism

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the religious and decorative roles of the image of sheep do not decline. However, the century is also marked by two phenomena: the development of pastoral images and a greater scientific approach to sheep farming.

The pastoral genre is a literary theme which goes back to Antiquity and evokes the harmony between man and nature. This theme gives rise to many literary works in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the culminating point of which was undoubtedly the *Astrée* by Honoré d'Urfé, a particularly long literary work which was very successful. The world of shepherds is mentioned without realism, animals requiring little care and leaving the shepherds plenty of time for their love lives. The pastoral novel is not unconnected to certain literary works of the late Antiquity, in particular the Greek novel *Daphnis et Chloé* by Longus, the heroes of which are young shepherds ignorant of their high birth status and whose love will be put through various trials.

Already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the jug in the Louvre Museum which was mentioned above, presents as its main setting, on one side a landscape of ruin and on the other side a scene showing three people, a woman and two men in a plush landscape. The stick carried by one of the characters and the goat sitting at his side leave no room for doubt. It is definitely a shepherd and therefore a pastoral scene.

Pictures of shepherds' loves are so numerous and varied in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that it would be almost impossible to try and record and classify them. All media are used. Shepherds' loves are illustrated in numerous paintings but also in prints such as *Les Deux confidentes*



Jean Ouvrier (1725-1784), *Les Deux confidentes*, XVIII<sup>th</sup> century, print (hammer, etching), 0.43x0.35m, musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN / Thierry Le Mage

By Jean Ouvrier (1725-1784) or small sculptures such as, in terracotta, *La Bergère des Alpes*



*Etienne Maurice Falconnet (1716-1791), La Bergère des Alpes, XVIIIth century, terra cotta. cité de la céramique, Sèvres. © RMN (Sèvres, Cité de la céramique) / Martine Beck-Coppola.*

By Etienne Maurice Falconnet (1716-1791), who reduced the pastoral to the strict minimum: a young man on the ground, who is holding the hand of a young girl, whom he is looking at and talking to, probably declaring his love, whereas close to her a lamb is sitting peacefully, looking away from the scene. Two characters and a lamb are sufficient to characterize the scene. One also finds pastoral scenes in tapestries or vases, in particular from the manufacture de Sèvres, such as vases called Leriche works from 1786 by Charles-Eloi Asselin, head painter in the manufacture de Sèvres, and Decambos, a gilder and painter of flowers and birds, which have a gilt decor showing characters of both sexes, accompanied by sheep and enjoying simple pleasures such as playing the flute, tying a ribbon on an animal or feeding grapes to his loved one.



*Charles-Eloi Asselin (1742-1803) and Decambos (active from 1776 to 1787), Paire de vases-serpents, dits Leriche (detail), 1786, porcelain, 0.42x0.26x0.16m. châteaux de Versailles et Trianon. © RMN (Château de Versailles) / Franck Raux.*

The pastoral theme also developed greatly in paintings, whether decorative or easel paintings. Even though a number of artists have practiced the genre, such as Antoine Watteau (1684 - 1721) in 1716 in *Les Bergers*.



Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684-1721), *Les Bergers*, XVIII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY, oil on canvas, 0.56x0.81m. Conservation : Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin, Allemagne.

© RMN / Jörg P. Anders

or even Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686 - 1755),



Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755), *Les cinq sens : l'Ouïe*, 1749, oil on canvas, 1.48x0.80m, châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. © RMN (Château de Versailles) / Jean Schormans

In the panel devoted to L'Ouïe (hearing) (1749) in his series about the five senses for Versailles, it is François Boucher (1703-1770) who remains the master of the genre. He multiplied pictures and situations. He went back to source in a painting on the subject from Antiquity Daphnis et Chloé.



François Boucher (1703-1770), *Daphnis et Chloé*, 1743, oil on canvas, 1.09x1.55m. Conservation : Wallace Collection, London. © The Wallace Collection, London, Dist. RMN / The Trustees of the Wallace Collection

Daphnis accompanied by his dog watching for the arrival of another person, observes the beautiful Chloé with bare breasts in her languorous sleep, her sheep staying quietly close by, the subject taken from Antiquity allowing nudity which would be immodest in a contemporary subject. Various scenes evoke amorous conquests

in many different ways. This could involve exchanging gifts, as in *Les Présents du berger* also called *Le Nid* circa 1740.



*François Boucher (1703-1770), Les Présents du berger, XVIIIth century, oil on canvas, 0.98x1.46m. Conservation : musée du Louvre, Paris. © RMN / Rights reserved.*

In which the shepherd humbly offers a nest which he has just picked from a tree, thereby showing his talent as a predator. The sending of a love letter can also be seen in *L'Envoi d'un messenger* in 1765.



*François Boucher (1703-1770), L'Envoi d'un messenger. 1765, oil on canvas, 0.32x0.27m. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Dist. RMN / image of the MMA.*

Where a very well-dressed young shepherd attaches a message to a white bird's foot. Finally, in *Le Pasteur galant*



*François Boucher (1703-1770), Le Pasteur galant, XVIIIth century, oil on canvas, 1.47x1.98m. Conservation : hôtel de Soubise (national archives), Paris. © RMN / Agence Bulloz.*

A work which still today decorates the hôtel de Soubise (Paris), a young man talks sweet nothings to a young woman with rosy cheeks in the centre of frilly materials and flowers, close to a well-designed fountain progressively invaded by vegetation. This fountain lets itself be once again invaded by nature, just as the young men and women who, even though they are shepherds, are wearing clothes of the social elite,



as if they were young people fleeing social conventions to go back to nature, a primitive world without the constraints of corrupt society and where feelings could be fully expressed. This is not unconnected to a special and well known pastoral work which is neither a painting nor a sculpture but it is architecture and artificial landscape: the hamlet of queen Marie - Antoinette, in the Trianon (Versailles), where the Queen used to retire to escape from the constraints of court life and where thatched cottages, cows for milking and eggs to gather give the illusion of a return to the innocence of a rural life which innocence was, in that century, very often represented by a delicate young girl holding a lamb in her arms as does in 1790 Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725 - 1805) with his work *L'Innocence*.



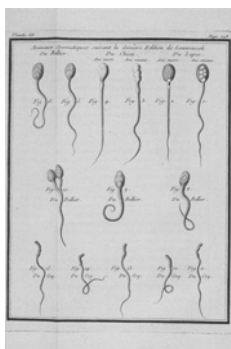
*Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805), L'Innocence, XVIIIth century, oil on wood (mahogany), 0.63x.53m. Conservation: Wallace Collection, London. © The Wallace Collection, London, Dist. RMN / The Trustees of the Wallace Collection*

The 18<sup>th</sup> is also the century of Enlightenment, where numerous actors of history attempt to demonstrate the amount of knowledge acquired by man. The scientific mind is at work. Georges - Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707-1788) is, from 1739 to 1788, steward of the King's garden which later became the Museum national d'histoire naturelle. He participates, with the Swede Carl von Linné (1707-1778), in the classification of species and wrote *L'Histoire naturelle*, a monumental work of thirty-six volumes published over forty years from 1749 to 1789. He was greatly assisted by Louis Jean-Marie Daubenton (1716-1799), a doctor and childhood friend, whom he had appointed as keeper and demonstrator in 1745, as Buffon had little talent for dissection. These scientific studies gave rise to a series of drawings and etchings whose aesthetics are very far removed from the representations of shepherds' love and whose purpose is quite different. The *L'Histoire naturelle* panels are colourless but show a fine work of engraving. These panels have artists, numerous engravers or drawers which is hardly surprising in the context of such a large-scale work, amongst who are the illustrators Jacques de Sève, active from 1742 to 1788 or Pierre- François Tardieu (1711-1771) or the engraver Jean-Charles Baquoy (1721-1777).



Jacques de Sève ( ? – 1788) and Pierre-François Tardieu (1711-1771), *Brebis : dissection in Histoire naturelle...* by Buffon, Volume 5, Folio 3, p. 52, 1755, print. Conservation : Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, main library, Paris. © Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Dist.RMN / image du MNHN, bibliothèque centrale.

The teaching value of the prints is primordial. They can be split into two categories. The first category deals with the internal organs of animals. Folio III of volume V (shows a dissected ewe, lying on its back. The open belly shows its digestive organs. The subject is dealt with using relative neutrality and great precision which can be expected in this type of work. Pages showing isolated organs with a commentary can also be seen. Some pages also show the semen of the animal observed under the microscope. Volume II page VII presents spermatic animals, a term which was then employed to designate spermatozoids from various animal species, rams, dogs, rabbits, cocks.



Anonymous, *Animaux spermatiques suivant la dernière édition de Leeuwenock in Histoire naturelle...* by Buffon, Volume 2, Folio 7, p. 248, 1749, print. Conservation : Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, bibliothèque centrale, Paris. © Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Dist.RMN / image du MNHN, bibliothèque centrale.

This page therefore shows in great detail, the principle of comparative anatomy, a science created in that century on Enlightenment, which enables the similarities and differences between different animals to be demonstrated to classify them.

The second series of pages looks at the external aspect of the animals and at different breeds (or species, the definition is still a little vague at the time) of sheep.

Even though several draughtsmen and engravers were working, the composition of the prints showing animals (sheep or others) is always the same in *L'Histoire naturelle*, which enables an easy comparison between the species. These pages from volume XI show in succession rams and ewes from Iceland, Barbary, Asia (fig 41b) and France.



*Jean-Charles Baquoy, graveur (1721-1777) et Jacques de Sève ( ? – 1788), Le Bélier des Indes in Histoire naturelle... de Buffon, Volume 11, Folio 34, p. 396, 1754. Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, central library, Paris. © Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Dist.RMN / image du MNHN, central library.*



*Jean-Charles Baquoy, graveur (1721-1777) and Jacques de Sève ( ? – 1788), Le Bélier in Histoire naturelle... by Buffon, Volume 5, Folio 1, p. 52, 1755, print. Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, bibliothèque centrale, Paris. © Muséum d'Histoire naturelle, Dist.RMN / image du MNHN, bibliothèque centrale.*

These images have a charm which comes from the landscapes in which the animals are situated. The vegetation and architecture of each country are thus represented with a lack of precision which shows that exotic countries were not well known to the artists.

The pictures of *L'Histoire naturelle*, did not appear ex nihilo. There were other works which dealt with sheep from a scientific point of view before the work of Buffon, but the work of the Century of Enlightenment is the first to show such a desire to be complete, based upon observation and knowledge. Scientific drawings also had a follow up in the 19<sup>th</sup> century to illustrate the works of other naturalists in particular those of Etienne Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire (1772-1844), for example in his *Histoire des mammifères* (history of mammals) in 1819.

## 10.2 Hungary: Art works depicting activities of sheep-breeding in the 18<sup>th</sup> century

The presentation of activities of sheep-breeding is exceptionally rare in art works in Hungary, therefore the faïence plate from Holics from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, showing sheep shearing, is very special.

A painting by Franz Neuhauser (1763-1836), made in 1805 with the title: *Saxon peasant women milking in the stable*, illustrates work with animals. The painting is part of the permanent Baroque exhibition in the Hungarian National Gallery.

## 10.3 U.K.

The 18<sup>th</sup> century was a great age for British landscape painting yet there is a dearth of images containing sheep and shepherds. Gainsborough, who was mainly a portraitist, also painted some landscapes and this one shown is a rare example of such a scene featuring sheep. The location is unknown or uncertain.

The agricultural revolution started in the UK in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and, as a result, the population of rural areas declined significantly and farms were re-organised so a traditional peasant culture no longer exists and neither does much of a culture of producing local art objects. Thus the role of sheep in British folk art is not a central one. The strength of British art traditionally lay in landscape painting and in portraiture and one might assume that pastoral landscapes can be found to include sheep. This is not always the case however – while such scenes do occur they are surprisingly rare.

In the UK sheep appear in art in three main ways: in religious settings where the sheep or lamb represent the Lamb of God or is associated with the parable of the good shepherd; in material illustrating the seasons, such as calendars or chronicles and in images of landscapes. Other appearances are in bestiaries and in modern and contemporary art such as sculpture and installations, where there are some particularly iconic examples. There are also unusual situations which defy an ordinary categorisation. The following report presents some examples of art of various types ranging from Anglo-Saxon to modern times.



Nicola Obrazopisov. Prodigal son. Fresco from the Temple of Beliova Church Samokov



Nicolas Obrazopisov. Nativity. Fresco from the Temple of Beliova Church Samokov



## **11. THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY IN EUROPE**

### **11.1 U.K.: The Victorian period**

The Victorian period – 1832-1901 – straddled the romantic age and landscapes with a range of animals returned in popularity. This was in part because of a new interest in the Scottish Highlands after Queen Victoria and Prince Albert bought Balmoral Castle in the valley of the River Dee. Picturesque scenes with deer or sheep and shepherds became popular. One exponent was the neighbour of Queen Victoria, Joseph Farquharson of Finzean.

Born in Edinburgh, Scotland in 1846, Joseph Farquharson combined a long and prolific career as a painter with his inherited role as a Scottish laird at Finzean estate on Deeside in Scotland. He painted in both oils and water colours. His early days were spent in his father's house in Northumberland St. below Queen St. Gardens and later at Eaton Terrace beyond the Dean Bridge in Edinburgh and at Finzean. His father Francis was a doctor and laird of Finzean in Aberdeenshire. Joseph was educated in Edinburgh and permitted by his father to paint only on Saturdays using his father's paint box. When Joseph reached the age of 12, Francis Farquharson bought his son his first paints he could call his own and only a year later he exhibited his first painting at the Royal Scottish Academy. His first major portrait was of ' Miss Alice Farquhar ' exhibited in 1884. His first exhibit at the R. A., ' Day's Dying Glow ', was in 1873.

