

GLOBAL TURNS, LOCAL CIRCLES.

People, ideas and models
in flux in Medieval Europe

Maria João Branco

João Luís Fontes, eds



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Editors

MARIA JOÃO BRANCO
JOÃO LUÍS FONTES

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Introduction

Maria João Branco¹
João Luís Fontes²

Although the expression plays an important part in the title, this book is not about the “Global Middle Ages”. Rather this volume is an attempt to contribute to the debate on how the studies on complex mobilities, contacts and scales of action and interaction can be major players in the discussion surrounding the identification of those principal elements feeding the idea of globality in the Middle Ages.

In recent years, the expression has become so much a part of the medievalist’s academic jargon, and the field has acquired such status, that today we encounter references to the “global turn” in Medieval Studies, the term frequently used lightly, without much concern for what is really meant by that expression.

Indeed, at present, there is scarcely a field of research more difficult to define, characterize, circumscribe, and uncover, either in its theoretical and methodological components or in practice. Those working directly on topics that may be assumed as straightforwardly “global”, like those attempting to define the scope, levels, layers, lines, and limits of the “Global Middle Ages” never cease to caution the rest of the academic world against such snares. The dangers derived from assuming this field of research lightly are just as detrimental to it as those issuing from the belief that there is a single strict definition for what we describe as ‘studying the Global Middle Ages’.

The present volume originated in a conference which, back in December 2017, gathered scholars from all over the world in Lisbon, in order to discuss further the

¹ Institute for Medieval Studies, Nova University, Lisbon. E-mail: mjbranco@fcsh.unl.pt. ORCID: 0000-0002-7165-5958.

² Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities / Institute for Medieval Studies, Nova University, Lisbon; Centre of Studies on Religious History, Catholic University, Portugal. E-mail: joaofontes@fcsh.unl.pt. ORCID: 0000-0002-7122-4357.

topic that was by that time, beginning to attract a good deal of attention, a question, simultaneously a *problématique* and a possibility, the “Global Middle Ages”.³

Although since the Conference, the Global Middle Ages has become established as a new field in its own right, the publications and websites devoted to it having become impressively numerous, it is still, as it was then, a research field far from achieving an ontological consensus.

In 2016, the Introduction to *The Prospect of Global History*,⁴ by Wickham, Belich and Darwin, raised this very question. How can such diverse approaches to Global History, and their respective usefulness in cross chronological /cross geographical / cross thematic approaches, effectively be combined? Indeed, the organization of the volume reflects the complexity of the problem. It turns around three tentative conceptual frameworks for the understanding of Global History across the centuries: the pursuit of the meaning of *Globalization* as a term that needs to be “rescued from the present and salvaged for the past”, the “pursuit of historical problems across time, space and specialism”, and the ways in which “connectedness” might become a focal point for the better command of a more inclusive idea for the expression *Global History*. These three parts into which the editors have divided the volume reflect not only their concerns about defining and widening our perception of Global History, but also their attempt to establish a theoretical structure within which the main principles driving the idea of the Global Middle Ages would be clear and comprehensive: (1) the definition of the concept, (2) (Global) Circulations, and (3) (Global) Networks.

The notion that *Circulations* and *Networks* were terms apt to carry the appropriate operative concepts for the definition of a research field intended to include non-European realities and narratives in the equation presented, and continues to present, a serious challenge. Now, five years after the publication of that thought-provoking book, the notion remains relevant in the contemplation of what exactly is, or could be, the concept of the Middle Ages as “Global”. It is also fundamental in setting out a bevy of questions and problems capable of defining the still contested nature of the idea and in the establishment of frameworks for its development.

³ This volume derives from a thorough reworking of a very selected number of the papers presented to the 4th International Meeting of the “Medieval Europe in Motion” Conference series, on the theme “The Middle Ages: a Global context?”. Hosted by the Institute of Medieval Studies of the NOVA FCSH University, it gathered almost 90 scholars from 17 countries for three days. The Organizing Committee members were Alicia Miguélez, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa, Catarina Fernandes Barreira, Dolores Villalba, João Luís Fontes, Maria João Branco and Mário Farelo.

⁴ BELICH; James; DARWIN, J.; FRENZ, M.; WICKHAM, Chris – *The Prospect of Global History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 3-23.

Scholars continue to labor under a plethora of problems when it comes to determining the ways in which the question of how and what would be the definitive criteria for the potential inclusion of the Middle Ages in a framework of globalization. The chapter on “A Global Middle Ages?”, by Robert I. Moore in that same volume⁵ played with the use of concepts like periodization, the expression “Middle Ages” and its use in Eurasia and Eurasian historiography in order to try and experiment with some grounds for considering the Global Middle Ages as global, just as James Belich did, when he addressed The Black Plague and European Expansion.

But the “global turn” was already unstoppable for the Middle Ages, and the years between 2016 and 2020 saw the appearance of various movements, websites, networks and publishers embracing the idea and concept with great enthusiasm even if the resulting publications do not always share the same concept of what makes or can make the “Global Middle Ages”, a state of affairs reminiscent of the difficulties affecting comparative, interdisciplinary or transdisciplinary studies as they developed and proliferated.⁶ Edited volumes that attempt to combine perspectives from different geographical regions around one subject in order to have a “global” perspective remain very different from those studies dealing with, for example, a global phenomenon such as the Black Death. The end results are equally very diverse.

Perhaps the most influential and critical approach to the topic, the one that tried to debate and discuss every single concept and its relation to the diversity and multiplication of meanings, institutions, cultural and religious conceptions, power and even techniques and materiality, by testing and experimenting with those same concepts across a trans-cultural, trans geographical and trans-chronological period, was the special issue dedicated to The Global Middle Ages in *Past And Present*.⁷ The

⁵ MOORE, Robert I. – “A Global Middle Ages?” and BELICH, James – “The Black Death and the Spread of Europe”. In BELICH, James; DARWIN, J.; FRENZ, M.; WICKHAM, Chris – *The Prospect of Global History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 80-92, 93-107.

⁶ A quick glance at the available materials should suffice to understand the diverse scale and fundamental differences between concepts and frameworks involved in the study of such a wide topic. Visiting websites and portals like “The Global Middle Ages Project – G-MAP” (<http://globalmiddleages.org> – consulted 15.12.2020) where “all” Global Middle Ages research projects are proclaimed to be listed, and comparing it to the drastically different approaches of the “Global Middle Ages in Sidney” Studies Centre (<https://www.sydney.edu.au/arts/our-research/centres-institutes-and-groups/global-middle-ages-in-sydney.html> – consulted in 15.12.2020) or the “Defining the Global Middle Ages” Project (<https://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk/> – consulted 15.12.2020) is substantially enlightening as to how undefined many issues still remain. Publishers have been very interested in this novel approach too and have quickly come to appreciate its relevance. The *Journal of Medieval Worlds* edited by University of California Press, and currently in its second issue, may be said to be running along parallel lines to those of the Global Middle Ages, seeking out a model perhaps less controversial, but conceding nothing to the originality of the approach. Nevertheless, the option of Cambridge University Press, was to promote, in its *Elements series*, only one on *Elements in the Global Middle Ages*. ARC Humanities Press, in most of its series devoted to the Middle Ages, have created space for quest for a plural Middle Ages, voicing the unvoiced, outside the mainframe. And that means “Global” too, in many respects.

⁷ *The Global Middle Ages, Past and Present*, vol. 238, issue suppl_13, ed. Catherine Holmes and Naomi

article synthesizes the results of several workshops and meetings led by the Network of British scholars involved in the “Defining the Global Middle Ages Project”.⁸ Here, definitions, fields of action, and working concepts were worked and reworked, and, in 2019, it provided another landmark for the perception of, and critical thinking about, ways of looking at the Global Middle Ages. The principal virtues of this stimulating approach subsist in the supply to scholars of open-ended innovative insights and leads on how to use the same frameworks as experimental tools, yet at the same time keeping the topic open to debate and change.

Scholars of very different provenance and subject areas, have arrived at the conclusion that studying the Middle Ages from a globalized perspective means embracing diversity and plurality not as a weakness but as the only possible option, and one that really can lead the debate further and deeper, in very original terms.

In such a rich and permanently evolving debate, it would have been impossible to imagine that the present volume would offer a new approach to the “Global Middle Ages” as such. Rather the rational has been to attempt to put to the test some of the ideas involved in this debate and to seek to understand how some of the most grounded operative concepts and examples, mainly viewing the Medieval World as the geographical and geopolitical heir of the Roman World, operate in confrontation with the concept of globality in the Middle Ages.

It is thus from these underlying considerations that this volume has come into being. With an opening chapter on the new ways now opened by the Global Middle Ages, the second part is devoted to experimentation with concepts of “Global” in the Middle Ages, top-down and bottom up, and finally a third part devoted to case studies focusing on the more traditional area of wider circulations of peoples and models, ideas and lives, in the medieval world.

The first chapter, *Options and Experiments: Characterizing the “Global Middle Ages”* by Naomi Standen, sets out the state of the art in the concerns and questions faced by those deeply involved in the making of the Global Middle Ages in their daily work, applying their efforts directly towards defining the range and scope of *The Global Middle Ages* as a discreet area of study, and reinforcing the exceptional importance of comprehensively embracing diversity and plurality, whilst reshaping and renewing a new vision of the almost old fashioned world of the intense circulation of people and artifacts, beliefs, techniques, networks and polities in a much wider and globalized World than the one conceived of hitherto.

Standen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, November 2018).

⁸ PI- Katherine Holmes (Oxford University), co-PI Naomi Standen (University of Birmingham), *Defining the Global Middle Ages*. <https://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk/> – consulted 15.12.2020

The following two chapters, are authored respectively by Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Phillipe Genet, distinguished scholars requiring little by way of introduction who, in their individual specialist areas, have revealed the medieval period to be a venue for broad networks of circulation, contact, and exchange, their research on these encounters being responsible for a reshaping of notions of both “Church” and “State” in all their minute declensions, and in their internal and external functioning. Each have, in their respective articles, taken on the challenge of seeking out the idea of “clusters of globalization” in specific institutions throughout the Middle Ages. *The Empire of the Church* and *The Spread of the Model of the “Modern State”* (and its critique) are each an important attempt to examine two of the most complex socio-political edifices with a view to defining the ways in which they might serve the purposes of contemplating “globalization” from the top-down.

Meanwhile, the bottom-up approach is represented in the three articles by Ana Pairet, Astrid Kelsner and Carlos Eduardo Amorim. Ana Pairet examines the prodigious dissemination of the medieval work of prose fiction, *Paris and Vienna*, and its global success prolonged over successive generations, proving popular in geographically, linguistically, and religiously diverse regions, kingdoms and empires. Astrid Kelsner presents a parallel approach in her exposition of Fibonacci’s *Liber Abaci* and its wide and contested circulation as a means to promote a certain idea of globalization. Meanwhile, Eduardo Amorim, in his reflection on the innovative results of genomic approaches to the study of Migration and Demography, leads us into a dynamic world in which genetic traits help elucidate the broad-ranging movement of peoples and their particular social and economic characteristics. The data, obtained from a small sampling in a Lombard cemetery, forms part of a wider project and highlights several key factors in the study of these complex and intriguing movements of peoples in the medieval world.

The remaining articles are devoted to individual case studies which endeavour to deepen our understanding of particular movements of models and ideas, through scrutiny of those responsible for the dissemination and combination of visual culture, related techniques, and transfer of knowledge, or the influence of preeminent classes of people, such as notaries, or perhaps one particular diplomat/cleric, whose agenda and influence went far beyond his own individual importance.

With a strong focus on visual culture, this section features Claudia D’Alberto’s synthesis on the Pope’s image as a vehicle for the transmission of signs intended for universal application, and additional chapters on the mutual influence of “global actors”. Examples of the latter are highlighted in Federica Volperra and Elsa Espin’s studies of pictorial models circulating in the Mediterranean area, revealing a world of intense relations resulting in the transference of the techniques of the

Ars Nova from North to South, both by artists whose extensive travels took them from Catalonia to Holland whence they brought home the new modes and models of painting, and also by Dutch painters applying their trade in Catalonia. This panorama of inter-regional exchange is complemented by Silvia Marin Barutcieff's review of Romanian Iconography, particularly related to St Christopher, which further exemplifies a transmission of medieval models and iconographic programs where the images and their meanings are not significantly altered in the process.

The two closing articles address case studies concerning people. Stephano Santarelli examines the case of English and Portuguese notaries during the late Middle Ages and confirms the contacts, practices, techniques and interchanges between very specialized group of men who although influential only at a comparatively modest level, were fundamental in the conception of how powers formulate themselves. Finally, Paulo Lopes narrows the focus to a single individual, the famous D. Gomes Eanes, a Portuguese diplomat in a Florentine abbey, whose agency and influence went far beyond his personal interests and cut across the two geographical areas and the two powers he served, the King of Portugal and the Papacy.

Ultimately, this volume is the product of a profound reworking of a substantial number of contributions and, whilst it aims not to be about the "Global Middle Ages", it does strive to contribute to the debate by suggesting different approaches to the theme through essays that hopefully will spark discussion and a reevaluation of the more traditional studies devoted to circulation, contact and exchange, and those dealing with cultural encounters and differing mental worlds. Here, possibilities may be activated by taking a view through the unsettling lens of global/local analysis and by aspiring to meet those challenges that thereby come into focus.

Options and experiments: characterizing the “Global Middle Ages”¹

*Naomi Standen*²

Abstract

The modern world presents us with astonishing cultural diversity, but what we have lost from earlier times is diversity at the structural level, in areas such as religion, politics and resources, and how we make sense of the past. This paper asks how we might understand those structural diversities, in all their specifics. It especially seeks ways to escape the iron grasp of a teleological approach to the Middle Ages that is always looking towards Eurocentric modernity. The quest is for a global Middle Ages understood on its own terms. The paper starts from increasing connectivity leading to diversification as a force generating a great expansion in the range of options available to people at all levels, which allowed for a mass of experimentation in every arena. By focusing on the historical present of people making choices, we can see their experiments not as merely false starts or the seeds of later developments, but as the fabric of life in the global Middle Ages, offering contemporaries – and perhaps us – a huge range of different possible futures.

Keywords

structuring concepts; Africa; Americas; Asia; scripts; conversion; ceramics.

¹ The paper on which this essay is based was also a preliminary stage in developing the introduction to *The Global Middle Ages, Past and Present*, vol. 238, issue suppl_13. Ed. Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen. Oxford: Oxford University Press (November 2018), pp. 1-44. As a result, some phrases may be found in both pieces.

² University of Birmingham; History Faculty, University of Oxford. E-mail: naomi.standen@history.ox.ac.uk. ORCID: 0000-0003-3804-2161.

We live in a world in which the widely accepted international norm is to celebrate diversity as a contribution from modernity, while beliefs and practices that restrict diversity or demand orthodoxy are castigated as “backward” and even – to the frustration of specialists – “medieval”. As I have previously observed, the opening credits of the Netflix series *Sense8* offer a glorious celebration of modern cultural diversity. The 108 shots begin with mostly aerial footage including bridges and other cityscapes from San Francisco and Chicago through Iceland, London, Berlin, Nairobi, Mexico City, Seoul and Mumbai, which are the locations for the story. Subsequent scenes include the natural world, leisure activities, animals, laundromats, transport and communications, street vendors, religious sites, public art, architecture of all kinds, festivals, sports, food, people at work, gay and trans people, children, dancing, street music, reenactors, wedding parties, protestors, and an “elf expert”.³ This kaleidoscopic sequence delights in street-level options for diverse identities and experiences, universal access to which by every individual is perhaps the key goal of liberal democratic modernity. We should indeed celebrate the astonishing cultural diversity of the modern world, but in reality in the period of the Global Middle Ages there used to be even more – or rather, different. For what we have lost from earlier times is diversity at the structural level. This essay presents the Global Middle Ages as a time when the content of basic organisational elements presented a field of options, so that in areas as foundational as resource acquisition, religion, and the recording of the past, people could make choices and exercise agency not only about how to behave within or respond to existing structures, but about what structures to work with in the first place. Accordingly, I suggest that we might characterise the period as an age of experimentation.

Before elaborating on these ideas I want to acknowledge that there is, of course, understandable apprehension, or sometimes even consternation, about combining the words “global” and “Middle Ages” as I am doing here. None of us is happy with this label, and I for one would welcome something better, but this is not the place for that discussion, which too easily gets in the way of doing some actual history.⁴ My concern here is not to worry away at what these terms mean at a conceptual, theoretical, political or colonial level – despite recognising the need to do so – but to draw upon the collective expertise shared during six or seven years of intensive collaboration to attempt a bottom-up characterisation based on combining evidence and ideas from perspectives of subject specialists.⁵ Nobody can do global medieval

³ RACKL, Lori – “Where in the world: Pinning down the 108 scenes in ‘Sense8’ intro”. *TV Trippin* (June 23, 2015). Available at <http://tvtrippin.com/travel/where-in-the-world-pinning-down-sense8-openers-108-scenes/>.

⁴ For further discussion, see HOLMES, Catherine; STANDEN, Naomi – “Introduction: towards a Global Middle Ages.” In HOLMES, Catherine; STANDEN, Naomi (eds.) – *The Global Middle Ages, Past and Present*, vol. 238, issue suppl_13. Oxford: Oxford University Press, November 2018, pp. 1-44, and references.

⁵ Although, because of the funder’s requirements, all based in a single anglophone country.

history alone, and this paper would not have been possible without the work of the Global Middle Ages network that brought together dozens of experts on Africa and the Americas, central and eastern Eurasia, south and southeast Asia, western Europe and the Mediterranean, for a series of workshops and ongoing exchange culminating in a volume of papers.⁶ More importantly, the network developed a way of working on global topics that enabled nuanced understandings of diverse parts of the globe to be placed in conversation with each other. Our methods allowed a greater emphasis on agency; among other things, this concern helps to counter the tendency, in global histories focused on modernity, for globalisation narratives to be largely driven by faceless economic considerations.⁷ By the same token, our approaches also invite more alternatives to the presumed central importance of power and attempts to wield it. While the shortcomings of this paper are my own, I want to record my profound debt and thanks to my fellow network members in more than a footnote.⁸

Structural diversity in the Global Middle Ages

It is not the job of the *Sense8* images to show the shared structures resulting from an apparently teleological development towards a modern global consensus – on international relations, on a standard economic model, and increasingly on social norms – but these frameworks are nevertheless what enable the exercise of the individual differences displayed on the screen. The joys (and indeed the difficulties) of modern cultural diversity emerge and may be displayed and debated within the containment field of broad agreement about what we – governments, institutions and populations – believe to be the fundamentals: nation-states, neoliberalism, and toleration. In these foundational areas there is, in both practice and ideology, essentially no diversity. There is contestation of these norms, to be sure, but both extreme libertarianism and (bids for) restrictions on specified groups are widely frowned upon, Economics students struggle to expand their syllabi to include anything but free-market orthodoxy, and a palatable alternative to the nation-state thwarts imagination.

By contrast, the Global Middle Ages was a time when all of these basic frameworks were open to suggestion; when – not only globally but even within

⁶ See reports and other information at <http://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk/>. Some of the group have pursued a first continuation project, resulting in a volume: FORREST, Ian; OZAWA, Minoru; POWER, Amanda (eds.) – *Medieval Zomias: Alternative Global Histories*. Santa Barbara, CA: Punctum, 2023.

⁷ HOLMES, Catherine; STANDEN, Naomi - “Introduction: towards a Global Middle Ages”.

⁸ More conventionally, this seems to be the right place to record my thanks to those who commented on a draft of this paper: Ian Forrest, Conrad Leyser, Chris Wickham.

world regions or between neighbouring groups – there was no consensus about how to arrange human affairs, including the very categories used to organise thought, behaviour and institutions. Contrary to the (frustratingly inaccurate) picture of the European Middle Ages as “superstitious, religious, feudal, backward, irrational, static”⁹ and, we might add, ethnically and culturally homogeneous, “traditional” and socially conformist, there was in fact great diversity in medieval Europe, and that diversity may be multiplied many times over by consideration of the whole world at the same time. Globally, the Middle Ages showed far greater cultural diversity than the modern world; to start with, there were more languages and more religious beliefs and practices. But there were even more differences at the structural level. Nowhere in the world was there a nation-state or neoliberalism. Whereas it is normative to believe that (early) modernity entailed progress towards a permanent choice of democracy as the best political structure (despite its acknowledged faults and failings), in a Global Middle Ages these choices had yet to be presented, let alone made. Political forms included monarchies hereditary, electoral, or tanistic,¹⁰ empires dynastic, conquering or predatory,¹¹ permanent regencies, “feudalisms”, confederations, “tribes”, governorships, state-avoidant groups,¹² self-organising landscapes,¹³ mandalas or galactic polities,¹⁴ thalassocracies, border regimes, city-states, theocracies, among others. Economic forms ranged from hunter-gatherers, agriculture (in innumerable forms) and pastoralism to upstream-downstream exchanges,¹⁵ dominance of trade routes, monetisation, and industrial production, all combined in various mixtures. Toleration and persecution of social variety were both likely to be in relation to religious beliefs and practices, and religion was just one of many categories that were more widely valued, or given higher value, in the Global Middle Ages than in the modern age.

⁹ DAVIS, Kathleen; PUETT, Michael – “Periodization and ‘The Medieval Globe’: A Conversation”. *The Medieval Globe* 2:1 (2015), pp. 2-10 at 2.

¹⁰ The term “bloody tanistry” was popularized beyond its Irish origins by FLETCHER, Joseph – “The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives”. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46:1 (1986), pp. 11-50, who records that he was “following a suggestion of Jeanette Mirsky, who ‘gave’ it to me during a chat at Princeton in 1972”, n. 3.

¹¹ SEARLE, Eleanor – *Predatory Kinship and the Creation of Norman Power 840-1066*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

¹² See SCOTT, James C. – *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

¹³ MCINTOSH, R. J. – *Ancient Middle Niger: Urbanism and the Self-Organizing Landscape*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

¹⁴ TAMBIAH, Stanley Jeyeraja – “The Galactic Polity in Southeast Asia”. *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3 (2013), pp. 503–534. The idea of the mandala was first elaborated by WOLTERS, Oliver W. – *History, Culture and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, revised edition 1999, esp. 27-39.

¹⁵ E.g. ANDAYA, Barbara Watson – “Cash Cropping and Upstream-Downstream Tensions: the Case of Jambi in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries”. In REID, Anthony (ed) – *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Period: Trade, Power, and Belief*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. 91-122.

We may thus see this as a time, globally, when many important issues were open to resolution in multifarious ways. What were the most important social values? Suggestions covered chivalry, machismo, generosity, loyalty, merit-making, orthodoxy, the roles, behaviour, and subjection of women, sexual continence for women and less so for men, and many others. How did you sort out relations between rulers or states? Answers included not only diplomacy and warfare but fictive kinship, actual marriages, payments, treaties. What were the best ways (for any given definition of “best”) of exploiting the general populace? Possibilities were numerous forms of taxation and ideas of property, decisions about who paid, who collected and where the dues went, and so on. Then, what were the limits on the behaviour of rulers and how could they be enforced? What were the limits on slavery? And many more. I shall argue that the Global Middle Ages may be described as the period before rapid worldwide communications when increasing connections brought more people into contact with difference, and the resulting exposure to new diversities fostered an enlarged range of possibilities for how to do things and what to do, how to think and what to think about, and no doubt – though historians are only beginning to discuss the topic – how to express feelings and what to have feelings about. I suggest we may thus characterize the Global Middle Ages as offering an astounding and unprecedented array of options, which enabled experimentation in every area of life at the structural level.

Connectivity, options and experiments

Although premodern global history has been approached primarily through comparative methods, I shall here emphasise connections.¹⁶ While stressing that my purpose is to do anything but argue for a unified narrative, I do want to suggest that increased connectivity generated increased diversification somewhere in most world regions during this period. Universal religions emerged, expanded, and deepened their penetration of societies, and each faith spawned numerous factions and combinations; there were many more polities, of many kinds, and they changed much more frequently than the ancient empires had. And this multiplicity was increased by more communication along more routes, carrying more things and people, for a host of specific and local outcomes.¹⁷

There is a growing body of research that demonstrates intensifications or thickenings of connectivity across significant areas. In one earlier example, Michael

¹⁶ For discussion and references see *The Global Middle Ages*, pp. 5-8; BENTLEY Jerry – “Early Modern Europe and the Early Modern World”. In PARKER, Charles H.; BENTLEY Jerry (eds.) – *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007, esp. 21-25.

¹⁷ Some examples of objects may be found in *The Global Middle Ages*.

McCormick's team traced the economic transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages through the media of travellers and slaves.¹⁸ More recently, the "Dirhams for Slaves" project has aimed "to explore the implications of a neglected trade system that connected Northern Europe and the Islamic world in the 9th and 10th centuries";¹⁹ Scott Ashley has been among those analysing the global connections of the Viking world that brought silk of Chinese origin to Birka and colonized westward to the Americas.²⁰ Focusing on the Americas themselves, Heather McKillop has offered one important discussion of links across the huge continental expanse, and the wide-ranging connections of the Cahokian moundbuilders, for instance, are relatively well known.²¹ Looking north to offer a particularly intriguing possibility, Anya King has used evidence from Islamic writings that musk and *khutu* – walrus or narwhal ivory – both commonly went from the Liao state in northeast Asia to the Iranian world and Egypt from the later tenth century. The *khutu* ivory came to the Liao from northeastern groups with access to the Arctic.²² Walrus ivory was also prized by eleventh and twelfth-century Vikings, who conceivably obtained some of theirs from as far afield as Newfoundland. While we have no evidence that walrus tusk from Viking America ever reached the Liao, for a while in the eleventh century the supply, routes and market were in place for such an eventuality.²³

Eurasian connections are well known, including the Jewish diaspora communities recorded in the Cairo Geniza documents, and the networks visible in the Sogdian letters and Dunhuang manuscripts and other evidence from the Tarim oases, which were of course the heart of the astonishing links across Eurasia that readers will know as the overland Silk Routes.²⁴ The maritime routes were

¹⁸ MCCORMICK, Michael – *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

¹⁹ "Dirhams for Slaves. Dirham hoards from Northern Europe, trade in Slavic slaves, and the emergence of Medieval Europe (800-1000)". University of Oxford. Available at <https://krc.web.ox.ac.uk/article/dirhams-slaves>.

²⁰ ASHLEY, Scott – "Global Worlds, Local Worlds: Connections and Transformations in the Viking Age". In ANDROSHCHUK, Fedir; SHEPARD, Jonathan; WHITE, Monica (eds.) – *Byzantium and the Viking World*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universiteit, 2016, pp. 363-387; WALLACE, Birgitta – "The Norse in Newfoundland: L'Anse aux Meadows and Vinland". *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 19:1 (2003), pp. 5-43, special issue, The New Early Modern Newfoundland, Pt 2.

²¹ MCKILLOP, Heather – "Ancient Maya Trading Ports and the Integration of Long-Distance and Regional Economies". *Ancient Mesoamerica* 7 (1996), pp. 49-62; BOWNE, Eric E. – *Mound Sites of the Ancient South: A Guide to the Mississippian Chiefdoms*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013, pp. 84-86; PAUKETAT, Timothy R. – *Ancient Cahokia and the Mississippians*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

²² KING, Anya – "Early Islamic Sources on the Kitan Liao: The Role of Trade". *Journal of Song Yuan Studies* 43 (2013), pp. 253-271.

²³ HANSEN, Valerie – "International Gifting and the Kitan World, 907-1125". *Journal of Song Yuan Studies* 43 (2013), pp. 273-302.

²⁴ GOITEIN, Shlomo Dov – *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*. 6 vols. Berkeley: University of California, 1967-1993; GOLDBERG, Jessica L. – *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean: The Geniza Merchants and their Business World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012; VAISSIÈRE, Étienne de la – *Sogdian Traders: A History*. Trans. James Ward. Leiden: Brill, 2005; HANSEN, Valerie – *The Silk Road: A New History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; WHITFIELD, Susan – *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*. London: British Library, 2004.

also an essential part of these networks, and the Indian Ocean world is receiving increasing attention from numerous directions. The Swahili coast – with its inland connections – saw increasing communication associated at least partly with the adoption of Islam.²⁵ Elizabeth Lambourn’s projects on the Kollam Plates and a Jewish merchant’s luggage list, and Janice Stargardt’s work focused on south Asia, illustrate the multicultural nature of the exchanges involved, and some of their effects at the production, demand and intermediary nodes of these supply chains.²⁶ At the far end of these routes lay the Japanese archipelago, recipient of items from as far afield as the Sasanian and Islamic worlds.²⁷ Chinese engagement with this trade was one of several key factors,²⁸ and one project has considered, for instance, the effects of these interactions on the Japanese archipelago, as an outgrowth of the extensive and longstanding Japanese work on the economic history of China.²⁹ Relations between the east Asian mainland and southeast Asia, and beyond, are the subject of ever more scholarship including a major publishing project headed by Angela Schottenhammer.³⁰ We may even draw in Australasia and the Pacific, with not only evidence of transcontinental movements of mother-of-pearl and ochre, but also the possibility of visits to the northern coast of Australia from Sulawesi to collect sea cucumbers.³¹ The medieval world was not globalized in the sense widely understood from the early modern and modern worlds, but we can see a rapidly enlarging vision of a world much more connected than we had thought until even quite recently,

²⁵ LAVIOLETTE, Adria – “Swahili Cosmopolitanism in Africa and the Indian Ocean World, AD 600–1500”. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 1 (2008), pp. 24–49; MITCHELL, Peter – *African Connections: Archaeological Perspectives on Africa and the Wider World*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 2002.

²⁶ LAMBOURN, Elizabeth – “A Persian Church in the Land of Pepper: Routes, Networks and Communities in the Early Medieval Indian Ocean”. UK Research and Innovation. Available at <https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH%2FIO25948%2F1>, and LAMBOURN, Elizabeth – *Abraham’s Luggage: A Social Life of Things in the Medieval Indian Ocean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018; STARGARDT, Janice – “Indian Ocean Trade in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries: Demand, Distance, and Profit,” *South Asian Studies* 30 (2014), pp. 35–55.

²⁷ PRIESTMAN, Seth – “The Silk Road or the Sea? Sasanian and Islamic Exports to Japan”. *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 3 (2016), pp. 1–36.

²⁸ WADE, Geoff – “Chinese Engagement with the Indian Ocean during the Song, Yuan and Ming Dynasties (Tenth to Sixteenth Centuries)”. In PEARSON, Michael (ed.) – *Trade, Circulation, and Flow in the Indian Ocean World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 57–68.

²⁹ Sōdaishi kenkyūkai (The Society for Song History, Japan) – “Maritime Cross-Cultural Exchange in East Asia and the Formation of Japanese Traditional Culture: An Interdisciplinary Approach Focusing on Ningbo”. An international research project on the history of the port of Ningbo headed by Kojima Tsuyoshi, Tokyo: Tokyo University, 2003–2008. Available at <http://www.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/maritime/english/index.html> (broken link).

³⁰ WADE, Geoff – “An Asian Commercial Ecumene, 900–1300 CE”. In KAYOKO, Fujita; MOMOKI, Shiro; REID, Anthony (eds.) – *Offshore Asia: Maritime Interactions in Eastern Asia Before Steamships*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2013, pp. 76–111; ANTHONY, Robert J.; SCHOTTENHAMMER, Angela (eds.) – *Beyond the Silk Roads: New Discourses on China’s Role in East Asian Maritime History*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017; SCHOTTENHAMMER, Angela (ed.) – *Early Global Interconnectivity across the Indian Ocean World*. 2 vols. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2019.

³¹ FLOOD, Josephine – *Archaeology of the Dreamtime*, revised edn. Sydney: Collins, 1999, pp. 269, 271. Early sea cucumber collection by visitors is disputed, see CLARK, Marshall; MAY, Sally K. (eds.) – *Macassan History and Heritage: Journeys, Encounters and Influences*. Canberra: ANU E Press, 2013, p. 3.

neatly summarized by the subtitle of the relevant volume of the *Cambridge World History*: “Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict”.³²

Many of these connections had not existed at the end of the ancient period. Certain long distance links were present in ancient times, notably the steppe roads and both the overland and maritime Silk Routes, and clearly there were many shorter range connections too.³³ But for the Global Middle Ages it is no longer adequate to enumerate major links in this way; they multiplied, deepened and intensified. Universal religion gave reasons to travel; political fragmentation required more diplomatic communication, intelligence gathering and exchange of resources; increased production generated more specialisation, and markets grew; the technologies of communication became more effective and sophisticated, with more ships that were larger and oceangoing, inland waterworks, and roads; and more people wrote things down in more languages and more scripts. Consequently, by the fifteenth century, Ming dynasty admirals could sail to east Africa, Timbuktu could become a centre of scholarship for the Islamic world, and Columbus could raise funding to seek a new route to the Indies.

These longer, denser and more frequent connections that developed during the Global Middle Ages allowed not only increasing contact but the normalisation of interactions between many different people, ideas and things, which continued at different times in different places.³⁴ These developing relationships between diverse participants – human, conceptual or material – generated absorptions, appropriations and integrations, translations, adaptations and syncretisms, reactions, rejections and nativism, and doubtless other outcomes too. Exposure and responses to new things resulted in unprecedented diversification of the range of options available to an ever-growing number of people, including those lower down the social scale. I suggest that this great expansion of choice allowed for a mass of experimentation in every arena. As we shall see, some of the people making these choices may be named, but there were also the unobserved choices of everyday religious practices, unrecorded negotiations of social status, and the unknown rationales for choosing one method of recording over another. Sometimes people liked the results of their experiments and kept doing them, but other times they stopped or did something else. By focusing on the historical present of people making choices, we may see experiments not as merely false starts or no more than the seeds of later developments, but as the fabric of life in the Global Middle Ages, offering contemporaries a huge range of different

³² KEDAR, Benjamin Z.; WIESNER-HANKS, Merry (eds.) – *The Cambridge World History*, vol. 5, *Expanding Webs of Exchange and Conflict, 500 CE–1500 CE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

³³ For notable examples of long-distance (and shorter) connections overland, see ANTHONY, David W. – *The Horse, the Wheel and Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from the Eurasian Steppes Shaped the Modern World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007; and by sea, CUNLIFFE, Barry – *On the Ocean: The Mediterranean and the Atlantic from Prehistory to AD 1500*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.

³⁴ For parts of the next three paragraphs see also *The Global Middle Ages*.

possible futures. What was at stake was not the question of how to manoeuvre within agreed frameworks; rather, the choices that people made frequently contributed to shaping the fundamentals of their worlds. In what follows I consider cases of experimentation with different structural options in the areas of religion, resources, and methods of recording. I shall talk primarily about experiments that did not survive into the modern world, but which were of great significance in their own time. My own experiment is to pitch this diversity of options and experiments as characteristic of a Global Middle Ages.

Religions

The end of the ancient empires, whether you think it was with a bang or a whimper, was accompanied by the new phenomenon of the rise or spread of universal religions across much of Afro-Eurasia by around 750, which created an unprecedented variety of faith options. A well known regional example is southeast Asia, where early rulers across the region borrowed Hindu concepts, to which they conjoined Buddhist, largely Mahayana, ideas, notably in the Khmer Empire and Srivijaya. In the thirteenth century, Burmese monks introduced Theravada Buddhism from Sri Lanka, presenting an option taken by rulers and commoners alike, first in Burma, then at Angkor and Sukhotai. Around the same time in island southeast Asia, Islam was an option also taken by both commoners and rulers, except on Bali, where the population remained Hindu. In the long view this may appear as just a succession of changes, but at the time rulers, at least, show signs of experimentation with the rich options presented to them. Khmer rulers variously claimed to be Shiva, or Vishnu, or Buddhist bodhisattvas; Burmese kings became Buddhist but were still regarded as manifestations of Shiva.³⁵ There was no compelling reason or great advantage in choosing just one of these options over the others, so beliefs and practices became, and remained, more varied.

While religion was diversifying, the ancient empires also fell apart into persistently multi-state systems shaped by change, conflict, and diplomacy. While some serious imperial claims were quite quickly reasserted from the sixth-seventh centuries, notably by the Byzantines, the Caliphate and the Tang dynasty, such empires were often a good deal less centrally effective than their rhetoric claimed, even at their most powerful. When things were working well then taxes could be collected and justice administered by directly appointed agents of the state, but

³⁵ DE CASPARIS, J. G.; MABBETT, Ian – “Religion and Popular Beliefs of Southeast Asia before c.1500”. In TARLING Nicholas (ed.) – *Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, pp. 276-340.

the early Tang dynasty, for instance, struggled to obtain an accurate count of the population, and even before the catastrophic rebellions of the mid-eighth century the court had devolved control of strategic regions to generals with plenipotentiary powers. The Tang, like the Byzantines, interacted frequently with many other rulers and leaders, often on an equal or near-equal basis.³⁶ Elsewhere, impressive remains as at Cahokia from about 500, or patchy sources as for Aksum down to the seventh century, suggest the existence of major powers, but they too were part of wider systems of interaction between multiple polities.³⁷ In world regions such as Europe, south and southeast Asia, and Mesoamerica – and at some times and places in ostensibly “imperial” contexts too – coteries of successors, pretenders and opportunists competed, allied, conquered, submitted, negotiated, played off their neighbours against each other, withdrew, and so on, all of which involved constant communication by means such as envoys, letters, payments, and military action. In such places, kings and some queens, princes, magnates, republics, urban assemblies, religious establishments, senior clergy, chieftains, and others tried out new or ostensibly revived political configurations from sacral kingship through city-states to banditry. Every ruler or leader offered alternative futures to followers real or potential, with options shaped by material or spiritual incentives, formal restrictions and prevailing values, and different levels of ambition. More polities required more contacts, and every interaction provided fresh options.

Valerie Hansen has highlighted how religious conversions continued to be contingent – and I would say experimental – by comparing the choices of the cluster of rulers in the Central Asian world centred on Dunhuang around the year 1000.³⁸ Dunhuang was the eastern gateway to the twin chain of Silk Road oases around the Tarim basin, and had a succession of political masters between the eighth and eleventh centuries, from the Tang to Tibet to local families to

³⁶ TWITCHETT, Denis – *Financial Administration under the T'ang Dynasty*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp. 12-16; SKAFF, Jonathan Karam – *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power and Connections, 580-800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

³⁷ Aksum: PHILLIPSON, David – *Foundations of an African Civilisation: Aksum and the Northern Horn, 1000 BC–1300 AD*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012; MCKENZIE, Judith S.; Watson, Francis – *The Garima Gospels: Early Illuminated Gospel Books from Ethiopia*. Oxford: Manar al-Athar and Oxford University Press, 2016. Cahokia: PAUKETAT, Timothy R.; ALT, Susan M. – *Medieval Mississippians: The Cahokian World*. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2015; PAUKETAT, Timothy R.; ALT, Susan M.; KRUCHTEN, Jeffery – “City of Earth and Wood: New Cahokia and its Material-Historical Implications”. In YOFFEE, Norman (ed.) – *Cambridge World History*, vol. 3, *Early Cities in Comparative Perspective, 4000 BCE–1200 CE*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 437-454.

³⁸ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World of the Year 1000”. Unpublished conference paper for the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting 2016, Seattle, presented as part of an innovative combined panel, “After the Tang, Before the Tanguts: Diplomacy, Culture, and Religion along the Gansu Corridor in 800-1030 CE”. My thanks to Valerie for allowing me to cite this paper so extensively. These events are further discussed in HANSEN, Valerie – *The World in the Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World – and Globalization Began*. New York: Scribner, 2020. For comparison of what follows here with African examples, see FAUVELLE, François-Xavier – *The Golden Rhinoceros: Histories of the African Middle Ages*. Trans. Troy Tice. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018.

the Tanguts. Around 1000, Dunhuang was surrounded by a host of regimes, including two sets of Uyghurs, the Liao, the kingdom of Khotan further west round the southern Silk Route, and at the western end of the Tarim at Kashgar, the Karakhanids (see Map 1).³⁹



Map 1 – Dunhuang around 1000 (by Yang Shao-yun).

³⁹ I am grateful for Yang Shao-yun’s permission to use his map.

Dunhuang is known for its Buddhist remains, with over a dozen monasteries, and manuscripts from various sects including Pure Land (a salvationist approach characterized by chanting), Chan (the Chinese form of Zen) and Tibetan (“Esoteric”) Buddhism. There is no question that Buddhism was the dominant religion, but people of all faiths were present in significant numbers as residents, sojourners or travellers. There are maybe 50,000 Dunhuang manuscripts, including texts representing Daoism, Confucianism, Judaism, Manichaeism, Nestorianism, Zoroastrianism, and various popular practices such as dog divination.⁴⁰ During the later first millennium people in Dunhuang and the surrounding region routinely engaged in practices from more than one of these traditions. The independent Dunhuang governor Cao Yuanzhong followed orthodox – that is, Confucian – government principles but also sponsored Buddhist activities such as copying manuscripts and the construction of new caves at Mogao.⁴¹ In general, Confucian filial piety coexisted readily with Buddhist funeral practices and Daoist divination or longevity practices. Sogdians in far-flung enclaves continued with Zoroastrian practices, but at Dunhuang there are also, for instance, Manichaean documents written in Sogdian.

Multiple practice, in contrast to syncretism, is generally characteristic of medieval Asian religious observance, but in the world centred on Dunhuang, Hansen’s analysis suggests that rulers at the turn of the millennium may have been experimenting with clearer statements of religious confession. Hansen argues that the division of the Abbasid caliphate after the Buyid takeover of the eastern portion in 945 provided space for rulers to opt for Islam without becoming subordinate to the caliph, which created a new context for encounters between the monotheistic expectations of Islam and the multiple practices of central Asia. However, the flexibility that allowed religious observance without political submission could change. The closest of the Tarim oases to the eighth-century Islamic expansion that reached Bukhara and Samarkand was Kashgar, and there, shortly before his death in 955, the expansionist Karakhanid khan converted to Islam, and his son followed suit.⁴² We see their choice to depart from the additive tradition in their orders for the destruction of Buddhist temples and other non-Islamic religious structures. The son might also have been responsible for the reported conversion, in 960, of “200,000 tents” of unknown Turks in an unspecified location; scholars

⁴⁰ WHITFIELD, Susan – “The Dunhuang Manuscripts: from Cave to Computer”. In IDEMA, Wilt L. (ed.) – *Books in Numbers: Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Harvard-Yenching Library: Conference Papers*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard-Yenching Library, Harvard University, 2007, pp. 113-140; GALAMBOS, Imre – “A Snapshot of Dunhuang Studies, Circa 2016”. *Orientalia* 47:4 (2016), pp. 89-94; MORGAN, Carole – “Dog Divination from a Dunhuang Manuscript”. *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23 (1983), pp. 184-193.

⁴¹ RONG, Xinjiang – “Official Life at Dunhuang in the Tenth Century: the Case of Cao Yuanzhong”. In WHITFIELD, Susan – *The Silk Road*, pp. 57-62.

⁴² HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”.

presume that these were Karakhanids.⁴³ Religions had been attacked before in the wider region, perhaps most famously when the Tang suppressed all foreign religions in 845, which included Manichaeism and Nestorianism alongside Buddhism. The court reclaimed copper accumulated by the Buddhist *sangha* (so much that it was contributing to a shortage of coin), and returned tens of thousands of monks and nuns to lay – and taxable – status.⁴⁴ But buildings appear not to have been targeted, and although Manichaeism and Nestorianism suffered permanent damage, Tang Buddhism quickly revived, and numerous sects flourished while new ones emerged during subsequent dynasties.⁴⁵

The Karakhanid khans seem to have been a lot more determined and thorough. When their conquest reached Khotan, not so far from Kashgar, around 1006, Hansen quotes the eleventh-century poet Mahmud al-Kashgari, who claims that

“We tore down the idol-temples,
We shat on the Buddha’s head!”⁴⁶

Hansen states that Khotan stopped being Buddhist “overnight”, although this must be an overstatement, especially since Khotan did not remain long in Karakhanid hands. To the southeast, the Tangut rulers of the nascent Xi Xia state were rooting their political authority in Buddhist ideas rather than the Confucian orthodoxy preferred at Dunhuang, and by 1030 the Xi Xia had taken Khotan from the Karakhanids and controlled the southern Tarim from there eastwards, including Dunhuang.⁴⁷ Non-Muslims in Khotan presumably breathed a sigh of relief. Yet just 400 km away in Karakhanid Yarkand, between Kashgar and Khotan, some elements of Islamic practice seem to have put down some roots. A cache of documents, dated between 1080 and 1135, includes contracts showing the use of basic Islamic law. Three are in Uyghur and twelve in Arabic,⁴⁸ and three of the latter state that they

⁴³ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”, citing GOLDEN, Peter B. – “The Karakhanids and Early Islam”. In SINOR, Denis (ed.) – *Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 354, himself citing IBN AL-ATHIR – *Al-Kāmil fī'l-Ta'rikh: Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*. Ed. C. J. Tornberg, 12 vols. Leiden: s.n., 1851-76, reprint Beirut: Dar Šādir, 1965-6, vol. 9, p. 520.

⁴⁴ CH'EN, Kenneth – “The Economic Background of the Hui-ch'ang Suppression of Buddhism”. *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 19:1/2 (1956), pp. 67-105.

⁴⁵ See, for example, GREGORY, Peter N.; GETZ, Daniel A. Jr. (eds.) – *Buddhism in the Sung*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999; HUANG, Chiang-Chi – “Imperial Rulership and Buddhism in the Early Northern Sung”. In BRANDAUER, Frederick P.; HUANG, Chün-chieh – *Imperial Rulership and Cultural Change in Traditional China*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994, pp. 144-187.

⁴⁶ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”, citing AL-KĀSGARĪ, Maḥmūd – *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*. Ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, vol. 1. Duxbury, MA: Tekin, 1982, p. 270.

⁴⁷ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”, citing Map 2 in O. Pritsak, “Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 101 (1951): 270–300.

⁴⁸ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”, citing HUART, Cl. – “Trois actes notariés arabes de Yarkend”. *Journal Asiatique* 4 (1914), pp. 607-627; ERDAL, Marcel – “The Turkish Yarkand Documents”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47 (1984), p. 261; GRONKE, Monika – “The Arabic Yarkand Documents”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 49 (1986), pp. 454–507.

are translations into a language known to the parties involved.⁴⁹ Since the local languages in this area had not previously included Arabic, the translations suggest an increased understanding of that language, probably encouraged by Islamic education. Unlike with the earlier religions reaching central Asia, the advance of Islam across the Tarim seems to have been driven by the conversion of conquering rulers and the policies that followed. A hundred and fifty years later, our next witness, Marco Polo, records that Khotan was predominantly Muslim, though still with a Nestorian community.⁵⁰

The Karakhanid conversion to Islam was an experiment that stuck, and although Islam thereby became the dominant religion, the others survived, albeit in etiolated form. In the same period, nearby contemporary rulers were trying out other options. The Uyghurs had been officially Manichaean since the mid eighth century, but around 1000 the Uyghur rulers in the northern Tarim oases of Kucha and Turfan switched their patronage to Buddhism instead.⁵¹ Ultimately, they would convert to Islam too. As just noted, the Tangut rulers of Xi Xia made political use of Buddhism, and their form of the religion had close links with that of their northeastern neighbours, the Liao.

The Liao rulers were agropastoralists from southern Mongolia, who diversified their population and sources of revenue when they gained control of a small but lucrative collection of predominantly Chinese-speaking taxpaying districts east of the northern limit of the Yellow River.⁵² Their whole dynasty could be regarded as a set of experiments: in government forms, administrative structures, and international relations, as well as religion. The Liao rulers became leading Buddhist patrons, including in the wider region. They sponsored the production of their own complete Tripitaka and the building of an unprecedented series of huge extant pagodas, especially in the early eleventh century.⁵³ Some Liao experiments were picked up – and further experimented with – by their conquerors.

⁴⁹ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”, citing PAUL, Jürgen – “Nouvelles pistes pour la recherche sur l’histoire de l’Asie centrale à l’époque karakhanide (Xe–début XIII^e siècle)”. In *Études karakhanides, Cahiers d’Asie Centrale* 9 (2001), pp. 13-34, esp. 33 n. 64.

⁵⁰ PISA, Rustichello da – *Devisement du Monde*. Trans. Henry Yule. *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian*, 2 vols. Amsterdam, 1975 [1903–1920], Bk. I, Ch. 36 p. 188.

⁵¹ HANSEN, Valerie – “Dunhuang in the World”, citing SUNDERMANN, Werner – “Completion and Correction of Archaeological Work by Philological Means: The Case of the Turfan Texts”. In BERNARD, Paul; GRENET, Frantz – *Histoire et cultes de l’Asie centrale préislamique*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991, pp. 283-289.

⁵² TWITCHETT, Denis; TIETZE, Klaus-Peter – “The Liao”, In FRANKE, Herbert; TWITCHETT, Denis (eds.) – *Cambridge history of China*. Vol. 6, *Alien regimes and border states, 907–1368*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 43-153 at 69-72; STANDEN, Naomi – “The Five Dynasties”. In TWITCHETT, Denis; SMITH, Paul Jakov – *Cambridge History of China*, Vol. 5, *The Sung Dynasty and its Precursors, 907-1279*, Pt 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 38-132 at 87-90.

⁵³ STEINHARDT, Nancy – *Liao Architecture*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1997, makes frequent mention of pagodas but offers no sustained discussion despite the number that survive. DUGDALE, Jonathan

Religion continued to be irrelevant to relations between central Asian rulers, so it was unproblematical to marry the son of the Muslim Karakhanid ruler to a princess from the Buddhist-sponsoring Liao.⁵⁴ But things could change here too. Since the Karakhanids had also received a bride from the rulers of Ghazna in Afghanistan, the Karakhanids brokered a visit to Mahmud of Ghazna by a Liao envoy, who was tasked with establishing diplomatic relations. But Mahmud, a Muslim, turned him down, saying,

“There is no faith uniting us that we should be in close relations. Great distance creates security for both of us against perfidy. I have no need of close relations with you until you accept Islam.”⁵⁵

Such a religious rationale for political action was a novelty in central Asia during the Global Middle Ages, and it shows that multiple practice, which allowed new faiths to be added to the existing options, was being challenged by the monotheistic concept of religious competition, in which one religion might *replace* one or more others.

The competition between Buddhism and Islam progressively squeezed out the smaller faiths. Zoroastrianism and the shamanic Tengrism of the western Turkic groups were both widely abandoned by rulers and commoners mostly by the later eleventh century.⁵⁶ The significance of this later narrowing of major religious options is amplified when we consider that Tengrism survived further east, among the groups that became the Mongols in the thirteenth century, in places where Muslim rulers had not reached. Universal religions did eventually reduce confessional options in Central Asia, but not before they had expanded opportunities for experimentation. Neither did universal religions automatically bring standardisation across different political units; the Karakhanids did not let different faiths stand in the way of relations with the Liao, but the Ghaznavids – further away and looking more to the south and west – did.

– *Pagodas, Politics, Period and Place: A Data Led Exploration of the Regional and Chronological Context of Liao Dynasty Architecture*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2019. PhD thesis fills this gap.

⁵⁴ The following section draws heavily from HANSEN, Valerie – “International Gifting and the Kitan World, 907-1125”. *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013), pp. 273-302 at 288-90.

⁵⁵ HANSEN, Valerie – “International Gifting”, p. 289, citing MINORSKY, V. (trans.) – *Sharaf al-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1942, pp. 19-21.

⁵⁶ Numan N. Negmatov, – “The Samanid state”. In ASIMOV M. S.; BOSWORTH, C. E. (eds.) – *History of the Civilizations of Central Asia*, vol. 4, *The Age of Achievement: A.D. 750 to the End of the Fifteenth Century*, pt 2: *The Historical, Social, and Economic Setting*. Paris: UNESCO, 1998, pp. 77-94 at 94; SOUCEK, Svat – *A History of Inner Asia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 94; GOLDEN, Peter B. – *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia*. Ed. Denis Sinor. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 344-345 cf. 354. GOLDEN, Peter B. – *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples: Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992, pp. 211-213.

We may read this story in two ways: on the one hand the primary religious options in central Asia were becoming reduced from multiplicity and simultaneous practice to singularity: a rising requirement to choose either Buddhism or Islam, and not both. On the other hand the arrival of Islam introduced a whole new set of possibilities for religious, and religio-political, experimentation. Either way, fundamental structures were at stake. Would rulers preside over a field of religious options or impose one faith from above? What role should religion play in relations between rulers? Was scripture the product of holy men or the channelling of the divine? Was there a god or not?

Resources

Turning to trade, it seems that in the period after the fall of the great empires people were making choices resulting in a shift – obviously uneven and at different speeds – from tenuous, spindly connections to cross-border, multi-centred networks that became denser, and more institutionalized.⁵⁷ Trade routes branched and multiplied, and overlapped with those that carried religion, culture, technology and political envoys. The art and archaeology of the Tarim oases shows that the fourth to seventh centuries saw a huge increase in traffic along the Silk Routes. In the Indian ocean, we see Srivijaya established in the seventh century based on control of the maritime routes. In general there were more customs officials, more formalisation of borders, more offices to deal with foreigners, more multilingual contracts, and so on. With more people travelling, there was more cross-cultural interaction, with the continual creation of new mixtures. This had occurred in ancient times too, when those Silk Road magpies, the Kushans, melded cultural elements from the regions they ruled. But in the Global Middle Ages the Sasanians borrowed ancient Assyrian styles in the third century and passed them on to the Tang in the seventh, and the Sasanian pearl roundel appears to have reached from the Pacific to the Mediterranean, in both cases far beyond Sasanian political control.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ For parts of this paragraph see also *The Global Middle Ages*.

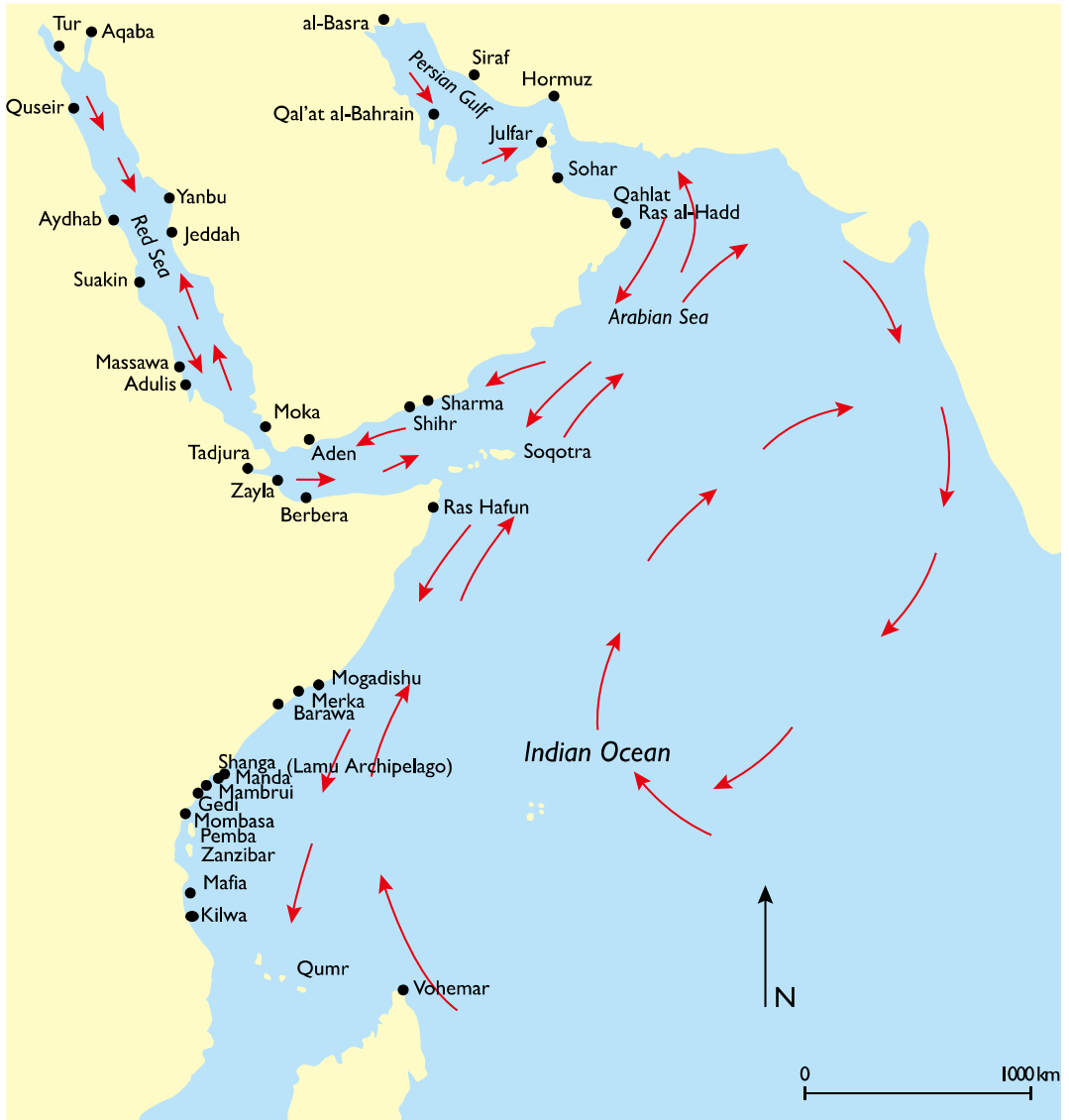
⁵⁸ WALKER, Joel – “Luminous Markers: Pearls and Royal Authority in Late Antique Iran and Eurasia”. In DI COSMO, Nicola; MAAS, Michael (eds.) – *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran, and the Steppe, c. 250-750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 253-267.

On the Swahili Coast from around the ninth century we may identify a series of experiments with the deployment of resources, in the shape of different uses of imported pottery. I rely here upon the work and guidance of my network colleague Stephanie Wynne-Jones. The coastal communities had a dynamic prosperity founded upon trade with the fertile hinterland and beyond, and close involvement in Indian Ocean commerce. Coastal and hinterland communities both used local Tana ware pottery, but up and down the coast – though not in the hinterland – are also found small numbers of Persian and Chinese potsherds; never more than 5% of the total and often nearer 1%. Foreign ceramics were retained and displayed in various ways at different times as markers of prestige and claims to elite status.⁵⁹ The changing deployment of this pottery may be seen as a series of experiments with the two key frameworks represented by social structures and modes of authority.

Jeffrey Fleisher has detailed a sequence of uses of imported ceramics on the island of Pemba, off the coast of Tanzania, north of Zanzibar (see Map 2). Between the seventh and ninth centuries, Muslim traders brought new diversities to the village settlements of northern Pemba, in the shape of exposure to Islam, and pottery imports from the Persian Gulf consisting of very large storage jars and just a few small bowls. The older, local Tana ware likewise offered many large jars and a few small bowls. Life continued much as it had before the new arrivals, as these communities evidently elected for continuity over experiment.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ FLEISHER, Jeffrey – “Rituals of Consumption and the Politics of Feasting on the Eastern African Coast, AD 700–1500”. *Journal of World Prehistory* 23:4 (2010), pp. 195-217; WYNNE-JONES, Stephanie – “Creating urban communities at Kilwa Kisiwani, Tanzania, AD 800-1300”. *Antiquity* 81 (2007), pp. 368-380; ZHAO, Bing – “Luxury and Power: The Fascination with Chinese Ceramics in Medieval Swahili Material Culture”. *Orientalis* 44:3 (2013), pp. 71-78;

⁶⁰ FLEISHER, Jeffrey – “Rituals of Consumption”; FLEISHER, Jeffrey; LAVIOLETTE, Adria – “The Early Swahili Trade Village of Tumbe, Pemba Island, Tanzania, AD 600–950”. *Antiquity* 87 (2013), pp. 1151-1168.



Map 2 – The monsoons and port sites in the western Indian Ocean (from ZHAO, Bing – “Luxury and Power”, p. 71).

Around 1000, in line with a key transition to new urban centres all along the Swahili Coast, the Pemba villages became depopulated as people apparently moved to form the nearby town of Chwaka by about 1050. The newly urban population switched from eating local millet to imported Asian rice, and adopted Islam. At the same time, they began to import large numbers – though still a tiny proportion of the total pottery – of large *sgraffito* bowls and serving dishes from the Persian Gulf, and later, celadons from Song China. The local ceramic tradition also added a new design: well made large bowls with extensive interior decoration, which seem to borrow from the new Persian imports while also retaining some earlier styles of decoration. These were choices made among a range of options enlarged by greater exposure to increasing diversity. Furthermore, the novel pottery forms were not storage vessels but tableware, suggesting new, communal, eating patterns where the elaborate interior decoration would have become gradually visible during a meal. The small numbers of these large bowls suggest they were items of display, and Fleisher sees them as an important element of “empowering feasts”, which were venues for negotiation of status and political authority, and may have contributed to the process of urbanisation.

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Chwaka had a central stone mosque, and the pottery experiment had become the norm, as the use of decorated bowls, imported or local, spread to most households. By no later than the fourteenth century, prestige was displayed by a few stone houses among the usual wattle-and-daub. And in the fifteenth century the sponsor or sponsors of a new mosque experimented with options for display by having the *mihrab* prayer niche decorated with a new style of imported pottery. Twenty-two Ming blue-and-white bowls were mortared into the walls with the painted interiors facing outwards. Pillar tombs, a distinctively Swahili type, were also decorated with imported ceramics in the same way (fig. 1).⁶¹ In the Global Middle Ages network discussions Stephanie Wynne-Jones highlighted such “unintended” uses of these imported objects.⁶² At least some Chwaka recipients of blue-and-white bowls apparently valued them in different ways and for different reasons than purchasers in Europe or the Ming themselves. The bowls were markers of a very personal prestige that was intrinsically tied to claims of distant connections. Swahili experimenters created their own interpretation of a global community, not by emulation but by imaginative engagement.⁶³

⁶¹ With thanks to Zhao Bing for the photograph in Fig. 1.

⁶² Global Middle Ages Research Network, Report on workshop. Newcastle, September 2013. Available at http://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk/?page_id=112.

⁶³ With thanks to Stephanie Wynne-Jones for this observation.



Fig. 1 – Frieze of 16th-17th century Chinese blue-and-white porcelain plates on the 8-metre-high Great Pillar of Mamburi cemetery, Kenya (Photography by Dashu Qin).

On the Swahili Coast, increased access to novel goods and ideas diversified the structural options on offer to a range of people, most visibly in the basics of everyday life. We see again how much Islam had to offer, but more unexpected were the political, social, and maybe urban possibilities opened up by differential access to imported items of display, and creativity in their deployment. What were the functions of ceramic wares? What were the roles of commensality? By what avenues could status and power be enacted? In what type of community should one live and how might they relate to each other?

Recording

Ursula Le Guin’s classic novel, *The Left Hand of Darkness*, is famous for its portrayal of ambisexual humans who spend twenty-four days out of twenty-six as neither male nor female, and for the other two exhibit characteristics of either sex in response to a sexual partner. The novel quickly became notorious for Le Guin’s use of the male pronoun, a choice she at first defended on the grounds that “‘He’ is the generic pronoun, damn it, in English”, but subsequently recognized as playing into – and resulting from – the cultural conditioning of both herself and her audiences.⁶⁴ Things have moved on a great deal and we now live in a time when non-binary gender identification is on the rise and individuals increasingly request to be referred to as “they/them”.⁶⁵ Reading the novel in this light, I made some effort to convert all those generic male pronouns to “they/them” in my head as I went along. I had routinely converted “he” to “she” in my children’s story books, but conversion to an ungendered pronoun required another level of effort. Not only were there so many of them, but also this mental switch was not simply(!) about rejecting gender stereotypes by letting girls in on “boys’ things”, but – as was Le Guin’s partly unwitting intention – placed in question the whole concept of gender. We see this challenge in both the novel’s successes (such as the social ranking of the child of the monarch’s body over that of their sexual partner’s) and its failures (the widely noted absence of activities normatively coded (by us) as “female”).⁶⁶ The difficulty of forming a habit of using ungendered pronouns highlights that language does not merely give us words to think with, by showing just how strongly it structures how we think and what we are able to think about. It is natural for the people of Le Guin’s planet to accommodate their ambisexual biology linguistically, but it is startling and troubling to their male visitor, whose languages lack suitable words. The point is that language is profoundly structural, and our own planet once offered examples of almost alien ways of thinking, by means of what we might see as experimentation with methods of recording.

The ruling group of the Liao dynasty, already mentioned, were from a group called the Kitan. The Kitan language was unwritten at the time the Liao founder took his first imperial title in 907, creating space for experimentation with not one but two scripts. The Large or Linear Script was conceived around 920 with help from Chinese employed at the Liao court. Then in 925 a Kitan literatus, Diela, devised

⁶⁴ WHITE, Donna R. – *Dancing with Dragons: Ursula K. Le Guin and the Critics*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1999, pp. 47-49.

⁶⁵ At least in English. The availability of ungendered pronouns, and the ability to adopt or create them, varies a great deal between different languages and language families, as noted in unpublished research for an A-level Extended Project Qualification by Alexandria Harrison, 2018.

⁶⁶ Criticisms that Le Guin later accepted, in ways that changed her later writing significantly: WHITE, Donna R. – *Dancing with Dragons*, pp. 49, 72, 96.

the Small or Assembled Script. Although Diela had apparently had contact with the Uyghur script, the Liao Small Script is unrelated to any other known to us.⁶⁷

There are now about fifty inscriptions in either Large or Small Script, with more being excavated all the time, and a 127-page manuscript in Large Script, but the graphs are only partially deciphered. We have one bilingual inscription for each script, in both cases with Chinese, but in neither example are the paired texts translations of each other, though they do offer some information in common. While both scripts are now known to be a mixture of logographic and phonetic elements (fig. 2), the Large Script probably used a separate graph for each syllable (perhaps borrowing this method from Chinese), while the Small Script broke down the syllables into two or more parts and wrote them phonetically (like Korean *hanggul*). Both scripts were used throughout the dynasty, as was Chinese, and the

Table 1. Zodiac animals

ANIMAL	LARGE SCRIPT	SMALL SCRIPT	TRANSCRIPTION	MONGOL
rat	𪛗	𪛗		<i>xuluyan-a</i>
ox	𪛘	𪛘	<i>uni</i>	<i>üker, üniye</i>
tiger	𪛙	𪛙	<i>qa.ya.as</i>	<i>bars</i>
hare	𪛚 ~ 𪛛	𪛚	<i>tau.lí.a</i>	<i>taulai</i>
dragon	𪛜	𪛜	<i>lu</i>	<i>luu</i>
snake	日牛 ~ 𪛝	𪛝	<i>mu.yo.o</i>	<i>moyai</i>
horse	𪛞 ~ 𪛟	𪛞	<i>mo.ri</i>	<i>morin</i>
sheep	𪛠	𪛠	<i>iam.a</i>	<i>qonin~imaya</i>
monkey	口牛 ~ 𪛡	𪛡 ~ 𪛢	<i>p.o ~ p.o.o</i>	<i>bečín</i>
chicken	𪛣	𪛣	<i>te.qo.a</i>	<i>takiya</i>
dog	𪛤	𪛤	<i>ñi.qo</i>	<i>noqai</i>
pig	𪛥	𪛥	<i>ui ~ uile</i>	<i>yaqai</i>

Fig. 2 – Table 1. Zodiac animals (from KANE, Daniel – "Un update", p. 19).

⁶⁷ For this and the next paragraph see KANE, Daniel – "Introduction, Part 2: An Update on Deciphering the Kitan Language and Scripts". *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013), pp. 11-25 at 11, 18; KANE, Daniel – *The Kitan Language and Script*. Leiden: Brill, 2009, ix-xi; also APATÓCZKY, Ákos Bertalan; KEMPF, Béla – "Recent Developments on the Decipherment of the Khitan Small Script". *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 70:2 (2017), pp. 109-133.

Large Script also provided the basis for creating a script for the Jurchen language spoken by the conquerors of the Liao. The extant materials cover the same genres in both scripts (except for the book), and currently offer no clue as to why one script was not deemed enough, and why two remained in use. The experiment continued in use during the dynasty of the Liao’s conquerors, but died out thereafter.

The Kitans’ language structured their world by framing how they thought and what they thought about. When the Liao rulers came to write down their speech, the Sinitic (written Chinese) characters used by most of their literate officials were not readily adaptable to a different language. Unlike scripts such as Uyghur or Arabic, Sinitic is not a phonetic system; rather, each graph carries meanings that cannot be divorced from the visible form, while pronunciation follows no consistently useful patterns and has to be memorized for each character.⁶⁸ The Liao creation of two scripts for the same language may be seen as experimentation in search of adequate representation of concepts that were present in Kitan but not in Sinitic, or indeed in Uyghur or any of the other written languages available in the Liao. The continued use of Large and Small Scripts may suggest that both – or neither – were considered equally effective for this task, but either way, when an entire worldview was at stake, it was vital to try to get it right.

A still more remarkable experiment in recording, also ended by conquest, was the monumental historical recording of the last period of the Aztec, or Mexica, empire. Here my efforts to explain draw from the work of Emily Umberger, who was one of the Global Middle Ages network’s visiting “international experts”, with further guidance from Caroline Pennock. The relationships between the various Mesoamerican writing systems remain obscure, but since the Mexica were a late political formation, arising in the thirteenth century, they arrived in the Valley of Mexico as incomers who must have both brought and experienced fresh diversities.⁶⁹ The Mexica used hieroglyphic and pictographic writing for names, dates, mathematics, and records of events like migrations and marriages. More detailed narratives of the past were provided by manuscript or monumental records that, Umberger argues, must be read on several registers simultaneously in order to extract their full meaning.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ The phonetic values of Sinitic characters may be used to transcribe other languages, for instance, the Mongolian of the *Secret History* (RACHEWILTZ, Igor De (trans.) – *The Secret History of the Mongols, A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2003), and in the present day, non-Chinese names, but readers of Chinese cannot but “see” the meanings.

