

# SACRED IMAGES OWNED BY THE LAITY IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHES OF NAPLES (10<sup>TH</sup>-12<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES)

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## ABSTRACT

Donations of money and properties to sacred images were not unusual in medieval Europe, but in 10<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century Naples they could imply an uncommon feature: in fact, images were often in the full possession of the donors, who gave them in custody to a church, usually located in the same district where they lived. Basing on textual evidence, this paper discusses typology, format, iconography, and location of this particular kind of 'private' images and analyses the social and economic implications deriving from their specific status. It also examines the impact of this practice on the city's rituality and religious identity.

KEYWORDS: Medieval Naples, Sacred Imagery, Medieval Rituality, Social Distinction, Church Donations

Immagini sacre di proprietà dei laici nelle chiese medievali di Napoli (secoli X-XII)

## ABSTRACT

Donazioni di beni e immobili a immagini sacre non erano insolite nell'Europa medievale, ma nella Napoli dei secoli X-XII potevano implicare una caratteristica non comune: infatti, le immagini erano spesso in pieno possesso dei donatori, che le davano in custodia a una chiesa, solitamente situata nello stesso quartiere in cui vivevano. Sulla base di testimonianze documentarie, in questo articolo si discutono tipologia, formato, iconografia e collocazione di questo particolare tipo di immagini 'private', e si analizzano le implicazioni sociali ed economiche derivanti dal loro specifico status. Si esamina inoltre l'impatto di questa pratica sulla ritualità e sull'identità religiosa della città.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Napoli medievale, immagini sacre, ritualità medievale, distinzione sociale, donazioni alla Chiesa

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In 1063 a piece of land was donated to the Neapolitan Church of San Severo Radia Solis by a laywoman named Maria<sup>1</sup>. The building, no longer in existence, stood in close proximity to the Cathedral<sup>2</sup>. As stated in her Deed of Gift, the land was granted to the prior and custodian of the church, the venerable Giovanni Spatharo, who received it on behalf of a Crucifix that the donor herself owned in the same church ("illum Crucifixum quem abeo intus memorata ecclesiam")<sup>3</sup>. Thus, the Crucifix became legal owner of the land,

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<sup>1</sup> *Regii Neapolitani Archivi Monumenta edita ac illustrata* [henceforth *RNAM*], eds. M. Baffi et al. (Neapoli: Regia Typografia, 1845-1861), V, 1857, doc. no. 409 (for a partial transcription of this document see below, note 3). All volumes of *RNAM* are digitalised and available online on the ALIM (Archivio della latinità italiana del Medioevo) website.

<sup>2</sup> On this church see below.

<sup>3</sup> "Certum est me Maria honesta femina filia quondam domini Gregorii scribano Pardum et quondam domina Maria honesta femina qui Marenda clamatur dudum iugalium personarum, conius presenti domini Aligerni viri sui ego, autem cum consensu et voluntate memorati domini Aligerni posteriori viri mei, a presenti die promptissima voluntate, offero [...] tibi domino Johanne [...] et per te in illum Crucifixum quem habeo intus memorata ecclesia Sancti Seberi, idest una petiola de terra mea [...] a presenti die et deinceps a me tibi per te in memoratum Crucifixum meum sit offertum et traditum ad abendum et possidendum illud ibidem usque in sempiternum. Et semper omni tempore tu et posteris tuis abeatis in vestris orationibus quondam domini Iohanne, uterino germano meo" (*RNAM*, V, doc. no. 409) (It is certain that I Maria, honest woman, daughter of the late Domino Gregorio Pardum, scribe, and of the late Domina Maria, known as Marenda, honest woman, formerly spouses, in the presence of her husband Domino Aligerno. I furthermore with the consent and the will of the aforementioned Domino Aligerno my subsequent husband, from the present day with the most ready resolution offer [...] to you Domino Giovanni known as Spatharo, venerable presbyter and primicerius, custodian indeed of the church of San Severo in the Summa Platea region, and through you to that Crucifix which I have inside the aforesaid church of San Severo, the whole of the small piece of my land [...] from

enabling the prior and his successors to enjoy its benefits indefinitely (“in perpetuum”). In exchange, they were to pray for the soul of Maria’s brother, Giovanni. Donations of properties to sacred images were not uncommon in medieval Europe, but Maria’s offer differed from similar donations for the salvation of the soul (“pro remedio animae”) because of the distinctive status of the image. In fact, the Crucifix did not belong to the church where it was on display, but it was in the full possession of the donor, a laywoman.

Images of this kind existed in Naples between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, as attested by a series of documents collected by Jean Marie Martin. In an article published in 1994, the French historian wrote: “Tous ces textes évoquent une seule pratique: une image pieuse, mobile (au moins dans la majorité des cas) est placée dans une église par celui qui l’a fait peindre; mais, au lieu d’être propriété de cette église, elle devient, juridiquement, une personne morale représentée en général par le clergé (ou le moines) qui, en son nom, reçoit des dons et effectue des achats”<sup>4</sup>. Just four of the fourteen documents listed by Martin undoubtedly state the possession of the image by the donors, since they use verbs such as ‘to have’ (“habeo”, “habuit”) and ‘to pertain to’ (“pertinuit”), as well as possessive pronouns (“Crucifixum meum” “imagine sua”)<sup>5</sup>. Nonetheless, they all testify to the practice of donating lands and money to images that had originally been commissioned by the donors themselves or their ancestors. In this paper, I will examine these documents from an art-historical perspective and analyse format, medium, iconography, and location of such ‘private’ images, as well as the social and economic implications that derived from their specific status.

### *Private Images and Their Donors*

At least five images belonging to private donors are attested in the above-mentioned church of San Severo Radia Solis. Existing before 934<sup>6</sup>, the church was named after its location on the Platea Radii Solis [fig. 1, no. 1], an ancient street of Naples, roughly following the course of modern-day Via Duomo<sup>7</sup>. This was a crucial location, since it stood in a densely populated area, just opposite to the episcopal complex [fig. 1, no. 2]. The church formally belonged to the suburban monastery of Santi Sergio e Bacco [fig. 1, no. 3], an important monastic foundation of medieval Naples, originally established on a small island to the west of the city (today Castel dell’Ovo) and at that time was incorporated in the urban monastery of Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano [fig. 1, no. 4]<sup>8</sup>. San Severo was given to the care of a custodian, a priest appointed for life by

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the present day and henceforth by me be offered and delivered to you and through you to the aforesaid Crucifix of mine so to have it and possess it in perpetuity. And always at all times may you and your posterity have in your prayers the late domino Giovanni my brother). All English translations of Latin documents quoted in this article are mine.

<sup>4</sup> J.M. Martin, “Quelques remarques sur le culte des images en Italie méridionale pendant le haut Moyen Âge”, in *Cristianità ed Europa. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi*, ed. C. Alzati (Roma: Herder, 1994), I.1, pp. 223–36, esp. 231.

<sup>5</sup> See above note 3, and below notes 14, 17, 19.

<sup>6</sup> *RNAM*, I, doc. no. 21. The document attests the donation of a land to the church. Format and terminology are the same as the documents that will be discussed here, where donations are made to an image. On this parallel see below.

