

INTRECCI D'ARTE

13, 2024



Art Binds Communities in Medieval Europe

edited by

Gianluca del Monaco, Fabio Massaccesi, Maddalena Vaccaro

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ART BINDS COMMUNITIES IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

Gianluca del Monaco, Fabio Massaccesi, Maddalena Vaccaro

ABSTRACT

The present issue of the journal *Intrecci d'arte* is devoted to the theme *Art Binds Communities in Medieval Europe*, with contributions stemming from research presented in three sessions that were organised during the 2023 International Medieval Congress in Leeds (3–6 July), which focused on the thematic strand *Networks and Entanglements*. The term “network”, which is ubiquitous in contemporary discourse, typically evokes a sequence of material relationships. In contrast, the term “entanglement” suggests a more intricate form of interdependency among individuals, artefacts, and locations. The objective of these sessions was to situate these concepts within the distinct art-historical context of the European and Mediterranean Middle Ages, covering a chronological span from the 9th to the 15th century.

KEYWORDS: Medieval Art, Medieval Europe, Community

L'arte lega le comunità nell'Europa medievale

ABSTRACT

Il presente numero della rivista *Intrecci d'arte* è dedicato al tema *L'arte lega le comunità nell'Europa medievale*, con contributi derivanti dalle ricerche presentate nelle tre sessioni organizzate durante il 2023 International Medieval Congress di Leeds (3–6 luglio), incentrate sul filone tematico *Networks and Entanglements*. Il termine «network», onnipresente nel discorso contemporaneo, evoca tipicamente una sequenza di relazioni materiali. Al contrario, il termine «entanglement» suggerisce una forma più intricata di interdipendenza tra individui, artefatti e luoghi. L'obiettivo di queste sessioni è stato quello di collocare questi concetti nello specifico contesto storico-artistico del Medioevo europeo e mediterraneo, coprendo un arco cronologico che va dal IX al XV secolo.

PAROLE CHIAVE: arte medievale, Europa medievale, comunità

The present issue of the journal *Intrecci d'arte* is devoted to the theme *Art Binds Communities in Medieval Europe*. The contributions gathered here stem from research presented in three sessions we organised during the 2023 International Medieval Congress in Leeds (3–6 July), which focused on the thematic strand *Networks and Entanglements*. The term “network”, ubiquitous in contemporary discourse, typically evokes a sequence of material relationships. In contrast, the term “entanglement” suggests a more intricate form of interdependency among individuals, artefacts, and locations. Our aim in these sessions was to situate these concepts within the distinct art-historical context of the European and Mediterranean Middle Ages, covering a chronological span from the 9th to the 15th century. The sessions sought to explore how medieval artworks – including illuminations, paintings, sculptures, mosaics, and buildings – facilitated the creation and reinforcement of social networks within various communities, from monastic and mendicant orders to politically driven cultural environments. This issue examines how the production, organization, and decoration of sacred spaces, illuminated manuscripts, and other objects across medieval Europe served as vehicles for relationships, reflecting the attachment of people to places and cultures and contributing to the formation of shared histories that transcended societal divisions.

The renowned Italian art historian Roberto Longhi asserted the notion in 1950 that “L'opera non sta mai da sola, è sempre un rapporto” (1950) (The artwork never stays alone, it is always a relationship), thereby underscoring the concept that every artwork exists within a network of

relationships, both with other artworks and with the social context in which it is placed. This insightful observation highlights that artworks are not isolated objects but are instead deeply embedded in the complex web of cultural, historical, and social contexts. Building on the work of Joachim Wollash (1965), medieval historians have long used the concept of *Verbände* (associations) or *Verbandsbildung* (creation of associations) – initially applied to monastic congregations – to describe networks of interconnectedness. The art historians contributing to this issue have built upon this framework to examine the relationships between artworks, thus showing how these material objects express and reinforce connections not only within monastic systems but also across a wide range of both religious and secular communities.

The present issue opens with a study by Maddalena Vaccaro, who explores the historical and artistic relationships from the 9th to the 12th century between two Benedictine communities, Montecassino and Fleury, both of which claimed the relics of St. Benedict. By examining the artistic strategies employed in floor mosaic decoration and the veneration of these relics, Vaccaro reveals how these elements were instrumental in constructing and reinforcing the monastic identities of both communities. By undertaking a comparative analysis of artistic evidence, substantiated by historical and archaeological documentation, Vaccaro underscores the interplay between spirituality and art in shaping the identities of Montecassino and Fleury, notwithstanding their rivalry over the relics.

In the next paper, Ursula Prinz directs her attention to the realm of manuscript illumination from the late 10th and early 11th centuries, focusing on the Benedictine monastery at Reichenau Island and the ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ from Trier. Prinz’s analysis encompasses significant works such as the *Codex Egberti* and the *Egbert Psalter*. These manuscripts, though produced in geographically distant centres, exhibit notable stylistic and iconographic similarities. The study reveals a dynamic exchange of artists and ideas between the Trier and Reichenau scriptoria under the patronage of Archbishop Egbert of Trier, and Prinz also addresses scholarly debates regarding the origins of these manuscripts, calling for further research into their collaborative production.

In his paper, Antonino Tranchina paper examines the intervention of Greek-Byzantine painters in two 11th-century Western manuscripts: the *Speyer Codex Aureus* and the *Egbert Psalter*, specifically the *folia gertrudiana*. Tranchina explores how these illuminated manuscripts serve as links between the living and the dead, with particular focus on the depiction of St. Peter. In the *Speyer Codex Aureus*, the imperial frontispieces featuring St. Peter symbolise the eternal life of rulers, while in the *Egbert Psalter*, St. Peter represents a profound connection between the earthly and the divine. This study highlights the spiritual and artistic bonds forged through these objects.

Stefano D’Ovidio’s research shifts the focus to the practice of lay ownership of sacred images in Naples between the 10th and 12th centuries. This phenomenon is uncommon in medieval Europe. Unlike typical donations, these images were often fully owned by the donors, who entrusted them to churches within their own neighbourhoods. D’Ovidio’s analysis, grounded in textual evidence, explores the typology, iconography, and locations of these “private” images, as well as their social and economic implications. The paper also examines how this practice influenced the city’s religious rituals and identity.

Gianluca del Monaco’s paper further investigates medieval manuscripts, focusing specifically on illuminated copies of the *Decretum Gratiani*, a pivotal work in medieval Church legislation, composed around the mid-12th century. Del Monaco examines how these manuscripts, produced in collaboration with ecclesiastical institutions and professional lay craftsmen, became integral to the communities that used them. The study focuses on manuscripts associated with particular monastic or canonical communities and study identifies characteristics that distinguish these manuscripts as ‘cloistered’ Gratians, thereby highlighting the close ties between the *Decretum* and monastic or canonical institutions.

Maria Alessandra Bilotta's study also delves into legal manuscripts, focusing on Latin 362 and Latin 16905, which are preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France and had previously been overlooked by art historians. By conducting a detailed stylistic analysis, Bilotta confidently attributes these manuscripts to the so-called Master of the Avignon Decretum, an illuminator who was active between 1320 and 1350 and likely received his training in Toulouse. Bilotta's research sheds light on the role of this illuminator in shaping the visual culture of the Dominican order, particularly in Avignon, while also examining the broader networks of circulation and patronage associated with these manuscripts.

Michela Young's paper moves us into the Italian Quattrocento and investigates the artistic influence of the Vallombrosan congregation in 15th-century Florence, by focusing on their role in shaping artistic networks through commissioned works. The study explores how the Vallombrosan monks asserted their presence and influence within the city's artistic circles, particularly through the renewal of artworks in prominent churches such as Santa Trinita and San Pancrazio. The author contends that these artistic patronage networks played a pivotal role in the establishment of the monks' urban identity and cultural prominence.

Finally, Roberta Venditto's paper examines the Cascina altar frontal, crafted around 1480 in the England and acquired by Fra' Fabiano of the Servants of Mary in 1540. This altarpiece, produced by the prolific medieval English alabaster workshops, stands as a rare example of its kind in Italy. Venditto discusses the altar's patronage, its connection to the Protestant Reformation, and its broader significance within the artistic and cultic needs of the period. The paper also highlights the production and diffusion networks tied to alabaster works and their importance to mendicant orders and lay confraternities.

It is apparent from these studies that medieval artworks were profoundly interconnected and deeply tied to religious, political and social networks. This reveals the central role that art played in shaping shared histories and collective identities across medieval Europe.

FRAMING BENEDICT'S PRESENCE: STRATEGIES OF FLOOR MOSAIC DECORATION AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SAINT'S RELICS AT MONTECASSINO AND FLEURY (9TH-12TH CENTURIES)

Maddalena Vaccaro

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the historical and artistic relationships between the two Benedictine communities that claimed possession of the relics of St. Benedict, namely Montecassino and Fleury. By focusing on the artistic strategies employed in floor mosaic decoration and the veneration of Benedict's relics, the research uncovers how these elements were used to construct and reinforce their monastic identities. The methodology involves a comparative analysis of the artistic evidence, supported by historical and archaeological documentation. The study highlights the interplay between spirituality and art in shaping Montecassino and Fleury identity and heritage, despite their rivalry over the relics of St. Benedict.

KEYWORDS: Mosaics, Relics, St. Benedict, Southern Italy, France

Inquadrandola presenza di Benedetto:
strategie di decorazione pavimentale a mosaico e significato delle reliquie del santo
a Montecassino e Fleury (IX-XII secolo)

ABSTRACT

Questo contributo indaga le relazioni storiche e artistiche tra le due maggiori comunità monastiche benedettine che rivendicavano il possesso delle reliquie di san Benedetto, ovvero Montecassino e Fleury. Concentrandosi sulle differenti strategie artistiche attuate nella decorazione dei mosaici pavimentali e in connessione con le reliquie di Benedetto, la ricerca chiarisce gli elementi utilizzati per costruire e rafforzare le rispettive identità. L'analisi comparativa considera le testimonianze artistiche, la documentazione storica e quella archeologica. Lo studio analizza dunque l'interazione tra spiritualità e arte, funzionale anche a plasmare l'identità e l'eredità culturale di Montecassino e Fleury, nonostante la rivalità sulle reliquie di Benedetto.

PAROLE CHIAVE: mosaici, reliquie, san Benedetto, Sud Italia, Francia

This article examines the historical, artistic, and cultural ties between two prominent Benedictine monastic communities: Montecassino in Southern Latium, Italy, and Fleury near Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, France. It focuses on their distinct approaches to floor mosaic decoration and the considerable meaning they placed on the relics of St. Benedict. By exploring how these monasteries employed decorative strategies throughout the Middle Ages, the study reveals how these artistic choices were deliberately crafted to emphasize the presence of their founding "Father" – not merely as a spiritual figure but as a tangible presence within their sacred spaces. Given the longstanding rivalry between Montecassino and Fleury over the possession and importance of the saint's relics¹, this analysis delves into how these strategies evolved to construct and assert the unique identities of each monastic

¹ A. Galdi, "S. Benedetto tra Montecassino e Fleury (VII-XII secolo)", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge* 201, no. 126-2 (2014), [online] URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/2047>; DOI: 10.4000/mefrm.2047 [accessed 31 July 2024].

community.

St. Benedict is the central figure linking these two monasteries, as he founded his first cenobium on Montecassino around 529, replacing a former temple dedicated to Apollo along with other ancient structures with a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist and the monastic complex. The main abbey church retained its dedication to St. John until the major reconstruction commissioned by Abbot Desiderius in the mid-11th century, when a new church was consecrated in honor of St. Benedict in 1071². This church underwent modifications and partial rebuilding in the 16th century³. However, much of what we know about the church commissioned by Desiderius was uncovered during archaeological excavations following the Allied bombing in 1944⁴. The devastating destruction provided an opportunity to investigate not only the 11th-century phase of the church but also the early medieval history of Montecassino, confirming that the monastery's oldest structures (6th-9th centuries) were affected by invasions from the Lombards (c. 577) and the Saracens (c. 883), leading to the temporary abandonment of the cloister⁵.

It was this critical situation that forged a decisive and lasting connection with the Fleury community. The Lombard historian Paul the Deacon, upon his return from Charlemagne's court between 782 and 787, reports that monks from Le Mans and Orléans stopped at the abandoned monastery of Montecassino and «adportarunt» – either robbed or rescued, depending on the interpretation⁶ – the bones of St. Benedict and his sister St. Scholastica, bringing them, at least in part, to Fleury in France:

Circa haec tempora, cum in castro Cassini, ubi beatissimi Benedicti sacrum corpus requiescit, ab aliquantis iam elapsis annis vasta solitudo existerent, venientes de Celmanicorum vel Aurelianensium regione Franci, dum apud venerabile corpus se pernoctare simulassent, eiusdem venerabilis patris pariteque eius germanae venerandae Scolasticae ossa auferentes, in suam patriam adporarunt; ubi singillatim duo monasteria in utrorumque honorem, hoc est beati Benedicti et sanctae Scolasticae, constructa sunt⁷.

² For a general knowledge of the monastery, please refer synthetically to the fundamental works by: A. Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino attraverso la documentazione archeologica* (Montecassino: Miscellanea Cassinese 36, 1973); G. Carbonara, Iussu Desiderii. *Montecassino e l'architettura campano-abruzzese nell'Undicesimo secolo* (Roma: Istituto di Fondamenti dell'Architettura, 1979) [ora anche Roma: Bentivoglio, 2014]; H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages 3* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1986); L. Marsicano, *Cronaca di Montecassino* (III, 26-33), eds. F. Aceto, V. Lucherini (Milano: Jaca Book, 2001).

³ M. Cigola, "L'abbazia di Montecassino. Disegni di rilievo e di progetto per la conoscenza e la memoria", *Disegnare Idee Immagini* 14 (1997): pp. 43-52.

⁴ Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino*, cit.

⁵ Ivi; A. Pantoni, "La basilica di Gisulfo e tracce di onomastica longobarda a Montecassino", in *Atti del I Congresso internazionale di studi longobardi* (Spoleto: Accademia spoletina, 1952), pp. 433-42. The archaeological data match the historical documentation: Galdi, "S. Benedetto tra Montecassino e Fleury", cit.

⁶ In the *Historia translationis sancti Benedicti*, written by the monk Adrevald around the mid-9th century, the account of the discovery of the relics is presented as a miraculous rescue, serving as an obvious justification for the removal of the holy bodies: E. de Certain, ed., *Les miracles de saint Benoît écrits par Adrevald, Aimoin, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hugues de Sainte-Marie, moines de Fleury* (Paris, 1858): pp. 1-14 (now also: A. Davril, A. Dufour, G. Labory, eds., *Les miracles de saint Benoît* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2020), esp. par. VII. On the issue, cf. also below).

⁷ Paulus Diaconus, "Historia Langobardorum", eds. L. Bethmann, G. Waitz, in *MGH, Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. VI-XI* (Hannoverae: 1878): pp. 12-192, in part. lib. VI, par. 2, p. 165 and note 3. English translation: «During this period, when a vast desolation had existed for several years in the fortress of Cassino, where the sacred body of the most blessed Benedict rests, some Franks from the region of Clermont and Orléans, having pretended to spend the night near the venerable body, removed the bones of the same venerable father and of his equally revered sister Scholastica, and brought them to their homeland. There, two monasteries were separately constructed in honor of both, namely, of Saint Benedict and Saint Scholastica».

Paulus was undoubtedly aware of the events in the Frankish territories and the ongoing debate over the relics, a matter that sparked contention between the two communities for centuries. For a thorough examination of the mentioned sources, the latest studies by Éliane Vergnolle and Amalia Galdi are particularly insightful⁸. Regardless of how Paulus' text is interpreted, the critical outcome is that the monks of both Montecassino and Fleury consistently believed they held the exclusive possession of St. Benedict's relics. From an art-historical perspective, this context provides a compelling opportunity to analyze the methods of safeguarding relics and their associated artistic decorations as expressions of cultural strategies and institutional assertions by the two monasteries within the broader European political landscape. The artistic decorations and liturgical installations were specifically commissioned to underscore St. Benedict's presence at the center of their respective abbey churches. Now, a comparative analysis of the two cases is facilitated by the availability of parallel data, such as the development of the monastic sites, archaeological discoveries, and the mosaic floors, which constitute key decorative elements of the architectural spaces surrounding the relics⁹. Exploring these aspects can reveal richly layered contexts where artistic and material culture functioned as a means of asserting identity, continuity, and spiritual authority.

Relics and Mosaic Decorations in Montecassino

As previously mentioned, studies on the architecture of Montecassino prior to the bombings, as well as reports on the recognition of Benedict's holy relics over the centuries – most recently in 1950 – are fundamental. During the 1950 verification, it was confirmed that the eastern part of the abbey church, where Benedict was buried alongside Scholastica, remained unaltered during Desiderius' reconstruction and the 18th-century renovations. In fact, both the floor level and the underground sacellum near the main apse were preserved. This sacellum is a narrow space beneath the high altar (2.27 x 0.60 x 0.60 meters) designed to house the urns containing the sacred remains¹⁰ [figs. 1a-b]. Furthermore, according to reports and archaeological studies, this architectural arrangement dates back to the Lombard-Carolingian period, specifically under Abbot Gisulphus (796–817)¹¹. This phase included a church with three apses, the largest of which was painted: «absidam vero maiorem auro diversisque coloribus depingi pulcherrime fecit» (CMC, II, 32).

The relics have always been kept in the aforementioned small underground chamber near the presbytery, a space that has remained inaccessible and invisible to most since the early Middle Ages.

⁸ É. Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire. L'abbatiale de Romane* (Paris: Picard, 2018), pp. 51–52; Galdi, “S. Benedetto tra Montecassino e Fleury”, cit.

⁹ For in-depth studies of the two cases: M. Vaccaro, “Sous les pieds de la communauté du Mont-Cassin (Montecassino): espaces architecturaux et décor des pavements”, *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, no. 49 (2018): pp. 87–104; M. Vaccaro, “De la Romania à Fleury. Le pavement de marbre en *opus sectile* du chœur de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire”, *Bulletin Monumental*, no. 178/2 (2020): pp. 211–243; M. Vaccaro, E. De Feo, C. Ferreyra, “Gli arredi liturgici dell'abbazia di Fleury dall'età merovingia al XII secolo: indagine storico-artistica e restituzioni digitali”, *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 27 (2021): pp. 204–14.

¹⁰ The structure of this underground space was already documented during the inspection of 1486; for all the documentation, refer to: A. Ferrua, E. Kirschbaum, A. Pantoni, C. Venanzi, “L'esplorazione archeologica”, in *Il sepolcro di San Benedetto*, (Montecassino: Miscellanea Cassinese 27, 1951): pp. 69–94, esp. pp. 78–79 and n. 9; Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino*, cit., pp. 30–34.

¹¹ Pantoni, “La basilica di Gisulfo”, cit.; M. D'Onofrio, “La basilica di Desiderio a Montecassino e la Cattedrale di Alfano a Salerno. Nuovi spunti di riflessione”, *Desiderio di Montecassino e l'arte della Riforma Gregoriana*, ed. F. Avagliano, (Montecassino: Pubblicazioni Cassinesi, 1997), pp. 231–46, esp. p. 238.

From the mid-8th to the mid-9th century, the church was exclusively used by the monks; the tomb of the saint was not a pilgrimage destination for the faithful, and only “exceptional” devotees, such as the Lombard Duke Gisulf or King Charlemagne, had the opportunity to approach the place where Benedict was buried – «ubi decenter beati corpus Benedicti humatum est»¹². Archaeological evidence further confirms that the strategy for safeguarding Saint Benedict’s body remained unchanged in the reconstruction plan ordered by Desiderius in the mid-11th century. In the new abbey church, built between 1066 and 1071, the inaccessibility of the underground chamber beneath the presbytery was preserved. However, Desiderius’ decision to lower the new floor level of the naves by 1.85 meters resulted in the presbytery being more elevated¹³.

Regarding the focus of this research, it can already be confirmed that the floor mosaics in the naves and near the saint’s tomb have always been a prominent medium of decoration, although they were particularly emphasized during Abbot Desiderius’ renovations, as admirably celebrated by Leo Marsicanus in his *Chronica*¹⁴. The most extraordinary example of decorated pavement at Montecassino is the ‘lost’ 11th-century nave mosaic, which, though no longer visible, remains preserved beneath the current 18th-century floor. Unfortunately, it is now inaccessible, and only Erasmo Gattola’s graphic scheme, along with Dom Angelo Pantoni’s reports and photographs, provide us with information on its material aspects [fig. 2]¹⁵.

Especially following Émile Bertaux’s concept of the «école bénédictine»¹⁶, most studies have endorsed the idea that this pavement marks the origin of the floor mosaic culture of the central Middle Ages in Southern Italy. However, this notion is a *lectio facilior* that oversimplifies the complexities, beginning with the history of Montecassino itself.

Firstly, it is important to note that the floor mosaic was already a characteristic feature of the early medieval abbey church at Montecassino, as confirmed by the *Chronica*. While details about the church’s interior are sparse, it is known that Abbot Aligerno (948-985) undertook significant improvements following the community’s return to Montecassino after the Saracen destruction. He had the church roof rebuilt, the walls decorated, the altar of St. John adorned with silver plates, and commissioned a floor in front of the altar of St. Benedict made of a manifold variety of stones: «pavimentum etiam ante altare beati Benedicti multimoda lapidum varietate constravit» (CMC, II, 3). This polychrome floor, most likely in *opus sectile*, served to enhance the altar beneath which Benedict’s relics were kept.

When Desiderius ordered a mosaic pavement for the new abbey church, Leo Marsicano reports that he engaged master mosaicists from Constantinople to execute the work¹⁷. However, even the design of the floor is usually classified as “Byzantine” for the presence of quincunxes – well-known in Byzantine art and culture –¹⁸, the overall composition of the mosaic, its pronounced longitudinal

¹² *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensi* [from now on: CMC], ed. G. Waitz (Hannover: 1878): pp. 467-88, esp. par. 21, p. 480 (the information concerning the inhumation of Benedict is omitted in CMC, I, 5, when narrating the same episode). See also: E. Marazzi, “Montecassino e S. Vincenzo al Volturno: ragionamenti sui criteri progettuali dei ‘grandi monasteri’ fra VIII e IX secolo”, in Sodalitas. *Studi in memoria di don Faustino Avagliano*, eds. M. Dell’Omo, F. Marazzi, F. Simonelli, C. Crova (Montecassino: Miscellanea Cassinesi 86, 2016), II, pp. 619-46, esp. pp. 632-34.

¹³ Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino*, cit., p. 148.

¹⁴ CMC, III, 27, and its critical edition in: Aceto, Lucherini ed., Leone Marsicano, *Cronaca di Montecassino*, cit.

¹⁵ E. Gattola, *Historia abbatiae Casinensis*, (Venetiis: Coletti, 1733); Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino*, cit., pp. 101-137, 180-198.

¹⁶ É. Bertaux, *L’art dans l’Italie méridionale. De la fin de l’empire romain à la conquête de Charles d’Anjou* 4 (Paris: Fontemoing, 1904): pp. 155-183, esp. pp. 175-177; and A. Carotti, “Aggiornamento” pp. 175-177, in *Aggiornamento dell’opera di Émile Bertaux*, V-VII, ed. A. Prandi (Roma: École française de Rome, 1978), pp. 381-83.

¹⁷ Leone Marsicano, *Cronaca di Montecassino*, cit., pp. 54-57.

¹⁸ D. F. Glass, “Studies on cosmatesque pavements”, *British archaeological reports. International series* 82 (Oxford:

axiality, and especially its close relationship with the church's liturgical installations [see Conant's drawing, fig. 3] indicate that the *opus sectile* pavements were part of a larger, tridimensional, and coordinated project, likely conceived by Desiderius himself, and specifically tailored to the liturgical practices of the Cassinese community¹⁹.

As previously noted, the integrity of the underground relics chamber beneath the main altar has been preserved over the centuries. The floor decoration adjacent to this altar continued to feature mosaics, with updated representations. Pantoni's photographs capture the most recent phase of the medieval decoration: the western entrance to the underground chamber was flanked by two panels depicting dogs with chessboard-patterned coats in white and red tesserae (now in the Abbey Museum) [figs. 4, 5]. These are the only figurative elements and have thus been the subject of recent debate concerning their chronology. Their technique (*opus tessellatum*) differs significantly from the *opus sectile* of the nave, suggesting a possible later execution than the third quarter of the 11th century²⁰. Some studies have proposed an alternative hypothesis based on the technical variation, materials – in fact, they exceptionally include red glass and a specially prepared stone for white tesserae (“stracotto”²¹) – and the presence of figurative elements, suggesting that the panels may date to the 13th century and were originally intended for vertical use, such as plutei or wall decoration²².

On the other hand, the combined use of different techniques within a single floor does not necessarily imply a chronological gap or posthumous variations in decoration. Indeed, there are numerous examples from the 11th and 12th century where geometric designs in *opus sectile* incorporate figurative elements made with coloured tesserae.

For example, in northern Italy, the eastern section of the central nave floor in the abbey church of Pomposa, dated close to the church's consecration in 1026, is organized into panels that employ various techniques. The large central wheel, primarily crafted in *opus sectile*, and the panel featuring animals within knotted bands, executed in *opus tessellatum*, are notable features²³. Later pavements in Venice and its territory are characterized by large geometric wheels, and figurative elements are limited to being inserted within panels (e.g., Venice, San Marco, 1110-1141; San Zaccaria, second quarter of the 12th century) or into residual spaces (Murano, San Donato and Santa Maria, 1150)²⁴.

B.A.R., 1980); A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, “Tradizione locale e influenze bizantine nei pavimenti cosmateschi”, *Bollettino d'arte* 6, no. 27 (1984): pp. 57-72; M. Gianandrea, *La scena del sacro. L'arredo liturgico nel basso Lazio tra XI e XIV secolo* (Roma:Viella, 2006), pp. 57-58.

¹⁹ Vaccaro, “Sous les pieds de la communauté du Mont-Cassin”, cit. On the liturgical uses, refer to: T. Forrest Kelly, *The Ordinal of Montecassino and Benevento. Breviarium Sive Ordo Officiorum, 11th Century* (Fribourg: Academic Press, Spicilegium Friburgense 45, 2008).

²⁰ The dating to the 11th century, as referenced in note 16, is widely accepted and was most recently reaffirmed by G. Pollini, in M. Righetti, A.M. D'Achille, eds., *Roma medievale. Il volto perduto della città*, exh. cat. (Roma: De Luca Editori d'Arte, 2022), p. 195.

²¹ R. Longo, “Per una filologia dei materiali e delle tecniche dell'arredo liturgico tra Roma e il Sud Italia (XI-XIII sec.): i veltri di Montecassino e altri frammenti in *opus sectile* e *tessellatum*”, *Hortus artium medievalium* 27 (2021): pp. 335-347.

²² E. Scaccia Scarafoni, “Note su fabbriche ed opere d'arte medioevale a Montecassino”, *Bollettino d'arte* 3, no. 30 (1936): pp. 97-121, esp. 112-120, first suggested their relocation to the floor in the years of Abbot Bernardus d'Ayglar (1263-1284) in reference to the presence of fleurs-de-lis in Erasmus Gattola's drawing. A similar idea is now supported by Longo, “Per una filologia dei materiali”, cit.

²³ C. Tedeschi, “Cantieri antichi e moderni nei pavimenti musivi della chiesa dell'Abbazia di Pomposa fra realizzazioni e restauri”, in *L'Abbazia di Pomposa. Un cammino di studi all'ombra del campanile (1063-2013)*, eds., C. Di Francesco, A. Manfredi (dir.), (Ferrara: Edizioni Cartografica, 2017), pp. 95-118; E. Russo, “Profilo storico-artistico della chiesa abbatiziale di Pomposa”, in *L'arte sacra nei Ducati Estensi*, ed. G. Fallani (Ferrara: S.A.T.E, Pubblicazioni della Pontificia Commissione per l'Arte Sacra 8, 1984), pp. 201-62.

²⁴ X. Barral i Altet, *Le décor du pavement au Moyen Âge, les mosaïques de France et d'Italie* (Roma: École française de

These examples demonstrate how a checkerboard decorative effect could be easily created.

In southern Italy, some examples show the combinatory variety of techniques, influenced by the availability of materials – often sourced locally – and, more importantly, by the floor’s design and the coordination of its components. This is evident in the floor of Sant’ Adriano at San Demetrio Corone in Calabria, the main church of an Italo-Greek monastery, founded in the late 10th century, briefly managed by the Abbey of Cava de’ Tirreni (1088–1106) and later directly governed by Rome²⁵. In this case, the use of *opus sectile* in the aisles and the inclusion of tessellated animal panels link directly this work to the grand example of Montecassino. In Sant’ Adriano only “traditional materials” such as coloured marbles and stones were employed, yet the resulting aesthetic and decorative effect closely parallels that of the two dogs at Montecassino, sharing the distinctive checkerboard pattern [fig. 6]. Although the mosaic at Sant’ Adriano was removed and relaid for conservation purposes, its original execution likely falls within the widely-accepted chronology of the late 11th century – during the period of control by the monastery of Cava – and prior to the architectural transformations following the 1184 earthquake, when new structural and sculptural solutions were inspired by the reconstruction of the Cosenza Cathedral²⁶. The inclusion of tessellated (checkerboard) panels in the *opus sectile* mosaic, in my opinion, echoes the distinctive artistic choices made at Montecassino, reflecting a shared – not far away in time – will to install figured panels on the ground, and effort to adapt the mosaic design according to specific contexts and liturgical spaces.

Another example from Calabria confirms the experimental use of combining in pavement decoration *opus sectile* and *opus tessellatum*. This is the floor of the church of the Italo-Greek monastery of Santa Maria del Patir, completed by 1150 during the tenure of Abbot Blasius, as mentioned in the mosaic inscription. Here, the dual use of *sectile* and *tessellatum* and the qualitative differences in their execution should not mislead us: stratigraphic verifications confirm that the two layers are contemporaneous²⁷. Therefore, we are dealing with a deliberate choice, likely in response to different needs: on one hand, the *sectile*, which has a long and respected history in monastic contexts, serves as an indispensable “base carpet” in the naves. On the other hand, at the entrances, a mosaic executed with a different technique introduces a new and disruptive element: a tessellated, figurative floor that draws more on the tradition of mosaics from France and northern Italy, likely introduced to Calabria through the long-range cultural exchanges facilitated by the Norman court’s patronage. Without the example of Patir, it would be difficult to fully grasp the success of figurative mosaics in southern Italy. This influence extends from the nearby examples in Banzi, Monticchio, and Taranto, all the way to the creation of the extraordinary mosaic in Otranto, which stands as a direct heir to the rich mosaic culture that flourished in the mid-12th century²⁸. The use of dual techniques in Santa Maria del Patir is even more remarkable given its departure from Italo-Greek monastic traditions. This underscores how technical, material, and iconographic choices should be

Rome, 2010), pp. 337–42.

²⁵ M. Tabanelli, *Architettura sacra in Calabria e Sicilia nell’età della Contea normanna* (Roma: De Luca editori d’arte, 2019), pp. 157–160.

²⁶ A. Coscarella, “La chiesa di Sant’Adriano a San Demetrio Corone (CS). Nuove indagini”, in *VI Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, L’Aquila*, eds. F. Redi, A. Forgione (Firenze: All’Insegna del Giglio, 2012), pp. 154–59; Tabanelli, *Architettura sacra in Calabria* cit., p. 160, also referring to the mosaic restoration.

²⁷ A. Coscarella, “S. Maria del Patir dalla lettura stratigrafica alla comprensione di un monumento già noto”, *Daidalos* 1 (2001): pp. 66–72.

²⁸ M. Vaccaro, “Immagine, scrittura e spazio architettonico del mosaico pavimentale di Santa Maria del Patir a Rossano”, in *Calabria greca, Calabria latina. Segni monumentali di una coesistenza (secoli XI–XII)*, eds. M. Tabanelli, A. Tranchina (Roma: Campisano, 2018), pp. 85–98. See also: C. Ungruh, “Das Bodenmosaik der Kathedrale von Otranto (1163–1165). Normannische Herrscherideologie als Endzeitvision” (Affalterbach: Didymos-Verlag, 2013); F. Sogliani, “Paesaggi monastici della Basilicata altomedievale”, *Il capitale culturale* 12 (2015), pp. 421–52.

viewed as cultural statements that showcase the monastery's own rich cultural heritage.

However, another example of combined technique helps broaden this reflection – the pavement of the chapel of the Virgin in the Rotunda of Saint-Bénigne in Dijon, consecrated in 1018 and likely commissioned by Guillaume de Volpiano following his stays in Rome and Ravenna [fig. 7]²⁹. Although the pavement only survives in a watercolour drawing by Dom Plancher from 1722 (BnF, Fonds Plancher, coll. de Bourgogne, t. 14, fol. 123v), it shows a mosaic in *opus sectile* composed of small elements with geometric decoration, within which an interlace pattern and two lions in *opus tessellatum* were inserted, facing each other, seemingly playing the role of guardians of the sacred space³⁰.

This anticipates a theme later chosen for the sanctuary of Montecassino, where it does not seem improbable that the two figured slabs with dogs were originally placed on the ground near the underground tomb, as they serve the purpose of creating a functional decoration in relation to Benedict's presence – guarding the saint, in reference to the classical tradition that regards the dog as a psychopomp creature³¹. Moreover, the material evidence regarding the dimensions of the two slabs does not seem sufficient to suggest their use in a vertical position (the moulding could simply indicate the reuse of the marble piece), and the full-field iconographic subject does not find precise parallels among the mosaic-decorated plutei or altar slabs from the 12th and 13th centuries in southern Italy. In these, more appropriate themes for the function of such liturgical installations are typically found – complex geometric patterns (interlaced, starred, repetitive) or small animals with sacred or Eucharistic symbolism³².

Certainly, for the Montecassino dogs, it is essential to consider the material evidence related to the execution of the tesserae, which reveals the specific characteristics of the workshop involved. The unique choice of materials, including the use of glass paste and a specially prepared white stone, could suggest a slightly later execution of the two panels compared to the nave's floor, but still by the end of the 12th century, and possibly in first half giving the mentioned context of Southern Italy's mosaic productions.

Aside from the specific issue of their dating, and even if the two dogs could date slightly later than the nave's floor, it is important to emphasize not only the clear intention to elevate the space around the saint's underground tomb but also the focus on emphasizing its protection and guarding against possible threats of violation – an ancestral memory of the Cassinese community, facing Fleury's claims and the artistic strategies pursued there.

Fleury and the Display of Relics

In fact, moving to France, at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, we observe a very interesting process that spans centuries. As previously mentioned, there is a tradition that claims part of St. Benedict's relics were transferred to the Fleury monastery. From the French perspective, the narrative takes on the tone of a genuine rescue, orchestrated by Abbot Mummolus after the Lombard destruction of Montecassino

²⁹ Barral i Altet, *Le décor du pavement au Moyen Âge*, cit., pp. 238–40.

³⁰ Vaccaro, "De la Romania à Fleury", cit., p. 231.

³¹ M. Lurker, "Der Hund als Symboltier für den Übergang vom Diesseits in das Jenseits", *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 35, no. 2 (1983): pp. 132–44.

³² Please refer to the systematic considerations of: R. Longo, "Per una filologia dei materiali", cit.; M. Gianandrea, "Un crosscultural system per la scultura e gli arredi liturgici di Roma. Materiali e tecniche nelle dinamiche di interazione culturale con il Meridione (XI–XIII secolo)", *Hortus artium medievalium* 27 (2021): pp. 348–56.

in 577 ca.³³. Whether this interpretation is true or not, it is certainly emphasized (or exploited) to build Fleury's institutional identity and to justify the choices of liturgical settings within the abbey church since the early Middle Ages. Local sources and archaeological excavations confirm that, initially, Benedict's remains were buried in an underground sarcophagus³⁴. However, after the Norman attacks of 865 and 883, it was decided to place the relics in a proper structure, probably made of stone and referred to in the sources as a tabernaculum or mausoleum, located at the crossing of the transept. This decision clearly reflects the intent to make his presence visibly known³⁵.

Even more noteworthy is the later decoration of the transept crossing, which features a floor mosaic with a central circle (\varnothing 1.27 m), a frame of tow-coloured triangles, and an outer phytomorphic design. While the outer decoration is a tessellated mosaic, the material used for the triangles in the border is particularly interesting: coloured terracotta, intended to mimic the appearance of marble, which was evidently scarce at the site [fig. 8]. A useful comparison can be made with the decoration of another mausoleum, the sacellum of St. Zeno in Santa Prassede, Rome, commissioned by Pope Paschal I (817–824) for the tomb of his mother, Theodora episcopa³⁶. This Fleury floor is dated between the 9th and 10th centuries, during the abbacy of Wulfade (948–963), who wanted the scrinium containing St. Benedict's relics to be visible at the transept crossing³⁷. The choice to include a mosaic floor with a central composition was likely intended to highlight the display of the remains of the founder of both the order and the monastic community of Fleury.

We might ask whether this choice reflects a desire for ostentation. If we examine the changes made to the Fleury church by subsequent abbots, the answer seems to be yes. From this point onward, there is a noticeable increase in the enrichment of the liturgical installations in the choir, quite literally surrounding the body of St. Benedict.

Abbot Abbo (996–1003) placed the relics in a new reliquary-case adorned with engraved and historiated plaques depicting scenes from the saint's life. This casket was set on a platform (*lectica*), resplendent with gold, precious stones, and illuminated by lamps³⁸. It remained positioned at the transept crossing. The surrounding area also featured the high altar dedicated to the Virgin, with a gold and silver antependium, a monumental silver crucifix donated by a layman (Allaume) in 975, and a precise hierarchical organization of monks' stalls within the choir's enclosure³⁹. This same space was further enriched by Abbot Gauzlin (1003–1030), the illegitimate son of King Hugh Capet, who ordered new bronze liturgical installations and had the monks' stalls enhanced with porphyry slabs from the Lateran, according to the *Vita Gauzlini*⁴⁰. While it's impossible to verify the accuracy of this

³³ De Certain, ed., *Les miracles de saint Benoît*, cit., par. VII.

³⁴ S. Jesse, M. Étienne, "Le sépulcre de saint Benoît à Fleury au Moyen Âge", in *Lumières de l'an mil en Orléanais. Autour du millénaire d'Abbon de Fleury*, eds. A. Bosc-Lauby, A. Notter (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 173–78.

³⁵ Vergnolle, *Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, cit., pp. 52–53; Vaccaro, "De la Romania à Fleury", cit., pp. 211–15; Vaccaro, De Feo, Ferreyra, "Gli arredi liturgici dell'abbazia di Fleury", cit., with 3D models.

³⁶ A. Ballardini, "Scolpire a Roma per Pasquale I (817–824)? L'oratorio di San Zenone", *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 25, no. 2 (2019): pp. 376–91.

³⁷ In fact, Wulfade relocated the relics to the center of the transept after they had been moved for a time to an "external crypt" commissioned by Abbot Odo of Cluny (936–942). However, the liturgical function of this new architectural space did not succeed within the local monastic community, which remained strongly attached to its own local consuetudines: Vaccaro, "De la Romania à Fleury", cit., p. 215.

³⁸ *Les miracles de saint Benoît*, cit., "Miracula sancti Benedicti", book III, par. 2; "Vita et Passio sancti Abbonis par Aimoin de Fleury et pièces annexes", eds. R.-H. Bautier, G. Labory, in *L'abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2004), pp. 42–143, esp. par. 15.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ André de Fleury, *Vie de Gauzlin, abbé de Fleury / Vita Gauzlini, Abbatis Floriacensis monasterii*, eds. R.-H. Bautier, G. Labory, (Paris, 1969), p. 134: «Primorum vero reclinatoria fagineae materiae compegit tabulis porfiretico marmore a foris indutis, delato ab ipsa basilica sanctae romanae Sedis, quod et lamminis purissimi auricalci ambiri fecit claviculisque

claim, the text clearly uses this information to link Fleury to Rome by emphasizing the materials used. The same text pursues a similar purpose also mentions obtaining *emblemata* – mosaics or mosaic materials – from “Romania” (interpreted as the Ravenna area) to create a new mosaic floor⁴¹ [fig. 9]. Gauzlin’s artistic patronage gains even greater significance when considering the historical context: the abbot acted during a period, starting from the late 10th century, when exchanges between the Italian and Frankish regions were facilitated by the influence of Gerbert d’Aurillac. Trained within the Capetian milieu, Gerbert became a trusted figure at the Ottonian court, ascending to the papacy as Sylvester II in 999 following his role as Archbishop of Ravenna. Throughout his career, he maintained close connections with Capetian circles, the very environment in which the Abbot of Fleury was active⁴². Here, in the church of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, the mosaic floor imported from Italy covered the entire chancel and monastic choir area (15.60 m x 7.40 m), as confirmed by the discovery of mortar layers during excavations in the 1950s⁴³. Some of these materials have been preserved and incorporated into the current floor, which was restored by 1976.

Despite the challenges in conservation, the historical evidence points to three crucial points.

First, the creation of the polychrome *opus sectile* floor at Fleury was a deliberate act, likely completed before the fire of 1017, contemporaneous with the construction of the western porch tower⁴⁴. Second, the mosaic functions as a precious “carpet” centred on the transept crossing, where the reliquary of St. Benedict has consistently been placed or displayed, symbolizing his living presence at the heart of the monastic choir. Finally, the artistic choices at Fleury, particularly the strategies employed to display St. Benedict’s relics, are revealed to be original, autonomous, and unique.

It is unclear whether the monks of Fleury were aware of the coloured mosaic pavement surrounding the altar and Benedict’s tomb at Montecassino – already in place during the abbacy of Aligerno (as mentioned above). However, the choice to implement such a mosaic in Fleury was certainly unprecedented in the French context, suggesting ambitious and far-reaching cultural connections, particularly with Italy. The commission of the mosaic pavement at Fleury was undoubtedly an extraordinary endeavour. A faint reflection of the significance of this artistic achievement can be found in the now-lost mosaic of the ancient cathedral of Orléans, which may have replicated a similar decorative scheme, albeit in a more limited portion of the sanctuary⁴⁵. Conversely, the evidence remains too tenuous to draw substantial conclusions about the mentioned pavement of Saint Benigne in Dijon, which was created shortly after the one at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire.

Conclusions

In conclusion, beyond the individual contexts, the analysis of these examples highlights their

diligenter affligi».

⁴¹ For this issue I refer to my previous research in: Vaccaro, “De la Romania à Fleury”, cit.

⁴² F. Crivello, “Gerberto e le arti figurative: opere d’arte e manoscritti miniati intorno a Gerberto d’Aurillac”, in *Gerberto d’Aurillac da Abate di Bobbio a Papa dell’anno 1000*, ed. F.G. Nuvolone (Bobbio: Associazione Culturale Amici di “Archivum Bobiense”, 2001), pp. 191–215; H. Keller, “Identità romana e l’idea dell’Imperium Romanorum nel X e nel primo XI secolo”, in *Three Empires, Three Cities. Identity, Material Culture and Legitimacy in Venice, Ravenna and Rome, 750–1000*, ed. V. West-Harling (Brepols: Turnhout, 2015), pp. 255–82.

⁴³ J.-M. Berland, “Le pavement du chœur de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire”, *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 11, no. 42 (1968): pp. 211–19.

⁴⁴ Vaccaro, “De la Romania à Fleury”, cit., p. 220.

⁴⁵ I am conducting research on this topic as part of the project Projet collectif de recherche: *La cathédrale Sainte-Croix d’Orléans*, dir. Pierre Martin (Université Grenoble-Alpes).

distinct yet converging strategies in using liturgical and artistic elements to assert each monastery's identity and authority, revealing the intricate and enduring interplay of spirituality, politics, and art. At Montecassino, the emphasis is on the concealed and securely housed relics of St. Benedict, reflecting a desire to demonstrate his continued, inviolate presence through various reconstructions. In this regard, the decorative strategy pursued by Desiderius shortly after the mid-11th century is significant because it not only looks back to Montecassino's history but also seems to look towards European trajectories. Indeed, it cannot be forgotten that in the first half of the century, two monasteries bound to strong political powers were able to foster cultural strategies and wide-ranging artistic commissions.

One is the above-mentioned case of Fleury, which was renewed starting in the last decades of the 10th century during the Kingdom of Hugh Capet and his son Robert the Pious, thanks to whom Gauzlin was appointed abbot. The other case is the powerful monastery of St. Michael of Hildesheim, founded by Bishop Bernward, which benefited from the support of the Germanic imperial court of Otto III and Henry II. In both cases, these two monasteries demonstrate that they sought and knew how to make use, in different ways, of elements of Rome's art in order to reproduce specific features within their institutions, characterising and completing their sacred buildings and liturgical installations. As analysed, in Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, Gauzlin had a western tour-porche built "ex quadratis lapidibus", inspired by ancient construction techniques, and commissioned an *opus sectile* floor to decorate the most sacred space of the church with a floor mosaic that clearly recalled uses well known in Italy and, specifically, in Rome (see above). In Hildesheim, on the other hand, Bernward's commitment to using elements openly derived from Rome is widely acknowledged (the figured doors, the twisted column, the west crypt, to name only the most striking examples), not only reinventing the heritage of the ancient Urbe, but also of the Christian city, in an 'active engagement with the past', as Laurence Nees has made clear⁴⁶.

In this international context, Desiderius' efforts in the second half of the century thus appear to take on greater span: the obtaining of the ancient columns from Rome – net of possible reuse from the dismantling of Gisulphus' basilica – thus appear not only as a material and tangible link with the papal city, but are in line with the artistically demanding choices made by the other aforementioned two great European monasteries.

Considering the previous exchanges between Montecassino and the Franco-Germanic areas in the preceding centuries (see, for example, the circulation of Benedictine liturgical rules⁴⁷, the provenance of the abbots, the distinctive towered architectural solutions⁴⁸), it cannot be excluded that Desiderius was aware of the great enterprises beyond the Alps, especially in the context of a lively and continuous controversy regarding the possession of St. Benedict's relics.

Probably aware of the solutions adopted at Fleury earlier in the century, Desiderius offered a lavish countermeasure – through the engagement of mosaicists from Constantinople – within a broader initiative that intertwines the construction of Montecassino with its deeply rooted devotions. Moreover, as demonstrated by Serena Romano, this includes also the revitalization of the cult of St. Maurus through hagiographic textual narratives⁴⁹.

⁴⁶ L. Nees, "Aspects of antiquarianism in the art of Bernwards and its contemporary analogues", in *1000 Jahre St. Michael in Hildesheim. Kirche-Kloster-Stifter*, eds. G. Lutz, A. Weyer (Petersberg: Imhof, 2012), pp. 153–70.

⁴⁷ Vaccaro, "De la Romania à Fleury", cit., pp. 233–35.

⁴⁸ P. F. Pistilli, "Le chiese monastiche italiane nel quadro dell'architettura abbaziale europea fra VIII e XI secolo", in *Monasteri in Europa occidentale (secoli VIII-XI). Topografia e strutture*, ed. F. De Rubeis, F. Marazzi (Roma: Viella, 2008), pp. 149–80; P. F. Pistilli, "Premier roman et roman dans le choeur oriental de l'abbaye de Farfa", *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 49 (2018), pp. 135–49.

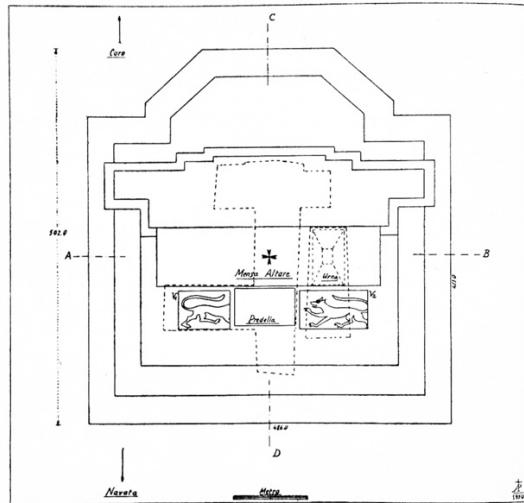
⁴⁹ S. Romano, "La lotta per il primato. Frammenti e fatti sparsi tra Italia e Francia nell'età della Riforma", in *Immagine*

FRAMING BENEDICT'S PRESENCE

In contrast, Fleury's approach is characterized by the visible and ostentatious display of Benedict's relics, aimed at reinforcing their institutional identity and asserting their legitimacy in opposition to Montecassino.

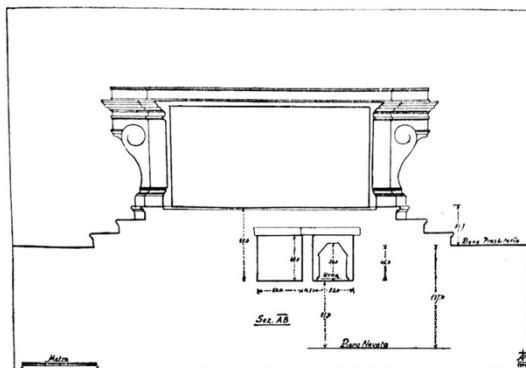
Despite differences in their architectural strategies, both examples reveal significant similarities: in both cases, the liturgical-political theme is central, with artistic choices serving to reinforce this purpose. The creation of precious, polychrome *opus sectile* floors, incorporating ancient materials, reflects a shared need to affirm the monasteries' identities by emphasizing the enduring significance of St. Benedict's relics in shaping monastic artistic heritage [fig. 10].

e ideologia. Studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle, eds. A. Calzona, R. Campari, M. Mussini (Milano: Electa, 2007), pp. 167-72.

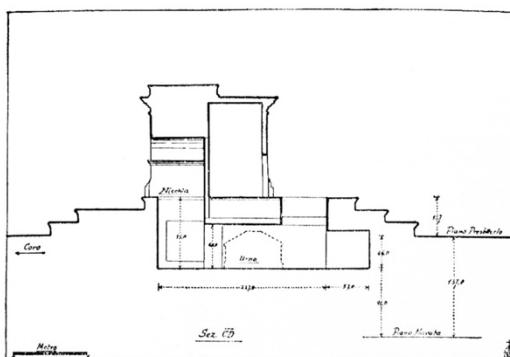


PLANIMETRIA DELL'ALTAR MAGGIORE

La linea tratteggiata indica il perimetro dell'area sepolcrale e l'urna con le reliquie; AB-CD sezioni eseguite: V,V_z velttri a mosaico (sec. XI).

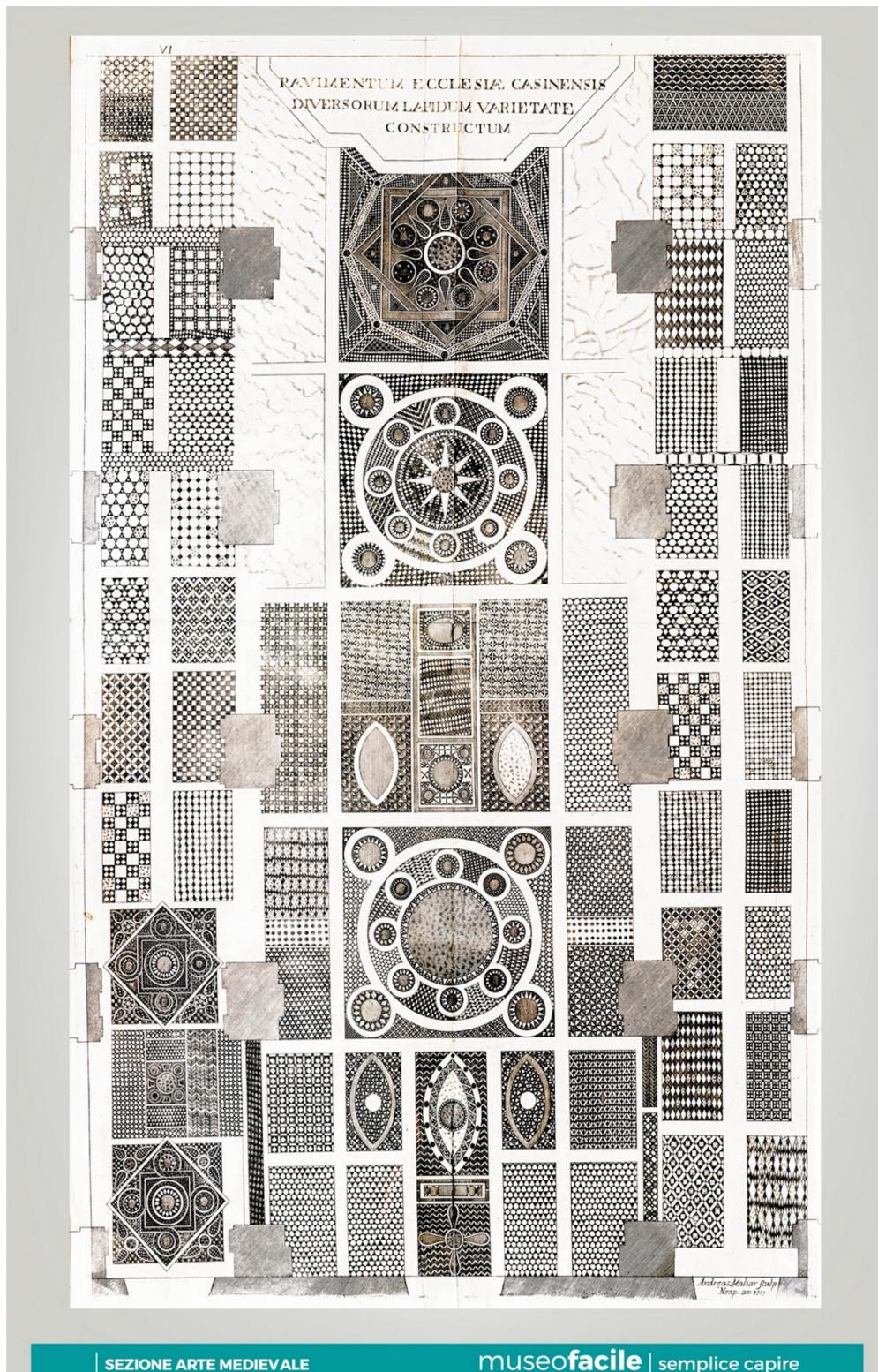


SEZIONE TRASVERSALE AB DEL SEPOLCRO
L'altar maggiore è rappresentato solo nelle linee principali. A sinistra del loculo delle reliquie la sezione del cunicolo centrale.

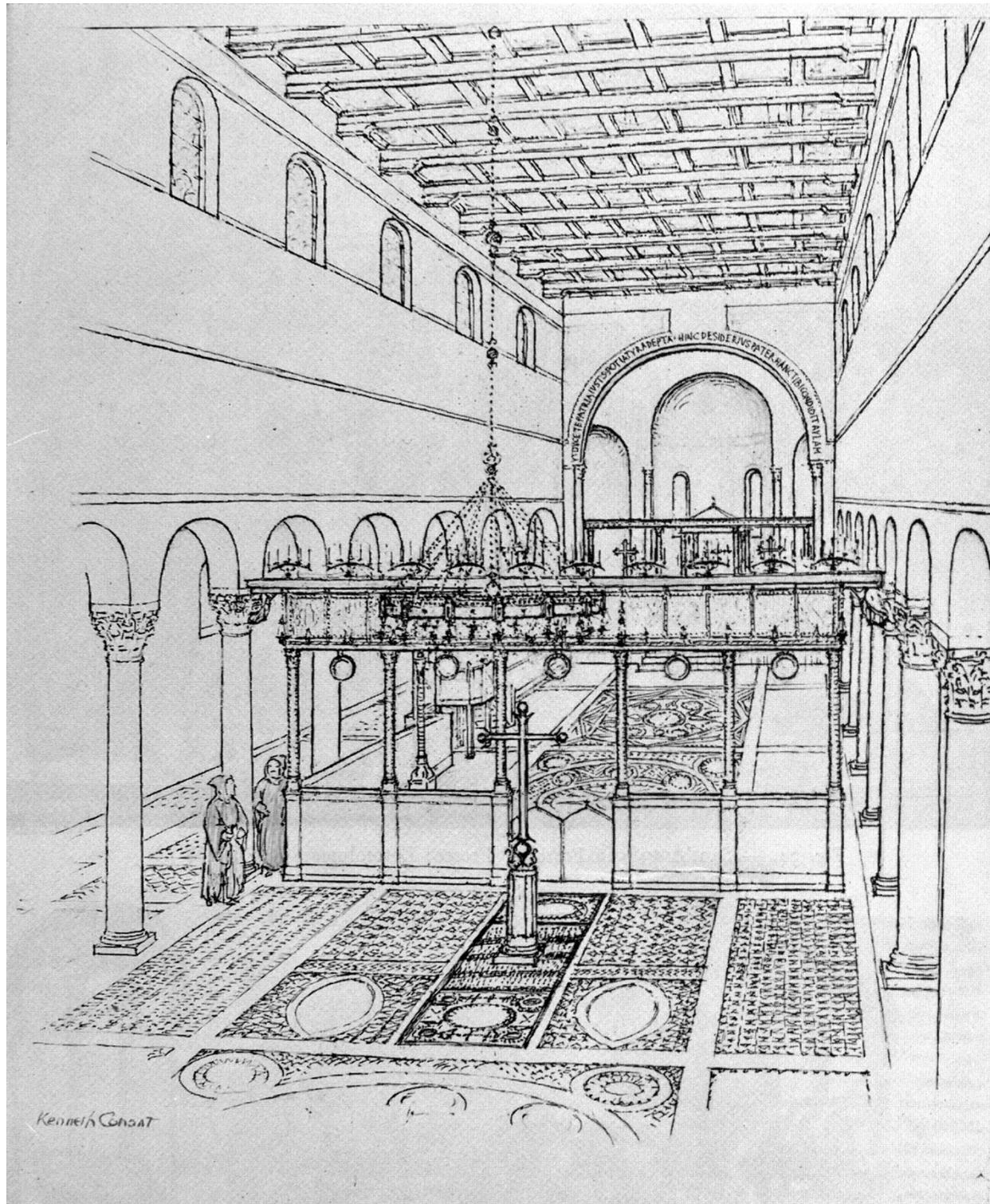


SEZIONE LONGITUDINALE CD DEL SEPOLCRO
Visibile il cunicolo centrale in tutto il suo percorso.
L'urna con le reliquie è rappresentata a tratteggio in quanto situata nel centro del loculo.

1a-c. Sections of the sacellum of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica beneath the main altar
(Photo: *Il sepolcro*, cit.)