#### **Champion animals and local characters**

A different theme in Victorian art was for local artists to paint characters such as shepherds and also champion examples of livestock. This was the time that the main sheep breeds we use today were finalised in their characteristics and breeders were keen to show off the superb qualities of such animals. The next example typifies this movement.

#### **The Pre-Raphaelites**

In 1848, as revolutions swept across continental Europe and an uprising for social reform, known as Chartism, unsettled Britain, seven rebellious young artists in London formed a secret society with the aim of creating a new British art. They called themselves the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, and the name, whose precise origin is contested, nevertheless indicates the chief source of their inspiration.

Disenchanted with contemporary academic painting—most of them were colleagues at the Royal Academy of Art and famously disparaged the Academy's founding president, Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), as "Sir Sloshua" - the Brotherhood instead emulated the art of late medieval and early Renaissance Europe until the time of Raphael, an art characterized by minute description of detail, a luminous palette of bright colours that recalls the tempera paint used by medieval artists, and subject matter of a noble, religious, or moralizing nature. In mid – 19<sup>th</sup> century England, a period marked by political upheaval, mass industrialization, and social ills,

the Brotherhood at its inception strove to transmit a message of artistic renewal and moral reform by imbuing their art with seriousness, sincerity, and truth to nature.

Given the symbolic and religious content of their paintings it is no surprise that sheep make an appearance in the art of some painters, notably William Holman Hunt who used hyper-realistic portrayals of shepherds and sheep to make moral points.

The subject of this Pre-Raphaelite painting by William Holman Hunt was inspired by Shakespeare's *King Lear*, in the play Edgar sings a song about a shepherd neglecting his flock. When the painting was first displayed in the Royal Academy it was accompanied by this quotation from *King Lear*

*Sleepeth or waketh thou, jolly shepherd?*

*Thy sheep be in the corn;*

*And for one blast of thy minikin mouth,*

*Thy sheep shall take no harm.*

At first glance the scene appears idyllic, however, it is full of symbolism. There are several suggestions as to the nature of the symbolism in this painting, one of which is that Hunt uses the hireling shepherd to demonstrate the importance of a good work ethic as opposed to the potential detrimental effects of idleness; the shepherd's neglect has resulted in the poor health of the sheep. If you look carefully in the background you will see a sheep on her back, legs flailing in the air, other sheep have escaped into the corn field and will be ill as a consequence of what farmers call being "blown", the girl is feeding the lamb green apples which will make him sick. Often though, Hunt's paintings had religious symbolism. Hunt was a Pre-Raphaelite painter, symbolism was important to the Pre-Raphaelites, and in a letter to Manchester City Art Gallery he indicated that the couple symbolised the pointless theological divisions which occupied the attentions of many clergymen, and while so distracted their "flocks" went astray; shepherds and sheep have biblical symbolism. A congregation is compared to a flock and Jesus to a shepherd.

The charming pastoral scene below intricately painted and rendered in oils on canvas was painted by William Holman Hunt in 1852. After the success of *The Hireling Shepherd* William Holman Hunt was asked by Charles T. Maud to paint another picture continuing the theme of the wandering sheep, the painting shows the staying of the neglected flock along the cliffs. For the back ground of the work Hunt used the cliffs of Fairlight, east of Hastings.

## **Printmaking**

In Victorian times the perfection of lithographic printing opened up a medium which allowed images to be reproduced easily and cheaply yet with very good quality and these were used to illustrate all kinds of books feeding the voracious appetite for information, especially about science and natural history as a result of new scientific and technological discoveries of the era. This was before photographs could be printed and the subtleties of the tones available with lithography opened up ways of

reproducing paintings as well as creating images specifically for printing. Animals and farm life featured amongst the subjects. Industrial processes also featured.

### **British Impressionists**

There were many British artists drawn into the Impressionism movement in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century – some tended to paint on the continent but others took inspiration from British scenes such as John Alfred Arnesby Brown.

## **11.2 France: The 19<sup>th</sup> c., back to the land**

Some uses of images of sheep in art do not change over the centuries. The sheep remains a fundamental element of Christian iconography, both in biblical scenes such as Le Sacrifice d'Abraham painted by Hippolyte Flandrin



*Hippolyte Flandrin (1809-1864), Le Sacrifice d'Abraham, 1856-1863, painting. Conservation : Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 4th aisle, right side of nave, Paris. © RMN / Agence Bulloz*

Between 1856 and 1863 in the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (Paris), and in images of saints as is shown by, in 1886, La Mort de St. Jean-Baptiste



*Henri Levy (1840-1904), La Mort de saint Jean-Baptiste, 1886, oil on canvas, 4.00x2.95m. Conservation : Rennes, musée des Beaux-Arts. © MBA, Rennes, Dist. RMN / Louis Deschamps*

By Henri Lévy (1840-1904), in which the saint, about to be beheaded, is still clutching a lamb to his chest. As for St. Agnes or St. Marguerite in the Middle Ages, sheep are a sign of modesty (social and therefore mental) of certain figures, such as Joan of Arc, whose image developed very naturally in the context of the awakening of nations where all peoples were searching for their heroes from the past. In 1892, Vision (fig. 44)



Alphonse Osbert (1857-1939), *Vision*, 1892, oil on canvas, 2.35x1.38m. Conservation: musée d'Orsay, Paris. © RMN (musée d'Orsay) / Jean Schormans

By Alphonse Osbert (1857-1939), shows us a shepherdess in a field bathed in a blue morning light, raising her eyes to the sky. With her halo, the historical heroine is already shown as a saint whereas she was only beatified then canonized in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore, after the 18<sup>th</sup> century the ram's head remains a common decorative motif, whatever the regime in power, in any case before the IIIrd Republic (1875-1940). These heads are not only able to support the handles of the vase called Vase Cordelier.



Manufacture de Sèvres, Vase Cordelier, 1809-1810, porcelain, height : 0.68m., château de Compiègne.

© RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda.

A work of the manufacture de Sèvres for the apartments of the empress in Compiègne (Osie) in 1809-1810, but also to decorate in 1825 the Carrosse du sacre de Charles X



*Carrosse du sacre de Charles X (detail), 1825, transformed in 1856. Conservation : châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles. © RMN (Château de Versailles) / Gérard Blot.*

In the Restoration (1815-1830), which carriage was modified in 1855 in the Second Empire (1852-1870), for the baptism of the imperial prince (Musée National de la Voiture, Palais de Compiègne).

But the 19<sup>th</sup> century contributes many novelties. All society takes a new interest in the rural world. Realist painters look at the rural world by taking as a reference the Dutch masters of the golden Century and their taste for genre scenes and landscapes, genres which were previously considered minor by the Académie des Beaux-Arts. Thus, shepherds and shepherdesses are commonplace in the works of Jean-François Millet for instance *La Petite bergère* (Musée d'Orsay),



*Jean-François Millet (1814-1874), La Petite bergère, XIXth century, oil on canvas, 0.35x0.25m. musée d'Orsay, Paris. © RMN (musée d'Orsay) / Hervé Lewandowski*

A work whose date is not known but with a very different approach to that of the pastoral of the previous century, since the shepherds are wearing humble clothes and have little time for love, as they are so busy looking after their flocks, accompanying the animals in their travel or weaving wool. The flocks of sheep in the work of Millet, as with many other artists, find their place in landscape art which in the



19<sup>th</sup> c. is no longer the storyboard landscape composed intellectually in a workshop, but reflects reality, using the observation of nature.

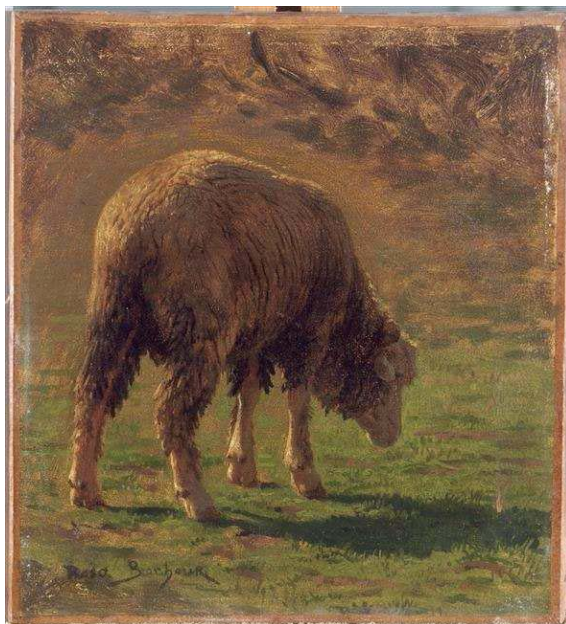
This new approach also allows a considerable development of animal art. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, studies of sheep from the hands of artists using the pastoral genre were numerous.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, animals became the subject of certain works in their own right. It is true, in many representations of fighting animals which are executed throughout the century, that sheep were never victorious, as illustrated by the sculpture by Barye (1795- 1875) *Loup marchant, la gueule ouverte, à côté d'un mouton à demi dévoré* (wolf walking, mouth open next to a half eaten sheep).



*Antoine-Louis Barye (1795-1875), Loup marchant, la gueule ouverte, à côté d'un mouton à demi dévoré, XIXth century, bronze, 0.24x0.35m. Conservation : musée Bonnat, Bayonne. © RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

Sheep are often also the subject- matter of paintings, finally free from any other animal or human presence (saints or amorous shepherds). The painting *Mouton paissant* (grazing sheep) by Rosa Bonheur



*Rosa Bonheur (1822-1899), Mouton paissant, XIXth century, oil on canvas, 0.21x0.19m. château de Fontainebleau. © RMN / Jean-Pierre Lagiewski*

Probably one of the greatest animal artists of the century, presents nothing other than what its title indicates. Sheep find an independent iconographic existence. The painting by Horace Vernet (1789-1863) *Etude pour une tête de bélier* (study for a ram's head).



*Horace Vernet (1789-1863), Etude pour une tête de bélier, XIXth century. musée des Beaux-Arts, Béziers. © RMN / Gérard Blot.*

Completes the upgrading of the animal by approaching its head with a surprising realistic meticulousness, going as far as representing light effects and reflections in the eye of the observed specimen.

Moreover in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a new Orientalism also developed in France, a far cry from the fantasy of the Turkish delights of the previous century. The Egypt campaign (1798- 1801), the war to liberate Greece (from the 1820's) the conquest of Algeria in 1830 or the modernisation of the Ottoman Empire are opportunities to gain better knowledge of Islamic countries. If there still existed in the minds of western artists an imaginary Orient where women are lascivious beauties and men bloody fighters, some artists approach the Arab world from a more realistic angle. The view of Eugène Fromentin (1820-1876) on work on the southern shore of the Mediterranean is not far removed from that of Jean-François Millet in mainland France. In the picture *Jeune Kabyle à cheval*.





*Eugène Fromentin (1820-1876), Jeune Kabyle à cheval, XIXth century. château de Compiègne. © RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda*

The artist positions, in the middle of a mountainous landscape typical of this region, a horse rider surrounded by grazing sheep. It may represent a shepherd on horseback, painted during his daily tasks as a shepherd from mainland France would be. The Musée d'Orsay has another work of a completely different nature, which depicts another figure of an Arab shepherd: it is a shadow theatre silhouette from the Chat Noir cabaret, *Bédouin gardant ses moutons*,



*Anonymous after a drawing by Louis Blombeld, Bédouin gardant ses moutons, 1889, zinc. Executed for the Cabaret du Chat Noir, for the show entitled : « La Conquête de l'Algérie ». musée d'Orsay, Paris. © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN / Patrice Schmidt.*

Executed in 1889 for a show relating the conquest of Algeria. This example demonstrated that the middle and lower classes, which this type of show was made for, had assimilated the figure of a North African shepherd who was not therefore restricted to the culture of the upper classes. This figure of the shepherd probably presents the political advantage of creating a cultural connection between the two shores of the Mediterranean. Far-off Algeria could be compared and assimilated to nearby French landscapes.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the appearance of a new form of art: photography. Several photographs immortalized the image of sheep. Some of them, in a pictorialist vein, present rural life in a way which recalls realist paintings such as the *Bergère et ses deux moutons*,



*Anonymous, Bergère et ses deux moutons, 1865-1900, 0.10x0.16m. musée d'Orsay, Paris. © Musée d'Orsay, Dist. RMN / Patrice Schmidt.*

whose artist remains anonymous. In a small wood, two sheep accompany a humble shepherdess who is leaning back against a tree and resting on a stick taking a relatively relaxed pose which has already been observed in Millet's work. Other photographs seem to have been destined to be used as models for painters, a common practice, as shown by the series of anonymous photographs of sheep kept in the Musée national Gustave Moreau (Paris).



*Gustave Moreau (1826-1898), Les Argonautes, 4th quarter of XIXTH CENTURY, oil on canvas, 0.42x0.32m. musée Gustave Moreau, Paris. © RMN / Gérard Blot.*

The artist, who lived from 1826 to 1898, loved to multiply his sources of inspiration, looking successively for motifs in exotic arts, in masters of the past or in nature.

The museum's collection contains a number of study drawings where animals are present as well as a plaster representing a head of a young ram whose horns have just begun to grow.

One can find the motif of the ram in several paintings by the master, in particular on the prow of the ship of the Argonautes.



