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DIRETTA DA ROBERTO RIDOLFI

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Direzione e Amministrazione:

LEO S. OLSCHKI, EDITORE - FIRENZE

Abbonamento all'anno LIV (1952), dispensa unica: Per l'Italia: Lire 4.000 —
Per l'Estero: Dollari 9.00

[Pubblicata il 15 giugno 1953]

Anno LIV

1952

Disp. unica

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It seems inevitable that historians of Central Italian painting in the twelfth century should, because of the dearth of monumental works, turn more and more to manuscript illustrations for new evidence concerning stylistic evolution. They have, to be sure, particularly in the last thirty years, made notable progress in integrating evidence from such illustrations to evidence from other forms of painting. They have, however, in attempting to attribute and to date these illustrations, most often laid stress only upon the evidence found in the illustrations themselves. This was, of course, their proper field. But they have thus been led to pay less attention than they might to the rich evidence that lies all about the illustrations in other aspects of manuscripts. A great deal of such ambient evidence lies, it is true, hidden in the script, the initials, the textual composition, the liturgy and the hagiology, all things that themselves need highly specialized study. But a great deal, too, lies explicit, and therefore much more readily utilizable, in such things as colophons, marginal inscriptions and notices of various sorts, and in determinable facts concerning the history of a manuscript. Correctly and completely interpreted, this kind of evidence may in itself be decisive in establishing period and place of facture.

Information ostensibly based upon such explicit factors has, indeed, accumulated about many manuscripts, usually as the result of labors undertaken by librarians and cataloguers. Unfortunately, art historians have all too often found this information at variance with their own conclusions as to a manuscript's age and origin. They have, as a consequence, in notable instances decided simply to ignore

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it. Such a procedure is, however, highly unsatisfactory, for sooner or later justification is bound to be demanded of them. It is not, in other words, sufficient merely to muster contrary stylistic evidence. The information accumulated from other sources must be proved erroneous, or the two things must in some way be reconciled.

The following notes concern themselves in large part with a re-examination of the colophons and the other explicit signs that underly an accumulation of information concerning the history of certain manuscripts. In some cases, the re-examination has revealed the accumulated information to be downright erroneous; in others it has revealed it to be merely incomplete. In all cases, the re-examination has seemed to contribute something to a more exact history. The notes thus deal very little with styles of figural illustration. They are meant rather to clear the dead lumber from the road to a juster view of stylistic evolution.

1. *A Devotional Psalter in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.*

A devotional Psalter from the once flourishing Monastery of S. Michele a Marturi now in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence (Plut. 17.3) is of a quality and richness unusual in Italian manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, not only in its figural illustrations, but also in its initials, much gold having been employed everywhere⁽¹⁾. It is probably for this reason that it has attracted greater-than-ordinary attention ever since it became known to historians in the eighteenth century⁽²⁾. It furnishes a particularly brilliant example of the gradual accretion of an historical tradition that today needs re-examination because latterday judgments of the Psalter's age based upon the style of its illustrations, initials and script have come into conflict therewith.

The tradition first grew up about the name, Giovanni, which appears several times in the codex. The name is inscribed about the figure of a monk shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child on fol. 155 - IOH · MO · who is certainly

(1) Most writers have referred to this codex properly as a Psalter (see following note), and Davidsohn went one step farther toward exactness in describing it as a combined Psalter and Prayerbook. But even then he pointed out that in the Laurenziana itself, it was commonly referred to as a Breviary. This term was fairly consistently used by Giorgetti, although a sub-title over his study calls it a Psalter.

(2) 1774, Bandini, *Catalogus*, Vol. I, cols. 324-37; 1791, Marco Lastri, *Etruria Pittora*, Vol. I, Pl. I, 2; 1809, F. Ranalli, *Storia delle belle arti in Italia*, Vol. I, p. 41; 1835, A. Neri, « Il Castello e Badia di Poggio Marturi presso Poggibonsi », *Misc. storica della Valdelsa*, Vol. II, 1894, pp. 113-31; Vol. III, 1895, pp. 9-29, 122-31, 197-207; Vol. IV, 1896, pp. 80-92; i.e., Vol. III, p. 197, and note; 1896, R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte v. Florenz*, Vol. I, pp. 130-31, 827-28 (repeated in Italian ed., 1932, Pt. II, pp. 1281 ff.); 1911, P. D'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina*, Vol. II, pp. 5-6, and Vol. I, Pl. II, b; 1925, the same, *La miniatura italiana*, p. 9, and, Pl. I; 1927, P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, p. 1057; 1928-30, A. Giorgetti, « Il Breviario di Poggibonsi », *Soc. Calumbaria di Firenze, Atti*, pp. 130-38; 1937, A. M. Avari, « Codici miniati inediti dei secoli XI e XII della Bibl. Laurenziana », *La Bibliofilia*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 104.

the commissioner and owner of the book, and it is repeated in penitential prayers on fols. 18, 149 v., 173 v. and 174 v., of which more below.

Bandini was the first to identify this Giovanni with a Giovanni, Abbot of S. Michele, mentioned in a document of 1061 (1). In the atmosphere of underdating prevalent when Bandini wrote, it seemed possible that the codex was made about that time. Today it seems entirely impossible. If, today, we wished to stretch a point in order to retain Bandini's identification, we might believe that this Abbot was still alive about twenty-five years later and thus arrive at a date for the manuscript *about* 1085. Much further we could not go, for it is known from mention of him in a document that an Abbot Ulberto was governing the Monastery in 1089 (2). But even such a dating would be unacceptable.

However, in 1928-30, Giorgetti, working at a moment when such early datings in general were constantly being questioned, proposed, rather, to identify the Giovanni of the codex with a *Giovanni miniatore* mentioned in a S. Michele document supposedly drawn up between 1070 and 1076, and to attribute to him the miniatures in the codex (3). He went on to identify this Giovanni with a Giovanni mentioned as Abbot of the Monastery in two documents of 1108, concluding that he must have succeeded to the Abbacy in the first decade of the twelfth century (4). He dubbed this Abbot Giovanni II to distinguish him from the Abbot Giovanni of 1061. He believed that the codex was most probably illustrated by Giovanni sometime in the last two decades of the eleventh century, thus while he was still a mere monk, but possibly at the latest in the first decade of the twelfth century, after, that is, he had become Abbot.

(1) Copy of the original in Florence, *Arch. di Stato, Carte dell'Ospedale di Bonifazio*; published by L. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae medii aevi*, Milano, Vol. I, 1738, col. 291; Mattarelli, *Annates Camaldulenses*, Vol. I, cols. 211-13; and others; discussed by Neri, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 197-207.

(2) Florence, *Arch. di Stato, Carte dell'Ospedale di Bonifazio*; cf. Neri, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 202-4, who gives a translation of the substance.

(3) Florence, *Arch. di Stato, Carte dell'Ospedale di Bonifazio*; published by Giorgetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-38; excerpts from it with discussion in Neri, *op. cit.*, *passim*, especially Vol. II, p. 126, Vol. III, pp. 26-27. See, further, below.

When Giorgetti stated *op. cit.*, p. 130 that all previous authorities were agreed an Abbot Giovanni might have been the scribe, he erred. Bandini had spoken of him only as the owner. Neri had called him its « custode », Davidsohn had definitely believed he ordered it from another monk, while D'Ancona, too, called him a commissioner. In fact, he himself seems to have been the first to suggest that the Giovanni of the codex may have been either its scribe or its illustrator.

(4) The Abbot Giovanni is mentioned in two documents of 1108, one a Bull of Paschal II, the other a local transaction concerning land (cf. Neri, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 81). Giorgetti had him mentioned also in a document of 1107, but this would seem to be an error. This document, a donation of land to the Monastery by Mathilda, is published by Della Riva & Camici, *Scrive dei Duchi*, etc., Vol. IV, pp. 60-62, who, however, were unable to decipher the name of the Abbot. Nor does Neri, who cites the document *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 81 give it. It is, of course, possible that Giorgetti was able to read it, but since he mistakenly refers directly to Neri in the matter, this would seem unlikely.

Meanwhile, in 1927, Toesca, judging from the style of the illustrations, had already said that the codex could not have been made before the middle of the twelfth century, but had left it in this rather vague position. In 1937, Miss Alari followed him, but assigned it more definitely to the second half of the century. Toesca made no mention of Bandini's dating, and Miss Alari, who wrote after the appearance of Giorgetti's article, made no mention either of Bandini's or of Giorgetti's.

Now all the stylistic evidence, it seems to me -- that of the script, of the initials, and of the illustrations -- combines to demonstrate that the codex might have been made in the decade 1140 to 1150 but that it is much more likely to have been made between 1145 and 1155. And lest there be any misunderstanding, it demonstrates that it could not have been made later.

It might at first sight be thought that the same tactic could be used with reference to Giorgetti's Giovanni II, that is, that we might suppose him still alive in those years. But knowledge of the twelfth-century Abbots of the Monastery prevents this; he must have died before 1114, for a new Abbot by the name of Raniero is mentioned in a document of that year (1). Therefore, either Giorgetti must have been as mistaken as Bandini had been, or the stylistic evidence must have been misinterpreted. The conflict is manifest; it calls for resolution.

I intend to consider the evidence of the script and the initials in a forthcoming study of Central Italian initial styles in the period. The evidence of the illustrations must await an opportunity to treat it intensively. Yet this much should perhaps here be said, if for no other reason than that confusion has been introduced by their having been called Siennese (Giorgetti) and even Cassinese (D'Ancona, 1925), and because their attribution to Florence seems never to have been very positively affirmed (2). I believe them to be as Florentine as they could well be. A comparison of the Crucifixion on fol. 165 v. with Crucifix 432 in the Uffizi should serve to convince that the two are from the same general ambient (3). This ambient is, for a great many reasons, most likely to have been Florentine. It must suffice here to point out that the

(1) On this document, cf. Neri, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 82. This Abbot is mentioned also in a document of 1115 (Neri, *loc. cit.*).

(2) Bandini made no attribution; neither did Lastri, but his inclusion of the manuscript is implication he considered it Tuscan. Ranalli simply referred to Lastri. Neri made no attribution. Davidsohn, in saying that Abbot Giovanni I ordered it for himself, probably meant to imply that it was made in the region. D'Ancona included it as a Florentine work in his *Miniatura fiorentina* of 1914, having the illustrator trained, however, in Montecassino. His 1925 work, *La miniature italienne*, has it outright Cassinese, but it may well be that this was a distortion resulting from the translation. Toesca considered it under Tuscan manuscripts, and said it was written for the Monastery. Giorgetti thought the illustrations Siennese. Alari disputed the Florentine attribution but made no other.

(3) I refer here only to the illustrations in the body of the Psalter, not to those of the Calendar, which, as Alari recognized, are by a different, though probably also Florentine, hand. The Crucifixion is reproduced by D'Ancona, in 1914, and again, in color, in 1925, while Giorgetti published several of the important illustrations in the body of the Psalter.

peculiar zigzag linear play in the draperies, so similar in the two works, is typical only in Florence, where it continued until the middle of the thirteenth century, in the works of the Bigallo Master, his group, and even in the Master of Crucifix 434.