⁶⁹ BRUMFIEL, Elizabeth M. – “Aztec State Making: Ecology, Structure, and the Origin of the State”. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, 85:2 (1983), pp. 261-284, esp. 266ff.

⁷⁰ UMBERGER, Emily – “The Metaphorical Underpinnings of Aztec History: The case of the 1473 civil war”. *Ancient Mesoamerica* 18 (2007), pp. 11-29.

One register was calendrical. The dates associated with particular images, in manuscripts such as the *Codex Telleriano-Remensis* (fig. 3) refer to highly complex interlocking calendrical cycles of years and days.⁷¹ On a second register, particular years invoked Aztec, pre-Aztec and creation or cosmic events, all at the same time. One of the two cycles of days included four day-names that were also found as year-names, hence there was a day called *1 Tochtli* and also a year called *1 Tochtli*. The multiple layers of events associated with the day were also associated with the year, and vice versa.⁷²

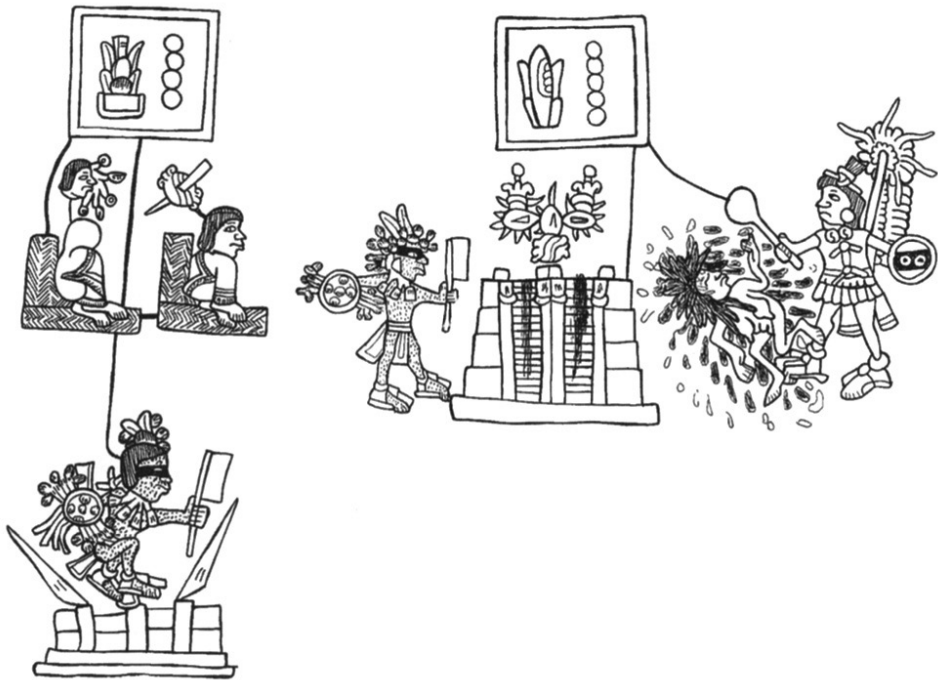


Fig. 3 – *Codex Telleriano-Remensis*, folio 38v. Events of the years 4 Acatl and 5 Tecpatl, 1483-1485. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Manuscrits. Mexicain 385, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8458267s/f1.planchecontact>. Drawing by Emily Umberger (from UMBERGER, Emily – “Notions of Aztec History”, p. 98).

⁷¹ Image from UMBERGER, Emily – “Notions of Aztec History: The Case of the Great Temple Dedication”. *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 42 (2002), pp. 86-108, at 98.

⁷² UMBERGER, Emily – “Notions of Aztec History”, pp. 89-98.

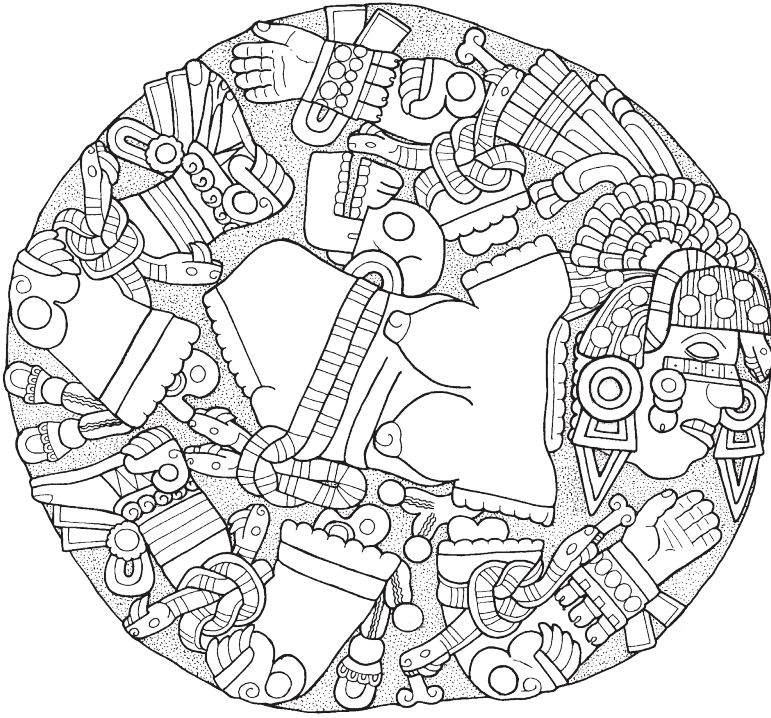


Fig. 4 – Team of pre-Conquest Aztec artists, Great Coyolxauhqui Stone, representing a murdered enemy sister of the god Huitzilopochtli, circa 1469-1473. Discovered at foot of Great Temple of Tenochtitlan in 1978; now in Museo del Templo Mayor, Mexico City. Drawing by Emily Umberger (from UMBERGER, Emily – “The Metaphorical Underpinnings”, p. 15).

Thus an image like the representation of Coyolxauhqui (fig. 4), at the Templo Mayor in Tenochtitlan, should be read for its location in the mythic landscape of Coatepetl, the “Serpent Mountain”, represented by the great temple itself. It also evokes the mythical history of Coatepetl, which included a great battle between brother and sister gods, resulting in the sister being thrown from the top of the mountain.

A third level narrates the 1473 war between two sister cities in the Aztec empire as a replaying of these mythic events. In the war, the defeated ruler was thrown from the top of the temple in a direct parallel with the death of the sister god. Beyond this image, the same myth was evoked with every human sacrifice, as

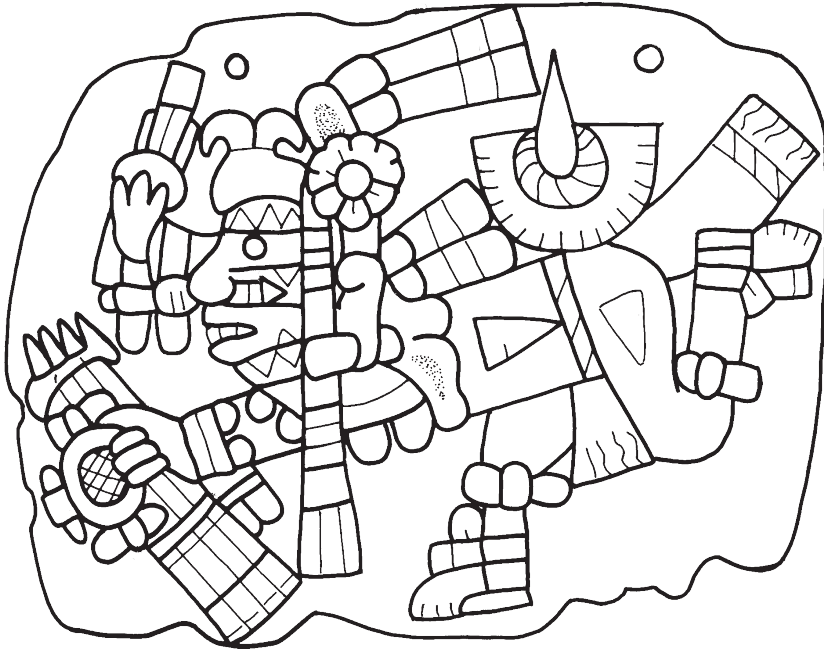


Fig. 5 – Male “Coyolxauhqui” figure on back of greenstone pendant in the shape of decapitated Coyolxauhqui head (note outline of profile on bottom contour), indicating transformation from male to female in defeat. From offering cache found under Great Coyolxauhqui Stone (Figure 4) in 1978, circa 1469-1473. Drawing by Emily Umberger (from UMBERGER, Emily – “The Metaphorical Underpinnings”, p. 17).

each body was thrown down the temple steps.⁷³ Defeat was marked by metaphorical changes of state, with a shift in mythical connections from sun to moon, or from male to female; as we may see on the greenstone pendant in Figure 5. Here we see the defeated god as a male figure in a running pose, but whose heart has been removed; the other side shows the same god as a dismembered female. Umberger argues that these pre-existing layers were “a multitude of re-conceptions activated at different times and in different places to parallel historical circumstances”, which provided patterns that rulers used to design events in their own present. Such complex and multi-layered views of the past dislocate currently conventional “ideas of time, causation and narrative sequence”, and are extremely hard for moderns like us to

⁷³ PENNOCK Caroline Dodds; POWER, Amanda – “Globalizing Cosmologies”. *Past and Present*, vol. 238, issue suppl_13 (2018), pp. 88-115.

grasp.⁷⁴ Once this form of recording was destroyed in the colonial conquest, we were robbed of a whole other level of diversity in recording.

In the terms of my argument here, the layered narratives of the Mexica represent an experiment in which the choices made about methods of recording reflect not only the structuring ideas of the Mexica worldview but also a radically non-linear conception of time. In choosing the forms of their written language, both the Mexica and the Kitan were addressing questions about how they believed the world worked at the most basic levels.⁷⁵ The Kitan sought the means to convey permanently, for the first time, concepts for which there were insufficient parallels in existing scripts, while the Mexica created records that linked the human to the cosmological level with stages in between. These were decisions that affected everything these societies intended to leave to posterity.

Convergence and the narrowing of options

Of course, some things were much less subject to experimentation. Local pottery can remain unchanged for centuries. The Tana ware of the Swahili Coast remained the same c. 600-900, and subsequent changes might be read as responses to the increased diversity offered by more or different imports. The ubiquitous unglazed greyware of Mongolia is at present considered to have been unchanged for a thousand years down to around 1200,⁷⁶ but there was no immediately obvious fresh exposure to diversity to explain its eventual disappearance, except that, in general, the end of the Global Middle Ages may be marked by the narrowing of options in the beginnings of a Great Convergence towards modernity.

It is not in dispute that in the early modern period communications thickened; at the same time, however, choices narrowed.⁷⁷ The mobility that had once carried options for diversity became population movements, on a scale from violent seizure such as the slave trade, to voluntary settler colonialism. Although some willingly

⁷⁴ UMBERGER, Emily – “Metaphorical Underpinnings”, p. 11. This idea is dramatized in the film *Arrival* (2016, dir. Denis Villeneuve, screenplay by Eric Heisserer, from Ted Chiang “Story of Your Life”), starring Amy Adams and based on the so-called Sapir-Whorf theory of linguistic relativism, which holds that language is determinative of thoughts and actions.

⁷⁵ This is not the first time that these cases have appeared in the same article: CAMPBELL, John – “The Khitan languages: the Aztec and its relations”. S.l.: s.n., 1884. With thanks to Lance Pursey for this reference.

⁷⁶ WRIGHT Joshua; MAKINO, Kay – “A Rough Guide to the Ceramics of North and Central Mongolia and the Gobi Desert, Part 2 – Early historical periods”. working document (2007), pp. 25-30.

⁷⁷ For parts of this paragraph see also *The Global Middle Ages*.

embraced the selection of options comprising modernity,⁷⁸ for the most part European imperialism imposed options originating in one small part of the world on the astonishing variety of the rest, who were – not necessarily yet in 1550 but usually by 1900 – no longer experimenters in their own right but experimented upon.

In terms of the case studies presented here, commentators often observe that industrial or post-industrial modernity has sought to displace religion to the private sphere and pushed religious organisations to become more doctrinaire. Multiple practice conducted by the same person(s) in distinct locations at separate times has largely been replaced by insistence on confessional singularity or by syncretisms that combine elements from different faiths under the same umbrella, so that, for instance, Ganesha rubs shoulders with a variety of Buddhist figures in Thai temples, and statues of Mary and Jesus may occasionally be found in Hindu shrines. Political choices have narrowed to the nation or, at a push, the ethnic group, and although kingdoms, sultanates, principalities, autocracies and even some tribal groups survive or sometimes return, there is now an “international community” that broadly aspires towards (or latterly, is having to defend) democracy as the best of the bad options. Despite successful revivals like Hebrew and Welsh, languages are rapidly dying out and orthographic choices are limited by what is available on computers.⁷⁹ The growth of world languages led by English, Chinese, Spanish and Arabic, not to mention the loss of image-based recording like that of the Aztecs, depletes our available modes of thinking and even our options for experiencing time.

What these medieval examples do not show us is cultural diversity. That is, the focus of the choices being made at the time was not culture, but how to organise the world around whoever was doing the choosing. These were decisions that made a structural difference, to the chooser, to be sure, but to other people in the worlds they shared, and thus to the nature of those worlds themselves. In the present day many people everywhere are continually enjoined and encouraged, and sometimes demand, to make cultural choices. At the trivial end these may be about what cereal or designer to buy or what movie to see, but at the painfully significant end, choices about identity, in a range of intersectional combinations. People choose and may fiercely defend their felt identities, resist the imposition of identity and its implications, and minorities, politicians and contrarians are

⁷⁸ E.g. WINICHAKUL, Thongchai – *Siam Mapped: A History of a Geo-Body*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1994; YE, Shirley – *Business, Water and the Global City: Germany, Europe and China, 1820-1950*. Cambridge: Harvard University, 2013. Ph.D. dissertation. For a host of early modern examples see STRATHERN, Alan – “Global Early Modernity and the Problem of What Came Before”. *Past and Present*, vol. 238, issue suppl_13 (2018), pp. 30-34.

⁷⁹ Although that range may also be expanded, usually by enthusiasts whose dedicated work may reach much wider audiences thanks to the internet.

among those who deploy identities to improve lives, aggrandise power, generate disruption, and more. Culture and especially its manifestation in identity are the things that are left to be at stake for people in the modern world, because everything else is – or feels – fixed. Challenges to existing state formations and to the concept of the national are threats to be feared, alternatives to free-market economics are not to be countenanced (at least by those with economic power), and while social illiberalism is broadly frowned upon, achieving a bare toleration of difference is deemed a success. In all these cases contrasting – I would hazard better – options exist, but are not serious candidates for adoption.

Of course this situation in which we find ourselves is not least about power – who wields it and to what ends – but responses to the immense damage that has resulted must start in the imagination. What we may see in the plethora of structural options indicated by the few brief examples here is that the Global Middle Ages could offer us tools to help us to break out of the structures that frame – and drastically limit – our thinking, and for a better world, or for a world at all. Thinking outside our given structures is a major challenge, but studying the Global Middle Ages may itself show us a way. In the Global Middle Ages network project we found that creating conjunctions of specialist expertise might or might not reveal how Global Middle Ages people thought, but did allow us to consider their praxis in different combinations, and to that extent allowed us to imagine different ways of organising our conceptualisation of the inchoate past – or the already narrated records of that past. I have discussed here religion, resources and methods of recording, but as the Global Middle Ages network has demonstrated in a volume of essays, there are many other categories of analysis available that may be seen to have played a structuring role for people in medieval times, including cosmologies, networks, mobility, trust, value, settlements and mediation – and surely many more.⁸⁰ If anything, in the Global Middle Ages it was the great variety of structuring categories and what each of them could contain that generated cultural diversity, rather than cultural diversity being an outlet for human variety; that is what remains in the present day after structuring categories have been reduced to a bare minimum and in each case their content limited to a single thinkable option. Studying the Global Middle Ages as an age of experimentation may help us to see ourselves and our present in different – more experimental, more necessarily experimental – ways.

⁸⁰ See Global Middle Ages reports at <http://globalmiddleages.history.ox.ac.uk/> and *The Global Middle Ages*.

The Empire of the Church

Dominique Iogna-Prat¹

Abstract

The notion of empire has been given renewed relevance in the context of the post-modernity, to the extent that it has become the subject of its own field of study, the “imperiology”. In a globalised world, some analysts see it as the ideal framework for dealing with the diversity of cultures, languages or religions, the Empire contradicting the standardisation and levelling generated by the Nation-State construction. The idea of “Empire” has even become, if articulated in conjunction with the notion of “multitude”, a reference point for philosophical alter-globalism in that it denounces the failure of the grand modern political categories. Such questioning of the old political order in the name of new imperial dynamics invites us to return to the notion of Empire in the long run the History of the medieval west, a reality which cannot be dissociated from that of the Church itself, especially if we aim at assessing the sacredness and the transcendental force of the institution that transmits the sovereignty.

Keywords

Empire; Church; Christianity; Medieval Western history, Pre-modern states.

¹ École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Paris (EHESS). E-mail: d.iogna-prat@wanadoo.fr.

If addressing the question of “Globalized Middle Ages”, it is undoubtedly appropriate to reconsider two medieval political forms of globalization: The Empire and the Church.² I shall do so in here as I attempt to demonstrate how the Latin Church was able to become an Empire and how the imperial facies of the Medieval Church marked Western history in the long term. I would like to stress from the outset that the Empire/Church relationship, from the point of view of a history of forms of sovereignty, nourished by structural interference between the two terms, is first and foremost, in the reflection that the social sciences have developed based on the ecclesiastical genesis of the modern state, part of the history of the West. Following this logic, I will not attempt to draw up a comparative balance sheet of the differential effects of Christianity in the East and in the West on the destinies of the Roman Empire, but to evaluate the reciprocal relations between the Empire and the Church in the West, where the history of the Empire is most problematic precisely because of the imperialization of the Church, whereas in the East, where the reference to the Roman Empire is continuous until the middle of the fifteenth century, as it lingers lastingly like a perfume of origins, as the persistent memory of a time when the Church was not necessary, and was not consubstantial to the definition of Royalty (*basileia*).

The Empire, Lexical and Semantic Fields

Empire, in its modern and contemporary scientific and common usage (“empire”, “impero”, “imperio”, “империя”, with the notable exception of “Reich” in German) stems from the Latin *imperium*, which, in the long history of Rome and the Roman Empire up to its Christianization in the fourth century, takes on various meanings within largely overlapping semantic fields: command and power (the power to order, whether it be military command, the jurisdictional power of magistrates, or the supreme power vested in the emperor); domination, sovereignty, hegemony (*imperium dominandi, monarchia mundi*) as a projection of command and power over the objects of domination: men, whatever the types and scales of grouping, and the earth, even the earth in a conception of monarchy on a global, world scale; the Empire, the imperial government as a political system that exercises this power of domination on a universal scale.

The Early Middle-Ages and Proto-Byzantine tradition – which is largely a Christian tradition with an intensive use of the term *imperium* in Jerome’s Latin translation of the Bible – accentuates the dynamics of the *reductio ad unum* attached

² This contribution, which faithfully follows my presentation in Lisbon, is a preliminary version of a notice to be published in *L’Église: un dictionnaire critique, s.v. “Empire”*

to an Empire understood as a supreme power of one: God, Christ, the Emperor, the Pope. *Imperium* then becomes an honorary title (*pietas et imperium vestrum*), whose sacrality is emphasized (*iussione sacratissimi imperii vestri*); but it is also an anthropized category on the scale of simple human life, subject to the empire, to the supreme power of death (*mortis imperium*).

Medieval Latinity then diversifies the bearers of *imperium* – a king, a mayor of the palace, a prince – and, in the dynamic of spatialization of powers, gradually qualifies as empire the territorial inscriptions of sovereignty, the use of synecdoche allowing any form of materialization of sovereign power – palace or crown – to be linked to *imperium*, and the use of the adjective *imperialis* to qualify various imperial manifestations: the insignia of dignity, the currency, the representative of the sovereign in the provinces who acts as a local extension of the centre, not to mention the range of derivatives (*imperialitas, imperiositas, imperiosus, imperialiter*), which refer to the unending modalities of a Christian style of government, with its compelling questions: how to qualify *imperium* in a Christian regime? What specific power and authority can the Christian sovereign avail himself of? How can this power and authority be qualified as “spiritual”?

The lexicon is a good revealer of diverging evolutions, between the West and East, of conceptions of Empire and, therefore, of the relationship between the Empire and the Church. From the moment it switched from Latin to Greek, in the seventh century, the Eastern Roman Empire was forced to abandon the Roman *imperator semper augustus*. The sovereign then takes a title that is none other than royal: *basileus* in Greek – a king, nothing more. The imperial nature of this sovereign does not lie in the noun, but in the complement of the name, *basileus tôn Rhômaiôn*: it is because he reigns over the Romans that he can pass for the heir of Roman Emperors. Hence the Byzantine tenacity to defend the monopoly on Romanity, which is reflected in the many polemical texts in the ninth and tenth centuries, because Romanity is the only thing that gives the king his sovereignty. However, it is less the *basiléia* than the *basileus* that is the object of discourse tending to define the nature, the essence of the king, and the reason why his *basiléia* is not altered when confronted with the exercise of power. Such a blockage of the uses of *imperium* in Byzantium makes it possible to measure the precocity and depth of the cleavages between East and West. The East may be immersed in the idea that the Roman Empire was essential to the divine plan for the spread of Christianity, but “imperiality” – the idea, ecclesiological and political uses of the notion of empire – is essentially a Western affair. On scriptural bases that give pride of place to the eschatological kingdom (*basiléia*) of heaven, the Latin Fathers took an apologetic option to invest the Church with the *imperium*. Jerome thus speaks of the *imperium singulare* (singular empire) of Christ which falls to

Rome, but an apostolic Rome which identifies with the heroic deeds (*gesta*) of the Christian preaching to all nations (*In Micheam*, 1, 4). This is the first step in a dynamic according to which the “singular Empire of Christ” is that of the Roman Church – an evolution accomplished at the latest by the Papacy of the eight-ninth centuries, which claims to be a properly imperial spiritual monarchy (this is the claim that justifies the famous *False Donation of Constantine* [*Constitutum Constantini*], at the beginning of the years 750), and as an empire-maker, as pope John VIII argued in 877 when he said that “the emperor [Charles II the Bald] was begotten by the womb of the Church.”³

In the modern age, the Empire (*Reich*), with its centuries-old semantic legacy in the West, has attained the status of specific philosophical category, on the fringes of the vocabulary of authority, order, power and domination, which the terms “*Herrschaft*” and “*Macht*” combine. Spinoza thus defines *imperium* as “the right given by the power of (over) multitude.”⁴ The *imperium/dominium* articulation, the power of order and domination, is understood both as an ancient formulation of the power of the head of the family over his own but also as the perimeter of the extension of authority (the family, the city), as a feudal relationship of domination over land and men, as a functional expression of the dignity and moral superiority of prudent rulers. Christian economy, which is an economy of salvation, supposes questioning the relevance of the connection between property and power, the profound mark of the Christic message and its ecclesial avatars with a possible distinction between *dominium* (pagan) and *administratio* (Christian), and above all the overcoming, as supported by Hegel in *The Spirit of Christianity* (1798-1799), of domination and servitude by the freedom promised to the faithful who commit themselves unadorned in the footsteps of Christ. Such a critical examination of the constitutive notions of the overlapping fields of “*Reich*” and “*Herrschaft*” (administration, authority, domination, freedom, order, power, servitude) weighs all the more heavily in the emerging field of modern political philosophy, which, in parallel, the term Church is taking off from its religious and confessional references alone to reach, with Kant (*Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*, 1793), the universal status of human societies endowed with reason to guide and organize themselves. This amounts, at the point of articulation of the notions of Empire and Church, to taking an interest in Christianity as a political question: is there not something lastingly, structurally imperial in the Christian Church,

³ PETERS-CUSTOT, Annick – “*Sancta Romana Ecclesia religioso utero vos genuit*. Noël de l’empereur et incorporation de l’Église romain”. In SOUSA, Manuel de; PETERS-CUSTOT, Annick and ROMANACCE, François-Xavier (eds.) – *Le sacré dans tous ses états. Catégories du vocabulaire religieux et sociétés de l’Antiquité à nos jours*. Saint-Étienne: Publications de l’Université de Saint-Étienne, 2012, pp. 243-258.

⁴ SPINOZA, Baruch – *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, II, 17: *Hoc ius quod multitudinis potentia definitur, imperium appellari solet*.

be it at the very least in the Latin, Roman version of the Christian Church? If so, in what “hierarchical” terms should we account for the relationship between the ecclesial and the political, as Kant asks himself in a famous passage from *The Metaphysics of Morals*?⁵

Christianity as a political issue

“Has the encounter between Christianity and imperial Rome lead to a distortion of the Gospel on the one hand and of the heritage of Rome on the other?”⁶ On the basis of ancient and rich dossiers elaborated in a polemical context, especially in the context of the Lutheran Reformation and the Gallican Resistance, the issue has been at the heart of historiographical debates in scientific modernity since the turn of the 1900s. It animates the controversy regarding political theology that opposed Schmitt and Peterson, and, in general, all discussions concerning the roots of power in the West.⁷ Are politics but an extension of theology? Is the government of men under secular rule a legacy of Christian forms of pastoral care and “governmentality”, themselves heirs to the ancient imperial forms of administration of the city of men? One can deny, as Peterson did, the evidence of the link between theology and politics, or oppose, as Urs von Balthasar did, a vision of History that postulates a necessary relationship of dependency between the Roman Empire and the Church,⁸ the assessment of the dynamics of mimicry and tension between the two entities is nevertheless necessary to evaluate the phenomenon of institutional twinings that can explain the “monarchization” of the Church and the “pontificalization” of the State.

Empire and Church: Mimetic Relationships

The articulation of two institutional abstractions is posed in terms of assimilation, encompassment, and equivalence. By assimilation we mean the mimetic relationship formulated for instance in the *De Ecclesiae catholicae unitate* written by Cyprien de Carthage (ca. 200-258) in a conception of ecclesiastical unity, inspired by the Roman imperial model; this model allows not only to conceive of a universal Church which

⁵ KANT, Emmanuel – *Metaphysics of Morals, The Doctrine of Right*, 62, 8, B.

⁶ SCHMITZ, Benoît – “Pouvoir pontifical et *imperium* au XVI^e siècle”. In CALLARD, Caroline; CROUZET-PAVAN, Elisabeth and TALLON, Alain (eds.) – *La politique de l'histoire en Italie*. Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses, 2014, pp. 79-94 at 79.

⁷ SCHMITT, Carl – *Politische Theologie. Vier Kapitel zur Lehre von der Souveränität*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2015¹⁰ [1927]; PETERSON, Erik – *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem*. Leipzig: Jakob Hegner, 1935.

⁸ BALTHASAR, Hans Urs von – *Le complexe antiromain. Essai sur les structures ecclésiales*. Paris: Apostolat des Editions, 1998 [1974].

is confounded with Catholicity, but also to articulate the local with the global in order to combine the Church of the bishops and the ecclesial totality, whether or not referred to a centre, especially Rome, rich in the legacy of Peter and the ancient focus on the imperial homeland. Conversely, the assimilation of the imperial by the ecclesiastical is accompanied by an evolution of the imperial by contamination of the ecclesial, which is noticeable in the conception of an Empire “analogous to the celestial Kingdom”, as the “most complete form of possible earthly government” bearing “the universality of government which alone can suit Christianity on its way to salvation.”⁹

Optat of Mileve (d. 384) poses the problem of encompassment at the height of the Donatist crisis, questioning the place of the Church as a spiritual entity reaching out to the hereafter within the structures of the world offered by the Roman Empire. In the name of realism in a community settled in history here below, Optat insists that “it is not the republic that is in the Church” but on the contrary “the church that is in the republic, that is to say the Roman Empire.”¹⁰ Such a facies of encompassment presupposes that the problem of the relationship between the two institutions of spiritual and temporal power which bear the *imperium*, each of them carrying distinct structural developments in the East and West since at least the eleventh century – the world of the emperor, lieutenant of god and head of the Church, and to the world of papal monarchy, which claims for the Roman successor of Peter the hierarchical ascendancy of the *auctoritas* over *potestas* and the submission of the temporal to the spiritual – must be resolved.¹¹ The Medieval Latin Church succeeds in overturning the relations of encompassment and imposing itself as the monument of a unique institution all the more capable of absorbing Christian society, as it is its necessary sacramental creator?¹² But after the 1200s, with the slow emergence of the Modern state, the relationship of encompassment evolves in the opposite direction and replaces the ecclesial institution in the architecture of secular powers that construct their administrative model as much as their majesty and sacrality by drawing from the imperial sources of the Church. If we follow Peterson, the West would thus move, through a phenomenon of aspiration to the original models, towards a final incorporation of the City of God (identified with the Church) into the City of Men (referred to the *imperium*), as if the fate of *Ecclesia* was to return

⁹ LEVELEUX-TEXEIRA, Corinne; PETERS-CUSTOT, Annick – “Quelques considérations en guise d’introduction”. In *Gouverner les hommes, gouverner les âmes. 46^e Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’Enseignement supérieur public (Montpellier, 28-31 mai 2015)*. Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2016, pp. 11-35.

¹⁰ Optat of Mileve – *Contra Parminianum Donatistam*. III, 35. Ed. M. Labrousse. Paris: CERF, “Sources Chrétiennes, 413, II”, 1996, pp. 22-23.

¹¹ DAGRON, Gilbert – *Empereur et prêtre. Étude sur le “césaro-papisme” byzantin*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996.

¹² IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l’Église au Moyen Âge (800-1200)*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006.

to the *polis*, to return to the integrated position which was that of *ekklesia* as an institutional cog of both the ancient city and the Eastern Roman Empire.

Encompassed or encompassing, the Church is thus defined in the mirror of the empire, thus *being* the Empire. A number of scriptural references were mobilized very early on to proclaim Christ's empire of peace, his majesty as sole sovereign and his imperial glory (Isaiah 9, 6-1; Mathew 25, 31; I Peter 5, 10 ; I Timothy 6, 16). From the end of the fifth century, he is represented enthroned in majesty, like in Saint Pudencia in Rome, and his entry into Jerusalem is modelled on the *adventus*, the triumphal entry of the Roman emperor. The Latin liturgy of the first centuries recites the submission of all its Gentile families to the Empire of the Christ, and the necessary participation of Christians in the defence of the Empire; later, the Carolingian Royal Lauds proclaim that "Christ has conquered, reigns and commands" (*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat*).¹³ In the West, between the 800s and 1100s, the "decor of the Empire" became permanently fixed on the Papacy.¹⁴ *Constitutum Constantini*, a forgery written on an unknown date between 750 and 850, depicts a devolution of imperial power, its attributes and territorial base, by Constantine the Great, who abandoned Rome to Pope Sylvester I before going to found another, a second Rome in his name on the banks of Bosphorus (Constantinople). This text, which served as a legal basis for roman absolutism from the end of the eleventh century, is a kind of "ecclesiological founding narrative" at the service of the institution of the *papa universalis*, "of the pontifical dignity which now disputes its universality on the very ground of the other worldly institution, imperial power."¹⁵ Suspected to being false as early as the twelfth century, and then openly contested by philological arguments in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the *Constitutum Constantini* served as a basis for pontifical "Constantinism", for the hegemonic claims of the Papacy conceived as a double monarchy, temporal and spiritual, as the instance of fusion of the two powers emblematic of the tiara (the double crown of Boniface VIII, and the triple crown of John XXII and Benedict XII). When, with the Reformation, the papal monarchy was challenged as a temporal power, there was no shortage of roman doctrinaire scholars, such as Bellarmine, to argue that the Roman Church is certainly seen as any political society (the Kingdom of France, the Republic of Venice) according to its external virtues, but that it nonetheless aspires to transcendence according to its internal virtues.¹⁶

¹³ KANTOROWICZ, Ernst – *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1958.

¹⁴ FOLZ, Robert – *L'idée d'Empire en Occident du V^e au XIV^e siècle*. Paris: Aubier, 1953.

¹⁵ MUREȘAN, Dan Ioan – "Le *Constitutum Constantini* et l'impérialisation de l'Église romaine. Les récits ecclésiologiques du *papa universalis*". In BUENO, Irène and ROUXPETEL, Camille (eds.) – *Les récits historiques entre Orient et Occident (XI^e-XV^e siècle)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2019, pp. 139-206.

¹⁶ BELLARMIN, Robert – *De conciliis*. In *Opera omnia*. 12 Vols. Vol. II. Ed. J. Fèvre. Paris, 1870-1874, pp. 187-507, at 317-318.

Political configurations

The transition from a dyarchical system (temporal/spiritual, power/authority) to a hierarchical system capable of making the Church the sole structure of government and consequently of the Christian society, and of making its head the summit of a pyramidal order, rests on an evolution of references to the *imperium* in a configuration of the political in one term, then two, then three: from the *imperium* alone (Late Medieval and Byzantine configuration), to the binomial *sacerdotium/imperium* (Gregorian configuration), to the scholastic trinomial *sacerdotium/imperium/studium*. Each of these configurations marks a time in the history of the Church and a modality of its relationship to the Empire: the time of integration in the imperial totality; the time of tension within a hierarchical dynamic of assimilation of the imperial by the ecclesial – a tension that is somewhat structural since it is that pope who, through the coronation, “makes” the emperor, who institutes him symbolically by rite, whereas in the Byzantine world, the imperial anointing is holy and independent of all human action: it is the election by Providence, should it manifest through a successful *coup d’État* or by porphyrogenesis; finally, the time of the emergence of political Aristotelianism with the overcoming of the dual tension and the appearance of the intellectual rank instituted by university knowledge. In terms of ecclesiological evolution, we can say that the Church, in the Western version of a history written in a very different way on the Eastern side of Christianity, defines itself firstly by assimilation to the *imperium*, and secondly as a priestly power through the magnifying glass of the *imperium*, and finally as learned clericature, as a qualifying institution of the knowledge necessary for exercise of power. This is why the Roman Papacy, at the peak of its sovereign claims in the thirteenth century, claimed all three terms (*sacerdotium, imperium, studium*); conversely, the opposition of secular sovereignty to the Papacy and to the hegemony of the Church was expressed in a claim of the same three terms in the name of the coronation of the sovereign, of his empire, and his political prudence attained through study.

Such an evolution is accompanied by a refinement of reflection regarding the essence of the Empire, a diversification of its semantic field, and an adaptation to the changes which affect the structures of power and domination in the medieval and modern West. The inflections that medieval Christianity brought to the essence of the Empire include its qualification as “spiritual” by legal professionals (civilists and canonists), who consecrated the great rise of papal theocracy by making the papacy, as a “spiritual empire”, a supreme and universal jurisdiction;¹⁷ a *dictum*, that Gratian attributes to Nicholas II, that in fact originates from the work of Peter Damien, maintains that a “universal *imperium*, terrestrial and celestial, was given

¹⁷ ONORY, Sergio Mochi – *Fonti canonistiche dell’idea moderna dello stato: Imperium spirituale, iurisdictio divisa, sovranità*. Milano: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1951.

to Peter by Christ during the concession of the keys” (*Christus beato Petro aeternae vitae clavigero terreni et coelestis imperii iura commisit*). This *imperium* is spiritual in the logic of the anthropo-social schema which was formulated, among others, by Thomas Aquinas, of the obedience of the corporeal creature “following the natural order of the spiritual empire” (*imperio spiritualis secundum naturalem ordinem*), which establishes a relationship of domination of the soul over the body, homothetic of the domination of God over man, and the Church over the faithful.¹⁸

Justified in nature, the domination of the Church is illustrated and applied through topological terms which allow the imperial power of the ecclesial institution to be spatially translated by justifying its overhanging position in a conception of the *imperium* as an encompassing geopolitical structure. When, after the Arab Invasions, the pentarchic balance that organized the geo-ecclesiology of the origins around the patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Rome) met its demise, two imperial capital cities remained (Rome and Constantinople) to reflect upon Christian geography. As the West then moved away from the East, the Latin Church increasingly reflects upon the space on earth to be christianized in a geopolitical form that would only make sense if it was formed in reference to its center, the Roman Papacy, which imposes itself as the head of an encompassing structure of Christian states and principalities confounded with the Empire. According to a formula borrowed from Augustine, Isidore of Seville (ca.570-636) defines the Empire as “that which pertains to various kingdoms and other kings as well as to its dependencies.”¹⁹ Such is the organizing logic of the Carolingian power concerning the integration of kingdoms and territorial principalities within the great structure of the Empire. By Empire, we mean a dynamic of regrouping and unification with variable geometries: the federative capacities of certain Anglo-Saxon sovereigns of the Early Middle Ages; the territorial weaving work undertaken by Alfonso VII of Castile-Leon (1126-1157), “Emperor of All Spain”;²⁰ the ecumenical logic of the Kingdom of Sicily under the domination of the Hauteville;²¹ the constitution of the Kingdom of France and the Capetian Kings and the Anglo-Normand Kingdom of the Plantagenets, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, as Empires of a single crown and king who proclaimed themselves “emperors in their kingdom”. These federative policies all have a Christian dimension. Charlemagne dreamed of an Empire where there would no longer be “neither Greeks, nor Jews, nor gentiles”, but only the followers of Christ. On his way back from Bouvines,

¹⁸ BASCHET, Jérôme – *Corps et âmes. Une histoire de la personne au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Flammarion, 2016.

¹⁹ SEVILLE, Isidore of – *Etymologiae* IX, 3, 3: *Regna cetera ceterique reges velut adpendices istorum habentur*.

²⁰ SIRANTOINE, Hélène – *Imperator Hispaniae. Les idéologies impériales dans le Royaume de León (IX^e-XII^e siècle)*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2012.

²¹ NEF, Annliese – “Imaginaire impérial, empire et œcuménisme religieux : quelques réflexions depuis la Sicile des Hauteville”. *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes* 24 (2012), pp. 227-249.

Philip II Augustus of France was represented in communion with the Christian people, for whom Paris was, as Rome had been, a “common homeland”.²² The Greek title of Roger II of Sicily describes him as a “powerful king and protector of Christians”. With the emergence, between the 800 and 1200, of a geopolitical meaning of the term “Christianity” (*Christianitas*), the Papacy took over the old kingdoms/Empire relationship; the pontifical theocracy made the Church the only true Empire, and the pope the *verus imperator* capable of claiming, in the name of the struggle for the defense of Christianity, the *imperium* of Christ called to impose himself on the entire surface of the earth in the expansionist logic of the crusading spirit. Between *Christianitas* and *imperium*, the geo-political history of the sovereignty of the Western Church plays out on a lasting basis. At the time of the confessional fragmentation resulting from the Reformation, the great Italian political theorist Giovanni Botero (1544-1617) saw no universal authority outside the Holy See capable of ensuring the new international order, whereas Charles V, at the head of an intercontinental monarchy, saw himself as “emperor of the Christians” (*imperator christianorum*).²³ After the geo-political disruptions caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire, and while the nation-states divided up the perimeters of sovereignty at the Congress of Vienna (1815), Novalis (*Europe or Christianity*, a 1799 document published posthumously in 1826) makes Christianity the only plausible supra-statal structure, a kind of society of states, while Joseph de Maistre (1753-1821) maintains that the roman Papacy is the only possible holder of supremacy.²⁴ If there can still be Vatican diplomacy at the beginning of the twenty-first century, it is because the Papacy, as a state, sees itself recognized as an authorized voice in the concert of nations.

“Empirer”²⁵: *The Empire as a polemical theme*

The Empire is, so to speak, a reference *princeps* to the Latin Church. Following the logic of the roman institution’s apparatus as well as its aspirations, more or less developed depending on different time periods, to the *plenitudo potestatis*, the Church tends to pass itself off as intrinsically imperial. But such an essentialization is not self-evident if one unfolds the history of Christianity from the East, within

²² IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – “La terre sainte disputée”. *La Rouelle et la croix. Destins des juifs d’Occident, Médiévales* 41 (2001), pp. 83-112.

²³ BOTERO, Giovanni – *Le Relationi universali*. II, iv. Venezia: apresso Giorgio Angelieri, 1599, pp. 147-152, quoted by Schmitz, “Pouvoir pontifical et *imperium*”, p. 93.

²⁴ MAISTRE, Joseph de – “*Lettre à Blacas*, 22 mai 1814”. In *Œuvres*. Ed. Pierre Glaudes. Paris: Robert Laffont, 2007, p. 1243: “No public morality or national character without religion, no European religion without Christianity, no true Christianity without Catholicism, no Catholicism without the Pope, no Pope without the supremacy that belongs to him.”

²⁵ In the original. The term evokes at the same time the idea of Empire (*Empire*, in French) and the verb “*empirer*” (to get worse). (Note of the translator)

the framework of another Church, where the emperor/patriarch dyarchy – an asymmetrical dyarchy favoring the former – has tempered aspirations for a single sovereignty of every Church bureaucracy. Even in the West, ecclesial imperialism does not impose itself in unison. It is even continuously questioned, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, at the time of the Great Schism and the conciliar movement. This questioning can be classified into three sections: the demand for collegiality; the contestation of the *dominium* of the Church; the aspirations to the sacrality of a secular Empire with a national base.

– The first section (the demand for collegiality) challenges the hierarchical dynamic of *reductio ad unum* and the empire of one, even if conciliar collegiality, as the Council of Basel (1431-1449) attests, can, in its institutional practices and with the theatricality of its representations, retain something of the Roman imperial majesty.

– The second section (the contestation of *dominium*) concerns the empire of the Church at the heart of its material economy, with the quarrel of poverty provoked by the Franciscan spiritual movement, which denies the need for a visible, monumental Church, conceived in the materiality of a “Treasure” capable of reaching the afterlife. Does the economic logic of Christianity not command the Church, Érasme then asks himself, to be an “administration” of salvation rather than a “dominant” institution? It is always in the name of this untenable *dominium* that, in *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes sees in the Papacy the “ghost of the late Roman Empire, crowned and seated on its grave,” echoing the critique of the Papacy as being a temporal empire and a spiritual tyranny, in short a “worsened (*Empiré*) Roman Empire,” a form of despotism, formulated a century earlier by the Reformers (Luther, Viret, Flacius Illyricus).

– The third and last section is the Roman Church’s power of contestation represented by the Holy Roman Empire in the joint fields of imperialism and sacrality. The sacrality of state creations in the West is a question at the heart of the complex relationship between the Church and the Empire. The King of France can call himself “emperor in his kingdom” because he is recognized as “very Christian.”²⁶ The Empire is a sacred political formation both in the sense of the Christian empires of the past (that of Constantine and that of Charlemagne) and of the transfer of sacrality from the Church to the State, which establishes public affairs as a “mystical body” and which makes the secular sovereign (emperor, king, prince) a kind of Christic epiphany.²⁷ It is in this double dynamic that, under the Staufens, the “sacrality” of the Empire (*sacrum imperium*) was proclaimed, referring

²⁶ KRYNEN, Jacques – *L'empire du roi. Idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII^e-XV^e siècles*. Paris: Gallimard, 1993.

²⁷ LE GOFF, Jacques; SCHMITT, Jean-Claude (dir.) – *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Fayard, 1999, s.v. “Empire” (Michel Parisse).

to “Saint” Charlemagne, canonized in 1165. Following the national logics which, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, tended to fragment Latin Christianity into Churches referred to the political frameworks of the kingdoms and principalities, the Holy Roman Empire was qualified as “German” (*sacrum imperium teutonicorum*), then as “Germanic”. From then on, the sacrality and holiness of the Empire no longer depended on the liturgical act of the Pope’s coronation; it is the only election that creates the emperor, who, following the legendary model of Frederick II, is conceived, in the very long term of the forms of political instrumentalization of a sacred and eternal “*Reich*”, in the attires of a superhumanised, heroic, deified entity, as if the transcendence attached to sovereignty still needed, in the age of secular religions, this anchorage in imperial sacrality.²⁸

²⁸ KANTOROWICZ, Ernst – *Kaiser Frierich der Zweite*. Berlin: Georg Bondi, 1928.

The spread of the model of the “modern State” in the Medieval West: positive and negative factors

Jean-Philippe Genet¹

Abstract

This article reflects on the model of the Medieval “Modern State” as devised in recent decades either individual historians or by teams of researchers working on many European Projects on the topic. The article tries to reassess the concept of the Modern State so as to try and move from a historically dated and localized model to an operational concept on the scale of a reflection on globalization. When talking about the Modern State, it is necessary to know what we are talking about. Therefore article begins by recalling some obvious facts that are too often forgotten, before briefly sketching out a chronology and a cartography on a European scale, highlighting the development factors and structural obstacles that have favored or hindered the expansion of the model of the Modern State.

Key Words

Modern State; Globalization of Models in the Middle Ages; Institutionalization of political Models; Medieval State Models.

¹ Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne; Laboratoire de médiévistique occidentale de Paris (UMR-8589-LAMOP). E-mail: jean-philippe.genet@univ-paris1.fr.

As a result of the numerous works devoted to it, particularly in the context of several international programs,² the model of the modern State, although not unanimously accepted, has ended up becoming commonplace among historians: however, this model's popularity has somewhat dissolved its distinctive features, and this is why I am grateful to be able to revisit this topic and draw attention to certain features of the model, particularly those that have been inflected within the framework of the ERC program *Signs and States*: it is essential to clarify them if we want to move from a historically dated and localized model to an operational concept on the scale of a reflection on globalization. When we talk about the modern State, we need to know what we are talking about and we will begin by recalling some obvious facts that are too often forgotten, before briefly sketching out a chronology and a cartography on a European scale, highlighting the development factors and structural obstacles that have favored or hindered the expansion of the model of the modern State.

Recalling the definition of the model as it was formulated in 1999:³ a modern State is “a State whose material base rests upon public taxation accepted by a political society (and such within a territorial dimension greater to that of the city), and in which all subjects are concerned. Such characteristics are nowadays shared by most of the states of the contemporary world,⁴ which is why I have tried to qualify it as “modern”,⁵ which has led to much confusion and outraged the community of “modernist”⁶ historians, but which has the merit of both rooting the analysis in the long term and recalling what is too often hidden, the powerful link between past and present: the forms of the contemporary State are the globalization of an experience initiated in the Middle Ages. However, it is necessary to highlight some of the characteristics of this definition: it does not give any precision of date or place, and is therefore a dynamic definition, the process being able to be set in motion at different dates and rhythms depending on the place. It says nothing about the structures of “political society”. Finally, it gives no indication of constitutional order,⁷ except for the caveat concerning the territorial dimension (important, as we shall see).

² ATP Genèse de l'État moderne (CNRS: 1984-1988); *Origins of the Modern State* (European Science Foundation, 1988-1992, program headed by Wim Blockmans); and *Signs and States* (European Research Council, april 2010- march 2014).

³ GENET, Jean-Philippe – “La genèse de l'État moderne: les enjeux d'un programme de recherche”. *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 118 (june 1997), pp. 3-18.

⁴ BLOCKMANS, Wim; MACEDO, Jorge Borges de; GENET, Jean-Philippe (eds.) – *The Heritage of the Pre-Industrial European State*. Lisbon: Arquivos Nacionais / Torre do Tombo, 1996.

⁵ Hence the title choice by STRAYER, Joseph – *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State*. Princeton: Princeton Classic Editions, 2005 [1970].

⁶ At least in France, where the division of historical studies into four periods is almost sacred.

⁷ It must be stressed that some political scientists sometimes link “modernity” to democracy, or at least to a very Western vision of democracy.

But this definition does not seem sufficient to answer the objections formulated by Pierre Bourdieu in his course at the Collège de France towards historians and “general sociologists”:⁸ “For the tax to be introduced, the legitimacy of the body introducing the tax would have to be recognized, in other words, it would have to be all that I have said, i.e. bodies capable of having their legitimate monopoly of the social world recognized”.⁹ It is therefore the problem of legitimacy, or more exactly of the “monopoly of legitimacy” that is central. However, it a long detour is required in order to solve it, as we shall see. Let us content ourselves, to conclude this overly long introduction, with the empirical observation that this structure was gradually put in place from the twelfth century onwards in Western Europe, based on four elements – a State, a public tax system, a political society and a territory – the model of the last great universalist state in the Latin West, the Roman Empire, having definitely moved away. The final attempt at restoration had come to a halt with the break-up and then disappearance of the Carolingian Empire, because the dynamics of the imperial restoration of 962 remained confined to the Italian-German space. The very concept of political legitimacy wavered in the hands of secular power and, from the mid-eleventh century onwards, it was the Church, and more particularly the Roman Papacy, which established itself as the holder of the monopoly of symbolic legitimacy. This dualism between secular and religious power on the one hand, and these four elements, can undoubtedly be found in other societies, some of which were more advanced at the time – economically and technically, as well as politically – than those of Western Europe (for example the Byzantine Empire, the various Islamic States or Song China), but they will take other paths in their development. It is this gradual conquest of the “monopoly of legitimacy” over the “social world”, to use Bourdieu’s expression, that constitutes the genesis of the model of the modern State, a genesis in the course of which it will acquire its main characteristics.

The peculiarity of the State in the West is indeed due to its initial lack of legitimacy, a trait that clearly separates it from the Byzantine Empire, whose Emperors are magistrates who are direct heirs of their Roman predecessors, which would bring it closer to the Islamic States, at least after the fall of the Umayyad Caliphate.¹⁰ The reflection of the Fathers of the Church and more particularly Gregory the Great on the *Omnis potestas a deo* (“For there is no power but from God”¹¹) of Saint Paul led to the acceptance of the so-called barbarian *reges* and kingships, which, on top of that, were Arian for the most part, without much

⁸ BOURDIEU, Pierre – *Sur l’État. Cours au Collège de France 1989-1992*. Paris: Seuil, 2012, pp. 116-138.

⁹ BOURDIEU, Pierre – *Sur l’État*, p. 117.

¹⁰ DAGRON, Gilbert – *Empereur et prêtre. Etude sur le «césaropapisme» byzantin*. Paris: Gallimard, 1996, pp. 70-72; cf. GENET, Jean-Philippe – “Légitimation religieuse et pouvoir dans l’Europe médiévale latine”. In GENET, Jean-Philippe (ed.) – *Rome et l’État moderne européen*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007, pp. 381-418, at 389-390.

¹¹ Romans 13.1.

enthusiasm. The baptism of Clovis, the Isidorian invention of the coronation and, above all, the attempt to restore a Western Empire, brought temporary solutions to this difficulty, but the Carolingian decadence and the Ottonian inability to project itself on a European scale gave it back its acuteness. The ruling class of the medieval West was twofold, as was that of the Lower Empire, with a land-holding senatorial aristocracy on the one hand and an increasingly Germanized military elite holding power on the other. In the absence of a stable structure of functions and powers as established in the late Roman Empire and its aftermath in Byzantium, and as the great Carolingians and Ottonians had tried to restore it without success, the process of decomposition of sovereign authority which, with varying degrees of intensity depending on the region, distributes the exercise of *dominium* between the members of the military and seignorial aristocracy by virtue of perpetually shifting equilibriums of power, thus creating a threatening situation for their property and freedom of action on the other faction of the ruling class, the Church.

The rise in power of the military aristocracy at the expense of the Carolingian imperial power and its heirs, kings or princes, weakened the bipartition of the dominant class: the growing stranglehold of feudal lineages on monasteries and episcopal sees provoked the reaction of a faction of the clergy from the tenth century onwards, particularly from the reformed eremitical and the monastic circles (Gorze, Cluny, Trèves). As is well known, the reformers prevailed in favor of an imperial minority and took advantage of this to implement the so-called Gregorian Reformation. It is not a question here of analyzing the latter, but it is necessary to underline some of its components, crucial for the birth of the modern State. First, it is the restoration of the bipartition of the dominant class by strengthening the division between the laity and the clergy, the control of the latter over the former being exercised by spiritual power. Then, the introduction of the Justinian Code (Mount Cassin, Rome, Bologna), and from there the development of Canon Law led to the development of the Roman Law.¹² Last but not least, the development of the symbolic power of the Church through the profound transformation of the system of communication (education, including the emergence of universities, preaching and catechesis in vernacular, rituals and liturgies, the system of images, monumental flowering and new architectural techniques, polyphony etc.) by which it imposes on the *ecclesia*, that is to say on the whole of Christian society, at the same time the demand for redemptive salvation, the fear of eternal punishment and submission to ecclesiastical authority in the medieval *idéel*.¹³ The most obvious

¹² On the effects of this introduction, LEGENDRE, Pierre – *Lamour du censeur. Essai sur l'ordre dogmatique*. Paris: Seuil, 1974 and *Les enfants du texte: étude sur la fonction parentale des États*. Paris: Fayard, 1992.

¹³ "Idéel" means for Maurice Godelier what belongs to the sphere of thought (the "mental"), as opposed to the material: GODELIER, Maurice – *L'idéal et le matériel. Pensée, économies, société*. Paris: Fayard, 1984; GENET, Jean-Philippe – "Pouvoir symbolique, légitimation et genèse de l'État moderne". In GENET, Jean-Philippe

sign of success of the reformation program is the success of the papal monarchy and the development of its administrative, judicial and financial institutions: as a universalist power, the Church gradually eclipsed the Empire.

So far little has been said about the State, and even less about the modern State, and the emphasis has been on one essential point: the advance of the ecclesiastical institution. But the tools used by the latter were at the disposal of the secular powers, from the moment they had the means to have a personnel capable of mastering them: the Church, unable to do without their material help, if only to impose the ideals of the reformation, allowed its clergy to call upon them, who put themselves at their service. The kings and princes who had large vassalic clientele which enabled them to control the areas which were the main beneficiaries of the economic boom thus borrowed from the Church the men and methods which made it possible to build efficient administrative states: gradually, chanceries, chapels, courts of justice, agencies to collect, secure and distribute the expenses of the sovereign and his agents, then finally archives and control bodies (audit chambers) were set up, and courts of justice appeared.

At this early stage of its development, the medieval State became an administrative state, where government was imposed by the written word, with all the training prerequisites and all the technological developments (standardization of writing, diplomacy, accounting techniques, control and authentication procedures, dissemination of literacy) that it entailed. This is a point that needs to be stressed, because the political scientists or sociologists who have taken up the subject of the State – but also sometimes our modernist colleagues – tend to neglect the importance of these aspects, which only medievalists are capable of analyzing from archival sources,¹⁴ and thus confuse the modern State and the bureaucratic State, stressing the number of agents rather than the techniques, abusively placing themselves under the aegis of Max Weber, whose thinking is much more complex.

At the same time, and from this early stage, the Church and – following it – the State seized Roman law and used it in three areas in which decisive advances were made in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: sovereignty,¹⁵ territorialization (and Florian Mazel recently stressed the importance of rebuilding the diocese as a territory),¹⁶ and the administration of justice, with attempts at codification and

(ed.) – *La légitimité implicite*. I. Rome-Paris: Publications of Sorbonne-École française de Rome, 2015, pp. 9-47, especially 39-42.

¹⁴ See CANTEAU, Olivier (ed.) – *Le discret langage du pouvoir. Les mentions de chancellerie du Moyen Âge au XVIIe siècle*. Paris: École nationale des chartes, 2019.

¹⁵ WILKS, Michael – *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965; KRYNEN, Jacques – *L'Empire du roi: idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII^e-XIV^e siècle*. Paris: Gallimard, 1995.

¹⁶ MAZEL, Florian – *L'espace du diocèse: genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval, V^e-XIII^e siècle*. Rennes: PUR, 2008.

even harmonization that favored the production of *jus commune*, and an effort to theorize the exercise of royal grace. All this provides the material means to move to the modern State but is not enough to build one. For this, the question of a consensual public tax system must be resolved, both as a material test of the effectiveness of legitimacy and as a means of creating an over-taxation, an essential resource for the development of States: once the administrative difficulties have been overcome, taxation constitutes a new structure that poses the double problem of legitimacy and the need for communication with political society, because, according to the definitions of theologians and jurists, taxation can only be levied by a legitimate power, that is to say, one that is recognized as legitimately able to demand it, for a just, necessary and common good cause, and it must be approved by all.¹⁷ With the last vestiges of Roman taxation gone, the secular powers succeeded in recreating taxations by combining the principles of Roman law and the feudal tradition of aid.¹⁸ This can also be explained by the economic boom that Europe and especially its western part experienced from the end of the ninth century to the middle of the thirteenth century: the longest period of economic and demographic growth in its history, corresponding to what climate historians call the MCA, Medieval Climatic Anomaly.¹⁹ The population and resources increased, as did trade, while the economy was monetarized, and cities were born or reborn.

The stakes are high: it is a question of imposing a third levy on the population, after the land rent collected by the lords and the tithe collected by (or on behalf of) the Church. The obligation to tax presents itself as a contribution which, if all the conditions are not met, runs the devastating risk of a refusal that undermines the legitimacy and weakens the power of those who embark on this type of operation. Direct taxation can be very lucrative (see for example the return on new taxes compared to the *danegeld* in England or the *fodrum* in Italian cities etc.) but it also has a downside: the enforcer must expect to see his personal legitimacy as a sovereign discussed on the one hand, and the adequacy to the requirements of the law on the other. In other words, negotiating with political society involves a political risk that has sometimes proved fatal, as shown in England by the failures of John the Landless and Henry III. To take these risks, one must be forced to do so, either because power is contested (disputed succession, bastardization) or because war

¹⁷ SCORDIA, Lydwine – “*Le roi doit vivre du sien*”. *La théorie de l’impôt en France (XIII^e-XIV^e siècles)*. Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2005.

¹⁸ CONTAMINE, Philippe; KERHERVE, Jean; RIGAUDIERE, Albert – *L’impôt au Moyen Âge. L’impôt public et le prélèvement seigneurial fin XI^e-début XVI^e siècle*. 3 vols. Paris: Comité pour l’histoire économique et financière de la France, 2002, and the critical remarks of RIGAUDIERE, Albert – *Penser et construire l’État dans la France du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*. Paris: Comité pour l’histoire économique et financière de la France, 2003, pp. 28-30.

¹⁹ CAMPBELL, Bruce M. S. – *The Great Transition. Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016.

requires the sovereign to maximize his income. The constraint of war is the major cause that confronts the sovereign with the need to extend his resources beyond the royal demesne's income and to take the risk of seeing his legitimacy challenged and his authority flouted by this new player in the exercise of power that is political society, which is replacing the former vassalic following that it encompasses and increasingly surpasses as fiscal demands intensify and diversify. Now war, is tending to become a permanent structure in the European area and involves an increasingly frequent call for taxes. For taxation to become regular, dialogue with the political society must be institutionalized: the crucial point here is to ensure the presence of the cities alongside the members of the feudal and ecclesiastical aristocracy.

From the second half of the twelfth century onwards, representative institutions²⁰ developed, which required the holders of lay powers to completely transform their mode of government, if this word can be used at this stage: in the case of kings and princes, the council of vassals had to be articulated with the consultation of members of the political society on a territorial scale and well beyond their vassalic clientele, by integrating the inhabitants of the towns. In the case of the cities, the problem is even more complex and sometimes imposes the need for a real conquest of the territories controlled by the feudal lords, as Florentine history reminds us. In order to make their legitimacy indisputable before political society, kings and princes first organized large assemblies, most often from their feudal *curia* where their vassals were to provide them with help and advice, but gradually developed representative institutions. The two most obvious markers of this evolution are on the one hand the participation of cities (in fact urban oligarchies), and on the other hand the territorialization of representation, as representatives become proctors engaging their constituents.²¹

It is not easy to establish a chronology of the appearance of representative assemblies and their transformation into Cortes or Parliament: in the last published comprehensive study on the English Parliament, John Maddicott goes so far as to present a long-term vision that establishes a continuum from the *Witenagemot* of the Anglo-Saxon kings to the “new model” parliament convened in January 1265 by Simon de Montfort,²² with elected representatives of towns and counties. However, it is important to underline the precocity of the Iberian institutions with, as early as 1188, the Cortes of Leon, where the representatives of the towns joined the members of the *Curia*, in 1214 the Cortes of Lleida, convened by the papal

²⁰ HEBERT, Michel – *Parlementer. Assemblées représentatives et échange politique en Europe occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: De Boccard, 2014.

²¹ POST, Gaines – “Plena Postestas and Consent in Medieval Assemblies” and “A Romano-canonical Maxim, *Quod Omnes Tangit*, in Bracton and Early Parliaments”. In POST, Gaines – *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 91-162 and 163-238.

²² MADDICOTT, John R. – *The Origins of the English Parliament, 924-1327*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

legate for the kingdom of Aragon-Catalonia, and for Portugal the Cortes of Leiria (1254) and Santarém (1274). France was still holding great assemblies under Saint Louis, and it was not until 1302 that Philip the Fair convened an assembly which for many historians are the first General Estates. Similar assemblies multiplied in Italy (Naples-Sicily, subalpine principalities) and in the States situated on the periphery of these great kingdoms, Scotland, the Netherlands, the Mediterranean world.²³

The consensus that necessarily appears at the end of the meetings of the assemblies of states often masks more or less deep dissensions that overflow the restricted political society (vassals, clerics, officers, etc.) to degenerate into revolts and rebellions of all kinds, which make social and political instability one of the permanent features of the *Policie* of the end of the Middle Ages.²⁴ In order to obtain the consensus of political society in the broadest sense (i.e. all those affected by the collection of taxes), it is necessary to use all the resources of the communication system to act in the public space, the terrain where the symbolic power of the Church must be confronted while trying to capture its power of legitimization.²⁵ As they have been developed by the Church, both through its media (especially linguistic), but also through the contents they convey, they are particularly effective in activating “national” and dynastic exaltation. Institutions, by their action within society itself, also play a role: we have already mentioned the representative assemblies, but we must also think of the events that precede them (the appointment of representatives, but also the petitions addressed to them) and follow them (report of mandate). Above all, the institution that puts men in power in contact with all subjects is justice: its importance is already considerable at the stage of the administrative monarchy, but the development of sovereignty makes it one of the essential levers of the hold of the modern State, less by its repressive aspects than by the manifestations of grace, the very symbol of sovereignty.²⁶ “Government by grace” quickly goes beyond the limits of justice *per se*, to extend itself to all domains and channels of access to sovereigns (requests, pleas) multiply,²⁷ facilitated by linguistic developments.

²³ HEBERT, Michel – *Parlementer*, p. 3.

²⁴ On social revolutions, COHN, Samuel K. Jr. – *Lust for Liberty. The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 2006 and for the connection between social and political, ROLLISON, David – *A Commonwealth of the people. Popular Politics and England's Long social Revolution, 1066-1649*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

²⁵ GENET, Jean-Philippe – “Idéal, consensus, dissensus”. In GENET, Jean-Philippe; LE PAGEA Dominique and MATTEONI, Olivier (dirs.) – *Consensus and representation. Actes du colloque organisé en 2013 à Dijon*. Rome-Paris: Publications of Sorbonne-École française de Rome, 2017, pp. 41-58.

²⁶ GAUVARD, Claude – “*De Grace Especial*”. *Crime, État et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*. 2 vol. Paris: Publications of Sorbonne, 1991.

²⁷ MILLET, Hélène (ed.) – *Suppliques et Requêtes: le Gouvernement par la Grâce en Occident*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2003; for France, PETIT-RENAUD, Sophie – *Faire loy au Royaume de France de Philippe VI à Charles V (1328-1380)*. Paris: De Boccard, 2003 and, for England, DODD, Gwilym – *Justice and Grace. Private Petitioning and the English Parliament in the Late Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

One of the important transformations in the communication system from the thirteenth century onwards was the transformation of vernacular dialects into languages capable of conveying literature made up of their own productions and translations (often, as in Castile, Portugal or France, stimulated by power). They contribute to the definition of national linguistic spaces and to the dismantling of the ecclesiastical monopoly of scholarly culture through Latin. Chanceries use them to communicate with subjects and they are available for propaganda operations²⁸ for all those who intervene in the public space. The ability to access textual or linguistic contents, whether written (handwritten diffusion) or oral (preaching), and the vernacularization of culture, facilitates communication and widens its limits.²⁹ Behind this evolution, which is tantamount to a cultural revolution, is the fundamental development of education at both school and university level. If the Church was at first the main driving force, cities and elites for small schools, and princes and their officers for universities or university colleges then became their propellers: Universities were almost all princely foundations since the foundation of that of Naples by Frederick II. As a result of this structural upheaval, secular powers made use of all the possibilities offered by emblems, coats of arms and images in general (coins, badges, murals), the whole panoply of symbolism being mixed with the various modes of transmission of the text (books and booklets, posters, inscriptions, tokens).³⁰

The Church enjoyed a monopoly of symbolic power practically until the end of the thirteenth century. Thus, states and secular powers, besides depending on the clergy for the skills indispensable to the development of their administrative and judicial apparatus, can only project themselves into the *idéal* by borrowing. This is especially notorious in the rituals and liturgies of the royal ceremonial, starting with the coronation practiced by most monarchies,³¹ and by the construction of “royal religions” or urban religions, in particular the cults of dynastic, national or civic saints. The control of the sexuality of laymen and women that flowed from this symbolic power was also useful in exercising his *magisterium* over sovereigns and powerful people, especially during marriage crises (see the setbacks of Philip I, Philip-Augustus, Alfonso III...). Politically, this control also proved effective for a long time: the victory of the pontifical monarchy over the various schisms caused by Germanic emperors or the claims of Henry II against Becket testify to this, but the excesses of Boniface VIII faced with the fiscal and judicial demands of Philip

²⁸ See CAMMAROSANO, Paolo (dir.) – *Le Forme della Propaganda politica nel due e nel trecento*. Rome: École française de Rome, 1994.

²⁹ For different cultural levels, IMBACH, Ruedi; KÖNIG-PRALONG, Catherine – *Le défi laïque*. Paris: Vrin, 2013 and SALTER, Elisabeth; WICKER, Helen (eds.) – *Vernacularity in England and Wales c. 1300-1550*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

³⁰ BASCHET, Jérôme; DITMAR, Pierre-Olivier (dirs.) – *Les images au Moyen Âge*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

³¹ GENET, Jean-Philippe – “Légitimation religieuse”.

the Fair and Edward I led to a radical change, forcing the Church to share symbolic power with secular powers. The ideological struggle would certainly continue with Emperors Henry VII and Louis IV, but the controversy would only weaken the Church a little more, which itself in Avignon took on the appearance of a modern State: the so-called “conciliar” crisis of the fifteenth century echoed the demands for association with the government of the representative assemblies in fourteenth century States.

The underlying reason for the total success of the kings of modern States is that they took full advantage of the cultural revolution driven by the Church to achieve their own goals. Thus, they were able to build and use those “instances capable of gaining recognition for their legitimate monopoly of the social world”, to return to Bourdieu’s formula. One of the best examples of this reversal is provided by the very heart of the citadel of truth³² that schools and faculties of theology have developed. As Kantorowicz brilliantly demonstrated, the combination of law and theology gave rise, along with the theory of the two bodies of the King, to the political person which is the State:³³ while the masters of theology at the University of Paris, Thomas Aquinas and Gilles of Rome, rediscover and reinterpret Aristotle’s work in order to think politically, with William of Ockham, theories which emphasize the natural rights of individuals emerged.³⁴ It was Augustinian theologians, from the intellectual family into which the Pontifical theocracy had hitherto recruited its most fervent advocates, John Wyclif and then Martin Luther, who overturned the Augustinian theory of grace to make it a devastating weapon against the Papacy and the Church of the Gregorian Reformation. Associated with the ideology of the common good and imbued with Christian morality, the demand for the autonomy and the superiority of the state in the field of politics constitutes a republican basis, not in the constitutional sense, but in the Ciceronian sense, which historians have perhaps not sufficiently highlighted. It forms the background of the ideal of political societies in modern European States and even far beyond, before being absorbed (and transformed) by national ideas. But if modern States very quickly create “national” territories – indeed, that is what they are primarily meant to! – national ideologies will take centuries to mature: products of the modern State, they did not create them.

The model of the modern State has spread simply because, with the widespread extension of war in a generalized context of territorial competition between States,

³² GENET, Jean-Philippe (dir.) – *La vérité. Vérité et crédibilité: construire la vérité dans le système de communication de l’Occident (XIII^e-XVII^e siècle)*. Paris-Rome: Publications of Sorbonne-École française de Rome, 2015.

³³ KANTOROWICZ, Ernst H. – *The King’s Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.

³⁴ MCGRADY, Arthur Stephen – *The Political Thought of William of Ockham: personal and institutional principles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

it has become one of the central structures of the European space. The key date here seems to be that of the Sicilian Vespers (1282), when a competitive clash began between all European States to maximize the space they controlled, a competition globalized on a world scale by colonization. Before that, we dealt mainly with wars having religious objectives on the borders of Europe (such as the *Reconquista* and the Crusades) or feudal-vassalic conflicts (such as the one between the Plantagenets and the Capetians), which were self-legitimizing without much difficulty. On the other hand, struggles waged in the name of national or partisan identities – which from the end of the thirteenth century onwards subsumed family struggles – had a strong need to prove their legitimacy. The difficult successions in France, Naples or the Iberian Peninsula, the calls to the Paris Parliament that ruined the Plantagenet’s capacities in their continental domains, led to this shift from feudal to national. Their ability to mobilize their population in the framework of a political society with representative institutions and to intervene in the public space thanks to their mastery of the communication system enabled the monarchies and principalities of Western Europe, once they had reached the stage of the administrative State, to be the first to embark on the genesis of the modern State.

England, the states of the Iberian Peninsula (Navarra, Castile, Portugal, the Crown of Aragon States including Sicily), and France are undoubtedly the first to conform to this new model, caught up in permanent wars fueled by a tax system that their political societies accept to feed, despite the devastation that ensues, although (or because?) the economic and ecological situation has completely turned around.³⁵ Many States situated on the periphery of this central core are in turn sucked into this transformation: Scotland, the principalities of French political culture, Provence and the kingdom of Naples in the Angevin region, Brittany, the Burgundian state and its components, Lorraine, Savoy and the subalpine principalities. But there are other forms of State that are not moving in this direction, such as the *Eidgenossenschaft*, the Flemish cities and the Italian cities, to mention only the most flagrant cases. We must also ask ourselves why this movement from the western part of Europe has not overcome the obstacles that have slowed down or even prevented its spread eastwards.