<sup>7</sup> The same street was also called “Gurgite”, hence the church is frequently referred to as “San Severo a Gurgite”. See: B. Capasso, *Topografia della città di Napoli al tempo del Ducato* (Napoli: Regia tipografia Francesco Giannini e figli, 1892), pp. 44–45, 141. More recently: I. Ferraro, *Napoli: atlante della città storica. Centro antico*, 2nd ed. (Napoli: Oikos, 2017), p. 535; A. Buccaro, *Forma urbis Neapolis: genesi e permanenza del disegno della città greca* (Napoli: Arte’m, 2023), pp. 89–91, 315. On the creation of modern-day Via Duomo in the second half of the nineteenth century: A. Pane, “Il taglio del centro antico di Napoli: la nuova strada del Duomo e le ricadute sul tessuto urbano preesistente, 1839–1887”, in *Da Palazzo Como a Museo Filangieri. Storia, tutela e restauro di una residenza del Rinascimento a Napoli*, eds. A. Ghisetti, F. Mangone, A. Pane (Napoli: Grimaldi & C. Editori, 2019), pp. 119–99.

<sup>8</sup> S. Salmieri, “Topografia, forma e sviluppo del monachesimo greco-orientale a Napoli nell’Alto Medioevo”, in *Monasteri Italo-Greci (secoli VII–XI). Una lettura archeologica*, eds. F. Marazzi, C. Raimondo (Cerro al Volturno: Volturna Edizioni, 2018), pp. 43–57, esp. pp. 52–53. In the eleventh century, despite incorporation with Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano, the monastery fell under

the hegumen (Greek equivalent of the Latin term for abbot) of the monastery<sup>9</sup>. Despite its nomenclature, the monastic community did not necessarily follow Greek rule. It is more likely that it expressed the religious syncretism between Rome and Byzantium, which was distinctive of early medieval Naples. Several documents dating between the tenth and twelfth centuries testify to the importance of San Severo, which attracted donations and expanded its patrimony. Documentation on the church seems to disappear in later centuries, but a chapel with the same title existed until the sixteenth century, when it was demolished to make room for the grand house of the Order of Saint Jerome (Girolamini)<sup>10</sup>.

From a 1002 document, we know that Leo, son of a “dominus” named Stephanus, had died by this time, and had an image painted in San Severo representing the figures of Saints Pope Gregory the Great and Aniello<sup>11</sup>. The latter was a sixth-century saint from Naples strongly venerated in the region<sup>12</sup>. According

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the jurisdiction of another important monastic foundation of medieval Naples established on the same island, that of San Salvatore in insula maris [fig. 1, no. 5]. On the latter: A. Tranchina, “Tracce monastiche sulla costa del ducato napoletano. Topografia e frammenti pittorici al Salvatore in insula (Castel dell’Ovo)”, in A. Tranchina, T. Michalsky, K. Wolf, *Tra terra e mare. Architettura e potere sulla costa del Tirreno meridionale* (Roma: Campisano, 2023), pp. 57–106.

<sup>9</sup> A 964 document attests the election of a Presbyter Stephanus as custodian of the church by the hegumen Sergius in accordance with the whole monastic congregation (*RNAM*, II, doc. no. 105). Election followed the donation of a land to the monastery by the Presbyter’s parents. The document provides information on the custodian’s privileges and duties. Appointed for life (“*ha nunc et omnibus diebus vite tue*”), he was given the church, with its houses, cells, goods and properties (“*una cum habitationibus et cellis et omnibus rebus substantiis et possessionibus ipsius dicte ecclesiae*”), as well as all donations made to the church by both men and women (“*cum omnia que a viribus et mulieribus ibi offertum vel oblatum fuerit*”). He could use this patrimony as he pleased (“*omnibus diebus vite tue in tua sit potestatem tenendi et dominandi seu frugiandi et de ipsa frugias faciendi que volueris*”). In exchange, he was obliged to live by the church, repair it in case of damages at his own expenses, officiate liturgy and light candles daily (“*omnem officium sacerdotalem ibidem kanere debeas hoc est besperos et matutinos seu missarum sollempnia et horis laudibus et lumminariorum concinnationem ibi exhibere debeas*”), so to receive merit from God and praise by mankind (“*ut apud Deum omnipotentem tibi mercis adcrecat et apud hominibus laus*”). Every year on Christmas day and Easter Sunday he had to bring three pieces of bread to the monastery for the celebration of the Eucharist. One piece was required on the feast day of the church. After his death, the church and all its possessions had to be returned to the monastery. Later documents attest the elections of Presbyter John, subdeacon of the cathedral of Naples, in 1003 (*RNAM*, IV, doc. no. 270), and Presbyter Gregory in 1072 (*RNAM*, V, doc. no. 416) by using similar formulas. Amongst the goods of the church, the latter also lists precious ornaments and manuscripts (“*codices aut pretium vel talis causa pro ornamentum at ipsa ecclesia*”), including a good nocturnal antiphonary, written in Lombard style and annotated (“*hunc antifonarium vonum de nocturno Langobardiscum notatum*”) with two more “codices” that the custodian had given to the church, worth in total twenty-five golden “solidos”.

<sup>10</sup> Capasso, *Topografia*, cit., p. 141; A. Illibato, *Il “liber visitationis” di Francesco Carafa nella diocesi di Napoli. 1542-1543* (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1983), pp. 361–62; Ferraro, Napoli: atlante, cit., pp. 522–31.

<sup>11</sup> “*Certum est nos Anastasium et Iohannem, seu Gregorium uterinis germanis, filiis quondam domini Petri monachi cognomento Palamenestra, a presenti die promptissima volumtate venumdedimus et tradidimus vobis domino Sergio venerabili presbytero custodem vero ecclesie beatissimi Seberi Christi confessori atque pontifex et per vos immagine quem quondam Leo filio quondam domini Stephani pingere fecit ad onorem sanctorum Gregori papa [sic] romani et Agnelli Christi confessori quas ipse posuit intus eadem vestra ecclesia, idest integra una petia de fundum [...]. Et a nunc et deinceps a nobis vobis et per vos in eadem magine sit venumdatum et traditum in vestra posterisque vesteris et de eidem magine sit potestate ad abendum in sempiternum. [...] pro eo quod impresentis accepimus a vobis exinde. Idest auri tari viginti de illos viginti quattuor tari quem quondam memoratus Leo reliquit pro sua anima in memorata magine [...].*” (*RNAM*, doc. no. 266) (It is certain that we, Anastasius and John and Gregory, the uterine brothers, sons of the late Domino Pietro, a monk with the surname of Palamenestra, have from this day forthwith sold and delivered to you Domino Sergius, a venerable presbyter, custodian indeed of the church of the Most Blessed Severus, confessor of Christ and pontiff, and through you to the image that the late Leo, son of the late Domino Stefano, had painted in honour of the Roman Pope Saint Gregory and the confessor of Christ Saint Aniello, and which he himself placed in the same church, that is to say, an intact piece of land [...] and from now and henceforth from us to you and through you to the same image be sold and delivered and in you and in your posterity, and of the same image be the power to have them for ever [...] for what we have hereby accepted from you, that is twenty tari of gold, of those twenty-four tari that the said Leo left for his soul to the aforementioned image).