It will be opportune to add, because some writers have seemed uncertain of the fact, that there is little doubt the Psalter was made in S. Michele itself. The saints celebrated in the Sanctoral assure all but unequivocally that it was. Among them are not only Donnino, Cerbone, and Miniato, a combination which almost certainly places it in Tuscany, but also Zenobio Episcopo (Florence) and Romolo Episcopo (Fiesole), which place it in the Florentine region, and, finally, Bononio (or Bolonio), the first Abbot of S. Michele a Marturi itself, which places it in the Monastery (1).

But this note is concerned, rather, with demonstrating that there has never been any sound reason for identifying the Giovanni of the codex with any of the Giovanni mentioned in the documents, least of all with either the first or the second Abbot of the name, that Bandini's identification depended upon careless observation, that plausibility was lent Giorgetti's multiple identifications by a series of subtle forcings of the evidence, misinterpretations and errors, and that the way is therefore perfectly clear for dating the manuscript according to the evidence observable in its script, initials and figural illustrations.

There would be no reason to consider Bandini's identification at any length, for the date implied in it would not today be seriously considered by any, had it not exercised an insidious influence upon subsequent writers. It was based simply on the identity of name between the Giovanni of the Psalter and a Giovanni who was Abbot, and upon the belief that the Psalter might have been made about the time this Abbot Giovanni was mentioned, that is 1061. But Giovanni was one of the commonest of all names in the period; it recurs again and again in documents -- in these notes, we ourselves shall be up to our ears in Giovanni. A mere identity of name could be no ground whatsoever for the identification of two individuals, even two monks in the same Monastery.

But Bandini, perhaps without any precise intention, gave false plausibility to the identification when he stated that one of the prayers in the codex mentions Abbot Giovanni, for he thus created the impression that there was in addition an identity of Office. In reality, the prayers refer on the one hand to a Giovanni, on the other hand to an Abbot, *but nowhere to an Abbot Giovanni*. On fols. 18, 173 v. and 174 v., it is *famulus tuus Johannes*, and on fols. 18, 149 v., and 175, it is *pro Abbate nostro* (2). Nor is the figure of Giovanni kneeling before the Virgin on fol. 155 distinguished in any way as an Abbot. Thus, there

(1) It is interesting to note, nevertheless, that the peculiar position of S. Michele at the junction of the by-road from Florence with the great Via Franchigena that led from Lucca to Rome, which placed it in close contact also with Lucca and Siena (and Pisa), is in all probability reflected in its Litany -- by the presence of Antimo (Siena) and Romano (Lucca).

(2) For these prayers, cf. Bandini, *op. cit.*, cols. 323, 333, 335, 336.

was, even on the face of things, no identity of Office to strengthen the identity of name.

But Bandini was guilty of a yet more consequential oversight. In the prayer on fol. 18, addressed to God, the passage mentioning the Abbot reads: ... *Hos Psalmos consecratos, quos ego indignus peccator decantare cupio in honore nominis tui, & Beatae Virginis Mariae, & omnium sanctorum tuorum, pro me misere infelice illo seu pro Abbate nostro, & omni Congregatione illi commissa, sive pro cunctis consaguineis meis illis...* It seems plain from this that Giovanni the owner of the book was definitely *not* the Abbot, at least when the book was made — whether he later became Abbot could never be determined. The identity of Office is thus proved in a positive manner to have been non-existent. It is all the more surprising that Bandini could suggest an identification with the Abbot, since he himself prints the prayer in full (1).

Bandini's oversights bore fruit in Davidsohn. In 1896, this scholar simply assumed that Bandini's suggestion the Psalter had been made under Abbot Giovanni about 1061 was a fact and deduced from it that this Abbot was a lover of the arts. It must be said that the deduction on such tenuous grounds would in any case have been precarious. On the other hand, it must be said in Davidsohn's defence that he was not directly interested in the art-historical aspect of the matter — he went on simply to imply, by remarking upon the abject terms of one of the penitential prayers in the codex and deducing therefrom special sinfulness in Giovanni, that love of art and sinfulness were germane characteristics in the Abbot, and to suggest that he was not the sort of man to favor the religious reforms then being carried out (2).

The material for a legend thus concocted about Abbot Giovanni I appeared to Giorgetti so agreeable to his own beliefs that he took it over bodily for his Abbot Giovanni II, without, apparently, any reconsideration whatsoever of Bandini's facts. And he proceeded to even greater circumstantialness in describing the Abbot's sympathetic and art-loving character, thus adding — and this is essential in his argument — to the identity of name and of Office a further identity of connection with the arts. The document of 1070-76, which mentioned a Giovanni *miniature*, whom, as has been said, he brought into the nexus, added plausibility to this artistic theme, and he sought to add further plausibility by citing yet another Marturi document, this one of 1089, which a Giovanni *manaco indigno*, one of the witnesses, signed with a fancy monogram instead of with the usual pedestrian signature, deducing from this slight fact that he was artistic and might be identified with the Giovanni who was a miniature

(1) *Ibid.*, col. 325.

(2) For the most abject of them, see the excerpt printed by Giorgetti, *op. cit.*, p. 132. As a matter of fact, Davidsohn was ill-advised to deduce special sinfulness from the abject tone of the prayers, for such prayers were repeated again and again as mere rote formulae, without individual significance. Thus, for example, the identical prayers are found in another Tuscan manuscript of the same period (1135-45) now in the British Museum (Yates Thompson, cod. 40), on the first folio following the Calendar (entered in a contemporary hand) and in the Hymnal, the most abject being exactly reproduced on fols. 159, 159 v.

painter and had illustrated the Psalter (1). Thus, the legend of an art-loving monk Giovanni, mentioned as a miniature painter in 1070-76, signing with an artistic monogram a document of 1089, elected Abbot in the first decade of the following century, mentioned as Abbot in documents of 1108, who had ordered, owned or illustrated a beautiful Psalter sometime between 1080 and 1110, was neatly rounded out. Giorgetti even went on to suggest, on the basis of what he believed to be the Siense character of the illustrations, that his Giovanni was born in Siense territory.

It will be wise at this point to consider certain difficulties in Giorgetti's dating of the Psalter, which should have an important effect upon the acceptability of his theories generally. He speaks of the Abbot Giovanni II as having governed the Monastery from 1107 to 1114, the latter year being that of a document in which his successor, Raniero, is mentioned. So to set the limits was in itself a highly questionable procedure, for there is nothing to tell us that Raniero was not elected a few years earlier (2). However, realizing, at least, that Giovanni might actually have been elected a few years before 1107, he most often states — less precisely but more prudently — that he was elected in the first decade of the twelfth century. Now, at one place in his narrative, he says that Giovanni made the Psalter *after* having repented and become Abbot, which would mean in the first decade of the twelfth century, while elsewhere he says the work is most likely to have been done in the last two decades of the eleventh century, though still allowing it *might* have been done in the first decade of the twelfth (3). No resolution of this contradiction in Giorgetti's mind could today be found, nor would it, in fact, be important, for there was, in reality, no room for the vaguer dating, 1080-1110, implied in the second opinion.

Giorgetti himself cited a decree given by the Countess Mathilda on June 20th, 1099, by which she confirmed the possessions of the Monastery, and in which a Giovanni is mentioned (4). But he failed to notice that this Giovanni was the Abbot, thus that Giovanni II had already been elected to the Office in 1099 (5). Since he failed also to notice that the Giovanni of the codex was definitely *not* the Abbot at the time the codex was made (see above), he failed to understand that if the Giovanni of the Psalter and the Abbot Giovanni were indeed one, then the Psalter *must* have been made before he became Abbot in 1099. It is important to insist on this, for many who, believing that Giorgetti's theories permitted a dating in the early twelfth century, accepted

(1) Florence, *Arch. di Stato, Carte dell'Ospedale di Bonifazio*. This is the Act of Foundation of a Hospice by the monks of the Monastery: cf. Neri, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 291-4.

(2) On the error probably involved in the 1107 date, see, p. 3, note 3.

(3) Giorgetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 132, 131.

(4) *Ibid.*, p. 134.

(5) The document is printed in full in Della Rena & Camici, *Scrive dei duchi*, etc., Vol. III, pp. 88-91, the name occurring on p. 90:

... *Que omnia in hac cartulam scribere rogavimus, & manibus nostris in manu Johannis Abbatis, sepe facti, monasterii de Martini Deo offerenda posuimus.*

them, will, no doubt, understanding that they impose a dating in the late eleventh, be prepared without further ado to reject them.

Nonetheless, we shall follow the matter to the end.

Giorgetti's multiple identifications rest, in the last analysis, upon three identities — the identity of name, the identity of Office, and the identity of an artistic, or art-loving nature (1).

As to the identity of name, this would, as has been said with reference to Bandini's use of it, hardly be valid ground for the identification. There were too many Giovanni's abroad at the time — it would be perilous even to hold it unlikely that, through the long time-span involved — from 1070-76 to 1108 (or even only to 1099) — there were two monks of the same name in the Monastery (2). Some of the names may in actual fact refer to identical individuals, but on the basis of name alone, there is absolutely no way of deciding which they are, of deciding, that is, how the names should be grouped.

With reference to Office, objections to two of Giorgetti's identifications need to be considered: first, to the identification of the Giovanni of the codex with the Giovanni *miniature* of 1070-76; and second, to his identification with the Abbot Giovanni II. As to the first, the Giovanni of the 1070-76 document was not, as far as can be gathered from the document, a monk at all. He is referred to at one point as *Johannes clericus de Gaiano*, and at another as *Johannes miniator* (see also below). While he might later have become a monk, and even an Abbot, this is by no means certain. The identification is, in any case, much less convincing than it would be were this Giovanni actually called a monk in the document. As to the second, we have already seen that when the Codex was made, its owner, Giovanni, was *not* the Abbot. Nor is there any evidence that he ever became one, so that the postulate of an identity of Office between the Giovanni of the codex and Abbot Giovanni of 1108 is airy as well.

But the weakest prop for the complex of identifications is that involving the artistic connections of the supposed Giovanni.

In the first place, it is obvious that only if the conclusion that a Giovanni ordered, owned or illustrated the Psalter is foregone, as, for example, Davidsohn believed it was (he was thinking, of course, of Giovanni I), are there any grounds at all for calling him art-loving. If, on the contrary, what we are trying

(1) It rests also, of course, upon an identity of locus — all the Giovanni's, including him of the Psalter, were connected in some way with S. Michele a Marturi. But in view of the long time-span involved and the commonness of the name Giovanni, no weight can be assigned this identity.

(2) I may even cite yet another reference to a Giovanni, which Giorgetti seems to have overlooked, a monk of that name acting as representative of S. Michele in the settlement of a litigation in 1076, concerning certain properties held by the Monastery but claimed by one Sizone, a cleric or clerk of Florence, who might, too, be brought into connection with the others. This document is spoken of at length by Neri (*op. cit.*, III, pp. 199-200). It is perhaps necessary to insist that this document is not the same as the document of 1070-76, cited several times by Giorgetti, who, strangely enough, does not mention it at all. See, further, below.

to prove is precisely that a Giovanni ordered, owned or illustrated the Psalter because he was art-loving, as was Giorgetti, then to say he was art-loving because he ordered, owned, or illustrated the Psalter, as did Giorgetti, is merely begging the question. The entire idea that a Giovanni, either the Abbot of 1061 or the monk of 1089, later, in 1099, Abbot, was art-loving and therefore might be supposed to have been the commissioner, owner, or illustrator of the Psalter was based upon argument in a vicious circle.