2. Mosaic floor of Montecassino in the 18th century
(Photo: Gattola, *Historia abbatiae Casinensis*, cit./Museo Facile, Abbey of Montecassino)



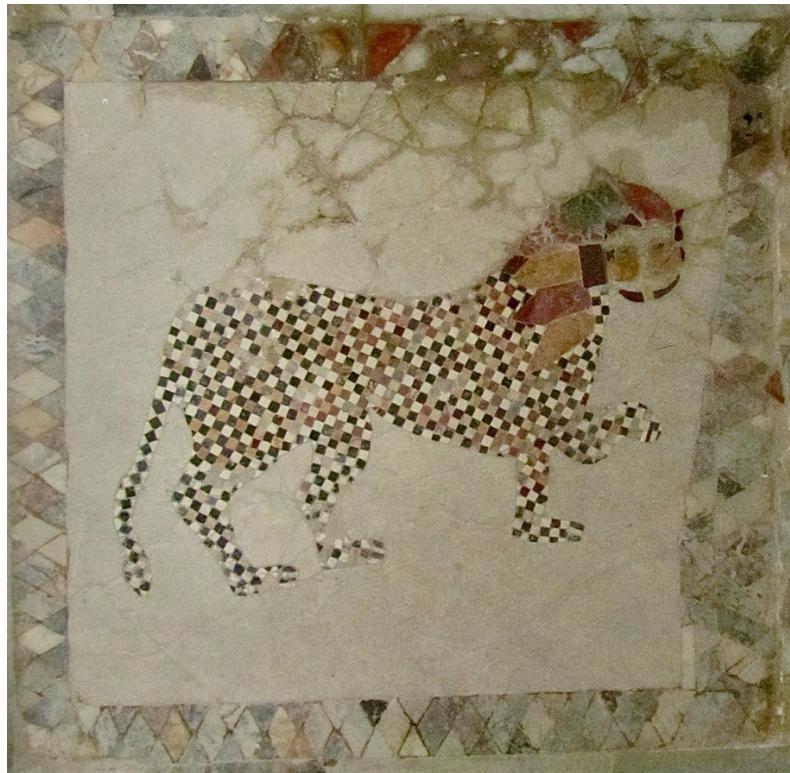
3. Reconstruction of the liturgical installations of Montecassino during Desiderius' era
(Photo: K.J. Conant, in Bloch, *Monte Cassino*, cit.)



4. The mosaic of the presbytery with the dogs (or “veltri”),
near the west entrance to the sacellum of St. Benedict and St. Scholastica
(Photo: Pantoni, *Le vicende della basilica di Montecassino*, cit.)



5. Montecassino, Abbey Museum, Panel with the dogs from the presbytery of the basilica
(Photo: Author)

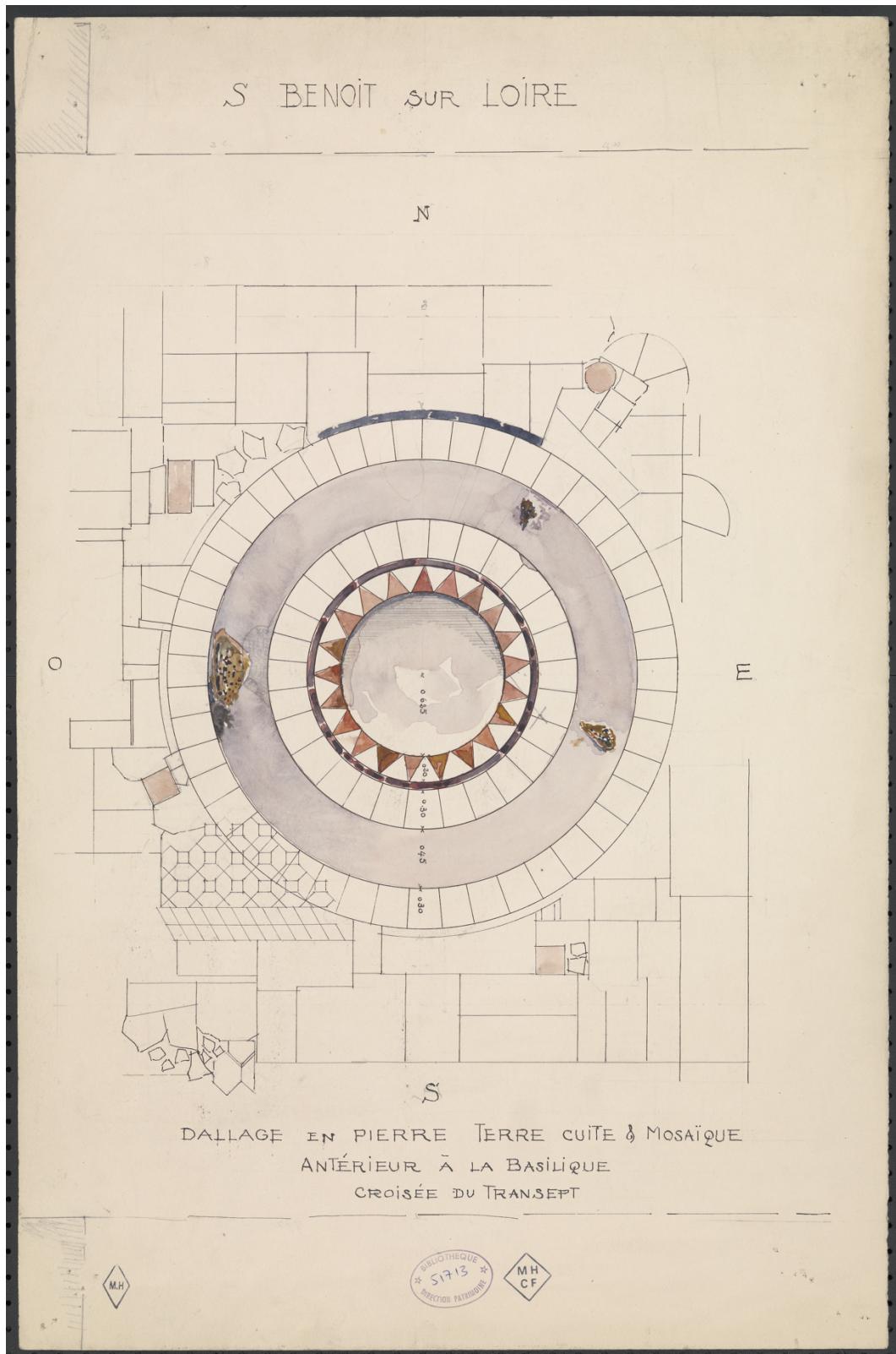


6. Sant'Adriano, San Demetrio Corone
Panel with the lion in the nave floor
(Photo: Author)

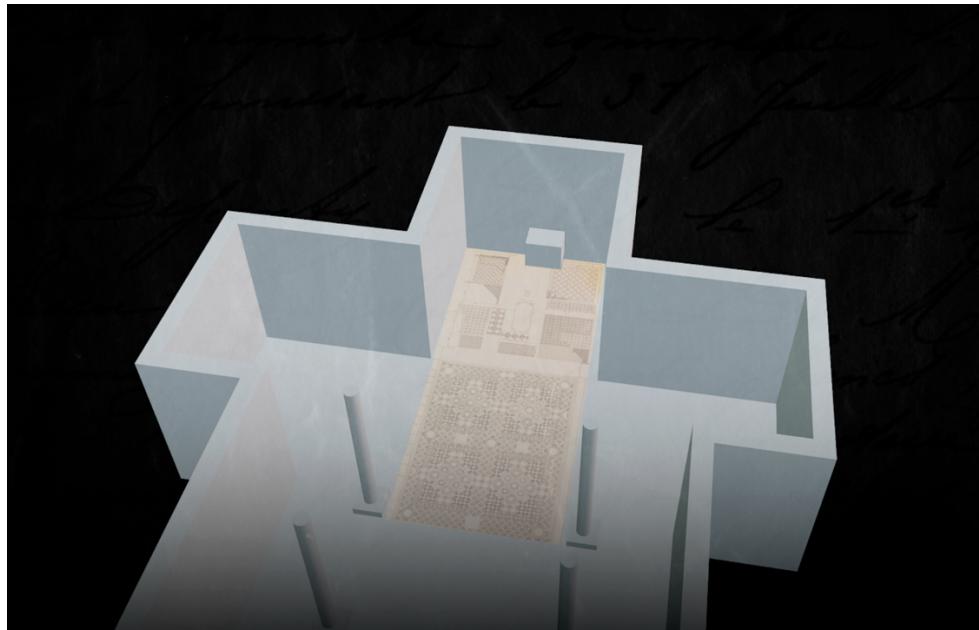


7. Dijon, Saint-Bénigne, pavement of the Chapel of the Virgin,
watercolour by Dom Plancher, 1722
(Photo: Vaccaro, "De la Romania à Fleury", cit.)

FRAMING BENEDICT'S PRESENCE



8. Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, relief of the pavement discovered in 1958
at the transept crossing (MAP, 0082/45/2029)
(Photo: Vaccaro, "De la Romania à Fleury", cit.)



9. Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, 3D reconstruction of the sanctuary in the early 11th century
with the *opus sectile* mosaic pavement
(Photo: Author, C. Ferreyra)



10. Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, the sanctuary with
the mosaic floor after the 1963 restoration
(Photo: Author)

ARTISTIC CENTRES BOUND BY THEIR SPLENDID MANUSCRIPTS – THE CURRENT STATE OF RESEARCH AND NEW VIEWS ON THE MEETING POINTS OF TRIER AND REICHENAU BOOK ILLUMINATION AROUND THE YEAR 1000

Ursula Prinz

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the intricate connections between manuscript illumination in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, focusing on the Benedictine monastery on Reichenau Island and the ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ from Trier. It highlights key works like the *Codex Egberti* and the *Egbert Psalter*, examining the collaborative efforts between the Trier and Reichenau scriptoria under Archbishop Egbert of Trier’s patronage. Despite geographical distances, these manuscripts show stylistic and iconographic ties, suggesting a dynamic exchange of artists and ideas. The study also addresses scholarly debates about their origins and calls for further research into their collaborative production.

KEYWORDS: Manuscripts, Book Illumination, Trier, Reichenau, Collaboration

Centri artistici legati dai loro splendidi manoscritti –

Lo stato attuale delle ricerche e nuovi punti di vista sui luoghi d'incontro della decorazione libraria
di Treviri e Reichenau intorno all'anno 1000

ABSTRACT

Questo documento analizza le connessioni tra la decorazione dei manoscritti tra fine X e inizio XI secolo, focalizzandosi sul monastero benedettino di Reichenau e il “Maestro del Registrum Gregorii” di Treviri. Esamina opere come il *Codex Egberti* e il *Salterio di Egberto*, rivelando sforzi collaborativi tra Treviri e Reichenau sotto il patrocinio dell’arcivescovo Egberto. Nonostante la distanza geografica, i manoscritti mostrano legami stilistici e iconografici che suggeriscono uno scambio dinamico di artisti e idee. Lo studio esamina i dibattiti sulle origini dei manoscritti e auspica ulteriori ricerche sulla loro produzione da parte di diversi collaboratori.

PAROLE CHIAVE: manoscritti, decorazione libraria, Treviri, Reichenau, collaborazione

When it comes to manuscript illumination in the late 10th and early 11th centuries, the Benedictine monastery on Reichenau Island in Lake Constance as well as the so-called ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ from Trier are two key highlights discussed in art history. The most precious masterpieces of this period are attributed to the scriptoria of Trier and Reichenau. Shining examples include the eponymous *Registrum Gregorii*, which has only survived in fragments¹ and the *Gospel Book of*

¹ For the *Registrum Gregorii* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Hs. 171/1626a; Chantilly, Musée Condé, Ms. 14 bis) and the so-called ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’: C. Nordenfalk, “Der Meister des Registrum Gregorii”, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3, no. 1 (1950): pp. 61–77; B. Nitschke, *Die Handschriftengruppe um den Meister des Registrum Gregorii* (Recklinghausen: Aurel Bongers, 1966); C. Nordenfalk, “The chronology of the Registrum Master”, in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, eds. A. Rosenauer, G. Weber (Salzburg: Residenz-Verlag, 1972), pp. 62–76; D. Oltrogge, R. Fuchs, “Naturwissenschaft und Stilkritik. Handschriften aus dem Umkreis des Registrum-Meisters”, *Kunsthistoriker. Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Kunsthistorikerverbandes* 8 (1991): pp. 96–104.

Emperor Otto III (r. 996–1002), which is one of many imperial codices ascribed to Reichenau². According to the current state of research, there is general consensus regarding the localisation of these manuscripts. However, although the episcopal city of Trier and the Reichenau Abbey are approximately 350 kilometres apart, there are some manuscripts that scholars attribute to *both*, linking these two locations situated at different corners of the Holy Roman Empire and resulting in rather unusual terms such as ‘Trier-Reichenau book illumination’³. Despite numerous, often conflicting, research contributions from the past century, many questions remain unanswered. In this essay, the topic will be revisited, firstly by critically assessing and compiling the convoluted status quo, and secondly by presenting new aspects that establish additional connections between Trier and Reichenau.

At the centre of this discussion is the *Codex Egberti*⁴. Its dedicatory image shows Archbishop Egbert of Trier (r. 977–993) as the recipient and two monks labelled as Reichenau monks – *Keraldus* and *Heribertus Augigenses* – as the bearers. Egbert was an essential patron of artistic production, magnificently illustrated books as well as goldsmithing and enamelling in particular. Another manuscript, believed to be a Reichenau work, was also commissioned by the Archbishop of Trier: the *Egbert Psalter*, which probably dates from the early years of his episcopate⁵. The third manuscript, in which Egbert is mentioned as the initiator, serves as the starting point for the attributions of the Trier book illumination: the fragmentary *Registrum Gregorii* with surviving leaves in Trier and Chantilly. Other central manuscripts attributed to the ‘Master of the Registrum Gregorii’ or short ‘Gregory Master’ include but are not limited to the *Strahov Gospels*⁶, the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*⁷

² For the *Gospel Book* of Otto III (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453): F. Mütherich, K. Dachs, *Das Evangeliar Ottos III. Clm 4453 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 2001), pp. 31–35; E. Klemm, *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, 2: *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004), pp. 194–200 cat. 187. On the Reichenau most recently: K. G. Beuckers, “Bemerkungen zur Reichenauer Buchmalerei im 10. Jahrhundert”, in *Die Klosterinsel Reichenau im Mittelalter. Geschichte – Kunst – Architektur*, eds. W. Zimmermann, O. Siart, M. Gedigk (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2024), pp. 219–41.

³ Please see for example: H. V. Sauerland, A. Haseloff, “Der Psalter Erzbischof Egberts von Trier. *Codex Gertrudianus*”, in *Cividale* (Trier: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Nützliche Forschungen, 1901); U. Nilgen, “Blonde Roma? Zum Sinn des Blondhaars in der Buchmalerei der Reichenau”, *Journal of Art History* 66, no. 1 (2003): pp. 19–32, esp. 27; I. Siede, “Abkopiert – ummontiert – uminterpretiert: Buchmalerei und Elfenbein im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert – byzantinische Kunst missverstanden?”, in *Byzanz und seine europäischen Nachbarn. Politische Interdependenzen und kulturelle Missverständnisse*, eds. L. Körntgen, J. Kusber, J. Pahlitzsch, F. Carlà-Uhink (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2020), pp. 103–18, esp. 105.

⁴ For the *Codex Egberti* (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 24) please refer to: H. Schiel, *Codex Egberti der Stadtbibliothek Trier. Voll-Faksimile-Ausgabe* (Basel: Alkuin Verlag, 1960); G. Franz, ed., *Der Egbert-Codex. Das Leben Jesu. Ein Höhepunkt der Buchmalerei vor 1000 Jahren. Handschrift 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 2005); M. Embach, *Der Codex Egberti (StB Hs 24). Ein Meisterwerk der ottonischen Buchkunst* (Trier: Paulinus, 2009).

⁵ For the *Egbert Psalter* (Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. 136) please refer to: Sauerland, Haseloff, “Der Psalter Erzbischof”, cit.; C. Hattler, M. Gedigk, O. Siart, eds., *Welterbe des Mittelalters. 1300 Jahre Klosterinsel Reichenau*, exh. cat. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2024), pp. 388–94 cat. no. 123.

⁶ For the *Strahov Gospels* (Prague, Strahov Abbey, DF III 3): B. Nitschke, “Obrazy evangelistů strahovského evangeliáře”, *Strahovská Knihovna. Sborník Památníku Národního Písemnictví* 3 (1968): pp. 5–14; E. G. Šidlinský, T. Žilinčák, *Faksimile Strahovského evangeliáře. Doprovodná publikace k faksimile rukopisu uloženého v knihovně Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově v Praze pod signaturou DF III* (Prague: Tempus Libri, 2012); D. Oltrogge: “Aneignung und ‘Inszenierung’ von Evangelien in institutionellem und liturgischem Gebrauch – drei Fallbeispiele”, *Journal of Art History* 80, no. 2 (2017): pp. 201–17.

⁷ For the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 8851): J. Durant, M. Laffitte, eds., *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, exh. cat. (Paris: RMN, 2001), pp. 215–20 cat. no. 59; M. Puhle, G. Köster, eds., *Otto der Große und das Römische Reich. Kaisertum von der Antike zum Mittelalter*, exh. cat. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner,

as well as seven miniatures and one preliminary drawing in the *Codex Egberti* – the very same manuscript that features Reichenau monks as bearers and likely as its creators⁸. Because of its ties to the ‘Gregory Master’ the *Codex Egberti* is generally considered a collaboration project between Trier and Reichenau; the same seems to apply to the closely related *Trier Epistolary*⁹. The artistic connection between these distant book illumination centres around the year 1000 extends beyond these manuscripts. Before the unexpected meeting points are further examined, the codex that, based on its inscription, brings the two places together shall be discussed as a starting point¹⁰.

Archbishop Egbert, the Monks Ruodprecht, Keraldus and Heribertus, and the ‘Gregory Master’

The *Egbert Psalter* is believed to be older than the *Codex Egberti*, originating around 980, the same time as the Staff Reliquary of Saint Peter from Egbert’s goldsmith workshop¹¹. In the pictorial programmes of the Staff Reliquary and the Psalter, Egbert presents himself as the acting successor in a series of religious functionaries that trace back directly to Saint Peter. The Psalter text is divided into fifteen decades. Each group of ten is preceded by a double page, the *recto* of which shows a very richly decorated initial page, while the *verso* shows a bishop of Trier as part of the Apostolic succession. At the beginning of the manuscript stands the enthroned Archbishop Egbert and receives the commissioned codex from a monk named Ruodprecht (fols. 16v-17r) [fig. 1]. On the following double page, Egbert himself is the bearer and hands the book to the enthroned Saint Peter, who is also the patron saint of Trier Cathedral (fols. 18v-19r). In terms of style the *Egbert Psalter* is particularly close to the *Poussay Gospels*¹². Both manuscripts are part of the so-called Ruodprecht

2012), pp. 658–60 cat. no.V. 57.

⁸ Attributions to the art-historical construct ‘Gregory Master’ as an individual illuminator should be viewed with caution. For more on the ‘Gregory Master’ please refer to U. Prinz, *Studien zum sogenannten Gregormeister und der ottonischen Buchmalerei in Trier*, PhD dissertation (Universität Kiel, 2024).

⁹ For the *Trier Epistolary* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 34); A. von Euw, “Das Epistolar Ms. theol. lat. fol. 34 der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin”, in *Egbert Erzbischof von Trier 977–933. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag*, ed. F.J. Ronig (Trier: Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseums, 1993), II, pp. 53–60; U. Prinz, “Das unvollendete Trierer Prachtepistolar in der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 34”, in *Illustrierte Epistolare des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, eds. K. G. Beuckers, V. Bienert, U. Prinz (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2021), pp. 103–51.

¹⁰ The following sections contain aspects that are discussed in my dissertation: Prinz, *Studien*, cit.

¹¹ For the Trier staff reliquary of St. Peter (Limburg, Domschatz, Inv. Nr. D 2/1) please refer to: H. Westermann-Angerhausen, “Die Goldschmiedearbeiten der Trierer Egbertwerkstatt”, *Trierer Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst des Trierer Landes und seiner Nachbargebiete* 4 (1973): pp. 34–40, 125 f., pp. 129–134 and passim; Ronig ed., *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, pp. 38 f. cat. no. 43; S. E. Eckenfels-Kunst, *Goldemails. Untersuchungen zu ottonischen und frühalsischen Goldzellenschmelzen* (Berlin: Pro Business, 2008), pp. 45–47, pp. 277–81 cat. no. 26; H. H. Anton, *Regesten der Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe von Trier*, 1.3: *Die Trierer Kirche und die Trierer Bischöfe in der ausgehenden Antike und am Beginn des Mittelalters. Bischöfe von der Wende des 4./5. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2019), pp. 558–60 cat. no. 55; Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz, B. Schneidmüller, eds., *Die Kaiser und die Säulen ihrer Macht. Von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich Barbarossa*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: wbg Theiss, 2020), pp. 248–50 cat. no. II. 41; J. Bergmann, “Egberts Petrusstab-Reliquiar. Aspekte der Restaurierungsgeschichte”, in *Der Andreas-Tragaltar. Restaurierungsgeschichte, offene Forschungsfragen und Neupräsentation eines Hauptwerks der ottonischen Goldschmiedekunst*, ed. Museum am Dom Trier (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2023), pp. 85–93. For the goldsmith workshop under Egbert: K. G. Beuckers, “Kunst als politisches Argument. Erzbischof Egbert und seine Goldschmiedewerkstatt”, in *Der Andreas-Tragaltar*, cit., pp. 10–27.

¹² For the *Poussay Gospels* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10514) and the *Ruodprecht Group*: T. Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei. Bildquellen – Ornamentik – stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunsthissenschaft, 2009).

Group, named after the monk depicted in the Psalter. It follows the book illumination of the so-called Anno Group, again named after an individual mentioned in one of the manuscripts. Anno was the scribe who wrote the *Gero Codex*, a commissioned work for the Cologne presbyter and later Archbishop Gero (r. 969–976)¹³. Like the *Egbert Psalter*, the *Gero Codex* also contains a dedication cycle. On fol. 6v, Gero presents the manuscript to Saint Peter; in the accompanying poem, Gero humbly asks for salvation and access to the heavenly realm. On fol. 7v Gero receives the codex from Anno, who introduces himself as Gero's supporter and invokes his intercession. That Anno is the scribe of the manuscript is clear from the devotional formula in the dedicatory poem (fol. 8r). For the *Egbert Psalter*, which lacks a dedicatory poem, the same form with a depiction of the scribe could be assumed. The inscription reads: “Donum fert Ruodpreht. Quod suscipit Egbreht” (“Ruodpreht brings the gift. Egbert accepts it”). The description of the manuscript as a gift from the presenter can also be found in the *Gero Codex*, which reads: “Saepius optatum garanter sume libellum, Quem tibi fert Anno saltim pro munere parvo” (“joyfully take the often desired book that Anno brings you as a not-so-small gift”)¹⁴.

According to Michael Embach, the Ruodprecht depicted in the *Egbert Psalter* is identical to the Mettlach scribe Ruopert of the Adalbert Vita and the Psalter is therefore a manuscript from the Trier workshop, not a Reichenau one¹⁵. In contrast, Thomas Labusiak, who decidedly attributed the Psalter to the Reichenau, found that the depicted monk, regarding Embachs thesis, could be ruled out as a scribe (or painter)¹⁶. Ruopert from Mettlach is also an unlikely candidate for the role of conceptualiser, Labusiak argues, since as a hagiographer “the partially unchronological order of the Trier archbishops in the litany and miniature series [...] would certainly have run counter to him”¹⁷. He would therefore only be conceivable as a founder, which seemed doubtful for other reasons¹⁸. Karl Lamprecht had suggested an identification with a Ruotbert, who is the only person with this name documented at Trier Cathedral Abbey from around 970 to 981, where he was first choir bishop and then archbishop from 973¹⁹. As a possible benefactor, Ruotbert from Trier would carry different weight, as he would stand alongside Egbert as a “fellow campaigner” in church politics²⁰. As appealing as the various speculations are, the *Gero Codex* provides an exemplary form for this type of dedication cycle. There is no reason to deviate from this or to doubt that Ruodprecht, as *scriptor*, was responsible for the handcrafted production of the codex. Hartmut Hoffmann was able to establish

¹³ For the *Gero-Codex* (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Hs. 1948) please refer to: A. von Euw, ed., *Vor dem Jahr 1000. Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Ausst. Kat. Museum Schnütgen Köln, exh. cat. (Cologne: Stadt Köln 1991), pp. 118–21 cat. no. 31; A. von Euw, “Der Darmstädter *Gero-Codex* und die künstlerisch verwandten Reichenauer Prachthandschriften”, in *Kaiserin Theophanu. Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends. Gedenkschrift des Kölner Schnütgen-Museums zum 1000. Todesjahr der Kaiserin*, eds. A. von Euw, P. Schreiner (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1991), pp. 191–225; Hattler, Gedigk, Siart *Welterbe des Mittelalters*, cit., pp. 332–35 cat. no. 114.

¹⁴ After the German translation of: von Euw, “Der Darmstädter *Gero-Codex*”, cit., p. 195.

¹⁵ M. Embach, “Die Adalbert-Vita des Benediktinermönchs Ruopert von Mettlach – eine hagiographische Auftragsarbeit Erzbischof Egberts von Trier”, in *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., II, esp. 30–32; please refer also to Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., p. 317.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

¹⁷ *Ivi.*

¹⁸ It would not only be “the only known case of a simple monk” as the donor of a magnificent manuscript, but also “a reason would have to be found as to why a monk from Mettlach was able to donate a manuscript that was so important for Trier in terms of its political content”. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

¹⁹ K. Lamprecht, “Der Bilderschmuck des *Cod. Egberti* zu Trier und des *Cod. Epternacensis* zu Gotha”, *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* 70 (1881): pp. 56–112, esp. 59.

²⁰ Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., p. 319.

the involvement of four Reichenau scribes²¹. Ruodprecht could have most likely been the head of the project.

Like Gero in his *Codex Egberti*, Egbert is also depicted twice: as the recipient and the bearer. He thus personally establishes the connection between the earthly production and the heavenly foundation. As the recipient Egbert appears like a ruler, frontally seated on an ornate throne. With his left hand he grasps his golden crosier, while his right hand points toward the approaching Ruodprecht. The archbishop also appears in a very similar way on the frontispiece of the *Codex Egberti* [fig. 2]; and while most attributions are based on stylistic comparisons and attempts at historical reconstruction, this particularly important manuscript contains actual tangible references to Trier and Reichenau through its inscriptions. The motif of handing over the codex gains a special significance when assuming that the bearer and recipient come from two different regions. The brief moment of their coming together materialises in the very object depicted.

The *Codex Egberti* is an evangelistary with 52 miniatures of Christological scenes that illustrate the corresponding periscopes. It is the oldest and most comprehensive surviving cycle of images on the life of Jesus. The evangelistary begins with four double decorative pages: dedication text and image (fol. 1v/2r), evangelist images (fol. 3v-4r, 5v-6r) and the *incipit* with an initial page at the beginning of the text (fol. 7v-8r). From a stylistic point of view this introductory sequence must be distinguished from the rest of the decoration of the book. In particular, the wide ornamental frames and patterned carpet backgrounds with lots of gold and purple are similar to the book decoration of the *Egbert Psalter*, whose ornamental richness is the defining feature of the manuscript.

Due to the wide ornamental frame, Egbert's depiction on the dedication painting is significantly smaller than that of the evangelists. His figure nevertheless appears monumental, as he towers over the monks standing only knee high. Egbert is dressed in a red robe, while the white pallium, whose colour has faded and become transparent over the years, falls low from his shoulders, kinking in his lap and continuing over his left knee. As in the *Egbert Psalter*, the archbishop, is depicted *en face* with a rectangular nimbus, and sits enthroned in a regal pose. His monumental figure creates a sense of distance from the monks below him. Without turning towards them, he accepts the codex from Keraldus with his right hand. The latter carries the book with both hands towards the archbishop, to whom he looks up. Heribertus, standing on the right-hand side and unnoticed by Egbert, appears somewhat detached, holding a similar codex – which is believed to represent the *Trier Epistolary* – in front of his body. Doris Oltrogge and Robert Fuchs established that the monk Heribertus was an initially unplanned addition²². For the figures of Egbert and Keraldus, the corresponding areas were left blank in the first layer of the purple ground. Heribertus was painted over the coloured ground in a later step. As the painting was less able to adhere, this also explains the damaged state of preservation of his figure. According to the original concept, only Keraldus was intended. The need to depict Heribertus evidently arose during the production process.

The significance of the two monks has long been disputed. An early and still common assumption regards Keraldus and Heribertus as the “scriptores et pictores codicis”²³. Hartmut Hoffmann saw the monks as the actual founders of the codex, who appear in the name of Reichenau²⁴. According to Oltrogge and Fuchs, they were the project managers – a position initially held by Keraldus and later

²¹ H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), I, p. 315.

²² D. Oltrogge, R. Fuchs, “Kerald und Heribert. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Widmungsbildes im *Codex Egberti*”, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 29 (1989): pp. 65-86.

²³ J. H. Wyttensbach, *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae publicae Treverensis* (Trier: 1831), cat. no. 24, quoted from Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., p. 171 note 4.

²⁴ Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., I, p. 84.

shared with Heribertus²⁵. The original concept only envisaged the artistic introductory sequence followed by pure text. The inclusion of a Christological cycle was a change to the original plan²⁶.

The dedicatory text, written in hexameters, describes the codex as an offering by the ‘blessed meadow’: “Hunc Egberte librum divino dogmate plenum / Suscipiendo vale, nec non in saecula gaude / Augia fausta tibi quem defert praesul honouri” (Egbert, receive this book full of divine teaching / May it bring you prosperity and joy for eternity / The blessed meadow offers it to you, Bishop, in your honour.)²⁷. *Augia fausta* can only mean Reichenau, although this name is not documented elsewhere and the monastery is actually called Augia dives – ‘rich meadow’²⁸. It is highly unlikely that the *Codex Egberti* was a genuine present from the Reichenau monastery to the Archbishop of Trier²⁹. In the older *Gero Codex* and in the *Egbert Psalter*, the manuscripts are also respectively described as gifts from Anno and Ruodprecht in their dedicatory texts. Despite this wording, however, both were probably scribes carrying out a commissioned work, rather than actual donors. The monks depicted and named are the makers. Why would simple monks, who are not explicitly characterised as abbots representing their monastery, make such an expensive gift to the Archbishop of Trier? There is no sufficient evidence for this practice. Egbert also appears, as in his Psalter, not as the active recipient of a gift, but as a donor who accepts a commissioned work. With his donation and pictorial representation, Egbert secures his own *memoria*³⁰.

Since Walter Gernsheim, the following seven miniatures of the Christological cycle of the *Codex Egberti* have been attributed to the ‘Gregory Master’: *Annunciation* (fol. 9v), *Visitation* (fol. 10v), *Dream of Joseph* (fol. 12r), *Nativity* (fol. 13r), *Infanticide in Bethlehem* (fol. 15v), *Healing the centurion’s servant* (fol. 22r) and *Healing the mother of Peter’s wife* (fol. 22v)³¹. Doris Oltrogge and Robert Fuchs also attributed the preparatory drawing for the *Banquet in Bethany* (fol. 65r) to the same artist³². Probably four or five different illuminators contributed to the miniature scenes³³.

The discussion of historical models for the cycle of images in the *Codex Egberti* is always linked to the question whether it belongs to a Reichenau or Trier pictorial tradition, which is crucial for

²⁵ Oltrogge, Fuchs, “Kerald und Heribert”, cit., p. 79 f.; K. G. Beuckers, “Der verfügte Adressat. Manifestation und Autorenschaft in Herrscherbildern ottonischer und frühsalischer Buchmalerei”, in *Mäzenaten im Mittelalter aus europäischer Perspektive. Von historischen Akteuren zu literarischen Konzepten*, eds. B. Bastert, A. Bührer, T. Felber (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2017), pp. 239–66, esp. 257, note 36: saw Ruodprecht of the Egbert Psalter as the workshop manager. Following the logic of representation, a similar position could be assumed for Keraldus and Heribertus.

²⁶ Please refer to: W. Schmid, “Zwischen Frömmigkeit und Politik. Reliquien im Mittelalter. Das Beispiel Erzbischof Egberts von Trier”, in *Medien des Wissens. Interdisziplinäre Aspekte von Medialität*, eds. G. Mein, H. Sieburg (Bielefeld: transcript-Verlag, 2011), pp. 65–98, esp. 74.

²⁷ After the German translation of: F. J. Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert und die Entstehung seines Evangeliiars [mit] Erläuterungen zu den Tafeln. Ikonographie”, in *Codex Egberti. Teilstafsimile-Ausgabe des Ms. 24 der Stadtbibliothek Trier*, ed. G. Franz (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1983), p. 51.

²⁸ Please refer to: Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., p. 104.

²⁹ Please refer to Lamprecht with the idea of a gift (Lamprecht, “Der Bilderschmuck”, cit., pp. 75–77); Berschin and Kuder agree with this (W. Berschin, U. Kuder, *Reichenauer Buchmalerei 850–1070* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2015), p. 23). Please see Hoffmann on Ruodprecht as the donor of the Egbert Psalter (Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum*, cit., I, p. 315).

³⁰ On the memorial function of donor images: O. G. Oexle, “Memoria und Memorialbild”, in *Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter*, eds. W. Schmid, J. Wollasch (Societas et Fraternitas. Munich: Fink, 1984), pp. 384–440, esp. 391–94.

³¹ W. Gernsheim, *Die Buchmaler der Reichenau*, PhD dissertation (Universität Munich, 1934), p. 18.

³² D. Oltrogge, “Materia und Ingenium. Beobachtungen zur Herstellung des Egbertcodex”, in *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., II, pp. 123–52; D. Oltrogge, R. Fuchs, “Mit Infrarot und Röntgenstrahl. Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher und kunsttechnologischer Untersuchungen des *Egbert-Codex*”, in *Der Egbert-Codex. Das Leben Jesu*, cit., pp. 189–217.

³³ Please refer to Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., pp. 86–89 with an overview of various painter differentiations of past research. An updated overview in: Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., esp. 79–83.

determining the manuscript group's origin. Carolingian book illumination primarily depicted Old Testament themes alongside the *Maiestas Domini* and images of the Evangelists³⁴. An extensive Christological cycle first appears in the *Codex Egberti* during the Ottonian period. The decoration concept was quickly copied, for example in the Gospels of Otto III, the *Bamberg Apocalypse* and the *Pericopes of Henry II* (r. 1002–1024)³⁵. A frequently drawn connection is to the wall paintings of Saint George in Reichenau-Oberzell³⁶. The New Testament picture cycle contains eight scenes of healing and resurrection miracles³⁷. The dating is still subject to dispute. There initially seemed to be a consensus that the paintings of Saint George's probably began under Abbot Witigowo (r. 985–996)³⁸, before Koichi Koshi attributed it to Abbot Hatto III (r. 888–913), with Ulrich Kuder later supporting this view³⁹. This approach was rejected by more recent research, with Barbara Franzé coming to the conclusion that the nave paintings must have been created under Abbot Alawich II (r. 997–1000) or Werinher (r. 1000–1006)⁴⁰. Finally, Rainer Warland also examined the Byzantine influences of the monumental paintings, whose foundation he believes to have been in the circle of

³⁴ Please refer to K. Martin, *Die ottonischen Wandbilder der St. Georgskirche Reichenau-Oberzell* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1975), p. 31.

³⁵ For the *Bamberg Apocalypse* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc.Bibl.140) please refer to G. Suckale-Redlefsen, B. Schemmel, eds., *Das Buch mit 7 Siegeln. Die Bamberger Apokalypse*, exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000); H. Zens, M. Pippal, B. Schemmel, eds., *Graphisches Nachdenken über die Bamberger Apokalypse*, exh. cat. (Bamberg: Selbstverlag Staatsbibliothek, 2005); B. Schneidmüller, B. Wagner, H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, eds., *Die Bamberger Apokalypse. Visionen vom Ende der Zeit*, exh. cat. (Darmstadt: wbg Edition, 2022). For the *Pericopes of Henry II* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4452): H. Fillitz, R. Kahsnitz, U. Kuder, eds., *Zierde für ewige Zeit. Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II.* (Ausstellungskataloge. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 63, Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1994); E. Klemm, *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München*, 2: *Die ottonischen und frühromanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2004); J. K. Eberlein, "Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs II. (Clm 4452). Ein Blick auf die Herstellungsweise der Miniaturen", in *Wege zum illuminierten Buch. Herstellungsbedingungen für Buchmalerei in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, eds. C. Beier, E. T. Kubina (Cologne: Böhlau, 2014), pp. 10–25.

³⁶ On the history of the building please refer to W. Erdmann, "Neue Befunde zur Baugeschichte und Wandmalerei in St. Georg zu Reichenau-Oberzell", in *Die Abtei Reichenau. Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Kultur des Inselklosters*, ed. H. Maurer (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1974), pp. 577–90; M. Untermann, "Die archäologische Erforschung der Insel Reichenau", in *Klosterinsel Reichenau im Bodensee. UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe*, eds., M. Untermann, K. Kramer (Landesdenkmalamt Baden-Württemberg. Arbeitsheft 8. Stuttgart: Theiss, 2001), pp. 157–71. On the uncovering of the frescoes in the 19th and early 20th centuries please refer to J. Sauer, "Die Monumentalmalerei der Reichenau", in *Die Kultur der Abtei Reichenau. Erinnerungsschrift zur zwölfhundertsten Wiederkehr des Gründungsjahres des Inselklosters 724–1924*, ed. K. Beyerle (Munich: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1925), II, pp. 902–55, esp. 905 f. On their fundamental restoration in the 1980s: D. Jakobs, "Die Wandmalereien von St. Georg in Reichenau-Oberzell. Untersuchung – Dokumentation – Kontroversen", *ICOMOS. Hefte des Deutschen Nationalkomitees* 23 (1998): pp. 161–90. On the theology of the wall paintings please refer to W. Brändle, T. Keller, *Die Macht der Bilder. Die ottonischen Wandbilder in der Kirche St. Georg auf der Klosterinsel Reichenau* (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 2011) with large colour photographs.

³⁷ On the north wall from west to east: healing of the possessed man of Gerasa, healing of the water addict, calming of the storm on the Sea of Galilee, healing of a man born blind; on the south wall from east to west: healing of a leper, raising of the young man of Nain, raising of Jairus' daughter and healing of the woman with the issue of blood, raising of Lazarus.

³⁸ "First the crypt (after 980), then the nave (shortly before 1000)": Erdmann, "Neue Befunde", cit., p. 590.

³⁹ K. Koshi, "Neue Aspekte zur Erforschung der Wandmalereien in Reichenau-Oberzell", *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1991): pp. 47–62; K. Koshi, *Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien der St. Georgskirche zu Oberzell auf der Bodenseeinsel Reichenau*, II, (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1999); W. Berschin, U. Kuder, *Reichenauer Wandmalerei 840–1120. Goldbach. Reichenau-Oberzell St. Georg. Reichenau-Niederzell St. Peter und Paul* (Heidelberg: Matthes, 2012), pp. 58–66.

⁴⁰ B. Franzé, "Images et société à Reichenau, vers l'an mil. Les peintures d'Oberzell et les manuscrits apparentés", *Journal of Art History* 84 (2021): pp. 147–80.

Emperor Otto III⁴¹. This dating approach places the paintings close to the Gospels of Otto III and the subsequent manuscripts. The Oberzell wall paintings share more similarities with this group of manuscripts than with the *Egbert Codex*, which deviates more iconographically and “shows hardly any reflection” overall⁴².

Adolf Weis assumed that the manuscript picture cycles were based on a fully illustrated lectionary from the late 6th century, which was located on the monastery island and is said to have served as the Reichenau ‘main model’⁴³. Franz Ronig rightly questioned whether this late antique prototype could also have been located in Trier or in the neighbouring Echternach⁴⁴. This would be supported by the *Echternach Evangelistary* of Henry III (r. 1046–1056), which has numerous correspondences to the *Codex Egberti*. It is however, probably not based directly on it, but both are related by a common source⁴⁵. In the search for the ‘main model’, Barbara Zimmermann fundamentally warned “that the question of the archetype of a late antique Bible cycle in view of the surviving monuments is a kind of dead end if one does not accept at the same time that the narrative mode of representation is not bound to one medium, just as little as the narrative frieze form of a cycle must have its roots in book illumination”⁴⁶. The illuminators of the *Codex Egberti* did not just draw from one source, as can be seen in the Carolingian and Byzantine influences⁴⁷. The high intellectual standard of the overall concept as well as the individual pictorial programme testifies to the remarkable creative power of those involved in the production, who were also able to further develop the models independently and were capable of formulating new pictorial inventions without specific models.

The *Codex Egberti* sparked a still unresolved research debate regarding its localisation. It prompted some authors to reconstruct a background story of travelling illuminators and others to completely deconstruct the notion of a Reichenau production of splendid manuscripts⁴⁸. Carl Nordenfalk’s much-received attempt at an explanation envisioned the idea of travelling artists. He imagined that the ‘Gregory Master’ visited Reichenau, helped to produce the *Codex Egberti* there, and then traveled back to Trier. Georg Swarzenski argued in favour of the reverse case, i.e. an origin

⁴¹ R. Warland, “Die Wandmalereien von St. Georg in Reichenau-Oberzell und ihr Rückgriff auf die frühbyzantinische Allegorese des Codex Rossano”, in *Die Klosterinsel Reichenau im Mittelalter. Geschichte – Kunst – Architektur*, eds. W. Zimmermann, O. Siart, M. Gedigk (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2024), pp. 272–87. On the wall paintings and the dating discussion: C. Raither-Schärl, “Wunderbilder im Großformat. Die frühmittelalterlichen Wandmalereien von St. Georg in Oberzell”, in *Welterbe des Mittelalters*, cit., pp. 318–31.

⁴² Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert”, cit., pp. 29–141, esp. 40; M. Exner, “Die ottonischen Wandmalereien der Reichenau. Aspekte ihrer chronologischen Stellung”, *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunsthistorie* 58 (2004): pp. 93–115, esp. 106 f. A fragment with the head of a saint was uncovered in the crypt of Saint George’s, which requires knowledge of the *Codex Egberti* and the *Ruodprecht group*: Martin, *Die ottonischen Wandbilder*, cit., p. 34.

⁴³ A. Weis, “Die spätantike Lektionar-Illustration im Skriptorium der Reichenau”, in *Die Abtei Reichenau*, cit., pp. 311–62; W. Erdmann, *Die Reichenau im Bodensee. Geschichte und Kunst* (Königstein im Taunus: Langewiesche, 1993), p. 34.

⁴⁴ Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert”, cit., p. 40.

⁴⁵ Please refer to J. M. Plotzek, “Anfänge der ottonischen Trier-Echternacher Buchmalerei”, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch. Westdeutsches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 32 (1970): pp. 7–36, esp. 9; Ronig, “Erzbischof Egbert”, cit., p. 40. For the *Evangelistary of Henry III* (Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. b. 21) please refer to B. Bruch, W. Böhne, “Das Evangeliar Heinrichs III. in der Staatsbibliothek zu Bremen. Seine Bilder- und Perikopenfolge”, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 8 (1968): pp. 34–58; continued *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 9 (1969): pp. 45–69; J. M. Plotzek, “Das Perikopenbuch Heinrichs III”, in *Bremen und seine Stellung innerhalb der Echternacher Buchmalerei* (Cologne: Kleikamp, 1970); *Das Echternacher Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, Ms. b. 21*, ed. G. Knoll (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1995).

⁴⁶ B. Zimmermann, *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei. Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention* (Wiesbaden: Reichert 2003), p. 236.

⁴⁷ Please refer to: Ronig, *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, pp. 23 f. cat. no. 10, esp. p. 24.

⁴⁸ Nordenfalk, “The chronology”, cit., p. 68; Berschin, Kuder, *Reichenauer Buchmalerei*, cit., p. 23.

of the manuscript in Trier with the participation of Reichenau monks⁴⁹. Hubert Schiel agreed with this view, considering it unlikely that the farewell greeting in the dedicatory verses was addressed to the Archbishop of Trier, who was leaving Reichenau, but rather to Keraldus and Heribertus, who were leaving Trier to go back to Reichenau, especially since no other manuscripts attributed to the Reichenau contain such a reference to their origin⁵⁰.

However, after critically analysing the various attributions to the ‘Gregory Master’ the highly heterogeneous nature of the illuminations, which could in no way have originated from one and the same person or their circle, was revealed⁵¹. Instead, smaller clusters can be identified according to stylistic and technical similarities. The main cluster surrounding the *Registrum Gregorii* also includes the Strahov Gospels and – with a certain distance – the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*. But as for the *Codex Egberti*, the book illumination differs significantly from the manuscripts mentioned, which may be summarised under the art-historical term ‘Gregory Master’. Instead, the seven miniatures form a separate cluster with the *Trier Sacramentary*⁵². This manuscript contains saints from Trier in the *Communicantes* and the *Libera nos*, which should confirm its purpose for usage in Trier. Stylistically, the figurative paintings within the manuscript are tightly linked to the miniatures of the *Codex Egberti*. So, although there is no attribution to the phantom illuminator ‘Gregory Master’, there is still a clear connection with Trier.

The entire layout of a decorative text page on fol. 9r in the *Trier Sacramentary*, which contains a depiction of the crucified Christ in the middle and small busts in the ornamental frame, can be found in a similar way in a sacramentary from around 1030⁵³. The later manuscript is assumed to have been produced on Reichenau, but for use in Trier; its calendar is tailored to Trier, the litany to Reichenau. Thus, by the 11th century, close ties between the two places still existed.

Around 1960, Romuald Bauerreiß and in particular Charles Reginald Dodwell, together with Derek Howard Turner, endeavoured to re-evaluate the Ottonian Reichenau book production. According to Bauerreiß, only three manuscripts are confirmed to be Reichenau works – including the *Egbert Codex*⁵⁴. He consciously abandoned stylistic-critical methods and, after relocating the remaining manuscripts for monastic-historical reasons, established a “Trier-Regensburg school of painting” as the “fruit of the great monastic reform around 1000”, based on the Gorze-Trier monastic reform⁵⁵. Bauerreiß also based his argument on the theory that the saints listed in the calendars were an indication of the place of production, not the place of destination⁵⁶. In 1965, Dodwell and Turner monographically undertook a meticulous revision of the idea of a Reichenau centre of illumination from a historical and liturgical perspective⁵⁷. Dodwell outlined “four general difficulties in accepting

⁴⁹ G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des X. und XI. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Geschichte der deutschen Malerei des frühen Mittelalters* (Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1901), pp. 114 f.

⁵⁰ Schiel, *Codex Egberti*, cit., pp. 104 f.

⁵¹ Please refer to: Prinz, *Studien*, cit.

⁵² For the *Trier Sacramentary* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10501) please refer to: Ronig, *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, p. 26 cat. no. 13; A. Wieczorek, H.-M. Hinz, eds., *Europas Mitte um 1000*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), p. 37 cat. no. 02, 03, 16.

⁵³ For the Reichenau-Trier Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 18005): F. Avril, C. Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine germanique, Xe–XIVe siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1995), p. 99 cat. no. 90.

⁵⁴ R. Bauerreiß, “Gab es eine ‘Reichenauer Malschule’ um die Jahrtausendwende?”, *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 68 (1957): pp. 40–72, esp. 47.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵⁶ Critically W. Eckert, who suggested a palaeographical examination for the classification of the manuscript group (W. Eckert, “Review of Bauerreiß”, *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 15 (1959): p. 566).

⁵⁷ C. R. Dodwell, D. H. Turner, *Reichenau Reconsidered. A Re-Assessment of the Place of Reichenau in Ottonian Art* (London: Warburg Institute, 1965); Bloch provided counter-arguments “in favour of a common school whose most

the traditional view of Reichenau as a school of illumination of overwhelming importance”⁵⁸. Firstly, there are no historical sources in favour of said workshop; secondly, the quality of the manuscripts that were demonstrably on the Reichenau at this time would not meet the standard of those supposedly produced; furthermore, there is no obvious relationship to Reichenau that would justify the gifts expressed in dedications, and finally, the representation of different garments in the monks’ depictions is difficult to understand if they were created in the same scriptorium. Overall, Dodwell and Turner did not consider the factual basis for attributing the magnificent codices to Reichenau to be sufficient. They agreed with Schiel and localised them in Trier: that Trier was a flourishing centre of manuscript production is also demonstrable. Most scholars would agree that the Gregory Master was one of the greatest of all Ottonian painters, and he must have been living in Trier, for it is well known that his work is associated with the name of Egbert⁵⁹.

There are connections to the manuscripts of the Anno and Ruodprecht Group not only through the iconography of dedication images. The text layout of the *Codex Egberti* follows the “basic structure” of the *Gero Codex*⁶⁰. Even though this model appears to be from the Reichenau, it was executed by Trier scribes. Hoffmann distinguished three scribes for the main text⁶¹. Hand A is a leading Trier scribe, whose style is emulated by Hand B. Hand C is “a not particularly good Reichenau hand that belongs to the succession of Anno”⁶². Hoffmann later clarified his observations and identified scribe B with a Trier cathedral canon named Walker⁶³. He therefore assumed that Trier Cathedral was the place of production for the *Codex Egberti*. Walter Berschin considered the main scribe B to be a Trier monk, presumably from St Maximin⁶⁴. Both paleographers therefore argue – with other regional attributions – that the manuscript originated in a Trier scriptorium.

There are many examples of collaborations between illuminators and scribes from different locations. The *Würzburg Lectionary*, for example, was largely written by a Würzburg scribe, but its book decoration is attributed to Reichenau⁶⁵. A Seeon scribe and a Reichenau illuminator seem to have been involved in the *Hillinus Codex*, who produced the codex for and perhaps also in Cologne⁶⁶. The production process of the *Egbert Psalter* differed. According to Hoffmann, the manuscript was created exclusively by scribes from Reichenau and, according to Labusiak, only by painters from Reichenau. It would appear to be a purely external commission. However, if the comparative works such as the Poussay Gospels are localized to Trier instead of Reichenau, as Dodwell suggests, the whole argumentative construct shifts in favour of the city on the Moselle⁶⁷.

sensible location remains the Reichenau” (P. Bloch, *Das Reichenauer Evangelistar. Codex 78 A 2 aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1995), pp. 23–28, esp. 28).

⁵⁸ Dodwell, Turner, *Reichenau*, cit., pp. 7 f.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁶⁰ A. von Euw, “Der Egbert-Codex und der Meister des Registrum Gregorii”, *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch* 46 (2006): pp. 317–31, esp. 326; Lamprecht “Der Bilderschmuck”, cit., p. 76 on the reading order dating back to the year 969.

⁶¹ Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königstum*, cit., I, p. 488.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 489.

⁶³ H. Hoffmann, *Handschriftenfunde*, (Hannover: Hahn, 1997), p. 6.

⁶⁴ W. Berschin, “Der Hauptschreiber des ‘Codex Egberti’. Ein Kalligraph des X. Jahrhunderts”, *Scriptorium* 61 (2007): pp. 3–47.

⁶⁵ For the *Würzburg Lectionary* (Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, M.p.th.q.5): Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königstum*, cit., pp. 347 f.; I. Siede, “Das Festtagslektionar in Würzburg (Universitätsbibliothek, M.p.th.q.5) und sein Bezug zu den Reichenauer Epistolaren”, in *Illustrierte Epistolare*, cit., pp. 179–95.

⁶⁶ For the *Hillinus Codex* (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek Köln, Cod. 12): Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königstum*, cit., p. 410; J. H. Vennebusch, “Geliebter Leser, erbarme dich gleichermaßen auch unser! ‘Der Hillinus-Codex’ (Cod. 12) als mehrschichtiges Erinnerungsobjekt”, *MEMO* 4 (2019): pp. 1–25.

⁶⁷ Dodwell, Turner, *Reichenau*, cit., pp. 13–16.

Further Links to Complicate the Case

The manuscript most closely related to the *Codex Egberti*, the *Trier Epistolary* – and possibly the second manuscript depicted in the dedication image – shares the same complex connections, which point simultaneously to Trier and Reichenau. The epistolary contains four miniatures from Palm Sunday to Pentecost (fols. 15v, 17v, 25r, 26r), which are stylistically linked to those in the *Codex Egberti*. Further miniatures were planned, but never realised, and the spaces left free on fols. 44r and 45r–45v were filled with sketches that were not further elaborated. Overall, the epistolary is characterised by unfinished efforts that spoil its appearance and only hint at the concept originally planned. The image of Saint Paul on fol. 4v, which serves as the frontispiece, is of outstanding quality. The full-page miniature is closely related to the evangelist images in the *Codex Egberti*, which becomes particularly clear when compared with the depiction of Saint Mark. In the sanctorale of the epistolary on fol. 49v, the feast of Saint Paulinus of Trier is particularly marked, which attests to the epistolary's original purpose for use in Trier. The question of whether the manuscript was created in Trier or at Reichenau has been debated in art history without a solution⁶⁸. From a palaeographical point of view, Hartmut Hofmann and Anton von Euw – with different hand distinctions, but the same result – identified Trier scribes at work⁶⁹. After fol. 19v, there is a deterioration in quality both in the pictorial decoration and in the script⁷⁰. The breach also corresponds to von Euw's observation that the 'Gregory Master' had an influence only on the initials, decorative pages, and miniatures from fol. 6v to 19v⁷¹. While the sketch on fol. 44r can at best be described as rudimentary, the drawings on fols. 45r and 45v are of a higher quality and stylistically reminiscent of Reichenau book illumination such as the Commentary to the Book of Daniel⁷². In its surviving form, the *Trier Epistolary* was created in separate stages, with early phases presumably extending over at least a decade after its creation. How the drawings in the style of Reichenau book illumination around the year 1000 found their way into the codex, which is said to have been in Trier, raises new questions rather

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26; Bauerreiß, "Gab es eine 'Reichenauer Malschule'", cit., pp. 53, 68. Bauerreiß favoured Trier for stylistic and geographical-practical reasons (R. Bauerreiß, "Über die angeblichen Reichenauer Malermönche Eburnant und Ruodrecht um das Jahr 1000", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* 76 (1965): pp. 36–40, esp. 39); V. H. Elbern argued in favour of an origin in Trier by Reichenau forces (V. H. Elbern, ed., *Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1967), p. 118 cat. no. 454). Powell distinguished between two phases, the first of which belonged to the style of the *Codex Egberti* and could be dated to around 980 (K. B. Powell, "Observations on a Number of Liuthar Manuscripts", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971): pp. 1–11). The unfinished complex was supplemented at a later date by – also unfinished – drawings in the 'Liuthar style', on the other hand, decidedly favoured an origin on Reichenau (Weis, "Die spätantike Lektionar", cit., p. 339). After no solution was found for the place of origin Brandis and Achten left the question open (T. Brandis, G. Achten, eds., *Zimelien. Abendländische Handschriften des Mittelalters aus den Sammlungen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin*, exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1975), p. 39 f. cat. no. 31; T. Brandis, G. Achten, eds., *Kostbare Handschriften und Drucke*, exh. cat. (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), p. 19 cat. no. 4).

⁶⁹ Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königstum*, cit., I, pp. 462 f.; von Euw, "Das Epistolar", cit., p. 60.

⁷⁰ Berschin, "Der Hauptschreiber", cit., p. 19.

⁷¹ von Euw, "Das Epistolar", cit., p. 60.

⁷² For the Commentary to the Book of Daniel (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Bibl. 22): B. Schemmel, ed., *Staatsbibliothek Bamberg. Handschriften, Buchdruck um 1500 in Bamberg*, E. T. A. Hoffmann, exh. cat. (Bamberg: Staatsbibliothek, 1990), pp. 70 f. cat. no. 28; H. Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), pp. 107 f.; G. Suckale-Redleszen, *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, I: Die Handschriften des 8. bis 11. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 85–88 cat. no. 63.

than answering existing ones.

The works that are attributed to the ‘Gregory Master’ seem to have been highly influential on the Reichenau book illumination. The *Registrum Gregorii* is a manuscript commissioned by Archbishop Egbert of Trier and was given an artistic preface immediately after the unexpected death of Otto II (r. 973–983), memorialising the deceased emperor. Two miniatures belonged to the manuscript: a depiction of Saint Gregory the Great after whom the illuminator – ‘Gregory Master’ – was retrospectively named⁷³, as well as a painting showing Otto II surrounded by female personifications representing his empire. This particular iconography of the ruler’s image can be found in a very similar form in the Reichenau *Gospel Book* of Emperor Otto III and on a double sheet prebound to a copy of Flavius Josephus’ *De bello Judaico* in Bamberg⁷⁴. The main difference to the Trier prototype is that here the image is spread over two pages and expanded to include spiritual and secular figures by the throne.

Another work closely linked to the *Registrum Gregorii* and believed to be also produced by the Trier ‘Gregory Master’ are the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*. It is an unfinished imperial manuscript that was probably written during the turmoil in early 984 after the death of Otto II, as can be seen from the alleged depiction of Henry the Quarrelsome (951–995), who briefly was a – albeit highly controversial – candidate for the succession to the throne. The miniatures of the manuscript were taken up again in the Echternach book illumination of the mid-11th century, but they had already been received in the Reichenau book illumination before that. The images of the evangelists in the Pericopes of Henry II and in the so-called *Bamberg Gospels*⁷⁵ are practically copies of the originals from the *Gospel Book* of Sainte-Chapelle. The book decoration of the Sainte-Chapelle manuscript is linked not only to the *Registrum Gregorii* but also to the Strahov Gospels and firmly located in the Trier context. Nevertheless, one detail led scholars to suspect that Reichenau illuminators were involved in its production: The small figures in the ornamentation above the canon arches are very similar to those in Reichenau manuscripts. Carl Nordenfalk assumed an exchange between Trier and Reichenau; the ‘Gregory Master’ may have visited Reichenau and helped to produce the *Codex Egberti*, a Reichenau book illustrator may have travelled to Trier to add the figures above the canon tables of the *Gospels of Sainte-Chapelle*⁷⁶. The painted figures depict a carpenter and a stonemason at work, who can also be found in the *Gospel Book* of Emperor Otto III [fig. 3]. While there are models for the artistic design of the canon arches of the *Sainte Chapelle Gospels* in the manuscripts of the so-called court school of Charlemagne, the motif of the craftsmen can be found elsewhere, namely in the Ebo Gospels, which were created in around 825⁷⁷. However, the painted men in the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels* and the *Gospel Book* of Otto III do not go back independently to the Carolingian model, but are closely linked to each other. At first glance, the carpenter and stonemason in both Ottonian manuscripts may appear even almost identical. However, on closer inspection, subtle but clear differences in the brushwork become apparent. The figures in the *Gospel Book* of Otto III

⁷³ Please refer first to: Sauerland, Haseloff “Der Psalter Erzbischof”, cit., p. 76.

⁷⁴ For the miniatures in the *Flavius Josephus manuscript* (Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Class. 79): G. Suckale-Redlefsen, “Das zerkratzte Antlitz. Das Herrscherbild der Bamberger Flavius-Josephus-Handschrift”, in *Hortulus floridus Bambergensis. Studien zur fränkischen Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte. FS Renate Baumgärtel-Fleischmann*, ed. W. Taegert (Petersberg: Imhof, 2004), pp. 345–62; Suckale-Redlefsen, *Katalog*, cit., pp. 79–81 cat. no. 61.

⁷⁵ For the *Bamberg Gospels Cathedral* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4454): C. Fabian, C. Lange, eds., *Pracht auf Pergament. Schätze der Buchmalerei von 780 bis 1180*, exh. cat. (Munich: Hirmer, 2012), pp. 172–75 cat. no. 35.

⁷⁶ Nordenfalk, “The chronology”, cit., p. 68. The migration theory was refuted by: C. Caesar, *Der ‘Wanderkünstler’. Ein kunsthistorischer Mythos* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), p. 176 as an “art-historical construct”.

⁷⁷ For the *Ebo Gospels* (Epernay, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1) please refer to K. Bierbrauer, “Ebo-Evangeliar”, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, III (1986), col. 1529.

are more sharply outlined and less painterly in their surface structures. Their dark contours and white highlights stand out in a stark contrast and make the painting appear sharper overall. Although the motif is very similar, the stylistic conception is different and a divergent approach to painting is evident, which suggests that they were not painted by the same artist, but by illuminators who shared the same template.