<sup>12</sup> A. Vuolo, *Una testimonianza agiografica. Il ‘Libellus miraculorum s. Agnelli’ (sec. X)* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1987). See also: S. D’Ovidio, *Scultura lignea del Medioevo a Napoli e in Campania* (Napoli: Società Napoletana di

to his ninth-century Vita, he lived at the time of Pope Gregory the Great and this explains their association in the sacred image that Leo placed in the church (“posuit”). In his last will, he had left twenty-four golden tari (currency of Amalfi) to this image for the salvation of his soul. After his death, twenty tari from his legacy were used to buy a land that remained in the property of the custodian of the church and his successors, as well as of the image itself<sup>13</sup>.

From another document dated 1058, we know that a woman named Merenda left a small garden (“orticellum”) to the church of San Severo in her last will for an unspecified image she owned in the church<sup>14</sup>. The image is described as “bultum”, i.e., “vultum” (face), in the chart (the possible meaning of this term will be discussed later). Merenda was the mother of the abovementioned Maria, owner of a Crucifix in the same church, as attested in the document quoted at the beginning of this paper. Family connections also emerge in the case of two more images exiting before 1132 in the church of San Severo, respectively, a Cross, and a figure of the Virgin Mary with Jesus on her lap (“in ulnis suis”) and the Saints John the Baptist and Nicholas: both images belonged to members of the family Scintilla and were given lands<sup>15</sup>. Archival sources from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries prove that both the Scintilla and the Pardo (or Tribunopardo) family-clans mentioned in these documents were related among each other and lived in the district of Capuana<sup>16</sup>, i.e., in the proximity of the cathedral and the church of San Severo.

Further documentation confirms the existence of ‘private’ images in more churches of Naples and surroundings. Family ties and territoriality are explicitly evoked in the case of Sergio Bulcano, who in 1092 left in his last will 20 “solidos” to his own image (“illi imagini sue”) portraying the Holy Trinity that had previously belonged to his parents (“genitori suo pertinuit”). The image was on display in what was likely their family church, since it was known as “Santa Maria de illi Bulcani” and was located not far from their home [fig. 1, no. 6]<sup>17</sup>.

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Storia Patria, 2013), pp. 130-131; S. D’Ovidio., “Sacred Imagery, Confraternities, and Urban Space in Medieval Naples”, in D. D’Andrea, S. Marino (eds.), *Confraternities in Southern Italy: Art, Politics, and Religion (1100-1800)* (Toronto: Centre for Renaissance and Reformation Studies, 2022), pp. 43-102, esp. 46-47.

<sup>13</sup> See above, note 11.

<sup>14</sup> “[...] Iterum et per ipsum dispositum [quondam Merenda] disposuit ut pro sua anima esseret offertum post suum obitum et traditum in ecclesia Sancti Seberi at Gurgite integrum orticellum suum que ipsa [...] abuit pro bultum quem abuit in eadem ecclesia cum arboribus fructiferis cum introitum suum omnibusque sibi pertinentibus ad abendum et possidendum illud ibidem usque in sempiternum [...]” (*RNAM*, V, doc. no. 400) (In her last will the late Merenda established that for her soul, after her passing, the whole of her garden which she possessed had to be offered and consigned to the church of San Severo for the vultum that she had in the same church).

<sup>15</sup> In 1132, a “dominus” Pietro Scintilla and his wife Porpora donated a land to two brothers from the Tribunopardum family who received it on behalf of “illa Sancta Cruce que ipsi [Pietro et Porpora] commendata habent intus ecclesiam vocabulo Sancti Severi” (B. Capasso, *Monumenta ad Neapolitani ducatus historia pertinentia* [henceforth *MND*], doc. no. 656). Later, Marocta Scintilla donated a quarter of her property to the same family in favour of: “illa imagine sua et [...] suo viro ad honorem beatae et gloriosae Dei genitricis Marie [...] cum dominus noster Jesus Christum filius eius in ulnis suis et beatissimi Johannis Baptistae et Sancti Nicolai Christi confessoris, que posita habebat intus suprascriptam ecclesiam Sancti Severi” (Ivi).

<sup>16</sup> On the relationship between the Scintilla and the Pardi: A. Feniello, *Napoli: società ed economia (902-1137)* (Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2011), pp. 74-75, with explanation of the suffix “Tribuno”, which was common to more Neapolitan families. The Scintilla are attested in the “regio Capuanae” since the twelfth century (*Le Pergamene di San Gregorio Armeno*, I, 1141-1198, ed. R. Pilone (Battipaglia (SA): Carlone, 1996), doc. no. 31 (1181), pp. 84-87); M. Santangelo, “Descrizione e controllo aristocratico dello spazio urbano a Napoli nel medioevo (X-XIV secolo)”, *Studi di Storia Medioevale e di Diplomatica* 7 (2023), pp. 229-52, esp. 237-38.

<sup>17</sup> Sergio Bulcano dotanes twenty solidos to “illi imagini sue ad honorem Sanctae et individue Trinitatis que genitori suo pertinuit ecclesie Sanctae Mariae de illi Bulcani non procul a domo sua ubi nunc manet” (*MND*, doc. no. 572). The houses of the Bulcanos were located in the “regio Sedilis Nidi”, in the heart of ancient Naples, and formed a compound in the district known as “Arco Cabredato” [fig. 1, no. 6] (M. Santangelo, “Radicalamento cittadino, uso aristocratico dello spazio urbano e mobilità sociale a Napoli nel medioevo: note sulla regio Sedilis Nidi”, *Rivista dell’Istituto di Storia dell’Europa mediterranea* 10, no. 3 (June 2022), pp. 3-23, esp. 12-14.

Notably, women were active donors in such practices. Along with the aforementioned donors to San Severo (Merenda and Porpora Scintilla with their daughters Maria and Marocta, respectively)<sup>18</sup>, we hear of Maru, “honesta femina”, who in 985 left her goods to the monasteries of Santi Severino e Sossio [fig. 1, no. 7] and, again, to Santi Sergio e Bacco [fig. 1, no. 3]. In exchange, monks had to give two golden “solidos” every year to an image of the Mother of God that Maru had ordered to paint above the door in the church of Sancta Maria ad Albini (the church still survives today in the city centre of Naples) [fig. 1, no. 8]<sup>19</sup>. As stated by Maru, in this sense, money would come to be preserved forever (“ut fiant ipsi solidi ibidem omni tempore salvi”). This document also proves that images could receive incomes even if they weren’t on display in the same church as the beneficiaries of the donation. In 1027, Eupraxia offered a piece of land to a Crucifix that she had commissioned to paint and placed (“posuit”) in the church of San Basilio de Nonnaria (outside of Naples, near modern-day Herculaneum)<sup>20</sup>.

### *Typology and Location*

It is difficult to determine the type of images mentioned in the charts. They are often described as painted, but this quality pertained to a variety of artefacts in the Middle Ages. Martin argued that icons are the

<sup>18</sup> See above, notes 3, 14–15.