The first obstacle is the existence of an eminent authority, which hinders the possibilities of territorial extension of the most dynamic entities by maintaining power structures that have been swept away elsewhere. The brake represented by an imperial type of authority is particularly evident in the case of the Empire, where the holders of “sovereign” authority of feudal origin number in the hundreds. The territorial blocks on which the power of the families claiming to be Imperial rest are

³⁵ GENET, Jean-Philippe – “Le développement des monarchies d’Occident est-il une conséquence de la crise?”. In *Europa en los Umbrales de la Crisis (1250-1350)*. XXI Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella, 18-22 julio 1994. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, 1995, pp. 247-273.

placed in an ambiguous situation and are somehow excluded from the possibility of becoming modern States: this is true for the Bohemian-Moravian-Silesian ensemble under the Luxembourg dynasty (although Charles IV seems to have envisaged such a transformation for Bohemia), or for the Austrian Habsburg ensemble. It was not until the sixteenth century that the genesis of the modern State in northern Europe (Denmark) and in the Germanic area, with Prussia-Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, and many others, began. Still, these are more often births by formal imitation at the initiative of a prince (as in the case of Sweden and later Russia) than births through the emergence of a political society, which does not mean that some of these countries will not later transform themselves into true modern States... This eminent authority can also hinder the development of a truly autonomous modern States by exercising a domination that prevents a political society from playing its role: the Habsburgs (but also the Bourbons when they have the opportunity) thus use all their political, diplomatic and military weight to prevent the birth of modern States in Bohemia, Tuscany, Milan or Catalonia. Only the Netherlands, at the cost of a violent war against Spain, will succeed in freeing itself from this straitjacket.

The second obstacle is towns. This is a paradox, since Italian cities are a sort of prototype of the modern State and, long before the feudal States and principalities, they massively resorted to taxation as early as the twelfth century and were practically the creators of the engineering of public finances. This development is linked to the vitality of their political society, which is based on a specific culture where the importance given very early on to grammar and rhetoric shows the crucial role of public communication. Moreover, as we have pointed out, the presence of cities is essential in the affirmation of representative assemblies, of which they themselves, in the framework of their own municipal councils and assemblies, were one of the earliest experimentation grounds. However, their capacity for extension and homogenization of the territory is almost nil outside the limits of their own territory (*contado*). Milan and Florence govern subject or allied cities, but a Lombard or Tuscan identity plays no role in the political legitimization of the rulers of these cities, both the dominant and the subject. Additionally, the ritual designations of “Guelphs” or “Ghibellines” serve above all to cover the social reality of the factions. Venice would undoubtedly be the city that has been closest to becoming a modern State; perhaps the Papal States have at times evolved in this direction. This does not mean, of course, that there is no State in Italy: Giorgio Chittolini’s³⁶ “regional States” are tangible realities and in many ways effective structures of government, but they will be shattered by the shock of the French, Spanish and imperial expeditions, and if they remain under the control of their Habsburg godparents, it is, as we have just

³⁶ CHITTOLINI, Giorgio – *La formazione della Stato regionale e le istituzioni del contado, secoli XIV e XV*. Turin: Einaudi, 1979, rep. Milan: Unicopli, 2000. On these States, see GAMBERINI, Andrea; LAZZARINI, Isabella – *The Italian Renaissance State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

seen, without achieving real autonomy. Cities can, moreover, be direct obstacles to the development of a modern State: for example, the clashes between the people of Bruges and Ghent were detrimental to the affirmation of political unity of the Burgundian State. They can also be indirect obstacles, such as when, in the Empire, they formed urban leagues to resist the principalities threatening their autonomy, thereby slowing down their transformation into a modern State.

The third obstacle is the heterogeneity of societies in Eastern and Northern Europe, which is an obstacle to the development of political societies: in Bohemia, Poland, Hungary or in the Baltic and Scandinavian area, German, indigenous (Slavic, Baltic or Magyar) and Jewish populations maintain separate relations with monarchical or princely powers, and these segmented societies are unable to form political societies. Moreover, the Turkish threat to the nobility remains so great in Poland (despite or rather because of the role of parliament) and Hungary that the evolution towards the modern state is impossible there. The absorption of Hungary into the Habsburg complex at the cost of losing its autonomy, however, saved it from the Polish political disaster: one of the most powerful States in Europe in the fifteenth century, Poland was wiped off the map at the end of the eighteenth century, and not by the Turks...

Two concluding observations. This little geochronology seems to suggest that once established, the modern State developed continuously. This is not the case: it even went into crisis almost everywhere in the second half of the fifteenth century, particularly in France, England and the States of the Crown of Aragon. The crisis was particularly acute in England, where the Parliament seemed to gradually fade away in the second half of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth century: the religious and/or matrimonial options of Henry VIII resurrected it, but those of the Stuarts, confronted with the aggressive Protestantism of the political society, led to its triumph at the expense of the King: England remained a modern State in the full sense of the word, a monarchy whose political system was that of a republic, much closer to the United Provinces than to the continental monarchies. In France, the General Estates completely disappeared between 1484 and 1560 and were only brought back to the foreground when the wars of religion called the royal legitimacy into question. However, the dialogue with the political society continued in France through a multitude of assemblies at the level of the provinces and bailiwicks up to the provincial States meeting regularly. But what has been deceptively called absolutism³⁷ ends up undermining this dialogue, all the more so as the nobility is exempted from part of the fiscal effort, which tends to bring French political society closer to segmented societies.

³⁷ See COSANDEY, Fanny; DESCIMON, Robert – *L'absolutisme en France*. Paris: Seuil, 2002 and the essential pages of JOUANNA, Arlette – *Le pouvoir absolu. Naissance de l'imaginaire politique de la royauté*. Paris: Gallimard, 2013, pp. 313-322.

Territorial competition and the intensification of wars with what has been called the “military revolution” (field artillery, maneuvering regiments, arming of large navies) is ultimately the main driving force behind maintenance, extension and strengthening of modern States. On the one hand, as has already been said, it pushes certain emerging powers (Sweden, Prussia, Russia, etc.) to adopt institutional systems close to those of modern States, despite the low level of their political society and communication systems. While their character as “modern States” may be contested, their case demonstrates that it was easy to transport the institutional kit of the modern State and graft it onto social bodies incapable of producing it themselves. On the other hand, war transforms the “republican” element based on the ideology of the common good by imbuing it with nationalism: the French nation and the British nation in their confrontation for world domination that lasted from 1688 to 1815 created a new paradigm in which religion only intervened in a secondary way (British Protestantism in response to Catholicism from the French monarchy until the Revolution) and created new conditions of legitimacy that played a decisive role in the expansion of the modern State, now the national State. These are the States that, at decolonization, will give rise to most contemporary States that reproduce them to a greater or lesser extent, hence the obvious problems concerning the adequacy between their societies and the forms of their State, one of the main ones being that of legitimacy. As Joseph Strayer³⁸ pointed out, the States born of decolonization did not have the time to wait six or seven hundred years for their political society to reach maturity: but one can only understand the problem in all its depth if one goes back to its first origins in the process of the genesis of the modern State.

³⁸ STRAYER, Joseph – *On the Medieval Origins*; on the problem of the domination of cultural models, see BADIE, Bertrand – *L'État importé: essai sur l'occidentalisation de l'ordre politique*. Paris: CNRS, 2017.

Romance on the Run: charting the pan-European best-seller *Paris and Vienne*

*Ana Pairet*¹

Abstract

Buoyed by inter-vernacular translation, late medieval idyllic romance evolved into a flourishing Early Modern editorial genre, catering to a sociologically mixed readership with a growing taste for love and adventure. This essay examines the transmission and reception of the pan-European best-seller *Paris and Vienne*, with particular focus on translations and adaptations printed before 1501. It highlights linguistic and generic transformations from the French *editio princeps* to radiant transmission through English, Dutch, and Low German translations, to its dissemination across the Mediterranean.

Keywords

Chivalric Fiction; Idyllic romance; Middle French; Early Printing; Translation; pan-European transmission; *Paris et Vienne*.

¹ Rutgers University, New Brunswick. E-mail: apairet@french.rutgers.edu.

To approach romance as a form in motion is a way to counter the perceived hiatus between medieval and Early Modern narrative genres.² Building on centuries-long ambivalence towards vernacular narrative fiction, the Early Modern literary canon was largely constructed *against romance*, often assimilated in the Francophone context to the “monstruous books” Charles Sorel christened as “Roman de Chevalerie.”³ In prescriptive writing, the polysemic term *roman* encompassed heterogeneous materials that poetic and rhetorical treatises tended to reduce to epic, when they were considered at all.⁴ Renaissance courtly poets characterized prose romances as an undignified literary endeavor, while humanists like Juan Luís Vives warned against “pestilent books” that led to delusion, corruption and folly.⁵ Such was the weight of moral prescription in nineteenth and twentieth-century scholarship that many of the romances printed before the French translation of *Amadís* were dismissed as residual.⁶ A notable invitation to revisit the history and genealogy of narrative fiction

² On reinventions of literary forms and generic conventions in the Early Modern period, see FOWLER, Alastair – “The Formation of Genres in the Renaissance and After”. *Theorizing Genres I, New Literary History* 34. 2 (Spring 2003), pp. 185-200. On the “impossible genealogy” and permanent reinvention of medieval romance, see GINGRAS, Francis – *Le Bâtard conquérant. Essor et expansion du genre romanesque au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Champion, 2011, pp. 27-45, 404-405 and 459-472.

³ SOREL, Charles – *Le Berger extravagant*. Paris, T. du Bray, 1627- 28, p. 520. See SOREL, Charles – *L’Anti-roman ou histoire du berger Lysis accompagnée de ses remarques*. Edited by Anne-Elisabeth Spica. Paris: Champion, 2014. On the “roman de chevalerie” as generic rubric in Sorel’s *La Bibliothèque française* (1664), see KENNEY, Neil – “Ce nom de Roman qui estoit particulier aux Livres de chevalerie, estant demeuré à tous les livres de fiction’ La naissance antitadée d’un genre”. In CLEMENT, Michèle; MOUNIER, Pascale (eds.) – *Le roman français au XVIe siècle ou le renouveau d’un genre dans le contexte européen*. Strasbourg : Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2005, pp. 19-20. On chivalric romance as an Early Modern fabrication, see BURG, Gaëlle – *Les imprimeurs libraires et l’invention du roman de chevalerie au XVIe siècle*. Basel: University of Basel, University of Basel Library, 2021. Habilitation thesis.

⁴ On medieval romance in Renaissance France, see *Le Roman de chevalerie au temps de la Renaissance*. Ed. Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies Paris. Touzot, 1987; ROTHSTEIN, Marian – “Le genre du roman a la Renaissance”. *Études françaises* 32.1 (1996), pp. 35-47; *Le roman à la Renaissance, Actes du colloque Le roman à la Renaissance*. Ed. Christine de Buzon. Lyon: RHR, 2012. For European perspectives, see CLEMENT, Michèle; MOUNIER, Pascale (eds.) – *Le Roman français au XVIe*. On codification in seventeenth-century France, see ESMEIN-SARRAZIN, Camille – *L’essor du roman: discours théorique et constitution d’un genre*. Paris: Champion, 2018, pp. 228-231.

⁵ *De Institutione Feminae Christianae, Liber Primus* (1523). Ed. Charles Fantazzi and C. Matheusen. Leiden: Brill, 1996, p. 44. On Vives’ inventory of pernicious romances, see SIMONIN, Michel – “La réputation des romans de chevalerie selon quelques listes de livres (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)”. In *Mélanges de langue et littérature française du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à monsieur Charles Foulon*. Rennes: Institut de Français, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980, pp. 363-369. For the “case against of romance,” see SULLIVAN, Karen – *The Danger of Romance: Truth, Fantasy, and Arthurian Fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018, pp. 34-41. On moral versus commercial prescription, see BURG, Gaëlle – “La vogue littéraire du roman de chevalerie médiéval dans les imprimés renaissants: critique et prescription”. In CHAPELAIN, Brigitte; DUCAS, Sylvie (eds.) – *Prescription culturelle: avatars et médiamorphoses*. Villeurbanne: Presses de l’Enssib, 2018, pp. 67-84.

⁶ The pan-European circulation of chivalric fiction was accelerated by Herberay des Essarts’ French adaptation of the eight books of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo’s *Amadís de Gaula* (printed in French between 1541 and 1548), and Mambrino Roseo da Fabiano’s Italian translation of *Palmerín de Oliva* (1544). Mid-sixteenth-century translations of Iberian romances signal a shift in reception, as charted by SÁNCHEZ-MARTÍ, Jordi – “The Printed Popularization of the Iberian Books of Chivalry across Sixteenth-Century Europe”. In ROSPOCHER, Massimo, et al. (eds.) – *Crossing Borders, Crossing Cultures: Popular Print in Europe (1450-1900)*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019, pp. 159-180. For a review of scholarship on the sixteenth-century reception of Middle French chivalric fiction see MÉNARD, Philippe – “La réception des romans de chevalerie à la fin du Moyen Âge et au

was Jane H. M. Taylor's study of Arthurian romance in Renaissance France, which moved away from essentialist notions of period-specific genres to freely explore "the business of the print shop," shedding light on the repurposing strategies of publishers.⁷ In spite of stimulating research on the cross-cultural construction of romance as shaped by the emergent print marketplace, the significance and influence of late medieval "experiments in fiction"⁸ remain largely uncharted, particularly for materials that do not originate in the Arthurian or epic traditions, such as those unruly medieval fictions featuring impetuous teen love loosely categorized as "idyllic romance."⁹

Stimulated and buoyed by print transmission, medieval fiction would retain its appeal in French-speaking areas and most of Western Europe through the cultural, political, and social paradigm shifts between the end of the Hundred Years war and the sixteenth-century Wars of Religion in France, Germany, and the Low Countries. A significant number of Middle French romances were the object of continuous transmission up to the seventeenth century and beyond.¹⁰ A number of them were translated into other vernaculars (mainly English, Dutch and Spanish) in the incunabular period, launching divergent paratextual, textual and visual trajectories,

XVI^e siècle". *Bulletin bibliographique de société internationale arthurienne* 49 (1997), pp. 234-273. For an inquiry into terminology, see VIEILLARD, Françoise – "Qu'est-ce que le roman de chevalerie?: Préhistoire et histoire d'une formule". In DIU, Isabelle, et al. (eds.) – *Mémoires de chevalier : édition, diffusion et réception des romans de chevalerie du XVII^e au XX^e siècle*. Paris: Publications de l'École nationale des chartes, 2018, pp. 11-133. On chivalric romance in a European perspective, see STANESCO, Michel; ZINK, Michel – *Brève histoire européenne du roman médiéval. Esquisse et perspective*. Paris: PUF, 1992, ROUBAUD-BENICHOU, Sylvia – *Le roman de chevalerie en Espagne: entre Arthur et Don Quichotte*. Paris: Champion, 2001 and MONTORSI, Francesco – *L'Apport des traductions de l'italien dans la dynamique du récit de chevalerie (1490-1550)*. Paris: Garnier, 2016.

⁷ TAYLOR, Jane H. M. – *Rewriting Arthurian Romance in Renaissance France: From Manuscript to Printed Book*. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014, pp. 38-60. On early printed romance see ROCCATI, Giovanni Matteo – "Le roman dans les incunables. L'impact des stratégies éditoriales dans le choix des titres imprimés". In *Le Roman français dans les premiers imprimés*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016, pp. 95-126. Most studies of romances printed in the early sixteenth-century focus on Arthurian romance or prose versions of epic poems, which dominate editorial production in French up to the 1530s. See MONTORSI, Francesco – "La production éditoriale de Benoît Rigaud et son catalogue chevaleresque". *Carte Romanze* 2.2 (2014), pp. 372-374.

⁸ TAYLOR, Jane H. M. – "Experiments in fiction: framing and reframing romance at the end of the Middle Ages, and beyond". *Cahier de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 30 (2015), pp. 287-295.

⁹ On the idyllic theme in Old French romance, see BORODINE, Lot – *Le roman idyllique au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Picard, 1913. For contemporary perspectives on late medieval idyllic narratives see GALDERISI, Claudio; VINCENSINI, Jean-Jacques (eds.) – *Le Récit idyllique. Aux sources du roman moderne*. Paris: Garnier, 2009; SZKILNIK, Michelle (ed.) – *Idylle et récits idylliques à la fin du Moyen Âge. Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 20 (2010); BROWN-GRANT, Rosalind – *Romance of the Later Middle Ages: Gender, Morality, and Desire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 79-128.

¹⁰ At the death of Nicolas Oudot in 1636, the catalogue of small-format blue books included no fewer than twenty titles derived from Middle French romances: *Alixandre le Grant; Artus de Bretagne; Clamades; Doolin de Mayence; Fierabras; Florent et Lyon; Galien le restauré; Huon de Bordeaux; Melusine; Olivier de Castille; Quatre fils d'Aymon; La belle Heleine de Constantinople; Mabrian; Milles et Amys; Oger le Danois; Doolin de Mayence; Jean de Paris; Richard sans peur; Geoffroy à la Grant dent; Valentin et Orson*. See MORIN, Alfred – *Catalogue descriptif de la bibliothèque bleue de Troyes*. Genève: Droz, 1974.

with occasional interference.¹¹ Multilingual transmission followed various patterns, such as those charted in an English-speaking context by A. E. B. Coldiron.¹² Some romances continued to travel in translation long after the French source ceased to be printed, as was the case of *Oliver of Castile* or *Paris and Vienne*. Adopting a broad, European scope helps us to attenuate the pervasive organic metaphors of death and rebirth that make reconfigurations of narrative genres a would-be linear trajectory confined artificially to national or linguistic boundaries. Comparative transnational perspectives have brought to light long obscured links in the production and reception of what Caroline Jewers calls “pre-cervantine continental romance.”¹³ This cross-cultural multilingual approach finds a powerful disciplinary ally in the material history of books, which moves away from normative accounts influenced by teleological ideas of genre formation to focus on literary works as contingent commodities. A transnational perspective on the early printed book trade makes visible the dynamics of transmission and helps ascertain the role of inter-vernacular translation in shaping early print culture and the repurposing practices of a nascent industry.¹⁴

A case in point are late medieval idyllic narratives which evolved into a flourishing editorial genre that catered to an expanded, sociologically mixed readership with a growing taste for love and adventure.¹⁵ Surveys of *incunabula* printed in the vernacular suggest a heightened demand for chivalric prowess against a Mediterranean seascape. On a European scale, this taste for adventure led to renewed interest in late medieval romances, particularly when these were printed with woodcuts. As we will see here, the editorial success of *Paris and Vienne*, a brief prose romance originally composed ca. 1440 at the Court of Burgundy, exemplifies the surge of vernacular fiction in the printing marketplace, in what could be seen as

¹¹ William Caxton alone printed seven romances, among the twenty-six titles he translated from Middle French: *Recuyell of the histories of Troye* (ca. 1473-1474); *History of Jason* (ca. 1477); *Godefroy of Boloyne* (1481); *Eneydos* (1483); *Life of Charles the Great* (1485); *Paris and Vienne* (1485); and *Four sons of Aymon* (ca. 1490). See RICCI, Seymour de – *A census of Caxtons*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909, XI-XIII. On Caxton's translations, see COLDIRON, Anne E. B. – “William Caxton.” In WILLIS, Roger (ed.) – *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English, Vol. I: To 1550*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 160-169.

¹² COLDIRON, Anne E. B. – *Printers without Borders: Translation and Textuality in the Renaissance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

¹³ JEWERS, Caroline – *Chivalric Fiction, and the History of the Novel*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000, at XI; LÉGLU, Catherine – *Multilingualism and Mother Tongue in Medieval French, Occitan, and Catalan Narratives*. University Park: The Penn State University Press, 2010.

¹⁴ Despite the success of medieval prose romances in the print marketplace, their European transmission in Europe has not been mapped out in full. A noteworthy contribution to delineating this field is *Early Printed Narrative in Western Europe*. Ed. Bart BESAMUSCA, et al. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020. The volume explores sixteenth-century narrative literature from an international, cross-linguistic perspective, with a particular focus on English and Dutch translations of French romances.

¹⁵ On the parallel tradition derived from the rediscovery of Greek romance in the Renaissance, see HARDIN, Richard F. – *Love in a Green Shade: Idyllic Romances Ancient to Modern*. Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 2000, pp. 25-43.

an early forerunner of today's graphic novel.¹⁶ This essay will single out the editorial trajectory of this pan-European best-seller, with particular focus on translations and adaptations printed before 1501. It will highlight textual and visual transformations from the French *editio princeps* to the English, Dutch, and Low German translations, to its dissemination in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The short version of *Paris and Vienne* was one of the romances most frequently printed in Europe during the incunabular period.¹⁷ Its early publication history stretches across early modern Europe, from Lyons (ca. 1480)¹⁸ to Treviso in Italy (1482), across the English Channel to Westminster where William Caxton produced an English translation (1485),¹⁹ then back to the continent to Antwerp where it saw printings in four different languages, including French and Dutch (1487), English (1488), and Low German (1492).²⁰ In a parallel trajectory, the tale travels south from Italy to the Iberian Peninsula where two Catalan versions derived from the Italian manuscript tradition were produced by 1495. Considered as a singular case with all the limits any case study implies, the transformations of this idyllic narrative through both translation and print may enable us to reconsider accounts of the obsolescence of medieval romance in the Renaissance, the better to ascertain the broad influence of courtly fictions on Early Modern literary reinvention.

Within the group of romances that became early modern bestsellers, *Paris and Vienne* stands out as an expansive, shape-shifting tale. Its manuscript tradition attests to geographic and linguistic diversity, with possible interference between the two main manuscript groups charted by Robert Kaltenbacher and by Anna Maria Babbi. A complex bipartite manuscript tradition both in French and in Italian, the

¹⁶ On the Middle French *Paris et Vienne*, see in particular: LÉGLU, Catherine – *Multilingualism*, pp. 141-158; VINCENSINI, Jean-Jacques – “Désordre de l’abjection et ordre de la courtoisie: le corps abject dans *Paris et Vienne* de Pierre de la Cépède”. *Medium Ævum* 68.2 (1999), pp. 292-304; BROWN-GRANT, Rosalind – “Adolescence, Anxiety and Amusement in Versions of *Paris et Vienne*”. *Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 20 (2010), pp. 59-70; BROWN-GRANT, Rosalind – *French Romance*, pp. 97-103. Léglu briefly discusses the printed transmission of the anonymous short version, LÉGLU, Catherine – *Multilingualism*, pp. 144. For the Burgundian Middle French version, see *Paris et Vienne*. Ed. Marie-Claude DE CRÉCY and Rosalind BROWN-GRANT. Paris: Garnier, 2015.

¹⁷ See Robert KALTENBACHER's edition of the French, Italian and Catalan versions, *Der Altfranzösische Roman Paris et Vienne*. Erlangen: Junge, 1904, pp. 321-568. For the Dutch version, see ÅSDAHL, Märta – “Die mittelniederdeutsche Version des Volksbuches von Paris und Vienna”. In *Niederdeutsche Mitteilungen* 1. Lund and Copenhagen: C.W.K. Gleerup and E. Munksgaard, 1945, pp. 50-65.

¹⁸ *Paris et Vienne*. [Lyons: Guillaume Le Roy, ca. 1480]. See the British Library *Incunabula Short title Catalog* (ISTC) ip00112500. The sole copy extant is Agen, Municipal Library, FP RES 21. On the two Lyons imprints, see PAIRET, Ana – “From Lyons to Antwerp: *Paris et Vienne* in the Low Countries”. *Queeste, Special Issue on Francophone Literature in the Low Countries (1200-1600)*, 28.1 (2021), pp. 117-136.

¹⁹ One exemplar of the English *editio princeps* is extant. London, British Library, C.10.b.10. Digital facsimile available through *Early English Books Online*.

²⁰ *Netherlandish Books: Books published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad*. Ed. Andrew PETTEGREE and Malcom WASBY. Leiden: Brill, 2010, 1030. On translation from Middle French to Dutch, see BRUJIN, Elisabeth de – “The Southern Appeal: Dutch Translations of French Romances (c. 1484-c. 1540) in a Western European Perspective”. In BESAMUSCA Bart; BRUJIN, Elisabeth de; WILLAERT, Frank (eds.) – *Early Printed Narrative Literature in Western Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020, pp. 93-125.

absence of dates for the two first French printings, and the lack of hypothetical intermediary versions, make it impossible to ascertain the derivation of the Italian and French first printed editions. This uncertainty is compounded by the fact that all modern editors have followed Kaltenbacher in identifying Gheraert Leeu's edition of 1487 as the French *editio princeps*, all but ignoring two undated versions produced in Lyons, the first of which almost certainly predates the Italian *editio princeps* of 1482.²¹

The transmission of *Paris and Vienne* was a rather unique phenomenon, with competing branches in both manuscript and print, and a vigorous if improbable Mediterranean reception. Near-simultaneous French (ca. 1482) and Italian (1482) editions derived from two distinct manuscript traditions were followed by Caxton's English version (1485) on the one hand, and by a "radiant" multilingual process on the other (1487-1488).²² Circulation of *Paris and Vienne* across continental Europe picks up speed with the printing in Antwerp of the French source and of a Dutch translation (1487), closely followed by an edition in Low German (1488), all of these featuring the very same set of woodcuts.²³ This plurilingual enterprise accelerated the Northern European transmission of the Middle French romance and of its iconography.²⁴ From Lyons via Antwerp, *Paris and Vienne* radiates into Germanic languages; and from Treviso into Iberian Romance languages. Produced by the Master of Haarlem, the magnificent woodcuts contributed to the pan-European success of the story, which continued to be appreciated through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in Italy where no fewer than 40 editions appeared.²⁵

In its travels far and wide the tale was subjected to a dizzying array of linguistic, formal, and generic transformations. One such mutation is the Elizabethan theatrical adaptation, of which we know only that it was performed by Westminster schoolboys "in the Hall at Whitehall Palace before Queen Elizabeth and court, 19

²¹ Caxton ostensibly used a French source for his 1485 English imprints, which is most likely one of the two Lyons editions. On the sources of Leeu's and Caxton's imprints see BRUJIN, Elisabeth de – "The Southern Appeal" pp. 93-125. Textual evidence suggests that Leeu used the second of the extant Lyons edition (ca. 1482) as source. See PAIRET, Ana – "From Lyons to Antwerp", pp. 128-131.

²² A.E. B. Coldiron defines the "radiant or radiating pattern" as "the printing of translations of a given work in several languages in a short space of time, say, within a few years by one agent, usually a printer. In this pattern, the translations radiate outward into several linguistic communities at once," COLDIRON, Anne E. B. – *Printers Without Borders*, p. 22

²³ Leeu reprinted Caxton's English translation in 1492, possibly to explore new markets. See BRUJIN, Elisabeth de – "The Southern Appeal", p. 103

²⁴ On Leeu's incunabula see *Een drukker zoekt publiek: Gheraert Leeu te Gouda 1477-1484*. Ed. Koen Goudriaan, et al. Delft: Eburon, 1993, pp. 3-20.

²⁵ These figures must be contrasted with the 18 French and 10 English-language editions. For a survey of translations and adaptations, see BABBI, Ana Maria (ed.) – *Paris e Vienna Romanzo Cavalleresco*. Venice: Marsilio, 1991, pp. 123-153.

February, 1572.”²⁶ By the end of sixteenth century, *Paris and Vienne* had generated two versified adaptations in Italian, including one in the *ottava rima* meter used both for epic poetry and mock-heroic compositions, as well as versified versions in Armenian (ca. 1587)²⁷ and in Swedish.²⁸ *Paris and Vienne* bears the further distinction of being one of two romances printed in Old Yiddish (1594), along with the *Bove-Bukh* (printed in 1541), an *ottava rima* adaptation of the metrical romance *Beuve of Hantoun*.²⁹ The narrative also appealed to Hispano-Arabic readers, as attested by a mid- to late sixteenth-century Aragonese codex in which the Spanish prose is transcribed in Arabic script.³⁰ Intercultural transfers do not end here, however, for this shape-shifting chivalric tale was read around the Mediterranean basin up through the Early Modern period. An Armeno-Turkish prose version, for instance, was composed by the Eremya Çelebi Kömürjian (1637-1695) who also created a version of the *Alexander* romance. The circulation of *Paris and Vienne* in various communities across the Mediterranean which experienced forced assimilation is itself a fascinating phenomenon that deserves further exploration. The plot of the romance features thematic elements that at different periods may have appealed to communities as culturally diverse as Ashkenazim in Italian city-states, Hispano-Muslims in the Kingdom of Aragon, and Armenians in the Ottoman Empire. It is perhaps less the hero’s travels in the Levant and the mythical land of Prestre John than his crafty “passing” that may have resonated with such forcibly assimilated populations as the Iberian *moriscos*.³¹

²⁶ Accounts of the Office of the Revels record “Paris and Vienna shown on Shrovetewsdaie at Nighte by the Children of Westminster.” An additional annotation reveals that “hobby horses” were used for a tournament scene, an indication of a playful approach to chivalric themes. See ASTINGTON, John H. – “Paris and Vienna”. *Lost Plays Database*, updated December 10, 2010; *Paris and Vienne, Thy storye of the noble ryght valyaunt and worthy knyght Parys, and of the fayr Vyenne the daulphyns doughter of Vyennesois*. IX. Roxbourgh Library, 1868. On chivalric themes at the Elizabethan court and in civic culture, see DAVIS, Alex – *Chivalry and Romance in the English Renaissance*. Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. On the hobby-horse motif on the early modern stage, see PIKLI, Natália – “The Prince and the Hobby-Horse: Shakespeare and the Ambivalence of Early Modern Popular Culture”. *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 2 (2013), pp. 119-140 at 123-129.

²⁷ TERZNT’I, Yovhannes – *Patmut’iwn P’arezi ew Vennayi* [Tale of Paris and Vienne]. Ed. K. A. Melik’-Ohanjanyan. Erevan: s.n., 1966, pp. 91-234. For a survey of Early Modern translations and adaptations, see BABBI, Ana Maria (ed.) – *Paris e Vienna Romanzo Cavalleresco*, pp. 123-153. See also LÉGLU, Catherine – *Multilingualism*, p. 144.

²⁸ On the unfinished sixteenth-century translation into Swedish verse, see LODÉN, Sofia – “*Paris et Vienne* and its Swedish Translation”. *Medioevi* 1 (2015), pp. 169-185 and LODÉN, Sofia – *French Romance, Medieval Sweden and the Europeanisation of Culture*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021, pp. 151-178.

²⁹ Written in *ottava rima* in 1507 by Elye Bokher also known as Elia Levita or Eliyahu ben Asher HaLevi Ashkenazi, *The Book of Bove* is the first secular book printed in Old Yiddish (1541). See ROSENZWEIG, Claudia – *Bovo d’Antona by Elye Bokher. A Yiddish Romance*. Leiden: Brill, 2015. The attribution of *Pariz un Viene* to Elye Bokher is contested. For Yiddish romance, see FRAKES, Jerold C. – *The Emergence of Early Yiddish Literature: Cultural Translation in Ashkenaz*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017, pp. 1-9.

³⁰ FUENTES, Álvaro Galmés de (ed.) – *Historia de los amores de París y Viana*. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.

³¹ Aljamiado manuscripts and scrolls that used Arabic script to transcribe texts in Romance languages were instrumental in preserving Islamic prescriptions after the 1567 prohibition to use Arabic. The “new Christians” and their descendants were viewed with suspicion, with prosecutions for crypto-Islamic practices persisting until the eighteenth century. On prescriptions on the clothing and appearance of Hispano-Muslims

The Mediterranean transmission of *Paris and Vienne* suggests that its editorial trajectory may have been shaped not only by the ebb-and-flow of the print marketplace but also by the romance's performance of linguistic, cultural, and religious identity. Indeed, the narrative's plot itself turns on the crossing of geographic and cultural boundaries. Paris, a talented young knight of modest extraction, vies for the hand of Vienne, the daughter of the Dauphin who is engaged to be married to the Duke of Burgundy's son. Vienne visits Paris' chambers in his absence and discovers that he is the mysterious knight who has won two tournaments held in her honor; she steals the trophies that Paris had won. Acting as a go-between, a churchman arranges several secret meetings that lead to the couple's elopement and secret wedding. After the star-crossed lovers are forced to part ways, Vienne is captured and jailed, while a heartbroken Paris flees to Genoa and Venice. His journey that will take him to Alexandria, where he learns Greek and Arabic, before heading to the mythical Land of Prester John, to Jerusalem and to Egypt. Settling in Babylon he adopts local attire while covertly keeping his faith; his knowledge of falconry wins him the Sultan's favor. Meanwhile, Vienne's father is sent as a spy of the Pope to Babylon where he is captured. With the help of informants who believe him to be a Moor, Paris frees the Dauphin who offers him his daughter's hand, if she consents. This turns out to be a more challenging task than expected. Indeed, Vienne had previously feigned illness by hiding a rotten piece of poultry in her bodice, to repel her suitors. When she tries the same trick on Paris, whom she believes to be a Moor, he pretends not to notice the stench. Paris ultimately shows a ring revealing his identity, and the lovers happily marry. Spatial, ethnic, and religious boundaries play a prominent role in the plot of this well-travelled adventure romance, where multiple obstacles and barriers are shown to be social constructs.

If one is to trust the peritext of the long version, the tale originated in the Iberian Peninsula and was transmitted via an Occitan version: *Pluseurs aultres livres ay je veu, mes entre les aultres j'ay tenu ung livre, escript en langaige prouvensal, qui fut extraist d'ung aultre livre escript en langaige cathalain* (Many other books have I seen, but among these I had one book, written in Provençal that had been taken from another book, in the Catalan language).³² While the trope of translation is a conventional entry point into medieval romance, there are grounds to believe this particular genealogical narrative as fact. Although no peninsular manuscript sources have survived, literary allusions in early fifteenth-century Spanish poetry

after the capitulation of Granada, see CONSTABLE, Olivia Remie – *To Live Like a Moor: Christian Perceptions of Muslim Identity in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. Ed. Robin Vose. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018, pp. 19-47. David A. Wacks provides useful insights on the aljamiado version, underscoring the irony for Hispano-Arabic readers of a Christian protagonist in Moorish attire, WACKS, David A. – “Crusader Fiction for Muslim readers: The aljamiado manuscript of *Historia de los amores de Paris y Viana* (Aragon, ca. 1560)”. *Medieval Iberian Romance and the Mediterranean World* [blog], (March 16, 2014).

³² KALTENBACHER, Robert -*Der Altfranzösische Roman*, p. 72.

suggest that the lover's story was known in Castile by 1405, hence prior to La Ceppède's version, a hypothesis validated by manuscript catalogues listing a Catalan work under the same title.³³ Indeed, thematic parallels link *Paris and Vienne* to the Iberian tradition of "realistic" romances such as the anonymous *Libro del Caballero Zifar* (*Book of the Knight Zifar*), originally composed ca. 1300 and printed in 1512³⁴ and Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* printed in 1490. Very much like the mid-fifteenth-century humanist romance *Curial i Guelfa*, which was written in Italy by a Valencian courtier who served at the Court of Alfonso II of Naples, *Paris et Vienne* retraces the story of a poor knight who marries up after travelling east.³⁵ The goal here is not so much to retrace the cultural genealogy of the Middle French romance but rather to ascertain how real and imagined boundaries which featured both in the narrative and in the paratext may have favored multilingual manuscript transmission, in at least two Romance languages, if not three.

Linguistic and literary origins notwithstanding, it is fair to say that the topography of *Paris and Vienne* emblemizes a move in late medieval fiction towards a more realistic political geography that included the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean Crusader States. The plot of *Paris and Vienne* is set in the Dauphiné, a south-eastern French territory that retained its political autonomy until the close of the Hundred Years' War. The two eponymous characters are each named after a city, a feature that led some early scholars to read the romance as a dynastic allegorical fiction that celebrates the 1349 annexation of Dauphiné to the Kingdom of France. While the dynastic explanation seems reductive, it may help explain why the late medieval tale proved so successful. The Middle Eastern topography, which references Alexandria, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Babylon among other sites, was doubtless one of elements of the romance's success and may have encouraged translation. The knight's encounter with the sultan of Babylon could well be a memory of the Saint Francis of Assisi's trip to Syria to meet sultan

³³ BABBI, Ana Maria – *Paris e Vienna Romanzo Cavalleresco*, pp.129-31.

³⁴ On *Libro del Caballero Zifar* in the context of Mediterranean crusade fiction, see WACKS, David A. – *Medieval Iberian Crusade Fiction and the Mediterranean World*. Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2019, pp. 59-81. For innovative features within the Iberian tradition, see HEUSCH, Carlos – "Le libro del Caballero Zifar, premier récit chevaleresque castillan". *Tirant 22* (2019), pp. 33-42.

³⁵ On *Curial and Guelfa* and late medieval romance, see BABBI, Ana Maria – "Il *Curial e Güelfa* e i romanzi francesi del XV secolo". In FRANCÉS, Antoni Ferrando (ed.) – *Linguistic and Cultural Studies on 'Curial e Güelfa': A 15th Century Anonymous Romance in Catalan*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012, pp. 139-156 at 139-140. The hypothesis of an interference between the two works was recently tested by Gemma Pelissa, who ultimately rejects a direct genealogical link between *Curial and Guelfa* and *Paris et Vienne*: PELISSA, Gemma – *La ficció sentimental catalana de la segona meitat del s. XV*. Barcelona: University of Barcelona, 2013, pp. 234-236. PhD dissertation. On the pan-Iberian history of sentimental fiction, see BRANDENBERGER, Tobias – *La muerte de la ficción sentimental. Transformaciones de un género iberorrománico*. Madrid: Verbum, 2012. Brandenberger suggests approaching sentimental fiction as an experimental and dynamic genre, two notions also relevant to the analysis of medieval idyllic narratives. See BRANDENBERGER, Tobias – "La genericidad de la ficción sentimental". In *Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval*, Noia: Toxoutos, 2005, pp. 527-541

Malek-el-Kamil (1219).³⁶ The “trial by fire” episode in the narrative of the life of Saint Francis was well represented in Romanesque iconography, particularly in Italian art.³⁷ If this is a hagiographical echo of the legendary conversion of the Sultan of Babylon, it is a rather irreverent one. Unlike Saint Francis, who crosses enemy lines during the fifth crusade and who embraces a trial by fire, Paris makes every effort to conceal his identity, his language and his faith. He so much enjoys life undercover that he does not reveal his true identity until the end of the romance, hiding it from the friar who helps him rescue Vienne’s father from the Sultan’s jail in Alexandria; from the Dauphin, whom he dresses as a Moor to facilitate his escape; and, in a final plot twist, from his beloved—though not until he has tested her enduring love.³⁸

The metaphorical qualities of space and its potential to make visible political hierarchy and social order provide further explanation for the romance’s multipolar dissemination. Architectural details in Leeu’s woodcuts obsessively represent physical boundaries. Visually, they amplify the wall separating the lovers in the Ovidian tale of *Pyramus and Thisbe*, a seminal narrative in the development of idyllic narratives from Antiquity to Renaissance: woodcuts depict inner and outer walls, garden enclosures, windows, city walls; several images depict what transpires on both sides of a wall. Throughout the narrative, the male and the female protagonist are, so to speak, “testing the boundaries.” In the romance’s opening woodcuts Paris serenades his beloved and fends off the guards whom the Dauphin has sent to determine the musician’s identity. He then wins tournaments without revealing his identity, in part to hide his love for Vienne, but perhaps also because his lower birth may not make him an ideal champion. When Paris asks his father to request Vienne’s hand, the Dauphin’s vassal is subjected to public humiliation. The young protagonists’ initial response is to rebel, yet they quickly resort to more effective ways to overcome social constraints, including deceit and bodily transformation. Paris learns Greek and Arabic to hide his origins, adopting as previously noted Moorish clothing and appearance to pass for Muslim.

The last third of the narrative is structured by a contrast between a vocal and defiant female protagonist, locked up by her ruthless father in an underground cell, and her beloved’s flight.³⁹ While Vienne challenges parental authority, fends

³⁶ While the relationship of Paris and the Sultan is only present in texts derived from the French tradition, the theme of disguise is pervasive. In the aljamiado manuscript, which follows the Castilian version (itself derived from the Catalan edition), Paris learns Greek and Arabic (*morisco*) to hide his identity, adopting Moorish clothing and growing a beard “to look like a Moor”: GALMÉS DE FUENTES, Álvaro (ed.) – *Historia de los amores*, p. 204.

³⁷ DODSON, Alexandra – “Trial by Fire”: St. Francis and the Sultan in Italian Art”. In FRANCO, Bradley; MULVANEY, Beth (eds.) – *The World of St. Francis of Assisi: Essays in Honor of William R. Cook*. Leiden: Brill, 2015, pp. 60-79.

³⁸ COOPER, See Helen – “Going Native: The Caxton and Mainwaring Versions of *Paris and Vienna*”. *Travel and Prose Fiction in Early Modern England, The Yearbook of English Studies* 41.1 (2011), pp. 21-34.

³⁹ On disobedience and Vienne’s eloquence, see BROWN-GRANT, Rosalind – *Romance of the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 97-103.

off suitors and starves herself, the male protagonist embarks on a journey towards upwards mobility. The male protagonist's shifting identity as he travels in space and across social strata, echoes a thematic transgression figured by Vienne's mostly static but defiant body. After eloping in men's attire and marrying Paris, who leaves her behind, Vienne is thrown into jail and martyred by her ruthless father; in the long version, he threatens to cut her in pieces and eat her up if she doesn't change her ways. The defiant heroine responds to this menace by refusing to eat, a motif often found in hagiographic narratives depicting female martyrdom. While Paris submits to social hierarchy and initially chooses to renounce his foolish love, the female protagonist constantly challenges gender roles and social codes: she steals Paris's tournament trophies, proposes to her lover, repeatedly disobeys her father's prescriptions, and cunningly stages the decomposition of her own flesh as a most effective way to repel an unwanted suitor. In a final twist, it will take this new Ulysses some convincing to persuade his beloved that he is in fact her husband.⁴⁰ During his journey, Paris learns to trust no one, to buy allegiance, and to kill by surprise. His is an odyssey of upward social mobility, a journey distinct from that featured in *Pierre de Provence*, where the son of the Count of Provence marries the beautiful Maguelonne, daughter of the King of Naples. Though often paired to exemplify late medieval idyllic fiction, the two short romances differ greatly in their representation of social constraints.⁴¹ The uncourtly ways in which male and female protagonists overcome social obstacles may well explain why *Paris and Vienne* had a limited run in Early Modern Spain, where *libros de caballerías* tended to idealize noble birth.⁴²

Paris and Vienne had a wider reach and a broader sphere of influence than did other medieval romances that became Early Modern best-sellers. The European and Mediterranean transmission of the romance attest to the appeal of a narrative that could meet readers' expectations across languages and cultures. Significantly, it does not appear to owe its longevity to chapbooks, as was the case with romances that exemplified chivalric prowess such as *Melusine*, *The Four Sons of Aymon* and most other titles available in the affordable, small-format editions produced at Troyes or in Normandy. Instead, this roguish, shape-shifting idyllic narrative provided adventure in a pseudo-realistic setting, playfully bending social norms, gender roles and cultural identity markers. Deceit and disguise are pervasive themes that both

⁴⁰ On forbidden marriage as theme in the context of medieval law, see RIBEMONT, Bernard – “Un ‘roman idyllique’ du XV^e siècle et le droit matrimonial: *Paris et Vienne* de Pierre de La Cépède”. *Studia Romanica Posnaniensia* 38 (2011), pp. 3-12.

⁴¹ BABBI, Ana Maria – “Destins d'amants: la réception de *Paris et Vienne* et *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* dans la littérature européenne”. In *Le récit idyllique*, pp. 153-163.

⁴² Printings in the Iberian Peninsula include two *incunabula* editions in Catalan (1495 and ca.1497) and one in Spanish (1524). The sixteenth-century aljamiado codex agrees with most readings in the Spanish *editio princeps*.

recall the lovers' ruses in medieval courtly romance and announce the tricks of picaresque protagonists to come. To this extent, *Paris and Vienne* and other idyllic narratives may have played a key role in the reception of romance across Europe, by offering readers a safe alternative to the tragic lure of sentimental fiction, as well as adventure devoid of the marvelous elements that would prompt both Miguel de Cervantes and Charles Sorel to reject chivalric romance.

Fibonacci's *Liber Abaci* and the Globalisation of Mathematics

*Astrid Kelser*¹

Abstract

This chapter reads Fibonacci's *Liber Abaci* as a microcosm of the wider "globalization of mathematics" that took place during the medieval period. It explores the extent to which the Hindu-Arabic Numeral System and "Chinese Remainder Theorem" were influenced by scholars from Arabia and China. In the process, it highlights the interconnectedness of East and West in the medieval era and the importance of trans-border collaboration in the development of mathematics as a scientific discipline. Fibonacci's role in this exchange is shown to be significant, not only because it exemplifies how, why, and with what results ideas migrated from one continent to the other, but also because of the importance of his number theory to the history of mathematics and science in the West.

Keywords

Fibonacci; Medieval History; History of Mathematics; Influence of Arabic Philosophy on the Latin West; Global Medieval World.

¹ Department of the Classics, Harvard University. E-mail: astridkmsk@gmail.com.

Pisa developed into one of Italy's great ports during the eleventh-century transformation of medieval communes into city-states. It served as the key rival to Venice and as the golden gate from the Western Mediterranean into the land of the Saracens. This remarkable state was the birthplace of Leonardo Bonacci, the son of a merchant. Bonacci – known from the nineteenth century onwards as “Fibonacci” from a contracted form of *filius Bonacci*, “son of the Bonacci family” – changed the language of mathematics for ever in 1202, when he published the *Liber Abaci* or “Book of Calculation”.²

As a result of his achievements, his name has become synonymous with mathematical genius; even young children are entertained by the concept of “Fibonacci numbers.”³ While we think of him as an “Italian mathematician”, and by extension a “Western European mathematician”, Fibonacci owed as much of his knowledge to the East as he did to the West. Introduced to North Africa by his father,⁴ he eventually ventured into Syria and beyond,⁵ from where he transmitted newfound theories on algebra, arithmetic, and geometry to Europe.

To what extent, then, did Fibonacci introduce Eastern knowledge into Western scientific thought? In order to answer this question, it is first necessary to define “East” and “West”. The dividing line between the Orient and the Occident has at times been defined geographically, using the Caucasus mountain range,⁶ and religiously, by the domains of the Eastern and Western Churches.⁷ These definitions are, however, both Eurocentric and “Christian-centric”.⁸ From an economic and intellectual standpoint – for our chosen subject is the connections by which information was transmitted across the medieval world – it is instead most sensible to understand the “West” as continental Europe, including the British Isles, whereas the “East” applies to the Islamic and Far Eastern kingdoms, which in the thirteenth century covered much of modern-day East and Central Asia, India, Africa, as well as the Arabian peninsula.⁹

² For a general introduction on the *Liber Abaci* and its significance see DEVLIN, Keith – *The Man of Numbers: Fibonacci's Arithmetic Revolution*. London: Bloomsbury, 2011.

³ The most accessible work on Fibonacci numbers is VOROBEV, Nikolai Nikolaevich – *Fibonacci Numbers*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2013, especially pp. 6-24.

⁴ FIBONACCI – *De Practica Geometrie*. Ed. Barnabas Hughes. New York: Springer, 2008, xxi.

⁵ KOSHY, Thomas – *Fibonacci and Lucas Numbers with Applications*. Danvers, MA and New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2001, pp. 1-2.

⁶ See e.g. BISHKU, Michael B. – *Caucasus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 3.

⁷ VAN DEN BERCKEN, William Peter; SUTTON, Jonathan (eds.) – *Aesthetics as a Religious Factor in Eastern and Western Christianity*. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2005, p. 56.

⁸ On the latter term see DREXLER-DRIES, Joseph – “Theological Thinking and Eurocentric Epistemologies: A Challenge to Theologians from within Africana Religious Studies”. *Journal of Africana Religions* 6 (2018), pp. 27-49.

⁹ These divisions are apparent from medieval *mappae mundi* (‘maps of the world’), as exemplified by B.A.V., Reg. Lat. 123, fol. 143 v.-144 r and part one of *Corpus Christi College*, Cambridge, MS 66.

In order to arrive at a thorough understanding of how concepts were “introduced” from the “East” to the “West”, scholars must also come to a consensus on what the concept of “introduction” signifies. In this chapter, the term refers to a three-step process: to have “introduced” a mathematical theory, Fibonacci must first have transmitted an Eastern concept which was largely unknown to the West, then adapted it for his own purposes and transmitted it to his fellow European scholars. There are two intriguing concepts where such an “introduction” likely occurred. The first is the “Hindu-Arabic Numeral System” and the second is the “Chinese Remainder Theorem”.¹⁰ A discussion on where these mathematical concepts originated will be followed by an analysis on the extent to which Fibonacci “introduced” them to Western scientific thought. Fibonacci’s actions were significant, since he was only one of many such scholars who drew knowledge from the East: a veritable “globalisation of science” began in the medieval age.¹¹ This process, which was greatly accelerated by the First Crusade in 1095, has, moreover, continued to the present day.¹²

Before embarking on this analysis, it is necessary to outline some context on the main source employed, namely Fibonacci’s 1202 *Liber Abaci*. Two major editions form the quoted text in this chapter: the 1857 Boncompagni version,¹³ which preserves the Latin of the original, and Sigler’s 2002 English translation.¹⁴ Also worth considering is Charles Burnett’s translation from his 2003 article on Fibonacci’s “method of the Indians”, which is closer to the Latin than that of Sigler.¹⁵ Despite its somewhat misleading name, the *Liber Abaci* was in fact written to enable arithmetical calculations without physical tools like the abacus. It centred upon a new method, which Fibonacci describes using the phrase [*edidi*] *numerorum doctrinam iuxta modum Indorum, quem modum in ipsa scientia praestantiorum elegi*, “[I presented] a full instruction on numbers close to the method of the Indians, whose outstanding method I chose for this science.”¹⁶ In what follows the veracity of this claim will be questioned, in the interest of determining the extent to which Fibonacci truly introduced Eastern knowledge to the medieval West.

¹⁰ Both of these mathematical phenomena have been chosen due to their provocative names, which connote borrowings from the East.

¹¹ See e.g. LINDBERG, David C. – *Science in the Middle Ages*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1978, as well as GOLDMAN, David B. – *Globalisation and the Western Legal Tradition: Recurring Patterns of Law and Authority*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

¹² JENSEN, Kurt Villads; SALONEN Kirsi; VOGT, Helle (eds.) – *Cultural Encounters During the Crusades*. Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 2013.

¹³ *Il Liber Abaci del Leonardo Pisano*. Ed. Baldassarre Boncompagni. Rome: Tipografia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fische, 1857.

¹⁴ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci: A Translation into Modern English of Leonardo Pisano’s Book of Calculation*. New York: Springer, 2002.

¹⁵ BURNETT, Charles – “Fibonacci’s ‘Method of the Indians’”. *Bollettino di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche* 23 (2003), pp. 7-97.

¹⁶ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci*, p. 15.

The Hindu-Arabic Numeral System

Fibonacci kicks off his *Liber Abaci* with a bold statement:

Incipit primum capitulum.
Novem figure indorum he sunt
 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
 Here Begins the First Chapter.
 The nine Indian figures are:
 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Cum his itaque novem figuris, et cum hoc signo 0, quod arabice zephirum appellatur, scribitur quilibet numerus, ut inferius demonstratur.

With these nine figures, and with the sign 0 which the Arabs call zephir, any number whatsoever is written, as is demonstrated below.¹⁷

This moment appears to coincide temporally with the “birth” of Arabic numerals in Western Europe. As Richard and Mary Rouse write, Arabic numerals became commonly written after the late 1200s, a few decades after Fibonacci’s publication.¹⁸ Similarly, Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham argue that these numerals appeared frequently from 1300 onwards.¹⁹ Indeed, most sources agree that what we call “Arabic numerals” became most widely used in Western manuscripts in the decades after Fibonacci’s work.²⁰

This phenomenon is perceptible, for instance, from the following fourteenth-century example (fig. 1), written just a hundred years after Fibonacci. By this time, Western Europeans had become so proficient at writing Arabic numerals that they used them to depict astrological positions of the sun and moon throughout the month.

Yet another 14th century example (fig. 2) similarly demonstrates that numbers were not only integrated into the text, but also used in annotations, as in the left margin. This implies a readership which was mathematically literate – or at least readers who were able to identify important numbers in the main text and copy them down. These sources imply that sometime after Fibonacci wrote his *Liber Abaci*, the use of Arabic numbers in manuscripts grew exponentially. It is therefore

¹⁷ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci*, p. 17.

¹⁸ ROUSE, Mary A.; ROUSE, Richard H. – *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991.

¹⁹ CLEMENS, Raymond; GRAHAM, Timothy – *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007.

²⁰ This consensus is a long-established one; see e.g. SANFORD, Vera – “Hindu-Arabic Numerals”. *The Arithmetic Teacher* 2 (1955), pp 156-58.

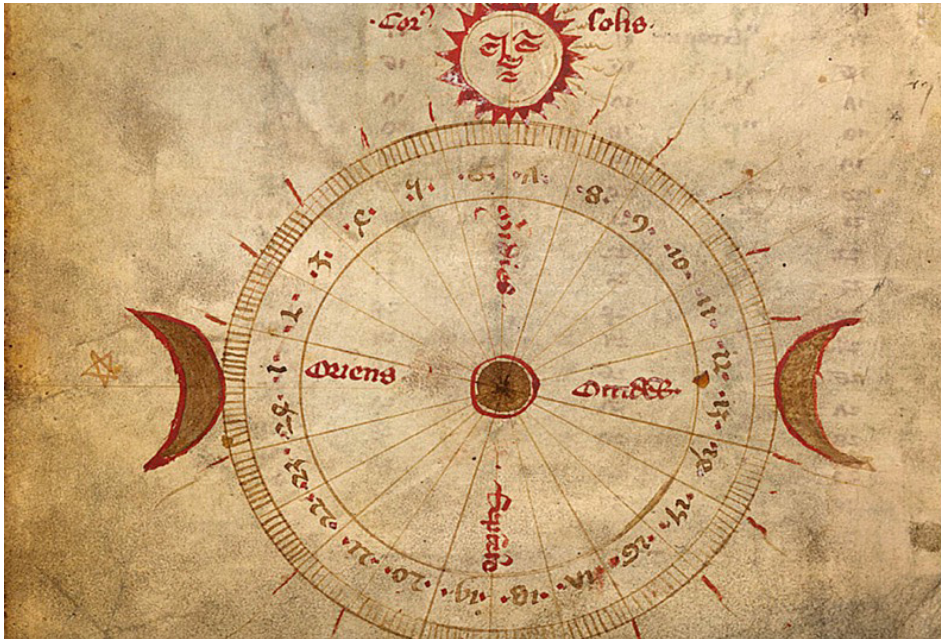


Fig. 1 – British Library, Arundel MS 501, fol. 26v.

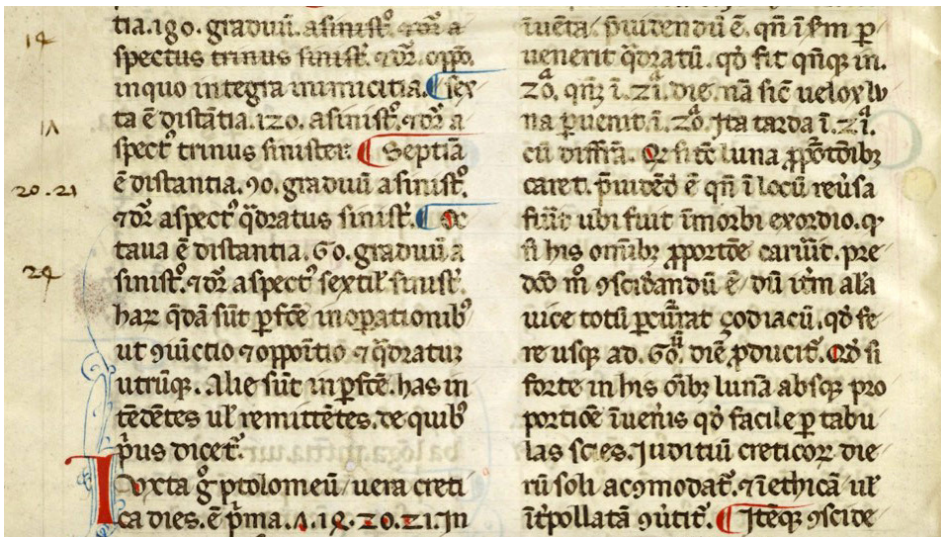


Fig. 2 – Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Lat. 7316A, fol. 51r.

tempting – but erroneous – to conclude that Fibonacci was the cause of this increase. In reality, the situation was not so simple. Did Fibonacci, then, pioneer the use of Hindu-Arabic numbers in the West? I here propose a possible answer: “Both yes and no.”

Scholars have made the valid argument that Fibonacci’s use of Hindu-Arabic numerals was “not innovative.”²¹ After all, the numbers 0 to 9 had been known to the West for more than a century before Fibonacci’s *magnum opus*. They were used in the 976 *Codex Virgilanus* and by Pope Sylvester II in the 980s.²² We even see the numbers explicitly listed in an unnamed manuscript which is often identified with Cashel, in Ireland:

There are nine shapes by which all numbers are represented, with the addition of the circle. They are Indian letters, and are of this kind: 123456789. “Cifra” or “the circle” is 0.²³

Hence, Fibonacci was not the first Western European to record these symbols. However, he did change how these symbols were perceived. The Cashel manuscript makes a clear distinction between 1-9 and 0. 1-9 are numbers, while 0 is clearly viewed as a separate concept; it is “the circle”, meaning “the absence of a number” rather than an actual number.

Fibonacci did produce one crucial innovation. He popularised the use of zero as a “placeholder”. Instead of using visible columns to “tens” from “hundreds”, as in the Gerbertian Abacus,²⁴ scholars now used zeroes instead, much as we do today. As Fibonacci writes:

Ex quibus primus ex unitatibus, que sunt ab uno usque in decem, constat. Secundus ex decenis, que sunt a decem usque in centum, fit. Tertius fit ex centenis que sunt a centum usque in mille. Quartus fit ex millenis que sunt a mille usque in decem milia, et sic sequentium graduum in infinitum, quilibet ex decuplo sui antecedentis constat.

First one composes from units those numbers which are from 1 to 10. Second, from the tens are made those numbers which are from 10 up to 100. Third, from the hundreds are made those numbers which are from 100 to 1000. Fourth, from the thousands are made those numbers from 1000 up to 10000, and thus

²¹ CROSSLEY, John N.; LEIGH-LANCASTER, David – *Growing Ideas of Number*. Melbourne: ACER Press, 2007.

²² SIEBEN, Hermann Josef – *Konzilsdarstellungen, Konzilsvorstellungen: 1000 Jahre Konzilsikonographie Aus Handschriften Und Druckwerken*. Würzburg: Echter, 1990, p. 18.

²³ As cited in BURNETT, Charles – “Fibonacci’s ‘Method of the Indians’”. pp. 7-97 at 7.

²⁴ MAZUR, Joseph – *Enlightening Symbols: A Short History of Mathematical Notation and its Hidden Powers*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014.

by an unending sequence of steps, any number whatsoever is constructed by the joining of the preceding numbers.²⁵

The significance of this new system lies in its speed; instead of wrangling with CLX and MMVIII, for example, students could multiply 160 with 2008 far more quickly. Fibonacci introduced the concept of one symbol per place, which was alien to Roman numerals; for example, the number 8 contains 4 symbols: V + I + I + I.

Ludwig Wittgenstein proclaimed, "It is only in language that the limit can be set."²⁶ Fibonacci's new numbers broke these limits; numbers could easily be written and manipulated *ad infinitum*. There is, of course, the argument that Fibonacci should not be credited with this innovation in Western scientific thought. After all, Adelard of Bath, writing in the early twelfth century, advised that zero should be placed in the empty columns when performing calculations, hence implying the use of zero as a placeholder.²⁷ Nevertheless, Fibonacci deserves full credit for conferring the status of placeholder on zero, because he explicitly codified this useful and novel function instead of simply implying its existence.²⁸ Hence, while Fibonacci did not pioneer the use of the Hindu-Arabic numeral system, he did introduce Eastern knowledge – in the form of zero as placeholder – to Western scientific thought. However, since the Hindu-Arabic numeral system appeared in Western manuscripts before Fibonacci's time, how can we be sure that Fibonacci borrowed his learning from the East? At first sight, it seems that he gleaned the use of zero directly from early Western sources such as the Cashel manuscript. Upon further examination, however, two arguments present themselves, both of which suggest that an East-West transfer of knowledge did take place in Fibonacci's case.

Firstly, we know that Fibonacci's 0 is directly borrowed from the Arabic for linguistic reasons. Zephyrus, or "zephyr", is a calque of the Arabic رفس (*sifr*), meaning "zero"; the corresponding Arabic verb "safra" means "to be empty".²⁹ It is therefore significant that in this opening passage, Fibonacci did not use the Latin word *nihil* (nothing) for zero, or even "the circle" as expressed in the Cashel manuscript; by using an Arabic word, he indicated that his knowledge was foreign in origin.

Secondly, it is most likely that Fibonacci learned these numbers from Arab scholars, since he recounts that his first encounter with Indian numerals was in Bejaia, Algeria, at the time a Saracen town:

²⁵ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci's Liber Abaci*, p. 17.

²⁶ WITTGENSTEIN, Ludwig – *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922.

²⁷ CALDECOTT, Stratford – *Beauty for Truth's Sake: On the Re-enchantment of Education*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Publishing Group, 2009, p. 63.

²⁸ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci's Liber Abaci*, p. 15.

²⁹ SMITH, David Eugene; KARPINSKI, Louis Charles – *The Hindu-Arabic Numerals*. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications 2013, p. 74.

Ubi ex mirabili magisterio in arte per novem figuras indorum introductus, scientia artis in tantum mihi pre ceteris, placuit, et intellexi ad illam, quod quicquid studebatur ex ea apud Egyptum, Syriam, Greciam, Siciliam et Provinciam cum suis variis modis, ad que loca negotiationis tam postea peragravi per multum studium et disputationis didici conflictum.

Here I was introduced to that art (the *abbaco*) by a wonderful kind of teaching that used the nine figures of the Indians. Getting to know the *abbaco* pleased me far beyond all else and I sought to understand it fully, to such an extent that I learnt, through much study and the cut and thrust of disputation, whatever study was devoted to it in Egypt, Syria, Greece, Sicily, and Provence, together with their different methods, in the course of my subsequent journeys to these places for the sake of trade.³⁰

Accordingly, even though Fibonacci was not the innovator of the Hindu-Arabic numeral system, he did introduce zero in its role as placeholder to Western scientific thought, and it is therefore very likely that he did borrow this concept from his Eastern teachers. As such, his *Liber Abaci* indeed be said to have introduced Eastern knowledge to Western scientific thought, because it created a function for an existing numerical form; it changed the purpose and character of zero, thus popularising its use in geometrical, astrological, and musical studies.³¹ Nevertheless, as the preceding discussion indicates, we must avoid the misconception that Fibonacci was the first Western European to use the Hindu-Arabic numeral system.

The “Chinese Remainder Theorem”

Fibonacci, then, unambiguously borrowed from Eastern sources in devising and codifying the use of zero as placeholder. The relationship of the “Chinese Remainder Theorem” with the medieval East proves more complex. This arithmetical magic trick was first described in chapter 12 of the *Liber Abaci*:

Diuidat excogitatum numerum per 3, et per 5, et per 7; et semper interroga, quot ex unaquaque divisione superfuerit. Tu vero e unaquaque unitate, que ex divisione ternarii superfuerit, retine 70; et pro unaquaque unitate, que ex divisione quinarum superfuerit, retine 21; et pro unaquaque unitate, que ex

³⁰ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci's Liber Abaci*, pp. 1-15.

³¹ On these uses cf. KAPLAN, Robert – *The Nothing that Is: A Natural History of Zero*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, *passim*.

divisione septenarii superfuerit, retine 15. Et quotiens numerus super excreverit tibi ultra 105, eicias inde 105; et quod tibi remanserit, erit excogitatus numerus.

Let him divide the chosen number by 3, and by 5, and by 7; ask him what are the remainders from each division. For each unit of the remainder upon division by 3 keep 70, and for each unit of the remainder upon division by 5 you keep 21, and for each unit of the remainder upon division by 7 you keep 15. And whenever the total exceeds 105, you throw away 105, and that which remains for you after all the 105 are thrown away will be the chosen number.³²

There are numerous complex explanations for the efficacy of this theorem, mostly related to number theory.³³ From a historical standpoint, however, there are no examples of its use in Western manuscripts before Fibonacci. Accordingly, one might conclude that Fibonacci did introduce this idea to the West. It thus remains to determine from whom he learned this concept.

Given that the common name of this idea is the “Chinese Remainder Theorem”, it would be logical to begin the search in the Far East. The earliest attested version of this problem is found in the third-century AD 孙子算经, also known as “Master Sun’s Arithmetic Manual”.³⁴ However, the “Chinese Remainder Theorem” cannot simply be attributed to this single Chinese source. In fact, “Master Sun” did not come up with a “theorem” by mathematical standards; rather, he simply asked a question:

There are certain things whose number is unknown. If we count them by threes, we have two left over; by fives, we have three left over; and by sevens, two are left over. How many things are there?³⁵

From Fibonacci’s method, we know that the answer is 23.³⁶ It is however significant that his instructions were needed to arrive at a certain answer, for Sun Tzu only posed the question; the solution to this theorem could not have been found with this question alone. Hence, it would be illogical to argue that Fibonacci borrowed this

³² SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci*, pp. 249-445.

³³ The most accessible English version of this text is GAUSS, Carl Friedrich – *Disquisitiones Arithmeticae*. Ed. E. C. J. Schering. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966.

³⁴ WATKINS, John J. – *Number Theory: A Historical Approach*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013.

³⁵ As cited in DENCE John B.; and DENCE, Thomas P. – *Elements of the Theory of Numbers*. San Diego: Harcourt Academic Press, 1999, p. 156.

³⁶ The solution is as follows:

$$70 \times 2 = 140$$

$$3 \times 21 = 63$$

$$2 \times 15 = 30$$

$$140 + 63 + 30 = 233$$

$$233 - 105 = 128 \text{ (still above 105).}$$

$$128 - 105 = 23.$$

concept from the Chinese, when there was no complete theorem to borrow. Moreover, Fibonacci himself made no claim to have borrowed from the “Chinese”; he did not title his problem the “Chinese Remainder Theorem”, but instead:

De eodem, cum numerus excogitatus non sit ultra 105.

On the Same, When the Chosen Number Is Not Greater Than 105.³⁷

Ulrich Libbrecht does, however, mention a small possibility that Fibonacci was in contact with contemporary Chinese scholars, by arguing that Fibonacci’s solution made use of the *ta-yen* rule, a specifically Chinese invention.³⁸ Nevertheless, the argument that Fibonacci borrowed his work from principles articulated by Qin Jiushao is unlikely, for while Fibonacci published his *Liber Abaci* in 1202, Qin Jiushao was only born around 1202; hence, they were not truly “contemporaries”, as Libbrecht suggests, but rather belonged to different generations.³⁹

Given that no Chinese scholars before 1202 had clearly elucidated the so-called “Chinese Remainder Theorem”, it is logical to rule out the Far East as a source for this concept. Two possible origins remain to be investigated: India and Arabia. With relation to the former, it is indeed plausible that Fibonacci borrowed the concept from Brahmagupta, who was active in the seventh century AD, from Aryabhata II, a tenth-century mathematician, or from Bhaskara II, an eleventh-century scholar.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, a direct connection between Fibonacci and India is doubly unlikely. Even if he did borrow this concept from Indian writers, he would have had read them in Arabic translations or summaries due to his ignorance of Sanskrit.⁴¹ Furthermore, all the aforementioned Indian scholars made use of a distinctive concept, the *kuttaka*, which is not present in Fibonacci’s analysis. Libbrecht summarises this difference with the following note: “Bhaskara’s methods are not the same.”⁴²

Hence, the most probable explanation is that Fibonacci learned the “Chinese Remainder Theorem” from an Arabic scholar. There are several candidates for this scholar’s identity, and in fact all of them could have influenced Fibonacci during his Eastern travels. The first is Ibn al-Haytham, whose problem exhibits striking

³⁷ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci*, pp. 249-445.

³⁸ LIBBRECHT, Ulrich – *Chinese Mathematics in the Thirteenth Century: The Shu-shu chiu-chang of Ch’in Chiu-shao*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1973.

³⁹ LIBBRECHT, Ulrich – *Chinese Mathematics*, p. 21.

⁴⁰ PUTTASWAMY, T. K. – *Mathematical Achievements of Pre-Modern Indian Mathematicians*. London and Waltham, MA: Elsevier, 2012.

⁴¹ Sanskrit study in the West is very much a nineteenth-century phenomenon; see SASTRI, Gaurinath – *A Concise History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1943.