The *Willibrord leaf* is a single leaf bound into an Echternach manuscript from the 12th century, which shows an initial in the Trier style of the late 10th century on one side and a miniature of Saint Willibrord with two clergymen at his side on the other⁷⁸. It is generally attributed to the ‘Gregory Master’, although Nordenfalk supposed, that the painting also came from that Reichenau illuminator, who travelled to Trier to add the canon table figures in the *Gospels of Sainte-Chapelle*⁷⁹. There is an early model for the constellation of the miniature, showing Willibrord enthroned like a ruler and flanked by two clergymen, which can be found in the *Egino Codex*, a manuscript commissioned by the Bishop of Verona at the end of the 8th century and taken with him when he retired to the island of Reichenau⁸⁰. The actual depiction of the founder of the monastery in Echternach corresponds to the Gregory leaf in Trier or, even more, to the image of Saint Mark in the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels* [fig. 4]. The design of the clothing and the throne is almost identical. The biggest difference lies in the painting style of the head, which is actually a comparable type in each case: In the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*, the narrow face is painted with a much finer brush – even more so in the Gregory leaf. The shading of the incarnation, especially the hair on the head and beard, appears more painterly and nuanced, and less linear. The style of the Willibrord leaf corresponds much more closely to the painting on the bifolium in the *Bamberg Flavius Josephus*. The close relationship between the miniatures becomes particularly clear in the juxtaposition with the two clergymen standing at the ruler’s throne. They epitomise the two types that can also be found in Willibrord and his assistant figures. Their eyes are shaped in the same way, with a long upper line and an L-shaped lower line, as are the pointed, strong eyebrows. The shapes of their noses are similar, as are the soft lines on their chins and the rings under their eyes. In the bearded figures, the long moustache is traced from the inside with a dark line, while the full beard is shaded with black dots on the chin and jaw. In both figures, the facial hair is continued as a curved line on the neck. The pallium of Willibrord, decorated with black crosses, and that of the Bamberg clergy rest on the chasuble without any obvious contours. Instead, the collar of the light blue alb has two black contour lines. In the case of the clergymen of the Bamberg double leaf, the collar-detail is larger and more jagged. Despite all the similarities, the painting as a whole appears somewhat more stylised. There are also small differences in the motifs, such as the eyelid crease, which is drawn as a line running parallel to the upper edge of the eyelid in Bamberg and is missing in this form on the Willibrord leaf. Nevertheless, a great similarity remains.

Some scholars, such as Katherine B. Powell, have tried to attribute the whole of the Liuthar group to Trier – a delicate undertaking, because that is the main group of the Reichenau book illumination featuring its most splendid manuscripts⁸¹. For the eponymous *Liuthar Gospels*, it can be said that it indeed shows a close connection to the Trier manuscripts in stylistic and iconographic terms⁸².

Overall, several aspects require further clarification. It is commonly believed that the high-quality

⁷⁸ For the *Willibrord leaf* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10510) please refer to: Ronig, *Egbert Erzbischof*, cit., I, p. 31 cat. no. 25; Hoffmann, *Handschriftenfunde*, cit., pp. 1-20, esp. 14.

⁷⁹ Nordenfalk, “The chronology”, cit., p. 68.

⁸⁰ For the *Egino-Codex* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Phill. 1676) please refer to: K. Bierbrauer, “Egino-Codex” in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, III (1986), col. 1613.

⁸¹ Powell, “Observations”, cit.

⁸² For the *Liuthar Gospels* (Aachen, Domschatzkammer, G 25) please refer to Hattler, Gedigk, Siart, eds., *Welterbe des Mittelalters*, cit., pp. 368-71 cat. no. 124.

manuscript production in Trier came to an abrupt halt with the death of Egbert in 993. Simultaneously, book illumination in Reichenau began to thrive, a development that was stylistically closely linked to Trier. By the third to middle of the 11th century, when Reichenau's book illumination reached its zenith, a new wave of manuscript production seems to have emerged at the monastery of Echternach, near Trier, drawing upon the style of the *Codex Egberti* and the *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels*. The temporal gap in Trier, paired with the stylistically seamless continuation in Reichenau, is indeed striking. The close relationship between the manuscripts would logically suggest their production in one location – the Trier-Echternach region. However, the connections are far more intricate.

Our understanding of the most significant manuscripts of this era is still far from complete. While scholars like Henry Mayr-Harting, Peter Bloch, and Thomas Labusiak considered the doubts raised by Charles Reginald Dodwell and Derek Howard Turner regarding Reichenau's status as a center of book illumination to be resolved, not all of these concerns have been adequately addressed⁸³. Most recently, Johann Konrad Eberlein and Christine Jakobi-Mirwald have expressed reservations⁸⁴.

Thus, further research is essential to unravel the intricate web of magnificent manuscripts. A critical gap exists in the field of palaeography, which could shed light on this unique subject. Although Hartmut Hoffmann's commendable corpus remains a seminal work, numerous issues have arisen since its publication that require reassessment. These challenges can only be addressed through renewed, specialized scholarly engagement, underscoring the necessity of revisiting his conclusions with a more nuanced perspective.

Until new findings emerge, the assumption of two distinct centres of book illumination – each interconnected by traveling artists and the exchange of templates – must be maintained. Ultimately, researchers are called to approach these often discussed and renowned masterpieces of art with a renewed perspective. In conclusion, the prevailing research hypothesis aligns remarkably well with the overarching theme of this journal: the distant regions of Trier and Reichenau, seemingly unrelated, are primarily connected by their magnificent manuscripts – *communities bound by art*.

⁸³ H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottonische Buchmalerei. Liturgische Kunst im Reich der Kaiser, Bischöfe und Äbte* (Stuttgart: Belser, 1991), pp. 401–06; Bloch, *Das Reichenauer Evangelistar*, cit., pp. 16–28; Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe*, cit., pp. 48–51.

⁸⁴ Eberlein “Das Perikopenbuch”, cit., p. 12. C. Jakobi-Mirwald, “Bodenseeraum? Das karolingische Epistolar in der Hochschul- und Landesbibliothek Fulda, Aa7”, in *Illustrierte Epistolare*, cit., pp. 45–78, esp. 56.



1. *Egbert Psalter: Ruodprecht [Ruodpreht] and Archbishop Egbert [Egbreht] of Trier*
Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Cod. 136, fols. 16v-17r
(Photo: *I libri dei patriarchi. Un percorso nella cultura scritta del Friuli medievale*, ed. C. Scaloni (Udine: Istituto Pio Paschini, 2014))



2. *Codex Egberti: Archbishop Egbert [Egbertus] of Trier with Keraldus and Heribertus*
Trier, Stadtbibliothek Weberbach, Cod. 24, fol. 2r
(Photo: Anja Runkel, Trier, Stadtbibliothek Weberbach)



3. Ebo Gospels

Epernay, Bibliothèque municipale, Ms. 1, fols. 12r, 13v

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF);

Sainte-Chapelle Gospels

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 8851, fol. 12r

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF)

Gospel Book of Emperor Otto III: canon arch figures of a carpenter and a stonemason, detail

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4453, fol. 18r

(Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)



4. *Sainte-Chapelle Gospels: Saint Mark*

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 8851, fol. 12r

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF; Photo: Author);

Willibrord leaf: Saint Willibrord

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Lat. 10510, fol. 20v

(Photo: gallica.bnf.fr / BnF; Photo: Author);

Flavius Josephus: clergymen by the throne, detail

Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Class. 79, fol. 1r

(Photo: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

LINKING THE LIVING WITH THE OTHERWORLD: THE IMPERIAL FRONTISPICES OF SPEYER CODEX AUREUS AND GERTRUDE'S ST. PETER IN EGBERT'S PSALTER

Antonino Tranchina

ABSTRACT

Bonding is recognized as a peculiar property of the arts aging in Medieval societies, this is also true in a more spiritualized sense. This paper investigates the intervention of Greek-Byzantine painters in two eleventh-century Western manuscripts: the mid-eleventh century Speyer *Codex Aureus* and Egbert's Psalter, specifically the *folia gertrudiana*. The former is hinting to the glorified appearance of the ones to whom the earthly Kingdom/Empire and the sovereigns' eternal life was bounded. As for the latter, St. Peter catalyses the pleas and expectations of Gertrude, working as a powerful link between the living and the dead.

KEYWORDS: Manuscript Illumination, Byzantine Art, Echternach Scriptorium, Kyivan Rus', Papal Primacy

Il legame tra i vivi e l'Aldilà: i frontespizi imperiali del *Codex Aureus* di Spira
e il san Pietro di Gertrude nel Salterio di Egberto

ABSTRACT

Il legame è riconosciuto come una proprietà peculiare delle arti nelle società medievali, questo è vero anche in un senso più spirituale. Il presente lavoro indaga l'intervento dei pittori greco-bizantini in due manoscritti occidentali dell'XI secolo: il *Codex Aureus* di Spira, della metà dell'XI secolo, e il Salterio di Egberto, in particolare i *folia gertrudiana*. Il primo allude alla glorificazione di coloro ai quali era legato il Regno/Impero terreno e la vita eterna dei sovrani. Nel secondo caso, san Pietro catalizza le suppliche e le aspettative di Gertrude, operando come un potente collegamento tra i vivi e i morti.

PAROLE CHIAVE: miniatura, arte bizantina, scriptorium di Echternach, Rus' di Kiev, primato papale

Roughly at the time when Joachim Wollasch published his first comprehensive studies on the *Cluniac memoriale fratrum* and the "Societies of the living and the dead through Medieval testimonies"¹, scholars such as Kurt Weitzmann and Otto Demus were deeply engaged in their enquiry on the Byzantine influence upon the Latin West². Instead of embracing the idea of communication and exchange between societies, they were rather pointing at individuals and selectivity, influence and dependence, even at single images as means of transmission, especially concerning the centuries at the turn of the millennium: "When discussing influences [...] the most limited case is that of a contact between individual artists"; "it must be realized that the Byzantine influence in German and English manuscripts is confined to individual pictures within larger cycles"³. It is therefore a challenge, in the face of so prominent a scholar (and so sharp a judgment!),

¹ K.S. Wollasch, "Die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden und Verstorbenen in Zeugnissen des Mittelalters", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): pp. 365–405; K.S. Wollasch, "Ein cluniacensisches Totenbuch aus der Zeit Abt Hugos von Cluny", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967): pp. 406–43.

² O. Demus, *Romanische Wandmalerei* (Münich: Hirmer Verlag, 1968); O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970). See also the following note.

³ K. Weitzmann, "Various Aspects of Byzantine Influence on the Latin Countries from the Sixth to the Twelfth Century", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): pp. 1–24, esp. 4, 19.

to dare speaking of communities and bonding images relating to same artistic evidence, though the question on the relationship between Byzantine and Ottonian art is multifaceted and has long been debated⁴.

This paper will focus on two tenth-eleventh-century cases of Western books featuring the insertion of Byzantine miniature painting, both in selected areas of the illuminated page and in single leaves inserted in the codex binding. In particular, the discussion will focus on the double frontispiece of Henry III's luxury evangeliary for Speyer Cathedral, thence known as *Codex Aureus Spirensis*, though currently kept at the Escorial Monastery, and the Psalter of Archbishop Egbert of Trier, which is preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale of Cividale del Friuli, and which is also labelled as Gertrude's Psalter because of its later owner, as well as patron (and subject) of the illustration that lay at the core of this article. On the one hand, both manuscripts exemplify an early and peculiar phase of the Byzantine question (*Byzantinische Frage*, as it is called in the scholarly milieu since Karl Schnaase's *Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Alten*), featuring individuals or small groups engaged in artistic endeavours in the Latin West. On the other hand, the aim is that of shedding light on how the individual – that is to say, the contribution of a single artifex to art objects – is found to be entangled in the broader network of patrons, subjects and the transcendental worldly order, the tenets of which were believed to be found in the Otherworld.

Imperial Couples and the Glorified Human Bodies in the Codex Aureus Spirensis

Following on a tradition inaugurated by Henry II in his 1002 coronation in Aachen, Conrad II, the first Salian emperor, was anointed and crowned on September 8th, the day in which the Nativity of the Virgin is celebrated. The Marian devotion was peculiar to the Salian dynasty, and especially marked the reign of his son's heir, Henry IV. The latter often recalled that such a special feeling toward the Virgin Mary was shared with his parents, namely Agnes of Poitou and Henry III⁵. Indeed, it was under the latter that the Speyer Cathedral was consecrated in 1061, the main altar being already dedicated in 1046 to the Virgin, resuming the early-medieval and Carolingian church name⁶. Underneath the altar area, Conrad and his wife Gisela had been laid to rest in 1039 and 1043 respectively, so the vast crypt around the imperial cemetery had been the subject of the earliest consecration, at the time of the first imperial funeral in the Cathedral. Following on the steps of his father, Henry III fostered the church with largesse, resuming the building begun by Conrad (Speyer 1) and emphasizing its votive connotation, that of a gift to the Lord's Mother, as well as its dignity of *Kaiserdom*⁷.

⁴ W. Messerer, "Zur byzantinischen Frage in der ottonischen Kunst", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 52 (1959): pp. 32–60; W. Messerer, "Antike und Byzanz in der ottonischen Bildkunst", in *La cultura antica nell'Occidente latino dal VII all'XI secolo* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1975), pp. 837–64; C.L. Striker, "The Byzantine question in Ottonian architecture reconsidered", in *Architectural studies in memory of Richard Krautheimer*, ed. C.L. Striker (Mainz: Zabern, 1996), pp. 157–61; H.A. Klein, "Aspekte der Byzanz-Rezeption im Abendland", in M. Brandt, A. Effenberger, eds., *Byzanz. Die Macht der Bilder*, exh. cat. (Berlin: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz, 1998), pp. 122–53.

⁵ I. Heidrich, "Bischöfe und Bischofskirche von Speyer", in *Die Salier und das Reich*, II: Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit, hrsg. S. Weinfurter (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1992), pp. 187–224, esp. 222.

⁶ J.E. Gugumus, "Dedicatio Spirensis Ecclesie antiqua. Zur Weihe des frühsalischen Speyerer Domes im Jahre 1061", in *900 Jahre Speyerer Dom. Festschrift zum Jahrestag der Domweihe, 1061–1961*, ed. L. Stamer (Speyer: Verlag des bischöflichen Ordinariates Speyer, 1961), pp. 175–87, esp. 177–78.

⁷ For the ultimate overview which takes into account the most recent restoration works, see K.-M. Ritter, *Der Dom zu Speyer* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2021).

The luxury evangeliarium now in the Imperial Monastery of St. Lawrence at the Escorial (ms. Vitr. 17) directly comes from Speyer Cathedral. It belonged to the Imperial Dome since the times of Henry III's and his spouse, Agnes von Poitou's bestowal⁸. Indeed, the dating of the manuscript is provided by the presence of the sovereign couple featuring a full-page miniature painting, with the Offering of the codex to the Virgin Mary [fig. 2]. Agnes had married Henry by the end of November 1043, right after being crowned as Queen of the Germans. On the one hand, since she bears the crown in this dedicatory image, the latter could not predate those events. On the other hand, since the titles inscribed at her and her husband's side are *Regina* and *Rex*, the codex cannot be later than 25th December 1046, when both were crowned emperors in Rome. For such reasons, it is highly probable that the manuscript was made in preparation to the 1046 consecration of Speyer Cathedral's main altar, that occurred on 4th October, in that year⁹. The contention has also been made, that the codex was commissioned as a votive offer in the Fall 1045, during Henry's severe illness, and completed after his recovery, around 15th of August, when the King and the Queen were, possibly together, in Speyer¹⁰. Certainly, the illuminated manuscript issued from the scriptorium of Echternach Abbey, the main center of book decoration under the Salians: it even represents the masterpiece among the eight de-luxe codices made there, as well as among the three Gospel books commissioned to the abbey by Henry III¹¹.

The codex is richly decorated with scenes from Christ's life, the Evangelists' portraits, and the Canon tables, as well as with prologue- and *incipit*-pages framed by papal or imperial *à l'antique* portraits¹². At the very beginning, two full-page miniatures are found, face to face, picturing Christ and the Virgin in Majesty, receiving the Salian imperial couples. On fol. 2v, Christ sits on ethereal bows, encompassed in a golden mandorla standing between Heaven and earth [fig. 1]. He holds the unclosed book, while blessing and being adored by nine angels arranged in two facing rows and possibly representing the angelic choirs¹³. The late Conrad II (*Cuonradus imp[erator]*) and *Gisela imperat[rix]* lay in prostration, drawing their face near to the Savior, as to resemble the kissing of his

⁸ A. Bockler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.* (Berlin: Jahresgabe des deutschen Vereins für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft, 1933); Ph. Schweinfurth, "Das goldene Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III. und Byzanz", *Zeitschrift für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft* 10, no. 1/3 (1941–1942): pp. 40–66; P.E. Schramm, F. Mütherich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser, I: Ein Beitrag zur Herrschergeschichte von Karl dem Großen bis Friedrich II.: 768–1250* (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1962), p. 173; P.E. Schramm, *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit: 751–1190*, ed. F. Mütherich (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1983), pp. 42–66, pp. 232–33; *Das salische Kaiser-Evangeliar. Der Codex Aureus Excorialensis, Faksimile-Ausgabe, II: Kommentarband*, ed. J. Rathofer (Madrid–Münster: Bibliotheca Rara, 1995–1999).

⁹ J.E. Gugumus, "Dedicatio", cit., pp. 184–86.

¹⁰ S. Weinfurter, "Herrscherbild und salische Kaiserdynastie im Codex Aureus Escorialensis", in *Kommentarband*, cit., pp. 201–24, esp. 212–13.

¹¹ A. von Euw, "Die Prachthandschriften aus Echternach", in *Die Abtei Echternach, 698–1998*, eds. M.C. Ferrari, J. Schröder, H. Trauffler (Luxembourg: CLUDEM, 1999), pp. 123–64; see also M.J. Schubert, "Die Reform-Abtei Echternach und ihr Skriptorium unter dem Patronat der Salier", in *Kommentarband*, cit., pp. 543–58, esp. 553–54, and S. Weinfurter, *The Salian Century: Main Currents in an Age of Transition*, trans. B.M. Bowlus (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), p. 97.

¹² J. Rathofer, "Structura Codicis-Ordo Salutis. Zum Goldenen Evangelienbuch Heinrichs III.", in *Mensura, Maß, Zahl, Zahlsymbolik im Mittelalter*, ed. A. Zimmermann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 333–55. As for Emperor Constantine's coin bust-portrait, see L. Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade. Zu Kontext und Funktion sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag GmbH, 2001), pp. 257–65.

¹³ Y. Christe, R. Bonvain, "Les neuf choeurs angéliques: une création tardive de l'iconographie chrétienne", *Cahiers de Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa* 10 (1984), pp. 67–99, esp. 70; B. Bruderer Eichberg, *Les neuf choeurs angéliques. Origine et évolution du thème dans l'art du Moyen Âge* (Poitiers: Centre d'études supérieures de Civilisation médiévale, 1998), pp. 20, 189 no. 44.

feet¹⁴. White Greek letters contrasting the mandorla's golden background spell out two Latin cola of Psalm 71, verse 19: "Blessed be the name of his majesty forever: and the whole earth shall be filled with his majesty"¹⁵. Aside from the reference to God's majesty, the core subject of the illumination, the psalm to which these verses belong refers to David and Salomon respectively, thus adumbrating the parental relationship of the Father with the Son and, in parallel, that between Conrad and Henry¹⁶. As a third terminus, the parental legacy of Konrad towards Henry III notably consists in the transmission of the imperial Majesty, secularly substituting the Divine Kingdom on earth, obtained by God's Grace and passed down for duty from generation to generation¹⁷.

The Latin script enclosing the whole of Christ's Majesty, over the golden frame of the page, unveils the prayer of the late Emperor: "Before your face I amply bemoan my crimes. May I deserve you, for the gift of whom I am Caesar, to bestow forgiveness upon me". The lower sector, instead, reads with the Empress's plea: "With cleansed heart, I the Queen, let my prayer effuse, of eternal peace and for the bliss of light"¹⁸. Aside from the difference in content between both inscriptions, the framing structure literally overturns the hierarchy between repentance and the hope for eternal glory, so as to stress the hierarchy between the Emperor (verses in the upper page) and his Consort (lower verses). But the inscriptions develop from the very core of the subject, that is the Beatific Vision, notably depending on the revelation of the Lord's face: while Conrad's face actually shows humiliated at Christ's feet, he speaks around the latter's bust, and says of his crying "ante tui vultum", thus establishing a topological relationship with God's facial presence, as well as with the angelic choir's privilege of contemplating him face to face. And here we come to the art-historical argument.

As already noticed in scholarship, Christ's face, right hand and feet, as well as Matthew's face framing the page from below, Mary's hands and face show the work of a Byzantine painter. Contentions have been made that these parts result from a fourteenth-century repainting, either by a Byzantine or an Italian late-medieval painter¹⁹. It was Kurt Weitzmann who assessed an intervention coeval to the making of the manuscript, inferring that some mid-eleventh-century Byzantine painter must be operating close to the illuminators in the Echternach scriptorium²⁰. His assumption has

¹⁴ The origin of this motif, namely the Emperors laying in proskynesis at Christ's feet, is to be found in the Ottonian period, as displayed in the Basel antependium and the Trivulzio ivory plaque in Milan, where Otho imperator (most probably Otto II) is shown while grasping Christ's right foot and drawing his lips near, as to kiss the instep. See H. Fillitz, "Maiestas Domini mit huldigender kaiserlichen Familie", in M. Puhle, ed., *Otto der Große. Magdeburg und Europa*, exh. cat. (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2001), pp. 125–26 no. III.15. For the attitude in the Christian East, see M. McCormick, "Proskynesis", in *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III: *Nike-Zygo*, ed. A.P. Kazhdan, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 1738–39.

¹⁵ "Benedictum nomen maiestatis eius in aeternum et replebitur maiestate eius omnis terra". Eta is always transliterating the Latin vowel 'e', regardless its length. In my opinion, this is hinting to the arbitrariness of the transliteration process, together with the lack of paleographical consistence with coeval Greek majuscule, both epigraphic and in book writing. See also Klein, "Aspekte der Byzanz-Rezeption", cit., p. 140.

¹⁶ J. Gaus, "Kongruenz und Imagination von Maiestas und Maria", in *Kommentarband*, cit., pp. 251–72, esp. 255–58.

¹⁷ S. Weinfurter, "Herrschern durch Gnade. Die Autorität des König im frühen 11. Jahrhundert", specifically p. 5: "Ein derart ausgeprägtes dynastisches Programm ist im Mittelalter bis dahin einmalig", therefore stressing the exceptional value of the iconographic program here at play. At fol. 3r, Gisela is caressed by the Virgin, in sign of special protection. In fact, she was pregnant of her second child, the proles adumbrated in the frame-inscribed verses, who did not turn out to be the male heir that had been hoped in the months when the manuscript was accomplished: J. Fried, "Tugend und Heiligkeit. Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu den Herrscherbildern Heinrichs III. in Echternacher Handschriften", in *Mittelalter. Annäherung an die fremde Zeit*, ed. W. Hartmann (Regensburg: Universität Regensburg, 1993), pp. 41–85.

¹⁸ "Ante tui vultum mea defleo crimina multum. Da veniam merear cuius sum munera Caesar", "Pectora cum mundo Regina precamina fundo aeterna pacis et propter gaudia lucis".

¹⁹ A. Bockler, *Das goldene Evangelienbuch*, cit., and Ph. Schweinfurth, "Das goldene Evangelienbuch", cit., respectively.

²⁰ K. Weitzmann, "Ein kaiserliches Lektionar einer byzantinischen Hofschule", in *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda zum 28.*

been widely accepted²¹. Indeed, a repainting seems to be less likely, especially considering some telling details, such as Christ's left hand, grasping the book's edge with the bare fingertips, which seems to be damaged (deterioration affects all these parts) or to be left unfinished, either for misunderstanding or a lapse of attention, or even because of a sudden disruption of the artist's work. Incidentally, this provides a clue for the succession of painters on the page: the main illuminator has spared blanks corresponding to the uncovered bodily parts of Christ, the Virgin and the Living Creature standing for St. Matthew.

What is the ratio that informs such a selected intervention in the illuminated page? Why is it confined exclusively to those parts? Two alternative options can be sorted: either it depends on the esthetic preference for the Byzantine, therefore used in the main parts of the main figures, or a more profound meaning deploys within, and it deserves a closer analysis. The Byzantine painter is involved in order to single out the flesh of celestial figures provided with bodily appearance. In other words, he gave flesh neither to human beings as such, dead or alive, nor to heavenly spirits or allegories, such as the Cardinal Virtues encircling the Virgin's scene. Instead, he fleshed out glorified human bodies: Christ, the Virgin and Matthew's angel, who is spiritual but, according to Ezekiel 1:10 (recalled by Revelation 4:7), "had the face of a man"²². Moreover, his human appearance represents the bodily substance of Jesus, according to the well-established exegesis explained, for instance, in some of the main pieces of Ottonian illumination: "with this image, Matthew shows that Christ is a man"²³.

The complexity and visual ambition in the iconographies of the Speyer Gospels is well known. Thence comes the possibility that so refined an exegesis could be applied to the binomial heavenly-terrestrial, bodily-spiritual, and the cross-over between them. The possibility that the visual argument here at play concerns the pictorial (or even meta-pictorial) theme of Christ's corporeal manifestation has been raised in the modern scholarship on the codex²⁴. During the tenth century, two figural relics have joined the treasury of the Pharos Chapel, within the precincts of the Great Palace, reaching Constantinople from Edessa: in 944 the *Mandylion*, that is the cloth showing the face of Christ miraculously impressed by him at King Abgar's request, and in 968 the *Keramion*, which was a tile impressed with the *Mandylion's* reversed image²⁵. Tenth-century Greek written sources also record the not-manufactured (Christ's) image of Kamouliana, as well as three self-made images of the Virgin²⁶. Curious enough, the triumph of iconophile faith found its most impressive visual translation in Byzantium more than a century later the struggle on sacred images, and through such an

Januar 1959, eds. O. Benesch *et al.* (Wien-Wiesbaden: Rohrer, 1959), pp. 309–20.

²¹ See, in particular, F. Crivello, "...grecus constantinopoleos orfanos et peregrinos...". *Artisti bizantini in ambito librario a nord delle Alpi nell'alto Medioevo*, in *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, ed. M. Bacci (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2007), pp. 255–68, esp. 267.

²² Ez 1, 5–6, 10: "Similitudo quattuor animalium et hic aspectus eorum similitudo hominis in eis et quattuor facies uni [...]. Similitudo autem vultus eorum facies hominis et facies leonis [...] facies autem bovis [...] et facies aquilae". Rev 4, 6–7: "In circuito sedis quattuor animalia [...] et animal primum simile leoni et secundum animal simile vitulo et tertium animal habens faciem quasi hominis et quartum animal simile aquilae volanti".

²³ Prague, Knihovna pražské metropolitní kapituly, Cim. 2, fol. 24r; see U. Kuder, "Ottonische Buchmalerei und bernwardinische Handschriftenproduktion", in M. Brandt, A. Eggebrecht, eds., *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, exh. cat., (Hildesheim-Mainz am Rhein: Bernward Verlag–Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993), I, pp. 191–200, p. 197 fig. 85.

²⁴ Ph. Schweinfurth, "Das goldene Evangelienbuch", cit.; F. Crivello, "Artisti bizantini in ambito librario", cit.

²⁵ A. Cameron, "The Mandylion and Byzantine Iconoclasm", in *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation*, eds. H.L. Kessler, G. Wolf (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1998), pp. 33–54.

²⁶ A. Alexakis, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996), pp. 348–49.

apocryphal tradition²⁷. The spreading of these subjects in the Byzantine ecumene may have fostered the meta-artistic self-consciousness of the painters, who were up to replicate the prototype of Christ's appearance on earth through their artistic means. In this sense, the more Hellenistic, contrasted and even more realistic flesh painted by an unknown Byzantine master in Echternach could consciously hint at the most spiritual cases of body substance: Christ, the Son of Man, as well as the Lady who gave him flesh. In other words, Byzantine painting, though performed by individuals, could become a shared theoretical locus, bonding Heaven and earth. Moreover, the manifestation of both characters through the glorified substance of their bodies makes sure that the bond between the living (Henry and Agnes) and the dead (Conrad and Gisela) is revived. The donation of the codex to Speyer Cathedral, possibly occurring on the Feast of the Virgin's Assumption, could provide a special link to the belief of her sharing glorified body substance with Christ himself, as it can be seen in the visual connection between both pages and their painting manners.

A Greek painter for a 'papal' St. Peter: Gertrude's supplication in Egbert's Psalter

The late-tenth-century psalter labelled after Archbishop Egbert of Trier (ca. 950–993, on the city's archiepiscopal see from 977 on), which is kept in Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale (ms. CXXXVI), stands out as a renowned piece of the Reichenau scriptorium²⁸. Most certainly, it was made during Egbert's passage of the Alps on his way to Verona, where he, who was Otto II's chancellor, would have attended the 983 Hoftag. The book itself is a piece of evidence that the Archbishop had been in contact with the Reichenau, whence he received the psalter as a gift by Monk Ruprecht, as shown in the first dedicatory diptych²⁹. A century later or slightly more, the codex was modified with the insertion of a few leaves bearing a liturgical calendar, additional prayers and texts (fols. 2r–4v, 5r–14v, 414r–v), and some of the pages from Egbert's original book were also filled with an illustration (fol. 79r) and further orations, all composed by a later owner, Gertrude Piast (ca. 1025–1108), who was grand-granddaughter to Otto II and, from 1045 on, spouse to Izjaslav

²⁷ For example, the icon shutters at Mount Sinai from a former triptych (the Mandylion was possibly the central piece), with stories from the Abgar's legend, or the John Climacus' Heavenly Ladder in Rome (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rossianus 251, fol. 12v.), with the Mandylion and the Keramion replacing Moses' Tables as the New Covenants' "spiritual tablets".

²⁸ A. Weiner, "Katalog der Kunstwerke um Erzbischof Egbert von Trier", in *Egbert Erzbischof von Trier 977–993. Gedenkschrift der Diözese Trier zum 1000. Todestag*, I: *Katalog- und Tafelband*, ed. F. Ronig (Trier: Selbstverlag des Rheinischen Landesmuseum Trier, 1993), pp. 17–48, esp. 20; C. Scaloni, L. Pani, *I Codici della Biblioteca Capitolare di Cividale* (Tavarnuzze: Sismel/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), pp. 337–49, esp. 345–49, for a comprehensive and up-to-date bibliography; F. Crivello, "Salterio di Egberto (Codex Gertrudianus)", in *I Libri dei Patriarchi. Un percorso nella cultura scritta del Friuli medievale*, ed. C. Scaloni (Udine: Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli–Istituto Pio Paschini per la Storia della Chiesa in Friuli, 2014), pp. 82–85; *Psalterium Egberti. Facsimile del ms. CXXXVI del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cividale del Friuli*, ed. C. Barberi, II: *Commentario* (Trieste: Ministero per i Beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza per i Beni ambientali, architettonici, archeologici, artistici e storici del Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 2003). Further bibliography in the notes below.

²⁹ Cividale, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, ms. CXXXVI, fols. 16v–17r. For the role of Ruprecht neither as illuminator nor as scribe, but as potential donor, see R. Bauerreiß, "Über die angeblichen Reichenauer Malermönche Eburnant und Ruodprecht um das Jahr 1000", *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 76 (1965): pp. 36–40, and H. Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1986), I, p. 315. Notwithstanding this, the manuscripts which have been judged, over the course of the past decades, as being close to Egbert's Psalter are traditionally named after same Ruprecht: T. Labusiak, *Die Ruodprechtgruppe der ottonischen Reichenauer Buchmalerei. Bildquellen-Ornamentik-stilgeschichtliche Voraussetzungen* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunsthissenschaft, 2009).

Prince of Kyiv³⁰. After her, the later inserts in the manuscript's binding are commonly known as *Folia gertrudiana*, and the whole manuscript is sometimes called *Codex gertrudianus*³¹. Through further passages, the manuscript reached Zwiefalten Abbey. Finally, through the Counts of Andechs-Meranien, the psalter was donated to the Cathedral Chapter of Cividale del Friuli, that still owns it, though the codex is kept in the local museum³².

The common opinion holds that the leaves and textual inserts were created in Chernigov or at least in what is now Western Ukraine, though some scholars place them likely in St James' and Gertrude's monastery in Regensburg, which had been founded by Irish monks, former missionaries to Kyiv, with the money of same Gertrude Piast³³. The miniature paintings are ascribed to artists close to the Kyivan royal circle, in particular: the Virgin enthroned with the Child to a Kyivan artist, the facing frontispiece-like compositions, with the Nativity and the Crucifixion, to a painter displaying a hybrid manner (some suggest a Western painter accustomed to Byzantine models), and the last one – which is instead the first Gertrudian insert in the current binding – to a Byzantine painter³⁴.

The latter, at folio 5v, displays Gertrude prostrating to St Peter [fig. 3]. Her son, Yaropolk, is standing with raised arms, in gesture of prayer, while a female figure in imperial garments is following with raised arms, too, placed at his back. The latter is the only figure in the compositions lacking the caption which would otherwise allow for a straightforward identification. The male prince is labelled: "Yaropolk the Righteous". His name is always rendered in Slavonic, whereas appellations are in Greek. Gertrude is not called by her name, instead she is indicated as "Yaropolk's mother", and the parental label is rendered as a Greek monogram. As regards the standing woman, traditionally, she has been identified with Yaropolk's wife Kunigunde. But unlike Gertrude, who wears a luxurious cloak, and Yaropolk, who shows in princely attire, the mysterious woman reveals as an Empress through her garments: the loros and the *torakion*, which are exclusive imperial items³⁵.

³⁰ G. Labuda, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. R.-H. Bautier et al., (München: Artemis Verlag, 1998), IX, pp. 571-72; T.J. Michałowska, *Ego Gertruda. Studium historycznoliterackie* (Warszawa: Wydawn. Naukowe PWN, 2001). For her prayers, see M.-H. Malewicz, "Un livre de prières d'une princesse polonaise au XIe siècle", *Scriptorium* 21, no. 2 (1977): pp. 248-54; B. Kürbis, "Die Gertrudianische Gebete im Psalterium Egberti. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frömmigkeit im 11. Jahrhundert", in *Europa Slavica-Europa Orientalis. Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag*, eds. K.-D. Grothusen, K. Zernak (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1980), pp. 249-61. The texts are published by W. Meysztowicz, "Manuscriptum Gertrudae filiae Mesconis II regis Poloniae", *Antemurale* 2 (1955): pp. 103-57.

³¹ H.V. Sauerland, A. Haseloff, *Der Psalter Ezbischof Egberts von Trier, Codex Gertrudianus*, in *Cividale* (Trier: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für nützliche Forschungen, 1901).

³² For the property passages, see U. Kuder, "Egbert-Psalter", in *Bernward von Hildesheim* (Hildesheim-Mainz am Rhein: BernwardVerlag-Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1993), II, pp. 181-84 no. IV-29. The role of women in the possession of the codex, after the 'male' beginning, has been particularly emphasized: E. Garrison, "Movement and time in the Egbert Psalter", in *Imago libri: representations carolingiennes du livre*, eds. Ch. Denoël, A.-O. Poilpré, S. Shimahara (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), pp. 163-71, esp. 168 note 22.

³³ E. Gertsman, "All roads lead to Rus: Western influences on the eleventh-to twelfth century manuscript illumination of Kievan Rus", *Comitatus* 31 (2000): pp. 39-55, esp. 42.

³⁴ For further stylistic aspects, see E. Smirnova, "Miniatures in the Prayer Book of Princess Gertrude. Program, Dates, Painters", *Russia Mediaevalis* 10, no. 2 (2001), pp. 5-21; O. Popova, "Miniatjury kodeksa Gertrudy v krugu vizantijskogo iskusstva vtoroj poloviny XI v.", *Vizantijeskij Vremennik* 67/92 (2008), pp. 176-214.

³⁵ See F. Zago, *La Rus' e l'Occidente. Cultura figurativa medievale tra XI e XII secolo. Il Codex Gertrudianus tra testo e immagine*, PhD dissertation (University of Udine, 2017), pp. 116-18.

file:///Users/antoninotranchina/Downloads/10990_846_TESI+DOTTORATO+ZAGO-1.pdf [accessed 10 July 2024]. Nevertheless, the hypothesis, proposed by Zago, that the female figure could be St. Olga-Elena does not appear consistent either with the hints provided by Gertrude's prayer, where Olga is never mentioned, or by the other illuminations in the folia. In this respect, one may recall the more consistent attempt for identification with St. Irene (the Athenians), who features the Coronation page (fol. 18v), as proposed by I. Spatharakis, *The portrait in Byzantine*

Yaropolk's label- “the Righteous” (in Greek, *δίκαιος*)- has been ingeniously reappraised as a reference to his legitim inheritance of his father Izjaslav's kingdom, thus interpreting righteous as “he who owns the right”, whereby this right would be that of reigning over Kiev Principality, incidentally the one confirmed by Pope Gregory VII to same Yaropolk in Rome, in April 1075. Therefore, the illumination on fol. 5v would be dated, according to the general assumption, between 1075 and 1087, when Yaropolk was murdered. In fact, he is never mentioned in the two orations to St. Peters, which are found at both side of the image, whereas Gertrude's prayer to the saint in favor of his son is found at fol. 30r. The texts on fol. 5v are focused on personal repentance, the solving of Gertrude's sinful laces and the gaining of Christian virtues. One may wonder how comes the central image, where the commitment of Yaropolk- both by Gertrude and the Empress-figure- is prominent, such as the link with St. Peter, after whom he had received his Baptismal name³⁶. In my opinion, it could also be that the prayers are earlier than the page setting, then copied to join the other folia, and complemented with the depiction of Yaropolk's commitment after his death. Indeed, how could he be labelled as ‘righteous’ when her mother prayed for him to be forgiven of his multiple and terrible sins, while he was still alive³⁷? I would argue that “*ό δίκαιος*” paired with Yaropolk's name resounds with the memory of Abel the Righteous, to which he is paralleled because of his betrayal and murder in 1087, after which the insertion of this page in the manuscript can be therefore placed³⁸. If Yaropolk was alive, he might have been represented in prostration, too, so that he could fit the content of the prayer that his mother, Gertrude, had written. Instead, he stands bearing witness to his righteousness, endorsed by an imperial (and perhaps saintly) figure, while Gertrude prostrates as mother, and the prayers around stay generic. They had to. In the lack of a specific prayer for Yaropolk's eternal fate after death, the illumination itself becomes one further prayer by Gertrude, another plea for her son, Yaropolk-Peter.

In other words, text and image are analogically related by means of St. Peter. But the depiction of the Prince of the Apostles, who is addressed like an icon, by the other figures in the miniature painting, adds further pieces of information, also because of Gertrude's peculiar attitude. Her posture

Illuminated Manuscripts (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1976), p. 43. But St. Helena would be likelier, as she is the addressee of several prayers written by Gertrude: W. Meysztowicz, “Manuscriptum Gertrudae”, cit., pp. 128–29. Moreover, Gertrude parallels herself with Helena, who asked the Lord “quod angelum suum mitteret filio (...) Constantino”, as she begs for an angel to be sent as Yaropolk's guardian and defender: “mitte Domine sanctum angelum tuum cum eo, qui custodiat et defendat” (*Ibid.*, p. 126), apparently quoting St. Peter: “misit Dominus angelum suum et eripuit me de manu Herodis” (Actus 12,11 – recalled in the introitus for the saint's Feast, on 29th June). However, as in the case of Spatarakis' proposal, the lack of aureole does not directly allow the identification with a saint.

³⁶ A.V. Nazarenko, *Drevnjaja Rus'na mezdunarodnych putjach. Mezdisciplinarnye ocerki kul'turnych, torgovych, politiâeskich svyazej IX-XII vekov* (Moscow: Rossijskaja Akademija nauk. Institut vseobščej istorii, 2001), pp. 567–70, cited by I.H. Garipzanov, “The Journey of St. Clement's Cult from the Black Sea to the Baltic Region”, in *From Goths to Varangians. Communication and Cultural Exchange Between the Baltic and the Black Sea*, ed. L. M. Højberg Bjerg, S.M. Sindbæk, J. Lind (Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag, 2013), pp. 369–80, esp. 374; see also N. Zajac, “Regina Binomia: Re-Examining the Evidence for Re-Baptism and Renaming of Latin Christian Brides in Pre-Mongol Rus”, *Byzantino-Slavica* 77, no. 1/2 (2019): pp. 264–90, esp. 283. After returning from Rome, Yaropolk also had a church built in honor of the Prince of the Apostles in Kiev, where he was finally laid to rest, after his murder on the way from Vladimir to Zvenigorod-Galitsk: A.V. Nazarenko, *Drevnjaja Rus'na*, cit., pp. 535–36, 569–70.

³⁷ W. Meysztowicz, “Manuscriptum Gertrudae”, cit., p. 145: “Tibi confitetur Petrus omnia peccata sua, (...) preterea multa capitalia comisit criminal, acide suadente hoste antique; voraginibus gule atque luxurie, per superbiam et iactantiam, per detractionem et avariciam atque cenodaciam, per impacientiam et mendacium ac homicidium et falsum testimonium, per furta et periuria, et per alias culpas plurimas”.

³⁸ See also M. Andrusiak, A. Mykytiak, “Kings of Kiev and Galicia (On the Occasion of the 700th Anniversary of the Coronation of Danilo Romanovich)”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 33/81 (1955): pp. 342–49, esp. 345, where the contention is made, that the illuminated scene represents tout-court the bestowing of the martyrs' crown to Yaropolk, assuming that he was already dead at the time of the painting's completion.

at the saint's foot has been paralleled in scholarship with the pilgrims' act performed once they reach the bronze statue of the Apostle in St Peter's in Rome, as the sculpture was previously held as an eighth-century piece³⁹. Despite the misjudgement, it is true that the gesture of the Princess, grabbing with both hands the sole and the instep of Peter's foot respectively, closely resembles the *osculatio pedum* rather than a *proskynesis*, even though she is just craving for, not properly, kissing.

The kissing of the feet was a special kingly honor. It can also shift from royals to prominent religious figures, as it happens in the ms. Arundel 155 of the British Library in London, from Christ's Church in Canterbury, where St. Benedict receives the monk's kiss, sitting in a kingly attire: *Benedictus monarcha*, as it has been contended in scholarship⁴⁰. The kiss to the Pope's feet is a rather different story. Recorded in the textual sources from the sixth century onwards, it is never displayed in the official iconography of early medieval Papacy. To my knowledge, the tomb slab of Pope Lucius III (1181-1185) in Verona is the first example, and it could not surprise that much, given the circumstances of the Pope's presence (and eventual death) in that city, together with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The Papal claim for the kissing of the feet as a special honor to be tributed to him in the first place – if not exclusively –, in competition with the kings and lords of the *saeulum*, anticipates the visual rendering of the slab. In fact, in the *Dictatus papae*, Pope Gregory VII lists at point 9: "Quod solius pape pedes omnes principes deosculentur". It was March 1075, roughly one month before Yaropolk's embassy to Rome. Gertrude was aware of the Papal claim, and she might have strongly supported it through her mediating and soft-powered action, since in her prayer for the living Yaropolk-Peter she concludes: "Have mercy upon him, Supreme Pontiff, and bestow forgiveness to his sins, so that he shows worthy of gaining indulgence, through you" – as noticed by the prayers' editor, "*nexum factum esse inter B. Petrum et suis Romanis successoribus*", and it could not be said any better⁴¹.

In addition to the philosopher attire and distinctive facial features, Peter holds in his left hand a bunch of keys, which looks to be added on purpose to the more usual Byzantine iconographic motif of the scroll-grabbing hand. The loop over the thumb, as well as the chain rings hanging down the knuckles without any hint of juxtaposition suggest Peter's hold, which is not entirely typical⁴². Certainly, the illumination may be related to the beginning of Gertrude's own prayer written nearby: "Oh Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles, you who hold the keys of the Heavenly Kingdom"⁴³.

Notably, the Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter is attested since Late Antiquity: regardless to mosaics, which are sometimes problematic because of later works of restauration, there is a seventh-century fresco at Commodilla's catacomb which attests to the early occurrence of this subject⁴⁴. But what about the keys hanging down from Peter's hands? The key is a powerful symbol relating to his role as key-holder of Heaven, as proclaimed in Matthew 16:19, but the key as a symbol of power endowment and as a tenet of legitimacy is also recalled in Isaiah 22:22 ("And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder; so he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and

³⁹ N.P. Kondakov, *Izobraženija russkoj knjažeskoj sem'i v' miniatjurach' XI veka* (Sanktpeterburg': Imperatorska Akademija nauk', 1906), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁰ R. Deschmann, "Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus. Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform", *Friihittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988): pp. 204-40.

⁴¹ W. Meysztowicz, "Manuscriptum Gertrudae", cit., p. 145: "Miserere sui, Summe Pontifex, et da veniam peccatis suis, ut mereatur per te habere indulgentiam", and *ivì*, note 4.

⁴² N.P. Kondakov, *Izobraženija russkoj knjažeskoj sem'i*, cit., p. 10.

⁴³ W. Meysztowicz, "Manuscriptum Gertrudae", cit., p. 124: "Sancte Petre princeps apostolorum qui tenes claves regni coelorum".

⁴⁴ S. Piazza, *Pittura rupestre medievale, Lazio e Campania settentrionale (secoli VI-XIII)* (Roma: École française de Rome, 2006), p. 95.

none shall open”). St Servatius’ key in Maastricht, coming from Aachen Treasury, more specifically from the Carolingian core of the collection, therefore dating to the ninth-century, is regarded at by scholars precisely as a material reenactment of Isaiah’s messianic prophecy during the Early Middle Ages, as a new rendering of the metaphorical *Clavis davidica*⁴⁵. Instead, St Hubert’s key in the Cathedral Treasury of Liége, or better its ancient most part (i.e. the openwork handle) that dates to the mid-twelfth century, is connected at least from the 1250s on with the relic of the filings of St. Peter’s chain, and it was attached to the bit and the shaft around that time, thus becoming a special type of figural reliquary concerning the Prince of the Apostles⁴⁶.

In fact, the single key as Peter’s insignia is found to be particularly stressed in the Church Reform period, possibly relying on PaleoChristian prototypes, such as those that are found in Rome. The earliest representation of Peter holding the Key is, to my knowledge, the mosaic in St. Theodore in Rome, from the late seventh century. Even though the apse has been repeatedly restored over the course of the centuries, the portion with the key lower ring and hanging lace has been recognized as being original, as documented in the earliest copies from the sixteenth century⁴⁷. Romanesque sculpture often represents Peter holding one single key in his right hand as a scepter, while standing next to portals, as unambiguous metaphor of his celestial and terrestrial duty. Conversely, St. Peter’s keys in the Gertrude’s leaf are quite realistic, their features being consistent to coeval production of rotary keys in the Byzantine area across many centuries, as the variety of motifs in the ‘bit’ (i.e. the panel at the lower extremity) and their parallels in archaeological findings from Eastern Mediterranean and Constantinople demonstrate. The keys in the Menil collection, for example, are still bounded with an original chain, so as to hold together pieces that worked in succession, door after door⁴⁸: something that can be imagined, for example, for the keys handed over by a kneeling official to Emperor Nicephorus Botaniates in the miniature of the Madrid Skylitzes (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms. *Vitr.* 26-2, fol. 154v), referencing the new palace inaugurated by the basileus, that one can see directly at the Emperor’s side, full of doors and windows [fig. 4]⁴⁹. Three keys are found in the mosaic panel purportedly coming from Otto II’s tomb in Old St Peter’s, later removed and still visible in the Grotte Vaticane. This mosaic has been widely restored in early modern times, but the option of three keys can be original, maybe linked to the same visual invention to which Gertrude’s codex is also resorting, in opposition to the two keys established in the Late Medieval tradition and canonized during the Catholic Reformation. The meaning of this number, if there is any, shall be further investigated and clarified⁵⁰.

In conclusion, the first illumination which is found in the Gertrude’s psalter in Cividale is a peculiar creation, where a skilled artist clearly shows features of the Byzantine miniature painting of

⁴⁵ A.M. Koldeweijs, *Der gude sente Servas. De Servatiuslegende en de Servatiana: een onderzoek naar de beeldvorming rond een heilige in de middeleeuwen* (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1985), pp. 61–131.

⁴⁶ Ph. George, *Reliques & arts précieux en pays mosan. Du haut Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine* (Liège: Céfal asbl, 2002), pp. 109–13.

⁴⁷ C. Bolgia, “Il mosaico absidale di S. Teodoro a Roma: problemi storici e restauri attraverso disegni e documenti inediti”, *Papers of the British School at Rome* 69 (2001): pp. 317–51; see also *Mosaici medievali a Roma attraverso il restauro dell'ICR 1991–2004*, eds. M. Andaloro, C. D’Angelo (Roma: Gangemi editore, 2017), pp. 313.

⁴⁸ <https://www.menil.org/collection/objects/6366-chain-with-stamp-and-four-keys> [accessed 10 July 2024].

⁴⁹ V. Tsamakda, *The illustrated chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes* (Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2002), pp. 194–95. For new research on the manuscript, see also *La crónica ilustrada de Escilitzes* (Madrid, BNE, *Vitr.* 26-2): *nuevas perspectivas de estudio*, eds. M. Castiñeiras, I. Pérez Martín (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2025), forthcoming.

⁵⁰ For the Vatican mosaic, see C. Mancho, P. Pogliani, *Cristo fra Pietro e Paolo: il cosiddetto mosaico della tomba di Ottone II nelle Grotte Vaticane*, forthcoming.

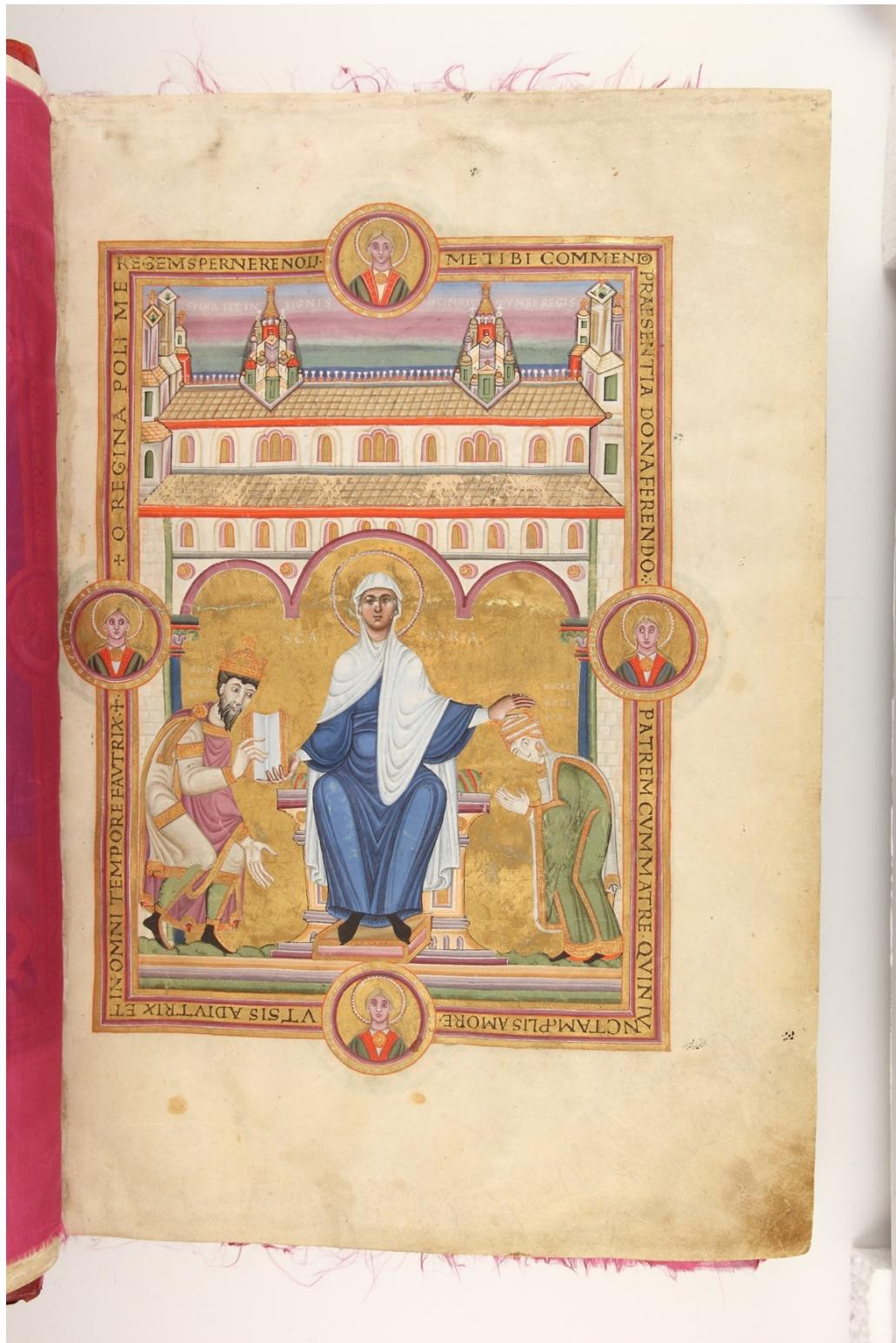
the early Comnenian period, revealing himself as being trained in the Byzantine milieu⁵¹. As for the iconography, instead, the illumination diverts from what we know from coeval Byzantine parallels. It seems to be rather embracing specificities derived from her Latin owner, as well as meeting the circumstances in which the Western book circulated and was modified in Eastern Europe. Moreover, it was adapted to a function which is closer to the books of Prayer spread across Europe at the turn of the millennium, stretching from the ecclesiastical milieu to selected aristocrats shaping new forms of devotion, at the crossroads between private inspiration and official duty, personal dramas and the fate of their people.

⁵¹ See Zago, *La Rus' e l'Occidente*, cit., pp. 211-15.



1. *Codex Aureus Spirensis, The Majesty of Christ adored by Conrad II and Gisela,*
around 1046

El Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ms. Vitr. 17, fol. 2v



2. *Codex Aureus Spirensis, The enthroned Virgin addressed by Henry III and Agnes as donors, around 1046*

El Escorial, Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ms. Vitr. 17, fol. 3r



3. Gertrude commits to St. Peter her son, Yaropolk-Peter, together with a saintly Empress
Cividale del Friuli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, ms. CXXXVI, fol. 5v



4. Skylitzes Matriensis, Nicephorus Botaniates receives the keys of his new palace
Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, ms.Vitr. 26-2, fol. 154v

SACRED IMAGES OWNED BY THE LAITY IN THE MEDIEVAL CHURCHES OF NAPLES (10TH-12TH CENTURIES)

Stefano D'Ovidio

ABSTRACT

Donations of money and properties to sacred images were not unusual in medieval Europe, but in 10th-12th 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

In 1063 a piece of land was donated to the Neapolitan Church of San Severo Radia Solis by a laywoman named Maria¹. The building, no longer in existence, stood in close proximity to the Cathedral². 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")³. Thus, the Crucifix became legal owner of the land,

¹ *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.

² On this church see below.

³ "Certum est me Maria honesta femina filia quondam domini Gregorii scribano Pardum et quondam domina Maria honesta femina qui Marenda clammatur dudum iugalium personarum, conius presenti domini Aligerni viri sui ego, autem cum consensu et voluntate memorati domini Aligerni posteriori viri mei, a presenti die promtissima 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 Crucifissum meum sit offertum et traditum ad abendum et possiendum illut 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”⁴. 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 (“Crucifissum meum” “imagine sua”)⁵. 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 934⁶, 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 Duomo⁷. 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]⁸. San Severo was given to the care of a custodian, a priest appointed for life by

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.

⁴ 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.

⁵ See above note 3, and below notes 14, 17, 19.

⁶ 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.

⁷ 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.

⁸ 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 monastery⁹. 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)¹⁰.

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 Aniello¹¹. The latter was a sixth- century saint from Naples strongly venerated in the region¹². According

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.

⁹ 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 faciendo 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 sollemnia et horis laudibus et luminariorum concinnationem ibi exhibere debeas”), so to receive merit from God and praise by mankind (“ut apud Deum omnipotentem tibi mercis ad crescet 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 (“hunum 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”.

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ “Certum est nos Anastasium et Iohannem, seu Gregorium uterinis germanis, filiis quondam domini Petri monachi cognomento Palamenestra, a presenti die promtissima volumitate venumdedimus et tradidimus vobis domino Sergio venerabili presbytero custodem vero ecclesie beatissimi Seberi Christi confessori atque pontifex et per vos in imagine quem quondam Leo filio quondam domini Stephani pingere fecit ad onorem sanctorum Gregori papae [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 imagine sit venumdatum et traditum in vestra posterisque vesteris et de eidem imagine sit potestate ad abundum 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 imagine [...].” (*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).

¹² A. Vuolo, *Una testimonianza agiografica. Il ‘Libellus miraculorum s. Agnelli’ (sec. X)* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1987). See also: S. D’Ovidio, *Sculpture ligne 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 tarì (currency of Amalfi) to this image for the salvation of his soul. After his death, twenty tarì 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 itself¹³.

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 church¹⁴. 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 lands¹⁵. Archival sources from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries proves 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 Capuana¹⁶, 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]¹⁷.

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.

¹³ See above, note 11.

¹⁴ “[...] Iterum et per ipsum dispositum [quondam Merenda] disposit 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 illut 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).

¹⁵ 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, Marocca 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 Baptiste et Sancti Nicolai Christi confessoris, que posita habebat intus suprascriptam ecclesiam Sancti Severi” (Ivi).

¹⁶ 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): Carbone, 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.

¹⁷ Sergio Bulcano dotates 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, “Radicamento 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)¹⁸, 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]¹⁹. 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)²⁰.

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

¹⁸ See above, notes 3, 14–15.

¹⁹ “Certum est me Maru honesta femina filia quondam domini Stephani et quidem domina Anna monaca cui supra nomen musa iugalibus [...], a presenti die promtissima voluntate, promitto vobis domino Petro venerabili abbatii monasterii Sanctorum Severini et Sossi, ubi eorum venerabilia quiescent 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 hominis illorum hereditate seu substantias de intus et fori [...] in integro et sine omni minuitate in vestra et de vestris posteris et de eidem memorare 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)).

²⁰ “Certum est me Eupraxia [...] una cum consensu et voluntate quidem Iohanni viri a presenti die promtissima voluntatem, pro Domini ammore et redemtionis anime mee et memorati viri mei, hofferet 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 Grucifixum 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 certain 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 candidate²¹. 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 centuries²². The Latin verbs “ponere” (to place) and “commendare” (to give in custody) used in some documents²³ don't necessarily imply portability, as they might refer more generally to the individuality of a holy image and its actual presence in the sacred space²⁴. 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]²⁵.

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”²⁶. 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”)²⁷. 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 Naples²⁸. In the apse of the early Christian cathedral [fig. 1, no. 2], now Santa Restituta, a wooden disk

²¹ Martin, “Quelques remarques”, cit., p. 231. See above, note 4.

²² D'Ovidio, *Scultura lignea*, cit., p. 63.