<sup>19</sup> “Certum est me Maru honesta femina filia quondam domini Stephani et quidem domina Anna monaca cui supra nomen musa iugalibus [...], a presenti die promptissima voluntate, promitto vobis domino Petro venerabili abbati monasterii Sanctorum Severini et Sossi, ubi eorum venerabilia quiescunt corpora, et domino Filippo venerabili ygumeno monasterii Sanctorum Sergii et Bachi [...] propter integra portione mea qui mihi pertinet vel pertinentes fuerit per memoratis iugalibus genitoribus meis de memoratas homnis illorum hereditate seu substantias de intus et fori [...] in integro et sine omni minuitate in vestra et de vestris posteris et de eidem memorate sancte et venerabilis vestre congregationis monachorum presentibus et futuris rebertantur et sint potestate pro animabus nostris [...] tantummodo vos et posteris vestris tunc dare debeatis in bultus sancte Dei Genitricis que pingere feci in illa porta de Sancta Maria ad Albini auri solidos duos ut fiant ipsi solidi ibidem omni tempore salvi” (*RNAM*, II, doc. no. 201) (It is certain that I, Maru, an honest woman, daughter of the late Domino Stefano and indeed of Domina Anna, a nun surnamed Musa, spouses, with the consent and will of the present Domino Gregorio my husband, from this day with most ready resolution promise to you Domino Pietro, venerable abbot of the monastery of Santi Severino e Sossio where their venerable bodies rest, and Domino Filippo, venerable abbot of the monastery of Santi Sergio e Bacco [...], for the whole of my portion that belongs to me, or belonged to me, through the aforesaid spouses, my parents, of all their aforesaid inheritances and substances from within and without [...] be transferred to you and to your posterity and to your own aforesaid holy and venerable congregation of monks in present and future for our souls [...]. Only you and your posterity must give then to the “vultus” of the holy Mother of God, whom I had painted in that door of Santa Maria ad Albini, two golden solidos so that they may be always preserved there). The church of Santa Maria de Albini was attached to a female monastery and existed since the early ninth century. Later known as Santa Maria Donnalbina, it was fully rebuilt in the seventeenth century (A. Schiattarella, E. Ferraro, *La chiesa di Donnalbina a Napoli* (Napoli: Electa, 2007)).

<sup>20</sup> “Certum est me Eupraxia [...] una cum consensu et voluntate quidem Iohanni viri a presenti die promptissima voluntatem, pro Domini ammone et redemptionis anime mee et memorati viri mei, hofferō et trado vobis domino Filippo, venerabili igumeno monasterii Sanctorum Sergii et Bachi [...] et at cuncta et venerabili vestra congregatione monachorum memorati sancti et venerabilis vestri monasterii, et per vos in illum Crucifixum que ego pingere feci et illum positum abeo intus ecclesia vestra Sancti Basilii qui est in illa obedientia vestra de Nonnaria, idest integra una petia de terra nostra que vocatur Fabale, posita in loco qui vocatur Arinianum quod est foris flubeum una cum arboribus et introitum suum et omnibus sivi pertinentibus” (*RNAM*, IV, doc. no. 331) (It is certian that I, Eupraxia [...] with the consent and will of my husband John, from this day forthwith, for love of the Lord and for the redemption of my soul and that of my aforesaid husband, offer and deliver to you Domino Filippo, venerable monk of the monastery of Santi Sergio e Bacco [...] and to all your venerable congregation of monks of your aforesaid holy and venerable monastery, and through you to that Crucifix that I had painted and placed inside your church of Saint Basil, which is in that obedience of yours at Nonnaria, in its entirety a piece of land of ours, called Fabale situated in the place called Arinianum, which is in front of the river). Thus, the land was not far from the church, since Arinianum was near to Nonnaria (*MND*, II.2, pp. 179–180).

most obvious candidate<sup>21</sup>. However, different forms may be considered, including panels in low relief and wood carvings, especially with Crucifixes. The latter seem to have been prevalent in Naples and the Campania in respect to the painted crosses, especially between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries<sup>22</sup>. The Latin verbs “ponere” (to place) and “commendare” (to give in custody) used in some documents<sup>23</sup> don't necessarily implies portability, as they might refer more generally to the individuality of a holy image and its actual presence in the sacred space<sup>24</sup>. Hence, mural painting should be considered, too. Votive frescoes in Grotta dei Santi at Calvi Risorta [fig. 2], some 45 kilometres north of Naples, provide an excellent parallel, as they bear inscriptions with the name of the donors – mostly husbands and wives, or brothers and sisters – that recall expressions used in the Neapolitan documents, such as: “Ego Florisantio cum uxore mea Gaita piniere fecit” (I Florisantio with my wife Gaita had this painting made) [fig. 2]<sup>25</sup>.

As we have seen before, the word “vultus” (face) or its plural “vultura” are sometimes used to describe images. The same word can be found in the Liber Pontificalis of Rome and, according to Antonella Ballardini, it refers to icons on rounded panels, or “imagines clypeatae”<sup>26</sup>. A “vultus” of the Saviour in the Neapolitan monastery of Santi Marcellino e Pietro [fig. 1, no. 9] is said to have been painted on a shield (“in illo scuto”)<sup>27</sup>. One may question as to whether these “vultura” can be described as fresco figures, whose faces were painted on circular panels embedded in the wall. Examples of this mixed typology survive in Naples<sup>28</sup>. In the apse of the early Christian cathedral [fig. 1, no. 2], now Santa Restituta, a wooden disk

<sup>21</sup> Martin, “Quelques remarques”, cit., p. 231. See above, note 4.

<sup>22</sup> D'Ovidio, *Scultura lignea*, cit., p. 63.

<sup>23</sup> See above, notes 11, 15, 20.

<sup>24</sup> On the concept of ‘prasentia’, i.e., the actual presence of holy images in ritual space: E. Palazzo, “Iconographie et liturgie dans les études médiévales aujourd'hui: un éclairage méthodologique”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 41 (1988): pp. 65-68; E. Palazzo, *Liturgie et société au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Editions Aubiere, 2020), pp. 150-176. On the ‘iconicity’ of mural painting see: H. Belting, *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (München: Beck, 1990), pp. 131-137, English Translation: H. Belting, *Likeness and Presence. A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 115-121.

<sup>25</sup> Most inscriptions (six out of seven) repeat the same formula: S. Piazza, “La Grotta dei Santi a Calvi e le sue pitture”, *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 25 (2002): pp. 169-208, esp. pp. 187-188. Inscriptions were firstly published in H.W. Schulz, *Denkmaler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien* (Dresden: Wilhelm K.H. Schulz, 1860), II, pp. 156-159 (quoted inscription at p. 156) and later in H. Belting, *Studien zur beneventanische Malerei* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1968), pp. 107-108, see now: H. Belting, *Studi sulla pittura beneventana*, eds. G. Bertelli et al. (Bari: Mario Adda editore, 2018-2021), I, pp. 108-109; M. De Giorgi, “Calvi Vecchia (CE). Grotta dei Santi”, in Belting, *Studi sulla pittura*, cit., II, pp. 169-175, with no discussion on the inscriptions.