In the second place, as to the value to be given a witness Giovanni's fancy monogram at the bottom of the document of 1089 as a reason for identifying him either with a Giovanni *miniature* mentioned in 1070-76 or with an Abbot, supposed to be art-loving, little comment need, I believe, be made (1).

In the third place, the link in the chain which seemed the strongest, the Giovanni *miniature* of the 1070-76 document, turns out to be the weakest of all, for it is found upon examination of the terms of the document to be almost certainly beyond the range of physical possibility that he could have been the same as the monk Giovanni of 1089, still less as the Abbot Giovanni of 1099-1108. The fact that Giorgetti himself printed the document in full renders all the more surprising his misinterpretation of it (2).

The document recounts the circumstances that gave rise to a dispute over certain properties between the Monastery of S. Michele and one Sizone. It has no date and is mutilated at the end, but a *terminus ante quem* for it is furnished by yet another document, dated in 1076, by which the representative of the Countess Beatrice of Tuscany decided the dispute in favor of the Monastery. Near its beginning, one *Bonizzo Castaldo de Marturi* and one *Johannes clericus de Gaiano* are mentioned together, and toward the end, the same *Castaldo Bonizzo* is mentioned with a *Johannes miniator*. This repeated coupling would in itself suggest that both references to Giovanni are to the same person, and the entire context confirms this. Furthermore, it is almost certain that the

(1) As a matter of fact, Giorgetti went even farther in his use of the document of 1089. It concerns, as has been said, the founding of a Hospice by the monks of S. Michele, and the name *Giovanni monaco indegno* appears among the witnesses at its foot. He suggested that, nevertheless, this Giovanni might have played a leading role in the enterprise, because the Hospice was known still 121 years later as the *Spedale del Cherico Giovanni* (*op. cit.*, p. 133) — a Hospice of this name is mentioned also, he it noted, in Matilda's Donation of 1099 — and he added this evidence of generous humanity to his circumstantial portrayal of his Giovanni's character. But it is highly doubtful, in the first place, whether the leading spirit in the foundation would go unmentioned in the body of the document, to appear only as a witness at its end. Moreover, Neri had already argued, and apparently with good reason, that the identification of the Hospice founded by the monks with that called 'del Cherico Giovanni' was the result of a confusion (*op. cit.*, III, p. 201, note 1).

(2) Neri, who had quoted excerpts from this document (*op. cit.*, III, p. 26), referred to Lorenzo Cantini for the fact it was drawn up shortly after 1070. Cantini does, indeed, make the statement, but it is obvious from his words that he was giving only a personal belief, and since he gives no reason for it, it is impossible to judge its validity (*Lettere a diversi illustri soggetti sopra alcune terre e Castella di Toscana*, Florence, 1808, *Lettera V, Memorie della terra di Poggibonsi*, pp. 33-37). Cantini quotes the document in full, with many manifest errors.

first term, *clericus*, referred not to an ecclesiastic but to a clerk, a scribe, who was co-administrator of margravian affairs, and that the second term, *miniator*, referred not to a painter of miniatures but to one who used minium in the rubrication of manuscripts, thus that the latter was used as a synecdochical synonym for the former (1). If this is so, then the idea of an art-loving Giovanni is further weakened. But the matter may be thought uncertain and need not be pressed. The point to make here is that the two terms speak for an identity of the two references in the document.

The document tells how one Guinizzo had ceded to the Tuscan Margrave Ugo (961-1001) the Castle of Papaiano and the Church of S. Andrea, retaining, however, the usufruct for himself, and how *ex illo die* margravian affairs were administered by *Bonizzo* and *Giovanni*, how Ugo thereafter founded the Monastery of Marturi (998) and turned over to it much property, including the Castle and Church, but how his successor, Bonifazio (1002-12), having devastated the Monastery, confiscated its property and how the Castaldo Bonizzo was re-invested as administrator of the Castle, one *Leo presbyter* being appointed margravian chaplain in the Church. It goes on to tell how the next Margrave, Raniero (1014-24), re-invested the Monastery with title to much property, but retained much for himself, the status of the Castle and the Church being left somewhat uncertain. It goes on to tell how Benno, son and heir of Guinizzo, evidently taking advantage of the uncertainty concerning title, denied that his father's cession to Ugo had alienated his right to dispose of the property and began to sell and rent parts of it, and how Sizone, a cleric, or clerk, of Florence, son of the *Leo presbyter* mentioned above, *who was still living*, bought the Chapel from Benno against the advice of his father, who had doubts about Benno's right to sell. At the same time, the Abbot of the Monastery pressed its claim to the Chapel, but was unable to obtain satisfaction because the administrators considered it to have been retained by the Margrave. Meanwhile Sizone, too, demanded of the *Castaldo Bonizzo* and *Johannes miniator* that he be invested with title to what he had bought from Benno, but these, having been bribed by another interested party, one Ardingo, whose exact role in the proceedings need not concern us, refused.

The only reason for retailing all this is to show that, although it is somewhat difficult to fix the exact date of the latest events in connection with which Giovanni's name appears for the second time, it is most likely that they took place still under the Margrave Raniero (i.e. before 1024), or a few years later. But however that may be, it seems clear that a Giovanni who was old enough to administer margravian property just before 998 must have been born

(1) Cf. on this point, e.g. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, Leipzig, 1896, pp. 244-51, 311-18, and especially pp. 363-69. The exact moment at which the extension of the meaning of *miniator* to a painter of figural illustrations took place is not easily determinable, but it is not likely to have been widespread until somewhat later. Moreover, here, there is, in addition, the context of lay administration to make the restricted meaning the more likely.

at least in 980 and is more likely to have been born several years earlier, say about 975. In 1070 — accepting this as the approximate date of the document — he would, if still living — which is not at all certain — have been 90 to 95 years of age. He could certainly not have signed a document in 1089 or have been elected Abbot of the Monastery in 1099, much less be still living in 1108. Thus, even if the interpretation of *miniator* as miniature painter be conceded, and even if a dating of between 1099 and ca. 1110 were accepted for the Psalter, this Giovanni could have had nothing to do with it.

What then have we left? Only a series of documents referring to an unknown number of Giovannis spread over more than a century, none of which can on any grounds at all be identified with the Giovanni of the codex! It is possible that one or more of the documents do in fact refer to this Giovanni, but we have no way of knowing which. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the Psalter was commissioned and owned by a monk — *not an Abbot* — named Giovanni and that other evidence — in the script, the initials, and the figural illustrations — tells he must have been alive about the middle of the twelfth century.

2. *A Giant Bible in the Vatican and an Evangelary in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.*

A giant Bible, once in S. Cecilia in Rome, which came to the Vatican in 1902 with the Barberini Collection (Barberini No. XII, 30; now Barb. lat. 587), is one of the important pieces in the complex of Roman painting during the revival of the late eleventh and of the twelfth century. Writings on it furnish an example of how the faulty observation of historical evidence can distort our ideas concerning stylistic evolution, for here, contrary to what had occurred in the case of the Psalter just considered, it actually induced art historians to give up a close-to-correct belief they had achieved about the Bible's place in history.

The Bible seems first to have been mentioned in 1913 by Bannister, who accorded it a short paragraph in connection with a few lines of musical notation in it (1). No doubt on the strength of a notice on fol. 308 v. concerning the dedication of an altar to S. Marmenia in S. Cecilia in 1098, he concluded it was written before that year, and on the strength of a formally rubricated date, 1097, in the lower righthand margin of fol. 307, which is obviously in the same hand and minium as the neighboring rubric in the text, probably in this year. And no doubt on the strength of the same notice, and other notices concerning altars and relics in the church that are on the same folio (308 v.), he believed it *written for S. Cecilia*. In 1922, Quentin, accepting Bannister's

(1) H. M. BANNISTER, *Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 139, No. 415.

observations concerning the date, placed the manuscript about 1097 (1). And on the strength of a figure of S. Cecilia between Tiburzio and Valeriano, which appears on fol. 4 v., and of the notices on fol. 308 v., he considered that it came from S. Cecilia.

However, in 1927, Toesca, occupied rather with the style of the figural illustrations in the Bible, after having correctly placed those in an Evangelary of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome (cod. E. 16) at the beginning of the twelfth century, suggested that the former were perhaps of a somewhat later phase (2). He attached the Bible to his Umbro-Roman group, but said nothing concerning its relations with S. Cecilia. But in 1929, having no doubt meanwhile reconsidered the evidence of the marginal date, he reversed his previous position, adhered to the date ca. 1097 and even suggested, on the strength of one of the notices on fol. 308 v. concerning the dedication in 1080 of a new altar to S. Cecilia, that the Bible might have been made a bit before 1097 and possibly closer to 1080 (3). He spoke at this time of the « *appartenenza originaria* » of the Bible to the church, but what exactly he meant to convey by this phrase is unclear. In 1931, Ladner, too, accepted 1097 as the approximate date, and, on the strength of the figure of S. Cecilia on fol. 4 v. and the notices on fol. 308 v., stated that the provenance of the Bible from the church was assured, its facture for the church probable (4). Finally, as late as 1951, I myself spoke of a date about 1097 (5). Thus, a gradual agreement had been achieved about the date of the Bible in the neighborhood of 1097, as well as about its close connection with S. Cecilia, although nobody had had the courage to state in so many words that it might have been made in S. Cecilia (6).

A belief that the Bible might have been made in S. Cecilia would, as a matter of fact, have been justifiable, for a flourishing monastery is known to have been attached to the Church at an early date (7). The old Church itself had by the early ninth century fallen into extreme decay. Paschal I (817-21)

(1) H. Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'établissement du texte de la Vulgate, etc.*, Rome, 1922. It had not been mentioned either by H. Berger in 1893 or by Swarczewski in his *Salzburger Malerei* of 1913 among the many others of the group in connection with their influence on Salzburg.

(2) P. Toesca, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, 1927, p. 1053.

(3) The same, *Miniature romane, etc., Ist. di archeol. e storia dell'arte, Rivista*, Vol. I, 1929, pp. 74-76.

(4) G. Ladner, *Italienische Malerei im 11. Jahrh., Jahrbuch der allerb. Kaiserhauses in Wien*, n. F., Vol. V, 1931, pp. 51-55.

(5) E. B. Garrison, *Addenda ad Indicum I. Boll. d'arte*, Vol. XXXVI, 1951, p. 209.

(6) Only Boeckler, in 1930, by joining the Bible to the group, committed himself to a North Italian attribution, to which he held for the whole group, following Berger (1893) and Swarczewski (1913) (*Abendländische Miniaturen*, pp. 68-71). The Bible was mentioned also by N. Gabrielli, *La Bibbia Atlantica della Bibl. Bevinona di Genova, etc., Acc. e Bibl. d'Italia*, Vol. VI, 1932-33, pp. 41, 46-47.

(7) On this Monastery: J. Laderchi, *S. Caeciliae... Acta, et Transtiberina Basilica*, etc., 2 vols., Rome, 1722-23, Vol. I, p. 293; Vol. II, p. 7; E. Jacquinou, *Documenti di S. Cecilia in Trastevere, Sac. rom. di stor. pat., Archivio*, Vol. XLIX, 1926, pp. 356, 363, 365; M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma, etc., ad vocem*.

reconstructed it and built the Monastery. In 1100, the Monastery was in its turn reconstructed by Paschal II. The Monastic Order residing in it at this time is, unfortunately, not determinable with certainty. Pietro Damiani (died 1072) speaks of a *Canonicam Beatae Caeciliae Transtiberim*, from which we may deduce that it was in his day under Canonical Rule — and, indeed, a tradition has it at one time under the *Canonici Lateranensi*. But later the Benedictines are known to have held it. Whether the Canons or the Benedictines were in the Monastery at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century is not established, but in either case, it is entirely possible — although there is no documentary evidence — that a scriptorium was active there then. We shall, indeed, bring strong evidence in favor of believing that it was.