²³ See above, notes 11, 15, 20.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ 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, *Denkmäler 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.

²⁶ 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.

²⁷ 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 Gaytelgrimaee, 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.

²⁸ 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]²⁹. 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)³⁰ [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)³¹. 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 typology³².

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 985³³. 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]³⁴. 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

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).

²⁹ 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.

³⁰ 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.

³¹ 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).

³² 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.

³³ See above, note 19.

³⁴ “Vultus seu 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)³⁵. 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

³⁵ "Omnis itaque dispersio helemosine magis impresentis quam in futuro seculo in mandatis Domini precipiuntur largiri, et quoscumque manus hominum potest hoperari instanter hoperetur quia sicut scriptum est 'hilarem datorem diligit Deus, et tristem sine dubio hodie', et ideo unusquisque christianorum pro viribus suis in quantum prebalet manum porrigeret debet habere elemosinae husum vel misericordie hopera, qui helemosina ha morte liberat et operarium suum non permicet 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 intemerata eius Genitricis semperque Virginis Marie, et beatissimi Christi confessoris Benedicti, et sancte Restituta Christi virginis et martyre [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 habet sita in monte qui dicitur Cementara pro redēptionem 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 volumtate 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 memorare imaginis et memorare vestre congregationis. et si oc agere presumseritis et imbellum fuerit vacuam et inane persistat. Et semper res ipsa in potestate et proprietatem ipsius imaginis et memorare vestre congregationis remanere debeat at semper abendum 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 volumtatis 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")³⁶. 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")³⁷.

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 ennable their social condition and to become part of the urban elite³⁸. 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 beliefs³⁹. 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")⁴⁰. 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]⁴¹. The

³⁶ See above, note 35.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ On the social condition of "dominus" in the Byzantine duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta: J.M. Martin, "Les aristocraties des duchés tyrrhéniens (Xe-XIIe siècle). Parcours variés de Byzance à l'Occident", in *L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe 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.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-156.

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

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

aforementioned “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”)⁴².

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 clergy⁴³. If monastic foundations are the most frequent beneficiaries of donations, it is probably due to the importance of such religious institutions in medieval Naples⁴⁴. Urban basilicas, family and suburban churches are attested, too. Territoriality and family connections better explain their choices⁴⁵.

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 Armeno⁴⁶. 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.

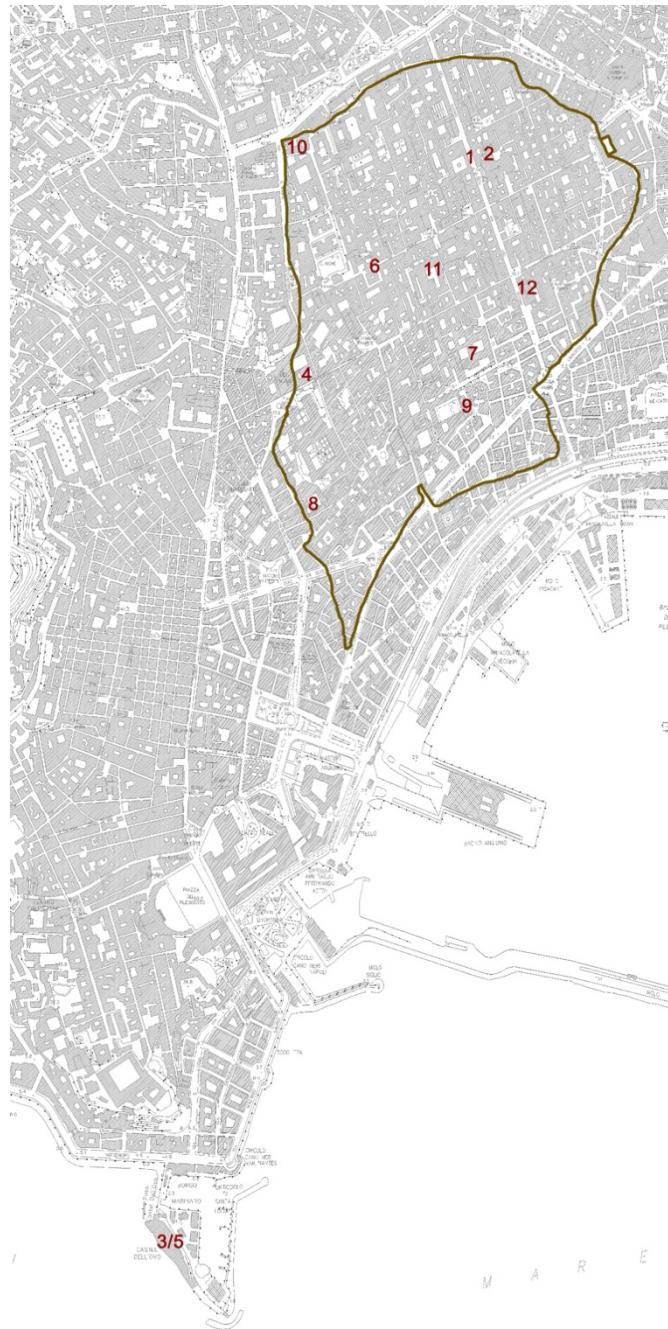
⁴² See above, note 27.

⁴³ Piazza, “La Grotta”, cit., pp. 187-188.

⁴⁴ 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.

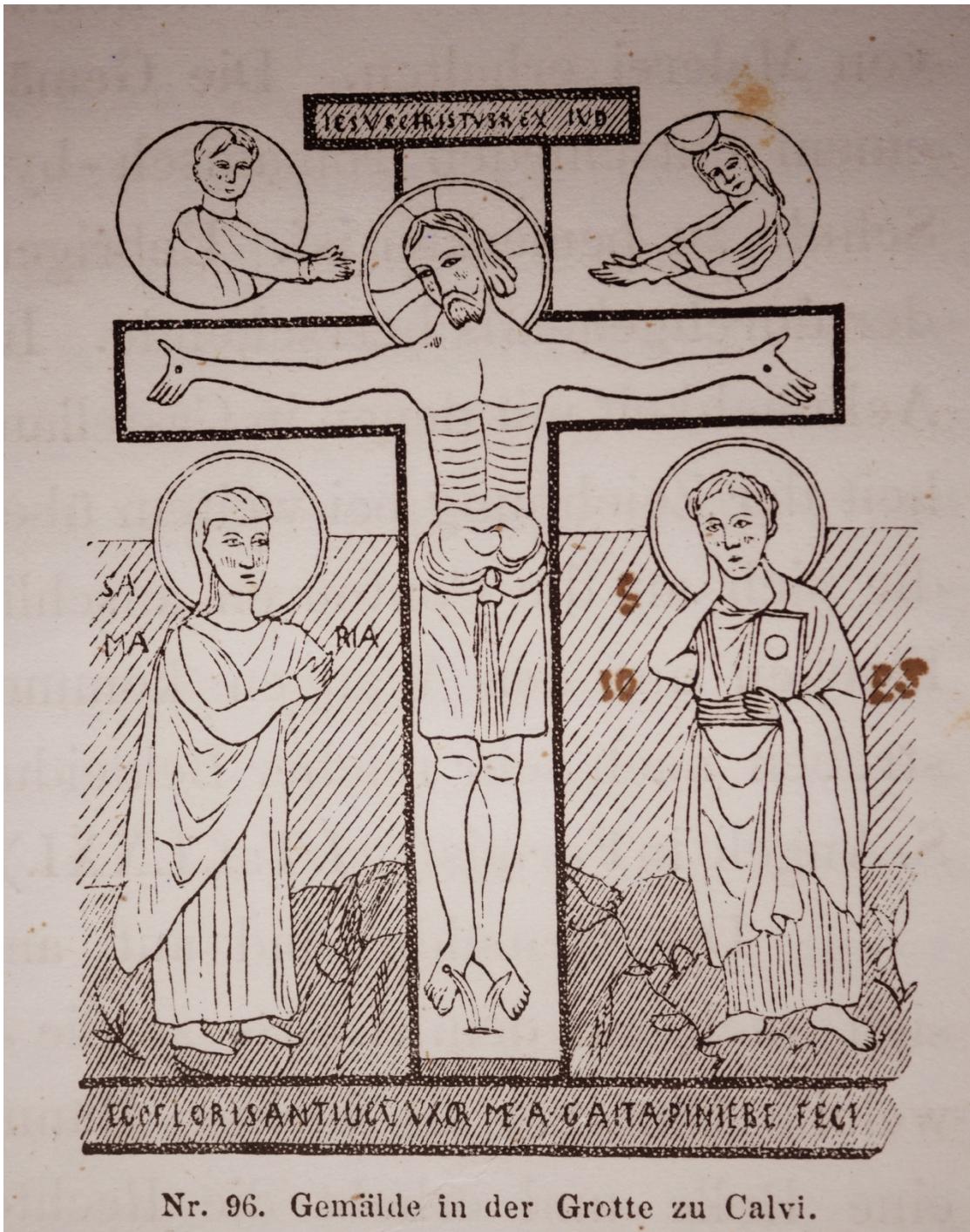
⁴⁵ Santangelo, “Radicamento cittadino”, cit., pp. 5-10.

⁴⁶ *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 suaे alluminare tres candelas ante imaginem pinctam ad honorem beatae Dei genitricis Mariae domina nostra in illo pariete intus ecclesias Domini ac Salvatori nostri Iesu Christi, que est intus ipsum monasterium Sancti Gregorii Maioris, et cunctis diebus cunctae vitae suaे canere faciat missam unam” (C. de Lellis, *Notamentum instrumentorum in pergamenā 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.



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

Key: 1. Platea Radii 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

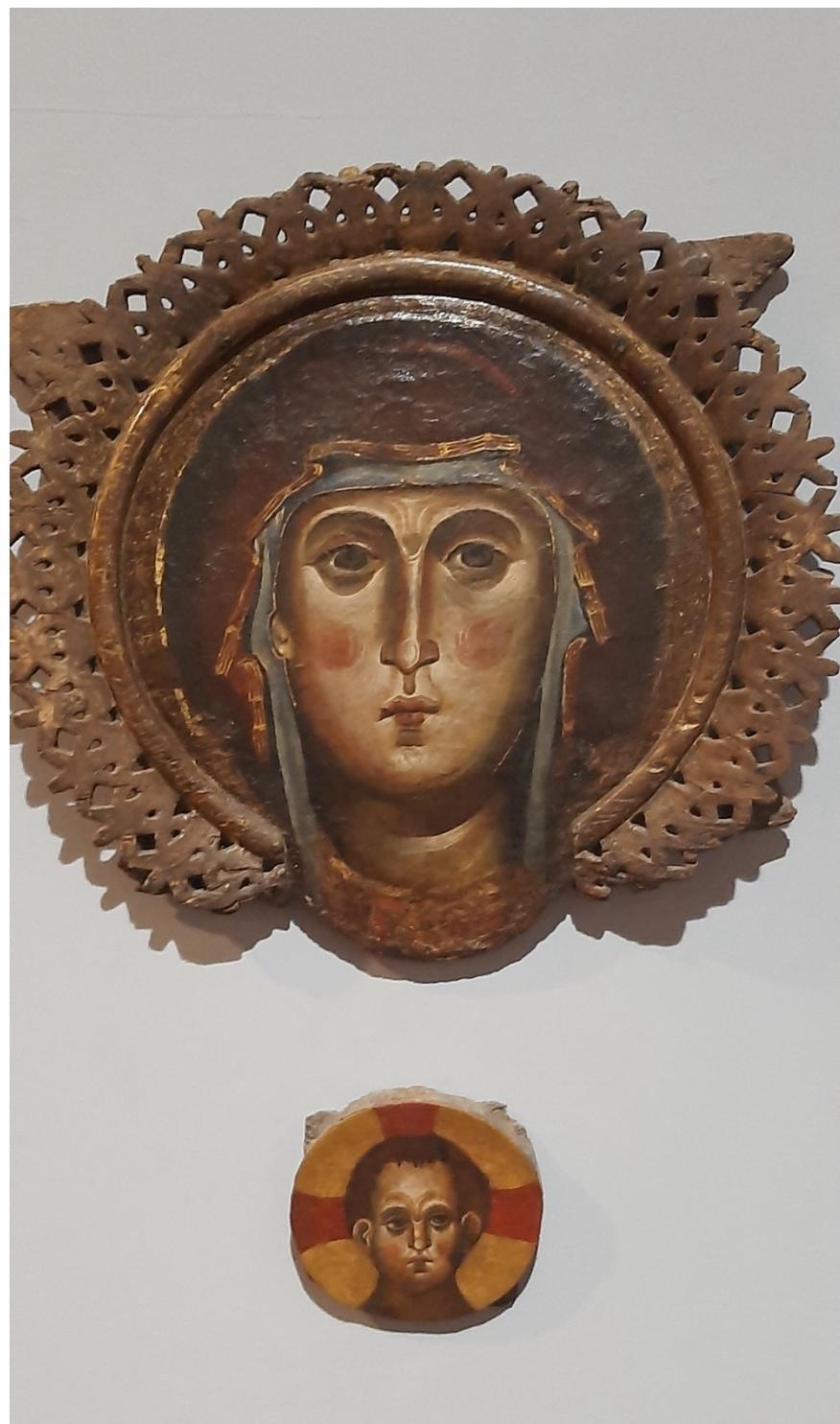


Nr. 96. Gemälde in der Grotte zu Calvi.

2. Calvi Risorta (CE), Grotta dei Santi, Devotional fresco with the names of the donors
(Photo: Schulz, *Denkmäler*, 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)

‘CLOISTERED’ GRATIANS: EARLY ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *DECRETUM GRATIANI* WITHIN COMMUNITIES OF REGULARS*

Gianluca del Monaco

ABSTRACT

The *Decretum Gratiani* was probably composed in Bologna, Italy, prior to the mid-twelfth century and rapidly became one of the most widely utilized textbooks in medieval Western Europe. The text began to be illuminated shortly thereafter. Professional lay craftsmen, presumably working in collaboration with the nascent urban law schools, likely played a role in devising this novel illuminated book. Nevertheless, since Gratian’s work encompassed Church legislation, the scriptoria of ecclesiastical institutions must have been involved. This article examines the illuminated copies clearly associated with specific monastic or canonical communities to ascertain any common features that distinguish them as ‘cloistered’ Gratians.

KEYWORDS: Illuminated Manuscripts, *Decretum Gratiani*, Canon Law, Monasticism, Canons Regular

Graziani “claustrali”. I primi manoscritti miniati del *Decretum Gratiani* all’interno delle comunità di regolari

ABSTRACT

Il *Decretum Gratiani* fu probabilmente composto a Bologna prima della metà del XII secolo e divenne rapidamente uno dei libri di testo più utilizzati nell’Europa occidentale medievale. Poco dopo il testo iniziò a essere miniato. Artefici laici professionisti, che presumibilmente lavoravano in connessione con le nascenti scuole di diritto urbane, hanno verosimilmente partecipato all’ideazione di questo nuovo libro miniato. Tuttavia, poiché l’opera di Graziano riguardava la legislazione della Chiesa, gli scriptoria ecclesiastici dovettero essere coinvolti. Questo articolo esamina le copie miniate chiaramente associate a specifiche comunità monastiche o canonicali per accettare eventuali caratteristiche comuni che le distinguono come Graziani “claustrali”.

PAROLE CHIAVE: manoscritti miniati, *Decretum Gratiani*, diritto canonico, monachesimo, canonici regolari

The *Concordia discordantium canonum* (Harmony of Discordant Canons), subsequently designated the *Decretum Gratiani*, was likely composed in Bologna, Italy, prior to the mid-twelfth century and rapidly became one of the most widely utilised textbooks and reference works in medieval Western Europe¹. A few years after its completion in the 1140s, the text began to be illuminated, resulting in

*This research is part of a broader project on the origins of the illustration of the *Decretum Gratiani*, especially in Italy, initially assisted by a Getty/ACLS Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art from the American Council of Learned Societies, generously supported by the Getty Foundation. This research was also carried out within the IUS ILLUMINATUM research team (<https://iusilluminata.fsh.unl.pt> [accessed 7 November 2024]).

¹ For the different opinions on the composition of the work and the identity of the author: A. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian’s Decretum* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); P. Landau, “Gratian and the *Decretum Gratiani*”, in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140–1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, eds. W. Hartmann, K. Pennington (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), pp. 22–54; O. Condorelli, “Graziano”, in *Dizionario biografico dei giuristi italiani*, eds. M.L. Carlino *et al.* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2013), pp. 1058–61; A. Winroth, “Where Gratian Slept: The Life and Death of the Father of Canon Law”, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung* 130 (2013): pp. 105–28; K. Pennington,

an outstanding corpus of decorated manuscripts from various regions of Western Europe². This article will concentrate on the initial phase of production, preceding the introduction of the *pecia* system, which is thought to have originated in Bologna in the 1220s³, and the composition of the

² “La biografia di Graziano, il Padre del diritto canonico”, *Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Comune* 25 (2014): pp. 25-60; G. Murano, “Dalle scuole agli *Studia*: il *Decretum Gratiani* tra XII e XIII secolo”, in *Scriptoria e biblioteche nel Basso Medioevo (secoli XII-XV)* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2015), pp. 71-107; G. Murano, “Graziano e il *Decretum* nel secolo XII”, *Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Comune* 26 (2015): pp. 61-139; W.P. Müller, “The Reinvention of Canon Law in the High Middle Ages”, in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, eds. A. Winroth, J.C. Wei (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), pp. 79-95, esp. 82-85; A. Winroth, “Canon Law in a Time of Renewal, 1130-1234”, in *The Cambridge History*, cit., pp. 96-107, esp. 96-100.

² *Mostra di manoscritti e incunabuli del Decretum Gratiani*, exh. cat. (Bologna: Tip. Compositori, 1952); R. Schilling, “The *Decretum Gratiani* Formerly in the C. W. Dyson Perrins Collection”, *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 26 (1963): pp. 27-39; W. Cahn, ‘A Twelfth-Century *Decretum* Fragment from Pontigny’, *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 62 (1975): pp. 47-57; A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani* (Roma: Studia Gratiana, 1975); C. Nordenfalk, review of A. Melnikas, *The Corpus of the Miniatures in the Manuscripts of Decretum Gratiani* (1975), *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 43, no. 3 (1980): pp. 318-37; H. Schadt, *Die Darstellungen der Arbores Consanguinitatis und der Arbores Affinitatis: Bildschemata in juristischen Handschriften* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1982), pp. 141-89; J.C. Schmitt, “Le miroir du canoniste: Les images et le texte dans un manuscrit médiéval”, *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 48, no. 6 (November-December 1993): pp. 1471-95; S. L’Engle, “Legal Iconography”, in S. L’Engle, R. Gibbs, eds., *Illuminating the Law: Legal Manuscripts in Cambridge Collections*, exh. cat. (London: Harvey Miller; Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 75-104, esp. 85-91; R. Gibbs, “The Development of the Illustration of Legal Manuscripts by Bolognese Illuminators between 1241 and 1298”, in *Juristische Buchproduktion im Mittelalter*, ed. Vincenzo Colli (Frankfurt a.M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 2002), pp. 173-218, esp. 192-93, 210-13, 217; G.Z. Zanichelli, ‘*Thesauris armarii aggregatus*: il codice miniato a Bologna tra XI e XII secolo’, in M. Medica, S. Battistini, eds., *La cattedrale scolpita: Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna*, exh. cat. (Ferrara: Edisai, 2003), pp. 147-84, esp. 171-78; K. Böse, S. Wittekind, “Eingangsminiaturen als Schwellen und Programm im *Decretum Gratiani* und in den Dekretalen Gregors IX”, in *Ausbildung des Rechts: Systematisierung und Vermittlung von Wissen in mittelalterlichen Rechtshandschriften*, eds. K. Böse, S. Wittekind (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 2009), pp. 21-37, esp. 21-28; R. Gibbs, “The Bratislava Gratian and Its Position in the Tree of Trees of Consanguinity and Affinity”, *Ars* 42, no. 1 (2009): pp. 168-79; C. Jakobi-Mirwald, “Gratian in Schäftlarn”, in *Ausbildung des Rechts*, cit., pp. 82-97; C. Spitzer, “Die Funktion von Bildern in Handschriften zum Kanonischen Recht. Das *Decretum Gratiani* der Walters Art Gallery (W135)”, in *Ausbildung des Rechts*, cit., pp. 98-107; M.A. Bilotta, “Nouvelles considérations sur un manuscrit toulousain du ‘Décret de Gratien’ reconstitué”, in *Le livre dans la région toulousaine et ailleurs au Moyen Âge*, eds. S. Cassagnes-Brouquet, M. Fournié (Toulouse: Méridiennes, 2010), pp. 73-83; L. Novello, “Miniatura a Bologna nel Duecento: il *Decretum Gratiani* della Bertoliana di Vicenza”, *Arte a Bologna* 7-8 (2010-11), pp. 192-202; G.Z. Zanichelli, ‘*Osculetur me osculo oris sui*: immagini del matrimonio nel XII secolo’, in “*Per una severa maestra*”: dono a Daniela Romagnoli (Fidenza: Mattioli 1885, 2014), pp. 135-47, esp. 136-42; G.Z. Zanichelli, “La trasformazione del libro di lusso fra XII e XIII secolo”, in *Scriptoria e biblioteche*, cit., pp. 285-300, esp. 292-99; M.A. Bilotta, “I cibi e i banchetti nelle miniature dei manoscritti del *Decreto* di Graziano: espressioni in immagini di consuetudini giuridiche e sociali”, in *Cucina, società e politica: Le arti e il cibo. Modalità ed esempi di un rapporto* 3, eds. F. Lollini, M. Montanari (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2020), pp. 223-48; G. del Monaco, “Investigating the Origins of the Illustration of the *Decretum Gratiani*: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l’Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer, 454”, *Rivista di Storia della Miniatura* 24 (2020), pp. 32-43; J. Fronska, “Pontifical Power, Image, and Politics. The Iconography of Imperial Coronation and Oath in the *Decretum Gratiani*”, in *Imago Papae: Le pape en image du Moyen Âge à l’époque contemporaine*, ed. Claudia D’Alberto (Roma: Campisano, 2020), pp. 87-97; M.A. Bilotta, “Da Bologna al Midi della Francia: il Decreto di Graziano ms. 67 della Bibliothèque du Carré d’Art di Nîmes”, in *Medieval Europe in Motion 3: The Circulation of Jurists, Legal Manuscripts and Artistic, Cultural and Legal Practices in Medieval Europe (13th-15th Centuries)*, ed. M.A. Bilotta (Palermo: Officina di Studi Medievali, 2021), pp. 347-62; G. Murano, “Il *Decretum* in Europa nel secolo XII”, in *Medieval Europe in Motion 3*, cit., pp. 301-12; S. L’Engle, “Medieval Canon Law Manuscripts and Early Printed Books”, in *The Cambridge History*, cit., pp. 299-321, esp. 312-15; G. del Monaco, “Alle origini di Bologna ‘crocevia’? Scambi artistici e circolazione di modelli nelle più antiche copie miniate italiane del *Decretum Gratiani*”, in *Medioevo europeo e mediterraneo. Scambi, circolazione e mobilità artistica*, eds. R. Cerone, M. Gianandrea (Roma: Campisano, 2024), pp. 703-28.

³ S. L’Engle, “Production and Purchase: Scribes, Illuminators and Customers”, in *Illuminating the Law*, cit., pp. 39-53, esp. 41, 43; G. Murano, *Opere diffuse per exemplar e pecia* (Turhout: Brepols, 2005).

Glossa ordinaria by Johannis Theutonicus in 1217⁴. The pictorial programme of the early manuscripts, which was rarely completed, consisted of illuminated initial letters opening the main divisions of the text. These included the 101 distinctions that made up *Pars prima*, the 36 *Causae* of *Pars secunda* and *De consecratione*, as well as the tables of Greek and Roman numerals, which were probably used for the so-called *epistolae formatae*, a subject examined in *Pars prima* within *Distinctio 73*⁵, and the *arbores consanguinitatis et affinitatis*, or trees of consanguinities and affinities, a type of diagrams used to calculate the highest number of degrees of kinship that prevented the eligibility of marriage partners, a theme addressed in *Causa 35*. The former is typically superimposed on a standing, frontal, male figure, while the latter is headed by a married couple⁶. Additionally, a considerable number of early manuscripts include the prefatory summary "In prima parte agitur"⁷, usually decorated with a major initial "I" at the beginning and minor "I" initials within the text.

It seems probable that professional lay craftsmen, presumably working in collaboration with the nascent urban law schools, played a role in the evolution of this novel type of illuminated book⁸. Nevertheless, given that Gratian's work encompassed the collation and analysis of Latin Church legislation, traditionally taught in cathedral and monastic schools⁹, it is reasonable to posit that the long-established scriptoria based within ecclesiastical institutions must have been especially involved¹⁰. In a few cases, this origin can be documented or assumed on the basis of iconographic or stylistic elements. Some of these manuscripts were produced in monasteries that adhered to the rule

⁴ R. Weigand, "The Development of the *Glossa ordinaria* to Gratian's *Decretum*", in *The History of Medieval Canon Law*, cit., pp. 55–97, esp. 82–86.

⁵ Cahn, "A Twelfth-Century Decretum Fragment", cit., pp. 54–55.

⁶ E. Patlagean, "Une représentation byzantine de la parenté et ses origines occidentales", *L'Homme* 6, no. 4 (October–December 1966), pp. 59–81; G.B. Ladner, "Medieval and Modern Understanding of Symbolism: A Comparison", *Speculum* 54, no. 2 (April 1979), pp. 223–56, esp. 241–50; Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, cit.; Novello, "Miniatura a Bologna nel Duecento", cit., pp. 194–98.

⁷ Murano, "Graziano e il *Decretum*", cit., pp. 70, 107.

⁸ R. Bosi, "Lo Studium a Bologna", in M. Medica, ed., *Duecento. Forme e colori del Medioevo a Bologna*, exh. cat. (Venezia: Marsilio, 2000), pp. 53–56, esp. 54; M. Medica, "La città dei libri e dei miniatori", in Medica, ed., *Duecento*, cit., pp. 109–140, esp. 110; Zanichelli, "Thesauris armarii aggregatus", cit., pp. 178, 180.

⁹ C. Bock, "Les Cisterciens et l'Etude du Droit", *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis* 7 (1951): pp. 3–31, esp. 4; Zanichelli, "Thesauris armarii aggregatus", cit., p. 171. On the evolving landscape of schools in twelfth-century Western Europe: *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, ed. C. Giraud (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2019).

¹⁰ However, as is well known, it is worth mentioning that the so-called *Calci Bible* (Calci, Museo Nazionale della Certosa Monumentale di Calci, s.n.), in 4 volumes, is documented as having been begun on 10 October 1168 by laymen for the Benedictine monastery of San Vito in Pisa (K. Berg, *Studies in Tuscan Twelfth-Century Illumination* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968), pp. 205–06; *La Bibbia di Calci. Un capolavoro della miniatura romanica in Italia*, ed. S. Russo (Pisa: ETS, 2014)). For further discussion of analogous cases from the twelfth century in Tuscany, please refer to Berg, *Studies*, cit., pp. 206–19. In regard to the much-debated issue of the nature of the production unity at the origin of the Central Italian Giant Bibles: L. Ayres, "Le Bibbie Atlantiche. Dalla Riforma alla diffusione in Europa", in M. Maniaci, G. Orofino, eds., *Le Bibbie Atlantiche. Il libro delle Scritture tra monumentalità e rappresentazione*, exh. cat. (Roma: Centro Tibaldi, 2000), pp. 27–37; M. Maniaci, G. Orofino, "L'officina delle Bibbie atlantiche: artigiani, scribi, miniatori. Problemi ancora aperti", in *Come nasce un manoscritto miniatore. Scriptoria, tecniche, modelli e materiali*, eds. F. Flores d'Arcais, F. Crivello (Modena: Panini, 2010), pp. 197–212; L. Yawn, "The Italian Giant Bibles, Lay Patronage, and Professional Workmanship (11th–12th Centuries)", *Cahiers électroniques d'histoire textuelle du LaMOP3* (2010), special issue: *Les usages sociaux de la Bible, XIe–XVe siècles*: pp. 1–32. https://www.academia.edu/1024989/_The_Italian_Giant_Bibles_Lay_Patronage_and_Professional_Workmanship_11th_12th_Centuries_Les_usages_sociaux_de_la_Bible_XIe_XVe_siècles_CEHTL_3_2010_Paris_LAMOP_1re_éd_en_1igne_2011 [accessed 7 November 2024]. It should also be remembered that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries individual professional lay scribes and, above all, illuminators were increasingly employed in ecclesiastical scriptoria (W. Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 213–24; J. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven–London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 12–20, 95).

of Saint Benedict or the various rules of canons regular. Colomban Bock's foundational work on the study of law in the Cistercian Order has illuminated the various prohibitions issued by councils and popes since the first half of the twelfth century against the study of law, albeit exclusively Roman law at the beginning, by monks and canons regular as well as the practice of the legal profession for financial gain¹¹. These interdictions were intended to prevent regulars from venturing beyond the confines of their own communities, for example to attend urban schools, to curtail the pursuit of wealth, and to safeguard the primacy of theology. However, as is often the case, these restrictions provide evidence of the practices they sought to prohibit. Furthermore, dispenses were increasingly granted to individuals. Indeed, Giovanna Murano has highlighted that a significant number of early copies of Gratian's treatise come from Benedictine monasteries, indicating a notable interest in the work among black monks¹². This paper will examine those illuminated volumes most clearly associated with specific monastic or canonical communities to ascertain whether there are any common features that distinguish them as 'cloistered' Gratians.

Gratian himself is said to have been a monk in the so-called *Summa Parisiensis*¹³, a commentary on the *Decretum* probably written in Sens around 1168¹⁴. The anthropomorphic initial "H" of "Humanum genus", opening the *Pars prima* of an early north Italian Gratian in Troyes (Médiathèque Jacques-Chirac, Ms 60, fol. 7r)¹⁵, which comes from the Cistercian abbey of Clairvaux¹⁶, presents the figures of religious and secular authorities, in the form of a bishop and a sovereign, engaged in a *quaestio* regarding the opening sentence of the treatise¹⁷. In this article, I will return to the iconography of earthly powers as represented in the H-initial of *Pars prima*. At this point, I will focus on the individual depicted on a smaller scale, wearing a black habit and thus identified as a Benedictine monk positioned at the side of the prelate. This figure is holding a leaf that has been cut along the right side, displaying the phrase "quid sit lex quid mores". Murano has proposed the latter as an image of the *auctor*, whereas I believe it should be regarded as a figure involved in the same debate as the two rulers, alongside the layman brandishing an axe. As early as the late twelfth century, a black monk with a halo was depicted to the left of the opening initial of *Pars prima* in a copy kept in the library of the Benedictine abbey of Admont in Styria (Benediktinerstift, Cod. 35, fol. 12r)¹⁸. It is possible to identify the figure too as the *auctor*¹⁹, although it cannot be excluded that it is Saint

¹¹ Bock, "Les Cisterciens", cit.

¹² Murano, "Graziano e il *Decretum*", cit., pp. 82-84.

¹³ *The Summa Parisiensis on the Decretum Gratiani*, ed. Terence P. McLaughlin (Toronto: The Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1952), p. 115 (ad C.2 q.7 d.p.c.52); Murano, "Dalle scuole agli *Studia*", cit., p. 75.

¹⁴ R. Weigand, "The Transmontane Decretists", in *The History of Medieval Canon Law*, cit., pp. 174-210, esp. 181-182; P. Landau, "Master Peter of Louveciennes and the Origins of the Parisian School of Canon Law around 1170", in *Proceedings of the fourteenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Toronto, 5-11 August 2012*, eds. J.W. Goering, S. Dusil, A. Their (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2016), pp. 379-94.

¹⁵ Zanichelli, "La trasformazione del libro di lusso", cit., p. 295; del Monaco, "Alle origini di Bologna 'crocevia'", cit., pp. 706-07. The digital copy of this manuscript is accessible via the following link: <https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www.main.cls?surl=search&p=★#recordId=2.1824> [accessed 23 October 2024].

¹⁶ B. Jacqueline, "Le Décret de Gratien à l'Abbaye de Clairvaux", *Studia Gratiana* 3 (1955): pp. 426-32, esp. 429. The twelfth-century inventory of the library lists two single-volume copies of Gratian's work (*Ibid.*, p. 427).

¹⁷ "Humanum genus duobus regitur, naturali videlicet iure et moribus." (*Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. E. Friedberg, I: *Decretum Magistri Gratiani* (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879), col. 1 (D.1 d.a.c.1)).

¹⁸ P. Huberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in der Steiermark*, I: *Die Stiftsbibliotheken zu Admont und Vorau* (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 2011), p. 86 cat. no. 72; F. Eheim, "Die Handschriften des *Decretum Gratiani* in Österreich", *Studia Gratiana* 7 (1959): pp. 125-173, esp. 130-131 cat. no. 3; Murano, "Il *Decretum*", cit., p. 306.

¹⁹ Gratian was never regarded as a saint; however, other twelfth-century authors in a similar status, such as Peter Lombard, were represented as figures with haloed heads in illuminated copies of their works created slightly after their deaths (J. Fronska, "The Images of Gratian: The Author's Portrait and Historical Evidence", in *Tributes to Elly Miller: Opening*

Benedict himself. The black habit subsequently became common in late-thirteenth and fourteenth-century representations of Gratian engaged in the act of writing at his desk illustrating the same letter both north and south of the Alps²⁰. Murano thus concluded that this iconography provided compelling evidence that Gratian was a black Benedictine, confirming the information that he lived in Bologna in the Benedictine monastery of San Felice²¹. However, the extant evidence regarding Gratian's residence in Bologna gives raise to questions concerning the veracity of this assertion and suggests that the most common opinion that he was a Camaldoiese monk should be accepted²².

The first known reference to Gratian's residence in Bologna is made in the mid-thirteenth century by the Bolognese lawyer Odofredus, who states that "Master Gratian... stood at the monastery of San Felice" in the city²³. Moreover, a number of manuscripts of the *Decretum* produced in the Emilian city between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries include a *subscriptio* at the end of the text: "Explicit decretum compilatum a gratiano monacho monasterij sancti felicis de bononia"²⁴. Later, in the final decades of the Trecento, the commentaries by Benvenuto da Imola and Francesco da Buti on the tenth canto of Dante's *Paradiso* (*Par.* 10, 103-105), in which Gratian is mentioned among the wise men in the Sphere of the Sun, asserted that he had been a monk of San Felice²⁵. Indeed, a lost marble inscription placed in the monastery by Abbot Bartolomeo Raimondi not earlier than 1374 states that Gratian composed his work in that house²⁶. The text of

Manuscripts, eds. S. Panayotova, L. Freeman Sandler, T. Miller Wang (London-Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2024), pp. 108-25, esp. 114).

²⁰ E.g. Douai, Bibliothèque Marceline Desbordes-Valmore, 586, fol. 1r; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23552, p. 1. The digital reproduction of the microfilm of the first manuscript is made available at the following link: https://preserver.beic.it:443/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE197279 [accessed 8 October 2024]. The digital facsimile of the second manuscript is accessible at the following link: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00090822> [accessed 8 October 2024]. Such examples, along with others, have recently been examined by Joanna Fronska ("The Images of Gratian", cit., pp. 116-19).

²¹ Murano, "Graziano e il *Decretum*", cit., pp. 77-82; G. Murano, "Graziano, monaco benedettino, *magister* e vescovo di Chiusi: le testimonianze iconografiche", *Studia Gratiana* 30 (2020), special issue: *Gratianus magister decretorum. II Decretum tra storia, attualità e prospettive di universalità*, eds. M. Sodi, F. Reali, pp. 105-22, esp. 114-120; Murano, "Il *Decretum*", cit., pp. 305-307.

²² G. Cacciiamani, "Appunti di storia camaldoiese sul monastero dei santi Nabore e Felice di Bologna", *Cvta Bononia* 2 (1970), pp. 11-21, esp. 17; D. Cerami, "Monasteri benedettini del suburbio e della pianura", in *Monasteri benedettini nella diocesi di Bologna (secoli VII-XV)*, ed. P. Foschi (Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2017), pp. 59-81, 217-277: 71-72, 265.

²³ "Magister Gratianus qui stabat ad monasterium sancti Felicis" (*Odoffredi iuris utriusque peritissimi...in secundam Digesti Veteris partem...* (Lyon: Compagnie des Libraires de Lyon, 1552), fol. 2v (ad D. 12.1.1)); Murano, "Graziano e il *Decretum*", cit., pp. 73-74.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁵ "Hic Thomas describit alium doctorem s. Gratianum monachum. Ad cuius evidentiam est presciendum quod iste Gratianus fuit monachus de ordine, qui fecit opus egregium quod dicitur Decretum... fecit autem opus suum in civitate Bononie, in monasterio sancti Felicis in cellula parva." (Benvenuto da Imola, *Commentarium super Dantis Paradisum*, Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.43.3, fol. 56v); "Di Gratian, questi fu Graziano che fece lo Decreto, fu di Chiusi città antica di Toscana, ma ora è quasi tutta disfatta, e fu monaco di Santo Felice a Bologna." (*Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Comedia di Dante Alighieri* (Pisa: fratelli Nistri, 1862), III, p. 323); Murano, "Graziano e il *Decretum*", cit., pp. 80-82.

²⁶ "HANC AULE PARTEM LECTOR REVERENTER ADITO / NAMQUE LOCI MONACHUS DECRETUM HIC CONDIDIT HUTUS / DIVINUM GRATIANUS OPUS QUANTUMLIBET ARCTO / CONTENTUS SEPTO QUOD IAM REPARANDO CADUCUM / ET VETUS HOC CLAUSTRUM TOLLI FUIT INDE NECESSE / ID Tamen ABBATE ET CONSTRUCTUM EST BARTHOLOMEO / MILLE RECENTENIS DECIES SEPTEM AQUE QUATERNIS / ANNIS A CHRISTO PURA DE VIRGINE NATO" (Hieronimus de Bursellis, *Cronica gestorum ac factorum memorabilium civitatis Bononie*, ed. A. Sorbelli (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1911-1929), p. 14; G. Rivani, "L'Abbadia dei Ss. Naborre e Felice ora Ospedale Militare di Bologna",

the inscription is cited by the Dominican Girolamo Burselli in his *Cronica*, which was written in the second half of the fifteenth century. The friar also offered alternative information regarding Gratian's monastic affiliation. In particular, he reported that Gratian had been a monk at the Bolognese Benedictine monastery of San Procolo. At the time in question, the monks of San Felice had themselves relocated to San Procolo. The abbey in San Felice was ultimately dissolved in 1506²⁷. Moreover, the association of Gratian with San Procolo was substantiated by an extant marble inscription, which originally accompanied a lost statue of the author of the *Decretum* realised in the monastery in 1573²⁸. This inscription was recorded around the same time by the Benedictine Pietro Calzolari and the local Augustine hermit friar Cherubino Ghirardacci, who both attest to Gratian as a black monk ("monaco negro")²⁹. Nonetheless, the connection with San Felice was more widely accepted by subsequent historians.

In the eighteenth century, two Camaldoleses monks, Giovanni Mittarelli and Anselmo Costadono, discovered that San Felice was listed among the Camaldoleses houses in four Papal bulls of 1113 (Paschal II), 1153 (Eugene III), 1175 (Alexander III), and 1186 (Urban III), respectively³⁰. This led them to conclude that Gratian must have been a Camaldoleses monk as well³¹. As documented by Giuseppe Cacciamani³², the monastery of San Felice in Bologna was indeed enumerated among the monasteries belonging to the Camaldoleses congregation in Papal bulls dating from 1113 to 1187 (Clement III). It was no longer included in the list since 1198 (Innocent III). In a bull dated 1258, Pope Alexander IV appointed the abbot of San Felice and the abbot of the Benedictine community of San Pietro in Perugia as defenders of Camaldoleses privileges. This may be interpreted as an indication that the Bolognese monastery had been handed over to the black monks. It can thus be concluded with a high degree of certainty that if Gratian composed the *Decretum* in San Felice in Bologna, it was at the time a Camaldoleses house. The depiction of Gratian as a black monk emerged during a period when San Felice had become a Benedictine monastery³³. Nevertheless, the extant early copies of the *Decretum* indicate that the work was not widely circulated among the Camaldoleses. Only one of them has its provenance from a library of the congregation, specifically from the mother house of Camaldoli.

The manuscript is identified as Conv.Soppr.A.I.402 in the collections of the National Library of Florence [figs. 1-2]³⁴. It is one of four witnesses to what Anders Winroth has designated the "first

Strenna Storica Bolognese 18 (1968): pp. 67-90, esp. 73).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁸ M. Fanti, *San Procolo. La chiesa - L'abbazia. Leggenda e storia* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1963), pp. 84-86.

²⁹ P. Calzolari, *Historia monastica*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Vincenzo Accolti, 1575), p. 432; C. Ghirardacci, *Della Historia di Bologna* (Bologna: Heredi di Giovanni Rossi, 1605), p. 77.

³⁰ G.B. Mittarelli, A. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, III (Venezia: San Michele di Murano, 1758), cols. 243, 464-465; G.B. Mittarelli, A. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, IV (Venezia: San Michele di Murano, 1759), pp. 116-117, cols. 52-53.

³¹ Mittarelli, Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses*, cit., III, p. 325.

³² Cacciamani, "Appunti", cit., pp. 12-16, 19-20.

³³ Anthony Melnikas (*The Corpus*, cit., pp. 44-45) argued that Gratian had been depicted as a Camaldoleses monk in two illuminations painted by the so-called Illustratore in a Bolognese copy of his treatise dating back to around 1340 (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.lat.1366, fol. 1r). However, it has already been observed that his robe, consisting of a sleeveless brown surcoat over a white tunic does not correspond to the Camaldoleses habit (G. del Monaco, *L'Illustratore e la miniatura nei manoscritti universitari Bolognesi del Trecento* (Bologna: Bononia University Press: 2018), p. 146). The digital reproduction of the manuscript is accessible via the following link: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1366/0001 [accessed 9 October 2024].

³⁴ A. Di Domenico, in *Codici miniati benedettini*, exh. cat. (Firenze: Biblioteca nazionale centrale di Firenze, 1982), p. 31 cat. no. 14; A. Di Domenico, *Alcuni codici miniati romanici nel fondo Conventi Soppressi della Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, "Miniatura" 3-4 (1990-1991): pp. 51-62, esp. 54.

recension" of the *Decretum Gratiani*, an earlier, briefer version of the work, comprising solely the 101 distinctions of *Pars prima* and the 36 *Causae* of *Pars secunda*³⁵. Murano and Kenneth Pennington have observed that these copies reflect the various stages of the evolving author's working codex, with subsequent additions made as soon as Gratian updated his version³⁶. The manuscript currently held at the Biblioteca Nazionale appears to be a direct derivative of the author's original codex. The manuscript was in use in the region of Puglia during the third quarter of the twelfth century³⁷. The first seven initials are decorated with multicoloured ink, which is sometimes applied to a gold ground [fig. 1]. It can be inferred that they must have been made later than the writing of the text and the display lettering, as they appear to overlap somewhere with them. Adriana Di Domenico has attributed these initials to a scriptorium in the Bari area because of their peculiar reworking of Cassinese motifs³⁸. The Italian scholar further suggests that the remaining decorated initials were drawn in dark ink shortly afterwards in the territory of Arezzo [fig. 2], where Camaldoli is located³⁹.

In contrast, as previously stated, a considerable number of early *Decreta* were incorporated into the libraries of Benedictine monasteries across Europe. Murano identified 41 copies of Benedictine provenance out of the surviving manuscripts, which number approximately 250⁴⁰. Two additional witnesses to the 'first recension' are included.

One volume comes from the Catalan house of Santa Maria de Ripoll (Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll 78). It is regarded as the most sophisticated exemplar of the 'first recension'. Gibbs identified the manuscript as a product of Bologna, noting the accuracy of the text and its continuous updating⁴¹. Murano, on the other hand, attributed it to a scriptorium specialised in the production of Giant Bibles⁴². Indeed, as Gibbs himself observed, the painted decorated initials bear resemblance to the geometric initials of the great Tuscan bibles and can be attributed to Pisan artists in particular⁴³.

The second witness is a copy in two volumes that is currently housed in the monastic library of Admont (Benediktinerstift, Codd. 23, 43)⁴⁴. The text is presented in single columns. The introduction "In prima parte" and the primary divisions of the text are embellished with initials drawn in ink, the majority of which are adorned with foliate tendrils [fig. 3]. Two of the initials are anthropomorphic

³⁵ Winroth, *The Making*, cit., pp. 122–145. The other three witnesses are: Admont, Benediktinerstift, Codd. 23, 43; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Ripoll 78; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 1761. The digital version of the first one is available for consultation at the following link: <https://manuscripta.at/digit/AT1000-23/0001>, <https://manuscripta.at/digit/AT1000-43/0001> [accessed 10 October 2024]. The digital reproduction of the microfilm of the second one is accessible at the following link: https://preserver.beic.it:443/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE342355 [accessed 10 October 2024]. The digital facsimile of the third one is made available at the following link: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8555842b> [accessed 10 October 2024].

³⁶ Pennington, "La biografia di Graziano", cit., pp. 26–36; Murano, *Graziano e il Decretum*, cit., p. 87.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 87–91.

³⁸ Di Domenico, *Alcuni codici miniati*, cit., p. 54.

³⁹ *Ivi*.

⁴⁰ Murano, *Graziano e il Decretum*, cit., pp. 65, 82–83.

⁴¹ Gibbs, "The Bratislava Gratian", cit., p. 170 note 7; R. Gibbs, K.-G. Pfädtner, *Byzantine Beauty and Bolognese Beasts: Bolognese Illumination before 1259 and the Evolution of the Academic Style*, typescript, pp. 44–45. I would like to thank the author for allowing me to use this unpublished material.

⁴² Murano, *Graziano e il Decretum*, cit., p. 114. On the *Bibbie atlantiche*, at least: Maniaci, Orofino, eds., *Le Bibbie atlantiche*, cit.; *Les Bibles atlantiques. Le manuscrit biblique à l'époque de la réforme de l'église du 11^e siècle*, ed. N. Togni (Firenze: SISMEL, 2016).

⁴³ Gibbs, "The Bratislava Gratian", cit., p. 170 note 7; Gibbs, Pfädtner, *Byzantine Beauty*, cit., pp. 45–48.

⁴⁴ Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in der Steiermark*, cit., pp. 46–47 cat. nos. 14–15; Eheim, "Die Handschriften", cit., pp. 129–130 cat. no. 2, 132–133 cat. no. 4.

(Cod. 23, fols. 3r, 161r) [fig. 4] while four are historiated with single or double figures that are related to the text passages (Cod. 23, fol. 122r; Cod. 43, fols. 19v, 40r, 110v) [fig. 5]. The initial “I” (“In prima parte”) of the prefatory summary in Cod. 23 (fol. 3r) depicts a standing bearded man in a long robe with a round hat on his head, a headgear sometimes worn by bishops and other prelates in eleventh- and twelfth-century images⁴⁵. In one hand he holds a tendril branch, reminiscent of a crozier, and in the other a book. It has hitherto remained unnoticed that he could be interpreted as a portrait of Gratian himself, who is recorded as a bishop in three sources, which will be discussed later in this article⁴⁶. However, an alternative reading is that he could be seen as a generic representation of religious authority, thus alluding to the Church law mentioned in the associated text passage⁴⁷. It is worthy of note that two historiated letters are dedicated to *Causa* 16 and 18 (Cod. 43, fols. 19v, 40r), which are part of a group of five *Causae* (C.16–20) devoted to issues concerning the life of monks. This topic should have been of significant importance for a monastery such as Admont, which was highly invested in ensuring the proper observance of monastic life. This is evidenced, for instance, by the adherence to the norms of Hirsau Abbey in the Black Forest, written by Abbot William in the late eleventh century, which in turn were modelled on the reformed monasticism of Cluny⁴⁸. The initial of *Causa* 16 depicts a seated monk wearing a dark robe, while the opening of *Causa* 18 features an archbishop, representing the monk who has been consecrated as a bishop in the fictive case that forms the starting point for this *Causa*.

An *arbor consanguinitatis*, which features seven grades of kinship according to Church legislation, adopting the type of Isidorus’ *Etymologiae*⁴⁹, and was designed in the shape of a tree under a double arch supported by columns⁵⁰, was inserted within *Causa* 35 (Cod. 43, fol. 193r). Two further diagrams, typically included in the early Gratians, were drawn at the conclusion of the second volume in lieu of the points with which they are associated⁵¹. A numerals table exhibits a simplified architectural

⁴⁵ On the early development of the various forms of headpieces worn by ecclesiastical authorities since approximately 1000, leading to the preference for the peaked mitre with front-to-back orientation in the first half of the thirteenth century: J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung im Occident und Orient nach Ursprung und Entwicklung, Verwendung und Symbolik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1907), pp. 458–75; H. Blöcher, *Die Mitren des hohen Mittelalters* (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2012); N. Spies, *The Mitre: Its Origins and Early Development* (Leiden: Brill, 2024).

⁴⁶ It is of considerable significance that one of these sources, namely an introductory gloss to the *Decretum*, is also present in an early copy in St. Paul im Lavanttal (Benediktinerstift, Cod. 25/1 (olim 25.2.6), fol. 2r) in Carinthia, which formed part of the collection of books transported by the Benedictine monks of the reformed St. Blasius Abbey in the Black Forest in 1809. It features penwork foliate initials that are typical of the south German scriptoria situated around the Lake of Constance (F. Eheim, “Die Handschriften”, cit., pp. 159–60 cat. no. 26; K. Holter, “Die Bibliothek. Handschriften und Inkunabeln”, in *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Benediktinerstiftes St. Paul im Lavanttal* (Wien: Schroll, 1969), pp. 340–441, esp. 364). The version of the gloss attested by this manuscript presents Gratian as a teacher too: “magistri Gratiani episcopi” (Fronska, “The Images of Gratian”, cit., pp. 111, 123 note 16). The digital copy of the microfilm of this manuscript is made available for consultation at the following link: https://preserver.beic.it:443/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE288277 [accessed 13 November 2024].

⁴⁷ Fronska (“The Images of Gratian”, cit., pp. 114–16) has proposed that the depiction of a haloed bishop in the same position in a south French or Spanish early copy of the *Decretum* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 3895, fol. 1r) similarly represents Gratian. A digital copy of this manuscript can be accessed via the following link: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8555838f> [accessed 12 November 2024].

⁴⁸ *Willhelmii Abbatis Constitutiones Hirsauenses*, ed. P. Engelbert (Siegburg: Schmitt, 2010); A. Sohn, “Die Abtei Admont und das hochmittelalterliche Reformmönchtum”, in *1074 – Benediktinerstift Admont. 950 Jahre lebendiges Kloster* (Wien: Böhlau, 2024), pp. 17–25, esp. 23.

⁴⁹ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, cit., p. 153 no. 62.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 172 no. 5.

⁵¹ A further example of this position, albeit of a slightly later date, can be found in a presumed Bolognese *Decretum* in Bamberg (Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Can.14, fols. 309r, 314v). G. Suckale-Redlefsen, *Die Handschriften des 12. Jahrhunderts der Staatsbibliothek Bamberg* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), pp. 98–100 cat. no. 94; del Monaco, “Alle

frame (Cod. 43, fol. 341r), while a second tree of consanguinity (Cod. 43, fol. 342v) is superimposed upon a bearded enthroned monarch and a male figure standing erect, the latter representing the father, coupled with the bust-length depiction of the mother above him. This second tree of consanguinity follows a six-grade type based on Roman law⁵².

In the early twentieth century, Paul Buberl correctly established that the drawings in dark, blue, green, and red constituted a typical example of the graphic art created at Admont during the period of Abbot Gottfried (1138–1165) in the mid-twelfth century [fig. 6]⁵³. Moreover, Buberl identified the same artist in a copy of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* (Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 286), which bears an ex libris of the abbey dating back to the thirteenth century⁵⁴. The early creation of a decorated copy of the *Decretum* at Admont can be reasonably justified on the grounds of the close link to the bishopric of Salzburg⁵⁵, where the milieu of Archbishop Eberhard (reigning 1147–1164) was characterised by an interest in legal matters pertaining to the ecclesiastical domain and the deluxe Clm 13004 was produced⁵⁶. Furthermore, Admont flourished as an exceptional centre of learning for its monks during this period, as evidenced by the surviving manuscripts in the library. Nevertheless, the significance of the Gratian has yet to be fully acknowledged, in addition to the heightened focus on the study of Holy Scripture and the Church Fathers⁵⁷.

One additional manuscript of monastic origin is believed to hail from Austrian territories. This manuscript is currently housed in Darmstadt (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs 542)⁵⁸ and was previously held in the Carthusian library of nearby Mainz since the fourteenth century. An inscription on the first folio (1v), reading "Liber Christiani", added by a thirteenth-century hand, has been associated with the archbishops of Mainz, Christian I (reigning from 1167 to 1183), or, more convincingly, Christian II (holding the episcopal see from 1249 to 1251)⁵⁹. The volume does not contain the complete treatise, but rather an abbreviation called *Exceptiones*

origini di Bologna 'crocevia'", cit., pp. 707–08.

⁵² Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, cit., p. 149 no. 36.

⁵³ Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in der Steiermark*, cit., pp. 40, 47.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47 cat. no. 16.

⁵⁵ Sohn, "Die Abtei Admont", cit., pp. 20–21.

⁵⁶ E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, I.I: *Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg: Textband* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980), pp. 74–75 cat. no. 103; W. Stelzer, *Gelehrtes Recht in Österreich. Von den Anfängen bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Wien–Köln–Graz: Böhlau, 1982), pp. 17–22, 61, 190; P. Landau, "Die Anfänge der Verbreitung des klassischen kanonischen Rechts in Deutschland im 12. Jahrhundert und im ersten drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts", in *Chiesa diritto e ordinamento della 'societas Christiana' nei secoli XI e XII* (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1986), pp. 272–90, esp. 274–75; E. Klemm, "Der Schäftlarner Gratian und die Anfänge der Rechtsillustration", *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 22 (1994): pp. 204–20, esp. 210–11. A digital facsimile of München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13004 is accessible at the following link: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00108147> [accessed 25 October 2024].

⁵⁷ G. Möser-Mersky, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, III: *Steiermark* (Graz–Wien–Köln: Böhlau: 1961), pp. 1–65; M. Haltrich, "Die mittelalterliche Bibliothek des Stiftes Admont", in *1074 – Benediktinerstift Admont*, cit., pp. 33–43. The two-volume *Decretum* Codd. 23, 43 is already listed with the same division in the early Peter von Arbon's inventories of the abbey library, which were compiled in 1376 and 1380 respectively (Möser-Mersky, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, cit., pp. 26, 52).

⁵⁸ W. Metzger, in M. Puhle, C.P. Hasse, eds., *Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation 962 bis 1806. Von Otto dem Grossen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, exh. cat. (Dresden: Sandstein, 2006), p. 206 cat. no. IV.20. An updated description (2015) by Ulrike Spira is available for reading at the following link: <https://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/HSP00054ADE00000000> [accessed 14 October 2024]. A digital reproduction of the microfilm can be accessed via the following link: <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-542> [accessed 14 October 2024].

⁵⁹ A. Fingernagel, "Mainz oder Heiligenkreuz? Zur romanischen Buchmalerei im niederösterreichischen Zisterzienserstift Heiligenkreuz", in *Scrinium Berolinense. Tilo Brandis zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. P.J. Becker (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2000), pp. 43–56, esp. 45.

ecclesiasticarum regularum, which was composed around 1170 according to Rudolf Weigand⁶⁰. However, I have decided to include the manuscript in the discussion because of the complexity and quality of its illumination. The manuscript presents the primary decoration typical of the full *Decretum*, including five historiated (fols. 7r, 21v, 23v, 26v, 35r) [fig. 7] and two anthropomorphic ink initials (fols. 29v, 33r), alongside decorated letters realised in dark, red, green, and blue onto blue and green grounds adorning the text divisions until *Causa* 14 (fol. 40r). Additionally, a number of pen flourished initials are present from *Causa* 15 (fol. 41r) onwards. A pair of illustrated trees of affinities and consanguinities was drawn within *Causa* 35 (fols. 69v-70r)⁶¹. The latter adopts the seven-grade arrow-like scheme first established in the copies of the *Decretum* itself. The initial “H” of “Humanum genus” (fol. 7r) [fig. 7] depicts a pair of full-length standing figures. One is an archbishop, and the other is a monarch holding a flaming sword and an orb bearing a cross. The representation of earthly powers, both ecclesiastical and secular, embodied by a bishop and a sovereign is the most common theme depicted in the H-initial in the early copies of the *Decretum*⁶². Alfons Stickler posited that the textual source for this iconography was likely the opening passage of chapter 10 of *Distinctio* 96, which comprises the words of a renowned letter written by the late-fifth-century Pope Gelasius I to Emperor Anastasius I⁶³. In this letter dated 494, Gelasius asserts that the authority of pontiffs and royal power coexist to govern our world, while simultaneously affirming the elevated role of priests. The version of the H-initial with a standing pontiff and a monarch paired in full-length in front of the letter, which is thus independent from the figures, is particularly well-represented in north Italian, possibly Bolognese, *Decreta*⁶⁴.

Andreas Fingernagel identified two distinct hands in the manuscript⁶⁵. The first is responsible for the drawn initials until *Causa* 14 and is characterised by a volumetric consistency rooted in German Romanesque manuscript illumination. The second is the creator of the pen flourished letters of the remaining text divisions, as well as three within *Pars prima* (fols. 11r, 14v, 18r), which are marked by a new elegant linear fluency. This quality is also visible in the *arbores*. In his analysis, Fingernagel proposed that the Darmstadt codex was created in the scriptorium of the Cistercian monastery of Heiligenkreuz, situated near Vienna⁶⁶. This monastery was established in 1133 by Leopold III, Margrave of Austria, who was motivated to do so by his son Otto, the future Bishop of Freising (1137-1158). The monks who came to Heiligenkreuz were members of the community at Morimond in Champagne, where Otto himself had been part of the congregation and later abbot,

⁶⁰ R. Weigand, “Die Dekretabbreviatio ‘Exceptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum und ihre Glossen’”, in *Cristianità ed Europa. Miscellanea di studi in onore di Luigi Prosdocimi*, ed. C. Alzati (Rome: Herder, 1994), pp. 511-529, esp. 525.

⁶¹ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, cit., pp. 144 no. 5, 165 no. 11.

⁶² G. del Monaco, “The Initial ‘H’ (‘Humanum genus’) and the Early Depictions of the Two Supreme Earthly Rulers in the Illuminated Manuscripts of the Decretum Gratiani”, in *The Illuminated Legal Manuscript from the Middle Ages to the Digital Age: Forms, Iconographies, Materials, Uses and Cataloguing*, ed. M.A. Bilotta (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

⁶³ A. Stickler, “Ursprung und gegenseitiges Verhältnis der beiden Gewalten nach den Miniaturen des gratianischen Dekrets”, *Studia Gratiana* 20 (1976): pp. 341-59, esp. 343.

⁶⁴ E.g. Amiens, Bibliothèque Louis Aragon, 354, fol. 9r; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4505, fol. 10r; Venezia, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. IV 117 (2435), fol. 11r. Nordenfalk, review of Melnikas, *The Corpus*, cit., p. 325; del Monaco, “Alle origini di Bologna ‘crocevia’”, cit., pp. 707-08, 710-11; del Monaco, “The Initial ‘H’”, cit. A digital version of the microfilm of the first manuscript is accessible at the following link: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md97xk81mz46> [accessed 24 October 2024]. A digital reproduction of the microform of the second manuscript is made available at the following link: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00041810> [accessed 24 October 2024].