<sup>26</sup> A. Ballardini, “Stat Roma pristina nomina. Nota sulla terminologia storico-artistica nel Liber Pontificalis”, in *La committenza artistica dei papi a Roma nel Medioevo*, ed. M. D'Onofrio (Roma: Viella, 2016), pp. 381-439, esp. 431-33.

<sup>27</sup> B. Capasso, “Pianta della città di Napoli nel secolo XI”, *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 17 (1892), pp. 851-882, esp. 869-70). The document is quoted by C. D'Engenio Caracciolo, *Napoli Sacra* (Napoli: Per Ottavio Beltrano, 1623), p. 314: “Sub Federico II eius regnorum annus 7 [=1221], domina Hermetruda, filia domini Petri Comite, concedit dominae Gaytelgrimae, venerabili abbatissae monasterii SS. Marcellini et Petri, et pro ea in sanctum vultum de sancto Salvatore, qui est in illo scutu, et est de ipso sancto monasterio”. According to D'Engenio: “Questa figura del Salvatore sta oggi sopra la tavola dell'altar maggiore et è di pittura greca” (the icon is now lost). In this case, the image did not belong to a private donor, but to the monastery itself. This corresponds to a change in the practice of donations, more frequently attested to public images between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see below. On this image see also: G. Corso, “La cattedrale di Napoli in età romanica. Indagini sulle sopravvivenze artistiche”, in *La basilica di Santa Restituta a Napoli e il suo arredo medievale*, eds. G. Corso, A. Cuccaro, C. D'Alberto (Pescara: Zip, 2012), pp. 76-95, esp. 85.

<sup>28</sup> P. Leone de Castris, “Un laborioso restauro e un raro affresco bizantino a Napoli: il palinsesto dell'abside di Santa Restituta”, in *Il duomo di Napoli in età angioina. Atti della I Giornata di studi su Napoli (Losanna, 23 novembre 2000)*, eds. S. Romano, N. Bock (Napoli: Electa, 2002), pp. 107-118; Corso, “La cattedrale di Napoli in età romanica”, cit., pp. 83-85. Attested also in Rome and central Italy (*Ibid.*, pp. 84), the insertion of wooden panels in mural paintings is explained by Herbert Kessler as a way to prevent from the risk of idolatry, since the face was clearly distinguishable as an artifact (H.L. Kessler, “Real Absence: Early Medieval Art and the Metamorphosis of Vision,” in *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichità e alto*

with the face of Christ is painted above the frescoed figure of him enthroned inside a mandorla carried by angels [fig. 3]<sup>29</sup>. It can be dated in the 1100's in connexion with frescoes in Sant'Angelo in Formis, near Capua. Later examples are attested in Sant'Aniello a Caponapoli [fig. 1, no. 10], burial site of the abovementioned sixth-century Neapolitan saint (two rounded panels with the faces of Mary and the infant Jesus now in the Museum of Capodimonte, likely from the late thirteenth century)<sup>30</sup> [fig. 4], and San Gregorio Armeno [fig. 1, no. 11], a church attached to a female monastery in the city centre of Naples (a possibly fifteenth-century mural painting of the Virgin and Child with their faces on panel, likely the remake of an earlier image in the chapel of Santa Maria dell'Itria, a late medieval building inside the cloister of the monastery fully transformed in the eighteenth century)<sup>31</sup>. Outside of Naples, missing heads in mural paintings from the thirteenth century in the Chiostro del Paradiso in Amalfi are usually interpreted as another example of this mixed typology<sup>32</sup>.

The exact location of images within the church is rarely indicated. In those cases when it is mentioned, it commonly corresponds to areas that were accessible to laypeople. As we have seen, one was above the main door of Santa Maria Donnalbina [fig. 1, no. 8] in 985<sup>33</sup>. As the image symbolizes the incarnation, which 'opened the door' to salvation, its positioning is particularly meaningful. In 1199, we hear of an image of the Mother of God commissioned by a nun near an altar of the Trinity, which was located in the lateral aisle ("in porticu") of San Gregorio Armeno [fig. 1, no. 11]<sup>34</sup>. An altar seems appropriate in most cases, also considering that similar donations were given to altars. Significantly, there is no reference to any burials of the donors or their relatives in the proximity of images.

### *Rituality and Motivations*

A document regarding a large donation to an image on the island of Ischia aids our understanding of the

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*medioevo* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1998), II, pp. 1157-1212, esp. 1158-59; H.L. Kessler, "Il ciclo di S. Pietro in Valle: fonti e significato", in *Gli affreschi di San Pietro in valle a Ferentillo: le storie dell'antico e del nuovo testamento*, ed. G. Tamanti (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2003), pp. 77-116, esp. 112. Alexis Wang is currently working on this topic within a larger research project on ritual objects embedded in walls during the medieval period. Early outcomes of her work were discussed in a paper titled "The Embedded Icon in Santa Restituta's Apse Decoration" presented at the international conference *Gateways to Medieval Naples* (Naples, 7-9 June 2021).

<sup>29</sup> Leone de Castris, "Un laborioso restauro", cit. On the apse of Santa Restituta and its murals see: V. Lucherini, *La cattedrale di Napoli. Storia, architettura, storiografia di un monumento medievale* (Roma: École française de Rome, 2009), pp. 159-164; Corso, "La cattedrale di Napoli in età romanica", cit., pp. 81-95. The latter questions the traditional chronology around the year 1100 and dates the painting to the third quarter of the twelfth century.

<sup>30</sup> P. Leone de Castris, "Ignoto pittore campano del tardo XIII secolo. Testa della Vergine. Testa del Bambino", in P. Leone de Castris, *Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte. Dipinti dal XIII al XVI secolo. Le collezioni borboniche e post-unitarie* (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1999), p. 32; Leone de Castris, "Un laborioso restauro", cit., p. 113; Corso, "La cattedrale di Napoli in età romanica", cit., p. 84.

<sup>31</sup> Leone de Castris, "Un laborioso restauro", cit., p. 113; S. D'Ovidio, "La Madonna di Piedigrotta tra storia e leggenda", *Rendiconti della Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 74 (2006-2007), pp. 47-91, esp. 73 note 70; Corso, "La cattedrale di Napoli in età romanica", cit., p. 83, dates the paintings to the eleventh century, but no material or historical evidence seems to support this chronology. I wonder whether this image can be identified with that portraying the Mother of God, which is mentioned in a 1335 document (see below, note 46).

<sup>32</sup> Leone de Castris, "Un laborioso restauro", cit., p. 113; Corso, "La cattedrale di Napoli in età romanica", cit., p. 84; G. Miccio, "La chiesa del Crocifisso ad Amalfi e il chiostro del Paradiso", *Bollettino della Soprintendenza per i BAPPSAE di Salerno e Avellino* n.s. 2 (2006), pp. 82-84; C. Stollhans, "A newly discovered image of Saint Catherine of Alexandria in the Cathedral of Amalfi", *Source* 38, no. 19 (Spring 2019), pp. 125-132.

<sup>33</sup> See above, note 19.