Now some time after my first contact with the Bible, a second, more sapient examination of it, and more mature consideration, convinced me that the script, the initials, and the figural illustrations all combine to assert that Toesca had been closer to the truth in 1927 — more precisely that the Bible must have been made in the decade between 1115 and 1125, and that there was much amiss with the evidence of the 1097 date, which seemed to compel placing it many years too early and which, since it made of the Bible the only dated manuscript in the early Roman group that contains illustrations, stood in the way of a reasonable view of stylistic evolution. It convinced me, too, that Toesca was correct in making it a Roman work, but that though it might have been made for or in S. Cecilia, the grounds thus far used for postulating its original or early connection with that Church were invalid.

My second examination revealed, in short, what all, including myself, had failed to remark, namely that the marginal date, along with all the dated notices concerning altars and relics in S. Cecilia, are in a separate, intercalated brochure, comprising fols. 304 to 308 v. — probably taken from some other codex — the original text of which, from fol. 304 to fol. 308, shows a script entirely different from and earlier than that in the main body of the Bible and an initial D entirely different from and earlier than all the other initials. It revealed, too, a fact overlooked entirely by Ladner and though noticed by Toesca slighted by him, namely that the first quaternion, from fol. 1 to fol. 8 v., which contains the S. Cecilia illustration, is a thirteenth-century replacement (1). It revealed, therefore, that the 1097 tells nothing at all concerning the main body of the Bible and that none of the evidence concerning S. Cecilia, either the illustration on fol. 4 v. or the notices concerning altars in the Church on

(1) Toesca (*loc. cit.*, 1929) had this quaternion « *alquanto più tarde* » than the rest of the Bible, noting the script with tendencies toward the Gothic, but because he believed the important evidence for facture for S. Cecilia to lie in the notices on fol. 308 v., and because, no doubt, he was less interested in this than in the more general fact of Roman facture, he laid no emphasis on the matter. The lateness of the quaternion was noted also by Gabrielli, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Boeckler, confronted with the necessity of accounting for the illustrations of S. Cecilia in a North Italian work, availed himself of the other evidence of location in S. Cecilia and called the first quaternion a Roman addition.

fol. 308 v., can be used to connect the main body of the Bible with the Church before the moment these folios were added to it.

In order to make entirely clear the situation thus revealed and its implications for the history of the Bible, it will be necessary to examine in some detail the entire make-up of the present volume and the relations between its various parts.

The life of the volume seems to have been rather a harried one, for the fact that the first quaternion, which contains St. Jerome's Prologue and the opening parts of the Old Testament, is a thirteenth-century replacement suggests that it must in the course of the twelfth or very early thirteenth century have been badly damaged at the front. The scribe of this quaternion used the script natural to him, which would be normal early in the latter century; from this the replacement can be dated approximately. But the illuminator and illustrator — in this case the nature of the work makes it certain one individual was both — imitated, or tried to imitate, the older style of initials and illustrations — a very exceptional example of such imitation in the period — with results little short of horrifying. On fol. 1 v. is the full-page F of the *Frater Ambrosius* in Jerome's Prologue, on fol. 4 a large initial D, on fol. 4 v. the oft-cited figure of S. Cecilia standing between Valerian and Tiberius, on fol. 5 a full-page Genesis illustration, colored only in small part, and on fol. 5 v. a large I left unfinished in outline — at this point the artist must have become discouraged with his efforts — and justifiably (1).

Important here is the fact that one of the props used for the theory that the Bible was made for S. Cecilia is thus destroyed, for the S. Cecilia illustration indicates only that it was in the Monastery in the early thirteenth century.

The Old Testament ends with *II Machabees* at the bottom of fol. 299 v. At the top of fol. 300 begins a *Prologus Quattuor Evangeliorum*, with which is continuous a *Prologue* for *St. Matthew* alone, ending on fol. 300 v. This is followed at once by a *Breviarium*, that is an analysis of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*, which ends in the right column on fol. 301. The *Explicit* of this *Breviarium* is in minium capitals, with uncial reminiscences (fig. 1). Immediately below it is an inscription in larger, heavier minium capitals: JOHANNES PRESBITER VIVAT IN CHRISTO, and immediately below this was once a long inscription in a wavy-line minium frame, which has been completely scratched away, only traces of the frame remaining. The *Canon Tables* occupy fols. 301 v., 302, 302 v. and 303. Fol. 303 v. is entirely blank.

At this point begins the inserted brochure with the date. It runs from fol.

(1) For all these elements, with the exception of the S. Cecilia illustration, in which he struck out for himself, he must have had before him, and held closely to, a model similar to the other giant illustrated Bibles now known, such as that from S. Maria ad Martyres (Pantheon; Vat. lat. 12958), or that from the Duomo of Todi (Vat. lat. 10405). But it must have been somewhat different from either of these two examples, because his Genesis illustration contains a final scene not found in either of theirs, the *Sacrifice of a Lamb*. The illustrations are reproduced by J. A. D. N. E. R., *op. cit.*, without hint that they are not of the same period as those in the rest of the Bible.

301 to 308 v.; thus it consists of five leaves and is a makeshift, not a full quaternion. On fol. 301, at the top of the left column is the opening rubric: *Libellus Typicam gerens figuram sci Hysidori Veteris Testamenti* (fig. 2). The text begins with the initial D already noted. On fol. 305 is another rubric: *Item Libellus*

falsitate hinc condegnatur et in ludum perferuntur abnegare et laen
 matur. Hic p[er] l[ic]et traditur et uiclas laqueo se suspendit. De agro
 figuli iudicium p[er]it et de baraba l[ic]etone.
 XXXVIIII In hoc ihu et sepultura et resurrectione eius. Ite[m] mandati et
 doctrina eius de baptismo.

E X P L I C I T

B R E V I A R I U M

IOHANNES PRESBITER VIVAT IN XPO.

Fig. 1. — Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, fol. 301.

Typicæ figuræ sci Hysidori in Evangelio. On fol. 307 occurs yet another: *Sci Ieronimi Presbiteri De generibus monachorum*. It is in the margin next to this rubric that the date occurs: ANN. D. M.LXCVII / IND. V. M. IIII., within a simple wavy-line frame (fig. 3). Following are St. Isidore's *De christiano nomine*, *De nomine ecclesie*, and *De religione christiana*, each with a rubricated title. This is the original text of the insert: it ends at the bottom of the left column on fol. 308. It is all by a single hand (1). In the right column is a short added

(1) This is so in spite of differences to be discussed, for with reference to these differences it is necessary to note that they appear between the writing on the smooth surfaces of the parchment and that on the rough surfaces, all the former fols. 301, 305 v., 306, 307 v., an

text, with rubric, by a different but approximately contemporary hand: *Aileranus dicit...*

With reference to the 1097 date, it is, in reality, difficult to interpret. Placed irregularly in the margin next to a text that calls for no dating of the sort, it is

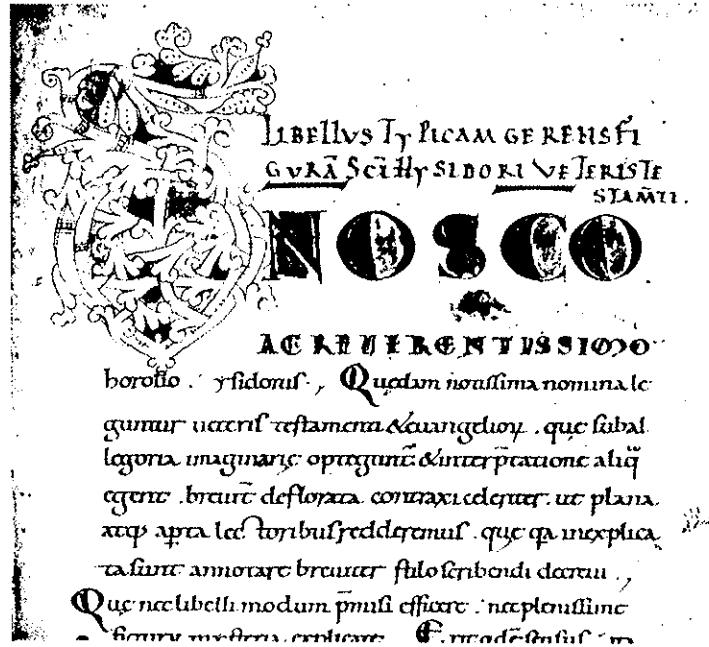


Fig. 2. - Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, fol. 304.

natural to think of it as a scribe's entry of the day on which he reached this point in his labors — thus that it can be used to date, at least approximately, the codex from which the insert was taken. And while this may be correct, it must be admitted that it is not absolutely certain. The question now has, in any case, less importance than once it had.

308) being identical, all the latter (fols. 304 v., 305, 306 v., and 307) being identical. The differences can be explained only as a difference of *ductus* induced by the difference in surface. Be it noted, too, that it is the script on the rough surfaces that is the most distinctive and typical, and comprehensibly so, because it was there the scribe must have made the greatest efforts to maintain its character and must have been, therefore, the most conscious of his hand.

All the notices concerning altars and relics in S. Cecilia are on the verso of fol. 308. Over them is a rubric: *Epytremia sanctorum et Eucenia altariorum* (1). The first notice tells of the dedication of the Church of S. Cecilia by Paschal I in 822 and of his placing the bodies of Cecilia and other saints in it. Then follow other notices concerning the placing of relics in various altars and their dedication: S. Salvatore 1054, S. Maria 1071, S. Andrea 1074, S. Giovanni Battista 1072, S. Cecilia 1073, a new altar to S. Cecilia 1080, and the making of a silver

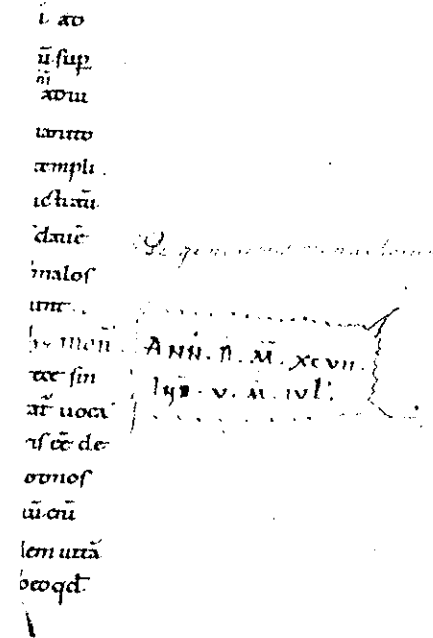


Fig. 3. - Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, fol. 307.

statue of the saint in the same year (2). Immediately below these notices is an inscription in minium capitals: *CHRISTE SACERDOTI VENIAM CONCEDE*

(1) I can explain the *epytremia* only as a corruption of *epitonia*, plural of the mediaeval form *epitonium* (now *epitome*). *Eucenia* was a term used for *Dedication*.