⁶⁵ Fingernagel, “Mainz oder Heiligenkreuz?”, cit., pp. 47-48.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

just before moving to Bavaria⁶⁷. For example, the Austrian scholar noted similarities between the pen flourished initials of the *Abbreviatio Decreti* and those of a Heiligenkreuz copy of Augustine (Heiligenkreuz, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 186)⁶⁸. Additionally, Fingernagel identified both artists in another Augustine manuscript in Graz (Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Ms 698) [fig. 8], which comes from the canons regular of Seckau in Styria⁶⁹, and also attributed it to Heiligenkreuz⁷⁰. The attribution of the volume currently housed in Darmstadt to Heiligenkreuz is evidence of the Cistercian Order's interest in Gratian's work. Furthermore, the dissemination of the treatise among Cistercian monasteries is also attested to by a statute of the general chapter of Citeaux in 1188, which prohibited the custody of the *Decretum* in the *armarium commune*, freely accessible to all monks, for fear of the errors that may result from its reading⁷¹.

In 1140, three years after his appointment as bishop of Freising, Otto summoned the Premonstratensian regular canons from Ursberg in Swabia to the former Benedictine abbey of Schäftlarn in his diocese⁷². The canons initiated a notable production of manuscripts at their new location, frequently embellished with ink drawings⁷³. An early copy of Gratian's *Decretum*, which is kept in the State Library of Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17161) and has been widely studied by Christine Jacobi-Mirwald⁷⁴, was written and probably decorated at Schäftlarn. The colophon on the reverse pastedown (fol. 182r) indicates that the volume was written in a period of two years by the priest Adalbert in honour of the patron saints of the abbey, Dyonisius and Julian. Adalbert is attested as the scribe of numerous manuscripts produced in the scriptorium of Schäftlarn around the mid-point of the century⁷⁵. Murano underscored the fact that this particular copy of the *Decretum* is distinguished by narrow margins and an almost complete absence of glosses [fig. 9],

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48. On this manuscript, which contains the *Tractatus super Genesim at litteram*: A. Fingernagel, *Die Heiligenkreuzer Buchmalerei von den Anfängen bis in die Zeit 'um 1200'*, PhD dissertation (Universität Wien, 1985), pp. 218–219.

⁶⁹ A. Kern, M. Maiwald, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Graz*, ed. H. Zotter (Graz: Universitätsbibliothek Graz, 2023), cat. no. 698. The digital reproduction of this manuscript is available at: <https://resolver.obvsg.at/urn:nbn:at:at-ubg:2-25922/fragment/page=5564001> [accessed 14 October 2024].

⁷⁰ Fingernagel, "Mainz oder Heiligenkreuz?", cit., pp. 45, 48.

⁷¹ Bock, "Les Cisterciens", cit., pp. 14–15. The other three extant illuminated copies of the *Abbreviatio "Exceptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum"* were also all created in the scriptoria of Austrian reformed communities. These exemplars feature more modest illumination programmes with coloured ink initials, of which a few are historiated: Göttweig, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 181, fols. 26r–98v (M. Pippal, in *900 Jahre Stift Göttweig. 1083–1983. Ein Donaustift als Repräsentant benediktinischer Kultur*, exh. cat. (Göttweig: Stift Göttweig, 1983), pp. 558–59, cat. no. 1076; W. Telesko, *Göttweiger Buchmalerei des 12.Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Handschriftenproduktion eines Reformklosters* (St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag Erzabtei St. Ottilien, 1995), pp. 45–46, 159–164; G.M. Lechner, *1000 Jahre Buchmalerei in Göttweig*, exh. cat. (Göttweig: Stift Göttweig, 1996), pp. 135–137, cat. no. F 1); W. Telesko, "Die Buchmalerei in den Reformklöstern des Hochmittelalters", in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, I: *Früh- und Hochmittelalter*, ed. H. Fillitz (München–New York: Prestel, 1998), pp. 523–561, esp. 541–42, cat. no. 236); Linz, Oberösterreichische Landesbibliothek, Hs.–228 (from the Benedictine abbey of Garsten); St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Cod. XI 730. Weigand, "Die Dekretabbreviatio", cit., pp. 513–14; F. Simader, "Vorlagen – Vorstudien – Musterbücher", in *Romanik*, ed. A. Fingernagel (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 2007), I, pp. 335–54, esp. 335–36.

⁷² C. Jakobi-Mirwald, "Die Schäftlarner Gratian-Handschrift Clm 17161 in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek", *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 58 (2007): pp. 23–70, esp. 26.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷⁴ E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, II.I: *Die Bistümer Freising und Augsburg, verschiedene deutsche Provenienzen: Textband* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1988), pp. 99–101, cat. no. 134; Klemm, "Der Schäftlarner Gratian", cit.; Jakobi-Mirwald, "Die Schäftlarner Gratian-Handschrift", cit.; Jakobi-Mirwald, "Gratian in Schäftlarn", cit. A digital facsimile of this manuscript is available for consultation at the following link: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00065191> [accessed 25 October 2024].

⁷⁵ Klemm, "Der Schäftlarner Gratian", cit., p. 212.

which lends it the character of a typical monastic product⁷⁶. It was created as a reference book rather than for use during lectures.

The manuscript is adorned with ink initials, executed in dark and red on blue and green grounds, which delineate the major divisions of the text. It is one of the most extensively illustrated early Gratian manuscripts, featuring 29 historiated letters out of 39 that depict simple yet meticulously arranged scenes⁷⁷. The initial “H” (fol. 6r) [fig. 9] features a two-storey depiction of the two supreme powers, which explicitly expresses a statement of sacerdotal superiority. The two rulers are enthroned, holding their insignia of power: a pastoral staff for the prelate above, and a sword and a scepter for the sovereign below. They are positioned in front of two clerics and two soldiers, respectively. As Anthony Melnikas postulated, the iconography makes reference to the clerical and lay “ordines” of the Church, as outlined in Stephen of Tournai’s *Summa* on the *Decretum*, as well as the distinction between the jurisdictions of sacerdotal and royal powers, as delineated by Gratian in *Causa* 2 (C.2 q.7 d.p.c.41)⁷⁸. A comparable composition was created by two north French artists on an Italian manuscript in Montecassino (Cassino, Biblioteca Statale del Monumento Nazionale di Montecassino, Cod. 64, fol. 3r)⁷⁹ and on a copy probably realised in Sens (Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, G.V.23, fol. 8r)⁸⁰. The adoption of a particularly north French treatment of the H-initial may be connected to the relations of the canons with the mother house of Premontré, located near Laon. The single bifolium (fols. 65v–66r) that has been introduced between *Causae* 3 and 4 has not yet been the subject of sufficient attention. This bifolium comprises the text of another *Causa* that is otherwise unknown⁸¹. It also includes materials that appear to have been derived from school commentaries, an *arbor* that provides a summary of the content of the opening distinctions of *Pars prima* and some *notabilia* drawn from the *Decretum* itself⁸². As is customary, the historiated initial of the *Causa* (fol. 65v) [fig. 10] illustrates the related fictive case, concerning a mendacious noble layperson who accused a priest of simony. This theme may be of interest to a community of priests, such as the Premostranese canons regular. A six-grade tree of consanguinity, following a variant of the template of the *Decretum Burchardi*, the latter based on the scheme of the *Etymologiae*, was drawn in dark and red inks within *Causa* 35 (fol. 165r). This variant is attested in manuscripts of the

⁷⁶ Murano, “Graziano e il *Decretum*”, cit., p. 105.

⁷⁷ Jakobi-Mirwald, “Die Schäflarner Gratian-Handschrift”, cit., pp. 136–46.

⁷⁸ Melnikas, *The Corpus*, p. 38. It is a notable fact that a twelfth-century manuscript of Stephen’s *Summa* was bequeathed to Schäflarn by the priest Engelbert of the collegiate church of St. Kastulus in neighbouring Moosburg around 1180, as evidenced by an inscription at the end of the volume (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17162, fol. 104v; F. Kunstmüller, “Eine Freysinger Synode unter Bischof Albert I. (1158–1184)”, *Oberbayerisches Archiv für vaterländische Geschichte* 14, no. 3 (1854): pp. 321–24, esp. 321–23; Landau, “Die Anfänge”, cit., p. 276). A digital reproduction of the microfilm of this manuscript is made available at the following link: <https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb00086171> [accessed 25 October 2024].

⁷⁹ T. D’Urso, “Tra Benevento, Cava e Salerno. Il maestro dei *Moralia in Job* di Cava”, in *Riforma della Chiesa, esperienze monastiche e poteri locali: La Badia di Cava nei secoli XI–XII*, eds. M. Galante, G. Vitolo, G. Z. Zanichelli (Florence: Sismel, 2014), pp. 317–28, esp. 323 note 21; Zanichelli, “La trasformazione del libro di lusso”, cit., pp. 297–98.

⁸⁰ E. Mecacci, G. Vailati von Schoenburg Waldenburg, in M. Ascheri, ed., *Lo Studio e i testi: Il libro universitario a Siena (secoli XII–XVII)*, exh. cat. (Siena: Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, 1996), p. 39 cat. no. 1; P. Stirnemann, “En quête de Sens”, in *Quand la peinture était dans les livres. Mélanges en l’honneur de François Avril*, eds. M. Hofmann, C. Zöhl (Turnhout: Brepols; Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2007), pp. 303–11, esp. 305.

⁸¹ “Quidam nobilis laicus periurus et facinorus, symonie quoque tabe pollutus, quandam religiosum sacerdotem de symonia accusare nititur, se accusatorem et quosdam sue iniquitatis complices testes aduersus eum producit. Sacerdos de inimicicia conqueritur accusatoris et testium inconuenientia.”

⁸² I would like to gratefully acknowledge Andrea Padovani for his assistance in identifying the content of these materials.

canonical collections of Ivo of Chartres⁸³. As Jakobi-Mirwald observed, its structure and illustration with the standing full-length figures of Adam and Eve is not characteristic of the tradition of the *Decretum*. Rather, it is likely derived from a model attested by the *arbor* of a contemporary manuscript of Ivo's *Panormia* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17099, fol. 73v)⁸⁴, also produced at Schäftlarn⁸⁵.

Jakobi-Mirwald proposed that the drawn initials of an earlier Munich volume of *Saints' Lives* (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17137)⁸⁶, which also comes from Schäftlarn, were created by the same artist who decorated the *Decretum*⁸⁷. In the light of the absence of any record of a copy of Gratian's treatise in the list of books kept at Schäftlarn dated 1164, Adalbert's manuscript should have been created shortly afterwards, during the time of Prevost Henry (1164–1200)⁸⁸. In addition to the aforementioned *Saints' Lives*, the *Decretum* is the sole extant manuscript from Schäftlarn to feature a rich programme of historiated initials. This fact serves to illustrate the significance of the treatise within the community⁸⁹. Scholars have drawn attention to the fact that Gratian's work was known to Rahewin, Bishop Otto's chaplain, who may have stimulated the interest of the canons of Schäftlarn in this text⁹⁰.

The remaining Gratian with a demonstrably precise monastic provenance is not from German-speaking countries; rather, it originates from the north of France. The manuscript is preserved in the library of Saint-Omer (Bibliothèque d'Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer, Ms. 453) and has a provenance from the local Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bertin⁹¹. Patricia Stirnemann, Claudia Rabel, and Nicole Bériou put forth the hypothesis that the volume in question may be identified with the "Decreta Gratiani", which were commissioned by Abbot Godescalc, who reigned from 1163 to 1176, as evidenced by the monastery's chartulary⁹². Murano noted that this volume as well is representative of the typical monastic output, characterised by narrow margins and an almost complete absence of glosses [fig. 11]⁹³. The manuscript features tinted ink initials on blue and purple grounds, with gilding applied to the body of the letters [figs. 11–12]. Proper illustrations are provided solely for the initials that open *Pars prima* and *Causa 4* (fols. 10r, 106v). The remaining sections are decorated with initials that typically show intertwining vines and animal grotesques. Murano has correctly identified the unusual scene depicted above the H-initial [fig. 14]: a bishop enthroned,

⁸³ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, cit., pp. 90 no. 3 and note 177, 98, 129, 153 no. 65, 172 no. 4.

⁸⁴ Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, II.I, cit., pp. 103–104 cat. no. 137.

⁸⁵ Jakobi-Mirwald, "Die Schäftlarner Gratian-Handschrift", cit., pp. 48–49.

⁸⁶ Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, II.I, cit., pp. 101–103 cat. no. 135.

⁸⁷ Jakobi-Mirwald, "Die Schäftlarner Gratian-Handschrift", cit., p. 28.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

⁸⁹ A second otherwise unknown copy of the *Decretum* was donated to Schäftlarn by the priest Engelbert of St. Kastulus, together with the previously mentioned Clm 17162 (Kunstmann, "Eine Fresinger Synode", cit., pp. 321–23; Landau, "Die Anfänge", cit., p. 276).

⁹⁰ Stelzer, *Gelehrtes Recht in Österreich*, cit., pp. 101–107; Landau, "Die Anfänge", cit., p. 276; Klemm, "Der Schäftlarner Gratian", cit., pp. 210–211; Jakobi-Mirwald, "Die Schäftlarner Gratian-Handschrift", cit., pp. 25, 50. It is also worthy of note that Pope Hadrian IV's concession to Archbishop Eberhard has been added to the margins of Clm 17161 on fol. 33r (Stelzer, *Gelehrtes Recht in Österreich*, cit., p. 20; Klemm, "Der Schäftlarner Gratian", cit., p. 211).

⁹¹ J. Fronska, in *Jeux de mains. Portraits de scribes dans les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque d'agglomération de Saint-Omer*, exh. cat. (Liévin: L'Artésienne, 2015), p. 9 cat. no. 7. A description and a digital facsimile of this manuscript is available at: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.bibliotheque-agglo-stomer.fr/idurl/1/18376> [accessed: 16 October 2024].

⁹² F. Tixier, "Un artiste « mosan » à l'abbaye de Saint-Bertin au XII^e siècle ? L'œuvre du Maître de Zacharie le Chrysopolitain", *Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire* 85–86 (2014–2015 (2019)), special issue: *L'art mosan (1000–1250). Un art entre Seine et Rhin ? Réflexions, bilans, perspectives*, eds. S. Balace, M. Piavaux, B. Van den Bossche: pp. 85–97, esp. 86 and note 9.

⁹³ Murano, "Graziano e il *Decretum*", cit., p. 105.

lecturing in front of lay and tonsured students. It seems reasonable to conclude that the teacher is Gratian⁹⁴. The display script places particular emphasis on his name just above⁹⁵. Murano refers to three twelfth-century sources that record Gratian's appointment as a bishop. Two of the sources, namely the *Chronicle* of Robert of Torigni, who was the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Mont-Saint-Michel (1154–1186), in an interpolation likely added around 1164, and a Sienese obituary, both attest that his bishopric was Chiusi in Tuscany⁹⁶. The aforementioned classroom scene is thus one of the earliest depictions of authors teaching their disciples occurring in the context of their own works, a phenomenon that began to emerge from the late twelfth century onwards⁹⁷, following a few examples of classroom scenes in Carolingian times⁹⁸.

The pictorial programme of the *Decretum* of Saint-Bertin has been convincingly attributed by Frédéric Tixier to the Master of Zachary of Besançon⁹⁹, a gifted draughtsman who derived his name from a copy of the twelfth-century Premostratensian canon's work produced at Saint-Bertin (Bibliothèque d'Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer, Ms. 30)¹⁰⁰. The artist's corpus has been established in the last few decades and recently clarified by Tixier¹⁰¹. It comprises fifteen manuscripts,

⁹⁴ Gratian was recorded as “magister” in the aforementioned *Summa Parisiensis*, in addition to other *summae* and glosses dating back to the late twelfth century, preceding the account of Odofredus (*Ibid.*, p. 75). The combination of lay and tonsured students increases the likelihood that the image represents a cathedral school rather than a monastic school, as suggested on the contrary by Fronska (“The Images of Gratian”, cit., p. 109). Indeed, external monastic schools were in a state of significant decline during the twelfth century. On the confrontation between the world of regulars and the new urban schools of the twelfth century: J.Verger, “The World of Cloisters and Schools”, in *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools*, cit., pp. 49–68.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 70; Murano, “Graziano, monaco benedettino”, cit., pp. 120–22; Murano, “Il *Decretum*”, cit., pp. 311–12; Fronska, “The Images of Gratian”, cit., pp. 109–10.

⁹⁶ Winroth, “Where Gratian Slept”, cit., pp. 115–27; Pennington, “La biografia di Graziano”, cit., pp. 49–55; Murano, “Graziano e il *Decretum*”, cit., pp. 65–68; Fronska, “The Images of Gratian”, cit., pp. 111–12. In addition, Fronska (*Ibid.*, pp. 110–11) has drawn attention to the fact that the other source, the aforementioned introductory gloss to the *Decretum*, was also present in its earlier version in two north French illuminated copies of the treatise (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 3884 (I), fol. 15v; Trier, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt Trier, Hs 906, fol. 9r). However, it should be noted that the version of the gloss in these two manuscripts identifies Gratian merely as a bishop and not also as a teacher. The digital facsimile of the two volumes that constitute the first manuscript is accessible via the following links: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8555836m>; <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85558371> [accessed 13 November 2024].

⁹⁷ A. Destemberg, “La représentation des maîtres dans l'iconographie de l'Occident médiévale”, in É. Vallet, S. Aube, T. Kouamé, eds., *Lumières de la sagesse. Écoles médiévales d'Orient et d'Occident*, exh. cat. (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013), pp. 213–19, esp. 213–14; L. Cleaver, *Education in Twelfth-Century Art and Architecture: Images of Learning in Europe, c.1100–1220* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), pp. 50, 110–29; Fronska, “The Images of Gratian”, cit., p. 110. On the portrayal of authors in twelfth-century illuminated copies of commentaries on the Bible and classical texts: J. Hamburger, *The Birth of the Author: Pictorial Prefaces in Glossed Books of the Twelfth Century* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

⁹⁸ E.g. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, Cod. 264, p. 120 (L. Nees, *Frankish Manuscripts: The Seventh to the Tenth Century*, II: Catalogue (London-Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2022), pp. 326–33 cat. no. 87). A digital facsimile of this manuscript is freely accessible at the following link: <https://www.e-codices.ch/en/list/one/bbb/0264> [accessed 17 October 2024]. It is possible that an early-eleventh-century Obituary of the chapter of Chartres cathedral (Chartres, Médiathèque L'Apostrophe, NA 4) once displayed a lost depiction of Fulbert of Chartres teaching the liberal arts (R. Merlet, J.A. Clerval, *Un manuscrit chartrain du XI^e siècle. Fulbert, évêque de Chartres* (Chartres: Garnier, 1893), p. 54). The digital facsimile of the manuscript is made available for consultation at the following link: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/rosxyd9yvcg> [accessed 12 November 2024].

⁹⁹ Tixier, “Un artiste « mosan »”, cit., p. 86.

¹⁰⁰ A description and digital reproduction of this manuscript is made available at the following link: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.bibliotheque-agglo-stomer.fr/idurl/1/18027> [accessed 17 October 2024].

¹⁰¹ F. Tixier, in *Une renaissance. L'art entre Flandre et Champagne, 1150–1250*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2013), pp. 121–22 cat. nos. 56–59; Tixier, “Un artiste « mosan »”, cit.

which are distributed between the libraries of Saint-Omer and Boulogne-sur-Mer. With exception of one volume, which originated from the nearby Cistercian abbey of Clairmarais (Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer, Ms. 213)¹⁰², all the manuscripts were produced at Saint-Bertin. This suggests that the master was a monk at that abbey. I can corroborate the attribution of the initials of the *Decretum* to the Zachary Master through several comparisons. These pertain both to the figure style, which is marked by dynamic movements and a subtle rendering of drapery and facial expressions by means of flexible lines [figs. 12-15], and to the luxuriant foliage of vegetal interlaces [figs. 16-17], which foreshadow the naturalistic tendency of 'style 1200'. It is noteworthy that this particular manuscript is the only one decorated by the artist with multicoloured and gilded initials, which serve to offset the overall inferior quality of the drawings while simultaneously signifying the prestige of Gratian's recent work at the abbey, where Godescalc provided shelter to Thomas Becket, who was fleeing England in 1164¹⁰³.

This article will conclude with a brief discussion of two manuscripts that have been less strongly linked to individual monastic scriptoria.

The first manuscript is a *Decretum*, which is currently preserved at the cathedral library of Cologne (Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 127)¹⁰⁴. An inscription from the early thirteenth century ("Ista sunt decreta beati Petri in Colonia") already documented the cathedral's ownership (fol. 2r). The volume is embellished with painted and gilded initials, as well as drawn decorated initials in red ink. The latter feature intertwined vines, which are sometimes set against blue and green grounds. The painted and gilded initials include one "P" decorated at the beginning of the "In prima parte" (fol. 2r) and another with the supreme rulers holding together a scepter, thereby evoking the shape of the "H" opening *Pars prima* (fol. 9r) [fig. 18]. On the left is the monarch, on the right stands the pontiff, holding a crozier and wearing the pallium. This scene has been interpreted in two distinct ways. One interpretation is that it depicts the investiture of an archbishop with regalia through the scepter by an emperor¹⁰⁵. The other interpretation is that it alludes to the coronation right of the archbishops of Cologne¹⁰⁶. However, the aforementioned Gelasian passage presents a challenge to the substantiation of these interpretations. Furthermore, the poses and attitudes of the figures involved in the act of bestowing the rank insignia and those receiving them are typically characterised by a certain degree of asymmetry. Indeed, the composition may be regarded as an assertion of the pontiff's sharing of royal power, symbolised by the scepter, in accordance with the most radical understanding of sacerdotal superiority, which posits the derivation of secular power from ecclesiastical authority¹⁰⁷. The anthropomorphic type of the initial "H" has

¹⁰² A description and digital facsimile of this manuscript is accessible via the following link: <https://bibliotheque-numerique.bibliotheque-aggo-stomer.fr/idurl/1/18037> [accessed 17 October 2024].

¹⁰³ Murano, "Graziano, monaco benedettino", cit., p. 120.

¹⁰⁴ B. Braun-Niehr, in *Glaube und Wissen im Mittelalter. Die Kölner Dombibliothek*, exh. cat. (München: Hirmer, 1998), pp. 262-67, cat. no. 55. A digital version of this manuscript is available for consultation at the following link: <https://digital.dombibliothek-koeln.de/hs/content/titleinfo/227844> [accessed 17 October 2024].

¹⁰⁵ P. Jaffé, W. Wattenbach, *Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Coloniensis codices manuscripti* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1874), p. 81; K. Lamprecht, *Initial-Ornamentik des VIII. bis XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Dürr, 1882), p. 31 no. 104; J. Plotzek, "Zur rheinischen Buchmalerei im 12. Jahrhundert", in *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur, 800-1400*, ed. A. Legner, II: *Berichte, Beiträge und Forschungen zum Themenkreis der Ausstellung und des Katalogs* (Köln: Schnütgen Museum, 1973), pp. 305-32, esp. 318; S. Schoenig, *Bonds of Wool: The Pallium and Papal Power in the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016), p. 398 fig. 6.

¹⁰⁶ T. Stangier, in J. Luckhardt, F. Niehoff, eds, *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zenit: Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welten 1125-1235* exh. cat. (München: Hirmer, 1995), I: *Katalog*, p. 46 cat. no. A 8. Melnikas (*The Corpus*, p. 37) had already identified this scene as an investiture of the secular ruler by the ecclesiastical one.

¹⁰⁷ Del Monaco, "The Initial 'H'", cit. On the hierocratic interpretation of sacerdotal prominence: J.A. Watt, "The

also been identified by Carl Nordenfalk in four north Italian *Decreta*¹⁰⁸, including Ms 60 of Troyes, previously mentioned, and two likely Bolognese manuscripts in Arras (Médiathèque de l'Abbaye Saint-Vaast, 585, fol. 6r)¹⁰⁹ and Bratislava (Slovenský národný archív, 14, p. 3)¹¹⁰, which were studied in depth by Robert Gibbs¹¹¹.

Joachim Plotzek ascribed this copy of the *Decretum* to the Benedictine monastery of Groß St. Martin in Cologne, on the grounds of the affinities between the H-initial and the dedication scene in an earlier manuscript of Beda in Leipzig (Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Rep. I 58a, fol. 1v)¹¹² produced in the abbey¹¹³. Nevertheless, the parallels seem to be limited to the composition and the blue and green ground, a feature that can be traced back to Cologne manuscript painting since the eleventh century. In my view, there are closer similarities with the initials of an almost contemporary biblical volume also stemming from St. Martin (Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. A 2) [fig. 19]¹¹⁴, specifically in the plastic rendering of drapery and the foliate patterns of the decorated initials. However, the correspondences are not as compelling as to prove the origin from the same scriptorium. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the Gratian was created in one of the monasteries of the city situated on the banks of the River Rhine. Its glosses attest to the study of the treatise in a place where the *Decretum* was first taught in the 1160s, as suggested by Peter Landau and Weigand¹¹⁵.

Walter Cahn correctly established a connection between a single illuminated leaf in the Cleveland Art Museum (inv. 1594.598), displaying an architectonic numerals table on the recto, which was weirdly included at the end of *Pars prima*, and a painted decorated initial opening *Causa 1* on the verso [fig. 20], and another leaf in the library of Auxerre (Bibliothèque Jacques Lacarrière, 269)¹¹⁶.

Theory of Papal Monarchy in the Thirteenth Century: The Contribution of the Canonists”, *Traditio* 20 (1964): pp. 179–317, esp. 190–95, 200–06, 210–11; Melnikas, *The Corpus*, cit., p. 34; A.M. Stickler, “L’Utrumque Ius nella dottrina dei glossatori riguardante le relazioni tra Chiesa e Stato”, in *Il diritto comune e la tradizione giuridica europea*, ed. D. Segoloni (Perugia: Libreria Universitaria Editrice, 1980), pp. 417–31, esp. 423–24, 429–30; O. Condorelli, “Le radici storiche del dualismo cristiano nella tradizione dottrinale cattolica: alcuni aspetti ed esempi”, *Diritto e Religioni* 12 (2011): pp. 450–86, esp. 456. The depiction of a scepter renders it less likely that this iconography represents the collaboration between the secular and the spiritual authorities in the governance of humanity, as postulated by Orazio Condorelli (*Ibid.*, p. 482) and previously alluded to by Stickler (‘Ursprung und gegenseitiges Verhältnis’, cit., p. 359).

¹⁰⁸ Nordenfalk, review of Melnikas, *The Corpus*, cit., p. 324.

¹⁰⁹ A digital facsimile is freely accessible at the following link: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md94vh540f68> [accessed 17 October 2024].

¹¹⁰ A partially digital reproduction of the microfilm is available for consultation at the following link: https://preserver.beic.it/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE227451 [accessed 17 October 2024].

¹¹¹ Gibbs, “The Bratislava Gratian”, cit.; del Monaco, “Alle origini di Bologna ‘crocevia’”, cit., pp. 703–06. The fourth example, probably repainted by a gothic French artist in the thirteenth century (Nordenfalk, review of Melnikas, *The Corpus*, cit., p. 324 note 9), is in: Biberach, Spitalarchiv, B 3515, fol. 10r. A digital copy of the microfilm of this manuscript is made available at the following link: https://preserver.beic.it/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE3566833 [accessed 17 October 2024].

¹¹² A digital version of this manuscript is available for consultation at the following link:

<https://handschriftenportal.de/workspace?type=iiif%3Amanifest&id=https%3A%2F%2Fiiif.ub.uni-leipzig.de%2F0000011985%2Fmanifest.json&page=1> [accessed 18 October 2024].

¹¹³ Plotzek, “Zur rheinischen Buchmalerei”, cit., pp. 316, 318.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 318; G. Karpp, in A. Legner (ed.), *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und künstler der Romanik*, exh. cat. (Köln: Schnütgen-Museum, 1985), pp. 308–10 cat. no. E 86. A digital facsimile of this manuscript is freely accessible at the following link: <https://digital.ub.uni-duesseldorf.de/ms/content/titleinfo/7340741> [accessed 18 October 2024].

¹¹⁵ Landau, “Die Anfänge”, cit., pp. 278–80; Weigand, “The Transmontane Decretists”, cit., pp. 183–84.

¹¹⁶ Cahn, “A Twelfth-Century Decretum Fragment”, cit., pp. 47, 50; M. Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l’abbaye de Pontigny (XII–XIX^e siècles). Histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2001), pp. 496–99 cat. nos. 53.1, 53.3. A digital reproduction of the Auxerre folio is made available at the following link: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md23vr150j57> [accessed: 28 October 2024]. A digital copy of the Cleveland leaf is

This leaf depicts a bearded monarch in a standing position, embracing a seven-grade modification of the *arbor consanguinitatis* type based on Roman law¹¹⁷. Cahn put forth the argument that both folios belonged to a volume of the *Decretum* listed in the inventories of the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny in Burgundy from the late twelfth century until the French Revolution, at which point the books of Pontigny were relocated to Auxerre. The manuscript was no longer cited in subsequent records, while the single leaf was first documented in the library of Auxerre in 1877¹¹⁸. Six cuttings with painted decorated initials purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum (inv. 8985A-F) had already been associated with the leaf in Cleveland¹¹⁹. Subsequently, a further five cuttings with initials from the same manuscript have been identified [fig. 21], the most recently in an online auction in London¹²⁰.

The Cleveland folio had previously been attributed to Pontigny on the grounds of its resemblance to the fragment of a late-twelfth century *Bible* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Latin 8823, fols. 1r-9v)¹²¹, which was probably preserved in the library of the abbey in the thirteenth century¹²². Although Cahn rightly pointed out that the similarities were not sufficient to prove that the work originated from the same scriptorium, he nevertheless maintained that it may have been created there¹²³. Stirnemann recently suggested that some of the penwork initials in the Gratian fragments are characteristic of Pontigny manuscripts¹²⁴. Furthermore, she identified a comparable painted initial, potentially created by the same individual, in a Gregory manuscript in Berlin (Staatliche Bibliothek zu Berlin, Ms. theol. lat. fol. 576) that originally bore an ex-libris belonging to the abbey¹²⁵. Nonetheless, Stirnemann herself posited that the artists engaged in the production of the Gratian as

freely accessible at the following link: <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1954.598> [accessed 28 October 2024].

¹¹⁷ Schadt, *Die Darstellungen*, cit., pp. 152 no. 52, 164 no. 2.

¹¹⁸ Cahn, "A Twelfth-Century Decretum Fragment", cit., pp. 50-51. On the history of the library of Pontigny: M. Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque médiévale de l'abbaye de Pontigny (XII^e-XIX^e siècles). Histoire, inventaires anciens, manuscrits* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2001), pp. 17-238. The earliest mention of the volume was likely in a late twelfth-century addition to the oldest inventory of the library (*Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, 275 no. 153, 498-99).

¹¹⁹ Cahn, "A Twelfth-Century Decretum Fragment", cit., p. 51; Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque*, cit., pp. 497-98 cat. no. 53.2. The digital reproductions of these cuttings are made available via the following link: <https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O125651/initial-from-gratians-decretum-manuscript-cutting-unknown/> [accessed 28 October 2024].

¹²⁰ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 4874 E n. 2 (W. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century*, II: *Catalogue* (London: Harvey Miller, 1996), p. 102); Bloomington, Indiana University, Ricketts 205; London, Bloomsbury, The Roger Martin Collection of Western Manuscripts and Miniatures and Other Properties, 6 July 2021, lot 19; Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E M 16:8-9. The digital reproduction of the cutting in Bloomington is available for consultation at the following link: https://archive.org/details/Ricketts205_40/mode/2up [accessed 28 October 2024]. The digital copy of the cutting sold at Bloomsbury is freely accessible at the following link: <https://auctions.dreweweats.com/past-auctions/blooms1-10015/lot-details/0c39fa15-f9f2-4830-aca7-ad3600f19865> [accessed 28 October 2024]. The digital versions of the cuttings in Philadelphia are made available via the following link: <https://libwww.freelibrary.org/digital/item/4455> [accessed 28 October 2024].

¹²¹ W.D. Wixom, *Treasures from Medieval France*, exh. cat. (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1967), pp. 92-93, 356 cat. no. III-24.

¹²² Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cit., pp. 102-103 cat. no. 82; Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque*, cit., pp. 555-58 cat. no. 108. A digital facsimile of this manuscript is available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10543449h> [accessed 21 October 2024]. Two other fragments of this *Bible*, the so-called second great *Bible* of Pontigny, originally in five volumes, are: Cambridge (Massachusetts), Houghton Library, MS Typ 315; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, NAL 2525, fol. 1 (dubious). A virtual reconstruction of the *Bible* can be accessed at: <https://fragmentarium.ms/overview/F-b7bf> [accessed 21 October 2024].

¹²³ Cahn, "A Twelfth-Century Decretum Fragment", cit., pp. 47, 51; Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, cit., p. 102.

¹²⁴ P. Stirnemann, "Le témoignage des manuscrits: scribes et enlumineurs (1140-1220)", in Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque*, cit., pp. 55-78, esp. 66.

¹²⁵ Peyrafort-Huin, *La bibliothèque*, cit., pp. 501-02 cat. no. 56.

well as a select few other manuscripts exhibiting stylistic affinities, may have been professionals operating in Auxerre¹²⁶. Consequently, it is reasonable to hypothesize that the Gratian may have been written and rubricated at Pontigny and subsequently illuminated in the Burgundian city.

In conclusion, the pictorial programmes of the early illuminated manuscripts of the *Decretum* that were entirely produced in specific monastic or canonical scriptoria with a high degree of certainty¹²⁷, are distinguished by multicoloured ink drawings rather than colourful painted decoration. It has long been acknowledged by scholars that the use of drawings as a finished medium for the adornment of manuscripts was a pervasive practice during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, particularly within south German and Austrian monastic and canonical contexts, where it may be connected to the spiritual instances of Church reform¹²⁸. Moreover, Giusi Zanichelli has highlighted the traditional habit of decorating legal manuscripts with ink drawings¹²⁹, which may have been

¹²⁶ Stirnemann, “Le témoignage des manuscrits”, cit., p. 68.

¹²⁷ Elisabeth Klemm (*Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1998), pp. 47–48 cat. no. 20) posited that a second copy of the *Decretum* in Munich (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23551) can be linked to a group of early-thirteenth manuscripts housed in the same library (Clm 23040, Clm 29308/12, Clm 29316/76), all featuring ink-coloured initials. The scholar proposed that these manuscripts may have originated from the diocese of Freising in southern Bavaria, with the Benedictine abbey of Ebersberg being a probable, though not proven, site of production. The digital version of the microform of this manuscript is available at: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00113499?page=1> [accessed 22 October 2024]. Murano (“Graziano e il *Decretum*”, cit., p. 117; “Graziano, monaco benedettino”, cit., p. 116) asserted that the aforementioned Cod. 35 of Admont was created in the latter abbey. However, apart from the fact that manuscript production in Admont was characterised by the adoption of pen drawings (Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in der Steiermark*, cit., pp. 4, 40–65 cat. nos. 10–37, 80–83 cat. nos. 62–66; Telesko, “Die Buchmalerei”, cit., p. 529), no affinities can be observed between the painted initials of Cod. 35 and those of manuscripts that were certainly decorated in the abbey. It is more reasonable to consider this copy of Gratian as the product of an Austrian or German centre (*Ibid.*, p. 86; Eheim, “Die Handschriften”, cit., p. 130; R. Weigand, *Die Glossen zum Dekret Gratians. Studien zu den frühen Glossen und Glossenkompositionen* (Roma: Studia Gratiana, 1991), IV, p. 664). Additionally, Gibbs (Gibbs, Pfädtner, *Byzantine Beauty*, cit., p. 85 note 152) has put forth an alternative, intriguing attribution to the Rhineland. It is possible that the manuscript corresponds to one of the two one-volume Gratians recorded in Stephen von Arbon’s inventory of the abbey library of 1380 (Möser-Mersky, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, cit., p. 52). Nevertheless, if the haloed Benedictine monk of fol. 12r is identified as Saint Benedict, it should be assumed that this copy of Gratian was at least commissioned in a Benedictine milieu. Murano (“Graziano e il *Decretum*”, cit., pp. 83–84; “Il *Decretum*”, cit., pp. 309–10) has also proposed an association between an early Italian illuminated manuscript of the Gratian in Beaune (Bibliothèque Gaspard-Monge, 5) and the Benedictine monastery of San Martino delle Scale in Monreale, Sicily, confirming the hypothesis advanced by Schadt (*Die Darstellungen*, cit., p. 48 and note 153) that the artist responsible for the painted decoration of the volume was Sicilian, although she suggested that the book might have been written in Bologna. On the contrary, I am in agreement with the opinion of Gibbs (“The Bratislava Gratian”, cit., pp. 170 and note 7, 177 and note 17; Gibbs, Pfädtner, *Byzantine Beauty*, cit., pp. 50–62), who has pointed out the affinities of the antique-fashioned and neo-Hellenic classicism of this illuminator with the pictorial mode of the masters active in the *Calci Bible* and their followers. A digital version of the Beaune Gratian is available for consultation at the following link: <https://arca.irht.cnrs.fr/ark:/63955/md46qz20sv98> [accessed 28 October 2024].

¹²⁸ G. Dalli Regoli, “Minatura a Pisa fra i secoli XII–XIV: elementi di continuità e divergenze”, in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica*, ed. G. Vailati Schoenburg Waldenburg (Firenze: Olschki, 1979): pp. 23–50, esp. 27–28; E. Klemm, “Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des 12. Jahrhunderts”, in *Regensburger Buchmalerei. Von frühkarolingischer Zeit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, exh. cat. (München: Prestel, 1987), pp. 39–58, esp. 39; H. Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, “Deutschland”, in *Romanik*, cit., II, pp. 231–325, esp. 255–61; M. Holcomb, *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages*, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2009), pp. 16–26; G.Z. Zanichelli, “La funzione del disegno nei codici italiani fra XI e XII secolo”, in *Come nasce un manoscritto miniatore*, cit., pp. 115–26, esp. 119–23. Nevertheless, Friedrich Simader (“Österreich”, in *Romanik*, cit., II, pp. 327–77, esp. 330) has correctly cautioned against an overly simplistic assumption that pen drawings and the reform movement are inextricably linked, thereby precluding the possibility of identifying a distinct “Reformstil”.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 123. The most refined of the early copies of the Justinianean *Digestum vetus* (Padova, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 941), dating back to the early twelfth century, was also decorated with ink initials, of which three exhibit fine

preferred for their clearer legibility, potentially facilitating learning. This approach also appears to have involved the addition of a new text, namely the *Decretum*, in the copies produced in three reformed houses, specifically those of Admont, Heiligenkreuz, and Schäftlarn¹³⁰. However, this cannot be fully maintained for the Saint-Bertin volume, which was commissioned by abbot Godescalc himself, displaying extensive gilding. It seems plausible to suggest that copies lavishly illuminated with opaque colours and gilding might have been produced in professional workshops as well as ecclesiastical scriptoria as a sort of status symbol for individual wealthy students¹³¹. It is nevertheless possible that some of these volumes were created in the scriptoria of monastic or canonical communities. At the very least, it can be ascertained that they sometimes entered their book dotations, as evidenced by the considerable number of early Gratians coming from Benedictine libraries¹³².

drawings of human figures (fols. 3r, 35v, 52r). G. del Monaco, "Per gli esordi della decorazione del Digesto in epoca medievale: le iniziali miniate del ms. 941 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova", in «Clio@Themis» 21 (2021), special issue: *Image et Droit. Les manuscrits juridiques enluminés*. <https://doi.org/10.35562/cliothemis.1850>; G. del Monaco, "Per la decorazione del diritto giustinianeo nel XII secolo: le miniature dei mss. 688 e 941 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova", in *Il Digesto, il Codice di Giustiniano e la loro tradizione manoscritta. I mss. 688 e 941 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova*, eds. N. Giovè Marchioli, P. Lambrini, M. Milani (Roma: Viella, 2024), pp. 335–46, esp. 335–43. The digital facsimile of this manuscript is accessible at: <https://phaidra.cab.unipd.it/o:429576> [accessed 23 October 2024].

¹³⁰ The preference for this technique to decorate these manuscripts differs from the practice of including simple drawings of an inconsistent quality, occasionally featuring figures that illustrate related text passages, in the margins of a few early Gratians. These illustrations are particularly found in some examples of north Italian and perhaps Bolognese origin. They are often realised by the readers of the books as a sort of visual commentary aiding their consultation and memorisation of the text. This usage was also widespread in Roman law manuscripts (R. Gibbs, in L'Engle, Gibbs, eds., *Illuminating the Law*, cit., pp. 105–10 cat. no. 1, esp. 110; Zanichelli, "Thesauris armarii aggregatus", cit., pp. 177–78; G. Zanichelli, in Medica, Battistini, eds., "La cattedrale scolpita", cit., pp. 305–08 cat. no. 23, esp. 308; J. Fronska, "Turning the Pages of Legal Manuscripts: Reading and Remembering the Law", in N. Zchomelidse, G. Freni, eds., *Meaning in Motion: The Semantics of Movement in Medieval Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), pp. 191–214; S. L'Engle, "Law at Bologna", in *The Oxford Handbook of Latin Palaeography*, eds. F.T. Coulson, R.G. Babcock (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 865–878, esp. 868; L'Engle, "Medieval Canon Law", cit., pp. 304–06).

¹³¹ Zanichelli, "La trasformazione del libro di lusso", cit., p. 294.

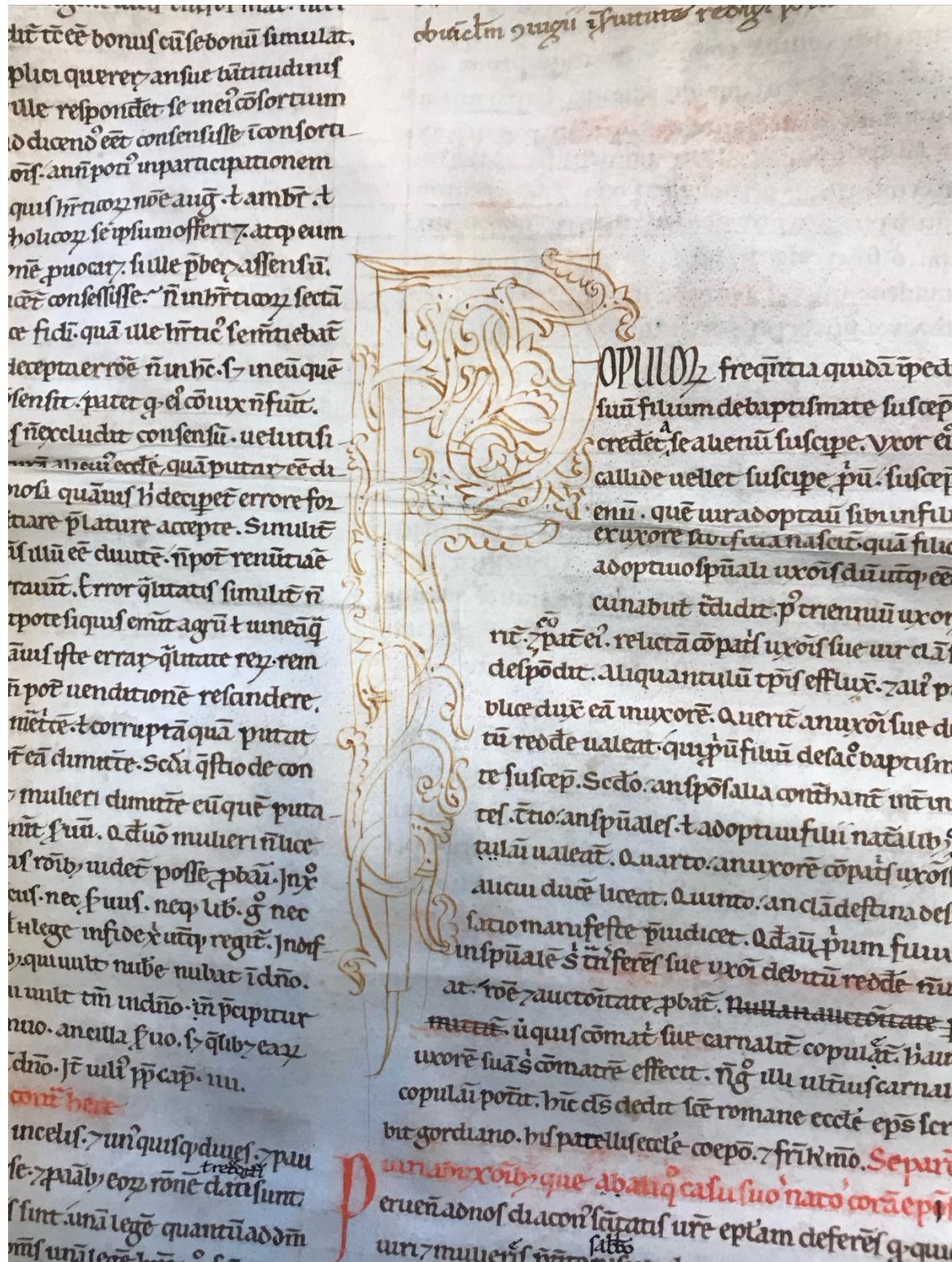
¹³² Landau ("Gratian", cit., p. 49) has argued that the sumptuously illuminated Clm 13004, previously mentioned, which hails from the city library of Regensburg, can be identified with the Gratian documented in the 1165 inventory of the local Benedictine abbey of Prüfening. However, apart from the fact that the date of the inventory seems too early to correspond with the style of the illumination, the latter was a two-volume manuscript (C.E. Ineichen-Eder, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*, IV.I: *Bistümer Passau und Regensburg* (München: C.H. Beck'sche, 1977), p. 427). This manuscript was likely listed together with a further single-volume *Decretum* in the later inventory of 1347 (*Ibid.*, p. 435). Although there is no definitive evidence to substantiate this hypothesis, it seems reasonable to propose that this exquisite example of Salzburg book illumination may have originated in one of the city's cloisters, perhaps the notorious Benedictine St. Peter's Abbey (C. Pfaff, *Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Klosters Mondsee im hohen Mittelalter* (Graz-Wien-Köln: Böhlau, 1967), pp. 47–54). This is based on the observation that the Collectar for Michaelbeurn Abbey (München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 8271), with which the greatest stylistic affinities can be observed, was probably created in that scriptorium in the 1170s (Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften*, I.I, cit., pp. 164–66, cat. no. 275; M. Pippal, "Vom 10. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des Hochmittelalters: die Skriptorien der kirchlichen Institutionen in der Stadt Salzburg (Domstift, Benediktinerstift St. Peter, Petersfrauen)", in *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich*, cit., pp. 461–522, esp. 476, 518–20, cat. no. 221; Telesko, "Die Buchmalerei", cit., p. 527). The digital reproduction of the manuscript can be accessed via the following link: <https://www.digitale-sammlungen.de/view/bsb00064924?page=3> [accessed 11 November 2024]. It is noteworthy that a volume of "Gratianus de ecclesiastica institutione" was included in the late-twelfth-century inventory of St. Peter's library (G. Möser-Mersky, M. Mihaliuk, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, IV: *Salzburg* (Graz-Wien-Köln: Böhlau, 1966), pp. 70–71; Landau, "Die Anfänge", cit., p. 275). However, it may also be identified with two contemporary Gratians that are still there: Salzburg, Erzabtei St. Peter, Benediktinerstift, Bibliothek, a XI 9, a XII 9 (Eheim, "Die Handschriften", cit., pp. 153–55 cat. nos. 21–22; Möser-Mersky, Mihaliuk, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Österreichs*, cit., p. 71 note 35;

Stelzer, *Gelehrtes Recht in Österreich*, cit., p. 190; Landau, “Die Anfänge”, cit., p. 275 and note 13). A digital reproduction of the first manuscript is accessible via the following link: https://preserver.beic.it:443/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE149866 [accessed 13 November 2024]. Moreover, it has been proposed that the two single-volume Gratians recorded in the twelfth-century inventory of the library of Clairvaux, previously cited, may be identified as MSS 60 and 103 of Troyes, both of which feature richly painted initials (Schilling, “The *Decretum Gratiani*”, cit., p. 36; W. Cahn, “The Tympanum of the Portal of Saint-Anne at Notre Dame de Paris and the Iconography of the Division of the Powers in the Early Middle Ages”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 32 (1969): pp. 55–72, esp. 70). The digital facsimile of the second manuscript, which was likely created in Paris or its surroundings in the last quarter of the twelfth century (Stirnemann, “En quête de Sens”, cit., p. 307; Murano, “Graziano e il *Decretum*”, cit., pp. 118–19), is accessible via the following link: https://portail.mediatheque.grand-troyes.fr/iguana/www/main.cls?url=search&p=*&#recordId=2.502 [accessed 28 October 2024]. Furthermore, the aforementioned *Decretum* that is currently housed in Montecassino, likely produced in an ecclesiastical scriptorium, is believed to have been incorporated into the library of the Benedictine mother house at some point before the end of the twelfth century (A. Vetulani, “Le *Décret de Gratien* dans le ms 64 de Montecassino”, *Archivum Iuridicum Cracoviense* 5 (1972): pp. 103–112; Zanichelli, “La trasformazione del libro di lusso”, cit., pp. 297–98). Moreover, the previously mentioned Amiens 354 and Clm 4505 have been identified in *Decreta*, which are recorded in the old inventories of the libraries of two Benedictine abbeys. The former is found in the early-thirteenth-century inventory of the library of Corbie in the north of France (M. Medica, in Medica, ed., *Duecento*, cit., p. 169), while the latter is documented in the mid-thirteenth-century inventory of the library of Benediktbeuern in southern Bavaria (U. Bauer-Eberhardt, *Die illuminierten Handschriften italienischer Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek*, I: *Vom 10. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 2011), p. 40 cat. no. 34). Finally, Murano (“Graziano e il *Decretum*”, cit., p. 123) has put forth a proposal that the early partially illuminated *Decretum*, which is currently housed in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Vercelli (XXV), can be identified with the “*Decreta de bona littera glosata in margine*”, which were bequeathed to the local Victorine Abbey of Sant’Andrea by Cardinal Guala Bicchieri in 1227. The Italian scholar posited that the manuscript was initially written in Bologna and subsequently decorated in England, where the Vercellese cardinal may have acquired it during his sojourn in the country (1216–18) and later conveyed it to his hometown. The illumination of the numerals table (fol. 57r) and the *arbores* (fol. 254r, 256r) can be attributed to the same workshop as that responsible for the Munich and Venice copies, which were previously mentioned. While this workshop was more likely of north Italian origin and active in Bologna, it is also conceivable that the manuscript later circulated in England, where it may have been accompanied by some marginal drawings exhibiting stylistic similarities to transalpine art. It ultimately reached Piedmont, where it seems plausible to suggest that further embellishments were added to the volume in question at fol. 13r, 109r, and 252r during the early thirteenth century (G. del Monaco, “Per gli inizi della decorazione del *Decretum Gratiani*: il codice XXV della Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli”, *Intrecci d’Arte* 11 (2022): pp. 7–31). <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2240-7251/16216> [accessed 26 November 2024]. Therefore, it would be a mistake to reject Murano’s hypothesis outright. However, it is also possible that the volume bequeathed to Sant’Andrea was acquired by Guala in the late twelfth century, when he is thought to have studied law at the cathedral school of Sant’Eusebio in Vercelli with the canon “magister Cotta” and subsequently in Bologna (C.D. Fonseca, “Bicchieri, Guala”, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1968), pp. 314–24, esp. 314–15). A digital copy of the microform of the manuscript in Vercelli can be accessed via the following link: https://preserver.beic.it/delivery/DeliveryManagerServlet?dps_pid=IE697711 [accessed 26 November 2024].