<sup>34</sup> "Vultus sue figura quam ad honorem beate Dei genitricis Marie [Merendina moniale] pingere fecit [...] in porticu ipsius ecclesiae [Sancti Gregorii] iuxta altarem ad honorem Sanctae Trinitatis" (Capasso, "Pianta della città", cit., p. 868).

donor's motivations, as well as the ritual use of images. In 1036, Marinus "illustris comes" and his wife Theodora "regalissima comitissa" donated all their properties to an image of Christ with the Virgin Mary and the saints Benedict, Joanna and Restituta (the latter was strongly venerated in Ischia)<sup>35</sup>. Marinus and Theodora commissioned this image for a Benedictine monastery of the Virgin that they had founded on the island. A long list of offerings was granted to the image, including a church and its properties, a castle with all its premises, furniture, animals, an orchard, a fishing pond and the right of fishing along a shore on

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<sup>35</sup> "Omnis itaque dispersio helemosine magis impresentis quam in futuro seculo in mandatis Domini precipiuntur largiri, et quoscumque manus hominum potest operari instanter operetur quia sicut scriptum est 'hilarem datorem diligit Deus, et tristem sine dubio hodie', et ideo unusquisque christianorum pro viribus suis in quantum prebalet manum porrigere debet had elemosine husum vel misericordie hopera, qui helemosina ha morte liberat et operarium suum non permittet yre in tenebras. Dum talia igitur considerassemus, nos videlicet Marinus illustris comes et Theodora regalissima comitissa iugales [...] cubilem [sic] nostri cordis precinsi ut ad onorem [sic] Domini et Salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi atque intemerate eius Genitricis semperque Virginis Marie, et beatissimi Christi confessoris Benedicti, et sancte Restitute Christi virginis et martire [sic], seu et sancte Ianne faceremus ymaginem in qua eorum sacre effigies pingere faceremus, et dotaremus illa de nostris rebus et substantiis et ordinaremus illa intus ecclesia nostri monasterii que ipsius Domini Matris hadest sita in monte qui dicitur Cementara pro redemptionem animarum nostrarum et de genitoribus nostris simulque et de filiorum nostrorum nostrisque nepotibus [...]. et quia domino hopitulante qui est conspirator omnium bonorum hoperum qui quot iubet et precipit ipse facit sicut locutus est discipulis suis quia 'sine me nihil potestis facere' et iterum ut scriptum est 'bonum hopus nobis in voluntate sit', nam ex divino adiutorio erit at perfectionem: ideoque ipsa ymaginem fecimus ut consideravimus sicut superius recitabimus et illam hordinabimus in ipsa ecclesia nostra memorati monasterii ut presens tempus demonstrat [...]. Hactamen statuimus et firmamus ut nullatenus presummetis vos haut posteris vestris vel alia quabis personas parba aut magna extranea vel de mea genealogia aliquando tempore ex ipsa hereditatem aut memorata casa aliquot subtraere haut alienare per quobis modum a potestate memorate imaginis et memorate vestre congregationis. et si oc agere presumeritis et imbentum fuerit vacuam et inane persistat. Et semper res ipsa in potestate et proprietatem ipsius imaginis et memorate vestre congregationis remanere debeat at semper abundum et possidendum. Et omni tempore vos et posteris vestris memorataque vestra congregatio cotidie ad ipsa imagine luminaria facere debeatis et canticum ad ipsos sanctos dare debeatis. Insuper et nobis et at genitoribus seu filiis et nepotibus nostris cotidie commemoratione facere debeatis in vestris sacris orationibus et per omnes dies quandoque missas in sacros dipticos vestros decantaberitis, ibidem nobis dare debeatis tres horationes absque omni pigritia usque in sempiternum, quia ita sic nobis voluntatis complacuit" (*RNAM*, IV, doc. no. 458) (In the precepts of the Lord it is prescribed that every distribution of alms should be given more in the present century than in the future, and whatever human hand may operate, that operates at once. For, as it is written, 'God prefers the one who gives gladly and certainly does not love the sorrowful', and therefore each Christian according to his strength as far as he is able must extend his hand for the purpose of almsgiving or for a work of mercy, since almsgiving frees from death and does not allow its giver to go into darkness. While we therefore considered these things, we, that is, Marinus, illustrious count, and Theodora, most noble countess, husband and wife [...], have taken up the thalamus of our hearts that in honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and of his blessed mother and ever-virgin Mary, and of the most blessed Benedict, confessor of Christ, and of Saint Restituta, virgin and martyr, and also of Saint Joan, we should make an image in which their sacred effigies should be painted, and endow it with our goods and wealth, and order it to be placed in the church of our monastery, which has the name of the Mother of the Lord, and is situated on the mountain called Cementara, for the redemption of our souls and of our parents and likewise of our children and grandchildren. And since with the help of the Lord, who is the inspirer of all good works and what he commands and prescribes he does, as he spoke to his disciples 'for without me you can do nothing' and likewise as it is written 'let the good work be in our will, for with divine help it will come to perfection', therefore we made the same image as we had thought in the manner we have said above and we ordered it in the same church of the aforesaid monastery as the present time shows [...]. Nevertheless we establish and confirm that in no way do you or your posterity or any other person small or great, foreign or of my lineage, presume to at any time to remove or alienate in any way anything of the same estate or of the said house from the power of the said image and of your aforesaid congregation and if you dare to do so and it is discovered to be null and void and always the same property shall remain in the power and ownership of the same image and of your aforesaid congregation so that you may always have it and possess it and at all times you and your posterity and your aforesaid congregation must daily light candles for the image and you must raise hymns to the same saints. You must also remember us and our parents and children and grandchildren in your sacred prayers daily, and every day when you celebrate masses in your sacred diptychs there you must make three prayers for us without any laziness for ever. For thus it was pleasing to our will). Since the image was located by an altar, it is more likely that the word 'porticus' should be intended as lateral aisle. For a similar use in later Neapolitan documentation: S. D'Ovidio, "Alla ricerca di un Medioevo perduto. La basilica di San Giorgio Maggiore a Napoli (IV-XVII secolo)", *Convivium* 3, no. 2 (December 2016), pp. 48-67, esp. 63.



the island owned by the donors. As stated at the beginning of the document, their substantial donation was motivated by the fact that charity was the Lord's prescription for all Christians, and this saved them from infernal darkness ("elemosina ha morte liberat et operarium suum non permictet yre in tenebras")<sup>36</sup>. In exchange, the congregation of monks in charge of the monastery would light candles at the image every day, sing chants in honour of the saints portrayed therein and pray for the souls of the donors, their parents, children, and grandchildren ("cotidie ad ipsa imagine luminaria facere debeatis et canticum ad ipsos sanctos dare debeatis")<sup>37</sup>.

The Ischia donation was provided by members of the comital aristocracy (a "comes" and a "comitissa"), while most donors in the surviving charts are often called "domini". In Naples, this title indicated individuals who owned lands in the countryside. Property allowed them to ennoble their social condition and to become part of the urban elite<sup>38</sup>. The possession of, and donations to, images could be seen as a distinctive sign of their status and emulated a religious practice that pertained to higher classes.