*Anonymous, Troupeau de moutons en train de paître dans un pré, XIX century. musée Gustave Moreau, Paris. © RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda.*

Photography also enables rural life to be depicted in an ethnographic way although the use of this term for this period is a little anachronistic. The Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine (Paris) has a series of photographs taken by Amélie Gallup (1856-1943) in southwest France, in 1899. This judge's wife, an amateur photographer, did not only take an interest in middle-class social life. Perhaps against her own will, she also took an interest in peasants, travelling salesmen, disadvantaged people. Several of her photographs carefully explore the life of shepherds from the Albi (Tarn) area where she lived.



*Amélie Galup (1856-1943), Dans les bois de la Fontvialane près d'Albi, extract from the series Travaux agricoles, 1899, negative on glass, 0.09x0.12m. Médiathèque de l'Architecture et du Patrimoine, Paris. © RMN – rights management. © Ministère de la Culture – Médiathèque du Patrimoine, Dist. RMN / Amélie Galup*

These photographs, once again far removed from the images of pastoral shepherds, have value which is both documentary and as a witness.

### 11.3 Hungary: The 19<sup>th</sup> century

In Hungary in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, lamb and flocks of sheep are frequently subjects of landscape painting. Italian landscapes by Károly Markó show as regular figures not only harvesting and grape-gathering peasants but also peasants clad in national costume while their sheep are grazing. Some of them: *Italian mountain landscape* (1836, Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen), *Landscape from Appoggi* (1848, Hungarian National Gallery) and the *Landscape with woman and shepherd boy* (1852, Hungarian National Gallery).

His son, András Markó treated the world of shepherds and charcoal-burners in the region of Carrara with a realistic perception; his paintings depicting lambs are: *Returning home from the fair of Seravezza* (1871, private property), and the *Ruins of aqueduct near Rome* (1860, Hungarian National Gallery).

When landscape depictions of the Great Hungarian Plain are studied, it is found that numerous ideas and topoi are attached to the scenery as well as to the shepherd people. The topoi related to the Hungarian “puszta” are composed of poetic and picturesque images and commonplaces. The puszta emanating a positive atmosphere appears in the fine arts by the years 1850. Most puszta subjects in paintings were preceded by some literary reference: Sándor Petőfi’s poem *The shepherd on the donkey* can be compared to Ferenc Markó’s painting with similar subject.

Katalin Sinkó writes: “According to the theory of that period, the folkloric genre painting belongs to the concept of picturesque. This artistic approach is slowly changing in Europe by the middle of the century. The genre painting breaks through the century old frames of its forms and the folkloric subjects keep on borrowing more and more from the means of the historic painting representing a higher level. (...). The dramatic or tragic view of life was a novelty in the history of the Hungarian peasant genre“. The small sculpture of Miklós Izsó, the *Grieving Shepherd* belongs to this genre of dramatic life. The artist exhibited this sculpture with the name *Shepherd* or *Hungarian shepherd* and referred to it in his letters by that name. It seems that the public began calling it the *Grieving Shepherd*.

The famous art work had several copies made of plaster; it was re - made in smaller as well as in more folkloric versions. The differences in size resulted in differences in the composition too: the original form was often completed with a lovely dog or lamb at his feet. The elegantly idealized original is hardly recognizable in the colourful folkloric figures. The porcelain manufacture of Herend produces from 1938 on the 28 cm tall, painted *Grieving Shepherd* newly conceived by Kata Gácsér designer artist.

Going back to the subject of folkloric genre painting, the painter István Csók, who belonged to the friends of the artist colony's painters in Nagybánya, should be mentioned. His art expressed a basic admiration for the sensually perceptible world. He was a passionate searcher for the colourful and picturesque. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when he went through a crisis, he returned to the folkloric genre painting of the nineties but applied in his way of seeing whatever Nagybánya stood for: his painting *In the Sheepfold* (1900) was one of the results.

The work of the artist Béla Pállik (1845-1908), who called himself "sheep painter" and for whom sheep is not only substance but the inspirer, the centre of the pictures, has to be highlighted. Pállik was an opera singer too. In the art historian Károly Lyka's words: "He knew the sheep, the rams, the lambs so well that he was rather a painter of animal portraits and not an animal painter". His sheep portraits were praised as the nonplus ultra of realistic painting and he was overwhelmed with honours. For some sheep portraits he made not only a series of sketches and studies but worked out completely a smaller version, which was merely a pre-study for the definitive, bigger sized painting. Some of his works depicting sheep: *Mother-sheep*, *Sheepfold*, *Flock of sheep*, *Feeding*, *Rams in the sheepfold*, *Sheep in the pen*, *Ram*, *Spring joy of lambs*, *Sheep head*, *Resting lambs*. After his death a commemorative exhibition presented his works in 1908.

#### 11.4 Bulgaria

In the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century, during the **Bulgarian Revival**, the emphasized personal observation in the painted motifs outweighs the patterns of worship and church needs, established for centuries. Disarming by their spontaneity and sincerity are the representations of shepherds and flocks in a number of Renaissance icons.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the genre of displaying everyday life was set as an independent segment in the art. Outstanding representative of this transient time is the artist Nikola Obrazopisov (1829 – 1915), who painted in his icons and frescoes sheep, flocks and shepherds in a new way, different from the late medieval patterns. Virtuous life and natural home dominate in his works and the type of clothing, postures, and the very manner of display are typical of the Renaissance era in the Bulgarian lands.





*Nikola Obrazopisov. Prodigal son. Fresco from the Temple of Beliova Church Samokov, 1869*



*Nikola Obrazopisov. Nativity. Fresco from the Temple of Beliova Church Samokov, 1869*

The period of affiliation to the “advanced Western world” is very significant after the establishment of an independent Bulgarian state in 1878. Academically trained artists, architects, draftsmen, who had studied in Europe and obtained experience in Italy, Germany, Belgium and Bohemia (nowadays Czech Republic) created and strengthened the secular art. The word *academic* is the usual definition of pan-European nature of the created fine art works not only at the end of the century, but also in the first decades of the twentieth century. Typical for the representatives of this trend is the ethnographic meticulousness when representing life of the Bulgarian people, including that of the sheep and goats.

## 12. 19 - 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

### 12.1 Bulgaria

In Bulgaria the “sheep/pastoralism” motif received deep rationalized interpretation. It is not exaggeration to say that the crucial period of the 1920s is a kind of “golden time” for the discussed patterns and themes. As a specific echo sentiment of the then society, the artistic works were created very accurately, with devoted observation of life. The romantic and emotional impulse to idealize and endorse out-of-time poetic significance of pastoralism created works of exceptional richness. Besides, the period of the 20s – 30s of the century represented the theme of pastoralism as a classic and specific national phenomenon. The so described style in the Bulgarian art is associated with “Native Art” tendency, whose beginning refers to 1919. The despair after the war reflect in focusing on spirituality, historical ideals and roots of the Bulgarian people, seen in the art from the Revival.

Vladimir Dimitrov the Master (1882-1960) and Vasil Zahariev (1895-1971) are classical figures in the native visual art heritage of Bulgaria. They are elevated, significant and distinguishing persons with the most aesthetic nature of their works as well as with the accurately reflected pole notions – reality and identity, poeticizing and objectivity of observations in the representation of life. This is the typical appearance of the then creative art.

The third, no less characteristic and complete author, regardless of his short life, is Ivan Milev (1897-1927). If the Master is seen as an expert on agriculture and sheep-growing, Ivan Milev reflects the theme in a quite different manner. This son of a shepherd, so lyrical and contemplative, is oriented in his style towards the Secession modernizing trend in Bulgarian art. The legendary and poetic ballade sound in his works is strongly influenced by the oral folk stories and music songs.



*Ivan Milev. Little Bagpiper, 1921  
tempera, paper, 14x17, 5 cm, private  
collection  
Source: [Stamenov, A. Ivan Milev.  
Sofia, 1958.]*



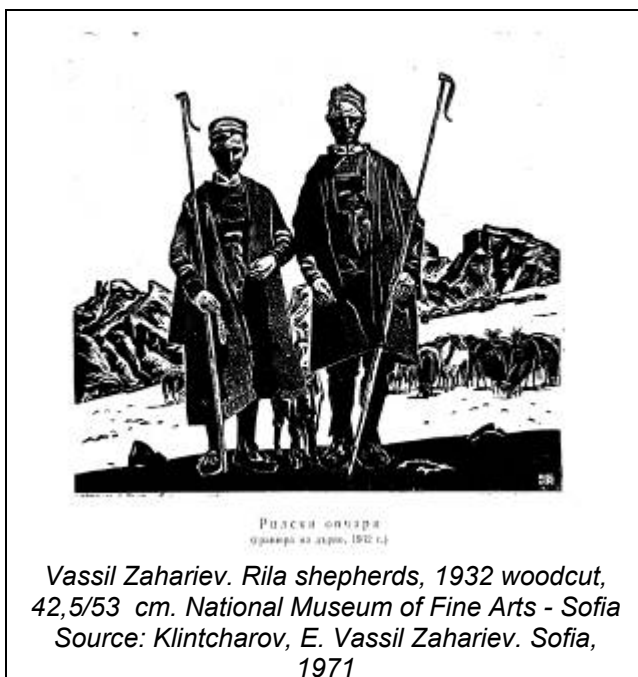
*Ivan Milev. Shepherd, 1925  
Fresco, egg tempera,  
217/122 cm Stainovi  
House-Kasanlak*



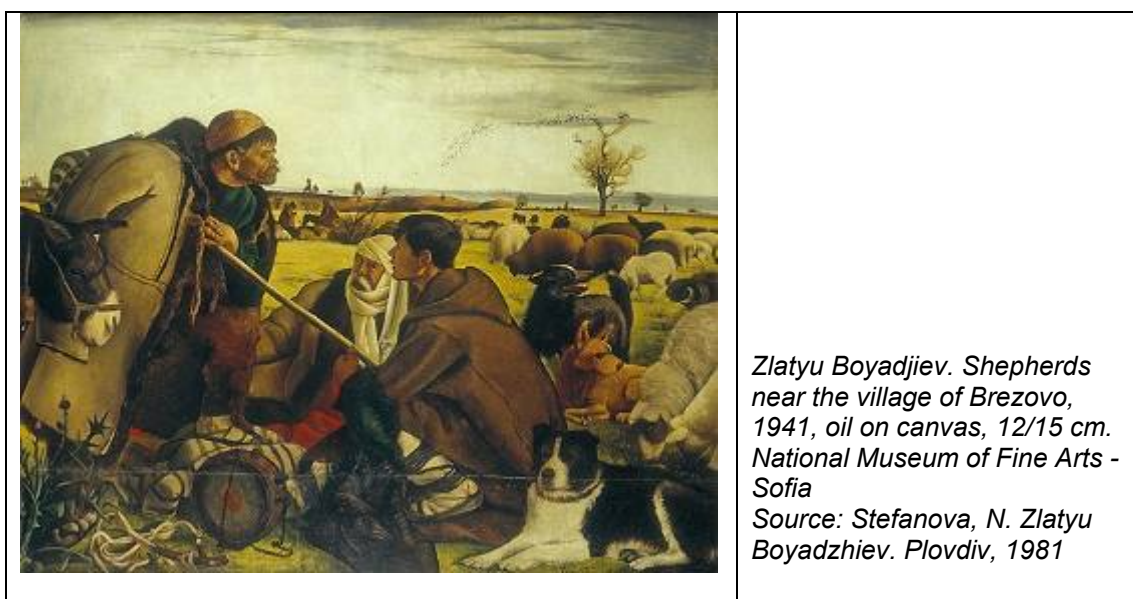
*Ivan Milev. Little Bagpiper, 1921  
Source: Marinska, R. Ivan Milev,  
1897-1997. Sofia: National Art  
Gallery, 1997.*

The graphic artist Vasil Zahariev (1895–1971), who created classical works, including the high-print wood-carving “Rila shepherds” (1936) – a virile, restrained praise of the shepherd craft and its deep, eternal spirit. Judging by its artistic value and overall historical meaning this work is of equal importance to the cultural treasury of the country as the works of only one other great master – the painter Zlatyu Boyadzhiev (1902-1976). This artist is a phenomenon in the Bulgarian culture, strong and unique in his interpretation of the native life as earthly, human, but natural existence. Peasants, shepherds, toilers in fields and meadows fill numerous oil paintings, created in the decades.





It is interesting to note – as an important fact – the social background of the artists concerned. All they are linked with the native land - deeply and emotionally. To them, pure life and work in natural surrounding are not only a source of wealth and security, but respectful care for preservation of the valuable “Life-giving Nature”.



A special place must be given to the art for children, which represents an idealized pastoral life or image of the lamb, a holy offering on St. George's day. Remarkable in this respect is the famous “Gold Book for our Children”, illustrated by Alexander Bozhinov (1878–1968). The pages are completely shaped; the images, like the medieval miniatures, harmonize with the ornate characters and the distinctive font and wholly convey the spirit of the age. Such a type of illustration is typical of several other major artists who worked mainly books for children and adolescents – Masha Zhivkova-Uzunova, Nikola Kozhuharov, Ivan Penkov, Pencho Georgiev.



Pencho Georgiev. Illustration to "Primroses" by Emanuil Popdimitrov, 1926.



Alexander Bojinov Illustration to "St. George's Day" from the book "Golden Book for our Children", 1921; original watercolor and ink on paper.