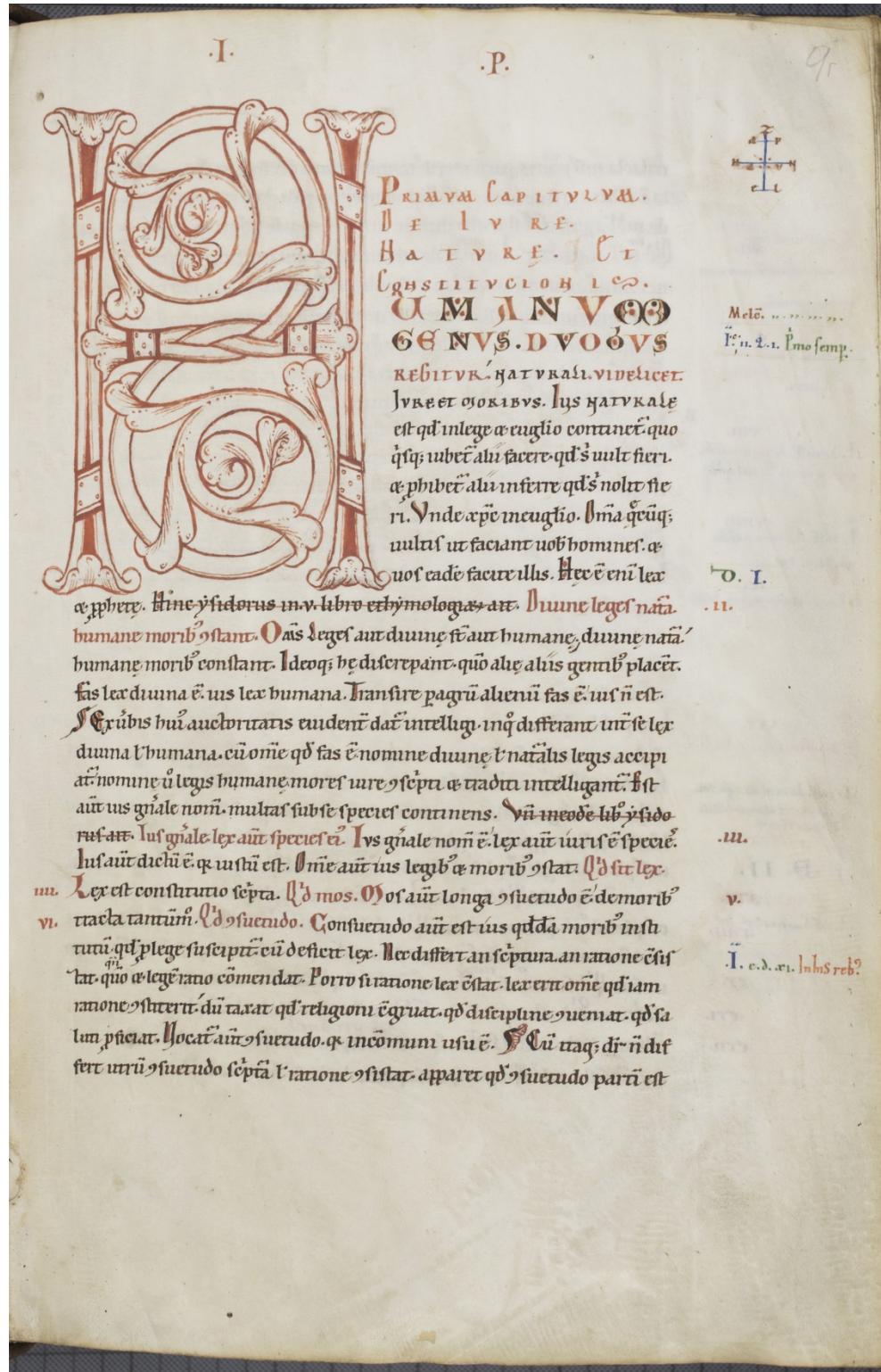
1. South Italian illuminator (Bari?), second half of the twelfth century: Initial "Q" ("Quidam"), in *Decretum Gratiani*

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Conv. soppr. A I 402, fol. 36r
(Photo: Author)



2. Tuscan illuminator (Arezzo?), second half of the twelfth century: Initial "P" ("Populorum"), in *Decretum Gratiani*

Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Conv. soppr. A I 402, fol. 83r
 (Photo: Author)



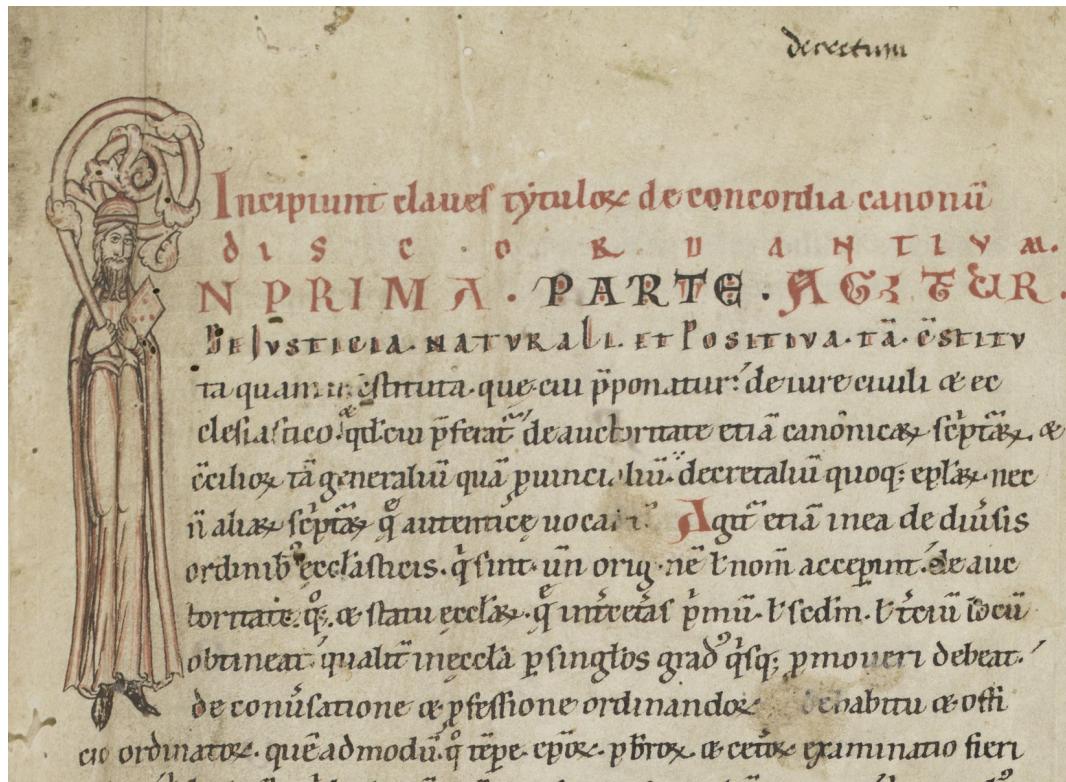
3. Austrian illuminator (Admont), third quarter of the twelfth century:

Initial "H" ("Humanum"),

in *Decretum Gratiani*

Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 23, fol. 9r

(Photo: © Admont, Benediktinerstift)



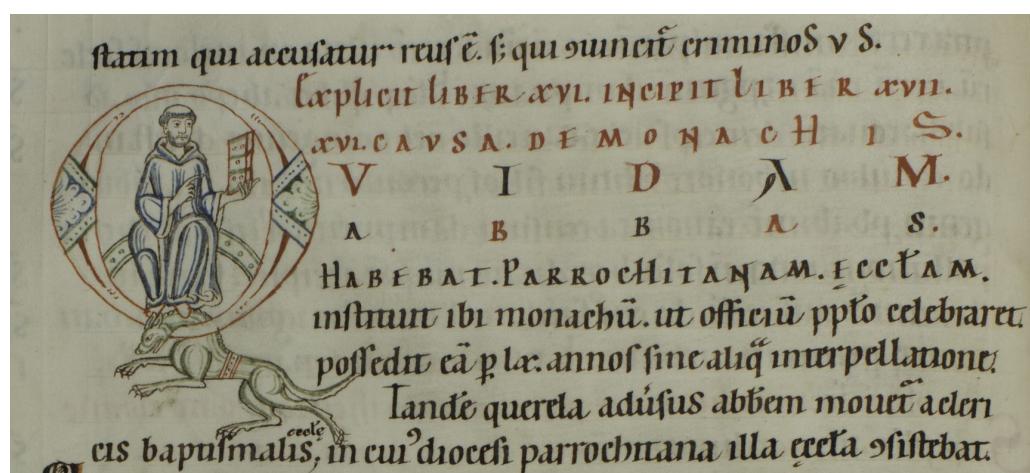
4. Austrian illuminator (Admont), third quarter of the twelfth century:

Bishop Gratian (?) in initial “I” (“In”),

in *Decretum Gratiani*

Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 23, fol. 3r

(Photo: © Admont, Benediktinerstift)



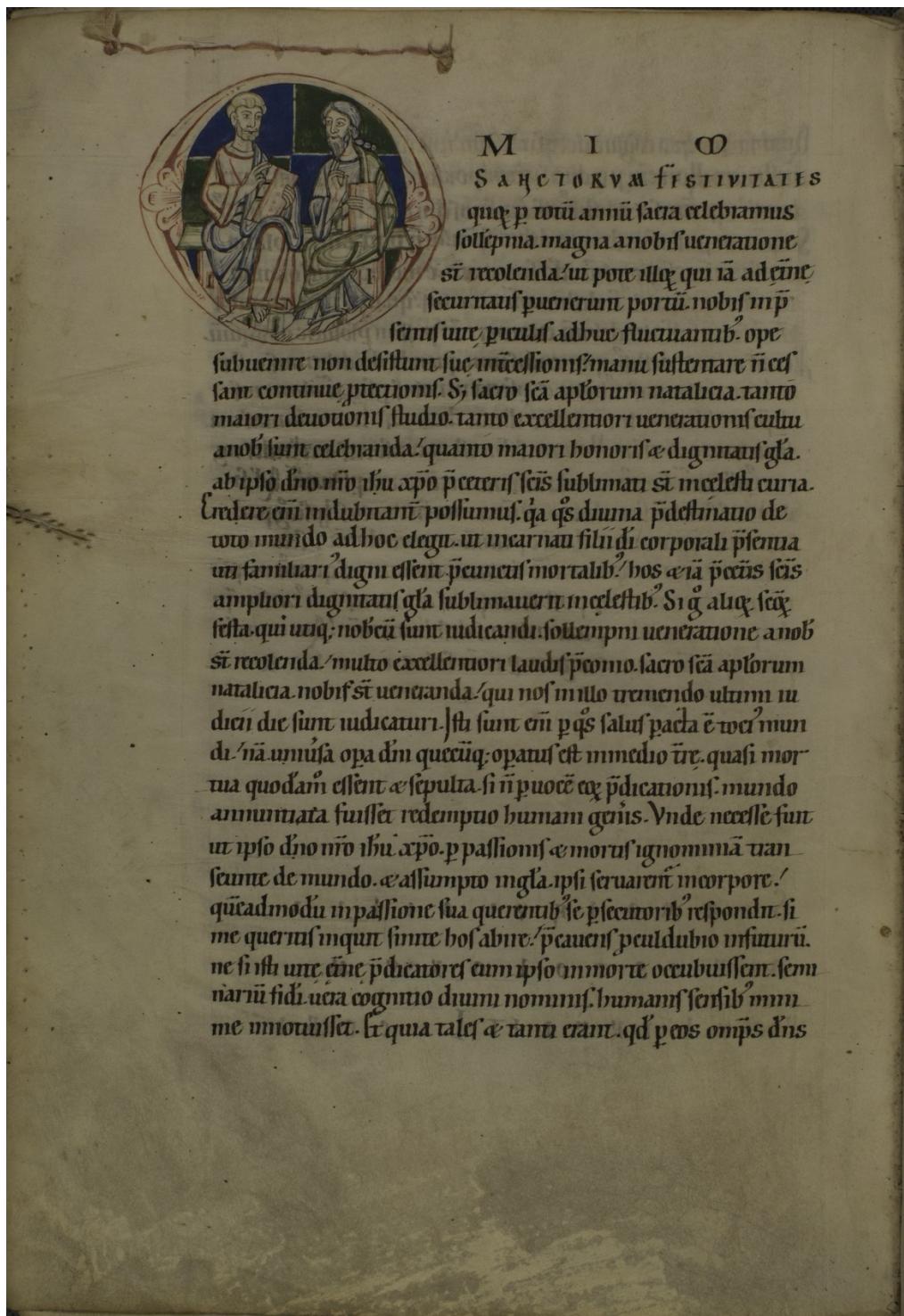
5. Austrian illuminator (Admont), third quarter of the twelfth century:

Seated monk in initial “Q” (“Quidam”),

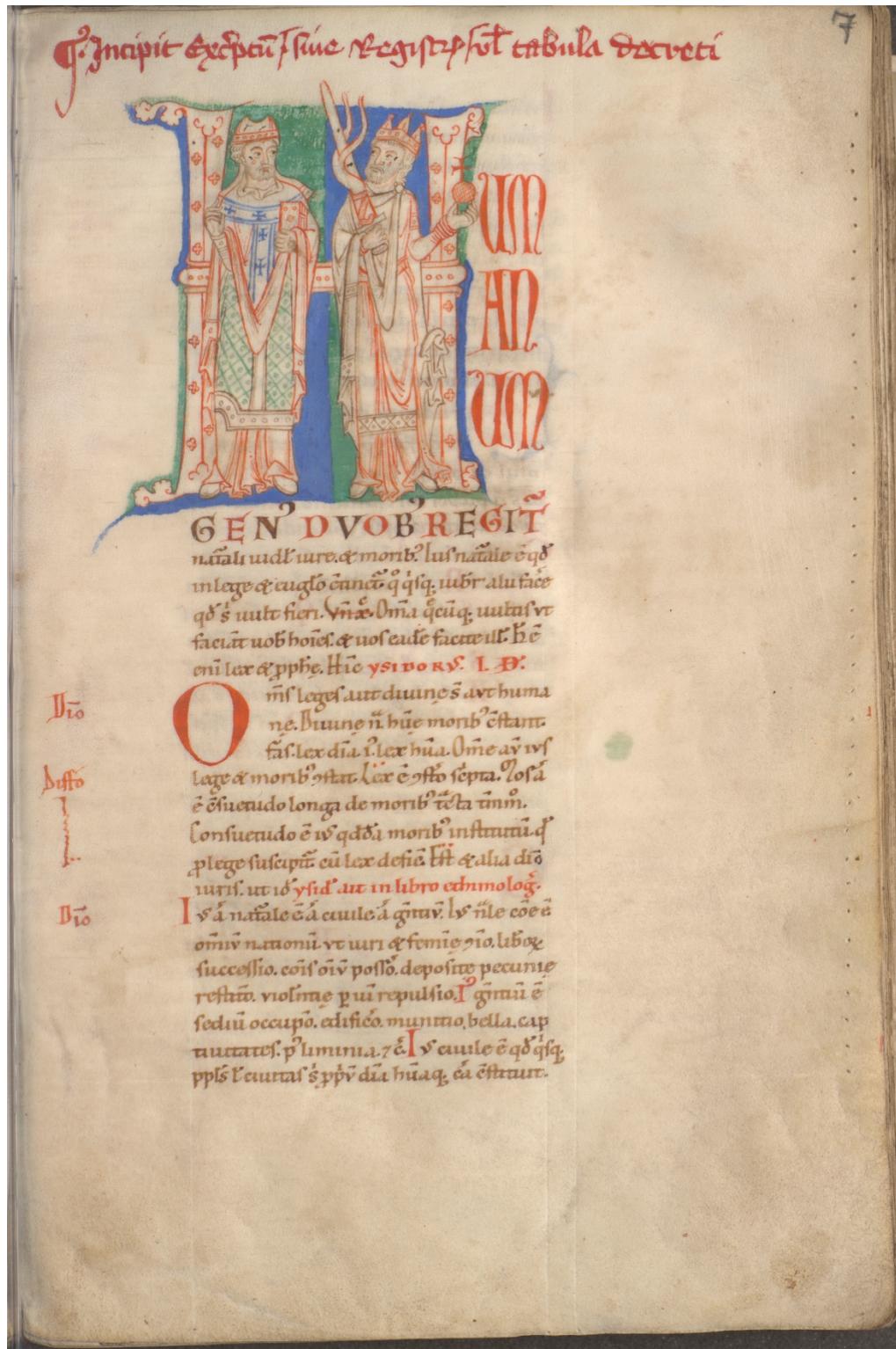
in *Decretum Gratiani*

Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 43, fol. 19v

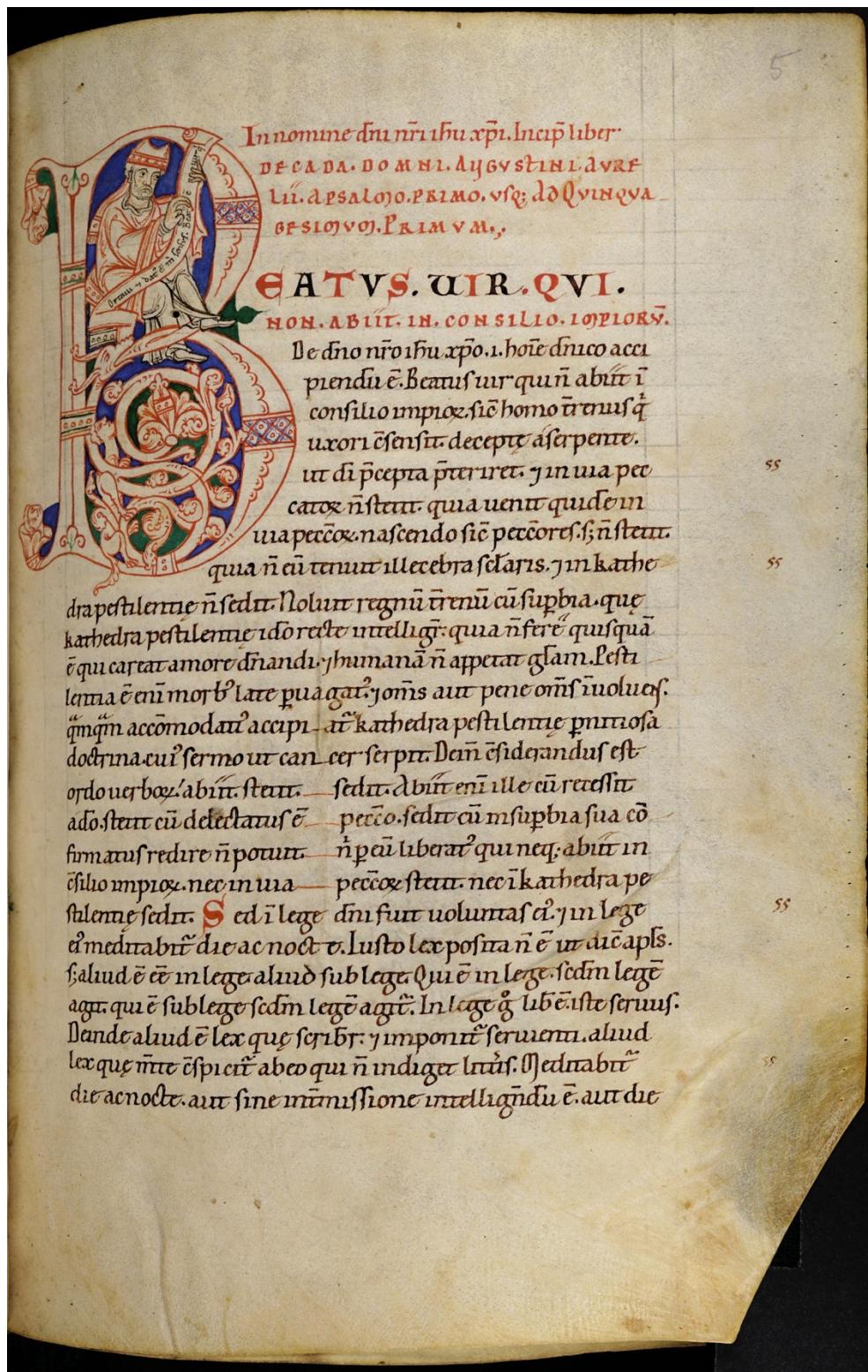
(Photo: © Admont, Benediktinerstift)



6. Austrian illuminator (Admont), c. 1160:
The Apostles Philip and James in initial "O" ("Omnium"),
 in Abbot Gottfried I, *Festive Homilies*
 Admont, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 58, fol. 81v
 (Photo: © Admont, Benediktinerstift)



7. Austrian illuminator (Heiligenkreuz), last quarter of the twelfth century:
Bishop and monarch in initial "H" ("Humanum"),
 in *Abbreviatio Decreti Gratiani "Exceptiones ecclesiasticarum regularum"*
 Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt, Hs 542, fol. 7r
 (Photo: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt)



8. Austrian illuminator (Heiligenkreuz), last quarter of the twelfth century:

Saint Augustine in initial "B" ("Beatus"),

in Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*

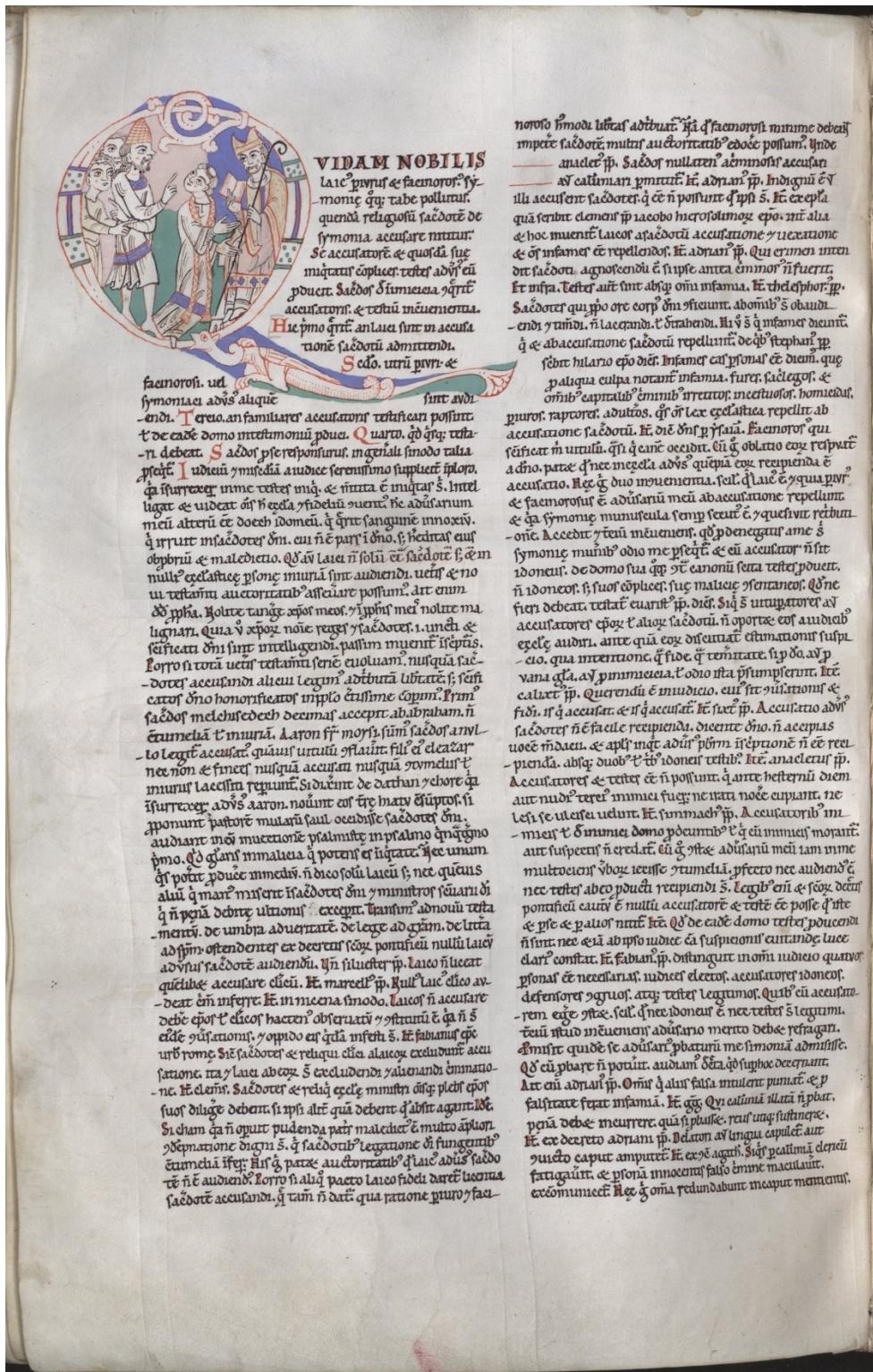
Graz, Universitätsbibliothek Graz, Ms 698, fol. 1r

(Photo: CC BY-NC-SA 3.0 AT, Universitätsbibliothek Graz)



9. Bavarian illuminator (Schäftlarn), second half of the twelfth century:
Bishop and monarch in front of two clerics and two soldiers respectively
in initial "H" ("Humanum"),
in *Decretum Gratiani*

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17161, fol. 6r
(Photo: PDM 1.0, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)



10. Bavarian illuminator (Schäftlarn), second half of the twelfth century:
A mendacious noble accusing a priest of simony in initial “Q” (“Quidam”),
in *Decretum Gratiani*

München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17161, fol. 65v
(Photo: PDM 1.0, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek)



11. Master of Zachary of Besançon:
A bishop (*Gratian?*) lecturing in front of lay and tonsured students
in initial "H" ("Humanum"),
in *Decretum Gratiani*

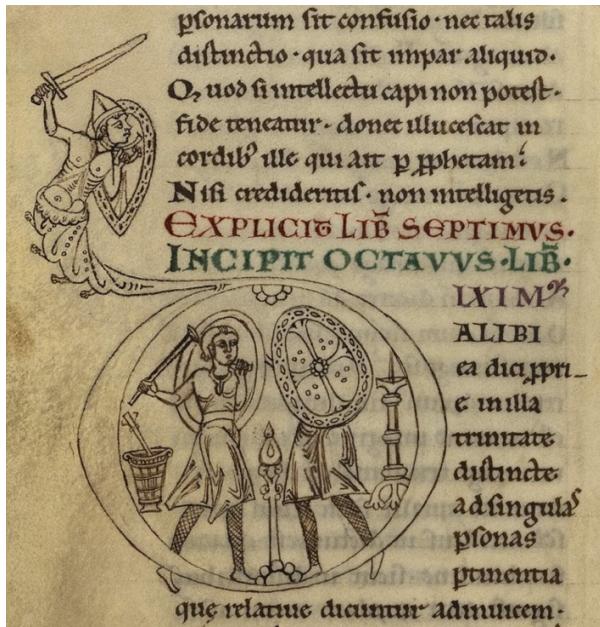
Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer, 453, fol. 10r
(Photo: CC BY-NC 3.0, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
du Pays de Saint-Omer de Saint-Omer)



12. Master of Zachary of Besançon:
*Two armed combatants engaged
 in a physical confrontation in initial "Q" ("Quidam"),
 in Decretum Gratiani*

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération du Pays de Saint-Omer,
 453, fol. 106v

(Photo: CC BY-NC 3.0, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
 du Pays de Saint-Omer de Saint-Omer)



13. Master of Zachary of Besançon:
*Two armed combatants engaged
 in a physical confrontation in initial "D" ("Diximus"),
 in Augustine, De Trinitate*

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
 du Pays de Saint-Omer, 73, fol. 62v

(Photo: CC BY-NC 3.0,
 Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
 du Pays de Saint-Omer de Saint-Omer)



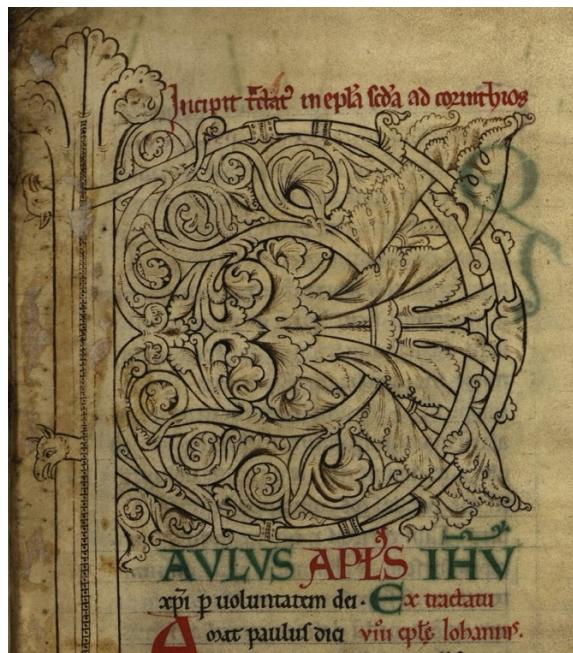
14. Detail of fig. 11



15. Master of Zachary of Besançon:
Saint Gregory the Great,
in *Gregory the Great, Moralía in Job*
Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
du Pays de Saint-Omer, 12 (2), fol. 1v
(Photo: CC BY-NC 3.0,
Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
du Pays de Saint-Omer de Saint-Omer)



16. Detail of fig. 11



17. Master of Zachary of Besançon:

Initial "P" ("Paulus"),

in Florus of Lyon,

Expositio epistularum beati Pauli

Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
du Pays de Saint-Omer, 78, fol. 1r

(Photo: CC BY-NC 3.0,

Bibliothèque d'Agglomération
du Pays de Saint-Omer de Saint-Omer)



18. Rhenish illuminator (Cologne), second half of the twelfth century: *Bishop and monarch* in initial "H" ("Humanum"), in *Decretum Gratiani*, Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, Cod. 127, fol. 9r
(Photo: © Diözesanbibliothek Köln)



20. Burgundian illuminator (Auxerre?), last quarter of the twelfth century: Initial "Q" ("Quidam"), from a *Decretum Gratiani* Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1954.598 (verso)
(Photo: CC0 1.0)



19. Rhenish illuminator (Cologne, Groß St. Martin), third quarter of the twelfth century: *King Salomon* in initial "P" ("Parabole"), in *Biblia sacra*
Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, MS A 2, fol. 64v
(Photo: CC BY-NC-ND 4.0, Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf)



21. Burgundian illuminator (Auxerre?), last quarter of the twelfth century: Initial "Q" ("Quidam"), from a *Decretum Gratiani* Philadelphia, Free Library of Philadelphia, Lewis E M 16:8
(Photo: © Free Library of Philadelphia)

RICOSTRUIRE UNA RETE
DI CIRCOLAZIONI E COMMITTENZE DOMENICANE:
IL CASO TOLOSANO DEL MAESTRO DEL DECRETO DI AVIGNONE
(AVIGNONE, BM, MS. 659)★

Maria Alessandra Bilotta

ABSTRACT

I manoscritti presentati in questo contributo, ms. lat. 362 e ms. lat. 16905, conservati nella Bibliothèque nationale de France, sono stati finora trascurati dagli storici dell'arte. L'analisi stilistica dell'apparato illustrativo e decorativo di questi codici, condotta in questo studio, ha permesso di attribuirli all'anonimo miniaturista detto Maestro del Decreto di Avignone (dal più importante manoscritto da lui miniato, Avignone, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 659). Questo miniaturista, formatosi verosimilmente a Tolosa, attivo tra il 1320 e il 1350, ha molto probabilmente lavorato per i Domenicani della città.

PAROLE CHIAVE: manoscritti miniati, miniature, Tolosa, Fanjeaux, Domenicani

*Reconstructing a Network of Circulation and Dominican Patronage:
The Case of the Tolosan Master of the Avignon Decretum (Avignon, BM, Ms. 659)*

ABSTRACT

The manuscripts presented in this contribution, Ms. lat. 362 and Ms. lat. 16905, preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, have so far been overlooked by art historians. The stylistic analysis of the illustrative and decorative apparatus of these manuscripts, conducted in this study, makes it possible to attribute them to the anonymous illuminator called Master of the Avignon *Decretum* (from the most relevant manuscript illuminated by him, Avignon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 659). This illuminator, trained most probably in Toulouse and active between 1320 and 1350, most likely worked for the Dominicans of the city.

KEYWORDS: Illuminated Manuscripts, Miniatures, Toulouse, Fanjeaux, Dominicans

Sono ormai una decina i codici miniati che, grazie agli studi condotti negli ultimi anni, sono stati attribuiti ad un raffinato miniaturista, attivo a Tolosa a cavallo tra il 1320 e il 1350, al quale abbiamo assegnato il nome di Maestro del Decreto di Avignone, dal più importante manoscritto da lui miniato, il *Decretum Gratiani*, Ms. 659, oggi conservato nella Bibliothèque Municipale di questa città¹.

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¹ M. A. BILOTTA, *L'esemplare franco-meridionale del Catholicon di Giovanni Balbi, Vat. lat. 1472: una nuova ipotesi attributiva del suo apparato illustrativo*, «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae», 25 (2019), pp. 7-32.

Questo codice, individuato da Patricia Stirnemann, da lei localizzato a Tolosa e datato agli anni compresi fra il 1340 e il 1350², costituisce il capofila del *corpus* di manoscritti ascrivibili a tale miniatore. Tale *corpus*, che comprende opere di argomento giuridico e opere di autori domenicani, si arricchisce adesso, come vedremo, di altri due codici, conservati presso la Bibliothèque nationale de France, i quali finora non erano stati ancora oggetto di uno studio approfondito da parte degli storici dell'arte: si tratta dei manoscritti lat. 362, contenente il testo del *Commentario sul Pentateuco* (*Commentarius in Pentateuchum*) del celebre teologo domenicano tolosano Dominique Grima, e lat. 16905, un *Volumen parvum*. Infatti, l'analisi stilistica dei loro apparati illustrativi, che sarà tema del presente studio, ci ha permesso di attribuirli, come si vedrà più avanti, alla mano di questo valente miniatore occitano. Tali ultime attribuzioni, insieme con quelle meno recenti, sono assai rilevanti non soltanto perché ci permettono di ampliare la nostra conoscenza della attività e della produzione di questo operoso miniatore ma anche perché, come esporremo, ci permettono di collegare almeno in parte la sua attività con alcune delle personalità intellettuali di spicco dell'Ordine domenicano di Tolosa. Inoltre, la attuale distribuzione di tali codici in diverse località in Francia, nella Penisola Iberica e in quella italiana, consente di considerarli importanti vettori di contatto e di tracciare attraverso di loro una fitta rete di circolazioni librarie nel contesto dei circuiti sociali e culturali che si stabilirono e consolidarono tra XIII e XIV secolo in questi territori.

Il ms. lat. 362 della Bibliothèque nationale de France

Il manoscritto lat. 362 [fig. 1], un codice di media grandezza³, tramanda il testo del *Commentario sul Pentateuco* (*Commentarius in Pentateuchum*) del celebre teologo domenicano di Tolosa Dominique Grima (o Grenier). Quest'ultimo, come è noto, fu professore di teologia a Tolosa, predicatore, vescovo di Pamiers (dal 1326 al 1347, anno della sua morte) e maestro del Sacro Palazzo avignonese (*magister sacri palati*), probabilmente a partire dall'autunno del 1321. Egli fu anche un fine conoscitore e commentatore del testo biblico (*Magister in Sacra Pagina*), autore di un rilevante ed esteso *Commentario* biblico in più volumi (Pentateuco e Libri Storici), del quale fa parte anche il *Commentario sul Pentateuco* appena citato⁴. Grima dedicò tale vasta opera esegetica al papa Giovanni XXII (1316-1334) nel 1319 con una lettera dedicatoria programmatica a mo' di prefazione⁵. Due manoscritti miniati con volumi diversi del *Commentario*, realizzati ad uso personale del papa Giovanni XXII, sono sopravvissuti e anch'essi sono oggi custoditi presso la Bibliothèque nationale de France, contrassegnati dalle segnature lat. 365 (*Commentarius in Genesim*) e lat. 375 (*Commentarius in Exodus et Leviticum*)⁶.

² P. STIRNEMANN, in *Les Manuscrits à Peinture de la Bibliothèque Municipale d'Avignon XI^e-XVI^e siècle*, catalogo della mostra (Avignone), dattiloscritto, pp. 125-128 cat. 32.

³ Una riproduzione del manoscritto, insieme con la sua breve descrizione, è disponibile nella base dati *Gallica* della Bibliothèque nationale de France:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10038521h/f3.item.r=latin%20362%20Grima> (ultimo accesso: 19.07.2024) e nel catalogo online della stessa biblioteca *Archives et manuscrits*:

<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc615617> (ultimo accesso: 19.07.2024).

⁴ M. MORARD, *Les Dominicains méridionaux et la théologie (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, in *L'ordre des Prêcheurs et son histoire en France méridionale*, Toulouse, Privat, 2001, pp. 201-248.

⁵ EAD., *Dominique Grima o.p., un exégète thomiste à Toulouse au début du XIV^e siècle*, in *Église et culture en France méridionale: XII^e-XIV^e siècle*, Toulouse, Privat, 2000, pp. 325-374.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 330; M. A. BILOTTA, *Quelques remarques stylistiques sur les manuscrits peints du pape Jean XXII*, in *Jean XXII et le Midi*, Toulouse, Privat, 2012, pp. 573-614: 580-587; A. STONES, *Les dominicains et la production manuscrite à Toulouse aux environs de 1300*, in M. A. BILOTTA, M.-P. CHAUMET-SARKISSIAN (a cura di), *Le Parement d'autel des*

Il codice lat. 362 è stato approfonditamente studiato dal punto di vista testuale da Martin Morard, il quale ha rilevato che il manoscritto rispetta la sequenza usuale delle lezioni e ritiene potrebbe essere stato trascritto da un esemplare testualmente vicino all'apografo⁷. Martin Morard ha anche riconosciuto per primo l'origine tolosana della decorazione del manoscritto lat. 362 che, secondo lo studioso, sarebbe stato confezionato per i Domenicani in questa città: la sua trascrizione sarebbe avvenuta prima del 1326 mentre l'inserimento delle rubriche tra il 1326 ed il 1347; in seguito, dopo il 1348, il codice sarebbe stato donato dal convento domenicano di Tolosa a quello di Fanjeaux, menzionato quest'ultimo in una iscrizione oggi appena visibile al f. 1r del manoscritto: <*Pro*> *conuentu Ph<ani>onis*. Il manoscritto venne poi acquistato nel XVII secolo da Jean-Baptiste Colbert in condizioni imprecise per entrare a far parte dei fondi della Bibliothèque royale, futura Bibliothèque nationale de France⁸. Anche François Avril, nel suo schedario autografo riguardante i manoscritti conservati presso la Bibliothèque nationale de France, il cosiddetto *fichier Avril*, localizza il manoscritto lat. 362 in Francia meridionale, in Occitania, e lo data alla prima metà del XIV secolo⁹.

Le pagine del manoscritto sono percorse, nei margini superiori, da titoli correnti in lettere maiuscole dipinte alternativamente in rosso e in blu; iniziali filigranate a inchiostro rosso e blu scandiscono le partizioni minori del testo insieme con segni di paragrafo realizzati con gli stessi colori. Le partizioni più rilevanti del testo sono invece introdotte da eleganti iniziali decorate a motivi vegetali, alcune delle quali sono arricchite da fregi fitomorfi: antenne rettilinee che prendono l'avvio dal corpo delle iniziali per proseguire rigidamente verso l'alto o il basso nei margini laterali o negli intercolumni oppure esili ramificazioni dalle quali si dipartono delicate fogliettine trilobate o teste umane posate su lunghi e sinuosi colli a guisa di molla (come, ad esempio, ai ff. 2r e 223r, fig. 2). Un motivo decorativo quest'ultimo talmente presente nelle pagine dei codici miniati a Tolosa nel XIII e nel XIV secolo da essere ormai considerato come un carattere specifico della miniatura tolosana di quest'epoca¹⁰.

L'apparato illustrativo del codice è costituito invece da due iniziali istoriate dipinte al f. 1r: si tratta della S miniata in corrispondenza degli *incipit* della lettera dedicatoria a Giovanni XXII («Sanctissimo patri ac domino, extra cuius obedientiam in hac valle miserie non est salus. Domino Iohanni»), nella quale è rappresentato Dominique Grima che offre la sua opera al pontefice [fig. 3],

Cordeliers de Toulouse. Anatomie d'un chef-d'œuvre du XIV^e siècle, catalogo della mostra (Tolosa), Paris, Somony, 2012, pp. 51-57: 57; EAD., *Gothic Manuscripts: 1260-1320*, II.I. *Catalogue & Illustrations*, Turnhout, Harvey Miller, 2015, pp. 237-240 cat. VII-37; EAD., *Les Dominicains de Toulouse et leurs manuscrits enluminés au XIII^e siècle*, in É. NADAL, M. VÈNE (a cura di), *La Bibliothèque des dominicains de Toulouse*, Toulouse, Presses universitaires du Midi, 2020, pp. 80-89: 86-87; EAD., *Commentaire sur la Bible*, vol. 1, In *Genesim de Dominique Grima (Grenier)* (Cat. 71), in B. DE CHANCEL-BARDELOT, Ch. RIOU (a cura di), *Toulouse 1300-1400. L'éclat du gothique méridional*, catalogo della mostra (Parigi), Paris, Réunion des musées mationaux, 2022, pp. 246-247, anche per la bibliografia precedente relativa a questi manoscritti. Una riproduzione di questi codici, insieme con la loro breve descrizione, è disponibile nella base dati *Gallica* della Bibliothèque nationale de France: lat. 365: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10464130m> (ultimo accesso: 19.07.2024); lat. 737:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9081030z/f8.planchecontact> (ultimo accesso 19.07.2024).

⁷ Cfr. MORARD, *Dominique Grima o.p.*, un éxégète thomiste, cit., p. 332 nota 49, pp. 355-356.

⁸ Cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 355-356 nota 49.

⁹ F. AVRIL, *Fichier des manuscrits enluminés du département des Manuscrits*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. fr. 28635; lo schedario è disponibile online nella base dati *Gallica* della Bibliothèque nationale de France. La scheda del ms. lat. 362 è consultabile al seguente link:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10000504b/f933#> (ultimo accesso: 20.07.2024).

¹⁰ EAD., in *L'Art au temps des rois maudits. Philippe le bel et ses fils (1285-1328)*, catalogo della mostra (Parigi), Paris, Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998, p. 322 cat. 230; M. A. BILOTTA, *Images dans les marges des manuscrits toulousains de la première moitié du XIV^e siècle: un monde imaginé entre invention et réalité*, «Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Section Moyen Âge», 121/2 (2009), pp. 349-359.

e della H che introduce il testo del *Principium super tota biblia*¹¹ («Hec omnia liber vite et testamentum altissimi et agnitus veritatis») nella quale è raffigurato Dominique Grima nell'atto di dettare la sua opera ad un copista [fig. 4]. La localizzazione tolosana del miniatore del manoscritto lat. 362, già proposta da Martin Morard, può essere ulteriormente confermata in questa sede dai motivi decorativi tipicamente tolosani poco prima segnalati, presenti nelle iniziali ornate del manoscritto e soprattutto dal confronto delle iniziali istoriate appena descritte con la produzione del poc'anzi menzionato Maestro del Decreto di Avignone, miniatore attivo a Tolosa fra gli anni '20 e gli anni '40-50 del XIV secolo. Si confrontino, ad esempio, i volti dei due cardinali ritratti alla destra del pontefice nella miniatura tabellare a f. 1r del *Liber Sextus* Ms. 28 della Library of Congress di Washington, recentemente attribuito da chi scrive al Maestro del Decreto di Avignone¹², e quello del vescovo che si rivolge alla comunità dei fedeli, appoggiandosi su una cattedra vuota, nella parte destra della miniatura che introduce la Causa III («Quidam episcopus a propria sede deiectus») al f. 129r del Decreto di Avignone, con il volto del copista al quale Dominique Grima sta dettando la sua opera nella iniziale H al f. 1r del manoscritto lat. 362 [fig. 5]. Si confronti anche il volto del vescovo giudice, raffigurato seduto in cattedra nel lato sinistro della miniatura tabellare che introduce la Causa IV («Quidam in excommunicatione constitutus episcopum accusare disponit») al f. 146v di un altro esemplare del Decreto di Graziano, attribuito al Maestro del Decreto di Avignone da Samuel Gras e da chi scrive, il MSS/19148¹³, conservato a Madrid, presso la Biblioteca Nacional de España¹⁴, con il volto del papa Giovanni XXII rappresentato nella iniziale S al f. 1r del manoscritto lat. 362. Molto simili sono anche la resa delle mani che sorreggono i libri nelle due miniature: quella di Dominique Grima inginocchiato dinanzi a Giovanni XXII nel manoscritto lat. 362 e quella del vescovo inginocchiato al centro della scena nella miniatura tabellare del MSS/19148 di Madrid [fig. 6]. Le linee con le quali sono definite le fattezze dei volti fortemente eloquenti di questi personaggi, la linea del naso prolungata senza interruzioni a tratteggiare il sopracciglio sinistro, la linea curva del sopracciglio destro che si unisce con la linea della palpebra quasi a tracciare una V, la morfologia delle chiome caratterizzate da un andamento ondulato che si conclude con un ricciolo rivolto all'insù, e così pure le pose dei personaggi e le lunghe dita affusolate, risultano essere del tutto simili. Si comparino a questo proposito il volto e la capigliatura del copista al quale Dominique Grima sta dettando la sua opera nella iniziale H al f. 1r del manoscritto lat. 362 con quelli dei due cardinali raffigurati alla destra del pontefice nella miniatura tabellare a f. 1r del Ms. 28 di Washington e con quelli dei santi *Germanus parisiensis episcopus* e *Lupus Senonensis episcopus* raffigurati

¹¹ Cfr. M. MORARD, 267. *Pergamenum* [18.9.2012], in *Libraria. Pour l'histoire des bibliothèques anciennes, Carnet de recherche Hypothèses* online (ISSN 2607-0618):

https://libraria.hypotheses.org/category/terminologie#_Toc119366983 (ultimo accesso: 20.07.2024). Si veda pure G. MURANO, *Opere diffuse per exempla e pecia*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2005, n° 341, p. 423.

¹² M. A. BILOTTA, Addenda al corpus del Maestro del Decreto di Avignone (Avignone, BM, Ms. 659), attivo a Tolosa intorno alla metà del XIV secolo: il *Liber Sextus* Washington DC, Library of Congress, Ms. 28, «Intrecci d'arte», 11 (2022), pp. 33-52 (<https://intreccidarte.unibo.it/article/view/16217>, ultimo accesso: 21.07.2024).

¹³ Le immagini di questo manoscritto sono disponibili online sul sito *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica* al link seguente: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/details.vm?o=&w=Mss.+19148&f=&g=load&g=work&lang=es&view=main&s=0> (ultimo accesso: 21.07.2024).

¹⁴ Nell'ambito del progetto scientifico *HispaNord – De l'Espagne à l'Europe du Nord: les manuscrits français et flamands de la Bibliothèque nacional de España (Madrid)*, coordinato Anne-Marie Legaré e dallo stesso Samuel Gras. Cfr. M. A. BILOTTA, L'esemplare franco-meridionale del *Catholicon* di Giovanni Balbi, *Vat. lat. 1472: una nuova ipotesi attributiva del suo apparato illustrativo*, «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae», 25 (2019), pp. 7-32: 18; S. GRAS, in S. GRAS, J. DOCAMPO CAPILLA (a cura di), *Luces del norte. Manuscritos iluminados franceses y flamencos de la Biblioteca Nacional de España. Catálogo razonado*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España / Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2021, pp. 186-190 cat. 70.

rispettivamente nel margine inferiore sinistro dei fogli 34v e 36r del primo volume del codice MS 45 del *Corpus Christi College* di Cambridge¹⁵ [fig. 7], un esemplare della *Cronaca dei Re di Francia* (ff. 1r-32v) del domenicano Bernard Gui (ca. 1261-1331), nella sua edizione ultima, aggiornata fino al 1330 e pubblicata nel 1331, recentemente attribuito al Maestro del Decreto di Avignone da chi scrive¹⁶.

I confronti potrebbero seguitare per confermare l'attribuzione delle miniature di tutti i manoscritti citati alla mano del medesimo artefice. Le analogie sin qui rilevate ci consentono di confermare la localizzazione delle miniature del manoscritto lat. 362 a Tolosa e la loro datazione sul finire degli anni '40 del XIV secolo, già proposte da Martin Morard, e di riferirle al Maestro del Decreto di Avignone, attivo in questa città intorno alla metà del XIV secolo.

Il ms. lat. 16905 della Bibliothèque nationale de France

Il manoscritto lat. 16905¹⁷ [fig. 8] è un esemplare del *Volumen parvum* con glossa ordinaria di Accursio. Come è noto il *Volumen parvum*, o semplicemente *Volumen*, costituisce il 5° volume dei *Libri legales*, oggetto di studio e di insegnamento, nei quali venne suddiviso il *Corpus iuris civilis* a Bologna all'epoca del diritto comune. Il *Volumen parvum* lat. 16905 riunisce al suo interno, e in quest'ordine, le *Institutiones* (ff. 1r-81v), l'*Authenticum* (ff. 82r-202v), il *Liber feudorum* (ff. 203r-231v) e i *Tres libri* (Libri X-XII del *Codex*, ff. 232r-306v). Gérard Giordanengo ha rilevato in questo esemplare, nella sezione del *Liber feudorum*, la presenza di glosse dell'alto prelato e giurista del sud della Francia Bertrando di Deux, o di Déaulx (*Bertrandus de Deucio* †1355)¹⁸. François Avril, nel suo *fichier Avril* poc'anzi menzionato, localizza tale manoscritto a Tolosa e lo data nel secondo quarto del XIV secolo¹⁹.

L'apparato ornamentale del codice, stilisticamente omogeneo, può essere attribuito ad un'unica mano ed è costituito da iniziali filigranate, raffinate iniziali decorate a motivi vegetali, tutte della medesima tipologia, dalle quali fuoriescono, in molti casi, delle teste di cicogna che stringono nel becco un disco d'oro posate su lunghi colli dall'andamento a molla del tutto simili a quelle presenti nel manoscritto lat. 362 prima analizzato [fig. 9], un elemento decorativo quest'ultimo peculiare della produzione miniata tolosana del XIII e del XIV secolo.

¹⁵ Il manoscritto è consultabile online nel sito *Parker Library On the Web. Manuscripts in the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* al link: <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/jj548nk9202> (ultimo accesso: 21.07.2024) dove si trova anche una descrizione codicologica del manoscritto e la bibliografia aggiornata ad esso relativa.

¹⁶ M. A. BILOTTA, *Ancora un apporto per la storia della miniatura tolosana del XIV secolo: una nuova attribuzione per le miniature del MS 45 (vol. 1) del Corpus Christi College di Cambridge*, «De Medio Aevo», 11/1 (2022), numero monografico: *Imágenes medievales: Entre la realidad y la idea*, pp. 65-76.

¹⁷ Una riproduzione del manoscritto, insieme con la sua breve descrizione, è disponibile nella base dati *Gallica* della Bibliothèque nationale de France: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100861068> (ultimo accesso: 21.07.2024) e nel catalogo online della stessa biblioteca *Archives et manuscrits*.

<https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc4549s> (ultimo accesso: 21.07.2024).

¹⁸ G. GIORDANENGO, *Droit féodal et droit romain dans les universités du Midi: l'exemple de Bertrand de Deaux*, «Recueil de mémoires et travaux, publié par la Société d'histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit», *Mélanges Roger Aubenas*, 9 (1974), pp. 343-349: 346, n. 16. Su Bertrand de Deux si veda G. GIORDANENGO, *Deaux (de Deucio) Bertrand de*, in P. ARABEYRE, J.-L. HALPÉRIN, J. KRYNEN (a cura di), *Dictionnaire historique des juristes français XII^e – XX^e siècle*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2007, pp. 309-310.

¹⁹ F. AVRIL, *Fichier des manuscrits enluminés du département des Manuscrits*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Nouv. acq. fr. 28635; lo schedario è disponibile online nella base dati *Gallica* della Bibliothèque nationale de France. La scheda del ms. lat. 16905 è consultabile al seguente link:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100005067/f758> (ultimo accesso: 21.07.2024)

L'apparato illustrativo del *Volumen parvum* lat. 16905 è costituito da nove miniature tabellari dipinte in corrispondenza degli *incipit* di ciascuno dei quattro libri delle *Institutiones* (ff. 1r, 15r²⁰, 39v, 60r²¹), dell'*incipit* dell'*Authenticum* (f. 82r), dell'*incipit* del *Liber feudorum* (f. 203r), ed infine degli *incipit* di ciascuno dei *Tres libri* (ff. 232r, 258v, 282v). L'analisi stilistica di queste miniature rivela rapporti stringenti con le opere del Maestro del Decreto di Avignone. Infatti, vi ritroviamo gli stessi tipi facciali e le stesse capigliature peculiari di questo miniatore come dimostra, ad esempio, il confronto fra il volto e la testa dell'imperatore Giustiniano, ritratto nel riquadro miniato dipinto in apertura del Libro I delle *Institutiones* («Imperatoriam maiestatem non solum armis decoratam») a f. 1r nel manoscritto, e il volto e la testa di san *Lupus Senonensis episcopus* raffigurato nel margine inferiore sinistro del foglio 36r del primo volume del poc'anzi citato codice MS 45 del *Corpus Christi College* di Cambridge, esemplare della *Cronaca dei Re di Francia* (ff. 1r-32v) del domenicano Bernard Gui (ca. 1261-1331) [fig. 10]: nelle due miniature, i volti sono talmente somiglianti da non esserci alcun dubbio sulla loro realizzazione da parte di una medesima mano. Tra i molti elementi analoghi, innegabili affiorano le somiglianze anche nella resa delle fisionomie delle teste coronate come dimostra, ad esempio, il confronto fra le teste dell'imperatore Giustiniano, ritratto nelle miniature tabellari che introducono a f. 82r la *Collatio I* dell'*Authenticum* e a f. 232r l'*incipit* del Libro X del *Codex* (il primo dei *Tres libri*) nel *Volumen parvum* lat. 16905 con quelle di *Griphus rex* e *Pipinus brevis rex* raffigurate nel margine inferiore destro del già citato foglio 36r del primo volume del MS 45 del *Corpus Christi College* di Cambridge [fig. 11]. Infine, evidenti analogie affiorano anche comparando il volto e la testa dell'imperatore Giustiniano, ritratto nel riquadro miniato dipinto in apertura del Libro I delle *Institutiones* («Imperatoriam maiestatem non solum armis decoratam») a f. 1r nel manoscritto lat. 16905, con il volto e la testa del papa Giovanni XXII nella iniziale S al f. 1r del manoscritto lat. 362 con il *Commentario sul Pentateuco* di Bernard Gui [fig. 12], attribuito prima, in questa sede, al Maestro del Decreto di Avignone.

I confronti sinora proposti, tra i molti possibili, accomunano dunque stilisticamente anche il *Volumen parvum* lat. 16905 della Bibliothèque nationale de France all'insieme dei manoscritti illustrati dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone e ci consentono pertanto di attribuirne le miniature alla mano di questo miniatore.

Il corpus dei manoscritti dell'atelier del Maestro del Decreto di Avignone

Il primitivo gruppo di manoscritti miniati che hanno costituito il punto di partenza per la ricostituzione del *corpus* dei codici illustrati da questo *artifex* è stato riunito da Patricia Stirnemann nel 1993²²: la studiosa ha rinvenuto, infatti, la mano del Maestro del Decreto di Avignone in un *Apparatus super Decretales*, oggi conservato presso l'Archivio capitolare di Tortosa in Catalogna, Ms.

²⁰ Per una analisi dell'aspetto giuridico della iconografia scelta per illustrare il Libro II delle *Institutiones* nel manoscritto lat. 16905 si veda V. PERSI, *L'acquisizione del dominio tramite occupazione. Il rapporto testo-immagine nelle illustrazioni del libro 41, tit. 1 del Digesto e del libro 2, tit. 1 delle Institutiones di Giustiniano nei manoscritti della BnF (XIII-XIV secolo)*, «Clio@Themis. Revue électronique d'histoire du droit», Dossier: M.A. BIOTTA, S. DAUCHY (a cura di), *Image et Droit. Les manuscrits juridiques enluminés*, 21 (2021), <https://journals.openedition.org/cliothemis/1866?lang=en> (ultimo accesso: 22.07.2024). In questo contributo il manoscritto è datato troppo precocemente al secondo quarto del XIII secolo e, a causa di un refuso, la miniatura tabellare è indicata a f. 13r invece che a f. 15r dove effettivamente si trova.

²¹ La figura del sergente rappresentata nella miniatura tabellare che introduce il IV Libro al f. 60r delle *Institutiones* nel manoscritto lat. 16905 è analizzata da Ch. BELLANGER, *La figure du sergent dans l'enluminure à la fin du Moyen Âge: entre justice et maintien de l'ordre*, in F. FORONDA, Ch. BARRALIS, B. SÈRE (a cura di), *Violences souveraines au Moyen Âge. Travaux d'une École historique*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 2010, pp. 79-89; p. 87 nota 4.

²² Cfr. STIRNEMANN, *Scheda nr. 32. Décret de Gratien avec gloses de Barthélémy de Brescia*, cit.

182²³, con il testo della glossa ordinaria alle Decretali, composta da Bernardo da Parma²⁴; nel Decreto di Graziano, attualmente custodito a Madrid, nella Biblioteca Nacional de España, MSS/19149; nel Ms. 729 della Bibliothèque municipale di Reims²⁵ con l'*Apparatus in Sextum Librum*, composto da Giovanni d'Andrea nel 1326 e l'*Apparatus in Clementinas*, anch'esso opera dello stesso Giovanni d'Andrea²⁶. In quest'ultimo codice, accanto dell'*explicit* dell'*Apparatus in Sextum Librum*, si legge un'iscrizione (f. 120r), parzialmente erasa, nella quale è menzionata una data: *anno domini MCCCXL co(rrectus)*²⁷. Patricia Stirnemann pensa che l'apparato illustrativo e decorativo del manoscritto di Reims debba collocarsi cronologicamente in un momento non distante dall'anno della correzione del testo dell'*Apparatus in Sextum*, ovvero il 1340, mentre la realizzazione delle miniature del Decreto di Graziano di Avignone dovrebbe collocarsi in un'epoca leggermente successiva²⁸.

La stessa studiosa ha attribuito al Maestro del Decreto di Avignone le iniziali istoriate e decorate della prima unità codicologica (ff. 1r-99v; Salterio feriale e litanie) che compone il Breviario ad uso domenicano, ms. 77, conservato attualmente nella Bibliothèque municipale di Tolosa. Quest'ultimo manoscritto apparteneva originariamente alla biblioteca del convento dei Predicatori di questa città²⁹. Laura Alidori Battaglia ha individuato in alcune pagine (ff. 12v, 36v, 60v) di questo manoscritto liturgico lo stemma della famiglia di Bertrando dal Poggetto, d'oro con una striscia azzurra, al capo

²³ Su questo manoscritto, segnalato ma senza immagini da Dominguez Bordona, (vol. 2, n° 1803), si consultino anche E. BAYERRI BERTOMEU, *Scheda nr. 182. Apparatus super Decretales (Lib. I – III)*, in *Los Códices Medievales de la Catedral de Tortosa. Novíssimo inventario descriptivo*, Barcelona, Porter-Libros, 1962, p. 341; I. ESCANDELL PROUST, *Scheda nr. 181. Apparatus super Decretales*, in *Catalunya Medieval*, catalogo della mostra, Barcelona, Ed. Lunwerg, 1992, pp. 270-271 (in questa scheda il manoscritto è localizzato in Catalogna); BILOTTA, *Les manuscrits juridiques enluminés du Midi de la France*, cit., pp. 258-259.

²⁴ *Bernardus Parmensis (de Botone)*, professore di diritto canonico a Bologna e cancelliere dell'università. Cfr. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, Paris, Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1912-2012, VIII, pp. 721-722; *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, Paris, Éditions Letouzey et Ané, 1935-1965, II, pp. 781-782; O. CONDORELLI, s.v. *Bernardo da Parma*, in E. CORTESE, I. BIROCCHE, A. MATTONE, M. N. MILETTI (a cura di), *Dizionario Biografico dei Giuristi Italiani*, I, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2013, pp. 230-231.

²⁵ Le immagini in bianco e nero del *Apparatus* ms. 729 della Biblioteca Municipale di Reims sono disponibili *on-line* sul sito *ArcA Bibliothèque numérique de l'IRHT* dell'*Institut de Recherche et Histoire de Texte* (IRHT) di Parigi al link seguente:

https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=13755 (ultimo accesso: 23.07.2024).

²⁶ Su Giovanni d'Andrea si consulti A. BARTOCCI, s.v. *Giovanni d'Andrea*, in E. CORTESE, I. BIROCCHE, A. MATTONE, M. N. MILETTI (a cura di), *Dizionario Biografico dei Giuristi Italiani*, I Bologna, Il Mulino, 2013, pp. 1008-1012.

²⁷ Cfr. STIRNEMANN, *Scheda nr. 32. Décret de Gratien avec gloses de Barthélemy de Brescia*, cit.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*. Su questa unità codicologica del manoscritto 77 di Tolosa si veda A. STONES, *Les dominicains et la production manuscrite à Toulouse aux environs de 1300*, in M.A. BILOTTA, M.-P. CHAUMET-SARKISSIAN (a cura di), *Le Parement d'autel des Cordeliers de Toulouse. Anatomie d'un chef-d'œuvre du XIV^e siècle*, Catalogo della mostra (Toulouse, Musée Paul-Dupuy, 15 marzo - 18 giugno 2012), Paris, Somogy, 2012, pp. 51-57; 51; EAD., *Cat. VII-38*, in A. STONES, *Gothic Manuscripts: 1260-1320, Part Two, Volume One, Catalogue & Illustrations*, Turnhout, Harvey Miller, 2015 (Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France), pp. 240-242; É. NADAL, *Recueil de canons, conciles décrétalés / Historia romanorum pontificum et conciliorum, 1300-1335, Sud de la France?* (Toulouse, BM, ms. 365), in É. NADAL, M. VÈNE (a cura di), *La Bibliothèque des dominicains de Toulouse*, Toulouse, Presses universitaires du Midi, 2020, pp. 171-173; EAD., *L'eluminure toulousaine au XIV^e siècle*, in V. CZERNIAK, Ch. RIOU, (a cura di), *Toulouse au XIV^e siècle. Histoire, arts et archéologie*, Toulouse, Presses Universitaires du Midi, 2021, pp. 125-139: 136. Le immagini del Breviario domenicano ms. 77 della Bibliothèque Municipale di Tolosa sono disponibili *on-line* sul sito *ArcA. Bibliothèque numérique de l'IRHT* dell'*Institut de Recherche et Histoire de Texte* (IRHT) di Parigi al link seguente: https://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/resultRecherche/resultRecherche.php?COMPOSITION_ID=26 (ultimo accesso: 24.7.2024).

di rosso³⁰.

A questo iniziale gruppo di manoscritti identificati da Patricia Stirnemann, è stato ricollegato da Samuel Gras e da chi scrive³¹, un altro esemplare del Decreto di Graziano, conservato anch'esso nella Biblioteca Nacional de España: il poc'anzi citato MSS/19148.

Infine, tra il 2019 e il 2022, chi scrive ha ricondotto alla mano dello stesso miniatore l'apparato decorativo e illustrativo di altri tre manoscritti: il codice Vat. lat. 1472³², con il testo del *Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae* (citato anche come *Summa Grammaticalis quae vocatur Catholicon*), opera del domenicano genovese, grammatico e teologo, Giovanni Balbi (*Iohannes Balbus, de Balbis, de Ianua*), terminata dal suo autore il 7 marzo 1286³³; l'apparato illustrativo del già menzionato esemplare della *Cronaca dei Re di Francia* (ff. 1r-32v) del domenicano Bernard Gui (ca 1261-1331), Cambridge, *Corpus Christi College*, MS. 45 (vol. 1) e, infine il già citato esemplare del *Liber Sextus* custodito presso la Library of Congress di Washington DC (Ms. 28)³⁴.

Il Maestro del Decreto di Avignone miniatore al servizio dei Domenicani di Tolosa

Da quanto enunciato finora, in particolare in base ai due nuovi manoscritti che in questa sede suggeriamo di attribuirgli, appare chiaro che il Maestro del Decreto di Avignone deve aver lavorato, almeno in parte, al servizio dei Domenicani di Tolosa. Corroborano tale ipotesi il Breviario ad uso domenicano ms. 77 della Bibliothèque municipale di Tolosa, il Vat. lat. 1472 con il testo del *Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae* del domenicano genovese Giovanni Balbi; il MS. 45 (vol. 1) del *Corpus Christi College* di Cambridge con la *Cronaca dei Re di Francia* di Bernard Gui, celebre inquisitore domenicano attivo a Tolosa, ed infine il ms. lat. 362 della Bibliothèque nationale de France, tutti fortemente connessi con l'universo librario domenicano e tre dei quali confezionati e utilizzati quasi certamente nel convento dei Domenicani di Tolosa.

Laura Alidori Battaglia ha avanzato l'ipotesi che il Breviario domenicano ms. 77 della Biblioteca

³⁰ Cfr. L. ALIDORI BATTAGLIA, *Libri di lettori, libri di prelati: tre manoscritti toscani nella biblioteca dei domenicani di Tolosa e una commissione di Bertrando del Poggetto*, in G. MARIANI CANOVA, A. PERRICCIOLI SAGGESE (a cura di), *Il codice miniato in Europa. Libri per la chiesa, per la città, per la corte*, Padova, Il Poligrafo, 2014, pp. 223-242: 241-242. Su Bertrando del Poggetto si veda P. JUGIE, *Un Quercynois à la cour pontificale d'Avignon : le cardinal Bertrand du Pouget (v. 1280-1352)*, in *La papauté d'Avignon et le Languedoc (1316-1342)*, Toulouse, Privat, 1991 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 26), pp. 69-95; M. A. BILOTTA, *Nuovi elementi per la storia della produzione e della circolazione dei manoscritti giuridici miniati nel Midi della Francia tra XIII e XIV secolo: alcuni frammenti e manoscritti ritrovati*, in M.A. BILOTTA (a cura di), *Medieval Europe in Motion. The Circulation of Artists, Images, Patterns and Ideas from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Coast (6th-15th centuries)*, Palermo, Officina di Studi Medievali, 2018 (OsmLab: Laboratorio di idee, 2), pp. 319-392: 330-331.