⁴² See LIBBRECHT, Ulrich – *Chinese Mathematics*.

similarities to that of Fibonacci: “Find a number, that divided by 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 has the remainder 1, and divided by 7 has no remainder.”⁴³

The second candidate is the eleventh-century mathematician Ibn Tahir al-Baghdadi who discussed the “Chinese Remainder Theorem” in his treatise *al-Takmila fi'l-Hisab*. Possible sources also include Al-Khwarismi and Abu-Kamil.⁴⁴ Indeed, given the fact that Fibonacci travelled often to Arab-controlled territories, and that the greater part of his problems was derived from Arabic-language sources, it is most probable that the “Chinese Remainder Theorem” was no exception. Moreover, having investigated this problem by a process of elimination, as outlined above, it becomes apparent Fibonacci could not have gleaned the theorem directly from any other source but from the Arab world. Hence, in this case, he did introduce Eastern knowledge to Western scientific thought, since he introduced a wholly novel concept – that of indeterminate analysis – to Western thinkers in the guise of the “Chinese Remainder Theorem”, which, in view of the evidence presented in this section, might well be considered as the “Arab Remainder Theorem” instead.

The Globalisation of Mathematics

In summary, an analysis of the two major elements of Fibonacci's *Liber Abaci*, namely the Hindu-Arabic numeral system and the “Chinese Remainder Theorem”, demonstrates that Fibonacci did, to a great extent, introduce Eastern knowledge to Western scientific thought.

Nevertheless, Fibonacci was only one example of intellectual contact between the medieval East and West. A tenth-century manuscript of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies* referenced Al-Khwarismi;⁴⁵ Hermann of Carinthia, in the twelfth century, translated Abu Ma'shar's ninth-century astrological treatises;⁴⁶ Hugo of Santalla translated Ibn al-Muthanna's commentary on al-Khwarismi into Latin.⁴⁷ Medieval Spain was also a fertile ground for knowledge transfer. Some arts and sciences were developed there during Arab rule, while other interactions happened even after the fall of the Caliphate.⁴⁸ For example, the twelfth-century translator Gerard of Cremona and his peers, who have been categorised as the “Toledo School

⁴³ RASHED, Roshdi – “Ibn al-Haytham et le théorème de Wilson”. *Archives for the History of Exact Sciences* 22 (1980), pp. 305-321.

⁴⁴ FOLKERTS, Menso – *The Development of Mathematics in Medieval Europe*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2006.

⁴⁵ See BARNEY, Stephen A., et al. – *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

⁴⁶ On this 1140 edition see DRONKE, Peter (ed.) – *A History of Twelfth-Century Western Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 127.

⁴⁷ DRONKE, Peter (ed.) – *A History of Twelfth-Century*, p. 450.

⁴⁸ BUENO, Ana Garcia; FLOREZ, Victor J. Medina – “Some Data on the Origin of the Technique of Hispano-Muslim Wall Painting”. *Al-Qantara* 23 (2002), pp. 213-222.

of Translators”, gained access to great libraries of Arabic texts which had been left in Toledo by the retreating Arabs.⁴⁹ War was not, however, the only way in which mathematical knowledge moved between East and West. Significantly, Fibonacci writes in his introduction that he went to Syria and Egypt “for purposes of trade.”⁵⁰ Within the Mediterranean, Sicily was a major hub for such peaceful contact; it had been conquered by Islamic forces in 965 and then by the Normans in 1091. It was therefore a mix of coexisting cultures, and a convenient mixing bowl for mathematical and scientific knowledge.⁵¹

This globalisation of scientific knowledge has only increased with time as evidenced by the cross-cultural exchanges of the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and the growth of global universities. The dialogue that began to speak more loudly in the medieval period, around Fibonacci’s time, has only grown deeper and more enriching. These intellectual conversations would not, however, have been possible without the central mathematician discussed in this paper: Fibonacci himself. Notably, it was in the name of “Leonardo Bigollo” that the Republic of Pisa honoured him in his old age. The word itself has multiple interpretations. “Bigollo” had a pejorative sense, meaning “blockhead”, someone who was not very bright, but also meant “traveller” in Tuscan. It could also have been derived from *biglosus*, “knowing two languages”.⁵² The correct interpretation, if there is one, remains unknown. Yet the enigma of Fibonacci is surely encapsulated by the multiple meaning word of the word *bigollo*. He introduced an element of globalism to mathematics, as encapsulated by the Hindu-Arabic numeral system and “Chinese Remainder Theorem”, and as such can be considered the quintessential medieval scholar: a mathematical, multicultural, and multilingual man.

⁴⁹ ARRÁEZ-AYBAR, Luis A. *et al.* – “Toledo School of Translators and Their Influence on Anatomical Terminology”. *Annals of Anatomy – Anatomischer Anzeiger* 198 (2015), pp. 21-33.

⁵⁰ SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci*, pp. 1-15.

⁵¹ CHIARELLI, Leonard – *A History of Muslim Sicily*. Malta: Midsea Books, 2018, *passim*.

⁵² SIGLER, Laurence (ed.) – *Fibonacci’s Liber Abaci*, xv.

Using genetics to study the Migration Period in Europe

Carlos Eduardo Guerra Amorim¹

Abstract

Genetic data can illuminate the biological relationship between human populations and thus help reconstruct the human past. This chapter focuses on the genetic analysis of two six-century cemeteries associated with the Longobard culture: Szólád (Hungary) and Collegno (Italy). For this work, we generated genomic data for 61 individuals across the two cemeteries and conducted an interdisciplinary analysis using other types of archeological data. Our results show that both societies were formed by people with diverse ancestries. In particular, we identify two main groups in both cemeteries: a group with central/northern European genetic ancestry and the other with southern European genetic ancestry. Both groups presented different material cultures and mortuary practices, suggesting these individuals had different roles in society. Further, our data support the hypothesis of long-distance migration involving Longobards from northern Europe towards the Roman south. Finally, we identify multi-generational pedigrees in both cemeteries and discuss these observations in light of the social organization and history of the Longobards.

Keywords

aDNA; Ancient DNA; Archaeogenetics; Genomics; Kinship; Longobards; Lombards.

¹ Department of Biology, California State University, Northridge. E-mail: guerraamorim@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0002-8827-238X.

Genetic data can shed light on biological links between individuals and populations and thus help reconstruct the human past. Insights from genetics may be particularly relevant for the study of societies that did not leave any written record and for those whose archeological record is incomplete. Among the populations that fit these criteria are the barbarians from the Migration Period (fourth to sixth centuries CE in Europe). Currently available information about these peoples comes from the written record left by Romans, which are often biased and stereotypical and the archeological record which is often incomplete. Fragmented and biased sources of information about barbarians from the Migration Period leave fundamental questions about their social organization, ethnic diversity, and patterns of migration unanswered².

The present chapter discusses a research project led by Patrick Geary, Krishna Veeramah, and me, resulting from a collaboration between historians, geneticists, and archeologists³. Our research project sought to reconstruct the history and social organization of early medieval communities associated with the Migration Period. To do so, we generated genetic data for sixty-one individuals from two cemeteries associated with the Longobard culture from the Early Middle Ages (sixth century CE). We used these data to: (i) assess population structure within each cemetery and characterize whether these historical populations were composed of two or more genetic ancestry groups; (ii) search for signals of long-distance migration; and (iii) reconstruct genealogies. Additionally, we combined evidence of material culture, mortuary practices, stable isotopes, and genetics to illuminate aspects of the social organization of these medieval communities. Notably, in this study, we did not seek to infer Longobard ethnicity, as ethnicity is a subjective identity, not necessarily linked to biological variation.

Methods and description of the archeological contexts

For this project, genetic data were generated using Next Generation Sequencing (NGS) methods, considering state-of-the-art protocols designed for obtaining DNA from archeological samples. In brief, the analysis of these materials consists of obtaining bone or tooth samples for each archeological specimen, which are then pulverized and used for DNA extraction. In doing this type of analysis,

² BRATHER, Sebastian – *Ethnische Interpretationen in der frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2004; GEARY, Patrick – *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003; WARD-PERKINS, Bryan – *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

³ AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century barbarian social organization and migration through paleogenomics”. *Nature Communications* 9 (2018), 3547.

there are two major challenges: obtaining enough quantities of human DNA from the archeological material and preventing contamination from modern human sources. In order to overcome these challenges and obtain high-quality DNA samples, bone specimens are handled in an ancient DNA-dedicated clean lab with positive air pressure. We used a silica-based protocol to extract DNA from these samples⁴. Most samples came from the petrous portion of the temporal bone, which generally yields a larger quantity of DNA than other bone or tooth samples⁵. Following these procedures, we obtained DNA from sixty-one individuals. Samples were submitted to Illumina sequencing for screening for ancient DNA. Samples presented large proportions of human ancient DNA (~33-67%), as opposed to that of bacterium and other nonhuman organisms, and the DNA sequencing reads presented an excess of C-to-T and G-to-A transitions in the terminal bases, which is typically observed in authentic ancient DNA (aDNA) data⁶. In addition, extracted DNA also presented low levels of contamination ($\leq 3\%$, average $\sim 1\%$) from modern human sources.

Once each sample was screened for the presence of aDNA and contamination levels were estimated, genetic data were generated by either whole genome sequencing (n=10) or by using the 1240K SNP capture protocol (n=51), which targets over 1.2M variable loci in the human genome⁷. The whole genome sequencing data were subset to the same 1.2M loci that were genotyped in the other samples. The resulting genetic data were processed with an in-house bioinformatics pipeline⁸ to identify genetic variants present in each individual and to statistically estimate levels of confidence in these variant calls. Additionally, we gathered publicly available genetic data from other populations⁹ for comparison to the Longobard-era individuals.¹⁰

Our research project focused on two specific cemeteries, both considered key sites with regard to the proposed Longobard migration from Pannonia to Italy¹¹.

⁴ DABNEY, Jesse, *et al.* – “Complete mitochondrial genome sequence of a Middle Pleistocene cave bear reconstructed from ultrashort DNA fragments”. *Proc. Natl Acad. Sci. USA* 110 (2013), 15758–15763.

⁵ PINHASI, Ron, *et al.* – “Optimal Ancient DNA Yields from the Inner Ear Part of the Human Petrous Bone”. *PLOS ONE* 10 (2015), e0129102.

⁶ AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”; DABNEY, Jesse, MEYER, Matthias; PÄÄBO Svante – “Ancient DNA Damage”. *Cold Spring Harbor Perspectives in Biology* 5 (2013), a012567.

⁷ PATTERSON, Nick, *et al.* – “Ancient Admixture in Human History”. *Genetics* 192 (2012), pp. 1065-1093.

⁸ Available in <https://github.com/kveeramah/>.

⁹ NELSON, Matthew R. *et al.* – “The Population Reference Sample, POPRES: A Resource for Population, Disease, and Pharmacological Genetics Research.” *American Journal of Human Genetics* 83 (2008), pp. 347-358; The Thousand Genomes Consortium – “A global reference for human genetic variation”. *Nature* 526 (2015), pp. 68-74; LAZARIDIS, Iosif, *et al.* – “Ancient human genomes suggest three ancestral populations for present-day Europeans”. *Nature* 513 (2014), pp. 409-413.

¹⁰ A more detailed description of the methods used in this study can be found in AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

¹¹ Paul the Deacon – *History of the Langobards*. Translated by William Dudley Foulke. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015.

The first one, Szólád, is located in present-day Hungary, south of Lake Balaton (fig. 1). Archeologists have found forty-five graves in this cemetery (fig. 2), all of which dated to the middle third of the sixth century according to the analysis of the material culture and radiocarbon dating (2-sigma range of 412-604 CE). Based on stable isotope analysis, a previous study¹² suggested that Szólád was occupied for one generation by a mobile group of Longobard-era settlers.



Fig. 1 – Map of Europe showing the approximate location of Szólád in western Hungary and Collegno in northern Italy.

¹² ALT, W. Kurt, *et al.* – “Lombards on the Move – An Integrative Study of the Migration Period Cemetery at Szólád, Hungary”. *PLOS ONE* 9 (2014), e110793.



Fig. 2 – Plan of the archeological site of Szólád. Graves (forms resembling a rectangle) are colored according to their depth, with deeper graves presenting darker shades of grey. Note that the northwestern part of the cemetery contains the deepest graves. Circular forms surrounding one or two graves represent circular ditches.

The other cemetery, Collegno, is found near Turin in northern Italy (fig. 1). This cemetery was used from the end of the sixth century CE through the eighth century CE. Here, we focused on the fifty-seven graves that date (based on artifact typology) to the first of three major periods of occupation of the region by the Longobards (ca. 570-650 CE) (fig. 3).

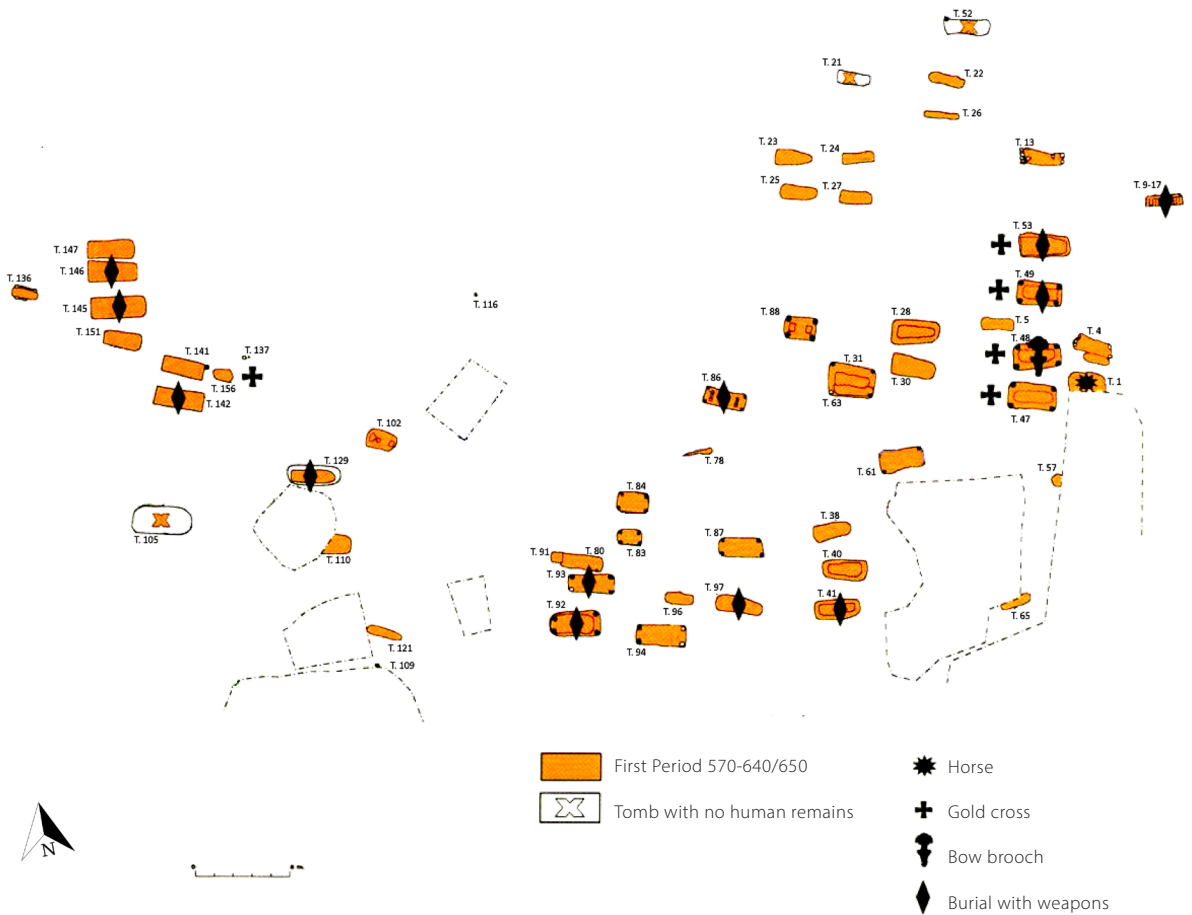


Fig. 3 – Plan of the archeological site of Collegno. In this chapter, I discuss genetic data generated through the analysis of individuals found in graves (orange forms) that date to the first of three major periods of occupation of the region by the Longobards (ca. 570-650 CE).

In both cemeteries, artifacts such as beads, pottery, food offerings, swords, and shields were found within some of the graves¹³. A portion of these graves also presented distinct architectural elements such as ledge walls, wooden chambers, and circular ditches encompassing one or two graves. Some graves were completely devoid of grave goods, and these were mostly structured as simple pits with straight walls¹⁴.

Population structure and genetic variation

As a first step to characterizing population structure based on genetic variation, we implemented Principal Component Analysis (PCA). PCA plots (fig. 4) can summarize the information from hundreds of thousands of genetic loci into fewer axes of variation in the data, called Principal Components. Typically, a PCA plot contains two axes representing the first two Principal Components (PC1 and PC2). This type of plot is very commonly used in population genetic studies¹⁵, where single individuals are represented by points and the physical distances between every two points on the PCA space are proportional to the genetic distances between the two corresponding individuals. The PCA plot in Figure 4 depicts the individuals from Szólád and Collegno (black triangles) against a reference set including modern European populations¹⁶ (points with varied colors).

In Figure 4, the distribution of points representing modern European individuals follows what we expect from the phenomenon of “isolation-by-distance,”¹⁷ with individuals from the same population/country laying close together and also relatively close to countries with which they share borders. Individuals from Szólád and Collegno, however, are spread throughout the PCA plot and instead of forming cohesive groups, as modern European countries do, they are spread along the Y-axis of the PCA (in this case, PC1) corresponding to the North-South distribution of populations. This observation suggests that each historical population sample from Szólád and Collegno has varied genetic ancestry, comparable to what we see across present-day northern and southern European countries. This pattern could be due to population structure (i.e., the presence

¹³ Images of selected grave goods can be seen in AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”, Supplementary Figures S10, S11, S16-S18.

¹⁴ Images of the different structures of graves can be seen in AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”, Supplementary Figures S3-S9.

¹⁵ See for instance NELSON, Matthew R., *et al.* – “The Population Reference Sample”; LAZARIDIS, Iosif, *et al.* – “Ancient human genomes”.

¹⁶ Data from NELSON, Matthew R., *et al.* – “The Population Reference Sample”, pp. 347-358.

¹⁷ WRIGHT, Sewall – “Isolation by distance”. *Genetics* 28 (1943), pp. 139-156.

of multiple populations within each cemetery), admixture between northern and southern European individuals in the formation of the populations of Szólád and Collegno, or a combination of both of the aforementioned phenomena.

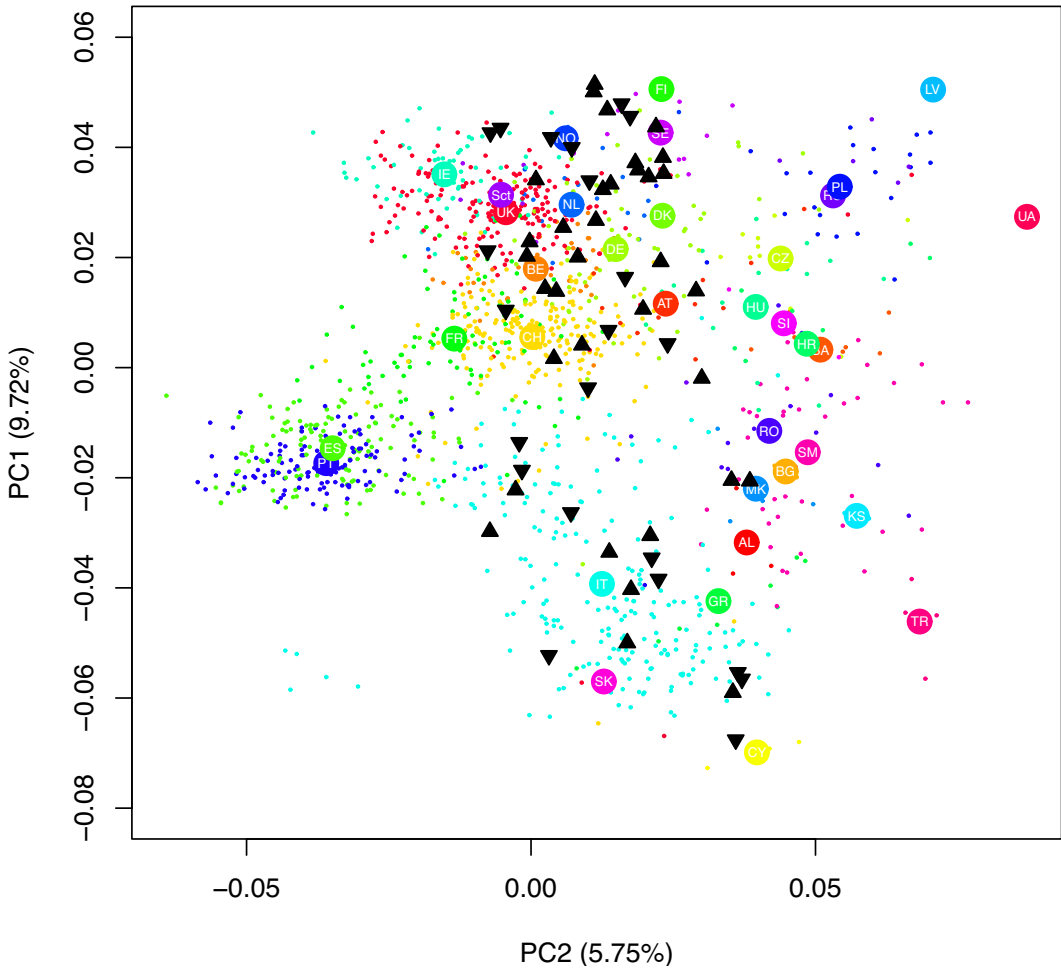


Fig. 4 – Principal Component Analysis (PCA) plot revealing the population structure of Szólád and Collegno, relative to the genetic diversity of modern European populations. Ancient DNA samples from the archeological sites of Szólád (n=34) and Collegno (n=23) are depicted by black triangles (point up and point down, respectively). Modern European individuals are depicted by colored points. Disks indicate the centroid of the distribution of points (individuals) from a given population/country. Population labels are as follows: AL=Albania, AT=Austria, BA=Bosnia-Herzegovina, BE=Belgium, BG=Bulgaria, CH=Switzerland, CY=Cyprus, CZ=Czech Republic, DE=Germany, DK=Denmark, ES=Spain, FI=Finland, FR=France, GB=United Kingdom, GR, Greece, HR=Croatia, HU=Hungary, IE=Ireland, IT=Italy, KS=Kosovo, LV=Latvia, MK=Macedonia, NO=Norway, NL=Netherlands, PL=Poland, PT=Portugal, RO=Romania, SM=Serbia and Montenegro, RU=Russia, Sct=Scotland, SE=Sweden, SI=Slovenia, SK=Slovakia, TR=Turkey, UA=Ukraine.

To better understand the genetic structure of these historical populations, we inferred individual genetic ancestry with a model-based clustering statistical analysis with the software ADMIXTURE¹⁸. This method allows for inferring the composition of genetic ancestries of a given individual, based on a set of putative sources of genetic material. To represent these sources, we chose prehistoric European populations¹⁹ in addition to present-day European populations²⁰. For this analysis, the chosen populations do not necessarily need to have directly contributed to the genetic make-up of the target populations but are assumed to be genetically similar to those who actually did. For the purposes of this chapter, I will exclusively focus on the discussion of the results based on present-day populations (from the Thousand Genomes Project²¹) as proxies. Although this seems chronologically contradictory, we do see a large overlap between historical samples from Szólád and Collegno with those from present-day Europe based on the PCA (fig. 4), suggesting that the historical target populations and present-day reference ones do share genetic variants to a great extent. More importantly, the use of such samples as a proxy best represents the extremes of genetic variation that we observe in Europe; namely, northern versus southern European genetic ancestry (fig. 4). According to this analytical framework, the major genetic component in both Szólád and Collegno is northern/central (fig. 5), with a mean of 64% and 57% across individuals respectively. Southern European genetic ancestry is the second most prominent genetic component (mean of 25% and 33% across individuals in Szólád and Collegno respectively). In sum, these observations suggest that each population was composed of at least two distinct genetic groups: one with a major contribution from northern/central European populations and a smaller group with a major contribution from southern European populations.

These two genetic groups presented very distinct mortuary practices. Generally speaking, in both cemeteries, graves of individuals with predominantly central/northern European ancestry present distinct architectural structures (graves with ledge walls or wooden chambers, for instance) and richer furnishing (beads, food offerings, weaponry, pots, among other items). In that regard, we found a statistically significant difference between the occurrences of grave goods across genetic ancestries, with northern/central European graves presenting statistically more grave goods than southern European graves.

¹⁸ ALEXANDER, David H., *et al.* – “Fast model-based estimation of ancestry in unrelated individuals”. *Genome Research* 19 (2009), pp. 1655-1664.

¹⁹ LAZARIDIS, Iosif, *et al.* – “Ancient human genomes”.

²⁰ The Thousand Genomes Consortium. “A global reference for human genetic variation”. *Nature* 526 (2015), pp. 68-74.

²¹ The Thousand Genomes Consortium. “A global reference for human genetic variation”.

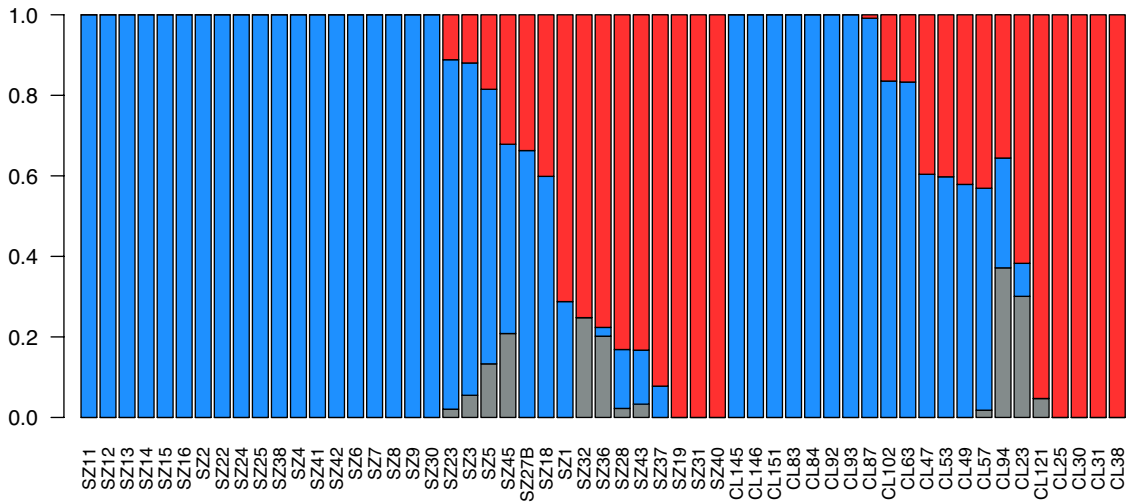


Fig. 5 – Individual genetic ancestry of Szólád and Collegno. Supervised model-based ancestry estimates for Szólád (SZ) and Collegno (CL) using European populations from the 1000 Genomes Project. Blue = northern/central European genetic ancestry, Red = southern European genetic ancestry, Grey = others (including Iberian).

Were individuals with southern European genetic ancestry in Szólád related to those with southern European genetic ancestry in Collegno? Does the same apply to those with northern/central European genetic ancestry? In other words, do we see genetic continuity between these cemeteries (for each ancestry group independently)? Looking back at the PCA plot (fig. 4), we do not see a clear separation between individuals from Szólád and Collegno, at least not based on the genetic markers we used. Indeed, even applying different statistical methods to tease these populations apart based on the observed genomic variation, we cannot differentiate samples coming from the different cemeteries, especially regarding the northern/central genetic ancestry group²². Our inability to differentiate these populations suggests that there is genetic continuity between Szólád and Collegno. Further, our findings indicate a possible gene flow (i.e., migration) between Szólád and Collegno and/or that they share a recent common ancestor.

²² AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

Inferring Long-Distance Migration

We can now use these observations about the genetic diversity and population structure of Szólád and Collegno to answer questions related to population structure and migration. However, relating our results to these questions requires us to first understand how well the extent of present-day genetic diversity reflects that of the sixth century CE. Using genetic data from published papers focusing on chronologically close periods (early Middle Ages and Migration Period), we conclude that, in fact, the broad distribution of northern and southern European genetic ancestries in the continent has been stable during at least the past 4,000 years²³. This conclusion is based on two observations. First, we note that samples collected from archeological sites dating to the fourth to seventh centuries CE from Bavaria, the Caucasus, Lithuania, and the United Kingdom, published in the literature, cluster together with their modern counterparts²⁴. Finally, when we analyze samples from the Bronze Age (3,300-1,200 BCE) – which chronologically precedes those from Szólád and Collegno (sixth century CE) – we observe that there is general continuity considering the broad northern and southern clustering²⁵. This suggests that the distribution of genetic ancestries we see today emerged at least 3,200 years ago at the end of the Bronze Age, but potentially even earlier.

Based on the evidence that the North-South cline of genetic variation has been stable in Europe at least during the previous 3,200 years (as explained in the previous paragraph), we note that the significant northern European genetic ancestry observed in Szólád and in particular in Collegno is very unusual. The naïve expectation is that northern European genetic ancestry should not be observed in southern Europe. A scenario that can explain this unusual pattern is one where a northern European population moves southwards to Szólád and Collegno, which requires long-distance migration of northern European peoples during the Early Middle Ages.

Whether the populations of Szólád and Collegno were established through one or two independent migration events is not trivial to assess. In that sense, three possible scenarios are: (i) a northern European population migrates southwards to Szólád and then to Collegno; (ii) a northern European population migrates southwards to Collegno and then to Szólád; and (iii) a northern European population splits into two, and one wave migrates southwards to Szólád and the other to Collegno. All three possible scenarios entail long-distance migration from a northern European population southwards and cannot be ruled out based on our data.

²³ See AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century” for more details.

²⁴ WRIGHT, Sewall – “Isolation by distance”.

²⁵ AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

Although the exact migration pattern is unknown, genetic data confirms the close relationship between Szólád and Collegno and suggests a common origin of their peoples somewhere in northern Europe. The proposed scenario is also consistent with a parallel study that explicitly modeled this scenario using whole mitochondrial genomes²⁶. In sum, genetic data are in agreement with the hypothesis that peoples identified as the Longobards/Lombards took part in long-distance migration, originating from northern Europe and moving towards the Roman South, during the Migration Period.

While the scenario above provides a good model for the genetic history of individuals of northern/central European ancestry in Szólád and Collegno, it does not say much about the second group found within these cemeteries, namely the one composed of individuals with southern European genetic ancestry. Perhaps these individuals were locals or immigrants that joined (forcedly or voluntarily) the northern newcomers. While genetic data alone cannot test these alternative scenarios, isotope analysis, in particular strontium isotope ratios $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$, can inform where individuals spent their childhood. By drinking water from a local source, strontium atoms are incorporated into the developing teeth of the infant, with the proportion of the different isotopes (the so-called “strontium signature”) that are incorporated into teeth being similar to that of the environment. We looked at the $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ ratios of individuals’ teeth and contrasted those with the strontium signature of environmental samples (soil and organic matter from plants) and identified, among the individuals interred in Collegno, individuals that were not local. We gathered from the literature²⁷ the same type of data for individuals from Szólád. Strontium isotope analysis suggests that southern European individuals were not locals to Szólád or Collegno and had similar strontium signatures to that of the individuals with northern European genetic ancestry²⁸. This observation suggests that both groups, despite presenting different genetic ancestries, were migrating together (at least in the last generation). This means that, while migrating southwards towards Rome, the peoples identified as Longobards were likely joined by other migrants of different genetic backgrounds.

²⁶ VAI, Stefania, *et al.* – “A Genetic Perspective on Longobard-Era Migrations”. *European Journal of Human Genetics* 27 (2019), pp. 647-56.

²⁷ ALT, W. Kurt, *et al.* – “Lombards on the Move”.

²⁸ AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

Reconstructing Biological Kinship

The presence of two isolated groups in both Szólád and Collegno becomes more evident when we examined the pedigrees (biological families) we inferred using genomic data. In our data, we never observe a pedigree with a child whose parents are from different ancestry groups, although we observe a certain degree of relatedness between a southern female (SZ19) and members of a predominantly northern European family. To infer biological kinship, we used a modification of the method lcMLkin²⁹. Based on genetic data from aDNA, this method allows for inferring the degree of relationship between each pair of individuals, up to fourth-degree relationships (for example, nephew and aunt).

Within Szólád, we identified four biological families, a particularly large one that spanned three generations and consisted of eight individuals in close spatial proximity (fig. 6A). Individuals within this biological family were buried with a rich diversity of grave goods and, with one exception, all were buried in graves with ledge walls (as opposed to simple pits with straight walls). Only one member of this family is genetically female (absence of Y-chromosome), who was estimated to be approximately four years old at the time of death. The others are genetically male (Y-chromosome detected) and aged from approximately one to sixty-five years at death. These graves occupied a prominent position in the northwest of the cemetery, circumscribed by a “half-ring” composed of graves with unrelated female individuals and rich grave furnishings³⁰. Six out of seven male individuals in this family were buried with weapons, despite three being teenagers at the time of death. From these, the three adult males appeared to have had access to a diet particularly high in animal protein, as inferred from nitrogen isotope analysis³¹. Additionally, members of this family stand out in relation to others for having the oldest individual in the cemetery, the deepest grave in the cemetery, and the only grave containing a horse, Thuringian-type pottery, and a scale.

²⁹ LIPATOV, Mikhail, *et al.* – “Maximum Likelihood Estimation of Biological Relatedness from Low Coverage Sequencing Data”. *bioRxiv*, (April 11, 2020). Available in <https://www.biorxiv.org/content/10.1101/023374v1>.

³⁰ AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

³¹ AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

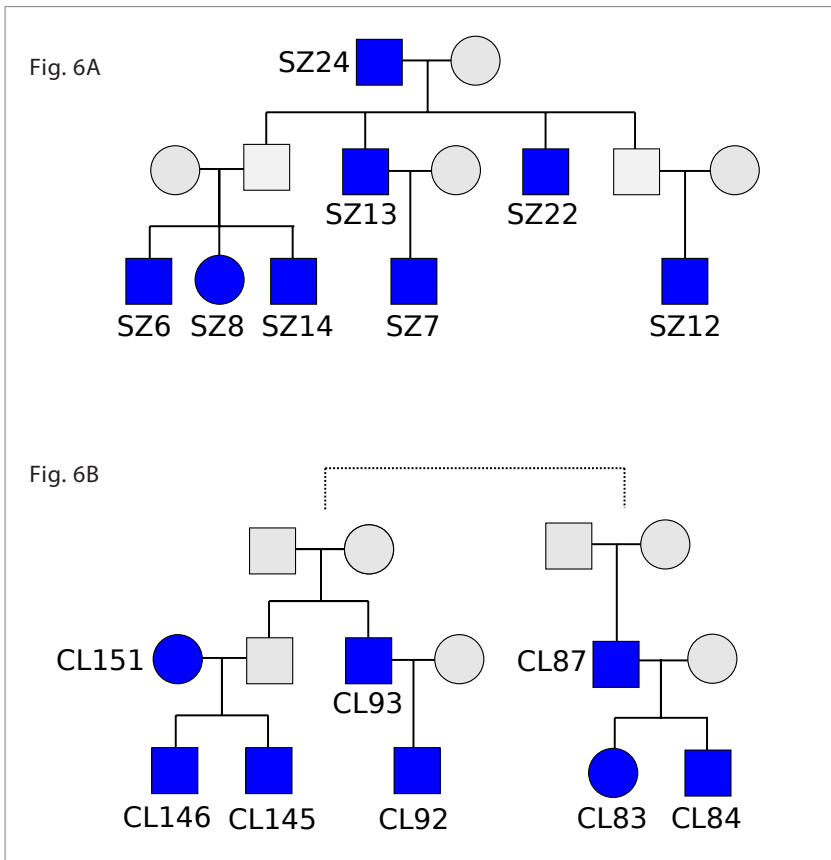


Fig. 6 – Largest pedigrees in Szólád and Collegno. Circles represent genetic female individuals and squares represent genetic males. In both families, all sampled individuals are of predominantly northern/central European genetic ancestry. These are depicted in blue. Grey forms indicate family members not sampled in our study (some of these may be buried in the same cemetery, however, no good quality DNA was obtained from them, while others may not have been buried in the same cemetery). The dashed line indicates relationships of unknown degrees.

In Collegno, we identified three pedigrees, with one that was particularly extensive (fig. 6B). Nine of the ten individuals from the largest pedigree were buried in graves with a wooden chamber and/or with artifacts. In contrast to Szólád, some individuals with close biological relationships occupied spatially distant graves. However, similarly to Szólád, Collegno’s largest pedigree is also of predominantly central/northern European ancestry and its members also appeared to have generally consumed more animal protein than other individuals in the cemetery³².

³² AMORIM, Carlos Eduardo, *et al.* – “Understanding 6th-century”.

In contrast to Szólád (a highly mobile society³³), Collegno likely reflects a community that settled for approximately two centuries. More broadly in the cemetery, some individuals of southern European genetic ancestry (the type that would typically be found in the region today) could potentially be local to the Collegno area based on strontium isotope data (borderline strontium signatures) and are poorer with regards to animal protein consumption. In this regard, it is tempting to infer a scenario where these large immigrant barbarian families exerted a dominating influence on the co-existing group with southern European ancestry.

Based on the observations related to biological kinship, we suggest that these societies seem to have been organized around a large, kin-based, male-predominant group with its geographic origins arguably in northern Europe. Regarding their social organization and diversity, we suspect that we might be seeing what in historical texts is described as a *fara*. In the words of the Roman bishop Marius of Avenches, “*Alboin king of the Longobards, with his army, leaving and burning Pannonia, his country, along with their women and all of his people occupied Italy in fara.*” The word *fara* etymologically stems from the verb “to travel,” but its precise meaning is ambiguous with some interpreting it to represent kin-based clans, while others suggesting it may simply refer to military units of unrelated men. If we are indeed observing such *fara*, our evidence supports the former view.

An open question related to our research regards the absence of adult females in the large pedigree in Szólád (fig. 6A) and to a lesser degree in Collegno (fig. 6B). Another aDNA study published in 2019³⁴ observes the lack of adult females in large pedigrees across archeological sites associated with the Corded Ware Culture (~2750–2460 BCE), the Bell Beaker Complex (~2480–2150 BCE), and the Bronze Age (~2150–1300 BCE). The lack of female individuals in specific family groups was interpreted as a possible effect of female exogamy and/or higher female migration rates. Another reason could be differential mortuary practices for female individuals. While the causes for this phenomenon are still elusive at this point, this observation does point to a potential venue for future investigation and could reflect the existence of gender-biased migration patterns and/or mortuary practices in historical Europe.

³³ ALT, W. Kurt, *et al.* – “Lombards on the Move”.

³⁴ MITTNIK, Alissa, *et al.* – “Kinship-based social inequality in Bronze Age Europe”. *Science* 8 (2019), pp. 731-4.

Concluding remarks

In sum, our study sheds new light on the structures and hierarchy of societies from the early Middle Ages in Europe and provides evidence in favor of the existence of long-distance migration in the sixth century CE involving peoples of northern European ancestry known as the Longobards. Using a combination of tools from genomics and archeological sciences, we describe two different groups composing each historical community. These groups are distinct in regard to their material culture, genetic ancestry, and diet. We find evidence that these groups coexisted in early medieval societies and that the bulk of individuals migrated together until they reached northern Italy; however, a barrier to gene flow was kept between them. Further studies on these and related societies are being conducted by a group coordinated by Krishna Veeramah (Stony Brook University, Stony Brook, NY, U.S.A.) and Patrick Geary (Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, NJ, U.S.A.). These future studies will reveal to what extent populations in Pannonia showed changes in their genetic diversity due to the arrival of the Longobards and whether the kin structures we observed in these cemeteries are also observed in other periods of the Longobard occupation of Italy.

The Middle Ages as the “global time” of the Papacy: An examination of the papal image

*Claudia D'Alberto*¹

Abstract

We are currently facing an extraordinary situation: two Popes coexist, one of whom is emeritus, after having abdicated in 2013 (more than seven hundred years after the most famous of medieval abdications, that of Celestine V in 1294), and the other still holds office. We have also recently experienced the canonization of three Popes and the promulgation of two jubilees (2000 and 2015).

This rare situation has stimulated the artistic community that focuses on the figure of the Pope, who is undoubtedly the most important political personality and religious authority that the Middle Ages have handed down to contemporary times. In this regard, worthy of mention is the television series *The Young Pope*, written and directed by Paolo Sorrentino (2016), which highlights the attenuation of the papal identity. The pope is presented there as having difficulty in appearing in public and having his image reproduced, “because his image does not exist”.

The Italian director was inspired by a long-standing problem: the representation of the Pope, especially since Innocent III (1198-1216), has constituted a particular iconographic question owing to a semantic complexity determined by ecclesiological implications.

¹ Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali, Roma; Université de Liège, Faculté de Philosophie et lettres, Département des sciences historiques, Service d'Histoire de l'Art et Archéologie du Moyen Age, «Transitions» – Unité de Recherches sur le Moyen Age et la Première Modernité. E-mail : dalberto.cla@gmail.com.

From the images on the apses of Roman basilicas to modern portraits, taking in the medieval bust of Boniface VIII, the effigies of the French popes of Avignon and schismatic popes, we focus on the medieval tradition that hides behind the papal politics through images of real and imaginary Popes from both modern and contemporary times.

At the same time, we discuss the representation of the Church as a personification or symbol before considering the representation of the Church as a Pope. Finally, we conclude with the birth and figurative affirmation, starting from 1417, of a third iconographic subject: the Council that determined the end of the apical Pope/Church dualism.

Keywords

Pope; Papacy, Papal Iconography; Iconography of the Church.

Introduction: the Pope of Sorrentino

The pope is the Bishop of Rome, the *Vicarius Christi* (Vicar of Christ), the successor of the prince of the Apostles, the servant of the servants of God, the sovereign pontiff of the universal Church, and also the primate of Italy and sovereign of the Vatican City. These very titles themselves, as enumerated by the Papal Yearbook 2017,² reflect the results of years of consideration (not always pacific) on the dialectical relationship between spiritual and temporal power. From the Middle Ages to the present day, through their writings, images, political acts and liturgical gestures, the popes have expressed the meaning of their earthly mission which, between innovation and conservatism, has made them both political figures and religious authorities which have no equivalent in any other religion.

The current situation is an extraordinary one: two popes coexist, one Emeritus, who abdicated in 2013, and the other pope still at the helm. In 2013, the abdication of Benedict XVI was the first papal abdication in contemporary history, more than seven hundred years after the most famous medieval abdication – that of Celestine V in 1294. We have also witnessed the canonization of three contemporary popes (John XXIII and John Paul II in 2014 and Paul VI in 2018) and the promulgation of two jubilees (the ordinary jubilee of 2000 and an extraordinary jubilee in 2015 under the sign of Mercy). This extraordinary situation has stimulated artistic creativity, especially cinematographic, regarding the figure of the Pope who is, undoubtedly, the most important political figure and religious authority that the Middle Ages has

² *Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 2017*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2017, pp. 23-24. The title *Vicarius Christi* is written in capital letters and larger than the others.

bequeathed to our contemporary times. One example, in particular, is the television series *The Young Pope*, written and directed by Paolo Sorrentino (2016), which deals with the attenuation of the papal image.³ The pope is depicted as having difficulties appearing in public and concerned about the reproduction of his image, “because his image does not exist” (fig. 1). The Italian director was inspired by a longstanding matter, concerning the representation of the pope which, specifically since the time of Innocent III (1198-1216), constitutes a particular iconographic issue, due to semantic complexities determined by ecclesiological implications.



Fig. 1 – Paolo Sorrentino (*The Young Pope* TV series, 2016): Pius XIII affirms that the pope is nobody and that only Christ exists. For this reason, he does not want to appear in public or let his image to be reproduced. The only merchandising that Pius XIII can authorize is a white dish.

From the canonical representations on the apses of Roman basilicas to modern portraits passing through the bust of Boniface VIII, the effigies of the French popes of Avignon and the *Vaticinia Pontificum*, this paper will examine the medieval tradition concealed behind the political dimension through images of real and imaginary popes from modern and contemporary times.

³ The sequel *The new pope*, announced by Paolo Sorrentino, definitively stigmatizes the genre of provocative and irreverent “papal fantasy”. He continues to analyse the identity of the sovereign pontiff but this time, through the co-presence of two popes, with explicit reference to our historical moment.

The pope of the Middle Ages: his status as the Vicar of Christ. One pope, two persons

Among the titles enumerated in the Papal Yearbook 2017, Paolo Sorrentino primarily employed that of the “Vicar of Christ” in order to connote the reign of his pope. It is a title which, reserved for the emperor since the early Christian era, began to be attributed to the pope from the time of the Gregorian Reform.⁴ The progressive assimilation of the Pope to Christ is, most importantly, in accordance with the assertion of the pontifical *plenitudo potestatis* (plenitude of power), namely the idea that the pope is, at the same time, the custodian of both temporal and spiritual power.⁵

Peter Damien, one of the leading initiators of the Gregorian Reform was the first to attribute the title of *Vicarius Christi* to the pope in the treatise *De coelibatu sacerdotum*, dedicated to Nicholas II (1059-1061).⁶ By way of another *Opusculum* written in 1064 entitled *De brevitae vitae pontificum Romanorum et divina providentia*, Peter Damien developed (as research conducted by Agostino Paravicini Bagliani has indeed shown) a rhetorical discourse relating to the caducity of the pope in order to “résoudre symboliquement et rituellement la tension entre la fragilité corporelle et l'autorité institutionnelle du pape.”⁷ On the basis of this discourse, which summarised all the considerations expounded on the theme since the fifth century, a systematic separation of the “physical person” of the pope, transitory and mortal, and the institutional person of the pope – *persona papae* – was implemented, namely the Church,⁸ the body of Christ who never dies. In this way, since the second half of the eleventh century, it is impossible to understand any representation of the popes without taking into account that metaphorical and ideological concept.⁹ It becomes clear that from the time of Innocent III (1198-1216),¹⁰ the pope, alive and

⁴ Cf. MACCARRONE, Michele – *Vicarius Christi: storia del titolo papale*. Romae: Facultas Theologica Pontificii Athenaei Lateranensis, 1952, pp. 85-107.

⁵ Regarding the theme of papal Christology cf. ANDREANI, Laura; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino (eds.) – *Cristo e il potere: teologia, antropologia e politica*. Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2017. Here cf. in particular the articles of PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino (“Innocenzo III, Cristo e il potere del papa”, pp. 127-142), ROMANO, Serena (“Roma, il centro del potere e l'immagine di Cristo”, pp. 143-156), THÉRY, Julien (“*Negotium Christi*”. Guillaume de Nogaret et le christianisme capétien, de l'affaire Boniface VIII à l'affaire du Temple”, pp. 183-210) and BOCK, Nicolas (“La visione del potere. Cristo, il re e la corte angioina”, pp. 211-224).

⁶ Cf. MACCARRONE, Michele – *Vicarius Christi*, pp. 86-87.

⁷ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Art et autoreprésentation : la figure du pape entre le XI^e et le XIV^e siècle”. *Perspective 1* (2012), pp. 95-114 at 95-97. Available at <http://perspective.revues.org/557>. For an in-depth analysis of this cf. also PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il corpo del papa*. Torino: Einaudi, 1994, pp. 5-28.

⁸ On the different meanings of the concept of “Church” cf. IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *La Maison Dieu. Une histoire monumentale de l'Église au Moyen Âge (v. 800-v. 1200)*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2006.

⁹ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Boniface VIII en images. Vision d'Église et mémoire de soi”. In OLARIU, Dominic (ed.) – *Le portrait individuel. Réflexions autour d'une forme de représentation XIII^e-XV^e siècles*. Bern, Peter Lang, 2009, pp. 65-82 at 133.

¹⁰ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il corpo del papa*, pp. 93-94; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Art et autoreprésentation”, p. 100; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Innocenzo III, Cristo e il potere del papa”.

in good health, combined the two persons. In almost identical passages taken from two different sermons, Innocent III asserted that "for the pope to be recognised as a living image of Christ on earth, and so that he might exercise the plenitude of his power, the institutional person of the pope (*persona papae*) must exist as a person in flesh and blood, in full possession of all his senses and one who can be touched, seen and smelt "scented".¹¹

In the former apse mosaic of Saint Peter in the Vatican (fig. 2),¹² Innocent III dressed in his red chasuble, pallium and wearing the tiara (for the first time in the history of the representation of apses in Roman basilicas)¹³ is depicted as the embodiment of the Church who holds in his right hand a banner with two parallel keys. They are presented at the head of a number of lambs (an allusion to the twelve Apostles) leaving the towns of Jerusalem and Bethlehem. At the centre of the scene the throne of Hetimasie associated with the Lamb of God appears in an axial position in relation to Christ seated on the throne at a superior level. The pope can no longer be represented merely as the patron of the mosaic,¹⁴ the physical person defined by the attribute of the square nimbus as in the past, but must be depicted as the Vicar of Christ.¹⁵ His new status is indicated by way of an exceptionally Christological context. Christ seated on the throne, the Lamb of God, the throne of Hetimasie, the tiara, the red chasuble (alluding to the sacrifice of Christ) establish the ideal

¹¹ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 100.

¹² The work, destroyed during the reconstruction of the Vatican basilica at the turn of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries is known primarily due to a kind of notarial register produced by the apostolic prothonotary Giacomo Grimaldi in 1605 (Vatican City, Vatican Library, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, A 64 ter, f. 50r). Cf. IACOBINI, Antonio – "*Est Haec sacra principis aedes: the Vatican Basilica from Innocent III to Gregory IX (1198 – 1241)*". In TRONZO, William (ed.) – *St. Peter's in the Vatican*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 48-63; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara: immagini e simboli del papato medievale*. Roma: Viella, 2005, pp. 45-50; BALLARDINI, Antonella – "La distruzione dell'abside dell'antico San Pietro e la tradizione iconografica del mosaico innocenziano tra la fine del sec. XVI e il sec. XVII". *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* 11 (2004), pp. 7-80; IACOBINI, Antonio – "La pittura e le Arte suntarie da Innocenzo III a Innocenzo IV (1198-1254)". In ROMANINI, Maria Angiola (ed.) – *Roma nel Duecento. L'arte nella città dei papi da Innocenzo III a Bonifacio VIII*. Torino: SEAT, 1991, pp. 1-71; IACOBINI, Antonio – "Il mosaico absidale di San Pietro in Vaticano". In ANDALORO, Maria, et al. (ed.) – *Fragmenta picta. Affreschi e mosaici staccati del Medioevo romano*. Roma: Argos, 1990, pp. 119-130; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums und des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2. Città del Vaticano: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana, 1970, p. 62. Cf. also BÖLLING, Jörg – "Die zwei Körper des Apostelfürsten. Der heilige Petrus im Rom des Reformpapsttums". *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 106 (2011), pp. 155-192.

¹³ Cf. IACOBINI, Antonio – "Il mosaico absidale", p. 126; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "La papauté médiévale entre la norme et la légitimité implicite". In GENET, Jean-Philippe (ed.) – *La légitimité implicite. Actes des conférences organisées à Rome en 2010 et en 2011 par SAS en collaboration avec l'École Française de Rome*. Paris-Rome, Editions de la Sorbonne – École française de Rome, 2015, pp. 67-74 at 70-71.

¹⁴ On the figure of the patron Pope cf. D'ONOFRIO, Mario – "Per un profilo della committenza artistica dei papi a Roma nel Medioevo". In D'ONOFRIO, Mario (ed.) – *La committenza artistica dei Papi a Roma nel Medioevo*. Roma: Viella, 2016, pp. 7-49 at 27-35; GANDOLFO, Francesco – "Il ritratto di committenza". In ANDALORO, Maria; ROMANO Serena – *Arte e iconografia a Roma. Da Costantino a Cola di Rienzo*. Milano: Jaca Book, 2000, pp. 175-192.

¹⁵ Cf. MACCARRONE, Michele – *Vicarius Christi*, pp. 109-124; PACAUT, Marcel – *La théocratie. L'Église et le pouvoir au Moyen-Âge*. Paris: Editions Montaigne, 1957, p. 255; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 45-50.

condition for the celebration of the mystical marriage between Innocent III and the Church,¹⁶ in accordance with a theological symbolism that the pope himself had described in sermon III *De diversis*¹⁷ given on the occasion of the first anniversary of his coronation.



Fig. 2 – Domenico Tasselli da Lugo, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, A 64 ter, f. 50r: Watercolor copy of the absidal mosaic in the St Peter Basilica commissioned by Innocent III (1198-1216), (Copyright © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

¹⁶ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “La papauté médiévale” p. 71; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 46-47 (even if he is not convinced that it concerns the mystical marriage between the pope and the church); DORAN, John – *Pope Innocent III and the uses of spiritual marriage*. In ANDREWS, Frances; EGGER, Christoph; ROUSSEAU, Constance (eds.) – *Pope, church and city. Essays in honour of Brenda M. Bolton*. Leiden: Brill, 2004, pp. 101-114 at 111-112; IACOBINI, Antonio – “Il mosaico absidale”, p. 126.

¹⁷ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 47, 59, note 13; IMKAMP, Wilhelm – *Das Kirchenbild Innocenz’ III (1198-1216)*. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983, pp. 201-208.

The representation of the Church as personification or symbol: figurative visibility and invisibility

The metaphor of the Church as the bride of the bishop has been demonstrated since the early Middle Ages.¹⁸ It became considerably widespread during the first quarter of the ninth century due to the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and even more so during the Gregorian Reform which owes much to this canonical collation.¹⁹ Furthermore, the era of the Reform was a critical turning point. In order to assert the primacy of the pope, the Church also began to employ the name *sponsa Christi* (spouse of Christ) and therefore, due to a conceptual shift, *sponsa papae* (spouse of the pope) insofar as the pope is the living image of Christ on earth and thus the custodian of indirect temporal power.²⁰ This is the meaning of the mosaic of Innocent III (fig. 2), where the Church, in turn, has become "papalised", by considering itself, from the iconographic point of view, with the symbol of the keys, which for the first time have been dissociated from St Peter.²¹ Through this spiritual marriage, Innocent III celebrated the union between the body of the pope interpreted in its immortal dimension, and the body of the Church as he had implied²² in his treatise on *De sacro altaris mysterio*, by applying to the liturgical person of the pope and to the Church an identical division of their bodies into seven parts.²³ It should be pointed out, however, that the personification of the Innocentian Church-bride is one of the last representations of the Roman Church in monumental contexts.

With Boniface VIII (1294-1303), a new theological discourse was imposed in an innovative and decisive way, which was no longer based on the simple union

¹⁸ Cf. CONTE, Pietro – *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1971; CONTE, Pietro – *Regesto delle lettere papali del secolo VIII*. Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1984; ULLMANN, Walter – *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1. London: Methuen, 1962; MCLAUGHLIN, Megan – "The Church as Bride in Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England". In AURELL, Martin (ed.) – *Les stratégies matrimoniales (IX^e-XIII^e siècle)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, pp. 257-266; MACCARRONE, Michele – *Romana Ecclesia, cathedra Petri*. Roma: Herder, 1991.

¹⁹ FUHRMANN, Horst – *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen. Von ihrem Auftauchen bis in die neuere Zeit*. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann Verlag, 1972-1974; IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *La Maison Dieu*, pp. 365-366.

²⁰ TAWIL, Emmanuel (*Laïcité & liberté de l'Église: la doctrine des relations entre l'Église et l'État dans les documents magistériels de Pie IX à Benoît XVI*. Perpignan: Artège Éditions, 2013, pp. 29-32) considers the oldest historical source of the doctrine of indirect power (which differs from the doctrine of direct temporal power, the clearest expression of which was contained in the bull *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII) the *Novit Ille* of Innocent III published in the decrees of Gregory IX (1227-1241).

²¹ Cf. LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, p. 59; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 46-47; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "La papauté médiévale", p. 71. The personification of the Church also appears qualified by a crown-tiara which evokes it as *Imperatrix* cf. IACOBINI, Antonio – "Il mosaico absidale", pp. 126-128.

²² Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 99.

²³ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 99.

between the Pope Christ and the Church, but on the fusion between the two persons²⁴ in keeping with the theological notions articulated by Giles of Rome, according to which *papa potest dici Ecclesia*.²⁵ The Caetani pope tried for the first time a form of revoking papal caducity as his funereal monument clearly demonstrates. Serena Romano submits that the bust of Boniface – *alter Christus*²⁶ (fig. 3) and, more generally, his entire tomb had to remind those entering the Vatican Basilica that the pope was alive. This interpretation is confirmed by the physiognomic idealisation of the papal face, very different from the perpetually realistic ones of his predecessors and, as we will see, of his Avignon successors.²⁷ But this interpretation is also confirmed by the fact that the Church, which to some extent becomes figuratively invisible, appears through the face of the pope²⁸ and, at the same time, the pope and the Church begin to be symbolised by the large tiara.

²⁴ For a synthesis of this theological discourse cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Boniface VIII en images”, p. 81.

²⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 80-81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa: norme, riti e conflitti. 1: Il Medioevo*. Roma: Viella, 2013, pp. 145-146; D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere papale fra Roma e Avignone (1308-1362)”. In PROVASI, Matteo; VICENTINI, Cecilia (ed.) – *La Storia e le Immagini della Storia: Prospettive, metodi, ricerche*. Roma: Viella, 2015, pp. 37-60 at 37-39.

²⁶ Cf. ROMANO, Serena – “Visione e visibilità nella Roma papale: Niccolò III e Bonifacio VIII”. In BONINCONTRO, Ilaria (ed.) – *Bonifacio VIII. Ideologia e azione politica*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006, pp. 59-76; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Il busto di Bonifacio VIII: nuove testimonianze e una rilettura”. In *Il potere del papa. Corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*. Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009, pp. 137-151 at 148-149; but also RASH, Nancy – “Boniface VIII and Honorific Portraiture: observations on the half-length image in the Vatican”. *Gesta* 26 (1987), pp. 47-58 and D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “*Imago Papae*”. In D'ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae. Le pape en image du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2020. According to Serena Romano the bust of Boniface VIII is qualified not only by the *triregnum* but also by the blessing gesture which, as the scholar has shown, is connected to an iconographic tradition of a purely Christological and non-Petrine matrix. The thesis, recently put forward by BOLGIA, Claudia (“In the footsteps of St. Peter: New light on the half-length images of Benedict XII by Paolo da Siena and Boniface VIII by Arnolfo di Cambio in Old St. Peter's”. In BUENO, Irene (ed.) – *Pope Benedict XII (1334-1342): The Guardian of Orthodoxy*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018, pp. 131-165 at 157-158), that releases the bust of Boniface VIII from his tomb is not supported on the basis of convincing data but only on the basis of the similarity with the position of the bust of Benedict XII.

²⁷ Basically, the face of the bust of Boniface VIII is free from the principle of “resembling representation”, well illustrated by OLARIU, Dominic – *La genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIIIe siècle*. Bern: Peter Lang, 2014 and, more recently, by BELTING, Hans – *Face and mask: a double history*. Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2017.

²⁸ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 80-81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 144-46; D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere” p. 38 and note 3.



Fig. 3 – Arnolfo di Cambio (?), Vatican City, Vatican Palace:
Bust of Boniface VIII (1294-1303), (© Fototeca Musei Vaticani).

It is no coincidence therefore that a very significant change in this extra-liturgical papal headdress can be seen in the time of Boniface VIII. There has been a shift from the tiara-diadem at the time of Boniface VIII to the *triregnum*,²⁹ defined as a diadem with an additional two crowns. There exists no written source to explain this innovation, however Paravicini Bagliani,³⁰ studying in detail a line of research proposed by Schramm and Ladner,³¹ demonstrates that the Caetani pope wanted to reflect through this embellishment, which represented more than just the

²⁹ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 77-82.

³⁰ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 79-82.

³¹ SCHRAMM, Percy Erivst – “Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Tiara”. *Historische Zeitschrift* 152 (1935), pp. 307-312; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, pp. 313-317; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – “Die Statue Bonifaz’ VII. in der Lateranbasilika und die Entstehung der dreifach gekrönten Tiara”. In *Images and Ideas in the Middle Ages*, I.1. Roma: Ed. Di Storia e Letteratura, 1983, pp. 393-426 (revised version of the article published in *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 42:1-2 (1934), pp. 35-69); PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 77-82.

temporal power of the pope, his new ecclesiological concept based on the biblical allegory of Noah's Ark.³² In the letter announcing his election, Benedetto Caetani wrote that the Church was "an Ark which rises towards the influx of waters"³³ while Jacopo Stefaneschi in the *Opus Metricum* spoke of the tiara, which was used to crown Boniface VIII, as a headdress which had "the form of the sphere and the *cubitus*".³⁴ The *cubitus* was the unit of measurement used in the Bible to calculate the length, width and height of Noah's Ark. This word is repeated again in the *Unam Sanctam* papal bull (1302),³⁵ in which Boniface codified from a dogmatic point of view propositions theorised by his leading theologian: the Augustinian Giles of Rome, namely that the base of Noah's Ark is long and wide because it represents the Church of the faithful, and as the Ark extends upwards the finer it becomes until the summit is reduced to a *cubitus*, which represents the pope. Giles of Rome transferred to the pope, as Paravicini Bagliani has noted, that which more than one century earlier the theologian Hugh of Saint Victor, in his famous treatise on Noah's Ark (towards 1126-1127), had attributed to Christ.³⁶ This means that the symbolic identification of the base of Noah's Ark with the Church dates back to Hugh of Saint Victor, except that the Parisian theologian had identified the summit of the Ark with Christ. The transition from Christ to the pope, on the other hand, is the significant innovation of the Bonifacian era.³⁷

Historians,³⁸ by linking these sources relating to Noah's Ark and the tiara, have arrived at the conclusion that the similarity with the sphere used by Jacopo Stefaneschi to describe the papal headdress refers to the shape of its lower part, in other words, to the diadem which alludes to the sacerdotal authority of the pope and therefore the Church. The word *cubitus*, likewise used by Stefaneschi with regard to the symbolism of the Ark, emphasises the verticality of the tiara, referring to the summit (*cubitus*) which embodies the pope as the Vicar of Christ and head of the Church.

From a conceptual and visual point of view, the *triregnum* synthesises therefore the new ecclesiological notion of Boniface VIII, and his re-formulation of the papal *plenitudo potestatis*. It has been shown that the Caetani pope no longer accepted the supremacy of spiritual power over temporal power asserted by Innocent III

³² PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 77.

³³ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 79.

³⁴ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 79; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, 287.

³⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 80.

³⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 80-81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – "Art et autoreprésentation", p. 105.

³⁷ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 81; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione*, pp. 145-146.

³⁸ SCHRAMM, Percy Erivst – "Zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Tiara"; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, pp. 313-317; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – "Die Statue Bonifaz VII"; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, pp. 77-82.

in his sermons, whereas the latter had emphasised on a number of occasions the major importance of the mitre (*signum pontificis*) compared to the tiara (*signum imperii*), given that papal authority is more extensive and more dignified than imperial power.³⁹ In order to challenge this theological approach, Boniface VIII further enhanced the diadem, in the sense of a sacerdotal symbol, with two crowns. As suggested by Ladner,⁴⁰ one refers to royal sovereignty and the other to imperial sovereignty. Historical events would support this thesis. The antagonism of Boniface VIII against the crown of France and the imperial crown of Habsburg is common knowledge. As an example, it should not be forgotten that in 1303, during negotiations with Albert I of Habsburg, contender for the imperial throne,⁴¹ the Caetani pope welcomed the ambassadors to the Lateran Palace delivering his opening sermon where, starting with a passage from Genesis on the theme of the sun and the moon, he compared spiritual power to the light of the sun and temporal and imperial power to moonlight. In so doing, he assigned the derivation of earthly power from ecclesiastical power, unlike the moon which lives on reflected light from the sun. The emperor subject to the judgment of the pontiff *est super gentes et regna*, but his entire power comes from the pope and therefore he is reduced to a minister of the Church. So, the house of Habsburg needed to be very cautious because the Vicar of Christ, successor of Peter, had the power to transfer the title of the German Holy Roman Empire to another dynasty.

In addition to being an ecclesiological symbol, the Bonifacian *triregnum*, as explained above, also maintains its Innocentian nature of *signum imperii*, although from the perspective of the plenitude of power and not of the inferiority of temporal power compared to spiritual power.

This Bonifacian double meaning was received and accentuated by the Avignon papacy, during which time the tiara was newly transformed.⁴² The diadem of the lower part was replaced by a crown similar in workmanship and size to two others already existing from the time of Clement V (1305-1314) (fig. 4). But it is only with Clement VI (1342-1352) that the tiara with three crowns definitively replaced the use of the other two types (namely the diadem tiara and the Bonifacian *triregnum*) becoming the official extra-liturgical headdress of the pope until 1964, when Paul VI (1963-1978) officially renounced this sacred ornament. To date, there are no sources

³⁹ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p. 73.

⁴⁰ MÜNTZ, Eugene – “La tiare pontificale du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle”. *Mémoires de l’Institut national de France*, 36:1 (1898), pp. 235-324 at 255; LADNER, Gerhart. B. – *Die Papstbildnisse des Altertums*, p. 314; PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Le chiavi e la tiara*, p.77.

⁴¹ PIO, Berardo – “Bonifacio VIII e la corte tedesca”. In BONINCONTRO, Ilaria (ed.) – *Bonifacio VIII. Ideologia e azione politica*. Roma: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 2006, pp. 199-219 at 213-214.

⁴² On this subject I allow myself to refer to my article D’ALBERTO, Claudia – “La tiare à trois couronnes: une invention de la papauté d’Avignon (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)”. *Rivista d’Arte. Periodico Internazionale di Storia dell’Arte Medievale e Moderna*, 5 s., 53:8 (2018), pp. 23-39.

available to explain clearly and unequivocally the reason why the diadem was replaced by the third crown. In order to attempt to clarify this point, it is necessary to start from the analysis of the ecclesiological conception and papal *auctoritas* adopted by the Avignon papacy.



Fig. 4 – Andrea Bonaiuti (?), Florence, Santa Maria Novella: Triumph of St Thomas Aquinas, Pope Clement V (*Enciclopedia dei Papi* 2000).

To contain overwhelming dynamics such as the conflict with the Empire, the all-consuming interference exerted by the Allied French crown and the distance with Rome (even though the Eternal City kept its elevated symbolic value unscathed), the popes in the south of France had no choice but to strengthen the theocratic base of their power. They followed in the steps of Innocent III, Nicholas III and more importantly Boniface VIII,⁴³ namely the traces of a pope who was – and this is the great historical paradox of the French popes – the protagonist of a posthumous trial which ended in 1313.

Research carried out by Paravicini Bagliani on the papal ceremonies in Avignon⁴⁴ have brought to light that in France, during the election of the popes, there were less gestures of self-humiliation compared to the formulas which imitated imperial type royalty.⁴⁵ In 1316, evidence shows there was for the first time a new coronation ritual at the time of the ceremony of the consecration of John XXII (1316-1334). Following his election, Jacques Duèze after having been handed the tiara from the Cardinal Protodeacon, and while seated on a wooden catafalque, was placed, to the cheers of the crowd, onto the altar of the church of Saint-Just of Lyon.⁴⁶ As explained by Paravicini Bagliani, this rite corresponded to Roman ecclesiology of the 13th century: the pope wearing the tiara as the sign of his election, was transported onto the altar which was a throne, the throne of Christ, of which the pope is the Vicar.⁴⁷ In this perspective it is very significant to note that, in the correspondence that Joseph Marie de Suarès (bishop of Vaison-la-Romaine from 1633 to 1666) entertains between the thirties and the fifties of the seventeenth century with his Roman patron, Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1623), he recalls to have seen in the sacristy of the cathedral of Avignon a red silk planet of John XXII⁴⁸

⁴³ Cf. D'ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere”, pp. 37-53.

⁴⁴ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 152-169. Regarding the papal ceremonies of Avignon cf. also ROLLO-KOSTER, Joëlle – “Failed Ritual? Medieval Papal Funerals and the Death of Clement VI (1352)”. In LYNTERIS, Christos; EVANS, Nicholas (ed.) – *Histories of Post-Mortem Contagion: Infectious Corpses and Contested Burials*. London: Palgrave Macmillan 2017, pp. 27-53 and ROLLO-KOSTER, Joëlle – “Un ou deux corps ? La mort du pape dans un cérémonial de la fin du Moyen Âge”. In D'ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae*.

⁴⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il corpo del papa*, pp. 25-26.

⁴⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁷ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 156-157.

⁴⁸ Vatican City, Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. 3051, fol. 65r: “Vi è ancor una pianeta di Giovanni 22 di seta rossa e nel mezzo vi sono in ricamo fatti attorno l'effigie di Christo nostro Signore suoi Re, che tengono qte ('queste') lettere parimte ('parimente') intessute”. The reliability of the source is very high, as it is stated when De Suares speaks of works still existing today, all correctly identified. Moreover, thanks to this correspondence DE NICOLA, Giacomo (“L'affresco di Simone Martini ad Avignone”. *L'Arte* 9 (1906), pp. 336-344) discovered at the beginning of the last century the drawing of the lost fresco with *Saint George and the dragon* painted by Simone Martini in the portico of the cathedral of Avignon. CASTELNUOVO, Enrico (*Un pittore italiano alla corte di Avignone: Matteo Giovannetti e la pittura in Provenza nel secolo XIV*. Torino: Einaudi, 1991, p. 137, note 9) also used this source to confirm the identification of Innocent VI with the fragmented pope represented in the Chapel of St. John of the chartreuse du Val-de Bénédiction (Villeneuve-lès-Avignon) kneeling in front of the Virgin and Child. Finally, also see the article by VINGTAIN, Dominique; ANHEIM, Étienne – “Les fresques de la chapelle Saint-Martial

at the center of which was woven an image of Christ surrounded by “his Kings”. The kings could be identified with the ancestors according to the flesh (following the genealogy of Jesus Isaiah, Solomon etc.) who held letters in their hands. This is news that confirms, as well as through the use of certain iconographies and certain vestments, that the Avignon sovereign popes adhered strongly to the Bonifacian Christological ecclesiology.