Masha Zhivkova-Uzunova  
Illustration to "Kites"  
by Simeon Andreev, 1931.  
И

Drastic social upheavals in **the middle of the twentieth century** changed greatly the Bulgarian countryside. Collectivization of land, painfully but inevitably melted the patriarchal attitudes of several generations. One painting by Vasil Valev (1934) represents without pathetic suspense the small individual flock of a peasant woman. The work was created in 1968 and reflects the typical situation in the Bulgarian village. Several works of two graphic artists Evtim Tomov and Sidoniya Atanasova are also reflections of life in the village under socialism. "Shepherd" by Tomov and three graphic works by Atanasova ("The Flock", "The Farm" and "Shepherds") are accurate records of the time.

On the one hand, both authors depict the shepherd, the grazing land and the flocks as actually alive; they reproduce the reality with loving care and reverence. On the other hand, it is clear that idyllic attitude towards pastoralism has not disappeared completely.



*Evtim Tomov. Shepherd, 1959  
Linoprint on paper, 4,2/4,9 cm  
Art Gallery Kyustendil  
Source: Tomov, E. Life in art,  
memories, meetings and  
conversations. Sofia, 2004*



*Sidonia Atanasova, Sheep grazing 1970  
Pencil drawings on paper, 19,2/28,5 cm, Art Gallery  
"Elijah Beshkov" Pleven  
Source: Kamenova D. Seslavska church. Sofia:  
Bulgarski hudozhnik, 1977.*

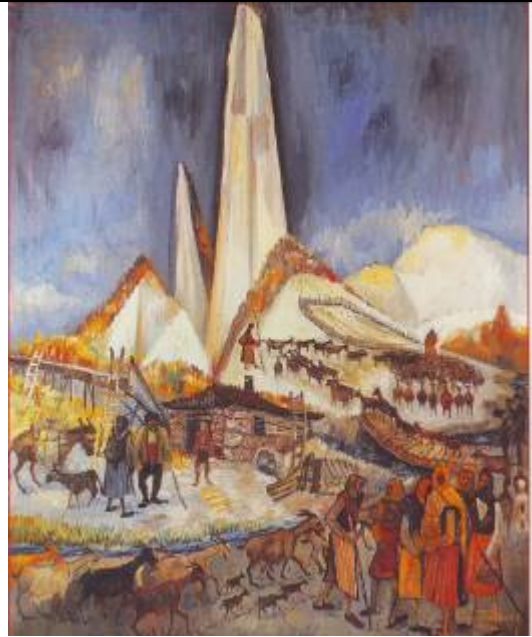
Very typical of the socialist reality of the late 60s is the painting by Stefan Gatzev (1935-1986) "Paisiy's time". The emblematic bearers of the "Bulgarian spirit", those characters for which the monk Paisiy wrote his history, are rendered with lofty pathos. The shepherd, with the usual crook and hooded cloak, carries a lamb on his shoulders. Whether this is an allusion to the "Good Shepherd" is hard to tell because the image is universal, but it is quite possible as often "foreign" to the propaganda motifs "sneak" in the "socialist art", motifs that have not been recognized by the censorship.



*Stefan Gatzev. Spirit of Paisii, 1969,  
oil on canvas on canvas, 214/262 cm  
Source: Roussev, S., P. Chuhovski.  
Contemporary Bulgarian Art. Sofia,  
Bulgarski hudozhnik 1982, 619*

In 1975, one year before his death, Zlatyu Boyadzhiev was invited to paint in the Blagoevgrad district – then he left to the town's museum a magnificent series of paintings depicting life in the village of Karlanovo where sheep and goats were the constant companions of the local people with their life deeply rooted in the surrealist Melnik's rocky landscape.





*Zlatyu Boyadjiev. Pens near Karlanovo,  
1975 oil on canvas, 15,3/12,5 cm Historical  
Museum Blagoevgrad  
Source: Yanev, A. Zlatyu Boyadzhiev.  
Historical Museum Blagoevgrad*

**Contemporary art.** At the end of the century the world is changing at a rapid pace, the Bulgarian art becomes part of this movement. So in 1998 the sculptor Pavel Koychev responded in a deep artistic way to the issue of cloning, creating an engaged protest – performance about the sheep Dolly. The main building material for the work is machine-made cubes of bailed hay from the village of Osikovitza, where the sculptor worked. The adoration for the natural “untouched, immaculate” and “eternal” – yes, eternal – beginning is the center of the work. The great spatial composition near the village is situated on a hill and part of the village land. The ewe and the cow flank a spectacular “gate” placed on top, which gives immediate association with Babylon. On the meadow to the hill, stone circles provide pens for sheep and people, rendered as two-dimensional paper silhouettes. The local people are part of the event, offering their products and thus the action is made important as one of the first attempts to “address” the art to the people. It is unusual, too, as it is placed in its natural environment, and not in the accustomed for such cases halls, galleries, museums and other familiar spaces.



*Pavel Koichev. Pasture on water, installation, 2009*  
*Source: Koichev, P. Pasture on water. Sofia, 2009.*

After the great success of an event for saving the buffalo, held in the *Albena* Black Sea resort in 2003, the sculptor Pavel Koychev once again appealed to people, this time for protection of the sheep. “Pasture on water” is the title of the performance, created from polystyrene foam. The shepherd, “the eternal leader of the flock” is presented in antique nudity, with a Christian halo, but also with a pagan gold cloak flying in the wind behind his shoulders. The “gold” of the cloak is the well-known bright yellow packaging of the *Ytong* bricks. The white, docile sheep of polystyrene foam, anchored in the water of the small lake as unusual “buoys” are calmly swaying on the water surface. Idyll and eternity, provocation and aestheticized associations are awakened by this joyful work of modernity, which renders age-old images in the Bulgarian and universal cultural paradigm.

A monumental stone sculpture titled “The shepherd”, a work of the sculptor Ivan Rusev (1954) was recently placed in the park of the newly established “Old Arsenal” Museum of Contemporary Bulgarian Art in Sofia. With great solemnity and positive potential this work presents an elevated male figure situated behind and above rams with twisted horns. The sculpture, created in 1898, is not accidental for the creative flair of Rusev, nor is it unique in his production – a group of two males in the flock adorns the sculpture garden of the National Art Gallery for a long time.



*Ivan Rusev. Shepherd. 1989, photo the author*

Thus, sculpted figures, performances and installations join, albeit less frequently, to the usual artistic creations of modernity – paintings and print images. Also works of art textiles, as a later fruit and variety of centuries-old home weaving, complement the diverse range of works associated with pastoralism.

Domestic weaving, this primarily female skill, in the 80s of the twentieth century gained its bright reincarnation in the art textiles, created in the school of Marin Varbanov. A number of authors began to weave aesthetic, monumental wall panels for public buildings, but also for home décor. Goat's hair rugs for bed and floor covering – as well as the Rhodope tufted textiles, called *halishta*, were actively transformed in artistic works, outstanding for the then historical moment. In the individual exhibition of the artist and “weaver” Dimo Balev in 1981, the seemingly rough and solid materiality of the raw wool was aestheticized in a basic highly expressive material. The work is multi-piece and commonly called “Maenads”. The modern weaving of the material is sufficient to make it an artistic fact, but the small-sized woven works from raw wool are also applicable and mark the changing tradition.



Among the most famous authors with their own contribution to the development of the decorative textiles, we should also mention Mara Yosifova, Todorka Yosifova, Maria Kochopulos, Vasil Ovcharov and many others.

In this way, artists in all genres of fine and applied arts interact with the pastoral world, with its physical and metaphysical profile.

On domestic level, the image of sheep as part and symbol of the natural way of life and care for the preservation of ecosystems is widely used not only in advertising of dairy products. Many toys and accessories, ornaments and mascots are shaped like sheep. “100 sheep” is the name of a very popular online store for handmade toys and small decorative objects. Symbols and elements of pastoral life are used in the interior of mountain restaurants and hotels.

## 12.2 Poland

In Poland, the most interesting paintings, which have a motif of a sheep, are from the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is the expression of fascination of artists with the folk culture and discovering the beauty of the country. In the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the century landscapes are more common and they also present pastoral scenes, among others, Eligiusz Małachowski's *Rural landscape with a little shepherd* from before 1825, Jan Zamojski's *Idyll* of 1826, Jan Głowacki's *View from the Ojcowska Valley* of 1844 (Blak, Małkiewicz, Wojtałowa 2011).

In the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. Polish artists discovered Podhale and Hutzul Land, which affected the abundance of folk motifs presented in painting for much longer, until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. The admiration of the Polish countryside, including the emphasis on rural life aspects can be noticed, among others, in Antoni Piotrowski's *Sheep on*



*pasture land* of 1897, Piotr Stachiewicz's *Our Lady of spinning* of 1894 from the cycle *A legend of Our Lady*, Leon Gąssowski's *Mountain landscape* of 1869, Józef Chełmoński's *A little shepherd* of 1870's, Adam Chmielowski's *Sheep in a ravine* of 1882-1884, Stanisław Witkiewicz's *Sheep in fog* of 1899-1900, Jacek Malczewski's *A little shepherd* (19<sup>th</sup>/20<sup>th</sup> c.). (Kozakowska, Małkiewicz 1998) In this background the outstanding works were created by Kazimierz Sichulski, who enchanted by the beauty of Hutzul Land and its inhabitants devoted a lot of space in his works to this region. Sheep are also present in his paintings, among others: *A Hutzul with sheep* of 1906, *A young shepherd* of 1931. The proof of the keen interest in the folk culture in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are the following works: Eugeniusz Żak's *A shepherd* (ca. 1910 -1911), Zefiryn Ćwikliński's *Sheep in the Tatras* (ca. 1910). (Kozakowska, Małkiewicz 1998). A lot of space was devoted to the mountains and the life of their inhabitants by Jan Wałach, a universal artist from the mountains, in his works. (Horyl 2011).

The 19<sup>th</sup> - 20<sup>th</sup> centuries are rich in images, especially paintings of pastoral life, landscapes with grazing animals. They are rich with fascination with folklore, the folk culture understood as a source of vital force of the nation, which, from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, existed without statehood. The admiration for folklore was strongly marked in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Artistic works, which were the effect of programme declarations which expressed the aspirations for sustaining the national identity (Malinowski 2003). In the first half of the century a lot of landscapes with sheep appear, among others in Eligiusz Małachowski's painting *Rural landscape with a little shepherd* from before 1825.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century are the apogee of rural life images, particularly in painting, when artists show their strong interest in folk culture discovering the Podhale and Hutzul Land. A lot of works were created in that period. The most famous ones belong to Kazimierz Sichulski, whose works were dominated by images of the Hutzul Land, and in particular its inhabitants. In his works sheep are also present in paintings: *A Hutzul with sheep* - 1906, *A young shepherd* -1931. The rural theme, often a pastoral one, was frequently adopted by the most famous artists of the time, among others Antoni Piotrowski, Piotr Leon Gąssowski, Józef Chełmoński, Adam Chmielowski, Stanisław Witkiewicz, Jacek Malczewski, Eugeniusz Żak, Zefiryn Ćwikliński (Kozakowska, Małkiewicz; 1998).

A famous set of Tadeusz Kulisiewicz's woodcuts comes from the 1930's. The Portfolio *Szlemberg* was the effect of fascination with mountains and life of the inhabitants of Podhale, which brought him great fame and recognition. The name of the portfolio is the name of a town in Podhale (Guze 1956). Jan Wałach, a universal artist from the mountains devoted a lot of space in his works to the mountains and the life of highlanders. (Horyl 2011) One of his famous works is the painting of the Good Shepherd from the main altar in the church in Istebna (Silesian province).

The fascination of Polish artists at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with folk culture produced many works presenting beliefs, outfit and jobs done by farmers. The

majority of the works are paintings and special attention should be drawn to works of Hutzul Land admirer Kazimierz Sichulski. In his paintings *A Hutzul with sheep* of 1906, *A young shepherd* of 1931, he presents shepherds performing everyday activities connected with sheep breeding (Kozakowska, Małkiewicz 1998). A lot of scenes presenting village people at work appear in Józef Chełmoński's paintings. In Jacek Malczewski's pictures we can often see a small shepherd accompanied by angels in a symbolic context. Also in Jan Wałach's works a lot of references to everyday rural life can be observed, among others in the sculpture of a shepherd carrying a sheep on his shoulders or in graphics presenting a lonely woman with a goat. In the 19<sup>th</sup> c. the goat was equal to a cow for the very poor peasants, and this was the feeder for the entire family.

This fascination with folk culture in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century can also be observed in literature. One such example is the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of Adam Mickiewicz's poem *Dziady*, which was written in 1820 -1821 (Witkowska, Przybylski 1999). This part of the poem is based on a folk rite performed on All Soul's Day. Village people take part in the rite. They call the spirits of the deceased in order to help them get to heaven. A few types of spirits appear, including the shepherdess Zosia. Her sin was that she played with other people's feelings when she was alive. The shepherdess, who was not able to love anybody but herself, and sneered at feelings shown by lads who attempted to win her love wanders after the death and cannot find peace. The lamb, which appears in the text, is the symbol of the girl's innocence as well as of her thoughtlessness. A lot of paintings and engravings are based on this poem. Images illustrating parts of the poem were printed in a form of postcards for example. An example of this is a series published in 1905 -1913 in Warsaw by the Rzepkowicz brothers, a postcard with reproductions of Konstanty Górski's paintings, which illustrates parts of the poem.

It was in the 19<sup>th</sup> c., in the age of Romanticism, when the fascination with rural life and folk beliefs was born in Poland and a sheep appeared in the context of everyday country life and mountain landscape. In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., a sheep or a goat became an object of art in itself. A sheep and a goat have been present in public awareness mainly as a symbol of human shortcomings, such as naivety, stupidity and thoughtlessness for centuries. It is presented in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. by famous Polish fable writer Ignacy Krasicki in his works such as *A lamb and wolves*, *Wolves and sheep*. In the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., in the second part of Adam Mickiewicz's great work *Dziady* a sheep appears as a symbol of purity and carelessness.