³¹ Nell'ambito del progetto scientifico *HispaNord - De l'Espagne à l'Europe du Nord: les manuscrits français et flamands de la Biblioteca nacional de España (Madrid)*, coordinato Anne-Marie Legaré e dallo stesso Samuel Gras. Cfr. M.A. BILOTTA, *L'esemplare franco-meridionale del Catholicon di Giovanni Balbi, Vat. lat. 1472: una nuova ipotesi attributiva del suo apparato illustrativo*, «Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae», 25 (2019), pp. 7-32: 18; S. GRAS, *Scheda nr. 70. MSS/19148*, in S. GRAS, J. DOCAMPO CAPILLA (a cura di), *Luces del norte. Manuscritos iluminados franceses y flamencos de la Biblioteca Nacional de España. Catálogo razonado*, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España / Centro de Estudios Europa Hispánica, 2021, pp. 186-190.

³² Le immagini di questo manoscritto sono disponibili *on-line* nel sito internet *DigVatLib* al link seguente: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.lat.1472 (ultimo accesso: 23.07.2024). Il codice Vat. lat. 1472 è anche menzionato *on-line* in *MIRABILE*, Archivio digitale della cultura medievale al link seguente: <http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/città-del-vaticano-biblioteca-apostolica-vaticana--manuscript/160554> (ultimo accesso: 23.7.2024).

³³ Cfr. BILOTTA, *L'esemplare franco-meridionale del Catholicon di Giovanni Balbi*, cit., p. 7.

³⁴ EAD., *Addenda al corpus del Maestro del Decreto di Avignone*, cit.

municipale di Tolosa, nelle cui pagine ha riconosciuto lo stemma della famiglia di Bertrando dal Poggetto, sia stato miniato nelle ville *rose*, probabilmente per volere del fratello di Bertrando, Gallardo (Gallard de Poget, *Gualhardus de Pogeto, lector Tholosanus*³⁵), anch'egli frate domenicano e lettore di teologia in Tolosa fino al 1322³⁶. Secondo la studiosa, la committenza di questo manoscritto da parte di Gallardo risalirebbe agli anni '20 del XIV secolo e andrebbe localizzata proprio a Tolosa, città nella quale egli dimorava e impartiva lezioni di teologia. A proposito di questo codice, è rilevante considerare, in questo contesto, come sia composto di due unità codicologiche e che in una parte della seconda unità (ff. 100r-439v), indipendente dalla prima (ff. 1r-99v; quest'ultima, come abbiamo visto, confezionata a Tolosa e miniata dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone), Laura Alidori Battaglia ha riconosciuto nelle decorazioni marginali affinità con lo stile toscano del collaboratore del Maestro di Eufrasia dei Lanfranchi, il cosiddetto Secondo Maestro o Maestro delle *drôleries*³⁷. Quest'ultima unità codicologica del ms. 77 è stata dunque miniata in Toscana e costituisce pertanto un'interessante testimonianza della circolazione di manoscritti dall'Italia centrale al Sud della Francia nei contesti conventuali domenicani nella prima metà del XIV secolo. Il ms. 77 delle Bibliothèque municipale di Tolosa costituisce dunque anche una rilevante traccia della circolazione di manoscritti fra le diverse biblioteche e le diverse province dell'ordine dei Predicatori; una circolazione, quella libraria, che può essere stata incentivata anche dai viaggi di maestri e studenti dell'Ordine domenicano e della quale è testimonianza anche il già citato ms. lat. 362 della Bibliothèque nationale de France. Quest'ultimo codice infatti, miniato dallo stesso Maestro del Decreto di Avignone e contenente il *Commentario sul Pentateuco* di Bernard Gui, secondo Martin Morard, sarebbe stato donato dal convento domenicano di Tolosa alla biblioteca di quello di Fanjeaux.

Non è da escludere che anche alcuni dei manoscritti di argomento giuridico miniati dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone possano aver avuto legami con il contesto librario domenicano; non dimentichiamo del resto che nel Decreto di Graziano ms. 659 di Avignone, i Domenicani sono raffigurati nel grande riquadro miniato (f. 2r) che funge da frontespizio al codice³⁸ [fig. 13]; appare dunque lecito chiedersi se questo dettaglio non sia forse da attribuire a una richiesta da parte di un eventuale committente domenicano. Certamente, i manoscritti giuridici miniati dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone contribuiscono a tracciare anch'essi una rete di circolazioni librarie, forse in parte connesse anche con gli *scholares* dell'Ordine, e molto probabilmente connesse con gli studi universitari di diritto, fra il *Midi*, il Nord della Francia e la Penisola iberica. Gli itinerari e gli spostamenti dei possessori furono, ad esempio, con tutta probabilità all'origine della circolazione e della presenza nella Penisola iberica dei due esemplari del Decreto di Graziano miniati dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone, MSS/19148 e MSS/19149, oggi custoditi a Madrid, nella Biblioteca nacional de España, ma provenienti in origine dalla biblioteca della cattedrale di Ávila, e dell'*Apparatus super Decretales*, Ms. 182, anch'esso miniato dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone e

³⁵ C. DOUAIS, *Les Frères prêcheurs en Gascogne au XIII^e et au XIV^e siècle: chapitres, couvents et notices / documents inédits publiés pour la Société historique de Gascogne par C. Douais [...]*, Paris, Honoré Champion éditeur, Auch, Cocharaux Frères Imprimeurs, 1885, p. 187 (l'opera è disponibile *on-line* sul sito *Gallica* della Biblioteca Nazionale di Francia al *link* seguente:

<https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k208763z/f1.image.texteImage> (ultimo accesso: 23.07.2024); ALIDORI BATTAGLIA, *Libri di lettori, libri di prelati*, cit., p. 242 nota 51; M. MORARD, *Le studium de la Curie pontificale et ses maîtres au temps de Jean XXII, in Jean XXII et le Midi*, Toulouse, Privat, 2012, pp. 461-545: 521-522.

³⁶ In seguito, Gallardo fu maestro del sacro palazzo di Avignone fino al 1328; cfr. ALIDORI BATTAGLIA, *Libri di lettori, libri di prelati*, cit., p. 242.

³⁷ Cfr. *Ibidem*, pp. 236-237.

³⁸ Cfr. STONES, *Les Dominicains de Toulouse et leurs manuscrits*, cit. pp. 81-82.

conservato presso Archivio capitolare di Tortosa, dove ragionevolmente giunsero grazie a qualche canonico della cattedrale che aveva studiato diritto a Tolosa; lo stesso avvenne, ad esempio, anche per molti dei manoscritti tolosani oggi custoditi nella biblioteca della Seu d'Urgell, studiati da Paola Maffei e Martin Bertram, manoscritti che furono trasportati a Urgell progressivamente nel corso degli anni da persone legate in qualche modo alla cattedrale e che avevano attraversato i Pirenei per formarsi all'Università di Tolosa³⁹. E un percorso simile, però rivolto verso il Nord della Francia, può forse ipotizzarsi anche per il Ms. 729, recante l'*Apparatus in Sextum Librum*, composto da Giovanni d'Andrea nel 1326 e, dello stesso autore, l'*Apparatus in Clementinas*, oggi custodito presso la Bibliothèque municipale di Reims e proveniente dalla biblioteca della cattedrale di questa stessa città.

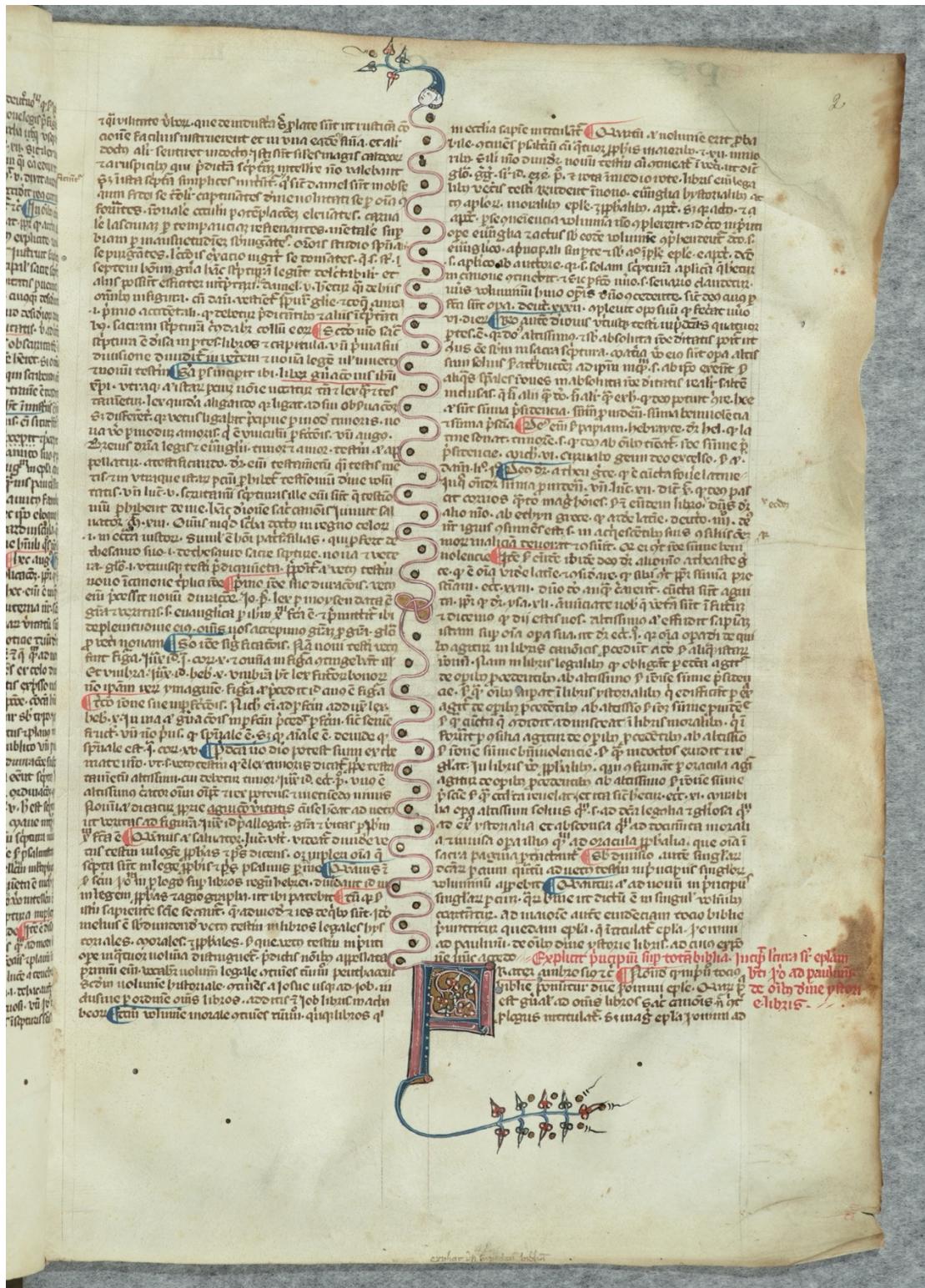
Attivo tra gli anni '20 e gli anni '40-'50 del XIV secolo a Tolosa ed esperto illustratore di codici giuridici, il Maestro del Decreto di Avignone lavorò dunque con ogni probabilità anche per i Domenicani di questa città; la sua opera ci mostra pertanto come i Predicatori si servissero di artigiani attivi in città per confezionare e illustrare i manoscritti contenenti opere da loro stessi composte e patrociniate. Costui non fu certamente l'unico miniatore a illustrare manoscritti destinati all'Ordine, come dimostra, ad esempio, il felice caso dei dieci manoscritti offerti alla biblioteca dei Domenicani di Tolosa da Bernard de Castanet, vescovo di Albi e successivamente di Puy-en-Velay, studiati da Hiromi Haruna-Czapliki⁴⁰. Commissioni, queste, che concorrono a delineare il contributo domenicano nella definizione del contesto della produzione del libro miniato a Tolosa nel XIV secolo. Il *corpus* dei manoscritti con opere domenicane, miniati dal Maestro del Decreto di Avignone, forma dunque un insieme uniforme, composto di libri liturgici (il breviario) e opere per lo studio e la formazione, che coerentemente si inserisce, come abbiamo esposto, nella storia di celebri esponenti dell'Ordine, Gallardo dal Poggetto, Bernard Gui e Dominique Grima, e così pure nelle pratiche di produzione e conservazione libraria peculiari dei Predicatori, pratiche, come è noto, caratterizzate anche da una intensa mobilità di manoscritti provenienti da diverse zone geografiche, sovente lontane, attraverso una fitta e densa rete intessuta tra i diversi conventi dell'Ordine, della quale i libri costituirono un prezioso e insostituibile *trait-d'union*.

³⁹ Cfr. P. MAFFEI, B. MARQUÉS SALA, A. PÉREZ MARTÍN (a cura di), *Catálogo de los manuscritos jurídicos de la Biblioteca Capitular de La Seu d'Urgell, elaborado bajo la dirección de A. García y García por M. Bertram, G. Fransen, A. García y García, D. Maffei, revisado, completado y aumentado por M. Bertram y P. Maffei, con la colaboración de B. Marqués Sala y M. Pavón Ramírez, índices*. A. Bartocci, La Seu d'Urgell, 2009; P. MAFFEI, *Une collection de répétitions et d'autres témoignages de l'école de droit de Toulouse dans les manuscrits de La Seu d'Urgell*, in L. WAEKENS (a cura di), *Aspecten van het middeleeuwse Romeinse recht*, Palais des Académies, Bruxelles, 2008, pp. 3-15; EAD., *La cultura giuridica fra Linguadoca e Catalogna nelle testimonianze dei manoscritti urgellensi*, «Rivista Internazionale di Diritto Comune», 20 (2009), pp. 147-177; EAD., *Juristes, œuvres et livres entre l'Italie, le Midi et la péninsule ibérique Albert de Lavagne, Pietro Ferri de Priverno et Bertrand de Saint-Geniès dans les manuscrits de La Seu d'Urgell*, «Revue historique de droit français et étranger», 4 (ottobre-dicembre 2018), pp. 553-564.

⁴⁰ H. HARUNA-CZAPLIKI, *Les livres et l'amitié. Les manuscrits enluminés donnés aux dominicains de Toulouse par Bernard de Castanet*, in NADAL, VÈNE (a cura di), *La Bibliothèque des dominicains de Toulouse*, cit., pp. 68-79.



1. Tolosa, secondo quarto del XIV secolo: Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*
Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF)



2. Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale decorata «F» («Frater») con *drôleries*,
in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*
Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 2r (Foto: © BnF)



3. Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale istoriata «S» («Sanctissimo»)
Dominique Grima che offre la sua opera al papa Giovanni XXII,
 in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*
 Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF)



4. Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale istoriata «H» («Hec omnia»)
Dominique Grima nell'atto di dettare la sua opera ad un copista,
 in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*
 Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF)



5. Sinistra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Bonifacio VIII in trono benedice un dottore dell'università alla quale è destinato il Liber Sextus*, particolare (*Due cardinali*), in *Liber sextus*, Washington DC, Library of Congress, Ms. 28, f. 1r (Foto: © Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC); Destra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Causa III*, particolare, in *Decretum Gratiani*, Avignon Bibliothèques (Ville d'Avignon) – dépôt de l'Etat, ms. 659, f. 129r (Foto: cliché IRHT); Destra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale istoriata «H» («Hec omnia»), *Dominique Grima nell'atto di dettare la sua opera ad un copista*, in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF)



6. Destra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale istoriata «S» («Sanctissimo»), *Dominique Grima che offre la sua opera al papa Giovanni XXII*, in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF); Sinistra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Causa IV*, miniatura tabellare, in *Decretum Gratiani* Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, MSS/19148, f. 146v (Foto: © Biblioteca nacional de España)



7. Sinistra e centro: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: “*Sanctus Germanus parisiensis episcopus*” e “*Sanctus Lupus Senonensis episcopus*”, in Bernard Gui, *Arbor genealogie regum Francorum*, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 45 (vol. 1), ff. 34v, 36r (Foto: © ‘The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge’ – the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>); Centro: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Bonifacio VIII in trono benedice un dottore dell'università alla quale è destinato il Liber Sextus*, particolare (*Due cardinali*), in *Liber sextus*, Washington DC, Library of Congress, Ms. 28, f. 1r (Foto: © Rare Book and Special Collections Division of the Library of Congress, Washington, DC); Destra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale istoriata «H» («Hec omnia»), *Dominique Grima nell'atto di dettare la sua opera ad un copista*, in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF)



8. Tolosa, secondo quarto del XIV secolo: *Volumen parvum*
Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 16905, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF)



9. Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Tres libri*, Libro X del Codex (*De iure fisci*),
miniatura tabellare e iniziale decorata «S» («Si prius, quam fisci rationibus»)
in *Volumen parvum*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France,
ms. lat. 16905, f. 232r (Foto: © BnF)



10. Destra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Institutiones*, Libro I, *L'imperatore Giustiniano, assiso in trono, riceve dal giureconsulto Triboniano il volume delle Institutiones*, particolare (*l'imperatore Giustiniano*), in *Volumen parvum*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 16905, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF);
 Sinistra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: “*Sanctus Lupus Senonensis episcopus*”, in Bernard Gui, *Arbor genealogie regum Francorum* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 45 (vol. 1), f. 36r (Foto: © ‘The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge’ – the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>)



11. Destra e centro: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: *Collatio I dell'Authenticum e Tres libri*, Libro X del *Codex (De iure fisci)*, particolari delle miniature tabellari (*l'imperatore Giustiniano*), in *Volumen parvum*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 16905, ff. 82r e 232r (Foto: © BnF); Maestro del Decreto di Avignone “*Griphus rex*” e “*Pipinus brevis rex*” in Bernard Gui, *Arbor genealogie regum Francorum* Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 45 (vol. 1), f. 36r (Foto: © ‘The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge’ – the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial 4.0 International License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>)



12. Destra: Maestro del Decreto di Avignone: iniziale istoriata «S» («Sanctissimo»), *Dominique Grima che offre la sua opera al papa Giovanni XXII*, in Dominique Grima, *Commentario al Pentateuco*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 362, f. 1r (Foto: © BnF); Sinistra: *Tres libris*, Libro X del *Codex (De iure fisci)*, particolare della miniatura tabellare (*l'imperatore Giustiniano*), in *Volumen parvum*, Parigi, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 16905, f. 232r (Foto: © BnF)



13. Tolosa, secondo quarto del XIV secolo: *Decretum Gratiani*
Avignon Bibliothèques (Ville d'Avignon), ms. 659, f. 1r (Foto: cliché IRHT)

PER UNA RETE ARTISTICA VALLOMBROSANA NELLA FIRENZE DEL QUATTROCENTO E OLTRE

Michela Young

ABSTRACT

Questo articolo valuta il ruolo della congregazione vallombrosana nel fiorire dell'attività artistica nella Firenze del Quattrocento e del Cinquecento. Considerando il rinnovamento delle opere d'arte nelle chiese di Santa Trinita e San Pancrazio, si offre una chiave di lettura per le scelte artistiche operate dai monaci vallombrosani e dalle famiglie che detenevano i patronati nelle chiese. La congregazione vallombrosana viene posta al centro di una rete locale di artisti e committenti, rivalutandola in quanto nodo fondamentale all'interno di una ampia rete artistica e sociale nel contesto urbano fiorentino e oltre.

PAROLE CHIAVE: committenza, bottega, vallombrosani, rete artistica

For a Vallombrosan Artistic Network in Fifteenth-century Florence and Beyond

ABSTRACT

This article examines the role of the Vallombrosan congregation in the flourishing of artistic activity in Florence during the 15th and 16th centuries. By considering the renewal of artworks in the churches of Santa Trinita and San Pancrazio, it offers an interpretative framework for the artistic choices made by the Vallombrosan monks and the families who were patrons of the churches. The Vallombrosan congregation is positioned at the centre of a local network of artists and patrons, re-evaluated as a key node within a broader artistic and social network in the urban context of Florence and beyond.

KEYWORDS: Patronage, Workshop, Vallombrosans, Artistic Network

★★★

Nel 1902 Aby Warburg proclamò che «tra gli elementi fondamentali del primo Rinascimento fiorentino vi era il fatto che le opere d'arte nascessero dalla reciproca intesa tra mecenati e artisti»¹. Tale modello di mecenatismo, in cui la collaborazione tra committente e artista risultava cruciale, fu codificato in storia dell'arte da studiosi come Michael Baxandall, il quale affermò che «un dipinto del XV secolo è la testimonianza di un rapporto sociale» tra artista e cliente². Nel contesto degli edifici sacri, l'implicazione che il mecenate non solo pagasse l'opera ma ne condizionasse anche la forma si rivela problematica nella misura in cui relega le comunità religiose al semplice ruolo di custodi passive dello spazio. Questo impulso di rivalutare il ruolo delle famiglie monastiche nell'intreccio del patronato laicale degli spazi sacri è già stato ampiamente attestato dagli studiosi. Tuttavia, il contributo del presente intervento è nell'analizzare il caso specifico della basilica vallombrosana di Santa Trinita a Firenze [fig. 1], con l'intento di offrire una chiave di lettura per le scelte artistiche operate dai monaci vallombrosani e dalle famiglie che detenevano i patronati nella

¹ A. WARBURG, *The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie. Domenico Ghirlandaio in Santa Trinita: The Portraits of Lorenzo de' Medici and His Household* (1902), in K. W. FORSTER, D. BRITT (a cura di), *Aby Warburg. The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance*, Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 1999, p. 187.

² M. BAXANDALL, *Pittura ed esperienze sociali nell'Italia del Quattrocento*, M. P. DRAGONE, P. DRAGONE (a cura di), Torino, Einaudi, 1978, p. 3.

chiesa. La congregazione vallombrosana viene posta al centro di una rete locale di artisti e committenti, rivalutandola in quanto un nodo di quella rete nel contesto artistico e sociale della Firenze del Quattrocento.

La basilica di Santa Trinita appartiene fin dall'inizio del XII secolo alla congregazione vallombrosana, un ramo riformato dell'ordine benedettino³. La congregazione venne fondata nell'XI secolo da San Giovanni Gualberto, attivo riformatore, e approvata nel 1056; prende il nome dalla località di Vallombrosa, a sud est di Firenze, dove sorse il primo monastero della congregazione⁴. Nati come fenomeno rurale, alla fine dell'XI secolo i vallombrosani avevano ormai consolidato la propria presenza a Firenze e nell'area circostante⁵. In particolare Santa Trinita e San Pancrazio, due chiese appartenenti alla congregazione che sorgevano a poca distanza l'una dall'altra nello stesso quartiere fiorentino, si intrecciarono sempre di più alla vita sociale della città, trasformandosi in centri importanti caratterizzati da una pluralità di interazioni tra le famiglie dei mecenati, gli artisti e i monaci stessi.

Tra i principali patroni si ricordano gli Scali, ricchi fiorentini originari della parrocchia di Santa Trinita, dove dal 1369 un ramo della famiglia possedeva l'omonimo palazzo collocato esattamente di fronte alla chiesa (oggi Palazzo Buondelmonti)⁶. La cappella Scali [fig. 2] si trova all'estremità sinistra del transetto, lungo il lato sud della chiesa, ed è citata per la prima volta nel 1359 in un documento che descrive i lavori per il tetto di una cappella dedicata a San Bartolomeo⁷. Tuttavia il legame con questa specifica famiglia fu esplicitato solo nel testamento di Niccolò Scali, risalente al 1371, e le fondamenta vennero gettate non prima del 1389⁸. Nel suo testamento del 1406 Lisa Scali lasciò 40 fiorini all'abate di Santa Trinita per dotare la cappella di una pala d'altare, richiesta che tuttavia venne presa in considerazione soltanto nel 1415⁹. In quell'anno sua figlia Piera impose al monastero di decorare la cappella con un altare accompagnato dalla relativa pala, una serie di affreschi,

³ H. SAALMAN, *The Church of Santa Trinita in Florence*, New York, College Art Association, 1966; G. MARCHINI, E. MICHELETTI (a cura di), *La Chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze*, Firenze, Giunti Barbera, 1987. Per una panoramica delle fasi di costruzione di Santa Trinita: C. BELLINI, *La cripta tricora e la fase romanica della chiesa di Santa Trinita a Firenze*, in G. TIGLER (a cura di), *Le Cripte Medievali della Toscana. San Miniato al Monte*, 3, Atti del convegno (Firenze, 29 aprile 2023), Montepulciano, Istituto per la valorizzazione delle abbazie storiche della Toscana, 2023, pp. 89-105.

⁴ Si veda: N. VASATURO, *L'espansione della congregazione Vallombrosana fino alla metà del secolo XII*, «Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia», 5 (1962), pp. 456-485; D. MEADE, *From Turmoil to Solidarity: The Emergence of the Vallumbrosan Monastic Congregation*, «The American Benedictine Review», 19 (1968), pp. 354-355.

⁵ Si veda: F. SALVESTRINI, *Forme della presenza benedettina nelle città comunalì italiane. Gli insediamenti vallombrosani a Firenze tra XI e XV secolo*, «Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome», 124, 1 (2012), pp. 91-117; EAD., *Il monachesimo vallombrosano e le città. Circolazione di culti, testi, modelli architettonici e sistemi organizzativi nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secoli XII-XIV)*, in *Circolazione di uomini e scambi culturali tra città (secoli XII-XIV)*, Ventitreesimo convegno internazionale di studi (Pistoia, 13-16 maggio 2011), Roma, Viella, 2013, pp. 433-470.

⁶ K. MURPHY, *Piazza Santa Trinita in Florence 1427-1498*, PhD dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1997, pp. 99-103; D. M. MANNI, *Osservazioni istoriche di Domenico Maria Manni accademico fiorentino sopra i sigilli antichi de' secoli bassi*, II, Firenze, nella stamperia di Pietro Gaetano Viviani, 1739, ff. 59-63.

⁷ ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 45, c. 5r: «pagai p[er] C lastre che si fan[n]o un mez[z]o ce[n]tinaio p[er] ricoprire la meta del tetto della cappella di San Bartolomeo».

⁸ ASFi, Diplomatico Santa Trinita, 2 settembre 1371: «[...] destructa fuit quedam cappella quam ipse testator et aliis de domo de Scalibus habebant in dicta Ecclesia et quod ipse Abbas et Monachi ut ipse dixit primiserunt et spem dederunt de rehedicando»; ASFi, CS, II, n. 76, c. 184r, «Anno dato Vanni di Jacopo Schali Lsette pi[cciol]i e quali dicie che diede allo abbatte jacopo mio ultimo antecessore per due mogia di chalcina con questo che noi dovessimo riavergli dalla chappella degli schali perche ne fondamenti di essa chappella si misono le dette due mogia di chalcina L7 p[iccioli]i».

⁹ ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 75, c. 20r: «Monna Lisa deglischali lascio p[er] suo testamento a messer abate d[i] S[anta] trinita per la d[i]pintura della tavola della loro chappella cio e i[n] aiuto ff XL per detti suoi hered[i] notati nel testamento».

una cancellata e le storie della vita di San Bartolomeo¹⁰.

Oggi degli affreschi originali non restano altro che un'effigie di San Bartolomeo sopra l'arco di ingresso, un medaglione con un santo vescovo, due evangelisti nella volta e, all'interno, due scene con il martirio e la decollazione del santo, a conferma del fatto che la cappella fosse affrescata con episodi della vita di San Bartolomeo. In entrambe le edizioni delle Vite, il Vasari indica il fiorentino Giovanni dal Ponte come autore della decorazione non solo della cappella Scali ma anche delle due cappelle del transetto ai lati della cappella maggiore¹¹. È un primo esempio di interesse per l'uniformità stilistica della chiesa. Dai documenti risulta che Giovanni dal Ponte stesse ancora lavorando nella cappella nel 1434, ma un registro ecclesiastico riferisce che una pala d'altare venne commissionata a Cosimo Rosselli solo nel 1459 e, cosa importante, fu finanziata congiuntamente dalla famiglia e dai monaci vallombrosani¹². Anna Padoa Rizzo ha suggerito che quella pala, oggi perduta, raffigurasse San Bartolomeo e San Niccolò, santo patrono del primo mecenate Niccolò Scali; probabilmente includeva anche altri santi di particolare importanza per i vallombrosani, dal momento che questi avevano contribuito a pagarla¹³.

La conclusione tardiva della decorazione della cappella Scali è tuttavia spiegata dal fatto che, prima della pala di Cosimo Rosselli, ne era stata realizzata un'altra. Secondo un registro ecclesiastico, la pala d'altare originale era stata completata nel 1437 da Bicci di Lorenzo, che all'epoca aveva preso in mano la bottega fondata dal padre Lorenzo di Bicci¹⁴. Il documento specifica un aspetto importante: solo alcune parti furono dipinte da Bicci di Lorenzo, in quanto l'artista portò a termine una pala d'altare lasciata incompiuta da Giovanni dal Ponte, probabilmente morto nello stesso anno¹⁵.

¹⁰ ASFi, Diplomatico Santa Trinita, 27 maggio 1415: «[...] redditub[us] d[icto]r[um] poderis et bonoru[m] expleatur et seu [con]pleatur et p[er]ficiatur cappella et seu edifitiu[m] cappelle que vulgariter appellatur la cappella degli Scali et sita esta in d[i]c[t]a eccl[es]ia s[ancte] Trinitatis et [con]struatur et fiat in ip[s]a cappella altare cum tabula et o[mni]bus necessariis ad i[ps]um altare ac etiam claudatur ipsa cappella graticulis fiendis et pingatur tota ip[s]a cappella».

¹¹ G. VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori: scritte da Giorgio Vasari pittore Aretino, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, I, G. MILANESI (a cura di), Firenze, 1878, p. 633: «È parimente opera di Giovanni in Santa Trinita di Fiorenza la capella degli Scali e un'altra, che è allato a quella, e una delle storie di San Paulo accanto alla capella maggiore dov'è il sepolcro di maestro Paulo strolago».

¹² ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 1, c. 16v: «A giovan[n]i e a Smiraldo dipintori ad detto lire sedici e soldi dieci p[iccolo] sono p[er] parte di fiorini redici restavano av[ere] p[er]la dipintura della chapella degli schali saldo e fatto ragione oggi q[ues]tp di disopra e alloro p[re]sente s[er] tutto di laz[z]aro not[aio] fiorentino e s[er] andrea not[aio] dellauditore del papa e resto i[n]sino a tredici f[iorini] av[ere] p[er] tutto el mese dottobre nel 1435», in F. GUIDI, *Per una nuova cronologia di Giovanni di Marco*, «Paragone», 19, 223 (1968), pp. 27-46; ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 75, c. 5r: «[...] di 11 di febraio 1459 che io abate o mie successori paghino la metà della spesa di detta tavola e l'altra metà paghino monna Ghostanza madre e tutrice de' figliuoli di Bartolomeo di Luigi Schali et Francesco di Luigi Schali [...]. Et fecesi detta tavola per mano di maestro Cosimo di Lorenzo dipintore chostò fiorini 50», in E. GABRIELLI, *Cosimo Rosselli: catalogo ragionato*, Torino e Londra, U. Allemandi, 2007, p. 264 doc. 7.

¹³ A. PADOA RIZZO, *La cappella Salutati nel Duomo di Fiesole e l'attività giovanile del Cosimo Rosselli*, «Antichità Viva», 16, 3 (1977), pp. 5-6.

¹⁴ ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 135, c. 88r: «Gli obblighi di d[ett]a capp[ell]a fanno q[ues]ti prima che il Mon[aste]rio finisci d[ett]a capp[ell]a intitolandola in S. Bartol[omeo] facendoci far la tavola con l'istoria di S. Bartol[omeo] [...] e q[ues]to fù ottenuto parte furono dipinte da M[aest]ro Bice Pittor l'anno 1437». Si veda anche BNCF, Fondo Nazionale II. IV. 378, c. 279r: «Bicci de [...] dipintore de avere p[er] la tavola a dipingere della Cappella degli Scali posta in S[an]ta Trinità la quale haveva Gio[vann]i i dipintore che stava a S[an]to Stefano a Ponte, ebbela Bicci del mese di marzo 1437», in GUIDI, *Per una nuova cronologia*, cit., p. 45. Sulla bottega dei Bicci si veda: C. FROSININI, *Il passaggio di gestione in una bottega pittorica fiorentina del primo Rinascimento: Lorenzo di Bicci e Bicci di Lorenzo*, «Antichità viva», 25, 1 (1986), pp. 5-15.

¹⁵ La scoperta di un codicillo attribuito a Giovanni dal Ponte, datato 19 novembre 1437, suggerisce che probabilmente l'artista fosse morto in quello stesso anno. Per il codicillo si veda: ASFi, NA 20862 (Ser Antonio d'Aringhieri Vannucci), c. 354, in L. SBARAGLIO, A. TARTUFERI (a cura di), *Giovanni dal Ponte: protagonista dell'umanesimo*, Firenze, Giunti, 2016, p. 234 doc. XIX.

Pertanto, a Santa Trinita emerge una dinamica insolita: la prima pala d'altare della cappella Scali venne sostituita in brevissimo tempo, dopo appena vent'anni.

Bisogna sottolineare che, prima del 1437, Bicci di Lorenzo lavorava già da anni in Santa Trinita per conto della famiglia Compagni; e qui abbiamo un secondo esempio di continuità sia a livello stilistico sia a livello di bottega. La cappella Compagni [fig. 3], la quarta lungo la navata sud della chiesa, era dedicata a San Giovanni Gualberto, fondatore della congregazione vallombrosana, ed era affrescata con scene della sua vita, come rivelano due affreschi superstiti sopra l'arco di ingresso. La pala d'altare di questa cappella, identificata da Barbara Buhler-Lynes, è oggi conservata nell'abbazia di Westminster [fig. 4]¹⁶. Dillian Gordon ha evidenziato che i santi a figura intera e i santi minori rappresentati nel polittico non sono solo i patroni della famiglia Compagni, ma anche i dedicatari di altri altari all'interno della chiesa, tutti santi particolarmente cari ai vallombrosani¹⁷. Questo suggerisce che l'iconografia del polittico doveva rispondere sia alle richieste dei mecenati laici sia a quelle della comunità monastica, ipotizzando un probabile partecipazione dei monaci nella definizione delle indicazioni iconografiche destinate all'artista e ai committenti.

La cappella Gianfigliazzi in Santa Trinita [fig. 5], dedicata a San Benedetto, offre un ulteriore esempio di questo modello emergente di rinnovamento all'interno della chiesa, nonché del possibile coinvolgimento dei monaci, almeno nello sviluppo dell'iconografia per le pale d'altare della loro chiesa. Come gli Scali, anche i Gianfigliazzi erano una famiglia locale, il cui palazzo originale è adiacente alla chiesa¹⁸. Nel 1365, quando decisero di patrocinare una cappella in Santa Trinita, fu loro concessa la prima lungo la navata nord della chiesa¹⁹. Al pari di quasi tutte le altre cappelle presenti nell'edificio, sopra l'arco di ingresso è rimasto un affresco, in questo caso raffigurante *San Benedetto nel deserto* insieme allo stemma dei Gianfigliazzi, mentre all'interno della cappella si può ammirare *L'ultima Comunione di Maria Maddalena*. Miklós Boskovits attribuì tali affreschi a Cenni di Francesco, datandoli all'ultima fase della carriera dell'artista, c. 1400-1415²⁰. Alla luce di questa attribuzione, Carl Brandon Strehlke ha avanzato l'ipotesi che un polittico trecentesco dell'artista, oggi al Getty Museum, e appartenuto a Ferdinando Gianfigliazzi nel XIX secolo, fosse stato commissionato per questa cappella²¹. Secondo Strehlke, l'iconografia della pala d'altare del Getty ne conferma la collocazione originaria nella cappella di San Benedetto, dal momento che i quattro santi rappresentati nelle scene della predella hanno tutti un significato specifico o per la famiglia o per l'ordine: San Giovanni Battista è il santo patrono del committente Giovanni Gianfigliazzi;

¹⁶ Sulla pala d'altare si veda: G. RICHA, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine divise ne' suoi quartieri*, Tomo Terzo del quartiere di Santa Maria Novella. Parte Prima, Firenze, Stamperia di Pietro Gaetano Viviani, 1755, p. 161; F. TARANI, *Cenni storici e artistici della Chiesa di S. Trinita e suo restauro*, Firenze, R. Ricci, 1897, p. 56. Barbara Buhler-Lynes scoprì che la descrizione iconografica della pala d'altare compilata da Fedele Tarani combaciava con la pala di Westminster: B. BUHLER-LYNES, *Bicci di Lorenzo's "lost" Compagni polyptych*, «Gazette des Beaux Arts», 102 (1983), pp. 208-214.

¹⁷ D. GORDON, *Bicci di Lorenzo's altarpiece for the Compagni family chapel in S. Trinita, Florence*, «Burlington Magazine», 161, 1390 (2019), pp. 42-43.

¹⁸ Sulle residenze dei Gianfigliazzi nel quartiere, si veda: B. PREYER, *Around and in the Gianfigliazzi Palace in Florence: developments on Lungarno Corsini in the 15th and 16th Centuries*, «Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 48 (2004), pp. 55-104.

¹⁹ ASFi, Diplomatico Santa Trinita, 28 gennaio 1365: «Item quod infrascriptum Rossum, Jannoczum et Dominam Sandram uxorem dicti testatories hedificaretur et hedificari et construi fieret una Cappella florenorum duecentorum aurei ubi dictis Rosso, Jannoczo et domine Sandre videtur», in C. BOTTO, *Note e documenti sulla chiesa di S. Trinita in Firenze*, «Rivista D'Arte», 20, 2 (1938), pp. 15-16.

²⁰ M. BOSKOVITS, *Pittura Fiorentina alla vigilia del Rinascimento 1370-1400*, Firenze, Edam, 1975, p. 287.

²¹ C. B. STREHLKE, *Cenni di Francesco, the Gianfigliazzi, and the Church of Santa Trinita in Florence*, «The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal», 22 (1992), pp. 11-40.

Sant'Antonio Abate è il fondatore del monachesimo occidentale; i vallombrosani seguivano la regola di San Benedetto, a cui era anche dedicata l'intera cappella; infine, i Gianfigliazzi erano particolarmente devoti a San Lorenzo, come indicato dalla tradizione di celebrare la festa del santo in questa cappella²².

Stando a una convincente ipotesi di Susan May, in un secondo momento anche i Gianfigliazzi commissionarono un'altra pala d'altare per la loro cappella, proprio come fecero gli Scali. La studiosa ha identificato questa seconda pala nell'*'Adorazione del Bambino* [fig. 6], oggi al Barber Institute of Arts, ed è interessante notare che l'autore è di nuovo Cosimo Rosselli²³. Si tratta quindi del terzo esempio di una continuità di bottega all'interno della chiesa. Susan May ha collegato il rinnovamento della pala al fatto che nel 1464 i Gianfigliazzi avessero smesso di finanziare la festa di San Lorenzo, mentre già dal 1430 avevano iniziato a fare donazioni per quella di San Francesco²⁴. Tali donazioni proseguirono almeno fino al 1485 e forse comportarono la sostituzione della pala di Cenni di Francesco con un'altra che includesse San Francesco. Tutti e tre i santi dipinti da Cosimo Rosselli per i Gianfigliazzi – Francesco, Benedetto e Girolamo – erano particolarmente cari ai vallombrosani e in linea con l'austerità e la penitenza praticate dall'ordine²⁵. Susan May ha inoltre ipotizzato che la scena centrale della predella potesse raffigurare la crocifissione, creando una corrispondenza verticale con l'immagine di Dio Padre e dello Spirito Santo in alto: un'allusione alla Trinità a cui l'intera chiesa era dedicata²⁶. Se diamo credito al resoconto della chiesa del 1459, secondo cui la pala d'altare degli Scali dipinta dal Rosselli fu finanziata congiuntamente dal monastero e dalla famiglia Scali, allora è possibile che un simile accordo finanziario sia stato adottato per la pala d'altare dei Gianfigliazzi, sebbene non siano stati trovati documenti a riguardo²⁷.

Un precedente importante per quanto riguarda il finanziamento congiunto delle opere d'arte in Santa Trinità è costituito dalla cappella Spini, la quinta lungo la navata sud, decorata anch'essa dalla bottega dei Bicci. Si tratta del quarto caso di continuità di bottega. Nelle sue *Ricordanze*, Neri di Bicci racconta che gli Spini e i monaci gli commissionarono “collettivamente” gli affreschi della cappella nel 1453 e la pala d'altare nel 1455, ovvero l'*'Assunzione della Vergine* oggi conservata alla National Gallery of Canada²⁸. In quegli anni Neri di Bicci stava anche completando una serie di opere nella vicina chiesa di San Pancrazio e nell'annesso monastero vallombrosano, tra cui un affresco raffigurante *San Giovanni Gualberto in trono*, oggi collocato nella cappella Compagni di Santa

²² *Ibidem*, pp. 23-27; ASFi, CRSFG 89, n. 135, cc. 94v-95r: «Già i Gianfigliazzi tener questa Cappella intitolata in S. Benedetto e vi faceva anco la festa di S. Lorenzo».

²³ S. J. MAY, G. T. NOSZLOPY, *Cosimo Rosselli's Birmingham altarpiece, the Vallombrosan Abbey of S. Trinita in Florence and its Gianfigliazzi chapel*, «Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes», 78 (2015), pp. 97-133.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 121. Per le celebrazioni in occasione della festa di San Lorenzo, si veda: ASFi, CRSFG 89, n. 135, c. 95r. Per le celebrazioni in occasione della festa di San Francesco: ASFi, CRSFG 89, n. 75, c. 24r: «Rede di Giannozzo Gianfigliazzi detto far[e] ogni an[n]o i[n]p[er]petuo la festa di S[an] Fran[ces]co p[er] lastio di Gianozzo loro padre [...] Piero di Gia[n]nozo a fatto luficio ogni anno la p[ar]te ch[e] recha allui e q[ue]s[t]o di 31 di marzo 1485 ma[n]do libra undici e mezo di zuch[e]ro ceciliano p[er] lanno 1483 e p[er] lanno 1484. Et cose p[er] lan[n]o 1485». Si vedano cc. 32r-33v per la prosecuzione delle messe negli anni settanta del Quattrocento.

²⁵ Sui vallombrosani e San Francesco: D. DE FRANCHI, *Historia del Patriarcha S. Giovannigualberto primo Abate ed Institutore del Monastico Ordine di Vallombrosa*, Firenze, G.B. Landini, 1640; F. TARANI, *Nel VII centenario della sagra di S. Trinita di Firenze 1227-1927*, Firenze, Scuola tipografica dell'Istituto Gualandi per sordomuti e sordomute, 1927, pp. 30-33. Nel calendario liturgico vallombrosano la festa di San Girolamo era considerata «duplex minus», mentre quella di San Benedetto era «duplex maius» in quanto i vallombrosani seguivano la regola benedettina.

²⁶ MAY, NOSZLOPY, *Cosimo Rosselli's*, cit., p. 100.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 121.

²⁸ N. DI BICCI, *Le Ricordanze (10 marzo 1453-24 aprile 1475)*, B. SANTI (a cura di), Pisa, Marlin, 1976, pp. 3-4 n. 6; pp. 25-26 n. 50; A. THOMAS, *Neri di Bicci's Assumption of the Virgin for S. Trinita, Florence: Squaring the pyramid*, «Apollo», 46, 426 (1997), pp. 42-51.

Trinita²⁹. Il contratto per questo affresco tra l'artista e Benedetto Toschi, abate di San Pancrazio, venne stilato il 1° marzo 1454 (1455), un giorno dopo la stipulazione del contratto per la pala d'altare della cappella Spini tra l'artista, l'abate Bartolomeo di Santa Trinita e la famiglia Spini; per Neri di Bicci fu l'inizio di un periodo di intenso lavoro per i vallombrosani³⁰. Anabel Thomas ha inoltre ipotizzato che l'artista fosse stato incaricato di realizzare anche la pala dell'altare maggiore della chiesa di San Biagio, la chiesa parrocchiale annessa al monastero vallombrosano di San Michele a Passignano³¹. Secondo la studiosa, Neri di Bicci avrebbe ricevuto questa commessa grazie ai legami con la famiglia Sernigi, parrocchiani di Santa Trinita e patrocinì di un altare sulla controfacciata della chiesa almeno dal 1447, testimoniando lo stretto rapporto tra l'artista, i committenti, e i monaci vallombrosani³². Alice Chiostrini ha suggerito che precedentemente Andrea Orcagna era stato probabilmente impiegato in modo analogo dai Bombeni per la loro cappella a Santa Trinita, tramite i loro legami familiari con gli Strozzi, potenti sostenitori dell'artista a Santa Maria Novella³³. L'importanza delle commesse dei vallombrosani per la bottega dei Bicci è dimostrata dal trasferimento della bottega stessa, che nel 1458 si spostò dalla zona dell'Oltrarno a via Porta Rossa, nelle immediate vicinanze di Santa Trinita e San Pancrazio, in uno spazio affittato dai Davanzati, un'altra famiglia che patrocinava una cappella in Santa Trinita³⁴.

Dal quadro che emerge, dunque, risulta che nel corso del xv secolo si verificò il ripetuto impiego di specifici artisti e botteghe per la decorazione delle cappelle di Santa Trinita e di altre chiese vallombrosane. Esistono ampi riscontri già dal Trecento di ripetute commissioni a uno stesso artista o a una bottega per una determinata chiesa, come nel caso di Giotto e Taddeo Gaddi a Santa Croce. Nell'ambito camaldoiese, George Bent ha osservato che prima di Lorenzo Monaco, i migliori artisti fiorentini frequentatori della bottega di Nardo di Cione, tra cui Giovanni del Biondo, Niccolò di Pietro Gerini e Mariotto di Nardo, furono tutti impiegati più volte a Santa Maria Degli Angeli³⁵. Di conseguenza, Bent sostiene che, entro i primi decenni del Quattrocento, la congregazione

²⁹ Si veda: EAD., *Le Ricordanze*, cit., p. 9 n. 15; pp. 19-20 n. 37; pp. 22-23 n. 45; p. 59 n. 118; p. 64 n. 127.

³⁰ Per l'affresco di San Giovanni Gualberto: ASFi, CRSGF 88, n. 63, c. 33r: «Ricordo della spesa facemo i[n] fare dipignere San Giovan[n]i gualb[er]to e pui altri nostril santi e beati dell'ordine n[ost]ro. Dipigne Neri di Bicci i[n] chioscio n[ostr]o. Io Neri di Bicci dipintore sono dachordo choll abate Benedet[t]o d[ett]o s branchazio di fagli tut[t]o il dett[o] lavoro p[er] [lire] cento quarantanove il vostro di p[rim]o di marzo 1454». Si veda anche EAD., *Le Ricordanze*, cit., p. 26 n. 51.

³¹ A. THOMAS, *Painting for a Confraternity? Heraldic Details & Familial Connection: Neri di Bicci's Montreal Altarpiece of the Virgin & Child with Saints Blaise & Michael*, in L. R. JONES, L. C. MATTHEW (a cura di), *Coming About... A festschrift for John Shearman*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Museums, 2001, pp. 105-112. Su Passignano e San Biagio: A. SCHIAVO, *La badia di San Michele Arcangelo a Passignano in Val di Pesa*, «Benedictina», 8 (1954), pp. 257-287; I. MORETTI, *La Badia a Passignano: Le origini e l'architettura medievale*, in P. PIRILLO (a cura di), *Passignano in Val di Pesa: un monastero e la sua storia*, I, Firenze, Leo S. Olschki, 2009, pp. 255-275.

³² THOMAS, *Painting for a Confraternity?*, cit., p. 109. Sull'altare Sernigi: ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 80, cc. 13-17.

³³ A. CHIOSTRINI, *Affreschi inediti di Andrea Orcagna in Santa Trinita a Firenze*, «Paragone», 73, 161-162 (2022), pp. 53-66; EAD., *La cappella di S. Jacopo dei Bombeni di S. Trinita a Firenze: una nuova attribuzione per Andrea Orcagna e la sua funzione liturgica*, in E. BETTIO, F. D'ANGELO (a cura di), *La ricerca in archivio. Incontri seminariali* (Firenze, 16-25 ottobre 2019), Rome, Ministero della cultura, Direzione generale archivi, 2023, pp. 161-176.

³⁴ DI BICCI, *Le Ricordanze*, cit., p. 104 n. 204. Si veda: A. THOMAS, *The workshop as the space of collaborative artistic production*, in *Renaissance Florence. A Social History*, C. Roger, J.T. Paoletti, Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 2006, p. 420. La cappella Davanzati, dedicata a Santa Caterina, è la terza lungo la navata sud (o sinistra) di Santa Trinita.

³⁵ G. BENT, *Santa Maria degli Angeli and the arts: Patronage, production, and practice in a Trecento Florentine monastery*, PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1993, pp. 194-195 e 376; EAD., *Monastic Art in Lorenzo Monaco's Florence: Painting and Patronage in Santa Maria Degli Angeli, 1300-1415*, Lewiston, Edwin Mellen Press, 2006, p. 159.

camaldoiese aveva elaborato nel loro principale monastero fiorentino di Santa Maria degli Angeli un programma artistico attentamente concepito a raggiungere una distintiva estetica ascetica camaldoiese³⁶. Spinello Aretino, che lavorò per varie comunità di olivetani, offre un precedente importante per quanto riguarda l'impiego reiterato di determinati artisti da parte dello stesso ordine religioso³⁷. Analogamente, verso la fine del Quattrocento, il Perugino portò a termine numerose commesse per i frati gesuati di San Giusto alle Mura, tra cui pale d'altare e affreschi³⁸. Michelle O'Malley ha suggerito che il Perugino fosse stato scelto più volte per dare alla chiesa una «forte unità visiva»; la qualità devozionale delle sue opere generò un'atmosfera contemplativa che «influi sull'identità dei frati stessi»³⁹. Come i gesuati, forse anche i vallombrosani cercavano di conferire un'unità visiva alle proprie chiese? Un simile spiccato desiderio per un'uniformità stilistica potrebbe aver dettato la scelta di Giovanni dal Ponte per tre delle cappelle di Santa Trinita e forse fu anche un fattore determinante nella decisione di affidare il completamento della pala d'altare della cappella Scali a Bicci di Lorenzo, già al lavoro in altri punti della chiesa. L'interesse per la coerenza pittorica rimase vivo fino al Quattrocento inoltrato, ed è forse per questo motivo che la decorazione della cappella Spini venne affidata di nuovo alla bottega dei Bicci e che le nuove pale d'altare delle cappelle Scali e Gianfigliazzi furono commissionate entrambe a Cosimo Rosselli. Tuttavia, tali preferenze per determinati artisti potrebbero essere spiegate anche dalla vicinanza geografica che univa artisti, committenti e la congregazione religiosa, e che a sua volta, creava legami di fiducia reciproca.

Le reti urbane e artistiche tra i vallombrosani, da un lato, e specifici artisti e botteghe di Firenze, dall'altro, diventano più intricate quando si considera il rapporto della congregazione con la successiva generazione di artisti formati alla bottega dei Bicci. Per capire il motivo di tale continuità nella scelta di artisti e botteghe incaricati di lavorare in Santa Trinita (e non solo), vale la pena di esaminare brevemente le connessioni di ciascuno di essi con i vallombrosani. Cosimo Rosselli, a cui fu affidato il rinnovamento delle pale d'altare nelle cappelle Scali e Gianfigliazzi, si era formato alla bottega dei Bicci dal maggio 1453 all'ottobre 1456, periodo in cui molto probabilmente aveva lavorato con Neri di Bicci alla decorazione della cappella Spini⁴⁰. Anche Bernardo di Stefano Rosselli, cugino di Cosimo, entrò nella bottega dei Bicci, seppure più tardi, nel 1460⁴¹. A partire dagli anni novanta del Quattrocento lo stesso Bernardo stabilì la propria bottega all'angolo tra via Porta Rossa e piazza di Santa Trinita, oltre ad avere un piccolo laboratorio nella piazza per la produzione di candele⁴². Anch'egli ricevette varie commesse per le chiese vallombrosane: tra le opere

³⁶ BENT, *Santa Maria degli Angeli*, cit., capitoli 2 e 4, esp. p. 376; EAD., *Monastic Art*, cit., pp. 156-159.

³⁷ S. WEPPELMANN, *Spinello Aretino e la pittura del Trecento in Toscana*, Firenze, Edizioni Polistampa, 2011, pp. 49-51.

³⁸ VASARI, *Le Vite*, cit., III, pp. 570-573; C. CAPULLI, D. COOPER, *Perugino nei perduti contesti fiorentini*, in M. PIERINI, V. PICCHIARELLI (a cura di), *Perugino nei perduti contesti fiorentini*, Milano, Dario Cimarelli Editore, 2023, pp. 334-345.

³⁹ M. O'MALLEY, *Painting under Pressure: Fame, Reputation and Demand in Renaissance Florence*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2013, p. 83.

⁴⁰ DI BICCI, *Le Ricordanze*, cit., p. 3 n. 5. Si veda anche: P. NUTTALL, *La tavole Sinte Barberen: New Documents for Cosimo Rosselli and Giuliano da Maiano*, «The Burlington Magazine», 127, 987 (1985), p. 371; V. BUDNY, F. DABELL, ‘Hard at Work “di note chome di di”: A Close Reading of Cosimo Rosselli’s Career with Some New Documents’ in A. R. BLUMENTHAL (a cura di), *Cosimo Rosselli: painter of the Sistine Chapel*, Florida, George D. and Harriet E. Cornell Fine Arts Museum, 2001, pp. 23-26.

⁴¹ DI BICCI, *Le Ricordanze*, cit., p. 153 n. 302: «Martedì a dì 4 di novembre 1460. Quando venne a ‘nparare Bernardo di Stefano. Richordo ch’el sopradetto di mandò i Stefano Rosegli muratore a botega mia al’arte del dipigniere per imparare Bernardo suo figliuolo».

⁴² A. GUIDOTTI, *Pubblico e privato, committenza e clientela: botteghe e produzione artistica a Firenze tra XV e XVI secolo*, «Ricerche storiche», 16 (1986), pp. 546-547; A. PADOA RIZZO, *Ricerche sulla pittura del’400 nel territorio fiorentino: Bernardo di Stefano Rosselli*, «Antichità viva», 26, 5-6 (1987), p. 20; N. PONS, *L’unità delle arti in bottega*,

realizzate si ricordano una *Crocifissione* affrescata nel 1474 per San Cassiano a Montescalari, oggi frammentaria; gli affreschi del refettorio di San Michele a Passignano, sempre risalenti al 1474 [fig. 7]; una pala d'altare raffigurante Cristo che porta la croce, realizzata per Santa Trinita nel 1494; infine, nel 1499 ricevette un compenso per una pala d'altare che probabilmente venne usata come pala temporanea dell'altare maggiore in San Pancrazio⁴³. Inoltre è possibile che Bernardo avesse lavorato anche per i monasteri vallombrosani di San Bartolomeo a Scampata e San Lorenzo a Coltibuono, a dimostrazione di quanto fosse apprezzato dai vallombrosani⁴⁴. Nei primi anni novanta del Quattrocento, un altro artista, Biagio d'Antonio, fu incaricato di realizzare la pala d'altare della cappella Temperani in San Pancrazio, lavoro inizialmente affidato ad Apollonio di Giovanni, amico e vicino del committente Manno Temperani, ma rimasto incompiuto a causa della morte di questi nel 1465⁴⁵. A sua volta, Biagio D'Antonio si era formato alla bottega di Cosimo Rosselli, a indicare di nuovo quanto la selezione degli artisti fosse basata su una ristretta rete sociale⁴⁶.

Anabel Thomas ha definito la ripetuta contrattazione degli stessi individui o botteghe, come «una caratteristica chiave» della Firenze del XV secolo. Lo stesso fenomeno vale per Domenico Ghirlandaio e la sua bottega, che negli anni Settanta e Ottanta del Quattrocento ricevettero molteplici commissioni per lavori nelle chiese vallombrosane, ingaggiate sia dagli stessi monaci che, altre volte, da singoli committenti. In particolare, la bottega fu commissionata tra il c. 1479 e 1485 da Francesco Sassetto per completare la decorazione e la pala d'altare della sua cappella in Santa Trinita⁴⁷. Negli anni precedenti, il Ghirlandaio aveva già completato opere importanti per i due grandi monasteri vallombrosani di Passignano e Vallombrosa⁴⁸. A Passignano, Domenico e Davide del Ghirlandaio avevano decorato il refettorio [fig. 8] e la sala capitolare verso la fine degli anni settanta del Quattrocento; intorno al 1485 realizzarono due tavole per Vallombrosa di cui si è ipotizzato che fossero collocate sul tramezzo della chiesa⁴⁹. All'epoca l'abate di Passignano, responsabile del restauro del monastero, era don Isidoro del Sera, fiorentino. Michelle O'Malley ha ipotizzato che gli fosse giunta voce del Ghirlandaio tramite i suoi legami a Firenze (la sua famiglia si era stabilita nel Gonfalone del Leon Rosso, vicino alle due chiese vallombrosane di San Pancrazio e Santa Trinita) e grazie ai contatti che aveva con le principali cerchie politiche e umanistiche della città⁵⁰. In effetti, all'inizio l'abate aveva affidato l'affresco dell'*Ultima cena* per il refettorio a Bernardo di Stefano

in C. ACIDINI LUCHINAT ET AL. (a cura di), *Maestri e botteghe: pittura a Firenze alla fine del Quattrocento*, Firenze, Silvana, 1992, p. 257.

⁴³ PADOA RIZZO, *Ricerche sulla pittura del'400*, cit., pp. 20-27. Secondo Padoa Rizzo, il Libro di Bottega di Bernardo di Stefano elencava anche altre opere realizzate per i monasteri vallombrosani di San Bartolomeo a Scampata e San Lorenzo a Coltibuono, ma questi estratti non sono stati pubblicati.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁵ R. BARTOLI, *Biagio D'Antonio, una predella resuscitata e la cappella Temperani in San Pancrazio*, in L. BESCHI (a cura di), *La Toscana al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico: politica, economia, cultura, arte*, convegno di studi promosso dalle Università di Firenze (Pisa e Siena: 5-8 novembre 1992), I, Pisa, Pacini, 1996, pp. 325-331; R. BARTOLI, *Biagio d'Antonio*, Milano: Motta, 1999, pp. 106-110.

⁴⁶ EAD., *Biagio d'Antonio*, cit., p. 23.

⁴⁷ E. BORSOOK, J. OFFERHAUS, *Francesco Sassetto and Ghirlandaio at Santa Trinita, Florence: history and legend in a Renaissance chapel*, Doornspijk, Davaco Publishers, 1981.

⁴⁸ J. K. CADOGAN, *Domenico Ghirlandaio: artist and artisan*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000, pp. 91-93.

⁴⁹ Sulle opere realizzate a Passignano, si veda: CADOGAN, *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, cit., pp. 45-48; 202 e 320; SCHIAVO, *La badia di San Michele Arcangelo*, cit., pp. 279-280. Su quelle realizzate a Vallombrosa: A. CECCHI, *La pittura a Vallombrosa dal Quattrocento all'Ottocento*, in R. P. CIARDI (a cura di), *Vallombrosana. Santo e meraviglioso luogo*, Pisa, Pacini Editore, 1999, pp. 112-113; A. PADOA RIZZO, *Iconografia di San Giovanni Gualberto. La pittura in Toscana*, Pisa, Edizioni Vallombrosa, 2002, pp. 116-117 e 158-159.

⁵⁰ O'MALLEY, *Painting under Pressure*, cit., p. 40.