(2) All these inscriptions are reprinted by L. d'Acchiti, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 10-14, but he seems to say he took them from a *Registe* in the Archives of the Basilica. This may explain some differences in readings and dates — but these may, too, be owing to errors. For example, he has the S. Salvatore notice dated 1080 instead of 1055, that of S. Andrea 1073 instead of 1074, etc., and he has S. Marmetis for S. Marmenia. See also his own notes, *ibid.*, pp. 15-18.

IOHANNI (fig. 4). All these notices are by a single hand, which is not, apparently, the same as that responsible for the principal text of the insert (but see below).

Under the inscription, another hand has added a notice concerning the dedication of an altar to S. Marmenia in 1098, while below this still, yet another, a rougher, hand has added an undated notice concerning the altar of S. Jacopo.

The facts that the dated notices including the second one of 1080 are formally headed (and perhaps signed; see below), that they are in good book

I N I S O quippe anno facta est ycona maior scilicet
 ut dicitur in purissimo pensante Libras xv.
 In quibus excessibus sancti parces. Scilicet. Ty motha
 apli. Urbanus pp. marcellinus pbr. felicissimus Aga
 pius. Eustratius mar. Gordianus. Mamilianus pig
 mentinus pbr. Malotius mar. Lunus confessoris. Lau
 line uirginis. vni ket' d'at'g. Temp. pbr. domni
 Iohis archisacerdos. Iohis pbr. Nycolaus pbr.
 Benedictus pbr. Francus pbr. Petrus pbr. Petri
 diae. Nycolaus diae. Silarius diae. Iohis subdiae
 Gregorius subdiae. Romani etc. Le Ricia.
 X P E SACER DOTI VNI AM CONC E P LO HANNI .
I N A L T A R E S C E M A R M E N I E quod est index
 tera manu altaris maioris sunt relique locate

Fig. 4. - Rome. Bibl. Vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, fol. 308 v.

script identical throughout — and the ink, too, remains the same — and that the S. Andrea notice is out of chronological order, all demonstrate that they were written at one time as a retrospective summary — that they were not current entries made as the events they tell of occurred. They could not, therefore, in any case be used as Toesca used them to place the writing « closer to 1080 than 1097 » (1). They can have been written only after the codex from which the insert

(1) The fact that the original notices go only to 1080, though probably added late in 1097 or early in 1098, simply means that there were no new dedications in the interval, the first after the codex was completed being that of 1098, which was duly entered.

was taken had been completed, i.e. probably after 1097. But in view of the fact that another notice concerning an event of 1098 was added below them, and most likely very shortly after the event, it seems necessary to suppose that they were written soon after, that is late in 1097 or early in 1098.

At the same time, the second prop for the belief that the Bible may have been made for S. Cecilia is destroyed, for since all the entries concerning that Church are in the insert, they serve to indicate only that the older codex from which the insert was taken was in the Church immediately after being made — whether it was made there or not remains uncertain. They tell nothing concerning the Bible, except, of course, that it must sometime have been brought to S. Cecilia to have the brochure inserted, which we should know in any case both from the replacement at its beginning, with the figure of S. Cecilia, and from its later presence in the Church.

On fol. 309 begins the *Gospel of Matthew* in the same hand as the text of *II Machabees* preceding the intercalated brochure. Later on in the volume are two less important inserts, both in the same hand as the main text of the insert already discussed. One, a single leaf only, fols. 361-361 v., containing a *Prologus Libri Actuum Apostolorum*, is between the Epistles *II Peter* and *I John*. The other, another single leaf, fols. 371-371 v., a *Canonis Epistolarum beati Pauli Apostoli*, is before *Paul to the Romans*.

That we have in these inserts to do with elements taken from an earlier codex, or codices — all three need not have come from the same work — and not with original elements in a different hand is confirmed by several details. That the first insert is an extraneous intercalation is evident from the heterogeneous text it contains, most of which has nothing to do with a Bible. It was probably taken from a volume of *Miscellanea*. In any case, it can have been used here at the beginning of the *Gospels* only because it contains the *Libellus Typicæ figuræ sci Hysidori in Evangelia*, which is taken from St. Isidore's *Allegoriæ ex Novo Testamento*, and which is, precisely, his explanation of the Four Evangelist Symbols. (1). Only this has any relevance at all at this point in the Bible. That the second insert is an extraneous element is equally certain. Its text concerning the *Acts of the Apostles* is only vaguely relevant between two *Apostolic Epistles*. But what is more decisive is that it actually cuts the *Capitula* for the *Epistle of John*, which are on fol. 360 v., from the *Epistle* itself, which is on fol. 362. And the third insert too, though its text, an analysis of the *Epistles of Paul*, is more appropriate at the place it occupies, cuts the *Capitula* of *Paulus ad Romanos* from the text in the same way.

Now, all three inserts are in a type of script, possibly related to that of the Casinese reform, which though it began in Farfa in the late eleventh century became characteristic there in the first quarter of the twelfth. This particular script differs sufficiently from the Farfese, however, to preclude confusion therewith. It is of greater solidity, compactness and squareness, and it is somewhat more slanting (figs 2, 3). It is, indeed, of so distinctive an appearance that we

(1) Cf. Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, Vol. LXXXIII, col. 117.

shall be able to recognize it again in another work (see below). All the rest of the Bible, on the other hand, is written in a rounder minuscule of highly Carolingian character (fig. 5). This general type of script, used over most of Italy since the Carolingian reform reached the Peninsula in the ninth century, had, especially in Roman scriptoria, been steadily degenerated, reaching the nadir of irregular ugliness in the late eleventh. Then, a first attempt at improvement seems to have been made — an improvement that had reached the stage of perfection seen in the Bible only late in the first quarter of the twelfth century.

And similarly, the initial D at the beginning of the first insert is of a colorless, calligraphic style, strongly influenced by the Ottonian, which was used in Farfa, as well as in Subiaco and in some Roman monasteries not clearly identified, through most of the eleventh century, and which survived in certain scriptoria into the twelfth (fig. 2). All the other initials in the Bible, on the other hand, are of a full-colored geometrical style that originated in Rome very early in the fourth quarter of the eleventh century and underwent steady refinement thereafter, reaching the stage seen in the Bible only toward the end of the first quarter of the twelfth (fig. 5).

Of both script and initials, I shall treat more fully in a forthcoming study of twelfth-century Central Italian initial styles. Suffice it here to say that both the script and the initials in the main body of the Bible would be normal considerably later than the script and the initial in the inserts, and that the distinction between the two is sufficient to vitiate any excuse one might be tempted to make for previous failures to observe it.

It should, then, be clear that the 1097 date in the insert is completely irrelevant to the dating of the Bible, and that we are perfectly free to date it according to the evidence of the script, the initials and the illustrations, all of which place it, as has been said, in the decade between 1115 and 1125.

It should be equally clear that the illustrations of S. Cecilia in the first quaternion, as well as the allusions to the Church in the insert, are irrelevant to the determination of the Bible's place of facture. We are, at this point, left without any indication of the scriptorium that produced it. As far as the evidence so far reviewed is concerned, it might have been brought from some other Roman monastery and had both the inserts and the replacement added in S. Cecilia, perhaps though not necessarily at the same moment in the thirteenth century.

Fortunately, strong light may be thrown on the problem of the scriptorium by another codex, an illustrated Evangelary in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (Plut. 17.27), which shows unmistakable signs of having been *made for* S. Cecilia, and which was very probably *made in* the attached monastery (1).

This Evangelary has already been coupled with the Bible by Toesca (1929), who pointed out the close relations between the illustrations in the two works.

1) Cf. G. Lami, *De eruditione apostolorum*, Florence, 1738, pp. 272-73; G. Bianchini, *Evangeliorum Quadruplex*, 1749, Vol. II, p. 584; A. M. Bandini, *Catalogue*, Vol. I, 1774, cols. 349 ff.; P. Toesca, *Storia, op. cit.*, 1927, p. 1053 and fig. 736; the same, *Miniature romane, op. cit.*, 1929, p. 76 and Pl. V, 2.

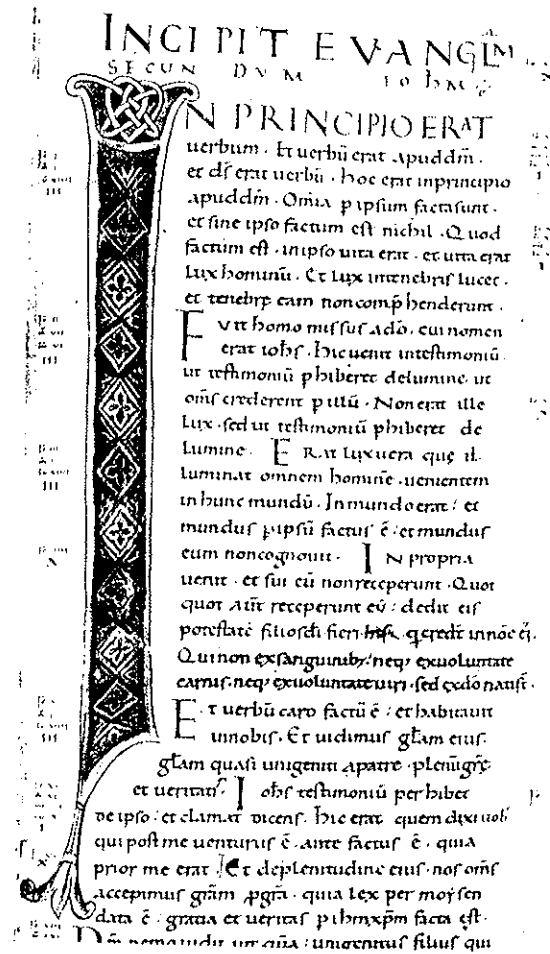


Fig. 5. - Rome, Bibl. Vaticana, Barb. lat. 587, fol. 338.

He was, moreover, the first to suggest, on the basis of the style of its illustrations, that the Evangelary is Roman, and with this idea in mind, he could plausibly interpret an inscription at its end telling that it was offered to St. Cecily to mean that it *came from* the Church of S. Cecilia in Rome (fig. 6). Further he did not go. The inscription is as follows:

ACCIPITO PARVUM MUNUS CAECILIA SANCTUM
 QUOD TIBI IOHANNES DEVOTE PRESBITER OFFERT
 ET BENE QUI DICTUS CELESTI DOGMATE COMPTUS

What has not been noted before is that since this inscription, which is in rubricated capitals with uncial traces, is regularly placed at the bottom of the righthand column on the last folio of the Evangelary and is by the same hand

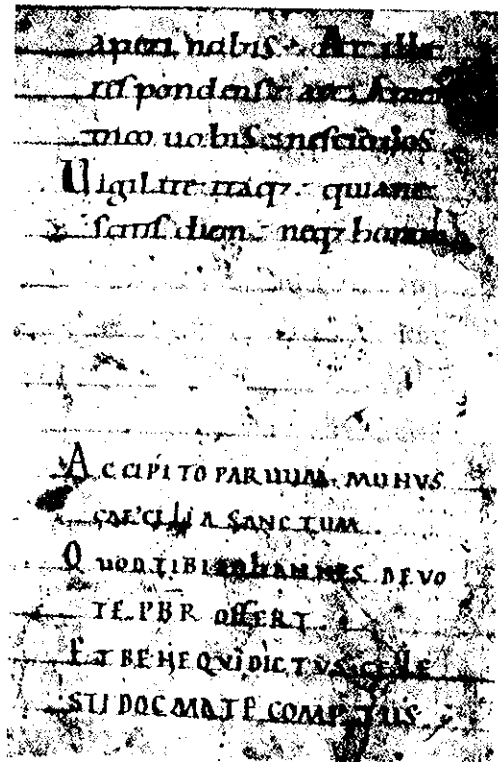


Fig. 6 - Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana, Plut. 17.27, fol. 150 v.

and in the same minium as the rubrics throughout the codex, it can be taken as a sort of colophon, thus as good indication that the Evangelary was *made for* the Church of S. Cecilia. Proof is to be extracted from a group of lections that follow the Gospels — part of the original work. They are for Epiphany, the Last Supper, Holy Saturday, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, S. Tiburzio, S. Urbano PP., and S. Cecilia. As is known from the first notice in the principal insert in the Bible (fol. 308 v.), the bodies of SS. Cecilia, Tiburzio and Urbano were the most important among those placed in the high altar of the Church by Paschal I. The presence of celebrations for only these saints, along with the Major Feasts can be explained only by supposing the Evangelary to have been made for the Church.