The most popular embodiment of a sheep, deeply rooted in Polish culture, is a Lamb of God, which is present in sacral art and has become a symbol of Easter. The folk tradition preserves images of a sheep and a goat in numerous folk traditions connected with Christian liturgical year.

A goat or a sheep in Polish culture is present every day in the language. Children are carried "on a ram" (pick-a-back), that is on shoulders, as a shepherd carries a sheep. Adults often follow "sheep rush", that is they blindly go the same direction where the

crowd is going. This animal appears in a similar context in modern satiric works of, among others, graphic artist Andrzej Mleczko. In the context of stupidity a sheep appears in descriptions of a narrow-minded and thoughtless person called “a ram” or “a ram’s head”. Young girls whose behaviour is infantile and careless are often called “stupid goats”. There is a popular saying “If a goat had not jumped, it would not have broken its leg” – referring to consequences of irresponsible behaviours. One can also be as “humble as a lamb” or become a “scapegoat”, that is become a person often unfairly blamed by others who want to clear themselves of charges. An encounter with “a wolf in sheep’s clothing” means an encounter with a person who pretending to be good and well-wishing intends to do harm. One can also be a “black sheep”, that is a person who is a disgrace for its herd and is a disapproved weirdo. Nowadays the phrase “black sheep” is beginning to function as a positive feature meaning extravagance and independence, resistance to common standards.

### **Sculpture**

Sculpture images of sheep not connected with the sacral sphere come from the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. They appear, for example in Jan Wałach’s *Shepherd*. They can also be found in folk sculptures as fragments of Christmas crib decorations.

An interesting set of sculptures are Bronisław Chromy’s works, in which the author combines stones – boulders with moulded metal forms which resemble animals, often sheep. Such images are already matched with the landscape of Cracow, where they can be seen in Chromy’s gallery in Decjusz Park and in the square in front of the University of Agriculture.

### **The sheep as an object of art by itself**

The sheep and the goat as objects of art by themselves appear only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Jerzy Panek’s works. A processed drawing of a goat becomes a form in itself. In Bronisław Chromy’s sculptures, created from a combination of stones and metal, the creator presents his own perception of these animals. Displayed in the open air, in a park in town, they become a new quality in imaging.

### **The sheep related to the landscape**

Images of sheep in the landscape became popular in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. On a wave of Romanticism nostalgic landscapes, where sheep appear, were created. However, the culmination of images illustrating rural and pastoral life, is the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., when the fascination of artists with folk culture was the greatest. The most famous painters’ works of that period often used the pastoral motif. The following names should be mentioned in this context: Leon Gąssowski *Mountain Landscape* of 1869, Adam Chmielowski *Sheep in a ravine* of 1882-1884, Stanisław Witkiewicz *Sheep in fog* of 1899-1900, Zefiryn Ćwikliński *Sheep in the Tatras* (app. 1910). (Kozakowska, Małkiewicz 1998)

### **Frescoes, icons**

Frescoes are first of all characteristic of decorations of temples. Sheep often appear in scenes presenting biblical stories, scenes from the lives of the saints, or illustrating miracles. An example of these is a polychromy in the St. Nicolas Orthodox church in Tomaszów Lubelski (Lubelskie province) from the 1890's, where a miracle of Our Lady's revelation in Poczajów, called the eastern Lourdes, can be seen on one of the walls (Khoynatskii 1897); (Hawryluk 2005). On a hill near Poczajów (now in the Ukraine), monks and shepherds saw an apparition of Our Lady. A monastery was built on the spot where the miracle was evidenced and its main Orthodox Church was decorated in the 19<sup>th</sup> c. by Łukasz Doliński (Przeździecka 1973). His polychromy illustrating the miracle became a model which has been the subject of copying until our days.

### **Decorations**

A sheep most often appears in church decorations as a Lamb of God, e.g. in keystones of vaults.

An interesting phenomenon in Polish art are agnuski - wax medallions with an image of the Lamb of God and St. John the Baptist, which were made in Rome. In Poland they evolved and, while preserving their form, they were made of alabaster, gold, often decorated with jewels and they were worn by wealthy ladies (Gloger 1900 - 1903).

Undoubtedly the most popular decorations are Easter lambs made not only of foodstuffs. China, faience, even silver or gold figures appeared on noblemen's tables. In the 19<sup>th</sup> c. also clay and glass lambs appeared. However, the most popular, even nowadays, are baked lambs (Janicka - Krzywda 2011). Figures made of sugar or chocolate can often be seen on Easter tables. Plastic figures are also popular. Lambs made of butter or smoked cheese used to be made in the Carpathians (Janicka - Krzywda 2011).

### **Exceptionally artistic crafts associated with the sheep (bells, rugs, garments, etc) or the shepherd's crooks, tools or musical instruments, e.g. flutes, bagpipes from sheep skin, etc)**

Shepherds often entertained themselves by playing instruments, most often primitive rural pipes (dutka, piszczałka) made of bark, usually from willow. Józef Chelmoński presents a young shepherd playing such an instrument in his painting "*A little shepherd*" of the 1870's. A shepherd with a pipe also appears in a drawing published in the 16<sup>th</sup> century publication of Hieronim Spiczyński (Spiczyński 1542). The same group of instruments also includes a ligawka, usually made of two halves of wood (Suchożebrska 1993) and the instrument also called koza (a goat), gajdy, siesieńki (Sobieski, Sobieska 1973), in other parts of Europe known as bagpipes.

### **Engravings, etc**

One of the first printed Polish publications contained woodcuts, on which one can see scenes from pastoral life. The form of these images may suggest that they are modelled on German or Dutch realisations. They are, among others, Hieronim Spiczyński's work (Spiczyński 1542) published in Cracow in 1542 and Jakub Kazimierz Haur's work (Haur 1542) published in 1693. The woodcuts present the shepherds' basic activities and how they spent time during pasture, for example playing the bagpipes.

Tadeusz Kulisiewicz's famous set of woodcuts comes from the 1930's. Szlemberk's Portfolio was the outcome of fascination with mountains and the life of Podhale people. It brought him much fame and recognition. The name of the portfolio is the name of a town in Podhale (Guze 1956).

The motif of a sheep also appears in woodcuts made by country workshops. An interesting woodcut of St. Nicolas with an image of a sheep and a wolf lurking around it was created in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. in Płazów (Podkarpackie province), where the Kostrzyckis made woodcuts, mainly religious and decorative ones, for at least two generations. Thirteen blocks with twenty two images are kept by the Museum of Ethnography in Cracow and new prints made in 2002 are displayed, among others, in the Muzeum Kresów in Lubaczów. (Mazur 1997; Skoczeń-Marchewka 2009).

### **Graphic works: advertisements, book illustrations, cartoons\other (not included above)**

In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. it was popular to publish series of postcards with popular painting motifs, which are now collectors' items. An example of these is a series published by the Rzepkiewicz brothers in Warsaw between 1905 and 1913, which showed Konstantyn Górski's paintings. They illustrated fragments of the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of Adam Mickiewicz's poem *Dziady*. In the scene with the shepherdess Zosia a sheep symbolising the girl's naivety and carelessness can be seen.

The most famous Polish goat is nice Koziołek Matołek, which became popular thanks to the cartoon *Strange adventures of Koziołek Matołek* of the 1970's. The character itself came into existence in 1933 and it was created by Kornel Makuszyński (text) and Marian Walentowicz (drawings). It was one of the first Polish picture stories. The plot of the story is Koziołek's journey to Pacanów, where, as they say, goats are shoed (Koziołek Matołek, internet source).

In the social campaign of 2011 "Give the herd a miss! Be a black sheep!", which encourages reading, the motif of "a black sheep" was used. It is meant to encourage people not to follow the trend of the decline in reading. The campaign is accompanied by various gadgets, such as T-shirts with the logo, "a black sheep".

### **Contemporary art – modern and post-modern**

The art of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and a motif of a sheep or a goat appearing in it has a different character than in earlier periods. It operates more the form, while the portrayed object becomes a work in itself. Jerzy Panek presented rural motifs in his works in an interesting way. He gained the reputation of an unconventional graphic artist, who resigned from the talkativeness of motifs and forms. He operated with a compact solid which he transformed into a kind of mark, which can be seen, among others, in “portraits” of horses and goats (*A Goat of Zwardoń I*, *A Goat of Kutno I*, *A kneeling Goat* – 1960's and 1970's).

Mirosław Bałka's *A black pope with a black sheep*, an interesting sculpture soaking with symbols comes from the 1980's. In Bałka's vision the ruler, who, in accordance with the prophecy of the Apocalypse, was to take the throne of the world was not vengeful but filled with sorrow. At the turn of 2010 and 2011 this sculpture could be seen in Madrid (Spain). (Cook, Herbert, Didi-Huberman 2011)

An interesting set of works, which include images of sheep, is Bronisław Chromy's cycle “*With boulders*”. A few works of the 1990's can be seen in the Decjusz Park in Cracow and on the lawn in front of the University of Agriculture, also in Cracow. The relation between a sculpture and the town space as well as the introduction of rural animals to the city gives them a unique character.

### **12.3 France**

#### **The 20<sup>th</sup> century - between realism and utopia**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with the development of ethnography, but also with the progressive disappearance of rural society, various other series of photographs show the lives of shepherds. Several lines of approach are possible. Charles Augustin Lhermitte (1881-1945), son of the naturalist painter Léon Lhermitte (1844-1925), proposes numerous photographs of flocks which are not dissimilar to animal art of the previous century. Many of them are kept in the musée d'Orsay such as the *Troupeau de moutons près d'une mare*, *Berger menant un troupeau sur un chemin* or *Moutons dans le lit d'une rivière*.



Charles Augustin Lhermitte (1881-1945), *Berger menant un troupeau de moutons sur un chemin*, 1912, laminated aristotype, 0.08x0.11m. Conservation : musée d'Orsay, Paris. © Copyright © RMN (Musée d'Orsay) / Hervé Lewandowski

Even though he draws on the previous century, Lhermitte despises blurring which was so appreciated by pictorialists, showing his subject with a documentary clarity, whilst retaining a taste for composition.

It is hardly surprising, in this context of the disappearance of traditional pastoralism, to see an art developing which could be called nostalgic where one is trying to project an image of mankind which is close to nature and in harmony with it, taking ancient times as a reference to speak about the future which is hoped will be better. Thus, Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), an artist who was of course Spanish by birth but French by adoption, with the theme of the man with the sheep which he developed both in sculptures and drawings, whilst he used the classical image of the Good Shepherd, but also created, through nudity, a timeless image, emphasizing the relationship between man and animal (fig. 58).



Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), *Homme au mouton*, 24 October 1952, pencil and wash, 0.27x0.21m. musée Picasso, Paris. © Succession Picasso – rights management. © RMN / Thierry Le Mage.



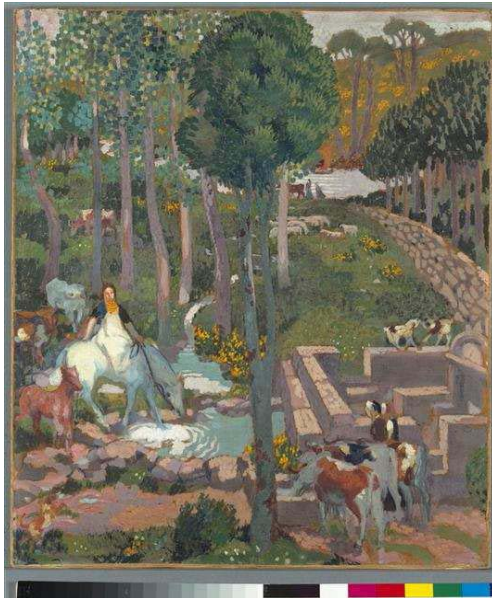
Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), *Homme au mouton*, 1943, cast bronze, 2.25x0.78x0.78m. musée Picasso, Paris. © Succession Picasso – rights management. © RMN / Droits réservés.





Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), *Etude pour « L'Homme au mouton »*, 1942, China ink and wash, 0.68x0.44m. musée Picasso, Paris. © Succession Picasso – rights management. © RMN / Béatrice Hatala.

If, in Picasso's works, one imagines an image of the eternal Mediterranean through this figure, Maurice Denis (1870- 1943), for his part, chooses to emphasize other origins. In 1905, in the *Déesse celte (Epona)*



Maurice Denis (1870-1943), *Déesse celte (Epona)*, 1905, oil on cardboard, 0.80m. Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich. © ADAGP © BPK, Berlin, Dist. RMN / image BStGS.

The painter places the figure of the goddess on horseback in a harmonious context where man, horses and sheep live together and where the buildings (a fountain, small wall, modest road) blend into wooded nature without disfiguring it. In stark contrast to these visions of harmony, Picasso in World War II, used the motif of the sheep's skull in numerous still-life paintings, showing through this strong symbol, nature destroyed, death spreading around the world due to human conflicts.



Pablo Picasso (1881-1973), *Tête de mouton écorchée*, 1939, oil on canvas, 0.50x0.61m. musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon. © Succession Picasso – rights management © RMN / René-Gabriel Ojéda

The image of sheep in its domestic form appears in the Middle Ages, used in a religious context. This fundamental function remains throughout the centuries up to present times, when artists play upon the same sacred image of the animal, as in the duo Art Orienté Objet, whose work *Le Tout-Autre*



Art Orienté Objet, *Le Tout-Autre*, 2008.