Likewise the drawings of *Opicinus de Canistris* (1296-1351?), the scribe at the Apostolic Penitentiary active between the papacies of Benedict XII (1334-1342) and Clement VI, demonstrate that the Avignon popes placed themselves in a position whereby they both continued with and innovated the thirteenth century papal ecclesiology. The drawing on paper (Vat. Lat. 6435, f. 84v), dating back to the papacy of Benedict XII, depicts the words “Ark” and “Noah” inscribed on a highly stylised tiara.⁴⁹ It is clear therefore that the first Avignon popes, when they decided to review the structure of the tiara, continued to adhere to the symbolic complex synthesised by the Bonifacian metaphor of Noah’s Ark. However, at the same time due to the theocratic strengthening of the papal *auctoritas* (authority) the French popes no longer perceived their spiritual power through the diadem of the priesthood, but through a crown which probably emphasised with greater force the papal status of the Vicar of Christ. With the three-crowned tiara the Church, the symbol of the community of the faithful, no longer appears on the head of the Pope. The Avignonese pope of the *Opicinus* is therefore a Bonifacian pope, Vicar of Christ and successor of Peter. In this perspective, it is highly significant to note that the bust of the pontiff, that *Opicinus* represents within a sort of Petrine-Christological genealogical scheme in the parchment codex Pal. Lat. 1993 (f. 23r) dating back to the mid-fourteenth century⁵⁰ (fig. 5), alludes to the Arnolfian bust of pope Caetani (fig. 3) which, in turn, serves as the model, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁵¹ for the honorary bust made by Paolo da Siena for the substantial restoration works financed by Benedict XII in favour of the Vatican Basilica in 1341 (fig. 6).

(Palais des papes d’Avignon). Techniques picturales et mise en scène du pouvoir pontifical au milieu du XIVe siècle”. In D’ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae*, in which the source was used by Etienne Anheim to record some lost portraits of Clement VI in the Palace of the Popes of Avignon.

⁴⁹ Regarding the timeline of the codex Vat. Lat. 6435 cf. LAHARIE, Muriel – *Le journal singulier d’Opicinus de Canistris (1337-vers 1341): Vaticanus latinus 6435*. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008, 1: XLIII-XLVI, and more specifically for the drawing (fol. 84v) cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Opicinus de Canistris et la symbolique pontificale”. In *Il potere del papa. Corporeità, autorappresentazione, simboli*. Firenze: SISMEI – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2009, pp. 227-236 at 232, ill. 15.

⁵⁰ SALOMON, Richard – *Opicinus De Canistris. Weltbild und Bekenntnisse eines avignonesischen Klerikers des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Textband and Tafelband, 2 vols. London: Warburg Institute, 1936, *Textband*, pp. 286-292, *Tafelband*, XXXII.

⁵¹ D’ALBERTO, Claudia – *Roma al tempo di Avignone. Sculture nel contesto*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2013, 42-47; D’ALBERTO, Claudia – “La rappresentazione del potere”, pp. 49-52. On the Vatican bust of Benedict XII see also the summary in BOLGIA, Claudia – “Il XIV secolo: da Benedetto XI (1303-1304) a Bonifacio IX (1389-1404)”. In D’ONOFRIO, Maria (ed.) – *La committenza artistica dei Papi a Roma nel Medioevo*. Roma: Viella, 2016, pp. 331-359 at pp. 340-341, and a broader discussion in BOLGIA, Claudia – “In the footsteps of St. Peter”



Fig. 5 – Opicinus de Canistris, Vatican City, Vatican Library, Pal. Lat. 1993, f. 23r: Bust of a blessing pope (© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Fig. 6 – Paolo da Siena, Vatican City, Vatican Grottoes: bust of Benedict XII (courtesy of the Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano).

The relationship between the pope Vicar of Christ with the *Ecclesia* (Church) also refers to thirteenth century ecclesiology. The plate of same parchment codex Pal. Lat. 1993 (f. 23r) is dominated by a large cross at the centre of which is an *imago clipeata* representing a pope, wearing this time a three-crowned tiara and holding two large keys in his hands. At the top of the cross, another *imago clipeata* echoes the papal one. It contains two figures embracing, which a written note identifies respectively with Christ and the Church. It is clear that the Pope-cross, wearing the three-crowned tiara is the Vicar of Christ. As a result of this position and of a subtle play of figurative connections, the Pope is also the bridegroom of the Church, in continuity with the figurative metaphor “staged” by Innocent III on the apse mosaic of St Peter in the Vatican. However, at the same time, for *Opicinus de Canistris* and probably for his creator, the pope is the incarnation of the Bonifacian Church. Without discussing the large number of inscriptions which define the pope as the “apostolic body of the Church” (p. e. Pal lat. 1993, n 18 and n 47),⁵² we want to focus our attention on a drawing on paper (Vat. Lat. 6435 f. 87r)⁵³ where the mystical couple *Ecclesia-Christus* (Church-Christ), represented in an anthropomorphic map of Europe are defined most significantly with the name *papia et papa*.⁵⁴ Now, however, it is the pope who figuratively speaking is invisible. He appears through the faces of Christ and the Church who are at the same time the pope and the pope woman.

Even the rite of papal coronation in Avignon which always took place inside the Palace of the Popes, after the papacy of John XXII and certainly starting from that of Innocent VI, epitomises a real isolation, a sort of invisibility of the pope with respect to the community of the faithful.⁵⁵ As said by Paravicini Bagliani⁵⁶ this liturgical-ritual practice represents the most important discerning feature between the Avignon papal ceremonies and those held in Rome. However, it must be emphasised that this sort of liturgical-ritual invisibility – which can be considered the source of inspiration for the depiction of the Sorrentine pope – did not in any way correspond to a sort of papal aniconism. On the contrary, certainly initiating with Clement VI, the French popes deployed a real campaign for images representing themselves primarily on the throne with their most important papal

⁵² Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – “Opicinus de Canistris”, p. 233.

⁵³ Cf. LAHARIE, Muriel – *Le journal singulier d’Opicinus*, 2: 910-914, fig. 46; WHITTINGTON, Karl – *Body-worlds. Opicinus de Canistris and the medieval cartographic imagination*. Toronto: PIMS, 2014, pp. 153, 160; BROCCHERI, Mariateresa Fumagalli Beonio; LIMONTA, Roberto – *Volando sul mondo. Opicinus de Canistris (1296-1352)*. Milano: Archinto, 2016, pp. 80-81.

⁵⁴ It is very interesting to highlight the play on words that *Opicinus* does in the drawings on paper (BAV, Vat. Lat. 6435) with the word ‘Papia’. It often identifies the hometown, Pavia, but also a sort of Pope’s wife, when it is precisely in connection with the Pope and especially when these two are connected, thanks to a ‘construction to chiasm’, with the couple Christ-Church.

⁵⁵ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 155-156.

⁵⁶ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, p.156.

insignia including the three-crowned tiara which contributed more than the other sacred ornaments, to assert the representation of the pope at the summit of his spiritual and temporal power, as Vicar of Christ, Incarnation of the Church and true emperor.

Little did it matter if it was a fictional representation. The principal objective was the message that had to be conveyed, to give an image of strength to the institution of the Church which, with its transfer to Avignon, was going through many changes and was seeking its identity. The past, even the most awkward, has not been refuted, however employed for the new requirements of propaganda.

The Great Western Schism. The representation of the pope as an instrument of legitimacy

The representation of the pope during the Great Western Schism⁵⁷ (at the peak of his spiritual and temporal power) becomes an instrument of legitimacy.

As Francesca Manzari demonstrated in different papers,⁵⁸ the popes and antipopes were systematically represented with the most important papal insignia, not only in official contexts, but also in works intended for their private use. The *Prayer Book of Clement VII* (Avignon, Bibl. mun., ms. 6733) is emblematic: the excessive heraldic pageantry undergoes constant transformations. The tiara with three crowns, just like the keys, in addition to triumphing over the papal coat of arms (f. 31r and 42r) can also be seen nearby, thus becoming an autonomous motif (f. 8v) integrating into the dense decorations of the margins. We are not looking at mere emblems, but a real exaltation of papal symbols, and therefore of the legitimacy of the papacy.

⁵⁷ Iconological research about Great Western Schism was only started more recently. The conference proceedings of an important conference organized by Serena Romano and Walter Angelelli (ANGELELLI, Walter; ROMANO, Serena (eds.) – *La linea d'ombra. Roma 1378-1420, Conference proceedings (Lausanne-Rome 2017-2018)*. Roma: Viella, 2019) are a real *viaticum* for all those who want to face the study of schismatic Rome. I can say that *Imago Papae* – the volume that is going to be published under my edition (cf. D'ALBERTO, Claudia (ed.) – *Imago Papae. Le pape en image du Moyen Age à l'époque contemporaine*. Roma: Campisano Editore, 2020) – also contributes significantly to Roman research and is, in addition, a starting point for iconological questions relating to the Avignon antipapacy.

⁵⁸ MANZARI, Francesca – *La miniatura ad Avignone al tempo dei papi (1310-1410)*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006, pp. 211-220 and finally and with previous bibliography cf. MANZARI, Francesca – “Committenza libraria a Roma durante lo scisma: codici miniati per papi, cardinali, vescovi e laici (1380-1410)”. In ANGELELLI, Walter; ROMANO, Serena (eds.) – *La linea d'ombra*, pp. 89-114; MANZARI, Francesca – “L'enluminure à Avignon et à Rome pendant le Grand Schisme d'Occident: images de Dieu en pape et représentations du vêtement du pontife”. In *Imago Papae* and MANZARI, Francesca – “Committenza libraria e legittimità tra Avignone e Roma. I codici liturgici prodotti per Benedetto XIII e per Bonifacio IX durante lo Scisma”. In JAMME, Armand (ed.) – *La Papauté et le Grand Schisme. Avignon/ Rome. Langages politiques, impacts institutionnels, postes sociales et culturelles*, (forthcoming).

It is no coincidence, therefore, that the Avignon curia, uses in a way that one could define rather systematically the procedure of iconographic “papalisation” especially in relation to the figure of St Peter in order to make a more or less direct allusion to the *Imago papae*.⁵⁹ Saint Peter the Pope will be widely used in Aragonese Spain from the beginning of the fifteenth century due to the action of Benedict XIII (1394-1423)⁶⁰ (fig. 7). In a certain manner, there is a return to the formula of the early medieval popes, Vicars of St Peter, perhaps because it more effectively conveyed the principle of papal legitimacy.



Fig. 7 – Cinctorres, Ayuntamiento, Altarpiece representing Saint Peter as Pope (crypto-portrait of Benedict XIII? 15th century), (Photo by Author).

⁵⁹ On this argument cf. the latest cf. MANZARI, Francesca – “L’enluminure à Avignon” and PLANAS, Josefina – “Au-delà d’Avignon. In *Imago Papae*.”

⁶⁰ PLANAS, Josefina – “Au-delà d’Avignon”.

The Great Western Schism. The representation of the personification of the Church takes on a “public” dimension: the Church as Pope

The legitimising function of the papal insignia and, in particular, of the tiara also begins to involve the personification of the *Ecclesia* which in these schismatic years regains its monumental dimension in particular in Rome and in the Angevin Kingdom, as far as is known.

A first demonstration, the date of which oscillates between the end of the Avignonese papacy and the beginning of the Great Western Schism, can be seen in the Neapolitan church of the Incoronata built from 1373 onwards by Queen Joan I of Anjou and entrusted together with the annexed care structure to the Carthusians.⁶¹ The vault of the first bay of the main nave offers a decorative program which, dedicated to the Seven Sacraments, concludes with the Triumph of the Church where the personification of *Ecclesia*, leaning against the figure of Christ, displays a Eucharistic chalice and wears a diadem tiara (fig. 8). The Church, represented here in its meaning of the body and bride of Christ, is papalised through the use of the tiara. I will leave it to a future study to conduct an in-depth examination of this interesting iconography⁶² which has never been thoroughly investigated which could be the defining key in order to fix the Neapolitan sacrament cycle to 1378, that is, at the time of the election of the antipope Clement VII (1378-1394) whom Queen Joan supported in opposition to her antagonist Charles of Durazzo, defender of the Roman cause of Urban VI (1378-1389).

An iconography, this Incoronata, which could relate in semantic terms to the *Coronation of the Virgin* represented in the upper part of the fragmentary tabernacle of the Roman church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Most likely related to an order from Boniface IX (1389-1404), the tabernacle housed the Marian icon *del Popolo* and the remarkable thing is that here Christ (or rather the Christ-Pope) consecrates the head of the Virgin Church (*sponsa Christi* and thus *sponsa pape*) with a tiara instead of a crown.⁶³

⁶¹ BOESPFLUG, François – “Dieu en pape. Une singularité de l’art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge”. *Revue Mabillon* 2/163 (1991), pp. 167-205 at 171. On the construction phase and for an overall analysis of the decorative programs inside the church of the Incoronata cf. VITOLO, Paola – *La chiesa della regina: l’Incoronata di Napoli, Giovanna I d’Angiò e Roberto di Oderisio*. Roma: Viella, 2008.

⁶² See on this iconographic subject ANGHEBEN, Marcello – “La Vierge à l’Enfant comme image du prêtre officiant. Les exemples des peintures romanes des Pyrénées et de Maderuelo”. *Codex aquilarensis* 28 (2012), pp. 29-74, and ANGHEBEN, Marcello – “L’image du pape dans la Rome des XIe-XIIe siècles et ses relations avec la réforme dite grégorienne”. In *Imago Papae*.

⁶³ Regarding the tabernacle of Santa Maria del Popolo see lastly BOLGIA, Claudia – “Strategie di riaffermazione dell’autorità papale: Bonifacio IX e il tabernacolo per l’icona di Santa Maria del Popolo”. In ANGELELLI, Walter; ROMANO, Serena (eds.) – *La linea d’ombra*, pp. 327-356 (with discussion of the previous bibliography), even if she speaks of a crown and not a tiara for the headdress of the Virgin (p. 330 note 12 and p. 346).



Fig. 8 – Roberto d'Oderisio (?), Naples, Santa Maria Incoronata, Sacraments, the Church officiates the Eucharistic rite (Photo by Author).

In the face of this public reappearance of the personification of the papalised Church, it is important to reexamine the concept of the papal body. From this perspective, the Great Western Schism is a privileged time because it has preserved the two oldest pontifical funeral ceremonies, that is the *Ordines* of Pierre Ameil written in the last quarter of the fourteenth century (between 1385 and 1390) for the Roman papacy and that of François Conzié which dating before 1395 were written in Avignon, in all probability in the time of Clement VII.⁶⁴ In fact, valuable information can be obtained from this analysis yet it fails to provide a univocal reading of the question. In the sense that it is not clear whether, as in the time of Innocent III, there is a return to two distinct papal persons, one corruptible and the other eternal (which guarantees the transmission of power). Or if the fusion of the two persons theorised by Boniface VIII increases to the point of continuing even after the Pope's divine passing. This, continuation of identifying with the institution, gains a sort of temporary immortality until the election of his successor.

⁶⁴ These are two *Ordines* one written by Pierre Ameil between 1385 and 1390 and the other by François Conzié before 1395 (for these dates cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 194-197 – Ameil – and 226 – Conzié).

In this regard, if part of the scientific community⁶⁵ in their analysis of the two pontifical funeral ceremonies paints a picture of continuity with the past (through the presence of rituals which explicitly refer to the temporality of the physical person of the Pope), another part⁶⁶ proposes a contrary theory. According to the latter, in order to face this historic moment, the schismatic papacies act on the concept of the spiritual and institutional vacancy created by the death of the pope. To curtail the increasing power of the College of Cardinals there is a return to a single papal body which, even in death, was the symbol of the institutional continuity of the Church. The change of perspective is illustrated by the “iconization” of the pope’s corpse which, once embalmed, becomes the icon of a body which is as much alive and transitory as it is dead and permanent.

This hypothetical codification of the replacing of the pope’s terrestrial caducity, already suggested and germinating in the tomb of Boniface VIII, could have resulted from a deeper reflection conducted since the time of the Avignon papacy. In reference to the best preserved tombs of this era, it can be seen that they were built as real macro-reliquaries of stone placed to protect the papal *gisants* which appear to enjoy the same status as icons and relics. Like these, they are subjected to a visual subtraction process testifying to their power. The *gisants*-icon-relics of Avignon, in addition to being an allusion to the Church-Institution, somehow transfigured creatures that were once alive. For this reason, the faces of the deceased popes were again represented with the greatest realism.⁶⁷

In the aftermath of the Great Western Schism: beyond the Pope and Ecclesia – the Council

At the time of the Council of Constance (1414-1417), the Council Fathers tried to liberate the Church-Institution from the papal personalisation to which it had been subjected from the time of Boniface VIII; a personalisation that ultimately made this division possible. The distinction between the corruptibility of the physical person of the pope and the sustainability of the *persona papae*, namely of the Church can be seen by analysing the *Vaticinia Pontificum*⁶⁸ – a prophetic work

⁶⁵ PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Morte e elezione del papa*, pp. 240-249.

⁶⁶ ROLLO-KOSTER, Joëlle – “Un ou deux corps? ”.

⁶⁷ In fact, by analysing the funeral monuments of the Provençal popes which, as GARDNER, Julian (*The tomb and the tiara: curial tomb sculpture in Rome and Avignon in the Later Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 139-142) has demonstrated, are characterised by a structure deriving from real antecedents (Edmund Crouchback, – Westminster Abbey – and Edward II of England – Gloucester Cathedral), but quite innovative compared to the tombs of the Roman predecessors, it is possible to draw more convincing elements from the Rollo-Koster hypothesis.

⁶⁸ Bibliographical references to the *Vaticinia Pontificum* are numerous. Below is provided a limited synthesis: BARALE, Elisabetta – “Un testo sconosciuto di Jean Miélot: la traduzione dei ‘*Vaticinia de summis*

on the popes of the past, present and future – considered by scientific literature an expression of propaganda of Council orthodoxy. The *Vaticinia Pontificum*, on the one hand, ridicules the pope as a man who has abused his power and, on the other, recounts between the lines the vicissitudes of the Church symbolised by several papal insignia and, in particular, by the tiara.⁶⁹ In addition to the symbolic representations, the Church, as at the time of the Great Western Schism, continues to be displayed also through the iconography of *l'Église en pape* that, despite not being widely disseminated in these years, will give rise at the time of the Counter-Reformation to the *typus Ecclesiae Catholicae*, a declaration of papal unity and absolutism (fig. 9).⁷⁰

At the same time, however, the pope appointed by the Council of Constance also needs to deploy effective figurative propaganda to relaunch the Roman primacy. The Colonna Pope, Martin V (1417-1431), employing the legacy of his Roman and Avignonese predecessors, had himself represented at the height of his spiritual and temporal power, as Vicar of Christ, Incarnation of the Church and true emperor.

It is therefore more than likely that in the aftermath of the Great Western Schism there is a return to a version of Innocentian institutional dualism that, reconsidered in some respects in the light of the Bonifacian and Avignonese tradition, had to act in a very different context than in the past due to the arrival on the scene of a powerful new subject: the Council. With the *Decreto Frequens* in fact, the periodic convocation of the Council was established and above all it sanctioned its superiority over the Council of Basel.

In papal papers and, in particular, in ceremonials, however, the concept of *plenitudo potestatis* of the pontiff remains the medieval one and, in particular, Bonifacian in that there is a balance between *regnum* and *sacerdotium* as can be seen (continuing to follow one of the main interpretations which is the analysis of the tiara) from the first known attestation of the meaning of the three-crowned tiara dating from the end of the 15th century. This subject on the papal ceremonial

pontificibus". *Studi Francesi* 175 (2015), pp. 63-74; GUERRINI, Paola – "Uso e riuso della profezia nel tardo Medioevo". In BARRALIS, Christine (ed.) – *Église et État, Église ou État. Les clercs et la genèse de l'État modern*. Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne – École française de Rome, 2014, pp. 391-415; BLUMENFELD-KOSINKI, Renate – *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries of the "Great Schism", 1378-1417*. State College: Penn State University Press, 2006; MILLET, Hélène – *Les successeurs du pape aux ours*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004; MILLET, Hélène – *Il libro delle immagini dei papi. Storia di un testo profetico medievale*. Roma: Viella, 2002; *Weissagungen über die Päpste. Vat. Ross. 374*. Ed. R. Lerner Robert and R. Moynihan, 2 vols. Zürich: Belsler, 1985; MCGINN, Bernard – "Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist". *Church History* 47:2 (1978), pp. 155-173; REEVES, Marjorie E. – "Some Popular Prophecies from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century". *Studies in Church History* 8 (1972), 107-134.

⁶⁹ MILLET, Hélène – *Il libro delle immagini*, pp. 118-119.

⁷⁰ JURKOWLANIEC, Grażyna – "L'immagine della Chiesa nelle stampe di Tomasz Treter dedicate a Stanisław Hozjusz. Contributo polacco alla cultura artistica europea ai tempi della controriforma". *Atti dell'Accademia Polacca* 2 (2011), pp. 130-150; IOGNA-PRAT, Dominique – *Cité de Dieu, cité des hommes. L'Église et l'architecture de la société*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2016.



Fig. 9 – Pasquale Cati, Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Trastevere, Altemps chapel: The Council of Trent and the Triumphant Church, 1588 (Photo by Author).

written by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, in cooperation with Jean Burchard of Strasbourg speaks of a “*thiara triplici corona ornata, quod regnum appellatur, per quam significatur sacerdotalis et imperialis suprema dignitas atque potestas*.”⁷¹ This concrete principle of universal sovereignty will remain in vogue until the age of the Counter-Reformation, when at the time of Clement VIII (1592-1605), a new concept concerning the coronation of the pope can be seen. The Cardinal Protodeacon, placing the crown on the head of the pope says the following words “*Accipe Tiaram tribus Coronis ornata, et scias te esse Patrem Principum et Regum, Rectorem Orbis, in terra vicarium Salvatoris*.”⁷² The statement of the coronation declares that

⁷¹ Cf. DYKMANS, Marc – *Læuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini, ou le cérémonial papal de la première Renaissance*. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982, 2 pp. 521-522.

⁷² Ceremonies that referred only to the Pope were excluded from the *Pontificale Romanum* published in 1596 and were collected in the *Caeremoniale S. R. Ecclesiae*. Le *Pontificale* of 1596 to an *editio princeps* drafted by SODI, Manlio; TRIACCA, Achille Maria (*Pontificale Romanum. Editio Princeps (1595-1596)*). Città del Vaticano: Libreria editrice Vaticana, 1997, ed. anastatica), unlike the *Caeremoniale S. R. Ecclesiae* for which research should be done with regard to the handwritten copies. The Clementine formula is, however, attested by

the three crowns allude to the different variations of the temporal power of the pope, designated as father of princes and kings, rector of the world and Vicar of Christ. It could be said that, as in the days of Innocent III, the tiara has once again become *signum imperii*. After the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church needed to strengthen the earthly symbols of the papacy.

Conclusions

The formula conceived at the time of Clement VIII remained valid until the pontificate of Paul VI,⁷³ who renounced, as mentioned previously, this papal headdress in 1964 and at the same time, abolished the use of *la sedia gestatoria* and the *flabellum* (fig. 10).⁷⁴ A century after the Pope's loss of temporal power (1870) and in the midst of Vatican Council II (1962-1965), the papacy had to free itself from all the symbols that it had displayed in times of greatest crisis, namely, of all the symbols which could allude to the political sovereignty that the papacy had exercised until the dissolution of the State of the Church.

The tiara of Paul VI, sold at auction in order to give the proceeds to the poor, was purchased by the Archbishop of New York Francis Spellman in 1968. This is why the tiara of Paul VI is kept in Washington, on display near the sanctuary of the Immaculate Conception. When Pius XIII, the pope of Paolo Sorrentino, has the tiara of Paul VI brought back from America and he appears at the College of Cardinals wearing this papal headdress with three crowns, as well as sitting on the *sedia gestatoria* and flanked by the *flabellum*, this pope, Pius XIII, reappropriates all their symbolic value. A symbolic value whose roots are to be sought, as we have tried to explain, in the Middle Ages, which is undoubtedly the 'global time' of the papacy, whether it be real or imaginary.

erudite historiography (cf. p.e. LETI, Gregorio – *Cerimoniale Historico e Politico di Gregorio Leti*. Amsterdamo: per Giovanni & Egidio Janssonio à Waesberge, 1685, pp. 105 and MORONI, Gaetano – *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*. Vol. 81. Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1856, p. 35).

⁷³ Cf. MIGLIO, Massimo – *Storiografia pontificia del Quattrocento* (Bologna: Patron Editore, 1975), 128, note 14; *La cérémonie solennelle du couronnement de Sa Sainteté Paul VI le 30 juin 1963*. Cité du Vatican: Imprimerie polyglotte vaticane, 1963, pp. 62-63.

⁷⁴ Cf. PARAVICINI BAGLIANI, Agostino – *Il bestiario del papa*. Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2016, pp. 214-215, 310.



Fig. 10 – Rome, Istituto Luce-Cinecittà, Archivio Storico Luce: Pius XII transported in the *sedia gestatoria* to St. Peter's Square on the day of the proclamation of the Marian dogma of the Assumption (series name: *Reperto Attualità*, date: 01.11.1950).

Genoa, Liguria, and Mediterranean Regions. Some reflections and new proposals for the circulation of pictorial models between the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century

Federica Volpera¹

Abstract

This paper intends to present an analysis of Liguria painting between the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century in order to illustrate the role of this region in the circulation of pictorial models and in the artistic interchanges of the period. In particular, I propose a reconsideration of the Byzantine influence in the Genoese context and the adoption of Piedmont models together with the persistence of Tuscan suggestions in Western Liguria. Finally, I recompose a corpus of paintings starting from an unpublished and privately-owned panel painting showing Saint Lawrence enthroned: the style of this anonymous master, which I call the Master of the Cloister of Savona, allows us to illustrate the richness of Western Liguria context and its role in the artistic interchanges of Mediterranean region.

Keywords

Liguria; Genoa; painting; 14th-15th century; pictorial models.

¹ Independent researcher. Email: federica.volpera@gmail.com. ORCID: 0000-0002-0127-0622.

The idea of a “Medieval Europe in Motion”² fits well with what we know about late medieval Liguria painting, which this essay intends to illustrate, considering not only the most recent contributions on the topic in general, but also surviving works that have received very little attention.

The stylistic analysis of paintings of this region, for the period extending from the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century, has revealed the influence of various figurative models³ mainly coming from Emilia,⁴ Piedmont, or some Tuscan cities as Pisa and Siena,⁵ as well as their full inclusion in the Mediterranean area of influence, which means primarily an early adoption of Byzantine models, perhaps even through the mediation of the near-by city of Pisa. Another important

² This text takes up and extends my paper presentation at the *International Medieval Europe in Motion Conference. The Middle Ages: a Global Context?*. Portugal, Lisbon, 13-15 December 2017.

³ See TORRITI, Piero – “Interventi e suggestioni toscane tra Due e Trecento”. In *La pittura a Genova e in Liguria*. Vol. 1. Genova: Sagep, 1970; repr. in 1987, pp. 27-47; ROMANO, Giovanni – “Pittura del Duecento in Liguria”. In *La pittura in Italia. Il Duecento e il Trecento*. Vol. 1. Milano: Electa, 1986, pp. 33-40; PESENTI, Franco Renzo – “Un apporto emiliano e la situazione figurativa locale”. In *La pittura a Genova*, vol. 1, pp. 49-74; CASTELNOVI, Giovanni Vittorio – “Il Quattrocento e il primo Cinquecento”. In *La pittura a Genova*, vol. 1, pp. 77-179; NATALE, Mauro – “La pittura in Liguria nel Quattrocento”. In *La pittura in Italia. Il Quattrocento*. Vol. 1. Milano: Electa, 1987, pp. 15-30; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Ai confini del Medioevo”. In ALGERI, Giuliana; DE FLORIANI, Anna (eds.) – *La pittura in Liguria. Il Quattrocento*. Genova: Tormena editore, 1992, pp. 17-224; SEMENZATO, Arianna – “Affreschi per i Del Carretto”. In ROMANO, Giovanni (ed.) – *Pittura e miniatura del Trecento in Piemonte*. Torino: CRT, 1997, pp. 137-139; SISTA, Alfredo – “Percorsi d'arte tra Alpi Marittime, Bormida e Langhe alla fine del Medioevo”. *Bollettino per la Società per gli Studi Storici, Archeologici ed Artistici della Provincia di Cuneo* 137 (2007), pp. 79-100; ALGERI, Giuliana; DE FLORIANI, Anna – *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*. Genova: De Ferrari, 2011; VOLPERA, Federica – “Momenti e aspetti della cultura pittorica ligure tra la fine del XIV e la metà del XV secolo”. In *Proporzioni. Annali della Fondazione Roberto Longhi*. in c.d.s. S.l.: S.n., 2019.

⁴ Concerning the painter Barnaba da Modena, who is documented for the first time in Genoa in 1361, see PESENTI, Franco Renzo – “Un apporto”, pp. 45-57, 67-69; BREZZI, Elena Rossetti – “Barnaba da Modena”. In *La pittura in Italia. Il Duecento e il Trecento*. Vol. 2. Milano: Electa, 1986, p. 555; ALGERI, Giuliana – “L'attività tarda di Barnaba da Modena: una nuova ipotesi di ricostruzione”. *Arte Cristiana* 732 (may-june 1989), pp. 189-210; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Ai confini del Medioevo”, pp. 17-34; BARTOLETTI, Massimo – “Barnaba da Modena”. In *Dizionario biografico dei liguri*. Vol. 1. Genova: Consulta ligure, 1992, pp. 394-396; BIANCHI, Alessandro – “Barnaba da Modena”. In *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Medievale*. Vol. 3. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1992, pp. 114-118; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Barnaba da Modena”. In *Allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*. Vol. 7. Leipzig: K. G. Saur, 1993, pp. 93-94; SÁNCHEZ, Alfonso Emilio Pérez – *Obras Maestras Restauradas. Barnaba de Modena. Polípticos de la Virgen de la Leche y de Santa Lucía. Retablo del Calvario*. Madrid: Fundación Argentaria, 1993, pp. 16-28; BREZZI, Elena Rossetti – “Tra Piemonte e Liguria”. In ROMANO, Giovanni (ed.) – *Primitivi Piemontesi nei Musei di Torino*. Torino: Fondazione CRT, 1996, pp. 15-38 at 16-21; BREZZI, Elena Rossetti – “Testimonianze trecentesche nel territorio alessandrino”. In ROMANO, Giovanni (ed.) – *Pittura e miniatura del Trecento in Piemonte*. Torino: CRT, 1997, pp. 15-64; DEL CONTE, Serena Skerl – “La prima attività di Barnaba da Modena: un'ipotesi alternativa”. *Arte in Friuli, Arte a Trieste* 21-22 (2003), pp. 73-84; *La Santa Caterina di Barnaba da Modena*. Ed. Farida Simonetti and Gianluca Zanelli. Genova: Sagep, 2005; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Tra Genova, Pisa e Murcia: nuove indagini per l'attività di Barnaba da Modena”. *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 19 (2008), pp. 9-34; ALGERI, Giuliana – “L'attività di Barnaba da Modena”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 205-236; ROMANO, Giovanni – “Laura Malvano e Barnaba da Modena”. *Cahiers d'études italiennes* 18 (2014), pp. 95-106.

⁵ VOLPERA, Federica – “Tra Pisa e Siena: tracce di modelli toscani nella pittura a Genova tra Due e Trecento”. *Studi di Storia dell'Arte* 26 (2015), pp. 23-36 with previous bibliography.

feature of this cultural phenomenon is the role played by Liguria in influencing the dissemination of such models to Provence,⁶ Catalonia, Sardinia, and Sicily.⁷

This artistic context, which was defined by the mobility of objects – especially panel paintings- and painters can be indirectly enriched by the documents published by Federico Alizeri in his “Vite dei professori del disegno”, published in Genoa in 1870: in fact the name and the origin of the painters, as recorded in this archival material, often enable us to expand our horizon on the retracing of the network of relationship that the surviving works seem to indicate, providing us with new evidences.⁸

Conventionally, the history of these artistic interactions started in the middle of the thirteenth century, when byzantine icons are documented in two churches in Genoa, San Francesco di Castelletto and Santa Maria di Castello,⁹ even if a sacramentary now preserved in the Capitular Library of Albenga (ms. A 6), but probably produced in Genoa before 1230, shows historiated initials already influenced by Eastern models.¹⁰ The first surviving fragment we can relate to these artistic interchanges between Genoa and the East is the Virgin with the Child, and the archangels Gabriel and Raphael on the façade of Santa Maria del Prato di Albaro¹¹ (Genoa; fig. 1): this fresco, although very ruined, shows the western reworking of a Byzantine prototype of the Virgin Hodegetria that seems not so distant from mid-thirteenth century Pisan icons. I refer particularly to works attributed to painters as the Master of Madonna di San Giovannino de’ Cavalieri, or Enrico di Tedice, whose Virgin with the Child and angels, a fresco detached from San Sebastiano in Banchi (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di

⁶ See DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Miniatura e Pittura, 1270-1350”. In BOCCARDO, Piero; DI FABIO, Clario (eds.) – *Genova e la Francia, Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2003, pp. 41-59 with previous bibliography to 2003; DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Il fascino di Avignone”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 179-204; DE MARCHI, Andrea – *A Dominican Polyptych by the Master of the Piani d’Invrea Cross*. Paris: Brimo de Laroussilhe, 2013, who, recomposing the catalogue of the anonymous painter known as the Master of the Piani d’Invrea Cross, suggests interesting links between Liguria and Provence at the beginning of the fourteenth century, promoted by an important circle of patrons which involved Spiritual Franciscans, and the Queen Sancha of Majorca, who married Robert of Anjou, King of Naples, in 1309.

⁷ About the artistic interchanges between Liguria and the South and West Mediterranean regions, between the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, see the second part of this essay.

⁸ ALIZERI, Federico – *Notizie dei professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al secolo XVI*. Vol. 1. Genova: A. Forni, 1870, *ad indicem*.

⁹ DI FABIO, Clario – “Bisanzio e Genova fra XII e XIV secolo. Documenti e memorie d’arte”. In BOCCARDO, Piero; DI FABIO, Clario (ed.) – *Genova e l’Europa mediterranea. Opere, artisti, committenti, collezionisti*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2005, pp. 41-67 at 47 with previous bibliography; DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Genova fra apporti bizantini e innovazioni toscane”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 97-129 at 97.

¹⁰ DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Lezionario”. In *Il Museo Diocesano di Albenga*. Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri, 1982, pp. 67-71; CERVINI, Fulvio – “Un codice di Albenga, l’ambiente genovese e il mondo ‘gotico’ intorno al 1200”. *Arte medievale* s. 2, 1 (1992), pp. 145-161; DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Genova 1200’: l’apertura verso l’Europa”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 51-63 at 59-61 with previous bibliography. Genoa illuminating painting is another interesting field of investigation to define the multiplicity of models and suggestions active in the local context during the Late Middle Ages: see DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Genova 1200’”, pp. 59-61; DE FLORIANI, Anna – “La formazione della scuola miniatoria genovese”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 79-95; DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Genova fra apporti”, pp. 98-110; DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Miniatura religiosa e profana del primo Trecento”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 155-163.

¹¹ VOLPERA, Federica – “Tra Pisa e Siena”, pp. 23-26 with previous bibliography.



Fig. 1 – Virgin with the Child, and the archangels Gabriel and Raphael, ca. 1280-1290. (Genoa, Santa Maria del Prato di Albaro).

San Matteo: fig. 2), can be compared to the Genoese fragment.¹² In addition to the iconography of the group of the Virgin and Child Hodegetria, which was a widely venerated Byzantine image depicting the Virgin holding and pointing to her Son as the way to salvation, we can also find similarities in the treatment of the folds of drapery of the Virgin's mantle (maphorion), or in the shape of hands and face of Mary. Considering all such parallels and also taking into account the adoption of important stylistic details from Byzantine imagery, as the garment of the Archangel Raphael or the adult shape of Child's face, the Genoese fresco, probably executed by a Pisan painter, testifies a deep and early interest in iconic imagery.¹³

However, this fragment, which I dated back to 1290 for its more convincing spatial and volumetric definition of the entire group than those we find in the mid-thirteenth century Pisan icons mentioned above, isn't isolated from the context of late thirteenth century Liguria painting, but can be related to the icon in San Donato (Genoa), which represents the Virgin with the Child and saints. This fresco, painted under the second vault of the right aisle, is characterized by the same western elaboration of eastern prototypes and retains the same typically Byzantinizing details (fig. 3).¹⁴

¹² For the Master of Madonna di San Giovanniino de' Cavalieri see CARLI, Enzo – *La pittura a Pisa dalle origini alla "Bella Maniera"*. Pisa: Pacini editore, 1994, p. 14; CARLETTI, Lorenzo – "Madonna col Bambino e due angeli". In BURRESI Mariagiulia; CALECA, Antonio – *Cimabue a Pisa. La pittura pisana del Duecento da Giunta a Giotto*. Ospedaletto, Pisa: Pacini editore, 2005, p. 197 with previous bibliography. For Enrico di Tedice see BURRESI, Mariagiulia; CALECA, Antonio – *Affreschi medievali a Pisa*. Ospedaletto, Pisa: Pacini editore, 2003, pp. 55-61; BURRESI, Mariagiulia; CALECA, Antonio – "Pittura a Pisa da Giunta a Giotto". In *Cimabue a Pisa*, pp. 65-89 at 76-77, and no. 20-28, 136-152 (by Lorenzo Carletti); for the lunette-shaped fresco from San Sebastiano in Banchi see CARLI, Enzo – *La pittura*, p. 18; CARLETTI, Lorenzo – "Madonna col Bambino e due angeli". In *Cimabue a Pisa*, p. 146 with previous bibliography.

¹³ VOLPERA, Federica – "Tracce della retorica bizantina nella pittura ligure tra XIII e XIV secolo". *Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna* 14 (2015), pp. 100-127 with previous bibliography.

¹⁴ BACCI, Michele – "Pisa Bizantina". In MASETTI, Anna Rosa Calderoni, et al. (eds.) – *Intorno al Sacro Volto. Genova, Bisanzio e il Mediterraneo (secoli XI-XIV)*. Venezia: Marsilio, 2007, pp. 63-78 with previous bibliography.



Fig. 2 – Enrico di Tedice, Virgin with the Child and angels (Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo).



Fig. 3 – Virgin with the Child and saints, ca. 1280-1290 (Genoa, San Donato).

To complete this first glance at the relationship between Genoa and the Eastern Mediterranean regions, we should also remember that there are many traces of the activity of Byzantine painters in Genoa, who had been trained under Palaeologan culture:¹⁵ apart from the well-known fragmentary cycle of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo (1310-15 c.), of which the Last Judgement still remains on the counter façade, and the two groups of the Virgin with Child Eleousa, saints and angels, and of Imago Pietatis in the lunettes above the lateral portals,¹⁶ there are two earlier fresco fragments which have been the object of a recent critical reconsideration that reinforces the idea we have been proposing so far.¹⁷

The first, representing a bearded head, doubtfully identified with St. John the Baptist, is the only surviving fragment of a much bigger decorative cycle in the church of San Siro di Struppa (Genoa; fig. 4). Clario Di Fabio dated it back to the 1250-60's on the basis of close similarities to the Franciscan cycle of Kalendherhane Camii in Constantinople (1255 c.), which has been related in turn to the Arsenal Bible (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5211), a manuscript made in Acri for the French King Louis IX between 1250 and 1254.¹⁸ The parallels that we can make involve the vivid expression of the face, marked by deep shadows, and the abbreviated method of applying the colours, mainly white and ochre, with fluid and deliberately irregular brushstrokes, that lend life and vitality to the figure. These aspects not only define the painter of the fragment as Byzantine, but put

¹⁵ An example of the influence of Palaeologan art on the Genoese painting is the splendid cycle of tinted drawings in the manuscript Plut. XXV. 3 (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana), known as *Supplicationes Variae* and made in the last decade of the thirteenth century for a Genoese patron: see DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Genova fra apporti”, pp. 99-106 with previous bibliography; NEFF, Amy – *A Soul's Journey. Franciscan Art, Theology, and Devotion in the Supplicationes variae*. Toronto: Brepols, 2019.

¹⁶ DI FABIO, Clario – *La Cattedrale di Genova nel Medioevo, secoli VI-XIV*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 1998, pp. 164-187, 260-270; TOESCA, Pietro – *Storia dell'arte italiana, Il Medioevo*. 2 vols. Torino: UTET, 1965, 2, 1030 n. 30; TORRITI, Piero – “Interventi e suggestioni”, pp. 33-34; GALASSI, Maria Clelia – “Un Maestro bizantino in S. Lorenzo”. *La Casana* 25, 2 (1983), pp. 42-48 with previous bibliography; DI FABIO, Clario – “Bisanzio e Genova”, pp. 56-62, who proposes to identify the Master of the Last Judgment with a painter who moved to Genoa after being involved in the realization of the mosaic cycle in the Kariye Camii, Constantinople, between 1315 and 1321; recently the scholar has also attributed to the same artist a Constantinopolitan icon, dated to the beginning of the fourteenth century, now in the British Museum, London (inv. 1983.0401.1: DI FABIO, Clario – “Gli affreschi di Manfredino e altri documenti genovesi di cultura figurativa “assisiata””. *Bollettino d'arte* 7, 12 (2011), pp. 83-132 at 113 and figs. 61-62 at 118); ALGERI, Giuliana – “Tra Siena e Costantinopoli: i nuovi modelli figurativi”. In *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 133-153 at 140-143, who suggests similarities between Genoese frescoes and the painting cycle of the funeral *parekklesion* in Saint Savior in Chora; Michele Bacci, in *La Cattedrale di San Lorenzo a Genova*. Ed. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti and Gerhard Wolf, 2 vols. Genova: Pacini editore, 2012, 2: pp. 240, 242-246, 510, 527-532, pp. 253-256, 349, 357-358 who proposes to see a relationship between the Genoese cycle, the mosaic cycle in Saint Apostles in Thessalonica (1310-1314), and the frescoes in the royal church of Saints Anne and Joaquin in the monastery of Studenica, commissioned in 1313; VOLPERA, Federica – “Proposta di lettura delle pitture di età paleologa all'interno del Duomo di Genova”. *Intrecci* 1 (2016), pp. 135-150, who also considers the Master of the Last Judgment linked to the late thirteenth – early fourteenth Serbian painting.

¹⁷ For a critical reconsideration of these two fragments see VOLPERA, Federica – “Tracce di maestri greci a Genova tra XIII e XIV secolo: due casi di studio”. *Contesti d'arte* 1 (2017), pp. 20-35 with previous bibliography.

¹⁸ DI FABIO, Clario – “Bisanzio”, p. 51.



Fig. 4 – Byzantine painter, Saint John the Baptist (?), ca. 1290 (Genoa, San Siro di Struppa).

him in relation to specific Eastern artistic centres, as Constantinople and San Giovanni d’Acri, where the Genoese presence is well documented: in fact, it is clear that the interchange of artists between Byzantium and the Crusaders in the Latin East and Genoa was possible due to all the commercial transfers so well attested between such regions.

Another trace of the activity of another Byzantine painter in the late thirteenth century Genoa may be identified in a fresco, originally in the monastery in Sant’Andrea della Porta and now in the Museum of Sant’Agostino (Genoa; fig. 5). This fragment, divided into three compartments by two simple painted vertical bands, presents three stories of St. John the Baptist: from the left to right we have the Infant St. John the Baptist and Uriel in the desert, God appears to St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Baptist preaches to two Hebrews. The documented architectural renovation of the monastery of Sant’Andrea between the penultimate and the last decade of the thirteenth century have suggested dating this fragment which was clearly part of a vaster cycle, at the end of the Dugento.¹⁹ The painting technique, characterized by quick and abbreviated brushstrokes, the style, and descriptive details, including the definition of the natural landscape, support an attribution to a Byzantine painter, strongly linked to a provincial tradition rather than to Constantinopolitan models. In particular a specific method of applying

¹⁹ DAGNINO, Anna Maria – “Sant’Andrea della Porta.” In BOZZO, Colette Dufour; MARCENARO, Mario (eds.) – *Medioevo demolito. Genova 1860-1940*. Genova; Pirella, 1990, pp. 25-56 at 28-29, 54 n. 21.



Fig. 5 – Master of the Infanzia del Battista, Stories of St. John the Baptist, ca. 1290 (Genoa, Museo di Sant'Agostino).

pasty colours, with irregular brushstrokes, seems comparable to the method employed by the painters active in the seventh decade of the thirteenth century in the church of the Holy Trinity in Sopočani, in Serbia, or with the painting technique adopted in an early cycle in the monastery of Chiliandary on Monte Athos, which is very close to the Genoese fragment even in descriptive elements, as the definition of the draperies of garments, or some typical shape of the faces. This particular reinterpretation of Constantinopolitan models, which presents nervous, expressive, and vivid figures, built up by colours and animated by a rough pictorial manner that creates form and structure through indistinctive passages, recalls other Serbian cycles dated to the end of thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century: in particular I refer to frescoes in Saint Apostles in Peć (1290-1300 c.), in the monastery of Arilje (1296), whose relation to the Stories of St. John the Baptist was pointed out for the first time by Anna De Floriani, or in the monastic church of Saint Nikita near Čučer (1309-14).²⁰

²⁰ PAJIĆ, Sanja – “La Serbia nel XIII secolo. Interazione storico-artistica”. In *Tra le due sponde dell'Adriatico: la pittura nella Serbia del XIII secolo e l'Italia*. Ferrara: Edisai, 1999, pp. 13-24 with previous bibliography. See also MILLET, Antoine – *La peinture du Moyen Age en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)*. 4 vols. Paris: De Boccard, 1957, vol. 2, III, XVI with previous bibliography; for the cycle in Arilje see RADOIČIĆ, Svetozar – “La pittura in Serbia e in Macedonia dall'inizio del secolo XII fino alla metà del secolo XV”. *Corso di Cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* 10 (1963), pp. 293-325 at 306; DJURIĆ, Vojislav – “Fresques médiévales à Chilander – Contributions au catalogue des fresques du Mont Athos”. In OSTROGORSKY Georgije (ed.) – *Atti del congresso di studi bizantini*. 3 vols. Beograd: OCoLC, 1964, 3, pp. 59-98.

In the late phase of the medieval ages, the role played by Genoa and Liguria in disseminating certain new figurative solutions not to the East, but to the Western Mediterranean regions became more important. The critical problems of researches concerning such phenomena have been already pointed out by Ferdinando Bologna – I refer particularly to difficulties in defining the various traditions combined in single painting works, the strong similarities in style and composition, and consequently the uncertainties in attribution. Bologna, analysing an anonymous privately-owned panel painting representing the Annunciation, wrote: “Questa rara e finissima tavoletta (...) pone un difficile problema di localizzazione. Si tratta di un prodotto napoletano affine alla tavola suddetta [ovvero quella di San Domenico]? O di un’opera provenzale d’un seguace di Giovannetti in rapporto con il Maestro della Crocifissione di Pedrola? O di una rarità ligure nella sfera del Pellerano? L’incertezza del riferimento dimostra l’unità di cultura che si era costruita tra le coste del Mediterraneo”.²¹

As we have mentioned at the beginning of this essay, Liguria participated directly to this “unity of culture”. For instance, in 1333 a Ligurian painter named Franciskus de Saliceto was recorded in Palermo, and in 1346 Bartolomeo Pellerano da Camogli depicted the Madonna of Humility for a Genoese community settled in the Sicilian city (Palermo, Palazzo Abatellis);²² also between the second half of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth century some figurative models, elaborated in Liguria and composed by suggestions originated in Pisa, Siena, Emilia, and Piedmont repertoires, reached Iberian Peninsula, Sardinia, Sicily, and Malta, creating various local dynamics of reception and re-elaboration of that complex imagery.²³ Possibilities for this artistic exchange, which include both transfer of panel paintings and interchange of artists, were commercial and political relations between Liguria and these regions, and activities and commissions of Genoese communities and confraternities which were located in different Mediterranean centres. Among

²¹ BOLOGNA, Ferdinando – *I pittori alla corta angioina i Napoli 1266-1414*. Roma: Ugo Bozzi Editore, 1969, p. 304 and tav. 7-39, fig. 44. About this topic see also NATALE, Mauro – “La pittura in Liguria”, p. 15, who, analyzing the figurative culture of the fifteenth-century western Liguria, points out not only the influence of Pisan and Siense repertoires, but also a knowledge of South Italy models, related in particular to the activity of the so called Master dei Penna in Naples; and Galante Garrone, who talks about an “omogenea cultura mediterranea ...dalla Spagna alle coste italiane meridionali e toscane, alle aree di confine tra Francia, Liguria e Piemonte” (GARRONE, Giovanni Galante – “Alla ricerca di Rufino e altro. Affreschi nell’antica Parrocchiale di Santa Caterina a Villanova Mondovì”. In *Le risorse culturali delle valli monregalesi e la loro storia*, 2 vols. Vicoforte: Comunità montana Valli monregalesi, 1999, 2, pp. 273-288 at 273).

²² For artistic relation between Liguria and Sicily see PAOLINI, Maria Grazia – “Pittori genovesi in Sicilia: rapporti tra le culture pittoriche ligure e siciliana”. In *Genova e i Genovesi a Palermo. Atti delle manifestazioni culturali*. Genova: Sagep, 1980, pp. 39-57; on the *Madonna dell’Umiltà* by Bartolomeo da Camogli see DE FLORIANI, Anna – “Il fascino di Avignone”, pp. 190-194 with previous bibliography.

²³ Although it is impossible to propose here a punctual analysis of each local context, it seems evident that Liguria paintings enjoyed a widespread appreciation for their compositions, stylistic characteristics, and iconographical formula, which, recalling Byzantine iconic imagery, satisfy a request for precious devotional images.

the well-known evidences of these dynamics, it is necessary to emphasise: the polyptychs that Barnaba da Modena sent to Murcia;²⁴ the Madonna of Alcamo, also known as Madonna della Stella, influenced by the repertories of the Emilia painter, and by the manner of Nicolò da Voltri;²⁵ the Madonna del Bosco in Sassari, which is very close to the language of Nicolò;²⁶ the Saint George and the dragon by Nicolò da Voltri, now in S. Maria del Gesù in Termini Imerese; the lunette panel depicting Annunciation, the Trinity, and musician angels, made for the abbey of Santo Spirito in Agrigento, where influences from Barnaba and Nicolò da Voltri are enriched by Pisan suggestions;²⁷ and finally the works of the Master of the Polyptych of Trapani, and of Master of Agira, active between Sicily and Malta in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, which scholars have considered influenced by Liguria models.²⁸ Taking this assumption as a starting point, I would like to try and provide new insights into this question, by bringing into the discussion some little-known figurative texts located in the area from Riva Ligure (Imperia) to Chiavari and South Piedmont, where the painter Andrea de Aste probably came from.²⁹

The first painting I wish to consider is a dismembered polyptych preserved in the sanctuary of the Madonna del Buonconsiglio in Riva Ligure, former church of San Maurizio (fig. 6).³⁰ The three main panels show the half-length images of the Madonna with the Child, in the centre, and of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Bartholomew on both sides; the two pinnacle panels represent Saint Anne with the Virgin child and Saint Anthony Abbot. The condition of the painted surface is poor. The gold leaf, which almost entirely overlaid the surface of panels, has been lost, the only exceptions being the haloes: these fragments show circular punch-marks, and

²⁴ ALGERI, Giuliana – “Lattività di Barnaba,” pp. 228-229 with previous bibliography.

²⁵ PAOLINI, Maria Grazia – “Pittori genovesi,” pp. 43-44; ABBATE, Francesco – *La Storia dell'arte in Italia Meridionale. Il Sud angioino e aragonese*. Roma: Donzelli, 1998, pp. 116-117.

²⁶ SERRA, Renata – *Pittura e scultura dall'età romanica alla fine del '500*. Nuoro: Ilisso, 1990, pp. 52-53; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Ai confini,” p. 34; USAI, Nicoletta – *La pittura nella Sardegna del Trecento*. Perugia: Morlacchi Editore, 2018, pp. 197-200.

²⁷ PAOLINI, Maria Grazia – “Pittori genovesi,” p. 44; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Ai confini,” pp. 33 and 93, n. 31.

²⁸ PAOLINI, Maria Grazia – “Pittori genovesi,” p. 45; BUTTÀ, Licia – *La pittura tardogotica in Sicilia. Incontri mediterranei*. Palermo: Gruppo editoriale Kalòs, 2008, pp. 64-71 with previous bibliography; VELLA, Charlene – *The Mediterranean Artistic Context of Late Medieval Malta 1091-1530*. Valletta: Midsea Book, 2013, pp. 165-166; BUHAGIAR, Mario – *The Late Medieval Art and Architecture of the Maltese Islands*. Valletta: Fondazzjoni Patromonju Malti, 2005, pp. 161 and figs. 8.8-8.12.

²⁹ See VOLPERA, Federica – “Momenti e aspetti”.

³⁰ In an unknown moment the two pinnacle panels and the three main panels, which had been cut along the profile, suggesting that they didn't originally have a rectangular shape, had been joined to three later panels representing the Crucifixion and two saints. In 1995, a restoration removed the modern frame and numerous retouching and allowed the discovery of the five older panels. BOGGERO Franco – “Un aggiornamento”. In BOGGERO Franco; CILENTO, Bruno (eds.) – *Restauri in provincia di Imperia 1986-1993*. Genova: Sagep, 1995, pp. 17-18, who dates panels to the beginning of the fifteenth century; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Nuove testimonianze per la pittura del Quattrocento in Liguria”. In MARCONI, Stefano (ed.) – *Scritte e immagini in onore di Corrado Maltese*. Roma: Quasar, 1997, pp. 446-448, who points out stylistic suggestions and echo from figurative repertories of Barnaba da Modena, Giovanni da Pisa, and the Master of Incisa Scapaccino.



Fig. 6 – Virgin with the Child, Saint John the Baptist, Saint Bartholomew, Saint Anne with the Virgin child and Saint Anthony Abbot, beginning of the 15th century (Riva Ligure, sanctuary of N. S. del Buonconsiglio).

incised decorative motifs on a burnished background. The figures show solid forms and volumes, which, quite distant from certain contemporary gothic elegance, still seem to reflect fourteenth century iconic repertoires as it is also evident in the iconography of the Madonna and Child Hodighitria type, or in the Virgin's Byzantine inspired garments. Although we have to consider that there are numerous areas where the paint has blistered and flaked, weakening the modelling of volumes, the faces of both the Virgin and saints seem to be originally composed following a quite schematic and rigid drawing; as well the folds of draperies are rendered in a solid and heavy manner, composing a stable figurative design. The robes of the Virgin and her Son, and the mantle of Saint Bartholomew, are enriched by gilded phytomorphic motifs, simply overlaid underlying colours. The same decorative repertory is also used for the drape of honour laid behind the Virgin and Child, even if, in this case, stylized flowers are flanked by an interesting "fleur de lys" motif, which suggests a possible link to a precise moment in the Liguria history between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century: I refer to the political regency in Genoa of the Marshal of Boucicaut, who had also the right to use the heraldic emblem of the French king.³¹

³¹ The *fleur de lys* is also present at the top of the *Pace* related to the patronage of the Marshall of Boucicaut (Portovenere, Parrocchiale di San Lorenzo): DI FABIO, Clario – "Nous prenons plaisir en choses estranges: Genova francese e il sire di Boucicaut". In *Genova e la Francia*, pp. 61-75 at 68-69 and fig. 4 p. 66.

Now, it seems necessary to illustrate the historical context in order to suggest a possible reason for commanding the realization of this work. In 1396 the doge Antonietto Adorno, threatened by the viscontee families of Gualchi and Montaldi, placed the Republic of Genoa under the protection of the King of France, Charles VI. Among the clauses of the Franco-Genoese agreement, there was also the maintenance of the Liguria Church in the Roman sphere: this condition, respected at the time of the first Governor Valerand de Lecembourg, was disregarded by Jean le Maingre, called Boucicaut, Marshall of France, who, since 1401, started an intense policy aimed at subduing the Ligurian dioceses to the authority of the Avignon Papacy. The change of allegiance was ratified on October 26, 1404 by the Genoese diocesan synod, which was also attended by the Bishop of Albenga Gilberto Fieschi and the Savona Bishop Filippo Ogerio.³² To celebrate this event, the Antipope Benedict XIII decided to visit Genoa, interrupting his journey at Albenga on May 7, 1405: he arrived in the city on May 16 and remained in Genoa for five months. On his return to Avignon he stopped at Savona, Finale Ligure, Porto Maurizio, Monaco, and Nice. Considering this official journey, I suggest the possibility that the polyptych of Riva Ligure, which shows the fleur de lys motif, was commissioned to celebrate the passage of the antipope.

Giuliana Algeri was the first to suggest the relation of these panels to the figurative culture of Liguria and South Piedmont between the end of fourteenth and the early fifteenth century. An analysis carried out in a wider field of investigation, puts the polyptych in relation to other fragmentary remains of the period, making this altarpiece a further sign of the circulation of figurative models throughout the north-western Mediterranean area, from Pisa to Provence and Iberian Peninsula. The Madonna with the Child recalls the repertories of Barnaba da Modena and Taddeo di Bartolo: in particular, the melancholy of the Virgin's face, which is reflected on the sad gaze and the wrinkled lips, the round head shape of Christ, and the curly hair of the Infant composed by luminous brushstrokes, are almost identical to the same descriptive details proposed by the Siena painter in the panel for the Olivieri chapel in Santa Caterina in Finalborgo.³³ But, despite the limitations of analysing these poorly

³² FERRETTO, Antonio – “Lo scisma in Genova negli anni 1404-1409”. *Giornale Ligustico* 21 (1896), pp. 111-143. For the Marchall of Boucicaut see DOMENEC, José Enrique Ruiz – *Boucicaut, gobernador de Génova. Biografía de un caballero errante*. Genova: Civico Istituto Colombiano, 1989. For the artistic context of the period see: BORLANDI, Antonia – “Pittura politica e committenza nel primo Quattrocento genovese”. In *Renaissance. Studies in Honor di Craig Hugh Smith*. Vol. 2. Firenze: Giunti Barbèra, 1985, II, pp. 65-77; DI FABIO, Clario – “Nous prenons” with previous bibliography.

³³ VARALDO, Carlo – “La ‘Masseria’ della Cattedrale e la formazione del tesoro”. In ALGERI, Giuliana; VARALDO, Carlo (eds.) – *Il Museo della Cattedrale di S. Maria Assunta a Savona*. Savona: Sabatelli editore, 1982, p. 10; NICOLINI, Angelo – “Taddeo di Bartolo a Savona. La più antica presenza in Liguria del pittore senese”. *Sabazia* 4 (1983), pp. 5-7; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Ai confini”, p. 36; ALGERI, Giuliana – “La presenza ligure di Taddeo di Bartolo e la prima produzione di Nicolò da Voltri”. In ALGERI, Giuliana; DE FLORIANI, Anna (eds.) – *La pittura in Liguria. Il Medioevo*, pp. 265-285 at 265-269 with previous bibliography.



Fig. 7 – Nicolò da Voltri, Polyptych of Saint Peter, detail of the Virgin with the Child (private collection)



Fig. 8 – Nicolò da Voltri (follower of), Virgin with the Child (unknown location).

preserved panels, stylistic evidences suggest that we should consider this altarpiece the work of a follower of the Genoa painter, maybe a member of his workshop – in particular the lack of modelling, a certain schematic outlining of forms, some descriptive details, echoes of Pisan models, and similarities with the figures of the privately-owned Polyptych of Saint Peter, attributed to Nicolò da Voltri³⁴ (figs. 7, 8).³⁵

³⁴ Giuliana Algeri considers the *Polyptych of Saint Peter* a painting which suggests an evolution in Nicolò da Voltri's style: in fact, Barnaba da Modena and Taddeo di Bartolo's models are here enriched by gothic elegances and more vivid, deeply modelled, and nervous figures derived from Pisan suggestions: ALGERI, Giuliana – "Ai confini", pp. 60-62 and 67, fig. 62.

³⁵ These stylistic features, in particular shaded outlines of faces, heavy clothing, and schematic drapery folds, and some details, as the faces of both Virgin and Child, or the design of the garment of the Infant, suggest to compare this altarpiece to a panel painting representing the *Virgin with Child*, presented in New York in 1976 (*Important old master paintings: property of various owners, including the Estate of Mr. William Randolph, Anna Moffa Sarnoff, the Late Geraldine Rockefeller Dodge*, Asta Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 22-23 January 1976, n. 5, New York). Firstly, Bernard Berenson attributed the panel to the Master of Panzano, but a comparison with the catalogue of the anonymous artist does not reveal strong similarities (BERENSON, Bernard – "Quadri senza casa. Il Trecento senese, II". *Dedalus* 11:2 (1930-1931), pp. 354 and ill. p. 356), while Giuliana Algeri considers it the work of a Liguria painter, influenced by Pisan models (ALGERI, Giuliana – "Ai confini", pp. 70-71). A photograph



Fig. 9 – Virgin with the Child enthroned, ca. 1415-1420 (Chiavari, Museo Diocesano).

The second fragment I intend to consider is a panel painting preserved in the Museo Diocesano in Chiavari, which shows the Madonna with Child enthroned (fig. 9). As in the previous one, the painting surface is in poor condition, limiting the critical analysis of the image, and an appreciation of some details as drapery of garments, and volumetric values of the figure of the Virgin. In the catalogue of the museum, Giuliana Algeri has ascribed the painting to a Ligurian painter influenced by Barnaba da Modena, Nicolò da Voltri, and Taddeo di Bartolo, and close to the so-called Master of Santa Maria delle Vigne, dating it to 1415-20. This critical hypothesis, which I consider compatible with the style of the painting, has been recently opposed by Gianluca Zanelli, who has suggested similarities with the Madonna del Belvedere by Francesco Neri da Volterra, which seems however permeated by a more evident International Gothic style.³⁶ In fact the Virgin with the Child in Chiavari shows a firmer and more balanced sense of figurative volumes, and the traditional iconic repertoires, which Ligurian images of the Virgin with the Child reflected

almost until the end of the fifteenth century, are enriched by a certain soft sense of physical truth which is composed by smoky shadows and a particular attention in rendering the expressive humanity of gazes and the melancholy of the subject.

The similarities in style and figurative solutions between this panel and some works by the so-called Maestro di Incisa Scapaccino, identified by some scholars with Andrea de Aste who signed the Virgin with Child and angels in the church of Santa Maria della Castagna in Genoa,³⁷ in 1424, seem to me more significant: in

of this painting exists in Kunstinistorisches Institute archive, filed as by a follower of Taddeo di Bartolo (n. 22070). For further consideration on this topic see VOLPERA, Federica – “Momenti e aspetti”.

³⁶ ALGERI, Giuliana – “Madonna col Bambino”. In ALGERI, Giuliana (ed.) – *Il Museo Diocesano di Chiavari. La comunicazione della fede attraverso l'arte*. Genova: Sagep, 2003, p. 22 no. 3 with previous bibliography; ZANELLI, Gianluca – “La Madonna col Bambino del Belvedere e qualche nota sul patrimonio artistico della chiesa della Natività”. In ACORDON, Angela; ZANELLI, Gianluca (eds.) – *La Madonna con il Bambino del Belvedere. Una testimonianza riscoperta per la pittura ligure di primo Quattrocento*. Genova: Sagep, 2013, pp. 8-25 at 13.

³⁷ About this painter see ZANELLI, Gianluca – “Le immagini mariane di Santa Maria della Castagna a Quarto: vicenda critica e spunti di ricerca”. In ZANELLI, Gianluca (ed.) – *Restauro nella chiesa di Santa Maria della Castagna*. Genova: Sagep, 2013, pp. 18-43 at 18-36 with previous bibliography. See also BOSKOVITS, Miklòs – “Il Maestro di Incisa Scapaccino e alcuni problemi di pittura tardogotica in Italia”. *Paragone* 42, 501 (november 1991), pp. 35-53; DE MARCHI, Andrea – “Andrea de Aste e la pittura tra Genova e Napoli all'inizio del Quattrocento”. *Bollettino d'Arte*, 76 (1991), pp. 113-130; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Nuove testimonianze”, pp. 448-449 n. 2; BOLOGNA, Ferdinando – “Per una storia delle arti medioevali e moderne nel Mezzogiorno continentale”. In

particular the Virgin's head is very similar to those depicted in the privately-owned Madonna with the Child enthroned (Paris) and in the Imperiale's Adoration of the Magi; moreover the entire figure of Child bears remarkable resemblance to the Infant in Imperiale's panel or to the same figure of the Madonna with the Child by Antonio and Onofrio Penna, formerly in the church of Santa Chiara in Naples (figs. 10-12).



Figure 10 – Master of Incisa Scapaccino (Andrea de' Aste?), Virgin with the Child enthroned and saints, detail (documented in Paris, private collection).

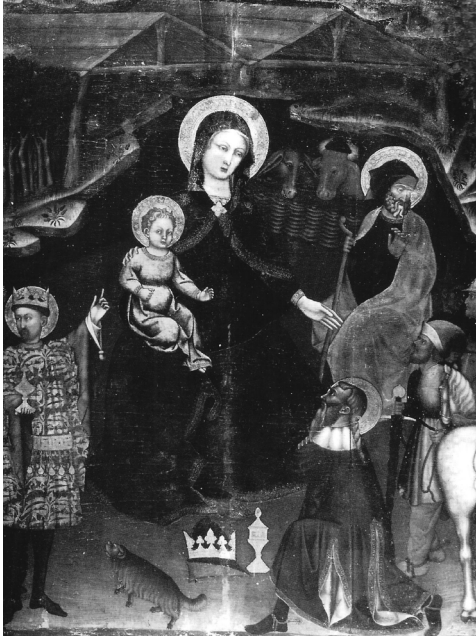


Fig. 11 – Master of Incisa Scapaccino (Andrea de’ Aste?), Adoration of the Magi, detail (documented in Genoa, Imperiale’s collection).



Fig. 12 – Andrea de’ Aste (?), Master of the Penna (?), Virgin with the Child and donors, detail (documented in Naples, Santa Chiara).

The Master of Incisa Scapaccino has been considered both a Ligurian painter and an artist from Monregalese, a region of South Piedmont; he owes his name to the polyptych made for the main altar of Santi Vittore e Corona in Incisa Scapaccino (Asti), and he is thought to have worked in Genoa and, maybe later, in Naples, suggesting a debated identification with the Master dei Penna.³⁸ His language can also be related to two other Ligurian paintings, which are difficult to include here, as they have been submitted to heavy and extensive retouching: the Madonna with the Child located in the church of Santa Caterina in Varazze (Savona), and a panel

³⁸ For the identification of the Master of Incisa Scapaccino with the Neapolitan master see: BOSKOVITS, Miklòs – “Il Maestro”, pp. 35-45; DE MARCHI, Andrea – “Andrea de Aste”, pp. 118-123; NAVARRO, Fausta – “Ferrante Maglione, Alvaro Pirez d’Evora ed alcuni aspetti della cultura tardogotica a Napoli e in Campania”. *Bollettino d’arte* 78 (1993), pp. 58-59; ABBATE, Francesco – *La Storia dell’arte*, pp. 146-148; ZANELLI, Gianluca – “Le immagini mariane”, pp. 28-36. See also NATALE, Mauro – “La pittura in Liguria”, p. 15, who points out the influence on the Western Alps, between Liguria and Piedmont, of Pisan-Sienese models and Neapolitan suggestions related to the Master of Antonio and Onofrio Penna.

painting in the church of San Gerolamo in Genoa Quarto, which shows the Virgin with the Child enthroned (figs. 13, 14). Compositions, poses, a particular design of Mary's face, and a soft humanity expressed in several ways, such as the gentle form in which the Virgin holds the Child with her hand around his side, display a more than casual relation with various groups of Madonna with Son depicted by both Andrea de Aste and another anonymous personality whom I have named the Master of the Cloister of Savona.³⁹



Fig. 13 – Anonymous Liguria-Piedmont painter, Virgin with the Child (Varazze, San Domenico).



Fig. 14 – Anonymous Liguria-Piedmont painter, Virgin with the Child enthroned (Genoa Sturla, San Gerolamo).

³⁹ VOLPERA, Federica – “Momenti e aspetti.”

From the study of an entirely unpublished and privately-owned panel painting showing Saint Lawrence enthroned, and considering some distinctive features of the face – the profile marked by an evident broken line which goes so far as to touch the external eye, the high arched eyebrows, moved by small touches of brown, the straight line of the elongated nose, the small pinkish mouth, the cheekbones animated by reddish soft brushstrokes – I have recomposed a corpus of paintings which still exist in Savona. These fresco fragments have been variously dated to around the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, but scholars who talked about them, did not even point out – except in few cases and only in a partial way – the stylistic analogies which suggest their belonging not only to the same cultural context but also to the same artist.

I refer to: the Madonna with Child above the door leading now to the Sistine Chapel, formerly to the fourteenth century chapter house, in the cloister of the Cathedral of Savona (fig. 15); the so-called Madonna della colonna, the oldest devotional image of the Cathedral, which has been detached from the ancient church of San Francesco; the Madonna with the Child enthroned visible on the west wall of the cloister of the Cathedral (fig. 16); and the fresco detached from the church of Sant'Antonino and now in the Museo del Tesoro of the city, which shows the Madonna with the Child enthroned and can be considered the oldest evidence of this corpus for its stylistic archaism (fig. 17).



Fig. 15 – Master of the Cloister of Savona, Virgin with the Child (Savona, cloister of the Cathedral).



Fig. 16 – Master of the Cloister of Savona, Virgin with the Child and Léon-Castiglia coat of arms (Savona, cloister of the Cathedral).



Fig. 17 – Master of the Cloister of Savona, Virgin with the Child (Savona, Cathedral, Museo del Tesoro).