But it seems, taking all things into account, that one further step can be taken. Although there is no *proof*, it is most reasonable to believe that the Evangelary was actually *made in* the attached Monastery, which was, as has already been pointed out, an important one. This is likely whether it was inhabited by monks or by canons under monkish rule. Certainly, there are no grounds at all for believing it was brought from elsewhere.

What has not been hitherto noted either is that the principal scribe of this Evangelary is the same as the scribe of the three inserts in the Bible, or another so close to him as to be to all intents and purposes indistinguishable from him, and that the initial of the first insert and the initials of the Evangelary are by the same illuminator (whether scribe and illuminator were one is uncertain), or by illuminators so close to each other as to be to all intents and purposes indistinguishable (figs. 7, 8). In the initials, note the similarity not only of general character, but also of such minutiae as the shapes in the foliage, the « bindings » across the shafts, and the careless transverse lines placed here and there across both shafts and foliage-stems in groups of two or three. The extremely close relations between both script and initials should be manifest in our reproductions.

Further — the very close relations between the inscription containing the name Giovanni on fol. 308 v. of the Bible and the inscription at the end of the Evangelary are to be noted (figs. 4, 6). The two inscriptions are, apparently, by the same hand. If they are, then they might be taken as the signatures of a scribe and be used as confirmation of an identity of scribe in the Bible insert and the Evangelary. However, a serious difficulty stands in the way of this interpretation. The script of the notices below which the Bible inscription is placed, and to which it must if it is a signature refer, shows such marked divergencies from the script of the main body of the insert and of the Evangelary that it is difficult to convince oneself all the script is by the same hand. In other words, it seems that if the inscription on fol. 308 v. is indeed a signature to the added notices, it cannot be that of the writer of the main body of the insert — which is the part that resembles the Evangelary — and thus, finally, that it cannot be the signature of the Evangelary scribe. It might be possible, perhaps, to explain the divergencies in script by supposing the same hand to have worked at different ages, different stages of fatigue, or different degrees of formality — such notices as those added on fol. 308 v. did not require the

careful attention of formal book script. But any such explanation would be highly speculative: the matter must remain uncertain. Besides, there is, as

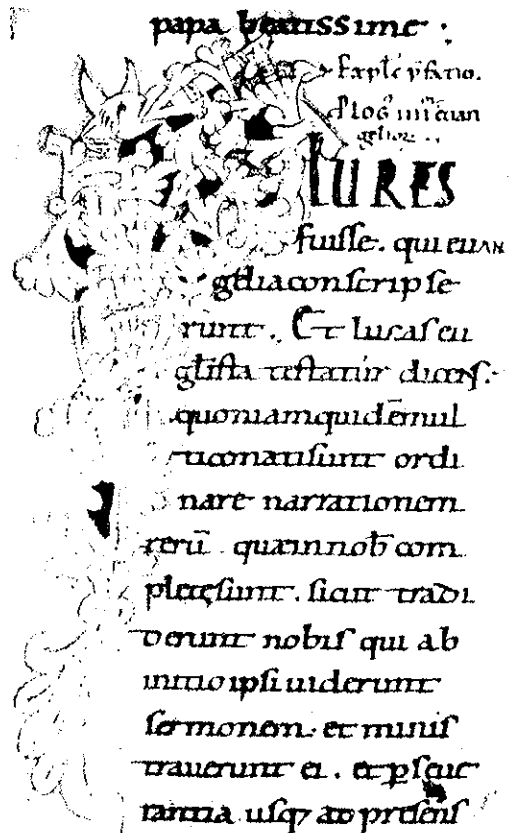


Fig. 7. - Florence. Bibl. Laurenziana. Plut. 17.27. fol. 3.

will be seen, no compelling reason for believing either inscription to be the signature of a scribe.

But however these things may be, however the likelihood of an identity between the scribes and illuminators of the Evangelary and of the codex from which the inserts were taken be judged, there can be no doubt that the two

codices were written and illuminated in the same scriptorium and that this scriptorium is most likely to have been in the Monastery of S. Cecilia.

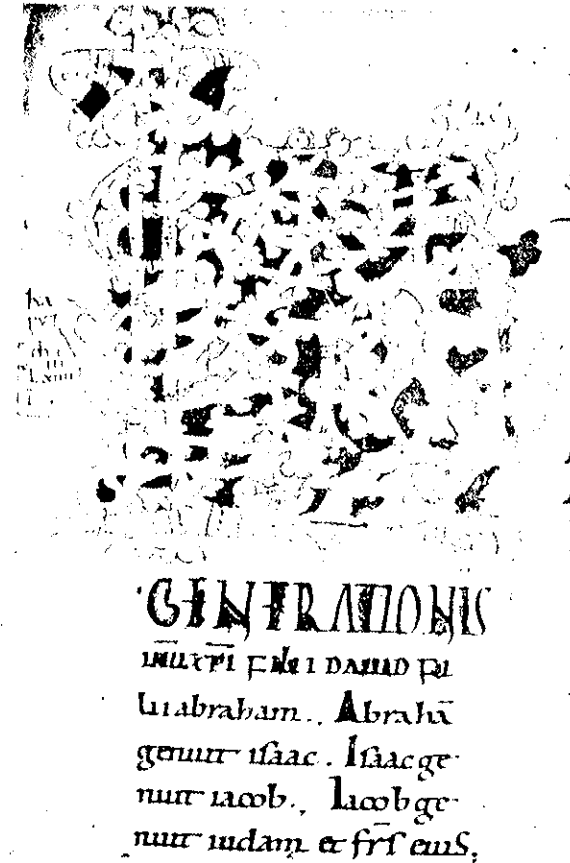


Fig. 8. - Florence. Bibl. Laurenziana. Plut. 17.27. fol. 7.

We may now return to the Bible. Evidence that it too was made in the same scriptorium lies in the relations between its illustrations and those of the Evangelary. They do not merely show similarities with these. They are, stylisti-

cally, direct derivatives therefrom (1). They are by a less skillful painter, whose relations with the painter of the Evangelary can best be described as those of pupil with master. The very special relations between the two works should be made manifest by confronting them with all the others that have by various authorities been brought into the Roman group. But the mere statement must here suffice; detailed comparisons must wait upon an opportunity to consider profoundly the style of the entire group.

The conclusion is obvious. While it is possible to believe that the lesson of the Evangelary's illustrations was learned by the illustrator of the Bible in some other Roman monastery, it is more satisfactory to believe that he worked in the same scriptorium that had produced the Evangelary. He may even have had the Evangelary before him as model. This scriptorium, it may here be repeated, seems most likely to have been in S. Cecilia.

Finally, it would seem that the multiple relations of all three codices, the Evangelary, the codex from which the Bible inserts were taken, and the Bible itself, with S. Cecilia, constant throughout their known history, cast an aura of plausibility about the postulate that all three were made in a scriptorium in the attached Monastery. The codex of the inserts may, as has been seen, have been made about 1097. A comparison between the simple initial of the first insert and the initials of the Evangelary would of itself suggest that the latter were the more mature, the later, work. And the style of the Evangelary illustrations concurs. It places them in the decade between 1110 and 1120 or thereabouts and this may thus be accepted as the approximate date of the Evangelary. The Bible, then, may very well have been made a few years later, that is — as we have supposed on the basis of its script, initials and figural style — in the decade between 1115 and 1125.

It remains to give some short consideration to the several appearances of the name Giovanni in the three codices, in order to determine whether they may be made to yield any confirmation of the datings proposed. They are, it will be remembered, as follows: on fol. 301, in the main body of the Bible: IOHANNES PRESBITER VIVAT IN CHRISTO; on fol. 308 v., in the insert: CHRISTE SACERDOTI VENIAM CONCEDE IOHANNI; and at the end of the Evangelary: ACCIPITO PARVUM MUNUS CAECILIA SANGTUM, QUOD TIBI IOHANNES DEVOTE PRESBITER OFFERT...

Two alternatives present themselves concerning these inscriptions: they may be autograph signatures of scribes — and note that the designation of priest is not against this, for priests under Canonical Rule lived like monks and followed similar pursuits — or they may be allograph invocations in favor of benefactors

(1) Toesca (1929) published an excellent comparison between the Evangelary's Matthew and the Bible's Naum, in which the derivative nature of the latter should be clear (Pl. V). To the same Evangelary figure should be compared also the Bible's Hoseah (fol. 180). The Evangelary's St. Mark should be compared with the Bible's enthroned figure at the head of 1 Kings, while its St. Luke finds faint echo in the Bible's Haggai (fol. 190).

of the Church, perhaps the donors of the codices. All three need not, of course, be the same in this respect, and it is to be considered also that in one or the other case, scribe and benefactor may have been an identical individual. Unfortunately, in the absence of specific information from all the inscriptions, it is impossible to determine the truth concerning them. Nevertheless, close examination reveals certain possibilities, or probabilities.

The inscription on fol. 308 v. of the Bible is placed immediately after a well-defined section of text, that is, the historical entries concerning altars in S. Cecilia, is symmetrically and formally placed with reference to that text, and shows letters that conform fairly well with those in the rubric at the head of the text (figs. 2, 3). It was, thus, most probably written at the same time as the text. It might, then, be the signature of the scribe. But since its terms are equally appropriate to a benefactor, it may, though written by the scribe of the text above it, nevertheless be an invocation in favor of a benefactor.

Similar considerations are in order with reference to the inscription at the end of the Evangelary. It, too, as has already been pointed out, is regularly placed and is in the same hand and minium as the rubrics of the codex (figs. 6, 7, 8). It, too, might, therefore, be the signature of a scribe. But here again, its terms are appropriate to a benefactor as well. The term « offert » may mean commissioned (or purchased) and-gives equally as well as wrote-and-gives. And the reference to Giovanni's erudition, too, would be appropriate to either.

The inscription on fol. 301 of the Bible, on the other hand, seems more likely to be an allograph invocation. It was very evidently added sometime after the text above it had been completed, for it is asymmetrically placed and is slightly crowded, its letters are different from those of the *Breviarium Explicit* above it, and its minium is somewhat duller (fig. 1). It would be difficult to explain the later addition of a scribe's signature, and especially difficult to explain its addition at this particular point, for the script of the Bible-text that follows the insert (from fol. 309 onward) is the same as that which precedes the insert, so that the inscription does not mark any change of scribe. It seems, therefore, easier to accept it as written in favor of a benefactor — it might very well have been added to the Bible at the moment its Giovanni had earned special distinction, esteem or gratitude in S. Cecilia.