Presented in 2008 a stuffed lamb pierced by gold plated metal spikes inspired by the work *L'Agneau mystique* by Jan Van Eyck.

Sheep, and in particular the ram, also have a fundamental role in decorative arts where its iconography inspired from decors of Roman Antiquity, was used once again in the Renaissance and remained up to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. During the Industrial.

Revolution, the refined techniques of the Renaissance are replaced by mass production of objects, which considerably changed the situation.

## 12.4 Hungary

The artists' colony in Szolnok cannot be omitted. The painters depart from the detailing, descriptive genre painting plenty of actions as it was typical for the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and after having implementing the novelties of the plain air painting in their artistic concept, they arrive to a realistic depiction of landscape and man, however with a basically picturesque approach. An outstanding painting showing sheep and shepherds is the work of one of the colony's founders, Ferenc Olgyay (1872-1939), who is at the same time an important representative of the plain air landscape painting. The title of the picture referred to is *Landscape with sheep*. The sculptor István Nagy (1920 - ) works in the colony from 1957. His sculpture *Head shepherd*<sup>2</sup> is important for our subject.

Regarding the period of the socialist realism, there is no consensus in art history about the judgement of the era. "The socialist realism is considered as an all-pervasive totalitarian style, which left its traces even in the smallest details of private life, on the other hand, regarded from another aspect, it can be interpreted as an epoch surprisingly multicoloured in its elements having organic contacts with the previous decades" and within this framework, the division into periods cannot be applied equally for the history of the different genres (fine arts, literature, etc.). It is an extraordinarily short period considering its rooting and running its course, in a strict sense. It refers to the 1950's (lasting between 1948 and the end of the 50's) Stylistic and thematic guiding principles were drafted and made applicable to all by the highest level of politics, and artists were called upon to account for these principles.

"Personal cult, the accent on the revolutionary fight of the working class, the dominance of political and party propaganda, and above all, the following of soviet examples without any criticism" were typical. Up to this moment there do not seem to be any knowledge of any socialist realistic works in Hungary depicting sheep and shepherds.

After the period of the socialist realist style, modernism has a revival in the architecture and in the environment culture. One of the examples is the group of sculptures "Three shepherds" made by Árpád Somogyi in 1983 and set up in Kecskemét in 1985.

### **Depicting sheep and shepherd in the works of applied art**

Coming back to the works of applied art, the subject can be studied, based on the following two aspects: like above, works of art depicting sheep and shepherds can be sought, or the focus can turn on such works, as are made of wool.

Both aspects are united in the woven tapestry made by Sarolta Kovalszky in 1899 using the secessionist design "Shepherd" of János Vaszary. The central composition shows a young shepherd standing with his back to the spectator. He is wearing a cloak with red embroidery, holding a shepherds crook and driving in front of him the

white cloud of his flock. Low houses make the background; on both ends of the picture separate horizontal bands show shepherds' requisites: pipe and tobacco-pouch, wooden canteen covered with horse-skin. Similarly to above example, some works of one of the best Hungarian tapestry artists, Noémi Ferenczy (1890-1957) unify above mentioned two aspects. Noémi Ferenczy's "works, her carpets constructed on the basis of fine harmony of forms and colours, as well as her aquarelle drafts made for these tapestries, further, her study drawings have rather fine art character and less the characteristics of applied art. Her simple, monumental and at the same time tender art, avoiding pathos has the same effect as a plain song about work, about the beauty of a shepherd girl, of women hoeing in the vineyard or of a woman carrying a jug."

Her client decided about the subjects of her tapestries with lamb (Woman with lamb). We see little difference between the two works with lambs: "beside the colour of the lamb, the biggest difference between the two depictions is the more animated environment of the version with black lamb", which is due to the more lively contrast of colours.

For a certain time, geometric composition is the main organising principle applied on the tapestries of Noémi Ferenczy. This structure is especially emphasized in some works of her series presenting the crafts. The tapestry with the title "Shepherd with lambs" belongs to this series: the picture is almost quadratic and the sheep are organised in a strict order around the shepherd.

A contemporary tapestry artist with excellent talent is Zsuzsa Péreli. She doesn't depict sheep or shepherds in her works but she is using wool as raw material.

Her exhibitions are well known from 1977 in Hungary and two collections in New York exhibit her tapestries. The titles of some of her outstanding tapestries: National anthem - Looking out of the credible, 1989, Christmas- The poor angel - The opposite bank.

The above sections have dealt with sheep and shepherds depicted in fine arts; but the sheep is present on the palette of today's designers of mass culture, of bloggers too. The Internet cartoon "Super sheep" consisting of a few strips, the T- shirt with the dog "puli", the typical Hungarian shepherd dog, depicted in the shape of Hungary, T-shirts, posters, referring to proverbs with political contents; or the poster popularizing a national event, the Agriculture and Food Industry Exhibition in 2011, should be mentioned. Briefly, sheep keep on being present on popular art work, permeating everyday life.

### **Folk art**

Shepherds' art is closely attached to our subject for the sake of the creative, carving shepherds, and of the sheep and shepherds depicted on their works. These works represent generally a very high level of art, and the person of the 'artist' is often known too.

In fact, shepherds' art is a branch of folk art linked to shepherds; it appears mainly in the artistic creation of the necessities and objects of daily use of shepherds' life, or of the objects carved and similarly decorated by shepherds, which they used to give as gifts.<sup>3</sup> Shepherds' tools were made and used equally by peasants; therefore, a detachment of the shepherds' art is only possible, when referring to the other inhabitants of the villages and market towns and of a defined period. "Shepherds' art can be distinguished following big regions, such as shepherds' art on the Great Hungarian Plain, in Upper Hungary, in Transdanubia and in Transylvania. Corn and leatherwork are characteristic on the Great Hungarian Plain, wood carving and inlaid metal work were popular in Upper Hungary. In this region the bagpipe remained as a shepherds' instrument and was decorated with carved heads of ram and goat. The biggest variety in objects, techniques and themes is however met in Transdanubia, while the shepherds' art in Transylvania has the least independent character, when compared to the other regions.

"The shepherd had a hard life but he was more independent compared to a serf of the estate or to a poor peasant in the village; beside his work with the animals he had time to contemplate the world, to observe nature and if he was talented and the necessary material – wood and horn – was available, he carved and decorated his objects of daily life."

Not every shepherd was able to carve, and even carving shepherds produced little of the valuable, decorated objects, which required a lot of time and great attention. The inscriptions on the objects inform that they were made as gifts to a lover or to friends.

The way of ornamenting informs in many ways about the time of creating the work. There were different methods to apply ornaments: incising and engraving, etching, and applying inlaid wax, furthermore, using metal, horn and bone intarsia, tin-plating, coppering, and woodcarving of reliefs.

The themes have three sources. One group consists of motifs, which the shepherd has seen on objects made by older carving shepherds. The other group includes depictions, which were not made by shepherds, and the third, the richest source of inspiration is the shepherd's environment, his daily life. "His activity reflects his behaviour, his emotions, which determined his relationship to the community and to the artistic creation." At the same time, his possibilities and limits were fixed by the examples seen by him, the characteristics and nature of the material and his own talents in depiction.

The fact that ornaments on the tools and objects of herdsman represented their trade, and even more, the separate trade of horse-herder, cowherd, shepherd, swineherd, encouraged largely the application of ornaments. This development towards the existence of a more or less individual shepherds' art was first achieved in Transdanubia, and produced the most spectacular results."

Shepherds' art includes a "multitude of strong individuals, shaping their own style. Several of them are known by name. A few shepherds with outstanding talent are quoted below.

By its theme and technique, the shepherd Zsiga Király's mangling board made in 1839 represents the peak of the special carving style of shepherds in Transdanubia. The name of Mihály Hodó (second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) is known from the reports of Károly Visi. The shepherd in the regions of Somogy and Baranya depicted mainly outlaws, shepherds playing flute, gracious deers and birds on the back of mirrors and mangling boards, on salt-box and razor-cases.

Antal Kapoli senior used to see some carving shepherds when he was a shepherd boy and he tried his skills too. At the beginning he carved floral ornaments, later he depicted human and animal figures too. By the end of the 1880s he achieved his individual style, characterized by the multiple applications of floral ornaments: they served as frame, joined different elements and filled in blank space. In 1954 he was honoured for his carving skills with the state award Master of Folk Art – and in 1955 he received the Kossuth-Prize.

Mihály Tóth has learned carving from his father in his childhood. He etched and carved reliefs on horns and staffs evoking different scenes from the life of herdsmen and outlaws. "He was one of the first artists who used the symbols of the socialist system as motifs in his art, but presentation of the new village life was also important for him." He was honoured for his carving skills with the state award Master of Folk Art in 1958.

Some more masters have to be mentioned, of course the list is not complete: the carver herdsmen János Szilágyi from Nógrád, István Nagy (Master of Folk Art), Kálmán Breglovics (Master of Folk Art) and István Kálmán (Master of Folk Art) from Zala and János Pálházi, József Kovács and Lajos Fehér (Master of Folk Art) from Somogy.

When discussing arts, it is justified to present the relics of guilds as well due to their extraordinary value as source and to their high artistic level.

Balázs Gémes describes four shepherd chests, and shares Klára Csilléry's opinion expressed about fishermen chests: "unlike peasant chests, those of servants and seasonal harvesters, the chest of a guild member bears the owner's trade sign."

The first chest presented comes from Vajta in Fejér County. It is like the bride chests of the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup>- 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, equipped with a drawer and a cover that opens up and having wrought-iron handles on both sides. A side-drawer and a secret drawer are hidden inside. The chest is painted brown and a name and a date of the year are written on it: Czetti István, 1882. A shepherd and his dog are painted in the middle under the inscription: the shepherd is clad in wide trousers, in a waistcoat with metal buttons and an embroidered felt coat. He wears boots and holds a huge crooked staff in his hand, while leaning on a donkey sporting a set of adorned



harness; on his right and left, a group of sheep are grazing and resting on the green meadow, as well as some suckling lambs.“ The present owner inherited the chest from his father. Family tradition says that the great-grandfather of the owner came from Alsace-Lorraine to Hungary at the time when the counts Apponyi imported “sheep with silky fleece”.

The second chest is also private property. It is equipped with a drawer and a cover that opens up and it has wrought-iron handles on both sides. Inside the chest there is a small side-drawer on the right side. On the front-side, a name and a date of year are painted with red letters in the middle of a green field in red frame: MENYHARD PÁL 1893.

Tulips are painted in the corners of the frame. Two small Agnus Dei are seen turning towards the date of year between the date and the tulips on each side of the lower part. A shepherd wearing a broad-brimmed hat, a fur cloak and boots is depicted between the ciphers.<sup>4</sup>

The third chest belongs to the István Türr Museum in Baja. Ede Solymos collected it in 1973 in Madaras in Bács-Kiskun County. The chest has no feet and no drawer, it is a joiner’s work made of walnut, completed with wrought - iron handles on both sides and its surface is decorated with inlaid ornaments. Inside traces of small drawers and a secret drawer are discovered, which probably disappeared when an opening was cut in the back of the chest for the purpose of stealing the contents. The front of the chest shows two cassettes with inlay, each depicting an Agnus Dei, which turn towards each other, holding a banner in their forelegs. Under the lambs we read the date of year 1818 and the monogram SA, referring to the name of Saller Antal according to the results of research.

Balázs Gémes reports about a fourth chest too, which looks similar to the two first chests but it is much smaller. Unfortunately, it has been repainted, and only indirect information about its motifs is available. “We can conclude that its basic colour was brown. According to all informants, a shepherd with a dog and sheep were depicted on its front-side.”

Following a long analysis, Gémes concludes that there was no shepherds’ guild in Székesfehérvár. Therefore, the existence of the above mentioned chests can be explained by the fact that the guild customs imported from Germany had survived and affected for a long time the life of the shepherd families after they had settled down in Hungary. These families were still in close relationship with each other in the 1970s.

Further to the guilds’ relics, a chair with a trade sign is remarkable in the Hanság Museum in Mosonmagyaróvár, described by Eszter Szendrei. An Agnus Dei under the cut out shape of a heart on the back of the chair is observed. Under the lamb is

the picture of a peasant following the plough pulled by a horse. The date (1753) is written on the upper part. The broader part of the back has the picture of grassland with a figure sharpening his scythe. According to Anna Ács the picture of Agnus Dei refers to religion and the scenes depicting work refer to an independent farmers' organisation. She determines that the chair is a piece of furniture in private property, furnished with signs of a trade.

Eszter Szendrei presents a pair of chairs, kept in the Museum of Mosonmagyaróvár. A carved lamb is under the cut out shape of a heart on the back of both chairs.<sup>5</sup> Besides the lamb there is no other decoration or any date. The lamb does not hold a banner, "so we can only guess what function was intended to be assigned to the lamb". In the case of the first chair, the peasants depicted on the back refer to some kind of agricultural organisation, while in the case of the pair of chairs nothing refers to any trade and the lamb does not bear the symbol of its religious function. As Eszter Szendrei states, "The depiction of the lamb without a banner (..) confirms the possibility that the chairs have some links to sheep breeding but no reference to the purpose of the chair. Whether it was made at the request of an organisation or of the shepherds' Guild of Moson or not, is unknown. "

## **12.5 Estonia**

The Republic of Estonia (1918–1940) re - gained its independence in 1991 after the Soviet occupation of 1940 – 1990.