Finally, we find the same figurative models, enriched however by a certain linear elegance and preciousness in details that reveal the influence of the International Gothic Style, in the Madonna with the Child between St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist still visible outside the ancient Commenda of S. Giovanni (Savona). The fragmentary conditions of this pictorial texts and an absolute absence of documents about their commissions in Savona have suggested to expand the field of investigation in order to put the anonymous master in a more precise cultural context. In fact, these images, which I dated to around the 1420s and the 1440s, belong to a significant moment of the cultural history of Western Liguria, which gained, maybe for the first time, even if for a brief period, an “artistic independence” from Genoa, which went under the political domain of Visconti in 1421 leading to a strong presence of Lombard artists in the city. The language of the Master of the Cloister of Savona does not show Lombard influence, but, apart from persistence of the fourteenth century repertoires still related to

Taddeo di Bartolo and Barnaba da Modena's works, reveals a progressive adoption of "International Gothic" imagery, suggesting the continuous and complex artistic interchanges between Western Liguria, Provence and south-western Piedmont.⁴⁰ I therefore think that the activity of this Master, whose language is still far from a full acquisition of cursive and calligraphic elegance, as we can see in painters as the Master of Lucéram, can be considered in parallel with that of Andrea de Aste. These two artists show similarities in style, details, and in a close relation to Mediterranean cultural dynamics: according to this perspective, further evidence of the "unity of culture" which Ferdinando Bologna talked about is the comparison that can be established between the Virgin's faces by the Master of the Cloister and Andrea de Aste, and the face of the Virgin in the Annunciation of Aversa, Campania (figs. 18-20).



Fig. 18 – Master of the Cloister of Savona, Saint Lawrence, detail (Genoa, private collection).

⁴⁰ SISTA, Alfredo – “Problemi di pittura tardo gotica nelle Alpi Marittime nella seconda metà del Quattrocento”. *Ligures* 3 (2005), pp. 39-61; SISTA, Alfredo – “Per il Maestro di Lucéram: nuovi affreschi nella chiesa di San Giovanni Battista di Diano Castello”. *Ligures* 7 (2009), pp. 101-109 with previous bibliography. The Master of the Cloister can also be related to two Piedmont painters active between the first and the second quarter of the fifteenth century, Antonio da Montereale and the so-called Master of Bardineto, who owes his name to the frescos cycle in the church of San Nicolò in Bardineto (1420-30 c.). This shows the influence of a multiplicity of pictorial languages from North Italy, Tuscan, especially Pisa, Liguria, and Avignon: see VOLPERA, Federica – “Momenti e aspetti”. About these painters see also: BARBERO, Bruno – “Affreschi del XV secolo nella alte valli di Bormida e Tanaro”. *Bollettino della Società degli Studi Storico Artistici e Archeologici della Provincia di Cuneo* 99 (1988), pp. 149-169 at 151-156; ALGERI, Giuliana – “Ai confini” pp. 144-148; BARTOLETTI, Massimo – “La decorazione pittorica quattrocentesca: qualche considerazione dopo il restauro”. In *La chiesa di San Nicolò e i suoi affreschi*. Boves: Tipolitografia bovesana, 2007, pp. 21-30.



Fig. 19. Master of the Pietà di Salerno (Ferrante Maglione), Annunciation, detail, 1419, (Aversa, church of Annunziata).



Fig. 20 – Andrea de' Aste, Virgin with the Child, detail (unknown location).

In addition, if we still have to understand the historical event which led to paint the coat of arms of Castile and León on the two sides of the Virgin with the Child enthroned in the cloister of the Savona Cathedral, which testifies to relations between the Liguria city and Iberian Peninsula⁴¹, a panel painting located in the Museo del Tesoro (Savona: fig. 21), generally attributed to a local artist and dated to the fifteenth century, allows, not only to discover a new work by the Master of the Cloister, or the proof of the spreading of his figurative models throughout the city, but also to suggest another aspect of the relationship between Savona and the Mediterranean regions. In particular, a reconsideration of this painting, which represents the Virgin with Child Galaktotrophousa and angels, seems to confirm a connecting link to Sicily, already suggested by scholars who have underlined a certain influence of Ligurian models on the Syracuse school and particularly on the language of the so-called Master of Santa Maria⁴² (fig. 22): in fact these Sicilian paintings certainly show similarities in composition, poses, details, and decorative repertoires with the Savonese panel, providing a possible starting point for new research about the artistic interchanges between these regions.

⁴¹ I did not find notice about the patronage of this fragment: by now the coat of arms of Castile and León can be read in relation to the presence of a large Iberian community in Savona, which is well documented since the fourteenth century. It was the largest non-Italian community in the city and it had its own consulate to protect the rights of its nationals – for example, Giovanni e Giacomo Traversagni were consuls of the Castilian community in 1422 and 1428. In the same way, traders from Savona permanently camped in the ports and in the major trade cities of Castile such that some were recognized “de Saona burgensis Sibilie”, “habitor Sibilie” or “civis et habitator Sibilie”. In the waiting to find documents about patronage in the Savona Cathedral we can suppose that the presence of a large Iberian community could be a starting point to explain the presence of a devotional image flanked by the coat of arms of Castile and León. See NICOLINI, Angelo – “I Savonesi e l’ascesa della Spagna alla fine del Medioevo. Uomini, merci e navi”. *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 55 (2015), pp. 29-74.

⁴² BUTTÀ, Licia – *La pittura*, pp. 38-62. The Savonese panel painting can be related to the *Virgin Galaktotrophousa* now in Galleria Regionale in Palazzo Bellomo (Siracusa) or to the *Virgin of Mercy* located in the Archbishopric of Siracusa, which have been both attributed to followers of the Master of Santa Maria and dated to 1440 c. (BUTTÀ, Licia – *La pittura*, pp. 58-59 and fig. pp. 60-61); the Savonese *Virgin Galaktotrophousa* also shows similarities with paintings attributed to the Siennese Nicolò Magio, active in Palermo from 1399 to 1430 (in particular I refer to the *Virgin with the Child* of the Tryptych now in Palazzo Abatellis: BUTTÀ, Licia – *La pittura*, pp. 12-15 and fig. p. 13).



Fig. 21 – Master of the Cloister of Savona (follower of?), Virgin with the Child Galaktotrophousa, ca. 1440 (Savona, Cathedral, Museo del Tesoro).



Fig. 22. Follower of the Master of Santa Maria, Virgin with the Child Galaktotrophousa (Siracusa, Galleria Regionale di Palazzo Bellomo).

In conclusion, to reconstruct the overview of the Liguria painting, focusing particularly between the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, means coming up to a very incomplete context: paintings are often fragmentary or adulterated by extensive overpainting; furthermore a complete lack of knowledge of patronage and organization of artistic studios make more difficult to understand the way of circulation of repertoire and iconographical and stylistic models, which can be read only in a generic political and commercial context. Analysis carried out by Technical Art History would be useful to achieve a deeper knowledge of paintings and to argue attributions not only on the basis of stylistic features: by now the study of formal aspects has been the only possible. The result is the reconstruction of the catalogue of an anonymous master, that I call the Master of the Cloister of Savona, who is a very significant figure in Western Liguria between the first and the second quarter of the fifteenth century: his paintings allow us to illustrate the gradual adoption of Piedmont language together with the persistence of ancient Tuscan models, and the richness of the artistic interchanges between Mediterranean regions.

The diffusion of the *Ars Nova* in the Crown of Aragon: the role of artists' travels¹

*Elsa Espin*²

Abstract

The aim of this publication is to emphasize and to illustrate with some examples the process of penetration and assimilation of a new figurative paradigm, *Ars Nova*, from The Netherlands in the Crown of Aragon. Jan van Eyck, Lluís Dalmau, Louis and Georges Allynckbrood are key artists for understanding this phenomenon, which is an episode of generalized contacts and exchanges through all Europe with the support of a very cosmopolitan aristocracy.

Keywords

Ars Nova, crown of Aragon, artists' travel, painting, 15th century.

The first half of the 15th century was marked by an important pictorial revival initiated in the old Burgundian Netherlands. The “International Gothic”, a stylized and refined art used as an artistic language in all major European courts, was substituted by the Flemish pictorial revolution described by Erwin Panofsky as *Ars Nova*.³ Henceforth, it is a more “naturalistic” art, which truly tends to reproduce reality in

¹ This paper has been presented during the symposium in 2017 and largely rewritten in order to include the newest publications since then. Here, I would like to thank Sonia Blaney for her help with the English translation.

² CEEH Curatorial Assistant; Spanish paintings, Musée du Louvre. E-mail: elsa.espin@louvre.fr. ORCID: 0000-0002-5953-1370.

³ PANOFSKY, Erwin – *Early Netherlandish painting. Its origins and characters*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. *Ars Nova*: as what he named the innovative pictorial revolution of the Netherlands in the fifteenth century, with reference to the musical revival of the fourteenth century.

its smallest and most minute detail to a very high degree, an art also characterized by its illusionist capacity.

Originated in Northern Europe, this artistic revival initiated by Jan van Eyck, but also Robert Campin and Rogier van der Weyden, spread throughout all regions of Catholic Europe from the year 1430 to 1440. It is generally considered that the starting point is marked by the *Altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb*, a piece of artwork painted by the brothers Hubert and Jan van Eyck completed in 1432.⁴ However, the development of this pictorial renewal can be traced back to the previous decade. Till-Holger Borchert, former curator at the Groeninge Museum in Bruges, was particularly keen to demonstrate it to through two exhibitions: *The Van Eyck's century 1430-1530* in 2002 and from *Van Eyck to Dürer* in 2010.⁵

This renewal quickly reached the Crown of Aragon mainly through the important artistic, commercial and political relations with Northern Europe, under the influence of King Alfonso the Magnanimous (r. 1416-1458) who developed a real predilection for Flemish culture. The preserved documentation attests this taste through the importation of a large number of artworks in the Iberian territories.⁶ Among the most famous of these works we must mention those included in the rich collections of King Alfonso the Magnanimous as mentioned by Pietro Summonte in his famous letter to Marc Antonio and Bartolomeo Facio in his *De Viris illustribus*.⁷ The Aragonese sovereign possessed in particular the *Lomellini Triptych* and a *Saint George with the dragon*, both by the hand of Jan van Eyck and now lost, as well as three works by Rogier van der Weyden. These circulations of works had an undeniable impact on the production of local artists, as shown by the example

⁴ PÄCHT, Otto – *Van Eyck and the founders of early Netherlandish painting*. London: Harvey Miller, 1994, p. 12.

⁵ BORCHERT, Till-Holger (dir.) – *Le siècle de Van Eyck 1430-1530: le monde méditerranéen et les primitifs flamands*. Amsterdam: Ludion, 2002. Bruges, Groeningemuseum, from March 15 to June 30, 2002; BORCHERT, Till-Holger (dir.) – *De Van Eyck à Dürer, les primitifs flamands et l'Europe centrale 1430-1430*. Tiel: Hazan, 2010. Bruges, Groeningemuseum, from November 3, 2010 to January 30, 2011.

⁶ See in particular LUACES, Joaquín Yarza – “Comerç artístic entre Flandes i els regnes hispanos”. In *Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època. La pintura gòtica hispanoflomenca*. Barcelona and Bilbao: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Museo de Bellas Artes de Bilbao, 2003, pp. 107-115; MIRALPEIX, Marta – “Productes artístics importats de Flandes a la Corona d'Aragó a l'Edat Mitjana”. *Barcelona Quaderns d'Història*, 21 (2014), pp. 199-212; BROUQUET, Sophie; MARSILLA, Juan Vicente García (éd.) – *Mercados del lujo, mercados del arte. El gusto de las elites mediterráneas en los siglos XIV y XV*. Valence: Universitat de València, 2015; DOCAMPO, Javier – “Talleres nórdicos y clientes hispanos : la llegada de libros de horas flamencos a la Corona de Aragón”. In JUAN, Matilde Miquel; MONZON, Olga Pérez (dirs.) – *Ver y crear: obradores y mercados pictóricos en la España gòtica (1350-1500)*. Madrid : La Ergástula, 2016, pp. 221-243; ESPAÑOL, Francesca – “L'obra de Flandres dans les territoires de la couronne d'Aragon. Marché et importations artistiques entre 1450 et 1500”. In GONZALÉZ, A. Velasco; FITÉ, F. (eds.) – *Late Gothic Painting in the Crown of Aragon and the Hispanic Kingdoms*. Boston-Leiden: Brill, 2018, pp. 31-70; PARÉS, Iban Redondo – *El mercado de arte entre Flandes y Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I (1474-1504)*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Ergástula, 2020.

⁷ Letter from Pietro Summonte to Marc Antonio as of March 20, 1524. Transcription in NICOLINI, Fausto – *L'arte napoletana del Rinascimento e la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel*. Napoli: R. Ricciardi, 1925, pp. 158-163; regarding Bartolomeo Facio, see BAXANDALL, Michael – “Bartholomaeus Facius on Painting: a XV century manuscript of the *De Viris Illustribus*”. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964), pp. 90-107.

of Colantonio, who copied to perfection the *Saint Georges* of the royal collection, according to Summonte. However, they were not the only ones to spread the new style. Indeed, the exchanges included both movement of artworks and people trained in this new manner. This article will therefore focus on the artists who travelled and participated in the diffusion of the *Ars Nova* in the Crown of Aragon. In order to do so, we will focus on a few eloquent examples such as Lluís Dalmau, Louis Allynbrood and Bartolomé Bermejo, artists who are already well known and whom we will try to approach from a different angle.

The shadow of Van Eyck in Valencia

The most famous artist to have potentially made the journey to the Crown of Aragon is undoubtedly Jan van Eyck himself. Painter and *valet-de-chambre* of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good (r. 1419-1467), from 1425 to his death, Jan van Eyck, in addition to the paintings that were commissioned from him, travelled many times at the request of his protector. Yet we only know the destination and duration of one of those journeys: he was in the Iberian Peninsula from 1428 to 1429.⁸ Although this trip is reported as “secret voyage” in the duke’s accounts, there is a chronicle, now preserved in the Belgian State Archives, with which this mission can be crosschecked.⁹ In it, a “Johannes de Eck”, painter, is mentioned as a member of the delegation sent for the negotiation of a union between the Burgundian Duke and the Infanta Isabella of Portugal. At this time, Philippe the Good was doubly widowed, following the death of his two wives Michelle of Valois († July 8, 1422) and Bonne of Artois († September 17, 1425), and without any descendant. The duke was therefore concerned to quickly find a new wife, who could give him a son, but also to strengthen or establish some political alliances.

⁸ This trip has already been largely studied, see PEMÁN Y PERMARTÍN, César – *Juan van Eyck y España*. Cádiz: Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, 1969; FRANSEN, Bart – “Jan van Eyck, “El gran pintor del ilustre duque de Borgoña”. Su viaje a la Península y la Fuente de la Vida”. In *La Senda de los Artistas Flamencos*. Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2009, pp. 105-125; FRANSEN, Bart – “Jan van Eyck y España. Un viaje y una obra”. *Anales de Historia del Arte* 22 (2012), pp. 39-58; CORSELAS, Manuel Parada López de – *El viage de Jan van Eyck de Flandes a Granada (1428-1429)*. Madrid: Ediciones de la Ergastula, 2016; FRANSEN, Bart – “Van Eyck in Valencia”. In Currie, Christina, et al. (ed.) – *Van Eyck Studies. Papers presented at the eighteenth symposium for the study of underdrawn and technology in Painting, Brussels, 19-21 september 2012*. Paris – Louvain – Bristol: CT: Peeters, 2017, pp. 469-478; ESPIN, Elsa – *Les peintres français, néerlandais et allemands dans la couronne d’Aragon – Aragon, Catalogne, Valence et Majorque – du règne de Jean Ier à celui de Ferdinand le Catholique (1387-1516)*. Vol. 1. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona; Paris: Sorbonne-Université, 2022, 225-229. PhD Tesis.

⁹ “Copie du verbal du voyage de Portugal aui se feist de par feu monseigneur le bon duc Phelippe de Bourgoingne en l’an mil quatre cens et vingt huict, pour amener en ses pays de pardeça madame Elisabeth, infante du roi de Portugal, etc., sa compaignie”, Brussels, State’s archives, chambers of accounts, 132 (registre II), fols. 157-166; chronicle published in WEALE, William Henry James – *Hubert and John Van Eyck, Their life and work*. London, New York: John Lane, 1908, lv-xxxii.

Before the 1428 voyage, two embassies were sent to the Crown of Aragon, in Valencia to try to negotiate a marriage with Eleanor of Aragon (1402-1445), sister of King Alfonso V.¹⁰ The first one known to historians was sent on the 1st of July 1427.¹¹ Many historians have speculated that Jan van Eyck may have taken part in this embassy in order to paint a portrait of the young princess – as he did in 1428 –¹² an hypothesis now rejected, particularly as documentation indicates the presence of the painter in the old Netherlands in July and in August precisely at the time of the expedition to Valencia that year.¹³ However, Jan van Eyck was able to be part of the first embassy sent in the summer of 1426.¹⁴ As it happens, the painter received payment for a secret journey at this time, which is about the same time as the ambassadors.¹⁵ Some historians reject this hypothesis, arguing that if Van Eyck had really been present he would have been mentioned on the list of payments of the embassy.¹⁶ Yet, this case is not surprising as it also occurs with a certain Remon Monnessou who was part of the 1427 embassy but was never listed with the other ambassadors and does not appear in the final report.¹⁷

It is unlikely that anyone will ever be able to prove Jan van Eyck's journey in the Crown of Aragon, unless new documents are discovered, but it is a possibility that must be taken in account. This is particularly true in the view of the quick and early development of the Eyckian influence in this region of Europe. As pointed out by professor Rafael Cornudella, it would make far more sense if related to the arrival of the Bruges' master during one of the Burgundian embassies.¹⁸ Likewise, a meeting between Alfonso the Magnanimous and the valet of Philip the Good, directly or through his works from 1426 to 1427, would allow a clearer understanding of the decision made by the Iberian King to send his painter, Lluís Dalmau, to be trained in Van Eyck's workshop.

¹⁰ Not to be confused with Eleanor of Alberquerque (1374-1435), the King's mother, who would probably not have been able to offer a descendant to Philip the Good. Cf. SPITZBARTH, Anne-Brigitte – *Ambassades et ambassadeurs de Philippe le Bon, troisième duc Valois de Bourgogne (1419-1467)*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, in particular pp. 294-302.

¹¹ Document transcribed in SPITZBARTH, Anne-Brigitte – *Ambassades et ambassadeurs*, pp. 616-621, n^o9.

¹² The first to make his assumption was William H. J. Weale, later taken up by Erwin Panofsky, cf. WEALE, W. H. James – *Hubert and John Van Eyck*, pp. 11-12; PANOFSKY, Erwin – *Early Netherlandish painting*, p. 179.

¹³ PAVIOT, Jacques – “La vie de Jan van Eyck selon les documents écrits”. *Revue des archéologues et historiens de l'art de Louvain* 23 (1990), pp. 83-93 at 86.

¹⁴ MIRA, Eduard; DELVA An (ed.) – *A la búsqueda del Toisón de Oro. La Europa de los Príncipes. La Europa de las ciudades*. Vol. 1. Valencia: Generalitat de Valencia, 2007, pp. 91-96 & 411-418.

¹⁵ WEALE, W. H. James – *Hubert and John Van Eyck*, doc. 7 and 9; SPITZBARTH, Anne-Brigitte – *Ambassades et ambassadeurs*, pp. 295 & 382.

¹⁶ Possibility rejected by BORCHERT, Till-Holger – “Jan van Eyck – The Myth and the Documents”. In KEMPERDICK, Stephan; LAMMERTSE, Friso (dirs.) – *The road to Van Eyck*. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 2012, pp. 83-88; SPITZBARTH, Anne-Brigitte – *Ambassades et ambassadeurs*, p. 297.

¹⁷ Fact already highlighted in FRANSEN, Bart “Van Eyck in Valencia”, pp. 477-478, note 15.

¹⁸ CORNUDELLA, Rafael – “Un ritratto scomparso di Alfonso il Magnanimo, l'influenza eyckiana a Valencia e l'enigma Jacomart”. In PIETROGIOVANNA, Mari (ed.) – *Uno sguardo verso nord. Scritti in onore di Caterina Viridis Limentani*. Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2016, pp. 123-132.

Lluís Dalmau and the Flemish training

On the 6th of September 1431, Alfonso the Magnanimous paid the sum of 100 florins to Lluís Dalmau, the Valencian painter of the “*casa del senyor rei*” to travel to Flanders.¹⁹ The reason for this trip is not specified in the preserved documentation, but we can figure it out. The sovereign was an art lover and particularly fond of Flemish art, and seems to have commissioned his painter to learn the Eyckian manner in order to produce some works in the same style for him on his return. This hypothesis is confirmed by the study of the sumptuous altarpiece of the *Virgin of the Councillors* (fig. 1).



Fig. 1 – Lluís Dalmau, *Virgin of the Councilors*, 1443-1445. Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya ©Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

¹⁹ About Lluís Dalmau in the archives see in particular MIQUEL, Salvador Sampere – *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*. Barcelona: L'Avenç, 1906; TRAMOYERES, Lluís – “El pintor Luis Dalmau. Nuevos datos biográficos”. *Cultura Española* 6 (1907), pp. 553-580 at 570; LASARTE, Joan Ainaud de – “Una taule documentada de Lluís Dalmau”. *Cuadernos de arqueología e historia de la ciudad*, n° XII, (1968), pp. 73-84; SANPERE, Augustin Duran – *Barcelona i la seva històrica*. 3. *L'art i la cultura*. Barcelona: Curial, 1975; FERRER, Mercedes Gómez – “Reflexion sobre el pintor Lluís Dalmau a propòsit d'un retaule per a Molins de Rei (1451)”. *Locus Amoenus*, vol. 16 (2018), pp. 5-18.

On the 29th October of 1443, the *Casa de la Ciutat* of Barcelona hired Lluís Dalmau to paint the new altarpiece for its chapel²⁰. This contract marks a turning point. Indeed, at that time the most popular painter in Catalonia was Bernat Martorell, who in 1436 had just completed the altarpiece of the *Diputació del General de Catalunya*. Yet, Martorell was fully in line with the Gothic style. The choice of Lluís Dalmau underlines a strong desire for a new aesthetic popularised in particular by the King of Aragon. This pictorial renewal coincides with Dalmau's return from Flanders who, after a stay in Valencia²¹, went to Barcelona to execute the altarpiece of the *Virgin of the Councillors*.

When studying this work, it becomes obvious that the Valencian must have been in contact with Jan van Eyck and especially with *the Altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb* which was completed in Bruges in 1432.²² The enthroned Virgin, the musicians angels, the opening on a landscape with an atmospheric perspective, reminds us of the van Eyck's work, and rightly so²³. The restoration of the Ghent altarpiece, initiated in 2012 by the Royal Belgian Institute for Artistic Heritage (IRPA), provided the opportunity to have tracings made. These were sent to the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, where there were juxtaposed with the Dalmau altarpiece. The results speak for themselves: the proportions are similar for some figures, such as the Barcelona Saint Andrew and the Ghent Saint John the Baptist (fig. 2), to the point where it is clear that the Valencian drew them during his stay in Flanders in Van Eyck's workshop.²⁴

²⁰ MIQUEL, Salvador Sampere – *Los cuatrocentistas*, vol. II, XIX-XVII, doc. IX.

²¹ FERRER, Mercedes Gómez – “Reflexion sobre el pintor Lluís Dalmau”.

²² TRAMOYERES, Lluís – “El pintor Luis Dalmau”, p. 572; STERLING, Charles – “Jan van Eyck avant 1432”. *Revue de l'Art* 33 (1976), pp. 7-82, at 53-77.

²³ The angel musicians are a direct reference to the altarpiece of the mystic lamb while the enthroned Virgin is reminiscent of the panel of the *Virgin with the canon Van der Paele* that Jan van Eyck painted in 1436. This same year, in July, Lluís Dalmau is back in Valencia where he is engaged by the sovereign for the commission of a decor. cf. GUDIOL, Josep; Blanch, Santiago Alcolea I – *Pintura gòtica catalana*. Barcelona: Ediciones Polígrafa, 1987, p. 157. Ruiz Quesada believes that the painter might have made a second trip to Flanders during which he could have seen the *Virgin with the canon Van der Paele*: see QUESADA, Francesc Ruiz – “Lluís Dalmau y la influencia del realismo flamenco en Cataluña”. In DUCAY, Maria del Carmen Lacarra (ed.) – *La pintura gòtica durante el siglo XV en tierra de Aragón y en otros territorios peninsulares*. Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando El Católico” (C.S.I.C.), 2007, pp. 243-298 at 243-244.

²⁴ FRANSEN, Bart – “Van Eyck”, pp. 476-477.



Fig. 2 – Tracing of the head of St John the Baptiste by Van Eyck (Ghent Altarpiece) superimposed on the head of St Andrew by Lluís Dalmau (Virgin of the Concilors) © Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Campuzano, Pedragosa, Pamells.

More generally, Dalmau also adopted the standards of the *Ars Nova* with a certain search for realism, with great attention paid to the faithful reproduction of every element of reality such as furs, brocades, precious stones, sculptures of the throne among others. The same can be said about the concept of real portrait that appears in the altarpiece, a direct consequence of the request from the commissioners and clients as shown in one of the clauses of the contracts.²⁵ The pictorial technique analysis also emphasizes a complete assimilation of the northern manner. In this case, this is exclusively oil painting both as a binder of pigments, as in the varnish,²⁶ a technique quite similar to that of Jan and Hubert van Eyck in the *Altarpiece of the Mystic Lamb*.²⁷ Proud of his work, Lluís Dalmau also signs his painting in the manner of the northern master : in *trompe-l'oeil*, as if engraved on the base of the Virgin's throne.²⁸ Indeed, in the 15th century, painters were still considered as artisans not artists in the modern sense of the word, hence contracts

²⁵ "... *Los dits Consellers effigiats segons proporcions e habituts de lurs cossors, ab les façs axi propries com ells vivents les han...*": MIQUEL, Salvador Sampere – *Los cuatrocentistas*, XIV-XVII, doc. IX; FIGUERAS, Joan Molina – *Arte, devoción y poder en la pintura catalana*. Murcia, Universidad de Murcia, 1999, pp. 173-228, and more especially 178-198.

²⁶ This should be at least the case of varnish; the current one is modern and does not correspond to anything that had to be applied at the time of the completion of the work.

²⁷ Regarding the oil painting technique in *The Virgin of Councillors* see SALVADÓ, Nati, et al. – "*Mare de Déu dels Consellers*, de Lluís Dalmau. Una nova tècnica per a una obra singular". *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 9 (2008), pp. 43-61.

²⁸ At the bottom of the throne we can read: "SUB ANNO MCCCCXLV PER LUDOVICUM DALMAU FUI DEPICTUM".

were the only place appropriate for their names to appear. Jan van Eyck was one of the first to claim to be the author of his painting, once again Dalmau is in his line.

The *Virgin of the Councillors* is the first known and documented painting by Lluís Dalmau after his stay in Flanders, which attests the knowledge he acquired there. However, it is surprising that there is no commission known from Alfonso the Magnanimous, since he was the one who initiated this northern journey. But if the sovereign was not willing to exploit his painter's talents, the cities of Valencia and Barcelona were full of nobles, wealthy merchants and ecclesiastics happy to benefit from his skills. Various works, previously anonymous, can now be traced back to Dalmau, such as the *Saint Dimas* of Copenhagen,²⁹ the *Descent from the Cross* from the old Muntadas collection,³⁰ or, more recently, a *Veronica of the Virgin* (fig.3).³¹ This panel is particularly interesting because it shows how the Valencian painter synthesis Eyckian and local art. The face of the Virgin, very realistic, is eminently similar in its treatment to the one of the *Virgin of the Councillors* – the nose and mouth are identical in both painting -, and the over veil decorated with gold and jewels bring to mind the Virgin's dress in the *Ghent Altarpiece*. On the other hand, the composition with a head-and-shoulders portrait of the Virgin with a three quarter view on a golden and stamped background is typical of the Crown of Aragon. Actually, this type of representation derives from a prototype made for King Martin of Aragon (r. 1396-1410) and used in procession during the celebration of the Immaculate Conception.³²

²⁹ Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, KMS 856. First published by Francesc Ruiz Quesada, this work was wrongfully attributed, by him, to Louis Allynbrood. It was not until the painting entered the Danish museum that professor F. Elsig recognized the hand of Dalmau. Cf. QUESADA, Francesc Ruiz – “Lluís Dalmau”, pp. 267-268 ; ELSIG, Frédéric – *Antoine de Lonhy*. Milan: Silvanae Editoriale, 2018, p. 45; ESPIN, Elsa – *Les peintres français*, vol. 1, pp. 238-240.

³⁰ Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 0640 93. First published by Émile Bertaux as a work from Lluís Dalmau, this work was recently given to Allynbrood by Francesc Ruiz Quesada, an attribution that the critics did not accept as the current anonymous attribution attest. Charles Sterling, in his notes preserved in the documentation of the painting department at the Musée du Louvre (Paris), wrote that this painting is an Eyckian work in the tradition of Allynbrood. For our part, we believe that Émile Bertaux's proposal should be seriously reconsidered. In order to support this hypothesis, it is essential to take into account the reverse of the painting, which is painted with a fake marble identical to the works of Van Eyck, such as the Virgin with the Cancellor Rollin cf. BERTAUX, Emile – “Les primitifs espagnols”. *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, vol. 22, 2 (1907), pp. 241-262, in particular 257-258; NATALE, Mauro (dir.) – *El Renacimiento Mediterráneo. Viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*. Madrid: Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2001, pp. 291-292; QUESADA, Francesc Ruiz – “Lluís Dalmau” 267-268; ESPIN, Elsa – *Les peintres français*, pp. 237-238.

³¹ CORNUDELLA, Rafael – “Variations sur le portrait de la Vierge en buste: de la *Veròrinca de la Verge* du roi Martin l'Humain aux *Annunciate* d'Antonello de Messine” (in press) 2022; ESPIN, Elsa – *Les peintres français*, vol. 1, pp. 240-241.

³² CORNUDELLA, Rafael – “Variations sur le portrait de la Vierge”.



Fig. 3 – Lluís Dalmau, *Veronica of the Virgin*, London, National Gallery © London, National Gallery, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

“Bringing back in his luggage” this new skill, Lluís Dalmau played an important role in the diffusion of *Ars Nova* in particular in Valencia, his hometown where he stayed on his return from Flanders, and in Barcelona where he worked until his death. This is particularly obvious in the work of Jaume Huguet, a Catalan painter contemporary of Lluís Dalmau, who had never travelled outside the Crown of Aragon. The central panel of the *Altarpiece of Vallmoll* (fig. 4), exhibited at the *Museu Nacional d’Art de Catalunya* close to the *Virgin of the Councillors*, is an eloquent example of the integration of the models disseminated by Dalmau.³³ The two compositions are comparable to the *Virgin in majesty*, sitting on a wooden gothic throne, richly carved and surrounded by musician angels. In both paintings, she is

³³ He was not the only one to use the *Virgin of the Councilors* as a model. There was also Jaume Ferrer and the *Virgin of the altarpiece of the Paeria* or Tomás Giner and the altarpiece of the church of Erla, to name only them. Jaume Huguet nevertheless remains the most significant example because of its central position on the Catalan art scene cf. GUDIOL, Josep – *Huguet*. Barcelona: Instituto Amatller de Arte Hispánico, 1947, p. 55; GUDIOL, Josep – *Pintura medieval en Aragón*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1971, p. 59; ALCOY, Rosa – “La pintura gòtica”. In BARRAL, Xavier (éd.) – *Pintura Antigua i medieval*. Barcelona: Art de Catalunya/ Ars Catalonia IX, 1998, pp. 136-139; PUIG, Isidre – *Jaume Ferrer II. Pintor de la Paeria de Lleida*. Lleida: Pagès editors, 2005, pp. 126-127.



Fig. 4 – Jaume Huguet, *The Virgin with child*, ca. 1450. Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya © Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

wearing a red dress, richly decorated with precious stones, pearls and embroidered with gold thread. Finally, the two angels represented at the feet of the Virgin in Huguet's panel echo the position of the councillors in Dalmau's work. Although largely repainted, the Vallmoll panel shows great attention to detail, especially in the precious stones, the velvet coats, in the writings of phylacteries, perfectly readable, and in the transcription of the musical score.

More than a pale imitator of Dalmau, Jaume Huguet truly integrates the codes of Flemish art, as it can also be found in *The Annunciation*, the only other known panel of the old altarpiece of Vallmoll.³⁴ As in the northern announcements the scene takes place in a closed room, with a beautiful gothic window opened on a

³⁴ Museu Diocesà de Tarragona (Catalonia).

landscape imprinted with an atmospheric perspective; in the foreground the Virgin, in front of an open book with written pages, turns towards Gabriel whose words are written on a phylactery. Both are sumptuously dressed as highlighted by the rich brocade of the angel's coat and the precious gems on that of Mary's.

The chemical analysis of Jaume Huguet's work is also significant.³⁵ Despite the fact that he had little interest in the oil painting technique, the studies reveal an application of the tempera of its own. His originality is that the painter did not exclusively use a technique of distemper with egg, but instead varied the agglutinant, using and adapting it to each pigment. For azurite, and other ferrous pigments, animal glue was used, however for the range of greens, he used oil.

Although he did not copy the Flemish style – probably because he did not want to, not that he was unable to –, Jaume Hugues shows how it was possible for local artists to discover and assimilate the Flemish pictorial revival through Dalmau, even though the Valencian was not the only route to this new technique. In fact, at the same time, other artists, born and trained in Flanders, arrived in the kingdom of Valencia.

Louis and Georges Allynckbrood settle in Valencia

In July 1439, *Lodewijck* Allynckbrood, a painter from Bruges, moved to Valencia. From then on he was called as “Lois Alimbrot”.³⁶ Little information is known about him. He was trained in Bruges, possibly in Jan van Eyck's atelier or at least with knowledge of the works produced there³⁷. There he is documented between 1432 and 1437 as part of the corporation of sculptors and saddlers.³⁸ For unknown reasons, the painter then moved to the Crown of Aragon with his wife “Caterina”, leaving his son George in Flanders, in the custody of his guardian. George reached his majority in 1459, and the following year he entered the guild of painters of Bruges. In 1463, he followed his father's footsteps; the documentation henceforth locates him in Valencia.³⁹

³⁵ SALVADÓ I CABRÉ, Nativitat – *Caracterització de materials en la pintura gòtica sobre taula. Química i tecnologia en l'obra de Jaume Huguet*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2001. PhD Thesis; SALVADÓ I CABRÉ, Nativitat, et al. – “Material i tècnica en la pintura de Jaume Huguet (segle XV)”. *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 5 (2001), pp. 47-58.

³⁶ SIVERA, José Sanchis y – “Pintores medievales en Valencia”. *Archivo de Arte Valenciano* 16-17 (1931), p. 3.

³⁷ STERLING, Charles – “Tableaux espagnols et un chef d'œuvre portugais du XV^{me} siècle”. In *Actas del XXIII congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte. España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico, Granada, 1973*, 3 vols. Granada: Universidad, Departamento de Historia del Arte, 1976-1978, 1, pp. 497-525 at 503-512.

³⁸ DUVERGER, Josef – “Kopieën van het LamGodsretabel van Hubert en Jan van Eyck”. *Bulletin des Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 3 (1954), pp. 51-68.

³⁹ SIVERA, José Sanchis y – “Pintores medievales”, 1914, 3-4, 46-47, 127-28 and 170.



Fig. 5 – Louis Allynckbrood, *Triptych with scenes from the life of Christ*, ca. 1440. Madrid, Museo del Prado
 © Madrid, Museo del Prado.

No documented works can be attached to these two painters, but some are attributed to them. Among these, the most famous is the *Triptych with Episodes from the life of Christ* (fig. 5) in the Museo del Prado. Coming from the old convent of the Incarnation in Valencia, with a strong Flemish character, the paternity of this work historically goes to Louis Allynckbrood.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, this altarpiece has been recently re-attributed by Susie Nash who considers it to be by the hand of the Amiens anonymous painter and illuminator called the Master of the Hours of Collins⁴¹. The historian succeeded in making the link with the artistic production of Amiens, where this Master was active, but does not convince us for the attribution of the Prado artwork.

First of all, one must not forget that there were strong links between Amiens and Bruges, which impact the production in Amiens,⁴² especially as Susie Nash

⁴⁰ The first to make the connection between this work and Louis Allynckbrood was Chandler Post, a hypothesis which was subsequently accepted by critics until recently. Cf. POST, Chandler R. – “The Master of the Incarnation (Louis Alimbrot?)”. *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 23 (1943), pp. 153-160.

⁴¹ NASH, Susie “The myth of Louis Alincbrot: relocating the *Triptych with scenes from the life of Christ* in the Prado”. *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 50 (2014), pp. 70-94. This attribution was recently reaffirmed by the current curator of Flemish painting at the Prado PRECIADO, José Juan Pérez – “« Sospechosos habituales ». En torno a la fuerte improntonta del arte flamenco en Bartolomé Bermejo: el caso Alincbrot?”. In FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *El universo pictórico de Bartolomé Bermejo. Actas del congreso internacional, noviembre de 2018* (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2021), pp. 34-48.

⁴² On this topic see NASH, Susie – *Between France and Flanders: manuscripts illumination in Amiens in the fifteen century*. Londres: *The British Library studies in medieval culture*, 1999.

considers that the Master of the Hours of Collins stayed in Bruges before he moved to Amiens in the 1440s. At that time, the Van Eyck workshop was still established in the city. Then, it also seems difficult to deny the influence of the Van Eyck's works on the triptych of the Prado Museum. In this sense, the central panel is particularly eloquent. The Crucifixion is represented in an elevated position, which is characteristic of Van Eyck and refers to a lost work representing the *Way to Calvary* as already pointed out by Charles Sterling,⁴³ a pattern also used in the Turin-Milan Hours, in the *Crucifixion* of the diptych of the Metropolitan Museum of Art⁴⁴ and in the *Crucifixion* drawing recently acquired by the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen at Rotterdam⁴⁵. There is also an undeniable similarity in the very expressive treatment of the faces.

Finally, other works, similar to the triptych of the Prado Museum and attributed to Louis Allynbrood, overshadowed in Susie Nash's essay, present the same analogies with the work of Jan van Eyck.⁴⁶ One is a *Pietà* kept in a Milanese collection, whose Eyckian model is notably close to the same subject represented in the right section of the Prado altarpiece⁴⁷. The other is the *Crucifixion* of the old Bauzá collection in Madrid,⁴⁸ a panel with a Valencian origin, of which we only know through old black and white photos kept in the MAS archives in Barcelona (fig. 6). Here again, the style is eminently Flemish not to say directly Eyckian. The Crucifixion is set back at a slightly higher position and in the foreground particularly expressive characters whose faces are twisted in pain, are reminiscent of the Eyckian canons before 1432.⁴⁹ All these elements lead us to consider that indeed, all these

⁴³ STERLING, Charles – "Observation on *Petrus Christus*". *The Art Bulletin* 53 (March 1971), pp. 1-26, at 13; LUACES, Joaquín Yarza – "La Couronne d'Aragon et la Flandre". In BORCHERT, Till-Holger (dir.) – *Le siècle de Van Eyck*, p. 129; MAROTO, Pilar Silva – "Luis Alimbrot, Triptico de la Crucifixion". In NATALE, Mauro (dir.) – *El renacimiento mediterráneo viajes de artistas e itinerarios de obras entre Italia, Francia y España en el siglo XV*. Madrid: Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza, 2001, pp. 288-290.

⁴⁴ Charles Sterling saw evidence that the diptych of the Metropolitan Museum existed before 1437: STERLING, Charles – "Observation on *Petrus*", p. 13; analogies had already been observed by CHÂTELET, Albert – "Les enluminures eyckiennes des manuscrits de Turin et de Milan". *Revue des arts* 7 (1957), pp. 155-164, at 160.

⁴⁵ MARTENS, Maximiliaan *et al.* (ed.) – *Van Eyck*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2020, pp. 44-55.

⁴⁶ Unlike Susie Nash, some of these works were included in José Juan Pérez Preciado's study, which he surprisingly continues to attribute to Louis Allynbrood, even though he dispossesses him of the Prado altarpiece, see PRECIADO, José Juan Pérez – "« Sospechosos habituales »", pp. 36-38.

⁴⁷ The work was first published by Liana Castellfranchi Vegas in 1969, but it was not until Charles Sterling intervened that the work was associated with the name Allynbrood, although he suggested Louis' son Georges cf. VEGAS, Liana Castellfranchi – "Intorno a un Compianto di Cristo". *Paragone* 226 (1969), pp. 46-49; STERLING, Charles – "Tableaux espagnols et un chef-d'oeuvre portugais méconnu du XVe siècle". In *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte. España entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico. Granada (1973)*. Granada: Comité Español de Historia del Arte, 1976, pp. 497-525.

⁴⁸ Work attributed by POST, Chandler R. – "Flemish and Hispano-flemish painting". *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 39 (1952), pp. 240-242; Charles Sterling, for his part, considered that the authority should return to Georges Allynbrood, his son, who moved to Valencia in the 1460s and died there in 1480, see STERLING, Charles – "Observation on *Petrus*", p. 13, n. 53.

⁴⁹ STERLING, Charles – "Jan van Eyck avant 1432". *Revue de l'art* 33 (1976), pp. 7-82.

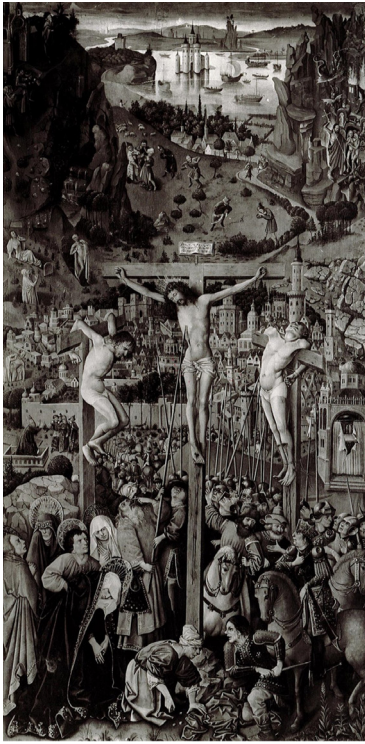


Fig. 6 – Louis Allynckbrood, *The Crucifixion*, private collection
© Barcelona, Institut Amatller d'Art Hispànic – Arxiu Mas.

works including the artwork at Prado are by the hand of Louis Allynckbrood and made in Valencia⁵⁰.

It is clear that the presence of Allynckbrood in Valencia is proof of a solid influence of the Northern art on local production; this certainty is reinforced by the production of other works in this line. One of the key elements is, indeed, the aforementioned paintings by Lluís Dalmau, such as the *Veronica of the Virgin* (fig. 3). Another particularly interesting artwork is a small *Crucifixion* from the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza (fig. 7), possibly painted by a foreign artist.⁵¹ This panel presents a perceptible Eyckian culture both in the representation of the landscape and in the exacerbated emotions. In the foreground, Saint Veronica raises her arms to the sky in dismay, her mouth open and deformed by a cry of suffering that reminds us of the expressiveness of the earliest known works by the brothers Van Eyck, including the *Crucifixion* kept in the Metropolitan Museum⁵², where we also find painful contrite figures. The painting as well has a strong illusionist character, particularly noticeable in the play

of light on the armour of Pontius Pilate's soldiers and in the precisely illustrated knots and veins of the wood. Also to be noticed is the format of this panel, small, with a

⁵⁰ A final argument put forward by Susie Nash was the materiality of the work. However, the study of the altarpiece of the *Virgin of the Councillors* proved that it was perfectly possible to paint in the Crown of Aragon with northern materials. Cf. SALVADÓ I CABRÉ, Nativitat, *et al.* – “Mare de Déu dels Consellers, de Lluís Dalmau. Una nova tècnica per a una obra singular”. *Butlletí del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* 9 (2008), pp. 43-61. Mercedes Gómez-Ferrer recently has come with the same conclusion about the Prado altarpiece as we did simultaneously in our PhD Thesis. Cf. GÓMEZ-FERRER; Mercedes – “El Tríptico con escenas de la vida de Cristo del Prado y Louis Allynckbrood, ¿mito o realidad?”. *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 38 (2022), pp. 6-21.

⁵¹ This painting was first published by Chandler Post, the historian, linking it to Lluís Dalmau and the Valencian environment. A few years later, Roberto Longhi suggested that it was a Neapolitan work, which he attributed to Colantonio. This hypothesis is still defended today by several historians, mostly Italians ones. We agree with Charles Sterling, who stated in his archives – now kept in the Department of Paintings at the Musée du Louvre (Paris) – that it is an Eyckian work like Allynckbrood ones. This hypothesis was reaffirmed by Miklós Boskovits and recently by Frédéric Elsig who suggests that the author of this panel was a close associate of Van Eyck cf. POST, Chandler R. – “Flemish ad Hispano-Flemish Painting”, pp. 240-242; LONGHI, Roberto – “Una Crocifissione di Colantonio”. *Paragone*, 63 (1955), pp. 3-10; BOSKOVITS, Miklós – *The Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection. Early Italian painting 1290-1470*. London: Sotheby's Publications, 1990; ELSIG, Frédéric – *Antoine de Lonhy*, p. 45; ESPIN, Elsa – *Les peintres français*, vol. 1, pp. 260-263.

⁵² New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 33.92ab.



Fig. 7 – Anonymous Flemish artist (?), *The Crucifixion*, ca. 1450-1460. Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza © Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza.

wealth of detail, quite far from the Iberian standards, which is again reminiscent of Northern culture.

The arrival in Valencia of Georges Allynbrood, following the death of his father, is also an eloquent testimony to the success of northern painting and artists in the region. Unfortunately, it is impossible to define his artistic personality since no work can be attributed to him in the state of our present knowledge. Born in Bruges and certainly trained in the same city in the 1450s, Georges' manner must therefore have been influenced by Petrus Christus, who dominated the art scene following the death of Jan van Eyck until his own death in the 1470s. But, despite the limited information we have of Georges Allynbrood and his father, they certainly favoured the knowledge and dissemination of Flemish pictorial novelties to local artists such as Joan Reixach, Jacomart (identified as the Master of Bonastre)⁵³ and

⁵³ Several historians have attempted to solve the mystery of Jacomart's "artistic" identity without reaching unanimous agreement. He is identified as the Master of Bonastre by Fernando Benito, José Gómez Frechina

the Master of Porxiúncula. Like Jaume Huguet, these Iberian painters proposed a strong synthesis between local tradition and Flemish innovations. This can be seen, for example, in the great attention paid to the representations of details, especially of the rich clothing as in Jacomart's *Annunciation*,⁵⁴ but also in the representation of the landscapes on which the painted panels open, such as *Saint John the Evangelist* or the remarkable *Altarpiece of the Epiphany* both painted by Reixach.⁵⁵ The realism and expressionism of this artists are also eloquent, as can be seen in the *Predella with scene of the Passion* also by Joan Reixach.⁵⁶

Antoine de Lonhy and Bartolomeo de Cárderas, itinerant painters

Two other notable artists, foreign to the Crown of Aragon, also played a role in the importation and dissemination of the northern manner as they travelled. The first to interest us here is Antoine de Lonhy, an artist with a large field of activity documented – painter, illuminator and glass-painter – at one time known as the Master of the Hours of Saluces and the Master of the Trinity.⁵⁷ Of Burgundian origin, the painter crossed many kingdoms in his life. In 1446, he is mentioned at Chalon-sur-Saône and worked for Chancellor Rolin.⁵⁸ A few years later, he is in Toulouse,⁵⁹ then in Barcelona in 1461-1462 before leaving for Piedmont,⁶⁰ in the Duchy of Savoy where he remained until his death in the 1490s.⁶¹

His stay in the Catalan capital was relatively short. On the 13th of June 1460, Antoine de Lonhy is hired to make the large rose window of the church of Santa

and Rafael Cornudella. See DOMÉNECH, Fernando Benito – “Jacomart y Reixach: un revisión de un problema historiográfico”. In *La clave flamenca en los primitivos valencianos*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 2001, pp. 31-45; CORNUDELLA, Rafael – “Un ritratto scomparso”, pp. 123-132.

⁵⁴ Valencia, Museo de Belles Artes, inv. 241.

⁵⁵ Valencia, Museo de Belles Artes; Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, inv. O50621-CJT.

⁵⁶ Valencia, Museo de Belles Artes, inv. 206, 207, 208 & 209.

⁵⁷ Identification made by AVRIL, François – “*Le maître des Heures de Saluces, Antoine de Lonhy*”. *Revue de l'Art* 85 (1989), pp. 9-34; Charles Sterling had already said that the Master of the Trinity of Turin and the Master of the Hours of Salute were only one and same artist: see STERLING, Charles – “Études savoyardes II: le maître de la Trinité de Turin”. *L'Œil* 215 (1972), pp. 14-27, at 21.

⁵⁸ LORENTZ, Philippe – “Une commande du chancelier Rolin au peintre Antoine de Lonhy (1446): la vitrière du château d'Authumes”. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art français* (1994) pp. 9-13.

⁵⁹ DOUAIS, Célestin – *L'art à Toulouse. Matériaux pour servir son histoire, du XVème au XVIIIème siècle* Toulouse: E. Privat, 1904, p. 16; CORRAZE, Raymond – “L'art à Toulouse au XVème siècle: rues, corporations, ouvriers et œuvres d'art”. *Revue historique de Toulouse. Études sur le vieux Toulouse, documents, bibliographie* 26 (1939), pp. 65-89 and 27 (1939), pp. 121-128.

⁶⁰ A document written in Barcelona and dated May 4, 1462 says that he then lived in Savoy cf. Arxiu Historic de Protocols de Barcelona, notary Bartolomé Masons. leg. 2, man. 4, 1461-1462; MIQUEL, Salvador Sampere – *Los cuatrocentistas*, 1, p. 312.

⁶¹ For further information on Antoine de Lonhy's stay in Savoie, refer to ELSIG, Frédéric – *La peinture dans le duché de Savoie à la fin du Moyen Âge (1416-1536)*. Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana editoriale, 2016, pp. 87-101; ELSIG, Frédéric – *Antoine de Lonhy*.



Fig. 8 – Antoine de Lonhy, *Alterpiece of the Virgin, Saint Augustine and Saint Nicholas of Tolentino*, ca. 1461-1462. Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya © Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya.

Maria del Mar in Barcelona,⁶² when he is still based in the South of France. It is certainly his skills in glassmaking, a field requiring a particular training lacking in the Peninsula, that motivates his recruitment outside the Crown.⁶³ On the strength of this first commission, Antoine de Lonhy was also asked to make a pattern for an embroidery by Antoni Sardurní and to paint an altarpiece for the Augustinian convent of Miralles' *Domus Dei* (fig. 8).⁶⁴ The organisation of this last work is very Catalan with a compartmentalised structure around a central panel representing the Virgin and Child, as well as its aesthetics with gold stucco halos in relief. These elements, certainly made at the request of the commissioners, attest the artist's ability to adapt. He did not, however, deny his northern skills as the meticulous treatment of the brocades underlines.

⁶² MARIMON, Josep Maria Madurell I – “El arte em la comarca alta de Urgel”. *Anales y Boletín de los Museos de Arte de Barcelona*, IV, I-2 (1946), pp. 9-172, in particular 91-92; Arxiu Historic de Protocols de Barcelona, notary Antoni Vilanova, 165/38.

⁶³ LASARTE, Joan Ainaud de – “Maître-verriers français en Catalogne au XIVe et XVe siècles” In *Les vitraux de Narbonne, l'essor du vitrail gothique dans le sud de l'Europe, actes du 2^e colloque d'histoire de l'art méridional au Moyen Âge, 30 novembre-1^{er} décembre 1990*. Narbonne : ville de Narbonne, 1992, pp. 123-127.

⁶⁴ MIQUEL, Salvador Sampere – *Los cuatrocentistas catalanes*, I, p. 312; Arxiu Historic de Protocols de Barcelona. Bartolomé Masons. Leg. 2, man. 4 contr. Com. Años 1461-1462.

Antoine de Lonhy only completed three works before leaving Catalonia. This departure was probably motivated by the beginning of the political unrest which limited the number of commissions to be obtained, all the more so, as the artistic scene was then dominated by Jaume Huguet. Yet, despite his short stay, Antoine de Lonhy did leave his mark as the work of Huguet himself attests.⁶⁵ The most eloquent example is certainly the altarpiece of the Constable Pere de Portugal made in 1464-65,⁶⁶ where the Adoration of the Magi reveals an identical composition to that of Lonhy in the altarpiece of the Domus Dei. Another borrowing seems to be found in the *Ordination of Saint Vincent* from Huguet, a panel part of the altarpiece of the church of San Vincent de Sarrià.⁶⁷

Antoine de Lonhy was not the only foreign painter to confront Huguet's supremacy. Bartolomeo de Cárdenas, alias *El Bermejo* (The Vermillion), known for his remarkable ability to copy Flemish painting, competed with the Catalan painter in 1486 to make the doors of the organ of Santa Maria del Pi of Barcelona and lost.⁶⁸ Despite this event, Bermejo was an artist who had a notable influence on the production of the Iberian Peninsula.

Although he was from Cordoba,⁶⁹ Bartolomé Bermejo is known exclusively for his work in the Crown of Aragon, which he travelled throughout his life. First mentioned, in 1468, he went to Aragon in the following decade. We find him in Daroca where he is documented in 1474, then to Zaragoza where he is mentioned between 1477 and 1483. It is generally assumed that following this Aragonese stage, Bermejo would have returned to Valencia some time, around 1484-85, before moving to Barcelona from 1486 to 1501, the year of his death. During this last period, he returned several times to the Aragonese lands.⁷⁰

During the thirty-three years of his life that have been documented, he produced several major works that are still preserved and which attest his skills

⁶⁵ LORENTZ, Philippe – “Une œuvre retrouvée d'Antoine de Lonhy et le séjour à Toulouse du peintre bourguignon (1454-1460)”. *Revue de l'art* 147 (2005), p. 25.

⁶⁶ Also known as the *Epiphany altarpiece*. Barcelona, Museu d'Història de Barcelona, Chapel of Santa Àgata.

⁶⁷ Barcelona, Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, inv. 015866.

⁶⁸ FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *Bartolomé Bermejo*, Madrid: Museo del Prado; Barcelone: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2018, p. 225, doc. 16.

⁶⁹ This statement is based on the signature of the *Pietà Despla* which specifies “Bartholomei Vermeio Cordubensis”. However, it should be noted that not all historians agree on this inscription, sometimes questioning the origin of the painter. see MARIAS, Fernando – “Bartolomé Bermejo, Cordubensis?”. *Ars Longa* 21 (2012), pp. 135-142.

⁷⁰ For a more complete vision of Bermejo's life and artwork see MONZÓ, Elías Tormo y – *Bartolomé Bermejo, el más recio de los primitivos españoles*. Madrid: C.S.I.C., Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1926; YOUNG, Eric – *Bartolome Bermejo, the great hispano-flemish master*. London: Elek Books, 1975, pp. 10-16; TORRENS, Francisco Zuera – *Bartolomé Bermejo, pintor nómada*. Córdoba: Diputación Provincial de Córdoba, 1983; BERG-SOBRÉ, Judith – *Bartolomé de Cárdenas “el Bermejo”, pintor errante en la Corona de Aragón*. San Francisco: International Scholars Publications, 1997; *La pintura gòtica hispano flamenca. Bartolomé Bermejo i la seva època*. Barcelona: Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, 2003; FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *Bartolomé Bermejo*; FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *El universo pictórico de Bartolomé Bermejo. Actas del congreso internacional, noviembre de 2018*. Madrid: Museo del Prado, 2021.

in mastering the Flemish style, both in the meticulousness and in the use of oil painting.⁷¹ References to northern productions are also numerous in Bermejo's production. One of the most striking examples is *Saint Michael triumphs over the Devil*,⁷² with a remarkable representation of the New Jerusalem reflected in the brilliance of the archangel's rich armour, a direct reference to Memling's *Last Judgement*.⁷³ Produced in 1468,⁷⁴ this is Bermejo earliest documented work and it attests to an artist who was already fully trained. It has been assumed that the artist may have acquired his mastery of painting directly in Flanders,⁷⁵ possibly in the 50s or early 60s. However, as Carl Brandon Strehlke rightly pointed out, if Bermejo had been Italian like Antonello da Messine, historians would never have considered training outside his homeland.⁷⁶ If Bermejo's training did not take place in the North of Europe, it may have taken place in Cordoba, at least initially. The city, like the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, was marked at that time by Flemish production, as shown by the *Annunciation* of Pedro de Cordona, completed in 1475.⁷⁷ However, little is known about the production in Cordoba during this period and it is not possible to find in it the justification for Bermejo's precise mastery of the *Ars Nova*. One possibility would be that he received additional training in Valencia through contact with northern artists such as the Allynbrood.⁷⁸ In fact, the contract for the altarpiece of Saint Michael signed in 1468 specifies that Bermejo was a citizen

⁷¹ Concerning the technical analysis of Bermejo's work, see article of the Restoration Laboratory of Aramengo – "Análisi científica del restauro del trittico di Bartolomé Bermejo". In *Bartolomé Bermejo e il Trittico di Acqui*. Dir. Gianni Rebera. Acqui Terme: L'Ancora, 1987, pp. 139-157; BERG-SOBRÉ, Judith – "Sobre Bartolomé Bermejo". In *La pintura gòtica hispano flamenco*, pp. 19-28; one of the most recurrent northern references in Bermejo's work appears to be Rogier van der Weyden, it has moreover been envisaged that he could have been trained in his atelier. See COMPANY, Ximo; ROBLEDO, Lluïsa Tolosa – "De Pintura Valenciana: Bartolomé Bermejo, Rodrigo de Osona, El Maestro de Artés, Vicent Macip y Joan de Joanes". *Archivo español de Arte* 72 (1999), pp. 263-278.

⁷² London, National Gallery, NG6553.

⁷³ Gdansk (Poland), National Museum, MNG/SD/413/M.

⁷⁴ BERG-SOBRÉ, Judith – *Bartolomé de Cárdenas "el Bermejo"*, pp. 61-62; APPV, Manuel d'Esparça, II.373, 5th of february 1468.

⁷⁵ The first to propose such a journey of initiation was BROWN, Jonathan – "Dos obras tempranas de Bartolomé Bermejo y su relación com Flandes". *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXVI, 144 (1963), pp. 269-280; a hypothesis subsequently taken up by many historians, see YOUNG, Eric – *Bartolome Bermejo*, pp. 10-16; TORRENS, Francisco Zuera – *Bartolomé Bermejo*, pp. 35-37; BERG-SOBRÉ, Judith – *Bartolomé de Cárdenas "el Bermejo"*, pp. 10-17; BERG-SOBRÉ, Judith – "Sobre Bartolomé Bermejo", pp. 19-28 in particular 19.

⁷⁶ Nevertheless, Carl Brandon considers that Bermejo may have made a later trip to Flanders in the 1470s. STREHLKE, Carl Brandon – "Bartolomé de Cárdenas y el arte europeo". In FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *Bartolomé Bermejo*, pp. 65 & 82.

⁷⁷ Cordoba, cathedral; FIGUERAS, Joan Molina – "Bartolomé Bermejo y el arte de pintar". In FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *Bartolomé Bermejo*, pp. 13-60, in particular 15-17.

⁷⁸ Francesc Ruiz I Quesada was the first to make this assumption, suggestion a possible training with Louis Allynbrood, see QUESADA, Francesc Ruiz I – "El panorama artístico valenciano y la influencia de Flandes en los inicios de Bartolomé Bermejo". In LACARRA, Maria Carmen (ed.) – *Aragón y Flandes: un encuentro artístico, siglos XV-XVII*. Zaragoza: Institución «Fernando El Católico», Diputación de Zaragoza, 2017, pp. 61-108, at 99. It should be noted that this hypothesis is, however, rejected by Judith Berg-Sobrè, see BERG-SOBRÉ, Judith – *Bartolomé de Cárdenas*, pp. 11-12.

of Valencia, that is to say that he had been established in the city for at least one year. We can therefore imagine that he received additional training from Georges Allynbrood, who arrived in 1463, and who must have trained in contact with Petrus Christus and Rogier van der Weyden, recurrent references in Bartolomé's works. Other northern models are also present in his paintings and can easily be explained by the wide diffusion of models and especially engravings. One of the most notable examples is the *Resurrection of Christ* by the Master of the Playing Cards, which can be found in a predella painted by Bermejo.⁷⁹

As previously stated, Bermejo was located in Aragon in the 1470s. Like Valencia and Catalonia, the Kingdom of Aragon was sensitive to the pictorial renewal coming from the North.⁸⁰ It is in Zaragoza that the earliest known mention for oil painting throughout the whole Crown appears, dating from 1443.⁸¹ However, the known documentation does not reveal the presence of any major northern artist or artist trained in this region. It is Bartolomé Bermejo who plays this role with his impeccable command of Flemish technique and standards. His "Nordic" style earned him a certain success, which seems to have enabled him to escape the penalty of excommunication. In fact, in 1474, Bermejo undertook to carry out the altarpiece of the High Altar of Saint Dominic of Daroca and to finish it by the end of 1475. The document specifies that if he does not fulfil his commitment he will be excluded from the Christian community – a strong sentence, but in reality a common one for anyone with little means such as an itinerant artist. Three years later the altarpiece was still not completed and the sentence was made public in July 1477. However, in November of the same year, a new contract was signed with Bermejo to complete the altarpiece, where everything was put in place to facilitate the painter's work.⁸²

Thus, Bermejo's virtuosity gave the Aragonese production a new Flemish impetus, especially as he always worked in collaboration with local artists. In 1474, he accepted the contract for the altarpiece of Saint Dominic with Juan de Bonilla, and in 1477, he collaborated with Martín Bernat to complete it. In 1482, with Miguel

⁷⁹ MONLLAU, César Favà – "Bartolomé Bermejo, *Escenas del Cristo Redentor*". In FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *Bartolomé Bermejo*, pp. 144-152, in particular 148.

⁸⁰ Concerning the reception of *Ars Nova* in the Kingdom of Aragon see GONZALÈZ, Alberto Velasco – "Some questions about the Flemish model in Aragonese painting (1440-1500)". In GONZALÈZ, A. Velasco; FITÉ, F. (eds.) – *Late Gothic Painting*, pp. 71-136.

⁸¹ It is a contract with the Catalan Pascual Ortoneda for an altarpiece intended for the *Casas del Puente* in Zaragoza. It specifies that the pigments should be mixed with linseed oil as a bind according to the principles of the new manner. SANZ, Serrano Manuel – "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante los siglos XIV y XV". *Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas y Museos* 35 (1916), pp. 420-421, doc. XX. On this subject see also GONZALÈZ, Alberto Velasco – "*Para que sus deliberaciones y consejos no vayan herrados sino acertados*. Gonzalo de la Caballería y el retablo de la capilla del consejo de Zaragoza (1443)". *Tvriaso* 22 (2014-2015), pp. 295-340, in particular 308-317.

⁸² SANZ, Serrano Manuel – "Documentos relativos a la pintura en Aragón durante el siglo XV". *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos* 31 (1914), pp. 457-458, doc. X; Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Zaragoza, Pedro Lalueza, 1477, ff. 278-279v.

Ximénez, Bermejo was committed to produce two altarpieces, one for the San Pedro chapel of Valencia cathedral and the other for the church of Pradilla de Ebro;⁸³ in 1486, both of them were paid for the painting of the High Altar of Blesa.⁸⁴ Three years later, Bermejo and Ximénez were commissioned for the production of a monumental altarpiece for the Augustinians of Zaragoza.⁸⁵ Their last collaboration was dated 1496 when they committed to the realization of an altarpiece for Salvatierra.⁸⁶ These collaborations are probably the consequence of a management capacity inversely proportional to Bermejo's painting skills, as suggested by Alberto Velasco, but they are also a clever way for him to circumvent the strict guild regulations for foreigners.⁸⁷ In any case, these collaborations also resulted in a wide diffusion of the models used by the master. One of the most eloquent examples of this is the altarpiece of St. Dominic and more precisely its central panel. The composition can be found, with the attention to detail so characteristic of Flemish painting, in many works by Martín Bernat and his workshop, such as the *Saint Nicholas of Bari* of the Museu Diocesà de Llerida, the two panels representing *Saint Blas* of the Alma Mater Museum of Zaragoza or *Saint Victoriano* of the Cathedral of Barbastro (Huesca).⁸⁸ Among these numerous remakes, the most striking is certainly the *Consecration of a holy bishop* exhibited at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon (fig. 9), also possibly by Martín Bernat,⁸⁹ where the figure of the bishop is represented with a realism worthy of Bermejo himself.

⁸³ SANZ, Serrano Manuel – “Documentos relativos”, 1914, 449-51; ASTRÁIN, José Cabezudo – “Nuevos documentos sobre pintores aragoneses del siglo XV”. *Seminario de arte aragonés* 7-9 (1957), pp. 65-79, at 71.

⁸⁴ POST, Chandler R. – *A History of Spanish painting*. 14 vols. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1930-1966, 8, p. 42.

⁸⁵ SANZ, Serrano Manuel – “Documentos relativos”, 1914, pp. 449-451.

⁸⁶ SANZ, Serrano Manuel – “Documentos relativos”, 1914, pp. 449-451.

⁸⁷ GONZÁLEZ, Alberto Velasco – “La huella de Bartolomé Bermejo en la Corona de Aragón”. In FIGUERAS, Joan Molina (ed.) – *Bartolomé Bermejo*, pp. 105-122, in particular 110.

⁸⁸ DUCAY, María Carmen Lacarra – “Acotaciones al estudio de una pintura de Martín Bernat en el museo diocesano y comarcal de Lérida”. *Aragón en la Edad Media* 20 (2008), pp. 413-425, at 422; GONZÁLEZ, Alberto Velasco – “Aportaciones a los catálogos de pinturas de Miguel Ximénez (doc. 1462-1505) y Martín Bernat (doc. 1450-1505), pintores de Zaragoza”. *Ars & Renovatio* 3 (2015), pp. 192-232; GONZÁLEZ, Alberto Velasco – “La huella de Bartolomé Bermejo”, pp. 114-115.

⁸⁹ POST, Chandler R. – *A History of Spanish painting*, 8, pp. 163-164; VALERO, Nuria Ortiz – *Martín Bernat, pintor de retablos, documentado en Zaragoza entre 1450 y 1505*. Zaragoza: Institución “Fernando el Católico”, 2013, pp. 186-189; Martín Bernat's work catalog, presented by Nuria Ortiz, is very heterogeneous and would deserve a revision, especially to better understand the work of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon, whose figure of the enthroned saint is particularly remarkable.



Fig. 9 – Martín Bernat (attributed to), *Bishop's consecration*, ca. 1480-90. Dijon, Musée des Beaux-Arts © Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon/François Jay.

The Crown of Aragon was one of the regions of Europe that offered one of the fastest reaction to the Flemish style as advocated by the Van Eyck brothers and their followers. The Kingdom of Valencia, thanks to its capital, a port city open to the Mediterranean and the rest of Europe, can be seen as the starting point for the spread of the *Ars Nova* under the impetus of Alfonso the Magnanimous. Catalonia and Aragon soon followed. Although they were not the only vectors to this pictorial renewal, such responsiveness would never have been possible without the movement of artists who are truly the spokespersons of this painting style. Hence, circulation and exchange are key elements when we try to address the question of the makings of the artistic scene within a defined geographical area, its influences and characteristics.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Professors Rafael CORNUDELLA and Joan DOMENGE came to the same conclusion in their essay “Artistic journey, the roads of art”. In SUREDA, Marc (coord.) – *Viatjar a l’Edat Mitjana*. Barcelona: IEMed, 2015, pp. 41-48.

Between East and West. The transformation and circulation of a medieval image in Romanian religious iconography: Saint Christopher

Silvia Marin Barutcieff¹

Abstract

The text investigates the emergence and evolution of the iconography of Saint Christopher in the Romanian Principalities during the medieval era. In order to discern the particularities of this visual representation in Wallachia and Moldavia during the long 16th and 17th centuries, five types from the Orthodox Romanian iconography will be examined. Although pictures of Saint Christopher existed in the Catholic edifices of the neighboring Transylvania since the 13th century, they entered in Moldavia after 1500 and in Wallachia only after 1600. The approach will take into consideration the inauguration of Saint Christopher's iconography in the Romanian Principalities, its historical circumstances and ways of dissemination, the actors of this cultural transfer in South-Eastern Europe, as well as the morphological transformations suffered by the mentioned image before 1725.

Keywords

Saint Christopher; Post-Byzantine art; Romanian culture; Orthodox iconography; South-Eastern Europe; 16th-17th centuries; cultural transfer.

¹ University of Bucharest. E-mail: silvia.barutcieff@litere.unibuc.ro.

Introduction

Following the fall of Constantinople, many of the Greek artists who had been working in the capital city had to flee to safer places. Some of them sought refuge in Crete, a territory under Venetian rule since 1204.² This newly established creative force turned the island into the most renowned art center after 1453.³ Here, as well as in some other areas (Thessaly, Epirus), the Greek painting underwent a renewal⁴ which impacted not only the regions with Greek population, but other Orthodox countries in the European East as well.

Despite its unanimously acknowledged unity, post-Byzantine art never had an immutable character, as Manolis Chatzidakis pointed out more than half a century ago.⁵ On the one hand, it received certain Catholic influences especially via the Venetian art;⁶ on the other hand, as it spread across the Balkan area, the models and images disseminated in the process underwent major changes. These mutations began with the art works of Crete, where the contacts between Greeks and Venetians encouraged the cultural transfer. In a study exploring the vernacular architecture on this island, Maria Georgopoulou described some mechanisms of the cultural exchange that modified the urban profile in the area. After a century of strained, even violent relationships between communities, attitudes relaxed and became more flexible, a change which came to be reflected in the local art.⁷ The presence of mendicant orders on the island entailed, among others, the need for worship places; Dominican, Franciscan and Augustinian monasteries were built in the capital Candia.⁸ One of the churches in the city was dedicated to a recent martyr saint, Peter, a Veronese monk and inquisitor, killed in 1252.⁹ During the times of Greek art revival, in early sixteenth century, around 150 painters were living in Candia – a significant proportion of a

² EVANS, Helen C. – “Byzantium: Faith and Power (1261-1557)”. In EVANS, Helen C. (ed.) – *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2004, p. 14.

³ CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Contribution à l'étude de la peinture postbyzantine”. In *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1976, p. 5.

⁴ CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Contribution”, p. 7.

⁵ CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Contribution”, p. 7.

⁶ CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Recherches sur le peintre Théophane le Crétois”. In *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine*, p. 343; GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *La peinture murale dans le monde orthodoxe après la chute de Byzance (1450-1600) et dans les pays sous domination étrangère*. Athènes: C. Spanos, 1989, pp. 107 and 145-146.

⁷ GEORGOPOULOU, Maria – “Vernacular Architecture in Venetian Crete: Urban and Rural Practices”. In GROSSMANN Heather E.; WALKER, Alicia (ed.) – *Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean, ca 1000-1500*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 158.

⁸ GEORGOPOULOU, Maria – “Venice and Byzantine Sphere”. In EVANS, Helen C. (ed.) – *Byzantium. Faith and Power*, p. 490.

⁹ PRUDLO, Donald – *The Martyred Inquisitor: the Life and the Cult of Peter of Verona*. New York: Routledge, 2008, pp. 13-14.

population of 15,000 inhabitants.¹⁰ The painters' activity gradually produced the so-called Cretan or Italo-Cretan style, based on the Byzantine aesthetics assimilating Western models.¹¹

Artistic effervescence was not exclusively confined to the area mentioned above; especially from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, Greek painters travelled across the Orthodox areas, not only as carriers of technical skills and stylistic peculiarities, but also bringing with them an iconographic repertoire which they disseminated in the southern and eastern parts of the continent.

As far as the medieval Romanian communities are concerned, the prestige of the so-called Italo-Cretan icons, as well as the high demand for icons in the Romanian Principalities¹² encouraged the mobility of seventeenth-century itinerant artists, greatly appreciated throughout the Orthodox world.¹³ For South-Eastern Europe, the archives record the names of 152 painters¹⁴, who casually roamed a very large territory over the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. Eugenia Drakopoulou mentions their distribution across the Balkans: fifty-two painters were active in

¹⁰ CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES, Maria – “La pittura di icone a Creta veneziana (secoli XV e XVI): questioni di mecenatismo, iconografia e preferenze estetiche”. In *Venezia e Creta. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre-5 ottobre 1997*. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1998, p. 464. Maria Georgopoulou noted that between 1453 and 1500 there were 120-130 painters. See: GEORGOPOULOU, Maria – “Venice and Byzantine Sphere”, p. 492. Similar numbers are recorded in Anastasia Tourta's study “Moștenirea bizantină în pictură după căderea Constantinopolului”. In STAIKOS, Konstantinos Sp. (ed.) – *De la Întruparea Cuvântului la Îndumnezeirea Omului. Icoane bizantine și postbizantine din Grecia*, catalogue of the exhibition at The National Art Museum of Romania, 6 October 2008-15 January 2009. Romanian translation Ilie Frăcea. Bucharest: The National Art Museum of Romania and the Hellenic Foundation for Culture, 2008, p. XXVI.

¹¹ For the Italo-Cretan school, see EMBIRICOS, Alexandre – *L'École crétoise, dernière phase de la peinture byzantine*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1967, pp. 66-67; CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Recherche de la peinture de Théophane le Crétois”. *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 23-24 (1969-1970), pp. 309-343, republished in *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1976, pp. 311-352. Recent studies investigating the cultural interactions between Crete and the Italian states were published by: NEWALL, Diana – “Cultural interaction in Candia: Case studies in a developing early modern multi-ethnic community”. In LYMBEROPOULOU, Angeliki (ed.) – *Cross-Cultural Interaction between Byzantium and the West, 1204-1669. Whose Mediterranean Is It Anyway? Papers from the Forty-Eighth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Milton Keynes, 28th-30th March 2015*. London & New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 21-29. CONSTANTOUDAKI-KITROMILIDES, Maria – “Aspects of artistic exchange on Crete: Questions concerning the presence of Venetian painters on the island in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries”. In LYMBEROPOULOU, Angeliki (ed.) – *Cross-Cultural Interaction*, pp. 30-38; LYMBEROPOULOU, Angeliki – “The Fogg triptych: Testimony of a case study to the society and artistic production of Venetian Crete”. In LYMBEROPOULOU, Angeliki (ed.) – *Cross-Cultural Interaction*, pp. 59-73; DUITTS, Rembrandt – “Artistic interections between Byzantium and Italy in the Palaiologan era: The case of Hell”. In LYMBEROPOULOU, Angeliki (ed.) – *Cross-Cultural Interaction*, pp. 74-103.

¹² PILLAT, Cornelia – *Variațiuni pe teme date în arta medievală românească*. Bucharest: Vremea, 2003, p. 10.

¹³ DOBJANSCHI, Ana – “Arta și cultura în Țările Române în vremea lui Matei Basarab și Vasile Lupu”. In PORUMB, Marius; CHIRIAC, Aurel (ed.) – *Artă românească, artă europeană. Centenar Virgil Vătășianu*. Oradea: Editura Muzeului Țării Crișurilor, 2002, p. 131.

¹⁴ TOURTA, Anastasia – “Moștenirea bizantină”, XXIX; DRAKOPOULOU, Eugenia – “Peintres de l'espace grec et balkanique: les conditions de leur acceptation et de leur réception”. In DRAKOPOULOU, Eugenia (ed.) – *Topics in Post-byzantine painting. In memory of Manolis Chatzidakis. Conference Proceedings, 28-29 mai 1999*. Athens: Institute of Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2002, p. 125.

Serbia and Macedonia, thirteen in Bulgaria, forty-nine in Albania, and fifty-five in Romanian Principalities.¹⁵

The effects of this cultural diffusion phenomenon were manifest in the emergence and circulation of iconographic themes, such as Saint Christopher, the focus of the present study.¹⁶

Methodological Considerations

Unlike the Greek and Western European iconography, Romanian visual arts incorporated the figure of Saint Christopher rather belatedly, adding it to the eschatological motifs of the *Last Judgement*, the *Archangel Michael Weighing the Souls*, the *Virgin of Mercy*, the *Parable of the Ten Virgins*, or the *Majestas Domini*.¹⁷ The saint's image reached Transylvania, via Western influences, in the thirteenth century,¹⁸ when it was introduced into the local Roman-Catholic churches¹⁹ and continued to circulate during the following two centuries (fig. 1).

The present study, however, dwells only on Romanian Orthodox places of worship and selects only some of the twelve morphological iconographic types of Saint Christopher. The visual discourse of this topic emerged throughout the sixteenth centuries on the territory of the Romanian Principalities. It was during the art revival on Greek-speaking territories that Saint Christopher began to be represented by the Orthodox iconography in this part of Europe.

For the history of Wallachian and Moldavian art, the Middle Ages end in early eighteenth century. Nevertheless, this periodization is not uncontested, but the debate about it is still ongoing. For this reason, I shall present the contributions of Romanian artists especially during the long sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when they took part in the inauguration, transformation and dissemination of five iconographic types in the above-mentioned regions. My investigation into

¹⁵ DRAKOPOULOU, Eugenia – “Peintres de l'espace grec et balkanique”, p. 125.

¹⁶ The influence exerted by the Italo-Cretan school on Romanian art during late seventeenth century and the following century, has been addressed by Romanian literature. See: PORUMB, Marius – *Pictura românească din Transilvania, I, sec. XIV-XVII*. Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1981, p. 93; DRĂGUȚ, Vasile – *Dicționar enciclopedic de artă medievală românească*. Bucharest: Vremea, 2000, p. 243.

¹⁷ DRĂGUȚ, Vasile – “Iconografia picturilor murale gotice din Transilvania”. In *Pagini de veche artă românească*. Vol. 2. Bucharest: Editura Academiei Române, 1972, p. 13; DRĂGUȚ, Vasile – *Dicționar enciclopedic*, p. 195.

¹⁸ Probably the oldest representation from Transylvania preserved until nowadays is found inside the church of Cricău. See the article after the last restoration of the monument in KISS, Lóránd – “Picturile murale medievale ale bisericii reformate din Cricău (jud. Alba)”. *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica* 16.1 (2012), pp. 293-308.

¹⁹ Most of them appropriated subsequently by the Lutheran or Reformed congregations.

the contribution of these artists aims to highlight the dynamics of a medieval iconographic representation, and its propensity for hybridization, with consequences reaching the modern times.

These notes are based on the field research undertaken over the last 20 years, across the entire territory of today's Romania. Around 1,500 churches have been visited, resulting in a rich collection of pictures, necessary for a monograph dedicated to Saint Christopher. The current approach will focus exclusively on mural painting and it will be a comparative one, addressing both Romanian Orthodox iconography and its Balkan counterparts.



Fig. 1 – Dârlos Church, wall painting from 1544, photo by S. Marin Barutciëff.

The Christ-Bearer and the Wallachian Iconography

The first iconographic type in Wallachia, the southern Romanian Principality and the most exposed to the Balkan influences, is the type of *Christ-bearer*. The oldest such representation identified so far can be found at Dobreni church, established by the future prince Constantin Șerban.²⁰ He commissioned the building immediately after his return from a military campaign, in 1646.²¹ The name of the painter who decorated the church, probably between 1646 and 1648,²² is not known. The artist was definitely very talented, familiar with the manuals of Post-Byzantine iconography and a skilled craftsman, keen on giving the edifice of Dobreni the magnificent aspect worthy of a princely foundation. The original fresco survived in the narthex, and only partially. There, on the northern wall, Saint Christopher stands by the votive portrait, next to the Great Martyr Marina.²³ Shown in semi-profile, he gazes at the unexpected “traveler”, infant Jesus sitting on his left shoulder (fig. 2). Wearing a green tunic with ochre hem and buttons, the saint hides one hand in his belt. The white trousers are rolled up, the bare feet stir the bluish water. Struggling to keep from drowning, he leans on his staff, in this instance bearing leaves, but no blooms. The artist chose to depict him as a life-sized *Christ-bearer*, as he appears in the Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian or Macedonian iconography.²⁴

²⁰ Constantin Șerban was the illegitimate son of the prince Radu Șerban. He took the throne of Wallachia on April 9, 1654 and ruled until 1658. The church he founded at Dobreni was probably built in the memory of his mother, the wife of the local priest. See: IORGA, Nicolae – *Istoria românilor prin călători*. Bucharest: Eminescu, 1981, pp. 242-244.

²¹ The building was commissioned in the year when he was promoted from the rank of *postelnic* (loosely equivalent to chamberlain) to the rank of *serdar* (commander of an army). See STOICESCU, Nicolae – *Constantin Șerban*. Bucharest: Military Press, 1988, p. 10.

²² One inscription from the narthex mentions Constantin Șerban as *vel serdar* (great *serdar*), thus we infer the wall painting dates from the period when he held this office. The historical documents indicate that he retained the *vel serdar* rank from 1646 to 1648 (see: STOICESCU, Nicolae – *Constantin Șerban*, pp. 10-11).

²³ In the Catholic world, Marina is known as Margaret of Antioch.

²⁴ This Post-Byzantine type of Christ-bearer with a short cloth was preceded by the Byzantine model of the Christ-bearer dressed in a chlamys. Examples in Ano Viannos – 1360, Diskouri – 1400, both in Crete (cf. SPATHARAKIS, Ioannis – *Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*. Vol. 2 – *Mylopotamos Province*. Leiden: Alexandros Press, 2010, fig. 238 and fig. 428, Lesnovo – 1349, Konçe – 1371, in Serbia (DJORDJEVIĆ, Ivan M. – “Saint Christophe dans la peinture médiévale serbe”. *Zograf* 11 (1980), pp. 64-65; GABELIĆ, Smiljka – “Diversity in Fresco Painting of the Mid-Fourteenth Century: the Case of Lesnovo”. In ĆURČIĆ, Slobodan; MOURIKI, Doula (ed.) – *The Twilight of Byzantium*. New Jersey: Princeton University, 1991, p. 197. This was the result of the hybridisation of the tenth – eleventh centuries Byzantine saint and the Western version of the giant bearer. The cultural intersections of the two models is indisputably recognizable in a polyptych altarpiece, before 1450, now preserved in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Cf. VASSILAKI, Maria – “From Constantinople to Candia: Icon Painting in Crete around 1400”. In VASSILAKI, Maria (ed.) – *The Hand of Angelos. An Icon Painter in Venetian Crete*. Farnham: Lund Humphries in association with Benaki Museum, 2010, p. 61.



Fig. 2 – Dobreni Church, wall painting from 1646-1648, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

The natural size and proportions of the picture reveal the path by which the theme reached Wallachia, via the East. Moreover, in the Church of the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel of Moscopolis, the saint's representation (1722), with unknown author,²⁵ displays similar vestments and chromatic pattern previously found at Dobreni, and dating eight decades earlier.

Half a century later, for the fresco of Hurezi (1690-1694), painter Constantinos,²⁶ summoned by the prince Constantin Brâncoveanu, in order to decorate the monastery's katholikon church, depicted Christopher on the arch joining the narthex to the nave. The Greek artist, aided by five Romanian apprentices,²⁷ noted

²⁵ ROUSSEVA, Ralitsa – "Iconographic characteristics of the churches in Moschopolis and Vithkuqi (Albania)". *Makedonika* 35 (2003), pp. 163-191 at 166.

²⁶ Documents attest that the Greek Constantinos worked in Wallachia for 23 years, between 1683 and 1707. Together with other painters, he decorated important princely edifices such as Doamnei Church – Bucharest, the *katholikon* of Hurezi and that of Cozia Monasteries. See Bobulescu, C. – "Zugravii. Părvu Mutul, Constantinos grecul (1682-1735) și Nifon Udrescu, starețul mănăstirii Secului (1657-1765), cu autobiografia lui Ghenadie Părvulescu arhimandritul (22 octombrie 1805-6 – 6 septembrie 1873)". *Arhiva Românească* 5 (1940), pp. 103-156 at 132. His name was also mentioned in 1698, in relation to the painting of the princely church in Târgoviște.

²⁷ The painters' names were Ioan, Andrei, Stan, Neagoe and Nicolae, as the inscription mentions it.

the martyr's name in Greek: *Ὁ Ἀτίος Χρισσοφορος*. The saint's stance of Dobreni, leaning towards infant Jesus, is reiterated in the mural painting here, and perpetuated subsequently in the other edifices painted by Brâncoveanu's artists at: Târgoviște (1698), Polovragi (1703), Mogoșoaia (1707), Doicești (post 1706). In every one of these churches, Saint Christopher is placed in a transitional space: the entrance into the narthex (Târgoviște – fig. 3), the arch between narthex and nave (Polovragi – fig. 4, Doicești, Mogoșoaia, Potlogi), a position substantiating his status as a protector against sudden death as he was known in the Western world since the fourteenth century. On the other hand, in a few edifices from Cappadocia (Yusuf Koç²⁸ – fig. 5, Kiliçlar Kuşluk, Şahinefendi²⁹), the saint is located above the entrance, highlighting his eschatological dimension also in Byzantine tradition.



Fig. 3 – Târgoviște Princely Church, wall painting from 1698, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.



Fig. 4 – Polovragi Monastery, Hospital Church, wall painting from 1738, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

²⁸ The Cappadocian church of Yusuf Koç was commissioned in the second half of the 11th century. For the description and analysis of its iconographic program, see: GRISHIN, A. D. – “The Church of Yusuf Koç near Göreme village in Cappadocia”. *Mediterranean Archeology* 3 (1990), pp. 39-45.

²⁹ SIOMKOS, Nikolaos – *L'Église Saint-Etienne à Kastoria. Étude des différentes phases du décor peint (X^e-XIV^e siècles)*. Thessaloniki: Kentro Vyzantinōn Ereunōn, 2005, p. 68.



Fig. 5 – Yusuf Koç, Cappadocia, wall painting from the 11th century, photo by Ștefan Barutcieff.

Constantinos had become familiar with this kind of representation, within the Greek-speaking area, where it had appeared a few centuries previously.³⁰ An Italian-Cretan icon, now part of the collection of Frankfurt Museum, proves that the subject was known to seventeenth-century artists.³¹ But, more importantly, at the Meteora, Theophanis Strelitzas Bathas (Theophanes of Crete) had included it in the iconographic program of Anapavas Monastery, in 1527, boldly assimilating the Western influences.³² The model will be translated to the Mount Athos monasteries:

³⁰ The Greek painter Constantinos arrived in Wallachia probably from Epirus, a region that played an important cultural role in the Balkans after the fall of Constantinople. See POPA, Corina – “L’iconographie de l’exonarthex des églises brancovans (I)”. *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire de l’Art (I)* XLV (2008), p. 84. During the 16th century, George and Frangos Kondaris, very gifted artists of the period, painted a few churches across Epirus. For instance, in 1560, the two brothers decorated Saint Nicholas Monastery of Philanthropeni in Ioannina Island. See: GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *La peinture murale*, pp. 178-179. The iconographic program of the main church includes a representation of Saint Christopher similar with the one painted by Constantinos and his team in the katholikon of Hurezi. Photos are available at <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Holy+Monastery+of+Saint+Nicholas+of+Philanthropeni/>, [Consulted on 14.09.2022, 11:59].

³¹ Saint Christopher, seventeenth-century Italo-Cretan icon, in the Icon Museum – Frankfurt, Collection Rainer Kreissl, cf. the field research conducted in July 2007.

³² See the photo reproduced by GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *La peinture murale*, fig. 131. See also the commentaries on this painter’s innovations, in GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *Études sur le Jugement dernier post-byzantin du XV^e à la fin du XIX^e siècle*. Thessalonikē: Hetaireia Makedonikōn Spoudōn, 1984, pp. 95-96, as well as the mentions made by CHOULIA Suzanne; ALBANI, Jenny – *Mănăstirile Meteore. Pictură – Arhitectură*. Romanian translation by Eduard-Florin Tudor and Maria-Monalisa Pleșea. Bucharest: Fundația Central Cultural Panellion, 2010, p. 31.

Great Lavra (1535),³³ Stavronikita,³⁴ Dochiariou (1568), the latest one being reconstructed with the generous contribution of the Moldavian prince, Alexandru Lăpușneanu.³⁵ Theophanes's style must have played a major role in the South-Eastern European iconography, as demonstrate the copies created in Wallachia after 1640.

It is very important to note that Wallachian iconography does not include the type of the *giant bearer of Christ*. This detail, prevailing in the Catholic areas, originates in the fourth-century Greek hagiography that spread in various forms across the East but also in the West via Latin translations.³⁶ The Western art focused on the saint's giant stature, whereas the Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian or Wallachian art ignored it. On the Bulgarian territory, for instance, the type of the *bearer* was known since the Byzantine times, as proves the figure in the church of Veliko Tarnovo,³⁷ whose mural painting dates from the end of the fifteenth century.³⁸ The gradual transition from the portrait featuring long, Byzantine robes, to the one with the short tunic exposing the knees, as in the Western representations, can be also later documented on Balkan area, in the fresco of the Holy Archangels Church of Arbanassi, painted in 1760, by the brothers Michael and George.³⁹ Other images of the same type were preserved in the Orthodox areas in Cyprus (St. John Lampadistis Monastery in Kalopanaiotis – sixteenth century), Greece (Kalarites, church painted in seventeenth – eighteenth century).⁴⁰

³³ CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Recherche de la peinture de Théophane le Crétois”, p. 333; WALTER, Christopher – *The Byzantine Warrior Saints*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, p. 216.

³⁴ GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *La peinture murale*, p. 147.

³⁵ GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *La peinture murale*, p. 165.

³⁶ For the Greek hagiography and its translations see the study of WOODS, David – “St. Christopher, bishop Peter of Attalia and the Cohors Marmaritarum: a fresh examination”. *Vigiliae Christianae* 48 (1994), pp. 170-186.

³⁷ The church dedicated to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul.

³⁸ A. Grabar apud GARIDIS, Miltidias Miltos – *La peinture murale*, p. 107.

³⁹ On the Serbian-Macedonian territory, the Byzantine iconographic program of the Lesnovo monastery church, dating from 1250, includes the figure of the *Christ-bearer* (picture reproduced in GABELIĆ, Smiljka – *Manastir Lesnovo. Istorija i slikarstvo*. Belgrad: Stubove Kulture, 1998.

⁴⁰ Identified during the field research conducted in Cyprus, august 2011. For the representation of Kalarites, Epirus, I am grateful to Cristina Bogdan, who provided me with a photo.

The Medieval Anthropomorphic Image

The contiguity between Greek, Albanian and Romanian iconography is also discernible in the existence of an *anthropomorphic type* of Saint Christopher. The preference for the human silhouette in opposition to the zoomorphic representation⁴¹ should be interpreted as a security reflex after the Church's tribulations facing iconoclasm. This option for a common face is evinced by the painters of Topolnița Monastery, where the *anthropomorphic type* of Saint Christopher is displayed (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 – Topolnița Monastery, wall painting from 1673, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

⁴¹ The zoomorphic type of Saint Christopher was the first among the representations of this theme, as it dates from the fourth century AD. See the first images of this type in STRZYGOWSKI, Josef – “Das byzantinische Relief aus Tusla im Berliner Museum”. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1898), pp. 57-63.

In 1673, “Dima, the Wallachian painter” and “Gheorghe, the Greek painter” – as the votive inscription informs us – were entrusted by a nobleman, Curuia, with the task of decorating the building, and decided to represent Christopher as an anthropomorphic figure, like in some Greek, Serbo-Macedonian (the fourteenth century frescoes at Deçani or Staro Nagoričane) or Albanian churches (the 1745 painting of Moscopolis⁴²). The soldier painted on the Northern wall of the nave looks not whimsical and carries no one on his shoulders. His face, otherwise handsome, is quite nondescript. The option for anthropomorphism complies with the tenth century painting of Cappadocian rupestrian churches, Tokali – Göreme 1, El Nazar – Göreme 6 or with the eleventh-thirteenth century’s monuments of St. Barbara – Soğanli, Yusuf Koç and Cemil).⁴³ In Kastoria, Hagios Stephanos conserves also a tenth century fresco with Christopher as a military saint.⁴⁴ The scientific literature cites Santa Maria Antiqua from Rome (seventh-eighth centuries) as the first anthropomorphic representation of the topic.⁴⁵

Two Moldavian Iconographic Versions

However, the oldest iconographic version of Saint Christopher, existing in the Orthodox Romanian painting, can be found not in Wallachia, but in another principality, Moldavia. The earliest one is the figure of the *giant bearer* and so far it has been identified in two of the most important monuments (both historically and esthetically) in the area. This is how he was illustrated in the church of Baia, whose building was commissioned in 1532 by the prince Petru Rareș. On the outer wall of the main apse, in the fresco painted in 1535,⁴⁶ the tall figure of the martyr towers above all the other saints. The latter have almost been effaced by the weather elements, nevertheless the compartments of visual space they used to occupy are still distinguishable. The slender body of the saint appears under the altar window, in the center of a rectangular frame outlined in red. The saint’s body dressed in a short tunic, the purple cloak, and the shape of his budding staff are still visible. A similar image can be found in the church of Arbore (fig. 7). The exterior painting dates from 1541 and was commissioned by the granddaughter of the gatekeeper of

⁴² Saint Athanasius Church, built between 1721 and 1745 and painted in 1745. See *Sixtine des Balkans: Peintures de l’église Saint-Athanase à Voskopojë*. Ed. Maximilien Durand. Paris: Somogy, 2008.

⁴³ Cf. the field research in Cappadocia conducted in august 2009.

⁴⁴ CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis (ed.) – *Kastoria. Mosaics – Wall Paintings*. Athens: Melissa Publishing House, 1985, p. 15.

⁴⁵ SIOMKOS, Nikolaos – *L’Église Saint-Etienne à Kastoria*, pp. 66-69.

⁴⁶ STOICESCU, Nicolae – *Repertoriul bibliografic al localităților și monumentelor medievale din Moldova*. Bucharest: Direcția Patrimoniului Cultural Național, 1974, p. 46.

Suceava to complete the mural decor of the family' burial place.⁴⁷ On the main apse, eroded by wind and rain just like the one at Baia, the figure of Saint Christopher is still recognizable. Standing in a central position, under the Eastern window, the martyr is bearing infant Jesus on his right shoulder, while his other arm rests on the trunk of a young tree. He is flanked by the saints in the synaxarion, all turned towards this living ship carrying Christ.



Fig. 7 – Arbore Church, wall painting from 1541, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

At Baia and Arbore, the space allotted by the painter to this image is twice as large as the space dedicated to the other subjects. Similarly, the saint's proportions are deliberately oversized, certainly under the influence of Western-European iconography. The manner of painting reveals the Western source on which the author modelled his work, whether it was an etching, a painting manual he might have obtained, or, much more likely, the sight of the oversized figure he had contemplated on the belfry of the Roman-Catholic cathedral of Baia.⁴⁸ Here, on the Southern side of the tower, fragments of Saint Christopher's green cloak and

⁴⁷ CAPROȘ, Ioan – *Biserica Arbore*. Bucharest: Meridiane, 1967, p. 21; POPA, Corina, *et al.* – *Arbore: istorie, artă, restaurare*. Bucharest: ACS, 2016, pp. 42-44.

⁴⁸ The construction of the Catholic Cathedral "The Holy Virgin" in Baia began in 1410, at the orders of Prince Alexandru cel Bun [the Good], married to the Polish-born Margareta. See: STOICESCU, Nicolae – *Repertoriul bibliografic*, p. 47.

part of his face were identified by a Romanian art historian in 1975. Based on the relationships between Moldavia and Transylvania during the Middle Ages, the scholar hypothesized that the representation must have been borrowed from the churches across the mountains, that is, brought from Transylvania to Moldavia.⁴⁹ However, I believe that the figure on the tower of the Roman-Catholic church of Baia could have been a more easily available model.

This trans-confessional transfer, from the Roman-Catholic to the Orthodox iconography, is similar to the one between Post-Byzantine and Western art, as a process identified by the researchers into cultural interactions.

Among the Orthodox edifices, the oldest representation belonging to the iconography of this theme can be found in Bukovina, at Moldovița Monastery, the foundation of Petru Rareș, a ruler known as a Maecenas of Moldavian culture during the first half of the 16th century.⁵⁰ The fresco, painted in 1537, belongs to the type I have termed *a martyr carrying his own head on a platter*. While it did enjoy some vogue, this variant failed to make Christopher a notorious sacred hero in the Romanian Principalities during the sixteenth century.⁵¹ The saints's popularity increased only later, during the 17th-18th centuries, due to other art developments south of the Carpathians, in Wallachia.

On the right side of the image from Moldovița, the painter inserted a note in Slavonic (*Sti Mc Hristofor Psoglav*). The inscription sheds some light on the character's identity and underscores the main attribute of the martyr: the dog head (even though the head might be construed as another animal). The manner of illustrating the saint with hybrid appearance (a human body and a dog's head)⁵² at Moldovița is dictated by his portrayal in the fourth century Greek hagiography. Its descendants, the Slavic and Romanian versions, perpetuated the physical features of a Barbarian soldier, with a fearsome figure and anthropophagous habits, taken prisoner by the Roman military. By contrasting zoomorphism and anthropomorphism, the artists suggested the opposition between the life before his conversion to Christianity (the account mentioned his origins in the obscure geography of the "land of the

⁴⁹ DRĂGUȚ, Vasile – "O pictură murală exterioară regăsită la Baia". *Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor* 1 (1975), pp. 59-60, at 60.

⁵⁰ The church was built in 1532. See: VĂTĂȘIANU, Virgil – *Studii de artă veche românească și universală*. Bucharest: Meridiane, 1987, p. 66; PODLACHA, Wladyslaw; NANDRIȘ, Grigore – *Umanismul picturii murale postbizantine*. Romanian translation by Anca Vasiliu, vol. 1. Bucharest: Meridiane, 1985, p. 322; DRĂGUȚ, Vasile – *Dicționar enciclopedic*, p. 297. Notorious iconographic programs of the mural painting on the outer walls of Bukovina churches date from this period.

⁵¹ At least this is the conclusion derived from the iconographic programs of the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, where the saint's representations are extremely scarce.

⁵² A cynocephalic Saint Christopher appears in the bas-reliefs discovered at Tusla and Hamidieh, in Asia Minor, and on the terracotta icons excavated at Viničko Kale, Macedonia. Cf. STRZYGOWSKI, Josef – "Das byzantinische Relief aus Tusla", pp. 57-63; BALABANOV, Kosta – *Ikone iz Makedonje*. Zagreb: Muzejski Prostor, 1987, pp. 18-27 and figures 7-8, pp. 35-36.

cynocephali”) and the holiness he gained through his martyrdom. The animal head on the platter identifies him, both as a martyr (because he was beheaded), as well as a distinct saint (due to his zoomorphic features). Christopher’s stance reminds of the cephalophoric saints, acknowledged both in Western⁵³ and Eastern art⁵⁴. Shown between one of the stylite saints (in the upper tier) and blessed Paul of Thebes and Onuphrius (in the lower tier), Christopher is revealed as one of the intercessors, in the great *Common Prayer of All Saints*.⁵⁵ Half a century later, brothers Sofronie and Ioan painted him in intercessory prayer again, on the Southern facade of Sucevița Monastery (fig. 8). Here, on the wall of this foundation of Movila family, Saint Christopher sports a brown beard and curly hair, while the head on the tray has equine features, reminding of the Russian icons and wall paintings.⁵⁶ Despite this ambiguity, the note accompanying the portrait clarifies the character’s identity, while it also prompts us to question the painter’s familiarity with his biography. The fresco of 1601⁵⁷ proves that Sofronie and Ioan found their model in the iconographic program of Moldovița, rather than the prescriptions of the painter’s manual. To the pattern created in 1537, they added their own contribution: a new facial element – the beard – and the equine face replacing the dog head. The likely explanation lies not in the inaccuracy of painting, but in the fact that artists might have had access to a Greek or Albanian source.⁵⁸ Regardless of the reason, the two brothers of Bukovina provided at Sucevița one of the most remarkable instantiations of the metamorphosis undergone by the saint’s image.

⁵³ Saint Denis was the patron of Paris and one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, highly popular among Roman-Catholic Christians during the late Middle Ages. In medieval art he was illustrated holding his own head in his hands. This representation appears on many polyptych altars: see the exemple found in the Art Museum of Füssen, author Master of Allgäu, the first quarter of the sixteenth century; another one is part of the Bode Museum, Berlin, and can be seen on the predella of the altarpiece made in Franconia in 1500 and dedicated to the Fourteen Holy Helpers.

⁵⁴ Saint George is represented in a similar manner in Post-Byzantine iconography as it can be seen in the 16th-17th century Cretan icon reproduced in *Eikones tis Kritikis Technis*, fig. 38.

⁵⁵ Saint Christopher is depicted on the exterior southern wall of Moldovița’s katholikon. For the significance of *All Saints’ Prayer* in the paintings of Bukovina, see: CIOBANU, Constantin – “Cinul’ din pictura exterioară a Moldovei medievale și ‘Iconostasul înal’ rus”. In *Artă, istorie, cultură. Studii în onoarea lui Marius Porumb* Cluj-Napoca: Nereamia Napocae, 2003, pp. 129-134.

⁵⁶ Some of them reproduced in: GAIDOZ, Henri – “Saint Christophe à tête de chien: en Irlande et en Russie”. *Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 76 (1924), pp. 192-218. Other mentions of Saint Christopher with a head of a horse in NAYDENOVA, Darya V. – “The Specifics of Veneration of Saint Christopher in Russia and the Iconography of the Martyr in Old Believers’ Art”. In *Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art* 7. Sankt Petersburg: s.n., 2017, pp. 473-482. Russian text with an English abstract, available at <http://dx.doi.org/10.18688/aa177-4-47>.

⁵⁷ For the dating of paintings of Sucevița Monastery, “between the autumn of 1600 and spring of 1601”, see: GOROVEL, Ștefan S. – “Familia lui Ieremia Movilă în tablouri votive”. In *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*. Vol. 2 – *Ieremia Movilă. Domnul. Familia. Epoca*. Sucevița: Sfânta Mănăstire, 2006, p. 47.

⁵⁸ M. Chatzidakis mentioned a number of Greek painters working in Moldavia and Wallachia during the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries. The scholar noted that the style is similar with the technique of Onouphrios from Berat, who worked at St. Apostles Church in Kastoria. See CHATZIDAKIS, Manolis – “Aspects de la peinture religieuse dans les Balkans (1300-1530)”. In *Études sur la peinture postbyzantine*, p. 186.



Fig. 8 – Sucevița Church, wall painting from 1601, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

The Medieval Zoomorphic Image

The zoomorphic iconographic type is directly derived from hagiography, which provided visual arts with all the necessary ingredients to create an unprecedented representation. The unconventional element concerns, of course, the Christian reluctance to zoomorphic representations. Perplexed, puzzled people would have shrugged their shoulders; some of the painters following the model of their masters or other churches, would have consulted the manuals of iconography. Not all, however, offered explanations for this manner of depicting the saint. One such manual, highly popular across the Orthodox world from the eighteenth century onwards, and authored by the Greek monk Dionysius of Fourna, simply indicated that martyr Christophoros should be painted as a “beardless young man”.⁵⁹ Painters, however,

⁵⁹ Dionysius of Fourna, – *Erminia picturii bizantine*. Bucharest: Sophia, 2000, p. 155. See also: KRETZENBACHER, Leopold von – *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung; vergleichende Studien zu Mythen, Sagen, Maskenbränchen um kynokephaloi, Werwölfe und südslawische Pesoglavci*. München: R. Trofenik, 1968, note 8.

often ignored this prescription. Nineteenth-century manuscripts record additional indications, in the spirit of the canonical text: “Christopher Reprev (Reprobus), one of the dog-headed.”⁶⁰ These manuscripts were translated from Greek, most of them dating from the first half of the respective century.⁶¹ The 1841 manuscript indicated for May 9:

“Holy martyr Christopher, originally named Reprov (Reprobus), was one of the dog-headed men and had a huge body, a face like a dog’s, and eating human flesh; having been baptized, he was then martyred for the sake of Christ.”⁶²

The Romanian tradition of the cynocephalus is based on such recommendations in painters’ manuscripts, as well as the visual experience of those who had come into contact with the Greek or Balkan artists. The oldest such image can be found at Păpușa skete, thus a monastic milieu (fig. 9). In mid-twentieth century, Leopold Kretzenbacher contemplated at Mount Athos a similar representation, of which some monks avoided talking.⁶³ The church of Păpușa skete was painted in 1712, by Hranite, Teodosie and Iosif, painters belonging to a renowned Romanian artistic group, the so-called *School of Hurezi*. There are very interesting similarities between the church of Păpușa and Saint Nicholas church of Moscopolis.⁶⁴ This latter place of worship was decorated in 1726, by David of Selenica, together with two other artists, Constantine and Christo.⁶⁵ Here we can find the same canine features, and hair resembling the Păpușa representation, which is located in a singular place in Romanian art, that is, on an arch supporting the vault. The identical visual syntax, as well as the general look of the character, suggest a common model, maybe one found at Mount Athos, since the Albanian painter (named David) had been working there.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ GRECU, Vasile – *Carte de pictură bisericească bizantină. Introducere și ediție critică a versiunilor românești după redacțiunea lui Dionisie din Furna, tradusă la 1805 de arhimandritul Macarie, cât și după alte redacțiuni mai vechi, traduceri anonime*. Cernăuți: Tiparul Glasul Bucovinei, 1936, p. 336.

⁶¹ The oldest manuscript was completed in late eighteenth century. See: GRECU, Vasile – *Carte de pictură bisericească*, p. 25.

⁶² GRECU, Vasile – *Carte de pictură bisericească*, p. 28.

⁶³ KRETZENBACHER, Leopold von – *Kynokephale Dämonen südosteuropäischer Volksdichtung*, pp. 60 and 73-74.

⁶⁴ Dedicated to Saint Nicholas, the church was built in 1721-1722.

⁶⁵ ROUSSEVA, Ralitsa – “Iconographic characteristics”, p. 166.

⁶⁶ ROUSSEVA, Ralitsa – “Iconographic characteristics”, p. 166.



Fig. 9 – Păpușa Skete, wall painting from 1712, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

The next representation dates from around 1725 and is painted in the nave of a church in Olănești. Unfortunately the original fresco was altered by a new, uninspiring mural painting. In both cases, Păpușa and Olănești, the zoomorphism seems to point to cynocephaly. The fresco of Păpușa shows a martyr wearing military gear. The animal head is ambiguous, however, the shape of the muzzle suggests a dog-like, rather than an ovine figure. The same difficulty in ascertaining the zoomorphic profile is posed by the nineteenth-century icon of Përmet, now part of the collection of the Museum of Korçë, again in Albania. The pointed teeth, nevertheless, denote a dog and not a lamb. Moreover, Greek iconography of 17th-18th centuries has consecrated the saint's cynocephalic physiognomy.⁶⁷ Similar representations can be found in other churches in Wallachia, painted during the last half of the eighteenth century (Bodești-Drăgănești – fig. 10, Drăghiești-Topliceni) and also the following century (Câinenii Mici, Urșani, Băbeni-Oltet, etc).

⁶⁷ Eighteenth-nineteenth centuries representations are also preserved in Rhodes (Lindos and Asklipio).



Figure 10 – Bodești, Drăgănești church, wall painting from the last quarter of the 18th century, photo by S. Marin Barutcieff.

The Greek hagiography and its descendents from Orthodox countries emphasize the metamorphosis underwent by Christopher the cynocephalus during the short span of his life, a whole path from bestiality to saintliness. This is a story about a dog-headed man requesting baptism, becoming a Christian, and not just any Christian, but one who fully exerts and employs the gifts imparted at baptism. From the moment of his conversion, the practice of anthropophagy is abandoned or, better said, the occasional and marginal food of the protagonist, anchoring him into the realm of bestiality, gives way to the new kind of nutrition. Human flesh is replaced by food pervaded by spirit. It is a long, difficult journey, for it is not easy to possess a terribly ugly face and yet make it acceptable, to be suspected of cannibalism and yet observe strict fasting, to be only able to whine like a dog and yet become a redoubtable rhetorician, to be a killer yet end up by accepting to be killed. A long, complicated process, culminating in the former cannibal receiving the crown of martyrdom.

Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be derived from these considerations, based on five out of the twelve iconographic types existing in the Orthodox Romanian mural painting.

Firstly, unlike the Greek-speaking area as well as the Catholic areas in Southern and Central Europe, the respective theme appears rather late in the Romanian Orthodox iconography, during the 16th century. The routes by which it arrived and was integrated into church mural painting are also different. In Transylvania, a principality with a very peculiar history, the topic was introduced very early in the Catholic iconography, along a route connecting Southern and Central Europe; but, in Wallachia and Moldavia, the representations followed a different path.

Thus the Greek-Balkan route brought to Wallachia the type of the *Christ bearer*, while the Western-Catholic route introduced in Moldavia the type of the *giant bearer*. Regarding the version of the *martyr bearing his head on a platter*, it is difficult to discern whether any external influence was at work, or whether this original representation is exclusively an expression of the Romanian painter's creativity.

On the other hand, while the representations of Saint Christopher have been known in Moldavia since this belated medieval era (the first half of the sixteenth century), they reached Wallachia only in the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, once they arrived here, they compensated for this delay by a more intense dissemination, especially in the sub-Carpathian regions. The images were propagated through groups of painters or via the artists' family bonds, from one community to the next, sometimes across the borders of Wallachia and Moldavia.

During the transition from medieval to modern times, the *zoomorphic type* entered Wallachia and generated further iconographic versions, through metamorphoses produced by the local ethnological background. The zoomorphic representations in all their versions reached the peak of their popularity in the nineteenth century that is during the Romanian modern history south of the Carpathians. It was the Wallachian painters who carried this original figure across the mountains, into the Habsburg's Transylvania.

Once more, the ability of Saint Christopher's image to reinvent itself periodically seems to be indisputable. Its permeability to change is an invariant throughout the medieval era, also for the South-Eastern European iconography, including that of the Romanian Principalities. In this part of Europe, the physical appearance of Saint Christopher constantly tapped into local beliefs and legends, which generated new iconographic types until early modern times. Propagated by artists from one village to another, this image circulated across cultural areas, proving that mental models are able to transgress political and geographical boundaries, to the benefit of a shared history.

Beyond Italy. Portuguese and English notaries in the Late Middle Ages (thirteenth-fourteenth centuries)

Stefano Santarelli¹

Abstract

This essay aims to investigate the particular phenomenon of the notary considering also a more far-reaching pattern, that is to verify the legitimacy of a reading of the European notarial system as result and trace of continuous contacts and mutual influences among the various European areas and Italy, thanks chiefly to commercial exchanges and to the widespread presence of the Church. Such idea threw a bridge between the Italian notary of the fourteenth century and the coeval expressions of the phenomenon beyond the Alps, and this paper focuses on two areas that ideally represent a *limes* (limit) of the European medieval world: on the one hand, Portugal, the extreme limit in the West; on the other hand, England, the limit in the North, characterized by a peculiar alterity that places it a step further than the solid classical and Mediterranean roots of the rest of Europe.

Keywords

Notary public; Portugal; England; documents; records; scribes; Middle Ages.

¹ University of Rome Tor Vergata. E-mail: santarelli.stef@gmail.com.

Can the Middle Ages still be considered a dark parenthesis of immobility and isolation, a sort of variegated puzzle made up of distinct, distant, and disconnected realities, in which every human community lived locked up in its cultural horizon? Nowadays such question appears to be rhetorical, thanks to a totally opposite reading about the so-called “dark ages”, but making it publicly is still complicated and it requires a continuous work of deepening research, which analyses the details while providing interpretative frameworks and more general models. Therefore, this essay aims to investigate a particular phenomenon considering also a more far-reaching pattern, that is to verify the legitimacy of a reading of the European notarial system as result and trace of continuous contacts and mutual influences among the various European areas and Italy, thanks chiefly to commercial exchanges and to the widespread presence of the Church. Such idea threw a bridge between the Italian notary of the fourteenth century – subject of a long-standing research started from a series of the oldest Roman protocols still preserved – and the coeval expressions of the phenomenon beyond the Alps.

Leaving aside the examination of the Italian (and Roman) situation, deferred to dedicated bibliography, this paper examines the views of two areas that ideally represent a *limes* (limit) of the European medieval world: on the one hand, Portugal, the extreme limit in the West; on the other hand, England, the limit in the North, characterized by a peculiar alterity that places it a step further than the solid classical and Mediterranean roots of the rest of Europe. Given the extent of the subject and the achievable perspectives, I decided to limit the field of investigation mainly to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the time frame in which took place the local reception of the phenomenon and its initial development in connection with the present social and civil structures.

Portugal

As already said, the first case I decided to deal with is the westernmost European region, a borderland between the medieval world and the imagined unknown beyond the Pillars of Hercules: Portugal. According to the most recent local historiography, the Portuguese Kingdom is the area of the Iberian Peninsula in which the oldest traces of the public *tabelionado* can be found, but it is also one of the first European kingdoms to show signs of the innovations which had begun in Italy.² Bernardo de Sá Nogueira, one of the leading experts in this field, recognizes in a deed of 1214, drawn in Guimarães by the *tabelião* Martim Martins, the first preserved

² GONÇALVES, Duarte – “O tabelionado e o seu regimento de 1305. Notariado e Coroa no Portugal medieval”. *Revista Signum* 12.2 (2011), pp. 141-143.

trace of a notary *instrumentum* and identifies the advent of the new profession in close connection to the secular sphere and with the role played by the Crown in the development of civil administration.³ But the genesis of the phenomenon is sometimes brought forward to the twelfth century (between the first and the second halves), following a different way of reading the reality of the time and the dynamics at play: focusing on the clerical world, some researchers emphasize the innovations already appeared in ecclesiastical institutions, the only ones able to have, until then, sufficiently trained personnel to prepare and to draft legal documentation.⁴ Indeed, the legal and documentary developments which came in Italy after the rediscovery of the ancient law, penetrated more rapidly in the ecclesiastical administrations due to the continuous contacts with Rome; moreover, in the previous centuries, the Church had a sort of monopoly of writing: those who needed a written private act asked to clerics and monks, since few lay people had some notions of law and Latin, as after all was common throughout Europe.

In the first thirteenth century, however, there was an evolution that led to a professional notary substantially independent from the ecclesiastical chanceries:⁵ traces of this innovation in the lay sphere can be observed in some of the most important cities of the Kingdom such as Braga, Guimarães, Santarém and Viseu, all characterized by a good economic and social stratification. In 1214, the aforementioned *tabelião* Martim Martins operated in Guimarães defining himself the *primus tabellio* (first notary) of the city in a sales act;⁶ in the same way the title of *primeiro tabelião* (first notary) is found in the sources concerning Paio Pais of Braga (active around 1231), Estêvão of Viseu and Pedro Rol of Lisbon (operating between 1215 and 1222).⁷ Nonetheless it must be noticed that the qualification of *primeiro tabelião* seems not to refer only to a simple chronological primacy, but to a functional indication: it appears to identify a cleric emerging from the city chanceries, a *primus inter pares*, who received the exclusive right to register and validate the documentation relating to civil law issues and concerning secular

³ NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá – *Tabelionato e instrumento público em Portugal: génese e implantação (1212-1279)*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2008, pp. 23-30 (Estudos Gerais – Série Universitária).

⁴ GOMES, Saul António – “O notariado medieval português. Algumas notas de investigação”. *Revista Hymanitas* 52 (2000), pp. 245-251; GOMES, Saul António – “Percepções em torno da história do tabelionato medieval português”. *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura* 5 (2005), p. 85.

⁵ GOMES, Saul António – “O notariado medieval português”, pp. 246-247.

⁶ It's the first known *instrumentum notarile*, Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), *Colegiada de Guimarães, maço* (bundle) 6, nr. 6; see PEREIRA, Isaías da Rosa – “O tabelionato em Portugal”. In *Notariado público y documento privado. De los orígenes al siglo XIV. Actas del VII. Congreso Internacional de Diplomática Valencia 1986*. Valencia: Deputació de Valencia, 1989, 1, pp. 616-617; NUNES, Eduardo Borges – “Martim Martins, primeiro tabelião de Guimarães”. In *Actas do Congresso Histórico “Guimarães e a sua Colegiada”*. 5 vols. Guimarães: Comissão do Congresso, 1981, 4, pp. 25-30.

⁷ But others are reported in NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá – *Tabelionato e instrumento público*, 2, p. 3 et seq.; see also PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionato em Portugal”, p. 617; GOMES, Saul António – “O notariado medieval português”, pp. 255-258.

jurisdiction; it is not clear, however, whether this process of affirmation was entirely internal to the local administrations or the royal one was at the time able to impose its own choices on the appointment of public persons.⁸

Later, if under the reign of Sancho II (1223-1248) the nascent Portuguese public notary seemed to undergo a process of temporary regression,⁹ under his successor Afonso III (1248-1279) it definitely consolidates its presence: the Crown assigned it a central role in the project of strengthening and of improving the articulation of the central administration and of the local structures, while trying to separate its fate from the ecclesiastical sphere. Evidence of this process is a document dating back to the end of the thirteenth century and drawn up with the function of fiscal control of the notaries active in the areas of the Kingdom directly subject to the king: 239 notaries, a non-negligible number, are registered in the lands concerned; but above all it's interesting to stress how the category was subject to the attention and to the direct control of the Crown.¹⁰

How the profession was learned is still unknown, as there is no mention of a specific training path; it can be assumed that the aspirants were formed – as it was normal elsewhere – in cathedrals' and monasteries' schools, and then they practiced either under clerics in the aforementioned institutions, or in the royal chancery, or with prominent notaries; on the other hand, after having reached an important social position, the *tabeliães* often employed several *escrivães* (scribes),¹¹ to whom they assigned the actual drafting of the deeds and who probably (at least in part) carried out their apprenticeship with them; moreover it seems that it was possible for these apprentices to draw up using their master's notary *signum*.¹² After having learned the rudiments and the practices of the profession they had to pass an examination about their competences in the Court, which – according to a provision of King Denis in which it is explicitly mentioned¹³ – was surely mandatory from 1321 but

⁸ NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá – “Exercício do ofício tabeliônico por clérigos no Portugal ducentista: acumulação e incompatibilidade”. *Lusitania Sacra*, 2, 13-14 (2001-2002), pp. 467-476.

⁹ Bernardo de Sá Nogueira mentions an *eclipse*, but which never become a point of break, see NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá – *Tabelionato e instrumento público*, 1, pp. 186-88.

¹⁰ See ANTT, *Gaveta* 13, maço 6, n. 3; an edition of the text can be found in MARQUES, António Henrique de Oliveira – *Ensaio de Historia Medieval Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Vega, 1980, 2nd edition, pp. 51-92; see also PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionato em Portugal”, pp. 625-625.

¹¹ At least this habit is certain after the King Denis's provision of 1281, for which *tabeliães* are also used in judicial proceedings and the acts they have to write considerably increase, see PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionato em Portugal”, pp. 622-623.

¹² See COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz – “Os tabeliães em Portugal: perfil profissional e sócio-económico (sécs. XIV-XV)”. *Historia, instituciones, documentos* 23 (1996), pp. 173-211 at 179-80; CUNHA, Maria Cristina Almeida e – “Tabeliães bracarenses no século XIII”. In *Actas do Congresso Internacional “IX centenário da dedicação da Sé de Braga”*. Braga: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1990, pp. 249-265 at 255-6; see also SEABRA, Ricardo Lema Sinde Rosmaninho – *O tabelionato na cidade do Porto no século XV*. Porto: Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, 2020. PhD thesis in History.

¹³ The context is a royal decision about a dispute between Guimarães *tabeliães*, see ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, livro (book) 3, fol. 134v.

which hardly was not already present, perhaps with different forms, in the previous period.¹⁴ The Crown, therefore, soon tried to reserve for itself the right to appoint public notaries, a right often at the center of controversies with local institutions;¹⁵ nevertheless, the kings also decided to grant it to lords of great power, such as the Archbishop of Braga and the Masters of Military Orders. The appointment could concern the entire kingdom or, more frequently, a specific area or the territory of a city: it seems quite clear that the royal appointment could express itself using such plurality of geographical values (and it could also extend later, in the form of successive granted privileges),¹⁶ while the one granted by a powerful local lord was probably linked to the region or to the institution of the grantor.

Moreover, to practice the profession, the personal *signum tabellionis* must be deposited and registered in the royal registry; it seems unlikely that those who received an investiture by other institutions (as the aforementioned ones) and not by the Crown did not register their *signa* as proof of their legitimate belonging to the category, even though no traces confirming this hypothesis have been found yet.¹⁷ It is not clear whether there was a real institutionalized collegium gathering *tabeliães*, but it is certain that there were official places in which they operated in the service of the cities, equally dividing tasks and emoluments (at least according to the laws): the *paço dos tabeliães* (ward of notaries) of Lisbon, already mentioned at the time of King Afonso IV (1325-1357), is the oldest one.¹⁸

During the fourteenth century we see the first organic attempt to regulate the new profession: in fact, the first known legislation was made up of 29 provisions on the subject, issued by King Denis on January 15, 1305, in response to numerous complaints from the population. They are contained in the *Livro das Leis e Posturas*¹⁹ and indicated as *Regimento dos Tabeliães de 1305*;²⁰ in the various articles the king, having condemned a long series of deficiencies by the notaries – such as too high fees and graphic or procedural imperfections – prescribed a whole series of formal rules and good practices to be adopted, and reiterates the prohibitions to notaries of accumulating other offices and of being clerics; to strengthen this second ban, largely disregarded (most of the notaries of the thirteenth century had

¹⁴ PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, p. 618; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz – “Os tabeliães em Portugal”, 179.

¹⁵ BARROS, Henrique da Gama – *História da administração pública em Portugal nos séculos XII a XV*, 2nd edition Ed. Torquato da Sousa Soares, 11 vols. Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 1945-1954, 8, pp. 420-422.

¹⁶ BARROS, Henrique da Gama – *História da administração pública*, 8, pp. 440-444.

¹⁷ PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 617-620 and 623-624.

¹⁸ See ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso IV*, livro 3, fol. 26; BARROS, Henrique da Gama – *História da administração pública*, 8, pp. 431-434; PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 626-627.

¹⁹ It is an unofficial collection of legislative provisions issued since 1211, probably written between the end of 14th century and the beginning of 15th century.

²⁰ ANTT, *Livro das Leis e Posturas*. fol. 17r.-19v; an edition is in PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 669-676. About the content see PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 630-632; GONÇALVES, Duarte – “O tabelionado e o seu regimento de 1305”, pp. 144-151.

an ecclesiastical office), it was established that marriage was required to gain access to the profession.²¹ The following *Regimento dos Tabeliães de 1340*,²² a more accurate and precise version than the first one, strangely does not mention the obligation to be married²³ but, after all, even before its enactment, violations of this principle were largely attested.

Focusing on the field of documentary production, the same legislative provisions provided for the obligation to keep *livros de notas* (books of records), or registers to preserve traces of the drawn deeds, which can be considered as counterparts of Italian protocols. Among the first testimonies of these registers there is the reference to the *livro* of the *tabelião* Martim Martins of Guimarães, made by his successor Paio Eanes (1252-1263), and the one that Domingos Pais, *publico tabelião* of Lisbon, made of his *livros* in a sale of 1264²⁴. Why did the *Regimento de 1305* insist on this mandate? The answer can be found in its article 1,²⁵ in which the king complained about notarial habit to not note the *instrumenta*, before their final editing, in the *livros de papel* (paper books), taking only scattered notes which then went inexorably lost, causing enormous problems later, when the original *mundum* suffered the same fate. What is clear, however, is that the emanation process – at least theoretically – traced the tripartite model (*rogatio-imbreviatura-mundum*)²⁶ used in Italy, and also that the *notas*'s annotation was not systematic. Nonetheless, according to current knowledge, there is a substantial difference between the values assigned to these registers: until the sixteenth century in the Iberian peninsula's kingdoms the final *instrumentum* was considered the only true judicial evidence,²⁷ and this fits well with the fact that many originals or authentic copies of the *acta* are preserved in the Portuguese archives, while the *livros* for the period between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries still kept are very few; so it can be suggested that they had very little importance and that their conservation only depends on the will and on the choices of the single notary.

²¹ PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 619, 631-632.

²² Issued by King Afonso IV. An edition is in PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 681-688.

²³ PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 632-633.

²⁴ PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, pp. 623-624; HUERTA, José Bono – “La Ordenación Notarial de las *Ordenações Afonsinas*”. In *Congresso Internacional Bartolomeu Dias e a sua Época. Actas*, 5 vols. Porto: Universidade do Porto, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses, 1989, 1, pp. 157-158; GONÇALVES, Duarte – “O tabelionado e o seu regimento de 1305”, pp. 149-150.

²⁵ See PEREIRA, Rosa – “O tabelionado em Portugal”, p. 669, art. 1, but consider also the articles 3 and 4.

²⁶ See, for example, COSTAMAGNA, Giorgio – “La triplice redazione dell'*instrumentum* genovese”. In *Studi di paleografia e di diplomática*. Roma: Il Centro di Ricerca, 1972; Fonti e studi del *Corpus membranarum Italicarum*, IX), pp. 237-302; COSTAMAGNA, Giorgio – “Dalla charta all'*instrumentum*”. In *Notariato medievale bolognese*. Vol. 2. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale del Notariato, 1977, pp. 7-26. Specifically for Portuguese area see NOGUEIRA, Bernardo de Sá – *Tabelionado e instrumento público*, 2, pp. 3-5.

²⁷ HUERTA, José Bono – “Los '*scriptores*' en los reinos hispánicos”. In HUERTA, José Bono – *Historia del Derecho Notarial Español*. Vol. 1. Madrid: Junta de Decanos de los Colegios Notariales de España, 1979, pp. 110-122.

England

Leaving the Lusitanian country, the second chosen borderland is the island of England. In Ancient Times the British Isles suffered a weak Roman domination whose cultural and civil influence was much blander than the one on continental areas. This may be observed in the development and in the exercise of law and juridical practice over the centuries: in fact, the English archipelago, was under the rule of the Common Law, a totally autonomous *ius* not related to the Roman tradition. In addition, the registration of civil *negotia* followed its own path as well. Therefore, it is possible to state – using the words of Nigel Ramsay – that, even in the field of private documentation, England has been “a land of the sealed deed”,²⁸ an area in which the presence of a valid seal has always been essential, and the work of a professional category defined and invested by public recognition was not required. But traces of a public notary influenced by the Italian one can be identified anyway. It could be found in the service of the Church and of its local expression, but public notaries worked also for the English Crown, even if an atmosphere of antagonism.

First things first. Until the first half of the thirteenth century, despite the presence of the word “notaries” in some documents, such use did not signify a real presence of public notaries: indeed the legate Ottone,²⁹ sent to England by Pope Gregory IX to oversee a council of Churches of England and Wales in 1237, affirmed that “*publici notarii non existunt in Anglia*” and that “*tabellionum usum in regno Anglie non habetur*”.³⁰ During the previous centuries, while in Italy the legal renewal had guaranteed the public recognition to the professional category, the terms *tabellio/notarius/notary* were either used as synonyms to indicate a simple scribe or secretary (in line with the original meaning of the term), or used in literary works without a specific identity.³¹

Only in the second half of the thirteenth century the public notary’s office began to be occasionally known also in England, especially thanks to commercial relations and to the necessities of the Church, which for its own documentary needs

²⁸ RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”. In *Handbuch zur Geschichte des Notariats der europäischen Traditionen*. Ed. Mathias Schmoeckel. Baden-Baden: Werner Schubert, Nomos, 2009, pp. 375-92, at 375; Thomas Frederick Tout said: “England remained emphatically a land of seals”, see TOUT, Thomas Frederick – *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England*. Vol. I. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1920, p. 123.

²⁹ Ottone (or Oddone) da Tonengo, Cardinal deacon of St. Nicholas *in carcere Tulliano*, active in several diplomatic missions both in Italy and in Europe, see SILANOS, Pietro – “Ottone da Tonengo”. In *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Dir. Lorenzo Gennaro Bianconi, vol. 80. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2014, pp. 4-7; BAGLIANI, Agostino Paravicini – *Cardinali di Curia e familiae cardinalizie dal 1227 al 1254*. Padova: Ed. Antenore, 1972, pp. 76-79.

³⁰ For the full text see *Councils & Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church*. Ed. Frederick M. Powicke and Christopher R. Cheney, vol. II: A.D. 1205–1313. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964, pp. 257-258.

³¹ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 1-2.

began very soon to use practices which, at the same time, were spreading across the continent. Thus, the figure of the *notarius noster* (our notary) appeared in the documents issued by bishops, curial offices and the Monarch: they were most likely the first public notaries serving in the English territory, who always work after having received the investiture by the pope or the emperor. This evidence suggests that such role was imported and not promoted by local authorities. This should not come as a surprise since between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a public notary could operate anywhere, not merely in the lands under the papal or imperial domination.³²

The first trace in the sources dates back to the end of 1257, when a notary named Giovanni, probably Italian, wrote in Westminster, at the presence of the royals Henry III (1216-1271) and Eleanor of Provence, a marriage contract between the Earl of Gloucester and Hertford and one of the daughters of the Marquis of Monferrato: Cheney points out that because of the presence of a foreign contractor, the drafting was made according to the norms imposed on the continent, not conforming to the English ones.³³ The first testimony of a notary nominated by the pope can be dated to the following year: in 1258 an Italian named Thomas de Sancto Germano worked in England defining himself “*apostolice sedis auctoritate notarius*”;³⁴ in 1266 appeared a public notary *imperiali auctoritate*, known as *Iohannes de Sancto Dimitrio*, who drew the recognition of a debt by the bishop of Winchester against two Florentine merchants.³⁵ From this moment onwards public notaries in the service of bishops and ecclesiastical institutions, or called to register negotiations in which at least one of the actors was not English, multiplied, and they were mostly sent from Italy or from other areas of continental Europe.³⁶ Nevertheless the apostolic legate Ottobono,³⁷ head of the English church between 1265 and 1268, confirmed the judgment given thirty years earlier by the legate Ottone concerning the absence of public notaries in England, while insisting on the necessary presence of seals or sworn testimony for the validity of any document.³⁸

Together with the appearance of the first foreign notaries there were also the first openings to the identification of suitable local personalities to whom the

³² The principle is summed up by Guglielmo DURANTE in his *Speculum iudiciale*. Vol. II, partic. II, parag. 8.23: “Nota quod tabellio ab Imperatore vel Papa, vel ab eo cui hoc speciali privilegio indultum est, ordinatus, potest ubique etiam in Francia, vel Anglia, seu Hispania, non solum in terris eis specialiter subiectis, suo officio uti et instrumenta conficere”.

³³ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 14-15.

³⁴ RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”, pp. 376.

³⁵ The original document is in Winchester Library, Cath. Records, II, fol. 5, n. 12.

³⁶ To an overview of reports see CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 14-25.

³⁷ He is Ottobono di Teodisco Fieschi, belonging to the family of the Earls of Lavagna, become Pope Adrian V in 1276, see GATTO, Ludovico – “Adriano V”. In *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*. Vol. 1. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960, pp. 335-337.

³⁸ *Councils & Synods*, 2, pp. 759.

practice of the new profession could be granted. We find news of papal concessions of the faculty to create new notaries *in loco*: the first known case is related to the initiative of Pope Urban IV, who in 1263 sent his chaplain to England to solve some issues, authorizing him to identify and grant a person the *officium tabellionatus* for the needs of his mission; but he did not manage to land on the island and the task was not completed.³⁹ Similarly, in 1279 Nicholas III appointed John Peckham as archbishop of Canterbury, giving him the power to appoint three new local notaries, and he took with him the Italian Giovanni da Bologna as a model and master of professional practice.⁴⁰ Actually three notaries were at the time active in the context of the archiepiscopal curia: they can be identified as *Iohannes Alani de Beccles* – whose papers were then at the center of the controversy regarding the canonization of Thomas of Cantilupe⁴¹ –, Giovanni de Sancto Martino *Lewensis* and William de Holaym,⁴² even if at least another notary worked in the service of the archbishop, the *clericus* (clerk) Edmund *de Verduno*, who drew up his act of death.⁴³ However in the same years the phenomenon had a considerable expansion beyond the archdiocese of Canterbury: at the end of the thirteenth century in more than half of the English dioceses were active public notaries in the service of the curial offices,⁴⁴ of both papal and imperial appointment, the second often together with the appointment of the Prefect of Rome.⁴⁵

During the fourteenth century, there was a definite settling of public notaries in English ecclesiastical administrations: according to Cheney in the fourteenth century the English bishops had at least one public notary in their service, who held ecclesiastical benefits or a simple salary, and increasing the documentation, it is always easier to find traces of it.⁴⁶ Moreover, at the end of the thirteenth century and more decisively in the fourteenth century the first traces of secular assignments appeared. The secular English world was rather unwilling to accept this innovation, due to the alterity of the Common Law and to the centrality of the seals; however,

³⁹ *Councils & Synods*, 2, pp. 693-694.

⁴⁰ He later dedicated to Peckham his treatise *Summa de his quae in foro ecclesiastico coram quibuscumque iudicibus occurrunt notariis conscribenda*: an edition is in ROCKINGER, Ludwig – *Briefsteller und Formelbücher des XI. bis XIV. Jahrhunderts*. München: s.n., 1863, pp. 593-712.

⁴¹ *Iohannes Alani de Beccles*, before the appointment as a notary, served Thomas of Cantilupe, bishop of Hereford, excommunicated by the archbishop Peckham; in 1288 he appears as *uxoratus*, so probably he is a salaried lay, see FINUCANE, Ronald C. – “The Registers of Archbishop John Pecham and his Notary, John of Beccles: some unnoticed evidence”. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 38 (1987), pp. 406-436; RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”, pp. 377-378; CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 28-30.

⁴² See *The Register of John Pecham, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1279-92*, vol. I. Ed. Francis N. Davis and Decima L. Douie, vol. I [S.I.]: Canterbury and York Society, 1968-1969, pp. 55, 67, 91, 105, 109-10, 116, 118, 147-50.

⁴³ He received the appointment as a notary by Pope Nicholas III with an other Englishman, see CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, p. 31.

⁴⁴ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 32-33.

⁴⁵ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 84-85: Cheney here suggests that the Prefect of Rome, named always with the Imperial authority in the English acts, could be an Emperor's representative.

⁴⁶ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 34-35.

the specific hostility that often involved public notaries in the context of the Royal Court's proceedings must also be recorded, since their actions were thought to damage the rights of the Crown; furthermore, in the specific case of the notaries of imperial investiture, their intervention was perceived as a threat to the independence of the Kingdom from the *subiectio imperialis*.⁴⁷

In spite of this, the notary office soon spread to the service of the same Court: in fact lots of clerks, coming from the ecclesiastical administrations where the notarial *instrumentum* was in common use, worked in the royal Chancery; additionally, in the fourteenth century the practice of double authorization – papal and imperial – for the exercise of the *officium*, gained strength uncontested as had already happened on the Continent. Thus, for example, we find public notaries, after 1290, with the duty of registering papal bulls and compiling an account of the events during the “Great Cause” for the throne of Scotland⁴⁸; or we can mention the “Annals of London” of 1305, in which there are traces of a certain number of *tabelliones* at the service of the King (first nine, then four and seven) for the drafting of *bullae* and privileges *sub manu publica*: about that Thomas F. Tout, in a skeptical way, declares that all of them could hardly be “papal notaries”, advancing the hypothesis that some are simply clerks of the Chancery;⁴⁹ Cheney, instead, considering the authentic copies of papal bulls present in the Public Record Office of National Archives, corroborates what was declared by the fourteenth-century chronicler.⁵⁰ Subsequently, the Crown largely used public notaries in diplomatic relations with other European nations: the case of the Great Scottish cause has already been cited; here we can add all the negotiations with France during the Hundred Years War, when public notaries – who were or became superior clerks of the royal Chancery or Wardrobe – drew up some of the most important documents during agreements and treaties.⁵¹

But in the English secular context there was another element that strongly distinguished the documentary sphere from the one of the rest of Europe, and which has to be mentioned here: in addition to the peculiarities already noticed – the presence of the Common Law and the centrality assigned to the documents

⁴⁷ The concern is evidenced by the *breve* of 1320 of Edward II which forbade the use of notaries public of Imperial appointment: the inspiration was the principle that each king *habet imperium in regno suo*, already touted by his father-in-law Philip IV of France (for the text of the *breve* see *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, Edward II 1318-1323, HMSO, London, 186).

⁴⁸ The Great Cause is the name of the process followed to death of Queen Margaret of Scotland in 1290: the Guardians of Scotland called upon her fiance's father, King Edward I of England, to decide between various competitors for the Scottish throne, see RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”, p. 379.

⁴⁹ TOUT, Thomas Frederick – *Chapters in the Administrative History*. Vol. 2. Manchester: University Press, 1920, pp. 69-71.

⁵⁰ RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”, p. 379; CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 57-58.

⁵¹ For example, the Anglo-French treaty of 1359 is drafted by Master John de Branketre notary and superior clerk of Chancery, see STONES, Edward Lionel G. – “Two points of diplomatic”. *Scottish Historical Review* 32 (1953), pp. 47-51, at 50-51; CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 62-63.

with seal –, in England we can observe the birth and the affirmation of a second professional category, the scribes's one, which juxtapose the notaries's functions. Strongly linked to urban environments and to their growing administrative needs, the causes of their origin might be identified in a particular social *milieu* established by the legislative provisions which in the thirteenth century forced the cities to multiply their acts (for example by filling up registers concerning financial transactions's statements), and the related incentive to simplify procedures and to look for less formal complexity. The new category responded to these requests; its activity is attested in London since 1252, whereas in most of England it seems to be the result of the development of the city in the fourteenth century.

Taking the case of London as *exemplum* because of its centrality, we can see that the scribes soon organized themselves in a “company” and they were required to take an oath by putting their name in the register known as “Common paper”:⁵² doing so, they solemnly committed to validate only documents correctly written and whose truthfulness had been proved. The similarities to the notaries can be clearly seen; it should also be pointed out that in the Common Paper there are many notaries who used to work as scribes too, and who had surely influenced the development and the practices of this new professional group. Moreover, the differences between the two categories did not reside in their tasks but in the social composition and prestige connected to the function: the notaries were mainly ecclesiastics, *connoisseurs* of Latin and Law, often launched towards quick careers and positions of high rank, and they also had full faculty to carry out the assignments of the scribes in the secular field; the scribes, on the other hand, were essentially lays at the service of municipal life and they could not become notaries without following the long process required, that is to say receiving an adequate training, taking the examination and obtaining the required public investiture.⁵³

Returning to public notaries, some elements concerning their documentary production must be now specified. It reflects the continental uses and follows the general procedures of the Italian notary: alongside the final *instrumenta* mentions can be found of the *notae* and, above all, of the protocols, fundamental recording instruments with legal value. Although the term *protocollum* was used in England with multiple meanings and indicated various documents, the existence of registers invested with *publica fides* seems to be established at least during the first period, but it never became a consolidated practice and there are considerable doubts regarding the following centuries, taking into account the particular English legal

⁵² The only edition available is *Scribes's Common Paper 1357-1628*, vol. 4. Ed. Francis W. Steer. London: London Record Society, 1968.