A second question must, of course, at once arise concerning these inscriptions: can any two of the Giovannis mentioned in them be taken as the same individual? But neither is any definite answer possible to this question. If the inscriptions are allograph, nothing positive can be determined in this respect (but see below). As has been pointed out in another connection, the name Giovanni was one of the commonest of the time. Mere identity of name is no sign of identity of person. Nor does the qualificative appellation of priest make matters much simpler, for there would be nothing untoward in supposing three priests of the same name in the same *Canonica*, especially as a period of from fifteen to twenty-five years may be involved. Indeed, in the single notice about the statue made of S. Cecilia in 1080, which is on fol. 308 v. of the Bible, three different priests of the name appear: a *Iohannes archisacerdos*, a *Iohannes presbiter*, and a

Johannes subdiaconus (fig. 4)! There are, as has been pointed out, some grounds for believing that the inscription on fol. 308 v. of the Bible was written by the same hand as that at the end of the Evangelary. But unless it were certain that both are autograph signatures, which it is not, the fact would not argue for an identity of the two Giovanniis, for though written by the same person, they might refer to two different persons.

In the speculations thus far undertaken, nothing for or against the datings proposed for the manuscripts has been found. But we may perhaps make other speculations yield some confirmation of them, or at least some information in consonance with them. Quentin was attempting something of the sort for the then commonly accepted 1097 date for the Bible when he suggested identifying the *Johannes presbiter* of the inscription on fol. 301, whom he believed to be a scribe, with the *Johannes archisacerdos* of the 1080 notice on fol. 308 v. But this identification is, as a matter of fact, less likely than another he might have made — indeed, it is difficult to understand why he picked out this particular Giovanni in the notice. In view of the perfect correspondence of appellation, the *Johannes presbiter* of fol. 301 would more likely be the *Johannes presbiter* of the notice! In either case, a Giovanni of 1080 might very well have been living and writing in 1097, or in 1097/98, when, we have supposed, the notices were actually written.

And on similar grounds, it would have been more plausible to identify the *Johannes archisacerdos* of the notice with the *Johannes sacerdos* of the inscription just below it — the synecdoche in the latter term is a natural one. In fact, in the somewhat unusual terms, *sacerdos* and *archisacerdos* — instead of *presbiter* and *archipresbiter* — may lie evidence in favor of the identification. A Cardinal priest who was the titular of one of the great Roman churches had the title of *Archipresbiter*.⁽¹⁾ The connotations of this title were at the time distinct and well known to all. From 1058 onward, possibly until 1086, the *Archipresbiter* of S. Cecilia was Desiderius, Abbot of Montecassino⁽²⁾. Being absent from his Roman tenure most of the time, he may at a given moment, which need not have been much before 1080, very well have appointed a vicar and have designated him as *Archisacerdos* precisely to distinguish the title from his own. But the notice on fol. 308 v. informs us that the statue of S. Cecilia, made « *temporibus domini Johannis archisacerdotis* », was made in 1080. If we are correct in believing that the Bible was produced between 1115 and 1125 and that the inscription on fol. 301 was added after it was done, then the identification becomes somewhat less attractive, for it is somewhat less likely that a Giovanni living in 1080 would still be living and writing about 1120.

But however these things may be, yet another identification presents itself.

(1) Cf. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica, ad vocem*.

(2) Cf. Ciacconio, *De Vit. Pont.*, Vol. I, p. 873; C. B. Piazza, *La gerarchia cardinalizia*, Rome, 1703, pp. 325 ff.; L. Cardella, *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali della Santa Romana Chiesa*, Vol. I, Rome, 1792, pp. 214-25; F. Cristofori, *Storia dei Cardinali di Santa Romana Chiesa*, etc., Rome, 1888, p. 66.

Although there is nothing to compel its acceptance either, it seems worthwhile to call attention to it, if for no other reason than that others who have written of these Giovanniis have overlooked it, though it is, in fact, the most attractive of all.

In spite of what has been said concerning the difficulties of determining whether any of the Giovanniis were the same (unless the inscriptions be taken as autograph signatures), there is this to be said. If the inscription at the end of the Evangelary and that added to the Bible on fol. 301 are allograph invocations, there are some grounds for believing them to refer to the same Giovanni. Each would almost certainly refer to a person of great prominence in S. Cecilia, and it seems somewhat more likely that there would be one person of the name of *sufficient prominence* to appear in invocations in books made there than two persons. In other words, it seems somewhat more likely that the inscriptions refer to the same person than to different persons.

Now, precisely in the first quarter of the twelfth century, we find a person of the greatest prominence in S. Cecilia who was named Giovanni, the titular *Archipresbiter* of the Church, appointed by Paschal II. Ciacconio says of him:

Johanne. Presbiter Cardinalis Tit. Sanctae Caeciliae
interfuit, & subscripsit Concilio Vastallensis (i.e.
of Gualtalla: 1106), & Lateranensis (i.e. 1122), &
post Paschalis obitum, cum aliis Cardinalibus Gelasium
elegit. Obiit sub Honorio II post annum 1128. (1).

This Giovanni is supposed to have been made Cardinal and titular of the Church at the second ordainments by Paschal, usually though not always placed in 1104. The year of his death, too, has at times been questioned, it having been said that it must have been before 1125.⁽²⁾ But though the *termini* of his stewardship are somewhat obscure, it is nonetheless certain that he was the titular of the Church precisely during the period within which we believe both Evangelary and Bible were produced. He is the person of prominence most likely to be mentioned in invocations of the sort with which we may be dealing.

It is even possible to believe that it was this same Giovanni who was a *sacerdos* in the Church about 1097-98, thus that the Giovanni of the inscription on fol. 308 v., too is he. Whether the *Johannes archisacerdos* of the notice concerning 1080 as well might be brought into the nexus is here, as before, on the grounds of his early date somewhat doubtful. In any case, this identification would comfort our datings of the two codices, or rather, would yield information in consonance with them. But in the end, I do not wish to insist upon it, for to do so would be merely to add to the vast accumulation of doubtful statements made in such matters. Nothing can, in reality, be said with certainty about the

(1) Ciacconio, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 912 (No. 14).

(2) A Giovanni Roberto Capinucchi is supposed to have been *Archipresbiter* of S. Cecilia in that year (cf. Cardella, *loc. cit.*). But there is disagreement among authorities even today.

three inscriptions; they tell nothing incontestable about the identity of their *Giovannis*, or about the date of the manuscripts in which they occur.

3. *A Giant Old Testament in the Vatican.*

A giant Old Testament in the Vatican (Vat. lat. 4216), from the Monastery of S. Croce in Fonte Avellana, near Gubbio, in the twelfth century within Papal territory, which contains numerous colored initials, is, though it contains no figural illustrations, of great importance to the history of painting indirectly, for, having a colophon which comprises a date and from the terms of which can be deduced the fact that it was made in the Monastery, it serves as a keypin in establishing the evolution of Central Italian initial styles and thus furnishes valuable evidence for dating other manuscripts that contain both initials and illustrations (1). But writings about this manuscript afford a surprising example of how carelessly historical evidence of the sort can at times be treated. Although the colophon has twice been reproduced in full, no attempt was, apparently, ever made to decipher it, a piece of negligence that has encouraged two erroneous lines of opinion to harden about the manuscript, one of which placed it from seventy-five to one hundred years too early, the other of which placed it more than one hundred and twenty-five years too late!

The manuscript seems first to have been mentioned by Vercellone in 1860 (2). He informs us that it was brought from S. Croce in 1562, to be used in the revision of the Vulgate, about that time being spurred (3). In accordance with the underdating rife in his day, he had it of the tenth century, and he suggested that it might be part of a Bible known to have been given to the Monastery by S. Pietro Damiani, its Abbot from 1013 to 1058 (4). He refers in support to Migne, without any explanation (5). But we find the reference to be merely to the reprint of an *opuscula* by Pietro, *de ordine eremitarum et facultatibus eremi Fontis Avellanae*, in which he tells of having supplied the library of the Monastery with many books, including an Old and a New Testament.

The damage wrought by this tentative suggestion would not have been great had not, as late as 1919-20, G. Vitaletti, on the basis of it, decided

(1) See my forthcoming study of twelfth-century Central Italian initial styles.

(2) G. Vercellone, *Vulgar lectiones Vulgatae*, Vol. I, Rome, 1860, p. xix, note 2; p. xci.

(3) On fol. 1, in a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century hand, is: *Est Monasterii S. Crucis Fontis Avellanae*. The present binding can be dated exactly between 1623 and 1626, by the Papal stemma on the front, Urban VIII (1623-44), and by the Librarian's stemma on the back, Cabelluzzi (1618-26).

(4) G. Vitaletti, *Un inventario di codici del sec. XIII, e le vicende della Biblioteca dell'Archivio e del Tesoro di Fonte Avellana*, *La Bibliofilia*, Vol. XX, 1918-19, pp. 249-61, 297-315; Vol. XXI, 1919-20, pp. 42-76, 117-56, 291-338; O. J. Beuermann, *The Fonte Avellana Library*, in *St. Peter Damiani: His Teaching on the Spiritual Life*, Washington, D. C., 1947, pp. 58-61.

(5) *Patrol. lat.*, Vol. CXLV, col. 331.

that he had in this Old Testament definitely identified the one given by S. Pietro (1). And he lent plausibility to this identification by quoting from the handwritten Catalogue of the Vatican Library to the effect that the Bible was dated 1070. But if we turn to this Catalogue, we find that he misquoted it. Whether his preconceptions influenced the error is not certain, but certain is that the Catalogue has 1270, not 1070 (2). It is Vercellone and Vitaletti who printed the colophon in full without attempting to decipher it. In 1930, Boeckler, too, aligned himself with Vitaletti as to the date. And though he called attention to the Fonte Avellana provenance, and went on to say that the Bible was written by a monk Atto and a Prior Savinus, he failed to connect the two facts, maintaining it was North Italian and probably Milanese (3).

Whether the 1270 date in the Vatican Catalogue was actually based upon a misreading of the colophon cannot be said. But it may lie behind the other line of opinion, which had already reached publicity in Berger's work of 1893 (4). Berger dated the Bible in the thirteenth century and called its text a late mixture. It was he who had first suggested that all the group with which he connected it was North Italian and probably Milanese. In 1922, Quentin removed the textual origin of the group to Rome, but he left Berger's dating of this member of it unchallenged (5).

And yet the matter should have been very simple. The colophon, which is on the last page of the volume, reads as follows:

CODICE IAM FACTO. TIBI FRATRE VITA SIT ATTO,
FIT STUDIO CUIUS PARS MAGNA VOLUMINIS HUIUS
QUAEQUE FUERE MINUS PRIOR ADDENS CUNCTA SAVINUS
GENUM FECIT OPUS LIBRIS CONSTARE DUOBUS,
HORMI PICCALIS PUS ET SIT FONIS PIELVUS,
SEMPER ET ABSQUE MORA LECTOR CUM Legeris ORA.
VIRGINEI PARTUS FUERAT TUNC TEMPORIS ANNUS
SEX TUS MILLENUS BIS TER NOVIESQUE DEGENUS.