Donations had economic implications too. On the one hand, they increased the patrimony of ecclesiastical institutions from the city and guaranteed livelihoods to the clergy in charge of them, which sometimes came from the same family as the donors. On the other hand, one may also argue that they were seen as a way to preserve the property within the family, because its legal ownership was attached to an image whose patronage belonged to the donors and their successors. However, what clearly emerges from the documents is the role of images as intermediaries between the laypeople and the sacred sphere. They guaranteed perpetual intercession and perpetrated the memory of the donors or their ancestors through rituals. They also stressed the privileged link of the family with the church and the clergy that received them in custody.

Extant documentation from the church of San Severo proves that donations to images were almost identical in format, content and terminology to any other donations made to the church in the same period. Surveys by Amedeo Feniello shows how donations were part of a complex economical process dealing with crucial issues, such as social mobility, territorial control, civic identity, and religious beliefs<sup>39</sup>. Offerings were strongly motivated by the need to ensure perpetual intercession, a constant preoccupation for any Christian of the past. But why would a donor choose to give money and lands to a specific image? One of the possible answers comes from the rituality connected to these images. As proved by the Ischia document, sacred imagery was the epicentre of intercession rites – the visual marker within the sacred sphere of a ceremony that the donors considered essential for the salvation of their soul, and truly believed would have been performed for ever. The physical materiality of an image they were familiar with in their life would evoke their memory during the rituals and make intercession more effective.

The possession of sacred images in Neapolitan churches disappears from documentation after the late twelfth century, but donations of land and properties continued to public images. In 1145, we hear of a land owned by a Crucifix that stood inside the church of Sant'Aniello [fig. 1, no. 10] ("terram Sanctissimi Crucifixi qui est ab intus ipsam ecclesiam Sancti Anelli")<sup>40</sup>. In 1232, money was left to buy a land for a Crucifix that hung above an altar in the large urban basilica of San Giorgio Maggiore [fig. 1, no. 12]<sup>41</sup>. The

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<sup>36</sup> See above, note 35.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> On the social condition of "dominus" in the Byzantine duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta: J.M. Martin, "Les aristocraties des duchés tyrrhéniens (Xe-XIIIe siècle). Parcours variés de Byzance à l'Occident", in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIIe siècle)*, eds. J.M. Martin, A. Peters-Custot, V. Prigent, II: *Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2012), pp. 585-604. For a focus on Naples see also: Feniello, *Napoli: società ed economia*, cit. pp. 78-84, 135-57.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-156.

<sup>40</sup> S. D'Ovidio, *Scultura lignea*, cit., pp. 66-67, 130-31.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 146-147. On the early Christian Basilica of San Giorgio Maggiore, the most important church in the city after

mentioned “vultus” of the Saviour in the monastic church of Santi Marcellino e Pietro [fig. 1, no. 9] was an image of public devotion, too. In 1221 it received money from the daughter of a count, but it belonged to the monastery itself (“qui est de ipso sancto monasterio”)<sup>42</sup>.

### Conclusions

Since at least the tenth centuries, sacred images of ‘private’ devotion were displayed in many churches of Naples. They received money and properties by those laymen and women that had originally ordered their making, as well as by their successors. Donations made it possible to perform rituals, which expressed the perpetual devotion of the donors and intercession for their soul in the afterlife. There is no preference for the iconography and format of the images, which usually portrayed devotional figures of the Crucifix, the Virgin and Child, and individual saints venerated in the city or by the donors. Their location within the church seems to vary, but there is indication that the space reserved to the lay congregation was privileged. Like in the Grotta di Calvi, images for private devotion were likely distinguished by those for public veneration during liturgy, commonly placed around the altar and the areas reserved to the clergy<sup>43</sup>. If monastic foundations are the most frequent beneficiaries of donations, it is probably due to the importance of such religious institutions in medieval Naples<sup>44</sup>. Urban basilicas, family and suburban churches are attested, too. Territoriality and family connections better explain their choices<sup>45</sup>.

In the thirteenth century, private images seem to disappear from documentation. New forms of self-representation emerged with the patronage of chapels and the creation of monumental tombs. By that time, imagery for private devotion had expanded outside the sacred space and holy images started to spread in the domestic sphere. Nonetheless, veneration for specific images in churches related to the donors for a variety of reasons (proximity, devotion, kinship ties) continued to consolidate family legacies and guarantee intercession for the dead. As attested in a seventeenth-century extract from a 1335 document, a “domina” Maria Bulcana (a successor of the Sergio Bulcano mentioned before) received a donation from her ancestor Sica, who had served in the infirmary of the monastery of San Gregorio Armeno<sup>46</sup>. In exchange, every day of her life, she had to light candles in front of an image of the Mother of God, which was painted on a wall in the church of the Saviour built inside the monastery, and pay for singing a mass. Rooted in an ancient tradition, when the possession of sacred images marked the social status and religious beliefs of the donors, the donation of Sica testifies to forms of piety centred around holy images that extended over a long duration.

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the cathedral, see: D’Ovidio, “Alla ricerca di un Medioevo perduto”, cit., pp. 48–67.

<sup>42</sup> See above, note 27.

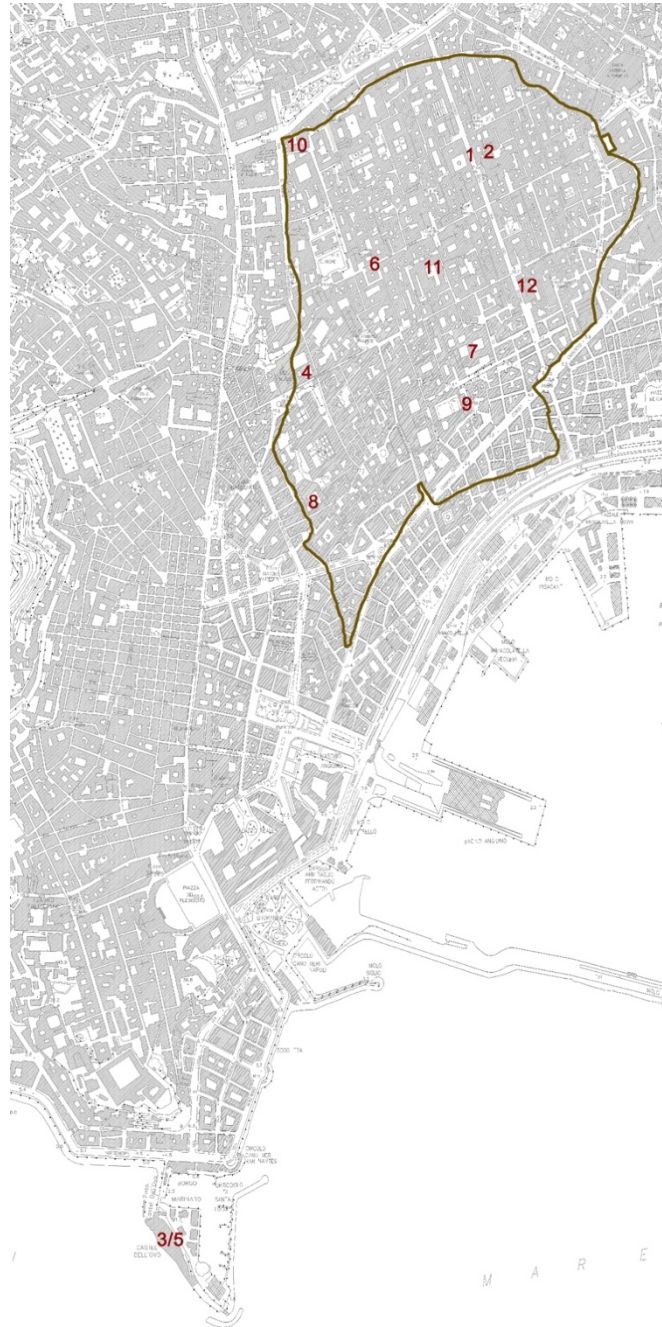
<sup>43</sup> Piazza, “La Grotta”, cit., pp. 187–188.