⁵³ RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”, pp. 380-382.

rules which did not help the preservation of organic archives.⁵⁴ For example, we know the register of the notary John de Beccles, at the service of Archbishop John Peckham, and the one of Ildebrando of Siena, at the service of the bishop of Hereford – whose documents were partially copied on the occasion of the aforementioned canonization process of Thomas of Cantilupe⁵⁵ – but also of *protocollo* of the public notary Ricardus de Clifton,⁵⁶ active in the curia of York between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The lack of success of this practice is partly due to the protrusive presence of the episcopal registers, aiming at recording the *acta* issued in the diocesan curia much before the advent of public notaries. In these volumes the scribes of the bishops (often notaries from the second half of the thirteenth century), noted *acta*, *memoranda*, correspondence, but also a copy of the notarial *instrumenta*, whose registration in the appropriate protocols was not always considered fundamental.⁵⁷

As a last remark it is interesting to point out that even the scribes kept registers recording the acts they had drafted and that sometimes, such as in the case of the notarial protocols, they were considered perfectly valid and alternative to the final drafting of the deeds;⁵⁸ unlike them, however, they almost underwent a total loss: just three volumes are kept throughout England, and the oldest one dates back to the fifteenth century.⁵⁹

Conclusions

At the end of this itinerary across Europe it is necessary to draw a few considerations, even though they can only be incomplete. First of all, the modern notary, of Italian breed, spread rather quickly to the extremities of Europe too: we saw the cases of England and Portugal, but many other ones could be added. It followed the lines of the incessant economic and cultural relations which innervated the society of the Late Middle Ages, encountering very different contexts and easily adapting itself to the local reality, without losing its innovative lead. Secondly, the key presence and influence of the Church during the medieval centuries is of the utmost importance

⁵⁴ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 95-102.

⁵⁵ FINUCANE, Ronald C. – “The Registers of Archbishop John Pecham”, pp. 406-436; *The Register of John Pecham Archbishop of Canterbury*, vol. I, 118; ZUTSHI, Patrick – “Notaries public in England in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries”. *Historia, instituciones, documentos* 23 (1996), pp. 421-433 at 430-431.

⁵⁶ *The Register of Thomas of Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, 1300-1304*, Part I. Ed. William Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson. Durham: Surtees Society, 1925, pp. 299-300.

⁵⁷ CHENEY, Christopher R. – *Notaries public in England*, pp. 99-102.

⁵⁸ RAMSAY, Nigel – “The History of the Notary in England”, p. 382.

⁵⁹ It is the register of John Torpe, see JENKS, Stuart – “Das Schreiberbuch des John Thorpe und der hansische Handel in London, 1457/59”. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 101 (1983), pp. 67-113.

in relation to the export of models, professions and techniques also concerning the secular sphere and the relationships between individuals; moreover, the centuries examined here are clearly characterized by a certain tendency towards the homogenization of particular rights and juridical practices under the auspices of the rediscovered *ius commune*, revised and commented by glossators and canonists.

Therefore, it is not wrong to state that the notary itself was a small piece of a mosaic made up of continuous exchanges and of circulation of models that made the Middle Ages a continually evolving “global context”.

Between Italy and Portugal. The importance of mobility and circulation in the reformist dimension of Gomes Eanes (1419-1439)

Paulo Catarino Lopes¹

Abstract

The present text intends to reflect critically on the action of a Portuguese monk whose reforming program took such a wide scale, that allowed to establish a genuine dialogue between Italy and Portugal – that is, between the Crown and the papacy, between the religious and the secular – in the *Quattrocento*. An action that ultimately contributed significantly to integrating Portugal into the more general framework of the reform movements that had been going through Christianity since the second half of the 15th century. The idea to be analyze is, therefore, that the contribution of Gomes Eanes – the famous *Abbot of Florence* – to the Reform of the Church in the *Quattrocento* was effectively marked by a transnational dimension, then sustained by a necessary network of solidarities and influence. The basis for our study was the *carteggio* (correspondence) of Gomes Eanes, a vast and rich letter collection that spans two voluminous codices: the *Badia 4 (Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi da ordinare)* and the *Ashburnham 1792 (Biblioteca Laurenziana)*.

Keywords

Gomes Eanes; Mobility and Circulation; Italy; Portugal; Religious reform; 15th Century.

¹ Instituto de Estudos Medievais, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa (IEM – NOVA FCSH). E-mail: peclopes@gmail.com; paulo.lobes@fcsh.unl.pt. ORCID: 0000-0002-8543-1111. This work is funded by national funds through the FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, I.P., under the Norma Transitória – DL 57/2016/CP1453/CT0015 and the Strategic Project of the Institute of Medieval Studies – financing UIDB/00749/2020.

Religious reform, driven both by the Church and the Crown, was an important topic in fifteenth century Portugal. Connecting these two spheres of power we find an extraordinary individual: Gomes Eanes (c.1383-1459), the great Benedictine reformer known by everyone who studies him plainly as the *Abbot of Florence*². His *voice* resounds in hundreds of records illustrating Portugal's openness to the prevailing currents of reform and observance in the Christian world³.

Gomes Eanes was active in the political, diplomatic, religious and cultural spheres. Particularly noteworthy was his role in the reform movement of the Benedictine monastic order, especially between 1419 and 1439, the years during which he lived in Italy, whilst at the service of the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria in Florence, known traditionally as *Badia* (abbey), as its abbot. This text considers the role played by the extensive circulation of people, objects and ideas in the reformative dimension championed by Gomes Eanes during the two decades that he was at the head of the *Badia*, and the networks that he established in order to pursue his objectives. We will subsequently examine the contribution given by Gomes Eanes to the establishment of an intense dialogue between Portugal and Italy during the first half of the fifteenth century, driven by his zealous intent in bringing the reform to his homeland too. A dialogue which will ultimately reveal

² In his own time, Gomes Eanes was also frequently known just as the "abbot of Florence", which seemed to be enough to identify him and none other, and speaks volumes of his importance at that time. Extensive studies on this character have been carried out by António Domingues de Sousa Costa and by Eduardo Borges Nunes, who have provided the most exhaustive biographical approaches to Gomes Eanes, to this date: COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – "D. Gomes Eanes, reformador da Abadia de Florença, e as tentativas de reforma dos mosteiros portugueses no século XV". *Studia Monastica* 5.1 (1963), pp. 59-73; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Bispos de Lamego e de Viseu no século XV*. Braga: Editorial Franciscana, 1986; NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez, abade de Florença: 1420-1440*. Braga: Edição do autor, 1963. Also important were the studies on Gomes Eanes by Guido Batteli in the 1930s and 1940s, and more recently two important articles by Martin Elbl: BATTELI, Guido – "Due celebri monaci portoghesi in Firenze nella prima metà del Quattrocento. L' Abate Gomes e Velasco di Portogallo". *Archivio Storico Italiano* 96 (1938), pp. 218-227; BATTELI, Guido – "L' Abate Don Gomes Ferreira da Silva e i portoghesi a Firenze nella prima metà del Quattrocento". In BARDI, G. (ed.) – *Relazioni Storiche Fra l'Italia e il Portogallo*. Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1940, pp. 149-163; ELBL, Martin; ELBL, Ivana – "The Private Archive (*Carteggio*) of Abbot Dom Fr. Gomes Eanes (Badia di Firenze) – An Analytical Catalogue, with Commentary, of Codex Ashburnham 1792 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence), Part One". *Portuguese Studies Review* 21.1 (2013), pp. 19-151; ELBL, Martin; ELBL, Ivana – "The Private Archive (*Carteggio*) of Abbot Dom Fr. Gomes Eanes (Badia di Firenze) – An Analytical Catalogue, with Commentary, of Codex Ashburnham 1792 (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence), Part Two". *Portuguese Studies Review* 21.2 (2013), pp. 137-202. Finally, we can also highlight the following studies: MARE, Albinia de la – "Notes on Portuguese patrons of the Florentine books trade in the fifteenth century". In LOWE, Kate J. P. (ed.) – *Cultural Links between Portugal and Italy in the Renaissance*. Oxford-New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 168-170; LOPES, Paulo Catarino – "Entre a Itália e Portugal. A relevância do livro na circulação cultural e reformista promovida pelo abade D. Gomes Eanes no século XV". In ALESSANDRINI, Nunziatella; RUSSO, Mariagrazia; SABATINI, Gaetano (orgs.) – *Homo est minor mundus. Construção de Saberes e Relações Diplomáticas luso-italianas (sécs. XV-XVIII)*. Lisboa: Fábrica da Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Loreto, 2018, pp. 31-57.

³ See José Adriano Freitas de Carvalho's summary which traces a general framework of the religious reforms in Portugal in the fifteenth century, and shows the impact and extent of the action of Gomes Eanes in that field.; CARVALHO, José Adriano de Freitas – *Antes de Lutero: A Igreja e as Reformas Religiosas em Portugal no século XV. Anseios e limites*. Porto: CITCEM, Edições Afrontamento, 2016.

that religious renovation was a powerful motor to the circulation of people, objects and ideas, by the end of the Middle Ages.

The basis for our study was the *carteggio* (correspondence) of Gomes Eanes, a vast and rich letter collection that spans two voluminous codices: the *Badia 4* (*Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi da ordinare*) and the *Ashburnham 1792* (*Biblioteca Laurenziana*), which is also the best known⁴.

Personal trajectory and profile

Gomes Eanes was born in Lisbon, in the parish of S. Mamede, in the last quarter of the 14th century. The first information on his personal journey is linked to his departure to Padua, in 1409, to study Law, following in the footsteps of his father, João Martins, who also had legal training and an important career both in the service of the Portuguese king, D. João I, and among the oligarchy associated with the government of the city of Lisbon. Such connection to the Court was further strengthened by João Martins' early bonds with the Charneca family, from whom he was brought up, including Martim Afonso Pires da Charneca, chosen by the king, in 1398, to succeed D. Lourenço Vicente as Archbishop of Braga⁵.

Such background may explain, not only the decision to invest in Gomes Eanes' education in Italy, surely aiming on a promising career on the royal service⁶, but also his early and important connections to the Portuguese kings and their entourage.

He remained in the Faculty of Law of the University of Padua until 1413, when he moved to the monastery of Santa Justina of Padua, entering the Benedictine Order and doing his novitiate under the orientation of the reforming abbot Ludovico Barbo (1381-1443).

⁴ In terms of the publication of his *carteggio*, Gomes Eanes' private and official epistolary archives have been considerably studied and transcribed by António Domingues de Sousa Costa and Eduardo Borges Nunes, and many of these documents were also included in the edition of the *Monumenta Henricina*. Ed. Manuel Almada, Idalino Brochado and António Dinis, 15 vols. Coimbra: Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário do Infante D. Henrique, 1960-1974. However, the (almost) complete edition of this correspondence was only accomplished most recently by Rita Costa-Gomes, based in the main manuscripts existing in Florence: *A Portuguese Abbot in Renaissance Florence. The Letter Collection of Gomes Eanes (1415-1463)*. Ed. Rita Costa-Gomes. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 2017. This edition, including a total of 550 letters, increased substantially our knowledge of the extant epistolography of this prolific author and consequently what we know of the man and his times. This is the edition we will follow in all the citations along this text.

⁵ About João Martins, the father of Gomes Eanes, see FARELO, Mário – *A oligarquia camarária de Lisboa (1325-1433)*. Lisbon: Universisade de Lisboa, 2008, pp. 504-509. PhD Thesis. About Gomes Eanes, see COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. Gomes Eanes”, pp. 59-73; NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez*, pp. 3-23; COSTA-GOMES, Rita (ed.) – *A Portuguese Abbot*, XI-XXI.

⁶ As many others, by the same time: FARELO, Mário – “Amigos para a vida? Solidariedades dos estudantes portugueses em Itália (finais séc. XIV-inícios do séc. XV)”. In LOPES, Paulo Catarino (ed.) – *Portugal e a Europa nos séculos XV e XVI: Olhares, relações, identidade(s)*. Lisboa: IEM-CHAM, 2019, pp. 275-276.

He professed in January of 1414 and joined the group of Barbo's *fidelissimos* whose spiritual orientation was guided by six fundamental principles: healthy cohabitation; diligent spiritual orientation; compassion and sobriety of government; reform of monastic organization; cultural and literary improvement; continuous advancement of temporal and spiritual administration.⁷ Four years later, in 1418, he would be leading a group of 16 monks with the objective of reforming the Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria in Florence, the *Badia*.

Gomes Eanes was officially a cloistered prior, but in reality, his power and range of action exceeded far beyond his canonical position. As Eduardo Nunes mentions, he "managed the monastery not only in the cure of the spirits and observance, but he also oversaw the estate, revenues and expenses".⁸ Obviously, Gomes Eanes introduced strict observance in all spheres of life in the abbey in Florence.

The following year, in 1419, he was elected abbot of that institution, a position he would maintain until his election as General of the Order of the Camaldolese in 1439. The *Badia* became, in the meantime, the second most important monastery of the Benedictine Congregation founded by Ludovico Barbo, after Santa Giustina. In 1441, two years into his direction of the Camaldolese Order, Gomes Eanes petitioned for the priorship of the Regular Canon's Monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra in a plea to Eugenius IV (1431-1447). His request was granted and the pope conceded him the governance of that monastery, a position that he would hold for the following eighteen years, until his death in 1459⁹.

Gomes Eanes was a monk trained as a canonist. As a result, he was coherent, conservative and even authoritarian at times, and envisaged reform in a well-defined context: he saw it as a ground-breaking act founded on profound and unconditional respect for the *Rule*, always in line with the purest Benedictine tradition. As Eduardo Nunes points out, "he was neither a humanist nor an artist, but rather a man of action and government."¹⁰ Canon law and established hierarchy were, for him, irrefutable; the entire behavioral edifice of a monk rested on the priority and undisputable requirements of discipline, precision, and especially, perfect obedience. All this came together in a pragmatic spirit, which did not dissociate contemplation from pro-activity. In other words, for Gomes Eanes, spirituality needed to be in association with the power of initiative and fervent entrepreneurship, essential conditions for any project of reorganization and improvement to succeed.

⁷ NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez*, pp. 24-30.

⁸ NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez*, p. 42.

⁹ Special attention should be given to Saul António Gomes work in what concerns Gomes Eanes' activity as head of the Monastery of Santa Cruz in Coimbra: GOMES, Saul António – "D. Gomes Eanes e a Capela de Santo André e dos Cinco Mártires de Marrocos do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra". *Arquivo Coimbrão* 35 (2002), pp. 439-540.

¹⁰ NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez*, p. 129.

Gomes Eanes aspired to reform, observance, good administration, and especially, spiritual ascension, which was only attainable if founded on the previous attributes. Thus, most of his so-called reformist activity was characterized by this movement of reciprocal causality. Since the good spiritual guidance of the monastery should be the first obligation of an abbot, Gomes Eanes knew that he had to find the right balance of initiative and judicious action. The constant pursuit of such balance can be seen in his management (temporal and spiritual) either as abbot of the *Badia* or as prior of Santa Cruz of Coimbra. In essence, his methods of administration and government were very similar, always in line with the purest tradition of St. Benedict and of Ludovico Barbo, his long-time mentor.

His activity as a reformer was realistic because it operationalized the reform not with general laws – such as Martin V (1417-1431) – but more concretely, monastery by monastery. Always in the path of Eugenius IV¹¹, the greatest promotor of this method, he proceeded to reform the monasteries house by house, city by city, using the appropriate occasions and the suitable men for the task. This action was always well located in space and time, focusing on specific rather than general principles.¹² Usefulness, sustainability, culture, art, and above all, faith, were his principles in the reform of the *Badia* and the extensive work he initiated there.

These guiding principles weighed equally in the two attempts to join the *Badia* with the monastery of Santa Maria del Sepolcro, known as *delle Campora*, belonging to the order of St. Jerome, in 1421 and 1434 respectively. The same may be said about the attempt to reform the small monastery of San Donnino, in the outskirts of Pisa, in 1426.

At the head of the Monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra from 1441 to 1459, D. Gomes continued to be guided by an attitude of amendment, improvement and renewal¹³. The Bull of Nicolau V (1447-1455), dated June 28, 1452, is sufficiently eloquent in illustrating precisely this. It conferred powers to the then Prior of Santa Cruz for the general reformation of the entire Order of Saint Augustine in the Kingdom of Portugal, which meant the faculty to visit all monasteries, priories and other places, exempt or not, of men and women of the Order of Saint Augustine. Moreover, it granted him the power to inquire into the faults of the clergy, punish and correct the guilty and even deprive them of their offices and dignities, if the severeness of the fault justified it. He could also proceed with the reformation of the statutes and customs, confirming, adding and modifying as he saw fit, with the right of coercion against those who tried to limit him in his position.

¹¹ For an overview of his pontificate see UGINET, François-Charles – “Eugène IV”. In *Dictionnaire historique de la papauté*. Dir. Philippe Levillain. Paris: Fayard, 1994, pp. 642-645.

¹² As we will see, the two projects that extended the reformist activity of Gomes Eanes to contexts of large amplitude resulted in failure.

¹³ GOMES, Saul António – “D. Gomes Eanes e a Capela”, pp. 439-540.

In Coimbra, he also proved to be a keen defender of the monastery's ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as of its canonical and civil immunities and privileges. In a politically convenient ambiance, he managed to obtain from King Afonso V, in 1449, a general confirmation of all former royal privileges granted to the monastery. It should also be noted that he showed particular attention to the well-being of the canonical community, namely providing for the suitability of resources allocated to the subsistence of the professed¹⁴.

Such characteristics of his rulership of the house of Coimbra, were already easily recognizable during his years in Florence, either in the objectives he wanted to achieve and the actions he took with those goals in mind, or in the ways in which he handled his influence and promoted his reformist agenda near the powerful.

Especially during the years he headed the *Badia*, in the many areas of his action, we can distinguish how mobility was a constant and decisive factor for Gomes Eanes' success, both in carrying out his plans for religious renovation and observance per se, and in exercising his authority as abbot.

Visitations, papal assignments, secular tasks at the service of the Signoria of Florence, missions related to the temporal and spiritual administration of the *Badia*, missions on behalf of the Portuguese Crown, travels associated with the reconstruction of the *Badia* and the handling of its library/*scriptorium*, as well as dislocations for the founding of other religious institutions such as the *Murate* in Italy, and the *Lóios* in Portugal, were a consistent and constant part of his *modus operandi*, without which we would be unable to study and understand such a prolific and original personality. There were also many other travels resulting from other more personal interests like trying to escape epidemics, or at the other extreme, related to the abbot's growing circle of friends and *clientèle*, introduced to his narrower circle by asking for personal favors, and thereby using books, as objects of gift, as curious and revealing objects of desire which acquire a whole new role in these handlings.

The extraordinarily numerous and rich collection of letters that came to us, are an incomparable source of information on his life. Not only do they reveal much about his personality and interests, they also let us understand his movements, his way of operating, his influence and agency upon the powerful of his time.

¹⁴ GOMES, Saul António – “D. Gomes Eanes e a Capela”, pp. 439-540.

The correspondence

The documentary *corpus* used for this study¹⁵ is, in itself, paradigmatic of the relevance of cultural circulation, both in Gomes Eanes' reformist intents and in terms of his personal sociability. By observing the synergy derived from the contagion between his different spheres of activity, clearly visible in his *carteggio*, we are able to understand, for example, how his action made certain events possible, like the infiltration of Italian agents in Portugal in the first half of the fifteenth century, or inversely, the involvement of Portuguese nationals in important areas of Italian life such as academic and humanist circles¹⁶, the acquisition and circulation of cultural and artistic items (books, paintings, luxury items), religious pilgrimages, and of course, trade.¹⁷ Furthermore, his correspondence enables us to learn about different aspects of the coeval practice of travelling, namely at a sociological level, at a motivational level, or even information about the means of transport and required conditions for land and sea routes to be practiced or chosen.

As Rita Costa-Gomes has pointed out, epistolary writing was a widespread form of communication in the late Middle Ages, and it was a prime textual form of creating and strengthening relations of trust and friendship between people.¹⁸ This was particularly true for Gomes Eanes, where proximity often bordered intimacy.¹⁹

In the case of Gomes Eanes, the attentive observation of his letters reveal personal emotions and perceptions, as well as intrinsic intentions and ideologies. In this capacity, they provide important information about the context in which they were produced, as well as who writes them and, above all, receives them.

The books

Endowed with such a specific function, the letters included in Gomes Eanes' *carteggio* allow for a reconstruction of the abbot's trans-national web of social and political relations, and its inherent mobility. Among the many possible examples of such networking, we chose the study of the circulation of books and Gomes

¹⁵ Which, we should point out, includes original missives currently kept in two Florentine archives (Biblioteca Laurenziana and Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale), and therefore do not correspond to the entirety of Gomes Eanes' presence in Italy, nor to the entirety of his correspondence.

¹⁶ To which, as his correspondence demonstrates so well, Gomes Eanes was intimately connected, both in Florence and in the Roman Curia itself.

¹⁷ *A Portuguese Abbot*, XI-XXI.

¹⁸ COSTA-GOMES, Rita – "Letters and Letter-Writing in Fifteenth Century Portugal". In SCHULTE, Regina; TIPPELSKIRCH, Xenia von (eds.) – *Writing, Reading, Interpreting and Historicizing: Letters as Historical Sources*. Florence: Working Papers of the European University, 2004, pp. 11-37; *A Portuguese Abbot*, XXXIV-XLIII.

¹⁹ Close observation of these letters reveals personal emotions and perceptions, as well as intrinsic intentions and ideologies. As such they are rare and invaluable historical sources.

Eanes involvement in procuring, lending and commanding books as a particularly enlightening path for focusing on religious-cultural questions and as a means of establishing long-lasting relationships. When Gomes Eanes entered the *Badia* in 1418 the institution possessed very few books. By the time he left the abbey, in 1440, it had an extensive and valuable library. He sponsored translations, copies and acquisitions, as well as commissioning various other books. These were not limited to religious texts, but included inherited books, bequeathed libraries and recovered works that had been lost – as becomes obvious from the reading of the missives sent in 1436 by Timoteo Ricci first to Ambrogio Traversari²⁰ and later to Andrea de Torri.²¹

Noteworthy throughout this whole period is the fact that the circulation of books as cultural objects accompanies that of their authors, users and guardians. This is not surprising given the great importance that the abbot gave to the ecclesiastical and literary training of the members of his community, to the point that books and culture were one of the mainstreams of his religious reform program.

There were many requests for gaining access to, or borrowing the works in the *Badia*'s collection, namely by the humanist monk Ambrogio Traversari, a close friend of Gomes Eanes.²² But also, Iacopo di Lapo Niccolini²³ and the monk Ignazio Ferrucci of the monastery of San Donnino in Pisa.²⁴ Ludovico Barbo himself, abbot of the Santa Justina monastery of Padua, seat of the monastic congregation to which the *Badia* belonged, asked Gomes Eanes for a copy of the recent translation of *De Vita Patrum* by Traversari²⁵ It is not an exaggeration to propose that, at that time, Santa Maria of Florence served, among other things, as a center for distribution of books.²⁶

Concurrently, various references reveal the role played by the *Badia* as a safe deposit for books, i.e., a space in which that cultural and artistic object was left under the protection and safekeeping of the local monks.

Worthy of special attention in this context are two of the epistolary records. One was the letter sent on June 18, 1426 by Antonio Correr to Gomes Eanes,²⁷ in which the cardinal and bishop of Oporto (Italy) explains that the papal curia had been relocated due to the plague. Along with this missive he sent two boxes with books and various objects to be kept in the custody of Gomes Eanes in the Florentine *Badia*. The other was the correspondence sent by the monk Matteo di Sicilia of the

²⁰ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 342-343.

²¹ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 352.

²² *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 517, 531.

²³ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 156.

²⁴ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 195-196, 202-203.

²⁵ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 293-294.

²⁶ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 282.

²⁷ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 57-59.

Subiaco monastery to the prior and monks of the Florentine *Badia*, indicating that the books had been sent inside a locked container with the respective inventory.²⁸

In the sphere of the elaboration and acquisition of books, several influential people found in Gomes Eanes a resourceful person and even a mentor. A good example is Afonso Eanes, a merchant from Oporto and member of the Royal Council of King Duarte (r.1433-1438), of whom he was a proctor in Italy. We know from the correspondence between the two men that Afonso Eanes asked the abbot for guidance and supervision over books he had commissioned to be copied in Florence, in particular a *Book of Hours* whose quality was supposed to exceed that of most illuminated manuscripts.²⁹

Another case is that of João Rodrigues, dean of Lisbon and secretary of the future king Duarte. On May 8 and 22, 1429, writing from Rome, João Rodrigues asked the abbot of Florence for help in acquiring a copy of the Latin epistles of Colluccio Salutati, which he saw as indispensable for his work as secretary to the prince, along with several other books that he considered useful.³⁰ Two years before, João Rodrigues had asked Gomes Eanes for help in finding a copyist capable of completing a breviary that had been initiated in Portugal, as well as assistance in obtaining the appropriate parchment for this work.³¹

In May 1437, while waiting in Venice to embark on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Vasco Rodrigues, precentor of the cathedral of Braga, sent his last will and testament to Gomes Eanes, and asked that a breviary that he intended to recover upon his return, be illuminated under the latter's supervision.³² In February that year, in a letter to Gomes Eanes, prince Fernando (1402-1443) also entrusted the abbot of Florence with the supervision of the making of a certain book.³³

In turn, Friar Lope de Olmedo, head of the Order of the Hermit Monks of St. Jerome wrote to Gomes Eanes in September and December of 1426 asking for a copy of the treaty *De Serenitate Conscientiae* to be made, which at the time was in the possession of the abbot of Florence. The work was intended for Samuel de Marini, brother of the archbishop of Genova.³⁴

In May 1437 the royal judge Rodrigo Anes Vilela asked Gomes Eanes for advice and protection for his son, who was studying in Italy, and if necessary his supervision in the purchase of the books required for the completion of his studies.³⁵

²⁸ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 82.

²⁹ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 65, 72-73.

³⁰ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 279, 282.

³¹ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 174-175.

³² *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 385-387.

³³ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 367-368.

³⁴ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 79-80, 111-112.

³⁵ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 405-406.

Correspondence from the monk Francesco di Gubbio that same year, seriously ill in Rome and with scant resources to live on, was emotionally charged as he desperately appealed from Gomes Eanes that he would send him books and pray for him.³⁶

In August of the following year the nobleman Aires Gomes da Silva at the service of prince Pedro and proctor of his affairs near the crown of Aragon, asked Gomes Eanes to send him a book that he had ordered in Bruges, via Florence.³⁷

Parallel to all such evidence, there are several indications that in his incessant travels, Gomes Eanes most likely also carried books with him. A good example was his journey to Monte Sonaio with several monks, in which his baggage included two baskets that served to transport books (among other things).³⁸ The same happened in 1438 when he travelled to Pisa to escape the epidemic that was raging in Florence, also in the company of other monks. When he returned from one of his trips to Portugal in 1436, Gomes Eanes brought with him a considerable number of books.³⁹

References to *Books of Hours*, *Breviaries* or merely to “books” without specifying their type, abound in more than eighty of the letters of Gomes Eane’s correspondence, profusely evidencing the circulation of material culture, almost always in the context of the contacts between Portugal and Italy.

The artistic dimension

It is worth noting that Gomes Eanes was also a well learned patron in the domain of the arts. He hired artists specialized in murals and other forms of painting, including the Portuguese painter João Gonçalves who lived in the *Badia* of Florence for several years.⁴⁰ In effect, independently of the medium, the Abbot of Florence⁴¹ revealed an open spirit towards art from very early on. He considered the artistic element to be essential for the apparatus and magnificence of cult in the interior of a temple, and indispensable in the daily life of the monks, particularly in terms of human and spiritual education.

One example is the series of twelve frescoes painted by a Portuguese painter in the upper cloister of the *Badia* with scenes of the life of St. Benedict. These are two periods of pictorial activity that correspond, respectively, to two painters: the first

³⁶ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 179-182.

³⁷ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 241-242.

³⁸ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 536.

³⁹ NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez*, pp. 126-127.

⁴⁰ NUNES, Eduardo Alexandre Borges – *Dom Frey Gomez*, pp. 269-280.

⁴¹ Gomes Eanes also became known by this designation.

is the above mentioned João Gonçalves – the author of ten frescoes – and the other, although probably Portuguese, remains anonymous⁴².

In the monastery of Santa Cruz of Coimbra, he also promoted major works and the renewal of liturgical objects within the Church, as well as importing sculptures from Italy. He was also responsible for ordering the construction of a large new pipe organ, as well as for importing from Flanders of a mechanical watch. This in addition to enriching the cenobium with liturgical vestments, revealing particular care with the aesthetic-devotional apparatus. However, the most important work of art sponsored by D. Gomes in Coimbra was the chapel-sanctuary of Santo André and of the Franciscan Moroccan Martyrs, where a jeweled mitre and the silver ark intended for the bones of the five Martyrs, with its five silver images, deserve to be highlighted. In short, he continued his artistic patronage in Coimbra in exactly the same terms as he had done in Florence⁴³.

Also in this respect, his correspondence is revealing of how the displacements between the cenobium and the outside world are responsible for the circulation of artistic trends and patterns. With the particularity of, once more, dealing with cross-border displacements, thus evocative of a transnational dialogue, in this specific case, between Portugal and Italy. Christianity is, in fact, conceived by the abbot of Florence as a functional space to be visited and explored in the most diverse dimensions in support of religious reform.

Religious observance and renewal

The letters of Gomes Eanes' (*carteggio*) relating to observance and religious renovation reveal the same intense circulation that characterized his trajectory in Italy. Good examples are the letters exchanged with the monk Marino de Maffeo between 1421 and 1422, who at the time was in Rome in the papal curia, "acting on behalf of the cause of the annexation of Santa Maria del Santo Sepolcro (le Campora) to the Badia Fiorentina, a papal decision opposed by the Prior of that monastery."⁴⁴

Another can be found in the epistle sent to Gomes Eanes by the director of the Congregation of Santa Giustina, Teofilo Michiel, dated June 16, 1424, in which he "conveys to abbot Gomes Eanes the decision of the annual chapter to entrust him with the project of reforming the monasteries of Rimini and Cesena by sending some of his monks there."⁴⁵

⁴² REIS, António Matos – "O Claustro da Badia de Florença". In *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Amadeu Coelho Dias*. Vol. 1. Porto: Faculdade de Letras, 2006, pp. 141-158.

⁴³ GOMES, Saul António – "D. Gomes Eanes e a Capela".

⁴⁴ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 9.

⁴⁵ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 23.

Equally revealing in this context is the correspondence exchanged with the monk Iacopo Niccolini who, on January 16, 1426, complained to the abbot of Florence about a monk who had stolen food, and at the same time asked him for help in mentoring the studies of a young and promising novice. Two years later, Iacopo again “begs abbot Gomes Eanes to consider his decision of sending harmful and incorrigible monks to his community, whose behavior and vices will contaminate the others and cause scandal.”⁴⁶

There are various other examples of an intense circulation of monks, such as the letters by Biagio Onofri (monastery of Santo Donnino in Pisa on May 13, 1429), by his disciple Estevão de Aguiar (on September 5, 1429), and by the monk Bartolo in 1430 clearly attest.

In the first case, “the monks are disappointed that they will not have the visit of Abbot Gomes, as they rejoice on the growing numbers in the community. (...) Biagio also refers to the acquisition of clothes for the winter.”⁴⁷ In the second epistle, Estevão de Aguiar “asks for Abbot Gomes Eanes’ assistance in the reform of the monasteries of Portugal, and requests that some brothers be sent from Italy for that purpose.”⁴⁸ Finally, the monk Bartolo reports to the abbot the state of disrepair and popular agitation that he found in the church of San Bartolo a Grieve where he recommends that Gomes Eanes comes to visit soon.⁴⁹

A wide network of influence

Gomes Eanes’ *carteggio* reveals him, ultimately, as the epicenter of a group of Portuguese travelers, namely noblemen, students and clerics who at the time circulated in Italy, all thanks to his network of influence and his involvement in different spheres of activity, in most cases related to projects of religious reform.

As we can see in Chart 1 and in the corresponding Graph 1 and Map 1 (pertaining to the *carteggio* and chronology under study), the geographic breadth and the number of places from where the abbot of Florence received correspondence is remarkable, especially in relation to his work in Italy.

⁴⁶ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 219.

⁴⁷ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 280.

⁴⁸ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 290.

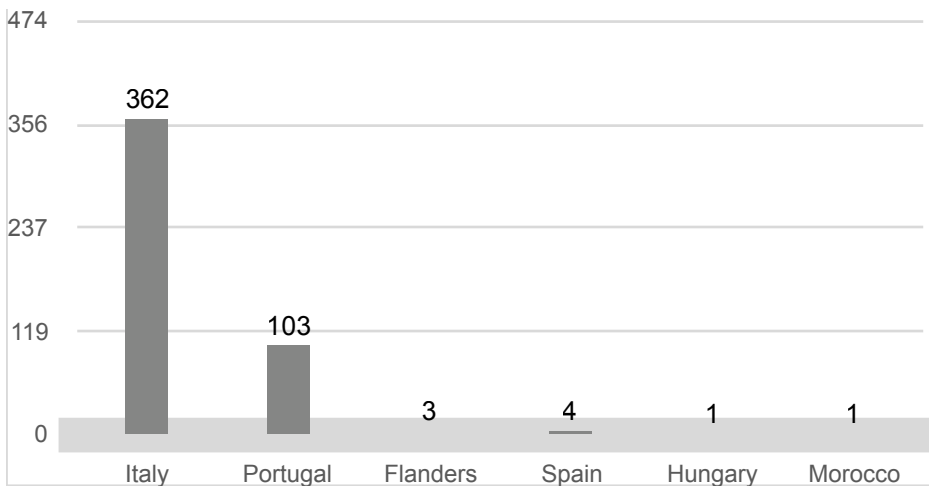
⁴⁹ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 306.

Chart 1 – Letters sent to Gomes Eanes (Place of origin)

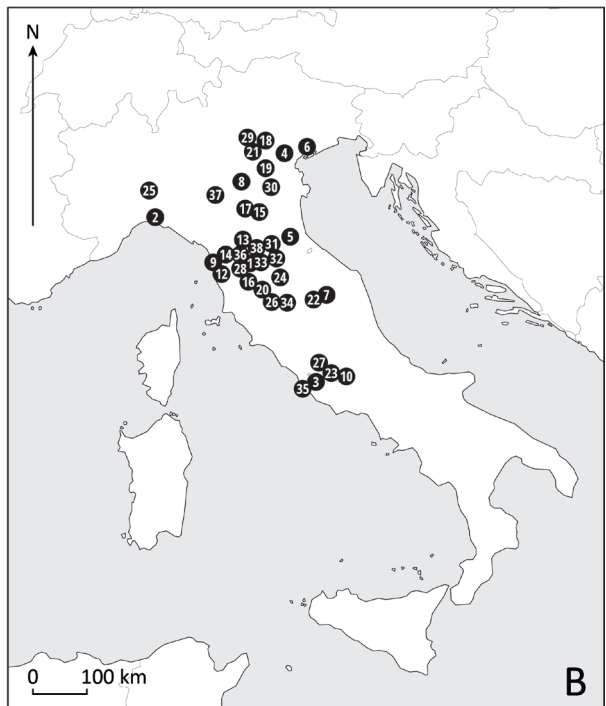
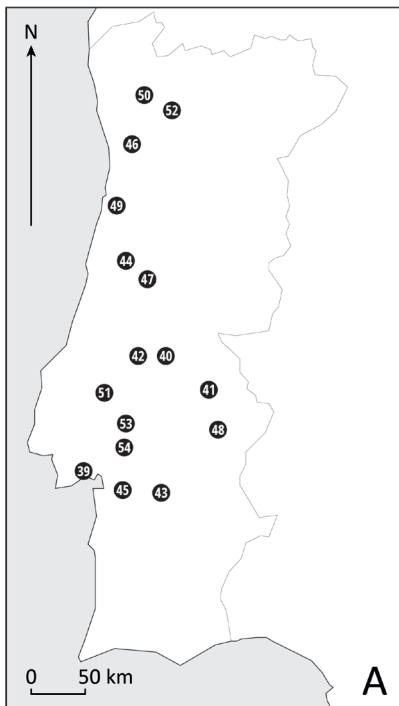
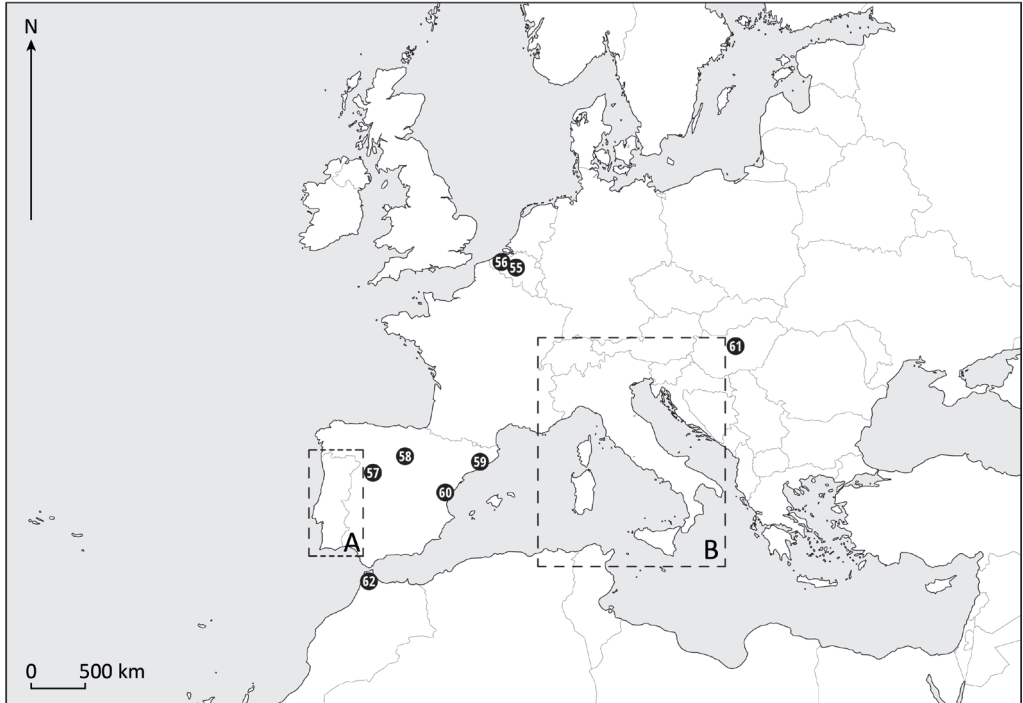
Nº	Place of origin	Occurrences
1	Florence	17
2	Genoa	2
3	Rome	78
4	Padoa	17
5	Cesena	1
6	Venice	28
7	Assisi	2
8	San Benedetto di Polirone (Mantua)	2
9	Pisa	113
10	Subiaco (Rome)	2
11	San Martino a Mensola (Florence)	7
12	Livorno	1
13	Santa Maria a Querceto (Florence)	1
14	San Michele di Agnano (Pisa)	1
15	Bologna	34
16	Badia ad Isola (Siena)	2
17	Mercatello	3
18	Vicenza	2
19	Santa Maria de Praglia (Padua)	1
20	Siena	4
21	S. Giacomo da Grigliano (Lavagno)	1
22	Perugia	1
23	Cervara	1
24	Arezzo	2
25	Tortona	1
26	San Quirico d'Orcia	1
27	Tivoli	3
28	San Casciano (Florence)	2
29	San Leonardo (Verona)	1
30	Ferrara	8
31	San Gaudenzio (San Godenzo)	1
32	Bibbiena	1
33	San Salvi (Florence)	1
34	Montepulciano	1
35	Fiumesino	2
36	Prato	1
37	Parma	1
38	Monte Senario (Vaglia)	1
	<i>Italy (location unknown)</i>	14
	ITALY – TOTAL	362
39	Lisbon (Portugal)	51
40	Abrantes (Portugal)	1
41	Fronteira (Portugal)	2

42	Punhete (Constância, Portugal)	5
43	Torrão (Portugal)	2
44	Tentúgal (Portugal)	1
45	Alcácer do Sal (Portugal)	2
46	Porto (Portugal)	10
47	Coimbra (Portugal)	2
48	Estremoz (Portugal)	1
49	Aveiro (Portugal)	1
50	Braga (Portugal)	4
51	Santarém (Portugal)	9
52	Quintã da Barra (Portugal)	1
53	Salvaterra (Portugal)	1
54	Benavente (Portugal)	1
	<i>Portugal (location unknown)</i>	9
PORTUGAL - TOTAL		103
55	L'Écluse (Flanders)	1
56	Bruges (Flanders)	2
FLANDERS - TOTAL		3
57	Salamanca (Spain)	1
58	Burgo de Osma (Spain)	1
59	Barcelona (Spain)	1
60	Valencia (Spain)	1
SPAIN - TOTAL		4
61	Buda (Hungary)	1
62	Tangier (Morocco)	1
OTHERS - TOTAL		2
TOTAL (GLOBAL)		474

Graphic 1 – Letters sent to Gomes Eanes (Place of origin - Occurrences)



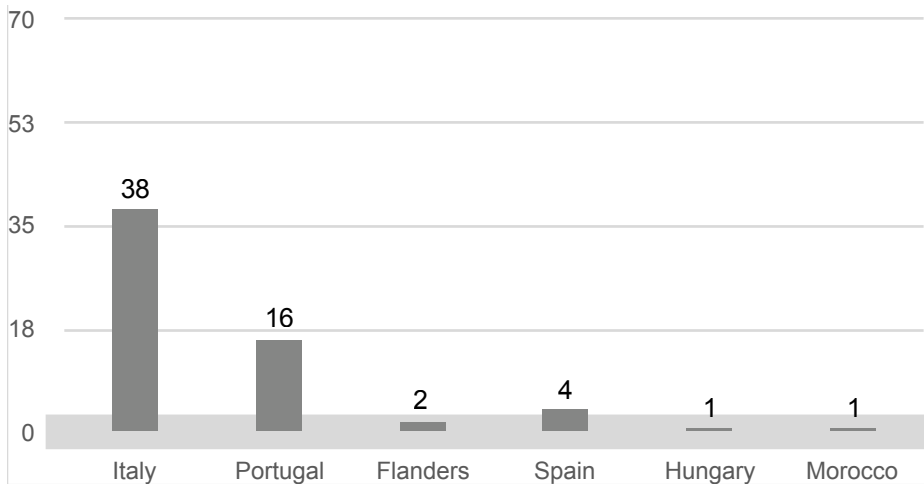
Map 1 – Letters sent to Gomes Eanes (Place of origin)



No less remarkable are the mentions to cities like Rome, Pisa, Venice, Padoa, Bologna and even Florence (Chart 1 and corresponding Graphic 2). In the case of Rome, the numbers are indicative of Gomes Eanes' activity (direct and indirect) in the curia. It was not unwarranted that in his trajectory between Portugal and Italy he served six popes, all of whom were, to a greater or lesser degree, reformers: Gregory XII, Martin V, Eugenius IV, Nicholas V, Calixtus III, and Pius II.

It is also worth mentioning that cities like Pisa – with 113 mentions – Venice and Florence had a strong Portuguese presence at the time, mainly for commercial reasons (as can be seen from the correspondence of the merchant Afonso Eanes present in the *carteggio*, in its almost totality sent from Pisa)⁵⁰. The same could be said about Bologna, this time due to the intense *peregrinatio academica* from Portugal⁵¹.

Graphic 2 – Letters sent to Gomes Eanes (Place of origin - References)



⁵⁰ In total there are twenty-five missives sent by Afonso Eanes from Pisa to Gomes Eanes. In addition to these there are still one from Genoa and four from Porto (Portugal), both commercial cities. COSTA-GOMES, Rita – “Between Pisa and Porto: Afonso Eanes, Merchant of the King of Portugal (1426-1440)”. In CURTO, Diogo Ramada (ed.) – *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond*. Florence: Olshki Editore, 2009, pp. 235-248.

⁵¹ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “Estudantes portugueses na reitoria do Colégio de S. Clemente de Bolonha na primeira metade do século XV”. *Arquivos de História da Cultura Portuguesa*, vol. III, 1 (1969), pp. 3-157; COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Portugueses no Colégio de S. Clemente e Universidade de Bolonha durante o século XV*. 2 vols. Bolonha: Real Colégio de España, 1990, *passim*.

Educator of reformers

One of the most impressive testimonies to Gomes Eanes' reforming action were his disciples. Dispersed across different monasteries and religious orders they took with them the uses of observance and the seeds of reform. The fruit would appear years later, manifested, for example, in the improvement of several Camaldolese monasteries, in the dynamic renovation movement of the Congregation of St. Salvi within the Order of Vallombrosa and the flourishing Cistercian community of Settimo. Regarding the latter, see the missive sent by Domenico Capranica to Gomes Eanes, dated August 22, 1437⁵².

Expansion, vitality, novices, good revenues, observance and spiritual discipline. All this in the monasteries reformed by his former students and always involving intense circulation of people, objects, ideas, and in this specific case, models of good behavior and virtue.

An extensive circle of friends

Another feature of Gomes Eanes' contribution to the reform of the Church in the 15th century were the ties of mutual friendship that he established with some of the founders of the new movements of observance. Gomes Eanes had great and powerful friends in the curia: Ludovico Barbo, Juan de Mella (1397-1467) and the *cubicularius* Arsénio, are just a few examples.

With them he exchanged advice, and services. He asked for their help and rewarded them generously. An example was his special friendship with the second man of the Congregation of Santa Giustina, Giovanni di Sicilia, abbot of St. Paul. Eugenius IV even joined the two abbots in various missions. But there were others, like Fr. Beltramo de Correnti, abbot of the congregation of Cervara. These friendships were always cemented on personal and epistolary contacts (the letters show this very well). A further example is the friendship with Fr. Lope de Olmedo (1370-1433), leader of the Order of the Hermit Monks of St. Jerome. Contacts, mutual help, consultations, and influences in the field of ideology and action. Then there was the friendship with the three founders of the Portuguese congregation of Secular Canons of Vilar de Frades, later called St. John Evangelist, or more commonly, of the *Lóios*: preceptor João Vicente (1380-1463), bishop of Lamego and future superior of this congregation, the preacher Martim Lourenço and the nobleman Afonso Nogueira (1399-1464).

⁵² *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 432-433.

Gomes Eanes's involvement in the founding of the *Lóios* was decisive, as demonstrated by the correspondence he exchanged in 1426-1427 with João Vicente. In it we can distinguish Gomes Eanes' intense *circulation*, particularly to obtain the statutes of the canons of St. George of Alga to help found the *Lóios*.⁵³

In this context – as revealed by letters dating from August 9, 20 and 23, 1426 sent by the aforementioned merchant Afonso Eanes to Gomes Eanes –, Afonso Nogueira, one of the founders of the *Lóios*, was in Florence to obtain the statutes through the intermediary of the abbot of Florence, who undertook the endeavor of requesting the manuscripts from Giovanni Michiel (?-1430), abbot of San Giorgio Maggiore of Venice.⁵⁴

Both the missive sent by the latter on September 23 of that year to Gomes Eanes, and the letter from Afonso Nogueira (of January 2, 1428, also addressed to the abbot of Florence) showed the positive outcome of this process.

But the strongest friendship that Gomes Eanes cultivated in Italy was with the General of the Camaldolese, the humanist monk Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439). It was a friendship born out of a communion of ideas and mutual admiration, nurtured and manifested in a circle of common friends, namely Cosimo de Medici (1389-1464), and through the exchange of books, collaboration in the visitation of the Vallombrosa abbey, joint assignments, money loans, and various other circumstances⁵⁵.

Missions

As abbot of a famous monastery who personally made himself noteworthy by his observance and integrity, or through his in-depth knowledge of the canons and legal procedure, Gomes Eanes saw a good part of his time and activity requisitioned for situations beyond the monastery and its business, in the form of occasional assignments or even permanent positions.

Some of his missions were of a secular nature, either by request of private individuals or by the Florentine authorities (which in most cases implied Gomes Eanes acting as an arbitrator in financial disputes), or in the circles of the Portuguese Crown. But the bulk of his assignments came from the Roman Curia, some of which were clearly indicative of his reforming spirit, such as his rank of visitor of

⁵³ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – *Bispos de Lamego*, pp. 202-220.

⁵⁴ The Abbey of Santa Maria of Florence, governed by Gomes Eanes, belonged, along with the monasteries of Santa Justina of Padua, of St. George of Venice, and St. Felix and St. Fortunatus of Aimone to the Congregation of Santa Justina of Padua (established officially on January 1, 1419).

⁵⁵ Regarding the theme of the circle of friendships emerging from common humanistic interests see CABY, Cécile – *Autoportrait d'un moine en humaniste. Girolamo Aliotti (1412-1480)*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2018, *passim*.

monasteries and reformer of Orders. The big majority of these posts were by order of Eugenius IV, whose approach to reform was congruent with that of the abbot of Florence.

The best example is probably his action to support the foundation of a new convent for nuns in Florence, which would grow rapidly and become famous under the name of *Le Murate*, (walled women)⁵⁶. He worked to find living quarters for them and to obtain the approval of Eugenius IV. He copied the rule himself, and attached the Constitutions elaborated for that purpose also by him. He helped the nuns through commissions that he obtained from the pope, and did everything in his means to make sure that their requests were attended to.

The connection with the Portuguese Crown

Throughout the entire fifteenth century, the Portuguese monarchy lived in heated confrontation with the clergy as a result of the Crown's determination to reform the problematic context of religious life that prevailed in Portugal at the time⁵⁷. The royal commitment in renewing and altering the problematic religious situation lived in Portugal can be seen in the emblematic book *Leal Conselheiro* (*Loyal Counselor*), by King Duarte, where he advocates reforming action from an essentially spiritual perspective, i.e., the interior renewal of the Christian faithful, laity and clergy.

The new Avis dynasty took on the *obligation* of good spiritual guidance of the faithful, and of the actual clerics. Only in appearance was this context contradictory, since on the one hand the Crown adopted legal measures to restrict the clergy's freedom,⁵⁸ and on the other it invested in corrective measures for the Church and its members, which ultimately meant recognizing the greater importance of the ecclesiastical universe, at different levels, for the destinies of the realm.

⁵⁶ SOUSA, Ivo Carneiro de – “A rainha D. Leonor e as murate de Florença (notas de investigação)”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – História*, IV (1987), pp. 119-133.

⁵⁷ Regarding the nature and scope of this conflict between royal power and the Church, see MARQUES, José – “Relações entre a Igreja e o Estado em Portugal no século XV”. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras. História* 11 (1994), pp. 137-172; VENTURA, Margarida Garcez – *Igreja e poder no século XV. Dinastia de Avis e liberdades eclesiásticas (1383-1450)*. Lisboa: Colibri, 1997; ROSA, Maria de Lurdes – *As Almas Herdeiras. Fundação de Capelas Fúnebres e Afirmação da Alma como Sujeito de Direito (Portugal, 1400-1521)*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2012 [in particular the Introduction and the 3rd part, dedicated to the reform in fifteenth century Portugal].

⁵⁸ See the proclamation of the “Jacobine laws” of December 1419 (that is, forty ordinances concerning jurisdictional – and not theological or disciplinary – issues between the church and temporal power) which so displeased the Portuguese clergy. It was a significant moment in the relations between the Portuguese Crown and Church, which after that became tense. VENTURA, Margarida Garcez – “As ‘Leis Jacobinas’. Estudo e transcrição”. *Medievalista* [online] 12 (July-December 2012). Available at <https://medievalista.fcsh.unl.pt/MEDIEVALISTA12/ventura1203.html>.

Throughout this process, which essentially had the objective of returning to the earlier purity and simplicity of the Church, the royal family's affection and preference for Gomes Eanes was evident, as a reforming and zealous element who believed in an observant spirituality. Some examples are the epistles dispatched by the following people and institutions: the papal prothonotary Alvaro Ferreira (Rome, March 15, 1427; and Buda, between August and October 1426),⁵⁹ the acting proctor of the king of Portugal in the papal curia, João Rodrigues (Rome, February 2, 1429),⁶⁰ Afonso Eanes (Pisa, August 16, 1426),⁶¹ the Council of the city of Lisbon (May 16, 1437),⁶² Marco Contarini (Venice, April 22, 1437), and especially, King John I (Lisbon, July 28, 1429)⁶³ and King Duarte (Santarém, January 29 and March 23, 1437;⁶⁴ Lisbon, May 16, June 25, July 21, August 27 and September 9, 1437⁶⁵). Also significant are the letters sent by Queen Leonor (r.1433-1438, regent 1438-1439) to her brother, King John of Navarre (r.1425-1479) from Santarém on January 31, 1437,⁶⁶ and to Gomes Eanes, from Abrantes on February 20, 1438.⁶⁷

Two factors determined the Crown's choice of Gomes Eanes to carry out the reform in Portugal: in the first place, his reforming spirit, demonstrated by the reform of the monastery of Santa Maria of Florence and of other regular Italian communities; secondly, his solidarity with the Crown and his role as someone who would advance the Portuguese interests in Italy, especially near the Papal curia (it is no coincidence that he was an ambassador, both in Portugal and the curia). In fact, Gomes Eanes circulated with ease among the papal curia and the courts of cardinals, abbots, kings and princes. He even belonged to the private circle of Eugenius IV at the time of the latter's flight to Florence.

In Portugal, both Prince Duarte and Princess Isabel (1397-1471), his sister and future Duchess of Burgundy⁶⁸, are excellent examples of the association of

⁵⁹ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 66-68, 152.

⁶⁰ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 257-258.

⁶¹ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 72-73.

⁶² *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 398-399.

⁶³ *A Portuguese Abbot*, p. 285.

⁶⁴ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 358-361, 370-372.

⁶⁵ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 392-395, 412-413, 425-426, 434-436, 447-449.

⁶⁶ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 362-363.

⁶⁷ *A Portuguese Abbot*, pp. 487-488.

⁶⁸ Isabel supports, since early on, the movements and proposals associated with the renewal of religious life. Indeed, even before marrying Philippe III of Burgundy, said Philippe the Good (1396-1467), the Infanta carried out an important reforming action. But, once in Burgundy, she openly promoted the proposals of the reformist movements from Northern Europe (closely linked to *Devotio Moderna*) which advocated new currents of spirituality guided by observance. Her religiosity was clearly determined by these currents that aimed at the clerical dimension, but also the lay dimension. At the cultural level, specifically, the activity of the new Duchess stood out in supporting the translation of old texts of a religious matrix, as well as the exchange between the courts of Portugal and Burgundy, namely through the introduction of works from the Portuguese Court in Burgundy (of which the aforementioned *Leal Conselheiro* – *Loyal Counselor* – is an example) and, on the contrary, to the dissemination in the realm of origin of the writings of authors from beyond the Pyrenees (such as the *Book of the Three Virtues*, by the Italian poet and philosopher Cristina de Pisano [1363-c 1430], who lived in France during

D. Gomes with powerful lay figures in pursuing his reformist intentions. Of the favors obtained by the king from Pope Eugene IV thanks to the intervention of the Abbot of Florence, passing through the involvement of Isabel in the attempts to introduce Benedictine observance in Portugal, at the time promoted by D. Gomes, there are several examples of exchanges between the court and the Portuguese reformer.

Gomes Eanes was a member of the royal councils of King Duarte (r.1433-1438) and King Afonso V (r.1438-1481). He also carried out the functions of papal legate for Portugal between 1435 and 1437, and participated actively in several important Church events, including sessions of the Council of Basel/Ferrara/Florence (1431-1445), as a supporter of Eugenius IV.

As shown in Chart 1 and corresponding Graphs 1 and 2, there is evidence of a dialogue between Portugal and Italy being established and continuously nourished by the Benedictine abbot, largely thanks to epistolography.

This dialogue showed the profound connection between the religious and royal authorities that would help the reforming process of the Church get under way in fifteenth-century Portugal. The most productive period of this process was precisely during the twenty years that Gomes Eanes was in Italy: the abbot of Florence traveled twice to Portugal during that time to promote reform, first of the Benedictine Order, between 1424 and 1426, and later of the monastic orders in Portugal from 1435 to 1436. The second project implied the general visitation and reformation of the entire clergy in Portugal. In both cases he had the support of the Crown.

In the second voyage, Gomes Eanes, accompanied by the bishop of Lamego, João Vicente (1380-1463), came with the titles of general visitors and reformers of the entire clergy of Portugal.

Both projects were generalist in nature and very extensive and ambitious in their objectives, and eventually resulted in failure. Only in the following century, as would happen with the rest of Christendom, would Portugal be prepared for a complete reform initiative. In other words, reforms of this scope, with the consequent and impacting changes in the structures of the national Catholic world, would only find a favorable institutional environment (at the religious level) after the Council of Trent (1545-1563), that is, in 1563. For its effective application it was necessary to be supported only by an inclusive movement that offered them cohesion and institutional solidarity, even if carried out by reformers as prestigious as Abbot Gomes Eanes.

The specific reasons for this failure lie, above all, in three elements: on the one hand, the internal disagreements and oppositions experienced by the very order to

the first half of the fourteenth century). See SOMME, Monique – *Isabelle de Portugal, Duchesse de Bourgogne. Une femme au pouvoir au XVe siècle*. Lille: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998, pp. 451-478. The sixteenth chapter of this work, entitled “Faith and works”, is fundamental to the study of the support given by Isabel to the reform of religious orders.

which D. Gomes belonged, the Benedictines; on the other hand, the obstacles posed by other elements of the clergy who felt affected in the process (that is, who saw their benefits and privileges in some way curtailed); then, the papacy's deep fears of the increasingly intense and evident intrusion of royal power in the sphere of ecclesiastical affairs.

The first aspect seems evident in the first mission, first of all due to the resistance moved by other reformers such as the influential archbishop of Braga, Fernando da Guerra (1390-1467), and the equally Benedictine Friar André Dias (1348-c. 1451)⁶⁹, renowned abbot, bishop, master of theology, canonist and university professor in Rome, who also participated in the councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basel-Ferrara-Florence (1431-1445).

Already in the context of the second mission of D. Gomes, in a letter of 28 January 1436, Friar André Dias protested against the abbot of Florence, because it was said that in his attempts to introduce reform in Portuguese Benedictine monasteries he intended to deprive him of rights. In this correspondence, Friar André Dias pleads with Gomes Eanes to spare him problems in his old age, and that he must make observance not to his monastery, but to others, such as Pedroso, Santo Tirso and Pombeiro, whose abbots, in addition to having more children and women than he, were far more ignorant, foolish, reckless and irresponsible. A threatening letter this was, to the point of including threats of recourse to the council. Indeed, the obstacles raised to the reform of the Benedictines in Portugal by D. Gomes reached such a point that he had to return to Italy.

But it is also possible to identify this first point in the dissensions registered between D. Gomes himself and his disciples, as happened with Friar Estêvão de Aguiar and Friar Fernando Falcão, Portuguese nobles and professed Benedictines from the abbey of Florence, who obtained from Pope Martin V permission to erect a Benedictine monastery of Observance and exempt in Portugal, to be built with the help of relatives and the faithful (it would be in the place of Xabregas, in Lisbon).

This was a process in which D. Gomes, mentor of both, felt unauthorized, not least because he did not agree with the erection of other monasteries, hopeful in the reform of the existing ones. In this case, therefore, Gomes Eanes himself posed personal questions that prevented the reforms from advancing: his authority was at stake (since he did not agree with the permanence of Estêvão and Fernando in Portugal) and, on the other hand, he did not approve of the fact that Frei Estêvão worked on his own initiative.

In essence those were two reforming intentions, however divergent in the methods of realization. As the correspondence reveals, the conciliatory intervention of Infante Duarte and Infanta Isabel was necessary for the spirits to calm down and

⁶⁹ Who was more a proclaimer of reformist intention than a reformist.

for reconciliation to take place. In other words, reformist intentions and programs lacked consistency and uniformity. So how could Benedictine observance in Portugal be realized?

The second vector, on the other hand, reveals itself in an enlightening way in the context of D. Gomes' reforming mission to Portugal in 1435-1436, when a plea is presented by the prosecutors of the prelates and clergy of Portugal, then in the Curia, setting out the reasons against the designation the Bishop of Lamego, João Vicente, founder of the Order of Lóios, and Gomes Eanes, abbot of Florence, for the development of such a mission. The aim of the supplication was to prevent the visit and to turn the pope's attention back to the need to safeguard ecclesiastical freedoms, with the appointment of unsuspecting visitors, capable of resisting the pressure and influence of powerful lay people (they referred, of course, to the fact that the initiative of the general visit came from the king himself, Duarte). The plea even contained a veiled threat of recourse to the Council, which may have instilled certain fears in the spirit of Pope Eugenius IV.

The third vector, in turn, is manifested in an absolute form also in the second reform mission of D. Gomes to Portugal, when Pope Eugenius IV, in view of the request of Duarte to the Holy See for the appointment of the Florentine abbot as reformer general of the Portuguese monastic congregations, fearing the reaction of the then abbot of Alcobaça who was his supporter in the Council in Basel, postponed the appointment as much as he could – after all, it is necessary to remember, that it is a project of general visitation and reform of all the clergy in Portugal.

As can be concluded, all these mechanisms of obstacle and reaction, in particular those carried out in the very heart of Christendom, dictated the impossibility of greater attempts of *reformatio* to be carried out successfully. And so D. Gomes had, on both occasions, to return to Italy without seeing Duarte's wishes and his own fulfilled.

Finally, we can also refer, in a more abstract but no less binding sense, as causes for the failure, inertia and generalized decay, as well as the very ambition and utopia of the projects, since they aimed at reforming the whole Church at once, an entire nation, without practical conditions for that.

Gomes Eanes and Portugal in the reformist currents that characterize Christendom of the time

Seen from a different angle, Gomes Eanes' trajectory was an example of how, throughout the 15th century, Portugal was not dissociated from the Christian world's leaning to reform religious life. On the contrary, to a greater or lesser extent,

it was part of the contemporary international movements for the reform of the Church, and was therefore not limited to passively watching what was going on beyond its border limits.

Apart from the people and objects circulating in Europe, there were reforming programs which were ultimately religious identity models.

Somehow the heirs, above all because of the spirit of contestation and the desire for change, of previous sects and heresies (ranging from the 12th century to the beginning of the 14th century) such as Libertinism, the Beguines and the Beghards, the *Fratelli* and even the current of Nominalism, these reformist currents had in common several doctrinal and, therefore, ideological traits – which explain, after all, the disorders and reactions that aroused within the church.

We speak of the clear tendency towards the establishment of an interior Christianity, of conscience, evangelical and de-clericalized. All culminated in the authentic desire for a *renovatio ecclesiae*, that is, a markedly spiritual process that would involve a deepening of the pastoral zeal and a reduction of the relaxed life that then characterized a good part of the clergy towards the perfection and rigor of the Christianity of the origins (closer, therefore, to the source: Jesus Christ).

The *forma vitae* of the ecclesiastical world, full of weaknesses and deviations, was a reality and it was necessary, with more or less radicalism, to combat and change this state of affairs: simony, corruption of the clergy, clientelism, the relaxation of the lesser friars (at the point of absolute ignorance and illiteracy), episcopal absenteeism, the temporality of the Pontifical Curia, etc. With a view to authentic zeal for religion, the renewal project of religious life had to be as broad as possible, thus covering the administrative aspect, normative, cultural and spiritual.

In summary, the 15th century was marked by several movements that proclaimed the reform of ecclesiastical institutions, in order to conform them to the Gospel in Christian life, publicly and privately, especially clerics and religious⁷⁰.

In the North and center of Western Christianity, since the end of the 13th century, were figures such as Master Eckart (c. 1260-c. 1328) and his mystical school, William of Ockham (c. 1287-1347), Marsilius of Padua (c. 1275-c. 1342), John Duns or Duns Scotus (c. 1266-1308) and John of Jandun (c. 1285-1328). Entering the 14th century and fully affirmed in the 15th century stand out John Wycliffe (c. 1328-1384) and the Lollards, John Huss (1369-1415) and the Hussites, Jerome of Prague (1379-1416), the movement of Conrad of Prussia (second half of the 14th century), Dionisius Ryckel or Dionisius Carthusian (c. 1402-1471), the movement of the Dutch Dominicans and, above all, the movement entitled *devotio moderna*, as well as its followers, namely the Cologne Carthusians.

⁷⁰ COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa – “D. Gomes Eanes”, pp. 59-164

We underline the importance of *devotio moderna*, unequivocally one of the most impressive identity models related to religious reformism, which undoubtedly reached Portugal.

In the Latin countries, to the south, the observant mendicants (Franciscan and Dominican), eremitism and the currents of reform of monasticism are highlighted, where we can insert the intense activity of Gomes Eanes. This without forgetting the initiatives of important figures such as Saint Francisca Romana (1384-1440) and Saint Lourenço Justiniano (1381-1456). In turn, other voices, such as Saint Catherine of Siena (1347-1380), Saint Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303-1373) and the Iberian Saint Vicente de Ferrer (1350-1419) debated the issue of ecclesiastical reform intensely. In Spain, the action of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517) stands out, as well as of the Franciscan and Dominican reformers, where we must emphasize Pedro de Villacreces (c. 1350-1422), the great mentor of the Franciscan reform in Spain and who made him feel deeply in Portugal. In Italy, specifically, the *Pre-Reformation* was conducted by the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) and by the observances of Saint Dominic, Saint Augustine (hermits) and Saint Francis (capuchin).

A final word regarding the councils themselves, especially those of Constance and Basel-Ferrara-Florence. In the course of them these issues and the urgent need for reforms were raised. However, the political struggles that marked these assemblies and involved the papacy and the temporal princes removed all the effectiveness of these complaints. Still, the cause of the reform has been linked to the cause of the council for more than a century. Rome saw it as a weapon of the episcopal and parliamentary system of the priests of Constance and Basel and reacted against it as it reacted against conciliarism⁷¹.

All currents and their protagonists supported their theses in the failures and needs of Christian society and, especially, ecclesiastical society, denouncing, with particular vigor, the luxury and lust of the Church, the clergy's disinterest in the Bible, the primacy of popular rites and devotions, the relaxation of the apostolic function, the exclusion of the laity from pastoral activities and spiritual life.

D. Gomes' reforms would not be strictly in line with all these trends, which at times defended theses incompatible with Catholic doctrine and were therefore condemned by the councils. However, like them, they demanded the change of many aspects in the Catholic Church, mainly in relation to the return to a spirituality more in line with the origins of Christianity (here the agreement with the *devotio moderna* is preeminent), which passed, through example, for the correct formation of clergy, as well as for the purity of their action.

⁷¹ DIAS, José Sebastião da Silva – *Correntes de Sentimento Religioso em Portugal (Séculos XVI a XVIII)*. Vol. I. Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1960, pp. 5-31.

For all this, we realize how the Gomes Eanes' correcting program can never be considered independently, as something stagnant, but rather as part of a broader showcase of events and people that go far beyond the borders of Portugal, extending all over western Europe of the 1400s. He should be, especially, perceived as deeply connected to the Portuguese Crown and with Italy.

Then, the contacts he established, particularly during his time in Italy, integrated his action into platforms of solidarity and supranational influence, which ultimately reflect the frank mobility of the secular and clerical reform proposals of the 15th century in Christianity.

In all this process his mobility stands out, both as a temporal administrator and as a devout reformer, as does the dynamism of the community he led. To a certain extent, this fact contradicts the vow of stability and worldly renunciation promoted by Benedictine canon.

The two decades he spent at the helm of the *Badia* show clearly the relevance of mobility in a Benedictine community ideally devoted to monastic stability and removed from the world, although this mobility was, of course, controlled and regulated by the rules of the Order.

In its purist essence the *Regula Benedicti* ordained and substantiated the discipline of the cloister, focusing on the ecclesiastics' dedication to prayer, liturgical celebrations and mass, silence as an absolute condition for the voice of God and for contemplation of the other spiritual realities. However, reality revealed significant circulation between the monastery and the outside, as well as subsequent simultaneity between the ideal spirit of the monastery as *domus spiritualis* and the daily life of the community, and especially of its abbot. The monastic space was, in fact, fairly permeable to the exterior, and at the same time, maintaining a strong irradiance and influence beyond the walls that separated it from the world. However, it is important not to forget that this mobility was intended, ultimately, for a continuous improvement of the community, especially in terms of religious and cultural education.

Final notes

Gomes Eanes was, by nature, a restless soul. He did not separate action from the (good) government of cultural education, contemplation and spirituality, an attitude that made him act according to a logic derived largely from pragmatism. To reform was to act, and action meant movement. Thus, the building campaign that radically transformed the *Badia* monastery and enlarged its library, the temporal administration of the institution, the involvement in various secular

missions related to the management of the Signoria of Florence and the Portuguese Crown, all remind us that Gomes Eanes' reforming plans on Italian soil cannot be contemplated without considering the circulation and mobility that he stimulated.

In the general context of Gomes Eanes' activity as abbot of Florence, religious renovation required constant presence and supervision, which meant frequent dislocations. Therefore, circulation and mobility became intrinsic to reform. They functioned as inevitable steps of an established methodology.

To speak of Gomes Eanes is to speak of someone well inserted – and, therefore, profoundly knowledgeable – in the religious currents of a reformist character that expanded through Christianity in his time. To that extent, the circulation and mobility that characterize him as well as all those who in some way related to him, as well as objects (in particular books and letters) and the ideas associated with him contribute, as a whole, to transform him into a paradigm of the Italian Renaissance religious intellectual. Someone whose path turns out to be highly influential both in the definition and in the implementation of the new reforms that would characterize the whole of Christianity and whose breadth, to that extent, had an impact that we can consider – as time goes by – “global”.

"This volume is the product of a profound reworking of a substantial number of contributions and, whilst it aims not to be about the "Global Middle Ages", it does strive to contribute to the debate by suggesting different approaches to the theme through essays that hopefully will spark discussion and a reevaluation of the more traditional studies devoted to circulation, contact and exchange, and those dealing with cultural encounters and differing mental worlds. Here, possibilities may be activated by taking a view through the unsettling lens of global/local analysis and by aspiring to meet those challenges that thereby come into focus."

Maria João Branco and João Luís Fontes, *Introduction*.

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