First, as to the date, given in the last line! The first numeral, *sex*tus, is emphasized because it has special importance, because, in fact, it gives the exact unit year, while all three adjectival numerals, *bis*, *ter*, and *novies*, must obviously be referred to the *decennus*. The date must, then, be read: 1000 plus two times plus three times plus nine times ten, plus six, or 1000 plus fourteen times ten, plus six, or 1000 plus 140, plus 6, or, finally, 1146.

(1) Vitaletti, *op. cit.*, *La Bibliofilia*, Vol. XXI, 1919-20, pp. 136, 138.

(2) Vatican Library, Manuscript Room, reference volume No. 305, p. 165.

(3) *Op. cit.*, pp. 68, 69, 70.

(4) *Op. cit.*, p. 141.

(5) *Op. cit.*, p. 362. The Bible was mentioned also by F. Amann, *Die Vulgata Sixtina von 1590*, etc., Freiburg i. B., 1912, p. 36, but he merely quoted Vercellone. The Bible was mentioned, finally, by N. Gabbaletti, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45, who was the only one to place it in the twelfth century.

Second, as to the scriptorium! A Savinus is recorded as Abbot of the Monastery of S. Croce precisely from 1143 to about 1159 (1). There can, thus, be no doubt that the codex was actually produced in the Monastery.

4. *A Giant Bible in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome.*

A giant Bible in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome (Sessor. 2) contains several illustrations and is, therefore, of some importance to the history of painting. It came to the Library in 1875 — at the time of the Library's organization, that is — as part of the *Fondo Sessoriano* (2). At its end is a colophon with the date, 1193. Yet doubts have arisen concerning both its date and its place of facture. Though in 1927 Toesca mentioned without comment the date in the colophon as well as the provenance from S. Croce in Gerusalemme and called the Bible probably Roman, in 1929 he without explanation questioned the date and relegated the Bible to a footnote of works related to Rome but of uncertain patria (3). The provenance from S. Croce seems, indeed, to fit in nicely with an attribution to Rome, but the volume's earlier history demonstrates that it is entirely irrelevant to the problem of attribution. And certainly the date in the colophon seems to settle the question of period. Yet close examination reveals that it is entirely irrelevant to the problem of dating.

The colophon reads as follows:

VOS QUI ME PROSPICITIS NUNC ESSE COMPLETUM
DEO DATE GRATIAS AC ORATE MECUM,
UT SUI SEQUACIBUS DARE REGNUM LETUM,
DIGNETUR ADDUCERE NOS IBIDEM SECUM,
DICTUR LAURENTIUS NUNC ARCHIMANDRITA
QUI ME FECIT FIERI COMPONIQUE ITA,
QUEM DEUS EXAGERET MULTUM IN HAC VITA,
AC SANCTORUM OMNIUM POST ORNETUR MITRA.
SCRIPTOR QUI ME SIC FECIT EGO EST VOCATUS,
SANCTO ROPHILLO VERE TEMPORE EST ET NATUS
UT ME SIC COMPONERET SATIS EST ORTATUS,
ET A MULTIS SIQUIDEM PER ME EST AMATUS.
OPERT AUXILIUM HUIUS QUI DEDERE
UTRIUSQUE HOMINIS HOSPITATEM MERE,
PREBE EIS QUIS TE O PATER VERE,
ET AD CELI GAUDIA IPSOS NOSQUE FERE,
ANNO MILLENO CENTENO AC NONAGENO
TRIBUSQUE ADVINCIS
HOS FACTUM SUI COGNITUM CUNCTIS. (4)

(1) Cf. A. Ghibelli, *Monografia dell'antico Monastero di S. Croce di Fonte Avellana, i suoi priori ed abbati*, Faenza, 1895, pp. 118-22, and especially p. 120.

(2) It hardly needs recalling that the entire *Fondo Sessoriano* is so designated precisely because it came from the Sessorian basilica. The law affecting Religious Orders was promulgated in Rome in 1873 (cf. Nella Santovito Vichi, *La R. Bibl. Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II in Roma; le sue origini, le sue raccolte, i suoi scritti*, Rome, 1935).

(3) P. Toesca, *op. cit.*, 1927, n. 1132 note 8; the same, *op. cit.*, 1929, p. 56, note 2.

(4) The colophon was copied by the compiler of the handwritten Catalogue of the

With reference to the date! It is easily discernible, with only a modicum of diligence, that this colophon is in a script wholly different from that of the text of the Bible. It is in another ink, it is much smaller, it is much more Gothicizing, and it forms a column that is much narrower than that of the text above it. Though it is in a normal position, it is plainly a later addition. Its script would be normal in the very late twelfth or in the thirteenth century. It was in all likelihood simply copied from some other codex, a codex that itself must have been made in 1193. And while the style of the script might permit believing it was copied immediately in 1193, it seems more reasonable to believe that it was copied somewhat later. *A terminus ante quem* for it is furnished by two of three notices just below it, which were possibly entered in 1274 (see below). In any case, it is clear that it cannot be used to date the Bible — that Toesca was correct in questioning the 1193 date.

With reference to the place of facture! The notices just below the colophon tell us that probably at least from 1274 to 1303, the Bible was in Castrocaro, a *castellum* a short distance to the southwest of Forlì, and almost certainly in the Church of S. Reparata there (1).

Anno mileno ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto quo reconciliata
fuit ecclesia sancte reparate a domino episcopo
Richelmo, die dominica XIII, die in exitu octubris.
Anno domini mileno ducentesimo septuagesimo quarto quo
reconciliata fuit ecclesia sancte reparate de castro
chario a domino episcopo Rodulfo, die dominica XIII,
in exitu octubris.
Anno 1303, Ind. III, die dominico XIII, Mensis Junii,
in mane, sepultus fuit vir nobilissimus dominus Guillelmus
Comes Castrocarii, anima cuius quiescat in pace. (2)

The repetition of the notice concerning the reconsecration of the Church seems explainable only by supposing the second entry was meant as a correction of the first, particularly as to the name of the Bishop, who in 1274 was, as a matter of fact, Rodulfus (3). This may be some indication that they are subsequent by some time to the event they record, for an error of the sort would be unimaginable while Rodulfus was still living. In any case, however, a *terminus ante quem* for them in 1303 is fixed by the third entry, which is in a different hand and ink.

Fondo Sessoriano, still used in the Biblioteca Nazionale. He omitted, however, the two lines beginning with *Sancto Rophillo*... and with *Ut me sic componeret*... possibly because the last word in each is so difficult to decipher. I make no claim to have solved their problem; the reading proposed may seem to present some difficulty. But the matter is of no importance here.

(1) Cf. G. Mini, *Illustrazione storica dell'antico Castello di Castrocaro*, Modigliana, 1869, and on S. Reparata, pp. 47, 22-25, 53.

(2) These notices, too, are copied in the handwritten Catalogue of the *Fondo Sessoriano*.

(3) On these Bishops consult conveniently Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, Venice ed., Vol. II, col. 579. The reconsecration need not have taken place after an Interdict, or any sort of profanation; Du Cange is perfectly clear on this in his paragraphs on the word *reconciliare*.

But be this as it may, the colophon itself can be made to yield the information that the Bible was much earlier, that is at the time the colophon was copied, in the region of Forlì and thus almost certainly in S. Reparata. It is the mention of S. Rufillo that gives the clue. For tradition has a S. Rufillo in the fourth century Bishop of Forlimpopoli, close to Forlì, whose body, buried at first just outside the former town, was, when this town was destroyed in 1360, removed to the latter (1). This S. Rufillo has always been especially venerated throughout the region, numerous churches being dedicated to him there. His veneration in Castrocaro is a foregone conclusion — a fact that may well explain why a colophon referring to him was of sufficient interest to be copied into another book. In any case, the facts about S. Rufillo are almost certain evidence that the colophon was copied in S. Reparata and thus that the Bible was already there at the time. But it hardly need be said that this fact throws no light whatsoever on the place in which the Bible was made.

We are thus left without any explicit indication of the Bible's date or of the center that produced it (2). To determine these things about it, we must turn to the script, the initials, and the figural illustrations. All these elements combine, I believe, to date the Bible in the latter part of the third quarter or the early part of the fourth quarter of the twelfth century, say between 1165 and 1185 or 1190, and to make it a work of the Roman region. It can, then, be supposed to have been brought to S. Reparata in Castrocaro in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and to have had the colophon added there then.

E. B. GARRISON

Rome, 1952.

(1) Cf. Ughelli, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, cols. 594-98; *AASS*, July, Vol. IV, 377-82; Lanzoni, *Diocesi d'Italia*, 2nd ed., pp. 721-22. Lanzoni says that most of the information about S. Rufillo is unreliable, but this unreliability would not affect the potency of the tradition in the twelfth or thirteenth century.

(2) In order to make our information complete, an inscription in the lower right-hand margin of fol. 273, the end of a quaternion, must be reported: HUNC QUATERNUM EGO BENECVENNE EMI ET SCRIBERE FECI MEIS EXPENSIS PRO ANIMA IOHANNIS FRATRIS MEI ET ALIORUM MEORUM PARENTUM. If anyone can turn up a Bencivenni with a brother named Giovanni, the problem of the place of facture may be solved.

In margine all'edizione critica dei Sonetti del Burchiello

Di due manoscritti sino ad oggi ignorati

In una recente pubblicazione (1) tra i manoscritti più importanti delle due famiglie in cui si scinde la tradizione manoscritta dei sonetti del barbiere poeta di Calimala, ne indicavo due (Introduzione, pag. 10, n. 8), di proprietà dell'Editore Signor Aldo Olschki, importanti per età e per lezione, ai fini di una futura edizione critica. Di uno di essi non s'era mai avuta notizia, mentre dell'altro se ne conosceva sì l'esistenza, ma nessuno sapeva dove fosse andato a finire. Una fortunata coincidenza mi ha permesso di studiarli e di confrontarli con i testi a penna già conosciuti (2). Qui ne riassumo in breve i risultati.

Il primo dei due manoscritti delle rime del barbiere di Calimala, di cui do qui la descrizione ai fini di una futura edizione critica, apparteneva in origine alla biblioteca dei Minutoli Tegrini di Lucca, come si rileva da una nota longitudinale sul margine destro della prima carta, appena leggibile: 'DI CASA MINUTOLI TEGRINI'. Passò poi a far parte della biblioteca del conte Battaglini di Rimini, il quale, negli ultimi mesi del 1907, credendo di aver rintracciato l'autografo del Burchiello — non so se per personale convinzione o per parere da terze persone espresso — si rivolse al dott. Marzi, allora bibliotecario della Laurenziana, per un giudizio che servisse ad eliminare ogni dubbio.

Confrontando la scrittura del manoscritto con quella di una lettera autografa del B. esistente nell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze, il Marzi non ha ammesso nè escluso l'autografia. Un insieme di ragioni, e prima di tutte l'erronea inclusione nella raccolta di componimenti che al B. sicuramente non appartengono, oltre alla incompletezza di alcuni sonetti, la escludono nel modo più assoluto. Forse è stata la rassomiglianza calligrafica a legittimare la nota a matita nell'interno del piatto superiore: 'Autograph of Burchiello', appostavi da mano moderna.

(1) Domenico di Giovanni detto il Burchiello, Sonetti inediti raccolti ed ordinati da Michele Messina, *Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum*, S. I, vol. 33, L. S. Olschki Editore, Firenze, 1952.

(2) Al Signor Aldo Olschki, che volle affidarmi perchè a tutto mio agio li potessi collazionare, il mio più vivo ringraziamento.