The monuments of the Christian culture of the Baltic Sea countries have largely been lost in wars (Livonian War 1558–1583, Great Northern War 1700–1721, World Wars I & II 1914–1918; 1939–1945). Estonia's territory has been the arena for wars between the East (Russians) and the West (Germans, Danes, Poles, Swedes), which, in retrospect, also defines the characteristic features of the historical development of Estonian art.

The monuments of Estonian medieval art (from the 13<sup>th</sup> century to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century) include relatively few instances of the Old Testament style lamb motif – John the Baptist, whose attribute was either a cross or a lamb. The preserved examples of the "Good Shepherd" motif – depiction of a shepherd with a stick and a lamb on his shoulder to symbolise Christ – are also few. Most of the altarpieces of churches in various stages of construction were completed as commissioned works by Baltic German artists in the 18<sup>th</sup> - 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the artists active in the Baltic and Livonian provinces followed the somewhat dry realism of the Düsseldorf art school, focusing mostly on painting portraits, town views and landscapes. Pastoral landscape as a genre can be identified in the Estonian older art

from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the process of development of the waning Baltic-German art and the burgeoning Estonian national art.

The Estonian artists who followed the art movements which were popular in Europe at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century studied and worked abroad in the art capitals of Russia, Germany and France. Art College "Pallas" started to play a major part in the national art scene, which underwent a rapid development during the period of the Republic of Estonia (1918-1940). In the 1930s, a "Pallas-like" style developed in Estonian art.

Estonian professional textile arts (tapestries, carpets) emerged in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although few practised artisan handicraft at the time. A real danger that factory-made products would make peasant art and homemade handicraft disappear had arisen at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The fact that applied arts started to be taught in the period of the Republic of Estonia ensured the growth of the field of textile arts. Making wall hangings or rugs out of woollen yarn usually woven on a loom was based on the traditions of national handicraft. In the 1950's – 1960's, ethnographic style continued in tapestry art; classical forms of tapestry and folk art ornaments were used. Decorative tapestries in weaving or knotting technique prevailed. From then on, several styles – purely decorative, monumental, more practical and more design oriented – developed in parallel in textile arts. Cotton, hemp, silk, horsehair and materials derived from synthetic fibres started to be used in addition to wool.

Approaching the pastoral theme from the perspective of art historical chronology, typology and subject-matter makes it possible to conclude that shepherd and animal themes can be traced in Estonian art from the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1960s. Social symbolism behind the depiction of pastoral life is more evident in the periods when landscape painting, scenes of everyday life and animalism dominated in art. The everyday life of Estonians and the flocks of goats and sheep that were raised in coastal villages were a traditional subject matter for a long time, passed on from Baltic German artists to Estonian ones. This theme was still popular during the post-war years of the Soviet occupation. Due to social factors, new ideological trends emerged in the development of art in the 1960s, pushing the pastoral theme aside. Changes also took place in textile art. A growing interest in different materials and techniques led to a gradual removal of textile art from traditional tapestry-weaving.

Experimenting with the expressive possibilities of the new materials and textures results in new forms of textile and installations.

Today, there is once again talk of social symbolism in art. From the typological aspect of the pastoral theme, artisan handicraft and Navitrolla's printed postcards should be highlighted as an exception, in addition to examples of figurative art.

## **II Baltic German painting – 19<sup>th</sup> c.**

### **Eugen Gustav Dücker (1841–1916)**



Oil, canvas, Baltic German Biedermeier-style romanticism, Art Museum of Estonia  
Bright spacious seaside landscapes, usually depicting scenes from the life of common people. A treatment of nature that is guided by the Russian school of painting and the realism of the Düsseldorf school, with a hint of Biedermeier romanticism.

### **Gregor Alexander Heinrich von Bochmann (1850–1930)**

#### **In Front of a Smithy. Undated**

Oil, canvas, Art Museum of Estonia, Baltic German art. A scene from the everyday life of Estonian peasants by a landscape painter from the Düsseldorf school. Somewhat dry realism.



III The development of Estonian national art in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.

**Oskar Hoffmann (1851–1912)**

**St. George's Day. Ca 1894–1899**



Oil, canvas, 19<sup>th</sup> c. realism, Art Museum of Estonia O. Hoffmann, who was part of the Düsseldorf school, depicted landscapes and the life of Estonian peasants and produced scenes from everyday life.

**Paul Burmann (1888–1934)**

**Flock of Goats. Ca 1913–1917**



Oil, canvas, plywood, Tartu Art Museum, Animal and landscape painting. The flock of goats painted realistically by Estonia's best - known animalist has a hint of pastoral melancholy. The artist is distinguished by his edgy paintbrush style and cold colouring, often in dark green/blue and brown hues.

IV Art from the period of the Republic of Estonia (1918–1940)

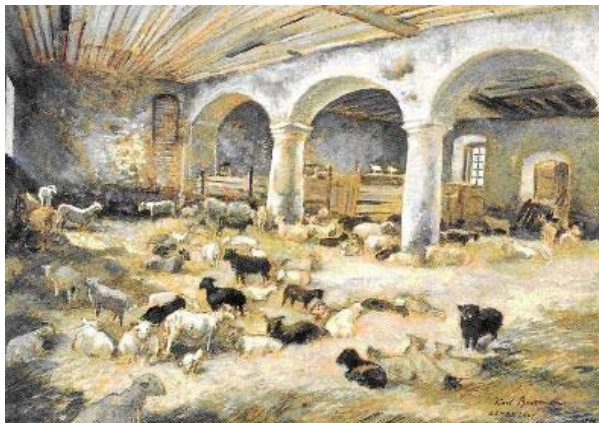
**Kristjan Raud (1865–1943)**

**Shepherd. Ca 1930–1938**



Pencil, ink., Art Museum of Estonia, Symbolism, expressionism. The national-romantic melancholic shepherd figure, portrayed in an expressive manner, is a symbol of the indigenous Estonians in the artist's works.

**Karl Burman sen. (1882–1965), Sheep Barn, 1946?**



Paper, watercolour, Private collection, national romanticism and realistic paintings of scenes from everyday life.

The work was made by an Estonian architect who first studied painting in Russia in the Stoganov and Stieglitz Art School and then, between 1902 and 1909, architecture in the Art Academy of St. Petersburg. Karl Burman was one of the first professional architects in Estonia and a practitioner of the Art Nouveau national romantic movement, producing watercolour scenes of everyday life in figurative art.

**August Jansen (1881–1957), Rural Landscape, 1926.**





Oil, canvas, Tartu Art Museum, National romanticism. The painter, who acquired art education from the Stieglitz Art School in Russia, practised decorative landscape painting. In the 1920s, the artist was characterised by the beginning-of- century national romantic art themes and stylising manner of treatment.

Johannes Võerahansu (1902–1980), On the Yard, 1937.



Oil, canvas, Tartu Art Museum, Realism. The painter, who graduated from the “Pallas” Art College, practised the realistic movement that was popular in the 1930’s. He focused on the faithful depiction of rural life. The silvery greenish/grey colouring lends lyrical and romantic tones to old sub-manors.

Poeticising of nature and romantic interpretation of subject-matter, skilful textural treatment.

Sheep at the Stream. Drought, 1938.



Oil, canvas, Tartu Art Museum, Realism

**Sheep shearing, 1945.**



Oil, canvas, Art Museum of Estonia, Realism of the 1930s

**Eerik Haamer (1908–1994), Sheep Shearing, 1944**



Oil, canvas, Private collection, Profound understanding of the subject-matter and a pathos-free style lend the paintings a philosophical significance, Expressionism

**Sheep Washers /study/, 1943**



Oil, canvas, Private collection, Epic realism. The artist, who graduated from the Art School “Pallas” in 1935, achieved artistic maturity in the 1940s. The favourite subject of the Saaremaa-born artist was the everyday life of coast people. In 1944 Haamer left Estonia for Sweden as a war refugee.

**Sheep Washers, 1945**



Oil, canvas, Expressionism, Private collection

**V Estonian art in the period of Soviet occupation 1940–1990, Olga Terri (1916–2011), On Vernal Fallow Field. 1944.**



Oil, canvas, Private collection, Realism. In the picture, painted in the years of World War II in an impressionist manner, the melancholic shepherdess reflects the tragic sense of fate of the Estonian people.

**Richard Uutmaa (1905–1977)**



**Cape Puise. 1955.**

Oil, canvas, Art Museum of Estonia, Seaside landscapes, realism of everyday. The works of the artist, who focused on depicting seaside landscapes and the everyday life of a fishing village, was influenced by Soviet Russian art both in the colouring and the realistic manner of painting.

**Lembit Tolli (1927-...), Sheep Washer. 1957.**



Plaster, Art Museum of Estonia, Socialist realism.

In the years after World War II, artists needed to express ideas as well as give a deeper meaning to sculptural composition while following socialist realism. In the 1950s, the prevailing material was plaster and animal figures are rather modestly represented compared to thematic compositions.

**Navitrolla (Heiki Trolla) (1970 – ...), The Airport is on the Other Side, 2005**



**I Sure Like Mushrooms, 2006**

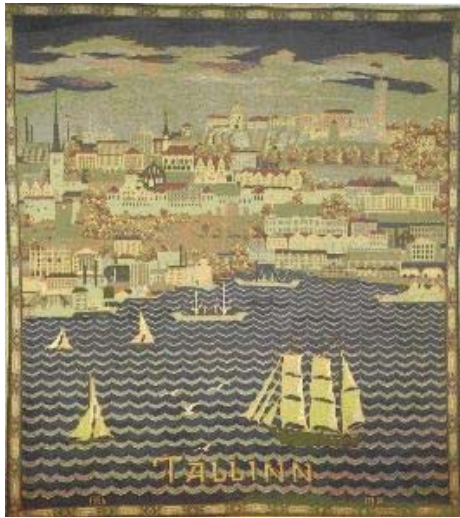


Oil, canvas, Private collection, Comics and significance. The works of Navitrolla, who has practised painting, graphic arts and performance art, have been classified under naïve art or surrealism. Simple everyday motifs and finely elaborated details are a distinctive mixture of the past and the present. From technical perspective, the paintings are similar to the peasant art of the Netherlands, whereas visually they reflect today's comic book art.



### **Textiles from the Soviet period 1950's – 1960's**

**Wool from sheep has found its place, through textiles in art Mari Adamson (1908 – 2000) - Tapestry “Tallinn”, 1956.**



Wool, flax, Estonian Museum of Applied Art and Design

The works of the Estonian master textile artist has shaped the look of the tapestry art of the 1940 – 60's. Mari Adamson has created large woollen tapestries of rhythmical composition and vibrant colours in the braiding technique. Through the ages, the masterpiece of Estonian applied arts – a decorative composition of old and new Tallinn – has retained its charm.

### **1970's – 1980's**

**Elgi Reemets (1910–1987) - Tapestry “Väägvere Brass Band, 1839”, 1971.**



Wool, Monumental tapestry, Estonian Museum of Applied Art and Design

The large-scale braided tapestry is dedicated to the first peasants' brass band in Estonia. The musicians in long coats are posing proudly like in an old photograph. The composition uses repetitive rhythm, typical of folk art. A lyrical and distinctive ballad of Estonia and its vigorous men. The artist is a consistent developer of the traditions of Estonian folk art.

**Leesi Erm (1910 – 1989) -- Tapestry “White Frost”, 1973**



Monumental tapestry and experimentation with materials, Wool, flax, tow, fishing line, down feathers, tinsel, sequins, Estonian Museum of Applied Art and Design

The works of Leesii Erm, who mainly followed the examples of folk art in

post-war years, broadened in terms of subject-matter in the 1960's -70's, with techniques and materials becoming more varied. She is considered the colourist and lyricist of Estonian tapestry artistry, being able to combine the elements of tapestry – shape, colour, technique, material – into a beautiful integral whole. One of the boldest experimenters with materials.

**1980's – 1990**

**Anu Raud, (1943 – ...) -- Tapestry “Home Lights”, 1977**



Wool, flax, Estonian Museum of Applied Art and Design

The braided tapestry, guided by the traditions of folk art, has been awarded a national prize. Skilful and original insertion of motifs derived from the tapestries of our foremothers into the composition given with a modern feel. The artist has produced braided tapestries with a down-to-earth and natural feel which follow the ethnographic legacy; they are characterised by a bold decorativeness of the colouring and the composition, as well as an emphasis on folk art symbolism. A. Raud's works, which are inspired by philosophical contemplations, also include the altar and pulpit tapestries (ecclesiastical textiles) of St. John's (Jaani) Church in Tartu from 2006.

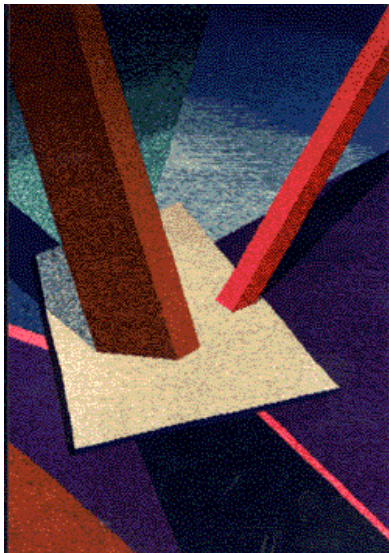


**Peeter Kuutma (1938 – ...) -- Tapestry “Northland”, 1980**



Estonian Museum of Applied Art and Design

**Tapestry “Play on a Trapeze”, 1996**



Textile design, Wool, flax, Private collection.

As a consistent practitioner of the geometrical and constructivist movement that was popular in the 1970's and 80's, Peeter Kuutma has carried on the traditions of woollen braided tapestry in Estonian textile art. In addition to large-scale decorative tapestries, the textile designer has also produced fabrics for interior design.