Rosselli, ma è chiaro che avesse cambiato idea, forse in risposta alla crescente fama del Ghirlandaio⁵¹. Una importante manifestazione della stima dei vallombrosani per il Ghirlandaio si ebbe nel marzo 1486, quando la congregazione incaricò l'artista di valutare il lavoro compiuto dall'orafo Amerigo di Giovanni su un reliquiario in cui riporre un frammento della Croce custodito in Santa Trinita⁵². Questa stima per l'artista, sia da parte della congregazione che di Francesco Sassetti, può forse essere spiegata da diversi fattori: un rapporto di fiducia rafforzato dalla vicinanza geografica tra i monaci vallombrosani a Firenze e i Sassetti, che vivevano nella Via dei Legnaiuoli (ora Via Tornabuoni); e da precedenti rapporti tra Santa Trinita e Alesso Baldovinetti. Da giovane il Ghirlandaio era stato allievo di Alesso Baldovinetti, un altro pittore locale legato alla chiesa vallombrosana. L'abitazione e forse anche la bottega di quest'ultimo si trovavano nel quartiere vallombrosano, in Borgo Santi Apostoli, una delle vie che si dipartono da piazza di Santa Trinita⁵³. Nel 1465 Baldovinetti era stato incaricato da Bongianni Gianfigliazzi di progettare la vetrata oggi perduta della cappella maggiore di Santa Trinita, e tra il 1470 e il 1471 aveva ricevuto ulteriori commesse per realizzare la pala dell'altare maggiore e affrescare la cappella maggiore, a denotare quanto fossero cruciali i legami di quartiere per crearsi una rete di contatti lavorativi a Firenze⁵⁴. Alice Chiostrini sostiene che la pala d'altare del Baldovinetti, raffigurante la *Trinità con San Benedetto e San Giovanni Gualberto*, sostituì la *Maestà* di Cimabue sull'altare maggiore, seguendo il modello di rinnovamento nella chiesa precedentemente discusso⁵⁵. L'iconografia del dipinto di Baldovinetti potrebbe offrire un'altra importante testimonianza delle trattative tra i committenti e i monaci nella decorazione delle chiese.

Se questi esempi dimostrano che l'influenza della bottega dei Bicci e del Ghirlandaio e degli artisti associati non era limitata alle chiese dei vallombrosani nel contesto urbano ma si estendeva anche oltre, allo stesso modo la rete vallombrosana non rimase confinata al XV secolo ma si protrasse fino a includere numerosi artisti attivi all'inizio del XVI. Nel 1506 Mariotto Albertinelli, allievo di Cosimo Rosselli, completò una *Visitazione* per San Pancrazio, oggi perduta, e una *Madonna col Bambino e i santi Girolamo e Zenobio* per Santa Trinita⁵⁶. A sua volta, il Franciabigio ricevette la sua prima commessa come artista indipendente per l'altare maggiore di San Pancrazio e in seguito, nel 1516, fu incaricato di realizzare un'Annunciazione per la chiesa vallombrosana di San Cassiano, dove aveva già lavorato Bernardo Rosselli⁵⁷. Gli stretti legami del Franciabigio con i vallombrosani erano rafforzati dal fatto che la casa della sua famiglia si trovasse in piazza di San Pancrazio, dove intorno al 1520 l'artista aprì anche la propria bottega, dopo aver interrotto la sua collaborazione con Andrea del Sarto alcuni anni prima⁵⁸. Andrea del Sarto non fu da meno, portando a termine importanti commesse per il refettorio del monastero vallombrosano di San Salvi a Firenze negli anni

⁵¹ SCHIAVO, *La badia di San Michele Arcangelo*, cit., p. 283.

⁵² ASFi, CRSGF 89, n. 15, c. 42v: «del quale lavoro va ess[er] giudicia maestro Domenico di Tomaso dipintore».

⁵³ VASARI, *Le Vite*, cit., III, p. 263; C. VON FABRICZY, *Aus dem Gedenkbuch Francesco Baldovinettis*, «Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft», 28 (1905), pp. 539-544; CADOGAN, *Domenico Ghirlandaio*, cit., pp. 30-31; A. HUEBSCHER, *Alesso Baldovinetti und die Florentiner Malerei der Frühen Renaissance*, Münster, Rhema, 2020, pp. 187-195. Per la casa e la bottega di Baldovinetti: C. KENNEDY, ALESSO BALDOVINETTI, *A critical and historical study*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938.

⁵⁴ H. P. HORNE, *Appendix: Documents Referred to in Mr Herbert Horne's Articles on a Newly Discovered 'Libro di Ricordi' of Alesso Baldovinetti*, «The Burlington Magazine», 2, 6 (1903), pp. 380-381 doc. VII.

⁵⁵ A. CHIOSTRINI, *Un documento inedito per la 'Maestà' di Cimabue in Santa Trinita*, «Paragone», 75, 173-174 (2024), p. 100.

⁵⁶ VASARI, *Le Vite*, IV, cit., p. 224; L. BORGO, *The works of Mariotto Albertinelli*, PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1968, p. 11.

⁵⁷ S. R. MCKILLOP, *Franciabigio*, Berkeley, University California Press, 1974, p. 16 doc. 8, 11 e 12; p. 51 doc. 33 e 34.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 5: si vedano sezioni dei documenti, terza e quarta parte.

venti del Cinquecento e una pala d'altare per il monastero di Vallombrosa nel 1528⁵⁹. L'incarico di San Salvi gli fu affidato da don Ilario Panichi, che in precedenza aveva commissionato la pala dell'altare maggiore del medesimo monastero a Raffaellino del Garbo⁶⁰. Lo stesso Raffaellino aveva già lavorato per Vallombrosa nel 1508, realizzando una tavola per il tramezzo della chiesa, e anche per i Federighi in San Pancrazio, per i quali aveva affrescato una *Trinità* sopra la tomba di Girolamo Federighi con i ritratti dei due donatori, Girolamo e la moglie⁶¹. Secondo Antonio Natali, l'attaccamento che sia Andrea del Sarto sia Raffaellino del Garbo avevano nei confronti dei vallombrosani di San Salvi è la prova di una stretta associazione tra i due artisti, forse addirittura di un rapporto tra maestro e apprendista⁶². Si tratta di un ulteriore indizio dei forti legami esistenti tra la congregazione e specifici artisti e botteghe. Sembra che Andrea del Sarto non avesse mai lavorato esplicitamente né per Santa Trinita né per San Pancrazio, ma ricevette comunque varie commesse da mecenati vallombrosani, tra cui gli Spini. Nel 1677 Giovanni Cinelli descrisse un dipinto raffigurante una *Madonna col Bambino e San Giovannino e due putti*, realizzato da Andrea del Sarto e collocato a Palazzo Spini, che sorgeva in piazza di Santa Trinita proprio di fronte all'omonima chiesa⁶³. Dopo la fine della loro collaborazione, mentre il Franciabigio tornò nel quartiere vallombrosano per aprire la propria bottega, Andrea del Sarto rimase vicino alla basilica della Santissima Annunziata, in cui si trovavano le opere più importanti da lui realizzate a Firenze⁶⁴. Ciò nonostante, questi artisti del Cinquecento sono già un primo esempio di come i vallombrosani continuassero a scegliere specifici artisti e botteghe a cui affidare la realizzazione delle opere destinate alle loro chiese, oltre che una dimostrazione dei forti legami urbani tra gli artisti stessi, i committenti, e la congregazione monastica.

In conclusione, nel caso delle chiese vallombrosane, in particolare quelle del contesto fiorentino urbano ma non solo, sembra che la selezione degli artisti fosse basata su una rete spaziale e artistica locale che girava attorno alla congregazione stessa. L'impiego reiterato di specifici artisti e botteghe nel corso di più generazioni indica che i monaci partecipavano attivamente alle trattative, spesso finanziando congiuntamente le opere insieme alle famiglie dei mecenati o svolgendo un ruolo nella formulazione dell'iconografia delle pale d'altare. Mentre il frequente ricorso agli stessi artisti e botteghe serviva a creare una coerenza pittorica, potrebbe anche indicare forti legami di fiducia stabiliti tra la congregazione, determinati artisti e singoli committenti. Nei casi qui esaminati, tali legami furono rafforzati da intrecci attorno alla chiesa di Santa Trinita, evidenziando la natura profondamente locale del mecenatismo artistico nella Firenze del Quattrocento e Cinquecento.

⁵⁹ A. NATALI, *Andrea del Sarto*, New York, Abbeville Press Publishers, 1999, pp. 11-35 e 162-171.

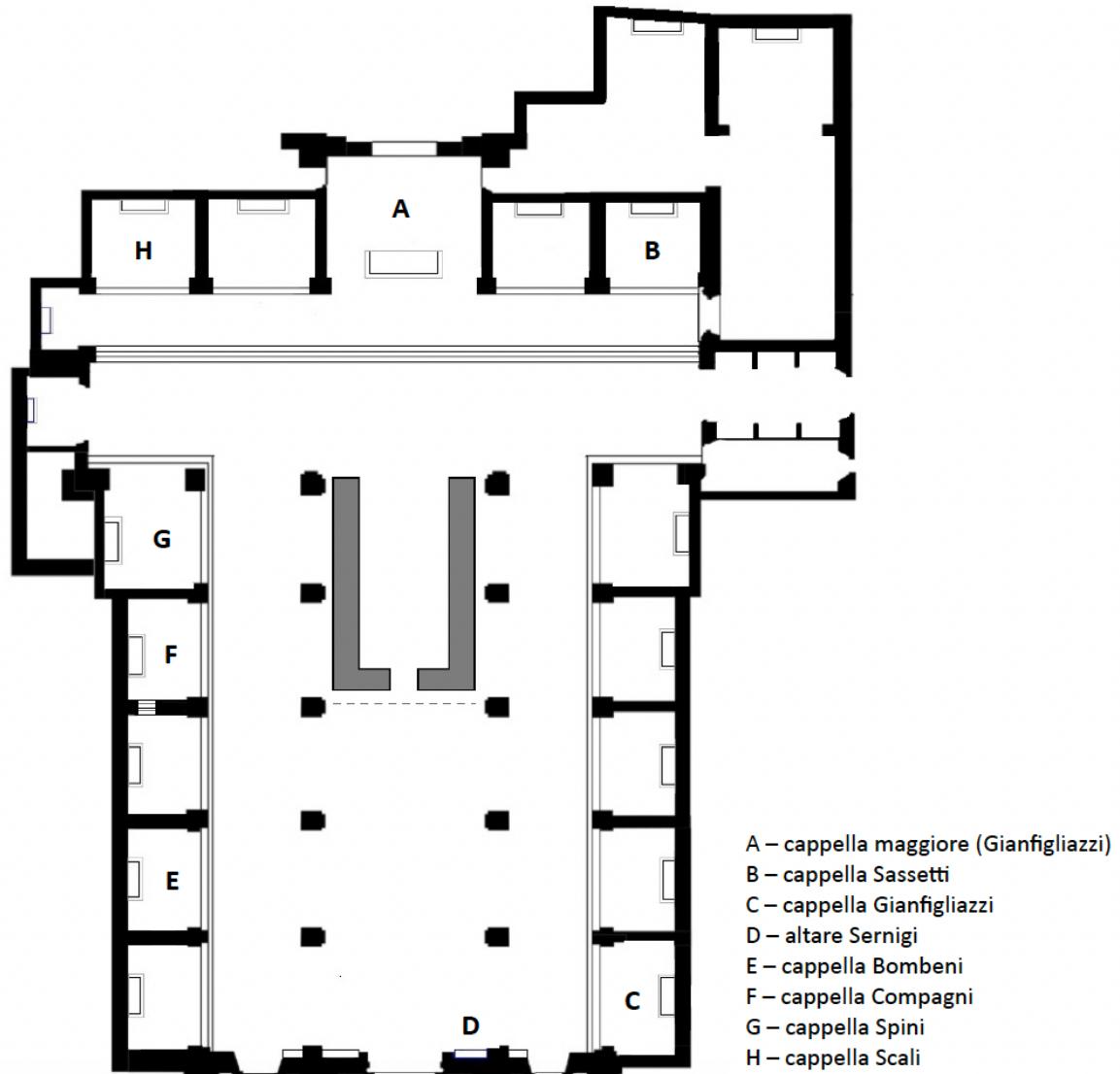
⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

⁶¹ Sul lavoro di Raffaellino del Garbo a Vallombrosa: CECCHI, *La pittura a Vallombrosa*, cit., pp. 112-113 e 335; PADOA RIZZO, *Iconografia di San Giovanni Gualberto*, cit., pp. 116-117 e 158-159. Sulla tavola del tramezzo: ASFi, CRSGF 260, n. 177, c. 198v. Sul lavoro per i Federighi: VASARI, *Le Vite*, IV, cit., p. 239.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ F. BOCCHI, G. CINELLI, *Le bellezze della città di Firenze dove a piena di pittura di scultura di sacri templi, di palazzo, i più notabili artifizi, e più preziosi si contengono. Scritte già da M. Francesco Bocchi, ed ora da M. Giovanni Cinelli ampliate, ed accresciute*, Firenze, per Gio. Gugliantini, 1677, p. 184; NATALI, *Andrea del Sarto*, cit., p. 29.

⁶⁴ VASARI, *Le Vite*, V, cit., p. 10.



- A – cappella maggiore (Gianfigliazzi)
- B – cappella Sasetti
- C – cappella Gianfigliazzi
- D – altare Sernigi
- E – cappella Bombeni
- F – cappella Compagni
- G – cappella Spini
- H – cappella Scali

1. Pianta della Basilica di Santa Trinita



2. Cappella Scali dedicata a San Bartolomeo
Basilica di Santa Trinita, Firenze
(Foto: Autrice, con il permesso dell'Arcidiocesi di Firenze)



3. Cappella Compagni dedicata a San Giovanni Gualberto
Basilica di Santa Trinita, Firenze
(Foto: Autrice, con il permesso dell'Arcidiocesi di Firenze)



4. Bicci di Lorenzo, *Madonna con Bambino in trono e angeli, Sant'Antonio Abate e san Giovanni Gualberto, San Giovanni Battista e santa Caterina d'Alessandria, San Paolo, San Pietro*, 1434
tempera e oro su tavola, 210 x 292 cm
Westminster Abbey, Londra
(Foto: © Dean and Chapter of Westminster)



5. Cappella Gianfigliazzi dedicata a San Benedetto
Basilica di Santa Trinita, Firenze
(Foto: Autrice, con il permesso dell'Arcidiocesi di Firenze)



6. Cosimo Rosselli, *Adorazione del Bambino*, 1480 ca
tempera su tavola, 177.8 x 149.5 cm
The Barber Institute of Fine Arts

(Foto: © Barber Institute of Fine Arts / © The Henry Barber Trust, The Barber Institute of Fine Arts,
University of Birmingham / Bridgeman Images)



7. Domenico Ghirlandaio e bottega, *L'Ultima Cena*, 1476, affresco
Bernardo di Stefano Rosselli, *Caino e Abele e l'espulsione dal Paradiso*, 1474, affresco
Refettorio del monastero di San Michele a Passignano
(Foto: Autrice, con il permesso dei monaci Benedettini Vallombrosani di Passignano)

CONNESSIONI D'ALABASTRO TRA MEDIOEVO E RINASCIMENTO: UNA PALA D'ALTARE INGLESE PER I SERVI DI MARIA A CASCINA*

Roberta Venditto

ABSTRACT

Il paliotto d'altare di Cascina, realizzato intorno al 1480 in Inghilterra e acquistato nel 1540 da fra' Fabiano dei Servi di Maria, è una delle opere più note della vasta produzione di alabastri inglesi medievali conservati in Italia e l'unica nel nostro paese a mostrare una diretta connessione con il committente. Il contributo si propone di evidenziare una rete di dinamiche che la riforma protestante in Inghilterra innesca sull'organizzazione di bottega e sulla diffusione di questi manufatti nel resto d'Europa in connessione con le esigenze artistiche e cultuali espresse nello stesso periodo da ordini mendicanti e confraternite laicali.

PAROLE CHIAVE: alabastro inglese, Servi di Maria

Alabaster Connections between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance:
An English Altar for the Servants of Mary in Cascina

ABSTRACT

The altar frontal of Cascina, crafted circa 1480 in England and acquired in 1540 by Fra' Fabiano of the Servants of Mary, is among the most renowned creations of medieval English alabasters preserved in Italy and the sole example in the nation to exhibit a direct association with its patron. The contribution aims to highlight a network of dynamics triggered by the Protestant Reformation in England on the workshop organization and the diffusion of these artefacts in the rest of Europe in connection with the artistic and cultic needs expressed in the same period by mendicant orders and lay confraternities.

KEYWORDS: English Alabaster, Servants of Mary

La produzione di sculture e rilievi in alabastro si sviluppa in Inghilterra a partire dalla seconda metà del XIV secolo. A seguito della scoperta di ricchi giacimenti del materiale nei territori reali del Derbyshire, scultori e decoratori si costituiscono progressivamente in associazioni dando avvio ad una produzione che nel corso dei secoli svilupperà una florida industria di manufatti suntuari commercializzati in tutta Europa¹. La riforma anglicana voluta da Enrico VIII se da una parte condurrà alla drastica chiusura delle botteghe ed alla distruzione del patrimonio collocato nelle chiese inglesi, dall'altra avrà come

* Il saggio fa parte della mia ricerca dottorale presso l'Università Sapienza di Roma dal titolo *Alabastri inglesi in Italia. Censimento, committenze e fortuna*, XXXVII ciclo, tutor prof. Manuela Gianandrea e Zuleika Murat. Ringrazio Camilla Fiore e Maddalena Vaccaro per la possibilità di riflettere sul tema della mia ricerca da un altro punto di vista. Con Alessio Monciatti ho iniziato questo progetto e discusso in maniera preliminare dell'altare di Cascina, a lui va il mio ricordo grato.

¹ Resta fondamentale per la sistematizzazione della materia la monografia di F. CHEETHAM, *English medieval alabasters with a catalogue from the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Oxford, Phaidon-Christie's, 1984. Per la storiografia recente dalla quale trarre la bibliografia precedente segnalo su tutti: J. BRANTLEY, S. PERKINSON, E. C. TEVIOTDALE (a cura di), *Reassessing alabaster sculpture in medieval England*, Berlino Boston, De Gruyter, 2020; Z. MURAT (a cura di), *English alabaster carvings and their cultural contexts*, Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2019; K.W. WOODS, *Cut in alabaster a material of sculpture and its European traditions 1330-1530*, London, Turnhout, Harvey Miller Publishers, 2018; P. WILLIAMSON (a cura di), *Object of devotion medieval English alabaster sculpture from the Victoria and Albert Museum*, Alexandria, Art Services International, 2010.

conseguenza una consistente immissione dei prodotti sul mercato artistico europeo alla metà del Cinquecento, abbassando i prezzi dei manufatti pur di non perdere i guadagni derivanti dalla vendita delle opere già prodotte. Sarà quindi anche la relativa accessibilità economica dei rilievi che permetterà a queste opere di essere acquistate in molte nazioni europee e di entrare a tutti gli effetti tra gli oggetti inglesi più apprezzati e riconosciuti insieme ai libri miniati ed ai ricami in *opus anglicanum*². In Italia le opere d'arte inglese hanno avuto durante tutto l'arco del Medioevo un appeal evidente tra i committenti di alto rango, basti pensare alle miniature ed ai paramenti liturgici conservati in Vaticano³. Anche le sculture in alabastro godranno di grande fama tant'è che già nel 1382 Cosmato Gentili, futuro papa Innocenzo VII, a quel tempo legato di Urbano VI in Inghilterra, richiederà a Riccardo II la licenza per esportare alcune opere in alabastro tra le quali sopravvivono a Roma due statue di san Pietro e san Paolo oggi nella chiesa di Santa Croce a Gerusalemme⁴. L'interesse del papato per gli alabastri inglesi è sintomatico di un gusto per le realizzazioni straniere che perdurerà per tutto il Gotico e che ne caratterizzerà la sua internazionalità⁵. Per i prodotti arrivati in Italia e giunti fino a noi si può raramente ipotizzare un acquisto in territorio britannico, più frequentemente le opere del nostro paese furono acquistate sul mercato artistico della penisola, diffuse dai grandi porti nei quali attraccavano le navi inglesi cariche di tesori. Anche in Italia la messa in commercio a seguito della riforma anglicana consentirà ad un più vasto pubblico di acquistare, a prezzi convenientemente più accessibili, opere che fino a quel momento erano state pressoché appannaggio esclusivo delle ricche élite religiose o delle nobili famiglie regnanti⁶. I primi dati emersi dallo studio degli alabastri sul territorio italiano evidenziano una predilezione nell'acquisto di queste opere da parte di confraternite ed ordini monastici. L'alabastro, considerato un materiale privilegiato per fungere da tramite simbolico con la divinità⁷, vantava in Italia

² Per il commercio degli alabastri e degli altri oggetti d'arte inglese nel Medioevo: F. CANNAN, *If marble will not serve*, in WILLIAMSON (a cura di), *Object of devotion*, cit., pp. 22-37; N. RAMSAY, *La production et exportation des albâtres anglais médiévaux*, in X. BARRAL I ALTET (a cura di), *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age. Fabbrication et consommation de l'oeuvre*, vol. 3, Picard, 1986, pp. 609-619; R. MARKS, *Image and devotion in late medieval England*, London, Sutton Publishing, 2004.

³ C. ELSTER, *Liturgical Textiles as Papal Donations in Late Medieval Italy*, in K. DIMITROVA, M. GOEHRING, (a cura di), *Dressing the Part: Textiles as Propaganda in the Middle Ages*, Turnhout, 2014, pp. 65-79; N.J. MORGAN, *L'Opus Anglicanum nel tesoro pontificio*, in V. PACE, M. BAGNOLI (a cura di), *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, Napoli, Electa, 1994, pp. 299-309.

⁴ Per gli alabastri inglesi in Italia e la bibliografia specifica si rimanda a: Z. MURAT, *Medieval English alabaster sculptures trade and diffusion in the Italian peninsula*, «Hortus artium medievalium», 22 (2016), pp. 399-413. Per le statue di Santa Croce si vedano: U. MIDDELDORF, *Two English Alabaster Statuettes in Rome*, «Art in America», 16 (1928), p. 201; D. RADEGLIA, *Le statue in alabastro di San Pietro e San Paolo*, in A. M. AFFANNI (a cura di), *La Basilica di Santa Croce in Gerusalemme a Roma: quando l'antico è futuro*, Roma, 1997, pp. 137-140; L. DE BEER, *English alabaster and the continent*, in M. DEBAENE (a cura di), *Alabaster sculpture in Europe 1300-1650*, London, Turnhout, 2023, pp. 136-153.

⁵ Per il Gotico Internazionale in Italia si segnalano su tutti: PACE, BAGNOLI (a cura di), *Il Gotico europeo in Italia*, cit.; L. CASTELFRANCHI VEGAS, *Il gotico internazionale in Italia*, in *Storia della pittura*, vol. 5, Milano, Fabbri, 1996.

⁶ Gli alabastri inglesi giunti in Italia prima della riforma anglicana ed ancora oggi presenti sul nostro territorio sono le due statue di Roma per le quali si veda la nota 4; il polittico di Capodimonte per il quale si veda: C. BERTELLI, G. BONSANTI (a cura di), *Restituzioni 2013 tesori d'arte restaurati*, catalogo della mostra (Napoli), Venezia, Marsilio, 2013, pp. 184-194 n. 23. Fanno ipotizzare un acquisto diretto dalle botteghe inglesi anche il polittico con storie della vita di san Giovanni Battista per Genova le cui formelle oggi sono conservate a Londra per il quale si confronti nota 13 ed il polittico di Palazzo Schifanoia a Ferrara per il quale si vedano: R. VARESE, *Un polittico inglese in alabastro*, in *Il Museo Civico in Ferrara: donazioni e restauri*, catalogo della mostra (Ferrara), Firenze, Centro Di, 1985, pp. 124-128; M. NATALE (a cura di), *Cosmè Tura e Francesco del Cossa. L'arte a Ferrara nell'età di Borsig d'Este*, catalogo della mostra (Ferrara), Ferrara Arte, 2007, pp. 238-239 n. 36.

⁷ R.J. FIRMAN, *A geological approach to the history of alabaster*, «Mercian Geologist», 9/3 (1984), pp. 161-78; J. YOUNG, *Alabaster*, Nottingham, 1990, pp. 16-22; C. MORTE GARCÍA, *Usos artísticos del alabastro y procedencia del material*, Zaragoza, Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2018.

una tradizione profondamente radicata, risalente già alle opere etrusche realizzate a Volterra⁸. Nel Medioevo il materiale era apprezzato sia dagli scultori che rinvenivano in esso una pietra più facilmente lavorabile ma soprattutto dal pubblico che ai candidi intagli traslucidi conferiva doti particolari di preziosità⁹. Per gli altari inglesi poi l'utilizzo della policromia ed il massiccio uso della lamina d'oro, insieme con l'aggiunta di iscrizioni e gemme sulle cornici, conferivano a questi oggetti l'aspetto di sontuosi polittici capaci di impreziosire anche il più scarno altare. L'intaglio delle formelle in alabastro inglese ha delle caratteristiche altamente riconoscibili che infatti permettono di distinguere questa peculiare lavorazione da quella coeva continentale¹⁰, caratteristiche che non derivano soltanto dai disegni preparatori delle botteghe e dai modelli di riferimento, ma che hanno strette connessioni anche con la fruizione delle opere stesse [fig. 1]. Le grandi mani dei personaggi, sproporzionate rispetto al resto del corpo, servono ad enfatizzare i gesti, i volti arcigni e scuriti dei pagani esplicano le fattezze del male così come le barbe i capelli e le corone dorate sottolineano il bene. Attraverso questi accorgimenti l'evento biblico viene rappresentato in una successione di scene che a tutti gli effetti compongono un romanzo grafico dei testi sacri.

In Italia, gli alabastri erano frequentemente custoditi all'interno di chiese amministrate da prestigiose confraternite, rispondendo in maniera significativa alle esigenze decorative e rituali proprie delle associazioni laicali sviluppatesi tra la metà del XIV e il XVI secolo¹¹. In alcuni casi si può rilevare una connessione tra le scene raffigurate nei polittici e la confraternita operante nella chiesa nel quale l'opera era conservata. È il caso dell'alabastro di Venafro, proveniente dalla chiesa dell'Annunziata gestita dalla confraternita dei Battenti¹² o delle formelle con scene della vita di san Giovanni Battista provenienti dalla Cattedrale di Genova¹³. Le confraternite dovevano prediligere questo tipo di figurazioni anche perché le

⁸ Si vedano i numerosi contributi sul materiale in Italia, da ultimi: E. ROMANÒ, *Per un'archeologia dell'alabastro etrusco di Volterra*, in D. GULLÌ, S. LUGLI, R. RUGGERI, R. FERLISI (a cura di), *GeoArcheoGypsum2019*, Atti del Convegno di Studi (Agrigento, 26-28 settembre 2018), Palermo, Assessorato dei beni culturali e dell'identità siciliana, 2019, pp. 141-146; S. GIGLIOLI (a cura di), *Tesori di alabastro in Volterra e nel mondo*, Ospedaletto Pisa, Pacini editore, 2016.

⁹ Per l'alabastro inglese ed il suo uso artistico durante il medioevo di veda: G. LUTZ (a cura di), *Riemenschneider and late medieval alabaster*, Lewes, Giles, 2023; M. DEBAENE (a cura di), *Alabaster sculpture in Europe 1300-1650*, Turnhout, Harvey Miller Publishers, 2022; L. PALOZZI, *Contextualising English alabasters in the material culture of the medieval mediterranean*, in MURAT (a cura di), *English alabaster carvings and their cultural contexts*, cit., pp. 71-92.

¹⁰ Un sunto interessante sull'estrazione e l'utilizzo dell'alabastro in Europa durante il Medioevo con la differenziazione tra le "scuole" francese, tedesca o fiamminga è nel saggio di: M. GIULIETTI, *Il singolare fenomeno della produzione scultorea alabastrina nordeuropea nel tardo Medioevo*, in *III Ciclo di Studi Medievali*, Atti del convegno (Firenze 8-10 settembre 2017), Firenze, NUME, 2017, pp. 66-82.

¹¹ Gli alabastri si annoverano tra gli oggetti d'arte impiegati per finalità di natura liturgica e didattica, assumendo un ruolo significativo anche nelle processioni e nelle celebrazioni pubbliche. Le confraternite, infatti, organizzavano messe solenni, riti funebri e rappresentazioni sacre al fine di consolidare il proprio ruolo sociale e promuovere la devozione. In tale contesto, l'arte e la ritualità venivano utilizzate come strumenti fondamentali per rafforzare il senso di appartenenza alla comunità. Per una disamina degli arredi liturgici delle confraternite M. GAZZINI, *Confraternite e società cittadina nel medioevo italiano*, Bologna, 2006; K. EISENBICHLER (a cura di), *Crossing the Boundaries: Christian Piety and the Arts in Italian Medieval and Renaissance Confraternities*, Kalamazoo, Michigan, Western Michigan University, Medieval Institute Publications, 1991. Per le testimonianze dell'utilizzo di altari polimaterici per diverse liturgie: D. RIVOLETTI, *Pale d'altare composite e culto dei Santi*, «Mitteilungendes Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz», 64, 2 (2022), pp. 139-161.

¹² Su Venafro mi permetto di rimandare al mio: *Un alabastro inglese nel regno di Napoli: il caso del polittico del museo archeologico di Venafro*, «ArcheoMolise», 1, 2 (2009), pp. 62-69 (con bibliografia precedente).

¹³ Per i rilievi oggi a Londra ma provenienti da Genova si veda anzitutto il catalogo del V&A al n. A. 124-125-126/1946. Per la bibliografia specifica rimando da ultimo ai saggi di: K. A. SMITH, *A lanterne of lyght to the people English narrative alabaster images of John the Baptist in their visual, religious, and social contexts*, in «Studies in iconography», 42 (2021), pp. 53-94; E. TOWNSEND, 'A Second Martyrdom': an Alabaster Panel from the Story of St. John the Baptist, in G. DAVIES E. TOWNSEND (a cura di), *A Reservoir of Ideas: Essays in Honour of Paul Williamson*, London, Paul Holberton Publishing in association with V&A Publishing, 2017, pp. 176-86. Per i legami tra i rilievi e la cattedrale di Genova ed i rapporti commerciali ed artistici che legavano Genova e l'Inghilterra alla metà del XV secolo sto preparando un contributo di

immagini avevano un legame molto stretto sia con le pratiche di emulazione della penitenza ancora molto in voga nel Quattrocento¹⁴ che con le rappresentazioni teatralizzate della Passione o le messe cantate e partecipate, nelle quali gli alabastri dovevano essere utilizzati come “supporti” per condurre verso una più profonda connessione con le sofferenze vissute da Cristo e dai Santi¹⁵.

Oltre alle confraternite il censimento degli alabastri inglesi in Italia sembra evidenziare una connessione con un patronato monastico di radice Agostiniana evidente per i polittici di Napoli, Ferrara e Venezia, provenienti da chiese dell’ordine¹⁶ ma inferibile anche per altri casi in cui l’iconografia evoca chiaramente la riaffermazione del dogma trinitario e del ruolo dei padri della chiesa come nel *Te Deum* di Genova¹⁷. L’uso di queste opere, legato all’esplicazione dei passi biblici da commentare o sui quali pregare, fa ipotizzare una tipologia di fruizione più intima e riflessiva che si pone in contrasto con l’uso diretto e più pratico che ne sarebbe stato fatto dalle confraternite e che legherebbe questi oggetti principalmente alla riconferma dei dogmi ed alla loro assimilazione. Gli ordini religiosi e le confraternite traevano la loro principale fonte di sostentamento da donazioni ed elemosine. In tale contesto, la presenza degli alabastri inglesi in Italia potrebbe essere ricondotta alla donazione, più che a una commissione, configurandosi come un dono o un lascito testamentario destinato ai confratelli o alla cappella di famiglia¹⁸. Non si è evidenziata, ad oggi, una commissione diretta in bottega che abbia portato alla scelta delle scene ed all’inclusione di un effettivo riferimento al committente. Solo in un caso, in Italia, è possibile ravvisare la presenza di un “donatore” all’interno di una formella d’alabastro ma si tratta di una contingenza particolare che merita di essere approfondita.

Una «tavola di marmo fiandresca con più figure [...] portò un Enghile»

Oggi conservato come paliotto d’altare nella chiesa dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia a Settimo, l’opera che arriva a Cascina nel 1540 è una tra le più note nella nostra penisola rientrante nella produzione di

prossima pubblicazione: R. VENDITTO, *Inghilterra-Italia e ritorno, alabastri inglesi dalla Cattedrale di Genova al Victoria and Albert Museum*, in *In corso d’opera 6*, Atti delle giornate di studio, (Roma, 3-4 luglio 2024), Università Sapienza di Roma, Dipartimento Saras, cds.

¹⁴ S. ZUCCHINI, *La flagellazione nelle confraternite medievali*, «Bollettino della Deputazione di storia patria per l’Umbria», 113 (2016), pp. 35-44.

¹⁵ A. ZIEMBA, *The agency of art objects in Northern Europe, 1380-1520*, Berlin-Bern-Bruxelles, Peter Lang, 2021; L. MARSCHALL, *Confraternity and community. Mobilizing the sacred in time of plague*, in B. WISCH, D. COLE AHL (a cura di), *Confraternities and the visual arts in Renaissance Italy. Ritual, spectacle, image*, Cambridge, Cambridge University press, 2000; V. M. SCHMIDT, *Painted Piety. Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany 1250-1400*, Firenze, Centro Di, 2005.

¹⁶ A Napoli il polittico in alabastro proviene da San Giovanni a Carbonara, a Ferrara il polittico della Passione era conservato nella chiesa di Sant’Andrea, mentre a Venezia l’altare oggi alla Ca d’Oro proviene dal convento delle agostine di Santa Caterina de Sacchi.

¹⁷ I. M. BOTTO (a cura di), *Museo di Sant’Agostino*, Genova, SPES, 1984, pp. 139-142; F. CERVINI, *Alabastri inglesi nella Liguria del Quattrocento*, «Bollettino dei Musei Genovesi», 12, 37-39 (1991); EAD., *Alabastri inglesi tra Genova e Savona*, in P. BOCCARDO, C. DI FABIO (a cura di), *Genova e l’Europa atlantica. Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti. Inghilterra, Fiandre, Portogallo*, Cinisello Balsamo (Milano), Silvana Editoriale, 2006, pp. 49-57.

¹⁸ Per l’Italia il filone testamentario e notarile è ancora tutto da approfondire. L’esempio più noto di lascito testamentario è forse quello della donazione di John Goodyear per la Basilica di Santiago de Compostela. Su questo e sugli aspetti legati alla fruizione ed alla riconoscibilità inglese degli alabastri nel Medioevo rimando all’ultimo saggio di Zuleika Murat con bibliografia precedente: Z. MURAT, *Pilgrims and Their Objects as Agents of Cultural Hybridization: The English Alabaster Altarpiece of Santiago de Compostela, Spain*, in S.J. CAMPBELL, S. PORRAS (a cura di), *The Routledge Companion to Global Renaissance Art*, Routledge, 2024.

politici inglesi in alabastro¹⁹. Un documento testimonia l'arrivo nella piccola pieve sull'Arno: «A dì 13 di maggio 1540 scudi octo d'oro per una tavola di marmo fiandresca dì braccia 4 lungo con più figure [...] portò uno Enghile»²⁰.

La «tavola di marmo [...] con più figure» appartiene alla tipologia dei politici raffiguranti le *Gioie della Vergine* ovvero una selezione di scene legate ai misteri gaudiosi di Maria, una delle più diffuse per questi manufatti insieme alle scene della Passione di Cristo o della vita dei Santi. La sequenza narrativa delle Gioie mariane spesso è interrotta nel rilievo centrale da una immagine cristologica, la *Crocifissione*, la *Resurrezione* o anche la *Trinità*²¹. Nell'opera di Cascina anche la formella centrale, che come sovente è più alta delle altre, presenta una elaborata immagine mariana che ingloba al suo interno due scene diverse: l'*Assunzione* e l'*Incoronazione della Vergine*. È importante sottolineare come i vari rifacimenti, le soppressioni e le aggregazioni abbiano spesso determinato cambiamenti nel nome e nell'intitolazione della chiesa in cui il manufatto è attualmente conservato. Tuttavia, già nel Cinquecento, e ancora oggi tra la popolazione locale, la piccola pieve è conosciuta con il titolo di "Madonna del Piano". Si tratta, dunque, di un luogo di culto mariano in cui la profonda devozione alla Vergine ha reso possibile la conservazione delle scene del politico, nonostante lo smembramento e la successiva ricontestualizzazione delle stesse²². Nel 1803 infatti le parti della pala d'altare vengono rimontate come paliotto, invertendo anche la disposizione delle scene e facendo quindi iniziare la successione delle immagini dalla *Visitazione* e non dall'*Annunciazione*, mentre le quattro figure dei padri della chiesa Girolamo, Gregorio Magno, Ambrogio e Agostino, vengono murate ai lati del fonte battesimale²³. Il politico toscano nella sua impostazione originaria doveva essere quindi così composto: su una cornice lignea, andata perduta, erano ancorate da sinistra a destra la figura stante di san Giovanni Battista, la scena dell'*Annunciazione*, quella della *Visitazione*, due dottori della chiesa, l'*Assunzione Incoronazione della Vergine*, gli altri due dottori, la *Natività*, la *Presentazione di Gesù al tempio* e la figura stante di sant'Andrea Apostolo. Tutte le formelle avevano a coronamento un baldacchino traforato con motivi decorativi [fig. 2]²⁴.

¹⁹ Della presenza nei pressi di Pisa di questo manufatto gli studiosi sono consapevoli sin dalla rinascita degli studi sull'argomento alla metà dell'Ottocento. È infatti raro, in tutta Europa, che si conservino manufatti completi di tutte le scene e per i quali sopravviva anche il dato documentario della loro commissione. Si vedano i pionieristici lavori di: W.H. ST JOHN HOPE, E. S. PRIOR, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Exhibition of English Medieval Alabaster Work*, London, Society of Antiquaries, 1913; R. PAPINI, *Politici d'alabastro*, «L'Arte», 13, 1 (1910), pp. 202-213; W. L. HILDBURGH, *Some English medieval alabaster carvings in Italy*, «Antiquaries Journal», 35, 3-4 (1955), pp. 182-186.

²⁰ Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Corporazioni religiose sopprese, n. 119 c. 66v. Cfr. M. L. TESTI CRISTIANI, *L'arte medievale a Cascina e nel suo territorio*, Pisa, Pacini, 1987, pp. 129-135; EAD., *Una tavola di marmo fiandresca ... con più figure, da Nottingham a Settimo di Pisa*, in EAD., *Arte medievale a Pisa tra Oriente e Occidente*, Roma, CNR – Consiglio Nazionale Ricerche, 2005, pp. 513-516.

²¹ Come nel famoso Swansea Altarpiece del V&A (A.89:1 to 8, 10 to 15-1919) o il politico delle *Gioie della Vergine* di Maiori, per il quale si vedano: F. BOLOGNA, R. CAUSA (a cura di), *Sculpture lignee nella Campania*, catalogo della mostra (Napoli), Napoli, Stab. tip. giuseppe Montanino, 1950, pp. 123-125 n. 43; G. BENINCASA, *Il paliotto in alabastro del XV secolo nella collegiata di Maiori*, «Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana», 19, 20 (2001), pp. 161-192.

²² E. VIRGILI, *'La parrocchiale dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia nella chiesa della Madonna di San Pietro in Castello Pisa, «Il Rintocco del Campano»*, 15, 4bis (1985).

²³ È una sorte, quella dello smembramento del politico originario le cui parti vengono ricollocate in altre posizioni, che a rilievi di questo tipo è toccata in molti luoghi d'Italia, come ad esempio a Venafro (IS), dove le formelle con scene della Passione furono smembrate per essere poi murate in una cappella laterale della chiesa, o a Giffoni Vallepiana (SA) dove la *Natività* è diventata il coronamento di un armadio di sagrestia. Lo smontaggio e la ricollocazione non devono quindi sorprendere, soprattutto se la carpenteria originaria non si è conservata, si tratta anzi di un metodo che permette all'opera, pur depauperandola della sua funzione mobile, di essere conservata nella maggior parte delle sue componenti.

²⁴ La ricostruzione dell'immagine originaria del manufatto è facilmente formulabile grazie ai numerosi esemplari simili che si sono conservati integri, si vedano ad esempio lo Swansea Altarpiece del V&A o i politici italiani di Maiori, Napoli e Venezia che ancora conservano l'originaria cornice lignea.

La pala d'altare arriva a Cascina nel 1540 a pochi anni dalla riforma anglicana e dall'avvio del commercio su larga scala di queste opere. Sulla base delle cronologie proposte per le fasi di produzione²⁵, la realizzazione del polittico di Cascina si potrebbe collocare alla fine del XV secolo. A mio avviso, però, si ravvisano alcune caratteristiche che fanno ipotizzare una data ai primi anni del XVI, come ad esempio la presenza del monaco ai piedi della Vergine Assunta nella formella centrale, o ancora delle monache con il cero nella scena della *Presentazione al tempio*. Pur affollando le scene di personaggi che potrebbero apparire superflui, come gli angeli reggi calice o le piccole animule, in nessun caso nelle figurazioni degli alabastri inglesi compaiono personaggi che nelle Scritture non vengono citati²⁶. La presenza di monaci e suore è quindi inusuale per tutto il primo periodo di produzione. In moltissime scene raffiguranti l'Assunzione della Vergine i due personaggi alla base della figurazione sono san Tommaso che riceve la "Cintola" ed un angelo in primo piano inginocchiato che sostiene l'ascesa della Madonna. Solo alla fine del XV secolo questo angelo inizierà a trasformarsi in un monaco, certamente per rispondere alle esigenze di commissione che arrivavano sempre più numerose da parte degli ordini mendicanti²⁷. La produzione dell'ultimo periodo deve quindi essersi adattata alla crescente richiesta di queste opere per i monasteri, di qui spiegato anche l'inserimento tra i personaggi di monaci o suore, in un chiaro tentativo di assecondare la committenza. A sostenere la plausibilità di una datazione agli inizi del XVI secolo è anche la particolare realizzazione delle iscrizioni nei cartigli delle scene di Cascina. Per gli alabastri inglesi medievali la presenza di iscrizioni a corredo delle sculture non è stata forse sottolineata abbastanza. I polittici vengono confezionati all'interno di cornici lignee sulle quali lo spazio inferiore è occupato da iscrizioni che esplicano la scena montata nel pannello soprastante. In tutte le cornici superstite di questa produzione, le iscrizioni sono realizzate in gotica epigrafica con grandi capilettera a separare i vari riferimenti. Anche all'interno delle scene i cartigli con passi dei Vangeli sono sempre numerosi. In queste opere i personaggi "parlano" e le parole sono in stretta connessione con i gesti e con i volti. La funzione dei cartigli all'interno delle formelle in alabastro doveva verosimilmente richiamare l'*incipit* di preghiere o di canzoni recitate in connessione con la fruizione degli oggetti stessi nei rituali delle liturgie²⁸. La conservazione delle iscrizioni all'interno dei cartigli, per la stragrande maggioranza delle formelle, è lacunosa e subisce il deterioramento e le perdite di colore che interessano spesso anche i fondi o i dettagli delle vesti. Alcuni dei casi meglio conservati o tempestivamente restaurati ci consentono di individuare innanzitutto la tecnica preferita per queste iscrizioni ovvero la pittura, direttamente sulla superficie in alabastro, senza l'utilizzo di uno strato preparatorio e con la scelta anche per i cartigli della gotica epigrafica usata per le cornici. Decisamente più raro è l'utilizzo della capitale maiuscola che non può considerarsi per questo altrettanto diffusa rispetto alla gotica [fig. 3]²⁹.

²⁵ Quella di: PRIOR, *Illustrated Catalogue*, cit., p. 15; poi ripresa da: CHEETHAM, *English medieval alabasters*, cit., p. 31.

²⁶ Una delle caratteristiche preponderanti per le iconografie di questi manufatti è la stretta aderenza alle sacre scritture in special modo ai Vangeli ed alla Legenda Aurea di Jacopo da Varagine. Cfr. W. L. HILDBURGH, *Iconographical Peculiarities in English Medieval Alabaster Carvings*, «Folklore», 44 (1933), pp. 123-150.

²⁷ Il riferimento più immediato è al rilievo dell'*Assunzione* del V&A (A.114-1946) ed alle opere ad essa collegate individuate da: CHEETHAM, *English medieval alabasters*, cit., p. 204 cat. 131.

²⁸ La connessione con le messe cantate e gli inni sacri è stata indagata da: P. WELLER, *English alabaster images as recipients of music in the long fifteenth century. English sacred traditions in a European perspective*, in MURAT (a cura di), *English alabaster carvings and their cultural contexts*, cit., pp. 93-126; J. COOK, A. KIRKMAN, Z. MURAT, P. WELLER, in V. BORGHETTI, T. SHEPHARD (a cura di), *The museum of Renaissance music a history in 100 exhibits*, Belgium, Brepols, 2022, pp. 50-53 n. 8. Per un approfondimento: C. HENRY, T. SHEPHARD, *Music and visual culture in Renaissance Italy, New York-London*, Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2023.

²⁹ Ho riscontrato il chiaro utilizzo della capitale maiuscola solo nella formella del Musée de Cluny (inv. CL19343). Cfr. C. PRIGENT, *Les sculptures anglaises d'albâtre. Musée National du Moyen Age*, Thermes de Cluny, Paris, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1998.

Grazie ad uno studio condotto recentemente al Laboratorio di Eccellenza Archeologica di Bordeaux³⁰ è possibile ricostruire il momento nel quale le iscrizioni venivano poste all'interno della figurazione. Dopo aver pulito ed intagliato la superficie ed aver cavato e scolpito tutti i personaggi si passava all'applicazione dei colori. Venivano realizzati prima i fondi ed era lasciata all'ultima fase sia la realizzazione dei dettagli delle vesti e dei volti che la scrittura all'interno dei cartigli dei riferimenti biblici. Quest'ultimo lavoro doveva necessariamente essere compiuto da un artigiano esperto nella scrittura. Occupare sapientemente lo spazio, ridotto e sottile, di un cartiglio in alabastro non era certamente una operazione semplice che era sicuramente demandata alla perizia di artigiani specializzati. Non si può quindi non considerare il dato epigrafico per pervenire ad una datazione dell'opera o alla sua storia conservativa, come in questo caso³¹. A Cascina si rilevano iscrizioni che sono coerenti con il dato Scritturale ma realizzate con l'inusuale tecnica dell'incisione e con l'evidente caratteristica di non rispettare lo spazio a disposizione per l'iscrizione. Nelle scene che prevedono *tituli* le parole di corredo non sono disposte in maniera omogenea ed evidentemente non ricalcano precedenti iscrizioni che potrebbero essere state soggette a cadute di colore³². A questo punto come spiegare la presenza nelle formelle di Cascina di iscrizioni così diverse, incise e non dipinte, in capitale e non in gotica e così disomogeneamente disposte?

A partire dal 1535, la cura spirituale delle chiese di Settimo venne affidata ai frati appartenenti all'ordine dei Servi di Maria della SS. Annunziata di Firenze. Il 18 agosto 1536, fra' Fabiano, a nome del convento della SS. Annunziata, acquistò un terreno dal mercante fiorentino Pietro Paolo Ghettini e nel settembre dello stesso anno iniziarono i lavori di costruzione di una nuova chiesa, completata probabilmente nel maggio 1539, quando vi fu portata solennemente l'immagine della Madonna. La chiesa, con una sola navata, era dotata di un altare maggiore e di sei cappelle laterali. Fra Fabiano prevede per la nuova chiesa un impianto decorativo completo e commissiona al pittore fiorentino Giuliano di Giovanni, detto il Sollazzino³³, una decorazione a fresco per le pareti delle quali sopravvivono uno *Sposalizio della Vergine*, la *Pietà*, la *Madonna della Misericordia* ed una *Resurrezione*³⁴. Fra' Fabiano è inoltre ricordato per aver arricchito la chiesa con importanti opere d'arte. Nel 1538 commissionò una grande pala d'altare raffigurante la Madonna con i santi Pietro e Filippo Benizzi ai lati, nel 1540 la "tavola in marmo" e nel 1543, per lire 60, una tavola da altare dall'Opera del duomo³⁵.

È difficile ipotizzare che fra' Fabiano abbia commissionato i rilievi in alabastro direttamente a una bottega inglese, considerando che la produzione aveva già subito un brusco arresto intorno al 1530. Risulta invece più plausibile che le formelle fossero state realizzate tra la fine del Quattrocento e l'inizio del Cinquecento, ma non immesse immediatamente sul mercato in quanto incomplete di alcuni dettagli,

³⁰ Si veda: M. SCHLICHT (a cura di), *The colours of English alabaster panel, medieval polychromy, production and perception*, Pessac, Ausonius Éditions, 2022.

³¹ La necessità dell'analisi storico artistica in connessione con l'analisi epigrafica delle iscrizioni presenti nel campo figurativo è stata sottolineata da Stefano Riccioni che si occupa della tematica da anni. Il primo riferimento per l'argomento è in: S. RICCIONI, *L'"Epiconografia", l'opera d'arte medievale come sintesi visiva di scrittura e immagine*, in A. C. QUINTAVALLE (a cura di), *Medioevo: arte e storia*, Milano, Centro Studi Medievali Università degli Studi di Parma, 2008, pp. 465-480.

³² In diversi rilievi nei quali le iscrizioni non sono più leggibili è comunque rilevabile a occhio nudo l'ombra lasciata sulla superficie del colore con il quale erano vergate mentre a Cascina i cartigli, dove non iscritti, sono completamente bianchi.

³³ A Sollazzino furono commissionate anche quattro tavole per gli altari e un Crocifisso cfr. ASF, Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse, busta 119.

³⁴ I legami tra gli affreschi ed i rilievi in alabastro devono ancora essere indagati ma non v'è dubbio che ci sia stata una precisa scelta di gusto ed un preciso programma decorativo nelle intenzioni di fra' Fabiano che potrebbe far luce su ulteriori connessioni che queste opere instaurano con i committenti e con l'arte italiana del Cinquecento.

³⁵ Tutta la documentazione è reperibile presso L'Archivio di Stato di Firenze nel faldone delle Corporazioni Religiose Soppresse busta 119. Tutte le fasi di costruzione e ristrutturazione degli edifici religiosi e del convento annessi sono riportati da: VIRGILI, *La parrocchiale dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia*, cit.

come le iscrizioni nei cartigli. La spinta data dalla Riforma anglicana, con la conseguente necessità di trarre profitto dalle risorse disponibili, avrebbe portato alla decisione di mettere in commercio queste opere semilavorate, considerandola una soluzione economicamente vantaggiosa. È in questo contesto che, verosimilmente, le formelle giunsero sulle coste italiane. La scena dell'*Assunzione della Vergine*, in cui compare la figura di un monaco, avrebbe condotto fra' Fabiano a selezionarla come immagine centrale del polittico. A questa scelta seguì la richiesta di completare le iscrizioni mancanti nei cartigli, personalizzandole con riferimenti alla Vergine del Rosario e, probabilmente, l'aggiunta del dettaglio iconografico del cordone a grani. In nessuna altra formella in alabastro ho potuto riscontrare un tipo di lavorazione come quello del monaco in primo piano nella scena centrale di Cascina³⁶. La lavorazione del cordone che chiude il saio appare piuttosto grossolana e ha poco in comune con i delicati lavori di cesello sulle fibbie, ad esempio quella della "Cintola", o in generale sui dettagli delle vesti per cui gli alabastri inglesi erano famosi. La documentazione rinvenuta in Inghilterra sul commercio degli alabastri nel resto d'Europa evidenzia che già alla metà del XV secolo le navi trasportavano formelle singole che gli acquirenti avrebbero potuto scegliere ed assemblare per una composizione personalizzata dell'opera³⁷. I Serviti di Cascina avrebbero così composto il loro altare della Vergine con la scelta delle formelle prediligendo la presenza del monaco e delle suore tra i personaggi. Sarebbe poi stato richiesto l'inserimento del Rosario sul frate, reso possibile con una evidente asportazione di gran parte del panneggio circostante per dare forma ai grani, e delle iscrizioni nei cartigli in una commistione di iconografia ed epigrafia che rende subito evidente l'appartenenza del monaco orante ai Servi di Maria, una firma, potremmo dire, del committente [fig. 4]³⁸.

Il fatto che sia stato un «Enghile»³⁹ a portare l'opera a Cascina consente di ipotizzare che le modifiche siano state richieste direttamente in fase di acquisto ai mercanti inglesi. La rilavorazione del manufatto potrebbe essere stata eseguita da un lapicida locale⁴⁰; tuttavia, appare più plausibile che sulle navi viaggiasse, oltre ai mercanti, un certo numero di artigiani capaci di intervenire, con diversa consapevolezza, su oggetti realizzati in materiali eterogenei. Questi artigiani offrivano nei vari porti non solo i prodotti tipici della manifattura inglese, ma consentivano anche ai committenti di personalizzare gli acquisti, trasformando così ogni opera in un pezzo unico.

³⁶ Per un confronto si può osservare il Rosario nelle mani del monaco in primo piano nella scena della Deposizione nel Sepolcro dall'altare inglese di XV sec. nella chiesa dei SS. Cosma e Damiano ad Afferden (Limburg, Olanda).

³⁷ Già nel 1391 il mercante inglese Johanne Roger caricava la sua nave in partenza da Londra con «pelli di volpi e scarpe e trentatré immagini in alabastro», mentre nel 1463 Willelmo Brugges esportò diciannove pale d'altare e quattordici «piccoli tabernacoli con diverse immagini di alabastro». Cfr. S. JENKS, *The London Customs Accounts*, Cologne, Böhlau, 2018; DE BEER, *English alabaster and the continent*, cit., p. 137

³⁸ L'attributo del Rosario non può essere certo solo legato ai Serviti e sarebbe interessante indagare anche gli intrecci storico-artistici che connettono questo dettaglio iconografico con i culti Agostiniani o Domenicani. Un interessante lavoro svolto sull'iconografia dei Servi di Maria nel corso dei secoli è quello di: D. LISCIA BEMPORAD (a cura di), *L'iconografia di S. Alessio nell'arte dei Servi di Maria*, catalogo della mostra (Firenze), Firenze, Centro culturale Mariano della S.s. Annunziata, 2010.

³⁹ La versione «Enghile» attestata nei documenti di Cascina potrebbe derivare da un dialetto locale o da un errore di trascrizione del più frequente «Inghilese» utilizzato anche da Dante e Petrarca e molto diffuso nelle cronache lombarde e toscane del XV secolo. Cfr. A. LANCIA, *Chiuse alla "Commedia"*, L. AZZETTA (a cura di), Roma Salerno, 2012; *Epistole di Francesco Petrarca*, U. DOTTI (a cura di), Torino, UTET, 1978; G. VILLANI (1280?-1348), *Nuova cronica*, Lodi Arpeggio libero, 2021.

⁴⁰ Sicuramente c'erano dei legami e delle collaborazioni stabili tra artigiani in varie parti d'Europa ma l'organizzazione del mercato artistico europeo va ancora approfondito. Si vedano per il commercio di opere d'arte inglese: P. SPUFFORD, *Power and profit: the merchant in medieval Europe*, London, Thames & Hudson, 2002; W. BLOCKMANS, *The Routledge handbook of maritime trade around Europe 1300-1600*, New York, Routledge, 2017.

Le competenze richieste agli artigiani coinvolti nella fase di completamento e vendita delle opere finite includevano abilità legate alla composizione e alla carpenteria⁴¹. Tuttavia, è verosimile che tali artigiani non possedessero le capacità necessarie per realizzare iscrizioni pittoriche sapientemente inserite nel campo figurativo, come quelle caratterizzate dalla gotica epigrafica.

L'altare di Cascina rappresenta, ad oggi, l'unico esempio noto di alabastro inglese presente in Italia a testimoniare, attraverso la figurazione, un legame diretto con la committenza e la precisa volontà, da parte di un ordine monastico, di impiegare questa tipologia di opera per la decorazione della propria chiesa. Soltanto ulteriori approfondimenti e ricerche potranno far luce sull'interesse suscitato da tali opere medievali di provenienza straniera nel contesto italiano, nonché sul valore simbolico e artistico loro attribuito, che rimase significativo anche durante tutto il Rinascimento.

⁴¹ Le cornici lignee non erano utilizzate solo per il trasporto ma fungevano da supporto per le formelle ed erano di dimensioni standard, a queste gli alabastri erano agganciati attraverso ganci di ferro creando così dei trittici autoportanti da porre sulla mensa d'altare. Per queste questioni si confronti: CHEETHAM, *English medieval alabasters*, cit., p. 20. Come sottolineato da L. DE BEER, *Reassessing English Alabaster Carving: Medieval Sculpture and its Contexts*, PhD, University of East Anglia, Art History and World Art Studies, December 2018, p. 233, la comprensione dell'utilizzo e del commercio degli alabastri inglesi in Europa sarà più ampia ed effettiva solo quando questi oggetti verranno reinseriti dagli studiosi nel contesto delle dinamiche dell'arte Nord europea, instaurando confronti con il commercio di oggetti molto più conosciuti, come avori, smalti e polittici lignei, che con gli alabastri inglesi hanno profonde connessioni.



1. Bottega inglese: *Polittico delle Gioie della Vergine*,
particolare con *Assunzione, Incoronazione*
Cascina (PI), San Benedetto a Settimo, Chiesa dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia,
alabastro scolpito e policromato, inizi XVI secolo.
(Foto: BeWeb)

CONNESSIONI D'ALABASTRO



2. Ricostruzione ipotetica (R. Venditto) dell'aspetto originario del *Polittico delle Gioie della Vergine*
Cascina (PI), San Benedetto a Settimo, Chiesa dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia
(Foto: BeWeb)



3. A destra: Bottega inglese: *Polittico delle Gioie della Vergine*,
particolare con *Annunciazione*
Cascina (PI), San Benedetto a Settimo, Chiesa dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia,
incisione su cartiglio in alabastro
A sinistra: *Annunciazione*, particolare (pittura su cartiglio in alabastro)
Parigi, Musée National du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny (inv. CL19343)



4. Bottega inglese: *Polittico delle Gioie della Vergine*,
particolare con *Assunzione, Incoronazione*, monaco orante
Cascina (PI), San Benedetto a Settimo, Chiesa dei Santi Benedetto e Lucia,
alabastro scolpito e policromato, inizi XVI secolo
(Foto: Autrice)

CORIGENDUM:
«NON SUFFICIT ORBIS». IMMAGINARI MOBILI, CATTOLICESIMO
GLOBALE E PROPAGANDA IMPERIALE NEI MONDI DILATATI DEGLI
ASBURGO NELLA PRIMA ETÀ MODERNA

Due to an error on the article Spissu, M.V. (2023). «Non sufficit orbis». Immaginari mobili, cattolicesimo globale e propaganda imperiale nei mondi dilatati degli Asburgo nella prima età moderna issued on the no. 12 (<https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.2240-7251/18925>), the text of the Acknowledgements on page 16 was omitted.

The article has been amended on 2024-03-14 showing the appropriate text. We do apologize with readers for this oversight.