<sup>44</sup> P. Arthur, *Naples from Roman Town to City-State. An Archaeological Perspective* (Rome: British School at Rome, 2002), pp. 69–80. See also: Salmieri, “Topografia”, cit.; V. Lucherini, “Nodi storiografici e tracce testuali per un’indagine su monasteri femminili e potere a Napoli nell’alto Medioevo”, *Reti Medievali Rivista* 20, no. 1 (2019), special issue: Il monachesimo femminile in Italia nei secoli VIII–XI: famiglia, potere, memoria, ed. V. West-Harling, pp. 447–473.

<sup>45</sup> Santangelo, “Radicamento cittadino”, cit., pp. 5–10.

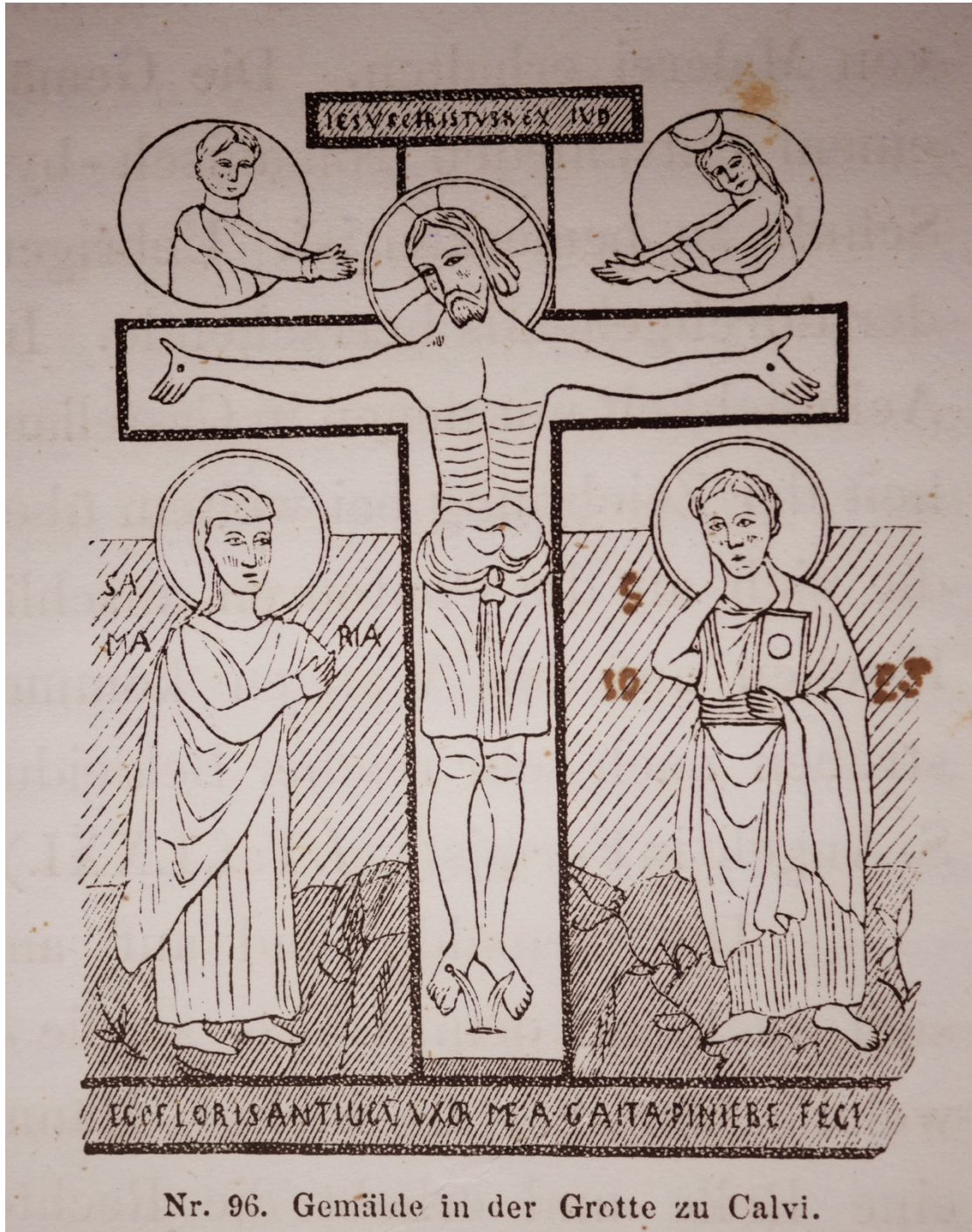
<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7. In the distribution of Sica Bulcana’s legacy it is stated that: “[...] pro reliquis tarenis 12 inpsa domina Maria Bulcana teneatur cunctis diebus vitae suae alluminare tres candelas ante imaginem pinctam ad honorem beatae Dei genitricis Mariae domina nostra in illo pariete intus ecclesiae Domini ac Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, que est intus ipsum monasterium Sancti Gregorii Maioris, et cunctis diebus cunctae vitae suae canere faciat missam unam” (C. de Lellis, *Notamentum instrumentorum in pergamena in Archivio S. Gregorii Maioris Neapolis vulgariter nuncupati S. Ligorii monialium dominarum*, Napoli, Biblioteca della Società Napoletana di Soria Patria, mss. XXXVII C 12, fols. 115–116). I am grateful to Monica Santangelo for bringing this document to my attention and providing me with a transcription of the extract. For a possible identification of this image see above, note 31.

## SACRED IMAGES



1. Location of sites mentioned in the text with circuit of medieval walls (elaboration by the author)

Key: 1. Platea Rarii Solis; 2. Cathedral; 3. Santi Sergio e Bacco; 4. Santi Teodoro e Sebastiano;  
5. San Salvatore in insula maris; 6. Arco Cabredato (Houses of the Bulcani); 7. Santi Severino e Sossio;  
8. Santa Maria ad Albini (Donnalbina); 9. Santi Marcellino e Pietro; 10. Sant'Aniello a Caponapoli;  
11. San Gregorio Armeno; 12. San Giorgio Maggiore



2. Calvi Risorta (CE), Grotta dei Santi, Devotional fresco with the names of the donors  
(Photo: Schulz, *Denkmaler*, cit., II, p. 156)



3. Unknown painter of the twelfth century, *Christ in a mandorla*  
Naples, Santa Restituta



4. Unknown painter of the thirteenth century:  
Painted disks with faces of the Virgin and Child  
Naples, Museo e Real Bosco di Capodimonte  
(from Sant'Aniello a Caponapoli)