## 12.6 Greece



*Hector Doukas (1885 - 1969), Shepherd with sheep, beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), Municipal Museum of Larissa- Katsigras Collection.*

All the above themes are encountered in the iconography of modern times. The difference lies in the fact that the modern appreciation of art with the passing from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century has naturally influenced the generally established forms of iconography or pottery painting and has instilled a new life in this field.

A lovely example is a superb sculpted statue of the mid 19<sup>th</sup> c. by Georgios Fytalis, which graces the Greek National Gallery (No. P 141). This depicts a shepherd with a small goat. The artist's intense naturalist mood is discerned by this creation, as it combines with unbelievable dexterity the classical tradition with the intense elements of the modern.

An important factor in the change of the artists' perspective was the release and freeing of painting from the workshops, giving rise instead to the ability to work al fresco, which means is in contact with nature.

One of the points worth mentioning, in connection with Greece, is the fact that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. many Greek artists, within a wider edifying style have immortalised a multitude of bucolic scenes. We are in a time when both realistic, and idealism coexist in a climate of spiritual reflection that leads to our roots and nature. "Genre painting in Greece coincided with the consolidation of the bourgeois class, which nostalgically returned to its rural roots. Indeed, Greek genre painting was inspired by the manners and customs of the Greek people, in the same way the literature of that period was".

A typical example is the work called "milking the goat" by Nikolas Vokos (1859 - 1902), which is kept at the Greek National Gallery (oil on canvass - part of the Koutlidis Foundation Collection, No K591). One could further mention the works of Periclis Pantazis and later on those of Ektor Doukas as well as those of Epaminondas Thomopoulos. The latter, in particular, has left behind a great series of works with bucolic life as their theme, such as the "peasant with the goat"/ oil on board 1903, 34.5 x 24.3 cm., (Koutlidis Foundation Collection No. K 1317).

Later on, in 1935, one of the important Greek representatives of the generation of the thirties, the surrealist painter Nikos Engonopoulos, deeply affected by the respective

byzantine iconography, in one of his super realist creations depicts the sacrifice of a lamb in tempera on hard board, under the title: “The sacrifice of the poet Iason Kleandros in Commagene”.

The figures of caprine animals, anyway, particularly occupied the pioneering artists of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> c., the surrealist Salvador Dali as well as Pablo Picasso, in painting and sculpture, with the latter leaving behind a great series of works revolving around the theme “man and sheep”.

In our times, just like throughout the centuries, the goat figured but erotic looks of the god Pan have never ceased to inspire the artists. We quote characteristically some depictions such as the oil painting of the 17<sup>th</sup> c. (1637) “Syrinx and Pan” by Nicolas Poussin, kept in Dresden, the sculpture by Rodin and, finally, one of Picasso’s best known paintings, the “Pan and the danceuse”, kept at the Picasso Museum, Paris.

Relating to sculpture in Greece, one should emphasize the work of Natalia Mela, with the outstanding metal compositions of grazing sheep and goats, some of which have found a permanent outdoor exhibition space on the island of Spetses.



*Natalia Mela, family, sculpture, 2010, Presidential mansion, Athens, Greece*

We have singled out from the younger generation of artists, the work of Eleni Pavlopoulou which belongs to the unit known as “Arch” and which leads to related symbolisms.



*Eleni Pavlopoulou, Arch with sheep, 2010*

Giorgos Tserionis moves in a totally different notional content with his work “sheep”. Here, everything vanishes and only the head is shown and even that has changed features. This is a post modern approach to the theme, which points to a dynamic although modified self existing presence of the day after, of the universe, of the future.



*Giorgos Tserionis, sheep, 2009*

One could not fail to mention the work of Apostolos Chantzaras, because the figure of the lamb, in way of votive offering, returns, in his work in the “festivities” (panigyria) entity. The animals are at times carried on the back of the subject - person of the offering, and at other times have their figure amalgamated with the human figure. This points to ancient Greek prototypes, while the inspiration is definitely in line with the ancient and more modern customs of the Greek countryside.

The visual artist Lydia Venieri, in her creation named "The machinations of the Dolphins", presents the coming together of the animals around a festive dining table, which points to the Last Supper, while one of the animals is the sheep.

The deterring artist Marios Spyropoulos had the panache to present, in 2004, a provocative piece of work under the title "Domestic Sex: My heart belongs to daddy", which contains a delinquent scene depicting a man having intercourse with a sheep and he invents the term "hardcore art" in order to place the work in that group.

In this climate which oscillates between symbolism and figurine pursuit, the sheep's figure plays in the mind of contemporary visual artists.

Additionally, the sheep's wool, constitutes the cause of inspiration, as evidenced by the works - installations by Konstantina Katrakazou, under the titles "the little dress of her doll" and "a commencement to the continuation I, II".

The ancient myths still cause particular interest, in the pictorial creations included in children's literature, as well as in the visual expression. A characteristic example is the sculpture – installation "golden fleece", created by Pyotr Crysanov and Yakov Matousovsky, which will be exhibited at Volos and Sochi, in Russia, as a token of the co-operation between the two countries. As far the pictorial aspect is concerned, the series of paintings by Yannis Stefanakis is very characteristic.

Pastoral scenes of everyday life, with animals grazing or moving, the shepherds and the manufacture of products have been immortalised by many professional and amateur Greek photographers.

In this respect we shall cite indicative examples of photographers each one of whom, through his or her visual angle, has left rich material, which greatly contributes to our knowledge of the everyday life of the shepherds.

Particular mention should be made to Nelly, (Elli Sougioutzoglou - Seraidari, 1899 - 1998), the professional photographer who, with her personal style, put on film scenes from the Greek countryside. From 1927 onwards, she also "tours the Greek countryside evidencing the panorama of Greece during the years between the two world wars". She is a Greek of the diaspora and she composes an "idyllic" Greece.

The foundations - visual symbols of the Greek "tourist philosophy" were laid and formulated, based on the official tourist documents with her photos, which were published abroad.

Mention must also be made of the work of the amateur photographer Pericles Papahatzidakis (1905 - 1990), who toured nearly all of Greece, putting everyday life in the countryside on film.

Special mention should be made of Costas Balafas, who has left behind an amazing and extensive record which "projects the substance of the matter with a simple and austere script, without any beautification and aesthetic tendencies" and "whose total work constitutes a unique testimony of the society and the history of the country"

He was a veritable poet of photographic art. He had his ear to the ground in respect of the soul of the simple folk and he depicted scenes of their everyday life. The inhabitants of remote villages in Epirus who struggle daily in difficult conditions in their quest for survival, are the leading characters of his work”.

A contemporary photographer, who has particularly occupied himself and has published photos, not only of high aesthetic value, but also of great importance as a record of his systematic in situ research, is Alexis Vallianos. There are many other examples in contemporary photography which put on film even the very figure of the sheep, such as the characteristic piece of work by Litsa Misiari, which has been presented at the photographic Club of Kalamata.

### **Ecclesiastical art in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and after**

In contemporary ecclesiastical art, as expressed in icons as well as frescoes, the depictions of domestic animals such as the sheep, continue to appear relating to past iconographic themes as well.

The depiction of the sheep is quite common in the iconography of the Nativity and this, of course, points to bucolic life.

As far as this iconographic tradition goes, Fotis Kontoglou describes the byzantine Nativity as follows: “The byzantine Nativity type is this: In the middle there is a cave, as if totally covered with crystal rocks. In front of it stands an old shepherd dressed in sheepskin, leaning on his shepherd’s rod, which is talking to him as if it is trying to console him... Around them and on the brows, sheep are grazing, two or three mastiffs. A shepherd is milking...”

Additionally, the figure of a goat appears in icons, as a depiction of the portrayal of the devil and it is presented next to Aghios Antonios (St. Anthony) or Aghia Marina (St. Marina). As far as the characterisation as protector of the shepherds goes, there are some saints such as Aghios Mamas (St. Mamas) who is thus depicted holding a little lamb in his arms and a shepherds rod.

### **Folk Art**

Scenes from pastoral life with sheep grazing have been the favourite theme of folk artists in modern Greece.

The name of the naïve artist Theofilos has already been mentioned in connection with the special topics above. Theofilos has immortalised many pastoral themes and themes relating to country life. He has created many works depicting bucolic scenes.

It is impossible to avoid mention of the particular and characteristic works of the shepherd - folk artist Gryllios (Alkiviadis Skoulas) from Anogeia in Crete, which are kept in the local museum, which bears the name of the town. Having spent his entire life amongst sheep on the mountains and the winter quarters for the sheep of Crete, he discovered, in his old age his artistic talent and he has yielded majestically descriptive paintings depicting every day scenes from bucolic life in Crete.



Contemporary folk artists are very creative. One such is Christos Tsintzos, who gives us great samples of his talent, by depicting masterfully scenes from everyday life in the countryside. Here, one should also add the names of Christos Kangaras, Sophia Vlachou and Charalampos Kaptzis.

Scenes from the Greek Mythology are very commonly found in Greek folk art throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> c. One such scene, which has been immortalised by Theofilos with his distinguishing naïve style of painting, is the dramatic moment of the myth which describes the fall of Elli off the ram in the Hellespont (thus named from her fall) with the desolate Frixos remaining alone to continue his long journey.

At the same time the depiction of the sheep is widely used in cartoons. An allegoric reference to the sheep in satire is very opportune. On the one hand there is the black sheep, everyone's victim. On the other hand the sheep which in reality is the wolf in disguise, or the flock of sheep, with one following the other with eyes shut, the white sheep, signifying the good man etc. It is a fact that the need for a subtractive but comprehensible and easily received narrative in cartoons, gives rise to the frequent pictorial reference to the sheep's figure, with the various symbolisms assigned to it, as mentioned previously plus some more, such as the pink sheep for the pink scandals, the lost sheep, for the politicians who return to their previous flock etc.

### **Cartoons**

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**Advertising** The sheep's figure in advertising appears in accordance with the inferences which are relevant in each case. For example, a night gown company puts forward its own products because one can more easily "count sheep" in order to go to sleep. Naturally enough, the depiction of the pure newborn lamb is very widely used in advertising dairy products.

## 12.7 U.K.

The British art scene in the 20<sup>th</sup> c. was influenced by the main movements-Modernism, Cubism, Expressionism, and so on. Often these artists were not attracted to the landscape and were more interested in urban and industrial scenes. By the time of WW II the British landscape was being evoked for patriotic reasons and a number of fine posters were produced by graphic artists for propaganda purposes. These used techniques drawn from commercial art and advertising with some stylistic overtones derived from the work of artists such as John Nash. A poster depicting an idyllic South Down landscape with a shepherd is one example of a characteristic landscape created in order to stir up patriotic feelings in the country.

An example is the one painted by Frank Pearson Newbould in 1942.

**UK - Modernism and art** The modern movement produced some famous artists and two of these were the contemporaries, sculptors Henry Moore and Elizabeth Frink. Henry Moore famously kept a sheep sketchbook and these provided inspiration for some of his abstract sculptures.



### Post-modern art

Perhaps one of the most famous contemporary sculptures is Damien Hirst's sheep in formaldehyde, although he has produced several tank pieces of other animals including pigs and a shark.

These pieces incorporate dead and even dissected animals suspended in a glass tank of formaldehyde. The piece entitled, 'Called, Away From the Flock,' broke the auction record in 1996 at a sale in New York. This bizarre piece of sculpture sold for \$3.4m and was purchased by an American art dealer.

Other artists also feature sheep in contemporary guises. Paul Bloomer works in Shetland and has painted several symbolic pieces featuring sheep.

Andrew Macara is another contemporary painter whose paintings use strong vivid colours and use of light.

Another contemporary theme in art is land art, of which Andy Goldsworthy is a major exponent. He has made a series of variations on the theme of sheep folds all across the north of England. These use stonework in an exquisite way and sometimes it is not real sheep that are enclosed by the wall of the fold.

### **Folk art and sheep – contemporary examples**

A recent trend has been for farmers and shepherd to make some amusing and ironic works of what might be described as folk art. This includes the farmer Grant Bell from Dunbar in East Lothian who a few years ago dyed some sheep in tartan patterns. Other examples include a group of Welsh farmers who used video technology and sheep dogs to create a sensational video of sheep creating a giant sheep and playing a computer game at night.

The focus in the text above is on the visual arts and it is also notable that the only folk art □ represented is that of the farmer dying his sheep tartan and the sheep farmers using their dogs to make a quirky video. This also reflects the fact that farming in the UK lost its peasant roots many years ago and so little folk art remains, although in the products and oral traditions different elements do persist.

### **13. CONCLUSION**

The shepherd and sheep theme has a permanent and age- old presence in art, in particular European art. It has been associated with religious practices, rituals and folklore and literary texts.

It appears in art, as depicted on ritual objects and architectural elements in antiquity from pre – historical through classical times. It was depicted in the sculpture of the Roman Empire, in the sculptures, frescoes and icons in the Middle Ages, during the Renaissance and the later centuries, the Age of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, passing in romantically and expressively idealized works from the 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and to our days, revealing the roots of the society which emerged from industrialisation in the whole of the European continent.

After World War II, in Eastern Europe, during the period of “socialism” and the so called “socialist realism”, with the rigid control and censorship, the theme is reflected in documentaries and photo reports, in graphics and paintings, in sculptures and decorative panels of wool. For the post-socialist period in these countries, the most characteristic phenomenon is the emergence of currents of modern expression, which clearly relate to the process of the change in these societies.

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